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The special relationship of patrons, librettists, and composers, in the *Accademia degli’Arcadia* in Rome from 1700-1710 appears in Alessandro Scarlatti’s settings of Antonio Ottoboni’s cantata librettos in the anthology GB Lbm. Add. 34056. An examination of Arcadian cantatas and their texts reveals the nature of their audience, function, and their place within the historical development of the genre. The conversazione cantata did not exist outside of Rome and was popular for only a brief period in the early eighteenth century. Critical examination of primary sources, including minutes from the Arcadian Academy meetings as well as household documents regarding the Cardinals Ottoboni and Pamphili, Prince Ruspoli, and other noble families, sheds light on the culture of the Arcadian Academy and the cantata within it, broader study clarifies the individuality of the conversazione cantata within Rome, and closer study of the contribution of the greatest cantata composer 1700-1710, Alessandro Scarlatti.
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CHAPTER 1

THE ROMAN CHAMBER CANTATA: PATRONAGE AND ACCADEMIA

Introduction

Music, in particular the cantata, played a role in the weekly meetings of the literary academy known as the Accademia degli Arcadia \(^1\) from its founding in 1690. As an important form of entertainment for the nobility as well as the clergy, cantatas were also performed at other weekly meetings, known as conversazione, hosted by individual Academy members.\(^2\) This study proposes to examine the cantatas associated with the Arcadian Academy and Roman conversazione from 1700-1710, with special attention given to cantatas with texts by academy members Antonio Ottoboni, Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, and Cardinal Benedetto Pamphili set to music by Alessandro Scarlatti, Antonio Caldara, and George Frederic Handel culminating in Scarlatti’s musical settings of Antonio Ottoboni’s librettos in GB Lbm. Add. 34056. By comparing the cantatas written by these composers specifically for the Arcadian Academy, the study illuminates the relationship between patrons, librettists, Arcadians, and composers that resulted in a specific repertoire unique to Rome: the conversazione cantata.

The Arcadian Academy began under the auspices of Christina of Sweden (1626-1689). Members of the Accademia Reale, a group started in January of 1656 by Christina to discuss scientific and literary issues, formalized themselves as the Arcadian Academy after her death. Giovanni Maria Crescembini (1663-1728), one of the

\(^1\) Henceforth, the Accademia degli Arcadia will be referred to as the Arcadian Academy.

\(^2\) Francesco de Ruspoli and Benedetto Pamphili’s Conversazione were on Sundays, while Pietro Ottoboni had meetings on Monday nights for which A. Corelli was in charge of the music.
fourteen founding members, is generally credited with establishing the group.

According to Crescembini, the Academy met every year from the beginning of May to the beginning of October. The Academy included clergy, such as Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667-1740), grand nephew of Alexander VIII--Pope from 1689 until his death in 1691-- and Cardinal Benedetto Pamphili (1653-1730), whose great-uncle, Giambattista Pamphili was Pope Innocent X (r. 1644-1655). Aristocratic members included Francesco Maria de Ruspoli (1672-1731), later the Prince of Cerveteri. Poets and librettists included founding member Silvio Stampiglia (1664-1725). Musician and composer members included Alessandro Scarlatti (1660-1725) and Arcangelo Corelli (1653-1713). Scarlatti and Corelli were inducted into the group, along with keyboardist and composer Bernardo Pasquini (1637-1710), in 1706.

The inclusion of composers and musicians in a literary academy shows the broad range of interests of the Academy. The integrity of librettos (opera, oratorio, and cantata) was a focal point for the Academy, as can be seen in the “Arcadian” opera libretto reforms of Apostolo Zeno (1668-1750) and eventually Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782). The early Baroque opera libretto along with dramatic aspects of early opera based on the ideas of Aristotle and the Greek classics moved further and further away from these ideas as the Baroque period progressed. According to Nathaniel Burt, one of the goals of the Arcadian Academy was to return Italian literature to its place of greatness within the Greco-Roman tradition. The Academy saw Italy as the rightful

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heir to that literary tradition and, as such, had a responsibility to continue producing great literature.⁵ Members of the academy placed great emphasis on Italian poets such as Alighieri Dante (1265-1321) and Francesco Petrarch (1304-1374). Although popular for much of the seventeenth century, the poetry of Giambattista Marino (1569-1625) was considered by the Arcadian Academy to be excessive in the use of metaphor and wit.⁶ The academy encouraged a return to Petrarch as a model poet for cantata librettos.⁷

Several members of the Academy, including Cardinals Ottoboni and Pamphili and Prince Ruspoli, were patrons of the arts. These men kept their own household chapels complete with such distinguished musicians as Alessandro Scarlatti, Arcangelo Corelli, Antonio Caldara (1670-1736), Giovanni Bononcini (1670-1747), and Francesco Gasparini (1661-1727). Scarlatti’s patrons included Queen Christina of Sweden, as well as the Cardinals Ottoboni and Pamphili in Rome and the Prince Ferdinando de Medici in Florence. Much of his career was spent in the employ of the Spanish viceroy, Marquis del Carpio. He was also employed as the director of the Neapolitan theater San Bartolomeo. In 1703 Scarlatti returned to Rome as the assistant maestro di cappella at San Maria Maggiore. According to Julie Sadie, Scarlatti renewed his connections with

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⁵ Nathaniel Burt, “Opera in Arcadia,” Musical Quarterly 41 (1955): 145-170. The reform of opera librettos occurred slowly through one of the academy’s members, Apostotle Zeno, and eventually Zeno’s successor at the Viennese court, Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782), also a member. His adoptive father, Gian Vincenzo Gravina (1664-1718) was one of the fourteen founding members of the Academy


his former patrons, the cardinals, in order to supplement his income. It was at this
time that he became acquainted with Prince Ruspoli.

Although Corelli found a patron in Queen Christina as well as Cardinal Pamphilii
for a time, in 1690 he moved to the palace of Cardinal Ottoboni, where he was
responsible for organizing the Monday academies as well as performances at the
Cancelleria. Although Corelli was in Ottoboni's employ from 1690-1713.

The Ottobonis, Pamphilii, and Ruspoli actively sponsored operas (when they were
not being banned), oratorios during Lent, serenatas for special occasions, and cantatas
on nearly a weekly basis for meetings of the Academy and informal gatherings at the
residences of Ruspoli, Ottoboni, and Pamphilii, known as conversazione.9

The Italian cantata, long associated with Rome from its earliest stages with Luigi
Rossi (c1597-1653) and Giacomo Carissimi (1605-1704), continued to flourish in the
early decades of the eighteenth century in association with the Arcadian Academy. A
number of important composers associated with Rome from 1700-1710 who composed
cantatas for the Academy include the following: Alessandro Scarlatti, George Frederic
Handel (1685-1759), Antonio Caldara (1670-1736), Bernardo Pasquini (1637-1710),
Giovanni Bononcini (1670-1747), C. F. Pollaroli (c1653-1723), Francesco Gasparini, and

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Corelli was in Ottoboni's employ from 1690-1713.
9 Thomas Griffin, The Late Baroque Serenata in Rome and Naples: A Documentary Study with Emphasis
on Alessandro Scarlatti, Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1983, xxviii. The
serenata was a "large occasional cantata" that was usually performed at night for a tradition of "open-air
Carlo Francesco Cesarini (1664-1730). Over 50 cantatas by these various composers were set to librettos written by members of the Arcadian Academy.\textsuperscript{10} Comparison of text subject matter prior to the Arcadian period reveals cantata texts concerned mostly with either romantic or unrequited love. Few early Roman cantatas may be classified as having a pastoral setting. By contrast, most texts from the Arcadian period deal with pastoral subjects and the idyllic world of Arcadia.

For the most part, scholarship on the Italian chamber cantata has been limited to dissertations and articles focusing on particular composers. Disagreement exists among scholars as to what defines the genre and what purpose it served. Paul Henry Lang and Winton Dean have both described cantatas as merely “miniature operas.”\textsuperscript{11} Donald Burrows has stated that while instrumentally accompanied cantatas are “equivalent to operatic scenes or even sometimes miniature operas,” the continuo cantata is purely chamber music and is the vocal counterpart to the solo sonata of the period.\textsuperscript{12} Edward Dent, however, contends that “to dismiss [the cantata] as sounding like ‘slices out of opera’ is to mistake their purpose altogether.”\textsuperscript{13} Scholars do agree that some cantata composers, including Handel and A. Scarlatti, experimented with summertime music” to celebrate events in the lives of patrons.

\textsuperscript{10} Additionally, Tommaso Bernardo Gaffi (1667-1744), Giovanni Battista Constanzi, and Pietro Bencini (c1670-1755) are all known to have set Pamphilii’s cantata texts. Members of the Academy also wrote oratorio and opera librettos. The idea of noblemen and clergy providing texts for cantatas, operas, and oratorios is by no means a new one. Giulio Rospigliosi (1600-69) wrote several librettos for both opera and oratorio before becoming Pope Clement IX in 1667.

\textsuperscript{11} Paul Henry Lang, George Frideric Handel (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), 57.

\textsuperscript{12} Donald Burrows, Handel (New York: Schirmer Books, 1994), 54-55.

their compositional style within the limits of the cantata and later re-used material from these cantatas in their operas and oratorios.\textsuperscript{14}

The study of Handel's cantatas has been largely neglected. The bulk of the scholarship appears in a few articles and in John Mayo's dissertation “Handel's Italian Cantatas,” which gives an overview of the cantatas with emphasis on Handel's compositional style. Mayo's intent was to place Handel's cantatas within the Italian cantata tradition as well as in the context of Handel's overall compositional output showing the Italianate influences he derived from his stay in Italy. A large portion of Mayo's text is devoted to a discussion of Handel's revisions and borrowings. He only touches upon Handel's text selections and the cantata's relationship to the Arcadian Academy is ignored.

Most recently, the cantatas of Handel have been discussed in Ellen Harris's book \textit{Handel as Orpheus},\textsuperscript{15} which according to Harris is a “comprehensive study” of Handel's cantatas that “offers a contextual interpretation” and “encompasses the political, religious, and sexual background” of the pieces.\textsuperscript{16}

J. Merrill Knapp and Ellen Harris have debated the idea of Italian influences on Handel's compositional style. Harris (1980) contends that Handel absorbed influences more from the German rather than the Italian tradition. Using three of seven cantatas for which Handel and A. Scarlatti are known to have set the same text as the basis of her study, she concludes that no influence exists. In 1981, Knapp responded by

\textsuperscript{14} Handel's re-use of cantata material appears in several works including \textit{Agripinna}, \textit{Radamisto}, \textit{Ottone}, and \textit{Giulio Cesare}. For a more complete listing see Mayo's Appendix I, Table VI.\textsuperscript{15} Ellen Harris, \textit{Handel as Orpheus} (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001).
insisting (and rightly so) that more music would have to be compared in order to make
the broad allegation that Handel resisted new compositional influences while in Italy.  
Several scholars pay lip service to Scarlatti’s influence on the young Handel’s
compositional style; Harris, however, is one of few who attempt to prove (as she states
was her original intention) or disprove this theory.  

Lacunae in Handel’s sojourn to Italy have been filled in by the research of Ursula
Kirkendale (1967) who, by using copyist bills from the Ruspoli household, places more
clearly Handel’s time in Rome and identifies cantatas composed specifically for
Ruspoli.  Kirkendale has also bolstered scholarship on the much-neglected composer,
Antonio Caldara. Although very little of her book on Caldara addresses the cantatas,
the documents regarding Caldara while in the service of Ruspoli are invaluable.

Even though the cantatas of Alessandro Scarlatti have been approached from a
number of different viewpoints, no modern-day edition of the complete cantatas exists.
Edwin Hanley’s bibliographical study of Scarlatti’s some 728 cantatas provides crucial
information for the Scarlatti scholar.

Study of the early eighteenth-century cantatas from this period is hindered by
the lack of modern editions. For Handel, the accompanied cantatas appear in volumes
three, four, and five of the Hallische Händel-Werke. The continuo cantatas in this

16 Ellen Harris, Handel as Orpheeus, 1-2.
19 Ursula Kirkendale, “The Ruspoli Documents on Handel,” Journal of the American Musicological Society
20 Ursula Kirkendale, Antonio Caldara: Sein Leben und seine venezianisch-römischen Oratorien (Graz:
series, however, have yet to be published. One must rely on Chrysander’s incomplete and faulty edition. For several of the continuo cantatas, Chrysander did not have the autograph at his disposal and the copies on which he relied have since been proven to contain errors.\textsuperscript{22} Also, a few cantatas unknown to Chrysander have come to light since his edition.\textsuperscript{23}

From the standpoint of editions, Alessandro Scarlatti’s cantatas have been more neglected than those of Handel. Malcolm Boyd has edited twenty-nine of Scarlatti’s cantatas in volume 13 of \textit{The Seventeenth Century Italian Cantata}; a series edited by Carolyn Gianturco that provides the cantata scholar with a fine sampling of the major composers from the seventeenth century. Francesco Gasparini’s and Giovanni Bononcini’s cantatas also appear in this series.\textsuperscript{24} Only one cantata from Scarlatti’s volume has a known text by an Arcadian.\textsuperscript{25}

An examination of Arcadian cantatas\textsuperscript{26} and their texts composed from 1700-1710 will determine the nature of their audience, function, and their place within the historical development of the genre. Study of the anthology GB Lbm. Add. 34056 will highlight the special relationship of patronage, librettists, composers, and the Arcadians. The result of this relationship culminates in the development of the \textit{conversazione}.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[22] Ellen Harris, \textit{Handel as Orpheus} (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001) xii.
\item[23] Two cantatas (one with a text by Pamphili and the other by P. Ottoboni), “Hendel non posso” and “Ero e Leandro,” do not appear in Chrysander’s edition.
\item[24] Gasparini was introduced to Cardinals Pamphili and Ottoboni in the early 1680s. After spending the years 1701-1713 as the maestro di coro at the Ospedale della Pieta in Venice, he served in Rome as the maestro di capella for Prince Ruspoli.
\item[25] “Siamo in contessa la bellezza” is a cantata by Scarlatti to a text by Pamphili (1701).
\item[26] The author reserves the term “Arcadian cantatas” to denote cantatas known to have a libretto written by a member of the Arcadian Academy.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
cantata, which did not exist outside of Rome and was popular for only a brief period. Critical examination of primary sources, including minutes from the Arcadian Academy meetings as well as household documents regarding the Cardinals Ottoboni and Pamphili, Prince Ruspoli, and other noble families, will shed new light on the culture of the Arcadian Academy and the cantata within it, and broader study will clarify the individuality of the conversazione cantata within Rome. I offer the term conversazione cantata to describe a limited repertoire of cantatas composed in Rome from 1700-1710 to librettos written by patron members of the Arcadian Academy who hosted their own weekly conversazione.

Papacy

The cantata, as it existed during the first decade of the eighteenth century, dominated Italian vocal chamber music. The term cantata, originally used indiscriminately to describe a wide range of pieces that were sung (from the verb cantare: to sing), began to be associated by the 1630s with multi-section works consisting of aria, arioso, and recitative. By the end of the seventeenth century, the term designated a vocal genre consisting of a series of da capo arias separated by recitative typically for solo soprano and basso continuo. Although Florence, Venice, Naples, and Bologna, as well as other Italian cities, saw the production of cantatas, it

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27 The earliest known use of the term cantata in the title of a publication appears in a 1620 reprint of Alessandro Grandi’s (c 1575-1630) Cantade et arie a voce sola. Venetian publisher Alessandro Vincenti published Grandi’s four volumes, each with the same title. Dennis Arnold, "The Secular Music of Alessandro Grandi," Early Music 14 (Nov., 1986): 491. The Vincenti family owned a lucrative publishing business that focused its efforts on printing and reprinting monodic anthologies. In 1624, Vincenti published two more volumes titled Cantade et aria with music by the Venetian composer Giovanni Pietro Berti.
was at Rome that the cantata had its greatest efflorescence for most of the seventeen century and the early eighteenth century.

A variety of factors converged to create the ideal breeding ground in Rome for cantata production. These factors, which included a wealthy clergy, a large aristocracy, a large number of composers, instrumentalists, and singers, and a varied operatic tradition, as well as the influence of the Vatican, made cantata production and consumption possible, and contributed to the continued popularity of the cantata not just as entertainment, but as a vehicle for overall change in the early eighteenth-century opera libretto. The seeds for the Roman cantata culture as it existed from 1700-1710 were planted as early as 1588 when Pope Sixtus V proclaimed that women would not be allowed to perform on stage.

Musical developments and entertainment in Rome fell under the watchful eye of the Vatican. Unlike in other Italian cities, music waxed and waned under the influence of the Holy See. Edicts from various popes regarding entertainment made theatrical performances difficult, if not in some cases, impossible. The opening of public theaters was discouraged. The first public theater in Rome, the Tordinona, was to open in 1670. However, Clement IX (who sanctioned its building) died. Christina of Sweden provided funds for the opening of the theater in 1671,\(^{28}\) it then closed in 1675 for a Holy Year. Although the Tordinona was set to re-open in 1676, Clement X died and was succeeded by Innocent XI, who frowned upon public entertainment. The theater remained closed

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\(^{28}\) The opening of a public opera house in Rome occurs much later than in Venice. The first Venetian public opera house, Teatro San Cassiano, opened in 1637. Although the opera that opened the Tordinona, Saint Alessio, was by a Roman composer, the majority of public operas produced in Rome
for the next fifteen years, only to re-open in 1689 under the reign of Alexander VIII (an
Ottoboni). The theater, which was completely remodeled in 1695, was destroyed in
1697 by order of Pope Innocent XII (r. 1691-1700). In 1697, the only other public
theater in Rome, the Capranica, was not allowed to charge admission and by 1698 was
“forced to close.”\textsuperscript{29} The Capranica reopened in 1711, while the Tordinona remained in
its demolished state until Pope Clement XII (r. 1730-40) ordered it to be rebuilt in
1732.\textsuperscript{30}

Although Clement XI (r. 1700-1721) showed a more favorable attitude towards
public entertainment, the ban on entertainment, more specifically opera, continued to
plague Roman composers throughout much of the seventeenth century and the first
decade of the eighteenth century. Following the January 14 earthquake in 1703, Pope
Clement XI placed a ban on social gatherings and musical entertainment through the
spring. The ban was, for the most part, ignored by Rome’s nobility.\textsuperscript{31} Carnival season
in Rome continued to be somber in 1705 because the Pope banned all public
entertainment in “observance of the vow which was made during the earthquake.”\textsuperscript{32}
The ban continued through Carnival 1706. Table 1 gives the succession of popes from
1676-1724.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[29] George J. Buelow, ed. \textit{The Late Baroque Era from the 1680s to 1740} (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey:
Prentice Hall, 1994), 55.
\item[30] Buelow, 56.
\item[31] Griffin, 399.
\item[32] Griffin, 456.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Table 1. Reigning Popes 1676-1724

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pope</th>
<th>Reigning Years</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Innocent XI</td>
<td>1676-89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander VIII</td>
<td>1689-91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innocent XII</td>
<td>1691-1700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clement XI</td>
<td>1700-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innocent XIII</td>
<td>1721-24</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Rome became an operatic center during the second quarter of the seventeenth century under the direction of the Barberini Pope, Urban VIII (1568-1644.) His nephews, the Barberini Cardinals, Antonio (1608-1671) and Francesco (1597-1679), had the *Teatro delle Quattro Fontane* (opera house) built in the Barberini palace in 1623. This theater housed the production of the earliest known private performances of opera in Rome.\(^{33}\) The leading Roman opera composer for the first half of the seventeenth century was Luigi Rossi (1597-1653.) Leading librettists near mid-century included Giulio Rospigliosi (1600-69), and Francesco Buti (1604-1682). Rospigliosi, who wrote the librettos for several of Urban VIII’s opera productions, became Pope Clement IX in 1667.

The subject matter of early Roman opera librettos typically fell into the following categories: pastoral, mythological, the lives of saints, and fantasy. Roman opera became known for its theatrics. Divinities were often lowered or raised in cloud

\(^{33}\) Buelow, 57.
machines to the delight of the audience.\textsuperscript{34} Because the spectacular scenic effects were so popular, irrelevant characters and the intrusion of comic scenes became the norm in Roman opera to the point that the integrity of the drama (which was so important to the early Florentines) was no longer a priority.\textsuperscript{35}

Attitudes in Rome towards music and secular entertainment were split among the clergy. While some Cardinals embraced secular genres such as opera, serenata, and cantata, others disapproved of such entertainments. In July of 1700, a performance of a serenata was given for the Cardinals Ottoboni, Luigi Homodei (1657-1706), and Pierre Choeslin (1636-1706). The duchess of Bracciano hired a female singer for the performance. Cardinal Choeslin, who was unable to attend the performance due to illness, later said that he was “scandalized” at the thought of hearing a woman sing.\textsuperscript{36}

Rome’s wealthy clergy and intellectual aristocracy both contributed to the popularity of the cantata throughout the seventeenth century. Cantata production was supplied by several prominent families, including the previously mentioned Barberini family and the Colonna family. Wealthy clergymen who supported the performances of operas, oratorios, cantatas, and serenatas include Cardinals Carlo Colonna (1665-1739)\textsuperscript{37} Vincenzo Grimani (1653-1710)\textsuperscript{38}, Fabrizio Spada (1643-1717), Leandro Colloredo (1639-1709), Baldassare Censi (1648-1709), Luigi Homodei, Benedetto

\textsuperscript{34} Buelow, 58.
\textsuperscript{35} Dramatic integrity became one of the focal points of the Arcadian Academy.
\textsuperscript{36} Griffin, 309.
\textsuperscript{37} James Hall suggests that Colonna was the sponsor of Handel’s Latin sacred music. James Hall, “The Problem of Handel’s Latin Church Music,” \textit{Musical Times} 100 (1959): 197.
Pamphili (1653-1730), and Pietro Ottoboni (1667-1740). Prince Don Livio Odescalchi, Gaetano Cesarini (Prince of Genzano fl. 1713-30), Marchese Riccardi, Prince Francesco Ruspoli (1672-1731), Queen Maria Casimira (1641-1716) and Queen Christina of Sweden (1626-1689) were among the Roman aristocracy who cultivated the cantata. Most of these patrons were associated with at least one Roman academy.

