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Certainly Milanese, possibly Swiss: the violinist and composer Johann Friedrich Schreivogel (*fl.* 1707–1749)

MICHAEL TALBOT (Liverpool)

A natural and certainly intended consequence of the mass digitization of musical sources, which in effect has moved on to "virtual" open shelves worldwide many items that previously needed to be located in catalogues and ordered *in situ*, is that browsing, whether goal-directed or merely casual, has suddenly become unimaginably easier. In other words, the cost in terms of time (and all too often also money) of viewing an item out of sheer curiosity has reduced almost to zero. I first came across the composer who is the subject of this article when I spotted his unexpectedly Germanic surname (given as "Schreyfogel") in a long list of otherwise almost entirely Italian composers, concertos by whom, written out on a specific Venetian music paper,[1] had been obtained in Venice in 1716–1717 by the violin virtuoso Johann Georg Pisendel, who acted as copyist for the majority of them, and then taken back to Dresden, where they today form part of the repertory of the former Saxon Hofkapelle (as well as of some of its leading musicians) held by the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, universally known by the acronym SLUB. Intrigued, I viewed the digitized score of one of the two concertos by this mysterious composer in the list. Two things struck me immediately: first, the high musical quality, which led me to wonder why nothing by him had been published in a modern edition; second, the close stylistic affinity of this concerto to ones by Antonio Vivaldi composed in the years immediately following the publication of *L'estro armonico* in 1711. My curiosity instantly metamorphosized into a project: to write an article that would put this musician more firmly on the musical map.

* I would like to thank Cesare Fertonani and Nicholas Lockey for reading a preliminary draft of this article and making valuable comments.

1 The "Schrank II Project" (named after the cupboard that once housed the instrumental music belonging to the Hofkapelle) has not only digitized this repertory but also classified hands and watermarks in a user-friendly manner that enables investigators consulting RISM's *International inventory of musical sources* to call up on screen in an instant all the listed manuscripts with the same scribe and/or watermark (which is normally coextensive with paper type). The particular watermark I was interested in, initially on account of its Vivaldian connections, was the one classified as W-Dl-102.

1. A composer with two surnames

An inkling of the potential difficulty of research into Schreivogel (for purely pragmatic reasons I employ standard German orthography for the surname, which – for reasons to be explained – may well have been written by the composer himself in an alternative spelling such as the "Schreyvogel" already quoted) already emerges from the Dresden sources of his music, comprising three violin concertos and at least three violin sonatas.[2] The orthographic instability can be demonstrated via a simple tabulation:

shelfmark	*genre, key*	*composer's name on MS*	*composer's name on folder*
2808-O-1	concerto, A	Giov. federico Schraifoghel detto il Tedeschino	Schreÿfogel
2808-O-2	concerto, d	Giov. federico Schraifoghel detto il Tedeschino	Schreÿfogel
2808-O-3	concerto, c	Schrey Vogel	Schreÿfogel
2808-R-1	sonata, e	Gio. Frederico Scraifogel d:º il Todeschino	Schreÿfogel
1-R-70, 1	sonata, d	Schraifoghel	Schreÿfogel
1-R-70, 2	sonata, D	Scharifogel	Schreÿfogel

In column 1 the prefatory "Mus." has been omitted to save space; in column 2 upper-case keys are major, lower-case ones minor; column 3 contains a diplomatic transcription of the parts of the heading for the manuscript specifying the composer's name (thus omitting titles such as "Signor"); column 4 transcribes the name as given on the manuscript's enclosing folder added in the 1760s.[3]

All the manuscripts are full scores in Pisendel's hand. Exceptionally, that of the C minor concerto cannot be dated to his period in Italy, since it is written on German paper.[4] The obvious surmise is that this manuscript was copied in Dresden from an earlier, perhaps less presentable, score that

2 The unique "composer" prefix assigned by the library to Schreivogel is "2808". Accordingly, the three concertos are shelfmarked Mus. 2808-O-1(–3). One of the sonatas, Mus. 2808-R-1, uses the same prefix, while the other two (or possibly more) have a "1" prefix, since they occur in a group of mixed authorship (Mus. 1-R-70).

3 The original labels affixed to these folders typically include, reading downwards, a note of the exact location of the item within the cupboard (Schrank II), a description of the genre, a description of the instrumentation, a definition of the type of material (score or parts), the composer's name and a first-movement incipit.

4 Three separate papers, designated by the codes W-Dl-281?, W-Dl-282 and W-Dl-300.

he had transcribed or otherwise acquired in Italy.[5] While sojourning there, Pisendel evidently did his best to write Schreivogel's name *all'italiana*, although with little consistency. The consonantal group "Schr" opening the surname was impossible to represent in standard Italian of the time (nowadays, a Slavonic hačeк applied to the "S" provides a neat solution), hence the retention of the German spelling or its phonetically inexact transliteration as "Scr". The first vowel sound, "ei" (or its variant "ey"), converts automatically into "ai", and the "v" into "f".[6] The letter "g", in Italian spelling, needs to be followed by "h" to remain hard, although Pisendel does not always observe this rule. As for the last variant, "Scharifogel", this is probably the product of a frequent (but, to my knowledge, never previously discussed) characteristic of Pisendel's handwriting and also his musical notation: a tendency accidentally to transpose the sequence of letters or notational elements, which nowadays is often interpreted (though not always with medical precision) as a form of dyslexia.

The outlier in this regard is the C minor concerto, where the composer's surname is, for once, given in purely German form as "Schrey Vogel" – not unreasonably, since Pisendel was by then back in Dresden. The complete heading for this manuscript requires transcription and comment. Centred on the opening page is Pisendel's personal monogram formed from the Greek letters Alpha and Omega.[7] To the right is written, apparently in his hand, the composer's surname "Visconti", which must denote the Cremonese amateur musician Gasparo Visconti, of whom Pisendel had collected several sonatas and concertos while in Italy. But underneath this surname Pisendel added (whether immediately or later is impossible to determine) a second line reading "od[er] Schrey Vogel", which continues with further words, now partly employing untidily written German (rather than Italian) letter-forms, that appear to read "nach Viscontis Theil:".[8] The significance of this addition is unclear, particularly since "nach" can mean both "after" (in the sense of "coming after", in either time or space) and "according to". Perhaps Pisendel's copy text lacked an attribution and the German violinist could not, after the lapse of time, recall its provenance clearly. If so, "Visconti" was perhaps an initial guess, and "Schrey Vogel" its cautious

5 That the copy text was a set of parts is ruled out by one particular correction, to be discussed later.

6 In German, "ai" is identical in sound to "ei", which explains why the surname, which is widely dispersed over a territory encompassing not only the modern states and regions with a German-speaking majority (principally Germany, Austria, parts of Switzerland and South Tyrol) but also the German diaspora in central and eastern Europe, sometimes employs the first form for preference.

7 On this monogram, see Kai Köpp, *Johann Georg Pisendel (1787–1755) und die Anfänge der neuzeitlichen Orchesterleitung* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2005), p. 464.

8 It appears that there was additional text, today faint, illegible and possibly truncated.

modification. Be this as it may, the style of the C minor concerto is wholly compatible with that of the two other concertos attributed to Schreivogel and appreciably different from that of Visconti himself, so to agonize over its authorship is unnecessary.

One immediately recognizes Schreivogel's *cognomen* of "Il Tedeschino" – "The Little German" – as a fairly generic one for German immigrants to Italy. Hence the risk immediately arises of confusion with other, similarly nicknamed musicians from German-speaking Europe working in Italy during the same period. Since our composer's emigration to Italy was a permanent one, and "Schreivogel" was a mouthful for Italians to read or pronounce, "Tedeschino" quickly took on the function of an adoptive surname, which was passed on to his son Giuseppe and grandson Giorgio, both professional violinists. As the tabulation above shows, the more demotic variant "Todeschino" also occurs, not to mention (in other sources) the familiar vacillation between "o" and "i", endemic in Italian surnames, as the surname's final vowel.

The uniform spelling of the surname as "Schreÿfogel" by the scribe who prepared the labels for the folders housing the Hofkapelle manuscripts is a little puzzling, since that particular form, which marries an Italian "f" to an otherwise impeccably German orthography, appears nowhere on the manuscripts themselves. Perhaps, however, it was conceived as a deliberate synthesis of the existing forms: resembling all to some degree, but identical with none.

2. Schreivogel's musical career

A major obstacle to reassembling Schreivogel's life and activity, leaving aside the confusion arising from the existence of parallel surnames, has been the fact that whereas nearly all his surviving music is located in Dresden, his stable base of operations as a violinist was Milan. Hence those acquainted with the Dresden composer have not readily made the link to the Milan violinist, nor vice versa. Nearly all major reference works ignore him under either heading, the exception being an entry in Ricordi's *Enciclopedia della Musica*, which efficiently condenses information on his activities in Milan contained in a major article by Guglielmo Barblan on instrumental music in the city published a couple of years earlier.[9] But this account is silent on

9 "Todeschino (Tedeschino)", in: *Enciclopedia della musica*, a cura di Claudio Sartori (Milano: Ricordi, 1963–1964), vol. 4, p. 394; Guglielmo Barblan, "La musica strumentale e cameristica a Milano nel '700", in: *Storia di Milano* (Milano: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri, 1953–1966), vol. 16, pp. 619–660, *passim*.

