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The music for *Dario in Babilonia* by Francesco Beverini and Giovanni Antonio Boretti (Venice 1671) in the music collection of Leopold I in Vienna

A HANDWRITTEN ANTHOLOGY containing arias from *Dario in Babilonia* by the poet Francesco Beverini (1635–1671/1674) and the composer Giovanni Antonio Boretti (c. 1638–1671) recently came to light in the Austrian National Library in Vienna. This opera, for which no extant music source was previously known, premiered in Venice at the end of January 1671 and became famous for being a failure. The discovery of this aria anthology among the books of Emperor Leopold I spurs considerations of the relationship between the imperial collection and the contemporary Italian operatic milieu. Why did Leopold I obtain a music source from an operatic failure? In the collection of an emperor one would expect to find only the best and most popular music, but a close look at the surviving musical manuscripts of Leopold I reveals a very different and more nuanced situation. The following pages are devoted to examining the extant music source for *Dario in Babilonia*, and its authors, to shed light on the processes of acquisition and use of the music books from Italy in Leopold I's collection.

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From Venice: The authors

Giovanni Antonio Boretti wrote at least eight operas, all staged in Venice, and *Dario in Babilonia* is one of his later ones, with which his career ended on a downward turn. We know only little about his life.¹ However, it is evident that his operas encountered as many successes, e.g., *Eliogabalo* in 1668,² as failures, e.g., *Zenobia* and *Alessandro amante* in 1666 and 1667, respectively.³ For the opening of the 1670–1671 carnival season, Boretti composed one of his most successful operas, based on the poet Aurelio Aureli's reworking of *L'Ercole in Tebe* by the playwright Giovanni Andrea Moniglia. The drama was originally written in Florence in 1661 and performed with music by Jacopo Melani.⁴ In December 1670, the opera premiered at the San Luca theatre, known also as the San Salvatore theatre and Vendramin theatre, and was followed a month later by *Dario in Babilonia*, based on a dramatic text by the poet Francesco Beverini from Lucca.

1 On Boretti, see Bianconi 1973a; Zoppelli & Bianconi 2000; Rosand & Glixon 2001; also Rosand 1991; Glixon & Glixon 2006; Selfridge-Field 2007.

2 The dramatic text for Boretti's *Eliogabalo* is by Aurelio Aureli, who reworked a libretto by an unknown poet, also titled *Eliogabalo* and set to music by Francesco Cavalli but never staged. See Calzagni 2000; 2005; 2006, also Bianconi 1976, pp. 264–265; Zoppelli & Bianconi 2000; Rosand & Glixon 2001; Glixon & Glixon 2006, pp. 61–62, 168.

3 The dramatic text for *La Zenobia* (San Cassiano theatre, 1666) is by Matteo Noris, who published it in Venice (Camillo Bortoli, 1666) with a dedication to Filippo Giuliano Mazzarino Mancini dated 10 January 1666. Contrary to previous hypotheses (Rosand & Glixon 2001), this opera does not coincide with *La Zenobia di Radamisto* performed in 1662 in Vienna, with dramatic text by Carlo de' Dottori and music by Antonio Bertali. See Schnitzler & Brewer 2001; Seifert 1985, p. 450 and *ad indicem*; 2014, *ad indicem*. The identity of the poet of *Alessandro amante* is unknown. This opera, performed for the first time at San Moisè theatre, is a reworking and completion of the libretto to *Gli amori di Alessandro Magno e di Rossane* by Giacinto Andrea Cicognini (Venice 1651). See Alm 1996, cit. in Glixon & Glixon 2006, pp. 15 n., 192 n., 194 n., 209 n., 336 n.; Glixon 2001.

4 The printed libretto for the Venetian premiere, published by Nicolini in 1671, bears a dedication to Alessandro Molino signed by Aureli on 12 December 1670. See Bianconi 1976; Weaver & Weaver 1978, pp. 130–131.

As in the case of Boretti, we have very little information on Beverini's life.⁵ The poet wrote at least four *drammi per musica*, which, except for the text set to music by Boretti, were all performed in Palermo and Rome.⁶ Although performed in Venice, *Dario in Babilonia* also had a strong connection with the Roman operatic milieu. Indeed, from Rome, Beverini sent a letter to his brother Bartolomeo in Lucca on 7 June 1670, writing:

Last week the Contestabile sent a letter to Venice in favour of me for the performance of the Opera that I mentioned to him; and he sent there the first act. It is true that my misfortune wants that the said Lord is disgusted by, nor does he negotiate with those Grimani, who have the most famous theatre [i.e., Ss. Giovanni e Paolo] and who would certainly have been able to have my opera performed. He would rather extort the operas from them than provide them with those works; so that in a certain way it seems convenient that, knowing this, I remain somewhat committed to not sending my opera to the Grimani brothers by some other hand. I will wait for your reply and then perhaps I will seek my own advantage.

[Il Sig. Contestabile la passata settimana scrisse per me a Venetia per la recita dell'Opera che gli accennai e mando [*recte* mandò] il primo atto. Bene è vero che la mia disgrazia vuole che con quei Signori Grimani, che hanno il teatro più famoso [i.e., Ss. Giovanni e Paolo] e che haverebbero del certo possuto farla recitare, il detto Signore vi è disgustato, né tratta con loro, e vorria piuttosto levarli le Opere che dargliele; sicché in certo modo pare che per convenienza io sa-

⁵ Information on Beverini's life relies entirely on his works' surviving printed editions, together with a Latin elegy that his brother Bartolomeo dedicated to him in his 1674 *Carminum libri septem*, and on some histories of literature in Lucca published in the 19th and 20th centuries. He was born in Lucca in 1635, and died in Padua some time between 1671 and 1674; see Beverini 1674, pp. 94–96 (copy in D-Mbs P.o.lat.1666.d); Lucchesini 1825–1831, vol. 6, pp. 53, 55–57; Sforza 1879, pp. 390–398; Pellegrini 1914, p. 120.

⁶ See the list of Francesco Beverini's works in *Appendix 1*.

pendo questo resti come mezzo impegnato a non procurare di dar-gliela per altra mano. Basta: starò attendendo la risposta e poi forse cercherò il mio avvantaggio.]⁷

Between the last week of May and the first one of June 1670 (“la passata settimana”) the dedicatee of Beverini’s 1669 *Demofonte*,⁸ Grande Contestabile Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, wrote from Rome to some of his contacts in Venice looking for an impresario or theatre that might be interested in the poet’s last *dramma per musica*, and probably attached Act I of the dramatic text. From this part of the letter, we discover that in June 1670 there was still no music for *Dario in Babilonia*, although in the end it premiered eight months later, in January 1671. The letter includes important information concerning the now bad relationship between Colonna and the brothers Giovan Carlo and Vincenzo Grimani, who had managed their family theatre in Venice, the Ss. Giovanni e Paolo theatre, since 1668.⁹ Because Colonna was sickened (“disgustato”) by the Grimani brothers, although they managed the most famous theatre in Venice (“teatro più famoso”), he would not send them the text of *Dario in Babilonia*.¹⁰ Eventually Colonna managed to reach an agreement with the Vendramin di Santa Fosca, who ran the San Luca theatre, and likely handled the search for a composer to set Beverini’s text to music.¹¹

Other information from the Roman side of the agreement to perform *Dario in Babilonia* in Venice comes from another surviving letter, preserved in the library of the Abbey Santa Scolastica in Subiaco among

⁷ Edition in Sforza 1879, pp. 395–396. Sforza writes that the letter was preserved at the time in the “[Regia] Biblioteca Pubblica, cod. 1946 c. 72”; today the library, formerly dubbed “Governativa”, is called Biblioteca Statale (RISM siglum I-Lg); see also De Lucca 2020, p. 112, n. 37.

⁸ See *Appendix 1*.

⁹ See Mancini *et al.* 1995–1996, vols 1 & 2, *ad indicem*; Talbot 2001; Glixon & Glixon 2006, *ad indicem*.

¹⁰ See De Lucca 2020, *ad indicem* for details on the relationship between the Constable and the Grimani family.

