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University of California, Los Angeles PH.D. 1983

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The Late Baroque Serenata in Rome and Naples: A Documentary Study with Emphasis on Alessandro Scarlatti

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Music

by

Thomas Edward Griffin

1983

The dissertation of Thomas Edward Griffin is approved.

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1983

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In memory of my father

Harold Edward Griffin

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22.	D Müs, 3939, cover.	770
23.	D Müs, 3939, fol. 5r.	771
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25.	D Müs, 3941, fol. 10v.	776
26.	D Müs, 3925, fol. 1r.	779
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28.	D Müs, 3944, fol. 1r.	784
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Hamburg	Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek

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	Conservatorio di Musica Giuseppe Verdi
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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Late Baroque Serenata in Rome and Naples: A Documentary Study with Emphasis on Alessandro Scarlatti

by

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University of California, Los Angeles, 1983
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The importance of opera and oratorio during the Italian Baroque has at length come to be understood. Performances of works in these genres were largely limited to carnival and Lent, respectively. Documents reported in this study reveal that by the 1670s a tradition of open-air, summertime music had also been established in Rome and Naples which in quantity and quality rivaled that of opera and oratorio. Large occasional cantatas, customarily called serenatas, were often performed at Rome under the auspices of ambassadors and princes to celebrate such events as a

victory over the Turks or the birth of an heir. At Naples during the Spanish domination the namedays of the Queen Mother and of the Queen of Spain were celebrated each July and August by decree of the Viceroy. Serenatas were customarily heard at these festivities, which usually took place near a seaside cove called the Mergellina. Later, during the Austrian domination, serenatas were more frequently heard in the palaces of the Neapolitan aristocracy.

Although a serenata required only one or two voices and was possibly little more than a gallant offering to a lady, larger serenatas were divided into two or more parts requiring three, four, or five soloists, a large orchestra, and sometimes even a chorus. Like contemporary opera and oratorio, they were dramatic works in which each soloist assumed the role of an allegorical or mythological character. Librettos, often making explicit reference to the occasions celebrated, were sometimes printed for the aristocratic audiences. Numerous accounts survive which describe the sumptuous temporary theaters erected in Rome and Naples for these serenatas.

Scores of nineteen serenatas by Alessandro Scarlatti are known, and the texts of three more can be identified in printed librettos. In addition, other documents name him as

the composer of ten serenatas. A substantially revised list and chronology of these works is the result. In a field so little studied, it is inevitable that additional information will be brought to light. This study discloses only in part Alessandro Scarlatti's preeminent role in the musical life of Rome and Naples.

Chapter 1

The Tradition of the Serenata

In a notable study of Alessandro Scarlatti's early operas, Alfred Lorenz sought the antecedents of Scarlatti's operatic style in those works performed in Rome during the composer's youth.[1] Since the publication of Lorenz' work, the wisdom of this approach has been confirmed by Edwin Hanley's demonstration that the tradition which named Carissimi as Scarlatti's teacher is false and that it is not known with whom *il Scarlattino* studied in Rome.[2] Lorenz was able to adduce the names of some of Scarlatti's immediate predecessors by listing the operas known to have been performed between 1671 and 1683 in Rome, but his insistence

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1. Alfred Lorenz, *Alessandro Scarlatti's Jugendoper* (Augsburg: Filser, 1927), I, 165-71, in a chapter entitled "Die Wurzeln von Scarlatti's Opernstil" (The roots of Scarlatti's operatic style).

2. Edwin Hanley, "Scarlatti, Alessandro," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* XI (Kassel: BVrenreiter, 1963), cols. 1482-83.

on the importance of one man, Bernardo Pasquini, is surely too limited.[3]

1.1 Alessandro Scarlatti's Stylistic Heritage

Edwin Hanley lists only some of those composers who influenced Scarlatti when he writes:

> The stylistic developments of the entire Baroque period converge in Scarlatti. Nothing is known of the personal teachings thanks to which this versatility would be due. However, the stylistic influences to which he was exposed during his youth can be nearly reconstructed. During the 1670's the repertory of operas, oratorios and cantatas performed in Rome comprised not only works of younger masters (Stradella, Pasquini, P.S. Agostini, Boretti, et al.), but also those of the older generations (Cesti, Sartorio, even Cavalli, L. Rossi, Carissimi, and F. Foggia). From the beginning Scarlatti drew comprehensively upon this extensive heritage of stylistic elements, sometimes making use of those from the most recent period, at other times those from older stages of development.
>
> In Scarlatti fliesst die stilistische Entwicklung des ganzen Barockzeitalters zusammen. Von einem persönlichen Unterricht, dem diese Vielseitigkeit zu danken wäre, ist nichts bekannt. Die stilistischen Einflüsse jedoch, denen er während seiner Jugend ausgesetzt war, kann man annähernd rekonstruieren. Das Repertoire der röm. Opern-, Oratorien- und Kantaten-Auff. der 1670er Jahre umfasst nicht nur Werke jüngerer Meister (Stradella, Pasquini, P.S. Agostini, Boretti u.a.), sondern auch solcher älterer

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3. Lorenz, *loc. cit.*

> Generationen (Cesti, Sartorio, sogar Cavalli, L. Rossi, Carissimi und F. Foggia). Von anfang an hat Scarlatti diese Stil-Erbteil umfassend aufgesogen und sich einmal der allerjüngsten Entwicklungsphase, das andere Mal älteren Stufen angeschlossen.[4]

In light of the above, it would seem essential to summarize what is known of the serenata and the traditions pertaining to it in Italy before attempting a chronicle of Scarlatti's compositions in this genre.

1.2 The Serenata in the Renaissance

Evidence has been presented elsewhere that the social custom of serenading can be traced at least as far back as the Renaissance in Europe.[5] During this period a wide variety of popular or folk music appears to have been used in the serenade, and there is some evidence that art music must occasionally have been employed to this end. Because the serenade occurred out-of-doors, often below a lady's window or balcony, instruments seem to have accompanied voices.

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4. Hanley, *MGG*, col. 1501.

5. Thomas Edward Griffin, "Alessandro Scarlatti's Serenata: *Erminia, Tancredi, Polidoro e Pastore* (1723)," (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1975), pp. 1-11.

1.2.1 Early Use of the Term *Serenata*

During the second half of the sixteenth century the term *serenata* is found as part of the title for a few printed collections of art music. The earliest is Alessandro Striggio's "L'aria s'oscura e di minute stelle," designated a *serenata* in his *Il Primo libro de madrigali a sei voci* (1560). The piece consists of a polyphonic framework in the style of the contemporary madrigal, which serves to set the scene of everyday street life. Within this framework are preserved six folk tunes set in a more homophonic idiom. Evidently they are examples of texts and melodies actually employed in sixteenth-century serenades.[6]

The term *serenata* is also found applied to pieces in Filippo Duc's first book of four-voice madrigals (1570), in the anonymous *Villotte mantovane* (1583), and in Orazio Vecchi's *Selva di varie ricreatione* (1590).[7] Vecchi makes no use of folk tunes but depicts in his *serenata* the tuning and strumming of instruments below a balcony in preparation

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6. The folk tunes are printed in the appendix of Johannes C. Hol, *Horatio Vecchi's weltliche Werke* (Leipzig: Heitz, 1934).

7. Vecchi's *serenata*, "Tiridola, non dormire," is printed in Günter Hausswald, *The Serenade for Orchestra* (Cologne: Arno Volk, 1970), pp. 27-30.

for the serenade.

It would probably be a mistake to suppose that any of these works were meant to be employed in actual serenading. Composed to amuse a sophisticated, aristocratic audience, they merely satirize this custom, especially as practiced among the lower classes. In this respect they resemble such pieces as Filippo Azzaiolo's "Bernardo non può stare"[8] or Orlando di Lasso's well-known "Matonna mia cara."[9] Alfred Einstein classifies these two pieces generically as *todesche*--works which comically depict the serenading of drunken German mercenaries.[10] Once again instruments seem to be an integral part of the *serenata*, for in both *todesche* the onomatopoetic refrain suggests that the serenader is playing upon his lute.

Although a wide and bewildering variety of music seems to have been employed in serenading, there can be little doubt

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8. Filippo Azzaiolo, *Il secondo libro de villotte del fiore alla padovana* (1559), ed. Giuseppe Vecchi, Maestri Bolognesi, 2 (Bologna: Antiquaria Palmaverdi, 1953), pp. 33-34.

9. This work first appeared in Lasso's *Libro de villanelle, moresche, et altre canzoni, a 4, 5, et 6 voci* (1581).

10. Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, trans. by Alexander H. Krappe, Roger H. Sessions and Oliver Strunk (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1949), I, 351.

that occasionally, among more cultivated segments of sixteenth-century society, polyphonic compositions were used for this purpose. This is suggested, albeit with satire, in Orazio Vecchi's *L'Amfiparnaso* (1594, published 1597). In act three scene one, Pantalone asks Doctor Gratiano, who wishes to marry Pantalone's daughter, to sing a little madrigal. Pantalone orders his daughter to come out on the balcony, and Gratiano responds in scene two with a botched attempt to sing Cipriano de Rore's madrigal "Ancor che col partire."

No doubt many sixteenth-century madrigals as well as pieces in related genres were employed as serenades, especially if their texts expressed the sentiments appropriate to a wooing lover. There is little evidence, however, that many polyphonic works were expressly written for this purpose during the Renaissance. Antonio Pace's "Hor che le negre piume" is evidently a rare example of such a renaissance serenata. Found in his *Il Secondo libro de madrigali a sei voci* (1575), it is a conventional lover's lament bearing the superscription "Serenata fatta con li strumenti," which again points to the traditional association of instruments with the serenade.[11]

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11. The author is indebted to Prof. Frank D'Accone for bringing this piece to his attention.

1.3 "Hor che . . ." A Conventional Text Incipit

Prof. Owen Jander[12] has called attention to the fact that many seventeenth-century serenatas, like the work mentioned above, begin with the textual incipit:

"Hor che . . ."

Petrarch's nocturnal sonnet "Hor che'l ciel et la terra e'l vento tace / Et le fere e gli augelli il sonno affrena" (Now that heaven and earth and the breezes are still / And sleep holds the beasts and birds in thrall), in which the poet describes the tranquility of a beautiful evening and contrasts it with a lover's anguish, probably served as the model for these texts.

Besides Pace's madrigal, two multivoice cantatas by Luigi Rossi, "Horche in notturna pace il mio bel sol riposa" and "Horche notte guerriera d'ombre e d'orrori armata," each of

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12. Owen Hughes Jander, "Alessandro Stradella and His Minor Dramatic Works," (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1962), pp. 114-15.

which is called a serenata in at least one source, make use of this conventional opening.[13] In addition, two serenatas by Alessandro Stradella, an anonymous Venetian work of 1665, and two of Alessandro Scarlatti's cantatas for solo voice--to cite just a few examples--can be identified as serenatas which begin in this manner. The works of Stradella in question are "Hor ch'alla dea notturna" and *Il Damone*, "Hor che il mondo ristaura il ciel co l'ombre sue."[14]

The anonymous Venetian serenata of 1665 is documented by a libretto entitled:

SERENATA/PER MUSICA/*Da Cantarsi*/NEL CANAL GRANDE/DEDICATA/ALLE DAME/DI VENETIA.

A copy of this libretto is preserved in the Venetian libretto collection of the University of California, Los Angeles. It begins with a recitative sung by Venus: "Hor, ch'in placida calma, / Tenendomi su'l dorso."

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13. Eleanor Caluori, *The Wellesley Edition Cantata Index Series: Fascicle 3a, Reliable Attributions: Luigi Rossi*, Wellesley College, 1965, numbers 274 and 275.

14. The sources for these are given by Owen H. Jander, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Compositions by Alessandro Stradella Found in European and American Libraries*, Wellesley College, 1960, pp. 59-61.

The two serenatas for solo voice by Alessandro Scarlatti in question are "Hor che di Febo ascosi" and an easily recognizable variant of this convention "Allor che stanco il sole." Prof. Edwin Hanley has been able to identify at least eight of Scarlatti's cantatas for solo voice as serenatas.[15] It is interesting to note that of these eight serenatas, all but two (numbers 252 and 710) require treble instruments in addition to the usual *basso continuo*. In the seventeenth-century monodic repertory there are numerous other pieces suitable for evening performance by a courting lover which begin with this incipit. It is likely that many of them served as serenatas.

Unlike the two cantatas for solo voice by Alessandro Scarlatti mentioned above, which probably served as amorous serenades below a lady's balcony or in some such similiar setting, none of this composer's multivoice serenatas begins with this literary formula. The texts of these larger, more ambitious compositions are typically of an occasional, sometimes even political nature. In this respect they are not directly related to the lover's serenade, but are the descendants of another tradition.

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15. They are numbers 33, 249, 252, 480, 511, 551, 678, and 710 in Edwin Hanley, "Alessandro Scarlatti's *Cantate da camera*: A Bibliographic Study," (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1963).

1.4 The Occasional Nature of the Serenata

During the Renaissance, events of political consequence such as an aristocratic marriage, the signing of a treaty, the birth of an heir, or the election of a pope were normally celebrated with large festival motets, the texts of which made explicit reference to the occasion. Leo Schrade outlines the history of this type of motet through the sixteenth century and closes with the observation that "the great festival motet, however, died out and was in purpose and artistic quality, replaced by the cantata."[16] In this dissertation it will be shown that the type of cantata to which Schrade refers often took the form of the large congratulatory serenata during the lifetime of Alessandro Scarlatti.

How the term *serenata* came to be applied to such cantatas is suggested in an article by Elena Povoledo. In a study of the symbolic and allegorical significance of the firework displays erected in Rome by the French and Spanish diplomatic representatives there, she cites documents

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16. Leo Schrade, *Monteverdi: Creator of Modern Music* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1950), p. 52.

showing that shortly after the middle of the seventeenth century, vocal and instrumental works were being sung out-of-doors in conjunction with the celebration of important political or dynastic occasions.[17] Generically, these were cantatas, but when performed outdoors at night, which was often the case, they were referred to as *serenate*.

During the first half of the seventeenth century there are relatively few references to such pieces, but in the second half of the century, certainly by the 1670s and 80s, it is clear that a tradition of such outdoor music had been established in Rome. The Manuscript Division of the Bavarian State Library, Munich, owns seven volumes of Italian diplomatic correspondence consisting primarily of weekly news sheets from Rome reporting on events for much of the period 1671-1712.[18] The earliest of these volumes of so-called *avvisi di Roma* contains a seemingly complete set of weekly dispatches for the year 1677, and these documents show that at least eight serenatas were heard that summer in Rome.

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17. Elena Povoledo, "Gian Lorenzo Bernini, l'Elefante e i Fuochi Artificiali," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* X (1975), 499, 501, 504.

18. Dbrd Mbs (Munich, Bavarian State Library), Cod. Ital. 192-198.

As can be seen in the following extracts, the writers of these *avvisi* display by their incessant sarcasm great contempt for many of the social customs of Rome, including that of the serenata. These *avvisi* nevertheless serve to document a vigorous tradition of summertime open-air music almost totally ignored by music historiography.

1.4.1 Roman Serenatas during the Summer of 1677

Rome, July 17, 1677

> The beautiful serenatas, sweet playing and singing, performed for the Princess of Sonnino and the Duchesses of Guadagnolo and Acquasparta were heard these evenings. Since dinner was also served in honor of those great ladies, many, hungry for lack of bread, went in those nocturnal hours to get a bellyful.

Roma, 17 luglio 1677

> Si sono sentite di queste sere le belle serenate fattesi alla *Princi*pessa di Sonnino, et alle Duchesse di Guadagnolo, et Acquasparta, essendoli soavi suoni, e Canti, che si fecero in honore di quelle gran Dame serviti anco *per* Cena à molti che digiuni *per* non haver pane andarono in quelle hore notturne à farsene una panzata.[19]

Rome, August 14, 1677

> At the insistence of the French Ambassador, on Thursday night Cardinal Maldachini had the serenata, which had been given at the Villa Strozzi for the thirteen ladies, repeated in honor of the Princess of Sonnino [Cleria Colonna], His Excellency [the French Ambassador François Annibal D'Estrées] having desired that they might honor

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19. Dbrd Mbs, Cod. Ital. 192, fols. 598v-599r.

the merits of that most worthy lady.

Roma, 14 agosoto 1677

Ad *Insist.enza* dell'Ambas.*ciatore* di *francia* fù dal Card.*inale* Maldacchini Giovedi sera fatta reiterare la serenata, che fù fatta alla Villa Strozzi alle 13. Dame in honor della *Princi*pessa di Sonnino havendo S.*ua* Ecc.*ellenza* voluto [?], che si honorino li meriti di q*uella* digniss.*im*a Dama.[20]

Rome, August 28, 1677

On Sunday the Marchese of Castelforte had a beautiful serenata performed for the Contestabilessa Colonna which, however, had first been performed for the beautiful Buratti, who in this way has gotten hold of His Excellency by the tail, he having lost his head to that lady who enjoyed its first blossom.

Roma, 28 agosto 1677

Dom.*enica* il March.*ese* di Castelforte fece fare una bella serenata al Contes.*tabilessa* Colonna, con haverla però *per* p.*rima* fatta fare alla bella Buratti, che *per*ciò fù da sua Ecc.*ellenza* presa *per* la coda havendo lasciato il capo à quella Dama, che ne godette del p.*rimo* fiore.[21]

Rome, August 28, 1677

The Prince of Palestrina is having a serenata prepared for performance tomorrow night for the Spanish ambassador, it being playing and singing fit for the Romans and foreigners who live at this court that they may all idle away their time among its harmonies.

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20. *Ibid.*, fol. 615v.

21. *Ibid.*, fol. 620r-v.

Roma, 28 agosto 1677

Il *Princ*ipe di Pelestrina si stà apparecchiando *per* domani à sera *per* fare una serenata à questo Amb*asciator*e di Spagna, essendoli suoni, e Canti à proposito *per* li Romani, e forestieri, che dimorano in questa Corte potendo tra quelle armonie andare tutti à cantare la
22
Gierometta. [Illustration 1]

Rome, September 4, 1677

A great number of Romans and foreigners, with little in their purses and less in their stomachs, made their way to the Piazza di Spagna on Sunday night to hear the excellent serenata that was to be performed in the name of the Prince of Palestrina for the Catholic Ambassador, but which did not take place because of the sickness that overcame Verdone, who was to harmonize with the other singers; everyone went away to bed hungry.

Roma, 4 settembre 1677

Una buona parte de Romani, e forestieri con poco in borsa, e meno in pancia Dom.*enic*a notte si incaminò alla volta di Piazza di Spagna *per* sentire la degna serenata si doveva fare à nome del *Princ*ipe di Pelestrina all'Ambas.*ciator*e Cattolico che non essendosi fatta *per* il male sopra gionse al Verdone che doveva armoneggiare con altri musici, ne andaro tutti à letto
23
digiuni.

Rome, September 11, 1677

From the idleness of this court, which sleeps with its hat on, some have awakened themselves with the performances of serenatas, considered appropriate for ridding oneself of lethargy and hunger; and on Sunday night, among the others, one was performed for the Duchess of Guadagnolo [Lucrezia Conti] in the name of the Genoese

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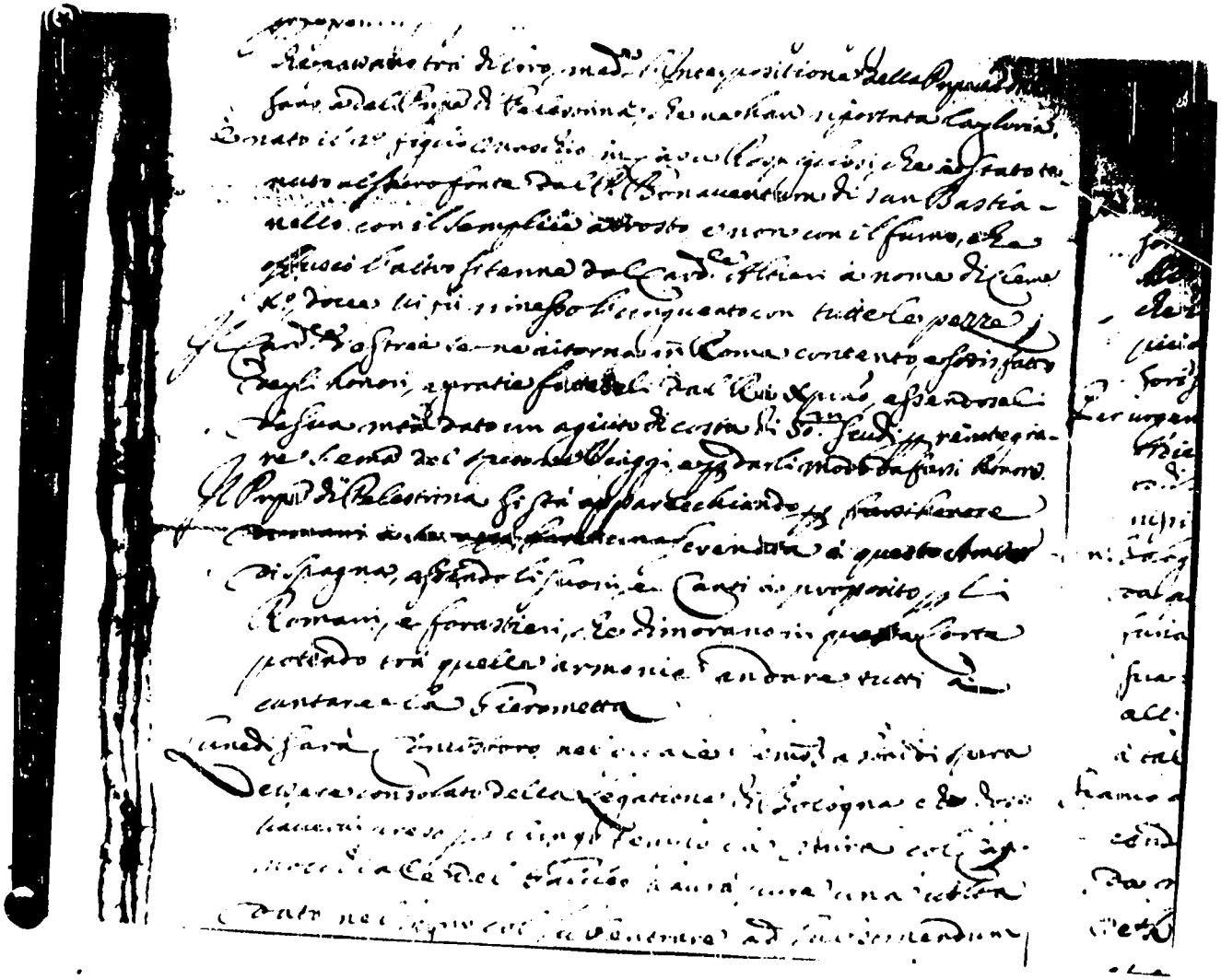
22. *Ibid.*, fol. 623v.

23. *Ibid.*, fol. 624v.

Illustration 1

Avviso di Roma dated August 28, 1677

D Mbs (Munich, Bavarian State Library), Cod. Ital. 192, fol. 623v.



resident's wife, which pleased these devotees of Apollo.

The Marchese Corsini also prepared one which after having been offered to the sea and the earth--the above mentioned Duchess, to whom he wanted to give it, not wishing to accept it--was performed for the Marchessa Lancellotta, by whom it was received as the most singular grace bestowed by God.

The Prince of Palestrina, not having been able to execute his that night in the Piazza di Spagna because the ambassador found himself involved in affairs for Madrid, had it performed in his garden at the Quattro Fontane with the Duchess of Modena, the Princess of Rossano, and other ladies and gentlemen in attendance to whom refreshments were generously not given.

Roma, 11 settembre 1677

Nell'ozio di questa corte, che tutta stà dormendo con il capo, si sono risvegliati alcuni col fare delle serenate, stimate approposito *per* passare il sonno e la fame, e Dom.*enica* sera trà le altre ne fù fatta una alla Duchessa di Guadagnolo à nome della Residentessa di Genova, che sodisfece al gusto de Apollantici.

Il Marchese Corsini ne preparò anch'esso una, che non essendosi voluta accettare dalla sud.*detta* Duchessa, à chi voleva farla, dopo haverla offerta al mare, et alla terra, la fù alla Marchessa Lancellotta, dalla quale fù ricevuta *per* grã singo.*larissima* quã Deus.

Il *Principe* di Pelestrina non havendo potuto in d.*etta* sera spacciare la sua in Piazza di Spagna *per* ritrovarsi l'Amb.*asciatore* intrigato ne afari *per* Madrid, la fece nel suo Giardino alle quattro fontane con l'intervento della Duchessa di Modena, della *Principessa* di Rossano, et altre Dame, et Cavag*lieri*, à quali non furono dati generosi rinfreschi.[24] [Illustration 2]

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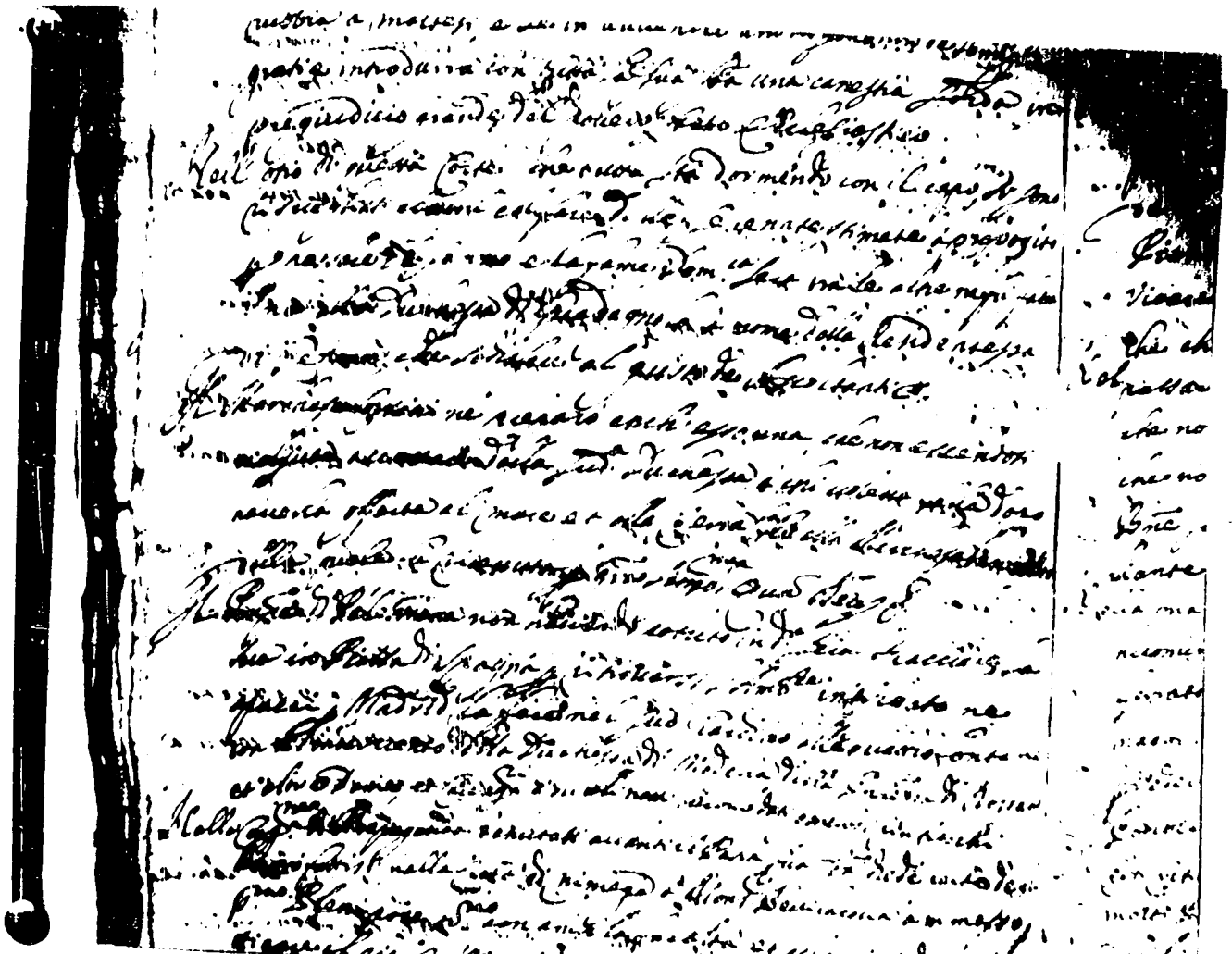
24. *Ibid.*, fol. 629v.

Illustration 2

Avviso di Roma dated September 11, 1677

D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 192, fol. 629v.



Rome, September 11, 1677

Finally, on Wednesday night the Prince of Palestrina's serenata was given in the Piazza di Spagna with all the tranquillity that one could desire, considering the disturbance occasioned by a rash fellow who stabbed with his knife someone nearby and as the fruit of his temerity received a solemn, two-fisted drubbing, which he got from the ambassador's servants.

Roma, 11 settembre 1677

fu finalm.*ente* mercordi sera fatta la serenata del P*rincipe* di Pelestrina à Piazza di Spagna con tutta quiete che essendosi voluta intorbidare da un temerario con una Coltellata, che diede ad un suo vicino, ne ricevè il frutto della sua temerità con la solenne bastonatura fattaseli da
25
quelli dell'Amb.*asciatore* à due mani.

Rome, September 18, 1677

The serenata that the Marchese Corsini had performed for the Duchess of Acquasparta [Giacinta Cesi] having nothing good about it except its beginning, with its middle and end caused the audience to lose all desire to hear any more of it, especially in these extraordinary times now running rampant when Rome has need neither of music nor of song.

Roma, 18 settembre 1677

La serenata che dal Marchese Corsini fù fatta fare alla Duchessa d'Aquasparta non havendo havuta di buono che il principio si fece con il mezzo, e fine passar la voglia agli ascoltanti di sentirla più massimè ne tempi stravaganti che corrono, ne quali Roma *non* hà bisogna di Musica ne di
26
canzone.

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25. *Ibid.*, fol. 630r-v.

26. *Ibid.*, fol. 634v.

As mentioned above, these documents show that a total of eight serenatas were heard in Rome during the summer of 1677, and it appears that two of them were repeated. It is of interest to note that all but one were given in honor of a prominent lady. The French Marquis Phillippe Emanuel de Coulanges mentions Guadagnolo and Acquasparta in his *chansons* which satirize the Roman court of the period 1689-91. Alessandro Ademollo, who reprints several extracts from these poems, identifies the Duchess of Gaudagnolo, born a Colonna, as Lucrezia Conti, and the Duchess of Acquasparta, born a Conti, as Giacinta Cesi.[27] Cleria Colonna, the Princess of Sonnino, born a Cesarini, was married to Filippo Colonna, the younger brother of the Gran Contestabile Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna.[28]

From the very beginning of his career, Alessandro Scarlatti moved in this circle of aristocratic Romans.

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27. Alessandro Ademollo, *I Teatri di Roma nel secolo decimosettimo* (1888; rpt. Bologna: Forni, 1969), pp. 242-43.

28. [Abbé de Pageanl, *Memoires des intrigues de la cour de Rome, depuis l'année 1669, jusques en 1676* (Estienne Michallet: Paris, 1677), pp. 68 ff. Pompeo Litta, *Famiglie celebri italiane* (Milan: P.E. Giusti, 1819-83), dispensa 5, tavola unica; dispensa 59, tavola XV.

For example, the first printed libretto of his earliest opera, *Gli Equivoci nel sembiante*, was dedicated to Giacinta Cesi.[29] And in an as yet unpublished study of this opera, Frank D'Accone calls attention to a Monsignore Cesi, the secretary of the Ministry for the Propagation of the Faith, who was one of this opera's first sponsors.

Like the Cesi family, the Colonna were occasional patrons of Alessandro Scarlatti. In Naples on August 2, 1688, Cleria Colonna's son, Giuliano, married Giovanna Vaendeneiden Piccolomini. An account cited in chapter III of this dissertation reports that an anonymous serenata was heard on this occasion. A. Scarlatti may well have been its composer. Giovanna and Giuliano's son Filippo Colonna married Maria Luisa Caracciolo, the Princess of Santo Buono, in Naples on June 15, 1723. This occasion was marked by the performance of the serenata *Erminia*, Alessandro Scarlatti's last known serenata. In addition to secular serenatas, Alessandro is also known to have produced sacred music under the patronage of the Colonna. An account cited in chapter V of this dissertation drawn from the diary of Francesco Valesio records one such occasion in 1703. In

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29. Lorenz, *op. cit.*, I, 18. Giacinta's first born, Isabella, became the wife of Francesco Maria Ruspoli, an important eighteenth-century patron of A. Scarlatti.

light of the above, one may wonder if the young Scarlatti had a hand in any of the Roman serenatas of 1677. Scarlatti is believed to have been living in Rome at this time, but nothing is known of his activity as a musician before 1679. Until more information regarding these serenatas comes to light they must remain anonymous.

1.4.2 The Political Function of the Serenata

At first glance such serenatas as those reported for the summer of 1677 might appear simply as examples of seventeenth-century gallantry. The fact that they are reported in the diplomatic dispatches of the era, however, points to an underlying political function, often difficult to discern today, but of considerable interest to the society of the time.

The information reported in the *avviso* of August 14, 1677, cited above may serve as an example. Cardinal Francesco Maldachini is reported among the "Faction des Françios" in at least one contemporary document,[30] and when by order of the French Ambassador, François Annibal D'Estrées, the cardinal repeated his serenata for the Princess of Sonnino, contemporary observers would surely

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30. [Abbé de Pagean], *op. cit.*, p. 256.

have viewed this as a Bourbon initiative aimed at securing the friendship of the powerful Colonna family.

The serenata prepared by the Prince of Palestrina, Don Taddeo Barberini, in honor of the newly-arrived Spanish Ambassador is the only serenata not offered a lady that summer.[31] Originally scheduled for performance on the evening of August 29, 1677, in the Piazza di Spagna, it was cancelled when the singer "Verdone," probably the bass Francesco Verdoni,[32] took ill. Its subsequent performance in the prince's garden at the Quattro Fontane and finally in the Piazza di Spagna on the evening of September 8, 1677, is conspicuously mentioned four times in the *avvisi* cited above. Clearly, the political nature of this gesture on the part of the Prince of Palestrina was widely appreciated.

Such conspicuous entertainments organized in the furtherance of both political and artistic goals had been recognized since antiquity as a Roman phenomenon. During the Baroque, when such displays were widely cultivated throughout Europe and even Latin America, their association

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31. Don Taddeo Barberini was the nephew of Cardinal Francesco Barberini. The Spanish Ambassador was the Marchese del Carpio.

32. Concerning Francesco Verdoni see Hans Joachim Marx, "Die Musik am Hofe Pietro Kardinal Ottobonis unter Arcangelo Corelli," *Analecta Musicologia*, 5 (1968), 177.

with Roman culture was still recognized. Even the French bore witness to this when, in an anonymous account praising Louis XIV for an entertainment the king gave in the gardens of Versailles, the proverbial saying of a Roman captain was cited as justification for this extravagance.

> A Roman captain once said that it was no less for a great man to know how to arrange well an agreeable festival for his friends than to dispose a fearsome army before his enemies. One therefore sees that His Majesty conducts all his actions with equal grandeur, and be it in peace or war, he is wholly inimitable.
>
> Un Capitaine Romain disoit autrefois, qu'il n'estoit pas moins d'un grand homme de sçavoir bien disposer un Festin agréable à ses amis, que de ranger une Armée redoutable à ses ennemis: ainsi l'on voit que Sa Majesté fait toutes ses actions avec une grandeur égale, & que soit dans la Paix, soit dans la Guerre, Elle est par tout inimitable.[33]

Of this and other entertainments at the French court, Heinz Kindermann writes:

> All these performances of opera and ballet at the court of Louis XIV were indeed to the highest degree an exhibition of power, a reflection of political spheres of influence--diplomatic and, at the same time, artistic events.
>
> All diese Opern- und Ballett-Aufführungen am Hof Ludwigs XIV. waren ja in höchstem Masse Repräsentation der Macht, Spiegelung der

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33. *Relation de la feste de Versailles du 18. Juillet mil six cens soixantehuit* (Imprimerie royale: Paris, 1679), p. 42.

politischen Einflussphären, diplomatische Ereignisse-und künstlerische zugleich.[34]

In a like manner the serenatas performed in Italy during this era served similar functions, both artistic and political. Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni alludes to the diplomatic and political role assigned the serenata in baroque Rome when he specifies "ambassadors and other princes and personages" as their sponsors and patrons. His remarks, coming at the end of a paragraph devoted to the cantata as a literary genre, recognize the serenata as a specific type within the generic classification of cantata:

> Nowadays when cantatas composed in this way are presented at night for the public, they are called serenatas; and we have heard many of them which were given with great magnificence and splendor by ambassadors and other princes and personages of this great court.
>
> Ora si fatte cantate, quando si mettono al pubblico, soglion farsi di notte tempo, e si dicono Serenate; e molte ne abbiamo ascoltate, che sono state fatte con somma magnificenza, e splendore da gli Ambasciadori, e da altri Principi, e Personaggi di questa gran Corte.[35]

Writing a decade later, Francesco Saverio Quadrio alludes to the occasional nature of the baroque serenata. He confirms the fact that the amorous serenata of an earlier

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34. Heinz Kindermann, *Theatergeschichte Europas*, IV (Otto Müller: Salzburg, 1961), p. 47.

35. Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni, *L'Istoria della volgar poesia* (Venice: Lorenzo Basegio, 1731), I, 300.

period had by his time evolved into a more broadly conceived evening's entertainment:

> Sometimes compositions of this kind are also called serenatas (from the serenity of the night) when they are given in public at night, which not infrequently takes place on special occasions, chiefly those involving great personages, at which they customarily are sung at night with magnificence and splendor. And this name has now become proper for these cantatas since in earlier times one meant by it nothing but an ordered piece sung precisely during the calm of night below the window or at the door of the beloved.
>
> Le medesime Composizioni sogliono anche *Serenate* nominarsi talvolta dal Sereno delle Notti; quando in tempo notturno si mettono in pubblico; il che non di rado avviene per occasione massimamente di gran personaggi, a quale con magnificenza, e splendore si sogliono di notte tempo cantare. E questo nome si è fatto omai proprio di queste Cantate: poichè ne' tempi passati con esso non s'intendeva, che un Componimento regolato, cantato appunto al Seren della Notte sotto la finestra, o in sulla porta dell'Innamorata.[36]

Like Crescimbeni and Quadrio, the German theorist Johann Gottfried Walter reminds his reader that the term *serenata* should only be applied to compositions performed "meist bei

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36. Francesco Saverio Quadrio, *Della storia e della ragione d'ogni poesia* (Milan: Francesco Agnelli, 1742), vol. II, pt. II, p. 333.

still und angenehmer Nacht" (usually during a quiet, pleasant night).[37] Johann Mattheson also mentions this in his detailed description of the baroque serenata. He disapproves of the fact that during his lifetime this term was being applied to occasional cantatas not performed at night nor associated with an amorous emotional state or occasion.

1.4.3 Johann Mattheson's Definition of the Serenata

> Of secular* vocal pieces outside the theater, the serenata or night music (for one or more voices, always with instruments) has deserved superiority.
>
> > *I remember that certain night music is performed in Lübeck during Christmas season in the church, since in such cases serenatas are included also in the sacred style, being about a child to whom the entire world is indebted for gentleness and love.
>
> Nowhere can one better hear such a serenata than on the water during calm weather, for there one can use various instruments (such as trumpets, drums, horns, etc.) with their full strength which would sound too violent and deafening in a room.
>
> The chief characteristic of the serenata must always be tenderness, *la tendresse*. I say the chief characteristic, for in this genre there are also very many marginal circumstances. Cantatas, each in its own way, employ various emotions and passions, only one however at a time, and present

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37. Johann Gottfried Walter, "Serenata," *Musikalisches Lexikon oder musikalishce Bibliothek* 1732, ed. Richard Schaal, Documenta Musicologica, 3 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1953), p. 565.

them in a narrative, story-telling fashion. Serenatas as a whole, however, require primarily nothing but tender, strong love, by which the poet must be guided if he desires to apprehend their correct nature. There must be no melody so small nor piece so large that a chief mark of distinction does not assuredly prevail before and above others in it, clearly distinguishing it from the others. Otherwise it means little or nothing.

Accordingly, it runs counter to the very nature of the serenata if one makes use of it, so to speak, outside its own element (I refer to the affection) at congratulatory celebrations, official pageantry, graduation ceremonies, etc. Political and military occasions are alien to its nature, for the night is not connected with anything else in such tender intimacy as with love and sleep. The other occasions are served by oratorios and aubades and all kinds of morning music, and have as special characteristics some splendid, bombastic and rousing traits which would hardly be appropriate for tenderness and secret stirrings of the heart. Thus an oratorio needs more voices, while a solo singer or a pair of voices suffices for a serenata, which is again a good feature.

Unter den weltlichen* Vocal-Sachen hat ausserhalb des Schau-Platzes billig den Vorzug

Die Serenata	a Voce sola,
oder Abend-Musik	di piu Voci,
	sempre con Stromenti

*Es fällt mir ein, dass zu Lübeck die Weinacht-Zeit gewisse Abend-Musik in der Kirche gemacht werden: da denn solchen Falls die Serenaten auch mit zur geistlichen Schreib-Art gehören, und von einem Kind handeln, dem die ganze Welt Zärtlichkeit und Liebe schuldig ist.

Nirgend lässt sich eine solche Serenata besser hören, als auf dem Wasser bei stillem Wetter: denn da kan man allerhand Instrumente *in ihrer Stärke* dabei gebrauchen die in einem Zimmer zu heftig und

übertäubend klingen würden, als da sind Trompeten, Paucken, Waldhörner u.

Der Serenaten Haupt-Eigenschafft muss allemahl die Zärtlichkeit, *la tendresse*, sein. Ich sage die Haupt-Eigenschafft: denn es gibt dieser Gattung noch sehr viele Neben-Umstände. Die Cantaten nehmen, jede für sich, allerhand Regungen und Leidenschafften an; doch nur eine zur Zeit, und stellen dieselbe auf eine historische Art, Erzehlungs-Weise, vor. Die Serenaten hergegen wollen alle mit einander vornehmlich von nichts anders, als von zärtlicher und starcker Liebe, als der Poet, bei denselben darnach richten, wenn er ihr rechtes Wesen treffen will. Es ist keine Melodie so klein, und kein Stück so gross, ein gewisses Haupt-Abzeichen muss vor andern, und über andre darin herrschen, und sie von den übrigen deutlich unterscheiden: sonst heisst es wenig oder nichts.

Es läufft demnach wieder die eigentliche Natur der Serenata, wenn man sich ihrer, so zu reden, ausser ihrem Element (ich meine den Affect) bei Glückwünschungen, öffentlichen Geprängen, Beförderungen auf hohen Schulen u.s.w. bedienen will. Staats- und Regiments-Sachen sind ihr fremd: denn die Nacht ist keinem Dingen mit solcher innigen Freundschafft zugethan, als der Liebe und dem Schlaf. Jenen Händeln dienen die Oratorien und Aubaden oder Morgen-Musiken allerhand Art, und führen eine prächtige hochtrabende ermunternde Eigenschafft, in weltlichen Materien zum besondern Abzeichen, die sich zur Zärtlichkeit und geheimen Regung des Hertzens schlecht reimet. Derowegen haben auch die Oratorien mehr Stimmen nöthig; da es hergegen bei den Serenaten gar wol ein Solo, oder nur ein Paar Sänger bestellen können; welches ein

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abermahliges gut Abzeichen ist.

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38. Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister 1739*, ed. Margarete Reimann, Documenta Musicologica, 5 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1954), pp. 216-17.

Mattheson's discussion of the serenata is the most detailed written by any seventeenth- or eighteenth-century theorist, yet it is not without its faults. Love and tenderness may well have been the chief characteristics of the amorous serenata below a lady's balcony, and in fact they are prominent in the two-voice serenatas of Alessandro Scarlatti, but Mattheson's observation that these qualities were the hallmark of all such works is not confirmed by historical evidence. Mattheson himself is known to have composed a number of serenatas, and at least one of them, *Die Frohlockende Themse*, appears to contradict his own assertion as to the nature of this genre.

Die Frohlockende Themse was performed in Hamburg in 1714 in celebration of the coronation of George I as King of England. Beekman C. Cannon reprints the title page of the libretto for this serenata and adds that, although the score is lost, four soloists represented *Die Themse*, *Der Ocean*, *Hybernia*, and *Das Gluecke*. Choruses representing *Die Fluss-Nymphen*, *Die Tritonen*, *Die Land-Nymphen*, and *Die Lustbarkeiten* accompanied the soloists.[39] This serenata, undoubtedly of a bombastic and adulatory nature, is

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39. Beekman C. Cannon, *Johann Mattheson: Spectator in Music* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), p. 159.

precisely the sort of work to which Mattheson the theorist objected. Clearly much of Mattheson's writing as a theorist is of a prescriptive rather than descriptive nature.

1.4.4 The Instrumental Component of the Serenata

Mattheson's assertion that the baroque serenata is always accompanied by instruments appears to be generally valid.[40] This use of instruments appears to be a direct legacy of the renaissance serenata and furnishes a link between it and the larger occasional serenata of the Baroque. Michael Praetorius mentions the serenata of the late Renaissance as follows in his definition of the word *ritornello*:

> . . . the word *ritornello* is construed as follows by the Italians: if in the evening one promenades in the street or, as it is called at universities, *gassaten geht*, a serenade or evensong (referred to in the first part) may be sung with two, three, or more voices, followed by some music performed on a quintern, lute, chitarrone, theorbo, or other instruments. Then again a stanza or verse of the serenade is sung, followed again by quintern or theorbo; and in this way singing and playing alternate by turns.
>
> . . .das wort *Ritornello* von den Italianern dahin gedeutet und verstanden; wenn man des Abends auff der Gassen Spazieren/oder wie es auff Universitetten genennet wird/Gassaten gehet: do erstlich ein *Serenata* oder Abends Gesang (davon im ersten Theil meldung geschehen) mit zwo/drei und mehr Stimmen gesungen/darauff alsbald auff einer

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40. Serenatas like the two for solo voice by Alessandro Scarlatti mentioned above on page 9 are rare in this period.

> Quintern, Lauten/*Chitarron*, *Theorba* oder andern *Instrumenten* etwas darzwischen *Musiciret* und gespielet; Alsdann wiederumb ein Geses oder Verslin von der *Serenata* gesungen/darauff abermahl mit der *Quintern* oder *Theorba respondiret*, und also eins umb ander abgewechselt gesungen und geklungen wird.[41]

Praetorius goes on to suggest that this same sort of vocal procedure be used when music is heard at social gatherings, which suggests that the "banquets of noblemen and other joyful gatherings" of his day were the predecessors of the occasions served by the baroque serenata:

> One can proceed in a similar manner when trying to arrange some good music for banquets of noblemen and other joyful gatherings. Thus after one has had two or more boys--or other voices, such as alto, tenor and bass (which I call *Voces Concertatae*)--sing along with a harpsichord, regal or a similar fundamental instrument, one immediately begins to play something else with lute, pandoras, *Geigen*, cornetts, trombones, and the like, with instruments alone and no voices.
>
> Also und dergestalt kan man es mit anordnung einer guten *Musik* vor grosser Herrn Taffel oder bei andern frölichen *Conventibus* auch halten/dass/wenn man zween oder mehr Knaben/oder auch andere *Alt: Tenor: und Bass: Vocal*-Stimmen (so von mir *Voces Concertatae* genennet werden) zu ein *Clavecymbel*, *Regal* oder dergleichen *Fundament Instrument* hat singen lassen/also bald mit Lauten/Bandorn, Geigen/Zincken/Posaunen und

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41. Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum* III, ed. Willibald Gurlitt, Documenta Musicologia, 15 (1619; rpt. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958), p. 128.

dergleichen/etwas anders ohne *Vocal*-Stimmen/allein mit *Instrumenten* zu *Musiciren* anfange.[42]

1.4.5 Aquatic Settings for the Serenata

There is ample evidence to support Mattheson's assertion that serenatas performed "on the water during calm weather" were highly regarded during the Baroque. The libretto cited above on page 8 documenting a 1665 performance on the Grand Canal, Venice, begins with the following recitative sung by Venus with which she sets the scene:

> Now that the trembling waters, wearied,
> seem to glide with slow
> steps, silently, in peaceful calm,
> bearing me upon their surface;
> Now that the rotating stars
> shine, serene and clear, as if it
> were day from the vault of night.
>
> Hor, ch'in placida calma,
> Tenendomi su 'l dorso,
> Par, che l'acque tremante
> Stanche con lento piè scorrin tacendo;
> Hor che gl'astri rotanti
> Nel volto della notte
> Splendono al par del dì sereni, e chiari.

This serenata, the score of which is evidently lost, probably resembled Alessandro Stradella's *Il Barcheggio*, a serenata given at Genoa in 1681.[43] As the title suggests,

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42. Praetorius, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

43. Cf. Jander, "Alessandro Stradella and His Minor Dramatic Works," pp. 130-31.

Il Barcheggio was performed from some sort of barge or skiff. Besides the *basso continuo*, two violins, a trumpet, and a trombone to double the continuo line accompanied the three soloists representing Neptune (bass), Anfitrite (soprano), and Proteus (contralto).

At Rome serenatas were also occasionally heard on the water. During the brief pontificate of Alexander VIII (October 6, 1689 - February 1, 1691) the Pope's nephew Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni planned but never executed an acquatic festival on the Tiber. In *L'Istoria della volgar poesia* Crescimbeni describes it as follows in a chapter entitled "Delle Feste musicali, e delle Cantate, e Serenate":

> Rome has witnessed not a few of them; and a marvelously splendid and ingenious one should have been seen on the Tiber during the glorious pontificate of Pope Alexander VIII if it had not been cancelled because of the too early vacancy which befell the papal seat. It was sponsored and invented by the very generous Cardinal Ottoboni, nephew of that Pontiff; and it was prepared in a large armed galley within which were represented a lady and a cavalier voyaging for pleasure. And after a very sweet *sinfonia* they sang of love, when suddenly their galley was assaulted by a galley of Corsairs, and in the thick of the battle between them the peaceful *sinfonia* was transformed into one of war serving for the combat and accompanying, in a way no longer heard, the frequent firing of cannons and other similar instruments of war until, the noise having somewhat abated [and] the ferocity of the Corsairs having been conquered by the beauty of the lady, the festival ended with a very charming and noble serenata.

> Non poche ne vide anche Roma; ed una maravigliosamente splendida, ed ingegnosa dovevano vedere sopra Tevere nel glorioso Pontificato di Papa Alessandro VIII, se non fusse stata frastornata dalla vacanza della Sede Pontificia, che troppo per tempo sopravvenne. Ella fu promossa, e ritrovata dal generosissimo Cardinale Ottoboni Nipote di quel Pontefice; ed era disposta in una gran Galea armata, entro la quale fingevasi, che gissero a diporto una Dama, ed un Cavaliere; e dopo soavissima sinfonia cantassero d'amore: quando all'improvviso veniva la Galea investita da una Fusta di Corsari, e tramendue attaccatasi zuffa, la sinfonia di placida si volgeva in guerriera, servendo al combattimento, e accompagnando in non più udita maniera un frequente sparo di pezzi, e d'altri simili strumenti da guerra: finchè racquetatosi alquanto il romore, dalla bellezza della Dama vinta la ferocia del Corsaro, si terminava la festa con una molto vaga, e nobile serenata.[44]

Acquatic serenatas can also be documented north of the Alps during the Baroque. An engraving showing the 1699 performance of Giovanni Bononcini's serenata *L'Euleo festeggiante* is reproduced in the *Enciclopedia dello spettacolo*.[45] It shows an elaborate outdoor theater erected in the garden of the Favorita Palace near Vienna. The six singers on stage were separated from the audience by a pool of water, which served to reflect the sound.

Johann David Heinichen's *Serenata fatta sulla Elba* is

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44. Crescimbeni, *L'Istoria della volgar poesia*, I, 298.

45. Emilia Zanetti, "Bononcini, Giovanni Battista," *Enciclopedia dello spettacolo* II, cols. 791-92.

another example of such a work. Given near Dresden on September 18, 1719, as part of the wedding festivities for the Prince Elector of Saxony, it was performed in conjunction with a hunt along the shores of the river Elbe presided over by the goddess Diana. After the court had been seated under a canopy on the right shore of the Elbe:

> . . . the gold- and silver-painted vessel, constructed as if it were Diana's carriage and pulled by four sea horses, came down the Elbe, on which were found the goddess Diana with her four nymphs, Climene, Dafne, Niese, and Alcippe, along with the royal musical chapel, all dressed in clothing of green laurel, and who sang with a variety of instruments an Italian cantata entitled *Diana sur l'Elba* [sic]. . . When this was finished, not only Diana, but also the entire musical chapel proceeded to come ashore . . . where they all witnessed the hunt.
>
> . . . kam das vergolte und versilberte Schiff, so als der Diana Wagon erbaut und von vier Wasser Pferden gezogen wurde, die Elbe herunter, worauff sich die Göttin Diana mit ihren Nimphen, als der Climene, Dafne, Niese und Alcippe, nebenst der Königlichen Capell Musique, die alle in grünen Daffnen Kleidern gekleidet waren, eine Italienische Cantate, Diana sur l'Elba betittult unter allerhand Instrumenten . . . sangen. Als diese vorbey, begaben sich sowhol Diana mit ihren Nimphen als auch die sämtl. Capelle Musique an das Land . . . allwo sie der Jagd mit zusahen.[46]

An engraving showing Diana's carriage landing on the shore of the Elbe was preserved in the *Staatliche*

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46. Irmgard Becker-Glauch, *Die Bedeutung der Musik fuer die Dresdener Hoffeste* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1915), p. 106. This is a quotation from a contemporary account of the festival.

Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden, and has been reproduced in a number of modern studies.[47] It appears remarkably similar to the descriptions of several acquatic *carri trionfali* upon which serenatas were performed near Naples during the 1670s and 80s mentioned an a later chapter of this study.

1.5 Similarities between the Serenata and the Oratorio

The fact that there is little evidence to document the performance of serenatas in opera houses during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries confirms Mattheson's classification of the serenata as a musical genre performed "outside the theater." Like oratorios, serenatas were sometimes given in elaborately decorated temporary structures often called *teatri* in contemporary accounts. The manner of performing oratorios and serenatas during the Baroque, however, differed fundamentally from that of opera.

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47. Most recently in George J. Buelow, *Thorough-Bass Accompaniment according to Johann David Heinichen* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), plate 1.

Ursula Kirkendale correctly states that "not a single oratorio in Italy before 1750 was acted."[48] And similarly, there is little evidence that acting or stage movement was normally employed in the performance of large occasional cantatas or serenatas. Charles Burney confirms this when he writes:

> Cantatas of considerable length, accompanied by a numerous band are usually performed in Italy on great occasions of festivity: as the reconciliation of princes after long disunion, or the arrival of great personages in the capital of state . . . But these differ essentially from what is usually meant by cantata or monologue for a single voice, consisting of short recitatives, and two or three airs at most; as they are occasional poems in which several singers are employed; but though in dialogue, they are performed, like oratorios, without change of scene, or action.[49]

1.5.1 Refreshments at the Performances of Oratorios and Serenatas

It is curious to note that the oratorio and serenata, two musical genres of very different origin, show many similarities by the early eighteenth century. Conceived during the early and middle years of the seventeenth century

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48. Ursula Kirkendale, "The Ruspoli Documents on Handel," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 20 (1967), p. 235, note 44.

49. Charles Burney, *A General History of Music* (1789), ed. Frank Mercer (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1935), II, 606-7.

for performance in Roman prayer halls, oratorios were often constructed in two parts so that they might frame a sermon. When given in Roman palaces shortly after 1700, however, the sermon was no longer retained and the break between the *prima parte* and *parte seconda* served as an intermission at which various refreshments were served. Such a performance is recorded in the travel diary of Friedrich Armand Freiherr von Uffenbach, who describes the performance of Antonio Caldara's *Abisai* at the Palazzo Ruspoli (Via del Corso), Rome, on March 31, 1715:

> . . . in the evening, however, was the weekly concert at Prince Ruspoli's palace which, because of the great amount he expends every year on it, is the best here; and, since he gladly sees every foreigner and allows him to enter without an introduction, we went together there and were led through a great number of excellently furnished rooms to a gigantically large and long gallery in which there was no lack of incomparable paintings and silverware as in the entire house. Everything was most brilliantly lighted, and on both sides of the entire gallery chairs were arranged for the audience, although a place above was kept free for the singers where a great number of *virtuosi* arranged themselves in front of which sat three female singers next to a little *castrato* belonging to Ambassador Gallas; they then gave in this form a splendid concert or so-called oratorio which was quite charming and convinced me that I had heard nothing of such perfection in my entire life . . . About half way through the music they then paused, and quantities of liquors, iced drinks, confection, and coffee were carried around and presented to everyone.
>
> . . . abends aber war das wochentliche grosse concert in des principe Rospoli [*sic*] pallast so wegen seiner vielen unkosten, die er jährlich drauf wendet das beste alheir ist, und weil er

> gern sieht und jedem frembden ohne introduction erlaubt hinzukommen, so fuhren wir mit ein ander dahin und wurden durch eine grosse zahl fürtrefflich meublierter zimmer geführt biss in ein ungeheuer grosse und lange gallerie in der es gleich wie in dem ganz hauss an unvergleichlichen gemälden und silberwerke nicht fehlt, alles war aufs prächtigste illuminirt und zu beyden seiten der ganzen gallerie stühle vor die zunörer gesezet, oben aber der plaz für die musique frey gelassen, alwo eine grosse anzahl Virtuossen sich rengirten und drey Sängerinnen nebst einem kleinen castraden, dem ambassador Gallas gehörig forn an sassen, die denn ein dergestaltig fürtreffliches concert oder so genantes oratorium machten, dass ganz entzückt wurde und überzeugt war, dass der gleichen in solcher perfection mein lebtag nicht gehört hatte; . . . ohngefähr in der helffte der musique machten sie eine pause und da wurden liqueurs, gefrohrne sachen, confect, und caffé in quantität herumb getragen und jedermann presentirt.[50]

This is precisely the same arrangement often followed at the performance of a contemporary serenata, although, unlike an oratorio, a serenata would normally be performed outdoors during the summer months. For example, Giovanni Bononcini's serenata *Sacrificio a Venere* was performed in the Piazza dei

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50. From a document cited by Ursula Kirkendale, *Antonio Caldara: Sein Leben und Seine Venezianisch-Roemischen Oratorien* (Graz: Hermann Böhlaus, 1966), p. 74.

SS. Apostoli, Rome, on August 28, 1714, in celebration of the Empress Elisabeth Christine's birthday.[51] Although a score has never been located, a libretto of the serenata bears the title:

> SACRIFICIO/A VENERE/*SERENATA.*/Fatta cantare nel felicissimo Giorno Natalizio/DELLA S.C.R.C.M./ DELL'AUGUSTISSIMA IMPERATRICE/ELISABETTA/ CRISTINA/*Dall'Illustriss. ed Eccellentiss. Sig.*/Il SIG. CONTE/GIO. VINCISLAO/Di GALLASSO /Ambasciador Cesareo, e Cattolico in Roma./Poesia del. Signor Paolo Antonio Rolli Accademico Quirino./In Napoli, per Camillo Cavalli. 1714/*Con licenza de' Superiori.*

In addition to this libretto, the Imperial Ambassador had an account printed of the festivities he sponsored in celebration of the birthday and nameday of the Empress in 1714. It bears the title:

> RELAZIONI/Della sontuosa Festa celebrata nel felicissimo giorno Natalizio/DELLA/*SACRA CESAREA REAL CATTOLICA MAESTA'*/D'ELISABETTA CHRISTINA/IMPERADRICE/E nel giorno Festivo del Glorioso NOME/DELLA/SACRA

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51. *Cf.* Lowell Lindgren, "A Bibliographic Scrutiny of Dramatic Works Set by Giovanni and His Brother Antonio Maria Bononcini," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1972), I, 149-50, II, 839-40.

CESAREA REAL CATTOLICA MAESTA'/DI CARLO SESTO/IMPERADORE/E TERZO RE' CATTOLICO/ DALL'/*Illustrissimo ed Eccellentissimo Signor Conte*/GIOVANNI VINCISLAO/DI GALLASSO/Ambasciador Cesareocattolico in Roma. [At the bottom of the final page] IN ROMA, Per Paolo Komarek al Corso 1/14. *Con licenza de' Superiori.*

This account, much of which is reproduced as Appendix IV to this dissertation, describes as follows the refreshments served between parts one and two of *Il Sacrificio a Venere*:

> The copies of the serenata perfectly printed in folio having been distributed by His Excellency's gentlemen and pages at two hours of night to all the guests as well as to all the noble and bourgeois ladies in the Piazza [dei SS. Apostoli] who remained in their parked carriages, the grand *sinfonia* was begun, followed by the singing. In the meantime, Domenico Tosi, steward of Our Lord [i.e., the Pope] and of the Most Excellent Count [Johann Wenzel Gallas], prepared the first grand refreshment in order that it might be distributed halfway through the serenata. Early that day sixty-five butlers from the courts of Rome with their subordinates began to work from morning until night in the garden of the Palazzo [Odescalchi], which, since there was no other place, was sheltered from the sun by a large tent, on as many types of iced drinks as their profession was able to supply. The singing having been stopped by applause from everyone at the second chorus of the serenata, His Excellency's gentlemen and pages began to distribute the refreshments to all the nobility in the loggia and apartment without regard for the precedence of their various ranks; the remainder of the refreshments were at the same time distributed by four gentlemen preceded by the *Aiduchi* and followed by one hundred bearers of cups brim full

> of cool drinks to all those who were in their carriages. From the select quality, delicacy of taste, and abundance of the iced liquors, one must conclude that for the entire day the numerous officials had not ceased in their work under the very skilled supervision of Domenico Tosi, an official worthy of the generosity of the Most Excellent Count. During this time His Excellency walked with a bearing of great gentility, now to one, now to another part of the grand loggia, and there he conversed a short while with those ladies and cardinals who had favored him and whom he had brought to spend the evening with him in order to display his special gifts and share with them his pleasure. The first refreshment having ended, the remainder of the serenata began with a repetition of the second chorus . . .

1.5.2 Two Sacred Works which resemble Serenatas

Since an oratorio is most characteristically the setting of sacred or devotional subject matter normally intended to be performed indoors during Lent, while a serenata is a secular, occasional cantata usually performed outdoors during the summer, it is ordinarily easy to distinguish between the two types. Occasionally, however, works are encountered which exhibit elements of both genres.

1.5.2.1 Alessandro Scarlatti's Oratorio *Il Regno di Maria*

Alessandro Scarlatti's *Il Regno di Maria assunta in cielo* is an oratorio which displays a number of characteristics typical of the serenata. According to documents reproduced below in Appendix V, it was first performed in Rome at an

accademia in the Cancelleria on Tuesday night, August 18, 1705. Later that month it was given with much magnificence out-of-doors in the courtyard of the Cancelleria on the evenings of August 23 and 24.

As befitting a work offered in praise of the Virgin, Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni's text for *Il Regno di Maria* is essentially devotional. As is the case with many serenata texts, however, the text of *Il Regno di Maria* abounds with references to immediate political events. The third document reproduced in Appendix V describes it as containing "many words alluding to the present emergencies of war," and at its open-air performances on August 23 and 24, 1705, it bore many of the outward trappings of a serenata in honor of a worldly personage.

Appendix V contains several accounts of the elaborate temporary stage built on this occasion in the courtyard of the Cancelleria. Upon it four singers and an orchestra of from eighty to one hundred strings, trumpets, and other instruments under the direction of Arcangelo Corelli were seated. Great sums were spent to decorate and to illuminate the courtyard and for the refreshments served the noble audience. In addition to the aristocracy, who witnessed the performance of *Il Regno di Maria* from their carriages in the courtyard or from the loggias and windows of the

Cancelleria, a vast throng of commoners gathered in front of the palace to catch a glimpse of this spectacle, the place, time, and setting of which closely resembled that of a secular serenata.

1.5.2.2 Giovanni Battista Costanzi's *Roma giuliva*

Sixteen years later, on the evening of August 14, 1721, Cardinal Ottoboni had Giovanni Battista Costanzi's cantata *Roma giuliva* performed under somewhat similar conditions. Like *Il Regno di Maria*, *Roma giuliva* was a pious work for the Assumption of the Virgin which, nevertheless, closely resembled a serenata. The performance of *Roma giuliva* alongside the Cancelleria in the Via del Pellegrino is described as follows in the printed *Gazette de France*:

> Rome, August 19, 1721
>
> The entire palace [*i.e.*, the Cancelleria] was illuminated. Forty-two voices and a hundred and fourteen instrumentalists performed a concert during which was sung a cantata composed by this Cardinal [Ottoboni] entitled *Rome joyous at the Elevation of her very Holy Pastor, Prince and Citizen*. After the concert a firework display representing the temple of Minerva and the four continents, who come here to offer their sacrifices, was ignited. (September 13, 1721)
>
> De Rome, le 19 Aoust 1721
>
> Tout le Palais estoit illuminé: quarante-deux voix & cent quatorze simphonistes executerent un Concert dans lequel on chanta une Cantate de la composition de ce Cardinal qui estoit intitulée: *Rome joyeuse pour l'Exaltation de son très Saint*

> *Pasteur Prince & Citoyen.* Aprés le Concert, on tira un feu d'artifice dont la decoration representoit le Temple de Minerve & les quatre parties du monde qui y venoient faire leurs offrandes. (13 Septembre 1721)

Although the *Gazette de France* seems to suggest that Cardinal Ottoboni composed the text of *Roma giuliva*, a printed libretto bearing the following title names Gaetano Lemer as its author:

> ROMA GIULIVA/*NELL'ESALTATZIONE*/DEL SUO SS.MO PASTORE/PRINCIPE, E CITTADINO./*COMPONIMENTO*/DEL SIGNOR ABATE GAETANO LEMER/*Pe' la Sera della solita Celebrità de' 15. Agosto/nella Via del Pellegrino.*/FECE LA MUSICA/IL SIG. GIOVAN BATISTA COSTANZI ROMANO./ [Printer's device]/IN ROMA, MDCCXXI./Per Antonio de' Rossi nella strada del/Seminario Romano./*Con licenza de' Superiori.*[52]

Between pages VIII and IX of the libretto there appears an engraving showing the firework display designed by the Cavaliere Domenico Gregorini erected in the Piazza della Cancelleria as well as the two stages (*Palchi per la Cantata*) at each side of the Via del Pellegrino upon which

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52. I Rvat (Rome, Vatican Library), Barberini JJJ.IX.47(5. This large cantata, unreported in the work-lists for Costanzi, begins with a chorus "S'affidi pure al Mare in mezzo al verno." The libretto clearly displays a number of Cardinal Ottoboni's heraldic devices.

were situated the numerous singers and instrumentalists. [Illustration 3]

The two occasions celebrated by this cantata are clearly named on the title page of the above libretto: the Festival of the Assumption of the Virgin (*la solita Celebrità de' 15. Agosto*) and the elevation of Innocent XIII, the Roman Michelangelo Conti, to the papacy (*L'ESALTAZIONE DEL SUO SS.MO PASTORE PRINCIPE, E CITTADINO*). A good example of how the poet is able to reconcile these two seemingly unrelated events and unite them into a quasi-dramatic whole is found on page XI of the libretto, when Africa sings the following recitative and aria:

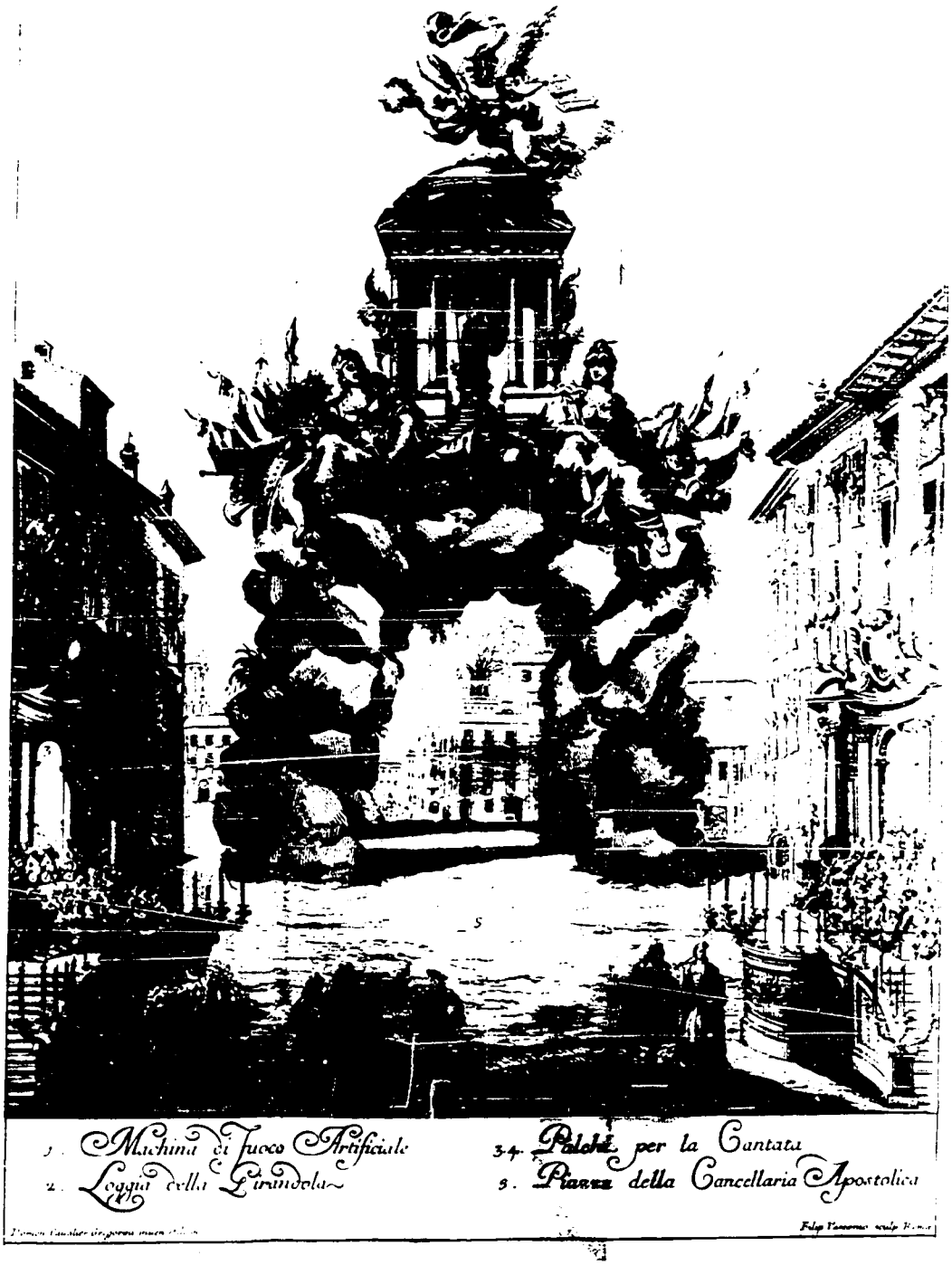
(Recit.)
THE MAGNANIMOUS SPANIARD
took welcome revenge for the outrages done me;
and while he hastens
to pull down from his throne the usurping Moor,
I wish to be an observer,
oh Rome, of your celebrations now that
INNOCENCE and mercy are seen enthroned in you.

(Aria)
With a light of friendship
the chaste
young Virgin,
pure and beauteous,
came at last to rule and reign.
After thousands and thousands of afflictions,
you, oh Rome, may enjoy
clear days, gentle breezes.
With etc.

Illustration 3

Engraving from the libretto ROMA GIULIVA

I Rvat (Rome, Vatican Library), Barberini JJJ.IX.47(5.


1. Machina di fuoco Artificiale
2. Loggia della Girandola
3.4. Palchi per la Cantata
5. Piazza della Cancellaria Apostolica

(Recit.)
IL MAGNANIMO ISPANO
Fe degl'oltraggi miei grata vendetta;
E mentre, ch'ei s'affretta
Il Mauro usurpator di trar dal Soglio,
Spettatrice esser voglio,
O Roma, de' tuoi fasti, or che si vede
Ch'INNOCENZA, e pietade ha in te la Sede.

(Aria)
Venne pur con luce amica
La pudica
Verginella
Pura, e bella
A dar legge, ed a regnar.
Dopo mille affanni, e mille,
Chiari giorni, aure tranquille
Potrai, Roma, respirar.
Venne &c.

Perhaps because of this dual nature, one aspect of which is pious, devotional, doctrinal, and appropriate for setting as an oratorio, while the other is occasional, contemporary, congratulatory, and thoroughly serenata-like, the libretto of *Roma giuliva* bears only the non-specific term *componimento* (composition) on its title page.

This similarity sometimes observed between the texts of oratorios and of the many secular musical entertainments of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was noted by the literary critic and historian Francesco Saverio Quadrio. Of the latter he writes disparagingly:

> We have in another place already touched upon these musical festivals which were the antecedents of dramas [*i.e.*, operas]; and they bore this name because on occasions of happiness at festivals and diversions it was the custom to sing, in this

guise with some dramatic poetry, an introduction and accompaniment to spectacles, mock-combats, tourneys, jousts, ballets, and other similar things of which more need not be said. Nor is there any need to waste time in [a consideration] of their style since all that which we have said concerning oratorios would require repetition here, these dramatic festivals not differing from oratorios except that the latter have for their argument sacred subjects whereas the former treat of worldly matters.

Noi abbiamo già altrove toccato il cominciamento di queste Feste Musicali, che fecero a Drammi la via; e così s'appellarono, perchè per occasione di qualche allegrezza, con festa, e giuochi si solevano cantare, facendo a questa guisa con qualche melodrammatica poesia introduzione, e accompagnamento a spettacoli, armeggiamenti, tornei, giostre, balletti, e altre simile cose: onde qui non occorre più dirne. Nè meno quanto al loro artifizio e uopo di perdervi tempo: perciocchè quanto abbiamo detto degli Oratorj, tutto qui intender si dee replicato: non essendo queste Feste Drammatiche dagli Oratorj diverse, eccetto che questi hanno per argomento suggetti sacri, dove quelle intorno a cose profane si versano.[53]

As a literary and musical genre, the serenata finds its place among these secular festivals which in style closely resemble that of oratorios. Librettos for serenatas, when published, often bear such descriptive labels as *favoletta dramatica*, *applauso genetliaco*, *festeggio armonico*, or *festa teatrale* on their title pages. The generic musical terms *cantata* or *serenata* are almost always those found on the surviving scores. As in oratorios, ballets, and other

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53. Quadrio, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pt. II, pp. 500-1.

quasi-dramatic compositions of the era, allegorical characters are often encountered, although pastoral or mythological figures as well as the personification of places, rivers, or other natural objects are also common. Since serenatas are by nature occasional, their plots are often designed as an encomium to the person being honored or constructed so as to end with one. The dimensions of a serenata may vary greatly. Alessandro Scarlatti's largest serenata *La Virtù negli amori* required six soloists as well as a chorus and orchestra. In length it approaches that of contemporary opera. Other serenatas, such as those mentioned above on page 9, are virtually indistinguisable from chamber cantatas *a voce sola*.

Chapter 2

The Early Years in Rome and Naples

1671 - 1687

The serenata *Diana ed Endimione* has been long regarded as Alessandro Scarlatti's earliest known composition in this genre. In his pioneering biography of Scarlatti, Edward Dent suggested that it was probably composed in Rome before Scarlatti's move to Naples late in 1683, "as it is in the careful manner of his earliest operas, with airs on the smallest possible scale, and accompaniments finished with a delicacy for which he had no time at Naples."[54] Following Dent's lead, Domenico de' Paoli speculated that it may have been written for Scarlatti's first major patron in Rome, Queen Christine of Sweden.[55]

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54. Edward J. Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti*, preface and additional notes by Frank Walker (1905; rpt. London: Edward Arnold, 1960), p. 68.

55. Domenico de' Paoli, "Diana ed Endimione di Alessandro Scarlatti," *La Rassegna musicale*, XIII (1940), 136-46.

2.1 Serenatas for Queen Christine of Sweden

There can be little doubt that Christine witnessed many serenatas during the years of her Roman residency. Christian Gottfried Franckenstein, the anonymous author of the *Histoire des intrigues galantes de la reine Christine de Suede*, assures us of this when he writes:

> Finally the queen returned to Rome for the third time [on November 22, 1668], never to leave again. She arrived during the pontificate of Clement IX, of which one might say that it was the golden age of our century, just as the pontificate of Innocent XI was the age of iron. In effect, under the reign of the Rospigliosi, the court of Rome became so magnificent that it surpassed all others in splendor and elegance. New spectacles were seen there every day: sometimes the entry of an ambassador, at other times the promotion of cardinals, today a festival, tomorrow a cavalcade; one entertainment was followed by another. Ordinarily mornings were given to devotion and to business. After the [evening] meal, which was usually large and served with extraordinary propriety (for French customs were coming into vogue), one went to comedies and operas where there were astonishing machines, or one heard a serenade composed of excellent music intermingled with concerts and a charming symphony.
>
> La Reine revint enfin pour la 3. fois à Rome, pour n'en plus sortir. Elle y arrive sous le Pontificat de Clement IX, qu'on peut dire avoir été l'âge d'or de nôtre Siecle, comme le Pontificat d'Innocent XI, en a été l'âge de fer. En effet sous le regne des Rospigliosi, la Cour de Rome devint si magnifique, qu'elle surpassoit toutes les autres en splendeur, & en galanterie. On y voyoit tous les jours des spectacles

> nouveaux, tântot une promotion de Cardinaux, aujourdhuy une fête, demain une Cavalcade; les divertissemens se succèdoient les uns aux autres, on donnoit ordinairement le matin à la devotion, & aux affaires, aprés le repas qui etoit d'ordinare abondant & servi d'une propreté extraordinaire (car on commençoit a traiter à la Françoise [*sic*]) on alloit à la Comedie, & à l'Opera, où il y avoit des machines surprenantes, ou bien on entendoit une serenade composée d'une excellente musique, mêlée de concerts, & d'une simphonie charmante.[56]

2.1.1 Carnival, 1666

A set of weekly intelligence reports or *avvisi* by the Genoese agent in Rome, Ferdinando Raggi, for a six-year period ending in March, 1669, is preserved in the Archivio di Stato, Genoa.[57] One of these *avvisi* furnished Achille Neri with the following account of a serenata given for Queen Christine during the carnival of 1666:

> . . . on the last evening of carnival Cardinal Albizi "had a serenata performed on a cart" for her; but because at that moment "the bell of the Gesù calling the fathers to end the Forty Hours devotion rang and interfered with the hearing of the voices, word was sent telling them to cease the ringing."
>
> . . . l'ultima sera di carnivale le "fece fare

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56. [Christian Gottfried Franckenstein], *Histoire des intrigues galantes de la reine Christine de Suede et de sa cour, pendant son sejour à Rome* (Amsterdam: Jan Henri, 1697), pp. 57-58.

57. Lettere Ministri, Roma, mazzi 28-33, according to Achille Neri, *Costumanze e sollazzi* (Genoa: R. Istituto Sordo-Muti, 1883), pp. 48 ff.

> sopra un carro una serenata"; ma perchè in questo mentre "la campana del Gesù sonava, chiamando li padri a levare le quarant'hore, et impediva che non si sentissero bene le voci, li fu mandato a dire che cessassero di sonare".[58]

Perhaps Cardinal Albizi's serenata resembled Alessandro Stradella's "Qual *prodigio è ch'io miri*," a serenata believed to have been performed in Rome ca. 1675 from two coaches.[59] A number of other serenatas will be cited in the course of this dissertation which were performed from coaches or other similar vehicles. Most of these, however, differed from Cardinal Albizi's serenata in that they were heard during the summer months. It is clear that musicians often performed from carnival carts during the seventeenth century, but little is known about the specific works employed during this season. Perhaps they resembled the *canti carnascialeschi* of the Renaissance. Most of the serenatas or large cantatas heard outdoors at Rome during the Baroque were limited by custom and weather to the warmer months of July, August and September.

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58. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

59. Published in Friedrich Chrysander, *Handel's Works: Supplement III* (Leipzig, 1889).

2.1.2 August, 1670

The performance of another serenata in Christine's honor is recorded in the *Apologie ou les veritables mémoires de Madame la Connestable de Colonna Maria Mancini*, a work attributed by some in part, by others entirely, to the French pamphleteer Gabriel de Brémond (Saint-Brémond):

> A little later I wished to give a concert of music for the Queen of Sweden, to entertain this princess and at the same time to occupy her active state of mind which takes extreme pleasure not only in her own occupations, but in finding ways for others to spend their time. At that time my sister and brother shared all their thoughts with each other, and it seemed that they had formed a league against me, neither of them coming to see me. Nevertheless, I did not fail to have them invited to my concert; and the music, which was applauded by everyone, was ridiculed by my brother, who even said that the voices and airs were the most pitiable in the world and the symphony worse yet. My sister said not a word, but by her grimaces she as much as applauded this so cruel censure which put me in such a rage that we became completely estranged.
>
> Peu de temps après, j'eus envie de donner un concert de musique à la reine de Suède, pour régaler cette princesse, et occuper en même temps son humeur agissante, qui prend un plaisir extréme non seulement à faire toujours quelque chose, mais à donner de l'occupation aux autres. Ma soeur et mon frère vivaient alors d'assez bonne intelligence ensemble, et il semblait qu'ils avaient fait une ligue contre moi, affectant même l'un et l'autre de ne me venir pas voir. Je ne laissai pas néanmoins de les convier à mon concert; et la musique ayant été applaudie de tout le monde, fut raillée par mon frère jusqu'a dire que les voix et les airs étaient les choses du monde les plus pitoyables et la symphonie encore

> pis. Ma soeur ne disait mot, mais par ses grimaces elle applaudissait assez à une si cruelle censure; ce qui me mit tellement en colère que nous rompîmes entièrement.[60]

According to Alberto Cametti, Maria Mancini gave this serenata in August, 1670.[61] It is of interest to note that both Saint-Brémond and Franckenstein mention the instrumental as well as the vocal component of the serenata, recalling Mattheson's characterization of it as "sempre con Stromenti."

2.2 Queen Christine and the Roman *Accademia*

Besides witnessing serenatas in her honor, Christine actively organized numerous musical performances during her long sojourn in Rome. Soon after her arrival there she began to hold meetings to which the leading intellectuals and artists of the day were invited. Literary or scientific issues were discussed at these *accademie*, the first of which was held on January 24, 1656. Music played a role at these

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60. [Gabriel de Brémond], *Apologie ou les veritables mémoires de Madame la Connestable de Colonna Maria Mancini*, ed. Gérard Doscot (Paris: Mercure de France, 1956), p. 143.

61. Alberto Cametti, "Christina di Svezia: L'arte musicale e gli spettacoli teatrali in Roma," *Nuova antologia di lettere, scienze ed arti*, series V (Sept.-Oct., 1911), p. 649.

gatherings almost from the beginning. Her third meeting included a semi-theatrical concert in which actors representing Night preceded by the Twelve Hours with torches in hand made an entrance accompanied by four Stars. Night sang and the four Stars performed a dance described as a *canario*.[62]

The articles or *Constituzioni dell'Academia Reale*, drawn up in 1674 to govern these meetings, specify in some detail the role of music:

> Every *accademia* will begin with a *sinfonia*, after which the first part of the musical entertainment destined for that day's *accademia* will be sung. This first part finished, the academic reading will be given, after which the second part of the composition will be sung; and in this way it will end with music just as it began.
>
> When the entertainment is not to be divided into two parts, one will begin as usual with the *sinfonia*, and in such a case it will be followed by the reading.
>
> Ogn'Accademia comincerà con una sinfonia, dopo la quale si canterà la prima parte del componimento musicale, destinato per l'Accademia di quel giorno: Finita questa prima parte, si farà la lezzione Accademica, doppo la quale si canterà la seconda parte della composizione, e così finerà con la musica, come principiò.

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62. Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato, *Historia della Sacra Real Maestà di Christina Alessandra Regina di Svetia* (Rome, 1656), pp. 283 ff., cited by Per Bjürstrom, *Feast and Theatre in Queen Christina's Rome*, Analecta Reginensia III (Stockholm, 1966), p. 88.

> Quando il Componimento non farà diviso in due parti; si comincerà pure con la sinfonia, ed in tal caso si leggerà parimente dopo la sinfonia.[63]

The practice described above of beginning an academic meeting with an instrumental *sinfonia* followed by a two-part cantata framing a reading closely parallels the practice established earlier in the oratories of Rome. It seems very likely that the musical oratorio served as the model for the cantatas performed at academic gatherings just as it did for the two-part serenata. Scores for cantatas performed at such learned gatherings often bore the expression *per l'accademia* or *accademia* as part of their title, and by the end of the seventeenth century the term *accademia*, like *serenata* and *oratorio*, was being used to designate a musical genre.

These meetings instituted by Christine were continued by her colleagues after her death, and in this way the Arcadian society was founded. Crescimbeni recalls that it met every

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63. [J. Arckenholtz], *Mémoires concernant Christine, reine de Suede, pour servir d'éclaircissement à l'histoire de son regne et principlement de sa vie privée. . .* (Amsterdam and Leipzig: Pierre Mortier, 1760), IV, 30-31.

year from May 1 to October 7 in the garden of one of its aristocratic patron's villas.[64] During the warm summer months these meetings surely took place during the evening, and whether the cantata performed at such a gathering was identified as a *serenata* or *accademia* was of little significance. When used as generic musical terms in such cases the two words were virtually synonymous.

2.3 Serenatas by Queen Christine

Like many of her fellow academicians, Christine harbored literary ambitions. On at least one occasion she attempted to write the text of a serenata, the motif of which was taken from the section "In morte di Laura" of Petrarch's canzona VII. All that remains, or perhaps was ever

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64. Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni, "Breve notizia dello stato antico, e moderno dell'adunanza degli Arcadi pubblicata l'anno 1712 . . . ," in *L'Istoria della volgar poesia* (Venice: Lorenzo Basegio, 1731), VI, 308.

completed, are three versions of a scenario for this serenata.[65] Sven Stolpe has published a version of Christine's scenario in Italian, which he regards as definitive.[66] The following is a translation of the beginning of it which contains a summary of the plot and the basic elements of Christine's serenata:

2.3.1 The Tale of Clori and Damone

> Serenata for five voices, two sopranos, a contralto, tenor, and bass, accompanied by the customary instruments and *sinfonie*.
>
> While enjoying the silence and cool air of a beautiful and tranquil night on a balcony, Clori and Damone sing a dialogue full of tenderness and love, giving voice to their amorous passions for each other. Together they lament their misfortune which so often cruelly divides them and interposes so many difficult obstacles to their happiness.
>
> While engaged in these affections, they hear from afar a *sinfonia* which interrupts them.
>
> After the *sinfonia*, three voices sing together, the tenor of which says that to live happily one must rather flee from Love.
>
> The contralto responds that in order to live happily together one must follow Love.
>
> The bass says that Love, like death, cannot be escaped, that he who flees him is wise, but that

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65. Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine, vol. XIII, fols. 12-22, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds français, nouv. acq. 6201.

66. Sven Stolpe, *Kristina-Studier* (Uppsala: Allquist & Wiksells boktryckeri, 1959), pp. 204-208.

> he who is not captured and vanquished by him is fortunate, that one does not love by choice but by fate; and together they argue about this topic until they are interrupted by another *sinfonia*, after which Clori and Damone engage in another dialogue, singing at times simultaneously, at times pathetically alone. They let it be known that the serenata has filled them with doubts and suspicions, but that, nevertheless, these are required of lovers and not offensive to them, and they finish by thanking Love for all that he has made them suffer and enjoy. They are astonished that Love, that god so extolled, of whom everyone speaks and writes, should be so little understood in the world. With these reflections they thank him again for having wounded them with so noble a dart, for having inflamed them with such a beauteous love, for having revealed to them alone his most hidden and precious mysteries, unknown to the common herd; and they boast that of those enjoying the kingdom of Love, none have suffered or desired as much as they.
>
> While this is happening, the bass enters into their ensemble and in a recitative rejoices further in the happiness with which Love blesses those whom he deigns to make felicitous, and on this subject the two sopranos and bass sing.
>
> After this the three voices sing again in unanimity [to the sentiments above], and then another *sinfonia* is played, and finally a five-voice madrigal, the most tender and pathetic the composer can create, ends the work.

A photographic reproduction of part of this scenario was displayed at an exhibition of Christine memorabilia at the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, in 1966. The authors of the catalogue for this exhibition describe the scenario as

> . . . a musical pastoral about Cloris and Damone with a discussion on the nature of love. An exercise in a style claiming at more natural

> and dignified modes [*sic*] of expression than the stylisation of the preceding period (marinism).[67]

It has been asserted that Christine intended Alessandro Guidi to write the poetry and Alessandro Scarlatti the music for the tale of Clori and Damone.[68] No evidence in support of this assertion, however, has come to light.

If the tale of Clori and Damone was never set by Scarlatti, indeed, even if it was never transformed into a finished libretto, it nevertheless exhibits many typical characteristics of the serenata in the second half of the seventeenth century. The open-air setting on a balcony at night conforms to the oldest renaissance tradition of the serenata. The fact that Christine conceived her serenata as a dramatic work, however, betrays the influence of the *seicento*. The plot, revolving around the two lovers' fears and doubts, is exiguous and soon leads into a dispute concerning the nature of love. In this way an academic argument has cleverly been transformed into the text of a cantata. Such a work would have been perfectly appropriate for performance at an *accademia*, and perhaps Christine had

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67. *Christina: Queen of Sweden--a Personality of European Civilization*, Nationalmusei Utställningskatalog 305 (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1966), p. 394.

68. C. Bildt, "Kristina och teatern i Rom," *Ord och bild*, VI (1897), p. 258.

just this in mind. The prominent use of instruments called for by Christine in her scenario again attests to the fact that instruments were regarded as an essential element of the baroque serenata. It is of interest to note that a *sinfonia* heard from afar (*da lontano*) much like the one prescribed by Christine is found in A. Scarlatti's serenata *Erminia*, a work written approximately forty years after Christine's scenario.

2.3.2 Alessandro Guidi's *L'Endimione*

Alessandro Guidi, the poet mentioned above, came to Rome in 1683 and was in Christine's service until her death in 1689. He collaborated with her in writing a five act drama, *L'Endimione*.[69] There can be little doubt that this text was intended to be set to music, but, like the tale of Clori and Damone, it corresponds to no known work by A. Scarlatti and should not be confused with any of this composer's extant serenatas.

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69. *Poesie d'Alessandro Guidi* (Verona: Giovan Alberto Tumermani, 1726), pp. 213-262.

2.3.3 Bernardo Pasquini's *Accademia per musica*

During the years she spent in Rome, Christine must have served as the patron for many serenatas and large cantatas in addition to the works mentioned above. Probably the best known of these is Bernardo Pasquini's setting of Alessandro Guidi's *Accademia per musica*, a work given several times by the Queen during February 1687 to celebrate the coronation of James II as King of England. The five voices which sang this work are reported to have been accompanied by an orchestra of one hundred and fifty strings under the direction of Arcangelo Corelli. Although the score of this work is not known to have survived, an inventory of the Queen's property left after her death has been brought to light by Per Bjurström, who believes that it contains information relative to the performance of Pasquini's cantata. The *Accademia per musica* was evidently heard in a room of the Palazzo Riario measuring 24 x 10 meters. The singers and instrumentalists were situated in a "teatro" consisting of a seven-tiered podium separated by a balustrade from the rest of the chamber.[70]

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70. Per Bjurström, *Feast and Theatre in Queen Christine's Rome* (Stockholm: Nationalmusei, 1966), pp. 89, 103, 131-32.

2.3.4 August, 1685

Pasquini's *Accademia per musica* in 1687 was not the first large cantata given by Christine in honor of the catholic James II. The printed *Gazzetta di Napoli* records as follows the performance of an anonymous serenata in Rome on the feast of Saint Lawrence, August 10, 1685:

> Rome, August 14, 1685
>
> . . . on the feast of Saint Lawrence, Her Majesty the Queen of Sweden, having had platforms for the audience built here, had performed a serenata wishing happiness for the King of England.
>
> Roma, 14. Agosto 1685
>
> . . . La Maestà della Regina di Svezia per la festa di San Lorenzo fece fare la serenata sopra la felicità del Rè d'Inghilterra, facendosi qui li palchi per l'uditori.

2.3.5 Summer, 1688

In a later, enlarged edition of his above-cited work, Christian Gottfried Franckenstein records the performance of another anonymous serenata sponsored by Christine. Evidently this serenata was heard in Rome during the summer of 1688, the last of Christine's lifetime:

> During the time when the queen had united her interests with those of the French Ambassador, the Marquis de Lavardin, . . . Barbon persuaded the queen to give a serenata in spite of the annoyance she had suffered from the Pontiff, all the more since the fine weather allowed it. Airs and

recitatives requiring the accompaniment of choirs of instruments were sung; the most famous musicians of Rome took part along with two of the queen's best female singers, la Giorgina or Angelique, and Mariouche or Marote, the daughter of Barbon and Landini. An amphitheater was erected in a little jasmine garden belonging to the Marquis Delmonte's apartment which opened on the street facing the queen's palace. Such preparations had never been seen before, for a great number of platforms for the ladies were erected from which Barbon did not fail to show off the beautiful Riga, and upon which he had a loge for her and her friends built. Several rehearsals were also given in the queen's great hall, the last of which was extraordinary because of the types of instruments and fine voices, the illuminations equaling the symphony in charm.

Dans le tems que la Reine s'unissoit d'interests avec le Marquis de Lavardin Ambassadeur de France, . . . le Barbon persuada à la Reine de faire une serenade en depit des chagrins qu'elle recevoit du pontife, d'autant plus que la belle saison le permettoit. On fit des couplets de chanson, & des recits qu'on devoit chanter, avec des coeurs d'instrumens: les plus fameux musiciens de Rome furent de la partie, avec deux des meilleures chanteuses de la Reine, la Giorgine, ou Angelique, & Mariouche, ou Marote, fille du Barbon & de la Landini. On dressa un amphitheatre dans un petit Jardin de Jasmin, de l'appartement du Marquis Delmonte, qui donnoit sur la rue, vis-à-vis le Palais de la Reine. On n'a jamais vû tant d'apprests, car on fit quantité d'échafauts pour les Dames, où le Barbon ne menqua [*sic*] pas de mettre en vûe la belle, Riga, & de faire construire une loge pour elle & ses amis; on fit aussi plusieurs répetitions dans le grand Salon de la Reine, dont le dernier fut extraordinaire par cette sorte d'instrumens, & de

belles voixs, les Illuminacions respondoient à la Simphonie, qui étoit charmante.[71]

2.4 Alessandro Scarlatti's Serenata *Diana ed Endimione*

The evidence presented above, although by no means a comprehensive survey of Queen Christine's activity as a patron of music in Rome, clearly indicates that she was involved in the performance of many serenatas. No specific evidence, however, has as yet come to light which would link her name to Alessandro Scarlatti's serenata *Diana ed Endimione*.

Whether or not Queen Christine commissioned this work, there is good reason to suspect that Scarlatti wrote it for a patron in Rome. While no serenata written by Scarlatti for a Neapolitan patron before 1696 is known to be extant, at least three scores for *Diana ed Endimione* have survived.[72] The fact that one or perhaps two of these scores are today in France suggests that Scarlatti may have

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71. [Christian Gottfried Franckenstein], *Memoires des intrigues politiques et galantes de la reine Christine de Suede et de sa cour: dépuis sont [sic] abdications, & pendant son séjour à Rome* (Liege: J. François Broncart, 1710), II, 47-49.

72. The sources for Alessandro Scarlatti's serenatas are listed in Appendix I.

composed this work for a French patron in Rome.

If this should prove true, *Diana ed Endimione* may have been the serenata given under the auspices of the French Ambassador François Annibal D'Estrées for the visiting Duchess of Nivers in 1679. In an as yet unpublished study of Scarlatti's opera *Gli Equivoci nel sembiante*, Frank D'Accone cites documents showing that on the evening of July 18, 1679, the French Ambassador had this opera performed in the Palazzo Farnese at an entertainment for the Duchess, the wife of Cardinal Mazarin's nephew Filippo Mancini. On the following evening, Wednesday, July 19, 1679, the same ambassador had a very beautiful serenata performed in the courtyard of the Palazzo Rospigliosi. An *avviso* in the Vatican Library describes it as:

> . . . a very large concert of instrumentalists and singers for the said lady with a great crowd of ladies and cavaliers in attendance.
>
> . . . un grandissimo concerto d'instrumenti e musici a detta Signora con gran concorso di dame e cavallieri.[73]

The same *avviso* mentions that Cardinal Maldachino planned a serenata for the enjoyment of the Duchess of Nivers on the evening of July 21, 1679. Because the cardinal wished to

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73. I Rvat Barb. Lat. 6420 fol. 260v. I am grateful to Prof. Frank D'Accone for this and the following two extracts from this collection of *avvisi di Roma*.

have either Francesco Maria Fede or Giuseppe Fede, both sopranos in the Sistine chapel, take part in this performance, it was evidently prohibited by order of Innocent XI:

> Cardinal Maldachino . . . had a very beautiful and magnificent serenata prepared for the Duchess of Nivers last night, but because he was unable to obtain permission for Fede to sing in it, since the Pope does not wish chapel singers to profane their voices, he [the Cardinal] was extremely mortified not only at seeing his intention thwarted, but also because the above-mentioned Duchess left this morning.
>
> Il Cardinale Maldachino . . . haveva fatto preparare una bellissima e Magnifica Serenata per hieri sera alla Duchessa di Nivers ma per non haver potuto haver licenza che vi cantasse il Musico Fede per non voler il Papa, che i Musici di Cappella profanino le loro voci è restato mortificato all'ultimo segno sì per vedere delusi i suoi pensieri come per esser partita questa mattina la cenata Duchessa.[74]

From another *avviso* it is learned that thanks to Don Taddeo Barberini, the Prince of Palestrina, Rome witnessed at least one other serenata that summer:

> On Sunday evening a beautiful serenata with more than forty divers instruments was given by the Prince of Palestrina for a great crowd of noble young ladies and other people, and on Wednesday evening it was repeated by the Marchese Astalli. If in this city one does not find some solace at night, one would surely die of melancholy.

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74. *Ibid.*, fol. 257r-v.

> Domenica sera dal Signore Principe di Pelestrina una bellissima Serenata con più di 40 stromenti diversi con gran concorso di Dame, Pedine e d'altra gente concorso [?] e mercordì sera fu replicata dal Signore March' Astalli e veramente se in questa città non si prendette qualche sollievo la notte si morirebbe di malinconia.[75]

It is unfortunate that none of the *avvisi* extracts cited above clearly identifies the serenata in question. No reference to the occasion upon which *Diana ed Endimione* was first performed can be found on the title pages of its surviving scores, nor does its text betray any clue to its origin. Although the circumstances leading to its composition and first performance remain a mystery, the accounts cited above should furnish some idea of the Roman milieu in which it was probably conceived.

2.5 The Marchese del Carpio: Patron of Music in Rome and Naples

In late 1683 Alessandro Scarlatti was brought to Naples by Don Gaspar de Haro e Guzman, the Marchese del Carpio, who had assumed the office of Spanish Viceroy of Naples in January of that year. Like many of his predecessors and

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75. *Ibid.*, fol. 350r.

successors, del Carpio had held the post of Spanish Ambassador in Rome before his appointment as Viceroy of Naples. Thus he had witnessed the young Scarlatti's earliest Roman triumphs: at least four operas, four oratorios (only one of which is known to be extant), and an uncertain number of cantatas and sacred compositions.

While in Rome del Carpio could not have failed to note the political and diplomatic advantages to be gained through the extravagant and conspicuous patronage of the arts then customarily practiced by the princely families and ambassadors residing in the Eternal City. In fact, he quickly assimilated this Roman tradition and came to play an important role as patron of the arts soon after his arrival there in 1677. Later, as Viceroy of Naples, del Carpio continued the same lavish and politically inspired patronage of music in Naples that had characterized his tenure in Rome. He and his predecessors furnish a concrete link between many of the musical practices promoted by the Viceregal court of Naples and the Roman traditions which served as their models.

2.5.1 Summertime Music and Spectacle in Rome

In Rome conspicuous public entertainments were organized by del Carpio on Saint Anne's day (July 26) for the nameday

celebration of the Queen Mother, Marianna of Austria, and on the feast of Saint Louis (August 25), the nameday of Charles II's first wife, Maria Luisa of Orléans, the Queen of Spain. The festivities in the Piazza di Spagna during the summer of 1681 were probably the most elaborate organized by del Carpio during his tenure in Rome and are described in the *avvisi di Roma* at Munich as follows:

> Rome, August 2, 1681
>
> On Saturday night [July 26] for the birthday [*sic*] of the Queen Mother of Spain, the Catholic Ambassador had the entire facade of the Palazzo [di Spagna] illuminated with burning torches, and in the square [in front of it] he had a musical serenata and instrumental pieces [performed] and gifts and precious refreshments distributed to some of the noble dignitaries and ladies who heard it.
>
> Roma, 2 agosto 1681
>
> Il S.*ignor* Ambasc.*iatore* Cattolico per il giorno natalizio della Reg.*ina* madre di Spagn.*a* sabato sera fece illuminare tutta la facciata del Palazzo del Re con torce accese a fare nella Piazza di essa una serenata in musica ed sinfonie, e distributioni de regali e pretiosi rinfreschi ad alcuni Titulari, e Dame che furono a sentirla.[76]
>
> Rome, August 30, 1681
>
> On the morning of the 25th the Sacred College attended chapel in [the Church of] S. Luigi dei Francesi.
>
> Since the Queen of Spain bears the name of the saint named above, on the following evening the Catholic Ambassador had the windows of the houses

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76. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 193, fol. 158r.

all along the Piazza [di Spagna] illuminated, and [in it] he placed very beautiful crystal chandeliers and firework displays representing towers, lions, and lilies; and in front of the royal Palazzo [di Spagna] a large and sumptuous platform was erected with the name of that same queen above it and a crown, completely illuminated, at its summit. On the said platform there was a beautiful orchestra of sixty instrumentalists, and the goddesses Fame, Peace, and the river Tiber sang various arias in praise of the same queen for a very great crowd of people, nobles, and ladies, to whom precious refreshments were given as well as a banquet that morning for a great number of prelates and cavaliers . . .

