The Ruspöli Documents on Handel*

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The first sojourn in Italy—"it was a period of glorious uncertainty for Handel." Was it? No one knows. Perhaps a period of glorious uncertainty had overcome the biographer when he wrote this. Few chapters in the lives of 18th-century composers are still as dark as this one. Few also are as fascinating. We know a good number of its components, but very little about their composition. There are fabulous ones, as provided by Mainwaring: princes and cardinals rivaling to house the young genius; in Naples a palace, coaches and lackeys; in Florence a princely china set and the favor of a granducal primadonna; diamonds in Rome; recognition at a Venetian masquerade; unending applause; and the homage of the "Orfeo" Corelli and the elder Scarlatti. And, significantly, it is these fabulous components that seem to be backed by the weightiest authority, by Handel himself (one knows that Mainwaring had his information from Handel's confidant, the younger Smith). This was what the old master remembered best. Through the distance of half a century, his Italian years must have appeared to him in rosy twilight, the aurora of his art and career: "Et in Arcadia ego . . ." To reconcile the 18th-century sources—Mainwaring's account, Mattheson's Ehrenpforte sketch, Hawkins' interview, Pseudo-Coxe's Anecdotes, and the few datable compositions—has proved impossible. Chrysander's version² was long ago discarded by Ademollo³ and Streatfeild,⁴ which did not prevent it from setting the pattern for nearly all the following monographs.⁵ Robinson shrewdly demonstrated that we know next to noth-

* A shorter paper on this material, which I came upon in 1962, was read before the Southern California Chapter of the American Musicological Society on March 13, 1965. I am indebted to my husband for his extensive help in transcribing the documents.

¹ Sir Newman Flower, George Frederic Handel, His Personality and His Times (Boston and New York, 1923), p. 64.
² Friedrich Chrysander, G. F. Händel, vol. I (Leipzig, 1858), pp. 147-251. We can still admire in this pioneer work the amount of material on contemporaries and institutions—to mention here only the information on Roman patrons and on the Arcadia.
⁵ Chrysander built Handel's itinerary on the encounters with Prince Gian Gastone de' Medici, the Duke of Manchester, and Agostino Steffani, as reported by Mainwaring, generously adding Prince Ernst August von Hannover to this list. In Rolland's, Leichtentritt's, and many others' biographies his hypotheses became part
ing. A summary of the few facts known in the 1930’s was given by him in tabular form as a reply to Dent. The fog of legend can indeed be dispelled only if we refrain from further speculation on the anecdotes. The Italian journey has to be reconstructed by documentary and bibliographical evidence, which then, in turn, may confirm an old report here and there.

Since Robinson’s time considerable information has been added. Montalto presented the copyist’s bill for Il Trionfo del Tempo and Il Delirio amoroso. Fabbri traced some of Handel’s movements between Lent 1709 and September 1709 by means of three letters in the Archivio Mediceo del Principato and a short, yet informative passage in Francesco Mannucci’s diary from the archive of San Lorenzo in Florence. Zanetti published the first preliminary catalogue of Handel’s “Italian” works. (This catalogue does not list manuscript sources of serenate and smaller secular cantatas, the bulk of the Italian music, but does contain such sources for the oratorios, operas, and sacred works.) Another contribu-

of the tale. Flower’s chapter on “The Italian Journey” is for the most part unscrupulously invented, the route not only fixed, but enlivened by alterations and astonishing details: “The Prince welcomed the wanderer. He was considerably startled by Rodrigo... Throughout the run of the opera Prince Ernest of Hanover... sat in a box. He never tired of the work, it possessed some extreme fascination for him...” Fortunately, the primadonna who “swept through her country, a queen of song without morals or pity, to die as such women so often do,” had nothing to do with Flower’s hero.


7 “Handel up to 1720: A New Chronology,” Music and Letters XX (1939), pp. 62-63. This, however, includes the hypotheses which he had advanced in “Handel, or Urio, Stradella, and Erba,” Music and Letters XVI (1935), pp. 269-277.

8 Lina Montalto, Un Mecenate in Roma barocca: il Cardinale Benedetto Pamphilj (1653-1730) (Florence, 1955), pp. 325 (facsimile), 335. Untenable are Montalto’s statements that these works were given “subito alla stampa” (p. 335), that Handel’s cantatas con stromenti were published in the years 1708-09 (p. 538, n. 78), and that Handel returned to Rome in 1711 as the guest of Prince Ruspoli (p. 335).


tion to a future bibliography of Handel’s Italian works is Ewerhart’s description of the Handel manuscripts in the Santini library, Münster (D-MÜs). A large number of these manuscripts, it was shown, originated in Rome; a few even bear headings that point to definite performance days. Also Hall’s attribution of Handel’s Latin Vesper works to the feast of the Madonna del Carmine, sponsored by the Colonna family in Rome on July 16, 1707, is very likely, though it will remain an hypothesis as long as its 19th-century source, a note of Edward Goddard on the Egerton MS of the “Saeviat tellus,” has not been tested for reliability.

Here are the known facts of Handel’s whereabouts and activity after the performance of 

1707: before May 14 at Rome Il Delirio amoroso and Il Triunfo del Tempo copied for Cardinal Benedetto Pamphilj;

April 4

June 13 “Dixit Dominus” finished;

July 8 “Coelospirat aura/In festo S. Antonij de Padua . . . 1707” performed;

Laudate pueri” finished;


→ James S. Hall, “The Problem of Handel’s Latin Church Music,” The Musical Times 100 (1959), pp. 197-200. Goddard exchanged manuscripts with Santini (cf. a note on the last page of Caldara’s cantata La Viola Mammola, GB-Lbm Add. 34291: “Presented by the Abate F. Santini, the eminent Musician of Rome, to his friend the Rev. Edward Goddard . . . ”). Goddard’s information may thus have derived from Santini. Cf. also Ewerhart, “Die Händel-Handschriften,” p. 120, on Santini’s knowledge of the Vesper pieces. Ewerhart assigned two more sacred works, “Donna che in ciel” and “O qualis de coelo sonus,” to Rome and to their places in the church year from the copies in D-MÜs (ibid., pp. 120, 123): the former, according to the title page, commemorated the “Aniversario della Liberatione di Roma dal / Terremoto nel giorno dell. Purif. della Beat. V. e” [i.e., Feb. 2]; the latter, as evident from its text, was for a Pentecost service. For neither work is the year certain. A final piece of probable, but not proved evidence for 1707 is an entry of January 14 in the diary of Francesco Valesio (Archivio Storico Capitolino) on a “Sassone,” musician and composer, who had lately arrived and played the organ in San Giovanni in Laterano. Most writers have followed Flower, p. 62, in identifying Handel with this person. There may have been a number of musical Saxons in the city (cf. below, doc. 37, the note on a composing “Sig. Giovanni Sassonese” at the Ruspoli court in April 1711, perhaps Johann Heinichen, as kindly suggested to me by George Buelow). Of course, the virtuosity on the organ plus his certain presence in Rome a few months later speak for Handel.

13 The date of the copyist’s receipt by no means testifies for a performance of these works in May, as Zanetti assumed (“Le Musiche Italiane,” p. 41). Bills were not always paid immediately. Il Triunfo del Tempo was very probably performed during Lent, the season in which nearly all oratorios were performed during this decade in Rome. An exception can be seen in a MS libretto in I-Rvat, Fondo Ottoboni, Urb. lat. 1706, fol. 1-4: “Oratorio esposto al pubhco e fatto rappresentare nel cortile della Cancelleria con sonnoso apparato intitolato il Regno di Maria assunta in Cielo dall’em. Card. Pietro Ottoboni dal medesimo dato in luce il quale fu cantato la sera de’ 23 e 24 agosto 1705.”

July 13  at Rome  "Nisi Dominus" finished; Handel seen as virtuoso in the houses of the Colonna and Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (letter of Merlini).15
in September

1708: March 3  
mid-March  
April 8  
ca. April 30 
June 16  at Naples 
July 12  
1709: on March 29  at Siena
(Good Friday)

ca. November 9  from Florence
from December 26  at Venice
through carnival, 1710

1710: March 9  from Innsbruck

June 16

September 13  from Düsseldorf

The largest lacunae are the date of the arrival in Italy, the time up to the spring of 1707, all winters preceding the one of 1709/10, and the time between July 1708 and Lent 1709. Contrary to Fabbrì's assumption, the time between Lent and November 1709 must also be seen as a gap, as long as evidence for a continuous Florentine activity is missing (though such an activity is probable).18

15 Streatfeild, "Handel in Italy," p. 6.
17 The old discussions of Boniò's "erroneous" dating of the first performance of Agrippina in "1710" (cf. Chrysander, p. 189; Robinson, "Handel's Journeys," p. 194, and others) failed to take into account the Venetian calendar; in Venice the year 1710 began on Dec. 25, 1709.
18 Robinson's note that Prince Gian Gastone was back in Florence not only from June 1705 to November 1706, as traced by Streatfeild, but again from summer 1708 on through 1709 ("Handel's Journeys," p. 196), may speak in favor of such activity. And a passage from the Memorie Fiorentine of Francesco Settimanni (Archivio di Stato, Florence) could include a reference to Handel. It states that on September 30, 1709, a thanksgiving service for Ferdinando's recovery was held in the church of the
There are other questions to be asked. Did Handel serve an apprenticeship with an outstanding Italian composer? Was he treated everywhere as a favored guest only, or did he have some regular employment? Were the works which we regard as the Italian ones all produced in Italy, and for whom? And do they represent the complete output of the Italian years?

Here new biographical and bibliographical material will be presented that provides a partial answer to these questions: documents from the Fondo Ruspoli in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano. A few fragments of these documents have appeared in Flower’s Handel (pp. 70-73), translated and paraphrased. They were referred to as “from the household books” and concern payments for La Resurrezione (the composer’s bed and food, part of the decoration, and the number of the performers) between March 18 and April 30, 1708. A perusal of this group of papers brought surprises: it appeared that Flower’s “documents” had been corrupted and misinterpreted, and that the volume from which they were taken and the adjoining volumes yield a wealth of hitherto unknown material on Handel. These papers can establish his whereabouts during most of 1707-8; the character of his agreement with Ruspoli; the kind, number, and performances of pieces written for this patron; and relative dates for some 50 undated compositions.

Between May 16, 1707, and October 10, 1711, thirty-eight entries concerning Handel are traceable. I publish them in chronological order, in their entirety, except for nos. 18 and 19, very lengthy bills of craftsmen, which had to be reduced to what is here relevant. Omitted are the payments which mention only a helper (e.g., the carrier of refreshments, or someone paid for “aiuto”) or which do not refer to Handel directly, but to the regular musical affairs of the court. The Handel documents represent payments: a) to a lender of furniture, the purser, and the ice merchant for the guest (nos. 8, 9, 14, 15, 20, 22, 23, 26, 30, 31); b) to the stationer for music paper (10), and to copyists for scores and parts of cantatas (1, 2, 5-7, 24, 25, 27, 33-38) and the oratorio La Resurrezione (included in 11); c) to printers for librettos (13, 28); d) to the master mason, the decorator, the painter of the ornaments and

SS. Annunziata, “with solemn and exquisite music and rich symphonies, composed by the first musicians of Florence and other foreign musicians” (quoted by Streitfeld, p. 13).


Flower did not examine the documents himself, but had extracts made for him by Mr. Sheppard from the British Museum. Otto Erich Deutsch, Handel: A Documentary Biography (New York, 1955), pp. 21-23, took over Flower’s notes almost literally.

These latter documents have been published and discussed in U. Kirkendale, Antonio Caldara: Sein Leben und seine venezianisch-römischen Oratorien (Graz and Cologne, 1966). For information on Ruspoli as a patron, the reader is referred to details given in this study. The copyists’ bills for Caldara’s cantatas, of which, for reasons of space, only the dates could be given, will be published separately.
coats-of-arms, and the painter of the canvas and the "cartellone" of the house theatre erected for the performance of *La Resurrezione* (4, 12, 16-19); e) to "borrowed" musicians for the performance of cantatas *coni stromenti* (3, 21, 29, 32) and of *La Resurrezione* (11).22

This material falls into four distinct chronological groups. The first group, nos. 1-6, records various activities for Ruspoli from May through October 1707; the second, nos. 7-20, a continuous period of work at the Ruspoli court from the end of February to the end of April, 1708; the third, nos. 21-33,—and this is unexpected—another highly prolific period with Ruspoli from mid-July into September or even November 1708, the latter time limit not being definable yet; a fourth group, nos. 34-38, comprises isolated entries from February 1709, when the employment had ceased, to October 1711.

A. May 16 to October 14, 1707.

The first document which can be traced with certainty to Handel is a bill of the copyist Antonio Giuseppe Angelini, receipted May 16, 1707 (doc. no. 1). Here, as in all later documents of this year, Handel's name is not mentioned, but the text incipits are familiar from his works. Angelini is known as a collaborator of Handel not only from a bill for Cardinal Pamphilj, dated May 14, 1707; a large number of extant Handel manuscripts have already been identified as copies from the pen of this scribe.23 It will be demonstrated that they are the manuscripts mentioned in these documents. Two cantatas "coni stromenti" and five continuo cantatas are listed in this earliest bill. For the first one Angelini leaves us without the incipit; his indications "della caccia" and "coni tromba" do not allow us to identify the work with any of the published cantatas.24

Knowledge of procedures at Ruspoli's court during Caldara's office helps to clarify the origin and performance circumstances of these cantatas. From the fall of 1705 the Marquis Francesco Maria Ruspoli lived in the Palazzo Bonelli, today's *Prefettura*, at the south side of the Piazza de' Santi Apostoli. The documents from Caldara's time testify minutely that Ruspoli, at least since March 1709, presented one cantata every Sunday during the *con versazione*, the official period of entertainment which filled the late afternoon and evening. The cantatas with basso continuo were performed by his house musicians; cantatas *coni stromenti* normally, but not always, required a larger ensemble. Singers and instrumentalists who were then "borrowed" in addition to the house musicians are mentioned in special bills. From their

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22 Flower refers to our nos. 9, 10, 11 (from the latter only the number of performers and the receipt, quoted as from two different sources; hence two documents quoted by Deutsch, p. 22), 14, 18 (only the heading); an entry from Valesio's diary is quoted by Flow er as a Ruspoli document (p. 71: "Sunday April 8 ... This evening . . ."). The heading of no. 17 is then given by Deutsch (p. 21: "As for the decorations . . ."); the statement that the "following description" includes a picture of the Resurrection is incorrect; this "picture" is described in our no. 16. Zanetti, "Haendel in Italia," mentions no. 16 and gives an extract of no. 17.

23 Cf. fn. 8; and Ewerhart, "Die Händel-Handschriften," *passim*.

24 This, of course, does not exclude the probability of Handel's authorship; in recent years pieces have been coming to light which were unknown to Chrysander.
wages the number of rehearsals and performances can be deduced. Throughout the first two decades of the 18th century a rehearsal ("prora") was paid with 50 baiocchi, i.e., half a scudo, a recital ("funtione") with one scudo.28 Occasionally the first violinist of a large group received considerably more, this to be explained by his additional duties as soloist and, probably, his "star" qualifications and demands.) Normally two to three violinists were hired, all of them renowned virtuosos. Steadily employed, from 1708 on, were one to two lady singers, two to three violinists, one 'cellist, and one bass violist. The documents prior to that year do not yet show the regularity and affluency of the later musical life at the court—probably to be explained by the fact that in the fall of 1706 did Ruspoli inherit the two valuable estates of Vignanello and Cerveteri. However, we do find several years earlier (at least since the beginning of 1705), the violinists Silvestro Rotondi and Pietro Castrucci26 employed, both celebrated in contemporary reports as eminent virtuosos, and with them Pietro's father Domenico Castrucci, who possibly played the harpsichord. These three appear in the ruolo as cameri, high-ranking valets—a fact which illustrates the original meaning of musica da camera, music to be played informally for the patron's private delight, by his own domestic staff. The first singer makes her appearance only shortly before Handel, in January 1707: the famous soprano Margarita Durastante. It is not until November 1707 that she receives a monthly salary, of 20 scudi; but numerous services for her are listed throughout the year, beginning in January 1707 with a payment "al Facchino per porto del Credenzone, e libri di musica in Casa della Sig. Margherita" (Lista di spese—hereafter abbreviated as "Sp)—Jan. 1707, item 7). In 1708 the two violinists, as required for the sonate a tre of the time, were joined by the 'cellist Giuseppe Maria Perone, possibly a relative of the brothers Giuseppe Maria and Giovanni Perroni of Novara who were much applauded for their virtuosity on violin and violoncello, respectively. And at least regularly on Sundays the bass viol was played by Bartolomeo Cimapane. Though in 1707 no monthly payment for the latter two can be traced, they must have served frequently, as their names appear already in a paylist for Lenten services. We can assume that the cantatas in our bill no. 1 served for the conversazione on the Sundays surrounding the date of the receipt, and that they were performed by "Signora Margarita" and Handel himself plus the house musicians. Certainly they were all new pieces: Handel had not been there long, and Ruspoli was too ambitious to present during his official concert hours works that had been heard elsewhere. And since only the parts of the first of the two cantatas con stromenti were prepared, we can be sure that the autograph score stood on the "leggilo" of the harpsichord, and the composer was

28 Sven Hostrup Hansell, who recently communicated interesting parallels from the music at the Cancelleria ("Orchestrical Practice at the Court of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni," this Journal XIX, [1966], pp. 398-403), finds that "performers were generally paid" only "50 baiocchi" per performance (p. 401; when this?—Ottoboni lived here from 1689 to 1740); see ibid. for the relative value of the scudo.

