The Chamber Duets of Agostino Steffani (1654-1728), with Transcriptions and Catalogue.

Timms, C. R

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Download date: 28. Jul. 2019
THE CHAMBER DUETS OF AGOSTINO STEFFANI
(1654 - 1728),

WITH TRANSCRIPTIONS AND CATALOGUE

by

Colin Ronald Timms

Dissertation submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the
Faculty of Music
University of London King's College
1976
ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this dissertation is to consider the duets of Steffani as examples of the secular Italian cantata in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It was impossible to attempt this, however, without first establishing which duets are authentic. This involved detailed study of the sources, and these led inevitably to consideration of the circumstances in which the duets were composed, revised and copied.

The opening chapters place the duets in the context of Steffani's life as a whole and indicate that he began to revise them in 1702. Ascriptions to poets, which are investigated in chapter three, provide some evidence for the authenticity of a group of duets (the Che volette group) which is not to be found in the main source, B.M. HM 23 k 13-20. These manuscripts were written by the most important copyist of Steffani's music, who was not Gregorio Piva (chapter four), and they almost certainly represent the new collection of duets on which Steffani embarked in 1702 (chapter five). Of the five volumes now missing, four may be deduced from other early sources, and the fifth from later manuscripts (chapter six; the Che volette group). The original versions of duets that were revised do not appear in the main sources, but in other manuscripts discussed in chapter seven.

The musical discussion begins with a background chapter concentrating on Steffani's musical education and development, and on the Italian cantata and duet in general. The following chapters, on the texts, style, forms and revisions of his duets, show that these works reflect the influence of the madrigal as well as of the cantata; that they incorporate French stylistic traits; and that in some respects they resemble the contemporary trio sonata. The revisions represent a changed attitude to the form of the duet: compared with the original versions, they comprise a smaller number of longer movements, of which a higher proportion are duets (not solos) and are not repeated.

In a brief Postscript, consideration is given to some duets of doubtful authenticity.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to take this opportunity of thanking all those individuals and institutions without whose assistance the preparation of this dissertation would have been an impossible task. My first debt is to the late Professor Thurston Dart, without whom the dissertation would never have begun, let alone completed. Professor Dart encouraged my interest in Steffani and supervised my research for two and a half years, and I am naturally sorry that he did not see the final result. His place was taken by Dr., now Professor, Brian Trowell. The 'form and content' of the dissertation, and especially of the musical discussion, have benefitted enormously from Professor Trowell's wise suggestions and criticism, and I am extremely grateful for his support and encouragement during the process of writing. I am also grateful to Dr. Pierluigi Petrobelli for his constructive interest in the work.

Although I am particularly indebted to the staff of the Music Room at the British Museum, where the most important sources of Steffani's music are to be found, I am also grateful to librarians and archivists in Europe and the United States of America for allowing me to consult manuscripts in their possession and for supplying microfilms. The films were purchased, and a visit to Belgium was financed out of a grant from the University of London Central Research Fund; an Italian Government scholarship, administered by the British Council, enabled me to study a large collection of Steffani's papers in Rome and to examine manuscripts of his music there and elsewhere in Italy. For these awards, also, I should like to record my appreciation here.
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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used throughout the dissertation:

- **DBT**: Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern
- **MGG**: Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart
- **SfMG**: Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft
- **WECIS**: Wellealey Edition Cantata Index Series
- **ZIMG**: Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft

NOTE

Much of this dissertation had already been typed when the British Museum was renamed the British Library. For this reason, the institution is referred to throughout this dissertation as the British Museum.
PART I

THE PEOPLE
THE LIFE OF AGOSTINO STEFFANI

Introduction

Steffani was one of the most remarkable men of his time. Besides being an outstanding composer he was also an distinguished churchman and diplomat. Several of his contemporaries equalled him in versatility, but few achieved such eminence in their fields. Born near Venice in 1654, he spent most of his life in Germany: Munich (1667-88), Hanover (1688-1703 and 1709-28) and Düsseldorf (1703-9). He was Director of Chamber Music at Munich and Kapellmeister at Hanover (until c. 1696), and he also undertook diplomatic missions for both courts. At Düsseldorf he was appointed General President of the Palatine Government. The last third of his life was devoted to the church: he was made Bishop of Spiga in 1706 and Apostolic Vicar in northern Germany in 1709, a position he held until his death at Frankfurt am Main in 1728.

There is no thorough biography of Steffani in English; the fullest account\(^1\) is based entirely on secondary sources. This is not for want of material. The archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (de Propaganda Fide), Rome, include eighty-six volumes of letters and other documents that Steffani had with him when he died. This collection, known as the Fondo Spig, was described by Einstein in 1909,\(^2\) and

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extracts from some of the letters have since been published. The papers left in Hanover at the time of Steffani's death are now in the Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv at Hanover, and they were combed by Father Franz Woker towards the end of the last century. Both collections relate mainly to Steffani's diplomatic and ecclesiastical duties.

His musical activities are less well documented. The best evidence, of course, is provided by the scores and librettos of his works, but his important correspondence with Sophie Charlotte of Prussia can be pieced together from the publications of Doebner and Ebert. In addition, a considerable amount of archival information has appeared in print, relating to music at Munich, Hanover and Düsseldorf.


4 Woker, Aus den Papieren des kurpfälzischen Ministers Agostino Steffani (Cologne, 1885); Agostino Steffani, Bisc of von Spiga i.p.i. (Colno ne, 1886); 'Der Tondichter Agostino Steffani', Der Katholik, lxvii (Mainz, 1887), pp. 312-29 and 421-32; and 'Der apostolische Vikar des deutschen Nordens Agostino Steffani', Der katholische Seelsorger, xi (Paderborn, 1899), pp. 425-36, 468-79 and 514-24.


6 Rudhart, Geschichte der Oper am Hofe zu München (Freising, 1865); Maier, 'Archivalische Excerpte über die herzoglich bayerische Hofkapelle', Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch, vi (1891), pp. 69-81; and Nelsor, Servio Tullic: eine Oper aus de Jahre 1685 von Agost o Steffani (Leipzig, 1902).

7 Chrysander, 'Geschichte der Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttelschen Capelle und Oper von XVI. bis zum XVIII. Jahrhundert', Jahrbuch für Musikalische Wiss nachart, i (1863), pp. 147-286; Fischer, 1 sik in Hannover (Hanover, 1903); and Ibid., 'Musik in Hannover', Monats fü für Musikgeschichte, xxxv (1903), pp. 86-95, 99-108 and 149-51.

8 Walter, Geschichte des Theaters und der Musik am kurpfälzischen Hofe (Leipzig, 1895); Einstein, 'Italienische Musik in der Hamburger Wittelsbacher Zeit 1614-1716', Stie, ix (1907-8), pp. 336-424; and Zobeley,
The earliest published references to Steffani are found in the works of Johann Mattheson. Although Mattheson refers to him as a composer of successful operas and incomparable chamber duets, he gives surprisingly little biographical information about him. A fuller account appears in Walther's Musikalisches Lexikon (Leipzig, 1732); it includes a list, compiled from Mattheson's Der Musicalische Patriot (Hamburg, 1728), of all the operas by Steffani that had been performed in Hamburg.

It seems that Sir John Hawkins was familiar with neither of these works, for his Memoirs of the Life of Agostino Steffani, the earliest full biography of the composer, includes no such list. The Memoirs are undated, but they were probably printed about 1750. Only a few copies were run off, Hawkins giving them to his musical friends. They were printed in the unusual format of oblong folio so as to be bound into manuscript copies of Steffani's duets. Ten copies survive thus, plus a few separate copies. The Memoirs were published in 1761, unchanged and with the author's consent, in the Gentleman's Magazine.

'Die Musik am Hofe des Kurfürsten Johann Wilhelm von der Pfalz', Neues Archiv für die Geschichte der Stadt Heidelberg und der Kurpfalz, xiii (Heidelberg, 1928), pp. 133-64.


10 Sections 22-4 of Der Musicalische Patriot are a list of operas by all composers performed in Hamburg 1678-1728.

11 The B.M. catalogue suggests 1740. A note-book belonging to Horace Walpole gives 1758 (Scholes, The Life and Activities of Sir John Hawkins (London, 1953), pp. 34-5). Hawkins submitted the manuscript of the Memoirs to Dr. Johnson for his approval; he became associated with Johnson in 1749. Among those who supplied information for the work was J. C. Pepusch (Gentleman's Magazine, xxxi (1761), p. 491), who died in 1752: if the Memoirs had been printed after that date, Hawkins would probably have referred to him as 'the late' Dr. Pepusch. The Memoirs were presumably printed, therefore, c. 1749-52.

12 Vol. xxxi (1761), pp. 489-92. Since this form of the Memoirs is the more accessible, it is used for all further references.
Like Mainwaring's *Memoirs of Handel* (London, 1760), Hawkins' *Memoirs of Steffani* were soon translated into German. Versions appeared in *Der Zufriedene*, i (Nuremberg, 1763), and in the *Hamburgisches Journal*, i (Hamburg, 1764). The article on Steffani in Forkel's *Musikalischer Almanach für Deutschland auf das Jahr 1784* draws exclusively on the Hamburg version, and later lexicographers rely heavily on the same account. It is partly due to Hawkins that interest in Steffani continued for so long into the nineteenth century and has never completely died.

The only important eighteenth-century biography compiled independently of Hawkins is that of Riccati, which is based on first-hand knowledge of the Fondo Spiga. Riccati's account was re-discovered by Einstein, and material from it appeared, together with the fruits of his own researches in Rome and in Steffani's native town, in his article of 1910. This article, which covers Steffani's early years (1654-88), is the most authoritative published account by a musicologist of a substantial period in the composer's life. Gerhard Croll's articles and edition contain much useful information, but his dissertation remains unpublished. Keppler's

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14 For example, Gerber, *Historisch-biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler* (Leipzig, 1790-2) and Lipowski, *Bayerisches Musik-Lexicon* (Munich, 1811).

15 'Notizie di Monsig. Agostino Steffani', *Nuova Raccolta d'Opuscoli Scientifici e Filologici*, xxxiii (Venice, 1779).


essay on the Hanover operas helps to fill the gap, but there is still no full-scale biography.

There is unfortunately no room for such a biography in this dissertation. The following brief account of Steffani's life is intended simply as a backcloth against which the later chapters may be seen in their proper perspective.

**Biography**

Steffani was born on 25th July, 1654, at Castelfranco, a small town to the north of Padua. His immediate ancestors originated in Padua and moved to Castelfranco about 1570, but one branch of his family can be traced back to mid-sixteenth-century Venice. Agostino was the fifth of seven children. Of the two others that survived past infancy, one was the librettist Ventura Terzago.

Although the Steffani were probably reasonably well-off, they were neither well-to-do nor, to quote Hawkins, 'distinguished for their rank in life'. Among Agostino's contemporary relatives were two priests, a doctor of medicine and a doctor of laws of Padua university. There was one rich uncle - the brother of Agostino's mother; friends tried to pers-
suede him to purchase Venetian Nobility at the time of the War of Candia (1667-9), but without success.26

Despite the years he spent in Germany, Steffani always considered Padua his home. It is there that his formal education began, apparently in a municipal school.27 Of the 'many lais' with whom he studied,28 some remained loyal friends for the rest of their lives. Chief among these was Count Girolamo Frigimelica-Roberti,29 an architect and a librettist of some importance.30

It seems very likely that Steffani began to study music at an early age and that he had a good treble voice. Hawkins says he had an excellent voice and conjectures that he sang as a boy 'in the choir of some neighbouring cathedral church or chapel'.31 There is nothing in Steffani's letters to support this statement, but it is clear from the letters of Violanta Beatrice and Sophie Charlotte that he was a singer in later life,32 and he appears to have sung at Cardinal Ottoboni's concerts in Rome in the winter of 1708-9.33

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27 Riccati (op. cit., p. 4) says he studied 'sotto que' Precettori che il Comune manteneva a beneficio della gioventù'.


29 See below, p. 54.


31 Loc. cit.

32 See below, pp. 32 and 36.

33 See the subsidiary material at the back of this volume, fascicle 2, p. 374.
In July, 1667, at nearly thirteen years of age, Steffani was taken to Munich by the Elector Ferdinand Maria of Bavaria. He remained there for twenty-one years (1667-88). It was a fortunate move, especially from the point of view of his musical development. The musical life of the court was strongly influenced by the taste of the Electress Henrietta Adelaide, a princess of Savoy. She brought Italian opera to Munich in 1653 and established a tradition of opera that was fostered by successive Kapellmeisters - J. K. Kerll (1656-73), E. Bernabei (1674-1687), G. A. Bernabei (1688-1732) - and by Steffani himself.

Steffani never became Kapellmeister at Munich. He began as a singer and rose to court organist, but his highest appointment was as Director of Chamber Music. His name first appears in a court payroll in early 1668: 'Augustin Stephani Hof Musico zum neuen Jahr und anders laut Ordinanz f. 36'. The words 'und anders' suggest that he may have taken part in Kerll's Le Pretensioni del Sole, which was performed in November, 1667.

In July, 1668, he was appointed 'court and chamber musician' and it was decreed that he should go to Kerll for organ lessons. He remained with him until October, 1671, but was then placed in the care of a valet de

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34 Einstein, op. cit., pp. 7-10.

35 For the history of opera at Munich, see Brockpähler, Handbuch zur Geschichte der Barockoper in Deutschland (Emsdetten, 1964), pp. 274-82 and Bolongaro-Crevenna, L'Arpa Festante (Munich, 1963).

36 Einstein, op. cit., p. 10.

37 The rôle of Aurora was sung by a 'gratissimo e gratiosissimo soprano' (Maier, op. cit., p. 71). Einstein's conclusion that this must have been Steffani may be based on Schiedermair's version of the record ('Die Anfänge der Münchener Oper', SIMC, v (1903-4), p. 454), which includes the name 'Agostino'.

38 Einstein, loc. cit.
chambre and treasury official by the name of Augustin Scaler.\footnote{Ibid., p. 11.} The reasons for this move are not clear, but later events suggest that Steffani and Kerli had fallen out.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 11-2.}

The following year Steffani was sent to Rome to study composition. His teacher was Erode Bernabei, maestro di cappella at St. Peter's, and the immediate result of his studies was a collection of Vespers psalms, \textit{Psalmodia Vespertina Volans Octo Plenia Vocibus Concipenda} (Rome, 1674).\footnote{See below, Appendix A.} The psalms, which are scored for antiphonal four-part choirs, are in the polychoral idiom of Orazio Benevolo. An autograph manuscript in the Fitzwilliam Museum (MS 30 F 2) includes dated drafts of four other pieces which were composed at about the same time but not published: \textit{Laudate pueri} (SSATB/SATB; November 1673); \textit{Triduanae a Domino} (SSAT/SSAT; 20th November, 1673); \textit{Laudate Dominum} (eight sopranos; 30th December, 1673) and \textit{Sperate in Deo} (SSATB and organ; 1674). \textit{Sperate in Deo} includes duet sections for the two sopranos and recitatives for the tenor and bass, and ends with a five-part fugue. Steffani is not known to have composed any of his secular music in Rome, but it seems very likely that he became acquainted there with cantatas by composers such as Carissimi (died 1674), Cesti (died 1669) and Stradella (died 1682).\footnote{See below, pp. 144-50.}

This period in Rome (October 1672 - May 1674) was a decisive influence on Steffani's development as a composer, and he might have stayed there longer if his teacher had not been offered the post of Kapellmeister at Munich following the departure of Kerli in 1673. Bernabei moved to Munich in the summer of 1674, and Steffani returned with him.\footnote{Einstein, op. cit., pp. 16-7.} He was still under twenty
years of age.

Some time during the next few years he was appointed court organist. Although the earliest reference to the 'Hof und Camer Organisten Augustino Steffani' is in a decree of 4th July, 1678, it is possible that he was appointed immediately on his return from Rome, for on 1st March, 1675, he was granted a rise in salary backdated to the previous July.  

No accounts of Steffani's organ playing survive, but impressions presumably of his harpsichord playing are recorded in the dispatches of the Bavarian resident at Turin, J. B. Schalck. Steffani visited Paris in 1678-9 and had the honour of playing before the King. On his way back to Munich in May, 1679, he visited Turin, where he played before Cardinal d'Estreë and 'Madame Reale'. His 'habileté vnnd adrette' and his 'zierliches vund delicates spillen' were much admired by the whole court. He must have been a fine player, yet there is no evidence that he wrote any music for harpsichord or organ.

Steffani's progress at Munich was checked by the arrival in 1677 of Giuseppe Bernabei, son of Erode. By 1680 Bernabei had composed no fewer than five operas (Steffani had not yet written any) and been appointed vice-Kapellmeister. With the death of the Elector Ferdinand Maria in 1679

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44Ibid., p. 21.

45Ibid., p. 17 and Maier, op. cit., p. 72. According to Rudhart, (op. cit., p. 73), Steffani was organist from July, 1674.

46He may have seen Lully's Bellérophon, which was first performed on 31st January, 1679. Steffani's operas were much influenced by Lully's style, but there is no evidence for Sievers' statement (Die Musik in Harnover (Hanover, 1961), p. 54) that he studied with Lully for two years.

47Marie Jeanne Baptiste de Savoie-Nemours, Regent of Savoy 1675-84.

48Einstein, op. cit., p. 21.
and the accession of the Elector Maximilian II Emanuel in 1680, however, Steffani's fortunes improved. He was appointed Director of Chamber Music from 1st January, 1681, and his first opera, Marco Aurelio, was given its first performance in the very same month. The libretto was by his brother, Ventura Terzago, who had moved to Munich in 1677. Steffani composed four more operas for Munich - Solone (Terzago; 1685), Servio Tullio (Terzago; 1686), Alarico il Baltha, cioè l'Audace Rà de' Goti (Luigi Orlandi; 1687) and Niobe, Regina di Tebe (Orlandi; 1688). His other Munich works include: a Serenata 'alla maniera d'Italia' (1682); a tourney, Audacia e Rispetto (Terzago; 1685); a collection of motets, Sacer Ianus Quadrifrons Tribus Vocibus vel Duabus Qualibet Praetermissa Modulandus (Munich, 1685), and some chamber duets and cantatas. The motets are predominantly imitative in style and show that Steffani was already an expert contrapuntist. They are scored for various three-voiced combinations (SSB, SAT, SAB, STB, ATB) with continuo and may be performed.

49 Ibid., p. 22.
50 The music is lost.
52 The words and music are lost.
53 The music is lost. Parts of the libretto in DTB, xii/2, pp. xxviii-xxix.
54 Composed by 13th March, 1684 (Maier, op. cit., p. 73). Two motets in DTB, vi/2 (Leipzig, 1905). See below, Appendix A.
55 See below, p. 31.
56 The main source is Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS 178 ('Trastulli'), four volumes of arias and cantatas for soprano and bass voices with obbligato instruments. The pieces are unascribed; some come from Briseide, which is probably by Pietro Torri (see below, pp.20-1), and others also may be inauthentic. The Eight Songs for Solo Voice edited by Parker-Smith in Smith College Music Archives (Northampton, Mass., 1951) stem from this source.
as trios, or else as duets, any one of the voices being omitted. The four-headed Janus of the title is a reference to these four possible methods of performance.

Under the Elector Maximilian, Steffani also took the first important step in his career as a diplomat. This was in the matter of the elector's marriage. Among the ladies under consideration was Princess Sophie Charlotte of Hanover. Steffani was strongly in favour of a match with her and was made responsible for negotiations with that court; among those with whom he dealt was his future librettist, Abbate Ortensio Mauro. Most of the court at Munich, however, and the state council of the Imperial court at Vienna, wanted the elector to marry Maria Antonia, Archduchess of Austria. Sophie settled the matter herself by marrying the Electoral Prince of Brandenburg in 1684; and Maximilian married Maria Antonia the following year.

The negotiations provided Steffani with what appear to have been his first contacts with Sophie Charlotte and the courts of Hanover and Vienna. These all proved important later on: Sophie became one of the most ardent admirers of his chamber duets; Steffani himself moved to Hanover in 1688 and his experience of the Imperial court equipped him for two of his later diplomatic missions. His departure from Munich may have been due partly to an injustice done to his brother, but it also seems likely that Steffani was beginning to feel frustrated there. Giuseppe Bernabei succeeded his father as Kapellmeister in January, 1688; by May, Steffani had made arrangements to move to Hanover.

58 See below, pp. 32-43.
He remained there for fifteen years (1688-1703). The first half of this period was devoted mainly to musical activities, the second mainly to diplomatic missions. He was the first Kapellmeister at Hanover since the accession of Duke Ernst August in 1680.\(^6\) The duke, a Lutheran, had dismissed most of the Kapelle of his Catholic predecessor, but he still retained a small band of instrumentalists under the direction of the distinguished violinist, Jean Baptiste Farinelli.\(^6\) This band formed the nucleus of Steffani's opera orchestra.

It was primarily to provide operas that Steffani was engaged. Italian operas had been produced at Hanover in the 1670s and 80s, but performances were very few and far between;\(^6\) there was no permanent company and the theatre was inadequate. Ernst August put opera on a permanent footing; he built a magnificent new theatre,\(^6\) imported leading Italian singers and appointed Steffani musical director. The following decade was the heyday of the Hanover opera.

Most of the operas performed in that period (1689-97) were composed by Steffani:\(^6\)

\(^6\)Keppler, op. cit., p. 352.

\(^6\)Fischer, Musik in Hannover, p. 23.

\(^6\)It is uncertain which operas were performed. See Fischer, op. cit., pp. 14-7; Abbetmeyer, Zur Geschichte der Musik am Hofe in Hannover vor Agostino Steffani 1636-89 (Hanover, 1931), p. 34; Brockpähler, op. cit., pp. 217-8, and Keppler, op. cit., pp. 350-2.


\(^6\)List based on Brockpähler, loc. cit.; Keppler, op. cit. and Croll, article 'Steffani', MGG, xii, cols. 1212-3.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Performance</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Acts</th>
<th>Librettist</th>
<th>Composer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1689</td>
<td>Henrico Leone</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ortensio Mauro</td>
<td>Steffani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1689</td>
<td>La Lotta d'Hercole con Acheloo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mauro</td>
<td>probably Steffani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1690</td>
<td>La Superbia d' Alessandro</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mauro</td>
<td>Steffani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1691</td>
<td>Orlando Generoso</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mauro</td>
<td>Steffani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1692</td>
<td>Le Rivali Concordi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mauro</td>
<td>Steffani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1693</td>
<td>La Libertà Contenta</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mauro</td>
<td>Steffani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1695</td>
<td>Baccanali</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mauro</td>
<td>probably Steffani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1695</td>
<td>I Trionfi del Fato</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mauro</td>
<td>Steffani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1696</td>
<td>Briseide</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Francesco Palmieri</td>
<td>probably Pietro Torri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1697</td>
<td>La Costanza nelle Selve</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mauro</td>
<td>Luigi Mancia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The six three-act operas definitely by Steffani survive in autograph manuscripts in the British Museum. There are no autographs of the two one-act pieces, but a reference in Mattheson's Der Musicalische Patriot seems to imply that La Lotta, at least, is authentic. Torri was engaged as Kapellmeister for carnival, 1696, so it is very likely that Briseide is by

66 See below, pp. 52-7.

67 See below, pp. 49-51.

68 RM 23 h 7-9, RM 23 f 12-14, RM 23 i 13-15, RM 23 k 2-4, RM 23 h 19-21 and RM 23 i 3-5 respectively.

69 Keppler, op. cit., p. 349, footnote 9.
Steffani's operas exerted a powerful influence on the development of opera in northern Germany. His three-act operas were all translated into German by Gottlob Fiedler and staged in Hamburg between 1695 and 1699. These versions were also performed at Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, along with others by G. B. Schürmann. The arias from Orlando Generoso were published at Lübeck in 1699, and by 1704-6 it appears that two books of instrumental music from Steffani's operas had been issued by Roger in Amsterdam.

It is impossible to ascertain exactly when Steffani ceased to function as Kapellmeister at Hanover. He was continually away on diplomatic missions after about 1696, and it is very doubtful whether he ever held the post after the temporary appointment of Pietro Torri that year. No clues are to be found in the records of the court treasury, because his salary was paid out of a separate fund entirely at the discretion of the Duke Ernst August. After the death of the duke in 1698, however, Steffani's position is perfectly clear. The Elector Georg Ludwig closed down the opera-house and placed the Kapelle in the hands of Francesco Palmieri, the librettist of Briseide. Steffani was employed exclusively on diplomatic missions, and his salary was paid by the treasury.

His first mission antedates these events by several years. In 1691 he was sent to Vienna to negotiate the elevation of Hanover to the ninth

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70 Ibid., pp. 348-9.
72 Ibid., pp. 90-3. There were also performances in Augsburg, Berlin and Weimar.
73 See below, Appendix A.
74 Keppler, op. cit., pp. 342-3.
Electorate. The negotiations were concluded successfully, and he returned in December, 1692. The elevation to the electorate was an important step in Hanover's rise to power which culminated in the succession to the English throne in 1714.

The next mission was a much more complicated affair. In 1693 Steffani was appointed Hanoverian 'Envoy Extraordinary' to the Bavarian court at Brussels (the Elector Maximilian was made Imperial Lieutenant in the Spanish Netherlands in 1691 and moved to Brussels the following year). In this capacity, Steffani played an important part in the manoeuvres that preceded the War of the Spanish Succession. It was almost inevitable that war should break out after the death of Charles II in November, 1700, and it soon became clear that the Elector Maximilian would side not with the Emperor but with Louis XIV. It was Steffani's job to try to make him change his mind. He followed Maximilian to Munich in the autumn of 1701 and stayed there till June, 1702; then, in a last-minute attempt to bring pressure to bear on the elector, he visited Hanover, Koblenz, Bonn, Düsseldorf, Munich and Vienna. The attempt failed, and Steffani returned to Hanover in July. Maximilian besieged the city of Ulm in September but was defeated and exiled.

75 Fischer, 'Musik in Hannover', p. 90.
76 Bittner and Gross (ed.), Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder seit dem Westfälischen Frieden (1648), i (Oldenburg and Berlin, 1936), p. 66.
77 Einstein, 'Die Briefe der Königin Sophie Charlotte', p. 86.
78 Steffani to Fede, 11th July, 1706. Loc. cit.
79 Woker, Aus den Papieren, p. 2.
80 Croll (ed.), Il Tassilone, p. V.
These events had a profound effect on Steffani. He was utterly dejected at his own failure, and it pained him to think of the fate of Maximilian. He sought consolation in music.

In the autumn of 1702 he began to revise and compile a new, complete manuscript collection of his chamber duets. Nearly all of the duets that survive today had been composed by this time; a few had been written specially for Sophie Charlotte and sent to her from Brussels, but most of them had been written in Munich and Hanover. Sophie assisted and encouraged him in the project, but he appears to have stopped revising in the spring of 1703. He moved to Düsseldorf in March, and the task of copying the duets was completed by one or more scribes.

During the remainder of his life, Steffani had comparatively little to do with music. He is credited with three operas performed at Düsseldorf, but only one of these, Il Tassilone (1709), was a new composition. Arminio (1707) is a pasticcio assembled from some of his Hanover and Munich operas and containing only a small proportion of newly-composed items, and Amor vien dal Destino (1709) was probably written in Hanover. It may have been intended for performance in 1694, but no new opera was produced there that year, perhaps on account of the Königsmark affair. Apart from a few chamber duets (c. 1703-13), Steffani appears to have composed little else until 1726-8.

81 For detailed discussion of this project, see below pp. 38-43.

82 Lang wonders whether the opera is not by Gregorio Piva (Musical Quarterly, xliv (1959), pp. 412-7). The title-page of the harpsichord part ascribes the work to Piva (see below, p. 63), but the Presto in the overture is identical to that in La Libertà Contenta.


84 Ibid., pp. 82-3 and Keppler, op. cit., p. 351.
His appointments at Düsseldorf, where he remained for six years (1703–9), were mainly of a political nature. He was appointed as a privy councillor and as President of the Spiritual Council for the Palatinate and the Duchies of Jülich and Berg. In November or December, 1703, he was made General President of the Palatine Government, and during the absence of the Elector Johann Wilhelm in 1704, he acted as his deputy. In November, 1704, he was made a curator at the University of Heidelberg.