Roma, 30 agosto 1681

Il Sacro Collegio la mattina delli 25 tenne Capp.ella in S. Luigi de francesi.

Portando il nome di detto Santo la Regina sposa di Spagn.a L'Ambasciatore Catt.olico fece la sera seg.uente illuminare le fenestre delle Case, et porre quantità di Candalabri di Cristalli molto vaghi et fuochi di artificio rappresentanti Torri Leoni e Gigli per lungo tutta la Piazza del Palazzo Regio avanti il quale era eretta una grande, e sontuosa ringhiera con sopra il nome rappresentante della Med.esima Reg.ina, et in Cima una gran Corona tutta illuminata, et in d.etta ringhiera fu belliss.imo Concerto di Sinfonie con 60 Instrumenti et cantate varie ariette di dea Fama Pace, e fiume Tebro in lode della med.esima Reg.ina con grandiss.imo concorso di Popolo, Nobiltà, e Dame alla quale si diede pretiosi rinfreschi oltre il banchetto dato la mattina a gran n.umero di Prelati, e Cav.alieri . .
77
. [Illustration 4]

According to the published catalogue of the archive and library attached to the Spanish Embassy to the Vatican

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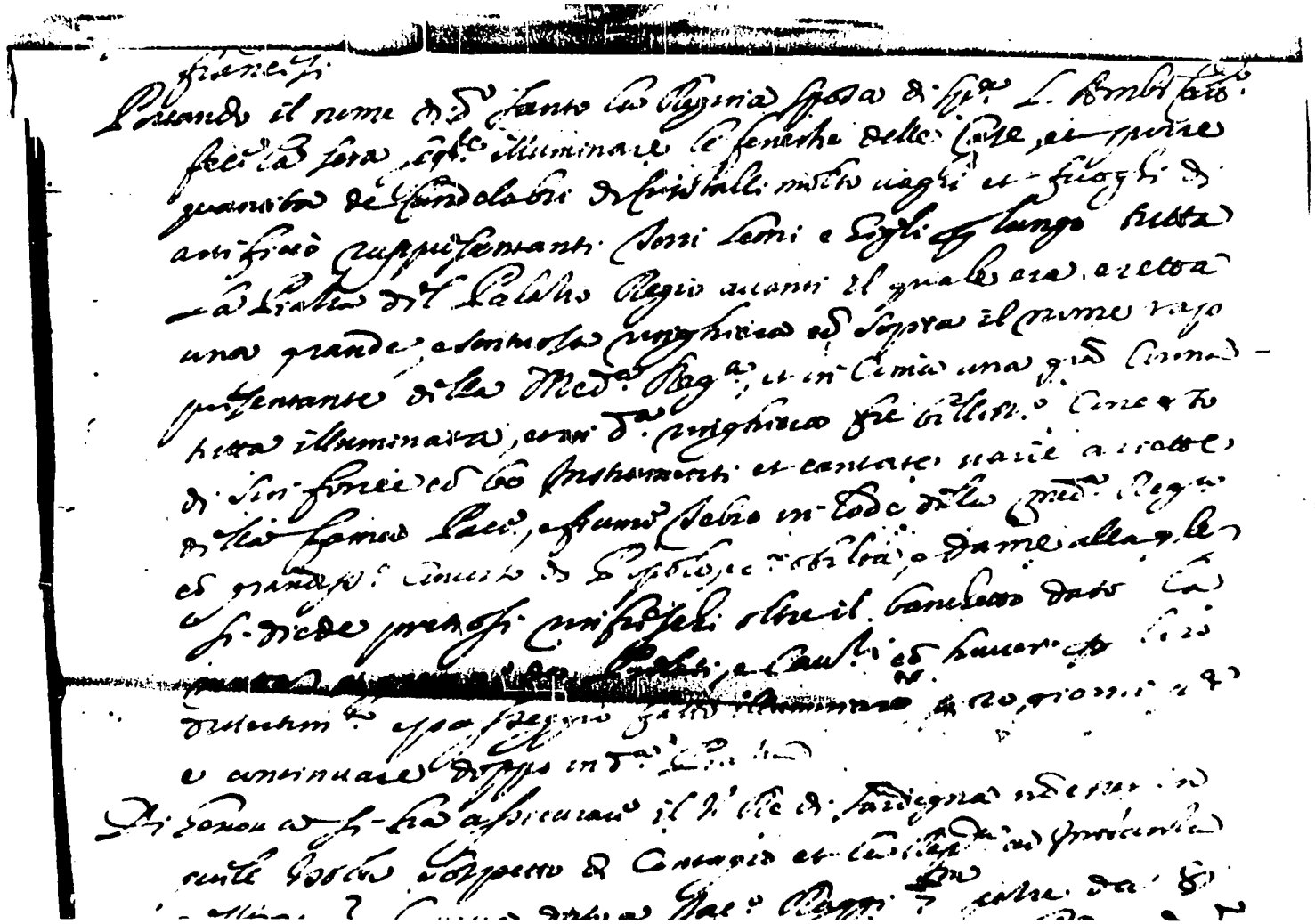
77. *Ibid.*, fol. 169r.

Illustration 4

Avviso di Roma dated August 30, 1681

D Mbs, Cod. ital. 193, fol. 169r.



located in the Palazzo di Spagna, Rome, the Marchese del Carpio commissioned an official account of the festivities in honor of Queen Maria Luisa in 1681.[78] Until 1953 this anonymous account and all the historical documents of the Spanish Embassy were preserved in Rome. In that year the archival materials prior to 1850 were transferred to the Archivo del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Palacio de Santa Cruz, Madrid. Before their transfer to Madrid, however, these documents were photographed and can today be consulted on microfilm in the Palazzo di Spagna, Rome. The text of the document in question reads in part:

> A display of Royal Magnificence presented in Rome by the Catholic Ambassador for the happy birthday [*sic*] celebration of Her Majesty the new Queen of Spain in the year 1681.
>
> Your Lordship knows very well that among the most precious treasures of which man has need is included time, the segments of which, however minuscule, are of a value comparable to particles of diamonds or gold. Therefore it is hoped that with the refinement of your prudence you will have the goodness to reflect that it is not suitable that I--who have little of it [time], heedless of my advancing age and the position as an ecclesiastic which I bear--employ it [time] uselessly by participating frequently in the assemblies of those who pursue novelty in order to beg for material to satiate with delight the curiosity of others. Thus I confess, in any case, that your last letter caused me some surprise

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78. Fr. José M. Pou y Martì, *Archivo de la Embajada de España . . . Indice Analìtico de los Codices de la Biblioteca contigua al Archivo* (Rome: Palacio de España, 1925), p. 86.

(although Your Lordship has made use of me many times in this regard) wherein you summon me without scruple to your service, pricking me with your pen to stimulate me that I gratify you principally in sending you a precise and complete account of how the Most Excellent Marchese del Carpio, Ambassador of His Catholic Majesty, celebrated here with pomp and royal magnificence in every most splendid way the happy birthday of the new Queen of Spain. I cannot, nor should I, deny that the account of so famous a celebration is very desirable and deserves to be published by approving voices, but I must also inform you that the constraints of time do not permit me the pleasure of describing fully to you the many and grandiose firework displays or the excellence of the many choruses of singers who, united with an orchestra of seventy and more musical instruments, performed a most sweet serenata during the quiet of night in the theater situated above the gate of the royal residence [*i.e.*, the Palazzo di Spagna] or the most noble apparatus beautifully constructed of crimson damask trimmed with gold which was seen on the facade of His Excellency's palace where there were continuous precious refreshments in abundance for the enjoyment of all present, who also heard now and then the sound of trumpets and drums which by their most pleasing harmony excited a universal joy in the souls of the spectators.

[128r] Magnificenza Reale Rappresentata in Roma Dal Signor Ambasciator Cattolico Per lo felice compimento degl'Anni Della Maestà della Novella Regina di Spagna Nell'Anno 1681.

[129r] *Vostra Signoria* sà molto bene, che fra i Tesori più preziosi, de quali l'Uomo è in necesità, si annovera il tempo, le cui parti quantunque menome, sono in pregio à guisa de minuzoli de diamanti, e dell'oro. Quindi è che bramarci, che con la finezza della sua Prudenza avesse ella la bontà di riflettere, che non è convenevole, che io che ne hò penuria, posto in non cale il rispetto, che debbo alla mia cadente età, et al Carattere che por-[129v]-to di Ecclesiastico, l'impieghi inutilmente nel trattenermi sovente frà le adunanze de Novellisti per mendicare materia che sia atta à pascere con diletto l'altrui curiosità. Onde le confesso, che

mi hà recato motivo di stupore, che avendomi *Vostra Signoria* più volte sperimentato in ciò remitente, ad ogni modo in quest'ultima sua si sia senza scrupolo fattale cita di pungermi con la penna per stimolarmi à compiacerla, massimamente in [130r] trasmetterle distinta, et intera contezza di ciò che qui con pompa di Magnificenza Reale si è operato dall'Ecc.*elentissimo* Sig.*nor* Marchese del Carpio Ambasciatore della Maestà Cattolica per celebrare in ogni più splendida forma il felice compimento degli Anni della novella Regina di Spagna. Non posso, ne debbo negarle, che la notizia di si celebra solennità è molto desi-[130v]-derabbile, e merita di esser costà, et altrove portata con Voci di applauso, mà è altre si di necessità, che io le dica che le angustie del tempo, nel le quali mi trovo non mi permettono, che con pienezza gliela porga con descriverle, ò le molte, & speciose machine de fuochi Artificiali ò l'Eccellenza de più chori di Musici, che uniti con il conserto di Sessanta, e più istromenti Musicali fecero trà il Silenzio della notte nel Teatro situato su la Porta della Regia habitazione una soavissima [131r] serenata, ò il Nobilissimo apparato formato con arte Mirabbile di Damaschi cremisi forniti con Trine d'oro che si vedea su la facciata del Palazzo di Sua Eccellenza, dove per ristoro di chi che sia vi erano à continuo copiosi, e preziosi rinfreschi, si udiva altresì quinci, e quindi il suono de' Tamburri, e Trombe che à vicenda con gratissima Armonia eccitavano negli Animi degli spettatori giubilo universale.[79]

That all was not quiet at these vast gatherings in the Piazza di Spagna is shown in two *avvisi* written by Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, the future Pope Alexander VIII, now preserved in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia:

Rome, August 23, 1681

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79. Library of the Spanish Embassy to the Vatican, Palazzo di Spagna, Cod. 172, fols. 128r-131r.

Gatherings with a great number of ladies, commoners, and coaches have been taking place now for several evenings in the piazza of the Spanish Ambassador, and the ambassador, having furnished oil and lights at considerable expense to all the artisans, has had all the houses in the piazza illuminated at his expense and beverages and refreshments given to the princesses, ladies and cavaliers. Some disturbances have arisen at these crowded gatherings, and the [Apostolic] palace has gently informed the ambassador that he should cease [giving them], which he has promised to do after the feast of Saint Louis, which is the ambassador's nameday [*sic*]. Last Tuesday, in the meantime, two thieves in the Piazza di Spagna were caught in the act and chased by members of the ambassador's household who, finding themselves in some danger, drew their weapons to defend themselves with the result that one thief was killed with a blow by the sword of one of the ambassador's lackeys, the second thief was wounded, captured, and taken to the hospital, and the third fled to safety. The ambassador quickly sent his apologies to the [Apostolic] palace with the assurance that he had neither taken part in nor had any news of it. The governor of Rome, however, has begun proceedings in order to punish whoever is found guilty, and the ambassador quickly sent his lackey to the Kingdom of Naples.

Rome, August 30, 1681

On Sunday evening [August 25] the Spanish Ambassador had a magnificent festival, with firework displays and girandoles of excessive cost, given in the piazza in front of his palace, it having been illuminated with torches of white wax and with lights in all the houses, and beverages and refreshments were given at great expense to all the ladies who gathered in vast numbers in that piazza to enjoy the festival which lasted until midnight.

Because of the number of coaches, trouble arose between two Roman cavaliers who exchanged insults and even drew their blades. The ambassador quickly intervened in person and made peace, and the next morning he invited them to dine with him in order to consolidate the peace and harmony between them.

The governor of Rome, however, has had orders to begin legal proceedings, which he is undertaking, and the cavaliers have sought immunity in the sanctuary of a church.

Roma, 23 agosto 1681

Nella piazza dell'Ambasciator di spagna da alcune sere in quà si fanno radunanze con grande concorso di Dame, di popolo, e di carrozze, e l'Ambasciator fà illuminare tutte le Case della piazza à sue spese, somministrando oglio, e lumi à tutti gl'Artigiani con spesa considerabile, facendo dar' acque, e rinfreschi alle Principesse, et alle Dame e Cavallieri. In questa frequenza di gente nascono de i disordini, et il palazzo hà fatto sapere all'Ambasciatore dolcem:ente, che desista, come ha promesso di fare fatta la festa di S.an Luigi che è il nome dell'Ambasciatore. In tanto Martedì passato in piazza di spagna furono scoperti in fragranti trè ladri, che furono cacciati dalla famiglia dell'^mbasciatore, i quali ridotti alle strette cacciarono mano all'armi per difendersi, onde una Lachè dell'Ambasciatore con un colpo di spada amazzò uno, il secondo ladro resto ferito, e prigione, e fu condotto all'hospidale, et il 3:o fuggì, e si salvò. L'Ambasciatore mandò subito à far scusa à palazzo, assicurando, che nè fatto non haveva parte, nè notitia alcuna. Il Gov:ernatore di Roma però ne fà formar processo per castigare chi sarà trovato delinquente, e l'Ambasciatore hà subito mandato in Regno di Napoli il suo
80
Lachè.

Roma, 30 agosto 1681

La sera poi del Lunedi l'Ambasciator di Spagna fece superba festa nella piazza di rimpetto al suo palazzo, havendola illuminata con torcie di cera bianca, e con lumi per tutte le Case, con machine di fuochi artificiati, con girandole di spese eccessiva, havendo fatto dar acque e rinfreschi à tutte le Dame, che innumirabile erano concorse

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80. ASV (Archivio di Stato di Venezia), Dispacci degli ambasciatori al senato, Roma, filza 194.

in quella piazza per goder della festa, che durò fino alla mezza notte con spesa eccessiva.

Per la frequenza delle Carrozze nacque disordine trà due Cav.*alieri* Romani di parole, e misero anco mano alle spade; L'Amb*asciatore* vi accorse subito in persona, e li fece fare la pace, e la mattina seguente li invitò à pranso seco, per consolidare la concordia, e la quiete trà essi.

Il Gov:*ernatore* di Roma però hà havuto ordine di formare processo come esseguisce, et i Cav:*alieri* s'hanno ritirato in Chiesa per godere dell'Immunità.[81]

2.5.1.1 Giuseppe Fede's *Applauso festivo*

The text sung by *Fama*, *Pace* and *Tebro* at the nameday celebration for Queen Maria Luisa was distributed to the noble audience in a printed libretto entitled:

APPLAUSO FESTIVO/ALLA SACRA REAL MAESTA'/DI MARIA LUIGIA/REGINA DELLE SPAGNE./*Serenata à tre voci.*/Cantata in Roma la sera di S. Luigi/nella Piazza di Spagna./[Printer's device]/IN ROMA,/Per Nicolò Angelo Tinassi, MDCLXXXI./*CON LICENZA DE' SUPERIORI.*[82]

This same text is preserved in a manuscript libretto in the

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81. *Ibid.*

82. I Rvat (Rome, Vatican Library) Chig. Miscell. IV. 2236, fols. 118-121.

Vatican Library which seems to indicate that Giuseppe Fede was the composer of this serenata.[83] Its title page follows that of the printed libretto cited above except that it adds the information:

> *Disposta da Giuseppe Fede/In ossequio*
>
> *dell'Ecc.ellentissimo sig.nor/Marchese del*
>
> *Carpio/Ambasciator di S.ua M.aestà Catt.olica,/e*
>
> *dall'Istesso all'E.ccellentissima S.ua dedicata*

An anonymous score of this serenata is preserved in the library of the Royal Academy of Music, London.[84] An engraving by Giuseppe Tiburzio Vercelli shows the Piazza di Spagna as it was decorated by Filippo Schor on this occasion.[85]

2.5.2 Summertime Music and Spectacle in Naples

In Naples a similar tradition of outdoor music and

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83. I RVAT Barb. lat. 3873, fols. 44-47v. Thanks are expressed to Prof. Lowell Lindgren for the identification of this libretto and the score cited in the footnote below.

84. GB Lam (London, Royal Academy of Music), MS. 128, fols. 25-120.

85. Luigi Salerno, *Piazza di Spagna* (Naples: Di Mauro, 1967), pl. 128. Filippo Schor is named as the architect of this festival by Elena Povoledo, "Gian Lorenzo Bernini, l'Elefante e i Fuochi Arteficile," *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, X (1975), 512.

spectacle had long been established, although before del Carpio's arrival as Viceroy in 1683 it had not yet been assimilated into a calculated political program. A glance through the *Giornali* of Innocenzo Fuidoro shows that during the 1660s the nearby shores of the Mergellina and the cape of Posillipo served as the site for the *passegio di dame* during the summer months. The ladies of the Neapolitan aristocracy customarily made this journey by carriage along the riviera of Chiaja, which, because it was then unpaved, was watered to minimize the discomfort caused by dust. The gentlemen of Naples came by boat following the example of the Viceroy, who customarily arrived aboard his gondola. It was accompanied by the galleys and other vessels of the Neapolitan squadron upon which were musicians and singers who performed for the enjoyment of the ladies ashore. Members of the royal chapel may have been employed on these occasions although Fuidoro records that on the first Sunday of August, 1662:

> . . . as usual the Viceroy went to Posillipo and took [with him] four consorts of musicians, and there he had them [perform] also for the pleasure of the ladies who were in their coaches at the Mergellina, . . . Among these musicians there was a consort of foreign female singers belonging to the company called the *Febi Armonici* that performed opera in the public theater.
>
> . . . il viceré al solito andò a Posilipo e portò quattro concerti di musica, e la faceva godere anco alle dame, ch'erano in carozze a Mergoglino, . . . Fra questa musica vi era un

> concerto di donne forastiere cantatrici, ch'erano della compagnia de comici detti Febi Armonici, che rappresentavano comedie alla stanza publica in musica.[86]

The essentially aristocratic nature of these festivities is made evident by Fuidoro when he records with dismay the extravagance of those who frequented them a year later:

> Because the bad weather described above hindered the arrival of summer, [the festivities at] Posillipo are sumptuous this month and year; and the Viceroy is taking three consorts of singers and two of instrumentalists [there with him]. However, on the morning of Sunday, August 12, 1663, I saw the shipping of baskets of sweets [there] similar to those that might be sent as gifts on Christmas to persons of rank. Until now such luxury I have never seen in all my life, and with such expense and luxury increasing at a maddening pace [I fail to understand] how the houses of Naples miraculously continue to survive and keep from ruin.
>
> Il Posilipo è sontuoso quest'anno et in questo mese, perché li mali tempi non han fatto comparir l'estate, come si è scritto, et il viceré si porta tre concerti di musica e due d'instrumenti. Però domenica, 12 di agosto 1663, ho visto imbarcare dalla mattina le spase di cose di zuccaro, come si mandasse a regolare le feste di Natale le persone superiori. Or questo lusso non ho visto in tutto il tempo della mia vita, e come le case di Napoli non falliscono per tante spese e per tanto lusso, che più rabbiosamente si avanza e si vive per miracolo.[87]

Since these recreations were held out-of-doors, people

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86. Innocenzo Fuidoro [Vincenzo D'Onofrio], *Giornali di Napoli dal MDCLX al MDCLXXX* ed. Franco Schlitzer (Naples: Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, 1934-42), I, 135.

87. *Ibid.*, I, 188.

from all walks of life could witness them. Evidently, the lower classes were increasingly attracted to the Mergellina as the decade progressed:

> On Sunday, July 26, 1665, and yesterday hardly a soul or small craft or coach remained in Naples because of the [great] number of those of every class who went to enjoy the pleasure [of Posillipo] . . .
>
> Domenica, 26 di luglio 1665, et ieri quasi non ci restorno gente in Napoli, né barche, né carrozze, per il numero che andorno a spasso d'ogni condizione . . .[88]

By the first summer of del Carpio's reign, these open-air diversions had assumed the character of a popular festival while at the same time maintaining elements of their aristocratic origin. Domenico Confuorto records the first *passeggio* of 1683 in these words:

> The Viceroy, charmed by the pleasant shores of Posillipo where he has been many times incognito, has officially opened the *passeggio*. Having prepared a festival for the noblemen and ladies on the first Sunday after the festival of Saint John, which was the 27th of June, he thus went to that *passeggio* in the gondola customarily used by the Viceroys, followed by fourteen galleys, that is, eight from Naples and six belonging to the Duke of Tursis, which were arranged as a platform below the Palazzo di Medina, with such a crowd of noblemen in small craft and ladies in coaches along the shore of the Mergellina that a gathering of similar [size] cannot be remembered. And the said Viceroy, having prepared ten sumptuous silver banquet tables on the shore, had a very great quantity of candies, sherbets, and iced drinks

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88. *Ibid.*, I, 287.

served to the said noblemen and ladies for the duration of the *passegio*, which took place about the fourth hour of night. And from nightfall until that time all the galleys were illuminated, and there were many fireworks which made such a beautiful sight that not only along the shores of the Mergellina and Posillipo, but along the entire coast of Chiaja, it seemed as if it were noon.

Questo signor viceré, invaghito delle amene spiagge di Posilipo, dove è stato molte volte incognito, ha dato palesemente pur principio a quel passeggio; onde la prima domenica dopo la festività di san Giovanni, che fu alli 27 di giugno, avendo fatto convito di cavalieri e dame, si portò a quel passeggio con la gondola solita de' signori viceré, servito da quattordici galere, cioè otto di Napoli e sei del duca di Tursi, quali si posero in ringhiera sotto al palazzo di Medina, con tanto concorso di cavalieri con felluche e di dame in carrozze nella riviera di Mergellina, che non si ricorda simile concorso. E avendo detto signor viceré fatto apparecchiare a quel lido dieci riposti sontuosi d'argentaria, fe' servire detti cavalieri e dame, mentre durò il passeggio, che fu vicino alle quattro ore della notte, di grandissima quantità di canditi, sorbette e acque concie; e fra tanto dall'oscurare della sera insino a dett'ora s'illuminorno tutte le galere e fecero molti fuochi arteficiate, che fu una bellissima vista, che pareva mezzogiorno non solo a quei lidi di Mergellina e Posilipo, ma in tutta

la spiaggia di Chiaia.

The manner is which del Carpio politicized this summertime tradition is alluded to by Pompeo Sarnelli in his *Guida de' forestieri*, a seventeenth-century guidebook to Naples, when he writes of the Mergellina:

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89. Domenico Confuorto, *Giornali di Napoli dal MDCLXXIX al MDCIC*, ed. Nicola Nicolini (Naples: Luigi Lubrano, 1930), I, 104.

> This delightful place was celebrated not only by the famous Sannazaro, but in our time under the most happy reign of the most excellent Don Gaspar de Haro e Gusman, the Viceroy and Captain General of this realm . . . Every summer he held two very marvelous festivals on the sea at this place in celebration of the namedays of the Queen Mother and the reigning Queen.
>
> Questo delizioso luogo non solo fu celebrato, dal famoso Sannazaro, ma a' tempi nostri, sotto il felicissimo governo dell'eccellentissimo don Gaspar de Haro e Gusman, vicerè e capitangenerale di questo Regno . . . Ordinò egli, in questo luogo, ogni estate, due meravigliosissime feste, sopra il mare, per solennizzare i nomi delle due Regine, madre e regnante.[90]

The celebration of the feast of Saint Anne was first introduced to Naples in 1663 according to Fuidoro, who records that by 1665:

> . . . throughout Naples lights are lit for the glorious Saint Anne, whose devotion has wondrously increased, and there are pictures or chapels [dedicated] to the glorious Saint Anne in every street of Naples . . .
>
> . . .si fanno luminarie per Napoli alla gloriosa Sant'Anna, la cui devozione è cresciuta mirabilmente, et in ogni strada di Napoli si sono fatti li quadri o cappelle di detta gloriosa Sant'Anna . . .[91]

Before del Carpio's arrival, however, no attempt is recorded to link this holiday or the feast of Saint Louis to

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90. Cited by Vittorio Imbriani, *Posilecheata di Pompeo Sarnelli MDCLXXXIV* (Naples: D. Morano, 1885), p. 230.

91. Fuidoro, *Giornali*, I, 186 and 287.

the political interests of the Spanish crown by means of secular entertainments. In Rome, as shown above, this had already been done; and it appears that along with del Carpio's arrival in Naples a well-established tradition of music and spectacle was transferred from the Piazza di Spagna to the infinitely vaster spaces of the shoreline northwest of Naples. Although very little is known for certain about the musicians who performed these works at Naples during del Carpio's reign, it is probably no coincidence that the politicizing of this tradition on the Roman manner went hand in hand with the arrival of Alessandro Scarlatti and a number of Roman singers and instrumentalists.

The summer before Scarlatti's arrival in Naples, the celebration on the Queen Mother's nameday in 1683 is described by Confuorto thus:

> On the 25th [of July] the Viceroy went [to enjoy] the usual pleasures of Posillipo where there was a great crowd of noblemen and ladies. And on Monday the 26th, the feast of Saint Anne, there was such a crowd that the oldest Neapolitans cannot recall anything like it, not excepting even the most festive of holidays such as that of Saint John the Baptist, since the Viceroy wished to celebrate there the feast of the said Saint [Anne], whose name our Queen [Mother] bears. Since not only the sea was filled with every sort of craft, small and large, but the entire length of the Chiaja road as far as the Mergellina was filled with coaches, litters, and pedestrians so that one could not see worth a millet seed, to such a degree that a high platform was erected at

the Mergellina and a *tarì* a head was paid to climb it and see. And here that evening, after the *passeggio* with music and other entertainment, many marine monsters with musicians appeared, and [the evening] ended with many fireworks at three hours of night.

A 25 detto, il signor viceré è andato al solito spasso di Posilipo, ove fu grandissimo concorso di cavalieri e dame. E 26 detto, lunedì, festa di sant'Anna, con occasione che il signor viceré volle ivi sollendizzare la festività di detta santa per la regina nostra signora di cotal nome, vi fu tanto concorso che i più vecchi napoletani non si ricordano simile, anche nelle feste più sollendi, non eccettuata quella che si faceva di san Giovanni Battista. Poiché non solo il mare era pieno d'ogni sorte di barche piccole e grandi; ma tutta la strada di Chiaia, lunga e larga, insino a Mergellina, era piena di carrozze, galesse e genti a piedi, che non vi capiva un acino di miglio, a tal segno che si fece a Mergoglino un tavolato e si pagava un tarì a testa per salirvi sopra e vedere. E ivi, dopo il passeggio con musiche e altri trattenimenti, la sera poi si ferono molte apparenze di mostri marini con musica e si finì con molti fuochi artificiati alle tre ore di notte.[92]

The festivities a month later on Maria Luisa's nameday are described in similar terms by Confuorto, although no music is mentioned on this occasion.[93]

Confuorto makes no mention of the festivities devised by del Carpio for the summer of 1684. Fortunately, a description of the celebration on July 26 for the Queen Mother's nameday that year is preserved in the *Posilecheata*

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92. Confuorto, *Giornali*, I, 105.

93. *Ibid.*, I, 106.

of Pompeo Sarnelli, an acclaimed literary work in Neapolitan dialect. Returning to Naples that evening by small craft, the narrator of the *Posilecheata* and his companions were attracted to the coast of the Mergellina by the great number of vessels there, for it seemed not a soul was left in Naples, everyone having come to view the public celebration:

> . . . near the Palazzo Medina [today usually called the Palazzo Donn'Anna] there was a triumphal chariot which was a beautiful sight, for it was completely gilded, with four red wheels, pulled by two sea horses which seemed alive. Atop the chariot was a large silver conch which served as a throne for Neptune and his wife. The chariot was completely surrounded by personages who represented Tritons, Nereids, and other sea gods and nymphs, who, singing and playing on various instruments, made the quiet atmosphere of the night resound to stupendous harmony.
>
> . . . vicino al palazzo Medina c'era un carro trionfale che era una bellezza, perché era tutto dorato, con quattro ruote rosse, tirato da due cavalli marini che parevano vivi: sopra sopra al carro c'era una grande conchiglia d'argento che serviva da trono a Nettuno e alla moglie: tutto il carro era attorniato da personaggi che rappresentavano Tritoni e Nereidi, e altre Ninfe e Dee marine, le quali con varie specie di strumenti suonavano e cantavano musica che all'aria serena della sera facevano un'armonia stupenda.[94]

This was by no means the first *carro trionfale* seen and heard at the Mergellina. There, on July 24, 1672, the Viceroy Marchese D'Astorga staged a mock battle in which a

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94. Pompeo Sarnelli [Masillo Reppone], *Posilecheata*, testo, traduzione, introduzione e note di Enrico Malato (Florence: Sansoni, 1962), p. 217.

Christian fleet attacked and destroyed

> . . . a well made castle built on two tartans [*i.e.*, small single-masted sailing vessels] completely full of fireworks [and] defended by Turks . . . and in celebration of this victory a triumphal chariot was seen coming from amidst the galleys, pulled by a skiff on top of which there was a band of singers and players of various instruments who, following the Viceroy's gondola and marvelously lauding him, filled that harbor with sweet and agreeable harmony.
>
> . . . un ben composto castello, eretto sopra due tartane e tutto ripieno di fuochi artificiali, difeso da gente turchesca . . . et per trionfo della vittoria, uscendo da mezzo le galere un carro trionfale tirato da uno schiffo si videro su di quello una schiera di musici et sonatori diversi in strumenti [*sic*], che riempendo quella marina di dolce et soave armonia, seguendo la gondola del Vicerè, mirabilmente il lodavano. [95]

Benedetto Croce writes with disdain of the vulgarity and brutality in other entertainments during the summer of 1672, when cats and owls were fastened to bombs which were then exploded to the delight of the crowd.[96] Nevertheless, it would appear that the Viceroy D'Astorga must be credited with introducing a new element of spectacle into these celebrations. Fuidoro records that in July, 1672

> . . . His Excellency had theatrical works

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95. G. De Blasiis, "Frammento di un Diario inedito napoletano," *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, XIV (1889), 321.

96. Benedetto Croce, "I teatri di Napoli del secolo XV-XVIII," *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, XV (1890), 167-68.

performed on the sea at Posillipo, the sets travelling along the shore of the Mergellina on several large vessels in view of the ladies . . .

. . . fece Sua Eccelenza far comedie in mare a Posilipo, caminando la scena per le costiere di Mergellina sopra di alcuni barconi a vista delle dame . . .[97]

During the summer of 1685 the Viceroy del Carpio went a step further than his predecessor the Marchese D'Astorga in terms of spectacle and perhaps even brutality. In July of 1685 the Queen Mother's nameday was celebrated by a bullfight held in an arena or *teatro* built above the waters of the Mergellina on piles extending a stone's throw in distance from the coast.[98] In this way the bullfight could be witnessed from ashore by the ladies or by the gentlemen who came in boats. The evening ended with the customary fireworks and salvos of cannon fire from the illuminated galleys of the Neapolitan squadron anchored nearby.

A month later three days of bullfights were held in the same *teatro* to commemorate the nameday of the reigning Queen. According to the *Gazette de France* the main celebration occurred on August 25 and is reported as follows:

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97. Fuidoro, *Giornali*, I, 52.

98. Confuorto, *Giornali*, I, 129.

Naples, August 28, 1685

Grand celebrations were held here on the twenty-fifth, the feast of Saint Louis, the King of France, because the Queen of Spain bears this name. There was a carousel of twenty-four cavaliers on a theater prepared at the seashore at Posillipo. At nightfall a triumphal chariot appeared upon which the sun and the other planets were represented; and after a grand concert of music, there was a ball on the same theater. (September 29, 1685)

De Naples, le 28. Aoust 1685

Le 25. feste de S. Loüis Roy de France, ont fit icy de grandes rejouissances à cause que le Reyne d'Espagne en porte le nom. Il y eut un Carousel de 24. Cavaliers, sur un theatre dressé aubord de la mer à Posilipo. A l'entrée de la nuit, on vid un char de triomph où le Soleil & les autres planetes étoient representez: & apres un grand concert de musique, il y eut bal sur le même theatre. (29. Septembre 1685)

[99]

According to Confuorto, however, and to a rare pamphlet which describes these festivities, they took place on August 26, 1685. An exemplar of this rare print is bound into the manuscript of Confuorto's journal owned by the library of the Società Napoletana di Storia Patria [100] and is reproduced below as Appendix II. It bears the title:

BREVE/RELAZIONE/Degl'applausi festosi tributati all'Augu-/stissimo nome/DI MARIA LUISA/BORBONE./REGINA

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99. *Ibid.*, I, 130.

100. MS. Confuorto XX.C.20., as fols. 209-10.

DELLE SPAGNE./DALL'ECCELL. SIGNORE./MARCHESE DEL CARPIO./Vice-re, e Capitan Generale del Re-/gno di Napoli &c./*Nel giorno delli 26. Agosto 1685.*/[Printer's device]/*Con Licenza de Superiori.*

Much space in this pamphlet is dedicated to a description of the theater's splendid allegorical decorations: two pyramids bearing imperial crowns with Latin mottos and allegorical inscriptions, a triumphal arch held up by two rows of Corinthian columns bearing the likenesses of various Roman emperors, etc. The Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples is reported to own a print showing this theater which bears the title:

> Teatro Que el Excelentissimo Señor Marques del Carpio mi Señor hizo para celebrar el Nombre de la Reyna Madre Nuestra Señora el dia de Santa Ana.[101]

According to Michelangelo Schipa, it was engraved by Sebastiano Indelicato and printed by Antonio Bulifon at the expense of D. Joseph de Aguirre y Gamarra, who dedicated it to the Vicereine.[102]

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101. Michelangelo Schipa, "Il Palazzo di Donn' Anna a Posilipo," *Napoli nobilissima* I (1892), 183.

102. *Ibid.*

The festivities began with a bullfight which was followed by a parade or triumphal entry of twenty-four local nobles of the best families, each accompanied by his servants, and all in glittering array under the command of Domenico Marzio Carafa, the Duke of Maddaloni. These mounted cavaliers were divided into six quadrilles and performed to the delight of the many spectators a sort of stylized joust or horse ballet referred to as a *carosello*. Among the spectators were the Viceroy and his guests who watched from the balcony of a palace (probably the Palazzo Donn'Anna) below the Church of Santa Maria del Parto.

At nightfall the acquatic *teatro*, the twenty-two galleys anchored behind it, and the nearby villas were illuminated; and a giant allegorical chariot built by the engineer Pietro del Pò at the expense of Giambattista Capua, the Count of Montoro, approached the Viceroy's palace. Stopping below his balcony, eighteen musicians (consisting of singers and instrumentalists dressed as sirens) performed from the chariot a serenata in his honor. After the music ended, eight dancers appeared on the bridge connecting the theater with the land and performed with torches in hand to the rapt attention of all present. Sarnelli, in his *Guida de' forestieri*, writes of this festival:

> . . . if it had not been seen by over three hundred thousand people, it would not have been

believed.

> . . . se non fusse stata veduta, da più di trecentomila persone, non sarebbe creduta.[103]

Unfortunately, the identity of the musicians and of the work heard on this occasion remains a mystery.

In 1686 preparations for the summer season were under way by early June. Confuorto records the arrival of Anna Maria de Trémouilles-Noirmentiers, the Duchess of Bracciano, with her ladies in waiting on June 3 of that year. Two galleys sent to Nettuno on the Viceroy's orders brought her to Naples so that she might enjoy the entertainments of Posillipo.[104] While in Naples she was treated with every sign of respect, for her mother was of royal blood, the sister of the Prince de Condé.

Both Confuorto and the printed *Gazzetta di Napoli*[105] report the outing that she made by carriage to enjoy the sights of Posillipo on Sunday, June 16. After having viewed with pleasure the many small craft cruising near the shore,

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103. Imbriani, *loc. cit.*

104. Confuorto, *Giornali*, I, 150.

105. A collection of the so-called *Gazzetta di Napoli* (appresso Domenico Antonio Parrino sotto S. Maria Nova) for the years 1686-88 is preserved in the library of the Società Napoletana di Storia Patria under the call number: S.B.N.I B.

she was invited into the Viceroy's luxuriously appointed casino where, in Confuorto's words:

> . . . after having feasted her ears on the melody of sweet playing and singing by a chorus of excellent musicians, there was a very sumptuous meal which lasted until late that night to the great pleasure and satisfaction of the duchess.
>
> . . . dopo d'esserse pasciute l'orecchie con la melodia di soavissima voci e suono di un coro d'eccellenti musici, ebbero una sontuosissima collazione, qual durò sino a molte ore di notte, con gran piacere e sodisfazione della signora duchessa.[106]

The *Gazzetta* of June 18 describes this as a *nobile divertimento*. Very possibly this music was provided by Alessandro Scarlatti and members of the Royal Chapel.

About two weeks later one reads in the *Gazzetta* of July 2 of the birthday celebrations on Saturday, June 29, for the Viceroy's wife:

> On Saturday the entire court appeared in magnificent gala for the birthday of the most excellent Marchesa del Carpio, the most excellent Viceroy receiving the compliments and best wishes for her long life from all the royal ministers and nobility. On that same day at twenty-two hours His Excellency, accompanied by many noblemen and nine galleys of this squadron, left to enjoy the pleasures of the coast of Posillipo. At their arrival there, all the cannons saluted His Excellency, who, that same evening, had a very beautiful musical serenata performed for the pleasure of the many small craft cruising along the shore, which succeeded greatly in delighting

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106. Confuorto, *Giornali*, I, 152.

all those who found themselves present there.

> Per il comple ãnos dell'Ecc. Signora Marchesa del Carpio, comparve Sabbato tutta la Corte con superbissima gala, venendo quest'Ecc. Sig. Vice-Rè complimentato da tutti li Regij Ministri, e Nobiltà al muchos ãnos. L'istesso giorno sù le 22. hore si portò l'Ecc. Sua à godere l'amenità della riviera di Posilipo, accompagnato da molti Nobili, e da nove Galere di questa squadra, quali nel giungere colà salutarono S.E. con tutto il cannone, la quale l'istessa sera fece godere a gran numero di felluche, che spasseggiavano in lido, una bellissima serenata in musica, che riuscì assai dilettevole a tutti coloro, che vi si trovarono presenti.

On Sunday, July 14, the Viceroy and his guests made another *passeggiata a mare* in nine galleys along the coast of Posillipo. The *Gazzetta* of July 16 makes no mention of music on this occasion, but rather directs the reader's attention to the coming celebration in honor of the Queen Mother:

> The feast of the glorious Saint Anne (whose name Her Majesty the Queen Mother bears) approaching, His Excellency is having magnificent festivities prepared along the same shore of Posillipo, spacious grottos within the sea being built, which, it is believed, will succeed to even greater applause than did those of last year.
>
> Approssimandosi la festività della Gloriosa S. Anna (di cui la Maestà della Regina Madre ne porta il nome) si preparano da S.E. sontuosissime feste nell'istessa riviera di Posilipo, fabricandosi dentro il mare spatiose grotti, che si stima riusciranno assai più plausibili di quelle dell'anno passato.

The Venetian *residente* in Naples, Antonio Maria Vincenti, likewise took note of the construction under way at

Posillipo in connection with this festival. In an *avviso* dated July 23, 1686, he estimates its cost at five thousand *scudi*:

> The feast of Saint Anne approaching on next Friday, the Viceroy is having a great festival prepared at Posillipo on next Sunday for no other reason than the celebration of the Queen Mother's nameday, and the cost is expected to exceed five thousand *scudi*, he having near the beach a great embankment constructed in the sea which is to be decorated with fig trees, the branches of which are to be denuded and painted red to imitate branches of coral. Lights and fireworks are to be placed at their summits, and there will be other entertainments on the water which are to continue until midnight.
>
> Correndo Venerdi prossimo il giorno di Sant' Anna, prepara il S.*ignore* V:*ice* Rè per la Dom:*enica* susseguente gran feste à Posilippo; non peraltro che *per* sollennizare solamente il nome della Regina Madre del Cattolico, et attenderà la spesa à più di scudi m/5. havendo fatto piantar in Mare vicin alla Spiaggia, una gran palificata *per* adornarla di piante de Fichi, e spogliandole delle fronde, e dipingendole di rosso immitar le rame di Corallo; alla Cima delle quali si poranno lumi la sera, e fochi artifitiati, e vi saranno altri divertim:*enti* sopra l'acqua, che continueranno sino alla mezza notte.[107]

What role music played in this festival is unknown. The *Gazzetta* published on July 30 mentions that since the feast of Saint Anne fell on Friday, the celebrations at Posillipo were delayed until Sunday, July 28, but "di queste se ne darà distinta Relatione a parte." No trace of such a

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107. ASV, Dispacci degli ambasciatori al senato, Napoli, filza 97.

separately published account, however, has as yet been found.

2.5.2.1 Alessandro Scarlatti's *l'Olimpo in Mergellina*

According to Spanish tradition the feast of Saint Bartholomew occurred on August 24 and that of Saint Louis on August 25, but in Naples each was celebrated a day later. For this reason Neapolitan documents sometimes refer to Maria Luisa's nameday falling on the "festa di San Bartolomeo." Confuorto records that music was heard on this day at Posillipo when Maria Luisa's nameday was commemorated in 1686:

> On Sunday, [August] 25, the feast of the Apostle Saint Bartholomew, the Viceroy had a celebration at Posillipo with music and fireworks (as he has done every year on the feast of the said saint) with a very large crowd not only of noblemen and ladies, but of bourgeois and plebian folk.
>
> A 25 detto, domenica, festa di san Bartolomeo apostolo, il signor viceré fece festa a Posilipo con musica e fuochi arteficiate (conforme ha fatto ogn'anno nella festività di detto santo), con grandissimo concorso non solo di cavalieri e dame, ma di popolo civile e minuto.[108]

Evidently the crowds were less than enthusiastic on this occasion. Antonio Maria Vincenti reports the following to

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108. Confuorto, *Giornali*, I, 157.

his superiors in Venice in an *avviso* dated August 27, 1686:

> Last Sunday for the nameday of the reigning Queen there were great festivities in the sea at the beach of Posillipo with a great gathering of ladies, cavaliers, and common folk; but there was much grumbling that the galleys and soldiery are not being paid and that vast sums of money are being consumed in worthless pastimes and that the Viceroy has directed his energy towards the invention of new entertainments and festivals which consume the wealth of others faster than he is paying off the immense debts of his court and his many miserable creditors, who languish in poverty and cry out without succor.
>
> Per il nome della Regina Regnante si sono fatte la passata Dom:*enica* gran feste in Mare allo scoglio di Posilippo, con molto concorso di dame, di Cav:*alieri*, e di Popolo; mà con infinite mormorationi, che non sian pagate le Galere, e le soldatesche e che si consumino in inutili passatempi gran summe di dan:aro, e versè l'applicat.*ione* del Sig:*nor* V:*ice* Rè ad'inventar nuovi trattenimenti, e feste per consumarne dell'altri più tosto che all'estintione de debiti immensi della Camera, et de crediti di tanti miserabili, che languiscono nelle indigenze, et esclamano senza frutto.[109]

Maria Luisa's nameday celebration would customarily have ended the period of conspicuous political entertainments until Charles II's nameday or birthday (November 4 and 6, respectively), conventionally observed by the performance of an opera in the Royal Palace. In 1686, however, Naples and all Christendom received the news of the capture of Buda (the fortress and administrative center in the modern city

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109. ASV, Dispacci degli ambasciatori al senato, Napoli, filza 97.

of Budapest) by Imperial troops with a frantic outburst of rejoicing. The news arrived in Naples on September 12, and among the public acts of rejoicing initiated by the Viceroy, one reads in Confuorto's *Giornali* under September 16:

> That same evening His Excellency also gave a celebration in the Palace for ladies and cavaliers who were served an elegant banquet; and there was a very beautiful serenata in the great hall with a hundred musicians among the voices and instrumentalists, [it being] the same as the one [on the feast] of Saint Bartholomew at Posillipo.
>
> Fece anche Sua Eccellenza la stessa sera festino in Palazzo a dame e cavalieri, quali furono nobilmente collazionati ed ebbero una bellissima serenata, nella sala grande, di cento musici fra voci e instrumenti, conforme a quella di san Bartolomeo a Posilipo.[110]

Another source recounting in greater detail the fourteen days of rejoicing between September 12 and 25 is a rare pamphlet today in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Naples. Believed to have been written by Giacomo Badiale under the pseudonym Biagio De Calamo, it bears the title:

> I GIORNI FESTIVI/Fatti per la presa di Buda dall'Arme/Austriache nella Fedelissima Città/di Napoli/Dall'Eccellentissimo Signor Marchese del/Carpio, Vicerè, e Capitan Generale/della detta; e da suoi Cittadini/l'anno 1686./Descritti dal Dottor/BIAGIO DE

---

110. Confuorto, *Giornali*, I, 160.

CALAMO;/*E DEDICATI*/All'Illustrissimo Signore, e Padrone/Singolarissimo./Il Signor/ANDREA BRACATI/Barone d'Vrzo Marzo, e Abbate/Marco/[Printer's device]/Ad istanza[111] di Carlo Troise. [Illustration 5]

The serenata heard on Monday, September 16, 1686, is described on page ten as follows:

> . . . all the noble ladies and gentlemen being assembled in the first hall of the Royal Palace, a serenata, no less beautiful than harmonious, with ninety instrumentalists and twenty voices was begun. Its music was the composition of Alessandro Scarlatti, a prodigious miracle of this age, of such fine virtue that there is no man his equal or better. The words of the serenata were the same as those sung at the Mergellina when the immortal merit of the most august Majesty of our lady Luisa of Bourbon, Queen of Spain, was celebrated by His Excellency, that is, *l'Olimpo in Mergellina*.
>
> . . . nella prima sala del Regio Palagio ritrovandosi concorse tutte le Signore Dame, e Signori Cavalieri, si diè principio ad una, non men vaga, che armonica Serenata, con novanta instrumenti da Musica, e venti voci; Compositione in Musica del Signor Alesandro [*sic*] Scarlatti, Portentoso miracolo di questa Etade, in tanta, e sì vaga virtude, che non v'è huomo, che lo eguagli, non che lo superi. Furono le parole della serenata le medeme, che in Mergellina si cantorno, quando da S. E. si celebrò il merito immortale dell'Augustissima Maestà di N.S. Luisa di Borbone Regina delle Spagne: cioè *l'Olimpo in Mergelina* [*sic*]. [Illustration 6]

Although neither a score nor a libretto for

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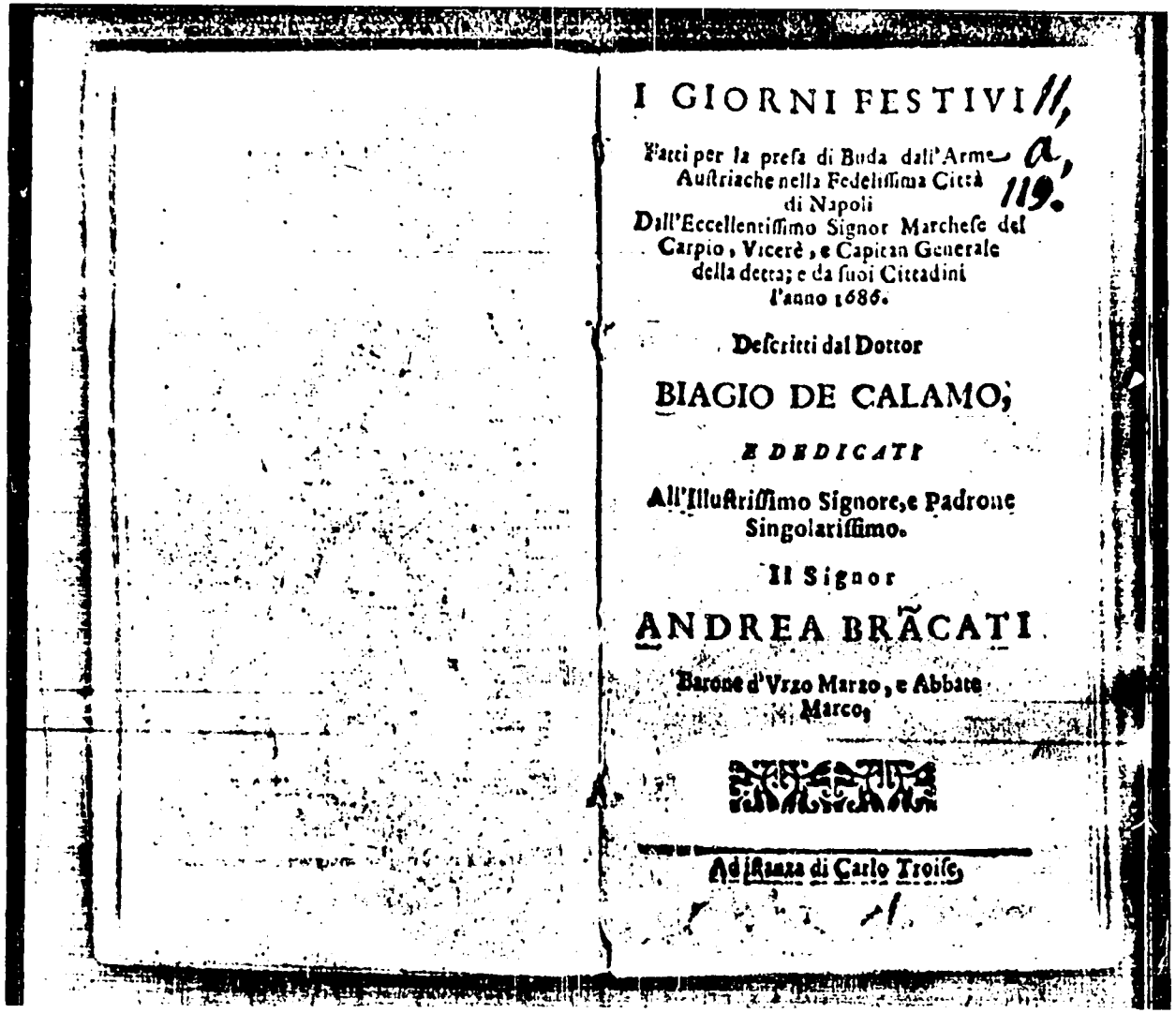
111. I Nn, XLIV.I.81

Illustration 5

Title page of I GIORNI FESTIVI

I Nn (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale), XLIV.I.81



I GIORNI FESTIVI

Fatti per la presa di Buda dall'Armi Austriache nella Fedelissima Città di Napoli
Dall'Eccellentissimo Signor Marchese del Carpio, Vicerè, e Capitan Generale della detta; e da suoi Cittadini l'anno 1686.

Descritti dal Dottor

BIAGIO DE CALAMO;

E DEDICATI

All'Illustrissimo Signore, e Padrone Singolarissimo.

Il Signor

ANDREA BRACATI

Barone d'Vrzo Marzo, e Abbate Marco;

Ad istanza di Carlo Troise.

Illustration 6

Pages ten and eleven of I GIORNI FESTIVI

Alle ventidue hore, essendo stato prima dato il facco alle quattro piramidi à suono di Trombe, nella prima sala del Regio Palagio ritrouandouisi concorse tutte le Signore Dame, e Signori Caualieri, si diè principio ad vna, non men vaga, che armonica Serenata, con nouanta instrumenti da Musica, e venti voci; Compositione in Musica del Signor Alessandro Scarlatti, Portentoso miracolo di questa Etade, in tanta, e sì vaga virtude, che non v'è huomo, che lo eguagli, non che lo superi Furono le parole della serenata le medeme, che in Mergellina si cantorno, quando da S. Ec si celebrò il merito immortale dell'Angustissima Maestà di N.S. Luisa di Borbone Regina delle Spagne, cioè *l'Olimpo in Mergelina.*

Finite addunque verso le ventiquattro hore il dolce concerto, si diè principio à i fuochi, quali per vn'hora di notte furono tutti appicciati, Poco dopò à replicato suono di Trombe da Regij Balconi, e da Pifari, e Flauti, ed altri instromenti Turcheschi dalla Città, che tutta da lampade illuminata facea vna bellissima prospettiua, si diè principio à fuochi artificiati, quali per due hore intiere durorno.

Il voler qui raccontare le Bombe, che dalla Città cadeano, e i colpi di Bombarde, che da quelle si replicauano, sarebbe follia, poiche non può rozza penna spiegare ciò,

ciò, che da sourahumano intelletto venne ordinato; Basterà dunque il dire, che non vi fù momento in cui si mirasse l'aere colmo di erranti stelle, mà artificiate; il suolo pieno di raggi, mà non celesti; e gli ascoltanti atterriti da colpi guerrieri, mà di finte battaglie; In somma fù sì vago, e così pieno d'ammiratione il fine, e delle mura artificiate, e della quinta giornata festiua, che tutti ammirati nõ men il popolo, che la Nobiltà, e le Dame rimasero; Ogn'vno giuraua, e con stupore, di non hauer visto festa simile; Già che il Cielo, che non anche hauea prouato ad ammirare, essendo solo auezzo ad esser con stupore mirato, in quel dì con cent'occhi, quant'eran le sue stelle, stana rimirando marauiglioso il tutto.

Così finì la quinta giornata; quando dopo breue riposo dato à mortali, forse dall'humido Gange tutta rubiconda l'Aurora, non per auuisare la terra, che presso d'ella ne veniua il Sole; Mà per auuisare il Sole, che della Terra eran già finite le prime pompe.

Il Martedì dunque S.E. non diè saggio alcuno della sua Generosità, à causa che nella Chiesa Catedrale si faceuano per trè sere i fastosi lumi con Musica, in honore del Glorioso S. Gennaro Padrone, e Liberatore della nostra fedelissima Città di Napoli,

Lo

l'Olimpo in Mergellina is known to be extant, this serenata, unknown to modern students of Alessandro Scarlatti, must now be recognized as his earliest for which the date and other circumstances of performance are known. As mentioned above on pages 70 ff., *Diana ed Endimione* is probably earlier, although the circumstances surrounding its composition and first performance are unknown.

Curiously, *l'Olimpo in Mergellina* was known to Francesco Florimo, who quoted the exact same extract from *I GIORNI FESTIVI*, adding that this information was found in "a contemporary chronicle which, however, lacks an indication of the year."[112] Recognizing the wild inaccuracies of Florimo's scholarship, it is not difficult to see why this reference was given little credence by later scholars. More distressing is the fact that a summary of the contents of *I GIORNI FESTIVI*, including a specific and accurate reference to Scarlatti's authorship of *l'Olimpo in Mergellina*, appeared in print as early as 1876 when Carlo Padiglione

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112. Francesco Florimo, *La Scuola musicale di Napoli e i suoi conservatori* (Naples: Vinc. Morano, 1882), II, 169.

published his catalogue of the library of the Certosa of San Martino in Naples.[113] This library has since been transferred to the Biblioteca Nazionale, and the exemplar of *I GIORNI FESTIVI* cited above is clearly the very one described by Padiglione.

After reviewing the chronicle of outdoor festivities instituted by del Carpio in honor of Marianna and Maria Luisa during the summers of 1683-86, it is a surprise to learn that no conspicuous celebrations were held at the Mergellina the following summer. The *Gazzetta* of July 29, 1687, reports only that:

> . . . for the festival of the glorious Saint Anne, whose name the Queen Mother bears, this most excellent Viceroy, after receiving the wishes for long life by all the nobility, ministers of the tribunes, and prelacy, went in a very noble ceremonial procession to the Church of the Carmine in order to hold the customary solemn royal chapel. For this occasion a squadron of Spanish infantry and cavalry were positioned in the square of the large market where they commemorated that day with a triple salvo by all their muskets which was answered by the cannons of all the fortresses.
>
> . . . per la sollenità della Gloriosa S. Anna, di cui la Regina Madre ne porta il nome, doppo esser stato quest'Eccellentiss. Sig. Vice-Rè complimentato al Muchos ãnos da tutta la Nobiltà, Ministri de Tribunali, e Prelati, si

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113. Carlo Padiglione, *La Biblioteca del Museo Nazionale nella certosa di S. Martino in Napoli ed i suoi manoscritti esposti e catalogati* (Naples: F. Giannini, 1876), pp. LXVII-LXXI.

portò con nobilissimo corteggio alla Chiesa del Carmine a tenere la solita Capella Reale; nella Piazza del Gran Mercato furono a quest'effetto formati squadroni di fanteria Spagnola, e Cavalleria, che con triplicato sparo di tutto il moschetto festeggiorno detto giorno, a cui corrispose quello del Cannone di tutte le Castella [*sic*].

According to Confuorto, Maria Luisa's nameday was similarly celebrated in 1687 with cannon fire.[114] No documents have come to light which make explicit the reasons for such modest celebrations that summer, but perhaps concern for del Carpio's failing health may account for this lack of outdoor festivities. After a long period of debility reported throughout the summer of 1687, the Viceroy died on November 15. Another possible explanation, however, is that many of the resources needed to mount such conspicuous entertainments may have been diverted to Rome that summer at the request of the new Spanish Ambassador, the Marchese of Cogolludo.

2.6 The Marchese of Cogolludo in Rome

Luigi Francesco de la Cerda, the Marchese of Cogolludo, was the son of one of Spain's wealthiest aristocrats, the

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114. Confuorto, *Giornali*, I, 186.

Duke of Medina Celi. As such, Cogolludo was destined for high office and served as *generale* of the Neapolitan squadron for much of the period 1685-86, a post which, besides its strictly military duties, required a significant role in the preparation and execution of del Carpio's summertime festivities. In April, 1687, news of Cogolludo's appointment as Spanish Ambassador to Rome arrived in Naples. The significance of this can be judged from the *Gazzetta* of June 17, 1687, in which his departure for Rome is described:

> The Marchese of Cogolludo with his wife, the Marchesa, departed last night aboard the fifteen above-mentioned galleys in the direction of Gaeta. On this occasion the most excellent Viceroy [del Carpio] went in public to the house of the said personages, conducting and accompanying them in his own coach to the place of embarkation on the flagship of this squadron, where His Excellency also embarked and in all politeness accompanied them as far as the island of Procida . . .
>
> Il Sig. Marchese di Cogogliudo con la Signora Marchesa Sua Consorte son partiti hieri sera, imbarcati sopra le sudette 15. Galere alla volta di Gaeta. Quest'Ecc. Sig. Vice-Rè in tale occasione, è andato in publico alla Casa di detti Personaggi, conducendoli, & accompagnandoli nella propria carozza fino all'imbarco sopra la capitana di questa squadra, dove anco s'imbarcò l'Eccellenza Sua, usandoli ogni finezza, e l'accompagnò fino all'Isola di Procida . . .

By birth Cogolludo belonged to the highest social circles of Spain and Italy. His sister in Rome, Lorenza, was the wife of Filippo Alessandro Colonna, the Gran Contestabile Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna's oldest son. Since the position of

Spanish Ambassador at Rome often led to the appointment as Viceroy of Naples, Cogolludo could look forward to even greater privileges, and in 1696 he attained this office. Modern historians remember Cogolludo primarily for the scandalous attachment to his mistress, the singer Angela Maddalena Voglia, which marred his reputation in Rome and Naples.[115] Modern musicology has yet to fully assess the significant role which he played as a patron in Rome (1687-96) and in Naples (1696-1702).[116]

At this time the Habsburg and Bourbon dynasties were engaged in a keen rivalry for political hegemony. In Rome this struggle often took the form of ostentatious displays at which the Spanish, French or Imperial Ambassador vaunted the power and prestige of his monarch. Several months before Cogolludo's arrival in Rome, the French Cardinal Cesar D'Estrées held a celebration on the evening of April 20, 1687, for the recovery of health made by his sovereign Louis XIV. This festival consisted primarily of fireworks and music, and its setting in the Piazza di Spagna is shown

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115. Cf. Giorgio Morelli, "Una celebre 'cantarina' romana del seicento: *la Giorgina*," *Studi secenteschi*, XVI (1975), 157-80.

116. Cogolludo's patronage of Silvio Stampiglia and Giovanni Bononcini is well documented by Lindgren, "A Bibliographic Scrutiny," I, 24 ff.

in a beautiful engraving by Vincenzo Mariotti which bears the title:

> Feste per la ricuperata salute di S.M.C. Luigi Il grande, celebrata in Roma dall'Emin. Sig. Card. D'Estrées Duca e Pari di Francia.[117]

In addition to this engraving, the cardinal also had an account or *Ragguaglio* of the festival printed. It records that before the main display of fireworks, singers and instrumentalists began

> . . . with a very beautiful instrumental *sinfonia* composed by the famous Arcangelo [Corelli] from Bologna, who had gathered all the best strings of Rome, and [that] two voices, accompanied by the instruments, sang verses in praise of the king . .
>
> . . . con una bellissima Sinfonia d'Istromenti composta dal famoso Arcangelo Bolognese che avea uniti tutti i migliori violoni [*sic*] di Roma, e due voci accompagnate dalla Sinfonia cantarono Versi in lode del Re . . .[118]

The "Palcho [*sic*] di Strumenti e Musici dove si fece il gran concerto e cantata" built facing the opening of the Via delle Carozze to the left of the "salita del Monte Pincio"

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117. It is reproduced by Salerno, *Piazza di Spagna*, pl. 132.

118. Renato Bossa, "Corelli e il cardinal Benedetto Pamphilj: alcune notizie," *Atti del III Congresso internazionale di Studi Corelliani* (Florence: Olschki, 1982), p. 222.

(today the site of the Spanish steps) is clearly visible in the engraving.

Another account of this festival, preserved among the *avvisi di Roma* in Munich, seems to suggest that Cardinal D'Estrées also presented a serenata in the Piazza Farnese sometime that month:

> Rome, April 26, 1687
>
> On Sunday, for the recovery of the king's health, Cardinal D'Estrées had a sumptuous apparatus [bearing] pictures and words in praise [of his king] built to decorate the facade of the Church of Trinita dei Monti, and that evening [there were] very beautiful girandoles and fireworks with fountains of wine; and the nobility, for whom there were very splendid refreshments, were in attendance on platforms to hear a very beautiful serenata in the Piazza Farnese with other fireworks; and torches [were placed] in the windows [of the Palazzo Farnese], the same having been done [in their palaces] by other lords well-disposed toward that crown . . .
>
> Dom.*enica* L'E*minentissi*mo d'etre p*er* la recup.*erata* salute del Re [?] fece fare con sontuoso apparato pitturesco et elogij adornare la facceata della Chiesa della Trinita de Monti et la sera bellissime Girandole e fuochi artificiati con fontane di vini con Intervento di *questa* Nobiltà sopra Palchi con splendidiss.*imi* rinfreschi et a sentire una belliss.*ima* serenata nella Piazza Farnesiana con altri fuoghi e torce alle fenestre come anco hanno fatto altri S.*ignori* affetionati a quella Corona . . .[119]
>
> [Illustration 7]

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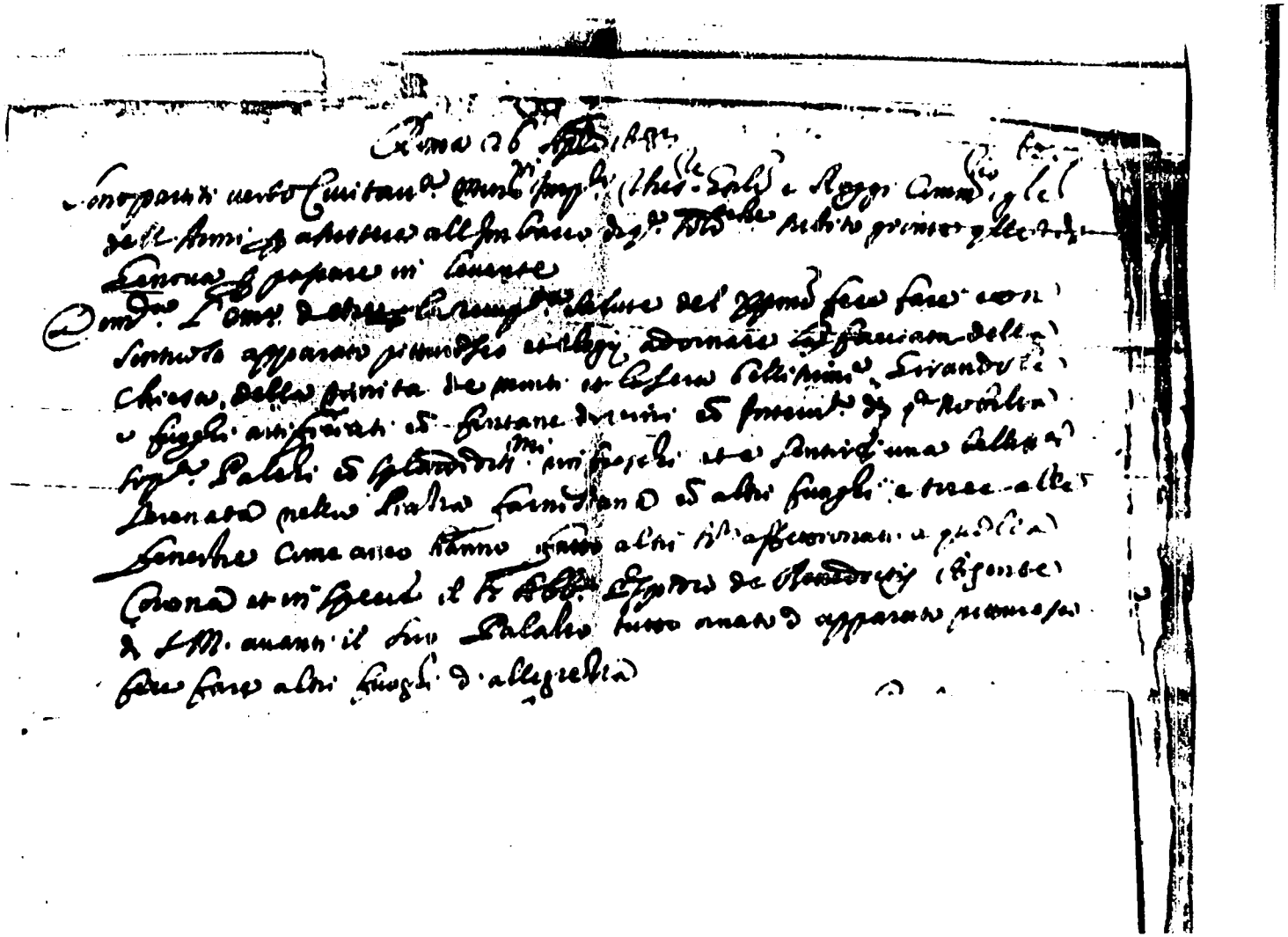
119. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 195, fol. 62r.

Illustration 7

Avviso di Roma dated April 26, 1687

D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 195, fol. 62r.



Although Cardinal D'Estrées' festival is described at length in the two above-mentioned accounts and in the *Gazette de France* of May 17, 1687, the specific works presented by the French that April remain to be identified.[120]

2.6.1 Bernardo Pasquini's *Applauso musicale*

Later that summer Cogolludo inaugurated his career as a patron of music and spectacle in Rome with an ambitious public celebration on his reigning Queen's nameday. In the *avvisi di Roma* at Munich it is described as follows:

> Rome, 30 August 1687
>
> On the evening of the feast of Saint Louis, the birthday [*i.e.*, nameday] of the Queen of Spain, the Catholic Ambassador had a very beautiful, rich theater erected in front of the Royal Palace with live fountains in chiaroscuro and gold representing an attractive garden entirely illuminated with the sun at its summit in which was given a serenata by more than one hundred instrumentalists and vocalists who, along with various *sinfonie*, sang in praise of Her Majesty, the entire square having been illuminated by more than six hundred torches with a great number of aristocrats and people in attendance.

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120. Other contemporary engravings depicting this festival are reproduced by Maurizio Fagiolo Dell'Arco and S. Carandini, *L'effimero barocco - struttura della festa nella Roma del '600* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1977), vol. I, catalogue, pp. 310-314.

Roma, 30 agosto 1687

La sera della festa di S.*an* Ludovico *per* il giorno natalizio della Reg.*ina* Regnante di Spagna q.*uesto* S.*ignor* Amb*asciato*re Cattolico avanti il Regio Palazzo fece erigere un bellissimo, e ricco Theatro *con* fontane vive a chiaro oscuro, et oro rappresentante un vago Giardino tutto illuminato *con* sole in Cima ove si fece una serenata di più di 100 trà sonatori, e musici che Cantorno in lode di S.*ua* M.*aesta con* varie sinfonie in lode di S.*ua* M.*aesta essendo* tutta la Piazza illuminata da più di 600 torce *con* Intervento di gran n.*umero* di Nobiltà e Popolo[.] [121] [Illustration 8]

This festival must probably be understood as Cogolludo's response to the earlier French spectacle. An engraving by Christoforo Schor depicts the Piazza di Spagna as it appeared on the evening of August 25, 1687. It bears the title:

The festival celebrated by the most illustrious and excellent Marchese of Cogolludo, Ambassador in Rome of the Catholic King. On the twenty-fifth day of the month of August of the year 1687 for the acclamation of the name of Maria Luigia, Queen of Spain, with a most sumptuous theater eighty *palmi* high and one hundred and seventy in length [ca. 17.6 x 37.4 meters], with prospective distant views of vegetation, fountains, and such erected in front of the Royal Palace of Spain, with a very noble serenata for five voices and a consort of eighty instruments, with illumination of the said theater by one hundred and sixty torches and very many covered lights, the square illuminated by five hundred torches in two orders, attended by all the nobility of Rome and an innumerable crowd of common people and coaches, with very rich decor, boxes, and refreshments furnished to all the ladies of the city seated on the balcony of

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121. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 195, fol. 129r.

Illustration 8

Avviso di Roma dated August 30, 1687

D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 195, fol. 129r.

Roma 30 Ag.o 1687 129.

La sera della festa di S. Lodovico per il giorno natalitio della
Reg.a Regnante di Spagna q.l S.r Ambor.e Cattolico quanti il
Regio Palazzo fece erigere un bellissimo, e ricco theatro
con fontane vive a chiaro oscuro, et oro rappresentante
un vago giardino tutto illuminato con sole in cima ove si
fece una serenata di più di 100 tra senatori, e musici che
cantorno in lode di S. M. con varie sinfonie in lode di
S. M. sendo tutta la Piazza illuminata da più di 600 torce
con intervento di gran.o di nobiltà e popolo.
[illegible]

the Royal Palace, with satisfaction and universal applause to the generosity of the above-mentioned ambassador. Conceived and engraved by Christoforo Schor.

Festa celebrata dell'Ill.mo et Ecc.mo Sig. March.e di Coccogliudo Amb.re del Rè Cattolico in Roma / Sotto il dì 25. del Mese di Agosto dell'anno 1687. per l'acclamatione del nome di MARIA LUIGIA REGINA DELLE SPAGNE con Teatro sontuosissimo di altezza di 80. palmi, e di larghezza di palmi 170. con vedute di lontananze prospettive, boschereccie, fontane, e simili eretto in faccia al Regio palazzo di Spagna, con una nobilissima Serenata a cinque voci col concerto di 80. istrumenti con una Illuminatione sul teatro sud.o di numero 160. torcie, et moltissimi lumi coperti, et illuminata la piazza con numero 500. torcie a due ordini con intervento di tutta la nobilta di Roma, carozze e gente innumerabile con ricchis.mi apparati, palchi e rifreschi dati a tutte le Dame della Città assise sul balcone del Regio palazzo con sodisfatione ed applauso universale alla generosità del sud.o Sig. Ambasciadore / Christoforo Schor inven. e delin.
122

The entire engraving measures 29 x 127 cm. Illustration 9 reproduces a detail from this engraving showing the "Teatro sontuosissimo" erected on the site today occupied by the Column of the Immaculate Conception facing the Palazzo di Spagna. The serenata heard on this occasion is probably preserved in a score by Bernardo Pasquini which bears the title:

Aplauso Musicale à 5. Voci./Per il giorno festivo della

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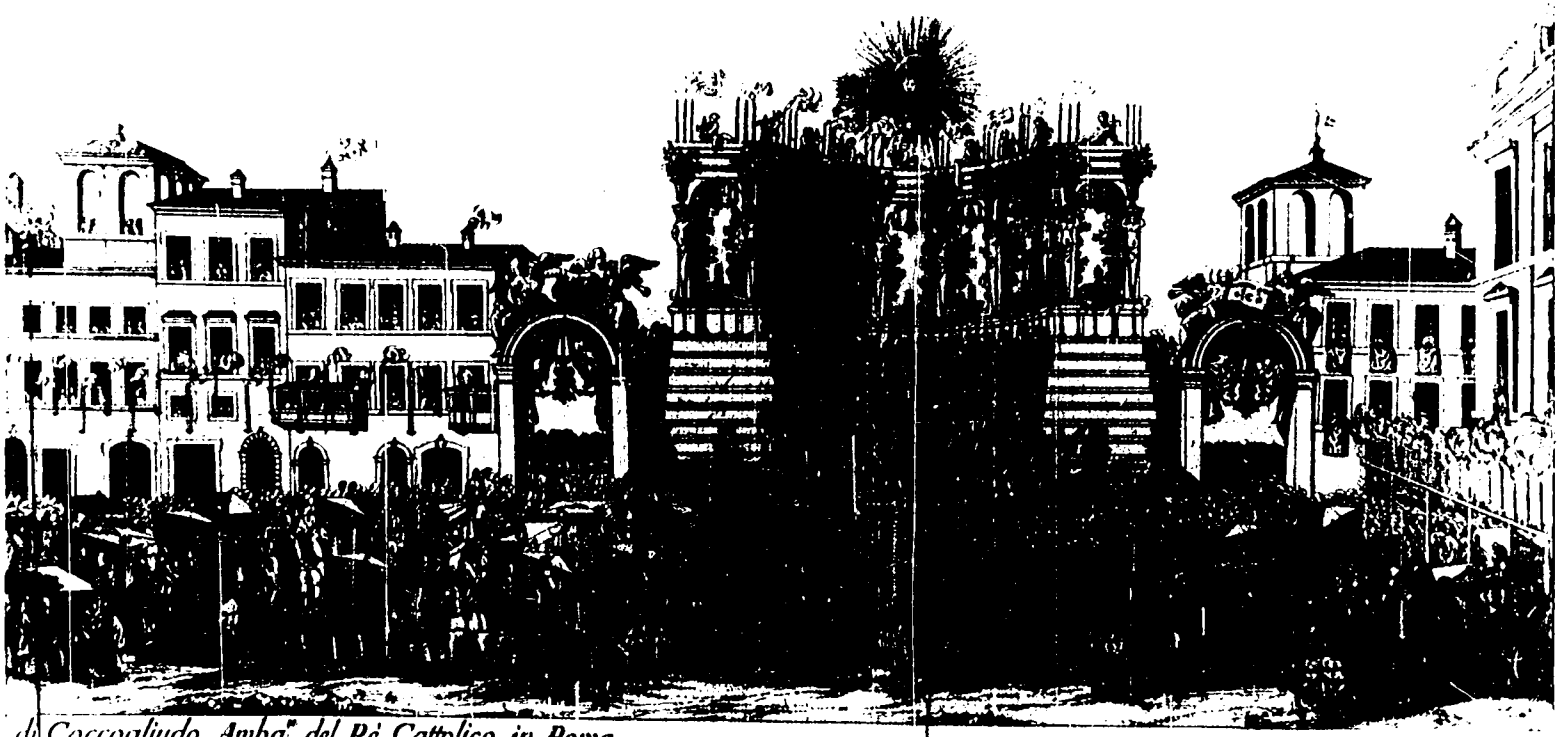
122. Thanks are expressed to the Royal Library, Stockholm, for the photograph of this engraving.

Illustration 9

Detail from the engraving depicting the festival sponsored by the Marchese di Cogolludo in Rome on August 25, 1687.



di Coccogliudo Amba.re del Rè Cattolico in Roma

[illegible] altezza di 80 palmi, e di larghezza di palmi 170 con uedute di lontananze prospettiue, boschereccie, fontane, e simili eretto in faccia al Regio [illegible] et moltissimi lumi coperti, et illuminata la piazza con numero 500. torcie a due ordini con interuento di tutta la nobiltà di Roma, carrozze e del Regio palazzo con sodisfatione ed applauso uniuersale alla generosità del Sud.o Sig.r Ambasciadore

Christoforus Schor inuen. et delin.

Chr ma/Real Maestà di M.*aria* Luigia/Il Sole, La Bellezza, Pallade, Il/Tempo, Il Destino/Del Sig.*nor* Ber.*nardo* Pasquini.[123]

Adelmo Damerini was wrong when he speculated that Pasquini composed this work in Florence sometime around 1691, since on April 24 of that year the wedding of Anna Maria Luisa, the daughter of Cosimo III de' Medici, with the Palatine Elector William of Neuburg was celebrated.[124] In a recitative sung by the allegorical character *Bellezza*, Maria Luigia is clearly identified as "Reina Ibera." More recently Gordon Ferris Crain correctly connected this score with Rome, but he was almost certainly wrong when he wrote that it was composed in 1679 for the celebration of Maria Luisa's wedding to Charles II of Spain.[125] The text of the serenata makes much better sense if understood as that for a nameday celebration rather than for a wedding.

Although the information presented above does not conclusively prove that Schor's engraving depicts the

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123. I Fc (Florence, Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini), MS. D. 2359.

124. Adelmo Damerini, "Di alcuni maestri toscani," *Accademia musicale chigiana: musicisti toscani* (Siena, 1955), p. 33.

125. Gordon Ferris Crain, "The Operas of Bernardo Pasquini," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1965, p. 41.

performance of Pasquini's score, this likelihood is strengthened by the fact that the engraving shows five singers, the very number required by this score. If the identification of this score with Schor's engraving is correct, one of the men shown in the engraving must have been a castrato, for the score of Pasquini's serenata calls for three sopranos, a tenor, and a bass.

The fact that no comparable work was performed in Naples during the summer of 1687 suggests that Cogolludo and Pasquini may have been able to make use of members of the Royal Chapel of Naples to augment the forces available in Rome for the performance of the *Applauso musicale*. Perhaps someday the archives of the Medina Celi family in Madrid and of the Spanish Embassy in Rome may yield answers to the many questions surrounding this work. In any case, the engravings cited above contribute not only to our understanding of the Roman serenatas of the 1680s, but also furnish some notion of the scenic splendor and political context in which del Carpio's Neapolitan serenatas were heard on the waters of the Mergellina.

From the above chronicle of Alessandro Scarlatti's early years in Rome and Naples, it is clear that the composer had abundant opportunity to compose and to perform serenatas. Only two of his known serenatas, *Diana ed Endimione* and

l'Olimpo in Mergellina, appear to date from this period. Considering the fragmentary state of our knowledge, however, these two serenatas probably represent only a fraction of those that the young Scarlatti had a hand in either as composer or performer.

Chapter 3

Naples and Rome during the Reign of the Count of Santo Stefano (1687-1696)

3.i 1688

Immediately following the death of del Carpio on November 15, 1687, Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna was appointed interim Viceroy by the *consiglio collaterale* at Naples until a successor could be appointed by Madrid. Lorenzo had previously served the Spanish crown as Viceroy of Aragon and bore among other titles that of *Gran Contestabile del regno di Napoli*. As head of the Roman Colonna family, he was well known as a patron of the arts. During Colonna's short tenure in Naples (November 24, 1687 - January 27, 1688) Alessandro Scarlatti requested permission and was allowed to

resign his post as master of the Royal Chapel of Naples.[126] Tommaso Pagano, the organist of the Royal Chapel, was appointed in his place.

Scarlatti's reasons for resigning this position are by no means easy to fathom, and no documents have come to light which clarify the composer's motives. Roberto Pagano, Scarlatti's most recent biographer, sees in this event a Machiavellian expedient adopted by Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna on behalf of the *Contestabile's* Roman friends.[127] By allowing Scarlatti to resign during his tenure in Naples, Colonna permitted the composer the freedom to work in Rome during the carnival of 1688. Later, according to Pagano's interpretation, the Viceroy appointed by Madrid would surely recall Scarlatti to Naples, reversing Colonna's decision.

3.1.1 Carnival Entertainments

Although Pagano's interpretation of events is highly

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126. Ulisse Prota-Giurleo, "Breve storia del Teatro di Corte e della Musica a Napoli nei sec. XVII-XVIII," *Il Teatro di corte del palazzo reale di Napoli* (Naples, 1952), p. 46. *Ibid.*, "Francesco Provenzale," *Archivi*, XXV (1958), 68, 77.

127. Roberto Pagano, *Alessandro Scarlatti* (Turin: ERI, 1972), p. 89.

speculative, there is some evidence suggesting he may be correct. Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna's brief reign ended on January 27, 1688, with the arrival of Madrid's choice for the post of Viceroy of Naples, Francesco de Benavides, the Count of Santo Stefano. As revealed by a document dated March 11, 1688, the new Viceroy reappointed Alessandro Scarlatti to his former position as master of the Royal Chapel of Naples.[128] Given the date of this document, it is not entirely clear in which city the composer spent the carnival of 1688. In Rome a revival of Scarlatti's opera *L'Aldimiro* was given several times in February by the Duke of Zagarolo Rospigliosi. The printed *Gazette de France* preserves evidence that Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna was indeed involved in the preparation of this performance:

> Rome, February 24, 1688
>
> The Contestabile Colonna and the Duke of Zagarolo have obtained permission from the Pope, despite the edict which he had published banning all carnival entertainments, to have an opera which they had prepared performed two more times. (March 20, 1688)
>
> De Rome, le 24 Fevrier 1688
>
> Le Connestable Colonne & le Duc de Zagarolo ont obtenu du Pape, nonobstant l'Edit qu'il a fait publier pour la défense de tous les divertissements du Carnaval, la permission de faire joüer encore duex fois un Opéra qu'ils

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128. Prota-Giurleo, "Breve storia," p. 48. *Idem*, "Provenzale," pp. 69, 77.

avoient fait préparer. (20 Mars 1688)

In Naples the second opera of the carnival season was Scarlatti's *La Rosmene*. According to Lina Montalto this must also have been a revival. She reports that documents in the Archivio Doria-Pamphilj list a performance of *La Rosmene* in Cardinal Pamphilj's palace in Rome during the carnival of 1686.[129]

The *Gazzetta di Napoli* published on March 2, 1688, makes the following references to two operatic performances as well as to a serenata-like performance from an allegorical chariot, the latter reminiscent of those witnessed years past at the Mergellina:

> In order to rest his spirit in some measure from the continuous cares of government to which with indescribable vigilance he devotes himself, on Thursday night [February 26] His Excellency went incognito to the house of the President D. Nicolas Gascone to hear a very beautiful opera. Yesterday evening he also went to hear one recited by the best actors in this city in the Royal Palace where [it was] attended by all the nobility, both ladies and cavaliers.
>
> Because of the rain on Sunday [February 29], maskers were not seen, although yesterday a great number of very curious ones were enjoyed; and among them a chariot representing an enormous ship, alluding to His Excellency's title as Marchese de las Navas, appeared, having been built by the Representative [of the People] in the name of his most faithful people. It was completely

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129. Lina Montalto, *Un Mecenate in Roma barocca* (Florence: Sansoni, 1955), pp. 323-324.

overlaid with silver ornamental tablets. The seven planets singing music and the sun as helmsman were placed on the deck of the ship, surrounded by many sirens with musical instruments and many *putti* sporting among the foliage. The said ship was preceded by noble and beautiful sea nymphs on horseback, led by Partenope; and these [were] served by many tritons, all richly dressed. [After] it had arrived below His Excellency's balcony and the ship's company had expressed their heart-felt joy at having a prince such as the one presently assigned here, they scattered with profuse generosity and largesse a great number of silver coins [to the crowd]. And after having circled the square, the said chariot departed by way of the Corso.

Per sollevare in qualche parte l'animo dalle continue applicationi del governo, al quale con inesplicabile vigilanza accudisce S.E. si portò giovedi sera incognito in casa del Sig.*nor* Presidente D. Nicolas Gascone per ascoltare una bellissima opera, sì come anco fece hier sera nel Regio Palazzo, recitata dalli migliori Comici di questa Città, ove intervenne tutta la Nobiltà, sì di Dame, come di Cavalieri.

Domenica a causa della pioggia non si viddero Maschere, si sono godute bensì hieri assai capricciose, & in gran numero, e fra esse si vidde un Carro rappresentante una smisurata Nave, allusiva al titolo di Marchese de las Navas di S.E. fatto da quest'Eletto in nome del suo fidelissimo popolo. Era tutta indorata con cartocci d'argento. Sopra la coperta della Nave erano affisi li sette Pianeti, cantando in musica, & il Sole per timoniero attorno molte Sirene con instromenti da suono, e più puttini, che schersavano per gl'alberi. Veniva preceduta detta Nave dalle Ninfe Nereide, nobile, e vagamente a cavallo, condotte da Partenope, a queste servivano molti Tritoni, tutti riccamente vestiti. Gionta sotto il balcone di S.E. e palesando l'interno giubilo per haver ottenuto un tanto Prencipe, che l'affista al governo dell'Eccellenza Sua; con profusa generosità sparse a larga mano un gran numero di monete d'argento e doppo haver girato la piazza, detto Carro se ne ritornò per la strada del Corso.

The opera heard in the Royal Palace on the evening of March 1 was almost certainly Alessandro Scarlatti's *La Rosaena*. The *Gazzetta di Napoli* fails to make it clear if it was this same opera or another that was heard by the Viceroy several evenings early in a private residence. An invaluable chronological list of operas performed in Naples for the period 1650-1706 has been published by Lorenzo Bianconi, but there is no reference in it to an opera performed that year at Naples in a private home.[130] The possibility therefore exists that the opera heard in the house of D. Nicolas Gascone on the evening of February 26 represents an as yet unidentified work.

Domenico Confuorto also records the appearance of this allegorical "ship" in the heart of Naples, although his account differs in a few details from the above:

> On Monday, the first of March, the penultimate day of carnival, there was a great traffic of maskers and coaches in the Strada Toledo, and a very beautiful ship, built by the people and with all the customary rigging of a normal vessel, came forth from the courtyard of the Spirito Santo. Upon it there were curious little cupids who sang music in praise of the new Viceroy; and it traversed the entire length of the Corso to the Palace and then returned. This ship, alluding to the one in which the Viceroy navigated from Spain

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130. Lorenzo Bianconi, "Funktionen des Operntheaters in Neapel bis 1700 und die Rolle Alessandro Scarlattis," *Colloquium Alessandro Scarlatti: Wuerzburg 1975* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1979), pp. 46-111.

to Leghorn (since from there he came by land to Naples), was built by the Representative of the People. This machine was to have made its appearance the previous day, Sunday, but because it was rainy that entire day, it did not appear.

A Primo di marzo, lunedi, penultimo giorno di carnevale, fu in strada Toleto [*sic*] un gran corso di maschere e carrozze, e usci dal cortile dello Spirito Santo una bellissima nave fatta dal Popolo con tutte l'ordegne solite di una nave, sopra della quale erano diversi Amoretti, che musicalmente cantavano le lodi del nuovo signor viceré; e caminò tutto il corso sino a Palazzo, e poi ritornò indietro. Fu fatta questa nave dal signor eletto del Popolo, alludendo alla nave con la quale navigo il signor viceré da Spagna sino a Livorno, perché da ivi venne poi per terra in Napoli. Questa machina dovea uscire il giorno precedente, domenica; ma, per essere stata giornata piovosa, non uscì.[131]

It is doubtful that Alessandro Scarlatti, the master of the Royal Chapel of Naples, had anything to do with this serenata. Since this "ship" was a demonstration of loyalty to the new Viceroy by the *fidelissimo popolo* of Naples and was built by their representative, the *Eletto del Popolo*, it would seem more likely that Francesco Provenzale, the *Maestro di Cappella di questa Fedelissima Città di Napoli*,[132] was responsible for the music heard on this occasion.

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131. Confuorto, *Giornali*, I, 217.

132. Provenzale was appointed to this position on September 17, 1665, and evidently held it until his death in 1704. Cf. Prota-Giurleo, "Provenzale," pp. 53-79 and Bianconi, "Funktionen des Operntheaters in Neapel," pp. 19-23.

3.1.2 A Serenata at Naples for the Surrender of Albareale

Three months later another serenata was heard below the Viceroy's balcony. On May 31, 1688, the news arrived in Naples that Albareale, an important city in Hungary, had been captured by Imperial forces.[133] This event set off a wave of general rejoicing which included the performance of a serenata on June 3. The *Gazzetta di Napoli*, from which this information is known, fails to name the work or its composer, but the fact that this serenata appears to have been a court function strongly suggests that members of the Royal Chapel of Naples under the direction of its master, Alessandro Scarlatti, performed on this occasion.

The rejoicing at the surrender of Albareale and the terrifying event which put an end to it are reported as follows in the *Gazzetta* of June 8, 1688:

> After the singing of the *Te Deum* on the morning of last Tuesday [June 1] in thanks to God (as previously reported) for the surrender of Albareale, that night and the following two [June 1, 2, 3] the entire city appeared completely illuminated, and in particular the Royal Palace, which looked especially beautiful because of the great number of burning torches. The Most Excellent Viceroy, desiring to participate in such joyful demonstrations, drove privately at night in his coach all about the city and was very pleased by the cordiality with which the most faithful populace celebrated the aggrandizement of the Most

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133. Confuorto, *Giornali*, I, 217.

August House of Austria. On Thursday night below His Excellency's balconies a very beautiful musical serenata was given, which was thronged by an infinite number of ladies and cavaliers. But because in this world complete joy never or rarely comes to us, we find ourselves transported from the extremity of jubilation and fallen into the depths of sorrow and grief, the baleful effects of the terrible earthquake which struck on Saturday the fifth of this month at twenty-one hours, which caused such destruction that centuries and immense treasures will be required to repair [the damage] . . .

Doppo esservi la mattina del martedì passato cantato il Te Deum in rendimento di gratie a Dio (come si scrisse) per la resa d'Albareale, la sera, e le due seguenti comparve tutta la Città illuminata, & in particolare il Regio Palazzo, che si vidde oltre modo vago per la gran quantità di torcie accese.
Quest'Ecc. Sig. Vice-Rè volendo entrar a parte del godimento di dimostrationi così giulive, si portò la sera in carozza privatamente per tutta la Città, restando assai appagato della cordialità, con la quale questo fidelissimo Popolo festeggia l'ingrandimento dell'Augustissima Casa d'Austria. Il giovedi a sera sotto Balconi di S. E. si diede una bellissima Serenata in musica, a cui vi concorsero infinità di Dame, e Cavalieri. Ma perche in questo mondo giammai, ò raro, vengono a noi compite l'allegrezze, dall'estremo del giubilo, ci vediamo passati, e caduti nel profondo del cordoglio, e della tristezza: effetti infausti dell'horribile Terremoto accaduto Sabbato 5. del corrente, sù le 21. hora, il quale hà cagionato rovine tali, che ci vorrano secoli, & immensi tesori per ripararle . . .

Although possibly a work by Alessandro Scarlatti, the serenata described above has evidently not survived, or, if it has, cannot be connected with this occasion. None of Scarlatti's extant serenatas makes explicit reference to the surrender of Albareale.

3.1.3 Summer in Naples

The Viceroy Santo Stefano, unlike his predecessor the Marchese del Carpio, appears to have made no attempt to celebrate the namedays of his two Queens with conspicuous entertainments on the shores of the Mergellina. The only reference to music during the customary summer festivities of 1688 is reported on Monday, July 11, when, according to the *Gazzetta* of July 13:

> As a respite from the weight of government to which His Excellency applies himself with indefatigable diligence, he went on Sunday [July 10] by sea to the delightful shores of Posillipo accompanied by the commanders of the Neapolitan and Sardinian galleys, the Marchese di Camerassa and D. Alonzo di Guzman, [respectively], and with the master of the military establishment, D. Ferdinando Valdes, followed by [several] small craft [full of] excellent singers.
>
> L'Ecc. sua per respirare dal peso dell'indefesa applicatione del governo Domenica si conduse per mare alla delitiosa Riviera di Posilipo accompagnato dalli Signori Generali delle Galere di Napoli, e Sardegna, Marchese di Camerassa, e D. Alõzo di Guzman con il Sig. Mastro di cãpo D. Ferdinando Valdes, seguito da Filuche di esquisiti Musici.[134]

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134. A similar account is given by Confuorto, *Giornali*, I, 225.

3.1.3.1 A Serenata for a Double Wedding

Both Confuorto[135] and the *Gazzetta* report that "una bellissima serenata d'esquisiti musici" was heard in Naples on the evening of Monday, August 9, 1688. This concert took place in celebration of a double wedding at which Giuliano Colonna,[136] married Giovanna Vaendeneiden Piccolomini, and Carlo Carafa,[137] married Giovanna's sister Elisabetta. Neither source, however, mentions the location of this performance or identifies the work or its composer.

Thirty-five years and a generation later, Alessandro Scarlatti's last surviving serenata, *Erminia*, was performed in the Palazzo Stigliano, Naples, following the wedding of Giuliano and Giovanna's son.[138] It is tempting to speculate that Scarlatti also furnished the music heard in 1688, but this serenata remains unidentified and anonymous.

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135. Confuorto, *Giornali*, I, 227.

136. The Prince of Sonnino and the nephew of the *Gran Contestabile* Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna.

137. The Marchese d'Anzi.

138. Ferdinando Colonna, the Prince of Stigliano.

3.1.4 Alessandro Scarlatti's Serenata in Honor of James II of England: A Doubtful Work

On the basis of archival evidence which she fails to describe adequately, Lina Montalto asserts that a serenata by A. Scarlatti in honor of James II of England was performed during 1688 in the Palazzo Doria Pamphilj, Rome. Montalto begins by writing of Alessandro Guidi's *Accademia per musica*, a cantata text in honor of the Catholic James II. As mentioned above on page 67, this text was set to music by Bernardo Pasquini and sung to the accompaniment of a large orchestra under the direction of Arcangelo Corelli in Queen Christine's Palazzo Riario alla Lungara, Rome, in 1687. In Montalto's words:

> The cantata celebrated the ascension of the throne by James II of England. The following year a new cantata, this time performed in the palace on the Corso [Cardinal Benedetto Pamphilj's], was dedicated again to the English sovereigns. In its print the Queen [of England] on her knees receives the expected heir, the Prince of Wales, from Faith shown on a throne; the music is Scarlatti's.
>
> La cantata festeggiava l'ascesa al trono di Giacomo II d'Inghilterra; l'anno successivo, una nuova cantata, questa volta eseguita nel palazzo al Corso, fu dedicata ancora ai sovrani d'Inghilterra. Nella stampa di essa la regina riceve in ginocchio dalla Fede, rappresentata in

> trono, l'atteso erede principe di Galles: la musica appartiene a Scarlatti.[139]

In her footnote 65 which follows the above extract, Montalto shows that news of the birth of James II's son arrived in Rome in July, 1688. Her footnote continues by asserting that:

> . . . the Cardinal [Benedetto Pamphilj composed] a *Cantata in honor of the Prince of Wales* which was performed in his apartments and at the Collegio Clementino. A tragic cantata, since that autumn James II of England fled before the invader William of Orange, taking refuge in France.
>
> . . . il cardinale una *Cantata in onore del principe di Wallia* che fu eseguita nei suoi appartamenti e al collegio Clementino. Tragico cantata: ché nell'autunno Giacomo II d'Inghilterra fuggiva davanti all'invasore Guglielmo d'Orange, riparando in Francia.[140]

Nowhere is it made clear where Scarlatti's name is found. Elsewhere in her study of Cardinal Pamphilj, Montalto writes:

> Among other things, the account books [of Cardinal Pamphilj] speak of an ode *For the liberation of Vienna*, of a cantata for the birth of the son of the King of England James II (July, 1688), of various serenatas, and of many oratorios for the Assumption sung in the Collegio Clementino, all likewise set to music by Cesarini and recorded in the *Atti* of the Collegio Clementino (Archive of the Padri Somaschi, Genoa).

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139. Lina Montalto, *Un Mecenate in Roma barocca* (Florence: Sansoni, 1955), p. 328.

140. *Ibid.*, pp. 536-37, n. 65.

> Nelle Giustificazioni si parla, inoltre, di un'ode *Per la liberazione di Vienna*, di una cantata per la nascita del figlio del re d'Inghilterra Giacomo II, luglio 1688, di varie serenate e di molti oratorî per l'Assunta da cantarsi nel Collegio Clementino, tutti parimenti musicati da Cesarini e ricordati negli Atti del Collegio Clementino (Archivio PP. Somaschi, Genova).[141]

Evidently Montalto has seen a print containing a cantata text and an engraving showing the Queen of England, the Prince of Wales, and the allegorical figure Faith. Alessandro Scarlatti is presumably named somewhere as its composer. Unfortunately, no such libretto has come to light, and because Montalto's study is beset with innumerable internal contradictions, unsupported assertions, and deplorable misunderstandings, such attributions as the above cannot be considered reliable.

Although no evidence has been discovered which suggests that Scarlatti wrote a serenata or large cantata during 1688 in honor of James II of England, it is clear that there were many festivities in Rome that summer in honor of the English monarch and the birth of the Prince of Wales. The editions of the *Gazette de France* published on August 28 and September 4, 1688, carried lengthy accounts of the celebrations in Rome on the feast of Saint James (July 25),

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141. *Ibid.*, p. 508.

the nameday of the King of England. The latter edition, for example, reports:

Rome, August 10, 1688

The festivities which were celebrated last week for the birth of the Prince of Wales were extraordinary. The Church of Saint Thomas where the ceremonies took place was magnificently decorated. After mass sung by several choirs of singers, the *Te Deum* was sung in the presence of eighteen cardinals; and, moreover, many salvos were fired along the Tiber. Cardinal Howard had all sorts of refreshments distributed to the servants of the cardinals and to the populace; and he arranged for a fountain of wine which flowed for three days in front of his palace, which was illuminated those evenings by three rows of white wax torches. A little theater was constructed of turf upon which an entire steer was roasted in the English manner, covered with vegetables and gilt in several places, with its belly full of suckling pigs and birds and all sorts of game. It was turned by a great cog-wheel powered by six men dressed in the livery of Cardinal Howard with escutcheons displaying the arms of England. During the evening there were concerts of voices and instruments, and of trumpets and drums; and alms were distributed to all the poor of the parish.

De Rome, le 10 Aoust 1688

Les réjoüissances qui furent faites la semaine derniére, pour la naissance du Prince de Galles ont esté extraordinaires. L'Eglise de S. Thomas où se fit la cerémonie estoit magnifiquement parée. Apres la Messe chantée à plusieurs choeurs de musique, le *Te Deum* fut chanté en présence de dix huit Cardinaux: & cependant, on fit plusieurs décharges de boëtes le long du Tybre. Le Cardinal Howard fit distribüer toutes sortes de rafraischissements aux estafiers des Cardinaux & à la populace: & il fit couler durant trois jours, une fontaine de vin devant son Palais, qui fut le soir, éclairé d'un triple rang de flambeaux de cire blanche. On dressa un petit théâtre de gazon, sur lequel on fit rotir à la maniére d'Angleterre, un boeuf entier couvert de verdure &

> doré en plusieurs endroits, & dont le ventre estoit rempli de cochons de lait, de volailles, & de toute sorte de gibier. Il estoit tourné par une grande roüe condüite par six hommes vestus de la livrée du Cardinal Howard, avec des écussons aux armes d'Angleterre. Il y eut le soir, des concerts de voix & d'instruments, de tambours & de trompettes: & on distribüa des aumônes à tous les pauvres de la Paroisse.

None of the works heard on this occasion have been identified.

3.1.5 The Marchese of Cogolludo's Serenatas in Rome

Although the Count of Santo Stefano, Viceroy of Naples, failed to sponsor the performance of any serenatas during the summer of 1688, quite the opposite was true of the Spanish Ambassador at Rome, the Marchese of Cogolludo.

3.1.5.1 A Serenata for Lorenzo and Lorenza Colonna

A set of so-called *avvisi Marescotti* in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele, Rome, preserves much information about the musical and social life of Rome during this period.[142] One of these *avvisi*, dated August 14, 1688, reports:

> On the evening of [the feast of] Saint Lawrence, whose name the Contestabile Colonna and

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142. Extracts taken from these *avvisi* were kindly provided by Prof. Lowell Lindgren.

the Princess of Palliano, his daughter-in-law, bear, the Spanish Ambassador, brother of the said princess, had a very beautiful serenata in honor of Their Excellencies performed in the great hall of the Royal Palace of Spain, so arranged that it could be heard in the Piazza [di Spagna] where a great crowd gathered to enjoy it. His Excellency [Cogolludo] is now preparing a most beautiful celebration in the Piazza di Spagna for the feast of Saint Louis in honor of the reigning Queen of Spain on her nameday.