26 For the documentation on the musicians mentioned in this paragraph see U. Kirkendale, Caldara, pp. 46-48 and "Anhang I." Contrary to Flower (pp. 69-70) and Deutsch (p. 22): Ruspoli was not made Prince of Cerveteri until February 3, 1709; the old Ruspoli palace was not the present Palazzo Ruspoli in Via del Corso, but the present Palazzo Pecci-Blunt on the Piazza di S. Maria in Aracoeli; the palace in the Corso was not acquired until 1713; this one, not the Bonelli palace, is described by Flower when he writes of "a marvellous palace of marble pillars and Grecian statuary" (p. 69).
present. Score copies—designated as "l'originale" not only in the bills of Ruspoli's scribes, but also on the original covers of the corresponding scores—were often made considerably later, for a second performance, or for the library. Still, the scribe then found time to write both parts and score for "Tu fedel?". Here as later we find one foglio, i.e., four sheets or eight pages, of normal sized paper ("carta reale") billed with one giulio, i.e., ten baiocchi. Of course the fogli of continuo cantatas refer to scores; one copy of a continuo cantata was enough to serve the singer and the continuo players.

The cantata "della caccia" finds its appropriate background in a number of entries during April, May, and June that concern "poluere," "munitione," "cacciatori" and porters of hunting equipment sent to Cerveteri and Vignanello. Ruspoli's first lengthy sojourn at his newly acquired castello in Cerveteri ended on April 6. The last weeks of Lent were spent in Rome, and on Easter Sunday, April 24, Alessandro Scarlatti's oratorio Il Giardino di rose was performed. It must have been a new work, since all the parts were now copied. On May 2 the large sum of 200 scudi is consigned to a Signor Constanti for distribution among singers, instrumentalists, the messenger, Ruspoli himself (he needed silver and gold plasters for tips), and the copyist "Panstufato" alias Angellini. The latter, in his appended bill for scudi 13.20, unfortunately does not specify his work, but says that it was for cantatas, etc., of the preceding months. It is not unlikely that cantatas of Handel are already included here. The cantata "della caccia," billed on May 16, was in any case copied after May 2, and thus can hardly be assigned to Cerveteri. Was it performed in Rome? On May 14 a payment was made "al Cimbolaro per accomodatura del Cimbolo per Vignanello" (Sp, May-June, item 40), and during the following weeks the whole household, with cooks, huntsmen, and musicians, moved to Vignanello. On June 9 (ibid., item 86) Cavalier Piscitelli received scudi 1.30 for "rin fresco della Musici che manda a Vignanello"; on June 21 (ibid., item 130), Signor Pitoni scudi 12 as a final payment for the musicians who had been sent to Vignanello. On this or the next day everyone returned to Rome. A payment on June 21 for five drapes "per la Sig. Margherita" in Rome (ibid., item 132), and one on June 22 to the cook for 22 days spent in Vignanello (ibid., item 135) illustrate this. With regard to the calendar we may then consider the cantata "da caccia" as composed for and performed in Vignanello. This little village, some fifty miles north-northwest from Rome, halfway between Civitá Castellana and Viterbo, is today still dominated by the magnificent Ruspoli palace.

The next bill (no. 2), for cantatas copied "in Vignanello," indicates that not only the musicians were in Vignanello, but also Handel himself. The copyist would not have had to be summoned if the compositions were not originating there. The pieces of which the incipits are listed are all known as Handel's. May we for the unnamed "mottetti" suspect the same author? This bill is of great interest, not only because it dates the famous Arnida, once copied by Bach, but also because of those mysterious sacred works. These can be illuminated by entries of other expenses. A payment on May 24 for the gold decoration of a "Bal dachinetto . . . per esporre il SS." e mandarlo a Vignanello (ibid., item 32) already suggests a church feast. More vividly speaks an entry of June 4 for a thousand little prints with the picture of Sant'Antonio of Padua, sent to Vignanello: "A di 4 Giugno pag.11 per n.* 700 Santi Stampati in mezzo foglio à b. 30 il cento e n.* 300 in carta di foglio con rabeschi intorno à b. 60 il cento d'immagini di S: Ant.* di Padoua, e mandati

27 The score is preserved in D-MüS, Hs. 3861.
à Vignanello come per riceuta S 3.90” (ibid., item 74). These were followed by two large candle holders, a wooden crucifix, and other pious objects (ibid., item 75). A payment of scudi 41.10, a large sum, to “Padre Benedetto Marcioni [?] Guardiano di S: Sebastiano di detto loco” (ibid., item 97) clarifies the destination of these objects. Finally, the focus of the festival is mentioned, a new altarpiece by Michelangelo Ceruti for Vignanello, 10½ [?] palmi high, 5¼ palmi wide, depicting Sant’Antonio above the clouds, holding the lily and the book, surrounded by other clouds and by “splendor” (no. 4). The feast of Sant’Antonio, June 13, falls in the middle of our Vignanello calendar. In 1707 the 475th year of his canonization was celebrated. This was doubtless the day on which Ceruti’s painting was consecrated. And for this occasion Handel composed his “Mottetto ... In festo S. Antonij de Padua ... 1707.” The previous day, June 12, 1707, was Pentecost Sunday. There can likewise be no doubt that this was the feast for which he had written his Pentecost work “O qualis de coelo sonus.” Both pieces have come down to us only in Angelini’s manuscripts, the only Roman works by Handel (aside from one of 1729) that bear the designation “mottetto” on the title pages.28

The third sacred piece mentioned in Angelini’s bill, the “Salve Regina,” was probably performed during one of the two feasts at Vespers, in any case in Vignanello, before June 21, 1707. It is identical with the celebrated work published first by Chrysander. The old thesis that only the Roman cardinals, especially Colonna (see above), were the instigators of Handel’s Roman sacred music can thus no longer be defended. In a payment of June 5 “per pro[visione] di due agnelli mandati à Vignanello d’ord. di S.E: al Sig. Cavaliere ... cioè uno con pietra amatista in mezzo, e n. 6 diamantini dalle bande, et un altro con pietra Giacinto ... S 14.—” (ibid., June, item 77) we may see Handel and Durastante rewarded with jewelry.

Back in Rome, during the conversazione on Sunday, June 26, the house musicians were joined by the violinists Alfonso Poli and Lorenzo Bononcini for a cantata con stromenti (no. 3), doubtless one of those by Handel which are listed in the neighboring Angelini bill (no. 2).

The next bill of Angelini (no. 5), received on September 22, mentions six new Handel cantatas, together with the score of the earlier Armida. The “Cantata francese” can be identified as “Sans y penser,” the “Cantata Spagniola” as “No se emendera jamas.” Their extant manuscripts from Angelini’s pen bear a peculiar stamp of authenticity, as in both Handel wrote the text himself,29 obviously not thinking too highly of “Panstufato’s” linguistic abilities. Margarita’s confirmations below this and the preceding bill tell that she was the singer to present these pieces. Indeed, all cantatas mentioned thus far are for soprano.

As no other composer but (indirectly) Handel is named throughout the remainder of 1707, I am inclined to connect also Angelini’s bill of October 14 for an obviously very lengthy “Cantata a tre con Violini” (no. 6) with our composer, the more so as such an oversized work exists in an Angelini copy: the “Cantata a Tre con Stromenti di Monsù Hendel” with the incipit “Cor fedel,” in two volumes, of 232 and 332 pages respectively.30 The ten round scudi of this bill would have covered 800 pages, first of all parts. On October 31 Angelini again received six scudi (Sp., Sept.-Nov., item 162), but unfortunately he says only: “sono per rest. saldo e final pagamento di tutte

28 See above, fn. 12 and 14.
29 D-MU’s Hss. 1898 and 1899; cf. Ewerhart, op. cit., pp. 141 and 132.
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le Copiature et altre da me fatto . . . sino al presente giorno.” We shall have to suspect cantatas of Handel to be included here too.

For the rest of 1707 only a few meager, unspecific bills for copies by Pietro Castrucci are to be found. Around November 7 Margarita Durastante was at Ruspoli’s “casino” in Albano (ibid., items 179 and 180). Handel was then certainly not at the palace in Rome.

B. February 26, 1708, to the end of April, 1708

Handel’s name appears for the first time in a bill for the copy of an unnamed cantata, below the list of musicians who performed the oratorio Il Giardino di Rose, on February 26, 1708 (doc. no. 7). The date is the first Sunday in Lent, the opening day of the oratorio season. The oratorio mentioned is the previous year’s work by Alessandro Scarlatti. It was the main concert of the day, surely heard in the evening, during the latter part of the conversazione. Though only the copy of Handel’s cantata is mentioned, not the performers, we are certain that it was heard the same afternoon, during the first hours of the conversazione, since payment for the copy of a single piece was often made on the day of the recital. No extra musicians were to be hired, since it was a cantata “in 2 fogli,” a solo cantata with basso continuo, doubtless for Durastante.

About March 15, 1708, we find those entries on bedding for the guest Handel which were referred to by Flower (nos. 8 and 9). The payment “per nolito d’un mese di d: letto . . . ,” however, is not for the month to come, as has been freely assumed; a second sum, paid for the rent of the same items “per l’Aprile scorso” (no. 20), makes it clear that the first one covers the month of March, possibly a “short” month retroactive from the 15th—cf. the smaller amount compared to that of April. Services rendered to the court were paid only after they were completed. Handel thus had moved into the Bonelli palace before the end of February, and his little cantata for soprano marks the new beginning of his activity there.

Handel’s music, then, opened Ruspoli’s copious concert programs for Lent of 1708, and it was Handel’s music that concluded the season on Easter Sunday in a most spectacular performance: the oratorio La Resurrezione. Whether the young master contributed music to other Lenten concerts is uncertain, for most of the paylists do not mention a composer. This was the calendar: on March 4, 1708, the tenor Vittorio Chiccheri and two violinists were hired, certainly for a cantata con stromenti; on March 11, the contralto Pasqualino and again Vittorio, with the violinists Carlo Guerra and Alfonso Poli, for an unidentified oratorio; and, in addition, two unidentified fiddlers (for a cantata?); on March 18, the same four names for the Oratorio

31 The date is derived from the Lista delle spese.
32 Flower, p. 71.
33 On the Bavarian ambassador’s note “Dal March.’ Ruspoli si sono sentiti buoni Oratori per lo più la composizione della musica del Virtuoso Sassone,” Everhart (“New Sources,” p. 128) comments “The words ‘per lo più’ suggest that Handel had produced several works for Ruspoli.” These words should be translated, however, as “mostly” or “especially.”
35 Ibid., n. 184: “A di 11 d. pag. per li Musici, e Istromenti per la Conversazione S 9,40”; plus bill by Domenico Castrucci:
di San Clemente, a work likewise anonymous, but through its title an eloquent testimony to Ruspoli's efforts to please Pope Clement XI, on March 25, its proper day in the Church year, Alessandro Scarlatti's Oratorio per la SS. Annunziata was presented with Vittorio, the soprano Pippo, and a larger ensemble that included also violas and bass viols. From the bill by

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<tr>
<td>28th Marzo</td>
<td>F M Ruspoli</td>
<td>Al Sig. Pasquale</td>
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<td>[cancelled: Cristofano Basso] Vittorio</td>
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<td>Al S Carlo Guerra Viol.</td>
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<td>Al S Alfonso Viol.</td>
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E più per altri due Viol.

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<tr>
<td>25th Marzo</td>
<td>Io Antonio Giuseppe Angelini</td>
<td>Due Violini del Concerto Grosso</td>
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Cf. U. Kirkendale, Caldara, pp. 160-163, for other textual homages presented to Clement by Ruspoli in these years.

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<tr>
<td>25th Marzo</td>
<td>Silvestro Rotondi</td>
<td>Un Basso Continuo</td>
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38 Lista delle Spese, March 18 to May 8, 1708, n. 1: "A di 18 Marzo pag: a Musici, e Sonatori per l'oratorio di S. Clem:* S 7.40"; plus bill by D. Castrucci:

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37 Lista delle Spese, loc. cit., n. 18: “A di 18 d.° pag: a panstufato per Copia di Musica come per lista S 1.35”; plus Angelini’s bill:

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<td>Listelli Strommenti</td>
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**F M Ruspoli**

28 [?] Marzo 1708

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**F M Ruspoli**

25 Marzo 1708

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Cf. U. Kirkendale, Caldara, pp. 160-163, for other textual homages presented to Clement by Ruspoli in these years.

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the copyist Giuseppe Antonio Angelini it appears that the work was not new: only the basso continuo and two violin parts of the concerto grosso had to be copied.

Palm Sunday, April 1, was already filled with the preparations for the great event to come, La Resurrezione. This performance is indeed without parallel in Ruspoli’s musical affairs for the splendor of the decoration, the number of performers, and the size of the audience. Speculating on the circumstances under which it was composed, Flower stated that it was the Pope’s displeasure at Ruspoli’s intentions of having comedies improvised at his country residence Vignanello during carnival that gave Ruspoli the idea of staying at home and hearing oratorios instead:

As the Prince had so shortly before been raised from the Marquisate to a Princeling, he could not incur the Papal displeasure. Therefore he decided to remain in Rome and employ Handel. This probably accounts for Handel having written La Resurrezione in such a hurry. A religious work, even if it were shaped like an opera, would provide the Prince with all the diversion he required, and at the same time escape the wrath of the Pontiff. It was another instance of Handel’s growing characteristic of grasping impulsively at opportunity.38

We must reverse the situation. Since Ruspoli had planned to spend carnival, not Lent, in Vignanello (the papal note reached him before February 2, three weeks before Ash Wednesday), there is no evidence that he had to change his plans for Lent; he always returned to Rome for the Lenten concerts. There was no new “Princeling” concerned about escaping the “wrath of the Pontiff,” but the Marquis who wanted to become a Prince and offered oratorios as demonstration of his devotion to the Holy See.39 Handel cannot have written the work in a hurry, but must have known long before of his task—Ruspoli used to plan his programs much in advance.40 Living in the house for at least the preceding seven weeks, Handel was certainly expected to spend much of his time on this composition. (On March 20 we glance through the keyhole: the cameriere Domenico Castrucci, who regularly looked after the “corde e penne del Cimbalo,” now provides music paper—doc. no. 10.)

We should dwell for a moment on evidence for the artistic framework (nos. 12 and 16-19). The bill of the master mason Francesco Pagnaccelli (no. 19) describes extensive mural preparations for the woodwork of the theater;

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[D. Castrucci:]  
E più per Vittorio Tenore 
che cantò nel sud.° Orat.10  
[Another hand, added later:]  
E più al S.° Pippo Soprano della Regina per d.° or.°  
[D Castrucci:]  
Somma in tutto S 11:40

S 13—

Io F M Ruspoli

The score is preserved in D-MUs Hs. 3881.

38 Flower, Handel, p. 79.
40 Op. cit., p. 57 (the long-term planning for the carnival of 1711); p. 76, (the Ottavario, 1715).
that of the carpenter Crespino Pavone (no. 18) in 20 pages the whole com-
plex of stage and decoration. The stage in the hall for the academies ("Stan-
zione delle Accademie") on the second floor had been expensively re-
modeled, but had to be transferred at the last minute to the great hall on the
main floor for a larger audience. Here between Monday and Saturday of
Holy Week a new stage with scaffolds for large-scale decorative effects was
built. This "stage" appeared as a "teatro a scalinata" (no. 18, pp. 1 and 9),
with four rows of seats for the orchestra, 55 palmi wide (no. 18, p. 3; no. 12
says that "tre ordini" were decorated), slightly curved towards the audience,
the ranks ascending to the back wall. It was separated from the audience by a
barrier, with a higher center piece to hide part of the view of the orchestra
(no. 18, p. 5). The carpenter's bill mentions also 28 music stands with carved
racks and legs in the shape of fluted cornucopias (ibid., p. 6). On fourteen
of these Giuseppe Rossi painted the coat-of-arms of the marquis, on the
other fourteen those of his wife, Isabella Cesi del Duca d'Acquasparte, in
golden chiaroscuro (no. 12). Three rows of the orchestra seats were given
yellow color and an illusionary cornice. Above the ranks there was a raised
podium for the "Concertino de' Violini" (no. 18, p. 12)—another testimony
for the original spatial conception of concertino and ripieno.

