

## TWO MORE NEW VIVALDI FINDS IN DRESDEN

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### ABSTRACT

*Two further unknown sacred vocal compositions by Vivaldi, a Dixit Dominus and a Lauda Jerusalem, have turned up in a collection that has already witnessed two similar discoveries in recent decades: that of the former Saxon Hofkapelle, today in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek / Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden. Like their predecessors, the newly discovered works were acquired between the mid-1750s and early 1760s from the copying shop of Iseppo Baldan in Venice, who falsified the attribution on the title page to make the composer Galuppi instead of Vivaldi. Whereas the Lauda Jerusalem is an arrangement by Vivaldi of an anonymous stile antico setting of the same psalm in his own collection (and in turn the model for his own Credidi propter quod, RV605), the Dixit Dominus, scored for choir, soloists and orchestra, is an entirely original composition of outstanding musical quality that dates from the composer's late period. This article explores the background to the Hofkapelle's purchases from Baldan and provides a description of the new compositions, together with several arguments (based on musical concordances, general stylistic features and notational characteristics) for their attribution to Vivaldi.*

### EARLIER DISCOVERIES

The newly identified sacred vocal works by Vivaldi described in the following account are the third and fourth such compositions to have turned up in the last twenty years in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek / Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (commonly known by the acronym SLUB). In each case, the work belongs to a large consignment of sacred vocal works supplied to the Saxon court between the mid-1750s and early 1760s by the Venetian copying shop of Giuseppe (in Venetian, Iseppo) Baldan and is attributed on the title page of the manuscript not to its real composer but to the Venetian composer in vogue at the time: Baldassarre (Baldissera) Galuppi, 'Il Buranello'. Baldan is widely known among historians of eighteenth-century music to have been an inveterate falsifier of attributions.<sup>1</sup> His motive in the present instance – so we may infer – must have been that his *copisteria* did not have enough genuine works by Galuppi in stock to meet the court's requirement, so that the Vivaldi works found themselves pressed into service to fill the gap.

The first Vivaldi work presented under Galuppi's name to become revealed as such was the *Beatus vir* in C major RV795, whose existence was first reported in 1991 by Peter Ryom.<sup>2</sup> Its Vivaldian parentage betrayed itself instantly to scholars through its incipit, which is notated on the catalogue label of the contemporary folder enclosing it, and which also appears in a manuscript catalogue of the sacred music in the court church (Hofkirche) drawn up in 1765.<sup>3</sup> The same incipit pertains to RV597, an earlier variant of the same work for

1 See, for example, Hellmut Hell, *Die neapolitanische Opernsinfonie in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1971), 449–452.

2 See Peter Ryom, 'Vivaldi ou Galuppi: Un cas de doute surprenant', in *Vivaldi vero e falso: Problemi di attribuzione*, ed. Antonio Fanna and Michael Talbot (Florence: Olschki, 1992), 25–40.

3 *Catalogo (Thematico) della Musica di Chiesa (catholica in Dresda) composta da diversi autori – secondo l'alfabeto 1765*, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. ms. theor. Kat. 186. The third volume of a later (probably



double choir. That the Dresden work was not an arrangement of a Vivaldian original by another hand quickly became clear from the fact that fragments of the same *Beatus vir*, this time originating from the repertory of the Ospedale della Pietà, corresponded to the Dresden (RV795) rather than to the Turin (RV597) variant. This concordance made it possible to date RV795 precisely to the year 1739, when the Pietà purchased a group of Vesper psalms and a *Magnificat* from the composer.<sup>4</sup>

The second misattributed work was a *Nisi Dominus* in A major (RV803) for three vocal soloists, five obbligato instruments, strings and continuo. In 2003 Janice Stockigt asked Michael Talbot for his opinion on three unusual, and in her view anachronistic, instruments prescribed in the score: a chalumeau ('salmò'), a viola d'amore and a tromba marina (actually, a 'violino in tromba marina', which is a three-stringed violin with a rattling bridge designed to imitate a trumpet marine).<sup>5</sup> It took him only a few seconds to realize, by a process of elimination, that this could hardly fail to be another of the psalms supplied by Vivaldi to the Pietà in 1739. In short order, there followed an article,<sup>6</sup> a critical edition,<sup>7</sup> a modern premiere<sup>8</sup> and a first recording.<sup>9</sup>

## THE HOFKAPELLE AND ITS REPERTORY

At this point we should pause to consider why, in the 1750s, the Saxon Hofkapelle should have chosen to restock its repertory so comprehensively from Venetian sources, thereby tempting Baldan into dishonesty and inadvertently providing a lifeline for music by Vivaldi that would almost certainly have perished otherwise.

A glance at the operatic repertory then being introduced to the Dresden stage immediately suggests why so much liturgical music by Baldassare Galuppi (1706–1785), the most popular operatic composer of his time, was acquired for use in the Dresden Hofkirche. From 1754 onwards a number of Galuppi's stage works began to be performed in Dresden. During the summer of that year an Italian opera company directed by Giovanni Battista Locatelli played in a theatre erected on the terrace of Count Brühl's residence. At the opening performance, on 25 June 1754, Galuppi's opera buffa *Il mondo alla roversa* was heard. The comic operas *La calamita de' cuori* and *Il mondo della luna* swiftly followed. On 24 October the season concluded with the return of *Il mondo alla roversa*.<sup>10</sup> Coincidentally or not, we learn that, precisely in 1754, Baldan's firm was busy with the copying of music by Galuppi, since the copyist Giovan Antonio Borromeo attested, during a legal investigation of the proprietor for sexual immorality, that Galuppi frequently brought music for copying

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c1780) catalogue of the same repertory, listing works by composers with the surnames S–Z and anonymous works, is preserved in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek / Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (SLUB) under the shelf-mark Bibl. Arch. III H 788, 3; the two companion volumes are lost. The very similar title of the later catalogue is: *Catalogo della Musica di Chiesa, composta da diversi autori secondo l'alfabetto. Armario IIIzo, principiando dalla littera S sino al Z con l'aggiunta degl'autori senza nome.*

4 Michael Talbot, 'A Vivaldi Discovery in the "Conservatorio Benedetto Marcello"', *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani* 3 (1982), 5–6.

5 On the last-named instrument see Michael Talbot, 'Vivaldi and the *Violino in Tromba Marina*', *The Consort* 61 (2005), 5–17.

6 Michael Talbot, 'Recovering Vivaldi's Lost Psalm', *Eighteenth-Century Music* 1/1, 61–77.

7 *Antonio Vivaldi: Nisi Dominus, RV 803*, ed. Michael Talbot (Milan: Ricordi, 2003).

8 Given on 7 December 2003 in Dresden's Catholic Cathedral by the Dresdner Barockorchester.

9 In volume 10 of the edition of Vivaldi's sacred vocal music recorded by The King's Consort (Hyperion CDA66849, 2004).

10 Moritz Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe der Kurfürsten von Sachsen und Könige von Polen Friedrich August I. (August II.) und Friedrich August II. (August III.)* (Dresden: Kuntze, 1862; reprinted Leipzig: Peters, 1971), 280–281.



over to the shop.<sup>11</sup> (Whether this music was for the theatre or for the church, and what its destination was, do not emerge, however, from the record.)

Locatelli's 1755 Dresden season opened on 31 May, in the newly built opera house in the Zwinger, with *L'Arcadia in Brenta* by the same composer. His comic operas *Il filosofo di campagna* and *Il conte Caramella* were likewise heard during that season.<sup>12</sup> On 31 May 1756 Locatelli once again opened his season in the Zwinger theatre with a work by Galuppi: *Il pazzo glorioso*. A new inclusion in Locatelli's repertory for 1756 was the composer's *La diavolessa*, or *Li vaghi accidenti fra amore e gelosia*.<sup>13</sup>

By the mid-1750s the taste for Galuppi's stage music was so well developed in Dresden that it is hardly surprising that a collection of his liturgical works was sought for the Catholic Hofkirche. By 1765, when Schürer assembled the *Catalogo*, between fifty and sixty works attributed to Galuppi had arrived from Iseppo Baldan. Included in the new supply of music were items of liturgical music attributed to Giuseppe Chiesa (dates unknown);<sup>14</sup> Vincenzo Ciampi (c1719–1762); Niccolò Jommelli (1714–1774);<sup>15</sup> Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710–1736); Giovanni Battista Pescetti (c1704–1766, a friend of Galuppi and a fellow pupil of Lotti); Antonio Puppi ('Scolaro del Sig<sup>r</sup> Buranello' [Galuppi] is penned on the title page of the score) and Johann Gottfried Schwanenberg (c1737/1740–1804, between 1756 and 1761 a student of Hasse, Latilla and Saratelli in Venice). The contemporary nature of this constellation is noteworthy: it represented a new generation of Italian composers.

The collection supplied by Baldan comprises: complete masses and mass sections, both solemn and 'ordinary' (*gewö[h]nliche*), attributed to Galuppi (11),<sup>16</sup> Jommelli (3), Pescetti (1) and Puppi (1); requiems attributed to Galuppi (3); *Te Deum* settings attributed to Ciampi (1) and Galuppi (3); solo motets for soprano, alto or tenor attributed to Chiesa (1), Galuppi (30)<sup>17</sup> and Schwanenberg (1); one motet for four voices attributed to Galuppi; *Miserere* settings attributed to Galuppi (1) and Pergolesi (1); and one compline setting, Marian antiphons (3), Vesper psalms (15) and one *Tantum ergo* – all attributed to Galuppi. It is not

11 Gaetano Cozzi, 'Una disavventura di pré Iseppo Baldan, copista del Galuppi', in *Galuppiana 1985: Studi e ricerche. Atti del convegno internazionale (Venezia, 28–30 ottobre 1985)*, ed. Maria Teresa Muraro and Franco Rossi (Florence: Olschki, 1986), 129. The witness's original words are 'Il maestro Buranello, che sta a San Felice, credo vi vada spesso per portarli da copiar la musica'.

12 Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik*, 285.

13 Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik*, 287.