The Academies

The interest in classical antiquity that emerged during the Renaissance in Italy led to a renewed interest in the classics as taught by Plato at the “Academus” in Athens. One of the earliest known academies in Italy, the *Accademia Platonica* (founded in Florence in 1470) consisted mostly of intellectuals of noble birth. The Italians expanded the role of the academy beyond the ideas of Plato to include discussions of literature, music, philosophy, and drama, specifically that created by Italians. This forum--originally designed for intellectual aristocrats--eventually led to the development of several types of academies that catered to aristocrats as well as intellectuals of various classes and professionals of various trades. Some academies even came to represent their professions much in the same manner as a guild. By 1550 over 200 academies were in existence in Italy.39

The culture of the academy continued to flourish in Italy as well as other European countries throughout the Baroque period. Academies existed for most professions and were found in nearly every city in Italy. For music, the Florentine

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38 He was the librettist for Handel’s opera *Agrippina*.
camerata, perhaps the best known of seventeenth-century academies, was particularly influential in the development of Italian opera.

In mid-century, one of the most prestigious academies in Italy was Giovanni Francesco Loredano’s *Accademia degli Incogniti* which was founded in Venice in 1630, and consisted of philosophers, historians, poets, librettists and clerics. Members were encouraged to write. The *Incogniti*’s publications included various types of poetry, novels, historical tracts, and religious tracts as well as several opera librettos. Although librettists were members of the *Incogniti*, music does not appear to have played a role in their meetings. Unlike Rome’s *Accademia degli Arcadia*, the *Incogniti* chose not to allow women or musicians to join. Instead, a “musical sub-group” (the *Accademia degli Unisoni*) was created in 1637 by the librettist Giulio Strozzi (1583-1652). Consisting primarily of members of the *Incogniti*, it was created specifically for vocal performances by Barbara Strozzi (1619-64).

Another important Venetian academy, this one dedicated to literary concerns was the *Accademia dei Dodonei* for which Antonio Ottoboni (1646-1720) was a founding member at its inception in 1673. This academy was succeeded in 1691 by the *Accademia degli Animosi*, another literary academy that in 1698 would become one of the satellites of the *Accademia degli Arcadia*.

Like most Italian cities, Rome boasted several academies, including one started

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41 Rosand, 245.
42 Rosand, 246.
43 Michael Talbot and Colin Timms, “Music and the Poetry of Antonio Ottoboni,” *Handel e gli Scarlatti A*
in 1608 known as the *Ordinato*. One of the earliest Roman academies that existed in the form of a guild was the Roman *Accademia del Disegno di S Luca* which was created in 1596 for sculptors, painters, and architects. A guild for Roman church musicians was the *Congregazione di Saint Cecila*. Originally known as the *Congregazione di Musici di Roma* (1624), this group required that all Roman church musicians become a member and obtain a special license in order to practice their profession.\(^{44}\)

As the preceding discussion makes apparent, the term *accademia* is problematic because it is used to describe a variety of meetings popular in Italy during the Baroque period--informal as well as formal gatherings of intellectuals, aristocrats, and professionals. Both informal and formal *accademia* existed in Rome in the decades surrounding the year 1700. The major patrons of the arts who were active ca 1690-1720 were heavily involved in the Roman academies.

Although not specifically a music academy, the *Accademia Reale* influenced the development of the *cantata da camera* in Rome. Started by Christina of Sweden (1626-1689) in January 1656, it focused mainly on scientific and literary issues. Christina, who was Queen of Sweden from 1644 until her abdication in 1654, converted to Catholicism and moved to Rome, where she quickly became a major patron of the arts. Musicians who benefited from her generosity include Alessandro Scarlatti, Antonio Pasqualini, and Arcangelo Corelli. Her philanthropy extended to the public at large. It was Christina who made the 1671 opening of the Teatro Tordinona, the first public opera house in

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*Roma* (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1985), 370.

\(^{44}\) Julie Sadie, p. 474. Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni acted as curator to this group as well as the Capella Sistina.
Rome, possible. Christina, apparently the victim of gossip and malicious rumors, was eventually evicted from the Vatican to the Palazzo Riario in 1659. By 1665, her income had been cut in half and she was suffering from financial difficulties. Although still a resident of Rome, she spent much of her time during the decade of the 60s traveling. From 1661-1662 she lived in Hamburg, only returning to Rome after the death of Pope Alexander VII (r. 1655-1667). Throughout the ‘70s, her palace was considered a cultural and intellectual center.45

According to Julie Sadie, Christina began another academy in 1680. The meetings for this second academy always included the performance of music.46 Thomas Griffin, however, states that these performances, which always included a sinfonia as well as a cantata, were for the Accademia Reale, not a second group. Christina had articles drawn up to govern her meetings. Each meeting of the Accademia Reale began with a sinfonia, followed by part of a vocal composition. The second part of the vocal composition was performed after an academic reading. Griffin identifies this vocal composition as a cantata and believes that these early examples of two-part cantatas used to frame an academic reading were modeled on the Roman oratorio.47

Soon after her death in 1690, members of the Accademia Reale formalized themselves as the literary academy known as the Accademia degli Arcadia. Giovanni Maria Crescimbeni (1663-1728), one of the fourteen founding members, is generally

46 Julie Sadie, 61.
47 Griffin, p. 60-61. According to Griffin, music played a role in Christina’s meetings almost from the very
credited with establishing the group. Crescembini held the office of *Custos*, which would be equivalent to the president of a society. The annual period of Academy meetings explains why the cantata was a major form of entertainment for the aristocrats: the May to October schedule bridges the Lenten oratorio and the Opera season. Another reason for this schedule probably has to do with the weather. The Arcadians preferred having their meetings in idyllic, pastoral settings such as gardens.\(^{48}\) Table 2 lists the original fourteen members. Music, which played an integral role in Christina’s group, continued to play a vital role in this literary academy.

The original members of the Arcadian Academy consisted mainly of poets and men interested in reforms of Italian literature. Crescimbeni saw the advantages of having wealthy, and politically powerful members, so, soon after the group’s establishment, he began to recruit noblemen and high-ranking clergy. Eventually, a splinter group of Arcadians led by poet Gian Vincenzo Gravina (1664-1718), founding member, broke away from the original group and established yet another academy in 1711 because, according to Gravina, literary reform was not enough of a priority with the Arcadians.\(^{49}\) So as not to seem too exclusive, the academy continued to invite poets as well as composers of exceptional ability into the group. A few women, notably the patroness Maria Casimira, were also included.\(^{50}\)

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\(^{49}\) According to Robert Freeman, Gravina claimed to be an “Aristotelian fundamentalist”; however, Gravina’s attitude toward Italian literature does not permeate all of his writings. In fact, Gravina is inconsistent in his opinions. Robert Freeman, *Opera Without Drama* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1981), 32.

\(^{50}\) A complete list of members active in the academy from 1690-1800 appears in Anna Maria Giorgetti Vichi’s *Gli Arcadia Dal 1690 al 1800*. (Onomasticon: Rome, 1977). Included in the list are the pastoral
Table 2. Arcadian Academy: 14 Founders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Pastoral Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paolo Coardi</td>
<td>Elpino Menalio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.M. Crescimbeni</td>
<td>Alfesibeo Cario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pompeo Figari</td>
<td>Montano Falanzio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gian Vincenzo Gravina</td>
<td>Opico Erimanteo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vincenzo Leonio</td>
<td>Uranio Tegeo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melchiorre Maggio</td>
<td>Dameta Clitorio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paolo Antonio del Nero</td>
<td>Sinringo Reteo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giuseppe Paolucci</td>
<td>Alessi Cillenio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silvio Stampiglia</td>
<td>Palemone Licurio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agostin Maria Taia</td>
<td>Silvio Pereteo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlo di Tournon</td>
<td>Idalgo Erasiano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giacomo Vicinelli</td>
<td>Murtillo Aroanio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paolo Antonio Viti</td>
<td>Carino Dipeo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovanni Battista Zappi</td>
<td>Tirsi Levcasio</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Eight members of the Arcadian Academy are of particular interest to this study: Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667-1740), Cardinal Benedetto Pamphili (1653-1730), Don Antonio Ottoboni (1646-1720) Francesco Maria de Ruspoli (1672-1731), later the Prince of Cerveteri, Silvio Stampiglia (1664-1725), Alessandro Scarlatti (1660-1725), Arcangelo Corelli (1653-1713), and Bernardo Pasquini (1637-1710).\textsuperscript{51} Table 3 gives the pastoral

\textsuperscript{51} Scarlatti, Corelli, and Pasquini (all composers and musicians) were inducted together into the academy.
name of each of these members as well as the year they were inducted into the group.

Table 3. Arcadians with Cantata Connections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Pastoral Name</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Date of induction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corelli, Arcangelo</td>
<td>Arcomelo Erimanteo</td>
<td>Composer/musician</td>
<td>April 22, 1706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottoboni, Antonio</td>
<td>Eneto Ereo</td>
<td>Nobleman</td>
<td>1691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottoboni, Pietro</td>
<td>Crateo Ercinio</td>
<td>Cardinal</td>
<td>1691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphili, Benedetto</td>
<td>Fenicio Larisseo</td>
<td>Cardinal</td>
<td>1691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasquini, Bernardo</td>
<td>Protico Azetiano</td>
<td>Composer/musician</td>
<td>April 22, 1706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruspoli, Francesco</td>
<td>Erimante Arsenio</td>
<td>Nobleman</td>
<td>1691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarlatti, Alessandro</td>
<td>Terpandro Politeio</td>
<td>Composer/musician</td>
<td>April 22, 1706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stampiglia, Silvio</td>
<td>Palemone Licurio</td>
<td>Poet/librettist</td>
<td>1690</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These eight men are listed here because of their connection to the developments in the Italian chamber cantata in Rome from 1700-1710. Scarlatti and Pasquini composed cantatas; Corelli is known to have been the solo violinist for the performance of cantatas; both Ottobonis as well as Pamphili wrote cantata librettos and were patrons of the arts. Ruspoli was a patron for a variety of musicians, including the composers G.F. Handel and Alessandro Scarlatti.\textsuperscript{52} Although in the present discussion, no evidence suggests that Stampiglia wrote cantata librettos, he is included here because of his association with Alessandro Scarlatti, who composed six operas to Stampiglia librettos as well as one serenata and one oratorio.\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{52} Handel was never made a member of the Arcadian Academy. Scholars have speculated several reasons for this including his age, his nationality, and his religious affiliations.

Patrons

Francesco de Maria Ruspoli played a vital role in the relationship of the Roman academies and Roman cantatas. Friends with the Cardinals Ottoboni and Pamphili, patron of composers and musicians, and host for the general assemblies of the Arcadian Academy for several years, are just a few of the hats Ruspoli wore as one of Rome’s greatest patrons of the arts. Although heavily involved in Italian politics during the War of the Spanish Succession, Ruspoli managed to host his own weekly *conversazione* on Sunday afternoons, for which music played a vital role.

As an important form of entertainment for the nobility as well as the clergy, cantatas were typically performed at these weekly meetings. Although the terms *conversazione* and *accademia* were used interchangeably during this period, *conversazione* is used here to indicate informal gatherings while *accademia* is reserved to indicate formal groups such as the Arcadians. A great deal of overlap in personnel occurred at these the *conversazione* held at the residences of Ruspoli, Pamphili, and

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54 G.F. Handel and Margherite Durastanti (fl. 1700-34) were both in his employ. Durastanti served in Ruspoli’s chapel from 1707-15. She sang for several of Handel’s Italian productions, including cantatas as well as La Resurrezione and Agrippina. She also performed in operas by Attilio Ariosti and Antonio Lotti. After a 1719 Dresden performance, Handel invited the talented singer to London, where she sang in not only the operas of Handel but Bononcini and C.F. Pollarollo. She was highly regarded; King George I of England (formerly George of Hanover) was the godfather of Durastanti’s oldest daughter. Julie Sadie, p. 84.

55 The War of the Spanish Succession, which began a few months after King Charles II of Spain died on November 1, 1700, lasted over a decade and impacted most of the major musicians working in Italy from 1700-1710. The Austrians and the French fought over the right to rule Spain after Charles II died without an heir to the throne. Although Italians were encouraged by Pope Clement XI to remain neutral throughout the conflict, most of the princes chose sides. While the Austrians had control of Naples, the French were in control of most of the northern portions of Italy. Fighting took place as far west as Gibraltar and as far north as the upper Danube. Repercussions, both economical and political, were felt world-wide. Ursula Kirkendale, “The War of the Spanish Succession Reflected in the Works of Antonio Caldara,” *Acta Musicologica* 36 (1964): 222.

56 Kirkendale, p. 250. The Accademia degli Arcadia should not be confused with any of the many
Pietro Ottoboni and the Arcadian Academy meetings. As a result, each patron had his own day designated for *conversazione*: Ruspoli’s met on Sundays, Ottoboni’s on Wednesdays, and Pamphili’s *conversazione* were held on Fridays.\(^5^7\) Musical works written for these three patrons on a nearly weekly basis included operas (when they were not banned), oratorios during Lent, serenatas for special occasions, as well as hundreds of cantatas.

The “Ruspoli Documents” discussed in detail by Ursula Kirkendale, have aided greatly in establishing the activities of musicians in the employ of Francesco Maria de Ruspoli. Table 4 lists most of the musicians associated with Ruspoli from 1690-1720.

Table 4. Ruspoli Musicians 1690-1720

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Musician/Composer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amadori, Giuseppi (1670-1732)</td>
<td>Organist-household concerts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbosi, Giuseppe (1650-?)</td>
<td>Violist- household concerts; oratorio composer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caldara, Antonio</td>
<td>Maestro di capella: composer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cesarini, Carlo</td>
<td>Violinist; composer; directed several household concerts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durastanti, Margherita</td>
<td>Dramatic soprano in the service of Ruspoli from 1707-1715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaffi, Tomaso Bernardo</td>
<td>Organist; composer; often performed in household concerts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handel, G.F.</td>
<td>Composer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ruspoli did not consider himself to be a poet, he did not write any librettos; rather he commissioned works using the poetry of his friends Cardinals Benedetto Pamphili and Pietro Ottoboni. Both of these Arcadians along with Arcadian Academy Conversazione or other academies prevalent in Rome at this time.
member Don Antonio Ottoboni (all patrons of the arts), wrote opera, oratorio, and cantata librettos that were set by many of the best composers active in Rome from 1700-1710: Attilio Ariosti (1666-1729), A. Caldara, Carolo Francesco Cesarini, G.F. Handel, B. Pasquini, Carlo Francesco Pollarolo (1653-1723), and A. Scarlatti to name a few. \(^{58}\) It is interesting to note that, with the exception of Caldara, all of these composers have cantatas in the anthologies of the Santini Collection.\(^{59}\)

Benedetto Pamphili (1653-1730), Cardinal, Arcadian, librettist and patron wrote several cantata librettos that are saved in two volumes currently housed in the Vatican library. These two volumes include several types of poetry by Pamphili, not just cantata librettos.\(^{60}\) Pamphili (a slightly older contemporary of Pietro Ottoboni), known for his “lavish musical entertainments,”\(^{61}\) was born into one of the most powerful ruling families in Rome. Family connections and wealth afforded him the best education possible. He excelled at sports as well as philosophy and literature. By the time he was twenty-eight he was a Cardinal. He had an appreciation for the arts. As head of the Vatican library, he acquired several important manuscripts for their collection. He also

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\(^{57}\) Kirkendale, 250.

\(^{58}\) The majority of cantatas composed from 1690-1720 are set to librettos whose author is unknown. Francesco Maria Paglia and G. Ansaldi are two poets who were not members of the Arcadian Academy but are known to have written cantata librettos during this period. Scarlatti set at least 17 of Paglia’s librettos. Although not a member of the Arcadian Academy, Paglia’s librettos include pastoral images and idyllic subjects such as the nymph Clori. The Arcadian poet P. Francesco de Lemene (Arezio Gateatico, 1691) had two librettos set by Handel and one by A. Scarlatti.

\(^{59}\) At age eighteen, Fortunato Santini (1778-1861) began collecting and copying Italian vocal music, both sacred and secular. Much of the music composed or copied for the Ruspoli household ended up in Santini’s collection which is now housed in Muenster, Germany. Sergio Lattes, "Fortunato Santini," \textit{Grove Music Online} ed. L. Macy (Accessed 23 September 2004), http://www.grovemusic.com.

\(^{60}\) IRVat., Lat 10204 and IRVat., Lat 10205. IRVat., Lat 10206 is a manuscript of librettos by the poet Francesco Maria Paglia. Although Alessandro Scarlatti set several of Paglia’s cantata librettos, his poetry is not under discussion here because he was not a member of the Arcadian Academy.

had a private collection of manuscripts and books. He employed his own household orchestra under the direction of A. Corelli until 1690, when Pamphili left Rome for his post as the papal legate in Bologna.

Although not nearly as prolific as Pamphili, Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni also supplied cantata and oratorio librettos for the major composers active in Rome around 1700. Born into nobility, he was raised to the level of Cardinal by his grand-uncle Pope Alexander VIII. Ottoboni commissioned the best musicians for his household orchestra, which was led by Corelli from 1690 until the latter's death in 1713. These two librettists along with P. Lemene are the only Arcadians whose librettos were set by G. F. Handel

Handel's Roman Cantatas

G.F. Handel spent most of his four-year stay in Italy working for Ruspoli. Lacunae in his sojourn to Italy have been aided by the research of Ursula Kirkendale (1967), who, by using the copyist bills from the Ruspoli household, establishes more clearly Handel's time in Rome and identifies cantatas composed specifically for Ruspoli.

While Handel was in Rome, one finds Ruspoli’s copyists hard at work during the Arcadian season, yet there is very little activity in the off-season. It is impossible to know if a new cantata was composed each week during Handel’s stay at Ruspoli’s;

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63 Musicians in his employ before 1690 also included the Bononcinis, and Francesco Gasparini (1661-1727).
apparently, the copyist bills were only compiled every two months, even though the copying was usually done within days of the original composition. Table 5 is an abbreviation of Kirkendale’s table, showing the prevalence of Handel cantatas composed/copied during the Arcadian Academy season. No bills from 1710 exist; the bills from 1711 show the copying of pre-existing cantatas. Even the re-copying of cantatas already in existence follows the Arcadian calendar. Cantatas copied for Ruspoli in 1711 were billed in May and in October only. Of the forty-eight cantatas composed by Handel listed in Kirkendale’s table, only five were not copied/composed during the Arcadian season.

65 Kirkendale, p. 253.
Table 5. Number of Cantatas Composed/Copied for Ruspoli During the Arcadian Season

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Date of Copyist Bill</th>
<th>Number of new cantatas copied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1707</td>
<td>May 16</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>June 30</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>September 22</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>October 10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1708</td>
<td>February 26</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>April 14</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>August 9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>August 28</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>September 10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>November 24</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1709</td>
<td>February 28</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>August 31</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

G.F. Handel is known to have composed five cantatas to librettos by Arcadians. Of those five, three include instruments. Unlike Scarlatti’s Arcadian *cantate con stomenti*, which only use violins, Handel employs several instruments for these three cantatas.⁶⁷ See Table 6.

Solo instrumental parts appear only in the Ottoboni cantata. The consensus by Handel scholars is that the solo violin part, which contains virtuoso passages, was written specifically by Handel for Archangelo Corelli who was in the employ of Cardinal

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⁶⁷ Scarlatti’s cantatas that include instruments have been labeled in different manners by several scholars. Edwin Hanley calls them cantate accompagnate. The author prefers the term cantate con stromenti for several reasons including that this is the designation most commonly found in the manuscripts and in the opinion of the author, this term more accurately describes the piece. “Accompanied cantata” implies that the accompaniment is only in the background and provides nothing vital to the piece. The term “with instruments,” however, implies a collaboration between the vocal part and the instruments.
Ottoboni at the time. Corelli was responsible for Ottoboni’s Monday *conversazione* as well as all other performances at the Cancelleria.\footnote{Julie Sadie, *Companion to Baroque Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 61.}

### Table 6. Comparison of Chosen Instruments for Handel’s *con stromenti.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“Delirio amoroso”</th>
<th>“Tra le fiamme”</th>
<th>“Ero e Leandro”\footnote{“Ero e Leandro” is one of Handel’s cantatas composed during his Italian trip that does not appear in the Ruspoli documents. Based on the type of paper used and the watermarks, the date given by the Handel-Handbuch is 1707.}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Librettist: Pamphili</td>
<td>Librettist: Pamphili</td>
<td>Librettist: P. Ottoboni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soprano</td>
<td>Soprano</td>
<td>Soprano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flute</td>
<td>Flute I, II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>Oboe</td>
<td>Oboe I, II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violin I, II, III</td>
<td>Violin I, II</td>
<td>Violin I, II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viola</td>
<td>Viola da Gamba</td>
<td>Viola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cello</td>
<td></td>
<td>Solo cello</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basso continuo</td>
<td>Basso continuo</td>
<td>Basso continuo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7 shows the performing forces, dissemination, and librettist for Handel’s Arcadian cantatas. All of these characteristics, as will be shown, place these five cantatas outside of the *conversazione* circle and emphasizes that they were most likely intended for some type of special occasion. After closer study, Handel appears to be more of a peripheral figure rather than at the core of the connection between patrons, librettists, and the Arcadians.