It was during these years at Düsseldorf that his career as a churchman also gathered momentum. This career began many years earlier in Munich: Steffani was ordained a priest in 1680 and in 1683 was appointed Abbot of Ipsingen, a sinecure in the Protestant earldom of Öttingen-Wallerstein, halfway between Augsburg and Nuremberg. By 1695 he had also been made an Apostolic Protonotary. The title of this appointment is not known — the information appears in the subtitle to his doctoral dissertation, Qua Certa Bia da suoi Principii Lusico (Amsterdam, 1659). The translation was reprinted in J. L. Albrecht's Das Beschützte Orchester, p. 40 and pp. 300–2 and in Spiess, Tractatus Mus'cous Compositorio-Practicus (Augsburg, 1745), p. 3. The reprint was reviewed in Harpurg's Historisch-kritischer Trakt, v (Berlin, 1760), p. 247–9.
ber, 1706, and consecrated in that office in Bamberg cathedral in January, 1707. In November, 1708, he arrived in Rome to try to mediate in an embarrassing dispute between the Pope and the Emperor; his mission was entirely successful, and the Pope rewarded him by making him a Domestic Prelate and Assistant to the Throne.

His most important ecclesiastical appointment, that of Apostolic Vicar in northern Germany, was made in April, 1709. Although he continued to act as minister and Grand Almoner to the Elector Johann Wilhelm (a post he had held since 1706), Steffani was now a full-time servant of the church. Like earlier Apostolic Vicars, he chose Hanover as his base; he moved there in November, 1709 and, apart from a three-year period in Italy, remained there for the rest of his life.

The post of Apostolic Vicar was extremely demanding. The vicariate was large, embracing all the Brunswick lands, the Palatinate and the Kingdom of Prussia, and the Catholics were too few in number for a normal diocesan system. Steffani was responsible, therefore, for maintaining and supervising existing missions and churches and for founding new ones. One of his first achievements was to build a new church in Brunswick; he consecrated

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91 Riccati, op. cit., pp. 11-4. Spiga is in Turkey not, as Hawkins says (op. cit., p. 491), in the 'Spanish West Indies'.
92 Woker, op. cit., p. 15.
93 Ibid., pp. 52-109.
94 Ibid., Agostino Steffani, Bischof von Spiga i.p.i., p. 5.
95 Ibid., 'Der apostolische Vikar des deutschen Nordens', p. 431.
96 Ibid., Aus den Papieren, p. 15.
97 Ibid., Agostino Steffani, Bischof von Spiga i.p.i., pp. 9-10.
it himself in December, 1712. 99 

He was continually hampered in his work by shortage of money. Apart from Lepsingen, he had three sources of income - a small stipend from the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, the abbacy of San Stefano in Carrara, near Padua, and a provostship in the Rhenish town of Seltz. It is doubtful whether he ever received anything from Seltz, however, for the French Jesuits at Strassburg also claimed the income as their right. Steffani fought them by letter for the rest of his life, 100 but soon after his death the Elector Palatine signed away his right to the revenue.

Steffani's difficulties were aggravated in 1714-8 by the loss of several people who had given him material and psychological support. In 1714, Duke Anton Ulrich of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel died and Elector Georg Ludwig of Hanover moved to England. The year 1716 brought the death of Elector Johann Wilhelm and of the philosopher Gottfried Leibniz, a friend of Steffani since at least 1688. 101 Franz-Arnold, Prince-Bishop of Münster and Paderborn, with whom Steffani used to spend the winter at Herten, died in 1718, 102 and Steffani resigned the abbacy of San Stefano in 1719 - perhaps because he had discovered that his agent in Padua was a crook. 103

By 1722, he was so short of money and so dispirited that he retired to Italy. He visited Venice but spent most of the time quietly in Padua.

99 Ibid., pp. 44-5.

100 The affair is recounted in Woker, 'Der apostolische Vikar des deutschen Nordens'.

101 Einstein, op. cit., pp. 32-3.


He was anxious to return to Hanover and did everything he could to raise enough money. Assured of a small grant from the Curia and a pension arranged by representatives from Hanover, England and France, he returned in November, 1725. His fortunes did not improve: only a grant from the Imperial treasury saved him from returning to Italy the following year, and in 1726–7 he was reduced to selling his books and pictures.

His last years were brightened, however, by his election to President of the Academy of Ancient Music. It is not certain when he first became involved with the Academy, but in December, 1726, he received a letter from the Modenese resident in London, Giuseppe Riva, asking him if he could send them some of his compositions. Steffani evidently agreed: by 7th July, 1727, he had composed and sent over the five-part motet Qui diligit Mariam, and by 16th September the Academy had acquired both the Italian and German versions of his treatise (Quanta Certezza), manuscript copies of his twelve motets of 1685, a good number of his chamber duets and the

105 Ibid., p. 132.
106 Ibid., 'Der apostolische Vikar des deutschen Nordens', pp. 521-2 and Loschelder, op. cit., p. 29.
108 A copy of the madrigal in Durham, Chapter Library, MS Mus. E. 15 is headed: 'Abbas Stephano - 5 Voc: Sent to our Academy at ye Crown Tavern 1726'.
109 Described by Galliard in a letter of 7th July, 1727 (ff. 155-6 of the collection in the Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv). The motet is not named, but the description fits Qui diligit Mariam.
vocal trio, *Al rigor d'un bel sembiante.* These works may have been sent over in the earlier part of 1727, for the Academy elected him president on 1st June. Some time after 16th September, he sent over a further copy of six of his motets and composed his six-part *Stabat Mater.*

The four-part madrigal, *Se già t'amai,* may belong to the same period.

There seems little doubt that if Steffani had lived longer he would have continued to compose. This was not to be. His health deteriorated during the winter of 1727-8, and on 12th February, 1728, he died of an apoplexy in Frankfurt am Main. He was buried there, in the church of St. Bartholomew.

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110 Haym to Steffani, 16th September, 1727. *Fondo Spiga,* vol. 62. See Loschelder, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-8, who suggests that Needler wrote the letter. The Royal College of Music MS 1023 may be one of the motet manuscripts mentioned in the list.

111 See below, p. 61.

112 Apparently the London, Guildhall, MS G. mus. 418. See below, pp. 65-6.

113 Woker, 'Der Tondichter Agostino Steffani,' p. 424.


Comparatively little is known of the circumstances surrounding the composition and performance of Steffani's chamber duets. The only documentary evidence that he composed duets at Munich is a reference in a letter from the former Bavarian princess, Violanta Beatrice, who on 25th August, 1693, asked him to send her some of those 'duetti che si cantavano in Baviera alla Tavola'. Hawkins is certainly right in saying that he composed duets at Hanover, yet there is only one contemporary reference to performances there (or rather, at Herrenhausen), and this again occurs in a letter. Compared with opera, an infrequent luxury, chamber music attracted little attention from contemporary chroniclers.

Although most of the duets were composed in unknown circumstances for persons who cannot now be identified, a few of them can be traced to specific patrons. As Hawkins says:

'... it appears by little memorandums, in several copies, that many of his duets were composed at the request of divers ladies of distinction, and that some of them were made for their own private practice, and amusement. Who the particular persons were, we are at a loss to discover, as they are distinguished only by the initial letters, denoting their quality; except in the instance of the two duets, beginning Inquieto mio cor, and Che volete, these appearing to have been made for, and sung by her highness the electress of Brandenburg.'


3 German translation in Woker, Aus den Papieren des kurpfälzischen Ministers Agostino Steffani (Cologne, 1885), p. 22. Singers supposed to have taken part in these performances are listed in Fischer, Musik in Hannover (Hanover, 1903), p. 28.

4 Loc. cit. Hawkins names the Electress incorrectly as Sophie Dorothea. The dedications to her in the Berlin MS 21210 presumably stem from his mistake.
The passage may be misleading. The 'memorandums' in surviving copies affect only a handful of duets (not 'many'), and all of these were composed for the Electress of Brandenburg (not for 'divers ladies' or 'persons'). A manuscript that was destroyed during the last war contained a duet inscribed to the Elector of Bavaria; it is possible that other informative sources have also been lost, but Hawkins may also have been exaggerating.

All the same, he provides a valuable clue. The 'ladies' of Munich and Hanover can be identified, and some of them were very musical. The Electress Henrietta Adelaide of Bavaria, for example, was a singer, and her husband, the Elector Ferdinand Maria, played the harpsichord. She left Munich when he died in 1679, so any pieces Steffani wrote for her must be among his earliest compositions. There is no evidence that Maria Antonia, the bride of Elector Maximilian II Emanuel, had any gift for music.

Violanta Beatrice

The chief admirer of Steffani's music at Munich seems to have been Princess Violanta Beatrice. Her relations with him while they were both at Munich are undocumented, but a few letters survive from the 1690s, by which time he was in Hanover and she, having married Grand Prince Ferdinando de' Medici, had moved to Tuscany.

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5See below, p. 37.


Steffani occasionally sent her pieces of music during this period. On 23rd October, 1691, she thanked him for some 'Ariette Francesi' which, if it were not for her letter, would be completely unknown. On 2nd June, 1692, she thanked him for 'questi ultimi Componimenti Musicaali inviatimi di Roma dal Sig. Conte Bernardi', and on 4th January, 1693, she wrote:

'I found your musical compositions to be in keeping with your wonderful genius that created them... Meanwhile, I thank you for the consideration you showed in sending me the other duets so promptly, and I shall say something more precise and particular about them when the time comes...'

The words 'the other duets' imply that by this time Steffani had already sent her two parcels of duets. None of them can now be identified.

Her letter of August, 1693, mentioned above, includes a list of pieces she wanted sent: 'l'Aria che comincia, crede ogn'un che sia pazzia - l'altra, che comincia, Bel tempo, addio: e l'Arie del M. Aurelio.' Crede ogn'un is the second verse of the soprano solo in Steffani's duet Oh! che voi direste bene. Since this was sung 'alla Tavola' in Bavaria, it was presumably composed before he left Munich in 1688. 'Bel tempo, addio' may refer to a solo cantata by Stradella or to a duet ascribed to G. A. Bernabei. Since Bernabei was at Munich, the latter is more likely.

The princess also admired Steffani's operas. Having asked for the arias from l'arco Aurelio, she praised two of his later Munich operas in a letter of 17th January, 1700. Imagining a performance which she had not

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8 The music has not come to light.

9 'Io hò trovato i suoi Parti musicali simiglianti il suo bell' Ingegno che gli'a prodotti... In tanto le fo buono il pensiero, che prontamente m'ha rimostrato de' gli' altri Duetti, ed a suo tempo le ne darò un cenno più preciso e più distinto...' Loschelder, op. cit., pp. 36-7 and della Corte, op. cit., p. 28.

10 See Jander, Alessandro Stradella. WECIS, fasc. 4a (Wellesley, Mass., 1969), no. 15.

11 Bonn, Musikwissenschaftliches Seminar der Universität, MS Ec. 377. 13. 12. The duet and the cantata both begin with the same theme. In JCG, xii, col. 123, Bel tempo, addio and Crede ogn'un are wrongly listed as lost chamber duets by Steffani.
attended, she wrote:

'Honestly, I wish I had been there in person to partake of that Harmony which makes the spheres themselves jealous. You will have let loose your talent, either on the harpsichord, or in singing, or else in compositions. Oh! most beautiful concert; inimitable director! I am pleased that in the midst of the graver and weightier matters with which you are concerned there are some moments when you release flashes of your genius for music - which owes you so much...

P.S. I am going away to the opera, but I assure you that I no longer hear Servio Tullio or Alarico - nor anything to compare with them - and that is the truth: I still have a very vivid memory of the Abbot Mr. Steffani...'

Her admiration for the music was one facet of her admiration for the man.

It seems very likely that Steffani composed some of his duets for her, but it is impossible to determine which.

**Sophie Charlotte**

As at Munich, so at Hanover the principal admirer of the duets was one of the princesses. The stimulus for music came from Duke Ernst August. The Duchess Sophie commented more than once on his love of 'les Muses', and he may have been something of a harpsichordist. She herself had little interest in music; there is no evidence that she played anything

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12'VeramcentJe mi sarei volentieri trovata di persona in su'l luogo, per partecipare di codesta Armonia, invidiabile dalle sfere istesse et ella avera fatto ballare il suo spirito o su'l Cibralo, o co'l Canto, o con i Componimenti Musicali. Bellissima Accademia! unico regolatore. Mi piace, ch'ella in mezzo alle occupazioni piu gravi, e sostanziose, lasci per qualche momento balenare un sol lampo delle sue Idee a prò della Musica, che tanto le deve... P.S. Je men vais à lopera mais je vous assure que Je netendras plus de Servio Tullio Alarico ny Rien de Semblable et Cela san flanerie Jay tous iours memoire tres vive à Mo' Labbi Stefani.' Loschelder, op. cit., pp. 39-40 and della Corte, loc. cit.


14His initials and the date 1687 appear on the title-page of a manuscript of French keyboard music at Hanover. Fischer, op. cit., p. 27.
but the 'Guitare', and although she accepted the dedication of Barbara Strozzi's Arie, Op. 8 (Venice, 1664), she admitted to falling asleep at the opera.

The musical ladies of Hanover were the princesses Sophie Charlotte and Sophie Dorothea, daughter of Duke Georg Wilhelm of Celle. Both had harpsichord lessons with the court organist, J. A. Coberg. Sophie Dorothea married Prince Georg Ludwig of Hanover in 1682, but in 1694 she was banished for life to the castle of Ahlden. Their daughter, also named Sophie Dorothea (born 1687), continued to live at Hanover. She and her brother, the Electoral Prince Georg August, were introduced to Handel, perhaps with a view to music lessons, when he visited the court in 1703. The prince married the musical Caroline of Ansbach in 1705. She moved to Hanover the same year, but by then Steffani had composed most of his duets and moved to Düsseldorf.

The most important patron of the duets was Sophie Charlotte. Steffani was acquainted with her from at least 1682-3, when he tried to arrange a marriage between her and the Elector Maximilian of Bavaria. She married the Electoral Prince of Brandenburg in 1684 and became the first Queen of Prussia in 1701. As a result of her marriage, the courts of Hanover and Berlin were in close touch until her death in 1705. Thus, al-

18 See the subsidiary material at the back of this volume, fascicle 2, p.375.
19 See above, p. 18.
though Steffani did not move to Hanover until 1688, he had ample opportunity for renewing her acquaintance.  

Sophie Charlotte was by far the most musical member of her family. (Frederick the Great, her grandson, presumably inherited his ability from her.) A competent harpsichordist, she was perfectly capable of directing an opera orchestra. In 1702 she composed the one-act pastoral *I Trionfi di Pernasso*, and towards the end of the year she told Steffani that she was learning to write counterpoint:

'Cependant je ne perds pas mon temps et vous dirai que je veux prendre la lune avec les dents, car j'apprends le contrepoint. Si j'en viens à bout, vous verrez comme je composerai. Je prétends le faire d'une telle manière à vous rendre jaloux. C'est tout dire et je ferai des duetti qui auront la tendresse et le naturel des vôtres.'

Her desire to imitate his duets is perhaps the most eloquent proof of her admiration for them.

Patronage of Steffani was part of her scheme to establish a tradition of Italian music at Berlin. She supplemented the existing court Kapelle, which was officially placed at her disposal in 1699, with a number of new Italian musicians. The Italians did not become members of the Kapelle - most of them were borrowed temporarily from other courts; they were kept at her own expense for her own personal use.

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21. 'Le comte Palmieri qui devait être premier acteur d'un opéra dont je régissais l'orchestre est malade...' Letter of 27th September, 1701. Doebner, op. cit., p. 77. She apparently played continuo in Bononcini's *Polifemo* in 1702 (Yorke-Long, *loc. cit.*).


24. She once confessed that his duets were 'incomparables selon mon goût et toutes les compositions qui me viennent de toute part ne me touchent pas comme celles-là.' Ibid., p. 81.

The main imports were Attilio Ariosti and Giovanni Bononcini. Ariosti, who spent six years in Berlin (1697-1703), was the backbone of the Italian music. He played several instruments, sang, composed and wrote poetry: as Leibnitz pointed out, he could have produced an opera single-handed. Bononcini visited Berlin in 1702 and 1704, but there is no evidence that he held a permanent post there.

It appears that six operas were performed between 1700 and 1702. Sophie was able to draw on the resources of Hanover, where opera had flourished 1689-97. Some of the singers that she imported (e.g. Ferdinando Chiaravalle and Ruggiero Fedeli) had sung in operas there, and most of the librettos were written by Hanoverian poets. The first production was an adaptation of the one-act opera Baccanali, which was first performed in Hanover in 1695.

The works staged in Berlin were:

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<th>Date</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Librettist</th>
<th>Composer</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1700</td>
<td>La Festa del Himeneo</td>
<td>Ortensio Mauro</td>
<td>Ariosti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700</td>
<td>L'Inganno vinto dalla Costanza</td>
<td>Mauro</td>
<td>Ariosti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1701</td>
<td>La Fede ne' Tradimenti</td>
<td>Girolamo Gigli</td>
<td>Ariosti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1702</td>
<td>&quot;Le Fantôme Amoureux&quot;²⁸</td>
<td>Mauro and Francesco Palmieri</td>
<td>Ariosti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²⁶Klopp (ed.), Correspondance de Leibniz avec l'Electrice Sophie de Brunswick-Lunebourg (Hanover, 1874), iii, pp. 21-2.


²⁸Known only from a diary entry in French. Einstein implies that it may be identical with La Fede ne' Tradimenti and that, if so, Mauro sketched the plot and wrote the recitatives and Palmieri wrote the arias ('Briefe der Königin Sophie Charlotte von Preussen und der Kurfürstin Sophie an Agostino Steffani', ZIMG, viii (1906-7), p. 85.)
The departure of Ariosti in 1703 may explain why there was no opera that year. Any plans for future operas must have been abandoned when Sophie died in 1705.

The practice of chamber music was, if anything, more important to her than the production of operas. Steffani's duets were her staple fare and Ariosti and Bononcini her favourite singers; she accompanied:

'... je me ferais un grand plaisir de vous [Steffani] accompagner quelque douet\"to, car j'en ai une bonne quantité. Je les fais chanter à Bononcini et Atilio, car les autres ne les disent pas dans le vrai goût et ils sont dans l'admiration toutes les fois pour celui qui les a composés.'

If one of the singers was unavailable, performances could come to a halt:

'Le grand Bononcini est encore ici, affligé de la mort de sa maîtresse. Cela est cause que je n'ai point eu de musique depuis huit jours.'

Her chamber music depended on the slenderest resources - three performers in all. It was her private amusement.

Sophie must have collected a considerable number of duets. She had copies made from manuscripts belonging to Madame Kielmannseck (later Duchess of Darlington):

'... vos duettis ont été bien chantés grâce à Madame Kilmansec qui m'a prêté tout ce qu'elle avait de votre composition.'

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29 According to Brockpühler, Ariosti wrote the music and Bononcini the libretto.


31 Letter of 21st November, 1702. Ibid., pp. 79-80.

32 Letter of 27th September, 1701. Ibid., p. 77.
Sophie's library passed to Princess Amalia, sister to Frederick the Great, who bequeathed her collection to the Joachimsthal Hochschule. The Berlin MS Am. B. 299 is the only Steffani manuscript to survive from Amalia's library.\(^3\)

It appears that five duets were written specially for Sophie Charlotte. They all date from c. 1698-1700. Two of the were included in a manuscript in the Singakademie in Berlin, which was destroyed in the last war. According to Einstein,\(^3\) Crudo Amor, morir mi sento... was inscribed: 'Per la Elettrice de Brandebourg...Poesia di S.A.S.' The initials stand for 'Sua Altezza Sereni si a' - 'Her Most Serene Highness': Sophie apparently wrote the text of this duet herself. Einstein is probably right in thinking that this is the piece for which she thanked Steffani on 1st June, 1698.

The copy of Io p rto in the same manuscript was inscribed:

'Cantata per il Ser. mo Elettore di Baviera. Poesia del Sig. e Abbate Paglia, l'usica del Sig. e Abbate Steffani'.\(^3\) Although dedicated to the Elector of Bavaria, the duet was also written for Sophie Charlotte. She visited Maximili in Brussels in 1700. She looked forward beforehand to making music with him and asked Steffani to contribute to the occasion by sending her something of his composition:

'...et je ne trouverai aucun voyable, s'il peut e procurer encore l'honneur de le [the lector] revoir et faire mus'ue avec lui. Sur cette espérance je m'en vais bien étudier. J'espère, Monsieur, que vous n'oublierez pas d'y contribuer aussi en m'envoyant de votre composition...'\(^3\)

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\(^3\)Letter of 21st November, 1702. Ibid., pp. 79-80.


\(^3\)Op. cit., p. 86.

\(^3\)Einstein, op. cit., p. 87.

\(^3\)Letter of 28th October, [1700]. Doebner, op. cit., p. 75.
The result was evidently *Io mi parto*, a dialogue duet in which the soprano bids the tenor farewell. Sophie presumably sang it with the elector at the end of her visit.

The other three duets written for her were sent from Brussels in one parcel. When Steffani was revising his duets in November, 1702, he asked her to return them:

'Apres bien de recherches, et bien de peines, j'ay ramassé tous les Originaux de mes Duetti. Si bien qu'il ne me manque que deux des trois, que j'ay eu l'honneur d'envoyer à V.M. de Bruxelles. Je serois fort embarrassé si je devois dire lesquels ce sont, car je ne me souviens pas d'un seul mot: mais je sçay bien que de ce trois là je n'ay que Placidissime Catene, si V.M. veut avoir la Benignité d'ordonner qu'on m'envoie les deux autres au plus viste, elle me fera une grandissime grace...'

One of the three was *Placidissime catene*; the other two were undoubtedly *Che volete* and *Inquieto mio cor* which, as Hawkins must have seen, are inscribed in several copies: 'Per la Ser. ma Eletrice de Brandenburg'.

This is the only group of three that Steffani sent her. They must be the duets for which she thanked him in a letter which can be shown to date from 30th August, 1699. They were probably composed earlier that year.

Steffani's correspondence with Sophie Charlotte is the only documentary source on one of the most important and interesting periods of his life - the autumn and winter of 1702-3. It was during this period that he revised and prepared a new complete collection of his duets. The circumstances that led up to this project have already been described in chapter one. He began in a state of extreme depression. Sophie gave him as

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39. This inscription is taken from the Michigan MS Stellfeld 33 B 44.


41. See above, pp. 22-3.
much psychological support and practical help as anyone could have done - she acted as a friend, not a patron. When his relations with her came to a halt, at about the end of 1702, he appears to have stopped revising his duets almost immediately.

It was initially for consolation that Steffani turned to music in the autumn of 1702. He was not immediately comforted, however, because the pieces he had composed over the previous thirty years were scattered far and wide:

'Je l'ayme [i.e. music] encore tant, Madame [Sophie Charlotte], que je vous advoue franchement que ce n'est pas sans un tres-sensible chagrin, que je voye toutes les bagatelles qui ont fait 30 ans mes occupations plus serieuses; de les voir dis-je si delabrees qu'il n'y a plus de piece qui tienne a l'autre; et de les savoir disperses avec une si cruelle dissipation, que si j'ay dans mes vieux jours quelque reste de Vie a donner a une tranquille oisiveté, je ne puis esperer de me divertir avec ma Musique sans en mendier les pieces de porte en porte hors d'esperance même de les mettre ensemble, comme je les avois mises avec tant de peine, et de plaisir.'42

The first requirement was to gather the compositions together.

This would have been impossible without the co-operation of Sophie Charlotte. She may have been reluctant to part unnecessarily with the duets in her possession, but she put them at his disposal all the same:

'.... [je] vous enverrai la liste de tous les duettis que j'ai et vous choisirez lesquels vous voulez et je les enverrai ou apporterai moi-même.'43

By 26th November, 1702, he had retrieved all his duets, except two of the three that he had sent her from Brussels. He was still waiting for these on 7th December, but he presumably received them shortly afterwards.

The reason why he went to such lengths to collect up all of his duets is that he wanted to bring them together in a new, complete manuscript collection. He did not declare his intention explicitly in his letters, but he hinted at it:

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Mais je ne saurois donner à mon nouvel Ouvrage la forme que je luy
destine, à moins, que V.M. n'ay l'Benignité de m'assister, en
faissant en sorte que le Sr Attilio me renvoie la Musique, que M. de
Kielmanseck luy a laissée; et particulièrement le livre n° 8. des
Duos qui est encore entre ses mains, et les trois que j'ai eu l'honneur
d'envoyer à V.M. de Bruxelles...

It is clear from his reference to 'le livre n° 8. des Duos' that there
had been an earlier collection of the duets, but it is equally clear from the
words 'mon nouvel Ouvrage' that he wanted to replace it. It seems highly
likely that a new collection was prepared and that the British Museum
MSS RM 23 k 13–20 are what survives of it.

The preparation of the new collection inevitably involved revision.

He did not wait to amass all his duets before starting to revise; he
plunged in while in the depths of his depression:

'Dans cette extrémité qui me fait mener une Vie, qui m'est veritable-
ment à charge; je me suis jetté à corps perdu dans la Musique.
Je bouge fort peu de ma Chambre; et n'y suis que près du Clavecin.
J'y lis, j'y ecris, j'y reve; si je rejoy des lettres, ou que j'y
doive faire responce, je fay tout ce-la si près de mon Clavecin,
que je n'ay qu'un pas à faire pour y retourner. Enfin peut s'en
faire que je ne fasse de mon Clavecin ma table à manger, comme
d' autres en font leur Toilette. Ais qu'y faites Vous? Ce que
j'y fay Madame! Je me divertis à bouleverser tous mes Duos, qui
ne me plaise (sic) plus, et je les fay d'une maniere, qui me donne
beaucoup de plaisir.'

The duets he revised are those that pleased him no longer.

Sophie Charlotte was delighted at this news and responded with
passionate encouragement:

'Jettez-vous y [i.e. into music] à corps perdu, je vous prie.
C'est une amie fidele qui ne vous abandonnera pas, qui ne vous
trompera pas, qui n'est pas traîtresse et qui vous n'a jamais
été cruelle, car vous en avez tiré tous les charmes et les
ravissements des cieux....'

44 Letter of 9th November, 1702. Ibid., p. 166.
45 See below, p. 68ff.
Her letter had an immediate effect:

'Les graces, que Vostre Majesté a daigné me faire le 21é de ce mois ont eu tant de pouvoir sur mon esprit, qu'elles ont reveillé sa Muse, qui estoit assoupie depuis quelques jours. A peine ay-je lu la lettre, dont V.M. a voulu m'honorer, qu'un Duetto est tombé de la plume en moins de rien.'

The correspondence seems to have come to an abrupt end with Steffani's letter of 7th December; any letters that passed between them after that date have been lost.

The cause of this surprising turn of events is not known. Sophie became eccentric as she grew older, and alarmingly unpredictable in her relations with other people. Steffani was perhaps a casualty of her unpredictability.

Another possible explanation is that he offended her in some way. Indeed, his letter of 7th December may have given offence: apart from a short paragraph on the duets, it is thoroughly unpleasant and sometimes sarcastic in tone, expressing anger about something that was not her responsibility. He certainly offended her shortly afterwards, when he tried to arrange for the release of Attilio Ariosti. In order to go to Germany, Ariosti, a Servite monk, had had to obtain special permission from the Cardinal Protector of his monastery, Ferdinando de' Medici. In late 1702 or early 1703, the cardinal asked Steffani to arrange for Ariosti to be released, and Steffani broached the subject with Sophie Charlotte. It was the most undiplomatic move he ever made. Ariosti, the central figure in her opera and chamber music, was quite indispensible. Not only did Steffani suggest she might part with him, he offered her no replacement. His impertinence and thoughtlessness displeased her greatly and there is no


49 Yorke-Long, op. cit., p. 98.

evidence that she ever wrote to him again.

It seems very likely that Steffani stopped revising as soon as Sophie withdrew her support. By 7th December he had already finished a couple of dozen duets:

'...lors qu'on aura le bonheur de servir V.M. icy, elle y trouvera une bonne recreue de Duetti, puisqu'il y en a dejà un Couple de douzaines a son tres-humble service.'51

Some of these may have been new compositions, but most of them were probably revised versions. Only seventeen of the duets that survive today are known to have been revised,52 so it is unlikely that many - if any - duets were revised after 7th December, 1702.

Steffani may have worked through his duets alphabetically. The first four of his duets (Ah! che l'ho sempre detto, Aure, voi che volate, Begl'occhi, oh Dio, non piu and Cangia pensier, mio cor) survive in two versions, and he also revised a group of duets from the other end of the alphabet (Tengo per infallibile, Torna a dar vita, Troppo cruda and Vorrei dire). The other revised duets are scattered throughout the alphabet.

It appears that Steffani originally intended to give Sophie a copy of the revised duets. He knew that she would appreciate them more than anyone else:

'...je joue une piece à ceux qui ont mes vieux duos, qui croiront avoir quelque chose, et dans le fond, n'auront chose au Monde. V. Mté ne veut pas estre de ce nombre là: au moins, je m'en flate.'53

The manuscripts meant for her (RM 23 k 7-8) contain a total of twenty-six

51Ebert, 'Briefe Agostino Steffanis', p. 171.

