

GAETANO PUGNANI AND THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ITALIAN SYMPHONY:  
A STUDY AND EDITION OF THE OVERTURE IN E-FLAT (ZT 23)

By

CLAUDIO RE

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To mom and dad

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Ch-EN	Switzerland, Engelberg, Kloster, Musikbibliothek.
D-Bsb	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany.
I-Mc	Conservatorio di Musica Giuseppe Verdi - Biblioteca, Milan, Italy.
I-Rdp	Archivio Doria Pamphili, Rome, Italy.
I-Tn	Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria – sezione Musicale, Turin, Italy.
I-Vc	Conservatorio di Musica Benedetto Marcello – Biblioteca, Venice, Italy.
GARLAND	<i>The Symphony 1720–1840</i> . New York: Garland.
GB-Lam	Royal Academy of Music - Library, London, Great Britain.
GMO	L. Macy, Ed. <i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music Online</i> . <a href="http://www.grovemusic.com">http://www.grovemusic.com</a> .
MGG1	Blume, Friederich, ed. <i>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart; allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik</i> 17 vols. Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1949–1979.
MGG2	Finsher, Ludwig, ed. <i>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart; allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik begründet von Friedrich Blume</i> . 26 vols. Kassel and New York: Bärenreiter, 1994-2007.
P-La	Biblioteca de Ajuda, Lisbon, Portugal.
RUS-SPsc	Rossiyskaya Natsional'naya Biblioteka, St. Petersburg, Russia.
ZT	Zschinsky-Troxler von, E.M. <i>Gaetano Pugnani</i> . Berlin: 1939. When followed by a number it refers to the number in the thematic catalog.

Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School  
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Claudio Re

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Gaetano Pugnani, well known for his contributions as a violin pedagogue, is less recognized for his contributions to the repertoire of the eighteenth-century Italian symphony, a somewhat neglected area of music history. This dissertation focuses on a single piece from this area, Pugnani's overture in E-Flat ZT 23.

The emphasis on Italian opera during the late eighteenth century probably led to an overshadowing of the Italian instrumental tradition and the relative dearth of scholarly literature on Italian instrumental genres. The roots and development of the style lies in Italian genres, beginning with Baroque instrumental music (e.g., sonata and concerto) and continuing through Neapolitan opera. The first direct contributions to the genre, those of Giovanni Battista Sammartini early in the century, were also Italian. Throughout the eighteenth century, however, interest in the development of purely instrumental Italian music wane at just the time when Pugnani's instrumental music flourished.

Nevertheless, the contribution of this violin virtuoso to the concert symphony is not marginal: he left over thirty symphonic works. His thematic catalog shows that many of

them were printed during his lifetime, though relatively few have survived as manuscript copies. Among the scores that remain in manuscript are works that, according to the catalog, exhibit an unusual instrumentation, namely, scoring for two obbligato violin parts. Only one of the scores of this group is currently available for study, and this surviving score is the focus of my document.

I argue that this work, with its relatively simple obbligato parts, was intended for performance by Pugnani and his pupil Giovanni Battista Viotti, following the widespread practice of composing works dedicated to a specific performer. Because the relationship between Pugnani and Viotti culminated with their 1780–81 joint concert tour, the 1770s present a likely catalyst for the composition of ZT 23 with its special scoring. Other considerations support this time period for the composition of the work.

ZT 23 and other works by Pugnani for which scholars have suggested the 1770s as the date of composition share special formal features: the first movements of these works follow a peculiar sonata form. This suggests the possibility of a common time frame.

Because the late eighteenth century was a period of largely homogeneous musical style, we must also turn to extra-musical evidence to determine a precise date of composition of ZT 23. In this case such evidence is found in the fact that only a single manuscript copy of the work survived to the present and no printed version exists. The publishing practices during Pugnani's career, according to which most music circulated in manuscript and printed music represented an exception, when combined with the chronology of his printed works suggest the 1770s as a probable date for ZT 23.

The possibility that Pugnani may have performed this work with Viotti sheds light on their relationship and on the life of Viotti during the years before his international career, a period of his life that has not been widely studied. Dating ZT 23 also enhances our understanding of Pugnani's creative life, since no comprehensive study of his style has thus far been completed. Future scholarship will also benefit from the edition of ZT 23 in Appendix A. The biographical information on Pugnani supports the thesis and builds the argument dating the work. As the first attempt of this kind, it will show that Gaetano Pugnani, who enjoyed a prominent reputation as a leading musician of his era, deserves to be re-discovered.

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

This dissertation focuses on an overture composed by Gaetano Pugnani, precisely number 23 in Zschinsky-Troxler's thematic catalog (henceforth ZT 23). The work, designated in the score as "overture," merits attention in virtue of its singular instrumentation. ZT 23 belongs to a group of five scores calling for violin obbligato parts, features unique in the scores listed in Pugnani's thematic catalog. Why did Pugnani compose this work? What is the position of ZT 23 in the creative life of the composer?

By investigating these questions, I will be able to place the work in a chronological time frame. This will lead to an enhanced understanding of the creative life of Gaetano Pugnani, because a comprehensive study on his style does not yet exist. Placing the work in a time frame will provide a tool for further comparison of Pugnani's music. Furthermore, future scholarship will also benefit from two components of this dissertation, an extensive biographical sketch of the composer and the full score of the work in question.

Neal Zaslaw built a book around the thesis that "Mozart's symphonies, far from being art for art's sake, were *Gebrauchsmusick* –music for use, functional music – which when divorced from its original setting, loses some of its meaning."<sup>1</sup> My thesis is an hypothesis about the role that ZT 23 had in the life of the composer. There is in fact a connection between the creative life of an artist and his/her creative output.

I suggest the possibility that the instrumentation of the work points at a specific time frame in the life of Pugnani, the decade of the 1770s when he worked close with

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<sup>1</sup> Neal Zaslaw, *Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performing Practice, Reception* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), vii.

his pupil Giovanni Battista Viotti. The reasons that support this thesis, that places ZT in the 1770s, will be explored in Chapter 7.

I believe that inspiring scholarship is science and art. The scientific component deals with the accuracy of verified facts, an aspect that can certainly be identified with positivism. On the other side the creative component is the one that, in order to fill gaps, suggests hypotheses that might sometimes even pass the borderline of speculation.

David Beard and Kenneth Gloag state:

Positivism reflects a view of the world and conception of knowledge which believes that knowledge and, by implication, interpretation can only be validated through an evident proof . . . It therefore reflects a scientific determination by which evidence is tested and hypothesis is either rejected or accepted on the basis of proven truth.<sup>2</sup>

In the case of ZT 23 my hypothesis can neither be accepted nor rejected with scientific determination, as it also implies an act of criticism. Since my thesis links ZT 23 with the 1770s, I must provide evidence that places the score in this time frame. I am therefore endeavoring to address the problem of dating the overture ZT 23,

Sometimes the task of dating scores is quite easy, because autograph manuscripts carry dates. Unfortunately, for Pugnani, manuscripts labeled with dates are as rare as copies and early prints.<sup>3</sup> The manuscript copies of the parts for this score, for which only a single set is extant, according to the customs of the period do not carry a date of composition.

Phillip Gossett, in a case study on Gioacchino Rossini's (1792–1868) opera stresses that:

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<sup>2</sup> David Beard and Kenneth Gloag, "Positivism" in *Musicology: The Key Concepts* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 135–136.

<sup>3</sup> Elsa Margherita von Zschinsky-Troxler, *Gaetano Pugnani: 1731 – 1798: ein Betrag zur Stilerfassung italienischer Vorklassik; mit thematischem Verzeichnis* (Berlin: Atlantis, 1939), 66.

In the spectrum of approaches to individual musical works, it is useful to imagine a continuum. At one extreme, the work is viewed in isolation, a 'fact' to be measured against a theory of internal structure, whether one based on linear analysis, harmonic patterning, or thematic transformation; at the other extreme, the work is meaningful not in itself but only in its social and cultural interactions with historical events or, indeed, with other works.<sup>4</sup>

The latter is exactly the approach that I will take in the course of this dissertation, having ZT 23 interact with the cultural customs and some other compositions by Pugnani.

First, insights will come from a comparison of ZT 23 with a collection of six overtures by Pugnani. The form of the first movement of ZT 23 resembles that of the first movements of the *Six Overtures in Eight Parts*. Scholars still debate the date of composition for the *Six Overtures*; the 1770s remains an option.<sup>5</sup> Second, ZT 23 will be placed in perspective with the customs and traditions of eighteenth-century music publishing. This will highlight a relevant chronological tie between Pugnani's professional life and the chronology of his published works, placing ZT 23 in the 1770s.

When studying the formal structure of a piece of music, the availability of a full score becomes relevant. Understanding the stylistic elements require in fact an investigation of the interaction of the different lines, a task that could not be fully accomplished when the music is, as in the case of the manuscript copy of ZT 23, presented in separate parts. Therefore, in order to accomplish the score-study an important step is to produce a full score of the work under investigation. However, as I will explain in Chapter 9, I am aware that my edition of the score is not the same as the

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<sup>4</sup> Gossett, "Rossini's Neapolitan Opera," 96.

<sup>5</sup> The challenges of dating eighteenth-century music are not limited to manuscripts. Also engraved music did not carry composition dates because the plates used for engraving were stored and impressions were made over several years. Rather than revising the original date on every impression subsequent to the original, it was more convenient omitting the it altogether. See David Wyn Jones, "What Do Surviving Copies of Early Printed Music Tell Us?" in *Music Publishing in Europe 1600–1900; Concepts and Issues, Bibliography*, Rudolf Rasch ed. (Berlin : BWV, Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), 153.

composer's original work, and will not directly add knowledge to the work's original context, remaining simply a tool.

Don Michael Randel, discussing the development of musicology, stresses that

Much of the energy of musicology has gone in identifying, fixing, preserving, and studying the work itself . . . But notation is not sufficient for the definition of 'the work itself.' Indeed notation is not self-sufficient at all . . . Musicology and ethnomusicology begin to look a great deal more alike when we recognize that there is no such thing as a work without a context.<sup>6</sup>

It is certainly true that the score itself offers very little information as to its date, but it acquires meaning as its peculiarities are placed in a context. Hence is the importance of an approach that moves away from the sole investigation of the score and also considers the customs of the period.

I will explain in Chapter 3 why the facts contained in the score are not sufficient to attempt a dating of the work. In any case, by putting ZT 23 in relation to its context, I will be able to offer a stronger argument as to the possible date of composition. Since ZT 23 was never printed and survives as a manuscript copy, specific contextual issues that I propose to identify relate to the role of printed and manuscript music in the eighteenth century. I will link such information with specific events of the composer's life. This will lead to a possible date of composition for ZT 23 and the set to which it belongs, confirming the validity of my thesis.

I propose that the score, part of a group of five works possibly written for the same purpose, was composed in the first half of the 1770s. Such a purpose determines the evidence that is brought up to generate my conclusions. The process through which I

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<sup>6</sup> Don Michael Randel, "The Canons in the Musicological Toolbox" in *Disciplining Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992) 12.

draw my thesis has obviously some limits. Philip Gossett shows how the issue of selecting facts characterizes any historical endeavor. He mentions that:

When in his *Foundations of Music History* Carl Dahlhaus asks 'What is a fact of music history?', he addresses a problem well known to twentieth century historiography. According to Max Weber, the sociologist from whom Dahlhaus derived many concepts, "the quality of an event as a 'social-economic' event is not something which it possesses 'objectivity.' It is rather conditioned by the orientation of our cognitive interest, as it arises from the specific cultural significance which we attribute to the particular event in a given case." Dahlhaus writes: "While it is facts, not fancies, that confront the honest historian, these facts have nevertheless been selected on the basis of a particular interest, and have risen from the status of mere source material to that of historical facts solely by virtue of a conceptual system of the historian's own making." Though Weber refers to 'events' of social economic history while Dalhaus is concerned with facts of music history, the communality of their formulation is apparent.<sup>7</sup>

As Gossett points out, linking the two ideas, while we deal with facts, the principle we adopt to select them is partial to a specific scholarly endeavor. Also the facts taken as evidence for this dissertation were selected to demonstrate how ZT 23 is meaningful to a specific cultural and historical context. This, at large, may reflect a methodology, but the facts remain partial to this specific study.

### **Relevance of the Topic: The Gap in Scholarship**

In comparison with Italian instrumental music of the early and middle years of the eighteenth century, when the conventions of the Classical style were taking shape, that of the end of the century has received comparatively little scholarly attention. However, the music cultural climate of Italy during that period was a rather intense one. During the late eighteenth century the Italian peninsula was an important destination for music

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<sup>7</sup> Philip Gossett, "History and Works That Have No History: Reviving Rossini's Neapolitan Opera" in *Disciplining Music: Musicology and Its Canons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 95. The two quotations are as reported in Max Weber, "'Objectivity' in Social Science and Social Policy" in Edward A. Shils and Henry A. Finch. Trans. and eds., *The Methodology of the Social Sciences* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1949). And in Carl Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History*, Trans J.B. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 42.

lovers and many composers received their training there. Musicians would travel to Italy and return to their homelands after having absorbed Italian traditions. When a composer's training in Italy was not possible, Italian residents abroad contributed to the dissemination of the Italianate influence.

In regard to late eighteenth-century Italian instrumental music, David Wyn Jones stresses that:

Having contributed with great flair to instrumental music in the earlier part of the century, Italy produced very little instrumental music of significance in the second half of the eighteenth century. Opera dominated the musical culture to such an extent that the best composers such as Cimarosa, Paisiello, and Piccinni, concentrated almost exclusively on the genre; none of these composed a single symphony.<sup>8</sup>

Scholarship seems in fact to mirror the preference of the period for vocal rather than instrumental music. This has resulted in research overlooking the instrumental medium in favor of opera. This dissertation, investigating a late eighteenth-century Italian instrumental music topic, attempts to fill in the gap.

### **Introduction to Gaetano Pugnani**

The professional figure of Gaetano Pugnani is that of a musician with many different facets. He was an orchestral violinist, a concert soloist, a chamber player, a conductor, maestro al cembalo, an educator, and a composer.<sup>9</sup> Gaetano Pugnani is well known to modern day violinists because he introduced to violin playing a longer bow called "arco magno."

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<sup>8</sup> David Wyn Jones, "The Origins of the Symphony, 1730–c.1785" in Robert Layton, *A Guide to the Symphony* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 7.

<sup>9</sup> ZT, 39. "wir sehen ihn besonders; als Orchestergeiger, Konzertsolisten, und Kammermusikspieler, Dirigenten, und Maestro al cembalo, Pädagogen und schliesslich als Komponisten."

Pugnani had a brilliant career as a musician of the royal chapel of Turin and as a soloist garnered significant praises all across Europe. He gained reputation rivaling other virtuosos of his time; his position within such picture is well illustrated by a nineteenth century plate engraved in Florence by the studio Rinaldi. The plate reproduces the portraits of several musicians and is entitled *Professori celebri di suono*, which according to Daniel Hertz could be interpreted to mean celebrated instrumental performers.<sup>10</sup> Hertz's description of the plate offers a nice picture of the environment in which Pugnani acted as a violinist.

The top medallion honors Somis, Locatelli, and Geminiani. Tartini figures to the left of the next row across, which is continued by his pupil Domenico Ferrari, Lolli, Wilhelm Cramer of Manheim, and Felice Giardini, above whom Veracini looks out of step with his long wig. Above the break-nosed Tartini, and partially obscured by him, is the most famous French pupil, André Noël Pagin. Overlapping Tartini below him are Gaetano Pugnani and Carlo Chiabrano. The bottom row contains Giovanni Battista Viotti, Janovick (i.e. Giovanni Mane Giornovich), Pietro Nardini, and Galeotti, presumably Salvatore the violinist and not Stefano the cellist.<sup>11</sup>

As a composer Pugnani's output comprises different genres, including symphonies. To date, with few exceptions, most of his orchestral works remain unrecorded and unedited. This study offers a contribution to fill such a gap, focusing on an understudied genre and on one of its composers. Pugnani's biography will be more fully explored in Chapter 5 and his contribution to the symphony touched on in Chapter 6.

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<sup>10</sup> Hertz, *European Capitals*, 208.

<sup>11</sup> Hertz, *European Capitals*, 208–209. For a contemporary account on Pugnani's musical taste, see Jean-Baptiste de Rangoni, *Essai sur le gout de la musique, avec le caractère des trios célèbres joueurs de violon, messieur Nardini, Lolli, & Pugnani* (Imprimerie de Thomas Masi: Livourne, 1790).

## Summary of Chapters

Chapter 2 explores how Italians perceived their music, as well as how foreigners understood Italian music. Eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century writings portray well this phenomenon. The picture that emerges from a review of contemporary sources shows the extent to which Italians preferred opera over instrumental music. This does not necessarily imply that Italians were not capable of producing instrumental music of good quality, but the focus on opera probably hindered the development of an Italian tradition of instrumental music. This is the reason that scholarship seems to have devalued Italian instrumental music of the later part of the eighteenth century in favor of opera.

Chapter 3 is divided into two sections. The first overviews the stylistic traits of the Classical style, traits that are eventually synthesized as a resolution of opposing forces; the second part contains a discussion of the idea of the eighteenth-century society as a homogeneous whole. Eighteenth-century treatises show clearly that the aim of musicians was that of producing an international style and that in their production they were able to merge many different influences. Modern scholarship has indeed demonstrated that composers used to do more or less the same thing, regardless of where they were. Contemporary and modern literature as well supports the idea of a homogeneous style, an idea that I reinforce with remarks about relevant aspects of eighteenth-century life. The material contained in this chapter illustrates the reason my approach shies away from reflections on the specific style of Pugnani, looking for evidence elsewhere, in the context created by works of Pugnani and his contemporaries.

The notion that the Classical style was overall homogeneous is currently in the process of being challenged by scholarship. The current tendency is that such a notion has been adopted because much work has been done on the music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven (the established composers in the canon of eighteenth-century music),<sup>12</sup> while still too little has been known about the so called “minor” composers<sup>13</sup> (a category to which Gaetano Pugnani certainly belongs). Scholarship that advocates the possibility of defining a composer’s compositional style has a long tradition; Donald Francis Tovey, at the beginning of the twentieth century, in his essays spoke of “definitely Mozartean Cliché,” “pure Mozart,” and “pure Haydn.”<sup>14</sup> As for Pugnani’s style some remarks will be offered in Chapter 6.

Chapter 4 reviews the challenges that scholarship has met in defining the symphony, showing that ultimately scholars acknowledged that the contribution of Italy to the formation of the symphonic style has been quite significant. After the great blossoming of the study of the genre, an effort that made available many scores, scholars in the 1980s determined that the forerunners of the genre were several and diverse. The theories developed in these years went beyond the “overture transfer theory,” showing that Baroque instrumental genres such as concerto and sonata can

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<sup>12</sup> For instance see Leonard B. Meyer, *The Spheres of Music* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000); especially Chapter 3, “Process and Morphology in the Music of Mozart.” See also Elaine R. Sisman, *Haydn and the Classical Variation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

<sup>13</sup> This is the rationale behind the forthcoming first volume (the last to be published) of The Symphonic Repertoire series. See A. Peter Brown, *The Symphonic Repertoire* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002–2008).

<sup>14</sup> Donald Francis Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), Vol. III, ix; The essays are collected in a six-volume series, each one devoted to a different genre, symphonies being discussed in volumes one and two. Most of the essays were written as program notes during Tovey’s tenure as conductor of the Reid Orchestra in Edinburg (see Michael Tilmouth, “Tovey, Sir Donald Francis,” in GDO).

also be logically regarded as precursors of the symphony. The turning point in the study of this evolution was in the 1980s, and specifically with all the studies that comprised the so called “Garland Series.” The series, focusing on symphonies from the 1720 to the 1840, appeared in sixty volumes, under the editorial direction of Barry Brook. Each volume, besides the full scores (sometimes facsimile) of selected works, also includes historical information and discussion on the repertoire authored by experts in the field. This large availability of scores represented a turning point in the study of the genre.

This chapter will show the Italian contribution to the formation of the symphonic style that not only finds its roots in Italian Baroque music, but also encompasses the influence of Neapolitan opera. The story of the symphony eventually came to the early contributions of Giovanni Battista Sammartini (widely explored by Bathia Churgin) and from there, through the eighteenth century, to Gaetano Pugnani. The chronological gap between Sammartini and Pugnani is rather wide, but as I will show in Chapter 6, very few Italians dedicated their energies to the symphony during the eighteenth century (for instance Luigi Boccherini and Gaetano Brunetti). Along this continuum the Italian interest in instrumental music lessens towards the end of the century, the period to which ZT 23 seems to belong.

Because Pugnani’s biographical information helps in justifying the thesis and building the argument of dating the work in question, in Chapter 5 I have gathered information about Pugnani’s travels and activities. The content of this chapter is chiefly based on secondary literature and on the diplomatic correspondence studied by Stanislao Cordero di Pamparato at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

There are certainly very few examples of instrumental music in late eighteenth-century Italy when compared with that of other geographical areas. Pugnani's instrumental works represent an important contribution to this literature. In Chapter 6 I touch on the position of Pugnani in the Italian contribution to the concert symphony as well as on the position of ZT 23 within the thirty odd symphonic works that the Turinese violinist has left us. As shown in his thematic catalog, many of his symphonies were printed during his lifetime. Comparatively very few have survived as manuscript copies. Among the scores that remain in manuscript, there is a group of works that, according to the catalog, exhibit an unusual instrumentation. This set is the only group of works that call for ob[b]ligato<sup>15</sup> violin parts<sup>16</sup> (henceforth obbligato set). The obbligato set was listed in 1939 by Zschinsky-Troxler as housed in Berlin. This set, along with several other scores by Pugnani, was part of the library of the former kings of Prussia, a collection that shortly afterwards was brought to the Soviet Union. In the 1950s only part of the collection made it back to Berlin. Roughly fifty percent of it is currently still housed there and the remainder, if extant, is presumably still held in Russian libraries.<sup>17</sup> This fact eventually led me to find in Berlin only one of the scores of the obbligato set. This score is the focus of my document. The dating argument takes place in Chapter 7. Two

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<sup>15</sup> On the scores appears consistently the spelling *obligato*. Unless I quote the score, in the course of this dissertation I will use the current Italian *obbligato*.

<sup>16</sup> As a matter of fact the catalog also mentions a single version of another two symphonies with obbligato violin parts, ZT 25 and ZT 27. The two works are reported by Zschinsky-Troxler as existing in two printed editions and five manuscript copies, but only one of the manuscript copies calls for four violini obbligati. The number of copies and the existence of only one version with obbligato parts suggest that the scores should not be grouped with the Berlin obbligato set as they may very well represent an arrangement for a particular local orchestra.

<sup>17</sup> I have not yet been able to locate these scores.

distinct pieces of evidence are brought together to point toward the 1770s as a possible date of composition for the overture ZT 23.

A full score of the overture ZT 23 is available in Appendix A. The edited score was realized from the manuscript copies of the parts reproduced on a microfilm that I received from the Berlin Staatsbibliothek. The editorial choices regarding the score were in part determined by the criteria presented in Chapter 3 as well as by information on performing practice. In the first section of Chapter 9, discussing my philosophical approach to editing music, I invoke Margaret Bent who states that “we can talk about right and wrong editorial decisions, knowing that these are relative, that they reflect merely a consensus of stylistic knowledge achieved through the editor’s own experience and that of his predecessors and contemporaries.”<sup>18</sup> As a result this score, as any other edited score, is not and cannot be the ultimate modern edition of ZT 23; however, it maintains its value as an instrument functional to this investigation as well as the first attempt to produce an edition of this work.

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<sup>18</sup> Margaret Bent, “Fact and Value in Contemporary Scholarship,” *The Musical Times* 127 (1986): 88.

## CHAPTER 2 THE CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT

The material contained in this chapter has the primary goal of highlighting a gap in modern scholarship, one that finds its roots in the eighteenth century. During that time, in Italy, Italian opera ended up overshadowing instrumental music. This preference is responsible for having led modern scholarship to overlook eighteenth century Italian instrumental music in favor of opera. A review of quotations and discussions from eighteenth-century literature will show the Italian predilection for opera. Since change in a society never happens abruptly and stylistic traits overlap between eras, the traditions that we find discussed in the first two or three decades of the *Ottocento* still find their roots in the eighteenth century. As such this chapter includes also early nineteenth-century sources.

### **Voice vs. Instruments**

Marie Louise Göllner, discussing some eighteenth-century German theoretical treatises, states that in the earlier part of the eighteenth century “vocal music remained the primary focus of both composers and theorists.”<sup>1</sup> For instance in 1739 Johann Mattheson (1681–1764), discussing the difference between vocal and instrumental melodies, claimed that “the former is, so to speak, the mother, the latter the daughter . . . the former leads and the latter follows . . . Everything which is played [on an instrument] is simply an imitation of singing. . . .”<sup>2</sup> Such attitude is reflected also in a

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<sup>1</sup> Marie Louise Martinez-Göllner, *The Early Symphony: 18<sup>th</sup>-Century: Views on Composition and Analysis* (Georg Olms Verlag: Hildesheim, 2004), 10.

<sup>2</sup> Martinez-Göllner, *Early Symphony*, 10. As reported in Mattheson, *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister*, (Hamburg: C. Herold, 1739). For a translation of Mattheson’s book see Ernest Charles Harriss, “Johann Matheson’s *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* a translation and commentary.” Ph. D. diss. George Peabody College for Teachers, 1969.

quotation from 1778 in which Kimberger<sup>3</sup> offers a remark about the use of the German word *Gesang*:

We do not limit 'Gesang' to the tones of the human voice, for an instrumental melody is also called 'Gesang,' that is, the words 'Gesang' and 'Melodie' generally mean the same thing. But 'Gesang' of the human voice, to be sure, is the original and the most satisfactory.<sup>4</sup>

This quotation does not apply directly to Italian thinking, although it well represents the concern that some authors had to profess the superiority of vocal over instrumental music.

The challenge that instrumental music met in the complete emancipation from its vocal counterparts, was even more difficult in Italy, where opera was the predominant genre.

### **Opera in Italy**

The Italian scholar Giacomo Fornari offers a selection of excerpts from late eighteenth-century/early nineteenth-century writings that highlight the Italian passion for opera. Fornari, discussing the decline of eighteenth-century Italian instrumental music, reports that in 1777 Ange Goudar in *Le Brigandage de la Musique Italienne* observed that opera houses were everywhere in Italy. From the biggest city to the tiniest village, arias were heard more than birds' singing. The excerpt, comparing the density of opera houses between Italy, Germany and France, includes a list of the important places where theaters were active.<sup>5</sup> The size of the Italian phenomenon is given so effectively,

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<sup>3</sup> Martinez-Göllner is suggesting that this quotation's authorship is of Kirnberger.

<sup>4</sup> Martinez-Göllner, *Early Symphony*, 11–12. As reported in *Allgemeine Theorie*, 1778, Vol II, 239.

<sup>5</sup> Giacomo Fornari, "Del Declino della Musica Strumentale in Italia nel Settecento" in *Intorno a Locatelli, Studi in Occasione del Trecentenario della Nascita di Pietro Antonio Locatelli (1695–1764)*, ed. Albert Dunning (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1995), 246. As reported in Ange Goudar, *Le brigandage de la Musique Italienne* (1777), 33. "Cependant l'Italie est remplie de Théâtres; chaque capitale, chaque ville,

that, as Fornari points out in another study, after a few years Goudar's quotation was translated and published for the German reader in the *Magazin der Musik*.<sup>6</sup> What stands out here is indeed the concentration of Italian opera houses. The dense distribution of them was perhaps the reason that Charles Burney (1726 – 1814), in the same period, claimed that "Italians may, perhaps, be accused of cultivating music to excess."<sup>7</sup>

A large quantity of opera houses did necessarily not imply quality on the part of the players. Opera's social function in eighteenth-century Italy, after all, did not encourage playing of a superior quality. Audiences attended operas as social events and were more concerned with listening to a particular singer rather than a particular opera. As a result, orchestras of quality were not necessary when great voices were performing on stage. In 1770 Burney, traveling through Naples, reports that in the opera house "the magnitude of the building and noise of the audience are such, that neither the voices nor instruments can be heard distinctly."<sup>8</sup> It is evident that outstanding players were not needed if the audience could barely hear the instruments. Such chaos is described by Burney as happening in Milan, where during the performance:

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chaque village a Presque le sien; on entend aujourd'hui des ariettes là où jadis on n'entendit que le chant des oiseaux. L'Angleterre qui est aussi grand que l'Italie, n'a qu'un opera. La France qui l'est beaucoup plus, n'en a pas davantage. Toutes les villes d'Italie sont aujourd'hui à l'unisson: Alexandre, Bergame, Bologne, Bresse, Come, Cremes, Ferrare, Florence, Gênes, Livourne, Lodi, Mantoue . . . ont leur theater."

<sup>6</sup> Giacomo Fornari, "Determinare in tutta la sua Estensione . . . lo Stato Attuale della Musica in Italia. Giannagostino Perotti e la Ricerca di un Primato Perduto" in *Chigiana* 18 (1993): 15. As reported by Carl Friedrich Cramer in *Magazin der Musk*, vol. I/1 [1783], 422. "Jede Hauptstadt, jede Stadt, jeds Dorf beyneh hat seyne Bühne, un man hört jertz fast mehr Ariettengesang in diesem Lande als Vögelgezwtscer. Engelland, das fast so groß ist wie Italien, hat nur eine Oper. Frankreich, das viel grosser ist auch ner eine. Aber in Italien, wie gesagt, sind allenthalben"

<sup>7</sup> Charles Burney, *An Eighteenth-century Musical Tour in France and Italy*, ed. Percy A. Scholes (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), 319.

<sup>8</sup> Burney, *Musical Tour in France and Italy*, 278.

the noise was abominable, except while two or three airs and a duet were singing, with which everyone was in raptures: at the end of the duet the applause continued with unremitting violence till the performers returned to sing it again, which is the way of encoring a favourite air.<sup>9</sup>

In this quotation Burney made rather clear that theaters were not a place to listen to music, but a place to listen to singers. Such an attitude became well rooted in Italian theaters where, still at the beginning of the nineteenth century, an anonymous German observer reported that in opera houses everybody talks, boxes are a place to visit with people and the parterre is a good place for rendezvous.<sup>10</sup> Such an environment hardly stimulates orchestral playing of a high quality. Italian orchestras did not seem to have enjoyed a favorable reputation and this may have hindered the development of an Italian eighteenth-century instrumental tradition comparable to that of Italian opera. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Auguste-Lois Blondeau remarked that in Italy “the bands are in general poor in respect of the execution. In Italy there is so little of the instrumental performances that this is not a profession, so to speak, than to be a violinist, bassist, etc. . . .”<sup>11</sup>

### **Instrumental Music in Italy**

The Italian scholar Paolo Fabbri has tried to show that discussions of instrumental music were not completely absent in late eighteenth-century Italian sources.

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<sup>9</sup> Burney, *Musical Tour in France and Italy*, 66–67.

<sup>10</sup> Fornari, “Del Declino della Musica Strumentale,” 250–251. As reported by anonymus, in *Allgemeine Musikalisches Zeitung*, April 21, 1816, 266. “Die Logen dienen dazu, Besuche zugeben und zu empfangen, Fremde sich vorstellen zu lassen etc. Das parterre dient zu Rendez-vous, zu Börse u. dergl. Alles plaudert und plaudert laut genug.”

<sup>11</sup> Fornari, “Declino della Musica Strumentale,” f.n.6, 243. As reported in Auguste-Lois Blondeau, *Voyage d’un musicien en Italie (1809–1812) précède des observations sur les théâtres italiens*, ed. Joël-Marie Fauquet (Mardaga: Liège, 1993), 54. “Les orchestres sont en general médiocres sous le rapport de l’exécution. En Italie on fait si peu de cas de l’exécution instrumentale que ce n’est point une profession, pour ainsi dire, que d’être violiniste, bassiste, etc.”

Nevertheless, reading Fabbri's essay, one infers the Italians' predominant interest for opera rather than instrumental music. Since Fabbri works with theoretical sources, a connection with the aforementioned Marie Louise Göllner, suggests that also in Italy "vocal music remained the primary focus of both composers and theorists."<sup>12</sup> A few quotations will show how, in an attempt to highlight concerns with instrumental music, Italian theorists confirmed the superiority of vocal music.

Several of the composers who produced instrumental music seem to have found inspiration in singing. Scholarship reports that, for instance, Giuseppe Tartini spoke of the "supremacy of vocal music."<sup>13</sup> It was only Luigi Boccherini (1743 –1805) who was eventually acknowledged as an exception to this framework. According to Fornari, Boccherini's merit is in having broken the continuous supremacy of opera and in having brought attention to instrumental repertoire.<sup>14</sup> Francesco Galeazzi (1758–1819), an eighteenth-century Italian theorist, violinist and composer, praised the work of Boccherini. The latter, in Galeazzi's opinion, gave to Italians no reason to envy Germans.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Göllner, *Early Symphony*, 10.

<sup>13</sup> Fornari, "Perotti," 18. As reported in Pierluigi Pietrobelli, *Tartini, le sue idee e il suo tempo* (Lucca: LIM, 1992), 48. "Supremazia della musica vocale."

<sup>14</sup> Fornari, "Perotti," 24. "Fu pertanto grazie all forza prorompente ed alla novità dell'opera di Boccherini, quasi straordinaria in una nazione in cui il linguaggio dell'opera dominava incontrastato sulle scene dei teatri e sui palcoscenici di corte, se i teorici del primo Ottocento tornarono a mano a mano ad interessarsi del repertorio strumentale contemporaneo."

<sup>15</sup> Paolo Fabbri, "Italianità fuori d'Opera" in *Chigiana* 18 (1983): 50. As reported in Francesco Galeazzi, *Elementi Teorico-Pratici di Musica* 2 vols. (I, Rome: Pilucchi Cracas, 1791; II, Rome: Michele Puccinelli, 1796), II 279. "immortal nostro Luigi Boccherini lucchese, che ci ha dati de' pezzi di musica si sorprendenti da non farci punto invidiare I Tedeschi."

Giannagostino Perotti (1769–1855) in his *Dissertazione*<sup>16</sup> discussed music in relation to spoken word. Perotti saw instrumental music as an imitation of its vocal counterpart.<sup>17</sup> A more sophisticated discussion of such connection is developed in *Pensieri sul Dritto Uso della Musica Istrumentale* by Antonio Pisani. Pisani used a parallel with words to show that Italians excelled in instrumental music before the Germans, and that Germans would not have had an opportunity to excel if a few Italians had not moved to Germany.<sup>18</sup> Where *melodramma* dominated eighteenth-century Italy, instrumental music during the same period is generally understood as a German specialty, but Pisani suggested that we read the historical narrative backward, for instrumental music from Italy immigrated to Germany.<sup>19</sup> Pisani, to support his thesis, called upon the influential figures of Giuseppe Tartini (1692–1770) and Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713). It is very interesting to see how, to exalt the instrumental mastery of the latter two, the parallel is still given with vocal music, “two divine men, which made their instruments sing more than play.”<sup>20</sup> For Pisani too, vocal music came first, as the singing quality of instrumental music would not be otherwise possible. Such quality was lost in Germany, where instrumental music was conceived by composers speaking a

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<sup>16</sup> Fornari, “Perotti,” 22. As reported in F. Galeazzi, *Elementi Teorico-Pratici di musica con un saggio sopra l’arte di Suonare il Violino*. . . . (Rome, Pilucchi Cracas, 1791) II, 279.

<sup>17</sup> Fabbri, “Italianità,” 56. As reported in Giannagostino Perotti, *Dissertazione*, 49–50. “Egli è chiaro che questo genere essendo una imitazione della musica vocale, ha dovuto dietro a questa ripulirsi, e vestire le più leggiadre sembianze.”

<sup>18</sup> Fabbri, “Italianità,” 58. As reported in A. Pisani, *Pensieri sul Dritto Uso della Musica Istrumentale* (Palermo: Lorenzo Dato, 1817), 5–6. “Quando la musica strumentale aveva toccata in Italia l’apice della sua perfezione, e che il nostro violino elettrizzava tutti i cuori, in Germania non si conoscevano altri strumenti che i zufoli, le cennamelle e le pive, e pochi sventurati strumentisti italiani avevano cominciato a portare in quelle agghicciate regioni il sacro fuoco di Prometeo.”

<sup>19</sup> Fabbri, “Italianità,” 58. As reported in Pisani, *Pensieri*, 5–6. “D’Italia passò in Germania”

<sup>20</sup> Fabbri, “Italianità,” 57. As reported in Pisani, *Pensieri*, 5–6. “Due uomini divini che facevano più cantare che suonare i loro strumenti.”

different language. According to Pisani, part of the singing quality of Italian instrumental music stemmed from the fact that it was born in the same country where “la lingua di Dante, di Petrarca, di Ariosto” was born.<sup>21</sup> In other words, the musicality of the Italian language made Italians compose better instrumental music. Hence we have, between the lines, another statement of Italian preference for vocal over instrumental music.

The discussion on vocal and instrumental music developed in the sources mentioned in this chapter is synthesized in other sources that support the idea that in Italy vocal music was preferred to instrumental music. An anonymous German visitor in 1813 claimed that talking about Italian music was simply talking about vocal music,<sup>22</sup> since that was the most common music making in Italy. Another commentator reported specifically that in Rome, during the early nineteenth century, instrumental music was barely present if not totally absent.<sup>23</sup> Therefore it does not come as a surprise if in 1783 Carl Friedrich Cramer (1752–1807), in the *Allgemeine Musicalische Zeitung*, claimed that where there is instrumental music in Italy, it is “of such a low quality that is not even worth talking.”<sup>24</sup>

### **The Cultural Environment: Remarks**

During the eighteenth century vocal music was the preferred form of music making in Italy. Italians and foreigners alike identified Italy with opera. This environment

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<sup>21</sup> Fabbri, “Italianità,” 57. As reported in Pisani, *Pensieri*, 5–6.

<sup>22</sup> Fornari, “Perotti,” 12. Synthesis of an anonymous travel diary. As reported in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 15. April 21, 1813, 261–267 and 277–285 as well as April 28, 1813, 262. “Wenn wir von Musik Italien reden, so weiss jedermann, das bey weitem am vorzüglichsten Vocalmusik gemeynet seyn muss.”

<sup>23</sup> Fornari, “Perotti,” 16. As reported in *Cäcilia. Eine Zetschrift für die musikalische Welt* I/3 (July-Sept 1821): 214. “Instrumentalmusk wird hier wenig ausgeübt, oder ist eigentlich gar nicht vorhanden.”

<sup>24</sup> Fornari, “Perotti,” 14. As reported by Carl Friedrich Cramer in *Magazin der Musik*, vol I/1 (1783): 160. “Instrumentalmusik liegt so darnieder, daß sie fast unter aller Critic ist.”

supported the development of opera and hindered that of instrumental music. Given the former's wide dissemination and influence on eighteenth-century life, modern scholarship has been inclined to overlook the latter. Works such as Pugnani's overture ZT 23 show the importance of taking a broader view of late eighteenth-century music making and reevaluating the significance of its purely instrumental component.

## CHAPTER 3 THE CLASSICAL STYLE

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first part explores the Classical style at large, listing briefly the basic features of the style as framed between the previous and following historical periods. Such material informed the editorial choices of the score presented in Appendix A, choices that were also informed by the appropriate consideration on performing practice (discussed in Chapter 9). The second part of the present chapter is dedicated to a discussion of the Classical style as a homogeneous one. Gaetano Pugnani traveled widely as a violin virtuoso. He worked with musicians from all around Europe, and most likely also attended a number of concerts in the places he visited. It would be interesting to identify the ways in which his compositional style was modeled on those of the colleagues he met. Unfortunately the general traits of eighteenth-century music make it difficult<sup>1</sup> to establish such details of a composer's style. The Classical era is in fact characterized by stylistic homogeneity. Understanding homogeneity as a relevant component of the Classical style justifies the approach taken with this dissertation. In contrast to other eras, we have for the style of the Classical period a frame of reference characterized by widespread conventions. A discussion of homogeneity will show that dating ZT 23 on the basis of stylistic features may lead only to partial conclusions and that therefore it is essential to develop a hypothesis regarding its date based on extra-musical evaluations.

### **Understanding the Style**

In music history the study of the eighteenth century may be synthesized into three key terms: *galant style*, mature Classical style, and the *Sturm und Drang* (that

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<sup>1</sup> See discussion under "Summary of Chapters" in Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

eventually led into the Romantic period). Daniel Hartz, discussing the periodization of eighteenth-century music, reminds us that “historians have often warned us about becoming entrapped by the terminological crutches handed down by the past . . . the issues raised by periodization are never settled” concluding that periods are ‘hypothetical.’”<sup>2</sup> It is certainly hard to place labels on things and set precise time frames, because different places witnessed changes at different times. Furthermore, such changes were never sufficiently abrupt and generalized to allow clear cut categorizations.

The mature Classical style is certainly well understood when compared to the preceding galant style, a style that signaled the breaking point with the previous Baroque style. Hartz remarks that

When Burney, late in the century, looked for the beginning of “modern” musical style, he placed the decisive moment about 1720, in Naples, where a number of old Scarlatti’s pupils first achieved ‘simplicity,’ ‘grace’ and ‘elegance’ . . . Most other 18<sup>th</sup>-century historians agree, while those who frankly did not like ‘modern’ music confirmed the same proposition by regarding the Neapolitans as the beginning of the end.<sup>3</sup>

The term *galant* was not originally used for music. At the beginning of the seventeenth century Voltaire associated the word with anything that sought to please.<sup>4</sup> The term eventually became used to describe an individual with refined aristocratic taste. Daniel Hartz credits Mattheson as the first writer who, in 1721, applied the term *galant* to music. Mattheson discussing the *galanten Stylo* listed eleven contemporary

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<sup>2</sup> Daniel Hartz, “Opera and the Periodization of 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Music” in *International Musicological Society, Reports Of the Tenth Congress, Ljubljana, 1967* (Kassel: Barenreiter, 1970), 160.

<sup>3</sup> Daniel Hartz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720–1780* (New York: Norton, 2003), 162–163.

<sup>4</sup> Daniel Hartz and Bruce Alan Brown, “Galant” in *GMO*.

composers as practitioners of Italian opera,<sup>5</sup> suggesting an Italian origin of the new style. According to Hertz, music critics of the following decades agreed with him on the fact that the new style originated in Italian theaters. Synthesizing other scholarship, Hertz says that even if the nuances of the term changes slightly during the century, the word *galant* always implied the meaning of elegant, new, and fashionable.<sup>6</sup>

Musical styles throughout the centuries can be better understood in juxtaposition with the traditions they followed. The galant style prided itself on simplicity and was in fact a reaction to the flamboyant and learned style of the Baroque. Eighteenth-century literature shows the criticism and rejection of the old style in favor of something completely different. Johann Scheibe (1680–1748) before the middle of the eighteenth century criticized the music of Johann Sebastian Bach<sup>7</sup> (1685–1750) for being too complicated, lacking in natural qualities, and for allowing too much artifice to obscure the beauties of the music. As the writings of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach<sup>8</sup> (1714–1788) and other Berlin critics show, the galant style came to be understood in contrast with the Baroque learned style.

Hertz quotes two writers that achieved the final codification of such juxtaposition. Heinrich Christoph Koch<sup>9</sup> (1749–1816) pointed out the variety of the melodic figures in

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<sup>5</sup> Hertz, *European Capitals*, 19. As reported in Johann Mattheson, *Das forschende Orchestre* (Hamburg, 1721).

<sup>6</sup> Hertz, *European Capitals*, 17.

<sup>7</sup> Hertz, *European Capitals*, 19. As reported in Johann Scheibe, *Der critische Musikus* (1737–1740).

<sup>8</sup> Hertz, *European Capitals*, 19. The text mentioned is: Carl Phillip Emanuel Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier spielen* (1753).

<sup>9</sup> Hertz, *European Capitals*, 19. As reported in Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt, 1802), Translated in Leonard G. Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style* (New York, Schirmer Books, 1980), 23.

the new style, as opposed to the Baroque practice of a melody constructed on the repetition of motives. Furthermore, Koch also pointed out that the new style preferred a homophonic texture where “the remaining voices simply serve to accompany the main voice” and has “less interwoven harmony.” Daniel Gottlob Türk (1750–1813) addressed the difference of the two styles in the treatment of dissonance. The galant style had more freedom in using passing tones and embellishments and gave to the dissonance a longer duration than to the following consonances. According to Türk the composer of the galant style was free because he composed more for the ear than by strict rules.<sup>10</sup>

The galant style was foreshadowed by the work of Arcangelo Corelli and others who wanted to simplify the Italian Baroque style. It characterized the entire century after it flourished in Naples in 1720. In the passage between Baroque and Classical eras, the style gradually changed. There was some overlapping during the early part of the eighteenth century, and only a few Baroque compositional features were eventually retained. For instance, the Baroque procedure of sequence remained and became very useful in modulatory sections.<sup>11</sup> During the middle decades of the century, the galant style overlapped with the Classical style, showing once more that music history cannot be understood as a puzzle of closed boxes. Hertz points out very well the evident contradiction and inconsistencies in trying to look at the eighteenth century in this way.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Hertz, *European Capitals*, 20. As reported in David A. Sheldon, “Exchange, Anticipation, and Ellipsis: Analytical Definitions of the *Galant* Style” in *Music East and West: Essays in Honor of Walter Kaufmann*, ed. Thomas Noblitt (New York: Pendragon Press, 1981), 225–241.

<sup>11</sup> Egon Wellesz and Frederick Sternfeld, “The Early Symphony” in *The Age of Enlightenment, 1745–1790* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 368. I will point out how such a feature is also used by Pugnani in ZT 23.

<sup>12</sup> This is the argument developed in Hertz, “Periodization,” 160–168.

Through the Galant style, the eighteenth century broke with the Baroque style, moving towards the mature Classical style.

### **The Classical Style**

Charles Rosen opens his discussion on the age of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven by reminding us that “The creation of a Classical style was not so much the achievement of an idea as the reconciliation of conflicting ideals – the striking of an optimum balance between them.”<sup>13</sup> Looking retrospectively we see today the development of styles as logically connected throughout history, but as Charles Rosen claims, this would have not seemed logical to contemporaries. During the third quarter of the eighteenth century many new and unusual devices penetrated music. These elements appeared now and then, without an order, but their integration led to a coherent style. Rosen suggests that isolating and studying the role of each element of the style is unhistorical, but helpful to understand it. As previously mentioned, contemporary literature understands the Classical style in comparison with its Baroque counterpart. Rosen synthesizes some of the main elements of the Classical style and discusses them in relation to those of the Baroque.