One of the two main pieces of the decoration was a large canvas measuring
18 × 18 palmi, in the central background of the stage. This is how the
painter, Angelo Cerruti, describes it (no. 16): within the square a round
frame in yellow chiaroscuro; the Ruspoli coat of arms in the four corners,
with square frames in similar coloring; within the frame, painted "al naturale,"
the resurrection of our Lord with a "gloria" of putti and cherubim, and the
angel sitting on the tomb announcing the resurrection to Mary Magdalene
and Mary Cleopha, with John the Evangelist in the vicinity of a mountain,
and demons plunging into the abyss. The latter part of Cerruti's bill refers to
the other major component of the decoration: a large cartoon, 30 palmi
wide at the base, 20 at the top, 14 palmi high. With much inconvenience the
carpenter's staff fixed it to a wooden bridge that crossed the full width of
the hall (64 palmi) above the proscenium (cf. also no. 18, p. 8: "bocca del
sud. 'teatro a scalinata'"). This cartellone represented an ornamented frontis-
piece, cornices, volutes, a cherub, tablet, foliage, and palms, in yellow and
chirimson chiaroscuro, and on the tablet the title of the oratorio (the painter
says "motto"; cf. no. 18, p. 8: "il titolo di detto Oratorio") in four lines and
46 letters, each letter ten oncia high. These letters, cut out and backed with
transparent paper, were illuminated from behind by 70 light pans, carefully
watched by two of the carpenter's helpers during "tre sere" (no. 18, p. 9).

All this was but the bare skeleton. To complete the apparato the draper
added his art (no. 17): two widths of damask above the stage, trimmed with
velvet, in crimson, yellow, and red; the canvas in the center framed with
crimson taffeta and velvet formed into rosettes; a "cielo" of trimmed damask
across the full width of the stage; and the entire "church or hall" (no. 17,
p. 1: "Chiesa dico Sala") lavishly decorated with red and yellow taffeta and
velvet fringed with gold, and illuminated by sixteen candelabra—the whole
aimed at leading the listener into the ecstatic, heavenly spaces we enter when

41 Montalto notes that the Palazzo Doria-Pamphilj had a hall set up especially
for anatomical academies (Un Mecenate, p. 155).
42 The palmo romano corresponded to about 22 cm.; the oncia, mentioned below,
to about 1.86 cm.—see Angelo Martini, Manuale di Metrologia (Turin, 1883), p. 596.
43 Possibly in this arrangement: ORATORIO / DELLA RESURREZIONE / DI
N.° SIGNOR / GESU CHRISTO.
looking up to the airy painted ceilings in baroque churches. A final detail: there was also a curtain. The carpenter billed seven wooden wheels which lifted the taffeta forming the “telone da Calare et alzare” (no. 18, p. 5). For an example of such oratorio decorations one may compare the designs of Filippo Juvarra in one of the Turin sketchbooks, also prepared in 1708, for Ottoboni’s oratorio “nella settimana santa.” This oratorio was Alessandro Scarlatti’s Passione. The apparati lift these two works out of the common, modest frame of Lenten oratorios; and it will be seen that the two productions were indeed closely connected. For Ruspoli the whole apparato must have been designed by Giovanni Battista Contini, architect of the school of Bernini, builder of the library of prints in Montecassino and the cathedral of Vignanello (through Ruspoli’s patronage), specialist in church interiors and fountains. Contini lived with Ruspoli for many years; he now assessed the bills of the artists.

The immense labor was for the splendor of a moment. As soon as the performances were over, the carpenter’s staff demolished “tutto d. teatro” and carried the materials into the cellars of the palace to preserve them for other occasions (no. 18, pp. 18-19).

One feature of oratorios held special attraction for the audience: the intermission. Originally, in Roman prayer halls, Prima Parte and Parte Seconda had framed the sermon; now they framed the pleasant interlude described by Uffenbach: “ohngefrähr in der helffte der musiq machten sie eine pause, und da wurden liqueurs, gefrohrene sachen, confect, und caffé in quantität herumb getragen und jedermann pressentirt.” On the occasion of La Resurrezione, the rinfreschi were served in the Stanzione delle Accademie which had been lavishly redecorated for this purpose. In the adjoining chamber Contini had even installed a waterfall that sprang nimbly down into a “bagno” scene painted by Giuseppe Rossi (cf. doc. nos. 12, 18, 19).

The number of performances is stated in the highly informative list of hired musicians (no. 11). On April 14 the instrumentalists were paid for three rehearsals (“prue”) and two performances (“funtioni”). As testified by the carpenter, the first rehearsal was held on Palm Sunday, April 1, in the Stanzione delle Accademie, after which dare the move was made to the Salone

44 Zanetti, “Haendel in Italia,” p. 11, rightly interprets such decoration as contributing “all’assenza di rappresentazione negli oratori, quando gli stessi ben poco ormai si discostavano dal genere operistico.” Lang’s statement that “many of the [Italian] works, whether cantata, festa, or oratorio, clearly demanded staged performance” and that there is “documentary proof that the oratorio La Resurrezione was staged in the Ruspoli palace” (G. F. Handel, New York, 1966, p. 64) seems to result from a misinterpretation of Flower’s documents. We now know that not a single oratorio in Italy before 1750 was acted. The only thing sometimes to be seen on a “stage” was an altarpiece or a decoration, and, of course, the performers. Those pieces for which Schering once assumed staging (Geschichte des Oratoriums [Leipzig 1911], pp. 46, 116, 123, 126) were either not oratorios, but sacred operas, or, as in Florence, simply gave scene divisions and descriptions of the scenes in the librettos to aid the listeners’ imagination. The performances of oratorios with such librettos are described in the diaries of several Florentine confraternities of the earlier 18th century (cf. also U. Kirkendale, op. cit., pp. 148-149).

45 A. E. Brinckmann, Filippo Juvarra: I Disegni (Turin, 1937), Pl. 188, 189.
46 See U. Kirkendale, Caldara, p. 39, for Valesio’s diary; and fn. 63 below for the libretto.
47 Eberhard Preussner, Die musikalischen Reisen des Herrn von Uffenbach (Kassel and Basel, 1949), p. 78, on oratorios at Ruspoli’s in 1715.
al Piano Nobile;\textsuperscript{48} the second rehearsal on the following Monday (no. 18, pp. 16-17); the third on Holy Saturday, April 7, in the Salone, already within the completed new decoration (no. 19, p. 1: "il Sabbato Santo, e giorni Seguenti"); \textit{cf.} in no. 18 the statement on the illumination for three evenings). The main concerts then took place on Easter Sunday and Monday, April 8 and 9. The Sunday performance is recorded in many of the bills, in the libretto, and by Francesco Valesio, whose lines may be given here in their original wording:\textsuperscript{49}

Dom. 8 Pasqua di Resurrezione [1708] / Questa sera il marchese Ruspoli fece nel palazzo Bonelli a SS. Apostoli un belliss.\textsuperscript{50} Oratorio in musica havendo fatto nel salone un ben' ornato teatro per l’Uditorio, si intervenne molta nobiltà et alcuni porporati.

Once more the number of performances and, in addition, the size of the audience appear from the bill of the Roman printer Antonio de’ Rossi for librettos (no. 13). For Scarlatti’s \textit{Ammunziata}, performed two weeks earlier, 250 ordinary librettos plus fifty bound in “carta dorata” are billed; then five times as many, 1500, for \textit{La Resurrezione}. We can be sure that for all five performances, the rehearsals and the \textit{funtionis}, visitors were expected. It was recently shown that in Rome, in 1708 and 1709, when operas were still forbidden by papal decree, many operas as well as \textit{commedie in prosa} were performed under the pretense of being rehearsals (“sotto titolo di prova”), even in monasteries and theological seminaries.\textsuperscript{50} The fact that Ruspoli’s \textit{Stanzione delle Accademia} proved to be too small at the first \textit{proua} tells of the crowds that had been thronging in.

Turning to the performers, we remember that on Easter Monday Valesio mentioned a papal admonition issued to a Roman nobleman for having employed a female singer in the oratorio of the preceding evening: “Lunedì 9 [April, 1708] ha fatta S. B. fare una ammonizione per haver fatto cantare nell’Oratorio della sera precedente una Cantarina.”\textsuperscript{51} A letter of the Bavarian ambassador confirms that it was Ruspoli who was cited to Cardinal Paolucci for his misbehavior, and informs us that the virtuosa lived in his house.\textsuperscript{52} Now the names of the five singers are preserved in the performers’ list (no. 11). Yet there is no woman among them. Filippo, certainly identical with “Pippo soprano della Regina” (i.e., borrowed from Maria Casimira, Queen of Poland, who lived then in the “palazzino” Zucarii), and Matteo\textsuperscript{53} were the sopranos; Pasqualino our well known contralto; Vittorio [Chiccheri] the tenor; and Cristofano identified by an earlier entry (no. 7) as a bass. Here

\textsuperscript{48} The note on the title page of the libretto (I-Rn) saying that the work was performed “nella Sala dell’Accademia” obviously was printed before the decision was made to move to the “Salone al Piano Nobile.”

\textsuperscript{49} Tomo 16, fol. 36r-37r. Flower was concerned about a “discrepancy” between Handel’s autograph date for “la Festa di Pasqua” (according to him “held at the Marchisa [sic] di Ruspoli on the 4th April 1708”—p. 70) and Easter Day, reported in another source (loc. cit., not mentioning that this is Valesio); repeated by Deutsch, p. 21: “According to Carlo Sigismondo Capec’s word-book, it was performed on Easter Sunday ‘nella Sala dell’ Accademia del Signor Marchese Ruspoli’; but according to Handel’s manuscript it was written for ‘La Festa di Pasqua dal Marchese Ruspoli.’” No difficulty then but one of vocabulary.

\textsuperscript{50} U. Kirkendale, \textit{Caldara}, pp. 50-51.

\textsuperscript{51} Tomo 16, fol. 37v.


\textsuperscript{53} Not “Marco,” as given by Deutsch, p. 22.
the wages solve the riddle. Pasqualino is seen to receive almost twice as much as each of the sopranos, although a first soprano always earned slightly more than a contralto. Here the first soprano normally would have received 20 scudi, Pasqualino 18. We can thus be sure that Filippo sang only at the second funzione, on Easter Monday, replacing the virtuosa, Margherita Durastante. She was, then, the first Maddalena, the singer who established the fame of the popular aria "Ho un non so che nel core." It is no wonder that this piece was taken over into Agrippina where it was hers again, in the title role! (In this way Handel insured his Venetian success in advance: he not only presented a number of pieces which had proved successful but also brought with him the singer who had premiered them.)

It is well known that Corelli was the maestro of the orchestra. This was even larger than has been assumed from the number of instrumentalists in no. 11 (as extracted by Sheppard for Flower), since only the hired performers are listed. We must add the musicians of the house. The numbers as given by Flower and Deutsch64 must therefore be corrected to at least 22 (or 23) violins, 4 "violette," 6 "violoni," 6 "contrabassi," 2 trumpets, 1 trombone, 4 oboes. This mammoth orchestra was unique among Ruspoli's productions.58 As for the types of instruments, however, they were all well established in Rome.68 (We miss the viola da gamba demanded by the score—an instrument, though, that never appears in a Ruspoli account or a Caldara score.) The perfect balance between the numbers of the violins and the total of other stringed instruments, recently observed in Ottoboni's ensembles65 and to be encountered also at Ruspoli's as the normal practice, is here distorted in favor of the violins; these constitute half the orchestra. Apart from its value for performance practices, doc. no. 11 is to be welcomed as a biographical source for 48 Italian musicians, including among the violinists Valentini again, Carlo Guerra, Alfonso Poli, and Lorenzo Bononcini; among the viola players the Roman composer Giuseppe Pertica, and Lorenzo Gasperini, probably a member of Francesco's family; and among the 'cellists the celebrated Pippo. Not yet identified is the first violinist Antonio, who is mentioned in another document as the highly paid "S. Antonio del Cardinale Colonna."58 The last and probably youngest of the violinists was a pupil of Rotondi's ("scolaro di Silvestro"). Rotondi and the mysterious Antonio may have played the violins of the concertino. Finally, below the musicians there appears the copyist's name, "Panstufato" (not "Pastufato"65), the nickname for the now familiar Angelini. His handwriting was found in the D-MUs copy of La Resurrezione; this was therefore assumed to be the Roman original, dating from the first performance.60 It is indeed l'originale. Angelini's reimbursement of thirty

64 Pp. 71 and 22, respectively.
66 Until c. 1715 the terms "violette" and "viole" as well as "violoni" and "violoncelli" are used interchangeably at Ruspoli's, in both scores and bills, always accompanied by "contrabassi." Known "virtuosi di violoncello" appear among the "violone" players, "viola" players among the "violette," and for performances of the same works in different years the bills use different terms. Some oratorios by Caldara, dating from c. 1700 (Venice or Mantua), still employ two staves and clefs, alto and tenor, for the "violette." Cf. Hansell, "Orchestral Practice," pp. 399-400.
67 Hansell, p. 399.
69 As in Deutsch, p. 22.
scudi, for some 300 fogli or 2400 pages, certainly includes not only the score in two volumes, to be used by Corelli, but also the parts distributed to the 28 music stands. The total expenditures for the production exceeded 1000 scudi. Besides the abovementioned items the master of the household reckoned the rinfreschi, the rental of chairs for the audience, the purchase of a violoncello, and the candlesticks.

We must not forget the music: a magnificent work, undeservedly neglected through two and a half centuries, until it made its resurrection in 1961. Moreover, the splendid components of this day can be related to a greater concept: Alessandro Scarlatti’s Passione, performed on Wednesday of Holy Week at Cardinal Ottoboni’s, in the Cancelleria, and Handel’s Resurrezione must have been planned together, as a sequence. Ottoboni and Ruspoli were close friends, seen in contemporary reports as united in their musical enterprises, and Alessandro Scarlatti and Handel appear surprisingly often not only in the same city, but together at the same court. Passion oratorios, though much more frequent in Italy than Pasquetti once assumed, were still very rare in Rome at the beginning of the 18th century. And the sequence of Passion and Resurrection in this genre is, as far as I see, unique. Scarlatti’s work is furthermore notable for its location: never before do we find a Passion sung in a palace. Whenever Christ’s death was commemorated through oratorios, it was in the churches or prayer halls of confraternities devoted to the service of and prayer for the sick and the dying, thus by the Confraternita della Morte in Bologna, or, in Rome, by the Arciconfraternita del Crocefisso. With the cyclic concept it seems that now for the first time the oratorio was given a task that had been fulfilled by the Sacra rappresentazione two and three centuries earlier. Passion and Easter plays, traceable everywhere from western through middle and southern Europe since the later Middle Ages, had produced in Rome a species worthy of the exceptional historical role of this city: the plays of the Passion on Good Friday in the Colosseum followed by those of the Resurrection on Easter Sunday in San Giovanni in Laterano. These grandiose spectacles, with costumes, scenery, machinery, and musical intermezzi, were staged by the Confraternita del Gonfalone from at least 1486 into the pontificate of Paul III. At Handel’s time the memory of those plays may have been still alive, at least among the members of the Confraternita del Gonfalone, whose statutes, generations after the interdict, still recall that to “rappresentare la Passione di N. S. Gesù Cristo” was once their principal task. Who was responsible for the revival of such a concept of pre-reformation time? The thread could lead to

61 Conducted by Rudolf Ewerhart, and recorded by Vox Productions, Inc.
62 This hypothesis was first advanced in U. Kirkendale, Caldar, p. 150.
63 Guido Pasquetti, L’Oratorio musicale in Italia (Florence, 1914), pp. 289-298. A much more comprehensive bibliography was given by Karl Nef, “Beiträge zur Geschichte der Passion in Italien,” Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft XVII (1935) pp. 218-219; however, nothing could be added to Pasquetti’s small list of four Roman works between 1689 and 1725. It is, moreover, doubtful whether Pasquetti’s reference to one of the four, a Passion by A. Scarlatti of 1707, is trustworthy. It relies on Dent who gives the date 1708, like the libretto in I-Bc and like Valesio’s diary. As a corrective to Pasquetti’s generalizations on the fear of messianic themes throughout the counter-reformation cf. the works listed 1 Kurt von Fischer, “Zur Geschichte der Passionskomposition des 16. Jahrhunderts in Italien,” Archiv für Musikwissenschaft XI (1954), pp. 189-205.
64 Cf. Vincenzo Bartholomais, Laude Drammatiche e Rappresentazioni Sacre, vol. II (Florence, 1943), pp. 117-120.
Ottoboni, who was also archpriest of Santa Maria Maggiore where the Confraternita del Gonfalone was seated. (It may also not be pure speculation to think that Handel's being a Protestant might have had something to do with it.) The concept was now transplanted into a quite different social and artistic medium: from the amphitheatre into the Salone nobile, from a public act to high-society entertainment, from a spoken and acted drama to a purely musical one, from epic grandeur to elegance and fashion.

The documents following La Resurrezione give an approximate date for Handel's departure for Naples. Bed, bed-curtain and other things, rented until the end of April (no. 20), were given back to the owner after May 1 (no. 14), and Ruspoli's dispensatore, Francesco Maria de Golla (not Tollà65) had his food expenses reimbursed (no. 15). The latter bill is another testimony for Handel's gargantuan appetite. If—scholarly, but indiscreet—we must prosecute the innocent eater this far, we cannot help but marvel at the payment of 38.75 scudi for the food ("spese cibarie") consumed by Handel and his companion ("comp:"—von Bienitz66?). Measured against the monthly salary of 20 scudi for the primadonna, 15 for the first nobleman of the famiglia alta, 10 for the later maestro di cappella Caldara (20 from March 1, 1710, on), down to 10 every year for the bass violinist—this sum, devoured in two months, conjures up mountains of fruit, pheasants, nectar and ambrosia, making the marble tables bend.

