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On the *Salve Regina* attributed to Antonio Caldara in the Santini Library
Warren Kirkendale

A recording¹ of Rudolf Ewerhart's broadcast of a *Salve Regina* attributed to Antonio Caldara for the Westdeutsche Rundfunk in 1959 from the manuscript D-MÜS SANT. 3514, fol. 24-33v, impressed me so profoundly with the superb quality of this music that I finally decided to publish an edition of it with a commentary.² It was clear to me that the unknown 'gallant' style of the music which Caldara composed in Italy before departing for Vienna in 1716 might create the impression that this *Salve* was composed much later. I therefore presented the following *caveat*:³

The extraordinary but simple melodic elegance of Caldara already anticipates Mozart, though formulated at least forty years before his birth by a composer born

1 Unpublished CD, filed in the Diözesanbibliothek, Münster, and the Deutsches Historisches Institut, Rome.

2 ANTONIO CALDARA, *Due antifone mariane: 'Salve Regina', 'Te decus virgineum'*, Lucca, Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2011 (Fondazione Arcadia, "Musiche italiane del Settecento", IX). The English version of the commentary is published also as an article: WARREN KIRKENDALE, *On the Marian Antiphons 'Salve Regina', 'Te Decus virgineum', and Antonio Caldara*, «Studi Musicali», n. s. I, 2010, pp. 345-368, with a bibliography on the *Salve Regina*. The Italian version was subdivided into two articles, in «Marianum», LXIII, 2011, pp. 357-375 (*Salve Regina*), and «Carmelus», LXXIII, 2011, pp. 163-176 (*Te decus*).

3 See ANTONIO CALDARA, *Due antifone mariane* cit., p. XXI; KIRKENDALE, *On the Marian Antiphons* cit., p. 353.

fourteen years before J. S. Bach. Only if one did not know many pages of Caldara's music (e.g. of his [early] sacred works) with astonishing resemblance to those of his 'pupil-successors' Haydn and Mozart in Vienna would one be misled to attribute this work to a later composer.

I did not regard it as necessary to question the authorship of the *Salve* in my edition, because so many arguments spoke for Caldara. Fortunately, a respected colleague has encouraged me to justify the attribution, and I was invited to include the present text as part of an article for a volume dedicated to Fortunato Santini.⁴ After all, no autograph of the *Salve* exists. The same can be said for the greater part of the music which we possess, especially for Italian vocal music of the Baroque. But one would not doubt the attributions of much of this music.

Authorship, of course, can never be decisively established merely with style-critical methods. New stylistic elements never belong to 'period style' (common practice), but anticipate it. One therefore cannot claim that every work which contains them must have been composed much later. Were one to object, for example, that the use of horns in our *Salve* belonged to the period style of sacred music only after the middle of the eighteenth century, or that the cadences over six-four chords appear in instrumental concertos only towards 1730, then we can adduce that Prince Ruspoli paid horn players for Caldara's *Oratorio per la Santissima Annunziata* already in 1715,⁵ that the cadences are derived from earlier vocal practice, and that such a cadence, even with the concluding trill, already appears in Caldara's *Haec est Regina virginum* (autograph D/MÜs SANT Hs. 724). This antiphon – like his *Te decus virgineum* and Handel's settings of these same two texts – has shown to have originated in the years 1707-1709, for the Roman Carmelites. Copyists' bills for these four antiphons

4 WARREN KIRKENDALE, *Zu Handschriften von Händel und Caldara in der Santini-Bibliothek, Münster*, in *Sacrae Musicae Cultor et Propagator: Internationale Tagung zum 150. Todesjahr des Musiksammlers, Komponisten und Bearbeiters Fortunato Santini*, hrsg. von Andrea Pietro Ammendola und Peter Schmitz, Münster, Agenda Verlag, in the press.

5 URSULA KIRKENDALE, *Antonio Caldara: Life and Venetian-Roman Oratorios*, revised and translated by Warren Kirkendale, Firenze, Olschki, 2007 (abbreviated henceforth as "AC"), pp. 473, and also, the same year, for Caldara's cantata *Nice lascia d'amar* (pp. 102, 476). Like Handel's cantata *Diana cacciatrice* HWV 79, composed for Ruspoli, our *Salve* uses also trumpets. At that time, both instruments were often played by the same musicians. Caldara employs, moreover, a great variety of obbligato instruments, e. g. the violoncello in *Maddalena ai piedi di Cristo*, the trombone in his *Passione*, or the bassoon in the *Missa Dolorosa*.

and for our *Salve* never arrived in the Ruspoli archives, since the manuscripts were not written by copyists who worked for the prince.