52These survive in two versions. Lungi dal idol mio and M'hai da piangere may also be self-revisions, or reworkings of duets by other composers (see below, p. 324ff). Other duets could be revised versions of which the originals have been lost.

duets; they probably include the two dozen that were ready on 7th December, 1702. That the manuscripts were apparently never given to her is perhaps a further indication that her relations with Steffani had come to an end.

He never needed another musical patron. In March, 1703, he entered the service of the Elector Palatine at Düsseldorf, and the rest of his life was devoted to affairs of church and state. He continued to send pieces to friends who asked for them, but this was a rare occurrence.

In 1711 he sent some 'airs' and guitar pieces to Henrietta Christina, Abbess of Gandersheim and sister to Duke Anton Ulrich of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. If it were not for her letter of thanks, the fact that he composed for the guitar would be quite unknown. Later that year Countess Egmont asked him for copies of the duets Dolce è per voi soffrire and Placidissime catene, which were 'ai celebre parmi' les connoisssieurs'. Her letters provide the nearest information on the date of Dolce è per voi soffrire.

Steffani's most persistent correspondent on the subject of music was Johann Philipp Franz von Schönborn, Prince-Bishop of Würzburg. His requests seem to have been more of a nuisance than a pleasure. Between 1719 and 1722 Steffani went to considerable lengths to procure singers for his Kapelle and sent him four parcels of duets. These manuscripts may still be in the

54 Excluding Quando un eroe (a); see below, p. 83.
56 That he did may be related to the fact that the Duchess Sophie played the instrument. See above, pp. 32-3.
57 Fondo Spiga, vol. 21. The request is dated 29th June and the thanks 20th July.
58 Fondo Spiga, vol. 29.
Schönborn archives at Wiesentheid\textsuperscript{59} and they may include unknown duets. Even so, it seems unlikely that Schönborn exerted as great an influence on Steffani as did Sophie Charlotte.

\textsuperscript{59} The librarian was unable to say whether there is any manuscript music by Steffani in the library, but a catalogue of the manuscripts, by Fritz Zobeley, is in course of preparation.
The texts of the chamber duets are, with few exceptions, unascribed. The exceptions all seem to date from the Hanover period, i.e. after 1688. The texts of two duets were ascribed in the lost Singakademie manuscript mentioned above, and the texts of duets in the Che volete group are ascribed in several sources surviving today. In addition, it is very likely that the texts of many of the Hanover duets were written by the court poet and librettist, Abbate Ortensio Mauro.

As for the Munich duets, one can only assume that the court poets supplied the texts. There were three main poets at Munich in the 1670s and 80s. The first, Domenico Gisberti, left in 1675. Since Steffani was away in Rome in 1672-4, he can have had little to do with him. He set none of his librettos, and it seems unlikely that any of his chamber duets are settings of his poetry. 1

The most important librettist in Munich at this time was Steffani's elder brother, Ventura Terzago. Terzago took his name from a maternal uncle by whom he was adopted at an early age. 2 He was born in Castelfranco on 2nd January, 1648 3 and, like his brother, studied music as a boy. 4 He moved to Munich in 1677. 5 His first appointment, which dates from 1st April of

1 For a list of Gisberti's Munich librettos, see Brockpöhler, Handbuch zur Geschichte der Barockoper in Deutschland (Emdetten, 1964), pp. 277-8.
3 Ibid., p. 5.
4 Melchiori, Catalogo historico cronologico (Castelfranco, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 158), p. 165: 'ambidue oltre gl'altri suoi studii applicati alla musica.'
5 Einstein, op. cit., p. 18.
that year, was as a composer, but he also acted as a replacement for Gisberti. In 1679 he became a privy councillor and secretary of state. When Steffani moved to Hanover, Terzago returned to Padua. He became Almoner at the Basilica del Santo, and died on 21st October, 1693.

Terzago proved so successful as a poet that he was asked to write the librettos of all but one of the operas and tourneys performed in Munich between 1678 and 1686:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Composer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1678</td>
<td>Alvilda in Abo</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>G. A. Bernabei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1679</td>
<td>Enea in Italia</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>G. A. Bernabei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1680</td>
<td>La Dori</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>G. A. Bernabei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Il Litigio del Cielo e della Terra</td>
<td>Tourney</td>
<td>E. Bernabei</td>
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<td></td>
<td>L'Ermione</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>G. A. Bernabei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Giulio Cesare Ricovrato</td>
<td>Tourney</td>
<td>E. Bernabei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1681</td>
<td>Marco Aurelio</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>Steffani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6Ibid., p. 19.
7Ibid., p. 19 and p. 35, footnote 1.
8Melchiori, op. cit., p. 378.

10The exception is the German opera, Lisiman und Calliste, performed in 1681 (Brockpöhler, op. cit., p. 278). The list is based on Brockpöhler, and on Einstein, op. cit., p. 20.


12Omitted by Einstein. According to Brockpöhler, it is an adaptation of the libretto by Apolloni that was set by Cesti.
He may also have written the libretto for G. A. Bernabei's opera *L'Ascanio* (1686). 13

There is only one piece of evidence that Terzago also wrote poetry. In a chronicle of Castelfranco and its inhabitants, compiled 1724-35, Nadal Melchiori wrote:

'1667 Ventura Terzago Segretario del Duca di Baviera, Collaterale di Padova, e poeta celebre mandò alle Stampe varie sue composizioni.' 14

Unfortunately, no book of poetry by Terzago, manuscript or printed, is known to survive. In view of the fact that Steffani set four of his librettos, it seems very likely that he also set some of his poetry. But whether any of the chamber duets are Terzago settings — and if so, which — there is no way of knowing.

A new court poet, Luigi Orlandi, was appointed c. 1687. Orlandi wrote the librettos of seven operas performed between 1687 and 1691. 15 Most of the were set by G. A. Bernabei, but the first two, *Alarico il Bilt a* (1687) and *Niobe, Regina di Tebe* (1688), were composed by Steffani. They were his last Munich operas. He did not overlap with Orlandi for long, but he may have set some of his poetry.

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13 Omitted by Einstein, queried by Brockpöhler.
14 Melchiori, loc. cit.
There is more definite information on the poets of the later duets, some of whom are named in the sources. The texts ascribed in the Sing-akademie manuscript were *Crudo Amor, morir mi sento* and *Io mi parto*. Sophie Charlotte apparently wrote the text of *Crudo A* or herself, and the author of *Io mi parto* was 'Abbate aglia'. It is not certain whether he is identical with Francesco Maria Paglia, who wrote the librettos of operas performed in Naples in 1698–9, but he is surely the Abbate Paglia who wrote the words of three of the chamber duets by Bononcini that were published in Bologna in 1691. Noting else is known about him, but a connexion with Steffani, via Bononcini and Sophie Charlotte, immediately suggests itself.

**The Che volete Group**

The Che volete group is unique in that the texts of most of the duets are ascribed to poets in a considerable number of manuscripts. The most complete ascriptions are found in the Michigan MS Stellfeld 33 B 44. Ascriptions cited below are taken from that source.

Two of these poets also have connexions with Sophie Charlotte. The 'Abbate Guidi' who wrote the texts of *Questo fior che involo al prato* and *Quando mai verrà quel dì* is not to be confused with his celebrated contemporary, Carlo Alessandro Guidi; he is rather to be identified with Anastasio

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17. *Il Prigioniero Fortunato* (Scarlatti), listed in Sonneck, *o. cit.* i, p. 1358, and *Cesare in Alessandria* (British Museum, pressmark 906.1.9(5)).

18. *Duett da Camera*, Op. VIII. The texts are all ascribed. Pa lia wrote *Se b' lia son io, Prigion' er d'un bel se bian te* nd *Oh! o e laccio sento al core.*
Guiči, t e librettist of Bono cini's Gl' A orì i C fal o e Procri. 19
Gui i ws apparently att ched to the court at anover, for he receive
compensation in 1697 for looking after the late A b te B ati, a anoverian
diplomat. 20 The dates of his service are not known, but that is presumably
where he came into contact with Steffani.

It was in anover th t Steffani met t e aut o of C e volete itself,
the 'Conte Palm ri'. Francesco Palm'eri was born n Pisa n 1659. 21 He
studied rhetoric and philosophy, but became known as a poet nd musician.
He moved to some a. 1675 and entered the service of Queen Chr'stina of Sweden
as a 'C ntiluomo Scu iere'. He was elected to the Arcadian Academy in 1690,
the year of its found tio ; his Arcadian na e was Telgome Craneo. Alt hough
he published a collection of Canzone, mo t of his works were never printed.
The Academy possessed a manuscript that included some of is poe , but his
brother, Canon Giuseppe Palmieri, had a uch larger collection 'n Pisa. 22
Palmieri was the author of two unpublished oratorios also written, presumably,
in Rome.

He moved to H nor some time during the 1690s. The two aor works
that he produce' there were bot printed. He wrote the libretto, and per-
haps also the music, of a large-scale cantata (Accad mia per usic) which
v s performed on 1 th ove ber, 1695, to celebrate the marriage of Prì ccess

19 See above, p. 36.

20 Toker, 'Der Tonichter Agostino Steffani', Der Katholik, lxvii (Mainz,
1887), pp. 323-4, footnote 2.

21 Except where otherwise stated, this account of Palmieri is based on
Crescimbeni, Notizie Istoriche degli'Arcadi Vorti (Ro e, 1720-1), ii,
p. 129-33.

22 Cresci beni, L'Istoria della Volgar Poesia, 2nd edition (Rome, 1714),
p. 473.
Charlotte Felicitas of Brunswick-Lüneburg to Duke Rinaldo I of Modena.\textsuperscript{23} The score is lost, but it appears from the libretto to have comprised seventeen numbers for five characters (Clio, Gloria, Giunone, Amore and Fato).\textsuperscript{24}

He also wrote the libretto of Priseide, the opera probably by Pietro Torri that was performed during carnival, 1696.\textsuperscript{25} Palmieri made some of the arrangements for the performance and noted which singers had taken leave of absence: from 1696, when Steffani was continually away on diplomatic duties, Palmieri was general manager of music at Hanover.\textsuperscript{26}

He was also a musician in his own right. According to Crescimbeni, he sang and played like an expert ('in guisa di Professore'). Although his performances at Hanover are undocumented, he must have sung there,\textsuperscript{27} for in 1701 Sophie Charlotte invited him to sing the leading rôle in the opera with which she planned to celebrate the founding of the Kingdom of Prussia. It is doubtful whether the performance ever took place, however, for Palmieri died suddenly on 7th October.\textsuperscript{28} The queen had a monument erected in his memory, with an epitaph by Leibniz,\textsuperscript{29} and the dowager Electress Sophie of Hanover wrote a sympathetic letter to Palmieri's brother, Father Lorenzo Palmieri, revealing how well he was liked there.\textsuperscript{30} His last work

\textsuperscript{23}Fischer, \textit{Musik in Hannover} (Hanover, 1903), p. 27.
\textsuperscript{24}List of numbers in \textit{DTB}, xi/2 (Leipzig, 1911), p. xiii.
\textsuperscript{25}See above, p. 20.
\textsuperscript{26}Fischer, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 21.
\textsuperscript{27}He is mentioned as a singer by Brockpühler, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 216.
\textsuperscript{28}See above, p. 34, footnote 21.
\textsuperscript{29}Fischer, \textit{loc. cit.}
\textsuperscript{30}The letter is printed in Crescimbeni, \textit{Notizie Istoriche}, ii, pp. 131-2.
was presumably his contribution to the libretto of Ariosti's opera 'Le
Fantome Amoureux'.

Although Che volete is the only duet whose text is ascribed to
Palmieri, Inquieto mio cor may also be by him. The text of this duet is
not ascribed in any copy of the complete Che volete group. In Add. 5330,
however, it is ascribed to 'Sig. Abbate Conti'. It is not certain to whom
this refers. Einstein identifies him as 'Carlo Conti' but says nothing more
about him; no poet of that name can now be traced. The ascription might
refer to the Abbé Conti (1677-1749), who though known principally as a
scientist and mathematician was also a poet and translator. Some of his
works were set to music by Benedetto Marcello, but there is no evidence
that he knew Steffani or wrote texts for him.

The ascription may, on the other hand, be a mistake. All the poetical
ascriptions in Add. 5330 were added by a later hand. Like Che volete,
Inquieto mio cor was composed in Brussels c. 1699 for Sophie Charlotte.
The duets occur together in many manuscripts, not only in copies of the Che
volete group. It is possible that Count Palmieri wrote the texts of both.
He may even have written Placidissime catene, which was composed at about
the same time.

Only one of the poets, apparently, had anything to do with Düsseldorf.
The 'Marchese d'Ariberti' who wrote the text of Gelosia, che vuoi da me (19)
is presumably the Marquis Bartolomeo d'Ariberti who in 1698 was special envoy

31See above, p. 35.

32DTB, vi/2 (Leipzig, 1905), p. xxx. Chrysander describes him in
C. P. Händel (Leipzig, 1858-67), i, p. 328 as 'Abate Carlo Conti, Professor'.

33Dorris, Paolo Rolli and the Italian Circle in London (The Hague and Paris,

34See above, p. 38.
in Madrid for the Elector Palatine.\textsuperscript{35} Nothing more is known about him, but this alone suggests that the duet dates from the period of Steffani's greatest diplomatic activity.

The identity of 'Abbate Averara', the author of Non sò chi mi piagò, is uncertain. He may be identical with Pietro d'Averara, who wrote the librettos of many operas performed in Venice and Milan between 1684 and 1724. In the preface to L'Angelica nel Catai, which is dated 1702, d'Averara is reputed already to have written forty librettos.\textsuperscript{36} All too often, though, he passed off an old libretto under a new title - a practice condemned by Quadrio.\textsuperscript{37} If he is the 'Abbate Averara', it is not known where or when he came into contact with Steffani.

\textbf{Abbate Ortensio Mauro}

According to Hawkins, Steffani 'was obliged' for the poetry of his duets mainly to 'the Marquis d'Ariberti, Count Palmieri, Sig. Averara, Abbate Guidi, and Abbate Mauro Hortensio', and Mauro also wrote the texts of the duets that Handel composed in Hanover.\textsuperscript{38} Since this information came apparently from Handel himself,\textsuperscript{39} it is presumably to be trusted. Mauro

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{35}Einstein, "Italienische Musiker am Hof der Neuburger Wittelsbacher 1614-1716", SIMG, ix (1907-8), p. 408.
  \item \textsuperscript{36}Quadrio, Della Storia e della Ragione d'ogni Poesia (Bologna, 1739-Milan, 1752), iii, pt. 2, p. 430.
  \item \textsuperscript{37}Ibid., p. 458.
  \item \textsuperscript{38}Gentleman's Magazine, xxxi (1761), p. 490.
  \item \textsuperscript{39}Ibid., p. 491.
\end{itemize}
spent most of his life as poet and secretary to various dukes of Brunswick. He was a close friend of Steffani and wrote the librettos of all his Hanover operas. None of the texts of the chamber duets is ascribed to him in the sources, but he probably wrote a considerable number of them.

Bartolomeo Ortensio Mauro was born in Verona in 1632 or 1633,\(^4^0\) and educated in Padua at the school of the Eighth Duke of Ferrara.\(^4^1\) He moved to Germany in 1663 at the latest. His first appointment was apparently as Italian secretary to Georg Wilhelm,\(^4^2\) Duke of Hanover, 1648-65 and Duke of Celle, 1665-1705. From 1674 or 1675 he acted as privy councillor and master of ceremonies to the Catholic Duke Johann Friedrich of Hanover. He apparently intended to follow an ecclesiastical career, for in 1675 he became a priest and took the title 'Abbate'. The duke used his influence in Rome to try to procure a benefice for him, but nothing seems to have come of the attempt.\(^4^3\) When Johann Friedrich died in 1679, Mauro served as assistant to Ferdinand von Fürstenberg, Bishop of Münster and Paderborn.\(^4^4\)

According to Fischer, it was when the bishop died in 1683 that Mauro returned to Hanover to serve Duke Ernst August.\(^4^5\) But a letter of the Duchess Sophie, dated 15th April, 1679, reveals that he was already in his

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\(^4^0\) The *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, xxxiv, p. 427, gives 1632; Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 13, gives 1633.


\(^4^2\) Fischer, *loc. cit.*

\(^4^3\) Woker, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

\(^4^4\) Fischer, *loc. cit.*

\(^4^5\) Ibid.
service:

'Mais c'est un très bon Prince [i.e. Ernst August], qui aime le repos et les Muses; l'amitié qu'il a pour Sig Hertance Mauro, qu'il a tiré dans son service, en est un signe esvidant.'

Mauro quickly gained the confidence of the ducal family - in old age he was able to write as a friend to George I - and he was occasionally called upon to perform diplomatic duties. In 1682-3, for example, he was entrusted with negotiations for the projected marriage between Sophie Charlotte and the Elector Maximilian of Bavaria. The representative from Munich with whom he dealt was Agostino Steffani.

Steffani and Mauro became the best of friends. This is abundantly clear from Steffani's letters from Padua, 1722-5. In 1724 he described themselves as 'Amys comme nous sommes depuis 43. bonnes Années.' They appear to have had mutual friends in Padua:

'Il y a des gens, qui se souviennent encore de Vous avoir veu; et s'en souviennent avec plaisir. Ils ne sont pourtant pas en grand nombre; puisque moy mesme Je n'y trouve que peu d'Amys de ce temps la. Le Comte François Cittadella; le comte Jerosme Frigimelica; L'Abbe Lazzara qui se souvient Vous avoir veu l'an 1685. chez un Tiepolo, que Je ne connois pas; les Comtes Zacco; et par la les Litanies finissent; car pour les plus jeunes, ils ne peuvent ny m'estre connus, ny me connoistre.'

Mauro seems to have re-visited his school-town in 1685. His knowledge of Padua and of its inhabitants must have enriched his friendship with Steffani.

While Steffani was semi-retired there, Mauro fell ill in Hanover. He was over ninety and not expected to survive. Steffani tried to comfort him:

'La Mort, que Vous attendez, est une chose que Nous attendons tous dès le moment que nous sommes au Monde.'

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46 Bodemann, op. cit., p. 355.

47 See above, p.18.


He did not see him again. Mauro died on 14th September, 1725, shortly before Steffani arrived back in Hanover. He was buried in St. Clement’s church, which Steffani had founded and dedicated some seven years earlier.\(^{51}\)

Mauro wrote the librettos of all but one of the operas performed in Hanover 1689-97 and may also have written Amor vien dal Destino for a projected performance there in 1694.\(^{52}\) He translated Quinault’s Alceste (Paris, 1674) as Der siegende Alcides for a performance at Hamburg in 1696\(^{53}\) and, according to Quadrio,\(^{54}\) was the author of L’Amfione, produced at Milan in 1698. Finally, he wrote two librettos for Berlin, L’Inganno vinto dalla Costanza (1700) and ‘Le Fântome Amoureux’ (1702).\(^{55}\)

Mauro also provided texts for other types of musico-theatrical entertainment. He wrote poetry for the Wirtschaft at Celle in 1674:

’Nostre Wirtschaft s’est passé’ avec beaucoup de gaieté et Sig. Hortance l’a emballé de ses vers.’\(^{56}\)

And he devised ‘a sort of serenade’, apparently in 1713:

‘L’abbé Ortense a donné une espèse de sérénade à la petite principote. Piniatto y représentait Bacus, le fils de Justine Cuppidon et Mr. Grunemeyer Vénus. Je m’imagine que la musique étroit proportionnée à leur beauté.’\(^{57}\)

His efforts appear to have delighted the court.

Mauro must have written a considerable amount of poetry, but little of what survives can be identified as his and much must have been lost. The

\(^{51}\) Woker, Geschichte der katholischen Kirche und Gemeinde in Hannover und Celle (Paderborn, 1889), pp. 88 and 94.

\(^{52}\) See above, pp. 20 and 23.

\(^{53}\) Brockpilcher, op. cit., p. 203.


\(^{55}\) See above, p. 35.

\(^{56}\) Bodemann, op. cit., p. 181.

\(^{57}\) Ibid., p. 337. It would appear from this that Mauro also supplied the music on this occasion.
earliest reference to his poetry dates from 1663, when he managed to compose a poem about a visit to the silver mines in the Harz mountains. The latest dates from 1723: although by that time his handwriting was almost illegible, he sent verses to Steffani in Padua, who passed them on to friends in Verona and Rimini. Mauro wrote poetry, on and off, for at least sixty years.

A manuscript collection of his poems was compiled by Gerhard Wolter Molanus, Abbot of Loccum. In 1729 Molanus wrote:

'Habeo carmina ejus latina, italica, gallica, summa cura atque industria a me collecta, digna omnia quae in publicam lucem proferantur, latina imprima, quae sententiarum acumine et dictionis elegantia antiquorum vatum carminibus haud sunt inferiora.'

The collection appears to be lost, but Molanus's letter reveals that Mauro wrote in Latin, Italian and French and that his poetry was held in high esteem.

Although none of his poems was published during his life-time, a few of them appeared, according to the Nouvelle Biographie Générale, 'dans la collection Boenickius lorsque l'abbé Weissembach les réunit et les ajouta au recueil intitulé: Selecta veterum et recentiorum Poemata (Bâle, 1782), in-12.'

58 Fischer, loc. cit.
59 In letters of October and November, 1723 (Fondo Spiga, vol. 77, cols. 211-3 and 292-4), Steffani complained about 'les broyllons de vos Vers, qu'il m'est impossible de déchiffrer'.

61 A small town to the west of Hanover. See Wiedemann, 'Gerhard Wolter Molanus, Abt zu Loccum. Eine Biographie', Studien zur Kirchengeschichte Niedersachsens, iii and v (Göttingen, 1925 and 1929).
62 Bodemann, op. cit., p. 55, footnote.
63 Vol. xxxiv, p. 427.
The 'collection Boenicidus' was edited in fact by Johann Tobias Roenick. A copy survives in the British Museum, and the title is as follows:

Recentiorum poetarum germanorum carmina latina selectiora ex recensione M. Ioannis Tobias Roenickii. 2 vols. (Helmstadt, 1749 and 1751).

The anthology includes twenty-eight poems by Mauro, written at various times between 1690 and 1720. Most of them are occasional pieces about members of the houses of Brunswick or Hanover, or events connected with them. They are all in Latin: there are three 'Heroica', thirteen 'Elegiae' and twelve 'Epigrammata'. None of them appears to have been set by Steffani.

The majority of these poems were also included in the edition by Joseph Anton Weissenbach (sic) which survives in Basle University Library:

Carmina latina Hortensii Mauri, abbatis, nunc primum a Topas eoemissa... (Basle, 1782).

This edition contains two 'Heroica', thirteen 'Elegiae' and ten 'Epigrammata', including two poems not found in Roenick's anthology. Unfortunately, these also are in Latin and appear not to have been set by Steffani.

The only surviving Italian poems known to be by Mauro are the texts of eight Italian chamber duets by Carlo Luigi Pietragrua, who served the court at Düsseldorf from 1693 to 1716 and was vice-Kapellmeister there from 1700. There is no proof that any of Steffani's duets are settings of Mauro, but all the signs point in that direction. It seems likely that the texts of most of the Hanover duets are by him, those ascribed to other poets being the exceptions.

64 Io non ti voglio, Amor, no, Dimmi crudele, e quando, Cor mio, so' che non vuoi. Quando lungi è il mio Fileno, Non era lungi dall'oceano, Ya girando Amor, Su pensieri, all'armi and Ninf's piange il buon belambo (written on the death of a pet dog). The texts are ascribed in Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS JJ. 215. The manuscript also includes three duets by Pietragrua of which the texts are not ascribed to Mauro: Ben talora in ciel minaccia, Lontan dal suo bene and Se ti colgo un'altra volta.

65 Brockpöhler, op. cit., p. 143.
PART II

THE SOURCES
Gregorio Piva: Steffani's Pseudonym

It seems that Steffani made little attempt to have his music published. It is unlikely that he had any hand in the contemporary anthologies that included one or two of his chamber duets and items from his operas (needless to say, none of his operas was published complete). The only musical publications that he certainly authorised and supervised are his collections of Vespers psalms, Psalmodia Vespertina (Rome, 1674), and motets, Saeer Ianus Quadrifons (Munich, 1685).

There are several reasons why he published so little. Most of his music was intended for practice or performance in a particular place by particular people. The operas were composed for Munich, Hanover and Düsseldorf. The chamber duets were for domestic entertainment there and at the court of Berlin; Steffani did send copies to his friends, but they were not intended for wide circulation. His job as a court composer was to supply a steady stream of new music. Secular music was particularly ephemeral: it was neither necessary nor worth-while to publish it.

While these factors might apply to any composer of the period, a more important factor applies to Steffani alone. It has nothing to do with music itself. Hakins put it thus:

"Except the treatise above-mentioned [Quanta certezza], and a few songs collected from h's opera's, it does not appear that any of his works were ever printed: That sense of the importance of his character and situation in life, which induced him to assume the name of his copyist, as has been mentioned, no doubt restrained him from obliging the world in that way himself, and those who are acquainted"

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1For music by Steffani published before 1800, see Appendix A.
with the reigning taste for music, will not be at a loss for a reason why no one else has thought proper to do it.'

In other words, to publish large quantities of secular music would have been inconsistent with his position as a politician and churchman. One can only respect his integrity, for he lived in an age when he could easily have combined his musical activities with his career in public life.

The same considerations induced him to adopt a pseudonym. The earlier passage, to which Hawkins referred in the extract quoted above, reads as follows:

"He was now considered in the light of a statesman, and was besides a dignitary of the church; and having a character to sustain, with which he imagined the public profession of his art not properly consistent, he forbore the setting his name to his future compositions, and adopted that of his secretary, or copyist, Gregorio Piva."

Unlike most pseudonyms, Gregorio Piva was the name of a real person. From 1691 to 1694 he was employed as a singer and copyist at the court of Dresden. Most authorities agree that he was active as an instrumentalist at Düsseldorf between 1703 and 1716, but according to Lau he can be traced there as early as 1697. His name disappears from the records of the Kapelle in 1716. His next employment was as an instrumentalist and music copyist at Bonn; the certificate of his appointment is dated 4th December, 1717, and his name appears regularly in lists of musicians who played at

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3 Ibid., p. 491.
4 Einstein, DTB, vi/2 (Leipzig, 1905), p. xii, footnote 2.
6 Brockphöler, Handbuch zur Geschichte der Barockoper in Deutschland (Emsdetten, 1964), p. 142.
7 Düsseldorf, Hauptstaatsarchiv, KurkölN II, 468. The Author is grateful to the director of the archives for photocopies of this and the following documents upon which his account of Piva is based: Kurköln II, 467, ff. 3-30 and Kurköln II, 475.
services there between 1718 and 1722. He was still at Bonn in August 1726, when both of his appointments were renewed by the Elector Clemens August, and on 8th January, 1727, he was appointed music-librarian. He died in 1740.8

There is plenty of evidence from the later part of Steffani's life to illustrate his use of Piva's name. When the Academy of Ancient Music elected him president in 1727, for example, they made a point of explaining the situation in the minutes:

'This Day it was agree'd Nemine Contradicente, that D. Agostino Steffani, Bishop of Spiga (commonly known by the name of Abbot Steffani) be President of the Academy of Vocal Musick establish'd in London; N:B His Compositions att present goe under the Name of Gregorio Piva'.9

The same year Steffani received several letters from members of the Academy asking him to send over pieces of music by Piva.10

The pseudonym was not new in 1727. Steffani's correspondence with the composer and singer Ruggiero Fedeli reveals that he had adopted it by 1713. In November of that year, Fedeli wrote him a long account of the musical life at the court of Kassel, where he was employed. It seems that Steffani's music was a particular favourite of the Langrave:

'... we have operas from Hanover, besides all those composed by you in Düsseldorf, and also your precious duets...'11


9Quoted from the original minute-book, British Museum, Add. 11732, f. 4. On p. 2 of the Supplementary Volume to the 5th edition of Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians (London, 1961), the Academy of Vocal Music and the Academy of Ancient Music are listed as separate institutions. It is clear from the minute-book that they were not. It was known as the Academy of Vocal Music at first, and changed its name on 26th May, 1731 (Add. 11732, f. 16).

10See above, p. 27, footnote 107.

Steffani replied promptly and revealingly:

'Now we come to music. That was a sin of my youth. I confess to you that I still love it more than ever. But I can truthfully say that sometimes I have gone many years without seeing a harpsichord. You speak to me of Düsseldorf operas: I do not know that I composed any; they are the work of Gregorio Piva. However that may be, it gave me the greatest pleasure to hear that those bagatelles amuse His Serene Lordship the Landgrave...'

Fedeli was not fooled. The operas might be the work of Gregorio Piva, but in his next letter he still praised Steffani for them.