14 Perhaps this work is by Melchiorre Chiesa (active Milan, 1758–1799), who has two works listed in the *Catalogo* (1765). We are unable to find any reference elsewhere to Giuseppe Chiesa.

15 Wolfgang Hochstein doubts the authenticity of at least two of the masses attributed to Jommelli by Baldan in this consignment of liturgical works. The names of the singers from the Ospedale degli Incurabili named in the score of one mass supplied by Baldan and attributed to Jommelli (*Missa a 4 voci* in G major: A. II. 2.8; Dresden, SLUB (hereafter, D-D1), Mus. 3032-D-2) suggest that the work was performed there in the 1730s, yet Jommelli's known compositions for the Incurabili all date from 1745 or later. Moreover, on the basis of musical style and vocal scoring, it is unlikely that another mass attributed to Jommelli by Baldan, described on the title page as 'Fatta per il pio luoco degl'incurabili' (*Messa solenne a 4 voci concertata* in F major: A. II. 2.7; D-D1, Mus. 3032-D-5), originates from the named composer. See Wolfgang Hochstein, *Die Kirchenmusik von Niccolò Jommelli (1714–1774): Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der liturgisch gebundenen Kompositionen*, 2 vols, Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 1 (Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1984): A.II. 2.4–5 (1, 150–154); A.II.2.7 (1, 189–190); A.II.2.8 (1, 191–192). Moreover, the Dresden example of a motet for solo soprano, *Quae columna luminosa*, attributed to Galuppi by Baldan (D-D1 Mus. 2973-E-15), is also attributed to Hasse. See Sven Hansell, 'The Solo Cantatas, Motets, and Antiphons of Johann Adolf Hasse' (PhD dissertation, University of Illinois, 1966), Appendix B: Thematic Catalogue of the Solo Vocal Works of Johann Adolf Hasse, No. 101. See also Appendix A, 424, where footnote 39 states that this motet is assigned to Hasse in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. 2093), an autograph score, and also in the Library of Congress, Washington.

16 Mass No. 7 (D major), entered in the *Catalogo* (1765) under the name of Galuppi, is now missing; a *Sanctus et Agnus* setting (Mus. 2973-D-4) is in the hand of a Dresden copyist.

17 Seventeen solo motets attributed to Galuppi in the *Catalogo* (1765) are missing from the Dresden collection, so the current count of thirty solo motets supplied by Baldan is only provisional.



known whether this consignment arrived at one time or over several years, but, with the exception of settings in *musica figurata* ('composed' music, as opposed to plainsong) of litanies and of the Marian antiphon *Salve Regina*, this fresh stock of music from Venice would have amply served the principal occasions of the liturgical year in the Hofkirche. Baldan's consignment represents the most up-to-date corpus of music listed in the *Catalogo* of 1765.

Various scores provide information on dating, with the proviso that if the manuscripts arrived in several instalments, the given dates will not be valid for all items. The last dated works of this collection from Baldan come from 1758. 'Composta li 28. luglio l'anno 1758 in Milano' is written on the title page of the score of the motet *In hoc mare*, a work attributed to Giuseppe Chiesa; 'D. Giuseppe Baldan Copista di Musica al Ponto di San Gio. Grisostomo Venezia' is written at the conclusion of the score.<sup>18</sup> The *Kyrie, Gloria e Credo* setting by Antonio Puppi is dated '31 Agosto 1758',<sup>19</sup> and so is Pescetti's *Kyrie e Gloria*.<sup>20</sup> A *Te Deum* setting attributed to Vincenzo Ciampi is inscribed '1758 / 21 7bre' (September).<sup>21</sup> The monogram 'AR' (Augustus Rex) is written on the cover of each of the three volumes of Galuppi's *Messe No. 1*<sup>22</sup> and also on the cover of Pescetti's *Kyrie e Gloria*. Examination of the account books of members of the Saxon Electoral court, now kept at the Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (Dresden), might confirm the date or dates of these acquisitions.

Evidence of the active use of music from Baldan's supply in the Dresden Catholic court church is provided by markings in the *Catalogo* showing that sets of parts were available for many of these items. When the *Catalogo* was drawn up in 1765, at least seven sets of parts had been prepared for the masses attributed to Galuppi, as well as for three masses attributed to Jommelli and for one attributed to Puppi. Each of the three requiem masses and three *Te Deum* settings by Galuppi is recorded as possessing a set of parts in addition to the score. Six solo motets by Galuppi and one by Schwanenberg are listed as scores with complementary sets of parts. Although Galuppi's *Miserere* has a set of parts listed in the *Catalogo* of 1765, it appears that none were prepared for any of the Vesper psalms before then.

Before the Seven Years War the size of the Dresden Hofkapelle was on the increase. Between 1754 and 1755 this orchestra, led by concertmaster Pisendel (who died on 25 November 1755), comprised thirteen violins, four violas, four cellos, two double basses, two flutes, five oboes, four bassoons, three horns and an organist. Trumpeters and timpanists were drawn as needed from the Dresden court. By 1756 the violin section had grown to seventeen players plus the leader, Francesco Maria Cattaneo. The flute section grew to three players, and there was one additional bassoon. The cello section, however, was reduced to three players. During this period eleven sopranos (five female and six male); five (1754), three (1755) and four (1756) altos; three tenors and four (1754–1755) and three (1756) bass singers were employed.<sup>23</sup> Seven Kapellknaben served the everyday musical requirements of the Hofkirche. One rare instance of performing materials surviving from this collection gives an idea of the minimum number of singers and instrumentalists employed for 'ordinary' music in the Hofkirche during this era: eight vocal and thirteen instrumental parts exist for a mass in F attributed to Jommelli.<sup>24</sup>

Although there is no evidence that the scores sent by Baldan were customized by him for use in the Hofkapelle (rather than being unamended copies of music in stock), one item from the collection illustrates the

18 D-DI, Mus. 3283-E-1.

19 D-DI, Mus. 3157-D-1.

20 D-DI, Mus. 2967-D-1,1.

21 D-DI, Mus. 3059-E-1.

22 *Kyrie, Gloria e Credo*. D-DI, Mus. 2973-D-3.

23 This information is drawn from Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik*, 29, 294–295, and the *Königl. Polnischer und Churfürstl. Sächsischer Hof- und Staats-Calenders* (hereafter *HStcal*) (Leipzig, 1754, 1755, 1756). Leaving aside their possible presence in paraliturgical works such as oratorios, it is unlikely that women sang in the Dresden Hofkirche during this era.

24 D-DI, Mus. 3032-D-5a. The twenty-one parts are for SATB soloists, SATB ripieno, two first and two second violins, first and second violas, violoncello obbligato ('Qui tollis peccata'), 'Basso', 'Organo' (unfigured), first and second oboes and first and second horns. It is not known how many players/singers read from each part.



changes that could be wrought on compositions after their arrival in Dresden. A mass in C by Galuppi listed in the *Catalogo* of 1765 as a score (*Schranck* I; *Fach* 17; *Lage* 3)<sup>25</sup> exists there also as a set of parts (*Schranck* I; *Fach* 16; *Lage* 3). The latter is currently missing from the SLUB. The listing for the score in the catalogue gives the scoring as ‘a 4 voci co’ VV<sup>mi</sup>, Viola, Basso e Trombe’; in contrast, the listing for the parts specifies ‘a 4 voci co’ VV<sup>mi</sup>, Viola, Flauti, Corni e Basso’ (one may assume that the additional presence of oboes as ripieno instruments was understood). This expanded instrumentation shows that the customary practice of reworking music to suit the musical taste and resources of Dresden was put into operation after the arrival of the score.<sup>26</sup>

This new supply of church music arrived during the tenure of Johann Georg Schürer (c1720–1786) as composer of Catholic church music at the Dresden court. When he took up his appointment in 1748 the golden era of Catholic church music, which had flourished under the first generation of composers for the Hofkirche, was already drawing to a close. Johann David Heinichen had died in 1729, Jan Dismas Zelenka in 1745. The court church composers Fr Breunich SJ (1699–1755)<sup>27</sup> and Giovanni Alberto Ristori (1692–1753)<sup>28</sup> were living out their final decades. By the mid-1750s, of all the composers who had been central to the composition, collection and performance of Catholic liturgical music in Dresden, only Oberkapellmeister Johann Adolf Hasse (1699–1783) remained – and his presence in Dresden was far from constant.<sup>29</sup> As a former Kapellknabe of the Dresden Hofkirche, Schürer must have been very well acquainted with the musical repertory with which he was now entrusted, and whose cataloguing he oversaw in 1765.

Although his principal occupation was composition (which he exercised with great industry, especially in 1757 and 1758),<sup>30</sup> Schürer could not single-handedly supply the great quantities of new liturgical music required by the court and the church. He carried a great musical burden unaided – a load compounded by the move from the original court church of Dresden (the renovated theatre of the palace known as Am Taschenberg) to the still unfinished Hofkirche, which was finally dedicated on 29 June 1751, the feast day of the Apostles Peter and Paul. The Silbermann organ there was not consecrated until 2 February 1754, and the choir of the church was not completed until the following year.<sup>31</sup> The move eventually entailed the relocation of the expanding music collection of the church (Electress Maria Josepha had already instigated the acquisition of the musical estates of Heinichen and Zelenka, as she was later to do for Ristori). But the outbreak of the Seven Years War in 1756 interrupted further work on the church, and many original plans for the Hofkirche had to be abandoned. When Friedrich August II departed for Poland in 1756, he was accompanied by some of the singers and instrumentalists of the Hofkapelle. Maria Josepha died in Dresden the following year.

After the initial victories of Friedrich II of Prussia (Frederick the Great), Dresden was besieged and taken by the Austrians in 1759, an event celebrated in the Hofkirche with the singing of a solemn *Te Deum* on

25 *D-Dl* Mus. 2973-D-2. This mass was supplied by Baldan. In the original description of the manuscript’s location *Schrank* means cupboard, *Fach* compartment and *Lage* layer (the position in the vertical stack).