The performing forces needed for three of the cantatas listed, as well as the lack of dissemination and the special nature of the librettos all support the idea that Handel’s cantatas to patron, Arcadian librettos were for special occasions and not the
weekly *conversazione*. It is interesting to note that of the five cantatas by Handel included in this study, only the two that were for soprano and basso continuo appear in the Ruspoli documents. The three that are *con stromenti*, are not listed and therefore are assumed to have been composed for other patrons, probably the librettists.\(^{70}\)

Table 7. Handel's Arcadian Cantatas\(^ {71}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cantata</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>con stromenti</th>
<th>Ruspoli Doc.</th>
<th>Librettist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Delirio”</td>
<td>May 1707</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Pamphili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Sarei troppo”</td>
<td>Sept. 1707</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Pamphili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Ero e Leandro”</td>
<td>1707</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>P. Ottoboni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Tra le fiamme”</td>
<td>1707/08</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Pamphili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hendel, non</td>
<td>August 1708</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Pamphili</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Recitative-Aria-Recitative-Aria (R A R A) was the most common order of cantatas during the first two decades of the eighteenth century. This order, which will be discussed more thoroughly in chapter four, was standard by 1700 and Alessandro Scarlatti is generally given credit for establishing it. This is not entirely correct, though, since the order of the librettos determined the order of movements, therefore the librettists, not the composers, were responsible for codifying R A R A. As will be seen, Antonio Ottoboni’s librettos set by Scarlatti typically disregard this order (refer to Table 16). Table 8 shows clearly that the librettos supplied to Handel were anything but standard.

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\(^{71}\) The dates given in table 7 are taken from Kirkendale’s “Ruspoli Documents” and the Handel-Handbuch.
Like Scarlatti, the aria form favored by Handel was the *da capo* aria. Only one of the fourteen arias from these five cantatas is not a *da capo* aria. Although not as prevalent as in the Scarlatti cantatas, *bel canto* characteristics such as “motto” beginnings and triple meter arias may be found in the Handel examples. Table 9 lists some of the standard characteristics one would expect to find in arias from this period as they appear in Handel’s Arcadian cantatas. *Hendel non puo mia Musa* is the most curious example of the five. It is the only cantata of the five that does not employ some type of anticipation of the incipit either by the basso continuo or the vocal line, nor does it have a continuo introduction. The *bel canto* influence in this cantata is Handel’s use of triple meter for both of the arias. All five cantatas include at least one aria in a triple meter for a total of eight out of fourteen. Only the triple meters 3/8 (five arias) and 3/4 (three arias) appear. Although Handel did on occasion use the siciliano meter 12/8, this meter is not used in Handel’s Arcadian arias.

All five of the cantatas with text by an Arcadian were composed early on in Handel’s trip.

Bel canto characteristics will be discussed in detail in chapter 4.
Table 9. Handel Compositional Techniques as Seen in His Arcadian Cantatas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cantata</th>
<th># of arias</th>
<th>upbeat</th>
<th>Continuo instrumental introduction</th>
<th>Continuo incipit</th>
<th>Vocal incipit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Delirio amoroso</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ero e Leandro</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hendel non puo mia Musa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarei troppo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tra le fiamme</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two of the Arcadian librettists who served as patrons have already been mentioned: Cardinals Pietro Ottoboni and Benedetto Pamphili. The third librettist who was a patron to the arts as well as an Arcadian Academy member was Antonio Ottoboni. Unlike the other two librettists, none of A. Ottoboni's cantata librettos were ever set to music by Handel. As will be shown, this places Handel's cantatas somewhat outside of the Arcadian circle.

Of all the Arcadians who supplied cantata librettos from 1700-1710, Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni's father, Antonio Ottoboni, a general in the papal army,\(^{73}\) was by far the most prolific. Several of Antonio Ottoboni's librettos appear in two anthologies that are now housed in the British Library in London.\(^{74}\) Ottoboni's librettos include examples with pastoral subjects as well as cantate spirituale and cantate morale. The contents of

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\(^{74}\) GB. Lbm. Add. 34056 and GB. Lbm. Add. 34057.
the Ottoboni anthologies will be discussed in chapter 3. Scarlatti’s settings of the Ottoboni librettos will be discussed in chapter 4. Table 10 list cantatas whose librettos were written by an Arcadian Academy member that were set to music by composers working in Rome including G.F. Handel, A. Scarlatti, and Caldara. The number beside the name of a composer informs the reader if this is one of the cantatas that appears in GB Lbm. Add. 34056 and GB Lbm. Add. 34057. The list is given here to highlight the relationship of the composer Alessandro Scarlatti to the patron Arcadian librettists, Antonio Ottoboni, Benedetto Pamphili, and Pietro Ottoboni.

Table 10. Selected Cantata Librettos by Arcadians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Librettist</th>
<th>Libretto Title</th>
<th>Composer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Don Antonio Ottoboni</td>
<td><em>Alma, tu che cielo</em></td>
<td>Scarlatti (34056)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Amici, s’e vinto</em></td>
<td>Scarlatti (34056)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Augelletto</em></td>
<td>Caldara; Ariosti (34056)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Cerco, ne so trovar</em></td>
<td>Scarlatti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Dove vesti, cor mio</em></td>
<td>Scarlatti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Elipino inamorato</em></td>
<td>Caldara (34056)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>La face d’armore ch’il core m’arde</em></td>
<td>Scarlatti (34056)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>M’ha divisio il cor dal core</em></td>
<td>Scarlatti (34056)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Mal sicero e il fior nel prato</em></td>
<td>Scarlatti (34056)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>No, non posso fingere</em></td>
<td>Scarlatti (34056)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>O che mostro, o che furia</em></td>
<td>Scarlatti (34056)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Per farmi amar da tutt</em></td>
<td>Scarlatti (34056)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Scioltà da freddi amplessi</em></td>
<td>Scarlatti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Spero ch’havro la pace</em></td>
<td>Scarlatti (34056)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Va mormorando</em></td>
<td>Caldara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Vi comanda un cenno solo</em></td>
<td>Scarlatti (34056)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(table continues)*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Librettist</th>
<th>Libretto Title</th>
<th>Composer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Don Antonio Ottoboni</td>
<td><em>O sogli occhi miei</em></td>
<td>Scarlatti (34056)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Invida di mi piace</em></td>
<td>Caldara (34056); Cesarini (34057)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietro Ottoboni</td>
<td><em>D'improvviso amor ferisce</em></td>
<td>Caldara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ero e Leandro</em></td>
<td>Handel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benedetto Pamphili</td>
<td><em>Augellin, sospendi e vanni</em></td>
<td>Scarlatti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Delirio amoroso</em></td>
<td>Handel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Erminia in riva del Giordano</em></td>
<td>Bernardo Pasquini</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ferma Borea che tenti</em></td>
<td>Giovanni Bononcini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Hendel, non può mia Musa</em></td>
<td>Handel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Gia di trionfi onusto</em></td>
<td>Scarlatti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>La beltà ch’io sospiro</em></td>
<td>Scarlatti</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>La fortuna di Roma</em></td>
<td>Scarlatti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Lasciato havea l’adultero superbo</em></td>
<td>Scarlatti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Non sarei dei fior reina</em></td>
<td>Giovanni Bononcini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Siamo in contessa la bellezza ed io</em></td>
<td>Scarlatti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Torna il giorno fatale</em></td>
<td>Scarlatti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Tra le fiamme</em></td>
<td>Handel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Un sospiro d’un amanta</em></td>
<td>Scarlatti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 2

ROMAN CANTATA DISSEMINATION

Anthologies in the Santini Collection

The *da camera* nature of the Roman cantata becomes apparent when one studies the sources in which this music is available. Unlike other types of chamber music available around 1700 the Roman cantata did not reap the benefits of publication. Other Italian cities, including Venice and Bologna, published cantatas. The only Roman examples of cantatas to appear in a published edition were those by F. Gasparini (Rome, 1695 and 1697) and a volume of cantatas by Tomasso Gaffi (Rome 1700).¹

Roman cantatas typically appear only in manuscripts. Although there has been some debate over the “ownership” of the music at the turn of the century, the result is that most of the repertoire available appears in manuscript anthologies that were once associated with a patron’s household. The Barberini, Pamphili, Ottoboni and Ruspoli households all could boast about their music libraries.² As previously mentioned, the Ruspoli music ended up with the music collector Fortunato Santini.

The number of works in the Santini Collection is approximately 4500 manuscripts and nearly 1100 printed works. Four volumes and 48 single fascicles are dedicated to the cantatas of Antonio Caldara. Three volumes and 15 single fascicles are dedicated to

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² Margaret Murata, “Roman Cantata Scores as Traces of Musical Culture and Signs of its Place in Society,” *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia* vol. 1 “Round Tables,” (Torino: Grafica di Copertina, 1987), 273. Murata claims that before 1690 compositions belonged to the patron, but by
Handel's cantatas. A total of 51 manuscripts and single fascicles combined represent the Scarlatti cantatas in the Santini collection. Along with cantata volumes whose contents are dedicated to a single composer, the Santini collection includes seventeen volumes of cantatas titled cantata di diversi autori. The works of over fifty composers are represented in these seventeen volumes. The composers Agostini, Bononcini, Cesti, Cesarini, Gasparini, Lulier, Mancini, Melani, Pasquini, Scarlatti, and Stradella all appear in at least four different volumes. Alessandro Scarlatti’s music appears in 14 of the 17 volumes. The remaining 31 composers each appear only once in the remaining volumes.

The eleven composers whose works appear in multiple volumes fall into two groups: Agostini, Cesti, Melani, Pasquini, and Stradella make up group one; Bononcini, Cesarini Gasparini, Lulier, and Mancini make up group two. Alessandro Scarlatti is included in both groups. Excluding Scarlatti for the moment, composers of one group, without exception do not appear in any anthology with composers from the other group. None of the anthologies contain an example by every member of the group. See Tables 11 and 12.

the end of the seventeenth century, music was more of a commodity and composers owned their works.
Table 11. Anthologies Group 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1-Hs. 853</th>
<th>2-Hs. 854</th>
<th>10-Hs. 862</th>
<th>11-Hs. 863</th>
<th>14-Hs. 868</th>
<th>17-Hs. 4086</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Cesti</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Pasquini</td>
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<td>Pasquini</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Cesti</td>
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<td>Pasquini</td>
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<td>Melani</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
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<td>Scarlatti</td>
<td>Scarlatti</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Cesti</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Melani</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Melani</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Stradella</td>
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Table 12. Anthologies Group 2

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3 Hs. 855</th>
<th>4 Hs. 856</th>
<th>5 Hs. 857</th>
<th>6 Hs. 858</th>
<th>7 Hs. 859</th>
<th>8 Hs. 860</th>
<th>9 Hs. 861</th>
<th>12 Hs. 865</th>
<th>15 Hs. 869</th>
<th>16 Hs. 3977</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>G.B. Bononcini</td>
<td>G.B. Bononcini</td>
<td>G.B. Bononcini</td>
<td>G.B. Bononcini</td>
<td>G.B. Bononcini</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Cesarini</td>
<td>Gasparini</td>
<td>Gasparini</td>
<td>Cesarini</td>
<td>Cesarini</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Lulier</td>
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<td>Lulier</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mancini</td>
<td>Mancini</td>
<td>Mancini</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

All of the composers whose works appear in multiple anthologies are known to have had Roman ties. Cesarini, Gasparini, Lulier, Pasquini, and Scarlatti all have known connections to the Arcadian Academy, either through patrons, poets, or both. Appendix 3 gives an account of all of the composers present in the cantata anthologies of the Santini collection. The numbers under the “anthologies” column were assigned by the author to briefly tell in which anthology a particular composer appears.
The most common type of cantata that appears in the anthologies is for solo soprano and basso continuo, however continuo cantatas for altos as well as cantate con stromenti do appear scattered throughout. For example, anthology #3 includes six cantatas by Scarlatti. Of these six, four are for soprano/BC, one for alto/BC and one is for soprano, basso continuo, and two violins. Very rarely do Scarlatti’s cantate con stromenti employ instruments other than violins.

A total of 57 Scarlatti cantatas appear in these 17 anthologies. Interestingly, none are to texts by Arcadians. The Arcadian cantatas appear either in anthologies devoted to the librettist, as in GB.Lbm. Add. 34056 and 34057 which contains various composer settings of librettos by Antonio Ottoboni, or in volumes dedicated to a single composer.

Another interesting aspect that is evident from studying these anthologies is the apparent lack of music by G.F. Handel and Antonio Caldara. Both composers are known to have been associated, at least for a time, exclusively with the Ruspoli household, yet their cantatas in the Santini collection appear only in manuscripts dedicated specifically to them or as single fascicles. This supports the idea that an entire body of the Roman cantata repertoire was composed and performed specifically for the Arcadian Academy. The apparent “lack of dissemination” highlights the special nature of the Arcadian cantata.

The Ottoboni Anthologies

The relationship between the Arcadian Academy and the Roman cantata composers is apparent in two anthologies that can be placed and dated in Rome 1709-
1710. These anthologies, previously mentioned, are GB. Lbm. Add. 34056 and GB. Lbm. Add. 34057. They are unique because all of the cantatas are to librettos by Antonio Ottoboni. Most of the anthologies just listed as part of the Santini collection have Roman ties and common composers from anthology to anthology, but none are dedicated to the poetry of one librettist. In fact, very few of the librettists for the cantatas in the Santini anthologies are even known to us. This is typical of librettos from this period. Unlike opera and oratorio librettos that got published for the performances, cantata librettos generally were not printed. Possibly, this difference in culture was due to the number of cantatas actually performed each week at the various Academies and conversazione.

Antonio Ottoboni’s station, as well as his actual ability as a poet would have played a role in the choice to dedicate two anthologies solely to his cantata librettos set by Roman composers of the period. Ottoboni, a patron of music, literature, and architecture, supported some of the most talented men of the early eighteenth century, including the musicians Corelli and A. Scarlatti and the architect Filippo Juvarra (1676-1736), who would later build a theater in the Cancelleria where Antonio lived with his son, Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni.³

GB Lbm. Add. 34056 contains 26 cantatas: Eleven are set to music by Alessandro Scarlatti, 3 are set by Antonio Caldara, 2 are set by Attilio Ariosti and Francesco Gasparini each. Francesco Magini, Giuseppe Mozzi, Filippo Amadei, Antonio

Biffi (c1667-1733), and Zianni all have one setting. Three of the cantatas, Del costante amor, Cantata Morale, and La mia Donna have no composer designated.

Of the 26 cantatas in GB Lbm. Add. 34056, only three do not call for continuo accompaniment only: Caldara’s setting of Elpino inamorato for two violins, basso continuo, and soprano; Biffi’s setting of Madre Vicina e’ L’ora for two violins, basso continuo, soprano, and alto; Scarlatti’s setting of Alma tu che cielo for two violins, basso continuo, and soprano. Compared to the cantate con stromenti of Handel discussed earlier, the use of only two violins again highlights that this repertoire was composed for a more intimate gathering such as a conversazione and not as some lavish entertainment that included music. (See Table 6, p. 30)

When studying the table of contents of GB Lbm. Add. 34056, one immediately notices the incipits for the last five cantatas are written in a different hand than the rest. Not only do the final five entries appear this way in the table of contents, but in the manuscript as well. The final five cantatas are by A. Caldara, F. Gasparini, and A. Ariosti. Michael Talbot and Colin Timms have identified the copyist of the final five cantatas as Francesco Lanciani, a copyist in the employ of Ruspoli. They have suggested that Ruspoli played a role in the compiling of the anthology. They have also suggested that the cantatas copied by Lanciani were done so at a later date (after 1709) because of the inclusion of Caldara settings. The author disagrees with this statement and will argue later that all of the cantatas in GB Lbm. 34056 were composed prior to the 1709 compilation date.
The cantatas in the other Ottoboni anthology (GB. Lbm. Add 34057) are all continuo cantatas by C. Cesarini, C. Pollaroli, and F. Magini. Two settings have unnamed composers. One of the Cesarini settings, *Invidadi mia pace* appears in Add. 34056 in a setting by Caldara.

Of the Scarlatti settings, *Alma tu che cielo* is designated as a *cantata morale* and is for soprano, basso continuo, and two violins (folio 51). This is the only Scarlatti setting in the anthology to include instruments. The following is a list of the Ottoboni librettos set by Scarlatti in the order in which they appear in the manuscript: *Vi commanda, Alma tu che cielo con vv, O che mostro, Non non posso fingere, Amor Perduto, O sol degli occhi miei, Spero ch’hauro la pace, Mal sicuro e il fior nel Prato, Per farmi amar da tutte, M’ha division il cor al core.*

As will be shown, these cantatas are part of a unique sub-genre of the Roman chamber cantata known here as the *conversazione* cantata. The author strongly believes that the Roman cantata in general would not have proliferated as it did had it not been for the patronage system in Rome that melded patron and poet. Rospigliosi has already been mentioned as an example of this type of patron.

Also unique to Rome is a lineage of Roman cantata composers in whose music characteristics one would expect to find in the *conversazione* cantata 1700-1710 are developed. These developments include *bel canto* for which early Roman cantata composers such as Luigi Rossi played a role.

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4 Michael Talbot and Colin Timms, 391.
5 A complete list of known Ottoboni librettos set by Scarlatti appears in Table 10. Translations of these librettos appear in Appendix 2.
Luigi Rossi was in Rome working for the Borghese family by 1630. He left this post in 1641 to work for Cardinal Antonio Barberini. Although he composed operas and oratorios, it was the cantata that gained him his popularity. Over two hundred of his cantatas are extant. They fall into a variety of forms including strophic and rondo cantatas. The majority, however, are some of the earliest examples of the freely alternating, multi-sectioned cantata consisting of aria, recitative, and arioso mentioned previously.\(^6\)

The musical style of Rossi and his contemporaries is generally described as *bel canto*. The term *bel canto* typically is used to describe vocal music of both the Romantic and Baroque periods. Applied anachronistically by M. Bukofzer to describe characteristics found in vocal music of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the term is fraught with complications. The use of this term to describe the “simple lyricism that came to the fore in Venetian opera and the Roman cantata during the 1630s and 1640s as a reaction against the earlier text dominated *stile rappresentativo* began in the early 20\(^{th}\) century.\(^7\)

Scholars continue to struggle with the terminology. Should the term be used only to describe the 19\(^{th}\) century singing style associated with the operas of Rossini, Bellini, and Donizetti? Does the term refer to a type of music, or as some scholars believe, a particular vocal pedagogy popular during the Baroque period?

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In his 1999 publication *Bel Canto: A History of Vocal Pedagogy*, James Stark wrestles with the term and offers the following definition:

*Bel Canto* is a concept that takes into account two separate but related matters. First, it is a highly refined method of using the singing voice in which the glottal source, the vocal tract, and the respiratory system interact in such a way as to create the qualities of *chiaroscuro*, *appogio*, register equalization, malleability of pitch and intensity, and a pleasing vibrato. The idiomatic use of the voice includes various forms of vocal onset, *legato*, *portamento*, glottal articulation, crescendo, decrescendo, *messa di voce*, *mezza voce*, floridity and trills, and *tempo rubato*. Second, *bel canto* refers to any style of music that employs this kind of singing in a tasteful and expressive way.8

Stark continues his definition discussing how composers typically created their music to encompass this particular singing style.9

Another definition, although a contradiction to Stark’s, appears in Rodolfo Celletti’s *A History of Bel Canto*. Celletti believes that the goal of *bel canto* “is to evoke a sense of wonder through unusual quality of timbre, variety of color and delicacy, virtuosic complexity of vocal display, and ecstatic lyrical abandon.”10 Celletti believes the opposite of Stark regarding pedagogy. For Celletti, the singing style was a direct result of the type of libretto used and the style of music composed instead of the other way around as stated by Stark. According to Stark, “the art of *bel canto* was what it was simply and solely because the composers and librettists. . . .built up musical and theatrical structures which enabled the executants to sing and express themselves in

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9 Stark, 189.
that way rather than another."\footnote{11}{Celletti, 9.} Both authors associate certain characteristics of bel canto to the unique singing abilities of the castrato.\footnote{12}{One of the most recent discussions of bel canto as it relates to pedagogy and types of singers is Geoffrey Riggs, The Assoluta Voice in Opera, 1797-1847 (London: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2003). Riggs uses the bel canto definition associated with the nineteenth-century vocal style used in the opera repertoire of Rossini, Bellini, and Donizetti.}

*Bel canto* arias are typically in triple meter with fewer sections of coloratura.\footnote{13}{According to David Burrows, the mid-century cantatas placed an emphasis on arias as opposed to recitative. "This marks a return to the song principle that had played a minor part during the period dominated by the madrigal, yet it was more than a return for it came sustained by the new and growing force of tonality." He goes on to actually call the new style (termed by Bukofzer as bel canto) as the terza prattica. David Burrows, The Cantatas of Antonio Cesti, Ph.D. dissertation Brandeis University, 1961, p. 9.}

Florid sections, originally used throughout an aria to display the virtuosic abilities of the singer, were eventually abandoned for a more restrained style that used melismas only on certain words.\footnote{14}{Manfred Bukofzer, Music in the Baroque Era (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1947), 118.} Generally, *bel canto* melodic ideas are short and organized by stylized dance patterns. An integration of the bass and melody takes place so that the bass, also formed on dance rhythms, was connected and dependent on the vocal line. Typically, the continuo line anticipates the melodic line at the beginning of an aria.\footnote{15}{Bukofzer, 119. This anticipation is also known as a "motto" beginning.} As will be seen, several *bel canto* characteristics remain in the Roman cantata of the late seventeenth century in the works of Alessandro Scarlatti.

Giacomo Carissimi (1605-1704), a contemporary of Rossi, continued the *bel canto* cantata tradition, as did second generation Roman cantata composers such as Pietro Antonio Cesti (c. 1623-69) and Alessandro Stradella (1644-82). With the second generation cantata composers, instrumental ritornelli as well as the use of obbligato
instruments became more characteristic. Characteristics from both generations culminate in the cantatas of Alessandro Scarlatti.
CHAPTER 3

LIBRETTOS: LIFE, LOVE, AND LIBIDO

Was music the “mistress” of the poetry or poetry the “mistress” of the music? Although emphasis and fashion in the marriage of words and music fluctuated during the Baroque period, one thing remained constant: Italy’s ability to bring the best poets and the best composers together. Musical settings of the medieval poetry of Alighieri Dante (1265-1321) and Francesco Petrarch (1304-1374), including Petrarch’s “Rime,” were enormously popular. Petrarch, whose sonnets became the standard type of poem appropriate for settings of madrigals in the Renaissance, became the poet of choice for cantata librettos in the early eighteenth century. The pastoral verses of renaissance poets Battista Guarini (1538-1612) and Torquato Tasso (1544-1595) were extremely popular with Renaissance as well as baroque musicians including Claudio Monteverdi and Luigi Rossi. The seventeenth-century successor to these poets was Giambattista Marino (1569-1625).