It is impossible to determine exactly when Steffani adopted the pseudonym. It was certainly before 1711 when, in a letter to the composer, Countess Egmont mentioned his 'changements pour la Musique'. The earliest of the Düsseldorf operas, which Fedeli was to consider as the work of Piva, dates from 1707, the year in which Steffani was consecrated Bishop of Spiga. By that time, at the very latest, he must have found the 'public profession of his art' inconsistent with his ecclesiastical position; but it may have happened much earlier, perhaps soon after his move to Düsseldorf in 1703.

It is unfortunate that Hawkins should have mentioned Piva twice in the course of his short Memoirs. This makes him appear more important as a copyist of Steffani's music than he really is. The identity of his hand is firmly established by his application for the post of music-librarian at Bonn, which he inscribed with the words 'umilissima supplica di Gregorio

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12. Veniamo alla Musica. Sono delicta Juventutis. Io le confesso che l'amo ancora più che mai. Ma con verità posso dire che alcune volte stò molti anni senza veder un cembalo. Lei mi p rla di Opere di Düsseldorf; Io non so haverne fatte; ma sono Opere dal Sig.r Gregorio Piva. Comunque siasi, Io hò Inteso con grand:mo compiaccimento che quelle bagatelle divertiscano il Ser:mo Sig:r Landgravio...’ Steffani to Fedeli, 28th November, 1713. Ibid., p. 52.

Piva'. It is all in the same hand.

Piva copied the following manuscripts of music by Steffani:

**London, British Museum**

- RM 23 h 6 Henrico Leone
- RM 23 f 15 Arminio
- RM 23 i 18-24 _Il Tassilone_ (set of orchestral parts)

**Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional**

- M. 2258/9 _Il Tassilone_ (score)

On the title-page of the harpsichord part of _Il Tassilone_ (RM 23 i 18) is a shield in a coat of arms, enclosing the words 'Musica / di Gregorio / Piva': the pseudonym and the copyist are one.*

It seems very likely that Piva was Steffani's copyist at Düsseldorf only, i.e. 1703-9. It is true that Henrico Leone was composed at Hanover, but Arminio and _Il Tassilone_ were performed at Düsseldorf in 1707 and 1709. Steffani composed very little at Düsseldorf; this may explain why there are so few manuscripts in Piva's hand. Since a number of other scribes copied very much more of Steffani's music, Piva hardly deserves to be considered his 'favourite copyist'.

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14 Düsseldorf, Hauptstaatsarchiv, Kurköln II, 475.


* See above, p. 23.
Scribe A

An unidentified copyist, here referred to as scribe A, is a much more appropriate contender for the title. He copied more manuscripts of Steffani's music than any other contemporary scribe, including the most important sources of the chamber duets:

**Lunich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek**

- **MS 5321 (8 volumes)** chamber duets

**London, British Museum**

- **RM 23 k 12** chamber duets
- **RM 23 k 13, 15-17, 19-20** chamber duets
- **RM 23 h 10** Ienrro Leone
- **RM 23 i 10** Orlando Generoso
- **RM 23 i 2** I Trionfi del Fato
- **RM 23 h 2** Amor vien dal Destino
- **RM 23 h 12** arias from Henrico Leo e, La Lotta d'ercole con Acheloo and La Suprbia d'Ale san ro
- **RM 23 i 16** arias from Orlando Gen ros and Le iv li Co cordi
- **RM 23 i 6** arias and duets from L L'bertà Co tenta and I Trionfi del Fato
- **RM 23 k 5** duets from Steffani's anover ereas (see above, p. 20) and from Briseide and La Costanza nelle Selve

**London, C'ldh 11 Li rary**

- **G. mus. 418** six motets from Sacer Ian s Quadrifons
In two of these manuscripts the music is ascribed to Gregorio Piva. The title of the Guildhall manuscript reads: 'Sacramentum Quadrifons / Tribus Vocibus, vel Duabus qualibet / praetermissa, Concinnatus / Q / Gregorio Piva'. The squiggle appears to be an ornate letter 'Q', an abbreviation for 'quod'. The title of RM 23 h 2 reads: 'Amor vien dal Destino / Dramma del Sig. Gregorio Piva / 1709'. In both cases, the music goes under Steffani's pseudonym.

While the manuscripts by Piva are late mainly to Dusseldorf, those copied by scribe A have strong links with Hanover. Three of the four operas he copied were first performed in Hanover and the other, Amor vien dal Destino, was clearly intended for that court. The collections of arias and duets include no items from Steffani's Dusseldorf operas, and scribe A made copies of operas by other composers that were performed in Hanover.

The activities of scribe A may be dated fairly precisely. The initials 'G.A.' on the cover of RM 23 k 5 stand for the Electoral Prince of Hanover, Georg August. He was born in 1683 and moved to England in 1714, so clearly scribe A was active during part, at least, of that period. In addition, the major source of the chamber duets, RI 23 k 13-20, can be shown to date from sometime between 1702 and 1713.

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16 Cappel, D'azioario. Abbreviations Latine et Italicae (Milan, 1899), p. 277.
17 See above, p. 23.
18 E.g. RI 23 g 22 (Briseide) and R'T 23 g 23 (arias from the side and 'La Pastorale'). The latter is Luigi Vancia's La Costa zanelle Selve, which was edited as a 'favola pastorale' (Kepler, 'Aostino Steffani's annov r Op ras', Powers (ed.), Studies in 's o story (Princeton, 1968), especially pp. 346 and 352).
19 See below, p. 72-3.
It appears that scr'the A also worked for Steffani some twenty years later. On 26th May, 1731, the Academy of Ancient s'c oved

'That Dr pusch be des'red to de a of Dr Green the S'x hottetts y Bishop of Spiga sent th Academy'.

A list of the music by Steffani belonging to the Academy in September, 1727, mentions manuscript copies of the twelve motets in Sacer Ianus Tu drifons but makes no reference to this copy of s'x. Th's manuscript was acquired, therefore, between 1727 and 1731. Although much of the music that belonged to the Academy has 's disappeared without trac, this manuscript has survived.

There c be little doubt t at the manuscript Steffani sent is Guildhall G. us. 418; the hand of scrile A provides the link wth the composer. It seems very li ely that the manuscript was copied specially for the Academy 'n 1727-; t e title-p ge ascribes the otets to F'va, under whose name they knew Steffan's music circulated. The manuscript was sent before it was completely ready: the spaces left for decorated initials at t e beginning of each motet are still vacant. Many factors might account for this, but 't seems likely that declining health prompted Steffani to dispatch t e manuscript pre aturely, just befor his death in February, 1728. If his copyist had sent it afterwards, news of Steffani's death would probably not have taken so long to reach the Academy.

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20 B.V., Add. 11732, f. 16, paragraph 9.
21 See above, p. 27.
22 See above, p. 61.
23 His name was entered as president for the Seventh Subscription, which began on 8tn ay, 1729 (Add. 11732, f. 9).
The important point is that Steffani's copyist was still scribe A. He appears to have worked for Steffani over a period of about twenty years. His hand is found alongside that of the composer in the major source of the chamber duets, which was begun in about 1702-3. The date 1709 in his hand on his copy of *Amor ven dal Destino* suggests that he may have moved with him to Düsseldorf. He was still with him in late 1727 to early 1728, a period that Steffani spent mainly in Mainz and Frankfurt. Scribe A seems to have followed him around from one court to another; he was perhaps attached to him as a personal secretary. He is far more important than Gregorio Piva or any other copyist of Steffani's music. It is unfortunate that he cannot be identified.

London, British Museum, RM 23 K 13-20

The most important source of Steffani's duets is a set of eight manuscript volumes in the Royal Music Library, RM 23 k 13-20. The manuscripts do not bear the name of the composer, but their contents have long been considered to be by him. They are included in Einstein's catalogue of his duets\(^1\) and attributed to him in Hilda Andrews' catalogue of the miscellaneous manuscripts in the King's Music Library.\(^2\)

The attribution may be substantiated in several ways. Many of the duets in the set are ascribed to Steffani in other early, reliable sources, such as RM 23 k 7 and Florence D. 331-2;\(^3\) some are revisions of earlier duets ascribed to him elsewhere, and three of them are mentioned, by implication, in his correspondence with Violanta Beatrice and Sophie Charlotte.\(^4\) It would be difficult by such means to establish the authenticity of all the duets in the set, but these circumstances alone account for one third of them, scattered through five of the eight volumes, and it seems safe to assume that the remaining two thirds are also by him.

This assumption is supported by the fact that two of the volumes are in his hand and the other six in that of scribe A. The manuscripts RM 23 k 14 and 18 are the only known autographs of his duets. That they are genuine may

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\(^1\)DBE, vi/2 (Leipzig, 1905), pp. xii-xiii.


\(^3\)See below, pp. 78ff and 89ff.

\(^4\)See above, pp. 31 and 37-8.
be demonstrated by comparison with the many other surviving examples of his hand. His signature appears on the title-page of *Marco Aurelio* (RM 23 i 7-9), one of eight operas by him preserved in autograph in the Royal Music Library, and occurs repeatedly in the manuscript of church music in the Fitzwilliam Museum. Scribe A, as we have seen, also copied a great deal of other music by Steffani. The operas that are in his hand were all composed for Hanover, and this set of chamber duets has every appearance of being the remains of the new collection on which Steffani began to work in Hanover in the autumn of 1702. It also fits, better than any other known collection, the descriptions given by Hawkins of the manuscripts of his duets that were formerly in the possession of Frederick, Prince of Wales.

The collection is now, unfortunately, defective. Each of the surviving volumes has a Roman numeral stamped on the outside of the front cover. The numerals form this sequence:

- RM 23 k 13: I
- RM 23 k 14: II
- RM 23 k 15: V
- RM 23 k 16: VI
- RM 23 k 17: IX
- RM 23 k 18: X
- RM 23 k 19: XII
- RM 23 k 20: XIII

When it was bound, the set comprised at least thirteen volumes, maybe more. Volumes III, IV, VII, VIII and XI are lost.

The surviving volumes are handsomely bound in full leather. The music paper is of good quality, and the format is small oblong quarto. The manuscripts were paginated at the time of compilation by the hands that copied

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5 Facsimiles of pages from RM 23 k 14 and from his opera *Niobe* may be seen in *MGG*, xii, cols. 1209-12.

6 See above, p. 15.

7 Pp. 64-7.

8 See below, pp. 73-7.
them. Except for volume XIII, each volume numbers between 110 and 130 pages and contains six duets for voices and continuo only. Volume XIII has 168 pages and contains the six duets with additional instrumental accompaniment. The pages measure, on average, about 22.75 cm. by 17.25 cm. and are ruled with six staves. Since each voice, including the continuo, is notated on a single stave, there are two systems per page in duet movements and three in solo movements. The initial letter of each piece is historiated in a charming pen and ink miniature in some cases illustrating the theme of the text. The duets are unascribed, and there is no index. Volume X has flyleaves; these are blank, but occasional thumb-marks indicate that the manuscripts have been used.

Unlike most of the manuscripts in the set, the autograph volumes have title-pages. The titles are in Latin:

**RM 23 k 14:** VETUSTATE RELICTA / DUETTI

**RM 23 k 18:** ERVNT NOVISSIMI PRIMI DUETTI*

The former is rather obscure. It might mean 'Duets left over through old age' or possibly 'Duets bequeathed to posterity', but neither translation would have much bearing on the duets in the book, most of which are revised versions.

The second title might be translated in a number of ways, but the two most likely meanings are that 'the duets' in the book 'will be the first very new' ones, or that 'the first duets' in the book 'will be the most recent'. The word 'novissimi' seems to refer to the revision of the duets. **RM 23 k 13-20** does not contain the original version of any duet that Steffani is known to have revised — only the revised version. All but one of these revised versions occur in the two autograph volumes (volumes II and X). The exception, Torna a dar vita(a), is the last duet in volume IX (RM 23 k 17). All the other duets in the set survive in one form only and presumably were not revised.

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9Einstein seems to imply that these are by Steffani (DTB, vi/2, p. xii), and Croll ascribes one of them to him (MGG, xii, col. 1211).

*Cf. Matthew, 19. 30: 'ulte autem erunt primi novissimi, et novissimi primi'. 'Vetustate relicta' appears to have no biblical (or Classical) equivalent and probably means 'Duets with old age having been left behind' — i.e. revisions.
Most of the duets in RM 23 k 18 survive in two versions. The earlier versions of Lungi dal idol mio and M'hai da piangere may not be by Steffani, but Occhi, perché piangete, Troppo cruda and Rio destin are authentic self-revisions. Gìà tu parti, however, survives in only one version; an earlier version may have been lost, but this seems unlikely in view of the fact that the original versions of the other duets have survived. If Steffani did not revise this duet, the first translation of the title is impossible, but the second still makes sense. Gìà tu parti is the last duet in the book, and the preceding five duets are all revisions or re-workings: the 'first duets' are indeed the 'most recent'.

Although most of RM 23 k 18 is in the hand of Steffani, pages 81-98 (inclusive) were copied neither by him nor by scribe A, nor by Gregorio Piva, but by a copyist (scribe B) whose hand is found nowhere else in the set. These pages are not a self-contained fascicle or group of fascicles, so they cannot have been inserted into the volume at a later date: they have always been an integral part of the manuscript. They contain the second verse ('Havran termine') of M'hai da piangere; no more, no less.

There may be many reasons why these pages are in a different hand, but the most interesting possible explanation is that Steffani had not finished revising this verse before he reached this point in his copying. The revision of verse two mainly involved alterations to the text; the music is simply a repeat of verse one. The subject-matter of the revised version is substantially the same as that of the original, but the language and form are different. Thus, in revising verse two, the poet, or Steffani, had to devise a paraphrase of the original that would fit the revised music of verse one. Steffani might have chosen to copy out the music for verse two in advance and fill in the text later, but the note-values would have needed altering to fit the new words and that might have resulted in a messy copy. Instead, he apparently chose to leave a gap, so that words and music could be copied

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10 See below, Postscript.
out together when the revision was complete, and proceeded to copy the two duets at the end of the book.\textsuperscript{11} That he knew exactly how many pages to allow (there is no blank paper and scribe B was not cramped for space) suggests that he had already revised and copied out verse one. If he had indeed done this, then the most plausible reason why he did not go on to copy out verse two is that he had not yet finished revising the text.

The presence of two volumes in the hand of the composer, containing mostly revised versions, makes it very likely, to put it no higher, that RM 23 k 13-20 is what survives of the new complete collection of duets on which Steffani began to work in the autumn of 1702.\textsuperscript{12} The autograph volumes were probably copied towards the end of that year, since they appear to have been the model for a pair of manuscripts of which volume I, at least, was copied by early 1703.\textsuperscript{13} Steffani apparently stopped revising his duets about then and probably stopped copying them at around the same time - or very soon after: he may have copied some of the volumes now missing from the set, but it seems unlikely that he did much further copying after his move to Düsseldorf in the spring of 1703. The remaining volumes were copied by scribe A, probably after that date and possibly in Düsseldorf. The duets that Steffani corrected with the aid of Joseph Paris Feckler in 1708-9\textsuperscript{14} may have belonged to some of the later volumes in the set.

\textsuperscript{11}It is just possible that he copied these first of all and then copied the duets at the front of the book. This would have enabled him to come to M'hau da piangere last, which, if he had not finished it, would have been a good thing. It would have required great accuracy in the planning of the whole volume, though, and still would not explain why scribe B was called in.

\textsuperscript{12}See above, pp. 38-43.

\textsuperscript{13}See below, p. 79.

The most complete collection of Steffani's duets now extant is one in nine or ten small volumes, in oblong quarto, made for the late Queen Caroline, while she was at Hanover, containing near a hundred duets; it was afterwards in the possession of Frederick Prince of Wales, and is now in that of his present majesty. 21

On the surface, this seems a sensible suggestion. After the death of her mother in 1696, Caroline of Ansbach was brought up in Berlin by Sophie Charlotte. She showed great interest in music: Leibniz records that she possessed 'la voix merveilleuse' 22 and Mainwaring says that she was particularly fond of chamber duets. 23 Sophie probably introduced her to the duets of Steffani.

Even so, Hawkins' statement is open to doubt. The manuscripts cannot have been originally intended for Caroline 'while she was at Hanover', for she did not move there until her marriage to Georg August in 1705. If they had been completed specially for her, one would have expected them to appear in the inventory of her library that was drawn up in 1743. 24 Their absence suggests that they did not belong to her. 25

In the 1853 edition of Hawkins' History, which includes his posthumous notes, the paragraph on the manuscripts reads rather differently:

'Frederick Prince of Wales had a collection of Steffani's duets in ten or twelve volumes in small oblong quarto, finely written, and the initial letters ornamented. It was probably made for the princess Sophia or the Elector her son (George I) and contained about one hundred duets. This collection, excepting two volumes that were


24 A Catalogue of the Royal Library of her late Majesty Queen Caroline. Distributed into Faculties. 1742. MS in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

25 But it does not prove it. The manuscripts could have been removed from her library after her death in 1737 or, more likely, she may have given them to her son Frederick some time before.
left behind by accident, the Prince gave to the lady of Signor Capello, ambassador from the Republic of Venice about the year 1744.'

The suggestion that the manuscripts were made for the elector may be nearer the mark.

Georg Ludwig was anxious to perpetuate the memory of the musical achievements of his father's reign, and he was presumably encouraged in this by his mother, the dowager Electress Sophie. He ordered a list to be drawn up of all the operas that had been performed at Hanover, and commissioned new copies of the operas and chamber music then in the electoral library. Most of these copies are now in the Royal Music Library. The new opera scores are in the hand of a professional copyist (scribe C) who appears to have been called in specially for the purpose, and most of them (those marked with an asterisk) are bound uniformly in heavy leather bindings that were clearly meant to last:

- *RM 23 k 23 Paride in Ida
- *RM 23 h 11 Henrico Leone
- *RM 23 h 15 La Lotta d'Hercole
- *RM 23 h 13 La Superbia d'Alessandro
- *RM 23 i 17 Le Rivali Concordi
- *RM 23 h 16 La Libertà Contenta
- *RM 23 f 16 Baccanali
- *RM 23 i 1 I Trionfi del Fato
- *RM 23 g 21 Briseide
- *RM 23 h 1 La Costanza nelle Selve
- RM 23 h 17 La Libertà Contenta
- RM 23 i 11 Orlando Generoso

Four of these volumes duplicate operas copied also by scribe A. There would have been little point in scribe A making odd copies if this uniform set had already existed. It would appear, therefore, that his copies are earlier.


27. Keppler, 'Agostino Steffani's Hannover Operas', Powers (ed.), Studies in Music History (Princeton, 1968), pp. 350-4. It is not known why scribe C made two copies of La Libertà Contenta. *RM 23 i 11 is the copy of Orlando Generoso which Keppler (p. 354) claims is missing. Scribe C also copied a volume of chamber duets by Handel (RM 18 b 11) and one duet in RM 23 k 7 (see below, p. 81).
and that they and Steffani's autographs served as models for scribe C.

Despite this, there are strong signs that scribe A was also involved in the expansion of the electoral music library. Six of his manuscripts - those marked with an asterisk on page 64, and RM 23 g 23 (arias from Briseide and 'La Pastoralle' [La Costanza nelle Selve]) - are bound like the new opera copies. One of the six, RM 23 h 2 (Amor vien dal Destino), is the only opera not copied by scribe C; the other five are collections of operatic arias and duets. Thus, while scribe C made complete copies of the operas, scribe A mainly compiled collections of numbers from them. The work of the two scribes is complementary and suggests planned collaboration.

RM 23 k 13-20 also fits into this scheme. The collection is mainly in the hand of scribe A, and there are no surviving copies of the duets in the hand of scribe C. Steffani may have had his own reasons for starting the collection in 1702, but it would appear that the manuscripts soon became part of Georg Ludwig's plan to expand the music library at Hanover.

As for the later history of the manuscripts, Hawkins appears to be the only source of information. There is no reason to doubt his statement that they belonged to Frederick, but it is not known when he acquired them or when they were brought over to England. He may have inherited them when his grandfather Georg Ludwig (George I) died in 1727, and taken possession of them when he came to England the following year. On the other hand, they may have been left behind for him in Hanover in 1714. Either way, they were probably in England by 1728.

They remained in Frederick's possession until 'about 1744', when they were given to the 'lady' of the Venetian ambassador. Pietro Andrea Capello presented his credentials on 31st March, 1744, and the manuscripts were intended perhaps as a token of goodwill. It is unclear whether the two

volumes left behind 'by accident' were left in Hanover or in England. These may be two of the volumes missing today.

The manuscripts did not remain long in the hands of Signora Capello. Her husband took his leave in August 1748,\(^2^9\) and she presumably returned them to Frederick before departing with him. Frederick died three years later, and the manuscripts became part of the King's library soon after. They were in the possession of 'his present majesty' at the time of Hawkins' History (1776) and have remained in the Royal Music Library to this day.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS 5321

The Munich MS 5321 appears to be the remains of a second complete collection of the duets. It is not included in Einstein's catalogue. The eight surviving volumes\(^3^0\) are all in the hand of scribe A, and five of them duplicate volumes in RM 23 k 13-20. The other three volumes contain duets not found there: hence the importance of the set.

It is impossible to be certain how many, if any, volumes have been lost. The numeration of the surviving volumes is of recent origin. If it was originally intended that they should be arranged in a particular order, nothing remains to suggest what that order was. There are no Roman numerals and no gold-stamping or decoration of any kind. The manuscripts are bound in matching, dull half-leather, with just enough leather to cover the spine and a very little on the corners.

They are similar to RM 23 k 13-20 in size and format. None of the manuscripts has a title or mentions the composer's name. Some have flyleaves and volume IV, at least, has an index. Each volume numbers between 116 and 152 pages ruled with six staves. They all contain six duets except for

\(^{2^9}\)Ibid.

\(^{3^0}\)The Author has seen microfilms of volumes IV and VII only, and is grateful to Mr. David Fallows for information about the others.
volume II, which has five, and volume VIII; the latter is seriously defective and has only one complete duet. The first 96 pages of the manuscript are missing, apparently torn out at an unknown date. Enough remains at the end, however, to indicate that it duplicated one of the volumes in the RM set. The initial letter of each duet is decorated, and most of the illustrations reflect the subject-matter of the text.

Compared with the RM set, very little is known or can be deduced about the Munich manuscripts. The scribe who copied them was active at least c. 1702-28. Since none of them is in the hand of the composer, it may be that they were copied after his death. Experts at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek tentatively suggest a provenance of Mannheim, c. 1750. The humble bindings suggest that the manuscripts did not belong to the courts that Steffani served, and the damaged state of volume VIII indicates that they have not been preserved as carefully as the RM set. Nothing of their history is known, however, except that the Munich library bought them in 1922 for 170 RM from an antiquarian book-dealer in Nuremberg.

There is only one other manuscript of chamber duets in the hand of scribe A, RM 23 k 12. Although similar in size and format to the RM and Munich sets, it cannot have belonged to either, for it duplicates duets found in both. It now sports an eighteenth-century English binding.

**London, British Museum, RM 23 k 7-8**

Two of the main sources of the duets are in the hand neither of the composer nor of scribe A. The more important of these, RM 23 k 7-8, originated in Hanover at about the same time as RM 23 k 13-20 and contains duets found in neither of the sources discussed above.
The origin of the manuscripts is indicated by a number of clues. The title of RM 23 k 7 reads: 'REGIA DIGNUM MODULAMEN AVRE / DUETTI / Del Sig'; Abbate Steffani - 'Duets: music worthy of royal performance'. At the top of the title-page, in the centre, there is a crown and, immediately below, a monogram composed of the letters 'S' and 'C', forwards, backwards and superimposed. The initials stand for Sophie Charlotte: this volume was intended for the Queen of Prussia. It was probably begun no earlier than 1702, for it contains revised versions, and the title-page must have been written before Sophie died in 1705. A letter to her from Steffani suggests that the duets either had been copied or were ready for copying by 7th December, 1702. The manuscript was probably copied about the end of that year, therefore, just before his relations with her came to a halt.

The other volume, RM 23 k 8, lacks the title, crown and monogram of RM 23 k 7; in the absence of any ascriptions, the authenticity of its contents may be established by reference to RM 23 k 14 (autograph), Florence D. 331-2, Munich 5321, volume VII, and other sources. The volume does not appear to have been specially prepared for Sophie Charlotte and so may have been copied slightly later than RM 23 k 7, after her relations with Steffani had come to a halt and possibly before he moved to Düsseldorf in March, 1703.

It seems very unlikely that Sophie ever owned either of these manuscripts. If RM 23 k 7 had been given to her, it would probably not be in the Royal Music

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31 Einstein suggested this (op. cit., p. xiii) but thought that the letters were 'S' and 'G'.

32 See above, pp. 42-3.

33 This seems more likely than the possibility that it was copied after Sophie's death in 1705.
Library today.\textsuperscript{34} The apparent rift between her and Steffani may have caused him to change his mind about giving them to her and may account for the differences between the two volumes. The only person who is known to have owned them is Queen Caroline, who may have been given them when she married Georg August and moved to Hanover in 1705. She died in England in 1737, and her library was inventoried in 1743.\textsuperscript{35} An entry on page 177 of the inventory\textsuperscript{36} refers almost certainly to this pair of manuscripts.\textsuperscript{37} They appear to have been part of the Royal Music Library ever since her death.

The manuscripts are full-bound in heavy leather bindings similar to those used for the new copies of the Hanover operas. The main difference is that whereas the covers of the opera scores are gold-stamped with a horse, the emblem of Hanover, the duet manuscripts have a floral design. The spines are also extensively decorated, and embossed with the title 'DVETTI'.

The manuscripts were probably designed for use at the harpsichord. Unlike the sources discussed above, they are large oblong quartos, measuring approximately 32 cm. by 27 cm. Except for one duet at the end of RM 23 k 7, they were copied by a single professional copyist in a large, immaculate hand (scribe D). There are only six staves to each large page, so both music and words are clearly visible at a distance. Occasional thumb-marks show that the manuscripts have been used.

\textsuperscript{34}See above, p. 37.

\textsuperscript{35}See above, p. 74, footnote 24.

\textsuperscript{36}'Duetti del Sig. Aobate Steffani fol. 2 Vol.... [shelfmark] F. 3. e'\textsuperscript{.}

\textsuperscript{37}Caroline also owned most of the manuscripts listed on p. 75. See Keppler, op. cit., pp. 353-4.
The initial letters of the duets - elaborate ink drawings in ruled frames - are works of art in their own right. Most of them include male and female figures, and Cupid, fully armed with bow, arrows, chains and sometimes an apple. The initials illustrate the texts of the duets. In *Gia tu parti*, for example, the lady tries to escape from her lover while he, seated behind, holds her back by the end of her billowing robe. The drawing is hardly profound, but it is charming and appropriate, and in perfect harmony with the style of the poetry and music.

The only duet not in the hand of scribe D is *Quando un eroe*.* 8

RM 23 k 7 originally contained twelve duets: the scribe made an index of them on a flyleaf at the back. *Quando un eroe* occupies an extra fascicle of three bifolia (pages 165-[176]) which was inserted at a later date. It is not included in the index and the initial letter is not decorated. It was copied not by scribe D but by scribe C, the copyist responsible for the new set of opera scores. This might be taken to indicate that the duet is authentic, but it appears in no other major source and cannot be attributed to Steffani with any certainty on grounds of style.

**The Repertory of the Manuscripts**

Since it seems very likely that RM 23 k 13-20 was originally a complete collection, it is obviously important to try to establish the contents of the five missing volumes. Although Munich 5321 and RM 23 k 7-8 duplicate some of the surviving volumes, they also include other groups of duets not found in RM 23 k 13-20. These groups may represent some of the missing volumes.

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8 Appendix D, duet 102.
The present contents of RM 23 k 13-20 are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original number</th>
<th>Shelfmark</th>
<th>Titles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>RM 23 k 13</td>
<td>No, no, no, non voglio se devo in amor chi vuol godere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non te lo dissi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Luci belle, non tanta fretta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>La fortuna su la ruota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Labri belli, dite un pò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>RM 23 k 14</td>
<td>Pria ch'io faccia(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Quanto care al cor(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ribellatevi(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Su ferisci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>E perché non m'uccidete(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>E così mi compatite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>RM 23 k 15</td>
<td>Parlo e rido</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tien m'ìl cor la gelosia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cruda Lilla, che ti fece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Il mio seno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Io voglio provar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No, no, no, mai nol dirò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>RM 23 k 16</td>
<td>Forma un mare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Navicella che t'en vai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Che sarà di quel pensiero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dir che giovì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Libertà! non posso soffrir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dimmi Cupido, e quando mai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>RM 23 k 17</td>
<td>Quest'è l'ultima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mia speranza illanguidita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Oh! che voi direste bene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lilla mia, non vuoi ch'io pianga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M'ingannasti fanciullo bendato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Torna a dar vita(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>RM 23 k 18</td>
<td>Lungi dal idol mio(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Occhi, perché piangete(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Troppo cruda è la mia sorte(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M'hai da piangere(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rio destin(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Già tu partì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>RM 23 k 19</td>
<td>Io mi parto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Crudo Amor, morir mi sento</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sòl negl'occhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Io mi rido</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tu m'aspettasti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Porto l'alma incenerita</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
And the contents of RM 23 k 7-8, omitting the unreliable Quando un eroe(a), are as follows:

**RM 23 k 7**

The Lungi(a) group, then:

- Saldi marmi
- Ravvediti mio core
- Vorrei dire(a)
- Occhi belli(a)
- Begl'occhi(a)
- Aure, voi che volate(a)

**RM 23 k 8**

The Pria(a) group, then:

- Tengo per infallibile(a)
- Cangia pensier(a)
- Ho scherzato
- Ah! che l'ho sempre detto(a)
- Non ve ne state
- Sia maledetto Amor
- Gelosia, che vuoi da me(18a)
- Mi voglio far intendere.