26 On the practice at Dresden of expanding instrumentation, principally through the addition of wind instruments, see especially Kai Köpp, *Johann Georg Pisendel (1687–1755) und die Anfänge der neuzeitlichen Orchesterleitung* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2005), 273–382.

27 P. Joh. Michael Breünich is first listed as a church composer in the *HStcal* of 1747. Between 1744 and 1755 Breunich undertook six journeys to Warsaw with the court in his dual capacity as a chaplain to Maria Josepha and court church composer. See Gerhard Poppe, ‘Johann Michael Breunich und der sächsische-polnische Hof’, *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Joseph Martin Kraus-Gesellschaft* 18–20 (2000), 192–207.

28 Ristori is listed as a church composer first in the *HStcal* of 1747. In the edition of 1750 he is listed as Vice-Capell-Meist[er].

29 Little is known of the activities and compositions of the church composer Tobias Buz (c1692–1760). His musical estate was not acquired by the Dresden court.

30 Observed in Dieter Härtwig, ‘Schürer, Johann Georg’, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second edition, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (Macmillan: London, 2001), volume 22, 819.

31 Friedrich August Forwerck, *Geschichte und Beschreibung der königlichen katholischen Hof- und Pfarrkirche zu Dresden* (Dresden, 1851; reprinted Dresden: Hille, 2001), 47.



15 September. On 19 September the electoral family left Dresden for Munich, not to return until 30 January 1762. During the siege of the city in 1760 the Princes' Palace in Pirnischegasse burned down (the music library of the former Lutheran court church previously stored there perished). The Hasse family left for Italy in December. On 2 April 1763, following the Peace of Hubertusburg, Friedrich August II returned to Dresden with Count Brühl – a short-lived homecoming, since the Elector died on 5 October. In December his eldest son and heir, Friedrich Christian, died of smallpox. His brother, Prince Xavier, was thereupon appointed Administrator of Saxony. The Seven Years War and the harsh economic measures in its aftermath brought the closure of Dresden's pre-eminent music establishment. Ten years later Charles Burney noted: 'It was from the dispersion of this celebrated band, at the beginning of the last war [the Seven Years War] that almost every great city of Europe, and London, among the rest, acquired several exquisite and favourite performers'.<sup>32</sup>

### THE NEW LAUDA JERUSALEM

There was no logical reason why the tally of misattributed sacred works by Vivaldi in Dresden should remain at just two.<sup>33</sup> Already at the time of the discovery of the *Nisi Dominus*, Michael Talbot had noted (from a description of a part of the 1765 catalogue given to him by Janice Stockigt) that a further work attributed to Galuppi, a *Lauda Jerusalem* in the *stile antico* for five voices (SATTB) and continuo, shared its incipit with an anonymous setting for the same voices in Vivaldi's former collection (RVAnh.35), which the composer had then used as the basis for a *Credidi propter quod* (RV605) rather improperly attributed to himself in the autograph manuscript.<sup>34</sup>

A recent visit to the SLUB confirmed the lurking suspicion that the Dresden score was as close to Vivaldi's retexted reworking as it was to the anonymous *Lauda Jerusalem*. In fact, it is the 'missing link' between them: before Vivaldi substituted the new liturgical text and carried out the consequent revisions, he had already produced a new version of the *Lauda Jerusalem*, all of whose musical changes (except those directly related to the substituted text) he carried forward into the *Credidi*. So the immediate basis for the *Credidi* seems to have been not the original, anonymous, *Lauda Jerusalem* but this newly examined 'intermediate' version, preserved, in what appears to be an accurate copy, in Dresden. Whether this Dresden *Lauda Jerusalem* should be regarded as an original composition by Vivaldi, entitling it to appear under an RV number in the main series, or relegated, as a not very radical arrangement of a composition by another hand, to the supplementary series (Anhang) is for others to decide: it certainly needs to be accommodated in some way within the canon of his works.

The manuscript of RVAnh.35 occupies a single fascicle of twelve-stave music paper in oblong quarto format within the volume Giordano 33 (ff. 115–20) in the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Turin. The absence of visible corrections in it suggests that it is not autograph. Neither the manuscript nor its content has any obvious relationship to other non-Vivaldian works surviving from the composer's own collection. Its extrovert, rough-hewn style recalls Giovanni Maria Ruggieri, a slightly older composer represented in Vivaldi's collection by two settings of the Gloria, but it would be hazardous to propose him as the composer, given the lack of further clues and the relative impersonality of the *stile antico*.<sup>35</sup>

32 Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Provinces* (London, 1775), ed. Percy Scholes as *Dr. Burney's Musical Tours in Europe*, 2 vols (volume 2 with the separate title *An Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour in Central Europe and the Netherlands*) (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), volume 2, 147.

33 We omit from the count, naturally, the *Magnificat* RV610b (today lost) and the motets RV627 and RV632, which are correctly attributed and had already reached Dresden during the composer's lifetime.

34 See Michael Talbot, 'Recovering Vivaldi's Lost Psalm', 65, note 12.

35 These Gloria settings by Ruggieri are RVAnh.23 (D major, for double choir and orchestra) and RVAnh.24 (G major) respectively. Vivaldi made separate adaptations of the final fugue of RVAnh.23 for each of his two extant Gloria settings (RV588 and RV589).



The bass in the Turin score is lightly figured throughout. Since this figuring is retained virtually unaltered in the Dresden version and in the *Credidi* RV605, it is highly probable that the three manuscripts belong to a common line of transmission: bass figures, more than any other element of a score, are liable to ‘mutate’ in the course of a work’s circulation via manuscript copies. The simplest presumption is that Vivaldi wrote down his original arrangement of RVAnh.35 in a manuscript that is today lost. This score was used by him as the basis for RV605 and later by Baldan as the copy text for the Dresden manuscript. Other scenarios are conceivable, but none explains so easily the relationship between the three surviving manuscripts.

The Dresden manuscript comes in the standard light blue folder provided for sacred works belonging to the archive of the Hofkapelle. Its cover bears an original label that reads: ‘Schranck N: I. | G. 19. Fach, 21. Lage | No: 12: | Lauda Jerusalem | à 5. voci | co’ VV<sup>mi</sup> Viola e Basso | Coro pieno a Capella | Partitura e parti cav. | del Sig<sup>r</sup> Galuppi | ’.<sup>36</sup> The manuscript proper occupies thirty-two pages (it is the practice of the SLUB to add page rather than folio numbers to manuscripts), collated as two sixteen-page gatherings. The dimensions of the manuscript, in oblong quarto format, are characteristically small (223 x 157 mm), and ten staves are pre-ruled on each page. The folios display the generic watermark (three half moons) of paper manufactured in the Veneto. Other pointers to Venetian provenance are the greyish colour of the ink used for both the staves and the notes and the enclosure of the staves within faint vertical guidelines.

The title page displays the distinctive ornate style of lettering associated with Baldan’s *copisteria* and most likely that of the proprietor himself. Its text reads: ‘Lauda Jerusalem a 5: | Coro pieno. a | Capella. | Del Sig<sup>r</sup> Baldasar Galuppi, detto | Buranello: //’. Both this lettering and the musical hand employed for the score are identical with those encountered in the Dresden manuscript of the *Nisi Dominus* RV803. It is interesting that the cover label speaks of a set of parts (*parti cavate*). None are recorded in the 1765 *Catalogo*, which means that they must have been prepared at a later date. It does appear certain, however, that the work entered the active repertory of the Hofkapelle, since there are one or two instances of later writing on the score,<sup>37</sup> and the old card catalogue of the Sächsische Landesbibliothek records the presence of twenty-nine parts, today untraced.<sup>38</sup>

A description of the music of RVAnh.35 and of Vivaldi’s reworking of it (in ignorance, at that time, of the intermediate version) has been published elsewhere and need not be given in the same detail here.<sup>39</sup> The *Lauda Jerusalem* follows the formal plan of a Renaissance motet (ignoring the basso continuo, which only rarely achieves independence from the lowest vocal part in action at any given time). Each semiverse of the nine verses of the psalm, to which are added the obligatory pair of verses making up the Lesser Doxology (‘Gloria Patri’, and so forth), generates at least one distinct musical motive. Most of these motives are treated in imitation, their final statements overlapping with the start of the next section so that a seamless musical flow results. For contrast, a minority of the motives are treated in block chords, being preceded by an emphatic cadence in all voices simultaneously. Not unusually for essays in the *stile antico* around 1700, the music lacks the rhythmic flexibility of its Renaissance model: the adjective ‘ponderous’ springs to mind. The considerable length of the composition (156 bars) would have made one or two changes of metre welcome, but none arrives. The anonymous composer has certainly been inventive in constructing his dense web of imitation, but is occasionally guilty of roughness (expressed, for example, in melodic awkwardness, as in the soprano part in bars 70–71, or in defective part-writing, as in bar 74, where consecutive fifths occur twice). Working with five, as distinct from four, contrapuntal voices has clearly stretched his ability to the limit. These shortcomings are to some extent redeemed by the vigour of the writing and by the well judged use of

36 Shelfmark: Mus. 2973-D-41. In the 1765 catalogue the *Lage* number is given as 21; the 12 on the folder probably corresponds to the *Lage* number appearing in the lost first volume of the later catalogue. Similar discrepancies relating to the manuscripts of RV795 and RV803 show that a reallocation of *Lage* numbers must have taken place between c1765 and c1780.

37 For instance, an added bass figure ‘2’ in bar 34.

38 According to the catalogue card, these parts were stored separately (‘Stimmen stehen gesondert’).

39 Michael Talbot, *The Sacred Vocal Music of Antonio Vivaldi* (Florence: Olschki, 1995), 477–482.



contrast. The motives are mainly abstract in character, but include two that illustrate the text in pleasingly pictorial fashion: those for ‘*velociter currit sermo ejus*’ (verse 4, second semiverse) and ‘*et fluent aquae*’ (verse 7, end of second semiverse).