Although the Arcadian Academy would later try to purge Italian poetry of “Marinisms,” contemporary musicians approved of his poetry because he emphasized dramatic effects and sound patterns that were suitable for musical settings.¹ Some of the same composers who set parts of Guarini’s Il Pastor fido (1603) also set Marino’s poetry and they include Luigi Rossi, Tomaso Pecci (1576-1604), and Claudio Saracini (1586-1630).²

² This brings up an interesting point regarding text selection by composers. As will be shown, the Roman
Many of Marino’s poems made specific reference to popular members of Rome’s aristocracy. Marino’s lyrics provide a window into early eighteenth-century Roman society. He paints a favorable picture of society as well as the literary academies.³

Metaphor and wit abound in the poetry of Marino. These are two of three “ingredients” needed (according to Mirollo) to produce the idea of the marvelous; the third being the fantastic or super-natural. Mirollo makes an interesting point that Marino’s source for the super-natural and for wit come from Aristotelian ideas; specifically from his Poetics and Rhetoric.⁴ Metaphor had its beginnings in the ideas of Plato. According to Mirollo,

The third notion of the marvelous, that metaphor and other concetti impart universal knowledge, rests on another ancient source. As is well known, the idea of universal analogy or correspondence, with its implications of a universe filled with potential metaphors that reveal its essence, was an important thread running through Renaissance philosophy, which had inherited it from the neo-Platonic tradition. This notion came down to Marino’s age altered only by its incorporation into Christian theology and symbolism, whereas the Aristotelian sources of the marvelous were destined for discussion by rhetoricians, poets, and critics in a way that radically shifted almost casual remarks into literary law.⁵

As was mentioned earlier, the academy encouraged a return to Petrarch as a model poet for cantata librettos. Marino’s poetry became the object of criticism of the literati in the academy who regarded his use of metaphor and wit to be excessive.⁶ Much of Marino’s poetry emphasized dramatic effects through these devices. His use of sound patterns meant that a great deal of its impact lost something when not heard out loud.

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³ James Mirollo, 17.
⁴ It is ironic that both Marino and the Academy based their ideas on Aristotle, yet the Academy took issue with the poetry of Marino.
⁵ James Mirollo, 104.
⁶ James Mirollo, 197.
Purging Italian literature of the “marvelous” was at the heart of the Arcadian reform. In *Dell’Istoria della volgar poesia*, Crescembini states that: “To Marino therefore is due licentiousness of composition; since the ferment of his wit, not capable of remaining restrained within any limits, burst completely every dike; nor did he tolerate any other law than that of his own caprice.”  

Although the reform of tragedies and poetry received most of the academy’s attention, the integrity of librettos (opera, oratorio and cantata) was also a focal point. Academy reforms of opera librettos manifested themselves in the works of academy members Apostolo Zeno (1668-1750) and Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782). According to Edward Dent, in keeping with the “Ancient’s” ideas on tragedy, the Academy insisted that “the marvelous, pastoral, love intrigue, ridiculous and happy endings” were not to be permitted. These restrictions, however, pertained only to tragedies. Significantly, as will be discussed, the majority of cantata librettos written at this time--by members of the Academy as well as other poets--were pastorals.

Although the role/use of the cantata within the Arcadian academy is given little attention by Crescimbeni in his “L’istoria,” eyewitness accounts as well as other primary sources indicate that cantatas were a mainstay at the meetings. It is note-worthy that, as described by Crescimbeni in his “L’Arcadia,” some cantatas were improvised on the

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7 Ibid., 104.
8 By 1700, opera librettos (which from their inception around 1600 had been formed on the ideas of Aristotle and the Ancient Greeks) had become a mixture of tragic elements as well as comic. The libretto reforms occurred slowly through the efforts of Zeno and then eventually Zeno’s successor at the Viennese court, Metastasio.
10 Dent, 155. Regarding opera librettos, the Academy objected to the mixing of base and noble persons.
spot. He mentions a “duel” of sorts between Alessandro Scarlatti, improvising a cantata setting to the improvised poetry of Felice Zappi.  

**Pastorals**

The text subject matter of the Roman cantatas, associated in its earliest stages with the composers Luigi Rossi (c1597-1653), Giacomo Carissimi (1605-1704), and later Antonio Cesti (1623-1669) dealt mostly with either romantic love, passing beauty, or unrequited love. Although some cantatas from the seventeenth century may be classified as having a pastoral setting, by contrast, most texts from the Arcadian period are pastorals that are set in the idyllic world of Arcadia and focus on the love affairs of Filli, Clori, Tirsi and Fileno, shepherds and nymphs of Arcadia.

In an attempt to reform Italian literature, members of the Arcadian Academy tried to bring back the ideas set forth by Aristotle for the performances of tragedies by purging anything considered excessive. Pastoral subjects, which in opera had become more frequent with the development of the tragicomedy libretto, were specifically mentioned by the Arcadians as being unacceptable for the tragedy. Near the end of the seventeenth century, however, pastoral texts for cantata librettos became the subject matter of choice.

Although much of Ellen Harris’s discussion of pastoral in *The Pastoral in Handel* is dedicated to opera, some general concepts regarding the cantata may be gleaned from her definition of pastoral. She lists several factors that must be present in a pastoral:

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11 See Griffin, 521, also see Dent, 90, Kirkpatrick,44, and Crescimbeni, 288-93.
13 Harris states that “the most obvious” definition of a pastoral: “shepherds and shepherdesses engaged
use of a setting complete in itself and divorced from the real world in time and place; a plot that involves a wooing, courtship or quest, which, except in the morality, is divorced from duty and society and may be won or lost; and a set of generalized characters that remain undelineated except when a non-pastoral has been used as a source.¹⁴

Harris identifies two sub-genres of the pastoral cantata: the *cantate morale* and the *cantate spirituale*. Examples of the *cantate spirituale* include the many Christmas cantatas that were composed from 1690-1720 (refer to Table 13 on the following page).¹⁵ Caldara, Cesarini, Handel and Scarlatti are all known to have composed Christmas cantatas. Most are believed to have been composed specifically for the Arcadian festival that celebrated the birth of Christ.

An example of a *cantate morale* is Antonio Ottoboni’s libretto *Alma che tu cielo*, which appears in GB Lbm. Add. 34056 in two settings: one as a soprano continuo cantata by an unknown composer and a setting with instruments by Alessandro Scarlatti. *Alma che tu cielo* will be discussed more fully regarding both the libretto and the musical setting later in this study.

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¹⁴ Ibid., p.11.
¹⁵ The list is only a sample and by no means complete. The examples chosen are given to show that the composers and librettists under discussion participated in this special sub-genre.
Table 13. Christmas Cantatas for the Arcadians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cantata</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Librettist</th>
<th>Occasion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Arresta il passo”</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Arcadian Christmas&lt;sup&gt;16&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Oh di Betlemme altera poverta”</td>
<td>Scarlatti</td>
<td>See Footnote&lt;sup&gt;17&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Silvio, come bella”</td>
<td>G. Bononcini</td>
<td>A. Ottoboni&lt;sup&gt;18&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Christmas, 1716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Cantate per la Notte di Natale di Nostro Signore”</td>
<td>Scarlatti&lt;sup&gt;19&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Christmas, 1705</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many of the characteristics inherent to cantata librettos from the first decade of the eighteenth century including the pastoral, as well as pastoral characters, cantate spirituale and morale, are all present in the librettos of Antonio Ottoboni. Ottoboni also makes use of affect and gender ambiguity in the 11 librettos set by Alessandro Scarlatti in the anthology GB Lbm. Add. 34056. The discussion of Ottoboni’s subject matter, use of pastoral, affect, and ambiguity will be derived from the information extracted from these librettos.

The Ottoboni Librettos in GB Lbm. Add. 34056

One of the most interesting examples of Roman cantata anthologies actually contains musical settings of librettos by Antonio Ottoboni. The anthology, which

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<sup>16</sup> U. Kirkendale, “The Ruspoli Documents,” 240. According to Kirkendale, it is unclear if the cantata was used at the 1711 or 1712 Christmas festival.

<sup>17</sup> E.J. Dent published an edition of this cantata in 1945 in which he states the librettist as Cardinal Antonio Ottoboni. Hanley states that Antonio Ottoboni was never a Cardinal, and he found no evidence that either Antonio or Pietro authored the text. The text does not appear in Michael Talbot and Colin Timms’s catalogue of Antonio Ottoboni’s librettos.


<sup>19</sup> The festive nature of the Christmas cantatas is evident in their scoring for soloist and instruments. This cantata is actually scored for five soloists, a four-voice choir, two oboes, two violins, viola, and basso.
appears in two volumes, only has Ottoboni librettos. No other examples of anthologies of Roman cantatas dedicated to a single librettist are known to exist. As discussed above in Chapter 2, much of the Roman cantata repertoire may be found in anthologies; however, these are just a mixture of Roman composers; few if any of the librettists are known for this repertoire. Therefore, GB Lbm. Add. 34056 and GB Lbm. Add. 34057 are unique in the Roman cantata literature because the librettist for all of the cantatas in these two volumes is Antonio Ottoboni.

It is unknown whether the volumes were compiled at Ottoboni’s request or the instruction of some other patron. Based on some of the copyist information, some evidence suggests that F. M. Ruspoli played a role in the compilation. It is probable that the cantatas were collected to serve as a record of Ottoboni cantatas performed for the convezasione meetings at the Cancelleria while Antonio was living there at the invitation of his son the Cardinal.  

Unlike the cardinals Pietro Ottoboni and Benedetto Pamphili who, although they took their poetry seriously, were not considered as poets but rather intellectual patrons who could afford to have their librettos set by the best composers because of their station, not their ability, Antonio Ottoboni was actually a poet. He wrote over 260 opera, oratorio, and cantata librettos. Both of his operas, as well as one of his four oratorios, were set by the Venetian composer C.F. Pollarolli. Pollarolli is also known to

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continuo. This is not typical of Scarlatti’s instrumental cantatas which usually only add violins.  
21 Pollarolli actually spent time in Rome that corresponds to the same period that Ottoboni was living in Rome with his son, the Cardinal, Pietro Ottoboni. Michael Talbot and Colin Timms, 368.
have set at least 13 of Ottoboni’s cantata librettos. For one of the oratorios, the music has been lost; the other two were set by Alessandro Scarlatti. 21 examples of cantatas for two or three voices exist in the Ottoboni output. The rest of his librettos are cantatas for one voice.22

Ottoboni’s cantata librettos vary so that the composers who set them were not limited to what eventually became the standard R A R A form of Roman cantatas in the early eighteenth century. It is believed by the author that the majority of Ottoboni’s cantata librettos with musical settings by Roman composers should be characterized as converzazione cantatas because they were written specifically for performances during converzazione at the Cancelleria or Ruspoli’s conversazione. Little is known of the performances except that music played a vital role. Although cantata performances from Queen Christina’s Accademia Reale were split into two parts, no evidence suggests whether this practice remained in use or was eventually discontinued.

When studying Ottoboni’s cantata librettos, just based on subject matter, it would appear that performing the cantatas as a whole would make more sense than splitting them into parts. The subject matter, which will be discussed in depth later, basically contains a theme or “affect” that is present throughout the cantata. Another indication that perhaps the cantatas from this period were performed in their entirety is the form of the librettos. In the librettos that employ the form R A R A, a logical breaking point is possible. The majority of Ottoboni’s librettos, however, do not follow this pattern. Only 20 out of 194 librettos actually conform to the pattern R A R A.

22 The numbers given here refer only to the poetry of Ottoboni that was intended for musical settings.
Another 28 could be divided because they follow the pattern A R A R. 68 of Ottoboni’s cantata librettos have five movements: 41 R A R A R and 27 A R A R A. Another 45 librettos have six movements. Based on this evidence, it is unlikely that the cantatas continued to be performed in two parts. More evidence relating to this will be discussed regarding Scarlatti’s musical settings.

A pattern begins to develop when studying the forms of these librettos. Typically, Ottoboni appears to prefer beginning his librettos with a recitative. He also has a propensity for ending with a recitative as well. The number of arias is typically two or three: 94 have two arias, 90 have three arias, 10 only have one aria, and 15 have more than three. Out of all of the patterns, R A R A R is the most common in Ottoboni’s overall output of cantata librettos. The last recitative in this Ottoboni pattern is usually in the form of a couplet.23

Table 14 on page 58 shows the recitative/aria patterns that are found in the cantatas of GB Lbm. Add. 34056. Although the musical settings of these cantatas will be discussed in detail later in this study, it should be mentioned that the composers did not determine the order of recitative and aria.24 It is obvious that the poet was responsible for any types of patterns that may have existed. It could be argued that the eventual popularity of the pattern R A R A was due to composers only choosing to set librettos that followed this pattern, however, it is more likely that in most cases, the

His output is not limited to librettos.
23 Talbot and Timms, 387. This unique aspect of the Ottoboni librettos will be discussed in detail with regard to their musical settings.
24 It has been previously mentioned that Alessandro Scarlatti is generally credited with the order R A R A. This could not be possible since the librettists determined the order.
composer had no say over the librettos he set. In the case of this unique repertoire, known here as *conversazione* cantatas, the composer was provided the libretto by either the poet, in this case Antonio Ottoboni, or by the patron responsible for the performance that is either Antonio or Pietro at this time. It is highly unlikely that the composers would have had access to a great number of Ottoboni’s librettos in order to choose at will which ones to set.

The cantatas in the anthology represent a sampling of Ottoboni librettos. Several different patterns appear; however, the most common again is R A R A R. Of the 26 cantatas in this anthology, 14 end with recitative. Of these 14, all but one are in the form of a couplet. This appears to have been unique to the librettos of Ottoboni. Talbot and Timms have suggested that Ottoboni’s propensity for rhyme is due in some part to his age. Seventeenth-century poetry favored rhyme more than that of the eighteenth century.\(^{25}\) Unlike other Arcadian poets, Ottoboni did not subscribe to all of the ideas as set forth by the academy; rather he chose to adopt characteristics from both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as will be shown.\(^{26}\)

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\(^{25}\) Michael Talbot and Colin Timms, 386.

\(^{26}\) Scarlatti’s settings of the couplets will be discussed in chapter 4. Only one cantata in the anthology has the couplet set in the same manner employed by Scarlatti. Interestingly, it is one of the anonymous cantatas. Reasons why the author thinks this cantata could have been composed by Scarlatti will be discussed in chapter 4 as well.
Ottoboni’s texts are an interesting combination of seventeenth and eighteenth century practices regarding the use of rhyme. Ottoboni’s librettos make ample use of rhyme. Although his propensity for the final recitative as couplet has already been mentioned, rhyme in Ottoboni’s recitatives is not limited to this one place. Rhyme also appears in the interior and opening recitatives, regardless of length. Out of 26 total recitatives, all employ rhyme. The most common rhyme scheme for the recitatives is aabb, however, aabbcc is also common. The Figures 1-3 show these two rhyme schemes as well as one of the couplets.

Figure 1. Second recitative from Per farmi --example of the scheme aabb.

Pur ne la gran suentura un pensier solo (a)
mitiga tanto duolo (a)
che le grazie d'Amor vengon concesse (b)
all' affetto vqualmente e all' Interesse (b)
Figure 2. Recitative from the cantata *O sol degli’occhi*—example of the scheme aabbcc.

Ma cesserà L’esiglio empio inhumano  (a)
che star non puo Lontano  (a)
da’ te’ il mio cor caro adorato Nume.  (b)
Troppo troppo e’ strano costume  (b)
che disgiunto si trove  (c)
qui il simulacro e L’Idolatra, altrove  (c)

Figure 3. Final recitative *Sper ch’auvro*—example of couplet.

Nel commune disastro ogn’ un si specchi
che s’ogn’ un’ puo’ morir tutti sian vecchi

One of the most interesting examples of a seventeenth-century characteristic that appears in the Ottoboni recitatives resembles the poetry of Marino. Figure 4 is an example from the first line of the second recitative in *Spero ch’auvro* in which the entire line uses rhyming words of similar length. The result when the line is spoken aloud is that it is sonorous. The musical settings of lines like this one will be discussed in chapter 4. This type of rhyming within a line occurs frequently in the Ottoboni recitatives.

Figure 4. Rhyming within a line of text.

Moralita sciapita verita mal gradita

The subject matter of the Ottoboni librettos also reflects the ideas of both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As the Arcadian Academy became more influential, its dictates regarding poetry began to appear in the literature of the early eighteenth century. Although a member of the academy from 1691 (only one year after its inception) Ottoboni was living in Venice and therefore somewhat removed from
the Academy's influence. The following discussion of the librettos will incorporate
Ottoboni's use of pastoral themes and characters, affect, gender ambiguity, and desire.

The pastoral libretto, which has already been defined, typically requires a
courtship of some type. Also, pastorals may be set in the idyllic world of Arcadia. Many
times the object being “courted” is one of the several nymphs of Arcadia. Pastoral
librettos appear throughout Ottoboni's oeuvre. Regarding the pastoral, one finds that
Ottoboni did rely heavily on the Arcadian nymphs Filli, Clori, and Lidia as subject matter.
Although only two of the Scarlatti cantatas are based on a pastoral subject, several of
the other librettos in GB Lbm. Add. 34056 make reference to one of these characters.
In the Scarlatti settings, Filli is the object of desire in _O sol degli'occhi_ while Lidia is
being sung to in _O che mostro_. According to Talbot and Timms, these two names
were used by Ottoboni interchangeably.27

Although the pastoral is not evident in all of the Scarlatti settings from GB Lbm.
Add. 34056, Ottoboni's use of affect is. A discussion of Ottoboni's use of affect is
necessary because, as will be shown, Scarlatti's settings make ample use of affect. One
would expect to find in these librettos several, or at least two contrasting affects due to
the Baroque aesthetic of contrast. However, typically, the Ottoboni librettos focus on a
single affect.

Ottoboni's use of affect works as a unifying device. For example, in the cantata
_La face d'Amore_, the affect is Hope; it continues throughout the libretto. In the cantata
_Mal sicuro_ the affect is Fear. Many times to keep the affect, Ottoboni will repeat an
idea from aria to recitative so the correlation of all of the parts of the libretto is heard. In *Mal sicuro*, for example, comparisons are made between flowers (fior) and beauty (bella) in aria 1, recitative 1, and aria 2. The final recitative in this cantata is a couplet that refers to the suffering of man by beautiful women.28

The affect of *M'ha divisio il cor dal core* is sorrow; *No non posso* is desire; *Amici s'e vinto* is love. The rest of the cantatas employ one of these affects. The most interesting libretto in regard to affect is *Per farmi*, which is the only one that could be thought of as comical. In this example, the speaker, who is an older man, is relating all of the woes associated with fleeting youth: mostly that women, even ugly ones, desire young men. He tries everything to get women to notice him. He perfects himself, he tries to make himself handsome, he wears a wig, he cuts his hair, and eventually decides that the only way to get women to notice men after a certain age, is to buy them favors. He takes a little comfort in knowing that because everyone ages, all men will be forced to face the same fate as he. The final recitative couplet as well as its translation appears in Figure 5.

Figure 5. Recitative couplet from *Per farmi*

Nel suantaggio ch'io provo ogn'un si specchi;  
'Amor forze comprar L'Amor quando siam vecchi

The disadvantage I have everyone will face;  
Love forces us to buy Love when we are old

27 Michael Talbot and Colin Timms, “Music and The Poetry of Antonio Ottoboni,” 385. They go on to say that these names, in particular Filli, served as a code-name for women Ottoboni was seeing.
28 The complete libretto with a translation appears in Appendix 2.
Another characteristic apparent in the Ottoboni librettos is ambiguity. According to Ellen Harris, cantata librettos from the first decade of the eighteenth century “reverberate with echoes of classical and Renaissance poetry. . . . that contains portrayals of same-sex love.” In her discussion of Handel’s cantata texts she refers to “gender flexibility” and “deliberate ambiguity.” Ambiguity is present on several levels in the librettos by Arcadians and more specifically in the librettos of Antonio Ottoboni: gender of the speaker in the poem, gender of the singer, and gender of the object of desire in the poem.

Ellen Harris has described the Arcadians as a homosocial group: a same-sex gathering for males typical during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in which ambiguity played a critical role. The librettos by Arcadian patron-poets reflect the Academy’s desire for ambiguity. Along with gender ambiguity, sexual desire in the librettos is equally ambiguous appearing typically in the form of metaphor or double entendre. Librettos of this type occur frequently in the cantata texts by Arcadians. Harris specifically deals with this subject as it relates to Handel’s cantata texts. Only four of the Scarlatti/Ottoboni librettos could be read as sexual. These include Amor Perduto, Mal Sicuro, No non posso and O che mostro.

Amor Perduto is the only one of the librettos to make masked reference to sexual desire and the act of sex by using common threads taken from Classical literature such as the tree and the pomegranate. From the final aria: “Without trunk and without branch how can you hide in that celestial pomegranate orchard.” Recitative 1, “Ma

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29 Ellen Harris, Handel as Orpheus, 113.
“scuolfi” from *Amor Perduto* incorporates nature, specifically snow, to veil a sexual reference. “I discover she has those snows intact, the radiance feverishly lights from the flame, and that offended snow in which I, in the end, am miserable and cold, burn the frosts.” “Snows intact” possibly refers to virginity while “I burn . . . the frosts” refers to the loss of that virginity. Reference to sexual desire in the cantata *O che mostro*, is less ambiguous. The speaker relates that “the potion is a poison that affects you when I enter your womb and can torment and kill!”