Our teacher Erich Schenk in Vienna – with profound knowledge of the Italian Baroque and Viennese Classics – always praised Caldara as the most important predecessor of Haydn and Mozart. Also other scholars such as Arnold Schering⁶ or Constantin Schneider («The ground for Mozart's art [...] is prepared in an absolutely decisive manner by Caldara»)⁷ have recognized the relevance of Caldara for Mozart. A review of a performance of Caldara's music in Innsbruck spoke of «Mozartian anticipations».⁸

There are enough passages in Caldara's music which sound almost like Haydn or Mozart. But since his styles in Italy and in Vienna were so different, we must speak of two separate cases. His sacred vocal music from his Italian period is predominantly for solo voice, in the liturgical pieces usually soprano. In these 'modern-gallant' works are found a great number of melodic «Mozartian anticipations». The book of Ursula Kirkendale identifies a whole series of them (cfr. pp. 214, 243-245, 256, 341 348-349, with the respective musical examples, including melodic formulations *à la Figaro*). Caldara's villotta-aria «Chi con sua cetra» in his oratorio *Maddalena ai piedi di Cristo* has an astonishing similarity to «Im Mohrenland gefangen» in Mozart's *Entführung* (AC, pp. 243 ff., with musical examples 46 and 48 now Examples 1 and 2).⁹ The examples 167-168 (now 3 and 4) reveal identical incipits, even in the same key, from Caldara's *Oratorio di Santo Stefano, primo re dell'Ungheria* (ca. 1712) and «Là ci darem la mano» from *Don Giovanni*. The author never claimed that Mozart must have known these works of Caldara, but she did demonstrate conclusively that 'Mozartian' melody occurs in Caldara's music long before the Austrian's birth.

6 Quoted in AC, p. 387.

7 *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, xci, Vienna, Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1955, p. xv, quoted in AC, p. 115.

8 *Mozartsche Vorahnungen*, «Österreichische Musikzeitschrift», xlviii, 1993, p. 586. Cfr. also the very positive review by Paul Henry Lang of a recording of Caldara's *Missa sanctificationis Sancti Joanni Nepomuceni* in «The Musical Quarterly», lxi, 1966, pp. 391-394.

9 On Handel's use of this idiom of Venetian folksong (Villotta), cfr. my *Zu Handschriften von Händel und Caldara* cit., no. 7 of eight arguments correcting an error of Dinko Fabris.

Ex. 1: Caldara, *Maddalena ai piedi di Cristo*, no. 21

Largo

V.I
V.II
VaA
VaT
Vc.

Maddalena
Largo

Vc.

Chi con sua Ce - tra si piac-que al-'E - tra

Ex. 2. Mozart, *Entführung*, III, no. 18

Pedrillo

In Mohren-land ge-fan - gen war — ein Mä - del hübsch und fein

Ex. 3. Caldara, *Santo Stefano*, no. 4

Gisella
(Larghetto)

pre - sta - gli bel - la pal - ma

Ex. 4. Mozart, *Don Giovanni*, no. 7

Don Giovanni
Andante

Là ci da - rem la ma - no

The second, very different influence of Caldara on the Viennese Classics emerged from the conservative, choral liturgical music, above all from the Masses which he composed in Vienna. In this case it can be assumed that the later composers knew a good part of the repertoire, because this music was performed in Viennese churches until the early nineteenth century and was then the model for the same genre. Caldara's Nepomuk Mass and also other Masses of his do not differ greatly from the *late* Masses of Haydn. This composer's mentor and predecessor with Esterhazy, Gregor Joseph Werner, appears to have been a pupil of Caldara, which would have had an influence on Haydn.¹⁰

The earliest extant oratorio of Caldara, *Maddalena ai piedi di Cristo*, though composed shortly before 1700, already exhibits an astonishing 'modernity'. Also *Haec est Regina virginum*, published by Rudolf Ewerhart,¹¹ differs little from the *Salve*. One of the most important conclusions from the book on Caldara is the

10 LAJOS ROVATKAY, *Gregor Joseph Werner (1693-1766) g-moll Requiemjének rejtett üzenete*, «Magyar Zene», IV, 2005, pp. 405-433. He demonstrates that Werner's Requiem contains, *alternatim*, his compositions and contrafacta of madrigals by Caldara.