The most obvious way in which the *Lauda Jerusalem* in Dresden differs from the Turin version is in its addition of doubling parts for strings in four parts. The concept of a cappella writing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did not preclude such instrumental doubling, which in many instances appears to have been introduced in order to bring such works into closer alignment, in terms of sonority, with the works employing obbligato instrumental parts with which they were partnered in liturgical performance. In general, the first violin doubles the alto part one octave higher – this is a typical procedure of the time, much used by Vivaldi in his sacred vocal music. This leaves the second violin to double the soprano at the same pitch. Since there are two tenor parts, the single viola has to commute incessantly between them, doubling either part variously at the same pitch or one octave higher. This pattern of doubling is not absolutely rigid: for instance, in bar 2 the second violin doubles a phrase of the first tenor (rather than the soprano).

A comparison of the opening eight bars of the Turin and Dresden versions (Examples 1a and 1b respectively) will bring out the main characteristics of Vivaldi’s revision. Note, first, the extra note inserted in the opening motive (present also when the same motive returns, in time-honoured fashion, to lead off the Doxology). This simple addition lends a welcome melodic smoothness and a *souppçon* of harmonic friction to the excessively stolid opening. Note, similarly, the replacement of G by B in the bass and continuo parts on the third crotchet of bar 4: this both eliminates parallel octaves by contrary motion (generally avoided in this style) and supplies a missing note of the triad. More radical is the transportation up an octave of the soprano’s closing phrase in bars 6–8. It is a strange fact that in RVAnh.35 the soprano never ventures higher than e<sup>2</sup>. Perhaps its composer had no castratos or trebles at his disposal and had to entrust the soprano line to falsettists. Be that as it may, Vivaldi has obviously taken pains to bring the soprano – some of the time – into a more conventional register. In two passages (bars 26–36 and 146–149) this is effected not by transposing the soprano but by exchanging the soprano and alto parts, the former alto line being taken up an octave. These transpositions are efficient but not always elegant: the ear receives a jolt when what was previously a rising second suddenly becomes a descending seventh.

Vivaldi strove to remove some, but by no means all, of the contrapuntal solecisms in the original. The most radical change occurs at the cadence concluding the first verse of the Doxology. Evidently noticing the parallel fifths between soprano and second tenor in bars 125–126, the composer remodelled the harmony successfully, as Examples 2a and 2b show. (He did not, however, remember to make the corresponding change in the viola part, which preserves the original first tenor line and hence clashes with the harmony on the final beat of bar 125).

When the time came to convert the *Lauda Jerusalem* into the *Credidi*, most of Vivaldi’s work was already done. The retexting entailed much splitting or fusion of notes, but all this was routine work. The psalm *Credidi* has one fewer verse than *Lauda Jerusalem*; Vivaldi solved the problem neatly by treating each semiverse of verse 5 (‘*Vota mea Domino reddam coram omni populo ejus: pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus*’) as if it were a full verse in its own right. More radically, he jettisoned the original music for the fourth verse, ‘*Qui emittit eloquium suum terrae: velociter currit sermo ejus*’, which he may have found too pictorial in nature to serve for a *contrafactum*, substituting a section entirely of his own composition (beginning ‘*Calicem salutis accipiam*’).<sup>40</sup> The newly composed section outclasses the rest of the work in musical expressiveness but is too obviously a foreign body to fit comfortably into its context.

For his *Credidi*, Vivaldi evidently had enough viola players to divide into two parts. This allowed him to organize the doubling by strings in a strictly mechanical fashion, thereby sparing himself the trouble of writing out the string parts separately: according to an instruction placed at the head of the score, violin 1

<sup>40</sup> He did, however retain the equally pictorial music for ‘*et fluent aquae*’, for which the new text is the much less evocative ‘*ancillae tuae*’.





5

6 4 3 4 3 5 6

Example 1a *Lauda Jerusalem*, RVAnh.35, bars 1–8 (Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria (I-Tn), Giordano 33, ff. 115–120)

doubles alto an octave higher, violin 2 doubles soprano, viola 1 doubles tenor 1 and viola 2 doubles tenor 2. Nothing is said about the bass instruments, but the likelihood is that they are intended to play with the continuo rather than with the bass voice.

The discovery of this new version of the *Lauda Jerusalem* is interesting not only for what it reveals of Vivaldi's working habits and taste for surreptitious borrowing but also for what it tells us about performance practice relating to *stile antico* works in the middle of the eighteenth century. Whether Vivaldi put his own name on this arrangement, as he later did on the *Credidi*, cannot be ascertained in the absence of an autograph manuscript. It is a pleasant irony to imagine that Baldan may have falsified the authorship of a work whose paternity had already been usurped.

STOCKIGT AND TALBOT



Violin 1  
Violin 2  
Viola  
Soprano  
Alto  
Tenor 1  
Tenor 2  
Bass  
Basso Continuo

Lau - da Je -  
Lau - da De - um tu - um Si - on, lau - da Je - ru - sa - lem,  
Lau - da De - um tu - um, lau - da De - um  
Lau - da Je - ru - sa - lem Do - mi - num,  
Lau - da Je - ru - sa - lem Do - mi - num: lau - da De - um tu - um Si - on,

4 3 6

5

- ru - sa - lem Do - mi - num: lau - da De - um tu - um Si - on.  
lau - da De - um tu - um Si - - - on, lau - da Je - ru - sa - lem  
tu - um Si - - - on, lau - da Je - ru - sa - lem Do - mi - num:  
lau - da Je - ru - sa - lem Do - mi - num: lau - da De - um tu - um -  
lau - da Je - ru - sa - lem Do - mi - num:  
6 4 3 4 3 5 6

Example 1b *Lauda Jerusalem*, Dresden version, bars 1–8



124

Soprano  
- cto, Spi - ri - tu - i San - - - - - cto.

Alto  
et Spi - ri - - - tu - i San - cto.

Tenor 1  
- o, et Spi - ri - tu - i San - cto.

Tenor 2  
San - cto, Spi - ri - tu - - - i San - cto.

Bass  
Fi - li - o, et Spi ri - - - tu - i San - cto.

Basso Continuo

4 3

Example 2a *Lauda Jerusalem*, rvAnh.36, bars 124–126 (Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria (I-Tn), Giordano 33, ff. 115–120)

124

Violin 1

Violin 2

Viola

Soprano  
- cto, Spi - ri - tu - i San - - - - - cto.

Alto  
et Spi - ri - - - tu - i San - - - cto.

Tenor 1  
- o, et Spi - ri - tu - i San - cto.

Tenor 2  
San - cto, Spi - ri - tu - i San - - - - - cto.

Bass  
Fi - li - o, et Spi ri - - - tu - i San - cto.

Basso Continuo

4 3

Example 2b *Lauda Jerusalem*, Dresden version, bars 124–126



## THE NEW *DIXIT DOMINUS*

This very impressive work came to Janice Stockigt's attention in the course of her comprehensive study of the sacred vocal repertory of the Hofkapelle.<sup>41</sup> The features of the composition appeared strikingly Vivaldian to her, despite its attribution to Galuppi. It took only a few moments for Michael Talbot to reach the same conclusion.

The manuscript of the new *Dixit Dominus* is similar in paper type, format, ink colour and hand to that of the *Lauda Jerusalem* just discussed.<sup>42</sup> Its dimensions are only fractionally different (205 by 157 mm – well within the limits of tolerance for trimmed paper), and its 112 pages form five gatherings. The label on the folder reads: 'Lit: Schranck No: 1. | G. 24. Fach 8. Lage | Dixit | à 4. voci | co' VV.<sup>43</sup> Viola ed Org. | Partitura sola | del Sig.<sup>r</sup> Galuppi | '. Since the folder label dates from around the time of the second catalogue (c1780), it would seem that parts were never copied, and that the work never entered the active repertory of the Hofkapelle.

The title page of the manuscript itself reads: 'Dixit a 4:º | Con Strumenti [flourish] | Del Sig.<sup>r</sup> Baldassar Galuppi, detto Buranello | Fatto per l'Ospedale delli Mendicanti. | //1745: //'. One smiles at the attempt to make the false attribution more credible by embroidering it with a year of composition and place of performance. As will become evident later, the Mendicanti, where the performers were all female, was the last place where one would have been able to find not one but two highly agile tenor voices – tenors, moreover, capable of descending as low as B. To the truly knowledgeable (of whom there were perhaps rather few in Dresden), warning bells should have sounded immediately.<sup>43</sup>

Throughout the manuscript the musical style is utterly uncharacteristic of Galuppi, whose earliest sacred vocal works (such as the *Confitebor* of 1733) already look forward to Mozart rather than back to Vivaldi and his Italian contemporaries. This does not, of course, establish that the original was by Vivaldi (any more than one can assume, conversely, that among the compositions sent by Baldan to Dresden only those bearing Galuppi's name should be scrutinized with a view to possible reattribution).

The technique of establishing the true authorship of a contested work rests on more than one foundation. Where no simple concordances are known, as appears to be the case here, the argument has to be conducted *faute de mieux* mainly through style analysis. However, one should not neglect two complementary lines of approach. First, when a composer's notational habits are as consistent and distinctive as those of Vivaldi, one seeks some reflection of them in a copied score. True, there was nothing to stop Baldan's copyists from converting the notation seen in composers' autograph manuscripts to a favoured house style, but this did not happen wholesale: in general, professional copyists were glad simply to reproduce (not always very accurately, alas) rather than to edit. Second, one should look for specific works among those of the 'target' composer that can act as valid points of comparison. In the present case there are already two similarly scored large-scale settings in D major of the *Dixit Dominus* by Vivaldi (RV595 and RV594);<sup>44</sup> moreover, his two D major settings of the Gloria (RV588 and RV589) exhibit clear parallels with the same two *Dixit Dominus*

41 The study was in part the outcome of an investigation of Catholic music in Saxony during the era of J. S. Bach, a project carried out by Stockigt as a Queen Elizabeth II Research Fellow of the Australian Research Council (2000–2005) at the Faculty of Music, University of Melbourne. A summary of this work is published as '“This Rare and Precious Music”: Preliminary Findings on the Catalogue of the Music Collection of the Dresden Catholic Court Church (1765)', *Musicology Australia* 27 (2005), 1–22.

