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STUDI VIVALDIANI
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STUDI VIVALDIANI

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UN MESSAGGIO DAI CURATORI

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCESCO FANNA E MICHAEL TALBOT

A MESSAGE FROM THE EDITORS

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

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

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

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

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

FRANCESCO FANNA AND MICHAEL TALBOT

Günther Grünsteudel

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Eccellenza

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

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

Di V. E.

Vien[n]a 5 Maggio 1741 Hu[m]iliss]imo De[votiss]imo Ob[ligatiss]imo Servitore
Antonio Vivaldi⁶

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

„VIENNA 5 MAGGIO 1741“

Eccellenza

Quanto piacere ho avuto nel sentire che V.E. era ritornato in Vienna
altrè tanto dispiacere ho provato nel sentire ch'era nuovamente
partito senza ch'io prima abbia avuto il pregiato M^o onore
di presentarle la mia umiliss^{ma} operazione. Questo è nato
perchè nelli giorni della dimora di V.E. io sono stato molto
ammalato. E poi perchè son stato due volte per riverirla senza
avere la fortuna di ritrovarla in casa. Dio permetta
V.E. che se non ho potuto con la prima voce almeno con
questo foglio le renda mille grazie di tanti generosi favori
che si è compiaciuto farmi per mezzo del suo cameriere, pro-
-testando a V.E. che lo mio deboliss^{mo} Musica non merita
alcuna riconoscenza, ma tutto è stato un puro contrasegno
della di lei bontà benignità. Con tale incontro mi avendo
la libertà di occludere un Concerto per il Flauto Traverso:
tanto più che non ho fatto dei Concerti intitolati.

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

Ho Franceſco l'Imperio l'Alto la Germania la Spagna e
 l'Italia et con ogni Concerto esprimo il guſto Marziale
 della Nazione. Spedito a V. E. la Fubbia e ſpero, che
 V. E. ſentirà che queſto è il uero guſto Franceſco, et
 che godeva il di Oſet Benigniffimo ^{compartimento} ~~compartimento~~
 Avvocato ſia tanto a V. E. che quivi ha un umiliffimo e riverentiſſimo
 ſervitore che cerca tutte le ſtrade poſſibili per ubbidirla
 e per incontrare la di lei pregiatiſſima cenni, per ſempre più
 vaſſeggiarmi e per grado e per debito con la più profonda
 riverenza
 J. V. E.

Vienna 5 Maggio 1741
 Mio Padre Mio Servitore
 Antonio Vivaldi

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

Günther Grünsteudel

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

Sommario

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

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

Eleanor Selfridge-Field e Margherita Gianola

LA FAMIGLIA MATERNA DI ANTONIO VIVALDI

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

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

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

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

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* Le autrici di questo saggio hanno portato avanti le ricerche separatamente, mettendo a reciproca disposizione i dati scoperti per la miglior riuscita dello studio. Eleanor Selfridge-Field ha concentrato le indagini presso l’Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Margherita Gianola presso l’Archivio Storico Patriarcale di Venezia. I risultati hanno svelato molti documenti inediti, come è specificato in Appendice 6.

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

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

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

questo caso vengono raccolte le dichiarazioni di due conoscenti, insieme ad altrettanti certificati rilasciati l'uno dal sindaco di Pomarico e dai suoi consiglieri, l'altro dall'Arciprete di Matera.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Adi 12 ottobre 1650

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹¹ Dopo la 'vestizione clericale', che era il primo passo della carriera ecclesiale e che avveniva in genere attorno ai dieci-tredici anni, il chierico, continuando a vivere in casa della propria famiglia,

parrocchia della Bragora, nel sestiere di Castello. Se Zanetta, come attesta il parroco che celebra il suo matrimonio, abita invece a Sant'Agnese – parrocchia geograficamente lontana – vive perlomeno da sola, se non in casa del futuro sposo ancor prima del matrimonio.

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

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

Adì 29 Xmbre 1653

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

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

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

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

¹² ASPV, Parrocchia di S. Maria Nova, Registri dei Battesimi, Reg. 1, f. 704. «1650 à dì 2 Ottobre. Salvador, et Anzolo fig[lio]lo del Sig. Camillo Calichi del Luoco di Pomarichi Diocese di Matera in Regno di Napoli et della Sig[nor]a Zanetta sua leg[itim]a Consorte nato li 24 di Settembre pross[im]o pass[at]o, fù il compadre l'III[ustrissi]mo Sig[no]r Alvise Bembo fù de q[uondam] E[ccellentissimo] Mattio della mia Parochia, la Comare Marina della Parochia de S. Canzian; battezzò il m[esse]r R[even]do Sig[no]r Dottor Alvise Zane Piovano».

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

¹⁴ *I-Vas*, Milizia da Mar, b. 552.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²⁷ Vedi www.assisiomf.it/l-indulgenza-della-porziuncola-3104-1.html.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[f. 556r]

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

Die 4. octobris 1650.

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

Testes

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

Die d[ict]a

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

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

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

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

Die d[ict]a

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

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

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

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

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

Die 6 octobris 1650.