11 Cologne, Bieler, 1968. An unpublished CD is filed in the Diözesanbibliothek, Münster, and the Deutsches Historisches Institut, Rome.

demonstration that many of the ‘innovations’ which were attributed to the second generation of the ‘Neapolitan school’ were already present in the music of this Venetian.¹² In a letter of 3 May 1968 to Ursula Kirkendale, the expert on Venetian opera Helmuth Christian Wolff wrote: «I was especially pleased that you could demonstrate the sources of the so-called ‘Neapolitans’ much earlier in Venice and Rome». The ‘modern’ style of Caldara is found above all in the oratorios of his Italian period, which my wife – and only she – knows very well, and more in the sacred works than in the secular (such as the Viennese operas). Arguments for a substantially later dating of the *Salve* are precisely those on which we base Caldara’s great importance: his anticipation of the Viennese Classics. These will not convince music-lovers who still regard the arch-conservative, often cerebral J. S. Bach as the essence of ‘baroque music’. During Caldara’s years, an entire colony of Italian musicians was of course active in the city on the Danube. It is still not fully recognized how much of the Viennese Classics was found earlier in Italy. This includes, with Caldara, an effortless melodic elegance, the simple harmony of the early Classical period, melodic periodicity, repetition of short motives in close succession,¹³ and simplicity of folksong – e.g. the enchanting Mozartian simplicity of the aria «Quando si mira volar» in *Il più bel nome*, 1708, B-Bc Ms. 584, p. 76 (track 19 of the CD). Only in Vienna did his style become less ‘gallant’, more loaded with counterpoint, as a concession to the conservative taste of Emperor Charles VI. Thus one cannot use his Viennese works as a criterion for a judgement of the earlier ones. Here is especially evident how problematic style-criticism can be for determination of authorship. What impresses us especially with Caldara is his inexhaustible *inventio* and *varietas*, notwithstanding the enormous dimensions of his production. He was not a Vivaldi, who, as Stravinsky rightly observed, composed the same concerto over and over again. Arias of the Viennese operas have no relevance for Caldara’s sacred music in Italy: the texts, their language and contents, the musical genre, the patron, the place and time are all completely different and thus not useful for comparisons, unlike the comparable Viennese Masses of Caldara, Haydn, and Mozart. Only Caldara’s liturgical works, not his operas, were performed in Viennese churches up to the end of the eighteenth century.

¹² AC, pp. 20, 222, 288 (note 285), 321, 387-390, 400; also the review by Paul Henry Lang in «The Musical Quarterly», LIV, 1968, pp. 118-127: 126, quoted in AC, p. 499.

¹³ AC, p. 278.

For dating the *Salve* diplomatic methods might be more useful than stylistic ones, though also they do not provide absolute proof. An examination in Münster by Michael Werthmann has yielded not identical, but similar watermarks and copyists in the Santini Library. The watermark of the *Salve* is a *fleur-de-lis* in a circle. The extensive collections of watermarks – Heawood, Briquet, Piccard (an entire volume for the lily), Churchill¹⁴ – reproduce a large number of lily watermarks, many of them in a double circle (like the paper which Handel used continually in Rome during the two years before Caldara’s arrival there), fewer in a single circle, almost all (or all?) from Italy, especially Foligno. They were already widely diffused in the second half of the sixteenth century, but much less in the middle and second half of the eighteenth. This late there seem to be hardly any which resemble the watermark of the *Salve*. The only other music manuscript known to me with a lily in a single circle was written precisely by Handel’s principal copyist Antonio Giuseppe Angelini for fragments of *Rodrigo*.¹⁵ It is not identical to the watermark of the *Salve*, but might be close to it in time and place.