The first six duets in RM 23 k 7 correspond with those in the autograph volume RM 23 k 18, i.e. volume X. The next six may represent the contents of the missing volume XI. The same duets also occur in the same order in volume II of the Munich manuscripts, except that Vorrei dire(a) is omitted.39

The first six duets in RM 23 k 8 correspond with those in the other autograph, RM 23 k 14, i.e. volume II. Volumes III and IV are both missing. The second group of six in RM 23 k 8 may represent volume III. The group occurs in none of the extant Munich volumes, but such a volume probably belonged to the set at one time.

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39The reason for the omission is not clear, though even without Vorrei dire(a) volume II is much longer than the other volumes in the set – and they all contain six duets.
The last two duets in RM 23 k 8 may be the beginning of the missing
volume IV. These two duets occur in the same order at the beginning of
Munich MS 5321, volume VII:

Gelosia che vuoi da me (18a)
Mi voglio far intendere
E spento l'ardore
Nel tempo che amai
Fulminato, saettate
Più non amo.

The last four duets are found in neither of the RM sets, but it seems very
likely that RM 23 k 13-20 originally included a similar volume.

Another group of duets that presumably appeared in the complete RM set
is found in volume IV of the Munich manuscripts:

Vo dicendo
Placidissime catene
Liberò! l'infelice umanità
Turbini tempestosi
Voi ve ne pentirete
Siete il più bizzarro umore.

The contents of the fifth missing volume must be sought elsewhere.

The duets listed above occur time and time again in later manuscripts in
exactly the same order as in the RM and Munich sets. The following group
of duets is found in none of the sources discussed above, but it survives
complete and in the same order in no fewer than ten manuscripts:

Che volete o crude pene
Inquieto mio cor
Gelosia, che vuoi da me (19)
Questo fior che involo al prato
Quando mai verrà quel di
Non so chi mi piagò.

It seems more than likely that this group corresponds with the remaining lost
volume.

40See below, pp. 105-13.
Although the Munich manuscripts and RM 23 k 7-8 indicate the contents of the missing volumes, and the order of the duets within them, it is debatable whether they also reflect the original order of the volumes in the set. The Munich set is of no use in determining this, for its numeration is of modern origin. As for RM 23 k 7-8, some of the evidence from these manuscripts conflicts with that of the Royal College of Music LS 2014.

It would appear from RM 23 k 8 that volumes III and IV of the complete set contained the groups of duets headed by Tengo per infallibile(a) and Gelosia, che vuoi da me(18a); the RCM manuscript suggests that they contained the Vo dicendo and Gelosia, che vuoi da me(18a) groups:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Volume</th>
<th>Shelfmark</th>
<th>Contents</th>
<th>RM 23 k 7-8</th>
<th>RCM 2014</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>RM 23 k 13</td>
<td>No...non voglio etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td>No...non voglio etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>RM 23 k 14</td>
<td>Pria(a) etc.</td>
<td>Pria(a) etc.</td>
<td>Pria(a) etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>lost</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>Tengo(a) etc.</td>
<td>Vo dicendo etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>lost</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>Gelosia(18a) etc.</td>
<td>Gelosia(18a) etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>RM 23 k 15</td>
<td>Parlo etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Parlo etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>RM 23 k 16</td>
<td>Forma etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>lost</td>
<td>----</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>lost</td>
<td>----</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>RM 23 k 17</td>
<td>Quest'è etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>RM 23 k 18</td>
<td>Lungi(a) etc.</td>
<td>Lungi(a) etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>lost</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>Saldi etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>RM 23 k 19</td>
<td>Io mi parto etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>RM 23 k 20</td>
<td>Corri etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

41 See below, p. 94. Einstein's attempt (loc. cit.) at reconstructing RM 23 k 13-20 appears to ignore the evidence of RCM 2014.
The conflict concerns the content of the missing volume III. Since RM 23 k 7-8 includes isolated volumes of duets, each manuscript beginning with one of the autograph volumes, it is impossible to be sure that it was copied in the order of the complete set. It would appear that RCM 2014, on the other hand, was copied systematically from that set. The evidence of this manuscript is therefore to be preferred.

The sources are not incompatible in other respects. They both indicate that the missing volume IV contained the Gelosia, che vuoi da me (18a) group, and on the content of volume XI, nothing in RCM 2014 or 2015-6 conflicts with the evidence of RM 23 k 7. There is no clue in either source as to the original number of the Che volete volume.

It can be no surprise that Steffani's duets are arranged in groups of six, as it was common practice in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for various types of composition, including sonatas, concertos and cantatas, to be copied and published in dozens and half-dozens. Although some of Steffani's groups may be fortuitous, others appear to have been put together with considerable care. The most important factors governing the arrangement of the duets within the groups appear to have been their key, form and subject-matter.

The duets in the autograph volumes are presumably arranged in the way the composer intended. Those in RM 23 k 18 seem to have been chosen principally for their subject-matter. They all deal with the desolation of a lover long separated from his beloved. Steffani may have identified with this sentiment: when he began revising these duets he was feeling particularly desolate and had for some time been out of touch with his 'beloved' music - and with Sophie Charlotte. It may be no coincidence that these duets appear at the beginning of RM 23 k 7, a manuscript originally intended for her.
The duets in the other autograph volume (RM 23 k 14) were probably arranged according to formal and alphabetical principles. Ribellatevi(a) and Su ferisci, which occur together in the middle of the group, are the only duets by Steffani in ABBA (duet, solo, solo, duet) form. The first movements of E perché(a) and E così are alike in form, and this may explain why these duets are placed together. The first two duets in the group, Pria ch'io faccia and Quanto care, are the only duets beginning with 'P' and 'Q' that Steffani revised, and of those that he revised beginning with 'R', Ribellatevi is the first. Thus, the group begins with three revised versions arranged in alphabetical order.42

The duets in the Tengo per infallibile(a) group, which follows the RM 23 k 23 group in RM 23 k 6, were mostly chosen for their form. The group includes the only four revised duets by Steffani in strophic-rondo form (Ho scherzato, Ah! ché l'hò sempre detto(a), Non ve ne state and Sia maledetto Amor).

Four other groups show signs of careful planning. The duets in the Che volete group are arranged alphabetically by key: C minor, D minor, E minor, F major, G minor and B-flat major. Inquieto mio cor and Non sò chimi piagg are the only duets by Steffani in ABCAD (duet, solo, solo, duet, duet) form, so it is natural that they should both be in the same group. The intervening duets are all in ABCD (duet, solo, solo, duet) form.

The order of RM 23 k 17 is less obvious. The middle four duets are grouped together presumably because their solo movements are unusually long and elaborately constructed; these duets form the following key sequence: D minor, D major, G minor, G major. The outer duets are in different forms, and while the first is in A minor (i.e. a fourth below D minor), the last is in D minor (i.e. a fourth below G major). The volume is balanced, therefore, both from formal and tonal points of view.

42 For evidence that Steffani revised other duets in alphabetical order, see above, p. 42.
The Vo dicendo group falls into two halves according to form. The first two duets in each half are in open forms, and the third is a da capo duet. The first four duets also form a key sequence: A minor, D major, A major, D minor. The last two duets, which are in D major and F major, do not appear to be part of this key scheme.

The duets in RM 23 k 15 fall into three pairs. The second duet in each pair is in G minor: C major, G minor, D minor, G minor, G major, G minor. The duets are varied in form - they do not create further patterns.

Of the remaining groups, only RM 23 k 16 appears to have been planned to a similar extent. There is no evidence of key patterns, but the second, third and fourth duets are all rondos. They represent nearly half of Steffani's output in that form.

Four groups show no signs of planning whatever. Even so, the Saldi marmi and Gelosia, che vuoi da me(18a) groups include revised versions and may be arranged as Steffani intended. The RM 23 k 13 and 19 groups contain duets that were not revised, and there is no evidence that they were specially grouped for inclusion in this collection. They may have been copied from an earlier collection that Steffani apparently re-assembled when revising his duets.43

There is little evidence of any overall plan for the set as a whole. Since the original order of the volumes cannot firmly be established, it is impossible to be sure that there was no such plan. The only hint of one, however, seems to lie in the fact that volume XIII (RM 23 k 20) contains the only six duets with obbligato instruments. These duets may have been intended as the crown of the set.

If this volume was the last in the set, and if all the missing volumes contained six duets, then the set as a whole must have contained seventy-eight

43 See above pp. 39-40.
duets. These duets, listed on pp. 82-84 above, are the bulk of the duets that may be attributed reliably to Steffani. Of all the duets ascribed to him in other sources, only three may be considered authentic - *Dolce è per voi soffrire*, *Dolce labbro, amabil bocca* and *Quando ti stringo*, of which the sources are discussed below. The total number of reliable attributions is therefore eighty-one. It is on these duets, and the seventeen original versions discussed in chapter seven, that the musical discussion in Part III of this dissertation will be based.

Florence, Conservatorio di Musica, MSS D. 331-2

The main source for *Dolce è per voi soffrire* and *Dolce labbro, amabil bocca* is a pair of manuscripts in the library of the Florence Conservatorio, MSS D. 331-2. Their contents are ascribed to Steffani in the titles, which also reveal, in an unusually helpful manner, that the manuscripts were copied in Düsseldorf during his life-time: 'DVETTI / Di M'gnor Sefani / Copiati in Dusseldorft l'anno / 1718'. A matching volume of duets by Pietro Torri (Florence MS D. 333) was copied at the same time.

Little is known of the history of the manuscripts. It would appear that they have been in Italy since the eighteenth century, for they were clearly the source for two later Italian manuscripts. External features suggest that they were prepared for the library of a nobleman. Johann Wilhelm, the Elector Palatine at Düsseldorf, died in 1716 and his wife, Anna Maria Luisa de' Medici, returned to her native Florence next year. There is some evidence that she was interested in music, so it may be that the manuscripts were intended to remind her of music she had heard in Germany.

44D. 331, title-page. There are slight differences in the orthography in D. 332.

45See below, p.114.

This might explain how they come to be in Florence today.

The manuscripts bear an external resemblance to RM 23 k 7-8. They are large oblong quartos, full-bound in heavy, dark-toned leather. The covers are embossed with a diamond-shaped design and lined with marbled endpapers. Spaces were left for decorated initials, but these were never put in. Three hands can be distinguished in the Steffani volumes. The music and text were copied by one scribe whose hand is not found in the RM manuscripts. A second hand is responsible for the tempo markings which are scattered liberally throughout both volumes. Einstein wondered whether these were in the hand of Steffani, but they certainly are not.

A third hand added a short note about Dolce labbro, which appears in D. 332. The note, which occupies the space left for the initial letter, reads as follows:

'This is the last duet he composed in 1712 being a prelate, and he composed it at Herten, fief of their lords the Counts von Nesselrode, near Wesel in Westphalia'.

The Italian is a little ambiguous, but the note seems to mean that Dolce labbro was Steffani's last duet, that he composed it at Herten in 1712, and that he stopped composing that year because he was a prelate.

There is no other evidence that Steffani visited Herten that year, but he did spend about two weeks there in the summer of 1713. Entertainment was provided by two singers sent specially by the Elector Johann Wilhelm:

\[\text{\textit{l'ultimo che fece / nel 1712 essendo Prelato / e lo fece ad Herten Feudo / dei Sig: \={C}onti di Nesselrod / in Vesfalia vicina a Wesels'. Florence, D. 332, p. 148.}}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{48a}}\] He was actually made a prelate in 1706-7 (see above, pp. 24-5), but the scribe appears to have been unaware of this.
I know the two virtuosos Pasi and 'Gaettano' very well... They were with me last summer for about two weeks at Herten, where I was taking the waters and where the Elector was pleased to send them to help me pass the afternoon.  

Antonio Pasi, a soprano castrato, was employed at Düsseldorf from 1708 to 1713. The other singer was probably Gaetano Berenstadt, an alto castrato who was at Düsseldorf 1712-14 and sang in London in 1717 and 1723-4. It would appear that Dolce labbro, which is scored for soprano and alto, was written for them at Herten in July, 1713.

The late date of composition may explain why this duet does not appear in RM 23 k 13-20; conversely, its absence may indicate that that set had already been completed. The same may be true of Dolce è per voi soffrire, which also appears in D. 332 and for which the latest possible date is 1711.

As for Quando ti stringo, the earliest surviving source is probably the Berlin MS Am. B. 299, which is dated 1751. The duet is followed there by Dolce labbro, and the same two duets occur consecutively in twelve

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49 'Conosco ben: il due virtuosi Pasi e Gaettano... Furono l'estate passata due settimane incirca con me a Herten, dove io beueuo le acque minerali, ed ove il Ser: Elettore hebbe la bontà di mandarli, perché m'impedissero il meridiano.' Steffani to Ruggiero Fedeli, 27th January, 1714. Fondo Spiga, vol. 63.


51 Lau, op. cit., p. 271.

52 He sang in Handel's Rinaldo, Ottone, Flavio and Giulio Cesare (Deutsch, Handel: a Documentary Biography (London, 1955), pp. 73, 147, 153 and 157). He was not a bass, as Deutsch says, but an alto (Dean, Handel and the Opera Seria (London, 1970), p. 207).

53 See above, p. 43.

54 See above, p. 37.
other manuscripts; they were perhaps associated with each other in earlier sources that have been lost. The pairing is not without significance: these are the only duets by Steffani in one movement, they are both scored for soprano and alto and they contain no difficult passages. In view of all these circumstances, it seems very likely that Quando ti stringo, like Dolce labbro, was composed for Pasi and Berenstadt in the summer of 1713.
DERIVATIVE SOURCES

The manuscripts discussed above include all the authentic duets except the original versions of those that Steffani revised; yet they represent only a small proportion of the total number of surviving sources. It would be impractical to describe all the other sources in such detail, but it is necessary to attempt some sort of survey.

The lines of the discussion are suggested by the sources themselves. The groups of six duets found in the RM and Lun-ch manuscripts recur time and time again in later copies, sometimes complete, sometimes incomplete, now in the original order, now rearranged. By tracing these groups of duets through later generations of manuscripts it is possible to discover how the manuscripts are interrelated. The purpose of this is to reduce the total number of manuscripts to a bare minimum from which the others can be shown to derive; if this can be done, little need be said about the later copies.

The exercise is complicated because later copies do not always include the entire repertory of an earlier source; most copies derive not from one, but from a number of sources, and one or more of these may be lost. Fortunately, however, the permutations of duets are so numerous and often so diverse that analysis of contents reveals a great deal about the interrelationship of the manuscripts. The final effect of such analysis is to confirm the status of the major sources.

Large Collections

There are a considerable number of large manuscript collections containing duets from many of the original groups. The Royal College of Music
MSS 2014–6 are exceptional in that they include almost complete copies of all the groups, including RM 23 k 20. The first volume includes no fewer than five groups, with only one duet out of order (Placidissime catene), and of the six other duets in the book, all but one (Occhi, perchè p iangete(a)) come from the Che volete group:

The Che volete group

- Celosia che vuoi (19)
- Quando mai
- Questo fior
- Che volete
- Occhi, perchè p iangete (a)
- Placidissime catene
  - The RM 23 k 13 group
  - The RM 23 k 14 group
  - The Munich 5321, vol. IV group
  - The Munich 5321, vol. VII group
  - The RM 23 k 15 group
- Inquieto mio cor

The volume raises questions about the composition and history of RV 23 k 13-20. According to the original Roman numerals, RV 23 k 14 and 15 were volumes II and V in the set. Volumes III and IV are lost. It would appear that RCM 2014 was copied before they went astray and that the missing volumes corresponded with volumes IV and VII of the Munich manuscripts.

From the contents of RCM 2014, it seems that MSS RCM 2014-6 were originally intended as a complete copy of the RM set. RCM 2015 and 2016 are in a different hand. The new copyist began by drawing on other sources, but when those were exhausted, he too turned to RM 23 k 13-20:

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1The Reader may find it helpful, throughout this chapter, to refer to the lists of duets on pp. 82-4 and to the contents of the manuscripts in Appendix D, pt. I.

2This manuscript appears to have been the source for the first volume in a similar eighteenth-century three-volume set, RM 23 l 1-3. The two volumes are identical in content. RM 23 l 2-3 do not correspond with MSS 2015-6.
RCM 2015

Ho scherzato
l'hai da piangere(a)
Saldi marmi
Tengo per infallibile(a)
Cangia pensier(a)
Ah! che l'ho sempre detto(a)
Non ve ne state
Sia maledetto
Lungi dal idol mio(a)
Troppa crudà(a)
Río destin(a)
'ìa tu parti(a)
Ravvediti mio core
Vorreì dire(a)
Occhi belli(a)
Begl'occhi(a)
Aure, voi che volate(a)
Forma un mare
Quando un eroe(a)
Crudo Amor
Sol negl'occhi
Che sarà
Porto l'alma
Non sò chi mi piagò
Torna a dar(b)
Lange, gome 4
Dolce è per voi
Navicella
Dir che giovì
Libertà: non posso
Dimmi Cupido
Questa è l'ultima
Mia speranza
Oh! che voi
Lilla mia
M'ingannasti
Corri all'armì
Fuggi da questo seno

RM 23 k 8
RM 23 k 7
RM 23 k 7
RM 23 k 22
RM 23 k 16
RM 23 k 17
RM 23 k 20

RCM 2016
Senti Filli spietata
D'un faggio
S'intimi guerra
Stille degli'occhi
Lontan dal suo bene 5

3 Of doubtful authen'ticity. See above, p. 81 and below, p. 338.
4 By Pietro Torri. See Appendix D, duet 212.
5 By Carlo Luigi Pietragrua. See below, p. 338.
It is the inclusion of Quando un eroe(a) that suggests that the main models for the first part of RCM 2015 were RM 23 k 7-8 and not the now lost originals of the Saldi marmi and Tengo per infallibile(a) groups. For the eight duets that follow Quando un eroe(a), the source was almost certainly RM 23 k 22; apart from RCM 2015 itself, and a manuscript in the Library of Congress that was copied from it, this is the only surviving source of Torna a dar vita(b). The copyist did not copy the entire manuscript: he omitted Pietro Torri's Valli secrete and all the Steffani duets of which he thought copies had already been made (in fact, he also omitted some original versions that had not been copied - he apparently looked only at the verbal incipits). About half of the contents of RM 23 k 22 were thus omitted, but the remaining duets were copied out in the order in which they appear there. The scribe then turned to RM 23 k 13-20. He again omitted duets that had already been copied - which were rapidly growing in number. This explains why the RM 23 k 16 and 17 groups appear to be incomplete and why the RM 23 k 18

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6 Probably by Pietragrua. See below, p. 338.

7 From La Lotta d'Hercole con Acheloo. See Appendix D, duet 257.

8 Of doubtful authenticity. See below, pp. 338-9.

9 Of doubtful authenticity. See below, pp. 333-5.

10 See below, p. 101.
group is omitted altogether.  

The difference in content between RCM 2014 and 2015-6 suggests a line of enquiry that leads to conclusions about their history. RM 23 k 22 was bought for the King's library at the Boyce sale of 1779. If, as seems likely, RCM 2015 was compiled after this date, then whoever supervised the preparation of the manuscript must have been familiar with the holdings and day-to-day business of the Royal Music Library. This appears to have been Frederick Nicolay, the unofficial music librarian who bid for the King at the Boyce sale. His name appears inside all three of the RCM manuscripts. None of them is in his hand, but they appear to have been copied under his supervision and intended for his personal collection.

The composition of the B.M. MSS Add. 5329-32 is of special interest, because the duets are grouped according to the voices for which they are scored. The manuscripts were designed as a set; they are in the hand of a single scribe, who also copied matching volumes of duets by Handel (Add. 5322) and Pietro Torri and others (Add. 5335). They all must date from before 1786, for they bear the bookplate of John Stanley, who died that year. They were presented to the British Museum by Sir John Hawkins.

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11It is incorporated in the repertory of RM 23 k 7.

12This is the unidentified Lot 228 (see King, Some British Collectors of Music (Cambridge, 1963), p. 126). The lot ticket is still stuck on the front cover.

13He presumably bequeathed them to his second son, Frederick (see King, op. cit., p. 127), and they were presented to the Sacred Harmonic Society by the Reverend F. J. Stainforth (see Husk, Catalogue of the Library of the Sacred Harmonic Society. New edition (London, 1872), p. 234). For further information on Nicolay, see King, op. cit., pp. 115-29.

14He also copied the Steffani manuscript now in Birmingham University Music Library (see the Addenda to Appendix D). Since the Birmingham manuscript is an almost exact duplicate of Add. 5331 and lacks Stanley's bookplate, it probably never belonged to the Add. 5329-32 set.
Each volume contains duets for one ain combination of voices. Since most of the original groups included duets for various combinations, the groups, inevitably, are to a certain extent broken up in these manuscripts. Even so, they were clearly the model for parts of the set.

Most of the duets in Add. 5329 are for soprano and bass (two are for alto and bass) and appear to have been copied direct from the RM 23 k 13-20 set. Apart from the first seven duets, the manuscript includes all the soprano-bass duets from the following groups: RM 23 k 13, Munich 5321, vol. VII (omitting Gelosia(18a), which appears among the first seven duets), RM 23 k 20 and RM 23 k 17 - in that order. Complete copies of these groups may have existed in other manuscripts, such as RCM 2014-6, but these manuscripts, at least, could not have served as the model for Add. 5329, because they contain the original, not the revised version of Torna a dr vita. It would appear, therefore, that most of Add. 5329 was copied direct from RM 23 k 13-20.

Although Add. 5330 is based partly on the same set, it draws mainly on Add. 5055-6. These manuscripts are partly in the hand of Henry Needler, who died c. 1760. He may have copied them soon after joining the Academy of Ancient Music n 1728 - it appears that they belonged to Peter Stapel, president of the Academy, in 1786. Add. 5330 includes all the soprano-alto duets from Add. 5055-6, with only one change of order and a few omissions to avoid duplication, and ends with:

15 They are among a number of manuscripts that he copied in Oxford libraries. See below, pp.102ff, and article 'Needler' in Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 5th edition (London, 1954), vi, p. 42.

16 His name first appears under the 'Sixth Subscription', which began on 19th December, 1728 (Add. 11732, ff. 7-8).

17 See below, pp. 100-101.
These are the only soprano-alto duets in RM 23 k 13-20 that the scribe had not already copied from Add. 5055-6.

The same sources appear to have served for Add. 5331 and 5332. The former begins with all the soprano-tenor duets from Add. 5056 and 5055 (in that order) and ends with the two alto-tenor duets from the same sources. The sources of the nine duets that fall in between these groups are uncertain:

? RM 23 k 16 ———— Dolce è per voi soffrire
? RM 23 k 15 ———— Forma un mare
? RM 23 k 16 ———— Se potessi al seno
? RM 23 k 19 ———— Io mi parto
? RM 23 k 20 ———— Pera Clori
? RM 23 k 15 ———— Cruda Lilla

The copyist would not have found Se potessi in RM 23 k 13-20, nor Dolce è per voi soffrire, and if he did go through that set he missed or omitted at least two other soprano-tenor duets - Tien mi'l cor (RM 23 k 15) and Tu m'aspettasti (RM 23 k 19). Even so, the RM set is the most likely source for most of the duets, and particularly for 'Pera Clori'.

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18 Movement (ii) of C'è tu parti.

19 Movements (ii) and (v) of Corri all'aridi, duet 76.

20 By Pietro Torri. See below, p. 337.

21 Movements (iv) and (vii) of Fuggi da questo seno, one of the six duets with instrumental accompaniment. The Birmingham manuscript mentioned in footnote 14 is inscribed by the copyist: 'out of ye Collection of his Royall Higness [sic] Frederick Prince of Wales'. This may be a reference to RM 23 k 13-20.
Add. 5332 is devoted mainly to the duets for soprano and tenor from Add. 5055-6 (in the order). They are preceded, however, by Vuel il ciel, which comes last in Add. 5055-6, and by Ch' sarà d' Parlò e r' do, the only tenor-soprano duets in R 23 k 13-20 that are not found in Add. 5055-6.

Since Add. 5055-6 were such an important source for Add. 5330-32, it seems very likely that they were also the source for all but one of the seven duets at the beginning of Add. 5329:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sopr</th>
<th>SS duet in</th>
<th>Add. 5329</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ten o(a)</td>
<td>Sia maledetto Amor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sia maledetto Amor</td>
<td>Gelosia(18a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G elosia(18a)</td>
<td>Te go(a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N l tempo ch'amai</td>
<td>'Aure, voi che volate(b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D'r che iovi</td>
<td>No vo-lio, non voglio</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch' d'rà</td>
<td>Sìete il più</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Aure, voi che volate(b)</td>
<td>Dir che g'ovi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non voglio, no voglio</td>
<td>Dall'arco d'un bel c'lio</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi dirà and Dall'arco are inauthentic; *vo-lio* may be so. The only authentic duet that does not appear in Add. 5329 is *nel tempo ch'amai*; it is not known how it came to be replaced by *Sìete il più*.

If Add. 5329 was copied from Add. 5055-6, then each volume in Add. 5329-32 was copied in identical fashion: each begins with the duets for one combination of voices from Add. 5055-6, and ends with duets for the same combination from R 23 k 13-20.

Add. 5055-6 were also a source for a six-volume set in the Library of Congress, M 1549.2.87D9 case. A note on the title page of volume I says that *t* (i.e., volume I) was copied in 1786 by Edmund Oliver, organist of Brompton.

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22 Chi dirà (Ap endix D, *vel 84*) is by Str della. Dall'arco is ascribed to Torrè ere and in Ac. 5335, a d to Legnani in Fr. Vm7 53 and Vm7 56. For *vo-lio*, see below, p. 339f.
'from a collection... in the hands of Peter Stapel, Esq. President of the Academy of Ancient Music'. The same year, Olive co led another volume of duets (Add. 31492) from a Stapel manuscript. The former contains duets thought to be by Steffani, the latter duets by other composers. Stapel's manuscript(s) may not have been the only source, for the second volume includes all the non-Steffani duets from RM 23 k 21, which was bought for the Royal Music Library in the Boyce sale of 1779, and a group of non-Steffani pieces from Add. 5055-6. These are the key to Olive's Steffani volume, which draws exclusively on Add. 5055-6. This is clear from the fact that Olive omitted many authentic duets that are unassigned in that source and included inauthentic duets that are ascribed incorrectly to Steffani.

Volume V of the Library of Congress set appears to be based almost entirely on RC! 2014-6. It includes the original version of and complete copies of duets from the RM 23 k 20 group; the RCM manuscripts are the only extant source containing both of these. The Washington manuscript turns out to be a selection of duets from the RC set, copied in the order in which they appear there, and with a few original movements added at the end.

The contents of volume VI are collected to considerable extent by volumes IV and V. Volume IV contains the duet from the RM 23 k 20 group that does not appear in volume VI. Neither of the duets in volumes IV or VI is duplicated in volume V, which includes all but one of the duets from RM 23 k 17 group and two from RM 23 k 13. These last complement duets from the same group in volume VI.

Volumes IV, V and VI seem to have been intended as part of a set. The coexistence of the rest of the set is uncertain, but it would appear that the present volumes I-I have little to do with it. Volume II, according to a

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23King, op. cit., p. 125, Lot 199.
note on the title-page, was copied from manuscripts belonging to Charles
Burney and John Ashley, and volumes III and IV were copied in 1792, also from
Ashley manuscripts. The title-pages of volumes V and VI are missing. All
six manuscripts belonged to William Knyvett, who died in 1837, but only
volumes I, V and VI belonged to Thomas Greatorex before him. Some of the
manuscripts belong together, but the composition of the original set remains
unknown.