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

Ita est Jo[hannis] Franc[iscu]s Montanarius Cancell[ariu]s Path[riar]calis etc

[f. 558r]

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

+ Segno di Croce di Leonardo d' Alessandro Sindaco

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

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

fran[ces]co de Leonardis eletto

Costantino gorrisio eletto

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

[f. 559r]

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

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

APPENDICE 2: Testamento di Gabriel Berti

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LA FAMIGLIA MATERNA DI ANTONIO VIVALDI

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

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

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

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

1670: 28 supradicti

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

[Sul retro: Rogito]

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

5 Nov[embre] 1670
Alessandro Contarini Canc[ellie]r Duc[ale]

Adì 22 Gen[naio] 1670 [M. V.]
Reg[istra]to alle Acque A. F.

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

[f. 214r]

Die Jovis 29 mensis Augusti 1675 ad Canc[ellum]

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

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

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

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

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

[f. 216r]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

APPENDICE 4: Testamento di Zanetta Temporini

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

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

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

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

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

Lasso Ressiduaria d[ett]a Camilla mia figl[io]la del tutto con obbligo di dar un par di Lintioli: Camise et altro à sua sorella Maria.

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

LA FAMIGLIA MATERNA DI ANTONIO VIVALDI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

APPENDICE 6: Cronologia essenziale

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

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

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

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

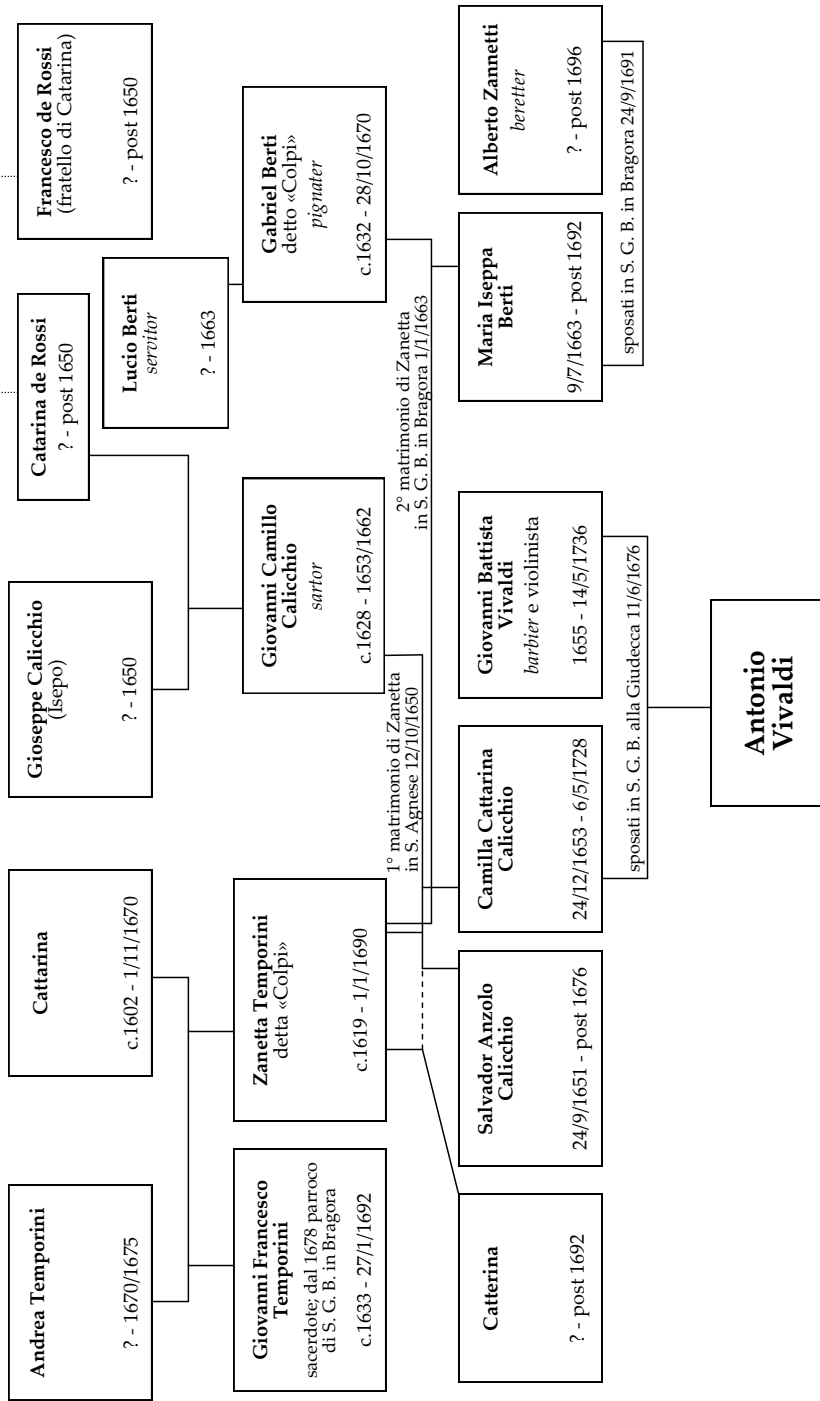




ILLUSTRAZIONE 1. ASPV, Archivio Storico, Ser. Examinum matrimoniorum, Reg. 53, f. 558. Certificato di stato libero di Giovanni Camillo Calicchio, rilasciato dall'Università di Portofino (26 maggio 1650).