#### **Periodicity**

The first element that Rosen brings up as a peculiarity of the Classical style is that of periodicity. Baroque music was based on the repetition of short melodic motives that conferred unity and continuity to a piece of music through its unfolding. The new style was, by contrast, characterized by short periodic phrases. Rosen claims that the historical paradigm of four-bar phrases did not serve as a model, but it resulted, in the

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<sup>13</sup> Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style* (New York and London: Norton, 1997), 43. Unless otherwise stated all the information in this section (“The Classical Style”) is drawn from the same monograph.

end, as the one most often used. Also phrases of uneven bar numbers are possible in the Classical style. This fact does not reject the idea of articulated periodicity (for instance eight bars formed by three plus five bars).

## **Rhythm**

The new periodic conception also had a consequence in the rhythmic aspect of music. One of the concerns of Baroque music was the unrelenting rhythmical flow of one phrase into the next as opposed to the periodicity of the Classical style. The new independent rhythmic identity eventually required symmetry to understand the pulse of music. Without a defined pulse, a statement of only a half phrase could be confusing by itself.

In regard to rhythm Rosen also points out that one of the touchstones of the Classical style was the use of rhythmic transitions. While Baroque phrases usually unfolded with a steady pulse and maintained unity of rhythm for rather large and well defined sections, in the Classical style composers used transitional sections, where the pulse overlapped.

The various elements of the Classical style were blended in a way that would highlight symmetry making it clearly perceivable. In consequence a larger rhythmic vocabulary that could better mediate between sections with different rhythms developed. Rosen stresses this idea of rhythmic transition with particular emphasis, discussing several examples and eventually showing that the change of pulse in Classical style is not felt as an element of contrast, but indeed as a transitional device.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Rosen, *Classical Style*, 64–67.

## Dynamics

Baroque music was marked by the absence of transitional techniques in rhythmic writing and dynamics. The effect produced was one of “terraced dynamics.” Rosen stresses that more than juxtaposing dynamic levels, Baroque music contrasted bodies of sound. It was this practice that eventually had an effect on dynamics.<sup>15</sup> The dynamic level of a musical performance was generally static during the Baroque period and it was the thickening or softening of the texture that determined the dynamic changes. In any case the Classical style departed from such practice, using crescendos and diminuendos as transitional devices to mediate between piano and forte.

## Harmony

In the unfolding of the harmony the concept of transition was truly important to the new style. Rosen highlights that tonal transition in the Classical style very often occurred at a rather slow pace. The general rule was especially true for the movement of modulation to the dominant. Such a device was used to achieve a greater sense of direction, hence conferring a more dramatic character to the music. These long transitions were made possible by the system of tonal hierarchy so peculiar to the Classical style. Rosen reminds us that literature has already addressed the difference between being *on* a tonality and being *in* it. Each stage of the hierarchy blends into the next leading to a “subtle series of degrees.” Rosen synthesizes that “stronger than being in key is its establishment as a secondary key, a weaker pole of force reacting against the tonic.”<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Rosen, *Classical Style*, 62–63.

<sup>16</sup> Rosen, *Classical Style*, 69.

The device discussed by Rosen aims at creating an increasing tension starting at the beginning of the piece. Such tension, for instance in the sonata form, is framed by two areas of stability. Modulation and movement to and from the dominant was by no means a new device as it was also used in the Baroque. In order to highlight the difference between the two styles, Rosen effectively compares the sonata form with Baroque dance music. In the latter the dominant usually appears at the end of the first half rather than, as in the sonata form, at the beginning of the first half of the piece. This comparison of two widely used and representative forms show two different basic approaches in the treatment of tonal tension.

The tonal tension that builds up in the Classical style is eventually resolved in an area of stability at the end of the piece. Rosen stresses that this area is an essential part of the Classical style, as the tension that builds needs to resolve properly before the conclusion. In the Classical style the climax is in fact placed in the middle of the piece and not, as in Baroque music, at the end of it. The Baroque style increases motion and injects energy towards the end of a piece. Rosen gives as an example the da capo aria form in which the tension loosens in the middle, being often in a relaxed key (relative minor) with a thinner instrumentation, to increase again in the final section. Another example may also be found in the fugue, where the stretto, towards the end of the form, presents the material in an overpowering fashion.

The best explanation of this idea of tension created through tonality is well articulated by Rosen in a quotation that places the Classical style between its predecessor and its follower:

this insistence on stability at the beginning and, above all, at the end of each work allowed the Classical style to create and integrate forms with a

dramatic violence that the preceding Baroque style never attempted and that the Romantic style that followed preferred to leave unresolved, the musical tension unreconciled.<sup>17</sup>

## **Resolving Contrasts**

Resolving contrasts is therefore the principal aim of the Classical style. This concept holds true for tonality, but remains true, as shown by Rosen in the first part of his study, also for dynamics and rhythm as well. The resolution is achieved through transitional devices that serve to shift gradually between the opposite ends of a continuum. The faster the transition, the more the shift is perceived as an abrupt contrast rather than a general change. But in order to preserve the proper balance, the shift also has a limit to how slowly it can be achieved. As a result in Classical music rhythmic and dynamic transitions cannot be sluggish. This idea also applies to harmonic transitions.

The summary of Classical form as the “symmetrical resolution of opposing forces” remains broad but it finds its meaning in the historical framework between the Baroque and the Romantic periods. In the former’s style the resolution of rhythmic, dynamic, or tonal forces was by no means symmetrical. In the latter’s style symmetry is often avoided and a complete resolution is often rejected as a part of the poetic effect.

The distinguishing features of the Classical period achieved wide dissemination across the continent, in virtue of the life style of the era. In the name of homogeneity it is possible, for the eighteenth century, to make generalizations that would not be appropriate in other historical eras.

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<sup>17</sup> Rosen, *Classical Style*, 76.

## Widespread Conventions

The idea of widespread conventions is well exemplified in the formula that Robert O. Gjerdingen uses to synthesize the galant style. He states that its hallmark was “a particular repertory of stock of musical phrases employed in conventional sequences.”<sup>18</sup> This set of musical gestures and figures regularly taught to pupils was employed by composers to satisfy the fast paced compositional demands of the era. Therefore it was not until the Romantic period that the idea of “repertoire,” understood as a wealthy body of older music, was shaped and became common. During the eighteenth century only the newest music was performed, putting much pressure on the composer who was pushed to create at a rather fast pace.

The figure of the inspired romantic artist who created when personally urged to do so was not even foreshadowed in the lifestyle of eighteenth-century musicians. The social condition of a court composer was that of a servant, paid to compose according to his patron’s requests. As nicely put by Gjerdingen the idea that such music would reflect a composer’s feeling “would have seemed just as strange as the idea that a tart sauce by the court chef was about the chef’s tartness.”<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, even time for inspiration was lacking as a *Kappelmeister’s* duties encompassed a number of tasks besides composing. Gjerdingen offers another humorous but realistic depiction in this regard, saying that a *Kappelmeister* was less concerned with “the meaning of art and

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<sup>18</sup> Robert O. Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 6. Unless otherwise stated all the information in this section is drawn from the same monograph.

<sup>19</sup> Gjerdingen, *Galant Style*, 7.

more about whether his second violin player would be sober enough to play for the Sunday Mass.<sup>20</sup>

It was within this climate that widely spread conventions became useful for composers. To better explain this concept of a conventional way of writing music, Gjerdingen offers a very effective comparison with the *commedia dell'arte*. The latter was a form of comedy that flourished in Italy in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.<sup>21</sup> Peculiar to the *commedia dell'arte* was the combination of stereotypical and improvised elements performed by regularly constituted companies. An essential component of the training of these actors was the *zibaldone*, “a stock of speeches, slapstick, jokes, and plots passed down from actor to actor usually within the same family or troupe.”<sup>22</sup> Francesco Galeazzi mentioned that something similar to the *comedia's zibaldone* was also used in the training of composers. According to Galeazzi the *zibaldone* of a composition pupil took the form of a book containing a teacher's custom-tailored lessons. Gjerdingen suggests the existence of some standard musical *zibaldoni* in certain cities or conservatories. These study-books constituted a standard stock of musical gestures and figures from which young composers could later draw.

It is in these roots that the mature Classical style finds its origin. The taste for conventions was the result of the life style of the period. The homogeneity after which society was shaped characterized the musical taste of the era.

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<sup>20</sup> Gjerdingen, *Galant Style*, 6.

<sup>21</sup> Anne MacNeil, “Commedia dell’Arte” in *GMO*.

<sup>22</sup> Gjerdingen, *Galant Style*, 8.

## Homogeneous Society

The homogeneous musical taste of eighteenth-century society was the outcome of three elements: increasingly favorable travel conditions, a broad fascination with Italian music, and a growing music publishing industry. I will address publishing in Chapter 7, but to show how the musical community of the eighteenth century was self-conscious of being a collective reality, I must make some remarks about cosmopolitanism and how this eventually determined a composer's training.

### Cosmopolitanism

Daniel Hartz claims that “this era was little swayed by nationalism. It was above all cosmopolitan.”<sup>23</sup> The cosmopolitanism of the eighteenth century is indeed an important element to the concept of musical homogeneity. Improved travel conditions allowed people to move more easily across Europe. As shown in the writings of Charles Burney, wealthy gentlemen used to visit different cities in different countries as part of their education, setting out for the so called ‘Grand Tour.’<sup>24</sup> Hartz discussing Burney generalizes stating that:

Rich or promising young men north of the Alps were increasingly expected to round off their educations with a tour in Italy, mainly in order to inspect the art and the architecture of the Renaissance and the remains of antiquity.<sup>25</sup>

Not only did connoisseurs and music lovers travel across Europe, but musicians also felt the urge to complete their education abroad. A quotation from the German composer and theorist Johann David Heinichen shows the awareness that knowing

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<sup>23</sup> Hartz, *European Capitals*, xxii.

<sup>24</sup> For a discussion on the topic of the “Grand Tour” in Italy see Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, *Grand Tour: the Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Tate Gallery, 1996). And: Jeremy Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003).

<sup>25</sup> Daniel Hartz, *European Capitals*, 45.

diversity was perceived as a *conditio sine qua non* for musicians seeking to refine their taste: “Why do we go through efforts, danger and experience to travel around from nation to nation . . . Simply and solely to develop our good taste.”<sup>26</sup>

As a consequence of all of these traveling and international relationships educated people used to speak more than one language. In major cities it was not unusual to hear conversation and speeches in a mixture of different languages, a practice manifested in some opera libretti of the day. The librettist Goldoni, for instance, found much humor in foreign languages and Italian dialects. As John A. Rice mentions, in several of Goldoni’s works foreigners speak comically faulty Italian, while Italians sometimes try to speak a foreign language.<sup>27</sup>

### **Composers’ Training**

A musician like Gaetano Pugnani had many opportunities to work abroad. It is reasonable to assume that his compositional style was influenced by his experiences on each of his trips. In a city like Vienna he would have encountered a wealth of different ideas that he could take away with him and incorporate into his music. The problem in defining such elements lays indeed in the fact that major cities were cosmopolitan; cosmopolitan, therefore was the training of the composers who worked there. Rice after mentioning that the young Antonio Salieri (1750–1825) left Venice for Vienna, stresses that the composer’s musical education was a reflection of such environments,

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<sup>26</sup> Stephen Rose, “The Musical Map of Europe” in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music*, ed. Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 325. As reported in Johann David Heinichen, *Der General-Bass in der Composition* (Dresden, 1728), 23. For an English translation of the original text see: George J. Buelow, *Thorough-Bass Accompaniment According to Johann David Heinichen*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1992).

<sup>27</sup> John A. Rice, *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 70.

representing a synthesis of Italian, Bohemian, and Viennese traditions similar to the ingredients of Florian Leopold Gassmann's (his mentor, 1729–1774) own education.<sup>28</sup>

As a result, guessing where influences came for each composer is quite a task.

Composers were fully aware of assimilating, elaborating, and eventually merging different styles in their musical output. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart himself, in a letter from Mannheim in 1778, declared that he was “able to adopt and imitate any kind and any style of composition.”<sup>29</sup>

### **Italian Influence**

Italian music had a dual appeal during the eighteenth century, based on the success of Italian opera and the power of Italian violin playing.<sup>30</sup> Johann Beer (1655–1700), a late seventeenth-century writer, claimed that “No folk under the sun are more inclined by nature to music than the Italians;” such supremacy was possibly due to the qualities of the Italian language that, being filled with vowels, fits singing better than a language predominantly based on consonants.<sup>31</sup> Italian composers and music directors were spread around the continent in a kind of diaspora, a phenomenon that contributed in taking the Italian culture abroad even when foreigners could not travel to Italy to absorb it. The migration of Italian musicians “is one instance of the many migrations of the past which have formed our culture.”<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Rice, *Salieri*, 18.

<sup>29</sup> Emily Anderson, ed., *The Letters of Mozart and his Family* 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966), 468.

<sup>30</sup> Rose, “Map of Europe,” 12.

<sup>31</sup> Rose, “Map of Europe,” 12. As reported in Joann Beer, *Musicalische Discourse*. Nuremberg, 1719. Other quotations on this topic are in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

<sup>32</sup> Reinhardt Strohm, *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2001), xv.

In such a society, musical tastes became interwoven and mixed as never before. During the eighteenth century musicians envisioned their work as part of a wide musical reality, conceived as a unified one. This attitude overcame national boundaries, eventually acting as one of the elements that reinforced the feeling of homogeneity in society.

### **Interweaving Tendencies**

Friedrich Blume in the first edition of *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, provided a thorough essay on Classical music, made available for the English reader in a translation published by Norton.<sup>33</sup> In spite of being a rather dated work it is based on eighteenth-century literature and as such provides a good basis for this argument. The section of the essay titled: “The Nations, ‘Mixed Taste,’ and the ‘Universal Language,’” synthesizes the important points of this discussion.

Blume remarks that, unlike in other historical periods, the Classical era was not immediately led by a particular nation. We shall not forget that the Netherlands offered a significant musical contribution during the Renaissance and that the Italians certainly had a prominent role in shaping the music of the Baroque.<sup>34</sup> When investigating instrumental music of the Classical period, there is no evidence of the predominance and leadership of a single nation. Blume stresses that even if the point of departure for different genres may be found in the output of particular composers, “the categories of Classic instrumental music did not grow out of any single school at any single place, but

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<sup>33</sup> Friedrich Blume, *Classic and Romantic Music*, trans. M. D. Herter Norton (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1970). Originally published as: Friedrich Blume, “Klassik” in *MGG1*, vol.7 1027–1090.

<sup>34</sup> Blume, *Classic and Romantic*, 23.

evolved gradually from the various concurrent and interweaving tendencies.”<sup>35</sup> In any case, on a more general basis, Blume advocates the prominence of Germans during the period from the eighteenth to the twentieth century, stating that they “provided a standard, sometimes the determining contribution to the world’s musical culture, creativity, and education.”<sup>36</sup> Beyond Blume’s obvious bias towards the music of his countrymen, his statement does not imply the existence of a proper German style.

### **Doctrine of Mixed Taste**

Blume mentions the doctrine of “mixed taste” (*vermischter Geschmack*) as discussed by three eighteenth-century authors: Johann Joachim Quantz (1697–1773), Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach and Leopold Mozart (1719–1787).<sup>37</sup>

In 1752, in the last part of his *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*, Quantz discussed Italian, French and German music. After a description of styles and a comparison between French and Italian music, Quantz concluded that “the Italian music is arbitrary and the French narrow-minded.”<sup>38</sup> Even if the author outlined a clear distinction between the two styles, he stated that his personal taste “has flowed from the Italian and from the French.” In fact, his travels in both countries had “the express purpose of profiting in each from its good side.”<sup>39</sup> Edward R. Reilly and Andreas

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<sup>35</sup> Blume, *Classic and Romantic*, 24.

<sup>36</sup> Blume, *Classic and Romantic*, 25.

<sup>37</sup> Blume, *Classic and Romantic*, 26.

<sup>38</sup> See Johann Joachim Quantz, “Essay on a Method for Playing the Transverse Flute” in Oliver Strunk, ed., *Source Readings in Music History, from Classical Antiquity through the Romantic Era* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1950), 594. As reported in Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen* (1789). The newest edition of Strunk does not report the Quantz excerpts that I mention in this section.

<sup>39</sup> Quantz, “Essay on a Method,” 595.

Giger conclude that Quantz in “his discussion of national styles makes it clear that he believed German music included the best French and Italian elements, a combination he hoped would soon lead to a universal idiom.”<sup>40</sup> As a matter of fact Quantz stated that the taste of Germans was not produced on their own, but was a profit of the good side of foreign music, whatever its kind.<sup>41</sup>

Quantz also discussed international music relationships. He put a particular emphasis on the fact that the taste of Germans was developed by visiting Italy and France and by having Italians and French serve in their country. Quantz concluded that:

[Germans] have adopted the taste of the one or the other and have hit upon a mixture which has enabled them to write and to perform with success, not only German, but also Italian, French, and English operas and other *Singspiele*, each in its own language and taste.<sup>42</sup>

Quantz wished for a “general good taste in music,” consisting “like the present German taste, in a mixture of the tastes of various people.”<sup>43</sup>

The position of C. P. E. Bach was very similar to that of Quantz. In his treatise on playing the clavier, discussing embellishments, he described French and Italian style.

Bach concluded that:

the best way of playing the clavier or any other instrument is that which succeeds in skillfully combining what is neat and brilliant in French taste with what is ingratiating in the Italian way of singing.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Edward R. Reilly and Andreas Giger, “Quantz, Johann Joachim,” *GMO*.

<sup>41</sup> Quantz, “Essay on a Method,” 595.

<sup>42</sup> Quantz, “Essay on a Method,” 596.

<sup>43</sup> Quantz, “Essay on a Method,” 597.

<sup>44</sup> See Carl Phillip Emanuel Bach, “Essay on the Proper Manner of Playing a Keyboard Instrument,” in Strunk, *Source Readings*, 855. As reported in Carl Phillip Emanuel Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art, das Clavier zu spielen* (1759).

In conclusion neither the Italian nor the French style could be declared to be the best one, as none of them was so perfect “that it will not tolerate further additions.”<sup>45</sup> In more general terms also the 1756 treatise on violin playing by Leopold Mozart is significant for this discussion. Leopold closes his treatise addressing the “musical fraternity” and talking of the “musical world.”<sup>46</sup>

### **Music as a Universal Language**

The aim towards a “universal language” that is stressed by Blume is also reflected in other sources. Drawing on secondary literature Blume reports, for instance, of a letter that Christoph Willibald Ritter von Gluck (1714–1787) wrote in 1773 to the editor of the *Mercure de France*. Gluck took much pride at having produced music suitable for all the nations and of causing the ridiculous distinction of national music to disappear.<sup>47</sup> Such a proposal was praised a few years later by Michel-Paul-Guy de Chabanon<sup>48</sup> (1729/30–1792) who in 1785 defined Gluck’s style as “the universal language of Mankind.”<sup>49</sup> Blume suggests that the idea of music as a universal language eventually culminated in Schiller’s *Ode to Joy* and Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony.<sup>50</sup> This general aim towards a musical common idiom according to Blume resulted in the tendency toward simple, generally comprehensible and folk-like music; the highest

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<sup>45</sup> Bach, “Essay on the Proper Manner,” 856.

<sup>46</sup> See Leopold Mozart, “Essay on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing” in Strunk, *Source Readings*, 865. As reported in Leopold Mozart, *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (1756).

<sup>47</sup> Christoph Willibald Gluck, “Letter to the Editor of the *Mercure de France*,” in *Source Readings in Music History, from Classical Antiquity through the Romantic Era*, ed. Oliver Strunk (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1950), 682. This excerpt is not reported on the newest edition of Strunk.

<sup>48</sup> Blume reports him simply as Chabanon.

<sup>49</sup> Blume, *Classic and Romantic*, 28. As reported in Michel-Paul-Guy de Chabanon, *De la musique considérée en elle-même et dans ses rapports avec la parole, les langues, la poésie et le théâtre* (Paris, 1785).

<sup>50</sup> Blume, *Classic and Romantic*, 28.

degree of the union of folk-like and consummate art eventually became manifested in W. A. Mozart's *Magic Flute* as well as in Haydn's *The Creation* and *The Seasons*.<sup>51</sup>

### **The Classical Style: Remarks**

With a brief discussion on the classical style I introduced the concept of homogeneity. The widespread conventions that during the eighteenth century guided the composers's creative tasks were in fact the influence of a cosmopolitan society. In such environment the principal aim was not the search for an individual style. As travels and consequent cross influences were the norm, it is difficult establishing unambiguously personal styles.

Gaetano Pugnani fits the norms of his period. He travelled widely across Europe and was part of the eighteenth-century cosmopolitan environment. He found his fortune by working successfully in the patronage system. These facts place his music within the homogeneous style that I mention in this chapter. As a result, to the present day, dating Pugnani's works through a study of the specifics of his personal style remains difficult to do. It is therefore necessary to look beyond the score for evidence that will help establish a reliable date for the piece under discussion.

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<sup>51</sup> Blume, *Classic and Romantic*, 29.

## CHAPTER 4 THE CLASSICAL SYMPHONY

Even if Italy did not offer major contributions to the concert symphony, the contribution that Italian music offered to the development of the symphonic style is quite significant. The formation of the symphonic style sprang from Baroque instrumental genres, such as concerto and sonata (forms that originated in Italy); it passed through Neapolitan opera and eventually came to the works of Giovanni Battista Sammartini (1700/01–1775). To fully contextualize the genre, in the last section of this chapter I discuss the venues in which symphonies were performed during the eighteenth century. This should give a good idea of the setting in which the overture ZT 23 could have been heard.

### **The Challenge of Defining the Genre**

Scholars who have tried to define the symphony have dealt principally with two issues: the Italian opera overture as the direct forerunner of the symphony, and the centrality of Mannheim in the introduction of some mannerisms in the style. The study of these and other issues has depended heavily on the availability of scores, the size of the repertoire and problems of attribution.

Extant scores have been in fact particularly relevant in studying the evolution of the style. Unfortunately for a long time the study of the symphony was conducted with a partial view of the actual repertoire. It was only within the 1980s and 1990s that the efforts of several scholars made available in edition and reprints a number of scores that made possible outlining a measured and reasonable overview of the genre.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A. Peter Brown, *The Symphonic Repertoire*, 5 vols. (Bloomington & Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 2002–2008). Preface to the series. The different volumes of the series share the same introduction.

The task of editing eighteenth-century symphonies still presents significant challenges, primarily due to the size of the repertoire and problems of attributions. The large body of works that we define today as symphonies was eventually widely disseminated, but many attributions remain doubtful. The challenge of matching scores with composers' names is particularly troublesome, mostly because of the total absence of contemporary copyright laws. Publishers were free to reprint under their label a work printed elsewhere. Furthermore, less well known composers would find it helpful to sell their music under the name of their more famous and accredited colleagues. This custom responded to the popularity of the genre, which is explained by its versatility. Therefore, the fact that Pugnani's name is reported on the frontispiece as the composer of ZT 23, should not necessarily be taken as proof of authorship.

In the earliest part of the eighteenth century, to take advantage of the widespread amateur music making (especially in Germany), symphonies were written in such a style that they could be performed by musicians with rather limited technical skills.<sup>2</sup> This fact contributed to the generation of a large body of works created by the lesser known as well sophisticated composers. In order to show the consideration that the symphony as a genre enjoyed during its early times, Hoffman-Erbrecht mentions the 1735 minutes of the Zürich *Musikgesellschaft zur deutschen Schul*. The document records the decision that "every new member must submit a new symphony or deposit the approximately equivalent amount if 1 to 1½ Kronenthalers."<sup>3</sup> The wide demand created by amateur orchestras also encouraged the publication of symphonies in periodicals.

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<sup>2</sup> Hoffman-Erbrecht, *Symphony* (Cologne: Hans Gerig, 1967), 5.

<sup>3</sup> Hoffman-Erbrecht, 5. As reported in Robert Sondheimer, *Die Theorie der Sinfonie und die Beurteilung einzelner Sinfoniekomponisten bei den Musikschriftstellern des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig 1925).

These facts help us understand why the catalogues of the eighteenth-century symphonies include some thousands of works.<sup>4</sup>

Within the large number of works that we identify as symphonies there is a wide variety of types and diversity. During the eighteenth century lack of consistency in nomenclature led to the placement of different labels on similar works. This practice was the responsibility of both composers and copyists, who could reproduce as an overture a work elsewhere labeled as symphony. Labels that alternate inconsistently to define similar works include divertimento, serenade, quartet, quintet and others. As Bathia Churgin pointed out, “nomenclature by itself is no certain guide.”<sup>5</sup>

Wellesz and Sternfeld even mention that “the flexibility of nomenclature indicates stylistic uncertainty as well,” as even when the symphony became established as a genre, stylistic influences from opera, chamber music, and concerto continued.<sup>6</sup> Also in regard of the early symphony Bathia Churgin points out a similar issue. According to Churgin what makes it difficult establishing criteria for the symphony is the overlap in form, style, and medium with other instrumental types.<sup>7</sup> It is possible that genre distinctions were clear to eighteenth-century musicians, but the cross-influences (certainly a result of the homogeneous society), suggests that this could hardly be the

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<sup>4</sup> This number is not the number of Italian symphonies, but the number of all the symphonies composed in these years. As such it does not contradict my previous claim that in Italy opera overshadowed instrumental music.

<sup>5</sup> Bathia Churgin, “Introduction “ in Bathia Churgin ed., *The symphonies of G. B. Sammartini* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 5. With this claim Churgin points out a common problem in any emerging genre.

<sup>6</sup> The information in this paragraph is drawn from Egon Wellesz and Frederick Sternfeld, “The Early Symphony” in *The Age of Enlightenment, 1745–1790* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 366. Cross influences eventually produced, for instance, the da capo symphony, the quartet-symphony, and the symphonie concertante.

<sup>7</sup> Churgin, “Introduction,” 5.

case. Clear cut distinctions based on a genre's name remain, in many instances, not possible.

When talking of the concert symphony we are dealing with a large and diverse body of works composed over a long period of time. As such, a comprehensive discussion on the genre should include a broad array of cognates, for both the music of the eighteenth century, and for that of the seventeenth century (from which it originated). A definitive categorization of the different genres involved in this discussion is simply not possible. Nevertheless, given ZT 23's label of "overture," a brief discussion of its relationship to the symphony in terms of genre, is in order.

As I will explain in the course of this chapter, when using the word *overture* we generally understand a work with an introductory function such as the opera sinfonia or the French overture. During the eighteenth century, the use of the word *overture* was extended to works of the symphony type, regardless of their function. Nicholas Temperley reminds us that in the 1790s Haydn's London symphonies were sometimes billed as 'overtures,' showing us that the terms were used interchangeably.<sup>8</sup> Jan LaRue mentions that not only the terms *overture* and *symphony* were interchangeable, but that also the term *sinfonia*, for much of the eighteenth century, could indicate a work of the symphony type.<sup>9</sup> In the following discussion *overture* is understood as the Italian opera overture, while with *symphony* is understood the concert symphony, genre to which the overture ZT 23 belongs.

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<sup>8</sup> Nicholas Temperley, "Overture" in GMO.

<sup>9</sup> Jan LaRue et al., "Symphony," in GMO.

## The Development of the Symphony: A Brief Survey

*The Symphonic Repertoire*, edited by A. Peter Brown, is the most recent attempt at a wide-ranging work on the symphony. According to the author the series fills a gap in the historiography of eighteenth-century instrumental music; in the preface to the series Brown points out that the last attempt at a comprehensive work on the symphony was that by Karl Nef, in 1921.<sup>10</sup> Since then, literature has addressed the symphonic genre in two kinds of publications, textbooks and symposia. Brown lists some of the sources that I will review in this chapter. Some of them clearly aim at the music lover; nevertheless they offer a general picture of the state of research. In making available for the layman what scholars have achieved up to date, these works offer a reflection of the development of scholarship through time.

Much of the literature on the concert symphony is listed in an annotated bibliography authored by Preston Stedman.<sup>11</sup> The work is now more than twenty years old and rather partial in its content and organization. Brown, reviewing Stedman's bibliography, points out several of its limitations, not the least of which is the fact that it is "not designed for researchers as it takes a strictly bibliographical approach."<sup>12</sup> Besides a large section on national activities, Stedman's bibliography contains two sections with general resources and sources on the eighteenth-century symphony where items are listed and briefly commented upon. Stedman does not supply

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<sup>10</sup> Brown, *Symphonic Repertoire*, xv. The work mentioned is Karl Nef, *Geschichte der Sinfonie und Suite* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1921).

<sup>11</sup> Preston Stedman, *The Symphony: A Research and Information Guide, Volume I: The Eighteenth Century* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1990).

<sup>12</sup> A. Peter Brown, review of *The Symphony: a Research and Information Guide*, by Preston Stedman, *Music & Letters* 72 (Nov. 1991), 593–595.

information on the principles that guided the inclusion or exclusion of a source from the work.

In the preface Stedman remarks that specific writings on the symphony did not begin until the late nineteenth century, even if we can retrieve information on the genre in earlier sources. The first major scholar of the symphony who inspired later generations was Hugo Riemann (1849–1919) who edited scores and started researching music in Mannheim. Since then research on the symphony has been an ongoing project of the scholarly community. Major contributions came from American doctoral students who worked under the supervision of Jan LaRue and Barry Brook. To account for the status of this ongoing project it is enough to mention that one of the latest essays on the symphony, the one in the newly issued *Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music*, defines the research on the genre as “an unfinished dialogue.”<sup>13</sup>

### **Early Scholarship**

Hugo Riemann’s early contributions to musicological research stimulated many scholars of later generations. Riemann was the first who brought attention to the musical center of Mannheim which he regarded as the true historical origin of Viennese classicism.<sup>14</sup> In Mannheim Riemann identified the origin of many mannerisms that eventually became the distinguishing features of the classical style.

It was Lucian Kamieński that in 1909 revised Riemann’s point of view in this regard, suggesting a link between Mannheim and Italy. Kamieński concluded his study

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<sup>13</sup> Richard Will, “Eighteenth-Century Symphonies: An Unfinished Dialogue,” in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 613-647.

<sup>14</sup> Brian Hyer and Alexander Rehding, “Riemann, Hugo” in *GMO*.

by stating that there is no reason for Germans to be ashamed of the influence that Italians had on their music. It is indeed true that all the German masters were “fertilized” by the heritage of Italy. If Germany has to look at Italy with gratitude, Italians should give gratitude to the Germans for having acknowledged the Italian genius. Kamieński wished for future scholarship to be free from one-sidedness.<sup>15</sup> It seems therefore that he foreshadowed the importance that Italy had in the formulation of the symphonic style.

### Mid-Twentieth Century

For a long time scholars believed that the concert symphony was generated from the Italian opera overture. The monograph by Ralph Hill<sup>16</sup> offer a synthesis of the state of scholarship that, around the middle of the twentieth century, perpetuated what eventually became known as the “overture transfer theory.” Sources from this period do not explicitly use such a term, but the theory is clearly outlined. For instance, Hill states that the most famous Italian overtures, “imbued with the gay spirit of opera buffa,”<sup>17</sup> were detached from the stage work to be performed in concerts. Hill also attempts a definition of the various cognates of the term *symphony*, a distinction that eventually became irrelevant in scholarship of the following decades. The essay also includes some considerations in regard of the responsibility that the principle of sonata forms had

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<sup>15</sup> Lucian Kamieński, “Mannheim und Italien” in *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 10 (Jan.-Mar.1909): 307–317. “Er ist natürlich kein Grund vorhanden, sich der starken italienischen Einflüsse auf die deutsche Musik des 18 Jahrhunderts und die Wiener Klassiker zu schämen, im Gegenteil, wenn anders wir sie “an ihren Früchten erkennen sollen”, sind sie der denkbar beste Samen gewesen, der auf deutschen Boden fallen konnte, allen deutschen musikalischen Großmeister, Schütz, Bach, Händel, Hasse, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Wagner, sie alle und zahllose kleinere Meister sind von Italien befruchtet worden. Deutschland sollte darum vielmehr mit Dankbarkeit nach Italien blicken, dem es so viel Initiative verdankt, ebenso wie Italien nach Deutschland, das die Italienischen Propheten erfüllt hat. Die Aufgabe künftiger Forschung wird es danach sein, mit der “pars pro toto,” sie heiße nun Mannheim oder Wien, aufzuräumen, und statt in einer unerquicklichen Guerilla um Einseitigkeiten unnötig Kräfte zu vergeuden, den Stil der Wiener Klassiker an Italien und sonderlich Deutsch-Italien anzuknüpfen.”

<sup>16</sup> Ralph Hill, *The Symphony* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1949).

<sup>17</sup> Hill, *Symphony*, 11.

in the establishment of the symphonic style (although the actual concept of sonata form does not come from here). The author mentions the importance of devices such as the contrasting keys in the exposition, the existence of a developmental section, and the existence of a recapitulation concerned with the re-establishment of the tonic key.<sup>18</sup>

Hill also highlighted a commonplace about Mannheim that later scholarship will reveal to be a mistake, the claim that crescendos and diminuendos were first introduced by the Mannheim School. Such an indication, based on a famous quotation from Charles Burney,<sup>19</sup> was never adequately substantiated. Early scholarship had traditionally thought that the orchestral practice of Mannheim was responsible for the introduction into the style of all the stylistic elements called 'Mannheim mannerisms' such as crescendos and diminuendos.

During the mid twentieth century another relevant contribution to the monographs on the symphony was that of Homer Ulrich,<sup>20</sup> which aimed to survey different orchestral genres. In the first chapter Ulrich reviewed different instrumental forms of the seventeenth century, but did not consider the possibility that several of them had a role in the birth of the concert symphony. He claimed in fact that the seed of the future symphony was in the overture.<sup>21</sup>

Ulrich credited the most significant step in the evolution of the symphony to Alessandro Scarlatti (1669–1725), who first started composing his overtures in three

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<sup>18</sup> Hill, *Symphony*, 15–16.

<sup>19</sup> Hill, *Symphony*, 18. The famous quotation is briefly elaborated in Hertz, *European Capitals*, 513. "Since the discovery which the genius of Stamitz first made, every effect has been tried which such an egggregate of sound can produce; it was here that the *Crescendo* and *Diminuendo* had birth."

<sup>20</sup> Ulrich Homer, *Symphonic Music: Its Evolution since the Renaissance* (Columbia University Press: New York, 1952).

<sup>21</sup> Homer, *Symphonic Music*, 53.

movements. Ulrich highlighted the resemblance of these sinfonias with the Baroque concerto, a resemblance synthesized in the same number of movements (in fast-slow-fast sequence), the same stereotyped beginning with the tones of the tonic triad, and the same homophonic texture. The idea that the Italian opera sinfonia is the principal precursor of the concert symphony still seems to be predominant at this time. Ulrich stressed that the sinfonia was detached from its opera around 1740 to enter into a competition as a popular genre with the concerto. The rivalry with a mature form such as the concerto pushed the development of the symphony, which then occurred from around 1740 to around 1780.<sup>22</sup>

The scholarship of this period also acknowledged the fact that during the decades across the middle of the eighteenth century, the sonata principle was also eventually introduced, namely an increased differentiation and contrast that highlighted two distinct areas of the first movement. Ulrich mentions Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710–1736), Giovanni Battista Sammartini, and Giuseppe Tartini as composers who, along with other stylistic traits, used the transition to a new key and thematic differentiation.

Scholarship of mid century includes also the work of Adam Carse. Carse discussed the forerunners of the orchestral genre in view of the then-accepted overture transfer theory. In the opening of his book Carse stated that “the story of the symphony reaches back at least to the French Overture and the Italian Sinfonia, both of which took shape during the second half of the seventeenth-century.”<sup>23</sup> Both the instrumental genres originally introduced some kind of stage work and, according to Carse and

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<sup>22</sup> The information in this paragraph is taken from Homer, *Symphonic Music*, 53 and 58.

<sup>23</sup> Adam Carse, *Eighteenth-century Symphonies* (Westport, Connecticut: Hyperion Press Inc., 1951), 1.

others, at some point these instrumental sections were detached from the stage work to take life as independent concert genres.<sup>24</sup> Both genres convincingly qualify as forerunners of the concert symphony.

The connection between “curtain raising” genres and the concert symphony was brought forward by virtue of a shared three-part structure. The French Overture consisted of two main sections: a slow first one in duple meter with dotted rhythm, and a faster one in triple meter with fugal writing. The material of the first section may have returned after the second section. This is the variant that is taken by Carse to stress the three part structure of the genre (*Lentement-Vivement-Lentement*),<sup>25</sup> suggesting a parallel with the three sections of the early Italian opera sinfonia. The eighteenth-century preference for homophonic texture did not favor for the reception of the fugal section (the second) of the French overture in the concert symphony. Nevertheless the slow introduction remained and it was still in use later in the century (by Haydn, for instance). In his survey on the symphony Stedman points out that the French overture could indeed have inspired the introduction of the opening slow section. According to him, in both genres, French overture and concert symphony, the connection is suggested by the non-thematic character of the slow introduction that aims more at a harmonic goal rather than tunefulness.<sup>26</sup>

Along with the French overture, Carse identifies an important forerunner of the concert symphony in the early eighteenth-century Italian opera sinfonia. The three-part form (fast-slow-fast) that had been used in a number of Italian opera sinfonias is also

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<sup>24</sup> Carse, *Symphonies*, 8.

<sup>25</sup> Carse, *Symphonies*, 9.

<sup>26</sup> Preston Stedman, *The Symphony* (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1992), 11.

the structure found in early concert symphonies. Carse states that “these little three-movement sinfonias are indistinguishable from the concert-symphonies that were being written about the same time.”<sup>27</sup> Such is the principal argument that accounts for the sinfonia as a progenitor of the symphony. This is the theory that will be later labeled in scholarship as the “overture transfer theory.”

It is certainly reasonable to think that the roots of the symphony are to be found in the independent life of curtain-raiser forms such as the French overture and Italian sinfonia. As Stedman puts it, the audience familiarity with opera sinfonia pushed “enterprising composers” to adapt it for concert purposes.<sup>28</sup> The same could certainly hold true also for the French overture. Furthermore, during part of its existence, the symphony had indeed the function of concert opener. Jan LaRue and Eugene K. Wolf state that “the most common role of the symphony was to open the concert, [thus it had] an introductory function not unlike that of an overture.”<sup>29</sup>

### **A Shift in the Approach**

On the function of the concert symphony the overture transfer theory was challenged by scholarship investigating the social function of the different forerunners. During the early seventies an interest in what used to happen around the symphony arose. Scholars tried in fact to define the symphony by studying and discussing its context. Ursula von Rauchhaupt states that:

the symphony has always been affected by changes in the structure of society . . . the destiny of the symphony . . . is determined by the

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<sup>27</sup> Carse, *Symphonies*, 11.

<sup>28</sup> Stedman, *The Symphony*, 7.

<sup>29</sup> Jean LaRue et al., “Symphony,” in *GMO*.

'concurrence' of manifold musical and extra musical conditions. The world, the symphony environment, plays a decisive role.<sup>30</sup>

The focus on the context seems to be one factor in the eventual recognition that the overture transfer theory represented only a partial explanation of the general development. The instrumental section at the beginning of a stage work (formerly French overture or opera sinfonia) had the sole purpose of attracting the audience attention. As such it was rather brief and, as Stedman puts it, its involvement with the audience was "hardly more than superficial."<sup>31</sup> Louise Cuyler suggests that the opera sinfonia may have even been an inhibitor for the development of the concert symphony.

First, the overture had, as its basic function, to attract immediate attention and the pique interest for the *pièce de résistance*, to come: the opera itself. The ceremonial occasional quality of the opera overture clung to the symphony for many years, tending to inhibit its emergence as an innovative, autonomous form. Second, 'learned' development, a hallmark of the mature symphony, was alien to opera, which was, in the eighteenth century at least, written to divert.<sup>32</sup>

As explained by Jan LaRue and Eugene Wolf,

the theory that the opera overture was the principal basis for the symphony has as one of its weakest points the fact that the two genres were intended for quite different venues and kinds of audience whereas the circumstances of performance and social function of ripieno concertos and (in many cases) sonatas were precisely those of early symphonies.<sup>33</sup>

Opera sinfonias were meant to be performed in large theaters, before large audiences.

As introductory pieces, they were more facile in style than the ripieno concertos.<sup>34</sup> Wolf also brought up doubts about the interchangeability of symphony and sinfonia in their

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<sup>30</sup> Ursula von Rauchhaupt ed., *The Symphony* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973), 6.

<sup>31</sup> Stedman, *The Symphony*, 7.

<sup>32</sup> Louise Cuyler, *The Symphony* (New York, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973), 9.

<sup>33</sup> LaRue et al., "Symphony," in *GMO*.

<sup>34</sup> Eugene Wolf, "The Ripieno Concerto as Progenitor of the Concert Symphony," in *GARLAND A-I*, xvii.

function as concert openers as “very few detached overtures actually appear in sources antedating the first concert symphonies.”<sup>35</sup>

The affinities between the concert symphony and the Baroque instrumental forms were explored by Bathia Churgin in her groundbreaking work on Giovanni Battista Sammartini. Sammartini started his career as a composer in the first half of the eighteenth century. His early works show affinity with independent forms such as the concerto and the trio sonata, showing that in its early stage the symphony was more indebted to these genres than to the opera overture.<sup>36</sup> The transitional function of Sammartini’s works is seen, for instance, in the fact that their affinity in the number of parts with the trio sonata is reinterpreted as a textural feature. Sammartini’s symphonies *a tre*, preserve the three parts of the Baroque trio sonatas, but unlike it are not imitative in nature.<sup>37</sup>

The most significant contribution that gave a substantial impulse to the scholarship on the symphony was the large scale editorial project published by the Garland Publishing Company under the direction of Barry Brook. The significance of the sixty-volume series lay in making available for the first time to the large public new editions and facsimile reproductions of some of the symphonies composed between 1720 and 1840. The articles that accompany the scores are authored by experts in the field and besides supplying appropriate historical information, also explain the reason of

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<sup>35</sup> Jan LaRue and Eugene K. Wolf, “Sinfonia” in *GMO*.

<sup>36</sup> Churgin, ed., *The Symphonies of G.B. Sammartini I: Early Symphonies* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), 7. Churgin stresses that the impact of the Italian overture on the symphony was not felt until after 1740.

<sup>37</sup> Churgin, *The Symphonies*, 5.

why other instrumental genres, besides the opera sinfonia and the French overture, came to be considered important as forerunners of the concert symphony.

### **Importance of the Baroque Concerto**

The Baroque concerto was an instrumental genre with different variants, all of which, in different ways, qualify as forerunners of the symphony. Popular kinds of baroque concertos include the concerto grosso and the solo concerto as well as a third kind, which seems to link the two, the ripieno concerto. The etymological roots of the word *concerto* are to be found in the Italian *concertare* (to join together) as well as in the same Latin word (with the meaning of contending). Such are in fact the principles that govern the genre. When dealing with the concerto it is therefore better to think of the *concertato* principle—the coordination of different instruments, working in an ensemble with and against each other— instead of a specific genre.

The contrast between bodies of sound is represented in the solo concerto by the juxtaposition of a solo with an ensemble, and in the concerto grosso in the alternation of the full ensemble (*tutti*) with a group of soloists (*concertino*). In the early symphony the second theme was often performed by a *concertino*, indicating a clear and direct connection with the *concerto grosso*. Connection with the solo concerto is suggested by the soloistic writing that occasionally appears in early symphonies.<sup>38</sup> In any case it was on a different principle that scholarship from 1980s largely agreed on considering the *concerto* a forerunner of the symphony.

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<sup>38</sup> Notable examples are Joseph's Haydn's symphonies nos. 6 "Le Matin," 7 "Le Midi," and 8 "Le Soir." As the solo parts eventually grew in length, the symphony became a new genre, the *symphonie concertante*. The latter, where features of the concerto coexisted with those of the symphony, eventually became a mature and independent genre in the 1770.

The kind of concerto that is probably the closest to the symphony is the ripieno concerto. The denomination of the full group that contrasts with the concertino may change, but ripieno remains the most widely accepted one. The ripieno eventually settled as a group of doubled strings and basso continuo and as a consequence the ripieno concerto came to be understood as a piece for such ensemble.

The ripieno concerto, which flourished in Northern Italy from about 1690 to 1740, features the string ensemble and the basso continuo, with virtually no solo parts. When solos are present they are subsidiary. Therefore in this case the designation of concerto carries no implication of contrasting bodies of sound, but simply indicates a work for ensemble (“concertare” as joining together). The nomenclature for this genre varied in contemporary sources and in the scholarship the designation of ripieno concerto became the favored one.

Among the scholars who put forth the idea that the ripieno concerto has full title to qualify as a forerunner of the symphony was Neal Zaslaw. Drawing on a claim by Eugene Wolf, Zaslaw states that “historians dealing with the emergence of the concert symphony in the mid-eighteenth century have undervalued the conservative ripieno-concerto in favor of the more forward-looking opera sinfonia.”<sup>39</sup>

Ripieno concertos share instrumentation with the early symphony. While opera sinfonias because of their character and function often used winds, the ripieno concerto and the early symphony use only strings and basso continuo. Overlapping seemed to have existed also in regard to the form. Eugene Wolf points out that, generally

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<sup>39</sup> Neal Zaslaw, “Mozart, Haydn, and the Sinfonia da Chiesa” in *The Journal of Musicology* 1 (1983): 103. As reported in Eugene K. Wolf, “The ‘Ripieno Concerto’ (*Concerto a 4*) as the Principal Early Form of the Concert Symphony,” paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Denver, November 7, 1980. Summary published in *Abstracts of Papers Read at the Forty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society* (Denver, 1980), 25.

speaking, the most up to date ripieno concerto differed from the concert symphony in regard to the form of the first movement. While ritornello procedures were preferred for the concerto, a binary-form first movement was more common in the early symphony. In any case the distinction was not consistent as there are examples of early symphonies using ritornello procedures and solo passages as well as concertos with a binary first movement as early as 1700.<sup>40</sup> Wolf stresses that the ripieno concerto must be credited for having developed “an idiomatic style for [a] non-theatrical orchestral work, neither a style dependent on neither imitative techniques nor solo/tutti opposition for purposes of construction.”<sup>41</sup>

Wolf, reviewing the evolution of the ripieno concerto, shows that the genre was popular from the end of the sixteenth century up to the 1740s. The first known publication of ripieno concertos is the op. 5 of Giuseppe Torelli (1685–1709). The collection contains sinfonias and concertos, and in the preface the composer makes remarks about the difference between the two genres. Torelli suggests that in concertos, the parts should be doubled. The texture of the two genres differs: where fugal writing appears in the sinfonias, in concertos only occasional imitation and antiphonal effects appear.<sup>42</sup> This conception of sinfonia is clearly not related to that of the eighteenth century.

