THE DENT

MASTER

MUSICIANS

VIVALDI

MICHAEL TALBOT

SERIES EDITED BY

STANLEY SADIE

THE DENT MASTER MUSICIANS

VIVALDI

Series edited by Stanley Sadie

The Dent Master Musicians

Titles available in paperback

Bach *Malcolm Boyd*
Bartók *Paul Griffiths*
Beethoven *Denis Matthews*
Berlioz *Hugh Macdonald*
Brahms *Malcolm MacDonald*
Britten *Michael Kennedy*
Dufay *David Fallows*
Grieg *John Norton*
Haydn *Rosemary Hughes*
Liszt *Derek Watson*
Mahler *Michael Kennedy*
Mendelssohn *Philip Radcliffe*
Monteverdi *Denis Arnold*
Rossini *Richard Osborne*
Schoenberg *Malcolm MacDonald*
Schubert *John Reed*
Schumann *Joan Chissell*
Sibelius *Robert Layton*
Richard Strauss *Michael Kennedy*
Tchaikovsky *Edward Garden*
Verdi *Julian Budden*
Vivaldi *Michael Talbot*
Wagner *Barry Millington*

Titles available in hardback

Bach *Malcolm Boyd*
Brahms *Malcolm MacDonald*
Liszt *Derek Watson*
Stravinsky *Paul Griffiths*
Vivaldi *Michael Talbot*

In preparation

Elgar *Robert Anderson*
Handel *Donald Burrows*

A list of all Dent books on music is obtainable from the publishers:

J.M. Dent
The Orion Publishing Group
Orion House
5 Upper St Martin's Lane
London
WC2H 9EA

THE DENT MASTER MUSICIANS

VIVALDI

Michael Talbot

J.M. DENT, LONDON

© Text, Michael Talbot 1978, 1993
First published 1978
First paperback edition 1984
Second edition 1993

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of J.M. Dent

This book if bound as a paperback is subject to the condition that it may not be issued on loan or otherwise except in its original binding

Music examples set by Tabitha Collingbourne

Filmset by Selwood Systems, Midsomer Norton
Made and printed in Great Britain by
Butler & Tanner Ltd, Frome and London

for
J.M. Dent
The Orion Publishing Group
Orion House
5 Upper St Martin's Lane
London WC2H 9EA

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from
The British Library

ISBN 0460 86108 5

Preface

The admission of Vivaldi to the select company of the 'Master Musicians' is a sign of the growing esteem in which he has been held in recent decades. Fortunately, this surge of interest has stimulated research into Vivaldi's life and works, so that an author today can draw upon much information unavailable at the time of the pioneer studies. Gone are the days when he was regarded principally as a composer of concertos; we now have to see him as an important contributor to several genres: vocal as well as instrumental, sacred as well as secular.

I must gratefully acknowledge here the help of several musicians, scholars and librarians, among whom I should like to mention by name Eric Cross, Jean-Pierre Demoulin, Eleanor Selfridge-Field, Anthony Hicks, Wolfgang Reich and Reinhard Strohm. The University of Liverpool, and in particular the staff of the University Library, also aided me in many ways.

The musical illustrations nos. 1–3, 8–11 and 18–32 are included by courtesy of the Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino; no, 13 by courtesy of the Sächsische Landesbibliothek; and nos. 7 and 15 by courtesy of Manchester Public Libraries. Extracts from the correspondence of Charles Jennens and Edward Holdsworth are quoted by kind permission of the owner, Gerald Coke.

The issue of *Vivaldi* in paperback has given me the opportunity to make some corrections and to bring the volume up to date in a few places. I should like to thank my editor, Julia Kellerman, for her help in making the necessary changes.

Liverpool *Michael Talbot*
1984

Preface to the 1993 edition

This is the fourth occasion, since its first appearance in 1978, on which I have had the opportunity to revise *Vivaldi.* Each time I have been able to make a certain number of corrections, revisions and additions, but I have not been able before to produce, for publication in English, a new version that was not constrained by the need to retain the original pagination. This time no such restriction applies, and I am free to modify the text almost at will.

But the question then arises: how much do I really wish to change an account that has, so to speak, publicly 'represented' my thoughts on Vivaldi for 15 years? Should I alter it so much as to impose on everyone wishing to refer to the book the irksome need always to specify which edition has been consulted? Should I censor my earlier formulations merely because my position has shifted subsequently or because I have come into possession of new information?

On the other hand, I cannot leave uncorrected simple errors of fact or judgment as if I did not now know better. The reader also has a right to receive an image of Vivaldi that reflects the 1990s rather than the 1970s.

I have resolved the dilemma in the following way. The seven original chapters have been corrected and revised (relative to the 1984 paperback edition by Dent). To these I have added a series of endnotes which contains various arguments expanding on, or qualifying, those presented in the previous chapters. This additional discussion takes full account of the extraordinary efflorescence of Vivaldi research that has followed the celebrations in 1978 of the tercentenary of his birth and still shows little sign of waning. Each addition is prefaced by a page number guiding the reader back to the precise point in the earlier text (marked with an asterisk) to which it refers. In this way, the integrity of the original conception has been preserved as much as possible. The volume of scholarly literature on Vivaldi that has appeared in the last 15 years is truly immense, and it has been a hard but necessary task to be somewhat selective in making mention of the more recent

information and introducing the arguments based on it. Fortunately, I have found no reason to modify significantly the general view of the composer that I had when I first wrote the book.

The appendices have all been revised, though I have resisted the temptation to make sweeping changes to them. The most significant alterations are found in Appendix B (Catalogue of Works), which has been fully updated to take account of recent discoveries, and Appendix C (Personalia), which has acquired over 20 new entries.

I am especially indebted to Polly Fallows for her expert advice on the revision of the text. This new edition is dedicated to Carlo Vitali, who has over the years been a most valued correspondent, informant and stimulus as well as a contributor to Vivaldi scholarship in his own right.

M.T.
Liverpool
1992

Contents

Illustrations

1

The path to rediscovery

By the ‘rediscovery’ of a composer we seldom mean much more than his rescue from a presumably unmerited neglect, and sometimes as little as the dutiful revival of some of his major works on the anniversary of his birth or death. Vivaldi is one of the very few important composers to whom the notion of rediscovery applies in the most literal sense. He died over two and a half centuries ago, yet until about 60 years ago the musical world was totally unaware of the existence of the great majority of the works, totalling over 770, that can today be ascribed to him. Until then not one opera, not one sacred vocal piece, had, it seemed, survived for scholars to inspect and audiences to hear. Now scarcely a year passes without the announcement of some fresh discovery: one might mention a partly autograph set of 12 violin sonatas (seven hitherto entirely unknown and the rest known only in incomplete or variant form) as well as two violin concertos unearthed in Manchester in 1973, and a highly original sonata for violin, oboe and obbligato organ, also autograph, preserved in Dresden, which was brought to light as recently as 1976. As more and more private collections of old music are acquired by libraries accessible to the researcher and the bibliographer one should expect a narrowing of the avenues of discovery. That this has not happened in Vivaldi’s case is a testimony to his enormous productivity and the unusually wide circulation of his music in his lifetime.*

Naturally, rediscovery in the other, more figurative sense of revaluation has gone hand in hand from the earliest times with the growth of our knowledge of his life and works – a process sometimes slow, sometimes spectacularly rapid. After his death in 1741 his name continued to be mentioned by bibliographers, lexicographers and writers of memoirs, but his music plunged into oblivion almost immediately. Indeed, his reputation as a freakish violinist and eccentric cleric largely overshadowed his fame, even in retrospect, as a composer. To his sometime collaborator Goldoni, in the first, serialized version

of the Venetian dramatist's memoirs, he was still a 'famous violin player ... noted for his sonatas [sic], especially those called the *Four Seasons*',[1] but when Goldoni came to write the definitive account of his first meeting with Vivaldi a quarter of a century later he dismissed the musician as an 'excellent violin player and mediocre composer'.[2] E.L. Gerber's *Historisch-biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler*, a pioneer dictionary of musical biography written shortly afterwards, mentions Vivaldi as a composer merely in passing, turning Goldoni's vivid and amusing description of the Italian composer's exaggerated (and by implication feigned) piety into a claim that Vivaldi never let his rosary out of his hand except when he took up his pen to write an opera.[3] Even the comparatively generous amount of space allotted to Vivaldi in Count Grégoire Orloff's *Essai sur I'histoire de la musique en Italie*, representative of the contemporary French view, is largely filled with a romanticized account (which may nevertheless contain a grain of truth) of how Vivaldi once, while celebrating Mass, temporarily retired into the sacristy in order to write out a fugue subject which was obsessing him.[4]

Apocryphal anecdotes of this kind abound in historical writing of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; we find them also in biographies of Corelli, Benedetto Marcello and Pergolesi. The difference is that in the case of these composers and a few other Italians contemporary with Vivaldi at least some of the music retained a shadowy presence in the repertoire. Corelli's continually reprinted violin sonatas served a didactic purpose, while Marcello's *Psalms* and Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* still found admirers among connoisseurs of church music. The complete void that was our knowledge of Vivaldi's music might have remained unfilled until the present century, had it not been for the almost fortuitous exhumation of a small part of it in the course of the Bach revival.

J.S. Bach's indebtedness to Vivaldi was first brought to public notice by his pioneer biographer J.N. Forkel, much of whose information had been obtained at first hand from Bach's two eldest sons. The celebrated passage runs:

> J.S. Bach's first attempts at composition were, like all such attempts, deficient. With no instruction to point a way forward and lead him on gradually, stage by stage, he had to begin like all those who set foot on

[1] *Commedie*, vol. xiii (Venice, 1761), p. 11.
[2] *Mémoires de M. Goldoni* (Paris, 1787), vol. i, p. 287.
[3] Vol. ii (Leipzig, 1792), col. 736f.
[4] Vol. ii (Paris, 1822), p. 290.

> such a path without guidance, and let things take their own course. To run or leap up and down the instrument, occupying the two hands as fully as their five fingers will allow, and to carry on in this undisciplined fashion until some point of repose is snatched quite by chance: these are the arts common to all beginners. Hence they can only be 'finger composers' (or 'hussars of the keyboard', as Bach called them in his later years): that is, they must allow their fingers to dictate what they write instead of telling their fingers what to play. But Bach did not remain for long on this path. He soon began to feel that all was not right with this ceaseless running and leaping, that order, coherence and interrelatedness must be brought to the ideas, and that some form of instruction was needed for the attainment of this end. Vivaldi's violin concertos, which had just appeared, served this purpose for him. So often did he hear them praised as excellent pieces of music, that he hit upon the happy idea of arranging them all for his clavier. He studied the treatment of the ideas, their mutual relationship, the pattern of modulation and many other features. The adaptation of ideas and figurations intended for the violin but unsuited to the keyboard taught him in addition to think in musical terms, so that when he had finished he no longer needed to draw his ideas from his fingers, but instead preconceived them in his imagination.[5]

Though Bach could hardly have arranged 'all' Vivaldi's violin concertos for keyboard, a good number of transcriptions were soon unearthed, totalling 17 concertos for solo harpsichord, four for solo organ and one for four harpsichords and string orchestra. A further organ transcription (BWV 596),[6] though in J.S. Bach's own hand, was believed until 1910 to be a composition by his eldest son on account of its ambiguous added inscription 'di W.F. Bach manu mei patris descriptum'. The original composer was scarcely ever mentioned (and then not always correctly) in the manuscripts, so scholars, acting on Forkel's lead, hunted through whatever original sources of Vivaldi's music were accessible, hoping to make a match. In 1850 C.L. Hilgenfeldt identified the concerto for four harpsichords as the tenth concerto of Vivaldi's op. 3. By the end of the century six harpsichord and two organ transcriptions had been established from concordant sources as Vivaldi works, to be joined soon by BWV 596. The identification of the authorship of the 12 remaining concertos, eight of which are known today to be by other composers, lagged behind, so that when the transcriptions came to be published by Peters in 1851 (16 works for

[5] *Ueber Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke* (Leipzig, 1802), p. 23f.

[6] *Bach Werke Verzeichnis* (BWV) numbers are taken from Wolfgang Schmieder, *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Johann Sebastian Bach* (Leipzig, 1950).

harpsichord),[7] 1852 (four for organ) and 1865 (that for four harpsichords), and later in the 42nd (1894), 38th (1891) and 43rd (1894) volumes of the Bach-Gesellschaft edition respectively, they were described collectively as concertos 'after Vivaldi' – an oversimplification whose unfortunate consequences have persisted.

The German scholars who first evaluated these Vivaldi concertos, comparing them with Bach's often very free arrangements, were ill-prepared to sit in judgment. Since they were infinitely more familiar with the music of Bach (and Handel) than with that of the Italian masters of the late Baroque, they tended to see Vivaldi's music as deviant from the Bachian style (lines more scantily ornamented, inner parts simpler, fewer types of dissonance), whereas it would be more accurate historically and aesthetically to see Bach's music as deviant from the Vivaldian style (lines more richly ornamented, inner parts more complex, more types of dissonance). In the light of the performance practice then current, in which Bach, Mozart and Wagner would be played very similarly, they could scarcely imagine what crisp articulation and tasteful improvised embellishment could do to passages which on paper seemed jejune and repetitious. Undeniably, too, a general attitude towards Italian music which at best was patronizing and at worst distinctly hostile coloured their judgment. To have denied Vivaldi any merit whatever would have been to accuse Bach of a lack of discrimination. Some writers solved the dilemma by allowing Vivaldi the virtues of an artisan, while reserving for Bach those of an artist. The following passage from W.J. von Wasielewski is not untypical:

'He [Vivaldi] belongs to those natures who, possessing considerable technique and exceptional skill at handling form, are always ready to compose, without thinking much about the significance and content of the result. Indeed, his compositions (we are thinking especially of those for violin) only very rarely contain stirrings of deeper feeling, notable power of thought and true dedication to art.' Or again: 'The less imagination and depth Vivaldi evinces in his compositions, the more inventive he becomes in superficialities of all kinds.'[8]

Still, a trickle of Vivaldi's music began to be published in its original form, beginning with three concertos reproduced (one incompletely) as supplements to the transcriptions in the Bach-Gesellschaft volumes.

The great breakthrough came with the publication, in 1905, of Arnold Schering's classic monograph on the history of the concerto:

[7] One of the harpsichord transcriptions (BWV 592a), being concordant with the organ transcription BWV 592, remained unpublished.

[8] *Die Violine und ihre Meister*, 6th edn (Leipzig, 1927), p. 111f.

Geschichte des Instrumentalkonzerts. The scope of Schering's study led him to view Vivaldi's music in its proper historical perspective; he had the added advantage of close acquaintance with the large collection of Vivaldi manuscripts preserved in the Saxon State Library, which revealed a composer of wider range, particularly in regard to instrumentation, than the works published in his lifetime suggested. He communicated his enthusiasm for the music vividly to the reader and ended with a bold declaration of Vivaldi's historical position: 'Vivaldi is as exemplary for the shaping of the violin concerto as Corelli was for that of the sonata'.[9]

Modern editions of Vivaldi's concertos, which still gave preference to works transcribed by Bach, slowly multiplied. The growing awareness of his stature is reflected in Fritz Kreisler's 'attribution' of one of his pastiche compositions to Vivaldi around 1905 – a charming deception which provoked a young French violinist and musicologist, Marc Pincherle, into initiating a lifetime's research into the music of the Venetian.

This phase of Vivaldi rediscovery closes with the publication, in 1922, of a thematic catalogue by Wilhelm Altmann containing virtually all the music seen in print during the composer's life, and a few extra items.[10] Had no further works been discovered, Vivaldi's reputation might have remained to this very day on a par with, say, Corelli's: he would have occupied a niche in the concert repertoire, but a very small one.

The focus of our attention now shifts to Italy, which had been surprisingly slow in taking up Vivaldi's cause. One more pleasant consequence of the wave of patriotism after World War I was the direction of musicians' energies towards the rehabilitation of Italy's glorious pre-Classical past. In 1926 a collection of music belonging to the Salesian monks of the Collegio San Carlo in San Martino (Monferrato) came up for sale. Dispatched to investigate this collection with a view to its possible purchase by the Turin National Library, Alberto Gentili, a lecturer in musical history at Turin University, found that among its 97 volumes were 14 containing music by Vivaldi. These held manuscripts, mostly autograph scores, of 140 instrumental works, 29 cantatas, 12 operas (one in duplicate), three shorter dramatic works, one oratorio and numerous fragments. With the generous assistance of the banker Roberto Foà, after whose late son Mauro the collection

[9] *Geschichte des Instrumentalkonzerts* (Leipzig, 1905), p. 96.

[10] 'Thematischer Katalog der gedruckten Werke Antonio Vivaldis', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, vol. iv (1922), pp. 262–79.

was named, the library acquired all the volumes in 1927. Realizing from gaps in the original numbering of the Vivaldi volumes and the incompleteness of some compositions that the Foà collection was only one part of an originally larger library which had been divided, probably on inheritance, Gentili speculated whether a nephew of the Marquis Marcello Durazzo, who had bequeathed his collection to the Salesian monks, might possess the complementary volumes. This nephew, Giuseppe Maria Durazzo, was with great difficulty induced to show his collection of musical manuscripts to Gentili, confirming the hypothesis. By even more strenuous efforts, Durazzo was persuaded to reunite the original collection by selling his manuscripts to the Turin National Library. A Turinese industrialist, Filippo Giordano, provided the funds, and the volumes passed to the library in 1930. By a strange coincidence, Giordano had also lost a young son, Renzo, after whom the new acquisition was named.

Ownership of the Foà–Giordano collection (or 'Turin manuscripts', as they are commonly known) could be traced back to Count Giacomo Durazzo (1717–94), Genoese ambassador to Vienna from 1749 to 1752, director of theatrical performances at the imperial court from 1754 to 1764, and finally imperial ambassador to Venice from 1764 to 1784. More recently, it has come to light that the manuscripts were in the library of the Venetian bibliophile Jacopo Soranzo by 1745.[11] It was once widely believed that the Turin manuscripts stemmed from the Ospedale della Pietà, the foundling institution with which Vivaldi was associated for much of his life, but the character of the manuscripts belies this. That they belonged to the composer himself and constituted his 'working stock' of music is suggested by the following facts:

(1) The wide coverage of genres and chronological spread. All genres in which the composer is known to have worked are represented (sonatas rather thinly, however). The operas stretch from *Ottone in villa* (1713) to *Rosmira* (1738). No institution, religious or secular, would have a repertoire capable of accommodating such diversity.
(2) Scores form an overwhelming proportion of the manuscripts. Any performing body like the Pietà's orchestra would need the music in parts.

[11] See Gabriella Gentili Verona, 'Le collezioni Foà e Giordano della Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino', *Vivaldiana I* (Brussels, 1969), pp. 30–55; also Fabio Fano, 'Una traccia prossima alla prima origine della raccolta di musiche vivaldiane conservata alla Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino', *Medioevo e umanesimo*, vol. xxiv (1976), pp. 83–93.

(3) Most of the manuscripts are autograph, and many of the remainder are partly autograph or contain autograph inscriptions. Composers normally retained their autograph manuscripts, having copies made as required.
(4) Many of the scores are first drafts in a very rough state – suitable for copying but not for presentation. There are also several fragments in Vivaldi's hand which appear to be sketches or memory aids.

Since all the works come in separate gatherings (or, for longer compositions, series of gatherings) their binding into volumes sometimes containing several dozen works must have taken place, at the earliest, at the very end of Vivaldi's life. In general, each volume contains works in a single broad category (secular vocal music, sacred vocal music, concertos, operas), sometimes subdivided into groups within the volume, but there are anomalies arising from an exceptional format or leaf-size such as the two lute trios at the beginning of Foà 40, a volume of sacred music. The operas are preceded by uniform, non-autograph title-leaves obviously inserted at the time of binding. These cannot have been prepared under the composer's supervision or by someone well acquainted with his operatic output, since the date and place of performance, when supplied, are taken either from the score itself or (for operas performed in Venice only) from some contemporary reference work of the time.[12]

Since Vivaldi died in Vienna, it would be very interesting to find out how Soranzo came by the collection. Was it left behind in Venice and sold off by relatives, or was it brought back from Vienna by the composer's companions?

The discovery of the Turin manuscripts stimulated interest in Vivaldi's biography. Very little was known beyond the few facts already recorded by the earliest lexicographers, although in 1871 Federigo Stefani had published privately in Venice six letters from Vivaldi to the Marquis Guido Bentivoglio d'Aragona, initially valued more for their information about operatic conditions generally than for the wealth of data they contained on the composer's life.[13] In 1928 Arcangelo Salvatori published an article establishing, by reference to documents, some key facts about Vivaldi's training for the priesthood

[12] Possibly Antonio Groppo, *Catalogo di tutti i drammi per musica recitati ne' teatri di Venezia* (Venice, 1745).
[13] *Sei lettere di Antonio Vivaldi veneziano.*

and subsequent employment at the Pietà.[14] Ten years later, Rodolfo Gallo was able to announce his discovery of the place and date (Vienna, 1741) of Vivaldi's death and identify some members of the composer's family (besides his already well-known father).[15]

The publication and wider diffusion of the Turin works was hampered during the 1930s by legal, economic, political and even personal factors, but the shape of things to come was revealed in 1939, when the Accademia Chigiana organized at Siena a Vivaldi 'week' (16–21 September), during which a representative selection of his works, including sacred and secular vocal music, was heard. There were even two staged performances of *L'Olimpiade.*

The momentum, lost during the war years, quickly picked up again. In 1947 the publishers Ricordi began to bring out, on behalf of the newly founded Istituto Italiano Antonio Vivaldi, the complete instrumental music. By 1972, the series was not far from its goal, 530 volumes having appeared. Although there are features of the editorial policy governing the series, as well as of the actual editing itself, which fall short of the scholarly standards expected of this kind of publishing venture, musicians everywhere have welcomed the opportunity to study and perform these works. More recently, Ricordi and Universal Edition have begun to issue systematically the sacred vocal music, and one can only hope that, this task complete, publishers will turn their attention towards the operas and cantatas, still very meagrely represented in print.[16] In the last few years, however, the world of recording has done a little to redress the imbalance favouring the instrumental music.*

In the 1940s two large-scale studies of Vivaldi's life and music appeared: Mario Rinaldi's *Antonio Vivaldi* (Milan, 1943) and Marc Pincherle's *Antonio Vivaldi et la musique instrumentale* (Paris, 1948). The first was justly superseded by the second, a beautifully written work of massive erudition which had been in gestation (if one discounts a few articles which appeared on the way) for some 40 years. An abridged version of Pincherle's book soon appeared in an English translation.[17]

Several general introductions to Vivaldi's music, all heavily indebted to Pincherle, have since appeared in a variety of languages. Readers

[14] 'Antonio Vivaldi (il Prete Rosso)', *Rivista mensile della città di Venezia*, vol. vii (1928), pp. 325–46.

[15] 'Antonio Vivaldi, il Prete Rosso: la famiglia, la morte', *Ateneo Veneto*, vol. cxxiv (December 1938), pp. 165–72.

[16] Of the operas, only *La fida ninfa* has appeared in a modern edition (ed. R. Monterosso, Cremona, 1964).

[17] *Vivaldi* (Paris, 1955); *Vivaldi: Genius of the Baroque* (New York, 1957).

of English will be most familiar with *Antonio Vivaldi: his Life and Work* (London, 1970) by Walter Kolneder, an Austrian scholar who has contributed several monographs on specialized aspects of Vivaldi's music.[18] One must also mention Remo Giazotto's *Vivaldi* (Milan, 1965) and *Antonio Vivaldi* (Turin, 1973), biographical studies containing some precious new material from Venetian archives.

The more recent publication of a thematic catalogue of all Vivaldi's works by the Danish scholar Peter Ryom is an event of great importance.[19] Vivaldi has been cursed with more catalogues – which is to say unsatisfactory catalogues – than any other composer. Since no catalogue has yet succeeded in winning universal acceptance, no fewer than four (including Ryom's) are current today. The earliest (1945), by Rinaldi, is not merely inaccurate and incomplete, but groups Vivaldi's works into fictitious opus numbers reminiscent of the 'suites' into which Longo grouped Scarlatti's harpsichord sonatas.[20] Pincherle's *Inventaire-thématique* (1948) would have been adequate, save that he was not consistent in distinguishing between two variants of the same work and two different works with common elements, and that his main series of numbers (1–443) comprises only concertos (sinfonias have a separate series (1–23). Sonatas, though listed by incipit, have no numbers at all, and vocal works are entirely absent).[21] Because of the unusually complex relationships between Vivaldi works in different genres, it is essential that all his works be brought within the scope of the same catalogue. Antonio Fanna's *Catalogo numerico-tematico delle opere strumentali* (Milan, 1968), being in essence a finding list for the Ricordi edition, which does not include incompletely preserved works or some important variants and tacitly or expressly 'modernizes' the instrumentation (Vivaldi's *flauto* is always given as 'flute' instead of 'recorder'), will clearly not do.*

Ryom's catalogue passes the tests of comprehensiveness, accuracy and rationality of organization incomparably better than its predecessors. Instrumental works, *Ryom-Verzeichnis* (RV) 1–585 and late entries RV 751–768, are grouped first by the size of ensemble required

[18] This book is a translation, with additions, of the same author's *Antonio Vivaldi: Leben und Werk* (Wiesbaden, 1965).

[19] *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Werke Antonio Vivaldis: kleine Ausgabe* (Leipzig, 1974, ^{2}/1979). The 'Large' version of Ryom's catalogue has started to appear, although to date we have only the volume containing authenticated instrumental works: *Répertoire des œuvres d'Antonio Vivaldi: les compositions instrumentales* (Copenhagen, 1986). Certain additional Ryom numbers that are due to appear in the remaining volumes have begun to be cited in scholarly literature and are mentioned in the present book where appropriate.

[20] *Catalogo numerico tematico delle composizioni di A. Vivaldi* (Rome, 1945).

[21] Vol. ii of *Antonio Vivaldi et la musique instrumentale* (Paris, 1948).

(from one instrument and continue up to several instruments, double orchestra and continue), then by instrumentation. This arrangement corresponds closely to the generic distinction between sonata and concerto; sinfonias are perhaps treated inconsistently, however, some being listed among the concertos for strings (without soloist) and continue, while others share the number of the operatic or other work to which they are attached. Sacred (RV 586–648) and secular (RV 649–740) vocal works are grouped by genre (Mass movement, psalm, hymn, etc.). RV 741–750 are works which for one reason or another cannot be assigned to any group, and there is a long appendix (*Anhang*) listing 68 works of dubious or disproved authenticity.*

As this book is being written, Ryom's numbers are rapidly passing into general circulation. It will nevertheless take some time for those accustomed to Pincherle numbers to abandon them. For this reason, the Pincherle numbers for concertos (those for sinfonias have never achieved wide currency) will be quoted in addition to Ryom numbers in the present work unless an original opus number renders them superfluous.[22]*

It is salutary to consider, three hundred years after Vivaldi's birth, what is not known about him. First, there are tantalizing lacunae in his biography from one end of his life to the other. Research in archives, no doubt aided by serendipity, will surely yield discoveries in years to come. Second, we have hardly begun to establish the chronology of Vivaldi's music. For this, the most painstaking study of paper types and copyists' hands will be needed, and there is no guarantee of a high degree of success. The most sobering thought, however, is that we are still unfamiliar as listeners with well over half of Vivaldi's surviving music, as measured by the time taken to perform it. To remedy this ignorance must be our foremost task.

[22] A concordance table of Pincherle and Ryom numbers is included as Appendix F.

2

Venice

By the early eighteenth century, when Vivaldi was just beginning his career, Venice's once considerable economic power had ebbed to a point where culture rather than trade or manufacture was her most characteristic field of activity. Like a magnet she drew visitors in huge numbers from all over Europe, who observed her institutions, admired her buildings, wondered at her ceremonies, thronged to her theatres and gaming houses, and frequently departed with a memento, perhaps a painting or a musical score. The dependence of Venetian painting and music on foreign patronage, which we can date very roughly from the beginning, around 1660, of that custom known as the Grand Tour, obviously benefited the Republic's exchequer and for a long while stimulated creativity, although eventually it was bound to devitalize the arts by cutting them off from the roots of their inspiration. Just as the favourite genres of *settecento* Venetian painters – portraits and views of the city – seem 'made for export', so too composers came to put more and more of their effort into readily exportable types of music (for example, the opera and the concerto) at the expense of genres serving local needs. For this reason it is important to view Venetian music of Vivaldi's time not merely in the perspective of a long and noble indigenous tradition but also in that of its newly acquired role as a setter of fashion for the whole of Europe.

In the later Middle Ages and Renaissance Venice had been anything but an international playground. Her wealth and power stemmed on the one hand from trade – for which her situation on the Mediterranean at the crossroads (politically if not quite geographically) of Europe and Asia ideally suited her – and on the other from manufacture, especially of textiles. Her 'military and naval power had held the Ottomans at bay in southern Europe for centuries.

The discovery of the New World and the Cape route to the Orient dealt a blow to Venice's position as a trading intermediary from which she never recovered. Even in the eastern Mediterranean English and

French merchant vessels came in time to outnumber Venetian ones. As for manufacturing, Venice underwent the same decline as the rest of Italy after 1600. Once again, it was the northern Europeans who supplanted her, producing more cheaply and selling more vigorously, even to the Turks, Venice's traditional customers. Many of her monied citizens abandoned commerce and invested in agricultural estates on the mainland.

The effect of this economic shrinkage on Venetian political life in the eighteenth century was to reduce drastically the influence of the Republic on most affairs of European importance. Her independence was rarely threatened, however, for with her considerable territories on either side of the Adriatic she formed too large an entity to be absorbed into some other state without upsetting the balance of power. Besides, Venice's history of unbroken independence since her foundation in the seventh century as a refuge from the barbarians – an absence of foreign domination almost unique in Italy – would have made annexation difficult to justify, while her republican form of government rendered her immune to dynastic squabbles in which foreign powers could have had an interest. She became in effect a neutral buffer state.

Population statistics taken from official censuses bear out these changes in the character of Venice. The territorial limits of the capital (built, as everyone knows, on a partly man-made archipelago inside a lagoon) were fixed at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Already then the population had failed to make good the losses sustained in the plague of 1575–6; its slow climb was set back once more by the plague of 1630, and by 1696 the numbers had reached only 138,067 – over 30,000 short of the 1563 figure. But for immigration from the Italian mainland the stagnation would have been even greater, for the birth rate declined. In particular the *nobili veneti*, the Republic's governing class, shrank in proportion to the other estates – the *cittadini* ('citizens', comprising merchants and members of the professions) and *popolani* (populace) – so that some dilution of their ranks became unavoidable.

The *Terraferma veneta*, or *Veneto*, as these mainland possessions of the Republic were known, formed a large wedge of territory stretching westwards below the Alps just beyond Bergamo, and southwards to Chioggia. It included the famous university city of Padua, whose celebration on 13 June of the feast of the patron saint, St Anthony, was attended by many Venetians at the start of their customary *villeggiatura*, or stay in the country. This annual exodus

from the capital helped to disseminate its culture in provincial centres such as Vicenza and Verona, where operas were often staged during the summer months by companies recruited in the main from Venice.

In cultural and economic terms Venice's eastern possessions were somewhat less significant, though hardly less extensive, for they comprised the provinces of Istria (separated from the *Veneto* by the Duchy of Carniola, an imperial territory at whose narrow opening to the sea lay the port of Trieste) and Dalmatia, further down the coast of former Yugoslavia. Venice could claim in addition innumerable islands and trading posts in the eastern Mediterranean; from the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699) to that of Passarowitz (1718) she also governed the Peloponnese, or *Morea*, wrested a decade earlier from the Ottomans in what was to prove her last successful military adventure.

Rather remarkably for an age in which *la carrière ouverte aux talents* was steadily winning acceptance, the Venetian state still drew its senior administrators exclusively from the ranks of the nobility. The head of state was the Doge (Venetian dialect for *Duce*), who was elected for life. He presided over the College, a kind of cabinet. Supreme legislative power was vested in the Great Council (*Maggior Consiglio*), on which 600 nobles aged over 25 served; 120 of its members were chosen by ballot to serve on the Senate, the highest executive body. Of the numerous more specialized bodies, the Council of Ten (*Dieci Savii*), appointed annually by the Great Council, deserves mention. It was from these ten 'sages' that three Inquisitors of State were chosen every month to act as watchdogs against blasphemy, indecency and subversion. One of their more routine tasks was to license theatres at the start of each new season; the inquisitors inspected the librettos of all operas, and if they were satisfied gave them their *faccio fede*, or affirmation of approval.

Next to the office of Doge, the highest honour coveted by the nobles was that of becoming one of the Procurators of St Mark. Until the nineteenth century the Basilica of S. Marco was not Venice's cathedral church, but it became early on the focal point of her ceremonial sacred music through the combination of a favoured situation, adjoining the ducal palace and looking out on to the principal square, and the attendance at services of the doges. It was the procurators' task to appoint a *Primo Maestro*, or senior musical director, whenever the post fell vacant. The director's pay was excellent, rising during Monteverdi's tenure (1613–43) from 300 to 400 ducats annually, and it remained at

that figure for over a century.[1] With this and other enticements the Basilica ought to have secured the services of Italy's foremost musicians, but like many a lay committee the procurators were cautious men who preferred to pick musicians they knew. Consequently, in the century following Monteverdi's death, all the *Primi Maestri* were Venetian-born men who had served in the *Cappella* previously, generally as the deputy director, or *Vice-Maestro.* Perhaps this helps to explain their lack of lustre, with the exceptions of Cavalli (1668–76), Legrenzi (1685–90) and arguably Lotti (1736–40). Of these three, however, it is notable that only the last made his principal contribution in sacred music, the others being better known as composers of opera.

The more talented musicians tended to use the *Cappella* as a stepping-stone to higher things. The outstanding example is the Venetian Antonio Caldara (1670/1–1736), who joined it on an occasional basis as a cellist in 1688, served as a contralto from 1695 to 1699, and then became in fairly rapid succession *Maestro di Cappella* to the Duke of Mantua (1700), a musician in the service of the Archduke Charles, claimant to the Spanish throne (1708), *Maestro di Cappella* to Prince Ruspoli in Rome (1709) and finally Deputy *Kapellmeister* to the same Charles, now Emperor Charles VI (1716). Even Lotti spent a three-year period (1717–19) away from the *Cappella*, organizing church music and opera in distant Dresden. Many musicians of St Mark's held other posts concurrently. Giacomo Filippo Spada (*c* 1640–1704), second organist from 1678 and first organist from 1690, served the Ospedale della Pietà for many years as *Maestro di* Coro; the same post at the Ospedaletto was held by Benedetto Vinaccesi (*c* 1666–1719), second organist from 1704; a *Vice-Maestro*, Carlo Francesco Pollarolo (1653–1723), directed music at the Incurabili, while the *Primo Maestro* himself, Antonino Biffi (*c* 1666–1732), occupied a like post at the Mendicanti, having as his *Maestro di Strumenti* the same Giorgio Gentili (*c* 1668 – after 1731) who from 1693 played the violin solos in the St Mark's orchestra.

These four *ospedali*, literally 'hospitals', were charitable institutions for orphaned, abandoned, illegitimate or indigent children. Since one of them, the Pietà, deserves our especial attention, being not only the most famous (and most thoroughly researched), but also the one with which our composer was closely associated during most of his life, it will be useful to describe it in some detail. Founded in 1346, it occupied

[1] A ducat of 'current' money (as distinct from the silver, or 'effective', ducat) was worth a little over half a crown in contemporary English currency.

in Vivaldi's time a building on the site of the present *Istituto provinciale per l'infanzia* in the Riva degli Schiavoni, which faces the island of S. Giorgio Maggiore across the Canale di S. Marco. Its chapel, rebuilt on a new site between 1745 and 1760, became the Church of La Pietà. The Pietà, like its sister institutions, was supported by the state and run by a board of governors appointed by the Senate. Its population was reported in 1663 to lie between 400 and 500; by 1738 it held 1000.

The girls were divided into two categories: the *figlie di comun*, or commoners, who received a general education, and the *figlie di coro*, whose education was specifically musical. Not all in the latter group served regularly in the chapel choir and orchestra, as one might have thought from the description *di coro*; for one thing, there was too little room in the chapel, although the addition in 1724 of two *choretti* on either side of the main choirstalls relieved the congestion a little.[2] Exactly how large a minority the *figlie di coro* were is hard to establish, but whatever their proportion one is justified in calling the Pietà a conservatory, by analogy with the four conservatories of Naples (where, in contrast, only boys were admitted), on account of the primacy accorded to music. One almost suspects the good faith of the Pietà's governors when they speak, in a resolution concerning the *figlie di coro*, of the need to avoid harming the amenities of the *figlie di comun*,[3] for in the eyes of the general public the non-musicians might as well not have existed.

According to a set of regulations dating from 1745 or a little later the active members (*attive*) of the *coro* comprised 18 singers, eight string players, two organists, two soloists (presumably vocal) and a *maestra* (director) for each of the sections, vocal and instrumental. Fourteen 'initiates' (*iniziate*), some as young as nine years old, acted as their assistants and deputies.[4] The performers must often have been reinforced, especially by wind instruments, if Charles de Brosses's statement that they numbered around 40 is reliable.[5] A decision of 1 March 1705 permitted *figlie di coro* not belonging to the *coro* proper

[2] Remo Giazotto, *Antonio Vivaldi* (Turin, 1973), pp. 374 and 375, gives brief derails of two entries in the governors' minutes book (*Notatorio*) dated 4 June 1723 and 27 January 1724, which refer to the decision to have these additional stalls built and to the execution of the work: Venice, *Archivio di Stato Veneto* (*ASV*), Ospedali e Luoghi Pii Diversi (Osp.), Busta 691 (N.I), ff. 177 and 216.

[3] *ASV*, Osp., Busta 688 (G), f. 181 (5 June 1707; transcribed in Giazotto, op. cit., p. 354f.

[4] *ASV*, Provveditori sopra Ospedali, Busta 48. Articles 45–99 ('Del Coro') are transcribed in Giazotto, op. cit., pp. 384ff.

[5] *Le president De Brosses en Italie*: *lettres familières écrites d'ltalie en 1739 et 1740*, ed. R. Colomb, vol. i (Paris, 1858), p. 194 (letter to M. De Blancey of 29 August 1739).

to take an occasional solo part if deemed worthy.[6] Another privilege, restricted to a dozen of the girls, was that of taking one female, fee-paying pupil from outside the Pietà. Originally, as laid down in the governors' resolution of 5 June 1707, these pupils could belong to either the noble or the citizen estate, but later – perhaps in response to the competition for places – girls from the citizenry were excluded.[7] The senior girls and in particular the various *maestre*, who were responsible within their designated spheres of competence (such as singing or playing stringed instruments) for maintaining discipline as well as teaching, organizing and directing performances, enjoyed other privileges. Some of them took part in musical activities outside the Pietà's walls and even outside Venice.

Tuition at the Pietà in singing, theory (*solfeggio*) and instrumental playing was organized on a pyramidal basis, the advanced girls teaching the less advanced, and the less advanced the beginners. Although the Pietà's inmates are always referred to in documents as *figlie* or *figliole* (both meaning 'girls'), the really proficient musicians among them who were loath to retire into the anonymity of marriage or the nunnery at the onset of adulthood had no option, given the exclusion of their sex (singers excepted) from the world of performing musicians, but to remain at the Pietà into middle age, to the delight of the audiences which flocked to its frequent services open to visitors and which contributed handsomely to its – and, incidentally, to the girls' – income. The 'stars' of the Pietà and the other *ospedali* ranked with the foremost virtuosi of their time in the opinion of connoisseurs. De Brosses averred of the Pietà, whose orchestra he praised above those of the other *ospedali* and even that of the Paris opera for the perfection of its ensemble, that in a certain Chiaretta it would surely possess the best violinist in all of Italy, if she were not surpassed by Anna Maria of the Ospedaletto.[8] Indeed, not a few of the girls must have outdone the average virtuoso in versatility. The celebrated Anna Maria of the Pietà (not her namesake just mentioned), who appears in that institution's records in 1712, 1720 (by which time she was already a *maestro*) and 1722, is claimed, in an anonymous manuscript poem on the subject of the Pietà's girls, datable at shortly before 1740, to be proficient on the harpsichord, violin, cello, viola d'amore, lute, theorbo and mandolin.[9]

[6] *ASV*, Osp., Busta 688 (G), f. 138v; transcribed in Giazotto, op. cit., p. 352f.
[7] *ASV*, Osp., Busta 688 (G), f. 181 (5 June 1707) and Busta 691 (N.I.), f. 169 (30 April 1723).
[8] Loc. cit.
[9] Venice, Museo Correr, Ms. Cicogna 1178, ff. 206–12. The poem, entitled *Sopra le putte della Pietà di coro*, is transcribed in Giazotto, op. cit., pp. 389ff.

Many girls were both expert singers and instrumentalists, a combination more common in the Baroque period (among composers, Henry Purcell, Tomaso Albinoni and Domenico Alberti possessed this double aptitude) than it became later. The range of instruments played aroused comment. De Brosses wrote: '[They] play the violin, the recorder, the organ, the oboe, the cello, the bassoon; in short, there is no instrument large enough to frighten them'.[10] In fact, the Pietà made a speciality of unusual instruments, perhaps with the aim of attracting the curious to its services (in addition to keeping its girls from idleness). Besides those played by Anna Maria or mentioned by de Brosses one can cite the chalumeau, the *viola all'inglese* and the psaltery, all of which were employed during Vivaldi's period of service, which stretched, with some breaks, from 1703 to 1740. As for other, more familiar instruments, the clarinet was introduced by 1716, the transverse flute by 1728, the horn in 1747 and timpani in 1750.[11] Several works by Vivaldi suggest that the trumpet was also played, although it is possible that trumpets were brought in from outside. (If they were always available, it is difficult to see why so many of Vivaldi's compositions for the Pietà simulate the sound of trumpets on oboes, clarinets and even violins.) There are a number of reasons why brass instruments were at first little favoured at the Pietà. Until the establishment of the modern orchestra later in the eighteenth century their use, unlike that of oboes and bassoons, was restricted to solo parts. Because of their specialized technique it was unlikely that a teacher of woodwind instruments could instruct the girls in them, hence the expense of a new teacher would be entailed. The governors may have considered them unladylike if not profane, for although the trumpet had long been used in sacred music as well as in pageantry, the horn was still associated with the worldly culture of courts and their favourite pastime of hunting.*

The Pietà seems to have regarded its small staff of male teachers and instrument keepers as a necessary evil. They were required when new instruments were introduced and the girls had not yet acquired the necessary expertise, when a drop in performing standards had occurred, or when instruments had to be purchased or serviced. It has

[10] Loc. cit.

[11] Denis Arnold, 'Instruments and Instrumental Teaching in the Early Italian Conservatoires', *Galpin Society journal*, vol. xviii (1965), p. 78f, records the repair of two clarinets in 1740 (they had been used as early as 1716 in Vivaldi's *Juditha triumphans*, however) and the purchase of two horns in 1747 and two timpani in 1750. *ASV*, Osp., Reg. 1009 (13 March 1740 and 7 December 1747) and Busta 693 (T. II), f. 42. In 1728 the Pietà reappointed Ignazio Sieber as a flute (rather than oboe) master.

been shown by Denis Arnold how eager the governors were to terminate the contract of the timpani teacher once the girls were deemed able to manage on their own;[12] the same must have been true of the other teachers. Between 1703 and 1740 a violin or cello master and an oboe or flute master (who between them would have supervised tuition in all the stringed and woodwind instruments), a singing master, a teacher of *solfeggio*, and two men, one to maintain the organ and the other the harpsichords, were engaged with varying degrees of continuity. An appointment, even of the *Maestro di Coro*, was tenable for one year, at the end of which it was renewed only if the incumbent obtained two-thirds of the votes cast at a meeting of the governors. As a violin teacher Vivaldi was in a disadvantageous position, for the tradition of string playing was firmly established; as a *Maestro de Concerti* (leader-cum-conductor of the orchestra) or as house composer he was less dispensable, indeed a bright feather in the Pietà's cap.

It has been suggested that the Pietà's male staff were drafted into the choir to sing tenor and bass. The idea is a little naive, for the teachers would surely have wished to maintain a social distance from their pupils. Little can be said for the other common proposition, that singers from St Mark's or other churches were brought in, for they would have been expensive to hire and probably unavailable on the main feast-days, when their services would have been needed. The records so far made available indicate that the girls themselves supplied the tenor and bass voices. In contexts where a reference to instruments is excluded one sees girls listed as 'Paulina dal Tenor' or 'Anneta dal Basso' (since nearly all the residents lacked surnames, it was logical to identify them by a combination of christian name and voice or instrument). The roll of new entrants to the *coro* dated 4 December 1707, from which the above names are taken, contains two sopranos, four contraltos, three tenors and one bass.[13] The tenors will have sung their parts at notated pitch,[14] the basses probably in the higher octave like violins or violas reading from the bass clef. Since the instrumental bass could supply the eight-foot and sixteen-foot registers (unaccompanied choral writing is hardly found in Vivaldi's church music), the result would not have been unpleasing.*

Women singing tenor and bass may have been a novelty, but men

[12] Op. cit., p. 79f. *ASV*, Osp., Busta 693 (T.II), f. 50.

[13] *ASV*, Osp., Busta 688 (G), f. 195v; transcribed in Giazotto, op. cit., p. 357f.

[14] The poem cited above unflatteringly describes a certain Ambrosina as 'un tenor che contralteggia'. In fact, the aria 'Esurientes' designated for Ambrosina in one version (RV 611) of Vivaldi's *Magnificat* has her part written in the tenor clef.

singing soprano and alto were commonplace in Vivaldi's Venice, not only in churches but also in the many opera houses. (The sopranos were invariably, the altos very often, *castrati*.) Since opera was in those days Venice's main tourist attraction, the city could sustain a level of operatic activity far beyond the capability of other major centres of opera in Italy such as Naples, Bologna, Rome and Milan. The number of theatres offering opera varied from season to season, as houses burned down or were rebuilt, closed or reopened, or switched between opera and comedy, but one may gain a good idea from the statement of Luigi Riccoboni, a contemporary observer of the European operatic scene, that 'at certain seasons they play every day, and in six theatres at the same time'.[15] The length of an operatic run depended on the work's popularity and the place it occupied within the season's repertoire. Perhaps a record was established by G.A. Ristori's *Orlando furioso*, which ran for between 40 and 50 nights at the S. Angelo theatre during the Autumn of 1713 and had to be repeated the following Autumn.[16]

Venice had pioneered the opening of opera, hitherto the preserve of courts, to the general public. In 1637 the world's first public opera house, S. Cassiano, opened its doors, to be followed within a few years by those of SS. Giovanni e Paolo (1639), S. Moisè (1639), S. Angelo (1677) and S. Giovanni Grisostomo (1678), to name only those theatres which continued to accommodate operas in the next century. In most cases the name of the parish in which the theatre was situated served to identify it (the Venetians, oddly, canonized certain Old Testament prophets, hence S. Moisè, S. Samuele and S. Giobbe).

The proprietor of each theatre was a noble or group of nobles. Members of the Grimani family actually owned three theatres: SS. Giovanni e Paolo, S. Giovanni Grisostomo and S. Samuele. The proprietor normally appointed a director to take charge of the day-to-day running of the theatre, or sometimes leased it to an independent entrepreneur. The economics of opera were precarious at the best of times. An anonymous French pamphleteer wrote:

> The [Italian] entrepreneurs hardly ever manage to recoup their outlay. These entrepreneurs are usually people of rank – rich people who, banding together, bring honour on themselves by making sacrifices for their com-

[15] Lewis (Luigi) Riccoboni, *An Historical and Critical Account of the Theatres in Europe* (London, 1741), p. 74; translated from *Réflexions historiques et critiques sur les différens théâtres de l'Europe* (Paris, 1738).

[16] The librettist, Grazio Braccioli, speaks in his next libretto, *Orlando finto pazzo* (set by Vivaldi), of nearly 50 performances, while Giovanni Carlo Bonlini, *Le glorie della poesia e della musica* (Venice, 1730), p. 169, reports that the opera ran for over 40 evenings.

> patriots' entertainment. If they recover their expenses, it is most often because games of chance in which they keep the bank, and which are at present tolerated, make good the deficits of the enterprise.[17]

Stage properties, scenery and the elaborate machinery were the least of the impresario's financial worries for, being interchangeable in large part between opera and opera, they could be regarded as fixed assets. The engaging for a season of the half-dozen or so principal singers required in every opera would prove the most expensive item in the budget, for the fees demanded by singers, particularly the pampered *castrati*, grew ever more exorbitant. If a chorus, a *corps de ballet* or extra singers for the intermezzos were required in addition, the burden would be increased in proportion. The income from ticket sales was often inadequate, since competition between the theatres kept down the price of tickets. When S. Cassiano opened in 1637, the price of a ticket of admission to an opera was four *lire*.[18] This price remained in force throughout the theatres until 1674, when Francesco Santurini, an impresario holding the lease of S. Moisè, lowered the price to a quarter ducat, little more than one and a half *lire*. Santurini soon ran into opposition and had to give up the lease, but in 1676 he erected an opera house of his own on a site owned by the Marcello and Cappello families. When this theatre, S. Angelo, opened one year later, the same low price was introduced. Within a few years the other theatres, with the exception of S. Giovanni Grisostomo, the largest and most magnificent of them, followed suit. By Riccoboni's time the price had climbed to only three *lire*. This sum covered admission only; an additional sum had to be paid for a seat in the pit or in a box. Many of the boxes were rented for the season, while others were virtually the property of a single family, passing from generation to generation.

The principal operatic season (in other cities generally the only season) was Carnival, which stretched from St Stephen's Day (26 December) to Shrove Tuesday. This festive season was marked by the wearing of masks by the whole of Venetian society, clergy included. A theatre would normally mount two, sometimes three, operas during Carnival. Since the season straddled two years, there was some confusion as to which year it belonged to. It was most common (and we shall follow this practice here) to take the date from the year in which the bulk of the season occurred. A work performed on 26 December 1709 would thus belong to the Carnival of 1710. Some preferred,

[17] *Reflexions d'un patriote sur l'opera françois et sur l'opera italien* (Lausanne, 1754), p. 6f.
[18] The *ducato corrente* was equivalent to six *lire* and four *soldi* (20 *soldi* made up one *lira*).

however, to identify the season by the year in which it began; in Venice this practice was encouraged by the peculiarity of a local calendar used in legal and ecclesiastical documents, in which the start of the new year was delayed until 1 March, so that, *more veneto*, 1 January to 28 February 1709 was the same as 1 January to 28 February 1710 according to the normal calendar.

The Autumn season opened in the first week of October and continued until mid December. It was primarily a season for comedy, but from November onwards many theatres put on an opera as a foretaste of Carnival. Indeed, until the Council of Ten in 1699 decreed the closing of theatres over Christmas, the Autumn and Carnival seasons were virtually one. For purposes of identifying works by their order of performance within the season (when one sees in a score, for example, that an aria is taken from the 'third' work performed at S. Angelo in a given year) the Autumn opera is often to be regarded as the first work of Carnival. Since the cast lists of operas performed in the Autumn and the following Carnival seasons at the same theatre so often have a majority of names in common, it seems that where possible singers were engaged for a 'combined' season.

By permission of the Council of Ten one or two theatres were allowed each year to present an opera during the 15 days of the Ascensiontide Fair, a practice begun in 1720.

Although public opera was performed within well-defined seasons, dramatic works sung privately in the palaces and gardens of the nobility carried on all the year round. These works, generally of the small-scale type requiring a mere handful of singers and known as *serenata* on account of its performance under a clear sky (*sereno*), commonly celebrated the success of, or extolled the virtues of, some high-born person in whose honour they were presented. Foreign ambassadors to Venice often commissioned serenatas from local poets and composers to mark the birthday or name-day of their monarch or a member of his family.

Music of a more intimate kind was heard at 'academies' (*accademie*), which we should today term musical soirées or private concerts. De Brosses tells us not only that these musical occasions were frequent but also that they were eagerly overheard by the uninvited: 'There is hardly an evening when there is not an academy somewhere. The populace rushes out onto the canal to listen to it with as much keenness as if it were for the first time.'[19] Used in a rather different sense, the

[19] Op. cit., vol. i, p. 193.

word ‘academy’ also meant a learned society like the Accademia degli Animosi founded by the Venetian dramatist and historian Apostolo Zeno in 1691, which in 1698 became affiliated to the famous Arcadian Academy of Rome. Such academies concerned themselves mainly with literary, aesthetic and philosophical matters but did not neglect music entirely. Two of Venice’s musically most gifted dilettanti (in eighteenth-century usage the term was one of commendation rather than disparagement), the Marcello brothers Alessandro (1669–1747) and Benedetto (1686–1739), belonged to the Arcadian Academy, as did many of Italy’s best-known opera librettists.

Our far from exhaustive review of Venice’s musical life must end with an examination of how, and in what form, music was circulated. At least until the middle of the eighteenth century a musician was much more likely to perform from a manuscript than a printed copy. In Italy (perhaps less in northern Europe) music printing was a luxury industry whose products were more expensive, note for note, than the same music written out by a professional copyist. Further, the medium of print presupposed, by the very act of replicating one score or one set of parts, a uniformity of performing resources that simply did not yet exist in many areas of music. This explains in part why the genres in which the performing resources were most standardized – notably the violin sonata and concerto – were the ones favoured by music publishers. An opera house or a *cappella*, however, needed a version of a work tailored exactly to its immediate resources. The copyists employed by establishments of this kind (the Pietà retained two *figlie* for this purpose) performed a valuable service by adapting their exemplars as their instructions or experience dictated. A copyist would often be called upon to piece together an ostensibly new work (a pasticcio) from fragments of earlier works, not necessarily by the same composer.

Composers often employed copyists on their own behalf. One thinks of the father and son, both named John Christopher Smith, in Handel’s service. It is clear that Vivaldi worked in close association with several copyists (among them perhaps two nephews of his who belonged to the profession), for partly autograph manuscripts containing other hands besides his and non-autograph manuscripts with additions and corrections by the composer are very common.

Copyists also worked on a freelance basis, supplying their customers (who in Venice were often visiting foreigners) with the latest music. The libraries of Europe and America are full of collections of operatic arias acquired in this way; they are often in short score, shorn of

their instrumental accompaniment. Undoubtedly, most of the buyers acquiesced in these mutilations, though a real connoisseur like Charles Jennens was moved to protest when his friend Edward Holdsworth brought him some 'songs' in this form from Italy.

> Insist on the whole scores being copied [he wrote], that if they deserve it we may have them performed on the English stage. I must therefore have the overture, songs, symphonies and recitatives entire in all their parts. I mention this so particularly, because some songs of Porpora which you brought over with you the last time you was [sic] abroad were of no use to me, the symphonies being omitted, and nothing copied but the voice part and the bass.[20]

The two firms which dominated Venetian music printing in Vivaldi's lifetime were those of Giuseppe Sala and Antonio Bortoli. Sala's period of activity runs from 1676 to 1715, that of the much less productive Bortoli from 1705 to 1764.[21] With rare exceptions, the Italian music-publishing industry was technically and commercially backward. Sala, Bortoli and their colleagues in other cities still employed the technique of movable type introduced by Attaingnant in the early sixteenth century and, moreover, kept a fount which had remained basically unchanged ever since. In this cumbersome method each section of stave line, each note-head, each stem and each tail occupied a separate piece of type, which gave the music a broken, untidy appearance. When groups of shorter note values (increasingly common in the eighteenth century) were employed, clarity was difficult to achieve, as each note had a separate stem. The accurate placing of ties and slurs was another problem.

There is no evidence that Italian publishers sought sales outlets north of the Alps, and few of them, in their role as retailers, seem to have stocked music in any quantity published by their confrères elsewhere in Italy. This lethargy cannot have depressed their sales appreciably so long as northern Europeans (and Italians from other cities) were willing to travel to the point of production, but the rise at the end of the seventeenth century of a vigorous music-publishing industry in the north-west of the continent transformed the situation.

The doyen of north-European music publishing, Estienne Roger,

---

[20] Letter of 10 July 1741. By 'symphonies' Jennens meant all the purely instrumental movements or sections.

[21] Dates from Claudio Sartori, *Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani* (*tipografi, incisori, librai-editori*) (Florence, 1958), pp. 137 and 32. On Sala's life and career see Richard A. McGowan, 'The Venetian Printer Giuseppe Sala: New Information based upon Archival Documents', *Fontes artis musicae*, vol. xxxvi (1989), pp. 102–8.

who opened his firm in Amsterdam around 1697, made a practice from the very start of 'pirating' works published in Italy, sometimes within a year of their appearance.[22] Neither the composer, who had often paid for the first edition out of his own pocket (and, with luck, recouped his expenses from the dedicatee), nor the original publisher was protected by copyright legislation (save, in certain circumstances, in France and England), so there was no impediment to piracy if the publisher thought it worth while. Since the new publisher bore all the production costs, however, it was essential to achieve large sales. To this end Roger established a network of agents in the principal commercial centres of northern Europe: London, Paris, Rotterdam, Liège, Brussels, Hamburg, Cologne and Berlin. It became possible for customers to order his publications by post, identifying a work by its number quoted in his regularly updated catalogue and stamped on the plate of the respective title-page.

After Roger died in 1722, his son-in-law, Michel Charles Le Cène, carried on the business until 1743. Meanwhile, several competitors sprang up in neighbouring countries and even in Amsterdam itself, sometimes pirating works from Roger in their turn. Chief among these was John Walsh of London, who, working with a succession of associates, cornered the largest share of the British market between 1695 and 1760; but one should also mention Pierre Mortier of Amsterdam, who conducted a furious sales war with Roger between 1708 and 1711, Gerhard Fredrik Witvogel, active in Amsterdam after 1731, the younger Le Clerc in Paris and Leopold in Augsburg.

All these men used the new technique (not literally new, but applied to music for the first time on a mass scale) of engraving. This process reproduced the features of contemporary copyists' hands (see Plate 5), including the use of beams for groups of quavers or shorter values. Neat, round note-heads replaced the ungainly lozenges. In the years following 1700 engraving was made quicker and cheaper by the substitution of pewter (a softer metal) for copper and the use, where possible, of a punch in place of a graver. One great economic advantage of having music engraved was that new issues could be drawn at will from the original set of plates without extra cost. In contrast, a printer using movable type would distribute his type after running off the first edition; the type would have to be reset for any subsequent edition of a popular work (as occurred, for example, when Albinoni's *Sinfonie*

[22] François Lesure, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par Estienne Roger et Michel-Charles Le Cène* (Paris, 1969), is the standard work on the Amsterdam publishing house.

e concerti a cinque, op. 2, first brought out by Sala in 1700, were republished in 1702 and 1707).

In the opening two decades of the eighteenth century Italian music publishers suffered a double blow from which they never recovered. First, the availability of the latest Italian music in northern European editions made it possible for the transalpine purchaser to satisfy his needs without setting foot in the 'land of music'. Second, Italian composers began after about 1710 to send their music directly to Amsterdam (after about 1730 to Paris), bypassing their native publishers. Hence Albinoni's op. 5 (1707) was entrusted to Sala, but his op. 6 (before 1712) to Roger. On his way back to England from Italy in 1733 Edward Holdsworth acquired for Charles Jennens in Le Cène's shop the newest collection (op. 2) of Tartini – a work probably unobtainable in the composer's own town of Padua.

The musical consequences of this shift to Amsterdam are interesting. Since those Italian composers who published abroad (primarily composers of instrumental music) had the transalpine market in mind from the beginning, a streak of cosmopolitanism – elements, for example, of the French style – crept into their music, contributing to the breakdown of barriers between the French and Italian idioms and preparing the way for the emergence of the international early classical style. But composers working in branches of music such as opera, on which publishing impinged only marginally, felt no need to broaden their style. Here, perhaps, one glimpses the beginning of the rift between Italian instrumental and vocal music, which was to lead to the attenuation of one and the provincialism of the other in the next century.

3

The red-haired priest

The surname Vivaldi is known from the twelfth century. In 1165 one Guglielmo Vivaldi from Taggia near San Remo was Governor of Sicily. In 1291 the Genoese brothers Guido and Ugolino Vivaldi were members of the ill-fated expedition led by Tedisio Doria, which, in search of a sea route to the Indies, disappeared mysteriously somewhere off Morocco. From the fifteenth century members of the Vivaldi family were prominent in Genoa, giving the Republic senators, ambassadors, a general and even a doge (Gerolamo Vivaldi, 1559–61). At the beginning of the sixteenth century Bernardo Vivaldi, an exile from Genoa, took refuge in Savona, founding a branch which is said to have multiplied rapidly and spread throughout Italy. Today the name Vivaldi is concentrated in no particular locality, though, perversely enough, it seems especially rare in Venice.

Agostino Vivaldi, the composer's grandfather, was a tailor in Brescia, a city of the *Veneto* famous for its violin makers.[1] He and his wife Margarita had two sons, Agostino junior and Giovanni Battista (or Giambattista). Around 1665, Agostino senior having died, the family moved to Venice. Although Giovanni Battista is generally supposed to have been born in Brescia in about 1655, his age is given as 70 in a membership list of the Venetian *Arte de sonadori* (an instrumentalists' guild) dated 20 June 1727.[2] If, as is possible, this figure is to be interpreted literally, Giovanni Battista will have been born between 21 June 1656 and 20 June 1657.

[1] The first thorough archival investigation into Vivaldi's ancestry and relatives was undertaken by Eric Paul, who shortly before his death presented his findings in a paper read to the First International Vivaldi Colloquium, held in Brussels on 16 December 1963. No full transcript of the paper has survived, but some of its content was summarized in *Vivaldiana I* (Brussels, 1969), p. 159. In recent years the principal researcher into the Vivaldi family has been Gastone Vio, several of whose articles are cited in Appendix D and elsewhere in the present hook.

[2] *ASV*, Milizia da Mar. Busta 553, fasc. 'Sonadori'; see Eleanor Selfridge-Field, 'Annotated Membership Lists of the Venetian Instrumentalists' Guild 1672–1727', *R.M.A. Research Chronicle*, no. 9 (1971), p. 48.