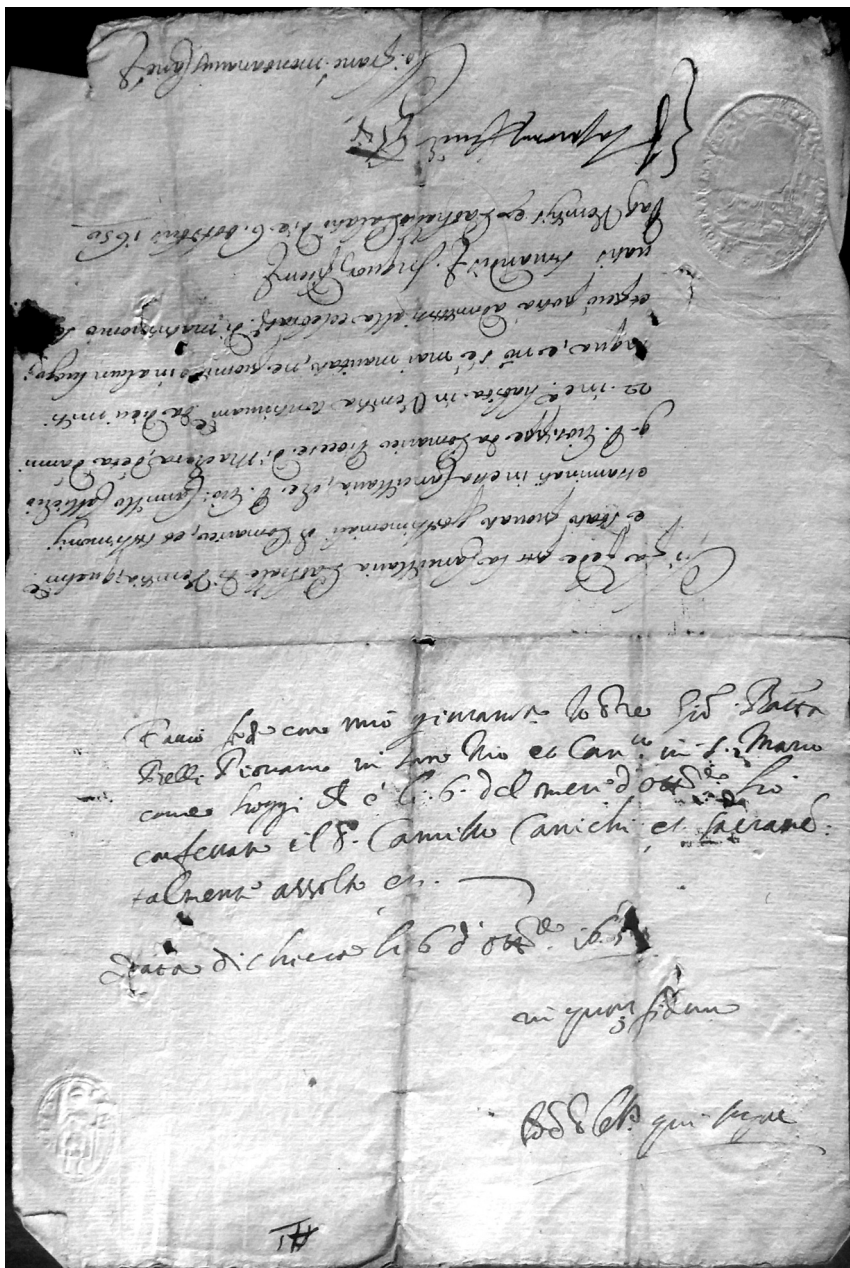


ILLUSTRAZIONE 2. APMR, Parrocchia di S. Agnese, Filze dei Matrimoni 1, fasc. 1646-1650, f. 41. Attestazione di stato libero di Giovanni Camillo Calicchio firmato dal cancelliere parocchiale e di assoluzione sacramentale impartita dal canonico di S. Marco (6 ottobre 1650).

Ad in ottobre idio
 Dopo le tre soliti publicationi in tre g.ⁿⁱ
 festivi come appar nel libro delle vite
 fu contratto marit. per il P.^{ro} F. Vidal
 Boyard Pion et suo, tra la sig.^{na}
 Zanetta fia del sig.^{no} And.^{ro} Temporini
 con il sig.^{no} Camillo g. Nepo Calicchi
 di Regno di Napoli tutti doi della
 nostra contr.^a et poi subito sporati
 li sot.^{ti} nella nostra Chiesa & il sof.^o
 S.^{ro} Pion, alla presenza dell' M.^{ro}
 S.^{ro} Ideo And.^{ro} Miani fu dez lui della
 contr.^a di S. Samuel, et di M.^{ro} And.^{ro} Balbi
 Barbier della nostra contr.^a ouerata
 per M.^{ro} tutti li and.^{ri} del sacro Conclio
 di Trento, et sinodali.

