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## STUDI VIVALDIANI

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## VIVALDI'S MATERNAL HERITAGE

New documentary discoveries about Vivaldi come steadily to light. The industrious research of Micky White, much of it now captured in *Antonio Vivaldi: A Life in Documents*,<sup>1</sup> has provided a more secure foundation for exploring the composer's background. Recent discoveries concerning Vivaldi's maternal line and its implications for his family's association with the Pietà are discussed in this article. A central figure in the narrative is Vivaldi's maternal grandmother, Giovanna (often but not always "Zanetta") Temporini.<sup>2</sup> It is ironic that she could exert an enduring influence on the Vivaldi lineage, because she apparently died before Vivaldi or any of his siblings was born. Nothing about her life prior to marriage is known, so we begin with her marriage to her first husband, Giovanni Camillo Calicchio.

### 1. GIO. CAMILLO CALICCHIO

Online accounts of the lives of composers and/or their families are usually intended to sell products – concerts, festivals and tourism in particular. They are prone to hyperbole. Untangling fact from fiction is an increasingly necessary activity for Vivaldi scholars. The memory of Vivaldi's maternal grandfather is both blessed and cursed by a website expressly devoted to Calicchio's life. Its main purpose is to claim Vivaldi as a native son of Calicchio's birthplace, Pomarico. An ancient hilltop settlement in the province of Basilicata, Pomarico lay in the diocese of Matera and the political jurisdiction of the Kingdom of Naples.<sup>3</sup> Vivaldi's maternal grandfather was thus a subject of a foreign state,

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<sup>1</sup> MICKY WHITE, *Antonio Vivaldi: A Life in Documents* ("Quaderni vivaldiani", 17), Florence, Olschki, 2013.

<sup>2</sup> Vivaldi's grandmother was often called Zanetta, but her nicknames and multiple surnames almost never produced two identical renderings. The neutral "Giovanna" allows her identity to 'float' until all the facets of her identity are explored.

<sup>3</sup> When we read that Camilla Calicchio (Camillo's daughter and Antonio's mother) instilled a love of music in her son by singing him lullabies, we can be sure the claim is invented. Yet Antonio Bonavista's *Antonio Vivaldi, Musico Veneto dalle origini lucane*, at <<http://pomarico.homestead.com/VIVALDI/VIVALDI.html>>, posted on 31 March 2009, also contains some useful, if miscellaneous, information. The embroidery in it may have been inspired by such popular Vivaldi biographies as GIANFRANCO FORMICHETTI, *Venezia e il prete con violino. Vita di Antonio Vivaldi*, Milan, Bompiani, 2006, which contains imagined conversations, and VIRGILIO BOCCARDI, *Vivaldi a Venezia*, Milan, Feltrinelli, 2003, which constructs an inimical relationship between Camilla and Anna Girò and includes quotations of Camilla speaking in Venetian dialect (e.g., on pp. 228-230).

separated from the Venetian Republic on land by most of the peninsula, and at sea by the whole of the Adriatic's western shoreline plus the 'heel' of Italy's 'boot'). To wed a Venetian subject, Calicchio (c. 1628-1653 or later) required a *documento di stato libero* (Appendix, Document 1),<sup>4</sup> the proof of unencumbered eligibility for marriage required by the Curia.<sup>5</sup> From his *stato libero* we learn that Giovanni Camillo Calicchio,<sup>6</sup> son of the late Giuseppe, arrived in Venice around the start of the year 1650. He had been resident there for about ten months when, in October of that year, he submitted testimonials to the Curia. For six months prior to his arrival in Venice he had been "at school" – not in Pomarico but somewhat to the north, in Fasano (Puglia). He was accompanied there, and apparently also in Venice, by his uncle, Francesco de Rossi. Rossi seems likely to have been the brother of Calicchio's mother, Catterina de' Rossi, who was still living.<sup>7</sup>

One testimonial came from a priest from Fasano named Francesco Antonio Giliolo. The other was offered by Francesco Paolo Fanizza, who came from Pomarico but was by then living in Venice on the Campo Santa Maria Formosa. Their accounts are similar, but neither is very informative. We fail to learn anything more about Giuseppe Calicchio. Yet it is clear from the letter sent by Pomarico's town council that he had been a man of relatively high standing in the community. The son, Giovanni Camillo, does not appear to have had siblings, but his mother was still living. There is no hint in either testimonial why he would have wished to relocate to Venice. On 4 October 1650 Calicchio was described by both witnesses as "about 22 years old".

More impressive than the testimonials from these character witnesses is the letter of praise prepared by four elected councillors of the Unità di Pomarico who, together with its mayor Leonardo d'Alessandro, signed a civic endorsement on 26 May 1650. (The letter had been *en route* for more than four months!) These councillors – Gio. Battista Cattaldi, Carmelo Falco, Francesco de Leonardi and Costantino Gorrisio – attest to the young Calicchio's character and social condition. The letter was embossed with the city seal: bits of red wax still adhere to its stencil (see Illustration 1). In contrast to the signatories, the mayor identified himself with an X. The letter informs us that Calicchio had chosen Giovanna Temporini to be his bride. The pair must have become acquainted by Easter 1650.

Camillo Calichio and Giovanna Temporini were duly married in the church of Sant'Agnese,<sup>8</sup> the groom's parish in Dorsoduro, on Wednesday, 12 October 1650. The essential facts of the *stato libero* are repeated *verbatim* in the parochial

<sup>4</sup> Calicchio's origins were first reported in GASTONE VIO, *Antonio Vivaldi e i Vivaldi*, "Informazioni e studi vivaldiani", 4, 1983, pp. 82-96.

<sup>5</sup> Venetian noblemen were not permitted to make such marriages.

<sup>6</sup> The Greek surname Calicchio ("chalice"; also Colicchio) is unknown in Venice past and present. The family surname Calicchiopolo was recorded at San Polo in one eighteenth-century census, but no relationship to the present subject is evident.

<sup>7</sup> Rossi is identified as Camillo's *ziano* by Giliolo and as his *barba* by Fanizza. Both terms mean "uncle" in Venetian.

<sup>8</sup> Santa Maria del Rosario retains its parish registers today. Because there is no public access to these documents, I am profoundly grateful to Giuseppe Ellero for locating them and to Loris Stella for photographing them.

marriage entry, but new witnesses were provided. These were Paolo Antonio Miani (from the parish of San Samuele; occupation not given) and Andrea Balbi (from Sant'Agnese; a barber). The text reads:

Adi 12 ottobre 1650

Doppo le tre solite pubblicazioni in tre giorni festivi come appar nel libro delle stride fu contrato matr[imon]io per il R[everen]do Sr. D. Vidal Bognolo Piovan et suo, tra la sig[no]ra Zanetta fia del S[igno]r Andrea Temporin con il S[igno]r Camillo q[uondam] Isepo Calichi di Regno di Napoli tutti doi della nostra contrà, et poi subbito sposati li sop[radet]ti nella nostra Chiesa per il sop[radet]to S[igno]r Piovan, alla presenza dell'Ill[ustriss]mo S[igno]r Paolo Ant[onio] Miani fu de S[igno]r Jacomo della Contrà di S[an] Samuel et di m[es]s[er] Andrea Balbi Barbier della nostra contrà, osservato prima tutti li ordini del Sacro Concilio di Trento, et sinodali.<sup>9</sup>

In addition to the registration of the event, a reaffirmation of Calicchio's religious qualification for entry into this marriage is provided separately. The priest Giovanni Battista Prelli, a canon of San Marco and *piovano* of the church of San Vio, gave Calicchio absolution on 6 October.<sup>10</sup> Of Calicchio's life in Venice we know only that he worked as a tailor. He fathered two children – Salvatore Anzolo (24 September 1651) and Camilla Cattarina (24 December 1653). His son was baptized in the church of San Canciano on 2 October 1651.<sup>11</sup> Camilla was baptized in the church of Sant'Antonin on 29 December 1653, five days after her birth.<sup>12</sup> Her baptismal entry in the parish register reads:

<sup>9</sup> Venezia, Archivio della Parrocchia di Santa Maria del Rosario, Registri canonici della soppressa parrocchia di Sant'Agnese, VI Registro Matrimoni comincia 28 marzo 1638 termina 12 giugno 1661, N. 6, f. 216. The phrase "tutti doi della nostra contrà" may not be completely correct, because later documentation indicates that the bride's family was resident from c. 1630 or earlier in San Giovanni in Bragora.

<sup>10</sup> Archivio Parrocchiale di S. Agnese, Filza matrimoni S. Agnese 1646-1650, f. 41: "Si fa fede per la Cancelleria Patriarcale di Venetia, qualmente à stato provato per testimoniali di Pomarico, et testimonij essaminati in essa Cancelleria, che D. Gio: Camillo Calichio q[uondam] D. Giuseppe da Pomarico Diocesi di Mathera, d'età d'anni 22 in c[irc]a habita in Venetia continuamente da dieci mesi in qua, et non s'è mai maritato, ne promesso in alcun luogo; et però potrà admettersi alla celebratione di matrimonio servatis servandis etc. In quorum fidem etc. Datum Venetiis ex Patriarchale Palatio die 6 octobri 1650". (The text quotes heavily from Giliolo's testimony relating to the groom's *stato libero*.) The two signatures that follow are illegible. Then we find appended this note: "Cl. Franc[iscus] Montanarius Canc[elliere]. Faccio fede con mio giuramento Jo Pre Gio. Battista Prelli Piovano in San Vio e Can[oni]co in S. Marco come hoggi che li 6 del mese di ottobre ho confessato il S[igno]r Camillo Calichi et sacramentalmente assolto. Data di chiesa li 6 d'ott[obre] 1650. In quorum fidem".

