INTRODUCTION

A voi che l'accendeste Seven settings, seven composers

Historical introduction

The seven settings of Francesco Maria Paglia's *A voi che l'accendeste*, a *cantata per musica*, form an intriguing cluster of works in the late seventeenth-century Italian solo cantata repertoire. The most notable of the settings is that by Alessandro Scarlatti, of which six manuscript sources are currently known—two more than the next most numerous, by the Bolognese composer Giacomo Perti. Scarlatti's setting arguably touches the profound vein of Paglia's text with a richness and originality surpassing that of his contemporaries: the survival of Scarlatti's work in six sources, including one copied by the French collector Sébastien de Brossard, points to the high regard in which it was held. However, each of the settings shows skill, imagination, and in several cases, some intriguing links with the setting of Alessandro Scarlatti, suggesting that they were not composed entirely in isolation from each other.

The rare opportunity to experience the creative responses of seven contemporaries to a single text affords a fascinating insight into the compositional possibilities open to the solo cantata composer in the early 1690s.

With its six manuscript sources, Scarlatti's setting of the cantata has retained the highest profile of all seven settings. Four are found in manuscripts that can be strongly connected with Rome through well-known copyists or copying styles and/or Roman paper types (most commonly fleur-de-lis in double circle); while one is possibly connected with Naples where it is part of the manuscript collection of the Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella; and one, in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, is in the hand of the French composer and collector Sébastien de Brossard.

Of the settings by other composers of *A voi che l'accendeste*, most survive now in only one copy: Bononcini (presumably Giovanni); Giovanni Lorenzo Lulier ("Sig^r Gio: del Violone"); Antonio Mangiarotti, and Filippo Colinelli. Two copies are extant of the setting by Carlo Francesco Pollaroli, and four by Giacomo Antonio Perti.

These composers were close contemporaries, several based in Rome while others were from further afield: Giacomo Perti (1661–1756) from Bologna, Carlo Pollaroli (ca. 1655–1723) from Venice, Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725) himself was active in both Rome and Naples in the 1690s. Giovanni Lorenzo Lulier (1662–1700) known as "Giovannino del Violone", was the regular concertino cellist in Rome in ensembles led by Corelli as principal violinist, and a successful composer in his own right of large-scale oratorios. Giovanni Bononcini (1670–1747) also a cellist and probably the youngest of the composers to set the *A voi* text, was to establish his reputation in both Rome and Naples in the 1690s, particularly through his opera *Il Trionfo di Camilla* (Naples 1696). The Roman composer Filippo Colinelli (c. 1661–1725) was noted almost entirely for his sacred music, while almost nothing is known about Antonio Mangiarotti—but his setting was included in the anthology volume *D-Dl* Mus.1-I-2.2, that contained five of these seven settings, alongside the most celebrated composers. What circumstances brought these cantatas into existence, this unprecedented display of compositional originality and skill exerted upon a single poetic text?

Table 1: Settings of *A voi che l'accendeste* and their sources

Composer	Source		
Bononcini, Giovanni	<i>D-Dl</i> Mus.1-I-2,2		
Colinelli, Filippo	<i>I-Rama</i> A.Ms.3971		
Lulier, Giovanni Lorenzo	<i>D-Dl</i> Mus.1-I-2,2		
Mangiarotti, Antonio	<i>D-Dl</i> Mus.1-I-2,2		
Perti, Giacomo Antonio	<i>B-Lc</i> Fonds Terry ms.264 <i>D-Dl</i> Mus.1-I-2,2 <i>D-B</i> Mus.ms.30136 <i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. 31518		
Pollaroli, Carlo Francesco 1 (attrib.)	<i>D-B</i> Mus.ms.30136 (attrib. Pollaroli) <i>D-B</i> Mus.ms.30197 (attrib. Perti)		
Scarlatti, Alessandro, A voi che l'accendeste HanS 9	D-Dl Mus.1-I-2,2. D-MÜs SANT Hs 3914 (no.5) F-Pn VM7-7 (Collection Brossard) GB-Och Ms.993 I-Nc Cantate 261 US-NHub Osborn Music MS.1		

A voi che l'accendeste in contemporary documentation

The *giustificazioni* in the account books of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740), are among the most important sources of information on Roman musical activity in the late seventeenth century, providing a vivid picture of major musical events through dated payment records to copyists and musicians for specific events organised by and for the Cardinal. The significance of the *giustificazioni* has been outlined by H.J. Marx in an important article of 1968, with its invaluable Appendix of transcribed excerpts. Following the death of Queen Cristina of Sweden (1689) and the departure of the equally influential Cardinal Benedetto Pamphili as papal envoy to Bologna in 1690, the significance of Cardinal Ottoboni (nephew of Pope Alessandro VIII, 1610–1691) as musical patron was unchallenged in Rome throughout the 1690s. The Cardinal's influence touched almost every sphere of Roman musical activity, sacred and secular, whether as sponsor of oratorios for major dates in the sacred calendar, or of the Arcadian Academy, or as librettist for oratorios, such as *La Giuditta* (A. Scarlatti, 1693). As well as providing the venue

^{1.} The spelling Pollarolo has been adopted in most standard modern reference works, such as *Grove Music Online*, RISM, and *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (DBI). In sources from the composer's lifetime, the form Pollaroli (or Polaroli) appears commonly; "Pollaroli" is adopted throughout this edition.

^{2.} Hans Joachim Marx, "Die Musik am Hofe Pietro Kardinal Ottobonis unter Arcangelo Corelli," *Analecta Musicologica* 5 (1968), 104–177.

for musical performances large and small, his palace the Cancelleria was home for some of his favourite musicians including Arcangelo Corelli and his brothers, and the equally favoured castrato Andrea Adami of Bolsena (1663–1742), from 1701–1714 *maestro di cappella* of the Sistine Chapel. As a member of the Accademia from October 1690, Adami played a vital role in the performance of chamber cantatas. Reinhard Strohm has underlined the artistic significance of the connections between patron, singer and composer: "[Cardinal Ottoboni] is [...] the obvious patron for performances of Scarlatti's cantatas by Adami—perhaps with the accompaniment of the composer himself."³

Since this archive documents above all the copying and performance of oratorios, operas, and serenatas, it was relatively unusual, although not unique, for the copying of a single cantata to be recorded in the *giustificazioni*. However, even the copying of small items like ariettas and arias is at times noted, including on 1 July 1692, "Arie del Sig^r Stradella copiate in Casa del Sig^{re} Vulpio Ordinate per sua Em."—a noteworthy record, as Stradella had been by now dead for ten years: evidence of the Cardinal's continued interest in having copies of his music by the composer's main copyist, probably for performance by Adami whose collection of Stradella's cantatas has been described by Carolyn Gianturco.⁴

Also on July 1, the day before Ottoboni's 25th birthday, we find a list of three chamber cantatas copied for the Cardinal in which *A voi che l'accendeste* is named as the second item:

[37] A dì P[rim]o Luglio 1692 ...

[d] Una Cantata à 2 / ordinata del Sig^r Giovannino del Violone per sua e[minen- tissi]ma / Parla e ride

[e] e più una altra Cantata / ordinata dal d[ett]to per S[ua] e[minentissi]ma A voi che l'accendeste; Dubio di mia Costanza.

[Rechnung Flavio Lancianis].⁵

The "above individual" who had ordered the copy of *A voi che l'accendeste*, along with a duet cantata *Parla e ride* is named as "Sig^r Giovannino del Violone": in other words, the concertino cellist Lulier, one of the composers who set *A voi che l'accendeste*. Another name closely connected with Ottoboni's circle played a part in the transmission of this cantata—the composer and copyist Flavio Lanciani, who issued the invoice.⁶

Although no composer is named in the entry of 1 July 1692, *A voi che l'accendeste* appears again in a later list of copied works, dated January 1693. This time the document specifically mentions "di Scarlatti", suggesting a continuation of interest in and demand for the piece. It may also indicate that of the seven settings now extant—or more likely, of the five

^{3.} Reinhard Strohm, "Scarlattiana at Yale," in *Haendel e gli Scarlatti a Roma*, Atti del Convegno internazionale di Studi (Rome, June 12–14, 1985), ed. Nino Pirrotta and Agostino Ziino (Florence: Olschki, 1987), 130.

^{4.} Carolyn Gianturco, "Cantate dello Stradella in possesso di Andrea Adami," in *Atti del convegno* "Alessandro Stradella e il suo Tempo" nel terzo centenario della morte del compositore, (Siena, 1982), Carolyn Gianturco and Giancarlo Rostirolla, eds. *Chigiana* 39, no.19 (Florence, Olschki, 1988), 125–154.