La sera di S.*an* Lorenzo di cui portava il nome il Contestabile Colonna e la Pr*inci*pessa di Palliano sua nuora fece L'Amb*asciato*re di Spagna fratello di d.*etta* Pr*inci*pessa una belliss.*im*a serenata ad honore delle loro Ecc.*ellenze* nella gran sala del Palazzo regio di Spagna con tal dispositione, che si poteva sentire nella Piazza ove fu grande il concorso *per* goderla. Fa hora S.*ua* E.*ccellenz* preparare una bellissima festa nella Piazza di Spagna *per* la festa di S.*an* Luigi *per* honorare il nome della Reg.*in*a Regnante di Spagna.[143]

This serenata was heard on the evening of Tuesday, August 10, in celebration of the nameday of Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, the Gran Contestabile, and of Lorenza de la Cerda Colonna. As mentioned above, she was Cogolludo's sister and the wife of Filippo Alessandro Colonna, the Gran Contestabile's oldest son. According to the published catalogue of the libretto collection in the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, the text sung on this occasion is preserved in a print entitled:

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143. I Rn, MS. 788, fol. 66v.

La Notte, il Giorno ed il Merito. Cantata per musica a tre voci . . . di Francesco M. Paglia .[144]

In the libretto Severo de Luca is named as the composer who set Paglia's poetry to music.

Evidently this same serenata was repeated six days later. An *avviso* dated August 20, 1688, reports:

> On Monday [August 16] the Spanish Ambassador had the above-mentioned serenata given in the Piazza di Spagna to which the entire city flocked, and besides the ladies invited into the balcony of the ambassador's wife, eight cardinals attended, [seated] on the ambassador's [balcony].
>
> The festival consisted of a very beautiful theater completely illuminated by Venetian torches and decorated with statues, bas-reliefs, and other skillfully conceived architectural ornaments. One hundred and fifty Moors wearing silver-lamé clothing with instruments of every sort sat on the risers, and on the platform were seated all the singers, also dressed in theatrical costumes . . .
>
> Lunedi si fece da *questo* Amb*asciatore* di Spagna l'accennata serenata in Piazza di Spagna alla quale concorse tutta la Città, et oltre le dame invitate al Balcone dell'Amb*asciatrice* vi intervennero 8 Card.*inali* a quello dell'Amb*asciatore*.
>
> La festa consisteva in un bell*iss.imo* teatro tutto illuminato di torcie di Venetia, et arricchito di statue, e bassi rilievi et altri adornam.*enti* di ben intesa architettura nel quale

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144. Laura Cairo and Piccarda Quilic, *Biblioteca teatrale dal '500 al '700: la raccolta della biblioteca casanatense* (Rome, 1981), no. 2851.

sopra le scalinate sedevano da 150 mori con vesti di lame d'argento con instromenti d'ogni genere, e nel palco vi sedevano tutti li musici vestiti parimenti in habiti Teatrali . . .[145]

3.1.5.2 A Serenata for Queen Maria Luisa of Spain

As mentioned above on page 120, the Marchese of Cogolludo had Bernardo Pasquini's *Applauso musicale* performed in the Piazza di Spagna on Queen Maria Luisa's nameday in 1687. The events of 1688 in both Naples and Rome honoring the Queen on her nameday (referred to below as her birthday) are reported as follows in the *Gazzetta di Napoli* of August 31, 1688:

> [Naples]
>
> Last Thursday [August 26] the Most Excellent Viceroy [Santo Stefano] attended royal chapel with the customary formalities in the Church of the Greater Carmine for the birthday of Her Majesty the reigning Queen . . .
>
> Rome
>
> On the evening of [Wednesday, August] 25, for the birthday of Her Majesty the Queen of Spain, the Catholic Ambassador had the entire square in front of the King's palace [the Piazza di Spagna] illuminated by four hundred torches, at the head of which a very beautiful theater [was built], completely illuminated by torches, showing Apollo with Juno and Pluto at his sides with other mythological figures around them, and at their feet the two rivers Nile and Seine. And in this theater a serenata was performed by a great number of singers and players for a great crowd of

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145. I Rn, MS. 788, fols. 68v-69r. This extract is cited with a few variants by Mario Rinaldi, *Arcangelo Corelli* (Milan: Curci, 1953), p. 129.

princes, nobles, titled dignitaries, and people.

[Napoli]

Per il compleaños della Maestà della Regina Regnante giovedì passato si tenne da quest'Ecc. Sig. Vice-Rè Cappella Reale nella Chiesa del Carmine Maggiore con le solite formalità . . .

Roma

Dal Sig. Ambasciatore Cattolico la sera delli 25. per il giorno natalitio della Maestà della Regina di Spagna si fece illuminare tutta la gran Piazza del Palazzo del Rè da più di 400. Torcie con un Teatro al capo d'essa bellissimo, tutto illuminato con Torcie, rappresentante Apollo con ai lati Giugnone, e Plutone, & all'incontro altre figure favolose, & a piedi i due fiumi Nilo, e Senna, & in esso si fece la serenata da gran quantità di Musici, e sonatori con gran concorso di Prencipi, Nobiltà, Titolati, e Popolo.

The *Gazette de France* similarly took notice of the festivities in Rome on this occasion:

Rome, August 31, 1688

On the twenty-fifth the Marchese of Cogolludo, the Spanish Ambassador, sponsored a grand celebration because of the [nameday] festival of the Queen of Spain. The entire square in front of his palace was illuminated by torches of white wax, and there was a grand concert of voices and instruments. (September 25, 1688)

De Rome, le 31 Aoust 1688

Le Marquis de Cogolludo Ambassadeur Extraordinaire d'Espagne fit le 25, de grande réjoüissances à cause de la feste de la Reyne d'Espagne. Toute la place du Palais estoit éclairée de flambeaux de cire blanc: & il y eut un grand concert de voix & d'instruments. (25 Septembre 1688)

Reflecting a different point of view, another account of the festivities sponsored by Cogolludo was written by the Savoyard agent in Rome, Paolo Negri, and this account has been published by Alessandro Ademollo:

> The Spanish Ambassador here, without paying for anyone's services, gave for the birthday of the reigning Queen his greatest celebration, with lighting by torches and candles all along that entire great piazza, at the head of which there was a large theater with a painted backdrop, entirely illuminated, showing Apollo with Juno and Pluto at his sides and with other mythological figures around, and the two rivers Nile and Seine at their feet; and in this theater the serenata, which was generally not liked, was sung by two ladies on the main parts and a large number of singers and instruments. And although the setting was beautiful, the presentation of the singers and players dressed in their own garments to the view of the entire populace, which was considered a great impropriety, furnished grounds for criticism, so much the more because if His Excellency had had uniform attire made for all of them, he need not have inconvenienced his purse, sending all his creditors away alike empty handed. Whence it was heard the next morning that a pasquinade had cropped up which said: "The Marchese of Cogolludo does all that he should and owes for all that he does."
>
> Questo signor Ambasciatore di Spagna, senza pagare alcuno, fece pel natale della Regina regnante, la sua superbissima festa coll'illuminatione di torcie e di cera per tutta quella gran piazza, a capo della quale vi era un gran teatro di tele dipinte, tutto illuminato, rappresentante Apollo con alli lati Giugnone e Plutone ed all'intorno altre figure favolose, ed ai piedi i due fiumi Nilo e Senna; ed in esso Teatro si cantò la serenata da due donne per le principali parti, e da gran quantità di musici ed istromenti la qual serenata communemente non piaque, ed ancor che l'apparato fosse bellissimo, diede materia a criticare quel far vedere li cantori e li sonatori alla vista di tutto il

> popolo, vestiti delli propri loro abiti, il che fu stimato un'improprietà grande tanto più che facendoli S. Ecc.a a tutti un abito ugale, non avrebbe incomodata la sua borsa, mandando tutti li di lui creditori del pari. Onde la mattina seguente si sentì essere uscita una pasquinata che diceva: "Il signor Marchese di Coccogliudo fa tutto quello che deve e deve tutto quello che fa."[146]

Strangely, Ademollo reports that Negri's account is found in a letter dated August 18--a week before the feast of Saint Louis. One might assume this to be another reference to the serenata given on August 16 but for the fact that on that evening the performers were dressed in silver-lamé clothing, while Negri makes much of the fact that at the performance he witnessed, the singers and instrumentalists were not uniformly attired. In all likelihood, the date of Negri's letter as reported by Ademollo is incorrect.

The documents reproduced above show that Cogolludo presented a serenata on the evening of August 10, 1688, the feast of Saint Lawrence, which was repeated on August 16, and that he gave a serenata on August 25, the feast of Saint Louis. Presumably they were two different works, and both serenatas required a large orchestra in addition to the

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146. Alessandro Ademollo, *I Teatri di Roma nel secolo decimosettimo* (1888; rpt. Bologna: Forni, 1969), pp. 171-72. Negri's *avvisi di Roma* are preserved in the Archivio di Stato di Torino.

singers. Two female soloists were heard on the evening of August 25. Given the close diplomatic ties between the Spanish Ambassador in Rome and the Spanish Viceroy of Naples, and since there is no evidence that the Viceroy required any serenatas from the pen of Alessandro Scarlatti during the summer of 1688, it is possible that one or both of the serenatas reported above were his. As yet, however, no documents have come to light which further identify these serenatas.

3.1.6 A Serenata in Naples for the Capture of Belgrade

On September 6, 1688, Imperial troops captured the fortress city of Belgrade. Christian Europe received this news with an outburst of rejoicing rivaling that witnessed after the fall of Budapest in 1686. The celebrations instituted in Naples on this occasion are described as follows in a news sheet printed in Palermo[147] dated September 28, 1688:

> Naples, September 21
>
> At such propitious news (which reached His Excellency on Friday night two hours after midnight, the seventeenth of this month) His Excellency made manifest his heartfelt joy by ordering that fireworks be immediately displayed all throughout the city, which were continued for

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147. Nella Stamperia d'Aldimiro Demoncarma.

two nights, the third being reserved until the theater which is being built in front of the Royal Palace is finished, where the Temple of Glory with other allusions will be represented and celebrated with a serenata of more than a hundred instruments.

Napoli 21. Settembre

A sì prospero annutio (gionto à S.*ua* E.*ccellenza* la sera del venerdì due hore doppo mezza notte 17. dell'istesso mese) manifestò l'E.*ccellenza* S.*ua* l'interno giubilo con ordinar subito si facessero per tutta la Città fuochi di gioia, quali si son continuati per due sere, riserbando la terza finche sia finito il Teatro, che si fa avanti al Regio Palazzo, ove si rappresentarà il Tempio della Gloria con altre allusioni, e si festeggiarà con una Serenata di
148
cento, e più istromenti.

This serenata, perhaps entitled *Il Tempio della Gloria*, was very likely a work of Alessandro Scarlatti. Although it was surely completed and rehearsed, events conspired to prevent its public performance. The *Gazzetta di Napoli* dated September 28 records the construction in progress on the bizarre temporary outdoor theater in which it was to have been performed:

Work is continuing at a furious pace on the above-mentioned theater, and it is hoped that it will turn out to be one of the most splendid ever built, not only in regard to its size, occupying almost the entire greater part of the square in front of the palace, but also because of its fanciful design.

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148. This news sheet is preserved in the collection of the *Gazzetta di Napoli* referred to above on page 99.

> Si prossiegue a travagliare attorno all'avisato Teatro a tutta furia, e si spera sia per riuscire una delle più superbe machine, che si siano fatte sin' hora, non solo in riguarda della grandezza, occupando quasi la maggior parte del largo del Palazzo, ma anco per la capricciosa inventione.

Conspicuous outdoor celebrations like the above were normally limited to the warm, dry months of summer. The Viceroy Santo Stefano must certainly have known of the risks involved when he authorized the preparations for this serenata so late in the season. As can be seen in the following extracts taken from successive editions of the *Gazzetta di Napoli*, his gamble that good weather would prevail was in vain:

> October 12, 1688
>
> They are still incessantly working on the much acclaimed theatrical machine which is being built for the celebration of the conquest of Belgrade, and this will take place as soon as the weather permits, although the continuous rain these days has slowed this undertaking not a little.
>
> October 19, 1688
>
> The weather, which meanwhile continues [to be] rainy, is delaying the above-mentioned celebration prepared for the conquest of Belgrade, although a great number of scaffolds has already been built below the arches of the Royal Palace and in other places. The site [of this performance], although spacious, is judged inadequate because of the curiosity excited in everyone to see such a beautiful and sumptuous spectacle.
>
> October 26, 1688
>
> Meanwhile the weather is unpleasant because of the wind and continuous rain [and] because it is

preventing the performance of the above mentioned celebration for the conquest of Belgrade.

12. Ottobre 1688

Si travaglia tuttavia incessantemente attorno alla famosa Machina che s'apparecchia per festeggiare l'acquisto di Belgrado, e si sarà subbito che il tempo lo permetterà, mentre in questi giorni le continue pioggie hanno ritardato non poco l'opra.

19. Ottobre 1688

In tanto la stagione, che tuttavia seguita piovosa, fà prolongare la scritta Festa preparata per l'acquisto di Belgrado, essendosi già fabricati gran numero di palchetti sotto gli archi del Real Palazzo, & altri luoghi, stimandosi incapace il sito, quantunque grande per la curiosità ch'eccita tutti a vedere sì vago, e sontuoso spettacolo.

26. Ottobre 1688

In tanto la stagione, a cagion de venti, e delle pioggie continue, riesce più dell'ordinario noiosa, perche tuttavia impedisce l'effetto della scritta festa per l'acquisto di Belgrado.

By the end of October it must have been clear that this serenata would not be performed. Custom dictated that either the nameday or the birthday of the King of Spain (November 4 and 6, respectively) be conspicuously celebrated by the performance of an opera in the Royal Palace of Naples. That year in Naples Matteo Noris' libretto *Il Re infante*, first performed in Venice in 1683 with music by Carlo Pallavicino, was reset by A. Scarlatti. As *Il Flavio*, it was scheduled to be performed in the Royal Palace on the

evening of November 6. The bad weather and its attendant hazards to delicate voices appear to have threatened even this performance. The *Gazzetta* of November 9 records the postponement of *Il Flavio* and the cancellation of the serenata for the conquest of Belgrade:

> The opera planned in celebration of the said [birth] day, not yet ready for performance because several singers find themselves indisposed, has been postponed and will appear on stage one of these days; and there is reason to hope that it will succeed quite splendidly. The inclemency of the season, which because of the continuous rain keeps us closed indoors more than usual, is not permitting us to enjoy the splendid plans that were made to celebrate the triumphant subjugation of Belgrade by Imperial forces, nothing else being required but the improvement of the weather.
>
> L'Opera in musica destinata per sollennizzar detto giorno, non trovandosi su'l punto d'esser recitata, a causa dell'indispositione d'alcuni musici, s'è trasferita, & un di questi giorni comparirà sù le scene; e si spera sia per riuscire assai bella. L'intemperie della stagione, ch'oltre modo ci tiene racchiusi nelle habitationi, a causa delle continue pioggie, non ci fa godere delle superbe preventioni, che si son fatte per celebrare i trionfi dell'Armi Cesaree nell'espugntione di Belgrado, & altro non s'aspetta, che la bonaccia del tempo.

Later editions of the *Gazzetta* record that *Il Flavio* was performed in the Royal Palace on November 14 and 17, followed by its transfer to the Teatro San Bartolomeo where it was heard for the first time on November 21. The serenata in celebration of the conquest of Belgrade is never mentioned again in the *Gazzetta di Napoli* and, although it

may well represent a lost work of Alessandro Scarlatti, has entirely escaped the attention of music historians. Neither the text nor a score of this work is known to have survived.

3.2 1689

On February 12, 1689, the young Queen of Spain, Maria Luisa of Orléans, died. This event altered the calendar of summertime festivities in much of Europe and the Americas, for no longer would her nameday, August 25, the feast of Saint Louis, be celebrated as a court function throughout the Spanish Empire. Because Charles II of Spain had not yet produced a male heir, it was essential that he remarry as soon as possible. It was no surprise then when news of his intention to wed arrived in Naples on June 4, 1689.[149] His bride was to be Marianna of Pfalz-Neuburg.

On the day following Maria Luisa's death, February 13, 1689, the administrators of the *Real Conservatorio di Santa Maria di Loreto* appointed Alessandro Scarlatti chapel master

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149. Confuorto, *Giornali*, I. 265.

of the conservatory with the requirement that he teach singing and playing to all the boys of the institution.[150] Scarlatti must have hoped that the ten ducats a month which this position paid would supplement his regular courtly salary enough to cover his increasing expenses as head of a family.

At the end of April, however, Scarlatti requested and was granted a month's leave of absence so that he might go to Rome on private business. Evidently, a wealthy and influential patron in Rome desired the composer's services. Scarlatti must have been optimistic about his prospects in Rome, for, when after two and half months had passed and he had still not returned to Naples, he was dismissed from his position at the conservatory. The composer is believed to have spent part of the spring and summer of 1689 in Rome, and evidently this was done with the approval of the Viceroy of Naples, since no action was taken against him by the court. His absence from Naples that summer may explain the lack of any serenata sponsored by the Viceroy on Saint Anne's day, 1689, to mark the nameday of the Queen Mother and of the future Queen of Spain.[151]

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150. Pagano, *Alessandro Scarlatti*, pp. 104-07.

151. Confuorto, *Giornali*, I, 269.

It is not known for certain who called Scarlatti away from Naples or what musical activities awaited him in Rome. Almost certainly these activities had originally included the preparation and execution of serenatas, but evidence has not come to light documenting any in the Eternal City that summer. Perhaps the death of Innocent XI on August 12, 1689, can account for this lack of secular entertainment in Rome. Already by July of 1689 the Pope's critical condition was widely known, and the preparation of a serenata when Rome was poised to enter a period of mourning would have been a dubious undertaking. Lina Montalto mentions a number of chamber cantatas by Scarlatti which are recorded in the Pamphilj account books for 1689. These were evidently performed at the Cardinal's *accademie* where, according to Montalto, "ha il posto d'honore lo Scarlatti."[152]

3.2.1 Celebrations in Naples for the Wedding of Charles II with Marianna of Pfalz-Neuburg

By September of 1689, if not sooner, Scarlatti must have returned to Naples to take part in the preparations for the festivities in celebration of the wedding of Charles II with Marianna of Pfalz-Neuburg. The festivities began on October

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152. Montalto, *Un Mecenate*, p. 328.

3, 1689, and must have strained the financial and artistic resources of Naples to the limit.[153] A detailed account of these celebrations is preserved in a rare pamphlet published and probably written by Domenico Antonio Parrino which bears the title:

> SUCCINTA/RELATIONE/*Delle Feste fatte celebrare in Napoli nel Mese/d'Ottobre 1689.*/DALL' ECCELL. SIG./CO: DI S. STEFANO/Vice-Rè, e Capitan Generale di detto Regno, Per l'aviso ri-/cevuto da S.E. per li Sponsali effettuati dal/SERENISS. RE' D'UNGARIA/*A' nome della Maestà del nostro Rè,*/CARLO SECONDO/CHE DIO GUARDI./CON LA SERENISSIMA PRENCIPESSA/MARIANNA/DI NEOBURGO./*Seguito in quella Corte il dì 28. del caduto Agosto dell'Anno stesso.*/[Printer's device]/IN NAPOLI, Per il Parrino MDCLXXXIX./*Con Licenza de Superiori, e Privilegio.*[154]

3.2.1.1 An Allegorical Chariot with Music

This pamphlet reports that on Monday, October 3, a giant allegorical chariot representing a temple descended the Via

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153. *Cf.* Confuorto, *Giornali*, I, 278.

154. I Nsp (Naples, Library of the Società Napoletana di Storia Patria), bound between pp. 188 and 189 of MS. Confuorto XX.C.21.

Toledo and

> . . .then stopped in front of the Royal Palace, on the balconies of which Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Vicereine with their children were seated. This was followed by the harmony of sonorous instruments joined with the sweet melody of the finest voices (thirty of which were seated within the temple) who sang excellent compositions which in very noble verse alluded to the most happy marriage of Their Majesties, to the grand and magnanimous spirit of His Excellency [the Viceroy], and to the great abundance of happiness [felt] by the Representative of the People as well as by his most faithful populace. Thus did it appear that the entire chorus of the Muses had been transported into that chariot.
>
> . . . fermossi poi avanti al Real Palazzo, alle cui ringhiere, se ne stavano assisi gli Ecc.*ellentissimi* Sig.*nori* Vice-Rè, e Vice-Regina con i loro Signori figliuoli; indi doppo l'armonia di canori istrumenti, cantarono con suavissima melodia gli scelti musici (che al numero di 30. entro quel Tempio sedeano) ingegnose composizioni, in versi molto nobili, allusivi a gli sponsali felicissimi delle Maestà loro, alla grãdezza del magnanimo genio di S.*a* E.*ccellenza* ed insieme all'eccesso dell'allegrezza, sì dell'Eletto, come di tutto il suo fidelissimo popolo; onde pareva che il choro intiero delle Muse trasportato in quella machina si fusse.[155]

This description sounds remarkably similar to that of the chariot which serenaded the Count of Santo Stefano shortly after his arrival in Naples on March 1, 1688. Again it is doubtful that A. Scarlatti was responsible for the music. Francesco Provenzale or another composer in the service of the *Eletto del Popolo* was more likely the composer of these

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155. SUCCINTA RELATIONE . . . 1689, p. 3.

"ingegnose composizioni."

3.2.1.2 An Equestrian Ballet followed by a Musical Entertainment and Ball

On the evening of Wednesday, October 5, a masked horse ballet was performed in front of the Royal Palace by ninety-six "frascelti Cavalieri." After their demonstration of martial prowess the knights were invited into the palace for refreshments where

> . . . meanwhile for delighting their ears there was no lack of harmonious entertainment of the finest music.
>
> . . . ne mancò nel mentre per dilettar gli orecchi, l'armonicso divertimento di scieltissima musica.[156]

The evening ended with "il gran ballo reale della Torcia" in the great hall of the palace. The music performed on this occasion was in all likelihood provided by members of the Royal Chapel, and the "armonioso divertimento" mentioned above might well have been a large cantata by Alessandro Scarlatti.

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156. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

3.2.1.3 An Italian Comedy entitled *Gli Eccessi della Cortesia*

On the following day:

> . . . the noble ladies were likewise invited to the palace where that evening, in the magnificent hall called the Duke of Alba's, His Excellency had a most worthy and well-received Italian comedy entitled *Gli Eccessi della cortesia* performed by several academicians of talent . . . the entertainment being intermixed with sweet *sinfonie* and charming airs.
>
> . . . furono invitate le Signore Dame parimenti à Palazzo, dove la sera nella magnifica Sala detta del Duca d'Alba, fece rappresentare S.*ua* E.*ccellenza* dà alcuni virtuosi Accademici una dignissima, ed applaudita Comedia Italiana, intitolata gli Eccessi della Cortesia . . . alternãdosi il divertimento cõ dolci sinfonie, e vaghe ariette musicali.[157]

Evidently *Gli Eccessi della cortesia* was a spoken play with musical interludes or, perhaps, *intermezzi* of some sort performed between the acts. While Scarlatti might have written the music heard that evening, the expression "virtuosi Accademici" suggests that the main body of the work was performed by amateurs, not by members of the Royal Chapel or by singers associated with the Teatro San Bartolomeo.

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157. *Ibid.*

3.2.1.4 A Spanish Comedy entitled *Las Amazonas*

The final work in honor of the union of Charles II and Marianna at which music was heard occurred ten days later:

> On Sunday evening, the sixteenth of this October, the Most Excellent Viceroy, as a finale to these renowned festivities, had a number of Spanish officials recite in their language a famous comedy entitled *Las Amazonas*, that is, the Amazons, to which end he had very spectacular scenery prepared in the so-called Hall of the Viceroys; His Excellency attending incognito, and Her Excellency the Vicereine attended by an indescribable number of ladies and cavaliers, the work was much applauded for the rich gala of the costumes (since different ones were worn at each entrance of the performers) as well as for a very beautiful prologue, dances, and musical airs.
>
> Domenica sera 16. dello stesso Ottobre l'Ecc.*ellentissimo* Sig.*nor* Vicerè per termine delle celebrate Feste, fè recitare da alcuni Officiali Spagnuoli nel loro Idioma, una famosa Comedia, intitolata las Amazonas, cioè l'Amazoni, per il di cui effetto fece prepararli vistosissima Scena nella Sala detta de' Vicerè, intervenendovi incognita l'E.*ccellenza* S.*ua* e l'Ecc.*ellentissima* Sig.*nora* Vice-Regina assistita da indicibil numero di Dame, e Cavalieri, essẽdo stata applaudita l'opera così per la ricchezza delle gale, che sẽpre differenti vestirono in ogni loro uscita, i rapresẽtãti, come per un bellissimo Prologo, balli, ed ariette musicali.[158]

This reference to the performance of a Spanish play entitled *Las Amazonas* in the Royal Palace at Naples on October 16, 1689, is of considerable interest. Less than a month later Alessandro Scarlatti's opera *L'Amazone corsara*

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158. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

was heard in the same place as part of the festivities honoring Charles II on his birthday, November 6. The text set by Scarlatti was a revised version of Giulio Cesare Corradi's Italian libretto *L'Amazone corsara, overo L'Alvilda Regina de Goti*. It had been first heard in the Teatro Grimano di SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice, in 1686 as set to music by Carlo Pallavicino. In 1688 Pallavicino's setting was heard again in Venice and in the Teatro Malvezzi, Bologna.

The play given in Naples by a number of Spanish officials in 1689 was very likely Don Antonio de Solis y Rivadeneyra's comedy *Las Amazonas de Scithia*. Although not printed before 1681, the work had been given as early as February 7, 1655.[159]

Three months after *Las Amazonas* was recited in Naples, the Marchese of Cogolludo, Spanish Ambassador in Rome, had an Italian opera entitled *La Caduta del Regno dell' Amazzoni* sung in the Palazzo Colonna, Rome, in celebration of Charles II's recent marriage. *La Caduta* was a reworking of Solis' comedy into Italian *poesia per musica* by Giuseppe Domenico De Totis, who also wrote the poetry for the prologue, two

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159. Daniel Ernest Martell, *The Dramas of Don Antonio de Solis y Rivadeneyra* (Philadelphia: International Printing Co., 1902), p. 47.

intermezzi, and epilogue heard on this occasion in Rome. Although a number of questions still surround the genesis of this work, Bernardo Pasquini is believed to have been its composer.[160]

3.3 1690

The carnival of 1690 was brilliant in both Rome and Naples. After the election of Pietro Vito Ottoboni as Pope Alexander VIII, it appeared as if baroque Rome would soon regain the splendor and gaiety formerly enjoyed under the Barberini and Rospigliosi. On January 5, Scarlatti's opera *La Statira* was heard for the first time in the Teatro Tor di Nona, Rome. Modern critics have been unanimous in their praise for this work, the text of which was written by the new Pope's grandnephew Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni.[161] Whether or not Scarlatti was present in Rome for the performance of *La Statira* is not known. The text was completed as early as

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160. Gorden Ferris Crain, "The Operas of Bernardo Pasquini," (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1965), I, 173 ff.

161. Pagano, *Alessandro Scarlatti*, p. 117.

March 4, 1689, which suggests that Scarlatti may have set it to music during the spring or summer of that year while in Rome.[162]

3.3.1 Carnival Entertainments in Naples honoring Queen Marianna

In Naples the last three days of carnival were reserved for another public festival honoring the new Queen of Spain. Just as he did for the celebrations during the previous October, Domenico Antonio Parrino published an account of this festival:

> BREVE/RELAZIONE/*Delle dimostranze giolive fatte*/DA' CAVALIERI NAPOLETANI/Per festeggiare la nuova dell' imbarco per Ispa-/gna della Maestà della REGINA/Regnante/MARIANNA PALATINA/DI NEOBURGO/Dato loro dell' Eccellentiss. Sig./CONTE DI SANTO STEFANO/Vice-Rè, e Capitan Generale in questo/Regno, &c./*Seguite ne gli ultimi giorni di Carnevale*

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162. Hans Joachim Marx, "Die Musik am Hofe Pietro Kardinal Ottobonis unter Arcangelo Corelli," *Analecta Musicologia*, V (1968), p. 115, n. 62.

in/questo' Anno 1690./[Printer's device]/IN NAPOLI

1690./Appresso il Parrino. *Con Lic. de Sup. &*
Privil.[163]

3.3.1.1 An Equestrian Ballet followed by a Ball

Most of this print is given over to a description of the masked horse ballet held on Sunday, February 5, in the

> . . . great square [in front] of the Royal Palace, [which was] encircled and enclosed in the form of a theater, with two great entrances [and] an incredible number of boxes, above which immense flights of stairs were erected on all sides.

> . . . gran Piazza del Palaggio Reale, circondata, e racchiusa in forma Teatrale, con due grandi Porti, d'un numero incredibile di Palchetti, sopra cui scalinate immense s'ergevano per ogni lato.[164]

After this display of horsemanship, the noble riders were invited into the "gran Sala detta de' Vicerè" of the Royal Palace where the evening's entertainment ended with the

> . . . grand dance of the torch . . . during which beautiful songs were sung by the finest voices . . . with instrumental *sinfonie* . . .

> . . . gran Ballo della Torcia . . . nel mentre

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163. I Nsp, bound between pp. 200-201 of MS. Confuorto XX.C.21.

164. BREVE RELAZIONE . . . 1690, p. 2.

si cantarono vaghe canzone da sceltissimi Musici .
. . colle sinfonie degli Strumenti . . . [165]

Since the above was clearly an official court entertainment, it is likely that Alessandro Scarlatti and the Royal Chapel of Naples furnished the music. The works performed, however, have not been identified.

3.3.1.2 The Opera *La Rosaura*

On the last day of carnival, Tuesday, February 7, the Viceroy attended chapel in the Church of the Greater Carmine, after which a bull fight was held in the so-called *Anfiteatro* in front of the Royal Palace:

> Then that evening all the court and nobility donned rich gala, [and] in that same [Royal] Palace the opera *La Rosaura* was performed to great applause.
>
> Poscia la sera portasi tutta la Corte, e Nobiltà in ricca gala, fù Rappresentata l'Oper della Rosaura in Musica nel Palazzo medesimo, che riuscì oltremodo plausibile. [166]

Probably this was the first performance of *La Rosaura* in Naples despite the fact that the libretto for this occasion contains the impresario Andrea del Po's dedication dated January 24, 1690. Except for the comic *intermezzi*, this

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165. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

166. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

text is almost identical with that of *La Rosaura* set to music by G. A. Perti a year earlier in Venice. Thus it is not certain how much if any new music A. Scarlatti may have contributed for the Neapolitan performance of 1690. In any case, this *La Rosaura* has nothing to do with Scarlatti's setting of *La Rosaura* heard at Rome in December, 1690.

3.3.2 A Cavalcade in Naples during May to Mark the Royal Wedding

Opera was only one type of courtly entertainment cultivated by the Spanish Viceregal government of Naples in its attempt to bind the Neapolitan nobility and bourgeoisie to the court, thus assuring their loyalty to the Spanish crown. The Neapolitan nobility in particular was notorious for the tenacity with which it clung to its feudal prerogatives. This being the case, the Viceroy Santo Stefano exploited to the full the recent marriage of Charles II by sponsoring diversions calculated to lure the nobility into public displays of joy and fidelity.

A cavalcade through the streets of Naples by richly dressed nobles was planned in celebration of this wedding in

the spring of 1690. Originally scheduled for May 13, rainy weather forced its postponement until Sunday, May 21:[167]

> . . . finally the very splendid cavalcade for the wedding of our King was held; a detailed account of it and of all the other festivities recently given for this occasion has been printed . . .
>
> . . . finalmente si fece la sollendissima cavalcata per le nozze del re nostro signore, della quale e di tutte l'altre feste, fatte per detto effetto li giorni appresso, se n'è stampata pienissima relazione . . .[168]

Once again Domenico Antonio Parrino published the account of this festival. Nicola Nicolini, the editor of Confuorto's *Giornali di Napoli*, reports the title of this print as follows:

> Distinta/Relatione/della Real Cavalcata, e sontuose Feste celebrate in que-/sta Fedelissima Città di Napoli per le felicissime/Nozze della Maestà del nostro Rè/Carlo II./che Dio guardi./Colla Serenissima/Marianna/di Neoburgo,/Monarchi delle Spagne./Sotto il felicissimo Governo, e direzzione/Dell' Eccellentiss. Sig./D. Francesco/de Benavides,/Co: di Santo Stefano Vicerè Luogotenente, e Capitan Ge-/nerale in questo Regno, seguite nel dì 21,

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167. Confuorto, *Giornali*, I, 292.

168. *Ibid.*, I, 293.

22, e/24. Maggio 1690./In Napoli 1690. Per il Parrino (Con Lic. de Sup. e Privil.).[169]

Unfortunately, a copy of this print could not be consulted, and it is not known if any references to musical performances on May 21, 22, or 24 of 1690 are preserved in it.

3.3.3 Summer in Naples and Rome

Such extravagant displays as those described above must have placed a considerable financial burden on the individual nobles who took part as well as on the Viceregal treasury. Domenico Confuorto reports that by late May:

> The Viceroy, needing money to supply the needs of the state of Milan as well as to pay the army (which has embarked), has borrowed forty thousand ducats from the banks and a like amount from some rich merchants such as Paolo d'Anastasio, Carlo Invitti, Ciccio d'Anna, and others, to whom he has assigned the concession for the sale of tobacco at the rate of five and a half percent, with the result that the salaries formerly paid to the professors, singers, and others derived from this concession are now lacking.
>
> Il signor vicerè, avendo bisogno di denari, sì per sopplire alli bisogni dello Stato di Milan come per pagare le soldatesche, che s'imbarcarono, si fece dalli Banchi improntare docati 40.000 ed altritanti da alcuni mercanti ricchi, come Paolo d'Anastasio, Carlo Invitti, Ciccio d'Anna ed altri, a' quali fece l'assignamento sopra

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169. *Ibid.*

l'arrendemento del tabacco a ragione di cinque e mezzo per cento, e con ciò le provisioni, che si pagavano alli lettori, musici ed altri da' mandati del detto arrendemento, per ora vanno a monte.[170]

Perhaps these financial difficulties affecting the Royal Chapel in 1690 explain the lack of any serenata sponsored by the Viceroy that summer to mark the nameday of his two Queens. Confuorto records only that:

> On Wednesday, [July] 26, the feast of the glorious Saint Anne, His Excellency held royal chapel in the Church of the Carmine with the customary formalities for the nameday of both the Queens, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, who are called Marianna.
>
> A 26 detto, mercordì, festa della gloriosa sant' Anna, Sua Eccellenza fece cappella reale alla chiesa del Carmine con le solite formalità, per li nomi d'ambedue le regine suocera e nuora, chiamandosi Maria Anna.[171]

For that same summer of 1690 in Rome, the *avvisi Marescotti* record the performance of only one serenata:

> Monsignore Corsini, who has been appointed Nuncio to Germany, gave a very sumptuous dinner party for all his kindred on Wednesday night [July 26] which was attended by the Most Eminent [Cardinal] Ottoboni, and for entertainment there was a very beautiful musical serenata.
>
> Da Mons.*ignor* Corsini destinato Nuntio per Germania fu fatta mercordi notte una lautiss.*ima* Cena a tutto il parentado della sua Casa, ove

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170. *Ibid.*, I, 294.

171. *Ibid.*, I, 301.

> intervenne l'*Eminentissimo* Ottoboni, e vi fu il divertimento d'una belliss.*ima* serenata in musica.[172]

As is usually the case when serenatas are reported in *avvisi*, neither the composer nor the specific work is identified by name.

Although the *avvisi* cited above report only one serenata in Rome during the summer of 1690, it is clear that more were in fact heard. The Marquis de Coulanges is known to have spent the period from September 23, 1689, through September 12, 1691, in Rome.[173] Of this sojourn he writes:

> When it became very hot, the evenings, which begin after the ringing of the twenty-fourth hour, that is to say, at sunset, become much more amusing than the promenades [during the day]. One prolonged them into the night as long as one could; one walked about the streets and squares dressed as lightly as one wished and the season demanded; one stopped and rested next to some fountains to enjoy the coolness; one entered the places where tea, chocolate, coffee, and ices--more delicious in Italy than in France--are sold. There also one could keep abreast of the news, true or false, that was purveyed. The air resounded with various songs and with the sound of guitars, of harps, and of other instruments. Sometimes one encountered serenatas by fine voices with good *sinfonie*. Thus one rested from the heat that one experienced during the day, and one was well at ease on retiring to find one's bed, unless the memory of some stroke of good fortune returned to trouble the repose that one sought there.

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172. I Rn, MS. 788 fols. 183v-84r dated July 29, 1690.

173. Ademollo, *I Teatri di Roma*, pp. 239 ff.

Quand les grandes chaleurs furent venues, les soirées qui commencent après les vingt-quatre heures sonnées, c'est-à-dire au soleil couché, devinrent bien plus divertissantes que le cours. On les prolongeoit dans la nuit le plus que l'on pouvoit, on se promenoit dans les rues et dans les places, vêtu aussi légèrement qu'on vouloit et que la saison le demandoit; on s'arrêtoit, et l'on se reposoit au bord des fontaines pour y prendre le frais; on entroit dans les lieux où se débitent le thé, le chocolat, le café et les eaux glacées, plus délicieuses en Italie qu'en France. L'on pouvoit aussi prendre part aux nouvelles vraies ou fausses qui s'y débitent. L'air retentissoit de différentes chansons et du bruit des guitares, des harpes et autres instruments. Quelquefois on rencontroit des sérénades de belles voix et d'une bonne symphonie. C'est ainsi ch'on se reposoit de la chaleur ch'on avoit éprouvées pendant le jour, et l'on étoit fort aise, en se retirant, de retrouver son lit, à moins que le souvenir de quelque bonne fortune ne vînt troubler le repos qu'on y cherchoit.[174]

Writing more specifically of the summer of 1690, Coulanges records the following events at Rome:

The stay of the Duchess of Bouillon and that of the Duke and Duchess of Nevers contributed even more singularly to rendering my stay in Rome more agreeable. There were many promenades and many dinners given by me and by others in the most beautiful vineyards, where music was not forgotten. The Duchess of Bouillon and the Duke of Nevers even fancied taking advantage of the coolness of the fine nights by the light of the moon and of going about in an open coach having with them Faustina, one of the most beautiful voices of Rome, and the instruments necessary to accompany her. They had her sing below the windows of the Spanish Ambassador, who, as soon as

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174. Phillippe Emanuel Marquis de Coulanges, *Mémoires de M. de Coulanges, suivis de Lettres inédites de Madame de Sévigné*, ed. M. de Monmerqué (Paris: J.J. Blaise, 1820), pp. 250-52.

Faustina had stopped, did not fail to have her answered from a balcony by Giorgina, his mistress, whom he had taken from the Duke of Mantua, and who, having a voice no less beautiful than Faustina's, also had her partisans; so that, singing in emulation of one another, this entertainment, which lasted several nights, attracted a numerous throng. The difference of taste witnessed in these two voices caused two factions to form, each of which in turn shouted *viva Francia* or *viva Spagna* so loudly that their cries could be heard as far away as the most remote quarters; but, as one judged that these *vivas* and the unruly gathering of Frenchmen and Spaniards together in a time of war could in the end result in disorder, these serenades ended rather sooner than one might have wished.

Le séjour de la duchesse de Bouillon, du duc et de la duchesse de Nevers contribua singulièrement encore à rendre celui de Rome plus agréable; il y eut beaucoup de promenades, beaucoup de repas de donnés de part et d'autres dans les plus belles vignes, où la musique n'étoit pas oubliées. La duchesse de Bouillon et le duc de Nevers s'avisèrent même au clair de la lune de profiter de la fraîcheur des belles nuits, et de se promener dans un char découvert, ayant avec eux la signora Faustina, l'une des plus belles voix de Rome, et les instruments nécessaires pour l'accompagner. Ils la faisoient chanter sous les fenêtres de l'ambassadeur d'Espagne, qui, dès que Faustina avoit cessé, ne manquoit pas de lui faire répondre de dessus un balcon par la signora Georgina sa maîtresse, qu'il avoit enlevée au duc de Mantoue, et qui, n'ayant pas une voix moins belle que Faustina, avoit aussi ses partisans; si bien que, chantant à l'envi l'une de l'autre, ce divertissement, que dura plusiers nuits, attira nombreuse compagnie. La différence des goûts qu'on éprouvoit pour ces deux voix forma duex factions qui tour-à-tour crioient si haut *viva Francia! viva Spagna!* que leurs cris se faisoient entendre jusque dans les quartiers les plus reculés: mais, comme on jugea que ces *viva* et ce *descolanza* de Français et d'Espagnols, dans un temps de guerre, pourroient à la fin causer

quelque désordre, ces sérénades finirent bien plus tôt qu'on ne l'auroit desiré.[175]

Although the above might seem only a charming anecdote of little reliability, the editor of Coulanges' *Mémoires* reminds the reader that the "manuscript de ces mémoires mérite toute confiance."[176] Enough details are indeed preserved in the above to suggest that something very similar to that described by Coulange may well have occurred at Rome during the summer of 1690. At this time the Marchese of Cogolludo was the Spanish Ambassador in Rome, and the singer Angela Maddalena Voglia, called *la Giorgina*, was indeed his mistress.[177] The other singer mentioned by Coulanges was the very talented and beautiful Faustina Maratti, the daughter of the famous painter Carlo Maratti. In 1704 she was admitted to the Roman Arcadian Society under the pastoral name *Aglaura Cidonia* and a year later she married the poet and librettist Giambattista Felice Zappi. Today she is still remembered as a poet in her own right.[178] The Duke of Nevers can be identified as Filippo Mancini, and the Duchess of Bouillon was his sister

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175. *Ibid.*, pp. 264-66.

176. *Ibid.*, p. viij.

177. Cf. p. 115 above.

178. Bruno Maier, ed., *Lirici del settecento* (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1959), pp. 61-62.

Marianna. It was they who, as mentioned above on page 58, infuriated their sister Maria Mancini when she offered a serenata for Queen Christine at Rome in 1670.

3.4 1691

The spirit of carnival was quickly extinguished at Rome by the death of Alexander VIII on February 1, 1691, and the doors of the conclave charged with electing his successor were closed on the evening of February 12. This conclave was destined to be the longest of the seventeenth century. Not until July 12 did it end with the election of Antonio Pignatelli as Innocent XII. In the meantime a number of cardinals had fallen ill, and Rome had suffered from numerous disturbances and acts of violence resulting from the lack of a strong central government.[179]

3.4.1 Cardinal Ottoboni's Serenata for the Conclave of Cardinals

Evidently not all the cardinals of the conclave were

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179. Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, trans. and ed. by Dom Ernest Graf (St. Louis, Mo.: Herder, 1940), vol. 32, pp. 561 ff.

willing to forgo their pleasures for such a lengthy period of time. After three months of isolation, an *avviso Marescotti* dated May 19, 1691, reports the following:

> Meanwhile, a very beautiful serenata is being prepared for performance for the cardinals below the enclosure of the conclave in order that it not be prohibited.
>
> Prepararsi in tanto una bellissima serenata da farsi alli S.*ignori* Card.*inali* sotto la Clausura del Conclave, perche non sia impedita.[180]

Another of these *avvisi* dated May 26, 1691, reports that the serenata was given on Monday, May 21, to less than complete approval:

> The above-reported serenata was performed on Monday evening for the conclave by Cardinal Ottoboni's singers, it having been permitted only because it was given outside of the Vatican walls from the side of the Belvedere [courtyard] opposite the cells of [Cardinals] Ottoboni and Rubini. Moved by dutiful zeal, however, Prince Savelli, the Marshal of the conclave, took time on Wednesday to make himself heard along with Cardinals Cibo and Altieri in the presence of others at the little window and spoke vehemently concerning the said serenata, saying that had he been informed earlier, he would have incarcerated all the singers and instrumentalists, who were pelted with stones from the same windows of the conclave, one of which struck a player in the leg, who was the last to return home.
>
> Si fece poi lunedi sera la scritta serenata da musici del Card.*inale* Ottoboni al Conclave, ma perche fu fatta fuori del recinto del Vaticano dalla parte di Belvedere dove corrispondono le Celle d'Ottoboni e di Rubini fu permessa; mosso

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180. I Rn, MS. 788, fol. 260r.

però dal dovuto zelo il S.*ignor Princ*ipe Savelli Mar*escial*e del Conclave prese mercordi il tempo di farsi sonare colli Card.*in*ali Cibo, ed Altieri alla presenza d'altri al finestrino et esagerò molto sopra detta serenata, dicendo che se fosse stato avvisato prima voleva far carcerare tutti li musici, e sonatori, quali furono salutati con sassate dallo stesse finestri del Conclave una delle q*uel*li scolpi in una gamba d'un sonatore, che fu l'ultimo a tornare a casa.[181]

Besides the instrumentalist struck by the stone, it would appear that a number of singers also suffered from taking part in Cardinal Ottoboni's gallant fiasco. Another *avviso Marescotti* dated June 2, 1691, reports the following with undisguised irony:

> Several chapel singers were punished for having sung in the amorous serenata given below the windows of his cell by Cardinal Ottoboni, who has been invited to present another, one of these evenings, [making use of the] frogs put for this purpose in the Belvedere fountain.

È stata data qualche mortificatione a più musici di Cappella, che cantarono nella serenata drusata fatta fare dal Card.*in*ale Ottoboni sotto le finestre della sua Cella, il quale fu invitato una di queste sere a tentorne un altra di ranocchie fatte porre a bello studio nella fontana di Belvedere.[182]

A receipt for money to pay "Per la serenata di Belvedere"

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181. *Ibid.*, 261v.

182. *Ibid.*, 264v.

has been brought to light by Hans Joachim Marx in his study of Cardinal Ottoboni's expense accounts.[183] Dated September 10, 1691, and signed by Arcangelo Spagna and by Arcangelo Corelli, this document shows that four violins, two *violette*, two *violoni*, and a lute were hired on this occasion to perform along with the cardinal's regular musical establishment. Neither the work nor its composer, however, is identified.

Ottoboni's expense accounts reveal that the cardinal also gave a serenata on August 29, 1691, although the site of this performance is not disclosed by the document published by Marx.[184] On this second occasion a contralto, six violins, two *violette*, two *violoni*, two *contrabassi*, two trumpets, and a *cimbalaro* (harpsichord tuner) were hired to augment Ottoboni's staff of house musicians. Again, neither the work nor its composer is named. This serenata, like the one in the Belvedere, must have been supervised by Arcangelo Corelli, who signed the receipt for the money paid the extra performers.

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183. Hans Joachim Marx, "Die Musik am Hofe Pietro Kardinal Ottobonis unter Arcangelo Corelli," *Analecta Musicologia* V (1968), p. 128, no. [22].

184. *Ibid.*, no. [23].

3.4.2 A. Scarlatti's Serenata for Scipione Giuvo

To judge from Domenico Confuorto, the summer of 1691 passed without the performance of any noteworthy serenatas in Naples. On October 8, however, one was heard at a celebration which left a rather distasteful impression on the Neapolitan diarist:

> There is no lack of change to be seen in this city, the vanity and folly of both the nobles and the people having reached its highest; nor do they care if they reduce themselves to poverty to satisfy their tastes. Scipione Giuvo, a commoner, [and the] posthumous son of Scipione (not only a commoner but a plebe who lived at the *Catafalco della Sellaria* where he died), not wishing to do less than his elder brother, who wasted all his inheritance (and that a very rich one) in vain extravagance (wherefore he is reduced to living in some straitness on nothing but the dowry of his wife, daughter of Captain Peppo Pepe), determined that he too would ape the other's ways; wherefore, having obtained at great expense from the Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Neuburg, the title of Marquis of Landskron, of which he took possession at the Palace in order to enter the Chamber of Nobles, he, to this same end, gave an entertainment, lasting several days, in a house of his near the fountain of Mont' Oliveto, in the most sumptuous style, inviting ladies and gentlemen of the first rank, and spending indeed some thousands of ducats. Among other things, on Monday of last week, the eighth of this month, he held at his house a most lively assembly, with the choicest music, consisting of ten instruments and four of the best voices of this city, directed by the Maestro di Cappella, Alessandro Scarlati [*sic*]; and to the large crowd of titled persons, gentlemen, and ladies that attended, he caused to be offered continuously an unspeakable quantity of meats and drinks of all kinds, with various fruits both fresh and candied, as he did also for the large number of servants in attendance on them. His palace was all most nobly decorated, and all

lit with wax torches as far as the courtyard; the sideboard consisted of two long tables of silver fairly and symmetrically disposed, and there was visible in the distance a most beautiful fountain, also of silver, which for seven continuous hours spouted perfumed water, about which fluttered a large number of live birds. There was also a pavilion of crimson damask, under which were fourteen superb *trionfi* of fruit both fresh and candied, as well as other curious inventions. The which entertainment lasted some time after midnight, the ladies and gentlemen, according to their usual habit, after having filled their bellies and their bosoms with sweetmeats, and having had every pleasure of sight, taste, and hearing, not failing to scoff and make a mock of the solemn folly of the last new marquis.[185]

Non mancano mai vedersi metamorfesi in questa città, essendo la vanità e baggianaria così de' nobili come de' popolari arrivata al sommo, né curano, per adoprarla, ridursi in povertà. Scipione Giuvo, persona popolare, figlio postumo di Scipione, non solo popolare ma plebbeo, abitante al Catafalco della Sellaria, ove morì, non volendo far di meno di suo fratello maggiore—che dissipò tutta la sua porzione ereditaria molto ricca in spese vane, per lo che s'è ridotto a vivere strettamente con la sola dote della moglie, figlia di capitan Peppo Pepe—ha voluto far ancor lui la scimia di quello. Imperciochè, avendo ottenuto con molto dispendio dal conte palatino del Reno duca di Neompurgo il titolo di marchese di Landscron, del quale ha preso il possesso in Palazzo per entrare nella Camera de' Titoli, ha fatto medesimamente, per detto effetto, per molti giorni feste, in sua casa vicino la fontana di Montoliveto, sontuosissime, con invito di dame e cavalieri di prima riga, ove ha spesi più migliaia di ducati. E, fra l'altre, lunedì della settimana passata, 8 del corrente, tenne in sua casa un' allegrissima veglia con sceltissima musica, consistente in diece istrumenti e quattro delle migliori voci di questa

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185. Trans. by Edward J. Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti*, preface and additional notes by Frank Walker (1905; rpt. London: Edward Arnold, 1960), pp. 67-68.

città, concertata dal mastro di cappella Alessandro Scarlati, e al numeroso stuolo di titolati, cavalieri e dame, che vi concorsero, fe' somministrare continuamente copia indicibile di rinfreschi e bevande di tutte sorti, con diversi frutti non meno freschi che canditi, come fece ancora a tutta la numerosa servitù di quei signori. Il di lui palaggio stava tutto nobilissimamente apparato, e tutto, sino al cortile, illuminato di torcie di cera. La credenza era costrutta in due stradoni d'argento, composti con bella simetria, spiccando in lontananza una bellissima fontana medesimamente d'argento, che gettò per sette ore continue acque odorifere, ove svolazzavano gran numero di vivi ucelli. Vi era anco un padiglione di damasco cremesino, sotto del quale vi erano quattordici superbi trionfi di frutti canditi e freschi con altre curiose invenzioni. Qual festino durò buon' ora passata la mezzanotte, non mancando le dame e cavalieri, conforme è loro solito, doppo d'aversi empito il ventre e il seno di canditi e goduti della vista, del gusto e dell' udito, di farsi beffe e deridere la sollende pazzia del novello marchese.[186]

The Savoyard agent in Naples, Giovanni Battista Operti, similarly took notice of the ennoblement of Scipione Giuvo. Although he fails to mention the music performed on this occasion, Operti confirms much of what Confuorto reports. In a dispatch sent to Turin dated October 20, 1691, Operti writes:

> A gentleman of the Giuvo family of bourgeois state has had himself given the title of the Marquis of Landskron by the Palatine of the Rhine. To inaugurate his nobility, therefore, he has invited the entire Neapolitan nobility to such pomp and festivity, that with all the expense he could have bought a small but reasonable feudal

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186. Confuorto, *Giornali*, I, 369-70.

estate of greater value than the simple title which makes him ridiculous.

Un Sig.*nore* di casa Giuvo di conditione cittadina s'è fatto dar il titolo di Marchese di Landiscron dal Palatino del Reno: onde per cominciarsi à nobilitar hà fatto un invitto della nobilità intiera di Napoli con apparati, e feste tali, che con tutte le spese haverebbe comprato un piccolo, ma ragionevol feudo, da stimarsi più che il semplice titolo, che lo rende ridicolo.[187]

As Confuorto reports, Alessandro Scarlatti was the composer of the serenata or large occasional cantata commissioned by Giuvo to mark his elevation to the nobility. Four of the finest voices available in Naples and ten instrumentalists performed this work. Neither the text nor music heard on this occasion appears to have survived. None of Scarlatti's extant serenatas conforms to the above description or makes reference to the ennoblement of Scipione Giuvo.

3.5 1692

Ulisse Prota-Giurleo asserts that in 1692 Alessandro

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187. AST (Archivio di Stato di Torino), Lettere Ministri, Due Sicilie, mazzo 4.

Scarlatti set Andrea Perrucci's text *La Sirene consolata* to music for performance at Naples.[188]

3.5.1 Don Cataldo Amodei's *La Sirena consolata*

On the title page of the printed libretto of this serenata, however, Don Cataldo Amodei is clearly named as its composer:

> LA/SIRENA CONSOLATA/SERENATA/Per la ricuperata salute/DELLA MAESTA' CATTOLICA/DI MARIANNA/DI NEOBURGO/SPOSA/DI CARLO II./MONARCHA DELLE SPAGNE./DEL DOTTOR ANDREA PERRUCCIO/*Portata in Musica*/DA DON CATALDO AMODEI/Fatta celebrare in Napoli/DAL MARCHESE DI LANS-CRON/D. SCIPIONE GIUVO./*E da esso Consacrata all' Altezza Sereniss. Elettorale*/DI GIO: GUGLIELMO/ CONTE PALATINO DEL RHENO,/Principe Elettore, & Arcitesoriero del S.R.I./Fratello d'essa Regnante./[Printer's device]/IN NAPOLI Nella nuova Stampa delli Socii/Dom. Ant. Parrino, e Michele Luigi Mutii M.DC.XCII./CON LICENZA DE' SUPERIORI.[189]

Although the exact place of performance is not mentioned,

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188. Prota-Giurleo, "Breve storia," p. 52.

189. I Moe (Modena, Biblioteca Estense), 70.I.16.

the preface to this libretto is signed by Scipione Giuvo and dated "Napoli, 12 Ottobre 1692." From the title page it is clear that *La Sirena consolata* was commissioned by Giuvo in celebration of Marianna of Pfalz-Neuburg's recovery of health. Besides being the reigning Queen of Spain, she was the sister of the Palatine Elector of the Rhine, who a year earlier had elevated Giuvo to the aristocracy as the Marquis of Landskron.

The expenses incurred by Giuvo for the performance of *La Sirena consolata* must have been at least equal to those he expended on the serenata of 1691. *La Sirena consolata* required three soloists (La Sirena Partenope, Esculapio Dio della Salute, and Atrope una delle Parche) as well as a chorus of sirens and tritons. Furthermore, there are indications in the libretto that dancing figured in the performance of this serenata. For example, the serenata begins as follows:

> To the sound of trumpets and other instruments a *sinfonia* and dance are formed by a chorus of sirens and tritons, which is interrupted by the siren Partenope.

Partenope: Cease, oh cease,
Gods of the Sea, be still.

The chorus again continues the dance and *sinfonia*; the

siren again interrupts.

Partenope: Cease, I say; ah, this is no time
for festivities and concerts
while I am afflicted by grief:
my heart languishes because of MARIANNA'S
illness.

Da un choro di Sirene, e di Tritoni à suono di buccine, e d'altri istromenti si forma una sinfonia, & un ballo, che viene interrotto dalla Sirena Partenope.

Partenope: Fermate olà fermate;
Numi del Mar fermate.

Il Choro siegue di nuovo il ballo, e la sinfonia; la Sirena di nuovo interrompe.

Partenope: Fermate dico; ah non è tempo questo
Di giubili, e concenti
Se mentre il duol m'affanna:
Langue l'alma al languir di MARIANNA.

3.5.2 A Cantata for the Capture of Gran Varadin

On June 5, 1692, Imperial forces under the command of General Haisler captured the important fortress of Gran Varadin in Transylvania.[190] About two weeks later news of this victory over the Turks arrived in Rome where it was

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190. Confuorto, *Giornali*, II, 20.

greeted with much rejoicing. The *Gazette de France*, for example, reports:

> Rome, July 8, 1692
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> The *Te Deum* was sung for the capture of Gran Varadin on the second at Montecavallo in the chapel of the Pope, who began it to the sound of cannons and the artillery of the Castel Sant'Angelo. That evening and the following there were fireworks and celebrations all throughout the city. (August 2, 1692)
>
> De Rome, le 8 Juillet 1692
>
> Le 2, le *Te Deum* fut chanté à Montecavallo dans la Chapelle du Pape, qui le commença, pour la prise du Grand Varadin, qu brüit des boëtes & de l'artillerie du Chasteau S. Ange. Il y eut le soir & le lendemain, des feux de joye & des réjoüissances par toute la ville. (2 Aoust 1692)

At least one serenata or large cantata was performed in celebration of this victory, as the following libretto testifies:

> PER L'ACQUISTO GLORIOSISSIMO/FATTO DELL' INESPUGNABILE PIAZZA/DEL GRAN VARADINO/DALL' ARMI SEMPRE INVITTE/DELLA SACRA CESAREA MAESTA'/DI/LEOPOLDO I./IMPERADOR DE ROMANI./ALL' ILLUSTRISS. ET ECCELLENTISS. SIGNOR/PRINCIPE/ANTONIO FLORIANO /PRINCIPE DEL SAC./ ROMANO IMPERIO,/ . . . e suo Ambasciatore alla Sede Apostolica./[Printer's device]/IN ROMA,/Nella Stamperia di Gio. Giacomo

Komarek Boemo all' Angelo/Custode. MDCXCII./*CON LICENZA DE' SUPERICRI.*[191]

The libretto contains a three page dedication signed by the poet Giovanni Battista Ancona as well as a one page "Argomento della Cantata." The composer is unnamed. The cantata is sung by the solo voice "Danubio," who begins: "Sotto sferza tonante . . ."

3.5.3 A Serenata in the Piazza Venezia and in the Barberini Garden at the Santo Spirito Bastions

On the evening of Wednesday, July 30, a serenata was performed outside of the Palazzo di Venezia. It attracted considerable attention because of a shooting reported as follows in the *avvisi Marescotti*:

> On Monday night at three hours of the night while they were beginning the serenata in the Venetian Ambassador's courtyard, a carbine was fired a short distance away which killed one of the Papal police . . .
>
> Mercordi sera su le 3. della notte mentre si cominciava la serenata nel Cortile dell' Amb.*asciatore* Veneto, poco ivi lontano fu sparata una carabine, ch'ammazzò uno sbirro . . .[192]

News of this incident was also carried in the *Gazette de*

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191. I Rc (Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense), Misc. 1335.

192. I Rn, MS. 788, fol. 349r, dated August 2, 1692.

France:

Rome, August 12, 1692

> Several persons have been arrested because of the musket shots fired at the Papal police which wounded three people in the square of Saint Mark [i.e., the Piazza Venezia] during a serenata which was given in front of the Venetian Ambassador's palace. (August 30, 1692)

De Rome, le 12 Aoust 1692

> Plusieurs personnes ont esté emprisonnées à l'occasion d'une arquebusade tirée sur les Sbirres dans la place de S. Marc, durant une serenade qui se donnoit devant le Palais de l'Ambassadeur de Venise, dont il y eut trois personnes blesées. (30 Aoust 1692)

No clue to the identity of the serenata marred by this shooting has come to light.

The *avvisi Marescotti* also mention an anonymous serenata heard in a garden belonging to the Barberini after a dinner party on the evening of Monday, August 4, 1692:

> The above-mentioned Prince [of Palestrina] . . . held a very sumptuous dinner on the evening of the said day [Monday, August 4] for various princes and ladies for whom he had built a fountain of lemonade in the middle of the Barberini garden at the Santo Spirito bastions, which was followed by a splendid serenata of the best voices.

> Il sud.*detto* Prencipe [di Palestrina] . . . fece la sera di d.*etto* giorno una lautiss.*im*a cena a' varij *Princ*ipe, e Dame, alle quali in mezzo del giardino Barberini alli Bastioni di San*to* Spirito

fece comparire una fontana di limonea seguitata poi da una serenata ricca de migliori Cantori.[193]

3.5.4 An Anonymous *La Dafne* and Giovanni Bononcini's *La Nemica d'Amore*

According to the published catalogue of the libretto collection in the Biblioteca Casanatanese, a libretto entitled *La Dafne* was published in Rome by Giovannin Giacomo Komarek in 1692. It preserves the text of a "Cantata per l'eccellentissima signora duchessa di Zagarolo."[194] Since the Duchess of Zagarolo was of the Rospigliosi family, it is unlikely that this libretto corresponds to any of the performances discussed above. Neither the poet nor the composer of *La Dafne* is known.

Thanks to the work of Lowell Lindgren it is known that the serenata *La Nemica d'Amore* was heard on the evening of August 10, the feast of Saint Lawrence, in the courtyard of the Palazzo Colonna in 1692. It was performed for the nameday celebration of Lorenza de la Cerda Colonna, sister

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193. *Ibid.*, fol. 351v, dated August 9, 1692.

194. Cairo and Quilic, *Biblioteca teatrale*, no. 1178.

of the Spanish Ambassador and the wife of the Gran Contestabile Filippo Alessandro Colonna.[195] Although neither a libretto nor a score of this serenata is known to have survived, Silvio Stampiglia has been identified as its poet and Giovanni Bononcini as its composer.[196]

3.6 Financial Difficulties in Naples in 1693

The diarist Domenico Confuorto records no serenatas in Naples during 1693. Perhaps the lack of much ostentatious Viceregal display that year can be explained by the financial difficulties then afflicting the court at Naples. In a letter dated August 14, 1693, the Savoyard agent in Naples, Giovanni Battista Operti, writes to Turin:

> The suspensions of moneys, goods, stipends, and incomes situated in this Kingdom is of note, the amount allotted for the private guests [of the Viceroy], for the Viceroy's gondola, for the singers of this Royal Chapel, and for other things customarily practiced here but superfluous or unnecessary being in a like manner suspended. I leave to Your Excellency's imagination the clamor

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195. The performance of a serenata on her nameday in 1688 is mentioned above on pages 145 ff.

196. Lindgren, "A Bibliographical Scrutiny," I, 34-36 and II, 826.

of all the officials and ministers when this tempest fell, almost without distinction, upon all.

E notabile la sospensione de soldi, mercedi, stipendij, et assegnamenti situati in questo Regno, essendosi sospesa parimente la quantità fissa per los gastos secretos, per la Gondola del S.*ignore* ViceRè, per i musici di questa Real Capella, e per altre occorrenze consueto, benche superflue, ò non necessarie: hor lascio rifflettere à *Vostra Eccellenza* l'esclamatione di tutti gli officili, e ministri, mentre cade sù tutti quasi indistintamente questa tempesta.[197]

3.7 Rome in 1693

For the summer of 1693 in Rome an *avviso Marescotti* reports the following:

Cardinal Ottoboni presented a most noble literary *accademia* with vocal and instrumental music in his palace on Sunday [August 9], giving refreshments of fruits and ices (which because of the great amount of snow made it seem the middle of winter) to his many noble guests, seven cardinals, many prelates, and the Imperial Ambassador [Antonio Floriano, Prince of Liechtenstein]. And on Monday evening [August 10] there was also a beautiful serenata in the courtyard of the Contestabile Colonna [Filippo Alessandro Colonna], so completely illuminated by torches that it appeared as if it were noon, in celebration of the birth [*i.e.*, nameday] of his consort [Lorenza de la Cerda Colonna], many cardinals and nobles with grand refreshments also being there.

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197. AST, Lettere Ministri, Due Sicilie, mazzo 4.

Il Card*inale* Ottoboni Dom.*enica* coll'intervento di 7 Card.*inali*, molti Prelati, Ambas.*ciatore* Ces.*ereo*, e molta nobiltà, fece fare nel suo Palazzo una nobiliss.*ima* accademia di belle lett.*ere* adornata con musiche, e sinfonie con haver dato rinfreschi di frutti, et acque aggiacciate, che *per* la gran neve pareva di mezz'Inverno, e lunedi sera si fece anco una bella serenata nel cortile del Sig.*nore* Contestabile Colonna adornato tutto di torcie, che pareva di mezzo giorno *per* solennizzare la nascita della Consorte, essendo anch'ivi stati molti Card.*inali*, e nobiltà con gran rinfreschi.[198]

3.7.1 Cardinal Ottoboni's *Accademia*

It is not entirely clear what work or works Cardinal Ottoboni had performed at his "accademia di belle lettere" on August 9. Perhaps it was the "Cantata a dì 10 Agosto per/San Lorenzo 1693" mentioned in the cardinal's account books.[199] This work was sung by the three allegorical figures Faith, Constancy, and Merit, and was accompanied by a string band consisting of a *concertino* and two *concerti grossi*. Arcangelo Corelli probably directed the performance.

3.7.2 Giovanni Lorenzo Lulier's *Applauso musicale*

The Ottoboni account books also speak of a *Serenata à 4*

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198. I Rn, MS. 788, fol. 444v, dated August 15, 1693.

199. Marx, "Die Musik am Hofe Pietro Kardinal Ottobonis," p. 137, no. [49a].

which was performed around this time. Hans Joachim Marx identifies it with the following libretto:

> APPLAUSO MUSICALE/A quattro Voci/AL GIORNO NATALIZIO/Dell' . . . /D. MARIA DE GIRONI, . . ./Ambasciatrice di Spagna, &c./PAROLE DI FRANCESCO MARIA PAGLIA ,/MUSICA/DI GIO: LORENZO LULIER,/CONCERTI/D'ARCANGELO CORELLI,/Che lo consacro à Sua Eccellenza./IN ROMA, Nella Stamperia di Gio: Giacomo Komarek/Boemo all'Angelo Custode MDCXCIII.[200]

Written by Francesco Maria Paglia and set to music by Giovanni Lorenzo Lulier, the *Applauso musicale* was for the nameday celebration of Maria de Giron y Sandoval. She was the wife of the Spanish Ambassador, the Marchese of Cogolludo, and her nameday was celebrated on August 5, the feast of Santa Maria della Neve. Whether or not this serenata was indeed given on that day is not clear. In any case, it is unlikely that the *Applauso musicale* was the work heard at Ottoboni's palace, the Cancelleria, on August 9. The *avviso* cited above mentions the Imperial Ambassador as in attendance at that "accademia," but not the Spanish Ambassador or his wife.

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200. *Ibid.*, pp. 137-38, no. [49b].

3.7.3 Giovanni Bononcini's *La Nemica d'Amore fatta amante* and *La Gara delle dee*

La Nemica d'Amore fatta amante was the serenata heard a day later in the courtyard of the Palazzo Colonna. Written by Silvio Stampiglia and set to music by Giovanni Bononcini, it was performed on August 10, the feast of Saint Lawerence, for the nameday celebration of the Gran Contestabile's wife Lorenza de la Cerda Colonna.[201] As mentioned above on page 192, Stampiglia and Bononcini's *La Nemica d'amore* was heard under exactly the same conditions a year earlier. Although the serenata of 1692 is no longer extant, the similarities of their titles suggest that *La Nemica d'amore fatta amante* was a sequel to the serenata heard the previous year.

According to Pier Caterino Zeno, Stampiglia also wrote the serenata text *La Gara delle dee* in 1693, and a libretto for it was published in Rome by Giovanni Francesco Buagni.[202] Giovanni Bononcini is named in *Die Musik in*

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201. Lindgren, *op. cit.*, I, 36, 115 and II, 827-28.

202. Pier Caterino Zeno, "Elogio di Silvio Stampiglia Romano," *Giornale de' letterati d'Italia*, XXXVIII (1733), part II, p. 132.

Geschichte und Gegenwart as its composer, but the basis for this attribution is unknown.[203] Since neither a libretto nor a score for this serenata appears to be extant, the occasion for which it was written is likewise unknown.

3.8 Naples in 1694

A wealth of information about the musical events at Naples during the period 1694-96 has been found in two sets of the so-called *Gazzetta di Napoli*:

1) I Nn (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale), S.XX.L.29 *Gazzette di Napoli* (Appresso Domenico Antonio Parrino, e Camillo Cavallo. *Con licenza de' Superiori, e Privilegio.* Si Vendono nella Libraria sotto S. Maria la Nova.). "Ex libris Franciscis Carafae Ducis de Forli . . ." This is an incomplete set for the period 1694-95.

2) I Nsp (Naples, Library of the Società Napoletana di Storia Patria), S.B.N.I B *Gazzette di Napoli* (Appresso Domenico Antonio Parrino . . .) This is an apparently

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203. Klaus Hortschansky, "Stampiglia, Silvio," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, XII (1965), col. 1164. Lindgren, *op. cit.*, I, 36, note 28 and II, 804.

complete set for the period 1694-96 which also contains the so-called *Gazzetta di Milano* for the same period.

It should be remembered, however, that because these reports were printed "Con licenza de' Superiori, e Privilegio" (*i.e.*, with the approval of the ecclesiastical and secular censors) they tend to display the Viceregal court in the best possible light. Information drawn from other manuscript *avvisi di Napoli* help to place events in a more objective perspective.

During his reign in Naples, the Viceroy Santo Stefano never cultivated outdoor summertime music at the shores of the Mergellina and Posillipo to the same extent as his predecessor, the Marchese del Carpio. Nevertheless, the traditional *passeggio di dame* was still much alive during Santo Stefano's reign, as can be seen in the *Gazzetta di Napoli* dated July 28, 1694:

> On Sunday [July 25] the Viceroy here publicly attended the *passeggio* at the shore of our charming [Cape of] Posillipo in his rich gondola, accompanied by the Princes of Montesarchio, Colubrano, and Feroleto, and by the Marchese della Valli, with music and great quantities of refreshments; and the sea having been still and the day calm, there was seen an infinite number of small craft at sea and coaches on the land for the ladies and cavaliers at the same *passeggio*.
>
> Domenica questo Ec. Sig. Vicerè portossi in forma publica nella sua ricca gõdola al passeggio della riviera del nostro ameno Posilipo, accompagnato dalli Signori Principe di

Montesarchio, di Colovrano e di Feroleto e dal Sig. Marchese della Valli, con musica, e copia di rinfreschi alla grande, ed essendo stato tranquillo il mare, e placida la giornata, si videro infinite filuche, e carozze di Dame, e Cavalieri al medemo passeggio per mare, e per terra.

3.8.1 The Prince of Ischitella's *Cuccagna*

A month later crowds assembled at Posillipo to witness or to take part in a spectacle rivaling those organized years earlier under the reign of the Marchese del Carpio. According to both Confuorto and the *Gazzetta di Napoli*, this festival was given not under Viceregal auspices, but under those of the Prince of Ischitella:

> On Wednesday, [August] 25, the feast of the Apostle Saint Bartholomew, there was a very great gathering of people of every sort at Posillipo for two reasons in particular. The first [was] that the Prince of Ischitella had a very beautiful festival, very abundantly provided with costly goods, given at his house near the Cape of Posillipo, [the festival] representing the land of Cockaigne, with fountains, one of which was of wine. And they say that close to three thousand ducats were spent. The Viceroy, Vicereine, and a large number of ladies and cavaliers, in front of whom it was sacked, were there to see it. The other [reason was] that a comedy by Giulio Cesare Cortese was performed in the Palazzo Medina entitled *La Rosa*, given by the lawyers Don Carlo Brancaccio and Gioseppe Caiafa, and by Doctor Don Nicola Caravita.
>
> A 25 detto, mercordì, festa di san Bartolomeo apostolo, fu grandissimo concorso d'ogni qualità di persone a Posillipo per due cagioni particolarmente: una perché il signor principe d'Ischitella fece una bellissima festa alla sua casa vicino al Capo di Posilipo con apparato

> abbondantissimo di robbe di grassa, rappresentando il paese di cuccagna con fontane, una delle quali fu di vino; e si dice che vi spese vicino a tre mila scuti. Vi furono a vederla il signor viceré e signora viceregina, e molta quantità di dame e cavalieri, avanti de' quali si saccheggiò. L'altra per una comedia, che si rappresentò nel palazzo di Medina, intitolata *La rosa*, di Giulio Cesare Cortese, fatta rappresentare da' signori consiglieri don Carlo Brancaccio e Gioseppe Caiafa [204] e dal dottor don Nicola Caravita.

There is no evidence that music was heard in conjunction with the comedy given in the Palazzo Medina, and it is of little concern. Of greater interest is the *cuccagna* presented by the Prince of Ischitella. This sort of entertainment was often given by the Viceroys of Naples to mark the same occasions that were celebrated by the performance of a serenata. Indeed, a serenata often followed the sack of a *cuccagna*, although the latter was a much more plebeian sort of entertainment than the serenata. The English Lady Anne Miller records that as late as 1770 *cuccagne* could still be witnessed in Naples:

> A hill appears exactly opposite the palace, from the centre of which bursts forth a fountain, and falls into a bason [*sic*] at its foot; the base represents incrustations of rock and shells like grotto-work; such is the appearance from the windows of the palace; but this grotto-work is composed of nothing else than dried fish varnished and gilt, and intermixed with loaves of bread so well placed as to deceive the eye. On the sides of the hill (which is covered with green boughs), appear living lambs ornamented with ribbons and

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204. Confuorto, *Giornali*, II, 137.

> artificial flowers; in another part are calves and some oxen: amongst the boughs geese and pigeons are nailed fast by the wings. On the top stands a figure of Apollo playing on the lyre. Formerly all the creatures were placed here alive, and tied fast to the wood-work; but now, by this amiable Queen's particular command, the oxen are killed before the sport begins. The guards are drawn out round this artificial hill to prevent mischief; and at a signal given, the mob fall on, destroy the building, carry off whatever they can lay hold of, and fight with each other, till generally some fatal accident ensues. The court are frequently in the balconies of the palace, with most of the nobility of Naples, to see the *Cuccagna*. When the Queen [in this case Maria Carolina] first saw this barbarous amusement, she was shocked at the cruelty of tearing the wretched animals to pieces, whose cries reached the palace, and commanded, as I have said, that the cattle should not be exposed alive to the brutality of the populace; but the lambs, geese, pigeons, and some other poor birds, fall a living sacrifice to their amusement: they tear them away unfeelingly from their fastenings, so as often to leave their wings behind. We have been to see this sight . . . and we saw it in the most complete manner, being permitted to occupy one of the royal balconies. In the midst of the riot and confusion, a *Lazzarone* [*i.e.*, a commoner of the lowest class] dropped, and was carried off by his comrades; he had received a stab in the breast by a knife from one of his brethren, who disputed with him somewhat [*sic*] taken off from the *Cuccagna*. As such events are common upon occasion, no notice was taken of it; but the man died on the spot.[205]

The *cuccagna* on August 25, 1694, did not take place opposite the Royal Palace of Naples, but rather at the Cape of Posillipo. Otherwise, it must have resembled the one

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205. Lady Anne Miller, *Letters from Italy in 1770 and 1771* (London, 1776), cited by Harold Acton, *The Bourbons of Naples (1734-1825)* (London: Methuen, 1965), pp. 43-44.

described by Lady Miller. The *Gazzetta* of August 31, 1694, preserves a description of the Prince of Ischitella's *cuccagna* which indicates that music, perhaps a serenata, was heard as part of these festivities:

> On Wednesday afternoon, the twenty-fifth of this month now ending, this Most Excellent Vicereine, accompanied by the Duchess of Naxera and her son Don Emanuel, went in her royal gondola to the noble summer house of Don Luis Pinto Capece Bozzuto, the Prince of Ischitella, situated near the point of [Cape] Posillipo, where Her Excellency was received in the grand manner by the Princess Donna Gironima Capece Bozzuto, the said Prince's mother, with repeated salvos fired from three pieces of artillery placed for this purpose high in the beautiful little tower of the same house, which was decorated in an exceedingly rich and pompous manner with the most precious of furnishings. There were fountains of wine, pyramids of food, which were sacked, large grottos interlaced with laurel, box, and myrtle, beautiful springs of limpid waters, instrumental music, sonorous motets, blaring trumpets, candies, fruits, and every other kind of costly refreshment in very abundant quantity, with a great mass of wax and tallow lights which turned the night into day, Her Excellency with the above-mentioned Duchess having returned to the Palace around two hours of night very satisfied . . .
>
> Mercoledi 25. dello spirante si portò à divertimento sul tardi questa Ec. Sig. Viceregina in Real gondola, accompagnata dalla Sig. Duchessa di Naxera, e dal Sig. D. Emanuel suo figlio alla nobil Casa di dilizie situata presso la punta di Posilipo del Sig. D. Luis Pinto, Capece, Bozzuto, Principe d'Ischitella, ove fù S.E. ricevuta alla grande dalla Sig. Principessa D. Gironima Capece Bozzuto madre del detto Sig. Principe col replicato saluto dello sbaro di tre pezzi di Cannone, collocati à tal effetto sù la vaga Torretta della stessa Casa, qual era oltre modo ricca, e pomposamente adobbata di presiosissime suppellettili. Vi furono fontane di Vino, Piramidi di commestabili, à cui fù dato il

> sacco, Grottoni intessuti di allori, bussi, e mortelle, vaghe fonti di limpid'acque, sinfonie, armonici mottetti, garule trombe, canditi, frutti, ed ogni altro genere di preziosi rinfreschi in abbondantissima copia, con una immensità di lumi di cera, e di sevo che aggiornavano la notte, verso le due della quale se ne ritornò S.E. con la Sig. Duchessa sudetta, sodisfattissime à Palazzo . . .

3.8.2 The Duchess of Maddaloni's Serenata

By the fall of 1694 Charles II of Spain had been married to Marianna of Pfalz-Neuburg for well over four years, yet the much desired heir to the Habsburg throne of Spain had not been sired. Other dynasties, especially the Bourbons, were not slow to put forth their claimants to the throne of Spain should Charles II die without issue. In politically unstable Naples this unresolved question of the Spanish succession was a source of great anxiety for the Viceregal government, especially since much of the nobility there had adopted a Francophile outlook. Towards the end of September, Emilia Carafa, the wife of Domenico Marzio Carafa, the Duke of Maddaloni, gave an entertainment aimed at countering this growing pro-French sentiment. The *Gazzetta* dated September 28, 1694, reports:

> On the evening of the aforesaid Sunday [September 26], under the protection of the Duchess of Maddaloni, a most noble serenata, praising the greatness of our Most Invincible Monarch and foretelling his offspring, was sung by four of the choicest voices in a delightful rocky grotto near the Duchess of Isola's palace at

Posillipo, from the loggias and balconies of which, and from many other nearby places, the melody of the voices and the *sinfonie* of the instruments were enjoyed by innumerable ladies and cavaliers gathered there by the thoughtfulness of the same Duchess of Maddaloni, who, around two hours of night, had the said serenata repeated (because bad weather at sea interrupted it) in the above-mentioned Duchess of Isola's palace, where, along with her son the Duke of Bonito, she sumptuously had costly refreshments of every sort given out.

La sera da la sudetta Domenica, sotto la protettione della Sig. Duchessa di Maddaloni, fù cantata una nobilissima Serenata à quattro scieltissime Voci, applaudente alla grandezza, ed in augurio di Prole al nostro Invittissimo Regnante, in un delitioso scoglio presso il Palazzo della Sig. Duchessa d'Isola à Posilipo, dalle cui loggie, e balconi, e da molti altri luoghi ivi appresso ne goderono la melodia delle Voci, e sinfonie degli strumenti, innumerabili Sig. Dame, e Cavalieri ivi concorsi à contemplatione della medesima Sig. Duchessa di Maddaloni, quale fece poi verso le due di quella notte replicare (à cagione del tempo, che l'interruppe sul mare) detta Serenata nel detto Palazzo della Sig. Duchessa dell'Isola preaccennata, che col Sig. Duca di Bonito suo figlio fecero dispensare lautamente pretiosi rinfreschi di tutte le sorti.

Although the *Gazzetta* fails to name the composer of this serenata, Alessandro Scarlatti must be considered a likely candidate. Like her husband the Duke of Maddaloni, Emilia Carafa is known to have served as a patron and protector of Alessandro and the Scarlatti clan from their earliest days

in Naples. Confuorto records a scandal involving one of Alessandro's sisters in the early days of November, 1684.[206] The sister in question, either Anna Maria or Melchiorra, was forced to enter a Neapolitan convent after it became known that she and another singer had entered into an illicit relationship with several corrupt officials of the court.[207] The two singers, however, were held only about two months. News of their release obtained through the efforts of Emilia Carafa is reported as follows in an *avviso di Roma* dated January 20, 1685:

> From Naples it is learned that through the prompting of the Duchess of Maddaloni, the Viceroy has had two theatrical singers freed from the convent.
>
> Di Napoli si hà, che quel Sig.*nor Vice*Rè ad Inst*igazione* della Duchessa di Matalona havesse liberate dal Conservatorio due Comiche cantatrici.[208]

On other occasions as well, Emilia Carafa showed her esteem for Alessandro and his family. On November 21, 1690, Alessandro's daughter Caterina Eleonora Emilia Scarlatti was baptized. The Princess of Colubrano, Eleonora Carafa, was

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206. Confuorto, *Giornali*, I, 119.

207. Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti*, pp. 24, 35-36, 108, 239-41.

208. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 194, fol. 189r.

present that day at the baptismal font representing the child's godmother, Emilia Carafa.[209]

3.8.3 The Nameday and Birthday celebrations for Charles II

The following description of the events at court commemorating the nameday and birthday of Charles II is preserved in the *Gazzetta* of November 9, 1694:

> On the fourth day of this month marking the feast of Saint Charles Borromeo, whose name His Majesty (may God preserve him) bears, the Most Excellent Viceroy received the compliments of the royal ministers, military captains, and nobles in the Royal Palace, and then on Saturday the sixth of the same month, His Majesty's birthday was celebrated by His Excellency with demonstrations of indescribable joy. All the court, titled dignitaries, and cavaliers were seen dressed in costumes of the richest and most capricious gala, and joining with the ministers of the courts of law, they gave voice to cordial expressions of acclamation and joy with His Excellency who, while they were present, had solemn royal chapel held in the Palace, with salvos from all the cannons of our fortresses in answer to the triple volleys of musket fire from the squadron of Spanish infantry stationed in the courtyard and in front of the Royal Palace. Later that afternoon the ladies, richly dressed in indescribable splendor, made similar expressions of joy and devotion to the Most Excellent Vicereine. As a brilliant conclusion to such a noble celebration, a very beautiful and universally applauded opera entitled *Alfonso VI. Rè di Castiglia* was performed in the Palace that same night, and there was a prologue or introduction of the most noble invention. And

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209. Ulisse Prota-Giurleo, "Alessandro Scarlatti, 'Il Palermitano,'" *Vita musicale italiana*, XIII (1926), p. 37, no. 3, and Pagano, *Scarlatti*, p. 118.

all sorts of the most precious refreshments were distributed in immense quantities, this royal festival succeeding richly, happily, and to great acclaim.

Nel giorno 4. del corrente solenizandosi la Commemoratione di S. Carlo Borromeo, il cui Nome porta S.M. che Dio guardi, fù questo Eccellentiss. Sig. Vicerè complimentato da Regii Ministri, Capi militari, e Nobiltà nel Regio Palazzo, e sabato poscia 6. dello stesso, giorno del Complimento degl'Anni felicissimi della M.S. fù da S.E. festeggiato con indicibili dimostranze di gioia. Si vidde tutta la Corte, titolati, e Cavalieri in abito di ricchissime, e capricciose gale, ed uniti essi a' Ministri de' Tribunali, passarono le vive, e cordiali espressioni di giubilo con S.E. quale con la di loro assistenza tenne in Palazzo solenne Cappella alla reale, con la scarrica di tutto il cannone delle nostre Castella, che corrispose à quella fatta treplicatamente dal moschetto dello Squadrone di Fanteria Spagnuola, piantato nel Cortile, ed avanti al Regio Palazzo. La medesima espressione di giulivo essequio fecero sul tardi con l'Eccellentiss. Signora Viceregina, le Signore Dame, abbigliate con ricchezza, e pompa indicibile; Per cornare sì nobil festeggiamento, sù la stessa sera ivi rappresentato in musica un Melodrama bellissimo, & universalmente applaudito; intitolato *Alfoso* [*sic*] *VI. Rè di Castiglia*, e vi fù un Prologo, ò sia introduzzione di nobilissima inventione, e furono dispensati in immensa copia rinfreschi pretiosissimi di tutte le sorti, riuscendo ricco, allegro, e plausibilissimo questo Real festino.

Since this opera had been given earlier that same year in Venice with music by Carlo Francesco Pollaroli, it is not clear how much, if any, new music Scarlatti may have contributed to the Neapolitan performance of the opera proper. The prologue heard in Naples, however, was very likely the work of Andrea Perrucci, a Neapolitan librettist

often called upon to furnish prologues for the Neapolitan performance of works first heard elsewhere.[210] As master of the Royal Chapel of Naples, Alessandro Scarlatti was almost certainly called upon to set this prologue to music.

3.8.4 A Celebration Honoring Prince Christian Louis of Brandenburg

On the evening of November 22, music was heard in the Royal Palace at a gathering in honor of one of the brothers of the Electoral Prince of Brandenburg. Although the *Gazzetta* dated November 23, 1694, fails to identify the work given that evening, the circumstances surrounding this *divertimento di sceltissima Musica* suggest that it may have been an occasional cantata or serenata by Alessandro Scarlatti:

> For several days Prince Christian Louis, fifth-born brother of His Electoral Highness of Brandenburg, has been lodging incognito in the Inn of the Three Kings, attended by the Prince of Santo Nicandro Cataneo and by other cavaliers, and last night he privately attended court where His Excellency displayed the most singular esteem for him, and in the royal gallery of the Palace an entertainment of the choicest music was given for him, with sumptuous quantities of all kinds of costly refreshments in the royal manner, the said prince being exceedingly satisfied and pleased with it.

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210. Bianconi, "Funktionen des Operntheaters in Neapel," p. 35, n. 117.

E [*sic*] qualche giorno, che qui trovasi incognito alloggiato all'Albergo dei Trè Rè il Sig. Prencipe Cristiano Luigi fratello Quintogenito dell'A.S. Elettorale di Brandemburgh, assistito dal Sig. Prencipe di Santo Nicandro Cataneo, & altri Cavalieri, & ieri sera fù privatamente in Corte, ove S.E. gli fece espressioni di singolarissima stima, e nella Regia Galeria di Palazzo gli fè dare un divertimento di sceltissima Musica, con lautissima copia di pretiosi rinfreschi di tutte le sorte alla Reale, restandone detto Signor Prencipe oltre modo sodisfatto, & appagatissimo.

3.8.5 A Birthday Celebration for the Viceroy

According to the *Gazzetta* of November 30, another *nobil divertimento di sceltissima musica* was heard less than a week later in the Royal Palace, this time in connection with the Viceroy's birthday celebration. The occasion probably called for a large cantata or serenata, although again the work in question is not identified:

On the same Sunday [*i.e.*, November 26], His Excellency's birthday, the court appeared in gala (the royal ministers of the courts of law and the nobility were prepared to present themselves at court to compliment His Excellency, who, however, did not permit it), and that evening there was a noble entertainment of the choicest music in the Palace.

Domenica stessa giorno del complimento degl'anni di S.E. (quantunque fussero disposti i Regij Ministri de Tribunali, e Nobiltà di portarsi à Palazzo, per complimentare l'E.S. quale non volle permetterlo) comparve la Corte in gala, e la sera di detto giorno vi fù in Palazzo un nobil divertimento di sceltissima musica.

3.9 Rome in 1694

In an as yet unpublished study of musical drama in Rome during the career of Alessandro Scarlatti, Lowell Lindgren has found that approximately twelve serenatas were heard in Rome between July and October of 1694. An *avviso Marescotti* dated July 31, 1694, reports:

> Various serenatas have been given these nights, but as yet to little applause.
>
> Diverse Serenate si sono fatte in q*ueste* notti ma con poco applauso sin hora.[211]

3.9.1 Severo de Luca's *La Nova gara delle dee*

In August Silvio Stampiglia's text *La Nova gara delle dee* as set to music by Severo de Luca was performed for the nameday celebration of the Spanish Ambassador's wife, Maria de Giron y Sandoval. Her nameday fell on August 5, but, according to Lowell Lindgren, the serenata was heard on August 2 at the Palazzo di Spagna.

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211. I Rn, MS. 788, fol. 540v.

3.9.2 Giovanni Lorenzo Lulier's Serenata on the Vigil of Saint Lawrence

On the evening of August 9, Cardinal Ottoboni had a serenata conspicuously performed in a garden on the Esquiline for the vigil of Saint Lawrence. It is described as follows in a set of *avvisi di Roma* preserved in the Archivio di Stato di Modena:

> On the vigil of his feast of Saint Lawrence in Damaso, Cardinal Ottoboni gave a magnificent serenata in his garden with one hundred stringed instruments. The singers and players were on a high tiered platform full of lights in front of and below a painting of Saint Lawrence.
>
> il Sig.*nor* Card.*inale* Ottoboni, per la vigilia della sua festa di S.*an* Lorenzo in Damaso, fece una suntuosa serenata nel suo giardino con 100 strumenti da arco. Stavano i musicisti e sonatori in un alto palco a gradini pieno di lumi, avanti sotto un quadro di S.*an* Lorenzo.[212]

A second account of the performance of this work may be preserved in one of the *avvisi Marescotti*, although the letter in question appears to be dated February 14, 1694:

> The feast of Saint Lawrence was celebrated by Cardinals Barberini and Ottoboni in their titular churches with sumptuous decorations and exquisite

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212. ASM (Modena, Archivio di Stato), Avvisi di Roma, busta 70, letter of August 14, 1694. Also cited by Paolo Campello della Spina, "Pontificato di Innocenzo XIII: Diario del Conte Gio. Battista Campello," *Studi e documenti di storia e diritto*, X (1889), 188.

> music, particularly by the second in [the Church of] San Lorenzo in Damaso; and on the vigil [*i.e.*, August 9, Card. Ottoboni] had an elegant oratorio sung in his garden of the Cancelleria by the finest voices of this city to the accompaniment of one hundred and fifty instruments. Many cardinals, the Imperial Ambassador, and an infinite number of cavaliers and ladies attended the said festival, [where they were] received by Donna Maria [Bernardina]; and the refreshments that were served equaled in sumptousness the generosity of His Excellency . . .
>
> La festa di San Lorenzo è stata celebrata dalli Card.*inali* Barbarini et Ottoboni nelle loro Chiese Titolari con sontuosità d'apparati, et esquisita musica, particolarm.*ente* dal secondo in San Lorenzo in Damaso, e la vigilia fè cantare un elegante Oratorio nel suo giardino del Palazzo della Cancell.*eria* delle più bravi voci di q*uesta* Città coll'accompagnam.*ento* di 150. strumenti alla qual festa intervenuto molti Card.*inali*, e l'Amb.*asciatore* Ces.*areo* con infinito n.*umero* di Caval.*ieri*, e Dame, ricevute dalla P*rincipessa* D.*onna* Maria, et il rinfresco che diede fu sontuosissimo al pari della [213] generosità dell'E.*ccellenza* S.*ua* . . .

According to the account books of Cardinal Ottoboni, sixty-seven string players were hired to augment the cardinal's regular musical establishment on this occasion. The work in question appears to have been a *cantata à 3* sung by the characters Tirsi, Daliso and Lisetta. The account books name Giovanni Lorenzo Lulier as its composer and show

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213. I Rn, MS. 788, fol. 490v.

that its performance was under the direction of Arcangelo Corelli.[214]

3.9.3 Giovanni Bononcini's *La Costanza non gradita nel doppio amore d'Aminta*

According to three *avvisi di Roma* unearthed by Lowell Lindgren in the Archivio di Stato di Modena, serenatas were heard on the evenings of August 16, 17, 18, and 20.[215] Silvio Stampiglia's text *La Costanza non gradita nel doppio amore d'Aminta*, set to music by Giovanni Bononcini, was the work heard on August 17.[216] Since it was in celebration of Lorenza de la Cerda Colonna's nameday, it should have been heard on August 10, but for unknown reasons it was delayed. The other three serenatas mentioned in these letters have not been identified:

> Letter of August 18, 1694
>
> On the evening of [the feast of] Saint Rocco [August 16] a very beautiful serenata was performed in the palace of the Princess of Rossano [*i.e.*, the Palazzo Borghese], after which a magnificent dinner was given for the various ladies and gentlemen of her social gathering; and another serenata was given last night by the

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214. Marx, "Die Musik am Hofe Kardinal Pietro Ottobonis," pp. 121 and 143, nos. [69 bis/g-h] and no. [72].

215. Lindgren, "A Bibliographic Scrutiny," I, 38-39.

216. *Ibid.*, I, 34, 37-39, 462-63 and II, 772-73.

Contestabile Colonna in front of his palace, both having been attended by a great number of nobles.

La sera di S.*an* Rocco si fece una bellissima serenata nel Palazzo della Sig*n*ora Pr*inci*pessa di Rosano, che dopo diede una lauta cena a diverse Dame, e Sig*n*ori della sua conversatione; ed un'altra Serenata fu fatta hieri sera dal Sig*n*ore Contestabile Colonna avanti il suo Palazzo essendo intervenuta ad ambedue gran numero di nobiltà.

First letter of August 21, 1694

On Monday evening [August 16] the Princess of Rossano's serenata was given, in which her female singer and a singer of her sister-in-law, the Princess of Civitella, sang marvelously. Also, on Tuesday evening [August 17] the Contestabile's [serenata] was given in his courtyard for an infinite crowd and to like applause by the people, it having been sung by three *castrati*. Then, on the following evening another by the Duke of Sora was given, but without so many people; and last night Don Livio [Odescalchi's] serenata was performed.

Lunedì sera si fece la serenata della Pr*inci*pessa di Rossano, dove cantarono maravigliosam*en*te la sua Cantarina e quella della Principessa di Civitella sua Cognata. Martedì sera anco si fece quella del Contestabile nel suo Cortile con infinite Concorso, et egual applauso di Popolo, cui cantarono tre Castrati. La sera seg*uen*te poi si fece l'altra del Duca di Sora, ma non con tanto Popolo; e hieri sera si fece quella di D.*on* Livio.

Second letter of August 21, 1694

Monday evening for the feast of Saint Rocco the Prince of Rossano [Marc'Antonio Borghese] had a most noble, although brief and for that reason praiseworthy, serenata sung on the little loggia of his palace overlooking the Tiber. Thus it was enjoyed by many people because of the pleasing and spacious place, and because of the two singers, namely, one belonging to the Princess of Venefre, and the other belonging to the same most excellent house of Borghese. They were accompanied by diverse *sinfonie* played on various instruments by

the finest *virtuosi* of this capital of the world to the universal applause and satisfaction of the nobility as well as of the people, a great number of whom gathered [to hear the work] since it ended at three hours of night.

Likewise, on Tuesday evening another serenata with three voices was given by the Contestabile Colonna in the courtyard of his palace. Of the three [voices], the soprano Pasqualino was considered the best, and although the *sinfonie* were perfect, it was greeted by less applause than the preceding one by the Prince of Rossano, the more so because of some confusion caused by the many gallant cavaliers who, attracted by the ladies' carriages, came to court them. Thus, the main attraction it held for everyone was its brevity and similarity to the previous one, since the nobility had the opportunity to amuse themselves in their usual nocturnal promenades these evenings, which are the warmest yet experienced this entire season.

Per la festa di S.*an* Rocco fece lunedì sera cantare il Sig*nore* Prencipe di Rosano una nobilissi*ma*, ed in conseguenza lodabile serenata *sopra* la loggietta del suo palazzo che guarda il Tevere, onde si rese godibile a *molto* popolo per l'amenità ed ampiena del sito e *per* le 2 Cantatrici, cioè quella della Sig*nora* Principessa di Venefre, e l'altra della *medesima* casa ecc*ellentissima* Borghese; gli furono accompagnate da diverse sinfonie di diversi instrumenti, sonate da p*rimi* virtuosi di q*uesta* Regia del mondo con applauso un*iversale*, si della nobiltà, che del popolo, che vi concorsero in buon n*umero* con sodisfatt*ione* grand*issima* perchè terminò alle 3 della notte.

Simil*mente* martedì sera dal Sig*nor* Contestabile Colonna si fece fare nel Cortile del suo palazzo altra Serenata con 3 musici, tra quali fu considerato Pasqualino *per* il migliore soprano, e benchè le sinfonie fossero perfette, riuscirono inferiori l'acclamationi a q*uella* predetta del Sig*nor* Prin*cipe* di Rosano, tanto più *per* qualche confusione, che nè nacque *per* la multiplicità del popolo in riguardo alle carrozze delle Dame, che vi furono ammesse a contemplat*ione* de' Cav*alieri* Cicisbeanti che le vanno servendo, onde il

> godimento maggiore riuscì a tutti nella brevità ad immitatione della prima, poichè la Nobiltà hebbe campo di divertirsi ne' soliti passeggi notturni della Città in quelle notti, che riuscirono le più calde, che siansi intese in tutta la corrente stagione.

An *avviso Marescotti* dated August 21, 1694, contains a similar account of these serenatas with the added information that the one given by the Duke of Sora was heard in the Villa Ludovisia.[217] A week later an *avviso Marescotti* dated August 28 records that Prince Don Miguel de Tassis presented a serenata in honor of the Spanish Ambassador's wife, Maria de Giron y Sandoval, in the Piazza di Spagna on the evening of August 25:

> On the same evening [of the feast of Saint Louis, August 25] a most beautiful serenata was given in the Piazza di Spagna by Prince Tassis in honor of the Spanish Ambassador's wife.
>
> La sera med.*esim*a fu fatta in Piazza di Spagna una bellissima serenata dal Principe Tassi in honore della Consorte dell'Ambas.*ciatore* di Spagna.[218]

Serenatas were evidently not limited to the months of July and August during the summer of 1694 in Rome. According to an *avviso Marescotti* dated October 2, one was heard at a social gathering (*conversatione*) organized by Lucrezia Conti, the Duchess of Guadagnola, on

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217. I Rn, MS. 798, fol. 540v.

218. *Ibid.*, fol. 543v.

the evening of September 30:

> The Duchess of Guadagnola held a *conversatione* on the evening of the said day [Thursday, September 30] for many ladies, cardinals, and princes which lasted until seven hours of night, with a beautiful serenata in which a *virtuosa* from Bologna sang, who was given by Cardinal Ottoboni a very beautiful gold clock decorated with rubies as a gift.
>
> La Duchessa di Guadagnola la sera di d.*etto* giorno tenne in Conversatione sino alle 7. della notte molte Dame, Card.*inali*, e *Princi*pi con una bella serenata, ove cantò una virtuosa Bolognese che fu regolata dal Card.*inale* Ottoboni d'un belliss.*imo* Orologio de oro adornato di rubini.[219]

Sometime around October 12 another serenata was given in the Palazzo di Venezia according to an *avviso Marescotti* dated October 16:

> Princess Zeno with her brothers the princes held a gathering of many cardinals, princes, and ladies in the Palazzo di San Marco [*i.e.*, di Venezia] where a beautiful serenata was heard which lasted almost until daybreak.
>
> La Sig.*nora Princi*pessa Zeno colli *Princi*pi fratelli ha fatto nel Palazzo di San Marco un Convito di molti Card*inali*, *Princi*pi, e Dame dove intesero una bella serenata, che durò quasi à giorno.[220]

As late as mid-November preparations were underway for the performance of a serenata in Rome to celebrate the

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219. *Ibid.*, fol. 554r-v.

220. *Ibid.*, fol. 558v.

capture of the island fortress of Scio from the Turks. An *avviso Marescotti* dated November 13, 1694 reports:

> It is believed that tomorrow the Te Deum will be sung in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore as well as in the Venetian Ambassador's [Church of] San Marco for the conquest of the island and fortress of Scio, and it is said that they wish to hold a great celebration with a beautiful serenata and fireworks in praise of our ruler of Malta and of the Republic of Venice; the said Cardinal Ottoboni is likewise preparing to glorify his native land [of Venice].
>
> Dimani si crede si cantarà il Te Deum nella Chiesa di Santa Maria Magg.*iore* cosi in San Marco dell'Ambasciator di Venezia *per* l'acquisto dell'Isola, e Fortezza di Scio, e dicesi voglia *far* gran feste con una bella serenata in lode di *nostro* sig*nore* di Malta, e Repub.*lica* Veneta con fuochi cosi il sud.*etto* Card.*inale* Ottoboni si prepara a farsi honore *per* le glorie della sua Patria.[221]

3.9.4 A Summary of the Serenatas heard in Rome during 1694

As mentioned above on page 211, the performance of approximately twelve serenatas in Rome during 1694 can be documented. Useful information about only ten of these works, however, can be found in the accounts cited above, and this information can be summarized as follows:

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221. *Ibid.*, fol. 566v.