<sup>11</sup> Archivio Patriarcale, Parrocchia di San Canciano 172, containing the archives of the Chiesa di S[an] Gio[vanni] Novo, Battessimi e Matrimonii, Fasc. 1 (1577-1770), f. 704: "1651. A die 2 Ottobre, Salvador, et Anzolo figl[i]o del Sig. Camillo Calichi del luoco di Pomarichi Diocese di Matera in Regno di Napoli et della Sig[no]ra Zanetta sua leg[ittima] Consorte nato li 24 di settembre pross[im]o pass[ato], fu il compadre l'Ill[ustriss]mo Sig[no]re Alvise Bembo fu de S[er] Mattio della mia parrocchia de S[an] Cancian; battezzato da me Dott[ore] Alvise Zane Piovano".

<sup>12</sup> Archivio Patriarcale, Archivio Parrocchiale di San Giovanni in Bragora, containing the archives of the Chiesa di Sant' Antonin, Registro dei Battezzimi 3 (5 agosto 1651 – 26 aprile 1664), entry by date. (Many sources incorrectly give Camilla's birth year as 1655.) The original document is discussed and shown in MICKY WHITE, *Antonio Vivaldi: A Life in Documents*, cit., pp. 3-4.

Adì 29 Xmbre 1653

Camilla e Cattarina fig[li]a del S[igno]r Camillo del q[uondam] Iseppo Calicchio Sartor, et della S[ignor]a Zanetta sua Consorte nata a dì 24 del corre[n]te fù battezzato da me Piovan contras[critt]o. Comp[ar]e s[er] Z[an] Batt[ist]a Zaccabeati tentor stà à S. Zuane Bragora q[uondam] Troilo.

Subsequent to the birth of Camilla Cattarina, her father's presence becomes impossible to trace.<sup>13</sup> His name does not appear in the (infrequently compiled) records of the tailors' guild or in Venetian property rolls. No further rites of passage are recorded in the archives of San Giovanni in Bragora; nor in those of the surrounding parishes (San Giovanni Novo, Sant' Antonin, San Canciano, San Martino); nor in the records of his original parish, Sant'Agnese.<sup>14</sup>

Camillo's son Salvatore was living in 1676 and may have lived for decades longer. Nothing is known of his occupation, spouse and children (if any). The one thing that is conspicuous is an absence of evidence that the relationship between brother and sister was in any way close. It is possible that when Giovanna was widowed (as she evidently was), Salvatore was already old enough (he would have had to reach the age of 10 or over), or eventually became old enough, to be apprenticed to a master of some trade. He could then have lived in the master's house for many years. There is no evidence of his presence in Giovanna's next home.

## 2. GIOVANNA TEMPORINI (I)

Vivaldi's maternal grandmother, Giovanna Temporini, has eluded most enquiries because she accumulated four different surnames. When these are combined with varying forms of the given name (Zanetta, Zanettina, Ioana, Ioaneta), it is not at first obvious that the references are to a single person. Giovanna seems to have been a woman of considerable inner strength. She possessed an indomitable will that not only prevailed over immediate adversity but was, it appears, also carried forward by her daughter Camilla.

Giovanna was born with the surname Temporini. A Temporini family can be traced back to the thirteenth century in Venice, although nothing of her own lineage is known prior to 1628. Today the surname is found mainly in Piedmont and Friuli.<sup>15</sup> Her father was called Andrea Temporini. Andrea's wife, Cattarina, catches our attention in a death register for the parish of San Giovanni in Bragora. She was 68 when she died, on 1 November 1670<sup>16</sup> (see Illustration 3), and thus

<sup>13</sup> One version of Bonavista's text has claimed that Calicchio died "di spasmo [...] negli anni cinquanta". "Negli anni cinquanta" must mean in the 1650s (i.e., while he was still in his thirties), but no date has been retrieved from the (significantly incomplete) Necrologio series in the archival files of the Provveditori alla Sanità (*I-Vas*).

<sup>14</sup> My further thanks to Giuseppe Ellero for investigating the Registri de' Morti of Sant'Agnese.

<sup>15</sup> As ascertained from the website <<http://www.cognomix.it>>.

<sup>16</sup> San Giovanni in Bragora, Archivio Parrocchiale, Busta 65, Reg. 1 (Morti, 1665-1686 M.V.), f. 45r: "A di p[rim]o 9bre 1670, La Sig[nora] Cattarina Consorte del Sig[nor] Andrea Temporini d'anni 68 in c[irc]a da febre, et mal della Matrice in g[ior]ni 9 Medico Leonardi la dà in roba, et fa sepelir il R[everen]do Sig[nor] Prè Gian Francesco Temporini suo figliolo sepolta in chiesa con cap[itol]o nel

would have been born c. 1602. Her burial, attended by the chapter of priests, was supervised by her son, Gian Francesco Temporini, who was one of them.<sup>17</sup>

This simple notice signifies that the decades-long connection between the Vivaldis and San Giovanni in Bragora had its roots in the prominent role of the Temporinis in the affairs of the church during the third quarter of the seventeenth century, if not earlier. This connection later extended to include the Ospedale della Pietà, which lay within the parish of San Giovanni in Bragora.<sup>18</sup>

### 3. GABRIELE DI BERTI

The definitive proof that Camillo Calicchio's death occurred long before that marriage is that Giovanna Temporini Calicchio remarried, although neither the place nor the date of her second marriage can be determined. We know, however, that her marriage to Gabriele di Berti, took place before 1670 (probably a number of years earlier), but did not take place at San Giovanni in Bragora or any adjacent parish. It could have been celebrated outside Venice, because Berti had his own involvements on the mainland, in Gambarare.

Giovanna was no luckier with her new husband's longevity than she had been before: Berti died on 28 October 1670 (see Illustration 3) in the same parish and under the same roof as his mother-in-law, who was to pass away three days later. Both of the deceased reportedly suffered from "fever" (a common complaint in Venice). Both were attended by the same physician, Leonardi. The two deaths are recorded on the same page in a parish death register. Berti's age was recorded as 38 at the time of his passing,<sup>19</sup> which, if accurate, would suggest that he was four years younger than his wife. The death register refers to the deceased as "*detto Colpi*". Giovanna adopted a close equivalent ("Colpio") in legal papers prepared by her second husband's agents, but she continues to turn up elsewhere as "Temporini". Nowhere does Giovanna's surname appear as Calicchio, but her daughter Camilla was always identified as a Calicchio, or at least as "figlia di Camillo Calicchio", up to her marriage to Giovanni Battista Vivaldi in 1676. Although Camilla appears to have lived with her mother until she married, she never assumed her step-father's name or soubriquet.

Terren". My access to the parish books of San Giovanni in Bragora was kindly arranged by Micky White in 2009. Some portions of the church's archives were moved to the Patriarchal Archives in 2010. Those that remain in the church are generally inaccessible.

<sup>17</sup> Given that Giovanna was resident in the parish of Sant'Agnese at the time of her marriage, the long association of the Vivaldi family with the parish of San Giovanni in Bragora may have begun with Giovanna's brother. Another Temporini from the same generation was Flaminio, a member of the Accademia degl'Uniti at the time when his *Opera heroica, tragica, e morale, overo Il trionfo della divina giustizia e divina misericordia* was published (Venice, Zaccaria Conzatti, 1678).

<sup>18</sup> The church of the Pietà that exists today on the Riva degli Schiavoni was dedicated in 1761. The Ospedale della Pietà of the seventeenth century occupied a site on the far side of the adjoining *calle*, later occupied by a series of hotels.

<sup>19</sup> San Giovanni in Bragora, Archivio Parrocchiale, Busta 65, Reg. 1 (Morti, 1665-1686 M.V.), f. 45r: "A di 28 8<sup>e</sup>[1670], Sig[no]r Gabriel di Berti d[ett]o Colpi Pignater d'anni 38 in c[irc]a da febre in g[ior]ni 18 medico Leonardi lo dà in nota et fà sepelir la Sig[no]ra Zannetta sua moglie In Chiesa Cap[itol]o Arca confesso".

#### 4. BERTI'S INTERESTS

Berti was a potter (*boccaler* or *pignatter*) by trade. Venice's potters were heavily concentrated along the Salizzada dei Pignatter', a short street mid-way between the Campo di San Giovanni in Bragora and the parish church of San Martino.<sup>20</sup> "Pottery" embraced earthenware pots and storage containers as well as tableware for serving food and wine. Vivaldi's uncle Agostino, who lived in the parish of San Martino, was, from the later 1660s, a merchant of food and wine who could conceivably have been acquainted with Berti.

The family lived "in campo grande" in one of the houses belonging to the Ca' Salamon. This address did not correspond to the sole remaining trace of the Salamon family (a short *calle* in the parish of Sant'Anna), for it clearly lay within the parish of San Giovanni in Bragora, where the *campo* is now named Bandiera e Moro.<sup>21</sup> Berti was the son of the late Lucio di Berti and was better known, it seems, by his soubriquet Colpi. Antonio Vivaldi's middle name, Lucio, could have honoured Berti's father as well as marking his own day of birth (4 March 1678), which coincided with the feast of St Lucius, Pope and Martyr. The extent of Berti's worldly goods would, in the context of the often elusive assets of the Vivaldi family, have justified some measure of homage.

Berti's legacy (Appendix, Document 2) included land in Gambarare, an agricultural district near Mira. Several members of a Berti family can be identified in the 1667 *ruoli* of the Quarto del Boscho.<sup>22</sup> In descending order of age they were: Carlo di Berti (aged 40); Francesco di Berti (47); Nadalin di Berti (48); his two-year-old son, named Francesco; Zuane di Berti (32); and Piero di Berti (25). Piero was at that time the *gastaldo* (an on-site manager with responsibility for tax accounting) of the *abate* Don Antonio Barbarigo.<sup>23</sup> The Barbarigo family included numerous clerics, one of them (Gregorio) serving as bishop of Padua in the last years of the seventeenth century. Gambarare was also the approximate location of several palazzi on the Brenta. Among the families with villas in the area were the Querinis, with whom Agostino, Giovanni Battista, and Antonio Vivaldi all had dealings. No precise link between Gabriele and the Bertis found in the *ruoli* has been established, but Gambarare was a small place.