The ripieno concerto remained in vogue up to mid century. Quoting Charles de Brosses, who in 1739 wrote from Venice to a friend, Wolf brings attention to the contribution of Antonio Vivaldi to the genre. De Brosses said that in Venice there were

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<sup>40</sup> An example of this is Tommaso Albinoni Op.2.

<sup>41</sup> The information in this paragraph is drawn from Wolf, “The Ripieno Concerto” in GARLAND A-I, xvii.

<sup>42</sup> Eugene Wolf, “The Ripieno Concerto to ca. 1740: a brief Survey,” in GARLAND A-I, xvii.

“large concertos in which there is no solo violin.” Wolf conjecturally suggests that de Brosse was probably referring to the over fifty such concertos by Antonio Vivaldi (1678–1741). There is a wide variety in Vivaldi’s ripieno concertos; some thirty of them are for ripieno alone, offering in all respects a direct connection with the sinfonia type. Others have solo passages or occasional fugal writing. Most of the sinfonia-type concertos have a first movement developed with a ritornello procedure that obviously lacks the solo section.<sup>43</sup>

Vivaldi’s contribution represents in terms of chronology the last significant body of ripieno concertos, which scholarship has placed in the years around 1720. Other works were published afterwards, but the genre eventually went out of fashion. Wolf speculates on the reason for the decline of the ripieno concerto, pointing out that the decline coincides with the rise of the concert symphony. Also the increasing designation of concertos as works with soloists and orchestra may have pushed composers to designate as symphonies works that were previously called concertos.<sup>44</sup>

### **Importance of the Baroque Sonata**

When exploring the Baroque sonata as a forerunner of the concert symphony, the first consideration regards instrumentation. The connection between the two genres is straightforward: the trio sonata with its two melodic lines and basso continuo,<sup>45</sup> lent its texture to early symphonies. Wolf tells us that “trio-symphonies for two violins and bass

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<sup>43</sup> The information in this paragraph is taken from Wolf, “A Brief Survey,” in GARLAND A-1, xxi.

<sup>44</sup> The information in this paragraph is taken from Wolf, “A Brief Survey,” in GARLAND A-1, xxi.

<sup>45</sup> For a discussion on terminology see Peter Allsop, *The Italian ‘Trio’ Sonata from its Origins until Corelli* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), Chapter 2.

are quite common in the early phases of the symphony.”<sup>46</sup> In this regard Stedman also adds a consideration pointing out that the three voice texture was used up to the mature works of Haydn.<sup>47</sup>

A further consideration that accounts for the importance of sonata in this discussion passes through the function of music in the Catholic Church. The so-called *sonata da chiesa* (or church sonata) offers a seventeenth-century precedent for the use of instrumental music in eighteenth-century religious context. The existence of a *sinfonia da chiesa* is discussed by Neal Zaslaw<sup>48</sup> in a study that has its main argument in a selection of early eighteenth-century German sources that support the existence of the genre. Zaslaw, starting from the church sonata, surveys instrumental music in the Catholic liturgy, showing that in this context the symphony may very well be related to the sonata. A particular excerpt of the study also shows the multiple uses of the symphony. Zaslaw reports that Scheibe in 1739 claimed that the popularity of opera sinfonias was such that they could be heard “even in church.”<sup>49</sup>

### **Importance of the Neapolitan Sinfonia**

The term *sinfonia* during the early Baroque was used to define an introductory section which often times had the sole purpose of attracting the audience’s attention. During the first half of the seventeenth century the general rule for these pieces was that they be unpretentious and rather short. During the first half of the century the

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<sup>46</sup> LaRue and Wolf, “Symphony”, in *GMO*.

<sup>47</sup> Stedman, *The Symphony*, 5.

<sup>48</sup> Neal Zaslaw, “Mozart, Haydn and the Sinfonia da Chiesa,” *The Journal of Musicology* 1 (1982): 95–124.

<sup>49</sup> Neal Zaslaw, “*Sinfonia da Chiesa*,” 103. As reported in Scheibe, *Der Critischer Musicus* (Hamburg, 1738–40), 596.

instrumental pieces performed before the opera had no thematic connection with the stage work. The audience in fact would attend an opera or an oratorio just to hear good singing, possibly a specific singer. Composers knew that the audience would pay little or no attention to the *sinfonia* and therefore the use of the same *sinfonia* for different operas was not an exception. As a consequence, as Douglass M. Green says in regard of Neapolitan *sinfonias*, “we can assume that the *sinfonie* were dashed off, and it is unlikely that we will find a true masterpiece among them.”<sup>50</sup>

For how much the “overture transfer theory” was eventually challenged by scholarship, the fact remains that opera *sinfonia* and symphony are strictly linked by their shared formal structure, especially in the first part of the century. This is confirmed by the fact that it is often impossible to take them apart and that they were both indistinctly used in concerts. During the eighteenth century opera overtures appeared detached from their stage works, often times not even maintaining the original title.<sup>51</sup>

The question of how the Italian *sinfonia* relates to the concert symphony arose in the literature when scholars investigated the reasons for which the Neapolitan overture broke away from a single movement to become two or three. “It has been stated that in its overall scheme of movements (fast-slow-fast) the overture is an antecedent of the symphony.”<sup>52</sup> I have already discussed the partiality of such theory; in any case, the Neapolitan opera *sinfonia* plays an important role in the birth of the symphonic style.

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<sup>50</sup> Douglass M. Green, “The Neapolitan *Sinfonia* from 1720 to 1750,” in GARLAND A-1, xl.

<sup>51</sup> An example of Pugnani’s overture that circulated detached from the original works is that “per l’Achille in Sciro di Metastasio” that Pugnani presented in 1785. The Library of the Conservatory in Milan owns a manuscript copy. It is interesting to notice that the frontispiece of the Basso simply mentions: “*Sinfonia Del Reggio Teatro / Del Sig<sup>r</sup> Gaetano Pugnani*” and that the addition with the title of the opera appears below, in a different hand. The graphic sign suggests that the addition was done at a much later time.

<sup>52</sup> Gordana Lazarevich, “The Influence of the Overture on the Symphony,” GARLAND A-1, xlii.

Helmut Hell concludes that there is no relation between the symphony and the *sinfonia*, claiming two different origins for the two genres. “The roots of the first-movement structure in Vinci’s and Porpora’s overtures are to be found in the Baroque concerto, whereas the roots of the first movements of the early symphony extend to the dance form with its repeat marks.”<sup>53</sup> The connection between the two genres is much more sophisticated than the one scholarship has discussed up to the 1980s.

During the eighteenth century Naples was an important center of operatic activity. As Wolf points out, the picture of Naples that we retrieve from the accounts of visitors is that of a very active musical city. The vivid cultural life of the city was determined by the four conservatories in which composers were trained. The availability of many prestigious positions and a generous royal patronage system kept in Naples many of the leading musicians that were trained there.<sup>54</sup>

Many of the *sinfonias* that Domenico Scarlatti (1685–1757) composed during the last two decades of the century were modeled after the *sonata da chiesa*, including four short movements in alternating tempos (slow-fast-slow-fast). Towards the end of the century Scarlatti started adopting the three movement form that eventually became the standard pattern. Green remarks that such a pattern was not a direct evolution of the earlier four movement form dropping the first slow movement. As a matter of fact the first fast movement seemed to be borrowed from the concerto and as such did not have a contrapuntal texture. First movements were built up “of the alternation of tutti and soli passages, written in a rhythmic style of continuo homophony characteristic of the

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<sup>53</sup> Lazarevich, “Influence,” GARLAND A-1, xlii. As reported in Helmut Hell, *Die Neapolitanische Opernsinfonie der erste Hälfte des 18. Jahrhundert* (Turtzing: H. Schneider, 1971).

<sup>54</sup> Gordan Lazarevich, “Naples in the Eighteenth Century,” in GARLAND A-1, xxxvi–xxxvii.

concerto.” The homophonic texture is reminiscent of counterpoint, “achieved through the imitative use of triadic themes.”<sup>55</sup> The middle slow movement did not have the character of motion. As for the last movement it remained the rounded binary dance-like character of the *sonata da chiesa* remained.

Around mid century Neapolitan composers started using peculiar features such as orchestral crescendos. There is no evidence that indicates earlier use. Much debate surrounds the introduction of this device in the symphonic style. Contemporary sources describe crescendo in orchestral concerts in Rome as early as 1711.<sup>56</sup> Some Neapolitan scores from the 1730s seem designed to exploit the effect, but no evidence can confirm that this was actual performing practice. Green states that “during the 1750s the prominent orchestral crescendo became almost a trademark of Jommelli sinfonias,”<sup>57</sup> although he calls for crescendo in his scores starting in the 1740s.<sup>58</sup> At about the same time crescendos appeared also in the works of the Mannheimers. Given the influence that Mannheim had on the music of the eighteenth century it is worth spending a few words to show how the achievements of its composers in fact originated with the Neapolitan school.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> The information in this paragraph is drawn from Douglass M. Green, “The Sinfonia of Scarlatti and His Contemporaries,” in GARLAND A-1, xxxv.

<sup>56</sup> Green, “Neapolitan Sinfonia,” in GARLAND A-1, xl. As reported in Scipione Maffei, *Giornali de’ Letterati d’Italia* (Rome, 1711) V, 144.

<sup>57</sup> Green, “Neapolitan Sinfonia,” in GARLAND A-1, xli.

<sup>58</sup> LaRue et al., “Symphony, 18<sup>th</sup> Century, Italy,” in GMO.

<sup>59</sup> Niccolò Jommelli stands out for his use of orchestral crescendos, achieved through the graduation from *pp* to *ff* or *Forte Assai*, innovation that paralleled Johann Stamitz’s orchestral crescendos. See Egon Wellesz and Frederick Sternfeld, “The Early Symphony” in *The Age of Enlightenment, 1745–1790* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 370. Jommelli’s compositional practice and his use of orchestral resources as expressive devices is well explored in Marita McClymonds, “The Evolution of Jommelli’s Operatic Style” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 33 (1990), 326–355.

## “Neapolitanness” of Mannheim Mannerisms

The importance of Mannheim as musical center was first noted in 1898 by the German historian Friedrich Walter.<sup>60</sup> It was only in 1974 that a research project related to Mannheim, led by Eugene K. Wolf, was conducted in a number of archives in Munich and in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Scholars found and examined scores and archival material related to the Mannheim school comprising about 125 manuscripts.<sup>61</sup> This research established Mannheim’s preeminence as a cultural center and brought to light its crucial role in the development of the symphony and the Classical style.

Mannheim’s influence grew in importance over the period 1720 to 1778. In 1716, Carl Phillip became Elector Palatine in succession of his brother Johann Wihelm. It was only in 1720 that he and his court entered Mannheim, choosing it as the new electoral seat. The designated successor was Carl Phillip’s son-in-law Carl Theodor. The latter became Elector Palatine in 1742, residing in Mannheim until 1778, when the court moved to Munich.

Music making at Mannheim was intense. As far as orchestral music is concerned, the context was different than that associated with public concerts. Mannheim became famous for its academies, weekly musical occurrences during which the instrumental music that led to the court’s international reputation was performed.<sup>62</sup> Widely known as a patron of the arts, Carl Theodor attracted scholars and artists from diverse places.

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<sup>60</sup> Eugene K. Wolf, Jean K. Wolf, and Paul E. Corneilson, *Manuscripts from Mannheim, ca. 1730–1778: a Study in Musicological Source Research* (Frankfurt: P. Lang, 1999), 35.

<sup>61</sup> Eugene K. and Jean K. Wolf, “A Newly Identified Complex of Manuscripts from Mannheim,” in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 27 (1974): 379–437.

<sup>62</sup> Eugene K. Wolf, “Music at the Court of Mannheim, 1720–1778,” in GARLAND C-III, xvi. Even if Mannheim became known for whose instrumental music, opera was also part of the court’s musical life. See Paul Corneilson and Eugene K. Wolf, “Newly Identified Manuscripts of Operas and Related Works from Mannheim” in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47 (1994), 244–274.

The prosperity of the court afforded the elector with the possibility of having the best musicians of Europe. Therefore, the musicians who worked in Mannheim enjoyed positive reputations and were paid far more than the average salary of an eighteenth-century court musician.<sup>63</sup>

Besides newly appointed outstanding musicians the elector also “groomed the more talented offspring of musicians already at court, often by financing an extended period of study in Italy.”<sup>64</sup> The elector’s passion for arts and music eventually led to the creation of an orchestra that gained quite a reputation across the continent. Leopold Mozart defined it “unquestionably the best in Germany.”<sup>65</sup> Charles Burney also had words of praise for the Mannheim orchestra. Praising their discipline and the high qualification of its members, Burney defined it “an army of generals, equally fit to plan a battle, as to fight it.”<sup>66</sup>

The symphonists in Mannheim are traditionally divided into two generations. The first generation includes composers born in the first part of the century such as Johann Stamitz (1717–1757), Franz Xavier Richter (1709–89), and Ignaz Holzbauer (1711–1783). Eugene Wolf mentions that their style was certainly not distinguished by the unity that characterized the second generation of Mannheimers. Furthermore only Stamitz, in the first generation, devoted himself primarily to the symphony. His achievements were eventually passed on to the second generation of Mannheim composers; prominent

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<sup>63</sup> See Eugene K. Wolf *Manuscripts from Mannheim, ca. 1730–1778: a Study in Musicological Source Research* (P. Lang: Frankfurt am Main, 1999), 35.

<sup>64</sup> Eugene K. Wolf, “Music at the Court of Mannheim,” xv.

<sup>65</sup> As reported in Emily Anderson, ed., *The letters of Mozart and his Family* (London: Macmillan, 1966). I, 25. Letter of 19 July 1763.

<sup>66</sup> Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany* (London: 1775), i, 95.

names in this group include Christian Cannabich (1731–1798), Carl Joseph Toeschi (1731–1788), and Anton Fils (1733–1760). The “Mannheim school” therefore, refers to Stamitz and his pupils.<sup>67</sup>

Eugene Wolf argues that the younger composers at Mannheim could have been largely influenced by the generation of Italian opera composers represented by Niccolò Jommelli and Baldassare Galuppi (1706–1785), rather than Johann Stamitz.<sup>68</sup> The link between Italy and Mannheim was not only represented by the number of Italian operas performed there. Christian Cannabich,<sup>69</sup> who led the orchestra after Johann Stamitz, studied with Jommelli.<sup>70</sup> This may very well be the reason for which the symphonies of the second generation of the Mannheim composers show similarities with the opera overtures of Galuppi and Jommelli.<sup>71</sup> In any case, as Wolf points out, a further element that strengthens the connection is that the opera overture was also prominent in the formation of Stamitz’s style. Wolf concludes that Stamitz may be seen as taking the path that will be later followed by his students.<sup>72</sup>

The stylistic elements that link the Italian *sinfonia* with the second generation of Mannheim composers include: prolonged pedal points, melodic writing that emphasizes clichés such as the turn . . . and the sigh, crescendo themes based on rising thirds,

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<sup>67</sup> Wolf, “The Symphony at Mannheim,” xvii.

<sup>68</sup> Wolf, “The Symphony at Mannheim,” xviii.

<sup>69</sup> Little of Cannabich’s music has been published. Paul Corneilson has recently edited a volume of his ballet music that, even if not directly linked with the symphony, is a recent and relevant contribution to the study of the Mannheim style. See Cristian Cannabich, *Ballet Music Arranged for Chamber Ensemble* ed. Paul Corneilson (Middletown: A-R Editions, 2004).

<sup>70</sup> “He studied with Niccolò Jommelli in Rome from about 1752 to July 1753, then followed him to Stuttgart, remaining there until February 1754.” See Jean K. Wolf, “Christian Cannabich,” in *GMO*

<sup>71</sup> Wolf, “The Symphony at Mannheim,” xviii.

<sup>72</sup> Wolf, “The Symphony at Mannheim,” xviii.

uncomplicated rhythmic flow, stereotyped use of thematic contrast within the exposition, and avoidance of complex thematic development. These elements do not appear in Stamitz's symphonies as a group.<sup>73</sup> Some other stylistic traits such as solo winds and care in orchestration, preference for partial recapitulation, and the four movement cycle (until the 1760's), set the Mannheim school apart from the opera overture.<sup>74</sup>

### **The importance of Individual Components and Thematic Dualism**

Gordana Lazarevich, drawing on the work of Robert Sondheimer, points out that there are two facts important to the study of the relationship between symphony and *sinfonia*: the large structural designs and the formulation of the individual, smaller components of the musical language.<sup>75</sup> The Neapolitan overture of the beginning of the century does not exhibit a sonata form plan as those found in first movements of the symphony. In any case, its importance to this discussion lies in 'the formulation of a greater variety of motivic and rhythmic material, a greater freedom in the use of this material, and in a new thematic dualism.'<sup>76</sup>

### **Smaller Components**

The contribution of the Neapolitan opera overture to the development of the symphonic style also passes through the intermezzo. Lazarevich says that the origins of

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<sup>73</sup> The information in this paragraph is drawn from Wolf, "The Symphony at Mannheim," xviii.

<sup>74</sup> Wolf, "The Symphony at Mannheim," xviii.

<sup>75</sup> Gordana Lazarevich, "The Neapolitan Sinfonia from 1720 to 1750," in GARLAND A-1, Xlii–xliii. According to Lazarevich, Sondheimer calls them "grossformaler Aufbau" and "Kleineformale Technik" respectively. As reported in Robert Sondheimer, "Die formale Entwicklung der vorklassischen Sinfonie," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* IV (1922) 85–99. A concern with the smaller components is highlighted also in eighteenth-century theoretical sources. See Marie Louise Göllner, "Melodic Unit/Caesura/Cadence" in *The Early Symphony: 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Views on Composition and Analysis* (Georg Olms Verlag: Hildesheim, 2004), 25–39.

<sup>76</sup> Lazarevich, "Neapolitan Sinfonia," xliii.

“that nebulous substance that can be called ‘spirit’ of Italian symphonic art” are to be found in the Neapolitan intermezzo.”<sup>77</sup> This genre, popular in the early decades of the century had its origin in comic scenes that were traditionally inserted between the acts of an opera in the seventeenth century. This provided the audience with moments of humorous entertainment in contrast with the serious plots of operas. Intermezzi eventually gained such an independence that were inserted in every new opera; in Naples composers used to add intermezzi also to operas elsewhere produced without them.<sup>78</sup> The transition from intermezzo to opera buffa is exemplified in Giovanni Battista Pergolesi’s *La Serva Padrona*. Scenery and plots of intermezzos were down to earth, using the common language of ordinary people.<sup>79</sup> “The simpler and more realistic text gave rise to a simpler musical line devoid of the florid passages that demanded almost superhuman breath control.”<sup>80</sup> Elements of naturalness were also introduced by the use of alto and bass voices in contrast to the preferred high-pitched ranges of the Baroque. The intermezzo eventually grew in importance as a reaction to the complexity and artificiality of Baroque music.

Naples and Venice were the two prominent centers of operatic production during the seventeenth century. Intermezzi became prominent in Naples, developing such a peculiar taste that Lazarevich mentions that the preface of the Venetian libretti of the

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<sup>77</sup> Gordana Lazarevich, “Neapolitan Intermezzo,” 294. For an attempt at a comprehensive study of the genre see Charles E. Troy, *The Comic Intermezzo: A Study in the History of Eighteenth-Century Italian Opera* (Ann Arbor, MI 1979). Besides the Neapolitan intermezzo, the Roman intermezzo also played a role as a forerunner of the opera buffa. See John Rice, “The Roman Intermezzo and Sacchini’s ‘La Contadina in Corte,’” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 12 (2000): 91–107.

<sup>78</sup> Charles Troy and Piero Weiss, “Intermezzo,” in *GMO*.

<sup>79</sup> Lazarevich, “Neapolitan Intermezzo,” 296.

<sup>80</sup> Lazarevich, “Neapolitan Intermezzo,” 296.

works performed in Naples report: “adjusted to suit the tastes of the audiences of the city.”<sup>81</sup> The particular Neapolitan culture is one that likes dramatic, noisy and colorful aspects of life; these elements intermingled with the exuberance, verve, and sentimentality of the character, giving life to a peculiar literary and musical *vis comica*.<sup>82</sup> Lazarevich stresses that musical language that evolved from this situation was that of the preclassical era.<sup>83</sup>

Four aspects of the early eighteenth-century Neapolitan intermezzo contributed to the classical concept of phrase structure. First, the Melody, as the accents and inflections of the Italian language shaped the rhythmic patterns within the musical phrase. Statements moved away from the drive to the cadence in favor of balanced musical statements that reflected the text. The device transferred from vocal music to its accompaniment and eventually to keyboard music and symphony. The new melodic line created in the intermezzos abound in rhythmic and dynamic accents, as well as short trills, syncopations, grace notes, appoggiaturas, triplets, Scotch snaps, and other written embellishments. Lazarevich points out that those intermezzos freed themselves from the long Baroque phrases, introducing the concept of ‘motivic play.’ The idea of manipulating motifs helped developing in a piece the dramatic conflict that will become important to the concept of sonata form. Second, the Harmony as the Neapolitan school used consistently the thematic and harmonic dualism. The device finds its roots in the binary form of opera arias (*seria* and *buffa*) that included two thematic ideas often in

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<sup>81</sup> Lazarevich, “Neapolitan Intermezzo,” 295.

<sup>82</sup> Lazarevich, “Neapolitan Intermezzo,” 297.

<sup>83</sup> Lazarevich, “Neapolitan Intermezzo,” 299. The term “preclassical” is no longer in use. In its place we currently use “early classical.”

ABA form. Before the mid of the eighteenth century the opening thematic material may appear restated in the dominant and with a different character and length. This device anticipates the sonata procedure. Third, the Cadences represented in the variety of cadential formulas that helped the comic idiom. These formulas (such as the octave jump) briefly surveyed by Lazarevich were transferred to the opera overture and later to the symphony. Fourth, the orchestral texture, especially a technique called “orchestral padding” that was also shared by other contemporary vocal genres. Padding consists in “the use of rapid notes of sixteenth- and thirty-second-note value in scale and ostinato passages assigned to string instruments.”<sup>84</sup> The device, used in accompanied recitative, was introduced by Scarlatti and other Neapolitans into opera buffa and intermezzo. It eventually became an important device of the symphonic style, being used, for instance, in the transition passages between subjects, the development and the coda.<sup>85</sup>

### **Thematic Dualism: The Sonata Form**

Lazarevich argues that the introduction of a second thematic area with elements of contrast with the opening material was an outgrowth of the Baroque tutti-solo contrast. Regardless of its origin, the principle is obviously relevant to the development of the “aesthetic of the sonata-form idea.”<sup>86</sup> Sonata form ended up being regarded as the most important principle of Classical music. Its story is bound to that of the symphony.

The theatrical principles of sonata form were first articulated in 1793 by Heinrich Christoph Koch in his *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition* and elaborated by

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<sup>84</sup> Lazarevich, “Neapolitan Intermezzo,” 313.

<sup>85</sup> Lazarevich, “Neapolitan Intermezzo,” 313.

<sup>86</sup> Lazarevich, “Neapolitan Sinfonia,” xliii.

writers during the first half of the nineteenth century. More recently Charles Rosen has addressed the wide array of possibilities that would qualify a piece as a sonata form, concluding that the repertoire suggests the existence of different sonata forms rather than a single well defined one.<sup>87</sup> Scholarship has also tried to categorize the different variants that do not adhere strictly to the tripartite textbook form, confirming that sonata, rather than a fixed mold, is a set of principles. The problem of defining sonata form is a sophisticated one. The literature has addressed how texture, relationship of structural units, and thematic differentiation play a role in this task. As far as orchestral music is concerned instrumentation is also relevant in highlighting the perception of these elements.

As synthesized by Douglas M. Green the minimum requirements to be included in the category of sonata form are two. First, the piece has two sections with a tonal movement from the tonic to the related key in the first part and back to the tonic in the second section. Second, the transposed restatement in which important material stated in the non tonic key the first section is restated in the tonic key in the second section.<sup>88</sup>

Rosen synthesizes sonata form with an effective formula: “dramatized clarity” in which opposition is stated, intensified and eventually resolved.<sup>89</sup> Green points out that in the sinfonias of Pergolesi, Vinci (1690–1730), Leo (1694–1744), and Jommelli there is a large scale structure that, along with showing dramatized clarity, conforms to the two basic aforementioned sonata form principles. The sonata form remained for long time the preferred form for the first movements of multi-movement compositions.

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<sup>87</sup> See Charles Rosen, *Sonata Forms* (New York: Norton, 1988).

<sup>88</sup> Douglas M. Green, “The Rise of Sonata Form,” in GARLAND A-I, xlv.

<sup>89</sup> Green, “Sonata Forms,” xlv. As reported in Rosen, *Sonata Forms* (New York: W.W.Norton, 1980), 12.

## 1990s and 21st Century

The 1990s witnessed a remarkable growth in scholarship on the symphony. A monograph edited by Robert Layton well synthesizes the achievement of about a century of studying and researching the orchestral genre, but it warns that “for the first fifty years or so of its development our knowledge of the repertoire is still imperfect.”<sup>90</sup> Challenges continue for the scholars currently working on a forthcoming monograph on the early symphony that will complete the series on the *Symphonic Repertoire*.<sup>91</sup>

Currently, the most authoritative synthesis of scholarship on the symphony is Richard Will’s essay in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music*. In the opening of his essay he remarks that “studies on eighteenth-century symphonies are equally diverse and, after two centuries, almost as numerous as the works themselves.”<sup>92</sup> With such a variety of diverse research, the author remarks that the task could never be thought of as finished. Hence the title of the essay that stresses that this is “an unfinished dialogue.”<sup>93</sup>

In the brief section on the origins of the symphony, Will acknowledges the work of Eugene Wolf, stating that the progenitors of the orchestral genre are to be found in virtually any instrumental genre intended primarily for concert use. The existence of a clear cut distinction between the symphony and the sinfonia had generated much disagreement among scholars. Will confirms that the line between the two is indeed

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<sup>90</sup> David Wyn Jones, “The Origins of the Symphony, 1730–c.1785,” in Robert Layton, *A Guide to the Symphony* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

<sup>91</sup> See the introduction to this chapter.

<sup>92</sup> Richard Will, “Eighteenth-Century Symphonies: an Unfinished Dialogue,” in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 613.

<sup>93</sup> Will, “Unfinished Dialogue,” 613.

blurred, reminding us that the Breitkopf catalogue listed all of them together in the same section.

The overlap between chamber and theater symphonies continued well into the century. During the 1770s Mozart and Haydn were still perpetuating the tradition.<sup>94</sup> In any case there is no consistent interrelation between the opera overture and the symphony in the second half of the century; the two genres coexisted, but led distinctly different lives. Towards the end of the century, the opera overture was performed with increasing frequency as an independent piece, separate from its operatic context and as a concert alternative to the full-length symphony.<sup>95</sup>

In the last third of the century composers experimented more intensively with the overture, moving increasingly from the three movements to one. By 1770 the growing popularity of concert symphonies seemed to have eventually caused the overture to be differentiated from them. The latter kept emphasizing the rhythmic and melodic lines while the former stressed full texture, sophisticated phrasing and imaginative orchestration.<sup>96</sup>

Wellesz and Sternfeld synthesize that

the overture begins on a par with the concert symphony but soon declines in size and artistic weight. Where earlier years borrowings from opera helped to fill out the scanty orchestral repertory, after 1760 the large production of independent symphonies fully satisfied all requirements. Thus, at the end of the century the overture maintained a somewhat

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<sup>94</sup> Will, "Unfinished Dialogue," 637.

<sup>95</sup> Gordana Lazarevich, "The Eighteenth-Century Overture," in GARLAND A-I, xlvii. As reported in Rey M. Longyear, "The Symphonies of Niccolò Zingarelli," *Analecta Musicologica* XIX (1980): 292.

<sup>96</sup> Wellesz and Sternfeld, "Early Symphony," 371.

ephemeral position based less on its own merits than on the popularity of the opera from which it came.<sup>97</sup>

As already established in the 1980s, Will also stresses that the Neapolitan *sinfonias* were widely celebrated in the first half of the century. The Neapolitans provided a model of style and orchestration that inspired composers such as Sammartini. The latter was responsible for giving an autonomous life to the concert symphony. Sammartini's contribution was so important that Will, to review the stylistic features of early symphonies, takes his works as the paradigmatic example. The influence of the Neapolitan style went well beyond Italy. As we have seen in the foregoing discussion, some of the symphonic stylistic features even made it to Johann Stamitz in Mannheim (via Jommelli).<sup>98</sup>

A defining element of the symphony has been its performance practice. First, it is important to keep in mind that during the eighteenth century symphonies were performed in a variety of venues. Will mentions that

at the many occasions where music competed for attention with dining, card playing and other entertainments, symphonies worked especially hard. They were all too easily dismissed like opera overtures, as preface to the main attraction, in this case instrumental and vocal solos comprising the heart of the programme.<sup>99</sup>

It was inevitable that different venues determined the level of attentiveness and the consequent reaction of each different audience. The result was that at some point the actual performance rather than the score itself must have become quite significant to define the genre. Will states that "frequently works were tailored to fit orchestras that

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<sup>97</sup> Wellesz and Sternfield, "Early Symphony," 431.

<sup>98</sup> The information in this paragraph is taken from Will, "Unfinished Dialogue," 615–616.

<sup>99</sup> Will, "Unfinished Dialogue," 617.

varied widely in size, composition, skill and playing style.”<sup>100</sup> The discipline of the Mannheim orchestra, possibly more celebrated than the music written by its composers, serves as an example.

In order to show the role of performance in shaping the repertory, Will concludes this section of his essay offering some remarks about the eighteenth-century symphony in our times. Historically informed performances and audio recording stimulated the research of pieces that were long forgotten. These facts brought to the attention of the public works that during the eighteenth century could have gone mostly unheard. Audio recordings disseminate music in a way unprecedented in history. As Will remarks, nowadays we can experience “the history of the genre in ways it could not have been experienced during the period itself.”<sup>101</sup>

Will comment connect directly with an observation that Neal Zaslaw has offered in a discussion on the context of Mozart’s symphonies:

In seeking to understand something of the formation of a writer of symphonies in the eighteenth century, one must keep in mind the implications of an obvious yet profound difference between our times and earlier ones. Nowadays a musical child can readily hear an extraordinary variety of music from many times and places, through electronic means of sound reproduction and rapid travel. In earlier times the knowledge and taste of a child were formed by the music heard ‘live’ in his immediate geographical area, much of it of local or regional provenance, written within the lifetimes of his musical mentors or, very occasionally, of their teachers.<sup>102</sup>

The concern of scholars with context was, as previously mentioned, one that arose in the 1980s. This improved our understanding of the symphony and offered explanation

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<sup>100</sup> Will, “Unfinished Dialogue,” 618.

<sup>101</sup> Will, “Unfinished Dialogue,” 619.

<sup>102</sup> Neal Zaslaw, *Mozart’s Symphonies*, 1.

as to the large body of works. The last section of this chapter will review the principal performing venues for the symphony.

### **Performance Contexts**

Neal Zaslaw says that our practice of devoting whole evenings to works in a single genre by a single composer, would probably have been regarded in the eighteenth century as lacking in variety, and even bizarre.

Symphonies were the indispensable adjunct to concerts, operas, oratorios and liturgical music, but although indispensable, they were of secondary importance to vocal music and virtuoso solos, as well as to certain socio-cultural elements of the occasion in question. Our notion of the symphony as an extended work of great seriousness – a notion inherited from the nineteenth century – is very far from what the musicians and laymen of the second half of the eighteenth century had in mind for their symphonies.<sup>103</sup>

The symphony was one of the most popular genres in the eighteenth century. Symphonies were performed in venues that would nowadays possibly be perceived as inappropriate, such as background music for card playing for instance. The variety of performing contexts impacted different aspects of eighteenth century life to a degree that, with very few exceptions, all music establishments, during that time period, possessed a stock of symphonies.<sup>104</sup>

### **Concerts**

Most commonly the symphony was performed in concerts, an umbrella term encompassing both public and private entertainments, promoted for any reason ranging from monetary profit to the so called ‘academies.’

Public concerts mushroomed in Europe with the rise of the middle class. Patrons of the arts and music lovers in public concerts found an opportunity to gather to enjoy

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<sup>103</sup> Zaslaw, “Sinfonia da Chiesa,” 119.

<sup>104</sup> LaRue et al., “Symphony,” in GMO.

music making. These events were often arranged for the profit of able impresarios. The phenomenon grew tremendously in major European cities, except for places, like Vienna, where private patronage remained strong for most of the century. Therefore in comparison with other major cities,

Vienna had not developed a vigorous, continuing tradition of public concerts in the eighteenth century . . . In Vienna the flourishing patronage of the symphony by private courts and ecclesiastical institutions, together with the conservative structure of social and economic society in general, meant that for much of the eighteenth century there was no pressing reason to copy trends elsewhere in Europe.<sup>105</sup>

As a result of this social setting, towards the end of the century the symphony declined in Vienna with the decline of aristocracy. The trend is confirmed in the transformation of the catalogues of major Viennese publishing companies. David Wyn Jones discusses at length the evolution of the Traeg publishing house, and concludes that

the much reduced presence of the genre [symphony] in the 1804 [Traeg] catalogue in comparison with the 1799 [Traeg] catalogue, the reliance on imported editions from André, even the offering of older works in the 1799 catalogue at a reduced price, all suggest that the symphony was no longer at the core of the music trade in Vienna.<sup>106</sup>

Jones suggests that such a trend is consistent with the replacement of court orchestras with wind ensembles (usually smaller and therefore cheaper). Such a pattern is also reflected in Traeg's catalog, where a comparison between the 1799 and the 1804 edition shows that in the latter Harmoniemusik is much more relevant than the symphony.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> David Wyn Jones, *The Symphony in Beethoven's Vienna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 51.

<sup>106</sup> Jones, *Beethoven's Vienna*, 33.

<sup>107</sup> Jones, *Beethoven's Vienna*, 42.

Perhaps closer to the general European custom was the city of London, where public concerts were a normal occurrence. These venues offered to the general public opportunities to listen to symphonies, a genre that was placed in the concert programs according to an established pattern. McVeigh observes that “by 1751 subscription concerts [in London] had established a standardized two-part programme-format of some ten or twelve items, alternating instrumental and vocal items . . .” a three hour entertainment came to be regarded as ideal.<sup>108</sup> Within this framework the symphony gradually gained importance. At first London’s audience complained that the balance of the program was moving away from vocal music; by 1790 programs were built around instrumental music. For instance, “Haydn’s newest work was usually placed at the start of the second half, where it would presumably receive greater attention – and not suffer, or be missed by, latecomers.”<sup>109</sup>

The placement of a symphony within a concert program could vary, but quite consistently it was used as a concert opener, hence the name of overture with which the symphony remained known in England for most of the century.<sup>110</sup> In Vienna it was customary to split the different movements of the symphony in different parts of a single program, but such custom was not adopted in London.<sup>111</sup> As for the conclusion of concert, if not an entire multi-movement symphonic work, often the final number was a movement from the opening symphony.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London, from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 101.

<sup>109</sup> LaRue et al., “Symphony,” GMO.

<sup>110</sup> LaRue et al., “Symphony,” GMO.

<sup>111</sup> McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 105.

<sup>112</sup> LaRue et al., “Symphony,” GMO.

McVeigh offers a significant remark that shows the importance of instrumental music compared to opera in the public concert setting:

the rise of commercial concerts for a ticket buying public reveals marked if sometimes superficial similarities with later patterns of concert management. While modern concert life ultimately stemmed from fashionable entertainment for West End society, concert symphonies and high quality soloists did filter outside these elite venues to be heard by audiences of a much wider social spectrum. But the most significant feature of all in the long term was the establishment of concerts alongside opera within the social and cultural life of the capital.<sup>113</sup>

During the eighteenth century in public settings and courts as well instrumental music became an important counterpart of opera. Eugene Wolf, commenting on a visit that Voltaire's secretary Cosimo Alessandro Collini made in 1753 to Mannheim, states that Collini specifically mentioned the two most celebrated elements of musical life at Mannheim were operas and concerts.<sup>114</sup> In this "context" concert is understood as a private entertainment also known during the period as an academy. These events were particularly prominent in Mannheim, taking place once or twice a week. The fact that Mannheim became a relevant site for the history of the symphony is indeed linked to the concert life at court. Hertz states that the fact that "the late symphonies by Stamitz are without equals in the 1750s, may explain why such concerts came to play such a prominent role at the Mannheim court."<sup>115</sup>

Academies such as the ones taking place in Mannheim did not only feature music. The venue, possibly paralleling what was going on in opera houses during the performance, allowed also for any kind of social activity to take place while an academy

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<sup>113</sup> McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*, 223.

<sup>114</sup> Wolf, *Manuscripts from Mannheim*, 28.

<sup>115</sup> Hertz, *European Capitals*, 512.

was performed. Jan LaRue reports a quotation from Louis Spohr (1784–1859), in which he mentions that in 1799, the Duchess of Brunswick warned him that music should not disturb card games.<sup>116</sup>

Amateur musicians must also be mentioned when discussing concerts as they contributed significantly to both producing and performing the symphony; Jan LaRue speaks, in fact, of amateur concert series. Possibly more important than that was the fact that the symphony had a relevant place also in private music making. It was customary, in the eighteenth century, for amateur musicians to gather in someone's home and perform music. Such concerts had no public and were often performed just for the pleasure of the performers themselves. Neal Zaslaw mentions that in Vienna “[the Mozarts] often went to the homes of friends and patrons to participate in private music making. Symphonies were heard at most occasions.”<sup>117</sup>

## Church

David Wyn Jones, describing the symphony in eighteenth-century Vienna, stresses that:

more than one commentator remarked that attending a church service was akin to going to a concert. Symphonies played a part in this service, with individual movements often played as so-called Gradual music between the Gloria and the Credo.<sup>118</sup>

The political situation of Vienna reveals interesting peculiarities also in regard of the symphony in the Catholic Church. The association between religious sentiments

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<sup>116</sup> LaRue, “Symphony,” GMO.

<sup>117</sup> Neal Zaslaw, *Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 11.

<sup>118</sup> David Wyn Jones, *The Symphony in Beethoven's Vienna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 49.

and the symphony in Vienna was gradually lost as the emperor Joseph II, from 1782 onward, gradually reduced the role of instrumental music in church service.<sup>119</sup>

The ruling philosophy of Joseph II may be in fact synthesized as ‘everything exists for the state.’<sup>120</sup> Joseph served the state with unselfish devotion.<sup>121</sup> Such an attitude brought him to blur the boundaries between sacred and secular, thus impacting the role of music in the church. Even if the situation of Vienna was probably peculiar, the line between sacred and secular was fuzzy elsewhere as well. Neal Zaslaw explains:

The secular-sacred distinction has been drawn differently at various times, and was certainly not the same in the mid-eighteenth century as it is now construed. The revolutionary writings of the Enlightenment *philosophes* may have been read in some sophisticated circles then, but in most of the Continent the medieval order was still firmly in place. One tenet of that order was the deliberate blurring of the sacred-secular boundary through the doctrine of Divine Right of Kings. As the Prince-Archbishops of Salzburg were both temporal and spiritual leaders, they had even less reason than other rulers to maintain clear distinctions between the two realms, and their musicians provided music for cathedral and court alike.<sup>122</sup>

## Theater

Elaine Sisman has suggested the possibility that Haydn’s symphonies were used in plays by Shakespeare in Vienna and nearby centers.<sup>123</sup> Her study opens by examining the evidence that shows the use of music in the theater. Besides the

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<sup>119</sup> Jones, *Beethoven’s Vienna*, 49–50.

<sup>120</sup> T.C.W. Blanning, *Joseph II* (Longman Publishing: New York, 1994), 56.

<sup>121</sup> Blanning, *Joseph II*, 60.

<sup>122</sup> Zaslaw, *Mozart’s Symphonies*, 10.

<sup>123</sup> Elaine R. Sisman, “Haydn’s Theater Symphonies,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 43 (1990), 294.

evidence that songs were part of spoken plays, Sisman examines the less well documented presence of instrumental music in theater,<sup>124</sup> concluding that

reports of instrumental music in the theater in Haydn's milieu, then, include music written specifically for plays and suitable music appropriated for use in plays, with both individual movements and entire pieces identified in the sources as 'symphonies.'<sup>125</sup>

Sisman develops a case study about Haydn's Symphony No. 60 that could have been used entirely as theater music for a play. The study starts by mentioning that this is the only symphony in six movements that Haydn composed, and as such the only work that could independently provide music for a five-act play (overture, four entr'actes, and finale).<sup>126</sup> The observation may suggest new avenues for Pugnani scholarship as well, regarding his only three orchestral works comprised of six movements.<sup>127</sup>

### **The Symphony: Remarks**

This discussion offers insights to an important component of the task of scholars: in the 1980s a substantial flowering of the study on the symphony was contingent on the availability of scores. Scholars gained a quite comprehensive understanding of the genre, by editing and studying the texts (scores) through which the genre was perpetuated. The vastness of the symphonic repertoire suggests that the editorial task is far from being complete and that therefore, part of our duty remains that of producing reliable, well edited texts.

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<sup>124</sup> Sisman, "Theater Symphonies," 297.

<sup>125</sup> Sisman, "Theater Symphonies," 303.

<sup>126</sup> Sisman, "Theater Symphonies," 311.

<sup>127</sup> In the ZT catalog the numbers 11, 12, and 22.

The conclusions offered as to the forerunners of the symphony bring up many points of interest for the study of eighteenth-century Italian instrumental music. The genres involved in this discussion were all born in Italy. First, the concerto and sonata, (for which the Italian names themselves show the origin of the genres), and then the Neapolitan opera, which determined the mannerisms of the symphonic style, all point toward Italy's relevant contribution. This information determines the relevance of the eighteenth-century Italian symphony that finds its place on a continuum with origins that reach back into the Baroque period.

## CHAPTER 5 GAETANO PUGNANI: TOWARD A REVISION OF HIS BIOGRAPHY

Since extensive biographical information on Pugnani is currently not available in English, the synthesis and translation of some relevant documents on the life and travels of the Turinese violinist can help us understand the context in which his style developed. Primary sources were explored in early twentieth-century Italian scholarship, namely by Stanislao Cordero di Pamparato, Antonio Bertolotti, P. B. Ferrero and others, but more recent scholars have occasionally contributed relevant pieces of information as well. This biographical sketch has the purpose of showing how Pugnani fits into his time, one of cosmopolitanism and patronage, already explored above in Chapter 3. An investigation of how both concepts inform Pugnani's personal life becomes significant in order to date ZT 23. The argument I will build in Chapter 7 will be in fact based on considerations on Gaetano's career within the music establishment of a royal court of Turin, as well as his role as Viotti's teacher. Having discussed the cultural and historical environment above, in this chapter I provide a more specific context for the score of ZT 23.

### **Early Scholarship**

At the end of the nineteenth century, an important contribution to the literature on Gaetano Pugnani was a study by Antonio Bertolotti titled "Gaetano Pugnani e altri Musici alla Corte di Torino nel Secolo XVIII."<sup>1</sup> Bertolotti opened his essay with a general statement about musicians, saying that fame is really unfair with them, they are famous

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<sup>1</sup> Antonio Bertolotti, *Gaetano Pugnani e altri musici alla corte di Torino nel secolo XVIII* (Milan: G. Ricordi, 1892). This edition of the study belongs to a collection of essays originally published in *La Gazzetta Musicale di Milano*, year 1891. Belonging to different issues the page numbers in this Ricordi's edition are not progressive. The different sections of the study are marked with roman numerals. I will identify the source with both the original page number and the section numbers.

and regarded in life, but as soon as they die their names and their music is forgotten; after their death, it is a matter of luck finding information on them.<sup>2</sup> Gaetano Pugnani is no exception. Information available on the composer in nineteenth-century and twentieth-century sources is scant and partial. Furthermore this literature contains many mistakes and omissions. Stanislao Cordero di Pamparato in his 1930 study, *Gaetano Pugnani Violinista Torinese*, opened by listing the mistakes of previous biographers.<sup>3</sup> He remarked that already less than half a century after Pugnani's death, no one remembered where and when he was born.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless some serious attempts at reconstructing Pugnani's life were made in the second half of the nineteenth century.

G. B. Ferrero<sup>5</sup> was the first scholar who attempted to establish the date and birthplace of Gaetano Pugnani. He tried to synthesize the scarce information he had available, starting with the dictionaries of Lichtental and Fétis as well as Gaetano's testamentary will. Most of the early attempts at reconstructing Pugnani's life were based on anecdotes that can certainly suggest facts, but cannot prove them. It was not until

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<sup>2</sup> Bertolotti, *Pugnani*, 353, I. "Non vi ha forse altri coi quali la fama sia così ingiusta quanto con i musicisti: allori a profusione della loro vita, ma dopo la medesima non tardano l'abbandono delle loro composizioni e l'oblio del nome. La moda, il gusto musicale furono e sono talmente variabili, che ormai i musicisti del secolo scorso sono quasi dimenticati, fortunato se taluno trovò qualche erudito, che abbia dedicatogli un cenno nei dizionari biografici musicali."

<sup>3</sup> Stanislao Cordero di Pamparato, *Gaetano Pugnani, Violinista Torinese* (Turin, Fratelli Bocca Editore, 1930). Originally published as: Stanislao Cordero di Cordero, "Gaetano Pugnani, Violinista Torinese" *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, xxxvii (1930): 38–58, 219–30, 350–71, 551–61.

<sup>4</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 3. Cordero di Pamparato's observation that Pugnani was quickly forgotten is confirmed by an earlier biography by P. B. Ferrero. The latter, hoping for some help in collecting information on Gaetano Pugnani, in *Messaggero Piemontese* published an open request for information. The issue of the *Messaggero Piemontese* in which the request appears is stated in the reply letter by Angelo Pugnani that is reproduced by Cordero. A descendant of the Pugnani family replied on 10 March 1847. Angelo Pugnani, a cousin of Gaetano, claimed that unfortunately he was not able to supply precise information on date and birthplace of his ancestor (the letter from 1847 is reproduced in the study). This was happening roughly a half century after Gaetano Pugnani's death. See P. B. Ferrero, *Brevi cenni su Gaetano Pugnani: celebre sonatore di violino* (Turin: Stabilimento Tipografico Fontana, 1847). Originally published in *Messaggero Torinese*, July 24, 1847.

<sup>5</sup> Cordero names Ferrero, Giovanni Battista, instead of P.B. as it appears in the 1847 study of the author.

1895 that a study by Domenico Carutti<sup>6</sup> cleared all doubts in regard to Gaetano's birthplace. He found in the baptism registry of the Turinese parish of S. Giovanni that Gaetano Pugnani was born in Turin on 27 November 1731 and baptized there on the 29<sup>th</sup>.