One is always tempted to explain a famous man's action through a motive centered in him: "Handel now decided to go . . . .," in our case combined with the pressure of political disturbances.66 The Giustificazioni reveal that Ruspoli was the one who decided to go. In the first half of May the marquis left for his country residence Vignanello, as usual around this time of the year. Handel thus was free, and he travelled to Naples.

C. July 14 to November 24, 1708

Payments starting July 14, 1708 (doc. nos. 21ff.) show that Handel was free only a short time; he soon returned from Naples to his former patron. I doubt whether he was still at Naples for the Duke of Alvito's wedding on July 19, which Flower vividly described.67 A sizable bill for food consumed by him at Ruspoli's during the month of July (doc. 23) suggests that he was back by the middle of that month. His autograph date, July 12, in Naples, on "Se tu non lasci amore," must mark one of the very last days of his sojourn there. His presence at the Bonelli palace is then once more confirmed by a payment for two large, used, lined curtains for the windows of "M: Endel," on July 31, when the sun must have shone hot on Rome (doc. 22).

65 As in Deutsch, p. 22.
66 The gentleman whom Johann Mattheson reports to have travelled with Handel to Italy (Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte [Hamburg, 1740], p. 95).
66 The political motive was first suggested by Chrysander and has often been repeated, lately by Zanetti, op. cit., p. 13, and by myself, "The War of the Spanish Succession reflected in Works of Antonio Caldara," Acta Musicologica XXXVI (1964), p. 222. It is quite probable that the general mood among the Roman populace had something to do with the departure; but we have no proof that this mood was more desperate in May than in July or August when everyone was back in Rome. In fact, the political tension was highest just before January 15, 1709, when Pope Clement XI signed under pressure the treaty with Vienna.
67 Pp. 74-76. Thus the sojourn in Naples shrinks to about 10 weeks, i.e., not "nearly a third of his time in Italy" (Lang, Handel, p. 87), but roughly a twentieth. So far no other visit to Naples has been traced.
An undated note by Silvestro Rotondi on the payments due to Giuseppe Valentini and Giovanni Ciambelli for their playing "nella Cantata Fiamma bella di Monsù Hendel" is answered by an entry in the Lista delle Spese on Saturday, July 14 (no. 21), thus dating the recital. As neither copies nor hired performers had been mentioned since April, we can be sure that "Fiamma bella" was featured as the first cantata con stromenti after Ruspoli's return from Vignanello, i.e. after June 17, 1708. Our date marks a new beginning, also traceable from payments to the violinist Alfonso Poli, who played (probably instrumental music) for Ruspoli every Sunday from July 15, 1708, to June 16, 1709.68 "Fiamma bella," to be found neither as title nor incipit in any of the extant MSS of Handel's cantatas, must be identical with the lengthy cantata " Arresta il passo" (Aminta, Fillide), of which the second aria begins "Fiamma bella che al ciel s'invia." A violinist, like Rotondi, was certainly not pedantic over titles. Or, on that day, the performance may have begun with this aria. I find no bill for copies of the parts. Was it an older work? Had Handel, who was still in Naples on July 12, rushed to Rome to direct the performance? From the extant copy in Angelini's handwriting two Roman performances are suggested, for the scribe later inserted eleven more fogli into foglio 22; five measures of these appear in Handel's own hand.69 Here the text comes to our assistance, revealing this cantata's peculiar function at a festival of the Arcadia which had to take place in early summer. Aminta's passion is not of earthly nature, he desires to kindle his frigid mistress with a heavenly flame; and it is "il Dio bambino col strale suo divin" who then wounds Fillide's heart. The subject, the characters, the imagery are all too familiar from the Roman Christmas cantatas to allow "il Dio bambino" to be interpreted simply as the pagan Amor. These shepherds are the "shepherds abiding in the fields" of Bethlehem. The Arcadians were indeed concerned about their brotherhood with these more humble herdsmen since they had chosen the bambino Gesù for their protector. Therefore, as Crescimbeni informs us, they celebrated the Nativity every year with great pomp. However, they did so not on the day "when it is celebrated by all the faithful," for the winter season did not allow them to meet in their bosco. Since it was only here, where they spent their official season, from May 1 to October 7, that they could feel like true shepherds, they had placed the festival on the first of the seven general assemblies that were then to be held:

Io ho detto di sopra, che l'Arcadia non ha protettore temporale; ma non però è priva dello spirituale, essendosi messa sotto la tutela del Santissimo Nostro Signore Gesù Nascente, la cui festa non potendo ella celebrarla nel di, che si celebra da tutti i fedeli, perché la stagione d'Inverno non permette esercitarsi nel Bosco, soleva già solennizzarla ogni anno nella prima Adunanza Generale, che si faceva nello stesso Bosco...

68 The payment "Per 10 Funzioni in più Volte" in no. 29 refers to the ten Sundays from July 15 to Sept. 16; in 1709 Poli is paid for the Sundays after Sept. 23, 1708 (U. Kirkendale, Caldara, pp. 351, 353).


70 G. M. Crescimbeni, "Breve Notizia dello stato antico, e moderno dell'adunanza degli Arcadi pubblicata l'anno 1712 . . .," in L'istoria della volgar Poesia, 3rd ed., vol. VI (Venice, 1731), pp. 313-314. He goes on to say that the festival was later moved back to its proper day in winter and celebrated in an eminent member's townhouse (during the off-season the Arcadians used to meet alternately in each other's capanne), and that thus it was done "this year," at the Cancelleria. Whether this news, published at the end of 1712, refers to Christmas 1712 or to the preceding year, does not need to concern us here too much: it has the flavor of a novelty.
Fig. 1 (doc. 24)
Fig. 2 (doc. 27)
Prima Cantata in
Stromenti di Fonda Sendel
& a 2. Feb. 1705

Violini
Carlo Fumarco
Gio. Cambelli

2a Cantata in
Stromenti d. g. anni 1725

Violini
Gio. Cambelli

Carlo Fumaclo, del D. Oberriche:
andati stato in due a funzioni
Estante della Tronba
Alfonso 4° Funzioni impia della 33°

Io Piusso attende a 2. de G. indic.

Fig. 3 (doc. 29)
In carta Reale
Da sete ardente sì
Se pare 'è la nuage
Chi rapi la pace
Ninfe e Pastori
Aure vanno e liete
Nella stagione
Del bello Odete mio
Ne taci ammi e bella
Se per fatal destino
Hendel non può
Sei pur bella pur v'è
decente pené e tante
Bene si unaro Amore
Fili Dorati e Cavalli
Dalla guerra amorosa
Se n'ta ch'è rispetto
Lungi da te mio Nume
O' Nume eterni
Lungi da me pensier frannn -
Auree v'èdete
Sang pensier tranchè

Fig. 4 (doc. 35)
I have no doubt that "Fiamma bella," which we may label "Christmas Cantata," was the composition which crowned the Arcadian "Christmas" when it was still celebrated in the summer, at the first *Adunanza Generale* in 1708. Ruspoli was the host of the Arcadians at that time; his little garden south of San Matteo in Merulana had become their *Bosco Parrhasio* in September 1707, succeeding that of Prince Giustiniani. That the concert took place on a Saturday, supports this thesis, as Saturday seems to have been the day reserved for their official meetings.\(^7\) No singers were hired. Margherita Durastante must have been joined by Mariuccia, who was not in regular service now, but present, and after May again active.

Already by August 9 (no. 24); fig. 1 is a facsimile of this page) the copyist Angelini received his scudi for eleven cantatas, of which ten are well known as Handel's; the eighth in the series, "Lamarciana," is misspelled and could not yet be identified. The first, second, and fourth have been encountered already in 1707; they may have now been copied to be given away. The third cantata listed here is the well known "Hendel non può mia musa." Though Cardinal Pamphilj is the poet, it is now clear that the work was composed and first performed at Ruspoli's. (Two more copies were made at Ruspoli's expense—cf. nos. 35 and 36—and the autograph is preserved in the Santini collection, surely of Ruspoli provenance.) The cardinal was a frequent guest. Since Ruspoli apparently did not write poetry himself, he presented the composer with poems of his house poet or of his friends. (Thus we find Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni and Pietro's father Don Antonio delivering texts to Caldarra during his employment with Ruspoli.) The date of the bill could clarify the situation of the poem. Pamphilj says that his muse cannot in a twinkling sing verses worthy of Handel's lyre, but feeling in himself such sweet harmony, he was impelled to sing like this (there follows the Orfeo aria, etc.). This was a reply, in a tone which shows a little resignation. In addition to the oratorio *Il Trionfo del Tempo* Pamphilj certainly had given Handel other texts during 1707 and the first half of 1708. Then Handel had gone to Naples, and now, immediately after his return, he had approached his former patron for more poetry. Evidently Pamphilj's muse was just somewhat tired, so that he wisely took refuge in this personal address, describing his situation. His use of the Orpheus metaphor should not be taken too seriously, as a monumental apotheosis of Handel,\(^7\) but rather as a nice compliment paid by the old gentleman to the young one.

Handel's presence at the court in August is testified by another impressive food bill, receipted August 31 (no. 26). Angelini had to be diligent to keep pace with Handel's fast quill. As he states in the heading of his next bill, no. 25, he again delivered "Molte carte di musiche," from August 11 to September 3. However, he signed the receipt for the full sum on August 28, and we may assume that the date in the heading circumscribes the time for which the music was planned. Five cantatas with basso continuo and two large cantatas *con stromenti* are included, among them "Se pari è la tua fè" in two copies, "Dite o piante" and "Clori vezzosa Clori" as duplicates. The unidentified "Cantata a uoce sola con VV" seems to have been performed on Sunday, September 2,

\(^7\) Cf. below, footnote 101. This does not completely settle the question whether the cantata had not been used for the same occasion the year before. I doubt that Ruspoli at this first "Christmas" in *bis bosco* would have presented a work that was not new.—The garden can be located as no. 28 in Giambattista Nolli's *Pianta di Roma* (Rome, 1748).

\(^7\) It was Mainwaring who (p. 63) first interpreted this as Handel having been "exalted above the ranks of mortals."
when for the second time after Ruspoli’s return violinists were hired (cf. no. 29, first part) and no additional singer is traceable.

A brilliant event took place the following Sunday, September 9. There is Angelini’s bill for the parts of the “cantata a tre con stromenti il Tebro,” receipted on Monday, September 10, 1708 (no. 27; reproduced as fig. 2). This is no other than the famous cantata with the roles Olinto (soprano), il Tebro (alto), and la Gloria (soprano), known under the text-incipit “O come chiare e belle.” It can be connected at once with no. 29 (see fig. 3), a note on the payments to three additional violinists and the trumpet player Gaetano,73 who performed Monsù Hendel’s “Seconda Cantata Con Stromenti” (i.e., the second in September, the third since July 22) on Sunday, September 9; for *Il Tebro* is the only known cantata by Handel to employ a trumpet. (The text requires it. Olinto says at the end of his last recitative: “voglio altro stile, cangiare in tromba la zampogna umile,” then begins his D-major aria, accompanied by trumpet and violins; thereafter comes the final “Viva” terzet, still with trumpet, plus violins and *bassi.*) The trumpet is employed expressly for its traditional task: to announce the hero, to proclaim his fame. It had to praise Ruspoli the warrior who had been a shepherd until then, and now exchanges the rustic shawn for the trumpet. One remembers that Ruspoli, whose Arcadian name was “Olinto,” had glorified with this text his patriotic and well calculated deed in the service of Pope Clement XI, the establishment of the “Colonella Ruspoli” for the defense of Ferrara.74 New evidence from the documents is the date. Robinson suggested March 1708 for general historical reasons. Our date, however, September 9, 1708, fits into the diplomatic events and illustrates them vividly, for it was in September that Clement held several secret consistories to solve the hopeless problem of financing the mobilization.75 (An aside from a contemporary may show Ruspoli’s 1200 men in the proper light: when the Pope’s own soldiers were given the choice of either marching toward Ferrara or staying at home with only half of their normal salary, only six of six hundred had not preferred to stay where they were.)76 Document no. 28 then presents the bill of the Roman printer Luca Antonio Chracas for 300 libretti “della Cantata” with his receipt dated September 15, certainly referring to this extraordinary work. Very rarely were librettos printed for secular cantatas; in a decade this is the only case at Ruspoli’s.

Although the singers are not mentioned in our paylist (no. 29), it is possible to trace their identity. One of the soprano parts was, as always, sung by Durastante. The contralto’s name is handed down incidentally, in an entry for the cleaning of his room when he left, shortly after September 15, 1708: “Pag: p[er] sgom[bera]re le stanze per la Sig:* Marg:* e Sig:* Ursini [scudi]—50.”77 Mentioned here in one line with the primadonna—she is usually called “Signora Margherita”—the gentleman can be only one, the great contralto Gaetano Ursini. He was perhaps a native Roman.78 That

73 Gaetano is known also from doc. no. 11.
75 Protocols in I-Rvat, Cod. Vat. 665-8629, fol. 486ff, dating from “die IV Septembris” to “24 Septembris 1708.”
"Ursini" refers to a contralto is the more probable, since the second soprano, Anna Maria di Piedz, was already present.

Another witness for Handel's very presence, and a relief from "dry" documents, is the bill of the neuvialo for 45 pounds of "snow" or ice delivered to Monsù Endel during the hot month of September, to cool his bottles (no. 31). A final food bill, however, limits this period to the first eleven days (no. 30). Handel had thus departed from the court on September 12, about the time that the singers left. Whether he then still remained in Rome or with Ruspoli in the country, we cannot say. Margarita, though she had moved out, was still employed.

The fourth and last cantata con stromenti of this season was performed on October 28, traceable through the performers' list receipted on October 31 (no. 33). The presence of the contralto Pasqualino would suggest an orchestral cantata either for contralto or for soprano and alto. The former does not exist among Handel's Italian works. Indeed, the duet is provided by Angelini; his parts had been waiting for two months: Il Duello amoroso in no. 25 was copied before August 28, 1708 (see above; not to be confused with either Il Delirio amoroso or "Dalla Guerra amorosa"). This work, not known from Chrysander, is mentioned and described for the first time by Ewerhart, under the text-incipit "Amarilli vezzosa," from a score by Angelini in Münster.79 It contains 11 fogli, and may have been included in the 248 fogli listed in our bill, though only the "cauate" are mentioned. The contralto Pasqualino, as Daliso the shepherd, joined the soprano Durastante, the nympha Amarilli, and was honored with three silver scudi; the three hired violinists received one ordinary scudo each. It has been pointed out that Amarilli's aria "Piacer che non si dona" and Daliso's "È vanità" occur again in Agrippina, there sung by Poppea and Ottone respectively—two more examples of Handel's careful strategy with regard to his Venetian debut. Here an aria first introduced by Durastane was presented later by her co-actress Diamante Maria Scarabelli. At Ruspoli's we can assume a particularly festive arrangement, for Ascanio, the messenger, delivered special invitations (no. 32). This was the custom for only the most splendid events.81

Once more Angelini adds new copies to Ruspoli's repertoire: two continuous cantatas "di M. Hendel . . . in sei fogli," paid for on November 24, 1708 (no. 33).

D. February 28, 1709, to October 10, 1711

After November 24, 1708, the chain is interrupted: there is no reference to Handel until we find an isolated bill for copies of three cantatas, known as his, receipted on February 28, 1709 (no. 34). As to performances and the composer's presence, we are on less solid ground. The interpretation of this document is doubtful, depending upon the meaning of "Per il Baron Tedesco." Is this Handel? The bill shows the handwriting of Pietro Castrucci who very probably, like everyone in the house, would have called him "Monsù Endel" or "Hendel," and not used "per" to point to the composer. It more likely designates a person who ordered these copies, possibly a German guest unknown to us.82 Handel's occupation in Tuscany in the latter half of March diminishes the probability that he was in Rome now.

80 Ewerhart, loc. cit.
81 See U. Kirkenendale, Caldara, p. 48.
82 Could it even be Agostino Steffani? He was in Rome from Oct. 1708 to April 1709 (cf. Streatfeild, "Handel in Italy," p. 11), on a diplomatic mission for the
Half a year later we find another isolated bill, received on August 31, 1709, in the handwriting of Francesco Lanciani (no. 35; cf. fig. 4). There is no doubt that these solo cantatas with basso continuo were not copied for immediate performance. At least ten of the 21 pieces are duplicates (see below). And the cantatas used during the second half of 1709 were provided by Caldara.