Schreivogel the composer, the Dresden link and Pisendel's involvement. Even in Kai Köpp's study of Pisendel, where one would have expected some progress, the opportunity is missed, since the "Tedeschini" encountered by Quantz in Milan in May 1726 is tentatively identified there as a quite different "Tedeschino" from an earlier generation: Giovanni Battista Gigli.[10]

The few facts that in the present state of knowledge can be given about Schreivogel in Milan will be presented here. The earliest known record of his presence is a subscription paid to the funeral fund of the Congregazione dei Musici in 1707.[11] The likelihood is that he was not born in Milan, but at what age he came to the city is uncertain. His year of birth probably lies in the late 1680s or early 1690s, a supposition supported by the fact that, as we shall see, in 1747 both a son and a grandson with membership of the Congregazione were active, and also consistent with his musical language. Under the name of "Federico Todeschino" he was one of nine violinists recruited from Milan who participated in the orchestra of 37 performers assembled in June 1711 for the celebration of the patronal festival of S. Gaudenzio in Novara.[12] In the 1720 carnival season at the Teatro Ducale he was one of three "primi violini" (the other two being Giuseppe Maria Perona [Perroni] and Giuseppe Brivio) to be paid the top salary of 50 *filippi* (equal to that of the two *maestri al cembalo*) for the season's work.[13] In 1721 Giuseppe Maria Perroni, together with his brother Giovanni, departed for the Imperial court, and Schreivogel was chosen to replace him in the Cappella Ducale.

As already mentioned, Quantz encountered Schreivogel in Milan in 1726, as recounted in his *Lebenslauf*.[14]

Das Mailandische Orchester hatte vor andern viel vorzügliches: Besonders in Ansehung der Violinisten, worunter verschiedene geschickte Leute waren. Tedeschini, ein Schweizer, war der brave Anführer davon.

10 Köpp, *Johann Georg Pisendel*, p. 111.

11 As reported in Francesco Riva, "La 'Congregazione de' Musici' di Milano: tra devozione e mutua assistenza", in: *La musica sacra nella Milano del Settecento,* atti del convegno (Milano, 17–18 maggio 2011), a cura di Cesare Fertonani, Raffaele Mellace e Claudio Toscani (Milano: LED, 2014), pp. 89–138: 131.

12 Many modern sources list the membership of this orchestra. The clearest exposition is the diplomatic transcription from the source given in Ursula Kirkendale, *Antonio Caldara: life and Venetian-Roman oratorios*, revised and translated by Warren Kirkendale (Florence: Olschki, 2007), pp. 77–78.

13 A printed document listing the musicians and their pay, reproduced in facsimile by Barblan (*La musica strumentale*, p. 621), is held by the Archivio del Collegio della Guastalla.

14 "Herrn Johann Joachim Quantzens Lebenslauf, von ihm selbst entworfen", in: Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* (Berlin: Schütz, 1754–1778), vol. 1, pp. 197–250: 235. "The Milan orchestra was superior to others in several ways. Especially with regard to the violinists, among whom there were many skilful people. Tedeschini, a Swiss, was their capable leader."

Is Quantz's description of "Tedeschini" as Swiss (rather than, say, German) credible? The context suggests so. On his tour of foreign states the flautist appears to have made a point of seeking out German-speaking musicians, with whom he had the opportunity to converse (examples are Johann Adolf Hasse in Naples and Ludwig Erdmann in Florence). So the information regarding Schreivogel's nationality is likely have been acquired at first hand.

The surname, though not exactly common, is widely distributed in German-speaking communities within Europe. It belongs (like "Bär" or "Wolf") to the large category of German surnames derived from the animal kingdom, and therefore is likely to have been adopted spontaneously in different regions. "Schreivogel" (translatable into English as "Screech-bird"), is a colourful synonym for "Krähe" ("crow"), with which its first part, "Schrei", in fact has a remote etymological connection. The surname has at any rate a long pedigree on Swiss soil. In 1525 a Konrad Schrevogel (the omission of the "i" reflects a dialectal pronunciation) is named as a curate (*Pfarrhelfer*) in Gsteig near Interlaken in the Bernese Oberland.[15] He was an ardent follower of the reformer Ulrich Zwingli, at whose behest he worked in many parishes, initially Swiss but subsequently south German (Württemberg), in order to spread or consolidate the Reformation. References to bearers of the surname are uncommon before the twentieth century in Swiss sources, but a marriage between Anna Sabina Schreyvoglin, daughter of Daniel Schreyvogel, to Caspar Hueppenmeyer at the Evangelical church in Roggwil, Thurgau, on 30 January 1776 shows at least that the surname did not become extinct in Switzerland after Konrad Schrevogel's move to Germany in the 1530s.[16]

However, with the memory of the premature claim for Switzerland of another violinist-composer, Henricus Albicastro (c.1660–1730), on the strength of an isolated statement in Johann Gottfried Walther's *Musicalisches Lexicon* still fresh, it would be hazardous to regard the question as settled, although the likelihood is somewhat stronger, given Schreivogel's probable personal contact with Quantz, who is not known for getting such details wrong.

Leaving aside his renewed subscription to the funeral fund of the Congregazione dei Musici in 1734,[17] the next located reference to Schreivogel in Milanese sources is his presence in the orchestra list for the 1747–1748 carnival season at the Teatro Ducale.[18] The 44 players include 11 first violins,

15 On this man's life, see Emil Egli, "Konrad Schreivogel", in: *Zwingliana*, 1/15 (1904), pp. 408–413.

16 Schweiz Heiraten 1532–1910, as retrieved from the database <familysearch.org> on 11 December 2015.

17 Riva, "La 'Congregazione de' Musici' di Milano", p. 131.

18 Barblan, "La musica strumentale", p. 626.

who are headed by "Gio. Federico Tedeschino" but include also Giuseppe and Giorgio Tedeschino. Also noteworthy is the earliest known appearance in such a list of Carlo Zuccari (1704–1792), doyen of the Milanese school of violinists during most of the second half of the century. The three "Tedeschino" violinists reappear in the corresponding list for 1748–1749.[19]

In March 1750 there is a change. In the orchestra list for the celebration of the patronal festival at S. Giuseppe a Porta Nuova there is no "Giovanni Federico Tedeschino", but only "Todeschinetto" (Giuseppe) and "Giorgino" (Giorgio). One might infer from this that Johann Friedrich Schreivogel had died in 1749 or early 1750, but there are other possibilities. For all we know, he could have been ill or absent from Milan in March 1750, or he could simply have hung up his boots as a performer in public. At some point in the 1750s he was replaced at the Cappella Ducale by Luca Felice Roscio, but, infuriatingly, the document stating this is undated.[20] In the present state of knowledge it is probably best to give his date of death as "1749 or later".

Over a period of three decades (1720–1749) Schreivogel was clearly the acknowledged leader of Milan's violinists, as Zuccari was to become after him. His achievement is all the more meritorious for the fact that there was no shortage of capable violinists in the city, many of them also proficient composers, contemporary with him. One need only cite Giovanni Bianchi (c.1660–1720 or later), whose six *Concerti da chiesa a 4* forming half of his Op. 2 (1703) are the first known pieces bearing the generic description of "concerto" by a composer working in Milan, Giuseppe Ferdinando Brivio (before 1700–c.1758), who was highly prolific as a composer of both instrumental and vocal music, and Angelo Maria Scaccia (c.1690–1761) – also called "Scaccino" to distinguish him from his father Carlo Federico – who was the closest of them all to Schreivogel in compositional orientation (he was a prolific composer of violin concertos) and perhaps also in age. Notwithstanding the perfectly justifiable reservations regarding the concept of local "schools" in modern musicography, it does indeed appear that the violinists of Milan were sufficiently cohesive and collegial during most of the eighteenth century (to which fact the extremely frequent quasi-dynastic successions from father to son, noted by Barblan,[21] bear eloquent testimony) to merit this term fully.

In the overall perspective of the leading Italian violinists of his time, Schreivogel belongs emphatically to the group who achieved local preeminence but chose not to adopt the lifestyle of the touring virtuoso. Such

19 Barblan (see previous note) does not state this directly, but he describes the 1748–1749 orchestra as "quasi identica" and does not name any Tedeschino among the omissions.

20 Barblan, "La musica strumentale", p. 652.

21 Ibid., p. 628.

men were the Somis brothers (Giovanni Battista and Giovanni Lorenzo) in Turin, Arcangelo Corelli and Antonio Montanari in Rome and Martino Bitti in Florence, while the "itinerant" group is represented by Vivaldi (surprisingly uninhibited by his problematic health), Pietro Antonio Locatelli and Giuseppe Tartini in the early decades of their respective careers. To generalize, non-itinerant composers in secure posts were noticeably less exhibitionistic than their itinerant colleagues on the compositional front, writing music in some quantity for local patrons, pupils and institutions but finding less reason or opportunity to bring it to the notice of the wider world – which may be why, for example, only one concerto by Bitti survives (thanks to Pisendel), and fewer than a dozen by Montanari. The question immediately arises: how did Pisendel gain access to the concertos and sonatas by Schreivogel that he copied, seeing that his plan to visit Milan in the course of his tour through Italy in 1717 never materialized? A plausible explanation is that Schreivogel was briefly in Venice during the winter (and perhaps also the preceding autumn) of 1716–1717 in order to participate in – perhaps even to lead – one of the opera orchestras. If this is so, it would have been logical for the Milanese violinist to pack a few original compositions in his luggage, since he would certainly have anticipated being called on to play concertos before or between the acts in the opera house and also sonatas at the homes of Venetian patrons.