Carutti's endeavor also aimed to trace the origins of the Pugnani family. The task successfully revealed an origin that goes as back as far as the second half of the sixteenth century, when the family name stemmed from De Pungentibus. Traditionally illiterate it seems that Gian Battista was the first of the family who ended up being properly educated. He served in fact the royal family as a *segretario* in the office of the *Reale Liquidazione*.<sup>7</sup> From the 1730 wedding of Gian Battista Pugnani with Angela Borri were born our violinist Gaetano, Vittorio and Elisabetta Genovieffa.

This introductory section shows that in spite of the widespread recognition that Gaetano enjoyed during his lifetime, he was forgotten after his death. The contribution of these early scholars, who established Pugnani's birth date, carries a broad significance. Knowing an artist's dates help us to place him in a precise time period.

### 1740s

The most relevant of Carutti's accomplishments was perhaps his discussion of information about Gaetano's first violin teacher, Tommaso Gelosio.<sup>8</sup> Several of Pugnani's biographers reported that when he became mature and successful, Gaetano

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<sup>6</sup> Domenico Carutti, "Della famiglia di Gaetano Pugnani," in *Miscellanea di storia italiana*, 3rd ser., ii (1895), 337–346.

<sup>7</sup> The information in the paragraph above is drawn from Domenico Carutti, *Della Famiglia*, 339–341.

<sup>8</sup> Ferrero, "Pugnani," 7. As reported in the letter of Barbarosso. See also Carutti, *Della Famiglia*, 344. Born in 1707 Tommaso Gelosio died in 1747 before turning forty. Carutti suggested that the young Gaetano had an opportunity to meet him when he was sojourning with his grandparents in Cumiana (Gaetano's grandfather, after living in Turin, retired in Cumiana where he still had property).

never forgot his first teacher. Comparing the dates of Gelosio's death with that of Pugnani's birth unfortunately offers little insight on Gaetano's musical training. We can only discern that the two of them met before Gaetano turned sixteen.<sup>9</sup> This is very little if we consider that other records show that Gaetano by age ten was already a decent player and joined the orchestra of the Teatro Regio.<sup>10</sup>

Even if Gaetano collaborated with the institution for most of his life, the Teatro Regio was not his principal source of income. The Teatro Regio was managed by a "collective impresario,"<sup>11</sup> the *Nobile Società dei Cavalieri* and was a separate institution from the music establishment of the royal court. The latter was the *Cappella* and was possibly a more prestigious position for a musician. In spite of his early orchestral experience, Gaetano was not officially appointed here until 1748.<sup>12</sup> In this year his name appears on the payroll of the royal house, as he joined the ranks of the string ensemble as the last chair of the second violins. At that time the orchestra was directed by Gaetano's second violin teacher, Giovanni Battista Somis. It is reasonable to assume that Somis played a major role in introducing the young Gaetano to the orchestra.

The delay of Gaetano's official appointment was probably due to causes other than his musical preparation. Cordero di Pamparato noticed that between 1741 and

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<sup>9</sup> Carutti, "Della Famiglia," 12. Gaetano Pugnani was born on November 27, 1731 and Tommaso Gelosio died on June 9, 1747.

<sup>10</sup> Rosy Moffa, *Storia della Cappella Regia di Torino dal 1775 al 1870* (Turin: Centro Studi Piemontesi, 1990), 31. As reported in Marie-Thérèse Bouquet-Boyer, *Storia del Teatro Regio di Torino, i: Il Teatro di Corte dalle Origini al 1788* (Turin: Cassa di Risparmio di Torino, 1976), 168.

<sup>11</sup> The term "collective impresario" was coined by Franco Piperno. See Franco Piperno, "Impresariato Collettivo e Strategie Teatrali. Sul Sistema Produttivo dello Spettacolo Operistico Settecentesco," in *Civiltà Teatro e Settecento Emiliano*, ed. Susi Davoli (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1986), 345–56.

<sup>12</sup> Moffa, *Cappella*, 31. As reported in Archivio di Stato di Torino, Sezioni Riunite, *Patenti Controllo Finanze*, Reg. 20, 1748.

1748, perhaps determined by the war,<sup>13</sup> the orchestra did not acquire anyone else.<sup>14</sup>

The royal patent that decreed Gaetano as a *suonatore di violino della Cappella e Camera* is transcribed by Cordero di Pamparato. The document dated 19 April 1748, in formulaic administrative language mentions that starting on 16 April 1748 Gaetano was granted an annual stipend of *lire dugento* [duecento].<sup>15</sup>

Gaetano's music career began officially with this appointment as a violinist. As a matter of fact his violin playing skills, developed for several years in the orchestra of the Teatro Regio, were eventually acknowledged with the more prestigious position in the cappella. This appointment speaks volumes about Gaetano's artistic skills, that were judged so promising that he was eventually patronized to further his education as a composer.

Somis not only supported Pugnani's entrance into the orchestra, but certainly also played a role in sponsoring the important experience that followed. About a year after his official appointment Gaetano was ready to move from Turin to Rome, where he was to learn the art of composition. Carlo Emanuele III, the Savoyard sovereign in 1749, supported Pugnani's expenses, hoping that the latter could come back to Turin and fulfill higher duties. Somis had a personal connection with Rome and probably wished

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<sup>13</sup> The War of the Polish Succession just ended (1739) and the War of Austrian succession was about to begin. Many European states were involved in the latter during most of the 1740s. These years were for Turin a time of financial struggle. See Giuseppe Ricuperati, "Una Pace Troppo Breve. La Città e la Guerra di Successione Austriaca," in *Storia di Torino* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 2002), 20–28.

<sup>14</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 8. Cordero reports a single exception. The only addition in the violins was that of Rocco Giovannetti; since he already had a brother in the music establishment, his admission was the consequence of a right of inheritance, a *diritto di precedenza*.

<sup>15</sup> Papparato, *Pugnani*, 9. The text of document is reproduced as in Archivio di Stato di Torino, Sezioni Riunite: Patenti, biglietti, vol. 20.

for his pupil an education similar to the one he had.<sup>16</sup> Cordero di Pamparato suggests that besides Somis the *maestro di cappella* Giovanni Antonio Giay may also have been responsible for the choice of Rome<sup>17</sup> and for the decisions regarding Gaetano's educational trip.<sup>18</sup>

Cordero di Pamparato reports that the plan for Pugnani's Roman trip was given to the marquis del Carretto di Gorzegno and after an order of the king the letter made it to Rome in the hands of the count Giovanni Battista Balbis di Riviera, *Ministro Sardo presso la Corte Pontificia*. The letter reads in part:

His Majesty decided to send il Signor Pugnani to stay there until next Christmas [Pugnani] is one of the players of the Royal Chapel he is a youngster with great potential and by studying he could with time end up leading the players of His Majesty, who will supply the expenses of his [Pugnani's] moderate staying in Rome. One of the goals that we have in mind is to have him learn counterpoint; another is to have him learn good taste in playing, by having him meet renowned virtuosos, principally il Signor *Pasqualino*.<sup>19</sup>

As Cordero di Pamparato points out there are important elements in this excerpt. First it is remarkable noticing the care and the esteem that the king – and Somis indirectly – had for this young musician. The letter speaks well of Pugnani's abilities and

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<sup>16</sup> See Alberto Basso, "Somis, Giovanni Battista," in *GMO*. In 1696 Somis started his tenure as a musico suonatore della banda di violini of Duke Vittorio Amedeo II of Savoy. In 1703 the duke sent him to Rome to study with Arcangelo Corelli. Somis returned to Turin after three years, resuming his post in the orchestra, which he eventually directed starting in 1736.

<sup>17</sup> Gordana Lazarevich and Marie-Thérèse Bouquet-Boyer, "Giay, Giovanni Antonio," in *GMO*. However the connection of Giay with the city of Rome is not clear, as recent scholarship only mentions the possibility that before 1715 he went there to complete his studies.

<sup>18</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 10.

<sup>19</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 11. Arch di Stato di Torino sez. 1a, Lettere Ministri: the marquis of Carretto di Gorzegno to the count Balbis of Rivera, 30 Aprile 1749. "S. M. ha risoluto di mandare costì per dimorarvi fino a Natale venturo il signor Pugnani, uno dei suonatori della R. Cappella, che è un giovane di molta aspettativa e che studiando potrà col tempo essere messo alla testa dei suonatori della M.S., la quale supplirà alla spesa del di lui discreto trattenimento in Roma. Uno degli oggetti, che si hanno in mira, si è di fargli imparare il contrappunto e l'altro di procurrgli un buon gusto del suonare mediante la frequenza di codesti più rinomati virtuosi principalmente del signor Pasqualino."

already acknowledged potential. In the second place, Pugnani's Roman sojourn had the double goal of perfecting his violin skills and developing his ability to compose. The plan was not to provide Gaetano with violin lessons, but to have him become acquainted with renowned professionals. One of those was the "signor Pasqualino" who, according to Cordero di Pamparato and others, was Pasquale Bini.<sup>20</sup> The presence of Bini in Rome at this time is questionable, mainly because of the further correspondence during 1749 and 1750 between Rome and Turin. Cordero points out that Pasqualino is not mentioned at all in the correspondence of the following months.<sup>21</sup> In any case, the facts are not clear, since one of the excerpts discussed below suggests that signor Pasqualino could have still been in Rome in the spring of 1749.<sup>22</sup> During this sojourn Pugnani presumably became familiar with other prominent performers, but his acquaintance with Bini remains in question.

The rest of the recommendation letter strengthens the understanding that Pugnani was held in high esteem. The count Balbis of Riviera was to select *maestri di cappella* in Rome who could properly instruct Pugnani. The letter suggests traits of Gaetano's personality that emerge not as a virtuoso violinist, but as a rather ordinary teenager. According to the marquis of Gorzegno, the youngster had a lively character and

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<sup>20</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 11.

<sup>21</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 17. See also Chappel White, "Bini, Pasquale," in *GMO*. Bini was a renowned violinist active in Rome around that time. The most recent scholarship shows that Pugnani probably did not meet Bini in Rome. The latter studied with Tartini and eventually lived in Rome under the patronage of Cardinal Olivieri. After Olivieri's death (1738) Bini served under Cardinal Acquaviva Troiano. When the latter died in 1747 Bini returned to his native Pesaro. Pugnani's recommendation letter is dated 30 April 1749. With all probability when the letter was written it was not known that Bini had already moved back to Pesaro.

<sup>22</sup> It is the letter from the count Balbis of Rivera to the marquis of Carretto di Gorzegno from 17 May 1749, in which Balbis mentions that *signor* Pasqualino was no longer able to easily gain access to the Roman *Accademie*.

. . . should be but is not without presumption and vanity, and that as a consequence sometimes cannot keep himself from showing the little esteem he has for people better skilled than he, and also, considering his young age, not yet “solid” and subject to many caprices and accidents.<sup>23</sup>

Gorzegno recommends that Balbis pay special attention to Gaetano’s behavior. The letter continues:

His Highness hopes that *Vostra Signoria Illustrissima*, by himself or through others, will accept the trouble of keeping an eye on his [Gaetano’s] conduct, not just to keep him in subjection, but to oblige him to take care with exactness and application to the task. . . .<sup>24</sup>

The marquis del Carretto continues suggesting that Conte Balbis find for Gaetano appropriate lodging. “Appropriate lodging” meant either at the Count’s residence or at that of trusted neighbors, so that the patron could be continuously updated on Gaetano’s progress.<sup>25</sup>

According to the documents discussed by Cordero di Pamparato, Pugnani left Turin at the beginning of May 1749.<sup>26</sup> Upon his arrival in Rome, his designated host, count Balbis, was not yet ready to accommodate His Majesty’s requests. A composition teacher had not yet been appointed. Balbis hoped Gaetano could work with Niccoló

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<sup>23</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 12. As reported in Archivio di Stato di Torino, Lettere Ministri: Rome, The marquis of Carretto di Gorzegno to the count Balbis of Rivera, Turin, 30 Aprile 1748. “Non è spogliato come dovrebbe, di presunzione e vanità, onde non può alle volte trattenersi di dimostrare la poca stima delle persone più di lui capaci, e considerate anche l’età non ancora soda e soggetta a molti capricci e accidenti.”

<sup>24</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 12. As reported in Archivio di Stato di Torino, Lettere Ministri: Rome, The marquis of Carretto di Gorzegno to the count Balbis of Rivera, Turin, 30 Aprile 1748. “desidererebbe S. M., che volesse V. S. Ill.ma prendersi l’incomodo di avere o per sè o per altri continuamente l’occhio alla di lui condott onde porlo in suggezione non solamente, ma obbligarlo d’accudire con esattezza ed applicazione al travaglio.”

<sup>25</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 12. As reported in Archivio di Stato di Torino, Lettere Ministri: Rome, The marquis of Carretto di Gorzegno to the count Balbis of Rivera, Turin, 30 Aprile 1749.

<sup>26</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 12. As reported in Archivio di Stato di Torino, Sez. 1<sup>a</sup>, Lettere Ministri: Rome, The marquis of Carretto di Gorzegno to the count Balbis of Rivera, Turin, 30 Aprile 1749.

Jommelli,<sup>27</sup> but the latter was unfortunately away from Rome and would have not returned earlier than *l'anno Santo*.<sup>28</sup> Jommelli worked in Rome during the 1749, where he composed the oratorio *La Passione di Gesù Cristo*. Jommelli's work in Rome gained him access to papal circles<sup>29</sup> that, besides another commission, also granted him an appointment. With a decree issued on 20 April 1749 Jommelli was elected maestro *coadiutore* [assistant] of S Pietro.<sup>30</sup> The decree asserted that he must be in Rome for the beginning of the Holy Jubilee Year of 1750.<sup>31</sup> Therefore Balbis's statement is correct, although it would be stimulating to imagine how Pugnani's musical output could have been different had he studied with Jommelli.

Balbis's letter continues as follow:

he [Pugnani] will need to give up some ideas, that I have very well learned already, that he came here convinced that cardinals and princes look for him for their concerts and feasts, that he assumes are continuously given in their homes and gatherings, and that he will make copious money. He will soon realize his mistake, as the same Pasqualino for church music does not have any more engagements, or little more, than other virtuosos, and like the others has to be happy with a 'thank you' and declare himself obliged that he was invited to their *accademie di suono e di canto*.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 15. As reported in Archivio di Stato di Turin, Lettere Ministri: Roma, the count Balbis of Rivera to the marquis of Carretto di Gorzegno al, Turin, 17 Maggio 1749.

<sup>28</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 13. As reported in Archivio di Stato di Turin, Lettere Ministri: Rome, the count Balbis of Rivera to the marquis of Carretto di Gorzegno, 17 Maggio 1749.

<sup>29</sup> Marita McClymonds et al., "Jommelli, Niccolò," in *GMO*.

<sup>30</sup> McClymonds et al. "Jommelli," *GMO*.

<sup>31</sup> McClymonds et al. "Jommelli," *GMO*.

<sup>32</sup> Cordero, "Pugnani," 13–14. As reported in Archivio di Stato di Torino, Lettere Ministri: Rome, the count Balbis of Rivera to the marquis of Carretto di Gorzegno, 17 May 1749. "Bisognerà però che deponga certe idee, colle quali ho già ben conosciuto, che è qua venuto persuadendosi di dover essere cercato da Cardinali e da Principi per concerti e feste, che suppone diano l medesimi continuamente nelle loro Case e conversazioni e di far in conseguenza denari in gran copia. Ma ben presto s'accoggerà l'errore in cui è, mentre l'istesso Pasqualino per le musiche di chiesa non ha più, o poco più degli altri virtuosi e come gli altri bisogna che pur si contenti di un ringraziamento e si professi eziando obbligato d'essere stato invitato alle accademie di suono e di canto." The presence of Bini in Rome during those months is

Balbis had to remind the youngster that the primary reason for his staying in Rome was to fulfill His Majesty's desire. If one complaint was made about his conduct, a second complaint would have not have followed.<sup>33</sup> Balbis's preventive concerns are justified by the environment that he soon illustrates as following:

[in] a city like this, so vast and filled with any kind of people from any nation, and where one lives with unremitting freedom, it is too difficult to guard carefully, for how many spies one would like to maintain, to check on the conduct and behaviors of whomever, but youngsters especially, for they arrive sometimes not well inclined and inclined for their nature to enjoy themselves. . . . Rome, certainly for the youth, who still need rules and directions, is in my opinion a very dangerous city.<sup>34</sup>

Gaetano was evidently not much different than a modern day college student who moves into a new environment. However, further correspondence seems to show that Balbis had inaccurate preconceptions. Gaetano was possibly slightly selfish, but also a motivated and well behaved student. In a later letter dated 14 June 1749, Balbis praised Pugnani's discipline and informed the Royal House of Turin that the young musician had already performed in several *accademie*. Gaetano's potential became rather

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questionable, due to the aforementioned reasons. In any case this letter suggests that Pasquale Bini could have still been in Rome around this time.

<sup>33</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 14. As reported in Archivio di Stato di Torino, Lettere Ministri: Rome, the count Balbis of Rivera to the marquis of Carretto di Gorzegno, 17 May 1749.

<sup>34</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 14. As reported in Archivio di Stato di Torino, Lettere Ministri: Rome, the count Balbis of Rivera to the marquis of Carretto di Gorzegno, 17 May 1749. "Una città come questa, così vasta e ripiena d'ogni genere di persone e d'ogni sorta di nazioni, e dove si vive con una effrenata libertà troppo è difficile di poter vegliare sicuramente, per quante spie si volessero tenere, anche alla conditta e agli andamenti di chi che sia, ma dei giovani specialmente, che vi capitano alle volte poco ben inclinati e portati per se stessi a divagarsi . . . Roma certamente per la gioventù, che ha bisogno di regole ancora e di governo, è una città molto in senso mio pericolosa."

evident also in Rome.<sup>35</sup> In the same letter Balbis reported that Gaetano's designated composition teacher was signor Ciampi.<sup>36</sup>

### 1749 and 1750

Stanislao Cordero di Pamparato stresses that Pugnani and Ciampi<sup>37</sup> enjoyed a mutually satisfying relationship. The letter dated 5 July 1749 that Count Balbis wrote to the Royal House reports that:

the violinist Pugnani is very happy with Signor Ciampi and the latter is happy with Pugnani, who continues to present himself well, and I hope that this will ultimately correspond to the goal for which he was sent to Rome.<sup>38</sup>

More lengthy and complete is a subsequent letter dated 27 September 1749, in which we learn much about Gaetano's diligent conduct. Balbis from Rome says:

I appointed a reliable person to inform himself from the same Signor Ciampi about the progress that he [Pugnani] was making under his [Ciampi] direction. And here is word for word the answer that I received. Yesterday eventually I was able to find *sig.[nor]* Ciampi and ask him information about the conduct of *sig.[nor]* Pugnani. What I received could neither be more sincere nor more advantageous, because not only *sig.[nor]*. Ciampi praises the assiduity and attention of the application of the youngster to the lessons, but he is not able to conceive, how in so little time he [Pugnani] could and can do so much progress in the study of *contrappunto* and *cembalo*, stating that frankly what signor Pugnani did in three and a half

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<sup>35</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 16. As reported in Archivio di Stato di Torino, Lettere Ministri: Roma, the count Balbis of Rivera to the marquis of Carretto di Gorzegno, 14 Giugno 1749.

<sup>36</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 16. As reported in Archivio di Stato di Torino, Lettere Ministri: Roma, the count Balbis of Rivera to the marquis of Carretto di Gorzegno, 14 Giugno 1749.

<sup>37</sup> Early scholars have assumed that the Ciampi with whom Pugnani studied in Rome was Vincenzo Legrenzio. Recent scholarship has adjusted such view, showing that Pugnani studied with a homonymous of Vincenzo Legrenzio Ciampi, Francesco Ciampi. The reasons for such adjustment are explained in Appendix D.

<sup>38</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 19. As reported in Archivio di Stato di Torino, Lettere Ministri: Roma, the count Balbis of Rivera to the marquis of Gorzegno, 5 luglio 1749. "Il suonatore di violin Pugnani è molto contento del signor Ciampi e questo di lui, che continua intanto a dar buon saggio di sè e spero che corrisponderà pienamente al fine pel quale è stato mandato a Roma."

months of study could not have been done in two years even by those with a talent above average. . . .<sup>39</sup>

At the end of September 1749 Pugnani had been studying with Ciampi for three and a half months. This confirms that the two of them started working together right after Ciampi's appointment reported in the letter written by Balbis on 14 June 1749.

In the correspondence between Turin and Rome transcribed by Cordero di Pamparato significant space is given to the debates of financial issues such as board, lodging, the rent of a *cembalo*, and daily expenses. From the letters we also learn that Signor Ciampi at this point had not yet received compensation for the lessons he provided. Balbis writes:

[in the expenses] there will be the remuneration of the *maestro di cappella* who is teaching him; remuneration that was not decided yet, but for which signor Ciampi will be certainly content [to receive] how much *M.[aestá]* *S.[ua]* will decide to give him, and what he believes is fair for the hard work and attention that he is giving to the youngster we are talking about.<sup>40</sup>

In the letters reported by Cordero di Pamparato we learn that on 11 March 1750 the marquis di Gorzegno, through Balbis, communicates to Pugnani that he should prepare his departure from Rome. Pugnani should have been back in Turin for the celebration of the wedding of Vittorio Amedeo Duke of Savoy and Maria Antonietta

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<sup>39</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 21. As reported in Archivio di Stato di Torino, Lettere Ministri: Rome, the count Balbis of Rivera to the marquis of Gorzegno, 27 Settembre 1749. "Ho dato incombenza a persona sicura d'informarsi dal sig. Ciampi medesimo dei progressi, che faceva sotto la di lui direzione. Ed eccone la risposta parola per parola come l'ho ricevuta. Jeri finalmente m'è riescito trovare il sig. Ciampi e di chiedergli le informazioni sopra li portamenti del sig. Pugnani. Quelle che ho avuto non possono essere nè più sincere nè più vantaggiose, perchè non solamente si loda il sig. Ciampi dell'assiduità e attenzione, colla quale si applica il giovane alle sue lezioni, ma non sa concepire, come in così poco tempo abbia fatto e faccia tanto profitto dello studio del contrappunto e in quello del cembalo, asserendo francamente che ciò che ha fatto il signor Pugnani in tre mesi e mezzo di studio non si farebbe da altri benchè di non mediocre talento in due anni."

<sup>40</sup> Cordero, *Pugani*, 20. As reported in Archivio di Stato di Torino, Lettere Ministri: Rome, the count Balbis of Rivera to the marquis of Gorzegno, 27 Settembre 1749. "L'onorario che dovrà darsi al maestro di cappella, che gl'insegna: onorario che non è stato stabilito, ma per cui il signor Ciampi si contenterà certamente di quanto la M. S. si degnerà di fargli dare e crederà che possano meritare le di lui fatiche ed attenzioni che usa al giovane, di cui parliamo."

Ferdinanda Infanta of Spain, and left Rome on 25 April 1750. The date is suggested by the letter that Count Balbis di Riviera gave to Gaetano upon his departure, which is a tribute to Gaetano's dedication:

I cannot fail to report, what is due to him, and that therefore I offer here to *V.[ostra] E.[ccellenza]* of his [Pugnani's] high application and profit in the study of *contrappunto*, for which *S.[ua] M.[aestá]* offered to keep him in Rome up to now, so that he never had complaints against him, and about how much his teacher praised and praises the docility and attention . . . He leaves this city with some authentic regrets, after he has known the great profit, that he could gain if he could stay longer, and his teacher, even if he let us know that Pugnani was able to master the rules and the fundamentals of music, wished he could lead him for a little longer in its [the music] exercise. What remains now is that *S.[ua] M.[aestá]* considers giving to the aforementioned Signor Ciampi an appropriate gratification correspondent to the great attention that he gave to Signor Pugnani, which he considered not simply a student, but a virtuoso, who enjoyed the most clement royal protection and who *S.[ua] M.[aestá]* wished to see perfected in his profession.<sup>41</sup>

One rather surprising piece of information may be gleaned from this last letter from Rome. Signor Ciampi, after having worked with Pugnani for about a year, at this point had not yet received any money for his work.

Gaetano's year in Rome helped him solidify his composition skills. His formation as a violin player must have taken place earlier in Turin, during his tenure in the orchestra of the Teatro Regio. This was not yet the era of formal training as we know it

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<sup>41</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 25. As reported in Archivio di Stato di Torino, Lettere Ministri: Rome, the count Balbis of Rivera to the marquis of Gorzegno, 25 April 1750. "Non posso negargli la testimonianza, che gli è ben dovuta , e che rendo perciò qui a V. E. della somma applicazione del medesimo usata e del profitto da lui fatto nello studio del contrappunto , per cui s'è degnata S. M. di trattenerlo sinora in Roma, in modo che non ha mai avuto contro di lui doglianza alcuna, e quanto s'è lodata e si loda il suo maestro della di lui capacità, docilità e attenzione, [...] lascia egli con qualche rincrescimento veramente questa città, dopo che ha conosciuto il gran frutto che potrebbe ricavare da un più lungo soggiorno, che vi facesse ed il suo maestro, benchè assicurati che il sig. Pugnani s'è fatto padrone delle regole e dei buoni fondamenti della musica, avrebbe però desiderato di dirigerlo ancora per qualche tempo nell'esercizio della medesima. Quello che rimane ora per altro, si è che S. M. si degni di far dare al predetto maestro sig. Ciampi una gratificazione degna della Reale sua munificenza e corrispondente alla somma attenzione che ha usato il medesimo al signor Pugnani, considerandolo non già semplicemente come suo scolaro, ma come un virtuoso, che godeva della Clementissima Regia protezione e che S. M. desiderava di vedere perfezionato nella sua professione."

today, and much of the craft of being a musician was in fact learned by practicing the profession. Furthermore, the correspondence reveals the substantial investment that the Turinese court of Italy made with Pugnani. This young violin player must have been quite promising if he deserved to be trained as a composer.

### 1750s

Gaetano returned to Turin and upon his arrival resumed his post with the orchestra. After the stay in Rome Pugnani remained in Turin for about three years. He was eventually granted another leave and on 8 January 1754 he arrived in Paris.<sup>42</sup> His visit was obviously announced in advance by the Turinese court to Count Arborio di Sartirana, Italian ambassador to the French court. This time the recommendation came from Vittorio Amedeo Duke of Aosta and was written by *cavaliere* Giuseppe Ossorio Alarçon, prime minister of Carlo Emanuele III.<sup>43</sup> Cordero reproduces the answer of Sartirana in which we learn about the consideration that Pugnani and his fellows travelers enjoyed during this stay:

The violin player *Pugnan* and his fellows arrived on the eighth, they handed me the letter of *V.[otre] E.[xcellence]* on behalf of *M.[onsieur]* the duke of Savoy in which he recommends them to me. Seeing that *S.[ua] A.[altezza] R.[eale]* honor them with his protection, I lodge them at my home and I will not neglect what depends on me for them to be successful.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 30.

<sup>43</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 30.

<sup>44</sup> Cordero *Pugnani*, 30. As reported in Archivio di Stato di Torino, Lettere Ministri: Francia. The count of Sartirana to cavaliere Ossorio, 14 January 1754. "Le joueur de Violon Pugnani et son compagnon sont arrivés ici le 8, ils m'ont remis le letter de V. E. par le quelle elle me les recommande de la part de M. le Duc de Savoie. En voyant que S. A. R. les honore de Sa protection, je les ai loges chez moi et je ne négligerai rien de ce qui dependra de moi pour leur pouvoir être utile."

Gaetano, possibly also thanks to this connection, soon had an opportunity to display his virtuosity at the Concert Spirituel.<sup>45</sup> Constant Pierre reports that Pugnani appeared in concerts on February 2, March 25, and May 23 1754 respectively.<sup>46</sup> In all three instances Pugnani presented a concerto of his own composition;<sup>47</sup> in any case, contemporary press only reviewed the first instance. 2 February 1754 happened to be in fact the opening concert of the season. The March 1754 issue of the *Mercur de France* reviewed Pugnani's success as follows:

*Monsieur Pugnani ordinaire du Roi de Sardaigne*, played a concerto for violin that he composed. The connoisseurs who were at the concert claim that they have never heard a virtuoso better than this.<sup>48</sup>

Such accomplishment seems to have afforded Gaetano with further performing as well as, possibly, publishing opportunities. The publication of his opus one may very well be an outcome of his success with the Parisian concert series. Daniel Heartz supports the idea that Pugnani's Op. 1 was engraved by Marie-Charlotte Vendôme in Paris during the 1754 visit,<sup>49</sup> because a composer's appearance at the Concert Spirituel

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<sup>45</sup> In 1733, about twenty years earlier, Somis, Gaetano's teacher, performed in the *Concert Spirituel*. See Pierre, *Concert*, 89 as well as the concert programs number 182, 184. In the 200<sup>th</sup> program it is reported *un élève de Somis*, suggesting the latter could have been there as well. The *Mercur De France* April 1733, p. 816 reviews Somis's performance. This connection may be relevant to Pugnani's appearance at the series. As a young virtuoso recommendations were important. Furthermore this fact, along with Gaetano's training in Rome, suggests that Pugnani was following in the footsteps of his violin teacher.

<sup>46</sup> Constant Pierre, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel, 1725–1790* (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1975), 266–267. Concerts within the series were numbered progressively. Pugnani performed in the concert numbers 505, 506 and 521,

<sup>47</sup> The relevant concert programs as reported by Pierre in *Histoire du Concert Spirituel* are reproduced in Appendix A.

<sup>48</sup> *Mercur de France*, Mars 1754, 193. "M. Pugnani, Ordinaire de la Musique du Roi de Sardaigne, joua un concerto de violon de sa composition. Les Connoisseurs qui étoient au Concert, prétendent qu'ils n'ont point entendu de violon supérieur à ce *virtuose*. . . ."

<sup>49</sup> Daniel Heartz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style 1720–1780* (New York and London: Norton, 2003), 616.

usually led “to publication by the ever voracious music-printing industry at Paris.”<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, the success at the Parisian concert series was important for one to gain a strong and positive reputation. Hertz continues, stating that “critical acclaim in the French press was one key to invitations to appear elsewhere.”<sup>51</sup> Conversely, however, Annarita Colturato points out that such information is not supported by sources.<sup>52</sup> She claims that the first edition of Op. 1 that we currently know is the one appearing in Paris in 1761 printed by Louis-Balthazard de la Chevandière<sup>53</sup> (a collection of *trii a due violini e basso* labeled as opus 1). In any case there is no doubt that this was Gaetano’s first published work. In the dedication letter of this publication, addressed to “Sua Altezza Reale il sig. Duca di Savoia,” the composer himself defines the collection as “these first productions of my humble wit.”<sup>54</sup> The rest of the dedication letter follows the custom of the time that may be summed up by the signature in which Pugnani defines himself: “Umilissimo, Devotissimo, et Ossequiosissimo servitore.”

Appearing in the Concert Spirituel series implied engaging in serious competition. In order to gain a better understanding of what this could have meant for Pugnani, we might look at the particular concert series in which he participated. Hertz reminds us that in the 1754 series, besides Pugnani, three other violinists of European renown also

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<sup>50</sup> Daniel Hertz, “Portrait of a Court Musician: Gaetano Pugnani of Turin,” in *Imago Musicae* I (1984), 106. This was certainly the case for Giovanni Battista Somis, Pugnani’s violin teacher. Somis performed in Paris in 1733, as suggested by Hertz two Parisian publications coincided with this visit (Op.5 and 6 were published in Paris in 1734. See Basso, “Somis,” *Grove Dictionary*).

<sup>51</sup> Hertz, “Portrait,” 106.

<sup>52</sup> Annarita Colturato, “Ritratto di Gaetano Pugnani, post 1761,” in *La Reggia di Venaria e I Savoia: Arte, Magnificenza e Storia di una Corte Europea*, ed. by Enrico Castelnuovo (Turin: Umberto Allemandi, 2007) vol 2, 219.

<sup>53</sup> Colturato, *La Reggia*, 219.

<sup>54</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 30–31. “Queste prime produzioni del mio debole ingegno.”

appeared: Giuseppe Tartini's pupil Domenico Ferrari, already well known in Vienna, Pierre van Maldere who was serving at the court of Charles de Lorraine in Brussels, and Johann Stamitz, the leader of the orchestra of the Palatine Elector Carl Theodore at Mannheim.<sup>55</sup> In addition, let us not forget that the period is that of the galant style, "the triumph of a simple, melodious, treble-dominated style."<sup>56</sup> In an environment in which high-pitched soloists were worshipped,<sup>57</sup> and where the violin was the instrumental counterpart of a castrato, competition for a violinist extended beyond the instrumental realm. The soprano Egidio Albanese appeared in Pugnani's debut concert and Marie Fel, a well known and long appreciated singer, in Pugnani's second Parisian concert.<sup>58</sup> Gaining the favor of the press must have been quite a task for Gaetano.

The triumph at the Concert Spirituel was for Gaetano the first international success that set the path on which he built his reputation. The different accomplishments eventually led to his advancements in the Cappella, including the promotion that will play a part in the dating argument of ZT 23.

Heartz suggests that after Paris Pugnani could have spent time in Vienna. For other musicians the success with the Concert Spirituel had already opened such a path. Heartz's argument does not unquestionably prove Gaetano's presence in Vienna by the end of 1754, but, as he claims, such a scenario is not impossible.<sup>59</sup> The trip happened

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<sup>55</sup> Heartz, "Portrait," 106.

<sup>56</sup> Heartz, "Portrait," 104.

<sup>57</sup> Heartz, "Portrait," 104.

<sup>58</sup> Heartz, "Portrait," 108. Marie Fel was known as M<sup>lle</sup>. Fel.

<sup>59</sup> Heartz, "Portrait," 108.

at some point before 1757, possibly in late 1754 (right after the visit to Paris).<sup>60</sup> Hertz found Gaetano Pugnani's name at the top of a list of Vienna's visiting virtuosos,<sup>61</sup> a place that does not seem to be determined by the fact that was the first to appear in terms of time, but by the fact that "he does fill this bill."<sup>62</sup> The rivalry between Vienna and Paris as European music capitals pushed the Viennese to make sure that the name of Pugnani, after the triumph at the Concert Spirituel, appeared well in evidence in the Viennese chronicles.<sup>63</sup>

Another document is discussed by Hertz in regard of the date of Gaetano's first visit to Vienna. The context suggested in a quotation from Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf in his *Lebensbeschreibung* according to Hertz does not preclude the date of 1754.

Whenever any virtuoso, singer or player came to Vienna, and deservedly succeeded in winning the applause of the public, [Giuseppe] Bonno was ordered to arrange the terms, and to secure him for the Prince. The result was, that we had Gabrieli, Guarducci, Mansoli, as singers; Pugnani, and van Maldere, on the violin; Besozzi [from Turin] on the oboe; La Claire on the flute; Stamitz and Leutgeb as soloists on the horn; and other eminent players.<sup>64</sup>

Further insights into Gaetano's first visit to Vienna are also offered by Bruce Alan Brown, who suggests that Gaetano was in the city during 1756. Because the name of Pugnani appears for the first time at the end of the payment records for the 1755–56

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<sup>60</sup> Hertz, "Portrait," 108.

<sup>61</sup> Hertz, "Portrait," 108. As reported in Robert Haas, *Gluck and Durazzo im Burgtheater* (Vienna 1925), 28. *Répertoire de theaters de la Ville de Vienne depuis l'année 1752 jusque à l'année 1757* (Vienna, Ghelen, 1757).

<sup>62</sup> Daniel Hertz, *Haydn, Mozart, and the Viennese School* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1995), 50.

<sup>63</sup> Hertz, *The Viennese School*, 50.

<sup>64</sup> Hertz, "Portrait," 108. As reported in Dittersdorf Karl Ditters von, *The autobiography of Karl von Dittersdorf dictated to his son*, A. D. Coleridge Trans. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 47 and following.

season, Brown suggests that Gateano was hired for the fifteen Lenten academies that occurred between March 6 and April 9 1756.<sup>65</sup> This claim is consistent with the sources mentioned by Hertz and, in my opinion, it offers a stronger case for Gaetano's presence in Vienna in 1756 rather than in 1754.

Cordero di Pamparato suggests that Pugnani's leave from Turin was about a year long, although it is hard to say. Unlike his fellow singers, who did not receive a salary when on leave, Gaetano's stipend was always regularly paid every three months.<sup>66</sup> Hertz agrees about the one-year time span for the trip, adding that during this time away from Turin, Gaetano is rumored to have also visited London and Holland.<sup>67</sup> According to Cordero di Pamparato during this period the correspondence between the Turinese royal house and its ambassador in London is uninterrupted and Pugnani is not mentioned at all; no Italian visitors were announced to King George II of Hannover during this period.<sup>68</sup> The correspondence concerning the previous trips to Rome and Paris shows that the Turinese royal house properly prepared the sojourns of its esteemed violinist. Therefore the presence of Pugnani in London during this period is highly unlikely.

Colturato suggests that in the years following the Parisian stay Gaetano traveled often to Vienna and London.<sup>69</sup> We know that he was in Vienna possibly in 1754 and that

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<sup>65</sup> Bruce Alan Brown, *Gluck and the French Theater in Vienna* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 113.

<sup>66</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 33.

<sup>67</sup> Hertz, "Portrait," 106.

<sup>68</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 33.

<sup>69</sup> Colturato, "Pugnani, Gaetano Giulio Gerolamo," in MGG2, 1036.

he returned there in 1762, and we also know that he was in London between 1767 and 1769.

### 1760s

In 1762 Gaetano performed again in Vienna, both at court and in the Burgtheater.<sup>70</sup> At the Burgtheater he played as a soloist; according to the customs of the place and period, orchestral works were executed between the parts of oratorios and the acts of operas (in concert performances). As “entr’actes in *Alcide al bivio* in 1762 there were concertos played by Leutgeb (12 February), Ditters (19 February), and Pugnani (28 March).<sup>71</sup> Secondary literature reports also other records of other performances during this year. Brown reports that Pugnani received a salary “for services rendered and concertos played in the musical academies from February 23 to 13 May [1]762, inclusive.”<sup>72</sup>

Heartz discusses the information found in the manuscript chronicles of theatrical events compiled by Philipp Gumpenhuber, assistant director of the French troupe’s ballet.<sup>73</sup> The first entry relevant to Pugnani’s stay is that of February 28, in which the Turinese violinist is mentioned performing *un Solo sur le Violon* during an *Accademie de Musique*.<sup>74</sup> Two days later Pugnani is reported as having performed in Vienna a violin

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<sup>70</sup> Brown, *French Theater*, 113. Also mentioned in Heartz, *The Viennese School*, 55.

<sup>71</sup> The information in this paragraph is taken from Brown, *French Theater*, 130.

<sup>72</sup> Brown, *French Theater*, 121. As reported in Hofkammerarchiv, Vienna Hofzahlmthsbücher (‘Theatral-cassa’), 1754–1764. 364, 1761/2-IV.

<sup>73</sup> Heartz, *Portrait*, 108. As reported in *Repertoire de tous les spectacle qui ont été donné . . . au theatre près de la cour . . . depuis le 1.r Janvier jusqu’ au 31 Dec. 1762. . . .* Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Music Hs. 34580/b. Heartz reports also that during the publication of his study Gerhard Croll was in the process of editing all the extant Gumpenhuber chronicles.

<sup>74</sup> Heartz, “Portrait,” 108. As reported in Philipp Gumpenhuber, *Repertoire de tous les spectacle. . . .*

solo.<sup>75</sup> In the chronicles there are other entries for the month of March and April. Hertz gives records that put Gaetano in Vienna until mid-May.<sup>76</sup> This is the last Viennese record with the name of the Turinese violinist. After the spring Gaetano presumably returned to Turin.

The Turinese Royal Chapel was going through a particularly prosperous period during the eighteenth century. After the abdication of Vittorio Amedeo, Carlo Emanuele III became king in 1730 and reigned until 1773. Marie-Thérèse Bouquet states that “with him [Carlo Emanuele], the Piedmont and the Savoy were able to regain their stability and the arts developed to the greatest extent possible.”<sup>77</sup>

An orchestra organized according to a modern physiognomy, with the distinction between first and second violins, appeared in documents starting in 1751. A rough idea of the balance of the mid-century orchestra of the Royal Chapel is offered in the study by Giulio Roberti.<sup>78</sup> From him we can certainly glean some information about the

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<sup>75</sup> Hertz, “Portrait,” 108, As reported in Philipp Gumpenhuber, *Repertoire de tous les spectacle. . . .*

<sup>76</sup> Hertz, “Portrait,” 109. As reported in H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn Chronicle and Works, The Early Years.*, vol.1, (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1980), 370. The *Wienerischer Diarium* report that on “15 May 1762 . . . in the usual attendance of our Cardinals and Papal Monsignor Nuncio, was an excellent Tafel-music, at which the famous violinist Herr Pugnani was heard; and there was a public banquet.” The text is given by Robbins Landon in English translation.

<sup>77</sup> Marie-Thérèse Bouquet, *Musique et Musiciens à Turin de 1648 à 1775* (Turin: Accademia delle scienze, 1968), 3. “Avec lui, le Piémont e la Savoie purent retrouver leur stabilité et les arts se développer au maximum.” Bouquet’s seminal study on the royal chapel of the house of Savoy, *Musique et Musiciens à Turin de 1648 à 1775*, shows the large breath of the scholar’s archival work. However it does not pinpoint the evolution of the instrumentation of the *Cappella*. The musical establishment of the Savoyard house paralleled that of Versailles for many years. As for the violins, Bouquet stresses that up to the eighteenth century the Italian violin band was modeled after *les vingt-quatre violons*. Bouquet does not try to reconstruct the roster, but supplies general information about the gradual addition of instruments to the orchestra. She also supplies several names, without charting the exact time frame during which people were employed in the orchestra.

<sup>78</sup> Giulio Roberti, *La Cappella Regia di Torino 1515–1870* (Turin: Roux e Favale, 1880), 32–33. Roberti’s nineteenth-century work is now rather dated and according to Rosy Moffa is incomplete and often inaccurately documented. See Rosy Moffa, *Storia della Cappella Regia di Torino dal 1775 al 1870*, (Turin: Centro Studi Piemontesi, 1990), 14–15.

balance of the string section around mid century: thirteen violins (including Somis as the first, Alessio Razzetto as leader of the seconds and Pugnani as the twelfth of the orchestra) divided in seven *primi* and four *secondi*.<sup>79</sup> Further information is supplied by Bouquet who offers a picture of the rest of the orchestra that included two cellos,<sup>80</sup> two contrabbassi and two to four basses,<sup>81</sup> and two violas.<sup>82</sup> As for the winds, information is contradictory.

When in Turin, Gaetano used to serve in the Royal Chapel in the same position in which he was appointed in 1749 before leaving for Rome. His stipend, after his return by the end of 1750, was eventually raised from two hundred to four hundred *lire*.<sup>83</sup> But Pugnani did not ascend in the orchestral hierarchy until 1763, the year of Giovanni Battista Somis's death. It was probably such a loss that, by the end of 1763, led to the reorganization of the ranks of the violins.<sup>84</sup> Paolo Canavasso was designated to substitute Somis as the first violin and Pugnani became the seventh player.<sup>85</sup> This position implied the responsibilities as a leader of the second violins.<sup>86</sup> Starting his

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<sup>79</sup> Roberti, *Cappella*, 32.

<sup>80</sup> Bouquet, *Musique*, 22. As reported in Archivio di Stato di Torino, Sezioni Riunite, Generale Patenti Controllo, vol. 6, 1727 in 1729, fol 13 r<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>81</sup> Bouquet, *Musique*, 23. As reported in Archivio Capitolare Torino, *Status Regiae, Aula Regis Sardinia, pro anno 1736 et sequentibus*.

<sup>82</sup> Bouquet, *Musique*, 23. As reported in Archivio Capitolare Torino, Stato Generale delle Persone Componenti la casa di S.M. anneés 1751, 1774.

<sup>83</sup> Gaetano Pugnani's stipend increases are reported in Appendix C.

<sup>84</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 33.

<sup>85</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 33.

<sup>86</sup> Schwarz and McClymonds, "Pugnani," GMO.

career 1749 as the last of the last of the second violins, Gaetano was now the leader of the same section.

Gaetano's next trip for which we have significant records is the one he took to London. This trip is particularly noteworthy in view of the appointment that would follow once he returned to Turin. I will show later how the achievements of these years eventually brought him not only recognition as a violinist, but also as a composer. These ideas will play into the chronology of the events around the dating of ZT 23.

During the 1767–68 season Gaetano was invited to London to conduct the Italian opera orchestra.<sup>87</sup> McVeigh and others suggest that he stayed there until the following season, when his first comic opera *Nanetta e Lubino* had its premiere.<sup>88</sup> During this period he had several chances to perform as a soloist and as an orchestra leader. Occasions such as benefit concerts were opportunities in which Gaetano could present his music. On the 17 March 1768 the *Public Advertiser* reports:

For the Benefit of Sig. PUGGNANI. AT ALMACK's Great Room on This Day, will be a grand Concert of Vocal and Instrumental MUSIC. . . . N. B. all the Music is of Sig. Pugnani's Composing, and entirely new.<sup>89</sup>

During these years Pugnani worked closely with Johann Christian Bach and Carl Friedrich Abel.<sup>90</sup> In 1768 Bach and Abel<sup>91</sup> took over the management of a prominent

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<sup>87</sup> Simon McVeigh, *The Violinists in London Concert Life 1750–1784* (New York and London: Garland, 1989), 70.

<sup>88</sup> McVeigh, *Violinists*, 70.

<sup>89</sup> *Public Advertiser*, 17 March 1768. This announcement could possibly play a role in supporting the idea that the portrait of Pugnani already discussed could belong to this period. The "N.B." seem stressing the fact that we are Pugnani's skills as composer are emphasized, rather than the ones as a violin virtuoso.

<sup>90</sup> McVeigh, *Violinists*, 70.

<sup>91</sup> According to Charles Burney the joint direction started on 29 February 1764 and continued until 9 May 1781. See Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present period* (1789) reprint with Critical and Historical Notes by Grank Mercer, Vol II (New York: Dover Publications, 1957), 1017.

concert series that was originally founded by Theresa Cornelys<sup>92</sup> and directed by Gioacchino Cocchi.<sup>93</sup> Cornelys was a “former singer and self-proclaimed society hostess, who projected her lavish entertainments at Carlisle House (Soho Square).”<sup>94</sup> The fact that Gaetano Pugnani appears as a guest in the series, speaks of his status, because Cornelys’s entertainments were known subscription concerts featuring “expensive performers of international reputation and the best new instrumental music from abroad.”<sup>95</sup> The series was certainly prestigious and successful for several years as reported by Charles Burney:

As their own compositions were new and excellent, and the best performers of all kinds which our capital could supply, enlisted under their banners, this concert was better patronized and longer supported than perhaps any one hand ever been in this country; having continued for full twenty years with uninterrupted prosperity<sup>96</sup>

Gaetano appeared in the series as an orchestra leader. An advertisement published in the *Public Advertiser* on 2 June 1768 shows how he shared duties with both Bach and Abel:

For the Benefit of Mr. FISHER. At the Large Room, Thatch’d House, St. James’s-Street, THIS DAY, June the 2d, will be performed a Grand Concert of Vocal and Instrumental MUSIC. First Violin and Concerto by Sig. Pugnani . . . Solo on the Viola da Gamba by Mr. Abel, Solo on the Piano Forte by Mr. Bach. . . .<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Nicholas Temperly et al., “London: Musical Life 1660–1800: Concert Life,” *GMO*.