^{5.} Marx, "Die Musik," 133.

^{6.} Marx, "Die Musik," 133 (vol. 1461, fasc. 197, new numbering BAV Fondo Ottoboni, vol. 25). A copy of *A voi che l'accendeste* in the hand of Flavio Lanciani does not survive, if indeed the invoice was issued on behalf of himself.

^{7.} Marx, "Die Musik," 136 (vol.1462, fasc.31, new numbering vol. 27). This entry also includes an invoice submitted by Flavio Lanciani, for Scarlatti"s 1679 opera *Gli Equivoci nel sembiante*.

contained in the Dresden "anthology" manuscript—it was Scarlatti's that was chosen by the Cardinal, possibly for the occasion of his twenty-fifth birthday.

A voi che l'accendeste makes at least one more appearance in seventeenth-century documentation, in the form of a letter from Pollaroli to Perti, cited by Marco Bizzarini in his entry on the former in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (DBI).8 This time it is clearly the setting by Perti that is under discussion. The letter addressed to Perti, signed 'Carlo Francesco Polaroli' and dated Venice, 12 September 1699, contains a request on behalf of Pollaroli's patron 'l'eccellentissimo Coraro', for two (partially) missing items, Recitative 2 and Aria 2 from Perti's cantata "A voi che l'accendeste occhi adorati". 9 Pollaroli proposes an arrangement to have a violinist ('il Signor Borgetto nostro violinista') pick up the copy of the pages on a planned visit to Bologna, and pay for the expenses of copying this and 'un pare d'altre sue Cantate'.

The exceptional interest of this letter has several aspects: it names the cantata in a personal letter that expresses a close friendship between two of the composers who set Paglia's *A voi* text. The date of the letter, 1699, suggests that *A voi che l'accendeste* was still known to at least a circle of composers and collectors, some seven years after Scarlatti's setting was first mentioned in the *giustificazioni* of Cardinal Ottoboni — but this time with the focus on Perti's setting. The fact that Pollaroli's patron Coraro had expressed the wish to have his copy of Perti's cantata completed (his copy was 'lacking part of the Recitative after the first aria, and part of the second aria') indicates that it had been closely read through, and the missing pages noticed.

Pollaroli does not mention whether he had at this time set this cantata text himself, but it seems at least plausible that his setting would have post-dated the letter. As Michael Talbot points out, one of the main ways to gain copy of a cantata text was through access to a pre-existing musical setting. 10 If Coraro (a patron presumably based in Venice, of whom nothing further is currently known) had wished Pollaroli to make a new setting of *A voi che l'accendeste*, the full text would be required: as well as completing his copy of Perti's music, he would obtain a complete copy of the poetic text. It seems likely that Pollaroli would be close enough to Coraro to have access to Perti's whole cantata, as well as to the passages requested in the letter.

Apart from the specific reference to Perti's setting, Pollaroli's letter does not indicate whether he was aware of other settings of *A voi* (for example, Scarlatti's). In one source — *D-B* Mus.ms.30136 — the two composers are linked, with Perti's setting following the Pollaroli copy without a page break (see Perti edition, Figure 3). This may indicate that the German copyist had obtained copies of them together: although the attribution to Pollaroli is crossed out, this erasure appears to be the work of a later hand equally unsure about a replacement attribution to Perti. In any case, Pollaroli's letter throws light on the cantata's travels north, and the continuing fascination it held for connoisseurs of the solo cantata.

^{8.} I acknowledge with gratitude the generosity of Marco Bizzarini in kindly sharing with me his transcription of the complete text of this letter, held in Bologna, Museo della Musica, Manuscript K.044.1.063, in which Pollaroli refers to Perti's setting of *A voi che l'accendeste*. See also Marco Bizzarini, "Pollarolo (Pollaroli, Polaroli), Carlo Francesco," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Volume 84 (2015).

^{9.} In quoting the cantata's incipit here, Pollaroli has omitted the beginning of the second line, "Raccomando il mio foco," going directly to "occhi adorati," the subject of the cantata.

^{10.} Michael Talbot makes the point that "[o]nly rarely was cantata verse available from a source other than an earlier musical setting," in "Maurice Greene's Vocal Chamber Music on Italian Texts," *Royal Musical Association Chronicle*, (2017), 16.

The text manuscript V-CVbav Vat. lat 10204: Abate Francesco Maria Paglia

Thanks to the existence of manuscript *V-CVbav* Vat. lat. 10204, the text of *A voi che l'accendeste* is not one of the innumerable anonymous Italian cantata texts, but the carefully preserved work of an identified poet, Abate Francesco Maria Paglia. The title page of the manuscript indicates the function of the poetry: *Cantate per Musica a voce sola di Fran^{co}: Maria Paglia*. Some of the texts on a night theme are entitled "Serenata" and a number are headed with the name of a composer: Severo da Luca (6—the most numerous), Alessandro Scarlatti (5), Francesco Gasparini (1), Alessandro Melani (1), Giovanni del Violone (Lulier, 1), Bernardo Pasquini (1), Francesco Acciarelli (1). The composers' names are interpolated in the cantata heading as if they were not originally part of the text layout, but additional information. Others not so marked are known to have been set by Scarlatti. Several have the additional note "Con V.V." [i.e. with violins]

Recomando il mio sow Gresi adorati;
In Voi coi raggi armati
Semina od rightende
Che l'ombra del mio dud dilegua estrugge;
Da Voi volo dipende
La mia vita, e la morte;
Con voi volosi aggira
Il mio fato e sa vorto;
Cor voi volosopira

Panima mia trafitta;
Volingira amore e sieces; dardi vuoi
isto in voi, vol da, voi, con voi per voi.

Figure 1: *V-CVbav* Rvat, Lat.10204, Cantate per Musica a voce sola di Francesco Maria Paglia: no.63, *A voi che l'accendeste*, Recit. 1. Reproduced by kind permission of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

Abate Paglia was connected with the major patrons and musicians in Rome through the late seventeenth-century Roman academies. By the 1690s he was highly active in all poetic forms "for music" (opera, serenata, oratorio, cantata). Norbert Dubowy mentions two academies that were forerunners of the Roman Arcadian Academy to which Paglia belonged: the Roman

Infecondi Academy (from 1686), and the Accademia disuniti, founded by Cardinal Ottoboni in the late 1680s. ¹¹ Of more long-standing significance to his career was his connection with the Spanish diplomat and patron of the arts, Medinaceli, who in June 1696 moved from Rome to Naples, to take up the office of Viceroy of Spain. Paglia arrived in Naples as part of his entourage, initiating a rich period of collaboration with Alessandro Scarlatti. When Medinaceli subsequently returned to Madrid in1702, Paglia again moved with him as part of an entourage that also included the former Viceroy's lover Angelina Voglia and the architect and designer Fillipo Schor—"una pequeña Arcadia", as José María Domínguez Rodríguez has characterized the transplanted artistic environment. ¹² As the first Spanish member to be accepted as a member of the Accademia Arcadiana, Medinaceli was more than a significant player in the artistic networks of Rome, and subsequently Naples: he also aimed to take his Italian musical world with him to Madrid following the termination of his stormy tenure of his role as Viceroy of Naples. Domínguez suggests that the cantata text manuscript of Paglia, V-CVbav Vat.lat. 10204, may have a connection with Medinaceli and his circle while he was still in Rome. ¹³

According to documents recently published from the Fondo Bolognetti in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, it seems that in 1695 Alessandro Scarlatti himself was expected to move to Madrid to take up the position of *maestro di cappella* to the royal court of Spain. ¹⁴ In 1696, however, Scarlatti was still in Naples, beginning the highly successful period of collaboration with Paglia in works such as the serenata *Venere*, *Adone e Amore* (July 1696), *La Didone delirante* (December 1696) and later *Il prigioniero fortunato* (1698). The librettist's move from Rome to Naples was explicitly connected with that of Mediniaceli in an item that appeared in the *Gazzetta di Napoli*:

La sera del mentovato Mercordì fù rappresentata con molto applauso in Musica la Didone Delirante, riformata, & abellita dal Signor Abbate Francesco Maria Paglia, virtuoso, venuto quì da Roma con S.Ecc.¹⁵

Another source of Paglia's poetry may certainly be connected with Medinaceli, as it was dedicated to the Viceroy's favorite soprano Angelina Voglia (known as "La Giorgina"), who shared his accommodation in Naples and later Madrid. The *Alfabeto d'amore* with its "Sonetti amorosi, eroici, e sacri" is the subject of a discussion and edition by Sergio Corsi of Paglia's

^{11.} Norbert Dubowy, "Al tavolino medesimo del Compositor della Musica': Notes on Text and Context in Alessandro Scarlatti's *cantata da camera*," in *Aspects of the Secular Cantata in Late Baroque Italy*, ed. Michael Talbot (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 120.