3. Schreivogel's musical models

It is a commonplace of artistic development that the subject begins with close imitation of one or models, albeit with the ever-present possibility of what literary critics call "misprision": a productive misreading of the model that may sometimes persist to become part of the later style. The attainment of artistic maturity then takes place, usually in stages, and involves both a gain in expertise at handling materials and the evolution of personal traits and preferences. In Schreivogel's case, we lack any truly early specimens: those in Dresden have the appearance of up-to-the-minute works showing a composer in full maturity and with a fully developed, distinctive artistic personality. Nevertheless, both the concertos and the sonatas betray clear lines of descent. We will consider each category separately.

Schreivogel's concertos are rooted in the north Italian (Bolognese-Venetian-Lombard) tradition. There is no trace in them of typical Roman elements such as the use of four distinct violin parts or the *ad libitum* status of the viola, even if the A major concerto employs, as we shall see, a typically

Corellian device. Perceptible influences on them go back as far as Giuseppe Torelli (1658–1709), the reputed "father" of the concerto, according to Quantz. From Torelli comes the *topos* of beginning a fast movement, as if fugally, with consecutive tonic and dominant statements of an accompanied subject on the violins but then continuing freely with *Fortspinnung*, leaving aside all thought of consolidating the fugal texture with a further entry in the bass and perhaps also in the viola.[22] Torellian, too, is the insistence on a separate coda rather than opting to end the movement simply with the closing material of the first period, as Vivaldi and his imitators generally did.[23] Like Torelli, Schreivogel usually opens a tutti passage with a memorable motto capable both of introducing a complete ritornello through the addition of complementary *Fortspinnung* and *Epilog* sections and of more episodic continuation. Finally, Schreivogel takes from Torelli (though perhaps via Tomaso Albinoni or Vivaldi) the practice of adding to the principal violin in selected "solo" passages a second principal violin, drawn in this instance from the first violins.[24]

Even if we ignore the red herring of a possible connection between Schreivogel and Albicastro via a common Swiss heritage, there are small hints, in the former's style, of familiarity with the south German (in the wide sense) school of violinist-composers. First, there is a high incidence in the concertos, as in the sonatas, of "polyphonic" textures achieved by means of double (or, less commonly, multiple) stopping. Sometimes, the added notes are intermittent and merely lend extra heft to what is still essentially single-line writing, but on other occasions the polyphony is sustained enough to produce the genuine effect of two interacting voices, as Ex. 1 shows.

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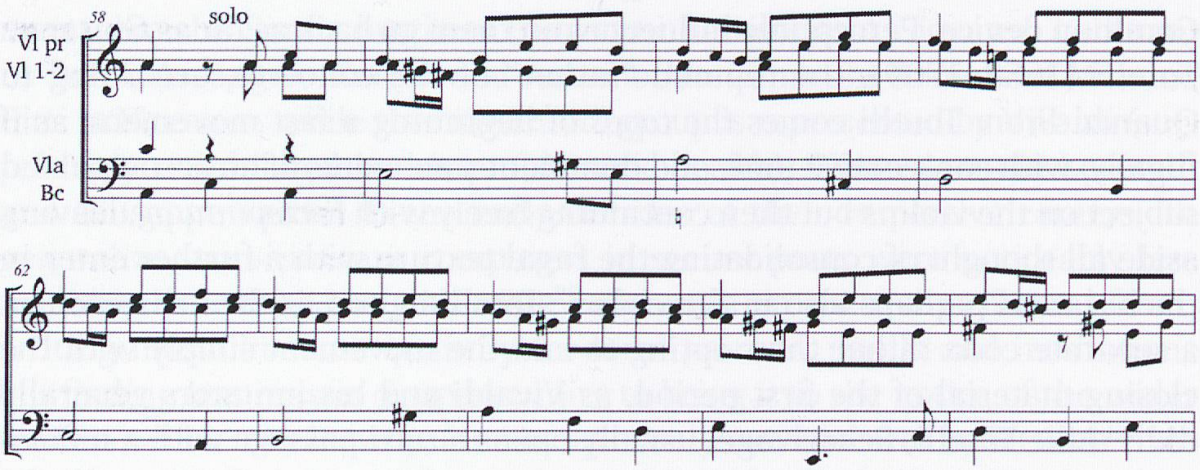
22 This "two-entry" opening formula maintains its popularity up to the end of the baroque period. A well-known instance of its use is the central slow movement of J. S. Bach's *Concerto for Two Violins in D minor* (BWV 1043). Schreivogel employs it in the final movements of all three concertos. In this article I shall refer to the classic tripartite division of musical periods into *Vordersatz* (preface), *Fortspinnung* (continuation) and *Epilog* (conclusion) coined as far back as 1915 by Wilhelm Fischer but in my view as valid as ever.

23 I am using "period" in an analytical sense to denote an element of musical structure, equivalent to a sentence in prose, that is syntactically complete and self-contained. Most periods end with a strong, regular cadence expressing a finality comparable with a full stop.

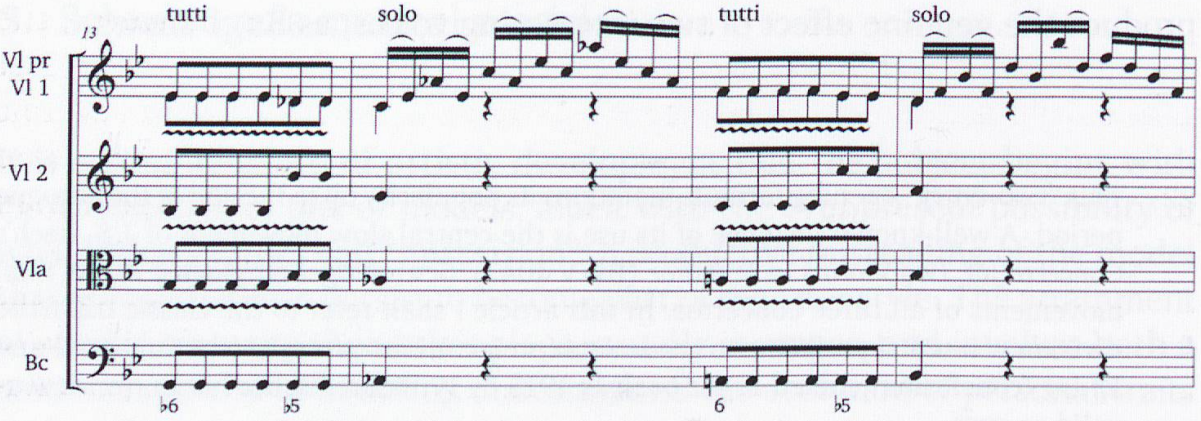
24 Giuseppe Torelli introduces a co-soloist in Op. 6 no. 10 (1698), Tomaso Albinoni in Op. 5 no. 12 (1707). In Antonio Vivaldi's Opp. 3 (1711) and 4 (1716) the use of a co-soloist occurs very frequently, a notable instance being the *Concerto in A major*, Op. 3 no. 5 (RV 519), which, while nominally a concerto for two violins (as are Op. 3 nos. 2, 8 and 11), is in morphological terms a solo concerto with only intermittent use of a co-soloist.



Ex. 1: Johann F. Schreivogel, *Violin Concerto in D minor*, third movement, bars 58–66.

True, Italian violinist-composers did not shun polyphonic writing for their instrument, and some, Zuccari in particular,[25] were able to achieve prodigies of musical and technical complexity in this domain. In the end, it is all a question of degree. What does most to persuade me that Schreivogel had some connection to the German violinistic tradition is the fact that double-stopping is the principal and most recurrent source of complexity in his writing for the instrument: he shows much less interest in utilizing the violin's ultra-high register or testing the player's bow hand with inventive articulations.

And then there is the use of "undulating tremolo" articulation in the central section of the slow movement of the C minor concerto, as shown in Ex. 2.



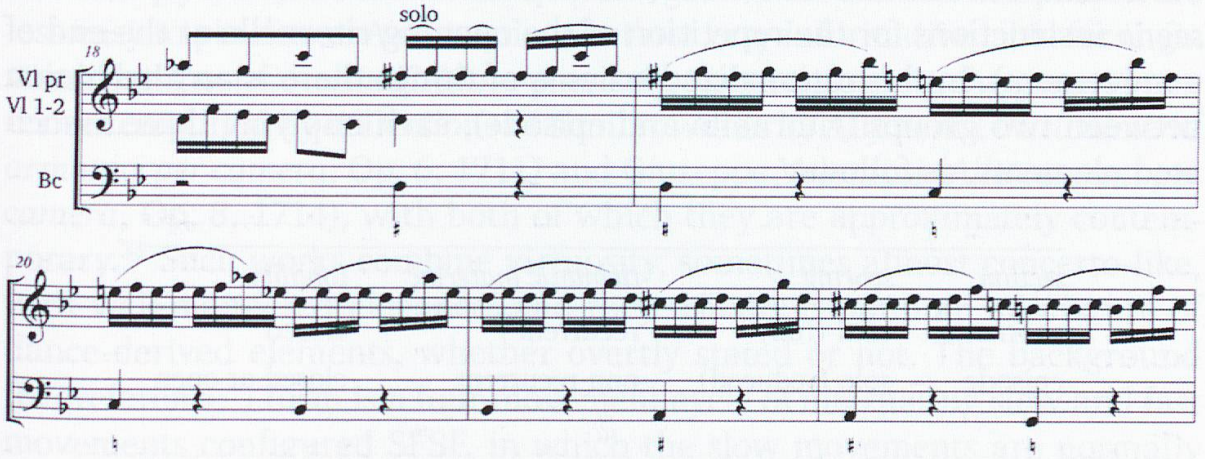
Ex. 2: Johann F. Schreivogel, *Violin Concerto in C minor*, second movement, bars 13–17.