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

Adi 17 Dec: 1662
 È da contrazer matrimonio in mat.
 Zanetta fia de M^{re} Andrea Temporini
 Et M^{re} del g^{no} M^{re} Gio: Camillo da Lichi
 Et M^{re} Gabriel fio de M^{re} Lucio colpi
 Hauora de pignora nella borga
 de M^{re} Zuanne Stius tutti dir sano
 nella nostra contradi nella calle
 vicin al ponte di Crazeri nelle
 case del N. H. G. Antonio Farberigo
 La prima li 17 detto Dominica
 la 2^a li 18 detto S. Tomaso
 la 3^a li 19 detto Dominica
 s' replicano le publications per espor
 talato il cognome de M^{re} Lucio.

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

92

Adi 31 Dec: 1662

si replicano le pubblicazioni
 1. Et da contrahere matrimonio tra sua
 Zanetta fig: del Sig: Andrea Temporini et
 fig: del Sig: Gio: Camillo Malinchi
 & Heppro et Sig: Gabriel di Bivotti chie-
 mas di S:pi: no de: y Lucio servitor
 Lucora de pignatari nella casa de ay
 Quare d'otto posti di Rano nella via
 contrada nella calle vicino al ponte
 di Caporari nelle case del M. G. Ant:
 Bar: S:pi:
 ha con: i: detto dominica
 ha: il S:mo Gen: sepa dalla circonval:
 A:mo detto
 dispensata la 3.^a pubblicazione et concessa
 licentia di far Seg: il matrimonio dal
 Rom: glia: V:ro Gen: di detto governo
 sequitur S:ga. et serratis serrandis
 Et licentia de me: no: S:ta Vitalon
 Picvano in contrahere matrimonio
 per parole di presente tra li hidet:
 Mat: Zanetta et Sig: Gabriel alla
 presenza del S:mo: Giacomo primo
 prete de: di S:ta: presenti il sig:
 Pelorini no: del sig: Mario S:ta: no:
 a: S:ta: et al: sig: Gio: S:ta: Zacher:
 S:ta: q: S:ta: no: nella nostra contrada

Adi 31 Dec: 1662

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

la Comare alleatrice m^{ra} Margherita de
Combradi

Adi deo
maria Steppa fa de m^{ro} Gabriel g^{ro}
Lucio di Bert. deo altri signater et
de m^{ra} Zanetta fa de y m^{ro} temporaria
sua conforte
Nata li 9 deo
Sere alla font. di S^{to}. Pellegrin altri fa
dal sig^{ro} Mattio canonicò di s^{to}. Zulden.
la Comare alleatrice m^{ra} Margherita de
Combradi

Battizo di R^o G^{ro}: S^{to} Vitalba Piccuro.

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

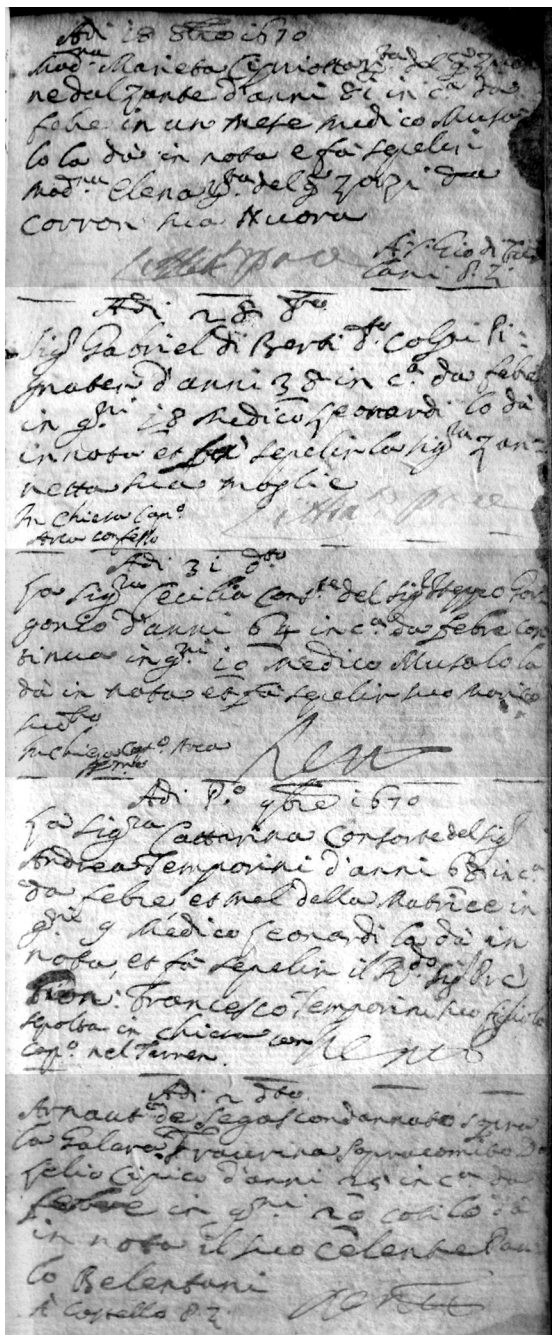


ILLUSTRAZIONE 7. ASPV, Parrocchia di S. Giovanni in Bragora, Registri dei Morti, Reg. 14, f. 45d. Atto di morte di Gabriel Berti (28 ottobre 1670) e di Cattarina Temporini (1 novembre 1670).