^{12.} José María Domínguez Rodríguez, *Roma-Nápoles-Madrid: Mecenazgo musical del Duque de Medinaceli, 1687–1710* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2013), 219; 266.

^{13.} Domínguez, Roma-Nápoles-Madrid, 152.

^{14.} Luca Della Libera e José María Domínguez, "Nuove fonti per la vita musicale romana di fine Seicento: il giornale e il diario di Roma del Fondo Bolognetti all'Archivio Segreto Vaticano," *La Musique à Rome au XVII siècle. Études et perspectives de recherche.* Caroline Giron-Panel and Anne-Madeleine Goulet, eds. (École Française de Rome 2012), 155. Doc. 105, [5 april] "Si ritrova in Roma il celebre Alessandro Scarlatti per passare in Spagna maestro di cappella di sua maestà catolica." The plan for Giovanni Bononcini mentioned in the same entry did come to fruition—his successful work in Naples in 1696 which culminated in the widely acclaimed and performed opera *Il trionfo di Camilla*.

^{15.} Thomas E. Griffin, *Musical References in the Gazzetta di Napoli, 1681–1725* (Berkeley: Fallen Leaf Press, 1993), 21 (Doc. 93, 22 maggio 1696); Ausilia Magaudda e Danilo Costantini, *Musica e spettacolo nel Regno di Napoli attraverso lo spoglio della "Gazzetta" (1675–1768)* (Rome: ISMEZ, 2009), 117.

poetry which, for once, is neither opera libretto nor cantata text composed for a musical setting. ¹⁶ Corsi points out that the first sonnet begins with the line quoted in the dedication "Si dedica all'Ill^{ma} D. Angela Voglia il seguente Alfabeto de' Sonetti ... - *A te che sei de le mie rime impresa*. ¹⁷ This is love poetry at a distance—"d'altrui gl'affanni"—which Corsi finds resourceful in rhetorical art, if somewhat contrived. The titles of many of the sonnets recall cantata titles or themes—"Partenza" (no.2), "Amor lontano" (no.4), "Allontanarsi per non amare" (no.11).

In turning to the cantata text *A voi che l'accendeste*, it is evident that the phrasing of the dedication line to the *Sonetti amorosi*—"A te che sei de le mie rime impresa"—parallels the first line of the cantata. But here, the subject of the dedication is concealed: the whole cantata is dedicated to radiant eyes which inspire not only devotion but also fear and apprehension: eyes which cease firing their darts only when asleep (Recit. 3), eyes which can "bring the boat of my heart to shore" (Recit. 4), or inflict deep wounds (Aria 4). ¹⁸ The eyes that form the subject of this poem are never situated or surrounded by other features that commonly appear in Italian cantatas to underline the femininity of the subject: golden hair, white skin, red lips. In fact, the subject of the poem is not addressed as an object of desire, but rather of respect and admiration—the admiration reserved for distant planets that light up the earth from afar. From the conclusion of Recitative 4 to Aria 4 the poem elaborates the metaphor of the eyes as the mirror of the soul, capable of inflicting a wound through its reflection. While the poem retains the mystery of its dedication, Cardinal Ottoboni is the obvious recipient—a sun among the nobility of Roman cultural society, whose friendly support could bring commissions and guide careers.

A voi che l'accendeste is copied as no. 63 in manuscript V-CVbav Vat. lat. 10204, from a total of seventy-two texts. It is one of the more extensive poems, consisting of four recitatives and arias, occupying two pages and nine lines, and is marked liberally throughout with punctuation including colons and semi-colons—a feature not preserved in any of the music copies. (The text punctuation is shown in the edition of the text.) The four recitatives and arias provide not only rich opportunities for depicting the metaphor of the eyes as brilliant stars; they are also composed in a variety of poetic meters calculated to test the composers' invention in rhythmic setting and phrasing. These range from the short lines of Aria 2 (5–4 syllables), to the long ten-syllable lines with internal rhymes of Aria 4. Although the music scores are sparing with punctuation compared to the manuscript text, all seven composers show awareness of the poem's main punctuation divisions, as well as of the richly laden imagery in the four recitatives. In particular they each make an individual response to the hendecasyllable lines in recitative as the principal opportunity for arioso, for unexpected chromatic or enharmonic modulation, or for drawing out an image through melisma.¹⁹

^{16.} Sergio Corsi, "Un (an)alfabeto d"amore," in *Quaderni d'italianistica*, 9 (1988), 21–40, gives a rare discussion of the poetry of F. M. Paglia.

^{17.} Corsi, "Un (an)alfabeto," 24.

^{18.} For a discussion of the Petrarchan imagery of the poem, see R. Halton, "Birthday Tribute or Cantata Contest: Alessandro Scarlatti's *A voi che l'accendeste*," in *Devozione e Passione: Alessandro Scarlatti nel 350 anniversario della nascita*, ed. Nicolò Maccavino (Reggio Calabria: Rubbettino, 2013), 391–393.

^{19.} This was already a well-established convention. On Stradella's regular choice of the hendecasyllablic lines for his arioso passages in recitative see Gianturco, "Cantate dello Stradella," 154.

The Dresden "Anthology" manuscript

The manuscript in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek: Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek, Musikabteilung, (*D-Dl*) Mus.1-I-2,2,²⁰ with its five settings of *A voi che l'accendeste*, gives the clearest indication that the multiple settings of this cantata are no coincidence but the outcome of a consciously organised process, probably a commission.²¹ The composers represented are "Sig ^r Perti, Sig ^r Bononcini, Sig ^r Gio del Violone, Sig ^r Antonio Mangiarottti, and, after a further three cantatas unrelated to *A voi*: "Sig ^r Alesandro Scarlati". The watermark throughout this main section of the manuscript is the quadruped in single circle.²² All of these copies are the work of one scribal hand. RISM reports that the early owner of the manuscript *D-Dl* Mus.1-I-2,2 is presumed to be Agostino Antonio Rossi, born in Rome and a cellist of the Dresden Hofkapelle.

The organization of the manuscript is clearly reflected in the original numbering system: not the customary numbering of folios top right, but in units of four folios (or "binio", comprising a whole sheet of two bifolios), left foot of the page. This numbering is maintained without a break up to the end of the setting by Lulier ("Gio. Del Violone"). It recommences with an erased number, repeating the number "15" at the beginning of the setting by Antonio Mangiarotti, and is continued to the end of Scarlatti's setting.

The manuscript begins with the alto cantata "con violini" of Alessandro Scarlatti, *Siete uniti a tormentarmi*, numbered 1–5. Halfway through this fifth sheet begins the copy of Perti's *A voi che l'accendeste*. As Table 2 indicates, the copying appears to have been worked in two blocks: from the first item through to the end of Lulier's setting of *A voi che l'accendeste*; and from Mangiarotti's setting (beginning as "15", which is however already used in the previous item by Lulier), to the succession of three cantatas attributed respectively to Nicolo Filomena, Luigi Manzi, and Bononcini, finishing with Scarlatti's setting of *A voi che l'accendeste*.

Although the same copyist continues with the following item (a duet "Doralba e Niso" of Scarlatti), the numbering in these units of four folios ceases at that point, and the final items attributed to Scarlatti and Bononcini clearly come from a different source, unrelated to the main section of the manuscript in paper and copyist. ²³ The most recent library pagination comprises page numbers at the foot of each page, from pages 3–348. An earlier library numbering, by folios now crossed out, appears on the top right of each folio (recto). A table of contents, alphabetically arranged according to composers' names (and showing the voice types of the cantatas), matches that numbering of folio; and the manuscript is now provided with a table of contents arranged sequentially with item numbers, using the later library page numbering. This table mentions that

^{20.} Cf. RISM online ID no. 211011412 for a complete inventory. A digital facsimile of the entire volume is available for downloading online at http://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/131410/1/.