Something akin to this kind of articulation certainly appears later in Vivaldi, although it is never indicated simply by a horizontal wavy line, as here. On the other hand, it appears in rather similar guise in the internal slow

25 See the discussion in Michael Talbot, "Eight 'double-stopped' fugues in A major: essays in the union of counterpoint and violinistic virtuosity by Corelli, Bitti, Albinoni, Carbonelli and Zuccari", in: *Ad Parnassum*, 12/24 (2014), pp. 1–29.

movement of the fourth concerto in Albicastro's *Concerto a quattro* Op. 7 no. 4. For Italian music from the middle of the 1710s both the effect and its notation are quite exotic, so to posit a possible connection with German practice is not unreasonable.

A third and final feature apparently linking Schreivogel to Albicastro and the south German school in general is his penchant for harmonically complex phrases which, when treated sequentially, produce a powerful, but at the same time aurally challenging, effect. Take, for example, the episodic sequence beginning half way through bar 18 of the first movement of the C minor concerto (Ex. 3).



Ex. 3: Johann F. Schreivogel, *Violin Concerto in C minor*, first movement, bars 18–22.

It is clearly an elaboration (through chromatic alterations in both treble and bass) of a stepwise-descending series of 7–6 progressions. However, the lateness of the chromatic "corrections" in the violin part (on the very last note of a phrase containing eight semiquavers) and the tolerance of acerbic intervals such as the diminished fourth (e.g., f#''– b^{b}'' in bar 19) generate a kind of harmonic turgidity – using this word dispassionately rather than as a criticism – rarely encountered in Italian music.

Predictably, the major influence on Schreivogel is from Vivaldi in his second compositional period, which one can date approximately from *L'estro armonico*, Op. 3 (1711) to Opp. 6 and 7 (1719).[26] When assessing the for-

26 Using publication dates to imply composition dates is inherently unsafe for two reasons. First, published sets typically contain both works purpose-written for them shortly before the date of delivery to the publisher and older works plucked from the composer's personal archive that may be stylistically divergent. Second, there is often a long lead time between delivery of the manuscript and emergence of the publication, either because of queues of works awaiting typesetting or engraving or because of difficulties in financing the publication (as appears to have been the case for Vivaldi's Op. 4, *La stravaganza*, which had to wait until 1716 to come out). However, approximation is better than nothing.

mer's debt to Vivaldi in structural matters it is important to be aware that the traditionally proposed paradigms relating to ritornello form in the fast movements of the Venetian master are not only schematic approximations arising from an "averaging" of several features that only sometimes come together in complete, perfect form: they also relate primarily to the period of Vivaldi's mass production of concertos, the 1720s, when the composer was busily supplying a steady stream of concertos both to the Ospedale della Pietà in Venice and to his principal patron *pro tempore*, count Václav Morzin.[27] The streamlining and regularization of Vivaldi's ground plans for movements can indeed be seen as a device to facilitate and speed up both composition and notation (via expedients such as *da capo* or *dal segno* instructions for the repetition of the opening ritornello at the end of a movement). In this rationalized scheme of things there is an alternation between two groups (ritornello and episode), each implying three associated elements, as follows:

section	*scoring*	*thematic material*	*tonality*
ritornello	tutti (full)	recurrent	closed
episode	solo (reduced)	non-recurrent	closed or open

In Vivaldi's concertos of the 1710s there is already a rationalization at the macrostructural level, in that the three-movement cycle has become normative in comparison with the variable and often less concise designs of the pre-*Estro* period.[28] The tonal trajectory of movements – from Tonic to Dominant (or sometimes Relative Major in minor-key movements), to one or more "peripheral" keys and back to Tonic – is another settled item. But at the microstructural level the tidy correspondences shown in the above plan are often only inchoate: instead, the music "mixes and matches" elements to produce a much more complex and unpredictable pattern. For instance, periods within which both tutti and solo scoring appear at different points are common. There may be solo enclaves within a generally tutti scoring, or the reverse. Or a tutti *Vordersatz* – in other words, a "motto" preface similar to those employed regularly by earlier concerto writers such as Torelli and

27 Examples of such paradigms are those given in Michael Talbot, *Vivaldi* (London: Dent, 1978), pp. 142–143, and Peter Ryom, *Vivaldis koncerter* (København: Engstrøm & Sødring, 1994), pp. 51–52.

28 On these, see Federico Maria Sardelli, "Le opere giovanili di Antonio Vivaldi", in: *Studi vivaldiani*, 5 (2005), pp. 45–79. Concertos by Vivaldi with four movements are found in both Op. 3 (nos. 2, 4, 7 and 11) and Op. 4 (no. 7), but these most probably come from a stratum considerably earlier than the respective dates of publication (1711 and 1716).

Albinoni – may give way to a solo *Fortspinnung* and *Epilog*.[29] One also finds much interchange of characteristics by comparison with the rigidities of the standard schema, such as tutti passages employing non-recurrent (i.e., non-ritornello) material, solo passages echoing thematic material first heard in tutti scoring, modulating rather than tonally stable ritornellos and so forth. So it is with this more fluid approach to movement design that the concertos of the first generation of Vivaldi's imitators need to be compared, not with the less elastic formulas of the 1720s. Viewed in this light, Schreivogel's concertos actually become more, not less, Vivaldian on account of their possession of many of the supposedly deviant characteristics just described.[30]

The stylistic antecedents of Schreivogel's violin sonatas in Dresden are less easy to pin down. A convenient but not very informative label for them would be "post-Corellian". More precisely, they conform to the general pattern exemplified by collections of similar works by Albinoni (*Trattenimenti armonici per camera*, Op. 6, 1711) and Giuseppe Valentini (*Allettamenti per camera*, Op. 8, 1714), with both of which they are approximately contemporary.[31] Such works combine virtuosity, sometimes almost concerto-like, with well-mannered elegance, and they usually contain an admixture of dance-derived elements, whether overtly stated or not. The background (or "reference") form is a four-movement cycle of alternating slow and fast movements configured SFSF, in which the slow movements are normally unitary (through-composed), while the fast movements may be either unitary or binary.[32] In certain respects, Schreivogel's Dresden sonatas are progressive. Some of the binary movements are thematically rounded: that is, the initial motive recurs, as a kind of signpost, at the exact point where the movement regains the tonic. More interestingly, the E minor and D

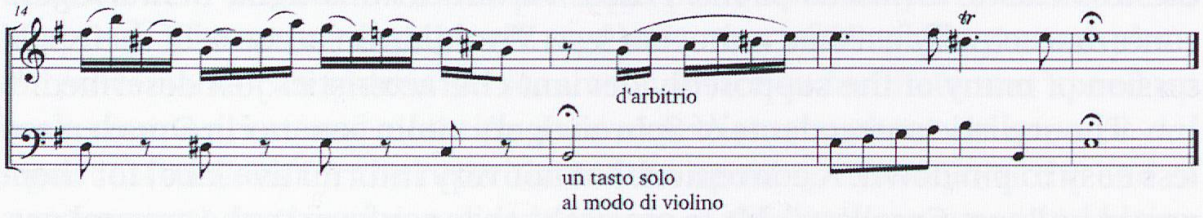
29 Good cases in point are the second periods of the first movements of Op. 3 no. 3 and Op. 4 no. 1.

30 For its forensic examination of what I have called the microstructure of ritornello form movements in late baroque Italian concertos (moreover, one in which the Milanese school – minus the unmentioned Schreivogel – is given its due prominence), Simon McVeigh and Jehoash Hirshberg, *The Italian solo concerto 1700–1760: rhetorical strategies and style history* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004) can hardly be bettered. Even so, I think that this study (and most others before it, including those by me) treats Vivaldi's handling of ritornello form in too monolithic a fashion, taking insufficient account of its evolution over time.

31 The same basic template is used for most of the Vivaldi violin sonatas supplied by the composer to, or copied by, Pisendel.

32 The distinction between binary and unitary often becomes rather artificial, depending ultimately on the single criterion of whether or not the movement is bisected by a double bar with a row of dots on both sides. Nearly all sonata movements, regardless of their differences, follow the standard tonal trajectory of Tonic–Dominant–peripheral key(s)–Tonic, exactly as in concerto movements.

major sonatas (assuming that the latter is indeed by Schreivogel) adopt the streamlined SFF (as opposed to FSF) cycle obtained, so to speak, by suppressing the second, rather than the first, slow movement. This rather short-lived design first becomes popular in the 1720s with such composers as G.B. Somis and Giuseppe Tartini. Just before the end of the opening movement of the E minor sonata Schreivogel even invites the violinist to improvise a cadenza over a continuo pedal-note (Ex. 4).