<sup>20</sup> Despite Berti's residence in this location, the fact that he deposited his money with the Provveditori al Sal suggests links to the Rialto.

<sup>21</sup> Cited in GASTONE VIO, *Antonio Vivaldi prete*, "Informazioni e studi vivaldiani", 1, 1980, pp. 32-57, where, on p. 39, the author remarks that the house is impossible to locate today. In the tax census of 1514 members of the Salomon family had holdings mainly in the parishes of San Pietro di Castello, Santa Maria Formosa and San Martino, but none is listed for San Giovanni in Bragora (see *I-Vas*, Dieci Savi alle Decime in Rialto, Deputazioni unite, Commissurazione delle imposte, Condizioni di decima, B. 52, San Martin 7, Lorenzo Salomon). Reinhold Müller kindly called my attention to these sources. In 1788 the Salomon family became extinct.

<sup>22</sup> Like Venice, Gambarare was divided into six "quarters". It was almost entirely agricultural, and its occupants were overwhelmingly farm hands.

<sup>23</sup> My cordial thanks to Paolo Alberto Rismundo for extracting these data from the *ruoli* of the Milizia da Mar of the *comune* of Gambarare.

Berti had another daughter, Maria, who (like Camilla) had not reached her majority by 1670. Salvatore Calicchio had by then completely dropped out of the picture. There is insufficient evidence to determine whether Maria was the daughter of Giovanna Temporini from her second marriage or the issue of a previous marriage of Berti's, but the latter hypothesis seems more probable. In her will of 1675 Giovanna refers to Maria as Camilla's sister ("sua sorella") rather than as her own daughter ("mia figlia"). Berti's will stipulated that after his death Maria was to remain in Giovanna's custody until such time as she married or entered a convent. Such an arrangement followed customary practice. No evidence of Maria's eventual entry into marriage or a convent has been found, but because of the Berti connections on the mainland it is possible that her adulthood was spent outside Venice, or at least that she married or entered a convent outside Venice.

Berti's notary was Pietro Bozzini, who resided on the mainland but visited Berti at his Venetian home in order to draft his will.<sup>24</sup>

Despite the apparent inconvenience of this arrangement, Bozzini's wills, drawn up over a fifty-year career, include many others on behalf of persons living in the parishes of San Giovanni in Bragora and San Martino. Among his clients, Nicolò Salamoni was one signatory on several documents Bozzini drafted around this time. In Bozzini's records Berti and his 'composite' family are located in one of the "case di Ca' Salamon" on "Campo Grande". This form of words to describe the family's situation could therefore be coloured by his long-term dealings with the Salamon family.

Although she outlived her son-in-law by only three days, Cattarina Temporini was living at this address. In fact since Giovanna later indicated that she had been born in this house, we might deduce that the Temporini family had lived here since 1628 or earlier. Maria was still living there in 1675. Giovanna remained there until her death. All the children of Giovanni Battista Vivaldi and Camilla Calicchio appear to have been born at this same address. Only in 1711, when the Vivaldis moved to SS. Filippo e Giacomo, did this long tenancy at San Giovanni in Bragora come to an end.

## 5. BERTI'S WILL

Berti's will shows him to have been a determined manager of his posthumous affairs. Its provisions are summarized below:

1. The 71 ducats listed in his current receipt book should be spent on the singing of 100 Masses. Of these 50 should be for his soul and 50 for that of his wife.<sup>25</sup> For each, there should be two candles on each altar. As soon as the first Mass for his soul has been sung, two persons of good character should be sought to obtain pardons (in Assisi?),<sup>26</sup> one for his soul and one for that of his wife.

<sup>24</sup> *I-Vas*, Notarile, Testamenti, Notai, Bozzini Pietro, Busta 188b, 1670-1685.

<sup>25</sup> It is unclear whether "the soul of his wife" refers to Giovanna, after her death, or to a previously deceased wife.

<sup>26</sup> The term appearing in the document is "Sisi".

2. He intends that the principal (300 ducats) he has invested with the Provveditori al Sal for the dowry of his *figliola* Maria be used for either her earthly or her heavenly wedding. Maria is instructed to remain with Giovanna, his wife and her mother. Giovanna is to receive the interest (6 per cent) from the invested ducats and to use the income for Maria's sustenance until such time as she marries or enters a convent.<sup>27</sup>

3. In the event that Maria dies prior to such an event, the principal should go to Giovanna. From it she should retain 100 ducats, distributing the remaining 200 ducats as follows:

- 3a. 60 ducats (10 to each) to Berti's mother, his sister and his brothers (apparently four in number);
- 3b. 140 ducats to the church of San Giovanni in Bragora, which assumes the obligation to invest them at a favourable rate of return and to spend 2 ducats on a memorial Mass each year on the anniversary of Berti's death.
4. If the church should decide to reinvest the money in another manner or to convert the bequest to capital, then the remainder should be put in the charge of the *piovano* or his successor, who should then select a productive investment.

No provision is made for a distribution in the event of the death of Giovanna, whose separate dowry of 500 ducats is noted.<sup>28</sup>

## 6. GIOVANNA TEMPORINI (II)

After Berti's death in 1670 Giovanna followed her husband's instructions concerning the distribution of his assets to the letter. The establishment of a *mansionario* at San Giovanni in Bragora (Berti's first provision) is confirmed by a document in the church's archive.<sup>29</sup> We hear nothing more of Giovanna until 29 August 1675, when she seeks to revise her late husband's investment arrangement for the dowry of Maria Berti (the second provision).<sup>30</sup> The agent with whom Giovanna makes a new agreement is a young man from the parish, Giovanni Battista Vivaldi, who in this instance is acting on behalf of Antonio Rossi. Rossi represents an agency (at the Sign of the Three Chalices in the Piazza San Marco) that will invest the sum at five per cent.<sup>31</sup> (Note that Berti's will specified a return of six per cent.) The new agreement is to remain in force for three years (August 1675 to August 1678). (See the Appendix, Document 3, for the full text.)

<sup>27</sup> No evidence that Maria followed either of these courses has been found; nor is there any evidence of her death.

<sup>28</sup> We are not informed about the source of this dowry: whether it represented a Temporini bequest or a residue from Calicchio's assets.

<sup>29</sup> San Giovanni in Bragora, Archivio Parrocchiale, Atti Generali, Processo 200 (1670).

<sup>30</sup> This document discussed below was discovered in 2007 by Micky White, who originally intended to include it in *Antonio Vivaldi: A Life in Documents*. Its significance became clear only after the discovery of Berti's will allowed its full meaning to be ascertained.

<sup>31</sup> Since Rossi is and was such a common surname in Italy, it cannot be taken to link Antonio Vivaldi to Camillo Calicchio's priest (and likely uncle) Francesco de Rossi. The phrase "all'Insegna dell'I Tre Calici", identifying the location of Rossi's business, suggests a connection to Berti's pottery business.

This agreement informs us that Signor Rossi manages, on Berti's behalf, a "cason [...] in Villa delle Gambarare". This *cason* is currently being rented to Tonin Tobacco for 24 ducats per annum.<sup>32</sup> The new proposal is to make Giovanna the perpetual owner of this property by investing in it the money set aside for Maria Berti's dowry.<sup>33</sup> Signor Vivaldi will collect the rents.<sup>34</sup> At a five-per-cent rate of return, Giovanna will receive 15 ducats a year from the interest. The agreement then deals with the third provision of Berti's will: namely, that if Maria Berti should die, Signor Vivaldi will have the obligation to disburse 100 of the 300 ducats to the church of San Giovanni in Bragora.<sup>35</sup>

This contract was prepared by Pietro Gonella and Marco Gasparini. G. B. Vivaldi's signature is certified by Bartolomeo Valentini; Giovanna's by Antonio Casari; and Casari's in turn by Valentini.<sup>36</sup> The implementation of this agreement may have played a central role in bringing about the marital union that would take place a year later between Camilla Calicchio and Giovanni Battista Vivaldi. This point becomes evident as we turn to Giovanna's will (Appendix, Document 4a). It was written in an unsteady hand in Venetian dialect on 31 May 1676, a Sunday. A codicil was added on the following Saturday, 6 June (Appendix, Document 4b). Here, we discover the incidental detail that Giovanna was dying in the house in which she had been born.

In her will Giovanna states that on the day of her death the money that she has on deposit with the Provveditori al Sal shall go to "Camilla mia figliola che deve esser moglie del S[igno]r Gio. Batt[ist]a Vivaldi". The prospective bride and groom must have lived with this knowledge for at least a few months, because they married on 11 June 1676, less than two weeks after Giovanna's will was signed. At the time Camilla was evidently pregnant: their first child, a daughter named Gabriela Antonia, was born five months later, on 13 November 1676.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>32</sup> This suggests that Gabriele di Berti was closely related to the Bertis named in the 1667 *ruoli* but was excluded because his principal residence was in Venice.

<sup>33</sup> We can infer from this detail that Maria Berti was neither married nor living in a convent and was therefore probably not yet 21. Her earliest birth year would accordingly have been 1655.

<sup>34</sup> Here, too, the income had been reduced from 6% to 5%. The full document is preserved in *I-Vas, Notarile, Atti, Busta 6924, 29 agosto 1675, ff. 214r-217v*.

