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## **Vivaldi's *Four Seasons* and the Globalization of Musical Taste**

**Anthony Pryer**

Vivaldi's *Four Seasons*, or at least parts of it, can be recognised by enormous numbers of people on this planet, and its sounds seem to come from almost every elevator shaft, mobile phone, restaurant and television advert in the world. It stands as the very epitome of a globalized artwork, and therefore it would be reasonable to suppose that globalization theories would be a great help in explaining its success. That this may not be the case is one of the main points of this paper – but before we get to that, there are two matters that have to be set in place. The first is to define the characteristics of the *Four Seasons* as a global commodity (note that I refer to it in the singular, since the four individual pieces come as a package); the second is to describe the main tenets of globalization theories and some of their chief generating ideas. Trying to map the characteristics of the work onto the assertions of the theories will be the main business of this paper, and this process is designed not only to illuminate the work, but also to test the theories.

As a commercial commodity the *Four Seasons* has the following attributes: it is widely recognised as a particular brand of music; it is an efficient vehicle for displaying vivid, individualistic performers; it appears in many local variants; and it can provoke unique aesthetic or entertaining experiences. It is also what I would call an 'iconic' work – a work that, in the public consciousness, has become a potent, symbolic representative of western classical music in general, and of the culture from which it springs in particular (rather like the *Mona Lisa* has for art); in that sense it plays an emblematic and ambassadorial role.

Globalization Theory is a new and complex branch of scholarship, but its main assertions might be characterized as follows: i) the globe has been harmonised into a single capitalist market by the trans-national organisation of businesses; ii) the networks of distribution have been facilitated by technological innovations such as the internet; iii) national identities and controls have given way to global-local interactions; iv) this has brought about ideological changes which some might characterise as the triumph of liberal democracy and western cultural ideals; and v) as a postmodern movement, globalization has presided over the disintegration of traditional values, and their replacement by relativistic methods of judgment. Of course, these tenets are largely descriptions of what is assumed to have taken place, and the real theorising comes in trying to

decide whether globalization has really happened or not, and if it has, how the new networks operate, and what effects they may have caused across the world. (See: Jameson and Miyoshi 1998; Held and McGrew 2000). Since time is short, I will draw on just three components of this supposed global organisation to see what they can tell us about the meaning and value of Vivaldi's *Four Seasons* as a special type of commodity. The first component is concerned with how, in this apparently new global system, commodities are produced; the second is concerned with how they are distributed; and the third is concerned with how they are consumed. First, then, the production of music.

The aspect of economic globalization that has attracted the most criticism is the way in which production sites have been spread across several countries so as to exploit different wage rates and different levels of unionization. Items are manufactured by splitting them into separate individual units which are then combined at a later stage, and the competition amongst workers has been increased by introducing robotic production methods. We may think of these things as disturbingly new aspects of the global organisation of big business, but any eighteenth century musician would have recognised them instantly as the way in which much music was produced.

For example, when Vivaldi published the *Four Seasons* as part of his collection of twelve concertos, Opus 8, in 1725, they were already trans-national works. Vivaldi had drawn on North Italian musical traditions to produce compositions for the Bohemian orchestra of Count Wenzel von Morzin, which were then printed in the Dutch city of Amsterdam. Soon the work also appeared in a pirated edition in Paris, and in manuscript copies elsewhere. Powerful multi-national systems of patronage played their part in this production, as did the economics of printing, and as did a piece of technology known as the violin which had been established across Europe and was bound to stimulate interest in new applications for its use. Moreover, like many modern products, the twelve concertos of the Opus 8 collection were produced in discrete units, since at least some of them go back to 1717. Furthermore, these units could be used flexibly since, for example, the music of "Spring" was also used as a sinfonia in Vivaldi's opera *Giustino* in 1724, and as music for a chorus in his opera *Dorilla* in 1726. (See: Talbot 1978; Everett 1996). We might also say that the mechanical and robotic aspects of production were represented by the many anonymous copyists around Europe who made the music available for their patrons. And the exact equivalents of local production sites can be seen in the customized arrangements of the work produced in France for musettes and hurdy-gurdys by Nicolas Chédeville (1739), and as a motet for the French Chapel Royal by Michel Corrette (1766). There was even perceived to be a "global" aspect to Vivaldi's works since, in 1752, Johann Quantz said that Vivaldi "supplied almost half the world with his concertos". (Quantz 1966, 323). Enough has been said, I think, to show that this aspect of globalization theory does not really demonstrate that we have business organisations that are totally new in kind in the postmodern age, nor that recent production methods could make us think of the *Four Seasons* in a totally new way.