In view of the importance of Add. 5055-6, it is fortunate that some
of the sources from which it was compiled can still be identified. Among
these are the Bodleian MSS Mus. d. 93-9. These do not form a complete set:
volume IV is missing and there are two copies of volume III (Mus. d. 95 and
96). The manuscripts are in a number of hands but are uniformly bound.24
Volumes I-III belonged to John Awbery, fellow of New College, in 1767, and the
entire set belonged to the Reverend Osborne Wight, who bequeathed it to the
Bodleian in 1801.25

Bodleian

Mus. d. 93

Add. 5055,ff. 3-115

Occhi perché(a)
Sol negl'occhi
Quando mai
Libertà dolce
Che volete
Vorreï dire(a)

24 Mus. d. 102, which contains duets by Steffani, Torri and anonymous composers,
is similarly bound.

25 Madan, A Summary Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library

26 Inauthentic. See Appendix D, duet 120.
Since the Bodleian manuscripts include two movements that are missing in Add. 5055, there can be no doubt about which manuscript was copied from which. No single source can be found for the last two duets in this part of Add. 5055, nor for the next three duets (Nel tempo ch'amai, Seavissime catene and Senza affanni).

The last part of Add. 5055, which is distinguished by a second change of hand, is closely related to Add. 31493 which appears, in turn, to be a copy of the Naples MS AA. 591.

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27 Movement (iii) of Che volete (Mus. d. 93, p. 48) and movement (v) of Saldi marni (Mus. d. 94, p. 53).

28 Inauthentic. See Appendix D, duet 174.

29 See below, pp. 123-4.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Naples AA. 591</th>
<th>Add. 31493</th>
<th>Add. 5055, ff.121-174</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lungi(a)</td>
<td>Lungi(a)</td>
<td>Lungi(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Che volete</td>
<td>Che volete</td>
<td>Dir che giovi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occhi, perché(a)</td>
<td>Occhi, perché(a)</td>
<td>Occhi, perché(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placidissime</td>
<td>Placidissime</td>
<td>Placidissime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rio destin(a)</td>
<td>Rio destin(a)</td>
<td>Rio destin(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O felice l'onda</td>
<td>O felice</td>
<td>O felice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M'hai da piangere(a)</td>
<td>M'hai(a)</td>
<td>M'hai(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi dirà³⁰</td>
<td>Chi dirà</td>
<td>Chi dirà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gran tormento³¹</td>
<td>Gran tormento</td>
<td>Gran tormento</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cor vagante³²</td>
<td>Cor vagante</td>
<td>Cor vagante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aure, voi che(b)</td>
<td>Aure, voi che(b)</td>
<td>Aure, voi che(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Io mi rido</td>
<td>Io mi rido</td>
<td>Io mi rido</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vol il ciel</td>
<td>Vol il ciel</td>
<td>Vol il ciel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O care cateche³³</td>
<td>O care catene</td>
<td>O care catene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son lontano⁴</td>
<td>Son lontano</td>
<td>Son lontano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un inferno(a)³⁵</td>
<td>Un inferno(a)</td>
<td>Qui diligit Mariam³⁶</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Add. 5055 differs from the others in three ways: the second duet is Dir che giovi, not Che volete; Placidissime catene and Rio destin(a) are reversed, and Vuol il ciel is scored for two sopranos in B-flat major, not for two altos in E major. The manuscript may have been copied from Add. 31493, or from a related manuscript now lost.

The contents of Add. 5056 do not yield to analysis. Nearly half of the duets are not by Steffani at all, and these duets are mixed in, through-

³⁰See Appendix D, duet 84.
³¹See Appendix D, duet 86.
³²See Appendix D, duet 243.
³³See below, p. 337.
³⁴See below, p. 333.
³⁵Movement (iii) of Rio destin(a).
³⁶Motet in five parts by Steffani. See above, p. 27.
out the manuscript, with authentic chamber duets and opera duets. The only duets that seem to derive from one of the original groups are *Vo dicendo*, *Voi ve ne pentirete*, Libertà! l'infelice umanità and Turbini tempestosi, which occur together in that order; they are all found in Munich 5321, volume IV.

The sources of the Bodleian manuscripts cannot be established beyond doubt, but the set appears to draw mainly on Royal manuscripts. Together with Mus. d. 99, the volumes whose contents are listed above include four complete groups of duets - the RM 23 k 14 and 18, and the Saldi marmi and Tengo per infallibile(a) groups. Since they also include the first two duets (only) from the Gelosia, che vuoi da me(18a) group and omit Quando un eroe(a), it seems very likely that they were copied from RM 23 k 9-10.\(^{37}\) Four duets from the RM 23 k 16 group appear consecutively in Mus. d. 98, and duets from other groups are scattered throughout the set. The manuscripts also include Dolce è per voi soffrire, however, and two duets of doubtful authenticity (*Libertà dolce e gradita* and *Dite la verità*\(^{38}\)). They appear, therefore, to represent a stage halfway between the main sources and the later large collections.

The Che volete Group

Although this group of duets is not found in the surviving main sources, it is undoubtedly authentic.\(^{39}\) It includes duets whose texts are ascribed

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\(^{37}\) A copy of RM 23 k 7-8, omitting Quando un eroe(a).

\(^{38}\) The latter is in Mus. d. 98.

\(^{39}\) See above, pp. 48-52 and p. 84.
to poets, and it occurs complete and in the same order in no fewer than ten manuscripts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Manuscript Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brussels, Conservatoire</td>
<td>F. 699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge, Rowe Library</td>
<td>D. 111.21-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London, Royal Academy of Music</td>
<td>MS 110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London, British Museum</td>
<td>MS 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London, Guildhall Library</td>
<td>RM 23 k 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan, University Library</td>
<td>RM 23 k 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington, Library of Congress</td>
<td>G. mus. 394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stellfeld 33 B 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M 1549.2.8S9 case, vol. II.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many of these manuscripts also include complete copies of other groups.

The earliest source is probably RM 23 k 6, an Italian manuscript that appears to date from the early eighteenth century. It contains eighteen duets by Steffani and four by other composers. The Che volete group occurs in the middle of the manuscript and is preceded by a copy of the complete RM 23 k 19 group. These groups are sandwiched between two single duets, Dolce è per voi soffrire and Placidissime catene, which occupy separate fascicles and appear to have been added as an afterthought. Of the four other duets by Steffani, two belong to the RM 23 k 16 group and two to RM 23 k 17. The copyist apparently had access to sources containing some, at least, of the original groups, and this underlines the authenticity of the Che volete group.

Similar evidence is provided by the Paris manuscripts and by RM 23 k 21, both of which include the repertory of at least one of the autograph volumes along with the Che volete group. While the other groups of duets are rearranged in the Paris manuscripts, the Che volete group is preserved intact at the beginning of volume II. The other duets in that volume are Pria ch'io faccia(a), Quanto care(a), Ribellatevi(a), E perchè(a), Sol di pianto, Cangia

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40 This is one of three sources that do not give the poets. The others are the two Brussels manuscripts.
pensier(a), Ho scherzato and Ah! che l'ho sempre detto(a). Except for Sol di pianto, which is by Pietro Torri, these all belong to the repertory of RM 23 k 8.

Most of this Paris volume is duplicated in the Rowe MS 110. This contains all the duets in the Paris manuscript up to and including Sol di pianto, but omits the last three. It is unlikely to have been copied from the Paris manuscript, however, for while the text of Gelosia, che vuoi da me (19) is unascribed in that source it is ascribed in the Rowe manuscript. It would appear, therefore, that both manuscripts derive from a common parent source, now lost, which will be known here as source A.

Their relationship is illuminated by another Paris manuscript, X. 117. A single spelling mistake provides the clue. In this manuscript the last movement of Non so chi mi piagò begins 'E vangante', not 'E vagante'. The mistake is found in only two other sources, Rowe 110 and the Royal Academy of Music MS 34; it confirms that the latter was copied partly from the former. Paris X. 117 is not the missing source of the Rowe manuscript: although it includes most of the Che volete group, Gelosia(19) is omitted and the other duets occur in re-arranged order throughout the volume. The mistake does indicate, however, that the source from which the Rowe manuscript derives is common also to X. 117. This source (source B) is unlikely to have been a copy of D. 11422, for Rowe 110 seems not to derive from that manuscript. It must, therefore, have been a copy of source A (or a copy of a copy), and this means that the sources discussed so far are related thus:

See Appendix D, duet 236.
The only manuscript containing nothing but the Che volete group is the Michigan MS Stellfeld 33 B 44, mentioned above in connexion with the poets of the duets. It is of eighteenth-century origin, apparently English, and it appears to have been copied from reliable sources. It once belonged to Charles Burney, who signed his name inside the front cover. The sale-catalogue of his music library[42] mentions one manuscript of duets by Steffani – lot 577: this may be it. It later belonged to Vincent Novello, whose signature also appears in the manuscript, and to the Belgian collector Jean-Auguste Stellfeld (1881-1952).

The manuscript appears to have been one of the sources for volume II in the Library of Congress set, which is known to have been copied from a Burney manuscript.[43] The Michigan manuscript is the only source known to have belonged to Burney, and the Washington manuscript includes the complete Che volete group.

The Washington manuscript begins, however, with a series of duets found also in the Guildhall MS G. mus. 394:

[42] A Catalogue of the valuable and very fine collection of Music printed and manuscript of the late Charles Burney ... which will be sold by auction by Mr. White (London, 1814).

The relationship between these manuscripts is not entirely clear. The Washington volume does not include the pieces by Torri, so it is unlikely to have been the source for the Guildhall manuscript. But it could have been copied from it: the copyist could have omitted the Torri pieces, all of which are correctly ascribed. The only difficulty, in that case, would be that the Washington manuscript is known to have been copied from manuscripts belonging to Burney and Ashley. The Guildhall manuscript belonged to Thomas Bever and was presented to Gresham College by J. P. Street: there's no evidence that it belonged to Ashley. It seems most likely, 

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44 Part of a duet by Pietro Torri. See Appendix D, duet 100.

45 This duet, and the four that follow, come from *I Trionfi del Pato*. See Appendix D, duets 241, 243, 250, 258 and 259.

46 Two Latin motets ascribed to Torri.

47 This is clear from bookplates inside the front cover. Street was librarian of the Medical Society; his music collection was sold in 1851 (King, *op. cit.*, p. 49). He was perhaps the Joseph Street of whom R. J. S. Stevens, Professor of Music at Gresham College from 1801, said that he was a 'tenor, a ready singer, an amateur ... a most admirable copyer of music ... correct and neat'. See Trnd, 'R. J. S. Stevens and his contemporaries', *Music and Letters*, xiv (1933), p. 131.
therefore, that both manuscripts derive this part of their repertory from a common source now lost (source C), which may or may not have belonged to John Ashley. If so, the manuscripts are related in the following way:

![Diagram of manuscript relationships]

After the Che volete group, the repertories of the Washington and Guildhall manuscripts have nothing in common. The former includes a number of doubtful and inauthentic duets and movements, and derives from sources that cannot now be identified (source D). The Guildhall manuscript, on the other hand, is almost identical with the Rowe manuscript discussed above:

**Rowe 110**
- The Che volete group
- Pria ch'io faccia(a)
- Quanto care(a)
- Ribellatevi(a)
- E perché(a)
- Sol di pianto

**G. mus. 394**
- The Che volete group
- Al rigore d'un cor ingrato\(^{48}\)
- Pria(a)
- Quanto care(a)
- Ribellatevi(a)
- E perché(a)

The only real difference is that the Rowe manuscript lacks Al rigore d'un cor ingrato (Sol di pianto is included as the very first duet in the Guildhall manuscript\(^{49}\)). The ancestry of the Rowe manuscript has already been established, so it would appear that the Guildhall manuscript was copied either directly from it or from a now lost copy (source E) that perhaps included Al rigore.

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\(^{48}\)By Pietro Torri. See Appendix D, duet 186. This copy lacks the words.

\(^{49}\)See above, p. 109.
The Guildhall manuscript was one of three sources for Add. 31816, a volume of about thirty duets copied by R. J. S. Stevens (1757-1837). Identification of the sources is rendered comparatively simple by marginal comments in Stevens' hand, such as 'From Dr Bevors Collection' and 'From Mr Savages M.S.' The other two sources were the RAM MSS 39 and 33/2, both of which belonged to William Savage. The former includes various annotations in pencil in Stevens' hand, among them the dates 1825 and 1826; these appear to be the date of his copy.

Stevens began with the Guildhall manuscript, i.e. Bever's collection. He omitted Sol di pianto and the two motets by Torri, and also Steffani's Ravvediti and Che volete; but he copied the next six items, including the untexted copy of Al rigore (this is unascribed: Stevens was not to know that it is not by Steffani). Of the remaining duets in Bever's manuscript, he copied only one, Quanto care(a).

When he turned to the first of Savage's manuscripts (RAM 39), he discovered that some of the duets he had copied from Bever's collection were incomplete, lacking solos. He may have realised also that he had missed two duets in that manuscript. He adopted the obvious course of action: from Savage's manuscript he copied the solo movements for those duets that lacked them (i.e. the last five duets in the Che volete group), the duets by Steffani that he had not yet taken from Bever's collection and all other Steffani duets that were not to be found there. He did not copy the other music in the manuscript (duets by Pietragrua, motets and the five-part madrigal Cettano i re by Steffani, and Purcell's music for the fifth act of

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50 His name is signed inside the front covers. The manuscripts also belonged to Stevens. RAM 39 is inscribed 'R J S Steven / Charterhouse 1817', and RAM 33/2, 'R J S Stevens / Charterhouse'. Stevens moved to Charterhouse in 1796.

51 These bear inscriptions such as 'The Solos from Mr Savages Copy'.
The Inian Queen): Stevens was interested only in the Steffani duets.  

The remaining nine duets in his copy were taken from RAM 33/2. The contents of this source are found in only one other surviving manuscript, RAM 32, which was also copied from RAM 33/2. Stevens omitted the first piece, Pergolesi's cantata _nel chiuso centro_, but copied all the rest of the manuscript, including three duets at the end that are certainly not by Steffani.

The sources of the _Che volete_ group may now be brought together in a single family tree. The tree does not necessarily reflect accurately the relative dates of all the manuscripts. Double lines mean that the later manuscript was copied in part or in toto from the earlier manuscript. Single lines mean that the later manuscript includes all or part of the repertoire of the earlier manuscript in the same order; the one was not necessarily copied directly from the other—intervening manuscripts may have been lost. The letters A, B, C, D and E stand for the hypothetical parent sources mentioned above.

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52 RAM 31 is another copy of the duets only from RAM 39.

53 _Pene che volete_ and _Non mi lusingar_ (apparently by Luigi Rossi), and _Ferme tevi folli pensieri_ (anonymous). See Appendix D, duets 224, 219 and 116.
This is not the whole picture. The Che volete group also occurs complete and in the same order in the Brussels MSS F. 699 and F. 15150, vol. VII. The former seems to be related to the repertory of the Guildhall manuscript, and the latter is a nineteenth-century copy of a lost manuscript that appears to have dated from 1785 at the latest. Despite these omissions, however, and despite the fact that some of the sources discussed above are also based in part on other manuscripts that do not include the Che volete group, the diagram gives a good impression of how the sources of the complete group are interrelated.

From the point of view of establishing a reliable text of the duets, it would appear that the only sources of any importance are Steinfeld 33 B 44, Paris D. 114.22 and Rowe 110 — and RM 23 k 6, which does not appear to fit into this family at all.

Similar family trees could be drawn up for the other groups of duets. The repertory of RM 23 k 7-8, for example, which includes four complete groups and part of one other, is found (i) complete and in the correct order in Sondershausen, M. 20, vols. 1-2 and RM 23 k 9-10; (ii) nearly complete and in the correct order in Schwerin 5263/1, and (iii) nearly complete and in re-arranged order in Paris D. 114.21-2 and Dresden 2110/4/3. The repertory of RM 23 k 7 (only) appears complete and in the correct order in Tenbury 1235 and incomplete and in re-arranged order in Berlin L 264/1. The Brussels MS

54 The Che volete group is followed in both manuscripts by Torri's Al rigore d'un cor ingrato.

55 It includes the inscription 'A Present from Mr Jones Organist of St. Paul 1785'.

56 These may have been among the manuscripts of Italian music taken to Sondershausen from London by 'Erbrinz' Günther in c.1720 (See Gerber, Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler (1812-14), ed. Wesseley (Graz, 1966), i, cols. 81-2.

57 Lacking the doubtful Quando un eroe(a).

58 Except that Quando un eroe(a) is replaced by the first movement of Mi voglio far intendere - the last duet in RM 23 k 8.
F. 680 includes the complete repertory of RM 23 k 8 (only) in the correct order; RM 23 k 21 has it re-arranged, and RAM 34 and 39, Rowe 110 and Guildhall C. mus. 394 have parts of the same repertory in re-arranged order.

Finally, the Florence MSS D. 331-2 gave rise to a relatively clearly defined family of copies. Einstein pointed out that D. 331 was the source for Munich 2775 and for parts of Bologna BB. 357, and that Add. 14181, although itself a bad copy, was based on good sources. But he appears to have been unaware of the full extent of the family tree:

There is not space, unfortunately, to investigate this family here, but comparison of the inventories of these manuscripts, listed in Appendix D, would support the relationships shown above.

All in all, the later manuscripts provide convincing evidence of the superiority of the main sources.

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59 DTR, vi/2 (Leipsig, 1905), pp. xi and xv.
There are comparatively few sources for the original versions of the duets that Steffani revised. The main sources discussed in chapter five, which were copied and re-copied in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, do not include a single original version.

The original versions are found in a total of nearly forty manuscripts. Few of the manuscripts are interrelated: most of them include only one original version. Some are anthologies or late copies that might appear unreliable. In these cases the main evidence for the authenticity of the original version may be provided by the music itself. An otherwise unimportant, late manuscript may be a primary source for an original version.

Sources of Unica

Five of the original versions survive in unique copies. *Ah! che l’ho sempre detto* (b) is found in the Paris MS Vm\textsuperscript{7} 54, and *Ribellatevi* (b) in Vm\textsuperscript{7} 53. The manuscripts, which belong together, date from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Volume I has been re-bound more recently, but volume II retains the original binding with the title 'CANTATE / A VOCE SOLA / ET A2 / TOME 2' on the spine. They form an anthology of Italian vocal chamber music.

Volume I includes two trios, an aria and nearly fifty duets ascribed to Steffani, Pasquini, Stradella, Scarlatti, Legnani, Torri, Luigi [Rossi], Charpentier, Carissimi, Bononcini, Aldovrandini, Ziani, 'Sra Isabella', 1 'Luli', Legrenzi and 'Pistocho'. It is in a large, precise and impeccably

1 Possibly Signora Isabella Aubert, who appears to have owned the Bodleian MS Mus. Sch. D. 223 in 1714.
clear hand. Volume II falls into two sections: the first 53 folios are in one hand and include solo cantatas; the remainder is in a different hand and includes eighteen duets. The last four are ascribed to Torri, Scarlatti, 'Francesco Mancia' and 'Mancini', but the others are not individually ascribed.  

The ascriptions involving Steffani are not all reliable. In volume I he is credited with a version of Odi o Lilla that is probably by Pietro Torri, while Torna a dar v'ta(a) and Vorrei dire(b) are ascribed to Torri and Str della res e ctively. Despite the unreliability of these ascriptions, the original version of Ribellatevi is undoubtedly authentic; although it lacks solo movements, the duet in Vm 53 is clearly the ancestor of the revised version.

The lack of ascriptions in volume II must be approached with similar caution. The manuscript includes four unascribed duets that cannot be attributed to Steffani with any degree of certainty. The original versions of Ah! che l'hò sempre detto - and Cangia pensier - are among a number of duets which are, nevertheless, authentic.

2Probably Francesco Lancini (1679-1739). The identity of 'Francesco Mancia' is uncertain: the ascription may be a mistake, either for Mancini or for Luigi Mancia.

3A title at the top of f. 54 reads: 'Duetti del S'gnor Abbate Stefani'.

4See Appendix D, duets 99 and 221.

5The only other complete copy of Vorrei dire(b) - VS Vm 57, f. 51' - is also ascribed to Stradella.

Parts of the original version of Tengo per infallibile are found in a total of three sources: Bodleian, MS Mus. d. 102, Munich, MS 1051 and Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 16749. The Vienna manuscript is a nineteenth-century copy of the Munich manuscript and may be discounted immediately. The latter is of eighteenth-century Italian origin. It is not a good source for the duet: the solo movements are lacking and the duet sections appear at the beginning of the manuscript in an inverted order and with a movement from another duet interpolated.

The only complete copy is that in the Bodleian. Like MSS Mus. d. 93-9, this manuscript is of eighteenth-century English provenance. A note inside the front cover says that it belonged to Philip Hayes in December, 1766. Most of the contents are by Pietro Torri, but besides Tengo per infallibile(b) the manuscript includes three duets by Steffani and his vocal trio Al rigor d'un bel sembiante. The first duet, Ravvediti mio core, is found alone in a group of seven Torri duets and is incomplete. The other three, which are grouped together, are all complete. The first of these, Ribellatevi(a), is ascribed to 'Abbate Stephani' in the hand of the main copyist. A later hand supplied the ascription for Tengo per infallibile(b), which comes last in this group. There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the ascription.

The original version of Gelosia, che vuoi da me(18b) is the most surprising and fortunate survivor amongst the unica. Although included in

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7 It once belonged to Anton Thibaut whose collection was acquired by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in the mid nineteenth century. See Verzeichniss der von dem verstorbenen Grossh. Badischen Prof. der Rechte und Geheimrathe Dr. Anton Friedrich Justus Thibaut zu Heidelberg hinterlassenen Musikalien-sammlung (Heidelberg, 1842), p. 30, paragraph 428.

8 See above, pp. 102-5.
Einstein's catalogue, it occurs in none of the manuscripts that he lists as having consulted. The only known source is volume X of the Brussels Conservatoire MS F. 15150, the last in a late nineteenth-century set of manuscripts of which volumes V and VIII, at least, were copied in Dresden in 1879. Some of the sources from which the set was copied can be identified, but the model for volume X appears to be lost. The volume contains twelve duets. Only one of them is ascribed to Steffani, and it is one of three that are definitely not by him.

Gelosia(18b) is certainly authentic. The bibliographical evidence is inconclusive: the manuscript also includes the original versions of Troppo cruda and M'hai da piangere; although the former is authentic, the latter may not be. The musical evidence, on the other hand, is overwhelming. It is quite clear that Gelosia(18a) is based on Gelosia(18b). The solo movements are almost identical in both versions. The material of the duet movements in the revised version is also derived from material in Gelosia(18b), but the themes have been polished up and the contrapuntal treatment greatly improved. From the relationship of the two duets there can be no doubt that Gelosia(18b) is authentic.

\[9\underline{DTB}, \text{vi}/2, \text{p. XXI}, \text{incipit 20b.}\]
\[10\text{'Dresden / 12 / 6 79' (vol. V, p. 149); 'Cop. / Dresden 1879. AJ [or T ?]' (vol. VIII, p. 174).}\]
\[11\text{The contents of volumes IV and VI are identical with Add. 5329 and 5330, and volume VIII includes all the duets in Add. 5332. Volume IX appears to have been copied from the Naples MS AA. 591 (see below, p. 12k). A note in volume I says that it was copied from the Dresden MS B. 292. The Dresden shelfmarks have since been altered and this manuscript has not been identified.}\]
\[12\text{Appendix D, duets 91, 105 and 198.}\]
\[13\text{Seebelow, pp. 328-31.}\]
The last original version surviving in a unique copy is found in the Lüneber HS Santini Hs. 4074. Vladimir Stasov found 'Un très grand nombre de duos madrigales uses' in Santini's library in 1854, but since he did not describe the manuscripts in any detail it is impossible to tell whether this one was among them. It is in an Italian hand, and an inscription on the first page of music indicates either that it was the second volume in a set or that it was copied from such a volume.

The manuscript includes twenty-one duets, all by Steffani. Five are original versions, sixteen revisions. The texts of the revisions are less reliable than those of the originals. The solo movements are missing from all ten of the revised versions that should have them, but from only one of the original versions. Either the manuscript was copied from a number of sources of varying reliability, or else the copyist was aware of the scarcity of the original versions and took care to include all the movements.

Two duets appear in both versions. They are Occhi, perché p'angete and Saldi marmi. It is the original version of Saldi mar i (Fredde ce eri) that is the unicum. The title changed in revision because Steffani discarded the opening stanza. Apart from this and some other changes, the words are identical in both versions. Saldi marmi is one of the longest and most ambitious of the duets, so the discovery of Fredde ceneri is of great interest.

Other Sources

Only three other sources include as many as five of the original

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15. Dello Stefani - Parte Seconda.

16. See below, p. 306f.
versions. Two of these have the most complete surviving copies of Rio destin(b). The Paris MS D. 14236 and the Liège MS 555-2.L-IX, which date from the nineteenth century, are really identical in content, though they are both incomplete in different ways. In the Paris manuscript most of the duets, including Rio destin(b), lack the text. Three duets intended for inclusion in the Liège manuscript were never copied in, even though the paper was scored up and the key- and time-signatures inserted. Neither manuscript can have been copied from the other. An inscription in the Paris manuscript suggests that it was copied from a source in the possession of A. E. Choron which appears now to be lost. This may also have been the model for the Liège manuscript.

There is no complete copy of the original version of Rio destin. The revised version comprises four short duet movements - ABCb (the music of movement 'b' is identical with movement B, but the words are different). Even though the Liège and Paris manuscripts include only the first three movements of the original version, it seems very likely that both versions shared the same form. Movement B in these manuscripts is identical with movement B in the revised version, so there is little difficulty in supplying the missing movement 'b' of the original.

Movements from the original version survive in only two other manuscripts, both of eighteenth-century English origin. Movements A and C are found in Add. 5056, though not together, and volume I of the Library of Congress MSS M 1549.2.S8D9 includes A only. The copy in the Liège manuscript may not be perfect, but it is the best there is.

The other original versions in the Liège and Paris manuscripts can all be found in earlier sources. Most of them occur in the Modena MS Mus. F. 1103. This important source is in the same hand as Mus. F. 1102, which

17'Bibliotheque de M\'e Choron'. Paris, D. 14236, f. 3.
appears to be the only surviving copy of Steffani’s six solo scherzi with instrumental accompaniment. Both volumes are small oblong quartos, similar in size to RM 23 k 13-20, and they both retain their original binding: Mus. F. 1102 has stiff boards covered with pink silk and Mus. F. 1103 has black and gold paper covers with a strip of vellum down the spine. Both manuscripts carry an earlier shelfmark; they may have belonged to the former court library at Cologne, which is now part of the Biblioteca Estense. Such a circumstance might provide a tangible link with the composer himself.

Mus. F. 1103 is probably the earliest surviving source of original versions. The contents are as follows:

Lilla mia
Occhi belli (b) original version
Pria ch’io faccia (b) original version
Siete il più bizzarro umore
Cangia pensier (b) original version
Quanto care al cor (b) original version
Oh! che voi direste bene
Occhi, perché piangete (b) original version

Lilla mia, Siete il più and Oh! che voi survive in one form only and seem not to have been revised. Most of the original versions are found in a number of other sources, but Cangia pensier (b) occurs in only one other, Paris Vm 754.

18 Mus. F. 1102 appears to be ‘E 3’; Mus. F. 1103 is ‘L 1’.

19 Enquiries at Modena and Düsseldorf, where the Cologne court archives are kept, have yielded no information on this subject.

20 The only other manuscript of music by Steffani now in the Biblioteca Estense (Mus. G. 282 - a collection of numbers from his opera Le Rivali Concordi) includes a dedication to the Duke of Modena in the hand of the composer. The manuscript may have something to do with the duke’s marriage in 1695 to Princess Charlotte Felicitas of Brunswick-Lüneburg (see above, pp. 49-50 and p. 73).
It is fortunate that only Occhi, perché piangete (b) is duplicated in
RM 23 k 22, which ranks alongside the Modena manuscript as one of the most
important sources of the original versions. Although it lacks title-page,
flyleaves and index, this large oblong folio, full-bound in calf, appears to
be of eighteenth-century English provenance. Its early history is unknown,
but it once belonged to William Boyce. It was bought for the Royal Music
Library at the sale of his library in 1779.21

The manuscript includes seventeen duets, unascribed. Two of them are
by Pietro Torri,22 but the rest are by Steffani. These are all complete: in
Inquisto mio cor even the instructions for the repeat of the first movement
are correct - a most unusual feature.

The manuscript is the major source for three of the four original
versions that it contains. These duets (Occhi, perché piangete (b), Troppo
cruda (b), Begl'occhi, oh Dio, non più (b) and Torna a dar vita (b)) are found
all together in the middle of the manuscript. The notation of the triple-
time sections is of great interest. Certain features, such as the time-
signature $\frac{3}{1}$, void quavers, and coloration to depict cadential hemiolas, were
already archaic in the seventeenth century, though they were still in use.
An eighteenth-century copyist is unlikely to have invented them. They in-
dicate that the copies derive ultimately from much earlier sources, and they
may reflect the notation Steffani himself used.