Ex. 4: Johann F. Schreivogel, *Violin Sonata in E minor*, first movement, bars 14–17.

Schreivogel's progressive approach to the sonata emerges still more clearly in a composition in that genre from the second half of his career, to be discussed later.

4. The concertos

The D minor and A major concertos have the look of companion works, having been copied by the same person, Pisendel, on the same paper, and – so one would infer – at the same point in time. The C minor concerto was evidently copied by Pisendel separately and later. But the many musical features that it has in common with the other two concertos suggest that it is coeval.

Two out of the three concertos are in minor keys, as are two of the three sonatas for which Schreivogel's authorship is probable. This sample is far too small to tempt one into suggesting that Schreivogel "privileged" minor tonalities, still less to hint at the composer's temperament. The strong representation of minor keys does, however, conform to the typical picture of the 1710s, which appears to have been the last decade in which major and minor keys appear with roughly equal frequency in Italian concertos and sonatas for strings alone. In the 1720s major keys begin to pull away from minor keys as regards frequency, and by the 1730s major-key hegemony is an established fact – which will intensify as the dominant or subdominant major replace the relative minor as the preferred choice of contrasting key for an internal slow movement in a major-key work. This evolution can

be seen in Vivaldi's concerto collections, where Opp. 3, 4, 6, all from the 1710s, preserve parity of major and minor, Opp. 8 and 9 (1725 and 1727, respectively) show a slight decrease in minor tonality and Opp. 10–12 (1729) consolidate the dominance of the major mode.[33]

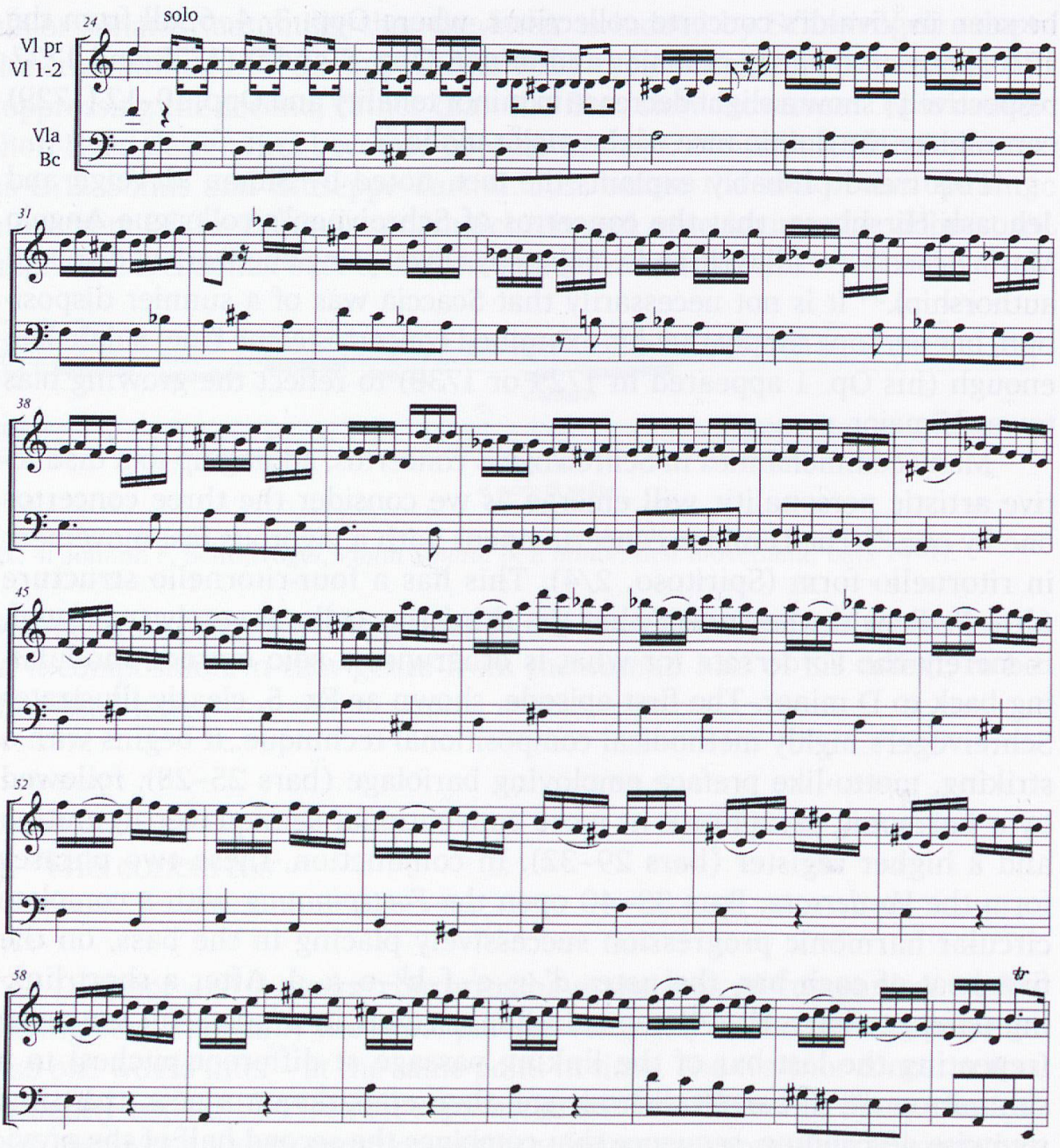
This trend probably explains the fact, noted by Simon McVeigh and Jehoash Hirshberg, that the concertos of Schreivogel's colleague Angelo Maria Scaccia are all written in major keys (excepting one work of disputed authorship).[34] It is not necessarily that Scaccia was of a sunnier disposition, but perhaps simply that his examined concertos come from a date late enough (his Op. 1 appeared in 1729 or 1730) to reflect the growing bias towards major.

Many commonalities in Schreivogel's concertos, adding up to a distinctive artistic personality, will emerge as we consider the three concertos one by one.[35] The D minor concerto opens with a vigorous fast movement in ritornello form (Spiritoso, 2/4). This has a four-ritornello structure (d–a–F–d), with the "twist" that the third ritornello, severely truncated, is merely the *Vordersatz* for what is otherwise a solo episode modulating back to D minor. The first episode, shown as Ex. 5, clearly illustrates Schreivogel's highly methodical compositional technique. It begins with a striking, motto-like preface employing bariolage (bars 25–28), followed by a harmonic paraphrase in more conventional semiquaver figuration and a higher register (bars 29–32). In conjunction, these two phrases form the *Vordersatz*. Bars 33–40 open the *Fortspinnung* with a complete circular harmonic progression successively placing in the bass, on the first beat of each bar, the notes d'–g–c'–f–b^{b}–e–a–d. After a short linking passage (bars 41–44) the solo line ascends in a powerful sequence (repeating the last bar of the linking passage at different pitches) to a summit on d''' in bar 48. Schreivogel then embarks on a new, this time stepwise descending, sequence that combines the second half of the previous sequential cell with a new first half (bars 49–54) and effects a smooth modulation to A minor through chromatic alteration of B flat to B natural.

33 Vivaldi's Op. 7 is omitted from consideration since it contains a proportion of non-authentic items. In unpublished works the drift towards major-key dominance is if anything stronger: in the longer sets typically containing 12 works that are more common towards the beginning of the century (whereas by the 1720s, because of the general expansion of musical dimensions, sets of only six works have started to become more usual) the custom of avoiding key-duplication within an opus probably raises artificially the incidence of minor keys.

34 McVeigh–Hirshberg, *The Italian solo concerto*, p. 258.

35 The reader is reminded that Pisendel's scores are all viewable in digitized form on the web site of the SLUB, which is accessible either directly or via links for individual works in the RISM database.



Ex. 5: Johann F. Schreivogel, *Violin Concerto in D minor*, first movement, bars 24–64.

The juxtaposition of two or more different sequences with a thematic element in common, creating what one might call a "sequence chain", is a characteristic device of Schreivogel. In bar 55 the composer emerges from the sequence to introduce, in bars 56–58, an insistent, thrice-repeated figure based on a dominant seventh (very reminiscent of Vivaldi, as, for example, in bars 10–11 of the first movement of his A minor concerto Op. 3 no. 6). This is repeated a fourth higher, to be followed by a pithy but powerful *Epilog* in bars 62–65. Beautifully sculpted, this episode and those that follow are conservative in two significant ways: the soloist's part is based exclusively on semiquaver passage-work, as in the first generation of north Italian concertos (whereas even as early as Op. 3 Vivaldi is start-

ing to diversify his rhythmic patterns), hence allowing no space for lyrical expression; and the accompaniment is confined to continuo. Lean texture also characterizes the tutti sections of this movement, where second violins mostly double the first violins (a fact enabling Pisendel to employ systems of four rather than five staves).