More interesting, from our point of view, is the debate about the types of products that find their way onto the global network. This debate asserts that globalization is not really about harmonising the world into a market full of equality of opportunity; rather it is straightforward western economic and cultural imperialism, which foists upon the world artefacts it promotes as being superior and well-made (such as coca-cola, Big-Mac meals, or Vivaldi's *Four Seasons*). The fact that the value held by such goods is said to derive from their inherent quality and recognisable identity which they acquire at their place of origin has, of course, striking parallels with the musical notion of authenticity – though there are some interesting differences.

For example, if I eat a hamburger I probably do so because I want to satisfy my hunger quickly and without spending too much money, rather than because I want an authentic American experience. But by consuming the hamburger I am, at least at one level, automatically replicating the original experience of eating a hamburger which is still shared by many Americans every day. In that sense, hamburgers are “consumer primitive” – the original ingredients reproduce the original experience, because they are designed to meet known, shared human needs and appetites. But the desire we may have for Vivaldi's *Four Seasons* is not quite the same thing as a need (we could survive without it), nor is it an appetite (which tends to use up something in the act of consuming it). It is a mental state that has to have the freedom selectively to reconstrue the object that is the focus of its attention. Such endlessly reconstruable objects are very difficult to cope with in marketing theory, or commodity theory, and there is some evidence that performers and distributors have struggled to keep the potentially variable identity of the *Four Seasons* under control and away from public ears – in spite of a superficial emphasis on the individuality of the performers. After all, almost nobody plays the Four Seasons with an organ continuo now, though an organ is stipulated in the original print, perhaps because it might interfere with the work's “secular” accessibility. Second, almost nobody has recorded the interesting early version found in a manuscript written for Cardinal Ottoboni in Rome in about 1726, perhaps because there is a fear that such variants might cloud the work's established “brand identity”. Third, the surviving evidence strongly suggests that the *Four Seasons* was most probably written at some point between 1717 and 1720, when Vivaldi was definitely away from Venice and living in Mantua (see: Talbot 1978; Everett 1996) – a startling fact considering the role that the supposed connection with Venice plays in the marketing of the Four Seasons. But then, Venice has a much firmer identity in the public consciousness than Mantua.

Next we need to examine the distribution aspects of the *Four Seasons*, in relation to what one theorist has called the global “network society” (see Manuel Castells in Held and McGrew 2000: 76-81). A product is valuable and meaningful in such a system if it can be tracked on many parts of the network, and if we can log a significant number of favourable consumptions of the

product. In some ways, of course, this is very like the methods employed by reception histories in relation to music where, in an attempt to edit out problematic notions of innate value in musical works, they opt for a description of the changing value-relations between works and the societies with which they come into contact. (See: Dahlhaus 1977: Chapter 10; Everist 1999).

At first glance it seems as though the network activity, both past and present, of Vivaldi's works is not too difficult to discern. It stopped almost completely in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, apart from some specialist interest from German scholars who wanted to know which Vivaldi works had been used as models by Bach. In the early twentieth century modern editions began to appear of the *Four Seasons* in Italy, and many of his autograph manuscripts were discovered and deposited in the Turin National Library in 1930. A festival was devoted to Vivaldi in Siena in 1939 and the very first recording of the *Four Seasons* by Bernardino Molinari and the Orchestra dell'Accademia di S. Cecilia was issued in 1942. Malipiero began an edition of the complete works of Vivaldi in which the *Four Seasons* appeared in 1950. This opened the way for many more recordings of the work, and for its dissemination across Europe. Perhaps the first "postmodern" recording was by Nigel Kennedy in 1989; it was marketed as a piece of pop music and it sold over 2.5 million copies. (See Lebrecht 1996: 351-60). After that there was an explosion in the use of the "Spring" theme as a call sign on mobile telephones across the world. And the rest, as they say, is history.