¹¹ The theatre was managed by the Venetian noble Vendramin family; in the 1670s Andrea Vendramin, after converting it from a theatre for comedies to an opera theatre, was in charge of running its seasons. See Mancini *et al.* 1995, pp. 209–293; Talbot 2002; Glixon & Glixon 2006, *ad indicem*.

those of Colonna.¹² The author of this communication is the Venetian nobleman Lorenzo Tiepolo,¹³ who appears as a dedicatee in the printed libretto of Beverini and Boretti's opera.¹⁴

Most illustrious and most excellent Sir and most distinguished Lord. Your Excellency's commands were pressing motivations for me to employ myself in the service of the said Lord [Beverini?] in order to obtain the production of his opera; but mentioning Your Excellency's protection was sufficient to achieve the outcome desired by this Lord; since this year it has been decided that it [i.e., the opera] will be staged at the San Luca theatre. With this good occasion I bring Your Excellency the news, and just as I have served with all my spirit those who bore your revered name on their foreheads, so kindly allow me, for a reverent inclination, to take the title of Your Excellency's most humble and most obliging servant Lorenzo Tiepolo. Venice [no day] November 1670.

[Illustrissimo et eccellentissimo signor e padron colendissimo | I commandi di Vostra Eccellenza furono a me mottivi pressantissimi per impiegarmi in servizio del Detto Patron [Beverini?] per procurarli la recita della sua opera; ma il nome solo della protettona di Vostra Eccellenza fu quello ch'impetrò per questo signore l'esito desiderato; mentre quest'anno resta fermata da recitarsi a San Lucca. Io con questo buon incontro ne porto à Vostra Eccellenza la notitia, e come con tutto il spirito ho servito chi portava in fronte il suo riverito nome, così benignamente mi permetta per una riverente inclinazione prenda anch'io il titolo di Vostra

¹² See De Lucca 2009; 2020.

¹³ In the Venetian handwritten genealogies titled *Arbore de' patrizi veneti* (Barbaro *Arbore*, fols 79r, 85r) begun by Marco Barbaro in the 16th century, and carried on up to the 18th century, the only Lorenzo Tiepolo to be found in this time is Lorenzo Tiepolo q. Marin (1638–1719). I thank Beth Glixon for pointing out Barbaro's tools for this research.

¹⁴ Dedication to Lorenzo Tiepolo dated 24 January 1671 in the libretto (from now on Beverini 1671). See *Appendix 2* for the transcription of the libretto's title page (from the copy in I-Rig), and for the list of surviving copies.

Eccellenza umimilissimo obligatissimo servitore Lorenzo Tiepolo. Venezia [no day] 9mbre 1670.]¹⁵

We know almost nothing about Tiepolo, although it appears that he acted as a mediator between the theatre and Colonna. He wrote that he “obtained the production of Beverini’s opera”, letting us believe that the Contestabile directly promoted it. Moreover, it is clear that Colonna still exerted a certain influence on the Venetian operatic world since his sole protection “was sufficient to achieve the outcome desired by this Lord”. The nobleman also added: “this year it has been decided that it [i.e., the opera] will be staged at the San Luca theatre”, closing the letter with the usual praise of the Contestabile. Boretti had very likely already set the libretto to music by then, since the opera was already scheduled for the following months. *Dario in Babilonia* eventually premiered between 24 and 31 January 1671, and the love affairs of the Persian king in his attempt to reconquer Babylon could take place on the stage of the San Luca theatre.¹⁶

Arriving at Leopold I’s collection: The music manuscript

No complete score of *Dario in Babilonia* survives, but 24 arias out of the 51 pieces present in the printed libretto survive in a music source recently identified in the National Library in Vienna (see *Table 1*).¹⁷

¹⁵ Letter in I-SUss, Arch. Colonna, *Corrispondenza di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna*, busta 1670, n. 8. See De Lucca 2009, p. 267, n. 7.

¹⁶ See the inventories of scene settings and machines for the season 1669/1671 at the San Luca theatre in Mancini *et al.* 1995, pp. 265–266. Among others, some entries of 16 January 1670 (= 1671 *more veneto*) refer directly to the production of *Dario in Babilonia*, as, for example, “12 scarpe alla Turchesca” (“12 shoes in Turkish [i.e., oriental] style”), “doi leoni fanti” (“two elephants”), “barbe e mustachi per il balo dei Turchi” (“beards and moustaches for the ballet of the Turkish dancers”, i.e., ballet of “Soldati Assiri e Persiani” between Acts I and II), and also “maschere 18 [?] per il balo dele statue” (“18 masks for the ballet of the statues” between Acts II and III).

¹⁷ The arias are copied on 14 duernions (fols 1–56) and 1 bifolium (fols 57–58) according to their position in the libretto’s three acts (except for one, *Speranze, se in alto*, which appears slightly postponed). A vague reference to a complete score with the music from a *Dario* appears in a 1681–1683 opera score inventory likely referred to the Contarini Collection (Walker 1984).

Table 1. Arias from *Dario in Babilonia* in the music manuscript Mus. Hs. 17759 in the National Library in Vienna. The names of the characters and the indication of the scene refer to the libretto. The arias missing in the music manuscript, here indicated with a grey background, are also from the printed text. The textual *incipites* of the first strophe correspond to the ones found in the anthology of arias, while the ones of the second strophes are from the libretto. The scoring column includes the *basso continuo*.

Fols	Character, First line	Scoring ¹⁸	Scene ¹⁹
	– Zopiro, Aspasia, Aria a 2, <i>Bella mia, non lacrimare</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Deh mio ben, non mi lasciare</i>]	–	I.4
	– Aspasia, Zopiro, A 2, <i>O dolor, che ogn'altro eccede</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Deh mio ben, non mi lasciare</i>]	–	

pp. cxliv–cxlv). Today the only score with a similar title surviving in this collection is *L'incoronazione di Dario* by A. Morselli and G.D. Freschi, which, however, premiered only in 1684 (San Angelo theatre). Thomas Walker hypothesizes that the inventory's entry could refer to Beverini's and Boretti's opera (1671), or to *Dario ravivato* with a libretto by "il Sonnolento Tassista" [Novello Bonis] (I Saloni theatre, 1675). See Walker 1984, p. clix, n. 68; Saunders 2002.

¹⁸ The clefs in the vocal parts very likely reveal the voices of the cast that performed *Dario in Babilonia* in 1671. In the anthology, we find only arias for soprano (20) and for bass (4). The soprano clef appears in the arias for the characters "Preto, re di Corinto sotto finto nome d'Arideo", "Dalinda, figlia d'Ottane", "Zopiro, Grande persiano", "Aspasia, sorella di Dario", and even "Neria vecchia". The arias for bass are the ones for the character "Ottane, Grande persiano padre di Dalinda". No arias survive for the protagonist "Dario, re di Persia" or for "Cassandra, moglie di Dario repudiata", "Artabano, ribelle di Dario zio di Cassandra", "Oronte, capitano d'Artabano" and "Globo, servo d'Arideo". The printed libretto does not include an aria for "Un soldato d'Artabano", although he appears in the list of characters (Beverini 1671, p. 7). A list of singers in a letter from Francesco Maria Massi to Duke Johann Friedrich of Brunswick-Lüneburg dated 20 August 1670 has been linked to the 1670/1671 winter season at the San Luca theatre (Selfridge-Field 2007, entry 1671/2), but it actually refers to the cast of the Ss. Giovanni e Paolo theatre (Glixon 2011).

¹⁹ In the printed libretto there are several errors in the scenes' numbering here corrected in Table 1: I.10–22 are indicated as I.9–21; II.13–16 are numbered as II.14–17; II.17 appears as II.7.