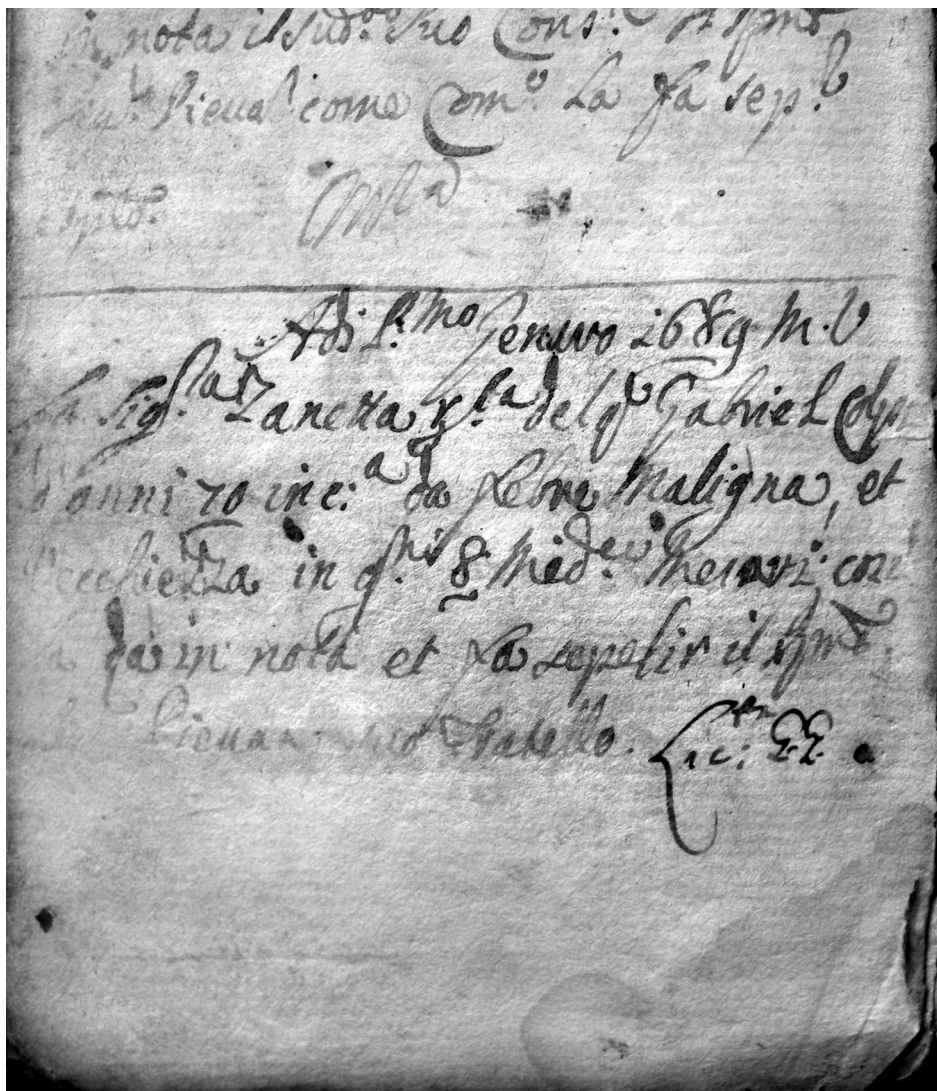


ILLUSTRAZIONE 8. ASPV, Parrocchia di S. Giovanni in Bragora, Registri dei Morti, Reg. 15, f. 34. Atto di morte di Zanetta Temporini (1 gennaio 1689 more veneto).