In the document certifying his eligibility to marry, dated 6 June 1676, Giovanni Battista's address is described as 'nelli forni in contrà di S. Martin' (at the bakery, in S. Martino parish).[3] Notwithstanding the implications of this address, Giovanni Battista is known to have been a barber. His bride, Camilla Calicchio, was a tailor's daughter. Their wedding took place on 11 June 1676.[4]

In the following year Giovanni Battista's profession is stated as 'sonador' (instrumentalist) in the record of Antonio's baptism. He must have been a good player, for on 23 April 1685 (the day of Legrenzi's appointment as *Primo Maestro*) he joined the orchestra of St Mark's as a violinist.[5] His annual salary, originally 15 ducats, was raised to 25 ducats on 21 August 1689 in consideration of 'a major increase of new functions involving the use of orchestral instruments and organs'.[6] As two colleagues, the violinist Lorenzo Novelloni and the cellist Bernardo Cortella, received the same increases, Giovanni Battista's new duties probably included playing in a trio or (in its orchestral context) a *concertino.*

Very significantly, he was first engaged under the name of 'Gio: Baptista Rossi'. We know from many sources including Goldoni, who writes that the Abbé Vivaldi (Antonio) was called the 'red-haired priest' (*il Prete Rosso*) and even simply 'Rossi' by those unacquainted with his proper surname, of the unusual hair-colouring of the composer.[7] Evidently, the trait was inherited. In the light of this well-established sobriquet one may well wonder whether the Giambattista Rossi who composed the music to *La fedeltà sfortunata*, an opera performed in 1688 at an unknown theatre, possibly in Venice, was the elder Vivaldi.[8] As we shall see, he participated in opera as a performer, at the very least.

He was a founder-member, in 1685, of the *Sovvegno di S. Cecilia*, a self-governing association of musicians whose moving spirit was his fellow-parishioner Giandomenico Partenio, *Vice-Maestro* of St Mark's, and to which Legrenzi also belonged. From 1689 to 1693 he was

[3] Venice, Church of S. Giovanni in Bràgora, Registro di stato libero; reproduced and transcribed in Giazotto, op. cit., pp. 14 and 32. The parish of S. Martino lies between the Arsenal and the Riva degli Schiavoni.

[4] Church of S. Giovanni in Bràgora, Matrimoni, Reg. 1664–1691, f. 73; transcribed in Gastone Vio, 'Antonio Vivaldi prete', *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani*, vol. i (1980), p. 33.

[5] *ASV*, Procuratia de Supra, Reg. 148, f. 59v; transcribed in Giazotto, op. cit., p. 96.

[6] Ibid., Reg. 147, f. 288v; quoted in Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *Venetian Instrumental Music from Gabrieli to Vivaldi* (Oxford, 1975), p. 219.

[7] *Commedie*, vol. xiii, p. 11.

[8] See Livio Niso Galvani, *I teatri musicali di Venezia nel secolo xvii, 1637–1700* (Milan, 1879; facs. reprint, Florence, 1969), p. 166.

Maestro di Strumenti at the Mendicanti, a post similar in nature to the one his son would later hold at the Pietà. Growing age seems to have impaired his abilities as a violinist little, for in the 1713 edition of Vincenzo Coronelli's *Guida de' forestieri*, a kind of visitor's handbook to Venice, he is listed alongside his by now more famous son as one of the city's foremost virtuosi on that instrument. On 30 September 1729, now in his seventies, he petitioned the procurators of St Mark to be released from his duties in the Ducal Chapel for one year in order to accompany a son of his (Antonio, certainly) to Germany.[9] As the man designated as his deputy, Francesco Negri, kept the position for over 20 years, while Giovanni Battista disappears thereafter from the *Cappella's* records, one must presume that he was not re-engaged, and lived quietly until his death on 14 May 1736.*

The marriage of Giovanni Battista and Camilla Vivaldi produced eight children of whom we have certain knowledge: Antonio Lucio (4 March 1678); Margarita Gabriela (18 July 1680); Cecilia Maria (11 January 1683); Bonaventura Tomaso (7 March 1685); Zanetta (Giannetta) Anna (1 November 1687); Francesco Gaetano (9 January 1690); Giuseppe (4 April 1692); Iseppo (Giuseppe) Santo (11 April 1697).[10] Only Antonio seems to have taken up music as a profession (and then, one must remember, after training for the priesthood), but Cecilia and Francesco were each the parent of a music copyist, respectively Pietro Mauro and Carlo Vivaldi.* Bonaventura married in 1718 and went to live outside Venice.[11] Francesco became a barber and wigmaker like his father. What is probably the earliest notice we have of him is a report in the Commemoriali Gradenigo, a memoir preserved in the Museo Correr, that 'Francesco Vivaldi, a young wigmaker, brother of the famous Don Antonio, violin player', used insulting behaviour towards the nobleman Antonio Soranzo, for which he was banished from Venice.[12] He had evidently returned to Venice by 1727, when his name appears on a document giving a consortium engaged in re-paving the piazza of St Mark's permission to unload on the Riva degli Schiavoni.[13] Later, he turned his hand to publishing; his application to the *Riformatori* dated 18 December 1730 was granted

[9] *ASV*, Procuratia de Supra, Reg. 153, f. 117v. Though the tour was centred on Bohemia, Giovanni Battista's citation of 'Germany' was not inaccurate, given the political and linguistic subjection to Austria of the Czech lands.

[10] First given, with some omissions and inaccuracies, in 'Pedigree of A.L. Vivaldi' (genealogical table after Eric Paul), *Vivaldiana I*, p. 116.

[11] Giazotto, op. cit., p. 236.

[12] Ms. Gradenigo 200, iv, f. 77v.

[13] Giazotto, op. cit., p. 234.

on 15 January 1731.[14] In an official register of barbers living in the Cannaregio *sestiere* (one of six districts into which Venice was divided) dated 18 July 1732, Francesco is listed as a 'master barber'.[15]

Although Eric Paul, to whom we are indebted for many discoveries concerning the composer's siblings, concluded that one Iseppo (Giuseppe) Vivaldi, sentenced on 18 May 1729 to be banished for five years from Venice for wounding Giacomo Crespan, a grocer's errand-boy, had no direct connection with the other Vivaldis, the facts show otherwise.[16] He is not known to have practised any trade or profession and may have depended for a livelihood on the charity of his family.*

Until Paul's discovery in 1962 of a baptismal register containing Antonio's date of birth, scholars had to rely on Pincherle's inspired conjecture, which placed it 15 years before the date of his tonsure (1693), or else take refuge in approximations, of which 1675 was the most common. The entry in the baptismal register reads:

> 6 May 1678. Antonio Lucio, son of Signor Giovanni Battista Vivaldi, son of the late Agustin, instrumentalist, and his wife Camilla Calicchio, daughter of the late Camillo, born on 4 March last, who was baptized at home, being in danger of death, by the midwife Madama Margarita Veronese, was today taken to the church and received the exorcisms and holy oils from me, Giacomo Fornacieri, parish priest, at which he was held by Signor Antonio Veccelio, son of the late Gerolemo, apothecary, at the sign of the dose in the same parish.[17]

What was this *pericolo di morte*? One immediately recalls the chest ailment which troubled Vivaldi all his life. In a letter of 16 November 1737 to his Ferrarese patron Count Guido Bentivoglio d'Aragona he wrote: 'I have not said Mass for 25 years, nor will I ever again, not because of a ban or an order – may it please His Excellency [Cardinal

[14] Loc. cit.

[15] *ASV*, Milizia da Mar, Busta 58.

[16] The case is documented in *ASV*, Avogaria di Comun, Busta 4260/110, Miscellanea Penal, processo 1, ff. 1–11. From Gastone Vio, 'Una nuova abitazione di Vivaldi a Venezia', *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani*, vol. iii (1982), p. 61, we learn that in 1723 Iseppo was approved for the taking of holy orders (*ASV*, Notarile Atti, Reg. 3604, 1723, f. 186), but it seems that the process went no further.

[17] Venice, Church of S. Giovanni in Bràgora, Libro de' battesimi; reproduced in Giazotto, op. cit., p. 33, and *Vivaldiana I*, p. 116: 'Adi 6 Maggio 1678. Antonio Lucio figliolo del Sig.re Gio: Batta q. Agustin Viualdi Sonador et della Sigra Camilla figliola del q Camillo Calicchio sus Cons.te nato li 4 marzo ult.o caduto, quai hebbe L'acqua in casa p pericolo di morte dalla Comare allev.ce mad.ma Margarita Veronese, hoggi fù portato alla chiesa riceuè gl'essorcismi, et ogli ss.ti da me Giacomo Fornacieri Piouano à quali lo tene il Sigre Antonio q Gerolemo Veccelio specier all'insegna del Dose in Contrà.'

Ruffo, Legate of Ferrara] to learn – but from choice, because of an ailment from which I have suffered from birth and by which I am afflicted.' And later on: 'For this reason I almost always live at home and go out only in a gondola or carriage, since my chest ailment, or constriction of the chest, prevents me from walking.'[18] This ***strettezza di petto*** is usually identified as asthma. Remo Giazotto, however, suggests another possible cause of anxiety: an earth tremor which is supposed to have shaken Venice on the day of Antonio's birth.[19]*

The young Antonio learned the violin from his father and – if the report of the nineteenth-century Venetian historian Francesco Caffi, culled from unknown sources, is trustworthy – played on occasion in the orchestra of St Mark's as a supernumerary violinist or as Giovanni Battista's deputy.[20]* Little credence should be placed in an oft-repeated statement that he took composition lessons from Legrenzi. Too often the mere presence in the same city of an old and a young talent has led to the presumption of a master-pupil relationship, as if genius observed some kind of apostolic succession. Although Legrenzi has also been claimed as the teacher of Albinoni, Bassani, Biffi, C.F. Pollarolo, F. Gasparini, Lotti, Varischino and M.A. Gasparini, confirmation exists only in the last three cases.[21] Vivaldi had less chance than most, as Legrenzi died when he was 12.

It is possible that Antonio also received some instruction in the harpsichord, for in a report to the inquisitors of a banquet given by the Spanish ambassador to Venice in celebration of the marriage of the Infant Philip to Princess Marie-Louise-Elisabeth of France on 26 August 1739 a certain Giovanni Gilli recounted that the Abbé Vivaldi was seated at the harpsichord, where he directed the instruments accompanying the singer Anna Girò (of whom much more will be said later).[22]*

That he, the eldest son, was directed towards the priesthood, a career that offered some hope of social mobility, was in keeping with his humble origins (in wealthier families one would more commonly find a younger son taking holy orders). He did not attend the principal seminary, that of S. Cipriano di Murano, but instead received instruc-

[18] Transcribed in Stefani, op. cit., p. 21f. The present location of this letter is unknown.

[19] Op. cit., p. 12.

[20] ***Storia della musica teatrale in Venezia*** (MS notes, *c* 1850). Venice Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Cod. It. IV–747 (= 10465), f. 310r. The section dealing with Vivaldi (ff. 310r–315r) is in the hand of Caffi's daughter Amalia.

[21] See Ursula Kirkendale, ***Antonio Caldara: sein Leben und seine venezianisch-römischen Oratorien*** (Graz and Cologne, 1966), p. 23.

[22] ***ASV***, Inquisitori di Stato, Busta 604; quoted in Giazotto, op. cit., p. 309f.

tion at the *scuole sestierali* attached to S. Giovanni in Oleo and S. Geminiano. His progress up to full ordination can be charted as follows:[23]

Tonsure	18 September 1693
Minor Orders	
Porter (*Ostiario*)	19 September 1693
Lector	21 September 1694
Exorcist	25 December 1695
Acolyte	21 September 1696
Holy Orders	
Sub-Deacon	4 April 1699
Deacon	18 September 1700
Priest	23 March 1703

If one takes at face value Vivaldi's claim, in the letter to Bentivoglio quoted above, not to have said Mass for 25 years, 1712 becomes the year in which he performed this rite for the last time. A much earlier date is suggested, however, by the sentence which comes between the two already cited: 'Barely ordained a priest, I said Mass for a year or a little longer, and then I abandoned it, having had to leave the altar three times because of the same complaint.' Herein we see, perhaps, the source of Orloff's anecdote: Vivaldi was observed to terminate Mass prematurely, for which a member of the congregation supplied his own over-fanciful explanation. A few lines further down Vivaldi continues his justifications: 'Immediately after eating, I can usually move about [*andare*], but never on foot; this is the reason why I do not celebrate Mass.' Convenient pretext (to allow more time for the practice – and business – of music) or genuine excuse? Very likely something of both.*

His association with the Pietà can be traced back to a resolution debated by its governors on 12 August 1703. Reading between the lines, one gathers that Francesco Gasparini, barely two years in office as *Maestro di Coro*, wished to improve the standard of string playing and consolidate, or perhaps even inaugurate, the teaching of wind instruments.

[23] Venice, Archivio Patriarcale, Registro sacre ordinazioni, anni 1688–1706, ff. 129f, 131, 163f, 205ff, 314, 380f, 463f; extracts reproduced in Giazotto, op. cit., opposite pp. 48, 49, and transcribed p. 397f.

New Music Teachers

To increase ever further the perfection of the orchestra [*Coro*] and to introduce more polish into its performances, in accordance with the wishes of Signor Gasparìni, it is moved that teachers of the *viola*, the violin and the oboe be appointed by the Officers in charge of Music [*Deputati sopra il Coro*] at a salary that shall be deemed proper, and no great expense to this venerable institution, and that their services be retained for as long as believed necessary, their duties being laid down by this Congregation [Board of Governors].

For the resolution	8	carried [24]
Against	2	
Abstentions	1	

That Vivaldi was engaged soon after emerges from a series of payments, the first dated 17 March 1704, recorded in one of the Pietà's account books.[25] An itemized list of payments made to 'D.[Don] Antonio Vivaldi Maestro di Choro' (his full title would be *Maestro di Violino di C*(*h*)*oro*) shows that the 30 ducats received by him on that date represented his salary for the six months ending in February 1704. Subsequent payments on 3 May (20 ducats), 27 June (30 ducats), 4 August (20 ducats), 3 October (20 ducats), 13 December (20 ducats) and 13 February 1705 (20 ducats) are puzzling in one important respect: although the scale of payment (where made explicit) remains with one exception five ducats per month,[26] the gross payment over the period of 130 ducats would represent 26 months' work, an impossibility even if he were paid in advance.

Discounting the possible existence of double entries or errors of transcription by Pincherle, from whom our information is derived,[27] there remains the possibility that at least some of the money resulted from an increment to Vivaldi's salary awarded by the governors on 17 August 1704:

> Since the sustained efforts of Don Antonio Vivaldi, the girls' violin teacher, have borne fruit, and since he has also rendered diligent assistance in the tuition of the *viola inglese*, which is considered by Their Excellencies [the governors] part of his duties, it is moved that 40 ducats be added to his normal salary on account of his teaching of the *viole all'inglese*, making a

[24] *ASV*, Osp., Busta 688 (G), f. 102v; transcribed in Giazotto, op. cit., p. 352. In Vivaldi's day *viola*, when not a generic term for instruments of the violin family, usually denoted the cello; the modern viola was known either as the *violetta* or (by reason of its role within the ensemble) as the *alto viola* or *tenore viola.*

[25] Ibid., Reg. 999, f. 316, and Busta 698, f. 3.

[26] The 20 ducats paid on 4 August represented three months' work.

[27] *Antonio Vivaldi et la musique instrumentale*, vol. i, p. 292f.

> total of 100 ducats per annum, so that he may be encouraged in his tasks, and for the greater profit of those girls.
>
> For 9
> Against ..... 1 } carried [28]

Quarterly payments of 25 ducats to Vivaldi during 1706–7 show that this new salary, and the duties encompassed by it, remained in force.[29] In his main employment he was now earning only half the amount paid to the Pietà's musical director, but already his salary was four times greater than his father's.

His ancillary duties included the acquisition of instruments for the chapel: a violin in 1704; another violin and four *viole* (? of different sizes) in 1705; a violin bow for a certain Madalena Rossa in 1706; a violin and a cello in 1708; strings for a viola d'amore in 1708 and 1709 (January).[30] In all probability he was also unofficial *Maestro de' Concerti*, directing (and playing in) orchestral performances, and composing instrumental music for both private and public consumption.

His first publication, a set of trio sonatas, appeared from Sala in or before 1705. Until quite recently only the 'pirated' edition by Roger (1715) was known, but a solitary first violin part of the kalian edition survives in the library of the Venice Conservatoire. The trio sonata was still the most popular instrumental genre in Italy, though beginning to lose ground to the solo sonata and the concerto, and was commonly regarded as the touchstone of a composer's ability; Corelli's four great collections provided both a model and a yardstick of excellence. Small wonder, then, that emerging composers of Vivaldi's generation, men such as Gentili, Albinoni and Caldara, nearly always made their début in print with a set of trio sonatas.

Opus 1 was dedicated to Count Annibale Gambara, a prominent Brescian nobleman. Vivaldi's little-known dedication is worth quoting in full:

> My devotion, ambitious to make itself known to Your Excellency, has suffered enough from the torments of desire. I confess that many times I restrained my ardour, mindful of your merit and mistrustful of my talent, but, no longer able to contain my ambition, I thought it proper to free it

[28] *ASV*, Osp., Busta 688, f. 128v; transcribed in Giazotto, op. cit., p. 352. The family of instruments known generically as *viole all'inglese* is discussed on p. 123f below.

[29] See Pincherle, *Antonio Vivaldi et la musique instrumentale*, vol. i, p. 293.

[30] Pincherle, loc. cit.; Denis Arnold, 'Instruments and Instrumental Teaching in the Early Italian Conservatoires', *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. xviii (1965), p. 76f.

> from its longing, since what was earlier a mere propensity had become a necessity. When considering whether to dedicate to Your Excellency the first fruits of my feeble efforts in the form of these sonatas, I realized that it was no longer in my power not to do so. Your lofty prerogatives took my judgment captive and rewarded my decision with the bounty of a Maecenas. I will not lose myself in the vast expanse of the glories of your most noble and excellent family, for I would not find my way out again, since they are so immense in greatness and number. Knowing that I possess no other adornments than those of my feebleness, I have sought the patronage of a great man, who can not only protect me from the tongues of Aristarchs [pedants, named after a grammarian of the second century BC], and in whose shade my labours – perhaps when maligned by critics, who in these times like to flaunt their impertinences – can enjoy a safe refuge, but can also perform these flaccid harmonies, which with so much humility I dedicate to Your Excellency. May your exalted generosity then deign to accept in respectful tribute these first, most humble products of my labours, and meanwhile grant me the honour of declaring myself:
>
> the most humble, devoted and obliged servant of Your Excellency,
>
> D. Antonio Vivaldi

One need only compare this dedication with the generality of dedications written by his contemporaries to realize how entirely conventional its tone and imagery are.[31] The composer's apology for his inadequacies; his eulogy of the dedicatee; his invocation of the classical age: all these occur over and over again, down to the very phraseology. Even the plea to the dedicatee to shield the composer from malevolent critics is a commonplace, especially in first publications (like those of Corelli and Caldara), although Vivaldi's tone is more bitter than usual, perhaps indicating that the sensitivity to criticism which he showed in later life was already one of his characteristics.

Two curious features of the surviving Sala edition suggest that it is a reprint of a work brought out earlier, perhaps in mid 1703. The title-page bears the printer's own typographical emblem (a seated King David playing the harp), normal in Sala's reprints, instead of the dedicatee's coat of arms, normal in first editions.[32] Further, although Vivaldi is identified as a cleric ('Don'), he is styled merely 'Musico di violino professore veneto' (professional violinist from Venice) with no mention of his post at the Pietà. Highly conscious of rank, even for his times, Vivaldi would hardly have omitted this detail from a title-page drawn up in 1705. Against this one can argue that the retention

[31] See the examples quoted in Claudio Sartori, ***Bibliografia della musica strumentale italiana stampata in Italia fino al 1700*** (Florence, 1952).

[32] Compare, for instance, the 1700 edition of Albinoni's op. 2 with the 1702 and 1707 reprints.

of the dedication is rare in a Sala reprint, but not entirely unknown, for the 1707 edition of Gentili's *Capricci da camera*, op. 3, possesses one, although it must be a reprint, since a pirated edition by Roger was advertised in April 1706.[33]

The dedication of Vivaldi's next opus, 12 sonatas for violin and harpsichord, is a perfect example of the opportunism an eighteenth-century composer had to practise in order to prosper, or merely to survive. A catalogue of the publisher Antonio Bortoli attached to the libretto of Caldara's opera *Sofonisba*, first performed in November 1708, lists second from the end Vivaldi's op. 2. Very likely, the composer's manuscript was already in Bortoli's hands. Then on 29 December Venice received a visit arranged at very short notice by Frederick IV of Denmark and Norway, who was by his own request to remain incognito (a state facilitated by the wearing of a Carnival mask). It has been stated that on the very day after his arrival Frederick attended a Sunday service at the Pietà at which Vivaldi officiated. As quoted by Remo Giazotto, who claimed to have discovered the reference in a dispatch of 'the Roman Chancellery in Venice' (no shelfmark given):

> His Majesty appeared at the Pietà at 11 o'clock after receiving ambassadors from Savoy, to hear the girls singing and playing instruments under the direction of the master who was occupying the rostrum in the absence of Gasparini. Great was the applause for the *Credo* and *Agnus Dei* which were performed with instruments, and afterwards there was a concert very much after his taste, as befitted him.[34]

Sadly, the authenticity – even the very existence – of this source must be questioned. In the first place, both Rome and Venice employed, during this period, the so-called *ore italiane*: a 24-hour clock in which '24 hours' fell precisely at nightfall throughout the year. '11 o'clock' (*ore undeci* in the original Italian) would thus have been not in the late morning as nowadays but just after 4 a.m. modern local time – for too early for a prince to be attending Mass. The second suspicious element is that Italian (as opposed to German and Austrian) composers of the late Baroque did not make a practice of setting the *Agnus Dei* to music; Italian congregations expected, rather, to hear a motet at the equivalent point in the Mass. However this may be, it was certainly Vivaldi who presented the sonatas, duly dedicated, to the king before he departed on 6 March 1709.

[33] Lesure, op. cit., p. 44.
[34] Giazotto, op. cit., p. 105.

What of concertos? That Vivaldi did not publish any until 1711 may indicate simply that he could not afford the cost earlier. We have the rather pathetic testimony of the Roman composer Giuseppe Valentini from the foreword to his *Idee per camera a violino e violone o cembalo*, op. 4 (1706 or 1707), on this subject:

> I have made so bold as to publish, further, the present work, which contains my first collection of sonatas, for one violin, reserving my second for sonatas with two and three stringed instruments; these I cannot consign to print at the moment, however, on account of the great expense involved: nevertheless, I will not take long, if you show me favour, to publish these too, likewise my theatrical concertos [*concerti teatrali*] and other things which I am now preparing.[35]

Strangely enough, the earliest datable manuscript copies of concertos by Vivaldi to have survived are not of works for principal (i.e. solo) violin, strings and continuo (a type he can hardly have neglected to write in abundance, however) but of concertos with an obbligato cello part. Among the eight cello concertos attributed to Vivaldi preserved in the library of the counts of Schönborn (Wiesentheid/Unterfranken, Germany) are three (RV 402, 416, 420) in the hand of Franz Horneck, a young musician in the service of Johann Philipp Franz von Schönborn who stayed in Venice from November 1708 until March 1709.[36] The works were destined for Count Rudolf Franz Erwein von Schönborn, an enthusiastic cellist who also acquired some cello sonatas by Vivaldi. Between 1708 and 1713 the Schönborn brothers purchased a great deal of music from Venice, including unidentified instrumental works by Vivaldi, via Matthias Ferdinand von Regaznig, who acted as 'resident' (consul) for the Elector of Mainz, their uncle.

Vivaldi's appointment at the Pietà was renewed in 1706 and in the following two years, though in 1707 he mustered only six votes out of nine, as compared with the eight votes obtained by the Pietà's German-born oboe teacher, Ludwig (Ludovico) Erdmann. He was less fortunate in a ballot held on 24 February 1709, when seven votes were cast in favour of his retention and six against. In a fresh vote one of his supporters changed sides: he was out of office. It is often surmised that his independent personality and outside interests and ambitions harmed his relationship with the Pietà's governors, but real evidence

[35] Sartori, *Bibliografia*, p. 591. The identification of the composer and work is the author's. The trio sonatas of which Valentini writes were published in 1707, the concertos only in 1710.

[36] Karl Heller, *Die deutsche Überlieferung der Instrumentalwerke Vivaldis* (Leipzig, 1971), pp. 178ff.

is lacking. Meanwhile, we should not overlook the Pietà's readiness to reappoint him when the moment arrived, nor the even greater liability to dismissal of some of his colleagues.

Reappointment, evidently as violin teacher without special responsibilities for the *viole all'inglese*, came on 27 September 1711:

> Realizing the necessity of securing ever better instrumental tuition for the girls studying music in order to increase the reputation of this pious establishment, the post of violin master being vacant, we move that Don Antonio Vivaldi be appointed violin master at an annual salary of 60 ducats, this governing body being certain that he will exercise his talent to the utmost in the good service of this pious establishment, and for the greater profit of those girls.
>
> Abstentions..... 0
> Against..... 0 } carried [37]
> In favour..... 11

The renewal of his post went through without serious opposition in 1712 and 1713. Then, on 23 April 1713, there occurred an event of great importance for Vivaldi's career and orientation as a composer. Francesco Gasparini was granted sick leave, nominally of six months, and permission to go outside Venice. This may well have been a stratagem on Gasparini's part, for he never returned, passing via Florence to Rome, where in 1716 he became musical director to Prince Ruspoli, in 1717 *Maestro di Cappella* at S. Lorenzo in Lucina, and in 1725, two years before his death, *maestro* of St John Lateran.

Gasparini's departure left a void which the Pietà had difficulty in filling for many years, as the record of the four succeeding *maestri di coro* reveals:

Pietro Scarpari (*alias* Pietro Dall'Oglio)	appointed *Maestro di Canto* 11 June 1713	continued in post under succeeding *Maestri*
Carlo Luigi Pietragrua	appointed 22 February 1719	died 27 March 1726
Giovanni Porta	appointed 24 May 1726	left soon after 28 September 1737
Gennaro D'Alessandro	appointed 21 August 1739	dismissed 13 May 1740

[37] *ASV*, Osp., Busta 689 (H), f. 182r; transcribed in Giazotto, op. cit., p. 365.

The regular composition of new works was an important part of the *maestro*'s duties. In a memorandum of 6 July 1710 the requirements are specified: a minimum of two new Mass and Vesper settings annually (one for Easter and the other for the feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin, to whom the Pietà was dedicated); at least two motets every month; occasional compositions as required for funerals, the offices of Holy Week, etc. The scores had to be delivered to the *maestra di coro*, who would have them copied into parts and draw up a list of new compositions every six months for the inspection of the governors.[38]

To a limited extent Scarpari supplied this need, but the responsibility devolved principally on the more gifted Vivaldi. We learn this from a motion debated by the governors on 2 June 1715:

> This pious congregation [the governors] having noted from the petition of the Reverend Don Antonio Vivaldi, violin master in this pious establishment, and the deposition of the Officers in charge of Music just read out, the acknowledged services and well-rewarded labours performed by him, not only in the successful and universally approved teaching of musical instruments to the girls, but also the excellent musical compositions supplied after the departure of the above-mentioned *maestro* Gasparini – a complete Mass, a Vespers, an oratorio, over 30 motets and other works – and seeing fit in its generosity to give him a token of its gratitude and recompense him in part for these services outside his normal duties, resolves that a single payment of 50 ducats be made to him from our exchequer in appreciation of his efforts and special contributions. And may this reward also stimulate him to make further contributions and to perfect still more the performing abilities of the girls of this our orchestra, so necessary to the musical standards and the good reputation of this our chapel.
>
> Abstentions..... 0
> Against..... 2
> In favour..... 10
> } carried [39]

Vivaldi no doubt continued to provide the Pietà's chapel with vocal works until Pietragrua's appointment in 1719 and thereafter intermittently, particularly during the two interregna (March–May 1726 and September 1737–August 1739).

One can only hazard a guess at the main line of his activity during his own period of absence from the Pietà (1709–11). Giazotto refers to a document of 1710 connecting G.B. Vivaldi (as a debtor) with the

[38] Ibid. (I), f. 136r; transcribed in Giazotto, op. cit., p. 363f.
[39] Ibid. (I), ff. 172–173r; transcribed in Giazotto, op. cit., p. 368.

S. Angelo theatre. It was perhaps around then that Antonio established his first close links with the operatic world. The S. Angelo theatre enjoyed little support from the local nobility and for its survival had to cultivate a popular, ear-catching style. It rarely engaged singers of the highest class, and the composers most in the public eye (Albinoni, Gasparini, Lotti and Pollarolo) had their hands full elsewhere. For its librettos it relied on refurbishments of old texts and, for a brief period, on the prolific output of Grazio Braccioli, a Ferrarese poet resident in Venice. Despite his membership of the Arcadian Academy, Braccioli showed little finesse either of language or of plot construction, but his subjects were colourful and his style vigorous.

If S. Angelo librettos tended to be old or (in Braccioli's case) old-fashioned, its composers were young, rising talents. The experience of one composer, Johann David Heinichen, forms an enlightening prelude to Vivaldi's association with S. Angelo. Paying the almost mandatory visit of a promising German composer to Venice, Heinichen was engaged by its impresario to write a pair of operas (*Calfurnia* and *Le passioni per troppo amore*) for the 1713 Carnival season. In his highly anecdotal account J.A. Hiller relates how the impresario tried to take one of Heinichen's operas off after only two performances, intending to substitute a work by a local composer, but was forced by the public outcry to restore it to the stage. When he then attempted to withhold the agreed payment of 200 ducats (a typical amount for an operatic score) from Heinichen, the composer initiated a lawsuit against him; this proving successful, the impresario became liable for 1600 ducats, including damages and costs.[40]

If a bankruptcy resulted, as one might well imagine, from this affair, it may not be unconnected with Vivaldi's appearance at S. Angelo as an entrepreneur and resident composer in the two years following. In the meantime he had blooded himself in the comparative obscurity of the provinces. By a unanimous vote the Pietà's governors granted him, on 30 April 1713, one month's leave of absence outside Venice 'for the exercise of his skill' (*all'impiego delle sue virtuose applicazioni*).[41] The place was Vicenza; the purpose, the performance of his first opera, *Ottone in villa*, whose librettist was Sebastiano Biancardi alias Domenico Lalli, later to become manager of the S. Giovanni Grisostomo and S. Samuele theatres.[42]

[40] *Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Musikgelehrten und Tonkünstler neuerer Zeit*, vol. i (Leipzig, 1784), pp. 133f, 136.

[41] *ASV*, Osp., Busta 689 (I), f. 88v; transcribed in Giazotto, op. cit., p. 367.

[42] A mistaken belief that Vivaldi's *Tieteberga* (Venice, S. Moisè, Autumn 1717) was originally

Although S. Angelo was to remain the Venetian theatre with which Vivaldi was most frequently associated as a composer – no fewer than 18 of his scores, from *Orlando finto pazzo* (1714) to *Feraspe* (1739), were first performed there, not to speak of numerous revivals – his involvement in its management seems to have begun in 1713–14 (i.e. Autumn 1713 and Carnival 1714, regarded as a single season) and to have ended the following year. On 20 January 1714 he wrote the dedication of the libretto (by Braccioli) of Michel Angelo Gasparini's *Rodomonte sdegnato.*[43] His *Orlando finto pazzo* opened the Autumn of 1714, to be followed by a revival of Ristori's *Orlando furioso* (the huge success of the previous year), to which he contributed several new numbers.[44] Carnival was launched with a revival of L.A. Predieri's *Lucio Papirio*, whose libretto was once again dedicated by Vivaldi. In February there followed *Nerone fatto cesare*, on an old libretto by Matteo Noris first set by Perti in 1693 for S. Salvatore. Vivaldi arranged the work as a pasticcio, contributing 12 arias (and, very likely, also the recitatives) himself, but borrowing the remainder from other sources.[45] A conventional explanation for such hotch-potches is the haste with which operas often had to be written, copied into parts and rehearsed, but in this case it is equally likely that the borrowed arias were popular favourites which the singers or the public wished to have included. From a *faccio fede* discovered by Giazotto it appears that Vivaldi's *Arsilda, regina di Ponto*, performed at S. Angelo during the Autumn of 1716, was originally destined for the Ascension of 1715; Lath's libretto was not approved, however, by the censors.[46]

While Venice was becoming acquainted with a new personality in the realm of opera, all Europe was revelling in the sounds of his first published set of concertos, *L'estro armonico*, op. 3 – perhaps the most influential collection of instrumental works to appear during the whole

---

performed there ten years earlier arose from a typographical error (a missing Roman numeral 'X') on the title-page of a revised libretto issued later that same year.

[43] This is probably the reprinted, slightly altered libretto mentioned by Bonlini; presumably Braccioli wrote the original dedication.

[44] The first two acts of this score are preserved in Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, Giordano 37, ff. 161–250.

[45] Two arias are attributed in the libretto (the score is lost) to Orlandini and to Perti, one to F. Gasparini, A. Carli and D. Pistacchi, and 12 to unknown composers identified either as 'N.N.' or 'P.P.'. It is probable that *Nerone fatto cesare* was preceded by a first version called *Agrippina*, since the *faccio fede*, dated 12 February 1715, identifies the cast as 'the same that sang in *Agrippina* with [the addition of?] Marietta della Pietà'. Uffenbach, whose report we shall come to shortly, records having heard '*Agrippina*' on 19 February but '*Nerone fatto cesare* or *Agrippina*' on 28 February. See Giazotto, op. cit., p. 114, and Eberhard Preussner, *Die musikalischen Reisen des Herrn von Uffenbach* (Kassel and Basel, 1949), pp. 67f, 70.

[46] Op. cit., p. 141.

of the eighteenth century. 'Estro' means oestrus, or heat (though a translator will do well to avoid a too narrowly biological term), but it was less the undoubted passion and energy of the concertos that startled Vivaldi's contemporaries than the novelty of their design.

The set was dedicated to Grand Prince Ferdinand of Tuscany (1663–1713), son of Grand Duke Cosimo III (1642–1723). Ferdinand was a skilled and enthusiastic amateur musician, who bestowed his patronage upon Alessandro and Domenico Scarlatti, Albinoni, Pasquini and Handel, as well as Bartolomeo Cristofori, reputed inventor of the pianoforte. Vivaldi may well have met the prince on one of his frequent visits to Venice for the opera. Although Ferdinand failed to outlive his father and become a reigning grand duke, he was universally known in flattering affection as Ferdinand III; the dedication of their third *opera* to him by Torelli, Albinoni, Gentili, Vinaccesi and Vivaldi is probably a sly allusion to this fact.

If Vivaldi's dedication contains nothing of note other than a renewed disparagement of his critics, his preface addressed to performers ('Alli dilettanti di musica') is very informative:

> The kind indulgence you have so far accorded to my feeble efforts has persuaded me to seek to gratify you with a work containing instrumental concertos. I must acknowledge that if in the past my compositions have suffered from printing errors [*il discapito della stampa*] in addition to their own defects, their greatest distinction will now be their engraving by the famous hand of Monsieur Estienne Roger. This is one reason why I have tried to please you by having the concertos published, and I shall venture before long to present you with another set, comprising *concerti a quattro* …

No doubt Vivaldi spoke for many of his compatriots in lauding the handiwork of the Dutch publisher. What he omitted to mention was the straightforward commercial advantage of having his music published north of the Alps, where its impact would be greatest. In Italy, where the concerto had been in existence for several years, composers such as Torelli and Albinoni had already moved some distance along the path taken by Vivaldi; consequently, his ideas were absorbed by slow diffusion among composers of his own generation, reluctant to abandon well-tried practices overnight. The first native composer to betray his influence strongly was the young Bolognese Giuseppe Matteo Alberti (1685–1751) in his *Concerti per chiesa e per camera*, op. 1 (1713), but it was not until the generation of Locatelli (1695–1764) and Tartini (1692–1770) that Italian concerto-composers

as a whole embraced the Vivaldian method. In northern Europe, where concertos had not yet achieved a wide dissemination (Roger had published a mere handful by 1711, when *L'estro armonico* appeared),[47] Vivaldi's concertos, spearheaded by op. 3, quickly established themselves as the norm. In Germany, particularly, they were received with enthusiasm. Johann Joachim Quantz, later famous as flautist and theorist, described his first acquaintance with them at Pirna (1714): 'As a then entirely novel type of musical composition, they impressed me considerably. I made sure to collect a good number of them. Henceforth, the magnificent ritornellos of Vivaldi served me as excellent models.'[48] Bach obviously knew *L'estro armonico*, for he transcribed five of its works for keyboard while at Weimar and another (BWV 1065, for four harpsichords and strings) at Leipzig.

Amateurs responded equally warmly, as Johann Friedrich Armand von Uffenbach, a member of a distinguished Frankfurt family of merchants and civic dignitaries, found when he introduced Vivaldi's op. 3 in 1713 to a Strasbourg music society.[49] Uffenbach's travel diary is of especial interest, for in it he recorded a visit to Venice in 1715, during which he visited S. Angelo four times and met Vivaldi.

He paid his first visit to the opera house on 4 February:

> I remained here [at the casino] until it was time to go to the opera, and then went with some acquaintances to the S. Angelo house, which is smaller and also not as expensive as the one described above [SS. Giovanni e Paolo]; its entrepreneur was the celebrated Vivaldi, who also composed the opera, which was really nice, and very attractive to the eye; the machines were not as expensive as in the other theatre and the orchestra not so large, but none the less it was well worth hearing … Towards the end Vivaldi played a solo accompaniment – splendid – to which he appended a cadenza [***phantasie***] which really frightened me, for such playing has never been nor can be: he brought his fingers up to only a straw's distance from the bridge, leaving no room for the bow – and that on all four strings with imitations [***Fugen***] and incredible speed. With this he astounded everyone, but I cannot say that it pleased me, for it was not so pleasant to listen to as it was skilfully executed.[50]

The opera was probably Predieri's *Lucio Papirio* in the altered version for whose libretto Vivaldi wrote the dedication. Uffenbach's belief that

[47] The ***Post Man*** of 16 October 1711 carried an advertisement for the works.

[48] 'Herrn Johann Joachim Quantzens Lebenslauf, von ihm selbst entworfen' in Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, ***Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik***, vol. i (Berlin, 1755), p. 205.

[49] Heller, op. cit., p. 6.

[50] Preussner, op. cit., p. 67.

he also composed the music may not have been without foundation if he contributed some new numbers, as in *Orlando furioso*. The mention of an elaborate cadenza brings to mind Quantz's statement that the most recent form of cadenza, in which the soloist played without accompaniment, arose 'roughly between 1710 and 1716'.[51]

On his next visit (19 February) Uffenbach heard a new opera, *Agrippina*. Neither the subject nor the ill-assorted costumes pleased him, and he regretted that Vivaldi this time played only a short solo 'air' (? obbligato accompaniment) on his violin. He thought better of *Nerone fatto cesare* (which, as we have seen, was probably only a revised version of *Agrippina*) and went to hear it twice, on 28 February and 4 March.[52]

On 6 March Uffenbach's attempt to meet Vivaldi was successful. With great satisfaction he noted in his diary:

> After supper I received a visit from Vivaldi, the famous composer and violinist, having several times sent an invitation to his house when discussing some *concerti grossi* which I wished to order from him, and also having a few bottles of wine fetched for him, knowing that he was a cleric.[53] He let me listen to his very difficult and quite inimitable fantasias on the violin, so that, being close at hand. I could not but marvel even more at his skill. It was clear to me that although he played exceptionally difficult and animated pieces he lacked a pleasant and cantabile style.[54]

And three days later:

> This afternoon Vivaldi came to me and brought me, as requested, ten *concerti grossi*, which he claimed to have composed especially for me. I bought some of them, and in order that I might have a better idea of them, he wanted to teach me to play them on the spot, and to visit me every so often, so that this occasion would be [just] a start.[55]

Uffenbach's reservations about Vivaldi's manner of playing suggest that like many Germans he was more at home with the French style than the less discreet Italian style, of which the Venetians, known for their extravagance in all things, were the boldest exponents. The composer's aggressive sales technique, in which the supply of music becomes a pretext for an offer of tuition, reveals something about his

[51] *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*, third complete German edn (Breslau, 1789; facs. reprint, Kassel and Basel, 1953), p. 152.

[52] See p. 40.

[53] The remark 'Da er unter die Cantores gehört' implies that the Venetian clergy were notoriously partial to drink.

[54] Preussner, op. cit., p. 71.

[55] Ibid.

character; more generally, the whole transaction demonstrates how music could, in the Venetian environment, become a simple commodity turned out to order for the casual visitor.

The *concerti a quattro* (concertos for four-part strings and continuo with solo violin) promised in the foreword to op. 3 duly appeared from Roger in about 1714. They were collectively entitled *La stravaganza* and dedicated to Vettor Dolfin (the surname is given in its Tuscan form Delfino), a young Venetian noble to whom Vivaldi had taught the violin. In 1716–17 Roger brought out three further Vivaldi collections – one of sonatas and two of concertos – under the imprint of his daughter Jeanne. Although all these have regular opus numbers, the lack of a dedication, the numerous textual errors and some problematic features in their make-up (to be discussed later) indicate that Roger published them on his own initiative, possibly even bypassing the composer altogether. Such action was still quite uncommon, the rather special case of anthologies excepted, and reflects the quite extraordinary demand for Vivaldi's instrumental music in the wake of opp. 3 and 4.

By 1716 Vivaldi's merits as an operatic composer must have become widely recognized, for he had been commissioned to write the Carnival opera, *La costanza trionfante degl'amori e degl'odii* for S. Moisè. At the Pietà, however, his position as *Maestro di Violino* was growing vulnerable, either because economies were necessary or because the governors looked askance on his extra-mural activities. In a ballot held on 29 March 1716 the governors were initially seven to five (less than the required two-thirds) in his favour; a fresh count merely lost him one vote.[56] But his partisans must have been tenacious, for he was reinstated, now as *Maestro de' Concerti* (the change of nomenclature is probably not significant), on 24 May, by a near-unanimous vote.[57]

His restoration to favour may not be unconnected with his composition of the music to *Juditha triumphans*, a 'topical' oratorio to words by the local poet Giacomo Cassetti performed at the Pietà in November 1716. Designated a 'sacred military oratorio', the work was conceived as an allegory on Venice's struggle against Ottoman belligerence, and in particular on the Venetian fleet's efforts to relieve beleaguered Corfu. The war – Venice's sixth against the Turks – had begun in 1714. Badly led and prone to mutiny, the Republic's forces in the Peloponnese and the Aegean had suffered severe reverses in 1715. In July 1716 the Turks began their siege of the strategic island

[56] *ASV*, Osp., Busta 690 (L), f. 18v.
[57] Ibid., f. 26v.

of Corfu. Since *Juditha triumphans* was approved by the inquisitors on 7 August, Cassetti probably composed his libretto in the shadow of this threat. Although direct reference to the affairs of 1716 is confined to a sort of epilogue in which Ozias, High Priest of Bethulia (really an amalgam of the biblical Ozias, Governor of Bethulia, and Joakim, High Priest of Jerusalem), prophesies Venetian victory, a *Carmen allegoricum* published at the end of the libretto provides a key for the allegorical interpretation of the entire oratorio: Judith represents the Adriatic (Venice) and Holophernes the Sultan; her handmaiden Abra (an invented character) and his servant Vagaus (Bagoas) respectively stand for Faith and the Turkish commander (perhaps to be identified with Ali Pasha, who had earned a reputation for brutality in the campaigns of 1715). Ozias personifies the union of Christians and the honour of virgins.

It was this union of Christians – more concretely, an alliance with Austria concluded on 25 May – which enabled Ozias's prophecy, in the short term, to be fulfilled. The Turks were defeated, and Ali Pasha killed, at Petrovaradin on 5 August. In consequence, they abandoned the siege of Corfu on 22 August. So it was that *Juditha triumphans*, written in fearful hope, was performed in an atmosphere of relieved jubilation.

Vivaldi's operas returned to S. Angelo in the following year. *Arsilda, regina di Ponto* was performed, belatedly as we saw, in Autumn 1716, the following Carnival closing with *L'incoronazione di Dario.*[58] It was next the turn of S. Moisè: *Tieteberga* occupied Autumn 1717, while the second and third Carnival works were *Artabano, re de' Parti*, a modified version of *La costanza trionfante*, and *Armida al campo d'Egitto.*

Revivals, presumably in Venice, of *Orlando finto pazzo* (Autumn 1716) and *L'incoronazione di Dario* (Carnival 1718) received the inquisitors' assent, but no record of their performance has survived.[59] One is tempted to imagine that application to perform these operas was made as an insurance against possible hitches with new works.

During the 1710s several of the young German composers fortunate enough to obtain leave from their employers to study in Venice made Vivaldi's acquaintance. First there was Heinichen, joined at the end of 1713 by Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel. Daniel Gottlob Treu, sometimes known by his italianized name Daniele Teofilo Fedele, became Vivaldi's

[58] The date of 1716 in the libretto is to be interpreted *more veneto*.
[59] Giazotto, op. cit., pp. 138, 144.

pupil in 1716. The most important figure, however, was Johann Georg Pisendel (1687–1755), a violin virtuoso in the service of the Dresden court, who, having previously studied with Torelli at Ansbach, was already well versed in the Italian style.

Pisendel arrived in Venice in April 1716 as a member of an élite group of four musicians, the ***Kammermusik***, sent from Dresden to join the visiting Prince-Elector of Saxony (from 1733 Frederick Augustus II of Saxony and Augustus III of Poland). Since the ***Kammermusik*** remained in Venice until the end of the year it became well integrated into Venetian musical life; Pisendel, moreover, revisited Venice in 1717. He became a friend as well as a pupil of Vivaldi.* Their association is recorded in two delightful, if uncorroborated, anecdotes from Hiller. The first recounts how Vivaldi, walking with Pisendel in St Mark's Square, suddenly broke off the conversation and urged the visitor to return home with him immediately. Privacy regained, Vivaldi explained that he had observed four constables shadowing Pisendel and asked him whether he had done or said anything forbidden by the authorities. Since Pisendel could think of nothing, Vivaldi sought the advice of one of the inquisitors, from whom he learned that they were looking not for Pisendel but for a man resembling him.[60] The second anecdote concerns a concerto identifiable as RV 571 (P. 268) which Pisendel was asked to play, at the prince-elector's behest, as an operatic entr'acte. During an extended solo passage in the upper register his accompanists tried to discomfit him by rushing ahead, but he kept his composure and forced them to slow down by marking the beat vigorously with his foot, much to Frederick Augustus's amusement.[61]

Pisendel used his stay in Venice to amass a large quantity of musical manuscripts containing the latest works by her most eminent composers – principally, of course, Vivaldi. Some of these were presented to him by the composer, for instance the autograph manuscripts of five sonatas and six concertos by Vivaldi, all purporting to have been written for 'Monsieur Pisendel' (although the dedication seems in nearly all cases to have been an afterthought), and those of three sonatas by Albinoni, one with a formal dedication. The bulk of the music, however, was copied out by Pisendel himself. We possess his scores of 22 concertos and seven violin sonatas by Vivaldi, as well

[60] Op. cit., p. 189f.

[61] *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend* (Leipzig, 10 March 1767). The opera might well have been either *Arsilda, regina di Ponto* or *L'incoronazione di Dario*, as scores of the overture to both works copied in Pisendel's hand are preserved in Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Mus. 2389-N-2(4).

as complete sets of parts of 15 further concertos. His copies of concertos by Albinoni and B. Marcello are also preserved.[62] Whether by annotating manuscripts that came into his hands or by editing music in the act of making his own copy, Pisendel was in the habit of subjecting the originals to considerable revision. The purpose of these alterations was doubtless manifold: to exercise his talents as a composer; to afford his virtuosity on the violin greater scope (more necessary in the case of Albinoni, the less adventurous composer, than in that of Vivaldi); to bring the scoring into line with the practice of the Dresden court orchestra, where wind instruments were prominent in both solo and *ripieno* functions; to eliminate infelicities of phrase balance or part-writing. At its most overt this re-shaping could result in added or substituted solo passages, cadenzas or even entire movements; at its most covert, in written-out embellishments, added *ripieno* parts for recorders, oboes and bassoons or simple marks of expression.

Pisendel returned to Dresden in 1717 to become acting (later, official) leader of the court orchestra. As a result of his influence Vivaldi's concertos and sinfonias later came to occupy a place of honour in its repertoire, making Dresden the centre of the Vivaldian cult in Germany. One may add that Vivaldi's church music was also cultivated there, as shown by the inclusion of his *Magnificat* in an inventory drawn up by Jan Dismas Zelenka, one of Pisendel's colleagues in the ***Kammermusik*** and subsequently official composer of church music to the court.*

No musicians' names appear in the list of staff members appointed at the Pietà on 9 May 1717, and Vivaldi was not one of the musicians seeking reappointment on 24 April 1718. The second absence is easily explained, however: he had just left Venice for Mantua.

[62] All these MSS. except, curiously, that of one violin sonata (RV 19) dedicated to Pisendel by Vivaldi, which is found in the collection of the Paris Conservatoire (Rés. ms. 2225), are today in the possession of the Sächsische Landesbibliothek.

4

Years of travel

The duchy of Mantua, bordering the *Veneto*, was a flourishing centre of the arts during the seventeenth century. Indirectly, lavish spending on court entertainment led to the downfall of the Gonzaga dynasty, for the last duke, Ferdinando Carlo, being greatly in debt, was bribed into an alliance with the French during the War of the Spanish Succession. As Mantua was a fief of the Austrian Empire, this constituted treason; accordingly, the victorious Austrians made Mantua an hereditary imperial possession, appointing as governor the younger brother of the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, Prince Philip. Fortunately, Mantua's cultural life continued much as before under Philip's governorship (1714–35).

The movement of musicians between Venice and Mantua was a two-way traffic of long standing. If Vincenzo di Gonzaga had lost Monteverdi to Venice in 1613, Ferdinando Carlo's recruitment of Caldara in 1700 showed that the pull could as well come from the other direction. A period of service at even a small court like Mantua's offered a musician from republican Venice a type of experience and a species of patronage for which his city provided no equivalent.

It has long been known that Vivaldi spent three consecutive years at Mantua in the service of Prince Philip, since he wrote in his letter to Bentivoglio of 16 November 1737: 'In Mantova sono stato tre anni al servìgio del Piissimo Principe Darmistadth'. Pincherle proposed the years 1720 to 1723 and Kolneder 1719 to 1722, but more recent research based on the dates of newly discovered librettos leaves no room for doubt that the period spanned 1718 to 1720.*

Vivaldi's position, as we learn from title-pages, was that of *Maestro di Cappella da Camera.* What this curiously cumbersome formula seems to indicate is that he enjoyed the status of a *Maestro di Cappella* but concerned himself only with secular music. There are some parallels between Vivaldi's activity at Mantua and Bach's at Cöthen (1717–23). Both men had to write occasional works for local festivities, such as

Vivaldi's cantatas *O mie porpore più belle* celebrating the installation of Antonio Guidi di Bagno as Bishop of Mantua or *Qual in pioggia dorata* in praise of Prince Philip. The last-named cantata and the operatic scores Vivaldi provided for Mantua's Teatro Arciducale point to another similarity: the frequency and prominence of horn parts.

Opera was indeed Vivaldi's main concern. Scarcely off the stage of S. Moisè, his *Armida al campo d'Egitto* was presented during April and May 1718. The following Carnival season witnessed the premières of *Teuzzone* and *Tito Manlio*, on old librettos by Apostolo Zeno and Matteo Noris. Vivaldi's autograph score of *Tito Manlio* in Turin is inscribed 'Musica del Vivaldi fatta in 5 giorni' (music by Vivaldi written in five days);[1] even Handel never achieved such speed. The last opera he produced for Mantua while resident there was *La Candace* (otherwise, *Li veri amici*), heard during Carnival 1720. His departure did not mean, however, the severance of links with the Teatro Arciducale, for *Artabano, re de' Parti* was given in 1725, and the already much-travelled *Farnace* in 1732. A *Semiramide* performed in 1732 may have been specially commissioned, for no earlier setting of Francesco Silvani's libretto is attributable to Vivaldi; the composer may even have revisited Mantua for the occasion on his homeward journey from Bohemia. As he retained his Mantuan title without, apparently, incurring the displeasure of the court, he probably retained vestigial duties *in absentia* after his initial sojourn was over.[2]

Many, perhaps the bulk, of Vivaldi's solo cantatas must have been written for Mantua. Most of the non-autograph cantata scores in Turin are in the hands known from the manuscripts of Vivaldi operas copied in Mantua (e.g. *Teuzzone*). The solo cantata was the courtly genre *par excellence*, for the virtuoso singers to whom nobles lent their patronage had few other outlets during the operatic off-season, when they returned to their employers. He must also have composed instrumental music there, but until more solid evidence is found, one can do no more than surmise that those instruments having important solo parts in the Mantuan operas (horns and recorders) also had concertos written for them.

It must have been at Mantua that Vivaldi first made the acquaintance of the young contralto Anna Girò (Giraud), a native of that city. Until Gastone Vio's researches confirmed her Mantuan provenance – which

[1] Giordano 39, ff. 172–365. A partly autograph score of the same opera survives in Foà 37, ff. 119–306.

[2] *Queste, Eurilla gentil*, a serenata written for Philip's birthday in 1726, supports this hypothesis.

had always been reckoned a possibility, since on her début as an operatic singer, in Albinoni's *Laodice* (S. Moisè, Autumn 1724), she was described in the cast-list of the libretto as 'mantovana' – many scholars had given credence to the idea that she was Venetian by origin, as Goldoni (who believed her to be the daughter of a wigmaker of French descent) and Quadrio both affirmed,[3] Girò became Vivaldi's pupil; the inseparability of composer and singer led her to be dubbed, a little maliciously, 'L'Annina del Prete Rosso'. She also appears as 'Annina della Pietà', but her connection with the Pietà was merely through her teacher. A sister, Paolina, also attended Vivaldi, probably as a chaperone and factotum.

Not surprisingly, intimacy in matters other than musical was suspected; had not many of the most eminent Venetian composers – including Albinoni, Caldara, Lotti and Marcello – chosen singers as their companions (albeit clerically sanctioned) for life? Gilli's report to the inquisitors identifies Anna by the fact of her living in Vivaldi's house.[4] Aware of these allegations, which had evidently been revived at a most inopportune moment for him, the composer bitterly denied them in his letter to Bentivoglio of 16 November 1737: for 14 years he had travelled with the Girò sisters all over Europe and their virtue had never been impugned, nor their piety; he admitted to a friendship with Anna, but claimed (in a following letter dated 23 November) that the Girò sisters lived in a house far from his own. Despite, or perhaps because of, the wealth of 'evidence' Vivaldi musters in his defence, his case is not wholly convincing. It is so noticeable how he tries to divert the issue of ***his*** relationship with ***one*** of the sisters (Anna) into a discussion of the morals of ***both*** women, as appraised by their spiritual mentor. Besides, it takes little cynicism to concur with the suggestion that Vivaldi would hardly have courted scandal for so long without enjoying some of its fruits.*

We are well informed by Goldoni of Anna's qualities as an operatic singer. In 1761 he remembered her as 'bella e graziosa', while in his later account, which is both fuller and less charitable in tone, he denied that she was actually pretty, though complimented her on her grace, good figure, attractive eyes and hair and charming mouth. He found her voice weak but praised her acting ability, a rare quality in singers. Indeed, the mission on which Goldoni had been sent to Vivaldi's house

[3] Gastone Vio, 'Per una migliore conoscenza di Anna Girò (da documenti d'archivio)', *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani*, vol. ix (1988), pp. 26-45. See also Francesco Saverio Quadrio, *Della storia e della ragione d'ogni poesia*, vol. iii/2 (Milan, 1742), p. 539.

[4] See p. 30.

primarily concerned the rewriting of part of the text of Zeno's *Griselda* so that *La Girò*, in the title-role, could be shown off to best advantage; her teacher had decided, no doubt wisely, that *arie d'azione*, emphasizing her talent for movement, suited her better than *arie cantabili*.

Nevertheless, her first few operatic seasons (S. Moisè 1724–5, S. Angelo 1726–8) were triumphantly successful, earning her many admirers. Antonio Conti wrote that she performed marvels,[5] while Zuane Zuccato, newly appointed Venetian resident at Naples, found her incomparable and mentioned the furore she was then (1726) causing.[6] The fact that she was engaged for roles in operas by composers other than Vivaldi (among them, Galuppi and Hasse) during his lifetime and even afterwards[7] proves that she was not simply his creature. If anything, it was he who was more dependent on her, declaring in the first letter to Bentivoglio just quoted: 'To put on the opera without *La Girò* is not possible, for a comparable prima donna is not to be found.' It is remarkable how well her absences from the Venetian stage correspond to premières of Vivaldi operas outside Venice, in which – so one gathers from his next letter – he liked to lead the orchestra on the opening night. Herself performing or not, she must have been a faithful member of his entourage. Giazotto believes, perhaps on insufficient evidence, that she acted as his secretary.[8]

Vivaldi's return from Mantua was signalled by the performance of *La verità in cimento* at S. Angelo in Autumn 1720. At the height of his fame, he must have been disconcerted by the appearance in December of an anonymous satirical volume, whose author was soon revealed as Benedetto Marcello, entitled *Il teatro alla moda* (The Theatre in Fashion). It was advertised as a compendium of hints for librettists, composers, singers of both sexes, players, engineers, scene painters, performers of comic parts (in intermezzos), costumiers, pages, supers, prompters, copyists, protectors (of singers), mothers of lady singers and others connected with the theatre. The imprint identifies through anagram, pun or other allusion some of the persons at whom Marcello's barbs are aimed (all were prominent in the world of Venetian opera during 1720): the composers Vivaldi ('Aldiviva'), Porta and Orlandini; the librettist (of *La verità in cimento*) Giovanni Palazzi; the impresarios

[5] *Lettres de M. L'Abbé Conti, noble vénitien, à Mme. de Caylus*, Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. fr. append. 58 (= 12102), p. 10; quoted in Giazotto, op. cit., p. 214.

[6] *ASV*, Serenissima Signoria, Terra, 1726; quoted in Giazotto, op. cit., p. 215.

[7] Her last known appearance was in Carcani's *Artaserse* at Piacenza in Carnival 1748. Later that year she married a Piacentine count and retired from the stage.

[8] Op. cit., p. 217f.

Modotto (S. Angelo) and Orsatto (S. Moisè); the singers Caterina Borghi, Cecilia Belisani, Antonia Laurenti and Anna Maria Strada. In an amusing engraving above the imprint a suitably ursine Orsatto is shown together with Modotto in a rowing-boat (an allusion to the latter's previous involvement in the boat trade); a fiddling angel in a priest's hat, representing Vivaldi and his S. Angelo connections, has one foot on the rudder and the other in the air marking the beat to symbolize his commanding position as both musician and entrepreneur. Throughout the book Vivaldi is obviously a prime target. Marcello pretends to endorse – that is to say, he attacks as slipshod or meretricious – some of Vivaldi's favourite practices, such as ***all'unisono*** accompaniments, the elimination of lower strings in accompanimental passages, lengthy cadenzas, special effects (e.g. muting) and the introduction of rare instruments. Giazotto suggests, without convincing evidence, however, that Marcello bore Vivaldi a special grudge arising from legal wrangles over the S. Angelo theatre, built, as we saw earlier,[9] on a site partly owned by a branch of his family. Three years earlier Vivaldi and the impresario at the time had been cited as debtors and mismanagers in respect of that theatre.[10] Be that as it may, Vivaldi could hardly have escaped Marcello's censure, since he was responsible, in one capacity or another, for so much of what was normal practice in the opera houses.

Judging from contemporary references, some in later satires, ***Il teatro alla moda*** quickly won the approval of discerning opera-goers. Perhaps it put Vivaldi for a time under a cloud, for after the opening Carnival work of 1721 at S. Angelo, ***Filippo, re di Macedonia*** (of which he wrote only the last act, the previous two being by Giuseppe Boniventi), his operas disappeared from the Venetian stage until 1725–6.

Despite his vacillating fortunes at home, the major Italian opera houses were one by one opening their doors to him. Discounting revivals of older operas and the appearance of individual arias in pasticcios, we have five scores from the period 1715–25: ***Scanderbeg*** (Florence, Summer 1718); ***La Silvia*** (Milan, Autumn 1721); ***Ercole sul Termodonte*** (Rome, Carnival 1723); ***Giustino*** and ***La virtù trionfante dell'amore e dell'odio ovvero il Tigrane*** (Rome, Carnival 1724).[11]

[9] See p. 20.

[10] Giazotto, op. cit., p. 185.

[11] ***Il Tigrane*** was a joint composition of B. Micheli (Act I), Vivaldi (Act II) and N. Romaldi (Act III). A version of ***Tito Manlio*** with acts composed by G. Boni, G. Giorgio and Vivaldi respectively (the last's contribution drawing in part on the Mantuan score) opened the 1720 Carnival season at the Teatro della Pace, Rome.

In his letter to Bentivoglio of 16 November 1737 Vivaldi claimed to have spent three Carnival seasons at Rome in connection with opera. Two are evident from the above list, but the third has not yet been ascertained. It is not even clear whether Vivaldi meant consecutive seasons. In the same letter and its sequel (23 November) he boasted that the Pope had asked him to play the violin, courteously receiving him on two occasions in a private apartment. Circumstantial evidence indicates that he also enjoyed the patronage of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740), Corelli's last and most generous Maecenas. The famous sketch of Vivaldi drawn in 1723 by Pier Leone Ghezzi is one of several he made of persons in the cardinal's circle, while remnants of Ottoboni's large music collection preserved in the Central Library, Manchester, include copies of Vivaldi concertos that are of unmistakably Roman provenance. Coming from a noble Venetian family, but prevented by a decree of 1712 from returning to his native city because he was deemed to have compromised the Republic's neutrality by becoming Protector of France at the Vatican, Ottoboni would have had every reason to welcome Venice's foremost musician.*

Contacts with the Pietà were re-established (perhaps they had never been broken) in 1723. Since 1720 the Pietà had employed a cello master, first the famous Antonio Vandini and subsequently Bernardo Aliprandi, but neither man had the facility in composition (not to speak of the reputation) of Vivaldi.[12] On 2 July the governors passed a motion that Vivaldi, who had just supplied two concertos for the celebration of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, be asked to provide two more every month at one sequin each; this arrangement could hold even during his absence from Venice, provided that their postage was not charged to the Pietà. While in Venice, he would be required to direct personally three or four rehearsals of each piece. The intimate but at the same time patronizing manner in which the governors' minutes normally refer to members of staff is dropped: Vivaldi is an outsider with whom a bargain is to be struck.[13]*

On 14 December 1725 the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* advertised his op. 8, 12 concertos collectively entitled *Il cimento dell'armonia e dell'inventione*, the test of harmony (representing the rational side of

[12] Giazotto's suggestion (op. cit., p. 165f) that Vandini was the same man as Vivaldi must be rejected; however, it is a strange coincidence that Vivaldi chose to anagrammatize his name as Lotavio Vandini in the libretto of the comic opera *Aristide* – unless, as Piero Weiss has argued ('Venetian Commedia Dell'Arte "Operas" in the Age of Vivaldi', *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. lxx (1984), pp. 195–217), the work was a spoof written by someone else. A cello sonata in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, shows Vandini to have been a competent but unexciting composer.