“Gender flexibility” or ambiguity appears in *La face d’Amore, Mal sicuro, M’ha divisio*, and *No, non posso*. Although *M’ha divisio* is genderless, meaning no indication is given in the text as to whether the speaker is male or female, it reads as though it could be male. No indication is given too as to the gender of the object of the poem. The topic of *M’ha divisio* is that of the deserted lover, a common topic for pastoral librettos. Figure 6 provides the translation for Aria 1.

Figure 6. *M’ha divisio*

It has divided my heart
This destiny that too proudly separates me from my own good
I follow it with reason but in reasoning it does not have strength to stop the person who left.

You vanished from before my eyes, my only beloved, but in my hidden heart you do not let me rest and now in vain I search, I do not know how. I find myself with your beautiful name on my lips.31

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30 Ibid.
31 See Appendix 2 for the complete translation of this cantata. What appears here is the first aria and recitative.
The entire cantata could easily be read as a male speaking to a female or it could be read as an example of same-sex love as was common for Arcadian librettos during this period.

The object of the poem and the speaker of the poem are two more levels of ambiguity. Three of the Scarlatti settings give enough information in order to determine whether the speaker is male or female. *O che mostro*, *Per farmi*, and *Amor Perduto* are all decidedly male in voice. This refers only to the “speaker” of the text, the object of the poem, with the exception of the ones that refer to Arcadian nymphs, is just as ambiguous. Ambiguities such as these would have been preferred by the Arcadians so that a same-sex love could be portrayed more easily.

The final level of ambiguity involves the actual singer. Overwhelmingly, the majority of *conversazione* cantatas were for soprano. No indication is given in the score, however, as to whether this refers to a female singer or a castrato. During the first few decades of the eighteenth century, performance by either would have been possible, although performance by a female would have been more probable. Again, the “gender-flexibility” implied here would have piqued the interest of the Arcadians. It would not have been a distraction to the eighteenth-century audience to have a female sing a cantata in which the speaker and the object were both male.

Ambiguity, pastoral subjects, rhyming, and affect are all characteristics one expects to find in the cantata librettos from the first decade of the eighteenth century. The use of them by Ottoboni would be anticipated. What is interesting about the Ottoboni librettos is that these characteristics are used much more subtly than one finds
in the librettos of other poets from this period, especially his use of pastoral. Although concerned with poetry reforms, as is evident from his helping to found the literary academy *Accademia dei Dodonei* in Venice, Ottoboni appears to have maintained some level of autonomy from the Arcadians.
CHAPTER 4

ALESSANDRO SCARLATTI’S CONVERSAZIONE CANTATAS

Born in Palermo in 1660, Alessandro Scarlatti held a variety of positions in Naples and Rome for much of his career. Although primarily considered as an opera composer, Scarlatti composed more cantatas than any other Baroque composer. His cantatas, which number some 728,\(^1\) were written over the course of his lifetime for a variety of different patrons. From 1671-1680, Scarlatti was in the service of the Cardinals Pietro Ottoboni and Benedetto Pamphili. From 1680-1684, he held the position as maestro di capella for Queen Christina of Sweden in Rome before leaving to become the maestro di capella for the Marquis del Carpio, the Spanish Viceroy of Naples (1683-1687). He was also employed as the director of the Neapolitan theater, San Bartolomeo (1689-1703). Although employed in Naples for the next eighteen years, he frequently traveled to Rome to oversee performances of his cantatas, serenatas, operas, and oratorios.

In 1702, Scarlatti left Naples for Florence, hoping to get a position with long-time patron, Prince Ferdinando de Medici. Although a job in the service of the prince never materialized, he continued to send compositions to Ferdinando after leaving Florence in 1703 for Rome, where he took up the post of assistant music director at S Maria Maggiore. Scarlatti supplemented his income by entering into the service of former patrons Cardinals Ottoboni and Pamphili.\(^2\) It was during this second Roman period

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(1703-1708) that he became acquainted with Prince Ruspoli. In 1708, Scarlatti returned to his post in Naples. See Table 15.

Table 15. Positions Held by Scarlatti: 1671-1708

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Patron/Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1671-1683</td>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>Christina of Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1683-1687</td>
<td>Naples</td>
<td>Marchese del Carpio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1688</td>
<td>Rome (opera season)</td>
<td>Spanish Viceroy (Naples)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1689-1703</td>
<td>Naples</td>
<td>Spanish Viceroy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1703-1708</td>
<td>Rome (by way of Florence)</td>
<td>S Maria Maggiore/Ottoboni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1708 (May)</td>
<td>Naples</td>
<td>Austrian Viceroy (Grimani)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During his five-and-a-half year stay in Rome, Scarlatti was in the employ of *S Maria Maggiore*. Although his duties for the church would not have required any cantatas, he composed in those five years almost as many cantatas as Handel's complete cantata output. Many composers at this time were forced to turn their attention to the cantata due to Pope Innocent XII's ban on opera. Innocent, who encouraged his constituents to support oratorios, believed opera to be lacking in morality. He saw to the destruction of the Tordinona theatre in 1697 and by the year 1700, all public theatres in Rome were closed. Although there were a few private

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Dent and Ursula Kirkendale have both suggested that Scarlatti's flight in 1702 from the city of Naples was in part due to the War of the Spanish Succession. Julie Sadie, however, has suggested that Scarlatti was exhausted from his duties in Naples and eventually moved to Rome to seek "a quieter life." Scarlatti's stay in Rome does coincide with important dates of the war. He left in 1708 to return to Naples just as Imperial forces were threatening Rome.

3 Based on Scarlatti's prolific nature in the genre, it is probable that he wrote more than eighty-eight cantatas while working in Rome.
performances in 1701 and 1702, opera remained mostly silent in Rome until 1709. Having no venue for his operas, Scarlatti focused his attention on the cantata.

Although Scarlatti is known to have composed at least 728 cantatas, only a fraction of them are dated. 152 cantatas are known to have been composed during the years 1690-1720; 88 of these were composed while he was in Rome (1703-1708). If one studies the datable cantatas of Scarlatti, it is possible to see clearly that his Roman period was one of considerable activity as compared to other periods. Within this five year period, the majority of cantatas were produced from 1704-1706. At least 30 cantatas are known to have been composed in 1704; 26 in 1705; and 21 in 1706. Based on several factors that will be discussed, I conclude that the 11 Scarlatti settings of Ottoboni librettos in GB Lbm. Add. 34056 were composed between 1704 and 1706.

The dissemination of the Scarlatti Roman cantatas appears mostly in the form of manuscript copies. Cantatas composed in 1704 appear in 24 different manuscripts. The cantatas from this year are not unica—every cantata known to have been composed in 1704 appears in at least two different manuscripts. The situation is similar for the years 1705 and 1706: 22 manuscripts for the cantatas of 1705, 25 manuscripts for the 1706 cantatas. Several of the manuscripts that contain the Scarlatti Roman cantatas include music from overlapping years. For example, one of the Santini manuscripts, D Mus 3904, contains two cantatas composed in 1704, one in 1705, and two more from 1706. Other manuscripts from this collection, such as D Mus 3907, contain only cantatas known to date from 1704.

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The manuscripts containing this repertoire are housed in a variety of libraries scattered throughout Italy, Germany, France, and Great Britain, as well as a few collections found in the United States. An overwhelming number of the German manuscripts are housed in Munster as part of the Santini collection. This collection, along with 12 manuscripts in the British Library in London, make up the bulk of manuscripts containing Scarlatti cantatas composed from 1703-1708.

Scarlatti’s Cantata Production 1703-1708

Although not all of the cantatas composed during this period have the exact date given, enough do in order to see a pattern in Scarlatti’s cantata production. The calendars in Figures 7-9 below will highlight this information. One finds that cantata production increased considerably from 1704-1705. May, June, and August of 1704 all have one cantata known to have been composed during those months. Two cantatas were composed in September, eight in October, and four in December. Production continued early in 1705 with six in January, two in February, one in March, two in April, one in May, four in June, one in August, two in September, one in October, and one in November. Although a few cantatas were composed during the first half of 1706, production increased in August and September with five cantatas composed for each month. No datable cantatas can be placed from October to December 1706. The significance of the dates will show the special function of Scarlatti’s Roman cantatas.

What is most interesting about the list given above is not so much the number of cantatas composed within a month, but rather, when in the month the pieces were composed. For the first week of the months of October and November of 1704 and
January of 1705, Scarlatti composed a new cantata on Sunday, Wednesday, and Saturday. During the second week of October and January he composed a cantata on Thursday. The Thursday cantata in November was composed in the third week. The last week of October and January he again composed, three cantatas on Sunday, Wednesday, and this time on Friday. He composed one cantata on a Saturday, the last week of November.

The dates give insight into the purpose of the cantatas. As previously mentioned, Scarlatti’s patrons during his Roman period of 1703-1708 each held their own conversazione every week. Ruspoli’s met on Sundays, Pietro Ottoboni’s on Wednesdays, Pamphili’s on Fridays. Many of the dates Scarlatti is known to have composed a cantata correspond with conversazione dates. Although the author has been unable to pin-point the occasion, most likely a conversazione took place on Thursdays. Beginning in September of 1704, Scarlatti typically composed one cantata every third Thursday until September 1706. During this 24-month period, only 5 months have no Thursday cantata.

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5 Interestingly, only one cantata in three years is known to have been composed on a Tuesday.
Figure 7. Cantata dates of 1704.

Calendar for year 1704 (Italy)

January 1704
Mo Tu We Th Fr Sa Su
1 2 3 4 5 6
7 8 9 10 11 12 13
14 15 16 17 18 19 20
21 22 23 24 25 26 27
28 29 30 31

February 1704
Mo Tu We Th Fr Sa Su
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
8 9 10 11 12 13 14
15 16 17 18 19 20 21
22 23 24 25 26 27 28
29 30

March 1704
Mo Tu We Th Fr Sa Su
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17
18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25
26 27 28 29 30

April 1704
Mo Tu We Th Fr Sa Su
1 2 3 4 5 6
7 8 9 10 11 12 13
14 15 16 17 18 19 20
21 22 23 24 25 26 27
28 29 30

May 1704
Mo Tu We Th Fr Sa Su
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
8 9 10 11 12 13 14
15 16 17 18 19 20 21
22 23 24 25 26 27 28
29 30 31

June 1704
Mo Tu We Th Fr Sa Su
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
9 10 11 12 13 14 15
16 17 18 19 20 21 22
23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

July 1704
Mo Tu We Th Fr Sa Su
1 2 3 4 5 6
7 8 9 10 11 12 13
14 15 16 17 18 19 20
21 22 23 24 25 26 27
28 29 30 31

August 1704
Mo Tu We Th Fr Sa Su
1 2 3 4 5 6
7 8 9 10 11 12 13
14 15 16 17 18 19 20
21 22 23 24 25 26 27
28 29 30

September 1704
Mo Tu We Th Fr Sa Su
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
8 9 10 11 12 13 14
15 16 17 18 19 20 21
22 23 24 25 26 27 28
29 30

October 1704
Mo Tu We Th Fr Sa Su
1 2 3 4 5 6
7 8 9 10 11 12 13
14 15 16 17 18 19 20
21 22 23 24 25 26 27
28 29 30 31

November 1704
Mo Tu We Th Fr Sa Su
1 2 3 4 5 6
7 8 9 10 11 12 13
14 15 16 17 18 19 20
21 22 23 24 25 26 27
28 29 30

December 1704
Mo Tu We Th Fr Sa Su
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
8 9 10 11 12 13 14
15 16 17 18 19 20 21
22 23 24 25 26 27 28
29 30 31

Calendar generated on http://www.timeanddate.com/calendar/
Figure 8. Cantatas dates for 1705.

Calendar for year 1705 (Italy)

Calendar generated on http://www.timeanddate.com/calendar/
Figure 9. Cantata dates for 1706.

It is believed that the Thursday cantatas were not written for the general assembly of the Arcadian Academy since they met from May to October and the missing
five months include June, July, August, and October of 1705. This is not to say that the Thursday meetings were not in some way associated with the Academy. This is also not to say that Scarlatti did not write for the academy. On the contrary, the author believes that several cantatas were written for the Academy. Notice that his cantata production wanes beginning in July 1705 until April 1706. Production then increases in 1706 during the months that the general assembly of Arcadians would have met. Only six cantatas date from the nine-month period of July 1705-March 1706. After his induction into the Arcadian Academy in April of 1706, a significant increase occurs with at least 17 cantatas composed during the six-month period of April 1706-September 1706. Another possibility for the cantatas composed on Thursdays would be that they were written for Pamphili’s Friday conversazione.

The previous discussion may be distilled as follows: (1) Scarlatti composed cantatas on a regular basis during his Roman period (2) his cantata production is linked closely to his patron librettists and (3) the majority of cantatas composed during this period appear in numerous manuscripts housed in several different libraries. The fact that some of Scarlatti’s cantatas from this period may be found in as many as seven different manuscripts, highlights the Scarlatti cantatas in GB Lbm. Add. 34056. Only three of the 11 Scarlatti settings from this manuscript appear in any other source: O che mostro appears in L Nc 34.5.3, M’ha divisio il cor (the only Scarlatti setting in GB Lbm. Add. 34056 for alto) appears in D Mgw Mus. 19653. O sol degli’occhi is the only
The other eight Scarlatti settings in this anthology are *unica*.

Although Ottoboni's librettos were available, it is highly unlikely that the Thursday *conversazione* mentioned above were Antonio's. Antonio is known to have visited his son's court during this period; however, he did not take up residence there until 1709, at which time Scarlatti had already left Rome for Naples. See Table 15, page 69. It is probable therefore that the Cardinal supplied Scarlatti with Antonio Ottoboni's librettos from 1704-1706. Based on evidence that A. Caldara supplied cantata settings for Ruspoli even when the former was living in Vienna, it could be argued that some of the Scarlatti compositions date after May of 1708 when Scarlatti moved back to Naples, which would put their composition date closer to the compilation date of the anthology (1709). This is unlikely, for unlike Caldara, who, while living in Vienna was still in the employ of Ruspoli, Scarlatti went to work for the Viceroy of Naples and no evidence has been found that would suggest that Scarlatti continued to compose for Cardinal Ottoboni after the former's removal from Rome. Also, it would seem likely that if Scarlatti had still been in the employ of the Cardinal after 1708, Scarlatti settings would also appear in the companion volume to GB Lbm. Add. 34056, GB Lbm. Add. 34057, which is dated 1710.

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7 Michael Talbot and Colin Timms, 367.
It is interesting to note how, although Scarlatti uses standard compositional practices of his day, including dance rhythms, continuo introductions, ritornellos, da capo arias, and “motto” beginnings, his manipulation of these devices varies so much from cantata to cantata that they do not become predictable. Of the devices listed, his use of continuo introduction and da capo aria, both of which are standard to cantatas of this period, are applied the most frequently.

Figure 10 is an example of an introduction. The example not only illustrates one of Scarlatti’s introductions, but also the unique capitals that appear in GB Lbm. Add. 34056. Capitals placed in a decorative manner at the beginning of cantatas were not a new concept. What is curious about the capitals in GB Lbm. Add. 34056 is their ambiguity. At first glance, the initials appear to be just pictures. One might assume that the picture represents some aspect of the text. Further investigation, however, reveals that the artist cleverly hides the capital. In the example in Figure 10, the matador and the bull combine to make the letter “N.” Another example may be seen in Figure 13 in which two water nymphs hold hands to form the letter “A.” The letter “S” is represented by a dragon in Figure 15. Only one, the initial for O sol degli’occhi in which the “O” is decorated like a sun, has any connection to the text. The other pictures represented in the capitals do not make reference to the librettos.
Figure 10. Basso continuo introduction, *Non non posso*.

Thirty of the 31 arias from the 11 Scarlatti cantata settings in GB Lbm. Add. 34056 include a basso continuo introduction, which was typical for cantata arias from this period. The only aria to omit an introduction is “No, non si vede,” Aria 2 from *Amor Perduto*, which is unique for its four arias, of which the first three are heard back-to-back with no interruption by recitative. Although technically Aria 2 from *Amor Perduto* has no introduction since Scarlatti omits the break between the two arias, the final ritornello of Aria 1, “Amici se vinto,” could be heard as an introduction. This is possible for two reasons: (1) the final cadence of “Amici” could be heard as V of D, which is the key of the next two arias and (2) the rhythmic “affect” is the same. Although arias 1, 2, and 3 from *Amor Perduto* are performed with no interruption by recitative, the third aria of the group does begin with an introduction. Based on the evidence of the meter and
affect changes in Aria 3 and the fact that Scarlatti keeps the key of D major, one may determine that the lack of recitatives is no accident.

Scarlatti’s introductions are critical to his manipulation of another standard compositional device: ritornello. Typically in vocal music from this period, material from the instrumental or continuo introduction appears in part or as a whole in structurally important places of the arias, particularly at the end of A and before the repeat of A. Although Scarlatti’s use of ritornello follows standard practices, enough changes occur so that the ritornellos are not predictable. As will be discussed, his use and placement of the ritornello give insight to the performance of the cantatas.

Aria 2 from *Amor Perduto* has already been discussed for its lack of a continuo introduction. Having no introduction could be the reason that it also contains no ritornellos. In fact, only one measure in the entire aria is heard with continuo alone. The vocal part is heard continuously throughout the piece. Interestingly, Aria 3, “Nella guancia,” from *Amor Perduto* does not have a ritornello in the sense that has been discussed thus far. The continuo material that is heard between sections A and B is actually an anticipation of B rather than a ritornello of the introduction to A. *Amor Perduto* will continue to be discussed since it is unique among the 11 cantatas.

“Ti ricorda,” Aria 1 from *O sol degl’occhi*, is an example in which the entire introduction gets used as the ritornello. Of course, because of the da capo nature of these arias, the ritornellos act as closing statements. Typically, each ritornello is heard at least four times: the opening and closing statement of A, which is then repeated,
typically in its entirety. The ritornello placed at the end of A serves as both the closing material of A and the introduction of B.

One finds substantial use of ritornello in the Scarlatti settings of GB Lbm. Add. 34056. Only four arias of the 32 do not include some type of ritornello. “So cha forza,” Aria 2 from *O sol deggl’occhi*, which is included in the four, does actually have one measure of cadential material from the introduction that is heard as the cadence of the A section. Although always taken from the continuo introductions, the ritornellos in the other arias typically use more than just cadential material.

As previously mentioned, Scarlatti’s use of ritornellos is typically found at the end of the A sections. Aria 3 from *O sol deggl’occhi*, “Per te vive,” is one of the few arias that has the ritornello placed in the opening 16 measures rather than at the end of A. The introduction is heard twice in its entirety with an interruption by the incipit. No where else in the aria does the continuo part play alone. It is possible that Scarlatti intended the continuo introduction to act as an ostinato. See Figure 11. The opening two measures or its inversion are heard consistently (usually at different levels) throughout the piece.

Notice in measure 111 after the second statement of the introduction, that Scarlatti appears to be starting the introduction again, however, only one measure of it is heard. He immediately inverts the pattern, and uses only the opening measure for the inversion. Measures 117-118, 120-121, and 122-23 are all statements in the continuo of the opening motive heard slightly altered and then treated as sequence. In
mm 117-122, an upper neighbor pattern is heard after the octave leap rather than the minor third of the opening statement.

Notice Scarlatti’s use of sequence in “Per te vive” (Figure 11). One of the most interesting is the final statement of this “so-called” ostinato figure that begins in m. 142. The opening measure of the figure is heard exactly as it is presented in the beginning. Going into the next measure (m. 143), the pattern is then thrown off by the leap of a descending third rather than the fifth. Compare mm 1-2 to the continuo part in mm 142-143. Scarlatti uses elements of the first and second measures of the pattern: the falling third of “a” is heard rhythmically in the correct place--the second half of the measure.
Figure 11.  *Per te vive*" from *Per Farmi*. 
The first half of the measure, which is written as a half note, represents to the listener the first half of “b.” Scarlatti condenses the two ideas into one and then uses this new motive “c” in sequence from measures 143-145 leading to the cadence of the A section which, curiously resembles the cadential material of the opening introduction. Anticipation of the sequence motive “c” is heard in mm 138-139. Scarlatti continues to rely heavily upon the introduction in the B section; however, here he mostly uses the tail.

Figure 12 gives another interesting example of Scarlatti’s use of ritornello as it appears in Aria 3, “Un Prattico,” from *Per farmi*, in which the entire continuo introduction or a variation of the introduction is heard three times. The closing material of the introduction is also used: once between the incipit and the start of the melodic line and then again in the same place with the repeat of the A section. At first glance it appears as though extra ritornellos are present, however, the ritornellos here act the same as the ones already discussed. It only appears to be different because the entire A section has been written out rather than the da capo designation having been placed at the end of B.

Unlike the previous example, “Per te vive,” (Figure 11) in which Scarlatti uses motivic material from the introduction not only as ritornello but also as accompaniment, in “Un Prattico” the introduction serves only as ritornello. Scarlatti does make use of a repeated-note figure in both the A and B sections of “Un Prattico,” but the motive does not derive from the ritornello.
Figure 12. “Un pratico” from *Per farmi.*
The final statement of the ritornello appears in a collapsed version in which the middle is missing. Scarlatti collapses his ritornellos in several of the arias studied. Typically, the collapsed ritornellos appear as they do here, where, with the exception of the middle of the phrase, everything is heard.

Scarlatti’s manipulation of the ritornellos gives some insight to the actual performance of these cantatas. With the performance of Baroque opera arias, the repeat of A typically omits the introduction. In these cantatas, however, the entire introduction is heard again, which reinforces the idea of the ritornello.

The manipulation of the introduction, which was crucial to Scarlatti’s use of ritornello, also plays an important role in developing one of the bel canto characteristics: motto beginnings. Three different types of motto beginnings are possible: (1) anticipation of the incipit by the continuo (2) presentation of the incipit as seen in Figure 14 and (3) anticipation by both the continuo and the incipit as seen in Figure 15. Figure 12 is also an example of this type of motto beginning. All of the cantatas have at least one aria that uses a motto beginning. The cantata Spero chauvro has three arias, all of which have motto beginnings in which the incipit is given in both the continuo and the vocal line. Vocal incipits (21 arias) occur more frequently than the continuo anticipations of the incipits (17 arias).