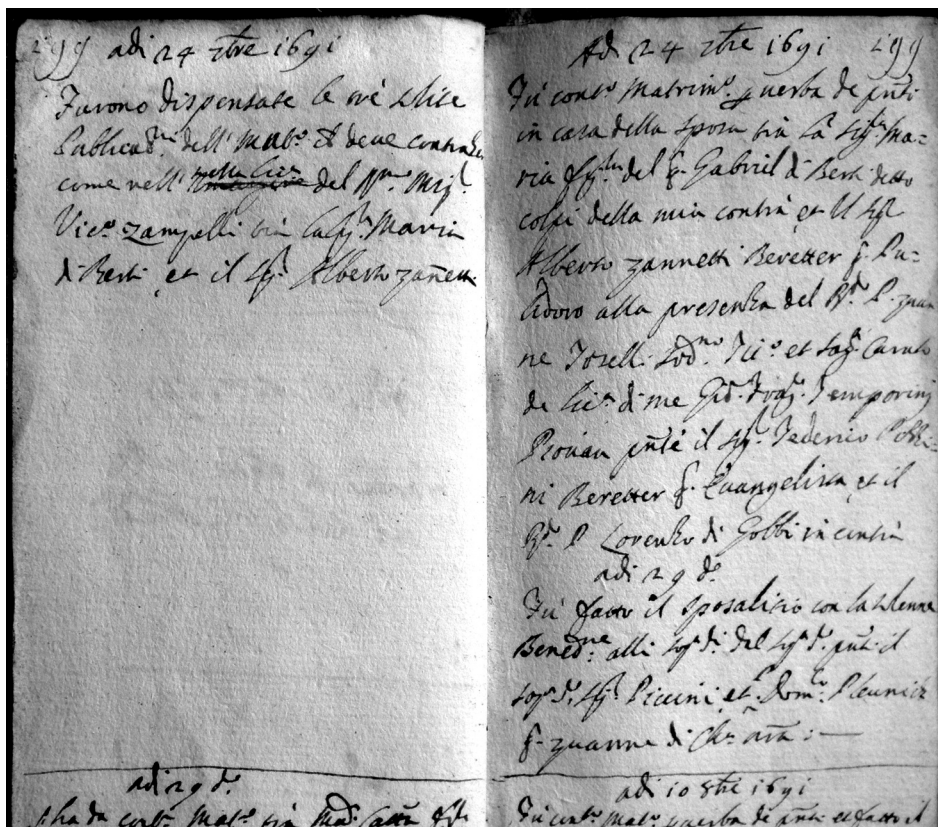


ILLUSTRAZIONE 9.
 ASPV, Parrocchia di S. Giovanni in Bragora,
 Registri dei Matrimoni, Reg. 11, f. 299s.
 Dispensa delle pubblicazioni di matrimonio
 tra Maria Berti e Alberto Zannetti (24 settem-
 bre 1691).

ILLUSTRAZIONE 10.
 ASPV, Parrocchia di S. Giovanni in Bragora,
 Registri dei Matrimoni, Reg. 11, f. 299d.
 Atto di matrimonio tra Maria Berti e Alberto
 Zannetti (24 settembre 1691).

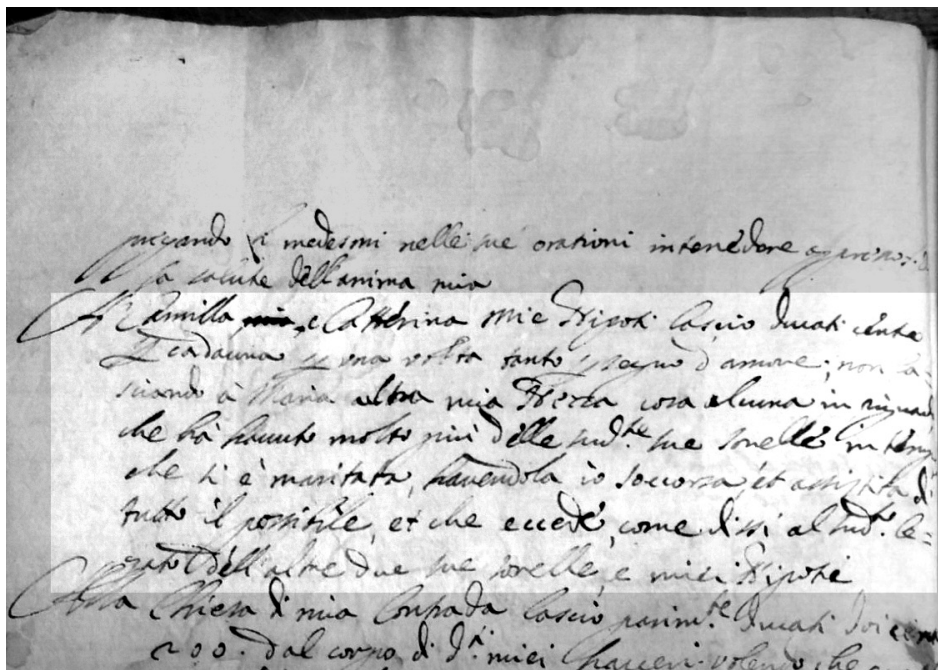


ILLUSTRAZIONE 11. *I-Vas*, Notarile, Testamenti (Bonaventura Scarella), 109, n. 139, f. 1v. Testamento del reverendo Giovanni Francesco Temporini (25 gennaio 1692). Fotocoproduzione eseguita dalla Sezione di fotocoproduzione dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia, pubblicata con atto n. 14/2016.

Eleanor Selfridge-Field and Margherita Gianola

THE MATERNAL FAMILY OF ANTONIO VIVALDI

Summary

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Michael Talbot

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

1. A DISCOVERY IN DRESDEN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. GIOVANNI BATTISTA VIVALDI AS COPYIST

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. TELEMANN’S CHAMBER ‘CONCERTOS’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6. VIVALDI'S CHAMBER CONCERTOS

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

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 292-293.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

EXAMPLE 1.

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

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

(a)

SILVIA Un va - por al ciel in - nal - - za

(b) Vivace

Vla d'am/VI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8. THE INVENTION OF THE CHAMBER CONCERTO RECONSIDERED

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

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

³⁷ See earlier, note 25.