[13] *ASV*, Osp., Busta 691 (N.I), f. 179; reproduced in Giazotto, op. cit., p. 256.

composition) and invention (imagination). Some of the concertos had been circulating in manuscript for several years; in his dedication, to the Bohemian count Wenzel von Morzin (1676–1737), a cousin of Haydn's patron at Dolní Lukavice, Vivaldi acknowledges this in the case of the opening four works, *Le quattro stagioni* (The Four Seasons). The novelty in Le Cène's edition of these works is the appearance before each of an explanatory sonnet (*sonetto dimostrativo*) containing the complete 'programme'. Cue-letters and portions of the sonnet texts engraved over the notes locate precisely the depicted events. Vivaldi speaks of having served Morzin (whose name he gives as Marzin) for several years as his 'Maestro di musica in Italia'. This probably means simply that he provided the count with music when requested; one bassoon concerto (RV 496) in the Turin collection is headed with the name of Morzin.*

No doubt because of the programmatic nature of half the works in it, op. 8 was received with especial enthusiasm in France.[14] From 1728 *The Four Seasons* were often heard at the Concert Spirituel; the *Mercure de France* reported that on 25 November 1730 the king commanded an impromptu performance of *La primavera*, for which a scratch orchestra containing several nobles was assembled.[15] Such was the vogue for this particular concerto that it was subjected to many arrangements, of which the most extraordinary were a motet, *Laudate Dominum de coelis*, by Michel Corrette (1765) and a version for unaccompanied flute by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1775).

Three serenatas were written by Vivaldi during the 1720s in honour of the French royal house. A work of which the title-page (and perforce the title) is lost, but which is generally known by the names of its two allegorical characters, Gloria and Imeneo (Hymen), commemorates Louis XV's wedding on 5 September 1725 to the Polish princess Maria Leszczyńska.* *L'unione della Pace e di Marte*, of which only the libretto survives, celebrates the birth of royal twins, 'Mesdames de France', on 14 August 1727; it may have formed part of the festivities on 19 September at the residence of Count Languet de Gergy, Ambassador to Venice, about which the *Mercure de France* reported that towards eight o'clock in the evening there was 'a very beautiful concert of instrumental music lasting nearly two hours, whose music, as well as that of the *Te Deum*, was by the famous Vivaldi'.[16] The event for

[14] In addition to *Le quattro stagioni*, op. 8 contains works entitled *La tempesta di mare* (The Storm at Sea) and *La caccia* (The Hunt).

[15] December 1730, p. 2758.

[16] October 1727, p. 2327.

which the grandest of the serenatas, *La Senna festeggiante* (The Seine Rejoicing), was composed has not yet been established. Lalli's libretto pays homage in a very general way to the young monarch Louis XV. At all events, the work can date from no earlier than 1724, for its final chorus is a slightly lengthened arrangement, to new words, of the final chorus in *Giustino*. A suggestion by Roland de Candé that the serenata commemorates the birth of the dauphin on 4 September 1729 must be ruled out:[17] first, because the libretto refers to the king's *sons* (in the hypothetical context of the future), when a single living son would surely have been alluded to more concretely; secondly, because Albinoni provided a serenata (*Il concilio de' pianeti*) for that occasion, which, after its première at the ambassador's residence, was repeated with success at the French court. There are hints in Vivaldi's score that *La Senna festeggiante* was intended for a performance which he knew he would not be able to supervise – possibly, therefore, one outside Venice. The rubric '2 hautbois (flauti) o più se piace' at the head of the first chorus implies that he anticipated the doubling of wind parts (a French rather than Venetian practice), while the choral chaconne borrowed from *Giustino* has its tenor part marked as optional, indicating that Vivaldi was uncertain of the vocal forces available.[18] Although he often adopted elements of the French style for the sake of variety, their quite exceptional prominence in *La Senna festeggiante* (which even boasts a French overture to its second part) strongly suggests that, unlike the other serenatas, it was aimed at a French audience.*

During the Carnival seasons (with preceding Autumn) of 1726, 1727 and 1728 Vivaldi once more stood at the helm of the S. Angelo theatre. *L'inganno trionfante in amore*, on a libretto adapted from Matteo Noris's original by G.M. Ruggieri, a Veronese musical and literary dilettante whom we shall encounter again when examining Vivaldi's church music, occupied Autumn 1725. Two of the Carnival works were also Vivaldi's: *Cunegonda* and *La fede tradita e vendicata*. In 1726–7 *Dorilla in Tempe* (Autumn) and *Farnace* (Carnival) were staged.[19] Vivaldi even found time to write *Ipermestra* for Florence. Antonio Conti reported to Mme de Caylus on 23 February

[17] *Vivaldi* (Paris, 1967), p. 75n.

[18] Peter Ryom, *Les manuscrits de Vivaldi* (Copenhagen, 1977), points out that, to judge from its almost identical text in the libretto, the lost final number of *La verità in cimento* may well have been the first incarnation of this movement. If so, 1720 and not 1724 is the *terminus post quem* of *La Senna festeggiante*.

[19] The date of 1726 on the title-page of the libretto to *Farnace* is *more veneto*.

ATTORI.

Farnace Re di Ponto.
La Sig. Maria Maddalena Pieri. Virtuosa del Seren. Duca di Modona.
Berenice Regina di Cappadocia Madre di Tamiri.
La Sig. Angela Capuano Romana detta la Capuanina.
Tamiri, Regina Sposa di Farnace.
La Sig. Anna Girò.
Selinda Sorella di Farnace.
La Sig. Lucrezia Baldini.
Pompeo Pro-Console Romano nell'Asia.
Il Sig. Lorenzo Moretti.
Gilade Principe del Sangue Reale, e Capitano di Berenice.
Il Sig. Filippo Finazzi.
Aquilio Prefetto delle Legioni Romane.
Il Sig. Domenico Gioseppe Galletti.
Un Fanciullo Figlio di Farnace, e Tamiri.

Il Luogo dell'Azione in Eraclea.
Cori di Soldati Romani, e Asiatici.

La Musica è del celebre Sig. D. Antonio Vivaldi Maestro di Cappella di S.A.S. il Signor Principe Filippo Langravio d' Hassia Darmstath.
Li Balli sono invenzioni del Sig. Giovanni Galletto.

A 3 MU-

Cast-list from the libretto of *Farnace* (Carnival 1727)

1727: 'Vivaldi has composed three operas in less than five months, two for Venice and the third for Florence; the last of these has restored the reputation of the theatre of that city and earned him a lot of

money.'[20] Vivaldi's position at S. Angelo is made clear in a contract, dated 13 October 1726, drawn up privately between himself and the singer Lucrezia Baldini, in which he is named as 'direttore delle opere'.[21] The contract contains some interesting details: the singer was to appear in the third and last opera (*Farnace*) of the season and was to be paid 200 ducats in three instalments – the first just before the opera opened, the second halfway through its run, and the third on the last Thursday before Lent. For the following season Vivaldi provided *Orlando furioso* (Autumn),[22] using a slightly altered version of Braccioli's libretto for Ristori, and *Rosilena ed Oronta* (Carnival). With these two works his second period of intense activity at S. Angelo abruptly closes.

Vivaldi's standing as an operatic composer had reached, and would soon pass, its high point. At the time when he started to compose works for the Venetian stage the dominant figures were all natives or at the very least residents of that city – men like Albinoni, Gasparini, Lotti, Caldara and the two Pollarolos. While it would be an exaggeration to speak of a Venetian 'school', one can with justice point to a regional style. Now a degree of cosmopolitanism had arrived, and a younger generation of composers, mostly Neapolitan (Leo, Vinci, Porpora) or Naples-influenced (Hasse), was coming to the fore, borne aloft by the new lyricism of Metastasian verse. Among younger Venetian composers only Baldassarre Galuppi (1706–85) could still count as a front-runner. True, Venice did not wholly desert her favourite sons, Albinoni and Vivaldi, and a trickle of operas, new or refurbished, by both men continued to reach the stage in the smaller theatres for several years, but both found difficulties in updating their style to conform with current fashion. In general, their greatest successes after 1728 were to be enjoyed in northern Europe or the Italian provinces, where audiences were more conservative or simply less fashion-conscious. From now on, Vivaldi was to pay increasing attention to the promotion of his operas outside Venice. In Spring 1727 *Siroe, re di Persia*, his first setting of a Metastasio libretto, was staged in Reggio Emilia; *Atenaide* received its première in Florence during Carnival 1729, while *Ottone in villa* was performed in Treviso (Autumn 1728) and *Farnace* in Livorno (Summer 1729).

In the late 1720s Vivaldi came into close contact with the Austrian emperor Charles VI and at some point visited Vienna, if his affirmation

[20] Op. cit., p. 10; inexactly quoted in Pincherle, *Antonio Vivaldi et la musique instrumentale*, vol. i, p. 22f.

[21] Reproduced from the original in *ASV* in Giazotto, op. cit., p. 193.

[22] The title is shortened to *Orlando* in the libretto, but not in the autograph score.

to Bentivoglio: 'Sono stato chiamato a Vienna' (letter of 16 November 1737) is to be believed. The first sign appears in the dedication to Charles (curiously, without a letter of dedication) of his op. 9, 12 concertos entitled *La cetra* (The Lyre). The set was advertised in the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* of 31 January 1727 as soon to appear, and its publication was announced in the issue of 28 November. The dedication was evidently well received, for on the occasion of Charles's visit to Carniola, during which he inspected the port of Trieste, Vivaldi was received by the emperor and treated very handsomely. In the words of Antonio Conti (letter of 19 September 1728): 'The emperor has given Vivaldi much money, together with a golden chain and medal; and tell him [the son of Mme de Caylus] that he has made him a knight.' And again (letter of 23 September): 'The emperor conversed with Vivaldi for a long time about music, and people say that he spoke more to him in private in two weeks than he speaks to his ministers in two years'.[23] It may have been this meeting which prompted Vivaldi to dedicate and present to the emperor a second, this time manuscript, set of violin concertos entitled *La cetra* and dated 1728 in the autograph parts (lacking only the solo part) preserved in the Austrian National Library.[24] Until recently scholars generally presumed the manuscript *La cetra* to be the same as the published set of that name, but in reality only one work (RV 391) is common to them. Nothing more is known for certain about Vivaldi's links with the Viennese court, except that a serenata, *Le gare della Giustizia e della Pace*, was performed for Charles's name-day in Venice; the year is not recorded.

La cetra was quickly followed by a set of six concertos, op. 10 (c 1728), for flute and strings, almost the first for that combination ever published. (They were not quite the first published concertos to include flute, however, as Boismortier's *Six concerts pour cinque flûtes traversières sans basse*, op. 15, had appeared in Paris in 1727; in the same year Robert Woodcock assigned three of his 12 concertos to a transverse flute.) Twelve violin concertos, opp. 11 and 12 (really two volumes of a single opus), came out in 1729. Like opp. 6 and 7, these three new collections included no dedication, and like opp. 8 and 9, they were said in the imprint to be published at Le Cène's expense.

The visit to Bohemia, already mentioned in connection with G.B. Vivaldi's application for leave, probably began shortly before Anna Girò's appearance in Hasse's *Dalisa* (Ascension 1730). Between 1724

[23] Op. cit., pp 142f, 144; quoted in Giazotto, op. cit., p. 233.
[24] Cod. 15996.

and 1734 a Venetian troupe led by Antonio Denzio mounted a total of 57 operas (discounting intermezzos) at the theatre of Count Franz Anton von Sporck in Prague.[25] Already, Denzio had used arias by Vivaldi (including several from *La costanza trionfante*) in *La tirannia gastigata* (Carnival 1726), for which Antonio Guerra wrote the recitatives.

Vivaldi probably reached Prague in time for the revival of his popular *Farnace* (Spring 1730). Having familiarized himself with conditions in Prague, he proceeded to compose a new opera, *Argippo* (Autumn 1730), and write arias for *Alvilda, regina de' Goti* (Spring 1731). It is less likely that he was present for the revivals of *La costanza trionfante* (as *Doriclea*, Carnival 1732) and *Dorilla in Tempe* (Spring 1732).

The evidence for Vivaldi's residence in Bohemia is circumstantial. The fact that *La costanza trionfante*, retitled *L'odio vinto dalla costanza*, was staged at S. Angelo during Carnival 1731 with its music arranged by A. Galeazzi bespeaks Vivaldi's absence from Venice, for we know from his later Ferrara projects that he was extremely jealous of the privilege of arranging his music. A stronger hint is provided by the autograph scores of two trios for lute, violin and bass and one concerto for lute, two violins and bass, all from the Turin collection.[26] They are written on an unusual paper of central-European provenance, and each has on its opening page the following superscription: 'Per Sua Eccellenza Signor Conte Wrttbij' (abbreviations spelt out). This nobleman can be identified (not with certainty, as his family had several branches) with Count Johann Joseph von Wrtby (1669–1734), who held some of the highest offices in Bohemia, including those of royal governor, president of the Court of Appeal and hereditary treasurer, Wrtby was a regular visitor to the Prague opera, and his collection of librettos, which passed first to the Křimice branch of his own family, then to the Lobkowitzes, and latterly to the National Museum in Prague, includes several in which the count recorded how well the opera had been received. *Farnace*, for instance, earned 'great approbation', and *Argippo* 'very great approbation'.[27] A meeting with Wrtby in Prague could explain both the commission (perhaps for six trios, as the surviving pair are numbered 2 and 5) and the unusual paper of the scores.*

[25] The best account of the activity and repertoire of Denzio's company is in Pravoslav Kneidl, 'Librera italské opery v Praze v 18. století', *Strahovská knihovna*, vol. i (1966), pp. 97–131.

[26] RV 82 (Foà 40, ff. 6–9), RV 85 (Foà 40, ff. 2–5) and RV 93/P.209 (Giordano 35, ff. 297–301).

[27] Kneidl, op. cit., p. 114f.

By Carnival 1732 Vivaldi was probably back in Italy. He was asked, in place of Orlandini, the original choice, to compose the music for Scipione Maffei's *La fida ninfa*, an opera written by this celebrated savant to inaugurate Verona's Teatro Filarmonico (6 January 1732). His *Semiramide* was given during the same season at nearby Mantua.

He was certainly in Venice on 13 February 1733, when Edward Holdsworth met him. One gathers that Charles Jennens, for whom Holdsworth was ceaselessly carrying out 'commissions' during his visits to Italy, had asked his literary friend to seek out Vivaldi and explore the possibility of buying works from him. It is obvious that Jennens greatly admired Vivaldi's music, for in the sale catalogue of Puttick & Simpson for 25 August 1873, when part of the musical library of the Earl of Aylesford (to whose family Jennens had bequeathed his collection) was put on auction, we find all the published sets except op. 5. Holdsworth writes:

> I had this day some discourse with your friend Vivaldi who told me that he had resolved not to publish any more concertos, because he says it prevents his selling his compositions in MSS which he thinks will turn more to account; as certainly it would if he finds a good market for he expects a guinea for every piece. Perhaps you might deal with him if you were here to choose what you like, but I am sure I shall not venture to choose for you at that price. I had before been informed by others that this was Vivaldi's resolution. I suppose you already know that he has published 17 concertos.

Jennens took the reference to '17 concertos' to mean that number of *sets* of concertos or sonatas, and in his reply, alas lost, seems to have disputed the figure. Hence another interesting passage in a letter Holdsworth sent him on 16 July 1733 from Antwerp:

> Monsieur La [sic] Cene who has published Vivaldi's and Albinoni's works assured me that if you have 12 of Vivaldi's op. [sic] and 9 of Albinoni, you have all. Let Vivaldi, he says, reckon as he pleases. He has published no more than 12, and must count several of them double to make up the number 17, which piece of vanity suits very well with his character.

Vivaldi was undoubtedly vain, but on this occasion there was a grain of sense in his calculation, if he meant to count double those five sets of concertos divided into two *libri.*

In 1733–4 he returned to S. Angelo. *Motezuma* (Autumn) was followed by *L'Olimpiade* and a revived *Dorilla in Tempe.* The following year it was the turn of Verona with *L'Adelaide* and *Bajazet* (or *Tamerlano*), a pasticcio including arias by G. Giacomelli and Hasse.

Later in 1735 Vivaldi came back to the Venetian stage. Let Goldoni take up the story:[28]

> His Excellency Grimani was accustomed to have an *opera seria* performed at the same theatre [S. Samuele] during the Ascensiontide fair. Normally, old librettos were used, and these always needed to be altered in part, either because the composer required it or to suit the whims of the singers. So for this purpose, as well as that of directing and coaching the actors [i.e. singers], it was necessary to have a poet capable of writing new aria texts and possessing some knowledge of the theatre. [There follows a description of how Domenico Lalli, Grimani's manager, used to delegate this work to Goldoni, and some introductory remarks (to which reference has been made earlier) concerning Vivaldi and Anna Girò]. Vivaldi badly needed a poet to adapt, or rather to hash up, the drama to his taste, so that he could include for better or for worse the arias which his pupil had sung on other occasions, and I, charged with this task, presented myself to the composer on the instructions of my noble patron. He received me rather coldly. He took me for a novice, quite correctly, and finding me ill versed in the science of mutilating dramas, made obvious his great desire to send me away. He knew of the applause which had greeted my ***Bellisario*** and the success of my intermezzos, but he deemed the task of hashing up a drama a difficult one, which required a special talent. Then I remembered those ***rules*** which had driven me mad at Milan, when I read my ***Amalasunta***, and I too wanted to depart, but my position, my reluctance to disappoint His Excellency Grimani, and my hope of assuming the directorship of the magnificent theatre of S. Giovanni Grisostomo [also owned by Grimani] made me conceal my feelings and almost beg the ***Prete Rosso*** to try me out. He looked at me with a compassionate smile and picked up a libretto. 'Here you are', he said; 'this is the drama to be adapted: Apostolo Zeno's *Griselda.* The opera (he went on) is very fine; the part of the leading lady could not be better; but certain changes are needed ... If you, Sir, knew the rules ... Enough – how could you know them? You see here, for instance, after this tender scene, there is a ***cantabile*** aria; but as Miss Annina does not ... does not ... does not like this kind of aria (that is, she could not sing it) we need here an aria of action ... to express passion without being pathetic or ***cantabile.***'
>
> 'I see', I replied, 'I see. I will attempt to satisfy you: please give me the libretto.'
>
> 'But I need it', Vivaldi resumed; 'I have not finished the recitatives; when will you return it?'
>
> 'Straight away', I say; 'please give me a piece of paper and an ink-well …'

[28] *Commedie*, vol. xiii, pp. 10ff.

'What? You think, Sir, that an aria in an opera is like one in an intermezzo!'

I became a little angry, and cheekily replied: 'Let me have the ink-well'; and I took a letter from my pocket, from which I tore a piece of white paper.

'Do not take offence', he said gently; 'please – sit down here at this desk: here is the paper, the ink-well and the libretto; take your time;' and he returns to his study and begins to recite from his breviary. Then I read the scene carefully; I size up the feeling of the *cantabile* aria, and write one expressing action, passion and movement. I bring it and show it to him; he holds the breviary in his right hand, my sheet in his left hand, and he reads softly; having finished reading, he throws the breviary in a corner, gets up, embraces me, rushes to the door, and calls Miss Annina. Miss Annina comes with her sister Paolina; he reads them the aria, shouting loudly: 'He did it *here*, he did it *here*, *here* he did it!' Again he embraces me and congratulates me, and I became his dear friend, his poet and his confidant; and from then on he never forsook me. I went on to murder Zeno's drama as much as, and in whatever way, he wanted. The opera was performed and met with success.

The pen-portrait emerging from this account is not a wholly unsympathetic one. Note how meagrely Vivaldi's breviary figures in it, compared with Goldoni's later and better-known account of the meeting. At any rate, the two men liked one another enough to collaborate (as Lotavio Vandini and Grolo Candido) on the 'heroic-comic' opera *Aristide*, performed at S. Samuele in the following Autumn.*

We must now return to the Pietà, where on 5 August 1735 Vivaldi was once again engaged as *Maestro de' Concerti*, his salary 100 ducats as before.[29] Composing, teaching and rehearsal were to be his duties. The appointment followed a report of 3 August, quoted in part by Pincherle, which stated that Vivaldi intended to remain in Venice 'without any more thought of leaving, as he had done in past years'.[30] One might as well ask a bird to remain in its nest.

The years 1737–9 are dominated by Vivaldi's three attempts, all unsuccessful in different ways, to mount a season of opera at Ferrara. Our information cornes from his surviving correspondence with the Marquis Guido Bentivoglio d'Aragona, which comprises 19 letters, 13 from Vivaldi and copies of six from the marquis, to which one may add some letters to Bentivoglio from other persons concerned in the

[29] *ASV*, Osp., Busta 692 (Q), f. 113; transcribed in Giazotto, op. cit., p. 378f.

[30] *Antonio Vivaldi et la musique instrumentale*, vol. i, p. 24: 'senza idea dì più partire, come ha pratticato negli anni passati.'

operatic projects. Eleven of the letters are preserved in the Ferrara State Archives, the others mostly being in private ownership. To quote at length from this voluminous correspondence would be impossible here, so the content of each letter will be summarized.[31]

28 October 1736. Bentivoglio, replying to Vivaldi's proposal, in a letter (lost) of 20 October, to organize an operatic season at Ferrara in the coming Winter, informs the composer that the Abbé Bollani, impresario of the Ferrara opera, has come to Venice to discuss the project with him.

3 November 1736. Thanking Bentivoglio for keeping a promise made (when?) in Rome to act as his patron, Vivaldi reports a successful meeting with Bollani. He has assembled a strong team of singers. Although he has just turned down an invitation to write the third opera of the season at S. Cassiano for 90 sequins, demanding his normal fee of 100 sequins, he will be able to let Ferrara have two operas specially arranged by him for six sequins – what it costs to have them copied – apiece. His responsibilities at S. Cassiano prevent him from coming in person to Ferrara, except, possibly, at the very end of the season. Anna Girò, who will be singing at Ferrara, offers her respects.

24 November 1736. After mentioning a point at issue in the contract of one singer (La Mancini), Vivaldi reports that he has had to rewrite the recitatives of *Demetrio* (identifiable as Hasse's opera performed at S. Giovanni Grisostomo in 1732) and provide some arias of his own. The first act is already in rehearsal at Venice.

26 December 1736. Vivaldi expresses hope that *Demetrio* has opened successfully. He is sending on the first act of another opera, ready for copying into parts. He proposes to alter a few lines of the libretto, which he is submitting for the marquis's approvai, rather than trouble the impresario (Bollani), who might take exception. Vivaldi disparages the incumbent impresarios of S. Cassiano, S. Angelo, Brescia and Ferrara, describing them as 'di poca prattica' (is their common fault to have obstructed his plans?). He finally asks Bentivoglio (obviously angling for a commission) whether he still enjoys playing the mandolin.

[31] See Giazotto, op. cit., *passim*, for a complete series of transcriptions and information on sources.

29 December 1736. Vivaldi brings to the marquis's attention a matter which he had earlier wished to conceal. He reveals that it was originally agreed with Bollani that the two operas should be *Ginevra* and *L'Olimpiade* (his own operas of 1736 for Florence and 1734 for Venice). Having revised *Ginevra*, Vivaldi was suddenly informed by Bollani that the patrons of the Ferrara opera wished instead to have *Demetrio.* He obtained the score from the impresario Grimani, and, seeing that five out of six vocal parts needed re-shaping, composed new recitatives. Grimani made him pay for the copying of parts, which resulted in an unforeseen expense of 20 *lire.* As Bollani was pressing him to have *L'Olimpiade* ready, Vivaldi, having greatly altered the original (he made a fine art of this kind of conversion), took it upon himself to start having parts copied. Then Bollani informed him that in place of *L'Olimpiade*, *Alessandro nell'Indie* (probably also Hasse's setting) was now wanted, and had the temerity to suggest that Grimani send the score in his possession to Ferrara – something no impresario would agree to. So Vivaldi has had to assume the cost of copying, another six sequins. Bollani therefore owes him six sequins and 20 *lire.* Vivaldi ends by bemoaning the impresario's incompetence. (One cannot altogether discount his pique at having his own scores rejected in favour of Hasse's).

30 December 1736. Bentivoglio, who has not yet received Vivaldi's letter of the day before, approves the alterations to *Alessandro*, and agrees that Bollani is inexpert. He confesses, pointedly, that he takes his mandolin out only once a year, or even less often.

2 January 1737. Vivaldi reports sending off the final act of *Alessandro.* He asks Bentivoglio to help him obtain the outstanding sum from Bollani. He has heard that *Demetrio* is thought overlong, and agrees that an opera lasting four hours is unsuitable for Ferrara. It was his intention to cut the recitatives, but Lanzetti (Bollani's underling) stopped him. He reports that S. Cassiano is being managed very badly, tickets being overpriced, for which reason he has turned down a commission worth 100 sequins for a new opera.[32] (Lanzetti, who on 9 January had written to Bentivoglio confirming Vivaldi's extra expenses, retracted his account in a further letter of 12 January, complaining

[32] No opera by Vivaldi, discounting his posthumous contribution to the pasticcio *Ernelinda* (1750), is known to have been composed for S. Cassiano.

that Vivaldi, who had exaggerated these expenses, had forced him by threats to write the first letter.)

17 March 1737. In a cool letter, which almost seems to suggest that Bentivoglio suffers Vivaldi for the sake of his female companions, the marquis expresses his desire to show his appreciation of the Girò sisters. Vivaldi will be welcome in Ferrara, but should not put himself out…

3 May 1737. Vivaldi writes excitedly from Verona, where his new opera (*Catone in Utica*) is enjoying great success, having covered its costs after only six performances.[33] A similar opera, with ballets in place of intermezzos, would suit Ferrara excellently – not during Carnival, when the ballets alone would cost 700 *louis*, but in the Summer, when they can be had for a knockdown price. He boasts of being an independent entrepreneur, capable of meeting costs from his own pocket without taking loans, and invites Bentivoglio to ask him to Ferrara that Autumn.

5 May 1737. Bentivoglio expresses pleasure at Vivaldi's success, but advises him against taking the opera to Ferrara in the Autumn, when he will be away.

6 November 1737. In the meantime, Bentivoglio has given Vivaldi his blessing for an opera in the following Carnival. Vivaldi is having trouble with Coluzzi, a dancer under contract with him, who has eloped with another dancer, Angelo Pompeati, 'a very bad man by nature and capable of any error or extravagance'.[34] Now there is talk of her dancing that Autumn in Venice, which will allow her less than the 16 or 18 days needed to rehearse a ballet. He begs Bentivoglio to write to the wife of the procurator Foscarini in order to compel Coluzzi to be in Ferrara by 2 December. He will travel up towards the 15th (of November).

13 November 1737. Vivaldi thanks Bentivoglio for his intercession and continuing help in the Coluzzi affair. Whenever Coluzzi shows up, the

[33] It was this opera which so delighted Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, and his wife on 26 March 1737. See Pincherle, *Antonio Vivaldi et la musique instrumentale*, vol. i, p. 24.

[34] Pompeati later became a dancing master and teacher of Italian, instructing the young Dittersdorf in both arts. Vivaldi evidently forgave him by 1739, when he choreographed the ballets in *Feraspe*.

opera will open on time, on 26 December. God willing, he is leaving for Ferrara on Monday.

16 November 1737. God, or rather one of his earthly representatives, is not willing! A distraught Vivaldi reports that the papal nuncio (in Venice) has just informed him that Tomaso Ruffo, Cardinal of Ferrara, will not allow him to enter Ferrara, citing his refusal to say Mass and his friendship with Anna Girò.[35] Contracts worth 6000 ducats, of which more than a third has been paid out, are jeopardized. It is unthinkable to put on the opera without Girò, whose talents are unique, or without him, since he cannot entrust so large a sum to other hands. Besides, the allegations are unfounded.

Then follows the *apologia pro vita sua*, to which reference has been made earlier. Where Vivaldi is not wallowing in self-pity, he tries to pull rank with statements like: 'I have the honour to correspond with nine high princes, and my letters travel all over Europe'. He ends by asking Bentivoglio to use his good offices with Ruffo. If Ruffo still will not let him in, at least the opera should be prohibited, so as to release him from his contracts!

20 November 1737. Bentivoglio replies that Ruffo is immovable in his resolution to forbid Vivaldi's presence as impresario. Nor can he prohibit the opera, for no good reason can be cited, especially as comedies will also be playing during Carnival. The marquis advises Vivaldi to put the opera in the hands of Picchi, a local impresario. He politely reproves Vivaldi for having sent Bollani to plead with Ruffo, for priests are the last people His Eminence likes to see mixed up with opera.

23 November 1737. Vivaldi resigns himself to handing over the opera to Picchi. Continuing his self-defence, he pleads that he never demeans himself by standing at the door of the opera house (? to sell tickets) like a common impresario, nor does he play in the orchestra like a common violinist, except on the first night. Defending himself against the charge of cohabiting with Anna Girò, he cannot forbear to mention that his house costs 200 ducats to rent.

30 November 1737. Picchi is evidently driving a hard bargain. Conscious

[35] Ruffo (1664–1753) had a reputation for strictness, and in 1738 actually issued an edict forbidding the clergy under his jurisdiction to take part in the Carnival festivities. See Giazotto, op. cit., p. 286.

of the weakness of his position, Vivaldi begs Bentivoglio to back him up.

Our sympathy for Vivaldi lessens a little when we learn that he had by no means put all his eggs in one basket. He contributed a richly scored concerto to the centenary celebrations of Amsterdam's Schouwburg theatre (RV 562a) in January 1738.* Moreover, he evidently took up the reins of S. Angelo once more, providing for Carnival one new opera, *L'oracolo in Messenia*, one revised opera, *Armida al campo d'Egitto*, and the pasticcio *Rosmira.* But let us pick up the threads of the Bentivoglio correspondence again:

2 January 1739. Vivaldi is writing in great distress, having heard about the reception of his *Siroe* in Ferrara, which has been so bad that the management are refusing to follow it with his specially revised *Farnace*, in defiance of contract. His recitatives have been declared miserable – an accusation that he, with 94 operas to his credit, will not stand for. The real villain is the first harpsichordist Pietro Antonio Berretta (*Maestro di Cappella* at Ferrara cathedral), who, finding the recitatives difficult, has tampered with them. Add to that his bad playing, and the result is bound to be dreadful. These are the same recitatives performed with great success at Ancona (Summer 1738), and which went well in rehearsal at Venice. In the original score no notes or figures have been struck out or erased: Berretta's alterations will therefore be identifiable. Imploring Bentivoglio to protect his threatened reputation, Vivaldi blames his misfortune on his absence from Ferrara.

7 January 1739. Bentivoglio commiserates, but writes that he is unwilling to become embroiled.

Ferrara had had enough of Vivaldi's operas, but Venice remained indulgent. *Feraspe* was heard at S. Angelo in Autumn 1739. A *faccio fede* for *Tito Manlio* dated 27 January 1739 (? *more veneto*) reported by Giazotto must refer to a projected but unrealized performance.[36]

The Pietà, too, still kept him in the public eye. When Ferdinand Maria of Bavaria, Charles Albert's brother, visited Venice around Carnival 1738, he possibly heard there a performance of Vivaldi's 'piscatorial eclogue' *Il Mopso* (probably a kind of serenata), which he greatly admired. Lacking a *Maestro di Coro* at the time, the Pietà

[36] Op. cit., p. 310.

commissioned from Vivaldi a sizable group of vocal compositions (psalms, votive antiphons, a *Magnificat* and motets) in early 1739. When Frederick Christian, Prince-Elector of Saxony, paid a state visit to Venice in 1740, three of the conservatories feted him with music. The Pietà led off, on 21 March 1740, with a serenata, *Il coro delle muse,* for which Vivaldi wrote a sinfonia (RV 149) and three concertos, all exploiting unusual combinations of instruments (RV 540/P.266, RV 552/P.222 and RV 558/P.16). (A division of labour where one composer wrote the vocal music and another the instrumental music (overture, entr'actes, etc.) to the same work was very common at the time, corresponding to the respective composers' terms of employment; even ostensibly independent works like Corelli's *concerti grossi* often originated as parts of a greater whole.)

There is no doubt, however, that Vivaldi's opportunities in Venice were drying up. The point is made in de Brosses's much-quoted letter of 29 August 1739, where one reads:[37]

> Vivaldi has made himself one of my intimate friends in order to sell me some concertos at a very high price. In this he partly succeeded, as did I in my intention, which was to hear him play and have good musical recreation frequently. He is an old man with a mania for composing. I have heard him boast of composing a concerto in all its parts more quickly than a copyist could write them down. To my great astonishment, I have found that he is not as well regarded as he deserves in these parts, where everything has to be fashionable, where his works have been heard for too long, and where last year's music no longer brings in revenue.

The reason why Vivaldi, now aged 62, ventured on a final journey in 1740 remains mysterious. Since Vienna was his destination, one might guess that he had been invited by Charles VI, who died in October 1740. Alternatively, his original destination might have been different, and his decision to make for Vienna a result of the accession of Empress Maria Theresa's consort Francis Stephen, Duke of Lorraine (and latterly Grand Duke of Tuscany), since in opera librettos from 1735 onwards Vivaldi had styled himself *Maestro di Cappella* of the duke, proof of some form of association. We first get wind of his imminent departure in a resolution debated by the Pietà's governors on 29 April 1740:[38]

---

[37] Op. cit., vol. i, p. 193.

[38] *ASV*, Osp., Busta 692 (R), ff. 78v-79r; reproduced in Giazotto, op. cit., p. 257. The date of 29 August given in Salvatori, op. cit., p. 341, and accepted by many later writers including Pincherle, is thus incorrect.

> It has been brought to our attention that our orchestra needs concertos for organ and other instruments to maintain its present reputation. Having heard also that Reverend Vivaldi is about to leave this capital city and has a certain quantity of concertos ready for sale, we shall be obliged to buy them, therefore:
>
> It is moved that the Officers in charge of the Chapel and of Music be empowered to buy these from our funds as they see fit at the rate of one sequin each, in accordance with normal practice.

abstentions	3	
against	3	indecisive
for	4	

Although the balance tilted slightly against Vivaldi on a fresh vote, the governors eventually relented, for on 12 May he was paid 70 ducats and 23 *grossi* for 20 concertos.[39]

We then lose track of him for over a year. His presence in Vienna on 28 June 1741 is attested by an autograph receipt for the sale of an unspecified number of compositions to Antonio Vinciguerra, Count Collalto, a nobleman of Venetian origin whose main residence was at Brtnice in south-west Moravia.[40]

Death overtook the composer a month later. When he breathed his last, on Thursday 27 July 1741, he was living in the house of the widow of a saddler named Waller (or Wahler), hence its description in the necrology as 'saddler's house' (*Satlerisches Haus*).[41] This house, demolished to make way for the new Ringstrasse in 1858, stood at the end of the Kärntner Strasse nearer the Kärntner Tor (Gate of Carinthia). The cause of death was stated to be an internal inflammation (*innerlicher Brand*). Later that day Vivaldi was unceremoniously buried in the Hospital Cemetery (*Spitaler Gottesacker*), which also no longer exists. His funeral was accompanied by a *Kleingeläut* (small peal of bells), and the expenses, which totalled 19 florins and 45 kreutzers, were kept to the minimum. If Mozart's burial 50 years later was that of a pauper, Vivaldi's deserves that sad epithet equally. His straitened circumstances are confirmed by a brief report in the Commemoriali Gradenigo that 'the Abbé Don Antonio Vivaldi, known as the *Prete Rosso*, an excellent performer on the violin and a much admired

[39] *ASV*, Osp., Reg. 1009, f. 541. The same payment is recorded as the equivalent sum of 44 *lire* (or 20 sequins) in another account book (Busta 704, Scontro 3, opening 41).

[40] The compositions may be among the 16 recorded in an inventory of the Collalto collection preserved in Brno, Moravské Muzeum.

[41] Vienna, Parish of St Stephen, necrology, vol. xxiii, f. 63. See Gallo, op. cit., and Hedy Pabisch, 'Neue Dokumente zu Vivaldis Sterbetag', *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*, vol. xxvii (1972), pp. 82–3.

composer of concertos, once earned over 50,000 ducats (? annually), but through excessive prodigality died a pauper in Vienna.[42]*

There are two, possibly three, portraits of Vivaldi still surviving, one of which was much copied during the eighteenth century and exists in several variants. This 'Effigies Antonii Vivaldi' was an engraving made by François Morellon La Cave (a Frenchman resident in Amsterdam) in 1725. The composer is shown full-face, holding up a sheet of music over a table on which an ink-well stands. His expression is a little sanctimonious and, as Pincherle says, ovine (though the shape and texture of his wig contribute to this impression). Ghezzi's ink sketch (Rome, 1723) shows the head and shoulders in profile, lightly accentuating the nostrility of his nose and the pugnacious thrust of his chin. Lastly, there is an anonymous portrait in oils of an unnamed violinist in the Liceo Musicale of Bologna, which was identified as that of Vivaldi by Francesco Vatielli on account of its similarity to other portraits and the hint of red hair showing at the edge of the blond wig. Indeed, it has so many features in common with La Cave's engraving (Vivaldi's gown, his chemise, the ink-well and paper, the proportions of his face) that it might well have served as its model. If La Cave's engraving stresses self-satisfaction, and Ghezzi's caricature avidity, the oil portrait gives Vivaldi's face a sweet, almost angelic cast.*

The character revealed by what details we possess of the composer's life is complex, and – like those of Lully and Wagner, two other composers famous for their entrepreneurial zest – not always sympathetic. Vivaldi's ailment, which restricted his movements, must be held to account for many traits. Was it not to compensate for physical immobility that he played at such breakneck speed, wrote down his music in a tearing hurry (in many original drafts he begins by writing neatly, but in his impulsiveness allows his hand to degenerate into a scrawl), and allowed himself to be transported in a carriage back and forth across Europe? Did he not compensate for his physical dependence on others by stubbornly refusing to delegate matters concerning his career to collaborators, even at the cost of overstretching his capacity to keep a grip on events? Was not the inferiority complex to which invalids are susceptible inverted to become a superiority complex – a megalomania, even – making the composer intolerant of all criticism

[42] Venice, Museo Correr, Ms. Gradenigo 200, ii, f. 36r; reproduced in Giazotto, op. cit., p. 289.

and full of his musical accomplishments and social connections?

This contrast between Vivaldi's knowledge of himself and the face which he wished to present to the world comes out in his music, where frenetic gaiety is found side by side with dreamy withdrawal or brooding introspection. The melancholy repetitiveness of a movement such as the Largo of op. 4 no. 9 (RV 284), suggestive of great loneliness, is paralleled in its period only in the music of Zelenka, whose service at Dresden was marked by deep frustration.

One cannot so easily explain Vivaldi's obsession with money and, more generally, with quantification of all kinds. Even when inflating his statistics, he seldom uses round figures.

Vivaldi's religiosity seems, superficially at least, to be confirmed by the famous motto standing at the head of many of his longer scores: L.D.B.M.D.A. As this motto is usually presented as a monogram, the letters superimposed on one another, its elucidation has escaped many commentators, who preferred to see in it the initials of Vivaldi's name; but since the letters are spelled out consecutively in the scores of *Bajazet*, *L'Olimpiade* and *Teuzzone*, their identity cannot be questioned. Reinhard Strohm has suggested the expansion of the initials to 'Laus Deo Beataeque Mariae Deiparae Amen', which seems entirely convincing.[43] One might liken this motto to the formula 'Adsit scribenti Virgo Beata mihi' found in autograph scores of Benedetto Marcello, himself something of a religious recluse in later life.

Fortunately, Vivaldi did not lack a somewhat rough sense of humour. One remembers the inscription 'per li coglioni', rather too delicately rendered as 'for blockheads', in the finale of the autograph score of the concerto RV 340 dedicated to Pisendel, where Vivaldi had included, no doubt for a copyist's benefit, some bass figures, which, if left in, could be interpreted as a slight on Pisendel's musicality. One also smiles at the exasperated comment written over the score of an aria in *Orlando finto pazzo* intended to replace the one originally composed, probably at the singer's behest: 'Se questa non piace, non voglio più scrivere di musica' (If you don't like this, I'll stop writing music). Some of the descriptive titles of concertos are attractively whimsical – *La disunione*, *Grosso Mogul*, *Il Proteo* – and the intriguingly enigmatic dedication of the concerto RV 574/P.319 to 'S.A.S.I.S.P.G.M.D.G.S.M.B.' must be in jest, satirizing the eighteenth century's fondness for abbreviation.

[43] 'Eine neuentdeckte Mantuaner Opernpartitur Vivaldis', *Vivaldi Informations*, vol. ii (1973), p. 105.

There was kindliness, too, in the man. Once his initial suspicions had been overcome, he treated Goldoni with real warmth. Also, one doubts whether the devotion of the Girò sisters was inspired merely by self-interest. Let us not judge Vivaldi's character on the strength of the surviving documentation alone, since this is inevitably weighted towards his business activities, which brought out his less attractive side, but let us rather infer from his music what nobler qualities lay, perhaps latently, in his personality.

5

Vivaldi's musical style

Many listeners must have discovered how much easier it is to mistake one Vivaldi composition for another than to identify its composer wrongly. To say this is neither to endorse Stravinsky's supercilious observation, inherited from Dallapiccola, that Vivaldi could 'compose the same form so many times over',[1] nor to make an obvious deduction from the fact that he borrowed copiously from his own works but sparingly from those of other composers. Even by the standards of his age, when plagiarism from other composers was frequently castigated by critics but self-borrowing raised hardly a murmur, his style remained remarkably constant. It was almost fully formed in op. 1 (1705) and complete in its essentials in op. 2 (1709); thereafter it underwent little change except in its more superficial melodic characteristics, which evolved continuously to keep abreast of current fashion. Had his style been half as malleable as that of his contemporary Telemann (1681–1767), who began as a neo-Corellian and ended as an immediate precursor of the Classical style, he would hardly have countenanced including his contributions to the 1714 revival of Ristori's *Orlando furioso* in his own *Orlando* of 1727, or using movements from the original version of *Farnace* (1727) in the ill-fated score for Ferrara of 1738.

Nor does his style vary much from one genre or medium to another, when the potentialities and limitations of different instruments and the human voice have been taken into account. He was not one of those composers like Caldara and Lotti who could write in a 'strict' style for the church and a 'free' style for the theatre. Try as he might on occasion to compose in the learned style, the French style or even the *bel canto* style, Vivaldi proved (perhaps fortunately) a bad imitator incapable of suppressing his individuality.

Because his style was so distinctive in a consistent manner, it is

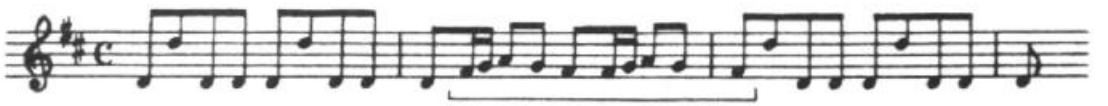
[1] Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Conversations with Igor Stravinsky* (London, 1959), p. 76.

useful to precede a discussion of Vivaldi's music with a look at some of the most original features of his style in general. The norm against which we shall be measuring him will be the mainstream of the Italian tradition, though inevitably major figures of the late Baroque from outside Italy will be drawn in.

In Vivaldi's melody one notes first a broad sweep and a great fondness for unusually wide intervals. Italian composers for the violin had long been accustomed to the practice of skipping back and forth between adjacent and even non-adjacent strings and were now beginning to move with greater freedom up and down the fingerboard; indeed, Venetian composers such as Legrenzi and (somewhat less) Albinoni often revelled in angularity for its own sake. The growing popularity around 1690 of unison writing for the string ensemble caused some types of melodic progression hitherto the prerogative of bass parts (especially the rising fourth or descending fifth at cadences) to be adopted by upper parts, which might retain them even when independent of the bass. What distinguishes Vivaldi is the expressive value he attaches to the octave and compound intervals – a value totally different from that of the corresponding simple intervals. Without historical awareness we might easily consider the opening of the *Gloria* RV 589 banal, even naive:

Ex. 1

Allegro



(bracketed notes in tenth with the bass, the rest in octaves)

To Vivaldi's contemporaries those pounding octaves were novel, exciting and worthy of imitation.

Where he uses large intervals we often find either that two-part writing is being simulated in a single line (the lower 'part' may be a pedal-note) or that an expected simple interval has been displaced upwards or downwards by one or two octaves, as at the beginning of the *Concerto funebre* RV 579/P.385:

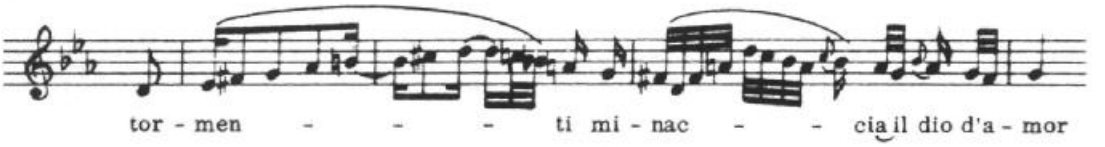
Ex. 2

Largo

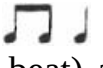
He shows no general preference for diatonicism or chromaticism in his melodies, tending to either as the occasion warrants, but it is remarkable how often melodic chromaticism is introduced without prompting from the harmonic progressions. A flattened ('Neapolitan') supertonic is common in minor tonalities, and a sharpened ('Lydian') subdominant in both major and minor tonalities. In minor keys the raised fourth degree is often preceded by a raised third degree – a curious reproduction of the structure at the upper end of the melodic minor scale (see the B natural and C sharp in the example below). He inflects (or fails to inflect) the sixth and seventh degrees of the minor scale in ways that still strike us as extraordinary: the 'descending' (i.e. lowered) forms can be used for an *ascending* line, and the 'ascending' (i.e. raised) forms for a *descending* line (outside the confines of dominant harmony, where they are conventional). Moreover, he exploits the augmented second of the 'harmonic' minor scale for frankly melodic purposes – this at a time when even in inner parts augmented seconds were carefully avoided, often being converted by octave displacement into diminished sevenths. The two augmented seconds in close succession in the next example, from an aria (sung originally by Anna Girò) for the enchantress Alcina near the end of the second act of *Orlando*, lend the vocal line an anguished intensity rare for its period.

Ex. 3

(Andante molto)



Sometimes, an unusual chromatic inflection suggests the influence of folk music, Italian or Slav. Given the location of the Pietà on the Riva degli Schiavoni (Waterfront of the Slavs), Vivaldi could hardly have escaped hearing daily the songs of Dalmatian sailors.

The first fact to note about Vivaldi's rhythm is his liking, particularly at the opening of phrases, for anapaestic patterns such as  or  , where two notes on the strong division of a bar (or beat) are followed by one on a weak division. He also evinces a fondness for the 'syncope' pattern  and its extensions, both in melodic and in accompanying parts. These two rhythmic traits are prominent in Slav (especially Czech) folk music, by which they may have been inspired. Quantz claimed that Vivaldi was one of the originators of 'Lombardic'

rhythm (the inverted dotted group  , or its variant ). In his *Lebenslauf* he linked its introduction with the performance of Vivaldi's operas in Rome shortly before his arrival there in 1724;[2] in his *Versuch* he stated that the formula emerged in about 1722:[3] Vivaldi's scores seem to bear out his belief. As Quantz himself admitted, however, Lombardie rhythm had long been a characteristic of the Scottish style ('Scotch snap'), so Vivaldi's popularization of it was innovatory only for the operatic idiom in which he worked. The *saccadé* rhythmic formula – repetitive use of the normal dotted group – is adopted by Vivaldi in certain stereotyped situations: the imposing tutti peroration; the illustrative accompaniment (in the central movement of *La primavera* to represent the rustling of leaves – in the 'Eja Mater' of the *Stabat Mater*, the lashing of whips); imitation of the French style (as in the aria 'Tornar voglio al primo ardore', headed *Alla francese*, from the last act of *Arsilda*).

Vivaldi pushes to the very limit the characteristic Italian fondness, absent from French music of the same time, for sharply differentiated rhythms, often expressed by contrasted note-values, in the various components (melody, counter-melody, accompanying parts, bass) of a texture. Each component carries its own rhythmic stamp, often maintained in ostinato fashion for several bars (see Ex. 25, p. 135). Then the rhythms are redistributed or abandoned in favour of new patterns, and the process is repeated. Sometimes triple and duple (or quadruple) division of the same note-value appears simultaneously in different parts, in a context where 'assimilation' of one notated rhythm to the other (e.g. the performance of a dotted quaver and semiquaver in 2/4 as a crotchet and quaver in 6/8) is improbable. In the finale of the oboe concerto RV 453/P.187, notated *alla giga* in 12/8, the dotted crotchet is often divided into *four* quavers in the solo part, an effect used later by Mozart in the finale of his Oboe Quartet K.370.

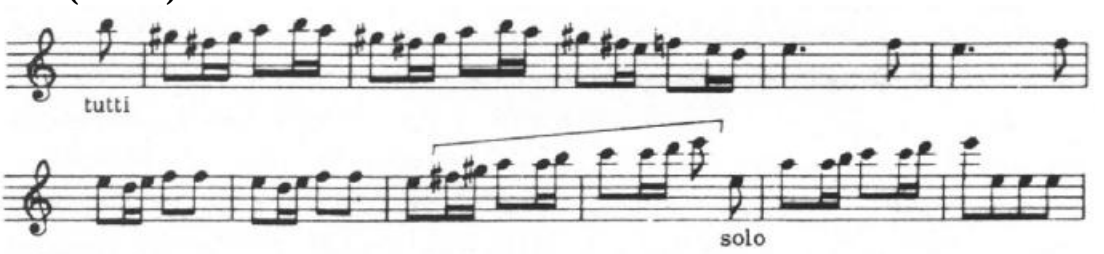
Vivaldi's phrase-structure is outstandingly fresh and original. Throughout most of musical history it has been normal to group cells, phrases and larger units in pairs, where the second unit (consequent) balances the first (antecedent). Sometimes – particularly at the lower levels of organization – antecedent and consequent are exactly matched in length, but their relationship can also be asymmetrical. In the late Baroque period repetition and sequence are often used to spin out the consequent beyond the expected length. What Vivaldi did that was

[2] Op. cit., p. 223.
[3] Op cit., p. 309f.

new was sometimes to group units of equal length in threes, so that an antecedent in effect had two consequents, or vice-versa. Ternary grouping of cells half a bar in length (in common time) lies behind most of the 'irregular' phrases including an odd half-bar which occur so widely in his music. Another of his favourite devices, later to be used in a more polished form by Haydn and Mendelssohn, was to make the same structural unit serve as the consequent of the one preceding it and the antecedent of the one following it – a kind of elision. In the next example, from the finale of the violin concerto RV 356 (op. 3 no. 6), the irruption of the soloist turns the bracketed motive, which one would have taken to be the flourish immediately before a cadence, into the opening of a new musical paragraph.

Ex. 4

(Presto)



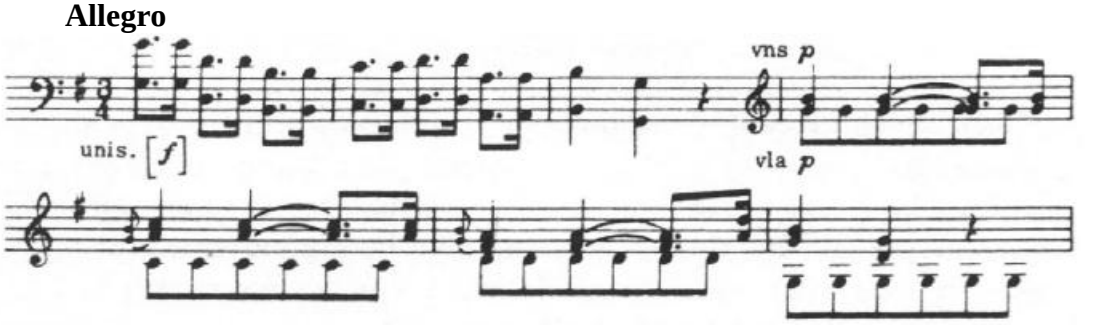
When Vivaldi recapitulates material, he likes to prune it drastically, eliminating the repetition of phrases or simply excising whole groups of bars. The consequences for the phrase-structure are often startling: what was previously symmetrical may now be asymmetrical, or vice-versa. He seems to regard a melody less as an organic entity than as a provisional arrangement of small units capable of recombination.

Much has been made by previous writers of Vivaldi's overdependence on sequence as a means of continuation. This is in fact a weakness (as we now see it) that he shares with most of his Italian contemporaries. Bach uses sequence hardly any less, but he so often enriches (or disguises) it through melodic and harmonic paraphrase, and has besides a better sense of when to call a halt. When they are enlivened by counterpoint (as in the imitative play of the violins in Ex. 6, p. 79) or are chromatically inflected to produce modulation, Vivaldi's sequential phrases bear repetition more easily than when such interest is absent. Some modern performers spare no effort to bring variety to Vivaldi's sequential writing, introducing long crescendos or decrescendos, or ornamenting each phrase differently, but these attempts often merely draw attention to the problem.

He likes to articulate his phrases by interpolating rests (sometimes amplified by a fermata) in all the parts. Interestingly, the breaks occur not only after imperfect cadences (e.g. I–V), where the incompleteness of the harmonic progression guarantees preservation of the momentum, but also after perfect cadences. In these cases the cadence will have occurred earlier than the listener anticipated, so that he is prepared for a continuation of the paragraph after the general pause.

Very occasionally, he anticipates the masculine-feminine antithesis beloved of the Classical period, as shown in the next example (note the asymmetrical relationship of the two phrases), taken from the finale of the concerto RV 300 (op. 9 no. 10). Strange to say, Vivaldi does not use the graceful 'feminine' answer again after its double appearance in the opening ritornello. Although Quantz recommended that the 'best ideas' of the ritornello be extracted and interspersed among the solo passages,[4] Vivaldi often shows a disinclination to exploit the more memorable parts of his ritornello, preferring to repeat the more conventional material.

Ex. 5

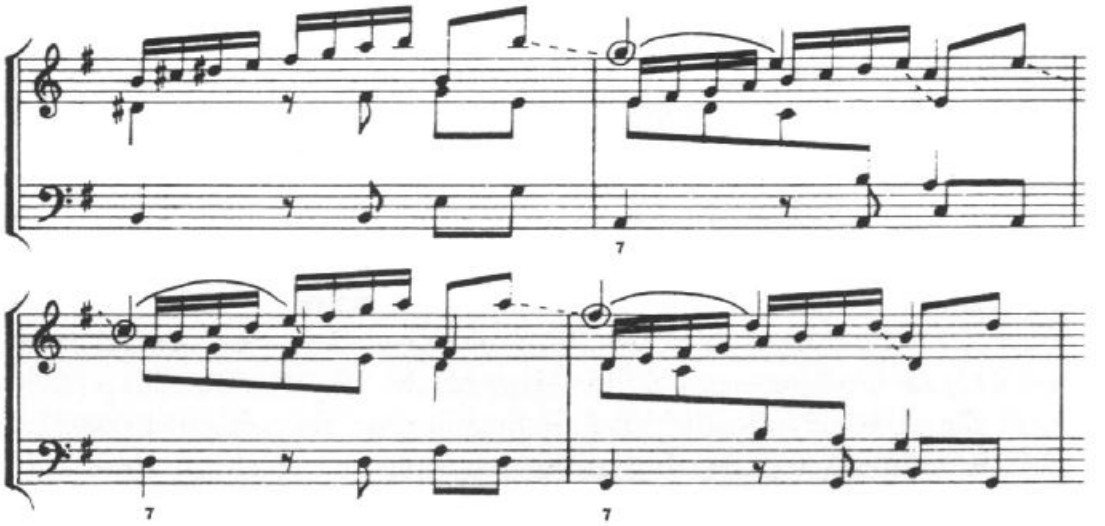


His harmony is equally forward-looking. No previous composer had used the seventh in a chord with greater licence. To be sure, he normally introduces the seventh in one of three ways current at the time: from the same note in the previous chord; from a note a step away; from another note of the same chord. Sometimes, however, the seventh is introduced by a leap from another chord, as the next example, from the finale of RV 279 (op. 4 no. 2), demonstrates (sevenths ringed). Chords of the ninth (as distinct from suspended ninths resolving to the octave) are less common, but are treated in equally emancipated fashion when they do occur. 'Higher' discords

[4] *Versuch*, p. 295.

Ex. 6

(Allegro)

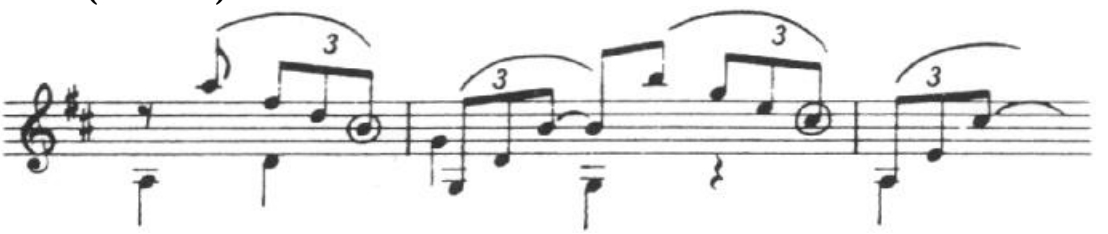


(the eleventh and thirteenth) also appear, usually as a result of repeating a phrase a third higher over a dominant pedal.

Not all Vivaldi's discords resolve in the orthodox manner, particularly when concealed in the middle of the texture. The resolution is often transferred to another part, sometimes to a different octave. It is interesting that when Vivaldi indulges his fondness for arpeggiating a chord in two or three parts simultaneously, a dissonance such as the fourth (a suspension which must eventually resolve to the third) can be treated as a normal member of the chord and pass from one instrument to another, generating great tension. This is not an example that his imitators were quick to follow.

Another peculiarity of his harmony, and the cause of some pungent effects, is the inexact synchronization of a harmonic progression in the different parts: one part (or more) moves to the new chord before the beat; the others arrive on the beat. This can be observed in the next example, from the first movement of the violin sonata RV 755, where the ringed violin notes are the advance guard of the new chord, dissonating rather oddly against the notes of the established chord.

Ex. 7 **(Andante)**



(bass note sound an octave lower.)

Then, there are cases of dissonance in Vivaldi's more florid writing which cannot be justified by any harmonic principle but seem to arise from the technique of the instrument itself – one might say, from the action of the fingers.

The harmonic rhythm of his music – the rate at which chords change – fluctuates more widely and more abruptly than in the music of any contemporary. An eight-fold or sixteen-fold reduction or acceleration, which may (or may not) be disguised by the maintenance of the same note-values or even the same figuration, is not uncommon. He seems to delight in teasing the listener, unexpectedly freezing the movement and then, once the ear has adjusted to the slower pace, suddenly unleashing a quickfire series of chords. We are miles away from the relatively steady tread of Bachian and Handelian harmony. One is tempted to cite this as an example of Vivaldi's 'dramatic' leanings, though it must be understood that the irregularities of harmonic rhythm are not prompted by extra-musical factors (they are no more marked in his operas) but are part of his natural musical thought.

Contemporary critics, anticipating some more recent voices, found his sometimes rather static basses, which for long stretches may consist of just a rhythmicized monotone, over-primitive. Quantz, obviously with Vivaldi especially in mind, inveighs against the non-melodic character of basses in Italian compositions and the 'drum bass' (*Trommelbass*) in particular.[5] It is true that Vivaldi's basses are often insubstantial, but their very simplicity may afford him an opportunity to produce dazzling flights of fancy in one or more melodic parts, unhampered by considerations of part-writing or balance.

Until the discovery of the Turin manuscripts it seemed not unreasonable to identify Vivaldi as a, if not the, prime mover in the retreat from counterpoint which was to lead first to the attenuation of Baroque style and then to the emergence of the Classical style. Critics of his own time who knew only the published instrumental music found the absence of traditional contrapuntal procedures disconcerting. In a section of his *Essay on Musical Expression* headed 'On the too close attachment to air and neglect of harmony' Charles Avison observed the following:[6]

> It may be proper now to mention by way of example on this head the most noted composers who have erred in the extreme of an unnatural

[5] Ibid., p. 313. C.P.E. Bach shared Quantz's dislike of the *Trommelbass*.
[6] *An Essay in Musical Expression* (London, 1752), p. 42.

> modulation, leaving those of still inferior genius to that oblivion to which they are deservedly destined. Of the first and lowest class are Vivaldi, Tessarini, Alberti and Loccatelli [sic], whose compositions being equally defective in various harmony and true invention, are only a fit amusement for children; nor indeed for these, if ever they are intended to be led to a just taste in music.

Interestingly, a rejoinder to Avison's strictures published anonymously in the following year cited in defence of Vivaldi one of the few movements in his published concertos cast in the form of a fugue (as distinct from others, such as the finale of op. 8 no. 11, which employ fugai techniques). The pamphlet's author was William Hayes, Professor of Music at Oxford. After quoting Avison's contemptuous remarks on the four composers, Hayes goes on:[7]

> In truth their style is such as I would not by any means recommend; and yet I think Vivaldi has so much greater merit than the rest that he is worthy of some distinction. Admitting therefore the same kind of levity and manner to be in his compositions with those of Tessarini, etc., yet an essential difference must still be allowed between the former and the latter, inasmuch as an ***original*** is certainly preferable to a servile, mean copy. That Vivaldi run into this error, I take to be owing to his having a great command of his instrument, being of a volatile disposition (having too much mercury in his constitution) and to misapplication of good parts and abilities. And this I am the more inclined to believe, as in the eleventh of his first twelve concertos, op. 3, he has given us a specimen of his capacity in solid composition. For the generality, in the others, he piques himself upon a certain brilliance of fancy and execution, in which he excelled all who went before him … But in the above concerto is a fugue, the principal subjects of which are well invented, well maintained, the whole properly diversified with masterly contrivances, and the harmony full and complete.

That this movement was in reality no isolated exception is proved by the existence of several equally rigorous fugal movements in the concertos (particularly those for four-part strings without soloist) of the Turin collection, as well as the sacred vocal music. When writing fugally, he is admittedly more concerned with the immediately expressive qualities of the texture than with its challenge to his – and the listener's – intellect. Thus he does not deploy the full array of fugal devices as we know them from Bach's works. Augmentation, diminution and inversion of the subject; the separate exposition and subsequent combination of different subjects: these rarely interest him.