The earliest dated source of original versions is the Bologna MS V. 195.
A note in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript indicates that it was
copied in Venice in March, 1719.23 The manuscript is an upright quarto - a

21 See above, p. 97, footnote 12.
22 Valli secrete and Langue, gemo; Appendix D, duets 110 and 212.
23 'In Venezia Marzo 1719'. Bologna, V. 195, f. 1.
rare format for Italian vocal music of this period. It is an anthology of duets ascribed to various composers, including Stradella, Pietro Ziani, 'Sig. Cavaglier del Gaudio', Carissimi, Steffani, 'Sig. Bernabei', Giuseppe Corsi, Kerll and 'Lunati', all of whom flourished in the second half of the seventeenth century. Most of the duets, however, are unascribed and are in one movement.

Steffani is credited with the original versions of *E perché non m'uccidete* and *Troppo cruda*, which occur consecutively. The former is virtually a *unicum*: the only other source is simply a copy of MS V. 195. *Troppo cruda*(b) occurs in a number of other sources, notably RM 23 k 22.

Only one duet remains to be discussed. Although it survives in more sources than most of the original versions, *Aure, voi che volate*(b) occurs in only two of the manuscripts described above - the Liège manuscript and its counterpart in Paris. A number of other sources, which are clearly interrelated, are of earlier origin.

The earliest of them appears to be the Naples MS AA. 591, an eighteenth-century manuscript in an Italian hand entitled 'Libro di Duetti / Del Sig. Abbate Stefani'. The duets, which are not ascribed in the body of the manuscript, are not all by Steffani. One of them is by Carlo Luigi Pietragrua, another by Stradella, and four others by unknown composers.

There are eight chamber duets by Steffani, plus the opera duet *Cor vagante*. Most of them are complete, including *Aure*(b). This is the only original version in the manuscript.

The same repertory is found in Add. 31493 and, with some differences, in Add. 5055. Add. 31493 is an eighteenth-century English manuscript that

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24 I.e. Carl' Ambrogio Lonati.

25 Bologna, Archivio Musicale della Basilica San Petronio, MS Lib. S. 13-II.

26 See above, p. 104.
includes a copy of Hawkins' Memoirs of the Life of Agostino Steffani and belonged formerly to Peter Noaille and Julian Marshall. Add. 5055 is partly in the hand of Henry Needler and appears to have belonged to the president of the Academy of Ancient Music in 1786. If these manuscripts are directly interrelated, it seems most likely that Add. 31493 was copied from Naples AA. 591 and Add. 5055 from Add. 31493.

The repertory also occurs in volume IX of the late nineteenth-century Brussels MS F. 15150. The only differences are that the last movement of Lungi dal idol mio(a) and 'Un inferno'(a) are both omitted. The manuscript appears to have been copied from Naples AA. 591. In both sources, the first aria in Pietragrua's 0 felice l'onda del fonte begins with the words 'Felice lo stelo'; in Add. 31493 it begins 'Felice lo sguardo'.

There are two further sources of Aure, voi che volate(b) - Add. 5329 and Brussels, F. 15150, volume IV. Since the latter is a copy of the former, and the former appears to have been taken from Add. 5055-6, nothing more need be said about either.

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27 See above, pp. 100-101.
28 Movement (iii) of Río destín(a).
29 See above, p. 118, footnote 11.
30 See above, p. 100.
PART III

THE MUSIC
THE MUSICAL BACKGROUND

Introduction

Agostino Steffani occupies a key position in the history of music in the mid-to-late Baroque period. He has been described as 'obviously the greatest Italian composer between Carissimi and Scarlatti', and he was the only outstanding composer of the age whom Handel admitted to having consciously imitated.

Apart from his chamber duets, his reputation is based mainly on his operas. He was responsible, first and foremost, for taking Italian opera to northern Germany. His Hanover operas 'set a standard as exemplary and binding in Germany as those of Lully did in France', and were 'the principal intermediary between the Italian opera of the late seventeenth century and the German operas of Keiser and Handel'. His contribution to the history of opera in northern Germany may be compared in scale and importance not only

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2 Chrysander, G. F. Händel (Leipzig, 1858-67), i, p. 312.

3 His only other well-known work is his magnificent Stabat Mater for SSATTB, two violins, three violas, violoncello and continuo, which has been edited by C. K. Scott (London, 1938) and H. Sievers (Wolfenbüttel, 1956). Chrysander (op. cit., i, pp. 350-2) compared it favourably with the Stabat Mater of Emanuele d' Astorga, and Cusins ('Steffani, Agostino', Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians. Second edition (London, 1904-10), iv, p. 681) described it as 'undoubtedly one of the finest works of any composer of the period immediately preceding that of the giants Bach and Handel'. On the basis of an erroneous date supplied by Fétis, Steffani's Sonate de camera (see Appendix A) acquired a spurious reputation as the earliest orchestral suites to begin with an overture.


to that of Lully in France but also to that of Purcell in England and Scarlatti in Italy. 6

Steffani's operas represent a typically late-Baroque blend of various national elements. The basis of his style appears to be the Venetian opera of the mid-to-late seventeenth century. A high proportion of his arias are accompanied by continuo alone and indicate a conservative leaning toward the mid Baroque, 7 but others have instrumental obbligatos in an embryonic concerto style that reflects the practice of Stradella 8 and anticipates that of many later composers. 9 Although a relatively high number of the arias in his Munich operas are constructed over an ostinato or quasi-ostinato pattern in the bass, 10 the majority of the arias in his operas as a whole begin with a Devise and are in brief da capo form. The influence of Lully is apparent in his overtures, dances, and arias in dance rhythms, while among the German elements are the librettos based on episodes from German history, 11 a predilection for wind instruments and, possibly, his preference for a predominantly contrapuntal texture.

The prominence of counterpoint is perhaps the most characteristic feature of his style. In this respect he stands apart from the prevailing trend in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Italian opera, which was

6 Riemann, 'Agostino Steffani als Opernkomponist', DTh, xii/2 (Leipzig, 1912), pp. xi-xii.

7 Bukofzer, op. cit., p. 307.


11 E.g. Alarico il Baltha, cioè l'Audace Re de Gothi and Henrico Leone.
toward the comparatively homophonic style\textsuperscript{12} of the Neapolitan school. His interest in counterpoint is manifest in the bass lines of his continuo arias, which often share points of imitation with the voice or engage in free counterpoint with it; in his imitative vocal duets; and in his arias with instrumental obbligato, in which the instrument may be treated as if it were a second voice. He was one of the first composers to make use of such textures in opera,\textsuperscript{13} and his works have consequently been described as 'the reconciliation of the monodic principle with the contrapuntal tradition'.\textsuperscript{14}

The emphasis that musical historians have placed on form and counterpoint in Steffani's operas is exactly what one might expect from the general characteristics of the period in which he lived and composed.

'\textquotesingle More than any other period the seventeenth century contributed toward the development and establishment of clearly defined types and forms, such as the ostinato forms, the variations, the suite, the sonata, the da capo aria, the rondo, the concerto, the opera, the oratorio, the cantata'.\textsuperscript{15}

Many of the so-called forms of Baroque music are not 'forms' at all. The 'sonata' and 'cantata', for example, are essentially modes of performance, while 'ostinato' and 'variations' are methods of construction. Of the remaining terms in Apel's list, some (e.g. da capo aria, rondo) normally denote individual movements, while others (e.g. suite, concerto, opera, oratorio) refer to works comprising a number of separate movements or sections. As the century progressed, however, there was a tendency for individual sections to grow into a smaller number of longer, more distinct movements and for the structure of the movements to become more clearly defined.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{12}Grout, loc. cit.

\textsuperscript{13}Riemann, 'Agostino Steffani als Opernkomponist', p. xvii.

\textsuperscript{14}Grout, op. cit., p. 110.


\textsuperscript{16}Bukofzer, op. cit., pp. 350-62.
One of the most important factors contributing to this development was the gradual emergence of the classical system of key-relationships. Bukofzer considered the 'definitive realization of tonality' to have taken place in Italy about 1600 and saw this as the 'decisive turning-point' that marked the beginning of the late Baroque period.17

'Tonality provided also a framework of harmony able to sustain large forms. It set up harmonic goals without which the extended forms of late baroque music would not have been possible'.18

The 'framework of harmony' was articulated by cadences, and these were the principle means by which the structure of the music was defined.19

The emergence of the tonal system was also responsible for a major development in the field of contrapuntal theory. Since the time of Zarlino, a fugue had traditionally been considered 'regular' (proprìa or regolare) if the answer was an exact imitation of the intervals of the subject, i.e. if the answer was real. Although the tonal answer and its modal forbear are frequently encountered in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century music, the first theoretical work in which it was accorded equality of status with the real answer is Giovanni Maria Bononcini's Musico prattico of 1673. By applying the term 'regolare' to tonal as well as to real fugues, Bononcini marked the dawn of an age in which the 'regularity' of a fugue would be determined not by melodic but by harmonic principles.20

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17 Ibid., p. 219.
18 Ibid., p. 221.
A number of types of counterpoint were also re-defined or discussed for the first time in the mid-seventeenth century, and some of them are particularly relevant to Steffani. A new definition of double-fugue (contrafuga) was provided by Jan Adam Reinken, who advised that the two themes should be clearly differentiated and be 'not continually treated together, but also separately, one after the other, then at times together and against each other, which shows much greater mastery'. Although he also introduced the concept of stretto into writings on fugue, it was left to Bononcini to point out one of the uses of this technique. He suggested that close entries of fugal parts should be avoided at the beginning of a piece and saved for later on, when the listener would be more familiar with the material and better able to appreciate a complex texture.

This technique appears to be identical to what Bononcini's biographer calls the 'a risposta' procedure, 'whereby the two concertante violin parts [in a trio sonata] begin, not in imitation at the fifth, but by alternation at the unison, with each part presenting the material solo over the bass before turning to more consequential imitation and fugato (which latter then has the effect of stretto)'. This procedure, which may have originated in concerted vocal music, must have been a godsend for weaker composers, helping them to write extended movements and to give an impression of counterpoint while devising only one or two permutations of their material. Examples of this are to be found in some of Bononcini's early sonatas, but they appear to be far outweighed

21Ibid., p. 42.
22Ibid., p. 43.
by more standard contrapuntal procedures such as the counter-exposition, with the parts interchanged, sequential episodes based on motivic fragmentation, canon and passages based on pedals or the circle of fifths.\(^{25}\)

The principal musical arena in which these various types of counterpoint were tested and developed was the trio sonata, the instrumental equivalent of the vocal duet. Although the first trio sonata was published in 1610,\(^{26}\) the first publication consisting entirely of trio sonatas was Legrenzi's *Sonate a due, et tre...Libro primo, Op. 2* (Venice, 1655).\(^{27}\) Trio sonatas outnumber every other type of sonata in the works of Cazzati (c. 1620-77), Legrenzi (1626-90), G. B. Vitali (c. 1644-92), Corelli (1653-1713), Torelli (1658-1709) and T. A. Vitali (c. 1665-1734?), but they are balanced by solo sonatas in the works of Aloinoni (1671-1751) and far outweighed by them in those of Vivaldi (c. 1678-1741). The trio sonata may therefore be seen as a halfway stage in the seventeenth-century trend from the polyphonic to the solo sonata, and the peak of its development 'coincided with the advent of both Corelli and the Stradivari violin'.\(^{28}\) It also coincided with the advent of Steffani, who was Corelli's junior by only one year.

The most important feature of the trio sonata, for the purposes of this dissertation, is the conduct of the upper parts. These were almost invariably treated as equals and often engaged in imitative counterpoint. Although parallel thirds and sixths and various types of passage-work are to be found, the texture is normally dominated by one or more of the contrapuntal techniques mentioned earlier, or by imitative treatment of all three parts, or by 'chains

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\(^{25}\)Klenz, op. cit., p. 136.


\(^{27}\)Ibid., p. 48.

\(^{28}\)Ibid., p. 52.
of suspensions and resolutions created by the intertwining upper parts against
the bass (especially in slow movements...). The predominance of
counterpoint led Newman to conclude that the trio sonata appeared to be
'an ideal meeting point between the older vocal styles and the newer
instrumental styles and between the older, stricter polyphony and the new
emphasis on accompanied melody'. A similar opinion was cited earlier on
the style of Steffani's operas.

Interest in instrumental counterpoint found its most extreme expression
in the canons by composers of the Modenese school. Although the developments
outlined above are often associated with the city of Bologna, the neighbouring
city of Modena could boast a flourishing tradition of instrumental music for
some sixteen years before Cazzati went to San Petronio. The rise of the
school of Modena dates from the arrival there in 1641 of Marco Uccellini, and
the tradition was continued throughout the reign of Duke Francesco II (1662-91)
by composers such as Bononcini and Giovanni Battista Vitali. All of these
men wrote canons. Puzzle canons are found in Uccellini's Op. 3 (1642) and
Op. 9 (1667), and in Bononcini's Op. 3 (1669) and Op. 5 (1671). The
most celebrated canons, however, are those in Vitali's Artifici musicali,
Op. 13 (Modena, 1689). Since no such artifices appear in Vitali's work

29 Ibid., p. 64.
30 Ibid., p. 62.
31 Schenk, 'Beobachtungen über die modenesische Instrumentalmusikschule des 17.
32 Klenz, op. cit., pp. 21 and 167. For full titles of these and the following
publications see Sartori, Bibliografia della musica strumentale italiana
stampata in Italia fino al 1700 (Florence, 1952).
33 Klenz, pp. 21, 51-2, 54-5 and 166-7.
34 Ed. Rood and Smith, Smith College Music Archives, xiv (Northampton, Mass.,
1959).
before his removal to Modena in 1682, it seems very likely that these, though intended as teaching material,\(^{35}\) were prompted by the traditional liking for canons at that court.\(^{36}\)

Although canons were a feature of instrumental music at Modena, Vitali admitted in the preface to his *Artifici* that they were also 'much esteemed' in Rome and that 'the most distinguished men of this Science' flourished there.\(^{37}\) Unlike Modena and most other major Italian cities, however, Rome produced comparatively few composers of instrumental ensemble music in the mid-seventeenth century. That Newman could cite the names of only two composers of 'sonatas' in Rome before Corelli\(^{38}\) reflects the fact that chamber music there was predominantly vocal. Although Roman composers do not appear, therefore, to have composed instrumental canons, they did compose and publish vocal canons. The most celebrated of such composers are Romano Micheli, who published at least seven books of canons and other 'obligationes' and 'artificii' between 1619 and 1655,\(^{39}\) and Pier Francesco Valentini, who is remembered for his *Canone con le sue resoluzioni in più di due mila modi* (1629). These canons, and others like them,\(^{40}\) are a symptom of the revival of the style of Palestrina that dominated some types of church music in Counter-Reformation Rome. They antedate the canons of Uccellini and his colleagues - and Buonamente's celebrated canonic trio sonata 'La Monteverde' 1637\(^{41}\) - and provided examples of

\(^{35}\) Vitali's preface, cited in Klenz, op. cit., p. 31.

\(^{36}\) Klenz, op. cit., p. 168. G. B. Bassani and Domenico Gabrielli also wrote canons, exceptionally for them, in works intended for Modena (Klenz, op. cit., p. 21).

\(^{37}\) Ibid., p. 31.


\(^{39}\) Palisca, 'Micheli, Romano', *GG*, ix (1961), cols. 273-4.

\(^{40}\) E.g. Francesco Soriano, *Canoni et obblighi, di cento et dieci sorte, sopra l'Ave maris stella* (1610) and Giovanni Briccio, *Canoni enigmatici musicali... con un breve discorso sopra i canoni* (1632).

\(^{41}\) Ed. Stevens (London and New York, Hinrichsen, 1962)
traditional counterpoint which, if Vitali is to be trusted, were followed by later composers of instrumental music. The contrapuntal texture of much late Baroque music may have been partly due, therefore, to a conservative interest in the stile antico.

Steffani's Musical Education

A thorough grounding in the stile antico was a basic ingredient in the musical education of many seventeenth-century composers and was particularly important in the case of Steffani. He appears to have begun his musical career as a singer.\(^{42}\) From 1668 to 1671 he had organ lessons at Munich with Johann Kaspar Kerll, then from 1672 to 1674 he studied composition in Rome with Ercole Bernabei. That he went to Rome in order to 'perfect himself in his art'\(^{43}\) and published a book of psalms after little more than a year suggests that he had already been taught the rudiments of music and the basic rules of counterpoint, presumably by Kerll.

Kerll was essentially an organist and is known chiefly for his keyboard music.\(^{44}\) He is thought to have studied in Rome with Frescobaldi and Carissimi, and his canzonas, toccatas and versets to the magnificat\(^{45}\) are described by Bukofzer as 'more strongly influenced by Italian style and less imaginative than those of Froberger'.\(^{46}\) Although he composed keyboard music throughout most of

\(^{42}\) See above, p. 13.

\(^{43}\) '...sich in seiner kunst mehrers Zu perfectionieren'. Maier, 'Archivalische Excerpte Über die herzoglich bayerische Hofkapelle', Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch, vi (1891), p. 72.

\(^{44}\) Unless otherwise stated, information on Kerll comes from Kaul and Riedel, 'Kerll, Johann Kaspar', MGG, vii (1958), cols. 51-9.

\(^{45}\) Vodulatio organica super magnificat octo ecclesiasticis tonis respondens (Munich, 1686).

his life, however, he does not appear to have become seriously pre-occupied with it until after 1673, when he moved to Vienna and came into contact with Alessandro Poglietti. Most of the music that he wrote while at Munich was for the church or the stage.

His church music also betrays Italian influences. His *Delectus sacrarum cantionum*...Op. 1 (Munich, 1669), which contains twenty-six sacred concertos for two to five voices with instruments, reflects the style of Carissimi, as well as that of Schütz, and some of his masses are in the polyphonic idiom of Orazio Benevoli and other mid-seventeenth century Roman composers.

The *Lissa Superba*, which was composed by 1674, displays an impressive range of scorings and textures, including eight-part homophony and counterpoint, antiphonal treatment of two four-part choirs and brief passages for all numbers of voices drawn from one or both of the choirs (ex. 1). Further evidence of the thorough command of contrapuntal textures and devices said to be an essential ingredient of Kerll's style is to be found in his *Benedictus, canon con tripli temporibus* and his *Compendiose Relation von dem Contrapunct*.

Although his operas are all, unfortunately, lost, his Jesuit drama *Pia et fortis mulier* (1677) survives. On the evidence of this work, Kerll has been described as probably the first significant German opera composer after Schütz. Four of his operas were first performed in Munich while Steffani was a young man there. Steffani must have heard them and may have sung in one of them.

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48 Ibid., p. viii.

49 Ibid. There is also a *modo commentandi* with conflicting ascriptions to Kerll and Poglietti.

50 *I colori geniali*, listed as an opera in Kaul and Rie el, op. cit., col. 853, was a tourney. The libretto, by Domenico Gisberti, is in the British Museum.

Ex. 1 (a) Missa Superba

Gloria:  J. K. Kerll (by 1674)

Viri. I, ii

Trombones I–iv

Choir I

Choir II

Violins and Organ

Et in terra pac.

Et in terra pac.

Et in terra pac.

Et in terra pac.

Et in terra pac.
Ex. 1 (b) Missa Spera:

Gloria (end):

J. K. Kerll
They must have made a profound impression on him, and their loss is much to be regretted.

The only surviving piece of secular Italian vocal music ascribed to Kerli is a chamber duet for two sopranos and continuo in the Bologna IS V. 195. The prominence of the partly realised continuo part suggests that the work is by a keyboard composer and that the ascription is reliable, and it also represents the major difference between the style of this duet and those of Steffani (ex. 2). The date of composition is not known, but the piece looks as if it could have been an attempt on the part of Kerli to outdo the duets of his former pupil.

The grounding in counterpoint which Steffani presumably received from Kerli was supplemented by his studies with Bernabei. Rome was the most important and possibly the most conservative centre for Catholic church music in the seventeenth century, and Bernabei was one of the most distinguished teachers there - according to Veracini he also taught Alessandro Stradella. A pupil of Benevoli, whom he succeeded as maestro di cappella at St. Peter's in June 1672, four months before Steffani's arrival, he became one of the leading figures in the Roman Palestrina renaissance. His masses, motets, psalms, hymns and other liturgical compositions, most of which survive in manuscript, are typical examples of the stile antico and of the polyphonic idiom, and his little surviving secular music also seems conservative in style.

The main source of this is his Concerto madrigalese (Rome, 1669), a collection of concertato madrigals for three voices (SAT) and continuo. The pieces display a variety of imitative and homophonic textures typical of the

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53 Bollert, 'Bernabei', MGG, i (1949-51), cols. 1773-4. A collection of his motets for five voices, two violins and continuo was edited by his son and published posthumously as Sacrae modulationes (Munich, 1691).
Ex. 2  
Il mio cor  
J. K. Kerll

(1)

Il mio cor è un passagio ro, è un

(2)

[Canto 2°]

passagio ro... Con sta-

passagio ro... (si suona)

---

bile prestessa
madrigal (ex. 3), but since the continuo is often merely a *basso seguente*, there is very little four-part writing and, although the voices frequently overlap at cadences, little genuine three-part counterpoint either. Neither is there much attraction in the melodic style: the most adventurous points are prompted by the text, but even these are sometimes rhythmically square and ride rough-shod over the words (ex. 4). Despite these strictures, however, Bernabei displays a flawless command of basic musical grammar and concertato scoring which an aspiring young composer would have been well advised to emulate.

Steffani's early church music draws on the *stile antico* and *moderno* and reflects the Roman background of both of his teachers. In the preface to his *Psalmodia Vespertina Volans Octo Pleris Vocibus Concinenda* (Rome, 1674) he praised his master, Bernabei, and said that he had tried to imitate his style. 54 Similar books of Vespers psalms were frequently published in mid-seventeenth century Rome. 55 Steffani's collection displays an admirable command of choral homophony and antiphony, some of it in a spirited style reminiscent of Carissimi (ex. 5) and some of it employing powerful dissonance in the bass (ex. 6). The *luminificat* at the end of the book 56 is the most varied in texture, with plainsong now in the treble and now in the bass, and the final 'Amen' is set to eight-part counterpoint which, despite a pair of

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54. ... *gloria tanti laboris sapientia est solum Magistri, & fortitudo Herculis, cuius stylum imitari non ex parte, sed totum glori*or*. Gaspari, *Catalogo della Biblioteca del Liceo musicale di Bologna*, ii (Bologna, 1892), p. 314.

55. E.g. *Virgilio Lazzocchis, Psalmi Vespertini binis choris concinendi*, ed. F. Benedetti (1648) and *Bonifazio Graziani, Psalmi Vespertini binis choris... Op. 17 (1670).*

56. For full contents, see Appendix A.
Per te vo vade lontana

Source: BM, Add. 31490  E. Bernabei (1669)

Ex. 3

Ex. 4

La lontananza mia piango potessi; piango potessi
parallel fifths and repeated use of a brief and rather barren rhythmic figure (\( \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{4} \) etc.), is an impressive achievement for a young man of nineteen (ex. 7). 57

Although most of the other pieces of church music that Steffani composed in Rome 58 are also in the stile antico, Sperate in Deo and the three-part Beatus vir are typical examples of the stile moderno. The opening duet of Sperate in Deo, possibly the latest of these pieces, includes what appears to be an uncorrected mistake (ex. 8, bar 29), but it also reveals an ability to invent attractive melodies in quadruple and triple time and to modulate convincingly from one key to another; a mastery of homophonic and imitative writing for two voices and of an expository technique reminiscent of the 'a risposta' procedure; and an interest in suspensions (e.g. bars 32-5), in rhythmic displacement (e.g. the setting of the words 'triumphales' and 'corones', and the hemiola in bar 26) and in making the bass something more than a simple harmonic support (e.g. bars 22 and 32). The movement again recalls the style of Carissimi and his contemporaries, but it also anticipates that of Steffani's Sacer Ianus Quadrifons 59 and of some of his chamber duets.

Although his studies were concerned mainly with church music, he also learnt a good deal about secular music while he was in Rome. Opportunities for him to do this were presumably provided by Cardinal Altieri, to whom he bore a letter of introduction from the Electress Henrietta Adelaide of Bavaria.

57 The end of this Magnificat, from 'Sicut erat', was thought worthy of inclusion in Padre Martini's Esemplare, o sia Saggio Fondamentale pratico di Contrapunto fugato (Bologna, 1774-5), ii, pp. 311-5.

58 See above, p. 15.

59 Described on pp. 17-18.
She could hardly have chosen a more eminent patron. A cardinal since 1664, Altieri experienced a meteoric rise to power after the election of the Altieri Pope Clement X in 1670. He became Archbishop of Ravenna that year, and in or soon after 1671 he was also made vicar of Rome, chancellor to the pope, secretary of briefs, prefect of the Propaganda, protector of the Santa Casa at Loreto, protector of Ireland and of the Augustinian, Carmelite and Dominican orders, legate of Avignon and Urbino and governor of Tivoli. Within a very short time he had become 'il più riguardabile soggetto di Roma' with an annual income of over 100,000 scudi. He was continually encouraged to procure greater riches by the Colonna and Orsini families, with whom his nephews lived in opulent splendour, and he was urged by his brother to make the Palazzo Altieri one of the grandest in Rome - a scheme to which Clement X contributed 2000 scudi per month for six years. When Altieri was at the height of his powers, it was commonly said in Rome that 'benedire e santificare era del papa, reggere e governare dell'Altieri'. It is not known whether Steffani lived with him or was employed by him as a singer, harpsichordist or composer, but since Altieri patronised other musicians, including Stradella, it seems very likely that through him Steffani was brought into contact with the secular vocal music of fashionable Roman society - the opera and the cantata.

60...compartire al sudetto Stefani nelle occorrenze gli affetti più vivi del suo autorevole patrocinio per il tempo che dovrà trattenersi in Roma...'

61 Pirrotta, op. cit., p. 512.
The early 1670s must have been one of the most stimulating periods in the history of Roman opera. During most of the century public opera was forbidden by papal prohibition. Although it flourished on a private basis, the money being provided by the wealthy princes of church and state who gathered round the papal court, by leading Roman families such as the Barberini, Borghese, Rospigliosi, Panfili, Colonna and Ottoboni, and by eminent foreigners such as Queen Christina of Sweden, who retired to Rome in 1656 after her abdication and conversion to the Catholic faith, opera remained an 'occasional' rather than a regular feature of Roman musical life.

It was presumably hoped that this would change when the first public opera-house, the Tor di Nona, opened its doors in 1671, thirty-four years after the first public opera-house in Venice and twenty-one years before a second Roman theatre, the Capranica, was opened to the public. The first musical director at the Tor di Nona was Stradella, who composed prologues, intermezzi and new arias for at least four of the five operas performed there in the first two seasons - Cavalli's Scipione Africano and Giasone (1671) and Cesti's Dori and Tito (1672). Stradella was succeeded in the season of 1673 by Bernardo Pasquini, whose L'Alcasta, overo L'amor per vendetta was among the works performed. The theatre was closed for the 'anno santo' of 1675, however, and remained closed for fifteen years. The first phase in the history of public opera in Rome was only very brief, therefore, but Steffani was there for part of it.

62 Ibid., pp. 513 and 518.
63 Kast and Cram, 'Pasquini, Bernardo', MCG, x (1962), col. 862. The style of operas by Stradella, Pasquini and others is discussed by Gianturco, 'Evidence for a late Roman School of Opera', Music and Letters, lvi (1975), pp. 4-17. The standard work on seventeenth-century Roman opera is Ademollo, I Teatri di Roma nel secolo decimosettimo (Rome, 1888), and that on the Tor di Nona is Cametti, Il Teatr di Tordinona, poi di Apollo. 2 vols. (Tivoli, 1938).
The circumstances that account for the irregularity of opera in Rome also account in part for the popularity there of two forms that might be viewed as substitutes for opera — the oratorio and the secular chamber cantata. Roman society provided an ideal environment for the cultivation of the cantata. Many of the families mentioned above retained musicians in their households — Stradella was with the Colonna from 1665 and Pasquini with the Borghese from 1669 or 1670 — and singers were often borrowed from the Papal Chapel and from other leading churches in the city. As a result, Rome was by far the most important centre for the cantata in the mid-seventeenth century. Most of the outstanding cantata composers of the period worked there, including Luigi Rossi, Carissimi, Cesti, Stradella and Pasquini, together with a host of slightly lesser figures such as Carlo Caproli, Marco Marazzoli, Mario Savioni, Antonio Francesco Tenaglia, Pier Simone ostini and Alessandro Lelani. The works of these composers represent an intermediate stage between the strophic-bass cantatas of the early seventeenth century and the Neapolitan cantata of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and are an essential part of the background against which Steffani's duets must be viewed.