<sup>35</sup> Note, however, that the sum of money going to the church has been reduced from 140 ducats, but it could be that over the previous five years the original bequest had become depleted.

<sup>36</sup> G.B. Vivaldi seems to have stacked the cards in his own favour. An Antonio Casari accompanied the widow Margherita Vivaldi and her children Agostino, Giovanni Battista and Cecilia to Venice in 1665. He is likely to have been a relative of the Vivaldis. The Antonio Casari of 1675 may have been the son of the Brescian immigrant, since his name is given as "Ant[oni]o Casari q[uonda]m alteris Antonij". See GASTONE VIO, *Antonio Vivaldi prete*, cit., pp. 33-34.

<sup>37</sup> The short life of Gabriela Antonia is recorded in MICKY WHITE, *Antonio Vivaldi: A Life in Documents*, cit., pp. 7-8. Knowledge of her existence places Antonio second in birth order. Gabriela's baptismal name appears to have honoured Gabriele di Berti. Her godfather was Simon Vaccio (Vazzio), who in 1667 became one of the doge's *piffari*. See ELEANOR SELFRIDGE-FIELD, *Venetian Instrumental Music from Gabrieli to Vivaldi*, 3rd edn, New York, Dover, 1994, pp. 347-348. Simon's late father had been a barber at SS. Apostoli, but in the 1670s and 1680s the numerous members of this family lived in the same parishes as the Vivaldis.

Baptized on 29 November 1676, she survived only until June 1678, a month after the christening of Antonio (6 May 1678).<sup>38</sup>

Camilla is instructed in the will to give linens, shirts and other (unspecified) items “a sua sorella Maria”. A codicil concerns Salvatore, who is to receive five ducats (according to the will, he would receive only a *camissa*). The four *ospedali grandi* of Venice are to be given small remembrances, a common provision of Venetian testaments. The signing of both documents was witnessed by Antonio Gandolfo, a barber with whom G. B. Vivaldi was acquainted in the 1670s, and a fruit-seller named Carlo Cambianega.

The *stato libero* enabling Giovanni Battista Vivaldi to wed Camilla Calicchio was processed on 6 June 1676,<sup>39</sup> the day on which Giovanna’s codicil was written. The banns for the forthcoming marriage were read for the first time at San Giovanni in Bragora the following day. The two further readings (which would ordinarily have been scheduled for 8 and 9 June) were suspended. Giovanni Battista Vivaldi and Camilla Calicchio were united in the church of San Giovanni Evangelista<sup>40</sup> on 11 June. It is unclear whether Giovanna was still alive, or, if she was, whether she was able to attend. It appears to be the case, however, that Camilla was married and bereaved within the narrow space of three weeks.

## 7. GIO. FRANCESCO TEMPORINI

The death of Giovanna did not end the relationship of Camilla or her immediate family with the Temporinis. Giovanna’s brother Gio. Francesco Temporini, a curate at San Giovanni in Bragora, is likely to have been a significant force in the early years of Camilla’s marriage. He was well educated and, to judge from the wills of parishioners, he was well liked.<sup>41</sup> San Giovanni in Bragora had sixteen priests at the time. He could have been in daily contact with the nearby Temporini-Calicchio-Berti family. It fell to him to administer the terms of his sister’s will and thus indirectly to uphold the provisions of Berti’s earlier testament. After the death of her mother, her uncle was the only elder to whom Camilla could turn. When he died, on 29 January 1691/2,<sup>42</sup> the implementation

<sup>38</sup> White discovered the existence of Gabriela several years ago in the records of San Giovanni in Bragora.

<sup>39</sup> Transcribed in MICKY WHITE, *Antonio Vivaldi: A Life in Documents*, cit., pp. 5-6. Giovanni Battista had been born in Brescia. Most of what we know about the Brescian side of the family comes from his *stato libero*, first published in GASTONE VIO, *Antonio Vivaldi e i Vivaldi*, “Informazioni e studi vivaldiani”, 4, 1983, pp. 82-96.

<sup>40</sup> San Zuane de la Zecca, in Venetian dialect.

<sup>41</sup> He is named as a beneficiary of many parishioners in Bozzini’s wills in the Archivio di Stato, Notarile, Testamenti, Busta 188a and Busta 188b. Another beneficiary in a few wills drawn up by Bozini was the priest Pietro de Berti at San Martino.

<sup>42</sup> Temporini’s will of 25 January 1691 M.V. and its codicil of 28 January are preserved in *I-Vas*, Notarile, Testamenti (Bonaventura Scarella), B. 109, N. 139. The priest left 200 ducats to his nieces Camilla and Catterina “for when they marry”. This bequest could suggest that the Temporini family tree had at least one more branch than those accounted for here, or that Maria Berti had married and had two daughters. Gio. Francesco Temporini also left 200 ducats and worldly goods estimated to be

of these provisions seem to have continued for more than a decade, though not without discussion.<sup>43</sup>

Temporini's library was noted in the will. It is not difficult to imagine that he was an eager tutor of his great-nephew, who was the only male child in his extended family tree. Conversely, Temporini could have inspired the young Antonio's priestly aspirations. Antonio began his clerical training only a year after Temporini's death and was awarded a *mansionario* at San Giovanni in Bragora slightly more than a year after the execution of Temporini's bequest.

## 8. OTHER MATERNAL LEGACIES

An important ancillary part of the story of the composer's maternal line is that roughly half of the baptismal names borne by the Calicchio-Vivaldi children can be found in the Temporini-Calicchio-Berti family tree (see Table 1).

TABLE 1  
Baptismal-name relationships between the Vivaldi and Temporini-Calicchio-Berti families in relation to Antonio Vivaldi.

BAPTISMAL NAME	DATE OF BIRTH	RELATIVE MEMORIALIZED	DATE OF DEATH
<b>Gabriela Antonia</b>	13 November 1676	<b>Gabriele</b> di Berti (d. 1670), step-grandfather	9 June 1678
<b>Antonio Lucio</b>	4 March 1678	<b>Lucio</b> di Berti (d. bef. 1665), step-great-grandfather	27/8 July 1741
<b>Margherita Gabriella</b>	18 July 1680	<b>Gabriela</b> Antonia (d. 1678), deceased sister	16 June 1750
Cecilia Maria	11 January 1683		25 January 1767
Bonaventura Tommaso	7 March 1685		After 1718
<b>Zanetta Anna</b>	1 November 1687	<b>Zanetta</b> Temporini, maternal grandmother	2 February 1762
<b>Francesco Gaetano</b>	9 January 1690	<b>Gio. Francesco</b> Temporini (d. 1691), great uncle	26 September 1752
<b>Iseppo Santo</b>	4 April 1692	<b>Iseppo</b> Calicchio (d. after 1653), maternal grandfather	30 January 1696
Gierolima Michiella	12 September 1694		2 February 1696
<b>Iseppo Gaetano</b>	11 April 1697	<b>Iseppo</b> Santo (d. 1696), maternal grandfather, deceased brother	After 1728

worth a further 200 ducats to the church of San Giovanni in Bragora. He additionally bequeathed 100 ducats "with affection" to the Molto Rev. P. Lorenzo de' Gobbi of San Giovanni in Bragora and made additional provisions for small gifts to his servants.

<sup>43</sup> San Giovanni in Bragora, Archivio Parrocchiale, Atti generali, Busta 120, Proc. 143, Commissaria del fù pre Francesco Temporini, 1691 gen 28 – 1702 ott 02.

From this passing down of baptismal names we might deduce that the Berti family enjoyed notable respect in the household of Giovanni Battista Vivaldi.<sup>44</sup> The barber-violinist was indebted to the generosity of Gabriele di Berti for the financial stability of his early married life. Antonio *Lucio* Vivaldi was a beneficiary in more than name: the fiscal health of San Giovanni in Bragora, which shaped so much of his early life, was indebted to the ongoing bequests of families such as the Bertis and the devotion of priests such as Gio. Francesco Temporini. San Giovanni in Bragora was the official parish church of the Ospedale della Pietà, even though most worship at the Pietà took place in its own chapel.

The Temporini-Berti discoveries alter our perception of the early married life of Giovanni Battista Vivaldi, particularly as he changed career from barber to violinist, *maestro*, copyist, agent and theatrical impresario. His involvement in the financial affairs of his future mother-in-law helped to sharpen his skills in business affairs,<sup>45</sup> while also, it appears, protecting his future wife's dowry. Contradictory career directions pursued by Antonio Vivaldi may have reflected differences in the role model provided by his father and his great uncle, Gio. Francesco Temporini.

<sup>44</sup> The first of Agostino Vivaldi's eight children was named Camillo Agostin. Born on 12 September 1671, he was not christened until 19 November (Archivio Patriarcale, Parrocchia S. Martino, Reg. 4, n. 802, f. 36v).

<sup>45</sup> There were other tangents, of an unrelated nature, in the informal apprenticeship of Giovanni Battista. These will be reported separately.

APPENDIX

DOCUMENT 1. CAMILLO CALICCHIO'S DOCUMENTO DI STATO LIBERO

Source: Curia Patriarcale di Venezia, Archivio Storico, Ser. Examinum matrimoniorum, Reg. 1649-1651, ff. 556-560.<sup>46</sup>

[f. 556]

[Marginal note] Pro/ Jo: Camillo Calicchio/atto libertatis

Die 4. octobris 1650.

Coram &c comparuit d[ominus] Jo[hannis] Camillus Calicchius q[uondam] d[omini] Josephi de Pomarico Provincie Basilicatę Matheren[sis] Dięces[iae] degens Venetijs decem ab ori[gi]ne mensibus circiter in Parochię S[anc]ta Agnetis, et institit se admitti ad probandum ar[ticu]lum infras[crit]um producens [...] testimoniales tenoris & instans &c.