Again two years go by until, with three small copies, billed by Francesco Lanciani on March 15, before May 22, and on October 10, 1711, Handel's name appears for the last time in the master of the household's Giustificazioni (nos. 36-38). By this time Handel's presence is with certainty to be excluded. No. 36 is interesting as it lists a new copy of "Hendel non può mia musa" (the third copy mentioned in these documents) and states expressly "Doppo partito il Sig.' Antonio Caldara"—only after Caldara had left did Ruspoli dare to revert to Handel. No. 37 spins threads far across the continent, to England. Here "Ho un non sò che nel core" from La Resurrezione is copied separately. It was in these spring months of 1711 that Francesca Vanini-Boschi on the London stage crazed the audience with the aria that had once been transferred into Agrippina, then, in London, into Alessandro Scarlatti's Pirro e Demetrio, now into Rinaldo—a craze that produced mocksongs on the melody. Perhaps they had heard in Rome that it was so much in fashion now, and someone asked for it. Finally, on October 10, 1711, there is a bill for the copy of the score of "Ah crudel," a large cantata con stromenti (no. 38). This certainly does not indicate the first performance (parts would have been prepared instead). The work may have been heard again now, since the same note mentions a payment to "Sig.' Ignatio," an oboist, and this work requires two oboes. Caldara was in Milan at the time, and although he sent a number of compositions to Rome, Ruspoli may have had to fall back on older pieces in his library.

* * *

We shall now try to define the time limits, the amount, and the character of Handel's work for Ruspoli. Without imposing fixed conclusions on the obviously problematic, isolated documents from February 1709 on, we can say that they cannot possibly have issued from a regular employment. Indeed, we know that after March 1, 1709, Antonio Caldara was employed as Ruspoli's chapel master—his cantatas fill the bills from then on—and that sometime during Lent 1709 Handel had joined the court of Prince Ferdinando Medici in Florence. Although, after the "snow" bill of September 1708, there is no entry from which to conclude his presence or departure from Rome, we can be sure that by March 1, 1709, at the latest, Handel had left.

Elector of Hanover. Thus he came as a "Tedescho," and, of course, a "baron"; he doubtless visited the performances at the Bonelli palace.

83 From the documents in Deutsch, pp. 43-46, it appears that Handel was still in Düsseldorf on June 17, at Hanover in July, and in Halle on Nov. 12 for the baptism of his niece (no proxy was registered for him).


His activity for Ruspoli may well have ceased between September 12 and the end of October, 1708. Between his return from Naples around July 15, 1708, and the last payment for Angelini's copies, on November 24, 1708, "Fiamma bella" was performed and fifteen new cantatas were copied (duplicates we must leave aside), and the calendar shows exactly sixteen Sundays up to October 28. A coincidence? Even more precisely: after the performance of "Fiamma bella" the scribe wrote three large cantatas con stromenti, and there are three bills for borrowed musicians, permitting the assignment of these large works to their performance days. The exact recital dates of the small cantatas with basso continuo cannot be traced, and speculation does not lead very far. The pieces mentioned in no. 24 could be placed any time after July 22, 1708; those in doc. no. 25 after August 11, 1708, according to Angelini's heading. By August 28 (cf. the receipt in no. 25) there was an ample reserve of pieces from which to choose, so that we by no means have to assume that they were then performed in the order in which they appear in the bills.

How close are the dates of the copies to those of the compositions? Were the cantatas copied for Ruspoli all composed for him? This is doubtless the case for those copied before November 24, 1708: first, no work is included which was evidently written for another patron (this argument, weak with regard to the small number of cantatas of which the birthplaces are known, is somewhat supported by the fact that the two cantatas finished in Naples, i.e., immediately before Ruspoli's fall season, do not appear in Rome); second, the cantatas were copied for scheduled performances; and last but not least, Handel was there not merely to dine at Ruspoli's table but to deliver music. Thus for these months we can generally assume that the copyist's work was done only days or weeks after the composer's.

Age and destination of the cantatas "newly" copied in 1709 and 1711 cannot be determined with such directness, since, as stated above, the pieces of 1709 were not copied for scheduled Sunday concerts, and the one of October 1711 was obviously copied for a second performance. Here the dates from the bills must be taken with more caution, as nothing more than termini ante quos. In this group 25 cantatas are mentioned, 13 of them for the first time, five for the second or third time: "Aure soavi," "Hendel non puo mia musa," "Se pari è la tua fè," "Ninfe e pastori" and "Poiche giuraro amore" (cf. the chart below, pp. 271-273). While the five duplicates are of proved Ruspoli origin, we face many (theoretical) possibilities for the thirteen new titles: were these cantatas composed at Ruspoli's? ordered by Ruspoli while Handel was elsewhere? sent to this court as presents, by Handel or by other patrons?

A glance at the titles reveals that in this group, too, the cantatas for Cardinal Pamphilj and for Naples do not appear. One may be startled to
find the famous Lucrezia included in Lanciani's bill of August 31, 1709 (no. 35), a work that has been supposed to have originated in Tuscany ever since Chrysander learned from Quadrio that the Florentine court employed a virtuosa Lucrezia d’André, called Madama Caró. This lady, dear to many a biographer and recently excavated once more, can now be laid to rest. Her position was already weakened when Ademollo noted that the Grand Duke counted two more Lucrezias among his virtuosas, “Lucrezia Pontissi, la Lucchese” and “Lucrezia Storni, veneziana.” I may add that Lucrezia d’André is also traceable at Ruspoli’s, which means that even if her connection with the piece had been established, this would not prove Florentine origin. It has not even been ascertained whether she was a soprano. Once her shadow has faded out of the picture, we see that all roads lead to Rome. The heroine is, first of all, “Romana.” Celebrated by poets and painters of many nations and generations as the personification of marital virtue, her involuntary role in Rome's becoming a republic endeared her especially to the Romans. Painters seem to have been occupied with the theme in Rome, Bologna, the republics north of the Apennines, Venice and the Netherlands, and everywhere else more than in ever-jealous Florence, where it seldom appears outside of the intimate, private realm of the bridal cassoni, and, significantly, seldom after the beginning of the Grand Duchy. As a cantata text this theme is once more traceable in Rome. Cardinal Benedetto Pamphilj wrote the lyrics for a Lucrezia Romana cantata which was set to music by Alessandro Scarlatti. In 1690 the poet had a gift copy sent to Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Maria Medici. (It is rather improbable that the Medici would have ordered a Lucrezia story from their own chapel master; music at the court level was never a private, but always a representative matter.) There is little similarity between the Pamphilj text of 1690 (incipit “Lasciato havea l'adultero superbo”) and Handel's (incipit “O Numi eterni, o stelle, stelle”) with the exception of roughly equal length and the notable correspondence of the recitatives containing the invocation of father and husband as the recipients of the

87 Lang, Handel, p. 63: “Several cantatas can be traced to Handel’s first Florentine visit, among them O numi eterni, . . . La Lucrezia . . . lends some credence to the rumored love affair with Lucrezia d’André.”
89 U. Kirkendale, op. cit., Anh., doc. 53.
sacrifice (Pamphilj: "Voi, genitor, consorte"; Handel’s poet: “A voi, padre, consorte”). The parallel treatment does not necessarily suggest that Handel’s poet knew Pamphilj’s text, or that Pamphilj wrote this one too: we may have to do with a topos familiar to the time from the numerous dramas on the subject.98 Still, that it was Pamphilj who was engaged in this subject should not be overlooked. Finally, it is time to recall Mainwaring’s remark that Handel’s Lucrezia was composed in Rome—94—a remark which Chrysander felt obliged to “correct.”

More evidence comes from the extant manuscripts. A bibliography of those cantatas of Handel which are mentioned in Ruspolti documents, in preparation by the present author, will list the available manuscript copies and discuss provenance and chronology. Here only some general results can be given.

Only two of the scores of the thirteen “new” cantatas bear the date of origin or a remark on the provenance. Both these manuscripts lead to Ruspolti. “Lungi da te mio Nume,” in Lancianelli’s bill of August 1709, is surely identical with the well-known “Lungi dal mio bel Nume” (throughout these bills the titles seem to have been written down hastily, probably partly from memory). The autograph is dated by Handel “Roma. Il dì 3 di Marzco, 1708.”96 By that time Handel was already living in the Ruspolti house. An English copy of “Ah crudel nel pianto mio,” in the hand of the copyist “S 13” and seemingly taken from a copy in the hand of “S 2,” bears the remark “Composto a Roma per il S.77 Marchese Ruspolti da G. F. Handel.” Both scribes are, as Larsen has proved, collaborators of Smith the elder and thus close enough to the most reliable source of information, Handel himself. The formulation, omitting the title “Sig.” for Handel’s name, and giving the English spelling of this name in an Italian context, comes closest to what we are familiar with from his autographs.

These few notes on the provenance have come down to us by chance. For a balanced picture, all extant copies of Handel’s Italian cantatas have to be considered. By good fortune a large number of the very copies listed in our bills has been preserved in Fortunatino Santini’s collection. On the basis of works written for Ruspolti by Caldara, F. Gasparini, and

93 Renowned Italian Lucrezia plays of the late 17th century were those by Delfino and Bonnicelli, mentioned by Barthold Feind in the “Vorbericht” of his libretto to Keiser’s opera Die kleinmächtige Selbst-mörderin Lucretia, Hamburg, 1705 (see Oscar Sonneck, Catalogue of Opera Librettos Printed before 1800 [Washington, 1914], vol I, p. 671), a work, by the way, that Handel must have known. Its influence on the cantata can no longer be pursued, since the score has survived only in small fragments.

94 Mainwaring, p. 200.

95 GB-Lbm Add. 30310, fols. 2-12v.

A. Scarlatti, it was recently demonstrated that this collection contains the patron’s music library pretty much in the state as it was when Santini acquired it from the Ruspoli in the 19th century.  

97 Here we meet all but six of the forty copies listed in Angelini’s bills from May 1707 to September 1708. “Tu fedel?” (Hs 1913 and Hs 1910 fols. 7-50) and “Mentre il tutto” (Hs 1899 fols. 28-35 and Hs 1910 fols. 160-176) from no. 25 are present twice in Angelini’s writing (we shall have to explain this); “Aure soavi” (Hs 1898 fols. 68-72) from nos. 1 and 24 with two pages added in Handel’s own hand; 98 “Manca pur” (Hs 1898 fols. 89-95) and a second copy of “Quando sperasti” (Hs 1898 fols. 101-106) from no. 24 by an anonymous collaborator of Angelini’s (the other copy, Hs 1910 fols. 1-6, by Angelini); in the copy Hs 1899 of “Mentre il tutto” Angelini wrote the music, this anonymous scribe the words; “Ditemi o piante” from both nos. 24 and 25 once by Angelini (Hs 1899 fols. 17-24), once by a Roman scribe who is very close to the Castrucci family (Hs 1910 fols. 159-167). Only Angelini’s “Hendel non può mia musa” from no. 24 is missing; but the autograph is there (Hs 1898 fols. 1-4), and a copy which was doubtless made in the closest proximity to Ruspoli’s cameriere Pietro Castrucci (Hs 1910 fols. 189-192). However, when we now look for Castrucci’s copies from no. 34 and Lanciani’s from nos. 35, 36, and 38, we are surprised to find nothing. Of the three cantatas billed by Castrucci, Armida abbandonata and “Poche giuraro amore” are present here in Angelini’s (!) hand (Hs 1894 and Hs 1899 fols. 83-90, respectively), “Ninfe e pastori” by the same “Castrucci neighbor” who wrote “Ditemi o piante” (Hs 1898 fols. 49-56). Of the 21 cantatas billed by Lanciani in August 1709 only “Dalla guerra amorosa” shows up in Francesco’s handwriting (nor does Tarquino Lanciani, who worked with Francesco, appear); nine are in copies written by Angelini, two more by his collaborators; “Lungi dal mio bel Nume,” composed at Ruspoli’s, is copied once by Angelini (Hs 1898 fols. 23-33), once by an anonymous who is probably identical with Pietro Castrucci (Hs 1910 fols. 141-151). Nor is the “originale” present which Francesco Lanciani wrote of “Ah crudel” in 1711 (no. 38); but the autograph is there—a case similar to the above-mentioned “Hendel non può mia musa”—confirming now that the first performance was accompanied from the autograph. (This cantata may well be the “Cantata a uoce sola con VV” of which the parts were copied before August 28, 1708—see no. 25—and which was then certainly performed on September 2, 1708.) To sum up: the copies billed by Angelini are present; those billed since 1709 by Castrucci and Lanciani are not; instead, the same pieces are present in Angelini copies.

At this stage of my investigation of handwriting and text variants it seems that the manuscripts of “Ruspoli” cantatas outside of the Santini

collection are altogether younger. There is little doubt that the Santini
copies were the first which were taken from the autographs. The Ruspoli
collection is indeed fairly intact in this library—if diminished at all, then
only by a very few manuscripts which Santini presented to collector
friends. The absence of Castrucci’s copies “Per il Barone Tedesco”
(no. 34) confirms that these were all duplicates sent out by Ruspoli as
gift copies. The same goes for the 21 Lanciani copies of August 1709
(no. 35), of which ten could be proved to be duplicates. The bill itself
had the character of a “gift-copy bill.” These copies must have been
bound together as a large collection, otherwise single pieces would have
come to light. The models from which Castrucci’s and Lanciani’s copies
were taken must have been present at Ruspoli’s. Again, there is no doubt
that these were the Angelini copies in the Santini collection.

Still, how can we explain that some of these “first copies,” by
Angelini, do not appear in Ruspoli’s accounts? Were they themselves
gift copies, presented by Ottoboni, Pamphilj, or Colonna? (Angelini
worked also for Cardinal Pamphilj, and the Santini collection does con-
tain pieces of Pamphilj and Colonna provenance). Let our considerations
start from cantatas which were with certainty composed for Ruspoli.
There is no Ruspoli bill for the two extant Santini copies of “Lungi dal
mio bel Nume,” a genuine product of the Ruspoli house, and likewise
there is no bill for one of the extant twin copies of “Mentre il tutto.”
For “Lungi dal mio bel Nume,” composed in March 1708, a clue may be
found in the fact that one of the two copies was written by the scribe
who seems to be identical with Pietro Castrucci. It is quite probable that
during the busy Lenten weeks of 1708 the house musicians had to help
copying. They may have then received a general compensation for their
“overtime,” as was the case in 1711. Angelini had his hands full with the
copies for La Resurrezione; the 2400 pages for which he was paid must
have kept him and his relatives or employees busy for weeks, and the
round sum of 30 scudi may also have included some small items such as
continuo cantatas (hence it is possible also that Handel contributed more
cantatas than appear in the bills for the Sunday concerts between Febru-
ary 26 and his departure for Naples). It is equally probable that some of
the 11 “new” cantatas in doc. 35 were already included in those earlier
Angelini bills of 1707 that do not specify the titles. After all, it is hardly
thinkable that a patron as ambitious as Ruspoli would include in a gift
collection pieces that had not originated under his auspices.

From the bibliographical evidence it seems almost certain that the
thirteen cantatas which are “new” in Ruspoli accounts after 1708 were
also composed for this patron. Altogether there are 48 secular cantatas (5
of them not identified) and three sacred cantatas mentioned. There is no

69 See the special payments to two camerieri after the opera season, listed in
U. Kirkendale, op. cit., doc. 79.
doubt that Ruspoli continued to perform cantatas by Handel until Caldara arrived.¹⁰⁰

The function of “Fiamma bella” may rouse a question as to whether this was the only cantata that served the purposes of the Arcadia. It is not impossible that other cantate con stromenti were heard at the following general assemblies, as no such cantatas were copied or performed after October, during the Arcadian off-season. Since the first general assembly of 1708 was not held before July, one may wonder whether the last one was not equally late, and identical with our event on October 28 (see above), and thus the normal season, from May 1 to October 7, delayed as a whole. But it should be kept in mind that the Arcadian meetings, in Ruspoli’s garden on the Esquiline, had nothing to do with Ruspoli’s weekly conversazione, though they may at times have made the latter superfluous.¹⁰¹ If, in this context, we must return once more to the old question why Handel was not made a member of this solemn circle, there is no need to maintain Chrysander’s theory that he could not be admitted since he had not reached the required age of 24—a theory reported piously as fact through all of the monographs. The Arcadia was primarily a literary organization, then largely limited to members of the aristocracy, though the statutes liked to veil this fact (the famous admission of three musicians, Corelli, Alessandro Scarlatti, and Bernardo Pasquini was a unique occurrence, and afterwards partly “justified” by nobility bestowed on them; on the other hand, Benedetto Marcello, as a nobile veneto, had no difficulty in entering).¹⁰² There is

¹⁰⁰ Only one cantata mentioned before March 1709 is not by Handel: a “Cant. in 5 fogli” by Caldara, billed c. October 20, 1708. This piece would seem too small—and no parts were copied—to have served the festive event on October 28.

¹⁰¹ A note on the confusion in Handel literature between the Arcadia and certain patrons’ academies may not be out of place. The frequent statement about Handel having appeared “in the academy”—a suspect place—is echoed and elaborated by J. Müller-Blattau, art. “Händel,” MGG V, col. 1326: “... hatte der Kardinal Ottoboni Künstler und Kunstfreunde zur geselligen Pflege der Künste um sich versammelt. Arcadia nannte sich der Kreis.” So also Lang, Handel, p. 53: “The principal circle of cultivated intellectuals met in the academy called Accademia Poetico-Musicale, usually in the palace of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, and occasionally at the residence of the Marquess Francesco Maria Ruspoli.” When Merlini in 1707 referred to Ottoboni’s gathering as to an “accademia poetico-musicale,” he simply characterized the meeting, not referring to the name of an institution. The term accademia was used interchangeably with conversazione; it could mean the event as well as the assembly, and covered a wide range of quasi-intellectual and more elevated activities (see Montalto, Un Mecenate, pp. 152-157), most of which were by no means regulated by statutes. The Arcadia, on the other hand, the literary academy founded in 1690 by followers of Christina of Sweden, was strictly organized (as so immorally ridiculed by Goethe, by chance one of its honorary members) and completely independent of those social gatherings, with the exception that its members and visitors were largely the same. For the conversazione, each patron had his day reserved, not interfering with those of his friends: Ruspoli Sunday, Ottoboni Wednesday (not Monday), Pamphilj (in these years) Friday. It appears from a number of Ruspoli papers in 1712 that the Arcadians then met on Saturdays in Ruspoli’s new bosco on the Aventine.