However, this 'networking' measurement of meaning and value, even in its own terms, has some serious drawbacks. First, it is hard to be sure that we have all of the data. Second, the system is basically an empirical one, and so works that are performed very little might have a low "system value", even though they might have high prestige – a case in point here might well be a work such as Bach's *Art of Fugue* or, for that matter, Vivaldi's own concerto in D minor, Opus 3, no.11, which was praised by the eighteenth century music historian Sir John Hawkins, and transcribed by Bach as an organ work, but mentioned by virtually nobody else. Third, even a commodity with a large number of hits across the world cannot be assumed, without further interpretation, to be a truly "global" phenomenon. The large group of countries in which it appears might be skewed towards particular ideological, religious, cultural or economic preferences, for example.

There is a dramatic illustration of this in relation to the supposed popularity of Nigel Kennedy's version of the *Four Seasons*. Most have taken the widespread, trans-national sales of Nigel Kennedy's version as a demonstration that this really is a globalized artwork, perhaps one of the first ever. But its "widespread" sales do not show that it is "all-engulfing"; most of the sales have been in Scandinavia, Australia and the USA, and we still have to wait for signs of interest in the *Four Seasons* to emanate from, say, Zambia, India, Indonesia, most of the former Soviet republics or, indeed, any Muslim country at all. Viewed in this way, Kennedy's *Four Seasons* is not so much a globalized artwork, as a western artistic commodity which has found its

way into those areas of the world that have already succumbed to other forms of, not only economic, but cultural westernisation. Indeed, on this evidence, we may doubt that cultural globalization is even possible, except as a pernicious and thinly disguised form of western imperialism. To take a work such as Kennedy's *Four Seasons* as evidence for a kind of global universality of musical taste is to commit both practical and theoretical errors – practical, because the work is not actually welcomed across the entire globe; and theoretical, because even if it were, the reasons for its acceptance might be very varied or even accidental, and provide no evidence at all of shared human tastes or cultural proclivities. What is clear, as we have seen, is that when it comes to cultural commodities, the sense in which “global” is used is much more restricted than in the economic sense – and this should alert us to the fact that either art objects are very special kinds of commodities, or that they have very specialised uses. I will only say here that the methods of “network accounting” (like the methods of reception history in music) tend to obscure the crucial distinction between two quite separate types of functional value – between what economists call exchange-value and utility-value. The exchange-value of a commodity is (roughly) what you can get for it on the economic network: if a work is in demand its exchange value will generally be high – you have to pay quite a lot to see it, or hear it live, or own it. By contrast, the utility-value of a work is (roughly) that which prompts your desire to make contact with it: and that is a far more complex issue and it brings us finally to a few brief remarks on how and why artworks as commodities might be consumed.

It might be useful here to distinguish between two quite separate aspects of consumption. The first we might call its “mode of interaction”, and the second its “mode of being understood”. The “mode of interaction” concerns the conditions under which the products are placed in front of their potential consumers. For example, when the *Four Seasons* are placed in front of their customers is it under conditions that are coercive, co-operative, conflictual or competitive? Globalization theory has some interesting things to say about these “modes of interaction”, and we could spend some time cataloguing the reception conditions that the *Four Seasons* have faced around the world. For example, every Taiwanese schoolchild, it was announced recently, will be given a DVD version of the *Four Seasons* played in conjunction with a display of Taiwanese Hand Puppetry – an introductory condition that might be thought of as distinctly coercive. Again, there has been much discussion of the fascinating interaction between Japan and western cultural products, which seems to combine a cooperative mode with some strongly competitive and conflictual elements as well. (See Robertson 1992: 85-96; Fukuyama 1995: 49-57). The cooperative aspects might be exemplified by the enthusiastic acceptance of the I Musici recording of the *Four Seasons* in Japan in the late 1960s, the competitive with the determination to produce world-class, home-grown performers of these repertoires, and the conflictual with the impulse to produce a “local” version of the *Four Seasons* for Japanese koto players in 1976, or perhaps with

the tension between the supposed conformist nature of Japanese society, and the supposed responsibility of the soloist in the *Four Seasons* to be individualistic, imaginative and flamboyant.