Che D[omino] Gio[vanni] Camillo Calicchio q[uondam] D[omini] Giuseppe da Pomarica Provincia di Basilicata (nel Regno di Napoli) Diocese di Mathera,<sup>47</sup> d'età d'anni 22. habita in Venetia continuam[en]te da dieci mesi in qua, e non s'è mai maritato, ne promesso con alcuna p[er]sona in alcun luogo, nel prove p[re]s[e]ntes et testimoniales ut suprà productas &c.

Testes

Rev[erendu]s D[ominus] Franc[escus] Ant[onius] Giliolo

D[ominus] Franc[escus] Paulus Fanizza

Die d[ict]a

R[e]v[eren]dus D[ominus] Franc[iscu]s Antonius Giliolus q[uondam] Iacobi de Fasano nullius Dięesis Provincie Baren[sis], Regni Neapolis degens Venetijs tribus ab ori[gi]ne mensibus in Parochia S[anct]a Marię formosę, etatis annos 28. circ[ite]r prout asseruit &c. testis inductus, citatus, monitus, et iuratus, prout tactis &c iuravit &c ac de mandato &c examinatus.

Int[errogatus] &c res[pondi]t conosco il S[ignor] Gio[vanni] Camillo Calicchio da Pomarico Nap[olitan]o [f. 556v] da un'anno in qua con occas[ion]e che lui già tanto tempo cognito insieme con Don Fran[ces]co Rossi suo Ziano à Fasano mia Patria p[er] far scola, come fece p[er] sei mesi, e poi venne à Venetia; perche il mese di Giugno che passai io da Casa sua non trovai alcuno di loro, mà se bene il Padre e la donna di casa del d[ett]o S[ignor] Gio[vanni] Camillo, che mi riceverno [?] in Casa p[er]che mi diedi à conoscere per amico del d[ett]o s[igno]r Don Fran[ces]co, e Gio[vanni] Camillo, e lui medemo, cioè suo Padre mi disse ch'erano venuti à Venetia, ove gl'hò ritrovati quando capitai qui già tre mesi.

Int[errogatus] &c res[pondi]t io sò che il d[ett]o S[igno]r Gio[vanni] Camillo non è maritato, perche allo paese mio faceva l'amore con animo di maritarsi là, e p[er] questo io ne stò sicuro p[er]che parti poi senza maritarsi, ne promettersi con alcuna.

<sup>46</sup> The *stato libero* documents alternate Latin and Italian paragraphs throughout. The content in one language mirrors that in the other.

<sup>47</sup> The diocesan reference in the Latin has sometimes been read as "Parochia S.e Ignatis" (from which it has been deduced that Calicchio's father resided in the parish of St Ignatius in Pomarico). In the Italian paraphrase the parish is clearly identified as "S. Agnese", the one in which Camillo resided in Venice.

Int[errogatus] super g[e]n[er]alibus rectè res[pondi]t ac in fidem &c se subscrapsit  
 [in own hand] Io D[on] Francesco Antonio Gileolo affermo come di sop[r]a a  
 giuram[ent]o[.]

Die d[ict]a

D[ominus] Franc[iscus] Paulus Fanizza

D[ominus] Franc[escu]s Paolus Fanizza f[iliu]s Antonij de Pomarica Mathe-  
 ren[sis] Dięces[iae]. Degens Venetijs duobus ab ori[gi]ne mensibus in Parochia  
 S[anct]e Marię formosa, etatis annos 21 asseruit &c. testis inductus, citatus,  
 monitus, et iuratus, prout [f. 557r] tactis &c iuravit &c ac de m[andat]o &c  
 examinatus.

Int[errogatus] &c res[pondi]t conosco il S[igno]r Gio[vanni] Camillo Calicchio da  
 Pomarico da piccolo in sù p[er]che anch'io son dell'istesso luogo, et p[er]ciò sò che  
 lui ha vintidoi anni in circa, et che da dieci mesi in qua in circa stà in Venitia perche  
 già tanto tempo partì dal paese con D[on] Franc[es]co de Rossi suo Barba, e disse  
 di venir à Venitia, e poco doppo scrisse à sua madre ch'era a Venitia, e quando io  
 son venuto a Venitia, che sono doi mesi, lo trovai qui in Venitia.

Int[errogatus] &c res[pondi]t sò certo che lui è stato sempre al paese insino ch'è venuto  
 à Venitia, e non s'è mai maritato, ne promesso, e se fosse maritato ò promesso, io  
 lo saprei, perche hò praticato sempre con lui me[n]tre è stato la.

Int[errogat]us super g[e]n[er]alibus rectè respo[ndi]t et in fidem &c se subscrapsit  
 [in own hand] Io Fra[nces]c[o] Paolo Faniza affermo qua[n]to di soPra *[sic]* con  
 giuramento[.]

Die 6 octobris 1650.

Coram me Cancell[ari]o personalit[er] constitutus [Dominus?] Camillus Calicchius  
 principalis [illegible word] monitus de penis statutis ab iure contrà polijgamos et  
 peierantes iuravit tastis &c se esse liberum [f. 557v] et solutum ab omni vinculo  
 matrimonij et hoc de mandato speciali Rev[erendissi]mi D[omi]ni provicarij  
 P[at]ri[arcali]s &c quo facto [illegible insertion] ei consignata fuit testimonialis  
 libertatis in forma &c

Ita est Jo: Franc[iscu]s Montanarius Cancell[ariu]s Path[riarc]alis &c[.]

[f. 558r]

Noi infrascritti Sindico et Eletti dell'Uni[t]à della Terra di Pomarico Pr[ovinci]a di  
 Basilicata faci[a]mo piena, et indubbitata fede a chi la pr[esen]te spetterà vedere, o  
 sara quomodolibet presentata in Giudicio nel extra qualmente il Sig[nor]  
 Gio[vanni] Gam[m]illo figlio delli Sig[no]ri Gioseppo Collicchio, et Caterina de  
 Rossi coniugi, e p[er]sona honesta, libero, e senza peso di Moglie e figli, p[er] no[n]  
 essere esso casato con donna alcuna, se no[n] solo al p[resen]te, che qui se' inteso,  
 che sia, o si voglia casare in Venetia, che in fede di cio havemo fatta la p[resent]e  
 p[er] mano del sottoscritto n[o]t[ai]o ordinario Cancelliero, firmato et croce  
 signata di n[ost]re p[ro]p[ri]e mani e sigillata col solito sigillo di detta Un[i]tà  
 Pomarico. 26 di Maggio 1650

[signatures]

X Segno di Croce di Leonardo d'Alessandro Sindico [city seal at right]  
 S[igno]r Gio[vanni] Batt[ist]a Cattaldi eletto  
 D[otto]r Carm[el]o falco eletto  
 fran[ces]co de Leonardis eletto  
 Costantino gorrisio eletto

Fide[m] facio Ego N[otariu]s Egidius Falconus Terrę Pomarici Prov[incię] Basilicatę  
 Regni Neapolitani ordinarius Cancell[ariu]s Un[ita]tis Terrę Pomarici predictę  
 sup[r]a scr[it]a fidem fuisse mea propria manu de voluntate sup[r]adictor[um]  
 sindici, et Elector[um] scripta, ac illarum propriis mani[bus] subscripta[m], et Signo  
 Crucis signata[m], ac sigillata[m] proprio sigillo qua Uni[t]as dictę Terrę, in-  
 similisq[ue] et alijs scriptatis utitur, et in fide signavi rog[atu]s Pomarici die 26  
 Mensis qui sup[r]a &c

[f. 559r]

N[o]s D[omi]nus Josephus Falius Archipresbiter Mat[e]r[en]sis Ecclesię Terrę Pomarici  
 fidem facimus atq[ue] testamur. qualiter per nos in tribus diebus festivis, intermissa  
 no[n] sollemnia fastę, fuerunt preconia de matrimonio contrahendo inter Dominos  
 Joannem Camillium huius Terrę et Zannettam Temporina[m] Civitatis Vene-  
 tiaru[m], et no[n] invenimus nullum impedimentu[m] dirimentem, et im-  
 pedimentem, nec per nos, neq[ue] per nostros Confessarios. In quoru[m] fidem hec  
 scripsi, et subscripsi, et meo proprio Signo Signavi datu[m] Pomarici die 20  
 A[u]gusti 1650

Ego F[rate]r Josephus Falius Archipresbiter qui supra &c.

## DOCUMENT 2. GABRIELE DI BERTI'S WILL

Source: *I-Vas, Notarile, Testamenti*, B. 871 (Biasio Reggia), n. 43.