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

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

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

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

Michael Talbot

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

Sommario

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

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

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

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

Ana Lombardía

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. THE INTRODUCTION OF VIVALDI'S CONCERTOS TO MADRID

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Key: italic = not directly related to Madrid.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Girolamo Nicolò Laurenti

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

Arcangelo Corelli

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

Gaetano Maria Schiassi

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

Pietro Antonio Locatelli: one of these collections:⁴⁶

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

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

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

Giuseppe Matteo Alberti

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

Carlo Tessarini: one of these collections:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Key: E = episode, R = ritornello.

In both cases, the central movement is a slow one in a continuous AA' form and written in a closely related minor key: the dominant minor in Herrando's sonata and the relative minor in Vivaldi's concerto. In contrast, Herrando's first and third movements are cast in forms that were in vogue in Madrid in the 1750s and 1760s but are less commonly encountered in Vivaldi's concertos:⁷³ rounded binary form (in the opening Allegro) and balanced binary form (in the closing Allegro moderato).⁷⁴ Herrando combines these forms with ritornello-episode alternation, a synthesis that produces a genuinely eclectic result. Comparing the opening movements of these works, one finds notable formal differences. Vivaldi uses clearly defined ritornellos based on the ideas *a* and *b*, presented respectively in bars 1-3 and 7-10 of the introduction (the R₁ section in the analysis in Table 5) and repeated in full in the following repetitions (bars 28-31.1, 41-44.1 etc.). For his part, Herrando employs loosely-defined ritornello ideas, mostly interrelated but of variable length, such as *f* in A₂, *f'* in A₃, and *f''* in A₈ (see the detailed analysis in Table 6; remarkably, *f''* lasts for only one bar). For this reason, in *El Jardín de Aranjuez* one cannot speak of true ritornello sections, but only of sections that function as introductions or nexuses (in this analysis called A₁, A₂ and so on) between the descriptive episodes (termed E₁, E₂ and so on).

From the point of view of harmony, Vivaldi's work is in general more varied, employing the keys of the tonic, the dominant, the relative minor and, in the last movement, the parallel minor. In contrast, Herrando restricts himself to tonic-dominant alternation in all three movements, in part impelled towards this by the intrinsic polarity of binary forms. Moreover, he draws attention towards this polarity by having frequent perfect cadences, while Vivaldi is subtler in this regard (a significant instance being the second movement of *La primavera*, which is full of imperfect cadences). However, Herrando's sonata does also feature harmonic elements that resemble Vivaldi's own, such as sequences (as in *El Jardín de Aranjuez*, first movement, bars 8-11 and 14-15, based on motives *d* and *e*, respectively), chains of suspensions (e.g., second movement, bars 35-38), and long pedal notes (e.g., first movement, sections E₃ and E_{3'}; third movement, sections E₁, E₃, E₄, E_{1'}, E_{3'} and E_{4'}). By means of these long pedals a 'solo' effect is achieved. More importantly, in the first movement Herrando imitates the alternation of Solo and Tutti by writing the episodes E₁ and E₅ for unaccompanied violin, which is very unusual in the surviving violin sonatas by Madrid-based composers.

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

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

TABLE 6. Herrando, *El Jardín de Aranjuez* (ca. 1750-1763), i, *Allegro*, A major.

PART I:	1	4.3	6	8.3	11.3	13.3	16.3	22.3	26.3	30.3	32	33.3	35.3
Motives	a	b	c	d	b'	e		f		f'		g	
Sections	A ₁						E ₁	A ₂	E ₂	A ₃	E ₃	A ₄	E ₄
Cadences	4.1: PAC in I			11: HC in V/V		16.2: HC in V/V		26.1: PAC in V	30.2: HC in V/V		pedal V		37.3: HC in V
Descriptive elements	[spring]						canary (solo)		cuckoo		waters		trees
PART II:	38	40.3	44.4	47	51	54	56	61.3	66.3	69.3	70.3	72.3	
Motives	a' (V)	a* (I)	b''	f''	h	i		f		f'''		E ₄ '	
Sections	A ₅	A ₆					E ₅	A ₇	E ₂ '	A ₈	E ₃ '		
Cadences	41.1: PAC in V	44.3: PAC in I		50.3: PAC in I		55.3: PAC in I			65.2: PAC in I		pedal I	75.3: PAC in I	
Descriptive elements	[spring]						nightingale (solo)		cuckoo		waters	trees	

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

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

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

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

absent from Herrando's birdsong motives (so far as the notation of the surviving manuscript indicates): trills and vibrato (indicated with an "m" sign in the editions by Le Cène and Le Clerc).⁷⁷

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

a) Herrando, *El Jardín de Aranjuez*, III, bars 61-64



b) Vivaldi, *La primavera*, I, Violino principale, bars 44-48.2

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

a) Herrando, *El Jardín de Aranjuez*, I, Sound of waters, bars 32-33.2

b) Vivaldi, *La primavera*, I, Violino principale, Streams, bars 31-32.2

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

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

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

Musical score for Canary bird episode. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. The treble clef staff contains a melodic line with a series of eighth-note patterns, starting with a dotted quarter note followed by eighth notes. The bass clef staff is mostly empty, with a few notes at the end. A dynamic marking of *pp* is present at the beginning. A fermata is placed over the final note of the melody.