The “mode-of-interaction” approach makes it possible to keep the many ways in which the *Four Seasons* have been received across the world under some kind of theoretical control: there may be plurality and relativism, but these variations can be contained into categories. However, when it comes to the second aspect of consumption – what we have called the “modes of being understood” in relation to an artwork – then we are in deep trouble, at least in so far as the theories of globalization are concerned. The mode of being understood, unlike that of interaction, does not fall into four or five set situations. This is because it cannot be reduced to those basic combinations of acceptance, resistance and/or rejection that arise, in the end, from the limited number of ways in which you can decide to get on or off the global network. When it comes to understanding artworks a far more complex relativism emerges from the struggle that you or I go through to respond to a work like Vivaldi’s *Four Seasons* from the depths of our culture and from our individual positions within it. Globalization theories will never explain that kind of plurality, and so we must look elsewhere for the absolute truth about the kind of relativism that matters most to musicians.

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## **APPENDIX**

### Antonio Vivaldi, *Le quattro stagioni*: Annals of Reception History

#### **A: Initial context and publication**

1708-17 Bach in Weimar makes arrangements of works by Vivaldi.

1715 Vivaldi visited in Italy by Johann Friedrich von Uffenbach (1687-1769), who left a details of the meeting in his Travel Diaries [the relevant passages are translated in P Weiss and R.Taruskin, eds., *Music in the Western World: A History in Documents* (New York: Schirmer, 1984), 235-6].

1716-17 Johann Georg Pisendel (1687-1755) from Dresden studies with Vivaldi in Venice. Takes autograph versions of Op8 nos. 5 and 7 back to Dresden, so they must date from this date or earlier. J S Bach's connections with Dresden date from 1717.

c1720 The Opus 8 collection probably compiled by this date. *Le quattro stagioni* composed in Italy, perhaps for the dedicatee of the collection, Count Wenzelaus von Morzin, who (according to Vivaldi's preface in 1725) had "so long" known them, and for whom Vivaldi was "Master of Music in Italy". It is just possible that Vivaldi composed the solo violin part for a woman soloist of the Pietà, Anna Maria della Pietà. [On this performer and other works written for her in the 1720s by Vivaldi see: Jane Baldauf-Berdes, "Anna Maria dell Pietà" in S. Cook and J. Tsou, eds., *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music* (Urbana and Chicago, 1994), pp.134-55. Vivaldi temporarily left the Pietà in 1717, but was appointed an official supplier of instrumental music for the institution, 1723-9, and von Morzin is known to have visited the Pietà to hear music there.]

1720 Benedetto Marcello publishes a satirical tract on opera, *Il teatro alla moda*, widely taken to be an attack on Vivaldi whose name appears in anagrammatic form ("Aldiviva") on the title page.

1723 October: Count Morzin sends copies of some Vivaldi concertos to his friend Count Anton Ulrich von Sachsen-Meiningen. Morzin makes large payments to Vivaldi, 1724-8.

1724 Letter 11 November from Vivaldi to Count Carlo Giacinto Roero di Guarene proposes a limited edition of concertos to be sold by

subscription.

1724 Version of the "Spring" theme used in Vivaldi's opera *Giustino* (Rome/Capranica Theatre) in Sinfonia to Act I. It accompanied the descent of the goddess Fortuna, on her wheel, to the stage. It also forms the basis of a chorus in the same act.

c. 1725 GB-Mp MS 580 Ct 51, nos. 9-12 [Manchester Public Library, Henry Watson Music Collection]. These copies of the parts appear to have been made in Rome perhaps slightly before the 1725 print, probably in circles close to Cardinal Ottoboni (Vivaldi's patron). They seem to demonstrate the differences between Roman and Venetian performance practice. Also, many notes that are wrong or ambiguous in the print are correct here, and the continuo figuration is fuller and more accurately placed than in the Amsterdam print. The sonnet texts are not given, but the letters that link them with musical events are retained in the score. Some of the instrumental labels are different: the viola part is given as "Violetta", and "cembalo" (rather than "organo") appears in the slow movements of nos. 3 and 4.

1725 14 December, the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* announces the publication of Op 8, so *Il cimento dell'armonia e dell'inventione* probably published in this year (Amsterdam: Michel-Charles Le Cène,). Dedicated to Count Wenzeslaus von Morzin. The title page is not dated. Reprinted Paris, Charles-Nicolas Le Clerc, c1739, 1743 and 1748. Vivaldi had already used the Amsterdam publisher Estienne Roger for the publication of his Opus 3, *L'estro armonico*, in 1711, since, as he explained in the preface to that publication, the process of engraving used in Amsterdam was far superior to the printing methods employed in Italy at that time. Roger engraved and printed Vivaldi's Opp. 5-7, c1716-17, at his own expense - a rare event in this period, and one which shows the popularity of Vivaldi's music. Roger died in 1722, and Le Cène, his son-in-law, took over the business.