I.

Date: August 2, 1694
Place: Palazzo di Spagna
For: the nameday of Maria de Giron y Sandoval, wife of the Spanish Ambassador
Librettist: Silvio Stampiglia
Composer: Severo de Luca
Title: *La Nova gara delle dee*

II.

Date: August 9, 1694
Place: a garden belonging to Card. Pietro Ottoboni
Patron: Card. Pietro Ottoboni
Composer: Giovanni Lorenzo Lulier
Voices: three singers representing Tirsi, Daliso and Lisetta
Instrumentalists: at least sixty-seven strings directed by Arcangelo Corelli

III.

Date: August 16, 1694
Patron: Marc'Antonio Borghese, the Prince of Rossano
Place: Palazzo Borghese
Voices: two singers, one belonging to the Borghese and the other to the Princess of Venefre Civitella

IV.

Date: August 17, 1694
Place: courtyard of the Palazzo Colonna
For: the nameday of Lorenza de la Cerda Colonna
Voices: three *castrati* including the soprano Pasqualino

Librettist: Silvio Stampiglia
Composer: Giovanni Bononcini
Title: *La Costanza non gradita nel doppio amore d'Aminta*

V.

Date: August 18, 1694
Place: Palazzo Ludovisia
Patron: Duke of Sora

VI.

Date: August 20, 1694
Place: Palazzo Odescalchi
Patron: Don Livio Odescalchi

VII.

Date: August 25, 1694
Place: Piazza di Spagna
For: Maria de Giron y Sandoval, wife of the Spanish Ambassador
Patron: Prince Don Miguel de Tassis

VIII.

Date: September 30, 1694
Patron: Lucrezia Conti, Duchess of Guadagnola
Voices: the singers included a *virtuosa* from Bologna

IX.

Date: ca. October 12, 1694
Place: Palazzo di Venezia
Patron: Princess Zeno and her brothers

X.

Date: November, 1694
For: the capture of the island fortress of Scio
Patron: Card. Pietro Ottoboni or the Venetian Ambassador

Of the many serenatas heard in Rome during the summer and fall of 1694, only two can be identified by title and composer. Although there is no very compelling evidence to believe that Alessandro Scarlatti was responsible for any of these anonymous works, that possibility cannot be entirely ruled out. The composer's whereabouts and activities for much of 1694 remain unknown.

3.10 Naples in 1695

At the end of 1694 Naples was honored by the visit of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni and his father Prince Antonio Ottoboni. Confuorto records their arrival on December 28 and their departure on January 5, 1695. During their stay in Naples the Cardinal twice attended the Teatro San Bartolomeo.[222]

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222. Confuorto, *Giornali*, II, 144-45.

3.10.1 Two Musical Entertainments for Cardinal Ottoboni

On at least two other occasions the cardinal was also feted with music while in Naples. The *Gazzetta di Napoli* dated January 4, 1695, reports:

> [On December 29], the day after the arrival of His Eminence, he was given a most sumptuous dinner in the house of His Eminence [Cardinal] Giudice, and last Friday [December 31] His Eminence [Ottoboni] dined with the Carthusian fathers of San Martino, the preparations there having been made by His Eminence [Cardinal] Cantelmi, who, along with His Eminence [Cardinal] Giudice, went there with him; then, on the evening of the first of the year, in the company of the Most Eminent [Cardinal] Carafa and the two above-named Eminences, he went to the Palace, invited by His Excellency [the Viceroy], where a most agreeable musical entertainment of the choicest voices and instruments with magnificent and very abundant refreshments in the royal manner was given for them.
>
> Il giorno appresso, che giunse S. Em. le fù dato lautissimo pranso nella propria Casa dall'Em. Giudice, e Venerdì trascorso fù l'E. Sua à desinare da' Padri Certosini di S. Martino, fattole ivi preparare dall'Em. Cantelmi, col quale, e coll'Em. Giudice vi si portò; Unito poscia à quali S. Em. & all'Eminentissimo Carafa si condusse essa la sera del primo giorno dell'anno à Palazzo, invitatavi da S. Ecc. dove fè dar loro un divertimento graditissimo di musica di sceltissime voci, e strumenti, con un magnifico, e abbondantissimo rinfresco alla Reale.

In addition to the entertainment witnessed in the Royal Palace on January 1, the *Gazzetta* of January 12, 1695, reports that:

> . . . on the evening of the aforementioned Tuesday [January 4] . . . His Eminence [Cardinal Ottoboni] went to the house of the Prince of Cellamare, by whom, and by his uncle the Most Eminent [Cardinal] Giudice, he was given a noble entertainment, an *accademia* of music and letters.
>
> . . . nella sera del preaccennato Martedì . . . portossi S. Em. alla Casa del Sig. Principe di Cellamare, da cui, e dall'Eminentiss. Giudice suo Zio, le fù dato un nobil divertimento di Accademia di belle lettere, e di musica.

Although such occasions normally called for the performance of cantatas, nothing specific is known about the music heard at these two gatherings.

3.10.2 An *Accademia* in Honor of Cardinal Giuseppe d'Aguirre

Five months later another *accademia*, perhaps similar to the one given for Cardinal Ottoboni, was held in honor of Cardinal Giuseppe d'Aguirre in the Archepiscopal Seminary of Naples. The music heard at this gathering on April 28 is praised by Confuorto[223] and in the *Gazzetta* of May 3, 1696. Neither source, however, identifies the music or its composer.

The *Gazzetta* of July 25, 1695, records that the feast of Saint Anne, the nameday of the Queen Mother and of the Queen of Spain, was celebrated only with cannon fire and by the

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223. Confuorto, *Giornali*, II, 161.

attendance of the Viceregal court at chapel. No serenata marked this occasion in 1695.

3.10.3 A Musical Entertainment for the Birthday of the Vicereine

A month later, however, Alessandro Scarlatti was in all likelihood called upon to furnish the music heard at the celebration marking the Vicereine's birthday, reported as follows in the *Gazzetta* of August 23, 1695:

> The [Franciscan] Friars Minor of [the Convent of] Saint Louis next to the Royal Palace yesterday ended with the very richest of sacred pomp the Octave of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin with the display of the miraculous milk of the Madonna, the devotion having been attended every day by the Most Excellent Viceroy and Vicereine, whose birthday, having occurred yesterday, was celebrated with expressions of joy by the courts of law and nobility here, who, appearing in rich gala as likewise did His Excellency's court, went for this purpose to the Palace to compliment the Most Excellent Viceroy, that evening the Vicereine's birthday being celebrated there with the sweetest of musical compositions sung by the voices of the Royal Chapel.
>
> Ieri terminarono con ogni più ricca, e sagra pompa l'Ottava della Beatissima Vergine Assunta i PP. Minimi di S. Luigi presso il Regio Palazzo, coll'esposizione del miracoloso Latte della Madonna intervenendovi ogni giorno alla divozione questi Eccell. Sig. Vicerè, e Viceregina, il di cui giorno Natalizio correndo ieri, fù celebrato con giolive espressioni da questi Tribunali, e Nobiltà, quale con ricche gale, sicome apparve la Corte di S.E. si portarno à Palazzo à complimẽtare per tal oggetto l'Ecc. Sig. Vicerè, essendosi ivi la sera festeggiato questo complimento d'Anni, con dolcissime composizioni musicali cantate da'

Musici della Real Cappella.

Nothing more specific is known about the music heard on this occasion.

3.11 Rome in 1695

The *avvisi Marescotti* mention only two serenatas heard in Rome during the summer of 1695:

> August 6, 1695
>
> . . .yesterday the Spanish Ambassador . . .had a beautiful serenata performed in the evening in the Piazza di Spagna commemorating the birthday [*i.e.*, nameday] of his wife.
>
> . . . hieri l'Amb.*asciatore* di Spagna . . . la sera fece fare in Piazza di Spagna una bellissima serenata *per* solennizzare il giorno natalitio dell'Amb.*asciatrice* sua consorte.[224]
>
> August 20, 1695
>
> On Wednesday evening [August 17] a most famous serenata was given in the courtyard of the Contestabile Colonna's palace to which all the princesses and ladies of the city had been invited, who were received in the ground floor apartment by the Duchess of Guadagnola [Lucrezia Conti] and the Princess of Sonnino [Cleria Colonna], the Contestabile's aunt; Cardinals Ottoboni and Giudice, the Spanish Ambassador, the Contestabile, and their wives were on the upper floor. Very sumptuous refreshments were given out on this occasion also to the nobility and prelates in the courtyard [seated] on benches placed there

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224. I Rn, MS. 789, fol. 20v.

in great number for this purpose.

> Mercordi sera nel cortile del Palazzo del Contestabile Colonna fu fatta una famosissima serenata coll'invito di tutte le *Princ*ipesse e Dame della Città, che furono ricevute dalla Duchessa di Guadagnola, e *Princ*ipessa di Sonnino Zia del med.*esi*mo Contestabile nell'apartam.*en*to terreno essendovi nel superiore il Card.*inal*e Ottoboni, quello del Giudice Ambas.*ciator*e, et Ambas.*ciatrice di* Spagna, Contestabile, *e* Consorte, che diede in tal occasione lautissimi rinfreschi anche alla Nobiltà, e Prelati che si trovava in Cortile ne banchi, che *per* questo [?] erano stati in gran num.*ero* stabiliti.[225]

3.11.1 Giovanni Bononcini's *La Notte festiva* and *Amore non vuol diffidenza*

The two serenatas mentioned in these *avvisi* have been identified by Lowell Lindgren as *La Notte festiva* and *Amore non vuol diffidenza*.[226] Both texts were written by Silvio Stampiglia and set to music by Giovanni Bononcini. The former was heard in the Piazza di Spagna on the evening of August 5 as part of the nameday celebration of Maria de Giron y Sandoval, the wife of the Spanish Ambassador. *Amore non vuol diffidenza* was given in honor of Lorenza de la Cerda Colonna, the sister of the Spanish Ambassador and the wife of the Gran Contestabile Filippo Colonna. Her nameday

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225. *Ibid.*, fol. 23r-v.

226. Lindgren, "A Bibliographic Scrutiny," I, 34 and II, 753, 828.

fell on August 10, but, as happened a year earlier, the serenata in her honor was delayed until August 17.

3.12 Naples in 1696

On January 22, 1696, the Count of Santo Stefano received the news that after serving for eight years as Viceroy of Naples he was to be replaced by the Marchese of Cogolludo. Two days later in recognition of his service to the crown, Santo Stefano was made a Grandee of Spain.[227]

3.12.1 A *Ballo* honoring the Count of Santo Stefano

As a final tribute to the outgoing Viceroy a *ballo* or *mascarata* was held in the Royal Palace on Sunday, February 5, 1696. Both Confuorto[228] and the Savoyard agent Giovanni Battista Operti[229] record this event. The most detailed account, however, is preserved in the *Gazzetta di Napoli* of February 7, 1696:

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227. Giuseppe Coniglio, *I Vicerè spagnoli di Napoli* (Naples: Fausto Fiorentino, 1967), p. 336.

228. Confuorto, *Giornali*, II, 197.

229. AST, Lettere Ministri, Due Sicilie, mazzo 6, letter of February 10, 1696.

Last Sunday, the fourth [*sic*] of this month, the said masquerade ball, consisting of four quadrilles each of nine cavaliers dressed superbly in gold and silver lamé with the richest of bizarre feathers, was given with magnificence by these titled dignitaries and cavaliers in the great hall of the Royal Palace; it was composed of the principal lords of the Kingdom in acclamation of the most happy reign of the Most Excellent Viceroy, the Count of Santo Stefano, on the occasion of the reported granting of the rank of Grandee of Spain conferred upon His Excellency and his Most Excellent House in perpetuity by His Majesty, may God preserve him. [A SIRENA PARTENOPE served as an introduction to this masque, who with sweet harmony sang verses praising the glorious deeds of His Excellency, in praise of whom many other poetic compositions were published. In the said hall the Most Eminent Cardinal Carafa attended with majestic pomp under a rich baldacchino with the Most Excellent Vicereine in the center and with His Excellency [the Viceroy] on the other side. The Most Eminent [Cardinal] d'Aguirre, incognito, was there, as were also the Most Illustrious Monsignor Casoni, Papal Nunzio, and the other ministers and representatives of foreign princes. The flower of the ladies and cavaliers danced in a numerous throng of couples who, after the above-mentioned quadrilles were danced with burning torches in hand, changed partners with great caprice and noble grace, after which the festivities ended with the grand ball of the torch which was begun by the Viceroy and ended by Donna Aurora Sanseverino of Bisignano. All sorts of the most precious refreshments were given out in vast quantities, and the festival ended at eight by the Italian clock . . .

Domenica trascorsa 4. del corrente, fù poi da questi Sig. Titolati, e Cavalieri effettuata magnificamente l'accennata Mascherata di ballo nella gran Sala del Real Palazzo consistente in quattro Quadriglie di 9. Cavalieri per ciascheduna, vestiti superbamente di lame d'Oro, & Argento, con ricchissime bizzare pennacchiere; composte de' Principali Signori del Regno, in applauso al felicissimo governo di questo Eccellentiss. Sig. Vicerè Conte di S. Stefano, in occasione della scritta mercede fatta da S.M. che

> Dio guardi à S.E. & alla sua Eccellentiss. Casa del perpetuo Grandato di Spagna; Servì d'introduzzione à questa Maschera, LA SIRENA PARTENOPE, che cantò con suave armonia versi di plauso alle gloriose gesta [*sic*] di S.E. delle cui lodi furono publicati molti altri poetici componimenti. In detta Sala sotto ricco Baldacchino con maestosa publicità, intervennero l'Eminentissimo Sig. Cardinal Carafa, in mezzo l'Eccellentissima Signora Viceregina, & all'altro lato S.E. Vi fù altresì l'Eminentiss. d'Aguirre incognito, l'Illustrissimo Monsignor Nunzio Casoni, e gl'altri Signori Ministri, e Rappresentanti de' Principi stranieri; in numeroso concorso il fiore delle Dame, e Cavalieri, quali doppo, che fù fatto il ballo, con nobil leggiadria, e torchio acceso alla mano dell'accennate Quadriglie, danzarono loro à coppia, à coppia molte capricciose mutanze, terminandosi poscia il festino col gran ballo della Torcia, à cui diede principio il Sig. Vicerè, e fine la Signora D. Aurora Sanseverino di Bisignano, dispensandosi oltre misura preziosissimi rinfreschi di tutte le sorti, terminandosi questo festino alle 8. dell'Oriuolo Italiano . . .

This extract from the *Gazzetta di Napoli* is cited by Ulisse Prota-Giurleo when he incorrectly asserts that *La Sirena Partenope* is a reference to one of the mythological characters in Scarlatti's serenata *Il Genio di Partenope, la Gloria del Sebeto, il Piacere di Mergellina.*[230] This serenata, heard on August 5, 1696, well after Santo Stefano's departure from Naples and celebrating the nameday of the Duchess of Medinaceli, has nothing to do with the work heard on January 5 of that year. The verses sung by *La*

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230. Prota-Giurleo, "Breve storia," p. 54.

Sirena Partenope in praise of Santo Stefano's reign were probably set to music as a solo cantata, although the work in question cannot be identified.

3.12.2 Other Carnival Entertainments

In 1696 the main operatic entertainment during carnival was Scarlatti's *Penelope la casta*, first heard on Sunday, February 12, in the Teatro San Bartolomeo. According to the *Gazzetta*, Santo Stefano witnessed at least three performances of this work. The Viceroy was honored by the Representative of the People (*Eletto del Popolo*) with music sometime during mid-February when according to the *Gazzetta* of February 22, 1696:

> The Strada di Toledo was filled with a very enchanting current of the most capricious and beautiful masks, from among which all eyes were drawn to a chariot of bizarre invention, built by cavaliers of the first rank in the form of Mount Parnassus upon which were seen Apollo and the chorus of the Muses, richly dressed, with the horse Pegasus and the fountain of Helicon just as described by the poets in their fables. Likewise, the so-called chariot of bread appeared, richly built and nobly adorned in the name of the most loyal people by their representative Filippo Morcaldi, which not only delighted the eyes with its structure of bread, but the ears as well with the harmony of music, after which it also satisfied the taste of the numerous commoners gathered below the Royal Palace who sacked it to the great amusement of His Excellency at his balcony . . .
>
> Vaghissimo fù il Corso per la strada di Toledo di capricciose, e bellissime Maschere ripieno,

trà quali tirò a se gl'occhi di tutti un Carro di bizzarra inventione, fatto da Cavalieri principali, che figurava il Monte Parnasso, ove vedeasi con Apollo il Coro delle Muse, riccamente adornate, col Cavallo Pegaso, e'l Fonte d'Elicona, come favoleggiano i Poeti. Uscì parimente il Carro detto del Pane, fatto dal Sig. Filippo Morcaldi Eletto di questo Popolo fedelissimo à nome del medesimo, ricco, e nobilmente adornato, che dilettava, non meno l'occhio con l'apparato del Pane, che l'udito, con l'armonia della musica, e poscia sodisfece anche il gusto della numerosa Plebe, che quando fù datogli il sacco, concorse sotto il Real Palazzo, a' cui Balconi ne godette sommamente S.E. . . .

Since the music heard on the second carnival cart was sponsored by the *Eletto del Popolo*, there is no reason to suspect that Scarlatti was responsible for it.

The final events of the carnival of 1696 in Naples are reported in the *Gazzetta* of March 6:

> The number of masks along the Corso and throughout the city was vast on the said day. The chariot built by Filippo Morcaldi in the name of the most loyal people, whom he represents, was very rich in all kinds of choice fish, with coral branches and beautiful decorations of other sea creatures, and with a chorus of grotesquely masked singers. His Excellency watched as it was sacked in front of his balconies by a great number of commoners who gathered there, and that night, after having enlivened the Corso with his presence, His Excellency went to enjoy himself at the other opera entitled *Massimo Puppieno*, which was repeated, as will occur tonight, carnival ending with great happiness.
>
> Copioso fù nel sudetto giorno il numero delle maschere per il corso, e per tutta la Città, essẽdo stato il Carro fatto fare dal Sig. Filippo Morcaldi à nome di questo Fidelissimo Popolo, di cui egli è Eletto, ricchissimo di tutte le sorti di scelto pesce, con rami di Coralli, ed altri

> infetti marini vagamente adornato, con un Choro di Musici mascherati ridicolosamente, & avanti i balconi di S. Ecc. fù veduto saccheggiare da gran numero di plebe ivi accorsa, e la sera l'E.S. dopo haver rallegrato il corso colla sua presenza, andò à divertirsi all'altr'Opera intitolata il *Massimo Poppieno*, che si è replicata, sicome seguirà questa sera, essendosi terminato il Carnevale con grandissima allegria.

According to the *Gazzetta* of December 28, 1695, and to its libretto, Alessandro Scarlatti's opera *Massimo Puppieno* had been first heard on December 26 of the previous year. This performance on March 6, 1696, marked the last occasion during the reign of the Count of Santo Stefano at which a large secular composition by Scarlatti was performed. Both the *Gazzetta* and Domenico Confuorto record the arrival of the new Viceroy, the Marchese of Cogolludo, now bearing the title of the Duke of Medina Celi, on March 20. Soon thereafter the command of the city and Kingdom of Naples was formally transferred to the new Viceroy.

3.13 Alessandro Scarlatti's Serenatas for the Period 1687-1696

During the reign of the Viceroy Santo Stefano at least a dozen serenatas were heard in or near Naples. Except for the work commissioned by Scipione Giuvo for performance on October 8, 1691, none can be attributed with complete

certainty to Alessandro Scarlatti. During this same period, many more serenatas were heard in Rome. Although it is very possible that Scarlatti was responsible for some of them, the documents at hand fail to name him as the composer of any Roman serenatas. None of the known surviving works in this genre by Alessandro Scarlatti seem to have been written during the Count of Santo Stefano's reign at Naples, 1687-1696.

Chapter 4

Naples and Rome from 1696 through 1699

4.1 Naples during the Summer of 1696

Several months after Medina Celi's accession to the Viceregal throne, the Spanish Empire was saddened by the death on May 16, 1696, of the Queen Mother, Marianna of Austria.[231] The unhappy news arrived in Naples on June 11, causing the Viceroy to proclaim four months of mourning.[232] It comes as a surprise then to read the following in Confuorto's journal under the date June 24, 1696:

> On Sunday the twenty-fourth of the said [month of June], the feast of Saint John the Baptist, there was a great crowd of cavaliers and ladies, and also the Viceroy, at Posillipo, where beautiful serenatas were given by singers.
>
> A 24 detto, domenica, festa di san Giovanni Battista, fu a Posilipo gran concorso di cavalieri

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231. Confuorto, *Giornali*, II, 221-22.

232. Pagano, *Scarlatti*, p. 143.

e dame, ed anco il signor viceré, ove da' musici furono fatte belle serenate.[233]

Giovanni Battista Operti, in an *avviso* dated July 3, 1696, furnished his superiors in Turin with the following account of this event:

> The diversions and concourse of Posillipo began last Sunday, opened by the arrival of the Viceroy in his gondola, and with great numbers of noblemen and a large collection of ladies on that delightful shore, where great quantities of refreshments in beautiful display were seen; and this diversion, which will be larger than those of the last years, will continue and, if the mourning for the deceased Queen (may she be in heaven) did not temper this extravagance, there would be celebrations and gatherings of great joy, for which a serenata of three choice voices with a great number of instruments had already been prepared, although postponed out of proper consideration for the beginning of the period of mourning.
>
> Sin da Domenica passata s'è dato principio al divertimento, e concorso di Posilipo col p.*rimo* paseggio del sig.r Vicerè in gondola, e quantità di cavalieri, e gran concorso di Dame à quella delitiosa riviera, ove si viddero rinfreschi in gran copia con superbi riposti, e continuerà quel divertimento, che sarà maggiore de gl'anni passati, e se li lutti della defonta Regina, che sia in Cielo, non moderassero le soperfluetà, vi sarebbero feste e concorso di molt'allegria, per le quali s'era concertato di già una serenata di trè scielte voci con gran n.*umero* di stromenti, che s'è sospesa, stimandosi così conveniente per q*uesto* principio di duolo[.][234]

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233. Confuorto, *Giornali*, II, 224.

234. AST, Lettere Ministri, Due Sicilie, mazzo 6.

4.1.1 Alessandro Scarlatti's Serenata *Venere, Adone et Amore*

Evidently the new Viceroy had intended the first summer of his reign to rival in splendor those he had witnessed earlier in his career at Naples under the Viceroy del Carpio. The unwelcome news of Marianna's death was permitted only to delay temporarily Medina Celi's plans for that summer. In an *avviso* dated July 17, 1696, Operti reports:

> The singer Matteuccio has arrived here from Vienna and was at the famous serenata given on Sunday night at Posillipo in the presence of Their Excellencies, and of many ladies and cavaliers.
>
> Giontо quà da Vienna il Musico Matteuci fù alla famosa serenata fattasi dom.*enic*a sera à Posilipo alla presenza delle loro Ecc:*ellenz*e quantità di dame, e Cavalieri.[235]

The work in question was Alessandro Scarlatti's *Venere, Adone et Amore*. The *Gazzetta di Napoli* dated July 17, 1696, contains the following description of the events at Posillipo on Sunday, July 15, when it was heard:

> The Most Excellent Viceroy, after having fulfilled all acts of piety, as the public here likewise has done, desired first to gratify everyone last Sunday the fifteenth of the current month by granting a public audience on the morning of that day; and afterwards for the opening of the public promenade at our charming Posillipo, he had a most noble serenata prepared for performance that evening upon the waters of that delightful

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235. *Ibid.*

shore, dedicated to the ladies of Naples, who all attended, as did the flower of the knighthood, who came in very beautiful gondolas decorated in gala. Later His Excellency arrived in his, which was trimmed with beautiful gold intaglio, and he was accompanied in it by four of the principal titled dignitaries and by the Marchese Azzolini, the Captain of his German Guard, the Most Excellent Vicereine arriving later at sunset in her coach accompanied by the Princess of Avellino Pignatelli. And Their Excellencies enjoyed this harmonious function after the promenade ended in the so-called Palace of Cantalupi, which was notably restored and decorated with new furnishings and paintings by the same Viceroy without regard for expense; and to the great delight of the eyes, that sea was seen covered with full sails and the nearby shores with an infinite crowd of people who gathered to delight their ears with the symphony of the instruments and the three choicest voices who sang this highly acclaimed serenata, the creation of the learned Abate Francesco Maria Paglia and of the master of the Royal Chapel, Alessandro Scarlatti, who so wonderfully set it to music.

Questo Ecc. Sig. Vicerè doppo haver adempiti tutti gli atti di pietà, sìcome hà fatto questo Publico, volle S.E. medesima nella scorsa Domenica 15. del corrente, prima consolar tutti con dar nella mattina di essa una publica Audienza generale; e poscia per la prima apertura nel passegio del nostro ameno Posilipo nel giorno sul tardi far prevenire una nobilissima Serenata sopra l'acque di quelle deliziose sponde, dedicata alle Signore Dame Napolitane, quali vi concorsero tutte, sìcome fece il fiore de' Cavalieri sopra gondole di bellissima gala, e poscia S.E. vi pervenne anch'essa nella sua fregiata di vaghi, e dorati intagli, accompagnata in essa da quattro principali Titolati, e dal Sig. Marchese Azzolini Capitano delle sue Guardie Alemanne: e di poi sùl' imbrunir della sera vi giunse l'Eccell. Signora Viceregina in Carrozza accompagnata dalla Signora Principessa d'Avellino Pignatelli, e furono l'Ecc. loro à godere di questa armoniosa funzione doppo finito il passeggio, nel Palazzo detto de' Cantalupi, fatto notabilmente ristorare, ed abbellire di nuove fabriche, e pitture dal medesimo Sig. Viceré, senza riguardo à spesa

veruna, e si vidde con gran diletto dell'occhio tutto quel mare ricoperto di varij legni ripieni d'infinito popolo, sìcome erano tutte quelle rive, concorsovi per dilettare l'udito colla sinfonia degli stromenti, e di tre scieltissime voci, che cãtarano questa applauditissima Serenata, parto della virtù del Sig. Abbate Francesco Maria Paglia, e del Maestro della Real Cappella Sig. Alessandro Scarlati [*sic*], quale egregiamente l'hà posta in musica.

An account very similar to the above is also furnished by Confuorto, who adds that the three choicest voices were:

> Matteuccio *Adone*, Aquilano *Amore*, and the female singer Bombace *Venere*. And it lasted until the fourth hour of night.
>
> Matteuccio Adone, l'Aquilano Amore e la canterina Bombace Venere. E durò sino alle quattro ore di notte.[236]

Matteo Sassano (1667-1737) or Matteuccio, the much admired soprano known as "il rosignolo di Napoli," had been summoned to the Imperial court in Vienna against the wishes of many Neapolitans and to the great distress of the singer himself in 1695.[237] His participation in *Venere, Adone et Amore* only two days after his return to Naples must surely have generated lively interest in the performance of this serenata.

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236. Confuorto, *Giornali*, II, 228.

237. The career of Matteo Sassano is documented in Ulisse Prota-Giurleo, "Matteo Sassano detto 'Matteuccio'," *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, I (1966), 97-119.

On several other occasions the Savoyard agent in Naples took note of the singer Vittoria Tarquini, called "la Bombace." Some idea of her strengths and weaknesses can be gathered from a letter by Giovanni Battista Operti dated February 26, 1694:

> The operas recited in this theater [*i.e.*, the Teatro San Bartolomeo] were competent, especially the last [A. Scarlatti's *Pirro e Demetrio*]. Bombace . . . was applauded for her mimic ability, but her singing is irregular, not from lack of art, but of breath, and therefore it is not pleasing.
>
> L'opere in musica recitate in questo theatro sono state competenti, e più di tutte l'ultima; la Bombace . . . hà portato l'applauso per l'atteggiar con posseso, mà il suo canto è irregolare, non per mancanza d'arte, mà di petto, onde non è piacevole.[238]

It appears that by 1696 her voice was past its prime. After hearing her sing in Scarlatti's opera *Comodo Antonino* (performed in the Teatro San Bartolomeo for the first time on November 18, 1696), Operti wrote the following in an *avviso* dated November 30, 1696:

> La Bombace, who received all the applause in the best roles in years gone by, now seems very inferior.

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238. AST, Lettere Ministri, Due Sicilie, mazzo 5.

La Bombace, che ne p.*rimi* posti delle recite degli anni scorsi riceveva tutto l'applauso, hora pare molto inferiore.[239]

The full name of the castrato called Aquilano, who sang the alto role of Amore, has not been established. From the title page of the single surviving score of A. Scarlatti's serenata *Il Genio di Partenope*, his first name is known to be Domenico, which suggests either Domenico Di Gennaro or Domenico Graziani.[240] Whoever he may have been, by 1696 he was no newcomer to Naples. In the prologue to the score of A. Scarlatti's *Tutto il ▪al non vien per nuocere* preserved at the Abbazia di Montecassino, he is named as one of its singers. This score was heard very probably in the Neapolitan residence of the Duke of Maddaloni in October or early November, 1684.[241]

During the summer of 1696 it appears that the Viceroy Medina Celi spent much of his time at Posillipo living in

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239. *Ibid.* mazzo 6.

240. Pagano, *Scarlatti*, pp. 68, 79.

241. Thomas Griffin, "Nuove fonti per la storia della musica a Napoli durante il regno del marchese del Carpio (1683-1687)," *Rivista italiana di ▪usicologia*, XVI (1982), 210-11.

the Palazzo de' Cantalupi where, according to Confuorto, his court met "per divertirsi con musiche e serenate."[242] In an *avviso* dated July 17, 1696, the Venetian *residente* Giacomo Resio reports the following as the Viceroy's reason for this move to his suburban villa:

> Because of his ill health, the Viceroy has decided to go and to live at Posillipo so that he might enjoy the benefit of the healthy air, but such a distance [from the Royal Palace] will result in much inconvenience.
>
> Ha stabilito il Sig.*nor* Vice Rè di andar ad habitar à Posilipo, per goder à causa delle sue indispositioni del beneficio di quell'aria salutare, mà tal lontananza riuscirà di molto incomodo.[243]

4.1.2 Alessandro Scarlatti's Serenata *Il Trionfo delle stagioni*

In light of the above it is curious to learn that the Viceroy ordered a serenata be given in front of the Royal Palace of Naples rather than on the shoreline west of the city that summer for the nameday celebration of the reigning Queen of Spain. The *Gazzetta di Napoli* of July 31, 1696, preserves the following lengthy account of its performance:

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242. Confuorto, *Giornali*, II, 231.

243. ASV, Dispacci degli ambasciatori al senato, Napoli filza 104.

His Excellency made that great day on which is honored the name of Her Majesty our reigning Queen manifestly more splendid and festive than ever before. The mourning [for the Queen Mother Marianna of Austria] was laid aside by Their Excellencies, by the court, by the nobility, and by the royal ministers as well as the city as a whole, and in joyful dress they all came that morning [July 26, the feast of Saint Anne] to compliment the Viceroy at the palace where with their attendance royal chapel was held. There were triple salvos of musket fire at the appropriate time by the squadron of Spanish infantry that was stationed in the great courtyard of the Royal Palace, and in the spacious piazza in front of it His Excellency had magnificently erected in less than five days a sumptuous edifice in the shape of an amphitheater for the celebration that night, as occurred, of a most noble musical festival entitled *The Triumph of the Seasons* in honor of the name of the above-mentioned Queen with the most harmonious of *ripieni*, excellent voices, and instruments, the latter exceeding the number of one-hundred and fifty and the former fifty, it having been admirably composed by the above-mentioned Abate [Francesco Maria] Paglia and set to music by Alessandro Scarlatti. The said theatrical edifice, which formed a perfect oval at its base, measured three hundred and twelve *palmi* [68.64 meters] in circumference, the first tier of which was twenty *palmi* [4.4 meters] high and the circumference of which was divided into twelve squares illuminated by a golden light and in which were to be seen the twelve months of the year, beautifully designed, with lovely floral festoons and natural fruit hanging between each of them from gilt entablatures disposed above as well as below them according to the rules of architecture; and on both sides it was divided by a stairway of twenty-four steps of simulated ancient yellow marble. The back side of this edifice, which was raised about twenty *palmi* [4.4 meters], was quite well divided by cornices above and below, adorned with putti *al naturale*, from which hung other festoons similar to those described above. On the second tier there were other steps in the form of an amphitheater twenty *palmi* [4.4 meters] high facing the Royal Palace for the use of the

musicians [and] above this tier there was another eighteen *palmi* [3.96 meters] high upon which twelve massive columns of the doric order (this entire edifice being in that order) were raised, each thirty-eight *palmi* [8.36 meters] high including the capital and base, which were embellished with gilt fluting in chiaroscuro. The columns were divided into eight parts [*i.e.*, flutings] and formed a semicircle from the top of which candelabras or cornucopias with flaming torches at their summits were raised on both sides, and beautiful floral festoons and fruit like those mentioned above were everywhere held up by graceful cupids and also extended to the earth, the same also appearing on the back side facing [the Convent of] San Luigi of the Minim Fathers. In the midst of these columns were beautifully displayed the coat-of-arms of our glorious Monarch on the right, and of his Royal Consort on the left, adorned with playful cupids and the royal crown with other golden embellishments. These arms were held up by the four seasons of the year, executed with bizarre caprice, the height of the royal emblem being fifty *palmi* [11 meters] and the width forty [8.8 meters], the same arms appearing on the back side. The barricade which formed more than a half circle around the said square measured about six hundred *palmi* [132 meters] and was divided by seven great portals decorated with pilasters, banners bearing mottos, and chiaroscuro statues illuminated by golden light with other decorations in feigned marble with great floral festoons hanging from the upper parts of this semicircle which divided the space into thirty-two parts in which were beautifully displayed the emblems and quarters of Her Majesty's noble familial arms. Seven nundred wax torches and two hundred crystal lamps that shone for the use of the said musicians made the darkness of that night appear as if it were day, everything having been arranged in conformity to the Viceroy's grandeur of soul by the brother architects Filippo and Cristoforo Schor, and brought to life by the lively painting of the brothers-in-law Nicola Rossi and Gaetano Brandi. The crowd of ladies in very rich gala was innumerable, as was that of the nobles and cavaliers and every other type of person to whom were dispensed without measure precious refreshments through the magnificence of His Excellency who, with the Most Excellent

Vicereine, enjoyed from the balcony of the Royal Palace this so beautiful, pleasant, and magnificent spectacle conceived by the august mind of His Excellency, who, in order that the Palazzo di Spagna in Rome be restored and embellished with new furnishings in conformity to the royal wish of the King, Our Lord, has to this end remitted four thousand ducats in coin to the Most Eminent [Cardinal] Giudice, who presently acts as Catholic Ambassador in the court [of Rome].

S.E. rese più, che mai siasi veduto questo gran giorno solenne, e festoso, per il Nome, che ne porta la Maestà della nostra Regina regnante. Fù deposto dalle loro EE. dalla Corte, dalla Nobiltà, e da Regii Ministri lo scorruccio, siccome fece la Città in corpo, ed in habito di letizia si condussero tutti in tal mattina à complimentare il Sig. Vicerè in Palazzo, dove col di loro intervento tenne egli Cappella Reale, essendosi triplicatamente scaricato il moschetto à suo tempo dallo Squadrone de' Fanti Spagnuoli, che stava piantato nel gran Cortile dello stesso Palazzo, nella spaziosa Piazza del quale fece S.E. con magnificenza Reale ergere [*sic*] in meno di cinque giorni una sontuosa Machina in forma d'Anfiteatro per farvi celebrare la sere [*sic*] del medesimo giorno, siccome seguì, una nobilissima Festa musicale, intitolata: *Il Trionfo delle Stagioni*, in applauso del Nome della predetta Regina, con armoniosissimi ripieni, eccellenti voci, e stromenti, ascendendo à 150. questi, e quelli à 50. composta egregiamente, e posta in musica dalli scritti Sig. Abbate Paglia, ed Alessandro Scarlati [*sic*]. La detta Machina Teatrale, che formava à basso un perfettissimo ovato, circuiva da 312. palmi, essendo di 20. il primo tondo, ripartito il giro in dodici riquadri, lumeggiati d'oro, ove spiccavono con bel disegno i dodici mesi dell'Anno, tramezzato con vaghi festoni di fiori, e frutta al naturale, che pendevano dal cornicione pure dorato, che sopra vi correva, sì come era altresì al di sotto, secondo le regole architettiche; e dall'una, e l'altra parte ripartivasi una scalinata di 24. gradini di finto marmo antico giallo. Dal lato posteriore, ch'ergevasi questa Machina circa 20. palmi, era assai bene scõpartita colle cornici sotto, e sopra fregiate di puttini al naturale, da cui pendevano altri festoni simili a i detti. Il secondo sodo,

ove erano altre scalinate in forma anfiteatrale alte pure da 20. palmi pel commodo de' Musici dirimpetto al Palazzo Reale; sopra il cui sodo all'altezza d'altri palmi 18. n'era un'altro, d'onde s'ergevano dodici massiccie colonne d'ordine dorico, sì com'era tutta questa Machina, di circa 38. palmi l'una d'altezza inclusovi il capitello, e base fregiate à chiaro scuro tutte d'oro scannellate, quali colonne divise otto per parte formavano un semicircolo, e sopra il vivo d'esse sorgevano dall'una, e l'altra parte candelabri, ò siano cornucopj con in cima accese torcie, stendendosi da per tutto anche fino à terra vaghissimi festoni di fiori, e frutte di rilievo, come gl'accennati, sostenuti da leggiadri puttini, spiccando lo stesso anche dalla parte di dietro verso S. Luigi de' PP. Minimi. Nel mezzo di queste colonne vagheggiavansi l'Armi del nostro glorioso Monarca à destra, ed à sinistra quelle della sua Reale Consorte, adornate con scherzi di puttini, & altri fregi aurati colla Monarchica Corona, sostenuta quest'Arma dalle 4. stagioni dell'anno sudetto con bizzaro capriccio espresse, essendo l'altezza di questa Reale impresa da 50. palmi, e 40. di latitudine, mostrando lo stesso dalla parte posteriore. L'impalazzata, che formava più, che un semicircolo al d'intorno della mentovata Piazza, girava circa 600. palmi, ov'erano compartite sette gran porte adornate di pilastri, termini, e statue di chiaro scuro lumeggiati d'oro, cogl'altri adornamenti, ch'insegua l'arte di finto marmo, con gran festoni di fiori pendenti dalla parte superiore di questo semicircolo, con ripartito spazio fecevanno bella mostra in 32. imprese i quarti dello stemma gentilizio della stessa Maestà della Regina. Vedeasi aggiornata questa oscuro notte dal lume di 700. torchi di cera, e da 200. lampioncini di cristallo, che splendeano per uso degl'accennati Musici; il tutto disposto secondo la grandezza dell'animo del Sig. Vicerè da' fratelli architetti Filippo, e Cristoforo Scor, & animato da' vivaci pennelli de' Cognati Nicola Rossi e Gaetano Brandi. Il concorso delle Sig. Dame in richissime gale fù innumerabile, sì come de' Titolati, e Cavalieri, e d'ogni altro genere di persone; essendosi fatti dispensare senza misura preziosi rinfreschi dalla splendidezza di S.E. che da Balconi del Real Palazzo, sì come fece l'Eccellentiss. Sig. Viceregina, godettero un sì

> vago, grato, e magnifico Spettacolo ideato dall'augusto genio di S.E. quale perche sia ristorato, ed abbellito di fabriche, in conformità della mente Reale del Rè Nostro Sig. il Palazzo di Spagna in Roma, hà l'E.S. per tal effetto rimesso 4. m. scudi di quella moneta all'Eminentiss. Giudice, che in quella Corte sostiene presentamente le veci di Ambasciador Cattolico.

It should be recalled that Cristoforo Schor was the architect responsible for the festival in the Piazza di Spagna on August 25, 1687. Thus some idea of the *macchina teatrale* he built in front of the Royal Palace of Naples in 1696 may be gathered from the engraving of his earlier work reproduced above as Illustration 9. The precise location in Naples where *Il Trionfo delle stagioni* was performed is depicted in a painting by Tomaso Ruiz entitled "Festa al Largo di Palazzo."[244] The three-cornered hats worn by the men shown in this painting, however, suggest that it depicts a celebration later in the eighteenth century.

Domenico Confuorto describes the performance of *Il Trionfo delle stagioni* in terms very similar to the above, and it is clear that his account, although shorter, is derived from the printed *Gazzetta*. At the end of his description, however, he offers the following interesting

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244. Reproduced in Franco Mancini, *Feste ed apparati civile e religiosi in Napoli dal viceregno alla capitale* (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1968), between pp. 46 and 47.

observation:

> Certainly the festive serenata was beautiful, but it did not measure up to expectation, everyone having believed that it would be greater; and it ended at three hours of night.
>
> Certo che la festa della serenata fu bella, ma non conforme l'aspettative, credendo ognuno che fosse maggiore, e compì a tre ore di notte.[245]

The precise manner in which the rude Neapolitan crowd showed its lack of appreciation for *Il Trionfo delle stagioni*, and the Viceroy's response to this display of impudence, is recounted by Giovanni Battista Operti. In an *avviso* dated July 31, 1696, reproduced as Illustration 10, Operti reported to Turin:

> On Saint Anne's day a sumptuous edifice was erected before the Royal Palace, and that night a very notable serenata was sung. The people, not appreciative of fine things, however, whistled so shrilly and with such vulgarity that it was necessary to contain them, and it seems to me that this displeased His Excellency [the Viceroy], who said that in the future they would be done indoors. Otherwise it was pleasing and of no little expense for the illumination and for the sumptuously furnished refreshments, I having seen it incognito.
>
> Si fece il giorno di S.*anta* Anna una solenis.*sima* machina avanti il Regio Palazzo, e la sera vi si cantò una famosis.*sima* serenata: però il Popolo non gustoso di cose fine, fece poco applauso, e nell'atto del cantare, si sollevarono strilli della Plebaccia, tanto alti, che fù necessaric contenerla, e parmi, che questo spiacque à S.*ua* E.*ccellenza*, che hebbe à dire, che

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245. Confuorto, *Giornali*, II, 230.

Illustration 10

Avviso di Napoli by Giovanni Battista Operti

dated July 31, 1696

AST (Archivio di Stato di Torino), Lettere Ministri,

Due Sicilie, mazzo 6

hor ueda V.S., se é considerabile pericolo il mutar d'
aria in queste parti, e in questi tempi.

Si fece il giorno di S. Anna una solenis.ma machina auanti
il Regio Palazzo, e la sera ui si cantó una
famosis.ma serenata: peró il Popolo non gustoso
di cose fine, fece poco applauso, e nell'atto del
cantare, si solleuarono strilli della Plebaccia, tanto
alti, che fú necessario contenerla, e parmi, che
questo spiacque á S.E., che hebbe á dire, che in
auuenire la farebbe in Camera; Per altro fú
cosa uistosa, e di non picciola spesa per l'Illumi-
natione, e rinfreschi somministrati con lautezza
hauendola uedata all'Incognito; Che é quanto posso
per hora riferire all'O.V., á cui con particolar
ossequio bacio riuerentem.te le mani.

D. V.S. Napol. li 31. Luglio 1696. Diuot.mo et Obb.mo Ser.re
Dicio Battão Oper.

La lettera di V.S. in questo ordine
é de 14. Lug.o 8

> in avvenire la farebbe in Camera; Per altro fù cosa vistosa, e di non picciola spesa per l'Illuminatione, e rinfreschi somministrati con lautezza havendola veduta all'Incognito.[246]

Despite the great expense lavished on this festival, there can be little doubt that as a public manifestation of Spanish political power it was a failure. Since neither a score nor a libretto of the serenata is known to have survived, its artistic merits or faults may never be known. Possibly it was a relatively short work, since it is known to have ended at three hours of night while *Venere, Adone et Amore* lasted until four. The failure of *Il Trionfo delle stagioni*, however, should probably be attributed to political rather than to artistic considerations.

Soon after his arrival in Naples, the Viceroy Medina Celi became unpopular by allowing Genoese merchants to export large quantities of flour, thus driving up the price of bread in Naples. Confuorto records a vulgar, albeit clever,

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246. AST, Lettere Ministri, Due Sicilie, mazzo 6.

pasquinade attacking the Viceroy for this very reason in September 1696.[247] In an *avviso* dated September 21, 1696, Operti records another making the rounds of Naples:

> Duca di Medina
> Abbassa la farina,
> Manda la Giorgina,
> Altrim:enti fara gran ruina.[248]

The sentiments expressed in these pasquinades, rather than any artistic shortcomings of the serenata, probably explain the insolent reception given *Il Trionfo delle stagioni* by the commoners of Naples.

4.1.3 Alessandro Scarlatti's Serenata *Il Genio di Partenope, la Gloria del Sebeto, il Piacere di Mergellina*

This public fiasco at the performance of *Il Trionfo delle stagioni* almost certainly accounts for the curious notice found in the *Gazzetta* of August 7, 1696, where the festivities honoring the Vicereine, Maria de Giron y

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247.

> Se n'è ghiuto lo 'mbroglione;
> è benuto lo coglione,
> che se tene la Giorgina
> e non pensa alla farina.

Confuorto, *Giornali*, II, 236.

248. AST, Lettere Ministri, Due Sicilie, mazzo 6. La Giorgina was Angela Maddalena Voglia, the Viceroy's mistress, whom he brought with him from Rome.

Sandoval, on her nameday are described:

> . . . and on the fifth day [of August], the birthday as well as the nameday of the Most Excellent Vicereine, there was only a much applauded serenata for three voices with violins, which was sung that evening at the pleasant shore of the Mergellina without a single guest.
>
> . . . & il dì 5. altresì natalizio, e del nome dell'Eccellentiss. Sig. Viceregina, vi fù solo una applauditissima Serenata à 3. voci con Violini, che cantòssi quella sera nell'ameno scoglio di Mergellina senza veruna invito.

Alessandro Scarlatti's *Il Genio di Partenope, la Gloria del Sebeto, il Piacere di Mergellina* was the work heard that evening. According to the title page of the single surviving score of this work, it was sung by the same three singers who performed the serenata *Venere, Adone et Amore* less than a month earlier. The two sopranos Matteo Sassano ("Matteuccio") and Vittoria Tarquini ("La Bombace") sang the roles of Genio di Partenope and Gloria del Sebeto, respectively. The alto called "L'Aquilano" sang the role of Piacere di Mergellina.

These three allegorical figures are closely connected with Naples. The Mergellina, site of numerous open-air celebrations, is a pleasant cove west of the city near the Cape of Posillipo. Today it is the site of a small-craft harbor, the Porto Sannazaro, from which modern hydrofoils depart for Capri and Ischia. The mythological siren

Partenope has served as the symbol and patroness of Naples since the earliest Greek inhabitants of the city named her as such over two thousand five hundred years ago. James Howell furnishes a seventeenth-century description of the Sebeto when he writes:

> The River *Sebeto*, called by the Latines [*sic*] *Sebethos*, is a little River which passeth without the walls of the noble City of *Naples*, which the Neapolitans call the River Magdalena, by reason of a Church dedicated to the said Saint, near which the said River passeth.[249]

During Scarlatti's lifetime this river formed the south-east periphery of Naples. The "Ponte della Madalena" under which the Sebeto passed is seen at number 43 on Domenico Antonio Parrino's late seventeenth-century map of Naples which bears the title *Fidelissima Urbis Neapolitanae cum Omnibus Locis Accurata et Nova Delineatio 1691*.[250]

As mentioned above on page 230, Ulisse Prota-Giurleo incorrectly asserts that this was the work heard on the

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249. *Parthenopoeia, or the History of the Most Noble and Renowned Kingdom of Naples . . . The first Part by the Famous Antiquary Scipio Mazzella . . . The second Part Compil'd by James Howell Esq . . .* (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1654), p. 114. Other descriptions of the river are found in Ludovico de la Ville sur-Yllon, "Il Ponte della Maddalena," *Napoli nobilissima*, VII (1898), 153-55, and in *idem*, "Il Sebeto," *Napoli nobilissima*, XI (1902), 113-16.

250. It is reproduced at the beginning of Ulisse Prota-Giurleo, *I Teatri di Napoli nel '600* (Naples: Fausto Fiorentino, 1962).

evening of February 5, 1696, in honor of the out-going Viceroy Santo Stefano. Even a cursory glance at the text of Scarlatti's serenata, however, would have disabused Prota-Giurleo of this notion. Numerous references to the occasion celebrated are made by the three characters, as, for example, when Gloria del Sebeto sings the following recitative:

> Never shall I fear
> those severe pains to which changes of fortune
> give rise
> if I bear within my breast
> honor for the nameday and birthday of Maria.
>
> Io temer mai non posso
> Quei che dan le vicende immensi affanni
> Se porto in sen accolto
> L'applauso di Maria col nome e gl'anni.

Maria's consort, the Viceroy Luigi de la Cerda, Duke of Medina Celi, is identified as follows in a recitative sung by Piacere di Mergellina:

> That sovereign Luigi
> who, like a knight keeping
> tight rein on his steed,
> governs the fair Partenope with a just hand
> . . .
>
> Quel Luiggi [*sic*] sovrano
> Che con la giusta mano
> Regge il freno famoso
> Di Partenope bella al gran destriero
> . . .

In the final aria of the serenata, Gloria del Sebeto expresses her hope that Maria will give birth to an heir in these words:

Rejoice, noble lady, and look forward
to a son whose visage will shine
like the sun,

to a benefaction for every sphere
with a new god of love.

Godi e spera Donna altera
Una Prole che del sole
Porti in fronte lo splendor,

Un incanto d'ogni sfera
Con novello Dio d'amor.

4.2 Neapolitan Festivities in the Fall of 1696

During September of 1696 word was received in Naples of the failing health of Charles II, the King of Spain. The *Gazzetta* of October 2, however, records the happy news of his recovery, received in Naples on September 29. Subsequent editions of the *Gazzetta di Napoli* contain reports of the many celebrations offered by the Viceroy and by others at this news. Typically they consisted of the singing of the *Te Deum*, which was heard at numerous churches throughout Naples.

4.2.1 Anonymous Serenatas at Nola and at Gaeta

Evidently no serenatas were heard in Naples to mark this fortunate turn of events, but the *Gazzetta* of October 16 preserves a description of the festivities in other parts of the realm, including the following from Nola:

> Similar but greater expressions [of joy] were made by the nobility and government of Nola with musical serenatas and a profusion of precious refreshments dispensed with splendid largesse. Nor is it doubted that the same has been done in other parts of the realm, as will later be reported in full at an opportune time.
>
> Espressioni simili, e maggiori si sono fatte dalla Nobiltà, e governo di Nola, e con Serenate Musicali, e profusione di preziosi rinfreschi dispensati con splendidissima mano. Non si dubbita, che lo stesso habbiano fatti gli altri luoghi del Regno, come poscia à suo tempo di tutto se ne darà raguaglio.

According to the *Gazzetta* of November 13, serenatas were likewise heard at Gaeta to mark the King of Spain's recovery of health:

> Various serenatas were given by singers in the Piazza del Publico, with bullfights, fountains of wine, and the Representatives of government who threw [to the crowd] many silver coins to the applause of the people.
>
> Nella Piazza del Publico si cantarono da' Musici diverse serenate, con caccia de' Tori, Fontane di vino, e da quei Signori Eletti furono gettate quantità di monete d'argento con applauso di tutto quel Popolo.

4.2.2 An *Accademia* for the Nameday of Charles II

On November 4, the nameday of Charles II of Spain, an *accademia* was held in the Royal Palace of Naples. The leading intellectuals of the realm gathered that day to recite publicly their many poetic compositions praising the King and the Viceroy.[251] According to the *Gazzetta di Napoli* of November 6, this assembly, like many such academic gatherings, began and ended with music:

> Finally, the men of letters of this most faithful city also wished to contribute with their erudition to the happiness shared by all at the recovery of such a monarch. Thus they held a most noble assembly with the name of *Accademia Napolitana* . . . which was celebrated on Sunday evening the fourth of this month in the so-called great hall of the Viceroys in the Royal Palace . . . The academicians were of various sorts, there being about sixty prelates, royal ministers, cavaliers, and jurists invited and called in alphabetical order of their names to recite their various Greek, Latin, Spanish, and Italian compositions in praise of His Majesty as well as of His Excellency. At the beginning a most pleasant cantata for solo voice by the renowned and famous contralto called "il Cortona" moved everyone to an elevated state, it being repeated with different words at the end after the oration . . .
>
> Finalmẽte hãno voluto altresi i Letterati, di questa Fedelis. Città; anch'essi cõtribuire colla loro virttù [*sic*] alle cõmune allegrezze per il riacquisto di un tanto Monarca. Onde formarono una

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251. Confuorto, *Giornali*, II, 246-48, writes with great disdain of the obsequious poetry recited at this *accademia*.

> nobilissima Assemblea col nome d'Accademia Napolitana . . . la quale Domenica sera 4. del corrẽte fù celebrata entro la grã Sala, detta de' Vicerè nel Real Palazzo . . . Furono gli Accademici di varie qualità, essendovene stati Prelati, Regii Ministri, Cavalieri, e Giuristi fino al numero di circa 60. scritti, & altresi chiamati; per toglier le precedenze secondo l'ordine alfabetico de' loro nomi à recitar, sicome fecero le loro varie composizioni Greche, Latine, Spagnuole, & Italiane in lode della M.S. & anche di S.E. Dispose gli animi sul principio una gratissima cantata à solo, del rinomato, e celebre Contralto detto il Cortone, quale fu con altre parole replicata ancora finita, che fù l'Orazione . . .

4.2.3 A Masque for the Birthday of Charles II

Custom dictated that two days after this *accademia* an opera be performed in the Royal Palace in celebration of the King's birthday. November 6, 1696, however, proved to be an exception. That year Charles II's birthday was celebrated with a masque, a description of which is preserved in Confuorto's journal[252] and in the *Gazzetta* of November 13. The latter reports:

> This most happy day was then crowned by a masque of most noble invention given that night in the great hall of the same [Royal] Palace by forty-eight of the highest ranking dignataries and cavaliers, who, with no thought of the expense, joined to the grace of the dances which they performed the beautiful and bizarre sumptousness of the costumes which they wore, each befitting that which he represented. The said [eight] quadrilles represented the four parts of the earth

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252. Confuorto, *Giornali*, II, 247-48

[*i.e.*, Europe, Asia, Africa, and America] and the seasons of the year . . . All the cavaliers of each quadrille, wearing masks and holding a burning torch in hand, were seated in an orderly manner in a sylvan theater built for this purpose at the head of the said hall. Cortona, the excellent soprano previously mentioned, although wrongly called a contralto, was seen at the summit of a mountain when the proscenium opened, and as the figure Fame he sang to much applause a most noble introduction [to the masque].

Fu Coronato poi questo felicissimo giorno da una Maschera di nobilissima invenzione, fatta quella notte nella maggior sala del Palazzo medesimo da 48. Principalissimi Titolati, e Cavalieri, che senza sparmio di spesa, unirono alla leggiadria de' balli, che fecero, la vaga, e capricciosa ricchezza degli habiti, che à proportione di ciò, che rappresentavano ciascuno di essi vestiva . . . Figuravano dette quadriglie le quattro parti del Mondo, e le Stagioni dell'anno . . . Erano tutte queste Quadriglie ben ordinate, assiso ciascun Cavalieri di esse mascherato cõ torchio acceso alla mano in un Teatro boscareccio à quest'effetto inalzato al Capo della stessa Sala; all'aprirsi, del cui proscenio cantò in figura della Fama, ch'ivi vedeasi sù l'erto di un Monte, plausibilmente una nobilissima introduzzione lo scritto eccellente Soprano Cortona, quantunque per isbaglio si disse Contralto.

In a letter dated November 13, 1696, reproduced as Illustration 11 Giovanni Battista Operti furnished his superiors in Turin with an even more revealing description of this masque:

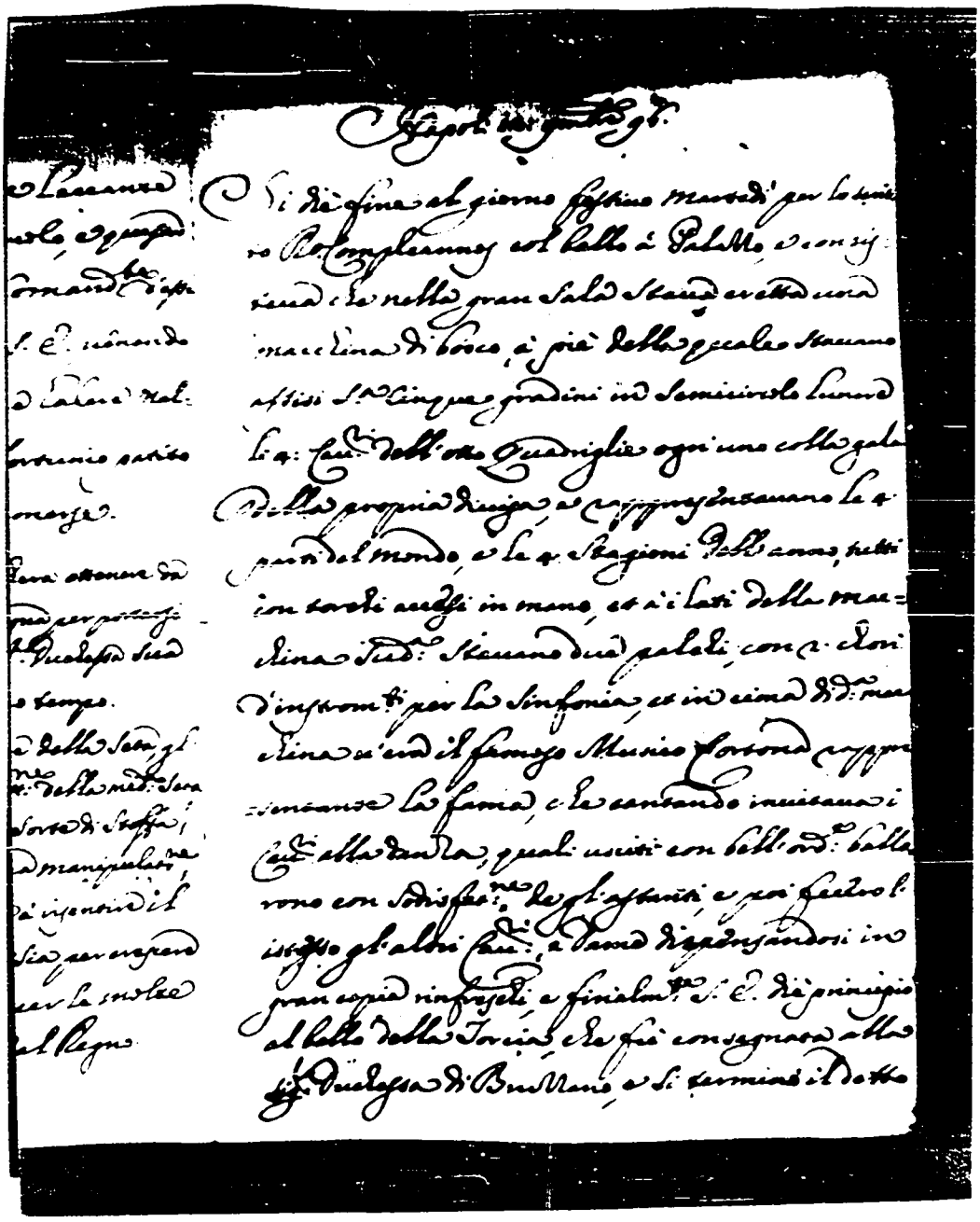
The said royal birthday celebration ended on Tuesday with a ball in the Palace, which consisted of the erection of a wooden edifice in the great hall at the foot of which were seated the forty-eight cavaliers of the eight quadrilles on five semicircular, crescent-shaped [rows of] steps, each [gentleman] dressed in the gala of his own [quadrille's] device; and they represented the

Illustration 11

Avviso di Napoli by Giovanni Battista Operti

dated November 13, 1696

AST, Lettere Ministri, Due Sicilie, mazzo 6



Napoli 11 gennaro 96.

Si diè fine al giorno festivo martedì per lo scritto R.o Compleannos col ballo à Palazzo, e consisteva che nella gran Sala stava eretta una macchina di bosco, à piè della quale stavano assisi S.ra cinque gradini in semicircolo lunare li 4: Cav.ri dell'otto Quadriglie ogni uno colla gala della propria divisa, e rappresentavano le 4 parti del mondo, e le 4 stagioni dell'anno, tutti con torchi accesi in mano, et à i lati della macchina sud.a stavano due palchi, con 2 chori d'instrom.ti per la sinfonia, et in cima di d.a macchina v'era il famoso Musico Cortona rappresentante la fama, che cantando invitava i Cav.ri alla danza, quali usciti con bell'ord.e ballarono con sodisfat.ne de gl'astanti, e poi fecero l'istesso gl'altri Cav.ri, e dame dispensandosi in gran copia rinfreschi, e finalm.te S. E. diè principio al ballo della Torcia, che fù consegnata alla sig.a Duchessa di Bruzzano, e si terminò il detto

four parts of the world and the four seasons, each with a burning torch in hand. To the sides of the above-mentioned edifice there were two platforms with two choruses of instruments for the *sinfonia*, and at the summit of the said edifice was the famous singer Cortona, representing Fame, who in song invited the cavaliers to dance. These made their well ordered entrance, danced to the satisfaction of the audience, and then the other cavaliers and ladies [*i.e.*, the audience] did the same, great quantities of refreshments being distributed. Finally His Excellency began the dance of the torch, which was entrusted to the Duchess of Bruzzano [Ippolita Cantelmo], and the said celebration ended two hours past midnight . . .

Si diè fine al giorno festivo martedì per lo scritto R.*eale* Compleanno col ballo à Palazzo, e consisteva, che nella gran sala stava eretta una machina di bosco, à piè della quale stavano assisi s.*opra* cinque gradini in semicircolo lunare li 48. Cav.*alieri* dell'otto Quadriglie ogn'uno colla gala della propria divisa, e rappresentavano le 4. parti del mondo, e le 4. stagioni dell'anno, tutti con torchi accesi in mano, et à i lati della macchina sud:*etta* stavano due palchi, con 2. chori d'instrom.*enti* per la sinfonia, et in cima di d:*etta* macchina v'era il famoso Musico Cortona rappresentante la fama, che cantando invitava i Cav.*alieri* alla danza, quali usciti con bell'ord:*ine* ballarono con sodisfat:*ione* de gl'astanti, e poi fecero l'istesso gl'altri Cav.*alieri*, e dame dispensandosi in gran copia rinfreschi, e finalm:*ente* S.*ua* E.*ccellenza* diè principio al ballo della Torcia, che fù consegnata alla Sig.*nora* Duchessa di Bruzzano, e si terminò il detto festino due hore doppo mezza notte . . .[253]

The soprano called "il Cortona" who sang these two works can be identified as Domenico Cecchi. Since the works in question were heard at official court functions, it is very

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253. AST, Lettere Ministri, Due Sicilie, mazzo 6.

likely that they were composed by Alessandro Scarlatti, but neither of them can be identified.

4.3 Rome during the Summer of 1696

The *avvisi Marescotti* contain only two references to serenatas in Rome during the summer of 1696. One of these documents dated August 18 reports:

> Many cavaliers and ladies were brought into the Palazzo of the Sacro Monte della Pietà to hear the serenata in that same piazza for the wife of the Imperial Ambassador last week, but this was ill conceived and displeased His Holiness [Pope Innocent XII] since that is no place to keep open at night, being the main treasury of this city . . .
>
> E stato poco ben inteso che nel Palazzo del Sacro Monte della Pietà sono stati introdotti molti cav.*alieri* e Dame a sentire la serenata fatta nella med.*esim*a Piazza alla Sig.*nora* Ambas.*ciatrice* Ces.*area* nella pas.*sata* settimana mentre quello non è luogo di star aperto la notte, esendovi il primo Tesoro di questa Città,il che è anche dispiacciuto alla *santi*ta sua . . .[254]

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254. I Rn, MS.789. fol. 113r.

4.3.1 Count Martinitz' Serenata at the Sacro Monte della Pietà

In 1696 Count George Adam Martinitz served as Imperial Ambassador in Rome,[255] and it was to his wife that this serenata was dedicated. From the very beginning of his mission at Rome in January of that year, he had displayed such arrogance and want of diplomacy that, in the words of his colleague the Venetian Ambassador Nicolò Erizzo, "Martinitz, by his rudeness, made himself the best hated ambassador in Rome."[256] The lack of propriety shown in the performance of this serenata seems perfectly in keeping with Martinitz' reputation. The work in question has not been identified.

4.3.2 Giovanni Bononcini's *Amor per amore*

In August 1696 the Gran Contestabile Filippo Colonna planned a serenata honoring his wife Lorenza, just as he had done every summer since 1692. Evidently some difficulty was encountered in 1696, however, for an *avviso Marescotti* dated August 25 reports:

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255. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, XXXII, 668-72.

256. *Ibid.*, p. 672.

> In order to avoid violating an agreement, the serenata in the courtyard of [the palace of] the Contestabile Colonna was not given . . .
>
> Per sfuggire qualche impegno non è fatta la serenata nel cortile del Contestabile Colonna . . [257]

For this occasion Silvio Stampiglia's text *Amor per amore* was set to music by Giovanni Bononcini, and a libretto was published by Giovanni Francesco Buagni.[258]

Lowell Lindgren has discovered that fourteen of the nineteen arias composed for *Amor per amore* reappeared with new words five months later in the Neapolitan production of the Stampiglia-Bononcini opera *Camilla*.[259] This work soon became the most popular opera of the late seventeenth century. Lindgren attempts to account for the reappearance of these fourteen arias when he suggests that two of the four singers in *Amor per amore* may have sung later in the production of *Camilla*, and that they may have insisted on the insertion of these arias into the opera. This seems quite plausible, especially if the serenata was rehearsed but, as the *avviso* cited above suggests, never given in Rome. In any case, the success of this opera testifies to

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257. I Rn, MS. 789, fol. 116v.

258. Lindgren, "A Bibliographic Scrutiny," II, 752.

259. *Ibid.*, I, 42-44.

the quality of Bononcini's music for *Amor per amore*.

4.3.3 Severo de Luca's *Serenata a due voci*

In addition to Stampiglia's libretto for *Amor per amore*, the text of at least one other serenata was printed in Rome during 1696, as the title page of the following libretto proves:

> SERENATA/*A due Voci.*/Dedicata/*ALLE*/SIGNORE DAME/DI ROMA./*Musica di Severo de Luca.* [Printer's device] In Roma, Nella Stamperia della R.C.A. 1696./*Con licenza de'Superiori.*[260]

Although there is a possibility that this was the work given by Martinitz, the circumstances surrounding the performance of Severo de Luca's serenata, as well as its poet and patron, remain obscure.

For the final three years of the seventeenth century the following chronology of serenatas performed in Naples suffers from a lack of source material. No editions of the

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260. Three copies of this libretto in I Rc are listed in Cairo and Quilic, *Biblioteca teatrale dal '500 al '700*, no. 3719. The serenata is sung by the two characters Arsindo and Matilde. It begins "Dite un sì, pupille ardenti."

printed *Gazzetta di Napoli* for the period beginning in January, 1696, until May 25, 1700, have been found, and in May of 1696 Giovanni Battista Operti's diplomatic mission in Naples ended with his return to Turin.[261] A few extracts taken from the *avvisi* of the Venetian *residente* in Naples, Giovanni Giacomo Corniani, prove to be of value,[262] but the primary source for the period 1697-1699 is the journal of Domenico Confuorto, a Neapolitan jurist who betrays little interest in even the most conspicuous musical entertainments.

4.4 Naples during the Summer of 1697

Early in the summer of 1697 one of the brother architects who the previous summer had designed the *macchina teatrale* for the performance of *Il Trionfo delle stagioni* was called to Spain. In an *avviso* dated July 9, 1697, Corniani

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261. AST, Lettere Ministri, Due Sicilie, mazzo 6 contains Operti's last letter from Naples as well as those, written in French, by the Savoyard agent S. Damiano for the period May 12 - June 2, 1702. Mazzi 7 and 8 contain letters from Naples for the years 1718, 1719, 1720, 1741, and 1742. The letters written during the lifetime of Alessandro Scarlatti have been studied and found to contain nothing of immediate musicological interest.

262. Corniani's *avvisi* are preserved in ASV, Dispacci degli ambasciatori al senato, Napoli, filza 105.

reports:

> The engineer Filippo Schor, called here [from Rome], has been sent to Madrid and is carrying a jewel case, of great value because of its workmanship and contents, as a gift for His Majesty in the name of the Viceroy.
>
> S'è spedito à Madrid l'Ingegnero Filippo Schor chiamatovi qui e porta per nome del Sig.*nor Vice* Rè un scrigno in dono à S.*ua* M:*aes*ta per cont [?] nente, e contenuto di molto valore.

On July 26 of that year the nameday of the Queen of Spain was celebrated with "una bellissima festa avanti Palazzo" at which four pyramids of food and two fountains of wine were sacked by the commoners.[263] The evening ended with a beautiful firework display representing the enchanted garden of Armida. Confuorto fails to name the architect responsible for this festival or to mention any music performed at it. Considering the fiasco at the performance of *Il Trionfo delle stagioni*, given a year earlier to mark this same occasion, it is not surprising that Corniani makes no mention of music at these public expressions of joy in 1697. In an *avviso* dated July 30, 1697, he writes:

> Without any audience [of dignitaries] held by the Viceroy, [there was] a festive entertainment of fireworks with food and fountains of wine exposed to the ravenous appetite of the common folk for the feast of Saint Anne, the nameday of the Queen . . . The singer Matteuccio [Matteo Sassano], called to Spain with fourteen other

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263. Confuorto, *Giornali*, II, 273.

singers and instrumentalists, will leave the theaters of Lombardy in a state of disappointment [upon losing him.]

Senza Aud:*ienza* del Sig.*nor Vice* Rè trattenuto in fuocchi festivi, con esposte vivande alla rapine del Popolo con Fontane di Vino, per la Festa di Sant'Anna nome della Regina . . . Il Musico Matteuccio lascierà delusi li Teatri di Lombardia, chiamato in Spagna con altri virtuosi di Musica, e d'Instromenti al *numero* di 14 . . .

Whether from lack of singers or fear of the mob, the Viceroy gave no public serenatas at Naples in 1697. Shortly after Saint Anne's day it appears that numerous celebrations were held in the Royal Palace. In an *avviso* dated August 6 Corniani reports:

There having been festive gatherings almost every day of this week in the Palace . . .

Quasi tutte le giornate di questa settimana essendo state Festivi di Palazzo . . .

These festivities may have been in celebration of the Vicereine's nameday, but what role, if any, music played at these gatherings is unknown. In any case, the events of August, 1697, gave the Viceregal court of Naples little cause for celebration. That month Barcelona lay under siege by the French. At the prospect of the Habsburgs being driven from Spain, Naples was, in the words of Confuorto, "fra speranza e timore."[264] Any hope held by the Viceroy

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264. *Ibid.*, II, 275.

that the summer of 1697 would end on a joyous note was surely shattered on Friday, August 23, when news arrived from Rome that his sister Lorenza, the wife of the Gran Contestabile Filippo Colonna, had died.[265]

4.5 Rome during the Summer of 1697

The *avvisi Marescotti* report the performance of only one serenata in Rome during the summer of 1697. According to an *avviso* dated July 6:

> . . . in the square in front of the palace of the above-mentioned Spanish Ambassador, Prince [D. Miguel del Tassis gave a very beautiful serenata the other night.
>
> . . . al Palazzo del sud.*etto* Ambasci*a*t*o*re di Spagna nella cui Piazza il P*rinci*pe Tassi fece fare l'altra sera una bellissima serenata.[266]

That summer the office of Spanish Ambassador in Rome was held by the Count of Altamira. Before assuming this post in Rome, Altamira spent most of February, 1697, in Naples enjoying the pleasures of carnival, one of which was Scarlatti's opera *L'Eximeno*. Confuorto records that when

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265. *Ibid.*, II, 276.

266. I Rn, MS. 789, fol. 199v.

Altamira left Naples for Rome on February 25, there was a Count Tassis in his retinue.[267] Since Alessandro Scarlatti's services were presumably not needed in Naples during the summer of 1697, the possibility remains that the composer was called to Rome by Altamira or Tassis to furnish the work reported abcve. The serenata heard in the Piazza di Spagna shortly before July 6, 1697, however, remains unidentified.

4.6 Naples during the Summer of 1698

If the public celebrations during the summer of 1697 in Naples fell short of those witnessed years earlier, the festivities of 1698 may well have surpassed in splendor and expense even those held during the reign of the Marchese del Carpio. Confuorto describes the first public gathering of 1698 on the shoreline west of Naples as follows:

> On Sunday the sixth of the said [month of July] there was a great promenade at Posillipo. His Excellency went in his gondola accompanied by titled dignitaries with musicians and an infinite number of boats full of cavaliers, some likewise with musicians. The Vicereine went by land in her carriage followed by a great number of ladies, and the solemn feast of the glorious Saint John the Baptist having been moved to this day, six galleys

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267. Confuorto, *Giornali*, II, 253-58.

of our squadron upon which several firework displays were arranged set out at nightfall and, after having saluted Their Excellencies with salvos of cannon fire, were seen beautifully illuminated in the deepening twilight as they sailed in a line opposite the shore of the Mergellina where Their Excellencies promenaded by land and by sea with the nobility, all sorts of refreshments in great quantity being dispensed. And then after dark two rich girandoles of fire on the masts of each ship were ignited, a very beautiful firework display representing a realistic tower erected on a bridge of boats appearing likewise at the same time.

A 6 detto, domenica, fu un gran passeggio a Posilipo. Vi andò Sua Eccellenza nella sua gondola, accompagnato da' titolati, con musica ed infinite feluche piene di cavalieri, altresì alcuni con musica. Dalla parte di terra andovvi in carozza la signora viceregina, seguìta da gran numero di queste signore dame, ed avendo trasportata in tal giorno la solennità della festa del glorioso san Giovanni Battista, sul tardi uscirono sei galere della nostra squadra, in ognuna delle quali vi erano congegnati alcuni giuochi di fuoco artificiato, e dopo di aver salutate col sparo del cannone le Loro Eccellenze, su l'imbrunire della sera si viddero vagamente illuminate e si schierarono in fila in faccia dello scoglio di Mergellina, ove passeggiavano per terra e per mare l'Eccellenze Loro con la nobiltà, dispensandosi copiosi rinfreschi di tutte le sorti; e poi, fatto notte, si diede fuoco all'artefici[268] con due ricche girandole di fuoco negli arbori di ciascuna galera, rimanendo nel medesimo tempo bruggiato un bellissimo arteficio, che figurava una gran torre, situata sopra un ponte di barche, che si ergeva al naturale.

Two days after this festival the Venetian *residente* Corniani sarcastically reported the following in an *avviso* dated July 8, 1698:

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268. *Ibid.*, II, 309.

> The planned sailing of these galleys against the infidel [Barbary] Corsairs is being restricted to carrying the Viceroy along the coast of Posillipo.
>
> Il dissegnato viaggio di queste Galere contro Corsari Infedeli si riduce à costeggiare il Sig.*nor Vice* Rè a Posilippo.

4.6.1 The Festival on Saint Anne's Day

Two weeks later in an *avviso* dated July 22, Corniani describes the preparations for the coming festival on Saint Anne's day as follows:

> The festival anticipated on Saint Anne's day, the nameday of the Queen, is being readied with all propriety, the entire length of the new Chiaia Road being lined with green foliage, fountains jetting wine, pyramids of food exposed to the public, with illuminations, music, and fireworks.
>
> Passano con tutta corrispondenza la Festa prevenuta per il giorno di Sant'*Anna* nome della Regina è di tutta la stradda [*sic*] nuova di Chiaia spalierata di Verdura. Le Fontane gettanti vino; Piramidi de Comestibili esposti al Popolo, con illuminat.*ioni*, musiche, e fuochi artificiati.

The festival took place in the area today occupied by the Villa Comunale, a magnificent public garden bordering the Riviera di Chiaia and extending from the Piazza della Vittoria to the Piazza Principe di Napoli. Before 1698 this area was open ground over which the dusty Strada di Chiaia passed. In that year, however, a double row of trees as well as thirteen fountains were placed along this road,

which was renamed the Strada di Medina Celi after the Viceroy. Only in 1778-80 was this area transformed into a public garden by order of Ferdinand IV.

In an *avviso* dated July 29, 1698, Corniani reports the events of Saint Anne's day as follows:

> The theater was spectacular in which Saint Anne's day, the nameday of the Queen, was celebrated, it being formed by the entire new road in the district of Chiaia, lined for almost a mile with foliage and other objects, ornamented at night with lighting and continuous fireworks from one end to the other--even the galleys at sea being similarly illuminated--where food, exposed during the day to the ravenous appetite of an indescribable crowd of common people, was to be supplemented with wine spurting forth from those fountains, converted for its distribution so that it not be wasted. With an innumerable crowd in attendance the Viceroy and Vicereine were continuously present until late that night.
>
> Festeggiato il nome della Regina il giorno di Sant'Anna fù mirabile il Theatro, che forma tutta la stradda [*sic*] nuova del Borgo di Chiaia: spalierato quasi per un miglio di fronde et altre comparse; ornato alla notte di lumi con continuati fuocchi artificiati da un capo all'altro; e stese in mare le Galere similm:*ente* illuminate; con indicibile concorso esposti comestibili alla rapina di giorno del Popolo, doveva accompagnarsi spargimento di vino à quelle Fontane, che fu convertito in distributiva per non guastarle. Essendo stato innumerabile il concorso, vi fù continua la presenza del Sig.*nor Vice* Rè, e *Vice* Regina sino ad'hora avvanzata della notte.

Confuorto fails to describe this festival in any detail, noting only that an account of it is being printed.[269] According to Franco Mancini this pamphlet bears the title:

> Distinta relazione della famosissima festa celebrata nella nuova strada Medinaceli alla spiaggia di Chiaja nel giorno di S. Anna a 26 Luglio 1698 Per il nome che ne porta la Maestà della Regina delle Spagne Nostra signora Marianna de Neoburgo Fatta disporre dall'Eccellentiss.mo Signor Duca di Medinaceli Vicerè Capitan Generale di questo Regno. In Napoli, per Domenico Antonio Parrino, 1698.[270]

Several inquiries, in person and by mail, concerning this print have been made at the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, and at the Biblioteca della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria. No exemplar of it, however, has yet been found. This is particularly unfortunate since music certainly played a role on this occasion.

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269. Confuorto, *Giornali*, II, 311.

270. Mancini, *Feste ed apparati*, p. 254.

4.6.2 The Nameday Celebration for the Vicereine

Ten days after the feast of Saint Anne, the nameday and birthday of the Vicereine, Maria de Giron y Sandoval, was celebrated on the feast of Santa Maria de las Nievas. Of that celebration in 1698 Confuorto records the following:

> On Tuesday night, the fifth day of the said [month of August], a sumptuous celebration was held for the birthday of the Vicereine in the so-called house of Cantalupo at Posillipo, which since last year has been furnished for the use of the Viceroy, where there was a great gathering of ladies and cavaliers. A banquet in the royal manner was given, and Giorgina masterfully sang two arias with her angelic voice.
>
> A detto dì 5, martedì a sera, si fece un sontuoso festino a Posilipo per il *compleannos* della signora viceregina nella casa detta di Cantalupo, accomodata sin dall'anno passato per diporto del signor vicerè, ove fu gran concorso di dame e cavalieri, vi fu banchetto alla reale e la signora Giorgina cantò con angelica voce e maestria due ariette.[271]

The singer Angela Maddalena Voglia, called "la Giorgina," was the Viceroy Luigi de la Cerda's acknowledged mistress. He had first met her in Rome when, as the Marchese of Cogolludo, he served as the Spanish Ambassador.

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271. Confuorto, *Giornali*, II, 313.

At that time Giorgina lived under the protection of Queen Christine of Sweden.[272] By the time that Luigi de la Cerda took possession of the Viceregal government of Naples as the Duke of Medina Celi, his wife had evidently come to accept Giorgina as a member of the household. In an *avviso* dated April 24, 1696, Giovanni Battista Operti related the following to his superiors in Turin:

> Giorgina and her sister have come in the rank of ladies-of-honor to the Vicereine, who has her [Giorgina] presented at the concourse of ladies of the city as if she were of an adequate rank to gain admission, it being known by the account of a lady who found herself present [at this gathering] that the Vicereine has Giorgina addressed by the title of *marchesa* and shows her every consideration and sign of affection and makes use of her as a member of her suite when she goes about with one.
>
> La Giorgina con la sorella sono venute in qualità di dame d'honore della Sig.*nora* Viceregina, che nel concorso delle dame della Città se fà intervenire, come se fossero di grado adequato à potervi entrare, sapendo per relatione d'una dama, che s'è trovata presente, che la S.*ignora* Viceregina fece chiamar la Giorgina col titolo di Marchessa, e ne mostra ogni stima, et affettione, e la conduce di suo seguito, quando lo porta.[273]

As for Giorgina's sister, an *avviso Marescotti* dated

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272. The details of Luigi de la Cerda's scandalous attachment to his mistress are recounted in Giorgio Morelli, "Una celebre 'canterina' romana del seicento: *la Giorgina*," *Studi secenteschi*, XVI (1975), 157-80.

273. AST, Lettere Ministri, Due Sicilie, mazzo 6.

August 16, 1698, reports:

> The Viceroy of Naples has appointed Don Bartolomeo Spago, the husband of the famous singer Giorgina's sister, Governor of Erbetello.
>
> Il Vice Re di Napoli ha dichiarato Gov.*ernatore* d'Erbetello Don Bartolomeo Spago marito della sorella della famosa Cantatrice Giorgina.[274]

Unfortunately, nothing specific is known concerning the music heard at the nameday celebrations for the Queen of Spain or for the Vicereine during the summer of 1698.

4.7 Rome during the Summer of 1698

From the summer of 1698 through the spring of 1699 Rome was graced by the presence of the young English Marquis of Tavistock, Wriothesley Russell. There he appears to have spent a considerable sum of money enjoying serenatas and purchasing musical scores. In a letter to his mother he describes his diversions of that summer in these words:

> The great pleasure now is, to be in one of the open caleches, going about the town in the moonshiny nights. There are always some fine serenades, and all the best company in town, taking the air, till an hour or two after midnight. I seldom fail of this diversion; and, indeed, it is mighty pleasant, after the heat of the day, to be abroad so, most part of the night,

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274. I Rn, MS. 789, fol. 309v.

and to hear music, and to go talk to any body that one is acquainted with, with all the freedom in the world.[275]

More specific accounts of the music heard that summer in Rome can be gleaned from the *avvisi di Roma* in Munich, which mention the performance of four serenatas as well as several cantatas sung at two academic gatherings:

Rome, July 22, 1698

On Monday evening [July 21] a beautiful serenata was sung in the courtyard of Prince [Marc'Antonio] Borghese's palace for the Princess of Rossano [his wife].

Roma, 22 luglio 1698

Lunedi sera fù cantata nel Cortile del Principe Borghese bella serenata fatta alla Principessa di Rosano.[276]

Rome, August 12, 1698

On Sunday evening [July 27] Cardinal de Bouillon gave a dinner in the royal manner with good singers and a band of instrumentalists for the Contestabilessa Colonna [Olimpia Pamphilj] and her husband [Filippo Colonna] . . .

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275. [Mary Berry], *Some Account of the Life of Rachel Wriothesley, Lady Russel* (London: Longman, Hurst, *et al.*, 1819), p. 136. Lowell Lindgren, "Nicola Cosimi in London, 1701-1705," *Studi Musicali*, XI (1982), 232, has called attention to the fact that this letter is preserved along with others in the Duke of Devonshire's collection at Chatsworth which may well contain further information about the musical activities of the Marquis of Tavistock.

276. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 196, fol. 63v.

Roma, 12 agosto 1698

Domenica sera Il Card.*inal*e di Buglione diede Cena alla Regia alla Sig.*nora* sposa Contest*abi*lessa Colonna, e suo Sig.*nore* sposo con buona musica e Concerto di strumenti.[277]

Rome, August 19, 1698

A beautiful and erudite *accademia* was held on Sunday [August 17] at the Collegio Romano with fine cantatas by three of the best voices and with Arcangelo [Corelli's] band of instrumentalists . . . On the same night [Monday, August 18] a serenata was given for the Princess of Rossano by Duke Bonelli, who had it sung on top of the coach houses facing the Piazza [de' Santi Apostoli]. Since a fine work was expected, the Princess invited all the ladies of her social circle, and there was a great crowd of people, but no one was pleased by the poor female singer or by the even worse composition of quite mediocre quality. They hardly allowed the piece to end, and there was nothing to do but laugh when suddenly somebody with a strong voice shouted, "Long live the Duke of Budelli," which was greeted with great applause.[278]

Roma, 19 agosto 1698

Bella e studiosa Accademia fù tenuta Domenica al Collegio Romano, con buone Cantate da tre musici de migliori, e concerto de strumenti di Arcangelo . . . Fù la med.*esi*ma sera [lunedì] dal Duca Bonelli data una serenata alla Princ*i*pessa di Rosano, che la fecero cantare sopra le rimesse, *per* verso la Piazza [de' Santi Apostoli], Aspettavasi sentire qualche buona festa, che la med.*esi*ma Sig.*nora* ne haveva fatto l'Invitto alle Dame di sua Conversatione, e vi fù gran' concorso di Popolo, che niuno ci hebbe sodisfat.*ione* e *per* la mala Canterina, e peggio Compositione assai

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277. *Ibid.*, fol. 68v.

278. A pun on the duke's name. *Budelli* literally means "intestines."

ordinario, che quasi non la lasciorno finire, che non ci fù altro da ridere, Che all'improviso Uno con bona Voce gridò e *Viv.*a Il Duca de Budelli che
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ne ricavò grande Applauso.

Roma, August 27, 1698

On Monday morning [August 25] for the feast of Saint Louis, all the cardinals found here, Imperial, Spanish, and French, gathered in the said Church [of San Luigi] out of respect for Cardinal Bouillon to attend the service for cardinals which he held.

To increse the joy on the said feast [of Saint Louis], Cardinal Bouillon gave a most sumptuous and abundant meal that morning for thirty-five persons. Maldachini, the other cardinals, prelates, and noblemen were at the first table for cardinals, and elsewhere there were other tables. That evening in front of His Eminence Bouillon's palace a beautiful serenata was sung by Faustina [Maratti] and the good new little soprano, Paoluccio's nephew [Francesco Besci], with three fine bands of instrumentalists which responded at the proper time with gallant harmony, one in the piazza where they sang, another from the balcony of the house next to the palace, and the other from the balcony of the palace belonging to the [?], and it received the applause of a great crowd of people.

Roma, 27 agosto 1698 [Illustration 12]

Tutti li Sig.*nori* Card.*inali*, che quà si ritrovano Imp.*eriali*, Spag.*noli* Francesi, lunedi mattina *per* la festa di S.*an* Luigi, furno à detta Chiesa à favorire Il Sig.*nore* Card.*inale* Buglione ad'assistere alla Capella Cardinalitia che vi tennero[.]

Per maggiorm.*ente* letificare la sud.*detta* Festa Il Sig.*nore* Card.*inale* Buglion in quella mattina diede lautiss.*imo* e di tutto abondantiss.*imo* Pasto à 35 Persone alla p.*rima* Tavola, di Card.*inali* vi fù Maldachino, li Altri furno e Prelati, e

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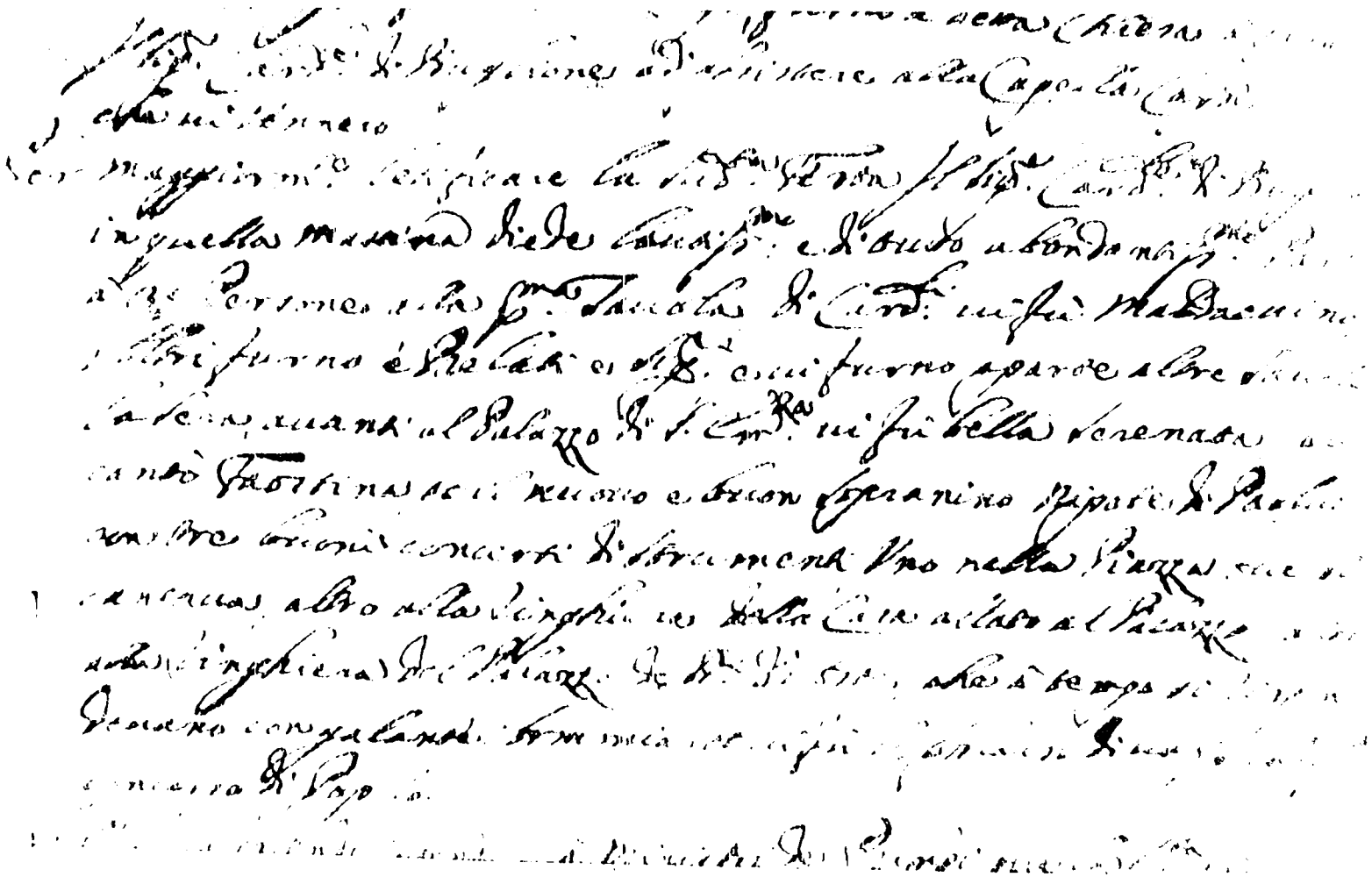
279. *Ibid.*, fol. 71r-v.

Illustration 12

Avviso di Roma dated August 27, 1698

D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 196, fol. 73v.



> Sig,*nori* e vi furno aparte altre Tavole; la sera, avanti al Palazzo di S.*ua* Em.*inenza* vi fù bella serenata, ove cantò Faostina, et il nuovo e buon sopranino nipote di Paoluccio; con tre buoni concerti di strumenti, Uno nella Piazza ove si cantava, altro alla ringhiera della Casa allato al Palazzo, altro alla ringhiera del Palazzo de S.*ignori* [?] , che à tempo si rispondevano con galante Armonia, et vi fù l'Aplauso di un Grandiss.*imo* concorso di Popolo.[280]

As mentioned above on page 271, Lorenza de la Cerda, the Viceroy Medina Celi's sister and Filippo Colonna's first wife, died in August of 1697. On November 25 of that year Filippo remarried,[281] and it was for the new Contestabilessa Colonna, Olimpia Pamphilj, that the French Cardinal Emmanuel de la Tour d'Auvergne de Bouillon gave the dinner and musical entertainment on the evening of July 27, 1698. That same cardinal was the patron of the serenata heard on the evening of the feast of Saint Louis, August 25, 1698, for the nameday of his sovereign Louis XIV in which Faustina Maratti and Francesco Besci, the nephew of Paolo Pompeo Besci (Paoluccio) sang.

4.7.1 The Anonymous Serenata *Silvio trionfante*

Although none of the works mentioned in the *avvisi* cited above has been identified, a libretto bearing the following

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280. *Ibid.*, fol. 73v.

281. Confuorto, *Giornali*, II, 286.

title probably preserves the text of one of these serenatas:

> SILVIO/TRIONFANTE/degl'Amori/DI/DORINDA, E CLORI/*Serenata per Musica.*/[Printer's device]/In ROMA, Per Gioseppe Vannacci, 1698./CON LICENZA DE' SUPERIORI.[282]

Sung by the three characters Silvio, Dorinda and Clori, this serenata begins with the incipit "Care, & amante Selve." Neither the poet nor the composer is named in this libretto, and the text of the serenata contains no overt allusions to the occasion upon which it was given.

4.7.2 Giuseppe Della Porta's *Roma in festa*

According to the published catalogue of libretti preserved in the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, a cantata for two voices bearing the following title marked the birthday of the Imperial Ambassador George Adam Martinitz that year in Rome:

> Roma in Festa per l'anniversario del giorno natalizio, e felice ritorno dell'Ill, & Ecc. . . . Giorgio Adamo

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282. I Rc, Vol. Misc. 1647/17, listed in Cairo and Quilic, *Biblioteca teatrale dal '500 al '700*, no. 3766.

Martinitz. Cantata a due voci . . . Francesco Pusterla.
Roma, Giovanni Giacomo Komarek, 1698.[283]

The poet Francesco Pusterla is identified on the title page of the libretto. According to Cairo and Quilic, it was dedicated to Martinitz by Gerolammo Colonna and set to music by Giuseppe Della Porta.

4.8 Naples during the Summer of 1699

In Naples a festival on Saint Anne's day, July 26, 1699, was planned by the Viceroy to rival that of the previous summer. The Venetian *residente* Giovanni Giacomo Corniani reports in an *avviso* dated July 28 that because of "tempestoso, e piovoso tempo" (tempestuous and rainy weather) this festival had to be delayed until Sunday, August 2, 1699.[284] In his subsequent two *avvisi* Corniani reports the following:

August 4, 1699

Favored by good weather last Sunday [August 2],

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283. Cairo and Quilic, *Biblioteca teatrale dal '500 al '700*, no. 3463.

284. As mentioned above on page 268, these documents are preserved in ASV, Dispacci degli ambasciatori al senato, Napoli, filza 106.

they were allowed to display the fireworks arranged for the previous [Sunday, the feast of Saint Anne].

4 Agosto 1699

Domenica passata favorita da tempo tranquillo diede campo à far gioccar fuocchi artificiati disposti l'antecedente.

August 11, 1699

Thought is being given to sending the galleys here out again, it being rumored that their mission is to rid [the sea] of pirate infestations. On the nameday celebration of the Queen, which was delayed, they sailed with great pomp, completely illuminated, [along the shores of Posillipo] with various scenes in perspective as well as fireworks displayed on their [decks]; and other such firework displays were erected in the sea along Posillipo. This [celebration] was well attended, [and there were] several serenatas as is the custom during this season.

11 Agosto 1699

Si pensa far uscir di nuovo queste Galere con voce di farle scorrere contro le infestat.*ione* de pirati per essercitarle. Pompeggiorono nel differito festiggiamento del nome della Regina tutte illuminate con varie dimostrat.*ioni* di Prospettive; oltre fuochi artifficiati fatti giocare in esse, et in altre macchine erette nel mare di Posilippo[.] È stato questo frequentato pure con più serenate, secondo l'uso della stagione.

Domenico Confuorto fails to describe this celebration, saying only that an account of it is being printed.[285] This pamphlet, reproduced as Appendix III, bears the title:

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285. Confuorto, *Giornali*, II, 344.

RELAZIONE/DELLA/FAMOSISSIMA FESTA/*Nel giorno della Glorioso S. ANNA à/26. di Luglio 1699.*/Per solennizzare il Nome, che ne porta la Maestà/della Regina Nostra Signora/M. ANNA/DI NEOBURGO/Fatta celebrare nella Riviera di Chiaja, e nello/Scoglio di Mergellina/DALL'ECCELLENTISSIMO SIGNORE/D. LUIGI/DE LA CERDA, E ARAGONA/*Duca di Medina Celi, d'Alcalà, &c-Vicerè, e Ca-/pitan Generale in questo Regno.*/[Printer's device]/In Napoli Appresso Domenico Antonio Parrino à Toledo,/e per Cavallo, Michele Luigi Mutio 1699./*Con Privilegio.*

According to this account, the court and nobility attended chapel in the Royal Palace on Sunday morning, July 26. The main celebration on Saint Anne's day, however, was to take place that afternoon and evening at the *riviera di Chiaia*. There a palisade seven thousand *palmi* (1540 meters) long and twenty-three high (5.06 meters) was built by the architect Christofano Schor along the Strada di Medina Celi. The entrances at both ends of this road were crowned with a magnificent column upon which large allegorical figures bearing the arms of Charles II were placed, each illuminated by three hundred lamps while another three thousand lit the entire course of the festive palisade. Within this enclosure thirty pyramids or *cuccagne* of bread, fowl, fruit,

cheese, and salami towered thirty-six *palmi* (7.92 meters) above the road. Thunder, lightning, and heavy rain that afternoon made it clear that the illuminations and fireworks planned for the evening could not take place. On July 26 the celebration ended with the sacking of the thirty *cuccagne* by the common folk.

4.8.1 An Unidentified Serenata by Francesco Mancini

On the following Sunday, August 2, twelve curious firework displays, most in the form of towers, were erected at the Mergellina. The Viceroy, accompanied by a great number of small craft, came that afternoon in his gondola. The Vicereine and ladies of Naples arrived in their coaches. Just before dark Their Excellencies were saluted by the cannons of the eight galleys of the Neapolitan squadron, upon the decks of which other firework displays were arranged. That night the fireworks afloat and ashore were set ablaze while a mock sea battle was staged, described in the above-cited *Relazione* as

> . . . producing a spectacular and delightful inferno, the many enjoyable horrors of which were pleasing both to the eyes and to the ears. The festivities ended to the greater delight of the latter [*i.e.*, the ears] thanks to a most famous serenata set to music by the celebrated [Francesco] Mancini and given by the finest musicians gathered here by the Duke of Ayrola [Carlo] Caracciolo . . .

> . . . formando un apparente, dilettevole inferno, trà tante amabili paure, godendo e l'occhio, e l'orecchio; si chiuse colla maggior sodisfazione di questo il Festeggiamento, mercè una famosissima Serenata, posta in Musica dal rinomato Mancini, che col fiore dell'Armonia fece fare ivi stesso il Signor Duca d'Ayrola Caracciolo . . .

Four serenatas are listed in *The New Grove* among the known works of Francesco Mancini.[286] None, however, bears the date 1699, and it appears that the reference cited above to the "rinomato Mancini" has escaped the notice of his biographers to date. It should be recalled that although the *Relazione* mentions only Mancini's serenata, Corniani's *avviso* of August 11 states that several ("più serenate") were given at this festival. Although nothing is known concerning these other serenatas, it seems doubtful that Alessandro Scarlatti or the Royal Chapel of Naples contributed any. If they had, the semi-official *Relazione* published to record this festival would almost surely have recorded the fact.

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286. Josephine Wright, "Mancini, Francesco," *The New Grove* (London: MacMillan, 1980), XI, 602-3.

4.9 Rome during the Summer of 1699

Early in 1699 Alessandro Scarlatti was forced by financial need to petition the Viceroy for his salary covering the last four months of 1698, payments which should have been made routinely.[287] As Viceroy of Naples, Luigi de la Cerda was evidently no more willing to pay for his extravagant public displays then he had been earlier as Spanish Ambassador in Rome.[288] Thus Scarlatti may well have sought employment during the summer of 1699 in Rome with the approval of the Viceregal court of Naples. Numerous serenatas were heard that summer in Rome, several in honor of the newly arrived Maria Casimira, the widowed Queen of Poland. The *avvisi di Roma* in Munich report the following:

> July 21, 1699
>
> Wednesday night [July 15] the Queen of Poland

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287. Prota-Giurleo, "Breve storia," p. 61. Pagano, *Scarlatti*, p. 153.

288. Cf. Chapter III of this dissertation for Paolo Negri's account of the serenata for the Queen of Spain's nameday given during the summer of 1688 in Rome.

was at Cardinal Carlo Barberini's casino at the
289
Bastion of Santo Spirito to see at close range the fireworks and girandoles of the Castello [Sant'Angelo]. She was offered most sumptuous refreshments, and there was also musical entertainment.

21 luglio 1699

La Regina di Polonia mercoledi sera, *per* vedere da Vicino li fuochi, e Girandole di Castello, fù al Casino del Sig.*nore* Card.*inale* Carlo Barberini al Bastione à S.*anto* Spirito, con haverli dato lautiss.*imo* rinfresco, e vi fù anco trattenimento
290
di Musica[.]