The second, A minor, statement of the ritornello follows the course of the first, but not mechanically. It retains the interpolation for soloist and co-soloist (playing mostly in the typical parallel thirds) at the start of the *Epilog* but then moves directly to the cadential phrase, excising intermediate material. This readiness to condense reminds one of Vivaldi, although with Schreivogel it generally takes less extreme forms. In the final, D minor, statement of the ritornello a different, more ingenious, form of variation is adopted: the solo "enclave" is omitted, the intermediate material is restored and the cadential phrase is followed, in the manner of a coda, by a restatement of the opening solo phrase employing bariolage and a repetition of the cadential phrase an octave lower. The unexpected reintroduction of this memorable phrase, recalling a similar effect at the end of the third movement of Vivaldi's concerto Op. 3 no. 8 (RV 522), is one example among several of Schreivogel's precocious awareness of the dramatic potential of giving the solo violin highly individual, requotable material alongside the mass of less sharply defined passage-work.

The sarabande-like slow movement (Grave, 3/2), in A minor, is structured more simply, with merely one central statement, in the Dominant, of the deliberately four-square ritornello. The solo episodes, again with plain continuo accompaniment, are appropriately lyrical, highlighting Schreivogel's fondness for chromatic inflection, the Neapolitan Sixth being a favoured harmonic colouring. The second, longer, episode has in its centre (bars 38–43) a striking tutti interpolation, unrelated to ritornello material, introducing triple-stopped chords on united principal and first violins.

Mention has already been made of the quasi-fugal opening device employed for the ritornello in the third movement (Allegro, 3/4), where first and second violins remain independent throughout. Here, the contrapuntal interaction of the two violin parts, expressed through dialogue and imitation, is a constant delight. The two later ritornellos both modulate (respectively, from F major to A minor and from A minor to D minor), as a consequence of which the second of the two long episodes remains in A minor. This reversal of the expected tonal characteristics of ritornello and episode – within what remains a perfectly normal tonal trajectory – is a particularly radical expression of something we sometimes also find in Vivaldi, especially in his early concerto movements. Most of the final episode is given over to two-part "polyphonic" writing for the soloist, as usual accompanied only by the continuo. A brief reminiscence of it is used to

open the short coda (bars 99–105), which, paralleling the first movement, concludes with a satisfying repetition of the ritornello's final cadence in the lower octave. The course of the movement can be tabulated as follows:

section	*bars*	*total*	*keys*	*comment*
R1	1–21	21	d–d	Opens with fugal exposition limited to violins 1 and 2
E1	22–41	20	d–F	With simple continuo accompaniment
R2	42–58	17	F–a	Ritornello modulates but retains original thematic structure
E2	59–84	26	a	Tonally closed, with simple continuo accompaniment
R3	85–98	14	a–d	Similar to R1 but with "reversed" fugal entries
Coda	99–105	7	d	3 bars solo, 4 bars tutti

The A major concerto at first sight appears to strike out along a different path. It opens with two statements, respectively in the Tonic and the Dominant, of a slow, chordal introduction (Largo e staccato, C) followed by a Presto continuation, initially for soloist and continuo alone but concluding with tutti. This is a familiar Corellian opening device (as seen in Corelli's violin sonata op. 5 no. 1). The rest of the movement consists of two continuo-accompanied solo episodes punctuated by a ritornello employing new material and concluded by a lengthy coda, recalling texturally and harmonically the end of the opening movement of the first *Estro armonico* concerto, where the soloist is accompanied by detached orchestral chords.

The character and form of the slow movement, in F sharp minor (Largo e staccato, 3/4), resemble those of its counterpart in the D minor concerto. The second episode is unexpectedly short (three bars in length), and it would be equally possible to regard the movement as being in a simple "frame" ritornello form, whereby this episode is interpreted instead as a solo interpolation in a ritornello returning from the Dominant to the Tonic.

The giga-like bonhomie of the finale ([Allegro], 12/8), which opens with the usual pair of fugal entries, conceals some deft compositional touches. The second ritornello, which begins and ends in the Mediant (C sharp) minor, encases fugal entries in the original keys, A and E major, while the third and final ritornello navigates its way back neatly from Dominant to Tonic by reversing the order of the same fugal entries. The first solo episode opens with an arresting idea evocative (with the help of double stopping) of paired hunting horns – a good comparison would be with bars 30–41 of the finale of Vivaldi's concerto *L'autunno*, RV 293. The coda to this movement has the soloist initially accompanied by a *bassetto* on unison violins, a welcome variation on the otherwise ubiquitous recourse to the continuo for single-strand accompaniments.

With its 113 bars, the opening movement of the C minor concerto (Allegro, C) is the most elaborate of any by Schreivogel. The sturdy eloquence

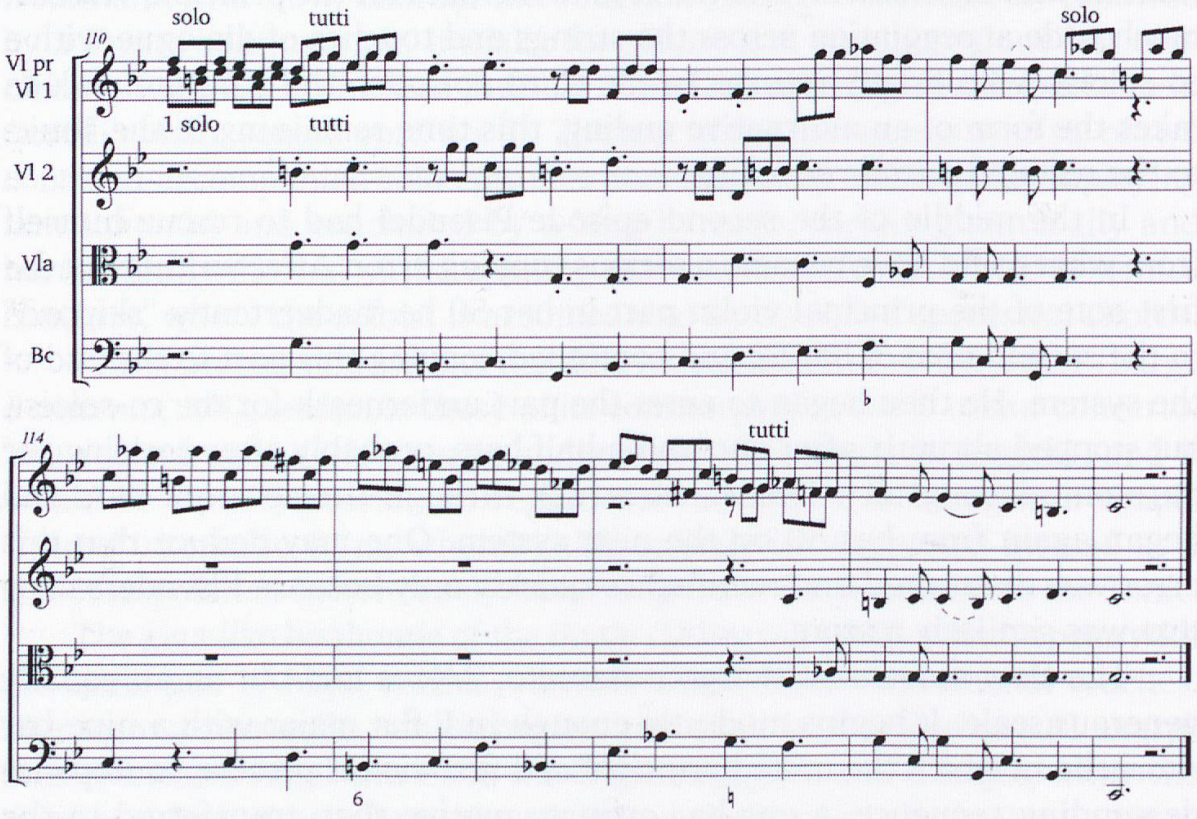
of the seven-bar opening motto-theme, which strongly recalls both Albinoni and Vivaldi in its combination of hammered repeated notes, rising and falling fifths and linking pairs of semiquavers, promises a movement of great seriousness and power, as do the chromatic shifts in the *Fortspinnung* phase of the period. Albinoni's influence is suggested in addition, here and also in the third ritornello, by the successive presentation of the motto-theme in two different keys: respectively, C minor/E flat major and G minor/C minor. The same skilful but not over-drastic reductions in the length of the ritornello on its later occurrences noted for the D minor concerto are equally in evidence here. An interesting feature is that all the ritornellos except the fourth and last end not with a full close but with an emphatic half close: Schreivogel seems to be deliberately avoiding anything that would suggest too neat a segmentation – a not unreasonable strategy for a movement on this scale. The first solo episode begins with a few bars of *bassetto* accompaniment, and the second includes for the principal violinist much wide arpeggiation across the strings and touches of dialogue with a co-soloist, who briefly returns in the third episode. The substantial coda takes the form of an alternative ending, this time remaining in the Tonic, to the restated initial ritornello.

In the middle of the second episode Pisendel had to rescue himself from what could have become a serious copying error. After writing out the first note of the principal violin part in bar 50 he inadvertently "skipped" to the second note of bar 51 and continued copying this part to the end of the system. He then began to enter the part underneath for the co-soloist, but stopped abruptly after one-and-a-half bars, probably after noticing the harmonic incongruity. Finally, he struck through the aberrant bars and began again from bar 50 on the next system. One may deduce that this error was discovered and rectified so quickly only because Pisendel's copy text was similarly a score.