1726 "Spring" theme re-used for Sinfonia and first chorus of Vivaldi's *Dorilla in tempe* (Venice, Teatro S. Angelo). [Score survives only for the 1734 revival]

c1726 or slightly earlier (see c1725) *Le quattro stagioni* copied in the circles of Cardinal Ottoboni, Vivaldi's patron in Rome (manuscript now in Manchester, England). Vivaldi met Ottoboni c1726.

1731 Benedetto Marcello composes his oratorio *Il pianto e il riso delle quattro stagioni* in Venice.

## **B: France and England in the Eighteenth Century**

c1726 Roger North in: *Notes of Comparison between the Elder and Later Musick and Somewhat Historicall of Both* condemns Vivaldi as appealing to those "hurried away by caprice".

c1739 Opus 8 (including *Le quattro stagioni*) published in Paris by Le Clerc (and reprinted there 1743 and 1748)

1739 Nicolas Chédeville (1705-1782), musette master to the daughters of Louis XV, adopted "the great compositions of Antonio Vivaldi to the rustic sound of an instrument that is the subject of all my labours". *Le printemps ou Les saisons amusantes: concertos d'Antonio Vivaldy* (freely arranged - and "Summer" is replaced by Op.8 no.9, "Winter" by Op.8 no.12 - for musette/hurdy gurdy, 2vn, bc).

1730s onwards. Corelli and Geminiani dominate the English scene, though Vivaldi has some popularity initially. [See William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 78-80, 83, 96-7]

c1750 anonymous British painting shows unspecified Vivaldi scores being brought to musicians in a music party. [Sotheby's, now Private Collection. Reproduced in Richard Leppert, *Music and Image*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), fig.94, p204.]

1763 *Concerts spirituels* in Paris (founded in 1725) retained Le quattro stagioni in their repertory until this date - "Spring" was particularly popular. In the 1770s Ducharger, a musician at the court of the Prince of Condé, wrote to the Prince giving a detailed description of the meaning of Vivaldi's "Spring". His manuscript description is now in the Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly. [For these references, and a summary of Ducharger's remarks, see: James Johnson, *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1995), pp. 72, 84]

1766 Michel Corrette (1709-79) published his: *Laudate Dominum de coelis, Ps cxlviii, motet à grand chœur arrangé dans le concerto du printemps de Vivaldi*

1775 Jean-Jacques Rousseau arranges "Spring" for solo flute: *Le printemps de Vivaldi* (no publication date given).

## C: Criticism, Decline and Obscurity

1739-40 Charles de Brosses in his *Letter to M. de Maleteste* reports Goldoni's praise of Vivaldi and Tartini's criticisms of him for attempting to write opera as well as instrumental music. Also reports that in Venice "he is not much appreciated...where everything depends on the fashion of the day...the famous Saxon composer [J A Hasse] is the man of the hour."

1746 "La corruption du gout dans la musique", an article in the *Memoires de Trevoux*, mentions Vivaldi, Telemann, Locatelli and Handel as baleful foreign corruptions. [W. Mellers, *Francois Couperin* (London, 1950), p280,n26]

1752 Charles Avison, *An Essay on Musical Expression*, declares that Vivaldi lacks both harmony and invention. (a reference to the title of the Opus 8 collection?) [Avison was a pupil of Geminiani who was, in turn, a pupil of Corelli.]

1752 Vivaldi criticised by Quantz in his *Versuch einer Anweisung*

*die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*

1754 Charles Henri de Blainville, *L'esprit del'art musical, ou réflexions sur la musique et ses différentes parties* (Geneva) , doubts that Vivaldi's concertos speak to the emotions.