<sup>93</sup> Simon VcVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993).

<sup>94</sup> Nicholas Temperly et al., “London,” *GMO*.

<sup>95</sup> Nicholas Temperly et al., “London,” *GMO*.

<sup>96</sup> Charles Burney, *A General History*, 1017.

<sup>97</sup> *Public advertiser*, 2 June 1768.

This close relationship could have certainly influenced Pugnani's compositional and performance style.

Simon McVeigh suggests that during 1768 Gaetano also appeared as a soloist at the Covent Garden oratorios.<sup>98</sup> The Oratorio Series, which originally took shape in 1732, was born “more by accident than by design, when the Bishop of London banned a staged performance of *Esther*. In such occasion Handel's oratorios at first made an *ad hoc* contribution to London's calendar.”<sup>99</sup> The entertainment continued following the well tested pattern set up by Handel many years earlier. Howard Smither states that “an oratorio would form the main evening's offering, and instrumental music, often concertos, would be performed between the acts.”<sup>100</sup> This is the place in the program in which a violin virtuoso like Pugnani would have found an opportunity to exhibit his skills.

McVeigh reports that the same year the Turinese musician also served as director at the Salisbury festival,<sup>101</sup> possibly the earliest festival in England. Originally associated with St. Cecilia's Day<sup>102</sup> it was organized by local musicians. By 1769, when Gaetano was there, the event had grown from two to three days, and occurred between late August and early October.<sup>103</sup> Smither offers a description of the pattern of the musical performances of the festival that illustrates the venues in which Pugnani may have led:

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<sup>98</sup> McVeigh, *Violinists*, 70.

<sup>99</sup> Temperly et al., “London,” *GMO*.

<sup>100</sup> Howard E. Smither, *The Oratorio in the Classical Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 202.

<sup>101</sup> McVeigh, *Violinists*, 70

<sup>102</sup> Smither, *Oratorio*, 217.

<sup>103</sup> Smither, *Oratorio*, 217.

a festal service in the cathedral was followed by an evening concert in another building; but eventually the festal service was supplanted by a morning concert. Oratorios began to appear in the evening concerts in the mid-century. . . .<sup>104</sup>

### 1770s

Gaetano returned to Turin and in the Royal Chapel things were shuffled again. In 1770 Lorenzo Somis (brother of Gian Battista) retired,<sup>105</sup> and Gaetano Pugnani was appointed first violin and conductor of the orchestra. In Chapter 7 I will show how this appointment was different than the one that followed in 1776, an argument relevant to the dating of ZT 23. Stanislao Cordero di Pamparato reports the text of the patent issued on May 7 1770:

The singular ability and mastery of the player Gaetano Pugnani, who always proved it undoubtedly with his violin in service of our *Cappella* and *Camera*, because he inspired our appreciation, we are happy to promote him as first violin of the *Cappella* and *Camera* sure that by continuing to distinguish himself he will deserve the last affection of our grace. . . .<sup>106</sup>

The patent decrees the significant increase in his stipend, from five hundred to twelve hundred lire.<sup>107</sup> The leadership of the *cappella* entrusted to a virtuoso like Pugnani suggests that the ensemble continued to perform at a high level.

Francesco Cognasso points out that the new king, Vittorio Amedeo III, did not have any real interest in artistic pursuits. He was a warrior instead and thought of himself as a great captain. He decided to initiate a reform of the army, the members of

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<sup>104</sup> Smither, *Oratorio*, 217.

<sup>105</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 33.

<sup>106</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 34. As reported in Archivio di Stato di Torino, Sezioni riunite, Patenti 43 97. “La singolare abilità e perizia del suonator Gaetano Pugnani, che ne ha sempre data indubitata prova del suono del violin al servizio della nostra Cappella e Camera avendo incontrato il pieno nostro gradimento, ci siamo volentieri disposti a promuoverlo nella qualità di primo violin della Cappella e Camera persuasi che continuando a viepiù distinguersi sarà per meritarsi gli ultimo affetti della nostra grazia.”

<sup>107</sup> For a comparison of the stipends in the royal Chapel see Moffa, *Cappella*, 22–23.

which eventually ended up wearing elaborate and expensive uniforms. According to Cognasso, these several thousands of men constituted “an army that served only the vanity of the king and weighted heavily on the economic balance of the state.”<sup>108</sup>

Cognasso concludes that “the government of Vittorio Amedeo III never paid particular attention to economic life, as this was not the basis of the State.”<sup>109</sup>

Rosy Moffa provides a rather detailed picture of the *Cappella* at this time. She states that “the last decades of the eighteenth century were neither easy nor glorious for the Savoy monarchy,”<sup>110</sup> pointing out that the new king, Vittorio Amedeo III, did not have the energy and the international reputation of his predecessors. Furthermore he had to deal with serious economic issues.<sup>111</sup> Drawing on the work of Nicomede Bianchi, Moffa reports that the court apparatus was excessive for its needs. It included over six-hundred salaried employees.<sup>112</sup> The *Royal Chapel* in 1775 had forty-two salaried musicians. Besides singers and other personnel, Moffa reports the names and salary of an orchestra of twenty-eight, in which Pugnani played first violin. The instrumentalists are divided in six *violini primi*, seven *violini secondi*, two *violenze*, two *violincelli*, two *suonatori del basso* [continuo], three *contrabbassi*, and pairs of *oboi*, *fagotti*, and *corni da caccia*.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Francesco Cognasso, *I Savoia* (Milano: Dall'Oglio, 1971), 485.

<sup>109</sup> Cognasso, *Savoia*, 487.

<sup>110</sup> Moffa, *Cappella*, 14.

<sup>111</sup> Moffa, *Cappella*, 17.

<sup>112</sup> Moffa, *Cappella*, 18. As reported in Nicomede Bianchi, *Storia della Monarchia Piemontese dal 1773 al 1861*, 4 vols (Turin-Roma-Florence: Fratelli Bocca, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1885), vol. I, 30 and 92–93.

<sup>113</sup> Moffa, *Cappella*, 20–21. Moffa based her research on primary sources such as the payment records to musicians and players (the accounts of the Tesoreria Generale della Real Casa) as well as the records of appointments and stipend increases (Patenti Controllo Finanze). While such documents help in tracing the transformations of the Cappella, they alone cannot account for a detailed history of the group.

In any case, as quantity and quality do not always go together, the Turinese court was not necessarily a happy place. Charles Burney in the early 1770s reports that: “there is now a gloomy sameness at this court, in the daily repetition of state parade and prayer, which renders Turin a dull residence to strangers, except during the carnival.”<sup>114</sup> The vanity of a king, inclined to self-celebration for the sake of itself, could very well be the reason Gaetano’s new appointment was celebrated with a portrait including, Hertz says, an “extraordinary element”. If the portrait was the mean to celebrate a career achievement, placing it in the composer’s life may reveal important elements. At the end of the next section I will touch on how this link is relevant to the dating of ZT 23.

Daniel Hertz places the creation of the composer’s portrait in the years between Pugnani’s Viennese trips (1754 or 1756 and 1762). The date suggested by Hertz for the portrait, a significant acknowledgment and tribute to Pugnani, was recently revised by Robert E. Seletsky. The painting in question represents a musician; Hertz stresses that

there can be no doubt about the identity of subject, whose violin sits rather precariously on his bow, which lies on a music manuscript showing the violin *primo* part of the first movement of Pugnani’s trio sonata op. 1 no. 3 in C.<sup>115</sup>

According to Hertz the music portrayed with Pugnani conveys information about the date of the portrait. The score is that of Pugnani’s first printed work that, Hertz suggests, was printed when Gaetano was in Paris to perform for the Concert Spirituel.

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Personnel may have been hired on occasions such as Carnival (*straordinari*), being borrowed from other departments of the royal house (trumpets from the *scuderia*), serving without a fixed stipend (*sovrannumerario*), or being paid under different accounts.

<sup>114</sup> Charles Burney, *Music in France and Italy*, 75.

<sup>115</sup> Hertz, “Portrait,” 109. This is Pugnani’s first printed work allegedly published in 1754 in Paris for which Annarita Colturato suggests 1761. See Colturato, “Ritratto,” 219.

The man in the painting wears the official gala dress of the court musicians serving the house of Savoy<sup>116</sup> and the context in which he is placed shows great admiration for the craft of music.<sup>117</sup> Hertz states that:

Pugnani was a proper courtier, and proud to be so, at an opulent and art-loving court. He was more. With his quill in one hand, and, quite extraordinarily for the genre of musicians' portraits, a sketch sheet in the other hand, he embodies the creative artist, not just the virtuoso violinist.<sup>118</sup>

We do not know exactly how the painting originated, but given the unusual presence of the sketch sheet, we can speculate about it. The sketch sheet may simply mean that Pugnani was—or saw himself to be—a composer and that therefore the portrait could have been commissioned by him, or someone who esteemed him, at any moment. Was someone trying to highlight Gaetano's achievement as a composer? As we know the Turinese court was structured very hierarchically.<sup>119</sup> Gaetano was gifted, but in such a system he must have dealt with issues not strictly related to his musical skills. With the portrait was he, or someone else, intending to make a bold statement about his skills, trying to find a way around the strict hierarchy? We should not exclude the possibility that Pugnani himself commissioned the portrait for this goal.<sup>120</sup> Such conjectures do not point at a precise moment, although if the painting is a statement

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<sup>116</sup> Hertz, "Portrait," 109.

<sup>117</sup> Hertz, "Portrait," 114.

<sup>118</sup> Hertz, "Portrait," 114.

<sup>119</sup> For instance, within the *Cappella Cordero di Pamparato* speaks of a strict system based on seniority in service (see Cordero, *Pugnani*, 33. "Sistema di rigido rispetto della data di anzianità vigente nei ruoli") showing that rights were acquired proportionally to the length of the service. In a different excerpt Stanislao Cordero di Pamparato also mentions that having a relative in the *Cappella* translated to a sort of privilege in the appointment priority (see Cordero, *Pugnani*, 8).

<sup>120</sup> Colturato suggests that this may be the portrait mentioned in Gaetano's testament. See Colturato, "Ritratto", 219. Gaetano's testament does not mention any portrait, but three portraits are mentioned in the inventory of Pugnani's belongings done for his testamentary will (this is probably to document to which Colurato refers). Both the testament and an abstract of the inventory are reproduced in Bertolotti, *Gaetano Pugnani*, XVIII.

about Gaetano's skills, it is likely to belong to the earlier part of his career, when he was building his reputation.

Given the atypical presence (as stressed by Hertz) of the sketch in Pugnani's hands, one possible, and more likely reading, it is perhaps that of looking at the portrait as the outcome of a noteworthy event, an event that would have justified the presence of the sketch sheet to stress the subject's identity as a creative artist. Some considerations on this matter could point toward a significant turning point in Pugnani's life.

Based on the music shown with Pugnani, Hertz suggests that the portrait was painted between 1754 and 1762, but also that the portrait was 'probably' painted by a court artist in Turin.<sup>121</sup> Some observations are in order, regarding both elements (the time frame and the geographical origin).

By the beginning of the twentieth century the portrait was already in London.<sup>122</sup> According to Hertz it came to public attention in 1977 when it was put on sale.<sup>123</sup> The catalog attributes the work to the Italian painter Andrea Soldi, but Hertz points out that, given the possible Turinese origin of the portrait, such an attribution is unlikely, as Soldi was in fact in England from 1736 (circa) and died there in 1771.<sup>124</sup> A connection between Soldi and Pugnani might have occurred in the English capital, when Pugnani

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<sup>121</sup> Hertz, "Portrait," 109.

<sup>122</sup> Colturato, "Ritratto," 219.

<sup>123</sup> Hertz, "Portrait," 109. As reported in Christie's Sales catalogue for Friday 2 December, 1977. In a footnote Hertz reports that in the Christie's sale catalogue for Friday, 2 December 1977 the painting is described as "Property of a Lady. School of Turin, circa 1755–1760 . . . an attribution to Andrea Soldi has been suggested."

<sup>124</sup> John, Ingamells, "Soldi, Andrea" *Grove Art Online*, ed. Laura Williams Macy (Accessed 2 December, 2010), <http://www.oxfordartonline.com>.

lived there between 1767 and 1769. During this period he worked at the King's Theatre where he staged his first opera, *Nanetta e Lubino*. Therefore the attribution to Soldi may be likely, if the portrait is in fact related to Pugnani's London period. Besides his work at the King's Theatre, these years also saw a consolidation of Gaetano's publishing credentials. During the late sixties, working with London firms, his printing achievements became more substantial.<sup>125</sup> The portrait may have very well been an appropriate instrument to celebrate this important moment in Gaetano's career as a creative artist.

There is a further element, emphasized by Selestsky, that points at the 1770s as an important period in Gaetano's life, the progressions of his appointments at the *Cappella* in these years reached an unprecedented peak. In the spring of 1770, after the death of his teacher Somis, Gaetano was appointed *primo violino della Cappella e Camera*, an appropriate promotion to be celebrated with a portrait of a violinist/composer in the court gala dress. The thesis that would place the portrait in the 1770 is substantiated by Selestsky with the fact that the screw-frog attachment of the bow shown with Pugnani belongs to a period no earlier than that. Selestsky also adds a significant consideration about the sketch that has been previously taken by Hertz as a statement about an earlier date for the portrait.

The music from his [Pugnani's] first set of trio sonatas may be open simply because it was his first published success, or, because the open page clearly reads 'Violino Primo', a status that he had attained at the Turin court in 1770.<sup>126</sup>

This theory links the painting with Gaetano's career advancements, suggesting that it could have been an outcome of such achievements. The three events that are

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<sup>125</sup> See work list in McClymond and Hertz, "Pugnani," *GMO*.

<sup>126</sup> The information in this paragraph is taken from Robert E. Selestsky, "New Light on the Old Bow - 2," *Early Music* 32 (August 2004), 422.

concentrated in these years (the staging of his first opera, an increase in number of publications, and the new appointment at the Royal Chapel) led to the commission of the painting that, as stressed by Seletsky, could not be painted earlier than 1770. If Hertz had known what Seletsky knew about the bow, he might have agreed that a later date is a good possibility.

From this discussion we infer an important element for the dating of ZT 23. The 1770 appointment was particularly significant for Gaetano. This element, along with the chronology of Gaetano's printed works, offers insights as to the role of printed music, which I will explore deeper in Chapter 7.

The duties as the first violinist of the *Royal Chapel* did not keep Pugnani from further traveling abroad.<sup>127</sup> The traveling between 1770 and 1776, date of the next appointment, must have been particularly significant as Gaetano gained the highest possible rank within the Turinese music establishment.

On his way to London we find Pugnani in Paris in 1772. Cordero di Pamparato reports the correspondence between the Italian ambassador in France, Ferrero della Marmora, and Count Lascaris di Casteller in Turin. A letter dated 12 October 1772 reads:

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<sup>127</sup> Zschinsky-Troxler suggests that during these years Pugnani might have spent time in Berlin. Zschinsky-Troxler based her claim on the fact that in Berlin was preserved a symphony with the 1772 date. We know today that such symphony was that of Pugnani's opera "Tamas Kouli Kan nell'India, performed in Turin on February 1<sup>st</sup> 1772. The presence in Berlin of the only overture implied for Zschinsky-Troxler that Pugnani performed there. Even if no further documentary evidence supports her claim, we can certainly infer, as she suggests, that Pugnani's music was quite appreciated also abroad. See Zschinsky-Troxler, *Pugnani*, 111. "Aus den Handschriften der Scloßbibliothek-sinfonien ist zur Chronologie nicht viel zu entnehmen. Eine einzige, Ms. 3516 (=Nr.14), enthält auf dem Titleblatt ein datum "Op.2 da. 1772". Da dies Jahr der zweiten großen Konzertreise des Violinisten ist, so ist das Nächstliegende die Vermutung, PUGNANI habe am preußischen Hofe gespielt, und nicht allein sein Spiel, sondern auch seine Weke hätten Interesse erweckt."

Mr. Pugnani who your excellence recommended to me with the letter he gave him at his departure from Turin, arrived in Paris last Thursday and left immediately the next day to go to Rome [London].<sup>128</sup>

We know in fact that Pugnani was in London in the following months. McVeigh suggests that he could have possibly led the King's Theatre orchestra during this sojourn as well.<sup>129</sup> As a matter of fact *Apollo e Issea*, a revision of his *Issea* presented in Turin in 1771, was performed at the King's Theatre on 30 March 1773.<sup>130</sup> During this stay his activity as a soloist was not as intense as it was on his earlier trip; McVeigh points out that Wilhelm Cramer in fact usurped him in the Bach-Abel concerts.<sup>131</sup> In any case, Gaetano's visit to London was not limited to the supervision – possibly the direction – of his work at the King's Theatre. Gaetano also performed as a violinist on 13 May 1773. The *Public Advertiser* reports:

For the Benefit of Mr. JANSON. AT HICKFORD's Room, in Brewer Street, This Day, May 13, will be a grand Concert of Vocal and Instrumental MUSIC. Act I . . . Tri· by Sig. Pugnani, Viot and Janson . . . Act II. Overture, Sig. Pugna I. . . .<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 35. As reported in Archivio di Stato di Torino, Lettere Ministri: Francia. 12 ottobre 1772. Ferrero della Marmora to the count Lascaris of Castellar. "Le sieur Pugnani, que V. E. m'a recommandé par la lettre, don't elle l'a chargé pour moi à son départ de Turin est arrivé à Paris jeudi dernier et en est parti tout de suite le lendemain pour se rendre à Rome." Cordero mentions Rome in this transcription, but this is clearly an error; the same Cordero, commenting the letter, says that Pugnani was departing to London. Cordero questions the fact that Pugnani could have been in London for the following period, probably because he was not able to support it with documents.

<sup>129</sup> McVeigh, *Violinists*, 70.

<sup>130</sup> McClymonds and Schwarz, "Pugnani," *GMO*.

<sup>131</sup> McVeigh, *Violinists*, 70. In this excerpt McVeigh does not specify the name of Cramer that it is implied. The same McVeigh in, in Grove Online, reports that in the 1770s and 1780s Wilhelm Cramer was London foremost violinist and that from 1773 he conducted the Bach-Abel concerts.

<sup>132</sup> *Public Advertiser*, 13 May 1773.

This advertisement is particularly significant for the dating of ZT 23. Several sources<sup>133</sup> account for the early 1780s European concert tour of Pugnani and his pupil Giovanni Battista Viotti. As McVeigh emphasizes the *Public Advertiser's* report may suggest that the two violinists started touring together earlier than it has been suggested.<sup>134</sup>

The possibility that Viotti could have been in London in 1773 has inspired Warwick Lister to review the early sources on Pugnani's pupil. The possibility exists that Pugnani and Viotti could have already been on a concert tour in the 1770s. Lister suggests that the article on Viotti that Miel wrote for the *Biographie Universelle* (known as *Biographie Michaud*)<sup>135</sup> that has been dismissed as "too anecdotal and hagiographic," may contain some accurate information. Miel in fact talks of a twelve year-old Viotti who accompanied Pugnani in London. Viotti was indeed twelve when Pugnani was in London in 1767.<sup>136</sup> Furthermore, in reconsidering the relationship between Pugnani and Viotti, Fétis<sup>137</sup> also should be reconsidered. In his *Biographie* he mentions that Viotti was about 22 years old when he and Pugnani met Voltaire in Fayel, just outside Genève. As suggested by Lister, this would put, the two violinists together in Geneva around 1777. This event will be discussed further in Chapter 6, where their relevance to the dating of ZT 23 will be clearer.

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<sup>133</sup> McClymonds and Schwartz, "Pugnani," *GMO*. As well as: Colturato, "Pugnani," *MGG2*.

<sup>134</sup> McVeigh, *Violinists*, 71.

<sup>135</sup> Edme François Antoine Miel, "Viotti, Jean-Baptiste" in *Biographie Universelle Ancienne et Moderne*, Eugène Ernest Desplaces; Joseph François Michaud; Louis Gabriel Michaud eds, (Paris: Madame O. Desplaces, 1827), vol 43, 586.

<sup>136</sup> The information in this paragraph is drawn from Lister, "New Light," 420.

<sup>137</sup> See Fétis François-Joseph, "Viotti Jean-Baptiste," in *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens et Bibliographie Générale de la Musique* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot et cie., 1875–78), 360–364. Modern scholarship has shown much of Fétis's information "to be less than accurate." See Vincent H. Duckles and Ida Reed, *Music Reference and Research Materials*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Belmont, CA: Schirmer, 1997), 21.

Gaetano apparently left London sometime in June 1773 since, at the beginning of July, he was again in Paris. He was probably planning on a short visit, but was forced to extend his stay. In the correspondence between della Marmora and Lascaris, a letter dated 5 July 1773 communicated to Turin that a mild indisposition kept Pugnani from going straight back.<sup>138</sup> The indisposition kept him longer than he anticipated; in any case, Gaetano must have been on his way to Turin via Lyon around the middle of July.<sup>139</sup>

In 1776 King Vittorio Amedeo had an opportunity to demonstrate his esteem of Pugnani. Gaetano was appointed *Direttore Generale della Musica Strumentale*, an appointment paralleling that of the French title of *Suvintrendant de la Musique du Roi*. It is not clear if this appointment was a political move or was meant to honor Pugnani for specific accomplishments, but it must be placed in context.

Moffa suggests that the king's clear preference for Pugnani might have created some disappointment in the *Cappella*.<sup>140</sup> There were in fact two people that could have resented the appointment: the *Maestro di Cappella* Saverio Giay, who may have thought that his position was in jeopardy, and the longtime celebrated oboist Alessandro

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<sup>138</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 35. As reported in Archivio di Stato di Torino, Lettere Ministri: Francia. 5 Luglio 1773. Ferrero della Marmora to the count Lascaris of Castellar. "M. Pugnani est arrive ici depuis huit à dix jours de retour de Londres dans l'intention de continuer tout de suite sa route pour se rendre à Turin. Mais un indisposition qui lui est survenue le lendemain de son arrivée l'a obligé son départ de quelques jours. Il espère pourtant pouvoir se remettre en chemin dans la courante de cette semaine."

<sup>139</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 35. As reported in Archivio di Stato di Torino, Lettere Ministri: Francia. 9 Luglio 1773. Ferrero della Marmora to the count Lascaris of Castellar. "La santé du Sieur Pugnani ne lui a pas permis de pouvoir effectuer son départ pour Turin dans le courante de cette semaine comme il l'esperait, il compte cependant de se mettre en route lundi prochain sans autre délai, ayant pour cet effet arreté de hier sa place à la diligence de Lyon."

<sup>140</sup> Moffa, *Cappella*, 33.

Besozzi who at the time had served uninterruptedly for forty-five years.<sup>141</sup> As for the latter, the king decided to grant him the same title he gave to Pugnani. In this way he was honoring the two major members of his musical establishment.<sup>142</sup> Unfortunately for Besozzi this appointment translated into an economic advantage only for Pugnani.

The patent issued on 19 January 1776 shows the king's concern with Giay's authority. Twice in the document it is specified that Gaetano's new appointment should not jeopardize the authority of Giay, the *maestro di Cappella*. After stressing Pugnani's achievements and qualities the document reads:

We are happily determined to give to him [Pugnani] a particular sign of our esteem, in order to better display his qualities, we honor him as *primo virtuoso* of our *camera* and general director of instrumental music without harming the authority and the privileges of the *maestro di cappella*. . . . we appoint the aforementioned Gaetano Pugnani first violin of our *Camera* and general director of instrumental music with all the honors, privileges, advantage and right and with the authority, that for such authority compete to him, in regard of music that will have to be represented and performed at court in occasion of feasts, balls, concerts, and opera, as above, without harming the authority and privileges of the *maestro di cappella*.<sup>143</sup>

Moffa stresses that Pugnani's new appointment was not only honorary, but that it carried new responsibilities in the music establishment, duties that would also be given to the first violin during the entire following century.<sup>144</sup> In short, the newly appointed

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<sup>141</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 38.

<sup>142</sup> Moffa, *Cappella*, 33.

<sup>143</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 39. As reported in Archivio di Stato di Torino, Sezioni riunite: Patenti, vol.52, fol.16."Siamo ben volentieri determinate a dargli un pubblico particolare contrassegno della nostra estimazione e da posto in situazione di maggiormente far apparire le pregevoli sue qualità con decorarlo primo virtuoso di nostra camera e direttore generale della musica istrumentale senza pregiudizio del maestro di Cappella in ciò che a lui spetta . . . deputiamo e stabiliamo il mentovato Gaetano Pugnani primo violin della Camera nostra e direttore generale della musica istrumentale con tutti gli onori, prerogative, utili e diritti e coll'autorità, che per tale autorità gli compete riguardo alla music ache occorrerà doversi presentare et eseguire in cospetto della nostra Corte in occasione di feste, balli, concerti, ed opera senza pregiudizio come sopra dell'autoritàe prerogative del maestro di Cappella in ciò che a lui spetta. . . ."

<sup>144</sup> Moffa, *Cappella*, 33.

director of instrumental music was accountable for the orchestra and in charge of balls, banquets, concerts and stage works, while the *maestro di cappella* remained responsible for vocal and sacred music.<sup>145</sup>

This new appointment brought new responsibilities to Pugnani's life. The registries of the royal house show that Pugnani, starting in this period, often received money to pay the external musicians employed in balls and similar events. Several of those payment records are reported by Cordero di Pamparato. Each record contains the amount given to Pugnani and the event for which he was given the money.<sup>146</sup> More important than that is the fact that in this moment Pugnani was at the very height of achievement in the Chapel, having collected significant recognition for his work as a violinist and having built his credentials on a number of published works. The link between published music and reputation, as relevant to the dating of ZT 23, will be explored further in Chapter 7.

### **1780s**

Gaetano Pugnani belongs to a prestigious and respected tradition of violin playing, one that includes his teacher, Giovanni Battista Somis, as well as his pupil, Giovanni Battista Viotti. Viotti is recognized as the last great representative of a violin playing tradition that stems from Arcangelo Corelli.<sup>147</sup> There is still much to learn about the working relationship between Viotti and Pugnani, one that seems to have been rather controversial. On one side the pupil was quite satisfied with his tutor; later in his life Viotti acknowledged Pugnani as his only teacher. On the other side we must mention

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<sup>145</sup> Moffa, *Cappella*, 33.

<sup>146</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 40–42.

<sup>147</sup> Chappell White, "Viotti, Giovanni Battista, in GMO.

that maybe on purpose or maybe as an honest mistake (which is unlikely), Viotti failed to mention Pugnani's name when describing in his brief autobiography the 1780–1781 concert tour he undertook with him.<sup>148</sup> The reason for that may very well be that during the tour the young Viotti overshadowed his teacher.<sup>149</sup>

Viotti became Pugnani's student after the latter returned from a London tour in 1770. But it was not until 1780 that the two violinists set out on a European concert tour that brought them to Switzerland (Geneva<sup>150</sup> and Bern), then to Germany (Dresden and Berlin), and Warsaw before an extended visit to St. Petersburg.<sup>151</sup> The two left Turin in December 1779 to reach Geneva. The departure date is suggested by the recommendation letter that Pugnani turned in when arriving in Berlin later on.<sup>152</sup> The participation of the two violinists in a twelve-week concert series in Geneva put them back on the road probably at the end of March. The following three-week trip brought

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<sup>148</sup> Giovanni Battista Viotti, *Précis de la vie J.B. Viotti depuis son entrée dans le monde jusqu'au 6 mars 1798* (Manuscript), reproduced in Remo Giazzotto, *Giovan Battista Viotti* (Milano: Edizioni Curci, 1956), 229–231. Viotti wrote the document to proclaim his innocence after he was forced to leave England for political reason.

<sup>149</sup> Warwick Lister, *Amico: the Life of Giovanni Battista Viotti* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 42. Among the sources that Lister reports to support this point it is worth mentioning two. The first (p. 42) is a letter from Reverend Thomas Brand, a music lover and amateur musician who travelled around Europe in the 1780s and 1790s. The quotation describes how the two Italians fit the musical scene of Geneva and ends with the straightforward conclusion that “Viotti is [was] the best player of the two.” The second (p. 53) is a quotation from a Polish newspaper that, mentioning the arrival of the two in Warsaw, says: “Maestro Pugnani, the most celebrated violinist in the world, has recently arrived from Italy with his pupil, who seems to give even more pleasure than he.”

<sup>150</sup> The concert series in Geneva was twelve weeks long. One concert is reported on the *Giornale di Torino e delle Provincie* 16 February 1780, n.7. “Ginevra li 12 Febbraio. Il signor Pugnano primo violin della Cappella di S. M. il Re di Sardegna ha dato qui il suo primo concerto li 10 corrente al Palazzo della Città. Ha pure eseguito con generale applauso diverse sue composizioni.” As reported in Cordero, *Pugnani*, 51. This quotation does not question the strong argument that Lister makes in his article about the fact that Viotti at this point had already a quite independent career from Pugnani, as Pugnani seemed to have performed as a guest in Geneva. See Lister, “New Light,” 422.

<sup>151</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 51. Cordero mentions that because Pugnani used to stop by Paris and London when *en route*. Although no documentary evidence is provided.

<sup>152</sup> Lister, *Amico*, 423. As reported in the letter of count Fontana, from Berlin to the Foreign Ministry of the Turin Court. 22 April 1780

them to Berne first and later to Dresden, before reaching Berlin in April 1780. Scholars have found no record of their departure from Berlin but at the beginning of January 1781, Pugnani sent correspondence from St. Petersburg. This means that they should have been in Warsaw during the fall of 1780. The two musicians probably stayed in St. Petersburg most of 1781, but they appear to have left in April for an unknown destination;<sup>153</sup> in any case they probably returned since Viotti, at the end of October, wrote a letter from there. The tour ended in Berlin at the beginning of December 1781; the two departed from there.<sup>154</sup>

Until this time Viotti had been presented as the ‘pupil of the celebrated Pugnani,’ but after this tour ended in Berlin, he proceeded alone to Paris. Pugnani returned to Turin, where, as far as we know, he remained for the following years, except for a trip to Naples (1782–1784) and one to Vienna (1796).<sup>155</sup>

At the beginning of 1782 Pugnani was in Turin. He resumed his duties at the Cappella and the Teatro Regio, where the rehearsals of the Carnival opera season were underway. The fall of 1782 brought him to a concert tour to Naples. We have record of his success in one particular occasion, the concert he performed an evening of October at the *Reggia di Caserta*. The marquis of Breme wrote to Turin that Pugnani presented there with success a new piece for harpsichord and that the performance

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<sup>153</sup> Miel mention that Viotti sometimes during the Saint Petersburg sojourn also visited Moscow. “Viotti lascia son maître à St-Pétersbourg, se rendit à Moscou.” See Miel, “Viotti,” 586.

<sup>154</sup> The information in this paragraph is drawn from Lister, “New Light,” 422–424. Lister based his schedule on documentary evidence and, when needed, filled the gaps with reasonable guesses.

<sup>155</sup> The information in this paragraph is taken from Chappel, White, “Viotti,” GMO. Colturato, “Pugnani,” MGG2. Only McClymonds and Schwarz mention that the concert tour with Viotti lasted from 1780 to 1782. See McClymonds and Schwarz, “Pugnani,” GMO.

very much pleased Her Highness Marie Thérèse.<sup>156</sup> This success eventually brought to the commission of an opera for Naples, *Adone e Venere*.

In 1783 Gaetano returned to Naples to stage the opera. He arrived there at the beginning of December, equipped with quite a parcel of recommendation letters. Firstly, the prime minister, count Perrone wrote on behalf of the king himself to the ambassador in Naples, marquis of Breme; secondly the queen of Sardinia, Maria Antonietta Ferdinanda of Spain, wrote directly to the queen of the *Due Sicilie*, Maria Carolina. Cordero di Pamparato reproduces excerpts of the correspondence that followed, showing the warm welcome that such recommendations eventually prepared for Pugnani. The letters do not speak of the reception of *Adone*, but secondary literature ensures that it was a true success.<sup>157</sup>

Following the reorganization of the army that Vittorio Amedeo began undertaking in 1774, the number of the military bands of the Savoyard army increased.<sup>158</sup> The large music establishment eventually needed a supervisor and Gaetano Pugnani seemed to be the most suitable candidate. The professional figure of such a supervisor seems to be absent from the music establishment for the decades preceding Pugnani's appointment.

Giuseppe Roberti discusses references to Savoyard military music as far back as the fourteenth century. Roberti points out that, during the reign of Carlo Emanuele I,

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<sup>156</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 48. As reported in Archivio di Stato di Torino, Lettere Ministri: Due Sicilie. The marquis of Breme to the count d'Hauteville. 29 ottobre 1782. "Y a presenté une sonate de clavecin à S. A. R. madame Marie Thérèse et qu'on a de rechef applaudi à son habilité." Cordero mentions that the concert took place on the 30 of October. The date is unlikely if the date of the letter, October 29, is correct. The letter mentions that the concert took place "samedi au soir."

<sup>157</sup> The information in this paragraph is taken from Cordero, *Pugnani*, 49. The source from which Cordero drew information on *Adone* is: Benedetto Croce, *I teatri di Napoli* (Napoli: Del Hierro, 1891).

<sup>158</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 42–44.

oboes were introduced into the infantry regiments.<sup>159</sup> This choice almost surely finds its inspiration in the early seventeenth-century tradition of *Le Grand Hautbois* of Louis XIV, a band that belonged to the department of the French court called *Grande Écurie*<sup>160</sup> of which it was the most prestigious group. Given the musical ties between France and Turin specifically, this connection does not come as a surprise.

During the first half of the century only privileged regiments were allowed to maintain a band. In the second half of the eighteenth century army generals across Europe engaged in a sort of competition. Displaying the best military music was a sign of prestige. Toward the end of the century some of the bands that initially included oboes added horns and a trumpet. Additions of this kind eventually took the denomination of *banda turca* and the average number of players increased from eight to a maximum of fifteen.

Gaetano Pugnani had been involved with military bands since 1774, when the king commissioned him to compose some marches.<sup>161</sup> Gaetano was occasionally also entrusted with some administrative duties. His responsibilities within the military music ensemble were formalized in 1786 with his appointment as *Direttore della Musica Militare*, one that earned him an annual salary of six hundred lire. The new appointment came as the result of the “constant zeal” thus far demonstrated and the “distinct

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<sup>159</sup> Giuseppe Roberti, “La Musica negli Antichi Eserciti Sabaudi,” *Rivista Musicale Italiana* 3 (1896), 702.

<sup>160</sup> David Whitwell, *The Baroque Wind Band and Wind Ensemble* (Northridge: Winds, 1983), 26. As reported in Robert Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973), 95.

<sup>161</sup> Roberti, “Musica,” 705. Also the following footnote.

expertise” that made his name known at home and in foreign nations.<sup>162</sup> It seems therefore that, having acquired a role within the military establishment, his fame as a violinist brought him an opportunity to increase his prestige.

The new appointment included the responsibility to compose new marches that were to define a new set of standards for the bands. Furthermore, Gaetano was also entrusted with duties as conductor, instrumental coach, as well as with the responsibility of recruiting new musicians. In these tasks Gaetano was assisted by Vittorio Amedeo Canavasso. Canavasso was a horn player in the *Cappella*, and became responsible for music school of the army, first for the *corni da caccia* and later also for the *trombetti*.<sup>163</sup> These facts show that Gaetano was truly responsible for leading a move to improve the military music.

While this information is not directly relevant to the dating of ZT 23, it offers insights into the life of court musicians. In an era in which political balance was maintained through the military and rulers were portrayed in military uniforms, after a career with great accomplishment, Pugnani could increase his prestige further by being involved with the army.

### 1790s

During his traveling, Pugnani, because of his status and responsibilities in the Royal Chapel, maintained a privileged relationship with Turinese ambassadors and diplomats. These ties, in many cases, helped Pugnani shape his international success

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<sup>162</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 43. As reported in Archivio di Stato di Torino, Sezioni Riunite, Patenti e Biglietti, 1786. The patent mentions that Pugnani since 1774 had well performed his military music duties. “A tale incarico ha egli già compito da pari suo dando chiare riprove del costante suo zelo, non meno che di quella distinta perizia sulle parti tutte di musica, che non solo presso di questa, ma eziando presso delle estere Nazioni ha reso célèbre il suo nome.”

<sup>163</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 44–45.

and build his reputation. The connection with the city of Vienna and his 1796 invitation seems to be an occasion heavily associated with the connections Gaetano developed through his affiliation with freemasonry.<sup>164</sup>

Pugnani's 1796 invitation to Vienna certainly contributed to the reputation that he had among diplomats as a violinist. The ambassador in Vienna from 1794 to 1800 was Count Gioacchino Carlo Amico di Castelfalfero, who in 1786 was carrying out his diplomatic duties in Naples. Both in Naples and Vienna, Castelfalfero followed Giuseppe Lodovico Arborio di Gattinara, marquis of Breme e Sartirana in this office. The latter was the ambassador who from Naples, in 1782, wrote to Turin about Gaetano's first Neapolitan success. He was also the diplomat who received the high recommendation that prepared Pugnani's 1784 success of *Adone e Venere* in Naples. Furthermore, this marquis was also the father of the ambassador who, back in the 1750s, arranged in Paris the sojourn in which Gaetano performed and succeeded at the *Concert Spirituel*.<sup>165</sup>

Gaetano's trip to Vienna was probably also encouraged by the intensification of the diplomatic relationships of the Austrian city with Turin. The relationship between the royal families certainly became tighter after the wedding<sup>166</sup> of Vittorio Emanuele Duke of Aosta with Maria Teresa of Habsburg Lorena-Este.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> Alberto Basso, "Introduzione" in *Werther: Melologo in due Parti* (Milano: Suvini Zerboni, 1985), XX–XXI. Basso throughout his essay stresses the connections that Pugnani acquired through freemasonry. Basso reports that there is no record in Turin about the precise date in which Gaetano joined the organization, but since his name appears in 1768 lists of the first Turinese lodge, his affiliation must have begun in one of the three European capitals that he visited earlier (Paris, Vienna, or London). See Alberto Basso, "Introduzione" in *Werther*, XV.

<sup>165</sup> The information in this paragraph is taken from Basso, *Werther*, XIII.

<sup>166</sup> To the celebration of the wedding Pugnani contributed an opera, *Demetrio a Rodi*, performed in Turin on May 2 1789.

<sup>167</sup> The information in this paragraph is taken from Basso, *Werther*, XIII.

Gaetano's invitation to Vienna followed the commission of a rather unusual piece, *Werther*. What was unusual about the piece was its somewhat descriptive nature. Based on the study of the original parts used for the 1796 Viennese performance, Alberto Basso suggests that the piece was performed with a narrator. Basso states that it is "reasonable to suppose that a reciting voice re-evoked the key passages from the novel, reading them over the music (or possibly before or after, if needed) as it was a *melologo*, a recitation with music."<sup>168</sup>

The Italian designation of *melologo* translates in English to melodrama, a designation that, for its resemblance to the Italian word *melodramma*, may be misleading. The Italian cognate *melodramma* refers in fact to a musical drama or an opera and not to a genre with spoken words. In a melodrama spoken dialogues, or monologues as in the case of Pugnani's work, happen in between or during the sections with instrumental accompaniment. Even if the use of music with dramatic action dates back as far the invention of drama, it is maybe better to consider melodrama a stand-alone genre. The invention of melodrama could be traced back to J. J. Rousseau's *Pygmalion*, probably written in 1762.<sup>169</sup> The new hybrid genre of scenic production "became a fascinating instrument of theatrical entertainment, to which the composers

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<sup>168</sup> Basso, *Werther*, XVI. "È perciò ragionevole supporre che una voce recitante (scelta tra gli attori che facevano parte della compagnia stabile del Burghtheater) rievocasse i passi-chiave del romanzo, leggendoli 'sulla music' (o, eventualmente, prima o dopo se ciò occorresse), come se si fosse trattato di un melologo, di una recitazione in musica."

<sup>169</sup> The information in this paragraph is taken from Peter Branscombe, "Melodrama" in *GMO*. Branscombe also stigmatizes that "J.E. Eberlin used the speaking voice against a musical accompaniment in his Latin drama *Sigismund* (Salzburg, 1753)."

affiliated with the freemasonry paid a particular and specific attention.”<sup>170</sup> Hence, it does not come as a surprise that a *melologo* appears in Pugnani’s production.

It will be recalled that Basso emphasized in his writings Pugnani’s affiliations with freemasonry. Pugnani’s *Werther*, based on the Goethe’s novel by the same name, was created and possibly already performed privately in Turin in 1790-91.<sup>171</sup> Basso suggests that the reference made in a recently discovered autograph letter from 17 November 1794, refers to Pugnani’s *Werther*:

It was requested by the Imperial Direction with the consensus of His Highness the Emperor, to compose an Opera with the honorary of two-hundred *zecchini*, salary that is twice as much than what other *Maestri di Cappella* usually receive<sup>172</sup>

The letter speaks of an opera, but Basso suggests that this word in this context could have meant melodrama. Basso stresses that the Imperial Direction of both the Burgtheater and the Kärntnertheater were at that time entrusted to a group of men. Some of them had connections with Freemasonry.<sup>173</sup> This fact may have very well favored both the commission and the actual Viennese performance of the piece.

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<sup>170</sup> Basso, “Introduzione,” XV. Basso provides a list of composers that approached the melodrama in this period. Basso reports that there is no record in Turin about the precise date in which Gaetano joined the organization, but since his name appears in 1768 lists of the first Turines lodge, his affiliation must have happened in one of the three European capitals that he visited earlier (Paris, Vienna, or London).

<sup>171</sup> Basso. “Introduzione,” VI–VII.

<sup>172</sup> Basso, “Introduzione,” XIV. As reported in Hans Schneider of Tutzing, “Musikautographen,” in *Sales Catalog* 192, (1975): 88. “Essendo stato richiesto qui, dalla direzione imperiale con consenso di S.[ua] M.[aestà] l’imperatore di comporre un’Opera con l’onorario di duecento zucchini, paga al doppio di quell’ache si dà ordinariamente agli altri Maestri di Cappella.”

<sup>173</sup> The information in this paragraph is taken from Basso, “Introduzione,” XIV.

During the spring 1798 Gaetano, sick in bed, resolved to compile his will.<sup>174</sup> He died in Turin the morning of 15 July 1798. The inventory of his belongings shows that Gaetano certainly ended his days in the prosperity he had enjoyed for his entire life.<sup>175</sup> As disposed in his testament the funeral mass was sung in the presence of his body, but the burial was not elaborate. Gaetano asked for one hundred masses to be celebrated in his memory.<sup>176</sup>

### **The Life of Gaetano Pugnani: Remarks**

Gaetano started working rather early, at age ten. We have no evidence of him as a child prodigy, but this fact itself shows how the craft of being a musician was still learned in the field, rather than through formal education. The young Gaetano proved himself to be a promising musician and deserving of a period of study in Rome. This Roman parenthesis is the only record that we have of Gaetano's training in composition.

Gaetano prospered within the patronage system, from which he received substantial support for his entire life. The correspondence explored in this chapter, as well as the diplomatic connections remarked upon in the section on the 1796 visit to Vienna, show the high esteem in which he was held within this system. Furthermore, his international travels and connections demonstrate his place in the homogeneous society that I described above. Gaetano was certainly a remarkable musician, but one

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<sup>174</sup> Bertolotti, "Gaetano Pugnani," VI. "Il Pugnani, a di 19 maggio 1798, essendo infermo in letto, consegnava il suo testamento chiuso al notaio Ansaldi, dichiarandogli che era stato scritto da persona di lui di fiducia per suo ordine e second il suo preciso volere."

<sup>175</sup> Bertolotti, "Gaetano Pugnani," XVIII. An abstract of the inventory of Pugnani's belongings is transcribed along with information on the outcome of the public auction in which such belongings were sold. In the list are included three portraits, one of which Colturato suggests, could be the one that I discuss earlier in this chapter. See Colturato, "Ritratto", 219.

<sup>176</sup> Bertolotti, "Gaetano Pugnani." VI. Bertolotti transcribes the full testament.

of the many who worked during the eighteenth century. This is quite evident in the challenges that early scholarship confronted in starting to explore his life.

The professional growth achieved year by year, through the help of the patronage system and the extensive traveling built the reputation that brought Gaetano successive appointments within the cappella. His career in Italy culminated in the 1776 appointment as *Primo Virtuoso da Camera e Direttore della Musica Strumentale*, which placed him in the most prestigious position of the *Cappella*. As suggested by the discussion of his portrait, the recognition of Gaetano's work as a composer and violinist likely occurred starting around 1770. In any case, the 1776 appointment leaves no doubt as to the fact that the 1770s were a true turning point in his life. In his new position he did not have any need to build his reputation further, especially through printed music. This fact is relevant to the dating of ZT 23, as we shall see below.

Another relevant piece of information contained in this biographical sketch is the idea that Pugnani and Viotti could have developed a close working relationship through the 1770s. This information, when compared with the instrumentation of ZT 23, offers insights as to the possibility that Gaetano composed the set, to which ZT 23 belongs, to perform it with his pupil.

In spite of the many periods of Gaetano Pugnani's life that remain obscure, this sketch has illuminated some points that are relevant to the dating of ZT 23. This frame of reference hopefully constitutes a springboard for further biographical exploration.

## CHAPTER 6 PUGNANI AND THE ITALIAN SYMPHONY

### **The Position of Pugnani in the Italian Contributions to the Symphony**

Wellesz and Sternfeld claim that the symphony can be better understood geographically rather than chronologically. To see where Pugnani stands in the chronological evolution of the concert symphony, it is certainly helpful to place him in the framework of the contributions of his countrymen to the genre. However, the composers that I will mention in this section had only their geographical provenance in common while having rather different careers.

As far as the symphony is concerned, Giovanni Battista Sammartini has been the most important Italian figure in the transition between the Baroque and Classical periods. In his works he synthesized stylistic features of both eras. The new style favored homophonic texture to complex polyphony. After the middle of the century most composers carefully avoided counterpoint, but Sammartini and few others found ways to incorporate non-imitative, harmonically controlled counterpoint<sup>1</sup> in their compositions. This feature proved appropriate for developmental digression, sections in which unpredictability of themes and tonality was advisable.