The handwriting of the *Salve* is similar to that of a copyist, Cosimo Serio,¹⁶ who worked for Alessandro Scarlatti and Caldara *chez* Ruspoli in Rome. It shows peculiarities which may be characteristic of Roman copyists from the early eighteenth century and do not appear much later, for example: very similar clefs, and the white heads of notes always to the left of a downward stem, the black ones always to the right – also in the autographs of Caldara and in manuscripts of two copyists who worked for him in Rome.¹⁷

Since the eleven diverse settings of the *Salve*, almost all by younger composers, in Ms. 3514 – written by different copyists on different paper and penta-

14 EDWARD HEAWOOD, *Watermarks, Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, Hilversum, Paper Publ. Soc., 1950; CHARLES-MOÏSES BRIQUET, *Les filigranes*, Amsterdam, Paper Publ. Soc., 1968; GERHARD PICCARD, *Wasserzeichen Lilie*, Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1983; WILLIAM A. CHURCHILL, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France etc. in the XVII and XVIII Centuries and their Interconnection*, Nieuwkoop, De Graaf, 1985.

15 Vienna, Minoritenkonvent, Ms. XIV.743, pp. 38-41. Cfr. KEIICHIRO WATANABE and HANS JOACHIM MARX, *Händels römische Kopisten*, «Göttinger Händel-Beiträge», III, 1989, p. 206.

16 Cfr. AC, pp. 105, 139, 143, 147, plate 18, and URSULA and WARREN KIRKENDALE, *Music and Meaning: Studies in Music History and the Neighbouring Disciplines*, Firenze, Olschki, 2007, pp. 321, 377, plate XI.8a-b.

17 Cfr. AC, plates 15, 17 (Tarquinio Lanciani), p. 21.

grams – were bound together only much later by Santini (with his table of contents), it can by no means be concluded that they were of similar age and formed a unified collection. Some of them were copied by Santini himself. In the literature on Santini and his library (Stasshoff, Killing, Fellerer, Ewerhart, Rostirolla) there is, as far as I know, no mention of possible falsifications. Also here, Santini seems to have worked correctly and critically. Though not a philologist, but a collector, Santini was not a dealer who wished to sell counterfeit music.

We do not have nearly enough knowledge of the vast quantity of Caldara's manuscripts to identify even a single falsification. But he was no Pergolesi or Haydn, whose enormous popularity tempted music dealers to place their names on manuscripts which they wished to sell. In such counterfeits the names of the false composers were nearly always added to an older manuscript by a different, more recent hand. A strong indication against a falsification of the *Salve* is the fact that the title and the name of the composer were clearly written by the same hand as the music, in a rectangular space which was reserved for this before the copying of the music began.¹⁸ The words "del Signor" before the name Caldara are typical of attributions to a composer still living. (That Santini occasionally copied them from an old manuscript is of no account).

A different composer, capable of writing such exquisite music, would certainly have been well known in Italy and not have needed Caldara's name to sell it. With his departure for Vienna in 1716 Caldara was largely forgotten in his native country. There were very few manuscripts of his works in Italy – with the exception of those copied for Ruspoli and eventually acquired by Santini – not to mention reports of performances. Only north of the Alps, above all in Austria, Bohemia and Moravia, was Caldara still well known in the second half of the eighteenth century, almost exclusively through his liturgical music, thanks also to his fame as imperial vice chapel master. Only there are found many posthumous manuscripts and documentation of performances. The manuscript D-MÜs 3514 came from Italy. I regard it as extremely unlikely that in the middle of the eighteenth century an *Italian* music dealer would have placed the name of Caldara on a manuscript because he believed that it could be sold more easily if it bore the name of a 'famous' composer. Caldara was then no longer famous in Italy. Only in the early nineteenth century was his importance for the history of

18 Cfr. plate 1 of my edition and the words «Salve Regina» under the music. fol. 24v.

music recognized by a few connoisseurs like Franz Sales Kandler and Raphael Georg Kiesewetter, who could examine his manuscripts north of the Alps.¹⁹

A certain scepticism regarding Caldara's authorship of the *Salve* is comprehensible, for hardly a musicologist knows his sacred vocal music from his "gal-lant" Italian period (until 1716). Except for *Haec est Regina virginum*, it has not been published. But whoever has heard the recordings of this antiphon, of *Mad-dalena ai piedi di Cristo* and *Il più bel nome* (all composed before 1710) will scarcely be able to exclude the same authorship for the *Salve Regina*.

With my edition I wished to make available a gorgeous piece of music. It will retain its value, regardless of who composed it – in my judgement, Caldara.

19 Cfr. AC, pp. 125-134 for very positive judgements of Caldara from three centuries.

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