[7] *Remarks on Mr. Avison's Essay on Musical Expression* (London, 1753), p. 39f.

However, he evinces a fondness for double and triple counterpoint (like many of his Italian contemporaries he frequently introduces his countersubjects, or additional subjects, together with the principal subject from the outset), for long pedal-points at the climax of the movement, and for stretto. His finest achievement in fugai writing is perhaps the fast section of the *Ouverture* which begins the second part of *La Senna festeggiante.**

As a French overture the movement is a very imperfect imitation of the genuine article (for one thing, the initial entries of the fugue subjects work their way upwards from the bass instead of downwards from the first violin; for another, the material is too severe, almost churchly, in character), but as an essay in fugal writing it will stand comparison with anything Marcello or Caldara – perhaps even Handel – wrote. The extract below (Ex. 8) begins just after the modulation to the relative major, E flat. The three principal subjects, labelled A, B and C, are first combined and then relieved by the episodic motive D (in combination with a form of B in the bass). A double stretto (B and C) leads to a stretto of A accompanied – miraculously – by both B and C, so that at the climax all four parts are strictly motivic. Vivaldi's skill at cadence avoidance is also shown by this passage.

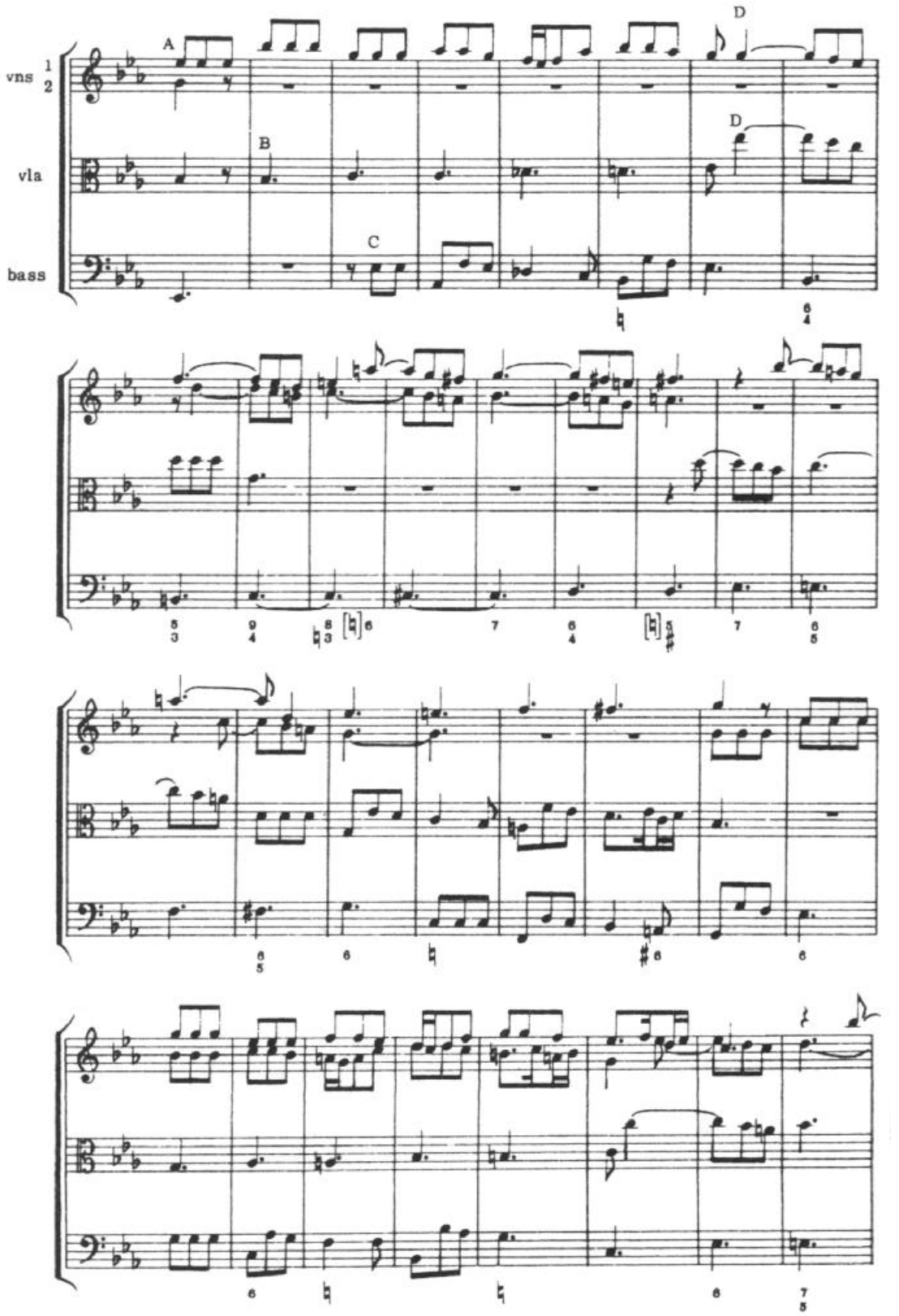
He is also exceptionally fond of ostinato. Ground basses, which may either stay in the same key throughout or be transported to other keys, are found in sonata and concerto movements, arias in cantatas and operas, even in one chorus (*Giustino*). One particular chaconne bass well known to his contemporaries (it is present in the first eight bars of Bach's 'Goldberg' Variations) appears in at least five movements. Unlike mid-Baroque Italian composers such as Cavalli (and their English emulators including Purcell), Vivaldi and his generation rarely attempt to disguise the regularity of the ground bass by avoiding a perfect cadence at the point of repetition or phrasing the melodic parts over the join, Instead, they diversify the texture or figuration of the upper parts on each restatement of the bass figure after the fashion of sectional variations.

Ostinato figures (groups of notes repeated at the same pitch) are also much used. Vivaldi often grants a repeated figure the harmonic licence of a pedal-note, superimposing it on the texture regardless of any clashes.

Imitation between two or more parts is regularly found in even the most homophonically conceived of his movements. Where there are two parts, they are commonly a fourth or fifth apart (as in the sequence in Ex. 6, p. 79), or at the unison. In either case, each part often plays

Ex. 8

(Presto)



(a) a motive and (b) a counterpoint to the same motive now heard in the companion part in alternation, producing the effect of straightforward repetition of a pair of motives in continuous voice-exchange. It is as if one hears an altercation between the two parts, growing more intense with each repetition. Vivaldi did not originate this type of imitation – one finds it in trio sonatas by earlier Italian composers – but the peculiar energy of his lines and the forthrightness of his harmony, often enriched by sevenths, gave it a new lease of life. Such passages are common in Haydn and Mozart, often producing curious echoes of Vivaldi.

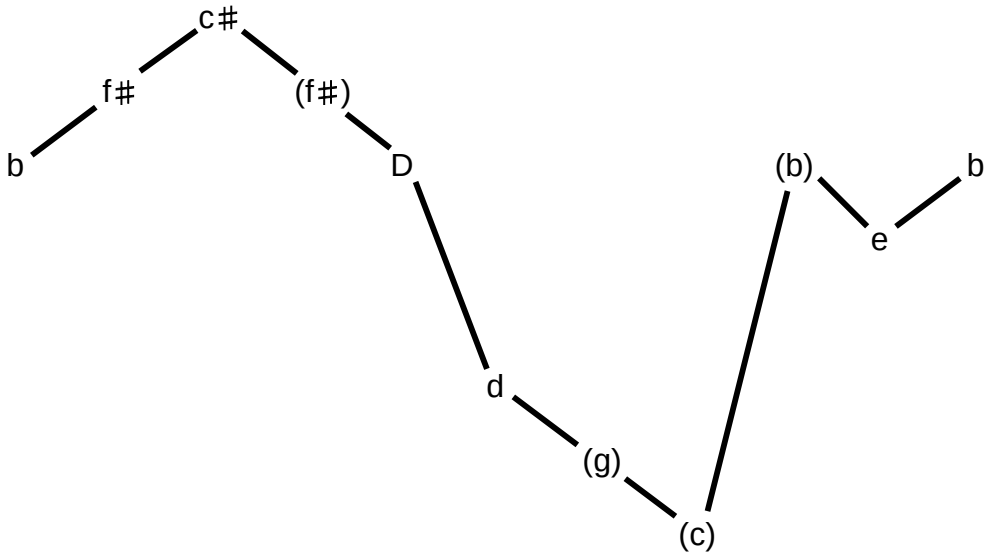
It would be a mistake, however, to equate counterpoint – the art of combining melodic lines – with specific contrapuntal devices such as ostinato or imitation, which are certainly less evident in Vivaldi's music, taken as a whole, than in that of Corelli, Couperin, Purcell or Bach. As a contrapuntist Vivaldi unostentatiously achieves excellence when he brings together two or three lines of contrasted melodic and rhythmic character. He has a gift for fresh – which is to say unusual – part-writing, so that even a viola part (in Italian music, generally a receptacle for the harmonic leavings of the other parts) may sparkle. Even more than Bach, he likes to 'drop' his leading-notes when he can thereby obtain an interesting melodic line or effective spacing of the parts.

Nevertheless, his part-writing is not beyond criticism. His liking for parallel movement in several parts, including the bass, often brings him perilously close to consecutive fifths or octaves. The type of passage which once embroiled Corelli in an acrimonious dispute with critics in Bologna[8] occurs again and again in Vivaldi's compositions. Perhaps it was to this shortcoming (in the eyes of contemporaries) that Goldoni alluded when he wrote: 'However much connoisseurs claimed that he [Vivaldi] was deficient in counterpoint and did not compose basses correctly, he made his parts sing nicely'.[9]

Vivaldi's approach to modulation is characteristically personal. He is apt to short-circuit the normal process of modulation, establishing a new key via its mediant, subdominant, submediant or leading-note chord rather than the conventional dominant. The listener is jerked, not smoothly carried, into the new key. Even when the dominant is the point of entry, it may arrive quite suddenly and entail the chromatic alteration of several notes.

[8] The controversial bars occur in the *Allemanda* of op. 2 no. 3.
[9] *Commedie* vol. xiii, p. 11.

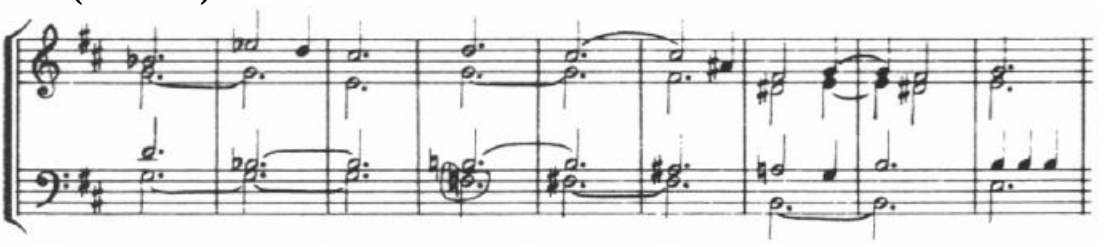
The range of keys visited in the course of a movement is rarely exceptional for the period, though some minor-key movements wander considerable distances up and down the circle of fifths. One of Vivaldi's boldest and most convincing tonal designs occurs in the 'Et in terra pax' of the *Gloria* RV 589. In the schematic representation that follows, major keys are represented by capitals, minor keys by small letters; the keys enclosed in parentheses are ones that are passed through, no cadence being made.



The transition from C minor to B minor is effected by an ingenious piece of enharmonic punning: the ringed bass note F, apparently a dominant seventh in C minor, resolves upwards to F sharp as if it were E sharp, root of a 'German sixth' chord.

Ex. 9

(Andante)



More than any previous composer he exploited with a sure sense of drama the contrast between the major and minor modes. It is normal for many, if not all, of the principal ideas of a movement to appear at some point in the relative key, major or minor, or one of its satellite

keys in the same mode, paraphrased if necessary. This is something never found in Corelli and practised only in the most timid and restricted fashion by Albinoni and Torelli, though it must be said that German composers were somewhat more adventurous. Vivaldi is also fond of fleeting visits to the parallel minor key (the key sharing a tonic with a major key), especially as a diversion before a final, clinching phrase. Such enclaves are often pathetic and lyrical in character, making a contrast with the more vigorous surrounding material. One frankly experimental movement, the finale of the concerto RV 159/P.231, jestingly employs this technique to produce a collage of two thematically self-contained movements – one, for three-part *concertino*, in A minor; the other, for four-part *ripieno*, in A major. In this crazy quilt of a form each 'movement' interrupts the other in turn.

Sometimes, Vivaldi anticipates the usage of the Viennese classics, Schubert especially, by juxtaposing major and minor versions of the same material. A well-known example is the fierce minor-key ending of the first movement of the *Concerto alla rustica*, RV 151/P.143, following the normal restatement of the opening material in G major; but there are many other, dramatically less highly charged instances.

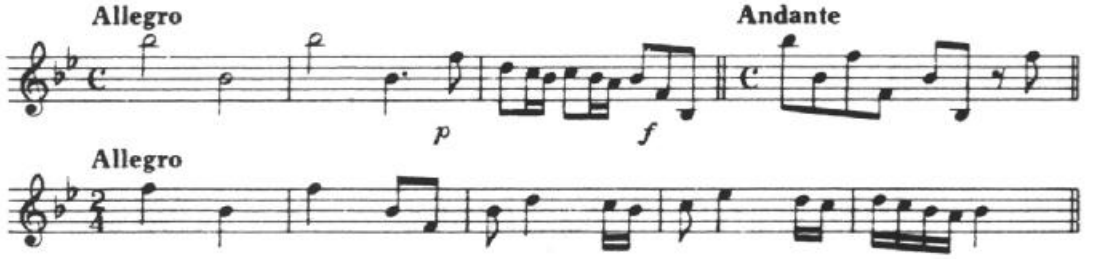
One aspect of Vivaldi's handling of tonality that has received surprisingly little mention in discussions of his style is his readiness to choose as the tonal area next in importance to the tonic a key other than the dominant or (for minor keys only) the relative major. By convention the dominant is usually the first new tonal area to be emphasized; it is the key of the first ritornello outside the tonic key in a concerto movement, or that of the cadence before the first double bar in a binary movement. The proportion of Vivaldi movements that deviate is small, but significant by comparison with other composers. In movements in a major key he sometimes substitutes the mediant minor for the dominant, something familiar only from a few keyboard sonatas by Domenico Scarlatti. In minor keys, however, one is surprised to see the subdominant used in this function (e.g. in the two slow movements of the cello sonata RV 42). This unusual procedure inverts the normal tonal curve of the movement, since the traditional 'sharp' and 'flat' areas have changed places. It should be added that this tonal bias towards the flat side is paralleled (though not necessarily within the same movement) by a frequent harmonic bias in the same direction, its most typical expression being the plagal (IV–I) cadence.

Vivaldi's attitude to what today's commentators call the 'thematic process' or 'musical unity' is best described as casual and unpredictable. Subtle thematic correspondences between one part of a movement and

another (one is not speaking of the repetition and development of ideas inherent in the chosen form) arise, if at all, quite spontaneously. A desire to treat ideas exhaustively, as opposed to merely intensively, is foreign to his nature – not for him the Bachian practice (so expressive of the Protestant ethic) of working material to the limit of its possibilities.

Thematic links between movements of the same work are quite often conspicuous. Here one must be cautious before imputing 'cyclic' intentions to him. Where similarities exist between dance movements in a chamber sonata, they can be explained as vestiges of the old variation suite and equated with instances in the music of many Italian contemporaries. Other, more literal correspondences can be put down to infertility of imagination or, more charitably, an obsession with a particular idea. One example occurs in the violin concerto RV 763 (*L'ottavina*), where the soloist enters in the Largo with a transposition of the phrase with which the preceding Allegro began. Nevertheless, one will find instances of links that are both subtle and purposive, especially among the concertos without soloist, which served Vivaldi as a test-bed for some of his most radical and ingenious experiments in form. The incipits of RV 163/P.410 offer interesting variations on the basic shape ***b♭″–f″–b♭′***:

Ex. 10



Any view of Vivaldi's music as inherently 'organic' must crumble before the fact of his self-borrowing, which both in incidence and pervasiveness greatly surpasses the showing of Bach and even Handel. To date there has been no comprehensive study of this aspect of his music, though valuable work on individual cases has been published.[10] This mammoth task would in principle require the examination of every bar in every source for over 700 works and would be hampered at every turn by uncertainties of chronology, hence of the sequence of borrowing.

[10] One particularly detailed study is Walter Kolneder, 'Vivaldis Aria-Concerto', *Deutsches Jahrbuch der Musikwissenschaft* (1964), pp. 17–27.

Boundaries of genre and form prove no barrier to Vivaldi's raids on his own music: sonata movements are transported to concertos; concerto movements to operas;[11] movements from sacred vocal works to the concerto medium. Binary movements are expanded into ritornello form; movements in ritornello form are redesigned as *da capo* arias.[12]

The portion borrowed is highly variable. Sometimes one or even two movements are taken over as they stand, or with minimal change of instrumentation. Sometimes the principal but not the subsidiary material is appropriated. This is the case in certain bassoon concertos arranged for oboe, in which Vivaldi troubled to write out only the recomposed (often only lightly paraphrased) solo passages. It happens, though less often, that the subsidiary material is retained, while the principal material is recomposed.[13] The opening movement of RV 210 (op. 8 no. 11) contains much episodic writing in which references to fragments of the ritornello are heard; however, the loss of thematic relevance entailed by the transference of the episodes, slightly pruned, to the first movement of RV 582/P.164, the D major concerto for violin and two orchestras 'per la santissima assontione di Maria Vergine', caused the composer no qualms. Then, what was previously principal material may reappear as subsidiary material, or vice-versa. The opening of the *Allemanda* from the violin sonata RV 3 is the basis of the first solo episode in the chamber concerto RV 101 and its later version for flute and strings RV 437 (op. 10 no. 6). When one examines the music at the level of the individual phrase, one discovers that the cadential bars of the ritornello in one concerto (RV 103/P. 402, first movement) can resurface as the opening bars of another (RV 156/P.392).

If one is determined to find excuses for Vivaldi's self-borrowing (the fact that so many instances have gone unnoticed speaks for the success of most transplants), it is inadequate to cite the haste with which he had to work, especially in view of de Brosses's testimony to his facility. Vivaldi obviously took pride in his *bricolage* and regarded it as a useful and legitimate part of his art.

A striking feature of his orchestral textures is their spaciousness, to

[11] A celebrated instance is the sinfonia captioned *La Fortuna in macchina* (*Giustino*, I, 5), a binary movement based on the ritornello of the first movement of *La primavera*.

[12] Each of the three movements of the recorder concerto RV 442 (better known in its version for flute, RV 434, published as op. 10 no. 5) is found in the shape of a *da capo* aria: the first in *Teuzzone* (I, 14); the second in *Il Tigrane* (II, 4); the third in *Giustino* (III, 7).

[13] This technique of remodelling was especially favoured by Albinoni. It often goes unnoticed, since thematic incipits do not betray the borrowing.

which the high tessitura of his violin parts, the wide compass of each part taken separately, and his great tolerance of part-crossing all contribute. When writing homophonically, he favours a texture composed of various strata (each represented by one or more musical lines) differentiated through characteristic figures. Many of these accompanimental stereotypes are recognizable as ones occurring, albeit often in a more sophisticated form, in the Viennese classics; they include the Alberti bass, which in Vivaldi's hands is generally not a bass but an upper part, showing its derivation from the type of arpeggiation found in display writing for violin from the time of Corelli onwards.[14]

He was also one of the first composers for the orchestra to use 'broken' accompaniments, where the 'figure' is assembled from fragments supplied by several instruments. The significance of this innovation is that for the first time in ensemble music (one is not speaking of keyboard or lute music, where free-voicing achieved a comparable result much earlier) individual lines are intelligible only in terms of a larger constituent of the texture, which is a milestone in the development of orchestration.

When Vivaldi writes in closely packed textures, they are apt to lie in extreme registers. The luminous aureole of three violins with viola surrounding the soloist in the slow movement of the violin concerto RV 356 (op. 3 no. 6) is a well-known instance; a counterpart in the lower register is Niceno's aria 'Non lusinghi il core amante' in *L'incoronazione di Dario* (II, 19), where the bass is partnered by a solo bassoon and a solo cello, apparently without continuo.

In comparison with the orchestral textures of the previous generation, those of Vivaldi and most of his Italian contemporaries (who may have been to a greater or lesser extent his imitators) show in several places the effect of three separate processes, applied singly or in combination. These processes may be called simplification, thinning and lightening.

Simplification entails the reduction of the number of real parts through doubling at the unison, the octave and even the fifteenth. Fluent contrapuntist though he was when working with three or four parts, Vivaldi seems distinctly uncomfortable when their number rises; the seven real contrapuntal parts (one short of the theoretical maximum, there being eight vocal parts) in the 'Sicut erat in principio' fugue of the *Dixit Dominus* RV 594 take him to the limit of his ability.

[14] The arpeggiations on one solo violin heard against a cantabile line on the other in the finale of the double concerto RV 522 (op. 3 no. 8) are an intermediate stage in the removal of this type of figuration from the foreground to the background.

Other practical considerations leading him at various times to double parts may have been to insure against absence of players, to avoid overtaxing the concentration of unsophisticated audiences, and to accelerate the writing of a score (since doubling instruments could be cued in from a fully notated part). Naturally, genuine artistic reasons are usually present. The ultimate stage of this simplification process, the orchestral unison, is employed to splendid dramatic effect, and two-part textures where both parts are doubled in at least one other octave can produce an evocatively bleak sound, which Haydn was later to make his own.

Thinning the texture entails the removal of doubling instruments normally present. In upper parts its most common form is the reduction to one solo instrument, which introduces a change of timbre. It is, however, the bass which is most often stripped down. Any of the possible constituent parts of the *basso* – the melody instruments cello, double bass and bassoon and the continuo instruments harpsichord, organ and bass lute – can be suppressed or reduced to a single player. Very often, the continuo players are removed *en bloc*, a warning of their eventual demise.

Lightening the texture entails the suppression of the bass register and the transference of the bass part to the middle register, where it is usually played by violins or viola. Vivaldi notates such *bassetto* parts in the bass clef an octave below sounding pitch. High-lying basses of this kind often cross middle or upper parts, producing second inversions of chords, offensive to orthodox theorists (including C.P.E. Bach, who deplored *bassetti*, the introduction of which he attributed to 'a certain master in Italy', by whom he may have meant Vivaldi),[15] but acceptable to many composers, among them Haydn in his early quartets. Vivaldi used the opening movement of his violin sonata RV 12 for the slow movement of the concerto RV 582/P.164, taking the bass up an octave and assigning it to violins. The last two bars show the curious effect produced by chord inversion.

Ex. 11

[15] *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, trans. and ed. William J. Mitchell (London, 1951), p. 173.

Reserving our main discussion of instrumentation and instrumental technique for later chapters, we can mention here some special effects which are of importance for orchestral texture. Vivaldi is fond of the subdued sound of muted instruments. Normally, muting is prescribed (as far as possible) for the whole ensemble. Thus the *Sinfonia* in the third act of *Teuzzone*, a slow march, is headed 'tutti gl'istromenti sordini'; the instruments include not only strings but two trumpets, two oboes, a bassoon and 'timpani scordati' (which one should probably interpret as muffled rather than mistuned kettledrums). In another, probably later, version of the same movement opening the *Concerto funebre* RV 579/P.385 the muted instruments include a tenor chalumeau and three *viole all'inglese.* Sometimes, a solo violin is exempted from the general muting, so that it may stand out more strongly. As well as normal mutes (*sordini*) Vivaldi employs heavier lead mutes (*piombi*) for his strings; both types are called for in *Orlando.*

His use of pizzicato is more often selective than general, however, being found predominantly in bass parts. He does not lack ingenuity: the aria 'Sento in seno ch'in pioggia di lagrime' (I feel in my breast that in a rain of tears) in *Giustino* (II, 1) is picturesquely accompanied by a shower of raindrops on the strings ('tutti pizzicati senza cembalo') except for three instruments – a first violin, a second violin and a double bass – who are instructed to play the same parts with their bows.

Very occasionally, the Cinderellas of the violin family, the viola and the double bass, come into unexpected prominence. One aria in *Giustino* (I, 4), 'Bel riposo de' mortali' (Sweet sleep of mortals), which is very similar in style to the Pastoral Symphony in *Messiah*, has a drone, initially on C, for double basses alone. In an 'infernal' scene (II, 6) in *Orlando fìnto pazzo* all the violinists are instructed to play violas, the better to evoke the lugubriousness of Hades.

Vivaldi's concern for the fine nuances of music in such matters as tempo, dynamics, phrasing and articulation is quite remarkable for its time, as Walter Kolneder has shown.[16] Elsewhere, Kolneder has ventured the interesting suggestion that conditions of performance at the Pietà, where music was heard in silence and the players were well drilled, stimulated the composer's inventiveness.[17] True though this may be, it must be said that his operatic music, written for more boisterous surroundings, yields nothing in refinement of detail.

[16] *Aufführungspraxis bei Vivaldi* (Leipzig, 1955).
[17] *Antonio Vivaldi: his Life and Work,* p. 65.

The basic, universal indications of tempo are frequently qualified for greater precision; thus one finds expressions such as 'Allegro (ma) non molto' or (another example of Vivaldi's humour) 'Allegro più ch'è possibile'. Alternatively, or in addition, he may append a description of the general character of the movement, as in 'Largo (e) cantabile'. Variations of tempo within a movement – as opposed to composite movements like the 'Peccator videbit' from the *Beatus vir* RV 597 – are rare, if one excludes *accompagnato* recitatives and 'motto' statements or cadenzas in arias.

There seems little doubt that from his earliest days as a composer Vivaldi employed both terraced dynamics (instantaneous changes of dynamic level corresponding to the addition or withdrawal of ranks on the organ) and graduated dynamics (crescendo and decrescendo). The second type are not indicated by 'hairpins', which came into use somewhat later, but by repetition at intervals of directions such as 'più piano'. In Vivaldi's music this device occurs as early as the *Giga* in RV 79 (op. I, 11), begun by the unaccompanied first violin. Charles de Brosses was struck during his Venetian sojourn of 1739 by the subtlety of dynamic change in orchestral performances. He wrote:

> They have a method of accompanying which we do not know but would find easy to introduce into our performance, and which adds infinitely to the value of their music; it is the art of increasing or diminishing the sound, which I could term the art of nuances and shading. This is practised either gradually or suddenly. Besides *forte* and *piano*, *fortissimo* and *pianissimo*, they have a more or less emphatic *mezzo piano* and *mezzo forte*.[18]

Kolneder has identified 13 gradations of dynamic marking in Vivaldi's music, to which one can add a *forte-piano* effect seen in Cato's aria 'Dovea svenarti allora' (I ought to have killed you then) (*Catone in Utica*, II, 11), where the first notes in a series of bowed tremolos receive a sharp attack, presumably to illustrate Cato's bitterness at his daughter's betrayal. Different strata in the texture are often contrasted dynamically; thus in the second movement of *La primavera* the dog (viola) barks 'molto forte e strappato', while the leaves (violins) rustle 'pianissimo'.

Vivaldi phrases his string parts remarkably fully, especially where he desires some special effect. Slurs are numerous and vary greatly in the number of notes encompassed. One attractive novelty is a 'syncopated' style of bowing in which the change of bow occurs on a note before (rather than on) the beat, producing a pattern such as

[18] Op. cit., vol. ii, p. 332f.

 . Apparent inconsistencies in the phrasing of similar passages abound in the original sources. In some cases, Vivaldi, having made his intentions clear at the beginning of the movement, left the performer to carry on in similar manner; in others, the variation seems deliberate; very often, however, the discrepancy must have arisen through carelessness, abetted by the composer's habit of requoting material from memory without referring back to earlier pages of the score.

Directions referring to articulation are frequent. One meets expressions such as 'arcate lunghe' (long bows) and 'arcate sciolte' (detached bows) – both are especially common in the bass parts of recitatives – 'attaccata alla corda' (on the string), 'battute' (such notes being 'beaten', perhaps in *martellato* style) and 'spiccato'. Both dots and vertical strokes are used for staccato; placed underneath a slur, they seem to indicate *portato* and a flying staccato respectively. Different parts written in similar note-values may have contrasted articulation; a *locus classicus* is the B minor section of the slow movement in RV 580 (op. 3 no. 10), where each of the four solo violins phrases and articulates its series of broken chords (the first violin in demisemiquavers, the rest in semiquavers) in an individual way.

Even the improvised continuo realization does not escape Vivaldi's attention. The direction 'Il cembalo arpeggio' appears in the slow movement of *L'autunno*, a picture of dozing inebriates; arpeggiation is also prescribed for Angelica's recitative beginning 'Quanto somigli, o tempestoso mare' (How like you are, o stormy sea) in *Orlando* (I, 6).

No discussion of Vivaldi's style can be complete without a fuller mention of his occasional adoption, as a novelty or a compliment to a patron, of elements of the French style. Specifically French genres appear: the *Ouverture* introducing the second part of *La Senna festeggiante*; minuets found both in concertos and (as dance-songs) in operas; and a few chaconnes, notably the finales of the concertos RV 107/P.360 and RV 114/P.27, In these, and several other movements headed *Alla francese*, he uses dotted rhythms extensively, no doubt intending the length of the dot (and shortness of the ensuing note) to be exaggerated in the manner of the French. Another feature is their homorhythmic character, which contrasts with the differentiated rhythms more typical of the composer.

6

The instrumental music

Vivaldi's music for instruments falls into three broad genres: sonata, concerto and sinfonia. If one takes the catalogue of works in Appendix B as the basis of computation, discounting variants and excluding lost and incompletely preserved works, one arrives at a total of 92 sonatas (including two works with lute entitled 'Trio' and the *Sinfonia al Santo Sepolcro*, which is genetically a sonata),[1] 474 concertos and 14 sinfonias. This count includes some works recognized by many as spurious and – perhaps rather artificially – sinfonias not preserved independently of the larger vocal work to which all, presumably, originally belonged. By and large, I have followed Ryom's system of classification, but a word of warning is needed: Ryom's criteria of authenticity are bibliographical rather than stylistic, which means that provided that at least one original source names Vivaldi as the composer, the attribution is likely to stand regardless of any musical incongruity, unless another composer's name appears in a concordant source whose reliability is thought at least equal. Without doubt, several unauthentic works are listed by Ryom as genuine.[2] Conversely, one concerto (RV Anh. 91, for violin and cello) is regarded by Ryom as of uncertain authorship despite its evident (to me) genuineness. For statistical purposes, however, I shall treat as genuine all works presented as such in the most recent Ryom catalogue.

The sonatas

The impression gained from the statistics given above that Vivaldi cultivated the sonata merely as a sideline to his production of concertos

[1] Until the beginning of the eighteenth century sonatas of the 'church' variety were often termed 'sinfonia', particularly when scored for many instruments. Manfredini's *Sinfonie da chiesa*, op. 2 (1709), and the six sinfonias (individually entitled 'Sonata') in Albinoni's *Sinfonie concerti a cinque*, op. 2 (1700), fit this description.

[2] These include the sonatas RV 24, RV 54–59 (*Il pastor fido*) and RV 80, the *Introdutione* (Sinfonìa) RV 144/P.145 and the concertos RV 415, 464/P.334, RV 465/P.331 and RV 373/P.335.

may be a little distorted by the vagaries of preservation; it is remarkable that only eight sonatas, none of them for the 'solo' medium, appear in the Turin manuscripts. Most of the sonatas were probably written not singly (like the concertos for the Pietà) but in groups, and were destined not for institutions but for private patrons.

A classification of the extant sonatas by medium and instrumentation produces the following picture:

1 'Solo' sonatas (*one instrument and bass*)[3]

violin	41
cello	9
flute	4
recorder	1
oboe	1
musette, etc.[4]	6
TOTAL	62

2 Trio sonatas (*two instruments and bass*)

two violins	20
two flutes	1
two oboes	1
two unlike instruments	5
TOTAL	27

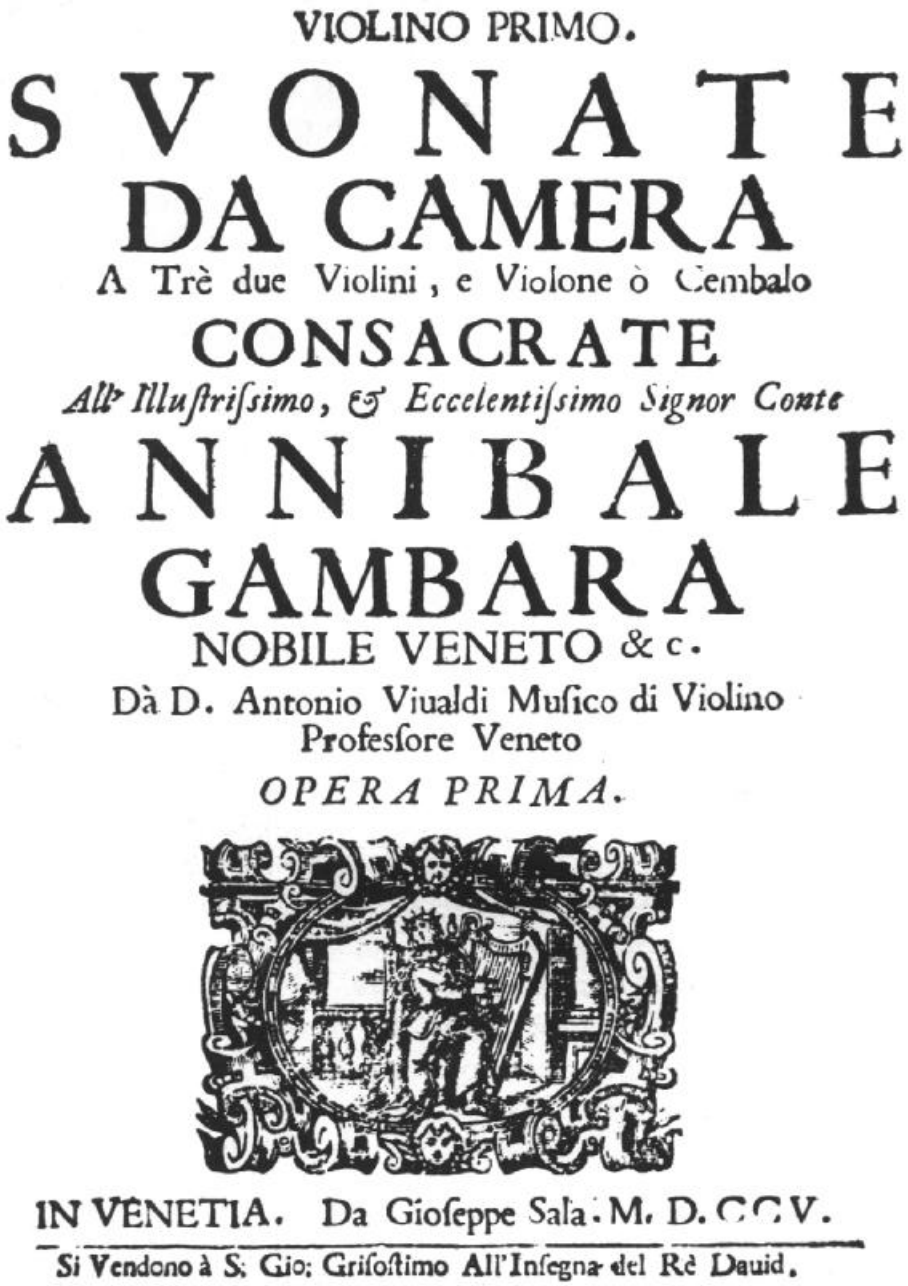
3 Quartet sonatas (*four instrumental lines*)

two violins, viola and bass	2
violin, oboe, obbligato organ and chalumeau	1
TOTAL	3

The 12 *Suonate da camera a tre*, op. 1 (1705), in which the cello (*violone*) and harpsichord are designated (following normal practice in chamber sonatas) alternative rather than complementary instruments, may well be the earliest of Vivaldi's works to have survived. Like many juvenile compositions they oscillate between excessive dependence on a model and striking, often clumsy, attempts to break

[3] The term 'bass' denotes, according to context, a melody instrument (cello, bassoon, etc.) and/or a harmony instrument (harpsichord, organ, etc.).

[4] Alternatively vièle (hurdy-gurdy), flute, oboe or violin. These works are now (1992) known to be pastiches by Nicolas Chédeville.


VIOLINO PRIMO.

SVONATE
DA CAMERA
A Trè due Violini, e Violone ò Cembalo
CONSACRATE
All^o Illuſtriſſimo, & Eccelentiſſimo Signor Conte
ANNIBALE
GAMBARA
NOBILE VENETO &c.
Dà D. Antonio Viualdi Muſico di Violino
Profeſſore Veneto
OPERA PRIMA.

IN VENETIA. Da Gioſeppe Sala. M. D. CCV.
Si Vendono à S. Gio: Griſoſtimo All'Inſegna del Rè Dauid.

Title page of Sala's edition of Vivaldi's op.1

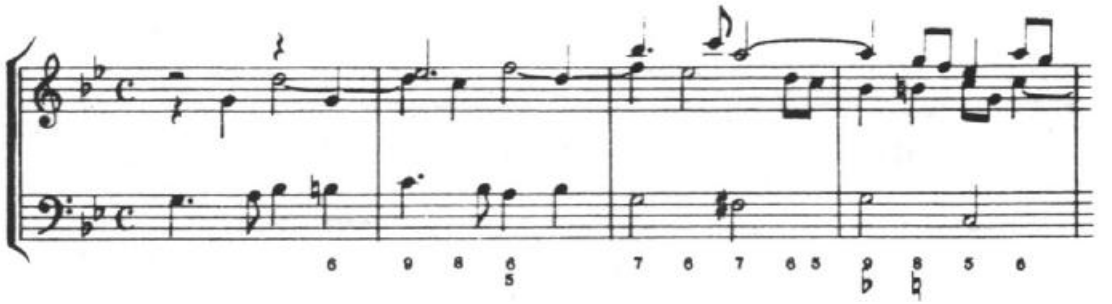
free. Above all, they show the influence of Corelli, possibly transmitted via the first generation of Venetian imitators (Gentili, Ruggieri, Albinoni). The sequence and stylization of the movements is very Corellian: an abstract movement, generally in slow tempo and entitled

Preludio, introduces a group of dance-movements all in the same key and invariably in binary form. Two or three movements are chosen from the familiar types: *allemanda*, *corrente*, *sarabanda*, *giga* and *gavotta*.[5] In some of the sonatas one, even two (in the first sonata), abstract movements are interspersed. They are signs of the inter-penetration of church and chamber genres (in reality the two had never been sealed off from one another), which one may observe even in the classic models, Corelli's opp. 2 (1685) and 4 (1694). Like many other neo-Corellians, Vivaldi pays the older master tribute by closing the set with a one-movement work consisting of variations on the popular theme *La follia*.[6]

Vivaldi's stylistic debt is evident from the shape of many motives and the presence of certain contrapuntal routines, among them the typically Corellian 'leap-frogging' violins seen in the opening of the first sonata:

Ex. 12

Grave



While many of the more original passages in these sonatas seem arbitrary, there are signs that a powerful personality is emerging. The lyrical triplets in the *Allemanda* of the seventh sonata, the unaccompanied bass at the start of the *Gavotta* of the tenth sonata and the written-out varied reprises in the *Gavotta* of the eleventh sonata are as inventive as they are effective. *La follia* shows Vivaldi, like Liszt and Ravel in later centuries, to be a composer whose imagination is kindled in musically very fruitful ways by the expansion of instrumental technique.

Two further trio sonatas were published as the last works in his

[5] Since the Italian dance-movements often differ in tempo and rhythmic character from the cognate French movements, the Italian form of the names will be retained.

[6] Corelli's 'solo' sonatas op. 5 (1700) end with *La folía*. On Vivaldi's indebtedness to Corelli see Michael Talbot, ' "Lingua romana in bocca veneziana": Vivaldi, Corelli and the Roman School', in Pietro Petrobelli and Gloria Staffieri (eds.), *Studi corelliani IV: atti del quarto congresso internazionale (Fusignano, 4–7 settembre 1986)* (Florence, 1990), pp. 303–18.

op. 5 (1716).[7] They are mature and fluent, perhaps a little glib. Though not stated to be *sonate da camera* on the title-page, they are on the surface more consistently 'chamber' sonatas than many in op. 1, since they contain no abstract movements other than the *preludio*. The dance titles have become rather a formality, however; the spread of binary form to abstract movements, which gathered pace after 1700, and the stylization of the dances, which permitted more variety of tempo and rhythm, meant that practically any binary movement, other than a slow movement in common time, could acquire (or dispense with) a dance title, as circumstances dictated. The last movement of RV 72 (op. 5 no. 6), an 'Air-Menuet', demonstrates this ambiguity in its style. By 1716 the trio medium was losing ground to the 'solo' medium, which accommodated virtuosity more readily; the subordinate role of the second violin in these two sonatas (especially appropriate in a set largely consisting of works for the 'solo' medium) acknowledges this trend.[8]

Vivaldi's only other extant sonatas for two violins and bass (two possibly unauthentic works apart) are a set of four, which may be remnants of a larger set, in the Turin collection.[9]* The bass part, a *basso seguente* doubling whichever of the violin parts is lower, is stated by the composer to be optional. It is therefore legitimate to regard the sonatas as violin duos in the style of Leclair's op. 3 (1730) and Telemann's *Sonates sans basse* (1727). As Vivaldi's works for the Pietà seem to have been written individually (so many per month), these sonatas were most likely composed to order, perhaps for a visitor from northern Europe.* All follow the concerto in having three movements (rather than the four or five more usual in the church or composite church-chamber sonata), but the binary form common to all the movements is typical of the sonata in the closing decades of the baroque period. The virtuosic handling and constant interplay of the violins recalls Vivaldi's double concertos. These fine, unusual works deserve to be better known.

Of the remaining trio sonatas, four are of particular interest: two works for a high and a low instrument with bass, and two trios for lute, violin and bass. Like the sonatas just discussed, RV 86, for recorder and bassoon, and RV 83, for violin and cello, exploit a

[7] Op. 5 being designated by Roger the 'second part' of op. 2, these two sonatas are numbered 17 and 18.

[8] Not so radically, however, as the six trio sonatas in Michele Mascitti's op. 4 (1711), where the second violin is marked optional.

[9] RV 68, 70, 71 and 77.

combination more typical of France than of Italy. They move even closer to the concerto, using a version of ritornello form in their fast movements, though RV 86 preserves the traditional four-movement cycle. The lute trios for Count Wrtby, in contrast, approximate to 'solo' sonatas through having non-obbligato violin parts; much of the time the violin doubles the lute, and elsewhere it either presents the lute line in simplified form (a procedure familiar to *ripieno* violinists in the concerto) or supplies a discreet middle part.

What seem to be the earliest 'solo' sonatas for violin are the 12 in op. 2 (1709). The title-page specifies harpsichord (*cembalo*) as the accompanying instrument, but there is a particularly good case for strengthening the bass line with a cello, for these works, more than any others by Vivaldi, treat the bass contrapuntally, allowing it to take over motives from the violin part or counterpose distinctive material of its own. The idiom is still recognizably Corellian; Pincherle has pointed out the thematic similarity of the *Allemanda* in the fourth sonata (RV 20) and the *Gavotta* of Corelli's tenth sonata.[10] Where Vivaldi is his more expansive self, he exercises far greater control and discretion than in op. 1. He retains the chamber idiom of his earlier opus (corresponding to the second half of Corelli's op. 5) but includes four quick abstract movements, variously entitled *Capriccio*, *Preludio a capriccio* and *Fantasia*, designed to flaunt the virtuoso.

Discounting the first four sonatas in op. 5, whose characteristics are broadly the same as those already described for the trio sonatas in the collection, the next 'cluster' of violin sonatas is a large group preserved in Dresden. It comprises 12 works: four in the composer's hand and dedicated to Pisendel; seven in copies made by Pisendel himself; and one in an unknown hand. Similar works are contained in isolated manuscripts as far a field as Brussels, Stockholm, Udine and Venice.

These sonatas, dating from about 1716, mostly preserve *da camera* outlines, although actual dance titles appear rarely. One very interesting work, RV 25, is laid out as a suite in the French sense of the term, containing seven very short movements, four in G major and three in G minor. Significantly, this is one of the sonatas dedicated to Pisendel; Vivaldi may have thought it appropriate to pay homage to the French style dominant at the Saxon court.[11] In contrast, RV 10 and RV 26

[10] *Antonio Vivaldi et la musique instrumentale*, vol. i, p. 132. Two other F major works by Vivaldi, RV 69 (op. 1 no. 5) and RV 567 (op. 3 no. 7), have a close thematic resemblance to RV 20 and its Corellian parent.

[11] The external resemblance between RV 25 and the partitas in Telemann's *Kleine Kammermusik* (1716) is quite striking.

are works in the church idiom, looking back to the first half of Corelli's op. 6. RV 10 features a composite allegro-adagio movement of the sort pioneered in Corelli's first sonata, while RV 26 contains a fugal movement in which the single violin simulates through double stopping the sound of two violins. In comparison with op. 2, the bass parts of these sonatas tend to be severely functional, having almost ceased to interact thematically with the violin part, which has become enriched by varieties of rhythm and virtuosic figuration taken from the concerto.

This process is carried a stage further in the manuscript set of 12 sonatas copied during the 1720s under Vivaldi's supervision. Now in the Central Library, Manchester, these sonatas were probably presented to (or at least acquired by) Cardinal Ottoboni in Rome or Venice, for they seem to have been among a huge job lot, largely consisting of items from the late cardinal's library, bought by Holdsworth for Jennens in 1742. Comparison is facilitated by the reappearance in modified versions of three sonatas from the Dresden group (RV 3, 6, 12) and two preserved elsewhere (RV 22 in Brussels and RV 758, fragmentary, in Venice). In places, the violin line has been made smoother and more lyrical (this suggests the influence of operatic ***bel canto***), but the bass has been thoroughly reworked to become an unobtrusive prop, more rhythmic (in the manner of the reviled 'drum bass') than harmonic in function. This time, the designation of the accompanying instrument as harpsichord suits the character of the music; the cello can be omitted with advantage. These 'Manchester' sonatas are ostensibly the most purely ***da camera*** of any group Vivaldi wrote, for they each consist of a ***preludio*** followed by three dance-movements. The effect is different, however, for most of the movements are totally abstract in mood.[12]

The nine extant cello sonatas are, as a group, the best instrumental chamber works produced by Vivaldi, easily outclassing their nearest rivals, the cello sonatas of Benedetto Marcello.[13] One is tempted to write that the deeper the instrument (this observation applies equally to the bassoon), the more deeply felt Vivaldi's writing for it. One reason why the cello has always lent itself easily to pathos must be its duality of role: in one situation, it is a tenor instrument, a violin playing down an octave; in another, it is a bass instrument underpinning, in plain or elaborated fashion, the entire structure. Vivaldi's cello, like Bach's, switches roles frequently, sometimes dialoguing with itself.

[12] The 'Sarabanda' of the eleventh sonata (RV 756) is even a through-composed movement.

[13] J.S. Bach's sonatas for viola da gamba and harpsichord and suites for unaccompanied cello are, strictly speaking, not comparable.

Although the accompanying bass line is generally as simple as that in the sonatas of the 1720s (with which most of the cello sonatas appear, on grounds of style, to be contemporary), enough contrapuntal tension is generated by the solo line itself to prevent a certain static quality which invades some of the violin sonatas.

Six cello sonatas were published in Paris by C.-N. Le Clerc *c* 1739. Remembering Vivaldi's resolution to send no more works for publication, one must assume that Le Clerc obtained the set in manuscript via a third party.* The works are perfect demonstrations of the convergence of church and chamber genres. Their four-movement plan (slow–fast–slow–fast) follows *da chiesa* norms, while the prevalence of binary form is a *da camera* heritage.

The best of the six 'solo' sonatas for wind instruments is the one for oboe (RV 53), which may have been written for the Dresden virtuoso J.C. Richter, who accompanied his prince to Venice in 1716.[14] It is an unusually chromatic piece, which, on the two-keyed instrument of the time, must have posed problems of fingering and intonation.[15]

It is ironic that six of the most popular 'solo' sonatas known under Vivaldi's name – those of *Il pastor fido*, so-called op. 13 – are skilful pastiches by a foreign, probably Parisian hand.* Their background is briefly the following. During the 1730s the Le Clerc brothers, Jean-Pantaléon and Charles-Nicolas, had virtually cornered the market for Italian music in France: the first was Le Cène's agent in Paris from 1733, while Le Clerc the younger (publisher of the cello sonatas) obtained in 1736 royal letters of patent giving him sole right to publish in France the principal works which the other Le Clerc was importing from Amsterdam. This monopoly seems to have been a pre-emptive move to prevent rival publishers from pirating the Dutch editions. To circumvent it entailed acquiring works not originally intended for publication, arranging music for special instrumental combinations, or outright forgery.

On 21 March 1737 J.N. Marchand, a 'maître de musique', successfully applied for letters of patent, valid for nine years, to bring out Vivaldi's opp. 13 and 14, Albinoni's op. 10 and Valentini's op. 10.[16]

[14] A date of composition around 1716 is also suggested by the thematic connection of the slow movement of the Sinfonia to *L'incoronazione di Dario* with the finale of RV 53.

[15] Zelenka's writing for oboe shows similar boldness, which suggests that Dresden possessed one or more oboists of uncommon ability.

[16] The petitioner was the younger of two half-brothers, both named Jean-Noël, from this numerous family of Parisian musicians. Jean-Noël the younger (1700–56) was a fife-player and drummer in the Écurie. He was also the composer and publisher of a *Nouvelle suite d'airs pour deux tambourins, musettes ou vielles*. This undated publication styles him 'Mr Marchand, Ordinaire de l'Académie Royale' (i.e. a member of the opera orchestra).

All these works were stated to be for the *musette* (bagpipe) and *vièle* (hurdy-gurdy), two mock-pastoral instruments then enjoying a minor vogue in Paris. If one regards as improbable that original compositions for these exotic instruments had already been composed by, or commissioned from, the three Italian composers, one's suspicions are deepened by the coincidence that the cited opus numbers begin exactly where those covered by Le Clerc's monopoly leave off. Marchand evidently did not know at the time of application for his *privilège* that a genuine op. 10 (a set of violin concertos) had appeared from Albinoni in 1735 or 1736, to be advertised in Le Clerc the elder's catalogue of 1737.

It seems that Marchand brought out only two of the promised four volumes: a collection for *musette* and *vièle* under Valentini's name entitled *Musica harmonica*[17] and *Il pastor fido*, described on the title-page as 'Sonates pour la musette, vièle, flûte, hautbois, violon avec la basse continüe del Sigr. Antonio Vivaldi, opéra XIIIa'.[18]

Vivaldi's authorship of *Il pastor fido* can equally be contested on musical grounds. Several borrowings from concertos by not only him but also other masters can be identified. All inner parts are naturally sacrificed, and in many cases the bass line is remodelled. The amount of material actually appropriated varies; it depends on how easily the original ritornello form can be compressed into the dimensions of binary form. The table below shows what borrowings have been identified. The movements in which no borrowings have been identified include a number of typically French *rondeaux*. Further, they contain several touches of harmony peculiar to the French style. Ironically, these original movements are generally more attractive than the concerto pastiches. A *Pastorale* in the fourth sonata, where an obbligato cello joins the upper instrument, is especially memorable. It would be sad if the dubious origin of these sonatas were allowed to obscure their fine musical qualities.

It remains to discuss the three quartet sonatas. Two of them, the sonata 'al Santo Sepolcro' (RV 130/P.441) and the similarly titled sinfonia (RV 169), both for four-part strings, must have been written as occasional works for the Pietà's chapel. Oddly, they consist of only two movements, a contrapuntal slow introduction and a fugue, but their intensity belies their brevity.

The *Suonata a violino, oboè et organo, et anco se piace il salmoè*

[17] Lost, but listed in C.J.F. Ballard's catalogue of 1742.
[18] The frequent identification of 'op. 14' with Vivaldi's six published cello sonatas is incorrect.

no. within set	*RV no.*	*key*	*movement*	*source*	*material borrowed*
1	54	C	—	—	—
2	56	C	second	Vivaldi, op. 7 no. 2 (RV 188): third movement	opening ritornello (condensed) and start of first solo
3	57	G	second	Vivaldi, op. 6 no. 2 (RV 259): first movement	opening ritornello, transposed from E♭, to G
4	59	A	second	J. Meek, WV 18 (= RV Anh. 65/P. 217): first movement[19]	opening 4 bars
			fourth	G. M. Alberti, vn4A$_1$: first movement[20]	opening 3½ bars, some subsequent material paraphrased
5	55	C	second	J. Meck, WV 18: third movement	bars 1–14 and 69–76, transposed from A to C[21]
6	58	g	fourth	Vivaldi, op. 4 no. 6 (RV 316a): first movement	entire movement, with two small cuts

[page orientation in original: landscape]

(sonata for violin, oboe, organ, and chalumeau *ad libitum*)[22] can be regarded as a quartet even if the chalumeau, which merely doubles the organ bass in the upper octave, is omitted, since the obbligato organ part is written on two staves and normally consists of one part in each hand; the player should supply a continuo realization when there are rests in the upper stave, and possibly elsewhere, if the hands are not too occupied. Originally, the work was composed for the Pietà, as one sees from the names of girls appearing alongside the instrumental specifications before the first system: Prudenza (violin); Pellegrina (oboe); Lucietta (organ); Candida (chalumeau). All four girls were among those granted permission on 5 June 1707 to teach private pupils (Prudenza is described as a contralto, and Candida as a player of the *viola*).[23] Candida also sang in Vivaldi's *Moyses Deus Pharaonis* (1714). It is thus reasonable to assign a date of *c* 1708 to the sonata.

The word 'pedale' appears under the organ bass in two places in the second movement. Italian organs of Vivaldi's day usually had only rudimentary pedal-boards capable of doing little beyond sustaining a low note, thus freeing the left hand for solo work. Vivaldi at some later point started to revise the instrumentation of the score, substituting a second violin and *basso* for the organ, but apparently soon thought better of the idea and gave up.

The organ was used as a continuo instrument in the Pietà's chapel in conjunction with at least two harpsichords (the *cembali* referred to in the score of *Juditha triumphans*).[24] Instances of its use as an obbligato instrument in Vivaldi's sacred vocal music are few, but one may cite

---

[19] The numbering of the concerto is taken from the thematic catalogue in Klaus Beckmann, *Joseph Meck (1690–1758): Leben und Werk des Eichstätter Hofkapellmeisters* (diss., Ruhr-Universität, 1975). Interestingly, the concerto was published as the final work in an anthology (publisher's catalogue no. 448) issued under Jeanne Roger's imprint (where Vivaldi is named on the title-page as one of the composers represented but not identified with any individual work), and later in an all-Vivaldi anthology, *Select Harmony*, issued by Walsh in 1730. Beckmann argues persuasively for Meck's authorship on the basis of other sources: what is important here is that Marchand may have believed the work to be Vivaldi's.

[20] Numbering from M. Talbot, 'A Thematic Catalogue of the Orchestral Works of Giuseppe Matteo Alberti', *R.M.A. Research Chronicle*, no. 13 (1976). Manuscripts of this concerto survive in Paris and Manchester.

[21] See Beckmann, op. cit., p. 76.

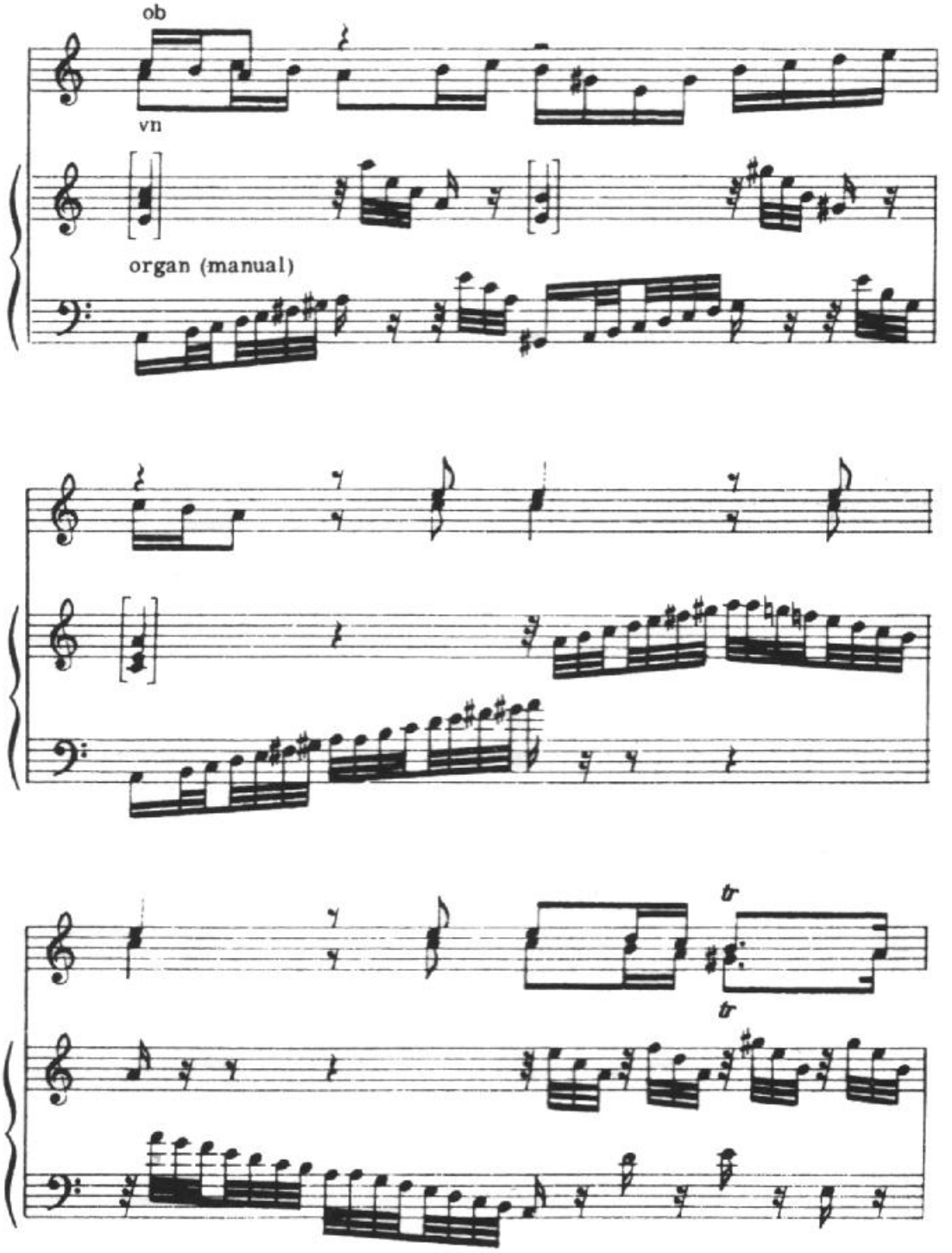
[22] A discussion of the chalumeau appears on p. 124f. For more details see Michael Talbot, 'Vivaldi e lo chalumeau', *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, vol. xv (1980), pp. 153–81, and 'A Vivaldi Sonata with Obbligato Organ in Dresden', *The Organ Yearbook*, vol. xii (1981), pp. 81–103. RV 779 was published in 1992 in the *Nuova edizione critica*.

[23] *ASV*, Osp., Busta 688 (G), f. 181; transcribed in Giazotto, op. cit., p. 354.

[24] Where 'organo' appears on published continuo parts, however, it is used as a generic term for all keyboard instruments, not specifically the organ. This wider meaning is regularly mentioned in contemporary dictionaries.

Ex. 13

(Largo)



the arias ‘Noli, o cara, te adorantis’ in *Juditha triumphans* and ‘Jucundus homo’ in the *Beatus vir*, RV 597 (Ex. 13). The organ part in this sonata is remarkable for the presence of long cadenzas over

pedal-points in the first two movements, and still more remarkable for the way in which figures are spread between the hands in the third movement; for once, Vivaldi achieves a keyboard texture that cannot be reduced to a right hand and a left hand operating independently, and would defy transference to other instruments (which may be why he abandoned his final revision). At the beginning of the movement the organist is instructed to 'accompany' (i.e. improvise chords) on the strong beats ('la prima nota del battere e levare') only, so as not to obscure the delicate fingerwork.

The concertos

Vivaldi's extant concertos can be grouped in six classes according to their instrumentation.

1 Solo concertos (*one solo instrument, string orchestra and continuo*)

violin	214
viola d'amore	6
cello	27
mandolin	1
flute	14
recorder	2
flautino	3
oboe	20
bassoon	37
TOTAL	324

2 Double concertos (*two solo instruments, string orchestra and continuo*)

2 violins	25
2 cellos	1
2 mandolins	1
2 flutes	1
2 oboes	3
2 trumpets	2
2 horns	2
2 unlike instruments	11
TOTAL	46

3	*Ensemble concertos (more than two solo instruments, string orchestra and continuo)*	34
4	*Concertos for two string orchestras and soloist(s)*	4
5	*Chamber concertos (three to six solo instruments and continuo)*	22
6	*Concertos for string orchestra and continuo*	44

As a musical term 'concerto' enjoyed a variety of meanings during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, all of which conveyed either the notion of joining together or that of competing in friendly rivalry. The first connotation predominated during the seventeenth century, the second (which we retain today) during the eighteenth. Around 1710 both were current, as the following definition by Mattheson shows:[25]

> Concertos, broadly speaking, are [musical] gatherings and *collegia musica*, but in a strict manner of speaking, this word is often taken to mean chamber music for both voices and instruments (i.e. a piece actually so named),[26] and, more strictly still, pieces for strings [*Violin Sachen*] composed in such a way that each part in turn comes into prominence and vies, as it were, with the other parts; hence also in such pieces and others where only the uppermost part is dominant, and where among several violins one, called *Violino concertino*, stands out on account of its especially rapid playing.