^{21.} The five settings of *A voi che l'accendeste* and their composers are reported in Lowell Lindgren, "Bononcini's 'agreable and easie style, and those fine inventions in his basses (to which he was led by an instrument upon which he excells)'," in *Aspects of the Secular Cantata in Late Baroque Italy*, ed. Michael Talbot (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 163.

^{22.} On the possible significance of the quadruped in single circle watermark, see Mauro Amato, *Le Antologie di Aria e Cantate Tardo-Seicentesche alla Biblioteca del Conservatorio "S. Pietro a Majella" di Napoli,* (Dottorato di ricerca, Scuola di Paleografia e Filologia Musicale di Cremona, 1998, Vol. 1), 8–9, for a discussion of the issue of watermarks found in the collection of *I-Nc*. He concludes that there is not enough evidence to assert that the quadruped watermark necessarily indicates a manuscript of Neapolitan origin, as the high demand for paper in seventeenth-century Naples led to the widespread production of paper for sale there. Amato nevertheless allows that there is an association between the quadruped watermark and the south of Italy.

^{23.} Marie-Louise Catsalis reports that the watermark changes to fleur-de-lis from page 257 (*Doralba e Niso*), email communication to the author, 26 September 2011.

nos. 3 (Bononcini), 4 (Gio. del Violone), 5 (Mangiarotti), and 9 (Scarlatti), have "text wie Nr. 2"—a somewhat subdued reference to the phenomenon of the multiple settings.

It is the original numbering that gives the clearest indication that the copying of the settings took place in three "batches"—Perti, Bononcini, and Lulier as a unit, beginning each composer's setting with a new page, but carrying on from the point in the binio that had been reached. (See Table 2) The setting by Mangiarotti, with its ambiguous numberings on the first page, and the repetition of "15", is clearly a new item in the copying; and the group of miscellaneous cantatas by various composers, starting on the first folio of a new sheet after a blank folio, finishes with Scarlatti's setting of *A voi che l'accendeste*. Again, we may imagine that the copyist obtained the exemplar at a somewhat later stage in the compilation of the five settings in this manuscript—but within the framework of the same copying task.

Table 2 Contents of *D-Dl*, Mus.1-I-2,2: current library pagination compared with original numbering; first scribal hand until p. 282 (including duet *Doralba e Niso*).

Current Pagination (centre,	Original Numbering,				
foot of page)	(left foot of every 8 th page)	Title and Composer			
3–38	1–5	Alessandro Scarlatti, Siete uniti a tormentarmi			
39–64	5 cont. – 8	Perti, A voi che l'accendeste			
65–87	8 cont. –11	Bononcini, A voi che l'accendeste			
88–120	11 cont15 ²⁴ [15= p.115]	"Gio: del Violone" [Lulier] A voi che l'accendeste			
121–122		one blank folio			
123–156	15–19	Mangiarotti, A voi che l'accendeste			
157-8		one blank folio			
159-179	20-22	Nicolo Filomena, Già vincitor del Verno			
180-199	22 cont25	Luigi Manzi, La Medea			
200–219	25 cont. –27	Bononcini, Ch'io ti manchi di fede			

^{24.} The original numbering has two numbers "15," coinciding with current p.115 (Lulier) and p.123 (Mangiarotti). The first no.15 is marked "p°," while the second is prefaced by "2°," both apparently in the copyist's hand. In the current numbering, p. 255 is the final page of Scarlatti's setting, coinciding with "32," the last number to appear in the original numbering. The following page 256 is blank, marking the end of the settings of *A voi che l'accendeste* in this manuscript.

Current Pagination				
(centre, foot of page)	Original Numbering, (left foot of every 8 th page)	Title and Composer		
220–255	27 cont.–32 (end)	Alesandro [sic] Scarlatti A voi che l'accendeste		
256	_	one blank page		
257–282	_	Cantata a 2 Doralba e Niso del Sig ^r Scarlatti <i>Perché sospiri ò Niso?</i>		
283–303	_	New hand: Cantata del Sig ^r . Scarlatti, <i>Filli mia, tu mi console</i>		
304	_	one blank page		
305–323	_	Cantata di Sig ^r . Bononcini Schiera d'aspri dolori		
324	_	one blank page		
325–342	_	Ritratto di Clori. Cantata del Sig ^r . Scarlatti: Per formare la Bella che adoro		
343–348	_	Ah che t'adoro, ingrata (no attribution)		

D-Dl, Mus.1-I-2,2: features of the copying

Most of the works are sparingly figured, except for Scarlatti's—suggesting that the copyist may have had access to the composer's score, as Scarlatti regularly marked his scores with great detail. Some tempo markings appear, most in Scarlatti's composition, with the next greatest level of detail in Perti's setting. The accuracy of copying appears to be of a reasonably high level throughout, although some questionable readings occur in the settings by Bononcini and Lulier (as indicated in the edition), which lack a second source with which to make comparison. The readings throughout Scarlatti's setting are closely comparable with the Roman copies by identified copyists in terms of note and text accuracy, figured bass, and tempo markings (though a little more sparing), and in some cases, e.g. Aria 4, *D-Dl* Mus.1-I-2,2 gives more detail in dynamic markings than the Roman copies.

Each of the five settings of Paglia's text in this manuscript opens with an ornamental "A" drawn on the stave lines—modest by the standards of Roman ornamental capitals, and occupying a part of only one vocal and bass system (rather than two systems, as seen in three Roman copies of Alessandro Scarlatti's setting of *A voi che l'accendeste*).



Figure 2: *D-Dl* Mus.1-I-2,2, [p.220], capital "A", on stave lines. *A voi che l'accendeste*, A. Scarlatti. Reproduced by kind permission of *D-Dl*.

The style of the capital, as well as the flourish at the end of each cantata, appears to be in keeping with the copyist's work (for example, the C clef). The fact that the capital appears in each case also indicates that they were the work of the copyist, rather than being left for a professional illustrator who might or might not be engaged to carry out the work. ²⁵

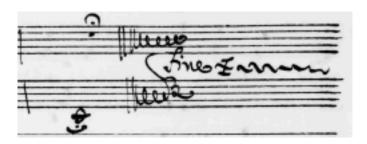


Figure 3: *D-Dl* Mus.1-I-2,2, Final measure of *A voi che l'accendeste*, Lulier, [p.120]. Reproduced by kind permission of *D-Dl*.

Throughout the *A voi* settings in *D-Dl*, Mus.1-I-2,2, da capo arias are written out in full, as is the case with most of the sources of Scarlatti's setting. This was a common copying procedure in the concise da capo arias of the early- mid 1690s, although composers such as Scarlatti almost certainly used by then the da capo abbreviated version of the aria, without recopying the A section.

On comparison of the Scarlatti copy in *D-Dl*, Mus.1-I-2,2 with the known Roman hands of *US-NH*, Osb.1 and *GB-Och* 993, it may be stated that the unidentified copyist of the "anthology" manuscript *D-Dl*, Mus.1-I-2,2 was a careful and knowledgeable scribe in both text and music. Comparison with the Paglia cantata poetry manuscript *V-CVbav* lat. 10204, shows,

^{25.} In two manuscripts by identifiable Roman copyists of Scarlatti's setting, *GB-Och* 993, and *US-NHub* Osborn Music MS.1, the space allocated for the ornamental capital occupies approximately half (horizontally) of two systems (vertically), but the capital itself remains undone. A similar space is allocated, and filled with an ornate capital, in *D-MÜs* 3914.

similarly, a close match with the text copying and spellings of *D-Dl*, Mus.1-I.2-2—excluding punctuation, which is in any case regularly omitted in music copies.

Overview of the seven composers: Connections with Rome

An interesting feature of the composers involved in this multiple setting of Paglia's text is that they seem to have been selected or commissioned, rather than corresponding with each other independently, as did Scarlatti and Gasparini on at least one occasion (Gasparini being conspicuous by his absence in the settings currently known of *A voi*). There is some overlap—notably Scarlatti—with the composers named in *V-CVbav*, Vat. lat. 10204, as the musicians who set texts of Paglia, although the most frequently occurring name of Severo da Luca is missing from the list of composers who set *A voi*.