Bathia Churgin claims that elements of Sammartini's symphonies representative of the early Italian concert symphony include scoring, movement types, and the adoption of two-part form and sonata form.<sup>2</sup> Sammartini's works from the early 1740s are larger

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<sup>1</sup> Egon Wellesz and Frederick Sternfeld, "The Early Symphony" in *The Age of Enlightenment, 1745–1790* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 377.

<sup>2</sup> Bathia Churgin ed., *The Symphonies of G.B. Sammartini* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968).

than those of his predecessor (Vinci and Leo) and feature a greater textural interest and more development of ideas.<sup>3</sup>

One of Sammartini's contemporaries who contributed to the dissemination of early symphonies was Antonio Brioschi. His importance on the European scene is confirmed by the presence of his works in several libraries as well as the fact that his name appears in the Breitkopf 1762 catalog.<sup>4</sup> As far as style is concerned, Brioschi emancipated the symphony from the operatic influence of a vocal style, introducing in his writing rhythmic emphasis and wide leaps.<sup>5</sup>

Like Sammartini, Melchior Chiesa and Giorgio Giulini also operated in Milan, but their contributions to the symphony did not reach in artistic merit those of Sammartini. History had to wait until the appearance of Luigi Boccherini to have further significant contributions to the Italian symphony. Boccherini was a gifted cello player and composed some twenty-seven symphonies among other works. The lyrical quality of most of Boccherini's music is not reflected in his symphonies.<sup>6</sup> Scholarship highlights instead his concern with symmetrical repetition and phrase structure.

Wellesz and Sternfeld claim that also Gaetano Pugnani's instrumental style resembled the lyrical emphasis of Boccherini.<sup>7</sup> With some exceptions, Pugnani favored the four movement structure for his symphonies and overtures, one with which he experimented widely. In his oeuvre there are examples of works without the

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<sup>3</sup> Wellesz and Sternfeld, "Early Symphony," 375.

<sup>4</sup> Wellesz and Sternfeld, "Early Symphony," 378.

<sup>5</sup> Wellesz and Sternfeld, "Early Symphony," 378.

<sup>6</sup> Christian Speck and Stanley Sadie, "Boccherini, Luigi," in *GMO*.

<sup>7</sup> Wellesz and Sternfeld, "Early Symphony," 381.

development (Op. 4 No. 1) as well of works that omit the primary theme from the recapitulation (Op. 4 No. 3).<sup>8</sup> A glance at the thematic catalogue shows that he used several unconventional sequences.<sup>9</sup>

Wellesz and Sternfeld suggest generalizations on some of Pugnani's stylistic features. His first movements contained advanced thematic articulation, but without proper balance between the main sections.<sup>10</sup> The works contained in his Op. 4 share the use of a pause to indicate the beginning of the modulating section, in contrast to a mere change in dynamics and orchestration.<sup>11</sup> In regard of Pugnani's style McClymonds and Schwarz stress that he "must be considered an important representative of mid-century Italian Classicism. His symphonies exemplify the Italian theatrical style best known through its Mannheimer and Viennese proponents."<sup>12</sup>

Another contemporary of Boccherini and Pugnani was Gaetano Brunetti. The latter spent most of his career working in Spain, in isolation similar to that Haydn had when working for the Esterhazy.<sup>13</sup> As a result Brunetti was not very well known during his life time. In any case, we have evidence that, through the court archives, he was exposed to a wide variety of styles that he synthesized into a very personal one.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Wellesz and Sternfeld, "Early Symphony," 381–2.

<sup>9</sup> The number of movements alternates among three, four, five and six, with sometimes an andante as the opening movement (e.g. ZT 20, 25, 28, 32).

<sup>10</sup> Wellesz and Sternfeld, "Early Symphony," 381.

<sup>11</sup> Wellesz and Sternfeld, "Early Symphony," 381.

<sup>12</sup> Schwarz and McClymonds, "Pugnani," *GMO*. In regard of the use of the orchestra in Pugnani's operatic style, Schwarz and McClymonds say that his "orchestration contains excellent string writing, often in four parts. He treated wind instruments both as soloists and as ensemble players, as well as writing wind dialogues with strings and with the voice."

<sup>13</sup> Wellesz and Sternfeld, "Early Symphony," 382.

<sup>14</sup> Alice B. Belgray and Newell Jenkins, "Brunetti, Gaetano," in *GMO*.

Wellesz and Sternfeld conclude that as far as symphony is concerned, Italians created few significant innovations and only a handful of masterpieces.<sup>15</sup> In any case,

the emphasis on easy, natural movement was important in the evolution of the symphony. French concerns for elegant detail and German preoccupation with contrapuntal texture might have run the whole idea of the development aground; but the earthy rhythmic vigor and clear melodic objectives of the Italians served as a channel marker to keep the others on straight course.<sup>16</sup>

Among the Italian eighteenth-century contributions to the instrumental repertoire Gaetano Pugnani's orchestral works are quite unknown. Out of a total of thirty odd symphonies only four are currently recorded and only six are available in full score.<sup>17</sup>

The thematic catalog of Pugnani's music was compiled in 1939 by Margerita von Zschinsky-Troxler. In the opening section of her work, Zschinsky-Troxler's collected a number of sources that speak to Pugnani's multiple roles in music. Zschinsky-Troxler suggested that to get an understanding of the personality of the Turinese musician, we must consider the different components of his personality that cannot be reduced to a keyword. The musical facets of Pugnani include in fact that of an orchestra violinist, that of a concert soloist and chamber player, that of a conductor and *maestro al cembalo*, that of an educator, and finally that of a composer.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Wellesz and Sternfeld, "Early Symphony," 382.

<sup>16</sup> Wellesz and Sternfeld, "Early Symphony," 382–383.

<sup>17</sup> For the full scores see GARLAND A-III. For the audio recording see *Pugnani, Overtures in Eight Parts*, Academia Montis Regalis dir. Luigi Mangiocavallo, OPUS 111, OPS 30-151 (CD), 1996.

<sup>18</sup> ZT, 39. "Pugnani's künstlerische Erscheinung und musikalische Ausformung ist mit einem Stichwort nicht zu erschöpfen. Von seiner mannigfaltigen Tätigkeit ausgehend, werden wir dem Phänomenen Pugnani näherzukommen versuchen, um wieder zur Ganzheit seiner Persönlichkeit zu gelangen. Prsmagleich bricht sich seine Musikalität in Strahlenbündeln verschiedener Wirksamkeit; wir sehen ihn besonders; als Orchestergeiger, Konzertsolisten, und Kammermusikspieler, Dirigenten, und Maestro al cembalo, Pädagogen und schliesslich als Komponisten."

Zschinsky-Troxler collects quotations from various authors that well speak about each side of Pugnani multifacet activity as a musician. In her idea the words of all of the authors she mentions show and explain why, in the phase of Italian instrumental music that goes from the baroque to the early romantic, Pugnani is considered significantly representative.<sup>19</sup>

### **Pugnani's Manuscript Symphonies**

In the thematic catalogue, the works listed as “instrumental” encompass a group of twenty-eight pieces designated variably as *overture*, *sinfonia*, or *quintetto*. I will refer to these works as symphonies. The works are organized according to their key, making difficult, at glance, identifying the ones belonging to the same collections. A closer investigation shows that the majority of them were published during Pugnani's lifetime and that only a few remained in manuscript. The printed works were engraved in collections of three or six, each collection including only instrumental parts and no full score, according to the custom of the time.<sup>20</sup>

In 1939 Zschinsky-Troxler located a total of seven manuscript symphonies in the Berlin-Schloßbibliothek. More recently Annarita Colturato added other works to the list of manuscripts<sup>21</sup> (Table 6-1). The following section will focus on the manuscripts housed in Berlin.

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<sup>19</sup> ZT, 60. "Die Besprechung der Werke unseres Autors wird zu versuchen haben, warum wir in PUGNANI einem der bedeusamsten Vertreter der Instrumentalmusik in Italien erblicken, der in seinem Werke die Phasen der Stilwende des 18. Jahrhunderts vom ausgehenden Barock bis zur italienischen Frühromantik verfolgen läßt und damit zu einem wichtigen Bindeglied zwischen Früh-klassik und Klassik wird."

<sup>20</sup> These works were printed for players and therefore there was no need for a full score.

<sup>21</sup> Annarita Colturato, 'Pugnani, Gaetano Giulio Gerolamo,' MGG2, 1037–1038.

## The Berlin Manuscripts

Zschinsky-Troxler's catalog gives the instrumentation for each symphony. Within the entire group of orchestral works, five works (henceforth obligato set) highlight a common feature: they are the only works in the catalog to call for obligato violin parts and that were never printed.<sup>22</sup> The scores of the obligato set are listed by Zschinsky-Troxler as housed in Berlin (Schloß-B).

All of these works highlight a grouping of the violin section that may suggest a link with genres other than the symphony. *Violino principale*, *violino di concerto*, and *violino obligato* suggest a hierarchical structure, in which several soloists are pitted against the orchestra. The designation of the ensemble violins as *d'accompagnamento* or *ripieno* suggests concerto grosso associations that I will explore further in Chapter 7.

The most recent scholarship on Pugnani, such as the articles in GMO and MGG2, relied on the work of Zschinsky-Troxler for the scores location. Unfortunately the latter was compiled in 1939 and contains information that is not up to date. Currently not all of the works mentioned in Table 6-2 (obligato set) are housed in Berlin.<sup>23</sup>

In the list of Schinsky-Troxler there is clear distinction between two locations in Berlin: the "Berlin, St.B." (Berlin Staatsbibliothek), and the "Berlin, Schloß-B," (the private music collection of the former kings of Prussia). The latter is the one of interest to this research, as it originally included the works of the obligato set. During World

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<sup>22</sup> As a matter of fact the catalog also mentions another couple of symphonies with *obligato* violin parts, ZT 25 and ZT 27. The two works are reported by Zschinsky-Troxler as existing in two printed editions and five manuscript copies. For both works it exists a version with no winds that also calls for four obligato violins and basso. The different instrumentation suggests that the scores should not be grouped with the Berlin obligato set, as this arrangement of the work may very well represent something done *ad hoc* for a local group.

<sup>23</sup> In Berlin I was fortunate to find a valuable source of information in Dr. Roland Schmidt-Hansel, librarian at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv. The following information about Pugnani's manuscripts is retrieved from my correspondence with him.

War II the entire music collection of the former Kings of Prussia was brought to the Soviet Union and roughly half of it made it back to Berlin in the late 1950s. What remains of this collection is currently housed in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek and usually identified as “KHM” (Koenigliche Hausbibliothek Musik). The original collection included about twenty catalog listings for Pugnani,<sup>24</sup> but only eight of these items are still extant in Berlin. In this group of manuscripts only six items are symphonies.<sup>25</sup> Four of them (ZT 27, 19, 24, and 25) were published during Pugnani’s lifetime,<sup>26</sup> but we do not have such record for the other two (ZT 14 and 23). The overture ZT 14 is listed in the catalogue as “Overtura sinf.<sup>a</sup> op.<sup>a</sup> 2<sup>da</sup> 1772.” A comparison with the score of Pugnani’s *Tamas Kouli-Kan nell’India*,<sup>27</sup> shows that ZT 14 is in fact a reorchestration of that opera’s overture. Zschinsky-Troxler did not list the opera score in the thematic catalogue, suggesting that she could not make the connection between the overture and its opera. In any case, as such connection is possible today, we can confirm the date of ZT 14 to 1772 (the opera was presented on 1 February).<sup>28</sup> Unfortunately the overture ZT 23 is currently the only work of the obligato set that is extant in Berlin.

ZT 23 seems to be the only work of the obligato set available for study. According to Dr. Schmidt-Hansel the remaining scores of the set could still be today in St.

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<sup>24</sup> For the list of the pieces originally included in this collection see Georg Thouret, *Katalog der Musiksammlung auf der Königlichen Hausbibliothek im Schlosse zu Berlin* (Breitkopf & Härtel: Leipzig, 1865), 163. Because the catalog does not report incipits, but only the key of the works, a comparison with ZT is impossible.

<sup>25</sup> The word symphony here includes similar genres such as the overture (Chapter 4).

<sup>26</sup> See work list in McClymonds and Schwarz, “Pugnani,” GMO.

<sup>27</sup> Copy held by P-La.

<sup>28</sup> Information retrieved from the score.

Petersburg or Russian libraries in other cities. Any attempt to locate them has thus far been unsuccessful.

### ZT 23

The score I discuss in the following pages is listed by ZT as item number 23.<sup>29</sup> The reproduction contains the booklets of the different parts. Winds have separate booklets (e.g. first and second oboe); violin obligato parts are separated from the ensemble strings. Each part has a frontispiece with the indication of the instrument. The instrumentation of the work is listed on the frontispiece of the basso parts.

On the center right under the title “Overture in E [flat sign]” the list of the instrumentation: Violino <sup>pmo</sup> obligato; Violino 2<sup>do</sup> obligato; Violino <sup>pmo</sup>; Violino 2<sup>do</sup>; Viola e Basso; Oboe <sup>pmo</sup>; Oboe 2<sup>do</sup>; Corno <sup>pmo</sup>; Corno 2<sup>do</sup>.<sup>30</sup> A bracket embraces the two corno parts, indicating “in E-flat.” Although the basso and viola seem to share much of the same music, their parts are written on separate booklets. The incipit of the overture is reported at the bottom left corner of the front page, showing under the marking “Allegro con Spirito” the first two bars of the first violin and the *basso* grouped in a grand staff. On the bottom right of the page the attribution “Del Sig<sup>no</sup> G. Pugnani.”

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<sup>29</sup> I thank the library that sent me a microfilm reproduction of the parts of the overture ZT 23.

<sup>30</sup> “Obligato” is the spelling of the word in the score, rather than the correct Italian term “obbligato.”

Table 6-1. List of Pugnani's manuscript symphonies and their location\*

ZT	Title	Source	Location
14	Overtura . . . in D	ZT	D-B
15	Sinfonia in D	ZT	D-B
16	Caccia in D	ZT	D-B
23	Overture in E flat	ZT	D-B
35	Sinfonia in B flat	ZT	D-B
36	Sinfonia concertato in B flat	ZT	D-B
37	Sinfonia in B flat	ZT	D-B
??	In C	MGG	D-Müs, I-GI, I-Rdp
??	In D	MGG	I-Mc
??	In D	MGG	I-Tn
??	In E flat	MGG	GB-Lam
??	In B flat	MGG	CH-EN

\* As reported by Colturato in MGG2.

Table 6-2. Pugnani's symphonies with obligato violin parts\*\*

ZT	Violins***	Violas	Basses	Winds	Parts
15	1°obligato; 2°obligato; primo; secondo	1	1 e Contrabasso	2 Corni; 2 Oboes	9
16	1°di concerto; 2°dto.; 1°d'accompagnamento; 2°dto	1	1 Basso obligato	2 Corni; 2 Oboes	10
23	1°obligato; 2°obligato; primo; secondo	1	Violoncello; Contrabasso	2 Corni; 2 Oboes	8 bzw.10 (?)
35	2 Violini obligati; 2 violini di ripieno	1	B.e Contrabasso	2 Corni; 2 Oboes	9 (bsw. 11)
36	2 violini principali; 2 violini obligati; 2 di ripieno	2	Violoncello e Basso	2 Corni; 2 Oboes	1

\*\* As listed in ZT. All scores originally housed in Berlin, Schloß-B.

\*\*\*ZT reports the word *obligato* rather than *obbligato*.

## CHAPTER 7 PUGNANI'S OVERTURE IN E FLAT ZT 23]

The instrumentation of ZT 23 suggests information as to the reason Pugnani may have composed it. This piece could have been performed by Pugnani himself with his pupil Viotti and as such it would belong to the 1770s. In the following section I will first clarify what the designation of 'obbligato' implies in this context; next I will suggest how the choice of two violins for the obbligato parts could have been composed by Pugnani with a specific pair of soloists in mind; lastly, since the obbligato set was certainly composed over a period of time, I will suggest that it belongs to the 1770s, the time frame during which Pugnani had a close working relationship with his pupil Viotti.

### **The Meaning of Obbligato Violins**

In order to understand the implication of the instrumentation of ZT 23 it is important to clarify the meaning of the word *obbligato* in this particular context, because has acquired different meanings in different contexts.<sup>1</sup> The instrumentation of this overture (and all the works of the obbligato set) outlines a hierarchy in the violin section. A glance at the score<sup>2</sup> shows that the trio of the minuet is the only section of the overture in which the obbligato violins are actually detached from the orchestra.<sup>3</sup> In the rest of the overture the obbligato parts are not independent lines, but perform the same exact parts of the ensemble violins (henceforth *ripieno*<sup>4</sup>). Therefore, in this context the

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<sup>1</sup> As shown in David Fuller, "Obbligato," in GMO.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix A.

<sup>3</sup> The choice of the minuetto to feature the two obbligato parts may not be accidental and may carry implications of meaning (e.g. a statement about the nobleness of the violin or of the violinists). This topic could be investigated further comparing ZT 23 with the rest of the the works of the obbligato set. As I explained in Chapter 5 such task is far from possible at the moment.

<sup>4</sup> The word "riepieno" is not in the score.

obligato violins are simply understood as two soloists pitted against the doubled ripieno parts. The terminology used by Pugnani to indicate the soloists is found much earlier, in the works of Arcangelo Corelli,<sup>5</sup> where the obligato parts were not supposed to be doubled and the ripieno parts could be doubled *ad arbitrio*.<sup>6</sup>

Since on the first page of the violin obligato part also appears the script “Violino p<sup>mo</sup> Concertino,” the possibility exists that this overture could be a concerto grosso, but since ZT 23 lacks any hint of ritornello form, there is no association of this piece with that instrumental form. Nevertheless, the presence of two soloists could suggest an association with another genre, that of the symphonie concertante. As we shall see below, this fact is relevant to understand the role of the soloists in ZT 23.

The symphonie concertante is understood as an ensemble work with solo and extended solo parts resulting in a genre that is closer to the concerto than to the symphony. The genre was widely in vogue from the 1770s well into the first decades of the nineteenth century. During the 1770s and 1780s major contributions to the symphonie concertante came from Paris where during these two decades, “some of the most prolific non-French composers of symphonies concertantes wrote their works.” Paris at that time was an important cultural center, featuring soloists in the Concert Spirituel series. In 1771 the *Journal de Musique* reports that the French writer, theorist, and composer Nicolas Framery claimed that the genre was ideal for the Concert Spirituel and should replace the ‘insipid sonata’ and the ‘overlong concerto.’<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> *Concerti Grossi Op.6.*

<sup>6</sup> See David Fuller, “Obligato,” *GMO*.

<sup>7</sup> The information in this paragraph is taken from Barry Brook and Jean Gribenski, “Symphonie Concertante,” in *GMO*.

Gaetano spent a brief period in Paris during this time frame and, given his status as a soloist, could very well have become fascinated with a new genre. We do not know of any of Pugnani's work that carries a designation directly related to that of the *symphonie concertante*, although we know that labels were not precise in this period.<sup>8</sup>

The *symphonie concertante* was certainly suitable for displaying the virtuosity of the soloists, two violins being the most frequent instrumentation. In the performance the soloists were usually placed in front of the orchestra, being responsible for most of the thematic material and extensive cadenzas.<sup>9</sup> In ZT 23 the solo parts are not virtuosic and do not carry thematic material. However, the loose association with the *symphonie concertante* is appropriate in virtue of the label of "concertino" in the score (in the part of the first obbligato violin) and that of "obbligato" for two violins, that together suggest that the soloists here represent, as in a *symphonie concertante*, a world apart from the orchestra. If the two soloists were to be seated apart from the orchestra, did Pugnani have someone in mind when he composed ZT 23 and the obbligato set?

### **For Whom did Pugnani Compose the Obbligato Set?**

Many of the concertos written during the eighteenth century were performed by the composer himself. The advertisements discussed in Chapter 5, for instance, show that Pugnani and his music were no exception. In London he often performed his own music in those venues that featured him as a soloist. When composers did not compose music for themselves, sometimes they had a friend in mind. For instance, when in 1791

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<sup>8</sup> Brook and Gribenski, "Symphonie Concertante," GMO.

<sup>9</sup> The information in this paragraph is taken from Brook and Gribenski, "Symphonie Concertante," GMO.

Mozart composed his clarinet concerto, he had in mind his friend Anton Stadler,<sup>10</sup> and when Haydn composed his only trumpet concerto in 1796 he had in mind his fellow court musician the trumpeter Anton Weidinger.<sup>11</sup>

The custom of composing music tailored for or dedicated to a specific colleague was not limited to concertos, but also carried over in orchestral writing and chamber music. Notable examples of chamber music composed for a specific performer include, for instance, the music that Haydn composed for the baryton. Because his patron, prince Nikolaus Esterhazy, was an amateur baryton player, Haydn had no choice but to compose “as His Serene Highness commands,”<sup>12</sup> and therefore tailor his music to the prince’s skills. It is in fact quite logical that a court composer, given his status as a servant or leader of a court ensemble, would have specific performers in mind when composing. In the music of Haydn we can also see how a composer’s orchestral soloistic writing could be tailored to a specific performer. Haydn entrusted to the cellist Weigl the solo of the third movement of his symphony No. 13.<sup>13</sup>

Perhaps this “tailoring tradition”<sup>14</sup> has its roots in operatic music, in which composers usually tailored their arias to a specific singer. The scholarship of Dorothea

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<sup>10</sup> For a discussion on Mozart Clarinet concerto see Lawson Colin, *Mozart: Clarinet Concerto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

<sup>11</sup> Johann Nepomuk Hummel also composed a trumpet concerto for Weigl. See Elisa Koehler, “In Search of Hummel,” *International Trumpet Guild Journal* (January 2003), 7–17.

<sup>12</sup> As mentioned in Haydn’s contract reproduced and translated in Philip G. Downs, *Classical Music, the Era of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven* (New York: Norton Company, 1992), 213.

<sup>13</sup> See H.C. Robbins Landon, *Kritische Ausgabe sämtlicher Symphonien*, H.C. Robbins Landon ed. (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1963–67), vol II.

<sup>14</sup> The term “tailoring” in this context seem to have been first used by Mozart. In a letter from 24 November 1770 Leopold comments about Wolfgang’s idea to fit arias to singers as costumes. In another letter from 28 February 1778 Wolfgang explicitly claims that arias should “fit a singer as perfectly as a well-made suit of clothes.” See Emily Anderson ed. and trans., *The Letters of Mozart and His Family*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (London: Macmillan, 1985), 497, 171.

Link illustrates this point well. Link has focused on operatic roles created for particular singers, showing that the tailoring of some arias was so specific that she was able to trace the vocal profile of the performers from the score.<sup>15</sup>

In virtue of this discussion, it is possible that Pugnani would have performed his ZT 23 (and the obbligato set) with someone very close to him. The entire obbligato set was probably composed over a relatively long span time, as the terminology used to define the instrumentation is not consistent among the scores of the set.<sup>16</sup> The inconsistency indicates that the pieces were not composed at the same time, although the consistency of the two obbligato parts may indicate a similar purpose for all the works of the set. Did Pugnani ever have a long working relationship with a fellow violinist? When could he have shared such a simple soloistic endeavor with anyone? What does his biography suggest in this regard?

### **The Viotti Years**

The 1770s were marked by the relationship of Pugnani with his pupil Giovanni Battista Viotti, one that allegedly began in the late 1760s and that culminated in the European concert tour that the two undertook in 1780–1781. For as we know to date, this is the only time in Pugnani's life during which, for a long time span, he shared his professional life with someone else. This moment in time reflects the unique instrumentation of the overture ZT 23 (and that of the entire obbligato set) that features non-virtuosic writing for two soloists.

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<sup>15</sup> Dorothea Link ed., *Arias for Francesco Benucci: Mozart's First Figaro and Guglielmo* (Middletown: A-R Editions, 2004); Dorothea Link ed., *Arias for Nancy Storace: Mozart's First Susanna* (Middletown: A-R Editions, 2002).

<sup>16</sup> Table 6-2.

The relationship between the two was apparently consistent throughout the decade even if a recent biography of Viotti shows that very little is known about the events of these years even today.<sup>17</sup> The relationship possibly started before the 1770s, certainly developed during that decade, and ended after the Grand Tour that the two shared in 1780–1781.

The possibility that Pugnani and Viotti were already close before 1770 exists, although its evidence is questionable. Warwick Lister claims that Edme-François Miel, an early biographer who has been dismissed as “too anecdotal and hagiographic,” may in fact report accurate information (Chapter 5). Miel mentions that the twelve-year-old Viotti accompanied Pugnani to London in 1767. Lister, highlighting a hiatus in the records of Viotti’s violin lessons in Turin with Ignazio Celoniati (August–December),<sup>18</sup> claims that the date could be likely, even if there is no record that supports the idea that Viotti was actually in London with Pugnani at that time. The diplomatic correspondence mentions Pugnani’s arrival to London, but does not mention that he was accompanied by a young boy. The element that raises questions is that of time frame. As I reported in Chapter 5, Pugnani remained in London until the fall of 1769. Lister says that records suggest that Viotti resumed his violin lessons in Turin at the beginning of 1768. Is it likely that the young boy travelled alone back to Italy? The possibility remains open and the implication for this argument would be quite relevant, as the presence in London of the young Viotti at this time would suggest that Pugnani took particular care with his education, introducing him to the international professional network quite early.

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<sup>17</sup> Warwick Lister, *Amico: The Life of Giovanni Battista Viotti* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

<sup>18</sup> Lister, *Viotti*, 11.

Pugnani certainly took on Viotti as his pupil when he returned from London. Presumably the two of them already started working together in late 1769. The relationship continued in the orchestra of the Teatro Regio where Viotti started working from 1773 as well as in the Royal Chapel where Viotti was appointed in 1776. The presence of both violinists on other occasions, such as a masked ball in 1774,<sup>19</sup> shows that Pugnani and Viotti shared a variety of working venues.

As I reported in Chapter 5, Pugnani was again in London during the early 1770s and it is reasonable to assume that, on the basis of a newspaper advertisement, Viotti was with him at this time.<sup>20</sup> Lister also infers that before setting off for the Grand Tour the two violinists could have shared music in other venues outside of Turin.<sup>21</sup> The working relationship eventually culminated in the European concert tour of 1780–1781, after which Viotti undertook an independent career. Even if scanty, these facts suggest a close mentoring relationship between Pugnani and Viotti.

Lister concludes that:

[in 1779] within a month of leaving Italy [for the grand tour], Viotti was reliably reported to be a better player than his teacher, and within another three or four years he had established himself as the first violinist of Europe. It is highly unlikely that Viotti could have sprung thus fully armed without some previous experience. It is safe to assume that in the 1770s he played concertos and sonatas in and around Turin.<sup>22</sup>

If Pugnani had anyone in mind when composing the obbligato set, it is very likely that this someone could have been Viotti. As Lister suggests above, Viotti certainly played

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<sup>19</sup> Lister, *Viotti* 28.

<sup>20</sup> I reproduce the advertisement in Chapter 5.

<sup>21</sup> See discussion in Chapter 5.

<sup>22</sup> Lister, *Viotti*, 37.

concertos during the 1770s. This suggests the possibility that the obligato set could have been used to gradually educate the young pupil in the role of soloist. The characteristics of the overture ZT 23 certainly make it a suitable piece for an event featuring a virtuoso violinist and his preferred young ambitious pupil. If so this work belongs to the 1770s, the decade during which Viotti and Pugnani worked together. It is possible that Pugnani composed ZT 23 to support his teaching endeavor during the early years of his relationship with Viotti.<sup>23</sup>

The following section will provide evidence that ZT 23 could have indeed been composed during the 1770s. One of the challenges in studying eighteenth-century scores is that dates of composition were rarely recorded. Autograph manuscripts sometimes carry dates, but this is not case for this unique extant manuscript copy of ZT 23. In the remainder of the chapter I argue two distinct pieces of evidence that support the thesis that this overture was composed in 1770s. In sum: some structural elements common to six other works by Pugnani suggest a common temporal frame; considering the publishing customs of the eighteenth century within the chronology of Pugnani's printed music suggests that ZT 23 (extant in manuscript) was meant to be printed. The overture was never printed because it belongs to the period during which Pugnani stopped having his music printed.

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<sup>23</sup> We can assume that the simplicity of the solo parts of this piece would have better served the education of a young rather than a mature pupil.

## A Comparison With Other Scores

Modern editions of Pugnani's fully scored symphonies include a collection of six works edited by Joyce L. Johnson and reproduced in the Garland series.<sup>24</sup> The symphonies were originally published by Welcher in London as *Six Overtures in Eight Parts*,<sup>25</sup> a collection that is relevant because there are formal similarities between the symphonies of this set and ZT 23. This could suggest that the works belong to the same creative period.

Johnson in her editorial remarks on the *Six Overtures* offers the following commentary:

The orchestration is typical for its time. The first violin is generally the melodic leader, or else it plays in thirds with the second violin. The viola plays *col basso*; oboes are in thirds, generally following the violins, while the horns (which as a rule remain silent during slow movements and trios) provide harmonic reinforcement.<sup>26</sup>

As seen in the score provided in Appendix A, this assessment could apply equally well to a description of ZT 23 that also carries the same typical orchestration of the period.

Johnson also adds some remarks about the first movements that in Pugnani “do not follow the typical scheme of what we now call sonata form.”<sup>27</sup> In the following quoted passage, in which Johnson mentions three elements shared by the *Six Overtures*, I have inserted the bar numbers in brackets, where the same elements appear in the score of ZT 23. Johnson points out that Pugnani

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<sup>24</sup> Joyce L. Johnson, “Editorial Method” in GARLAND A-III, 117. These full scores were first prepared in 1934 under the Works Project Administration and Johnson compared them with the original source, “in order to correct errors and resolve ambiguities and inconsistencies.”

<sup>25</sup> RISM 5571.

<sup>26</sup> Joyce L. Johnson, “Gaetano Pugnani,” in GARLAND A-III, xlii. See also Albert Müry, *Die Instrumentalwerke Gaetano Pugnani* (Basel: Buchdruckerei G. Krebs, 1941), 49–52.

<sup>27</sup> Johnson, “Pugnani,” xlii.

does utilize a contrasting melodic idea after shifting to the contrasting key, but is often brief [bars 52–58 in ZT 23] these movements . . . repeat the initial theme in the new key [bars 69–83 in ZT 23] then utilize some sequential movement [bars 85–93 in ZT 23] before returning to the initial idea in tonic [bars 109–115 in ZT 23].<sup>28</sup>

This parallel may well indicate one of Pugnani's stylistic identifiers or may simply point at the same creative period for the *Six Overtures* and ZT 23. When were the *Six Overtures in Eight Parts* composed?

If it is plausible to include ZT 23 in the time frame of the *Six Overtures*, we have the first piece of evidence we can use to establish ZT 23's date of composition. Even if different scholars have suggested different dates for the *Six Overtures in Eight Parts*, the option of the 1770s remains a probable one. The date suggested by Johnson in the edited scores is that of the 1780s, but both Zschinsky-Troxler in her catalog and Schwarz and McClymonds in the *Grove Dictionary* suggest an earlier time. The dates proposed by the latter two bear a question mark, signaling that no precise date yet exists in regard of the composition of the *Six Overtures*. Schwarz and McClymonds suggest that the collection belongs to 1768–1770,<sup>29</sup> while Zschinsky-Troxler, based on partial information, suggests 1770.<sup>30</sup> I shall demonstrate below, that in contrast to what Johnson suggests, ZT 23 was probably composed in the 1770s.

### **Only One Manuscript Copy**

In the following section my assumption, based on the available evidence, is that the manuscript copy of ZT 23 is a unique extant copy and that the overture was never

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<sup>28</sup> Joyce L. Jonnson, "Gaetano Pugnani," GARLAND A-III, xlii. See also Albert Müry, *Die Instrumentalwerke*, 49–52.

<sup>29</sup> Schwarz and McClymonds, "Pugnani," GMO. "6 Overtures [18, 28, 31, 33, 19, 29] in 8 pts, Op.4 (London, ?1768–70); no.5 (London, c1767)."

<sup>30</sup> According to Zschinsky-Troxler the pieces of this collection already appeared in 1763. See ZT, 112.

printed. The fact that a score is extant in printed form or manuscript copy does not offer, *per se*, information on its date, although it might offer valuable information if put into the context of a composer's life. Printed and manuscript music in the eighteenth century served different purposes. As we shall see below, the custom was for most music to circulate in manuscript, while printed music represented an exception. Combining such information with that of Pugnani's biography will yield valuable insights into the date of ZT 23.

### **Printed and Manuscript Music in Context**

Publishing in the eighteenth century encompassed the production of manuscripts, a commercial action that was a very relevant part of a publisher's job.<sup>31</sup> There are indeed examples of musical texts printed as collector's items, as well as examples of scores that achieved a wide dissemination remaining in manuscript. David Wyn Jones reminds us that the commercial nature of most music printing has a direct correlation with the kind of music published. Large scale works such as operas and oratorios, which were likely to be modified from one production to the next, were less likely to be published because the initial costs were high and there was no market for such publications.<sup>32</sup> A glance at the history of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Italian

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<sup>31</sup> The importance of the role of copyists in the dissemination of music is advocated in Dexter Edge, "Music Copyists and the Transmission of Music in the Eighteenth Century" in *Revue de Musicologie* 84e (1998): 298–304.

<sup>32</sup> David Wyn Jones, "What do surviving copies of Early Printed Music Tell Us?" in *Music Publishing in Europe 1600–1900; Concepts and Issues, Bibliography*, Rudolf Rasch ed. (Berlin : BWV, Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), 140. Jones mentions that the performances that followed the premiere of Johann Adolph Hasse's *Demofonte* in Dresden in 1748 were all performed from manuscript material: in Venice (1749), Mannheim (1750), Naples (1750 and 1758), Vicenza (1750), Warsaw (1759), and Malta (1765).

opera shows indeed that, during that period, a genre that was rarely printed came in fact to dominate European musical taste through manuscripts.<sup>33</sup>

Manuscript and printed music coexisted for a long time. In the sixteenth century the printing press with movable type impacted music literacy and between the seventeenth and the eighteenth century music printing passed from movable type to engraving. The invention of engraving improved the graphic quality of the scores but also increased the production costs. Alex Beers asserts that “editions produced by typographical method were on average half expensive as those produced by engraving.”<sup>34</sup> The use of printing techniques has offered the possibility of producing multiple copies of the same item at the same time, yet manuscript copies, due to the lower production costs and the higher flexibility, made for a more profitable business than printed scores.

### **The Advantages of Manuscript**

Alex Beers claims that the size of the repertoire that remains in manuscript is roughly 90%.<sup>35</sup> This suggests the eighteenth-century musical world’s widespread

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<sup>33</sup> Stanley Boorman, “Music Publishing,” in *GMO*.

<sup>34</sup> Alex Beers, “Composers and Publishers: Germany 1700–1830” in Rudolf Rasch ed., *Music Publishing in Europe 1600–1900; Concept and Issues, Bibliography* (Berliner Wissenschaft-Verlag: Berlin, 2005), 169. The difference is due to the quality of the paper required for the reproduction with the two techniques. Paper for printing is thinner (and therefore cheaper) while that used for engraving is thicker. Furthermore, engraving requires more time for the ink to dry and the cost of preparing an engraved plate is higher than that of assembling the material for printing a page. In any event, if producing typography is cheaper, the entire stock must be produced at once while engraving allows for smaller runs and plates may be stored for easy reprinting. See Rudolf Rasch, *Music Publishing*, 5.

<sup>35</sup> Beers, “Composers and Publishers,” 163–164. Beer’s claims that to the “present day no effort has been made to come up with statistics on the proportion of printed music in relation to the overall repertoire.” Beers continues by estimating, that out of the total only a mere 10% would be the quantity of printed music. The outcome of such an estimate is rather simple: the diffusion of music was mostly achieved through manuscript copies. If Beers’s claim is correct, and we apply the proportion to Pugnani’s musical output, the amount of lost scores would be significant. If Pugnani’s printed symphonies only represent 10% of his total production, several dozens of his symphonies must have remained in manuscript. Unfortunately no methodology can help us to establish that number with absolute accuracy.

predilection for manuscripts rather than printed music. As odd as this may sound to modern day musicians, there is evidence that brings this argument beyond that of economic suitability. Selling manuscripts remained for publishers the preferred way of making business and reading from manuscripts remained for the performers the preferred way of playing music. Manuscripts could serve the need of a very particular consumer, and as such they were produced only when needed. Such items would not wait for long time on the shelves of a music shop<sup>36</sup> and most likely would not remain unsold.

As shown in the 1762 Breitkopf catalogue this strategy was, for a music publisher, much more profitable than investing lots of money in engravings, hoping that items would sell in a short time or, worse, fearing that they would remain unsold. The title of the Breitkopf catalog, even if the catalog itself contains printed musical *incipits*, makes clear that the music shop sold *manoscritti*: “Catalogo delle sinfonie che si trovano in manoscritto nella officina musica di . . . Breitkopf in Lipsia.”<sup>37</sup> Breitkopf kept in stock the manuscripts that he acquired from the composer. These scores served as master copies and upon receipt of an order from a client, his staff produced the required manuscript copies.<sup>38</sup> This strategy would certainly optimize the investment in terms of labor, avoiding the production of a large number of copies that might remain unsold for long time.

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<sup>36</sup> Rudolf Rasch ed., *Music Publishing in Europe 1600–1900; Concept and Issues, Bibliography* (Berliner Wissenschaft-Verlag: Berlin, 2005), 5.

<sup>37</sup> Barry S. Brook ed., *The Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue, 1762–1787* (New York: Dover Publications, 1966).

<sup>38</sup> Barry S. Brook, “Piracy and Panacea in the Dissemination of Music in the Late Eighteenth Century,” in *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 102 (1975–76), 23.

Besides economic considerations,<sup>39</sup> the preference to distribute manuscript music could also be a consequence of the rules imposed by the customs of the era. Because only the newest music was desired, very little time elapsed between the act of composition to that of consumption – possibly too short to properly engrave and publish the scores. In conclusion, it was perhaps for the predominance of manuscripts and the lack of any alternatives, that reading from manuscripts remained the preferred manner to play music during the century. A quotation from 1778 shows that musicians favored reading from a manuscript rather than a printed page; Christian Gottfried Thomas, a lawyer, musician and businessman from Leipzig, says that “everybody indeed prefers [preferred] handwritten music to even the best printing or engraving as handwritten music is always the most legible.”<sup>40</sup>

The preference for manuscripts was extremely relevant in Italy. Burney reports his surprise when discovering that at the *accademia* he attended the music was performed from manuscript scores: “they executed, reasonably well, several of our Bach’s symphonies different from those printed in England: all the music here is in manuscript.”<sup>41</sup> What Burney reported seems substantiated by modern scholarship that

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<sup>39</sup> Scholarship has suggested that profitable business was for publishers also a matter of collaboration. Imprints often signal collaborations among them, either as sellers or co-publishers. See Anik Devriès-Lesure, “Historical sources,” in *Music Publishing in Europe 1600–1900; Concepts and Issues, Bibliography*, Rudolf Rasch ed. (Berlin : BWV, Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), 48. For a case study on this issue see Donald Burrows, “John Walsh and His Handel Editions” in *Music and the Book Trade from the Sixteenth to the twentieth Century*, Myers Robin, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote eds. (New Castle: Oak Knoll Press, 2008).

<sup>40</sup> David Wyn Jones, “Composers and Publishers,” 164. English translation by the author “jederman doch die geschriebenen Notem dem besten Druk oder Stich, vorzheit . . . geschriebenen Noten allezeit am besser lessen.”

<sup>41</sup> Charles Burney, *An Eighteenth-century Musical Tour in France and Italy*, ed. Percy A. Scholes (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), 254. Most likely “our” is referred to J.C. Bach who was in Milan between 1756 and 1762.

confirms that in Italy, Germany, and Austria most of the music trade was in manuscripts, and that the “bulk of the music in circulation until the 1770s never went through a printing press.”<sup>42</sup> Burney in fact said that there was no such thing as a music shop throughout Italy that he was able to discover.<sup>43</sup> The absence of printing businesses in Italy (maybe due to the fact that Italians preferred opera, a genre rarely printed), for Pugnani and his Italian contemporaries made the task of printing their music even more challenging.

Therefore, manuscript copies were certainly the preferred solution for music publishers and music players alike. Given such a framework one would see no reason for a composer to print his music, rather than publish manuscript copies. Did composers prefer to publish manuscripts or printed sheet music? Why did Pugnani go through the challenges of printing music in Paris and London, if manuscripts were the preferred method? What, for the composer, were the advantages of printing music?

### **The Advantages of Printing Music**

During the eighteenth century, printing and publishing one’s music would bring little if no economic reward to the composer. Often composers were even required to anticipate the expenses, receiving in exchange just the marketing of their works.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, the absence of an international copyright law favored piracy. Musicians had to deal constantly with two facets of the phenomenon: the theft of their name

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<sup>42</sup> Philip G. Downs, *Classical Music*, 24.

<sup>43</sup> Burney, *Musical Tour in France and Italy*, 139. Pugnani’s music was in fact engraved abroad, in either London or Paris. The reasons for which music printing flowered in Paris during this time are explored briefly in Anik Devries-Lesure, “Paris et la Dissemination des Editions Musicales entre 1700 et 1830,” in *Revue de Musicologie* 84 (1998): 293–298.

<sup>44</sup> Downs, *Classical Music*, 25.

placed on some unknown composer's music or the theft of their music without their authorization or remuneration.<sup>45</sup> The truth of the matter is that most publishers made a profitable business against the composer's interest. But as Rasch reminds us,

before 1800 this [practice] was hardly ever considered an infringement on the rights or interest of the composer or previous publisher, particularly if enough distance either in time or place existed between the publication and its source (either printed or handwritten).<sup>46</sup>

It seems that Pugnani also had to deal with this aspect of publishing, as suggested by the presence of the same collections issued by different signatures.<sup>47</sup> With such an array of challenges and economic disadvantages, the only reason for a composer to print his music was to try to enhance his reputation more broadly.<sup>48</sup> Did Pugnani fit in this framework? Why?

### **Printed Music in Pugnani's Career**

Gaetano Pugnani did not seem to be an exception to such general rule. It seems in fact that he stopped having his music published at a precise point in his career: the moment he did not need to build his reputation any further. Zschinsky-Troxler has attempted a chronology of Pugnani's works, but as she states, "it is extremely difficult to obtain a clear picture of the origin of the different works" because "the documentation is sketchy and sparse." Zschinsky-Troxler lists the sources that were useful in constructing

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<sup>45</sup> Brook, "Piracy and Panacea," 19–21. Brook describes the steps that two Viennese publishers took in order to run their business in a more ethical way.

<sup>46</sup> Rudolf Rasch, "Publishers and Publishers," in Rudolf Rasch ed. *Music Publishing in Europe 1600–1900: Concepts and Issues, Bibliography* (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), 203. Rasch stresses that publication issued without the consent or cooperation of its author or the latter's representative were the great majority of music publications before 1800, being often reprints, printed from manuscripts circulating outside the control of the composer.

<sup>47</sup> See for instance RISM 5574 and RISM 5575, the same collection of pieces issued in London and Paris respectively.

<sup>48</sup> Downs, *Classical Music*, 25. This remains generally true even if the agreements between composers and publishers could be very diverse. See Alex Beers, "Composers and Publishers," 160–181.

her chronology: correspondence, catalogs, and excerpts of contemporary literature and documents. Unfortunately personal documents and autograph scores were virtually unknown to her. The names of the rare dedicatees of Pugnani's music also failed to provide her with useful information for a chronology.<sup>49</sup> Zschinsky-Troxler's chronology of the printed works is based on the approximate dates of the first editions.

According to her chronology, Pugnani's last printed work is from 1776. The decade of the 1770s, and this year in particular, represented a turning point in Pugnani's career. Besides receiving a stipend increase, Pugnani was given a sign of particular esteem from his patron, King Vittorio Amedeo, who appointed him *Direttore Generale della Musica Strumentale* of the Royal Chapel. There is therefore a chronological coincidence between a prestigious appointment and Pugnani's last published work. This suggests that Gaetano stopped publishing his music when his credentials were well established.

The portrait made in Turin to celebrate the 1770 appointment shows that Pugnani, at that time, was already a celebrated composer. Something happened in the 1770s that led to a further acknowledgment. The opening lines of the decree with which Gaetano was appointed in 1776 to his new position suggests that the king was very pleased with how the violinist represented the Savoyard court abroad. This document is

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<sup>49</sup> ZT, 109. "Es ist außerordentlich schwierig, ein klares Bild de Entstehungszeit der verschiedenen Werke zu gewinnen, ja bei der Mehrzahl dieser Werke is es überhaupt kaum mehr möglich. Die Dokumentierung is lückenhaft und spärlich. Um so wertvoller sind die wenigen Hilfsquellen, die einige Stützpunkte zu bieten vermögen:

1. Die Berichte der sardischen Gesandten in Rom and die Minister des Königs von Sardinien: für die Jugendwerke
2. Der Manuskriptkatalog von Breitkopf für die Zeit von 1762–1777
3. Die Anzeigen der Musikverlage, insbesondere die der Welckerschen Erstdrucke
4. Mitteilungen oder Erwähnungen zeitgenössischen schrifttums, Akten aus der Zeit

Auf persönliche Dokumente mußte fast ganz verzichtet werden: weder gelang es aufschlußreiche Briefe aufzufinden, noch Aufzeichnungen zu Erlangen. Lediglich die Preußische Staatsbibliothek bewahrt – unseres Wissens als einzige – ein Schriftstück von PUGNANIS hand auf: einem derim 18.Jahrhundert üblichen Empfehlungsbrieft (s.Faksimile S.236). Die Namen der seltenem Widmungsträger vermochten ebenfalls nicht brauchbare Hinweise zur chronologie zu vermitteln."

certainly evidence of how Pugnani maintained his reputation up to that time. The decree opens as follows:

We have always regarded with feelings of beneficial propension the subjects that were venturously gifted by nature with special talent, and cultivated it with untiring zeal and activity, and have succeeded in any science and profession. With these sentiments, with the mind to the unique ability and skill of the instrumental music of Gaetano Pugnani, first violin of our Cappella and Camera, and having [him] a distinct degree of subtleties of art, [and] having given commendable evidence not only in this city but also in foreign lands. . . .<sup>50</sup>

It is interesting to notice that the reference to “foreign lands” is missing from the 1770 patent. This might suggest that between 1770 and 1776 Pugnani was involved in activities that contributed to dramatically increasing his status.