1r–1v	1.	Arideo, <i>Nume arcier, rigido dio</i> ²⁰ [2nd strophe: <i>Sospirar per chi non cura</i>]	S	I.6
2r–3r	2.	Dalinda, <i>Non amate, pensieri, no, no</i> [2nd strophe: <i>D'un ingratato che fede non ha</i>]	S	I.8
3v–4v	3.	Ottane, <i>Speranze, se in alto</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Pensieri, che andate</i>]	B	I.3
5r–8v	4.	Ottane, <i>Tanto scherzi a mio danno, empia Fortuna</i>	B, 2 vl	I.9
9r–11r	5.	Zopiro, <i>Adorata rimembranza</i> ²¹ [2nd strophe: <i>Amor fia che messaggiero</i>]	S, 2 vl	I.10
	–	Globo, <i>Che bel colpo che saria</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Né il padron, ch'in queste trame</i>]	–	I.12
	–	Artabano, Cassandra, A 2, <i>Guerrieri, che fieri</i>	–	I.13
	–	Cassandra, <i>Spirti miei, gioite sì</i>	–	I.14
	–	Zopiro, <i>Costanza, mio core, se vincer presumi</i> ²² [2nd strophe: <i>Fermezza, mia fede: dal nume Cupido</i>]	–	I.15
11v–12v	6.	Arideo, <i>D'un inganno nacque già</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Sol di furto ebbe il nata!</i>]	S	I.16
	–	Dario, <i>Aspasia, cosi</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Ch'in alzi sul trono</i>]	–	I.17
	–	Aspasia, <i>Chi amante si sta</i>	–	I.17
	–	Aspasia, <i>Iniqui traditori</i>	–	I.18
13r–14v	7.	Aspasia, <i>Non amo più: già quel laccio</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Non ardo, no: già la face</i>]	S	I.19
15r–17r	8.	Neria, <i>Ch'io non ami, ch'io non speri</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Ch'io non arda, ch'io non brami</i>]	S	I.20
17v–20r	9.	Arideo, <i>Ciel, fate ch'un di</i> ²³ [2nd strophe: <i>Numi, fate che almen</i>]	S, 2 vl	I.21

²⁰ In the libretto this aria's textual incipit is *Crudo Amor, rigido dio* (Beverini 1671, p. 13).

²¹ This aria is not related to *Adorata rimembranza* sung by Isifile (scene I.13) in the 1666 Venetian reworking of the opera *Giasone* by Giacinto Andrea Cicognini and Francesco Cavalli, premiered in Venice 1649. For information on the first Venetian performances of *Giasone* and its revivals, see Bianconi 1973b; Glixon 2013.

²² “Costanza, mio core” is a first line for many 17th-century compositions (e.g., one cantata by Alessandro Stradella, see the entry in *Clori. Archivio della cantata italiana*, n. 5266, at http://cantataitaliana.it/query_bid.php?id=5266), but the text in *Dario in Babilonia* does not agree with any of the ones I was able to detect.

20v–21v	10.	Aspasia, <i>Qual per me stella sì rea24 [2nd strophe: Ah, ben fu rigida e fiera]</i>	S	I.22
	–	Zopiro, Aspasia, A 2, <i>O soave, o dolce nodo</i>	–	II.2
22r–23r	11.	Zopiro, <i>Chi non sa come severo</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Chi non sa come spietato</i>]	S	II.3
23v–24r	12.	Dalinda, <i>Di fortuna l'empia rota</i> [2nd strophe: <i>De la sorte l'empio volo</i>]	S	II.4
	–	Dario, <i>Non son tante del cielo le stelle</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Non son tante de l'acque le stille</i>]	–	II.6
	–	Dario, <i>Bella destra a cui consente</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Forse a l'or quando natura</i>]	–	II.8
24v–28r	13.	Dalinda, <i>Dite, stelle, chi mai fu</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Dite, o numi, chi trovò</i>]	S, 2 vl	II.9
	–	Aspasia, <i>Morirò, ma vedrò pria</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Morirò ben sì, ma solo</i>]	–	II.10
	–	Arideo, <i>La speranza è un laccio fier25 [2nd strophe: Fortunato anco in amor]</i>	–	II.12
28v–32v	14.	Zopiro, <i>Che si trova tra i mortali26 [2nd strophe: <i>Che piovesser tanti affanni</i>]</i>	S, 2 vl	II.13
33r–34r	15.	Aspasia, <i>Ch'io vi chieda più pietà</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Io non bramo più mercè</i>]	S	II.15
	–	Artabano, <i>Quanto è dolce l'imperar</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Quel bel serto quanto val</i>]	–	II.16
	–	Dario, Dalinda, A 2, <i>Ti stringo, T'abbraccio,</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Del nume guerriero</i>]	–	II.17
34v–38v	16.	Ottane, <i>Bella coppia, ch'il destino</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Mai non turbin cure infeste</i>]	B, 2 vl	II.17
	–	Dalinda, <i>Di tua frode quanto gode</i>	–	II.18

23 In the libretto this aria starts with the line *Fate, stelle, che un di* (Beverini 1671, p. 29).

24 This aria starts with the first three lines from a *canzone* by the poet Francesco Balducci, printed among his *Rime* in Rome in 1646 (pub. Manelfi) and already set to music by Stefano Landi in 1637 in his *Quinto Libro d'Arie da cantarsi ad una voce* (Venice, Magni, p. 19).

25 The text of this aria's first strophe appears as a second strophe for the aria *La bellezza è una tiranna* sung by the protagonist in the Neapolitan 1693 production of *Flavio Cuniberto* by Matteo Noris and Alessandro Scarlatti (premiere in Venice 1681, with music by G.D. Partenio) (Lindgren & Murata 2018, pp. 121–128).

26 In the libretto this aria starts with the line *Che si trovi un tra i mortali* (Beverini 1671, p. 43).

	–	Dario, <i>La beltà del tuo sembiante fa più cauto il pensier mio</i> ²⁷	–	II.18
	–	Oronte, <i>Purché il crin s'orni d'allori</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Che di Marte infra le risse</i>]	–	II.20
	–	Dalinda, <i>Vendetta farò di chi mi tradì</i>	–	II.21
	–	Dalinda, <i>Ho vinto, sì, sì, le stelle e la sorte</i>	–	II.21
39r–43v	17.	Zapiro, <i>Numi rei, volete più?</i>	S, 2 vl	III.3
44r–45r	18.	Ottane, <i>Chi pene non vuole</i> [2nd strophe: <i>È legge degl'astri</i>]	B	III.5
45v–50r	19.	Dalinda, <i>Versate in rivi amari</i>	S, 2 vl	III.6
50v–52r	20.	Dalinda, <i>Dolce speme, che vita mi dài</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Di quest'anima dolce ristoro</i>]	S	III.6
	–	Artabano, <i>Chi nel crin la fortuna non prende</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Chi non ferma la sorte incostante</i>]	–	III.7
	–	Aspasia, <i>Se tra tanti spiriti amanti</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Se per fato dispietato</i>]	–	III.8
	–	Aspasia, <i>Fuggite, sparite da l'alma, dal core</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Fermate, sgombrate da l'alma, dal petto</i>]	–	III.9
52v–53v	21.	Arideo, <i>Tra i numi severi</i>	S	III.10
	–	Ottane, <i>Viscere del mio seno</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Crude insegne di morte</i>]	–	III.11
	–	Dario, <i>Bella Dalinda amata</i>	–	III.13
54r–54v	22.	Zapiro, <i>Diami i lacci il dio d'Amor</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Per avincere il lor piè</i>]	S	III.15
55r–56r	23.	Zapiro, <i>Sospiri, uscite</i> [2nd strophe: <i>Sgorgate, o lacrime</i>]	S	III.15
56v–57v	24.	Cassandra, <i>Dimmi, o cor, sperar dovrò?</i>	S	III.18
	–	Zapiro, <i>Amanti, che ognora nel duolo penate</i>	–	III.23

These 24 arias appear in a manuscript whose origins, date of copy and context of preservation are not obvious, since it does not bear any inscription referring to the copying process, and bears neither the title of

²⁷ *La beltà del tuo sembiante* is also the first line of the second strophe of the aria *D'ostro vivo d'ambra fina* from the oratorio *Santa Genevifà* by Giovanni Andrea Moniglia, written in Florence in 1689 and printed in 1690. However, this aria's lines and structure do not correspond with those in the aria from *Dario in Babilonia*. See Abbado 2016, esp. pp. 152–154, 295–296, 304, 331–332.