1772 Charles Burney, on a trip to Italy, was unable to collect any evidence in Venice, either direct or indirect, of the existence of Vivaldi

1776 John Hawkin's in *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, II, Ch CLXXIX: [of Vivaldi's Opus VIII] '...the common name of them is the Seasons. The plan of this work must appear very ridiculous...[but]...Opus VIII is the most applauded of Vivaldi's works. That concerto of his in which the notes of the cuckoo's song [Op.8 no2 (Summer)? Or RV335 in A, The "Cuckoo" Concerto?] are frittered into such minute divisions as, in the author's time, few but himself could express on any instrument whatsoever. The eleventh of his first twelve Concertos [Opus III] is, in the opinion of the judicious author of *Remarks on Mr Arison's Essay on Musical Expression* [1753; anonymous, but usually attributed to William Hayes],...a solid and masterly composition. For these his singularities, no better reason can be given than this: Corelli...had introduced a style [which]...was chaste, sober and elegant, but with his imitators it degenerated into dulness; this Vivaldi seemed to be aware of, and for the sake of variety, gave into a style which had little but novelty to recommend it'.

1776 Charles Burney, *A General History of Music* (1776, R/1789), Book III, Ch IX: '[Vivaldi's] Cuckoo Concerto during my youth [i.e., c1740 in Shrewsbury where he studied with Matteis and William Hayes] was the wonder and delight of all frequenters of Country concerts; and Woodcock, one of the Hereford waits, was sent for far and near to perform it. If acute and rapid tones are evils, Vivaldi has much of the sin to answer for...[Later in the same chapter] Veracini and Vivaldi had the honour of being thought mad for attempting in their works and performance what many a sober gentleman has since done uncensored; but both these musicians happening to be gifted with more fancy and more hand than their neighbours were thought insane; as Friar Bacon , for superior science, was thought a magician, and Galileo a heretic.'

## **D: Vivaldi in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century: the Bach Revival and Nationalism**

1802 Johann Forkel in his *Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst and Kunstwerke* mentions in general terms Vivaldi's influence on Bach. [Much of Forkel's information came directly from Bach's sons, CPE Bach and WF Bach. CPE Bach had been critical of Vivaldi (without naming him) in his *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen* of 1752]. German scholars originally identified 22 works by Bach as based on Vivaldi models, but the number is now established as 10 (BVW 593, 594, 596, 972, 973, 975, 976, 978, 980, 1065). The others are now known to be by A. Marcello (1), B. Marcello (1), Telemann (1), Torelli (1), J.E. von Sachsen-Weimar (1), anonymous (4).

1839 Aloys Fuchs (1799-1853) attempts the first catalogue of Vivaldi's works [manuscript in Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek]

1850 C. Hilgenfeldt, *Johann Sebastian Bach's Leben, Wirken und Werken* (Leipzig) first to investigate the Vivaldi originals of Bach's arrangements.

c1850 F. Caffi, *Storia della musica teatrale in Venezia*, (manuscript account) now in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, assesses the importance of Vivaldi.

1860s Edward Elgar (1857-1934) learnt figured bass from a copy of Vivaldi's concertos. [See 1916, March 13]

1867 J. Rühlmann publishes his article: "Antonio Vivaldi und sein Einfluss auf Joh. Seb. Bach" in the journal *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*

1888 P. Waldersee publishes his article: "Antonio Vivaldi's Violinconcerte unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der von Johann Sebastian Bach bearbeiteten" in the journal *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*.

## **E: Vivaldi and the Early Music Revival**

1900 Sam Franko begins his "concerts of old music" in the New York Lyceum Theater; the repertory includes Vivaldi. [See Sam Franko, *Chords and Discords* (New York, 1938). Also see Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History*, (London, 1988)]. Franko also advises Stokowski on performances of Vivaldi's music

1905 Vivaldi's importance to the history of the concerto demonstrated by Arnold Schering in his: *Geschichte des Instrumental-Konzerts*

1913 Fritz Kreisler writes a violin concerto in C major which he publishes under Vivaldi's name. [Published Schott, 1928]. The French musicologist Marc Pincherle hears this work and is inspired to dedicate his professional life to Vivaldi. False authorship exposed in 1935

1916, March 13. Edward Elgar writes to Edward Speyer: 'My father had the complete set of Vivaldi's Concertos & from the cembalo part of this I made my first infantile, petticoated attempts to play from figured bass: each part (Violins, Violas, Bass) had written on it: "This book belonged to Barrington Hall" signed Daines Barrington'. Barrington had assessed the young Mozart when he came to London in 1764. "Barrington Hall" was probably "Fox Hall", just west of Hereford, where Barrington's descendents lived. Elgar seems not to have used Vivaldi's music in his own work, though he made an unpublished arrangement of Corelli's Concerto X for wind quintet in 1878.