[*Ibid.*]

On Monday the nuns of Santa Marta presented among themselves a musical performance which was heard by the Queen of Poland and by other ladies of her circle.

[*Ibid.*]

Lunedi le monache di S.*anta* Marta fecero fra loro una rapresentatione in Musica, ove vi fù à sentirla la Regina di Pollonia, con altre dame
291
sue Confidenti[.]

August 4, 1699

On Tuesday night [July 28] the Marchese Maccarani wished to give a serenata for the Queen of Poland and had it sung in the courtyard of Don Livio [Odescalchi's] palace. Although Faustina [Maratti] and another woman sang, it was poorly received with little applause.

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289. The *Bastione di S. Spirito* is located at no. 1236 on the *Nuova pianta di Roma data in luce da Giambattista Nolli l'anno M DCC XLVIII*, reproduced in Amato Pietro Frutaz, *Le Piante di Roma* (Rome: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1962), III, tav. 412.

290. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 196, fol. 174r.

291. *Ibid.*, fol. 175r-v.

4 agosto 1699

Martedi sera Il March.*ese* Maccarani volse fare sentire una serenata alla Regina di Polonia, con haverla fatta cantare nel Cortile del Palazzo di D.*on* Livio, benche vi Cantasse Faostina con altra femmina, riusci poco buona, e con meno
292
acclamatione.

[*Ibid.*]

On Sunday [August 2] with great pomp and the sounding of trumpets and drums, Princess Orsini [Anna Maria de Trémouilles-Noirmentiers] had the arms of France raised above the main gate of her palace in Piazza Navona, and that night on a spacious platform in the middle of the Piazza Navona, completely illuminated by a large number of Venetian wax torches, she had a beautiful serenata sung by three good vocalists with a very fine band of instrumentalists. It alluded to the grandeur of the French crown, and there was a very large crowd of ladies and common folk. The Queen [of Poland] was at the window of Cardinal Cibo's
293
palace.

[*Ibid.*]

Madama la Pr*inci*pessa Orsini Domenica con gran fasto di suoni di Trombe e Tamburi fece Alzare sopra Il Portone del suo Palazzo à Piazza Navona l'Arme di Francia e la sera sopra ben accomodata ringhiera pur mezzo Piazza Navona tutta bene illuminata da quantità di quadroni di Cera di Venezia, vi fece cantare da tre buoni musici, con bonis.*si*mo Concerto di strumenti Una bella

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292. *Ibid.*, fol. 178r.

293. According to Thomas Ashby, "The Palazzo Odescalchi in Rome," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. III (1916), no. 3, p. 70, "In 1699 Don Livio [Odescalchi] gave hospitality to Maria Casimira . . . whose father, Cardinal d'Archieti, inhabited the Palazzo Cibo, now the Palazzo Ruffo, which was then connected with the Palazzo Odescalchi by an archway over the Vicolo del Piombo. She remained his guest until 1702."

serenata alludè alle Grandezze della Corona di Francia, e vi fù un grandiss.*imo* concorso di Dame, e Popolo, la Regina fù alle finestre nel Palazzo
294
del Card.*inale* Cibo.

August 11, 1699

Cardinal Ottoboni, always the author of new and beautiful enterprises, had mass sung in his Church [of San Lorenzo in Damaso] by a great number of singers on the morning of [the feast of] Saint Lawrence [August 10]. The *Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus,* and *Agnus*--all in *cantus firmus* style by good voices, especially the basses--were much praised. In this mass there were two motets and Arcangelo [Corelli's] large orchestra.

Although much rehearsed and already given several times, the Duke of Bonelli's serenata for three women's voices did not prove a success, so that they were forced to get rid of a student of a certain *maestro* Pacini and in her stead to make use of the Prince of Belvedere's little *castrato.* The said Duke of Bonelli had the serenata sung on Sunday night [August 9] for the Princess of Rossano Borghese, and the singers were Maria Isabella, Rosa, and the said little *castrato;* and it was well applauded, the audience demanding that many arias be repeated.

11 agosto 1699

Il Sig.*nore* Card.*inale* Ottoboni Autor' sempre di belle Cose, o novità, la mattina di S.*an* Lorenzo, nella sua Chiesa vi fece Cantare la messa da quantità grande di musici, Il Chirie, la Gloria, Sanctus, et Agnus, tutto di Canto firmo, con buone Voce, in specie bassi, che ne riportò lode; in d.*etta* messa vi furno due boni motteti, e la gran' zinfonia di Arcangelo.

la tanto fatta studiare serenata dal Duca Bonelli à tre Canterine, già provata più volte, non veniva à riuscire bene, che fà forzata levare una scolare di Certo mastro Pacini, et in vece vi fù messo Il Castratino del *Princ*ipe di Belvedere

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294. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. fols. 178v-179r.

la Qual serenata Il d.*etto* Duca Bonelli la fece cantare Domenica sera alla Pric*i*pessa di Rossano Borghese, e Canterine furno Maria Isabella, Rosa, e detto Castratino, et hebbero buono aplauso, con la replica, ad Istanza delli Auditori di più
295
Ariette.

August 25, 1699

Twice a week, that is on Sunday and Thursday evening, Princess Orsini [Anna Maria de Trémouilles-Noirmentiers] holds a *conversatione* in her house, and the royal ambassadors here often come to favor her, the French without fail. The entertainment consists of male and female singers, and gambling . . .

25 agosto 1699

Per due volte la sett.*i*mana, Cioè la Domenica et Il Giovedi la sera Mad.*a*ma la P*rinci*pessa Orsini tiene in sua Casa la Conversat.*i*one, e vanno spesso à favorirla questi S.*ignori* Amb.*asciatori* Regij, quello di Francia non vi manca mai, vi è trattenim.*en*to, e di Musici, e di
296
Canterine, e Gioco . . .

September 1, 1699

Serenatas are continuing to be heard at night throughout the city. On Sunday evening [August 30] the Princess of Palestrina gave one for Princess Orsini [Anna Maria de Trémouilles-Noirmentiers] and had it sung in the courtyard of the said lady's palace. Another, sung by order of Prince Tassis, was heard at the Trinità dei Monti. It was sung by four female singers, two who were in his house answered by two others in coaches in the street. A new Florentine female singer, the daughter of Calcagninaia, was heard, and she and the others carried it off well and received much applause.

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295. *Ibid.*, fol. 181r.

296. *Ibid.*, fol. 185r-v.

primo settembre 1699

Si seguita la Notte à sentirsi *per* la Città delle serenate, Domenica sera la *Princ*ipessa di Palestrina ne diede Una à Mad.*a*ma la *Princ*ipessa Orsini, e la fece Cantare nel Cortile del Palazzo di d.*e*tta Madama, Altra se ne senti alla Trinità de Monti fatta cantare dal *Princ*ipe Tassi, fù cantata da quattro Canterine due stavano in Casa, Altre due in strada in Carozza, che si rispondevano, vi si sentij nuova Canterina fiorentina figlia della Calcagninaia, e q*ue*sta, e l'Altre si portorno bene, che ne riceverno buono Aplauso[.] [297]

To these may be added the following three extracts from the *avvisi Marescotti*:

July 25, 1699

The widowed Queen of Poland [Maria Casimira] is enjoying with satisfaction her stay in this court, having been to hear a theatrical performance on Monday by the nuns of Saint Martha where great quantities of refreshments were distributed . . .

25 luglio 1699

La Regina Vedova di Polonia gode con sodisfatione il soggiorno in questa Corte essendo lunedi stata a sentire una Rappresentatione in Comedia dalle monache di Santa Marta, ove furono date copiosi rinfreschi . . . [298]

August 8, 1699

On Sunday evening [August 2] Madame Orsini, [Anna Maria de Trémouilles-Noirmentiers] the wife of the late Duke of Bracciano [Flavio Orsini], had the arms of France shown above the main gate of her palace, and that same evening she had a very

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297. *Ibid.*, fols. 186v-187r.

298. I Rn, MS. 789, fol. 404r-v.

noble serenata sung from a loggia of the same palace for a gathering of many cardinals, prelates, and of many noblemen and ladies, the French Ambassador and Monsignor Pichi, Prince of Mirandola, also being there.

8 agosto 1699

Dom.*enica* sera Madama Orsini Moglie del defonto Duca di Bracciano fece comparire sul Portone del suo Palazzo l'arme di Francia, e la stessa sera da una loggia del med.*esimo* fece cantare una nobiliss.*ima* serenata col concorso di molti Porporati, e Prelati, e di Molta Nobiltà, e Dame essendovi anco stato l'Ambas.*ciatore* di Francia, e Monsig.*nore* Pichi *Principe* della Mirandola.[299]

September 5, 1699

. . . and [?] days a week with playing and singing the entertainments for the enjoyment of the Queen [Maria Casimira of Poland] and her father the Cardinal [Henri de la Grange] are continuing with a crowd of many nobles at the expense of the said Prince [Don Livio Odescalchi].

5 settembre 1699

. . . e seguirono le ricreatione [?] giorni della settim.*ana* con suoni, e canti *per*divertire la Regina, et il Card.*inale* suo Padre con concorso di Molta Nobiltà a spese di d.*etto* *Principe*.[300]

4.9.1 A Summary of the Serenatas heard in Rome during 1699

In all, these *avvisi* document the performance of five serenatas as well as an indeterminate number of other occasions at which cantatas may have been performed.

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299. *Ibid.*, fol. 407v.

300. *Ibid.*, fol. 416v.

Concerning the five serenatas, the information presented above can be summarized as follows:

I.

Date: Tuesday night, July 28, 1699
Place: Palazzo Odescalchi on the Corso
For: Maria Casimira, Queen of Poland
Patron: Marchese Maccarani
Voices: two women, one of whom was the soprano Faustina Maratti

II.

Date: Sunday night, August 2, 1699
Place: Piazza Navona
For: the French Crown
Patron: Princess Orsini [Anna Maria de Trémouilles-Noirmentiers]
[301]
Voices: three

III.

Date: Sunday night, August 9, 1699
Place: either the Palazzo Bonelli or the Palazzo Borghese
For: the Princess of Rossano, wife of Marc'

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301. According to Marianne Cermakian, *La Princesse des Ursins: sa vie et ses lettres* (Paris: Didier, 1969), pp. 214-15, the three voices represented *la Gloria*, *la Religione* and *il Tebro*. The text was written by "le comte de Saint-Martin, gentilhomme piedmontois" and the music was composed by "Méïani."

Antonio Borghese
Patron:Duke Bonelli
Voices: two women (Maria Isabella and Rosa) and a castrato

IV.

Date: Sunday night, August 30, 1699
Place: Princess Orsini's palace on Piazza Navona
For: Princess Orsini [Anna Maria de Trémouilles-Noirmentiers]
Patron: the Princess of Palestrina, wife of Urbano Barberini

V.

Date: before September 1, 1699
Place: Trinità dei Monti
Patron: Prince D.Miguel de Tassis
Voices: four women

4.9.2 Alessandro Scarlatti's Cantata *Lidia e Alindo*

Although it cannot be conclusively proven, the cantata *Lidia e Alindo* "A battaglia, pensieri, a battaglia" may have been the work heard on the first occasion listed above. In the single surviving manuscript score of this cantata, the work is entitled:

Cantata à 2 Voci Soprano, et alto,/con Violini, e Tromba, e Violoncello/Del signor Scarlatti/Fatto l'anno 1699[302]

Unfortunately, this information has been added by a second hand and is of questionable reliability.[303]

The text of *Lidia e Alindo* is simply a protracted lovers' dispute and contains no topical allusions that might have established in which city or for what occasion it was given. The nature and length of this text closely resemble those customarily employed as serenatas, and an outdoor performance is suggested by the inclusion of a trumpet among the varied instruments which accompany the voices. Since it is referred to as a "Cantata" on the title page of its single source, the possibility also exists that it was written for performance at any number of other social gatherings or *conversationi* in Rome, Naples, or perhaps elsewhere.

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302. A Wgm, Q 3908 (VI 37178), fols. 54r-93v.

303. Hanley, "Alessandro Scarlatti's *Cantate da Camera*: A Bibliographic Study," pp. 80-81.

Chapter 5

Naples and Rome from 1700 through 1702

5.1 Naples during the Summer of 1700

Just as he had in the previous years, the Viceroy Medina Celi organized a popular festival at the seashore northwest of Naples in celebration of his Queen's nameday in 1700. As early as July 13, 1700, the *Gazzetta di Napoli* reports as follows the construction in progress there:

> In order to celebrate with his customary innate royal magnificence the name[day] of Her Majesty Our Mistress the Queen on Saint Anne's day, the twenty-fourth of the present month, the Most Excellent Viceroy is having a curious festive apparatus built along the sea in the Medinaceli Road, which will be described at the appropriate time.
>
> Questo Eccellentissimo Sig. Vice-Rè per celebrare colla solita sua innata regal magnificenza il Nome di S. M. la Regina Nostra Signora nel giorno di S. Anna à 24. del corrente, fa egli prevenire colà sul Mare nella strada Medinaceli capriciosa Machina, come à suo tempo dirassi.

5.1.1 An Anonymous Serenata on Saint Anne's Day, 1700

The author of the *Gazzetta*, probably Domenico Antonio Parrino, incorrectly reports above that Saint Anne's day will fall on the twenty-fourth. In the *Gazzetta* dated July 27, 1700, he correctly identifies it as the twenty-sixth and offers the following account of that day's events:

> Yesterday, in order to distinguish and make remarkable the feast of the glorious Saint Anne, whose name Her Majesty the Queen our Mistress bears, with the most beautiful, delightful and magnificent royal festive commemoration, His Excellency [the Viceroy] received in the Royal Palace the obsequious compliments of the courts of law, of the city, and of the flower of the knighthood in rich gala, they attending chapel held there with the customary formalities, triple salvos being fired in happy acclamation by the muskets of the squadron of Spanish infantry and by the cannons of all our fortresses and galleys. On this occasion noble liveries [of servants] were seen on display, and in particular the especially rich and pompous one by the *Generale* Count di Lemos and his brother-in-law Don Emanuel di Silva. For this same festive occasion His Excellency had the celebrated architect and engineer Cristoforo Schor devise near the seashore at the Medinaceli Road a famous structure in the shape of a semicircular harbor with two great arms, with another of them outside as a defense from the sea's fury, in which was erected a castle with ramparts and six well ordered towers, all covered with fireworks, which was assaulted that night from without by our galleys and by those of [the Duke of] Tursis, which were beautifully illuminated, as was the entire said Medinaceli Road. Sixteen pyramids bearing food of every sort, called *cuccagne*, were placed along the shore next to the sea and were sacked at a given moment by the common folk to the immense delight of Their Viceregal Excellencies and the infinite crowd of

nobles and populace who were in attendance; the festivities succeeding to incredible fame, everyone was most satisfied by such a noble invention. And that same evening the Contessa di Lemos had a noble serenata sung at the Casino di Belvedere where she lives, and she splendidly entertained the Vicereine [who went] there to enjoy the said celebration with her niece Donna Gironima Spinola.

Ieri solennità della gloriosa S. Anna, di cui porta il Nome S. M. la Regina nostra Signora, per distingeurne [*sic*], e singolarizarne con ogni maggior vaghezza, diletto, e magnificenza la Regal festiva commemorazione, S. E. ricevette nel Regio Palagio i complimenti ossequiosi de' Tribunali, della Città, e del fiore della Nobiltà in ricche gale, tenendo ivi col di loro intervento Capella colle solite formalità, rallegrata col triplice sparo del moschetto dello Squadrone di Fanti Spagnuoli, e del cannone di tutte le nostre Fortezze, e Galee; essendosi vedute in tal congiontura spiegar nobili livree, e particolarmen [*sic*] una oltre modo ricca, e pomposa dal Signor Generale Conte di Lemos, e dal Signor suo Cognato D. Emanuel di Silva. Allo stesso festivo oggetto fè prevenire S. E. il celebre Architetto, ed Ingegnire Cristoforo Schor una famosa machina, colà sù la riva del Mare della strada Medinaceli, in forma di mezzo circolo, un Porto, con due gran braccia, con un altro di questi [*sic*] fuori per riparare la furia del Mare, in cui formosi un Castello con suoi Baloardi, con sei Torri ben disposte, tutto coperto di fuochi artificiali, combattuto la sera dalla parte di fuori dalle nostre Galee, e di Tursis, vedendosi così queste, come tutta la detta strada illuminate vaghissimamente, essendovi piantate lungo la riva presso quel Mare 16. Piramidi, con nome di Cuccagne, cariche di commestibili di tutte le sorti, che furono à suo tempo saccheggiate dalla gente bassa, con immenso diletto degli Ecc. Viceregnanti, e dell'Infinita Nobiltà, e popolo, che v'intervenne; restando ciascheduno appagatissimo di sì nobile invenzione, riuscita incredibilmente famosa. E fè cantare la medesima sera una nobil Serenata la Signora Contessa di Lemos colà nel Casino di Belvedere, ove ella abita, e da ella fù trattata splendidamente la Signora Vice-Regina, nel goder ivi detto

festeggiamento colla Signora D. Gironima Spinola sua Nipote.

As noted above, an unidentified serenata by Francesco Mancini was heard in conjunction with the celebration of Saint Anne's day in 1699. Mancini's serenata was given not under the auspices of the Viceregal court, but by a private patron, the Duke of Ayrola. Something very similar seems to have been the case in 1700. Unfortunately, even less is known about the serenata given by the Contessa di Lemos in 1700. Alessandro Scarlatti's serenata *Venere e Amore*, a work of Neapolitan origin which dates from the approximate period 1695 - 1700, may have been the work presented by the Contessa di Lemos, but the information at hand is not sufficient to establish this as fact.

3.1.2 Alessandro Scarlatti's Opera *Il Dafni*

The nameday and birthday celebrations for the Vicereine of Naples followed soon after the nameday festivities honoring the Queen of Spain, and the *Gazzetta di Napoli* leaves no doubt that Alessandro Scarlatti furnished the work in honor of Maria de Giron y Sandoval in 1700:

August 10, 1700

On Thursday the fifth of the same month of August, the birthday of the said Vicereine, the same [formalities] as mentioned above were observed by the courts of law, cavaliers, and titled dignitaries who came to the Palace to offer

their congratulations to His Excellency, who that evening had a sylvan comedy entitled *Dafni* performed at his very delightful casino at the pleasant shore of the Mergellina. Set to music by the celebrated chapel master Alessandro Scarlatti, it succeeded to much applause and will be repeated yet again.

10 agosto 1700

Giovedì 5. del medesimo Agosto, giorno, in cui compisce gli anni la mentovata Signora Vice-Regina, fù pratticato lo stesso detto di sopra, circa i Tribunali, Cavalieri, e Titolati, che furono in Palagio per portare i loro ossequj à S.E. quale nella sera poi di questo dì, fè rappresentare nel suo delitiosissimo Casino colà sù l'ameno scoglio di Margellina [*sic*] una Comedia Boscareccia da sceltissime Armoniche voci, intitolata *Dafni*, posta in Musica dal celebre Mastro di Cappella Alessandro Scarlati [*sic*], riuscita plausibilmente, che tuttavia si và replicando.

August 17, 1700

On [August 15] the Sunday following [Thursday, August 12], His Excellency had the above-mentioned sylvan opera given again in his casino . . .

17 agosto 1700

Nella Domenica susseguente fù di nuovo fatta rappresentare da S.E. la consaputa Boscareccia in Musica colà nel Casino del Sig. Vice-Rè . . .

August 24, 1700

Last Sunday [August 22] the said sylvan opera was repeated once again in the Most Excellent Viceroy's charming casino at the Mergellina . . .

24 agosto 1700

Domenica scorsa si replicò di bel nuovo la consaputa Boscareccia colà nel bel Casino dell'Eccellentissimo Sig. Vice-Rè a Mergellina . . .

5.2 Rome during the Spring and Summer of 1700

Since Alessandro Scarlatti was thus occupied in Naples with the production of the opera *Il Dafni*, it is unlikely that he was responsible for any of the serenatas heard in Rome that summer. It is nevertheless of interest to read the following in the *avvisi di Roma* at Munich concerning the musical events during the spring and summer of 1700 in the papal city:

> May 25, 1700
>
> The Spanish ambassador's wife followed by many Roman and foreign ladies left last Wednesday for Naples in order to enjoy the comedies that are being recited as entertainment there.
>
> 25 maggio 1700
>
> Partì fin da mercoledì per Napoli l'Amb.*asciatrice* di Spagna col seguito di molte Dame Romane, e Forastiere per godere il divertimento delle Commedie, che vi si recitano.[304]

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304. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 196, fol. 266r-v.

Very possibly one of the "commedie" witnessed by these ladies in Naples was Scarlatti's opera *Odoardo*. Both Pagano[305] and Bianconi[306] have speculated that it was heard there that spring, but, except for a libretto which mentions only the year and place of performance ("nel teatro di S. Bartolomeo"), no documents regarding it have yet come to light.

The earliest reference to serenatas in Rome that summer is found in the following *avviso* which first reports on a tragic accident that befell the singers at the Church of the Madonna di Monte Santo in July:

> July 20, 1700
>
> The festivities for the Madonna of Monte Santo, celebrated every year by the *maggiordomo* Monsignor Colonna, proved quite fatal for the singers. At first vespers on Wednesday about twelve singers ascended a platform built at the door of the said Church [of the Madonna of Monte Santo] in the [Piazza del] Popolo. While the music was being prepared the badly built platform collapsed, seriously injuring the singers and instrumentalists among the ruins, which resulted in the death of Don Tista di Sora, a bass in the Papal Chapel, and others with broken arms, legs, and wounds. There was a great panic, and

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305. Pagano, *Scarlatti*, p. 157.

306. Bianconi, "Funktionen des Opern theaters in Neapel," p. 98.

fortunately the normal crowd of people was not in the church since it was yet early, or many [more] people would have been trapped, [only] two or three who did not have time to save themselves being injured.

20 luglio 1700

Festa assai funesta fu per li Musici quella della Madonna di Monte Santo, fà fare ogn'anno MonSig.nore Magg.iorDomo Colonna, Mercoledi p.rimo Vespro montati sopra il palco eretto alla porta di d.etta Chiesa al Popolo circa dodici Musici, fra tanto per andare alestendo la Musica, rovinò a terra il mal composto palco, li Musici, e sonatori per le ruine, malamente pistati, in restò morto D.on Tista di Sora Basso di Capella del Papa, Altri e con braccia, e Coscie rotte, Altri ferite, e vi fù un gran precipitio, e fortuna, che in Chiesa non vi era il solito Popolo, per essere à bon ora, che vi sarian' restati quanti di gente alla stiaccia, due, ò tre che non hebbero tempo

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salvarse, restorno maltratti[.]

[*Ibid.*]

On Sunday night [July 18] a most magnificent serenata was prepared by the Duchess of Bracciano [Anna Maria de Trémouilles-Noirmentiers], and she introduced an accomplished female singer to Cardinals Ottoboni and Homodei, all this in order to entertain the Most Eminent [Cardinal] Choeslin who, however, found himself slightly indisposed with gout. After hearing of the above, however, His Eminence informed not only the Duchess but also Cardinals Ottoboni and Homodei that he was amazed at them, since it did not seem permissible to him for such a distinguished cardinal [as himself] to hear women sing, and that he was greatly scandalized. With this the others were left rather mortified.

[*Ibid.*]

Dom.enica sera dalla Sig.nora Duchessa di Bracciano era stata preparata superbiss.ima

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307. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 196, fol. 283r-v.

serenata, ed alli Sig.*nori* Card.*inali* Ottoboni, et Homodei introdotta una Virtuosa Canterina il tutto *per* divertire l'Em.*inentissi*mo Choeslin, che si trovava un poco indisposto di Podagra, mà intesosi ciò dall'Em.*inenza* S.*ua* fece intendere non solo alla Duchessa, mà ancora all'Em.*inentissi*mi Ottoboni, e Homodei, che si meraviglia di Loro, che non gli pareva, che fusse lecito ad un Porporato si discertile [?] à sentire cantare Femmine, e sene scandalizzò grandem.*ente*, che ne
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restaron alquanto mortificati.

[*Ibid.*]

A very beautiful serenata had been prepared for performance from the balcony of the Palazzo di Montecitorio [*i.e.*, the Curia Innocenziana] and given several rehearsal, which gave highest satisfaction to their audiences. It is entirely in praise of Our Lord the Pope, who, hearing of it, ordered that [the preparation] of it cease. The cause for this, however, is said to be some trouble between Monsignor Corsini, the Treasurer, and Monsignor Marini, [another] papal official, who was its author.

[*Ibid.*]

Si era preparata belliss.*i*ma serenata da farsi nella Ringhiera del Palazzo di Monte Citatorio, e *per* alcune volte fatte le Prove, che riusciva con somma satisfatt.*ione* dell'Astanti; il tutto in lode della San.*tità* di N.*ostro* Sig.*nore*, che ciò inteso ordinò non se ne facesse altro, si dice però che la Causa sia stato *per* alcune differenze che sono passate frà MonSig.*nor* Corsini Tesauriere, e MonSig.*nor* Marini Acceditor della
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Camera che ne era q*uesto* l'Autore.

August 24, 1700

On Sunday night [August 22] Cardinal Homodei lost a considerable sum of money at the house of [the Duchess] of Bracciano [Anna Maria de

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308. *Ibid.*, fol. 283v.

309. *Ibid.*, fols. 283v-284r.

Trémouilles-Noirmentiers], who increasingly displays great prudence, having refused to permit him to have a serenata recited for her, although it had already been prepared, saying that they should not permit themselves entertainments which might attract the public while the prince [*i.e.*, the cardinal] might reap trouble from them.

24 agosto 1700

Dom.*enica* sera il Sig.*nor* Card.*inale* Homodei fece una considerabile Perdita da Madama di Bracciano; la quale sempre più fà mostra della Sua Gran Prudenza col non haver voluto *permettere* gli s'havesse à recitare una Serenata, che di già gl'era stata preparata, dando in risposta, che non doveano *permettersi* Recreationi, che allettassero il Publico, quando il Prenc*ipe* se n'havesse à *ritrovare* aggravato.[310]

September 7, 1700

On Thursday night [September 2] in the courtyard of the Duchess of Bracciano's [Anna Maria de Trémouilles-Noirmentiers] palace [on the Piazza Navona] there was a very beautiful serenata with a very large crowd of people, which was given for her by several French noblemen.

7 settembre 1700

Giovedì sera nel Cortile del Palazzo della Duchessa Madame di Bracciano fù fatta una bellissima serenata con grandissimo Concorso di Popolo; che li fù data da più Sig.*nori* Caval.*ieri* Francesi[.][311]

September 22, 1700

In recent days two different serenatas were given by Prince [D. Miguel de] Tassis: one for the Spanish ambassador's wife, and the other for the Duchess of Poli; and the said prince had his usual

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310. *Ibid.*, fols. 295v-296r.

311. *Ibid.*, fol. 300r.

accomplished females sing with various instruments.

22 septembre 1700

Sono state fatte di questi giorni due serenate differenti dal Sig.*nor* Prencipe Tassi una alla Sig.*nora* Amb.*asciatrice* di Spagna, e l'altra alla Sig.*nora* Duchessa di Poli, e fece d.*etto* Prencipe cantare le solite sue Virtuose con varij
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strumenti.

September 29, 1700

Cardinal Ottoboni gave a beautiful serenata Tuesday evening [September 28] in the Most Serene Highnesses of Parma's little palace for several ladies and cavaliers, among whom were the Marchionesses Riccardi, Spada, de Angelis, and others . . .

29 settembre 1700

Martedi sera Il Sig.*nor* Card.*inal*e Ottoboni nel Palazetto de Se.*renissimi* di Parma diede una bella serenata a più Dame e Caval.*ieri* fra queste vi furno le M.*archese* Riccardi, Spada, de Angelis et
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altre . . .

In addition to the above, several references to serenatas during the summer of 1700 in Rome are preserved in the *Diario di Roma* of Francesco Valesio. The first reference to outdoor music that summer recorded by this journalist occurred on the evening of July 31 when the female vocalist Tolla sang an "arietta" from a coach "sotto il balcone della regina su la piazza di S. Apostoli" (below the balcony of

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312. *Ibid.*, fol. 4v.

313. *Ibid.*, fol. 305r.

the Queen [*i.e.* Maria Casimira of Poland] in the Piazza dei SS. Apostoli).[314] Of greater interest are the following two extracts from Valesio's diary:

> Thursday, September 2, 1700
>
> That night at three and a half hours of night a serenata was sung in the courtyard of Princess Orsini's palace in Piazza Navona. The chapel singer Pasqualino[315] and another singer, brought from France by Cardinal D'Estrées, sang. It was paid for by the Chevalier de Me . . . , the nephew of Cardinal Choeslin, who lives in an apartment in the said palace of the Orsini.
>
> Giovedi, 2 settembre 1700
>
> La notte, alle 3 e mezza della notte, fu fatta cantare in musica nel cortile del palazzo di madama Orsini in piazza Navona una serenata. Vi cantarono il Pasqualino musico di cappella et un altro musico condotto da Francia dal cardinale d'Etré. La spesa la fece il cavalier de Me . . . nepote del cardinale Coeslin, che habita in un appartamento[316] di detto palazzo de gl'Orsini.
>
> Sunday, September 19, 1700
>
> With the piazza [dei SS. Apostoli] almost entirely filled with coaches and many people, a very beautiful serenata was given at about three at night by the Queen of Poland on the loggia which is between the palace of Don Livio [Odescalchi] and its neighbor.

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314. Francesco Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, ed. Gaetano Scano (Milano: Longanesi, 1977-79), I, 14.

315. A contralto with this name is identified by Kirkendale, *Caldara*, p. 352, and Valesio, *Diario*, II, 566, mentions a Pasqualino da Campagna in the service of the Church of S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli on April 3, 1703.

316. Valesio, *Diario*, I, 36.

Domenica, 19 settembre 1700

Alle 3 in circa della notte su la loggia che è fra il palazzo di don Livio et il contiguo fu dalla regina di Polonia fatta una bellissima serenata essendo la piazza quasi tutta ingombrata da carrozze e numeroso popolo.[317]

5.2.1 A Summary of the Serenatas heard in Rome during 1700

I.

Date: Sunday evening, July 18, 1700
Place: Probably at the Duchess of Bracciano's palace on the Piazza Navona
For: Cardinal Choeslin
Patron: Anna Maria de Trémouilles-Noirmentiers, the Duchess of Bracciano, sometimes called Princess Orsini

II.

Date: Several rehearsals before July 20, 1700
Place: Palazzo di Montecitorio, *i.e.*, the Curia Innocenziana
For: Pope Innocent XII
Author of the text: Monsignor Marini

III.

Date: Saturday, July 31, 1700
Place: Palazzo Odescalchi on the Piazza dei SS.

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317. Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, I, 51-52.

Apostoli
For: Queen Maria Casimira
Performers: the female singer Tolla

IV.

Date: Thursday evening, September 2, 1700
Place: the Duchess of Bracciano's palace on the Piazza Navona
For: Anna Maria de Trémouilles-Noirmentiers, the Duchess of Bracciano, sometimes called Princess Orsini
Patrons: Several French noblemen, including the nephew of Card. Choeslin
Performers: Pasqualino and another singer from France

V.

Date: September 19, 1700
Place: Palazzo Odescalchi
Patron: Queen Maria Casimira of Poland

VI.

Date: Before September 22, 1700
Place: probably at Prince Tassis' Casino at the Trinità dei Monti
For: the Spanish ambassador's wife
Patron: Prince D. Miguel de Tassis
Performers: female singers and instruments

VII.

Date: Before September 22, 1700
Place: probably at Prince Tassis' Casino at the Trinità dei Monti
For: the Duchess of Poli
Performers: female singers and instruments

VIII.

Date: September 28, 1700
Place: palace of the Duke of Parma
For: several ladies and cavaliers
Patron: Card. Pietro Ottoboni

Although none of the works listed above can be identified, one of these serenatas may well be preserved in MS. 2244, fols. 202-265, owned by the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. According to the published catalogue of this library, the work bears the title: *Serenata a 3 Venere, Cupido e Marte con stromenti. Musica del Sig.r Severo di Luca. Roma 1700.*[318] The text of another of the serenatas heard in Rome that year may be preserved in a libretto by Giovanni Battista Grappelli referred to on its title page as a *Componimento drammatico.* According to the catalogue of libretti in the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, this work was published by Paolo Moneta at Rome in 1700 and bears a dedication by Giovanni M. Pertica to the Marchese Giovanni

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318. Higinio Anglés and José Subirá, *Catálogo Musical de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid* (Barcelona: Instituto Español de Musicología, 1946), I, 410. It begins: "Splende in Ciel la mia lucida stella."

Paolo Meli Lupi di Soragna. Giovanni Lorenzo Lulier set it to music.[319]

5.3 The Neapolitan Festivities for the Birthday and Nameday of Charles II in 1700

During tha autumn of 1700 there were numerous reports in the *Gazzetta di Napoli* of the preparations being made by the Viceregal court for a spectacular tournament to be held in front of the Royal Palace on November 6, the birthday of Charles II of Spain. For example, the *Gazzetta* of November 2 reports:

> . . . and next Saturday [November 6] will be marked with livelier joy by the above-mentioned tournament on His Majesty's birthday, which was admirably rehearsed yesterday in the same theater in front of the Royal Palace in which it will be given, where that same night [inside the Palace] the new opera entitled *I Rivali generosi* will be given for the first time . . .
>
> . . . e Sabato prossimo se ne contrasegnerà più al vivo l'allegria nel Cumpleaños di S.M. collo scritto Torneo, che fù ieri provato mirabilmente nel medesimo Teatro, ove dovrà farsi avanti il Regio Palagio, ove nella medesima sera si rappresentarà per la prima volta la nuova Opera in musica, intitolata, *I Rivali Generosi* . . .

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319. Cairo and Quilic, *Biblioteca teatrale dal '500 al '700*, no. 1020.

Although the Royal Chapel of Naples took part in this celebration, it is not clear whether or not Alessandro Scarlatti was present. The *Gazzetta* of November 9, 1700, reports:

> . . . by command of His Excellency (who for three days has suspended the criminal courts) the entire city appeared illuminated for the three evenings beginning Thursday [November 4], the day dedicated to the glorious Saint [Charles Borromeo] whose name His Majesty bears, until Saturday [November 6], his birthday, the royal Castel Nuovo contributing to the pomp with infinite lights and the words "VIVA EL REY" written in fire, just as the other fortresses and all the houses of nobles and ministers were illuminated by wax torches and the churches, houses, and shops by lanterns, among which those [shops] belonging to the merchants of the *lanzieri*, of Saint Pietro Martire, of the *loggia*, and of the *armieri* were seen decorated with festive drapes, cloth hangings, or by festoons, paintings, statues, small devotional altars, all of which were illuminated by torches which completely suffused the market place with the light of a rich display of joy and jubilant happiness. Various bizarre firework displays were set off by the most loyal populace, as was done again elsewhere. Pictures of our rulers under rich crowns with torches were seen everywhere, especially in the more conspicuous churches and in the public banks. Altogether, for the said three nights Naples seemed a Troy ablaze, except that it was with joy, outwardly demonstrating with flames her inner ardent desire for the health of her monarch, may God preserve him for many ages and grant him the desired heirs. On the first evening of this festival, as he drove through the main streets of the city in his coach enjoying [the celebrations], His Excellency was greeted by the joyful explosions and royal salvos from the cannons of the fortresses, as occurred on the second [evening] when he was accompanied by the Most Excellent Vicereine, surrounded by a great number of cavaliers and people. On Saturday morning all the ministers of justice, judges, military officers, with a crowd of titled

dignitaries and cavaliers in very precious gala, came to the Royal Palace to offer their compliments to the Viceroy, who had the subordinate members of his court displayed that day in a very rich livery. And then in a most magnificent train of coaches His Excellency went to the Church of the Greater Carmine, accompanied in one of them by the Dukes of Atri and of Ielzi, and by the Prince of Tarsia, and there mass was sung, the singers of the Royal Chapel intoning the *Te Deum* [and] the squadron of Spanish infantry stationed in front of the said church firing triple volleys with their muskets which were answered by the artillery of all our fortresses. The above-reported tournament was then given with great extravagance that day in front of the Royal Palace, where then that evening the above-mentioned opera, reworked by the noble pen of the Abate Francesco Maria Paglia and so felicitously set to music by the gifted Filippo Maria Collinelli, was performed to acclaim for the first time.

. . .à cenni di S.E. (quale per 3. giorni fè rimaner sospesi i Tribunali) si vide per le medesime sere principiando da quella di Giovedì; il giorno dedicato al glorioso Santo, di cui la M.S. ne porta il nome, fino al Sabato, giorno suo natalizio; vedendosi tutta la Città illuminata, facendovi pompa il Regio Castel nuovo, con infiniti lumi, ed à caratteri di fuoco scritto: VIVA EL REY, così gli altri Castelli, e tutte le case de' Nobili, e Ministri illuminate di cere, le Chiese, case, e botteghe di lucerne, e frà le altre, quelle de' Mercanti de' Lanzieri, S. Pietro Martire, Loggia, ed Armieri, si viddero adobbate di felici drappi, pizzilli, ò sian merletti, quadri, statue, altarini, tutti illuminati di torcie, facendo con la ricchezza mostra dell'interno gaudio, e giubilante letizia, il Mercato tutto illuminato dal fedelissimo Popolo vi bruggiò diversi capricciosi fuochi artificiali, come ancora si fece altrove; Per tutto vedeansi Ritratti de' nostri Regnanti sotto ricchi Doffelli con torcie, particolarmente alle Chiese più cospicue, e publici Banchi; in somma sembrò per dette trè sere Napoli una Troja brugiante: mà per giubilo, dimostrando nell'esterne fiamme l'interno del desiderio ardente per la salute del suo Monarca, che Dio guardi per più secoli,

concedendogli la desiata Prole. Il ribombo [*sic*] del Cannone delle fortezze con salva Reale rallegrò questo festeggiamento, quale andò S.E. godendolo per le strade più principali della Città, in carozza la prima sera, e la seconda accompagnato della Eccellentissima Sign. Vice-Regina, con gran numero di Cavalieri, e Popolo appresso. La mattina del Sabato si portorno tutt' i Ministri de' Tribunali, Togati, e Militari co' Titolati, e Cavalieri in pienissimo *concorso, e con gale pretiosissime a complimentare* nel Regio Palagio il Sig. Vice-Rè, che fè spiegare in quel giorno ricchissima livrea alla sua Corte bassa; e poscia si condusse S.E. col famosissimo treno delle sue Carozze alla Chiesa del Carmine maggiore, accompagnata in una di esse dalli Signori, Duca d'Atri, Duca di Ielzi, e Prencipe di Tarsia, ed ivi fù cantata la Messa, intonadovi il *Te Deum* i Musici della Real Cappella, scaricando triplicatamente il moscetto [*sic*] lo Squdrone de' Fanti Spagnuoli, piantato avanti detta Chiesa, corrisposto dall'Artigliaria di tutti i nostri Castelli; Il giorno poscia fù celebrato con somma bizzarria lo scritto Torneo avanti il Real Palagio, ove la sera poi fù rappresentata per la prima volta plausibilmente la consaputa Opera Armonica, rinovata dalla nobil penna dell'Abbate Francesco Maria Paglia, posta egreggimente in Musica dal virtuoso Filippo Maria
320
Collinelli.

The celebration of Charles II's birthday and the wishes for his long life that year were in vain. Unknown to the inhabitants of Naples, the King had died on November 1, 1700, the news arriving in Naples only around the middle of that month. In his final testament the last of the Spanish Habsburg monarchs left his crown to the Duke of Anjou,

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320. Another account of these celebrations can be found in an anonymous diary published by G. De Blasiis, "Diario napoletano dal 1700 al 1709," *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, X (1885), pp. 86-7.

Philip of Bourbon. Naples and all of Europe would soon suffer the strife of the War of the Spanish Succession as Habsburg and Bourbon battled for possession not only of Spain but of every part of her empire.

5.4 Cantatas at Rome during the Fall and Winter of 1700-1701

Alessandro Scarlatti's whereabouts during the fall and winter of 1700-1701 are not clear. No opera of his is known to have been given during the carnival of 1701 in Rome or Naples, although his *La Caduta de' Decemviri* was revived in Florence that winter. During the fall and winter, musical resources were marshalled in Rome as the rival Habsburg and Bourbon claimants to the Spanish throne asserted their prerogatives. The Bourbons seem to have quickly seized the initiative according to Francesco Valesio, who reports:

> Sunday, November 28, 1700
>
> Cardinal D'Estrées invited Cardinal Novaglies and other gentlemen to a cantata, after which a very sumptuous supper was prepared. It was notable that during it Cardinal D'Estrées made a toast to the health of the Duke of Anjou, Philip V of Spain, in Spanish which was answered by another in French directed to the same king by the Spanish agent.
>
> Domenica, 28 novembre 1700
>
> Il cardinal d'Etré invitò il cardinale di Novaglies et altri signori ad una cantata di

musica, doppo la quale fu preparata una lautissima cena, nella quale vi fu di notabile che il cardinal d'Etrè fece un brindesi alla salute del duca d'Angiò Filippo V re di Spagna in lingua spagnola, al quale corrispose con altro brindesi diretto al medesimo re l'agente di Spagna in lingua francese.[321]

Several other examples of the use to which music was put in the Roman diplomatic arena are preserved in the following *avviso di Roma* dated January 8, 1701:

> On Thursday evening [December 30] the wife of the German [*i.e.*, Austrian] Ambassador [Leopold Lamberg] desired to celebrate the birthday of the Queen of the Romans[322] by giving a fine party at his palace,[323] which began with a beautiful cantata for three voices and many instruments and was followed by a ball which lasted until ten hours of night, very many ladies being in attendance . . .
>
> On Sunday morning [January 2] Cardinal del Giudice gave a sumptuous banquet for the French cardinals, which was also attended by the Spanish Ambassador with prelates and noblemen of the Spanish and French [*i.e.*, Bourbon] party; and the said Cardinal del Giudice also wished to present for his guests an entertainment consisting of a very noble cantata, but the French Ambassador's grave illness prevented it; therefore they excused themselves, not being able to stay after the meal.
>
> Giovedi sera la Sig.*nora* Ambas.*ciatrice* di Germania volse solennizare Il Comple Annos, della Reg.*ina* de Romani con fare una bella Festa al suo palazzo, la quale principiò con una bella Cantata

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321. Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, I, 144-49.

322. The wife of the future Emperor Joseph I.

323. The Palazzo Bonelli according to Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, I, 96.

à tre voci con molti strumenti, e doppo un Ballo, che durò fino alle dieci hore della Notte, esendovi intervenute moltissimi Dame . . [324]

.

Domenica matt.*ina* Il Sig.*nor* Card.*inale* del Giudice diede un sontuoso Banchetto à i Sig.*nori* Card.*inali* Francesi e vi intervenne ancora il Sig.*nor* Amb.*asciator* di Spagna con molti Prelati e Signori dependenti alla Spagna, e della Francia, e voleva ancora il d.*etto* Sig.*nor* Card.*inale* del Giudice dare à i Convitati un divertim.*into* d'una nobilissima Cantata, ma la Malattia grave del Sig.*nor* Amb.*asciator* di Francia l'impedì, mentre si scusarono di non potersi più trattenere doppo [325] il pranzo.

Although neither the works mentioned above nor the musicians responsible for them have been identified, it is clear that Rome offered many opportunities for a musician that winter. Only a few of the events marking the Roman carnival of 1701 are mentioned in the following extract from an *avviso* dated February 9, 1701:

Tuesday night [February 8] the pleasures of carnival ended, there having been many comedies. Besides the one completely in music which Cardinal Ottoboni had performed in the Collegio Nazareno, Prince [D. Miguel de] Tassis had another, likewise in music, performed at his casino at the Trinità de' Monti, where it was sung by his female vocalists. The words by the Abate [Giacomo] Buonaccorsi and the music by Cesarini succeeded quite well, although in the end it was given only five times for a very large crowd. There were parties of gambling and dancing, [and] very many social gatherings (*conversationi*) . . .

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324. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 196, fol. 346r-v.

325. *Ibid.*, fol. 346v.

Restorno terminati martedi notte li spassi Carnovaleschi, essendovi state Comedie in quantità, oltre quella tutta in musica fattasi fare dal S.*ignor* Card.*inal*e Ottoboni nel Collegio Nazareno, ne hà fatta similme.*ente* rapresentare altra pure in musica Il S.*ignore Princip*e Tassi al suo Casino alla Trinità de Monti, ove vi hanno Cantato le sue Canterine, riuscita assai bona le Parole del S.*ignor* Abb.*at*e Bonaccorsi, la Musica di Cesarini, che risolutosi in fine, è stata fatta solam.*ente* Cinque volte, con un' grandiss.*imo* Concorso; Vi sono state festini di Gioco, e di Ballo, con moltiss.*ime* Conversat.*ioni* . . . [326]

5.5 The Nameday Celebrations for Philip V at Naples in 1701

In the spring of 1701 preparations were begun in Naples for a new round of festivities, this time to take place on May 1, 1701, to commemorate the nameday of the new Bourbon King of Spain, Philip V. The *Gazzetta* of April 19, for example, reports:

> Besides the above-mentioned tournament which the Most Excellent Viceroy is having the nobility prepare in celebration of the arrival of His Majesty in Madrid, may God preserve him, to the same end His Excellency is having a famous opera entitled *Laodicea e Berenice* prepared under the direction of his Captain of the Guard, Marchese Azzolini, with the finest voices and instrumentalists available, even from distant cities, who are now busily rehearsing it to great acclaim.
>
> Oltre all'avvisato Torneo, che da questa Nobiltà fà prevenire l'Eccelentissimo Sig.

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326. *Ibid.*, fol. 358v.

> Vice-Rè per festeggiare l'arrivo di S.M. che Dio Guardi, in Madrid; ha fatto allo stesso oggetto preparare S.E. sotto la diretione del Cap. delle sue Guardie Sig. Marchese Azzolini, una famosa opra [*sic*] in Musica intitolata *Laodice, e Berenice*, [*sic*] col fiore delle voci, & instrumenti, che si sono, anche da lontani paesi, potuti havere, di cui se ne vanno à lo stesso facendo le pruove [*sic*] con plausibile riuscita.

The tournament was held on May 1 in a *teatro* erected by the architect Cristoforo Schor in front of the Royal Palace.[327] It is of interest to learn from an anonymous diary that the spectators were required to pay for their seats:

> On the first of May of the said year [of 1701] the Viceroy had a very beautiful theater built in front of the Royal Palace in such a manner that no one could enter except through a door, and whoever wished to enter had to go to the door and to pay five *carlini* per person, where he was assigned his seat on the scaffolding. Many cavaliers dressed as if for a cavalcade descended on horseback from the Spirito Santo into the midst of the said theater, coming by way of the Via Toledo in well ordered rows of five; and there in front of the Royal Palace they jousted for the ring. There was a great crowd of people, [and] it was marvelous to see all the cavaliers richly dressed, all in honor of Saint Philip, the name of our King Philip V.
>
> Nel primo maggio di detto anno il Vicerè avanti il Regio palazzo ha fatto fare un bellissimo teatro, dimodochè nessuno poteva entrare se non entrava per la porta, et chi voleva entrare haveva d'andare alla porta e pagare carlini cinque per ciascheduno, dove l'era assegnato il loro posto sopra il balchetto. Dove in mezzo di detto teatro

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327. A contemporary account of this tournament printed by Domenico Antonio Parrino is cited by Mancini, *Feste ed apparati*, p. 265, no. 380.

> molti Cavalieri a modo di cavalcata uscendo a cavallo dallo Spirito Santo, et a cinque se inviorno per Toledo tutti ben in ordine, andorno avanti detto Regio Palazzo e là giostrorno al gioco dell'Aniello. Dove ne concorse grande quantità di popolo che fu una maraviglia a vedere tutti li Cavalieri riccamente vestiti; il tutto ad honore, di S. Filippo nome del nostro Re Filippo V.[328]

That same evening Alessandro Scarlatti's setting of the opera *Laodicea e Berenice* was given its first official performance in the Teatro San Bartolomeo. The text of the opera was not new, and the libretto printed on this occasion speaks of it as *variato in parte*, alluding to the fact that it had previously been heard at Venice in 1695 with music by G.A. Perti.[329]

5.6 The Nameday Celebrations for Philip V at Rome in 1701

Not to be outdone by his colleague in Naples, the Duke of Uceda, Spanish Ambassador in Rome, sponsored three days of festivities in the Piazza di Spagna marking Philip's nameday that year. As early as April 19, 1701, an *avviso* reports the following:

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328. De Blasiis, "Diario napoletano dal 1700 al 1709," X, 91.

329. Pagano, *Scarlatti*, p. 160. Bianconi, "Funktionen des Operntheaters in Neapel," p. 100.

> The Spanish Ambassador here has begun massive preparations for a joyful celebration in honor of the new King Philip V, and this festival will begin on May first, the birthday and nameday of His Catholic Majesty. And it is believed that the said celebrations are to be grandiose . . .
>
> Questo Amb:*asciatore* di Spagna và preparando grand' Alestimento, *per* fare feste di allegrezze *per* Il nuovo Rè Filippo V.°, e si darà princip.*io* q*ueste* feste il p.*rimo* maggio, Giorno Natalio, e Nome di S.*ua* M.*aesta* Cattol.*ica*, E si è *per* credere, che dett*e* feste siano *per* essere grandiose . . . [330]

5.6.1 Severo de Luca's Serenata *Applausi delle Virtù*

In fact, the three days of festivities began on the evening of Saturday, April 30, with a serenata, a description of which is preserved in an *avviso* sent to the Duke of Mantua dated May 19, 1701:

> On Saturday evening the festivities began in the Piazza di Spagna with a cantata by numerous singers and the best instrumentalists of the city, for whom a theater-like platform with very beautiful pictures was erected, and at night [this was] decorated with a great number of torches which with flaming lights produced a sumptuous vista. On the following Sunday evening [May 1] there was a grand display of fireworks which produced a marvelous sight.
>
> Fu cominciata Sabbato sera l'allegrezza in Piazza di Spagna, con una cantata di numerosi Musici, e suoni de migliori della Città, per i quali era fatto un palco a modo di Teatro con vaghissime pitture, e notti, ornato di moltitudine di Doppieri, che con lumi accesi facevano una

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330. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 196, fol. 381v.

> sontuosa comparsa. La Domenica sera seguente vi fu un gran fuoco d'artifizio, che giocò a maraviglia.[331]

The catalogue of libretti in the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, identifies the following as preserving the text heard on this occasion:

> *Applausi delle Virtù nell'Esaltazione alla monarchia delle Spagne . . . di Filippo Quinto . . .* Roma, erede di Giuseppe Vannacci, 1701[332]

According to the authors of this catalogue, Severo de Luca is named in the libretto as the composer of the *Applausi delle Virtù*.

At least one exemplar of this libretto was almost immediately dispatched to France along with a letter, today preserved in the French *Archives Nationales*, describing in some detail the performance of this serenata:

> Sir,--In this book which I have the honor to send to you, you will see the verses in praise of

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331. I MAc (Mantua, Biblioteca Communale), *Avvisi*, vol. III (1700-1703). Cited by Isidoro Gatti, *Il P. Vincenzo Coronelli dei Frati Minori Conventuali negli anni del generalato (1701-1707)* (Rome: Universita Gregoriana Editrice, 1976), I, 51-2.

332. Cairo and Quilic, *Biblioteca teatrale dal '500 al '700*, no. 414. Another libretto in I Rc listed in this catalogue as no. 751 preserves a text sung by five characters which may also have been performed in Philip's honor that year in Rome.

Philip V, the King of Spain, that his ambassador in this court had sung on Saturday, the last day of April, at two hours of night by a large chorus of singers and of instrumentalists.

On this occasion His Excellency had had a very large richly decorated theater built facing his palace in the Piazza [di Spagna] in which the singers and instrumentalists were situated.

The figure of the King on horseback, surrounded by trophies, was centered on a pedestal above the roof [of the theater]; several figures representing his virtues extended around the roof. Some chandeliers bearing three hundred torches which illuminated this spectacle were placed between two [of them] and in several other positions. The labors of Hercules were painted in gilt bas-relief on the facades of the two pedestals at the two sides of the amphitheater--upon which this monarch's arms were raised--and on the facade of the roof.

Behind this structure there was the illusion of a forest, which produced a fine effect.

On Sunday the first of May a very beautiful firework display, built in the same square beside the amphitheater, was set off. The [legend of] Polyphemus and Galathea was the subject of its decorations.

The cardinals, princes, and princesses loyal to France and to Spain gathered for two days at this festival. They assembled at the ambassador's palace where they were treated to a magnificent meal of confections and iced liquors. This festival took place with great joy and much applause.

Monsieur,--Vous verrez en ce livre, que j'ay l'honneur de vous envoyer, les Èloges à la gloire de Philippe quint, Roy d'Espagne, que son Ambassadeur en cette Cour fit chanter samedy, dernier jour d'avril, à deux heures de nuit, par un grand coeur de musique et de simphonie.

Son Excellence avoit, pour ce sujet, fait élever en la Place, en face de son Palais, un très grand amphithèâtre, richement orné, pour placer

les Musiciens et Simphonistes.

Au milieu et dessus de l'attique, sur un grand pied d'estail, étoit la figure du Roy à cheval, environnée de trophées; plusieurs figures, représentantes ses virtues, régnoient sur le tour de l'attique. Des candélabres étoient posés entre deux et en plusieurs autres endroitz, qui portoyent trois cens flambeaux qui éclairoient ce spectacle. Dans les faces des pieds d'estaux, qui étoyent aux deux extrémités de l'Amphitéâtre, sur lesquels étoyent élevées les armes de ce Monarque et, sur la face de l'attique, les Travaux d'Hercule y étoyent peints en bas-reliefs, rehaussez d'or.

Derière cet édifice, on avoit feint un bois, qui faisoit un fonds très avantageux pour l'effet.

Le dimanche, premier de may, on tira un très beau feu d'artifice, élevé dans la même Place à costé de l'Amphitéâtre, dont le sujet de la décoration étoit Polyphème et Galathée.

Messeigneurs les Cardinaux, Princes et Princesses qui sont dans les intérets de la France et d"Espagne furent convoqués les duex jours à cette feste. Ils se rendirent au Palais de l'Ambassadeur, où ils furent régalez d'une magniffique [*sic*] collation de confitures et eaux fraiches. Cette feste se passa avec de grandes
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joyes et applaudissements.

An even more revealing account of this festival is preserved as follows in the *Diario di Roma* of Francesco Valesio:

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333. Montaiglon, Anatole de, *Correspondance des Directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome*, III (Paris: Charavay Frères, 1889), p. 76, no. 1089, letter of Houasse to Mansart dated Rome, May 3, 1701.

Saturday, April 30, 1701

The finished theater for the serenata in honor of the name[day] of Philip V, the King of Spain, was seen this morning. It was designed by the architect Tomasso Mattei, called "lo Spadarino," and built by the Spanish Ambassador, Duke of Uçeda, although this ambassador has little reason to rejoice in his new king, by whom he was deprived of 13,000 *scudi* in income which he had enjoyed as a pension granted to his family by the munificence of the former kings of Spain. This theater filled with its width the entire opening of the Piazza Mignanelli, in front of which it was situated. From its lowest level, in the middle of the lines of sight, there arose a pedestal upon which there was another similar one with a tablet of feigned lapis lazuli upon which could be read the following inscription: *Filippo V Hispaniarum regi*, they having carelessly written the name of Philip in Latin with *F* rather than with *Ph*. Beside the pedestal, which rose above the level of the theater, were the two allegorical figures Fame and Munificence, carved in wood and painted in yellow chiaroscuro made luminescent with gilt, as were the other figures and the rest of the theater; upon the said pedestal was situated a similarly colored equestrian portrait of King Philip, bearing arms and treading upon various types of weapons. On the facade of the theater directly facing the audience, which extended toward both sides [from the center], various labors of Hercules were painted, among which there were torch stands of five torches each, and on the central pedestal the Gallic Hercules was painted, from whose mouth could be seen many chains which came forth and were drawn around various persons, a legend which had nothing to do with the other deeds of the Theban Hercules. Similar torch stands were placed in the upper parts on the cornice of the theater among figures which represented various virtues. A beautiful sylvan scene of trees placed behind and above the said theater created a beautiful vista. The two facades of the theater directly facing the audience, which were divided by the pedestal which supported the figure of the king, were enclosed between two other oblique facades of similar size and ornamentation, their lines of

sight ending with two great pedestals, one atop the other, the latter of which held up the king's coat of arms with two virtues at each side; but instead of the arms of Portugal, these had the arms of the royal house of Bourbon in the middle. In the hollow of the theater were two series of steps of *porta santa* and lapis lazuli made for the singers and instrumentalists, among whom could be seen from place to place torch stands painted in silver chiaroscuro. To the sides of the sight lines created by these steps, two seated figures representing Music and Harmony were painted in yellow chiaroscuro of luminescent gold held up by the lowest pedestal of the theater, the pedestals ending with several groups of instruments painted in the said fashion [and] divided by borders of marble, *porta santa* and lapis lazuli. Some torch stands of silver chiaroscuro were placed on the ground in front of the theater, and around it there was an enclosure of beams encircled with laurel. A lack of care was observed in the placing of the labors of Hercules, painted in yellow chiaroscuro of luminescent gold, in the said theater while these made no allusion to the king in whose honor this festival was given.

A foreign cavalier, observing this theater at fourteen hours that morning, said that they did well to place King Philip on horseback, since soon he would be on his way back to Paris. This having been heard by someone of that court and reported to it, a person soon appeared incognito who struck him on the cheek, making him fall to the ground. And when he arose he no longer even dared to speak since there appeared around him many from the ambassador's court hiding there faces with their cloaks and with arms under them. He left with one of them following him at a distance.

After eating, wine was distributed that morning, which spurted forth from a wooden fountain placed, to the acclamation of the rabble, in the middle of the Piazza [di Spagna] by four hunch-backs dressed in green.

That evening the theater was illuminated by three hundred torches of Venetian wax, other torches being at the balconies and windows of the ambassador's palace. Throughout the city all the

palaces of those faithful to the crown were illuminated by order of the said ambassador; only the palaces of the Imperial Ambassador in the Piazza dei SS. Apostoli [i.e., the Palazzo Bonelli] and of Cardinal Grimani on the Corso were without lights or any sign of applause for the present festivities. The windows and balconies of the ambassador's palace were filled with ladies invited to this festival, to whom were given sumptuous refreshments of sweets and beverages, and sixteen cardinals were present. Neither the ambassador nor his wife wishing to offer their hand to anyone, the princes and princesses were not assigned to different places. The Queen of Poland [Maria Casimira] was at the last window in the first apartment of the palace of Propaganda Fide on the side overlooking the Strada Ferratina to hear the serenata.

The entrances to the Strada Ferratina and the streets alongside the palace of Propagnada Fide and the palace of the Borgognoni were barricaded with timbers, and from there almost to the fountain of the Barcaccia the middle of the piazza was blocked to coach traffic, although many coaches had been brought there that morning by various personages and left without their horses to accomodate those who came to hear the serenata that evening. And these places were assigned by the ambassador's Master of Horse, who was there to permit them to enter the enclosure, within which Cardinal Fourbin[-Janson] was seen walking that morning with little of the decorum befitting the purple.

The serenata began at two and a half hours of night, sung by five vocalists, Pasqualino, Girolamo di Rospigliosi, the nephew of Paoluccio [Francesco Besci], and Granari . . . , accompanied by seventy instruments. The poetry was the work of the Sicilian Count Noceti, and the music was by the Neapolitan Severo de Luca. The serenata ended after four [hours of night] to little applause, the torches having been now and then extinguished by the wind that blew. There was not such a great crowd as had been expected for a festival given at such cost because some disturbance or confusion caused by malcontents was feared, and that same ambassador had over three hundred armed men stationed at the heads of the streets, in the

palace, and, among the others, sixty in front of the theater, divided under their captains and armed with pocket-pistols and blunderbusses; and of these people, some were from the city and some were sent by the Contestabile Colonna, by the Savelli, and by the Gaetani from their estates. The Papal police were positioned at the head of the Strada dei Condotti and below the trees which are at the foot of the hill facing the fountain of the Barcaccia. Because of a similar fear, all the soldiers of the city were ordered under pain of death to remain in their quarters where they were kept until the sixth hour of night, and until that time the two companies of cuirassiers and dragoons at Termine kept their horses saddled and ready to ride at the sign of any disturbance which might have broken out at that festival.

Sabato, 30 aprile 1701

Si vidde in questa mattina terminato il teatro per la serenata in honore del nome di Filippo V re di Spagna, architettato da Tomasso Mattei detto "lo Spadarino" e fatto inalzare dal duca d'Uçeda ambasciatore di Spagna, benché esso amasciatore habbia poca occasione di rallegrarsi del nuovo re, dal quale è stato privato di 13.000 scudi di rendita godute per pensione, date alla sua casa dalla munificenza de' passati re della Spagna. Occupava questo teatro con la larghezza l'imbocco della piazza de' Mignanelli, avanti alla quale era situato. Sorgeva nel mezzo del prospetto sopra il primo ripiano una base, sopra la quale era altra simile con cartella di finto lapis lazuli e vi si leggeva la seguente iscrizzione: "Filippo V Hispaniarum regi", havendo con poca osservazione scritto in latino il nome di Filippo con la F e non con la Ph. A lato della base, che superava l'ordine del teatro, v'erano due virtù, la Fama e la Munificenza, di legno contornato, dipinte a chiaro oscuro di giallo lumeggiato d'oro, sì come erano le altre virtù et il resto del teatro; di simile colore posava sopra la detta base il ritratto del re Filippo a cavallo armato e calcando varie sorte d'armi; nella facciata piana del teatro che era da ambedue le parti erano dipinte varie fatiche d'Ercole, fra le quali erano torcieri a cinque torcie e nella base di mezzo era dipinto l'Ercole gallico, dalla bocca del quale vedevansi uscire catene che traevano diverse

persone, favola che non haveva che fare con l'altri fatti dell'Ercole tebano. Simili torcieri erano nella parte superiore sopra il cornicione del teatro, posti fra alcune figure che rappresentavano diverse virtù, formando vaga vista una scena boscareccia d'alberi posta dietro al detto teatro e lo sopravanzava. Alle due facciate piane del teatro, che venivano divise dalla base quale sosteneva la figura del re, formavano seno due altre facciate oblique di simile grandezza e similmente ornate che terminavano nel prospetto con due gran basi una sopra l'altra, sostenendo l'ultima di esse l'arme del re con due virtù a i lati; quelle invece dell'armi di Portogallo havevano nel mezzo l'arme della casa reale di Borbone. Erano nel cavo del teatro dui ordini di gradini di porta santa e lapis lazuli fatti per gli musici e sonatori, fra' quali di luogo in luogo vedevansi torcieri dipinti di chiaro oscuro d'argento; a i lati del prospetto di questi gradini, sostenute dalla prima base del teatro, erano dipinte parimente in chiaro oscuro di giallo lumeggiato d'oro due figure sedenti rappresentanti la Musica e l'Armonia, terminando le basi con alcuni gruppi d'istromenti dipinti nel sudetto modo, divisi da liste di marmi di porta santa e lapis lazuli. Erano avanti il teatro piantati in terra alcuni torcieri di chiaro oscuro d'argento et un recinto di travi circondati di lauro. Si osservò la poca buona avvertenza nel porre le fatiche d'Ercole dipinte in chiaro oscuro giallo lumeggiato d'oro nel sudetto teatro, mentre queste non havevano alcuna allusione al re in honore del quale si faceva la solennità.

La mattina alle hor 14 un cavaliere forastiero, osservando questo teatro, disse che havevano fatto bene a porre il re Filippo a cavallo perché presto sarebbe di ritorno in Parigi. Udito ciò da qualch'uno della corte e riferito, di lì a poca comparve una persona incognita che lo percosse con una guanciata, di modo che lo fece cadere in terra e, levatosi su senza havere né pure ardire di parlare, perché gli comparirono intorno molti della corte dell'ambasciatore imbavagliati ne' faraioli con armi sotto, se ne partì seguito alla lontana da uno di quelli.

Il giorno doppo il pranzo si distribuì il vino,

che era gettato da una fontana di legno posta in mezzo della piazza da quattro gobbi vestiti di verde, con acclamazioni della canaglia.

Si illuminò la sera il teatro con trecento torcie di cera di Venezia, essendo altre torcie alle ringhiere e fenestre del palazzo dell'ambasciatore, vedendosi per la città tutti gli palazzi degl'aderenti della corona illuminati con torcie d'ordine del detto ambasciatore: solo gli palazzi dell'ambasciatore cesareo nella piazza di SS. Apostoli e del cardinali Grimani al Corso erano senza alcun lume e segnale d'applaudire alle presenti feste. Le fenestre e ringhiere del palazzo dell'ambascitore erano ripiene di dame invitate alla festa, alle quali fu dato un sontuoso rinfresco di dolci et acque e vi furono cardinali al numero di sedici. Non vi furono prencipi né precipesse per la differenza de' luoghi, non volendo né l'ambasciatore né l'ambasciatrice dare ad alcuno la mano. La regina di Polonia era ad udire la serenata all'ultima fenestra del primo appartamento del palazzo di Propaganda Fide dalla parte di strada Ferratina.

Erano sbarrati con travi li capi delle strade Ferratina e laterali del palazzo di Propaganda Fide e de' Borgognoni, e da questa poco più verso la fontana detta della Barcaccia era sbarrata in mezzo la piazza per impedire il tratto delle carrozze, essendovene bensì state portate molte la mattina di diversi personaggi e lassate ivi, havendone staccati gli cavalli, per starvi commodamente la sera ad udire la serenata, e furono distribuite ne' luoghi che assegnò il cavallerizzo dell'ambasciatore, al quale spettava il dar la licenza di farle entrare nel recinto, dentro il quale si vedde la mattina girare a piede il cardinale di Fourbin con poco decoro della porpora.

Si incominciò la serenata alle 2 e mezza della notte cantata da cinque musici, Pasqualino, Girolamo di Rospigliosi, il nepote di Paoluccio et il Granari . . . , accompagnati dall'armonia di settanta istromenti. Era la poesia opera del conte Noceti siciliano e la musica di Severo De Luca napoletano. Terminò doppo le 4 con poco applauso la serenata, essendosi le torcie di tanto

in tanto ammorzate per il vento che soffiava. Non vi fu quel concorso di gente che si aspettava in una festa fatta con tanto dispendio, perché si temeva qualche sconcerto e buglia da' malcontenti e l'istesso ambasciatore haveva trecento e più huomini armati distribuiti ne' capi delle strade, nel palazzo e, fra gl'altri, sessanta avanti il teatro armati di terzette e pistoni, divisi sotto gli loro capi, e questa gente parte era della città e parte gl'era stata mandata da' loro Stati dal contestabile Colonna, Savelli e Gaetani. Gli sbirri erano di posto a capo la strada de' Condotti e sotto gl'alberi che sono alle radici del monte incontro la fontana della Barcaccia. Si ordinò alli soldati della città per simile timore che tutti, a pena della vita, stessero ne' loro quartieri, dove furono trattenuti sino alle 6 della notte, e sin a quell'hora le due compagnie che sono a Termine de corazze e dragoni tennero li loro cavalli insellati per star pronti a riparare ad ogni inconveniente che potesse sortire in tal festa.[334]

5.7 Alessandro Scarlatti's Serenata in the Palace of the Post, Naples, on June 2, 1701

A month later a religious procession of political significance to the ruling Spaniards was held in the streets of Naples. In an anonymous Neapolitan diary it is described as follows:

> In this same month of June there was a procession by the four mendicant religious orders by decree of the Most Eminent Cardinal Cantelmo, as if it had been the first Saturday of May, leaving from the bishop's residence for [the

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334. Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, I, 366-70.

churches of] San Lorenzo, San Domenico Soriano, through the Santo Spirito gate, [and then] for the Gesù Nuovo. Along the streets [there were] many altars all honoring God and the glorious Saint Januarius for the acclamation of our King Philip V by the people.

In queste medesimo mese di giugno, questo eminentissimo Cardinale Cantelmo, di suo moto ha fatta una processione con le quattro religioni mendicanti, come se fosse stato il primo sabato di maggio, uscendo dal vescovato per s. Lorenzo, san Domenico Soriano, per la porta dello Spirito santo, pel Gesù Nuovo: per le strade diversi altari, il tutto in honore di Dio e del glorioso s. Gennaro, per l'acclamatione fatta da questo popolo al nostro Re Filippo V.[335]

One would not normally expect such an occasion to give rise to a serenata. Another description of this procession in the *Gazzetta di Napoli* of June 7, 1701, however, contains just such unexpected information:

For the octave of *Corpus Domini* the customary procession was held on Thursday [June 2] by the Spanish nationals in their own Church of San Giacomo. It was more than usually beautiful, rich, and sumptuous, the customary four altars being erected to this end by the four religious orders with an indescribable magnificence, they being decorated with silver treasure, the rarest of paintings, and the most beautiful statues. For this occasion a squadron of Spanish infantry was stationed in the square in front of the Castel [Nuovo], which at the appropriate moment fired triple musket salvos, as was likewise done by our royal fortresses. The ministers of the courts of law, the nobility, and the Most Excellent Viceroy with his entire noble court and armed bodyguards attended the said procession. The Vicereine with her niece enjoyed this very beautiful, devout

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335. De Blasiis, "Diario napoletano dal 1700 al 1709," X, 91.

function in the Palace of the Post, where she was served with every imaginable attention by Don Giovanni della Mora, Cavalier of the Habit of Saint James and Administrator of the Post, as then occurred again under the direction and supervision of the famous steward Don Tomaso Vanni, who served in that profession the Duchess of Eboli. The refreshments were truly of sumptuous and regal splendor, the said steward displaying on this occasion as on many others his great ability. Having enjoyed everything, the Viceroy was accompanied to the said Palace [of the Post] after the procession where, besides the rarest of refreshments for Their Excellencies from the private wine cellar, which greatly pleased them, there was another [refreshment] in the form of an open house at which those delicious beverages were dispensed to all those--beyond number--who were present there. Nor was music lacking: a famous serenata with choice voices and noble instruments by the master of the [Royal] Chapel [Alessandro] Scarlatti.

Giovedì per l'Ottava del *Corpus Domini* si fè dalla Natione Spagnuola nella propria Chiesa di S. Giacomo la solita Processione, che più dell'usato riuscì vaga, ricca, e suntuosissima, essendo à tale oggetto eretti gli accostumati quattro Altari dalle solite 4. Religioni con magnificenza indicibile, adornati di più tesori d'Argenterie, e di rarissime Quadri, e Statue vaghissime. Fù per tal cagione piantato Squadrone di Fanti Spagnuoli nel largo del Castello, che à suo tempo fece triplice salve col moschetto, sicome fù fatto dalle nostre Regie Fortezze. Intervenne quest'Ecc. Signor Vicerè alla detta Processione, Ministri de' Tribunali, e Nobiltà, con tutta la sua nobilissima Corte, e compagnie Corazze del Corpo. L'Eccellentissima Signora Viceregina colla Signora sua Nipote, fù a godere di questa divolta [*sic*], e bellissima funzione nel Palagio della Posta, dove fù servita dal Signor D. Gio: della Mora Cavaliere dell'abito di S. Giacomo, Amministratore della Posta; havendo con ogni attenzione immaginabile, siccome seguì sotto la direzione, e disposizione del famoso Salco [*sic*] D. Tomaso Vanni, che serviva in tal professione la Signora Duchessa d'Eboli; essendo stati il rinfresco veramente con sontuosità, e splendidezza alla Regali, mostrando detto Scalco

> in questa occasione, siccome in molte altre, la sua grande habilità; godendo anche del tutto il Signor Vicerè, che doppo la Processione si condusse in detto Palagio, ove oltre la Botteglieria segreta di rinfreschi rarissimi per le loro Eccellenze, che ne rimasero gustatissime; ve n'era un'altra, che à guisa di Corte bandita somministrava quelle putabili delizie à quanti ivi capitavano, che furono senza numero. Non vi mancò la Musica, in una famosa Serenata del Regio Mastro [*sic*] di Cappella Scarlati [*sic*], con scelte voci, e nobili strumenti.

Although the *Gazzetta di Napoli* leaves no doubt that Alessandro Scarlatti furnished the serenata heard on this occasion, the work in question cannot be identified with certainty. Three of Scarlatti's surviving serenatas, 1) *Venere e Amore*, 2) *Clori, Lidia e Filli*, and 3) *Venere e Adone; Il Giardino di Amore*, appear on the basis of style to date from about this period. The first of the above is almost certainly a work composed for Naples, since its opening recitative ("Dal mar Tirreno in su l'amena sponda") makes reference to the Tyrrhenian Sea. Unfortunately, there are no clues in the sources of any of these serenatas which might establish the occasions for which they were written or their dates and places of performance.

5.8 Rome during the Summer of 1701

A week or two after the performance of Scarlatti's

serenata in Naples, the nameday of the Emperor Leopold I was celebrated in Rome by the Austrian Ambassador. According to an *avviso* dated June 14, 1701, the festivities were marked by the performance of an unidentified cantata:

> Already this morning in celebration of His Imperial Majesty's birthday [*i.e.*, nameday], the Imperial Ambassador has displayed his summer livery of quite fine scarlet silk from England, having given a sumptuous banquet for many prelates and those dependent on the house of Austria. Likewise, the ambassador's wife celebrated that evening with a beautiful cantata [and] a magnificent supper for the ladies and cavaliers, and after leaving the table, ended that night with a festive ball which lasted until dawn.
>
> Già di mattina l'Amb.*asciatore* Ces.*areo per* solennizare la Festa del giorno natalitio di S.*ua* M.*aesta* Ces.*area*, spiegò Livrea di Istate di saia scarlattata d'Inghilterra assai bona, Con havere in quella mattina banchettato sontuosam.*ente* più Prelati, e S.*ignori* Benaffetti alla Casa d'Austria, la Sig.*nora* Amb.*asciatrice* pure solenizò quella sera con Una bella Cantata, lautiss.*ima* Cena a Dame, e Caval.*ieri* levatosi della Tavola, ando à terminare quella notte in un festino di Ballo, che duro sino all'Alba.[336]

In Rome that summer an indeterminate number of serenatas were heard at the Trinità dei Monti where Prince D. Miguel de Tassis and the Neapolitan Marchese Dufrano had established summer houses. These performances attracted an unruly crowd and, being unsupervised, gave rise to a number of scandalous incidents. The *avvisi di Roma* in Munich show

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336. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 196, fol. 397r.

that, because both these gentlemen were subjects of Spain, the Papal authorities were eventually forced to call upon the Spanish Ambassador in order to halt these performances:

> Rome, July 6, 1701
>
> Prince Tassis is enjoying in great tranquillity his well furnished summer house at the Trinità dei Monti and at night to increase his pleasure he often has his female vocalists sing serenatas with a fine band of instrumentalists, which are thronged by many nobles, ladies as well as cavaliers.
>
> Roma 6 luglio 1701
>
> Godendosi con grandiss.*ima* quiete Il P*rincipe* Tassi Il suo ben' accomodato Casino alla Trinità de Monti, e p*er* suo maggior divertim.*ento* spesso la sera vi fà cantare dalle sue Canterine delle serenate con buon Concerto di strumenti, ove vi concorre molta nobiltà, si di Dame, che di Cavalieri[.][337]
>
> Rome, August 2, 1701
>
> On Sunday evening [July 31] the Neapolitan Marchese Dufrano had the talented female Mamfredi, accompanied by a good band of instrumentalists, sing in his summer house and garden at the Trinità dei Monti next to that of Prince Tassis; and that same evening a great number of carriages full of ladies and cavaliers gathered there to enjoy the fresh air, on which occasion the said Marchese demonstrated his generosity by having quantities of iced drinks distributed.
>
> Roma 2 agosto 1701
>
> Dom.*enica* sera Il M*arches.e* Dufrano napoletano nel suo Casino, e Giard.*ino* alla Trinità de Monti contiguo à quello del P*rincipe* Tassi fece cantare la Virtuosa Mamfredi, accompag.*nato* da buon

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337. *Ibid.*, fols. 403v-404r.

concerto di strumenti, et à prendere il fresco la med.*esima* sera vi concorsero buon num.*ero* di Carrozzate di Dame, e Caval.*ieri*, nella cui occas:*ione* il d.*etto* Marches.e si mostra Generoso in fare distribuire quantità d'Acque Gelate.[338]

Rome, August 9, 1701

On Saturday night [August 6] the Marchese Ruspoli gave a fine serenata with a good and numerous band of instrumentalists for the Duchess of Poli, and then he had it heard at the Trinità dei Monti for Prince Tassis, who also prepared another serenata to be sung on Sunday evening [August 7] by five female vocalists, including the woman from Monferrato whose face was slashed several [months ago ?] by order of the Duke of Lanti's brother; and she sang very well. Many princes and ladies were there to hear it, among whom were the Contestabilessa Colonna, the Duchess of Poli, and the Duchess of Sora; and the crowd would have been larger if it had been sung earlier, but because it was given at six hours of night many had left.

Roma 9 agosto 1701

Sabato notte Il M.*archese* Ruspoli diede buona serenata, con buon, e numeroso Concerto di strumenti, alla Duchessa di Poli, e poscia fù à farla sentire alla Trinità de Monti al S.*ignore* *Principe* Tassi, quale anco lui ne preparo altra serenata da cantarsi Domenica sera da Cinque Canterine, e vi cantò, quella, che mesi [?] fù sfregiata da Monferrato, che la fece sfregiare il Fratello del Duca Lanti, la quale si portò beniss.*imo*; Vi fù à sentire molte *Principe*, e Dame, fra le quali vi occorno la Contess.*tabilessa* Colonna, Duchessa di Poli, e Duchessa di Sora, e vi saria stato magg.*iore* Il Concorso, se fusse stata cantata *per* avanti, mà il Cantarsi à ore sei della notte, causò, che molti se ne andorno[.][339]

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338. *Ibid.*, fol. 412r.

339. *Ibid.*, fol. 414r.

Rome, August 23, 1701

Given the excessive heat being felt this present month of August, it remains impossible to stay indoors. Even most of those with well furnished houses remain indoors only during the day, at night seeking their pleasure throughout the city, which has occasioned the performance of some fine serenatas such as the quite good one given Tuesday evening [August 16]; and there have been some fine open-air dinner parties at night . . .

Roma 23 agosto 1701

Stante lo Eccessivi caldi fattivi sentire nel Cor.*rente* mese di Agosto, recava l'impossibilità lo stare *per* le Case, anco da quelli, che hanno buone comodità ridottisi *per* lo più à stare ritirati il g.*iorno*, e la notte à spasso *per* la Città che hà dato occas.*ioni* farsi di belle serenate, Come ne fù fatta Una Martedi sera assai bene, e si sono fatte buone Conversat.*ioni* di Cenare all'Aria la notte . . [340]

Rome, September 10, 1701

The [Pontifical] Palace was displeased with the gatherings which have occurred at night at the casino of Prince Tassis at the Trinità dei Monti, where all sorts of people have met in order to hear his female vocalists sing; and moreover, the Marchese Dufrano has placed his neighboring casino under the said Prince's protection. Fine social gatherings of dignitaries have taken place there, and, besides the already mentioned accident which occurred there, the said Marchese had the face of a woman slashed, which has involved the Spanish Ambassador in this business and has resulted finally in its proper termination. By order of His Excellency [the Spanish Ambassador], the Marchese Dufrano was evicted several days ago. Prince Tassis will not only no longer have serenatas sung, but has discharged his women singers, instrumentalists, and entire household.

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340. *Ibid.*, fol. 417v.

Nevertheless, the said ambassador has declared himself to be little satisfied by the lack of care and attention shown by the said Prince on the night that the accident involving the Cavaliere [Giovanni Battista] Giustiniani and his Master of Horse occurred.

Roma 10 settembre 1701

Non è mai Gustato à Palazzo il radotto si veniva à fare la Notte alla Trinità de Monti al Casino del *Princ*ipe Tassi ove vi si faceva radunanza d'ogni sorte di gente, con l'occas.*ione* di sentirvi cantare le sue Canterine, e di più Il March.*ese* Dufrano [?] Casino contiguo sotto la prote.*tione* di d.*etto* *Princ*ipe, vi seguivano belle Conversat.*ioni*, e non poche potenze, oltre li accidenti occorsivi, già accennati, d.*etto* March.*ese* fece sfregiare una Donna, Che fattosene negotio con l'Amb.*asciatore* di Spagna, che si saria venuto in fine alle dovute risolut.*ioni*. Per ord.*ine* di S.*ua* Ecc.*ellenza* Il March.*ese* Dufrano in pochi giorni sfrattò di quà, Il *Princ*ipe Tassi non solo non vi fà Cantare serenate, mà ha licenziato le Canterine, li sonatori, e Tutti, Tanto più anco che d.*etto* Amb.*asciatore* si è dichiarato poco sodisfatto, della meno accuratezza, e attenzione hebbe il d.*etto* *Princ*ipe la Notte seguì l'accidente del Caval.*iere* Giustiniani, con Il suo Caval.*erizo* magg.*iore*[.]

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A second account, very similar to the above, is also preserved in the *avviso* bearing that same date.

The [Pontifical] Palace was displeased with the gatherings of every sort of person which have occurred all this past summer at the Trinità dei Monti at the casino of Prince Tassis, where various female vocalists, paying little heed to their virtue, have been heard to sing. And moreover, the Marchese Dufrano, aided by a little money he had won, has taken the casino next to the Prince. His income from Naples having become

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341. *Ibid.*, fol. 421r-v.

insufficient, he has made it understood that he desires tax-exempt status; and he has himself addressed as Excellency by his servants. In order that the matter not be resolved improperly, as well as the fact that a servant of Dufrano had slashed the face of a little whore, the Spanish Ambassador was consulted concerning both of them. The Marchese was ordered to leave immediately for Florence, [and] Tassis was informed that he not only desist from giving serenatas, but dismiss his women singers, instrumentalists, and entire household . . .

Non è mai gustato à Palazzo, Il raddotto d'ogni sorte di Gente, che per tutta la passata Istate, è stato fatto alla Trinità de Monti al Casino del Principe Tassi, con sentirvisi cantare diverse Canterine, per altro da farne poco conto dalle lor Virtù, e di più contiguo al Casino del Principe, vi haveva preso Casa Il March.ese d'Ufrano, assistito da un poco di danaro Vinto, per altro l'entrate di Napoli, li venivano scarse, con essersi fatto intendere, volere il suo franco, e si facea dare dalla servitù l'Ecc:*ellen*za, Per non venire à risolut*ioni* strane, ne fù parlato all'Amb.*asciatore* di Spagna si dell' Uno che dell' Altro, oltre che un Ser.*vitore* Dufrano haveva sfregiata una Puttanella, Al d.etto Marche.se fu dato lo sfratto partito subito per alla volta di Firenze, Al Tassi fù parlato in modo, che non solo, desiste le serenate, mà ha licenzate le
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Canterine, li sonat.*ori* e tutti . . .

Much of the information reported above is confirmed by the *Diario di Roma* of Francesco Valesio, which reports:

Friday, August 5, 1701

Serenatas with singers and instrumentalists are being given almost every night in various palaces, [and] thus the people, attracted by the singing and stimulated by the heat, are seen frequenting the said places and wandering about the city at night *en masse.*

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342. *Ibid.*, fol. 422r-v.

Venerdi, 6 agosto 1701

Quasi in ogni notte si fanno in diversi palazzi serenate con musiche e istromenti, onde la gente, allettata dal canto e stimolata dal caldo, si vede frequente in dette luoghi e va in truppa tutta la notte girando per la città.[343]

Saturday, August 20, 1701

The son of the Marchese Santa Croce, called because of his haughtiness "the King of the Romans,"[344] gave a serenata on the hill of the Trinità [dei Monti] in front of the Medici garden this evening at three and a half hours [of night] which was attended by all the cavaliers and ladies of the city. Among them was Don Giovanni Battista Giustiniani, the third son of that family, who, following the unfortunate custom of the modern Roman cavaliers, acted as his own coachman; and the Incoronati, Alberti, and some ladies were in the coach. While trying to get a space he chanced to hit a carriage belonging to the Spanish Ambassador, which was driven by a coachman out of livery called "Pennacchino." The ambassador's Master of Horse with two women dressed as abbots were in it. Hearing the crash of the carriage, the the coachman said to Giustiniani with his usual impertinence and foul language, "Ciambellaro del boia b.f., sei cieco?" To this he [*i.e.*, Giustiniani] replied and again moved the coach, crashing against the other. The Spanish Master of Horse cursed him with the foulmouthed grunts of a Saracin, as did also the coachman, so that Giustiniani, drawing his sword, began to strike the coachman with the flat of his blade and wounded him lightly on the head. In the mean time, the Master of Horse leaped from the carriage, as did the other Spaniards who were there, and they encircled Giustiniani, who was defended by a brave lackey of his called "il

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343. Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, I, 454.

344. This is probably a reference to the same nobleman referred to above in the Munich *avvisi* as the Marchese Dufrano.

Todeschino." At this sound everyone took to their heels, dashing about and fleeing the hill, and all the cavaliers who were there drew their blades. Marcuccio, the ambassador's head coachman, who happened to be nearby, heard the fight and, leaving his wife, jumped into the brawl and came to blows with [Giustiniani's] lackey. The tumult was brought to an end by the many cavaliers nearby and by a carriage which, passing through the middle, divided the parties to the quarrel. Don Giovanni Battista Giustiniani was wounded by the thrust of a rapier which he got in the Spanish fashion, that is, in the back; and if the sword had not hit his backbone, it would have gone clear through him. His lackey Todeschino was wounded five times, mortally, however, in the head by the said Marcuccio. The Giustiniani brothers boarded their coaches and went to their palace. After the news of this row reached the [Spanish] Ambassador's court, a troop of his brigands went about the streets threatening to lay waste to the world, and a little later two coaches full of armed men with fuses at the ready went to the top of the hill [*i.e.*, the Trinità dei Monti] and, not finding the Giustiniani brothers, drove through the streets near their palace to make a display of their might and power.

Sabato, 20 agosto 1701

Il figliolo del marchese Santa Croce, sopranominato per la sua alterigia "il re de' romani", fece in questa notte alle 3 hore e mezza sul monte della Trinità avanti il giardino de' Medici una serenata, alla quale erano concorsi tutti gli cavalieri e dame della città; fra questi don Giovanni Battista Giustiniani, terzo genito di tal famiglia, faceva (secondo l'abuso de' moderni cavalieri romani) il cocchiero e nella carrozza vi erano l'Incoronati, l'Aliberti e dame. Nel voler prendere luogo, urtò a caso una carrozza dell'ambasciatore di Spagna carrozzata da un cocchiero senza livrea detto "Pennacchino"; in essa vi era il cavallerizzo dell'ambasciatore con due donne vestite da abbate. Sentendo l'urto della carrozza, il cocchiero disse al Giustiniani, con la solita impertinenza e vocabolo: "Ciambellaro del boia b.f., sei cieco?"; al che havendo esso replicato e mossa di nuovo la carrozza, urtata l'altra di nuovo, il cavallerizzo

spagnuolo con quel sul grugnaccio da saracino disse se gli puzzava la vita, e replicando anco il cocchiero, il Giustiniani, posta mano alla spada, cominciò a piattonare il cocchiero e lo ferì leggiermente nel mento. Balzò intanto dalla carrozza il cavallarizzo e gl'altri spagnuoli che vi erano e si posero in torno al Giustiniani, difeso da un bravo suo lacchè detto "il Todeschino", ponendosi in fuga al romore la gente, fugendo a precipizio per il monte, e posero mano alla spade tutti quei cavalieri che stavano ivi d'intorno. Marcuccio, primo cocchiero dell'ambasciatore, che stava d'appresso, udita la buglia, lasciata la moglie, si scagliò nella baruffa e si azzuffò col lacchè. Fu spartito il romore da molti cavalieri accorsivi e da una carrozza che passando per il mezzo divise la mischia. Don Giovanni Battista Giustiniani restò ferito da una stoccata tiratagli alla spagnuola, id est nella schiena, e se la spada non intoppava nell'osso sacro, l'haverebbe forato da parte a parte; il suo lacchè Todeschino ferito in cinque luoghi, ma mortalmente nella testa dal detto Marcuccio. Gli fratelli Giustiniani, risaliti nelle carrozze, si portarono al loro palazzo. Giunta la notizia di tal rissa alla corte dell'ambasciatore, corsero a turme quei marrani minacciando d'abissare il mondo e di lì a poco due carrozze ancora armate d'huomini con bocche di foco vennero sopra il monte e, non ritrovati li Giustiniani, si avviarono alle vicinanze del palazzo delli medesimi per far vedere questa loro soverchieria e prepotenza.[345]

Friday, September 2, 1701

The Neapolitan Prince [D. Miguel del Tassis, the Spanish postmaster, is presently living in a little house on the hill of the Trinità*[dei Monti] next to that church, where he lives like a Nebuchadnezzar among the animals, keeping a great number of goats, stags, monkeys, and parrots, whom he, not having a feudal principality, considers his vassals. Besides these, he continues to have numerous billy goats and cows, *i.e.*, female singers, which he keeps in a nearby house for his

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345. Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, I, 467-68.

daily entertainment of singing and playing while surrounded by his mules. His Holiness [the Pope], having learned of this, sent a letter of admonishment to him, more as a ruler than as a father, and it was to the effect that he, being an old prince, should now attend to living righteously and should for this reason dismiss his singers. Thus, in execution of the pontifical directive, he has evicted his women of music from the retreat which he keeps next to his house.

Venerdi, 2 settembre 1701

Il prencipe Tassi napoletano, maestro delle poste di Spagna, è di continua habitazione in un casino sul monte della Trinità contiguo alla detta chiesa, nel quale vive come un Nabucdonosorre fra gl'animali, tenendo un numero grande di caprii, cervii, scimie e papagalli, che reputa suoi vassalli, non havendo feudo di prencipato; oltre che ha di continuo becchi e vacche, id est cantarine, quale in bucna copia teneva nelle case contigue, divertendosi tutti i giorni fra canti e fra suoni circondato da' suoi muli. Saputosi ciò S. Santità, ha mandatoa fargli una ammonizione più da vicegerente che da papa et è che, essendo esso prencipe vecchio, doverebbe ormai attendere ad una vita buona e perciò mandasse via le cantarine; onde in essecuzione di questa pontificia correzzione, ha fatto sfrattare dal precoio che havea accanto la casa le sue donne da solfa.[346]

Given the fact that a serenata by Alessandro Scarlatti had recently been heard in the Palace of the Post in Naples,[347] one must wonder if Scarlatti also had a hand in some of the serenatas given that summer in Rome by Prince Tassis, who was, in effect, the Postmaster General of all Spanish dominions. Unfortunately, nothing specific is known

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346. *Ibid.*, I, 479.

347. Mentioned above on page 338.

about the serenatas which Tassis had performed that summer in Rome.

Despite the Papal opposition to these outdoor performances of music and to the crowds which they attracted, serenatas continued to be given until well into September of 1701, as the following *avvisi* attest:

> Rome, September 10, 1701
>
> Prince Don Livio [Odescalchi] had a serenata sung from the balcony of his palace at the two Pasqulini on Monday evening [September 5] to much applause by the great crowd of people there. The said [serenata] will be the last sung and heard in public this year by order of His Holiness, who has made it understood that similar demonstrations would not be well received . . .
>
> Rome 10 settembre 1701
>
> Dal *Principe Don* Livio lunedi sera nella *ringhiera* del suo palazzo fece cantare a due Pasqualini una serenata, che hebbe buono applauso dal Gran concorso di Popolo vi fù; d.*etta* sarà *per* quest' Anno l'ultima cantata è *per* far sentire in publico, mediate N.*ostro* S.*ignore* li habbia fatto intendere, non sarà bene, simili dimonstrat.*ione* . . .[348]

Valesio reports that five days later Don Livio Odescalchi wished to give another public serenata. On this occasion, however, it was given privately indoors:

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348. D Mb, Cod. Ital. 196, fol. 422v.

Saturday, September 10, 1701

A serenata was to have been given this evening at the palace of Prince Don Livio on the loggia which overlooks the Piazza dei SS. Apostoli, but having been advised by the [Pontifical] palace that His Holiness is displeased with these public serenatas [and wishes] to prevent the disturbances to which they often give rise, it was given indoors at the same palace.

Sabato, 10 settembre 1701

Dovevasi in questa sera fare una serenata nel palazzo del prencipe don Livio sopra la loggia che corrisponde alla piazza di SS. Apostoli, ma venne avvisato da palazzo che S. Beatitudine non havea a gusto di tali serenate publiche per ovviare alli sconcerti che sogliono partorire onde fu poi fatta nelle stanze del medesimo palazzo.[349]

Despite the Pope's opposition to outdoor serenatas given for the public, the *avvisi di Roma* in Munich report that another was given that very same night:

Rome, September 13, 1701

On Saturday evening [September 10] for the Spanish Ambassador's wife, a very beautiful serenata, which was highly esteemed, was given by the Prince of Palestrina; and it was repeated on Monday evening [September 12] for a very great crowd of princesses, ladies, and with all the nobility of Rome [present]. There were those who did not fail to say that it was the [funeral] obsequies of the Spanish for the French recently deceased in the conflict occurring in Lombardy.

Roma 13 settembre 1701

Sabato à sera dal Prencipe di Palestrina fù data bellissima serenata alla Sig.*nora* Ambasciatrice di Spagna, la quale fù molto stimata

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349. Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, I, 486.

e fù fatta replicare lunedi sera, ove vi fù un grandiss.*imo* concorso di P*rinci*pesse e Dame, con tutta la Nobiltà di Roma, non vi mancò chi dicesse, essere state l'Essequie fattesi da Spagn.*oli* à Francesi restati ultimam.*en*te nel Conflito seguito in Lombardia[.][350]

Rome, September 20, 1701

On Wednesday evening [September 14] the Duchess of Zagarolo had a serenata sung in her courtyard by her musicians, there having been a great crowd of nobles present. Another one was given for the Imperial Ambassador's wife in her courtyard, the composition of her virtuoso Giuseppe della Porta, which succeeded much better than the above-mentioned one.

Roma 20 settembre 1701

Mercordi sera la Duchessa di Zagarola fece cantare nel suo Cortile una serenata à suoi Virtuosi, vi fù gran concorso di Nobiltà, Altra ne fu data all'Amb.*asciatri*ce Cesarea nel suo Cortile Compositione di Giuseppe della Porta suo Virtuoso, quale riuscì assai meglio della sud.*detta*[.][351]

Whether or not Alessandro Scarlatti had a hand in any of the serenatas heard that summer in Rome is unknown, and none of the works mentioned above have been identified.

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350. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 196, fol. 424r.

351. *Ibid.*, fol. 425r.

5.9 Rome during the Winter and Spring of 1702

Both the *avvisi di Roma* in Munich and the *Diario di Roma* of Francesco Valesio preserve a number of references to the plays and operas performed at Rome during the carnival of 1702. In addition to staged dramatic works, these two sources also reveal that a number of cantatas and serenatas enlivened the festivities that year. An *avviso* dated January 17, 1702, reports:

> Two social gatherings were held on that same evening, one by the Imperial Ambassador's wife consisting of a beautiful cantata . . . The other gathering was held by the Princess of Forano Strozzi, consisting of singing at which there were over twenty ladies and a great number of prelates and cavaliers, and that same princess also sang.
>
> Due furno le Conversationi furno fatte nella med.*esima* sera, Una dalla Sig.*nora* Amb.*asciatrice* Ces.*area* di una bella Cantata . . . Altra Conversat.*ione* fù tenuta dalla *Prencipessa* di Forano Strozzi di Canto, ove vi furno sopra 20 Dame, quantità di Prelati, e Cavalieri, e vi cantò anco la med.*esima* *Prencipessa*.[352]

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352. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 196, fols. 464v-465r.

5.9.1 A Birthday Cantata for the Marchese del Vasto

Although the precise date of these two *conversationi* is not made clear in the *avviso* cited above, the *Diario di Roma* of Francesco Valesio indicates that they must have occurred on Sunday, January 15, 1702. Under that date Valesio writes:

> Having retreated to the Imperial Ambassador's palace where he has been living for several days, the Marchese del Vasto was honored by that diplomat with a cantata alluding to him and in his honor, with a sumptuous festival afterwards at which the said marchese offered his arm to the ambassador's wife, it all ending with a very sumptuous banquet. [The Bourbons] in Spain, not knowing of this sudden change which has overcome the said marchese, have had him declared Viceroy of Valencia by the king so that they might get their hands on him by an honorable subterfuge. Because of him the court is saying that the Emperor has acquired a man of little brains, the Marchese del Vasto a folio of sheepskin (referring to the commission he received from the Emperor as First Field Marshal), and the King of Spain a rich [feudal] estate . . .
>
> Il marchese del Vasto, essendosi da qualche giorno ritirato all'habitazione del palazzo dell'ambasciatore cesareo, fu in questa sera honorato da quel rappresentante di una cantata allusiva al medesimo et in suo honore, con doppo un sontuoso festino, nel quale il detto marchese diede il braccio all'ambasciatrice, essendosi il tutto terminato con un sontuosissimo banchetto. Non sapendosi in Spagna questa subitanea metamorfosi del detto marchese, era stato da quel re, per haverlo nelle mani sotto specie d'honore, dichearato viceré di Valenza. Dice di questo la corte che l'imperatore ha acquistato un huomo di poco cervello, il marchese del Vasto un foglio di cartapecora (alludendo alla patente havuta di

primo maresciallo di campo dell'imperatore) et il re di Spagna un ricchissimo stato . . .[353]

Several months earlier the Marchese del Vasto, a powerful Neapolitan nobleman who was also a Grandee of Spain, had been implicated in a plot to overthrow the Bourbon Viceregal government of Naples and to assist the Habsburgs in regaining control of southern Italy. During the nights of September 22 and 23, 1701, an attempt, known as *la congiura di Macchia*, was made on the life of the Viceroy Medina Celi. After its failure many of the conspirators, including the Marchese del Vasto, fled to Rome where they enjoyed the protection of the Imperial Ambassador, Count Leopold Lamberg.

According to Francesco Valesio, January 15 was the birthday of the Marchese del Vasto, and the cantata given by the Imperial Ambassador to mark that occasion in 1702 must have been of considerable interest to the Roman diarist, who reproduced its text as follows in his *Diario*:

Olà, pigri, che fate?
In così lieto giorno
perché non palesate
che del Sebeto il più sovrano eroe
di bella gloria adorno
sa con fatto immortale
la memoria illustrar del suo natale?

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353. Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, II, 30.

Ma no: sarà la mia cura. Io son la sorte
che gli porgo il mio crin: prendilo forte.

Da quell'alma generosa
che la gloria ebbe per guida
spera il mondo il suo gioir;
più d'un grande in lei riposa,
più d'un saggio in lei confida
di por fine al rio martir.
Da quell'alma etc.

Cesare, al Tebro in riva
non istupir se le tue glorie io canto,
perché ogni mio respiro
all'istabil mio pie' forma un incanto,
e fa che Roma immota
miri da' cenni tuoi pender mia ruota.

Di stella rubella
l'aspetto severo
già fausto e sincero
risplende per te.
Il fato spietato,
tiranno crudele,
già tutto fedele
ti dona mercé.
Di stella etc.

Ma stolta! e che pretendo
forse ridir tuoi rari pregi al mondo!
Ah! ch'appena un sol punto io ne comprendo
che nel VASTO splendor già mi confondo!

Vanne, o forte, e con alma costante
fa maggiore l'antico seren.
Io già miro l'augusto regnante
tutto gioia gradirti nel sen 354
di Domenico Renda

Although Valesio identifies the poet as Domenico Renda, the composer of this cantata remains unknown. Since Alessandro Scarlatti was the master of the Royal Chapel of Naples at

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354. Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, II, 378-79.

this time, it is inconceivable that he could have set this work.

5.9.2 The Princess of Forano's Serenata

It should be recalled that the *avviso* cited above on page 354 also mentions a musical entertainment given by the Princess of Forano on the evening of January 15, 1702. Although the *avviso* refers to it only as a *conversatione di Canto*, Valesio describes it as a *serenata*:

> A serenata was also given this evening in the palace of Duke Strozzi in which he desired to make a show of his virtue by having his niece the young little Princess of Forano sing, the finest vocalists of the city also having sung.
>
> Si fece anco in questa sera nel palazzo del duca Strozzi una serenata, in cui volle far pompa della sua virtù nel canto la giovinetta principessa di Forano, nepote di quel duca, essendovi anco a cantare gli piu bravi musici della città.[355]

Nothing specific is known of the music heard on this occasion.

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355. Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, II, 31-32.