the opera nor the names of the poet and the composer. However, although its watermark is hard to decipher, as it appears heavily cut on the upper or lower edges of the folios,²⁸ the handwriting in the manuscript proves the volume's geographical origins. It corresponds to the hand of a copyist who worked for Francesco Cavalli at least until the 1670s. His hand appears on no fewer than twelve scores, such as the Venetian copy of *Giasone* and the score including the second version of *Erismena* (1669–1670), which are preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice among Cavalli's holdings, merged into the Contarini Collection (see *Figure 1*).²⁹ This copyist is called "D" by Jane Glover, and Jennifer Williams Brown proposed to identify him with Don Lorenzo Rossi, collaborator of Cavalli around 1671–1676.³⁰

During the 19th century, the imperial music collections were transferred to the court chapel's archive, and then became part of the National Library in Vienna. However, although the anthology is preserved there and bears the 20th-century label "Leopoldina" on its front plate (see *Figure 2a*), it does not include any of the original elements that mark Leopold I's music volumes. I refer to the binding in white parchment with the gilded portrait of the emperor (see *Figure 2b*), and the old "Leopoldina" shelfmark in binary form, with the number of the bookshelf followed by another number, indicating a section of it (e.g.,

28 The watermark consists of an unidentified symbol in a shield, with a typically Venetian trefoil between the letters "B V G" as a countermark. Another element that suggests the Venetian origins is the layout of the manuscript, since it presents visible lateral vertical lines, marked in pen to delimit the length of the staves. See Jander 1969, p. 68; Jeffery 1980; Usula 2022.

29 For information about the Venetian copy of the score to *Giasone* (I-Vnm, It. Cl. IV, 363 = 9887) see Jeffery 1980, pp. 111–118; Brown 2013, pp. 81–82; Conti & Usula 2021 (article and appendix I.IV); and the forthcoming critical edition of Cavalli's opera by Nicola Badolato, Lorenzo Bianconi, Valeria Conti and Nicola Usula (Cavalli & Cicognini forthcoming). The most up-to-date study about *Erismena* (the score of the second version is in I-Vnm It. Cl. IV, 360 = 9884) is the recent critical edition by Beth Glixon, Jonathan Glixon, Nicola Badolato and Michael Burden (Cavalli & Aureli 2018). The Contarini Collection is studied in Glover 1978; Jeffery 1980; Walker 1984; Brown 2013.

30 See Glover 1978, pp. 69–72; Brown 2013, pp. 71, 80–81. See *Appendix 3* for the list of the other works by Boretti preserved in the music collection of Leopold I in Vienna.

N.1 N.2; see *Figure 2c*).³¹ In fact, this volume appears to be foreign to the Viennese context, because of its red leather binding and the unusual shelfmark “No. V” very likely added by a late 19th- or 20th-century hand on the *recto* of the first folio (see *Figure 3a*).

However, comparison with another music manuscript proves that this volume indeed belonged to Leopold. Among the imperial music sources, we find a twin to this Venetian aria anthology: Mus. Hs. 17758, a manuscript copied by a Roman hand on Roman paper,³² containing cantatas by Bernardo Pasquini, Alessandro Stradella, Alessandro Melani, Lelio Colista and Ercole Bernabei.³³ The two anthologies share the same type of binding, both having covers in red leather,³⁴ as well as the same paper used in the binding process, as in their flyleaves they both present a watermark in the shape of a sickle in a shield (see *Figures 3b* and *3c*).³⁵ Finally, they also share another element: the late shelfmark preceded by “No.”, which in the Venetian one is “No. V”, and in the Roman volume is “No. IV” (see *Figure 3a* and *3d*).

No 17th- or 18th-century catalogue of the emperor’s music collection has survived.³⁶ However, a handwritten inventory from the 19th

³¹ See Gmeiner 1994; Haenen 2020, pp. 430–431; Usula 2022.

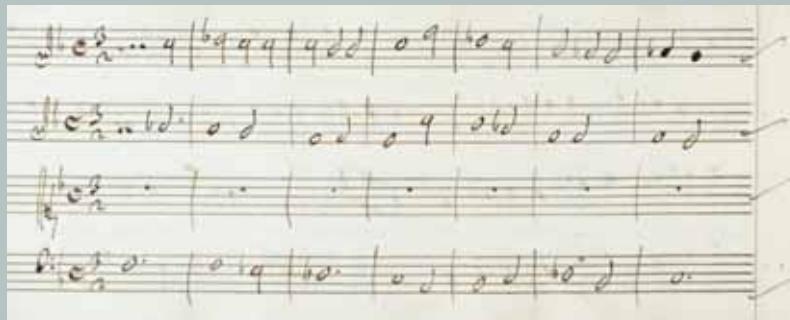
³² The paper presents three different watermarks depicting a kneeling saint. For some samples of this watermark, see Ruffatti 2008.

³³ The cantata anthology Mus. Hs. 17758 (N.4 N.2) presents 94 folios with music (on 26 different quires), all copied by the same hand. It contains ten cantatas, all for soprano and continuo, and all bearing an explicit attribution: ‘Ferma, o tempo, il ratto volo’ (Bernabei; fols 1r–10v); ‘Del mio ben la lontananza’ (Pasquini; fols 11r–16v); ‘Chi non sa che la costanza’ (Stradella; fols 17r–24v); ‘Vaganti pensieri’ (Stradella; fols 25r–39v); ‘Al tramontar del giorno’ (Pasquini; fols 41r–48v); ‘Che volete da me, vani pensieri?’ (Al. Melani; fols 49r–58v); ‘Più tacer non si può’ (Al. Melani; fols 59r–68v); ‘Ho poca fortuna | e pur sono amante’ (Colista; fols 69r–74v); ‘Doletevi di voi’ (Colista; fols 75r–82v) and ‘Ier mi venne la fortuna’ (Bernabei; fols 83r–94v).

³⁴ Moreover, the two sources show almost the same dimension: the Venetian one is *c.* 109 × 295 mm, while the Roman manuscript is *c.* 110 × 265 mm.

³⁵ This watermark appears in the Venetian and in the Roman manuscripts respectively at fols II, 59–60 and I, 97.

³⁶ The only surviving 17th-century catalogue from the imperial collections is the *Distinta specificazione dell’archivio musicale per il servizio della cappella e camera cesarea* (A-Wn AN.45 D.56) which, however, refers to the music of



a



b

Figure 1. Correspondence between the graphic features of the handwriting in a) the anthology with arias from *Dario in Babilonia* (instrumental incipit of the aria *Versate in rivi amari*, III.6, Dalinda, fol. 45v), and b) the score for the second version of Cavalli's *Erismena* (incipit of the aria *Vivi lieto sù, sù*, I.13, Erismena, I-Vnm It. Cl. IV, 360 = 9884, fol. 23v).

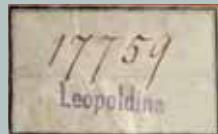


Figure 2a. Front plate (and detail of the label) of the anthology of arias from *Dario* (A-Wn Mus. Hs. 17759).



Figure 2b. Sample of Leopoldinian front plate from another aria collection (A-Wn Mus. Hs. 17764).

N.3. N.1.

N.3. N.2.

Figure 2c. Leopoldinian call numbers from two Venetian scores in A-Wn (Mus. Hs. 16452 and 16657): N.3. N.1 *Egisto* (Faustini-Cavalli); N.3.N.2 *Giasone* (Cicognini-Cavalli).