Motto beginnings, in which the continuo anticipates the incipit or the anticipation is heard by both the vocal line and the continuo, result in a charming dialogue between the parts. Typically, in the Scarlatti arias, the dialogue is not limited to the beginning of the piece, but rather it is interspersed throughout the aria. Figures 13-15 show the
three types of motto beginnings employed by Scarlatti. Figure 13 is an example of Scarlatti providing the vocal incipit in the continuo introduction. “Amici se vinto” is the first aria in the cantata *Amor Perduto e Ritornato*.

Figure 13. Motto beginning, incipit in the continuo, “Amici se vinto.”

Figure 14 is an example in which Scarlatti provides the vocal incipit interrupted by ritornello. The final example of motto beginnings illustrates the incipit in both the continuo introduction and the vocal line before the voice begins in m. 9 as seen in Figure 15.
Figure 14. Motto beginning, incipit only, *O sol degl’occh.*

Figure 15. Motto beginning in *Spero Ch’auvro.*
Generally credited with founding the “so-called” school of Neapolitan-eighteenth-century opera, Scarlatti is also credited (often too much so) for the development of the *da capo* aria. Although early examples appear in the Neapolitan repertory, the trend to use *da capo* arias first appears in Venice. By 1680, the *da capo* aria was gaining popularity, and by the early eighteenth century it had supplanted all other forms of aria. According to Charles Rosen, “it is only in the first decades of the eighteenth century that the *da capo* aria displaces every other form in Italian opera and that the splendid variety of aria types that prevailed in the seventeenth century largely disappears.” The popularity of the *da capo* aria may be found not only in operas, but in cantatas from the early eighteenth century as well.

*Da capo* arias highlight several characteristics of Baroque vocal music, including contrast in emotion or affect as well as use of improvisation and the virtuosic capabilities of the singer. This type of aria dominates the Arcadian cantatas. In the 11 Scarlatti/Ottoboni cantatas, 28 out of 31 arias are in *da capo* form. In the Scarlatti/Ottoboni arias, the *da capo* designation is used almost exclusively to indicate the return to the "A" section. The aria “Un pratico bfolco,” from the cantata *Per farmi*, previously discussed because of its comical text and manipulation of ritornello, is the only aria in this group in which Scarlatti writes out the entire *da capo* rather than giving the designation at the end of the "B" section. The repeat of the "A" section is exactly the same as the beginning statement; no ornaments or embellishments are added in either the vocal or basso continuo lines. No ornaments or embellishments

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appear in any of the Scarlatti/Ottoboni arias. It would have been likely, however, due to the performance practice popular in the early eighteenth century, that the repeat of A would have been embellished by the singer.\textsuperscript{10}

It is unclear as to why this aria would have been written out in its entirety rather than simply giving the DC designation. Since all of the cantatas in GB Lbm. Add. 34056 are copies and not autographs, one might assume that \textit{Per Farmi} had a different copyist from the other Scarlatti cantatas in the collection; however, this is not the case. All of the Scarlatti cantatas, save \textit{Amor Perduto}, are in the same hand. The argument regarding the autograph could also be used to state that this cantata was copied in this manner because the autograph appears this way. No autograph of this cantata exists in order for a comparison to be made; \textit{Per farmi} is one of the examples of \textit{unica} from this repertoire. Either way, no indication is given as to why this particular aria is written in this manner. The other da capo arias in this cantata simply give the DC designation.

Although Scarlatti's text setting is standard for this period, some aspects do deserve to be mentioned. Overwhelmingly, as mentioned above, the arias are syllabic. This is usual for Scarlatti. Coloratura passages are rare and are reserved for specific types of text, which will be discussed. Only 30\% of these arias could be considered melismatic or make use of two-note slurs throughout the entire aria. The remaining

\textsuperscript{9} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{10} Performance practice of Baroque vocal music depended largely on the performer's ability to improvise within the confines of the style of genre in which they were performing. Baroque composers expected the singers to change the score according to their mood and their ability. The score as it appeared was not set in stone. Baroque performance practice allowed for modification, embellishments, and interpretation within the conventions of Baroque vocal music. Robert Donnington, \textit{Baroque Music Style and Performance A Handbook} (New York W.W. Norton, 1982), 6.
70% are syllabic. The syllabic nature of the arias would have allowed the performer greater freedom to embellish. Also, as previously mentioned, syllabic, more refrained settings were characteristic of the bel canto style. Figures 16-18 show each of the three techniques employed by Scarlatti in his text setting. Although most of the arias are syllabic, at least one aria in every cantata (the exception being O che mostra) relies heavily upon two-note slurs or melismas. The importance of this will be discussed momentarily.

Figure 16. Example of syllabic setting from final aria of O sol degl’occhi.

Only three of the 11 cantatas do not have at least one aria that employs two-note slurs. One is immediately drawn to these examples because they look so differently on the page. In these examples, one gets the sense that Scarlatti is literally treating the voice as an instrument. Two-note slurs played by a violin, harpsichord, or even a flute, when performed correctly, result in a lilting melody. In a vocal line, however, two-note slurs can be distracting. Figure 17 shows Scarlatti’s use of two-note slurs. I believe that Scarlatti’s use of two-note slurs throughout a particular aria works
in a similar manner to his use of rhythm. Scarlatti treats the slurs as an “affect” that must continue throughout the aria in order to maintain the “affect” of the piece.

Figure 17. Two-note slurs in “Era poco,” final aria of *M’ha division*.

Figure 18 is an example of a melismatic setting by Scarlatti. It is evident that in the few arias that make extensive use of melismas, Scarlatti is again using the device throughout in order to maintain the “affect.” Scarlatti’s use of melismas as they appear in the recitative/ariosos will be discussed at a later point.
When comparing the arias of the Scarlatti cantatas in GB. Lbm. Add. 34056 to one another, one finds that he varied all of the compositional devices just discussed including his use of instrumental introduction, ritornellos, upbeats, melismas, two-note slurs, and melodic anticipation throughout the cantatas. Comparison of the overall cantatas, however, shows less variation. Table 16 makes this evident. With few exceptions, the majority of Scarlatti’s cantatas in this anthology contain arias that employ at least one of these compositional techniques.
Table 16. Scarlatti Compositional Practices in the Ottoboni Cantatas\textsuperscript{11}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cantata</th>
<th># of arias</th>
<th>upbeat</th>
<th>Continuo introduction</th>
<th>Rit.</th>
<th>2-note slur</th>
<th>Melisma</th>
<th>Continuo incipit</th>
<th>Vocal incipit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alma tu che cielo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amor Perduto</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La face d’amore</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M’ha divisio</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mal sicuro</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, non posso</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O che nostra</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O sol degli</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per farmi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spero</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vi commanda</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparisons of Scarlatti Settings in GB Lbm. Add. 34056

Although generally credited with standardizing the recitative, aria, recitative, aria (R A R A) order common to cantatas of this period, by choosing the Ottoboni librettos, Scarlatti winds up with more variety in these eleven cantatas. Ottoboni varied the structure by adding an extra aria or recitative to either the beginning or the ending of the cantata. Table 17 shows that none of the Scarlatti/Ottoboni cantatas actually follows the R A R A configuration.

\textsuperscript{11} The number in each column represents the number of arias in a particular cantata that employ that device.
Table 17. Aria Placement in Scarlatti/Ottoboni Arias of GB. Lbm., Add. 34056

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aria/Recitative Placement</th>
<th>Number of cantatas using the configuration</th>
<th>Cantatas using the configuration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ARARAR</td>
<td>4</td>
<td><strong>M'ha divisio, No non posso, Per farmi, Spero ch'auvro</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RARAR</td>
<td>2</td>
<td><strong>Alma, tu che cielo, O che mostro</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARARA</td>
<td>2</td>
<td><strong>La face d'Amore, Vi commanda</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARAR</td>
<td>1</td>
<td><strong>Mal Sicuro</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RARRA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td><strong>O sol degli'occhi</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AARAR</td>
<td>1</td>
<td><strong>Amor Perduto</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the eleven Scarlatti settings of Ottoboni librettos, only **M'ha divisio** is for alto, the remaining ten cantatas are for soprano. Soprano continuo cantatas were typical during the first decade of the eighteenth century. It is interesting to compare the performers of cantata arias during this period to the singers of opera arias. Although opera was having a hard time flourishing in Rome from 1700-1710 due to Papal bans on entertainment (specifically opera), opera arias were typically written for castrati. One would expect the use of the castrato to carry over to the cantata arias, however, this does not appear to be the case. As of yet, no evidence points to the cantatas being performed, on any type of regular basis, by castrati. Evidence suggests that cantatas from this decade were mostly written without a specific castrato or soprano's vocal capabilities in mind. Exceptions include Handel's setting of the Pamphili libretto *Delirio Amoroso* and Handel's *Oh, come chiare*. The castrato Pasqualine was chosen to
sing the part of the abandoned woman in *Delirio*, while female soprano Margarite Durastante was given the role of Olinto in *Oh, come chiare*.\(^\text{12}\)

The voice range found in these eleven cantatas rarely exceeds an octave. The cantata for alto does not go higher than d while the soprano arias usually reach a g-a.

The majority of the arias have a vocal line that stays within the range of a fifth. One of the melodic motives employed in several arias outlines a fifth in which Scarlatti uses a descending step-wise motion to get from the top of the fifth to the bottom. See the cantata *No non posso* in Appendix 3. Not only does Scarlatti make use of the descending fifth in the arias, he also uses it in recitative 1 from this same cantata. Octave leaps, although found in the arias, appear more frequently in the recitatives as seen in the opening recitative of *O che mostro* in Appendix 3.

The overall structure of the cantatas will be discussed below along with the discussion of recitative. The recitatives, as will be shown, play a pivotal role in the settings of the Ottoboni librettos.

**Recitative**

Some of the most interesting passages in the Scarlatti cantatas in GB Lbm. 34056 appear in the recitatives. As will be shown, most of the arias include a contrasting middle section that is typically in a related key, however, the arias always end in the same key in which they began. Few of the recitatives do this; out of 29

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recitatives, only 7 begin and end in the same key.\textsuperscript{13} All of the other recitatives modulate and do not return to the original key.

The harmonies employed by Scarlatti in the recitatives are some of the most interesting found in any of the settings. Harmonically, the recitatives are unstable which, is not surprising. He typically uses diminished triads, diminished sevenths, and secondary dominants to move quickly through several keys within one recitative. At first glance, the modulations found in the recitatives appear to be unusual. One might expect the recitatives to modulate in a similar manner as the arias, either to the dominant or the relative minor; however, typically, this is not the case.

Of the 26 recitatives that change keys, 3 modulate from the major to the relative minor; 1 modulates from the major to the parallel minor; another 3 open in the dominant of the final key of the recitative. For example, the final recitative of the cantata \textit{Vi comanda} begins in D and ends in G. The rest of the recitatives rely on a combination of modal mixture and circle progressions to modulate.

In 10 of the recitatives that change modes, Scarlatti moves to the key either a step or a half-step above or below the opening key. The opening recitative of \textit{Alma tu che cielo} begins in F major and ends in e minor. The second recitative of \textit{No, non posso} begins in D major and ends in e minor. Another example begins in E major and ends in d minor. The cantata \textit{Spero ch’auvro} has two recitatives that work in this manner: recitative 1 begins in F major and ends in g minor; recitative 2 begins in F major and ends in e minor.

\textsuperscript{13} These include the second recitative from La face, the last recitative from O che mostro, and the last
The most curious aspect of Scarlatti’s use of keys reveals itself when the arias and recitatives are studied in context. Insight is given in to how Scarlatti thought about keys and modulations. For example, three of the recitatives move from B-flat major to e minor. In two of the cantatas, *M’ha divisio* and *O sol degl’occhi*, the preceding aria is in d minor and the following aria is in A minor. See Table 18.

Table 18. Similar Key Progressions in *M’ha divisio* and *O sol degl’occhi*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cantata</th>
<th>R1</th>
<th>A1</th>
<th>R1</th>
<th>A2</th>
<th>R2</th>
<th>A3</th>
<th>R3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>M’ha divisio</em></td>
<td>d</td>
<td>B♭/e min.</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>F/G</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>G/d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>O sol</em></td>
<td>g/a</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>B♭/e min.</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>D/B♭</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 19 on the following page shows this progression from a d minor aria to the B♭/e min. recitative and then to the A minor aria as it appears in the two cantatas listed in Table 18. It is interesting to note how similar the final cadences of the two A sections of the d minor arias are.

_Recitative from Mal Sicuro._
Figure 19. Key progressions in *M'ha divisio* and *O sol degl'occhi*.
Scarlatti’s use of similar progressions occurs in other cantatas as well. The cantatas that have recitatives that move from F to G all have the preceding aria in A minor. The two recitatives that move from c minor to A minor have the preceding aria in G major. The progressions B-flat to e minor, F to G (g) and c to A minor are the only ones that occur more than once. Throughout the Scarlatti settings in GB Lbm. Add. 34056, one finds that d minor is generally followed by B-flat major. The key of A minor is typically followed by the key of F major. Only two instances occur where this is not the progression employed by Scarlatti; once A minor is followed by e minor and once by c minor. The key of e minor is usually followed by A/a. Out of a total of 60 movements, 12 establish the key of e minor; 7 of these move from e to A/a.

The keys employed by Scarlatti indicate that Scarlatti conceived of the recitatives as connectors; a way to get from the key of one aria to the next through the modulations of the recitatives. Scarlatti relies on the following techniques in order to move to or through various keys. Several of his modulations are chromatic, which allow for the following aria or recitative to be a step away from the previous movement. Although not as prevalent as the chromatic modulations, examples of direct modulations may also be found in these Scarlatti settings. Scarlatti moves freely to several different keys that normally might not be thought of as “closely related” because of the Baroque concept that, with the exception of diminished chords, any diatonic chord in a key could be tonicized.

The cantata *M'ha divisio* again serves as an example (see Figure 19). The key of the first aria, d minor, is followed by a recitative in B-flat/e minor, which is then
followed by an aria in A minor. (See Table 18) The e minor serves as the dominant to
the following A minor aria. Scarlatti’s use of the ending key of the recitative acting as
dominant to the following aria occurs at least once in every cantata. Scarlatti moves
from B-flat to e minor first through the relative minor and then the parallel minor of G.
The progression B-flat-g minor-G major-e minor is one of several in which this type of
modulation occurs.

Along with the patterns noticeable in the key progressions of the recitatives,
other patterns are also found. First, Scarlatti generally begins the bass line in an
upward motion by step or half-step. Recitatives 18/29 begin in this manner while 5
open with a downward step or half-step. Other patterns emerge when comparing the
cadences of the recitatives. Overwhelmingly, the continuo part provides the cadence;
and in most cases not a very strong one. Few of the recitatives actually provide the
leading tone in the vocal line, which helps to weaken the cadence.

Recitatives numbered 24/29 employ a melodic figure that includes the outline of
a fourth. The falling interval of a fourth was a typical Baroque figure heard in melodic
lines at cadences. Scarlatti’s use of it is prevalent. Other Baroque composers such as
Handel also employed this device. Another figure that Scarlatti employs at the
cadences involves a repeated-note figure on the tonic. In most cases, the repeated
tonic figure is the last thing heard by the vocal line; however, some instances occur in
which the repeated note is sung on the tonic and then followed by a downward leap of
a fifth before the basso continuo part cadences on tonic. In several examples, the
repeated-tonic figure creates a dissonance above the I\(^{6/4}\)-V-I bass line played by the continuo.

As previously mentioned, I believe that Scarlatti treated the recitatives as connectors from aria to aria. Once again, the idea that Scarlatti conceived of the cantatas as an entire unit and not as recitative/aria pairs is reinforced. The weak cadences also reinforce this belief. Several characteristics just mentioned that weaken the cadence include the vocal line ending on a note other than tonic, the lack of leading tones in the vocal line, and the vocal line ending before the continuo part. Table 19 shows the key progression found in the Scarlatti settings.

**Table 19. Keys of Recitatives and Arias**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cantata</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Alma tu che cielo</em></td>
<td>F/e</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>e/c</td>
<td>E-flat</td>
<td>c/F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Amor Perduto</em></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>G/e</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>e/A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>La face d'amore</em></td>
<td>a</td>
<td>F/d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>M'ha divisio</em></td>
<td>d</td>
<td>Bb/e</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>F/G</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>G/d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Mal sicuro</em></td>
<td>G</td>
<td>A/a</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>No, non posso</em></td>
<td>a</td>
<td>F/G</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>D/e</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>D/a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>O che mostra</em></td>
<td>a/F</td>
<td>B-flat</td>
<td>f/e</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>O sol degli</em></td>
<td>g/a</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>Bb/e</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>D/Bb</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Per farmi</em></td>
<td>G</td>
<td>c/a</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>E/d</td>
<td>B-flat</td>
<td>C/G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Spero</em></td>
<td>a</td>
<td>F/g</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>F/e</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>c/a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Vi commande</em></td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Bb/e</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>D/G</td>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As discussed in the previous chapter, Antonio Ottoboni had a propensity for ending his cantatas with recitative, usually in the form of a couplet. Of the eight
cantatas that end with recitative, all employ rhyme; seven are couplets. The only cantata to end with a recitative not in the form of a couplet is the previously discussed Amor Perduto. Originally, the author hoped to correlate the special nature of the text to Scarlatti’s limited use of arioso; however, Scarlatti uses arioso for the final recitative of Amor Perduto which, as has already been stated, not a couplet. Also, the couplets that end Per farmi, M’ha divisio, and No, non posso are not set as arioso. When comparing the four cantatas that do end with couplets in arioso, one finds the following similarities. Scarlatti’s harmonic treatment of the recitative couplets set as arioso mirrors the other recitatives. All of the recitatives are harmonically unstable. Although the movement from C major to its relative minor (a) in the final recitative of Spero ch’auvro is typical; how Scarlatti chooses to modulate through the parallel major (A) is interesting. The key of C major in “Nel commune” only lasts for one measure. The final recitative of Alma tu che cielo could be said to start in C and move to F major; however, I believe that it is more correct to state that the opening of the recitative “Prende” begins on the dominant and uses the leading tone in the bass line to emphasize F major. The key of F is established by the second measure.

The final recitative of O che mostro, “Chi be nana vicino” has the same type of bass line just mentioned- - chromatic movement from the leading tone to tonic, which gives the sense of V-I so that the recitative begins and ends in a minor. Scarlatti employs the same chromatic bass line in the final aria “Ma son donne equamente” of Mal sicuro. “Ma son” begins on a V6 so that the leading tone is heard in the bass line
moving chromatically to tonic. Scarlatti employs a circle progression to move from G through D and A before returning to G major to end the recitative.

Scarlatti's ariosos employ the same type of motivic dialogue found in the arias. In the ariosos, however, the motives are shorter and less developed. Although not unique to the arioso/couplets, all four examples employ text repetition that generally was reserved for the arias rather than the recitatives. In all four examples of arioso/couplets, the repetition of the text corresponds with the repetition of a particular motive. Based on the evidence of the rests, it is believed that the first statement of the text is treated much like repetition in the arias: as anticipation.

Only three of the cantatas that end with a recitative do not incorporate repetition of text; they happen to be the same three that do not incorporate arioso. Repetition of the text within a recitative only occurs in the examples that employ arioso; none of the beginning or interior recitatives in any of the cantatas repeat the text. It is possible that Scarlatti was aware of the special nature of these recitatives and set them with arioso to highlight the text. Another possibility is that Scarlatti preferred ending his cantatas with the more lyrical aria style over the declamatory speech-like recitative. Because he had to work in the confines of the libretto given to him, he chose to set the final recitatives as arioso, so the piece would end on, forgive the pun, a “high-note.”

Key Selection in the Arias

Scarlatti’s use of keys varies in the Ottoboni cantatas. Of the eleven cantatas, five have all of the arias in a major key; three have all minor arias while three more have a mix of major and minor. Only one cantata from each of these groupings has the
opening and final aria in the same key: *Vi commanda*, *La face*, and *No, non posso*. All three of these cantatas have three arias each. *Vi Commanda* has arias in the keys C major, A major, and C major; *La face d’amore* has arias in the keys a minor, g minor, and a minor. The third cantata, *No, non posso fingere* has arias in the key succession of A minor, C major, and A minor. This is the only one of the three cantatas that has a group of arias that “progress” to a closely related key and then comes back to “tonic.”

The eleven cantatas contain a total of 31 arias. 17 are in a major key while the remaining 14 are in a minor key. C major is used for seven arias; G major is used in three arias; D major is used only twice. The two D major arias appear back-to-back in *Amici se vinto*. The key of A major is used in two arias; B-flat major is used for two arias and E-flat major is used for one. The key of F major is only used for the instrumental introduction of *Alma tu che cielo*.

Of the 14 minor-key arias, a minor is used eight times. The key of d minor is used twice; g minor is used twice; e minor is used once and c minor is used once. The keys of C major and a minor are used for 15, almost half, of the arias. Three flats (E-flat major and c minor) are as far as Scarlatti goes with keys in these eleven cantatas. The same is true for the sharp keys. Three sharps, A major, is the most used in any of the Ottoboni arias. In all of the arias, Scarlatti uses modal key signatures. Mixolydian is the most common in which one sharp is missing from the signature and the flatted seventh is present.
Investigation of Scarlatti’s overall key selection shows that out of over 1600 arias, the four-sharp keys of E major and C-sharp minor are not used. The four-flat key of A-flat major is used only once: *Abbandonato e solo*. The relative minor, f, is used for 25 arias. The only other key that is used infrequently is f-sharp minor, which appears in only seven arias out of the 728 cantatas. This shows that Scarlatti did not change his patterns or choices based on his librettist.

Scarlatti’s key selection for the arias appears not to have been closely tied to the idea of affect. *Per farmi* is another cantata that uses only major-key arias. When reading the libretto of this cantata, however, one would expect the use of major-keys because of the almost comical nature of the text. The speaker is male and is relating the woes of growing old and no longer being desirable to women. He is remorseful that no matter what he does to make himself handsome, he cannot make himself look younger, and, of course, “beautiful women and ugly women want young men.”