The dates of the composers that are known indicate that they were all quite close in age—in their early 30s in 1692²⁷—with the exception of Bononcini, the youngest of the group. In many ways, Bononcini is the composer to show least attachment to the recitative style of the earlier generation, with an almost total avoidance of arioso. In his aria settings, however, the style of Stradella lingers—especially the final aria with its concise motivic energy: the theme itself could almost be lifted from a work of Stradella.²⁸

The patrons associated with the cantata were also of similar age: Medinaceli, 1660–1711, the patron of Paglia and future viceroy of Spain in Naples was born in the same year as Scarlatti. Andrea Adami, Cardinal Ottoboni's favourite, was also in his early 30s in 1692, and is the identified owner of a cantata volume which contains a copy of *A voi che l'accendeste* (now in the Yale University Collection, the Beinecke Rare Book Collection). ²⁹ Cardinal Ottoboni, whose 25th birthday fell the day after the first documented copy of *A voi che l'accendeste* was—like Giovanni Bononcini—younger than most of the composers involved in this mysterious compositional tribute. We may assume, however, that he carried a formidable sense of compositional tradition, deriving from such major figures as Corelli, resident at the Cancelleria and also from Alessandro Stradella, whose cantatas he still had copied ten years after the composer's death. ³⁰ The Stradella connection no doubt also kept alive the memory of Queen Cristina's patronage of music, a memory always vivid for Alessandro Scarlatti who as late as 1706 still mentioned with nostalgia the musical environment of his first major patron in a letter to Ferdinando de' Medici. ³¹

^{26.} The most notable instance of multiple settings of a text is the correspondence between Alessandro Scarlatti and Gasparini on the cantata text *Andate o miei sospiri* which is dated "10 Marzo 1712" in one source listed in Edwin Hanley, "Alessandro Scarlatti's 'Cantate da Camera': a bibliographical study," (PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1963), 112. Gasparini's reply prompted a second setting from Scarlatti, headed famously "Cantata fatta con idea inhumana - Non è per ogni professore."

^{27.} The dates of Mangiarotti's birth and death are not known.

^{28.} Stradella, Serenata *Or ch'a la Dea notturna*, the tenor aria "Adultero Riso" closely parallels Bononcini's final aria in *A voi che l'accendeste*, including the key of D minor.

^{29.} Strohm, "Scarlattiana." 146-7.

^{30.} Hans Joachim Marx, "Die Musik," 133.

^{31.} Mario Fabbri, *Alessandro Scarlatti e il Principe Ferdinando de' Medici* (Florence: L. S. Olschki 1961), 83–84: Alessandro Scarlatti to Ferdinando de' Medici, Rome 28 August 1706, describes Queen Cristina's taste for earlier music, specifically that by Gesualdo, "dal Principe di Venosa in qua, la fu Regina di Svezia, che fu mia Padrona, se ne compiaceva più d'ogn'altra composizione"

The composers of A voi che l'accendeste

Giacomo Perti (1661–1756)

Certainly one of the most long-lived of Italian baroque composers, Perti occupied the post of maestro di cappella at San Petronio in Bologna for some sixty years, a career embodying the stability of employment that might well have been the envy of Alessandro Scarlatti. Anne Schnoebelen, in her *Grove Music Online* article, points out that 1696 was a significant date in Perti's career, when he was appointed *maestro di cappella* of S. Petronio, Bologna, after his earlier appointment (1690) to succeed his uncle Lorenzo as *maestro di cappella* of the cathedral of S. Pietro. As an opera composer he was highly active in the 1690s, with productions not only in Bologna, but Genoa, Venice, Rome Tordinona, and subsequently the Pratolino, Florence, opera house of Prince Ferdinando de' Medici. He was most prolific in the field of sacred vocal music, composing oratorios and masses into the 1730s. Schnoebelen notes that Perti travelled rarely—his principal travels being in 1703 to Florence, Rome and Naples—and that he kept "a long-standing rapport with the Duchess Aurora Sanseverino [of Naples] who was of a Bolognese family."³²

Perti's Op.1, Cantate morali e spirituali (Bologna, 1688) has attracted scholarly attention³³ as well as a complete recording (1996, director Sergio Vartolo). His secular cantatas remain something of an unknown quantity. Grove Music states that they number 93 for solo voice(s) and continuo, and 49 with violins, however none are named. His setting of A voi che l'accendeste seems to have attracted contemporary interest, as indicated by the existence of four sources in a variety of scribal styles, including one transposed from soprano to alto range. Perti's compositional style in this cantata may be characterised by the indication Affettuoso, occurring twice in the Dresden manuscript, in the context of both aria (A.1) and recitative (R.4)

Giovanni Bononcini (1670–1747)

In January 1692 Bononcini made his Roman debut with his first opera *L'Eraclea* (Tordinona, joint composition with A. Draghi), given under the patronage of Medinaceli.³⁴ Though this production was accorded a hostile reception, as seen in contemporary *Avvisi*, Bononcini went on to consolidate his relationship with Medinaceli, and to achieve an outstanding international success with his 1696 opera for Naples *Il Trionfo di Camilla*, to a libretto by Stampiglia.

In the field of the cantata, Bononcini was both prolific and highly regarded, with 270 works for solo voice listed by Lowell Lindgren in an important study of the sources, dissemination, and chronology of Bononcini's cantata output (2009). The period 1692–1698, when he was based in Rome, was the most productive in terms of Bononcini's activity in the solo cantata, with 141 cantatas listed by Lindgren. Bononcini would continue to cultivate the cantata genre throughout his creative life, and copies of his cantatas were made in major European centres: Paris, Rome, Vienna, and London. Lindgren cites appreciation of Bononcini's skill in cantata composition by contemporary Italian composers Gasparini and Haym, as well as the

^{32.} Anne Schnoebelen, "Giacomo Antonio Perti," *Grove Music Online*, accessed 24 October, 2015. Prince Sanseverino and his remarkable wife Aurora were also significant patrons of Alessandro Scarlatti in Naples.

^{33 .} See for example Giulia Giovani, "'Ecco a Vostra Signoria quello che si è risoluto': Sulla genesi delle cantate opera I di Giacomo Antonio Perti," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* (2012), 125–155.

^{34.} Domínguez, *Roma-Nápoles-Madrid*, 58 and 99.

^{35.} Lindgren, "Bononcini's 'agreable and easie style," 135–175.

contrasting views of French amateur writers, Raguenet and Le Cerf—a sign of the widespread recognition of his presence.³⁶

The youngest of the composers to set *A voi che l'accendeste*, Giovanni Bononcini in 1692 was on the threshold of a career that would spread his fame throughout Europe.

Giovanni Lorenzo Lulier [Giovannino del Violone] (ca.1660–1700)

Almost always referred to by his nickname ["Gio:"] Giovannino del Violone, Lulier is known to have worked as composer, trombonist, and above all as the concertino cellist in orchestras in Rome led by Corelli as principal violinist. From 1681 Lulier was employed by Cardinal Pamphili, moving to the service of Cardinal Ottoboni from 1690, the date of Pamphili's departure as papal legate in Bologna, thus following a similar path of patronage in Rome to Alessandro Scarlatti. He was a regular contributor to pasticcio works; for example, Part 1 of the sacred drama *La santa Genuinda*, (1694), of which A. Scarlatti and C. Pollaroli wrote Parts 2 and 3 respectively. Lulier's cantata output of thirty-four works is small but significant, and is the subject of extensive study by Chiara Pelliccia. 8

In her edition of four of Lulier's *Cantate da Camera*, Pelliccia underlines the strong contacts between "Giovanni del Violone" and castrato Andrea Adami (1663–1742), who is identified as the owner of the only existing volume devoted to cantatas by Lulier.³⁹ Cardinal Benedetto Pamphili, Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, and F.M. Paglia were among the poets whose texts he set. His comparatively early death in 1700 meant that his style remained rooted in the seventeenth century, but is also innovative from the viewpoint of his insight into the violoncello and its possibilities as accompanist of the voice.

Antonio Mangiarotti (n.d.)

Virtually nothing is known of this composer other than this cantata: whether he was a professional musician or an aristocratic member of the circle, maybe one of the Academies to which Paglia belonged. A rare reference to Antonio Maria Mangiarotti appears in *Il fondo musiche dell'Archivio Borromeo dell'Isola Bella* in connection with a volume of cantatas by various composers and described as "figure peraltro poco note." ⁴⁰

Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725)

Based in Naples as Maestro di Cappella Reale in the early 1690s, Scarlatti nevertheless remained closely in contact with his Roman connections after the death of his first patron, Queen Cristina of Sweden. These included Cardinal Benedetto Pamphili (until his departure for Bologna as papal envoy in 1690), and above all Cardinal Ottoboni, while Medinaceli was already an

^{36.} Lindgren, "Bononcini's "agreable and easie style," 139–146.