Concertos in Mattheson's 'strictest' sense came into being at the very end of the seventeenth century as offshoots of the sonata tradition. Leaving aside the problematic case of those works by Corelli published posthumously in 1714 as concertos,[27] but whose pre-1700 prototypes may have functioned as sinfonias or sonatas, and which represent in any case a subsidiary current, it is possible to discern three distinguishing characteristics of the concerto up to about 1710: its tolerance of – indeed, preference for – orchestral doubling; its fondness for display writing on violin or cello (not necessarily allotted to a soloist); its generally homophonic texture and receptivity to influence from the operatic sinfonia. After about 1710, largely as a result of Vivaldi's work, other criteria became dominant: the presence of solo parts; the

[25] *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg, 1713), p. 193f.
[26] Mattheson's term 'Cammer-Musik' would include music for private devotions.
[27] *Concerti grossi*, op. 6.

preference for a three-movement cycle, and the use of ritornello form in outer movements.[28]

It was only during the second half of the seventeenth century that composers began to write with orchestral timbre specifically in mind, the Papal cities of Rome and Bologna becoming leading centres of this new fashion. The addition of one or two viola parts helped to fill the music out, but what was needed was a new style capable of giving expression to the power and richness of orchestral sound. The sonata for one or more trumpets and strings, cultivated in Bologna from the 1660s, became an important catalyst in this stylistic transformation; indeed, the characteristic figures of trumpet writing – note repetitions, fanfare-like arpeggios and tight clusters of stepwise-moving notes – left an imprint on violin writing that lasted for over a century.[29] Whereas the more substantial movements of an instrumental composition had previously relied for their coherence on imitative counterpoint, the unifying factor was now the statement, and restatement at strategic points, of pithy mottoes. The earliest concertos, including those of Torelli's op. 6 (1698) and Albinoni's op. 2 (1700), retain and develop this motto technique. A fast movement will consist of upwards of three periods,[30] each of which will be introduced by the motto, usually delivered in the key of the previous cadence.

Torelli's mottoes often preserve a dash of imitative counterpoint, even fugato; Albinoni's, however, are markedly similar to those in his operatic sinfonias – resolutely homophonic and rhythmically insistent. A comparison of the motto in the opening movement of the second concerto in his op. 2 with the opening bars of Vivaldi's op. 4 no. 2 (RV 279) reveals one aspect of the strong influence he exerted on the Vivaldi concerto in its formative stage (see Ex. 14).

Display writing in these early concertos is generally sandwiched between the motto and the cadential phrase ending the period, and consists of thematically rather nondescript passage-work. Occasionally, as in three instances in Torelli's op. 6, these bars are entrusted to a solo violin or pair of violins, sometimes partnered by a solo cello. However, the use of solo players, often associated (as one would expect) with advanced technical requirements, affects the movement's

[28] Because of this shift in emphasis, chamber concertos without orchestra – even a concerto for harpsichord alone like Bach's 'Italian Concerto', BWV 971 – ceased to be a contradiction in terms.

[29] The 'violino in tromba' appearing in three concertos acknowledges this stylistic indebtedness in exaggerated form.

[30] A period is to music what a sentence is to prose, cadences acting like marks of punctuation.

Ex. 14

ALBINONI

Allegro

VIVALDI

Allegro

form very little. It took a widening of the contrast between solo and tutti material to propel the form forward. In comparison, the Corellian type of concerto, where the alternation of *concertino* (ensemble of soloists, comprising two violins, cello and continuo) and *ripieno* (full ensemble) produced effects of light and shade but little contrast of material, was stagnant.

Torelli's later concertos begin the move towards segregating tutti and solo in separate, alternating periods, leaving Vivaldi to clinch the new form. The motto is expanded to become a period made up from a number of elements which is re-quotable in whole or part: the ritornello. The scoring is generally tutti throughout, and it is usual for the ritornello on any of its statements to begin and end in the same key. The connecting periods or episode, which commonly lead to a new key, are dominated by the soloist and introduce new thematic material freely. The third movement of the *flautino* concerto RV 443/P.79 exemplifies these principles particularly well (the letters A to E in the column 'thematic derivation' stand for elements of the ritornello):

no. of bars	*key centre*	*type of scoring*	*thematic derivation*
8½	*C*	tutti	ABCDE
9	*C–G*	solo	free
6	*G*	tutti	ABCE
13	*G–e*	solo	free
3	*e*	tutti	DE
13	*e–a*	solo	free
5	*a*	tutti	ABE
12½	*(a)–C*	solo	free
6½	*C*	tutti	BCDE

In practice, this schema was adhered to far less rigidly by Vivaldi than by many of his imitators. Some common ways in which it is modified can be instanced.

(1) The first ritornello is preceded by an episode in the home key. This arrangement has great dramatic potential, for the soloist enters immediately and builds up towards the entrance of the tutti. Good examples occur in the opening movements of RV 249 and RV 204 (op. 4 nos. 8 and 11).

(2) The second ritornello, like the first, is in the home key. This device is common in, though not restricted to, movements on a particularly grand scale.

(3) The penultimate ritornello is in the home key. Inevitably, the episode which follows is centred on the tonic; Vivaldi often gives it the character of a cadenza (arpeggiation over a continuo pedal-point is a common feature here), or indicates an actual cadenza, as in the finale of R V 556/P.84, the *Concerto per la solennità di S. Lorenzo.* Very often, the concluding ritornello begins exactly where its predecessor left off, producing the effect of a single ritornello interrupted midway by an episode.

(4) Some of the ritornellos modulate. By thus absorbing one of the functions of the episode in the ritornello, Vivaldi is able, when the other function (solo-tutti contrast) is not required, to dispense with episodes altogether, as one sees in several of the concertos without soloist. Superficially, the result may seem like a reversion to the methods of Torelli and Albinoni; the difference is that Vivaldi brings back and develops all the elements of the ritornello, not just an initial motto.

Most of Vivaldi's movements in ritornello form go beyond the necessities of the form in unifying the diverse parts, though never as systematically and ingeniously as in Bach's concerto movements. Episodes are often punctuated by brief ritornello fragments, and the melodic substance of many episodes can be traced back to an element of the ritornello. One device taken over by Bach is to begin the first episode with a quotation, often ornamented, of the ritornello opening. Another is to lead off with a repetition of the ritornello's cadential phrase. The first and last episodes are often thematically linked, as in the first movement of the concerto for three violins RV 551/P.278; this supplies a welcome element of reprise in the solo part. The internal organization of some ritornellos (one is speaking primarily of opening ritornellos, as later statements tend to be curtailed) reveals a desire to produce a well-rounded musical entity, almost a piece within a piece,

whose own pattern of modulation may paraphrase in miniature that of the whole movement. As Vivaldi's opening phrases so often present the harmonic outline of a perfect cadence,[31] nothing could be more natural than to recapitulate them, perhaps in condensed form, at the very end of the ritornello.

Ritornello form is the quasi-automatic choice for the first movement in a Vivaldi concerto. It is the most common choice for finales, and appears in a few slow movements, where it may be reduced to a simple frame around what would otherwise be a through-composed movement for the soloist, lightly accompanied.

Four alternatives to ritornello form are employed: fugue, unitary (or through-composed) form, binary form and variation form. Most of the fugues occur as fast movements in the concertos without soloist, but a few examples can be found in each of the other kinds of concerto. Where a soloist is employed, many of the episodes consist of conventional passage-work only tenuously related to the subject and countersubjects, a feature perhaps inherited from the fugal finales of Albinoni's op. 5 (1707). Unitary slow movements are of two main types: a series of modulating chords, or an arioso for the soloist. The first type, inherited from Torelli and Albinoni, serves to bridge the two fast movements (in its most condensed expression it appears in Bach's third 'Brandenburg' Concerto). The chords may be patterned in several ways: in flowing, quasi-vocal counterpoint replete with suspensions; in brief phrases, articulated by rests (during which the soloist may have bursts of lyricism, as in the second movement of op. 4 no. 9 (RV 284), hypnotic in its reiterative quality); in gently chugging quavers, like an accompaniment divested of its melody. The second type generally approximates to a binary movement without repeat signs. Binary movements, which include some finales, range from the brief and symmetrical to the extended and markedly asymmetrical. A movement such as the finale of RV 158/P.235 stands on the very threshold of sonata form. Vivaldi wrote few variation movements of sectional type (i.e. where there is a break between the end of one variation and the start of the next); one example is the minuet finale to the oboe concerto RV 447/P.41. He was fond, however, of the continuous type over a ground bass discussed in the previous chapter.

The vast majority of the concertos retain the three-movement cycle popularized by Torelli and Albinoni, but a group of almost 30, by no

[31] Walter Kolneder has coined the excellent term 'Kadenzmelodik' (cadential melody) to characterize this feature of Vivaldi's style.

means all early works, have an additional slow opening movement or slow introduction to the first fast movement. Several concertos in this group are linked through their titles with the Pietà (e.g. the two concertos for the feast of St Lawrence and the *Concerto funebre*); one can well imagine that Vivaldi hoped to add an extra touch of grandeur and solemnity by reverting to the four-movement cycle of the church sonata.

His choice of key for the 'interior' slow movement shows a rather unexpected distribution. Whereas most of his contemporaries favour the relative major or minor key, Vivaldi resorts to it rather infrequently; instead, he most often plumps for the key of the whole work, sometimes its parallel minor key. This bias to homotonality does not seem to be an echo of the *sonata da camera*; perhaps Vivaldi, like Haydn later, retained a single key centre to give the work a more uniform character. Other choices of key are the dominant, the subdominant and (in major-key works) the mediant minor. Where more distant relationships are found, they must often owe their origin to the borrowing of a slow movement from another work. Compared with Locatelli, who liked to place his slow movement in a 'mediant' relationship with the outer movements (e.g. B flat major, for a work in D major), he is almost conservative.

Approximately one in five of Vivaldi's known concertos was published during his lifetime. Discounting 13 concertos published individually or in unauthorized collections, 84 appeared at intervals between 1711 and 1729 in sets bearing an opus number. Of these 60 were for a single violin soloist, reflecting the dominance of this type in the published repertory. The distribution of other types shows the influence partly of changing fashion, partly of the circumstances in which each opus came into being.[32]

op. 3 (1711) 12 works	nos. 5 and 8 for two violins nos. 2 and 11 for two violins and cello no. 4 for four violins nos. 1, 7 and 10 for four violins and cello
op. 4 (*c* 1714) 12 works	nos. 1, 4, 9 and 11 for two violins no. 7 for two violins and cello
op. 6 (1716–17) 6 works	all for one violin
op. 7 (1716–17) 12 works	nos. 1 and 7 (= libro II no. 1) for oboe

[32] In the concertos with additional solo instruments in opp. 4 and 9 only the first solo violin has its own partbook; the other solos are indicated by cues in the *ripieno* parts.

op. 8 (1725) 12 works	nos. 9 and 12 optionally for oboe
op. 9 (1727) 12 works	no. 9 for two solo violins
op. 10 (*c* 1728) 6 works	all for transverse flute
op. 11 (1729) 6 works	no. 6 for oboe
op. 12 (1729) 6 works	no. 3 without soloist

Through these nine collections we can gauge Vivaldi's development as a composer, allowing for the fact that several works, in their original versions, at least, must have been composed many years previously. Ryom has proposed, for instance, that the oboe concerto RV 460 (op. 11 no. 6) is an earlier version of the almost identical work (RV 334) published a few years before as op. 9 no. 3.[33] Opp. 3 and 4 show the composer groping his way towards the definitive shape of the Vivaldian concerto, realized most perfectly in opp. 8 and 9. The other five collections are less homogeneous stylistically and less even in quality; this, and the fact that they were not dedicated to a patron, suggests that Vivaldi or his publisher put them together hurriedly with commercial considerations uppermost. Vivaldi's powers did not decline with advancing years, as the four works composed for the Saxon prince's visit in 1740 attest convincingly, but it cannot be denied that it became increasingly easy for him to repeat himself (often, as we have seen, quite literally). Only op. 8 (which includes *The Four Seasons*) recaptured the success of *L'estro armonico*. Quantz, who acknowledged that Vivaldi, together with Albinoni, had given the concerto a better form and had provided excellent models, seems to be using him as a stick with which to beat other Italian composers (particularly those concerned with opera, for whom he had little regard) when he writes: 'But finally, as a result of too much daily composing, and especially after he began to write operas, he sank into frivolity and caprice both in composition and in performance, for which reason his last concertos earned less approval than his first.'[34]

Opp. 3 and 4 require separate discussion, not only because of their complex organization and stylistic indebtedness to other composers

[33] 'Les catalogues thématiques et *La cetra*', *Vivaldi Informations*, vol. ii (1973), p. 47.
[34] *Versuch*, p. 309.

but also because they supplied the bulk of the concertos transcribed for keyboard by Bach. Op. 3 is an example of a composite set (like Torelli's op. 8 or Albinoni's opp. 2, 7 and 9) in which works of varying specification are grouped symmetrically. Discounting the solo cello, which appears irregularly, one finds the 12 concertos made up of four groups, each comprising in turn a work for four solo violins, one for two solo violins and one for a single violin. Four separate violin partbooks are provided. In the concertos for four violins no distinct *ripieno* parts exist, though orchestral doubling can be used in passages marked 'tutti'. The third and fourth violins in those with two solo parts constitute the *ripieno.* In those with one soloist there are potentially three *ripieno* violin parts, though doubling reduces their number to two or even one (save in the slow movement of the sixth concerto). There are two viola partbooks, five concertos requiring divided violas at least part of the time. Venice was later than Rome or Bologna to accept one viola part rather than two as the norm; even so, *L'estro armonico* is one of the last published set of concertos to call for two violas.[35] One should not infer, as Kolneder does,[36] that when the viola partbooks contain an identical part (similarly with the violins) antiphonal performance was intended. The eight partbooks serve to accommodate the maximum number of independent parts; when fewer than the maximum are needed, any 'redundant' part simply doubles the most appropriate of the others.

La stravaganza, op. 4, is nominally a collection of solo concertos for violin, though five works echo op. 3 by co-opting additional (violin or cello) soloists.

What distinguishes these two *opera* from their successors is their spirit of experimentation (suggested by their very titles) on the one hand and their open reminiscences of Corelli, Torelli and Albinoni on the other. Except in some of the later programmatic concertos, one does not see again such an assorted succession of movements, some very short, as in RV 565 (op. 3 no. 11): 1. Allegro (31 bars, soloists only). 2. Adagio (3 bars, tutti). 3. Allegro (70 bars, fugue). 4. Largo (20 bars, simple ritornello form). 5. Allegro (73 bars, ritornello form).

The most Corellian feature in them is the treatment of two solo violins and solo cello as a *concertino* group in dialogue with the tutti, most noticeably in the finale of RV 185 (op. 4 no. 7). Torelli's influence

[35] Vivaldi used divided violas again in the aria 'Siam navi all'onde algenti' in *L'Olimpiade* (II, 6).

[36] *Antonio Vivaldi: his Life and Work*, p. 97.

Bach transcription			**Vivaldi original**			
BWV	*key*	*instrument(s)*	*RV*	*identification*	*key*	*solo instrument(s)*
593	a	organ	522	op. 3 no. 8	a	2 violins
594	C	organ	208	variant of RV 208a (op. 7 no. 11)	D	1 violin
596	d	organ	565	op. 3 no. 11	d	2 violins and cello
972	D	harpsichord	230	op. 3 no. 9	D	1 violin
973	G	harpsichord	299	op. 7 no. 8	G	1 violin
975	g	harpsichord	316	variant of RV 316a (op. 4 no. 6)	g	1 violin
976	C	harpsichord	265	op. 3 no. 12	E	1 violin
978	F	harpsichord	310	op. 3 no. 3	G	1 violin
980	G	harpsichord	381	variant of RV 383a (op. 4 no. 1)	B♭	1 violin
1065	a	4 harpsichords and orchestra	580	op. 3 no. 10	b	4 violins and cello

[page orientation in original: landscape]

is seen in the rapid semiquaver passages for two violins over pedal-notes (a kind of display writing known to contemporaries as *perfidia*). Albinoni is recalled in the sharply etched rhythms, the fondness for unison violins and the use of a tutti motto in the opening movements of RV 383a and RV 347 (op. 4 nos. 1 and 5).

The ten concertos (six from op. 3) transcribed by Bach can be identified from the table on page 115, Some of the changes introduced by Bach are ones which any imaginative or even merely competent transcriber would have made. In the harpsichord transcriptions (which lack the convenience of a pedal-board) middle parts are drawn closer to the outer parts or sacrificed altogether; intertwining parts are separated by octave transposition; long notes (many of which would have been ornamented extempore in the original medium) are broken down into shorter notes or embellished. But Bach goes beyond such alterations, adding or subtracting bars to produce a symmetry more characteristic of his own music than of Vivaldi's, and devising new counterpoints. It is instructive to compare the closing bars of the first movement of BWV 972 with the equivalent bars in an anonymous English transcription of the same concerto (RV 230) made around the same time (see Ex. 15).[37]

It would be perverse not to concede that Bach's retouchings help to make the works come alive in their new medium and often improve the musical substance into the bargain. Nevertheless, a streak of pedantry sometimes makes Bach gild the lily. One can see why he chose to insert an extra note (ringed) in the second bar of the finale of RV 580 (Ex. 16). What Vivaldi wanted, however, was not a smooth downward progression from *e′* to *a* (*f*♯*′–b* in the original) but a gap drawing attention to the symmetry between bars 1 and 2.

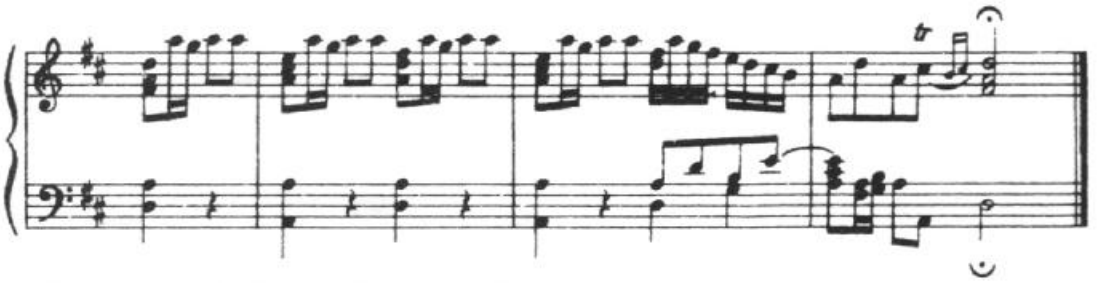
Most of Vivaldi's concertos published subsequently, as well as those remaining in manuscript, are for solo violin. No full discussion of the technical aspect of his writing for violin will be attempted here, but attention should be drawn to the importance of the open strings in his violin parts. In Vivaldi's day vibrato was a special effect, not a natural part of technique, so the difference in sound between an open and a stopped string was more one of power and resonance than of timbre. One is not surprised to find, therefore, that the favourite keys for virtuosic violin writing are those in which open strings can contribute to the chords most likely to require special emphasis: the

[37] This version is one of 12 transcriptions for harpsichord of works in Vivaldi's opp. 3 and 4 contained in *Anne Dawson's Book*, an anthology preserved in Manchester, Central Library, B.R.M710.5.CR71.

Ex. 15

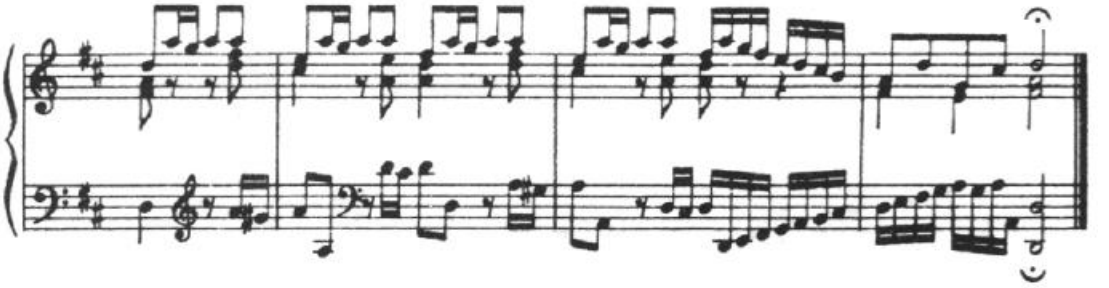
ANON. C 1715

(Allegro)



J.S. BACH, C 1715

(Allegro)



Ex. 16

Allegro

tonic and dominant chords. Among the extant solo violin concertos D major leads the table of popularity with 33 appearances, while C major and B flat major each have 24. Multiple-stopped chords tend to include one or more open strings, not merely for their sound but because an open string releases fingers for employment on other strings. Another facility of open strings may be less familiar: as Baroque violinists used no chin-rest, shifts of hand position were liable to produce a portamento, which could be avoided, however, if the shift took place after an open note.

Five concertos revive the obsolete technique of *scordatura*, a mis-tuning of the solo violin's strings whose main function is to make new combinations of notes possible in chords and *brisures* (rapidly broken chordal figures). Violin *scordatura* had never been popular in Italy – its foremost exponents were Germans and Austrians, such as Biber and Strungk – and Vivaldi's espousal of it is a reminder (like some of

the more exotic instruments played at the Pietà) of Venice's close ties with northern Europe. The mistuned strings are written for like transposing instruments, the player fingering as if the violin were normally tuned. In interpreting the first two bars of RV 391 (op. 9 no. 12) as reproduced in (a) below, we must remember that the *e″* string has been tuned down to *d″* and the g string up to *b*, giving a sound shown in (b).

Ex. 17

(a) Allegro non molto

(b)

In a few concertos the solo violin is treated in other special ways. RV 221/P.179, RV 311/P.117 and RV 313/P.138 all feature a 'violino in tromba' (violin imitating a trumpet); RV 558/P.16 calls for two 'violini in tromba marina', which simulate that instrument (a kind of bowed monochord played entirely in natural harmonics) by confining themselves in solo passages to notes consistent with a fundamental C′. In RV 243/P.310 the soloist forgoes the use of his 'cantin' (E string).

A handful of authentic cadenzas to Vivaldi's violin concertos (and others by Pisendel which may be based to a greater or lesser extent on the composer's originals) have been preserved. But for their length and the fact that they are entirely unaccompanied they are not very different from several concluding episodes in fast movements; they remain in the home key and do not refer obviously to the principal material of the movement.

The six solo concertos for viola d'amore are very similar in style to the violin concertos.[38] Vivaldi's instrument has six bowed strings and most probably six sympathetic strings under the fingerboard. Normally,

[38] The viola d'amore also appears as a solo instrument in the double concerto (with lute) RV 540/P.266, the chamber concerto RV 95/P.286, and individual arias in *Juditha triumphans, Nisi Dominus* RV 608 and the original version of *Tito Manlio.*

the strings are tuned to a chord of D minor (*d–a–d′–f′–a′–d″*), but for other keys *scordatura* (without effect on the notation) is indicated. Two concertos (RV 393/P.289 and RV 397/P.37) conceal in their title the name of the person for whom they were written, 'amore' (how appropriately, perhaps) being spelt 'AMore' with obvious reference to Anna Maria.

Vivaldi's cello concertos tower above those of his contemporaries (Leonardo Leo perhaps excepted) no less than his cello sonatas. Some, as we saw, are very early works; others seem to date from the 1720s, when the Pietà employed Vandini and Aliprandi as cello teachers. It is noticeable how the concertos for low instruments, bassoon as well as cello, favour a fuller, motivically more complex accompaniment than those for high instruments. This feature is quite general in music of the period; one also finds it in arias for low voice.

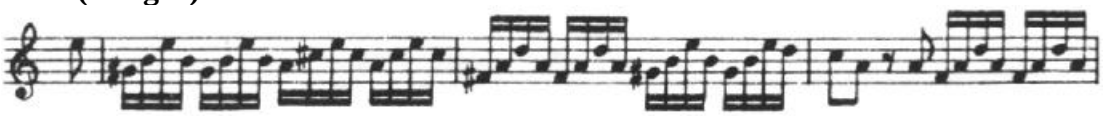
The earliest concertos for wind instruments that Vivaldi is likely to have written are those for oboe. The Pietà appointed its first permanent oboe master, Ignazio Rion, in 1704. Rion, departing for Rome in 1705, was replaced in the following year by Ludwig (Lodovico) Erdmann. However, Erdmann himself left quite soon afterwards to serve the Grand Prince of Tuscany, and his replacement, Ignazio Sieber, arrived only in 1713. In late 1716 he was succeeded by Onofrio Penati, a member of the St Mark's orchestra, who was reappointed annually until 1722. The fact that two out of these four names are German underlines the slowness of the instrument's assimilation into Italian music. The earliest published oboe concertos are those of Albinoni's op. 7 (1715), although it is probable that German composers such as Telemann and Handel had already written examples. Ostensibly, the two oboe concertos in Vivaldi's op. 7 are the earliest by him on which one can place an approximate date (1716–17). Their style, very reminiscent of Telemann, is so uncharacteristic of him, however, that their genuineness must be questioned. They are so much more concertos 'with' oboe, after Albinoni's manner, than concertos 'for' oboe, and segregate solo and tutti scoring much less rigorously than Vivaldi's other oboe concertos. Perhaps Roger, wishing to repeat the success of Albinoni's works, could not wait for the genuine articles to arrive.*

This would leave op. 8 nos. 9 and 12 as the earliest of his oboe concertos to appear in print. Whereas Albinoni models his solo oboe parts on vocal writing, eschewing rapid leaps, Vivaldi takes his own style of writing for the violin as the basis of all his virtuosic woodwind parts, making some allowance for the player's need to draw breath and avoiding unobtainable or weak notes. Only the close spacing of

the broken-chord figures in the next example (from the first movement of RV 463, a version for oboe of the bassoon concerto RV 500/P.89) and the thoughtful insertion of a rest suggest a part for oboe rather than violin.

Ex. 18

(Allegro)



It remains a mystery why Vivaldi wrote so many bassoon concertos (39, including two incomplete works), for there was no recent tradition of solo bassoon writing in Venice. One concerto (RV 502/P.382) is inscribed with the name of Giuseppe Biancardi, a local musician, and another (RV 496/P.381) with that of Count Morzin, but most were probably composed for the Pietà. Were a bassoon concerto even today less of a curiosity, they would be among the most highly prized of Vivaldi's works. In matters of style they relate to the oboe concertos rather as the cello concertos relate to those for violin. Just like his cello (but remarkably for a wind instrument), Vivaldi's bassoon often skips between the bass and tenor registers to produce the effect of a duet or dialogue. The passage in RV 500 (quoted above in its paraphrase for oboe) exemplifies this quirky style of writing very well. Elsewhere, Vivaldi gives the bassoon dreamily lyrical passages that belie the instrument's reputation for jocularity.

Ex. 19

(Allegro)

The earlier Ricordi edition advertises indiscriminately as flute concertos works which the sources show to be for two distinct instruments: *flauto* (alto recorder) and *flauto traversiere* (flute). The flute concertos proper are in a large majority (13 against two). Vivaldi probably did not write any before the late 1720s; Sieber's reappointment at the Pietà as flute master dates from 1728, and Vivaldi's first known use of the flute in an opera occurs in *Orlando* (Autumn 1727).* One would expect the works for recorder to be earlier, for the flute rapidly ousted the recorder, first in France and later in Germany and Italy, rather as the piano superseded the harpsichord 50 years later. The recorder was certainly in use at the Pietà in 1706, when Penati was paid for repairs

to four instruments.[39] Significantly, five of the six works making up op. 10 are arrangements for flute and strings of earlier recorder concertos or chamber concertos including a recorder or flute. They contain the three programme works *La tempesta di mare* (RV 433, op. 10 no. 1), *La notte* (RV 439, op. 10 no. 2) and *Il gardellino* (RV 428, op. 10 no. 3), all originally chamber concertos. RV 434 (op. 10 no. 5) is the recorder concerto RV 442 with its slow movement transposed from F minor to G minor. This alteration was needed, as the flute, whose natural scale was that of D (the recorder's is F), could not play satisfactorily in the original key.[40]

The instrument called *flautino* required in three concertos can hardly be the piccolo (whose existence is not attested until the 1730s) or the flageolet, which Vivaldi terms *flasolet*(*to*) and uses in the aria 'Di due rai languire costante' from an unidentified opera;[41] instrumental compass and etymology identify it as the sopranino recorder playing an octave above notated pitch. Obbligato parts for *flautino* also occur in the operas *Tito Manlio* (1719) and *La verità in cimento* (1720). Vivaldi's parts for *flautino* are often quite fiendishly difficult, requiring the agility of a violinist rather than a wind player, and the rich musical substance of the concertos dispels any idea that he regarded this tiny instrument as an ear-tickling toy.

Most of Vivaldi's concertos with descriptive titles belong to the solo category. If one discounts immediately references in the titles to performers, patrons, occasions of performance and technical features, some 25 works, several existing in more than one version, are left. The titles often indicate no more than the general mood or style of the piece: thus 'rest' (*Il riposo*, RV 270/P.248) or 'pleasure' (*Il piacere*, RV 180, op. 8 no. 6). In concertos like *La caccia* (RV 362, op. 8 no. 10) or *Il gardellino* the description is lent concreteness by onomatopoeic touches in the music. Only seven concertos justify the label 'programmatic' by including a narrative element – slight in the three versions of the concerto *La tempesta di mare* with flute (not to be confused with a similarly named violin concerto in op. 8) and the two different concertos, for flute (RV 439/P.342 and the earlier RV 104) and bassoon (RV 501/P.401) respectively, entitled *La notte*, but well worked out in *Le quattro stagioni*, assisted by their descriptive sonnets.

[39] Arnold, op. cit., p. 76f. The author has translated the word as 'flutes', but the transverse flute is out of the question at this early date.

[40] The Turin score of RV 442 contains Vivaldi's direction to a copyist to write the movement out a tone higher, perhaps in preparation for the work's publication as a flute concerto.

[41] Foà 28, ff. 104–6, 90–1.

Programme music, whose history stretches back to the middle ages, was less popular in eighteenth-century Italy than in France, where the view of Art as an imitation of Nature was taken more literally. Nature was still man-centred, however; not the least modern aspect of *The Four Seasons* is their subordination of human activity to the uncontrollable play of the natural elements. The uninhibited and sometimes remarkably original way in which Vivaldi depicts situations permits use of the epithet 'romantic', both as a statement of general musical outlook and as a reminder that these four concertos inaugurated a tradition which continued right through to the nineteenth century. Works standing wittingly or otherwise in the line of descent from them include Telemann's secular cantata *Die Tageszeiten* (1759), Haydn's symphonic trilogy *Le matin–Le midi–Lé soir* (1761) and, naturally, his oratorio *The Seasons* (1800), Beethoven's *Pastoral Symphony* (1808), and even Berlioz's *Symphonie fantastique* (1830).

Vivaldi solves the problem of combining programmatic content with ritornello form in a manner both simple and satisfying. The underlying mood of the movement is captured by the ritornello, while successive events are portrayed in individual episodes. In the opening movement of the Spring concerto the ritornello, a heavy-footed dance, represents joy at the advent of Spring – 'Giunt'è la primavera'. The remainder of the two quatrains is parcelled out among the four episodes as follows:

(1) '… and joyfully the birds greet her [Spring] with merry song.' Vivaldi's avian chorus, based entirely on the tonic chord (E major), employs three solo violins, the orchestral parts being reduced to a single player.
(2) 'While the brooks, fanned by gentle breezes [Zephyrs], murmur sweetly as they course along,' Slurred pairs of conjunct semiquavers in thirds conjure up the rippling brooks, similar motion in minims the wafting breeze.
'Thunder and lightning, chosen to proclaim her, envelop the air in a black shroud.' Bowed tremolos depict the thunder, rapid ascending scales and flashing arpeggios the lightning.
(3) 'The birds, having meanwhile fallen silent, resume their melodious singing.' Vivaldi begins with a motive often found in his works in association with sleep and then reproduces in subdued form some of the bird motives.
(4) An uncaptioned episode, in which the chirruping of a bird is nevertheless audible.

In slow movements, whose smaller dimensions almost preclude the

narrative element, Vivaldi is content with a tableau-like depiction of a scene, of which different constituents may be represented by different layers of texture. In the Winter concerto, for example, the soloist and lower strings paint a picture of fireside comfort, while the violins supply the raindrops outside.

The special case of opp. 3 and 4 apart, Vivaldi's double concertos, whether for like or unlike instruments, are closely related in form and style to his solo concertos. The manner of interaction of the soloists is very varied: at one extreme, they may perform more in dialogue than as a pair, one instrument repeating immediately whatever the other plays; at the other, they may move in endless chains of thirds as if unable to escape from one another. Both devices become tiresome through over-use, and Vivaldi's record is not spotless in this regard. Against this, one is glad to find in several works, particularly those for two solo violins, a contrapuntal interplay worthy of his best trio sonatas.

The double concertos for like instruments comprise 25 for violins, three for oboes, two for trumpets, two for horns and one each for cellos, mandolins and flutes. Those for unlike soloists include four (RV 541/P.311, RV 542/P.274, RV 766 and RV 767) for violin and organ and two for violin and oboe (RV 548/P.406 and RV 543/P.301); the last work is curious in having the soloists in unison. RV 544/P.308, RV 546/P.238 and RV 547/P.388 combine violin and cello most effectively. Vivaldi later redesignated RV 546 for violin and bass *viola all'inglese*, making no alteration to the actual notes in either the solo or *ripieno* parts. The *viola all'inglese* appears in four other Vivaldi works: the ensemble concertos RV 555/P.87 and RV 579/P.385 (*Concerto funebre*), the oratorio *Juditha triumphans* (1716), where a five-part 'concerto' (consort) accompanies the heroine's prayer and subsequent aria, and the opera *L'incoronazione di Dario* (1717), where the bass member of the family has a difficult obbligato part in Statira's 'Cantata in scena' in Act I. Besides the sizes corresponding to the violin and the cello the *viola all'inglese* has a middle size, identifiable as the 'englisches Violett' mentioned by Leopold Mozart in his famous treatise. From Mozart's description and the very few surviving instruments[42] one learns that the *viola all'inglese* broadly resembled the viola

[42] Anthony Baines, *European and American Musical Instruments* (London, 1966), describes and provides illustrations of *viole all'inglese* dated 1712 and 1737 in the Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, and the Royal College of Music, London. From Pincherle onwards, many writers have identified Vivaldi's 'English viol' with the family of viols proper, which enjoyed a late florescence in seventeenth-century England; but the English connection can be explained just as well by the presence of sympathetic strings, whose introduction (in the lyra-viol) has been credited to the English.

d'amore, but had two or three times the number of sympathetic strings. One can establish from the layout of the chords in the *Dario* obbligato that the instrument used there had six strings tuned *D–G–c–e–a–d'*.

The catch-all phrase 'ensemble concerto' is a convenient way of referring to Vivaldi's numerous concertos for single orchestra with more than two solo instruments. It includes concertos for three and four violins, which reveal few features not already present in the double violin concertos, as well as works for a large, heterogeneous ensemble, which Vivaldi, lacking the patience or space to list the names of all the instruments in the title, liked to call 'concerto con molti istromenti'. At least two of the latter (RV 576/P.359 and R V 577/P.383) were supplied to the Dresden orchestra, as befitted its large complement of wind instruments, but most were clearly destined for the Pietà. If, as the English traveller Edward Wright averred,[43] its female performers were hidden from public view by a lattice, the revelation in brief solo passages of one rare specimen after another from the Pietà's menagerie of instruments must have both surprised and delighted the audience. Like animals in the Ark, these instruments, which include mandolins, theorboes, chalumeaux, clarinets and *tromboni da caccia*, usually come in pairs. Vivaldi makes no pretence of equality between his soloists, a violin or pair of violins often taking the lion's share of solo material. Sometimes, solo instruments are featured in certain movements only, like the lute in the slow movement of the original version of RV 556/P.84 and the two trumpets in the finale of RV 555/P.87.

Although the chalumeau was known in Italy – F. Bonanni includes it in his *Gabinetto armonico* of 1722 – the five works by Vivaldi in which it appears (three concertos, one sonata and *Juditha triumphans*) are the only ones so far discovered south of the Alps. Elder cousin (or perhaps parent) of the clarinet, the chalumeau first appeared towards 1700 in France or Germany as a more powerful type of recorder in which the usual mouthpiece was replaced by one housing a single reed on top.[44] The instrument could not overblow, but one or two keys located between the row of seven holes and the mouthpiece extended

[43] *Some Observations made in travelling through France, Italy ... in the years 1720, 1721 and 1722*, vol. i (London, 1730), p. 79.

[44] On the chalumeau see especially Heinz Becker, 'Das Chalumeau im 18. Jahrhundert', ed. H. Becker and R. Gerlach, *Speculum musicae artis: Festgabe für Heinrich Husmann* (Munich, 1970), pp. 23–46, and Michael Talbot, 'Vivaldi e lo chalumeau'. The role of both the chalumeau and the clarinet in Vivaldi's music is examined in Colin Lawson, 'Single Reed Instruments in the Music of Vivaldi', *Chigiana*, vol. xli (1989), pp. 185–96. In the light of recent research it is surprising that the hypothesis, first stated by Pincherle, that the *salmoè* was some kind of obsolete double-reed instrument continues to be widely believed.

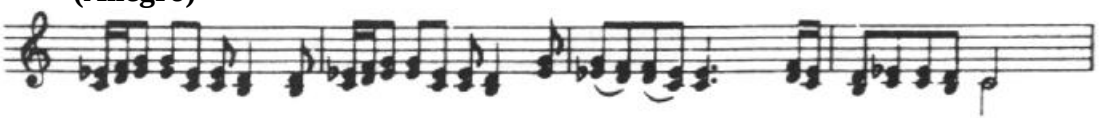
its compass by a few notes. Although its tone was reputed harsh, the chalumeau, built like the recorder in various sizes, achieved a degree of popularity as a 'pastoral' instrument in Germany and Austria during the first half of the eighteenth century; it appears in instrumental works, including some concertos, by J.L. Bach, Fasch, Graupner, Hasse, Molter and Telemann, and operas by Ariosti, Bononcini, Fux, Keiser and even Gluck (*Orfeo* and *Alceste*). Handel's *Riccardo primo* (London, 1727) contains an aria with parts for two soprano chalumeaux. Vivaldi calls the instrument 'salmoè' or 'salmò' (a more orthodox Italian form is 'scialmò', as used by the Viennese composer Bonno). He employs the smallest (soprano) size in Judith's aria 'Veni, veni me sequere' (in which the cooing of a turtle-dove is evoked), confining the solo part to the notes between *a′* and *b♭″*, which suggests an available compass *f′–b♭″*. A tenor instrument, pitched an octave lower, is used in the *Concerto funebre*. In both cases the instrument is muted. Tenor chalumeaux in C (compass *g–c″*) are required in RV 555/P.87, RV 558/P.16 and the Dresden quartet sonata. Vivaldi writes tenor chalumeau parts an octave lower in the bass clef, quite appropriately, as the instrument often has to supply a *bassetto* or double the bass line an octave higher.

He uses clarinets in C in three concertos (RV 556/P.84, RV 559/P.74 and RV 560/P.73), partnering them with two oboes; and in RV 556 with two recorders, two violins and bassoon in addition. The simple two-keyed clarinet is treated almost as two instruments in one, the first corresponding to the register of fundamentals (*f–f′*) and the second to that of twelfths (*c″–c‴*), the 'open' note g′ being common to both. As the clarinet had yet to acquire its long B key, producing *e* and *b′*, the two registers are separated by a gap which coincides with that between the sixth and eighth harmonics (the seventh, lying outside the diatonic scale, is unusable) of the natural trumpet.

Vivaldi shows a prescient awareness of the aptness of the low 'chalumeau' register for eerie or lugubrious effects, as the following passage from the first movement of RV 560, with its typical minor inflections, demonstrates:

Ex. 20

(Allegro)



Much of the writing for the clarinet in its higher register is stylistically indistinguishable from that of the trumpet in its 'clarino' register, a resemblance which the bold, strident tone of early instruments must have heightened. The following passage from the same movement is a good specimen:

Ex. 21

This identity of style (restricted, of course, to the range *g′–c″′*) induced some scholars to believe that the instruments Vivaldi called not only 'clarinet(ti)' (in RV 559 and 560) but also 'claren(i)' (in RV 556 and also in *Juditha triumphans*, where two instruments in B flat play in unison) and even 'clarini' (in the slow movement of RV 556) were in fact really trumpets.[45] It must be remembered, however, that it was Germans, not Italians, who used the term 'clarino' to refer to an instrument (trumpet) as well as a specific register; also that Bonanni's name for the clarinet is 'clarone'. The appearance of clarinets in *Juditha* (1716) is the earliest known instance of the instrument's orchestral use.

The identity of the two *tromboni da caccia* in RV 574/P.319 (and also in two numbers in *Orlando finto pazzo*) remains elusive. Nothing in the notation (in the treble clef, an octave above sounding pitch), the notes employed or the general style is uncharacteristic of *corni da caccia* in F; these 'hunting trombones' must be close relatives of the horn, if not the same instrument.*

Five concertos (one incomplete) requiring double orchestra have survived. Three attach a solo violin to the first orchestra, while the other two are laid out symmetrically with an identical group of soloists for each 'coro'. All were probably intended for the Pietà's chapel services, two being inscribed 'per la santissima assontione di Maria Vergine' (RV 581–2/P.14 (Turin version) and 164). The remarks in the next chapter on Vivaldi's vocal works 'in due cori', which were presumably performed at the same services, largely apply to these concertos.

The chamber concertos, written for three to six instruments and

[45] The most lengthily argued presentation of this case occurs in Walter Lebermann, 'Zur Besetzungsfrage der Concerti grossi von A. Vivaldi', *Die Musikforschung*, vol. vii (1954), pp. 337–9.

continuo, number 22. Several are for wind instruments only; in fact the only example not to include at least one wind instrument is the lute concerto RV 93/P.209 (discounting possible substitutions of wind by stringed instruments indicated by the composer in some scores). The instruments usually appear individually, but in a few cases paired instruments – violins, oboes or horns – are featured. The bassoon is required in 16 concertos, the flute and oboe each in 12 and the recorder in nine.

All are apparently mature works, but the purpose for which they were written remains obscure. Their conception is unique for Italy, though similar works, of which Bach's Third and Sixth 'Brandenburg' Concertos are elaborate but valid examples, were composed by a number of German and French composers, who often termed them 'sonatas', obviously thinking more of the medium than the musical forms employed.

In a chamber concerto all the parts (except the continuo, which doubles the lowest instrument) are obbligato, playing in unison only for special effect. In some instances the distinction between ritornello and episode is not reflected in the pattern of the scoring, which varies independently, so that tonal and thematic criteria alone establish the formal outlines; this occurs in RV 107/P.360, for flute, oboe, violin and bassoon. Elsewhere the texture lightens in the episodes as one or more instruments drop out, leaving behind a 'soloist'. The choice of such a soloist may vary between episodes or even within a single episode, but in many cases the same solo instrument appears during a movement, even a work. A disguised solo concerto of this type is RV 106/P.404, where the flute is partnered by violin and bassoon.

The most admirable qualities of Vivaldi's chamber concertos, scarcity value apart, are their exquisite tone colour and feeling for the natural idiom of each instrument. They are closer to the modern spirit of chamber music than any other of his works.

Vivaldi's 44 concertos without soloist for four-part strings and continuo (the ones Pincherle so aptly describes as being 'in symphonic style') show him in his best light as a composer pure and simple, freed of the necessity to engage in display for its own sake. The distinction between these *concerti a quattro* (in three works he employs the designation 'concerto ripieno' – concerto for orchestra) and operatic or operatic-style sinfonias is one of stylistic and formal tendency rather than something clear-cut. We thus find certain works, whose allegiance to one genre rather than the other is not pronounced, used *in toto* (and even more often in part) in both guises, or at any rate under both

titles; RV 134/P.127, originally entitled ‘Concerto’ in the composer’s autograph manuscript, later received the additional, presumably substitute, title ‘Sinfonia’. The concerto RV 117/P.64 also appears, with another slow movement, as the sinfonia to *La Senna festeggiante.*

Typically, sinfonias are written in a homophonic, treble-dominated style, for which the violins are often in unison. The opening movement, traditionally by far the longest, tends to aim at sheer weight of sound (perhaps needed to silence a chattering audience) with multiple-stopped chords, *brisures* and prominent open strings, as illustrated by the beginning of RV 116.

Ex. 22

Allegro

The slow movement is customarily in *cantabile* style, while the binary finale, a mayfly of a movement, leads a merry but brief dance. Major tonality is greatly preferred.

The concertos are written in a severer, often contrapuntal vein, where one violin part is often set off against the other through imitation or dialogue. Their slow movements are more varied in type, and the disparity in length and weightiness between the outer movements is less marked, even absent. A normal incidence of minor tonality is found. An opening movement such as the one in RV 157/P.361, constructed over a ground bass, would be inconceivable in a sinfonia, as it lacks the vital ingredient of panache.

It is strange that only one of these ‘symphonic’ concertos – RV 124 (op. 12 no. 3) – was published in Vivaldi’s lifetime, when so many less distinguished examples by Albinoni and Alberti were printed and reprinted. In statistical terms, *concerti a quattro* fared badly beside solo concertos almost everywhere. De Brosses, hearing some in Venice in 1739, thought them uniquely appropriate for concerts in small gardens and regretted the ignorance of them in France.[46] Perhaps the manuscript set of 12 such concertos by Vivaldi preserved in the Paris Conservatoire Library represents some Frenchman’s attempt to repair the omission.

The foregoing survey of Vivaldi’s concertos has neglected to discuss in as great detail as many earlier studies the extent of their influence

[46] Op. cit., vol. i, p. 194f.

on the course of development of the concerto and the nascent pre-classical style. One problem is that after those crucial years in the second decade of the eighteenth century when the imitation of *L'estro armonico* was almost *de rigueur* among German and Italian composers, it becomes hard to distinguish between the continuing personal influence of Vivaldi and that re-transmitted and often refracted by his disciples. By the third decade one encounters concerto composers like Locatelli and Tartini whose music is both stylistically and formally in advance of Vivaldi's in many respects. Vivaldi is henceforth their beneficiary as well as one-time mentor. (Albinoni's relation to Vivaldi shows the same reversal of roles.) Where Vivaldi continued longest to be a vital influence on his contemporaries was perhaps in matters of instrumental technique and nuances of performance. His importance for the history of orchestration may have been exaggerated. In his search for novelty he introduced dozens of incidental innovations, but it was not his intention to consolidate them into a distinct practice which others could imitate. Taken as a whole, however, Vivaldi's achievement in the concerto is as remarkable as that of Monteverdi in opera or Haydn in the symphony.

7

The vocal music

'Vivaldi, who wanted to be active in both fields [vocal and instrumental], always got himself hissed in the first, though he enjoyed great success in the second.' Thus Tartini, arguing his case that vocal and instrumental composition, being so different in character, could not be mastered equally by one man.[1] This opinion, which smacks of sour grapes, is belied not only by the facts of Vivaldi's career but by remarks of other contemporaries, notably Mattheson, who, having observed that vocal writing does not tolerate the leaps found in instrumental writing, states: 'Vivaldi, albeit no singer, has had the sense to keep violin-leaps out of his vocal compositions so completely that his arias have become a thorn in the flesh to many an experienced vocal composer.'[2]

The sheer mass of Vivaldi's vocal music, sacred as well as secular, would not disgrace a composer who never wrote a note of instrumental music: over 45 operas, of which 16 survive in their entirety and four (including Vivaldi's contribution to *Il Tigrane*) in sufficiently complete form to merit analysis; eight shorter stage works (three extant); 40 cantatas; over 60 sacred works, including four oratorios (one extant).

Although the knowledge of Latin and of Catholic ritual acquired during ten years of training for the priesthood must have served Vivaldi well in his sacred works, he cannot have found much time – nor can his humble origins have afforded him much opportunity – to gain more than a rudimentary acquaintance with vernacular literature and the classical tradition by which it was still so heavily influenced. One must remember, of course, that true literary connoisseurs like the Marcello brothers were in a minority among composers. From Vivaldi's original drafts we can see how often a hasty or superficial reading of a text to be set led him into error. For example, the first (1727) version of *Farnace* misreads 'schiva' (shy) as 'schiava' (slavish) – the object of

[1] As reported in de Brosses, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 316.
[2] *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg, 1739), p. 205.

reference being an aloof princess – and a few lines later turns the 'essa' (it) of the libretto into a syntactically inexplicable 'esca' (goes out).[3] In the score of *Orlando*, where the text in the recitatives corresponds not to the 1727 libretto but to that published in 1714 for Ristori's setting, Vivaldi betrays his unfamiliarity with French at the point when the delirious paladin begins to speak in that language.[4] Through a typographical error the earlier libretto appears to split the oath 'ventrebleu' into two words: *ventreb leu*. In his innocence, Vivaldi follows suit.

Literary novice though he was, Vivaldi did not lack confidence. The operatic scores abound in petty alterations to the text in his own hand. Since these revisions are often so inconsistent – they may be lacking, for example, when a portion of text is repeated – they can hardly all have been introduced at the bidding of a literary collaborator. One case establishes beyond doubt that he was capable of writing serviceable, if trite, verse. The central recitative in *Nel partir da te, mio caro*, a solo cantata for soprano, achieved its final form only at the fourth attempt. In his first two attempts Vivaldi gave up after sketching the notes of the vocal line up to the third bar and taking the text only as far as the third word. Five bars were completed in his third attempt. By now, he must have become dissatisfied with the words, for the final, successful version has a new text, paraphrasing the old, which only he can have supplied.

Original text
Parto, sì parto lungi da te, mio bene.
Via in pegno del mio amor ti lascio il core
Tradiscilo, ti priego,
Perch'un dì lo gradisti
…[5]

New text
Parto, mio ben, da te, io parto, addio,
Ma il cor qui resta in ossequioso pegno.
Di gradirlo ti priego,
E all'afflitto mio core
Donali in premio almeno un dolce amore.[6]

These texts are written in the form known as *versi sciolti*, in which lines of seven and 11 syllables are mingled freely and rhyming is usually

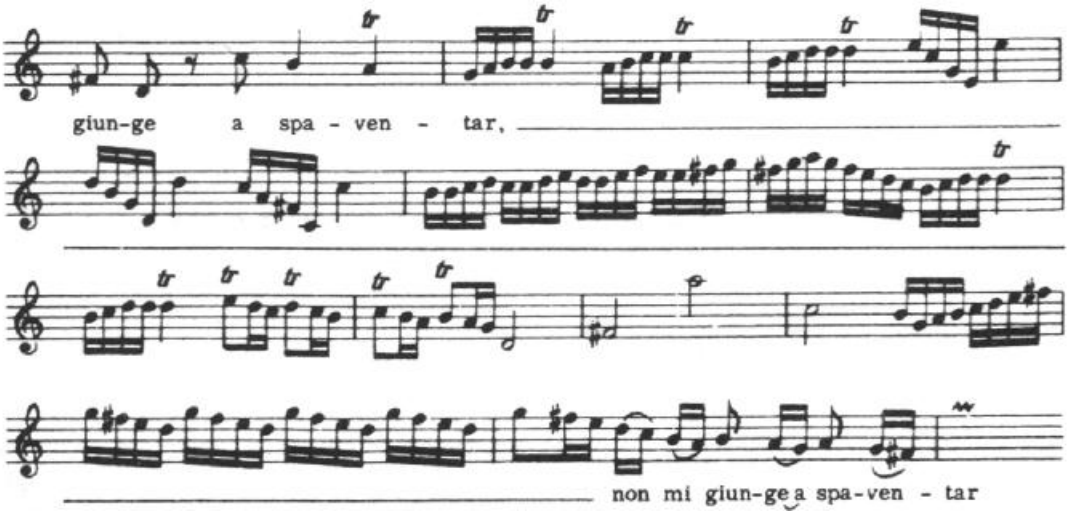
[3] Act II, Scene 2, lines 2 and 9. In the later (1739) version of *Farnace* Vivaldi corrects the first error.
[4] Act III, Scene 5. The 1727 libretto paraphrases the French passages in Italian.
[5] 'I am going, yes, 1 am going far from you, my sweetheart; but I am leaving you my heart as a pledge of my love. Deceive (?) it, i beg you, for once you welcomed it …'
[6] 'I am going, my sweetheart, from you; I am going, farewell! But my heart is remaining here as a humble pledge. Accept it, I beg you, and deign to reward my suffering heart with sweet affection.'

confined to a final couplet. Such verse was standard in recitatives, the length of line corresponding excellently to the length of phrase a singer could sustain in a single breath. The 12-syllable opening line of the original text (presumably also by Vivaldi) is a blemish not entirely removed in the new version, where, although the syllable-count is now correct, the flow is very halting (note the clumsy hiatus between 'te' and 'io'). But perhaps one should not expect a composer to be too scrupulous about prosody; like many of his colleagues, Vivaldi often chose to ignore elisions essential to the poetic rhythm but irrelevant, even awkward, in a musical setting.

In regard to accent and length his word-setting is generally irreproachable. When writing in declamatory style, either block-chordally as in the outer movements of the *Credo* RV 591 or imitatively as in the 'Sicut erat in principio' concluding *Lauda Jerusalem*, he often achieves that compromise between fidelity to the spoken word and imaginative artificiality that results in true memorability. Like Handel, he uses dotted rhythms to impart zest and lend emphasis. It would be unfair to judge the melismatic style of his arias by the same standards, for the extension of one syllable over several bars is an artificiality so blatant as to mask most other deviations from the natural, but he selects the syllables so treated intelligently, with due regard to their vowel quality. The following example, from Emilia's aria 'Come invano il mare irato' (As in vain the angry sea) (*Catone in Utica*, II, 14), illustrates the exuberance of his bravura writing in the later operas. Vivaldi does not take Mattheson's advice so literally as to spurn all leaps, but such as occur are eminently singable.

Ex.23

(Allegro molto)



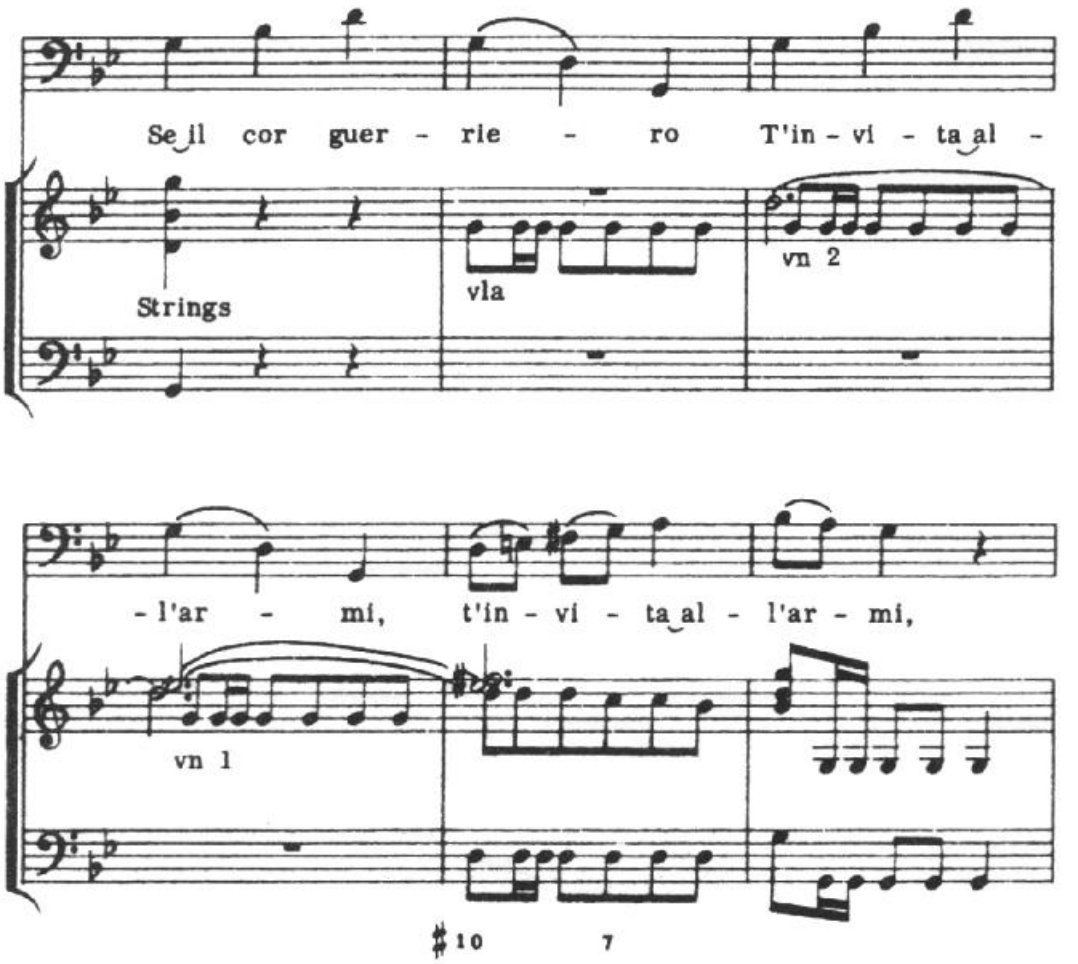
Instances of bad word-setting are most numerous in *contrafacta*, old pieces furnished with new texts. Even in lines with the same number of syllables, variations in the stress pattern and a different placing of diphthongs, hiatuses and elisions can have adverse effects. The great quartet 'Anima del cor mio' from *La Candace* (II, 9) begins with a phrase which accommodates the diphthong in 'mio' very happily with a feminine cadence. Later in the same year (1720) Vivaldi adapted the movement as a quintet in *La verità in cimento* (II, 9), where its first line is amended to read 'Anima mia, mio ben'. The feminine cadence on 'ben' sounds unnatural, especially as the syllable is closed. Minor infelicities of this kind were more or less inherent in the technique of *contrafactum*; we find them, too, in the music of Bach and Handel.

Vivaldi's ability as a word-painter is unrivalled for his period. It is remarkable how pictorial significance can permeate the whole of the texture, bringing simple accompanimental figures into relief. The obsessional quality of Vivaldi's natural musical thought, which can, in extreme cases, sustain a single idea for the duration of the entire movement, helps to establish a basic 'affection' (*affetto*) for the movement; supplementary motives and figures suggested by individual words and phrases of the text increase the richness of allusion. No finer example can be found than Tito's aria 'Se il cor guerriero' in *Tito Manlio* (I, 2; Ex. 24). The rhythmic ostinato  , usually on a monotone, sets the warlike mood in a manner reminiscent of Monteverdi's *stile concitato* as featured in *Il combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda*. Abrasive, tardily resolving dissonances evoke the clash of arms in the A section, while in the B section rushing semiquavers on the violins accompany Tito's stern command to his son: 'Flee the challenge of battle'.

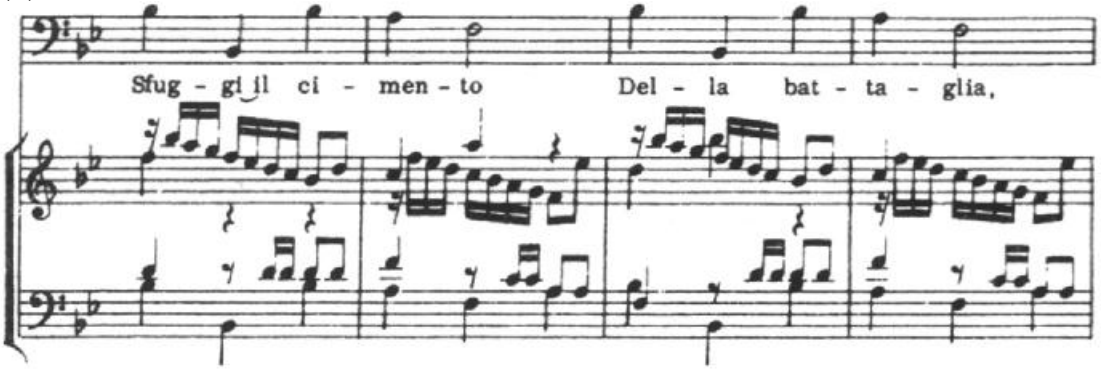
The allusive significance of a motive is usually clear from the words with which it is initially heard. Once announced, the motive tends to be developed autonomously, almost as in a purely instrumental composition. When the motives appear in contrapuntal combination, there is little risk of inappropriateness, since one or other of them is likely to be relevant to the words as they occur and recur. This is the case in Holophernes' aria 'Agitata infido flatu' in *Juditha triumphans*, which describes a swallow's flight to its nest, buffeted by stormy winds. Three important motives, mostly heard simultaneously, occur in the voice and the upper instrumental parts (the bass underscores the restlessness with pounding quavers and some tortuous intervals): a chromatically descending line in semibreves or minims expressive of the soughing of the wind; a semiquaver figure representing the flapping

Ex. 24

(a) (Allegro)

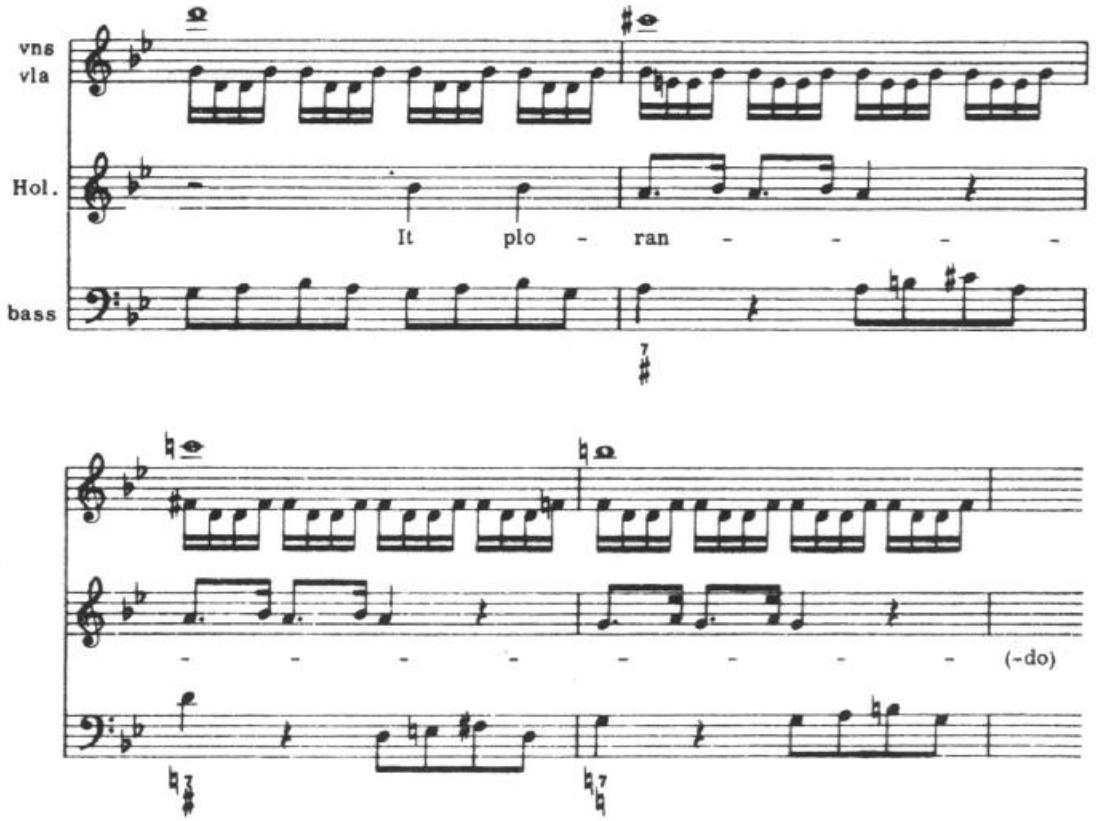


(b)



of the swallow's wings; a jagged figure in dotted rhythm evocative of weeping (see Ex. 25). This is in essence the 'tableau' manner of representation as found in the slow movements of programme concertos. Where the style is more homophonic, however, and the motives

Ex. 25
(Allegro)



appear one by one, Vivaldi sometimes cannot – or will not – maintain the strict correspondence of word and motive observed at the outset. His setting of Metastasio's famous comparison aria 'Qual destrier ch'al albergo è vicino' (*L'Olimpiade,* I, 3) bears this criticism out. In the A section Vivaldi illustrates the whinnying of a stallion with trilled appoggiaturas, and the commanding voice of his rider with a high-pitched monotone in even crotchets. These onomatopoeic touches recur in the B section, where their presence, justifiable on purely musical grounds, is no longer textually apposite, since Metastasio has abandoned the simile of a headstrong horse to describe the object of comparison: a man intoxicated by the vision of his impending happiness. To regard the motives as a subtle reminiscence-cum-anticipation of the A section would be mistaken. Impulsive rather than reflective, Vivaldi was apt to let such a movement take its own course once

he had set it on its path – a slightly risky prescription for vocal composition.