¹⁰² The same arguments apply to Caldara; see U. Kirkendale, op. cit., p. 83.
a commentary in the statutes, hitherto overlooked, which makes it clear that the age limit of 24 was no serious barrier: "Per entrare in questa Conversazione si richiegono tre requisiti: Il primo, l'età d'anni 24. ma questo può dispensarsi dall'Adunanza." Finally, by February 23, 1709, Handel was 24 years old, and still not made a member. He was then staying in Tuscany and could have been accepted by the Arcadians of the Florentine colony, if they had so desired.

Summing up the evidence on the nature of Handel's work with Ruspoli, we can state that although Handel was treated as a favorite guest—and no official salary was paid to him—his activity had the character of a clearly regulated employment. A definite number of compositions was expected from him; by (probably informal) agreement he was obliged to remain and do his duties. This has to be said expressly, to correct the romantic picture of the pampered youngster who wrote music or appeared "in the academies" only when the spirit moved him. It confirms Mainwaring's remark, "Handel was desired to furnish his quota," a remark which does not have the flavor of an anecdote. In this position Handel was Caldara's immediate predecessor, no chapel master having been employed before March 1709.

The importance of this period within the whole of the Italian sojourn is obvious: not only one of the two oratorios of this time, but a large percentage of all the "Italian" cantatas were composed for Ruspoli. That Handel had to deliver his "Sunday cantatas" compels us to an analogy with J. S. Bach: here the Italian, secular genre, there the German, Protestant one. This period is the more worthy of our attention as Handel, in assimilating the patterns of Italian style, now achieved mastership. The large number of early copies of "Sento là che ristretto," "Sarei troppo felice," "Se pari è la tua fè," "Oh Numi eterni" (La Lucrezia) show the esteem in which these works were held by contemporaries. One may wonder, then, why Ruspoli isn't mentioned at all by Mainwaring, but we can take it as one more proof that this author's information is rather sketchy.

103 Crescimbeni, p. 311 (my italics).
104 This would have appeared in the Giustificazioni, where the monthly payments to the regular court members as well as to temporary employees are carefully registered, together with their receipts.
105 Mainwaring, p. 55.
106 "While he was in Rome [!] he made a kind of Oratorio entitled Resurrezione, and one hundred and fifty Cantatas, besides Sonatas and other Music" (Mainwaring, p. 69). The exact number of the extant cantatas is not yet known. Zanetti, "Le Musiche Italiane," lists 25 con strumeni, 65 with basso continuo, plus second versions of some of the latter. W. C. Smith, "Verzeichnis der Werke. . .," Händel-Jahrbuch II (1956), pp. 151-152, gives from Chrysander's edition the numbers 28 and 72, respectively, not including duets and trios in the first number.
107 At present, in my bibliography, "Sento là" leads with seventeen 18th-century copies, five ahead of La Lucrezia, of which Mattheson said that it was "in vieler Leute Händen" (Grosse Generalbass-Schule [Hamburg, 1731], p. 355).
Details on Ruspoli's role as a patron of the arts may help to clarify the picture of the society to which Handel was admitted. Though many of Ruspoli's social and artistic undertakings before February 1709 were obviously directed to the goal of becoming a prince, his ambitions were not limited to this. Then and later he made his court a shelter of arts and artists, by no means restricting his favors to music. The eighty members of his court included such illustrious men as the aforementioned Giovanni Battista Contini, and Girolamo Gigli, the eminently learned, sarcastic, rebellious mind who after 1717 became notorious for his daring Vocabulario Cateriniano, a pious philological pretext for attacks on contemporary men and institutions. In Italian literature he has been given a place as one of the three foremost comedy writers of the settecento before Goldoni. He was employed as house poet and as tutor of Ruspoli's eldest son, Bartolomeo, a fact which indicates that a bold, free spirit prevailed at this court. Ruspoli was 34 years old when the 22-year-old Handel first arrived—an age when ardour and audacity usually have not yet completely cooled down. Handel's lifelong interest in painting may have been much stimulated in this very year 1708: in the cloisters of San Salvatore in Lauro, where annually on December 10 exhibitions of old masters were held, Ruspoli, in 1708, showed 194 paintings from his collection, an exhibition shared only with 23 paintings owned by another collector.108

Though his rivalry with Italian composers caused some of them to speak, years later, still of his "malizia,"109 Handel seems to have left friends at Ruspoli's. No less than four of the musicians with whom he had worked here followed him later to London: in 1715, Pietro Castrucci who afterwards became a celebrity as concert master in Handel's opera orchestra; in 1719, Pietro's father Domenico, then reported as being "sick in London"; with these two the famous 'cellist Filippo Amadei alias "Pippo" who had participated in La Resurrezione, active also as composer; and during many years Margarita Durastante.110

The biographical and bibliographical information is here presented in hopes of providing a more solid foundation for further studies on Handel's style. First, it should now be possible to establish a relative chronology for the hitherto undistinguished mass of Italian cantatas. Secondly, through the fog of the "Italian" influence we may begin to trace the actual music Handel could have heard from 1707 to 1709. This will go beyond an arbitrary listing of masters who may have made an impact. For music performed in Rome between March and September 1707, between February and May 1708, and between July and November 1708 one can draw on established work lists of Caldara, Cesarini, and Alessandro and Domenico Scarlatti. Finally, one must consider that the

109 Cf. above, fn. 9.
110 Cf. O. E. Deutsch, Handel, passim, for these four.
fruits of the encounter of North and South were gathered not only by Handel. His genius also left traces in Italy. There is a musical passage where the *Sassone* is remembered in a “diabolical” banter. When Caldara composed the *Oratorio per la SS.* Annunziata for Ruspoli in 1713 and had to present the figure of Lucifer, he invoked the Lucifer that had disturbed the same house five years earlier, in *La Resurrezione*. He used the same long, descending, anapaestic scale, in the same key, that was once sung by Handel’s Lucifer in his first aria, now for Lucifer’s words “Col pensar all’altrui pene,” 111 “thinking of the pains of others”—the pains of his predecessor Handel.

Durham, North Carolina.

**THE DOCUMENTS**

Documents for each six-month period are bound together as one *filza* of the *Giustificazioni*. The *filze* in question bear the following call numbers: B45 and B46 for 1708, B47 and B48 for 1709, B51 and B52 for 1711 (there are no Handel documents from 1710). At irregular intervals of approximately two months each, after 1708 every month, Ruspoli’s *Maestro di Casa* Angelo Valerij summarized the expenses. At the beginning of each such accounting period a lengthy list with short, numbered entries for each payment is given (*the Lista delle Spese fatte . . .*), followed by the original bills and receipts, more or less in arbitrary order. For smaller items in the list there is often no bill preserved. I quote the entries from the list as “Sp.”, with the accounting period and number, and immediately thereafter, designated by “+”, the relevant bill with receipt. The latter occasionally show different handwriting. In such cases, and in anonymous bills I have indicated the name of the writer, if traceable, in square brackets at the beginning of the lines. Most bills of the copyists were approved by Ruspoli in the lower left corner.

1


+ [Angelini:]

Conto Dell’ Ecc.° Marchese Ruspoli

Una Cantata della caccia con V.V. e Tromba  
Una Cantata Sei Pur bella e pur vezzosa  
Una Cantata Se per fatal destino  
Una Cantata che dice udite il mio consiglio  
Una Cantata che dice Aure soavi e lieti [sic]  
E più una Cantata con stromenti  

come parte cauate [sic] che  
dice Tù fedel  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entry</th>
<th>Cost</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E più la Parte che Canta</td>
<td>sono</td>
<td>fogli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E più il Concertino</td>
<td></td>
<td>fogli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E più l’Originale</td>
<td></td>
<td>fogli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E più la Sinfonia</td>
<td></td>
<td>fogli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E più una Cantata Nella stagione</td>
<td></td>
<td>fogli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E più una Cantata Poi che giurarò Amore</td>
<td></td>
<td>fogli</td>
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<tr>
<td>E M Ruspoli</td>
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111 For the musical examples see U. Kirkendale, *op. cit.*, p. 293.
Io sotto scritto ho riceuto ... scudi tre e baiocchi cinquanta moneta per saldo del presente Conto questo di 16 Maggio 1707

Io Antonio Giuseppe Angelini

2

Sp. *ibid.*, n. 166: Pag: ad Ant. Gios.* Angelini per una lista di Spese di copie di Musica in Vignanello c.* per ric.* 3.05

Conto dell’ Ecc.m* Sig. Marchese Ruspoli
Scritti da me Antonio Giuseppe Angelini in Vignanello
Per una Cantata che dice Un Alma
innamorata parte, Originale e V.V.  fogli 9½
Per due Mottettri parte con V.V.  fogli 9½
Per una Salue parte e V.V. e Violone  fogli 4
Una Cantata d’ Arminda cioè Concertino
Concerto grosso e la Parte 7½

In tutto fogli 30½

[Durastante:]
Margarita Durastante Affermo questo sopra
F M Ruspoli
Io sotto scritto hò riceuto ... Scudi tre e baiocchi cinque ... quello di 30 Giugno 1707. Io Antonio Giuseppe Angelini.

3

Sp. Luglio, et Agosto, 1707, n. 6: Pag. al Sig. Castrucci per una lista di due Violini passata da Sua Ecc*.

+[Domenico Castrucci:]
A di 26 Giugno 1707
Per una Cantata fatta nella Conversazione del Sig.* March.* Prone, doue furono presi due violini di più del solito, cioè
Alfonzo 1.—
Bononcino 1.—

F M Rusp 2.—

4

Sp. *ibid.*, n. 52: Pag. à Michelangelo Ceruti Pittore per hauer dipinto il S: Antonio di Padoua per Vignanello come per conto, e riceuta 2.70

+[Ceruti:]
Conto
Per hauer fatto tirare una tela alta [illegible],
et lunga Palmi 5¼ et auerla fatta incollare,
et ingessare di gesso fino da potersi inuoltare
per mandare fori  S —30

Per auere fatto comprare, e Mu[l]inare tutti li colori
necessarij per d:* Pittura  S —60
Per auere dipinta in d:* tela S. Ant.* da Padoua
con giglio, e libro in mano sopra le nuuole,
e splendore, et altre nuuole attorno il
tutto colorito al Naturale

Tutto importa
Io infrascritto ho riceuto ... scudi 2 b. 70
m.* per saldo dell' sud.* conto in fede questo
di 31 luglio 1707 Io Michel Angelo Ceruti

Sp. *Ibid.,* n. 39: Pag: per Copie di Musica come per ord.:** e ric.:** 2.15
+ Conto
Dell' Ecc.*° Sig.*° Marchese Ruspoli
di molte Copie di Musiche Copiate
da Me Antonio Giuseppe Angelini
Per l'originale dell' [sic] Can.** dell' Arminda
 Una Cantata francese
 Qual or legre pupille
 Una Cantata Spagniola
 Sarei troppo felice
 Mensogniere [sic] speranze
 Ne tuoi lumi

21 ½ [sic]

[Durastante:]
Margarita Durastante affermo quanto sopra
[Angelini:]
Io Antonio Giuseppe Angelini ho riceuto ... Scudi due e baiocchi quindici
moneta per saldo del detto Conto ... di 22 Setembre 1707

Conto di Copie di Cantate come per riceuta 10.—
+ Io sotto scritto ho riceuto dall' Ecc.*° Sig.? Marchese Ruspoli ... scudi dieci
moneta quali sono per una Cantata a tre con Violini e parte Cauate ... questo di
14 Ottobre 1707—Scudi 10—Io Antonio Giuseppe Angelini mano pp.*

Sp. Gennaro a tutto il Marzo, 1708, n. 137: Adi 26 Feb.* pag. d'ord: di Sua Ecc. per
li Musici, e Sonatori per l'Oratorio come per lista S 10.60.
+ [Domenico Castrucci:]
A di 26. Feb.* 1708
Dati per ordine di S. E. per la
Cantata seu Orat.**
Il Giardino di Rose
Al Sig.* Pasqualinetto
E più al Sig.* Cristof.* basso
E più al Sig.* Vittorio
Al Sig.* Carlo Guerra Viol:*
Al Sig.* Alfonso
E più dato a Panstufato per
una Cantata consist.* in
2. fogli di Monsu Endel

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<th>Sp.</th>
<th>Somma</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>2.00</td>
<td>10.00</td>
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Pag. a quel che cantaua da Rosignolo

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<th>Pag.</th>
<th>Sp.</th>
<th>Somma</th>
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<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>10.60</td>
<td>10.60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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8

Sp. *Ibid.*, n. 4: Pag: per porto del letto, et altro per Monsu Endel

9


10


11


Lista dei Vertuosi, che hanno operato nell'Oratorio della Resurrezione di Nro Sig.** Giesù Christo nel Palazzo dell'Ill.m°, et Ecc.m° Sig.* Marchese Ruspoli nell'Anno corrente 1708

** Violini **

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Price</th>
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<tr>
<td>Antonio</td>
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Somma, e Segue

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</table>

[Page 2:]

Somma a tergo, e seg.* S 81:50
Violoni

#Gio: Ant.* Aim due funzioni, e tre Proue $ 4:50
Pippino due funzioni, e tre Proue $ 3:50
Lazzaro due funzioni, e tre Proue $ 3:50
Lauretti due funzioni, et una Proua $ 2:50
Giouannino due funzioni, et una Proua $ 2:50

Contrabassi

Trauaglia due funzioni, e tre Proue $ 3:50
Bandiera due funzioni, et tre Proue $ 3:50
De Carolis due funzioni, et tre Proue $ 3:50
Franchi due funzioni, et una Proua $ 2:50
Pietrino una funzione, et una Proua $ 1:50

Trombe

#Gaetano due funzioni, et tre Proue $ 4:50
#Cammillo due funzioni, et tre Proue $ 4:50

Trombone

Andrea due funzioni, et tre Proue $ 3:50

Obue

#Ignatio due funzioni, et tre Proue $ 4:50
Giouanni due funzioni, et tre Proue $ 3:50
Valentini due funzioni, et tre Proue $ 3:50
Nicolò due funzioni, et tre Proue $ 3:50
Ascanio mandataro per portatura di tutti li strumenti, et in-
uiti per tutte le funzioni $ 4:40

$ 144:50

Angelo Valerij nro mro di Casa pagarete al Sig.* Arcangelo Corelli li sudetti scu-
di Centoquarantaquattro, et b. 50 mta ad effetto li paghi alli descritti sonatori ad o-
giuno la sua rata per loro intiero, e final pagamento de tutte le Opere

[Page 3:

da loro date a tenore dalla pnte lista, che con prenderne solamente riceu-
ta del d.* Sig.* Arcangelo saranno ben pagati, Questo di 11. Aprile 1708.

$ 144:50 Io Dom.* Castrucci di commiss.* del
Sig.* Arcangelo sud.* hò riceuuto la sud.*

somma, e conseguita di suo ordine al Sig.*

Almerigo Bandiera per farne il sud.* pagam.* mm. pp.*

[Unknown scribe:]

E piu Pag:* d. Ord.* di S. E. alli sottos:* ciò è

Al S.* Arcang.* Corelli $ 20:—
Al S.* Matteo $ 10:—
Al S.* Filippo $ 10:—
Al S.* Pasqualino $ 18:—
Al S.* Vittorio $ 10:—
Al S.* Cristofano $ 10:—
A Panstufato per Copiatura $ 30:—

$ 108:—
E per la Somma della sonorità di sopra scritti
In tutti Cons. 1 al S. \* Arcangelo
In tutto Pagati d’ord.* di S. E:

E più pag: ** alli sottos: *** per pro dell’ sottos: ***
Annelli Come dalle Ric.* Consenate al Mro di
Casa da S. E.  
Anello Rosseta con Rubino, e Diamanti 12:—
Altro con Diamanti con acquamarina 18:—
Altro con Diamanti di forma [?] grande 38:—
Altro con Diamante grosso, 16: piccoli S 35:—
Altro con Smeraldo, e 6. Diamanti S 13:—

\[ \text{Somma S 116:—} \]

Io F M Ruspoli

12

Sp. \*Ibid., n. 79: A di 21 per pag: a Gios:* Rossi pittore per lavori fatti per l’oratorio
tassato dal Sig. Contini S 14.90.