The slow movement (Largo e staccato, 3/4) is laid out on an equally generous scale. It begins modestly enough in E flat major with a nine-bar ritornello in which the united principal and first violins present, in stepwise descending sequence, a one-bar ostinato motive that, transferred to the continuo, will intermittently underpin the single, extended solo episode forming the core of the movement. Three bars into the episode, the chugging quavers, employing in the upper parts the undulating tremolo already commented on, make their appearance. The regular alternation of these bars with bars in which the unaccompanied soloist delivers arpeggiated semiquaver figurations recalls similar patterns in slow movements such as those of Vivaldi's Op. 3 no. 3 (RV 310) and Albinoni's Op. 7 no. 4. In bar 31 this formula yields to a continuous stream of semiquavers for the soloist with light orchestral accompaniment in crotchets leading to a dramatic

climax on a dominant seventh chord in G minor. The music then reverts to a paraphrase of the continuo-accompanied opening of the solo. When the tutti resumes to conclude the movement in the manner of the opening ritornello, the tonality remains G minor. Tonal closure is therefore foregone. This is not such an unusual event in an internal slow movement, but it is perhaps unexpected in one otherwise so conventional in its structure.

The third movement is in its essentials a minor-key "twin" of the finale of the A major concerto. It is texturally a little more varied, containing passages employing a co-soloist and several instances of *bassetto* or light tutti accompaniment. Schreivogel successfully begins the fourth and final ritornello in F minor, using the fugal answer as the device steering the music round to the Tonic. As usual, there is a coda that briefly exposes the soloist for a last time. Its ending is too delicious not to quote (Ex. 6).



Ex. 6: Johann F. Schreivogel, *Violin Concerto in C minor*, third movement, bars 110–118.

5. The sonatas

The three-movement sonata in E minor with the Dresden shelfmark Mus. 2808-R-1 is relatively unproblematic in all respects. It is complete; Pisendel attributes it to Schreivogel; and although his notation of it is careless in several details, nothing stands in the way of studying it, or indeed of editing it for performance.

The same cannot be said, alas, for the five sonatas, for only one of which (by Heinichen) concordances are known, that are preserved in Mus. 1-R-70. This source consists of two loose bifolios foliated by the library respectively as ff. 1–2 and ff. 3–4, although the original ordering of the bifolios, which might provide a clearer indication of the sequence in which these works were copied, is unknown. Pisendel began writing on one of the bifolios (ff. 1–2) on the *verso* of the first folio rather than its *recto*. This was a common practice among Dresden musicians that allowed a title page to be added if desired and could also sometimes avoid the need for a page turn in instances where one of the movements was too long to fit on to a single page. On f. 1v he penned the first three movements of the D minor sonata headed with Schreivogel's name (see earlier). The fourth movement occupied the first twelve staves (making six systems) on f. 2r. There was then room to use the first six of the eight remaining staves for the first movement of a D major sonata lacking any heading except a tempo marking, "Adagio". Sixteen of the 20 available staves on f. 2v were used for the second movement and part of the third and final movement of this sonata. The conclusion of the third movement then spilled over on to the first system and part of the second system on the facing page, f. 1r. Pisendel was obviously in extreme haste when writing out the second and third movements, as evidenced by the omission of beams for semiquavers and a particularly high incidence of errors in general. One possible reason for this haste (but of course not the only one) could have been a limited period of access to the copy text.

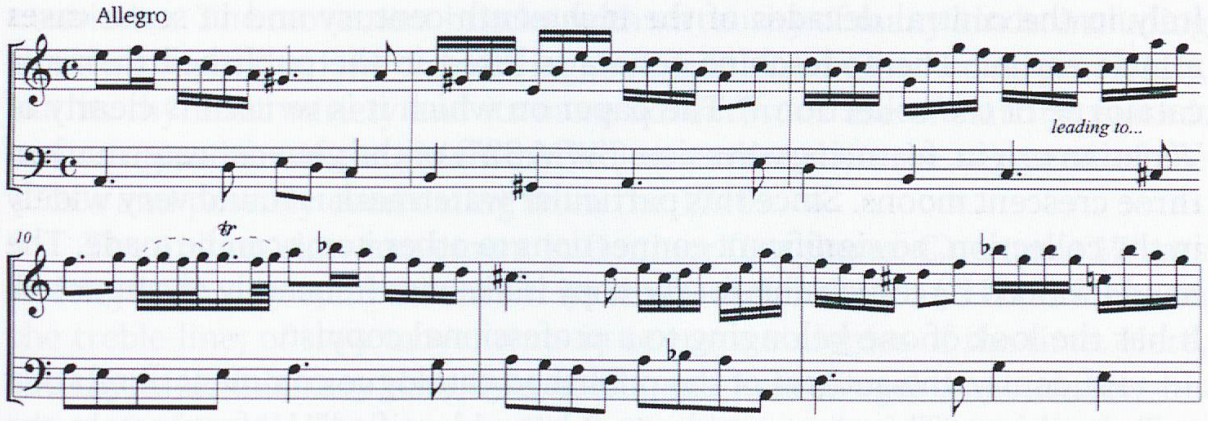
He started the other bifolio on the *recto* of the first folio (f. 3r). There he wrote out without any heading the first three movements of a G minor sonata. Here, too, there were many omissions of beams. The final movement was accommodated on the first seven systems of f. 3v. On the eighth and ninth systems Pisendel wrote out the first movement of another D major sonata, which was headed, correctly, with the name of Johann David Heinichen, the German musician who was shortly to enter the service (if he had not already done so) of the Saxon *Kurprinz* and return with him to Dresden as kapellmeister. The second and third movements, where beamless notes start to reappear, were easily fitted on to f. 4r, leaving the top of f. 4v for the concluding fourth movement.

At some stage, perhaps immediately after copying either the Heinichen sonata or the other D major sonata (depending on which bifolio was used first), Pisendel decided to insert another sonata as a space-filler for the vacant staves at the bottom of f. 1r and f. 4v. This was an unheaded sonata in F major ostensibly (unless copied incompletely) in only two movements: an "Adagio" and an "Allegro". The first movement and part of the second went on f. 1r; the remainder of the second movement was entered extremely scrappily in the lower half of f. 4v. The manuscript's content can be summarized as follows:

no.	*key*	*folios*	*attribution*	*comment*
1	d	1v→2r	Schreivogel	Incomplete, lacking start of 2nd movement
2	D	2r→3v, 1r	Schreivogel (?)	
3	g	3r→3v	—	Probably not by Schreivogel
4	D	3v→4v	Heinichen	
5	F	1r, 4v	—	Possibly incomplete; probably not by Schreivogel

There is one significant doubt: does the inscription "Scharifogel" in red crayon at the top of f. 1r refer to the D major sonata about to conclude, to the F major sonata beginning further down the page or even to both? I incline to think that it refers only to the D major sonata, which like the separate E minor sonata is in three movements configured SFF, still unusual at the time, and has a unitary first movement employing the Corellian opening formula described earlier for the first movement of the A major concerto. In contrast, the F major sonata has a binary first movement – not otherwise found in Schreivogel's sonatas in Dresden – and an absence of any stylistic fingerprints pointing clearly to him. But the situation remains uncertain. As for the G minor sonata, there is no special reason to attribute it to Schreivogel; but, conversely, there are no strong counter-indications.

Where the definitely attributable D minor sonata is concerned, one quickly comes up against a very unpalatable fact: Pisendel has seemingly omitted from his copy the entire first section of the binary second movement, either by accident in the heat of the moment or because the copy text itself was defective. As the notation stands, this continuously running allegro movement of only 19 bars begins in A minor and ends in D minor. This is implausible in itself (the first fast movement of a sonata or concerto is virtually always in the home key), but the clinching feature is an inconspicuously introduced reprise in D minor of what must have been the opening theme half way through the tenth bar. Ex. 7 shows for comparison the opening of the section and the reprise. The 19 bars must constitute only the second section of a movement in rounded binary form.



Ex. 7: Johann F. Schreivogel, *Violin Sonata in D minor*, second movement, bars 1–3 and 10–12 (second section).

The bass part in the eleventh bar illustrates, incidentally, a kind of error Pisendel repeatedly makes. The flat that in the music example is correctly prefixed to the fifth quaver, b, appears instead before the fourth quaver, a, in Pisendel's manuscript. In her liner notes for a recent recording on CD of the entire contents of Mus. 1-R-70 (plus other Dresden works) the violinist, Martyna Pastuszka, writes of often deciding in favour of the "original" version (i.e., the text exactly as copied) "despite its somewhat bizarre, 'outlandish' character".[36] The performance confirms this bias. My advice in such difficult cases would be: accept the bizarre only when you have exhausted all possible alternative explanations.

However, the fortunate survival in Berkeley, California, of an isolated violin sonata in E flat major by a composer identified on the manuscript simply as "Todeschino" but beyond doubt identifiable as Schreivogel doubles the number of sonatas by him that are both completely preserved and definitely authentic.[37] The manuscript belongs to a vast hoard of over 1,000 instrumental works commonly known as the "Tartini Collection" on account of the particularly large number of compositions by Tartini and his Dalmatian pupil Michele Stratico it contains, and whose ownership is in large part traceable back to the Abbé Antonio Bonaventura Sberti (1731–1816). In fact, this collection, which holds items by 82 named composers (plus, in all likelihood, several more who are unnamed), presents a good cross-section of the instrumental music composed in northern, and especially north-eastern,

36 *Music in Dresden in the times of Augustus II the Strong*, Martyna Pastuszka (violin), Marcin Świątkiewicz (harpsichord), Krzystof Firlus (viola da gamba), CD DUX 0968 (released 2013).