The cantatas

After opera, the cantata was the most important new vocal form forged in the early Italian Baroque. It is generally conceived as a monologue (the singer sometimes also acting as narrator), less often as a dialogue. With rare exceptions, the Italian cantata, unlike the Lutheran church cantata, is a setting of secular verse in the vernacular. The most modestly scored type, that for solo voice and bass (realizable on harpsichord or cello, or the two combined), was by far the most popular, rivalling the solo sonata in the number of works composed if not in depth of social penetration. Alessandro Scarlatti and Benedetto Marcello, the two most accomplished composers of cantatas contemporary with Vivaldi, each produced hundreds. The currents of reform associated with the Arcadian Academy in Rome, whose purifying and disciplining effect on opera cannot be denied, restricted the scope and imagery of the cantata to a stultifying degree. The setting is invariably Arcady, peopled by lovelorn shepherds and fickle nymphs (the epithets are reversible), with whose vulnerable hearts Cupid plays havoc. Invariable, too, the form of the poem: alternating strophes of *versi sciolti* (generally set as recitative, though a few lines may receive arioso or fugato treatment) and rhymed verse for the arias. *Da capo* form – as much a poetic device as a musical one – is normally prescribed for the latter.

The main sources for Vivaldi's cantatas are two volumes (nos. 27 and 28) in the Foà collection, though a few are preserved elsewhere. Twenty-two of the continuo cantatas are for soprano, eight for alto, a ratio quite normal for the time. The absence of 'natural' male voices is not surprising: works for high voice, which could be sung either by women or by castrati (the sex of the character portrayed by the singer was not a restricting factor), had greater versatility; also, it is uncommon for arias, whether in cantata or opera, to be written for a low voice unless there is an instrument in an upper register to act as a foil. On his scores, some of which are very rough drafts, Vivaldi left several instructions for transposition or change of clef. Such directions, often misunderstood when occurring in the instrumental works as afterthoughts or corrections, enabled a pre-existing score to be used as a copyist's exemplar when a work (or individual movement) was arranged to suit new circumstances. Several works contain more than one 'generation' of instructions, testifying to their popularity with

either the composer or his customer. The cantatas with instrumental accompaniment comprise five for soprano and four for alto.

Vivaldi is at his least original in terms of form when working in the cantata genre. It is interesting, however, that whereas most contemporaries, including Albinoni, whose 40-odd solo cantatas offer the closest comparison with Vivaldi's, preferred a four-movement cycle (recitative–aria–recitative–aria) related in scale and the pattern of movements to the traditional church sonata, Vivaldi shows a slight preference for a three-movement cycle (aria–recitative–aria) after the fashion of his concertos. The older plan possesses an advantage in that the first of the arias, being enclosed within the work, can be in a new key, but Vivaldi guards intelligently against the danger of making the second aria too much like the first, varying the rhythmic character and the pattern of modulation.

The structure of the *da capo* aria, which varies very little, can be summarized thus:

(1) Introductory ritornello.
(2) First vocal period, modulating to the dominant or alternative key.
(3) Ritornello in the new key (vestigial in solo cantatas).
(4) Second vocal period, leading back to the home key. Sometimes capped by a coda.
(5) Reprise of introductory ritornello, often abridged.
(6) One or two vocal periods cadencing in new keys.
(7–11) Recapitulation of 1 to 5, ornamented *ad libitum.*

The ritornello, no doubt often added after completion of the vocal portion, may paraphrase either the opening of the vocal melody or (particularly in works where the bass has a strongly instrumental character and uses ostinato figuration) its accompaniment. That the A section (1–5) is so much longer than the B section (6) is due, first, to the presence of ritornellos and, secondly, to the twofold presentation of the text, once in each vocal period. The most extended melismas are usually reserved for the second vocal period, an appropriate point for the climax.

Like Albinoni and other Venetians, Vivaldi tends to differentiate the idioms of the voice and the bass sharply; the first is sinuous and flowing, the second jagged and assembled from short motives. He is less of a natural tunesmith than Albinoni, but the rhythmic invention and frequently highly virtuosic conception of his cantatas amply compensate. His recitative, though lacking in the more extreme

dramatic effects found here and there in the operas, is subtle and imaginative, especially in flights of arioso.

Two of the instrumentally accompanied cantatas, *All'ombra di sospetto*, with flute, and *Lungi dal vago volto*, with violin, require a single obbligato partner; the remainder, operatic in style if not in spirit, call for a full complement of strings (*Qual in pioggia dorata i dolci rai* for two horns in addition). Vivaldi handles his obbligato instruments with great sensitivity and discretion, never forgetting that outside the ritornellos the voice must reign supreme. Of the orchestral cantatas *Amor, hai vinto* should be singled out for the contrapuntal complexity of its first aria.

The popularity of Vivaldi's cantatas will depend on that of the genre as a whole, which, being more limited by period than its instrumental equivalent, the violin sonata, has so far failed to establish itself strongly in the concert repertoire. Given the opportunity to hear the best of them, many listeners will concur with the opinion of Charles Burney (a severe critic of the instrumental music) that 'D. Antonio Vivaldi merits a place among the candidates for fame in this species of composition'.[7]

The serenatas

Giovan Mario Crescimbeni, historian of the Arcadians, explained the meaning of *serenata* thus: 'Nowadays, cantatas of this sort [i.e. as opposed to other poetic genres], when performed before an audience, are customarily put on at night, and are called *serenate*.'[8] He might have added that most serenatas have solo roles for between three and six singers, and a few include a chorus. It remains unclear whether serenatas were normally performed in costume on a stage (Crescimbeni implies this in speaking of the 'consummate magnificence and splendour' of certain productions), but they can easily be distinguished from operas proper by their compact dimensions, division into two 'parts' (without subdivisions corresponding to the operatic scene) and subject-matter. As in a masque or an operatic prologue, the *dramatis personae* of a serenata are allegorical, gods or stock figures from Arcady, whose sole purpose is to unite in praise of the potentate to whom the work is addressed. A serenata unites the lyricism of a cantata with the resources of an opera.*

Of Vivaldi's three preserved serenatas by far the most interesting,

[7] *A General History of Music*, vol. iv (London, 1789), p. 178.
[8] *Dell'istoria della volgar poesia*, vol. i (Venice, 1731), p. 300.

as well as the longest, is *La Senna festeggiante*, whose circumstances of composition are discussed elsewhere.[9] It has three characters: La Senna (the Seine – bass), L'Età dell'oro (the Golden Age – soprano) and La Virtù (Virtue – alto). If the optional tenor part is included in the final ensemble (borrowed from *Giustino*), it would be logical to use a chorus (Vivaldi's description 'Coro' is ambiguous, as the word can apply to any ensemble, including one comprising merely the soloists). In the first part there are 21 numbers, headed by a *Sinfonia*; in the second, 15 numbers, headed by an *Ouverture.* The distribution of movement types is unexpected: seven simple recitatives against ten *accompagnati*; three duets and three terzetts ('cori') against 11 solo arias. These statistics, which reveal an unusually high incidence of 'complex' settings (*accompagnato*, ensemble numbers), hint at a quality fully realized in the music. In many movements Vivaldi captures the wistful tenderness at the heart of 'le goût français', as in Età's aria 'Al mio seno il pargoletto' (no. 14; see Ex. 26). The direction 'alla francese' refers not so much to the minuet character as to the dotted rhythms, which should be exaggerated where appropriate.

Of all Vivaldi's large-scale secular vocal works *La Senna festeggiante* is the most varied and most carefully wrought. As it is also the one most likely to appeal at a purely musical level, it deserves to join works like Handel's *Alexander's Feast* in the modern repertoire.

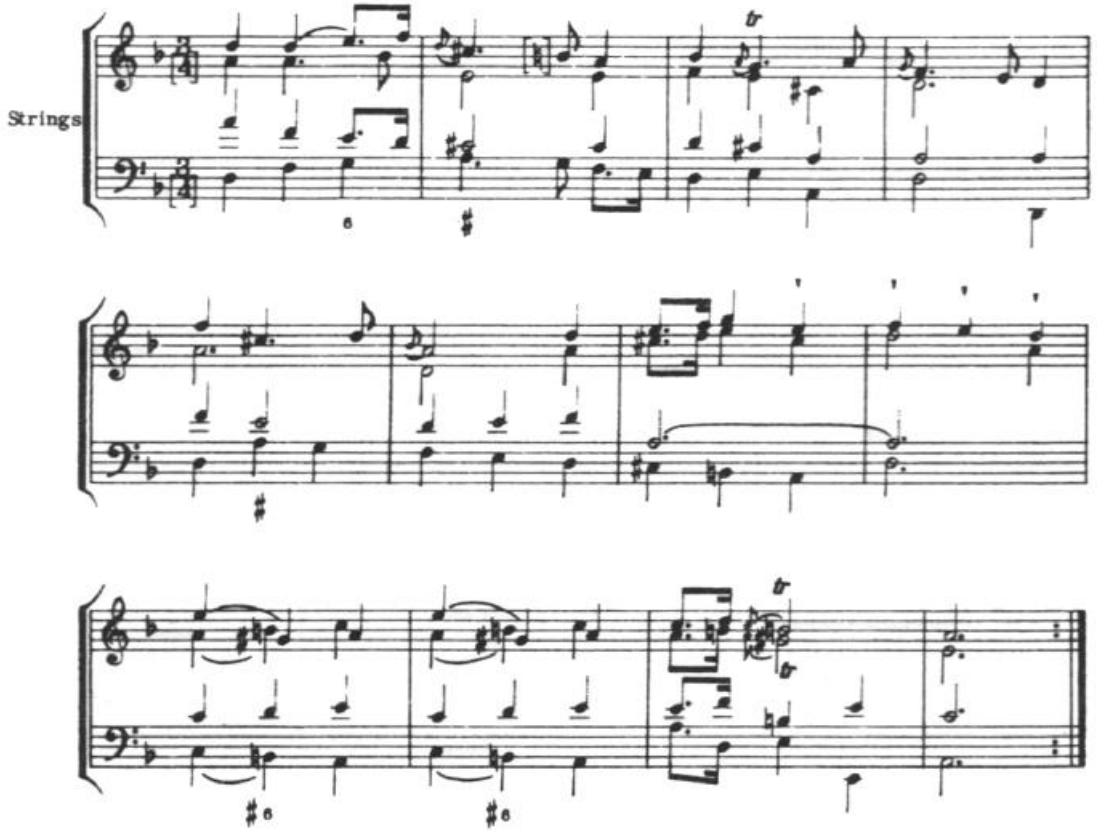
The operas

In Vivaldi's day Italian opera was less an amalgam of its various components – music, literature, acting, dancing, scenery and machinery – than a loose conjunction where smooth co-ordination was rendered possible only by the adherence of each to universally recognized conventions. The autonomy of the principal contributors, the composer and the librettist, was respected, so that no librettist would think ill of a composer for omitting to set part of his drama, provided that its integrity was preserved in the published libretto, where such passages would be identified by double commas (*virgolette*). The librettist had no lien on the music, which could reappear with or without its original words in opera after opera; and the composer had no lien on the libretto, which successive operatic managements would obtain, have revised to suit their needs, and entrust to the composer of their choice. The scenery would offer permutations of the same settings: palace antechambers, open fields, sacred groves, riversides,

[9] See pp. 54f and 168.

Ex. 26

Largo alla francese



and so forth. Whereas in modern times a cast of singers is chosen for a particular work, it was more normal then for a work, selected for its literary merits, to be adapted to the cast already engaged. Since the services of the singers cost the impresario considerably more than those of the composer, they were in a position to insist on alterations that went beyond the strictly necessary (such as the inclusion of favourite items from their repertoire). In his penetrating study of Italian operatic arias in the early eighteenth century[10] Reinhard Strohm argues convincingly that only two fixed musical entities can be recognized in the opera of that time: the individual aria (or ensemble) at the lower level and, at the higher, the individual production for a specified place and season. The 'work' is something elusive and intangible.

[10] *Italienische Opernarien des frühen Settecento*, vol. i (Cologne, 1976), p. 11f. This work includes the best evaluation of Vivaldi's operatic music yet to have appeared as well as a detailed catalogue (in vol. ii) of the operas and their surviving fragments.

When adapting one of his operas for a new production (or even in the course of a production) Vivaldi liked to retain as much as possible of the score in the form in which he had previously left it – crossing out, writing in, pasting over, removing and inserting material with an ingenuity born of long experience. If the result of these metamorphoses often looks untidy, we must remember that, once completed, a score's only function was to serve as an exemplar for copyists. Some detective work is often needed to unravel the previous history of a work. Naturally, one should check the score against librettos, but since divergences between scores and librettos for the same production are common, the physical structure of a score needs careful examination. With typical self-confidence Vivaldi nearly always wrote the recitatives, and sometimes the arias, straight into score, accepting the probability of errors and changes of mind that would result in deletions. He wrote on four-leaf sections of paper (one bifolium being enclosed within another), numbering them consecutively within each act and identifying the act by the number of strokes (one to three) under the numeral. Generally, he left no unnecessary gaps, so that an aria or recitative often straddles two sections. The same procedure is followed by copyists working under his direction, as in the earlier *Farnace* score (Giordano 36), where three different hands besides his own appear. When Vivaldi later came to remove material, either outright or with the intention of making a substitution, he had many methods at his disposal: he could take out an entire section or one of its bifolia, or cut down any number of leaves to stubs (these measures would normally entail the subsequent restoration of some of the material); he could cross out material (when a number spreads over two sections, it is noticeable that Vivaldi often deletes only the shorter – hence less reusable – portion); he could leave it intact, indicating its supersession by inserting the replacement in the middle of the section, so splitting it in two. Inserted leaves may be written out specially or lifted from other scores; in the case of pasticcios like *Rosmira*, which acknowledges borrowings from Mazzoni, Paganelli, Handel, Hasse and Pampani, the insertions can be handy copies of individual arias perhaps acquired through singers. Clues to the presence of 'imported' arias are blank pages at the end of a section or an irregular number of leaves in it. Minor alterations may be entered directly on the score or supplied on a slip of paper pasted over it (the first movement of the overture to *L'Olimpiade* was slightly lengthened in this way). Special problems arose when, in a revival, a role was allotted to a singer in a different vocal range. Inevitably, the arias for that character were replaced, as

well as his more extended passages of recitative, but in recitatives where the character was only one of several participants Vivaldi saved himself labour by merely inking in note-heads in vertical alignment with the original notes. In this way Medoro's part in *Orlando* was changed from alto to soprano, and Aminta's in *L'Olimpiade* from bass to soprano.

The themes of Baroque opera were most often taken from the history and mythology of the ancient world, which were embroidered and adapted with little restraint. Medieval romances, such as form the basis of the librettos of Vivaldi's *Orlando* and *Ginevra*, were also popular. Lastly, a vogue for the exotic caused operas to be situated in places as far-flung as America (*Motezuma*) or China (*Teuzzone*). The Muslim east was also a favoured locale, as we see in *La verità in cimento.* In their prefaces librettists normally stated the sources from which they had directly or indirectly culled their story, only to expound the various licences they had permitted themselves 'for the convenience of the modern stage'. Metastasio himself did not scruple to change the names of Cornelia and Juba, historical characters in *Catone in Utica*, to Emilia and Arbace for the sake of euphony.

Although there was a fashion for five-act operas, in the style of classical models and the French tragedies patterned on them, at the start of the reform movement associated, perhaps too exclusively, with Apostolo Zeno (1668–1750), three acts continued to be the norm (discounting intermezzos and ballets inserted between, sometimes inside, them). Each act was divided into a number of 'scenes', generally between ten and 20. The criterion of a scene change was not, as in modern usage, a *mutazione*, or change of set – this occurred only three or four times during the act – but the exit of one or more characters. Since it was customary for singers to sweep off the stage, having acknowledged the audience's applause, at the end of their aria, most arias inevitably occur at the end of a scene. By no means every scene has an aria or other closed number; as many as four scenes sometimes pass without one.

It was part of the librettist's skill to distribute arias equitably among the approximately five principal singers and perhaps two lesser singers, to vary the character of each singer's arias, and to space them well out so that no one singer held the centre of the stage for too long. Theorists devised rules for the guidance of librettists, but practice admitted some flexibility. In its original form *L'Olimpiade* was a model libretto, as the table below shows. It is interesting to note that in Vivaldi's setting of 1734 the disparity between the number of arias

allotted to the principal and minor characters is somewhat mitigated, perhaps in an attempt to satisfy all members of the cast. Figures for this revised version appear within parentheses in the following table.

	Act I	Act II	Act III	Total
Aristea	1(1)	2(2)	1(1)	4(4)
Megacle	1(1)	1(1)	1(1)	3(3)
Argene	1(1)	2(1)	1(1)	4(3)
Licida	2(2)	1(1)	0(0)	3(3)
Clistene	1(1)	1(1)	1(1)	3(3)
Aminta	0(1)	1(1)	0(1)	1(3)
Alcandro	0(0)	0(1)	0(1)	0(2)
Meg + Ari	1(1)	0(0)	0(0)	1(1)
Chorus	1(1)	1(0)	2(2)	4(3)

Plots revolve around palace intrigues, conflicts between love and honour or passion and piety, and the resolution of old vendettas, all enmeshed in complex love-chains. The mainspring of the plot is often wound before the curtain goes up, necessitating a lengthy exposition of the background in the *Argomento* before the libretto. A happy ending (*lieto fine*) was favoured by custom and out of respect for the established order. Dramatically, this was unfortunate, as many otherwise good plots are spoiled by a contrived and over-hasty dénouement. In Lucchini's *Farnace*, for instance, the superbly implacable Berenice quite arbitrarily recovers her maternal instincts in the very last scene. The force of the custom is shown in Vivaldi's adaptation of *Catone in Utica* for Verona. In Metastasio's splendid original libretto Cato dies by his own hand on stage in the final scene, prophesying Caesar's downfall. This was too strong for contemporary taste, and Metastasio was persuaded to amend the ending so that Cato died off-stage. Vivaldi (or his collaborator) goes further: Cato lives to capitulate gracefully to Caesar, leaving the prophesying to Emilia.

The division of function between recitative and aria is absolute: recitatives carry the action forward, while arias and other closed numbers freeze, like a still in a motion picture, thoughts and feelings at one particular point. The dynamics of action or character development are absent from the aria; the most one will find are antitheses between the framing A and central B sections. The self-contained nature of arias and the small variation in their construction and scale make the formation of overall climaxes within the act – still more within the work – virtually impossible. One can rarely guess from

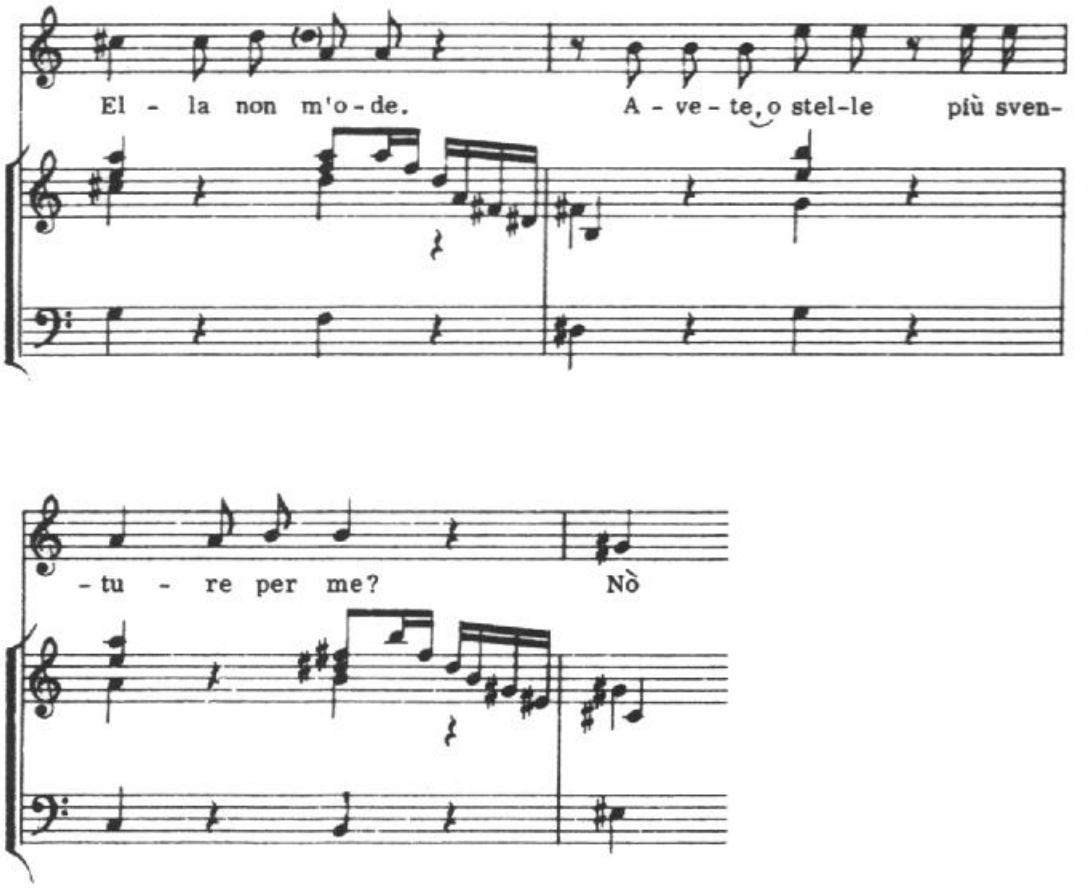
looking at an individual number at what point during the act or the opera it occurs. In this respect contemporary French opera, where numbers were frequently linked to make complexes and which had at its disposal more (and less sharply differentiated) types of musical setting, possessed an advantage.

One should not look for much originality of character portrayal in the world of Vivaldi's operas. It is the traits which are predetermined and then coupled with suitable persons, historical or invented, rather than the reverse. Stock character-types such as the amorous warrior, the faithful wife, the vengeful widow and the blustering tyrant regularly appear (which makes it easier to transport an aria from one opera to another). It is observable, however, that Romans are painted in rosier colours than their barbarian opposite numbers. In *Farnace* Pompey is a more honourable conqueror than his ally, the Cappadocian queen Berenice, and his lieutenant Aquilio is harder to suborn than her captain Gilade. Poor Arbace, in *Catone*, nobly struggles against the handicap of his Numidian background. This ethnic discrimination, inherited, of course, from the classical writers themselves, serves to eulogize those patrons of opera who, like the Viennese court or the Venetian senators, regarded themselves as latter-day Romans.

Vivaldi's recitative is not normally the most dramatic, but it is inventive in the resources it employs. Whereas expressiveness in the cantata recitatives is concentrated in the vocal line, it is the harmonies and sometimes the accompaniment which are most telling in the operas. The marvellous setting of the ninth scene in Act II of *L'Olimpiade* makes appropriate use of all the main varieties of recitative.

The hero, Megacle, bound by a debt of gratitude to his friend (and rival suitor) Licida, bids a last adieu to his sweetheart Aristea. Here, as previously, the most common type of recitative, over sustained pedal-notes, suffices. Aristea's uncomprehending anger is signalled by violent twists in the harmony, and when she feels cold sweat on her brow, just prior to fainting, the key lurches from B minor to D minor. To express Megacle's bewilderment and shock at seeing her lie motionless, Vivaldi chooses the most extreme form of 'detached' accompaniment: sparse crotchets, doubled at the octave by the entering upper strings. Realizing that she is unconscious, Megacle panics at the thought that she may be dead; the upper strings break into chords, and the unison violins twice evoke horror with searing arpeggios which change chord during their descent (Ex. 27). Resigned to the worst, he gathers his confused thoughts to an accompaniment of detached chords

Ex. 27



alternately on continuo and the full ensemble. As he bids Aristea farewell, the texture changes to that of the traditional *accompagnato* reserved for solemn moments such as a prayer or the reading of a letter: a 'halo' of sustained chords. Finally, he looks around for Licida, and the accompaniment reverts to continuo pedal-notes.

More than any other type of movement, the aria charts Vivaldi's stylistic development over the decades. In his earlier operas, up to about the mid 1720s, he often allows the instrumental parts, much more active than those of most contemporaries, to define the phrase structure, impose thematic coherence and even arrogate to themselves the main melodic interest. A parallel with Wagner's operas is not out of place. In the aria from *Tito Manlio* illustrated on p. 134 the voice starts as an added counterpoint against an orchestral texture which has already been heard by itself as the ritornello. In later operas Vivaldi tends to conform to Neapolitan practice, letting the vocal part (possibly doubled by violins) dominate every aspect of the composition. The busyness of the accompanying instruments is likely to base itself not on a density of motivic play as formerly, but on simple technical

devices like the bowed tremolo. In the early operas arias tend to be compact – of necessity, since the librettists were more lavish with them – and uniform in character as between A and B sections. Arias in the later operas are both fewer and longer. Internally, they have become more varied and less continuous in their flow. 'Motto' openings followed by a cadenza as well as terminal cadenzas are common in the vocal part. Whereas the B section was formerly contrasted texturally (being more thinly scored) rather than thematically with the A section, the reverse is now more general; differences of tempo between the sections are not uncommon. Once again, librettists must be held partly responsible, for these contrasts mirror the use of antithesis and paradox in verse of the Metastasian age.

Where Vivaldi discards the *da capo* layout, the reason is almost always to be found in the unitary construction of the text. Not surprisingly, old or old-style librettos like those of *L'incoronazione di Dario* and *Orlando* afforded him most scope for through-composed arias which, on account of their brevity, are accompanied by continuo alone. There is one outstanding aria, however, which respects the *da capo* of the text without reproducing it literally in the music: Clistene's 'Non so donde viene' (*L'Olimpiade*, III, 6). There are no breaks between sections: the music set to the first quatrain modulates to the dominant; that of the second quatrain moves to the relative major; the reprise of the opening lines relates to the first section as a recapitulation to an exposition in sonata form. This partial dissociation between musical and poetic form in an aria from the 1730s is a remarkable foretaste of developments in the aria later in the century.

The number of duets and ensembles Vivaldi could include in his operas was limited by the parsimony of librettists, itself a response to actual conditions of performance. He left four particularly fine examples: the duet 'Ne' giorni tuoi felici' in *L'Olimpiade* (I, 10), the terzett 'S'egli è ver' in *La fida ninfa* (I, 12), the quartet 'Io crudel?' in *Farnace* (III, 7), later borrowed for *Bajazet*, and the quintet 'Anima mia, mio ben' (based on the quartet in *La Candace*) in *La verità in cimento.* When the participants have a common text, as in the terzett, the music may be set after the fashion of a chorus, either contrapuntally or homophonically. If the element of dialogue is present, or if the characters voice contrasted thoughts, a different treatment is needed. Vivaldi follows a common practice by introducing his characters separately, one after the other, so that they can establish a separate personality (and acquaint the audience with their words). The next stage is to overlap their phrases, producing sometimes quite intricate

contrapuntal patterns. In preparation for the main cadences the voices unite homophonically. The *Farnace* quartet demonstrates in its 105 bars Vivaldi's superb control of pace, his gift of succinct characterization and his secure sense of form. It opens immediately with a tirade by Berenice against her hated son-in-law Farnace, now her captive. More tersely and less ferociously, Pompey (Pompeo) echoes her sentiments. Farnace's wife Tamiri now pleads hysterically with her mother for his life, the gasping, tonally unstable vocal line showing graphically her state of mind. Finally, Farnace enters, stoically accepting his fate. A few further exchanges lead to a ritornello in the mediant minor. During this first section (bars 1–40) there are only two bars (31–2) of ensemble writing, Berenice and Pompey singing in thirds. The second section (bars 41–83) goes through the text once more, as in a conventional aria, returning to the home key for a concluding ritornello. This time, however, frequent overlaps and one passage of ensemble writing (bars 63–5) increase the urgency and intensity. In the third section, equivalent to the B section of an aria, the voices are coupled, following the libretto, in pairs (Berenice–Pompey and Tamiri–Farnace), finally coming together in a peroration. A reprise of the first two sections is not required, but Vivaldi rounds off the movement with a ritornello.

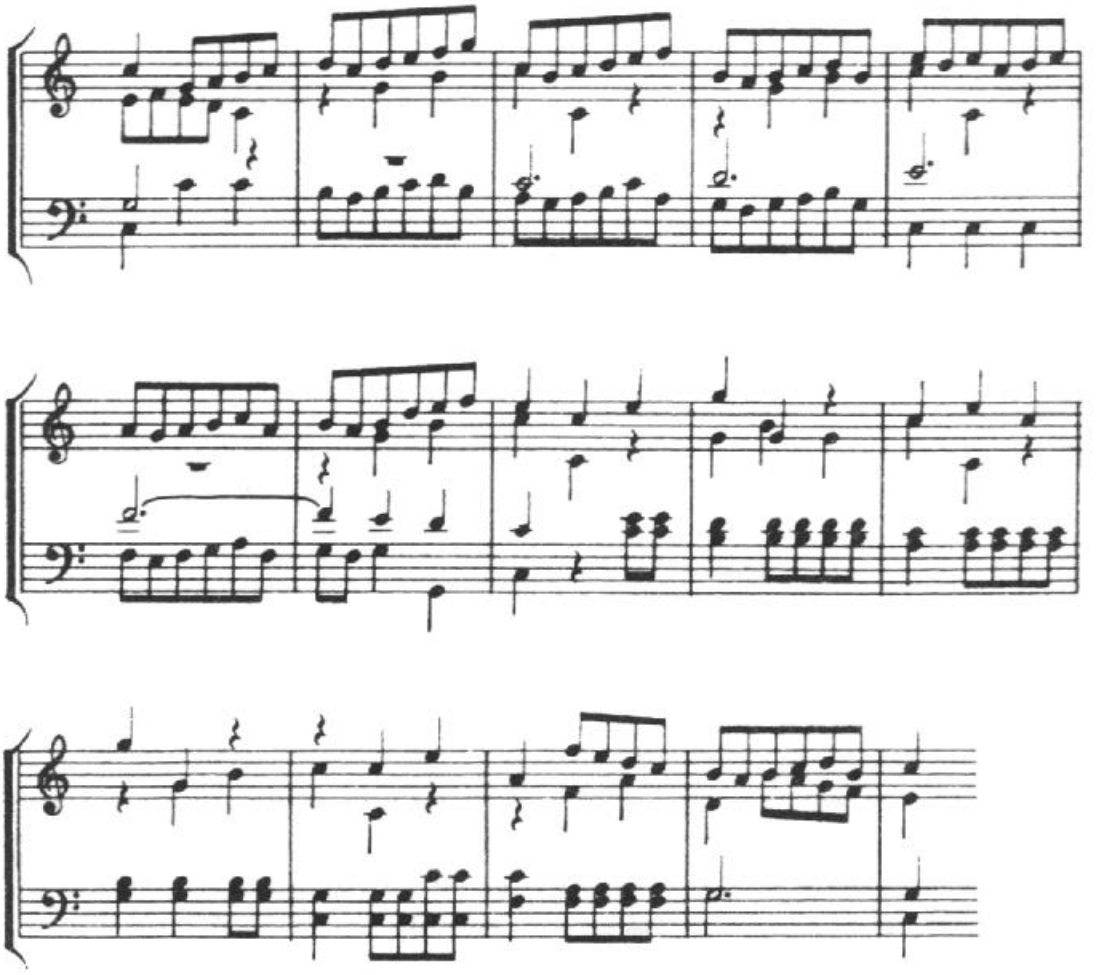
Choruses in the operas are as perfunctory as they are infrequent. The briefest binary form, with or without ritornellos, is preferred, and the texture is resolutely homophonic. Sometimes, indeed, the chorus part, to be sung in unison, is written on one stave. The borrowing or adaptation of an old chorus for a new work is often practised. One choral movement, written for performance in Rome, where elaborate choruses were part of local operatic tradition, does something to redeem this unimpressive showing. 'Dopo i nembi e le procelle', which concludes *Giustino*, is a 62-bar-long chaconne of some contrapuntal merit. In the extract below (Ex. 28), in which the voices (words omitted) are doubled by instruments, the delayed entry of the tenor in the first statement of the ostinato and the imitative interplay of soprano and alto in the second are particularly attractive.

Vivaldi's use in operas of instruments other than the orchestral quartet of strings and continuo reveals, as one would expect, his sure grasp of their technique and expressive potential. Few scores are without a pair of horns in F, which are summoned for arias, ensembles or choruses in hunting style. He notates for horns in three ways:

(1) Parts ascending no further than the 12th harmonic transpose down an octave. Walter Kolneder has argued, referring to the concerto RV

Ex. 28

(Allegro)



538/P.320, which features this transposition, that such parts, being written for a horn in 'high' F, sound at written pitch (one recalls a similar theory about the horn parts in the first 'Brandenburg' Concerto).[11] Were this so, however, the horn pedal-notes in *Farnace* ('Nell'intimo del petto', I, 7) and *L'Olimpiade* ('Mentre dormi amor fomenti', I, 8) would shriek out from the top of the texture.

(2) Parts ascending to the 18th harmonic (g″) are written at sounding pitch.

(3) A few parts ascending to the 13th harmonic employ the modern transposition for horn in F, sounding down a fifth.

If his use of the horns in a hunting vein is disappointingly conventional, Vivaldi's horn pedals are little short of sensational. The device was not entirely new, Vinci having exploited it as early as 1725,

[11] *Antonio Vivaldi: his Life and Work*, p. 140.

but Vivaldi introduces special, magical touches in both arias. In *L'Olimpiade* a single horn restricted to the sounding notes *f–c'–f'* is accompanied by muted strings expressive of sleep. In *Farnace* two horns in unison playing the notes *c'–f–g'–b♭'*, usher in the first stirrings of Gilade's love for Farnace's captive sister Selinda. Remarkably, the aria is in C minor. Vivaldi's use of the natural horn in a key foreign to its harmonic series is several decades ahead of its time. This aria was retained in the later version of *Farnace*, where Vivaldi, aware of the technical problems of sustaining long notes on a wind instrument (a *g'* is sustained *piano* from the 32nd to the 44th bar), wrote a characteristically precise instruction: 'This horn pedal must never cease sounding, so two horns have to play in unison softly throughout, taking turns to draw breath.'[12] The modern habit of 'bumping up', it seems, was familiar to him.

Many operas introduce trumpets in C or D, sometimes accompanied by timpani (called 'tamburri', 'timballi' or 'timpani'), in martial or festive movements. In comparison with their imaginative use in the sacred music (for example in the *Gloria* RV 589 and the *Dixit Dominus* RV 594) their operatic appearances are unexciting.

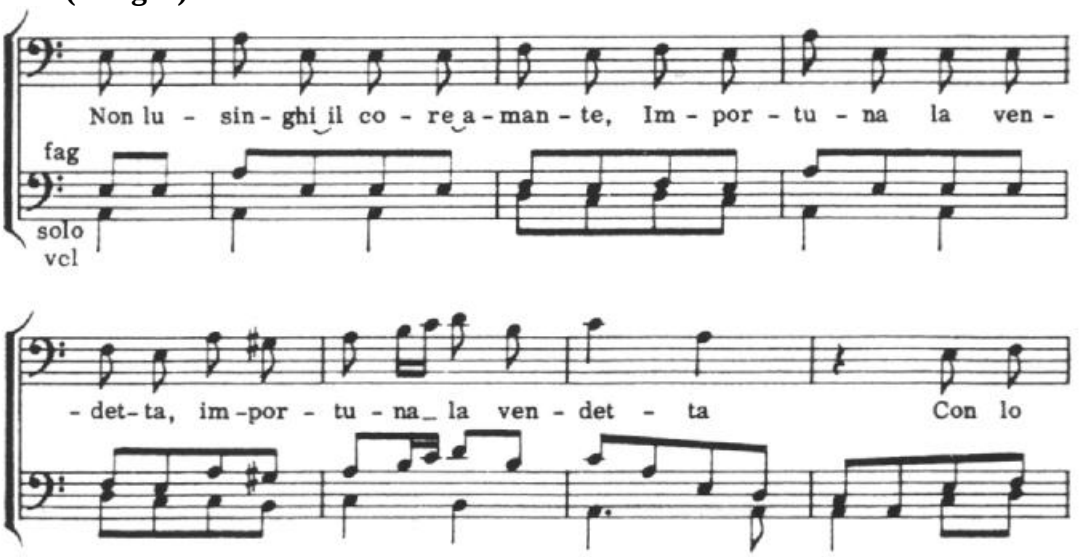
Oboes and recorders, always in pairs, are used together with strings in an obbligato or semi-obbligato role to lend a bucolic touch. The appearance of both in 'Bel riposo de' mortali' (*Giustino*, I, 4), a gentle pastorale, is typical. Sometimes, oboes are complemented by a bassoon. This instrument is used only once as a true obbligato instrument, to accompany the huffing and puffing of the comical old philosopher Niceno (*L'incoronazione di Dario*, I, 19), ancestor to Doctor Bartolo (see Ex. 29).

Those instruments introduced as occasional novelties that have not been discussed in the previous chapter include the solo violin and cello, the psaltery (in *Giustino*), the *flauto grosso* (probably a tenor recorder: used in *Tito Manlio* and *La verità in cimento,* which also require the *flautino*), the flute and the solo harpsichord. The solo violin is generally used in some special way: with solo cello in parallel tenths in 'Sentirò fra ramo e ramo' (*Dario*, III, 2) in imitation of birdsong; on stage in 'L'ombre, l'aure e ancora il rio' (*Ottone in villa*, II, 3) to evoke the breezes; as an echo-effect in *Orlando finto pazzo.* The flute obbligato in 'Sol da te, mio dolce amore' (*Orlando*, I, 11), hauntingly lyrical in

[12] 'Questo pedale del corno non deve mai mancare; per tanto devono suonare due corni unisoni e sempre piano affine uno lascia prendere fiato all'altro.'

Ex. 29

(Allegro)



its more subdued moments, includes passages (some with 48 notes to the bar) of a technical difficulty surpassing that of his flute concertos. Vivaldi uses solo harpsichords (more than one instrument was employed for operatic performances) in 'Io son quel gelsomino' (*Arsilda*, I, 15) for purely colouristic effect; not for him the bold virtuosic display of 'Vo' far guerra' in Handel's *Rinaldo.*

Despite their many beautiful moments, Vivaldi's operas cannot lay claim to the historical importance of his concertos. Yet the vigour, complexity and variety of their instrumental writing, especially in the works of the first decade, set a fashion for his older contemporaries. Had he begun to write operas earlier, or had the rise of the Neapolitans occurred later, their orchestra-dominated style might have established itself more firmly. Though he continued after the critical period around 1725 to produce innovations, these never became consolidated in a 'late-period' style. A work like *Catone in Utica* betrays a self-consciousness foreign to the early operas for S. Angelo and S. Moisè: the malaise of a composer whose ambition has outlasted his capacity for self-renewal.

The sacred vocal music

No area of Vivaldi's creativity is so hard to survey as his sacred vocal music, because the factors most subject to variation – the nature of the texts set, the scale of the setting and the forces used – occur in so many combinations. A Vesper psalm, for example, may be set as one long movement (*Beatus vir* RV 598) or several movements (*Beatus vir*

RV 597); its vocal complement may be solo voice (*Nisi Dominus* RV 608), choir alone (*Laudate Dominum* RV 606) or single or double choir with soloists (*Dixit Dominus* RV 594); the work may be *a cappella* (in eighteenth-century usage this means not that instruments are absent but that they double the voices strictly) as in the *Credidi* RV 605, include independent instrumental parts, as in *Lauda Jerusalem* RV 609, or treat the instruments in both fashions at different times.

The most important distinction to be drawn, however, is that between settings of liturgical and non-liturgical texts. The Ryom catalogue lists in the first category: one complete Mass, and separate settings of the *Kyrie*, *Gloria* (twice) and *Credo* (twice);[13] Vesper music comprising the response *Domine ad adiuvandum*, Psalms 109 (twice), 110, 111 (twice), 112 (four times), 113, 115, 116, 121, 126 and 147 (all numberings according to the Vulgate), nine assorted hymns and antiphons, including three settings of the *Salve Regina*, and the *Magnificat* in four closely related versions. The non-liturgical category embraces the oratorio *Juditha triumphans*, 12 solo motets (two incompletely preserved), eight *introduzioni* and three independent movements, one of which (the *Aria de Sanctis* 'Eja voces plausum date' RV 647) is a *contrafactum* of the aria 'Benché nasconda la serpe in seno' in *Orlando* (II, 2).[14]

It is convenient to begin with the works on non-liturgical texts, as they bear the closest resemblance to the cantatas and operas. Quantz supplies a good definition of the Italian motet of his day: 'In Italy one nowadays applies this term to a sacred solo cantata with Latin text consisting of two arias, two recitatives and a concluding "Alleluia", commonly performed by one of the best singers during Mass, after the Credo'.[15] Mozart's *Exsultate, jubilate* K. 165 is a late representative of the genre. As in most of his cantatas Vivaldi omits the introductory recitative, but because of the separate 'Alleluia' movement (through-composed with a hint of ritornello form), the second of the two arias, which with few exceptions are in a straightforward *da capo* form, can offer a contrast of key.

The *introduzioni* are very similar to the motets, though having no 'Alleluia'. As the name suggests, these are introductory movements, to the *Gloria*, to the *Dixit Dominus* or to the *Miserere*; exceptionally,

[13] The authenticity of the complete Mass and the *Credo* RV 592, both preserved in Warsaw, is very dubious. All statistics given here refer to extant works, discounting minor variants.

[14] The same aria appears with new words in *L'Atenaide.* It was also borrowed (as 'So che nasconde in livore') for the pasticcio *Catone* (*1732*) arranged by Handel for the King's Theatre.

[15] *Versuch*, p. 288n.

Jubilate, o amœni chori, RV 639/639a, leads into the *Gloria* RV 588 without a break.

Motets and *introduzioni* are scored alike for soprano or alto with strings and continuo. The instrumental accompaniment is more discreet than in most of Vivaldi's operatic arias before the 1720s, and the vocal writing correspondingly more florid; yet their style, and what little other evidence exists, suggests that most were written in his first flush of sacred vocal composition following Gasparini's departure from the Pietà. Though unashamedly treble-dominated and not particularly subtle in their manner of expression, these 'concertos for voice' have considerable melodic appeal. The dog-Latin of their anonymous texts, in which Arcadian images such as the warbling nightingale (Filomena) incongruously appear, is less admirable.

The earliest known performance of an oratorio at the Pietà dates from 1684. From then until 1820 well over 50 oratorios of which librettos have been preserved were produced by successive *maestri di coro*, the most active being Gasparini (eight between 1701 and 1713), Andrea Bernasconi (five, 1744–51) and Bonaventura Furlanetto (31, 1768–1808).[16] As befitted an institution for the female sex, a large proportion celebrated biblical heroines such as Mary Magdalene, Athalia, Abigail and Susannah. Vivaldi's 'sacrum militare oratorium' *Juditha triumphans*, whose bellicosity, as we have seen, suited the times,[17] was the first on that subject for the Pietà; Cassetti's libretto was refurbished for a setting by Gaetano Latilla (1757), and Furlanetto returned to the story in 1787.

In *Juditha* Vivaldi puts virtually the whole of the Pietà's arsenal of instruments on display. The score calls for two recorders, two oboes, soprano chalumeau, two clarinets, two trumpets with timpani, mandolin, four theorboes (playing in two parts), obbligato organ, five *viole all'inglese* and viola d'amore in addition to strings and continuo. In many cases the same player probably doubled on more than one instrument, since, for example, only one kind of woodwind instrument is heard at a time.

Juditha completely lacks duets and other ensembles; the only interaction of characters in the closed numbers is provided by one chorus ('O quam vaga, venusta') with a solo part for Vagaus, and an aria of Vagaus ('O servi, volate') with choral interjections. The choir,

[16] Statistics based on Maria Antonietta Zorzi, 'Saggio di bibliografia sugli oratorî sacri eseguiti a Venezia', *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia*, vols, iv (1930–1), pp. 226–46, 394–403, 529–43, v (1931–2), pp. 79–96, 493–508, vi (1932–3), pp. 256–69, vii (1933–4), pp. 316–41.

[17] cf. p. 44f.

representing Assyrian warriors and Bethulian maidens in turn, has two further numbers in each of the two parts of the oratorio; these expand somewhat – but do not outgrow – the binary conception of the operatic chorus.

The ever-changing instrumentation of the arias serves in a rather rudimentary way the ends of dramatic characterization, although the prime aim is still to depict a situation as viewed by a character rather than a character as revealed by a situation. Judith has to herself the 'feminine' tones of viola d'amore, *viola all'inglese*, chalumeau and mandolin, while Vagaus, Holophernes' obsequious henchman, flatters him to the strains of oboes, recorders and theorboes. Of sterner stuff, Holophernes makes do with orchestral strings for all his arias save one ('Noli, o cara, te adorantis') when, in a rush of tenderness, he woos Judith with the aid of oboe and obbligato organ.

Excellent though most of the arias are in their own right, *Juditha* suffers from a dramatic diffuseness exceeding even that of the operas. Vivaldi neglects his opportunity to build up excitement in preparation for Holophernes' beheading, and the *accompagnato* during which Judith carries out her gruesome task is deplorably lame. A more dramatic moment arrives immediately after, when Vagaus, gingerly approaching and entering the love-tent, recoils in horror at the sight of his decapitated master and then launches into a vituperative 'revenge' aria, 'Armatae face'. No finer *scena* exists in the whole of Vivaldi's music. Over-all, however, the pace is too leisurely, the price paid for stringing together a long work from units whose length and structure are unusually uniform, even in the context of the time.

The works on liturgical texts offer a far greater variety of movement types. *Da capo* form is ruled out, since the words, while they sometimes permit a short refrain, cannot be coerced into the familiar tripartite arrangement. Shorter movements can be set in through-composed fashion, the stylization depending on the forces involved: arioso or *accompagnato* is appropriate in a work with solo voice (for example, 'Cujus animam/Quis non posset' in the *Stabat Mater*); chordal declamation in a choral work (for example, the 'Gratias agimus tibi' of the *Gloria* RV 589). Longer movements can be set fugally in traditional style (this holds good even in the solo voice medium), but the most common solution in works with obbligato instrumental parts is some kind of ritornello form. In movements for solo voice ritornello form (which, in its variety with two episodes, coincides with the plan of the A section in *da capo* form) can be taken over unaltered from the concerto. In movements with choir (e.g. the 'Credo in unum Deum'

of RV 591) some adjustments have to be made so that the choir lends its weight to the ritornellos (the introduction excepted) as well as to the episodes. Where vocal soloists as well as a choir participate, the latter has overwhelmingly a 'ritornello' function.

The hymns follow their text in adopting a simple strophic pattern. An exception is the *Stabat Mater* RV 621. Whereas the other well-known settings from the period of Jacopone da Todi's poem, such as those by Astorga, Caldara, Pergolesi, A. and D. Scarlatti and Steffani, include all 20 stanzas (plus the 'Amen'), appropriate when the work is sung as a sequence at Mass, Vivaldi's setting uses only stanzas 1 to 10 as prescribed when the *Stabat Mater* is sung as a Vespers hymn at the two feasts of the Seven Dolours of the Blessed Virgin Mary (15 September and the Friday before Good Friday). The form is a compromise between strophic and 'cantata-style' setting. Movements 1 to 3 (on the text of stanzas 1 to 4) are repeated as movements 4 to 6 (on the text of stanzas 5 to 8). The remaining two stanzas and the 'Amen' are set individually. In this closely knit work, whose sombre mood is dispelled only by a radiant *tierce de Picardie* in the final chord, Vivaldi achieves a remarkable, almost oppressive degree of unity. Until the 'Amen', which has no original tempo marking, tempi range from *Adagissimo* to *Andante* (a foretaste of Haydn's *Seven Last Words from the Cross*). All the movements are in either F minor or C minor, and several are related in cyclic fashion.

Quite the most compelling feature of these works is the large (if not yet Bachian) scale on which many of the movements are built, and the careful planning that complements it. The *Beatus vir* RV 598 for two sopranos, alto and four-part choir, cast in a single, ritornello-form movement of 420 bars, exhibits a range of modulation and a thematic affinity between ritornello and episode unmatched by the instrumental models. In the second movements of the four great D major works – the two *Gloria* settings and two *Dixit Dominus* settings – where, as a foil to the brilliant opening movements, Vivaldi moves to B minor and adopts a slow tempo, we find a deliberateness of tragic mien and epic proportion wholly foreign to the world of the concerto. He also shows unsuspected skill in combining motives originally heard separately. In the first 'Kyrie eleison' of the *Kyrie* in G minor, RV 587, the boldly modulating chords and striding arpeggio figures appearing successively in the orchestral introduction come together for the first time after the modulation to D minor. The 'In memoria aeterna' terzett of the *Beatus vir* RV 597 not only combines a vocal fugato with contrasted material from the introduction but also subsequently integrates the subject of

this fugato with the two of another fugato heard later to the words 'ab auditione mala non timebit'.

In the multi-movement works there is a lurking danger that because of all the variety of key, scoring and style the work will dissolve, aesthetically speaking, into fragments. Vivaldi was not unconscious of the problem. In the *Beatus vir* RV 597 a repeated five-bar strain extracted from the opening movement comes back as a kind of refrain before five of the eight remaining movements. This rather artificial device soon becomes wearisome, particularly as the refrain is not intrinsically very attractive. More successful is the reprise of the opening movement near the end of a work. In psalm settings this generally occurs at the start of the Doxology ('Gloria Patri'), so that the following words, 'Sicut erat in principio', can have punning significance.[18] In the *Gloria* RV 589 Vivaldi is inspired to prepare for the reprise (on 'Quoniam tu solus sanctus') by introducing the five-note motive following its initial octaves (see Ex. 1, p. 74) into the preceding aria, 'Qui sedes'.

From the governors' commendation of Vivaldi in 1715 it is evident that the Pietà required him to compose an 'entire' Mass (here, the Kyrie, Gloria and Credo) and a similar 'Vespers' (minus, perhaps, some or all of the antiphons). Some of the works preserved separately must therefore have been composed for the same service, and to that extent belong together. In the knowledge that the Pietà's *Maestro di Coro* had to supply new Mass and Vesper settings for the two principal feasts of the year – Easter, and the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary – Piero Damilano has sought to identify among the extant works two Vesper cycles, taking into account not merely liturgical requirements but also congruence of scoring and key.[19] The attempt is valiant, but misconceived. It fails to reckon with the hymns and antiphons, which fall outside these two liturgies; it does not consider the near-certainty that several works in which male voices are prominent (for example, the *Beatus vir* RV 597 and the *Dixit Dominus* RV 594) were not composed for the Pietà; it includes a few spurious works; most important, it ignores connections established by the bibliography of the manuscripts. This last factor still awaits thorough investigation, but one may give as an example the autograph manuscripts of the *Introduzione* and *Gloria* RV 639/588, the *Credo* 591, the *Laudate pueri*

[18] J.S. Bach, who in his *Magnificat* BWV 243 begins the reprise on the very words 'Sicut erat in principio', is a less subtle punner.

[19] 'Antonio Vivaldi compose due vespri?', *Nuova rivista musicale italiana*, vol. iii (1969), pp. 652–63.

Dominum RV 602 and the *Laetatus sum* RV 607 – two Mass sections and two Vesper psalms with Marian associations – which are the only works among the Turin manuscripts written on a certain kind of paper. It is safest to conclude that the Turin manuscripts contain fragments of more than two Vesper cycles, together with other works composed individually.*

Misconceptions also surround Vivaldi's numerous works 'in due cori'. Rather romantically in view of the lack of evidence, some writers have taken them to have been written for St Mark's, forgetting that while the use of *cori spezzati* may have originated there in the sixteenth century, it spread rapidly to become a universal means of achieving an exceptionally grand and spacious musical effect. *Lauda Jerusalem*, at any rate, was written for the Pietà in the late 1730s, for two of its girls, Margarita and Giulietta, are assigned by name to the solo soprano part of the first *coro*, and two more, Fortunata and Chiaretta, to that of the second *coro.*[20] All four sang in *Il coro delle muse* (1740), Chiaretta also in the late version (RV 611) of the *Magnificat.* Since the contemporary manuscript poem referred to earlier describes Fortunata as 'young', Giulietta as 'an adolescent' (giovinetta) and Chiaretta as 'a girl', a date before 1735 is unlikely.

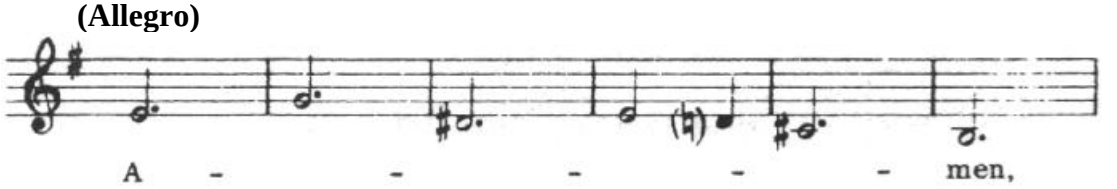
By the eighteenth century the *concertato* style, the very basis of polychoral writing, had become obsolete. Increasingly, one finds alternate phrases of an essentially 'monochoral' piece allotted to each ensemble until they eventually join forces in a peroration; or there are imitative dialogues between the two ensembles reminiscent of those between the two violin parts in an orchestral ritornello. In both cases, antiphony is preserved, however artificially. More ominously for the style, polychorality may survive only in the layout of the score, the composer simply writing in as many parts as the *cori* between them can provide, without regard for the spatial aspect.

All these tendencies characterize Vivaldi's works. At one extreme, one finds a monochoral work, the *Magnificat* RV 610, turned into one for two *cori* by the addition of the cues 'P.C.' (primo coro) and '2.C.' (secondo coro); at the other, the ornate and contrapuntally complex 'Sicut erat in principio' finale of the *Dixit Dominus* RV 594, where the two choirs and orchestras interweave in as many as seven real parts. Though the artistic possibilities of antiphony remain largely unexploited, these works do not disappoint in other respects. The

[20] It is best to avoid translating *coro* as 'choir', since the term can refer to an ensemble of voices, instruments or both combined.

little-known setting of the response *Domine ad adiuvandum me*, cast like a concerto in three movements, demonstrates in compact form Vivaldi's ability to weld very differently constructed movements into a perfect whole. An opening ritornello-forni movement captures the urgency of the plea 'ad adiuvandum me festina'. It is followed by a setting in the relative minor for solo soprano of the first part of the Doxology; the singer slowly threads her way through a tight dialogue between the two orchestras. The 'a cappella' movement with united *cori* which follows (Vivaldi achieves greater luminosity in time-honoured fashion by having the first violins double the altos an octave higher and allotting the soprano line to the second violins) is shaped as an introduction and fugue, well knit together by a running bass in quavers. The traditional element in Vivaldi's settings of liturgical texts should not be underestimated. Their fugue subjects tend to follow textbook patterns, unlike those in the instrumental music, and (in William Hayes's words) are 'well maintained'. Vivaldi is fond of pedal-note themes which suggest plainsong, though, unlike several in the sacred music of Leo, Pergolesi and Handel, they do not actually quote from it. The 'Amen' motive from the *Credo* RV 591 is typical:

Ex. 30



The chaconne bass of the *Giustino* finale, metamorphosed into ponderous semibreves, serves the *Dixit Dominus* finale as a fugue subject-cum-ostinato, lending it a truly monumental character.[21] Its entry on first violins, the choirs momentarily pausing, recalls the instrumental interludes in Handel's great choral fugues. Towards the end, Vivaldi subjects his motive to diminution and inversion with a nice sense of climax if few contrapuntal pretensions.

Nevertheless, he was less at home with the *stile osservato* than, say, Lotti or Marcello. Significantly, the two unacknowledged borrowings from other composers so far traced in his music (outside the special case of opera) occur in this context. One, the 'Credidi a 5 a capella del Vivaldi' RV 605, is largely a *contrafactum* of an uninspired, anonymous *Lauda Jerusalem*, RV Anh. 35, found among the Turin

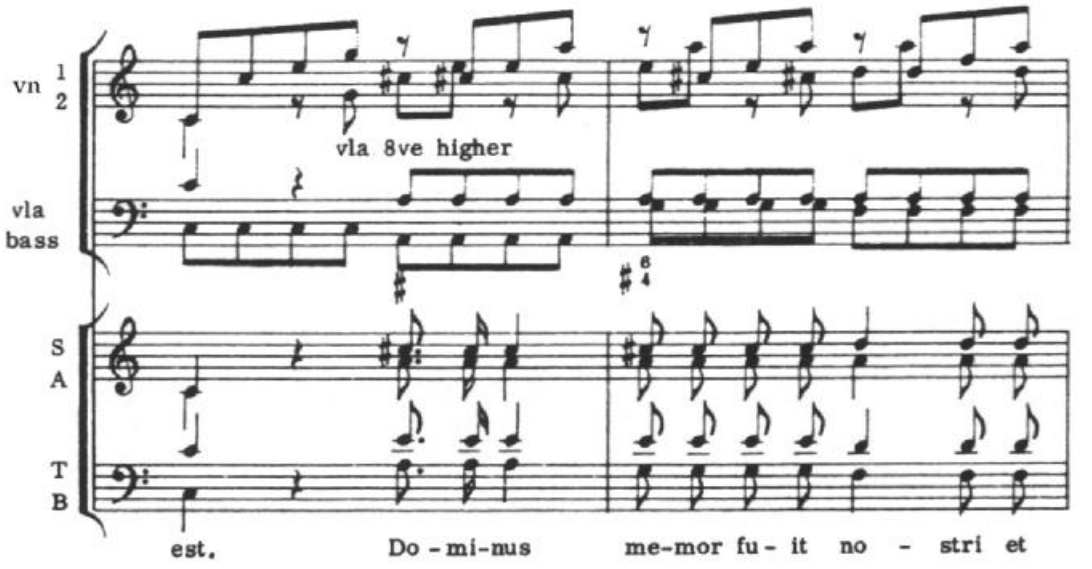
[21] Couperin uses the motive similarly in the last movement of the sonata opening *L'espagnole* (composed *c* 1692, published 1726).

manuscripts. Haste, or perhaps uneasiness in this style, may explain (though hardly excuse) Vivaldi's opportunism. In the other instance he made two separate adaptations of the 'Cum sancto spiritu' fugue from a *Gloria* (dated 9 September 1708) by G.M. Ruggieri, also preserved in Turin. Ruggieri's work is laid out for two orchestras of five-part strings, one with trumpet and the other with a pair of oboes, and two four-part choirs. In one adaptation, probably the earlier (for the *Gloria* RV 588), Vivaldi introduces Ruggieri's movement with a short peroration on a D major chord. His alterations, other than those implied by the reduction of forces to the level of a single orchestra and choir (both in four parts) tend to concentrate the movement and reduce the importance of the instruments. The other adaptation (for the *Gloria* RV 589) eliminates the peroration and tends to increase the role of the instruments (some passages for the solo trumpet are newly invented.) Moreover, it departs more radically from Ruggieri in word-setting and certain thematic details, greatly improving the original. No apologies need be made for these creative transformations, though what prompted the use of borrowed material remains obscure.*

Vivaldi makes such sparing use of exotic instruments in the works belonging to this group that it is unnecessary to enlarge on incidental references already made. His methods of combining the string orchestra with the choir are so original and forward-looking, however, that they deserve close examination. They would have occurred only to a composer conversant with the practices of the instrumental concerto.

Ex. 31

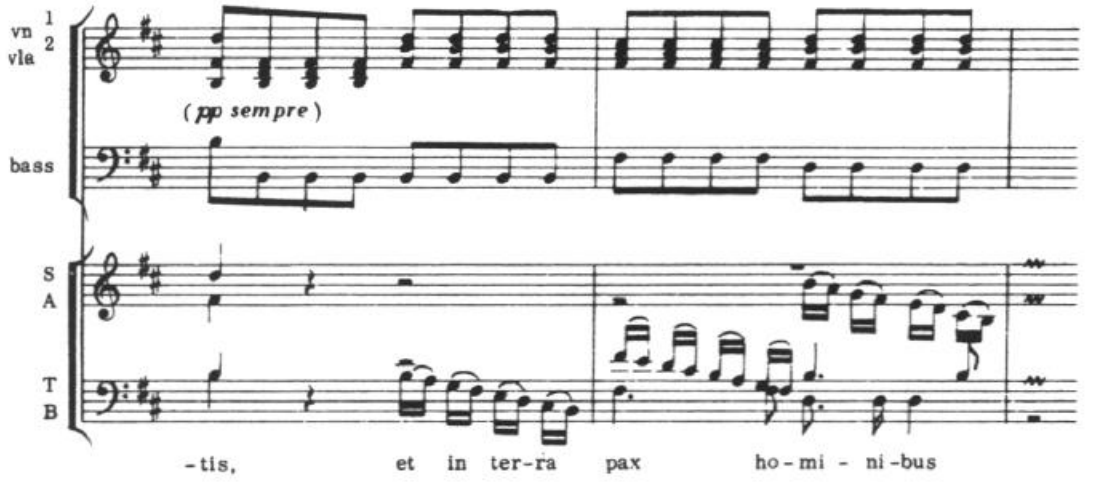
(Allegro)



The problem lies in reconciling independence and idiomacy of part-writing in both choir and orchestra with an avoidance of the confusion and turgidity that can so easily result. He solves it by composing on two different planes, which we can term for convenience foreground and background. If instruments occupy the foreground with motivically significant material, the voices will supply a simple background whose contribution, almost like that of a keyboard continuo, is perceived more in terms of texture and rhythm than of melody, as in the above bars from *In exitu Israel*, RV 604 (Ex. 31). The roles can easily be reversed, as in the 'Et in terra pax' from the *Gloria* RV 588 (Ex. 32).