^{37.} Giancarlo Rostirolla, "Domenico Scarlatti a Roma (1707-1719) tra impegni artistici nel mondo mecenatizio e presenza nelle istituzioni sacre," in *Domenico Scarlatti: musica e storia*, Dinko Fabris and Paologiovanni Maione, eds. (Naples: Turchini, 2010), 209.

^{38.} Chiara Pelliccia, *Le cantate da camera di Giovanni Lorenzo Lulier. Studio e catalogo tematico, in Studi sulla musica dell'età barocca*, ed. Giorgio Monari (Lucca: LIM, 2012, Miscellanea Ruspoli, II-2012), 21–143.

^{39.} Giovanni Lorenzo Lulier, *Cantate da Camera*, ed. Chiara Pelliccia (n.p., 2013), Introduzione, xi. The volume devoted to cantatas by Lulier is in the collection of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Mu.Ms.128 (*olim* 32 E 10). According to *Grove Music Online*, Adami became a member of the Arcadian Academy in October 1690.

^{40.} *Il fondo musiche dell'Archivio Borromeo dell'Isola Bella*, ed. Enrico Boggio (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2004),xxiy, fn. 35.

important contact in Rome before he moved as Spanish Viceroy to Naples in June 1696. At the same time Scarlatti had also established a strong relationship with Prince Ferdinando de' Medici, to whom he would subsequently look for more permanent protection and patronage—a search that would prove ultimately unsuccessful although it resulted in the composition of several operas that the composer himself regarded highly. By 1692, Scarlatti had laid the basis for his carefully guarded reputation as the pre-eminent Italian composer of all genres of vocal music, sacred and secular.

Publication in modern times of Scarlatti's massive cantata output (some 700 works) has been piecemeal—a situation lamented by George Buelow as recently as 2004. 41 Consequently, it is difficult to form a picture of the evolution of his creative achievement through its distinct periods, and all too easy to dismiss the works of the 1690s as "early works": he was by then a mature composer in his 30s. Indeed, we can have little sense of which Scarlatti's cantatas are the "early works" from the 1680s, in the absence of dated sources from this decade. A rare example of a critical edition that gives a consistent picture of his solo cantata style with continuo in the early 1690s is the publication of thirteen cantatas, dating from "before 1694." This presents a group of works from approximately the same period as *A voi che l'accendeste*, or the following year, and illustrates the range of harmonic colors, word setting, and musical forms drawn upon by Scarlatti at this time. In particular, Carchiolo draws attention to the use in several of these cantatas of the strophic aria which had not yet been totally superseded by da capo form. 43 But in *A voi che l'accendeste* the arias written by Paglia show the da capo aria already in ascendancy, with the unexpected twist that Scarlatti—as well as Bononcini—gives the final aria a through-composed setting.

Scarlatti's close association with Cardinal Ottoboni's favourite castrato, Andrea Adami, was long-lasting, as shown by the dedications he wrote to Adami on no fewer than seven cantatas in the autograph collection of 1704/05, (*US-Hub* Osborn Music MS.2), termed by Reinhard Strohm Scarlatti's "cantata diary," being made up largely of "composition autographs." Adami was the owner of another manuscript in the Osborn Music Collection (*US-Hub* Osborn Music MS.1), which contains a copy of *A voi che l'accendeste* along with other solo cantatas by Scarlatti of the early 1690s. 45

Carlo Francesco Pollaroli (ca. 1655–1723)

Pollaroli's setting of *A voi che l'accendeste* is one of two extant settings not included in the "Dresden anthology." From the first recitative it is apparent that there is little or no connection with any of the others in the approach to setting text, choice of keys and meters, and inner structural features: the work neither influenced any of the other composers nor shows signs that he was aware of any of the other settings.

As with Scarlatti, Adami, Lulier, and Bononcini, professional connections with the Ottoboni family played an important part, in this case based on their Venetian origins, as it was in Venice that Pollaroli made his career, progressing to the position of *vicemaestro di cappella* at

^{41.} George Buelow, A History of Baroque Music (Indiana University Press, 2004), 134.

^{42.} Alessandro Scarlatti: 13 cantate anteriori al 1694 nella Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella di Napoli, ed. Salvatore Carchiolo (Rome: Istituto Italiano per la Storia della Musica, 2012).

^{43.} Carchiolo, "Scarlatti," Introduzione, xxx.

^{44.} Strohm, "Scarlattiana,", 132-139.

^{45.} Strohm, "Scarlattiana," 125–6. The cantatas in this largely autograph volume are listed on pages 146–7.

S. Marco in 1692. Unlike his contemporaries based in Rome, Pollaroli was closely connected not so much with Pietro Ottoboni but with the Cardinal's father, Antonio, with whom he would collaborate several times in his career. In their study of the poetry of Antonio Ottoboni, Talbot and Timms suggest that "Ottoboni senior may also have acted as an intermediary between Venetian musicians—notably Carlo Francesco Pollaroli ...—and his son's court." It was not until 1710 that Pollaroli was "summoned to Rome" by Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, resulting in a number of collaborative works: five cantatas *in lingua veneziana* (1710), and in 1713 two operas and the oratorio *Sansone*, all to libretti by Antonio Ottoboni. Although it may be difficult to demonstrate that a close connection between Pollaroli and Ottoboni father and son existed already in the 1690s, it is clear that here was a composer building his reputation in Venice, of whom Antonio and Pietro Ottoboni would certainly be aware.

Pollaroli's setting of *A voi che l'accendeste* survives in two manuscripts held by the Staatsbibliothek Berlin, *D-B* Mus.ms. 30197 and Mus.ms. 30136, where it immediately follows the setting by Perti. The pairing in this source of the settings by the two composers based north of Rome—Bologna and Venice—is interesting in view of the otherwise Roman emphasis of the *A voi che l'accendeste* composers. Both manuscripts are the work of German copyists. ⁴⁹ Confusion over the attribution to Pollaroli is evident in both sources, but the setting by Perti in *D-B* 30136 is clearly attributed and matches that of *D-Dl* Mus.1-I-2.2 and *GB-Lbl* Add. Ms. 31518. In *D-B* 30136 the central notation "Sig^r. Pollaroli" is the basis for attributing this setting to the Venetian composer, even though it is crossed out and replaced by "Perti" to the right of the system—which is itself crossed out. In *D-B* Mus.ms. 30197 this cantata appears with an attribution to "Perti," which can however be discounted in view of the identification of Perti's setting in three independent sources. The same attribution to Perti appears in the "Tavola", showing that the confusion between Perti and Pollaroli began with the copyist of Mus.ms. 30197, the German musician Georg Österreich. ⁵⁰

Filippo Colinelli (ca. 1661–1725)

RISM records an almost exclusively sacred output, with his setting of *A voi che l'accendeste* one of only three secular cantatas listed. Franchi includes Colinelli "di Cesena" in his table of Harpsichordists and Organists active in Rome in the years of Domenico Scarlatti (1708–1719).⁵¹ Rostirolla likewise includes a reference to Colinelli as organist documented at the Congregazione dei Musici di Santa Cecilia, 1709–1725.⁵² Domínguez notes that in May 1696 Colinelli was listed as a musician who received payment for playing in Naples (presumably in a continuo role) in the Paglia/Scarlatti opera *Didone delirante*.⁵³

^{46.} Michael Talbot and Colin Timms, "Music and the Poetry of Antonio Ottoboni (1646–1720)," Haendel e gli Scarlatti a Roma," in *Atti del Convegno internazionale di Studi, Rome, 12–14 June 1985*, ed. Nino Pirrotta and Agostino Ziino (Florence: Olschki, 1987), 372.

^{47.} Talbot and Timms, "Ottoboni," 377-78.

^{48.} Olga Termini, "Carlo Pollarolo", in *Grove Music Online*, accessed 13 September, 2015.

^{49.} Harald Kümmerling, Katalog der Sammlung Bokemeyer (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970).

^{50.} The music manuscript collection of Österreich (1664–1735) was inherited by his student Bokemeyer, forming the basis of the Bokemeyer Collection (Kümmerling, "Katalog").

^{51.} Saverio Franchi, "Considerazioni sul contesto storico' (musicale, culturale e politico) degli anni romani di Domenico Scarlatti," in *Domenico Scarlatti: musica e storia*, ed. Dinko Fabris and Paologiovanni Maione (Naples: Turchini, 2010), 149.

^{52.} Rostirolla, "Scarlatti," 187.

^{53.} Domínguez, Roma-Nápoles-Madrid, 116.