42 Shelfmark: Mus. 2973-D-31.

43 On the singing of tenor and bass parts at the Mendicanti and the Pietà see Michael Talbot, 'Tenors and Basses at the Venetian *Ospedali*', *Acta musicologica* 66/2 (1994), 123–138.

44 RV595 is a fairly early work (c1715), whereas the better known RV594, for double choir and orchestra, belongs to the period around 1730. More information about these settings can be found in Michael Talbot's Critical Notes for the Ricordi editions (in the *Nuova Edizione Critica*), published in 1993 and 2002 respectively. For a discussion of the structural constants in Vivaldi's settings of the *Dixit Dominus* and the *Gloria* see the same author's *Sacred Vocal Music*, 329–330 and 351–352.



settings. So there are four fully authenticated works by Vivaldi that provide a firm yardstick against which to measure the Dresden *Dixit Dominus*.

It is very evident that some distinctive elements of Vivaldi's notational practice have been retained in the Dresden score. The three movements in triple metre ('Juravit Dominus' in 3/4 and 'Implebit ruinas' and 'Gloria Patri' in 3/8) all feature the 'large 3' form of time signature lacking the denominator that was used regularly by Vivaldi from the early 1720s onwards.<sup>45</sup> Among Italian composers of his time (one does not speak of French composers, who used the 'large 3' time signature routinely) this form is unusual. Vivaldi was not quite alone – for instance, one of the *maestri di coro* at the Venetian Ospedale della Pietà who was contemporary with him, Giovanni Porta, also uses it – but the feature is rare enough to be a strong positive indicator of his authorship.

Another less usual notational habit concerns the choice of note value immediately preceding a 'cued' passage. The primary function of most scores was not to provide a text for study or from which to direct a performance but to give a copyist all the information that he needed for extracting a set of parts. Accordingly, Vivaldi and other composers of his time tended to maximize the use of abbreviation. Instructions such as 'Ut supra', 'colla parte', 'Unisono' or simply a bass clef (sometimes followed by 'col Basso') enabled a composer writing out a score to leave vast tracts of a stave void of notation, while still providing the copyist with adequate instructions. Most composers making use of such cues gave the last fully written-out note before the cued passage its true value, but Vivaldi developed the habit of writing it uniformly as a crotchet, even though it might appear as a quaver, semiquaver or other short note value in the copied part. The Dresden manuscript displays this feature (initially, in the first violin part at bar 30 of movement 3). One would be bold to claim, without deeper investigation, that only Vivaldi followed this convention, but it is without doubt uncommon enough to act as another positive indicator.

The tempo markings are generally characteristic of him. One notes, in particular, the 'Allegro molto' of the third and fifth movements. Vivaldi was a pioneer in the use of modifiers such as 'molto' and 'poco' for the standard tempo markings; they become increasingly common in his music from the mid-1720s onwards. However, the move from 'Allegro' via 'più Allegro' to 'Presto' in the final movement ('più Allegro' probably having here the sense of 'stringendo') is unprecedented in his sacred choral music and in his fugues. If we finally agree that the music is Vivaldi's, this feature certainly adds something of importance to our perception of his stylistic evolution.

More generally, the fastidiousness with which the score marks dynamic variation – this contrasting sharply with the paucity of figuring for the instrumental bass – is characteristic of Vivaldi. In fact, if the graphological appearance of the notes, symbols and text of the score were altered to become identical with that of this composer's own handwriting, only two anomalies would be noticed: the use of startlingly modern-looking strokes across stems to signify note-repetition (never used by Vivaldi himself, who instead likes to write 'crome' or 'semicrome') and of a special symbol formed from a pair of forward slashes to denote 'ut supra'. Both of these notational elements belong to the house style of Baldan's *copisteria* and therefore have no significance for determining authorship.<sup>46</sup>

At the same time as we consider how closely the new *Dixit Dominus* conforms to the pattern set by Vivaldi's multi-movement *concertato* works in D major, it will be useful to discuss briefly the data presented in Table 1, which summarizes the layout of the work.<sup>47</sup> As the first two columns show, the general principle is that one psalm verse is set as one movement, which represents the 'grand' form of setting favoured by Venetian composers for use on solemn occasions.<sup>48</sup> Exceptionally, the seventh verse, 'Judicavit in

45 The chronological significance of the 'large 3' time signature was first noted by Peter Ryom in *Les manuscrits de Vivaldi* (Copenhagen: Antonio Vivaldi Archives, 1977), 246.

46 Another feature of Baldan's house style is the omission of minim rests for void half bars. In general Vivaldi includes these, although his scores regularly omit rests for completely void bars.

47 *Concertato* is used here in the eighteenth-century sense of 'with choir, soloist(s) and orchestra'.

48 The alternative is to form the verses or clauses into groups, so that a smaller number of movements results (as in Vivaldi's *Credo*, RV591), or to cram all the verses into a single movement (as in his *Lauda Jerusalem*, RV609).



nationibus', is set as two short, linked movements. It is interesting that the point of division comes not at the start of the second semiverse, 'conquassabit capita', but at 'implevit ruinas', the closing words of the first semiverse. The reason for this deviation is that those two words clearly belong in sense with the words of the second semiverse (describing the destruction wrought by the Lord), even if they are separated from it by a semicolon. Both RV594 and RV595 adopt exactly the same bipartite plan. The new *Dixit Dominus* likewise conforms to Vivaldian precedent in forming two movements out of the second verse of the Doxology ('Sicut erat in principio . . . Amen'), styled respectively as introduction and fugue.<sup>49</sup> In all three cases the introduction is a cut-down version of the opening movement, responding to the pun invited by 'Sicut erat in principio' and at the same time creating a satisfying musical roundedness.

The choice of scoring for individual movements (columns 3 and 4) follows the pattern of RV594 and RV595. Naturally enough, the framing movements are choral, while most of the internal movements are either solos (so-called 'church arias'), resembling in form the A section of a da capo aria, or duets with the same structure.<sup>50</sup> Provision is made, however, for central choral 'pillars'. All three settings opt, in accordance with the nature of the Biblical text, for a choral setting in verses 5 and 7. The overall result is a pleasingly near-symmetrical succession of choral, solo and ensemble movements.

In his large-scale *concertato* works Vivaldi usually introduces extra obbligato instruments in one or two movements. Here, as in the two other settings, he chooses the 'Judicabit in nationibus' movement, where the solo trumpet enacts the last trump, beginning the movement without accompaniment. As in RV595 (but not in RV594, which employs a trumpet in each of the two *cori*), the trumpet is partnered in the new work by a pair of oboes. At least, the instruments appear to be oboes. In the score the copyist heads their pair of staves 'Fagotti', but the use throughout of the treble clef, their notated compass and the way in which they are used to play simpler versions of the violin lines make their identity as oboes scarcely challengeable. How and why the copyist wrote 'Fagotti' eludes comprehension.

In the two central choral movements and, more prominently, in the second movement the composer includes short solo passages, variously for solo alto, paired sopranos and paired altos. It is true that neither RV594 nor RV595 contains such passages. However, interchange within the same movement between one or more soloists and full choir certainly belongs to Vivaldi's normal musical vocabulary: the 'Domine Deus, Agnus Dei' movement of the *Gloria* RV589 is a good case in point.

The key structure of the new work is strikingly similar to that of Vivaldi's two known *Dixit Dominus* settings. The choice of D major as the home key is, of course, thoroughly conventional. As the invariable opening psalm at Vespers, the psalm has a ceremonial character, which is well served by the key of D major, since this is not only one of the two standard keys for the baroque trumpet (and the key preferred in Italy) but also one in which violins can easily produce a bright, full sound. The move to B minor and a slow tempo for the second movement is shared by RV594 and 595 and also by the two *Gloria* settings. The return to D major for the third movement is paralleled in RV594 (though not in RV595, which moves, as do the 'Laudamus te' movements of RV588 and RV589, to G major). The new work follows RV594 in placing the 'Juravit Dominus' movement in C major (RV595, more conservative in its tonal structure, returns to D major at this point). Remarkably, all three settings choose E minor as the key for the eighth movement, 'De torrente'.

Before we discuss in turn the individual movements of the new *Dixit Dominus*, noting points of special interest and, in particular, ones that point towards Vivaldi's authorship, it will be useful to restate at a very general level some of the defining characteristics of this composer's style. First and foremost, Vivaldi is a 'bottom-up' rather than a 'top-down' composer: he assembles his phrases, periods and, ultimately,

49 In RV594 the introduction also includes the first verse ('Gloria Patri') of the Doxology, which has no separate movement, as it has in both RV595 and the new work.

50 The choruses (for example, the opening two movements of all three *Dixit Dominus* settings) may also employ 'church aria' form.



**Table 1** Vivaldi: The Dresden *Dixit Dominus*. Plan of the movements

Verse number	Text incipit	Solo voices	Choral voices	Instruments	Key	Tempo marking	Metre	Number of bars
1	Dixit Dominus		SATB	strings	D		C	46
2	Donec ponam	A	SATB	strings	b	Largo	C	41
3	Virgam virtutis	S		strings	D	Allegro molto	C	63
4	Tecum principium	T, T		strings	G	Allegro	2/4	101
5	Juravit Dominus	S, S	SATB	strings	C	Allegro molto	3	97
6	Dominus a dextris tuis	T		strings	d	Allegro	C	47
7-1	Judicabit in nationibus	S, SA, A	SATB	strings, trumpet, 2 'fagotti'	D	Adagio	C	33
7-2	Implebit ruinas		SATB	strings, trumpet, 2 'fagotti'	b	Presto	3	44
8	De torrente	A		strings	e	Andante	C	46
9	Gloria Patri	S, S		strings	A	Allegro	3	101
10-1	Sicut erat in principio (I)		SATB	strings	D	Allegro	C	15
10-2	Sicut erat in principio (II)		SATB	strings	D	Allegro—Più allegro—Presto	C	79

Note: 'strings' are understood as violin 1, violin 2, viola and all instruments playing the *basso* line



movements from tiny thematic particles, often of startlingly elementary character.<sup>51</sup> Since these basic units are so primitive, they are easy to employ in diverse ways in the course of a movement: at one moment, they may be joined together or intermixed with other, similar, particles to form a theme or a melody; at another, they may be taken into the bass or into a middle layer of the accompaniment to act as a repeated figure. For this reason Vivaldi has been viewed by at least one author as a pioneer of the *thematische Arbeit* associated with the masters of the Classical period.<sup>52</sup> One consequence of this ultra-modular approach is that Vivaldi's themes – that is, the higher-level units formed from these basic particles – are unstable, even Protean. Inexact reprises, with omissions, condensations, interpolations, transpositions and similar changes, are a hallmark of his style. A second consequence is that any Vivaldi movement, even when it has no counterpart elsewhere sufficiently similar to be termed a concordance, is likely to share its thematic particles and elements of their treatment with innumerable other such movements, not necessarily within the same musical genre. None of these particles, taken individually, is exclusive to Vivaldi, but the manner in which they are repeated, developed, interchanged and combined contrapuntally – usually in an uncommonly intensive way – constantly gives rise to similar patterns pointing unmistakably to him.