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

Musical score for Nightingale bird episode. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. The treble clef staff contains a highly rhythmic melody consisting of continuous eighth-note patterns. The bass clef staff is mostly empty, with a few notes at the end. A dynamic marking of *pp* is present at the beginning. A fermata is placed over the final note of the melody.

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

Musical score for Cuckoo bird episode. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. The treble clef staff features a melody with a characteristic cuckoo call pattern: a quarter note followed by a dotted quarter note. The bass clef staff provides a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes. A dynamic marking of *p* is present at the beginning.

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

Musical score for Cuckoo bird episode in Vivaldi's *L'Estate*. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. The treble clef staff contains a highly rhythmic melody of eighth notes. The bass clef staff provides a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes. A dynamic marking of *Allegro, e tutto sopra il Canto* is present at the beginning.

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

Musical score for Quail bird episode. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. The treble clef staff contains a melody with a quail-like call pattern. The bass clef staff provides a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes. A dynamic marking of *pp* is present at the beginning.

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

Musical score for Dove and Quail bird episode. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. The treble clef staff contains a melody with a quail-like call pattern. The bass clef staff provides a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes. A dynamic marking of *pp* is present at the beginning. The score includes labels for 'Palomo', 'Codor[niz]', and '[Palomo]'.

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



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

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

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

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

To sum up: Herrando's violin sonata *El Jardín de Aranjuez* clearly imitates Vivaldi's *La primavera*, showing that this concerto was known in Madrid before

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

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

1763 (when the Spanish composer died). Herrando's sonata reflects the assimilation of Vivaldi's formal strategies and descriptive techniques, adapted to a different genre and to a slightly lower technical standard. More specifically, Herrando reduces the scoring (violin and bass instead of five-part ensemble), simplifies the texture (alternation between birds rather than their contrapuntal conversation), synthesizes ritornello form with rounded and balanced binary forms and avoids excessively virtuosic writing (no passages comparable with Vivaldi's representations of lightning occur). It is possible that Herrando drew some inspiration from Vivaldi's *L'estate* as well, to judge from the coincidence of two of the birds imitated (the cuckoo and the dove), but in this instance there is no clear musical parallelism. In the light of the documentary evidence reviewed above, Herrando's listeners were probably familiar with Vivaldi's programmatic concertos, but the Spanish composer added extra value to his programmatic sonata by alluding to specific local elements: the garden of Aranjuez Palace and the birds encountered within it.

CONCLUSIONS

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

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

El jardín de Aranjuez shows that, despite the seemingly sparse composition of solo concertos in Madrid in the 1750s and 1760s, composers brought up in Spain had by then already assimilated this genre's main compositional strategies and even applied them to other instrumental media. In this connection, another revealing case is that of the twelve *Oberturas y sinfonías* by Vicente Basset (1753); these are three- and four-part works for bowed instruments in which, among other resources, Solo-Tutti alternation is employed.⁸⁰ As for solo concertos composed by Madrid-based musicians, the one by Francesco Montali (c. 1760) clearly reflects the assimilation of ritornello form, which Vivaldi's concertos did the most to popularize. However, it is hard to determine whether Montali became familiar with this form through Vivaldi's own concertos or via ones by other composers, such as Alberti and Tassarini, that had reached Madrid by then. Herrando's programmatic sonata makes it clear that Madrid was to some extent integrated into the mid-eighteenth-century international vogue for Vivaldi's *Le quattro stagioni*. From a broader perspective, this sonata also reflects Madrid's integration into the Europe-wide fashion for birdsong and pastoral topics, detectable a few years later in Boccherini's string quintet *L'uccelliera* (1771). There is even some evidence that *Le quattro stagioni* inspired certain programmatic instrumental compositions advertised by the Spanish violinist, guitarist and composer Fernando Ferandiere in the 1790s. More specifically, between 1796 and 1799 Ferandiere announced in Madrid three collections of programmatic instrumental quartets, which have so far not been traced: *Los quatro tiempos de el año* (meaning literally: "The four times of the year" – in other words, "The four seasons") for guitar, violin, viola and bass; *La historia de el hijo pródigo* ("The story of the prodigal son") for the same instrumentation; and *El ensayo de la Naturaleza* ("The essay on Nature", concerning the different hours of the day) for guitar, violin, flute and bassoon.⁸¹ Future research may permit us to track down these works and find out whether some of them were inspired by Vivaldi's violin concertos over five decades after his death – which does not seem completely improbable in view of their long-lasting appeal in Spain.

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

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

Ana Lombardía

DUE PRIMAVERE. LA RECEZIONE DEI CONCERTI PER VIOLINO DI VIVALDI A MADRID (1726-1776)

Sommario

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

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

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

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

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

Kees Vlaardingerbroek

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE COLLEGIA MUSICA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dear Sir!

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

²² See <<https://books.google.nl/books?id=Q9NXAAAACAAJ&pg=PA99&dq=De+Hollandsche+Waereld&hl=nl&sa=X&ved=0CCEQ6AEwAGoVChMIsoaO992cxwIVTAnbCh0S3ANc#v=onepage&q=De%20Hollandsche%20Waereld&f=false>>.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Respectfully Yours, Etc.

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

Kees Vlaardingerbroek

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

Sommario

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

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

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

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