From the information above we might therefore conclude that Pugnani stopped publishing music in the 1770s because of his career advancements. The 1776 appointment placed him in the most prestigious position of the Cappella and as such, he was not in need of building further his reputation. Zschinsky-Troxler’s chronology seems to confirm that his last printed work is indeed from this period. In virtue of this discussion it is reasonable to assume that works that in these years were about to be printed, yet never reached the press. Is it possible that these works included ZT 23 and the obbligato set?

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<sup>50</sup> Cordero, “Pugnani,” 38–39. As reported in Archivio di Stato di Torino, Sezioni Riunite, Patenti, vol. 52, fol. 16. “Abbiamo sempre riguardato con sensi di benefica propensione qui soggetti che avventurosamente dotati dalla natura di particolare talento lo hanno con indefessa applicazione ed attività coltivato e sono riusciti in alcuna scienza e professione. In questi sentimenti avendo rivolto l’animo alla singolare abilità e maestria nella musica istrumentale di Gaetano Pugnani, Primo Violino della nostra Cappella e camera possedendo in grado distinto le finezze dell’arte, con averne dato commendabili prove non solo in questa città che nei paesi stranieri.”

## The Obligato Set, Music for the Press?

The odd number of five works with a similar and unusual instrumentation suggests the possibility that a sixth work may have existed (or was meant to exist). David Wyn Jones, discussing printed music, explains that:

Often, the works themselves had been composed individually and had already circulated in manuscript and were only gathered together in sets for publication. While sets of six works were by far the most common, there are many instances of twelve works (6x2) and three works (6/2) . . . increasingly towards the end of the eighteenth century, the decision whether to issue a set with fewer than the standard six works became determined by the size and ambition of individual work; many publications of quartets by Haydn and Mozart, for instance, were of three works even if, as in the instance of Haydn's Opus 71 and Opus 74, the composer had conceived them in the traditional set of six.<sup>51</sup>

A temporal continuity and widespread adherence to the tradition of publishing collections in groups of twelve or six pieces is well represented in the printed works of Pugnani<sup>52</sup> as well as in the work list of other Italians.<sup>53</sup> Whether or not a specific meaning was assigned to the number six,<sup>54</sup> Pugnani fit the conventions of his time.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Jones, "Surviving Copies," 149–150.

<sup>52</sup> *Sei Sinfonie* [RISM 5570]; *Six Overtures* [RISM 5571]; *Six Simphonies a plusieurs instruments* [RISM 5572]; *A second sett of six overtures* [RISM 5574]; *Sei sinfonie a più stromenti* [RISM 5575]; *Six pièces à plusieurs parties obligez* [RISM 5576]. The RISM catalog shows that quartets and quintets were published in groups of three (eleven of them out of the thirteen entries), but that six remained the preferred grouping for the trio sonatas (sixteen of them out of the eighteen entries) and for the duos (fifteen of them out of the sixteen entries).

<sup>53</sup> Considering the ones I mentioned above which are somehow linked to Pugnani, for the violin tradition: Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713) groups his concerti in twelves; Giovanni Battista Somis (1686–1763) published collections in groups of twelve or six; the chamber works of Giovanni Battista Viotti (1755–1824) are chiefly in groups of six or three. As for the Italian symphonists: Giovanni Battista Sammartini (1700/01–1775) chooses twelve and six, Fortunato Chelleri's (c.1690–1757) few printed works are in groups of six, also Gaetano Brunetti (1744–1798) opus numbers include works groups of six, the few works of Antonio Brioschi (c.1725–c.1750) were printed as part of collection of six or twelve pieces. Also the works of Luigi Boccherini (1743–1805), when grouped in collections, were likewise overwhelmingly grouped in sixes.

<sup>54</sup> For a discussion on the meaning that the number six had in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century see Michael Marissen, "J. S. Bach's Brandenburg Concertos as a Meaningful Set" *The Musical Quarterly* 77 (1993): 193–235. Marissen states that "we often take as a convention the fact that pieces were grouped in sixths." He states that "the very fact that the word 'six' or the number '6' appears so

As a result it is quite possible that the obligato set, to which ZT 23 belongs, comprising five pieces, was meant to be printed as a set of six. It is unlikely that in the eighteenth century the compositional efforts of a composer, in the process of building credibility, would have been targeted for anything but printing and publication.

If the obligato set was meant to be printed why did it never reach the press? Is the sixth work of the set extant? As mentioned above, as a result of his career advancements in 1776, Pugnani gained unprecedented prestige that likely allowed him to stop worrying about printing his music to gain credibility. This sequence of events could very likely have determined the fact that the obligato set, in these years, remained a group of five works, as Pugnani no longer needed to produce the sixth work to give the collection to the press.

### **Pugnani's Overture in E Flat: Remarks**

In order to show that Pugnani might have had Viotti in mind when composing ZT 23, I suggested evidence that places the score within the same time frame. Two distinct elements provide substantiation for the 1770s as the likely date of composition. First, the formal structure of the first movement of ZT 23 resembles that of a collection of symphonies printed by Pugnani in the 1770s. Second, the odd number of five similar

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conspicuously and so often – typically as the first word – on title pages of these collections suggests that the indication is not merely quantitatively descriptive, but somehow more broadly significant.” Marissen makes quite a generalization in this discussion, showing that the association of perfection with the number 6 (it equals the sum of its real divisions,  $1 + 2 + 3 = 6$ ) goes at least as back as Pythagorean teaching. The association of six with perfection was so strong throughout time, that in the early sixteenth century it was believed that even God chose to create the world in six days because of the inherited significance of the number. Marissen’s generalization ends by stating that: “We cannot avoid the conclusion that late seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century composers understood the use of the number six as a *signum perfectionis*.” Given the time frame and geographical location of the context of Marissen’s discussion (Johann Sebastian Bach’s Germany during the early 1700s), this may not apply to Pugnani, but it certainly suggests the origin of the tradition of printing works in groups of six.

<sup>55</sup> Out of a total of fifty-five entries for Pugnani in the RISM catalog, thirty-eight are grouped in six and eleven in three (69% and 20% of the total respectively).

works suggests that the composer was headed toward the publication of the obbligato set and that, given the newly acknowledged prestige, Gaetano decided that he no longer needed to publish his music. As a result the obbligato set never reached the press. Although it is impossible to establish a certain date for the overture in E-flat, the evidence discussed in this chapter points toward the 1770s as the most likely decade of its composition.

## CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSION

This dissertation had as its thesis the claim that Pugnani composed ZT 23 and the other works of the obbligato set to be performed with his pupil Giovanni Battista Viotti. Such an assertion was inspired by the instrumentation of the work that calls for two violin obbligato parts. Since the unusual instrumentation appears in a set of five works, it is possible that Pugnani composed them for the same reason, but over a relatively long time span. What might such a reason have been?

Pugnani had a long relationship with his pupil Viotti, with whom he eventually set out for the Grand Tour. Pugnani's biography does not show evidence of any other long lasting relationship comparable to the one he had with Viotti, suggesting that the pupil had a somewhat special place in his teacher's life. Since eighteenth-century musicians often composed music with a specific performer in mind, Pugnani could have very well used these works to perform with Viotti as a teaching tool and to educate him the concert duties. This reading of facts also would point at the 1770s as the possible date of composition and more specifically, to the earlier years of the decade. In fact, the rather modest technical challenge of ZT 23 would be more appropriate for a young violinist, rather than a mature one as Viotti was by the end for the 1770s. Is there any evidence that could place ZT 23 in the same historical period of the long lasting relationship between Pugnani and Viotti?

### **A Possible Answer**

A comparison of ZT 23 with other works by Pugnani made it possible to highlight a recurring formal structure that all the works share: a sonata form with particular features. This fact suggests the possibility that all of the works belong to the same

creative period of the composer. Different scholars have suggested a date for the works that I compared with ZT 23, but no definitive word exists in that regard. In any case, the 1770s remain an open option.

As of today we know of one single extant set of manuscript parts for the overture ZT 23. The fact that we do not know of a printed version of any of the works of the obbligato set prompts questions as of how these works could have fit within the music publishing customs of the eighteenth century. During Pugnani's time most music was disseminated as manuscript copies, while a minor part of the repertoire was printed. In regard to Pugnani the chronology of his printed music stops in the 1770s, suggesting that the cause for a resolution in this direction might be found in his life events. The 1770s marked for Pugnani significant career advancements within the music establishment of the royal chapel of Turin. Since one of the reasons composers printed their music was to spread their reputations, Pugnani's newly acquired prestige in the royal chapel of Turin may very well have been the reason he stopped printing his music. Among the works that were destined to the press and that eventually remained unprinted are ZT 23 and the other four symphonies of the obbligato set. In fact, the odd number of five works, during a period in which many works were printed in groups of six, may imply that this set was about to become complete in order to be printed. Pugnani revised his plans as a consequence of the fact that at that point he no longer needed to print music to increase his reputation. If so, the entire obbligato set may well belong to the 1770s.

### **Limitations**

While part of music scholarship should deal with facts, there is also a creative component to a scholarly endeavor. In order to fill in missing information, hypotheses

and educated guesses are in order. The specific path that I suggested, considering this score in relation to its environment, applies only to Pugnani and to this specific work. This study focuses on a particular situation of a specific composer at a certain time of his life and as such does not necessarily reflect a strict methodology that could be applied broadly. Part of the argument is built on the chronology of Pugnani's printed works and to the link that it has with some specific events of his life. In the patronage system the reasons that led a composer to publish his music remain specific to each situation. The methodology of this study would lead to faulty conclusions if applied, for instance, to the life of Joseph Haydn. Haydn never had an opportunity to print and publish his music when in service of the Prince Esterhazy; his contract reveals that such an option was not available to him.<sup>1</sup> Haydn's printing endeavors began later in his life (no earlier than 1779–1780<sup>2</sup>), while we have no record of printed music in Pugnani's latest years. Therefore the evidence selected for this study on Pugnani does not necessarily reflect a widespread custom of the period. Its significance is indeed in suggesting one possible option.

### **Final Remarks**

In this dissertation I have tried to link criticism and positivism, because facts need an explanation to become meaningful. This approach has been already advocated by Margaret Bent who stated that “fact and value, evidence and interpretation are

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<sup>1</sup> The contract explicitly mentions that Haydn was “neither to communicate such compositions to any other person, not to allow them to be copied, but shall retain them for the absolute use of His serene Highness, and not compose for any other person without the knowledge and permission of his Highness.” The document is transcribed and interpreted in Downs, *Classical Music*, 212–214.

<sup>2</sup> James Webster and Georg Feder, “Haydn, (iv) Independence, 1790–90,” GMO.

inseparable.”<sup>3</sup> I looked for facts in other scores by Pugnani, in his life as well as in the environment of eighteenth-century music printing. This led me to offer an interpretation of these facts that eventually led me to conclude that the overture ZT 23 was composed in the 1770s and that therefore, it is likely that Pugnani composed it to perform it with Viotti.

The commentary that I offer with the edition of the overture ZT 23 suggests new possible approaches for scholarship involving Pugnani’s immediate milieu. As mentioned above not much is known about the relationship between Pugnani and Viotti, a bond that developed throughout the 1770s. The possibility, as I suggest, that the overture ZT 23 was composed to educate the young Viotti opens questions about the possible venues in which the two, during the early 1770s, could have performed it together. In this regard I must point out that the manuscript copies of the complete obbligato set were originally found by Zschinsky-Troxler in Berlin.<sup>4</sup> It is certainly possible that the obbligato set was part of the repertoire the two brought along during the 1780–1781 grand tour since, judging from the simplicity of the solo parts, it could have been also used to perform with amateur musicians along the way. The question of what specific venue(s) and what specific ensemble(s) could have performed ZT 23 and the obbligato set remain open.

This dissertation aims to fill one of the gaps in modern scholarship, a gap that may reflect the preferred genres of the eighteenth century. A review of writings from the

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<sup>3</sup> Margaret Bent, “Fact and Value in Contemporary Scholarship,” *The Musical Times* 27 (1986): 88.

<sup>4</sup> The German city was touched at the beginning and the end of the grand tour that Pugnani and Viotti undertook together in 1780–1781. Both the composers had a sort of privileged relationship with the members of the Prussian royal family to which Pugnani dedicated a cantata and Viotti some chamber music.

period helped me show how, during that time, Italians devoted much of their energy to opera at the expense of the development of an Italian tradition of instrumental music. Modern scholarship has probably mirrored such preference, and today, one of the areas that is dramatically in need of research is that of late eighteenth-century Italian instrumental music. This single study is certainly not enough to fill in the gap as much more remains to do on the general topic of eighteenth-century Italian instrumental music and on Gaetano Pugnani. The large majority of his music in fact remains unstudied in modern times and no comprehensive exploration exists, as of yet, about his style as a composer. Part of the problem is that scores are not readily available for investigation. Furthermore, we still have to shed light on many moments of his life. The significance of my study for Pugnani scholarship lies in supplying a biographical sketch for future reference and an edition of a score of his music. The suggested date of composition (1770s) for ZT 23 will also provide a relevant element when looking for stylistic traits in the comparison with other scores.

Gaetano Pugnani is mostly known to violinists for his contribution to the technique and solo repertoire, but he remains virtually unknown to the public at large. His operas and symphonies are generally not heard today in formal venues. Gaetano Pugnani contributed to our profession as an orchestral violinist, a concert soloist, a chamber player, a conductor and maestro al cembalo, an educator, and a composer.<sup>5</sup> This dissertation will hopefully raise interest in the music of an artist who enjoyed a remarkable reputation during his life time and who merits our attention today.

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<sup>5</sup> ZT, 39. "wir sehen ihn besonders; als Orchestergeiger, Konzertsolisten, und Kammermusikspieler, Dirigenten, und Maestro al cembalo, Pädagogen und schliesslich als Komponisten."

CHAPTER 9  
EDITING PUGNANI'S OVERTURE IN E FLAT [ZT 23]

**Editing Music**

In order to study the formal structure of a score, the first step is to place the single parts in a full score. Some editorial decisions have to be made and it is important to account for the philosophy behind them.

The neophyte who approaches the editing of a musical score may mistakenly assume that the task is limited to a mere reproduction of the source. Such an assumption is wrong, for both practical and philosophical issues. James Grier, in his monograph *The Critical Editing of Music*, has set forth several useful indications on the topic. Editing music is important to a musicological endeavor, but the issues and methodologies are as numerous as the pieces we have to reproduce. Therefore one of Grier's aims is not to provide a well done "to do list," but to suggest a "generalized theoretical framework for editing."<sup>1</sup>

Grier's first relevant point is about the unavoidability of an editor's intervention in the process of editing.<sup>2</sup> Despite the editor's wishes to stay close to the original, some decisions will have to be made. Such a concept holds true even for *Urtext* editions, the editions that should be a reproduction of the wish of the composer. This concept has also been debated by other scholars. Commenting on "The cult of *Urtext*" Phillip Brett in his essay on "Text, Context, and Early Music Editor"<sup>3</sup> emphasizes that it is evident that an *Urtext* edition is not the original text. Drawing on a study by Walter Emery, Brett

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<sup>1</sup> James Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 5.

<sup>2</sup> Grier, *Critical Editing*, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Philip Brett, "Text, Context, and the Early Music Editor" in *Authenticity and Early Music*, ed. Nicholas Kenyon (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

quotes an effective passage: “an ‘original text’ represents, as a rule, not what the composer wrote, but an editor’s theory about what the composer meant to write.”<sup>4</sup>

Although the editor’s theory may be right, there remains a great difference between the notes the composer meant to write and those he meant to be played.<sup>5</sup>

Editing music is therefore an act of criticism. But such an act cannot be limited to the musical text alone. In 1985 Margaret Bent stated that “making a good edition is an act of criticism that engages centrally with the musical material at all levels, large and small.”<sup>6</sup> The editor’s criticism cannot be limited to the text (musical source), but requires information about the context where the piece was conceived and possibly consumed.

A further important consideration offered by Grier is that editing is not a perfect science. An edition may certainly need continuous adjustments as new sources become available. Editorial choices may change on the basis of new information. As a consequence the work is never completed.<sup>7</sup> Such an issue is directly linked to the subjectivity of the editorial task. The latter, along with the wide diversity of the musical texts, is what leads Grier to offer just a “theoretical framework for editing”<sup>8</sup> and not a detailed and practical editor’s ‘to do’ list. Furthermore, besides the multiplicity of issues connected to the diversity of texts, we must consider that editors, as individuals, are

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<sup>4</sup> Philip Brett, “Text, Context, and the Early Music Editor,” in *Authenticity and early music, a Symposium*, Nicholas Kenyon ed. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1988). 90. As reported in Walter Emery, *Editions and Musicians* (London, 1957), 9.

<sup>5</sup> Brett, “Text, Context,” 90.

<sup>6</sup> Margaret Bent, “Fact and Value in Contemporary Scholarship,” *The Musical Times* 1716 (Feb. 1986): 87.

<sup>7</sup> James Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music: History, Method, and Practice* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 9.

<sup>8</sup> Grier, *Critical Editing*, 5.

also different. As a consequence their priorities and contributions will be different. Grier traces a convincing parallel with performed music, stressing how two performances of the same piece will not possibly be the same. Each performance will result as a unique one. At the same way “no two editors would render its score in exactly the same way.”<sup>9</sup> Editing is and must be approached as a creative process.

The parallel between editing music and performing leads to further considerations. One of the things that makes music, and possibly all performing arts, unique is that work and text do not always coincide. The text is a sort of mediation between the composer and the listener. The work that originally existed only in the mind of the composer<sup>10</sup> will never be fully reproducible. As such, even the most accurate and informed editorial task will never be able to reproduce the original work. In any case, the text remains the principal concern of editing even if not identifiable with the work; editing starts and ends with a text.<sup>11</sup>

Why should the editor learn about the work, if his/her primary concern is text?

Joseph Kerman, discussing music analysis, addresses the same concept asking

why should the analyst concentrate solely on the internal structure of the individual work of art as an autonomous entity, and take no account of such considerable matters as history, communication, affect, texts and programmes, the existence of other works of art, and so much else?<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Grier, *Critical Editing*, 6.

<sup>10</sup> Grier, *Critical Editing*, 21.

<sup>11</sup> Grier, *Critical Editing*, 23.

<sup>12</sup> Joseph Kerman, *Contemplating Music* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1985), 18.

The reason for such a question is well explained in the parallel Grier traces between music editor and music performer. The latter tries to aurally replicate the work, in the same way the editor must interpret the symbols in order to re-create the work.<sup>13</sup>

It is true, then, that the symbol, and therefore the text is the primary concern of the editor, but what was the meaning of that symbol when it was written? Should we reproduce the meaning of the symbol or the actual symbol? David Beard and Kenneth Gloag's discussion of semiotics in *Musicology, the Key Concepts* mentions that there are several theories on the relationship between a sign and its meaning. They stress that "they all illustrate how meaning is socially constructed and how the relationship between signifier and signified is essentially arbitrary."<sup>14</sup> As Grier puts it in more simple terms, music signs have a name, but they carry no meaning.<sup>15</sup> As the system of signs is articulated in context,<sup>16</sup> the editor must be familiar with such context. In order to do so, the editor must participate in the musicological endeavor. Brett mentions that the part played by editing and editions in our musical culture is rarely approached in a spirit of historical exploration.<sup>17</sup> Such exploration allows the understanding of the meaning of a musical symbol. The editor, as an interpreter, must attempt to recreate the historical context and the conventions in which the text of the work was fixed.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Grier, *Critical Editing*, 24.

<sup>14</sup> David Beard and Kenneth Gloag, "Semiotics" in *Musicology, Key Concepts* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 164–5.

<sup>15</sup> Grier, *Critical Editing*, 24.

<sup>16</sup> Beard and Gloag, "Semiotics," 164–165.

<sup>17</sup> What Brett's claim is generally true, but depends on the purpose of the edition and the period of the music.

<sup>18</sup> Grier, *Critical Editing*, 27.

The manuscripts on which this project focuses, were, most likely, used in performance.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, their connection with the composer is not direct. We shall not forget that copyists, in the act of their craft, had already made some critical decisions. As Grier points out, copyists created music under particular circumstances, and their choices reflect a specific purpose for a specific audience.<sup>20</sup> Grier brings in to the discussion the performer also. The editor should be aware that both scribe and performer may change the text without changing the work itself.<sup>21</sup>

The choices made by an editor do not mean to disrespect the original source and the wish of the composer. Editorial choices reflect each editor's unique cultural and artistic background. As Grier suggests, when editors take upon themselves the task of supplementing the indications provided by the composers, they are simply expressing in writing the freedom that composers expect them to assume in performance.<sup>22</sup>

Bent provides an appropriate conclusion to this discussion: "we can talk about right and wrong editorial decisions, knowing that these are relative, that they reflect merely a consensus of stylistic knowledge achieved through the editor's own experience and that of his predecessors and contemporaries."<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> They are in fact parts.

<sup>20</sup> Grier, *Critical Editing*, 41.

<sup>21</sup> Grier, *Critical Editing*, 44.

<sup>22</sup> Grier, *Critical Editing*, 153.

<sup>23</sup> Bent, "Fact and Value," 88.

## **Editorial Commentary for the Overture in E flat [ZT 23]**

The study of performing practice is problematic in many regards. What was expected from a musician in the eighteenth century was quite different than what we expect today. Where nowadays musicians are trained to follow the score closely, back then good performers were expected to add several unwritten elements. Eighteenth-century scores, as texts, are therefore incomplete. Pitches constitute the skeleton of a musical piece but, as Neuman reminds us, “what may be missing from the score, partially or completely, is ornamentation, dynamics, articulation, and phrasing.”<sup>24</sup> The following score is an attempt to create a consistent performing edition that cannot possibly account for all such unwritten elements. In any case, several of the editorial decisions were informed by scholarship on performance practice.

### **Rhythm**

Most of the overture ZT 23 does not present difficult rhythmic issues. However, the trio of the minuet has several instances of binary-ternary juxtapositions, where a part of the orchestra plays in three and a part in two. As previously mentioned this is coincidentally the only section of the score in which the obbligato violins are separated from the orchestra.

The trio section opens with the soloists proceeding in thirds at the higher octave, in a short antiphonal exchange with the ripieno violins (measures 44–48). In these few bars the soloists play a binary rhythm that alternates with a ternary subdivision of the ripieno violins. In this excerpt the ripieno violins seem to clash with the rhythm of the viola and basso, featuring a pattern of dotted eighth and sixteenth). The following section

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<sup>24</sup> Frederick Neuman, *Performance Practice of Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1993), 3.

(bars 49–56) makes the clash even more evident, featuring, among the violins, triplets of eight notes alternated or synchronous with groups of sixteenths. Where the beat is divided in three for the concertino, it is divided in two for the ripieno and vice versa. The dotted rhythm of the oboes adds to the rhythmic variety.

The issue of binary-ternary clashes, a common practice in the periods earlier, is in fact not new to Italian music. Neumann reminds us that “such clashes abound in Vivaldi” and others. Such clashes may or may not require the resolution of a problem that sometimes is just of a graphic nature. Eighteenth-century music notation did not have the 2:1 symbol within a binary meter (quarter and eighth note in a triplet) in place of which composers often used the 3:1 dotted note symbol (dotted eighth and sixteenth).<sup>25</sup> Such is the resolution of the clash at measures 44 and 47 of the trio of the overture ZT 23. In this case the basso and the viola should perform a triplet (as in the edited score). The binary-ternary clash here would certainly sound unintentional and therefore the rhythm must be assimilated.

Issues of assimilation existed in music history as long as notation was developing,<sup>26</sup> but this does not imply that in the Classical period assimilation may be applied to resolve every rhythmic clash. Neumann stresses that there is no evidence that suggests that the binary-ternary clashes were ever forbidden. Music literature offers several examples that show a composer’s clear intention to use the clash to cause a particular effect. The section between bars 48 and 56 of the trio of the minuetto of

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<sup>25</sup> The information in this paragraph is taken from Neumann, *Performance Practice*, 143 and 136–137

<sup>26</sup> Assimilation in the music of Schubert is discussed in F. Eibner, “The Dotted-Quaver-And-Semiquaver Figure with Triplet Accompaniment in the Works of Schubert” in *Music Review* (1962), 281–4. Eibner concludes that in Schubert there is no rule to determine when assimilation must happen. As such it is important that the performer knows the available possibilities.

overture ZT 23 is one of these instances. Here the clash in the violins produces an interesting rhythmic variety that has no reason and no possibility to be assimilated. In this case rhythms should be taken at face value, including the rhythmic figure of the oboes (measures 52–55) that, in any case, do not produce any kind of clash.

## Dynamics

In the individual instrumental parts the mediation between soft and loud dynamics is often given with words or abbreviations that recall the terms *crescendo* or *decrescendo*. In some instances the music material calls for a gradual change between loud and soft and vice versa. In these instances I added an explicit indication.<sup>27</sup> Sometimes the hairpin better fits the graphic need of a brief space,<sup>28</sup> but no hairpin appears in the original parts.

In the eighteenth century important among dynamic symbols were those that indicated emphasis on a single note or a group of notes.<sup>29</sup> In this score there are two relevant instances. First is the use of *rinforzando* as an indication to give emphasis to a particular passage.<sup>30</sup> *Rinforzando* is not to be confused with *sforzando*. According to the eighteenth century theorist Koch, *sforzando* indicates playing a note with vehemence, while *rinforzando* implies only a gentle pressure (*gelinden Druck*).<sup>31</sup> Second is the use, in the *Rondo*, of a sudden forte to indicate an accent.<sup>32</sup> The modern sign for accent (>)

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<sup>27</sup> E.g. *Allegro con Spirito* bars 19–20, or bars 133–138 or *Rondo*, bars 38–39.

<sup>28</sup> E.g. *Rondo* bar 11.

<sup>29</sup> Neumann, *Performance Practice*, 171.

<sup>30</sup> E.g. *Allegro con Spirito* bar 2 and 4.

<sup>31</sup> Neuman, *Performance Practice*, 171. As reported in Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt, 1802),

<sup>32</sup> E.g. *Rondo* measure 11.

was not known before the end of the eighteenth century. It was in fact unknown to Mozart, but it appears in the late works of Haydn.<sup>33</sup> In this overture there are instances in which what should be an accent is marked with a sudden “f” (for instance the principal theme of the Rondo at measures 11, 52, and 98).

As a general observation dynamic markings are absent from the original parts of oboes, horns, viola, and basso;<sup>34</sup> therefore indications of dynamics in these parts are all added.

### **Ornaments**

As Frederick Neumann states, “all the problems of performing practice have their roots in the deficiencies and ambiguities of notation.” Reminding us that ornaments are not exceptions, Neumann states that there are three different ways to treat ornaments in scores: writing them out in regular notes, indicating them with symbols (including the unmetrical miniature notes), and not notating them at all.<sup>35</sup>

This edition contains several instances of written out ornamentation. Neumann stresses that the ornamental nature of these pitches should not be underestimated, to avoid confusion with the pitches that constitute the actual structure of the piece. In this score this is mostly the case of written out appoggiaturas. “The ornamental nature of a single note can affect its proper rendition when, for instance an appoggiatura calls for a different kind of emphasis than would be proper for a straight note. The issue is quite evident when comparing two different instances of the first theme in the first movement

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<sup>33</sup> Neumann, *Performance Practice*, 173.

<sup>34</sup> Except for the last movement where dynamic markings appear at measure 88 of the viola part and measures 1, 4, 42, 45, and 88 of the basso.

<sup>35</sup> The information in this paragraph is taken from Neumann, *Performance Practice*, 294.

of the overture ZT 23: measures 21–22 and 25–26 with 70–71 and 74–75. The second instance suggests that the sixteenth notes of the first instance do not belong to the musical structure of the phrase and, as such, should be conceived and played as graces. Another example occurs that at bar 8 of the *Rondo*. Here the quarter note on the downbeat should be performed as an appoggiatura as the melody resolves in fact on the following eighth note. Also the examples of the violins at bars 44 and following of the first movement may possibly belong in this category. The thirty-seconds are here understood as an anapestic descending slide<sup>36</sup> on the second beat and as such should be performed in one slur with their parent note (the following one).

The use of symbols to indicate ornaments offers the possibility of different interpretations in performance. Indeed, the nature of an ornament should be that of a flexible element that varies according to the taste of the performer and cannot be consistent. Even when ornament tables are available, they are abstract models<sup>37</sup> and should not be taken as rigidly prescriptive. As a result, the interpretation of embellishment symbols may give way to disagreements among modern performers.

Two instances in this overture require a brief introduction, that of grace notes and that of trill. One-note-graces in eighteenth century music may appear or not appear as slurred to their parent note. In any case, the slurs are understood when the composer omitted to specify them.<sup>38</sup> The presence or absence of a slur does not determine the performing style. A rigid rule for their realization does not exist, as different musical contexts may suggest different approaches. Therefore the performer should decide, for

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<sup>36</sup> See Neumann, *Performance Practice*, 352.

<sup>37</sup> Neumann, *Performance Practice*, 297.

<sup>38</sup> Neumann, *Performance Practice*, 300.

instance, if they should be performed on the up beat or on the down beat. In any case, graces should not be perceived with a sense of rigidity and as formulaic stereotypes.<sup>39</sup>

In the original parts the trill sign alternates inconsistently with a scribbled mark similar to the abbreviation for a mordent. In the edited score such signs are all realized as trills. Using interchangeably the trill or the mordent-like sign dates back to Scarlatti and seems to suggest a preference for the main note type trill.<sup>40</sup> Such a trill has been long favored by the Italians and remained favored also by Mozart and Haydn. The context here suggests performing the trills of the overture ZT 23 in the Italian manner, without preparation or resolution. As a matter of fact, neither preparation nor resolution appears in the original copies.

As for the unwritten ornaments, they depended heavily on the taste and preparation of the performer.<sup>41</sup> Improvised ornaments have often offered virtuosos the opportunity to display their technical skills, and as such, were highly personal. This concept holds true for solo performance, but certainly has a lesser importance in orchestral music, especially in an era in which orchestras were refining their style and seeking more uniformity.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Neumann, *Performance Practice*, 350.

<sup>40</sup> Neumann, *Performance Practice*, 398.

<sup>41</sup> For a discussion on the freedom with which ornamentations were performed see Neal Zaslaw, "Ornamentation for Corelli Violin Sonatas Op.5" in *Early Music* 24 (1996), 95–116.

<sup>42</sup> Steps in this direction were first taken by Lully, who refined and developed ornamentations into a system of training and performance. See John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650–1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). Zaslaw also reports anecdotes from contemporary sources that show that the matter of ornaments was of no secondary importance for Lully.

## Editorial notes

### Description of the Editorial Notes

The following tables describe the places of the original parts that were changed in the edited score. When it was necessary pitches are given in capital letters, regardless of the range to which they belong (e.g. E flat). The indications that appear in the original parts are always given in quotation marks, while the signs added are in brackets. (eg. “f: ass:” = forte assai [ff] or simply [p] if an indication was added). The musical abbreviations used in the original parts are spelled out in the edition and are not reported in the tables (e.g. a quarter note with two slashes in place of a tremolo of sixteenth notes). The beaming that I chose may occasionally not reflect the beaming of the original parts, but such instances are not reported in the tables, because they do not change the musical substance of the piece.

Table 9-1. First movement, editorial notes. Description of the parts of the first movement (*Allegro con Spirito*) of the Overture ZT 23 that were changed in the edited score.

<i>Bar</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	
1	TUTTI	[f]
2	CR1 and 2 VI.2ob VI.1	Beats 2 and 3 beamed together “rinfor.” In [rinf.” “rinf” is below A flat
4	CR1 and 2 VI.1 ob.;	Beats 2 and 3 beamed together No slur between eighths on beat one. [rinf.]
	VI.1 VI.2	“rinf” is below A flat “rinf” is below the first quarter note
10	VI.1 ob.; vl.2ob.;	[f]
12	VI.1ob.; vl.2ob.	[f]
13	TUTTI	[crescendo]
4	TUTTI	[f]
16	VI.2	No slur on 16 <sup>th</sup> s

Table 9-1. Contiued.

<i>Bar</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	
19	VI.2ob.	No Slur between beats 1 and 2
19-20	TUTTI	[decresc.]
20	V.2ob.	[p] moved from down beat to the preceeding up beat
21	VI.1ob.	Appoggiatura is quarter note
22	VI.2ob.	No slur
22-26	Bs.	Low E flat is not slurred
23	VI.2	
24	VI.2ob.	No slur
25	VI.1ob.	Appoggiatura is quarter note
27	VI.1ob.	Dynamic is "f:as:" or "for: ass:" = forte assai [ff]
40	TUTTI	[p]
	VI.2ob.; vl.2	No slur
41	VI.2ob.; vl.2	No slur
42-43	Bs.	No natural sign on B
44	TUTTI	[f]
	CR1 and 2	Beats 2 and 3 beamed together
	VI.1	Beat 1 is all slurred
44; 46; 48	VI.1 ob.	The whole beat 1 is slurred
46	CR1 and 2	Beats 2 and 3 beamed together
48	CR1 and 2	Beats 2 and 3 beamed together
50-51	TUTTI	[decresc.]
52	TUTTI	[p]
53	OB1	No slur
	OB2	No slur
	VI.1ob.; vl.1	No natural sign on A
	VI.1ob.	No staccato on eights on beat 3
	VI.1	No slur
54	OB1	No slur
	OB1	No slur
	VI.1ob.; vl.1	No slur between beat 1 and 2
		No staccato on 8 <sup>ths</sup> on beat 3
55	VI.1ob.; vl.1	No slurs
		The 16 <sup>ths</sup> are beamed all together
56	VI.1ob.; vl.1	No slur between beat 1 and 2
57	OB2	No slur
	VI.1ob.; vl.1	No slur between beat 1 and 2
58	OB2	No slur
	VI.1ob.; vl..1	No slur between beat 1 and 2
60	TUTTI	[f]

Table 9-1. Continued

<i>Bar</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	
63	VI.1ob.; vl.1	No slur on sixteenth on beat 1
68-69	TUTTI	[decresc.]
68-81	VI.2ob.	8 <sup>ths</sup> beamed together in each bar
70	VI.2ob.; vl.2	No slurs
71	VI.1ob.; vl.1	Appoggiatura has no slur
	VI.2ob.; vl.2	No slurs
72	VI.1ob.; vl.1	No slur between beat 1 and 2
	VI.2ob.	No slur on beat 3
73	VI.2ob.; vl.2	No slur on beat 3
	VI.2ob.	No slurs
74	VI.2	No slur on beat 3
75	VI.1ob.	Appoggiatura is quarter note with no slur
	VI.1	Appoggiatura has no slur
78	VI.1ob.; vl.1	Appoggiatura has no slur
	VI.2	No slur on beat 3
	Bs.	First note is marked A flat
80	Vla	No staccato
81	VI.2ob.	No Slur on beat 1 and 2
	VI.1ob.	Appoggiatura on beat 3, E flat (?)
84	VI.1ob.; vl.2ob.	Dynamic is "f:as:" or "for: ass:" = forte assai [ff]
85	v.2ob.; vl.1;	[rinf.]
86	VI.1ob	Mark "rinf." Moved to bar 85
	Bs.	First note is marked A flat
87	VI.1ob.	No slur between eights on beat 1
	VI.2ob.; vl.1; vl.2	[rinf.]
88	VI.1	No slur on C, D flat, C
	Bs.	First note is marked A flat
89	VI.1ob	No slur between eights on beat 1
89	VI.2ob.	"rinf" = [rinf.] moved on the upbeat of beat 1
91	VI.1ob	No slur between eights on beat 1
	VI.2ob.	"rinf" = [rinf.] moved on the upbeat of beat 1
92	VI.1ob.	No slur between A flat and a natural
93	VI.2	"rinf" is below F
95	VI.1ob	No slur between eights on beat 1
	VI.2	"rinf" is below first quarter
97	VI.1ob	No slur between eights on beat 1
	VI.2ob.; vl.2	[rinf.]
101	VI.2ob.	"p. ass' = [pp] is on beat 1

Table 9-1. Continued

<i>Bar</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	
103	VI.1ob. VI.2ob.	[f] moved from second to the first eight of beat 1 “for” = [f]
105	VI.2ob	“p” is on beat 1
108-115	Bs	Low E flat is not slurred
109	VI.1ob.; vl.2	Dynamic is “p:as:” = piano assai [pp]
110	VI.1ob. VI.1	Appoggiatura is quarter note Appoggiatura has no slur
111	VI.1	No slur
114	VI.1ob VI.1	Appoggiatura is quarter note with no slur Appoggiatura has no slur
115	VI.1	No slur on beat 1
116	VI.2ob.	[cresc.]
117	VI.1ob.	No slur on 32 <sup>nds</sup>
118	OB1 and 2	Pitch exchanged on beats 2 and 3
119	VI.1ob.	Slur includes the whole beat 1
120	OB1 and 2	Pitch exchanged on beats 2 and 3
121-122	OB2	No slur
121	VI.1ob.	No slur on 32 <sup>ds</sup>
123-124	TUTTI	[Decresc.]
125	TUTTI VI.1ob.; vl.1	[p] No staccato on 8 <sup>ths</sup> on beat 3
126	VI.1ob.; vl.1	No staccato on 8 <sup>ths</sup> on beat 3
127	VI.1ob.; vl.1	No staccato on 8 <sup>ths</sup> on beat 3
129	VI.1	No staccato on 8 <sup>ths</sup> on beat 3
130	VI.1ob.; vl.1	No staccato on 8 <sup>ths</sup> on beat 3
131	VI.1ob.; vl.1	No staccato on 8 <sup>ths</sup> on beat 3
133-138	TUTTI	[cresc.]
139	VI.1ob.; vl.1	[ff]
143	All violins	No slurs on 16 <sup>ths</sup> of beat 2 and 3
144	All violins	No slurs on 16 <sup>ths</sup> of beat 2 and 3
146	Vla	No slur
147	VI.1ob.; vl.1	[f] moved from second to the first eight of beat 1
148	VI.1ob. Vla	[p] moved from beat 1 to previous upbeat Slur on first three 8 <sup>ths</sup>
151	VI.1ob.	No slur on 16 <sup>ths</sup> of beat one
153	VI.1ob. Vla.; vl.1	[p] moved from beat 1 to previous upbeat Slur on first three 8 <sup>ths</sup>
155	VI.1ob.	[p] moved from beat 1 to previous upbeat

Table 9-1. Continued

<i>Bar</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	
	Vla.; vl.1	Slur on first three 8 <sup>ths</sup>
156	VI.2ob.; vl.1; vl.2	No slur on 8 <sup>ths</sup>
157	VI.2 ob.	“f” on downbeat
158	VI.1ob.	No slur on 32 <sup>nds</sup> of beat 1
	Tutti	[f]
160	VI.1ob.	Appoggiatura on beat 3 is 16 <sup>th</sup> with no slur

Table 9-2. Second movement, editorial notes. Description of the parts of the second movement (*Andante sotto voce*) of the Overture ZT 23 that were changed in the edited score.

<i>Bar</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	
1	TUTTI	[mp]
2	Vla	No slur on beat 3-4
3	VI.1ob.; vl.1	Ornaments signs on A flat and C are not clear Slur is on beat 1 and 2
	VI1ob.; vl.1	No slur on beat 1
5	VI.1ob.	Slur is on beat 1 and 2
	VI.1	No slur on beat 1 No slur on grace
6	VI.1ob.; vl.1	No slur on grace
7	VI.1	No slur on grace Grace is E flat, D flat, C
8	VI.1ob.; vl.1	No slur on grace
9	VI.1	Grace is quarter note
10-11	VI.1	No bar line
11	vl.2	“for:” = [f] is below D, moved on bar 12
12	VI.1ob.	“p ass” = [f]
	vl.2ob.	“f ass” = [f]
	Vla; bs	No diminuendo sign on beats 3-4
15	VI.1ob.	Slur is on beat 1 and 2
17	VI.1ob.	Ornament sign on C is not clear
	VI.1	No ornament sign on beat 1
18	VI.1	Slur is on beats 1 and 2
19	VI.1ob.; vl.1	No slur on beat 1
21	VI.1ob.	No staccato on E flat on beat 3, slur include last 3 8 <sup>ths</sup>
22	TUTTI	“espresso” or “espress” = [espressivo]
	VI.1ob; vl.1	No slur on beat 1
	VI.1	No staccato on E flat
23	VI2ob.	Slur only on beat 1
	VI.2	Slur only on E flat and D flat

Table 9-2. Continued

<i>Bar</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	
24	VI1ob. VI.1	No slur on beat 1 and 4 No slur on beat 1
25-27	TUTTI	No crescendo
26	VI.1ob.; vl.1	No slur between C and D flat
27	VI.1	No staccato on D
28	VI.1; vl.2ob.	“for” = [f]
29	VI.1 VI.2 ob.	Slur include whole beats 1-2 No [p]
30	VI.1	No slur on beat 1
31	VI2ob. VI2ob.;vl2	“for” = [f] No slur between Cs
31-32	VI.2ob; vl2	No slur between c and B flat
32	VI.1ob.; vl1	No slur on beats 1-2
31-32	Vla	No slur between F and D flat
33	VI.2ob. Vla	“f” is under the rest No slur
33-34	Vla	No slur between F flat and D flat
34	VI.1ob. VI.1 VI.2ob. VI.2 ob. VI.2	No slur on beats 1-2 No slurs on beats 1-2 and 3-4 “f:p.” under B flat on beat 1 Slur includes beats 1-2 Slur on beat 3 does not include C
38	VI.1ob.; vl.1	No slur on beat 3 and 4
39	VI.1ob.; VI.1	Slur on beats 1 and 2 No slur on beat 1 and beats 3-4
40	VI.1 ob.; vl.1	No slur on beat 1
41	VI.1obl.; vl.1	No slur on beat 1
42-43	Vla	No slur on E flat across the bars
43-44	VI.2ob; vl2	No slur between A flat across the bars
43-44	Vla	No slur on D flat across the bars
44-45	Vla	No slur on C across the bars
44-45	VI.2ob.; vl.2	No slur on G across the bars
46	VI.2	“f” below D natural moved on bar 47
47-48	VI1 Vla.	“for.” = [f] No natural sign on D
47	Vla	C between beat 2-3 is a quarter, no rest
48	VI.1ob. Vla	No slurs on beats 3 and 4 C between beat 2-3 is a quarter, no rest
50-51	VI.1ob.	No line after “cresc.”
50	VI.1ob.; vl.1	No slurs on beat 1
51	VI1ob.; vl.1	No slur on beat 1

Table 9-2. Continued

<i>Bar</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	
52	VI1ob.; vl.1;	No slur on beat 1
52	VI.2ob; vl.2	“for:” = [f]
53	VI.1ob.	Slur on beat 1 and 2
55	VI.1ob.	No slur on 16 <sup>th</sup> s on beat 1 and 3
	VI.1	No slur in 16 <sup>th</sup> s on beat 3
	VI.2ob.; vl.2	No slur between A flats
	Vla	No slur between F and D flat
	Bs	No slur between F and D flat;
55-56	VI.2ob.;vl2	No slur between Fs
	Vla	No slur between D flat and B flat
56	Bs	No slur from D flat of measure 55
57	VI1ob.	No slur on 16 <sup>th</sup> s on beat 3
	VI.1	No slur in 16 <sup>th</sup> s on beats 1 and 3
	Vla	No slur between F and D flat
57-58	Vla	No slur between D flat and B flat
58	VI1ob.	No slur on beats 1-2 and 3-4
59	VI.1ob.	“cr:” or “cresc:” = [crescendo]
	VI.1	No [crescendo]
60	VI1; vl.2ob	“for” = [f]
63	VI.2	“f” is below B flat (moved on bar 64)
64	VI.1ob.; vl.1	No slur on beat 1
	VI.2ob	“for:” = [f]

Table 9-3. Third movement, editorial notes. Description of the parts of the third movement (*Minuetto*) of the Overture ZT 23 that were changed in the edited score.

<i>Bar</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	
2	CR.2	No rest on beat 1
4	VI.2ob.; vl.2	No slur on beat 1
	VI.1	“for assa” = [f]
5	VI.2ob.; vl.2	“for. Ass.” = [f]
7	VI.1ob.	Grace is quarter note
	VI.2 ob.	Slur includes the entire beat 3
	VI.2	Slur includes only 32 <sup>nds</sup> F-E flat
	VI.2	Slur is between E flat-D on beat 3
8	OB.2; vl.2ob.	No slur
10	VI.1ob	Slur includes C and the 2 B flats -
	VI.2ob.	Slur includes only A flat-G
11	VI.2ob.	Slur includes only A flat-G
12	VI.2	Slur includes A flat-G on beat 2
16-17	OB.2; CR1; CR2	No slur
	VI.2ob.; vl.2	No staccato on G on beat 3

Table 9-3. Continued

<i>Bar</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	
	VI.1	“for” = [f]
17	VI.1	No staccato on E flat on beat 3 No staccato on B flat on beat 2 No slur on beat 3
	VI.2	No staccato on E flat and G No slur on beat 3
18	VI.2 ob.; vl.2	No slur on beat 1
19	VI.1ob.	16 <sup>ths</sup> are included in one slur
20	VI.1ob.; vl.1	No staccato on E flat on beat 3
	VI.2ob.; vl.2	No slur between beat 1-2 on G
	VI.2	No staccato on G on beat 3
20-21	CR.2	No slur
21	VI.1ob.; vl.1	No staccato on G on beat 1 No staccato on B flat on beat 2 No slur on beat 3
22	VI.1ob.; vl.1 ; vl.2	No slur on beat 1
23	VI.1ob.	Slur on beat 1 includes F – A flat – C
	VI.1	Slur is not clear
24	OB.1; vl.1ob.;vl.1; vl.2	No slur between beats 2-3
25	VI.1ob.	No slur on A natural-B flat on beat 2
27	Vla.	First slur starts on C on beat 1
28	Vla	no slurs
30	VI.1	“rinfor.” = [rinf]
	VI.2	No slurs on G-F 16 <sup>ths</sup> on beat 2 and 3
	Vla.	No slurs on D-C 16 <sup>ths</sup> on beat 2 and 3
30-31	Vla.	No slur on B flat across bars
32	VI.2	“for _____” = [rinf.] No slurs on G-F 16 <sup>ths</sup>
33	VI1; vl.2	“for:” = [f]
34	VI1	Slur on beat 1 includes only D-C-D
36	VI.1	Slur includes only G-F
	VI.2	Slur includes only E flat-D
38	VI.1	No slur
44	VI.1 ob OB.1; Vla	No slur on 16 <sup>ths</sup> on beat 3 Key does not change, remains E flat
45-ff	VI.1ob; vl.1 Vla. ; Basso	No 3 sign on triplets Dotted 8 <sup>th</sup> and 16 <sup>ths</sup> in place of the triplet
46	VI.1ob	No slur on 16 <sup>ths</sup> on beat 3
48-ff	VI.1ob.;vl.2ob	No “3” sign on triplets

Table 9-3. Continued

<i>Bar</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	
55	VI1; vl.2	No slurs on beat 3
56	VI.1; vl.2	No slur on beat 1
58	VI.1ob	No slurs on beat 3
61; 62; 63	VI.1	No slur on 32 <sup>nds</sup>
61	VI.2	No slur on 32 <sup>nds</sup>
69	OB.1	D flat - F – G
75	OB.1	On beat 1 it is A natural

Table 9-4. Fourth movement, editorial notes. Description of the parts of the fourth movement (*Rondo*) of the Overture ZT 23 that were changed in the edited score.