5.9.3 Italian Lamentations for Holy Week by Cardinal Ottoboni and Alessandro Scarlatti

In early January of 1702 Alessandro Scarlatti was granted ten months leave of absence with full pay from his post as master of the Royal Chapel of Naples by the Viceroy Medina Celi. Dent suggested that the political disturbances resulting from the struggle between Habsburg and Bourbon factions induced the composer to leave Naples with Florence as his immediate destination.[356] It seems more likely, however, that the composer had intended to spend the first few months of his leave, at least through Easter, in Rome. On Monday of Holy Week, 1702, a work requiring the collaboration of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, Alessandro Scarlatti, and Arcangelo Corelli was heard in Rome, probably in the Cancelleria. An *avviso di Roma* in Munich dated April 11, 1702, reproduced as Illustration 12, reports:

> The same evening [Monday, April 10] the usual *accademia* was held by Cardinal Ottoboni with a very noble audience, and at the beginning two of the first lamentations for Holy Week were sung as translated into the vulgar tongue [*i.e.*, Italian] by His Eminence [Cardinal Ottoboni], the music by Scarlatti, [and] with a most superb concerto of basses, contrabasses, violas, and violins composed by Arcangelo [Corelli]; and then it was followed by the recitation of fine poetic compositions by

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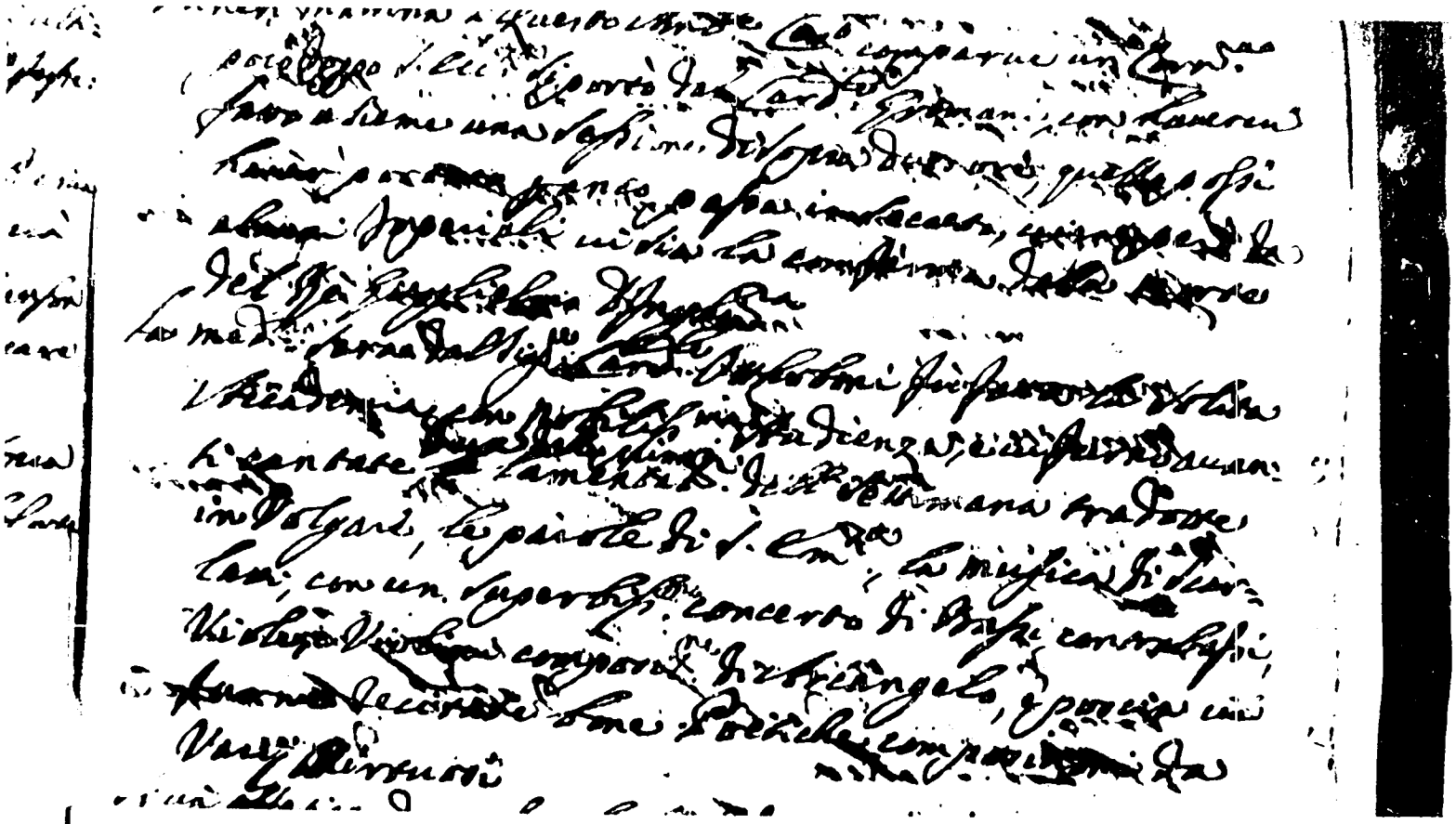
356. Dent, *Scarlatti*, pp. 69-70.

Illustration 13

Avviso di Roma dated April 11, 1702

D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 196, fol. 490r.



various learned men.

> La med.*esima* sera dal Sig.*nore* Card.*inale* Ottoboni fù fatta la solita Accademia con Nobiliss.*ima* Audienza, e vi furno avanti cantate due delle primi Lamentat.*ioni* dell' settimana tradotte in Volgare, le parole di S.*ua* Em.*inenza*, la musica di Scarlatti, con un superbiss.*imo* concerto di Bassi, contrabassi, Viole, e Violini composit.*ione* di Arcangelo, e poscia vi furno recitate bone Poetiche compositioni da Varij Virtuosi[.][357]

A set of lamentations for Holy Week by Alessandro Scarlatti is extant, but it is a setting of the Latin text.[358] No setting by Alessandro Scarlatti of an Italian translation of the Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah is known.

5.10 The Visit of King Philip V to Naples in 1702

Alessandro Scarlatti was not present in Rome to witness this performance of his Italian lamentations. His leave of absence from Naples was quickly cancelled when word arrived of the impending visit of Philip V, the new Bourbon King of Spain, intent upon preserving the threatened unity of his empire. In February, 1702, Medina Celi was replaced as

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357. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 196, fol. 490r.

358. Giancaro Rostirolla, "Catalogo generale delle opere di Alessandro Scarlatti," in Pagano, *Scarlatti*, pp. 524-25.

Viceroy of Naples by Giovanni Emanuele Fernandez Pacheco, the Duke of Ascalona and Marchese of Villena. On Easter Sunday, April 16, the new Viceroy welcomed Philip V at his arrival in Pozzuoli and a day later in Naples.

The most faithful city of Naples spared no expense to insure the king's satisfactory reception, and the Bourbons in France were assured of the following in the *Gazette de France* of May 20, 1702:

> Naples, April 18, 1702
>
> Numerous festivals and entertainments are being prepared for His Majesty, and the personages of the highest quality in the realm are arriving daily in order to pay him their respects.
>
> De Naples,le 18 Avril 1702
>
> On prepare plusieurs festes & divertissemens pour Sa Majesté, & il arrive tous les jours des personnes les plus qualifiées du Royaume pour luy rendre leurs respects.

An *avviso* by the Venetian *residente* Francesco Savioni bearing the date April 18, 1702, reports on the king's activities immediately following his arrival in Naples. Although Philip dined to music on the evening of April 17, the services of Alessandro Scarlatti and the Royal Chapel were probably not required on this occasion:

> . . . and that evening, after the firing of several salvos, he dined [to the sound] of a consort of many trumpets with only the Count of Santo Stefano [the former Viceroy] and the present Viceroy in attendance. That same evening the

> castles were illuminated by very noble inventions, as were the windows of all the houses and palaces of this city, with firework displays in front of their entrances.
>
> . . . et la sera, dopo lo sparo di alcuni tiri, cenò, al concerto de molte trombe, colla sola assistenza del conte di santo Stefano, et di questo signor Vicere. La sera medesima si sono illuminati con inventioni assai gentili li castelli, come le finestre di tutte le case, et palazzi della città con fuochi davanti le porte.[359]

5.10.1 A Serenata by Alessandro Scarlatti on April 19, 1702

Two days later, however, Scarlatti furnished the music for a serenata evidently hastily assembled from his opera *Tiberio imperatore d'Oriente*. The opera proper was not premiered until May 8, 1702, when Philip witnessed its performance in the Royal Palace of Naples. The events of Wednesday evening, April 19, are reported as follows by the Neapolitan journalist Antonio Bulifon:

> . . . that evening in the royal chamber of the Belvedere, which cost fifty thousand ducats, a famous musical serenata was given with instruments by the performers who sang the arias of the opera to be given. When the singers were ready the king said, "Have the cavaliers enter." A Spaniard

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359. Francesco Savioni's *avvisi di Napoli* were destroyed in the fire of the Archivio di stato di Napoli on September 30, 1943, according to R. Morozzo della Rocca, *Archivio di stato di Venezia: Dispacci degli ambasciatori al senato* (Rome, 1959), p. 198. Fortunately, this extract had been printed long before the fire by Fabio Mutinelli, *Storia arcana ed aneddotica d'Italia raccontata dai veneti ambasciatori* (Venice: Pietro Naratovich, 1858), IV, 444.

said, "They take no pleasure in music." The king replied, "If they do not enjoy music, let them enjoy my person--have them enter."

> . . . La sera fu nella camera reale del Belvedere, che costa cinquantamila docati, una famosa serenata di musica, con istrumenti, dalli recitanti, quali cantarono le ariette dell' opera da farsi. Quando li Musici furono pronti, disse il Re: *Fate entrare li Cavalieri.* Uno Spagnuolo disse: *Non gusteranno della Musica.* Rispose il Re: *Se non gusteranno della Musica, gusteranno di mia persona: fateli entrare.*[360]

A second account of this event is furnished by an anonymous manuscript entitled *Istoria di Napoli* in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples:

> Then on the evening of that day [April 19] they had readied a musical entertainment which was attended by almost all the nobility.
>
> La sera poi di tal giorno fece apparecchiare un divertimento di Musica, in cui intervenne quasi tutta la Nobiltà.[361]

5.10.2 Alessandro Scarlatti's Serenata *Clori, Dorino e Amore*

On May 1, 1702, Alessandro Scarlatti furnished a serenata written expressly for the celebration of King Philip's nameday. The Venetian *residente* Savioni reports the following in an *avviso* dated May 2, 1702:

> Yesterday, on the feast dedicated to the

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360. I Nsp (Naples, Library of the Società Napoletano di Storia Patria), MS. XXII.A.10, fol. 121v.

361. I Nn, MS. XV-G-30, vol. I, fol. 103 bis verso.

> Apostle Saints Philip and James, the nameday of the King was celebrated in the Cathedral of Saint Januarius with His Majesty in attendance and with a pompous gathering of all the nobility in great number and most sumptuous gala at the Palace, in front of which there was that evening a noble and well devised display of fireworks, and in the royal apartment a musical cantata in praise of the royal virtues adorning the monarch's soul.
>
> Si è il giorno di hieri, festività dedicata alli santi apostoli Filippo et Giacomo, solennizzato il nome del re con cappella reale nella cathedrale di san Gennaro, alla quale è intervenuta Sua Maestà, et con sfoggi di sontuosissima gala di tutta la Nobiltà concorsa in numero grande a Palazzo, avanti il quale è stata la sera una nobile, et ben concertata macchina di fuochi artificiati, et nel regio appartamento una Cantata in musica in lode delle virtù Reali che adornano l'anima del monarca.[362]

Alessandro Scarlatti is identified as the composer of this cantata in the manuscript *Istoria di Napoli*:

> While the king then took his place at dinner, a harmonious musical serenata by the chapelmaster Alessandro Scarlatti was sung. After it ended around two hours of night, [the king] showed himself at the balcony, enjoying the spectacle of a great firework display built in the shape of a theater in the square of the Royal Palace . . .
>
> Postosi poi a cena il Rè, cantossi in quel mentre una ben concertata Serenata in musica del Virtuoso Maestro di cappella Alessandro Scarlatti, quale terminata, verso le due della notte affacciatosi al balcone, godè lo spettacolo di un gran fuoco artificiato fabricato in forma di Teatro, sù la piazza del Real Palazzo . . .[363]

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362. Mutinelli, *Storia arcana*, IV, 448.

363. I Nn, MS. XV-G-30, vol. I, fol. 109r.

Scarlatti's *Clori, Dorino e Amore* was almost certainly the serenata given on this occasion. The title pages of both its two surviving scores describe it as "Sung in Naples in the presence of Philip V, the King of Spain" (Cantata in Napoli alla Presenza di Filippo V Re delle Spagne). The text of the serenata contains several references to the monarch, such as that found in the following recitative sung by Dorino:

> The world indeed rejoices
> now that Philip the great
> diffuses his light upon
> the happy land of the beautiful siren
> [Partenope, *i.e.*, Naples].
>
> Si, si gioisca il mondo
> Or che Filippo il grande
> Sovra il suolo giocondo
> De la vaga sirena i raggi spande.

5.10.3 Outdoor Music for King Philip on May 23

Although Naples had been ruled for almost two centuries by Spanish Viceroys, vestiges of medieval representative government still existed in the *seggi* of Naples when Philip made his visit in 1702. In May of that year the king officially took possession of the city with a sumptuous cavalcade concerning which the *Gazette de France* of June 24, 1702, reports:

Naples, May 23, 1702

> The king stopped at all the *seggi* where triumphal arches had been erected and where there were concerts of voices and instrumentalists.

De Naples, le 23 May 1702

> Le Roy s'arresta à tous les Sieges, où on avoit élevé des Arcs de triomphe, & où il y avoit des concerts de voix, & d'instruments.

Because the Neapolitan *seggi* were, at least in theory, independent of the viceregal court, it is unlikely that Alessandro Scarlatti or the Royal Chapel found employment on this occasion. Nothing specific, however, is known about the works heard by King Philip on May 23.

5.10.4 Arcangelo Corelli's Visit to Naples

Although numerous journals, diaries, and accounts of Philip's activities in Naples survive, the record of musical performances given for the king which can be reconstructed from them is at best only fragmentary. With this in mind it is difficult to known how much credence to give an account furnished by Charles Burney of the visit Corelli made to Naples in order to play for the king. Based upon the testimony of Geminiani, Burney writes:

> At the time that Corelli enjoyed the highest reputation, his fame having reached the court of Naples, and excited a desire in the King to hear him perform; he was invited, by order of his Majesty, to that capital. Corelli, with some reluctance, was at length prevailed on to accept

> the invitation; but, lest he should not be well accompanied, he took with him his own second violin and violoncello. At Naples he found Alessandro Scarlatti, and several other masters, who entreated him to play some of his concertos before the King; this he for some time declined, on account of his whole band not being with him, and there was no time, he said, for a rehearsal. At length, however, he consented; and in great fear performed the first of his concertos. His astonishment was very great to find that the Neapolitan band executed his concertos almost as accurately at sight, as his own band, after repeated rehearsals, when they had almost got them by heart. *Si suona*, (says he to Matteo, his second violin) *à* Napoli"!
>
> After this, being again admitted into his Majesty's presence, and desired to perform one of his sonatas, the King found one of the adagios so long and dry, that being tired, he quitted the room, to the great mortification of Corelli. Afterwards, he was desired to lead in the performance of a masque composed by Scarlatti, which was to be executed before the King; this he undertook, but from Scarlatti's little knowledge of the violin, the part was somewhat awkward and difficult: in one place it went up to F; and when they came to that passage, Corelli failed, and was unable to execute it; but he was astonished beyond measure to hear Petrillo, the Neapolitan leader, and the other violins, perform that which had baffled his skill. A song succeeded this in C minor, which Corelli led off in C major; *ricominciamo*, said Scarlatti, goodnaturedly. Still Corelli persisted in the major key, till Scarlatti was obliged to call out to him, and set him right. So mortified was poor Corelli with this disgrace, and the general bad figure he imagined he had made at Naples, that he stole back
> 364
> to Rome in silence.

There is no question that Corelli in fact came to Naples during the visit of Philip V. The Neapolitan journalist

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364. Burney, *A General History of Music*, II, 439-40.

Antonio Bulifon noted Corelli's presence in Naples as early as May 1, 1702.[365] The work of Alessandro Scarlatti in which Corelli performed, however, remains unidentified. Burney uses the word "masque" to describe it, but no work of this sort by Scarlatti is known to have been given during the six weeks (April 17 - June 2) that the king remained in Naples. It is doubtful that the performance of *Clori, Dorino e Amore* was the one in which Corelli cut such a bad figure. This serenata does not contain a high F in the violins followed by an aria in C minor as described by Burney, nor do any of the other extant serenatas by Scarlatti which, although undated, might possibly have been performed for the king on some as yet unnoted occasion.

Since it is not known precisely when Corelli arrived in Naples, it is possible that the violinist performed on April 19 in Scarlatti's serenata assembled from the *opera da farsi*. Although little is known for certain about this serenata, the *seconda donna* in the opera *Tiberio imperatore d'Oriente* sang a C minor aria accompanied by four-part strings at the end of scene four, act three.[366] If this

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365. I Nsp, MS. XXII.A.10, fol. 124r.

366. Sung by Isabella de Piedz representing the character Anastasia, the aria begins "Ho tanto avvezzo il core." It is preserved in I Nc, MS. 32.2.36, rari 7.1.17, fols. 100r-102v.

aria was heard in the serenata, it might have been the one incorrectly read by Corelli in C major. Until more information comes to light, however, many of the details given by Burney in the above account must be considered of questionable reliability.

5.10.5 Formalities at Court Entertainments

Although Luigi de la Cerda, the Duke of Medina Celi, had been replaced as Viceroy shortly before the arrival of Philip V at Naples, a document discovered in the archives of the Dukes of Medina Celi preserves a description of the formalities in effect when Philip attended the performance of Scarlatti's opera *Tiberio imperatore d'Oriente*. This document also describes in more general terms the formalities observed at other Viceregal entertainments. These, of course, included the many serenatas heard at official court functions, and some notion of their rigidly formal and pompous nature can be gathered from the following document:

> Memoirs of the practices in effect at the festive gathering of ladies during the opera given in the Palace during the time of Our Lord the King, and of those customarily observed in the time of the Viceroys by the Master of Ceremonies at Naples. (1702)
>
> In obedience to the revered orders to describe below the practices employed when His Majesty King Philip V, being in this capital, wished to attend

an opera performed in the theater of the Royal Palace, I shall describe in the most exact way that I know and am able how the said opera was given there on the eighth day of May in the year 1702. His Majesty was conducted privately to the hall of the theater where for his use alone a room with tables, decorated in the royal manner, was constructed from which His Majesty could see and be seen.

The ladies who attended that opera were seen dressed in black courtly attire in the sumptuous French style and, already having arrived before the King and having entered that room, they had the honor of kissing his hand.

Moreover, in as much as it be of use to describe the practice employed when ladies are received at the Palace in the time of the Viceroys, I should inform you that the lady who desires admittance into the Palace first informs the lady called the Receptionist of this, who makes the lady's petition known to the Head Usher, and the Usher informs the Viceroy of it. When the Viceroy is without a wife [and] there is no difficulty, the Viceroy orders the said Head Usher to inform the Receptionist that the lady be admitted. Then the Receptionist makes a note of it in her book which she has for that purpose, and she gives a note to the Head Usher because he also should enter it into his book among the other ladies who customarily come to the Palace and who are thus entered in the register as a group.

When there is a Vicereine, the lady who wishes to be admitted makes the same request of the Receptionist, and she to the Head Usher, and the Head Usher to the Vicereine, and it is handled according to the same rule as above.

At royal ceremonies often given in the Palace, such as operas, serenatas or balls, or at the sack of *cuccagne* in the square in front of the Royal Palace, the ladies come as the guests of the Vicereine, whose invitation is made by a Page of the Palace accompanied by a Chamberlain; and at these functions the Vicereine, together with the Viceroy, is under a baldachin with a footstool and covering, and the ladies sit in chairs of leather with back-rests; and for these functions the

Receptionists need no special instructions.

When, however, there is no entertainment such as an opera, serenata, ball, or *cuccagna*, and the ladies come to the Palace to compliment the Vicereine (also at royal functions), the Receptionist notifies the ladies with her own special invitations, and on these occasions the Vicereine is under a baldachin with only a covering, sitting in a chair trimmed in velvet without, however, a footstool; and the ladies sit on chairs of straw. And if the Viceroy should enter that room where the reception is taking place, he also should sit among the ladies in a straw chair; and on these occasions the Head Usher informs the Receptionist by a succession of chamberlains.

At royal festivals such as operas, serenatas or balls where the Viceroy with the Vicereine is under a baldachin with footstool, the Viceroy leaves the Vicereine under the baldachin to bid farewell to the ladies when the festival is over. And he departs accompanied by four pages who serve the Viceroy until they reach the exit of the room adjoining the one in which the festival took place, and at this exit the Viceroy stops and the pages take four torches; and the Viceroy, resting in a chair of fustian velvet, compliments the ladies who, having taken their leave of the Vicereine, are departing. And at this juncture the court official who looks after the ladies announces each of their names as they pass.

* * * * * *

Memoria hecha per el Maestro de Ceremonias de Nàpoles de lo que se practico en tiempo del Rey Ntro. Sr. en el Convite de las Damas para una ópera hecha en Palacio, y lo que se solia hacer en tiempo de los Virreye. (1702)

In ubbidienza degl'ordini riueriti di douer rappresentare in seuito il modo che si tene in tempo che la Maestà del Rè Filippo quinto, ritrouandosi in questa capitale uolle interuenire ad una Comedia in Musica, che fu rappresentata nel Teatro del Real Palazzo, eseguisco nella piu esatta forma che so e posso, li rappresento come nel di 8 Maggio del anno 1702, douentosi

rappresentare la nominata comedia, si condusse la Maestà Sua nella sala del Teatro priuatamente, oue si trouò composta a questo solo fine una stanza di tauole ornata alla reale, nella quale Sua Maestà vedeua ed era ueduta.

Le Dame che interuennero a quella Comedia, comparuero vestite in abito nero da Corte alla foggia Francese, e quelle che prima che il Rè passasse in quella sala vi si trouarono gia venute, ebbero l'onore di baciarle la mano.

In quanto poi al di piu che si serue ordinarmi circa alla forma pratticata quando si rceueuano Dame in Palazzo in tempo di Vicerè, deuo rapresentarle che la Dama che uoleua essere ammessa in Palazzo ne faceua prima l'instanza alla Dama che diceuasi Riceuitrice, la quale partecipaua all'Vsciere Maggiore la petizione fatta dalla tal Dama, e l'Vsciere lo rappresentaua al Vicerè. Quando non eravi moglie del Vicerè, il Vicerè, non auendoui difficolta, ordinaua al detto Vsciere Maggiore che dicesse alla Ricevitrice che quella Dama restase ammessa. Indi la Dama Riceuitrice ne faceua nota nel suo libro, che per tal effetto ne tenea, e ne daua nota all'Vsciere Maggiore perche anche egli l'annotasse ne' suoi libri fra l'altre Dame solite a venire in Palazzo, ed' andar cossi di concerto in registro.

Quando poi eraui la Viceregina, la Dama che cercaua essere ammesa faceua la medesima istanza alla Riceuitrice, e questa all'Vsciere Maggiore, e l'Vsciere Maggiore alla Viceregina, e si teneua la medesima regola diuis ata.

Nella Fonzioni reali poi, sempreche in Palazzo si rappresentaba Comedia, serenata, festino di ballo, o avanti la Real Piazza il Saccheggio d'alcuna cuccagna, le dame ueniuano conuitate dalla Viceregina, il quale inuito si feceua per un Paggio di Palazzo, accompagnato da un Portiero di Camera, et in queste fonzioni la Viceregina, assieme col Vicerè, staua sotto il dosello con pedagna e tappeto, e le Dame sedeuano in sedie di vachetta con appogio; et in queste fonzioni i Receuitori non auean bisogno d'auiso particolare.

Quando poi le Dame ueniuano in Palazzo a far complimento con la Viceregina, anche in fonzioni

reali, e che non ui fusse tratenimento di Comedia, serenata, ballo o cuccagna. allora la dama Riceuitrice auisaua le Dame da sè con suoi biglietti particolri, et in queste occasioni la Viceregina staua soto il dosello col solo tappeto e sedendo in sedia di Velluto guarnita, pero senza pedagna; e le Dame sedeuano in sede di paglia; e se mai il Vicerè usciua in quella stanza doue era il riceuimento, si poneua a sedere fra le Dame in una sedia de paglia anch'egli; ed in queste occasioni l'Vsciere Maggiore daua l'auuiso a Riceuitori per mezzo de Portieri di catena.

Nelle Feste reali, cioè, Comedia, serenata o festino di ballo, nelle quali il Vicerè colla Viceregina stauano sotto il dosello con pedagna, terminata quella tal festa, il Vicerè, lasciando la Viceregina sotto il Dosello a licenziar le Dame, si partiua accompagnato da quattro Paggi, i quali con doppieri seruiuano il Vicerè sino all'uscio della stanza appresso a quella oue era stato fatto il festino, e fermandosi il Vicerè*in quel Vscio, i Paggi prendeuano quattro torcie, ed il Vicerè, appoggiandosi ad una sedia di Velluto guarnita, si complimentaua con le Dame che, congedate dalla Viceregina, se ne andauano; ed in tal congiuntura il cavalier guardaDama, faceua il
367
nome d'ogni Dama che passaua al Vicerè.

5.11 A Summary of Alessandro Scarlatti's Serenatas for the Period 1684-1702

On June 14, 1702,--twelve days after King Philip's departure

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367. Antonio Paz y Melia, *Series de los mas importantes documentos del archivo y biblioteca del exmo. señor Duque de Medinaceli: 1a Serie* (Madrid, 1915), pp. 212-23. The original manuscript preserving this document has not been consulted. As published in the source cited above, it appears to have been transcribed by a Spaniard unfamiliar with Italian.

from Naples--Alessandro Scarlatti and his son Domenico were granted four months leave to visit Florence.[368] That date marks the end of a significant period in the composer's career. The elder Scarlatti would not return to occupy his post at Naples on a permanent basis until 1708, and then under the auspices of a new regime. At this point in the present study the question arises of precisely how many serenatas were composed by Alessandro Scarlatti during his first period of service at Naples (1684-1702). If *Diana ed Endimione* is considered a Roman work and *Venere et Adone; Il Giardino di Amore* a Neapolitan composition, the following six serenatas by Scarlatti are extant in score:[369]

5.11.1 Alessandro Scarlatti's Extant Serenatas for the Period 1684-1702

1. *Venere, Adone e Amore* Posillipo, July 15, 1696

2. *Il Genio di Partenope, la Gloria del Sebeto, il Piacere di Mergellina* Posillipo, August 5, 1696

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368. Dent, *Scarlatti*, p. 71, who cites ASN, Mandati dei Vicerè, vol. 317, fol. 80v and vol. 318, fol. 60.

369. The large cantata *Lidia e Alindo* ("A battaglia, pensieri, a battaglia"), which bears the date 1699 on its single surviving score, is not included here since its attribution to A. Scarlatti is questionable.

3. *Venere e Amore* [Naples, ?]

4. *Clori, Lidia e Filli* [?]

5. *Clori, Dorino e Amore* Naples, Palazzo Reale, May 1, 1702

6. *Venere et Adone; Il Giardino di Amore* [?]

As the above list shows, the precise date and other circumstances of performance are known for only three of these serenatas. Besides these three, Scarlatti is known to have provided serenatas on the following five occasions during his first tenure in Naples:

5.11.2 Reported Occasions when Serenatas by Scarlatti were heard

1. *L'Olimpo in Mergellina* Posillipo, August 25, 1686; Naples, Royal Palace, September 16, 1686

2. [*Serenata commissioned by Scipione Giuvo*] Naples, October 8, 1691

3. *Il Trionfo delle Stagioni* Naples, July 26, 1696

4. [*Serenata in the Palace of the Post*] Naples, June 2, 1701

5. [*Serenata from the "opera da farsi"*] Naples, April 19, 1702

Several of these have evidently not survived, and it is impossible to say with certainty from the information at hand if any of the undated scores correspond to the occasions listed above. With this in mind, it is impossible to arrive at an exact number of serenatas by Alessandro Scarlatti for the period 1684-1702. In any case, the chronology of anonymous serenatas heard in Naples and Rome strongly suggests that the number might be considerably larger than the two above lists combined.

Chapter 6

Florence and Rome from 1702 through 1704

6.1 A Stop in Rome while en route to Florence

With Florence as his stated destination, Alessandro Scarlatti left Naples on or shortly after June 14, 1702. Several members of his family, including his son Domenico and at least one of his daughters, travelled with him, as did also the singer Maria Maddalena Musi. On their way to Florence the company stopped for several weeks in Rome where Alessandro doubtless spent much effort renewing contact with many of his earlier patrons and acquainting them with the accomplishments of his children. Ralph Kirkpatrick, writing of this early phase of Domenico Scarlatti's career, suggests that "probably his true character had scarcely revealed itself even to his family and friends."[370] This seems quite likely in light of the fact that none of the documents cited

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370. Ralph Kirkpatrick, *Domenico Scarlatti* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1968), p. 14.

below even allude to the existence of Domenico. Roman society was evidently more interested in the singers travelling with Alessandro and his son, as is shown in an *avviso* dated Rome, July 18, 1702:

> Patrician social gatherings of ladies and cavaliers have been held these evenings in the house of the said Marchese Ruspoli; and among the many accomplished women who sang was the daughter of the eminent [Alessandro] Scarlatti, who is said to be *en route* to Florence and to have the singer Mignatta [Maria Maddalena Musi] among his company to be of service in the operas that are being prepared for performance next fall in the theater of Pratolino, the villa of the Most Serene Prince of Tuscany.
>
> Plans of marriage must be almost concluded between the singer Mignatta and Fortuni, the major domo of the Contestabile Colonna's household.
>
> In Casa del d.*etto* M.*arches*e Ruspoli di queste sere fù fatta nobil Conversat.*ione* di Dame, e Cavalieri, e vi cantorno più virtuose, fra le quali la figlia del Virtuoso Scarlatti, Il quale disse essere di partenza, et haveva in sua Compag.*nia* la Cantatrice Mignatta *per* alla volta di Firenze, *per* servire alle Opere, che si vanno preparando *per* rapresentare nel Teatro di Pratolino villa del Ser.*enissi*mo Princ*i*pe di Toscana nel pros.*si*mo Autunno[.]
>
> Vi devono essere stretti trattati di matrimonio tra la Canterina Mignatta, et il Fortuni; *maestro* di Casa del Sig.*nore* Contes.*tabile* Colonna.[371]

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371. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 196, fol. 523r.

6.1.1 One of Alessandro Scarlatti's Daughters Sings in Rome

At the time of these *conversationi* the Marchese inhabited the old Palazzo Ruspoli on the Piazza di S. Maria in Aracoeli, the present Palazzo Pecci-Blunt. After the fall of 1705 Ruspoli lived in the rented Palazzo Bonelli, today the *Prefettura*, until 1713 when the Palazzo Ruspoli on the Corso was acquired.[372] Which of Alessandro Scarlatti's daughters sang at Ruspoli's *conversationi* is unknown. In the previous literature only one of the daughters, Flaminia, is noted for musical talent. Concerning her Bernardo de' Dominici writes the following in a biographical sketch of the Neapolitan artist Francesco Solimena:

> Being a lover of music, he [*i.e.*, Solimena] was in the custom of going often to the house of the Cavalier Alessandro Scarlatti, a man admirable in that [art] and to whom few his equal in composing operas with greater expression and melody will be seen on earth, which enraptured our hearts while awakening the passions. In the house of Scarlatti, therefore, one was entertained by hearing the singing of Flaminia, the daughter of that great virtuoso, who sang divinely, and whose friendship was so cordial that he desired to paint her portrait with that of Scarlatti her father. He produced but one of them, showing her attired in a chamber gown in such a pose and so well depicted that it was the object of everyone's praise. And I found myself present once when it

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372. Ursula Kirkendale, "The Ruspoli Documents on Handel," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XX (1967), 227-28.

was greatly lauded by several learned foreigners who could not get their fill of seeing it . . .

> Essendo amante della musica, solea la sera portarsi spesse volte in casa del cavaliere Alessandro Scarlatti, uomo ammirabile in quella, e di cui pochi pari verranno al mondo nel componer le opere con più espressione e melodia, che rapiva i cuori nel destare le passioni. In casa adunque dello Scarlatti si divertiva a sentir cantare la Flaminia, figliuola di quel gran virtuoso, che divinamente cantava, e fu sì cordiale la sua amicizia, che volle farne il ritratto con quello dello Scarlatti di lei padre; ma uno ne fece rappresentandola involta in una giubba da camera, in tal positura, e così ben dipinto, che era l'oggetto delle lodi di tutti, ed io mi trovai presente, allorchè una volta fu molto encomiato da alcuni virtuosi professori oltramontani, che non si saziavano di mirarlo . . .[373]

A document cited below, however, clearly suggests that at least two of Alessandro's daughters were accomplished singers. Whether it was the nineteen-year-old Flaminia, or her sister Cristina, then eighteen, who sang at Ruspoli's *conversationi* in 1702 cannot be established. One can only speculate as to what the daughter in question sang, but it is known that Domenico Scarlatti composed two chamber cantatas during July of 1702.[374] They seem to be his

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373. Bernardo de' Dominici, *Vita de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti napoletani* (Naples, 1742-44), IV, 471, cited by Pagano *Scarlatti*, p. 218. This portrait is considered lost by S. A. Luciani, "La Famiglia Scarlatti," *Gli Scarlatti (Alessandro-Francesco-Pietro-Domenico-Giuseppe): Note e documenti sulla vita e sulle opere* (Siena: Accademia Musicale Chigiana, 1940), p. 25.

374. Kirkpatrick, *Domenico Scarlatti*, pp. 15, 422.

earliest extant works and may well have been heard at the Palazzo Ruspoli.

6.2 Summer and Fall of 1702 in Tuscany

By mid-July the Scarlatti clan must have left Rome. On August 9, 1702, Alessandro conducted a newly composed motet for four voices and instruments in celebration of Prince Ferdinando de' Medici's thirty-ninth birthday in the Church of the Santissima Annuziata, Florence. This was followed by a second motet on August 14 on the occasion of the birthday of the Grand Duke Cosimo III.[375] By September of that year Alessandro and those members of the Scarlatti family making the journey with him were at Pratolino where he conducted the opera *Flavio Cuniberto*.[376] Only toward the end of October did they leave Tuscany for Rome.

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375. Mario Fabbri, *Alessandro Scarlatti e il Principe Ferdinando de' Medici* (Florence: Olschki, 1961), pp. 44-47. Although Fabbri asserts that neither motet has survived, the motet *Exultate Deo*, printed as early as ca. 1855 by Karl Proske, *Musica Divina, Sive, Thesaurus Concentuum Selectissimorum omni Cultui*, vol. III, pp. 576 ff., and numerous times since then, probably corresponds to one of the works heard in Florence.

376. Alessandro Scarlatti is named as the composer of this opera in an account brought to light by Fabbri, *Scarlatti*, pp. 46-47, and sixteen arias composed by Scarlatti for this performance are preserved at D Müs, MSS. 3911 and 3950.

6.3 Rome during the Summer of 1702

With this in mind it is clear that after early July of 1702 the Scarlatti family played no direct role in the summer season of music at Rome. Nevertheless, it is of interest to read the following in the *avvisi di Roma* preserved in Munich:

> Rome, July 25, 1702
>
> With all neatness and luxury Prince Don Livio Odescalchi has furnished the ground-floor apartment of the palace which he inhabits at the [Piazza dei] Santi Apostoli, where on some evenings there are social gatherings with good concertos by various instruments and cantatas by the best singers of the city. One took place on Monday evening [July 24] favored by the attendance of Cardinal Grimani, the Imperial Ambassador, and many other noblemen.
>
> Roma, 25 luglio 1702
>
> Il Sig.*nore* Prin*c*ipe D. Livio hà versam.*ente* accomodato con tutta lindura e richezza l'appartam.*ento* terreno nel Palazzo abita à Santi Apostoli, ove alcune sere vi fà Conversatione con buon Concerto di Vari; strumenti, e Cantate di migliori musici della Città, lunedi sera ne fece Una, ove vi fù à favorirlo il Sig.*nore* Card.*inale* Grimani, e Sig.*nore* Amb.*asciadore* Ces.*areo* e molti Altri Sig.*nori*[.][377]

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377. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 196, fol. 525 bis, recto.

Rome, August 1, 1702

On Friday [July 28] in the lavishly decorated courtyard of the Sapienza, the doctorate was conferred upon a nephew of Monsignore Paraviani with great ceremony, he having defended conclusions dedicated to His Holiness, who was represented by Cardinal Carlo Barberini; and it was favored by the attendance of twenty-two cardinals and almost all the prelacy, who for the most part were on high in the large galleries. And there were *sinfonie* and cantatas on a well-built platform which transformed the said courtyard into the shape of a theater, the cost of which exceeded two thousand *scudi*.

Roma, 1 agosto 1702

Con grandiss.*ima* solennità il g.*iorno* di Venerdi nel Cortile della Sapienza tutto beniss.*imo* apparato vi fù adottorato un nipote di MonSig.*nore* Paraviani, con hav.*ere* sostenuta Conclusione dedicata à S.*ua* S.*antità*, *per* cui vi fù ad assistere Il S.*ignore* Card.*inale* Carlo Barberini, e vi furno à favorire ventidue Sig.*nori* Em.*inentissimi*, e quasi tutta la Prelatura, che *per* lo più q*uesti* stavano sopra nelli Loggioni, e vi furno Zinfonie, e Cantate sopra ben disposto palco, ridotto il d.*etto* Cortile à forma di Teatro, che la spesa sia accesa sopra m/2 378 scudi.

Rome, August 29, 1702

Defluxions of gout have kept the Marchese Riccardi in bed; however, he is much better and has often been visited by Cardinals friendly with him, by Don Orazio Ottoboni, and almost every evening by the Venetian Ambassador. While they were visiting him on Sunday evening [August 27], he had a fine serenata with various instruments given by his musicians in his courtyard for them.

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378. *Ibid.*, for. 526r.

Roma, 29 agosto 1702

Guardi il letto con flussione di Podagra Il S.*ignore* M.*archese* Riccardi però sin assai meglio, visitato spesso da S.*ignori* Card.*inali* Amici da D. Orazio Ottoboni, e quasi ogni sera dal S.*ignore* Amb.*asciatore* di Venezia, quale nel ritrovarsi Domenica sera dal d.*etto* Sig.*nore*; le diede nel suo Cortile bona Serenata di Vari; strumenti di
379
sua Virtuosi[.]

Rome, September 5, 1702

A fine serenata, sung by a woman and with a good band of instrumentalists, was given for the daughter of the Duke of Policonti by Don Gaetano Cesarini on Sunday evening [September 3]. Some negotiations for a marriage between these two noble houses are taking place, [but], as has happened in such cases in the past, the scarcity of the dowry will keep them from concluding an agreement.

Roma, 5 settembre 1702

Dal S.*ignore Don.* Gaetano Cesarini Domenica sera fù data buona Serenata, cantata da Canterina, e con buon concerto di strumenti alla Figlia del Duca Policonti, vi è qualche trattato di matrimonio tra queste due Nobil Casate la scarsità della dota terra indietro il ventirsi alla Conclusione, come e seguito in alori boni
380
partiti [*sic.*]

Rome, September 12, 1702

. . . Since having come from France, Cardinal [Henri de la Grange, the Marquis of] Arquien, the father of the Queen of Poland, has resolved to institute several reforms in his superfluous household expenses, including a reduction of the provisions for the singers.

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379. *Ibid.*, fol. 534v.

380. *Ibid.*, fol. 536r.

Roma, 12 settembre 1702

. . . Card.*inal*e Arquien Padre della Regina di Polonia, che li venivano da Francia hà risoluto fare in sua Casa più riforme di spese superflue, con havere fra queste, riformato la Provis.*ion*e à Musici.[381]

Rome, September 26, 1702

On Tuesday evening [September 19] Prince Don Livio Odescalchi had a fine serenata given from the balcony of the palace in which he lives at the [Piazza dei] Santi Apostoli for the Queen of Poland who with her father the Cardinal [de la Grange] and the ladies and gentlemen heard it in the salon. Out in the square there were many coaches with princesses, ladies, and cavaliers, and a great crowd of people of every sort enjoying themselves.

Roma, 26 settembre 1702

Martedi sera dal Sig.*nor*e *Princip*e D.*on* Livio Odescalchi, nella ringhiera del Palazzo ove abita a S.*an*ti Apostoli fù a sentirla nel salone col il S.*ignor*e Card.*inal*e suo Padre, Dame e Sig.*nori*, che godendosi *per* fuori à piazza vi furno q*uan*tita di Carozze con Pr*incip*esse, Dame, e Caval.*ieri*, e gran Popolo d'ogni genere[.][382]

Rome, September 26, 1702

On Thursday evening [September 21] the Duchess of Zagarolo had a fine serenata sung in the garden of her palace at Montecavallo for the Princes Giustiniani which was attended by many cardinals, princesses, and princes.

Roma, 26 settembre 1702

Giovedi sera la Sig.*nor*a Duchessa di Zagarola fece cantare nel Giardino del suo Palazzo à Montecavallo una bona serenata à S.*ignori*

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381. *Ibid.*, fol. 538v.

382. *Ibid.*, fol. 542r.

Principi Giustiniani, ove vi intervennero anco molti S.ignori Card.inali Principesse, e
383
Principi[.]

Rome, October 3, 1702

On Tuesday and Friday [September 26 and 29] in the Seminario Romano a learned comedy dedicated to His Holiness was performed by these seminarians with musical *intermedi* representing in Latin verse the passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ. It was very well done with a very good instrumental consort, there having been good ballets at opportune moments and beautiful scenery. Many cardinals, the Venetian Ambassador, and a great number of noblemen attended; and so that those who came would not be disturbed [by a crowd] at the door, tickets of admission were distributed beforehand to the approval of all.

Roma, 3 ottobre 1702

Martedi, e Venerdi nel Seminario romano fù da quei seminaristi rapresentata Virtuosa Comedia dedicata a S.ua S.antita, con intermedij in musica rapresentanti in Versi latini la passione di Nostro Sig.nore Gesu Christo. Il tutto ben disposto con boniss.imo Concerto di strumenti, vi furno à tempo boni ballatti, e vaghe Comparse; Vi sono intervenuti molti S.ignori Em.inentissimi, Amb.asciatore di Venezia, e gran Nobiltà, e per non far tumulto alle Porte, per quelli che vi dovevano andare, vi fù avanti la distributione de Bullettini, con havere hauto universale
384
Aplauso.

Rome, October 3, 1702

On Sunday evening [October 1] a fine serenata was given by the female singers of the Duchess of Zagarolo in the garden of her palace which was attended by a very noble audience and by all seven of the Giustiniani brothers with whom the same Duchess spent [the evening] in conversation . . .

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383. *Ibid.*, fol. 542v.

384. *Ibid.*, fol. 545r.

Roma, 3 ottobre 1702

> Dom.*enica* sera dalla Sig.*nora* Duch.*essa* di Zagarola nel Giardino del suo Palazzo vi fù fatta cantare dalle sue Canterine buona serenata, ove vi fù Nobiliss.*ima* Udienza, e tutti li sette Fratelli Giustiniani, con li quali la med.*esima* Duchessa passò discorsi . . .[385]

Accounts similar to the above are also found in Francesco Valesio's *Diario di Roma*, and they serve to confirm and augment much of the information preserved in the *avvisi di Roma*. For example, Valesio describes in considerable detail the decorations arrayed in the courtyard of the Sapienza on July 28 when the doctorate was conferred upon a young man he identifies as Rutilio Paracciani. His oration was framed by a Latin cantata entitled *Virtutum triumphus in solemni inauguratione Clementis XI*. Valesio identifies the poet as the Jesuit Father Carrara and adds that the cantata was not well liked. The young man's uncle is estimated to have spent about three thousand *scudi* on this event.[386]

The first serenata recorded by Valesio for that summer in Rome occurred on Monday, July 10, under which date he writes:

> This evening a splendid serenata was given in the Strada Giulia which ended with a *sinfonia* of

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385. *Ibid.*, fol. 546v.

386. Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, II, 231-33.

stones which smashed the instruments. Whence it is curious [to note] that the players of the broken instruments have introduced legal proceedings against the one who hired them for the serenata so that they might be reimbursed for the cost of their instruments.

Si fece in questa sera in strada Giulia una solenne serenata, che terminò con una sinfonia di sassate che fracassarono l'istromenti, onde è curiosa la lite che hanno introdotta gli padroni de gl'istromenti spezzati contro chi ordinò la serenata, per essere rimborsati del prezzo di essi.[387]

The following extracts from Valesio's *Diario* show that serenatas were heard that year in Rome as late as October 29:

Monday, July 24, 1702

A splendid serenata was given this evening by Prince Don Livio Odescalchi at the palace (which formerly belonged to Cardinal Chigi) where he lives on the Piazza dei Santi Apostoli. There were sumptuous refreshments and it was attended by the Imperial Ambassador and by Cardinal Grimani. By extending these invitations the said prince has declared himself to be of the Austrian party.

Lunedi, 24 luglio 1702

Si fece in questa sera dal prencipe don Livio Odescalchi, nel palazzo già del cardinale Chigi nella piazza di SS. Apostoli dal medesimo habitato, una solenne serenata, alla quale intervennero l'ambasciatore cesareo et il cardinale Grimani e vi furono sontuosi rinfreschi, essendosi con questo invito il detto prencipe dichiarato del partito austriaco.[388]

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387. *Ibid.*, II, 210.

388. *Ibid.*, II, 228.

Sunday, August 27, 1702

At about midnight the young son of Count d'Alibert had a serenata given for the Queen of Poland [Maria Casimira] at her casino at the Trinità dei Monti with a great number of instruments. And the celebrated vocalist Faustina Perugini sang.

Domenica, 27 agosto 1702

Verso la mezza notte il figliolo del conte d'Aribert fece una serenata alla regina di Polonia nel casino della Trinità di Monti con quantità d'istromenti e vi cantò la celebre [389] cantarina Faustina Perugini.

Friday, September 22, 1702

Many serenatas and cantatas have been heard at night this week in addition to the usual ones which Prince Don Livio Odescalchi gives at his palace on Tuesday and Friday to which are invited many aristocrats, especially Germans, who are treated to very sumptuous refreshments.

Venerdi, 22 settembre 1702

Sono state fatte in questa settimana la notte molte serenate e cantate in musica, oltre le consuete del martedì e venerdì che fa nel suo palazzo il prencipe don Livio Odescalchi con l'invito di molta nobiltà, e specialmente tedesca, [390] trattata con lautissimi rinfreschi.

Sunday, September 24, 1702

This evening a very beautiful serenata was given by many Roman cavaliers for Princess Barberini, who is habitually indisposed with stomach pain. And later it was given in front of the Imperial Ambassador's palace [*i.e.*, the Palazzo Bonelli].

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389. *Ibid.*, II, 264.

390. *Ibid.*, II, 286.

Domenica, 24 settembre 1702

Si fece la sera da molti cavalieri romani una bellissima serenata alla prencipessa Barberini, che è indisposta d'un male habituale di stomaco, e poi fu fatta avanti il palazzo dell'ambascitore cesareo.[391]

Sunday, October 29, 1702

A serenata was given in the Imperial Ambassador's palace [*i.e.*, the Palazzo Bonelli] for the birthday of the Queen of Spain [Marianna of Pfalz-Neuburg], the widow of the deceased King Charles [III] . . .

Domenica, 29 ottobre 1702

Si fece nel palazzo dell'ambasciatore cesareo una serenata per il dì natalizio della regina di Spagna vedova del defonto re Carlo . . .[392]

6.3.1 A Summary of the Serenatas heard in Rome during 1702

Although none of the serenatas mentioned above can be identified, the information furnished by these *avvisi* and by Valesio's *Diario* can be summarized as follows:

I.

Date: Monday evening, July 10, 1702
Place: Strada Giulia

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391. *Ibid.*, II, 287.

392. *Ibid.*, II, 317.

II.

Date: Monday evening, July 24, 1702
Place: Don Livio Odescalchi's palace at the
Piazza dei Santi Apostoli
Patron: Don Livio Odescalchi

III.

Date: Sunday evening, August 27, 1702
Place: Courtyard of Marchese Riccardi's palace
Patron: Marchese Riccardi

IV.

Date: Sunday evening, August 27, 1702
Place: Queen Maria Casimira's casino at the
Trinità dei Monti
For: Queen Maria Casimira
Patron: the son of Count d'Alibert
Performers: the singer Faustina Perugina and
many instrumentalists

V.

Date: Sunday evening, September 3, 1702
Place: ?
For: a daughter of the Duke of Policonti
Patron: Don Gaetano Cesarini

VI.

Date: Tuesday evening, September 19, 1702
Place: Don Livio Odescalchi's palace at the
Piazza dei Santi Apostoli
For: Maria Casimira, the Queen of Poland
Patron: Don Livio Odescalchi

VII.

Date: Thursday evening, September 21, 1702
Place: Garden of the Palazzo Rospigliosi
For: the Giustiniani Princes
Patron: the Duchess of Zagarolo Rospigliosi

VIII.

Date: Sunday evening, September 24, 1702
Place: Palazzo Barberini and Palazzo Bonelli
For: Princess Barberini

IX.

Date: Sunday evening, October 1, 1702
Place: Garden of the Palazzo Rospigliosi
Patron: the Duchess of Zagarolo Rospigliosi

X.

Date: Sunday, October 29, 1702
Place: Palazzo Bonelli
For: the birthday of Marianna of Pfalz-Neuburg

6.4 Rome during the Winter of 1702-03

By November, 1702, Alessandro Scarlatti is known to have returned from Tuscany to Rome. He remained in the Eternal City until mid-December when he addressed a letter to

Ferdinando de' Medici informing the Grand Prince of his impending departure for Naples.[393] Precisely how long the composer then spent in Naples is unknown. Probably he returned only to gather his possessions and to remove the remainder of his family. By the end of April, 1703, Alessandro is again reported being in Rome where it is believed he stayed until late 1706.[394]

For this reason the *avvisi di Roma* at Munich for the years 1703-06 are of considerable interest. These and many other documents show that the Roman carnival of 1703 was anything but happy. On the evening of January 14 Rome was jolted by a major earthquake which, although it did little structural damage, terrified the inhabitants of the city. Tremors continued to be felt for several months, and the *avvisi di Roma* contain reports of noblemen, fearing the collapse of their palaces, sleeping in their gardens that winter.

6.4.1 The Imperial Ambassador's Serenata

Perhaps this may account for the unexpected news that a serenata was given out-of-doors that February:

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393. Fabbri, *Scarlatti*, p. 49.

394. *Ibid.*

Rome, February 27, 1703

On Sunday [February 25] great festivities were held by the Imperial Ambassador whose court was entirely in gala. He gave a very sumptuous dinner for many German and English lords, and that evening he had a fine serenata sung on a well-suited balcony above the main gate of the garden overlooking the Piazza di San Lorenzo in Lucina. There was a very large gathering of coaches full of princesses, ladies, and cavaliers to whom copious refreshments were dispensed in abundance, the cups of exquiste beverages and bowls of candied and sweets being dispensed by the said ambassador's gentlemen who, preceded by two torches, carried them to the same coaches.

Roma 27 febbraio 1703

Da questo Sig.*nore* Amb.*asciatore* Cesareo Domenico furno fatte grande allegrie, con tutta la Corte in Gala, diede lautis.*simo* Pranzo à molti Sig.*nore* Tedeschi, e Inglesi, e al sera, sopra bene accomodata ringhiera, sopra il Portone del Giardino risponde nella piazza di S. Lorenzo in Lucina, vi fece cantare una buona serenata, il Concorso vi fù grandiss.*imo*, in specie di Carozze ripiene di Pr*inci*pesse, Dame, e Caval.*ieri* à quali abondantem.*ente* furno dispensati copiosiss.*imi* rinfreschi, portati alle med.*esime* Carozze da Gentilhomini di d.*etto* S.*ignore* Amb.*asciatore* serviti da due Torcie andavano con sottocoppe di squisite bevande, e Bacili di Canditi e Confetture dispensando.[395]

Through the influence of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, Alessandro Scarlatti was appointed *coadjutore* or assistant to Giovanni Bicille, the *maestro di cappella* of the Oratorio

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395. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fols. 24v-25r.

of the Filippini Fathers at the Chiesa Nuova, Rome, on January 9, 1703.[396] Although this may have occurred without the composer being present, and Scarlatti's whereabouts cannot be established until April, in all likelihood Alessandro had returned to Rome by the time the Imperial Ambassador's serenata was heard in late February. The work heard on this occasion has not been identified, but since Alessandro Scarlatti was still nominally in the service of the Spanish Bourbons, it seems highly unlikely that he was responsible for it.

6.4.2 Alessandro Scarlatti's Oratorio *L'Assunzione della Beata Vergine Maria*

The *avvisi di Roma* in Munich preserve much valuable evidence documenting the performance of music. Rarely, however, do these documents furnish the name of a composer. The inclusion of Alessandro Scarlatti's name in the following account of the performance of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni's text *L'Assunzione della Beata Vergine Maria* clearly testifies to the high esteem then enjoyed by the composer:

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396. Carlo Gasbarri, *L'Oratorio Filippino (1552-1952)* (Istituto di Studi Romani: Rome, 1957), pp. 90-92.

Rome, April 3, 1703

That same evening [Palm Sunday, April 1] a very beautiful oratorio was sung in the Oratorio of the Filippini Fathers at the Chiesa Nuova by the finest singers, among whom [there was] the famous Matteuccio of Naples. The words were by the Most Eminent Cardinal Ottoboni and the music by Scarlatti. There was a very great crowd of people, and above [in the Oratorio] there were the Most Eminent Cardinals Ottoboni, Spada, Colloredo, Censi, and Homodei, as well as the Imperial and Venetian Ambassadors, and many prelates.

Roma 3 aprile 1703

La med.*esima* sera nell' Oratorio de P.P. filippini della Chiesa Nuova, vi fù cantato un belliss.*imo* Oratorio da migliori musici, fra quali vi fù Il Celebre Matteuccio di Napoli, le parole composit.*ione* dell' Em.*inentissimo* Ottoboni, la musica di Scarlatti, e vi fù un concorso di Popoli grandiss.*imo*, sopra vi furno li Em.*inentissimi* Ottoboni, Spada, Colloredo, Censi, e Omodei, e li due Amb.*asciatori* Ces.*area* e di Venezia, e molta Prelatura.[397]

6.4.3 Pietro Scarlatti's Cantata honoring Saint Philip Neri

Sometime that same year in Rome Alessandro's oldest son, Pietro, furnished the music for a cantata sung at an *accademia* honoring Saint Philip Neri. Only the text as preserved in the following libretto seems to have survived:

PER L'ACCADEMIA/*IN ONORE*/DI/S. FILIPPO NERI/CANTATA/DEL SIG. DOMENICO DE MARTINIS/MUSICA/*DEL SIGNOR PIETRO*

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397. Ibid., fol. 37r.

SCARLATTI./[Printer's Device]/IN ROMA, MDCCIII./Nella Stamperia di Luca Antonio Chracas,/presso S. Marco al Corso.)(*Con lic. de' Sup.*[398]

Soon after the earthquake in January and continuing into the spring of 1703, the Papal court repeatedly promulgated a ban on social gatherings and musical entertainments.[399] The following two extracts from the *avvisi di Roma*, however, testify to the independence of the Roman nobility in this regard:

> Rome, May 24, 1703
>
> There was a lively social gathering with singers, instrumentalists, and a gaming table that same night [Monday, May 21] in the house of the Marchese Riccardi. Signora Paolina, the wife of the Venetian Ambassador, was there incognito with two other women, the Marchese Riccardi and de Angelis, along with their husbands and the Most Eminent Cardinals Ottoboni and Rubini, Don Antonio Ottoboni, and other gentlemen.

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398. Hanns-Bertold Dietz, "A Chronology of Maestri and Organisti at the Cappella Reale in Naples, 1745-1800," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XXV (1972), p. 386, note 30, identifies an exemplar in the Krause Libretto Collection of the Humanities Research Library at the University of Texas at Austin. Another is at I Rvat, Miscell. A.33 (int. 11). It consists of seven numbered pages. On page three the characters are listed as *L'Amor Divino e S. Filippo Neri, Che riceve lo Spirito Santo nelle Catacombe Di S. Sebastiano.* Amor Divino begins it with the words "A le palme, a le palme, a le vittorie . . ."

399. *Cf.* Valesio, *Diario*, II, 487 and 505-06.

Roma 24 maggio 1703

La med.*esim*a sera dal Sig.*nor*a March.*ese* Riccardi in sua Casa fù convita Conversat.*ione* di musica, e sonatori, con un tavolino d'Ombre, ove fù la Sig.*nor*a Paolina moglie incognita dell'Amb.*asciatore* Veneto, con altre due dame la M.*arches*a Riccardi, e de Angelis, con li loro *mariti* li *Emn.inentissimi* Ottoboni, Rubini, D. Ant.*onio* Ottoboni, et altri Sig.*nori*.[400]

Rome, June 23, 1703

On Sunday evening [June 17] a party with singing was held by the Princess of Forano [Strozzi] in which the Princess sang an aria.

Roma 23 giugno 1703

Domenica sera fù festino di canto dalla *Prencip*essa di Forano, in cui l'Istessa *Prencip*essa vi cantò un'arietta.[401]

6.5 Rome during the Summer of 1703

The *avvisi di Roma* at Munich mention as follows five occasions when serenatas were heard in Rome during the summer of 1703. The first account is of considerable interest since it preserves the name of one of Don Livio Odescalchi's domestic singers:

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400. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 52v.

401. *Ibid.*, fol. 68r. In the preceding chapter it was noted that this same princess sang in a serenata on January 15, 1702.

Rome, August 7, 1703

On Sunday and Wednesday evenings [July 29 and August 1] the Queen of Poland [Maria Casimira] gave a beautiful concert near her residence at the Trinità dei Monti in which the famous female vocalist Scarpinellina, [*i.e.*, Nina], who belongs to Prince [Don Livio] Odescalchi, sang with other women and a very large instrumental ensemble; and it was heard with indescribable delight by all those in the audience. The princesses and ladies in attendance were presented with fruits and candies by Her Majesty's domestic servants without any disturbance.

Roma 7 agosto 1703

Domenica, e mercordi sera fece fare la Regina di Pollonia [*sic*] un bel concerto di musica, dove vi canto [*sic*] la Scarpinellina famosa cantatrice del S.*ignore* Prencipe Odescalchi, con altre cantarine, ed un riempim.*ento* copiosissimo d'Istrum.*enti*, vicino la sua habitatione alla Ternità [*sic*] de Monte e fù ascoltato con indicibil gusto da tutti gli astanti, intervenutati ancora quasi t.*utta* q.*uesta* nobiltà, et i domestieri della M.*aestà* Sua regalorono di frutti, e confettura Le Prenc*i*pesse, e Dame senza
402
che succedesse alcuna confusione.

Rome, August 14, 1703

On Thursday [August 9] at about three hours of night the Most Eminent Cardinal Ottoboni made a display of his magnificence by giving a serenata in honor of this Queen [Maria Casimira] below her palace at the Trinità dei Monti which was a great success and was attended by almost all the nobility, the ambassador and his wife incognito. And the said Queen was seen complimented by three Cardinals, that is, the Most Eminent [Forbin de] Janson, S. Croce, and Ottoboni.

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402. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 81r-v.

Roma 14 agosto 1703

Giovedì verso le 3. della notte dall'Em.*inentissi*mo Ottoboni fece spiegare in parte delle sue grandezze con fare una serenata per servitio di questa Regina sotto il suo Palazzo alla Trinità de Monti, e si vide d.*etta* Regina complimentata da trè porporati cioè L'E.*minentissi*mo di Janson S. Croce, et Ottoboni, che riuscì *famosam.ente* e concorse quasi tutta questa nobiltà, e L'Am*basciatr*e, et Ambasciatrice privatam.*ente*[.][403]

This *avviso* also reports that a day later (August 10, the feast of Saint Lawrence) Clement XI attended the sumptuous mass customarily celebrated by Cardinal Ottoboni at the Church of San Lorenzo in Damaso, after which the Pope was entertained in Ottoboni's apartment.[404] Later that same evening:

The same serenata given by Cardinal Ottoboni was performed in a house of a chamberlain of the Marchese Ruspoli facing the said Palace of Saint Mark [*i.e.*, the Palazzo Venezia] . . .

La med.*esim*a serenata che fece fare il S.*ignor*e Card.*inale* Ottoboni fù fatta in Casa d'un Cameriere del S.*ignor*e March.*ese* Ruspoli in faccia al Palazzo di d.*etto* S.*an* Marche . . .[405]

Nine days later the customary flooding of the Piazza Navona took place, an account of which also mentions the

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403. *Ibid.*, fol. 86r.

404. *Cf.* Marx, "Die Musik am Hofe Kardinal Ottobonis," pp. 109-10.

405. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 86v.

performance of another serenata by Queen Maria Casimira at the Trinità dei Monti:

Rome, August 20, 1703

On Sunday [August 19] the customary flooding of the Piazza Navona occurred. The number of coaches and the crowd of people was larger than on the previous occasions. The Queen [of Poland] and her father the Most Eminent Cardinal d'Arquien were in a well furnished pavilion with rich tapestries on the balcony of the Palazzo Pamphilj in the said piazza. Through the customary generosity of Prince Pamphilj they were given very choice refreshments of sweets, candies, and minced fruits in jelly, with various kinds of exquisite beverages and chocolates. And that evening the Most Eminent Cardinal [Benedetto] Pamphilj was seen. The Spanish Ambassador [the Duke of Uceda] and his wife were on the balcony of the Palazzo de Cupis in which Monsignore Molines lives, and the Venetian Ambassador and his wife were with the Marchesa Riccardi on Monsieur Marco Mercante's balcony.

That same evening the Queen [of Poland] had a serenata sung on her usual balcony at the Trinità dei Monti . . .

Roma 20 agosto 1703

Domenica fù fatto il solito Adacquamento à piazza Navona il num.*ero* di Carozze, e di Concorso di popolo fù maggiore della passata, sotto un bene accomodato Padiglione di ricchi drappi alla ringhiera del Palazzo Pamfili in d.*etta* Piazza vi fù la regina con l'Em.*inentissimo* d'Archien suo Padre, à quali dalla solita generosità del Pr*inci*pe Pamphilj fù dato prelibatiss.*imo* rinfresco di Confetture, e Canditi, e frutti in gelo di acciati, con varie sorti d'Isquisite bevande, e Cioccolate, e vi si vidde sul tardi anco l'Em.*inentissimo* Pamfilj. Al Palazzo de Cupis ove abita Monsig.*nore* Molines, alla ringhiera vi furno l'Ambas.*ciatore*, et Amb.*asciatrice* di Spagna, quelli di Venezia con la March.*esa* Riccardi alla ringhiera di Monsieur Marco Mercante.

La med.*esima* sera alla Trinità de Monti alla solita ringhiera la regina vi fece cantare la serenata . . .[406]

The following six extracts taken from a set of so-called *avvisi giornalieri* in the Vatican Library confirm and augment much of the information presented above:

Rome, August 4, 1703

During the night [of Sunday, July 29] a worthy serenata, which piqued the curiosity of the first ladies of Rome and of a great number of the populace, was sung on the bridge connecting the house of the Queen [of Poland] to her garden by the famous Nina, a singer in the service of Don Livio Odescalchi, and by Giulietta and by Giuseppino [*i.e.*, Giuseppe or Pippo della Regina], a castrato in Her Majesty's service.[407] On this occasion the burning lips of these ladies were restored through the gallantry of the Abbate Villanova, a Frenchman, who had precious refreshing beverages distributed to them, and who regaled them with various well wrought candies.

Roma, 4 agosto 1703

Nella sera sopra il Ponte di communicatione della Casa della Regina à quella che và al Giardino, vi fù una virtuosa serenata cantata dalla famosa Nina Cantarina del Sig.*nore* D.*on* Livio Odescalchi, e da Giulietta, e da Giuseppino Castrato di Sua M.*aesta*, che tirò la curiosità delle prime Dame di Roma, e gran Numero di Popolo. Con questa occasione la Galanteria del Sig.*nore* Abb.*ate* di Villanova francese servì di molto ristoro all'arse labra di esse Dame col

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406. *Ibid.*, fols. 87v-88r.

407. *Cf.* Kirkendale, *Antonio Caldara*, p. 351.

farli distribuire pretiosi Umori d'acque rinfrescative, e ricrearle con varij dolci di mano industriosa.[408]

Rome, August 11, 1703

During the night [of Wednesday, probably a reference to August 1] the Queen of Poland gave her serenata for the customary entertainment of the populace in which the famous Nina sang, who for these last evenings has been robbed of her voice by the jealous breezes.

Roma, 11 agosto 1703

Nella notte questa Regina di Polonia diede al Popolo il solito divertimento della sua serenata, nella quale cantò la famosa Nina, che nelle sere passate gl'invidiosi Zefiri rubbata le havevano la voce.[409]

Ibid.

And indeed it is true that behind virtue follows glory, and behind glory, pleasure. During the night [probably of August 9] Cardinal Ottoboni wished to honor the merit of Her Majesty the Queen of Poland with a serenata sung by his singers in the piazza of the Trinità dei Monti in front of Her Majesty's palace. To this end he had the girth of this hill secured with barricades so that at the approach of the coaches, of the men, and of the ladies--who wandered about in great confusion--no disorder would arise. Because of the quality of the singers and of the infinite number of accompanying instruments, it enjoyed a worthy success. But that which most delighted the populace was the sight of a coach drawn by six harnessed steeds with ribbons and plumes as well as of four open coaches accompanied by His Excellency's gentlemen dressed in red suits and hats with white plumes like the lackeys who accompanied them, there being in attendance at

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408. I Rvat, Ottob. lat. 2731, *Avvisi giornalieri - Roma*, fol. 94r-v.

409. *Ibid*, fol. 101v.

this noble entertainment Cardinal [Forbin de] Janson, who was present with Her Majesty, Cardinal S. Croce, and the Most Eminent [Cardinal] della Grange, Her Majesty's father.

Ibid.

E pure è vero, che alla virtù siegue dietro la gloria, e alla gloria il piacere. Il Sig.*nore* Card.*inale* Ottoboni nella notte volle honorare il Merito di S.*ua* M.*aesta* Polacca in una serenata cantata da suoi musici nella Piazza della Trinità de Monti, avanti il Palazzo di S.*ua* M*aesta*, che fatto haveva assicurare con palizate la ripidezza di quel Monte, acciò nell'approssimarsi delle Carozze, degl'Uomini, e delle Donne, che con gran confusione vi corsero non nascesse qualche disordine, che riuscì virtuosa per la qualità de musici, et accompagnamento d'infiniti Instromenti. Mà quello che rallegrò più il Popolo fù il vedere comparire un Cocchio tirato da sei Cavalli bardati con fetucchie, e pennacchi, cosi quatro [*sic*] Carozze scoperte condotte da Gentilhuomini di S.*ua* Em.*inenz*a vestiti con abiti rossi, e Cappello con pennacchiera bianca, come i Lacchè, che le accompagnavano, essendo intervenuti à questa nobile ricreatione il Sig.*nore* Card.*inale* S. Croce, e l'Em*inentissi*mo della Grange P*adre* della
410
M*aesta* Sua.

Rome, August 18, 1703

Gossip has it that ill will has arisen between the Queen of Poland and Don Livio Odescalchi because His Excellency has forbidden his singer Nina from entering the service [of Her Majesty], who tried to have her for fifteen *scudi* per month including meals, Her Majesty not realizing how difficulty it would be to forego her deeply rooted heart's [desire of having] this admirable young woman, whose worth well deserved such patronage. Failing in this, Her Majesty let it be known to His Excellency that sirens are to be heard wherever most profit might accrue to them, she having taken three of even finer voice into her

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410. *Ibid.*, fol. 102v.

service.

Roma, 18 agosto 1703

Vogliano, che siano nati disappori trà la Regina di Polonia, et il Sig.*nore* D.*on* Livio Odescalchi, per haverli S.*ua* Ecc.*ellenz*a negata Nina sua Cantatrice, che ricercata haveva di haverla al suo servizio con 15: scudi il mese,e la tavola, non considerando S.*ua* M*aest*à quanto sia difficile di staccare dal cuore la virtù radicata di questa Giovane, che seppe con essa meritare un tanto patrocinio. In mancanza della quale hà fatto conoscere Sua M*aest*à all'Ece.*llenz*a Sua, che le sirene si fanno sentire in tutti i luoghi ove restano satolle, havendone pigliate trè di più chiara voce al di lei servizio.[411]

Although the account of Ottoboni's serenata for Queen Maria Casimira reports that it "enjoyed a worthy success," a vulgar pasquinade referring to this performance was soon making the rounds of Rome. It is reproduced as follows in the *avvisi giornalieri*:

For the serenata given by Cardinal Ottoboni to the Queen of Poland.

Ottoboni went to give
a serenata for the Queen.
It was strumpet music
which ended in wantonness.

The Lake of Bolsena was chosen,
into which two dolfins were put.
One had so little breath
that he wasn't worth two farthings.

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411. *Ibid.*, fol. 106r.

It was Pippo del Violone
who composed the cantata
and on so vile a theme
had to make this mess.

There were such novel accounts of cuckoldry
that the Poles were stupefied. 412
Whenever the Duke of Bonelli made a move
all the lackeys soiled their pants.

Six steeds adorned with plumes, 413
driven by the pretty little [Count] Spada,
tried to make up for this disgrace,
but only with the help of the musketry.

But the ladies and cavaliers,
bored by this display,
showed by their elegant expressions
that they thought Ottoboni mad.

If it were not for the lower classes
414
I couldn't imagine why the Bourbons
don't complain to the [Apostolic] Palace.
To the priests it's an embarrassment.

This thieving music
is not fit for queens,
but rather for the mother
of their tobacconists.

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412. The expression *la mossa de Budelli* literally means "bowel movement," but it is also used as a pun on the Duke's name. *Cf.* the account cited above of a serenata given on August 7, 1698.

413. The word *spadino* is synonymous with *castrato*.

414. The term *Barboni* also suggests "unshaven rabble."

Per la serenata fatta dal S.*ignore* Card.*inale*
Ottoboni alla Regina di Polonia

Ottoboni alla Regina
Volse far la Serenata
Fù una musica sgualdrina
Che fini in Pitalata.

Scelse il Lago di Bolsena
Qui pose duoi Delfini
L'uno havea si poca lena
Non volea che doi Quadrini.

Pippo fù del Violone
Che compose la Cantata
Ed il Tema assai Co . . .
fece far questa fritata.

Vi furon Bechi si novelli
Che storditi li Polacchi
Per la mossa de Budelli
Si smerdoron tutti i lacchi

Sei Corsieri di piume adorni
Che guidava il bel spadino
Riparar volean li scorni
Con l'aiuto de moschini.

Mà le Dame, e i Cavalieri
Anoiati di quell'atto
Si mostraron in volto fini,
Dicharandolo da matto.

Non so come li Barboni
Nol richiaman à Palazzo,
Se non fosse che Fabroni
Per li Frati è imbarazzo.

Queste musiche si ladre
Non son buone per Regine,
Mà più tosto per la Madre
Delle sue Tabbaccarine.

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415. I Rvat, Ottob. lat. 2731, *Avvisi giornalieri - Roma*, fols. 108v-109r.

In addition to the accounts cited above, the *Diario di Roma* of Francesco Valesio reports the following concerning the musical events of Rome during the summer of 1703:

> Monday, July 16, 1703
>
> Today the feast of the Madonna of Montesanto was celebrated with all magnificence and devotion by Monsignor [Carlo] Colonna, the master of the *camera pontificio*, and the music by the famous chapel master [Alessandro] Scarlatti was performed by a large number of voices and instruments.
>
> Lunedi, 16 luglio 1703
>
> Si è hoggi celebrata la festa della Madonna SS.ma di Montesanto con ogni magnificenza dalla devozione di monsignor Colonna, maestro di camera pontificio, e la musica è stata fatta con quantità di voci et istromenti dal celebre maestro di cappella Scarlatti.[416]
>
> Sunday, August 5, 1703
>
> This evening with a great crowd of people the Queen of Poland gave a serenata at three hours [of night] on the bridge of her palace which crosses the Strada Felice.
>
> Domenico, 5 agosto 1703
>
> La sera la regina di Polonia con gran concorso di popolo fece una serenata alle 3 hore sopra il ponte del suo palazzo che traversa la strada Felice.[417]

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416. Valesio, *Diario*, II, 652.

417. *Ibid*, II, 668.

Monday, August 6, 1703

The Queen of Poland is having a wooden barricade built on the summit of the hill of the Trinità to repair the ground which, because of the rain, is unstable, as well as to prevent the danger of anyone falling, since she is continually having serenatas given with carriages assembled there in great number.

Lunedi, 6 agosto 1703

La regina di Polonia fa formare una barricata di travi su la cima del Monte della Trinità sì per riparare la terra, che a causa delle pioggie non slami di vantaggio, come per ovviare che, facendo essa continue serenate e concorrendovi quantità di carrozze, non corra qualchuna pericolo di precipitare.[418]

Thursday, August 9, 1703

At two hours of night Cardinal Ottoboni presented a noble serenata for the Queen of Poland in front of her casino where she resides on the hill of the Trinità. The singers and instrumentalists arrived in an open carriage drawn by six steeds. The two Count Spadas, head butler and steward of the said cardinal, functioned as outrider and coachman in sumptuous riding outfits with white feathers in their caps. There were five other coaches driven by His Eminence's gentlemen accompanying this one, two of which were similarly open and likewise full of singers and players, the night having been illuminated by the light of seventy torches of white wax. And there was some trouble while the open carriage and the others carrying the singers for the serenata advanced through a large number of coaches because one, containing many persons in disguise (who it was later learned were the Archbishop of Cracow and other Polish lords), would neither move nor permit their passage. After having been informed of the situation by one of Her Majesty's gentlemen, however, they gave up their place.

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418. *Ibid.*, II, 669.

There was also another dispute between one of the Giustiniani and Gaetano de gl'Annibaldi at which swords were drawn. Having been informed of this, the Abbate Scarlatti, whose nephew is the father-in-law of the said de gl'Annibaldi, intervened by means of the Marchese Maccarani and had them make peace. The serenata made use of a great number of instruments and voices, four other choruses situated on the loggias of the neighboring houses making an echo to the music from the coaches. The words were composed by the said Cardinal [Ottoboni], the music by the famous [Alessandro] Scarlatti. Cardinal Censi and Don Orazio Albani together with his young son Don Carlo were there to hear this serenata, and the Spanish Ambassador and his wife were in Prince Tassis' casino.

Giovedi, 9 agosto 1703

Alle 2 della notte il cardinale Ottoboni fece una nobile serenata alla regina di Polonia avanti la di lei habitatione del casino sul Monte della Trinità. Venivano gli musici e sonatori condotti in una muta a sei scoperta, alla quale faceano da cavalcante e cocchiere gli dui conti Spada, maestro di camera e coppiere di detto cardinale, con habiti sontuosi da campagna e con piuma bianca al cappello. Erano con questa d'accompagnamento cinque altre carrozze a due similmente scoperte ripiene pure di musici e suonatori, le quali carrozzavano gli gentilhuomini di S. Eminenza, venendo rischiarata la notte dal lume di settanta torcie di cera bianca; e vi fu qualche impegno nell'avanzarsi fra un numero grande di carrozze la muta e le altre che conducevano gli musici per la serenata, poiché non voleva muoversi né dare il passo una carrozza nella quale v'era più persone imbavagliate, che poi si seppe essere l'arcivescovo di Cracovia et altro signore polacco, ma poi, fatti capace da un gentilhuomo polacco di S. Maestà, cederono il luogo. Vi fu anco altro impegno fra uno de' Giustiniani e Gaetano de gl'Annibali coll'haver posto mano alle spade, del che avvisatone l'abbate Scarlatti, del nepote del quale il detto de gl'Annibali è suocero, col mezzo del marchese Maccarani, gli fece rappacificare. La serenata fu copiosissima di istromenti e voci, facendo eco alla musica delle carrozze quattro altri cori posti su le

loggie delle case circonvicine. Le parole erano state composte dal medesimo cardinale, sì come la musica era del famoso Scarlatti. Vi furono ad udire tal serenata il cardinale Cenci, don Orazio Albani insieme con don Carlo suo figliolo e nel casino del prencipe Tassi vi furono l'ambasciatore
419
et ambasciatrice di Spagna.

Sunday, August 12, 1703

This evening the Queen of Poland gave a noble serenata on the bridge across the Strada Felice at her casino on the Trinità dei Monti, and there was a great crowd of coaches. And trouble arose between a coach belonging to the Contestabile Colonna, who was there with his wife and another lady, and an empty coach belonging to Monsignor Barbadico, who was with Don Carlo Albani. The coachman of the latter, having been ordered not to move and not wishing to give up his place to the Contestabile's coach, was roughed up by [the Contestabile's] servants. Because the coachman said that he was there to serve Don Carlo Albani, the Contestabile immediately sent his Master of Horse to make his apology to Don Orazio Albani, who said that he had nothing to do with this. Then the same was done with regard to the said Carlo, who said that the coachman belonged to Monsignor Barbadico. And when the Contestabile neglected to apologize to him, the Pope after several days ordered that his major domo Carlo Colonna desire by all means his brother the Contestabile to make his apology to the said Monsignor Barbadico, since he wanted the clergy to be respected.

Domenica, 12 agosto 1703

Fece in questa sera la regina di Polonia una nobile serenata al suo casino su la Trinità de' Monti sul ponte che traversa la strada Felice e vi fu concorso grande di carrozze ed, essendovi seguìto impegno fra una carrozz del contestabile Colonna, che era con la moglie et altra dama, et una carrozza di monsignor Barbadico vuota, col quale era don Carlo Albano, che, havendo ordinato

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419. *Ibid.*, II, 670-71.

al cocchiere che non si muovesse di lì et però non volendo cedere il luogo a quella del contestabile, fu da' staffieri piattonato; et perché il cocchiere disse stare ivi a servire don Carlo Albano, il contestabile mandò immediatamente il suo cavallerizzo a passare scuse con don Orazio Albano, che disse non haver che fare in ciò e, passato tal atto col medesimo Carlo, questo disse che il cocchiere era di monsignor Barbadico. E, trascurando il contestabile passare con questo le scuse, il papa ordinò doppo alcuni dì a don Carlo Colonna, suo maggiordomo, che voleva che onninamente il contestabile suo fratello passasse scusa col detto monsignor Barbadico perché voleva che si portasse rispetto a i prelati.[420]

Sunday, August 26, 1703

A festive *accademia* in celebration of the feast of the Assumption [of the Virgin] was held in the Collegio Clementino with an oratorio which was attended by eight cardinals, [the words of] the oratorio having been composed by Cardinal Ottoboni and the music by the famous [Alessandro] Scarlatti.

Domenica, 26 agosto 1703

Si fece solenne accademia con oratorio nel Collegio Clementino per solennizzare la festa della Assunta, alla quale assisterono otto porporati, essendo stato compositore dell'oratorio il cardinale Ottobono e della musica il famoso Scarlatti.[421]

Sunday, September 2, 1703

This evening at two hours of night the Queen gave the serenata on the bridge of her casino at the Trinità dei Monti with a great crowd of coaches [present]. And it happened that a coach bearing the Marchese Camillo Corsini with the wife of Angelo Gavotti and some other ladies having taken its place, there arrived the coach driven by

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420. *Ibid.*, II, 673-74.

421. *Ibid.*, II, 682.

the Marchese Scipione Santacroce in which was the said Marchese's wife likewise with some other ladies. The latter requested that they make a little room by moving so that his coach might have some space. And, when no notice was taken of his request, the above-mentioned Marchese said that this was behavior befitting a peasant, which wounded Angelo Gavotti, who owned the coach.

Domenica, 2 settembre 1703

Fece in questa sera alle hore 2 della notte la serenata sul ponte del suo casino sul Monte della Trinità la regina con gran concorso di carrozze, e seguì che, havendo preso posto una carrozza in cui v'era il marchese Camillo Corsini con la moglie d'Angelo Gavotti et altre dame, sopragiunse la carrozza guidata dal marchese Scipione Santacroce, in cui v'era la moglie del medesimo pure con altre dame. Questo richiese che gli facessero un poco di luogo col moversi, acciò potesse accommodare in quel sito la sua carrozza, e, non essendo stato dato orecchio a tal domanda, disse il detto marchese che ciò era azzione da villano, il che feriva Angelo Gavotti, del quale era la
422
carrozza.

Wednesday, September 5, 1703

Today the nation of Venice celebrated the feast of San Lorenzo Giustiniano with extraordinary magnificence in the Church of Saint Mark. It was beautifully decorated with damask trimmed in gold . . . and two great choirs were erected in the said church for the music [which consisted] of a vast number of voices and instruments under the direction of the celebrated [Alessandro] Scarlatti, which succeeded nobly . . .

Mercoledi, 5 settembre 1703

Celebrò hoggi la nazione veneziana la festività di s. Lorenzo Giustiniano con estraordinaria magnificenza nella chiesa di S. Marco. Era questa vagamente apparata di damaschi con gran trine d'oro . . . et erano nella medesima

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422. *Ibid.*, II, 687.

chiesa stati fatti dui gran cori per la musica, che riuscì nobile e copiosa di voci et istromenti sotto la direzzione del celebre Scarlatti . . .[423]

6.5.1 A Serenata for Queen Maria Casimira perhaps by Alessandro Scarlatti

Of particular interest is the serenata given under the auspices of Cardinal Ottoboni for Queen Maria Casimira on the evening of August 9. The pasquinade cited above on page 408 reports that it was composed by "Pippo del Violone," which may be a reference to the cellist called Pippino whose name has been found in the Ruspoli account books beginning in 1708. Ursula Kirkendale identifies him as the Filippo Mattei who wrote the first act of *Muzio Scevola* in collaboration with Handel and Giovanni Bononcini for the London stage in 1721.[424] Francesco Valesio, however, clearly names Scarlatti as the composer of this serenata in the extract from the *Diario di Roma* cited above on page 412. In any case, none of Alessandro Scarlatti's extant serenatas can be identified as the work heard on this occasion, nor have any of the other serenatas given that summer been identified.

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423. *Ibid.*, II, 690-91.

424. Kirkendale, *Caldara*, pp. 53, 355.

6.5.2 A Summary of the Serenatas heard in Rome during 1703

Although the documents cited above leave some question as to the precise dates when several of these serenatas were heard, the information presented above can probably be summarized as follows:

I.

Date: Sunday evening, July 29, 1703
Place: on a bridge connecting Queen Maria Casimira's house at the Trinità dei Monti with her garden
For: the populace of Rome
Patron: Queen Maria Casimira
Performers: many instrumentalists and three vocalists: Nina (*la Scarpinellina*, a member of Don Livio Odescalchi's household), Giulietta, and Giuseppino (*i.e.*, Giuseppe or Pippo della Regina)

II.

Date: Wednesday evening, August 1, 1703
Place: on a bridge connecting Queen Maria Casimira's house at the Trinità dei Monti with her garden
For: the populace of Rome
Patron: Queen Maria Casimira
Performers: many instrumentalists and three vocalists: Nina (*la Scarpinellina*, a member of Don Livio Odescalchi's household), Giulietta, and Giuseppino (*i.e.*, Giuseppe or Pippo della Regina)

III.

Date: Sunday evening, August 5, 1703
Place: on a bridge over the Strada Felice
connected to Queen Maria Casimira's residence
at the Trinità dei Monti
Patron: Queen Maria Casimira

IV.

Date: Thursday evening, August 9, 1703
Place: in front of Queen Maria Casimira's
residence at the Trinità dei Monti
For: Queen Maria Casimira
Patron: Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni
Librettist: Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni
Composer: either Alessandro Scarlatti or
Filippo Mattei
Repeat performance:
Date: Friday evening, August 10, 1703
Place: in a house belonging to a chamberlain of
the Marchese Ruspoli near the Palazzo Venezia

V.

Date: Sunday evening, August 12, 1703
Place: on a bridge over the Strada Felice near
Queen Maria Casimira's residence at the
Trinità dei Monti
Patron: Queen Maria Casimira

VI.

Date: Sunday evening, August 19, 1703
Place: Queen Maria Casimira's balcony at the
Trinità dei Monti

VII.

Date: Sunday evening, September 2, 1703
Place: on a bridge over the Strada Felice near

Queen Maria Casimira's residence at the
Trinità dei Monti
Patron: Queen Maria Casimira

6.5.3 Alessandro Scarlatti's Serenata for the Spanish Ambassador in 1703

On October 4, 1703, Alessandro Scarlatti presented a serenata sung by two of his daughters at the Palazzo di Spagna honoring the Duke of Uceda, the Spanish Ambassador, on his nameday. News of this performance is preserved in an *avviso* discovered by Prof. Hans Joachim Marx in the Vatican Library which reports the following:

> Rome, October 6, 1703
>
> On the evening of [the feast of] Saint Francis [October 4] the composer [Alessandro] Scarlatti came to the palace of the Catholic Ambassador [*i.e.*, of Spain] to honor him on his nameday with a very beautiful serenata sweetly sung by his daughters, who carried it off to the highest applause of the large audience gathered there.
>
> Roma 6 ottobre 1703
>
> Nel Palazzo del Sig.*nore Ambasciatore* Cattolico la sera di S. francesco questo Scarlatti Compositore di Musica volse onorare il Nome, che ne porta S.*ua* Ecc.*ellenza* con una Serenata bellissima dolcemente cantata dalle sue figlie, che ne riportorono con sommo applauso degl'Uditori ivi in gran Numero concorsi.[425]

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425. I Rvat, Ottob. lat. 2731, fol. 168r.

Alessandro's daughters who sang this serenata were almost certainly Flaminia and Cristina, then twenty and nineteen years old, respectively. The work heard that evening cannot be identified with certainty. There are four extant serenatas by Alessandro Scarlatti from about this period which call for two voices:

- *Venere e Adone; Il Giardino di Amore*
- *Endimione e Cintia*
- *Amore e Virtù ossia il Trionfo della Virtù*
- *Cupido ed Onesta; Il Trionfo dell'Onesta*

One of these may have been the work given that evening, but none of the surviving scores for these serenatas identify the specific occasions upon which they were performed, nor do their texts contain any overt allusions which might have served as clues in this regard.

On the basis of style, *Venere e Adone* appears to date from about the period 1700–1705. Although mentioned above as a possible Neapolitan work, it may just as well have been written for Rome. *Amore e Virtù* has been dated "Roma 1706" on the basis of information found on the title page of its single surviving score in Berlin. All the scores in Berlin

preserving serenatas by Alessandro Scarlatti, however, are nineteenth-century copies prepared for the collector Karl Freiherr von Doblhoff-Dier, a contemporary of Franz Schubert.[426] The fact that they are such late sources probably explains why the information found on their title pages is not entirely reliable. For example, on the title page of the score preserving *Amore e Virtù* it is described as "per il Principe Ruspoli," although Francesco Maria Ruspoli was not promoted to that rank until February 3, 1709.[427] The composer is likewise referred to as "Cavaliere Alessandro Scarlatti" despite the fact that Alessandro was not raised to the nobility until 1715. For these reasons, some doubt must be expressed regarding the ascription "Roma 1706" found on this score. Similar doubts must also be expressed about the information found on the title pages of the scores in the Santini collection, Münster. Evidence will be presented below proving that the serenata *Zeffiro e Clori* was first heard on September 14, 1705, despite the fact that the score of it in Münster bears the date 1706. The dates found on the title pages of many of the

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426. For a short biography of Doblhoff-Dier see Herfried Kier, *Raphael Georg Kiesewetter (1773-1850): Wegbereiter des musikalischen Historismus* (Regensburg: Gustave Bosse, 1986), p. 213.

427. Kirkendale, *Antonio Caldara*, pp. 45-46.

scores in the Santini collection evidently refer to the time when they were copied, and not to their composition or first performance.

6.6 The Roman Carnival of 1704

Shortly after the earthquake in January of 1703 when Rome lived in dread of further damage, a public vow was made by the inhabitants of the Eternal City which reinforced the Papal aversion to carnival revelry.[428] The result was a generally gloomy carnival in 1704. According to the *avvisi di Roma* in Munich, Queen Maria Casimira's plans for that season met the following fate:

> Rome, January 1, 1704
>
> It appears that these ladies of Rome are starting to become intimate with the Queen of Poland, many of them having gone during the present [Christmas] holidays to compliment her; and in response she is now having a place in her own palace prepared as a theater to entertain them with various cantatas and operas during the coming carnival.

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428. *Cf.* Valesio, *Diario.*, II, 531-32.

Roma, 1 gennaio 1704

Queste Dame di Roma pare che cominciano à domesticarsi cola Regina di Polonia, delle quali vi ne sono andate moltissime a complimentarla in cong.*iuntura* della *presente* solennità, ed ella per corrisponderle fà adesso preparare nel proprio Palazzo un luogo in Forma di Teatro *per* divertirle nel futuro Carnivale con varie Cantate, e qualche
429
opretta [*sic*] in musica.

Rome, January 22, 1704

The Queen of Poland has already ceased construction of the theater in her palace, nor will she be able to present comedies as she intended. In order to obtain in the easiest manner the required permission, she asked it of Our Lord [the Pope] through his niece when she was at the [Vatican] Palace on New Year's Day, to whom Our Lord [the Pope] answered that, being in Rome, she was bound by the vow [made] by the ladies of Rome, and thus for the present it was too soon to grant her a dispensation.

Roma, 22 gennaio 1704

La Regina di Polonia c'hà già terminato di fare alzare il teatro nel suo Palazzo non potrà fare le Comedie che haveva intentione anzi *per* ottenere con più facilità tal licenza la fece chiedere à Nostro Sig.*nore* dalla sua Nipotina quando fù a Palazzo nel giorno di Capo d'Anno, alla quale rispose *Nostro* Sig.*nore* che stando in Roma era costretta al voto delle Dame Romane, e che perciò
430
per adesso era troppo presto à dispensarlo[.]

Although Queen Maria Casimira's plans to build a theater in her palace that winter may have been foiled, Francesco Valesio reports that she nevertheless managed to give a

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429. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 129v.

430. *Ibid.*, fol. 134r.

number of entertainments:

> Saturday, February 2, 1704
>
> The Queen of Poland here is continuing to present improvised comedies with musical *intermezzi* for her entertainment.
>
> Sabato, 2 febbraio 1704
>
> Continua questa regina di Polonia a fare comedie all'improviso per suo divertimento con intermezzi in musica.[431]

The text of one of the Queen's entertainments heard during the carnival of 1704 is probably preserved in a print listed as follows in the catalogue of libretti in the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome:

> *Il Tebro fatidico, componimento per musica & Introduttione al ballo dell'Aurora . . . di Carlo Sigismondo Capace* Roma, Mascardi, 1704. Dedica dell'A. alla princ. M. Casimira di Polonia.[432]

Despite the Papal opposition to carnival entertainments, the Venetian Ambassador Giovanni Francesco Morosini was also able to present operas of a sort at his palace that year.

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431. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 24.

432. Cairo and Quilic, *Biblioteca teatrale dal '500 al '700*, no. 3927.

An *avviso* dated February 5, 1704, reports Morosini making use

> . . . of a certain skillful musical priest who succeeded admirably in presenting puppet operas, he managing everything single-handedly and changing his voice at appropriate moments while singing, which astounded all the spectators. It was done repeatedly, with the Imperial Ambassador present several times . . .
>
> . . . di certo virtuoso Prete musico, che riesce ammirabile in rapresentare Burlette di Pupazzi in musica, con manegiarli tutti da *per* se, e solo à cantare, con mutare le Voci à tempo; che fù restare maravigliati li spetatori, e tutti; ne hà fatte molte con esser vistato alcune volte [433] l'Amb.*asciatore* Ces.*area* . . .

By February 5, 1704, carnival had come to an end. It would appear from the *avvisi di Roma* at Munich that much of the secular music heard that season in Rome was due to Venetian initiative:

> Rome, February 12, 1704
>
> The last and finest social gathering at the close of carnival was held on Tuesday evening [February 5] by the Venetian Ambassador where there were fine cantatas and a puppet show. There was a splendid dinner attended by the Imperial Ambassador, and many masques in the Venetian style were seen at the ball which lasted until daybreak.
>
> Roma 12 febbraio 1704
>
> L'Ultima e più bella Conversat.*ione* nel serrare il Carnevale fù fatta martedi sera dal S.*ignore* Amb.*asciatore* di Venezia ove fù bone Cantate, e

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433. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 137r.

comedia di Burrattini, vi fù lautiss.*ima* Cena, vi fù l'Amb.*asciatore* Ces.*areo*, vi comparvera più mascherine alla Veneziana, fù fatto festino di Ballo sino à giorno.[434]

6.7 Rome during Lent and the Spring of 1704

The performance of an unnamed oratorio in the Cancelleria on Sunday, March 2, 1704, is reported in the *Diario di Roma* of Francesco Valesio.[435] This performance is also recorded in one of the *avvisi di Roma* at Munich. Although this source also fails to name the work, it is learned that the text of this oratorio was written by Cardinal Ottoboni:

> March 11, 1704
>
> On Sunday evening [March 2] Cardinal Ottoboni had a beautiful oratorio, a composition of his, sung by his singers in the Oratorio of the [Filippini] Fathers of the Chiesa Nuova. It was favored by the attendance of eight cardinals and by the Venetian Ambassador as well as by a vast crowd of people.
>
> Roma 11 marzo 1704
>
> Dal. S.*ignore* Card.*inale* Ottoboni Domenica sera fù fatto cantare da suoi musici nell'Oratorio delli P.P. della Chiesa Nuova un bell'Oratorio sua Composit.*ione*, vi furno à favorirlo otto S.*ignori*

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434. *Ibid.*, fol. 141r.

435. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 37.

Em.*inentissimi*, e l'Amb.*asciatore* di Venezia,
oltre l'esservi stato un grandiss.*imo* concorso di
Popoli[.][436]

6.7.1 The Marchese Ruspoli's Oratorio *San Clemente Papa e Martire*

Four days after Easter the Marchese Ruspoli had an oratorio, ostensibly in praise of Saint Clement but in reality probably honoring the present Pope Clement XI, performed at his palace on the Piazza di S. Maria in Aracoeli.[437] Although the composer of this oratorio remains unidentified, the performance in it of Corelli and his band of strings is noted in one of the *avvisi* at Munich:

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436. D Mbs, cod. Ital. 197, fols.150v-151r. According to the files of Claudio Sartori a libretto entitled *San Filippo Neri* was printed in Rome that year by Domenico Antonio Ercole. The text was by Pietro T. Vagni and the music by Domenico Laurelli. The work was heard in the Oratorio of the Chiesa Nuova.

437. According to the files of Claudio Sartori a libretto of this work entitled *San Clemente Papa e Martire* was printed by Luca Antonio Chracas that year in Rome. Copies of it are reported to be in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Turin, and in the British Library, London.

Rome, April 1, 1704

On Thursday evening [March 27] in the marchese Ruspoli's house a good oratorio, accompanied by Arcangelo [Corelli's] entire band of instruments, was sung with various *sinfonie* in praise of Saint Clement. It was dedicated to Don Annibale Albani [nephew of Clement XI] who was there to hear it with eight cardinals and many prelates.

Roma 1 aprile 1704

In Casa del March.ese Ruspoli Giovedi sera vi fù Cantato un bono Oratorio in lode di S. Clemente, Accompagnato da tutto il Concerto de strumenti di Arcangelo. Con varie Zinfonie, Con lo dedicatorio à D.on Anabale Albani, che vi fù à sentirlo, con ottoSig.nori Card.inali, e molti Prelati[.] [438]

6.7.2 Music by Corelli and Alessandro Scarlatti for the *Accademia* of Fine Arts at the Campidoglio

On April 24, 1704, the annual *Accademia* of Fine Arts was held in a sumptuously decorated hall at the Campidoglio.[439] According to Giuseppe Ghezzi's printed account of this event, it began with instrumental music by Corelli and ended with a cantata by Alessandro Scarlatti:

> At the arrival of the nineteen Most Eminent and Most Reverend Cardinals . . . and of the numerous prelates and nobles, the planned academic exercises began, they being preceded by the very sweet *sinfonia* of the learned and celebrated

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438. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 157v.

439. *Ibid.*, fol. 166r. *Cf.* Kirkendale, *Antonio Caldara*, pp. 56-57.

master Arcangelo Corelli.

> [At the end of the academic exercises] . . . the musical instruments resumed playing with all the skill of their art, accompanying the following words by the poet Abbate Pompeo Figari in which Pallas, who rewards virtue, is introduced. This part was wonderfully sung with great art by the incomparable voice of Girolamo Bigelli as set to music with artifice and learning by the celebrated Alessandro Scarlatti.
>
> All'arrivo degl'Eminentissimi, e Reverendissimi Porporati, che in numero di dieciannove furono . . . e della numerosa Prelatura e Nobiltà, fu dato principio alle preparate dimostrazioni Accademiche; precedendogli la dolcissima Sinfonia magistero erudito del celebre signor Arcangelo
> 440
> Corelli.
>
> . . . furono riassunti con tutta perizia dell'Arte i sonori Istrumenti, furono da i medesimi accompagnate le seguenti parole, poesie del Signore Abate Pompeo Figari, in cui introducendosi Pallade, che premia le Virtù, fù questa parte egregiamente cantata, con la sua impareggiabil Voce, ed Arte, dal Signor Girolamo Bigelli, e regolata, con artificioise, & erudite note, dal celebre Signor Alessandro Scarlatti.

The text of this cantata, which begins "Giusto premio a' merti suoi," is reproduced by Ghezzi in the above-cited print. The music is not known to have survived. Since this work was performed indoors and required only a single voice, it is not classified as a serenata.

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440. Giuseppe Ghezzi, *Le Buone arti sempre più gloriose nel Campidoglio per la solenne Accademia del Disegno nel dì 24 aprile MDCCIV* (Rome: Gaetano Zenobj, 1704), p. 15. This and the following extract from Ghezzi are cited by Mario Rinaldi, *Arcangelo Corelli* (Milan: Curci, 1953), p. 257.

6.7.3 Literary *Accademie* with Music at the Cancelleria and the Collegio Romano

On May 28, 1704, the *Corpus Domini* procession at Cardinal Ottoboni's Church of San Lorenzo in Damaso took place. An extract from the Cardinal's account books published by Hans Joachim Marx shows that a four-part chorus (SATB), eight singers to a part, sang during the procession.[441] The following description of the events of that day is preserved in an *avviso* at Munich:

> Rome, June 3, 1704
>
> On Wednesday [May 28] at the Church of San Lorenzo in Damaso the usual procession in sackcloth and with torches was held with great ceremony by Cardinal Ottoboni favored by [the attendance of] many noblemen, thirteen cardinals, and a great number of prelates, His Holiness having sent his entire private chamber [of counselors]. Because all the religious orders marched in it, there was some trouble among the friars concerning which brotherhood would take precedence. The Queen of Poland and other ladies of her circle were in the balcony above the main gate of the Palace [of the Cancelleria]. The Venetian Ambassador's wife with her two daughters and the Marchesa Riccardi were in the corner balcony overlooking the [Via del] Pellegrino. Besides the refreshments given Her Majesty and the ladies that day, wine was available for everyone. That same night a literary *accademia* was held with cantatas accompanied by Arcangelo [Corelli's] fine band of instruments, and there was a very sumptuous supper for the Venetian ladies, the ambassadors, Cardinal Rubini, and others.

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441. Marx, "Die Musik am Hofe Kardinal Ottobonis," p. 159, no. [80].

Roma, 3 giugno 1704

Mercoledi il giorno alla Chiesa di S. Lorenzo in Damaso del Sig.*nore* Card.*inale* Otthoboni con tutta solennità fù fatta la solita sua Pricissione, favorito da quantità di Nobiltà con sacco e Torcia; Da Tredici S.*ignori* Em.*inentissimi*, e quantità grande di Prelati, S.*ua* San.*tita* vi mando t.*utta* la Camera secreta, Vi fù *difficultà con le Fraterie, mediante che pretese* la Confraternità di precedere, quelli religioni tutte se ne andorno; Vi fù alla ringhiera sopra il Portone del Palazzo la regina di Polonia che risponde nel Pellegrino vi fu la moglie del S.*ignore* Amb.*asciatore* di Venezia con le sue due figlie, e la March.*esa* Riccardi, Per quel giorno vi fù tenuta, oltre li rinfreschi dati à Sua M.*aestà*, e Dame, Bottiglieria aperta *per* tutti, la med.*esima* sera fece tenere Accademia di belle lett.*ere* con Cantate accompagnate dal buon concerto di strumenti di Arcangelo; E vi fù lautiss.*ima* Cena *per* le Sig.*nore* Dame Venez.*iane* Amb.*asciatori*, Card.*inale* Rubini et altri
442
Sig.*nori*[.]

A month after this *accademia*, another was held at the Collegio Romano on June 26 at which instrumental music and cantatas were likewise heard:

Rome, July 1, 1704

On Thursday [June 26] a learned *accademia* with *sinfonie*, cantatas, the recitation of fine compositions, and finally the performance of beautiful cavalry exercises was held by the students of the Collegio Romano, the great courtyard of which was transformed into a well-ordered theater of graduated risers. It was favored by the attendance of Cardinals Carpigna, Pamphilj, Ottoboni, Rubini, and Pignatelli, as well as by many prelates and noblemen who duly praised and applauded it.

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442. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 175r.

Roma, 1 luglio 1704

Nel Colegio romano ridotto il suo gran Cortile à forma di bene accomodato Teatro à scalinate, ove Giovedi il g.*iorno* da Sig.*nori* Collegiali vi fù fatta Virtuosa Accademia con Zinfonie, Cantate, recite di buone Composit.*ioni* e andò a terminare, in belle Operationi di Essercitij Cavallereschi[.] Vi furno à favorire li Sig.*nori* Card.*inali* Carpigna, Pamfilij, Ottoboni, Rubini, e Pignatelli, molti Prelati, e Nobiloni con essere state date da med.*esimi* Sig.*nori* le dovute lodi et Aplausi[.][443]

Neither the instrumental nor the vocal works heard on these two occasions have been identified.