Ex. 32

(Largo)



In both examples one is aware of the part-writing within each section – choir or orchestra – but the dissociation of the two planes makes the relationship of, say, the tenor and the viola of very secondary importance. Analogous developments in the relationship of the wind and string sections of the orchestra itself are a vital element in the symphonic art of the later eighteenth century. To give Vivaldi a large share of the credit for the introduction of a 'symphonic' style to church music may seem a bold act, but the evidence justifies it.

It is ironic both that 'the Red Priest' came to write sacred vocal music through an accident of circumstances, and that he then revealed an exceptional talent for it. Fervour, exaltation and mysticism; these qualities break forth from the scores. A further irony: the dramatic element is very subdued. One will find no touches comparable with the diminished seventh on 'superbos' in the Bach *Magnificat* or the

hammer blows on ‘Conquissabit capita’ in the *Dixit Dominus* of Handel. It is as if Vivaldi sought in church music a dignity and serenity for which his life as virtuoso and entrepreneur, invalid and globe-trotter, left him too little time.

Notes to the revised edition

This chapter contains various supplementary observations on points made in earlier chapters.

(p. 1)

As predicted, new discoveries have not been slow in arriving. In 1978 Mario Rinaldi announced to the international Vivaldi conference held in Venice his discovery of the libretto to a lost oratorio, *La vittoria navale*, RV 782, performed in Vicenza on 8 June 1713. In 1982 I unearthed fragments of unknown Vivaldi works in the library of the Conservatorio 'Benedetto Marcello', Venice: two cello concertos (RV 787 and 788), a concerto for violin and cello (RV Anh. 91), a violin concerto (RV 790), a sinfonia (RV 786), and a *Confitebor* in B flat major (RV 789), as well as a new version for single *coro* (RV 795) of the familiar *Beatus vir* in C major, RV 597. All these were works supplied to the Pietà in 1738–9.[1] In 1991 Peter Ryom reported finding a complete score of RV 795 in the Saxon State Library, Dresden; its earlier detection had been hindered by the fact that the manuscript bore the name of Galuppi.[2] In the early 1980s two new violin sonatas (RV 7 and 785) were discovered by Maurizio Grattoni in Udine.[3] The music of the flute concerto RV 783, previously known only from a musical incipit, turned up in Schwerin as recently as 1990.

(p. 8)

In 1982 the first volumes of the *Nuova edizione critica* (New Critical Edition) appeared. This series, published by Ricordi on behalf of the

[1] The find is described in Michael Talbot, 'A Vivaldi Discovery at the Conservatorio "Benedetto Marcello" ', *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani*, vol. iii (1982), pp. 3–12.

[2] See Peter Ryom, 'Vivaldi ou Galuppi? Un cas de doute surprenant', in Antonio Fanna and Michael Talbot (eds.), *Vivaldi vero e falso*: *problemi di attribuzione* (Florence, 1992), pp. 25–41.

[3] 'Nuove fonti vivaldiane a Udine e a Cividale del Friuli', *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani*, vol. v (1984), pp. 3–22.

Istituto Italiano Antonio Vivaldi, aims to bring out in scholarly editions (that are also suitable for practical use) all the complete and authenticated compositions of Vivaldi not previously included in the same publisher's catalogue – except for the dramatic works (operas and serenatas), which are to be published more selectively. At the time of writing, the programme is almost complete for instrumental and sacred vocal works and well advanced for cantatas. Of the operas, only *Giustino* has so far appeared. The most important practical effect of this project has been to stimulate performance of Vivaldi's vocal works, to which performers have hitherto had limited access. The progress of the series can be seen from the publisher's notices placed in *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani*, the multilingual yearbook of the Istituto Italiano Antonio Vivaldi, whose first volume appeared in 1980. The recent boom in facsimile publication has also benefited Vivaldi, yielding editions of the operas *Griselda* (New York, Garland, 1978) and *Ottone in villa* (Milan, Ricordi, 1983), besides several collections of instrumental music.

(p. 9)

The Fanna catalogue was republished in an updated and much enlarged edition in 1986. This version includes, in an appendix, the first group of instrumental works to appear in the *Nuova edizione critica.*

(p. 10:1)

Since these lines were written, the numbers in the main section of the Ryom catalogue have almost reached 800, while the *Anhang* has passed 90. It must be mentioned, however, that there is some disagreement among scholars about the criteria for authenticity applied by Ryom in determining in which section to place a work. For instance, RV 24, a violin sonata from the Wiesentheid collection, seems too uncharacteristic in style to be accepted as authentic despite the lack of original sources challenging Vivaldi's authorship, while the exclusion of the double concerto for violin and cello RV Anh. 91 from the main section must be based on the rather trivial fact that part of the attribution to the composer has been lost through cropping of the pages of the manuscript. These uncertainties make the preparation of accurate statistics for Vivaldi's works even harder than before.

(p. 10:2)

By the late 1980s virtually all scholarly literature was using Ryom

numbers as the only, or the principal, system of identification. However, Pincherle numbers are still quite widely employed in the world of broadcasting, recording and concert-giving, so I have thought it wise not to delete them from the present edition.

(p. 17)

I am no longer wholly convinced by my suggestion that the Pietà may not have produced home-grown players of the trumpet. It is interesting that during the first period of Vivaldi's composition of sacred vocal works for the Pietà (1713–17) St Mark's retained only a single trumpeter, not two as formerly. But the extent to which orchestral practice at St Mark's influenced that of the *ospedali* – or, indeed, that of the opera houses – has yet to be investigated in the detail it deserves.

(p. 18)

In 1992 the consensus among scholars has come round to the view expressed here: namely, that the tenor and bass parts in Vivaldi's vocal works written for the Pietà were taken by female voices. I no longer believe that the bass parts were routinely transposed up an octave – it is all too easy to underrate the ability of certain girls and women to sing in a very low register, given training and practice. One scholar, Joan Whittemore, has taken my original thesis still further, suggesting that not only the bass parts but also the tenor parts were transposed upwards.[4] While this view, if accepted, would make it easier for modern women's choirs to perform some of Vivaldi's choral music, I think it is mistaken. Among the Venetian *ospedali*, only the Pietà and the Mendicanti employed bass and tenor voices; the Incurabili and Ospedaletto, which had a smaller population, made do with only sopranos and contraltos.

(p. 28:1)

The position is more complicated than it seems at first sight, since when Negri received his permanent appointment, on 21 October 1730, it was in place not of Giovanni Battista Vivaldi but of another violinist, Giovanni Battista Madonis. So there is a definite possibility that Vivaldi senior returned to his post and served out his time. Even if by now infirm, he would not have risked dismissal on that account alone, since

[4] Revision of Music performed at the Venetian Ospedali in the Eighteenth Century (diss., University of Illinois, 1986).

posts at St Mark's were held for life unless the occupant committed a serious breach of discipline. Giovanni Battista seems to have been treated by the Basilica's administration with unusual benevolence. In 1702 he was granted three months' leave of absence, perhaps in order to play, together with his son, in an opera orchestra outside Venice.[5] He was often absent when, every two months, instalments of their salary were paid to the Basilica's employees; he then had to collect this money on a subsequent pay-day. Such absences, particularly (and significantly) frequent during the time of his son's residence at Mantua (1718–20), suggest much coming and going. Biographers have perhaps underrated the extent to which the two Vivaldis, father and son, operated as a team. Until well into the 1710s Antonio was certainly the junior partner. As late as 1711 Giovanni Battista's contribution to the annual tax (*tansa*) levied collectively on the Venetian musicians' guild was eight *lire*, indicative of his relative prosperity, while his son paid only half as much.[6] For many years the two Vivaldis frequently travelled together to other Italian cities to play at church festivals or in opera. We learn of their presence in Turin in October 1701;[7] in Brescia in February 1711;[8] and in Vicenza in the summer of 1713.[9] The part of the Turin manuscripts containing sacred music by composers other than Antonio may reflect this activity, and some of its items may have been inherited by him from his father. It has recently been argued very persuasively by Paul Everett that Giovanni Battista served his son for many years as a copyist responsible for, among other things, the manuscript of the 'Manchester' sonatas.[10] Research by Gastone Vio has established that father and son shared a succession of apartments in Venice (together with other family members) right up to the former's death in 1736. There is certainly much more about the two men's relationship still to be discovered.

(p. 28:2)

Mauro, born in 1715, was obviously very good at his job. The diarist Pietro Gradenigo opined in 1760 that he was the best music

[5] *ASV*, Procuratia de Supra, Reg. 211, 23 November 1702.

[6] *ASV*, Milizia da Mar, Busta 626.

[7] Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, P/144, f. 103 (letter dated 16 October 1701 from Giuseppe Carlo Pesci to Giacomo Antonio Perti).

[8] See Olga Termini, 'Vivaldi at Brescia: the Feast of the Purification at the Chiesa della Pace', *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani*, vol. ix (1988), pp. 64–74.

[9] See Bruno Brizi, 'Vivaldi a Vicenza: una festa barocca del 1713', *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani*, vol. vii (1986), pp. 35–54.

[10] 'Vivaldi's Italian Copyists', *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani*, vol. xi (1990), pp. 27–86.

copyist then active in Venice and mentions that he exchanged letters even with the King of Sweden.[11] Assisted by his younger brother Daniele, Pietro Mauro conducted his business from a shop close to the present-day Teatro Goldoni. Between 1731 and 1741 he also appeared occasionally as a tenor in a series of operas that included his uncle's *Farnace,* produced in Padua in 1731. On the stage he earned the nickname of 'Il Vivaldi' – a common way of associating a young artist with an older relative or teacher. For some productions in the provinces he wrote the dedication, which suggests that he followed his uncle into the world of operatic management. Clearly, he is a figure deserving further investigation.

(p. 29)

The more closely one examines the activity of individual members of the Vivaldi family, the more one becomes aware how closely intertwined their lives were. It would probably be no exaggeration to claim that they pursued a common family 'strategy' centred on the activity of their most successful member, Antonio. One small example must suffice: in 1715 it was Antonio's younger brother Francesco who, on a visit to Ferrara, collected on his behalf the advance on a payment due to him.[12]

(p. 30:1)

Vivaldi's illness was first identified as bronchial asthma by Pietro Berri in an article published in 1942.[13] A more recent study, by Roger-Claude Travers, has confirmed this diagnosis.[14] Naturally, the consensus among medical experts has not entirely banished fanciful suggestions that Vivaldi suffered from a more interesting disease such as angina or even syphilis.

(p. 30:2)

Documentary proof exists, at least, that Antonio was one of the extra instrumentalists engaged at St Mark's, following the traditional

[11] Venice, Museo Correr, Ms. Gradenigo 67, vi, f. 91v.

[12] Ferrara, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Bentivoglio, Busta 418, f. 398.

[13] 'La malattia di Vivaldi', *Musica d'oggi*, vol. xxiv (1942), pp. 9–13.

[14] 'Une mise au point sur la maladie de Vivaldi', *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani*, vol. iii (1982), pp. 52–60.

custom, on Christmas Eve and Christmas Day 1696.[15] This is the earliest record of his public activity as a violinist.

(p. 30:3)

Several details in Giazotto's biography of Vivaldi that are said to be founded on documentary evidence need to be accepted with caution, since other scholars have failed to locate the original sources. This is one such case; another is the document cited in footnote 34 of the same chapter.

(p. 31)

That Vivaldi gave up saying Mass solely for reasons of health (recognized by the Church as a legitimate reason) is suggested by the abruptness with which he ceased to be employed by the Pietà as a *mansionario* (beneficed priest) paid to say Mass for the soul of a benefactor. He held two such *mansionerie*: one from September 1703 to August 1705 and another from September 1705 to November 1706.[16] This would mean that he recited Mass for at least three years following his ordination.

(p. 46)

Proof that Pisendel took actual lessons from Vivaldi was discovered by Manfred Fechner, who found that the autograph manuscript of a certain concerto movement by the German composer contained corrections in his teacher's hand.[17]

(p. 47)

The two Vivaldi motets (RV 627 and 632) preserved, in partly autograph manuscripts, in the Saxon State Library originate from Zelenka's personal collection. They are relatively late works (*c* 1730?), dating from a period when Vivaldi was not being employed by the Pietà. It is conceivable that they were written especially for Zelenka, in which case the Bohemian composer should perhaps be counted as another strong advocate (besides Pisendel) of Vivaldi's music at the Saxon court.

---

[15] *ASV*, Procuratia de Supra, Reg. 37, 28 February 1696 (= 1697). See also Gastone Vio, 'Antonio Vivaldi violinista in S. Marco?', *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani*, vol. ii (1981), pp. 51–60.

[16] *ASV*, Osp., Reg. 999, f. 205.

[17] 'Neue Vivaldi-Funde in der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek Dresden', *Vivaldi Studien: Referate des 3. Dresdner Vivaldi-Kolloquiums* (Dresden, 1981), p. 43.

(p. 48)

There already exists quite a substantial body of scholarly writings on Vivaldi's Mantuan period. Of special note are those by Claudio Gallico and Luigi Cataldi.[18]

(p. 50)

In retrospect, my *bon mot* seems too uncharitable. Vivaldi and Anna Girò did indeed live in separate houses, as contemporary property censuses confirm, and Anna's success in finding a nobleman for a husband in 1748 does not suggest that she had a past to hide. In 1978 I (in common with most others) accepted the tradition of Vivaldi as a 'bad priest' rather too uncritically.

(p. 53:1)

In an article published in 1988 I ventured the hypothesis that a large group of sacred vocal works by Vivaldi, which included many of those 'in due cori', was composed for the church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso adjoining Cardinal Ottoboni's Roman palace, the Cancelleria.[19] These are all works dating from the mid 1720s, when Vivaldi had no occasion to write vocal music for the Pietà. The suggestion must for the present be regarded only as tentative.

(p. 53:2)

The accounts of the Pietà show that up to August 1729 Vivaldi had supplied the institution on this basis with over 140 concertos, a prodigious total.[20] Since a sequin (22 *lire*) was worth over three ducats current, Vivaldi could now earn by this means not much less, in a year, than he had made from his previous salary as a teacher and *Maestro de' Concerti.*

(p. 54:1)

The gap in time between the appearance of op. 7 (1716–17) and op. 8 (1725) is wide enough to suggest that Vivaldi became dissatisfied with Roger and boycotted his firm until his death in 1722. One reason

[18] Claudio Gallico, 'Vivaldi dagli archivi di Mantova', in Francesco Degrada (ed.), *Vivaldi veneziano europeo* (Florence, 1980), pp. 77–88; Luigi Cataldi, 'I rapporti di Vivaldi con il "Teatro detto il Comico" di Mantova', *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani*, vol. vi (1985), pp. 88–110, and 'Alcuni documenti relativi alla permanenza di Vivaldi a Mantova', ibid., vol. viii (1987), pp. 13–23.

[19] Michael Talbot, 'Vivaldi and Rome: Observations and Hypotheses', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, vol. cxiii (1988), pp. 28–46.

[20] *ASV*, Osp., Busta 700 and Reg. 1005, *passim.*

could be the presence of works of suspect authenticity in op. 7: Roger may on his own initiative have added extra concertos not all by Vivaldi to bring their total up to 12 (instead of six, as in op. 6). In 1724 Vivaldi was toying with the idea of publishing concertos by subscription in the manner of Handel and Telemann in northern Europe. A letter survives in which he asks the Piedmontese count Carlo Giacinto Roero di Guarene whether he can find six subscribers out of the hundred needed.[21] It appears, however, that the projected 'double' set containing 24 concertos never materialized, perhaps because not enough willing subscribers came forward.

(p. 54:2)

The *Mercure de France* duly reported the festivities and Vivaldi's part in them.[22] His description there as 'the ablest composer in Venice' ('le plus habile compositeur qui soit à Venise') attests to his high reputation in France even before his op. 8 appeared. A longer, manuscript report of the same celebrations is preserved in the British Library.[23]

(p. 55)

The date and occasion of the performance of *La Senna festeggiante* remains a mystery, although it now appears that the partly autograph manuscript dates from late 1726 or early 1727, which means that it might have been composed for the French ambassador's annual celebration of his monarch's name-day, which fell on 25 August 1726. A connection with Pietro Ottoboni, who was revisiting Venice at the time, is also suspected. These questions are examined thoroughly in the introductory essay by Paul Everett and the present author to a facsimile edition of RV 687 and RV 693, to be published by Ricordi in the series *Drammaturgia musicale veneta*.

(p. 59)

Among the 14 Vivaldi manuscripts in Turin written on central-European paper is that of the concerto RV 163, enigmatically titled 'Conca' (see p. 87, where its incipits are given). This is one of Vivaldi's 'allusive' concertos; it imitates the sound of a conch ('conca'),

[21] See Roberto Antonetto, *Un documento della civiltà piemontese del Settecento: il castello di Guarene* (Turin, 1979), p. 139.

[22] October 1725, pp. 2417–18.

[23] Add. Ms. 20346, ff. 71–2. See also Michael Talbot, 'Vivaldi and a French Ambassador', *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani*, vol. ii (1981), pp. 31–43.

which, provided with a mouthpiece, was used as a primitive folk-instrument by Bohemian peasants, notably as a ***Wassertrompete*** to ward off [/on] rain.[24]

[in Talbot, 1993: ***Wassertrompete***, in others Talbot's articles: ***Wettertrompete***]

(p. 62)

As noted earlier (on p. 53n), this presumed collaboration between Goldoni and Vivaldi may have been fictitious. But even if so, the combination of the two anagrammatized names suggests that the two men were linked in the public mind.

(p. 67)

The traditional view that Vivaldi travelled to Amsterdam – in the depths of winter – to lead the orchestra in person has now been laid to rest.[25]

(p. 70:1)

Recent research suggests that the prime motive for Vivaldi's visit to Vienna, accompanied by Anna Girò, was to supervise the production of one or more of his operas at the Kärntnertor theatre, of which Count Collalto was a leading patron. It may well be that his lodgings in Kärntner Strasse were those customarily used by that theatre for visiting *maestri.* Because of the unforeseen death of Emperor Charles VI on 20 October 1740, all Viennese theatres were closed during the following Carnival season as a sign of mourning. This event undoubtedly upset Vivaldi's plans and may have hastened his death by reducing his means. During the 1742 Carnival season the Kärntnertor theatre produced Vivaldi's opera *L'oracolo in Messenia*, which had perhaps been scheduled originally for the previous year.

(p. 70:2)

Vivaldi iconography has recently become once again a subject for discussion. In 1988 I treated it at some length in a reference book.[26] The most up-to-date and searching analysis, however, is that by François Farges and Michel Ducastel-Delacroix, which casts doubt on Vatielli's (and my) belief that the Bologna oil painting is of Vivaldi.[27]

---

[24] See Michael Talbot, 'Vivaldi's Conch Concerto', *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani*, vol. v (1984), pp. 66–82.

[25] See Luc van Hasselt, 'Heeft Vivaldi in 1738 Amsterdam bezocht?', *Mens en melodie*, vol. xxxii (1977), pp. 398–9.

[26] *Antonio Vivaldi: a Guide to Research* (New York and London, 1988), pp. 149–53.

[27] 'Au sujet du vrai visage de Vivaldi: essai iconographique', in Antonio Fanna and Michael Talbot (eds.), *Vivaldi vero e falso: problemi di attribuzione* (Florence, 1992), pp. 155–79.

(p. 82)

I have left my discussion of this movement unaltered, but it is ironic that I should have picked it as an exemplary demonstration of Vivaldi's contrapuntal skills, since the fugal section in question is a cunningly disguised adaptation of the closing section of Antonio Lotti's four-part madrigal *Moralità d'una perla*, one of his *Duetti, terzetti e madrigali a più voci* published in Venice in 1705. The conversion is far from mechanical, but that is hardly the point. Vivaldi dipped into the same Lotti collection (which he must have possessed) on at least one other occasion, transforming the opening section of its madrigal *Inganni dell' umanità* into the 'Gloria Patri' of his *Dixit Dominus* RV 595.[28]

(p. 98:1)

The two trio sonatas that I described as 'possibly unauthentic', RV 60 and 74, are now reckoned genuine. RV 60, preserved in a non-autograph manuscript in Wiesentheid, may be a very early work that, for that reason, appears stylistically untypical. RV 74, surviving in a Swedish copy in the library of Lund University, seems to belong in date to the 1720s, around the time of the 'Manchester' sonatas. The last work, published in the *Nuova edizione critica* as recently as 1992, is perhaps the finest of all Vivaldi's trio sonatas – darkly eloquent and full of deft contrapuntal touches.

(p. 98:2)

Another possibility is that they were written for Vivaldi to play with his father on their central European tour of 1729–30. The absence of a bass part would have made them very suitable for impromptu performance in conditions where no cello or harpsichord was to hand.

(p. 101:1)

Le Clerc's copy-text may well have been a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Vm.[7] 6310), which is thought to date from the 1720s.[29]

(p. 101:2)

In 1990 Philippe Lescat reported his finding that *Il pastor fido* was

[28] On the Lotti borrowings see Kees Vlaardingerbroek, 'Vivaldi and Lotti: Two Unknown Borrowings in Vivaldi's Music', in *Vivaldi vero e falso: problemi di attribuzione* (see previous note), pp. 91–108.

[29] These sonatas and their sources are discussed in Eleanor Selfridge-Field, 'Vivaldi's Cello Sonatas', *Vivaldi vero e falso: problemi di attribuzione*, pp. 127–48.

indeed a forgery, as long suspected, but that the perpetrator was, rather than Marchand in person, his distant relative and colleague in the Académie Royale de Musique Nicolas Chédeville (1705–82).[30] In taking out the privilege in his own name, Marchand knowingly became party to the deceit. It seems that Chédeville's main motive was to popularize his own principal instrument, the *musette*, by associating its repertoire with the names of composers then in vogue.

(p. 119)

See the earlier discussion in this chapter relating to p. 54:1.

(p. 120)

The second of the two flute concertos (RV 783 and 784) not in the *kleine Ausgabe* of Ryom's catalogue is known only from its thematic incipit in a catalogue of music in the collection of the Esterházy court at Eisenstadt *c* 1740. The sale catalogue (1759) of the estate of Nicolaas Selhof, a bookseller at The Hague, included manuscripts of what appear to have been lost flute concertos with 'national' titles: respectively *La Francia, Il Gran Mogol, La Spagna* and *L'Inghilterra.*[31]

(p. 126)

Trombone da caccia may simply be an alternative name for *tromba da caccia*, which one would take to be a rendering into Italian of the French term *trompe de chasse*, or hunting horn. Paradies, Pergolesi, Porpora and Domenico Scarlatti were among the Italian composers contemporary with Vivaldi who employed the *tromba da caccia* in their dramatic works. In all cases the parts are indistinguishable from ones for *corno da caccia.*

(p. 138)

I have examined elsewhere the distinctive nature of the serenata genre.[32] It is worth noting that one of Vivaldi's eight known serenatas, *Le gare del dovere*, RV 688, was performed in Rovigo, to mark the departure of the outgoing Venetian governor, Francesco Querini, in

[30] ' "Il Pastor Fido", une œuvre de Nicolas Chédeville', *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani*, vol. xi (1990), pp. 5–10. Lescat discusses the episode and the nature of Chédeville's project more fully in an identically titled paper published in *Vivaldi vero e falso: problemi di attribuzione*, pp. 109–26.

[31] See Michael Talbot, 'Vivaldi in the Sale Catalogue of Nicolaas Selhof', *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani*, vol. vi (1985), pp. 57–63.

[32] 'Vivaldi's Serenatas: Long Cantatas or Short Operas?', in Lorenzo Bianconi and Giovanni Morelli (eds.), *Antonio Vivaldi: teatro musicale, cultura e società* (Florence, 1982), pp. 67–96.

1708, thus antedating his first known opera by five years. This commission must have given him valuable experience in the composition of dramatic recitative and instrumentally accompanied arias. Another serenata, RV 690, described on its title-page simply as 'Serenata a tre', is stated there to be 'pour Monsieur le Mar[quis] de Toureil'. But this gentleman, far from being the person who commissioned the work, is actually its subject: the shepherd Alcindo, who refuses to fall in love, is an allegory of the Jansenist propagandist Amable de Tourreil, who was imprisoned in Rome by the Holy Inquisition and died *c* 1719. So the work is a kind of topical morality play, perhaps intended for a largely clerical audience. The details of the 'piscatorial eclogue', *Il Mopso*, RV 691, are known only from the quasi-transcription of its title-page provided by the revisers of Allacci's *Drammaturgia*. It is most likely that it was performed at the Pietà during the interregnum between Porta and d'Alessandro (1737–9), but it may conceivably have appeared during an earlier *maestro*-less period: that between Pietragrua and Porta (1726).

(p. 156)

The chronology of Vivaldi's sacred vocal music is hardly touched on in my original discussion. Although some perplexities remain, the broad lines are now clear. One work is known to predate his first period of sacred vocal composition at the Pietà: the *Stabat Mater* RV 621, for which Vivaldi was paid in 1712 by the church of the Philippine fathers in Brescia, S. Maria della Pace.[33] About 30 works, including both settings of the *Gloria*, belong to the middle of the same decade and are mostly linked to the Pietà. A slightly smaller number can be dated to the next decade. These include many of his most complex and exuberant works, such as the *Kyrie* RV 587, the *Beatus vir* RV 597 and the *Dixit Dominus* RV 594. A small final group, of which only the *Lauda Jerusalem* RV 609, the heavily revised version of the *Magnificat* RV 611, the little *In exitu Israel* RV 604 and the *Beatus vir* RV 795 survive, dates from 1739.[34]

(p. 158)

The number of Vivaldi's known borrowings from other composers

[33] See Michael Talbot, 'New Light on Vivaldi's Stabat Mater', *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani*, vol. xiii (1992), pp. 23–38.

[34] On this chronology and the criteria used to establish it see Michael Talbot, 'Vivaldi's Sacred Music: the Three Periods', in Antonio Fanna and Giovanni Morelli (eds.), *Nuovi studi vivaldiani: edizione e cronologia critica delle opere* (Florence, 1988), pp. 759–69.

in his sacred vocal music has risen sharply in recent years. The 'Tu es sacerdos' movement of the *Dixit Dominus* RV 595 is taken with little change from the corresponding movement in an anonymous setting of the same psalm in Vivaldi's collection (RV Anh. 27), while the 'Gloria Patri', as noted earlier, comes from Lotti. The *Gloria* RV 588 contains two further borrowings from Ruggieri's setting in addition to its final fugue (I discovered this only recently, when editing the work for the *Nuova edizione critica*). Vivaldi's apparent diffidence vis-à-vis the *stile osservato* remains a puzzle. Or did he perhaps take a furtive delight in such borrowings? It may be significant that the two made from a published work (that by Lotti) are more artfully concealed than those from works in manuscript, as if he had in each case first carefully weighed the probability of being found out by his peers.

Appendix A

Calendar

Figures in brackets denote the age reached by the person mentioned during the year in question. For a fuller Vivaldi 'calendar' readers should consult Karl Heller, *Vivaldi: cronologia della vita e dell'opera* (Florence, 1991).

Year	Age	Life	Contemporary musicians
1678		Antonio Lucio Vivaldi born, 4 March, at Venice. Eldest child of the violinist G.B. Vivaldi and his wife Camilla Vivaldi, née Calicchio. Officially baptized, 6 May.	G.M. Bononcini (36) dies, 18 Nov. Albinoni aged 7; Biber 34; Biffi *c* 12; Blow 29; A.M. Bononcini 1; G. Bononcini 8; Bonporti 6; Buxtehude 41; Caldara *c* 7; Corelli 25; Couperin 10; Dall'Abaco 3; Fux 18; Gasparini 17; Keiser 4; Kuhnau 18; Lalande 21; Legrenzi 52; Lotti 12; Lully 46; A. Marcello 9; Mascitti *c* 4; Pachelbel 25; Pasquini 41; C.F. Pollarolo *c* 25; G.A. Pollarolo 2; Purcell 19; A. Scarlatti 18; Steffani 24; Stradella 34; Torelli 20; G.B. Vitali 46; T.A. Vitali 15; J.J. Walther *c* 28; M.A. Ziani *c* 25.
1679	1		Zelenka born, 16 Oct.
1680	2		Astorga born, 20 March.
1681	3		Telemann born, 14 March.
1682	4		Stradella (37) dies, 25 Feb.
1683	5		Graupner born, 13 Jan; Heinichen born, 17 April; Rameau born, 24 Sept.
1684	6		Durante born, 31 March; Manfredini born, 22 June; J.G. Walther born, 18 Sept.
1685	7	Father enters orchestra of St Mark's, 23 April	G.M. Alberti born, 20 Sept; J.S. Bach born, 21 March; Handel born, 23 Feb; D. Scarlatti born, 26 Oct.
1686	8		B. Marcello born, 1 Aug; Porpora born, 17 Aug.

Year	Age	Life	Contemporary musicians
1687	9		Geminiani born, 5 Dec; Lully (54) dies, 22 March; Pisendel born, 26 Dec.
1688	10		Fasch born, 15 April; Predieri born, 13 Sept.
1689	11	Father *Maestro di Strumenti* at the Mendicanti.	Boismortier born, 23 Dec.
1690	12		Legrenzi (63) dies, 27 May; Veracini born, 1 Feb.
1691	13		
1692	14		Ristori born; Tartini born, 8 April; G.B. Vitali (60) dies, 12 Oct.
1693	15	Begins training for the priesthood. Tonsure, 18 Sept; Porter, 19 Sept.	
1694	16	Lector, 21 Sept.	Leo born, 5 Aug; Mička born, 5 Sept; Roman born, 26 Oct.
1695	17	Exorcist, 25 Dec.	Locatelli born, 3 Sept; Purcell (36) dies, 21 Nov.
1696	18	Acolyte, 21 Sept.	Vinci born (or ? 1690).
1697	19		Leclair born, 10 May; Quantz born, 30 Jan.
1698	20		
1699	21	Sub-Deacon, 4 April.	Hasse born, 23/24 March.
1700	22	Deacon, 18 Sept.	G.B. Sammartini born (or ? 1701).
1701	23	Visits Turin, autumn.	
1702	24		
1703	25	Priest, 23 March. Appointed violin master at the Pietà, commencing Sept.	
1704	26	Salary raised, 17 Aug, in recognition of his teaching of the *viola all'inglese.*	Biber (59) dies, 3 May.
1705	27	12 trio sonatas (op. 1) published.	
1706	28		Pachelbel (52) dies, 9 March.
1707	29		Buxtehude (*c* 70) dies, 9 May.
1708	30	Serenata *Le gare del dovere* performed at Rovigo, ? July.	Blow (59) dies, 1 Oct.
1709	31	12 violin sonatas (op. 2), ded. Frederick IV of Denmark, published. Voted out of office by the Pietà's governors, 24 Feb.	F. Benda born, 29 Nov; Torelli (50) dies, 8 Feb.

Year	Age	Life	Contemporary musicians
1710	32		Paganelli born, 6 March; Pasquini (72) dies, 21 Nov; Pergolesi born, 4 Jan.
1711	33	Reappointed violin master at the Pietà, 27 Sept. *L'estro armonico* (op. 3), ded. Ferdinando III of Tuscany, published. Visits Brescia, Feb.	Holzbauer born, 17 Sept.
1712	34		
1713	35	Gasparini's departure from the Pietà on sick leave approved by the governors, 23 April. First opera, *Ottone in villa*, performed at Vicenza, May.	Corelli (59) dies, 8 Jan.
1714	36	Association as impresario and composer with the S. Angelo theatre begins. *La stravaganza* (op. 4) published (possibly earlier).	C.P.E. Bach born, 8 March; Gluck born, 2 July; Jommelli born, 10 Sept.
1715	37	Meets Uffenbach, March. Voted special emolument, 2 June, for his composition of vocal works for the Pietà's chapel.	Wagenseil born, 15 Jan; M.A. Ziani (*c* 62) dies, 22 Jan.
1716	38	Voted out of office at the Pietà, 29 March; reinstated as *Maestro de' Concerti*, 24 May. Meets and befriends Pisendel. 6 sonatas (op. 5) published; 6 concertos (op. 6) and 12 concertos (op. 7) soon follow. *Juditha triumphans* performed, Nov.	
1717	39	Leaves the Pietà.	Monn born, 9 April; Stamic born, 19 June.
1718	40	In Mantua as *Maestro di Cappella da Camera* to Prince Philip of Hesse-Darmstadt.	
1719	41		
1720	42	Returns to Venice. *Il teatro alla moda* (B. Marcello), Dec.	
1721	43		
1722	44		J. Benda born, 30 June; Kuhnau (62) dies, 5 June; Nardini born, 12 April.

Year	Age	Life	Contemporary musicians
1723	45	Visits Rome at Carnival time; is sketched by Ghezzi. The Pietà's governors agree, 2 July, to ask Vivaldi to compose, rehearse and direct the performance of two new concertos every month.	C.F. Pollarolo (*c* 70) dies; Gassmann born, 4 May.
1724	46	Probably again in Rome for Carnival. Venetian début of Anna Girò, Autumn. Proposes to publish concertos by subscription.	
1725	47	*Il cimento dell'armonia e dell' inventions* (op. 8), ded. Count Morzin published. Wedding of Louis XV, 5 Sept, celebrated in a serenata by Vivaldi, 12 Sept.	A. Scarlatti (65) dies, 22 Oct.
1726	48		A.M. Bononcini (49) dies, 8 July; Lalande (68) dies, 18 June.
1727	49	Birth, 14 Aug, of twin daughters to Louis XV celebrated in *L'unione della Pace e di Marte* and a *Te Deum* (19 Sept). *La cetra* (op. 9) published.	Gasparini (66) dies, 22 March; Traetta born, 30 March; J.J. Walther (*c*67) dies, 2 Nov.
1728	50	Meets Emperor Charles VI, Sept. 6 flute concertos (op. 10) published.	Piccinni born, 16 Jan; Steffani (73) dies, 12 Feb.
1729	51	G.B. Vivaldi petitions, 30 Sept, for one year's leave of absence from St Mark's 'to accompany a son to Germany'. 12 concertos (opp. 11 and 12) published.	Heinichen (46) dies, 16 July; Sarti born, 1 Dec.
1730	52	In Bohemia.	Vinci (*c* 34) dies, ? 28 May,
1731	53	Back in Italy.	Cannabich bapt., 28 Dec; Pugnani born, 27 Nov.
1732	54	*La fida ninfa* inaugurates Verona's Teatro Filarmonico, 6 Jan.	Biffi (*c* 66) dies; J. Haydn born, 31 March.
1733	55	Meets Holdsworth, 13 Feb.	Couperin (64) dies, 12 Sept.
1734	56		
1735	57	Collaborates with Goldoni on *Griselda*, Spring. Re-engaged at the Pietà as *Maestro de' Concerti*, 5 Aug.	J.C. Bach born, 5 Sept.

Year	Age	Life	Contemporary musicians
1736	58	Father dies, 14 May.	Caldara (66) dies, 27 Dec; Pergolesi (26) buried, 17 March.
1737	59	Dispute with management of Ferrara opera over choice of works and payment, Jan. In Verona for successful performance of *Catone in Utica*, March. Cardinal Ruffo forbids him entry into Ferrara to direct the opera, Nov. Bentivoglio, his patron, intercedes unsuccessfully.	M. Haydn born, 14 Sept; Mysliveček born, 9 March.
1738	60	Contributes a concerto to the celebration, 7 Jan, of the centenary of the Schouwburg theatre, Amsterdam.	
1739	61	*Siroe* badly received at Ferrara, Jan. *Feraspe*, last known opera, performed at Venice. Vocal and instrumental compositions purchased by the Pietà. De Brosses reports meetings with Vivaldi, 29 Aug.	Dittersdorf born, 2 Nov; Keiser (65) dies, 12 Sept; B. Marcello (52) dies, 24/25 July; Vanhal born, 12 May.
1740	62	*Il coro delle muse* (sinfonia and concertos contributed by Vivaldi) performed, 21 March, before Frederick Christian of Saxony. The Pietà's governors note, 29 April, his impending departure from Venice.	Lotti (74) dies, 5 Jan; Paisiello born, 9 May.
1741	63	In Vienna, where he sells concertos to Count Collalto, 28 June. Dies there in poverty, 27 July, from an 'internal inflammation'. Buried the next day in the Hospital Cemetery.	Fux (81) dies, 14 Feb; Grétry born, 11 Feb; Naumann born, 17 April; G.M. Alberti aged 56; Albinoni 70; Astorga 61; C.P.E. Bach 27; J.C. Bach 6; J.S. Bach 56; F. Benda 32; J. Benda 19; Boismortier 52; G. Bononcini 71; Bonporti 69; Cannabich 10; Dall'Abaco 66; Dittersdorf 2; Durante 57; Fasch 53; Gassmann 18; Geminiani 54; Gluck 27; Graupner 58; Handel 56; Hasse 42;

Year	Age	Life	Contemporary musicians
			J. Haydn 9; M. Haydn 4; Holzbauer 40; Jommelli 27; Leclair 44; Leo 47; Locatelli 46; Manfredini 57; A. Marcello 72; Mascitti *c* 77; Miča 47; Monn 24; Mysliveček 4; Nardini 19; Paganelli 31; Piccinni 13; Pisendel 54; G.A. Pollarolo *c* 70; Porpora 55; Predieri 53; Quantz 44; Rameau 58; Ristori 49; Roman 47; G.B. Sammartini *c* 40; Sarti 12; D. Scarlatti 56; Stamic 24; Tartini 49; Telemann 60; Traetta 14; Vanhal 2; Veracini 51; T.A. Vitali 78; Wagenseil 26; J.G. Walther 57; Zelenka 62.

Appendix B

Catalogue of works

Introductory notes

1 RV numbers up to RV 780 are generally taken from P. Ryom, *Verzeichnis der Werke Antonio Vivaldis: kleine Ausgabe* (Leipzig, 1974 and 2/1979), which contains concordance tables for Pincherle, Fanna, Rinaldi and Ricordi numbers. Most numbers above RV 780 are listed or cited in Peter Ryom, *Repertoire des œuvres d'Antonio Vivaldi: les compositions instrumentales* (Copenhagen, 1986).
2 Except where a contrary indication is given, the presence of a *basso* or *basso continuo* part is presumed.
3 The = sign refers the reader to a work identical with the one under consideration except for (a) the key of one or more movements or (b) the choice of instrument(s) for its solo part(s).
4 A number following a publisher's name (e.g. Witvogel 48) is that assigned to a particular work or collection by the publisher himself and quoted in his catalogues.
5 Places and dates given for opera performances refer to first performances; revivals are not mentioned unless they entailed a significant change of title or considerable modification.
6 The spelling and punctuation of titles and text incipits, often inconsistent in the original sources, have been normalized.
7 Operas described as 'lost' often survive partially, in the shape of one or more separate numbers (generally, arias).

Abbreviations

A	alto	fl	flute (transverse)
aut	Autumn Season	flaut	*flautino*
bn	bassoon	hpd	harpsichord
carn	*carnevale* (Carnival or Winter Season)	hn	horn
		inscr.	inscribed (or dedicated) to
chal	chalumeau	lib.	*libro* (volume)
cl	clarinet	mand	mandolin
est	*estate* (Summer Season)	ob	oboe

org	organ	trb	trombone
prim	*primavera* (Spring or Ascensiontide Season)	v	voice
		vn	violin
rec	recorder (alto)	vla	viola
S	soprano	vla d'am	viola d'amore
th	theorbo	vlc	violoncello
tpt	trumpet	vne	violone

Instrumental music

Sonatas for violin

RV no.	KEY	OBSERVATIONS
1	C	op. 2 no. 6
2	C	inscr. Pisendel
3	C	
4	C	incomplete
5	c	
6	c	inscr. Pisendel
7	c	
7a	c	incomplete, previously known as RV 7
8	c	op. 2 no. 7
9	D	op. 2 no. 11
10	D	
11	D	incomplete
12	d	
13	d	? spurious
14	d	op. 2 no. 3
15	d	
16	e	op. 2 no. 9
17	e	incomplete
17a	e	
18	F	op. 5 no. 1 (=13)
19	F	inscr. Pisendel
20	F	op. 2 no. 4
21	f	op. 2 no. 10
22	G	
23	G	op. 2 no. 8
24	G	spurious
25	G	inscr. Pisendel
26	g	
27	g	op. 2 no. 1
28	g	
29	A	inscr. Pisendel
30	A	op. 5 no. 2 (=14)

RV no.	KEY	OBSERVATIONS
31	A	op. 2 no. 2
32	a	op. 2 no. 12
33	B♭	op. 5 no. 3 (=15)
34	B♭	
35	b	op. 5 no. 4 (=16)
36	b	op. 2 no. 5
37	b	incomplete
754	C	
755	D	
756	E♭	
757	g	
758	A	
759	B♭	
760	b	
776	G	probably a pastiche by another hand
785	D	incomplete

Sonatas for cello

38	d	lost
39	E♭	
40	e	Le Cène edn no. 5
41	F	Le Cène edn no. 2
42	g	
43	a	Le Cène edn no. 3
44	a	
45	B♭	Le Cène edn no. 4
46	B♭	Le Cène edn no. 6
47	B♭	Le Cène edn no. 1

Other sonatas for one instrument

48	C	fl	
49	d	fl	
50	e	fl	? spurious
51	g	fl	
52	F	rec	
53	c	ob	
54	C	op. ‘13’ no. 1	
55	C	op. ‘13’ no. 5	musette/
56	C	op. ‘13’ no. 2	vièle/rec/
57	G	op. ‘13’ no. 3	ob/vn
58	g	op. ‘13’ no. 6	spurious
59	A	op. ‘13’ no. 4	

RV no.	KEY	OBSERVATIONS
Sonatas for two violins		
60	C	
61	C	op. 1 no. 3
62	D	op. 1 no. 6
63	d	op. 1 no. 12 *Follia*
64	d	op. 1 no. 8
65	E♭	op. 1 no. 7
66	E	op. 1 no. 4
67	e	op. 1 no. 2
68	F	bass optional
69	F	op. 1 no. 5
70	F	bass optional
71	G	bass optional
72	g	op. 5 no. 6 (= 18)
73	g	op. 1 no. 1
74	g	
75	A	op. 1 no. 9
76	B♭	op. 5 no. 5 (= 17)
77	B♭	bass optional
78	B♭	op. 1 no. 10
79	b	op. 1 no. 11
Other sonatas for two instruments		
80	G	2 fl spurious
81	g	2 ob
82	C	vn, lute *Trio* inscr. Count Wrtby
83	c	vn, vlc
84	D	fl, vn untitled
85	g	vn, lute *Trio* inscr. Count Wrtby
86	a	rec, bn
Sonatas for more than two instruments		
—	C	vn, ob, org, chal chal optional
130	E♭	2 vn, vla *Suonata a 4 al Santo Sepolcro*
169	b	2 vn, vla *Sinfonia al Santo Sepolcro*
Concertos without orchestra		
87	C	rec, ob, 2 vn
88	C	fl, ob, vn, bn
89	D	fl, 2 vn
90	D	fl/rec/vn, ob/vn, vn, bn/vlc *Il gardellino*

RV no.	KEY	OBSERVATIONS
91	D	fl, vn, bn
92	D	rec, vn, bn/vlc
93	D	lute, 2 vn inscr. Count Wrtby
94	D	rec, ob, vn, bn
95	D	rec/vn, ob/vn, vn, bn *La pastorella*
96	d	fl, vn, bn untitled
97	F	vla d'am, 2 hn, 2 ob, bn
98	F	fl, ob, vn, bn *Tempesta di mare*
99	F	fl, ob, vn, bn
100	F	fl, vn, bn
101	G	rec, ob, vn, bn
102	G	fl, 2 vn ? spurious
103	g	rec, ob, bn
104	g	fl/vn, 2 vn, bn *La notte*
105	g	rec, ob, vn, bn
106	g	fl/vn, vn, bn/vlc
107	g	fl, ob, vn, bn
108	a	rec, 2 vn
751	D	2 fl, 2 vn, 2 bn lost

Concertos and sinfonias for string orchestra

109	C	*Concerto*
110	C	*Concerto*
111	C	*Concerto*
111a	C	*Sinfonia*
112	C	*Sinfonia*
113	C	*Concerto*
114	C	*Concerto*
115	C	*Concerto ripieno*
116	C	*Sinfonia*
117	C	*Concerto*
118	c	*Concerto*
119	c	*Concerto*
120	c	*Concerto*
121	D	*Concerto*
122	D	*Sinfonia*
123	D	*Concerto*
124	D	*Concerto* op. 12 no. 3
125	D	*Sinfonia* incomplete
126	D	*Concerto*
127	d	*Concerto*
128	d	*Concerto*
129	d	*Concerto madrigalesco*
131	E	*Sinfonia*

RV no.	KEY	OBSERVATIONS
132	E	*Sinfonia* spurious
133	e	*Concerto*
134	e	*Sinfonia / Concerto*
135	F	*Sinfonia*
136	F	*Concerto*
137	F	*Sinfonia*
138	F	*Concerto*
139	F	*Concerto*
140	F	*Concerto / Sinfonia*
141	F	*Concerto*
142	F	*Concerto*
143	f	*Concerto*
144	G	*Introdutione* spurious = RV Anh. 70
145	G	*Concerto*
146	G	*Concerto / Sinfonia*
147	G	*Sinfonia*
149	G	*Sinfonia*
150	G	*Concerto*
151	G	*Concerto alla rustica*
152	g	*Concerto ripieno*
153	g	*Concerto*
154	g	*Concerto*
155	g	*Concerto*
156	g	*Concerto*
157	g	*Concerto*
158	A	*Concerto ripieno*
159	A	*Concerto*
160	A	*Concerto*
161	a	*Concerto*
162	B♭	*Sinfonia*
163	B♭	*Concerto* '*Conca*'
164	B♭	*Concerto*
165	B♭	*Concerto*
166	B♭	*Concerto*
167	B♭	*Concerto*
168	b	*Sinfonia*
786	D	*Sinfonia* incomplete

Concertos for violin and string orchestra

170	C	
171	C	inscr. 'Sua Maestà Cesarea e Cattolica'
172	C	inscr. Pisendel
172a	C	incomplete and probably not authentic
173	C	op. 12 no. 4

RV no.	KEY	OBSERVATIONS
174	C	lost
175	C	Witvogel 48 no. 3
176	C	
177	C	
178	C	op. 8 no. 12 = RV 449
179	C	
179a	C	incomplete
180	C	op. 8 no. 6 *Il piacere*
181	C	
181a	C	op. 9 no. 1
182	C	
183	C	
184	C	
185	C	op. 4 no. 7
186	C	
187	C	
188	C	op. 7 no. 2
189	C	Witvogel 35 no. 1
190	C	
191	C	
192	C	*Sinfonia*
192a	C	*Sinfonia*
193	C	lost
194	C	
195	C	J. Roger 417 no. 6
196	c	op. 4 no. 10
197	c	
198	c	
198a	c	op. 9 no. 11
199	c	*Il sospetto*
200	c	lost
201	c	
202	c	op. 11 no. 5
203	D	incomplete
204	D	op. 4 no. 11
205	D	inscr. Pisendel
206	D	
207	D	op. 11 no. 1
208	D	*Grosso Mogul*
208a	D	op. 7 no. 11 (= lib. 2 no. 5)
209	D	
210	D	op. 8 no. 11
211	D	
212	D	*Concerto fatto per la solennità della S. Lingua di S. Antonio in Padova 1712*

RV no.	KEY	OBSERVATIONS
212a	D	
213	D	
213a	D	incomplete
214	D	op. 7 no. 12 (= lib. 2 no. 6) also attributed Gallo
215	D	
216	D	op. 6 no. 4
217	D	
218	D	
219	D	
220	D	J. Roger 432 no. 6
221	D	'violino in tromba'
222	D	
223	D	= RV 762
224	D	
224a	D	
225	D	
226	D	
227	D	
228	D	
229	D	
230	D	op. 3 no. 9
231	D	
232	D	
233	D	
234	D	*L'inquietudine*
235	d	
236	d	op. 8 no. 9 = RV 454
237	d	inscr. Pisendel
238	d	op. 9 no. 8
239	d	op. 6 no. 6
240	d	
241	d	
242	d	op. 8 no. 7 inscr. Pisendel
243	d	'violino senza cantin'
244	d	op. 12 no. 2
245	d	
246	d	
247	d	
248	d	
249	d	op. 4 no. 8
250	E♭	
251	E♭	
252	E♭	
253	E♭	op. 8 no. 5 *La tempesta di mare*
254	E♭	

RV no.	KEY	OBSERVATIONS
255	E♭	lost
256	E♭	*Il ritiro*
257	E♭	
258	E♭	
259	E♭	op. 6 no. 2
260	E♭	
261	E♭	
262	E♭	
263	E	
263a	E	op. 9 no. 4
264	E	
265	E	op. 3 no. 12
266	E	
267	E	
267a	E	incomplete
268	E	
269	E	op. 8 no. 1 *La primavera*
270	E	*Il riposo / Concerto per il santissimo natale*
270a	E	incomplete
271	E	*L'amoroso*
273	e	
274	e	
275	e	J. Roger 433 no. 12
275a	e	= RV 430
276	e	E. Roger 188 no. 1
277	e	op. 11 no. 2 *Il favorito*
278	e	
279	e	op. 4 no. 2
280	e	op. 6 no. 5
281	e	
282	F	
283	F	
284	F	op. 4 no. 9
285	F	
285a	F	op. 7 no. 5
286	F	*Concerto per la solennità di S. Lorenzo* inscr. Anna Maria
287	F	
288	F	
289	F	
290	F	lost
291	F	no. 6 in Walsh edn of op. 4
292	F	
293	F	op. 8 no. 3 *L'autunno*
294	F	*Il ritiro*

RV no.	KEY	OBSERVATIONS
294a	F	op. 7 no. 10 (= lib. 2 no. 4) *Il ritiro*
295	F	
296	F	
297	f	op. 8 no. 4 *L'inverno*
298	G	op. 4 no. 12
299	G	op. 7 no. 8 (= lib. 2 no. 2)
300	G	op. 9 no. 10
301	G	op. 4 no. 3
302	G	
303	G	
304	G	lost
305	G	lost
306	G	
307	G	
308	G	op. 11 no. 4
309	G	*Il mare tempestoso* lost
310	G	op. 3 no. 3
311	G	'violino in tromba'
312	G	
313	G	'violino in tromba'
314	G	inscr. Pisendel
314a	G	
315	g	op. 8 no. 2 *L'estate*
316	g	lost
316a	g	op. 4 no. 6
317	g	op. 12 no. 1
318	g	op. 6 no. 3
319	g	
320	g	incomplete
321	g	
322	g	incomplete
323	g	
324	g	op. 6 no. 1
325	g	
326	g	op. 7 no. 3
327	g	
328	g	
329	g	
330	g	
331	g	
332	g	op. 8 no. 8
333	g	
334	g	op. 9 no. 3
335	A	*The Cuckow*
335a	A	*Il rosignuolo*

RV no.	KEY	OBSERVATIONS
336	A	op. 11 no. 3
337	A	lost
339	A	
340	A	inscr. Pisendel
341	A	Witvogel 35 no. 4
342	A	
343	A	
344	A	
345	A	op. 9 no. 2
346	A	
347	A	op. 4 no. 5
348	A	op. 9 no. 6
349	A	
350	A	
351	A	lost
352	A	
353	A	
354	a	op. 7 no. 4
355	a	
356	a	op. 3 no. 6
357	a	op. 4 no. 4
358	a	op. 9 no. 5
359	B♭	op. 9 no. 7
360	B♭	incomplete
361	B♭	op. 12 no. 6
362	B♭	op. 8 no. 10 *La caccia*
363	B♭	*Il corneto da posta*
364	B♭	J. Roger 433 no. 8
364a	B♭	*L'élite des concerto italiens*
365	B♭	
366	B♭	
367	B♭	
368	B♭	
369	B♭	
370	B♭	
371	B♭	
372	B♭	
373	B♭	op. 7 no. 9 (= lib. 2 no. 3) spurious
374	B♭	op. 7 no. 6
375	B♭	
376	B♭	
377	B♭	
378	B♭	incomplete
379	B♭	op. 12 no. 5
380	B♭	

RV no.	KEY	OBSERVATIONS
381	B♭	
382	B♭	
383	B♭	
383a	B♭	op. 4 no. 1
384	b	
385	b	
386	b	
387	b	
388	b	
389	b	
390	b	
391	b	op. 9 no. 12
752	D	lost
761	c	
762	E	= RV 223
763	A	*L'ottavina* inscr. Anna Maria
768	A	= RV 396
769	d	= RV 393
770	d	previously known as RV 395a
771	c	incomplete
772	D	incomplete
773	F	incomplete
790	B♭	variant of RV 372, thus properly RV 372a
792	A	incomplete
794	F	incomplete

Concertos for viola d'amore and string orchestra

392	D	
393	d	= RV 769
394	d	
395	d	cf. RV 770
396	A	= RV 768
397	a	

Concertos for cello and string orchestra

398	C	
399	C	
400	C	
401	c	
402	c	
403	D	
404	D	
405	d	

RV no.	KEY	OBSERVATIONS	
406	d		
407	d		
408	E♭		
409	e		
410	F		
411	F		
412	F		
413	G		
414	G		
415	G	spurious	
416	g		
417	g		
418	a		
419	a		
420	a		
421	a		
422	a		
423	B♭		
424	b		
787	e	incomplete	
788	B♭	incomplete	

Concerto for mandolin and string orchestra

425	C		

Concertos for flute and string orchestra

426	D		
427	D		
428	D	op. 10 no. 3	*Il gardellino*
429	D		
430	e	= RV 275a	
431	e	incomplete	
432	e	incomplete	
433	F	op. 10 no. 1	*La tempesta di mare*
434	F	op. 10 no. 5	= RV 442
435	G	op. 10 no. 4	
436	G		
437	G	op. 10 no. 6	
438	G		
439	g	op. 10 no. 2	*La notte*
440	a		
783	D		
784	G	lost	

RV no.	KEY	OBSERVATIONS
Concertos for recorder and string orchestra		
441	c	
442	F	= RV 434
Concertos for 'flautino' and string orchestra		
443	C	
444	C	
445	a	
Concertos for oboe and string orchestra		
446	C	
447	C	
448	C	
449	C	op. 8 no. 12 = RV 178
450	C	
451	C	
452	C	
453	D	
454	d	op. 8 no. 9 = RV 236
455	F	inscr. 'Sassonia'
456	F	*Harmonia mundi* no. 5
457	F	
458	F	
459	g	
460	g	op. 11 no. 6
461	a	
462	a	
463	a	
464	B♭	op. 7 no. 7 (= lib. 2 no. 1) spurious
465	B♭	op. 7 no. 1 spurious
Concertos for bassoon and string orchestra		
466	C	
467	C	
468	C	incomplete
469	C	
470	C	
471	C	
472	C	
473	C	
474	C	

RV no.	KEY	OBSERVATIONS
475	C	
476	C	
477	C	
478	C	
479	C	
480	c	
481	d	
482	d	incomplete
483	E♭	
484	e	
485	F	
486	F	
487	F	
488	F	
489	F	
490	F	
491	F	
492	G	
493	G	
494	G	
495	g	
496	g	inscr. ‘Ma: de Morzin’
497	a	
498	a	
499	a	
500	a	
501	B♭	*La notte*
502	B♭	inscr. Gioseppino Biancardi
503	B♭	
504	B♭	

Concertos for two violins and string orchestra

505	C	
506	C	
507	C	
508	C	
509	c	
510	c	= RV 766
511	D	
512	D	
513	D	Witvogel 48 no. 6
514	d	
515	E♭	
516	G	

RV no.	KEY	OBSERVATIONS
517	g	
519	A	op. 3 no. 5
520	A	incomplete
521	A	
522	a	op. 3 no. 8
523	a	
524	B♭	
525	B♭	
526	B♭	incomplete
527	B♭	
528	B♭	
529	B♭	
530	B♭	op. 9 no. 9
764	B♭	= RV 548
765	F	= RV 767

Other concertos for two instruments and string orchestra

531	g	2 vlc
532	G	2 mand
533	C	2 fl
534	C	2 ob
535	d	2 ob
536	a	2 ob
537	C	2 tpt
538	F	2 hn (vlc in 2nd movement)
539	F	2 hn
540	d	vla d'am, lute
541	d	vn, org
542	F	vn, org
543	F	vn, ob (unison)
544	F	vn, vn, vlc *Il Proteo ossia il mondo al rovescio*
545	G	ob, bn
546	A	vn, vlc/vlc *all'inglese*
547	B♭	vn, vlc
548	B♭	vn, ob = RV 764
766	c	vn, org = RV 510
767	F	vn, org = RV 765
774	C	vn, org incomplete
775	F	vn, org incomplete
781	D	2 tpt (vn in 2nd movement) = RV 563
793	C	2 org incomplete
Anh. 91	G	vn, vlc incomplete

RV no.	KEY	OBSERVATIONS
Concertos for several violins and string orchestra		
549	D	4 vn (vlc in 1st movement) op. 3 no. 1
550	e	4 vn op. 3 no. 4
551	F	3 vn
552	A	*Concerto con violino principale et altro* [= 3!] *violino per eco in lontano*
553	B♭	4 vn
Other concertos for several instruments and string orchestra		
554	C	vn, org/vn, ob
554a	C	vn, org/vn, vlc
555	C	3 vn, ob, 2 rec, 2 vla *all'inglese*, chal, 2 vlc, 2 hpd (2 tpt, 2 vne in 3rd movement)
556	C	2 ob, 2 cl, 2 rec, 2 vn, bn (lute in 2nd movement) *Concerto per la solennità di S. Lorenzo*
557	C	2 vn, 2 ob, ?bn (2 rec, bn in 2nd movement)
558	C	2 vn 'in tromba marina', 2 rec, 2 mand, 2 chal, 2 th, vlc
559	C	2 cl, 2 ob
560	C	2 cl, 2 ob
561	C	vn, 2 vlc
562	D	vn, 2 ob, 2 hn *Concerto per la solennità di S. Lorenzo*
562a	D	vn, 2 ob, 2 hn, timpani
563	D	2 ob (vn in 2nd movement) = RV 781
564	D	2 vn, 2 vlc
564a	D	2 vn, 2 ob, bn
565	d	2 vn, vlc op. 3 no. 11
566	d	2 vn, 2 rec, 2 ob, bn
567	F	4 vn, vlc op. 3 no. 7
568	F	vn, 2 ob, 2 hn, bn
569	F	vn, 2 ob, 2 hn, bn (vlc in 3rd movement)
570	F	fl, ob, bn (vn in 1st movement) *Tempesta di mare*
571	F	vn, 2 ob, 2 hn, vlc, bn
572	F	2 fl, 2 ob, vn, vlc, hpd *Il Proteo ossia il mondo al rovescio*
573	F	lost
574	F	vn, 2 trb *da caccia*, 2 ob, bn inscr. 'S.A.S.I.S.P.G.M.D.G.S.M.B.'
575	G	2 vn, 2 vlc
576	g	vn, 2 rec, 3 ob, bn inscr. 'Sua Altezza Reale [di] Sassonia'
577	g	vn, 2 ob, 2 rec, bn inscr. 'L'orchestra di Dresda'
578	g	2 vn, vlc op. 3 no. 2

RV no.	KEY	OBSERVATIONS
579	B♭	vn, ob, chal, 3 vla *all'inglese* *Concerto funebre*
580	b	4 vn, vlc op. 3 no. 10

Concertos for violin and two string orchestras

581	C	*Concerto per la santissima assontione di Maria Vergine*
582	D	*Concerto per la santissima assontione di Maria Vergine*
583	B♭	

Concertos for several instruments and two orchestras

584	F	*Coro 1* vn, org; *Coro 2* vn, org unfinished
585	A	*Coro 1* 2 vn, 2 rec (th/org in 2nd movement, vlc in 3rd movement); *Coro 2* 2 vn, 2 rec, org (vlc in 3rd movement)

Vocal music

Masses and Mass sections

RV no.	KEY	TITLE OR DESCRIPTION
586	C	*Sacrum* (complete Mass) spurious
587	g	*Kyrie* (2 *cori*)
588	D	*Gloria* (introduced by RV 639/639a)
589	D	*Gloria*
590	D	*Gloria* (lost)
591	e	*Credo*
592	G	*Credo* spurious

Psalms, etc.

593	G	*Domine ad adiuvandum me* (response, 2 *cori*)
594	D	*Dixit Dominus* (Ps. 109, 2 *cori*)
595	D	*Dixit Dominus* (Ps. 109)
596	C	*Confitebor tibi Domine* (Ps. 110)
597	C	*Beatus vir* (Ps. 111, 2 *cori*)
598	B♭	*Beatus vir* (Ps. 111)
599	B♭	*Beatus vir* (Ps. 111, lost)
600	c	*Laudate pueri* (Ps. 112)
601	G	*Laudate pueri* (Ps. 112)
602	A	*Laudate pueri* (Ps. 112, 2 *cori*)
602a	A	modification of RV 602
603	A	*Laudate pueri* (Ps. 112, 2 *cori*, modification of RV 602)
604	C	*In exitu Israel* (Ps. 113)

RV no.	KEY	TITLE OR DESCRIPTION
605	C	*Credidi* (Ps. 115, *contrafactum* of anonymous *Lauda Jerusalem*, RV Anh. 35)
606	d	*Laudate Dominum* (Ps. 116)
607	F	*Laetatus sum* (Ps. 121)
608	g	*Nisi Dominus* (Ps. 126)
609	e	*Lauda Jerusalem* (Ps. 147, 2 *cori*)
610	g	*Magnificat*
610a	g	version of RV 610 for 2 *cori*
610b	g	modification of RV 610
611	g	*Magnificat* (later modification of RV 610)
789	B♭	*Confitebor tibi Domine* (Ps. 110, lost)
795	C	*Beatus vir* (Ps. 111, version of RV 597 for one *coro*)

Hymns, antiphons, etc.