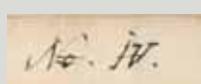
a



b



c



d

Figure 3a-d. Late shelfmarks and watermarks in the shape of a sickle in a shield (c. 20 x 30 mm) on the flyleaves, in the anthologies Mus. Hs. 17759 (arias from *Dario*, fol. I^r and fol. II) and Mus. Hs. 17758 (Roman cantata anthology, fol. 97 and fol. I^r).

century, held in the National Library in Vienna, lists his musical belongings as they appeared in 1825.³⁷ This inventory is not always entirely reliable—for example, it lists books copied or printed even after Leopold I's death. Still, usually it accurately indicates the corresponding Leopoldina shelfmark. In its section dedicated to *kleine Bücher* (“little books”), we find entries for two volumes which have been connected by a bracket:³⁸

[N.]4 [N.]2	Ve[r]schiedene Arien Cantaten à 1 voce von Bernabei, Pasquini, Stradella, Melani, Lelio Colista
[N.]4 [N.]3	Verschiedene Cantaten ohne Nahme

The first Leopoldian shelfmark, N.4 N.2, is still clearly legible in the Roman cantata anthology Mus. Hs. 17758 (fol. IIIv); however, when looking among Leopold I's volumes for the next shelfmark, N.4 N.3, only a large manuscript (so not a *kleines Buch*) is found: the score for a “servizio di camera” entitled *Raguaglio della Fama*.³⁹ On the title page of this manuscript, a 17th-century hand—perhaps that of Leopold I⁴⁰—wrote that the music was by Giovanni Battista Pederzuoli. The same

the Hofkapelle and not to Leopold I's private collection. The catalogue, copied after 1684, lists a series of compositions for the church and for the chamber (almost all lost), arranged by composer. The first ones are by Leopold I and Ferdinand III (1r–9v), the following are by Antonio Bertali (10r–41v), Giovanni Felice Sances (42r–79v), Johann Heinrich Schmelzer (80r–98r), in addition to five sacred pieces by Giovanni Battista Pederzuoli, Giuseppe Tricarico and “Ziani” (probably Pietro Andrea) indicated on fol. 50v. On this topic see also Haenen 2020, p. 429.

³⁷ The anonymous ‘Verzeichniss jener Musikalien aus der Privat-Sammlung wei[land] Allerhöchst[er] S[einer] M[ajestät] Kaiser Leopold I’ presents around 400 titles: sacred and secular, complete and incomplete works (manuscript in A-Wn Mus. Hs. 2478). According to the former vice-director of the Musiksammlung of the National Library, Josef Gmeiner, the officer, man-of-letters and musician Moritz von Dietrichstein (1775–1864) compiled it while working on the recovery of the collections of Leopold I and Charles VI (see von Dietrichstein 1825; Eitner 1900, *ad vocem*; Gmeiner 1994, p. 209).

³⁸ See von Dietrichstein 1825, fol. 14v. The same bracket does not appear anywhere else in this manuscript catalogue.

³⁹ Shelfmark Mus. Hs. 16886.

⁴⁰ For this topic, see Gmeiner 1994, pp. 204–205.

hand also added that the composition was performed on 18 November 1680 for the birthday of the emperor's third wife, Empress Eleonore Magdalene of Neuburg.⁴¹ The fact that we find the shelfmark N.4 N.3 on this score does not mean that the 1825 catalogue is in error in the *kleine Bücher* section. In fact, among Leopold I's books we find many other cases of the assignment of the same shelfmark to more than one volume, as the second number does not indicate only one book but a section of the bookshelf.⁴² Consequently, the small miscellaneous volume marked N.4 N.3 could be lost, or could have lost its shelfmark together with a flyleaf between 1825 and today; this has happened to many other volumes in the collection.⁴³ The second hypothesis appears to be correct. The analysis of the quires and binding of the two volumes confirms it. In fact, both manuscripts present a pastedown and three back flyleaves before and after the quires with music, indicating that a duernion (resulting in 4 folios) was added for the binding before the first page and after the last one. However, in the Venetian aria anthology, the opening duernion has only the pastedown and two front flyleaves (fols I-II) and therefore lacks the third one. It is fairly safe to assume that its original shelfmark N.4 N.3 was still visible when the 1825 catalogue was produced.

⁴¹ See Seifert 1985, p. 500; 2014, p. 312. The volume with Pederzuoli's music is listed in the 'Pederzuoli' entry of the 1825 catalogue. See von Dietrichstein 1825, fol. 8r.

⁴² For example, shelfmark N.1 N.1 appears on four surviving manuscripts: one Venetian opera score, one oratorio and one cantata both by Draghi and both composed in Vienna in the 1670s, and finally a volume containing some secular pieces of uncertain origin, traditionally attributed to Leopold I. See *Appendix 4* for details about these volumes.

⁴³ This happened, for example, to the score to *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria* by Badoaro and Monteverdi (Mus. Hs. 18763), which today has lost the front flyleaf that bore the shelfmark N.1 N.1. This shelfmark was somehow still legible two centuries ago, since the librarian wrote it down in the entry for the Venetian score of the 1825 catalogue, and it appears in a 19th-century/early 20th-century handwriting on the front cover of the volume. See von Dietrichstein 1825, fol. 10v; Usula 2022.

Why in Vienna?

A letter sent from Venice on 31 January 1671 by the abbot, polymath and poet Domenico Federici (1633–1720) to his patron Leopold I documents that the emperor knew about the Venetian premiere of *Dario in Babilonia* and its failure. Federici scouted the Italian peninsula in search of artworks and singers for Leopold I, and he also kept him up to date about the musical life of the cities he visited. At that time he was carrying out diplomatic business in Venice on behalf of the emperor, and, as confirmed by the following letter, he usually carried out such communications, and provided his patron with music and librettos from Italy:

Venice 31 January 1671. Holy Imperial Royal Majesty and Most Clement Lord, I place in the hands of the Lord of Waldstein all the music of *Ercole [in Tebe]*, which was delivered to me by Boretti, a Jew converted to Christian, and an acclaimed musician. But, this silly man did two foolish things: getting married, and composing the bad music for *Dario [in Babilonia]*, which, performed after *Ercole*, did not succeed in anything, and as soon as it was born, it was buried, *et fuit, tanquam non esset*. Yes, it is true that one can compose one beautiful work, but only the true masters can do it with regularity; and therefore Draghi, by composing one opera better than the other, and proceeding in dozens, must either have a great deal of knowledge or an elf [that suggests him what to write]. Here some of his arias have made a big clamour. He and Minato have been excellently matched to make Your Majesty's Theatre excellent, and here everyone feels that way. I send you here the [libretto of] *Dario*, but without any comments, so as not to consume my money, which is my time wasted on a subject that is not and never was. And with the annexed grateful sonnet, I make a profound bow to Your Majesty.

[Venezia 31 Gennaio 1671. Sacra Cesarea Regia Maestà mio signore Clementissimo | In mano del Cavaliere di Waldstein rimetto tutta la musica dell'*Ercole [in Tebe]*, che mi ha consegnata il Boretti,

d’Ebreo divenuto Cristiano, e musico applauditio. Ma il poverlino ha fatte due sciapitelle [sciaipitezze?], una il prender moglie, l’altra la bruta musica del *Dario* [*in Babilonia*], che recitatosi dietro all’*Ercole*, non è riuscito buon da nulla, e subito nato, è rimasto sepolto, *et fuit, tanquam non esset*. Sì che il comporre una rara commedia può farsi, ma continuare, bisogna che sia opra solo da maestri; e però il Draghi componendone una meglio dell’altra, e procedendo a dozine, terrà adosso o gran sapere o qualche folletto. Qua alcune sue ariette hanno fatto uno strepitone da negromante. Egli e il Minato si sono egregiamente sposati a rendere eccellente il Teatro della Maestà Vostra, e qua tutti sentono in questa maniera. Mando quì aggiunta l’opra del *Dario*, ma senza annotazioni, per non consumare il mio patrimonio, ch’è il tempo in manifattura sopra suggetto, che non è, e non fù. E coll’annesso non ingrato sonetto, faccio alla Maestà Vostra profondissimo inchino.]⁴⁴

After addressing the “Holy Imperial Royal Majesty and Most Clement Lord”, Federici wrote that he had handed over the complete score of *Ercole in Tebe* (“tutta la musica dell’*Ercole*”) to Count Waldstein, having received it directly from Boretti, here described as a Jew converted to Christianity.⁴⁵ Waldstein was evidently in charge of bringing the score of *Ercole in Tebe* to Vienna (although it is now missing from the imperial collections) as the opera had been performed in December 1670 at the San Luca theatre.⁴⁶ Moreover, Federici called Boretti an “applauded musician”, continuing: “this silly man did two foolish things: getting married, and composing the bad music for *Dario*”. He was clearly referring to *Dario in Babilonia*, which had premiered only a few days before. He then specified that the opera was not as good as *Ercole in Tebe* because “it is true that one can compose one beautiful work, but only the true masters can do it with regularity”. Federici added that *Dario in Babilonia* “as soon as it was born, was buried, *et*

⁴⁴ The letter is published in Ferretti 2000, pp. 454–455.