6.8 Serenatas at Rome during the Summer of 1704

On June 25, 1704, a great-grandson of Louis XIV was born at Versailles.[444] This child, immediately dubbed the Duke of Brittany, was destined to live less than a year and played no role in European politics. At his birth, however, he was cause for much joy and festivity at the French court. Early in July of 1704 the news of this birth arrived in Rome and, beginning on July 20, gave rise to three days of rejoicing by the pro-Bourbon faction. These festivities

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443. *Ibid.*, fol. 183r-v.

444. *Mémoires du Duc di Saint-Simon* (Paris: Hachette, 1873), IV, 119.

are reported as follows in the *Gazette de France*:

Rome, July 22, 1704

On the twentieth of this month Cardinal [Forbin de] Janson [the French Ambassador], accompanied by a numerous retinue, attended mass celebrated at the national Church of Saint Louis in thanksgiving for the birth of the Duke of Brittany. Afterwards he invited more than fifty prelates as well as other personages to a magnificent dinner, Cardinal d'Arquien being there with the Duke of Uceda, the Spanish Ambassador. That night he had a large firework display given in front of his palace [the Palazzo Farnese], the facade of which was illuminated by white wax torches, as were all the nearby houses; and by order of the Venetian Ambassador Morosini the same was done to the facade of the Palace of Saint Mark [*i.e.*, the Palazzo Venezia]. All kinds of refreshments were served in great abundance to the cardinals, lords, and ladies who came to view this spectacle, and similar [refreshments] were given out to the people. These illuminations continued for three evenings throughout almost all the city, all those subject to or favorable toward the two crowns [of France and Spain] having done so to the facade of their houses. The palaces of Cardinal de Medici, the Protector of French and Spanish Affairs, at Piazza Madama and at the Trinità dei Monti, and the little palace of the Grand Duke were also illuminated. The Duke of Modena had his similarly illuminated. The Spanish Ambassador did likewise to his palace and to the Piazza di Spagna. On the twenty-first he [the Spanish Ambassador] gave a very magnificent festival followed by a great display of fireworks, and he treated Cardinals [Forbin de] Janson and d'Arquien as well as a great number of persons of quality to dinner . . . (August 16, 1704)

Rome, July 29, 1704

The celebrations for the birth of the Duke of Brittany have ended to general satisfaction, not only because of the magnificence with which everyone was regaled at Cardinal [Forbin de] Janson's palace and at the Palazzo di Spagna, but also because of the order observed to the effect

that not a single accident occurred. Don Alonso de Torralua, the Spanish Agent, gave in front of his palace some spectacular fireworks, the main display consisting of a sun with two lilies from whence shot a great number of sparks, which was accompanied by a concert of voices and instruments. And there was a great gathering of people of quality. (August 23, 1704)

De Rome, le 22 Juillet 1704

Le 20 de ce mois, le Cardinal de Janson s'estant rendu avec un tres nombreux cortege à l'Eglise National de S. Loüis, assista à la Messe qui y fut celebrée, en action de graces de la naissance de Monseigneur le Duc de Bretagne. Ensuite il traita magnifiquement à dîner plus de cinquante Prèlats, ou autres persones de qualité, & le Cardinal d'Arquien s'y trouva avec le Duc d'Uceda Ambassadeur d'Espagne. Le soir, il fit tirer un gran feu d'artifice, devant son Palais, dont la face estoit illuminée de flambeaux de cire blanche, ainsi que toutes les maisons voisines: & toute celle du Palais de Saint Marc qui est vis à vis, l'avoit este de mesme par l'ordre du sieur Morosini Ambassadeur de Venise. On servit toute sorte de rafraichissements avec grande abondance à plusieurs Cardinaux, Seigneurs & Dames qui vinrent voir ce specatacle, & on fit de pareilles distributions au peuple. Ces illuminations continuerent durant trois soirées, dans presque toute la ville; les persones sujets ou affectionées aux deux Courones, les ayant faites devant leurs maisons. Les Palais du Cardinale de Médicis Protecteur des affaires de France & d'Espagne, à la Place Madame, & à la Trinità du Mont, & le petit Palais, du Grand Duc furent aussi éclairez. Le Duc de Modene fit de mesme illuminer le sien. L'Ambassadeur d'Espagne en fit autant au Palais & à la Place d'Espagne. Le 21, il donna une feste tres magnifique suivie d'un grand feu d'artifice, & il traita a dîner le Cardinal de Janson, le Cardinal d'Arquien, & un grand nombre de persones de qualité . . . (16 Aoust 1704)

De Rome, le 29 Juillet 1704

Les réjoüissance pour la naissance de Monseigneur le Duc de Bretagne se sont terminées avec une satisfaction generale, non seulement

à cause de la magnificence avec laquelle toutes sortes de persones furent regalées au Palais du Cardinal de Janson, & à celuy d'Espagne, mais aussi par le bon ordre qu'il y eut, de sorte qu'il n'arriva aucun accident. Don Alonso de Torralua Agent d'Espagne, donna devant son Palais le spectacle d'un feu d'artifice, dont la principale machine estoit un Soleil avec deux lys, d'où il sortoit un grand nombre de fusées, & d'autres artifices, ce qui fut accompagné d'un concert de voix & d'instrumens, & il y eut un grand concours de persones de qualité. (23 Aoust 1704)

The *avvisi di Roma* at Munich likewise preserve several descriptions of these pro-Bourbon demonstrations:

Rome, July 22, 1704

On Monday [July 21] there was much traffic in the Piazza di Spagna. [That evening] the [Spanish] Ambassador had a fountain of wine erected, with fireworks and illuminations by torches, after which a beautiful serenata was sung by good vocalists from the balcony above the main gate of the Spanish Agents house where there was a large gathering of ladies . . .

Roma, 22 luglio 1704

Il Lunedi di g.*iorno* à piazza Spagna fù numeroso passeggio, dal Sig.*nore* Amb.*asciatore* vi fù fatto fare la Fontana di Vino, con machina di fuochi Artificiati, luminarie di Torcie, terminato qui si fù alla Casa dell'Agente di Spagna, ove alla ringhiera sopra il Portone vi fece cantare da boni musici bella Serenata, ove vi fù grandiss.*imo* il Concorso delle [dame] . . .[445]

This same *avviso* reports that the French Ambassador also presented a serenata the following evening:

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445. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 186r.

Ibid.

This morning [July 22] a solemn mass and Te Deum was sung for the like occasion in [the Church of] S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli, the Spanish Ambassador and his wife attending in its *coretto.* And that evening a fine serenata with a great number of instruments was sung on the balcony above the main gate of Cardinal [Forbin de] Janson's palace, and for the said three evenings the [gentlemen] mentioned above illuminated [their palaces] with torches and flares.

Ibid.

Questa mattina in S. Giacomo dei Spag.*noli* à tale effetto è stato cantato con tutta solennità messa, e Te deum, ove al Coretto vi sono stati ad assistervi l'Amb.*asciatore* e Ambasc.*atrice* di Spagna, e questa sera alla ringhiera sopra il Portone del Palazzo del S.*ignore* Card.*inale* D. Janson vi fà cantare una bona Serenata con q*uantità* grande d'Istrumenti e p*er* le tre sere da li accennati sopra, sono stati fatti le d.*ette* luminarie di Torcie, e
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Fuochi[.]

The serenatas given during the three days of celebration for the birth of the Duke of Brittany, as well as several given earlier in July, are described as follows by Francesco Valesio:

Sunday, July 13, 1704

Several serenatas have been given these last evenings, such as [the one] at the Duke of Poli's palace and [one] at the [Palazzo] Pamphilj in Piazza Navona; and several affrays have occurred, in particular one at Pasquino between Cotta--a weaver of cloth, who with the young son of a barber gave the serenata for the beautiful wife of

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446. *Ibid.*, fol. 186r-v.

De' Romanis, a stationer at Pasquino--and the said De' Romanis and the doctor Pesci, in which Cotta, the barber, and the doctor were wounded--the barber mortally and the doctor in the face.

Domenica, 13 luglio 1704

Si sono in questa sera fatte diverse serenate, come al palazzo del duca di Poli e de' Panfilij in piazza Navona, e sono seguite varie risse et in specie una a Pasquino fra il Cotta, tessitore di drappi, che con un figliolo d'un barbiere faceva la serenata alla bella moglie del De' Romanis cartolaro a Pasquino, et il detto De' Romanis et il medico Pesci, nella quale restarono feriti il Cotta et il barbiere mortalmente et il medico nel
447
viso.

Monday, July 21, 1704

After dinner the firework display was seen in the Piazza di Spagna in front of the ambassador's palace . . .

At two [hours] of night the display, which was long and noisy and ended with the girandole, was set ablaze, the ambassador's palace being full of prelates and ladies and four cardinals; and the entire square having been illuminated with torches, lanterns, and flares, copious and sumptuous refreshments were distributed. After the fireworks, the Spanish Agent, who lives on the Via Condotti, gave a serenata for three voices on the balcony of his palace and afterwards a little girandole.

Lunedi, 21 luglio 1704

Il doppo pranzo si vidde nella piazza di Spagna avanti il palazzo dell'ambasciatore la machina del foco. . . .

Alle 2 della notte fu dato il foco alla machina, che fu longo e strepitoso e doppo vi fu la girandola, essendo il palazzo dell'ambasciatore ripieno di prelati e dame e quattro porporati, e

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447. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 121.

furono dati copiosi e lauti rinfreschi, essendo illuminata tutta la piazza da torcie, lanternoni e fiaccole. Doppo il foco, l'agente di Spagna, che habita in strada de' Condotti, fece alla ringhiera del suo palazzo una serenata a tre voci e doppo
448
questa una piccola girandola.

Tuesday, July 22, 1704

For the third time there have been illuminations this evening, and across from Cardinal [Forbin de] Janson's palace in the Piazza di San Marco [*i.e.*, Piazza Venezia] the said cardinal had a serenata for three voices given at two hours [of night] in open coaches, accompanied by many instruments [which produced] an echo of violins, one [group of instruments] in the balcony of the Palazzo d'Aste and the other in [the balcony] of the said cardinal's [palace]. There was a vast number of people and coaches, and it was much enjoyed, it being the composition of Francesco Posterla.

Martedi, 22 luglio 1704

Furono fatte questa sera per la terza le illuminazioni e su la piazza di S. Marco dirimpetto al palazzo del cardinale di Giansone fece fare il medesimo cardinale alle 2 hore una serenata a tre voci in carrozze scoperte, accompagnata da quantità d'istromenti con eco di violini, l'uno nella ringhiera del palazzo d'Aste e l'altro in quella del medesimo cardinale. V'era infinito popolo e carrozze e riuscì di gradimento,
449
essendo la composizione di Francesco Posterla.

Wednesday, July 23, 1704

A serenata was given privately by the Catholic Ambassador in the house of his composer Severo de Luca.

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448. *Ibid.*, III, 130.

449. *Ibid.*, III, 131-32.

Mercoledi, 23 luglio 1704

Fu fatta dall'ambasciatore cattolico una serenata privata in casa di Severo di Luca suo compositore di musica.[450]

6.8.1 Francesco Posterla's Serenata *La Contesa d'onore*

The text of the serenata given by the French Ambassador on the evening of July 22, 1704, is preserved in a libretto entitled:

LA CONTESA/D'ONORE/Trà la Gloria, la Fama, & il Valore./CANTATA/A TRE VOCI./DI FRANCESCO POSTERLA ROMANO./Fatta fare dall'Eminentiss. e Reverendiss. Sig. Card./TUSSANO DI IANSON FORBIN./*IN OCCASIONE*/DELLA/GLORIOSISSIMA NASCITA/DEL REALE INFANTE/DUCA DI BERTAGNA./*DEDICATA*/All'Illustrissima, & Eccellentissima Signora/LA SIGNORA DUCHESSA/D'UZEDA/AMBASCIATRICE DI SPAGNA./In Roma, Nella Stamperia di Oratio Campana 1704./*Con licenza de' Superiori*.[451]

It consists of eleven unnumbered pages prefaced with a two-page dedication signed by Michel'Angiolo de la Chausse.

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450. *Ibid.*, III, 132.

451. I Rc, Vol. Misc. 1645/35 and 825/18.

The three allegorical figures Glory, Fame, and Valor sing the serenata which begins with a recitative and aria of Glory as follows:

> Tacete, ò la, tacete
> Armoniosi Plettri,
> Che il dolce suon di melodie sì liete
> . . .
> Al suon della Tromba
> S'alletti il valor,
> . . .

Although Francesco Posterla is identified by Valesio and in the libretto as the poet of this text, its composer is nowhere named.

The serenata for three voices given on July 21 by the Spanish Agent has not been identified, but a libretto entitled *Applausi del Sole e della Senna*, described by Alberto Cametti as a "Cantata a 2 voci per la felicissima nascita del Sereniss. Duca di Bretagna. Roma, A. de' Rossi, 1704," may preserve the text of the serenata heard in Severo de Luca's house on July 23.[452] Cametti names Carlo Sigismondo Capeci as the author of this text but fails to identify its composer.

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452. Alberto Cametti, "Carlo Sigismondo Capeci (1652-1728), Alessandro e Domenico Scarlatti e la Regina di Polonia a Roma," *Musica d'Oggi*, XII (1931), p. 59.

6.8.2 The Imperial Ambassador's Serenata for the Birthday of Charles III

In response to these extravagant Bourbon festivities, the Imperial Ambassador in Rome presented a serenata later that month for the birthday of the heir apparant to the Imperial throne. The work in question has not been identified, but its performance is described by Valesio as follows:

> Sunday, July 27, 1704
>
> For the birthday of the King of the Romans, the Imperial Ambassador here has given a serenata this evening on the loggia of the garden wall of the Palazzo Gaetani which faces the Piazza of San Lorenzo in Lucina. The said wall was decorated with six beautiful tapestries depicting the victories of Tamerlane over Bajazeth with large chandeliers holding twelve torches. A great number of people and many nobles in coaches were there to hear it, to whom the ambassador had vast amounts of refreshments given. It began after the [ringing] of the [evening] bell with an instrumental piece for oboes. Because a singer of Cardinal de la Grange withdrew [from the performance] after having learned one of the parts, Queen [Maria Casimira] having forbidden him from taking part in the cantata, it consisted of two voices. The ambassador's guards with firearms were dispersed throughout the piazza, and the Papal police were stationed in the small street running from the Piazza della Torretta which opens into the Piazza of San Lorenzo.
>
> Domenica, 27 luglio 1704
>
> Questa sera per il compleanno del re de' romani, questo ambasciatore cesareo fece una serenata sopra la loggia del muro del giardino del palazzo Gaetano corrispondente su la piazza di S. Lorenzo in Lucina. Ornavano il detto muro sei belli arazzi rappresentanti le vittorie del Tamerlane sopra di Baiazetto, con braccioli che

sostenevano dodici torcie. Vi fu gran popolo ad udirla e molta nobiltà nelle carrozze, alla quale l'ambasciatore mandò copiosi rinfreschi. Incominciò doppo le campane con un concerto di boè: consisté in due voci, poiché il musico del cardinale della Grange, doppo haveva presa la parte, la rimando', essendoli stato proibito dalla regina il servire a tal cantata. Gl'armigeri dell'ambasciatore erano dispersi per la piazza con bocche di fuoco e li sbirri stavano nel vicolo che dalla piazza della Torretta conduce all'altro che sbocca nella piazza di S. Lorenzo.[453]

A few days later the customary flooding of the Piazza Navona occurred, an interesting description of which is preserved in one of the *avvisi di Roma* in Munich:

Rome, August 5, 1704

In order that the city might in some measure be amused, the flooding of the Piazza Navona was permitted. On this occasion the Prince of Valmontone Pamphilj had his fine consort of clarin trumpets heard on Saturday night [August 2] from the balcony of his palace. Many coaches of ladies and cavaliers gathered to enjoy the cool of the water, in the midst of which two fine improvised recitations by a poetess were heard, the festivities finally ending at five hours [of night] with a fine band of instruments on a coach from whence many arias were sung by a good female vocalist.

Roma, 5 agosto 1704

Per alquanto rallegrare la Città, fù permesso l'Adacquare Piazza Navona, nelle quale Occas.*ione* il P*rncipe* di Valmontone Pamfilij sabato Notte alla Borghiera del suo palazzo fece sentire il buon Concerto de sue Clarini, che concorsovi molte Carozzate di Dame, e Cavalieri à prendere il fresco nell'Acqua, ove nel mezzo vi si fecero sentire due boni suggeti e la Poetessa à dire

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453. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 135-36.

all'Improviso, che in fine sù le Ore cinque andò la festa à terminare, in un buon concerto di strumenti sopra Cochio, ove da bona Canterina furno cantate più Ariette[.][454]

6.8.3 The Prince of Palestrina's Serenata *Le Gare Festive*

On August 24 and 25, Don Urbano Barberini, the Prince of Palestrina, proclaimed his pro-Bourbon sympathies with an extravagant musical demonstration. In the *Gazette de France* it is described as follows:

> Rome, August 26, 1704
>
> The Prince of Palestrina, head of the Barberini family, gave a magnificent serenata yesterday in the Piazza di Spagna for the Spanish Ambassador's wife. There were three chariots of six horses each, of which he drove the first, the others having been driven by some Roman cavaliers, upon which there were musicians who sang verses in praise of the King [of France] and of His Catholic Majesty [the King of Spain]. There were thirty-six richly dressed servants, each carrying a torch of white wax. (September 20, 1704)
>
> De Rome, le 26 Aoust 1704
>
> Le Prince de Palestrine, Chef de la Maison Barberine, donna hier, dans la place d'Espagne, à l'Ambassadrice d'Espagne une serenade magnifique. Il y avoit trois chars à six chevaux, dont il conduisoit le premier, les autres estant conduits par des Cavaliers Romains, sur lequels estoient les Musiciens, qui chanterent des Vers à la loüanges du Roy, & de sa Majestè Catholique. Il y avoit trente six Estafiers richement vestus, qui portoient chacun un flambeau de cire blanche. (20 Septembre 1704)

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454. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fols. 187v-188r.

A more detailed account of this serenata is preserved in one of the *avvisi di Roma* at Munich where it is reported that the performance in the Piazza di Spagna occurred on the evening of Sunday, August 24, followed by a repeat performance the next evening in front of the French Ambassador's palace:

Rome, August 26, 1704

> On Sunday evening [August 24] the said grandiose serenata for the Spanish Ambassador's wife was given by the Prince of Palestrina. Three beautiful triumphal chariots driven by noblemen, among whom this same Prince, appeared in the Piazza [di Spagna] accompanied by forty-six well-dressed grooms [carrying] burning torches who, as a group making their well-ordered entry, produced a beautiful sight. The said serenata, entirely in praise of the royal house of France and the Ambassador's wife, was sung by three fine female vocalists and succeeded so well that it was repeated on Monday evening [August 25] in front of Cardinal [Forbin de] Janson's palace, the gathering of people of every sort having been very great on the first as well as on the second evening.

Roma, 26 agosto 1704

> Fù data Domenica sera l'Accennata Grandiosa Serenata dal Principe di Palestrina alla Sig.*nora* Amb.*asciatrice* di Spagna, ove comparve in quella piazza con tre belli Carri Trionfali guidati dal Sig.*nori* fra questi il Med.*esimo* Principe, con quarantasei Palafrenieri ben Vestiti con torcie accese, che tutto assieme, e ben stradata fece una belliss.*ima* Comparsa, la d.*etta* Serenata tutta in lode della real Casa di Francia, e della Ambas.*ciatrice* quale fù cantata da tre buone Cantarine, e riuscì tanto bene, che fù replicata lunedi sera avanti Il Palazzo del Sig.*nore*

Card.*inale* D. Janson, e si la prima sera, che la seconda Il Concorso del Popolo d'ogni Genere vi fu numeros.*issimo*[.][455]

An even more revealing account of this serenata is furnished by Francesco Valesio, who reports:

> Sunday, August 24, 1704
>
> This morning the Piazza di Spagna was seen barred by timber beams from the Palace of Propaganda Fide to the main gate of the Spanish Ambassador's palace [*i.e.*, the Palazzo di Spagna], space having been left in front of the houses opposite this part of the Spanish Ambassador's palace so that people and coaches might pass. In front of and along the sides of its main gate there was a great number of open coaches left there without their horses to reserve a place in order to hear the sumptuous serenata that was given for the ambassador's wife on the birth of the Duke of Brittany by the Prince of Palestrina Barberini, who, although burdened with debt and now having borrowed a considerable sum at interest, has begun to misuse it in such vanities.
>
> The magnificent cortege of this serenata left the Palazzo Barberini at two hours of night in this manner. Two [servants] with torches protected from the wind went first, followed by an open coach drawn by six horses. It was entirely covered with gold intaglio, and at the extremities other engravings and cupids were displayed, likewise gilded. At the front and rear it ended in the shape of a bark with a prow and poop deck. It was full of players with various instruments dressed in a noble manner with white feathers in their caps and red and white tassels as buckles, decorations customarily worn to war by the soldiers of the two crowns. This chariot was accompanied by the Marchese Maculani on horseback wearing a bare-back outfit, *i.e.*, with a very richly brocaded waistcoat and a black feather in

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455. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 195r.

his cap and red and white tassels. And Pompeo Capranica, who drove the chariot, was also dressed in a similar manner. He did not sit as is customary in the driver's seat, but rode the horse to the left of the carriage-pole. The horses were then decorated with a great number of white and red ribbons. The second carriage was similar, it likewise full of players with caps resembling those [worn by the players] in the first [carriage]. Nor were the outfits worn by the Marquesses Bongiovanni, father and son, different, the first of which acted as driver [of the second carriage] on horseback, and the second as outrider. But the third coach was even grander and more magnificent, built in the shape of a bark with several sails and other rigging painted in gilt chiaroscuro. And at the rear there was built a very high poop deck which ended in a seat upon which were situated the three singers, the daughter of Laura who lives opposite the Palazzo Chigi on the Corso, Cochina of the Monti household, and a young girl belonging to the same princess, the daughter of a carpenter. They wore richly brocaded outfits of various color provided by the prince, their head-dresses, however, similarly ornamented with red and white ribbons. Various cavaliers and gentlemen with very rich waistcoats were in this chariot. The said prince, likewise on horseback, acted as the driver of this coach, he wearing, besides the usual very rich outfit, jeweled links and buckles of great value in his cap; and the Cavalier Aquilani acted as outrider. The horses of this chariot were also decorated with ribbons and other ornaments, more so than the others; and this spectacle ended with a noble, azure velvet carriage, drawn by two horses, belonging to the said prince.

The said three chariots were illuminated by thirty torches carried by an equal number of his staff dressed in the same livery that the prince displayed at Naples when King Philip went there . . . This magnificent cortege began at the Palazzo Barberini in the duke's piazza; then it went by way of the streets of the Madonna di Costantinopoli and the Dui Macelli (all of the said streets being filled with a great crowd of people) to the Piazza di Spagna, likewise filled with people, coaches, and seats for hire. Having arrived at the said piazza in the empty space

which was barricaded, as mentioned above, and having formed a line beneath the balcony of the Palazzo [di Spagna] upon which were the ambassador, his wife, and Cardinal [Forbin de] Janson with a great number of ladies and cavaliers, the torches were extinguished and wax candles lit, which were covered with glass barrels so that the wind would not put them out.

The instruments were given the signal to start and the the singers let free their voices. The [text of the] serenata was composed by the Abbate [Giacomo] Buonaccorsi; and in it, it was imagined that Pallas and Juno grieved over the judgement which they had lost to Venus in the competition for the golden apple, but, at the arrival of Fame with news of the birth of the Duke of Brittany, these two godesses agreed to bestow upon this child all that they had offered to Paris, Juno offering to create new worlds for this new hero. The serenata ended with universale delight, repeated shouts of *E viva!* being heard everywhere. The [words of the] composition were printed, and where it said *con licenza de' superiori* [by permission of the authorities], in some [of them] the letters *con licenza de' creditori* [by leave of his creditors] had been placed in jest.

Domenica, 24 agosto 1704

Si vidde questa mattina la piazza di Spagna sbarrata da travi, cioè dal palazzo di Propaganda Fide sin al portone dell'ambasciatore di Spagna, havendo lassato lo spazio da poter passare genti e carrozze avanti alle case che sono opposte a questa parte del palazzo dell'ambasciatore di Spagna, avanti al portone del quale e da quella banda v'era numero grande di carrozze scoperte lassate ivi senza gli cavalli per prendere posto, ad effetto d'udire la serenata sontuosa che in questa sera faceva all'ambasciatrice per la nascita del duca di Bertagna il prencipe di Pellestrina Barberini, che, quantunque carico di debiti, havendo hora presa qualche somma consideravile ad interesse, la cominciava ad impiegare in simili vanità.

Alle 2 hore della notte uscì dal palazzo Barberino il treno magnifico di questa serenata in

questa forma. Precedevano dui con torcie a vento, dietro a' quali seguiva una carrozza scoperta tirata da sei cavalli. Era questa d'intaglio tutto dorato e nelli estremi, con rapporti d'altri intagli e putti pure dorati, veniva a terminare in poppa e prua figurata per una barca. Era questa ripiena di suonatori con varii istromenti, vestiti nobilmente con piuma bianca al cappello e fermaglio di fiocco rosso e bianco, contrasegno che usano portare in guerra gli soldati delle due corone. Faceva a questo carro da cavalcante il marchese Maculani con habito alla disdossa, cioè con camiciola di ricchissimo broccato et al cappello piuma bianca e fiocco rosso e bianco e simile habito portava anco Pompeo Capranica, che facea da cocchiero, non sedendo come è l'uso su la cassetta, ma cavalcando il cavallo che è il sinistro al timone; erano poi gli cavalli adorni con infiniti nastri bianchi e rossi. Simile era in tutto la seconda muta, pur ripiena di suonatori con cappelli somiglianti a quei della prima, né pur varii erano gli ricchi habiti che portavano gli marchesi Bongiovanni padre e figliolo, de' quali facea il primo da cocchiero pur cavalcando, et il secondo da cavalcante. Ma più di tutte grande e magnifico era il terzo cocchio, formato ad uso di barca da alcune tele dipinte a chiaro oscuro d'oro et altri riporti e nella parte dietro era formata molto in alto la poppa, che terminava in un sedile sul quale erano a sedere le tre cantarine, cioè la figlia di Laura, che habita dirimpetto il palazzo de' Chigi nel Corso, la Cochina de' Monti et una damigella della medesima prencipessa, figliola d'un falegname. Erano queste con habiti di ricco broccato di colore diverso donatili dal prencipe; havevano però le conciature delle teste simili con ornamento di nastri rossi e bianchi. Erano in questo carro diversi cavalieri e gentilhuomini con ricchissime giubbe. Serviva a questa carrozza di cocchiero, pur cavalcando, il medesimo prencipe Barberino, che, oltre il ricchissimo habito, aveva al cappello centiglio e fermaglio di gioie di gran valore, e facea da cavalcante il cavalier Aquilani. Erano anco gli cavalli di questa più de gl'altri adorni di nastri et altri ornamenti e chiudeva tal pompa una nobile carrozza a due cavalli del medesimo prencipe di velluto turchino.

Erano gli sudetti tre carri illuminati da trenta torcie portate da altrettanti staffieri, vestiti della stessa livrea che il principe spiegò a Napoli quando vi andò il re Filippo V di Spagna . . . Si incaminò questo magnifico treno uscito dal palazzo Barberino alla piazza del Duca; indi, calcando per la strada della Madonna di Costantinopoli e per gli Dui Macelli (essendo tutte le sudette strade ingombrate da numero infinito di popolo), si portò alla piazza di Spagna, pur ripiena di popolo e carrozze e di molti palchetti venali. Giunti in detta piazza nel luogo vacuo e sbarrato accennato di sopra e postesi in fila sotto la ringhiera del palazzo, su la quale vi era l'ambsciatore et ambasciatrice et il cardinale di Giansone con gran numero di dame e cavalieri, furono ammorzate le torcie et accese candele di cera et, acciò il vento non le estinguesse, con sopra campane di cristallo.

Fu dato ne gl'istromenti et incominciarono le cantarine a sciogliere la voce. Era la serenata composizione dell'abbate Buonaccorsi e fingeva che Pallade e Giugnone si lamentavano del giudizio che le haveva posposte a Venere nella consecuzione del pomo d'oro; ma, sopragiunta la Fama e narrandogli la nascita del duca di Bertagna, determinavano le due dee di colocare in questo bambino tutto ciò che havevano offerto a Paride, esibendosi Giunone di creare altri mondi a questo novello eroe. Terminò la serenata con sodisfazione universale, udendosi da per tutto replicati "E viva!" Era stata la composizione stampata et in qualcuna da' bell'humori, dove dicevasi "con licenza de' superiori", vi havevano posto con lettere
456
riportate "con licenza de' creditori".

Monday, August 25, 1704

This evening Prince Barberini repeated with the same pomp and magnificence the serenata of the evening before in front of the said Cardinal [Forbin de] Janson's palace at Saint Mark's [*i.e.*, the Piazza Venezia], although the same cardinal had twice refused it. And the route taken by the cortege of the serenata was from the Piazza

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456. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 150-54.

Barberini by way of Costantinopoli to the Trevi Fountain, from there to the square beside the Convent of the Santi Apostoli where the palace of the Albani is located, from there to the other Piazza dei Santi Apostoli, and from there to the Piazza of Saint Mark [*i.e.*, the Piazza Venezia] at the end of the Corso.

Lunedi, 25 agosto 1704

Il prencipe Barberini questa sera replicò con la stessa pompa e fasto la serenata della sera precedente avanti il palazzo del sudetto cardinale di Giansone a S. Marco, quantunque per due volte fosse dal medesimo rifiutata, e la strada che fece il treno della serenata fu dalla piazza Barberina per Costantinopoli a Fontana di Trevi, indi alla piazza di fianco del convento di SS. Apostoli dove è il palazzo de' gl'Albani, indi all'altra piazza de' SS. Apostoli e di lì alla piazza di S. Marco
457
al fine del Corso.

The text of this serenata is preserved in a libretto entitled:

LE GARE FESTIVE/IN APPLAUSO/ALLA REAL CASA DI FRANCI/CON OCCASIONE DELLA NASCITA DEL . . . DUCE DI BERTAGNA/FESTEGGIATA DALL'ILLUSTRISS . . .PRINCIPE DI PALESTRINA D. URBANO BARBERINI . . ./*CANTATA A TRE VOCI*/DELL' ABB. GIACOMO BUONACCORSI./DEDICATA ALL'ECCELLENTISSIMA . . . D. ISABELLA MARIA GIRON/DUCHESSA D'UZEDA AMBASCIATRICE DI SPAGNA./IN ROMA

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457. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 155.

MDCCIV./Per Giuseppe de Martijs, nella Stamperia di Gio. Francesco Chracas./*Con licenza de' Superiori*[458]

The poet Giacomo Buonaccorsi is identified in the libretto and by Francesco Valesio, but the composer of this conspicuous serenata remains unknown.

The *avvisi di Roma* in Munich mention one other occasion when a serenata was heard during the summer of 1704 in Rome:

> Rome, September 2 1704
>
> On Wednesday night [August 27] the Duchess of Zagarolo [Rospigliosi] had a fine serenata sung by the excellent male and female singers of her house at her customary loggia. Many lords from the Palatinate favored her by coming to hear it.
>
> Roma, 2 settembre 1704
>
> Mercoledi notte la Sig.*nora* Duchessa di Zagarola alla solita sua Loggia dalli Virtuose, e Virtuosi musici di sua Casa vi fece cantare una bona Serenata, vi fù à favorire di sentirla più S.*ignori* Palatini.[459]

Finally, the *Diario di Roma* of Francesco Valesio refers to two more occasions when music was heard out-of-doors during the summer and early fall of 1704:

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458. I Rvat, Rac. Gen. Misc. A.67 (int. 5 e 12); *Ibid.*, Barberini LLL.IX.47 (int. 12); I Rc, Vol. Misc. 1104/11.

459. D Mbs, cod. Ital. 197, fol. 196r-v.

Thursday, September 18, 1704

The Spanish Agent [Don Alonso de Torraiual had a serenata for the birth of the Duke of Burgundy sung in the palace of Duke Strozzi this evening. There were three Cardinals--that is, [Forbin del Janson (who attested this news), Pignatelli (the Archbishop of Naples), and Ottoboni--and a great many prelates and ladies who were regaled with sumptuous refreshments by the Marchese Strozzi.

Giovedi, 18 settembre 1704

Questa sera nel palazzo del duca Strozzi l'agente di Spagna fece cantare una serenata per la nascita del duca di Borgogna. Vi furono tre cardinali, cioè Giansone, che attestò la nuova, Pignattelli, arcivescovo di Napoli, et Ottoboni et numero grande di prelati e dame trattati con lautissimi rinfreschi dal marchese Strozzi.[460]

Tuesday, October 7, 1704

This evening Prince Don Livio Odescalchi gave a sumptuous dinner with music sung by several female vocalists in his garden outside of the Porta del Popolo for the Imperial Ambassador and various ladies.

Martedi, 7 ottobre 1704

Questa sera il prencipe don Livio Odescalchi ha fatta nel suo giardino fuori della porta del Popolo una sontuosa cena all'ambascitore cesareo et a diverse dame con musica di più cantarine.[461]

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460. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 174.

461. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 189.

6.8.4 A Summary of the Serenatas heard in Rome during 1704

I.

Date: shortly before July 13, 1704
Place: the Duke of Poli's palace

II.

Date: shortly before July 13, 1704
Place: Palazzo Pamphilj

III.

Date: Monday evening, July 21, 1704
Place: the balcony of the Spanish Agent's house on the Via Condotti
Patron: Don Alonso de Torralua, the Spanish Agent
For: the birth of the Duke of Brittany
Performers: three voices

IV.

Date: Tuesday evening, July 22, 1704
Place: in front of Cardinal Forbin de Janson's palace on the Piazza Venezia
Patron: Cardinal Forbin de Janson
Work: *La Contesa d'onore*
Librettist: Francesco Posterla
Performers: three voices

V.

Date: Wednesday, July 23, 1704
Place: the house of Severo de Luca
Patron: Duke of Uceda, the Spanish Ambassador
Composer: Severo de Luca

VI.

Date: Sunday evening, July 27, 1704
Place: Piazza di San Lorenzo in Lucina
For: the birthday of Charles III of Habsburg
Patron: the Imperial Ambassador
Performers: two voices

VII.

Date: Saturday evening, August 2, 1704
Place: a coach in the Piazza Navona
Performer: instrumentalists and a female singer

VIII.

Date: Sunday evening, August 24, 1704
Place: Piazza di Spagna
Patron: Don Urbano Barberini, the Prince of Palestrina
For: the Spanish Ambassador's wife and the birth of the Duke of Brittany
Work: *Le Gare festive*
Librettist: Giacomo Buonaccorsi
Performers: instrumentalists and three female vocalists
Repeat performance
Date: Monday evening,
August 25, 1704
Place: in front of Cardinal Forbin de Janson's palace on the Piazza Venezia

IX.

Date: Wednesday evening, August 27, 1704
Place: Palazzo Rospigliosi
Patron: the Duchess of Zagarolo Rospigliosi
Performers: male and female singers

X.

Date: Thursday evening, September 18, 1704
Place: palace of Duke Strozzi
For: the birth of the Duke of Burgundy
Patron: Don Alonso de Torralua, the Spanish Agent

XI.

Date: Tuesday evening, October 7, 1704
Place: Don Livio Odescalchi's garden outside of the Porta del Popolo
Performers: several female vocalists

It is unfortunate that, except for the reference to a serenata heard in the house of Severo de Luca, these documents fail to identify any of the composers of the works heard during the summer of 1704. Alessandro Scarlatti and much of his family are believed to have been residing in Rome at this very time. Although most of the serenatas cited above remain unidentified and anonymous, there is a distinct possibility that the Scarlatti family found employment in some of those heard during 1704.

Chapter 7

Rome from 1705 through 1707

7.1 The Roman Carnival of 1705

Like that of the previous year, the Roman carnival of 1705 was generally gloomy. An *avviso* dated January 20, 1705, reports that Clement XI prohibited "le maschere, Commedie, Rapresentaz.ioni, Festini, Balli . . ."[462] This news is confirmed in the *Gazette de France* which reports:

> Rome, January 3, 1705
>
> Comedies and other public entertainments have been banned here during carnival in observance of the vow which was made during the earthquake. (January 31, 1705)
>
> De Rome, le 3 Janvier 1705
>
> Les Comedies & autres divertissements publics ont esté défendus icy, pendant le Carnival, en execution du voeu qui fut fait pendant le tremblement de terre. (31 Janvier 1705)

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462. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 241r.

As the following from the *Gazette de France* shows, those who attempted to enliven the season with public performances met a harsh fate:

> Rome, February 24, 1705
>
> The Church of the religious order of Saint Catherine of Siena has been placed under interdiction by order of the Pope, and the abbess has been suspended from her functions because, in spite of the bans, they had a sort of opera given in the monastery and they permitted several ladies entry. (March 21, 1705)
>
> De Rome, le 24 Fevrier 1705
>
> L'Eglise des Religieuses de Sainte Catherine de Siene a esté interdite par ordre du Pape, & l'Abbesse a esté suspendüe de ses fonctions, à cause que nonobstant les defenses, elles avoient fait une espece d'Opera dans le Monastere, & qu'elles y avoient fait entrer plusieurs Dames. (21 Mars 1705)

According to Francesco Valesio's *Diario di Roma*, the illicit performance at the Monastery of "S. Caterina di Siena a Monte Magnanapoli" occurred on February 12 and ended with much noise around the fourth hour of night. Among the many ladies present was Queen Maria Casimira of Poland.[463]

Despite the Papal ban, Valesio makes it clear that at least three powerful noblemen, two of whom were foreign ambassadors, celebrated carnival in the traditional manner

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463. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 312-313, 316.

at Rome that year:

Thursday, 12 February 1705

The Venetian Ambassador [Giovanni Francesco Morosini] here is having several comedies given in his palace by the very well made puppets which belong to Cardinal Ottoboni, and the Spanish Ambassador is proceeding to present improvised comedies in his palace.

Giovedi, 12 febbraio 1705

Questo ambasciatore veneto Morosini fa nel suo palazzo alcune comedie con gli burattini, quali sono del cardinale Ottoboni, molto ben fatti, e l'ambasciatore di Spagna segue a fare nel suo palazzo le comedie all'improviso.[464]

Friday, February 13, 1705

This evening Don Livio Odescalchi had a little opera performed in his palace at [the Piazza dei] Santi Apostoli, the Queen of Poland having been invited; and there were very sumptuous refreshments.

Venerdi, 13 febbraio 1705

Fece questa sera don Livio Odescalchi nel suo palazzo a' SS. Apostoli recitare un'operetta in musica, havendovi invitata la regina di Polonia, e vi furono lautissimi rinfreschi.[465]

Saturday, February 21, 1705

These evenings Don Livio Odescalchi, the Duke of Bracciano, is presenting improvised comedies in his palace at [the Piazza dei] Santi Apostoli, and this evening the Imperial Ambassador, who is beginning to be seen about the city since his health has improved, attended the puppet opera which was given by the Venetian Ambassador in his

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464. *Ibid*, III, 312-313.

465. *Ibid*, III, 313.

palace.

Sabato, 21 febbraio 1705

Don Livio Odescalchi, duca di Bracciano, fa nel suo palazzo a' SS. Apostoli la sera comedie all'improviso e questa sera l'ambasciatore cesareo, che comincia a farsi vedere per la città rihavutosi dalla sua infermità, fu alla comedia di burattini in musica che fa rappresentare nel suo palazzo l'ambasciatore di Venezia.[466]

The *avvisi di Roma* in Munich likewise record the performance of a puppet opera under the auspices of Giovanni Francesco Morosini in the Palazzo Venezia:

Rome, February 10, 1705

That there might be some happiness in his palace, the Venetian Ambassador has had his close friends informed that there will be social gatherings every night. On Thursday evening [February 5] one began with a puppet opera.

Roma, 10 febbraio 1705

Questo Sig.*nore* Amb.*asciatore* di Venezia *per* havere qualche Allegria nel suo Palazzo fù fatto intendere alli suoi Amici confidenti, Che tutte le sere vi sarà Conversatione[.] Giovedi sera diede princip*io* con una Comedia in Musica di Pupazzi[.][467]

Rome, February 24, 1705

Carnival has ended in great dinner parties since those who were reported to have celebrated otherwise in their houses with playing and dancing have been rigorously punished. Puppet operas have been performed by the Venetian Ambassador, just as

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466. *Ibid*, III, 318-19.

467. *Ibid.*, fol. 247v.

Prince Don Livio Odescalchi [has had] improvised [spoken] comedies [given] in his palace.

Roma, 24 febbraio 1705

Restato terminato il Carnovale in gran pasti, che nelle altre allegrie si è andato con ogni rigore contro quelli che si sono sentiti *per* le loro Case, e sonare, e Ballare. Si sono fatte rapresentare dal Sig.*nore* Amb.*asciatore* di Venezia Comedie di Pupazzi in musica, come anco dal Sig.*nore* Prin*c*ipe D. Livio Odescalchi nel suo Palazzo Comedie all'Improviso.[468]

An *avviso* in the Vatican Library brought to light by Hans Joachim Marx confirms the fact that Morosini's opera was represented on stage by marionettes:

. . . because the movements made [by the characters] on stage and their gestures accompanying the action were executed by a skilled hand.

. . . che il nei passegiar che fanno la scena, et i gesti nell'accompagnar l'attioni, lo recevano da industriosa mano.[469]

7.1.1 The Venetian Ambassador's Puppet Opera *La Pastorella*

The work presented by Morosini in the Palazzo Venezia has been identified as *La Pastorella.* Probably it was a revival of an opera written for Cardinal Ottoboni in 1696.[470]

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468. *Ibid.*, fol. 252v.

469. Marx, "Die Musik am Hofe Pietro Kardinal Ottobonis," p. 114, note 60. The *avviso* is preserved in I Rvat, Cod. Ottob. lat. 2733, fol. 16.

470. Marx, *ibid.*, p. 149, no. [98a].

Evidently the opera was originally composed by Carlo Francesco Cesarini, Giovanni Lorenzo Lulier, and Giovanni Bononcini, who set acts one, two and three, respectively. For the 1705 performance Alessandro Scarlatti contributed a few additional arias, apparently all for the third act.[471]

7.2 Lenten Oratorios at Rome during 1705

The following accounts of Lenten oratorio performances during 1705 are preserved in the *avvisi di Roma* at Munich:

> Rome, March 31, 1705
>
> On Thursday evening [March 26] Cardinal Ottoboni had a fine oratorio, the words of which were His Eminence's composition, the music [Alessandro] Scarlatti's, sung in the palace of the Cancelleria. Cardinals Rubini, Pamphilj, Pignatelli, as well as many prelates, the Ambassadors of Venice and Bologna, and the Marchese Riccardi, with their wives, and other ladies and cavaliers were there [and] were given refreshments of every sort.
>
> The oratorio that Cardinal Ottoboni presented on Thursday evening in his palace of the Cancelleria was so well received that he was compelled by the urging of many gentlemen to have his very beautiful work heard in public in the Oratorio of the [Filippini] Fathers of the Chiesa Nuova on Sunday evening [March 29]. There was a very noble audience, and twelve Most Eminent Cardinals and two Ambassadors, that of the [Habsburg] Empire and of Venice, were there in the

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471. Lindgren, "A Bibliographic Scrutiny," I, 197, II, 832.

customary *coretti*. It is expected that another one by Cardinal Pamphilj will be heard.

Roma, 31 marzo 1705

Giovedi sera nel Palazzo di Cancelleria dal Card.*inal*e Ottoboni fù fatto cantare un bono Oratorio, la composit.*ion*e delle Parole di S.*ua* Em.*inenz*a, della musica di Scarlatti, Vi furno li S.*ignor*i Card.*inal*i Rubini, Pamfili, Pignatelli, e molti Prelati, li Amb.*asciator*i di Venezia, di Bologna, March.*ese* Riccardi, con le loro Sig.*nor*e Consorti, con altre Dame e Caval.*ieri*, ove vi
472
furno dispensati rinfreschi d'ogni genere.

Fù tanto applaudito l'Oratorio, che fece cantare il Sig.*nor*e Card.*inal*e Ottoboni nel suo Palazzo del Cancelleria Giovedi sera, Che fù costretto alla persuasiva di più Sig.*nor*i, e per farlo sentire in publico, come belliss.*im*a sua composit.*ion*e, nell' Oratorio de Padri della Chiesa Nuova Domenica sera, ove vi fù nobiliss.*im*a Udienza, et à Soliti Coretti vi furno num.*eri* dodici S.*ignor*i Em.*inentissim*i, e due Amb.*asciator*i il Cesareo, et il Veneto. Questo se ne attende sentire altro, composit.*ion*e del
473
Sig.*nor*e Card.*inal*e Pamfilij[.]

Rome, April 7, 1705

Cardinal Pamphilj had a very beautiful oratorio sung on Saturday evening [April 4] in the Collegio Clementino. Besides the finest singers in the city, Niccolino of Brunswick, who was at his home town of Viterbo, was brought [here to sing in it]. There was an orchestra of various instruments among which were counted forty strings. The music was by Cesarini. The words by His Eminence [Cardinal Pamphilj] were highly esteemed and well regarded since years of diligent study went into their composition. It has now

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472. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 261v.

473. *Ibid.*, fol. 262r-v. This performance on March 29 "nell'oratorio della Chiesa Nuova" of an "oratorio composto dal cardinale Ottoboni e cantato a spese del medesimo" is likewise mentioned by Valesio, *Diario*, III, 336.

been decided to have it [*i.e.*, the text of the oratorio] published in a manner almost equal in quality to that rich volume [published] earlier by Cardinal Ottoboni. The audience was numerous and [consisted] of cardinals, ambassadors, friars, relatives of the Pope, many prelates, princes, and other lords. The printed libretto was distributed bearing a dedication to Suor Maria [Grazia di S.] Clemente, niece of His Holiness [Clement XI] and a nun in the Barberine [Monastery]. On Sunday evening [April 5] it was repeated at [the Oratorio of] the Chiesa Nuova.

Roma, 7 aprile 1705

Belliss.*imo* Oratorio fece cantare Sabato sera il Sig.*nore* Card.*inale* Pamfilij, nel Collegio Clementino, oltre li migliori musici della Città, vi fece venire Niccolino di Bransviche, che si ritrovava à Viterbo sua Patria, vi fù un' Orchestra di Varij strumenti tra quali vi si numeravano quaranta di Arco la musica di Cesarini, le Parole di S.*ua* Em.*inenza*, State stimate buone, e ben considerate *per* essere molti Anni vi che ne andava facendo gran studio, stato stimato darlo fuori adesso, quasi à competenza di quella bella tome, rica passata del Sig.*nore* Card.*inale* Ottoboni, l'Uditorio fù numeroso e di Sig.*nori* Card.*inali*, Amb.*asciatori*, Fratelli, e Nipoti del Papa, molti Prelati, Principi, et altri Sig.*nori*, E' dato fuori in stampa dedicato à Suor M.*aria* Clemente nipote di Sua Santita Monaca nelle Barberine. Dom.*enica* sera fù replicato alla Chiesa Nuova[.] [474] [Illustration 14]

Rome, April 14, 1705

On this Saturday evening [April 11] Cardinal Pamphilj had his oratorio sung in the Collegio Clementino. There was a very noble audience . . .

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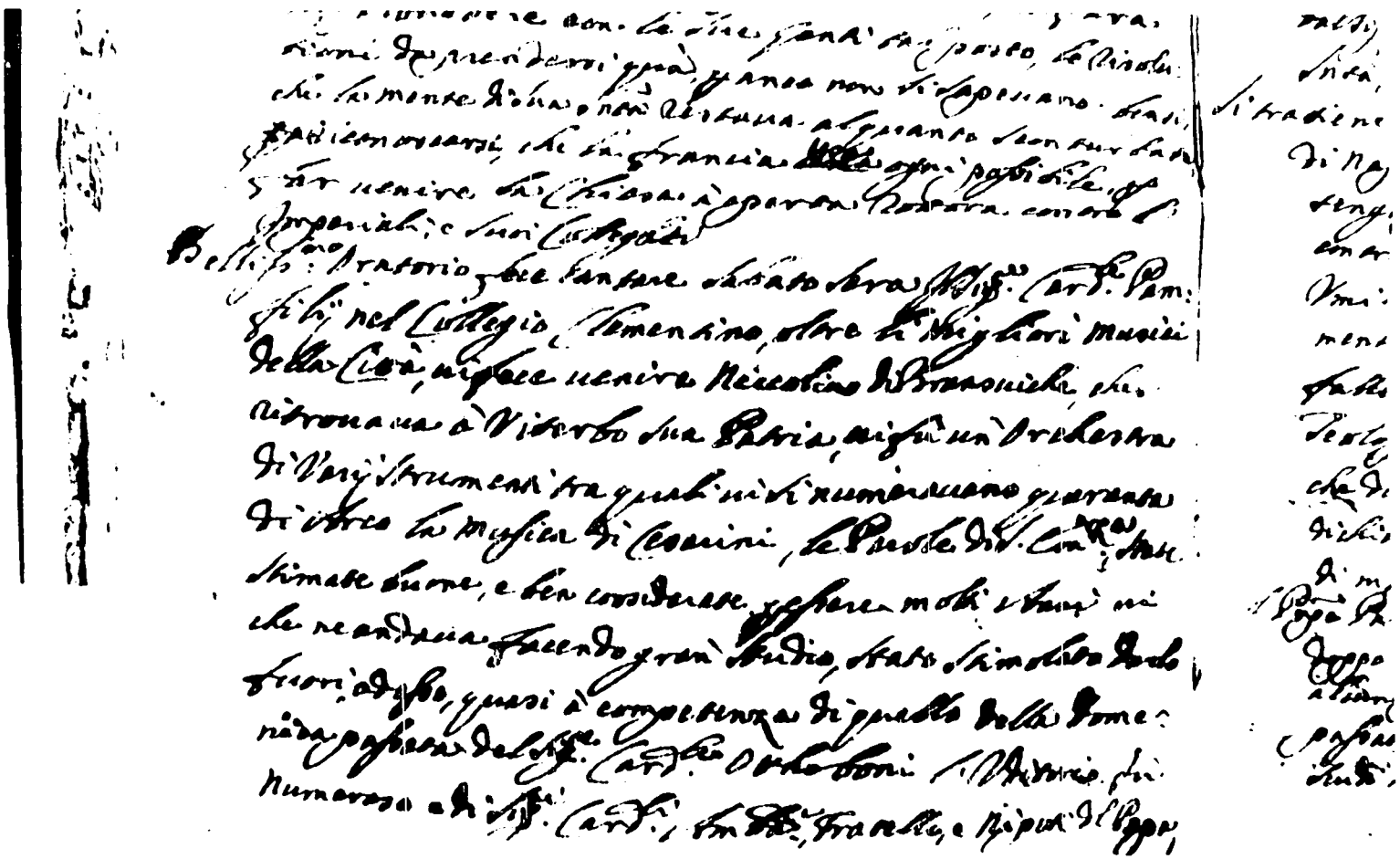
474. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 263v. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 337-339, reports that the oratorio was heard on March 29 "a titolo di prova" followed by regular performances on April 4 and 5.

Illustration 14

Avviso di Roma dated April 7, 1705

D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 263v.



Roma, 14 aprile 1705

Il Sabato sera c.*orrente* il S.*ignore* Card.*inale* Pamfilij fece cantare il suo Oratorio nel Collegio Clementino, Vi fù nobiliss.*imo* Uditorio . . .[475]

7.2.1 Alessandro Scarlatti's Oratorio *San Filippo Neri*

The identity of the work heard in the Cancelleria on March 26 and repeated on March 29 in the Oratorio dei Filippini cannot be established with certainty. Possibly it was Alessandro Scarlatti's *San Filippo Neri*, the libretto of which was first published at Rome in 1705. A manuscript addition to an exemplar of this libretto preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Rome,[476] names Cardinal Ottoboni as its author, and the attributions added by this hand to other libretti bound into this *miscellanea* have proven to be trustworthy. A musical setting of this text survives in a two-volume score in the Santini collection,[477] the title page of which bears the date 1705 and names Alessandro Scarlatti as its composer.

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475. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fols. 266v-267r.

476. I Rn, 34.4.L.3, 9.

477. D Müs, MS. 3860.

7.2.2 The Oratorio *Santa Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi*

There is no question that the work heard at the Collegio Clementino on April 4 and 11 was *Santa Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi*. The title page of the libretto published by Bernabò in Rome, 1705, describes it as " . . . dedicated by the fellows of the Collegio Clementino to the Carmelite Mother Superior Maria Grazia of Saint Clement, niece of Our Lord Pope Clement XI" (. . .*dedicato da' convittori del Collegio Clementino alla madre suor Maria Grazia di S. Clemente, nipote di Nostro Signor Papa Clement XI*).[478]

On the basis of evidence found in the account books of Cardinal Benedetto Pamphilj and in the *Atti* of the Collegio Clementino, Lina Montalto identifies Cardinal Pamphilj as the author of this text and Alessandro Scarlatti as the composer who set it to music for the 1705 performance. Montalto writes:

> In 1696 a very noteworthy event occurred, the centennial of the foundation of the Collegio Clementino. Cardinal Pamphilj, who was its protector, had in its small but famous theater, previously frequented by Christine of Sweden, the *Oratorio di Giuditta* given with music by Alessandro Scarlatti, [the text of which was]

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478. Numerous copies of this libretto survive, such as the one at I Rvat, Barberini JJJ.IX.47 (int. 7). No score corresponding to this libretto is known to be extant.

printed with very elegant [engraved] arms by Komarek. Indeed, the books of the Collegio, the *Atti*, convey to us [a notion] of Cardinal Pamphilj's activity as a librettist. This diary reveals that from the end of the seventeenth century through the first three decades of the succeeding [century] he composed a series of oratorios and also cantatas set to music by Scarlatti, Cesarini, and Pasquini. Foremost among these in 1705 is the *Oratorio di Santa Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi* which the noble students dedicated to Suor Maria Grazia, a Carmelite nun in the Monastery of the Barberine [and] the niece of Clement XI. The accounts of the Collegio say that the scenic apparatus for it was built "without regard for cost" according to a design by the architect Carlo Fontana, and that it was paid for by Cardinal Pamphilj, the author of the libretto, [which was] previously set to music by Lulier and now by Alessandro Scarlatti.

Un avvenimento assai notevole era stato nel 1696 il centenario della fondazione del collegio Clementino: il cardinale Pamphilj, che ne era il protettore, fece dare in quel piccolo ma famoso teatro, già frequentato da Cristina di Svezia, l'*Oratorio di Giuditta*, musica di Alessandro Scarlatti, stampato con finissimi rami dal Komarek. Sono proprio i libri del collegio--gli *Atti*--a tramandarci l'attività del cardinal Pamphilj come librettista: da questo diario si rileva che egli compose, fra la fine del secolo XVII e il primo trentennio del successivo, una serie di oratorî, ed anche di cantate, musicati da Scarlatti, Cesarini, Pasquini. Fra essi primeggia, nel 1705, l'*Oratorio di Santa Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi* che i nobili allievi dedicano a Suor Maria Grazia carmelitana nel monastero delle Barberine, nipote di Clemente XI. L'attuario del collegio dice che l'apparato per esso fu fatto *senza risparmio*, su disegno dell'architetto Carlo Fontana, e a spese del cardinale Pamphilj autore del libretto musicato già dal Lulier e ora da[479] Alessandro Scarlatti.

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479. Montalto, *Un Mecenate in Roma barocca*, p. 334.

In her footnote 76 to this passage Montalto adds:

> This oratorio is previously mentioned in 1687 as set to music by Lulier. Preparations for the performance at the [Collegio] Clementino in 1705 had been in progress at Pamphilj's court since September, 1704. The new composer of the music, Alessandro Scarlatti, was paid one hundred and five *scudi* on July 8, 1705.
>
> Quest' oratorio è già menzionato nel 1687 come musica del Lulier. Per la sua rappresentazione al Clementino, eseguita nel 1705, ci si prepara nella corte del Pamphilj sin dal settembre 1704. Al nuovo compositore dela musica, Alessandro Scarlatti, viene assegnata la ricompensa di centocinque scudi (8 luglio 11705).[480]

As mentioned earlier in this study, Montalto's monograph on Cardinal Pamphilj is plagued by numerous internal contradictions and other difficulties. The fact that Montalto only summarizes information found in documentary sources without adequately describing or locating them does not inspire confidence in her work. If in this case Montalto is right and Alessandro Scarlatti is the composer of *Santa Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi* as heard in 1705, then the anonymous author of the *avviso* cited above was misinformed when he named Cesarini as its composer. Until the documents studied by Montalto can be reviewed by a more competent scholar, however, some doubt must be expressed

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480. *Ibid.*, p. 537, note 76.

concerning the attribution of this work to Alessandro Scarlatti.

7.3 Serenatas at Rome during the Summer and Fall of 1705

Francesco Valesio reports the performance of seven serenatas in or near Rome during the summer and early fall of 1705. The first occurred on Saturday, June 27, under which date he writes:

> Today the Spanish Ambassador sumptuously feted the Marquis of Bedmar with a banquet . . . and this evening he had a noble serenata sung in his palace [the Palazzo di Spagna].
>
> L'ambasciatore di Spagna ha hoggi banchettato lautamente . . . il marchese di Bedmar e questa sera ha fatta cantare nel suo palazzo una nobile serenata.[481]

The *avvisi di Roma* at Munich report on an amusing incident which occurred around this time involving several aristocratic ladies in the performance of a serenata. The ladies evidently went to sing a few current arias or perhaps popular tunes for the enjoyment of Cardinal Homodei, whose less than gallant response to their impromptu serenata is reported as follows:

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481. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 398.

Rome, June 30, 1705

Several evenings ago the ladies of the Maccarani and Ughi families went in an open coach with a few instruments to sing some arias below the window of Cardinal Homodei. After finishing with the song *La Birba*, their rapping on a window was heard as they asked for refreshments. Nothing further occurred, [however]. The next morning the husbands of these ladies visited His Eminenece, they being close friends of his, and told him that it was not gracious of him [to refuse] refreshments to the ladies who came there to honor him with serenades. He answered that had he not recognized one of them by her speech he would have had refreshments of a sort prepared that they would not have relished.

Roma, 30 giugno 1705

Portatesi di queste sere in Cochio scoperto le Sig.*nore* Dame Macherane, et Ughi, con pochi strumenti sotto le finestre del Sig.*nore* Card.*inal*e Omodei à Cantare alcune Ariette, doppo andorno à terminare con la Canzo:a la Birba, si senti un poco toccar una finestra, domandorno rinfreschi, non ne fù fatto altro, la mattina doppo furno da S.*ua* Em.*inenz*a li mariti delle med.*esim*e Sig.*nore* come amici confidenti, e li dissero, non fà gratia di rinfreschi alle dame, la vengono ad' onorare di serenate; rispose, se nel parlare una di loro, non fusse stata Conosciuta, si andavan preparando rinfreschi tali, che non li sarian gustati[.]
482

Of greater interest are the following two reports of large, outdoor cantatas heard that summer:

Rome, August 18, 1705

On Saturday [August 15, the festival of the Assumption of the Virgin] as well as on Sunday [August 16] the flooding of the Piazza Navona took place, and on Saturday night [August 15] a

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482. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fols. 290v-291r.

serenata accompanied by a large number of instruments was sung by some women below the [Palazzo] Pamphilj in the middle of the water.

Roma, 18 agosto 1705

Si quel giorno [Sabato la festa dell'Assunta], che quello della Domenica in piazza Navona vi fù l'Adacquam.*ento*, et il sabato notte sotto Pamfilij, più in mezz'all'Acqua vi fù cantata da Femmine una Serenata Accompagnata da q*u*antità*di Varij strumenti[.] [483]

Rome, September 15, 1705

On Monday evening [September 14] Monsignor Corsini, the Treasurer, presented a cantata with a numerous consort of instruments in the form of a serenata at his palace called Bella Vista outside the San Pancratio gate; afterwards [there was] a sumptuous supper for some of his close relations among whom were numbered ten ladies and fourteen gentlemen. It was all in honor of the daughter of Giovanni Battista Altoviti, the wife of the Marchese Bartolomeo Corsini, his nephew.

Roma, 15 settembre 1705

Dal MonSig.*nore* Corsini Tesoriere lunedi sera al suo Palazzo d.*etto* Bella Vista fuori di Porta S.*an* Pancratio, Con numeroso concerto di strumenti vi fù una Cantata à forma di serenata, con doppo lautiss.*ima* Cena à suoi stretti parenti, numeratovi dieci dame e quattordici Sig.*nori*[.] Il tutto in onore della Sig.*nora* Figlia del S.*ignore* Giov*anni* Batt*ista* Altoviti sposa, del S.*ignore* Marc.*hese* Bartolomeo Corsini suo Nipote[.] [484]

The performance of these and other serenatas is recorded by Francesco Valesio as follows:

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483. *Ibid.*, fol. 295v.

484. *Ibid.*, fol. 305v.

Saturday, August 15, 1705

As customary, the Piazza Navona was flooded, and that night a serenata was given at four hours by the Marchese Ruspoli; but because it was sung in the middle of the water [and] the people ashore could not hear it, it was hissed, especially since certain nymphs, who were there in carriages to hear it, fell into the water.

Sabato, 15 agosto 1705

Si allagò al solito la piazza Navona e la notte alle 4 hore vi fu una serenata fatta dal marchese Ruspoli; ma perché, cantandosi in mezzo dell'acqua, il popolo che va alla riva non la poteva udire, hebbe un plauso di fischiate, massime essendo cadute in acqua certe ninfe che
485
stavano ad udirla in calesse.

Tuesday, August 25, 1705

This evening the Queen of Poland had a noble serenata sung on the Trinità dei Monti.

Martedi, 25 agosto 1705

Questa sera sul monte della Trinità la regina
486
di Polonia fece cantare una nobile serenata.

Sunday, August 30, 1705

This evening in the courtyard of the Palazzo Mazzarino at Monte Cavallo, in which Duke Rospigliosi lives, Don Augusto Chigi had a noble serenata sung for that duke's daughter, who is soon to be his wife.

Domenica, 30 agosto 1705

Questa sera nel cortile del palazzo Mazarini a Monte Cavallo, habitato dal duca Rospigliosi, fece

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485. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 430.

486. *Ibid.*, III, 442.

cantare una nobile serenata don Augusto Chigi alla figliola di quel duca in breve sua futura sposa.[487]

Monday, September 14, 1705

A daughter of the Altoviti having entered into a marriage contract with the nephew of Monsignor Corsini, the Treasurer, this prelate gave a very sumptuous banquet this morning at his villa outside the San Pancratio gate for all relatives, the party numbering sixty; and this evening a noble serenata was presented.

Lunedi, 14 settembre 1705

Essendosi contratto parentado tra una figliola dell'Altoviti et il nepote di monsignor Corsini tesoriere, ha questo prelato nella sua villa fuori di porta S. Pangrazio fatto questa mattina un lautissimo banchetto a tutto il parentado, essendovisi numerate sessanta posate, et in questa sera vi si è fatta una nobile serenata.[488]

Sunday, October 11, 1705

Today the Venetian Ambassador Morosini presented a sumptuous banquet for the two brides, Del Rosso (the daughter of the rich merchant Andrea Del Rosso) and Altoviti, who are married to two Florentine Cavaliers of the Corsini and Ughi families; the meal was served at the Villa Madama. And this evening after returning to the city, he had a noble repast of fruits and sweets prepared in the Villa Mellini where a very beautiful serenata was given as entertainment.

Domenica, 11 ottobre 1705

Questo ambasciatore veneto Morosini ha hoggi fatto un lauto banchetto alle due spose Del Rosso (figliola d'Andrea Del Rosso, ricco negoziante) et Altoviti, maritate in due cavalieri fiorentini, Corsini et Ughi, et il pasto si è fatto a villa

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487. *Ibid.*, III, 445.

488. *Ibid.*, III, 455.

Madama e questa sera, nel ritornare alla città, gli fece preparare una nobile collazione di frutti e dolci nella villa Mellini, dove per componimento
489
vi fu una bellissima serenata.

Wednesday, October 21, 1705

This morning the Marchese Ruspoli gave a very sumptuous banquet at his vineyard outside the San Pancratio gate which was attended by the Venetian Ambassador and his wife (and this lady, who has recently returned from abroad, is staying with her husband in an unofficial capacity and wears dissimilar livery), by the Ambassadors of Bologna and of Ferrara, the Contestabile Colonna, the Dukes of Poli and Cesarini--all with their wives--and by other ladies and cavaliers numbering twenty-nine. The famous French missionary Ignazio Vigna (alias Ignaziello, an almost beardless youth) made up the thirtieth member of that table. The table consisted of three courses, the first hot in gilded silver, the second cool an white crockery, and the third of fruit in crystal. This noble gathering ended with a very beautiful serenata.

Mercoledi, 21 ottobre 1705

Il marchese Ruspoli nella sua vigna fuori di porta S. Pancrazio fece questa mattina un lautissimo banchetto, al quale furono l'ambasciatore et l'ambasciatrice di Venezia (è questa dama ritornata poco fa di fuori e si trattiene appresso il marito in qualità di dama privata e con livrea dissimile), gl'ambasciatori di Bologna e Ferrara, il contestabile Colonna, duchi di Poli e Cesarini, tutti con le loro consorti et altre dame e cavalieri sin al numero di ventinove, contandosi in quella stessa tavola per il trigesimo Ignazio Vigna, alias Ignaziello, celebre missionario francese, giovanetto quasi sbardato. Vi furono tre servizii in tavola, il primo di caldo in argento dorato, il secondo di rifreddi in maiolica et il terzo di frutti in

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489. *Ibid.*, III, 476.

christallo. Terminò questa nobile conversazione
con una bellissima serenata.[490]

7.3.1 Alessandro Scarlatti's Serenata *Endimione e Cintia*

The fact that one of the surviving scores of Alessandro Scarlatti's serenata *Endimione e Cintia* carries the ascription "Roma 1705" suggests that it may have been heard on one of the occasions documented above. The score which bears this ascription, however, is one of those copied for the nineteenth-century collector Doblhoff-Dier today preserved in the Stiftung Preußicher Kulturbesitz, Berlin; and as mentioned above in the previous chapter, some of the information found on the title pages of these scores is not reliable. In any case, the text of the serenata *Endimione e Cintia* contains no topical allusions, and the precise date and other circumstances surrounding its first performance remain unknown.

7.3.2 Alessandro Scarlatti's Serenata *Zeffiro e Clori; Flora pellegrina*

The text of the serenata heard on September 14, 1705, in the garden of Monsignore Corsini's suburban villa is preserved in a libretto entitled:

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490. *Ibid.*, III, 482.

FLORA PELLEGRINA/*Serenata à due voci*/DELL'ABBATE GIACOMO BUONACCORSI/IN OCCASIONE DELLI SPONSALI/*Degl'Illustrissimi* [*sic*] *Signori.*/IL SIGNOR MARCHESE/BARTOLOMEO CORSINI,/E SIGNORA/MARIA VITTORIA/ALTOVITI./[Printer's device consisting of the two families' princely crest]/IN ROMA 1705. Nella Stamparia di Gio: Francesco Chracas./*CON LICENZA DE' SUPERIORI.*

Although the libretto fails to name the composer of the serenata, there can be little doubt that Alessandro Scarlatti's serenata *Zeffiro e Clori* was the work heard on this occasion. Several allusions to the noble bride and groom honored with this serenata are found in the version of the text preserved in the libretto. The praises of Maria Vittoria Altoviti, for example, are sung by Clori in a recitative which begins:

> This is the Lady chosen
> to continue with noble and brilliant offspring
> the illustrious race of the HEROIC CORSINI.
>
> Questa è Colei, che elctta
> A fecondar di nobil Germi, e chiari
> Fù de i CORSINI EROI la Stirpe illustre.

These few passages of text are lacking in the surviving scores of the serenata. Otherwise, however, the three

extant scores preserve a complete setting of this libretto.

The earliest and best score of the serenata is that preserved in the Santini collection, Münster, which bears the date 1706. Evidently it was copied for the use of another patron (probably Francesco Maria Ruspoli) the year following its initial performance. This would explain the deletion of the few specific occasional references found in the text of the printed libretto.

Although the performance of *Zeffiro e Clori; Flora pellegrina* took place on September 14, it would appear that Scarlatti had finished its composition by September 5, 1705. With a letter bearing that date the composer sent a score of a serenata which he had recently composed in Rome to the Grand Prince Ferdinando de' Medici in Tuscany. This information is revealed in a passage from the letter in question which reads:

> Having been required to undertake this short labor for the entertainment of a noble gathering one night in a garden (on the occasion of the marriage mentioned by the same fictitious characters whom the author of the words makes speak), I have taken the liberty to offer at the feet of Your Royal Highness this my feeble labor revealed in the form of an original [manuscript score] as a most humble token of my profound respect due Your Royal Highness, whose incomparable clemency I hope will not disdain to honor it with a most benign glance should some time be spent in diversion at the harpsichord in that delightful residence of Pratolino.

Havendo dovuto fare questa piccola fatiga, per divertimento d'una sera, in giardino di nobil comitiva (in occasione di Sponsali mentovati dall'istessi ideati Personaggi che fa parlare l'Autor delle parole), ho preso l'ardire di esporne a' piedi di V.A.R. la di cui incomparabile clemenza spero non isdegnerà d'onorarle d'un benignissimo sguardo, se talora prende qualche tempo di divertimento al Cembalo, in cotesta deliziosa dimora di Pratolino.[491]

The Grand Prince acknowledged receipt of this gift in a letter addressed to Alessandro Scarlatti from Pratolino bearing the date September 8, 1705:

Like all your other works, the serenata sung [in Rome]--a copy of which you kindly send me--can only be pleasing. And having thus received it with full pleasure and delight, I am well confirmed in the certainty that I would find it to my complete satisfaction a proof of your great ability; and I remain wishing for you every blessing from heaven.

Non puo non esser concepita come tutte le altre opere di lei la Serenata, costà cantatasi, di cui si compiace trasmettermi copia. Et io, avendola però [*i.e.*, perciò] ricevuta con piena compiacenza et gradimento, su la certezza che in essa pure io deva trovare la mia intera sodisfazione, et il fondo della virtù sua, di questa mi confermo ben parziale, e resto augurandole dal Cielo ogni Bene.[492]

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491. ASF (Archivio di Stato di Firenze), *Mediceo*: Filza 5892, letter no. 311, transcribed by Fabbri, *Alessandro Scarlatti*, pp. 66-67, with a photographic reproduction opposite p. 76.

492. ASF, *Mediceo*: Filza 5892, letter no. 382, transcribed in Fabbri, p. 67.

Because one of the scores of the serenata *Endimione e Cintia* bears the ascription "Roma 1705," Mario Fabbri identified it as the serenata by Scarlatti sent to Pratolino.[493] In his letter to the Grand Prince, Scarlatti clearly stated that the text of the serenata he was sending to Pratolino makes reference to the occasion on which it was performed, an aristocratic wedding. The text of *Endimione e Cintia*, although not inappropriate for a wedding, contains no such allusions, nor does that of *Zeffiro e Clori; Flora pellegrina* as found in its surviving scores. With the discovery of the libretto, however, there can be little doubt that *Flora pellegrina* and *Zeffiro e Clori* are the same work, and that a score of this serenata was sent to Tuscany in early September before the first performance of the work at Rome. The score sent to the Grand Prince, along with Ferdinando dei Medici's entire music library, has evidently not survived.

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493. *Ibid.*

7.3.3 A Summary of the Serenatas heard in Rome during 1705

I.

Date: Saturday evening, June 27, 1705
Place: Palazzo di Spagna
Patron: the Spanish Ambassador
For: the Marquis of Bedmar

II.

Date: Several evenings before June 30, 1705
Place: below the windows of Cardinal Homodei's palace
For: Cardinal Homodei
Performers: Several aristocratic ladies with instrumentalists

III.

Date: Saturday evening, August 15, 1705
Place: Piazza Navona
Patron: Francesco Maria Ruspoli
Performers: several women and many instrumentalists

IV.

Date: Tuesday evening, August 25, 1705
Place: Trinità dei Monti
Patron: Queen Maria Casimira

V.

Date: Sunday evening, August 30, 1705

Place: Palazzo Mazarino
Patron: Don Augusto Chigi
For: the daughter of Duke Rospigliosi

VI.

Date: Monday evening, September 14, 1705
Place: a villa called Bella Vista belonging to Monsgnor Corsini outside the San Pancratio gate
Patron: Monsignor Corsini
For: the wedding of the Marchese Bartolomeo Corsini with Maria Vittoria Altoviti
Work: *Zeffiro e Clori; Flora pellegrina*
Composer: Alessandro Scarlatti
Librettist: Giacomo Buonaccorsi

VII.

Date: Sunday evening, October 11, 1705
Place: Villa Mellini
Patron: Giovanni Francesco Morosini, the Venetian Ambassador
For: two recent brides—a daughter of Andrea Del Rosso and Maria Vittoria Altoviti

VIII.

Date: Wednesday evening, October 21, 1705
Place: the villa of Francesco Maria Ruspoli outside the San Pancratio gate

7.4 The Roman *Villegiatura* during the Fall of 1705

At the approach of fall much of the Roman aristocracy customarily deserted the city for their villas in the

countryside. Little is known about the music heard during this season of the *villegiatura*, but the *avvisi di Roma* at Munich suggest that cantatas and even operas were performed outside of Rome during the fall of 1705.

Rome, November 10, 1705

> Among the social gatherings held by the nobility at their villas, that of the Duke of Acquasparta [Cesi] held at Tivoli with dancing, operas, games of chance, and sumptuous meals was one of the best; it was favored with the attendance of ladies and cavaliers. Don Girolamo Pamphilj came with his wife . . .

Roma, 10 novembre 1705

> Tra le Conversationi fattesi da S.*ignori* Villeggianti, quella del Sig.*nore* Duca D'Acquasparta fattesi a Tivoli è stata delle buone con festini di Ballo, Commedie in Musica, Giochi di Lotta, e lautiss.*imi* Pasti, à favorire vi sono stati Dame,e Caval.iiiie"ri, vi si portò il Sig.*nore* D. Girolamo Pamfilij con la sua Sig.*nora* sposa . . .[494]

Rome, November 17, 1705

> Because of heavy rain the nobility who were at their villas have left the countryside and returned to the city. At their evening social gatherings they are describing their bucolic recreations of this year as follows: the Duke of Acquasparta's at Tivoli was regarded as among the finest, as were those at Albano. The most numerous of every sort, however, were at Frascati, the guests having been many. Among these the Prior Vaini's was for the French. The most grandiose was that held by Paolo Girolamo Torre, who invited not only the [other] nobles at their villas [near Frascati], but all the ladies and cavaliers in the surrounding areas. Many carriages full of ladies

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494. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 323r.

and cavaliers came even from Rome to favor him [with their presence].

Roma, 17 novembre 1705

Da questi Sig.*nori* Villegianti, che p*er* le gran Pioggie hanno abandonato la Campagna e stato fatto ritorno alla Città, la sera nelle Conversat.*ioni* vanno decantando le belle Villegiature in questo anno fattesi, Quella del Duca di Acquasparta fatta à Tivoli, stata stimata tra le buone, come altre fattesi in Albano. Pero la più numerosa di Conversationi d'ogni genere, è stata quella di Frascati, li Conviti sono stati molti, tra quali quello del Priore Vaini, fatta à francesci. Il più grandioso, fù quello fece Paolo Girolamo Torre, non solo à Villeggianti si fece convitare, ma da tutti quei luochi circonvicini, e Dame, e Caval.*ieri* come ancora vi furno à favorirlo da Roma più Carozzate di Dame, e Caval.*ieri*. [495]

7.5 Cantatas on Christmas Eve at the Vatican

During the lifetime of Alessandro Scarlatti the Pope and the College of Cardinals together attended First Vespers at the Vatican on Christmas Eve. Following the service the Pope customarily invited the cardinals to a lavish supper at which a Christmas cantata or oratorio was heard. The procedure followed on this occasion is described by Andrea Adami da Bolsena in these words:

> After Vespers are ended those Most Eminent Cardinals who desire to attend Matins and Mass the following night remain in the Apostolic Palace.

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495. *Ibid.*, fol. 324r.

They are given by the officials of the said palace a very sumptuous supper at the expense of the *Reverenda Camera* with a noble display of various *trionfi* representing scenes from the nativity of our Redeemer. Before supper it is also the custom to give for the said cardinals a musical entertainment consisting of an Italian cantata on the birth of the baby Jesus under the direction of our chapelmaster who, however, should first consult with the maggiordomo, who directs this entire function, in order to learn from him whose poetry and music have been chosen. And then he should select the best vocalists from our college to sing it. After it is over he should go with the singers and instrumentalists to the place prepared for supper, which the *Reverenda Camera Apostolica* also gives for them.

Terminato il Vespro restano nel Palazzo Apostolico quelli Eminentissimi Cardinali, che nella seguente notte vogliono assistere al Mattutino, & alla Messa, alli quali li Ministri del detto Palazzo, a spese della Reverenda Camera danno una lautissima Cena, con un apparecchio nobile di varij Trionfi, che rappresentano i fatti della Natività del nostro Redentore. Prima della Cena è costume dare ancora alli detti Eminentissimi un virtuoso divertimento di Musica, con una Cantata volgare sopra la Natività del Bambino Gesù, la quale si dee regolare dal nostro Signor Maestro di Cappella, e però preventivamente dovrà egli portarsi da Monsignor Maggiordomo, a cui spetta la direzione di tutta questa Funzione, per intender da esso l'elezione tanto del Poeta, quanto del compositore della Musica; e poi dovrà scioler i migliori Cantori del nostro Collegio per cantarla; e dopo terminata, unito alli Cantori, e agli Stromenti dovrà portarsi al luogo destinato alla Cena, che ancora ad essi suol dare la Reverenda Camera Apostolica.[496]

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496. Andrea Adami, *Osservazioni per ben regolare il Coro della Cappella Pontifica* (Rome, 1711), pp. 102 f., cited by Kirkendale, *Antonio Caldara*, p. 71.

The texts of these cantatas were customarily printed, and the poetry of Silvio Stampiglia heard on this occasion in 1705 is preserved in a libretto entitled:

> COMPONIMENTO/POETICO/Da Cantarsi in Palazzo Apostolico/LA NOTTE/DEL SS.MO NATALE/DELL'ANNO MDCCV./*PAROLE*/DI SILVIO STAMPIGLIA/ . . .[497]

A musical setting of this text in the Santini collection, Münster, names Alessandro Scarlatti as the composer chosen for this honor in 1705:

> Cantata à 5: cõ:/Strumenti/Da Cantarsi nel Palazzo Apostol:o/Per la Notte di Natale di N. S./L'Anno 1705/Musica/Del Sig: Alessandro Scarlatti[498]

The performance of this cantata is briefly mentioned in the *avvisi di Roma* at Munich in these words:

> Rome, December 29, 1705
>
> On the customary day [December 24] the tables were seen arranged for the dinner [given] that night for the Most Eminent Cardinals who attended the cantata in the form of an oratorio . . .
>
> Roma, 29 dicembre 1705
>
> Al solito quel giorno si viddero le Tavole

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497. I Rc, Miscell. Dramm. A. 26/13.

498. D Müs, MS. 3926.

> arapparechi [*sic*] *per* la Cena di quella notte *per* li E.*minentissimi* Card.*inali*, quali furno ad assistere alla Cantata à*forma di Oratorio . . [499]
>
> .

This was neither the first nor the last time that Alessandro Scarlatti was so honored. Christmas cantatas of his were heard at the Vatican in 1695, 1705, 1706, and 1707,[500] a fact which clearly testifies to the great esteem he then enjoyed at Rome. The dimensions and dramatic structures of these four cantatas do not differ markedly from those observed in some of his secular serenatas, and the fact that his Christmas cantatas were performed at night suggests a relationship with these works. However, the term *serenata* does not appear in any of the surviving libretti or scores of the Christmas cantatas, and no contemporary documents have been found which use this term in reference to the performances held on Christmas Eve in the Vatican. With the exception of a short remark by Mattheson relegated to a footnote, all the theorists cited above in chapter one insist that the serenata is a secular genre. For these reasons Scarlatti's four Christmas Eve cantatas are not treated as serenatas in this study.

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499. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 336v.

500. They are listed by Giancarlo Rostirolla as numbers 11, 22, 26, and 28 among the ORATORI E GRANDI CANTATE SPIRITUALI, "Catalogo Generale delle Opere di Alessandro Scarlatti," in Pagano, *Alessandro Scarlatti*, pp. 497 f.

7.6 The Roman Carnival of 1706

At the approach of the carnival season of 1706 a ban on public entertainment in Rome was once again promulgated.[501] A number of powerful foreign residents, however, seem to have paid it little heed. The *avvisi di Roma* at Munich report:

> Rome, January 13, 1706
>
> The Venetian Ambassador is often presenting evening entertainments in his palace [consisting] of suppers for ladies and cavaliers with gaming tables and dancing on several occasions.
>
> The wife of the Spanish Ambassador is likewise spending her evenings with women singers entirely in the preparation of a comic opera to be performed as before in order to entertain her court, although in this city happiness has already withered and [been replaced] by great melancholy.
>
> The fact that carnival is no longer under consideration has caused the disappearance of any expectation of happiness. Just as during the last three years when not permitted, it will end in large social gatherings and dinner parties.
>
> Roma, 13 gennaio 1706
>
> Il Sig.*nore* Amb.*asciatore* di Venezia, và facendo la sera spessi trattenim.*enti* nel suo Palazzo, e di Cene di Dame, e Caval.*ieri*, Tavolini di Gioco, et alcune volte vi si fà festino di Ballo[.]

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501. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 542.

La Sig.*nora* Amb.*asciatrice* di Spagna pure anco essa se la passa, le sere, con Canterine, tutta facendo preparare una Burletta di Commedia *per* darla rappresentare quanto prima, *per* fare stare allegram.*ente* la sua Corte, già che *per* la Città tutta si stà moscie, e con una grandiss.*ima* Malinconia[.]

Ii non discorrersi più di Carnovale, hà fatto perdere nel particolare ogni motivo di allegria, che nel modo si è costumato li tre Anni passati, che non si concede tale Licenza, andarà à terminare in Gran Conversat.*ione*, e Magniamenti[.] [502]

The Roman carnival of 1706 is also described in several extracts from the *Gazette de France*:

Rome, January 5, 1706

Twice a week the Duke of Uceda, the Spanish Ambassador, has begun to hold a public gathering in his palace where there was music and other sorts of entertainment for a great crowd of persons of quality. (January 30, 1706)

De Rome, le 5 Janvier 1706

Le Duc d'uceda Ambassadeur d'Espagne, a commencé à tenir deux fois la semaine une conversation publique dans son Palais, où il y a eu Musique, & d'autres sortes de divertissements, avec une grande affluence de persones de qualité. (30 Janvier 1706)

Rome, February 16, 1706

Because of the public vow made on the occasion of the earthquake [in 1703], there have been no celebrations of carnival. There have only been some social gatherings or assemblies for which the Spanish Ambassador, the Venetian Ambassador, and some other distinguished personages have opened

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502. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 340v.

their palaces. (March 13, 1706)

De Rome, le 16 Fevrier 1706

Il n'y a eu aucuns divertissements de Carnival, à cause du voeu public fait à l'occasion du tremblement de terre. Il y a eu seulement quelques conversations ou assemblées que l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, l'Ambassadeur de Venise, & quelques autres persones de qualité ont ouvertes dans leur Palais. (13 Mars 1706)

Several Roman noblemen fled the city for their country estates where with their friends and relatives they could enjoy the pleasures of carnival with less fear of Papal censure:

Saturday, January 16, 1706

The Duchess of [Zagarolo] Rospigiosi has asked His Holiness for permission to present an opera for her own entertainment at her estate of Zagarolo during the coming carnival season, but it was not granted her.

Sabato, 16 gennaio 1706

Havendo la duchessa Rospigliosi supplicata S. Santità per la licenza di fare una comedia in musica per proprio divertimento nella sua terra di Zagarolo nel prossimo carnevale, non l'ha potuta ottenere.[503]

Friday, February 5, 1706

Prince Don Livio Odescalchi has left for Bracciano and Palo where he will spend carnival with comedies and other diversions.

Venerdi, 5 febbraio 1706

Il prencipe don Livio Odescalchi è passato a

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503. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 538.

Bracciano et a Palo, dove paserà il carnevale con comedie et altre ricreazioni.[504]

Rome, February 9, 1706

Marchese Ruspoli has had singers, instrumentalists, and some actors brought to Cerveteri, his property, where operas, parties, and other festive gatherings are to take place at his open house, the Prince of Valmontone with his wife as well as the Duke of Acquasparta [Giuseppe Angelo Cesi] and other lords having gone [there].

Roma, 9 febbraio 1706

Il Marrh.*ese* Ruspoli ha dato à Cerveteri suo luogo, con hav.*ere* condatto musici sonatori, et alcuni Comici, ove vi fa fare Comedie, e Festini, et altre allegrie, con far Corte Bandita à chi si và, essendovi andato il *Princi*pe di Valmontone con la sua Sig.*nor*a Consorte, come anco il Duca di Acquasparta, et altri Sig.*nori*[.][505]

The household account books of Francesco Maria Ruspoli for the period 1706-1718 are extant,[506] and those for the period 1708-1718 have been studied in detail by Ursula Kirkendale and Franco Piperno.[507] In the hope that new light might be shed on the activities of Alessandro Scarlatti, the

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504. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 550.

505. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 352v.

506. In the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Fondo Ruspoli, Filze delle Giustificationi A, Buste 42-65.

507. Kirkendale, *Antonio Caldara; Ibid.*, "The Ruspoli Documents on Handel"; Franco Piperno, "Francesco Gasparini 'virtuoso dell'eccellentissimo sig. principe Ruspoli': contributo alla biografia gasparíniana (1716-1718)," *Francesco Gasparini (1661-1727): Atti del primo Convegno Internazionale* (Florence: Olschki, 1981), pp. 191-214.

documents from this collection for the the years 1706-1707 were studied by this writer. Unfortunately, the records before the year 1708 are much less revealing than the documents after 1708 studied by Kirkendale and Piperno.

Filza A 42 contains an expense account for the period January 28 - March 10, 1706, listing a total of sixty-four items. Only the following three are of musicological interest:

1 À di 18 Gen.ro dati contanti a V Ill.mo in testo./mi fatti Contare dal Sig.re Castrucci ----------S 30

[No bill found]

10 A di 17 G o pag.to al Sig.re Gio: Batt à Cavalletti *per* suo/rimborso di spese *per* li recitanti come *per*/lista, e ricevta

1.25

[No bill found]

60 Pagati al S.re Mazarini *per* suo rimborso *per* nota come fogl

5.60

[Bill]
A di 29: Gen:o 1706/spese fatte da Mazzarini per l'Ill.mo/S. Marchese Prŏn/ . . . /
A di 30: d.o/Per il copista di musica per una/ Cantata di due fogli et una/sinfonia ----- :30/
A di 2: febraro 1706/Per portatura di Contrabasso e/ Violone in casa Burghese ------ :30/ . . . /Io Fran:co Mazzarini hò rice:to il sud.o scudi/ cinque b. 65 m.a

Item ten above shows that one *scudo* and twenty-five *baiocchi* were paid to several singers or actors for some sort of performance. Although the work in question cannot

be identified, this small sum of money suggests a work of modest dimensions.

Item sixty records the payment to Francesco Mazzarini, one of Ruspoli's *camerieri*, of five *scudi* and sixty *baiocchi* (sixty-five *baiocchi* according to Mazzarini's bill). This sum was to cover Mazzarini's expenses which he listed in a long bill. Only the extracts of musicological interest from this bill are reproduced above, and they show that on January 30 Ruspoli paid thirty *baiocchi* for the copying of a cantata and *sinfonia*, and that several days later he paid the same amount to have a contrabass and *violone* carried to the Palazzo Borghese.

If Ruspoli's expenses for carnival at Cerveteri that year are to be found in these accounts, they are probably subsumed in item one, which shows that the considerable sum of thirty *scudi* was paid to either Domenico or his son Pietro Castrucci. Both father and son were domestic servants or *camerieri* of the Ruspoli household employed primarily in the capacity of musicians. Domenico, presumably a harpsichordist, was often charged with the task of hiring outside singers or musicians to supplement Ruspoli's domestic staff, and it may well be that the thirty *scudi* given him on this occasion were to be distributed to the "singers, instrumentalists, and actors" brought to

Cerveteri that winter. Unfortunately, no bill listing the specific expenses covered by this sum of money was found in the account books.

Carnival ended on Tuesday, February 16, 1706, and the final two days at the Marchese Ruspoli's villa are described in the *avvisi di Roma* at Munich as follows:

> Rome, February 23, 1706
>
> After having made the said tour, the newly-weds Rosso and Ughi, along with other nobles, went to Cerveteri on Monday of carnival where they were received by the Marchese Ruspoli, who entertained them with all generosity, giving improvised comedies, cantatas, and dances. On Wednesday they all returned together to Rome.
>
> Roma, 23 febbraio 1706
>
> Doppo haver fatto li Sig.*nori* sposi Rosso, e Ughi con altri Sig.*nori* l'Avennato giro, si portorno lunedi del Carnovale à Cerveteri dal S.*ignore* March.*ese* Ruspoli, che li ricevè, e trattò con ogni Generosità, fatto Comedia all'Improviso, cantate, e Festini di Ballo, Il mercoledi tutti assiemi fecero ritorno [508] à Roma[.]

7.6.1 Cardinal Ottoboni's Opera *La Statira*

On February 10, a week before the beginning of Lent, Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni held a sumptuous gathering which must have come very close to violating the Papal ban on

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508. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 355v.

carnival entertainments. It is described as follows in the *Gazette de France*:

> Rome, February 16, 1706
>
> On the tenth Cardinal Ottoboni gave a magnificent oratorio attended by several cardinals and the principal personages of this court whom he entertained magnificently. That evening there was a grandiose concert sung by the finest voices, several vocal pieces being in French. Following this the company was led into the grand apartment which was completely illuminated where there were twelve pyramids loaded with all sorts of sweets and exquisite refreshments which were served in abundance. (March 13, 1706)
>
> De Rome, le 16 Fevrier 1706)
>
> Le Cardinal Otthoboni donna le 10, un Oratoire magnifique, où se trouverent plusieurs Cardinaux, & les principales persones de cette Cour, qu'il traita magnifiquement. Le soir, il y eut une grande Musique, dont quelques recits estoient en François, qui furent chantez par les plus excellentes voix. Ensuite, la compagnie fut conduite dans le grand appartement qui estoit tout illuminé, où il y avoit douze grandes pyramides chargées de toute sorte de metz, & de rafraichissements exquis, qui furent servis en abondance. (13 Mars 1706)

The Roman diarist Francesco Valesio likewise took note of the festivities on February 10. Unlike the *Gazette de France*, Valesio makes no mention of an oratorio, but rather seems to suggest that Ottoboni's concert differed hardly at all from the traditional satiric entertainments customarily given during carnival:

> Wednesday, February 10, 1706
>
> This evening for a great number of noble guests

> Cardinal Ottoboni had two acts of the satiric comedy which he composed sung in his little theater with a noble *sinfonia* by vocalists who did not wear theatrical costumes, after which a sumptuous supper was served consisting of five great *trionfi* . . .
>
> Mercoledi, 10 febbraio 1706
>
> Questa sera il cardinale Ottoboni nel palazzo della Cancelieria fece con grande invito di nobiltà cantare nel suo teatrino da musici senza habito teatrale, con nobile sinfonia, dui atti della satira-comedia composta di S. Eminenza, doppo la quale fu imbandita sontuosissima cena, consistente in cinque gran trionfi . . .[509]

In reality, the work presented that evening by Cardinal Ottoboni was not two acts of a "satira-comedia," but of the opera *La Statira*. An anonymous account or *relazione* preserved along with the manuscript of Valesio's *Diario di Roma* describes in considerable detail the sumptuous supper given that evening by the cardinal, and it is clear that a dramatic work was sung before the meal:

> First, then, the drama of *Statira* was sung in his noble little theater by the finest voices with a very large orchestra, which ended with various strophes in the French and Italian languages; and afterwards they went into the large hall in which the meal was arranged . . .
>
> Prima dunque fu fatto cantare nel suo nobile teatrino il dramma della *Statira* da' migliori cantanti con copiosissima orchestra, terminando con diverse strofe in lingua francese et italiana, e doppo si portarono nella galleria in cui vi era

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509. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 553.

disposta la mensa . . .[510]

Cardinal Ottoboni's text *La Statira* was first heard during the carnival of 1690 when it was set to music by Alessandro Scarlatti and performed in the Teatro Tor di Nona. None of the documents cited above name the composer of *La Statira* heard in 1706. For at least one year, beginning in January of 1705, Alessandro Scarlatti's name regularly appears in the cardinal's household account books.[511] Since Scarlatti was directly employed as a musician by Ottoboni at the time of this performance, it seems very likely that music by Alessandro Scarlatti was again heard in the performance of this opera in 1706.

7.7 Lenten Oratorios at Rome during 1706

The *avvisi di Roma* report that on Ash Wednesday, seven days after the performance of *La Statira*, Ottoboni again presented a concert in the Cancelleria. Evidently an oratorio was heard on this date, although the work remains unidentified:

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510. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 719.

511. Marx, "Die Musik am Hofe Pietro Kardinal Ottobonis," p. 160.

Rome, February 23, 1706

On that same Wednesday evening [February 17] a fine oratorio with a numerous consort of instruments was sung by order of Cardinal Ottoboni. It was heard by cardinals, ambassadors, Signora Paola [Morosini], the wife of the Venetian Ambassador, and by other ladies; and it was given as a rehearsal in order that it might be sung again in the Oratorio of the Chiesa Nuova.

Roma, 23 febbraio 1706

La med.*esima* sera del mercoledi dal S.*ignore* Card.*inale* Ottoboni fù fatto cantare, con numeroso Concerto di strumenti un bono Oratorio, ove vi furno à sentirlo, e Sig.*nori* Card.*inali*, Amb.*asciatori*, e la Sig.*nora* Paola Consorte del S.*ignore* Amb.*asciatore* Veneto, con altre Dame, e fù *per* prova, *per* farlo più cantare nell'Oratorio della Chiesa Nuova[.] [512]

The musical life of Rome during Lent of 1706 is described in considerable detail in the *avvisi di Roma* at Munich. The inclusion of Alessandro Scarlatti's name in these diplomatic reports again testifies to the leading role he then played among the musicians of the Eternal City:

Rome, March 16, 1706

On Monday [March 15] in the Church of [Santa Maria sopra] Minerva a fine and brilliant *accademia* with a very beautiful cantata accompanied by a large number of instruments was given by the students of the library left by Cardinal Cantelmi. Everything was in praise of Saint Thomas Aquinas [and] dedicated to Cardinal Sperelli, who attended in person with a large number of prelates.

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512. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 355r-v.

Roma, 17 marzo 1706

Nella Chiesa della Minerva lunedi il giorno fù fatto dalli studenti della libreria che vi fù lasciata dal Card.*inal*e Cantelmi una Bella, e Virtuosa Accademia, con una bellissima Cantata accompagnata da quantità di strumenti, tutta in lode di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, dedicata al Sig.*nor*e Card.*inal*e Sperelli, quale vi assistì di persona, [513] con quantità di Prelati[.]

Rome, March 23, 1706

On Wednesday evening [March 17] Cardinal Ottoboni had a fine oratorio sung in his palace [*i.e.*, the Cancelleria], the words [of which were] by Giacomo Buonaccorsi and the music by [Alessandro] Scarlatti; and seven cardinals, the Venetian Ambassador, prelates, and many German cavaliers were there to hear it.

Roma, 23 marzo 1706

Mercoledi sera dal Sig.*nor*e Card.*inal*e Ottoboni fù fatto cantare nel suo Palazzo un bon' Oratorio le parole dell'Abb.*at*e Giacomo Bonaccorsi, la musica di Scarlatti, e vi furno à sentirlo sette Sig.*nori* Em.*inentissim*i, Amb.*asciator*e Veneto, [514] Prelati, e molti Caval.*ieri* Tedeschi.

Rome, March 23, 1706

On Monday evening [March 22] in the Seminario Romano the rehearsal of a beautiful oratorio was held by order of Don Annibale Albani. It was said that the words were by his young secretary. It was a very great success, and this evening it is to be sung at the same place for some cardinals and ambassadors with Don Annibale acting as host.

Roma, 23 marzo 1706

Lunedi sera nel Seminario Romano dal Sig.*nor*e D. Anibale Albani fù fatto la Prova di un bel

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513. *Ibid.*, fol. 362r.

514. *Ibid.*, fol. 363r.

Oratorio la composit.*ione* delle parole, vien dato fuori, sia di un Giovane suo Secret.*ario*, Riuscì boniss.*imo*, e questa sera si canta nel med.*esimo* iuogo, con l'Invito fattosi dal med.*esimo* Sig.*nore* D. Anibale, e à S.*ignori* Card.*inali*, et
515
Ambas.*ciatori*.

Rome, March 30, 1706

On Monday evening [March 29] in an entirely illuminated and well-built theater decorated with alabaster of Volterra worked into the form of linnet drapery appropriate for mourning, Cardinal Ottoboni had the rehearsal of an oratorio sung. In this composition of his he translated the Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah in such a way that [Alessandro] Scarlatti, the composer of the music, rendered them even more admirable by setting them to such melancholy material that it evoked in the noble audience devout happiness, infinite praise, and great applause; the said oratorio is to be sung on the Wednesday evening of Holy Week [March 31].

Roma, 30 marzo 1706

Lunedi sera dal Sig.*nore* Card.*inale* Ottoboni in bene accomodato lugubre Teatro, tutto illuminato in ben lavorati fanali di Alabastro di Volterra fece cantare cioe [?] la prova di un'Oratorio in haver tradotte di sua composit.*ioni* le Lamentationi di Geremia Profeta à modo tale, che lo Scarlatti compositore della musica si fece rendere sempre più ammirabile, in materia si malinconia, ridotta in devota allegria, con infinitissima lode, e gran'applausi de' Nobile Uditorio, e d.*etto* Oratorio lo fà cantare
516
mercoledi Santo à sera. [Illustration 15]

Rome, April 6, 1706

On Wednesday evening [March 31] Cardinal Ottoboni had his oratorio, a translation into Italian of the Lamentations of the Prophet

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515. *Ibid.*, fol. 364r.

516. *Ibid.*, fol. 366r.

Illustration 15

Avviso di Roma dated March 30, 1706

D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 366r.

Corte di Roma, ne havesse ricavato non essere tempo
esservi da pensare à cose di magg.re rilievo p. [illegible]
Card.le passò à Napoli, e ciò fà molto dubitare che
la Promotione destinata per à Pasqua Rosata, per quel
tanto ricavatosene di Casa Albani, fà temere passi
maggiorm.te andare in lungo.

Lunedì sera dal Sig.r Card.le Ottoboni in bene accomodato
lugubre teatro, tutto alluminato in ben lavorati
fanali di Alabastro di Volterra, fece cantare
cioè la prova di un Oratorio in haver tradotto di sua
composit.ne le Lamentationi di Geremia Profeta à
modo tale, che lo Scarlatti compositore della Musica
si fece rendere sempre più ammirabile, in materia
di malinconia, ridotta in devota allegria, con infini-
tissima lode, e gran applauso di nobile Uditorio, e d.to
Oratorio lo fà cantare Mercoledì Santo à sera.

Jeremiah, sung for the second time. There was a very noble audience, and the said Donna Maria Bernardina, the Pope's sister-in-law, was present again.

Roma, 6 aprile 1706

Mercoledi sera dal Sig.*nore* Card.*inal*e Ottoboni fù fatto cantare *per* la seconda volta Il Suo Oratorio delle Lamentationi di Geremia Profeta ridotte in lingua volgare, vi hebbe nobilissimo Uditorio, e vi fù ancora la d.*etta* D. Maria Bernardina Cognata del Papa[.][517]

In 1706 Easter fell on April 4, yet an oratorio is reported performed as late as April 18 that year:

Rome, April 20, 1706

On Sunday evening [April 18] Count Bolognetti had the fine oratorio of Cardinal Pamphilj previously heard in the Collegio Clementino sung in his house. On behalf of the wife of [the Cavalier] Ughi, [the daughter of Andrea Del] Rosso, the Countess honored several ladies from Lucca of the Orsini family [with invitations]. It was hoped that the Gran Prior Vandomo would come to hear it, but it seems that [only] Cardinals Ottoboni and del Giudice, and no others, were there.