[Marginal note] 1670: 28 ottob[r]e / Pub[lica]to il cont[rascrit]to testam[en]to  
 Anno ab Incarnat[ion]e D[omine] N[ostri] J[esu] C[hris]ti 1670: ind[icion]e 8.a [octava]  
 Die verò Veneris decima septima m[ens]is octobris –  
 Il sig[no]r Gabriel q[uondam] Lucio di Berti d[ett]o Colpi boccaler in contrà di sa[n]  
 Gio[vanni] Batt[ist]a in Bragora, sano p[er] gra[tia] di S[ua] D[ivina] M[onesto] della  
 mente, sens' et intelletto, ben[ché] del corpo infermo, ha fatto chiamar, et andar à  
 se nella casa della sua sollita habitacion posta nella contrà sudetta, me Biasio Reggia  
 nodaro pub[bli]co di questa Città, et sendo lui nel letto, alla presenza dell'i qui  
 sott[oscrit]ti testij mi ha pregato scriver il p[rese]nte suo Testam[en]to, et accadendo  
 il caso della morte sua, lò vogli apprire, publicare, et roborare, giusta le leggi di  
 questa Ser[enissi]ma Rep[ubbli]ca, et poi cossì ordinò –

Raccomando l'a[n]im]a mia al Salvator n[ost]ro Gesù C[hris]to, alla Gloriosa V[ergin]e  
 M[ari]a, e tutti li santi, et sante del Paradiso, et particolarm[en]te al Glorioso s[an]to  
 Iseppo mio Protettore, pregandoli tutti interceder p[er] me app[ress]o S[ua]  
 D[ivina] M[onesto] p[er] la remissione de miei peccatti –

Mi ritrovo haver d[uca]ti settanta uno, quali sono nel luoco, dove parla il mio libro de  
 receiveri, dell'i quali voglio ch[e] siano celabrate cento messe, cioé cinq[uan]ta p[er]  
 l'a[n]i[m]a mia, et cinq[uan]ta p[er] l'a[n]i[m]a della s[igno]ra Zanetta mia consorte,

mà che siano celletebrate subito con candelle due p[er] ogni altar qui nella mia contrada, et di più che subito dopo la prima occasion del perdon di Sisa [Assisi], che sia mandato due persone p[er] fior d[el] perdon, una per l'anima mia, et l'altra p[er] l'a[n]i[m]a della d[ett]a mia consorte, et voglio ch[e] siano datti d[uca]ti dieci p[er] cadauno di quelli, ch[e] andrà; ma sopra il resto voglio ch[e] siano persone da bon [carattere] –

Di più mi ritrovo haver d[uca]ti tresento investiti al Sal alle sie [sic] p[er] cento, li quali intendo ch[e] esser debbano p[er] il maritar, ò monacar di mia figliola Maria, la qual debba star (ch[e] cossì voglio, et ordino) con la s[igno]ra Zanetta [f. 1v] mia consorte, et sua m[ad]re, la qual sua m[ad]re possa lei scoder li prò dell'i detti d[uca]ti 300 p[er] allimentar la detta Maria; et datto il caso ch[e] la d[ett]a Maria morisse, non si ch[e] fosse maritata ò monacata; mà ch[e] fosse però in ettà ottima, voglio ch[e] possi disponer di solli d[uca]ti cento, et li altri d[uca]ti 200 lasso ch[e] siano, cento di mia consorte, et cento alla Chiesa di sa[n] Gio[vanni] Batt[ist]a in Bragora, acciò con il prò di quelli mi sia fatto celtebrar ogn'anno nel giorno della mia morte un'anniversario et ch[e] p[er] quello siano datti d[uca]ti due del prò dell'i detti d[uca]ti cento, et il restante del prò d'essi d[uca]ti cento, mi siano fatte celtebrar tante messe p[er] l'a[n]i[m]a mia il giorno sud[ett]o; et voglio ch[e] li d[uca]ti cento, ch[e]lasso alla Chiesa star debbano sempre investiti p[er] l'effetto sudetto; et se p[er] caso la detta mia figliola morisse vanti fosse ottima, voglio ch[e] dell'i detti d[uca]ti 300 esser debbano di mia consorte, d[uca]ti 60 ch[e] siano dispensati in questo modo cioè d[uca]ti dieci à mia madre, et d[uca]ti dieci p[er] cadauno di miei fratelli, et sorella, à tutti p[er] una volta tanto, et li restanti d[uca]ti 140 esser debbano della Chiesa sud[ett]a, et del prò d'essi ogn'anno il g[ior]no sud[ett]o della mia morte, mi sia fatto un'anniversario con ellemosina de d[uca]ti doi, et del resto del prò dell'i d[uca]ti 140 mi siano esso g[ior]no fatte celtebrar tante messe p[er] l'a[n]i[m]a mia, et ch[e] sempre essi d[uca]ti 140 star debbano investiti p[er] il ben sud[ett]o; et datto il caso ch[e] il Publico volesse ò collar il prò più delle cinq[ue]; ò affrancarsi de' capitoli in questo caso voglio ch[e] il R[everendissi]mo sig[no]r Piova[n] p[rese]nte, et q[ue]llo ch[e] sarà prò tempore della d[ett]a Chiesa di S. Gio[vanni] Batt[ist]a in Bragora possano ricever li detti soldi, et quelli investir di novo in locco sicuro p[er] l'effetto sopradetto –

Il residuo di tutto quello mi ritrovo, et ch[e] aspettar mi potesse, detratta la dotte de d[uca]ti 500 di mia consorte Zanetta, voglio ch[e] sia della d[ett]a mia consorte Zaneta [f. 2r] et se non li potessi lassar li dono, overo lasso p[er] l'amor de Dio, ne altro voglio ordenar –

Interogato da me nodaro dell'i lochi Pij, giusto l'oblig[o] mio R[ifer]te se ne havesse d'avanti lo ne lasseria: [...]

[witnessed by]

Io Giacomo Fornasieri<sup>48</sup> Canc[ellie]r Ap[osto]lico Piovano in S[an] Gio[vanni] Batt[ist]a in Bragora fui testimonio pregato et in pectore giurato al sud[ett]o testamento –

Io Giacomo Moneri Zavater fui testimonio pregato et giurato al sudetto testamento pubblicato 1670: 28 supradicti, viso cadavere etc. et hoc ad instantiam supradicte ([written above] D[ominae] Zoanetae) ejus uxori [...]

[On the spine]

<sup>48</sup> Fornasieri's name appears often in the registers of San Giovanni in Bragora. It was he who baptized Antonio Vivaldi on 6 May 1678.

Nell'allegato, la consueta attestazione del ricevimento del testamento presso la cancelleria ducale, da Alessandro Contarini cancelliere ducale, datata 5 novembre 1670; e annotazione relativa alla comunicazione al magistrato alle Acque, datata 25 gennaio 1670 [M.V.].

DOCUMENT 3. GIOVANNA'S AGREEMENT WITH GIOVANNI BATTISTA VIVALDI

Source: *I-Vas*, Notarile, Atti, B. 6924 (Flaminio Giberti), prot. 1675, n. 66/43, ff. 214r-217v.

[f. 214r]

Die Jovij 29 mensis Augusti 1675 ad Canc[ellum]

Attravandosi; com'afferma la Sig[no]ra Zanetta q[uondam] Andrea Temporin Cons[ervator]e del q[uondam] D[omi]no Gabriel q[uondam] Lucio di Berti già Bocalaro in questa Città, nella Contrà di San Gio. Batt[ist]a in Bragora; li d[ucat]i Tresento cor[ren]ti, che fur[o]no lasciati da esso q[uondam] D[omino] Gabriel alla Signora Maria sua figliola, con le conditioni, come nel di lui testamento pregato, disse, negli atti di D[omi]no Biasio Reggia Nod[aro] Ven[eto], de di 17 Ott[ober]e 1670, et publicato, stante morte, a[l]i 28 del mese stesso, investiti per anco all'Ill[ustrissim]o Ecc[ellen]te del Sal con la corrispon[dent]e al p[rese]nte de prò, in rag[io]ne [f. 214v] di cinque p[er] cento, et dubitando essa Signora Zanetta, che possi esser ancora minorato detto prò, il che sarebbe con pregiuditio, et dan[n]o di essa heredità; Per beneficio però di quella ha considerato esser cosa avantaggiosa il farne de med[esi]mi altra investita cauta, per l'effetto delle ordinationi del detto Testatore. La onde così ricercata dal Signor Gio. Batt[ist]a Vivaldi q[uondam] Signor Agostin, ha stimato partito sicuro, et stabilito conceder al med[esi]mo nella sua spetialità essi d[ucat]i 300 d[ucal]i à liv[ell]o affrancabile, in rag[io]ne di cinque p[er] cento netti d'ogni aggravio, et fonderli sopra beni di raggione del Sig[no]r Antonio Rossi q[uondam] altro Sig[no]r Antonio Muschiaro in questa Città in Piazza di San Marco, all'Insegna dellli tre Calici, et con la di lui pieggiaria, et general obligat[ion]e di cad[au]ni altri suoi beni, p[er] intenderse essa investita livellaria Sogetta, in vece dellli detti denari in detto Affitto, à tutte le conditioni apposte dal detto Berti, nell'acen[n]ato, suo testamento, à cui s'habbi relatione.

Quindi è per tanto, che ad oggetto, et effetto delle cose prenarrate, il sop[radet]to Sig[no]r Gio. Batt[ist]a Vivaldi, facendo di consenso, et libera volontà [f. 215r] dell'antedetto Sig[no]r Antonio Rossi q[uondam] altro Sig[no]r Antonio, qui p[rese]nte, et contentante p[er] sè heredi, et suc[c]essori suoi favorirlo d'imprestarigli gl'infradescritti beni, acciò possa fondare sopra quelli il livello affrancabile pred[et]to per non attraversi egli Sig[no]r Vivaldi stabili, nè fondi di propria raggione, sponte cede, vende, transferisce, et aliena, acciò seguir debbi detto livello affrancabile, ne altrim[en]te alla sop[radet]ta Sig[no]ra Zanetta, già moglie del sud[et]to q[uondam] Gabriel Berti, acettante, come rapp[rese]nte, disse, lo stesso q[uondam] D[omi]no Gabriel, et sua heredità, come nel suo Testamento.

Un cason con un pezzo di terra, della qualità, et quantità, che s'attravano di raggione d'esse Sig[no]r Rossi, posti in Villa delle Gambarare Territorio Padoano, di p[rese]nte affittati à Tonin Tabaco, che paga d[ucat]i vintiquattro all'ano d'affitto, trà li Confini, et con qualu[n]que raggioni, attioni giurisditt[i]ni, habentie, et pertinentie ad essi Cason, e Terra quovis modo spettanti, et attinenti. Di modo che per l'avenire la detta Sig[nora] Zanetta nel nome pred[et]to sia, et s'intenda Patrona,

et come tale vaglia, et possa detti beni haver, tener, et di essi [f. 215v] disporerne, che perciò detto Sig[no]r Vivaldi la pone in ogni di detto Sig[no]r Rossi, et col suo assenso luoco stato, et essere, et la costituisce Procuratrice irrevocabile, com'in cosa propria; Promettendogli in oltre di manutent[ion]e, et Legitima diffensa di detto Cason, e terra in ogni caso d'evit[ar]e disturbo, ò molestia, contra quo scion que in giuditio, e fuori, à tutte di lui Sig[no]r Vivaldi spese, dan[n]i, et interessi.