† Giuseppe Rossi; figures in left margin by G. B. Contini:
Conto della sonorità di pittura fatti per servizio del magnifico
Aparechio del Oratorio Del Ecc. \* Sig:* Marchese Ruspoli
da me Giuseppe Rossi Pittor come segue

Prima per haueri dipinto nu:** 14 Armi di S.E. sopra le taulo
intaliate dipinte di chiaro è scuro Color d’Oro lumegiati
di Gialolino considerando tempo spesa fattura importa
2:80 giuli tre caduna sono scudi S 4-20
E più per hauerne dipinte.14:alte nel medemo modo è forma
ma l’Ama [sic] duplicata con quella della sig.** considerando
3:50 la più fattura importa tre giuli e mezo l’uno sono S 4-90
E più per hauer dipinto.28.cornucopi per sostenimento delle md.*
pur nel medemo modo e con folie e scanelature la metà differen-
ti alti palmi 6.con hauerui mesoli Cartoncini fini del mio
4:90 considering spese fature importa 27½ baiocchi l’uno sono S 7-70
E più per hauer datto di Gialo e scorniciato il sottopiede dell’ seditori
à tre ordini longi quelle 55.palmi in circa Considerando Come sop.*
1:80 importa giuli.12.l’uno sono S 3-60
E più per hauer datto due mani di gesso con bona colla al telarone
90 della escritione et à tutte le taulo dell’ ageti importa S 1-50
E più per hauer datta di meza tinta di chiaro è scuro alla porta che
si e chiusa al altra sala con hauerli dipinti il pilastro scanelato
con parte di una bagna fatto supre le scale molto scomodo consi-
derando Come sopra importa
1:—

\[ \text{Somma S 1-80} \]

\[ \text{Giuseppe Rossi Ma*** Pro.***} \]

[G. B. Contini:]  
Si tassa questo Conto in S** Quattordici, e b 90 m
dico S** 14:90 Gio: Batta Contini

[Page 2, G. Rossi:]
Io sotto scritto ho riceuuto dal Ecc.*** Sig:* Marchese Ruspoli
per le mani del Sig:* Angelo Valerio suo Ma.**** di Casa
scudi docedi [sic] e ba.*** nouanta moneta sono per pagamento
finale ... questo di 21 Aprile 1708

Io Giuseppe Rossi Ma*** Pro.***
Sp. Ibid., n. 96: Pag. al Sig.* Ant.* de Rossi Stampatore per l'oratorij stampati, rame et altro come per Conto S 100.—

+ [Antonio de Rossi:]


Conto dell'Ill.: Ms et Ecc.** Sig.: Marchese Fran:** Maria Ruspoli con Ant.° de Rossi Stampatore: cioè

Per duecento cinquanta Oratorij della SS:* Annunziata legati in Carta ondata di Germania à ragione di scudi cinque il cento così d'accordo importano scudi dodeci, e b cinquanta: dico

Più per cinquanta Oratorij sudetti legati in Carta dorata da un grosso il foglio importano scudi quattro, e b cinquanta: dico

Più per mille, e cinquecento Oratorij della Resurrezione legati in Carta ondata di Germania à ragione di scudi cinque, e mezzo il cento, essendo questo Oratorio più lungo un foglio, e mezzo del sud.° importano scudi ottantadue, e b cinquanta dico

Più per hauer fatto intagliare il Rame della Resurrezione per seruizio del sud.° Oratorio, spese nell'Intagliatore

Più per stampatura del sud.° Rame per i detti 1500. Oratorio, spesi collo stampatore di Rame

Più per hauer fatto legare un'Oratorio in Cordano de levante, coll'Arma dell'Em.° Gualtieri, et altri ornamenti scudo uno, e b 20: dico

Somma in tutto S 111:20:—

[Angelo Valerij:]

Concordato per S cento m.° Ang.° Valerij m.° d Casa

100:—

[Antonio de Rossi:]

Io sottoscritto hò riceuuto dall' Ecc:** Marchese Fran:** Maria Ruspoli per le mani del Sig:** Angelo Valerij suo Maestro di Casa scudi cento m.° saldo, e final pagam.° del sud.° conto, chiamandomi contento, e sodisfatto. In fede q.° di 27 Aple 1708. Antonio de Rossi Stampatore mano propria.

14

Sp. Ibid., n. 101: riporto del letto dell' Ebrei presossi per Monsu Endel S —10.

15

Sp. Ibid., n. 119: Pag. al sud.° [= Francesco Maria Golla Dispensatore] per Cibarie per Monsu Endel e Comp:* come per lista S 38.75.

16

Sp. Ibid., n. 147: Pag. al Sig.* Mich. Angelo Cerruti per saldo di un conto tassato dal Sig. Contini del quadro grande della resurrezione per l'oratorio S 27:—

+ [M. A. Cerrutti:]

Conto di Pittura

Per auere tirato una tela sul telaro di Palmi 18 per ogni uerso S —15
Per avere dipinto una Cornice in d.\(^{14}\) tela in tondo di chiaro scuro giallo

Per avere dipinto nell' angoli di d.\(^{14}\) tela quattro imprese dell' Arme di S. E. con sue riqquadrate atorno à chiaro scuro giallo

Per avere lumegiato di mordentino d.\(^{*}\) Cornice

Per avere lumegiato le d.\(^{14}\) 4 Imprese di S. E. con suoi quadri atorno

Per avere dipinto in d.\(^{*}\) uno tondo di d.\(^{14}\) tela la resurrezione dell' Sig.\(^{*}\) con gloria di putti, e cherubini, e l' angelo à sedere sul sepolcro, che anunzia la resurrezione sud:\(^{14}\) alle S. Maria Madalena, e M:\

Cleofe, con S. Giuannii Euangelista in Contorno dell' Monte, e la Caduta dell' demonij nell' abbisso il tutto dipinto colorito al naturale

Per avere dipinto un telone largo da piedi Palmi 30., e da capo P: 20: et alto P. 14: con riporti rappresentante un frontispitio ornato di cornici oneilonio e cherubino, Cartella, fogliami, e Palme, à chiaro scuro giallo, e crimisino

Per avere compartito il Motto in d.\(^{14}\) Cartella in quatro rige con n.\(^{*}\) 46. lettere alte oncie dieci l'una, e dipintole, et intagliolate, et agiustatoci la carta trasparente al di dietro

Per avere tinta cremisi la fane dell' lampadaro

S 3–

S 2–

S 1–20

S –80

S 24–

S 12–

S 3–45

S –20

S 46–80

[Page 2, G. B. Contini:]

Il retroscritto Conto uisto, e ben considerato da me vien tassato in S\(^{4}\)\(^{i}\) Ventisei M. e così dico S\(^{4}\)\(^{i}\) 27:—

Gio Batta Contini

[M. A. Cerruti:]

Io sottoscritto hò riceuto dall' Ecc.\(^{*}\) S. E. Sig.\(^{*}\) Marchese Ruspoli . . .

Scudi ventisei . . . questo di 8 Maggio 1708

Io Michel'Angelo Cerruti M pp.\(^{*}\) dico

S\(^{4}\)\(^{i}\) 27.–M\(^{*}\)

17

Conto n.\(^{*}\) 21—

Dell' apparato fatto nella sala dell' Ill.\(^{*}\) et Ecc.\(^{*}\) S. E. Marchese Ruspoli per l' Or.\(^{1}\)\(^{*}\) fatto per la Resurrezione del Sig.\(^{*}\)

A di 8 - Aprile 1708

Per mia manif.\(^{*}\) di hauer apparato sopra il palco doue stauano li Sonatori à due altezzze di damasco, e messoci il fregio di Velluto da capo, e messo il quadro in mezzo, et attorno fattoci un fes tone di taffettano cremisino, e fattoci le Rossette, e messoci le trine attorno, e messoci un fregio di velluto attorno d.\(^{*}\) quadro per tutto li ursi, che faceua cornice, e fatto il Cielo di damasco trinato quanto teneua la larghezza del palco, e messo il fregio di damasco daueri à tutti li seditori dell' sonatori, et apparato davanti il palco, e esso diuerse filagne per fare il sudetto apparato

S 6—
E più per hauer apparato tutto il Restante della Chiesa dico Sala di taffettani rossi, e gialli à due altezze con il fregio simile da capo, e messo il fregio di damasco per tutto il Cornicion, e fatto uno Scenario di taffettani con il fregio simile da capo con Sue cord’ e girelle per alzare, e bassare, et attaccato, 16 Lustriere attorno, e messoci le torcie per tutto S 4:–
E più per hauer attaccato una tenda per serrare tutti l’archi fora della Sala per Ripparo dell’aria S 1:50
E più per nolito del sup.° pezzo di tenda servita com’ e sopra S 12:–

Sommata, e segue S 12:–

[Page 2:] Somma di là, e segue S 12:–
E più per nolito di n.° 96 = teli di damasco trinati d’Oro serviti per appanare sopra il palco, et il Cielo, e d’hauanti à b 10 il telo S 9:60
E più per nolito di n.° 205 = teli di fregio di damasco servito attorno per tutto il cornicion, e d’avanti alli seditori sopra il palco à b 2½ il telo S 5:12½
E più per nolito di n.° 87 = teli di fregio di Velluto serviti da capo alli damaschi, attorno al quadro, che faceua cornice, e d’hauanti il palco à b 4 il telo S 3:48
E più per nolito di n.° 234 = teli di taffettani rossi, e gialli serviti per apparare tutta la sala, il proscienio, e festone attorno il quadro à b 2 il telo S 5:85
E più per nolito di n.° 112 = teli di fregio di taffettano rosso, e giallo seruiti da capo alli taffettani S 1:80
E più per nolito di n.° 15 = trine d’Oro staccate servute doue bisog.* S 3:0
E più per hauer attaccato il quadro grande della Resuretione, et il Cartellone sopra d.* quadro in Sala, e due quadri grandi S 1:–
E più per hauer apparato tutto il sud.° lauro com’e sopra S 3:–
E più per danno delle damaschi Macchiati, con sego, et essere stati tagliati li damaschi del Cielo, conforme ha ueduto il Sig.*
Gio: Btta Contini

Sommata Tutto S 44:15½

[A. Valerij:]
Concordarol il tutto per S Trenta
Angelo Valerij mro d Casa

18

[20 unnumbered pages, detailed bill of the carpenter, C. Pavone, specifying measurements, materials, etc., of the components for the theatre on the piano nobile of the Bonelli palace. Only the lines that give the most essential particulars are quoted here.]

A di 11 Aprile 1708 N.° 168
Misura, e stima dellli lauori di legname et altro fatto à tutta sue spese, e Fatture da Mas.* Crespineo Pavone falegniane per seruitio dell’Ecc.°°
Sig:* Marchese Ruspoli in hauer fatto il Teatro à scalinata in occasione dell’Oratorio sacra in musica che S. Ecc.°° à Fatto Fare nel salone del suo Palazzo nella Piazza di S. Apostoli con suo Palco, e seditori per Commodo de sonat.° di diuersi strumenti, e fatto altri Commodi e
lauri in occasione della medesima Funzione come seguono misurati, e stimati da me sotto scritto

[Page 3:]
Per le tauole di Castag. Rustiche addirizzato / poste per Formare li n.° 4 seditori con sotto / piedi del sud.° teatro Centinate per d’arant-/ti ........................

[Page 4:]
Per . . . li due Fila-/gnioni aggiunti insieme posti pertra-/verso sopra la bocca di detta sala long’ as-/sieme p 64 tirati in opera con incommo-/do ........................

[Page 5:]
Per hauer spartitio, e posto in opera le / n.° 7 girello che alzaiano il Taffettano / che Formaun il telone da Calare, et al-/zare .................................

Per una tauola d’alb.° rustic addirizzata / per di sotto e Centinata per di sopra posta / nel mezzo di detto parapetto per Coprire / la ueduta di parte del seditore delle mu-/sici log. p 1 1/2 larg. p 1° g. p 1/4 Fermata con / tre trauerset dietro . . .

Per hauer Fatto n.° 2 legui per posarci le

[Page 6:]
Carte di musica, e per coprire li lumi con / piede di legname d’Albuccio tagliato stor-/to ad’uso di Cornucopia alt. p 5 1/2 l’uno larg. p ¼ g. p 1/8 puliti con tauola contornata / per di sopra doue si è dipinto l’impresa di / S.E. log. l’uno p 3 1/2 p 1 1/4 di tauola ordina-/ria con leggio per diietro log. p 2 alt. p 1 / di tauola simile pulita con suo regoletto / sotto .................................
et alli 4 che restano isolati / nel palco postoci le trauserse e saettoni dalle bande per Fermarli isolati .................................

[Page 7:]
Per hauer Fatto il telaro del quadro della / resurrettione di nostro sig.* che si e posto / nel mezzo di detto teatro alt. p 18 larg. / p 18 ..........................

Ferma-/-to in pendenza con fette d’albuccio, e ram-/pini per di sotto, e per di sopra con scommo-/do e piu huomini .................................

Per i regoli . . . posti at-/torno detto quadro per imbollettarui il Fre-/gio di Velluto che Faceua Cornice at-/torno detto quadro post in opera con / scommo ... 

[Page 8:]
Per hauer Fatto un altro telaro per il titolo / di detto Oratorio che si e posto sopra il / trauersone alla bocca del sud.° teatro a / scalinato ..........................

con riporti di tauole d’al-/buccio . . sotto li Cartoni delle Palme / Volute e del Cherubino di Cima .................................

Per hauer tirato in opera detto telaro dop-/po dipinto e Collocato sopra il sud.° trauer-/sone ...........................................

[Page 9:]
Per hauer Illuminato le littere trasparenti / del suddetto titolo per tre sere con n.° 70 ca-cioli di grasso à spese del mas.° e Fat-/toci stare dui huommini di continuo . . .

[Page 11:]
Per l’armatura Fatta . . . per / li cocoici che Illuminano il titolo / dell’Oratorio ..........................

[Page 12:]
Per hauer rialzato, e dato le giunte allo scabbello-/ne che seruiua per posamento degli legui / del Concertino de Violini sopra il Palco ..........................

[New heading:]
Lauri Fatti nella Gallaria doue
si Fanno le ricreazione [sic] e doue
si uoleua Fare l'Oratorio

Per hauer schiodato e Calato abbasso il / telaro con la tela dipinta che Fa sof-

fita allo stanzino in testa à d.° Gallaria / doue si era Fatta la scala per entrare / nel Palco che doueua seruire per l'Em.m° Sig.r° Cardinali log. p 18 larg. p 10 .................................................................

Per hauer fatto un telaro p la Cateratta / che si e Fatta nel sud.° taglio del sola/-ro log. p 7 lg. p 4½ .................................................................

Per hauer Fatto n.° 8 Colonne d'arcauccior/-ti di Castagno laurate ad ottangole,
e / pulite che doueuan seruire per met-/tere dentro li Chiusini / per l'Em.m° SS.° Cardinali .................................................................

Per hauer messo in opera li n.° 10 Caualletti / in galleria . . / e Fermato il palco
per prouare l'Oratorio / e Fatto attorno li parapetti come Furno / ordinati da S.E. e dal ministri [sic] e poi per / esser bassi rifattì di nouo li pezzi im / piedi
di detti parapetti e leuato n.° 4 / Caualletti dalle bande perche quella Dome-/nica
non volse il Palco così grande per / prouar l'Oratorio ..............................

Per hauer disfatto il Lunedi seguente li / parapetti ........................................
e Fatto il Pal-/co grande quanto era larga la stanza / e rifattoci di nouo li
parapetti d'auan/-ti e sopra detto palco Fattoci n.° 11 squadre / à tre altezz
li seguito de seditori .................................................................
e Fermato il telaro / à scalinata e Fattoci li legiui per mo/-do di prouision per
prouare l'Orat.° / in d.° palco e teatro così terminato / e poi per essersi
mutato pensiero di Far/-lo nella sala suddetta disfatto tutte dette / squidr
scalinate e piumamento e preso / tutto d.° legnami portato in detta sa-

la ...........................................................................................................

Per hauer disfatto tutto d.° Teatro doppo che / Fu Finito di Fare l'Oratorio per con
ponti / repiani armat.*, e squadre con diligen-/za per potersene seruire in altre
occasioni/-ni con sei huomini e portato tutto il

medemo legnami nelli Cantoni / del Palazzo .................................................................

[Slightly abridged]

Adì 12 Aple 1708 244

Misura, e stima del iuori ad uso di muratore, et altri similì fatti
à tutte sue spese, e fatture da mastro Franc:° Pagnacelli Capo
mastro muratore per seruiù dell'Ill.:° e Ecc:° Sig:° Pepe D.
Francesco Maria Ruspoli in occasione del / Solenne Oratorio nel Giorno
della SS.:° Resur-/retione del Sig:° 1708. in S° Dui Cento / Trentadui, e b 55
m, dico S° 232:55 / Gio: Batta Contini

19
Accademie, e nelli Gabinetti contigui doue si doueua Cantare il sudetto Oratorio per fare la Scalella e Palco per commodo delle SS.* Dame doueuanu interueneri à d.* Cantata che poi non serui per essersi trasportato
Nel salone—

Per hauer rotto il muro del ramello di una testa di mattr: d.* stazione, et il Gabinetto e fatto il uano di una porta per entrare nel Palchettone delle Dame ................................