Basically, he decides that once you are old, the only way to get love, is to buy it by providing nice things for your lady-love.

Scarlatti’s key selection in the cantatas that refer specifically to pastoral characters (Lidia and Filli) is no more consistent than the selections for the other

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14 In the cantata O voi di queste selve habitatrici (1717), the aria “Povera Irene” appears in the autograph in the key of f minor, however, a copy in GB Lam, XXV.D.1. 271/77 is in c-sharp minor. This is the only instance the author found in which one of Scarlatti’s arias is set in a key with four sharps. The key of E-major does not appear in any arias.

15 Based on the German Baroque practice known as Affektenlehre, Johann Mattheson indicates that the key of f-sharp minor is typically reserved to indicate great sadness. Harris, “The Italian in Handel,” p. 474. Harris believes that Scarlatti’s key choices do not reflect Affektenlehre.

16 “Per farmi amar da’ tutte non so che far di piu. Mi Liscio m’abbellisco, ne mai ringiuenisco, e sento belle, e brutte, che voglion giouenti? » This is the first aria from the cantata Per farmi. See appendix B for the complete translation of the entire cantata.
cantatas. Only two of the Scarlatti/Ottoboni cantatas actually make reference in the
text to one of the Arcadian nymphs. In both cases, the nymph Filli is the object of the
poem, although in *O che mostro* Ottoboni interchanges the name Lidia for Filli. As
previously mentioned, *O che mostro* has all major-key arias. The other pastoral text, *O
sol’ degl’occhi,* has all minor key arias. An investigation of Scarlatti settings of other
poet’s pastoral librettos shows that he slightly favors minor-key arias over the major-
key arias. Few of Scarlatti’s pastoral cantatas have all of the arias in a major key.
Either all of the arias are minor or there is a mixture of major and minor. The key of F-
major, which often is considered the “pastoral” key, is hardly used for the pastoral
librettos.

Table 20 shows the key selection for the arias in the Scarlatti/Ottoboni cantatas.
Although the majority of the cantatas either have the arias in flat keys or sharp keys,
some do have a mixture of both.

One of the most interesting aspects of Scarlatti’s arias is his use of sequence and
motivic development that is especially evident in the basso continuo parts in which
Scarlatti will choose a rhythm and use it consistently throughout an aria. Typically, he
changes the pattern just enough so that it does not act as an ostinato nor does it
become monotonous. For example, in the first aria of the cantata *O sol degl’occhi,*
Scarlatti employs a two-measure pattern based on dotted 16ths followed by 32nds. It
is a descending pattern that sometimes appears in its entirety, fragmented, or it is
treated as a sequence, as in measures 22-24 of the transcription. Even in the B section
of this da capo aria, he maintains the pattern.
Table 20. Scarlatti’s Key Selection in GB Lbm. Add. 34056

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cantata</th>
<th>Aria 1</th>
<th>Aria 2</th>
<th>Aria 3</th>
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<tr>
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<td>A minor</td>
<td>E-flat major</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Amor Perduto</em></td>
<td>A major</td>
<td>D major</td>
<td>D major</td>
<td>C major</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>La face d’amore</em></td>
<td>A minor</td>
<td>G minor</td>
<td>A minor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>M’ha divisio</em></td>
<td>D minor</td>
<td>A minor</td>
<td>E minor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Mal sicuro</em></td>
<td>G major</td>
<td>C major</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>No, non posso</em></td>
<td>A minor</td>
<td>C major</td>
<td>A minor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>O che mostra</em></td>
<td>B-flat major</td>
<td>C major</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>O sol degli occhi</em></td>
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<td>A minor</td>
<td>G minor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Per farmi</em></td>
<td>G major</td>
<td>C major</td>
<td>B-flat major</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Spero</em></td>
<td>A minor</td>
<td>C minor</td>
<td>G major</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Vi commanda</em></td>
<td>C major</td>
<td>A major</td>
<td>C major</td>
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</table>

The second and third arias in this cantata also employ similar “ostinato-like” patterns. What is most interesting, however, is that the arias themselves do not resemble one another. Different keys and time signatures are used for all three. The third aria is one of the most interesting because of its *alle breve* time signature.

The opening ritornellos for all three arias in *O sol degli occhi* are not derived from the vocal line. *O sol degli occhi* is the only cantata included here to not have at least one aria in which the continuo anticipates and imitates the vocal line. This may be compared to *Amor Perduto* in which only one of the four arias does not have the continuo part utilizing the incipit.
Compositional Devices as They Appear in *Amor Perduto e Ritornato*

*Amor Perduto e Ritornato* illustrates several of the compositional devices employed by Scarlatti. *Amor* is unique among the 11 because it is the only one to include four arias. Unlike the other cantatas, which have only two or three arias all separated by recitative, *Amor Perduto* has arias 1, 2, and 3 performed back-to-back, followed by a recitative, the final aria, and the final recitative couplet set as arioso. Figure 20 gives the entire cantata.

Aria 1, “Amici se vinto,” although not a da capo aria, is in ABA form. The key of this aria is A major, although, as in most of the other arias, Scarlatti employs a modal time signature providing only two sharps. The leading tone, however, is raised throughout the piece. The continuo introduction provides most of the melodic material that is developed in this aria.

The four-measure introduction may be divided into three parts that will be labeled here as a, b, and c in order to follow more clearly the discussion of how the introduction is derived from the vocal line. The opening eighth-note figure that starts to outline an A major triad represents “a.” The upper-neighbor sixteenth-note figure followed by the descending fourth and then a descending fifth after a repeat of the upper-neighbor figure represents “b.” The descending fourth and descending fifth play with the listener’s ear because they emphasize I-V-V-I. The closing material of the introduction including the cadence is “c.”

The continuo part in measure 8 provides an extension of “b” in sequence moving down by step. The extension serves as the ritornello material for the remainder of the
aria. It is heard again beginning in measure 12 as the closing material of the A section
and then again in measure 25 at the close of the aria. In most of his arias, Scarlatti
forms the ritornello out of the entire incipit or the opening portion. Also, unlike here,
the majority of the ritornellos do not employ sequence.

The opening of “Amici” is an example of a “motto” beginning in which the
continuo begins with the incipit. In the opening measures of the vocal line, “a” and “b”
are provided to the listener, however, Scarlatti chooses to use the descending fifth from
the second part of “b” rather than the descending fourth. Almost immediately after the
voice enters, Scarlatti brings in the continuo in imitation. The continuo part provides
the first half of “b” so that the descending fourth figure is heard at the end of m. 5.
The result is not only a dialogue of motivic play between the voice and the bass line,
but also Scarlatti has managed to provide all of the “b” motive within a single measure
in counterpoint with itself. Scarlatti continues throughout the A section of the aria to
use the melodic material provided in the introduction. Notice in m. 6 at the repeat of
the text “Amici” Scarlatti provides the listener with the opening triad motive (“a”) on the
same portion of the text in which it first appears in the vocal line. He then immediately
repeats the “a” motive with another repeat of the text “Amici.” The repeat of “a”
provides the fifth of the triad so that the listener finally hears a complete, arpeggiated
A-major triad. The repeat of the text “Amici” has the rhythm slightly altered; the result
sounds like an embellishment. Just as he did in the opening measure of the vocal line
(m. 4), in m. 6 with the repeat of the text “Amici,” Scarlatti immediately brings in the
bass line with “a.” In m. 7, where the upper-neighbor figure of “b” begins, Scarlatti
again condenses “b” so that parts of it are heard in the continuo and the vocal line simultaneously. The vocal line provides the descending 4th/5th motive over the continuo’s upper-neighbor motive. Tonal adjustments are made so that the descending 4th in m. 7 and the descending 5th in measure 8 outline the dominant of A major (E.) The closing measures of the vocal line (m. 9) begin with the repeat of the text “Amici.” Again, Scarlatti sets this text with the “a” motive slightly embellished. Beat 3 of m. 9 actually represents the descending 5th from “b,” filled-in by step-wise motion. Measure 10 has the descending 5th again, stated this time without embellishment.

The return of the A section, which may be indicated as A,’ is truncated and begins in m. 21, the original A is collapsed so the listener is only provided with the beginning of A and the end. Measure 21 in the vocal line equals mm 4-5. Scarlatti omits the rest of the A section and proceeds directly to the cadence on the text “se vinto.” Measures 23-24 of the vocal line equal mm 10-11. Although Scarlatti uses the same melodic material in the repeat of the A section that he provided in the continuo introduction, his manipulation is subtly different.

Rather than the voice beginning the dialogue that occurs between the two parts as in mm 4-5, the continuo begins it in m. 21 an octave lower than the original statement. Because no repetition of the text is present in A,’ Scarlatti proceeds to bring in the descending upper-neighbor (extension of “b”) figure that is first heard in m. 7, which is then abbreviated in order to provide the correct pitches in the vocal line for the cadence. The extension of “b” is heard again after the cadence in the vocal line. As
previously mentioned, the extension of “b,” which is first heard in the continuo part mm 7-8, provides the ritornello material for the remainder of the aria.

The A section of the aria uses stable harmonies that focus mostly on tonic and dominant. The B section of “Amici se vinto” is anything but stable. As will be shown, this is typical of the Scarlatti arias studied. The B section begins in m. 13 with the text “Amore dal core.” The overall harmonic movement goes from E major (V of A) to f-sharp minor (relative minor of A). This is a common progression for the B sections of the Scarlatti arias in the 11 cantatas in GB Lbm. Add. 34056. The motivic play in the B section derives from two figures: (1) lower-neighbor figure followed by a descending 5th (“c”) and (2) a descending, step-wise figure that outlines a 5th (“d.”) The “c” motive is first heard in the vocal line in m. 13 at the text “Amore” and again in m. 14 at the text “fuggito sparito.” The lower neighbor figure with the notes e-d#-e is heard in the continuo part one beat before it is presented by the voice. A dialogue begins between the voice and the continuo and continues throughout the B section of the aria. The motive marked “d” begins on the text “non si sa dove.” Again, Scarlatti uses the continuo part to introduce the motive which is later passed back and forth between the two parts. At the repeat of the text “fuggito sparito” the “c” motive is heard again. The “d” motive is repeated with the repeat of the text “non si sa’ dove (m. 18-19.) As in m. 14, Scarlatti provides “d” in the bass line before it is heard by the voice. The dialogue using “d” continues until the end of the B section.

As previously mentioned, *Amor Perduto* is unique among the 11 cantatas under discussion because of the lack of recitatives. Based on the knowledge of the various
types of cantata librettos written by Antonio Ottoboni, and the musical settings chosen by Scarlatti, as well as the evidence found in the manuscript, I believe that no recitatives are missing. The order A A A R A R with arioso is the correct order. When working with copies, one must always be wary of mistakes. Since all of the other cantatas in anthology GB Lbm. Add. 34056 alternate between recitative and aria, and Amor Perduto is the only one to contain back-to-back arias, one might try to conclude that recitatives are missing. Because Amor Perduto is one of the examples of unica, no autograph or other copy exists for comparison.
Figure 20. *Amor Perduto e Ritornato.*
The evidence found in the manuscript that supports the theory that no recitatives are missing appears in the manner that the arias were copied into the anthology. Aria number 2, “No non si vede” begins on the verso side of folio 92. It immediately follows the double bar of aria 1, “Amici se vinto.” Aria 3, “Nella guancia,” begins on the recto side of folio 94, which is the same folio on which aria 2 ends. Both arias are indented at the beginning to indicate a new movement. The first recitative begins on the same folio as the end of aria 3. No blank staves or folios appear in Amor Perduto, which reinforces the belief that A A A R A R is the correct order of Amor Perduto. Scarlatti’s setting also reinforces this belief.

Aria 2, “No, non si vede” is short compared to the other arias; it is only 19 measures long. Several unusual characteristics appear in “No, non si vede.” First, no continuo introduction is heard. The final ritornello of the preceding aria, “Amici se vinto,” acts as the continuo introduction in which the tonic of “amici” (A) acts as dominant of “No, non si vede” (D). The continuo and vocal line both begin on the
downbeat of the first measure. Imitative polyphony begins almost immediately. As he
does in several of the arias, Scarlatti employs sequence with the repeat of the text. In
the B section, the sequence occurs in mm 35-39 and then again beginning with the
upbeat to m. 40 continuing to m. 43. Interestingly, Scarlatti recalls the cadence of the
A section in the vocal line at the cadences in the B section. Compare mm 33-34, 38-39,
42-43.

Since Scarlatti assigned the key of D major to both aria 2, “No, non si vede” and
aria 3, “Nella guancia,” one might assume that the connections heard between
movements that has been consistently throughout the cantatas as a sense of dominant
tonic movement would be missed; however, Scarlatti actually begins aria 3 on the
dominant so that a connection is still made and he avoids the stagnant “progression” of
tonic-tonic.

Unlike the majority of arias being studied, the start of the B section of “Nella
guancia” is ambiguous. Typically, Scarlatti makes the B sections evident by placing at
least one measure of continuo (usually playing the ritornello) at the cadence of the A
section. Scarlatti provides the listener with a perfect authentic cadence in mm 71-72.
The continuo immediately repeats the vocal line heard in mm 69-70; however, rather
than cadencing, Scarlatti repeats mm 69-70 in mm 75-78 exactly with only the
downbeat of m. 75 altered. Because the copyist left out the fine indication as well as
the standard double bar, one has to rely on the harmonic progression and the text to
determine where the B section begins. If, as suggested here, the B section begins in
m. 79 then the repeat of the A section does not end with the ritornello, which makes “Nella guancia” even more unusual.

Another unusual characteristic found in “Nella guancia” that does not appear in other arias occurs with Scarlatti’s choice of motivic material. No change of “affect” may be found in the B section. In fact, Scarlatti continues to use not only the melodic material heard at the end of the A section but also the intervals and rhythms of the continuo line, which is only altered to accommodate the phrase modulation to b minor. As in the previous B section discussed, Scarlatti employs a sequence in which the melodic material heard in mm 79-86 repeats a step below beginning in m. 87. Again, the sequence accompanies a repeat of the text. Once again, Scarlatti chooses to immediately repeat the cadence.

As previously mentioned, due to Scarlatti’s re-use of motivic material, the start of the B section is ambiguous so that one might first think that the lack of the double bar and no fine designation were not a mistake. This would indicate that the da capo indication on folio 95v is the mistake; however, evidence provided within the music refutes the possibility that “Nella guancia” is anything but a da capo aria. The evidence includes: (1) unstable harmonies employed beginning in m. 79, (2) the one measure of the opening continuo part provided at the da capo designation, and (3) the key of the following recitative. Based on Scarlatti’s use of keys, “Nella guancia’s” D major ending provides the dominant-tonic connection to the following recitative “Ma scuote,” which begins in G major.
In the first of the only two recitatives in *Amor Perduto*, Scarlatti employs both a chromatic modulation and a circle progression to move from G major to A minor and then to e minor. Although, not an example of Scarlatti’s use of recitative/arioso, a few melismatic passages appear in “Ma scuote.” Both melismas occur on scalar passages; the first occurs in m. 105 as the vocal line moves through the melodic minor form of A minor; the second appears in m. 111 in a descending e minor scale in the natural form.

As he does in several of the recitatives, Scarlatti provides an ambiguous final cadence in order to connect to the following aria. Although Scarlatti provides a bass line motion of iv-V-I, no leading tone (d#) appears anywhere in the vocal line. A d-sharp is heard in the continuo line in m. 109. If the d-sharp that is implied in the continuo part in m. 111 as part of the V is actually heard, it clashes with the d-natural of the vocal line in the same measure. Due to the ambiguous nature of the final three chords of “Ma scuote,” a reading of them could be IV⁶/⁵-V⁶-I⁶ in the key of C major - the key of the upcoming aria. Scarlatti’s bass movement from “Ma scuote” to the aria “Senza tronco” includes a progression from e minor to its relative G major (minus the leading tone) to C major.

Once again, Scarlatti is emphasizing modal mixture and the relationship of a fifth.

The fourth aria, “Senza tronco” resembles the first “Amici” because it is in an ABA form, but it is not a da capo aria. As is typical of most of the continuo introductions, the melodic material is comprised of motives derived from the vocal line. The motive “b” is heard twice in the continuo before the voice sings it in m. 126. As he does in so many examples, Scarlatti creates a dialogue of motivic play between the
voice and the continuo part by bouncing the “b” motive” between the two. Scarlatti follows this counterpoint with a section of homophony in 10ths.

The B section, like so many other examples, modulates to the dominant. Again, Scarlatti relies on sequencing with the text repetitions in order to move from G major to A minor and then d minor. A phrase modulation from d minor to C major occurs in m. 146. Scarlatti continues to manipulate a tonic-dominant relationship in regard to the bass line and the listener. The bass line in m. 146 moves from D (V/G) to G (V/C) to C.

With the exception of the text, mm 123-131 match mm 151-159. Curiously, Scarlatti chooses to reiterate the opening portion of text “senza tronco, senza ramo” at the final cadence. The text that is used in the cadence position of the opening A section is “pomegrate ma vietate.” In the final A section, he sets “pomegrate ma vietate” to the melodic line of the incipit (compare m. 151 to m. 118). Manipulation of the text in this manner does not appear in any of the other cantatas. Manipulation is possible in “Senza tronco” because it is not a da capo aria.

The final movement of *Amor Perduto* is a recitative. As previously mentioned, Ottoboni typically set the final recitative as a couplet to which Scarlatti typically set arioso. “Ma voglie” provides an example of a final recitative set as arioso that employs rhyme but is not a couplet. The arioso begins in m. 171. A dialogue in sequence in 10ths between the vocal line and the continuo may be heard beginning in m. 171. Scarlatti chooses to repeat only the word “perdo.” The second repetition of the text appears as a melisma set sequentially over the same bass line provided in mm 171-172.
Although unique among the 11 Scarlatti settings in GB Lbm. Add. 34056 because of its movement structure, *Amor Perduto* also serves as an excellent example that highlights the compositional practices employed by Scarlatti throughout the 11 cantatas. Observations derived from *Amor Perduto* include the following: (1) Scarlatti typically introduces melodic material in the continuo introduction that will be manipulated throughout the piece; (2) manipulation includes motivic play or dialogue, which occurs when Scarlatti uses the introductory material as both melody and accompaniment heard simultaneously; (3) the introduction typically functions as the ritornello; (4) motivic material generally repeats with repetition of text; (5) cadences may be interrupted; (6) harmonically, B sections are more unstable and generally use both the dominant as well as the relative minor; and (7) motivic material is collapsed or abbreviated.

Scarlatti’s basso continuo accompaniment of the arias, as well as the ariosos, is determined by the text. The text determined the melodic line that then could be used as the basis for the accompaniment, including the introductions and the ritornellos. Scarlatti’s accompaniments relate to the vocal line to create a mixture of counterpoint and homophony. Again, *Amor Perduto* serves as an example. Compare aria 1 “Amici se vinto,” to aria 4, “Senza tronco.” Typically the sections of homophony are interspersed. One example of an aria that is almost entirely homophonic is “Sil core” which is aria 2 from *La face d’Amore*.

Up to this point the continuo parts have only been discussed as they related to the vocal line or their use as introductions and ritornellos. Based on the music, it is
believed by the author that the continuo parts did not exist merely to serve the vocal line. Scarlatti treats the rhythm of the continuo as an “affect” just as he does the vocal line. One difference would be that in several arias, he employs a dotted-figure to the accompaniment that does not appear in the vocal line.

For the conversazione cantatas, Scarlatti would have been the performer on the cembalo. The violoncello part on some occasions might have been performed by the Spanish cellist/composer Giovanni Lorenzo Lulier (c 1650-early 18th century) who is known to have been in Rome at this time.17 Francischiello might also have played.18

The first of the arias from Vi commanda and Mal sicuro both employ dotted rhythms; however, the accompaniment of Mal sicuro was derived from the vocal line and then altered with the dotting. In Vi commanda, the continuo part appears to be motivically separate from the melodic line. Although the majority of the 31 arias do present an accompaniment motivically connected to the vocal line, another exception is “Ti ricorda,” aria 1 from O sol degl’occhi. The motivic material provided in the introduction serves as the ritornello that is heard four times (if the opening statement is included) of section A rather than the standard two times. The extra ritornellos appear in m. 19 and m. 24. In m. 24 a repeat of the text begins in the vocal line. The motivic material of the ritornello is basically a descending d minor scale in the harmonic form.

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17 Lulier, although Spanish, lived and worked in Rome his entire life. He was employed by both Cardinal Ottoboni and Pamphili. He is known to have composed several cantatas to Pamphili librettos. Julie Sadie, 65.
18 According to Dent, p. 76, the influence of Francischiello’s violoncello playing and Corelli’s violin playing improved Scarlatti’s continuo writing.
The most interesting aspect of “Ti ricorda” is the melody of the vocal line. Although discussion of borrowing is out of the scope of the topic, I would like to speculate that it is possible that Scarlatti borrowed from this aria. The opening vocal line of “Ti ricorda” may be heard again in the opening vocal line of Scarlatti’s aria “Mi rivedi” from his 1721 Roman opera, *La Griselda*.

Conclusion

The Roman chamber cantata of the first decade of the eighteenth century represents a body of work that was inextricably tied to the patronage system. It becomes apparent when studying the Italian chamber cantata of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that Rome was the center for cantata production beginning with the composers Luigi Rossi and Giacomo Carissimi and culminating in the opening decades of the eighteenth century in the music of George Frederick Handel, Antonio Caldara, and Alessandro Scarlatti. What is most interesting about the Roman cantata from 1700-1710 is that the demand was driven by the patrons. I have termed the Roman chamber cantatas composed from 1700-1710 *conversazione* cantatas because of their special function in regard to their Roman patron-librettists who were also members of the Arcadian Academy.