Overview of the seven settings

In all but two cases, the composers of *A voi che l'accendeste* chose to base their settings in a minor key, with a wide range of keys used—D minor (Bononcini and Scarlatti), E minor (Lulier), A minor (Mangiarotti), and C minor (Colinelli). The vocal range in nearly every case is d'-a'', to which Perti and Mangiarotti add a tone with c as the lowest note. Bononcini, with his alto setting, covers the range a-d'', a comparatively wide range for the voice type.

Only Perti and Pollaroli adopt a major tonality for the work, with Perti choosing a major key for each of the four arias: F major, C major, B flat, F major. Although this may suggest a lack of variety and emotional colour in Perti's approach, in Recitative 4 his setting of the final two lines "Ma per pietà sentite," introduces an unexpected depth of tone and gravity with its sudden turn to F minor extended to nine measures.

In all the other settings, a balance of minor and major keys is chosen for the arias. The most obviously rewarding succession of arias is Scarlatti's—a scheme in which choice of meter, tonal contrast, and thematic construction all play a central part in creating the emotional journey from the hesitant "charm" of Aria 1 through the exuberant Aria 2, and culminating in the savage energy of Aria 4's *andante ma bizzarra*: the marking is recorded in recognizable form in five out of the six sources (e.g. *con maniera andante ma bizzarra*).

However original Scarlatti's setting appears in every respect, there are points of similarity and correspondence with several of the other settings that appear far from coincidental. The first and most obvious of these is the setting of Aria 1 'Begl'occhi'. In both Lulier and Scarlatti the shape of the motive 'Begl'occhi' traces a falling 5th in the minor key. But Scarlatti's Aria 1 is closer still to Mangiarotti's setting. Both arias descend from the 5th through the minor 3rd to the tonic – with the surprising difference that Mangiarotti adopts different rhythmic patterns in successive statements. Mangiarotti, like Scarlatti, introduces his falling 3rds motif in the close of the preceding recitative 'In voi, con voi, per voi'. Despite his use of the major key, Perti also uses the pattern of the falling 3rd–5th for his setting of Aria 1. Equally striking as the interval pattern is the rhythmic feature of these arias: in setting the text "Begl'occhi, /non mi pento / D'havervi offerto il sen", both Lulier and Scarlatti separate each phrase by a rest in the vocal line, a figure also used by Scarlatti in the bass part (less so by Mangiarotti). The discontinuous phrasing gives a sense of hesitant speech: hesitancy that turns into a fluent outpouring of feeling as these two aria settings unfold.

Table 3: Arias 1–4 of *A voi che l'accendeste*, an overview

	Perti	Bononcini	·	Mangiarotti	Scarlatti	Pollaroli	Colinelli	
				Aria 1				
Key	F major	G minor	E minor	A minor	D minor	B-flat major	C minor	
Time sig.	3 4	c	\mathbf{c}	\mathbf{c}	\mathbf{c}	3 4	\mathbf{c}	
Tempo	Largo et affettuoso	-	-	_	Andante e vezzosa	_	Andante	
	Aria 2							
Key	C major	G major	G major	C major	G major	G minor	G minor	
Time sig.	6 8	\mathbf{c}	3 8	$\frac{3}{2}$	3 8	3 8	¢	
Tempo	Allegro	-	-	_	Allegro con modo francese	_	Allegro	
				Aria 3				
Key	B flat	A minor	D major/ B minor	F major	B minor	D minor	B-flat major	
Time sig.	c	3 8	c	3 8	3 4	c	3 8	
Tempo	Largo	_	Andante Adagio	-	Tempo giusto	_	_	
	Aria 4							
Key	F major	D minor	E minor	A minor	D minor	B flat	C minor	
Time sig.	3 8	c	c	6 8	3 8	12 8	6 8	
Tempo	_	-	_	_	Andante ma con maniera bizzarra	_	Cacchera spagnola, Andante e ondeggiante	

In Arias 2 and 3, the similarities between Lulier's and Scarlatti's settings are striking in key, meter and affect Both these settings of Aria 2 are in G major and $\frac{3}{8}$, and Lulier's aria is composed of asymmetrical phrase units—3 and 2 bar units—a feature often associated with Alessandro Scarlatti. Both aria settings capture the short line unit of the poem (4- and 5-syllable lines) and the joyful spirit of the text. In Aria 3, a connection between Scarlatti and Lulier can be found in Lulier's contrasting B section. For the A section he adopts a very straight, hymn-like gait, but in the B section, moving from D major to B minor—and with a tempo change from Andante to Adagio—he introduces triplet figures for the voice which are close in technique and phrasing to the B-minor-triplet curving figurations of Scarlatti in this aria.

Although the da capo aria is the principal aria form used in the 1690s, two composers finish this cantata with a through-composed setting: Bononcini and Scarlatti. Furthermore, both these arias clearly finish without an instrumental ritornello. Bononcini's final aria completes the line "ed il dardo lo specchio del cor" with a rising scale. Scarlatti goes further. The bass drops out altogether as the voice finishes unaccompanied—an effect that Scarlatti would make his own, often ending an oratorio or serenata with the voice on the fifth of the scale⁵⁴—in this early example, the unaccompanied voice ends on the tonic.⁵⁵

Finally, Aria 4 brings an unexpected parallel between Scarlatti and Colinelli, with an explicit clue to the style evoked by Colinelli's indication: *Cacchera spagnola, Andante e ondeggiata*. It features a cello obbligato in tenor clef, while the bass part punctuates with alternation of tonic and dominant harmony. Could *Cacchera* be understood as *jácaras*, the popular dance type heard in Spanish theatre and instrumental music? With its regular tonic-dominant alternation, triple meter and starting on the second beat, the characteristics of the *jácaras* can be seen in this aria by Colinelli, in evident emulation of the Spanish dance. ⁵⁶ Comparison with Scarlatti's setting, marked *andante con maniera bizzarra*, shows that these characteristics of the *jácaras* are present here too: the opening phrase that traces the outline of the minor triad, the repetition of small rhythmic cells, and the association with the key of D minor (regarded as the "preferred key" for the *jácaras*).

If the Spanish flavor of Aria 4 was calculated to please the Spanish Medinaceli, we can imagine that Scarlatti's Aria 2 *con modo francese* was intended to appeal to the Francophile Cardinal Ottoboni. By adopting such strongly differentiated styles, it is as if Scarlatti intended to give his cantata an element of "les gouts réünis" - a gesture, perhaps, to each of the patrons connected with Paglia's text and its potential performance by Adami.

The recitative text of Paglia gave ample opportunity for rhetorical treatment with its imagery of flashing stars, eyes shooting arrows, and the constant flow of contrasting feelings. It is at once apparent that each of these composers had a repertoire of techniques to lift the recitative to a high level of eloquence and invention. Harmonic contrasts, enharmonic shifts, a wide-ranging vocal compass, *passaggi* on well-chosen words, and in several cases, a divided

^{54.} Notable examples of Scarlatti's unaccompanied vocal ending to extended works include the Serenatas *Venere, Adone, e Amore* (1696, 1706), *Clori, Lidia e Filli* (ca.1700), *Venere, Amore e Ragione* (1706), *Cupido e Onestà* (1706), the solo serenata *Horché di Febo ascosi*, and the oratorio *San Filippo Neri* (1705).

^{55.} A rare example of an unaccompanied ending by a composer other than Scarlatti occurs in the manuscript *D-Dl*, Mus.1-I-2,2, in La Medea by Luigi Manzi, with the unaccompanied exclamation "Donna tradita" (p.199).

^{56.} See "Jácaras," in *Grove Music Online*. My thanks to John Griffiths and to José María Rodríguez for information on the phrasing and rhythmic characteristics of the jácaras, and its possible relevance to these two arias by Colinelli and Scarlatti.

bass part (e.g. Pollaroli, Perti) —all form part of the repertoire of recitative style known not only to Scarlatti, but to each of the composers who set *A voi che l'accendeste*. If Adami was the envisaged performer we can note that in the 1690s he was still performing cantatas by Alessandro Stradella—a living link to a declamatory performance practice in which arioso and *passaggi* played a major role. Gianturco notes that it is the long lines in recitative, the hendecasyllable line that Stradella most commonly selects to set as arioso. ⁵⁷ The same can be found with great consistency not only in Scarlatti's recitative setting, but also that of Lulier, Perti, Mangiarotti, and Pollaroli, with only Bononcini projecting a less ornate—and possibly more modern —concept of recitative. One technique remains uniquely Scarlattian: his skill in creating repetition of single words and small phrases as a means of increasing emphasis and urgency of expression, while re-creating the rhythm of the text.