<i>Bar</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	
2	VI.1ob.; vl.1	No slur
4	Vla.	No slur
6	VI.1	Slur on beat 1
	VI.2	“p” on G quarter
7	VI.1ob.	Slur on beat 1
8	OB.1; OB.2; CR.1; vl.1ob.; vl.1	No slur on beat 1
9	VI.1ob.; vl.1	No slur on beat 1
10	VI.1ob.	“p” is on beat 2
	VI.1	[p]
	VI.2	“f” is on D flat
11	TUTTI	“f” = [accent]
	VI.1	Slur on beat 2 includes A – B flat – F sharp
	TUTTI	No hairpin
11-12	VI.1ob.; vl.1	No slur across bars
12	VI.1	“for:” = [f]
	VI.2	[f]
13	VI.1ob.; vl.2 ob.; vl.1; vl.2	No embellishment on beat 1
14	TUTTI	[ff]
22	VI.2 ob.	No slur on beat 2
24	VI.2 ob.	No slur on beat 2
	VI.1	Gs are slurred
25	OB.2; CR.1; CR.2	No slur
26	VI.2 ob.	No slr on beat 1
27	OB.2; CR.1; CR.2; VI.1ob.; vl.2 ob.	No slur on beat 2
	VI.1ob.; vl.2 ob.	No slur on beat 1
28	VI.2 ob.	No staccato on E flat

Table 9-4. Continued

<i>Bar</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	
29	VI.2 ob.	No staccato on A
34	VI.1ob. VI.2 ob.; vl.2	Slur includes whole beat 1 No slur
38-39	TUTTI	[decresc.] [rall]
37; 38; 39	OB.1	Slur on beat 2
40	OB.1 VI.1	Slur on beat 1; slur on beat 2 “pia.” “mo” = pianissimo = [pp]
41	TUTTI	No fermatas
42	TUTTI	[a tempo]
43	vl.1ob.	No slur
45	VI.1 Vla.	“f” is on G on beat No slur
46	OB.1	Slur on beat 1; slur on beat 2
47	OB.1	Slur on beat 1
48	OB.1	Slur including A flat and beat 2
49	OB.1; OB.2; CR.1; vl.1ob.; vl.1	No slur on beat 1
50	VI.1ob.; vl.1	No slur on beat 1
51	VI.1 VI.1 VI.2	[p] No slur on beat 2 “p” is on C
52	TUTTI VI.1 ob. TUTTI	“f” = [accent] Slur on beat 2 includes A – B flat – F sharp No hairpin
52-53	VI.1ob.; vl.1	No slur across bars
53	VI.2	[f]
54	OB.1 VI.1ob.; vl.2 ob.; vl.1	No slur on beat 1 No trill on beat 1
55	TUTTI	“f” or “for: ass:” or “f: ass:” = forte assai = [ff]
60	VI.1ob. TUTTI	Both E flats are dotted quarter Second beat is dotted quarter with no rest
62	VI1ob.	No slur
63	OB.2; vl.2 ob.; vl.2; vla.	No slur
65	OB.2; vl.2 ob.; vl.2; vla	No slur
66	VI.1ob. VI.1	No slur Slur on beat 2 is on E flat-C

Table 9-4. Continued

<i>Bar</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	
67; 68	VI.2 ob.; vl.2	One C three quarters long
67	VI.1	Slur on beat 1; slur on beat 2
69	OB.2; vl.2 ob. ; vla; basso	No slurs
	Vla.	D in place of E
82	VI.2 ob.; vl.2	No slur on beat 2
83	VI.2 ob.; vl.2	No slur on beat 1
84	VI.2 ob.; vl.2	No slur on beat 2
85	VI.1ob.	No staccato on last 8 <sup>th</sup>
	VI.2 ob.; vl.2	No slur, no staccato
	VI.1	On beat B flat is staccato, A flat-G slurred
86	VI.2 ob.; vl.1; vl.2	“pia” “mo” = pianissimo = [pp]
87	VI.1	Slur on beat 2
	VI.2	“p” is on F
88	VI.1ob.; vl.1	“pp” on downbeat moved to bar 87
90	VI.2	No trill on F on beat 2
91	VI1ob.	“f” is below the last 8 <sup>th</sup>
	VI.2 ob.; vl.1	“fo.” or “for.” = [f] is below E flat
93	VI.1ob.; vl.1	On beat 1 trill is on D, no trill on C
	VI.1 ob.; vl.2 ob.;	[p]
	vl.2	
94	VI.1ob.; vl.2 ob.;	Slur on beat 1; slur on beat 2
	vl.2	
95	OB.1; OB.2; CR.1;	No slur on beat 1
	vl.1ob.; vl.1	
96	VI.1ob.; vl.1	No slur on beat 1
97	VI.1; vl.2	“p” is on beat 2
98	TUTTI	“f” = [accent]
	VI.1 ob.	Slur on beat 2 includes A – B flat – F sharp
	TUTTI	No hairpin
98-99	VI.1 ob.; vl.1	No slur across bars
99	VI.2	[f]
100	VI.1ob.; vl.2 ob.;	No trill on beat 1; no trill on beat 2
	vl.1; vl.1	
	VI.2 ob.; vl.2	Dotted quarter G on beat 1
103	VI.2 ob.; vl.2	“f” is on beat 1
107	VI.1	“for.” = [f]
	VI.2	“f” is between Ds on beat 1
109	VI.1 ob.	“pia” = [p]
	VI.1	“p” is on the first D
110	VI.1 ob; vl.1	“cr.” OR “cresc.” = [cresc.]

Tabla 9-4. Continued

<i>Bar</i>	<i>Instrument</i>	
112	VI.2	“for” = [f]

APPENDIX A  
AN EDITION OF PUGNANI'S OVERTURE ZT 23

Like several scholars I also believe that one of the responsibilities of musicology, as a branch of music study, should be that of helping and improving the performance aspects of our profession. I am an advocate for such synergy, especially for the forgotten or lesser known repertoire. The fact that a performing edition of ZT 23 is part of this dissertation supports that belief and aims at encouraging further contributions in this direction. The concern with *Urtext* editions as well as the flowering of literature on performing practice issued in the last thirty years, shows that the concern of bringing together research and performance is by no means a new one.<sup>43</sup> Moving away from specific concerns with the so called “authentic performance,” scholars have lately devoted time to preserve the musical text, making it legible to the modern performer. In the last few years A-R Editions has brought this philosophy consistently to the fore, publishing different series of critical editions in which lesser known and forgotten repertoire is framed properly by information on the cultural and historical context.

The score in this appendix was prepared from the manuscript copies of parts housed in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (Chapter 6).

The engraving was realized with free software (Lilypond) that is available on the web. Lilypond is an ongoing project of an international community of music lovers and is acknowledged left in the footer at the end of every movement of the score.

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<sup>43</sup> Paul Henry Lang is one of the leading scholars concerned with both scholarship and performance. For a selection of his essays see Paul Henry Lang, *Musicology and Performance*, Alfred Mann and George J. Buelow editors (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1997).

# Overture in E $\flat$ [ZT 23]

## I. Allegro con Spirito

Gaetano Pugnani (1731-1798)

ed. C. Re

Allegro con Spirito

The image displays two systems of a musical score for the Overture in E-flat, I. Allegro con Spirito. The first system includes parts for Oboi, Corni in Mi bemolle, VI Primo Obbligato, VI Secondo Obbligato, Violino Primo, Violino Secondo, Viola, and Basso. The second system includes parts for Oboi, Corni, Vn. 1 Obg., Vn. 2 Obg., Vn. I, Vn. II, Va, and Bs. The score is written in E-flat major and 3/4 time. Dynamics include *f*, *p*, *rinf.*, and *sfz*. The tempo is marked 'Allegro con Spirito'.

Oboi  
Corni in Mi bemolle  
VI Primo Obbligato  
VI Secondo Obbligato  
Violino Primo  
Violino Secondo  
Viola  
Basso

Oboi  
Cr.  
Vn. 1 Obg.  
Vn. 2 Obg.  
Vn. I  
Vn. II  
Va  
Bs.

Musical score for measures 14-19. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 (Vn. 1), Violin 2 (Vn. 2), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The key signature is three flats (B-flat major or D-flat minor). The time signature is 4/4. The music begins with a forte (*f*) dynamic. The Oboe part features a melodic line with some rests. The Cor Anglais part has a sustained chord. The Violin and Viola parts play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Bass part plays a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The score concludes with a decrescendo (*decresc.*) and a fermata over the final measure.

Musical score for measures 20-25. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 (Vn. 1), Violin 2 (Vn. 2), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The key signature is three flats. The time signature is 4/4. The music begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The Oboe part has a melodic line. The Cor Anglais part has a sustained chord. The Violin and Viola parts play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Bass part plays a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The score concludes with a fortissimo (*ff*) dynamic.

Musical score for measures 28-33. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 (Vn. I), Violin 2 (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The key signature is three flats (B-flat major or D-flat minor). The time signature is 4/4. The dynamic marking *ff* (fortissimo) is present in the Oboe, Cor Anglais, and Bass parts. The Oboe part features a melodic line with some rests, while the Cor Anglais part has a rhythmic accompaniment. The Violin and Viola parts have dense, rhythmic patterns, and the Bass part provides a steady accompaniment.

Musical score for measures 34-39. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 (Vn. I), Violin 2 (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The key signature is three flats. The time signature is 4/4. The dynamic marking *sciolte* (ad libitum) is present in the Violin 1 and Violin 2 parts. The Oboe part has a melodic line with some rests, and the Cor Anglais part has a rhythmic accompaniment. The Violin and Viola parts have dense, rhythmic patterns, and the Bass part provides a steady accompaniment.

Musical score for measures 40-46. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 (Vn. I), Violin 2 (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The key signature is three flats (B-flat major or D-flat minor). The music starts at measure 40 with a dynamic marking of *p*. At measure 43, the dynamic changes to *f*. The Oboe part features a melodic line with a fermata at the end of measure 46. The Cor Anglais part has a rhythmic accompaniment. The Violin and Viola parts have melodic lines, while the Bass part has a steady rhythmic accompaniment.

Musical score for measures 47-53. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 (Vn. I), Violin 2 (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The key signature is three flats. The music starts at measure 47 with a dynamic marking of *p*. At measure 50, the dynamic changes to *f*. At measure 53, the dynamic returns to *p*. The Oboe part features a melodic line with a fermata at the end of measure 53. The Cor Anglais part has a rhythmic accompaniment. The Violin and Viola parts have melodic lines, while the Bass part has a steady rhythmic accompaniment. The word "decresc." is written above the notes in measures 50-53, indicating a decrescendo.

53

Ob.  
Cr.  
Vn. I Obg.  
Vn. II Obg.  
Vn. I  
Vn. II  
Va.  
Bs.

60

Ob.  
Cr.  
Vn. I Obg.  
Vn. II Obg.  
Vn. I  
Vn. II  
Va.  
Bs.

Musical score for measures 65-70. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 Oboe (Vn. 1 Obg.), Violin 2 Oboe (Vn. 2 Obg.), Violin I (Vn. I), Violin II (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The key signature is three flats (B-flat major or D-flat minor). The time signature is 4/4. The Oboe part begins with a melodic line starting on measure 65. The Cor Anglais part plays a sustained low note. The Violin 1 Oboe part has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Violin 2 Oboe part has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Violin I part has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Violin II part has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Viola part has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Bass part has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The score includes dynamic markings: *decresc.* and *p*.

Musical score for measures 71-76. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 Oboe (Vn. 1 Obg.), Violin 2 Oboe (Vn. 2 Obg.), Violin I (Vn. I), Violin II (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The key signature is three flats (B-flat major or D-flat minor). The time signature is 4/4. The Oboe part is silent. The Cor Anglais part plays a sustained low note. The Violin 1 Oboe part has a melodic line. The Violin 2 Oboe part has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Violin I part has a melodic line. The Violin II part has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Viola part has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Bass part has a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes.

Musical score for measures 78-85. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 (Vn. I), Violin 2 (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The key signature is three flats (B-flat major or D-flat minor). The time signature is 4/4. The score shows a transition from a quiet section to a fortissimo (ff) section starting at measure 83. Dynamics include *f*, *ff*, and *rinf.* (rinfornito).

Musical score for measures 86-93. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 (Vn. I), Violin 2 (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The key signature is three flats. The time signature is 4/4. The score continues with the fortissimo section, featuring a prominent melodic line in the strings and woodwinds. Dynamics include *rinf.* (rinfornito).

Musical score for measures 94-100. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 (Vn. I), Violin 2 (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The key signature is three flats (B-flat major or D-flat minor). The time signature is 4/4. The score features various dynamics including *rinf.* (ritardando) and *p.* (piano). The Oboe part has a melodic line with some grace notes. The strings provide a rhythmic accompaniment with some syncopation.

Musical score for measures 101-107. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 (Vn. I), Violin 2 (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The key signature is three flats. The time signature is 4/4. The score features dynamics such as *p.* (piano), *f.* (forte), and *sp.* (sforzando). The Oboe part has a melodic line with some grace notes. The strings provide a rhythmic accompaniment with some syncopation.

Musical score for measures 108-116. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 (Vn. I), Violin 2 (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bassoon (Bs.). The key signature is B-flat major. The score begins with a *p* dynamic for the Cor Anglais and *pp* for the strings. The Oboe part features a melodic line with a *p* dynamic. The Cor Anglais part has a rhythmic accompaniment with a *p* dynamic. The Violin 1 and 2 parts have a *pp* dynamic. The Viola and Bassoon parts have a *p* dynamic. The score concludes with a *cresc.* marking for the Cor Anglais, Viola, and Bassoon.

Musical score for measures 117-124. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 (Vn. I), Violin 2 (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bassoon (Bs.). The key signature is B-flat major. The score begins with a *f* dynamic for all instruments. The Oboe part features a melodic line with a *f* dynamic. The Cor Anglais part has a rhythmic accompaniment with a *f* dynamic. The Violin 1 and 2 parts have a *f* dynamic. The Viola and Bassoon parts have a *f* dynamic. The score concludes with a *f* dynamic for all instruments.

Musical score for measures 122-128. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 (Vn. 1), Violin 2 (Vn. 2), Violin I (Vn. I), Violin II (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The key signature is B-flat major. The score features a decrescendo from a mezzo-forte level to a piano level. The Oboe and Cor parts have melodic lines with slurs and accents. The string parts provide harmonic support with rhythmic patterns.

Musical score for measures 129-135. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 (Vn. 1), Violin 2 (Vn. 2), Violin I (Vn. I), Violin II (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The key signature is B-flat major. The score features a crescendo from a piano level to a mezzo-forte level. The Oboe and Cor parts have melodic lines with slurs and accents. The string parts provide harmonic support with rhythmic patterns.

Musical score for measures 137-142. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 (Vn. 1), Violin 2 (Vn. 2), Violin I (Vn. I), Violin II (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The key signature is three flats (B-flat major or D-flat minor). The time signature is 4/4. The score features dynamic markings such as *sfz*, *ff*, and *f*. The Oboe part has a melodic line with accents. The Cor Anglais part has a sustained note with a *sfz* marking. The Violin parts have a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes, with *ff* markings. The Viola and Bass parts have a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes, with *f* markings.

Musical score for measures 143-148. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 (Vn. 1), Violin 2 (Vn. 2), Violin I (Vn. I), Violin II (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The key signature is three flats (B-flat major or D-flat minor). The time signature is 4/4. The score features dynamic markings such as *p*, *f*, and *sfz*. The Oboe part has a melodic line with accents and dynamic markings. The Cor Anglais part has a sustained note with a *p* marking. The Violin parts have a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes, with *p* and *f* markings. The Viola and Bass parts have a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes, with *p* and *f* markings.

Musical score for measures 150-158. The score is written for a full orchestra and includes the following parts:

- Ob.** (Oboe): Measures 150-158. Dynamics range from *p* to *f*.
- Cr.** (Cor Anglais): Measures 150-158. Dynamics range from *f* to *p*.
- Vn. 1 Obg.** (Violin 1): Measures 150-158. Dynamics range from *f* to *p*.
- Vn. 2 Obg.** (Violin 2): Measures 150-158. Dynamics range from *f* to *p*.
- Vn. I** (Violin I): Measures 150-158. Dynamics range from *f* to *p*.
- Vn. II** (Violin II): Measures 150-158. Dynamics range from *f* to *p*.
- Va.** (Viola): Measures 150-158. Dynamics range from *f* to *p*.
- Bs.** (Bass): Measures 150-158. Dynamics range from *f* to *p*.

The score is in 4/4 time and features a key signature of two flats (B-flat major or D-flat minor). The dynamics are marked with *f* (forte) and *p* (piano). The score concludes with a double bar line at measure 158.

II. Andante Sotto Voce  
(Oboi e Corni TACET)

Andante sotto voce

VI. Primo Obbligato

VI Secondo Obbligato

Violino Primo

Violino Secondo

Viola

Basso

Vn. 1 Obg.

Vn. 2 Obg.

Vn. I

Vn. II

Va

Bs.

Vn. 1 Obg.

Vn. 2 Obg.

Vn. I

Vn. II

Va

Bs.

17

Vn. 1 Obg. *espresso*

Vn. 2 Obg. *espres.*

Vn. I *espresso*

Vn. II *espres.*

Va

Bs.

23

Vn. 1 Obg. *for*

Vn. 2 Obg. *f* *p*

Vn. I *for*

Vn. II *f* *p*

Va

Bs.

29

Vn. 1 Obg. *f* *p* *f* *f*

Vn. 2 Obg. *f* *p* *f* *p* *f*

Vn. I *f* *f* *p* *f* *f*

Vn. II *f* *p* *f* *p* *f*

Va

Bs.

35

Vn. 1 Obg. *f* *p*

Vn. 2 Obg. *p* *mf*

Vn. I *f* *p*

Vn. II *p* *mf*

Va

Bs.

41

Vn. 1 Obg.

Vn. 2 Obg. *f*

Vn. I

Vn. II *f*

Va

Bs.

47

Vn. 1 Obg. *f* *p* *cresc.*

Vn. 2 Obg. *p* *f* *cresc.* *for.*

Vn. I *f* *p* *cresc.*

Vn. II *p* *f* *cresc.* *for.*

Va

Bs.

59

Vn. 1 Obg.  
Vn. 2 Obg.  
Vn. I  
Vn. II  
Va  
Bs.

*p*  
*f*  
*p*  
*f*

Detailed description: This system of musical notation covers measures 59 through 64. It features six staves: Vn. 1 Oboe, Vn. 2 Oboe, Vn. I, Vn. II, Viola, and Bass. The key signature is three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat) and the time signature is 4/4. The Vn. 1 Oboe part has a melodic line with dynamics *p* and *f*. The Vn. 2 Oboe part has a similar melodic line with dynamics *p* and *f*. The Vn. I and Vn. II parts have a similar melodic line with dynamics *p* and *f*. The Viola part has a simple harmonic accompaniment. The Bass part has a simple harmonic accompaniment.

59

Vn. 1 Obg.  
Vn. 2 Obg.  
Vn. I  
Vn. II  
Va  
Bs.

*f*  
*p*  
*f*  
*f*

Detailed description: This system of musical notation covers measures 65 through 70. It features six staves: Vn. 1 Oboe, Vn. 2 Oboe, Vn. I, Vn. II, Viola, and Bass. The key signature is three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat) and the time signature is 4/4. The Vn. 1 Oboe part has a melodic line with dynamics *f* and *p*. The Vn. 2 Oboe part has a similar melodic line with dynamics *p* and *f*. The Vn. I and Vn. II parts have a similar melodic line with dynamics *f* and *f*. The Viola part has a simple harmonic accompaniment. The Bass part has a simple harmonic accompaniment.

III. Minuetto

Oboi  
Corni in Mi bemolle  
Vl. Primo Obbligato  
Vl. Secondo Obbligato  
Violino Primo  
Violino Secondo  
Viola  
Basso

*p* *f* *p* *f* *p* *f* *p* *f* *p* *f*

This musical score is for the first system of the Minuetto. It features five staves: Oboe, Horns in E-flat, Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Bass. The Oboe and Horns parts are marked with *p* and *f* dynamics. The Violin I and II parts are marked with *p* and *f* dynamics. The Viola and Bass parts are marked with *p* and *f* dynamics.

Ob.  
Cr.  
Vn. 1 Obg.  
Vn. 2 Obg.  
Vn. I  
Vn. II  
Va.  
Bs.

*p* *p* *p* *p* *p* *p* *p*

This musical score is for the second system of the Minuetto. It features seven staves: Oboe, Horns, Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Bass. The Oboe and Horns parts are marked with *p* dynamics. The Violin I and II parts are marked with *p* dynamics. The Viola and Bass parts are marked with *p* dynamics.

Musical score for measures 13-18. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 (Vn. I), Violin 2 (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The key signature is three flats (B-flat major or D-flat minor). The time signature is 4/4. The score features dynamic markings of *p* and *f*. The Oboe part has a *p* marking at measure 14 and an *f* marking at measure 15. The Cor Anglais part has an *f* marking at measure 15. The Violin and Viola parts have *f* markings at measure 15. The Bass part has an *f* marking at measure 15. The score ends with a double bar line at measure 18.

Musical score for measures 19-24. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 (Vn. I), Violin 2 (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The key signature is three flats (B-flat major or D-flat minor). The time signature is 4/4. The score features dynamic markings of *fp*. The Oboe part has an *fp* marking at measure 20. The Cor Anglais part has an *fp* marking at measure 20. The Violin and Viola parts have *fp* markings at measure 20. The Bass part has an *fp* marking at measure 20. The score ends with a double bar line at measure 24.

25

Ob.  
Cr.  
Vn. 1 Oboe  
Vn. 2 Oboe  
Vn. I  
Vn. II  
Va.  
Bs.

30

Ob.  
Cr.  
Vn. 1 Oboe  
Vn. 2 Oboe  
Vn. I  
Vn. II  
Va.  
Bs.

rinf. rinf. p  
rinf. rinf. p  
rinf. rinf. p  
rinf. rinf. p

Musical score for measures 36-42. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 Oboe (Vn. 1 Obg.), Violin 2 Oboe (Vn. 2 Obg.), Violin I (Vn. I), Violin II (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The key signature is B-flat major. Measure 36 is marked with a *p* dynamic. The Oboe part has a complex rhythmic pattern in the final measure. The strings play a steady accompaniment.

Musical score for measures 43-49. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 Oboe (Vn. 1 Obg.), Violin 2 Oboe (Vn. 2 Obg.), Violin I (Vn. I), Violin II (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The key signature is B-flat major. Measure 43 is marked with a *mp* dynamic. A *Sva* (Sforzando) marking is present in measures 44 and 45. The Oboe part has a complex rhythmic pattern in the final measure. The strings play a steady accompaniment.

48

Ob.  
Cr.  
Vn. 1 Obg.  
Vn. 2 Obg.  
Vn. I  
Vn. II  
Va.  
Bs.

53

Ob.  
Cr.  
Vn. 1 Obg.  
Vn. 2 Obg.  
Vn. I  
Vn. II  
Va.  
Bs.

Musical score for measures 58-62. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 (Vn. I), Violin 2 (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The Oboe and Cor parts feature melodic lines with slurs and accents. The Violin parts have a rhythmic pattern with slurs. The Viola and Bass parts provide a steady accompaniment. The key signature has two flats, and the time signature is 4/4.

Musical score for measures 63-67. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 (Vn. I), Violin 2 (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The Oboe part has a melodic line with a slur. The Cor part has a melodic line with a slur. The Violin parts have a rhythmic pattern with slurs. The Viola and Bass parts provide a steady accompaniment. The key signature has two flats, and the time signature is 4/4.

68

Ob.

Cr.

Vn. 1 Obg. *8va*

Vn. 2 Obg. *8va*

Vn. I

Vn. II

Va.

Bs.

72

Ob.

Cr.

Vn. 1 Obg.

Vn. 2 Obg.

Vn. I

Vn. II

Va.

Bs.

Detailed description: This page contains two systems of musical notation for measures 68-72. The first system (measures 68-71) features woodwinds (Ob., Cr.), strings (Vn. I, Vn. II, Va., Bs.), and two oboes playing in the octave (Vn. 1 Obg., Vn. 2 Obg.). The second system (measures 72-75) continues the orchestration. The woodwinds and strings play rhythmic patterns, while the oboes play sustained notes. The score is in a key with two flats and a common time signature.



15

Ob.  
Cr.  
Vn. 1 Obg.  
Vn. 2 Obg.  
Vn. I  
Vn. II  
Va.  
Bs.

*p*

Detailed description: This musical score block covers measures 15 through 21. It features eight staves: Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 Oboe (Vn. 1 Obg.), Violin 2 Oboe (Vn. 2 Obg.), Violin I (Vn. I), Violin II (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bassoon (Bs.). The key signature is three flats (B-flat major or D-flat minor). The Oboe and Cor Anglais parts have melodic lines with some rests. The Violin I and II parts play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Viola and Bassoon parts provide harmonic support with sustained notes and rhythmic patterns. A dynamic marking of *p* (piano) is present at the end of measures 19, 20, and 21.

22

Ob.  
Cr.  
Vn. 1 Obg.  
Vn. 2 Obg.  
Vn. I  
Vn. II  
Va.  
Bs.

Detailed description: This musical score block covers measures 22 through 28. It features the same eight staves as the previous block. The Oboe and Cor Anglais parts continue their melodic lines. The Violin I and II parts play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The Viola and Bassoon parts provide harmonic support. The dynamic marking *p* is not explicitly shown in this block but is implied from the previous block.

39

Ob.  
Cr.  
Vn. 1 Obg.  
Vn. 2 Obg.  
Vn. I  
Vn. II  
Va.  
Bs.

38

Ob.  
Cr.  
Vn. 1 Obg.  
Vn. 2 Obg.  
Vn. I  
Vn. II  
Va.  
Bs.

decresc. - - - - -  
rall. - - - - -  
pp  
p  
a tempo  
f

Musical score for measures 46-53. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 (Vn. I), Violin 2 (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The key signature is two flats (B-flat major or D-flat minor). The music features a dynamic range from *p* to *f*, with a *cresc.* marking. Trills (*tr*) are present in the strings and woodwinds. The bass line consists of a steady eighth-note accompaniment.

Musical score for measures 54-61. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 (Vn. I), Violin 2 (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The key signature is two flats. The music features a dynamic range from *f* to *ff*, with a *cresc.* marking. Trills (*tr*) are present in the strings and woodwinds. The bass line consists of a steady eighth-note accompaniment.

Musical score for measures 60-65. The score is for a woodwind and string ensemble. The instruments are Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 Oboe (Vn. 1 Obg.), Violin 2 Oboe (Vn. 2 Obg.), Violin I (Vn. I), Violin II (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The key signature is two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The music is marked *p* (piano). The Oboe part features a melodic line with some grace notes and a trill in measure 64. The Cor Anglais part has a similar melodic line. The string parts provide a rhythmic accompaniment with eighth and sixteenth notes.

Musical score for measures 66-71. The score is for a woodwind and string ensemble. The instruments are Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 Oboe (Vn. 1 Obg.), Violin 2 Oboe (Vn. 2 Obg.), Violin I (Vn. I), Violin II (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The key signature is two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The music is marked *f* (forte). The Oboe part features a melodic line with trills and a dynamic change to *f* in measure 67. The Cor Anglais part has a similar melodic line. The string parts provide a rhythmic accompaniment with eighth and sixteenth notes.

Musical score for measures 76-83. The score is for a woodwind and string ensemble. The instruments are Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 Oboe (Vn. 1 Obg.), Violin 2 Oboe (Vn. 2 Obg.), Violin I (Vn. I), Violin II (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bassoon (Bs.). The key signature is three flats (B-flat major or D-flat minor) and the time signature is 4/4. The music features a variety of dynamics, including *p* (piano) and *pp* (pianissimo). The Oboe part has a melodic line with some grace notes. The strings provide a rhythmic accompaniment.

Musical score for measures 84-91. The score is for a woodwind and string ensemble. The instruments are Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 Oboe (Vn. 1 Obg.), Violin 2 Oboe (Vn. 2 Obg.), Violin I (Vn. I), Violin II (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bassoon (Bs.). The key signature is three flats (B-flat major or D-flat minor) and the time signature is 4/4. The music features a variety of dynamics, including *pp* (pianissimo), *p* (piano), and *f* (forte). The Oboe part has a melodic line with some grace notes. The strings provide a rhythmic accompaniment. There are trills (*tr*) in the Violin I and II parts.

Musical score for measures 92-100. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 Oboe (Vn. 1 Obg.), Violin 2 Oboe (Vn. 2 Obg.), Violin I (Vn. I), Violin II (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The music is in a minor key and features dynamic markings such as *p*, *cresc.*, *f*, and *tr* (trills). The Oboe and Cor parts have melodic lines with trills and dynamic changes. The string parts provide a rhythmic and harmonic foundation with various articulations and dynamics.

Musical score for measures 100-108. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 Oboe (Vn. 1 Obg.), Violin 2 Oboe (Vn. 2 Obg.), Violin I (Vn. I), Violin II (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The music continues with dynamic markings such as *f*, *p*, and *tr*. The Oboe and Cor parts feature more complex rhythmic patterns and trills. The string parts maintain their rhythmic and harmonic support with various articulations and dynamics.

Musical score for measures 107-112. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 (Vn. I), Violin 2 (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The music is in a key with two flats and a 4/4 time signature. Measure 107 starts with a forte (*f*) dynamic. The woodwinds and strings play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. In measure 108, the dynamics shift to piano (*p*). From measure 109 onwards, a crescendo (*cresc.*) is indicated, leading to a fortissimo (*ff*) dynamic by measure 112. The Oboe part has a breath mark in measure 110 and a dynamic marking of *p* in measure 111. The Cor Anglais part has a dynamic marking of *p* in measure 111. The Violin 1 and 2 parts have dynamic markings of *f* in measure 111. The Viola part has a dynamic marking of *f* in measure 111. The Bass part has a dynamic marking of *f* in measure 111.

Musical score for measures 113-118. The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Cor Anglais (Cr.), Violin 1 (Vn. I), Violin 2 (Vn. II), Viola (Va.), and Bass (Bs.). The music is in a key with two flats and a 4/4 time signature. Measure 113 starts with a forte (*f*) dynamic. The woodwinds and strings play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. In measure 114, the dynamics shift to piano (*p*). From measure 115 onwards, a crescendo (*cresc.*) is indicated, leading to a fortissimo (*ff*) dynamic by measure 118. The Oboe part has a breath mark in measure 116 and a dynamic marking of *p* in measure 117. The Cor Anglais part has a dynamic marking of *p* in measure 117. The Violin 1 and 2 parts have dynamic markings of *f* in measure 117. The Viola part has a dynamic marking of *f* in measure 117. The Bass part has a dynamic marking of *f* in measure 117.

117

Ob.

Cr.

Vn. 1 Obg.

Vn. 2 Obg.

Vn. I

Vn. II

Va.

Bs.

The musical score consists of eight staves. The Oboe (Ob.) and Cor Anglais (Cr.) parts feature melodic lines with eighth-note patterns and rests. The string parts (Vn. 1 Obg., Vn. 2 Obg., Vn. I, Vn. II, Va., and Bs.) provide a rhythmic accompaniment with eighth-note patterns. The score is in a key with two flats and a 4/4 time signature. The piece concludes with a double bar line at the end of measure 122.

APPENDIX B  
CONCERT PROGRAMS OF PUGNANI'S APPEARANCE AT THE 1754 CONCERT  
SPIRITUEL

The concert programs are reported in Constant Pierre, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel 1725–1790*, (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1975). I reproduce here the exact text with the abbreviations.<sup>1</sup> The subheadings refer to the concert numbers.

Concert Program 505

2 févr. (M. mars, p. 192) Symph., Guillemain. – *Salvum me fac Deus*, nouv. mgch., Giraud. – *Usquaequo*, Mouret ch. M<sup>lle</sup> Davaux. – Conc. Flûte, comp. et ex. Schmitz. – 2 airs ital. ch. Albanèse. – Conc von comp et ex. Pugnani. – *Nisi Dominus*, Mondoville.

Concert Program 506

25 mars (A. du 25, p. 190; M. mai, p. 182.) Symph. ital (A.), nouv. à cors de ch. (M.)<sup>2</sup> – *Diligam te* [Gilles] (récit *Beata gens* de Lalande ch. M<sup>lle</sup> Devaux). – *Exaudi Deus*, pm. Nouv., Fanton ch. M<sup>me</sup> Cohendet (débuts.) – Conc. von comp. et ex. Pugnani. – *Bonum est*, Mondoville . – M<sup>les</sup> *Fel et Duprey, Benoit, Poirier et Malines* ch. *Dans les mgch.* (A. n'indique que la symph. et les noms des récitants)

Concert Program 521

<sup>1</sup> Sources include announcements of programs given in advance (e.g. A.) and review *a posteriori* (M.). The abbreviations used for the concert programs are explained in the following table:

Abbreviations	
A.	Announces, affiches et avis divers (Affiches de Paris)
M.	Mercure [monthly magazine]
Asc.	Ascension
Symph.	Symphonie
nouv.	Nouveau, nouvelle
Mgch	Motet à grand chœur
ch.	Chante, chanté par
conc.	Concerto
comp.	Composé par, composition
cor de ch.	Cor de chasse
ex.	Exécuté, exécute par
ital.	Italien
pm.	Petit motet
timb.	Timbales

<sup>2</sup> A piece different than the one advertised was actually performed.

23 mai (Asc.) (A. du 23, p. 318; M. juin, II, p. 178) Symph. à cor de ch. del signor \*\*\*. - *Omnes gentes*, nouv. mgch. à timb., tromps et cors de ch., Cordelet. – Air ital. ch. Albanèse. - Conc. Von comp et ex. Pugnani. – *Exaudi nos Deus*, pm. ch. Gélín. – *Exaltabo te [Deus]*, Lalande (récit *miserator* ch. M<sup>me</sup> Cohendet.) – M<sup>lle</sup> Fel, Benoit, Poirier et Malines ch. Dans les mgch.

APPENDIX C  
PUGNANI'S STIPEND INCREASE

Annual stipends were given every three months (*quartieri*). Rosy Moffa in *Storia della Cappella Regia di Torino dal 1775 al 1780* transcribes several documents in appendix of that volume.

Table C-1. Pugnani's stipend increase

Date	Annual Stipend
April 1748	200
December 1750	400
End of 1770	1200
End of 1775*	1500
August 1786	+600**
Sometime before 1789	1800
March 1789***	2200

\* In 1775 other players of the *Cappella* received an increase. See Moffa, *Cappella*, 53 and 225. Increase started from January 1776,

\*\* This stipend was corresponded for Gaetano duties as supervisor of the Military music in addition to the stipend he received as the first violin of the *Cappella*.

\*\*\* In 1789 other players of the *Cappella* received an increase. See Moffa, *Cappella*, 234. Increased start from April 1789.

## APPENDIX D WHO WAS SIGNOR CIAMPI?

Stanislao Cordero di Pamparato identifies Signor Ciampi with Vincenzo Legrenzio Ciampi, who studied in Naples with Leonardo Leo and Francesco Durante.<sup>1</sup> Such identification is not supported by evidence and may very well be an assumption. The letter dated 14 June 1749 that Balbis sent to Turin mentioned the choice of Signor Ciampi as Pugnani's instructor. The letter pointed out that Ciampi was of the school of Durante<sup>2</sup> (with whom Ciampi actually studied in Naples).<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, Giay offered an opinion about Ciampi in a letter that the marquis del Carretto di Gorzegno wrote to Count Balbis of Riviera on 30 June 1749. The letter reads: "The virtues and the merit of Signor Ciampi are known to our *Maestro di Cappella* signor Giay, who very greatly esteems him."<sup>4</sup> Later scholars, following Cordero di Pamparato, took for granted that Pugnani studied in Rome with Vincenzo Legrenzio Ciampi.<sup>5</sup> Only more recent scholarship realized that signor Ciampi was mistakenly identified as Vincenzo Legrenzio Ciampi.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 16. As reported in Archivio di Stato di Torino, Lettere Ministri: Roma, the count Balbis of Rivera to the marquis of Gonzegno, 14 giugno 1749. "Che non la cede al celebre Durante, che passa in Napoli per gran maestro in questa scienza e che è medesimamente della stessa scuola del Ciampi."

<sup>3</sup> Dennis Libby reports that Vincenzo Legrenzio Ciampi studied in Naples with Leo and Durante. See Dennis Libby, "Ciampi, Vincenzo Legrenzio," in *GMO*. With all probability the two were the well known Neapolitan opera composers Francesco Durante (1684 – 1755) and Leonardo Leo (1694 – 1744).

<sup>4</sup> Cordero, *Pugnani*, 19. As reported in Archivio di Stato di Torino, Lettere Ministri: Roma, The marquis of Carretto di Gonzegno to the count Balbis of Rivera. 30 giugno 1749. "La virtù e il merito del signor Ciampi essendo ben noti a questo Maestro di Cappella signor Giay, che molto lo stima."

<sup>5</sup> See Boris Schwarz, "Pugnani, Giulio Gaetano Gerolamo," *MGG1*, 10: 1744.

<sup>6</sup> See Boris Schwarz and Marita McClymonds, "Pugnani, Gaetano," *GMO*. See also: Annarita, Colturato, "Pugnani, Gaetano Giulio Gerolamo," *MGG2*, 13: 1036.

By autumn 1748, Vincenzo Legrenzio Ciampi made it to London where he led the company of Italian opera singers led by Giovanni Francesco Crosa. Here the company gave the first season of comic operas at the King's Theatre.<sup>7</sup> The scanty documentation makes it impossible to establish for certain whether or not Vincenzo Ciampi was with the company during his residence in London (between 1748 and 1750), in any case, during that period, he had works represented there and elsewhere far away from Rome.<sup>8</sup> We must assume that he was based in London for these two years, and that therefore he could not maintain a student in Rome. A chronology is given in Appendix C.

Another Ciampi who was presumably in Rome during Pugnani's sojourn was Francesco Ciampi, who had an appointment in the city in 1735. Francesco Degrada reports that in 1744 Francesco Ciampi was *maestro di cappella* at the *Chiesa dell' Angelo Custode* in Rome and that he may be the Ciampi that at the end of 1749 was appointed instructor of the *Cantori Pontifici Soprannumerari*.<sup>9</sup> He composed several opere serie but Degrada reports that nothing is left of his instrumental production, concluding that his compositional activities were probably secondary to those of violin virtuoso.<sup>10</sup> If Ciampi's link with Naples as suggested by Balbis holds true for Vincenzo, it does not hold true for Francesco. The latter was in fact born in Pisa and before moving

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<sup>7</sup> Libby e Willaert, "Ciampi," *GMO*.

<sup>8</sup> Richard King and Saskia Willaert, "Giovanni Francesco Crosa and the First Italian Comic Operas in London, Brussels and Amsterdam, 1748–50," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 188 (1993): 246.

<sup>9</sup> F. Degrada, "Francesco Ciampi," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Alberto M. Ghisalberti ed. (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1960–), vol. 25: 126. The first name of Degrada is not given, but with all probability is Francesco, information I infer from the fact that the Italian scholar Francesco Degrada (1940–2005) worked on Ciampi's contemporary Giovanni Battista Pergolesi.

<sup>10</sup> Degrada, "Ciampi," 126.

to Rome served in Massa. The case of homonymy between Francesco and Vincenzo Legrenzio has been a serious issue for scholarship. According to Degrada this makes it difficult to compile a catalogue of the *oeuvre* of Francesco Ciampi.<sup>11</sup> As suggested by the correspondence discussed here, such confusion was also a fact when the two Ciampis were still alive.

It seems that in the correspondence under investigation Balbis tried to identify Vincenzo Ciampi as Pugnani's designated instructor. But the aforementioned facts suggest that this could hardly be the case. Therefore, since in the correspondence between Rome and Turin the teacher is always mentioned only as Signor Ciampi, the question of his actual identity remains open.

The chronology of Vincenzo Ciampi's travels during the 1748 and 1750 are linked to those of the Crosa company that he joins in this period. In the following table the chronology that shows that during these years Vincenzo Ciampi could not be Pugnani's teacher in Rome.

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<sup>11</sup> Degrada, "Ciampi," 126.

APPENDIX E  
PUGNANI'S LIFE: A BRIEF CHRONOLOGY

Table E-1. Brief chronology of Pugnani's life

<i>Date</i>	<i>Facts</i>
1731 November 27	Gaetano Born in Turin
1741	Joins orchestra Teatro Regio. Last chair of second violins
1748 April 16	Appointed to the Cappella, last chair of second violins
1749 May	Leave Turin for Rome
1750 Late April	Leaves Rome for Turin
1754 January 8	Arrives in Paris
1754 Feb.–May	Performs in Paris
1754 Late	Turin
1756 Mar–Apr	Vienna
1762 Feb–May	Vienna
1763	Turin, appointed seventh player of the cappella
1767–68	London
1770 Spring	Turin, first violin and conductor of the orchestra of the cappella
1772 October	Travel to London via Paris
1773 Spring	London
1773 Early July	Travel to Turin via Paris
1774	Likely in Turin, composed marches for Savoyard army
1776 January	Turin, new appointment
1779 December	Leave Turin for Grand Tour with Viotti

Table E-1. Continued

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<i>Date</i>	<i>Facts</i>
1782–1783	Naples
1786	Turin, new appointment
1796	Several days in Cumiana and Vienna

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## APPENDIX F UPDATE ON SCORE LOCATION

The information in this appendix is provided for the convenience of future scholarship on Pugnani's music. The information was collected through on-site visits (Milan) and correspondence with the libraries.

### **I-Rdp**

The Archivio Doria Pamphili confirmed the presence of a collection of manuscript copies of Pugnani's symphonies. Only one of them is absent from in the thematic catalog by Zschinsky-Troxler. See: Friedrich, Lippmann "Die Sinfonien-manuskripte der Bibliothek Doria-Pamphilij in Rom" *Analecta Musicologica* V (1968): 201–247.

### **I-Mc**

The library of the Milan conservatory currently houses the manuscript copies of three symphonies.

- *Sinfonia del Reggio Teatro 1785 / del sig r Gaetano Pugnani / [per l' "Achille in Sciro" di Metastasio]*
- *Overture / a piu Stromenti Obbligati / Del Sig. gaetano Pugnani [ZT33]*
- *Sinfonia del Sig:r Pugnani [Not in ZT]*

### **I-Tn**

In the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria there is a manuscript copy of a work that is not in ZT, simply titled: *Sinfonia del Signor Pugnani*.

### **GB-Lam**

The Royal Academy of Music houses an *Overtura XXIII* [in E flat major] *con violini, oboe, corni, viola e basso*.

## Ch-EN

- *Quintett in Es* (2 violins, Basso, Ob) di Pugnani
- *Sinfonie in B* (2 violins and Basso)
- *3 Quartetts*

## P-La

The Library has the manuscript copies of the full scores of Pugnani's operas

- *Achille in Sciro*,
- *Adone e Venere*,
- *Aurora*
- *Betulia Liberata*
- *Demofoonte*
- *Issea*
- *Tamas Koulikan [nell'india]* (two entries)

## RUS-SPsc

The National Library in St. Petersburg confirmed that there is only one score by Pugnani there, the cantata

*La Betulia Liberata*

## I-Vc

- *Quintetti*, ZT 24
- *A second Sett of Overtures*, RISM (two parts of the basso)
- *Quintetti* (in OPAC but not there)

## D-Bsb

- *La Scommessa (Autograph)*, ZT 9
- *La Betulia Liberata*
- *ZT 19*
- *ZT 14*
- *ZT 23*
- *ZT 24*
- *ZT 25*
- *ZT 27*

APPENDIX G  
CHART OF THE FIRST MOVEMENT OF ZT 23

O 7 (6 + 1)   1 – 7	6 (2 + 2 + 2)   8 – 13	T 5 (2 + 3)   14 – 19	P 8 (2 + 4 + 2)   19 – 27	T 8 (4 + 4)   28 – 34	K 5 (2 + 3)   35 – 39	T 4 (2 + 2)   40 – 43	6 (2 + 2 + 2)   44 – 49
tutti	tutti\vlms	tutti polychor.	tonic pedal arpeggio	tutti	Obl. vlms runs F pedal	light	tutti tremolo
quick	slower	quick	slower	quick Trem/arp		slow	quick
f	p sfz	f decresc →p		ff		p	f decr. →
E Flat Major			V →	F major →		B flat	V →
S 10 (3 + 7)   50-59	T 8 (4 + 4)   60 – 67	P (dev.) 16 (2 + 8 + 6)   68 – 83	(O material) 10 (6 + 4)   84 – 93	(O material) 5 (4 + 1)   94 – 98	T 9 (4 + 5)   99 – 107	P 8 (1 + 7)   108 - 115	
Alberti	tutti tremolo	tutti	tutti	tutti	tutti stay on V	tonic pedal arpeggio	
slow	quick	slow	quick	quick	quick/slow	slow	
p	f	> →p	ff	f	f/p	p	p
B flat Major		(V/IV) A flat Major →Mod. E flat major					

T	S	T	T	K		
7 (1 + 6)	10 (2 + 4 + 4)	6	7	13 (7 + 6)	5	
116 – 122	123 - 132	133 – 138	139 – 145	146 – 157	159 – 164	
Tremolo	Alberti	tutti pedal	violins	tutti	tutti	
quick	slow	quicker	quicker	slower	quicker	
< f	> p	crescendo	ff	f/p	f	

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O = Opening  
P = Primary Theme  
T = Transition  
K = Closing

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## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Claudio Re studied bass tuba at the Conservatorio Luca Marenzio in Brescia (Italy) with Guido del Monte. Mr. Re was involved for several years with Italian amateur bands. He eventually developed an interest in conducting that was primarily supported in Italy by his studies with Maestro Lorenzo della Fonte. His conducting abilities were eventually developed at the University of Northern Iowa where Claudio earned the Master of Arts in conducting, studying with Dr. Ronald Johnson, Dr. Rebecca Burkhardt and Dr. Rod Chesnut.

Claudio Re is currently pursuing a PhD in Music at the University of Florida, where he serves as a Teaching Assistant in Music History. Past assistantships at the University of Florida School of Music include duties with the University of Florida Bands.