Another pointer towards Vivaldi's authorship is the relative self-sufficiency, sometimes extending over long passages, of the tonic–dominant harmonic relationship, which we should perhaps define a little more broadly as the harmonic relationship between any adjacent chords with roots a fourth or fifth apart. Particularly in his later works, the cadential progressions I–V–I and V–V–I tend to predominate over IV–V–I or II–V–I, creating an effect of studied simplicity. Conversely, his phrase structure is anything but simple. A kaleidoscopic succession of symmetrical (1 + 1), asymmetrical (1 + 2) and ternary (1 + 1 + 1) groupings – sometimes overlapping at their joins, sometimes not – results in a highly sophisticated syntactical structure, unrivalled in complexity for its time.

One important but overlooked aspect of Vivaldi's style is his remarkably imaginative exploitation of musical space in the 'vertical' plane. There is nothing unconventional about the compasses of the individual parts, but their vertical mobility – their ability to transform the textural balance in an instant by a deft change of register or a sudden move to the far side of a neighbouring part – is a noteworthy and distinctive feature of Vivaldi's musical language from the days of *L'estro armonico* (1711) onwards.

If little is said about these 'trademark' features of Vivaldi's music in the discussion of individual movements that follows, this is because they are so pervasive that repeated reference would be otiose. Both the music examples and the movement incipits presented as Table 2 will amply bear out the points just made without further commentary.

Of course, whenever one claims authorship for a composer primarily on the strength of stylistic criteria, the argument rests ultimately not on logic but on the balance of evidence. In theory, any argument that relies on the compatibility of the composition under examination with the canon of the claimed composer is vulnerable to the charge of circularity: the canon itself is not an immutable, unchallengeable object but a potentially fallible construct from which the scholar derives the features deemed idiolectal (if rare elsewhere) or typical (if common for that composer).<sup>53</sup> However, the 'balance of evidence' argument is the best that one has available in almost all such situations, and to reject it on principle is unreasonable.

i Dixit Dominus Domino meo

Example 3, which gives the first eleven bars of the opening ritornello of this opening movement, could not announce the Vivaldian presence more forcefully. Bars 1–4<sup>1</sup> develop two complementary rhythmic

<sup>51</sup> For an example of the contrasting 'top-down' approach to the construction of a musical period see the passage by Albinoni discussed in Michael Talbot, *Tomaso Albinoni: The Venetian Composer and his World* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970), 48–50. Corelli and Torelli are similar in following the 'top-down' model.

<sup>52</sup> Karl H. Wörner, *Das Zeitalter der thematischen Prozesse in der Geschichte der Musik* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1969), 67–73.

<sup>53</sup> The fallibility of the canon, as it applies to a major composer, is brilliantly demonstrated in Rob C. Wegman, 'Who was Josquin?', in *The Josquin Companion*, ed. Richard Sherr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 21–50.



Table 2 Vivaldi, *Dixit Dominus*: movement incipits

1 **[Allegro]**  
  
 Di - xit, di - xit

2 **Largo**  
  
 Do-nec po-nam i - ni - mi-cos tu-os sca-

3 **Andante molto**  
  
 Vir - gam — vir-tu - tis tu - ae, vir-tu - tis

4 **Allegro**  
  
*sempre p* Te - cum prin-ci - pi-um in di - e, in

5 **Allegro molto**  
  
 Ju - ra - vit Do - mi-nus, et non - pae-ni - te - - bit

6 **Allegro** **Adagio** **Allegro**  
  
 Do - mi-nus a dex - - - tris

7.1 **Adagio**  
  
 Ju - di ca - bit in na-ti-o -

7.2 **Presto**  
  
 Im - ple - bit ru - in - nas, im - ple - bit ru - i - nas: con - quas - sa - bit,

8 **Andante**  
  
*p sempre* De - tor - ren - - - -

9 **Allegro**  
  
 Glo-ri - a Pa - tri, Pa - tri, et

10.1 **Allegro**  
  
 Si - cut e - rat in prin-ci - pi-o, et

10.2 **Allegro**  
  
 A - - - - - men, a - men,

stereotypes: the cascades of triads (here presented in a *saccadé* rhythm appropriate to the pomp of the occasion) and the rushing semiquaver scales reminiscent of the *Tempesta di mare* concerto, RV433. The uninflected  $\frac{6}{3}$  chord on B in bar 3 is peculiarly Vivaldian: other composers would have selected, over the same bass note, either a  $\frac{5}{3}$  (possibly a  $\frac{7}{3}$ ) chord or a  $\frac{6}{3}$  chord with raised sixth.<sup>54</sup> Note, too, the non-quadratic nature

54 A familiar instance of the same progression in Vivaldi's music is the opening of his Concerto for Two Horns, RV538.



**Allegro**

Violins,  
Viola

[simile]

Basso  
Continuo

3

Violin 1

Violin 2

Violin 1

6

Violin 2

8

10

Example 3 *Dixit Dominus*, opening

of the opening phrase: three and a half bars. Between bars  $4^2$  and  $5^1$  we have another Vivaldian cliché: a descending scale in thirds in the bass, complemented by ostinato figuration outlining a single (tonic) chord in the upper parts. The refrain of Vivaldi's *Beatus vir* RV597/795, offers a good parallel. (The conversion of the ascending scale into a descending scale is a fine demonstration of unobtrusive thematic economy.) The 'Lombardic' (inverted dotted) rhythmic figure first appearing in bar 4 is an important addition to the small stock of rhythmic devices used in this ritornello. If Quantz is to be believed, Vivaldi himself was an early popularizer of the Lombardic manner,<sup>55</sup> but it is at any rate certain that after the conquest of Venice by Neapolitan taste in the mid-1720s he took to the device eagerly, and it appears regularly in his later music.

55 Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin: Voss, 1752), 309.



Then, after some conventional dominant preparation in bars 6<sup>2</sup>–8<sup>2</sup>, the composer reworks the motives to produce a classically Vivaldian sequence of interlocking seventh chords.

The material of this ritornello provides solid underpinning for the monumental, mostly block-chordal, vocal writing that follows. One interesting detail is the setting of the word ‘sede’ as a detached, two-note phrase, where the first note leaps down to the second. This treatment finds an exact parallel in Vivaldi’s two known *Dixit Dominus* settings, RV594 and RV595. Its significance is that the composer, rather unusually for this context, is imagining ‘sitting’ as an action (seating oneself) rather than as a state (being sedentary).

### ii Donec ponam inimicos tuos

Example 4 displays three musical settings of the opening vocal theme for the movement 'Donec ponam inimicos tuos'. The first setting, RV 595, is marked 'Andante' and shows a vocal line starting with a broken chord. The second setting, RV 594, is marked 'Largo' and shows a similar opening. The third setting, Dresden, is also marked 'Largo' and shows a variation of the opening. Each setting includes the lyrics: 'Do - nec po - - - - - nam i - ni - mi - cos tu - os'.

Example 4 ‘Donec ponam inimicos meos’, opening vocal themes in RV595 (CZ-Pnm (Prague, Národní Muzeum), xxxv.E.42), RV594 (Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Giordano 35, ff. 45–80) and the Dresden *Dixit Dominus*

This sombre pendant to the resplendent opening movement has strong tonal, thematic and structural affinities with its counterparts in both of Vivaldi’s settings of the psalm. The striding broken chord with which the first vocal motive opens recalls RV595, while its continuation, an ascent in dotted rhythm to the dominant, shadows RV594 even more closely. Example 4, which presents the opening vocal theme for this movement in all three settings, shows the parallels. The *alla francese* rhythm of the accompanying unison strings (see the incipit in Table 2) has a typically Vivaldian physiognomy: compare the opening of the *Beatus vir* RV597/795. Characteristic, too, is the pleading *piano* phrase that responds to the aggressive unison opening (initially in bars 5–7): Vivaldi was a pioneer in the creation of an opposition between a (so-called) masculine antecedent and a feminine consequent.<sup>56</sup> The two episodes for solo alto create attractive contrast and enhance the feeling of spaciousness. This magnificent movement yields nothing in tragic grandeur to its counterparts in RV594 and RV595.