⁴⁵ This is the only surviving mention of Boretti’s conversion from Judaism to Christianity (I thank Beth Glixon for pointing this out in private correspondence).

⁴⁶ See Note 5.

fuit, tanquam non esset [i.e. it was as if it had never been]”, and continued talking about the rarity of musical genius, praising the ability and value of the imperial “perfect match” of Nicolò Minato and Antonio Draghi.⁴⁷ After this evident *captatio benevolentiae*, he finally repeated that he would send the printed libretto (“opera”) of *Dario in Babilonia* without any comments (“annotazioni”), so as not to waste his time on a “subject that is not and never was”.

The Czech copy of the libretto to *Argia* by Giovanni Filippo Apolloni and Antonio Cesti printed in Venice for the 1669 production clarifies what Federici was referring to as “annotazioni”.⁴⁸ This libretto contains an interesting series of handwritten comments about dramaturgical, musical and performance-related issues addressed by Federici to the emperor.⁴⁹ The now lost copy of the libretto of *Dario* sent to Leopold I did not contain the usual comments by Federici, because he thought the topic was not worth it.⁵⁰ However, for us it is important that eventually an anthology containing arias from that opera reached the imperial collection, even though the opera was described to the em-

47 Among Federici’s letters we also find references to other imperial musicians, such as Pietro Andrea Ziani. See Ferretti 2000, pp. 451–457.

48 The copy held in CZ-Pu (STT) (000140778).

49 See Marcaletti 2022. Marko Deisinger attributes to Federici another complete report sent from Venice and held in Vienna among the documents of the Harrach family. In this case a complete “relazione” about the 1675 premiere of *Eteocle e Polinice* by Giovanni Legrenzi (San Luca theatre) was sent to Vienna, likely to Ferdinand Bonaventura von Harrach (see Deisinger 2020).

50 Federici’s judgement of Boretti’s opera, however, cannot be taken at face value. There are frequently cases of reports of works that are antithetical depending on who formulated them and who received them. See, for example, the case of *Orfeo* by Aurelio Aureli and Antonio Sartorio (Venice 1672/1673) as it appears in the letters sent from Venice to the court of Hanover. While Francesco Massi gave it a positive appraisal, Nicola Beregan called it “un’opera stracciata” (“a ruined work”); on the other side Pietro Dolfin distinguishes between the music by Sartorio (“mirabile”) and the dramatic text by Aureli (“pessima” — “very bad”). See three letters sent to Duke Friedrich of Brunswick-Lüneburg from Venice: from Francesco Maria Massi dated 16 December 1672; from Pietro Dolfin dated 23 December 1672; from Nicola Beregan dated 30 December 1672 (Vavoulis 2010, letters 153, 156, 158, pp. 211–212, 214–215, 217, respectively).

peror as a complete failure. Federici's letter does not mention any shipment of a music source of *Dario*, so we must assume that he did not send the anthology to Vienna, or, at least not on that occasion.

It is very likely that Leopold I retained some interest in Boretti's work, and perhaps he himself was responsible for acquiring the anthology. Some elements seem to confirm this hypothesis. During his reign, which started in 1658, the emperor built a complex network of international relationships that allowed him to get hold of music materials from all over Italy, in particular from Venice, as documented by the surviving letters between the Serenissima and the diplomats Humprecht Jan Černín and Federici.⁵¹ Moreover, his extant books in Vienna also help us to understand his love for Venetian music and the rationale behind his collecting.

The third bookshelf of Leopold I's collection is the only extant one to contain a number of "foreign" items,⁵² and, although today it clearly lacks some volumes,⁵³ it allows us to see the kind of music the emperor obtained from Venice. Having gathered all the manuscripts that still bear the old Leopoldina shelfmark starting with N.3, we can conclude that at least five of the 30 extant items undoubtedly originated in the Veneto. The graphic layout, watermarks, handwriting and contents prove the origins of two opera scores by Francesco Cavalli, one oratorio by Carlo Francesco Pollarolo, and two serenatas, one of which is attributed to Giovanni Antonio Boretti.⁵⁴ Other music sources in the third bookshelf present Venetian music and are of significance: four aria and cantata anthologies with the Leopoldina shelfmark. All four volumes have a Viennese binding in the Leopoldinian style discussed above (*Figure 2b*) and therefore externally resemble the volumes copied in

⁵¹ See Kalista 1936; Ferretti 2000, pp. 451–457; Glixon *et al.* 2020.

⁵² The bookshelf N.3 is not the only one comprising music from Italy. Italian items appear also in N.1 and N.2, among others.

⁵³ The loss of material affected all bookshelves. See Haenen 2020, *vide infra*. A Swiss National Fund research project entirely devoted to the cataloguing of Leopold I's music books and librettos has taken place at the University of Fribourg in 2021–2023 under the leadership of A. Garavaglia and N. Usula: *L'opera italiana oltre le Alpi: La collezione di partiture e libretti di Leopoldo I a Vienna (1640–1705)* (project no. 100016_197560).

⁵⁴ See *Appendix 5* for the list of works from Veneto held in the third bookshelf.

Vienna, though they are foreign to the court context in terms of structure and content. They are miscellaneous anthologies of arias copied at different times and in different places, bound together once they reached Vienna. Two contain only material from the Veneto, while the other two are made up of music sheets from all over the Italian peninsula, some of which originated in Venice or at least in the Veneto.⁵⁵

These musical offcuts, which I have elsewhere called “crumbs of the emperor”,⁵⁶ take on an unexpected importance in the imperial collection, since Leopold I seems to have been interested in even the smallest scraps from the Italian entertainment world. Moreover, his interest in both full operatic scores and single sheets seems to have stemmed from his profound love of Italian music, even in its apparently minor expressions. Therefore, gathering single arias and transforming them into precious anthologies, as well as collecting material linked to purported operatic failures, as in the case of *Dario in Babilonia*, seems to be entirely justifiable in Leopold’s view. Consequently, it is safe to believe that Borretti’s arias were not included in his collection for their quality, but rather because they were living, direct testimonials of the Italian—and more specifically Venetian—operatic world, which the emperor knew so well and in which he somehow wished to participate.

This craving for Italian music is as evident in his collection as in the impulse he gave to Viennese operatic life to move in an Italian direction.⁵⁷ Under his leadership, the capital of the Holy Roman Empire became the main centre of production for Italianate music beyond the Alps. It never became a true foreign centre for the consumption of music from Italy, however, with Viennese productions being conceived as properties of the imperial court, unavailable for circulation in foreign theatres. In Vienna, productions of works originating from Italy, apart from oratorios and sacred dramatic compositions,⁵⁸ were so rare that

⁵⁵ See *Appendix 6* for details about these four aria collections.

⁵⁶ See Usula 2014.

⁵⁷ See the Viennese “Spielplan” in Seifert 1985, pp. 429–585, and its update in Seifert 2014, pp. 263–279. For the contemporary musical life in Vienna see also: Muraro 1990; Sommer-Mathis 1994; 2003; 2016; Noe 2004; 2011; Rode-Breymann 2010; Weaver 2020.

⁵⁸ See Deisinger 2006; 2010; 2013; 2014; Page 2014; Kendrick 2019.

Italian opera revivals at Leopold's court can be counted on a single hand.⁵⁹ This makes the process of acquiring Italian material even more interesting, since it appears to have been very private and personal, and unrelated to any public consumption. The arias from *Dario in Babilonia* with their—in Federici's words—“bad music” survive in one of the few places where they would have been appreciated after the failure of the 1671 Venetian premiere. They ended up in the home of a foreign composer who loved Italian opera more than anything else, but, by way of also being an emperor, missed no opportunity to enjoy it, although from afar.