1920 Earliest modern transcription of Vivaldi's *Four Seasons* for piano (4 hands) by Alceo Toni in the series: *Classici della Musica Italiana. Raccolta nazionale diretta da Gabriele d'Annunzio*.

Instrumental version published in 1924 and dedicated to "Umberto Notari, whose production of the first modern editions of these concertos resulted in public performances in Milan and Rome"

1921 Transcriptions for violin and piano by E Pente (London): *Le Berger Sommeille*, "Largo extrait du Concerto descriptif "Le Printemps", and *Les Repos Troublé*, "Adagio extrait du Concerto descriptif "L'Eté".

1924 Earliest recording of a work by Vivaldi [See: R-C Travers and T Walker, "Discographie Vivaldi 78 tours", *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani* 3 (1982), 74-97.]

1926 Alberto Gentile negotiates with the monks of the Collegio Scarlo in Monferrat who sell 14 unknown autograph volumes of Vivaldi to the National Library of Turin. Probably they were originally owned by Giacomo Durazzo (d. 1794) Venetian Ambassador, and Opera Official in Vienna. [see 1930].

1927 "Transcription" of the *Four Seasons* produced by Bernardino Molinari, and published with a dedication to Benito Mussolini. [See 1942]. Vivaldi's music described as 'ancient' (*antiche*).

1930 Giuseppe Maria Durazzo (descendent of Giacomo Durazzo: see 1926) sells remaining Vivaldi autograph volumes to Turin National Library.

1930s Local concerts of Vivaldi's works in Rapallo, Italy, sponsored by the American poet Ezra Pound (who hailed Vivaldi as a champion of 'Italian musical autarchy') and his violinist mistress Olga Rudge (who did the musicological work). Laid the foundations for the 1939 Settimana Vivaldiana at Siena. Pound and Rudge worked tirelessly to have Vivaldi's works published and performed. [See R. Murray Scafer, ed., *Ezra Pound and Music* (New York, 1977), 321ff.]

1936 Olga Rudge catalogues the Turin collection of Vivaldi manuscripts.

1938 Centre of Vivaldi Studies established in Siena (patron Guido Chigi Saracini)

1939 The Settimana Vivaldiana (Vivaldian Week) in Siena establishes Vivaldi in the modern performance world. Works "prepared for performance by Alfredo Casella" (actually mostly by Olga Rudge).

1939 Nadia Boulanger directs a performance of Vivaldi's *Four Seasons* at the Harvard Music School in the company of Olga Rudge and Ezra Pound. [Anne Conover, *Olga Rudge and Ezra Pound* (Yale, 2001), p136].

1942 Earliest recording of the *Four Seasons*, Bernardo Molinari and the Orchestra dell'Accademia di S Cecilia, Rome. [Re-released on CD by Ermitage (Bologna) in 1991: ERM 116S, and re-issued as ERC CD 12006-2 ADD].

1943 Earliest biography of Vivaldi by Mario Rinaldi published in Milan

1945 M. Rinaldi, *Catalogo numerico tematico delle composizioni di Antonio Vivaldi* (Rome, 1945). Classifies the instrumental works by opus numbers, supplementing Vivaldi's own with additional ones which group like works together.

1947 Italian publisher Ricordi begins publication of *Le opere di Antonio Vivaldi* (completed in 1972).

1948 M. Pincherle, *Inventaire thématique* (Paris, 1948) [vol.ii of *Antonio Vivaldi et la musique instrumentale*] Numbers orchestral works independently of their original opus numbers. Contains many inaccuracies and omissions.

1948 Renato Fasano, director of the Accademia di S Cecilia and of the "Virtuosi di Roma" (an chamber ensemble offshoot of the *Collegium Musicum Italicum*), takes Vivaldi's *Four Seasons* on a concert tour.