The final known stage in Steffani's musical education was his visit to Paris in 1678-9. There is no documentary evidence that he met Lully or attended the first performance of his opera Bellerophon (31st January, 1679), but his music shows that he became thoroughly acquainted with Lully's style and imitated some of the more salient features of it. The best pieces in which to see this influence are Steffani's operas, the only series of works by him that can be dated, and the effects of Lully's style are most apparent in the overtures. These normally comprise two movements, a slow, majestic movement in common time, with dotted notes and up-beat patterns, and a fast, loosely fugal movement which may be in common, triple or compound time. The pattern was firmly established by the time of his second surviving opera, Servio Tullio
Althou h Riemann recognised that Steffani's overtures were modelled on those of Lully, he also pointed out that the roots of Lully's overtures may be traced to the Venetian sonata. This seems to have been the dominant influence on the overture to Steffani's first opera, *Marco Aurelio* (1681), which is labelled 'Sonata' and is in five parts. Five-part writing may be characteristic of Lully, but the same combination of clefs is to be found in Cavalli and Legrenzi and the first two movements seem entirely typical of the Italian style (ex. 10). The only sign that Steffani knew anything of Lully's music occurs in the third movement, which is called a 'rondet' (ex. 11).

The influence of French style is most strongly felt in the overtures to Steffani's Hanover operas. Unlike those in his Munich operas, the majority of which are labelled 'Sinfonia', these are normally entitled 'Ouverture'. The first violin part is invariably in the French violin clef and the scores include parts for obbligato 'hautbois'. The slow section may make use of rapid scales (ex. 12) and the fast section may include brief trio passages for two high instruments and bass. The trios in the overture to *Orlando Generoso* (1691; ex. 13) are the earliest by Steffani and, according to Riemann, the first in an overture by any composer. Riemann also claimed that they were not necessarily French in origin but probably reflected Corelli's practice of dividing the orchestra into concerto grosso and concertino. Althou h they may

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64 Riemann, op. cit., p. xviii.

65 Ibid., p. xx.

66 Both factors reflect the presence of Frenchmen in the orchestra at Hanover. See Fischner, *Musik in Hannover* (Hanover, 1903), p. 23.

resemble this practice, they may not directly reflect it. The only trios in Corelli's concertos in which the upper parts move in parallel for any length of time are in the second Largo of his Concerto grosso Op. 6, no. 1, and there the bass is not a pedal (ex. 14); similar pas a c occur in his trio sonatas, but if these were performed by a divided orchestra, this may not have been much before 1681-2. Passages virtually identical to those of Steffani are, however, frequently encountered in earlier works by Lully: trios for oboes and flutes over a pedal are included in the prologue to Alceste (1674; ex. 15), and similar trios, though without a pedal, are to be found in his Ballet d'Alcidiane of 1658 (ex. 16). In view of this there seems little reason for thinking that Steffani was imitating Corelli rather than Lully.

Apart from the overtures, the other main sign of Lully's influence lies in Steffani's use of dance rhythms. These occur not only in instrumental numbers, such as the minuet in Marco Aurelio, but also in a high proportion of his arias. One such aria is included in the same opera, and further examples appear frequently in his later works. Although bravura arias, ostinato arias and other Italianate types of aria are also to be found, especially in his Munich operas, the majority of his arias are 'echte Lieder von einfacher Haltung'. Similar arias will be encountered in his chamber duets.

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68 E.g. in the final Allegro of his Op. 1, no. 1 (1683).

69 This is when Georg Muffat heard 'concertos' by Corelli in Rome. For a recent discussion of the scoring of Corelli's concertos see Harris, 'Lully, Corelli, Muffat and the Eighteenth-Century Orchestral String Body', Music and Letters, liv (1973), pp. 199-202. The earliest documentary evidence of Corelli's presence in Rome dates from 1675, the year after Steffani's departure, and in his use of a divided orchestra he was preceded there by Stradella (See Jander, 'Concerto Grosso Instrumentation in Rome in the 1660's and 1670's', Journal of the American Musicological Society, xxi (1968), pp. 168-80).

70 Riemann, op. cit., p. ix.
The Italian Chamber Duet

Before examining Steffani's duets in detail, it will be helpful to sketch their position in the history of the seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century secular Italian chamber duet as a whole. The only extended published discussion of his duets is the survey by Chrysander in his biography of Handel.\textsuperscript{71} That discussion also marks the awakening of scholarly interest in the chamber duet in general.

Although he does not appear to have known all of Steffani's duets, or to have realised that some of the duets he mentioned were inauthentic or incomplete, Chrysander could not praise too highly the duets as he knew them: like the string quartets of Haydn, they said everything of which the medium was capable. He divided them into three groups: (a) 'small' duets in one movement, some with da capo; (b) 'large' duets in which solo movements, some with recitative, were framed by duets; and (c) 'medium' duets in more than one movement but without solos. He described the 'large' duets as 'vocal scenes' but emphasised that they were lyrical rather than dramatic. The solo movements were less melodious and artistic ('kunstreich') than the 'lively' and 'fiery' duets, and seemed 'dry' and 'unbending' by comparison. Since the solos were a weakness in the 'large' duets, he considered that the finest works were the 'medium' duets, which displayed the breadth of melody and command of counterpoint that Handel was to take as a model.

Chrysander's conclusions have been ratified by later authorities. His opinion of the solo movements was repeated by Schmitz\textsuperscript{72} and his commendation of the 'medium' duets is reflected in the standard edition by Einstein and Sandberger.\textsuperscript{73}


\textsuperscript{72}Geschichte der weltlichen Solokantate (Leipzig, 1914), p. 93. A second edition was published at Leipzig in 1955.

\textsuperscript{73}DTS, vi/2 (Leipzig, 1905). This is not a representative selection: of the sixteen duets it contains, only three have solo movements; the proportion in Steffani's output as a whole is about two to one in favour of duets with solos.
Most important, the contrapuntal style of Steffani's duets was adopted by Schmitz in the standard work on the chamber duet as 'the hallmark of the form in its highest perfection':


Schmitz's article on the chamber duet was intended as a supplement to his still standard history of the solo cantata, and an account of the latter is an essential prelude to further consideration of the duet. Although the cantata was frequently discussed at some length in the eighteenth century, it is mentioned by only one seventeenth-century musical theorist, Angelo Berardi, who describes it simply as a type of chamber music:

'Lo stile da Camera si divide, e si considera sotto tre stili differenzi...Terzo. Di quelle cantate, le quali sono concerte con varij Instrumenti, come sono quelle tenute dell'armoniosa penna di Carlo Caprioli, Carissimi, Tenaglia, Luigi Rossi, Oelani, Pacieri, &c.'


75 By, for example, Brosard, Dictionnaire de musique (Paris, 1703), p. 15; Mattheson, Das Neu-eröffnete Orchestre (Hamburg, 1713), pt. 2, chapter IV, pp. 177-8 and Der Vollkommene Kapellmeister (Hamburg, 1739), pp. 214-5; Scheibe, Critischer Musikus (Leipzig, 1745), pp. 380-543.

76 Berardi, Ragionamenti musicali (Bologna, 1681), pp. 135-6.
The only known contemporary Italian definition of the term 'cantata' is that given by the poet, historian and guardian of the Arcadian Academy in Rome, Giovanni Maria Crescimbeni, who treats it as a kind of poetry:

'...Cantate, le quali sono composte di versi, e versetti rimati senza legge, con mescolamento d'arie, e talora ad una voce, talora a più; e se ne sono fatte, e fanno anche miste di drammatico, e di narrativo. Questa sorte di Poesia è invenzione del secolo XVII.'

Summarising Berardi and Crescimbeni, we may define the cantata as a type of chamber music for one or more voices, set to an Italian text of which the form is not fixed. It may include dramatic or narrative elements, but the implication is that it need not do so and that it was considered primarily as a vehicle for lyrical expression. It originated in the seventeenth century and was sometimes accompanied by obbligato instruments as well as by the normal continuo.

The history of the cantata was divided by Schmitz into three periods corresponding roughly to the history of contemporary Italian opera:

(a) 'the beginnings', c. 1600-30/40; (b) 'the heyday', c. 1630/40 - c. 1700; and (c) 'the Neapolitan school'. He did not discuss early monody in great detail because he had already written a separate article on it and considered it to be a 'first step' towards the cantata. The earliest known source in which this term appeared is Alessandro Grandi's Cantade et arie a voce sola, the second edition of which was published at Venice in 1620. It referred to pieces in strophic-variation form, and this remained one of the standard types

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of cantata during the next two decades or more.

The heyday of the cantata was marked by a significant increase in the number of such works composed and a decline in the proportion of printed sources vis-à-vis manuscripts. The cantata was cultivated in three main centres: Rome, Venice and Bologna. The leading centre was Rome, for reasons already discussed; in Venice the cantata was overshadowed by opera, and in Bologna by instrumental music. The style of Venetian opera influenced that of the cantata in all three centres. There was an increasingly clear distinction between recitative, aria and arioso, and arias were written in a variety of forms (e.g. strophic, binary, \( \text{aba, abb} \) and multi-sectional) as well as on ostinatos. The cantata comprised any number of sections or movements in one or more styles, either arranged in one of the prevailing aria forms or unified by strophic variation, a refrain, or some similar means. A frequent use of titles was observed in cantatas from Bologna, and Schmitz considered these 'Sujetkantaten' to be a manifestation of dramatic tendencies inherent in the genre. Such titles are also common in cantatas from other centres, however, and although they sometimes draw attention to a dramatic text, they seem to be essentially a vestige of the Renaissance academic debate.

The beginnings of the Neapolitan school overlap with the period just discussed. The typical Neapolitan cantata consisted of two arias with one or

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79 E.g. G. M. Bononcini, 'Le querele di Venere su l'ostinato Adone', Cantate per camera a voce sola...Op. 10 (1677) and P. Albergati, 'Amante designato', Cantate da camera...Op. 6 (1687).


two recitatives (ARA or RARA), though other arrangements were also to be found. The arias were almost invariably in da capo form with a Devisse at the beginning, and from the later seventeenth century there was a gradual increase in the proportion of cantatas calling for instruments other than continuo.

A number of writers have surveyed the history of the cantata since Schmitz, but only one has attempted to alter the broad outlines of the picture that he painted. Gloria Rose has suggested that the use of the term 'cantata' should be extended backwards to cover early monody: 'the question is not when monodies "became" cantatas; they are cantatas, simply the earliest ones'.

There is something to be said for this suggestion. It would, for one thing, emphasise the continuity in the secular Italian vocal music of the seventeenth century and minimise the undesirable consequences of splitting the period up. But it would also mask the fundamental differences between the early seventeenth-century madrigal and aria, undermine the connection between that period and the late sixteenth century and obscure the fact that the term 'cantata' had a relatively precise meaning in the 1620s. It would be possible to use the term in a generic as well as in a specific sense, as in the case of the word 'frottola', but it might create more problems than it would solve.

Rose has also suggested, tentatively perhaps, that the history of the cantata divides at 1650. There is also something to be said for this.

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The first period would include the late works of Monteverdi and most of the works of Luigi Rossi (who died in 1653), and since Rossi's style is in some ways less advanced than that of Monteverdi, this would be a very good thing. The differences between recitative, aria and arioso are also more distinct after 1650, and so formal patterns may be more reliably distinguished. Such a division would, however, ignore more important criteria from the earlier part of the century. After 1620, Florence became 'a desolate musical backwater' and 'the main stream of Italian song flowed through Venice'. By 1625 the solo madrigal was virtually dead, overwhelmed by the popularity of the aria, but from 1637 even the aria and cantata were pushed into the background in Venice by public opera - a situation reflected in the decline of printed sources. All these factors suggest that the chronological division should be placed between c. 1620 and c. 1640.

The history of the chamber duet was divided by Schmertz into the same periods and schools as the history of the solo cantata. The first printed source in which the term 'chamber duet' appears is Cazzati's Duetti per camera... Op. 66 (Bologna, 1677), but pieces similar to chamber duets had been published earlier as madrigals. The polyphonic madrigal was the most important single source of the duet, but the bincia and choral dialogues of the sixteenth century could also be considered as precedents.

The duet made use of most of the forms and techniques of the contemporary solo cantata. The distinction between recitative and aria was possibly less important as an overall formal determinant, however, because the two voices provided the means for a more basic kind of contrast than could be achieved in works for solo voice. The inclusion of solo sections suggested that the

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86 Ibid., p. 165.

voices were considered equally important and, normally, independent of the bass. They are not found in some early madrigal duets in which the lower voice is identical with the continuo, and the abandonment of this *basso seguente* technique was therefore seen as a step towards Steffani's 'large' duets.

The presence or absence of solos was one of four criteria by which Schmitz suggested that various types of duet might be distinguished. The others are:

1. the text: is it a dialogue?
2. the scoring: does the duet call for instruments other than continuo?
3. the texture: is it contrapuntal?

Dialogue texts were comparatively rare before the Neapolitan period, which was not discussed in this article, and Schmitz suggested that this may have been because they smacked of the theatrical style. Since most chamber duets did not include any element of dialogue, the deployment of solos and duets was governed by entirely musical considerations - and the genre represented a distinct contrast with the contemporary opera duet and *scena a due*. The style of vocal writing did not appear to have been affected by obbligato instruments; in the early seventeenth century, at least, these were used relatively infrequently, and then mainly in alternation with the voices or to provide ritornellos.

Although early seventeenth-century duets were often contrapuntal in texture, reflecting the influence of the Renaissance madrigal, later duets were predominantly 'theatrical'. Schmitz did not explain exactly what he meant by this term, but he applied it to duets relying mainly on homophony, motivic interplay between the voices and what was described above as the 'a risposta' procedure. His main concern appears to have been to find

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88 Schmitz adopted Chrysander's term.
contrapuntal duets anticipating those of Steffani (and Clari), but even amongst the Roman school, to which he considered Steffani to belong, he was continually disappointed; only a few minor figures such as Cerruti, Ludovigi and Masini composed similar textures. The most relevant Venetian was Legrenzi, whose Idee armoniche estese... Op. 13 (1678) includes brief strophic and free multi-sectional duets, all without solos; but his predilection for short antiphonal motives precluded any possibility of sustained counterpoint.

Bolognese duets were also largely 'theatrical'. Cazzati's Duetti per camera, most of which have titles and are in brief da capo forms, rely heavily on the 'a risposta' procedure; although they do include closer imitation, this usually gells fairly quickly into parallel thirds and sixths. Similar pieces were composed by figures such as G. M. Bononcini, but the Duetti da camera (1691) of his son, Giovanni Battista, resemble dramatic scenes and represent a link with the Neapolitan duet.

A pronounced interest in the contrapuntal duet was displayed, however, by a minority of Bolognese composers, of whom the most outstanding were Carlo Donato Coassoni, Francesco Petrobelli and Giovanni Carlo Maria Clari. Most of Clari's duets have three or four movements, and these are normally rather longer than in Steffani's duets. Though they are sometimes briefly homophonic, they are characterised principally by the high artistic quality of their imitative counterpoint. Insofar as his duets include no solo movements or obbligato instruments, Clari could be said to have surpassed even Steffani in his love of the duet texture.

A number of topics touched on by Schmitz require further investigation here. First, historical coverage and sources. Although Schmitz discussed the early duet and the Bolognese duet in some detail, he passed very quickly over the Roman school. He devoted a sentence each to Carissimi and Stradella, but knew of no chamber duets by Cesti and did not mention Luigi Rossi.

89 Schmitz counted Cesti as a Venetian, but he has since been allocated to the Roman school: Pirrotta, 'Tre capitoli su Cesti', La scuola romana. X. Settimana Musicale Senese (Siena, 1955), pp. 27-79.
All of these men wrote duets - Rossi is thought to have composed 66, Carissimi 26, Cesti 9 and Stradella 29\textsuperscript{90} - and their neglect by Schmitz is due entirely to the fact that he relied almost exclusively on printed sources.

That these are not an adequate basis for a history of the chamber duet may be demonstrated by reference to Appendix B, a list of all the sources published in Italy (and some published elsewhere) between 1600 and 1750, which are known or thought to contain secular Italian vocal duets other than didactic duos and \textit{solfeggi}. The decline in the importance of printed sources is illustrated by the following table, which gives the number of sources printed in each city during each decade of the period in question:

Well over half of the sources were printed before 1630, and over four-fifths before 1650. Only four sources were published in Rome after 1638, compared with forty-three before, and none of them was by any of the composers mentioned above. The only city where du.ts were published in any quantity

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</tbody>
</table>
after 1660 was, as one might expect, Bologna.

Although the printed sources are an unreliable guide to the level of duet composition and, to some extent, to its geographical distribution, they shed some light on the nature of the genre. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries duets were published under a variety of names. Those most frequently encountered in the titles of the publications in Appendix B are given in the following table. Since many of the titles include two or more of these terms and many of the publications also contain pieces for one, three or more voices, it is impossible to say, without consulting all of the sources, that each term refers to a duet every time it occurs. Instances in which the terms are known to refer to works other than duets are excluded from the tally, but these could possibly be multiplied several times over. All the terms refer unequivocally to a duet on at least one occasion, however, and it seems likely that they do so in about the proportions shown below, if not in these exact numbers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Number of Instances</th>
<th>Period in which used</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madrigali</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>1601-1733</td>
<td>All but six 1601-51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musiche</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1602-1689</td>
<td>All but two 1602-52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arie</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1605-1717</td>
<td>All but two 1605-41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canzonette</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1605-1668</td>
<td>All but two 1605-52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scherzi</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1606-1668</td>
<td>All but two 1606-32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villanelle</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1607-1652</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantate</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1628-1688</td>
<td>All but two 1668-88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duetti</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1651-1748</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table suggests that the middle of the seventeenth century was something of a turning-point in the history of the duet. Although 'madrigali' and 'arie' survived into the eighteenth century, they occur relatively infrequently after 1651. 'Canzonette', 'musiche' and 'scherzi' are to be found in the later seventeenth century, but are rare after 1652,
and 'villanelle' cease to appear altogether during that year.

The terms most frequently encountered in the later printed sources are 'cantate' and 'duetti'. The earliest publications in which the term 'cantate' is known to have referred specifically to duets are Domenico Crivellati's Cantate diverse a una, due et tre voci (Rome, 1628), Giovanni Felice Sances' Cantate...libro secondo, parte seconda (Venice, 1633) and Giovanni Battista Mazzaferrata's Canzonette e cantate a due voci...Op. 3 (Bologna, 1668). The gap of thirty-five years between the Sances and the Mazzaferrata reflects the general lack of printed sources from the middle of the century and the currency of the terms discussed above, but it may also betray a reluctance on the part of composers or publishers to refer to duets by a term that had become associated with music for solo voice.

By the time the term 'cantata' had become established as an acceptable designation for duets in printed sources, the term 'duetti' had already made its début. It seems to have made its first appearance in the title of Barbara Strozzi's Cantate, ariette e duetti...Op. 2 (Venice, 1651), twenty-six years before Cazzati's Duetti per camera, which is the second instance of the term. Only nine further examples are found in the sources prior to 1750.

Although not overwhelmingly popular in the printed sources, the term 'duetti' is encountered more frequently than any other in the manuscript sources of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In those manuscripts that have titles, the duets of Steffani, Handel and their contemporaries are almost invariably described as 'duetti'. The term 'madrigali' appears to be comparatively rare, but occurs in manuscripts of duets by Steffani,\(^\text{91}\) Clari\(^\text{92}\) and Antonio Lotti.\(^\text{93}\) Two Steffani sources

\(^\text{91}\) Schwerin MS 5263; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 52 A 3 and Florence MSS B 407 and B 2865.

\(^\text{92}\) According to Schmitz, 'Zur Geschichte des italienischen Kammerduetta', p. 44.

\(^\text{93}\) B. M. Add. 14178. The duets come from his Duetti, terzetti e madrigali (Venice, 1705).
are entitled 'solfèges'\(^{94}\), and some of his duets were published as 'solfèges' in c. 1784.\(^{95}\)

A number of conclusions may be drawn from this material. First of all, the madrigal evidently survived a good deal longer in duet than in solo settings. Many duets are simply madrigals for two voices and continuo.\(^{96}\) Clari's duets have recently been described as continuo madrigals,\(^{97}\) and some of Steffani's duets are of the same type. Such duets are a symptom of the fact that the polyphonic madrigal did not become extinct in the early seventeenth century but continued to survive, if not perhaps to flourish, for over a hundred years.\(^{98}\)

The madrigal exerted an important influence on the style of the aria for two voices. Before 1630, most strophic aria-duets corresponded to 'the simpler kind of solo canzonet, sometimes, as in Monteverdi and Valentini, with ritornellos for violins'. After 1630, however, composers began to write strophic duets comparable in style with 'the broad triple-time [solo] arias of Berti and other Venetian composers'.\(^{99}\) The development was due largely to the introduction into the canzonet of stylistic elements characteristic of the madrigal, and it had been preceded by a similar development in the field

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\(^{94}\) Berliner Stadtbibliothek, MS Vz 26 and RCM MS 1103.

\(^{95}\) See Appendix A.


\(^{99}\) Fortune, 'Solo Song and Cantata', p. 182.
of solo song giving rise to the type of aria just described.\textsuperscript{100} The light canzonet (a 2) continued to survive alongside the new serious aria (a 2), and both are to be found in the works of Steffani and his contemporaries.

The only essential difference between duets designated in the printed sources as 'cantate' and 'duetti' appears to be that while 'cantate' sometimes call for instruments other than continuo, 'duetti' do not. Solo sections or movements are included in works of both types, and, contrary to what one might expect, dialogues appear to have been published more frequently as 'duetti' than as 'cantate'.

The presence of dialogues in sources such as Cazzati's Duetti per camera indicates that even though they may have been theatrical in manner, they were considered to be a type of 'chamber' duet. The dialogue for two voices is distinguished from other duets by the nature of its text. Indeed, the essential feature of any musical dialogue is simply that the text is in the form of a conversation. This need not be set for two voices, however; some dialogues are in three, four or more parts, and others are scored for solo voice. The dialogue is therefore a distinct genre which is defined by its text and straddles the borders between a number of traditional musical categories.\textsuperscript{101}

The distinction drawn by Schmitz between 'theatrical' and contrapuntal duets suggests that the theatrical style was characterised by the absence of sustained counterpoint and, as a corollary, that counterpoint was typical of the

\textsuperscript{100} Ibid., pp. 176-7.

\textsuperscript{101} See Noack, 'Dialog', LGG, iii (1954), cols. 391-403 and Kenton, 'Dialogo', Enciclopedia della musica, ed. Sartori and Altoro (Milan, 1963-4), ii, pp. 48-51. There is no extended published survey of the seventeenth-century secular Italian dialogue, and since only one of Steffani's duets includes any element of dialogue in its text, it seems unnecessary to pursue the topic here.
chamber style. The words 'da' or 'per camera' made their first appearance in a duet (or any?) publication in Giovanni Valentini's *Musici re da camera. Libro quarto* (Venice, 1621), but they occur especially frequently in the Bolognese sources of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It was in the duets of some Bolognese composers that Schmitz observed an interest in counterpoint.

A contrapuntal texture was not a defining characteristic of either 'cantata' or 'duetti', but it may have been employed more frequently in the latter. The words 'da' or 'per camera' appear in over half of the sources entitled 'duetti', but in only one of those in which the word 'cantata' refers to a duet - and that is a book of solo cantatas with only one duet at the end. That the works of Cossoni and Petrobelli mentioned by Schmitz were entitled 'cantate' indicates that contrapuntal textures were not restricted to 'duetti', but the incidence of the designation 'da' or 'per camera' suggests that 'duetti' were normally considered more 'chamber' in style and that the reason for this lay in their greater reliance on counterpoint.

This impression is supported by an observation of Burney:  

'Near the latter end of the last century, a species of learned and elaborate Chamber Duets for voices began to be in favour. The first that I have found, of this kind, were composed by John C. B. Bononcini, and published at Bologna in 1691. Soon after, those of the admirable Abate Steffani were dispersed in manuscript throughout Europe. These were followed by the duets of Clari, Handel, Marcello, Gasparini, Lotti, Hasse, and Durante'.

It seems clear that by 'learned and elaborate' Burney meant contrapuntal, since he later remarked that the duets of 'the elder Bononcini, Steffani, Clari, Hasse, and Handel, are almost all furii'. His opinion of

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102 Newman, op. cit., p. 34.

103 G. M. Bononcini's *Cantate per camera a voce sola* (1677).


Bononcini's duets appears to conflict with that of Schmitz, but this simply reflects the fact that he was viewing them from a different vantage point: Bononcini's duets would have seemed 'learned and elaborate' compared with the music of Burney's day, but they do not appear to be as consistently contrapuntal as those of Steffani. 106

Steffani's duets were 'dispersed' later than those of Bononcini: indeed, the fact that most Steffani manuscripts contain the revised and not the original versions indicates that they did not circulate in large numbers until the early eighteenth century; but at least one of them appears to have been written at Munich 107 and it seems very likely that others were composed there by him during the 1670s and 80s. This means that some of his duets are probably earlier than those of Bononcini, a situation which Burney carefully avoids excluding and which rules out any possibility that Bononcini stimulated Steffani to cultivate the genre.

The use of the term 'solfeggi' suggests that the auber duet may have been influenced by the contrapuntal style of contemporary singing exercises. Solfeggi were direct descendants of the sixteenth-century bicinia considered by Schmitz and others 108 to have affected the style of the early seventeenth-century duet. 109 A connexion between solfeggi and duets is immediately suggested by the fact that some solfeggi were published under the title

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106 One of Bononcini's duets, with embellishments by Carlo Antonio Benati, is edited in Ferand, Die Improvisation in Beispielen aus neun Jahrhunderten abendländischer Musik. Das Musikwerk, xii (Cologne, 1956), pp. 113-22.

107 See above, p. 31.


109 Some bicinia were reprinted throughout the seventeenth century: e.g. Antonio Gardane, Canzoni francesi a due voci, reprinted up to 1662; Giovanni Matteo Asola, Madrigali a due voci, up to 1665; Jhan Gero, Il primo libro de madrigali italiani et canzoni francesi, up to 1687; and Bernardino Lupacchino and Joan Maria Tasso, Il primo libro a due voci, up to 1701.
'duo', of which 'duetto' is a diminutive. Some composers of solfeggi also wrote chamber duets, and Burney said that Steffani's duets were often used as solfeggi in the eighteenth century:

'The greatest singers of Italy during the last age used to exercise themselves in these duets, as solfeggi. Mrs. Arne, the widow of the late Dr. Arne, has frequently assured me, that she had heard Senesino and Strada often sing them during their morning studies'.

This may have been one of the reasons why Burney suggested that Steffani's duets 'were perhaps meant originally as studij for singers, in which the passages being echoed in fugue excited emulation in the performance'. That the contrapuntal texture of Steffani's duets and of Corelli's trio sonatas was presumably considered comparable to that of some solfeggi suggests that solfeggi may have provided an example of vocal counterpoint in the second half of the seventeenth century, as biciniae appear to have done in the first.

The chamber duet, we may conclude, appears to have represented an ideal meeting point between the polyphonic madrigal and the solo cantata. It can hardly be described as 'a form'. The material discussed above suggests that in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries duets were of four main types: madrigals, arias, dialogues, and cantatas based on forms and techniques.

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110 E.g. Giuseppe Giamberti, Duo tessuti con diversi solfeggiamenti.. (Rome, 1657); Cristoforo Garesana, Duo (Naples, 1681 and 1693).

111 E.g. Giamberti (1623), Pompeo Natale (1662) and Giovanni Bonaventura Viviani (1690).


113 Ibid., iii, p. 534.

114 These were also used as solfeggi: the 'cantata per solfaggio a due canti' reproduced in facsimile in MGG, ii (1952), cols. 1677-8 is the opening of his trio sonata Op. 1, no. 1, transposed down a perfect fifth. The manuscript is described as an autograph but bears no resemblance to the example of Corelli's hand in cols. 1675-4.
drawn from the madrigal, aria and solo cantata. The contrapuntal texture of
some duets was a legacy of the sixteenth-century madrigal, but it also reflected
a continuing interest in counterpoint in general and may have been affected more
specifically by *solfeggi* and by the survival of the *stile antico*. The
contrapuntal duet of the later seventeenth century resembled the style of
contemporary Modenese and Bolognese instrumental music, and its cultivation at
Bologna was presumably encouraged by the Accademia Filarmonica, which was
founded in 1666. At the time of Steffani, the chamber duet was the vocal
equivalent of the trio sonata. He may have learnt something from the duets
of his eminent Roman predecessors and from the works of some of his Bolognese
contemporaries; these possibilities are among the topics to be explored in
later chapters.