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⁵⁹ There only seem to be three operatic works from Italy revived at the Habsburg court during the reign of Leopold I (see Seifert 1985, pp. 502, 561, 571–572 and *ad indicem*): 1) 1681 *Amor non vuol inganni* [= *Gli equivoci nel sembiante*], libretto by D.F. Contini, music by A. Scarlatti, performed in Linz (premiere in Rome, 1679, Palace Contini). This is the only work for which the music did not change for the Austrian revival. 2) 1699 *Il Narciso*, libretto by F. de Lemene, music by C.A. Badia, performed in Laxenburg, premiered, with music by C. Borzio, in Lodi 1676. 3) 1702 *Il carceriere di sé medesimo*, libretto by L. Adimari, music by “Musici di S.M.C.”, performed in the Hoftheater, premiered, with music by Al. Melani, in Florence 1681.

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Appendices

Appendix I

Dramatic texts by Francesco Beverini besides *Dario in Babilonia*⁶⁰

1) *L'amante inimica*

Lib. Rome, P. Moneta, 1668, ded. 28 July 1668 to Tommaso Rospigliosi, nephew of Pope Clemens IX.⁶¹

Palermo, 1669 (performance cited in the 1669 Palermo libretto to *La Flavia imperatrice*; see below).

Lib. Palermo, G. Epiro, 1684 “a spese di A. Giardina”, ded. to Francisco IV de Benavides y Dávila (Viceroy of Sicily from 1678–1687) (music by F. Quesada).

2) *Il Demofonte*

Lib. Palermo, Bua e Camagna, 1669, ded. dated 24 January 1669 to Antonino Llanes (music by C. Rienz).

Lib. Rome, P. Moneta, 1669, ded. dated 23 June 1669 to Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna.

3) *La Flavia imperatrice*

Lib. Palermo, Bua e Camagna, 1669, ded. dated 27 March 1669 to Juana Francisca de Díez de Aux Armendáriz (music by M.A. Sportonio).

60 Copies of Beverini's librettos are available at *Corago online*, <http://corago.unibo.it/risultatolibrettiautore/Beverini%20Francesco>.

61 A handwritten libretto with the Roman version of *L'amante inimica* is in I-Rc, ms. 5156, see Murata 1977, p. 88, n. 12.

Lib. Rome, with the title *L'onesta trionfante nei successi di Flavia imperatrice*, P. Moneta, 1669, ded. dated 23 June 1669 to T. Rospigliosi, nephew of Pope Clemens IX.

Bibliography: Franchi 1988, pp. 283, 408–409, 419–420. Contrary to what Franchi states, the text of *Il Demofonte* printed in Milan by C.F. Gagliardi in 1698 and in Florence by V. Vangelisti in 1699 is not by Beverini, but by Pietro d'Averara. Tedesco 1992, pp. 21, 64–65, 70, 261, and update in Tedesco 2005, pp. 215–216, 225.

Appendix 2

Title page and surviving copies of the printed libretto to *Dario in Babilonia*

Title page of the libretto (copy in I-Rig):

'DARIO | IN | BABILONIA. | *drama per musica* | Di Francesco Beuerini, | *Da rapresētarsi nel Teatro VEN-* | DRAMINO à S. Saluatore | *L'Anno 1671.* | CONSA-
CRATO | ALL'ILLVSTRISSIMO, | ET ECCELLENTISS. SIG. | LORENZO |
TIEPOLO | [decoration] | *In Venetia, 1671. cō Licēza, e Priu.* | Per Francesco
Nicolini.'

Extant copies of the libretto (the items consulted for this study are listed in italics):⁶²

B-Bc; C-Tu MZo.008; CZ-Kzk 28 A 5873 [4]; I-Bc Lo.6170; I-Mb Racc.
dramm.3026; I-Ms; I-MOe 70.H.14 [2]; I-Nc Rari 10.3.18/01 [*olim 5.8.18/a*];
I-Pci; I-Rc Comm.141/4; I-Rig Rar. Libr. Ven. 130/133#132; I-Rn 35.5.D.15.1,
40.9.D.15.7; I-Rsc Carv. 4124; I-Rvat Chigi Stamp.Chig.VI.1147 [2]; I-Vcg
CORRER S.SALVATORE 88; I-Vgc; I-Vnm DRAMM. 1155.5, DRAMM.
3475.4, DRAMM.938.6; US-CA GEN *IC7 A100 B750 v.12; US-LAum
1671-72/03; US-Wt ML48 [S1217].

62 The OPAC of the Italian National System for Libraries (SBN) shows another copy in Rome, in the library of the Curia generalizia dei Padri Domenicani (S. Sabina). From the SBN online catalogue the Dominican institution seems to preserve at least 194 Italian librettos dated from 1653 to 1794; however, the library's printed catalogues bear no trace of this material, and the institution claims it has never possessed such material (personal research, January 2019).

Appendix 3

Music works by Giovanni Antonio Boretti in the music collection of Leopold I in Vienna besides the arias from *Dario in Babilonia*

- A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 18668 (N.3 N.2): Serenata (incipit 'Risvegliatevi, amanti') for five characters: Notte, Amante, Sirena, Tritone, Cupido. The first page of music presents a 17th-century caption cancelled in a later hand, which Greta Haenen deciphered as "Serenata a 4 di Don Antonio Boretti | con violini" (private correspondence). The graphic layout and the folios' watermark are typically Venetian; therefore, the attribution to Boretti is realistic. If correct, the manuscript could be dated around Boretti's Venetian period, from 1666 to 1672.⁶³
- Two arias in A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 17760 (N.3 N.12): *Che tenti, che speri* attributed in the 17th-century inscription "Del Signor Giovanni Antonio Boretti" (aria from *Eliogabalo*, Flavia, III.8, absent from the Venetian libretto, but present in the complete score held in I-Vnm) and *Io non t'intendo, Amor* (from *Eliogabalo*, Eliogabalo, I.8, only in the Venetian score). These two *ariette* for soprano and continuo are copied on the two sides of a single folio bound together with other quires of different origins in the miscellaneous anthology Mus. Hs. 17760. The insertion of this piece of paper inside the anthology is evident since it does not share the same dimensions with the other quires. While they all are in an oblong format (c. 100 x 270 mm), the folio with Boretti's music is almost squared (c. 230 x 265 mm) and needs to be folded to fit inside the closed volume.⁶⁴ The two arias are copied on Venetian paper by a Venetian hand, and watermark and handwriting are firmly connected to the volume with arias from *Dario in Babilonia*. The hand that copied the two pieces corresponds to the one of the main copyists of the undated Venetian score for Cavalli's *Didone* (lib. G.F. Busenello, Venice, 1641), named "U2" by Jennifer Williams Brown.⁶⁵ This score, now in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice,⁶⁶ also shows some quires by the same copyist "D" (Lorenzo Rossi?) who copied *Dario*'s arias. Finally, the folio with the two Boretti arias presents the lower part of the same watermark in the shape of a trefoil surrounded by "B V G", present in the volume with arias from *Dario*.

⁶³ See Usula 2022, appendix 2.

⁶⁴ For details about the anthology Mus. Hs. 17760, see Bacciagaluppi & Collarile 2009, pp. 42–43, 50–51, 204, 233–234; Usula 2022, appendix 2.

⁶⁵ See Brown 2013, pp. 80, 83; Conti & Usula 2021, appendix 1.I.

⁶⁶ I-Vnm, It. Cl. IV, 355 = 9879.