Et questa vendita, et alienat[ion]e fa detto Sig[no]r Vivaldi per il prezzo dell'i d[ucat]i trecento soprasc[rit]ti, quali insieme con suoi prò essa Sig[no]ra Zanetta come rappresentante, disse, ut supra l'heredità di detto q[uondam] D[omi]no Gabriel dà, et concede ampla libertà, et facoltà allo stesso Sig[no]r Vivaldi di poter, et dover, in vigor del p[rese]nte publico Instr[ument]o, liberam[en]te elevare, et ricevere dal Sop[radet]to Ill[ustrissim]o Ecc[ellentissi]mo del Sal, e da qualsivoglia altro app[ost]o della Cecca, Luoco, et persona publica, à chi spettase, ac etiam quelli girar, ceder, liberam[en]te rinontiar ad altri, et disporerli à chi si sij, come di cosa propria, che perciò lo costituisce Proc[urato]re irrevocabile; per quali d[ucat]i 300 s[oprad]etti Sign[o]r Vivaldi nunc prò tunc fà à detta Sig[no]ra Zanetta, et heredità sudetta, quistatione in forma.

[f. 216r]

Saluis premissij im[m]ediate la d[et]ta Sig[no]ra Zanetta, facendo p[er] raggion di livello affrancabile, che habbi à durar p[er] anni tre prossimi in avenir, da incominciarsi nel giorno del lievo, over giro di detti denari, sponte, et reppettivam[en]te per il nome predetto hà investito, et investe il detto Sig[no]r Vivaldi, sivè il Sig[no]r Rossi, et heredi, quest'invest[iment]e acetanti nelli beni come sopra acquistati. Et questo hà fatto, et fa p[er]ché all'incontro promette, et s'obliga lo stesso Sig[no]r Vivaldi prontam[en]te pagherà, et corrisponderà di livello annuo, et in rag[io]ne di an[n]o alla detta Sig[no]ra Zanetta, per gl'alimenti della detta Sig[no]ra Maria sua figliola, overo à chi s'aspetterà conform'al detto Testamento, D[ucat]i quindecì cor[ren]ti all'an[n]o in rate due, cioè ogni mesi sei finiti, D[ucat]i sette e mezzo, et così sucessivam[en]te di an[n]o in an[n]o, et di rata in rata, durante il p[rese]nte livello, in rag[io]n di cinque p[er] cento, netti, im[m]uni, liberi, et esenti da qualunque Decime, e gravezze, et ogn'altra imposit[io]ne ordinaria, et estraord[inari]a, p[rese]nte, et futura, posta, et che s'imponesse, non ostante qualsi fosse Lege, terminat[ion]e, ò altro atto publico contrario, e derogante al p[rese]nte patto spetiale, et espresso [f. 216v] tra detti parti, le quali convengono inoltre che dà detta an[n]ua corrispond[ent]e livellaria non possi alcuna d'esse pretendere affrancab[il]e, se non saran[n]o prima trascorsi li an[n]i tre sopra pattuiti, quali spirati possi tanto il d[et]to Sig[no]r Vivaldi livellario affrancarsi, et liberarsi con l'attuale, ed effettivo sborso del Cap[ita]le de d[ucati] 300 d[ucal]i Sop[ratut]ti insieme con li prò decorsi, quanto la Sig[no]ra Livellatrice sud[et]ta, et chi haverà all' hora in ciò ragione, et causa, con forme al Testamento sopracitato, astringere il detto Sig[no]r Vivaldi all'affrancat[ion]e soprad[ett]a, con la restit[ut]io]ne et pagamento dell'i d[et]ti d. 300 D.ti. di Cap[ita]le, et di tutti li prò, et spese, rimanessero insodisfatti; et fossero seguite p[er] detta causa, et non pagati; Dovendo quella parte intenderà affrancarsi haver fatto correr prima una publica intimat[io]ne in scr[ittur]a di mesi tre inanzi all'altra, per patto espresso, et niente dimeno la pens[ion]e Livelaria pred[et]ta continuar debba sin all'attuale, et effettiva affrancat[ion]e ut Supra.

Nel caso della qual affrancat[ion]e doverà il sop[rascrit]to Cap[ita]lle di D[ucati] 300 d[ucal]i esser di nuovo reinvestito, overo esser liberam[en]te dato à chi, et con c[h]e all' hora sarà il Caso, che viene ordinato dall'anted[et]to D[omi]no Gabriel Berti [f. 217r] Testatore; Et se per sorte, prima dell'affracat[io]ne sop[radett]ta mancasse di vita la d[ett]a Sig[no]ra Maria, sia obligato in tal caso, come così promette, et s'obliga detto Sig[no]r Vivaldi esborsare del corpo delli sudetti D[ucati] 300 d[ucal]i come sopra pigliati à livello D[uca]ti cento alla Chiesa di San Gio[vanni] Battista in Bragora, per dover esser quelli investiti, nella conformità dell'ordinat[ion]e del suddetto Testamento; seguita la quale affrancat[ion]e totale il p[rese]nte Instr[ument]o s'intenderà cassa, et nullo, et il Sig[no]r Vivaldi, nec non il Sig[no]r Rossi, con li suoi beni tutti liberi, et disobligati dall'aggravio, et obligat[ion]e sudetta.

A maggior caut[ion]e della sop[radett]ta Sig[no]ra Zanetta, et heredità pred[et]ta il sop[radett]to Sig[no]r Antonio Rossi, spontaneam[en]te per sè stesso, heredi, et successori suoi lauda, approba, et ratifica la vendita soprafatta, et susseguente livello, come buoni, cauti, et sicuri, et si costituisce pieggio, manutentore, revisore, et principal pagadore simul, et in solidum con il sop[rade]tto Sig[no]r Vivaldi, non solo per quelli, ma etiam p[er] sop[ra]d[et]to cap[ita]lle di D[ucati] 300 d[ucat]i, et p[er] tutti li prò, et spese sin all'attuale affrancat[ion]e pred[et]to, in tutto, et p[er] tutto sicome è tenuto, et obligato il detto Sig[no]r Vivaldi ut s[opr]a.

[f. 217v] Per osservanza, et manutent[ion]e di tutte le cose sopra espresse, et dichiarite obliga cad[au]na delle parti sopra intervenute nel nome, et p[er] l'interesse à se tangente, come sopra, sè nè con qualunque beni suoi generalm[en]te p[rese]nti venturi, ovu[n]que essistenti. Super quibus.

Clar[issi]mi D[omino] Petrus Gonella f[igli]o Clar[issi]mi D[omino] Ioan[n]is et D[omino] Marcus Gasparini q[uonda]m D[omi]ni Georgij Fidem verò fecit de sup[erdic]to D[omi]nus Jo: Batt[ist]a Vivaldi, D[omi]nus Bartolameus Valentini ab Aquis ad insignaem Mundi sub porticij cecca Pubblie, Sancti Marci, filius D[omi]ni Ioan[n]ij, e de sup[radet]ta D[omi]na Ioan[n]etta, fidem fece D[omino] Ant[oni]o Casari q[uonda]m alterius Antonij,<sup>49</sup> de cuius cognitione pariter fidem fecit idem Bartolomeus Valentini, ac

De D[omi]no Antonio de Rubeij, antescrito fuit fidem D[omi]nus Bartolomeus Savati di Antonij ab Aquis sub porticij novij d[ell]a Platea S. Marci ad insignem Sancti Michaelij.

#### DOCUMENT 4A. GIOVANNA (ZANETTA) TEMPORINI'S WILL

Source: *I-Vas*, Notarile, Testamenti (Pietro Antonio Bozzini), B. 188b, n. 424.<sup>50</sup>

[On the spine]

No. 424. Testam[en]to della Sig[no]ra Zanetta r[elit]ta de q[uon]d[am] Gabriel Colpi Inter[o]gato p[er] me Pietro Ant[oni]o Bozini Nod[ar]o n. 31. Maggio 1676.

Die vero Dom[eni]co ultimo Mensis Maij

Considerando li pericoli de q[ue]sta Fragile vita Io Zanetta Colpi r[elit]ta del

<sup>49</sup> Antonio Casari *quondam* Antonio was the fourth person in the party led by the widowed Margarita Vivaldi when she migrated to Venice c. 1665 with her sons Agostino and Giovanni Battista (the composer's father).

<sup>50</sup> Unsealed on 6 Luglio 2012, Verbale n. 1127. My cordial thanks to dottoressa Michela Dal Borgo for facilitating the opening of this will.

q[uon]d[am] S[ignor] Gabriel Colpi non esser cosa più certa della morte et incerta l' hora di quella sana p[er] gratia del S[igno]r Iddio di mente et Intelletto sane del corpo indisp[os]to. Hò fatto chiamare a venir à me alla Casa della mia nascita hab[itation]e posta in Contrà di S. Z[uan]e Batt[ist]a in Bragora m[isser] Pietro Ant[oni]o Bozini, Nod[ar]o già lui che ho p[re]gato p[er] scrivere q[ues]to mio test[ament]o et ult[ima] mia volontà e tramando il caso della mia verbe quello per traspire et zeberare con tutte le verbale [sic] della Città.