### iii Virgam virtutis tuae

This movement, the first of the ‘church arias’ for solo voice, has the bouncy cheerfulness of its counterparts in Vivaldi’s two *Dixit Dominus* and two *Gloria* settings. For most of the time the two violins are coupled in euphonious thirds, the viola and bass in tenths. The sequence in bars 5–8<sup>1</sup>, where a motive appears successively in the subdominant (G), dominant (A) and tonic (D) keys, parallels that of bars 7–12 in the ‘Laudamus te’ of the *Gloria* RV589. In bars 8–11 two of Vivaldi’s favourite thematic particles of the 1730s emerge, one after the other (see Example 5). The first, which includes a ‘slide’ (*Schleifer*) figure, matches that seen in bars 19–21 of the *Lauda Jerusalem* RV609. The second, with its characteristic ‘stutter’, is most familiar

<sup>56</sup> See the example from the Concerto RV300 (Op. 9 No. 10) illustrated and discussed in Michael Talbot, *Vivaldi*, second edition (London: Dent, 1993), 78. This clearly foreshadows an opening such as that of Mozart’s Piano Sonata K309.



from the opening of the Sinfonia to Vivaldi's opera *L'Olimpiade* (1734). The harmonic structure of bars 9–11 – a descending scale in thirds beneath an intermittent tonic pedal – repeats the gist of bars 4–6<sup>1</sup> in Example 3. The composer cleverly manages to work the 'stutter' figure into the vocal coloratura (in bars 33–35), though he takes care not to overtax the singer. During the vocal periods the bass part mostly pauses, leaving the viola to provide a *bassetto*. An unusual, but very welcome, feature of this movement is that it has three, rather than the usual two, vocal periods (the second ends in the relative minor key and the third begins as a reprise of the first vocal section). Like all the subsequent movements for one or two solo voices in this work, it has a generosity of scale not seen in Vivaldi's sacred vocal music of the first period (before 1718) and rarely encountered in the second (1718–1732).<sup>57</sup>

Example 5 'Virgam virtutis tuae', bars 5–11

#### iv Tecum principium

Casting 'Tecum principium' as a duet (here, for two tenors) has a kind of precedent in *rv595*, except that there the paired participants are obbligato cellos as well as voices. This very substantial movement is based on a voluble motive closely related to the principal theme of Vivaldi's aria 'Ti sento, sì, ti sento', which first appeared as a 'show-stopper' at the end of the first act of his second Venetian opera, *La costanza trionfante degli amori e de gl'odii* (1716), and was subsequently employed, in various keys and guises, in several vocal and instrumental movements, of which the best known is the finale of the Flute Concerto *rv434* (Op. 10 No. 3). In each of the two vocal periods the two tenors play little games of 'tag' with each other before settling into the inevitable parallel thirds. The first vocal phrase ends with an attractive and slightly unusual cadence (see Example 6) recalling that of the finale of the Cello Concerto *rv399*. The anapaestic rhythm of the penultimate bar of the example has a folk-like, slightly *mitteleuropäisch*, flavour. Throughout, the composer accompanies the singers very lightly, arriving almost at the texture of a chamber duet.<sup>58</sup>

One highly unusual feature – which would almost in itself provide sufficient grounds for attributing the composition to Vivaldi – is the key selected for the second vocal period. This is not the expected dominant, D major, but the supertonic, A minor. To our knowledge, this particular substitution occurs only in Vivaldi's

<sup>57</sup> On the periodization of Vivaldi's sacred music see Michael Talbot, 'Vivaldi's Sacred Vocal Music: The Three Periods', in *Nuovi studi vivaldiani. Edizione e cronologica critica delle opere*, ed. Antonio Fanna and Giovanni Morelli (Florence: Olschki, 1988), 759–769. The expanded scale is, of course, exactly in line with what other composers were doing in the 1730s.

<sup>58</sup> The direction at the start of the *basso* part, 'Un organo solo, e sempre piano', is typical of Vivaldi's fastidiousness over scoring in his late period.



Example 6 'Tecum principum', bars 18–23

music: another example of it is seen in the third movement – again, in G major – of the late *Nisi Dominus* RV803.

#### v Juravit Dominus, et non paenitebit

The mood of the psalm darkens in the fifth verse, as the Lord's implacability is proclaimed. Both RV594 and RV595 set the first semiverse as a solemn introduction to a more animated fugal section on the words of the second semiverse ('Tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech'). The Dresden *Dixit Dominus* keeps the bipartite structure but places the fugue first; the second section becomes a *minore* epilogue reminiscent of such episodes in Vivaldi's chaconnes, most notably the final chorus of his opera *La verità in cimento* (1720), but also used in *Giustino* (1724) and in the serenata *La Senna festeggiante* (c1726). Like the fugues in the other settings of the psalm, this one makes gestures towards the *stile antico*: violins and violas double appropriate vocal parts, except in some passages where the voices pause and briefly allow the strings to take over the fugal argument;<sup>59</sup> the principal subject includes some ponderous repeated notes (*Pfundnoten*, as the Germans call them) that are intended to evoke the world of plainsong quotation, even though no such provenance exists here;<sup>60</sup> and the movement of the parts is predominantly linear, delighting in the harmonic frictions brought about by contrary motion. The closest cousin to this fugue in Vivaldi's sacred vocal music is the 'Paratum cor ejus' movement of the *Beatus vir* RV597, which is in the same key of C major and likewise in triple metre. The *minore* section offers some quiet relief and a dash of chromaticism; the composer makes sure, however, to revert to the major mode at the very end, marrying the text of the second semiverse to the music for the first.

#### vi Dominus a dextris tuis

This aria for solo tenor is in some ways a minor-key reprise of the third movement, on whose thematic substance it draws extensively. The 'stutter' motive is employed once again (this time in a more thoroughgoing way), as is the little accompanimental figure seen right at the start of Example 5. The composer opens the first vocal period with a short motto. This is not a so-called *Devise*, or preliminary version of the opening phrase of the first vocal statement (a routine of which Vivaldi was never fond): it is a thematically

59 The *basso* part, however, is independent of the vocal bass, maintaining a steady tread in crotchets. The fugue concluding Vivaldi's respond *Deus ad adjuvandum me festina*, RV593, treats the instrumental bass in a similarly independent manner, with continuous running quavers.

60 Comparable examples of 'feigned' or altered plainsong quotation occur in the final movement of Vivaldi's *Credo* RV591 and in the opening movement of Handel's *Dixit Dominus*.



independent motto, strikingly similar to the one with which the solo alto opens in the ‘Domine Deus, Agnus Dei’ movement of the *Gloria* RV589.<sup>61</sup> The movement features some very attractive tonicizations of secondary triads, and has an infectious *slancio*. It also provides a perfect demonstration of *thematische Arbeit*, since each part, including the bass, is given at least one opportunity to pick up the ‘stutter’ motive and run with it.

#### vii Judicabit in nationibus

The first section of this movement is episodic, but no less convincing for that. Bars 1–16 are an instrumental prelude, dominated by the solo trumpet. There follows a seven-bar section for the choral voices, accompanied (uniquely in this composition) by continuo alone; this section consists merely of successive imitative entries on a fanfare motive that paraphrases the earlier trumpet theme. Then come a pair of two-bar interludes, respectively for two sopranos and two altos. The ‘solo’ markings here probably denote solo performance, although they could also refer to the temporary absence of the other parts. The section concludes with a short unison passage and an instrumental epilogue leading to the dominant of the home key, D major.

Unexpectedly, the second section moves straight into B minor. The percussive, strictly syllabic word-setting and the incessant background of string tremolos (in demisemiquavers) takes us straight to the world of the ‘Implevit ruinas’ sections in RV594 and RV595.<sup>62</sup> Once again, this similarity would almost suffice by itself to convince one of Vivaldi’s authorship. Fast and furious though this section is, it shows great imagination in its harmonic twists and turns and employs hemiola to powerful effect.

#### viii De torrente in via bibet

This is the quiet heart of the composition – the equivalent of the ‘Domine Deus, Rex caelestis’ movement in RV589 or the ‘Cum dederit dilectis suis somnum’ movement in RV803. Whereas in RV594 and RV595 the flowing of the waters of the brook is illustrated with wide undulations formed by broken chords, it is here conveyed by slurred pairs of adjacent notes on exactly the pattern of bars 31–36 in the first movement of Vivaldi’s ‘Spring’ Concerto, RV269, the caption to which reads: ‘Scorrano i fonti’. In this harmonically very unpretentious movement the composer achieves genuine poetry through understatement and delicate sculpting, especially of the sinuous line for solo alto. Particularly moving is the final ritornello, shown in Example 7, where the waters descend to the continuo part, ebbing gently away.

A remarkable fact: the vocal part in this movement and in its counterparts in RV594 and RV595 begin with the same three notes: e<sup>1</sup>, g<sup>1</sup>, b<sup>1</sup>. Sometimes composers find that they can react to a text in only one way.

#### ix Gloria Patri

Since the text of the Lesser Doxology is common to all psalm settings and also the Magnificat, there is no lack of examples in Vivaldi’s music with which to compare this movement, scored for two sopranos and strings in chamber duet style. Vivaldi has two distinct approaches. The first, which we have encountered already in the new *Lauda Jerusalem*, is to emphasize the separateness of the Doxology as a whole by starting the reprise of the work’s opening material already at the words ‘Gloria Patri’, thereby altering the sense of the pun on ‘Sicut erat in principio’, which now refers to something that has just happened rather than something that is currently happening. The second is to treat the Doxology’s first verse separately as an independent

61 Both mottoes work their way down, in D minor, from the dominant note to the tonic.

62 There is also a strong kinship with the ‘Fecit potentiam’ movement of Vivaldi’s *Magnificat*, RV610/611. Note the recourse in all these movements to unison writing for the choral voices, which are required to trill on specified prominent notes.



41

Violins,  
Viola

*p sempre*

Alto

- put, e - - xal - ta - - - - bit

Basso  
Continuo

*p sempre*

43

ca - - put.

45

Example 7 'De torrente in via bibet', bars 41–46 (missing viola notes restored)

movement and delay the reprise until 'Sicut erat in principio'.<sup>63</sup> Vivaldi seldom uses full choir for a separate 'Gloria Patri': he treats it as the prayer of an individual or, as here, of a small group of individuals. The texture of the present movement is highly contrapuntal, to the point of treating the viola as an obbligato part more or less from start to finish (whereas in the earlier movements it frequently plays in octaves with the bass, following the fashion of the 1730s). As in the 'Gloria Patri' of Vivaldi's *Dixit Dominus* RV595 (a movement paraphrased from part of a Lotti terzet), the imitative interweaving of the parts becomes in itself an expression of joyfulness in praise of the Holy Trinity. Some licences are observable in the handling of the bass, which (as is normal in Vivaldi's music) sails close to the wind so far as the avoidance of consecutive octaves is concerned, but one must admire the sheer panache of this movement. Example 8, taken from the middle of the second vocal period, displays the same kind of silky counterpoint amid quickfire modulation that we encounter in bars 34–45 of the 'Laudamus te' in the *Gloria* RV588.