The opportunity to compare the seven settings of Paglia's poem gives a unique view of the craft of chamber cantata composition in the early 1690s. Bringing together composers of great and small reputations, they exhibit overall a high level of invention and sophistication, and at least one great work in Scarlatti's memorable setting.

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The description of historical context and manuscript sources in this edition has gained in detail and depth through invaluable correspondence with scholars in the field of Italian seventeenth-century music. José María Domínguez has most generously put at my disposal his expertise on the role of Medinaceli (Viceroy of Naples, 1696-1701) and his circle in the 1690s. Lowell Lindgren kindly provided information on the Berlin sources of the settings by Perti and Pollaroli (the latter of which survives only in these German copies). Marco Bizzarini most kindly shared with me his transcription of Pollaroli's letter (1699) to Perti, a rare contemporary reference to *A voi che l'accendeste* in Perti's setting. Carrie Churnside, Thomas Griffin, Luca della Libera, and Michael Talbot have all contributed to the edition through discussing with me aspects of the Italian cantata genre and its sources. I thank them most warmly.

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^{57.} Gianturco, "Cantate," 154.

scores for publication, I have had the invaluable assistance of Samuel Donovan, whom I thank as well as the School of Creative Arts Project scheme, University of Newcastle, for support in 2015.

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Performances and conference presentations have played an important part in understanding the cantata, its context and composers; thanks are due to conference organisers, and the University of Newcastle for funding conference travel. These include the 2010 Conference Conservatorio di Musica Francesco Cilea, Reggio Calabria: *Devozione e Passione* commemorating the 350th anniversary of the birth of Alessandro Scarlatti; the New Zealand Musicological Society (NZMS) National Conference, Wellington, 2011, "Performance, Creativity, Collaboration", which featured the first modern performance of Lulier's setting of *A voi che l'accendeste* by Rowena Simpson (soprano) and Polly Sussex (baroque cello); and the symposium "Music in Transition", Birmingham Conservatoire July 2015, which included a performance by soprano Miriam Allan of Scarlatti's setting.

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Finally, this project is dedicated to the great Scarlatti scholar Roberto Pagano (1930–2015), who sadly did not live to see the realization of the complete edition of the seven settings of Paglia's cantata text. The development of this edition has gained much from the unforgettable stimulus and encouragement of discussing it with him. "A voi che l'accendeste ..."

Rosalind Halton University of Newcastle, Australia

EDITORIAL REPORT Editorial Procedures

Abbreviations: S, soprano; B, bass. M, measure.

The primary source of five of the seven settings of *A voi che l'accendeste* is the work of one copyist, in *D-Dl*, Mus. 1-I-2,2, described in the Historical Introduction. The manuscript contains three unique copies of settings by Lulier, Bononcini, and Mangiarotti. Perti, the first composer whose setting appears in this manuscript, is represented in three other manuscripts, two Italian (*GB-Lbl* Add. Ms. 31518 and *B-Lc* Fonds Terry ms.264), and one German source, *D-B* Mus.ms.30136.

Alessandro Scarlatti also figures in the Dresden "anthology", *D-Dl*, Mus.1-I-2,2, as the final setting of the text. Each of the five other copies of his composition has a considerable degree of authority either on the basis of the copyist or the agreement of the source readings with others: it would be difficult to single one of these copies out as the primary source. Clearly the copy by the French composer and collector Sébastien de Brossard is derivative from an Italian (probably Roman) source, but this source also has great interest due to its function in transmitting through a French hand a major example of Scarlatti's solo cantata composition of the 1690s, complete with most of the idiosyncratic markings which are seen in the Roman sources. Despite the authority of the identifiable Roman sources, the unknown copyist of *D-Dl*, Mus. 1-I-2-2 produced a valuable source of Scarlatti's setting, with some dynamic markings (indicating echo phrases) in Aria 4 that appear nowhere else.

In the case of the single-source cantatas, the correction of some apparent errors in the musical text is the task of the editor. In some instances, more than one solution is given, where ambiguities of key, cadence, rhythmic or melodic detail result from an assumed error in the copyist's text. Such cases are noted in the Editorial Notes, or in some instances, by providing an *ossia* measure. When doubt arises over the reading of a pitch or rhythm in a cantata for which multiple sources exist, the variant reading(s) are noted, and the edition gives the reading that has most credibility, and support from at least one other source.

As the poetic text may be consulted in a manuscript collection of Paglia's cantata poetry of the period, *V-CVbav* Vat. Lat.10204, it is this version of the text with the source spellings and punctuation which is given in the "Text and Translation".

In the edition of the scores, a capital letter indicates the beginning of a line in the recitative text, while in arias, the first occurrence of the line is marked with a capital, but not subsequent repetitions.

Tempo and verbal indications

Indications of tempo and character in both Recitative and Aria are included where they appear in at least one source. Elsewhere, each item is marked *Recitativo* or *Aria*, markings that exist in each of the sources. Dynamic markings, where present, are standardized to *f* and *p* (generally from *for* and *pia*).

Clefs

The vocal part of the cantatas is notated in soprano clef (alto clef in two cases), and transcribed in the edition to treble clef. The tenor clef is used for passages in the bass system that are placed

in the tenor register d'-g'. Several of the cantatas (Perti, Pollaroli, Lulier) have a divided bass part in arioso passages, which is shown in all sources on the bass system, with stems up and stems down. This is retained in the edition. It is not indicated in any source how this divided bass part is to be allocated between continuo instruments in performance: most obvious would be for the violoncello to take the upper, melodic part in tenor range, while harpsichord or lute would take the chordal accompaniment of the bass line. It is possible however that the harpsichordist could take both parts, keeping the right hand part in the tenor register.

Time signatures and barring

Time signatures are shown as they appear in the principal source, and variant versions shown in the Editorial Notes. Barring in the meter \(^3\) is often given in units of two bars (i.e., as if in \(^6\)), but this is not consistently done in any source: the barring reflects asymmetrical phrase patterns. In the case of multiple sources where different versions of barring in \(^3\) appear (for example, in Arias 2 and 4 of Scarlatti's setting), arias are given with single measure \(^3\) barring.

Text underlay and beaming

Beaming of the vocal part is shown as in the sources, indicating the text underlay. In the recitatives, the first word of each poetic line is capitalized in the edition. In arias, the first word of each poetic line is capitalized on the first occurrence of that line, but not on subsequent repetitions. Punctuation and spelling has been adopted in the music scores from the modern edition of the Italian poem which forms a separate file of this edition.

Accidentals

Accidentals in the edition follow modern practice, i.e. one accidental applies for the whole measure. In the sources, accidentals are generally repeated for subsequent occurrences in the measure, although some inconsistencies are present, which are usually though not always easy to resolve. The # sign is regularly used to sharpen a pitch and the flat sign to lower by a semitone, where modern practice uses a natural. The natural sign is used sparingly in these sources, for example, to raise B-flat by a semitone.

Accidentals that are editorial suggestions are placed beside the note in parenthesis. Accidentals omitted in one source but present in others are adopted tacitly. Ambiguous or contentious cases are noted in the Editorial Notes.

Figured bass

The first four works in *D-Dl* Mus.1-I-2,2 are sparingly figured, but Alessandro Scarlatti's setting is figured in considerable detail here, as well as in all other sources, suggesting that the figuring derived from the composer's score. It might be assumed therefore that figuring was comparatively sparse in the four other in the manuscript. In the case of single-source works, some editorial figures are supplied in square brackets to suggest realizations that could be considered stylistically appropriate.

Da capo arias

The term "da capo" is not used through all five settings by the copyist of the "anthology" source *D-Dl* Mus.1-I-2,2 who writes out the repeat of A sections in full. This is retained in the edition. The only sources that consistently use "da capo" are the Berlin sources *D-B* Mus. ms. 31097 and *D-B* Mus. ms. 30136, and the alto transposed version of Perti, *B-Lc* Fonds Terry ms.264).

A consequence of the written out D.C. is that the source shows the note value of the final note, and whether the aria concludes with the ritornello or with the singer (something left uncertain in sources using D.C). Variable endings of arias in works that have more than one source (e.g., Perti's setting of *A voi che l'accendeste*) indicate that copyists rather than the composer may often have decided how to notate the end of arias when the D.C. was written in full. In such cases, the final ritornello is given in square brackets, with a note to indicate which source shows the final ritornello.