Et (ul[ti]ma ess[en]do) fia mia nelli Consiglii del Iddio alla Gloriosa Sempre Verg[in]e Maria, in tutta là corte Celestiale.

Li soldi di che sono al Sal di Ragg[ion] del a [sic] di mio Marito che siano dati in dote à Camilla mia figliola che deve esser Moglie del S[igno]r Gio. Batt[ist]a Vivaldi – Fatto Ressiduaria d[ett]a Camilla mia figliola del tutto con oblico di dar un par di Lintiolo, Camise, et altro à sua sorella Maria; –

A mio fig[lio] Salvador g'ha lascio una Camisa da homo.

Inter[ro]g[a]to de n[ostr]o N[o]d[ar]o delli 4. Osped[al]li luochi pij et altre R[ifert]e non vole ordinar altro.

Per i[te]m q[ue]sta signa[tura] ac | —  
[witnessed by]

Io Antonio Gandolfo barbier fui testimonio pregato et giurato.  
Io Carlo Cambianega frutariol Testimonio fui pregato et giurato.

DOCUMENT 4B. CODICIL TO GIOVANNA TEMPORINI'S WILL

Source: *I-Vas, Notarile, Testamenti* (Pietro Antonio Bozzini), B. 188b, n. 425.<sup>51</sup>

[On the spine]  
6 Zugno 1676  
contra da San Gio. Batt[ist]a in Bragora  
Mad[onn]a Zanetta Colpio  
1676 Die Sabb[a]to M[ensi]s Junij  
Sexto Ind[ict]e [= 6 giugno]

Havendo Io Zanetta q[uondam] vedova del S[igno]r Gabriel Colpi fatto il mio Testa[men]to li giorni passati p[er] pa[t]to Sig[nor] Pietro Ant[oni]o Bozini Nod[ar]o di q[ues]ta Casa. Hora volendo quello regolare stò di nuovo fatto chiamar, e venir da me qui nella Casa della mia solita habitat[ion]e, posta in Contrà di S[an] Gio[vanni] Batt[ist]a in Bragora d[ett]o Nod[ar]o qual hò p[re]gato voglio scriver q[ue]sto mio Codicillio, et hoggi ?onta al d[ett]o mio Testam[ent]o col quale dichiaro.

Che lasso à mio fig[li]o Salvador Ducati Cinque per regalo p[er] una volta tanto. Nel resto conforma q[uest]o mio Test[ament]o in tutto come sta, e piace.

[...]

[witnessed by]

Io Antonio Gandolfi fui testimonio pregato e giurato.<sup>52</sup>  
Io Carlo Cambioneaga fui testimonio pregato e giurato.

<sup>51</sup> Unsealed on 6 Luglio 2012, Verbale n. 1128. As before, my gratitude to dottoressa Michela Dal Borgo, who arranged for the unsealing of this codicil.

<sup>52</sup> The son of a barber in the parish of San Martino, Antonio Gandolfi was godfather to one of Agostino Vivaldi's children (1673). He testified to Antonio's fitness to enter the priesthood (17 June 1693). Cf. MICKY WHITE, *Antonio Vivaldi: A Life in Documents*, cit., pp. 12-13.

VIVALDI'S MATERNAL HERITAGE

Illustration 1. Signatures and the imprint of a lost seal on the civic endorsement of Camillo Calicchio's character, submitted to support his *stato libero*. Curia Patriarcale di Venezia, Archivio Storico, Ser. Examinum matrimoniorum, Reg. 1649-1651, f. 558r (6 maggio 1650).

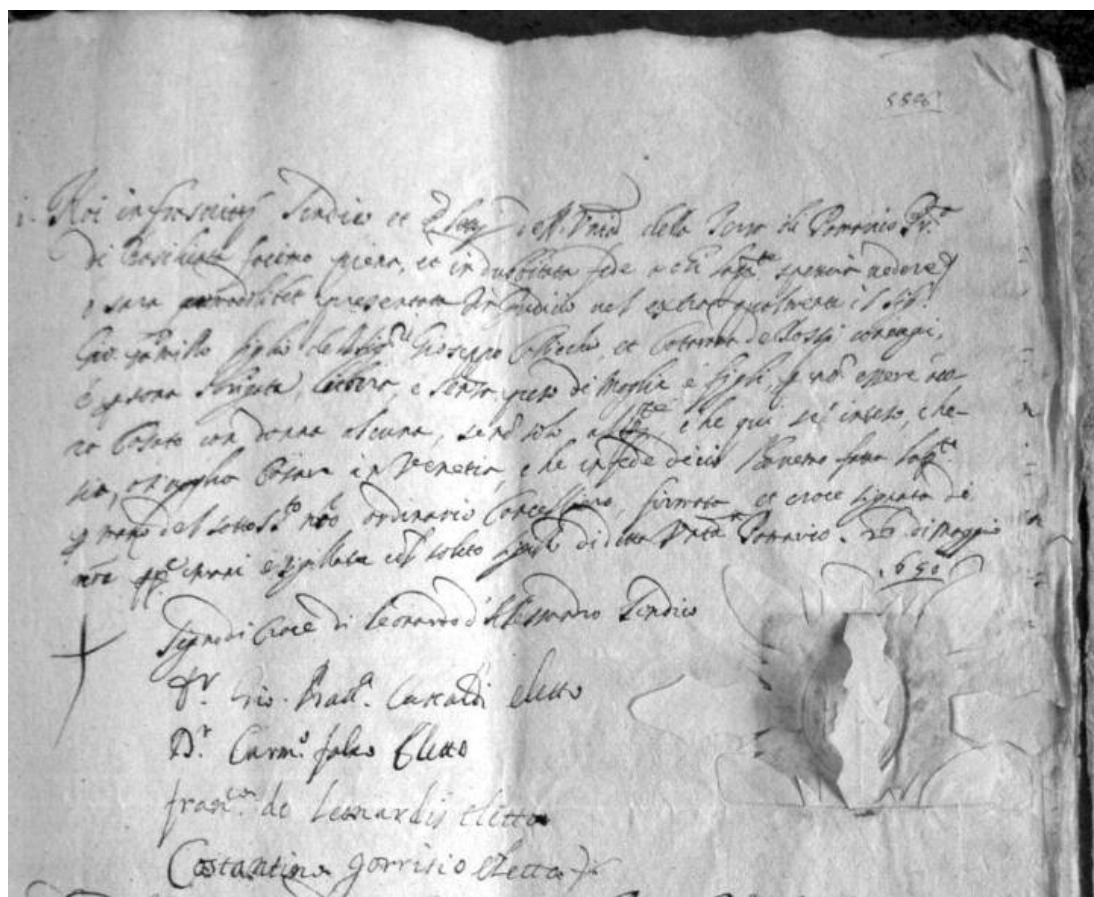


Illustration 2. Death entry of 28 October 1670 for Gabriele di Berti, San Giovanni in Bragora, Archivio Parrocchiale, B. 65, Reg. 1 (Morti 1665-1686 M.V.), f. 45r.

corona nera non  
 fissa podo <sup>Agliod</sup>  
anni 82  
 — Ad. 28 Oct.  
 fig. Gabriele di Berti s. Colpi  
 nato d'anni 38 in c. da febb  
 in dì 28 Medico Leonard. lo da  
 in nota et fù sepolto in chiesa  
 nostra Signor  
 nella sua moglie  
 In chiesa cap.  
non confesso

Illustration 3. Death entry of 1 November 1670 for Cattarina Temporini, San Giovanni in Bragora, Archivio Parrocchiale, B. 65, Reg. 1 (Morti 1665-1686 M.V.), f. 45r.

Ad. Pi. gote i 670  
 la figlia Cattarina conforto del fig  
 Andrea Temporini d'anni 68 inc.  
 da febre et mal della testa riceve in  
 dì 1 Novembre Medico Leonard. lo da in  
 nota et fù sepolta il R. s. P. C  
 sion. Francesco Temporini suo figlio  
 nolba in chiesa con il p. C.  
 cap. nel tempo.

Eleanor Selfridge-Field

## IL RETAGGIO MATERNO DI VIVALDI

### Sommario

L'ascendenza materna di Vivaldi fu ricostruita a grandi linee da Gastone Vio più di trent'anni fa. I dati essenziali sull'anno di nascita, di nozze e di morte della madre del compositore (oltre alle date di nascita dei molti suoi figli) sono noti da tempo. Le origini del padre di lei, proveniente dalla diocesi di Matera (Basilicata), sono altrettanto assodate (degli estratti della documentazione concernente il suo «stato libero» sono trascritti in questo articolo). Alcune recenti scoperte avvenute in tre archivi veneziani hanno permesso di ricostruire un quadro molto più accurato dell'ascendenza materna di Camilla. In particolare, pare che sua madre Giovanna (nota anche come Zanetta) Temporini sia stata una figura capace di esercitare una certa influenza nelle vite dei suoi discendenti. Ella era nata nella parrocchia di San Giovanni in Bragora. Dal momento che il padre di Camilla morì in giovane età, Giovanna sposò in seconde nozze un vasaio chiamato Giovanni Berti, a volte menzionato col nomignolo di «Colpi». Questi fu uno dei benefattori della chiesa di San Giovanni in Bragora. Nel corso della sua vita, Giovanna assunse a sua volta almeno quattro differenti soprannomi.

La mera vicinanza non fu comunque il solo legame fra la famiglia e San Giovanni in Bragora. Uno zio di Camilla, Giovanni Francesco Temporini (morto nel 1692), che fu a lungo sacerdote presso la chiesa omonima, possedeva una biblioteca di un certo valore. Il contesto familiare in cui i figli di Camilla nacquero e crebbero che emerge da questo quadro più definito, indicano una vita ricca di appoggio morale, di stimoli intellettuali e (da parte di Berti) di senso degli affari.