[Page 2:]

Per hauer disfatto un pezzo di mattonato con suo astuco sotto accio il falegname potesse tagliare il solaro per fare la bocca della scala da salire à detta porta ................................

Per hauer messo e murato il Telaro della Cataratta à capo la scala di legno fatta di nuovo lg: p 6½ larg: p 5 e bagliato p 2 di muro da una banda di detta e costo, e mettitura di n:* 37. mattoni rossi rotati con acqua attorno d:* . . .

Per hauer rotto il matronato nello stazione sudetto dell’ Accademie e fatto le bughe e messo, e murato con gesso li n:* 4. Chiusini di marmo tutti di un pezzo traforati per metterui le Colonne di legno dell’armatura principale del sudett.* Palchettone delle dame .................................................................

[Page 3, new heading:]

Lauori Fatti nel Salone al Piano
Nobile doue fu trasportato il Teatro, e Cantato il sudetto Oratorio per maggior Capacità di Persone—

Per hauer rotto il muro di una finestra smurato sopra il Cornicione dell’Imposta della volta di detto Salone che corrisponde al piano dell’appartimento di Cima e smurato detta finestra acciò si potesse godere la Cantata del sud:* Oratorio ........................................

Per n:* 5 giornate di mastro e garzone impiegate per far bughi Ponti, e per tirar sopra, e mettere in opera l’armatura de legni che furno fatte e causate fuori delle due uani delle finestre

[Page 4:]

che dal piano dalla sala dell’appartamento di Cima Corrispondono in detto salone del Piano Nobile per reggere il filagnone sopra la bocca del Teatro di d:* Oratorio doue fu fermato il Cartellone con il Titolo, Telone, et altre armature del Cielo del med:* Teatro . . . S 3:50

Per altre due mezze giornate di mastro, e garzone servite per mettere in ordine per le sere che si cantò d:* Oratorio seguono tre nottate di mastro e garzone servite per assistere nel tempo che ci Cantaua d:* Oratorio . . . S 2:80 . . .

[G. B. Contini:]

Somma in tt.* S 4° Dieci, et 59 m. dico S 4° 10:59— Gio Batta Contini
20
Sp. 10 Maggio a tutto il 7 Luglio 1708, n. 7: Pag. all’Ebreo per nolito del letto di M: Endel portiere et altro per l’Aprile scorso S —.80.

21
Sp. 10 Luglio a tutto li 19 Sett. 1708, n. 15 [July 14]: Pag.* Siluestro per una lista di due Sonat: di Violino S 2.—
+ [Silvestro Rotondi:]
2 Violini che sonarono nella Cantata Fiamma bella di Monsù Hendel
Sig.° Giuseppe Valentini S 1:00
Sig.° Gio. Ciambelli S 1:00
F M Ruspoli

22
Sp. Ibid., n. 48 [July 30]: Pag: per due store grandi usate foderate con Suoi bastoni per le finestre di M: Endel per ord: del Sig.** Caualiere S 3.90.

23
Sp. Ibid., n. 63 [July 31]: Pag. al Detto [Francesco Maria de Golla] per Cibarie del Sassone S 13.37

24
Sp. Ibid., n. 78: Pag. . . . a Gios. Angelini per copie di Cantate S 2.75.
+ [Giuseppe Angelini:]
Conto
Dell’Ecc.°° Sig.° Marchese Ruspoli
Tù fedel con VV. figli 8
Aure soaui e liete figli 2
Hendel figli 2
Sarei troppo felici [sic] figli 2½
Manca pur figli 2
Ditemi ò piane ò fiori figli 2
Lungi da uoi che figli 2
Lamarcìata figli 1½
Clori uezza Clori figli 2
Quando sperasti ò core figli 1½
Stanco di più sospire figli 2
Io F M Rusp. In tutto 27.½
Ho riceuto li sudetti scudi due e baiochi settanta cinque moneta questo di 9 Agosto 1708
Io Antonio Giuseppe Angelini

25
Sp. Ibid., n. 110: Pag: à Panstufato per una lista di copie di Musica S 4.80.
+ Conto
Dell’Ecc.°° Sig.° Marchese Ruspoli
di molte Carte di musiche scritte da mè Antonio Angelini dall’ii Agosto sino alli 3 di Sett.:°° 1808 [sic!]
Due cop. della Can. Se pari è la tua fè fgli
Dite à Piante à fiori fgli
Clori uezzoza Clori fgli
Lungi lunghi n'andò fileno fgli
Mentre tutto in furoro fgli
Una Cantata à uoce sola con VV Cauate fgli
Il Duello amoroso Cantata à 2 Con VV Cauate fgli
Io F M Rusp. In tutto
Io ho riceuto scudi quatro e baiocchi ottanta
Alli 28 Agosto 1708 Io Antonio Angelini

26
Sp. Ibid., n. 127 [Aug. 31]: Pag. al Detto [De Golla] per Spese Cibarie del Sassone 16.89

27
Sp. Ibid., n. 145: A di 10 d. [= settembre] pag. ad Ant. Angelini per copie di musica per riceuta S 4.—

Conto
Dell'Ecc. Sg. Marchese Ruspoli
Per una Cantata con Stromenti e parti Cauate che dice
A 3. con str. I tebro sono fogli
Io F M Ruspoli
Io riceuto scudi quattro moneta
Io Antonio Angelini
Alli 10 Sett.** 1708.

28

Conto della Stampatura, e legatura della Cantata per il Sig. Marchese Ruspoli.
Carta francese per num. 300: qu. 13. compresoi il Calo, e qualche poche di più
Tiratura, e furono tirate due volte quattro forme
Compositione, Inghiostro, sbuttura di Caratteri, et altro
Carta ondata per le Coperte
Per legatura
Io F M Ruspoli

Io sotto hò riceuuto li sud. scudi sette e b. settanta m. per l'effetto come sopra questo di 15. Settembre 1708. per le mani del Sig. Angelo Valerio Maestro Casa. Luca Ant. Cracas.
THE RUSPOLI DOCUMENTS ON HANDEL 267

29

Sp. 24 Sett. a tutto li 9 Nov. 1708, n. 8: Pag. * Siluestrino per Violini . . . S 10.—.  
+  
Prima Cantata Con  
Stromenti di Monsù Hendel  
di 2 7bre 1708  
Violini  
Carlo Guerra  
Gio. Ciambelli  
S 1:00  
S 1:00  
2. * Cantata Con  
stromenti di 9 7bre 1708  
Violini  
Gio. Ciambelli  
Carluccio Ragazzo del S. * Olm Esse- 
donti stato tutte due le funzioni  
Gaetano della Tromba  
Alfonso per 10 [cancelled: 9] Funzioni in più Volte  
Io F M Rus  
Io Siluestro Rotondi hò ric.* li sudd.1  
scudi dieci m.* di 25 7bre 1708

30

Sp. Ibid., n. 30 [Sept. 30]: Pag. al d.* [De Golla] per Cibarie al Sassone per  
g:21 11: . . . S 6:03

31

L'Ecc.”* Sig.”* Marchese Rusp0li deue dare l'appa Neue  
conseg. * come per Taglia  
b.* 1845 Neue conseg. * per tt.* il mese di sett.* 1708  
E più lh.* 50 Consegu.* al Sig.* Raffael  
lh.* 45 d.* Neue conseg. * per Monsù Endel  
S 29:52  
S 8:0  
S 54  
S 30:86

Credenza  
Buttaglieria  
Confettaria  
Monsu Endel  
S 53  
S 1792  
S 50  
S 45  
S 1940  
S 84  
S 28:67  
S 80  
S 54  
S 30:85

Ang.”* Valerij Nro Mro di Casa pag.* à Gio: Batta Mattei  
Neuaiolo Scudi Trenta, b 85 M.* ........................................  
8. Ott.* 1708 .................................................................  
Ho riceuto li sud.* scudi . . . 22 Ott.* 1708  
Gio Batta Mattei M.* pp.*

32

Sp. Ibid., n. 97: A di 31 Ott. per pag. al Sig. Castrucci per una lista de  
Sonatori S 6:40.  
+  
[Domenico Castrucci:]  
Il S.* Pasqualino Contralto  
Viol. per l'Accademi.*  
S 3. di  
Argento  
S 1  
S 1  
S 1

Giosep.* Bolognese
Giosep.* Valentini
JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MUSICOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Somma in tutto     S 6——
Per Ascanio mezzo festone     S 16.1.

F M Ruspoli     S 6.16.1

[Another hand:]
Pasqualino     S 3.24
Ascanio       S - 16.1
3. Violini     S 3——

Ma 4 Cam.*     S 6.40.1

33

Sp. Dalli 13 Nov.* a tutto li 8 Decembre 1708, n. 41: A di 24 d.* [= novembre]
pag. per due Cantate in sei fogli d'ord: di Sua Ecc: come per lista S —.50
+ [Angelini:]
   A di 24. Nov.* 1708
   Per 2. Cantate di M. Hendel
   consist.* in 6. fogli     S —.50

34

Sp. Febbraio 1709, n. 89: Adi 28 Febr.* pag. al Sig. Castrucci per Copie di
Cantate di musica come per lista S —.90.
+ [Pietro Castrucci:]
   Cantata Arminda con Violini
   Fogli cinque e mezzo     5

   Cantata senza stromenti
   Poi che giurarò Amore fogli
due     2

   Cantata Ninfe e Pastori
   Fogli Due     2

   Per il Baron Tedesco     9
   F M Ruspoli

35

+ [Francesco Lanciani:]
   In Carta Reale
   Da sete ardente     2
   Se pari è la tua fe     2
   Chi rapi la pace     1½
   Ninfe e Pastori     2
   Aure soaui e liete     1½
   Nella stagione     2
   Del bell'Idolo mio     2½
   Ne' tuoi lumi ò bella     4
   Se per fatal destino     1½
   Hendel non può     1
   Sei pur bella pur vezzosa     2
   Fra tante pene e tante     2
   Poiche giurarò Amore     2
   Filli Dorata e Cara     2½
Dalla guerra amorosa 2
Sento là che ristretto 3
Lungi da te mio Nume 3½
O Numi eterni 3½
Lungi da me pensier tiranno 2½
Aurette vezzose 1
Sans penser francese 1½

In tutto f. 45½

[Page 2:]
Io sotto scritto hò ricevuto scudi quattro e b. cinquanta cinque q.t. di 31 Agosto 1709 S 4.55
Io Francesco Lanciani.

36

Sp. Maggio 1711, n. 13: Pag. al Sig. Lanciani ... per Copie di Musica ... S 18.55 (includes payment for doc. 27 and 28).

+ [F. Lanciani:]
  A di 3. Maggio 1711
  Daliso, et Irene
cantata a 2. con V.V. del Sig.r Antonio Caldara
Originale f. 8
Daliso f. 3
Irene f. 2
Concertino f. 2

In tutto fogli sedici Importa scudi uno e baiocchi sessanta f. 16

[Caldara:]

Antonio Caldara

[F. Lanciani:]
  A di 15. Maggio 1711. Doppo partito il Sig.r Antonio Caldara
Hendel non può mia musa f. 1
e più arie sedici, otto dell'Anagilda
e otto della Pastorale con strom:11
Per seruitio di S. Ecc:* in tutto f. 18
In tutto fogli trenta cinque e mezzo f. 35
Importa scudi tre e baiocchi cinquanta cinque —
Io sottoscritto hò ricevuto .....................
q.t. di 22 Maggio 1711
Francesco Ant.° Lanciani S 3.55

37

Sp. (See above, doc. 27).

+ [Tarquinio Lanciani:]

Nota delle Copie fatte
Per l'ecc:*° Sig.r Principe Ruspoli dell'Or.*
La Frode della Castità cantato la domenica di Pasqua 5 Aprile 1711.
Originale f 50½
Parte di S. Eufrasia 8½
Parte di Meraspe 07
Parte di Clearco 04
Parte della Fede 03½
Parte del Testo 04
Concertino 17
Violini con.° grosso 24
Viola 11½
Contrabasso 06½
Hò un non sò che nel core. Aria della
Madalena Oratorio di M. Hendel ½
Parte di Elpino 07
e Parte di Filli della Cantata del
Sig.' Giovanni sassonese 06

In tutto sono fogli centocinquanta, e sono scudi quindici S 15

[Caldara:]

Ant:° Caldara

[F. Lanciani:]
Io sottoscritto hò ricevuto .........................
q.° di 22 Maggio 1711
Francesco Antonio Lanciani S 15

Sp. Dicembre 1711, n. 72: Pag. al Sig.' Castrucci per Virtuosi di Musica
e Copie S 11.

+++ [F. Lanciani:] A di 10 Ottobre 1711
Originale della Cantata con strom.:° del Sig.' Hendel
Ah crudel nel pianto mio f. dieci e mezzo f 10½

Importa scudi uno e b cinque S 1 05
E più A di 3. X.°
La Zenobia à voce sola Con V.V.
La Parte f 2
Violini Conc.:° f .2½

In tutto e per tutto importa scudi uno, e b. cinquanta S 1 : 50

FMR

[Pietro Castrucci:] Sig.' Mom.° 2 accademie S 6 50
Sig.' Igniatio 2 accademie S 3 —

S 11 —
### Dates for Handel's Cantatas as Provided by Ruspoli Documents

Titles are listed in the order of their first appearance in the copyists' bills. The dates in the heading are those of the receipts. Under the heading "performed" only those dates are given here which can be established beyond doubt.

**Abbreviations:**
- A = Angelini
- PC = Pietro Castrucci
- FL = Francesco Lanciani
- o = parts
- x = score

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cantata “della caccia”, con V.V. e Tromba</th>
<th>performed</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Sei pur bella, pur vezzosa”</td>
<td>May or June, '07 (in Vignanello)</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Se per fatal destino”</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Udite il mio consiglio”</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Aure soavi, e liete”</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Tu fedel? tu costante?”, con V.V.</td>
<td>June 12, '07 (in Vignanello)</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Nella stagion che di viole, e rose”</td>
<td>June 13, '07 (in Vignanello)</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Poiché giuraro amore”</td>
<td>c. June 12, '07 (in Vignanello)</td>
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<td>“Un'alma innamorata”</td>
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<td>“O qualis de coelo sonus”</td>
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<td>“Coelestis dum spirat aura”</td>
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<td>“Salve Regina”</td>
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<td>“Dietro l’orme fugaci” (L’Armida abbandonata), con V.V.</td>
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<th>1707</th>
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<td>May 2</td>
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<td>May 2</td>
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DATES FOR HANDEL'S CANTATAS AS PROVIDED BY RUSPOLI DOCUMENTS—Continued

Titles are listed in the order of their first appearance in the copyists' bills. The dates in the heading are those of the receipts. Under the heading "performed" only those dates are given here which can be established beyond doubt.

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<tr>
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<td>1707</td>
<td>1708</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Sans y penser&quot;</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>&quot;Qualor l'egre pupille&quot;</td>
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<td>&quot;No se emendera jamas&quot;</td>
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<td>&quot;Sarei troppo felice&quot;</td>
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<td>&quot;Menzognere speranze&quot;</td>
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<td>&quot;Ne'tuoi lumi, o bella Clori&quot;</td>
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<td>Cantata a tre (&quot;Cor fedele&quot;)</td>
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<td>Cantata con b.c.</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Arresta il passo&quot; (Fiamma bella), a 2, con V.V.</td>
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<td>&quot;Hendel non può mia musa&quot;</td>
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<td>&quot;Manca pur d'amor l'affanno&quot;</td>
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<td>&quot;Ditemi o piante, o fiori&quot;</td>
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<td>&quot;Lungi da voi che siete poli&quot;</td>
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<td>[?] Lamarcia [sic]</td>
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<td>&quot;Clori, vezzosa Clori&quot;</td>
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<td>&quot;Quando sperasti, o core&quot;</td>
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July 14, '08 (in Rome)
| "Stanco di più soffrire" |  |  |  | x |  |  |  | x |
| "Se pari è la tua fè" |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| "Lungi, lunci n'andò Fileno" |  |  |  | XX |  |  |  | x |
| "Mentre il tutto è in furore" |  |  |  | x |  |  |  | x |
| Cantata a voce sola con V.V. [= "Ah crudel" ?] |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| "Amarilli vezzosa" (Il Duello amoroso), a 2 con V.V. |  |  |  | o |  |  |  |  |
| "O come chiare, e belle" (Il Tebro), a 3 con V.V. e Tromba |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Cantata con b.c. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Cantata con b.c. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| "Ninfe, e Pastori" |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| "Da sete ardente afflitto" |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| "Chi rapi la pace al cuore" |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| "Del bell'Idolo mio" |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| "Fra tante pene, e tante" |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| "Filli adorata, e cara" |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| "Dalla guerra amorosa" |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| "Sento là che ristretto" |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| "Lungi dal mio bel Nume" [comp. at Ruspoli's, March 3, 1708] |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| "O Numi eterni" (La Lucrezia) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| "Lungi da me, pensier tiranno" |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Aria "Aurette vezzose", from "Zeffiretto" |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Aria "Ho un non so che nel cor", from La Resurrezione |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| "Ah crudel nel pianto mio", con V.V. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Sept. 2, '08 (in Rome)

Sept. 9, '08 (in Rome)