Appendix 4

List of volumes marked N.1 N.1 in the music collection of Leopold I in Vienna

Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria (opera), lib. by G. Badoaro, mus. by C. Monteverdi, performed in Venice in 1640 [Mus. Hs. 18763 (N.1 N.1)].⁶⁷

S. Agata (oratorio), lib. by L. Ficeni, mus. by A. Draghi, performed in Vienna in 1675, 1678 and 1688 [Mus. Hs. 18949 (N.1 N.1)].⁶⁸

Lo specchio (cantata), lib. by anonymous, mus. by A. Draghi, performed in Vienna in 1676 [Mus. Hs. 16299 (N.1 N.1)].⁶⁹

Anonymous secular music compositions (two 'Dialoghi', two 'Serenate' and one 'Madrigale'), mus. attributed to Leopold I [Mus. Hs. 16589 (N.1 N.1)].⁷⁰

Appendix 5

List of volumes from Veneto in the third bookshelf of Leopold I's music collection in Vienna

- 1) *Egisto* (opera), lib. by G. Faustini, mus. by F. Cavalli, premiere in Venice in 1643 [Mus. Hs. 16452, (N.3 N.1 shelfmark in *Figure 2c*)].⁷¹
- 2) *Giasone* (opera), lib. by G.A. Cicognini, mus. by F. Cavalli, performed for the first time in Venice in 1649 [Mus. Hs. 16657 (N.3 N.2 shelfmark in *Figure 2c*)].⁷²
- 3) *Jefte* (oratorio), lib. by G. Frigimelica Roberti, mus. by C.F. Pollarolo, performed for the first time in Venice in 1702 [Mus. Hs. 16561 (N.3 N.8), and handwritten libretto in A-Wn 39327].⁷³

67 Among the most important studies on *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria*, see Carter 2002; Alan Curtis' introduction to Monteverdi & Badoaro 2002; Rosand 2007; see also Sergio Vartolo's introduction to the facsimile edition of the score, Monteverdi & Badoaro 2006; and the recent analysis of the score in Usula 2022.

68 See Seifert 1985, pp. 482, 492, 524; Deisinger 2010, pp. 93, 97, 109–110, 113. 69 See Seifert 1985, pp. 485–486.

70 See Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensis 1897, no. 16589; von Weilen 1901, no. 1004; Brosche 1975, pp. 68–69, 74–76; Usula 2022.

71 See Jeffery 1980, mainly pp. 165–168; Brown 2013; Jeanneret 2013; Conti & Usula 2021, appendix I.II; Usula 2022.

72 See Note 30 and Jeffery 1980, pp. 219–220; Brown 2013, pp. 67–68; Usula 2022.

73 See Deisinger 2014, pp. 51, 56.

4) *Il trionfo della pietà* (serenata), lib. by L. Malacreda, mus. by unknown composer, composed for the birth of Joseph I (= after July 1678), and dedicated by Count Andrea Zabarella. With four characters: Gloria, Invidia, Mondo, Pietà (incipit “Trombe guerriere, | fendete l’Etera”) [Mus. Hs. 16539 (N.3 N.1)]. The text of this serenata appears in the 1678 publication *Compositioni della signori Academicci Ricovrati, per la nascita del serenissimo principe Giuseppe, [...] archiduca d’Austria*.⁷⁴ In the score and in the printed text the work is described as “Applausi divoti del conte Andrea Zabarella | composti dal signor Lorenzo Malacreda accademico”.⁷⁵ Malacreda published an *Introduzione per musica* among the 1679 *Applausi dell’Accademia de’ Ricourati alle glorie della serenissima Repubblica di Venezia* with the characters: Fama, Testo, Apollo, Roma (incipit: “In Pindo risuona, | mia tromba sù sù”).⁷⁶ Count Andrea Zabarella appears also as a promoter of the 1696 *Serenata nel passaggio per Padova del serenissimo Ferdinando gran prencipe di Toscana. Consecrata al serenissimo Cosmo III [...] dal conte Andrea Zabarella*.⁷⁷

5) Serenata (incipit “Risvegliatevi, amanti”) [Mus. Hs. 18668 (N.3 N.2)] mus. by A. Boretti according to Greta Haenen.⁷⁸

Three other oratorios could have come from the Veneto, but some elements suggest caution in stating they originated in Venice or in the Veneto.

I) *Giuditta* (oratorio), mus. by D. Freschi [Mus. Hs. 16557 (N.3 N.9)]. The content is from Veneto but graphic layout and handwriting seems to be Viennese.

II) *Il giudizio di Salomone* (oratorio), mus. by M.A. Ziani, performed in Venice in 1698 and in Vienna in 1701 [Mus. Hs. 19335 (N.3 N.15)]. Graphic layout and handwriting look Venetian, but the paratext looks Viennese.⁷⁹

III) *Il martirio di S. Sinforsa* (oratorio) with no indication of author or date [Mus. Hs. 18694 (N.3 N.16)]. Although I could not study the watermarks in this volume, and although the handwriting and the page layout do not look traditionally Venetian, this item deserves a position among the doubtful

⁷⁴ Patin 1678, pp. 7–13.

⁷⁵ Patin 1678, p. 7.

⁷⁶ Patin 1679, pp. 7–12.

⁷⁷ *Serenata nel passaggio per Padova del serenissimo Ferdinando gran prencipe di Toscana. Consecrata al serenissimo Cosmo III [...] dal conte Andrea Zabarella*, Padua, stamperia Pasquati, 1696, ded. signed by Zabarella: Padua, 10 March 1696 (copy in I-Fn V.MIS 1157.3, absent from *Corago online*).

⁷⁸ See *Appendix 3*.

⁷⁹ See Deisinger 2014, pp. 50, 55, 58.

sources for it contains a note on the last page with music: “Carlo Timermans scrisse l’anno 1699 in Verona” (“copied by C. Timermans in Verona in 1699”).⁸⁰

Appendix 6

Four aria and cantata anthologies with music materials from the Veneto in the music collection of Leopold I in Vienna

Two anthologies with compositions from the Veneto only:

Mus. Hs. 17766 (N.3 N.2) is a miscellaneous manuscript consisting of quires copied by three different hands: the 34 folios with music all present watermarks typically Venetian, depicting crescents, and trefoils between letters. No author’s name appears in the source, however, besides three arias by unknown composers, it includes nine arias from *Muzio Scevola* by N. Minato and F. Cavalli (premiere in Venice, 1665), and one *canzonetta* by C. Grossi, ‘Vaghe luci, mio tesoro,’ which was first published in Venice in 1675, in Grossi’s anthology titled *L’Anfione*.⁸¹

Mus. Hs. 17764 (N.3 N.17). Among its 40 folios with music this volume presents only one watermark in the shape of three crescents plus a trefoil between the letters “qS” (“gS”?). One hand copied the music on all quires except for the first two folios, and among its 13 pieces, we can identify at least four arias (2, 3, 6, 12) that appear in the libretto printed in Verona for the 1686 Mantuan revival of *Il Roderico* by G.B. Bottalini and C.F. Pollarolo (premiere in Brescia in 1684).⁸²

Two miscellaneous anthologies containing some quires from Veneto:

Mus. Hs. 17762. Although without the front flyleaf that bore the Leopoldinian shelfmark, this volume probably corresponds to N.3 N.6.⁸³ It is one of the most complex anthologies in Leopold’s collection, for it presents 45 compositions on 52 quires with different handwritings and watermarks.⁸⁴ Its 44th quire seems to come from Venice. It is a duernion (fols 222–225) presenting a watermark in the shape of a trefoil between “V” and “G” (?), plus crescents, and it contains the two-strophes aria ‘Gran tiranna è la bellezza’ (2nd strophe

80 I thank Greta Haenen for sharing some pictures from this volume with me.

81 Grossi 1675. See Usula 2022, appendix 1 for a detailed description of this anthology.

82 See Bizzarini 2015.

83 See von Dietrichstein 1825, fol. 14r.

84 Details about the binding and date of this anthology in Usula 2022, mainly appendix 2.

‘Bella chioma inanellata’) which we find in the printed libretto to *Perseo* by Aurelio Aureli and Andrea Mattioli (Venice, 1665, scene I.15, sung by Fineo).

Mus. Hs. 17760 (N.3 N.12). This second miscellaneous manuscript that presents some Venetian material is the already mentioned anthology of eight cantatas and arias Mus. Hs. 17760 (N.3 N.12), with the two arias by Boretti presented above in *Appendix 2*. It comprises five different hands on eleven quires of different origins; among the compositions it contains works by A. Masini and M. Marazzoli on Roman paper, a piece by C.D. Cossoni (perhaps an autograph) on Lombard paper, and other compositions.⁸⁵

85 See Bacciagaluppi & Collarile 2009, pp. 42–43, 50–51, 204, 233–234; Usula 2022, appendix 2.