1950 Vivaldi's *Four Seasons* issued in the Collected Works published by Ricordi, edited by Malipiero.

1951 First recording of *Four Seasons* in America: NBC Symphony Orchestra, G. Cantelli/AS Discs.

## **F: Modernist, Postmodern and Global reactions to Vivaldi**

1955 Luigi Dallapiccola edits and arranges six sonatas by Vivaldi. Also claimed that "Vivaldi wrote a great concerto - 500 times"

1958 Felix Ayo and "I Musici" record the *Four Seasons* for the Philips label

1959 Stravinsky calls Vivaldi "greatly overrated - a dull fellow who could compose the same form over so many times" [Stravinsky and Craft, *Conversations with Igor Stravinsky* (New York), p. 76]. Stravinsky also complained about "sewing machine performances of Vivaldi" [Robert Craft, *Stravinsky: Chronicle of a Friendship* (New York, 1972), p.178]

1960s. According to Pierre Bourdieu [*The Logic of Practice* (1990), 601] the *Four Seasons* had high social value in 1963, but by 1967 had been pulled towards middle-brow culture by popularisation.

1968 A. Fanna, *A. Vivaldi: Catalogo numerico-tematico delle opere strumentali* (Milan, 1968) This is the catalogue of the first Ricordi edition. Omits incomplete or lost works, as well as all of the vocal music.

1968 First Russian recording: E. Smirnov, Chamber Orchestra of Moscow/Eurodisc

1972 Heavy Metal musician Ritchie Blackmore acknowledges Vivaldi's influence in "Highway Star" (for Deep Purple)

1974 Jaap Schröder and the Concerto Amsterdam record Vivaldi's *Four Seasons* on original instruments [Harmonia Mundi label].

1974 Ryom publishes his catalogue of Vivaldi's works: *Verzeichnis der Werke Antonio Vivaldis: kleine Ausgabe* (Leipzig, 1974, rev 2/1979)

1976 The Koto New Ensemble record Keigo Tsunoda's arrangement of the *Four Seasons* for traditional Japanese instruments.

1978 Heavy Metal musician van Halen acknowledges Vivaldi's influence in his "Eruption".

1979 First Israeli recording; I Stern/Jerusalem Music Centre/CBS

1980s The "Spring" theme from the *Four Seasons* becomes common worldwide on answerphones and as muzak in restaurants, lifts, etc.

1981 First Mexican recording: Mexico Chamber Orchestra, H Novello/CBS Mexico. Eleven new recordings of *Four Seasons* issued in this year, a figure only equalled in 1995.

1982 Simon Standage, Trevor Pinnock and the English Concert record the *Four Seasons* in the Manchester version/Polydor/Archiv label

1989 Nigel Kennedy's recording of the *Four Seasons* for EMI sells 2.5 million copies, mostly in Scandinavia, Australia and the USA. [Norman Lebrecht, *When the Music Stops* (London, 1996), 351-60]

1990s The "Spring" theme becomes common as a call signal on mobile phones worldwide.

1991 Arrangement of the *Four Seasons* recorded by the Kyoto Symphony Orchestra/Sky CD

1993 Arrangement of "Spring" appears by the Whitehall Mystery Orchestra in "New Highlights of Classic Rock", vol. 1/Mediaphon

1995 Tasmanian Symphony Orchestra record the *Four Seasons*/ABC Classics

1995 K.Geisler's arrangement for computer "Virtual Vivaldi"/Well Tempered Productions.

1996 *Antonio Vivaldi: Le quattro stagioni*, critical edition by Michael Talbot and Paul Everett (Milan: Ricordi)

1998 The violinist Vanessa-Mae integrates the *Four Seasons* into a multi-media project including the film "The Violin Fantasy". The CD is subtitled: "The Original Four seasons".

2000 Susan McClary provides a "New Musicology" reading of Vivaldi's music in her *Conventional Wisdom* (Univ.of Calif.Press)

2000 Two hundred recordings of Vivaldi's *Four Seasons* are listed in the gramophone catalogues.

2000 *Antonio Vivaldi: Le Quattro Stagioni*, edited by Christopher Hogwood (Kassel: Bärenreiter). Based on the Manchester Partbooks.

2000 Nov 7, The United Daily News (Taiwan) reports that the Bank SinoPac has commissioned the cellist Chang Cheng-chueh to produce a DVD version of the *Four Seasons* in collaboration with the Taiwanese Hand Puppet Theatre. Chang said: "If Chinese artists do not look back to traditional culture for the source of their creativity, their work will become an empty shell. This is what has led me to interpret the *Four Seasons* through shadow puppetry". SinoPac Bank plans to produce 30,000 of the DVDs and distribute them to Taiwan's schools.[<http://www.taiwanheadlines.gov.tw>].

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