#### x.1 Sicut erat in principio (I)

A mere fifteen bars long, this movement ruthlessly condenses the material of the first movement to make a solemn introduction to the closing fugue.

63 This approach is familiar from J. S. Bach's *Magnificat*, BWV243.



64

Soprano 1  
et Spi - ri - tu - i San -

Soprano 2  
et Spi - ri - tu - i San -

Basso Continuo

71

cto, et Spi - ri - tui San -

cto, et Spi - ri - tui San -

Example 8 'Gloria Patri', bars 64–77

## x.2 Sicut erat in principio (II)

If, as we believe, this movement is indeed by Vivaldi, it is a *summa* of his fugal art, gloriously deploying in a single long movement of seventy-nine bars the best features that we have come to recognize in his fugues from the second movement of the eleventh concerto of *L'estro armonico* onwards.<sup>64</sup> It has a principal subject (marked A in Example 9) closely related to that of its counterpart in Vivaldi's *Domine ad adjuvandum me festina*, RV593 (and, more loosely, to that of the *Dixit Dominus* RV594) and a principal countersubject (B). The accelerating rhythm of subject A, which begins in minims but then moves successively to crotchets, quavers and semiquavers, lends great zest.<sup>65</sup> As in the fugue in RV593, there are in addition two subsidiary invertible countersubjects (C and D) of a more fragmentary nature that come into their own during episodic passages. The middle entries are dominated by successive presentation of the subjects in minor keys (E, B, F sharp): already touched by chromaticism, the subjects acquire here new depths of harmonic intensity. Brief but telling instrumental interludes separate the three phases of the movement (exposition, middle entries, closing entries). The final section begins in bar 50 with a switch to a new gear: 'Più Allegro'. Initially, the main subject appears in a paraphrase employing diminution. Condensation of thematic material towards the end of a movement is altogether a favourite device in Vivaldi, and a precedent for this type of treatment in connection with a fugue subject occurs in the corresponding movement of the *Dixit Dominus* RV594. In bar 60, one bar after the tempo marking changes to 'Presto', the composer settles on a dominant pedal, which he maintains for thirteen bars. Pedalpoint, too, is a frequent occurrence at the climax of Vivaldi's fugues.<sup>66</sup>

64 For his earlier choral fugues (including that ending the *Dixit Dominus* RV595) Vivaldi was apt to borrow, and only minimally to adapt, music by other composers, but by the 1720s he seems to have become much more ambitious and confident in this domain.

65 One is reminded of the accelerating subject, initially on a repeated monotone, of the fugue in Handel's concerto Op. 6 No. 7.

66 The inclusion of pedalpoint as a climactic device was by no means mandatory for Italian composers of fugues: Albinoni, for one, never employs it. It belongs more to the tradition of keyboard music than to that of music for strings, and Vivaldi's great partiality to it suggests that he was exposed to keyboard fugues during his early years.





10

Soprano  
Violin 1

Alto  
Violin 2

Tenor  
Viola

Bass

Basso  
Continuo

13

Example 9 'Sicut erat in principio' (II), bars 10–15

Meanwhile, above, snippets of the subjects are treated in stretto and sequence. In bars 69–70 the composer cranks the harmonic intensity up a notch by extending the initial chromatic descent of the main subject to form a complete *passus duriusculus* descending from a to e. The movement ends with a cheerful *stretta*-like coda. In admirable manner, this fugue picks up and processes the salient melodic shapes of the preceding movements: the descending scale, the broken chord and the zigzagging descending fifths and rising fourths.

## DATING AND PROVENANCE

Let us assume that the case for Vivaldi's authorship of both the *Lauda Jerusalem* (as an arrangement of a non-original work) and the *Dixit Dominus* has been made satisfactorily. What conclusions may we draw?

How the two manuscripts (like those of RV795 and RV803) could have reached Baldan's *copisteria* after Vivaldi's death, or even during his lifetime, is not hard to imagine, for Vivaldi's nephew Daniele Mauro (born 1717) was working for Baldan before setting up his own copying shop in partnership with his elder brother Pietro (born 1715). Pietro, nicknamed 'Il Vivaldi', tried his luck, without much success, as a tenor singer and occasional impresario before joining Daniele; he may have owned a collection of music that



included works by his famous uncle.<sup>67</sup> Many compositions, including all the 'solo' sonatas, are missing from the composer's collection as preserved in Turin, and it is not unlikely that one or both of his nephews creamed off part of it before the Venetian authorities, learning of his death in Vienna, made an inventory of his possessions.

The prominence of the two tenors in both of the newly discovered works (in contrast to RV795 and RV803) rules out any connection with the Ospedale della Pietà, which, to all appearances, never went beyond a single tenor part – moreover, a tenor part in an unusually high register equivalent to that of a second alto.<sup>68</sup> Because of this similar feature in their scoring, which is encountered nowhere else in Vivaldi's sacred music, they may well have been companion works. Their contrasted style is no barrier to this, since it was customary at the time to conceive a cycle of psalms as an anthology of different types of setting.<sup>69</sup> (In similar fashion, the severely contrapuntal 'Laudate pueri' of Mozart's *Vesperae solennes de Confessore*, K339, sits happily alongside the almost operatic 'Laudate Dominum'.)

From stylistic evidence one would guess that the new *Dixit Dominus*, at least, dates from the 1730s rather than the 1720s. However, it seems earlier in style than the works composed in 1739 (to which belong the *Nisi Dominus* RV803 and also the new movements composed for the *Magnificat* RV611 and the *Beatus vir* RV795); for one thing, the reduction in importance of the middle parts (a typically galant feature that was gathering pace during the 1730s) has not advanced so far. Beyond this, one can merely speculate. There are no known records of any commissions for music of this type earned by Vivaldi between 1727 and 1739, although he certainly possessed the reputation in this domain to have acquired some.

Interesting though it is as a demonstration of its composer's surreptitiously practised skills as an arranger of music by others, the new *Lauda Jerusalem* is unlikely to win especial favour in the concert hall and recording studio: it simply yields insufficient added value to what we already possess in the *Credidi* RV605, which in any case has never been a popular work in its own right.

The new *Dixit Dominus* is another matter altogether. Of all Vivaldi's sacred works with choir it maintains its high musical quality most consistently. Whereas RV588, 589, 594 and 595 all have their weaker moments or occasional defects of proportion, the Dresden *Dixit Dominus* goes unerringly from one marvellous movement to another. Everything 'fits': the sense that the several movements are governed firmly by a single overall vision is nowhere stronger within his sacred vocal music. The craftsmanship, too, is of the highest standard: for once, no corners are cut. If musical merit were the only criterion, this work would supplant the *Gloria* RV589 as the public's favourite. Realistically, however, one must recognize that the technical difficulty of the solo parts, with their elaborate coloratura so typical of the 1730s, is likely to present a barrier to performance by amateurs and non-specialists, thereby limiting the number of performances.

Can we expect any more similar discoveries in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek / Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden? All that is needed is for someone with the utmost suspicion of any attribution made by Baldan to comb through the music acquired from him during the same period, searching for stylistic features that belie the name on the title page. How successful such a targeted approach can be was shown many years ago by Manfred Fehner, who trawled the anonymous instrumental works in the collection and came up with important unknown music by Vivaldi and Albinoni.<sup>70</sup> Perhaps the best is yet to come.

67 Operatic appearances by Pietro Mauro run from 1730/1731 to 1741. He seems to have been very reliant on his uncle for support, and it may be no accident that his leaving the stage coincides with Vivaldi's death. Later he was highly regarded as a copyist.

68 It is significant that such double-choir works written for the Pietà as Porta's *Dixit Dominus* of 1736 and Porpora's *Magnificat* of 1742 omit the tenor from the second *coro*.

69 Vesper cycles of this kind by Porta, Cardena, Porpora, Runcher and Bernasconi are discussed in Talbot, *Sacred Vocal Music*, 78–80.

70 Manfred Fehner, 'Neue Vivaldi-Funde in der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek Dresden', in *Vivaldi-Studien: Referate des 3. Dresdner Vivaldi-Kolloquiums*, ed. Wolfgang Reich (Dresden: Sächsische Landesbibliothek, 1981), 42–58.



## POSTSCRIPT

While this article was in press, some significant developments occurred. Federico Maria Sardelli informed us privately that the sixth movement of the *Dixit Dominus*, 'Dominus a dextris tuis', is practically identical with the A section of the E minor aria 'Alma oppressa da sorte crudele' in Vivaldi's opera *La fida ninfa* (I.8). This is perhaps the most compelling single piece of evidence in favour of his authorship. Sardelli believes that the use of the *Devise* is more natural in the opera aria than in the sacred movement, and hence that the latter postdates the former (performed in 1732). This argument certainly has some force. Equally interesting is the fact that Vivaldi's *Confitebor* RV596 likewise contains a movement (the concluding setting of the Doxology) concordant with the A section of a movement in *La fida ninfa* – a hint that the new *Dixit Dominus* and the *Confitebor* may belong together in the same Vesper cycle. Within the catalogue of Vivaldi's works the *Dixit Dominus* has acquired the number RV807, while the *Lauda Jerusalem* becomes RVAnh.35a. In order to unite RVAnh.35 and its two successive arrangements under a common number, the *Credidi propter quod* RV605 is redesignated RVAnh.35b. The SLUB has assigned new shelfmarks to the two new finds: the manuscript of RV807 is henceforth Mus. 2389-E-6, while that of RVAnh.35a becomes Mus. 2389-E-7. The first modern performance of the *Dixit Dominus* is scheduled to be given in Dresden on 22 April 2006 by the Körnerscher Sing-Verein under Peter Kopp.