612	C	*Deus tuorum militum* (hymn)
613	B♭	*Gaude Mater Ecclesia* (hymn)
614	F	*Laudate Dominum omnes gentes* (‘offertory’) ? spurious
615	?C	*Regina cœli* (antiphon, incomplete)
616	c	*Salve Regina* (antiphon, 2 *cori*)
617	F	*Salve Regina* (antiphon)
618	g	*Salve Regina* (antiphon, 2 *cori*)
619	?	*Salve Regina* (antiphon, lost)
620	C	*Sanctorum meritis* (hymn)
621	f	*Stabat Mater* (hymn)
622	?	*Te Deum* (hymn of thanksgiving, lost)

Motets

623	A	*Canta in prato, ride in monte* (S)
624	G	*Carae rosae, respirate* (S)[1]
625	F	*Clarae stellae, scintillate* (A)
626	c	*In furore giustissimae irae* (S)
627	G	*In turbato mare irato* (S)
628	G	*Invicti, bellate* (A, incomplete)
629	g	*Longe mala, umbrae, terrores* (S)
630	E	*Nulla in mundo pax sincera* (S)
631	E♭	*O qui cœli terraeque serenitas* (S)
632	F	*Sum in medio tempestatum* (S)
633	F	*Vestro Principi divino* (A)
634	A	*Vos aurae per montes* (S)

[1] Of the instrumental accompaniment, only the first violin part and the bass survive.

RV no.	KEY	TITLE OR DESCRIPTION
'Introdutioni'		
635	A	*Ascende laeta* (S, *Dixit*)
636	G	*Canta in prato, ride in fonte* (S, *Dixit*)
637	B♭	*Cur sagittas, cur tela, cur faces* (A, *Gloria*)
638	c	*Filiae maestae Jerusalem* (A, *Miserere*)
639	D	*Jubilate, o amœni chori* (A, *Gloria*)
639a	D	version for S of RV 639
640	g	*Longe mala, umbrae, terrores* (A, *Gloria*)
641	F	*Non in pratisuat in hortis* (A, *Miserere*)
642	D	*Ostro picta, armata spina* (S, *Gloria*)

Miscellaneous sacred works[2]

RV no.	TITLE OR DESCRIPTION
646	*Ad corda reclina* ('Concertus Italicus')
647	*Eja voces plausum date* ('Aria de Sanctis')
648	*Ihr Himmel nun* ('Concertus Italicus')

Solo cantatas for soprano

649	*All'ombra d'un bel faggio*
650	*All'or che lo sguardo*
651	*Amor, hai vinto*
652	*Aure, voi più non siete*
653	*Il povero mio cor*
654	*Elvira, anima mia*
655	*Era la notte, quando i suoi splendori*
656	*Fonti di pianto, piangete*
657	*Geme l'onda che parte dal fonte*
658	*Del suo natio rigore*
659	*Indarno cerca la tortorella*
660	*La farfalletta s'aggira*
661	*Nel partir da te, mio caro*
662	*Par che tardo oltre il costume*
663	*Scherza di fronda in fronda*
664	*Seben vivono senz'alma*
665	*Si levi dal pensier*
666	*Sì, sì, luci adorate*
667	*Sorge vermiglia in ciel*
668	*T'intendo, sì, mio cor*
669	*Tra l'erbe i zeffiri*
753	*Prendea con man di latte*
796	*Usignoletto bello*

[2] RV 646–648 are *contrafacta* of arias in RV 700 (RV 646, 648) and RV 728 (RV 647).

RV no. TITLE OR DESCRIPTION

Solo cantatas for alto

670 *Alla caccia, alla caccia*
671 *Care selve, amici prati*
672 *Filli di gioia, vuoi farmi morir*
673 *Ingrata Lidia, ha vinto il tuo rigore*
674 *Perfidissimo cor*
675 *Piango, gemo, sospiro e peno*
676 *Pianti, sospiri e dimandar*
677 *Qual per ignoto calle*

Cantatas for soprano with instrumental accompaniment

678 *All'ombra di sospetto* (fl)
679 *Che giova il sospirar* (2 vn, vla)
680 *Lungi dal vago volto* (vn)
681 *Perché son molli* (2 vn soli, 2 vn)
682 *Vengo a voi, luci adorate* (2 vn, vla)

Cantatas for alto with instrumental accompaniment

683 *Amor, hai vinto* (2 vn, vla)
684 *Cessate, omai cessate* (2 vn, vla)
685 *O mie porpore più belle*[3] (2 vn, vla)
686 *Qual in pioggia dorata i dolci rai*[4] (2 hn, 2 vn, vla)

RV no.	TITLE	LIBRETTIST	PLACE, DATE
Oratorios			
643	*Moyses Deus Pharaonis* (lost)	unknown	Venice, 1714
644	*Juditha triumphans*	G. Cassetti	Venice, 1716, Nov
645	*L'adorazione delli tre re magi al bambino Gesù* (lost)	unknown	Milan, 1722, 9 Jan
782	*La vittoria navale*	unknown	Vicenza, 1713, 8 June
Serenatas, etc.			
687	'Dall'eccelsa mia reggia' (2 v, Gloria, Imeneo)	unknown	Venice, 1725, 12 Sept
688	*Le gare del dovere* (5 v, lost)[5]	unknown	Rovigo, 1708, ? July
689	*Le gare della Giustizia e della Pace* (lost)	G.B. Catena	Venice, *c* 1720

[3] 'In praise of Monsignor da Bagni, Bishop of Mantua'.
[4] 'In praise of His Highness Prince Philip of Hesse-Darmstadt, Governor of Mantua'.
[5] 'A tribute in praise of the singular merit of Francesco Querini', Podestà of Rovigo.

RV no.	TITLE	LIBRETTIST	PLACE, DATE
690	'Mio cor, povero cor' (3v)	unknown	unknown
691	*Il Mopso* ('Egloga Pescatoria', 5 v, lost)	E. Nonnanuci[6]	Venice, ? 1738
692	'Queste, Eurilla gentil' (4 v, lost)[7]	V. Vettori	Mantua, 1726, 31 July
693	*La Senna festeggiante* (3 v)	D. Lalli	unknown
694	*L'unione della Pace e di Marte* (3 v, lost)[8]	A. Grossatesta	Venice, 1727, 19 Sept
	Operas		
695	*L' Adelaide* (lost)	A. Salvi	Verona, 1735 carn
696	*Alvilda, regina de' Goti* (lost)[9]	A. Zeno	Prague, 1731 prim
697	*Argippo* (lost)	D. Lalli	Prague, 1730 aut
698	*Aristide* (lost, ? spurious)	C. Goldoni	Venice, 1735 aut
699	*Armida al campo d'Egitto* (Act II lost)	G. Palazzi	Venice, 1718 carn
700	*Arsilda, regina di Ponto*	D. Lalli	Venice, 1716 aut
701	*Artabano, re de' Parti* (modification of RV 706, lost)	A. Marchi	Venice, 1718 carn
702	*L'Atenaide*	A. Zeno	Florence, 1729 carn
703	*Bajazet* (*Tamerlano*) (pasticcio)	A. Piovene	Verona, 1735 carn
704	*La Candace o siano li veri amici* (lost)	F. Silvani – D. Lalli	Mantua, 1720 carn
705	*Catone in Utica* (Act I lost)	P. Metastasio	Verona, 1737, March
706	*La costanza trionfante degl'amori e de gl'odii* (lost)	A. Marchi	Venice, 1716 carn
707	*Cunegonda* (lost)	A. Piovene	Venice, 1726 carn
708	*Doriclea* (modification of RV 706, lost)	A. Marchi	Prague, 1732 carn
709	*Dorilla in Tempe*	A.M. Lucchini	Venice, 1726 aut
710	*Ercole sul Termodonte* (lost)	G.F. Bussani	Rome, 1723 carn
711	*Farnace*[10]	A.M. Lucchini	Venice, 1727 carn
712	*La fede tradita e vendicata* (lost)	F. Silvani	Venice, 1726 carn
713	*Feraspe* (lost)	F. Silvani	Venice, 1739 aut

[6] Pseudonym of G. Cendoni.
[7] 'In celebration of the birthday of Philip, Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt'.
[8] 'In celebration of the birth of the two royal twin princesses, Mme de France and Mme de Navarre'.
[9] Recitatives and comic arias ('arie bernesche') not by Vivaldi.
[10] Acts I and II of a new version for Ferrara (1739 carn) survive.

RV no.	TITLE	LIBRETTIST	PLACE, DATE
714	*La fida ninfa*	S. Maffei	Verona, 1732, Jan
715	*Filippo, re di Macedonia* (lost)[11]	D. Lalli	Venice, 1721 carn
716	*Ginevra, principessa di Scozia* (lost)	A. Salvi	Florence, 1736 carn
717	*Giustino*	N. Beregan – P. Pariati	Rome, 1724 carn
718	*Griselda*	A. Zeno – C. Goldoni	Venice, 1735 prim
719	*L'incoronazione di Dario*	A. Morselli	Venice, 1717 carn
720	*Gli inganni per vendetta* (modification of RV 699, lost)	G. Palazzi	Vicenza, 1720
721	*L'inganno trionfante in amore* (lost)	M. Noris – G.M. Ruggieri	Venice, 1725 aut
722	*Ipermestra* (lost)	A. Salvi	Florence, 1727 carn
723	*Motezuma* (lost)	G. Giusti	Venice, 1733 aut
724	*Nerone fatto cesare* (pasticcio, lost)	M. Noris	Venice, 1715 carn
725	*L'Olimpiade*	P. Metastasio	Venice, 1734 carn
726	*L'oracolo in Messenia* (lost)	A. Zeno	Venice, 1738 carn
727	*Orlando finto pazzo*	G. Braccioli	Venice, 1714 aut
728	*Orlando* (*furioso*)	G. Braccioli	Venice, 1727 aut
729	*Ottone in villa*	D. Lalli	Vicenza, 1713, May
730	*Rosilena ed Oronta* (lost)	G. Palazzi	Venice, 1728 carn
731	*Rosmira* (pasticcio)	S. Stampiglia	Venice, 1738 carn
732	*Scanderbeg* (lost)	A. Salvi	Florence, 1718 est
733	*Semiramide* (lost)	F. Silvani	Mantua, 1732 carn
734	*La Silvia* (lost)	P.P. Bissarri	Milan, 1721, Aug
735	*Siroe, re di Persia* (lost)	P. Metastasio	Reggio, 1727 prim
736	*Teuzzone*	A. Zeno	Mantua, 1719 carn
737	*Tieteberga* (lost)	A.M. Lucchini	Venice, 1717 aut
738	*Tito Manlio*	M. Noris	Mantua, 1719 carn
Anh.56	*Tito Manlio* (lost)[12]		Rome, 1720 carn
739	*La verità in cimento*	G. Palazzi – D. Lalli	Venice, 1720 aut
740	*La virtù trionfante dell'amore e dell'odio ovvero il Tigrane*[13]	F. Silvani	Rome, 1724 carn

RV 741–750 are works preserved in too fragmentary a state or cited too imprecisely to be included in the main series RV 1–740 or its supplement RV 751–795. The Ryom catalogue has in addition an appendix (*Anhang*) containing over 90 works incorrectly attributed elsewhere to Vivaldi or of uncertain authorship.

[11] Acts I and II by G. Boniventi, Act III by Vivaldi.
[12] Act I by G. Boni, Act II by G. Giorgio, Act III by Vivaldi.
[13] Act I by B. Micheli, Act III by N. Romaldi. Only Act II (Vivaldi) survives.

Appendix C

Personalia

This appendix offers thumbnail sketches of some of the persons mentioned in the present book. The choice of names is necessarily selective, and I have deliberately omitted such figures as Caldara and Pisendel, whose career has already been discussed at some length in the text.

Alberti, Domenico (1710–46), Italian composer, singer and harpsichordist, born Venice. A dilettante who is said to have studied under Lotti and Biffi, he achieved his greatest fame as a composer of harpsichord sonatas and the popularizer of the 'Alberti bass' named after him.

Alberti, Giuseppe Matteo (1685–1751), Italian composer, born Bologna. His light and tuneful works, mostly concertos and sinfonias for strings with or without solo violin, were very popular in northern Europe in the first half of the eighteenth century. No relation of the harpsichordist and singer Domenico Alberti.

Albinoni, Tomaso (1671–1751), Italian composer. Born into a wealthy Venetian family of playing-card-manufacturers, he began his musical career as a dilettante. His compositions include numerous operas, serenatas, cantatas, sonatas and concertos. His solo concertos and the comic intermezzos *Vespetta e Pimpinone* were widely performed.

Aliprandi, Bernardo (*c* 1710–*c* 1792), Italian composer and cellist. He taught the cello at the Ospedaletto (1719–30), the Pietà (1722–31) and the Mendicanti (1726–31). In 1732 he entered the service of the Bavarian court, emigrating permanently to Germany.

Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel (1714–88), German composer and theorist, born Weimar. Second son of Johann Sebastian Bach. From 1740 to 1767 he served Frederick of Prussia as first harpsichordist, subsequently moving to Hamburg. Of his theoretical writings the *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen* (1753–62) is the most important, illuminating many aspects of mid-century performance practice in Germany.

Bentivoglio d'Aragona, Guido (1705–59), Italian nobleman (*Marchese*), born Venice. His promising ecclesiastical career was cut short by the death of an elder brother, following which he settled in Ferrara, in whose administration he participated.

Biffi, Antonino (*c* 1666–1732), Italian composer, born Venice. He served the *cappella* of St Mark's, which he had originally entered as a singer, as *Primo*

Maestro from 1702 until his death. From 1699 to 1730 he was also *Maestro di Coro* at the Mendicanti.

Boni, Pietro Giuseppe Gaetano (fl. 1700–41), Italian composer, born Bologna. He lived in Rome from 1711 to at least 1720. His small output is most notable for its instrumental works.

Boniventi, Giuseppe (*c* 1670–1727), Italian composer, born Venice, *c* 1707 he was *Maestro di Cappella* to Duke Ferdinando Carlo of Mantua. From 1712 to 1718 he was *Kapellmeister* to the Margrave of Baden-Durlach. His output consists largely of operas.

Braccioli, Grazio (1682–1752), Italian librettist. A lawyer from Ferrara, Braccioli provided texts for nine operas produced at S. Angelo, Venice, between 1711 and 1715. Many of his librettos fancifully rework themes from the epics of Ariosto, Boiardo and Tasso.

Brosses, Charles de (1709–77), first president of the *Parlement* of Dijon, classical scholar and historian. He undertook a tour of Italy in 1739–40. His *Lettres historiques et critiques sur l'Italie* (also known as *Lettres familières*) are largely based on letters written to various friends during the tour and contain many illuminating observations on music.

Charles VI (1685–1740), last emperor of the direct Habsburg line, succeeding his brother Joseph I in 1711. He had wide cultural interests and possessed some ability as a composer and accompanist. During his reign the court opera at Vienna flourished.

Corelli, Arcangelo (1653–1713), Italian composer, born Fusignano near Ravenna. His early years were spent in Bologna (hence his nickname 'Il Bolognese') but in 1675 at latest he came to Rome, where he directed orchestras and enjoyed the patronage of Queen Christina of Sweden and the cardinals Pamphili and Ottoboni. This published collections of trio sonatas (opp. 1–4), solo sonatas (op. 5) and concertos (op. 6) were classic works in their period.

Couperin, François (1668–1733), French composer and harpsichordist. The most distinguished member of a dynasty of Parisian musicians, Couperin is best known today for his four books of harpsichord suites, bur among his many other accomplishments were the introduction of the trio sonata to France and the creation of a musical language combining elements of the French and Italian styles.

Denzio, Antonio (*c* 1690–*c* 1763), Venetian impresario and singer. During a long period of activity (1724–34) at the Sporck theatre in Prague Denzio was responsible for nearly 60 productions. His repertoire embraced works by Albinoni, Boniventi, Gasparini, Lotti, Orlandini, Porta and Vivaldi.

Ferdinand Maria (1699–1738), third son of Max II Emanuel, Duke of Bavaria. He pursued a military career, becoming a general in the imperial army.

Francis I (1708–65), Duke of Lorraine from 1729 to 1737, Grand Duke of Tuscany from 1737 to 1765 and (by virtue of his marriage in 1736 to the

Habsburg princess Maria Theresa) Austrian Emperor from 1745 to 1765 in succession to Charles VII.

Frederick IV (1671–1730), King of Denmark and Norway from 1699. He visited Venice in 1693 and 1708–9.

Frederick Augustus II (1696–1763), Elector of Saxony from 1733 and (as Augustus III) King of Poland from 1736. Noted for his patronage of the arts. Before his accession he visited Venice on three occasions: 1712, 1713 and 1716–17.

Frederick Christian (1722–63), Crown Prince of Saxony. As he outlived his father Frederick Augustus II (q.v.) by only two months his reign as elector was very brief.

Galuppi, Baldassarre (1706–85), Italian composer, born Burano (hence his nickname **Buranello**). Like Vivaldi a barber's son, Galuppi became the dominant Venetian composer of opera and sacred music of his generation, travelling widely. He was *Primo Maestro* at St Mark's from 1762 until his death, serving concurrently as *Maestro di Coro* at the Incurabili.

Gambara, Annibale (1682–1709), Italian nobleman (*Conte*), born Brescia, partly resident in Venice.

Gasparini, Francesco (1661–1727), Italian composer, born Camajore near Lucca. A pupil of Pasquini and Corelli in Rome and Lotti in Venice. *Maestro di Coro* at the Pietà from 1700 to 1713, when he moved to Rome. Composer of over 60 operas and the manual for accompanists *L'armonico pratico al cimbalo* (1708).

Gasparini, Michel Angelo (died *c* 1732), Italian singer, singing teacher and composer, possibly a relative of Francesco Gasparini.

Gentili, Giorgio (*c* 1669–1731 or later), Italian composer, born Venice. He was principal violinist of the St Mark's orchestra and from 1701 to 1717 *Maestro di Strumenti* at the Mendicanti. Six collections of his instrumental music, including two of concertos (opp. 5 and 6), were published between 1701 and 1716.

Ghezzi, Pier Leone (1674–1755), Italian painter, born Rome. Famous for his caricatures and sketches of Roman life, which have earned him the nickname 'the Roman Hogarth'.

Giacomelli (or Jacomelli), Geminiano (*c* 1692–1740), Italian composer, born Piacenza. Appointed *Maestro di Cappella* to the Duke of Parma in 1724. In 1738 made *Maestro di Cappella* of the Holy House of Loreto. His compositions include operas and church music.

Goldoni, Carlo (1707–93), Italian dramatist, born Venice. Famed above all for his sparkling comedies, he also wrote several librettos for comic operas and intermezzos. His Memoirs came out in Paris in 1787.

Hasse, Johann Adolf (1699–1783), German composer, born Bergedorf near Hamburg. The most successful opera composer of his generation, equally esteemed in Italy, where he spent many years and was nicknamed 'Il Sassone', and Germany. *Kapellmeister* to the Saxon court from 1731 to

1763. Besides operas his output includes much church music and some instrumental music.

Heinichen, Johann David (1683–1729), German composer, born Krössuln. He lived in Italy from 1710 to 1716, mostly in Venice. *Kapellmeister* to the Saxon court from 1716.

Holdsworth, Edward (1684–1746), English classical scholar and poet (in Latin). Employed as a cicerone to young gentlemen on the Grand Tour, he visited Italy several times, where he fulfilled 'commissions' for his friend and correspondent Charles Jennens (q.v.).

Jennens, Charles (1700–73), English landowner, man of letters and connoisseur of music. Friend and patron of Handel, for whom he provided several oratorio librettos, including *Sawl*, *Messiah* and *Belshazzar*. His large musical library, inherited by the Earls of Aylesford, was sold by auction in 1873 and 1918, a portion passing via Newman Flower to Manchester Public Libraries.

Lalli, Domenico (1679–1741), Italian poet and librettist, born Naples. His real name was Sebastiano Biancardi. Arriving in Venice *c* 1709 as a fugitive from justice, Lalli established himself as one of the city's leading 'commercial' opera librettists, equally adept at writing his own texts and reworking those of other authors. His original librettos span the years 1710–31.

Le Cène, Michel-Charles (1683/4–1743), music publisher, born Honfleur. Son of a Huguenot émigré, he became associated with the publishing house of Estienne Roger through his marriage to Roger's elder daughter, Françoise. In 1722 he succeeded Jeanne Roger, the younger daughter, as head of the firm.

Leclair, Jean-Marie (1697–1764), French composer and violinist, born Lyon. He was France's most accomplished composer of instrumental music in the generation after Couperin (q.v.). The technique, form and style of his sonatas and concertos owe much to Vivaldi, but his sensibility remains exquisitely French.

Legrenzi, Giovanni (1626–90), Italian composer and organist, born Clusone near Bergamo. During Vivaldi's childhood Legrenzi was the *doyen* of the composers active in Venice, serving as *Primo Maestro* at St Mark's from 1685 until his death. He composed operas, instrumental and vocal chamber works and sacred vocal works that all embraced the progressive trends of their time.

Leo, Leonardo (1694–1744), Italian composer, born Naples. Together with Vinci (q.v.) and Porpora (q.v.), Leo spearheaded the advance of the so-called Neapolitan style that swept Italian opera in the mid 1720s.

Locatelli, Pietro (1695–1764), Italian composer and violinist, born Bergamo. The 'Paganini of the eighteenth century', he was also an inventive, sometimes profound, composer of instrumental works, of which nine *opera*, including the 12 solo concertos, op. 3, entitled *L'arte del violino* (1733),

came out between 1721 and 1762. Much travelled, he settled permanently in Amsterdam in 1729.

Lotti, Antonio (1666–1740), Italian composer, born Venice. For most of his life he was associated with St Mark's, where he was appointed *Primo Maestro* in 1736. Director of the Dresden court opera from 1717 to 1719. His works include operas, cantatas and church music. Among his pupils were D. Alberti, F. and M.A. Gasparini, Galuppi and B. Marcello.

Manfredini, Francesco (1684–1762), Italian composer, born Pistoia. He worked mainly in the cultural orbit of Bologna, but his op. 3 concertos (1718) owe something to Vivaldi.

Marcello, Alessandro (1669–1747), Italian amateur composer, born Venice. In addition to writing a small number of cantatas and instrumental works, he fostered music through weekly 'academies' at his house attended, among others, by Gasparini, Lotti and Tartini.

Marcello, Benedetto (1686–1739), Italian amateur composer and writer, born Venice. Brother of A. Marcello. He held several important official posts in Venice and the provinces, but found time to compose an impressive quantity of works, of which his *Estro poetico-armonico* (1724–6), a setting of 50 psalms in Italian paraphrase, and his solo cantatas were the most celebrated. His best-known literary work is the satire *Il teatro alla moda* (1720).

Mascitti, Michele (*c* 1663–1760), Italian composer and violinist, born Naples. Settling in Paris in 1704, Mascitti (popularly known in France as 'Miquel') belonged to the group of Italian immigrants who acted as cultural 'brokers' during the period when French music was beginning to absorb features of the Italian style.

Mattheson, Johann (1681–1764), German critic and composer, born Hamburg. Friend of Handel. Cantor of Hamburg Cathedral from 1715 to 1728 and for many years Secretary to the English Resident. His often strongly polemical writings mark the birth of music criticism in the modern sense.

Meck, Joseph (1690–1758), German composer and violinist. From 1711 until his death he served the court of Eichstätt. He was one of the first German composers to adopt the style of the Vivaldian concerto.

Metastasio, Pietro (1698–1782), Italian dramatist and poet (real name P. Trapassi), born Rome. Appointed 'Caesarean Poet' to the Viennese court, succeeding Zeno and Pariati, in 1729. The most popular and influential librettist of his century, famed for the limpid elegance of his verse and the cogent structure of his plots.

Orlandini, Giuseppe Maria (1675–1760), Italian composer, born Florence. He achieved his greatest success with comic intermezzos. His *opere serie* evince, though less strongly, many of the stylistic traits found in Vivaldi's early operas and, like them, became the butt of Benedetto Marcello's satire.

Paradies, Domenico (1707–91), Neapolitan composer. Although he tried his hand at writing operas, Paradies enjoyed greater success with his harp-

sichord sonatas, which take the 'Neapolitan' style into the world of the keyboard.

Pergolesi, Giovanni Battista (1710–36), Italian composer, born Jesi. His meteoric career provided Europe with a romantic legend. Though his most famous works deservedly remain the intermezzos *La serva padrona* (1733) and the *Stabat Mater* (1736), he produced many other masterpieces of opera and church music.

Philip of Hesse-Darmstadt (1671–1736), Prince. Son of Landgrave Ludwig VI and younger brother of his successor Ernst Ludwig, he was nevertheless often styled 'Landgrave' in Italy, where he served as Governor of Mantua on behalf of the Austrians from 1714 to 1735.

Pietragrua, Carlo Luigi (*c* 1665–1726), Italian composer, place of birth unknown. Most of his working life was spent at German courts. From 1719 until his death he was *Maestro di Coro* at the Pietà. Often confused with his son, who called himself Carlo Luigi Grua and was also a composer.

Pollarolo, Carlo Francesco (*c* 1653–1723), Italian composer and organist, born Brescia. Settling in Venice in 1689, Pollarolo became *Vice-Maestro* at St Mark's in 1692 and *Maestro di Coro* at the Incurabili not long afterwards. His most successful activity as a composer was writing operas, of which some 85 are known. His works dominated the Venetian stage at the turn of the century and in certain respects prefigure those of Vivaldi. His son Giovanni Antonio (1676–1746) followed in his footsteps.

Porpora, Nicola (1686–1768), Italian composer, singing teacher and cellist, born Naples. Between 1726 and 1747 he lived in Venice, where his operas were well received, and served as *Maestro di Coro* successively at the Incurabili (1726–33), Pietà (1742–3) and Ospedaletto (1744–7). In later life he travelled widely, teaching Haydn during a period of residence in Vienna.

Porta, Giovanni (*c* 1675–1755), Italian composer, born Venice. A pupil of Francesco Gasparini (q.v.), he was *Maestro di Coro* at the Pietà from 1726 until 1737, when he became *Kapellmeister* to the Elector of Bavaria. His output consists principally of operas and church music.

Predieri, Luca Antonio (1688–1767), Italian composer, born Bologna. His early years were spent in Italy, but in 1737 he was invited to the Viennese court, where he remained. He composed mainly operas.

Quantz, Johann Joachim (1697–1773), German composer, flautist and theorist, born Oberscheden near Hanover. In the service of the Elector of Saxony from 1716 to 1741 and the King of Prussia thereafter. His compositions are dominated by flute concertos written for Frederick the Great. His flute tutor, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (1752), and his Autobiography (1755) are important documents in their respective areas.

Ristori, Giovanni Alberto (1692–1753), Italian composer, born Bologna. Having enjoyed success with his operas in Venice, he moved in 1715 to Dresden, where his father directed a troupe of comedians. He secured court

appointments first as composer, later as organist and finally as deputy to J.A. Hasse.

Ruggieri, Giovanni Maria (fl. *c* 1690–1720), Italian composer, possibly born Verona. His small output, divided between sonatas, sacred vocal music and operas, possesses some vigour but little refinement.

Sala, Giuseppe (*c* 1642–1727), Italian music printer, active in Venice. His commercial activity began in partnership with Natale Monferrato, *Primo Maestro* at St Mark's. Many of his publications were among those 'pirated' by Estienne Roger, predecessor of Michel-Charles Le Cène (q.v.).

Scarlatti, Alessandro (1660–1725), Italian composer, born Palermo. Resident at various times in Rome, Florence and Naples. A prolific and much-admired composer of operas, cantatas and church music. He is credited with the popularization of the *da capo* aria form. Father of the composer Domenico Scarlatti (1685–1757).

Scarpari (Dall'Oglio), Pietro (*c* 1683–1763), Italian singing teacher and composer. In addition to serving as a tenor at St Mark's, he taught *solfeggio* and singing at the Pietà (1713–42), the Ospedaletto (1716–22, 1727–30) and the Mendicanti (1731–5). A priest, he composed mostly sacred vocal music, although he is known also to have written one opera and some chamber cantatas.

Silvani, Francesco (fl. 1682–1716), Italian librettist, born Venice. He wrote almost 40 opera librettos, some in collaboration. In 1699 he was made court poet at Mantua, a post he managed to retain under Habsburg rule.

Spada, Giacomo Filippo (died 1704), Italian organist and composer. A priest, he was a principal organist at St Mark's from 1690 until his death and served as *Maestro di Coro* at the Pietà from 1677 or earlier until 1701. His brother Bonaventura was Vivaldi's immediate predecessor as teacher of stringed instruments at the Pietà.

Steffani, Agostino (1654–1728), Italian composer, churchman and diplomat, born Castelfranco Veneto. He spent most of his life in Germany. His activity as a musician, concentrated in the earlier part of his life, included the composition of numerous chamber duets that served Handel as fine models.

Stölzel, Gottfried Heinrich (1690–1749), German composer, born Crunstädtel near Schwarzenberg. From 1719 *Kapellmeister* to the court of Gotha.

Tartini, Giuseppe (1692–1770), Italian composer, violinist, violin teacher and theorist, born Pirano (Istria). From 1721 he was principal violinist in the orchestra of the Basilica del Santo in Padua, where he founded an internationally renowned school of violin playing in 1728. His instrumental compositions are distinguished by a *cantabile* style that looks forward to the Classical period.

Telemann, Georg Philipp (1681–1767), German composer, born Magdeburg. Virtually self-taught, he became one of the most prolific, versatile and admired composers of his age. From 1721 he was City Cantor at Hamburg.

His music is notable for the cosmopolitanism of its style.

Torelli, Giuseppe (1658–1709), Italian composer, born Verona. Except for a period of service (1697–1700) at Ansbach he was from 1686 a member of the orchestra of the Basilica of S. Petronio in Bologna. His concertos published as opp. 6 (1698) and 8 (1709) are significant landmarks in the history of the genre.

Treu, Daniel Gottlob (1695–1749), German composer, born Stuttgart. He served many minor princely houses as *Kapellmeister* and between 1725 and 1727 directed opera in Breslau, where he also spent his last years. He often italianized his name to Daniele Teofilo Fedele.

Uffenbach, Johann Friedrich Armand von (1687–1769), engineer, architect and dignitary (Burgomaster in 1762) in his native Frankfurt am Main. His enthusiasm for music brought him into contact with many leading musicians of his time.

Vandini, Antonio (*c* 1690–*c* 1778), Italian cellist and composer, born Bologna. Cello master at the Pietà from 1720 until 1721, when he joined the orchestra of the Basilica del Santo in Padua. A friend of Tartini, with whom he travelled to Prague in 1723.

Vinaccesi, Benedetto (*c* 1666–1719), Italian composer and organist, born Brescia. He came to Venice in 1698, when he was appointed *Maestro di Coro* at the Ospedaletto, a post he held until 1715. From 1704 until his death he was also a principal organist at St Mark's. His compositions include some excellent motets for two or three voices and organ.

Vinci, Leonardo (*c* 1690–1730), Italian composer, born Strongoli (Calabria). Trained in Naples, he was among the most successful practitioners of the 'galant' style in the opera of the 1720s.

Vinciguerra VI di Collalto (1710–1769), Austrian nobleman (*Graf*) of Italian extraction, born Vienna. His castle at Brtnice (Pirnitz) in Moravia was an important centre of instrumental music.

Walther, Johann Gottfried (1684–1748), German composer and lexicographer, born Erfurt. He met J.S. Bach at Weimar, where for many years he was town organist. His *Musicalisches Lexicon* (1732) is the father of all dictionaries of music, combining biography with the explanation of musical terms.

Zelenka, Jan Dismas (1679–1745), Bohemian composer, born Louňovice (Launowitz). In 1710 he was appointed a double-bass player to the Dresden court orchestra, remaining in this lowly post until 1735, when he received belated official recognition as a composer of church music. His often dark-hued compositions show strength and originality, as well as a fondness for contrapuntal complexity, large dimensions and elements of Czech folk music.

Zeno, Apostolo (1668–1750), Italian dramatist, poet and historian, born Venice. A founding member in 1691 of the Accademia degli Animosi (later affiliated to the Arcadian Academy). A founder of the *Giornale de' letterati d'Italia*. Court poet and historian at Vienna from 1718 to 1729. He sought to elevate *opera seria* by purging it of comic, unhistorical and dramatically irrelevant elements, a process continued by Metastasio (q.v.).

Appendix D

Bibliography

As the following list is intended as a general guide to further reading on Vivaldi's life and works, the titles it contains coincide only in part with those to which reference has been made in the course of the present book. All titles, dates and places of publication quoted are, unless stated otherwise, those of the earliest editions. For reasons of space, individual articles and chapters appearing in journals and multi-authored books concerned specifically with Vivaldi are not listed separately. A fuller Vivaldi bibliography is contained in the author's *Antonio Vivaldi: a Guide to Research* (New York and London, 1988).

I Pre-1850 writings

Avison, Charles, *An Essay on Musical Expression* (London, 1752).

Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1753–62).

Brosses, Charles de, *Lettres historiques et critiques sur l'Italie*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1799).

Burney, Charles, *A General History of Music*, 4 vols. (London, 1776–89).

Conti, Antonio, *Lettres de M. l'Abbé Conti, noble vénitien, à Mme de Caylus*, MS. in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. fr. append. 58 (=12102).

Forkel, Johann Nikolaus, *Ueber Johann Sébastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke* (Leipzig, 1802).

Gerber, Ernst Ludwig, *Historisch-biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1790–2).

—— *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler*, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1812–14).

Goldoni, Carlo, *Commedie*, vol. 13 (Venice, 1761).

—— *Mémoires de M. Goldoni pour servir à l'histoire de sa vie et à celle de son théâtre*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1787).

Gradenigo, Pietro, *Commemoriali*, MSS. in Venice, Museo Correr, Ms. Gradenigo 200, 26 vols.

Hawkins, Sir John, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 4 vols. (London, 1776).

[Hayes, William], *Remarks on Mr Avison's Essay on Musical Expression* (London, 1753).

Hiller, Johann Adam, *Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Musikgelehrten und Tonkünstler neuerer Zeit* (Leipzig, 1784).
—— *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend* (Leipzig, 10 March 1767).
[Marcello, Benedetto], *Il teatro alla moda* (Venice, [1720]).
Mattheson, Johann, *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg, 1713).
—— *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg, 1739).
Orloff, Grégoire, *Essai sur l'histoire de la musique en Italie*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1822).
Quadrio, Francesco Saverio, *Della storia e della ragione d'ogni poesia*, 5 vols. (Bologna and Milan, 1739–52).
Quantz, Johann Joachim, 'Herrn Johann Joachim Quantzens Lebenslauf, von ihm selbst entworfen', in Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, vol. i (Berlin, 1754–5).
—— *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin, 1752).
Wright, Edward, *Some Observations made in travelling through France, Italy ... in the years 1720, 1722 and 1722*, 2 vols. (London, 1730).

II Post-1850 writings

(a) Books and dissertations

Abbado, Michelangelo, *Antonio Vivaldi* (Turin, 1942).
Caffi, Francesco, *Storia della musica sacra nella già Cappella Ducale di San Marco in Venezia*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1854–5).
—— *Storia della musica teatrale in Venezia*, MS. notes in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Cod. It. IV-747 (= 10462-10465).
Candé, Roland de, *Vivaldi* (Paris, 1967).
Cross, Eric, *The Late Operas of Antonio Vivaldi, 1727-1738*, 2 vols. (Ann Arbor, 1980).
Dunham, Mary Meneve, *The Secular Cantatas of Antonio Vivaldi in the Foà Collection* (diss., University of Michigan, 1969).
Eller, Rudolf, *Vîvaldis Konzertform* (diss., University of Leipzig, 1956).
Everett, Paul, *The Manchester Concerto Partbooks* (New York and London, 1989).
Farup-Madsen, Inge, *Vivaldis anvendelse af fløjteinstrumenter* (diss., University of Copenhagen, 1974).
Fort, Robert E., *An Analysis of Thirteen Vesper Psalms of Antonio Vivaldi contained in the Foà-Giordano Collection* (diss., Union Theological Seminary, 1971).
Giazotto, Remo, *Antonio Vivaldi* (Turin, 1973).
Heller, Karl, *Antonio Vivaldi* (Leipzig, 1991).
—— *Concerto ripieno und Sinfonia bei Vivaldi* (diss., University of Rostock, 1982).
—— *Vivaldi: cronologia della vita e delle opere* (Florence, 1991).
Hilgenfeldt, Carl Ludwig, *Johann Sebastian Bach's Leben, Wirken und Werke* (Leipzig, 1850).

Hutchings, Arthur, *The Baroque Concerto* (London, 1961).
Klein, Hans-Günther, *Der Einfluss der Vivaldischen Konzertform im Instrumentalwerk Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Baden-Baden, 1970).
Kolneder, Walter, *Antonio Vivaldi: Dokumente seines Lebens und Schaffens* (Wilhelmshaven, 1979).
—— *Antonio Vivaldi: Leben und Werk* (Wiesbaden, 1965). English translation as *Antonio Vivaldi: his Life and Work*, translated Bill Hopkins (London, 1970).
—— *Aufführungspraxis bei Vivaldi* (Leipzig, 1955).
—— *Die Solokonzertform bei Vivaldi* (Strasbourg and Baden-Baden, 1961).
—— *Lübbes Vivaldi-Lexicon* (Bergisch Gladbach, 1984).
—— *Melodietypen bei Vivaldi* (Berg am Irchel and Zürich, 1973).
Maurer, Helen, *The Independent Arias of Vivaldi in Foà 28* (diss., Indiana University, 1974).
Newman, William S., *The Sonata in the Baroque Era* (Chapel Hill, 1959).
—— Pincherle, Marc, *Antonio Vivaldi et la musique instrumentale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1948).
—— *Vivaldi* (Paris, 1955). English translation as *Vivaldi: Genius of the Baroque.* translated Christopher Hatch (New York, 1957).
Preussner, Eberhard, *Die musikalischen Reisen des Herrn von Uffenbach* (Kassel and Basel, 1949).
Rarig, Howard R., *The instrumental Sonatas of Antonio Vivaldi* (diss., University of Michigan, 1958).
Rinaldi, Mario, *Antonio Vivaldi* (Milan, 1943).
Rowell, Lewis E., *Four Operas of Antonio Vivaldi* (diss., University of Rochester, 1959).
Ryom, Peter, *Les manuscrits de Vivaldi* (Copenhagen, 1977).
Schering, Arnold, *Geschichte des Instrumental konzerts* (Leipzig, 1905).
Seidler, Richard D., *The Bassoon Concertos of Antonio Vivaldi* (diss., Catholic University of America, 1974).
Selfridge-Field, Eleanor, *Venetian Instrumental Music from Gabrieli to Vivaldi* (Oxford, 1975).
Stefani, Federigo, *Sei lettere di Antonio Vivaldi veneziano* (Venice, 1871).
Strohm, Reinhard, *Italienische Opernarien des frühen Settecento (1720-1730)*, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1976).
Talbot, Michael, *Vivaldi* (London, BBC Publications, 1979).
—— *Antonio Vivaldi: a Guide to Research* (New York and London, 1988). Revised as *Vivaldi: fonti e letteratura critica* (Florence, 1991).
Travers, Roger-Claude, *La maladie de Vivaldi* (Poitiers, 1982).
Wasielewski, Wilhelm Joseph von, *Die Violine und ihre Meister* (Leipzig, 1868).
Whittemore, Joan M., *Revision of Music performed at the Venetian Ospedali in the Eighteenth Century* (diss., University of Illinois, 1986).
Yaqub, Hanan C., *An Analysis of Antonio Vivaldi's 'Beatus vir', with a Biography and Survey of his Sacred Music* (diss., California State University, 1980).

Zobeley, Fritz, *Rudolf Franz Erwein Graf von Schönborn (1677-1754) und seine Musikpflege* (Würzburg, 1949).

(b) Articles

Antonicek, Theophil, 'Vivaldi in Österreich', *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*, vol. xxxiii (1978), pp. 128–34.

Arnold, Denis, 'Instruments and Instrumental Teaching in the Early Italian Conservatoires', *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. xviii (1965), pp. 72–81.

—— 'Orchestras in Eighteenth-Century Venice', *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. xix (1966), pp. 3–19.

—— 'Vivaldi's Church Music: an Introduction', *Early Music*, vol. i (1973), pp. 66–74.

Avanzi, Pietro, 'Sulla realizzazione del basso continuo nell'opera 2 di Antonio Vivaldi', *Ricerche musicali*, vol. ii (1978), pp. 113–57.

Berri, Pietro, 'La malattia di Vivaldi', *Musica d'oggi*, vol. xxiv (1942), pp. 9–13.

Bianchi, Lino, 'Intorno alla *Juditha* di Vivaldi', *Nuova rivista musicale italiana*, vol. xiii (1979), pp. 204–9.

Burrows, David, 'Style in Culture: Vivaldi, Zeno and Ricci', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. iv (1973-4), pp. 1–23.

Cavicchi, Adriano, 'Inediti nell'epistolario Vivaldi-Bentivoglio', *Nuova rivista musicale italiana*, vol. i (1967), pp. 45–79.

Clercx, Suzanne, 'A propos des sinfonies de Vivaldi', *La revue internationale de musique*, vol. i (1938), pp. 632–5.

Corti, Gino, 'Il Teatro La Pergola e la stagione d'opera per il carnevale 1726–27: lettere di Luca Casimiro degli Albizzi a Vivaldi, Porpora ed altri', *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, vol. xv (1980), pp. 182-8.

Cross, Eric, 'Vivaldi as Opera Composer: *Griselda*', *The Musical Times*, vol. cxix (1978), pp. 411–16.

—— 'Vivaldi's Operatic Borrowings', *Music and Letters*, vol. lix (1978), pp. 429–39.

Damilano, Piero, 'Antonio Vivaldi compose due vespri?', *Nuova rivista musicale italiana*, vol. iii (1969), pp. 652–63.

Everett, Paul, 'A Roman Concerto Repertory: Ottoboni's "what not"?', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, vol. cx (1983–4), pp. 62–78.

Fano, Fabio, 'Una traccia prossima alla prima origine della raccolta di musiche vivaldiane conservata alla Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino', *Medioevo e umanesimo*, vol. xxiv (1976), pp. 83–93.

Gallo, Rodolfo, 'Antonio Vivaldi, il Prete Rosso: la famiglia, la morte', *Ateneo Veneto*, vol. cxxiv (1938), pp. 165–72.

—— 'L'atto di morte di Antonio Vivaldi', *La scuola veneziana* (Siena, 1941), pp. 58–9.

Gentili, Alberto, 'La raccolta di antiche musiche "Renzo Giordano" alla Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino', *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia*, vol. iv (1930–1), pp. 117–25.

—— 'La raccolta di rarità musicali "Mauro Foà" alla Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino', *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia*, vol. i (19Z7–8), pp. 36–50.
—— 'Vivaldi and Stradella: a Recent Discovery', *The Musical Times*, vol. lxviii (1927), pp. 507–8.
Gillio, Pier Giuseppe, 'Il mottetto per voce sola nella produzione di Antonio Vivaldi', *Rivista internazionale di musica sacra*, vol. vi (1985), pp. 137–96.
Grossato, Elisa, 'Un inedito vivaldiano dedicato alla "solennità" di S. Antonio', *Il Santo*, vol. xviii (1978), pp. 143–76.
Hasselt, Luc van, 'Heeft Vivaldi en 1738 Amsterdam bezocht?', *Mens en melodie*, vol. xxxii (1977), pp. 398–9.
Hell, Helmut, 'Ein Doppelkonzert Antonio Vivaldis als Triosonate', *Analecta musicologica*, vol. xxii (1984), pp. 149–96.
Heller, Karl, 'Die Bedeutung J.G. Pisendels für die deutsche Vìvaldi-Rezeption', *Bericht über den Internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Leipzig 1966* (Leipzig and Kassel, 1970), pp. 247–51.
—— 'Tendenzen der Tempo-Differenzierung im Orchesterallegro Vivaldis', in Eitelfriedrich Thom (ed.), *Die Blasinstrumente und ihre Verwendung sowie zu Fragen des Tempos in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Magdeburg and Leipzig, 1977), pp. 79–84.
—— 'Zwei "Vivaldi-Orchester" in Dresden und Venedig', in Eitelfriedrich Thom (ed.), *Musikzentren in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts und ihre Ausstrahlung* (Magdeburg, 1979), pp. 56–63.
Higbee, Dale S., 'Michel Corrette on the Piccolo and Speculations regarding Vivaldi's *flautino*', *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. xvii (1964), pp. 115–16.
Hill, John W., 'Vivaldi's *Griselda*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. xxxi (1978), pp. 53–82.
Hoeprich, T. Eric, 'Finding a Clarinet for the Three Concertos by Vivaldi', *Early Music*, vol. xi (1983), pp. 60–4.
Igoe, James T., 'Bachs Bearbeitungen für Cembalo solo: eine Zusammenfassung', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, vol. lvii (1971), pp. 91–7.
Jung, Hans Rudolf, 'Die Dresdner Vivaldi-Manuskripte', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, vol. xii (1955), pp. 314–18.
Kneidl, Pravoslav, 'Libreta italské opery v Praze v 18. století', *Strahofská knihovna*, vol. i (1966), pp. 97–131.
Kolneder, Walter, 'Das Frühschaffen Antonio Vivaldis', *Kongress-Bericht Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft Utrecht 1952* (Amsterdam, 1953), pp. 254–62.
—— 'Die Klarinette als Concertino-Instrument bei Vivaldi', *Die Musikforschung*, vol. iv (1951), pp. 185–91.
—— 'Die Vivaldi Forschung: Geschichte, Probleme, Aufgaben', *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*, vol. xx (1967), pp. 313–19.
—— 'Il concerto per due trombe di Antonio Vivaldi', *Rivista musicale italiana*, vol. iv (1953), pp. 54–63.
—— 'Noch einmal: Vivaldi und die Klarinette', *Die Musikforschung*, vol. viii (1955), pp. 209–11.

—— 'Vivaldis Aria-Concerto', *Deutsches Jahrbuch der Musikwissenschaft*, vol. ix (1964), pp. 17–27.

Lasocki, David, 'Vivaldi and the Recorder', *The Recorder and Music Magazine*, vol. iii (1969), pp. 22–7.

Lebermann, Walter, 'Zur Besetzungsfrage der Concerti grossi von A. Vivaldi', *Die Musikforschung*, vol. vii (1954), pp. 337–9.

Lionnet, Annie, 'Une étonnante peinture musicale: le *Stabat Mater* de Vivaldi', *Schweizerische Musikzeitung*, vol. cxvii (1977), pp. 206–10.

Malipiero, Gianfrancesco, 'Un frontespizio enigmatico', *Bolletino bibliografico musicale*, January 1930, pp. 16–19.

Newman, William S., 'The Sonatas of Albinoni and Vivaldi', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. v (1952), pp. 99–113.

Ohmura, Noriko, 'Vivaldi no orchestra o tomonawanai concerto (Vivaldi's Concertos without Orchestra)', *Ongaku gaku*, vol. xvii (1971), pp. 103–30. In Japanese, summary in English.

Pabisch, Hedy, 'Neue Dokumente zu Vivaldis Sterbetag', *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*, vol. xxvii (1972), pp. 82–3.

Pincherle, Marc, 'Vivaldi and the *Ospitali* of Venice', *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. xxiv (1938), pp. 300–12.

Rüegge, Raimund, 'Die Kirchenmusik von Antonio Vivaldi', *Schweizerische Musikzeitung*, vol. cxi (1971), pp. 135–9.

Rühlmann, Julius, 'Antonio Vivaldi und sein Einfluss auf Johann Sebastian Bach', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, vol. lxiii (1867), pp. 393–7, 401–5, 413–16.

Ryom, Peter, 'La comparaison entre les versions différentes d'un concerto d'Antonio Vivaldi transcrit par J.S. Bach', *Dansk årbog for musikforskning*, vol. v (1966–7), pp. 91–111.

—— 'Le premier catalogue thématique des œuvres d'Antonio Vivaldi', *Festskrift Jens Peter Larsen* (Copenhagen, 1972), pp. 127–40.

—— 'Le recensement des cantates d'Antonio Vivaldi', *Dansk årbog for musikforskning*, vol. vi (1972), pp. 81–100.

Salvatori, Arcangelo, 'Antonio Vivaldi (il Prete Rosso)', *Rivista mensile della città di Venezia*, vol. vii (1928), pp. 325–46.

Scazzoso, Piero, 'La posizione storica di Antonio Vivaldi', *Rivista musicale italiana*, vol. xlix (1947), pp. 143–67.

Schulze, Hans-Joachim, 'J.S. Bach's Concerto-Arrangements for Organ: Studies or Commissioned Works?', *The Organ Yearbook*, vol. iii (1972), pp. 4–13.

Selfridge-Field, Eleanor, 'Annotated Membership Lists of the Venetian Instrumentalists' Guild 1672-1727', *R.M.A. Research Chronicle*, no. 9 (1971), pp. 1–52.

—— 'Music at the Pietà before Vivaldi', *Early Music*, vol. xiv (1986), pp. 373–86.

—— 'Vivaldi's Esoteric Instruments', *Early Music*, vol. vi (1978), pp. 332–8.

Talbot, Michael, 'The Concerto Allegro in the Early Eighteenth Century', *Music and Letters*, vol. lii (1971), pp. 8–18, 159–72.

—— ‘ “Lingua romana in bocca veneziana”: Vivaldi, Corelli and the Roman School’, in Pierluigi Petrobelli and Gloria Staffieri (eds.), *Studi corelliani IV: atti del quarto congresso internazionale (Fusignano, 4–7 settembre 1986)* (Florence, 1990), pp. 303–18.

—— ‘Vivaldi and Rome: Observations and Hypotheses’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, vol. cxiii (1988), pp. 28–46.

—— ‘Vivaldi’s Four Seasons’, *The Music Teacher*, vol. lix (1980), pp. 16–18.

—— ‘Vivaldi’s “Manchester” Sonatas’, *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, vol. civ (1977–8), pp. 20–9.

—— ‘A Vivaldi Sonata with Obbligato Organ in Dresden’, *The Organ Yearbook*, vol. xii (1981), pp. 81–103.

—— ‘Vivaldi’s Op. 5 Sonatas’, *The Strad*, vol. xc (1980), pp. 678–81.

Tàmmaro, Ferruccio, ‘Contaminazioni e polivalenze nell’*Orlando finto pazzo*, di Vivaldi’, *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, vol. xvii (1982), pp. 71–108.

Vatielli, Francesco, ‘Un ritratto di Antonio Vivaldi?’, *La rassegna musicale*, vol. xi (1938), pp. 224–7.

Vio, Gastone, ‘Lieux communs à propos de Vivaldi’, *Revue musicale de Suisse Romande*, vol. iii (1984), pp. 107–11.

Vitali, Carlo, ‘Una lettera di Vivaldi perduta e ritrovata, un inedito monteverdiano del 1630 e altri carteggi di musicisti celebri, ovvero splendori e nefandezze del collezionismo di autografi’, *Nuova rivista musicale italiana*, vol. xiv (1980), pp. 402–12.

Volek, Tomislav, and Skalická, Marie, ‘Vivaldis Beziehungen zu den böhmischen Ländern’, *Acta musicologica*, vol. xxxix (1967), pp. 64–72.

Waldersee, Paul Hermann Otto von, ‘Antonio Vivaldis Violinconcerte unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der von Johann Sebastian Bach bearbeiteten’, *Vierteljahrschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, vol. i (1885), pp. 356–80.

Weiss, Piero, ‘Venetian Commedia Dell’Arte “Operas” in the Age of Vivaldi’, *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. lxx (1984), pp. 195–217.

Wolff, Hellmut Christian, ‘Vivaldi und der Stil der italienischen Oper’, *Acta musicologica*, vol. xl (1968), pp. 179–86.

(c) Journals and compilations

Antonio Vivaldi da Venezia all’Europa, eds. Francesco Degrada and Maria Teresa Muraro (Milan, 1978).

Antonio Vivaldi: note e documenti sulla vita e sulle opere, ed. Sebastiano Lanciani (Rome, Accademia Musicale Chigiana, 1939).

Antonio Vivaldi: teatro musicale, cultura e società, eds. Lorenzo Bianconi and Giovanni Morelli (Florence, 1982).

Chigiana, vol. xli (1989) = *Atti del convegno internazionale di studi ‘La prima “Settimana musicale senese” e la Vivaldi renaissance (1939–1989)’*.

Informazioni e studi vivaldiani (Venice, Istituto Italiano Antonio Vivaldi, 1980 onwards).

Nuova rivista musicale italiana, vol. xiii (1979) = *Antonio Vivaldi: numero speciale in occasione del terzo centenario della nascita (1678–1978).*

Nuovi studi vivaldiani: edizione e cronologia critica delle opere, eds. Antonio Fanna and Giovanni Morelli (Florence, 1988).

Opera and Vivaldi, eds. Michael Collins and Elise K. Kirk (Austin, 1984).

Vivaldi Informations (Copenhagen, Société Internationale Antonio Vivaldi, 1971–3).

Vivaldi-Studien: Referate des 3. Dresdner Vivaldi-Kolloquiums, ed. Wolfgang Reich (Dresden, 1981).

Vivaldi veneziano europeo, ed. Francesco Degrada (Florence, 1980).

Vivaldi vero e falso: problemi di attribuzione, eds. Antonio Fanna and Michael Talbot (Florence, 1992).

Vivaldiana I (Brussels, Centre International de Documentation Antonio Vivaldi, 1969).

(d) Catalogues

Altmann, Wilhelm, 'Thematischer Katalog der gedruckten Werke Antonio Vivaldis', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, vol. iv (1922), pp. 262–79.

Bellina, Anna Laura – Brizi, Bruno – Pensa, Maria Grazia, *I libretti vivaldiani: recensione e collazione dei testimoni a stampa* (Florence, 1982).

Damilano, Piero, 'Inventario delle composizioni musicali manoscritte di Antonio Vivaldi esistenti presso la Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino', *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, vol. iii (1968), pp. 109–79.

Fanna, Antonio, *Antonio Vivaldi: catalogo numerico-tematico delle opere strumentali* (Milan, 1968). Revised and augmented as *Opere strumentali di Antonio Vivaldi (1678–1741): catalogo numerico-tematico secondo la catalogazione Fanna* (Milan, 1986).

Fragalà Data, Isabella, and Colturato, Annarita, *Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino, I: Raccolta Mauro Foà, Raccolta Renzo Giordano (introduzione di Alberto Basso)* (Rome, 1987).

Heller, Karl, *Die deutsche Überlieferung der Instrumentalwerke Vivaldis* (Leipzig, 1971).

Landmann, Ortrun, *Katalog der Dresdener Vivaldi-Handschriften und -Frühdrucke*, in Wolfgang Reich (ed.), *Vivaldi-Studien*, pp. 102–67.

Martin, Arlan Stone, *Vivaldi Violin Concertos: a Handbook* (Metuchen, NJ, 1972).

Ohmura, Noriko, *A Reference Concordance Table of Vivaldi's Instrumental Works* (Tokyo, 1972).

Pincherle, Marc, *Inventaire-thématique* (= vol. ii of *Antonio Vivaldi et la musique instrumentale*) (Paris, 1948).

Rinaldi, Mario, *Catalogo numerico tematico delle composizioni di A. Vivaldi* (Rome, 1945).

Ryom, Peter, *Antonio Vivaldi: table de concordances des œuvres (RV)* (Copenhagen, 1973).

—— 'Inventaire de la documentation manuscrite des œuvres de Vivaldi, I. Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino, première partie: le fonds Foà', *Vivaldi Informations*, vol. ii (1973), pp. 61–112.

—— *Répertoire des œuvres d'Antonio Vivaldi: les compositions instrumentales* (Copenhagen, 1986).

—— *Verzeichnis der Werke Antonio Vivaldis: kleine Ausgabe* (Leipzig, 1974, ^{2}/1979).

Strohm, Reinhard, *Italienische Opernarien des frühen Settecento (1720–1730)* (Cologne, 1976). Vol. ii contains a list of Vivaldi's operas and fragments thereof.

Appendix E

Index to individual works and published collections by Vivaldi mentioned in the text

Individual works

(The work to which an 'RV' number refers can be identified from Appendix B.)

Appendix F

Concordance table of Pincherle (P.) and Ryom (RV) numbers

Sinfonias

P.	RV
1	Anh. 4
2	116
3	149
4	140
5	135
6	147
7	122
8	146
9	719
10	700/736
11	162
12	Anh. 68
13	132
14	125
15	111a
16	739
17	137
18	699/710
19	131
20	192
21	169
22	168
23	112

Concertos

P.	RV
1	356
2	522
3	357
4	185
5	188
6	354
7	180
8	178/449
9	181(a)
10	358
11	173
12	195
13	Anh. 15
14	179/581
15	526
16	558
17	508
18	506
19	172(a)
20	170
21	177
22	184
23	507
24	422
25	741
26	176
27	114
28	523
29	189
30	400
31	398
32	419
33	399
34	421
35	418
36	554(a)
37	397
38	183
39	191
40	194
41	447
42	461
43	448/470
44	451
45	472
46	477
47	499
48	467
49	469
50	450/471
51	466
52	479
53	536
54	557
55	468
56	475
57	476
58	561
59	190
60	161
61	110
62	187
63	115
64	117
65	505
66	171
67	109
68	182
69	474
70	498
71	478
72	497
73	560
74	559
75	537
76	533
77	108
78	444
79	443
80	440

P.	RV	P.	RV	P.	RV
81	87	131	493	181	403
82	88	132	516	182	211
83	445	133	532	183	386
84	556	134	425	184	389
85	534	135	575	185	390
86	129	136	306	186	225
87	555	137	484	187	453
88	186	138	313	188	564
89	463/500	139	431	189	512
90	473	140	436	190	511
91	452	141	438	191	123
92	355	142	432	192	222
93	175	143	151	193	209
94	113	144	278	194	215
95	111	145	Anh. 70	195	233
96	310	146	549	196	218
97	550	147	230	197	126
98	279	148	580	198	92
99	301	149	204	199	231
100	298	150	216	200	232
101	280	151	208(a)	201	217
102	299	152	214	202	387
103	300	153	210	203	427
104	435	154	391	204	95
105	101/437	155	90/428	205	429
106	277	156	207	206	91
107	308	157	124	207	94
108	276	158	220	208	234
109	275(a)/430	159	513	209	93
110	Anh. 64(a)	160	203	210	563
111	314(a)	161	224(a)	211	227
112	302	162	228	212	519
113	133	165	213	213	347
114	150	164	582	214	345
115	Anh. 12	165	212(a)	215	348
116	Anh. 11	166	392	216	336
117	311	167	219	217	Anh. 65
118	414/438	168	384	218	Anh. 14
119	409	169	562	219	335/518
120	413	170	226	220	520
121	303	171	229	221	342
122	312	172	388	222	552
123	145	173	205	223	344
124	307	174	223	224	521
125	273	175	121	225	349
126	281	176	404	226	585
127	134	177	206	227	341
128	492	178	385	228	340
129	545	179	221	229	343
130	494	180	424	230	160

P.	RV	P.	RV	P.	RV
231	159	280	127	329	324
232	339	281	514	330	318
233	396	282	406/481	331	465
234	350	283	412	332	326
235	158	284	411	333	374
236	352	285	410	334	464
237	346	286	97	335	373
238	546	287	395	336	315
239	353	288	394	337	332
240	265	289	393	338	362
241	269	290	286	339	334/460
242	263(a)	291	141	340	359
243	267	292	142	341	530
244	268	293	235	342	104/439
245	264	294	128	343	317
246	271	295	296	344	379
247	266	296	289	345	361
248	270	297	566	346	364(a)
249	567	298	487	347	360
250	565	299	488	348	322
251	284	300	491	349	370
252	291	301	139/543	350	363
253	249	302	535	351	319
254	239	303	482	352	323
255	285a	304	486	353	383
256	294(a)	305	489	354	329
257	293	306	455	355	259
258	242	307	490	356	369
259	236/454	308	544/572	357	328
260	238	309	584	358	366
261	98/433/	310	243	359	576
	570	311	541	360	107
262	434/442	312	247	361	157
263	244	313	138	362	154
264	456	314	283	363	164
265	573	315	295	364	377
266	540	316	248	365	527
267	568	317	287	366	517
268	571	318	457/485	367	553
269	240	319	574	368	583
270	241	320	538	369	417
271	292	321	539	370	372
272	246	322	100	371	152
273	569	323	99	372	325
274	542	324	288	373	375
275	285	325	282	374	327
276	245	326	578	375	371
277	237	327	383a	376	365
278	551		381/528	377	376
279	136	328	316(a)	378	165

P.	RV	P.	RV	P.	RV
379	333	402	103	425	250
380	378	403	105	426	201
381	496	404	106	427	120
382	502	405	367	428	251
383	577	406	548/764	429	254
384	495	407	155	430	258
385	579	408	330	431	197
386	504	409	380	432	480
387	503	410	163	433	483
388	547	411	531	434	401
389	525	412	382	435	510/766
390	524	413	196	436	509
391	529	414	259	437	261
392	156	415	253	438	118
393	331	416	198(a)	439	257
394	153	417	202	440	441
395	321	418	252	441	130
396	368	419	199	442	297
397	745	420	262	443	143
398	166	421	260	444	562a
399	320	422	119	445	Anh. 3
400	167	423	515	446	Anh. 2
401	501	424	408	447	Anh. 5

Index

[7 blank pages]

THE DENT *MASTER* MUSICIANS

THE *LIVES* AND *MUSIC* OF THE GREAT COMPOSERS

'Dent's Master Musicians are the classics of the repertoire'
Nicholas Kenyon, *The Sunday Times*

V I V A L D I

M I C H A E L T A L B O T

'a very well balanced, closely researched "life and works" of Vivaldi'
The Literary Review

Vivaldi has emerged during the last decades as a truly major composer of the early eighteenth century. Taking account of recent research, to which he himself has made important contributions – including the discovery in 1973 of an unknown set of violin sonatas – Michael Talbot examines the life and works of this remarkable musician in their Venetian, Italian and international settings. The text and appendices of this new paperback edition have been extensively revised and updated.

Michael Talbot is Alsop Professor of Music at Liverpool University and a Fellow of the British Academy.

'a most enlightening introduction to the subject of the "Red Priest" '
Early Music

Cover design: Carroll Associates

Net UK £11.99

Cover photograph: courtesy of the University of Liverpool Library

ISBN 0-460-86108-5

9 780460 861083