Queen Christina’s *Accademia Reale* was a model for the early Arcadians. The major patrons of music from 1700-1710, which include F. Maria Ruspoli, Benedetto Pamphili, and Pietro Ottoboni, all Arcadians, modeled their *conversazione* after the Arcadian meetings. The result of this modeling was that music, in particular the cantata, played a vital role in the meetings.
Another unique aspect of the Roman cantata repertoire is the use of the patron’s librettos. Benedetto Pamphili, Pietro Ottoboni, and Antonio Ottoboni, all patrons, all Arcadians, wrote cantata librettos that were set by the most talented composers of the period. Again, this creates a very specific purpose for the cantatas with patron librettos that could be characterized as *conversazione* cantatas.

The patrons supplied the performance space, the musicians, the composers, and the texts for this special body of cantatas termed here as *conversazione* cantatas. Without the unique patronage system in place during the first decade of the eighteenth century, this body of Roman cantata repertoire would not have flourished as it did. The tie between the composer, librettist, and patron is best highlighted in the volume of cantatas in GB Lbm. Add. 34056. It is in this collection that one finds characteristics inherent in the *conversazione* cantatas. Regarding librettists and composers of *conversazione* cantatas, the former were typically patrons as well as Arcadians while the latter were residing and working in Rome at the time they wrote their compositions.

This is the case for the cantatas in GB Lbm. Add. 34056. As previously mentioned, all of the librettos in this collection are by Antonio Ottoboni: patron, librettist, Arcadian. The musical settings are all by composers with known connections to Rome. The 11 Scarlatti settings in this volume highlight several characteristics of the *conversazione* cantata including key and meter selection, “affect,” text setting, and performing forces. Several of the Scarlatti settings are *unica*. As I have shown, many of the dates that Scarlatti is known to have composed a cantata during his Roman period correspond to dates of *conversazione* hosted by his patrons, specifically Pietro
Ottoboni. I have offered the term *conversazione* cantata to describe this special repertoire.

I believe that the majority of the cantatas in the Roman cantata repertoire, especially those cantatas with Arcadian librettists, were in fact *conversazione* cantatas intended for use at the patron’s private gatherings. Although the Scarlatti settings included here are small when looking at his overall output, this particular group of cantatas not only gives insight into a special category of Scarlatti’s cantatas but also the relationship of patron-librettist and composer. The *conversazione* cantata was the culmination of a variety of factors that all converged in Rome from 1700-1710, the most important of which was the Arcadian patron-librettist.
The numbers in Appendix A correlate to the following anthologies in the Santini collection.
1: DMus HS 853
2: DMus HS 854
3: DMus HS 855
4: DMus HS 856
5: DMus HS 857
6: DMus HS 858
7: DMus HS 859
8: DMus HS 860
9: DMus HS 861
10: DMus HS 862
11: DMus HS 863
12: DMus HS 865
13: DMus HS 857
14: DMus HS 868
15: DMus HS 857
16: DMus HS 3977
17: DMus HS 4086

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APPENDIX B

TRANSLATIONS
Amor Perduto e Ritornato

Aria

Amici s'e vinto
Amore dal core fuggito sparito
Non si sa' dove sia si crede estinto

Friends, it is won
Love from the heart fled vanished
One does not know where it may be, one thinks it is extinct

Aria

No, non si vede piu nel ciglio
del mio bene a’ saettar
Piu’ nel labor suo vermiglio
non si sente non si sente a respirar

No, one does see any more on the edge of my own good that I have been hit
One does not feel vermilion in their labors one does not feel his breathing

Aria

Nella quancia sua vezzosa
non si vede piu’ a fiorir
E dalcrin rete amorosa
sciolti Lascia I coriuscir

On the cheek one does not see the beauty blossom any more
And from the lovely loosened mane Let the hearts go forth

Recitative

Ma scuote L'aura il velo e al sen di Latte
or che lo squardo
Io volgo gia’ Lo scopro
Ha quelle neui intatte
ferue La face accesa
e dalla fiamma, e quella neue
offesa
ond’Io misero al fine

The breeze lifts the veil and the at the breast I stare, already I discover [she] has those snows intact the radiance feverishly lights from the flame, and that offended snow in which I, in the end, am miserable that was cold I burn the frosts
Aria

Senza tronco e’ senza ramo come mai come nasceste
in quell seno orto celeste pomegrate
Ma’ vietate per indurmi
ad’amar quando non amo per induri
Ma vi cogliessi almeno Ah’ no’ si taccia
folle folle d’amor in haccia
amici Io mi son messo
ma’ quando ono amor perdo me’ sfesso.

Without trunk and without branch
how can you hide in that celestial pomegranate orchard but you are forbidden to force me to love when I do not love to push
But I have picked you at least Ah, no do not speak of this mad insane love friends I have gotten myself into this but when I lost love, I lost myself.
La face d'Amore

Aria

La face d'Amore  
ch'il core m' arde  
Fu' prima timore,  
poi speme si fe'  
S'accese il mio petto  
per Vaga belta' ma' ancor non si se'  
so speme o' sospetto,  
Prevalgano in me'  

The light of Love that burns my heart  
Was first fear, then became hope  
It burns in my chest like a wandering beauty but I do not yet know if hope or doubt  
Prevails in me

Recitative

Speranza Lusinghiera  
tu' soffri nella fiamma e la conserve  
tu' dal timor preserve  
il geloso mio cor qual' or dispera  
cede alle tue Lusinge il mio timore,  
e spera piu quando piu soffre il core.  

Satisfying Hope, you suffer in the flame, and out of fear you preserve the flame, you preserve my jealous heart  
Now my fear loses hope and succumbs to your flattering remarks, and hopes, hopes more when the heart suffers more.

Aria

S'il core a? sensi e vita La speme  
e' vita al cor  
Se manca il cor si more e senza speme Amore non ha'  
respiro e nuor  

What does the heart have? Senses and life. Hope is the life, the life of the heart.  
If one does not have a heart, one dies and, without hope, Love does not have, does not have breath and dies

Recitative

Pur se dispero  
un' aspro duol m'affanna:  
se spero son tradito  
dalla speme che inganna:  

ne distinguer sa ancor La mia costanza  
se viua di timore o' di speranza
Because if I lose hope, a bitter pain leaves me breathless: if I hope I am betrayed by the hope that misleads: I cannot yet distinguish if my determination wavers out of fear or hope

Aria

Del mio ben decida un guardo con un Lampo di pieta’ Da’ qual’ arco usci quel dardo che questo Anima piago se La speme Lo scaglio a’ se fu’ La crudelta’

For my own good I decide upon a glance with a Lightening bolt of pity From that bow parts the arrow so that I wound this Soul, I strike the Soul with hope that was but cruelty
**Mal sicuro/ Unsafe**

Aria

Mal sicuro e’ il fior nel prato ed’ esposta al comun guardo in periglio e’ la belta Sta’ in poter d’ogni Pastore quel bel fiore e un bel viso abbandonato non esigge alcun riguardo dall’ altrui rapacita

Unsafe is the flower in the field And beauty is dangerously exposed by the common glance Every Shepherd is in power of this beautiful flower and an abundantly beautiful face does not demand any attention from one who is rapacious

Recitativo

O voi ch’il fior di feminil bellezza in custodia tenete di Lui sempre temete L’osservui il guardo e Lo circondi il muro indi pregate il ciel pregate che sia sicuro.

Oh you who have in their custody the flower of feminine beauty, always fear him, observe his gaze, and surround him with a wall, then, pray to the Heavens, pray, pray to the Heavens that he does not present any danger.

Aria

Per sottrarsi all’insidie nemiche so nascano ortiche e de fior sia la stirpe distrutta Voglio dir che non sia piu fecondo di fermina il mondo o’ pur nasca ogni fermina brutta

To avoid the insidious enemies They hide stinging nettles and destroy the origins of the flower I want to say, want to say that although the world hides every ugly woman, isn’t the world made more fertile by women?

Recitativo

Ma’, Ma’ son Donne equalmente e queste e’ quelle e s’abbiamda soffrir soffriam Le belle

But, but they are Women all the same, and that one and this one have suffered, we suffer The beauties
M'ha divisio il cor dal core

Aria

M'ha divisio il cor
dal core quel destin che troppo fiero
dal mio ben mi separo
Io lo seguo col piensero ma
in pensier non ha vigore
d'arrestar chi se n'ando

It has divided my heart
This destiny that too proudly
separates me from my own good
I follow it with reason but in
reasoning it does not have strength
to stop the person who left

Recitativo

Mi sparisti da gl'occhi Io olo amato
ma'nel mio core ascoso
non mi Lasci riposo
e all'or che in vanti cerco io non so'
come
mi ritrouo s'ul Labro il tuo bel nome

You vanished from before my eyes,
my only beloved, but in my hidden
heart you do not let me rest and
now in vain I search, I do not know
how[.] I find myself with your
beautiful name on my lips

Aria

Pur dal mio petto ancora tu
tenti di fuggir.
E perché afflitta io mora m'esci
dag'l'occhi in Pianto dal Labro n'e'
sospir.

From my heart you still try to flee.
Because I suffer from my eyes
comes a tear, from my lip there is a
tsigh.

Recitativo

Divisio dal mondo il clima in fido,
Dove tu porti il piede su'quel barbaro
Lido
Vaccillerai nell' amorosa fede ne del
Mio Amor saran sicuri I pregi
Dove salui non son' s'ul soglio I Regi

Divided from the earth the climate in
faith, where you step foot on that
barbaric shore, you will sway in the
loving faith of my Love the prayers
will be safe where the kings are not
on their thrones
Aria

Era poco al mio
povero petto il dolor
dell’ acerba partita
S’un geloso crudele
sospetto non s’uniuau
a’ Leuarmi La vita Ma’
no’ so’ qual nasceti e un tal Amante,
se costanza giuro’ sempre e’
costante

In my heart the pain was little from
the bitter, the bitter goodbye
If a jealous, cruel suspicion does not
help to lift up my life. But I am not
one to hide and one such Lover, I
swear always if steadfastness is
constant
No non posso fingere di non amar

Aria

No non posso fingere di non amar
e pur quel volto
ch’il cor m’ha tolto,
mi vuol costringere a sospirar
mi vuol costringere a simulare

Recitativo

Taccio ma L’ardo mio su’gl’occhi mi balena
e palesa il sospiro La mia gran pena;
mi tradisce il rossore
e m’accusa il pallore;
per mascherar gl’aﬃetti ogn’arte adopra;
ma’Amor vuol’ esser nudo, e in van lo copro.

Aria

Copro in van la fiamma mia che balena e si comprende
ma’ nessun sapra’ qual sia quella face che m’accende

Recitativo

Tanto, e non piu prometter posso a’ voi,
che di celar bramate gl’incendy, che vibrate; v’obediro; ma’poi,
nella fiamma crudel,
che mi diuora,
Lascierete ch’io mora

No, I cannot pretend not to love
And that face that has betaken my heart, that wants to force me to sigh, that wants to force me to pretend

I am quiet but the fire in my eyes shines and my sighs reveal my great anguish; My blush betrays me and my pallor accuses me; in order to mask my emotions every art I use; but Love wants to be naked, and in vain I try to hide it.

I cover in vain my flame that shines and one understands
But no one will know which one is the flame that burns me

So much, and I cannot promise to you, that by concealing you yearn for the fires, that you resound; I will obey you; but then, in the cruel flame, that devours me, [you] leave me so that I may die
Aria

S’il duol’ sara soffribile senza douer morir; L’Amor sara invisible, ne vi sara che dir; ma’ poi se fatto tisico mancarmi sentiro; il male a piu d’un’Fisico per forza Io scopriro; In somma al genio vostro io vou’seruire; voglio amarui, e tacer; ma’ ma’ non morire

If the pain was tolerable without having to die; Love would be invisible, there will be one to tell you;
But then I will be made weak by missing you; I will discover unwillingly that the pain is more than physical;
To sum up, I will serve your genius; I want to love you and be quiet; but, but not die
O che mostro

Recitativo

O che mostro, o che furia e
Lontananza basta dir, ch’ella sia figlia
talor’ dell empoi sdegno, e sempre
madre di gelosia questa, ad’ onta del
cor trattiene il piede, e nemica
d’Amor, con altro Amore sfiorza
souente a’ vacillar La fede schiere di
giorni ed’ hore unisce, e spresso
espugna,
con ostinata pugna
La piu salda costanza,
o’ che mostro, o che furia e
Lontananza

Aria

Chi per balsamo d’Amore Lontananza
giudico;
o’ fu stolto o fui stolto o non amo
Com’e’ balsamo un Veleno,
che affetti entro d’un seno
tormentare e vccider puo!

Recitativo

Lidia da te Lontano per impegno
fatale il pie portai pure il cor ti
Lasciai e te e te che sei quel core Io
 cerco in vano disperato egeloso mai
non trovo? riposo temo di te perche
sei Donna, e temo
che per mio male estremo,
si stanchi, L’Amor tuo s’offenda
ilmio,
che tu ti cangi e che vacilli anch’ Io

Oh that monster, o that fury and
Distance it is enough to say, that she
is a daughter of unworthy sacrilege,
and always mother of this jealousy,
in spite of the heart you hold back,
and enemy of Love, with another
Love forces often to sway the faith
marked by days and hours
Unite, and quickly sponges, with
obstinate fight most joined
steadfastness, or what monster, or
what fury and Distance

Who for a love potion Distance I
judged;
It was foolish or I was foolish or I
did not love
The potion is like a poison, that
affects you when I enter your womb
and can torment and kill!

Lidia, so far from you by a fatal
commitment pity may also leave the
heart will leave you and you, and
you who are
That heart I search in desperate
jealous vain but I will never find rest
I fear you because you are a
Woman, and fear for my own bad
ending, one grows tired, Your Love
offends mine, that you become
unsteady and I will sway too
Aria

Ch’io possa mai cangiarmi
No no Bella non credere,
che questo non sara
Non ti stancar d’amarmi,
ad altro Amor non cedere
che Amore nel mio core
eterno durera’

Recitative

Chi ben’ama Vicino, ama in distanza;
proua d’un vero Amore, La Costanza

That I can ever be unsteady no, no
Beautiful, do not believe it, that it
will not be, Do not tire yourself, do
not tire yourself by loving me, to
another Love do not succumb that
Love in my heart eternally endures

He who loves near, loves from afar;
proof of a true Love, Steadfastness
O’ sol’ degl’occhi

Recitativo

O’ sol’ degl’occhi miei, Trofeo di mia costanza
Gloria del mio penar Filli adorata Filli, che fosti e sei L’unica mia speranza
de miei puri desir meta che sorte spietata niega all audio squardo il tuo bel seno,
volgiti a’ me’ con la memoria almeno

Oh, sun of my eyes, triumph of my steadfastness Glory of my suffering Filli adorated Filli,
That you were and are my only hope of my purest desires now that pitiless fate
Denies your beautiful chest, come to me now at least in memory

Aria

Ti ricorda o’ Filli amata che se fido t’adorai piu da Lungi lo ramo ancor
E mia fe’ da’ te sprezzata non ad’ altri rai La costanza, ed’ il candor.

Remember, beloved Filli that faithfully I will adore you the longest I adorn you still
And my faith, scorned by you not to others steadfastness and candor.

Recitativo

No, No che gia mai fara’ ch’io sia infedele Lontananza crudele che se Lungi d ate riuolsi il piede serbo intatta
La fede e per virtu d’innamorata mente sempre ti sto vicino e ogn’or presente.

No, it will never be that I am unfaithful cruel distance that if after a long time you return
Conserved foot Faith intact and by virtue of love I am always near you and now present.

Aria

So’ ch’a’ forza il pensier mio dicondurti o cara
Ma non so’ se il tuo desio faccia mai ch’io giunga a’ te’.

I know that the power of my thoughts will guide you my love
But I do not know if your desire will ever make you come to me.
Recitative

Ma cesserà L’esiglio empio inumano che star non può Lontano da’ te’ il mio cor caro adorato Nume. Troppo troppo è strano costume che disgiunto si trove qui il simulacro e L’Idolatra, altrove

But this inhumane cruel exile will end so that I my dear heart will not be far from you Nume. Too too strange is the custom in which one finds separated here the simulacrum and the Idolatress, elsewhere

Aria

Per te vive e per te more il mio spirito Innamorato o’ mia bella Deita. Per vive e per te more O se a’ te’ non foritorno di mia vita allutim ore mi trarra crudele il fato ch’io gia’ sento quell tormento ch’a’ morir.

My in-love spirit lives for you and dies for you oh my beautiful Deity. Lives for and dies for you If you never return in my life I will be moved by the cruel fact that I already feel That torment that makes one die.
Per farmi

Aria

Per farmi amar da’ tutte non so che
far di piu.
Mi Liscio m’abbellisco, ne mai
ringiouenisco, e sento belle, e brutte,
che voglion giouenti?

To make me loved by all women I do
not know what else to do. I perfect
myself, I make myself handsome,
but can never make myself look
younger, and I hear beautiful women
and ugly women, that they want
young men

Recitative

Coprasi pur La Zucca
d’una bionda Perucca;
recida pur ferro frequente il pelo.
tosto degli’anni il gelo
sente morbida mano, e si ritira,e per
dolor, non per Amor sospira

Cover one’s head with a blonde
hairdo [wig]; chop off frequently
one’s hair with iron [scissors]. As
soon as one feels the cold, morbide
hand of the years, and one
withdraws, and from pain, and not
from Love, one sighs

Aria

Tu t’azzardi a grand impegno e
doutesti essern’ esperto,
o mio cor per Lunga eta.
Sempre mouve, o riso o Degno chi
fondato sol nel metro
fa L’Amor con gravita.

You dare to make a great
commitment and you must be an
expert, oh my old-aged heart.
Always moves, or laughter or
Worthiness based solely on merit
makes Love with seriousness.
Recitative

Pur ne la gran suentura un pensier solo
mitiga tanto duolo
che le grazie d'Amor vengon concesse
all' affetto equalmente e all' Interesse

In this great mishap only one thought relieves so much pain that the favours of Love are allowed to the affection equally and to the Interest

Aria

Un prattico Bifolco trarra canuto
ancor pieta se non Amor dal sen di femina narra
Ma non dara quel solco mai frutti a suo favor se con sementa d'or ei non Lo semina

A practical white-haired Yokel will draw out yet pity (if not Love) from a woman's bosom but that aperture will never bear the fruit of his favor but with the sowing of gold [or] she will not sow him

Recitative

Nel suantaggio ch'io provo ogn'un si specchi;
forza comprar :'Amor forze comprar
L'Amor quando siam vecchi

The disadvantage I have everyone will face; forced to buy: Love forces to buy Love when we are old
Spero ch’auvro

Aria

Spero ch’hauvro la pace hauvro la pace da miei pensieri
Se con L’eta fugace Amorda’

I hope that I will have peace I will have peace from my thoughts
If with fleeting time Love gives

Recitative

Della quancia rugosa e del canuto crine altri s’affanni
mente piu’ vigorosa in piu’ deboli membra infondon gl’anni
ne pareggiar si denno con robusta follia forza di senno.

From the rugged cheek and the white-haired mane others are made out of breath while more vigorous in the weaker men the years instill a balance with robust folly the power of knowledge

Aria

Amor in fresca eta capriccio dir si de ch’ama il diletto
Ma’ quando piu non ha face ne dardi e gl e’ egl e’ fido e perfetto

Love in a capricious fresh age say yes to who loves a crime
But when they no longer have the light or arrows and he is faithful and perfect

Recitative

Moralita sciapita verita mal gradita so chi o ui canto o’ bella Donne e pure
non v’espongò chimere o sfingi oscure

Tasteless morality unappreciated truth I know who or I sing of beautiful Women and do not expound on fantasy and shadowy sphinxes
Aria

Con La Falce inesorabile non
distinque etade o’ sesso cieca,
e rigida la morte
Or s’ogn’ un del pari e’ Lafile tema
pur del fato istesso il piu’
debole e il piu forte

With the inexorable light one cannot
distinguish age or blindness, and
death is rigid
Now if each of the pair is fleeting
fear of the fact itself the weakest
and the strongest

Recitative

Nel commune disastro ogn’ un ogn’
un si specchi
che s’ogn’ un’ puo’ morir tutti sian vecchi

In the common disaster each one of
us will see that each one of us can
die, everyone is old
Vi Cimanda

Vi commanda un cenno solo d'auto
revole Belta
che scendete muse a volo e cinendomi
di mirti rauuiuate in me gli spirit a
dispetto dell'eta.

Influential Beauty commands just one
sign that sends the muses flying down
and that moves me and that revives my
spirit in me, regardless of age.

Recitative

S'obbedisca, sic anti e del canuto mio
crin non tema il gelo Amor bambino;
L'amoroso destino se nel Plettro si
Ferma, Io no'f rifiuto e non fia poco
vanto se non piace il cantor

Obey, sing, and from my white-haired
head do not fear cold Love, child;
Amorous destiny will stop you, I will not
refute it and will not be very proud if
you do not like the poet

Aria

Luci belle col lume vivace di prometheo
voi siete L face che da vita a chi vivo
non e',
per voi brillo d'insolito ardore per voi
torna nel sequell' ardore che partito
torna nel sen quell' Amore per voi

Beautiful lights with lively flames from
Prometheus you are, Light that gives life
to the living it is not, for you I shine
with an unusual passion, that departed
passion for you that returns to my
heart, that Love for you that returns to
my heart

Recitative

Tornato e Amor, ma polveroso, e cinto
da lavori d'Aracne ha scorto il nido mal
contento cupido del cadente recinto
Lagnasiomai del troppo cieco omaggio,
e medita a suoi voli altro viaggio.

Love has returned, but covered with
dust, and bounded by exertions [.]
unhappy Cupid has slipped passed
Arachne 's web lamenting about too
much blind respect and plotting another
voyage by flight.
Aria

Ti lu singhi, e non vuoi credere mio
pensiero s'anche il vero dallo specchio a
te a’ te’ si dice ti Lusinghe,
ma conviene alfin di cedere, che
degl’anni rei tiranni sol trionfi La Fenice.

You flatter yourself, and you do not
believe my words even though the truth
of the mirror tells you flattering
compliments, but you agree at the end
give in, that in the years of tyrant kings,
only the Phoenix triumphs.