37 University of California at Berkeley, Jean Gray Hargrave Music Library, It. 951. I should like to acknowledge here the kindness of John Shepard, Curator of Music Collections at this library, who responded instantly to my request for information, sending me a scan of the manuscript of interest.

Italy in the central decades of the eighteenth century and in some cases a little earlier. The Todeschino sonata is listed in the published thematic catalogue of the collection.[38] The paper on which it is written is clearly of Venetian origin, featuring a version ("WM 32") of the generic watermark of three crescent moons. Since this particular watermark is found very widely in the collection, no significant connections to other items can be made. The hand ("Hand H") responsible for the copy is likewise frequently encountered. It has the look of one belonging to a professional copyist.

Prudently, the authors of the published catalogue comment in relation to Todeschino: "This composer has not been identified". Unfortunately, the uncertainly has been resolved – but incorrectly – in more recent times. The RISM database (ID no. 000136776) attributes it to the Florentine singer and composer of German extraction Filippo Maria Dreyer (c.1703–1772), who is yet another musician to have borne this nickname. That Dreyer is a poor candidate for authorship is clear already from the fact that he is not credited with having composed any other instrumental composition, let alone such an idiomatic violin piece.[39] In contrast, Schreivogel's claim is strong to the point of irrefutable: the period, context and geographical area are just right; moreover, the style of the sonata is exactly what one would expect from a violinist-composer twenty or so years after the date of the Dresden sonatas.

The sonata is cast in three movements: this time, not in the SFF configuration so popular in the 1720s but in the concerto-like FSF design that by the 1730s had supplanted both SFSF and SFF models as the most popular choice in Italian sonatas. The bustling first movement (Vivace, C) is in a highly developed rounded binary form in which there are also correspondences of material at the close of each section, a progressive trait. Unusually, the movement is "hinged" not on the Dominant key, but on the mediant minor (G minor). Elsewhere, I have written about what I have termed a "privileged" key relationship in late baroque music – and in Vivaldi's music in particular – between E flat major and G minor: a relationship that is not generic (i.e., occurring between any Tonic major and Mediant minor) but tonally specific – and in the case of violin music possibly related to the prominence of the single pitch g (the most powerful of the open strings) in both keys.[40] Schreivogel handles this unusual tonal trajectory with skill and

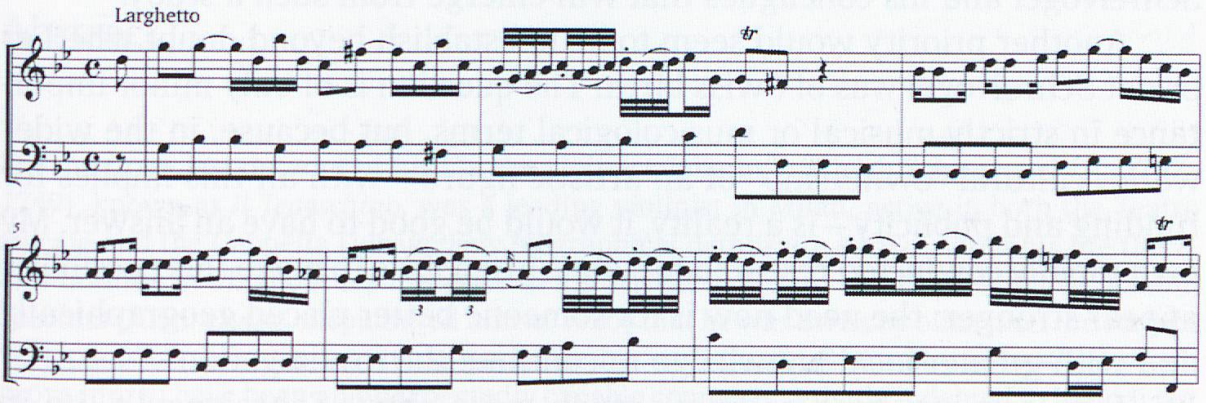
38 Minnie Elmer – Vincent Duckles, *Thematic catalog of a manuscript collection of eighteenth-century Italian instrumental music* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), p. 355.

39 One could point out in addition that the old-fashioned two-flat key signature employed for E flat major is consistent with a composer born some years before 1700 but less so with one born after that year, as Dreyer was.

40 Michael Talbot, *The Vivaldi Compendium* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011), p. 149, with references to earlier literature.

conviction. The movement bristles with virtuosity of many kinds, including double stopping and the cross-string arpeggiation commented on previously, but its rhythmic variety and its more adventurous use of slurring mark it out as a product of the *galant* period no earlier than the very end of the 1720s and possibly even dating from the 1740s.

The unitary slow movement in G minor (Larghetto, C), a mere 17 bars in length, is very reminiscent, in its shady melancholy and total focus on the treble line, of slow movements in operatic sinfonias of the time. Here, the rhythmic intricacy rises by a notch, and Schreivogel demonstrates his mastery of musical contouring. Ex. 8 gives its opening.



Ex. 8: Johann F. Schreivogel ("Todeschino"), *Violin Sonata in E flat major*, second movement, bars 1–6.

For the finale Schreivogel selects, as in two of his concertos, "giga" tempo and rhythm (Allegro, 12/8). Hinged on the expected B flat major, this is a more conventionally organized and rhythmically homogeneous binary movement than the opening Vivace, but the composer repeatedly springs little rhythmic surprises to keep both player and listener alert.

In sum, this is a very attractive, indeed masterly, sonata, which shows great sophistication in all its details, including its use of chromatic harmony (as in the Dresden compositions). Because it is the only known work by Schreivogel to date from this late period it inevitably lacks context, but its connection to the Dresden group, for all the surface differences, is obvious enough under the microscope.

6. Where now for Schreivogel?

Several thoughts arise as this article nears its conclusion. The first is that the addition of a significant, but in musicological terms completely new, composer to the already well populated group of violinist-composers active in Milan approximately between 1700 and 1760 makes it more urgent than ever for some scholar, preferably one with regular access to local sources, to produce a comprehensive study of the achievement of the Milanese violin school. Doubtless, there are unsuspected links of many kinds between Schreivogel and his colleagues that will emerge from such a study.

Another priority would seem to be to establish beyond doubt whether or not Schreivogel was of Swiss birth. The question is of only minor importance in strictly musical or musicological terms, but because, in the wider world, cultural "ownership" of an artistic figure – with all this implies for funding and publicity – is a reality, it would be good to have an answer. My own rapidly conducted research has done just a little to make this possibility appear stronger: the need now is for someone better placed geographically and with greater local knowledge to continue the investigation.

Similarly, we need to know much more about Schreivogel's life in Milan. When did he arrive there, and when did he die? What more can be said about his wife and family? Answers to these questions may be hard to track down, but there should at least still exist further evidence of his participation in performances and notes of payments made to him.

The relationship, certainly musical and potentially even personal, between Schreivogel and Vivaldi deserves further study for the better understanding of the latter as well as of the former. In recent years we have become increasingly aware of the constellation of lesser, but by no means discountable, musicians who clustered around the *Prete rosso* during his first (Venetian) period of opera composition: such men as Fortunato Chelleri, Alberto Gallo and Giovanni Porta, all of whom were strongly influenced by his musical style and produced music that has on occasion been mistaken for his. To these we can now legitimately add Schreivogel, whose violin concertos were, it seems, the first of their kind by a composer from Milan to adopt almost in full the Vivaldian structural and expressive model.

Schreivogel's music deserves on ground of merit, but also of historical interest, to be published in critical editions, performed in concert and recorded.[41] It is certainly not epigonic in the sense of merely trotting out borrowed formulas, although it appropriates and synthesizes plenty of good

41 Since these lines were written, the author's editions of the two publishable sonatas (those in E minor and E flat major) have appeared from Edition HH (Launton, England).

ideas of every kind from the most recent concertos and sonatas in circulation at the time as well as some elements from an older stratum within both genres. One might describe Schreivogel's approach as systematic – but never lazily automatic. Very likely, a few further, as yet unrecognized, works by him are preserved, perhaps under variants of either of his two surnames not already encountered, or, at least, are listed in old catalogues. Be that as it may, enough music by him has survived as things stand to give us a very clear picture of a highly interesting composer.

Abstract

For the three last decades of his life the violinist Johann Friedrich Schreivogel (*fl.* 1707–1749), known as *Il Tedeschino*, was a leading violinist in Milan, active in both the Teatro Ducale and the Cappella Ducale. Few biographical details are known about his life there, and nothing at all about his life prior to his arrival in Milan, but a statement by Johann Joachim Quantz (who encountered him in 1726) that he was Swiss by birth is on the surface very plausible. His few surviving works for his own instrument, not previously studied, prove him to have been an unexpectedly capable composer, greatly indebted to Vivaldi but also possessing some individual traits, as the article describes in some detail. The three concertos and at least two sonatas surviving in Dresden were copied by Johann Georg Pisendel in Venice in 1716–1717, while an isolated violin sonata in the so-called "Tartini Collection" in Berkeley can be dated, on account of its *galant*-inflected style, to the years around 1730–1740. Schreivogel's name should certainly be added to the list of significant Milanese violinist-composers of the eighteenth century, and his reported Swiss connection deserves further investigation.

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