Roma, 20 aprile 1706

Dal Sig.*nore* Conte Bolognetti Domenica sera, fù fatto cantare, in Sua Casa Il bono Oratorio del Sig.*nore* Card.*inal*e Pamfilj, che già haveva fatto sentire nel Collegio Clementino, tale onore veniva Fatto dalla Sig.*nora* Contessa ad alcune dame Lucchese di Casa Orsini *per* la S.*ignora* Sposa del Rosso Ughi, vi si voleva trovare anco Il Sig.*nore* Gran Priore Vandomo à sentirlo; ma penetrato

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517. *Ibid.*, fol. 367r.

esservi Il Sig.*nore* Card.*inali* Ottoboni e del Giudice, non ne fece altro.[518]

7.7.1 Alessandro Scarlatti's Oratorio *Sedecia, Re di Gerusalemme*

The performances of a cantata at the *accademia* in the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva on March 15 and of the oratorio in the Seminario Romano on March 23 are also mentioned in Francesco Valesio's *Diario di Roma*.[519] Although the work heard at the *accademia* remains unidentified, Alessandro Scarlatti's *Sedecia, Re di Gerusalemme* was very likely the oratorio given at the Seminario Romano on March 22 and 23. Its earliest libretto shows that it was premiered sometime in 1705 at Urbino, the family seat of the then reigning Pope Clement XI, Giovanni Francesco Albani. The same text with a few alterations was printed a year later in Rome for an undated performance in the Seminario Romano.[520] The librettist Filippo Ortensio Fabbri, identified in the *avvisi* as Don Annibale Albani's young secretary, is listed as a member of the Arcadian Society under the pastoral name Alindo Scirtoniano.

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518. *Ibid.*, fol. 372r.

519. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 570 and 574.

520. A score of the version heard in 1706 is preserved at I Rc, MS. 2566.

7.7.2 Alessandro Scarlatti's Oratorio *La Giuditta*

Although the *avvisi di Roma* fail to name the oratorio by Alessandro Scarlatti heard on March 17 in the Cancelleria, it can probably be identified as *La Giuditta*. The text of this oratorio was published at Rome in 1706 by Antonio de Rossi.[521] Although the composer is unnamed, Giacomo Buonaccorsi is identified in the libretto as its author, and the print bears a dedication to Francesco Maria Ruspoli.

7.7.3 The Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah Translated into Italian by Cardinal Ottoboni and Set to Music by Alessandro Scarlatti

Earlier in this study it was reported that a setting by Alessandro Scarlatti of two of the Lamentations of Jeremiah translated into Italian by Cardinal Ottoboni was heard in the Cancelleria on April 10, 1702. Two extracts from the *avvisi di Roma* cited above suggest that the composer and poet/patron collaborated again on these Lamentations to produce a fuller realization, which was heard on March 29 and 31, 1706. Francesco Valesio, although he fails to name the composer, adds an interesting bit of information

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521. Cairo and Quilic, *Biblioteca teatrale*, no. 2082.

regarding the orchestration of the work:

> Wednesday, March 31, 1706
>
> This evening Cardinal Ottoboni had a very beautiful oratorio dedicated to Saint Philip Neri performed in his palace [*i.e.*, the Cancelleria], and the text consisted of the Lamentations of Jeremiah translated into Italian by His Eminence [which was] sung by the best vocalists along with six muted trumpets.
>
> Mercoledi, 31 marzo 1706
>
> Questa sera il cardinale Ottoboni fece nel suo palazzo un bellissimo oratorio in musica dedicato a s. Filippo Neri et era la composizione li *Treni* di Geremia, tradotti in volgare da S. Eminenza, cantati de' migliori, fra' quali sei trombe
> [522]
> sordine.

Among Alessandro Scarlatti's extant compositions there is a set of six Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah, but it is a setting of the Latin text. Based on the information presented above, it is clear that a set of Italian Lamentations must also be added to the composer's work list. In the documents cited above, it is called an oratorio, but the choice of that term may have been merely a quick assumption on the part of Francesco Valesio and the anonymous author of the *avvisi*. Until a libretto or a score of these Lamentations is discovered, their proper generic classification will remain in doubt.

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522. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 577.

7.7.4 The Oratorio *Santa Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi*

Francesco Valesio leaves no doubt that the oratorio heard in the Palazzo Bolognetti on April 18 was a setting of Cardinal Benedetto Pamphilj's text *Santa Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi*:

> Sunday, April 18, 1706
>
> This evening the oratorio *Santa Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi*, a composition of Cardinal Pamphilj [which] already [had been] sung in the past at the Collegio Clementino, was repeated by the Bolognetti in their palace next to the Church of San Marcello on the Corso so that it could be heard by many ladies. And it was a notable success not only because it was sung by the finest vocalists of the city with a large orchestra, but also because of the rooms which were beautifully decorated and illuminated by crystal lights, the decorations having been under the supervision of the Count of San Martino. Several cardinals and the Gran Prior Vandomo were invited, but for reasons of precedence neither the former nor the latter attended.
>
> Domenica, 18 aprile 1706
>
> L'oratorio di *S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi*, composizione del cardinale Panfilio, cantato già nel Collegio Clementino tempo fa, questa sera fu replicato, per farlo udire a molte dame, dalli Bolognetti nel loro palazzo accanto la chiesa di S. Marcello al Corso e riuscì mirabile, non solo per essere recitato da' migliori cantanti della città con orchestra numerosa, ma anco per l'apparato delle stanze adornate vagamente et illuminate da lumiere di cristallo, essendosi regolato l'apparato con la direzzione del conte di San Martino. Vi erano stati invitati alcuni

cardinali et il gran priore di Vandomo, ma né gli uni né l'altro v'intervennero per cagione di precedenza.[523]

As noted by Valesio and earlier in this study, *Santa Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi* was heard in the Collegio Clementino on April 4 and 11, 1705. Whether Carlo Francesco Cesarini or Alessandro Scarlatti set it to music for the performances in 1705 and 1706 remains uncertain.

7.8 Rome during the Summer of 1706

The *avvisi di Roma* in Munich fail to mention the performance of any serenatas during the month of July, 1706. Around the middle of that month, however, the following conspicuous celebration is reported:

> Rome, July 20, 1706
>
> The feast of the Madonna of Carmel [July 16] was celebrated in the Church of Montesanto at the [Piazza] del Popolo by Cardinal Colonna with fine music by the first singers of the city [and] with a consort of many varied instruments; and for two evenings in the nearby streets there were beautiful lights and various firework displays. There was a great crowd of people and much coach traffic . . .
>
> Roma, 20 luglio 1706
>
> Dal Sig.*nore* Card.*inale* Colonna fù solenizata

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523. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 588.

nella Chiesa di Montesanto al Popolo la festa della madonna del Carmine, con buona musica de primi Virtuosi della Città, con Concerto di Varij strumenti, e per due sere per quelle contigue Contrade vi fù fatta bella luminaria, e con varij fuochi Artifitiati, che vi fù gran concorso di Popolo, e passeggio di Carrozze . . .[524]

It has been suggested that the music heard at this celebration a year later in 1707 was provided by the young George Frederick Handel.[525] Unfortunately, the composer employed on this occasion in 1706 remains unidentified, and the *avvisi di Roma* at Munich make no reference to the celebration of the feast of the Madonna of Carmel in 1707.

Francesco Valesio's *Diario di Roma* records only two instances when serenatas were heard during the summer of 1706:

Sunday, July 11, 1706

Because Cardinal Grimani's arrival in Rome was expected this evening, Cardinal Ottoboni had a very sumptuous dinner with an entertainment of exquisite music and a very large number of instrumentalists prepared in his casino in the Riario garden next to the palace rented by the said cardinal. Two other Venetian Cardinals, Rubini and Priolo, also waited for him, but in vain, the said cardinal not arriving in Rome that night.

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524. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 407v.

525. James S. Hall, "The Problem of Handel's Latin Church Music," *The Musical Times* 100 (1959), pp. 197-200. *Cf.* Kirkendale, "The Ruspoli Documents on Handel," p. 224.

Domenica, 11 luglio 1706

Si aspettava questa sera in Roma il cardinale Grimani, onde il cardinale Ottoboni nel suo casino del giardino Riario, contiguo al palazzo preso in affitto dal sudetto porporato, haveali fatta preparare una lautissima cena col divertimento di esquisita musica e copiosa sinfonia; l'attendevano anco gl'altri dui cardinali veneti Rubini e Priolo, ma in darno, non essendo il detto cardinale giunto quella notte in Roma.[526]

Saturday, August 14, 1706

This evening the Prince of Valmonte Pamphilj had a noble serenata performed on the balcony of his palace in the Piazza Navona for a great crowd.

Sabato, 14 agosto 1706

Il prencipe di Valmonte Panfilio fece questa sera nella ringhiera del suo palazzo di piazza Navona una nobile serenata con gran concorso.[527]

To these may be added the following extract from the *avvisi di Roma* in Munich:

Rome, August 3, 1706

On Sunday [August 1] the flooding of the Piazza Navona was begun. On Saturday night [July 31] a serenata was given in the midst of the water with a good crowd of ladies and cavaliers in coaches. There was a lot of traffic on Sunday in the said water.

Serenatas are being heard these evenings, but as yet nothing has been given with more than ordinary success. The most frequent were by the Marchese Ruspoli, who had them sung by female

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526. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 634-35.

527. *Ibid.*, III, 652.

vocalists of little merit. His uncle Cardinal Marescotti has complained to the same [Marchese] a great deal about their too bold wit on one or two occasions, especially since they received little applause and are not [suitable] inventions for one with a wife and children [and], moreover, are the source of entanglements.

Roma, 3 agosto 1706

Domenica fù dato *principio* all'*Inacquamento* à Piazza Navona, il Sabato Notte vi fù serenata nel mozzo all'Acque con bon concorso di Carozzate di Dame, e Cavalieri, il giorno della Domenica in dett'Acqua vi fù bon Passeggio[.]

Le sere si sentono serenate, mà sin' qui non vi è stato cosa, che è assai riuscita ordinario, le più frequenti sono state fatte cantare da Canterine di poca vaglia dal Marce.se Ruspoli, del che molto ne ha fatto fare doglienze con il med.*esimo* Il suo Zio Card.*inal*e Marescotti, che *per* una volta, ò due e Bizzaria, tanto più che ne hà ricavato poco applausi, e non essere bizzarie *per* chi à moglie, e Figli, tanto più, che sono materie da incontrare Impegni[.] [528]

7.8.1 Gregorio Cola's Serenata *L'Inganno di Fileno con Lidia*

The text of one of the serenatas presented that summer in Rome by the Marchese Ruspoli may be preserved in a libretto entitled:

L'INGANNO/*DI*/FILENO CON LIDIA/*Serenata à due voci./Dedicata all' Illustrissimo, ed Eccelentissimo Signore/*D. FRANCESCO CESI,*/Poesia di Magno de' Magistris Anagnino./*Musica del Sig. Gregorio Cola

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528. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 421v.

Romano./[Printer's device]/IN Roma MDCCVI./Nella Stamperia di Gio: Francesco Chracas./*CON LICENZA DE' SUPERIORI.*[529]

Although the libretto fails to name the patron of this serenata, the fact that it was dedicated to Francesco Cesi points to Francesco Maria Ruspoli, who was married to Isabella Cesi.

It is also possible that some of those serenatas which "received little applause" that summer were by Alessandro Scarlatti. Seven of his known serenatas are extant in scores bearing the date 1706:

- *Venere, Adone et Amore*
- *Zeffiro e Clori; Flora pellegrina*
- *Amore e Virtù*
- *Fileno, Niso e Doralbo*
- *Sole, Urania e Clio*
- *Venere, Amore e Ragione*
- *Cupido ed Onestà*

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529. I Rvat, Miscell. A.33 (int. 10). The work begins: "Lidia se tu sapessi . . ."

7.8.2 Alessandro Scarlatti's Serenata *Venere, Adone et Amore*

The serenata *Venere, Adone et Amore* survives in three manuscript scores. The original version of the work heard near Naples for the opening of Posillipo on July 15, 1696, is preserved in the scores at Christ Church, Oxford, and in the Abbazia of Montecassino. A revised version of the serenata prepared for a Roman performance is preserved in the score at Münster, which bears the inscription "Agosto 1706."

Originally conceived to be a flattering entertainment for the ladies in attendance at Posillipo, the text heard in 1696 contains numerous allusions to the environs of Naples. At the Neapolitan performance Cupid, for example, informs his mother Venus where she may find her beloved Adonis with these words:

> Look to the spur
> of that mountain side
> where Neptune, who renders
> us a tribute of waves, makes of himself a bay
> at Mergellina;
> there is the source of your happiness.
>
> Mira dove si stende
> La falda di quel monte,
> Dove Nettun che rende
> A noi tributo ondoso
> Fà di se stesso à Mergellina in fonte,
> Quivi stà la cagion del tuo riposo.

In the score at Münster, references to Rome replace those to Naples, and Cupid's speech appears as follows:

Look to the spur
of that hill side
where the Tiber, who renders
you a tribute of waves,
raises a temple of glory on these shores;
there is the source of your happiness.

Mira dove si stende
La falda di quel colle
Dove il Tebro che rende
A te tributo ondoso
Tempio di gloria in queste sponde estolle,
Quivi stà la cagion del tuo riposo.

Such changes in the text leave no doubt that the serenata was revised for Rome, but they furnish no clue to the circumstances or precise date of its performance in the papal city.

7.8.3 Alessandro Scarlatti's Serenata *Zeffiro e Clori; Flora pellegrina*

As mentioned earlier in this study, the serenata *Zeffiro e Clori; Flora pellegrina* was first performed on September 14, 1705. All references in the text to the first performance have been deleted from the version of the text preserved in the extant scores, the earliest of which bears the date 1706. This suggests that the serenata as it has

survived was prepared in 1706 for a second patron, perhaps Francesco Maria Ruspoli. Whether or not the serenata was given in 1706, however, remains in doubt.

7.8.4 Alessandro Scarlatti's Serenata *Amore e Virtù*

Amore e Virtù is extant in a single score today preserved in the library of the Stiftung Preußicher Kulturbesitz, West Berlin. A second copy was once owned by Fortunato Santini, and its existence is reported in several early manuscript catalogues of the Santini collection[530] and by Dent.[531] Unfortunately, it can no longer be found. The title page of the score in Berlin describes the work as "written for Prince Ruspoli" (*scritta per il Principe Ruspoli*) and it bears the inscription "Roma 1706." As noted above, this score was prepared in the nineteenth century for the collector Karl Freiherr von Doblhoff-Dier, and some of the information found on its title page cannot be considered entirely trustworthy. Whether or not *Amore e Virtù* was given by Ruspoli in 1706 remains uncertain.

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530. D Müs, MS. 3896 and A Wn, MS. 17530.

531. Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti*, p. 212.

No overt references to the persons honored or occasions celebrated can be found in any of the scores of the seven serenatas listed above. *Amore e Virtù* seems to be in honor of a couple, but the pair are identified only in the conventional pastoral language of the time as Mirtillo and Filli. Virtue, for example, sings the following in a recitative:

> You wish to decorate with lilies and roses
> the majestic appearance of great Tiber's
> handsome Mirtillo,
> the most beautiful star
> in the Roman sky.
> Like you, I desire that, united with Filli,
> their virtues blaze forth as if the moon
> were to shine among the stars like the sun.

> Tu vuoi che del gran Tebro il bel Mirtillo
> Ch' è il più bell'astro del Romano Cielo
> Ornar di giglia e rose
> Il maestoso aspetto.
> Bramo al pari di te ch' unito a Filli
> Risplendan le virtude sicome suole
> Cinta il Ciel fra le stelle al par del sole.

The serenatas *Fileno, Niso e Doralbo* and *Sole, Urania e Clio* likewise make reference to a Filli for whom they may have been given. Whether or not all three serenatas were in honor of the same lady remains in doubt, however, since the name Filli (Phyllis according to the usage of English poets) might conventionally have been applied to any beautiful

nymph or lady.

It is a curious fact that although Francesco Maria Ruspoli is reported having presented a number of serenatas during the summer of 1706 and the score of one serenata by Scarlatti, *Amore e Virtù*, bears the name Ruspoli, the Marchese's account broks[532] make reference to only a single work for solo voice which might have been heard that summer. *Filza* A 43 of the Ruspoli account books contains a long list of his expenses for the period August 12 - September 13, 1706. Only the following two are of musicological interest:

57 Pag. a di *per* rimborso di spese *per* regalo di Mad.a/Carò come *per* ricevta
--------- 2.88

[Bill]
P.o Agosto 1706/Spese *per* regolare Madama Carò Cantarina/*per* ordine dell' Ill.mo Sig,re March. Padrone . . . di 31/Agosto 1706/Dom o Fattori

63 Pag à Prò Castrucci disse d'ord: di V.a Ill.m/*Per* dare alli due violini che sonorno la cantata/come *per* ricevuta
--------- 2

[Bill]
Il infrà scritto ò ricev'to dal Sig.re Angelo Valeri scudi due/moneta e sono *per* i due Violini della serenata del/Ill.mo Sig.re M. Ruspoli questo di 30 Agosto 1706/Io Pietro Castrucci

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532. Mentioned above on page 491.

The bill following item fifty-seven was presented to the Marchese Ruspoli by his *bottigliero* or steward Domenico Fattori. It shows that a gift costing two *scudi* and eighty-eight *baiocchi* was presented to the singer Madama Carò. Although the range of her voice is not known, Ursula Kirkendale identifies her as Lucrezia d'Andrè.[533] Evidently she sang at some festive gathering since the remainder of Fattori's bill (not reproduced above) lists the beverages dispensed on this occasion.

Item sixty-three reports that two *scudi* were reimbursed Ruspoli's *cameriere* the violinist Pietro Castrucci. This was to cover his expenses in hiring two violinists to supplement the Marchese's domestic staff of musicians in the performance of a cantata or serenata. In all likelihood this was the work for solo voice sung by Madama Carò.

7.8.5 Alessandro Scarlatti's Serenata *Venere, Amore e Ragione*

Of Scarlatti's seven serenatas listed above, *Venere, Amore e Ragione* is unique. It survives in four manuscript scores, two of which bear the title "Venus, having lost

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533. Kirkendale, *Antonio Caldara*, p. 353.

Cupid, finds him among the Nymphs and Shepherds of the Seven Hills" (*Venere, havendo perso Amore, lo ritrova frà le Ninfe, e Pastori dei Sette Colli*). Silvio Stampiglia is identified on these two scores as the poet of the serenata. The singers who represented Venus, Cupid, and Reason can be identified as "Pippin de la Regina" or "Pasqualino," "Checchino," and "Montalcino," respectively. The first is probably identical to the "Pippo Soprano della Regina" or "Giuseppe della Regina" employed by Queen Maria Casimira and heard in performances organized by Ruspoli in 1708 and 1710.[534] Checchino de Grandis, often employed by Cardinal Paolucci and thus sometimes referred to as "de Paoluccio," is likewise known as a male soprano occasionally hired by Ruspoli.[535] The alto who sang the role of Reason can be identified as Bartolomeo Monaci da Montalcino, a member of the Papal Chapel since November, 1689, and one of the most renowned singers of his time.[536]

Venere, Amore e Ragione is of particular interest because, unlike any of Scarlatti's other extant serenatas, dancing played a role in its performance. Three short

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534. *Ibid.*, p. 351.

535. *Ibid.*

536. Marx, "Die Musik am Hofe Pietro Kardinal Ottobonis," p. 173.

instrumental *balli* are found near the end of the serenata. They are immediately preceded by the following recitative with which Reason invites the assembled "nymphs" and "shepherds" to dance:

Lieti Ninfe, e Pastori	Merry Nymphs and Shepherds,
A Venere che tanto	move your feet now
Celebra i vostri onori	with joyful pomp
Or con pompa gioliva,	to the festive dance
Fate movendo il piè	for Venus, who honors
danza festiva.	you so.

References to these same "nymphs" abound in the serenata, as for example in a duet by Venus and Reason praising the beauty of "Nice" and "Clori," of "Dorinda" and her handsome "Fileno," and of "Amarilli" and "Irene." Probably these compliments were addressed to specific members of the serenata's aristocratic audience, but such conventional pastoral names do not permit their identification today.

The fact that members of the aristocratic audience seem to have taken part as dancers in the performance of *Venere, Amore e Ragione* alongside professional singers suggests a relationship to the tradition of the masque as witnessed earlier in the seventeenth century in such works as Monteverdi's *Il Ballo dell'Ingrate* and *Tirsi e Clori*. Although little is known concerning the history of the masque in seventeenth-century Italy, it is clear that such a tradition was cultivated as far south as Naples

through the seventeenth century. In 1620 the *Delizie di Posilipo Boscarecce, e Maritime*[537] was performed in the Royal Palace of Naples, while earlier in this study it was shown that works such as *La Sirena Partenope* were still being danced in the same palace as late as 1696.

Although the precise circumstances surrounding the performance of *Venere, Amore e Ragione* remain unknown, the participation of so many Roman "nymphs" and "shepherds" in it seems to indicate some sort of private Arcadian gathering. Alessandro Scarlatti's connection with the Roman Arcadian Society is well understood, and an account of one of their meetings during the first decade of the eighteenth century at which he immediately set to music texts improvised by Giovambattista Felice Zappi has been frequently cited.[538] Some of the poetry set to music by Scarlatti on this occasion and reproduced by Crescimbeni also appears in an ecologue recited by Zappi and Crescimbeni

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537. Roland Jackson, ed. *A Neapolitan Festa a Ballo "Delizie di Posilipo Boscarecce, e Maritime"* (Madison, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 1978).

538. Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni, *L'Arcadia* (Rome: Antonio de' Rossi, 1708), pp. 288-93, summarized in Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti*, p. 90 and in Kirkpatrick, *Domenico Scarlatti*, p. 44.

on the evening of the calends of August, 1701, at an Arcadian gathering hosted by Cardinal Ottoboni in the Cancelleria.[539]

Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni, who furnished this account, also provides evidence that dancing sometimes proved to be the main entertainment at Arcadian gatherings. After a dinner at the *capanna* or hut (*i.e.*, palace) of the shepherd "Nitilo" (Monsignor Leone Strozzi)

> . . . the tables were quickly taken away and a sweet consort of musical instruments was freed to begin the ball. Various beautiful dances were executed, not only those of our lands, but also from other foreign nations, and in particular of the very pleasant France, among which the capricious minuets were highly esteemed--dances which to tell the truth seem to be the inventions of grace itself.
>
> . . . subitamente tolte via le tavole, e sciolto soave conserto di Musicali strumenti si diede principio alla danza. Diversi vaghissimi balli furono fatti, non pure all'uso delle nostre Campagne, ma anche d'altri stranieri paesi, ed in particolare della felicissima Francia, tra i quali i bizzarri Minuetti portarono il vanto: balli a dire il vero, che assembrano inventati dalla stessa leggiadria.[540]

Before the assembled guests took to the dance floor, a solo recital was given by the nymph "Aglaura" (Faustina

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539. *Rime dell' avvocato Gio. Batt. Zappi e di Faustina Maratti*, (Venice: Sebastiano Valle, 1818), II, 20-33.

540. Crescimbeni, *L'Arcadia*, p. 121.

Maratti), who

> . . . appeared in more than one curious guise, entering with incredible quickness while utilizing certain veils aptly fitted to her body and head, now imitating the manner of the Persians, now the Turks, now the Indians, now the Americans, and not a few of the European nations; and these changes of costume were likewise accompanied by the dances proper to the nations imitated.
>
> . . . andava facendo più d'una curiosa comparsa: uscendo, con incredibil prestezza, mediante certi veli opportunamente accomodati pel dosso, ed ispezie in testa, ora da Persiana, ora da Turca: ora le Indiane imitando, ora le Americane, e non poche delle nazioni Europee; e alla trasformazione accompagnava altresì i balli secondo il costume delle nazioni imitate.[541]

Although *Venere, Amore e Ragione* was clearly not heard on this occasion, it was probably given in a setting similar to that described above by Crescimbeni.

From a letter that Alessandro Scarlatti sent to Ferdinand de' Medici it is known that the composer planned to leave Rome by September, 1706.[542] Venice was his ultimate destination where two newly-composed operas of his, *Il Mitridate Eupatore* and *Il Trionfo della Libertà*, were given during the carnival season of 1707. Both works were heard in the Teatro S. Giovanni Grisostomo, a theater belonging to

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541. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

542. ASF, *Mediceo*: Filza 5903, letter no. 213, transcribed by Fabbri, *Alessandro Scarlatti*, pp. 78-79.

the Grimani family. Although the circumstances leading to the genesis of these works remain obscure, it is likely that Cardinal Vincenzo Grimani played a key role in these commissions going to Alessandro Scarlatti. The cardinal's interest in the musical theater and his activities as a librettist are well known. In 1706 he served as Imperial Habsburg Ambassador in Rome and, like Alessandro Scarlatti, was active in the Roman Arcadian Society. Later, as the Austrian Viceroy of Naples, Grimani was responsible for Scarlatti's recall to that city in 1708.

Il Mitridate Eupatore is today considered one of Scarlatti's greatest works, but neither of his two Venetian operas proved a success in 1707. Soon after their performance a cruel poem satirizing the composer made the rounds of Venice, and by April, 1707, the composer had fled to Urbino where his son Pietro was the chapelmaster of the metropolitan cathedral. There is little reason then to suspect that Scarlatti produced many new works for Rome during much of 1707, but the following extracts gleaned from the *avvisi di Roma* at Munich and from the the *Diario di Roma* of Francesco Valesio are nevertheless of interest for the light they shed upon the musical life of the Eternal City during Scarlatti's absence.

In 1707 all acts of public merrymaking during carnival were once again banned.[543] Only two foreigners, Queen Maria Casimira and the Imperial Ambassador Cardinal Grimani, dared to present *commedie* in their palaces,[544] but it is not clear from the *avvisi* if these were operas or spoken plays. During Lent, however, the situation in Rome was very different, and a great deal of music was heard by the aristocratic public:

7.9 Lenten Oratorios at Rome during 1707

Rome, March 22, 1707

> On Thursday [March 17] in the Church of [Santa Maria sopra] Minerva, which was well arranged [in a manner suitable] for an *accademia*, the Rector of theology read a fine discourse at the beginning [of the *accademia* and] several highly esteemed compositions were recited by other fathers. At the beginning as well as at its end, cantatas by fine singers were heard accompanied by *sinfonie* [played] by many instruments. It was all dedicated to the Most Eminent Cardinal Ruffo, who attended from the beginning to the end.
>
> To honor with all solemnity the festival of Saint Joseph [March 19], not only the name[day] but also the birth[day] of the Emperor, Cardinal Grimani has had the Church of [Santa Maria] dell' Anima adorned with rich decorations. On Saturday

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543. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 756.

544. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 198, fols. 17r, 18r, 19r-v.

morning [March 19] he went with a very numerous cortege, the Milanese prelates in his coach, to attend the mass sung by a large number of singers and accompanied by over a hundred instruments. It ended with a rousing Te Deum and the firing of many instruments [of war] . . .

Roma, 22 marzo 1707

Giovedi nella Chiesa della Minerva bene aggiustata dal Prerettore della Teologia à forma di Accademia, nel primo vi recitò un' bon discorso, come da altri Padri vi furno recitate varie lor bone composit.*ioni*, si nel primo che nell' ultimo vi si sentirono Cantate da boni musici, accompagnate da Zinfonie di q*uan*tità di strumenti, Il tutto dedicato all' Em.*inentissimo* Ruffo, che vi assistì dal primo sin' alla fine[.]

Per onorare con tutta solennità*Il g.*iorno* di S. Giuseppe, non solo per il nome, quanto per la nascità del Imp.*eratore* Il Sig.*nore* Card.*inale* Grimani fatto adornare la Chiesa dell' Anima con ricchi apparati sabato mattina con numeross.*imi* Corteggio, nella med.*esima* sua Carozza li Prelati milanesi si portò alla d.*etta* Chiesa assisti alla messa cantata da q*uan*tità di musici, accompagnati da sopra cento strumenti, in fine un strepitoso Te Deum Laudamus con lo sparo di q*uan*tità di strumenti . . . .[545]

A second account of the pro-Habsburg celebrations on the feast of Saint Joseph is preserved as follows by Valesio:

Saturday, March 19, 1707

This morning, the feast of Saint Joseph, there was a great crowd of people at Cardinal Grimani's palace where cakes and wine in great quantity were distributed to them. His Eminence . . . went to the Church of [Santa Maria] dell' Anima accompanied by a very great number of foreigners in carriages and the Milanese prelates Scotti, Erba, Archinto and Coiro . . . at the entrance

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545. *Ibid.*, fol. 23v.

of the Church of the Anima the said cardinal was greeted with cheers by the wife of the Neapolitan tradesman Antonino, a seller of knives . . . , who was there with other Neapolitan ladies, which created much amusement. Then the festive mass was sung by more than one hundred singers and instrumentalists, after which they suddenly sang the Te Deum. Then the cardinal, to like applause along his route, returned to his palace, where that day seven casks of wine were distributed to a crowd of commoners after dinner and a very beautiful oratorio was sung with sumptuous refreshments.

Sabato, 19 marzo 1707

Festa del glorioso s. Gioseppe. Questa mattina essendovi stato concorso grande di popolo al palazzo del cardinale Grimani, dove si distribuì al medesimo in copia grande ciambelle e vino, si portò S. Eminenza . . . alla chiesa dell'Anima, servito da' prelati milanesi Scotti, Erba, Archinto e Coiro e da numero grandissimo di carrozze de' signori forastieri . . . la chiesa dell'Anima, nell'entrare della quale il cardinale sudetto fu complimentato con rallegramenti dalla moglie di maestro Antonino, cortellinaro napoletano . . . che v'era con altre dame napoletane, il che diede molto da ridere. Fu di poi cantata da cento e più musici et istromenti la messa solenne, doppo la quale all'improviso si cantò solennissimo *Te Deum*. Ritornò indi con simile applauso per tutta la strada il cardinale al suo palazzo, dove il giorno doppo il pranzo furono distribuite sei botti di vino al popolo che vi concorse e la sera vi fu cantato bellissimo

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oratorio con lauti rinfreschi.

Rome, March 29, 1707

On Sunday evening [March 27] Cardinal Pamphilj had an oratorio sung in [the Oratorio of] the Chiesa Nuova. The words [were] his composition, and ten Most Eminent Cardinals with a great crowd of people favored it [by their attendance].

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546. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 783-84.

Rome, 29 marzo 1707

Nella Chiesa Nuova Domenica sera Il Sig.*nore* Card.*inal*e Pamfili*j* vi fece cantare un Oratorio le parole sua compositione,e vi furno à favorirlo dieci S.*ignori* Em.*inentissimi* con un concorso di
547
Popolo grandiss.*imo*[.]

Rome, April 5, 1707

Many noblemen here are holding social gatherings in the evening at which the singing of fine oratorios and the playing of *sinfonie*, for the most part by Arcangelo [Corelli] with his entire band, are heard. The newly-married Chigi couple are often having them heard with the Duchess, her female singers, and the entire Rospigliosi household in attendance. Another social gathering is being held often by Cardinal Pamphil*j*. Besides cantatas, there were fine literary discourses. The Princess of Valmontone with other ladies have attended, but because the said gathering given there was being attended by so many, His Eminence was not entirely satisfied [and] has ceased giving any more of them.

Roma, 5 aprile 1707

Si vanno facendo da più di q*ue*sti S.*ignori* la sera bone conversat.*ioni* ove vi si sentono cantare boni Oratori*j*, e sonare Zinfonie *per* lo più da Arcangelo, con tutto il suo concerto, spesso si sentono da S.*ignori* Sposi Chigi, ove v'interviene la Duchessa con le sue Canterine, e tutta la Casa Rospigliosi, Altra Conversat.*ione* spesso si fecevan dal S.*ignor*e Card.*inal*e Pamfili*j*, oltre le cantate, vi eran li discorsi di belle lettere, vi interveniva la *Princ*ipessa di Valmontone con altre dame, mà *per* venire troppo frequentare la detta Conversat.*ione* datali, che S.*a* Em.*inenz*a non vi haveva l'intera sodisfat.*ione* hà tralasciato di
548
più farla.

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547. *Ibid.*, fol. 26r.

548. *Ibid.*, fols. 27v-28r.

Rome, April 19, 1707

On that same Sunday evening [April 17] Cardinal Ottoboni had a fine oratorio sung at the usual place in the [Oratorio of the] Chiesa Nuova. The words [were] his composition. Cardinal Grimani went to hear it [and] was met by His Eminence [Ottoboni] at the staircase to accompany him to the *coretto*. Cardinal del Giudice arrived shortly thereafter and they spoke together, as likewise occurred at the arrival of Cardinal Acquaviva, who spoke at length with them. And at the beginning there was no little confusion among those who were there to hear the oratorio because of the great number of Germans who came. The crowd was contained tactfully by Cardinal Ottoboni's gentlemen and by the Fathers [of the Chiesa Nuova], and room was made for all. The said oratorio succeeded very well.

Roma, 19 aprile 1707

La sera med.*esim*a della Domenica, alla Chiesa Nuova nel solito luogo, Il S.*ignor*e Card.*inal*e Ottoboni vi fece Cantare un bono Oratorio la Composit.*ion*e delle parole sua, vi si portò à sentirlo Il Sig.*nor*e Card.*inal*e Grimani, quale da sua Em.*inenz*a fù ricev.*uto per* le scale da portarsi al Coretto, vi pervenne poco doppo Il S.*ignor*e Card.*inal*e del Giudice, si messero à discorrere à sieme, come anco vi arrivò l'Em.*inentissim*o Acquaviva, che fra loro fecero lungo discorso, e dove si stà a sentire al solito l'Oratorio vi fù nel primo non poca confusione *per* la moltiplicità de S.*ignori* Alemanni, che vi arrivorno, con bona maniera, e de med.*esimi* Padri, e Sig.*nori* Gentilomini del S.*ignor*e Card.*inal*e Ottoboni, Fù fattò ristringere la gente, e fù fatto dar luogo à tutti, Il d.*etto* Oratorio riuscì
549
buono, e bello.

Rome, April 26, 1707

The Marchese Ruspoli has had the Palazzo Bonelli, which he inhabits, appointed with fine

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549. *Ibid.*, fol. 32r-v.

furniture and much silver. In order to show it off, he had a fine oratorio sung on the evening of [Easter] Sunday, [April 24]. It was attended by ladies, prelates, and cavaliers who justly applauded the good taste which the said marchese displays in everything.

Roma, 26 aprile 1707

Il Sig.*nore* March.*ese* Ruspoli, hà accomodato con buoni mobili, e quantità d'Argenti Il Palazzo Bonelli, ove abita, *per* farlo vedere Domenica sera vi fece cantare un bon Oratorio, vi furno Dame, Prelati, e Cavalieri da quali fù dato il meritato applauso del buon gusto, che hà in tutto il d.*etto* S.*ignore* March.*ese*[.] [550]

7.9.1 Giovanni Battista Borri's Cantata *L'Abbiso di sapere*

A libretto in the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, entitled *L'Abbiso di sapere figurato nell'angelico dottore S. Tomas d'Aquino* almost certainly preserves the text of one of the cantatas sung at the *accademia* in the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva on March 17.[551] The librettist is identified as Cesare Bianchi and the composer as Giovanni Battista Borri.

7.9.2 Cardinal Benedetto Pamphilj's Oratorio *Il Figliuolo Prodigo*

Although the oratorio heard in Cardinal Grimani's palace

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550. *Ibid.*, fol. 34r.

551. Cairo and Quilic, *Biblioteca teatrale*, no. 5.

on March 19 cannot be identified with certainty, Francesco Valesio leaves no doubt that *Il Figliuolo Prodigo* was the work given in the Oratorio of the Chiesa Nuova on March 27:

> Sunday, March 27, 1707
>
> This evening in the Oratorio of the Chiesa Nuova Cardinal Pamphilj had an oratorio entitled *Il Figliuolo Prodigo*, the words of which were composed be His Eminence, sung by the finest singers in the city with an accompaniment of various instruments; and ten cardinals and the Catholic Ambassador [of Spain] attended.
>
> Domenica, 27 marzo 1707
>
> Il cardinale Panfilio questa sera nell' oratorio della Chiesa Nuova fece cantare da' migliori musici della città, con l'accompagnamento di varii istromenti, un oratorio composta da S. Eminenza intitolato *Il figliuolo prodigo* e v'intervennero diece cardinali e l'ambasciatore cattolico.[552]

Lina Montalto, relaying information reported by Guido Pasquetti,[553] attributes the music to Bastiano Nucci.[554]

7.9.3 Alessandro Scarlatti's Oratorio *Il Giardino di Rose*

Ursula Kirkendale has identified the oratorio heard under

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552. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 788.

553. Guido Pasquetti, *L'Oratorio musicale in Italia* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1914).

554. Montalto, *Una Mecenate in Roma barocca*, p. 538.

Ruspoli auspices in the Palazzo Bonelli on Easter Sunday, 1707, as Alessandro Scarlatti's *Il Giardino di Rose*.[555] *Filza* A 44 of the Ruspoli account books in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano contains a list of the Marchese's household expenses for the period April 9 - 30, 1707. The following three entries from this list refer to the oratorio:

12 Pag: al Sig.re Castrucci *per* una lista di copia di/musica d'un Oratorio *per* ord; e rivista da/Sua Ecc: Prone
--------- 4.45

[Bill]
In Carta Reale grande/Per copia delle Parti dell'/ Orat.io à 5 Con strom.ti/Prima e 2.a Parte cavate/Speranza f ------ 5/Religione f ------ 6/ Borea f ----- 5/Penitenza f ------ 7/Violetta f ------ 7/Violone o Contrabasso f ------ 10/In tutto fogli quarantatre -- 43. -- S 4--30/E più mezzo testone *per* la parte del/Sig.re Ignatio della sedicia S .15

4:30
-:15

In tutto somma 4.45
F M Ruspoli

19 A di 17 Aprile pag: a Cosmo Serio Copista di mu-/ sica come *per* lista app.ta da SE: ------ 6.20

[Bill]
Carità ------- f. 11
Concertino ------- f. 25
Concerto grosso
p.o e 2.o ------- f. 21
Oubue e flauti ------- f. 5

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555. Kirkendale, "The Ruspoli Documents on Handel," p. 229.

------- f. 62
S 6.20

A [?] D. Cosimo Copista -------
F M Ruspoli
Ho ricevuto dal Sig.re Angelo Valeri li sop. di/
scudi sei, e bac venti moneta hoggi. li 17.
Aprile 1707/Cosmo Serio

22 Pag. ad uno che contrafà la voce, e canto d'ucelli/
nella prova dell'Oratorio come per cord: di/SEP
-------- 60

Items twelve and nineteen show that the copyist Cosimo Serio was paid a total of ten *scudi* and sixty-five *baiocchi* for preparing the parts needed for the performance of a two-part oratorio. Sung by the five characters Hope, Religion, Boreas, Penitence, and Charity, it required flutes and oboes in addition to a string band divided into a *concertino* and a *concerto grosso*. Item twenty-two records the payment of sixty *baiocchi* to someone for imitating the sound of a bird during the performance of the oratorio. The fact that the parts were prepared immediately before this performance suggests to Ursula Kirkendale that *Il Giardino di rose* was a new work.[556] However, a score of the oratorio in the Santini collection,[557] probably of Ruspoli provenance, calls for two trumpets and a bassoon, and there is no record in the account books of these parts being

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556. *Ibid.*

557. D Müs, MS. 3861.

copied in 1707. Since Alessandro Scarlatti was in Venice or Urbino at this time and there is no record of a payment made to him, it seems more likely that the oratorio had already been premiered in Rome before 1707.

7.10 Serenatas at Rome during the Summer of 1707

The *avvisi di Roma* at Munich report the following performances of serenatas or cantatas during the summer of 1707:

> Rome, July 26, 1707
>
> The birthday of the Emperor Joseph is to be celebrated by Cardinal Grimani with a very sumptuous serenata to be sung this evening in the courtyard of his palace.
>
> Roma, 26 luglio 1707
>
> Questo Giorno natalitio dell' Imperat.ore Giosepp.e viene solennizato dal Sig.nore Card.inale Grimani, con una suntuosis.sima serenata da Cantarsi questa sera nel Cortile del suo Palazzo. [558]
>
> Rome, August 23, 1707
>
> Many serenatas were given last week. The most famous was in the courtyard of Prince Borghese's palace given for the Princess of Rossano.
>
> The Prior Vaini gave a social gathering on Wednesday evening [August 17] in his palace at San

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558. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 198, fol. 61v.

Pietro Montorio for ladies and gentlemen. Prince Don Livio [Odescalchi] was there. Besides a very sumptuous supper, there were cantatas and *sinfonie* by clarin trumpets and other instruments, and cantata [texts] were improvised by some fine poets. It ended with gambling, Madama di Scavolino and the said Prior Vaini having won a good number of ducats.

Roma, 23 agosto 1707

Sono state fatte più serenate nella passata settimana, la più famosa fù nel Cortile del Palazzo del Principe Borghese stata data alla Principessa di Rosano.

Il Priore Vaini mercoledi sera fece conversatione al suo Palazzo à San Pietro Montorio di Dame, e Sig.*nori* vi fù il Principe D. Livio, oltre una lautiss.*ima* Cena, vi furno Cantate, e sinfonie di Clarini, et altri strumenti, e Cantate di boni Poeti all' Improviso, il fine termino in bon gioco, li Vincitori furno Mad.*ama* di Scavolino, et il med.*esimo* Priore Vaini di buona
559
quantità di doppie.

To the above may be added the following extracts from Francesco Valesio's *Diario di Roma*:

Thursday, July 21. 1707

This evening Count Capuzucchi was driving about in a cabriolet accompanied by the Cochine, female singers of some fame, in order to present serenatas to some ladies related to him when Filippo Giuli, the tutor of the Contestabile Colonna's son, approached the said carriage out of simple curiosity near the Corvi's butcher shop to see the said ladies; and the count, taking this as an insult, had his lackey wound him with several sword blows. Later, having been informed that he was presently employed in the Colonna household, [Count Capuzucchi] went that same evening with his brother the Marchese Ruspoli to make his apologies

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559. *Ibid.*, fol. 68r-v.

to the Contestabile Colonna for this transgression, assuring him that he had not recognized the wounded man as one of His Excellency's gentlemen. And the Contestabile generously accepted this apology.

Giovedi, 21 luglio 1707

Questa sera il conte Capuzucchi, conducendo in un sterzo le Cochine, cantarine di qualche grido, per far serenate ad alcune dame sue parenti appresso Macello de' Corvi, Filippo Giulii, aio del figliolo del contestabile Colonna, si accostò alla detta carrozza per mera curiosità di vedere dette donne et il conte, piccatosi, lo fece con diversi tagli ferire dal suo lacchè; avvedutosi di poi essere questo servitore attuale della casa Colonna, si portò la stessa sera col marchese Ruspoli suo fratello al contestabile Colonna per passare scusa del trascorso, asserendo di non havere riconosciuto il ferito per gentilhuomo di S. Eccellenza, et il contestabile generosamente accettò tale scusa.[560]

Monday, July 25, 1707

Count Capuzucchi has taken refuge in the Convent of S. Maria in Campitelli, and the singers [named] Cochine have been imprisoned for the said case which resulted in the wounding of the Contestabile Colonna's gentleman.

Lunedi, 25 luglio 1707

Si è ritirato nel convento di S. Maria in Campitelli il conte Capozucchi e sono state carcerate le Cochine cantarine per il scritto caso delle ferite date al gentilhuomo del contestabile Colonna.[561]

Tuesday, July 26, 1707

This evening a very beautiful serenata was given by various German and English cavaliers for

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560. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 853.

561. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 855.

the birthday of the Emperor in the courtyard of the Palazzo Riario alla Lungara where Cardinal Grimani lives. [The text] was written by the Abbate [Giacomo] Buonaccorsi; and having been repeated afterwards in the Piazza di S. Maria in Campitelli in front of Monsignor Caunitz' palace, it ended at three hours of night.

Martedi, 26 luglio 1707

La sera nel cortile del palazzo Riarii alla Longara, dove habita il cardinale Grimani, da varii cavalieri tedeschi et inglesi si fece una bellissima serenata per il giorno natalizio dell'imperatore, composizione dell'abbate Buonaccorsi, e terminò alle 3 hore della notte, havendola poi replicata nella piazza di S. Maria in Campitelli avanti il palazzo di monsignor di Cauniz.[562]

Although none of the serenatas mentioned above can be identified with certainty, Ursula Kirkendale has shown that a large "Cantata a tre con Violini" was composed for the Marchese Ruspoli sometime before October 14, 1707. Kirkendale identifies the work in all likelihood as Handel's cantata which begins "Cor fedel."[563] The dimensions of this cantata and the fact that it was probably composed during the summer suggest that it may have been conceived as a serenata.

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562. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 855-56.

563. Kirkendale, "The Ruspoli Documents on Handel," p. 230.

7.11 Rome during the Fall of 1707

Between the end of September and early November, 1707, Alessandro Scarlatti had probably returned to Rome from Urbino. The *avvisi di Roma* in Munich report an oratorio heard on November 22 under the auspices of Cardinal Ottoboni, but the work remains unidentified:

> Rome, November 22, 1707
>
> This evening for the celebration of the feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin at the Temple, which was yesterday [November 21], and for the feast of Saint Cecilia [November 22], the protectress of musicians, Cardinal Ottoboni is having an oratorio sung with all solemnity in the Oratorio of the Most Reverend Fathers of the Chiesa Nuova; and he stayed for supper with the said fathers.
>
> Roma, 22 novembre 1707
>
> Questa sera *per* solennizare la festa della Presentat.*ione* della Beatiss.*ima* Vergine al Tempio, che fù ieri, e *per* la festa di S. Cecilia Protettrice de musici, Il Sig.*nora* Card.*inale* Ottoboni fà cantare con tutta solennità un' Oratorio, nell' Oratorio de Rev.*erendissimi* Padri nella Chiesa Nuova, e resta à cena con li med.*esimi* sud.*detti* Padri[.] [564]

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564. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 198, fol. 95r.

7.12 The Roman Carnival and Lenten Season of 1708

As mentioned above, a ban on public theatrical performances had been in effect at Rome since 1703. The *Gazette de France* records that this ban was again imposed in 1708:

> Rome, January 20, 1708
>
> The Pope has had an edict published in which all sorts of carnival entertainments are banned and punished by [service in] the galleys. This ban includes masquerades, comedies, and even tragedies on devotional subjects, His Holiness exhorting [Christians] to appease the wrath of God by good works during the present troubles [afflicting] all Christianity. (February 18, 1708)
>
> De Rome, le 20 Janvier 1708
>
> Le Pape a fait publier un Edit, par lequel il defend sous peine des Galeres, toutes sortes de divertissements du Carnival. Dans cette defense, sont comprises les Masquerades, les Comedies & mesme les Tragedies sur des sujets pieux, Sa Sainteté exhortant à appaiser la colere de Dieu par de bonnes oeuvres dans les malheurs presents de toute la Chrestienté. (18 Fevrier 1708)

During the previous carnival seasons operatic performances on the Venetian model were, of course, out of the question. A number of discreet private performances, however, had been tolerated, and before 1708 the ban had been circumvented by much of the Roman aristocracy. The *Gazette de France* shows that in 1708 this was not the case:

Rome, February 18, 1708

The Pope, having discovered that despite the repeated bans on all sorts of carnival entertainments a comedy was given in someone's garden within the walls of the city, has decided to make an example in this case. He has therefore ordered that the master of the house be exiled from the State of the Church. The Marchese Maccarani and the son of Duke Lanti, who were invited to the spectacle, have received orders to leave Rome. The Contestabile Colonna, his wife, the sons of Prince Pamphilj, Don Titta Giustiniani, and several others are under house arrest. Several persons of quality who found themselves present there have gone to the countryside to avoid a like punishment. The actors and several servants have been imprisoned. (March 17, 1708)

Rome, February 25, 1708

The Pope has ordered all the noble lords under house arrest, who despite the bans attended a comedy, to pay one hundred *scudi* each, and the others fifty, which is to be used to make a silver lamp which will be placed in the Church of S. Maria in Aracoeli where after the earthquake [of 1703] the Roman people made a solemn vow to abstain for five years from all carnival entertainments. At the same time His Holiness has prolonged the terms of this vow for a year because of Italy's present afflictions. (March 24, 1708)

De Rome, le 18 Fevrier 1708

Le Pape ayant sceu que nonobstant les défenses rëiterées de toutes sortes de divertissements du Carnaval, il s'estoit fait une Comedie dans la vigne d'un particulier, dans l'enceinte de cette Ville, a jugé à propos d'en faire example. Il a donc ordonné que le maistre de la maison seroit exilé de l'Estat Ecclesiastique. Le Marquis Macarani & le fils di Duc Lanti qui avoient esté invitez à ce spectacle, ont receu ordre de sortir de Rome. Le Connestable Colonne, & la Connestable, les fils du Prince Pamphile, Don Titta Giustiniani & plusieurs autres, ont leurs maisons pour prison. Plusieurs persones de

qualité qui s'y estoient trouvées, sont allées à la campagne pour éviter un pareil chastiment. Les Comediens & plusieurs serviteurs ont esté emprisonnez. (17 Mars 1708)

De Rome, le 25 Fevrier 1708

Le Pape a ordonné que tous les Seigneurs titrez qui avoient leur maison pour prison, à cause que nonobstant ses defenses ils avoient assisté à une Comedie, payeroient cent escus chacun, & les autres cinquante, qui seroient employez à faire une lampe d'argent qui seroit mise dans l'Eglise d'*Ara celi*, où aprés le tremblement de terre, le peuple Romain, avoit fait un voeu solennel de s'abstenir pendant cinq ans de tous les divertissements du Carnaval. En mesme temps Sa Sainteté a prolongé le terme de ce voeu pour un an, à cause des maux presents de l'Italie. (24 Mars 1708)

According to an account of this incident in the *avvisi di Roma* at Munich, the work in question was heard in the "Casino Barberini alla Vittoria" on Saturday, February 18, 1708.[565] Here it is called a "Burletta di Commedia," and although it is not clear if this refers to an opera or a spoken play, it is certain that music played a role in the performance. Some of the "Comici, e sonatori" who gave the piece are reported having fled to Florence. The work in question, however, remains unidentified.

If most secular entertainment and even the sacred tragedies customarily acted by students during carnival were banned, the performance of oratorios during carnival and

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565. *Ibid.*, fol. 111r. *Cf.* Kirkendale, *Caldara*, p. 48.

into Lent of 1708 was tolerated in Rome. An entry in Valesio's *Diario* dated February 8, 1708, reports Cardinal Ottoboni inaugurating a series of Wednesday evening concerts in his domestic theater.[566] This news is confirmed in the *avvisi di Roma* at Munich, which record a performance in Ottoboni's theater in the Cancelleria as early as Wednesday, January 23, 1708:

> Rome, January 31, 1708
>
> . . . as he has done in the past, Cardinal Ottoboni has had erected in his palace a small but well-furnished theater, all newly rebuilt with moveable scenery and good perspective in accordance with his good taste, for the recreation of his dependents. Hearing of the ban even on comedies, he has devised a means by which the said theater not remain entirely unused. He has often had oratorios of his composition sung in it, one of which was heard with the harmonious sounds of many instruments sung by his fine singers on Wednesday evening [January 23] to much applause by a large audience including five cardinals, Donna Bernardina with other ladies, Don Oratio with his sons, prelates, and gentlemen, to whom were dispensed abundant refreshments and sweets of every kind with His Eminence's usual generosity.
>
> Roma, 31 gennaio 1708
>
> . . . dal Sig.*nore* Card.*inale* Ottoboni si era fatto preparare nel suo Palazzo, un Piccolo, mà ben' accomodato Teatro, tutto fatto fabricare di nuovo con mutationi di scene, e bone prospettive secondo il suo buon gusto da servire per Divertimento per suoi dependenti, come ha fatto per il passato. Sentito la proibitione anco per le Comedie; pensato per non tenere per affatto disoccupato il d.etto Teatro, vi fù spesso cantare

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566. Valesio, *Diario*, IV, 26.

> Oratori sua compositioni; Uno de quali ne fù sentito, con Armoniosi suoni di Varij strumenti, cantare da suoi boni Virtuosi mercoledi sera molto applaudito da numerosa Udineza da cinque Sig.*nori* Em.*inentisimi*, la S.*ignora* D. Bernardina con altre dame, Il S.*ignore* D. Oratio con li figli, e Prelati, e Sig.*nori*, con esservi stati dispensati abondantiss.*imi* rinfreschi, e dolci d'ogni genere, con la solita generosita di S.*ua* Em.*inenza*[.][567]

This series of oratorios, performed in a theater newly constructed by Filippo Juvarra, continued through the very end of Lent.[568] In addition to these concerts, Cardinal Ottoboni also sponsored a series of performances in the Oratorio of the Chiesa Nuova during Lent of 1708. Rome was also treated to a series of oratorios during Lent given under the patronage of the Marchese Ruspoli in the Palazzo Bonelli. Ursula Kirkendale suggests that Ottoboni and Ruspoli must have planned their respective concerts cooperatively since Ottoboni's series culminated in the performance of Alessandro Scarlatti's *Passione del Nostro Signor Giesù Cristo* in the Cancelleria on Wednesday of Holy Week, April 4, followed by Handel's *La Resurrezione* in Ruspoli's residence, the Palazzo Bonelli, on Easter Sunday and Monday, April 8 and 9. Kirkendale sees in this a

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567. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 198, fol. 105r.

568. Kirkendale, *Caldara*, pp. 39, 150.

revival, if for only one year, of the medieval cyclical conception of Passion play followed by Easter play.[569]

Concerning the oratorios heard during carnival and Lent of 1708, the *avvisi di Roma* in Munich report the following:

> Rome, February 21, 1708
>
> Cardinal Ottoboni had planned to have the oratorio entitled *Il Figliolo Prodigo* sung on Wednesday evening [February 15] in the theater in his palace. The Signora D. Maria Bernardina was authorized to invite the ladies of her liking [to it] . . . the oratorio was sung with three cardinals and other gentlemen in attendance, [and] of the ladies, Sister Giustiniani with another lady previously invited by His Eminence were there.
>
> Roma, 21 febbraio 1708
>
> Haveva premeditato Il Sig.*nore* Card.*inale* Ottoboni far cantare nel Teatro del suo Palazzo l'Oratorio intitolato il figliolo Prodigo per mercoledi sera, con haver data piena autorità alla Sig.*nora* D. Maria Bernardina di fare l'Invito alle Dame di sua satisfat.*ione* . . . l'Oratorio fù fatto cantare, di Dame vi fù la sora Giustiniani con un'altra Dama già fatte invitare da S.ua" Em.*inenza*, vi furno tre Em.*inentissimi*, et altri S.*ignori*[.][570]
>
> Rome, February 28, 1708
>
> That same evening [Ash Wednesday, February 22] Cardinal Ottoboni had the oratorio entitled *Il Sacrificio di Abramo* sung in the usual place in his palace. The words by the lawyer Giacomo Buonaccorsi [and] the music by Bencini were justly applauded by the noble audience of seven

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569. Kirkendale, "The Ruspoli Documents on Handel," p. 238.

570. D Mbs. Cod. Ital. 198, fol. 111r-v.

cardinals, many prelates, and nobles.

Roma, 28 febbraio 1708

La med.*esi*ma sera dal Sig.*nor*e Card.*inal*e Ottoboni nel solito posto nel suo Palazzo fece cantare un'Oratorio intitolato Il Sacrificio di Abramo, le parole dell'Avocato Giacomo Bonaccorsi, la musica del Bencini, ricavatone li dovenosi applausi dalla nobile Udienza di sette Sig.*nor*i Em.*inentissi*mi, quantità di Prelati, e
571
Nobiltà[.]

Rome, March 6, 1708

In the Oratorio of the Fathers of the Chiesa Nuova Cardinal Ottoboni had an oratorio of his entitled *La Morte di Santa Cecilia* [recte, *Il Martirio di Santa Cecilia*] sung by good vocalists. Five cardinals favored it [by their attendance] in the customary *coretto*, and there was a very large crowd of people, some of whom took their places before twenty hours.

Roma, 6 marzo 1708

Nell'Oratorio de Padri della Chiesa Nuova Il Sig.*nor*e Card.*inal*e Ottoboni da buoni musici vi fece cantare un suo Oratorio intitolato la morte di Santa Cecilia vi furno à favorirlo nel solito coretto cinque Sig.*nor*i Em.*inentissi*mi, e vi fù un concorso grandiss.*imo* di popolo alcuni avanti le
572
ore venti si portorno posto.

Rome, April 17, 1708

Fine oratorios are being heard under the auspices of the Marchese Ruspoli, the music for the most part by the talented Saxon [*i.e.*, George Frederick Handel]. [In the] last one he had a female vocalist whom he keeps in his house sing. Cardinal Paoluccio had him summoned [and] expressed [the Pope's] displeasure with his having had females sing on stage in his house. And he

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571. *Ibid.*, fol. 113r.

572. *Ibid.*, fol. 115v.

was ordered to desist without any further repeat performances, and the singer was banned from singing in public places under threat of exile.

Roma, 17 aprile 1708

Dal March.ese Ruspoli si sono sentiti buoni Oratori *per* lo più la compositione della musica del Virtuoso Sassoné. Ultimam.*ente* vi fece cantare una sua Canterina che tiene in Casa; fù fatto chiamare dall' Em.*inentissi*mo Paolucci; Che li rappresento venir' non [?] poco gusto inteso, che facessi cantare in sua Casa,e con palchi Canterina non potessi cantare in luoghi publici pena la frusta, con l'Esilio.[573]

7.12.1 A Chronology of Oratorios at Rome during 1708

Although probably incomplete, the following chronology of oratorios heard during the Roman carnival and Lent of 1708 can be established:

I.

January 23, Cancelleria
Unidentified oratorio[574]

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573. *Ibid.*, fol. 127v. *Cf.* Rudolf Ewerhart, "New Sources for Handel's *La Resurrezione*," *Music and Letters* XLI (1960), 128, and Kirkendale, "The Ruspoli Documents on Handel," p. 231.

574. Perhaps Filippo Amadei's setting of *Abelle*, a libretto of which is listed by Cairo and Quilic, *Biblioteca teatrale*, no. 4.

II.

February 15, Cancelleria 575
April 1, Oratorio of the Chiesa Nuova
Il Figliolo Prodigo
Music: Carlo Francesco Cesarini
Text: Cardinal Benedetto Pamphilj

III.

February 22, Cancelleria
Il Sacrificio di Abramo
Music: Pietro Paolo Bencini
Text: Giacomo Buonaccorsi

IV.

576
Lent, Cancelleria
Il Martirio di Santa Caterina
Music: Antonio Caldara
Text: Francesco Forzoni Accolti

V.

577
February 26, Palazzo Bonelli
Il Giardino di Rose (La Santissima Vergina del Rosario)
Music: Alessandro Scarlatti

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575. Kirkendale, *Caldara*, p. 40.

576. *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 116.

577. *Ibid.*, p. 40; *ibid.*, "The Ruspoli Documents on Handel," pp. 231, 255.

VI.

Before March 6, Oratorio of the Chiesa Nuova
Il Martirio di Santa Cecilia
Music: Alessandro Scarlatti
Text: Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni

VII.

578

March 11, Palazzo Bonelli
Unidentified oratorio

VIII.

579

March 18, Palazzo Bonelli
Oratorio per San Clemente

IX.

580

March 25, Palazzo Bonelli
La Santissima Annunziata
Music: Alessandro Scarlatti

X.

April 4, Cancelleria
Oratorio per la Passione di Nostro Signore Gesù Cristo
Music: Alessandro Scarlatti
Text: Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni

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578. *Ibid.*, *Caldara*, p. 40.

579. *Ibid.*

580. *Ibid.*

XI.

April 8 and 9, Palazzo Bonelli
La Resurrezione
Music: George Frederick Handel
Text: Carlo Sigismondo Capeci

7.13 Music at Rome during the Summer of 1708

In addition to the oratorios reported during carnival and Lent, the *avvisi di Roma* mention as follows the performance of one as late as June 25 in honor of the visiting Field Marshal Philip, Prince von Hessen-Darmstadt:

> Rome, June 26, 1708
>
> An oratorio sung by three of the best voices of the city and accompanied by a consort of forty instruments was given on Monday evening [June 25] by Cardinal Grimani for Prince Darmstadt, who is lodging in His Eminence's palace.
>
> Roma, 26 giugno 1708
>
> Il Principe Dalmistate, che stà allogiato nel Palazzo del Em.*inentissimo* Grimani da S.*ua* Em.*inenza* lunedi sera li fù fatto sentire un Oratorio cantato da tre migliori musici della Città accompagnato da un Concerto di quaranta strumenti.[581]

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581. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 198, fol. 149r.

Normally the entertainment of a visiting dignitary would have called for the performance of a serenata or large occasional cantata, especially during the months of summer. The use of the term "oratorio" in the above account may therefore have been an error or hasty assumption on the part of the anonymous writer of the *avviso*. The work which Cardinal Grimani had performed on this occasion remains unidentified.

7.13.1 Anastasio Lingua's Serenata *Le Corone amorose*

Alberto Cametti reports the existence of a libretto entitled *Le Corone amorose* in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.[582] Written by Carlo Sigismondo Capeci in praise of Queen Maria Casimira's son, Alexander Sobieski, the libretto was dedicated to the Queen and printed by Antonio de' Rossi in Rome in 1708. It preserves the text of a "Serenata a 3 voci" set to music by Anastasio Lingua and sung by the characters Silvia, Clori, and Amore at the Queen's residence, the Palazzo Zuccari at the Trinità dei Monti, on July 10, 1708. Evidently, the date ascribed to this performance was discovered by Cametti

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582. Cametti, Alberto, "Carlo Sigismondo Capeci (1652-1728) Alessandro e Domenico Scarlatti e la Regina di Polonia in Roma," *Musica d'oggi* XIII (1931), p. 59.

in the *Diario di Roma* of Francesco Valesio, who writes:

> Tuesday, July 10, 1708
>
> This evening the Queen [of Poland] gave a cantata at the Trinità dei Monti with a great crowd of people.
>
> Martedi, 10 luglio 1708
>
> Ha questa sera la regina alla Trinità de' monti fatta una cantata con gran concorso di popolo.[583]

Valesio also reports that on the following evening, July 11, the Queen again presented

> . . .a serenata in her casino with a very great crowd of people at the Trinità dei Monti . . .
>
> . . . una serenata nel suo casino con grandissimo concorso di popolo alla Trinità de' Monti . . .[584]

In addition to the performances given on July 10 and 11 by the Queen, her son is reported in the *avvisi di Roma* sponsoring the performance of a serenata a week later:

> Rome, July 17, 1708
>
> On Monday night [July 17] Prince Alexander, the son of [Maria Casimira] the Queen of Poland, had a serenata sung at the usual place at the Trinità dei Monti . . .

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583. Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, IV, 110.

584. *Ibid.*, IV, 111.

Roma, 17 luglio 1708

Dal Princ*i*pe Aless.*andr*o figlio della Regina di Polonia mercoledi notte nel solito posto alla Trinità de monti fù fatta cantare una Serenata . . [585]

.

Le Corone amorose was in all likelihood heard on one of these occasions, but its precise date of performance remains in doubt.

For the remainder of the summer of 1708 the *avvisi di Roma* in Munich report only one other event of musicological interest:

Rome, July 17, 1708

On Monday [July 16] Cardinal Colonna had the festival of the Madonna of Carmel [586] celebrated in [the Church of Santa Maria di] Montesanto with a very fine concert by the best voices of the city and a large number of various instruments at which new *sinfonie* by Arcangelo [Corelli] were heard; and for two evenings in the surrounding district there have been illuminations and fireworks with a very great crowd.

Roma, 17 luglio 1708

Per la festa della Madonna del Carmine lunedi fù fatta solennizare dall'Em.*inentissi*mo Colonna à Monte Santo con buoniss.*ima* Musica de migliori musici della Città e quantità di Varij Istrumenti, ove furno sentite nuove Zinfonie di Arcangelo, e

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585. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 198, fol. 155r-v.

586. *Cf.* page 508 above.

per due sere per le quelle Contrade vi sono state luminarie, e fuochi con grandiss.imo
587
Concorso[.]

7.13.2 George Frederick Handel's Cantata *Il Tebro*

In July of 1707 Habsburg forces captured Naples from the Bourbon viceregal government, and by the summer of 1708 the Imperial army clearly had the upper hand in Italy. On May 4, 1708, Austrian forces invaded the territory of Comacchio, which since 1598 had formed a part of the Papal State. Yet despite the ominous military situation in Italy, Pope Clement XI stubbornly refused to recognize the Habsburg claimant Charles III as King of Spain. During the summer of 1708 fears ran high at Rome that a German army might sack the Eternal City for the second time since the close of the Middle Ages.

With well calculated patriotic zeal the Marchese Ruspoli volunteered to raise a troop of twelve hundred men in defense of the Papal State, concerning which the *avvisi di Roma* at Munich report the following:

> Rome, July 10, 1708
>
> The Marchese Ruspoli's offer to equip a regiment at his expense has been accepted. He has had the rank of colonel conferred upon his eldest son . . .

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587. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 198, fol. 156r.

Roma, 10 luglio 1708

> Fù accetata l'Offerta fattasi dal March.ese Ruspoli di mettere in piede à sue spese un Reggimento, Il posto di Colonello lo ha fatto[588] mettere in Testa al Figlio primo genito . . .

Certainly Rome was not the happiest of places during the summer of 1708, yet Ursula Kirkendale has shown that precisely these distressing conditions gave rise to a brilliant musical event.[589] To mark the transformation of his family from Arcadian shepherds to martial heros, the Marchese Ruspoli presented a concert on Sunday, September 9, 1708, at which Handel's newly-composed cantata for three voices and instruments *Il Tebro* was heard. Whether the work was given indoors or out, during the day or the evening, is unknown.[590] The dimensions and instrumentation of *Il Tebro*, however, closely resemble the sort of work customarily performed as a serenata in Rome. And as was the case with many serenatas, the important members of the audience who witnessed the performance of *Il Tebro* were regaled with a printed libretto.

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588. *Ibid.*, fol. 153r.

589. Kirkendale, "The Ruspoli Documents on Handel," p. 242.

590. The events of September 9 are recorded in Valesio, *Diario*, IV, 150-51, but the performance of the cantata is not mentioned.

7.13.3 *La Vittoria della Fede*, an Oratorio Attributed to Alessandro Scarlatti

On the evening of September 12, 1708, Queen Maria Casimira had a work entitled *La Vittoria della Fede* sung by the three allegorical figures Faith, Victory, and Night at the Palazzo Zuccari, her residence near the Trinità dei Monti. The text of the work was distributed in a libretto of eleven pages entitled:

> LA VITTORIA/DELLA FEDE/*Componimento per Musica*/DI CARLO SIGISMONDO CAPECI/*Fatto Cantare nel Palazzo*/DELLA REGINA/DI POLONIA/*La Sera delli 12. Settembre 1708.*/[the Queen's coat of arms]/In ROMA, Per Antonio de' Rossi alla Piazza di Ceri./*Con licenza de' Superiori.*[591]

Alberto Cametti names Alessandro Scarlatti as the composer of this work, but the basis of this attribution remains a mystery.[592] No score of *La Vittoria della Fede* is known, and the libretto names no composer. Francesco Valesio's *Diario di Roma*, cited by Cametti in connection with other works mentioned in his article, merely reports

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591. I Rvat, Miscell. A.33(int. 3).

592. Cametti, "Carlo Sigismondo Capeci," p. 59.

the following:

> Wednesday, September 12, 1708
>
> This evening the Queen of Poland held an extraordinary festival at the little church of her monastery, having also illuminated the Trinità dei Monti with wooden candelabras placed around pictures commemorating the liberation of Vienna, in which her husband Jan [Sobieski] played such a [decisive] role.
>
> Mercoledi, 12 settembre 1708
>
> Fece questa sera la regina di Polonia festa straordinaria alla piccola chiesa del suo monastero, havendo anco illuminato il monte della Trinità con candelabri di legno, contornato di dipinti in memoria della liberazione di Vienna, nella quale hebbe tanta parte il re Giovanni suo marito.[593]

Although no real evidence that Alessandro Scarlatti set this work to music has come to light, *La Vittoria della Fede* is listed as an oratorio in all recent work lists for the composer. Even the proper generic classification of this work, however, remains in doubt, and Ralph Kirkpatrick is not without some justification when he writes of it as a "serenade."[594] *La Vittoria della Fede* well illustrates the many similarities observed between the serenata and the oratorio of the late Italian Baroque.

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593. Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, IV, 153.

594. Kirkpatrick, *Domenico Scarlatti*, p. 46.

As can be seen in the following summary of its text, *La Vittori della fede* is on the one hand a pious work of devotional character containing numerous references to the Christian faith and to the Catholic Church. On the other hand, Jan Sobieski's role in the Christian victory over the Turks at the siege of Vienna in 1683 is clearly the occasion commemorated:

Recit., Night and Faith:
Night wishes to know who dares illuminate her shadows. Faith and Victory have arrived with torches.

Duet, Victory and Faith:
Now that Night has robbed the glory and light from this day, made illustrious by Victory and Faith.

Recit., Night: Night would also like to see the surrounding hill covered with more torches than stars in heaven.

Aria, Night: So many lights are gathered on this fine evening that the moon [Islam] cannot rise and has fled in defeat.

Recit., Victory and Faith:
Victory and Faith make reference to the bloody sacrifices made in defense of the vacillating empire and to the loss of Maria Casimira's throne.

Aria, Faith: Just as the ancient snake was crushed, the wrath of the godless enemy was broken and tamed.

Recit., Victory:
It was Maria who induced Victory to take the Christian side in battle.

Aria, Victory: Victory took the field in the name of Maria, armed with thunder and lightning.

Recit., Night and Victory:

> But who assisted Maria in her victory over the Turks? It was the invincible Giovanni [Jan Sobieski] who won the day. Etc. . .

The remaining four arias, three recitatives, and final trio continue in a like manner, the text alluding to the paintings of the Virgin on display that evening at the Trinità dei Monti and to the mottos which they evidently bore, such as *In questa Imago Vincerai Giovanni* and *Giovanni in Questa Imago è Vincitore*. The text of *La Vittoria della Fede* abounds in references to the former Pope Innocent XI and to Maria, who can sometimes be construed as Queen Maria Casimira as well as the Virgin. Indeed, few works better illustrate the lack of distinction between the spheres of the sacred and the secular at Rome in this period. Whether an oratorio or a serenata, the composer of *La Vittoria della Fede* remains to be identified, and for this reason it is not listed in this study among the works of Alessandro Scarlatti.

The last known reference to a serenata at Rome in 1708 is found in Francesco Valesio's *Diario di Roma* where it is reported:

> Thursday, November 29, 1708
>
> A salvo of mortars was heard at three hours, and it was at the Portuguese envoy's palace at San Carlo ai Catinari in which a serenata was given because he bears the name Andrea.

Giovedi, 29 novembre 1708

Si udì alle 3 hore uno sbaro di mortaletti et era al palazzo dell'inviato di Portogallo appreso S. Carlo a' Catinari, in cui si fece una serenata per haver egli il nome di Andrea.[595]

The evening of November 29, 1708, was the vigil of the feast of the Apostle Saint Andrew, and this serenata was evidently heard at the nameday celebration for Don Andrea de Melo de Castro, a Portuguese diplomat who in 1721 sponsored the performance of Alessandro Scarlatti serenata *La Virtù negli amori*. Nothing specific, however, is known about the serenata given in his honor in 1708.

Around the end of 1708 Alessandro Scarlatti's career entered a new phase. In July of that year Cardinal Vincenzo Grimani took command of Naples as the third Habsburg Viceroy since the conquest of the Kingdom in 1707. With a document dated December 1, 1708, Grimani reappointed Scarlatti to his former post as master of the Royal Chapel.[596] After the long period of financial insecurity which began with the composer's estrangement from the Spanish Bourbon regime at Naples in 1702, Scarlatti could again console himself with a

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595. Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, IV, 197.

596. Prota-Giurleo, "Breve storia," p. 86. *Cf.* Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti*, p. 116, where this document is evidently misinterpreted.

position worthy of his talents and a regular monthly income of forty-two ducats.[597]

7.14 A Summary of Alessandro Scarlatti's Serenatas for the Period 1702-1708

The precise number of serenatas composed by Alessandro Scarlatti during the period 1702-1708 remains in doubt. If *Venere e Adone; Il Giardino di Amore* is considered a Neapolitan work from the previous period, seven serenatas from this period are extant in score:

1. *Endimione e Cintia* Rome, 1705
2. *Zeffiro e Clori; Flora pellegrina* Rome, September 14, 1705
3. *Amore e Virtù ossia il Trionfo della Virtù* Rome, 1706
4. *Fileno, Nisc e Doralbo; Serenata a Filli* Rome, 1706
5. *Sole, Urania e Clio* 1706
6. *Venere, Amore e Ragione; Il Ballo delle Ninfe* Rome, 1706

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597. Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti*, pp. 116-17.

7. *Cupido ed Onestà* Rome, September 1706

The dates listed above, with the exception of that for *Zeffiro e Clori; Flora pellegrina*, are found on the title pages of the scores. There is a distinct possibility that they refer to the date when the score was copied rather than to the date of composition or first performance. Nevertheless, it appears unlikely that this list includes the score of the serenata heard in the Palazzo di Spagna on October 4, 1703, or that of the serenata given by Cardinal Ottoboni for Queen Maria Casimira on August 9, 1703. Thus Alessandro Scarlatti probably composed at least two serenatas in addition to those listed above during this period. Whether or not he wrote any while in Venice or Urbino remains unknown. The many anonymous serenatas heard in Rome during these years suggest that Alessandro Scarlatti may have composed others which have left little if any trace.

Chapter 8

Rome and Naples Following the Austrian Conquest of the Kingdom: 1708 through 1709

8.i Pro-Habsburg Musical Demonstrations in Naples during 1708

In July of 1707 the Bourbon viceregal regime was driven from Naples by Austrian forces under the command of Field Marshal Count Wirrick Daun. The musical life of the capital, however, appears to have returned to a familiar pattern soon after the Habsburg conquest of the Kingdom. As before the conquest, the namedays and birthdays of the reigning monarchs were celebrated with conspicuous musical entertainments. The festivities for Philip V of Bourbon, however, were replaced by those honoring the Emperor Joseph I and his younger brother Charles III, the Habsburg claimant

to the throne of Spain. The following extracts from the *Gazzetta di Napoli*[598] record the celebrations in 1708. They show that during the first year of the Austrian domination the birthdays of Joseph (July 26) and of Charles (October 1), as well as Joseph's nameday (March 19), were marked by the performances of serenatas in Naples. Charles' nameday (November 4) was commemorated with the performance of an opera.

8.1.1 Francesco Mancini's Serenata *Il Giorno Eterno*

Naples, March 20, 1708

> . . . His Excellency [the Viceroy Count Daun] having received in the Palace the joyous congratulations [expressed] by the same [judges, military officers, and noblemen] for the nameday of the Most August Emperor Joseph I . . . last night [March 19] in the Royal Palace with the flower of the ladies and cavaliers attending in the richest of gala, he had a most noble, allusive serenata entitled *Il Giorno Eterno* sung by five very choice voices who represented Time, the Bosporus, the Sun, Venus, and the Moon. Proving most praiseworthy, it was written by the learned and very accomplished pen of the Abbate Giuvo and set to music most excellently by [Francesco] Mancini, the master of the Royal Chapel of Naples . . .

Napoli 20. Marzo 1708

> . . . avendo S.E. ricevuto in Palazzo da tutti di medesimi [Ministri de' Tribunali, Capi Militari, e Nobiltà], le giolive congratulazioni, per il Nome, che ne porta l'Augustissimo

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598. Presso Dom. Ant. Parrino, e Camillo Cavallo.

Imperadore Giuseppe Primo . . . fè cantare jeri sera nel Real Palazzo, coll' intervento del fiore di tutte le Dame, e Cavalieri in ricchissima gala una allusiva, nobiliss. Serenata, intitolata: *Il Giorno Eterno*, à 5. sceltissime voci, che rappresentavano il *Tempo, Bosforo*, il *Sole, Espero*, e la *Luna*, composta dalla penna erudita del virtuosiss. Abbate Giuvo; posta eccellentemente in Musica dal Mancini Maestro della Regal Cappella di Napoli, riuscendo plausibilissima . . .

8.1.2 An Unidentified Serenata Sung by *Glory, Fortune, Time,* and *Valor* for the Birthday of Joseph I.

Naples, July 31, 1708

On Thursday the twenty-sixth of this month the festival of the glorious Saint Anne (upon which is commemorated the most happy birthday of the Most August Emperor Joseph I) was celebrated by His Eminence our Viceroy Cardinal Grimani with the greatest and most magnificent expressions of joy. That morning all the nobility went in gala to the Royal Palace to congratulate His Eminence, who held public chapel there with them, his ministers and the military officers in attendance. The customary squadron answered with their muskets the salvo fired by the cannons of our fortresses. Then His Eminence gave a sumptuous and very splendid meal for His Highness the Prince of [Hessen-]Darmstadt and other officers and military officials. That evening the commoners, who had gathered in great numbers, sacked six high pyramids erected in front of the said Royal Palace which were loaded beyond measure with fowl, bellowing quadrupeds, a variety of cheeses, salted meat, and all the most desirable foodstuffs, no one failing to quench his thirst with the exquisite wine which flowed until nightfall from two well-built fountains at the side of the said pyramids which well deserved the common appellation *cuccagna*. His Eminence having entered the great hall called "of the Viceroys" in the Royal Palace that night, a noble, allusive serenata with instruments was sung in excellently measured harmony by very select voices who

represented Glory, Fortune, Time, and Valor. At the summit of the theatrical machine upon which this performance took place, His Imperial Majesty's name was written beneath a crown of laurel held up by two figures representing Virtue. And lower the glorious portrait of the Emperor was displayed on the breast of the Imperial eagle seated on a globe encircled with eternal laurel with two figures of Fame at the sides. And because of its size, construction, the number of statues, and the many lights, this machine was truly esteemed by all the many nobles who gathered there to be one of the most beautiful, rich, and magnificent that had ever been seen on a like occasion, printed libretti for the said serenata as well as the rarest and precious refreshments having been distributed to everyone.

Napoli 31. Luglio 1708

Giovedì 26. del cadente Festività della Gloriosa S. Anna, commemorandosi il felicissimo giorno Natalizio dell' Augustissimo IMPERATORE GIUSEPPE PRIMO, fù da S.Emin. il nostro Vice-Rè Cardinal Grimani solennizzato colle maggiori espressioni di magnificenza, e di gioja. Nella mattina del detto dì si portò tutta la Nobiltà in abito di gala nel Real Palazzo a felicitarne l'Emin. Sua. quale coll'intervento di essi, del Ministero, e delle Generalità tenne ivi Cappella Pubblica, col solito Squadrone, che corrispose colla scarica del moschetto a quella fatta dal cannone di questi Castelli: Diede poi S.Em. lauto, e splendidissimo pranso à S.A. il Principe di Darmestat, con altri Generali, e Capi Militari. Sul tardi del medesimo giorno si diede dal popolo basso che senza numero vi era concorso il sacco a sei altissime Piramidi innalzate avanti il medesimo Real Palazzo, cariche a dismisura di volatili, belanti quadrupedi, varietà di latticini, carne salate, e di tutto lo più desiderabile di comestibile, non mancando per ismorzar la seta a tutti, e per meritare il volgar nome di Cuccagna due ben costrutte Fonti a lato delle stesse piramidi, da cui scatorì esquisito vino fino a notte, nella quale entro il medesimo Real Palazzo nella gran Sala detta de' Vice-Rè fù cantata da sceltissime voci, & istrumenti in eccellente Armonico metro un' allusiva nobil Serenata da Personaggi, che figuravano la Gloria,

la Fortuna, il Tempo, & il Valore. In Cima alla machina Teatrale, ove fù questa Rappresentazione, sotto Corona di Alloro, sostenuta da due Virtù, eravi espresso il Nome di S.M. Cesarea, & al di sotto nel mezzo in petto all' Aquila Imperiale seduta sù di un globbo cinto di eterno Lauro con due Fame a' lati, vedeasi il glorioso Ritratto di CESARE; & in vero questa machina, e per l'ampiezza, e per la costruttura, e per il numero delle statue, e per la copiosita de' lumi fù stimata da tutta la numerosa Nobiltà, che vi concorse, delle più belle, ricche, e magnifiche, che siansi giàmai vedute in somiglianti occasioni, dispensandosi così i Libretti di detta Serenata impressa, come anche a tutti de' più rari, e preziosi rinfreschi.

8.1.3 Francesco Mancini's Serenata *Amore nel cuore di Partenope*

Naples, October 2, 1708

At nightfall that same evening [October 1, the birthday of our invincible monarch Charles III] the Viceroy had the flower of the ladies invited to the said Palace where they gathered in indescribable numbers wearing capricious and very expensive finery, Mother Superior Gambacorta, the Duchess of Limatola, having been charged to act as hostess. The flower of the knighthood and the nobility also attended. And there in the great hall of the Viceroys, illuminated as if it were day by an infinite number of wax torches brighter than the sun, His Eminence had vast quantities of precious refreshments of every sort dispensed at an opportune time and with unequaled splendor to all in attendance, for whom was given a sweet musical entertainment, the most worthy composition of Francesco Mancini, master of the Royal Chapel, who with his musical notes adorned the witty poetry of the Abbate Giuseppe Papis entitled *Amore nel cuore di Partenope*. This composition, sung by the finest voices of Italy with choice instruments, was printed in folio with figures engraved in copper and was dispensed to all the nobility, His Eminence attending privately. The portrait of the Catholic King and his name Charles

III shone brilliantly from the summit of the theater in which the said entertainment was sung, with the trumpets of Fame to the side acclaiming him everywhere and with the crown of the monarchy held above him by two cupids. Besides its noble architecture and colonnades, beautifully decorated with many statues and superb festoons, the theater displayed a grove with Vulcan sleeping in his forge as well as a view of the sea with Thetis in a conch. Venus in a chariot pulled by her doves arose from one side on a cloud, and Diana on another cloud in a similar chariot, but pulled by two stags along the horizon of the sea. These are the personages (all intent upon and wearied from rousing Vulcan) seeking Cupid, who finally appeared within a glowing, transparent cloud, assuring those mythological gods that his arrows wounded no other hearts nor induced love in anyone but the Neapolitans, most faithful vassals of the Most August house of Charles III, from around whom fell the many little cupids on the machine and carried every most desirable refreshment to the spectators. Thus the festivities ended to the universal applause of all present and was crowned with beautiful dances by those ladies and cavaliers.

Napoli 2. Ottobre 1708

Sù l'imbrunire dell' istessa sera [primo Ottobre, Cumpleannos dell' Invittissimo nostro Monarco Carlo Terzo], fù al mentovato Palazzo, con indicibil concorso, tutto il fiore delle Dame con capricciosi preziosissimi arnesi, fatte invitare dal Vice-Rè, deputando àtal' effetto la Duchessa di Limatola Madre Gambacorta; vi concorse altresì il fiore de' Titolati, e Cavalieri; Et ivi nella gran Sala detta de' Vice-Rè, da infiniti torchi accesi di cera resa più chiara, che il dì dal Sole, con splendidezza senza pari fè Sua Eminen. in tempo opportuno dispensare copiosissimi preziosi rinfreschi di tutte le sorti à quanti v'intervennero, con dolce trattenimento armonioso, degnissima Composizione del Maestro della Real Cappella Francesco Mancini, che fregiò colle sue note armoniche l'ingegnosa Poesia dell' Abb. Giuseppe Papis, intitolata: *Amore nel cuore di Partenope*; la qual Composizione cantata dalle migliori Voci d'Italia, con scelti strumenti, fù dispensata impressa in foglio, con figure

intagliate in Rame a tutta la Nobiltà, intervenendovi privatamente Sua Emin. In cima al Teatro, ove cantossi detto Componimento, splendeva l'Effigie, col Nome espresso del Rè Cattolico CARLO TERZO, con à lato le Trombe della Fama, che l'acclamavano da per tutto, e sopravi la Monarchica Corona sostenuta da due Puttini. Il Teatro, oltre la nobil architettura, e colonnati, con festoni superbissimi, colla vaghezza di molti statue, mostrava un Bosco, con Vulcano nella sua Fucina dormendo, vedendovisi ben' anche un Mare con Teti entro una Conchiglia; risaltava Venere da una parte sù d'una Nubbe, in un Carro tirato dalle sue Colombe; e Diana sù d'altra Nubbe, in un Carro altresì, mà tirato da due Cervi, nell'Orizonte del Mare. Ecco i Personaggi, che tutti erano intenti, & affaticati, destando Vulcano, cercando Cupido, quale comparso al fine entro lucida, e trasparente Nubbe; assicurava quelle Dietà, che i suoi strali non ferivano altri cuori, per movere all' Amore, se non quelli de' Napolitani, fedelissimi Vassalli alla Casa Augustissima di CARLO TERZO, con molti Amorini d'intorno, e quali calando giù dalla Machina, portavano à gli spettatori ogni più desiderabile rinfresco, così terminando quel festeggiamento con universale aplauso di quanti v'intervennero; coronato da vaghissimi Balli di quelle Dame, e Cavalieri.

8.1.4 Nicola Porpora's Opera *L'Agrippina*

Naples, November 6, 1708

Then that evening [Sunday, November 4, the festival of the glorious Saint Charles Borromeo upon which the nameday of Our Lord the King is commemorated] in the Royal Hall of the same [Royal] Palace . . . there was a royal celebration at which a very noble opera entitled *L'Agrippina* was performed, the words by the Abbate Giuvo, the music by Porpora . . .

Napoli 6. Novembre 1708

La sera poi [Domenico 4. del corrente, Festività del glorioso San Carlo Borromeo,

> commemorandosi il nome del Rè N. Sig.] nella Real Sala dello stesso Palazzo . . . vi fà Festino reale rappresentandovisi una nobilissima Opera in musica, intitolata; L'AGRIPPINA, le parole dell' Abbate Giuvo, la Musica del Porpora . . .

In addition to those mentioned above, at least two other serenatas were heard in Naples during 1708. According to the *Gazzetta* of August 14, one was given in the Strada de' Lanzieri by the merchant Cosimo Amendola in honor of Saint Anne on August 12.

8.1.5 Domenico Sarro's Serenata *Amore, Eco e Narciso*

Of greater political significance is the one presented by the Duke of Alvito on September 8. The *Gazzetta* dated September 11, 1708, preserves a long description of the events attended by the Viceroy on September 8, the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin. After visiting the Church of S. Maria di Piedigrotta that afternoon

> . . . there was in the coach with His Eminence [the Viceroy Cardinal Grimani] Don Tiberio Carafa, the Prince of Chiusano, and Don Tolomeo Saverio Gallio Trivulzio, Duke of Alvito, who, in order to celebrate with a lively display the above-mentioned conquest of Sardinia, had a noble serenata by the learned pen of the Abbate Giuvo, *Amore, Eco e Narciso*, sung that evening [September 8] set to music by the most able chapel master [Domenico] Sarro. A print of it along with great quantities of very precious refreshments were given to the great number of nobility [in attendance] . . .
>
> . . . essendo con Sua Em. in Carozza D. Tiberio Carafa Principe di Chiusano, e D. Tolomeo Saverio

> Gallio Trivulzio Duca di Alvito, il quale per festeggiare con vivi contrasegni l'acquisto sud. di Sardegna, fè cantare quella sera in sua Casa una nobil Serenata d'AMORE, ECO, E NARCISO dell' erudita penna dell' Abb. Giuvo; posta in Musica dal virtuosissimo Maestro di Cappella Sarro; la quale fù dispensata in istampa, con copiosi, e preziosissimi rinfreschi al gran numero di Nobiltà . . .

8.1.6 George Frederick Handel's Serenata *Aci, Galatea e Polifemo*

On July 19, 1708, several months before he had Sarro's serenata presented, this same Duke of Alvito was married in Naples. It is believed that Handel's serenata *Aci, Galatea e Polifemo* was written for performance on this occasion. Newman Flower, who first advanced this hypothesis, describes the Duke's wedding essentially as it is recorded in the *Gazzetta* of July 24, 1708.[599] The *Gazzetta*, however, fails to mention any music on this occasion or to shed any light on the circumstances surrounding the creation of Handel's serenata.

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599. Newman Flower, *Handel: His Personality and his Times* (London: Panther, 1927), p. 88.

8.2 Naples and Rome in 1709

The earliest reference in the *Gazzetta di Napoli* to Alessandro Scarlatti after his reappointment as master of the Royal Chapel of Naples is the following:

> Naples, January 29, 1709
>
> . . .and then that evening [Sunday, January 27] His Eminence [Cardinal Grimani] went to the opera entitled *Il Teodosio* in the Teatro San Bartolomeo, which was staged for the first time to great applause set to music by the celebrated Alessandro Scarlatti, who several months ago was recalled from Rome by His Eminence to serve in the Royal Chapel . . .
>
> Napoli 29. Gennaro 1709
>
> . . . e la sera poscia si portò Sua Em. all' Opera Musicale nel Teatro di San Bartolomeo, intitolata IL TEODOSIO, che per la prima volta andò con sommo applauso in iscena, posta in Musica dal celebre Maestro di Cappella Alessandro Scarlati [*sic*], che da Roma fù ne' mesi addietro fatto quì ritornare al servizio di questa Real Cappella da Sua Eminenza . . .

8.2.1 The Opera *Il Figlio delle Selve* Wrongly Attributed to Alessandro Scarlatti

This same edition of the *Gazzetta di Napoli* contains the following communication from Rome:

Rome, January 25

Besides the recital of [spoken] improvised comedies in the Queen of Poland's little theater, an opera has been sung many times, the most highly prized part of which consisted of the dances executed by the little princess, Her Majesty's niece.

Roma 25. Gennaro

Nel piccolo Teatro di questa Regina di Polonia, oltre la recita delle Comedie all' improviso; si è cantata più volte un' Opera in musica, il più bel pregio della quale hà consistito nel ballo fattovi dalla Principessina Nipote di Sua Maestà.

Alberto Cametti has identified this opera as a setting of Carlo Sigismondo Capeci's text *Il Figlio delle Selve*. Evidently Cametti made this identification based on evidence preserved in the *Diario di Roma* of Francesco Valesio, who reports:

Thursday, January 17, 1709

The Queen of Poland is having Capeci's old drama entitled *Il Figlio delle Selve* given as an opera in the little theater in the palace where she lives at the Trinità*dei Monti.

Giovedi, 17 Gennaio 1709

La regina di Polonia fa recitare in musica nel suo teatrino del palazzo da lei habitato alla Trinità de' Monti il dramma vecchio del Capece [600] intitolato *Il figlio delle selve*.

Cametti goes on to attribute the music of this opera to

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600. Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, IV, 221.

Alessandro Scarlatti, but this attribution is based on the not entirely convincing fact that the composer's name has been added by a later hand to a score of the opera in the Paris Conservatory Library.[601] The score in question, however, preserves a setting of the text as found in a printed libretto where Cosimo Bani is named as its composer. There is, then, no evidence to link Scarlatti with either this score or Maria Casimira's production of the opera in 1709.

8.2.2 A Staged Performance of the Oratorio *Il Martirio di Santa Cecilia*

A week later the *Gazzetta di Napoli* of February 5, 1709, reports the following two items of interest from Rome:

> Rome, February 1
>
> The Most Eminent [Cardinal] Ottoboni has had his beautiful opera about Saint Cecilia rehearsed in the charmingly bizarre theater which he has in his own palace. It will be performed by the finest voices of Rome.
>
> Another [from] Rome, February 2
>
> Cardinal Ottoboni—who has had the *Oratorio di S. Cecilia* (composed previously by His Eminence) performed with scenery in his beautiful little theater where it was heard by forty-two ladies—found himself at the Queen [of Poland's] opera the other evening where he was entertained

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601. Cametti, "Carlo Sigismondo Capeci," pp. 56, 58-9.

with supper by Her Majesty . . .

Roma 1. Febraro

L'Eminentissimo Ottoboni hà fatto provare la sua bell' Opera di Santa Cecilia in Musica nel suo bizarro Teatro, che tiene nel proprio Palazzo, quale sarà rappresentata da migliori Musici di Roma.

Altra Roma 2. Febraro

Il Cardinal Ottoboni che hà fatto rappresentare in Scena nel suo bel Teatrino l'Oratorio di S. Cecilia, composto altre volte da Sua Eminenza, e dove furono à sentirlo 42. Dame, trovatosi l'altra sera all'Opera di questa Regina, fù da S.M. trattenuto à cena . . .

Earlier in this study it was shown that Alessandro Scarlatti's setting of Cardinal Ottoboni's oratorio *Il Martirio di Santa Cecilia* was performed in the Oratorio of the Chiesa Nuova, Rome, on March 6, 1708. The text of this oratorio as printed by Antonio de' Rossi in 1708 is divided into two parts and contains no evidence of staging. In 1709 Rossi published a second libretto preserving the version of this text heard in Ottoboni's domestic theater in January of that year. The text itself is essentially the same as that of 1708 except for the addition of a final scene or tableau for Saint Cecilia. The title page of the 1709 libretto, however, refers to the work as a *Tragedia sagra*, and there are clear indications in this libretto that it was staged in the manner of an opera. The text heard in 1709 is divided into three acts, and the "mutationi di scene" are listed on

page three of the libretto. Act one takes place in sets depicting a street of Rome with a bridge over the Tiber, and later a courtyard. Act two occurs in a gallery and in a courtyard with a view of a garden. The scenery of the final act depicts a city and a great hall, the work ending with a *Macchina Celeste* bearing Saint Cecilia high in heaven above the clouds. Although it is very likely that Alessandro Scarlatti's setting was heard again in 1709, no score for the 1708 or 1709 version of *Il Martirio di Santa Cecilia* has come to light.

8.2.3 An Unidentified Oratorio *Il Trionfo di Davide* at Naples

During Lent at Naples the *Gazzetta di Napoli* reports the following performance in the palace of Archbishop Pignatelli:

> Naples, March 12, 1709
>
> Last Friday [March 8], the second Friday of March, the said Eminence [Archbishop Pignatelli] had another sacred oratorio entitled *Il Trionfo di Davide* performed in the chapel of his palace . . .
>
> Napoli 12. Marzo 1709
>
> Nel trascorso secondo Venerdì di Marzo, fè rappresentare in musica la detta Eminenza [Arcivescovo Pignatelli] altro Sagro Oratorio nella Cappella del suo Palazzo intitolato il

Trionfo di Davide . . .

Although Alessandro Scarlatti is known to have composed an oratorio entitled *Davidis pugna et victoria*, it seems unlike that this is a reference to Scarlatti's Latin oratorio.

8.2.4 Alessandro Scarlatti's Oratorio *Il Trionfo del Valore*

Of greater interest is the following account given a week later in the the *Gazzetta di Napoli*:

> Naples, March 19, 1709
>
> . . . this morning [March 19], the feast of the same glorious Saint [Joseph], the nobility, ministers of state, and military officers complimented the Viceroy in the Royal Palace. And then His Eminence was to have gone to the church of that name [the Chiesa di S. Giuseppe Maggiore], which belongs to the nuns at Pontecorvo, in great solemnity in order to hold royal chapel. But this was halted by the rain, [and] the said function was held in the chapel of the Royal Palace with the customary formality: royal cannon salvos fired by our fortresses and triple discharges by the muskets of the squadron of German infantry stationed here in the courtyard of the same Royal Palace. And in celebration of this saint's day, whose name the Most August Emperor bears, the Viceroy had a famous oratorio sung by five excellent voices this evening in one of the noble halls of the Royal Palace. It was entitled *Il Trionfo del Valore* and set to music with great success by the famous master of the Royal Chapel Alessandro Scarlatti, printed copies of it having been distributed. One of the principal roles was sung by Francesco de Grandis, a *virtuoso* of the Most Serene [Duke] of Modena, who also distinguished himself in the carnival just ended and who was brought here several months ago by order of His Eminence [the Viceroy Cardinal Grimani], who on this happy occasion had every sort of rare and precious refreshment given out to

the ladies and cavaliers who attended in great number.

Napoli 19. Marzo 1709

. . . questa mattina festivita dello stesso Glorioso Santo, hanno complimentato il Vice-Rè nel Real Palazzo, la Nobiltà, il Ministero, e i Capi Militari; E poi dovea condursi Sua Emin. nella Chiesa di tal nome [Chiesa di S. Giuseppe Maggiore] delle Moniche a Pontecorvo, con tutta la più solenne pubblicità, a tenervi Cappella Reale; mà la pioggia ne ha disturbato l'effetto; essendosi fatta tal funzione nella Cappella del Real Palazzo, colle solite accostumate formalità; con salva Reale del Cannone delle nostre Castella [*sic*], e della triplice scarica del moschetto dello Squadrone di Fanti Alemani, piantato ivi nel Cortile del medesimo Real Palazzo; E per solennizzare un tanto Giorno, del cui Santo porta il nome l'Augustiss. Emperadore; si è fatto dal Vice-Rè questa sera, in una delle nobili Sale del Real Palazzo, cantare un famoso Oratorio a 5. prescelte Voci, intitolato IL TRIONFO DEL VALORE, posto egregiamete [*sic*] in Musica dal famoso Maestro della R. Cappella Alessadro [*sic*] Scarlatti, essedovisene [*sic*] dispensate le copie in istampa, cantandovi una delle principali parti di esso, che s'è anche distinato nello scorso Carnevale, il Virtuoso del Sereniss. di Modena Francesco de Grandis, fatto quà venire ne' scorsi mesi da Sua Em. la quale in questa gioliva occasione fè distribuire ogni più raro, e prezioso rinfresco alle Dame, che in gran numero, con Cavalieri v'intervennero.

Alessandro Scarlatti's music for this oratorio is not known to have survived, and, despite the fact that a printed libretto for *Il Trionfo del Valore* is mentioned in the *Gazzetta*, no specimen of one has yet come to light. As shown above, a serenata was given in Naples when this event was celebrated in 1708. Thus it seems likely that, despite its classification as an oratorio, *Il Trionfo del Valore* may

have closely resembled a large occasional cantata or serenata. Because the *Gazzetta di Napoli* clearly names it an oratorio, however, it will not be listed among the composer's serenatas in this study.

8.2.5 Music at Two Neapolitan Weddings

An account of the wedding and the attendant festivities at the marriage of Don Filippo Caravita, the *Regio Consigliere di S. Chiara*, with Donna Eleonora Guevara is preserved as follows in the *Gazzetta di Napoli*:

> Naples, April 16, 1709
>
> . . . on Tuesday, the ninth of this month, [Don Filippo] the husband went first to offer the customary compliments to [the bride's] father, Don Carlo, at his house which, although very spacious, seemed crowded because of the great number of ladies and cavaliers, their relations, who came (although without invitations) and were entertained with music and complimented with splendid refreshments and other things. Then on the following evening the bride was taken to the house of the husband's father, Don Nicola, which was decorated with very rich and precious furnishings where a great number of nobles congregated and were entertained by the music of choice voices and instruments, and by great quantities of every desirable sort of refreshment. And the noble guests took great delight in the sight and taste of a sumptuous and magnificent supper generously given for them by the said Don Nicola, who for eight continuous days had the festivities continued there . . .
>
> Napoli 16. Aprile 1709
>
> . . . Martedi 9. corrente nella casa di D. Carlo di lei Padre portatosi fare il solito

primo complimento lo Sposo, quantunque quella sia capacissima; parve (benche senza invito) angusta al gran numero di Dame, e Cavalieri loro Congiunti pervenutivi, ove furono complimentati con tutte le più splendide dimostranze [*sic*], e divertimenti di Musica, rinfreschi, & altro; la sera appresso poi nella casa di Don Nicola Padre dello Sposo, con ricchissimi, e preziosi arredi addobbata, vi fù condotta la Sposa, concorrendovi gran numero di Nobiltà, trattenutavi con scelte armoniche voci, ed istrumenti, colla gran diletto, prima alla vista, e poi al palato, per la sontuosa, e lautissima Cena, che fù data loro dalla generosità di detto D. Nicola, che per otto giorni continui fà ivi seguitare le feste . . .

A month later the *Gazzetta di Napoli* records the festivities in connection with another aristocratic wedding. Again, music played a prominent role:

Naples, May 14, 1709

On Thursday of last month [April 25] a very beautiful, allusive serenata was sung by three choice voices who represented Juno, Hymen, and Night in the house of the Regent Don Gennaro d'Andrea, where the festivities for the above-mentioned wedding of his son Don Diego with Donna Lucrezia Mormile of the Duke's of Campochiaro occurred with great splendor.

Napoli 14. Maggio 1709

Giovedi della caduta in casa del Reggente D. Gennaro d'Andrea; ove seguitano le allegrie, con ogni più splendidezza per gli scritti Sponsali di D. Diego suo figlio, con D. Lucrezia Mormile de' Duchi di Campochiaro, si cantò una bellissima Serenata alludente, à tre scelte voci, che figuaravano *Giunone, Imeneo* e la *Notte*.

8.2.5.1 Domenico Sarro's Serenata *Giugnone, Ineneo, la Notte*

Reinhard Strohm reports that the serenata heard on this second occasion was the work of Domenico Sarro.[602] The source of this information, however, remains undocumented, and no such attribution is found in the *Gazzetta di Napoli*. Although there is no reason to believe that Alessandro Scarlatti provided the music heard at either of these celebrations, it is very likely that he found the composition of serenatas or large cantatas on similar occasions a welcome means of supplementing his regular salary.

8.2.6 Alessandro Scarlatti's Opera *L'Amor Volubile e Tiranno*

By mid-May of 1709 Scarlatti must have been much occupied with the preparation and rehearsal of his opera *L'Amor Volubile e Tiranno*, the performance of which is reported as follows in the *Gazzetta*:

> Naples, May 28, 1709
>
> On Saturday [May 25] a well-applauded drama sung by very famous, choice voices entitled *L'Amor Volubile e Tiranno* was staged for the first time in the Teatro San Bartolomeo. It was by the

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602. Strohm, *Italienische Opernarien*, II, 217. Strohm relays this information from Prota-Giurleo, "Breve storia."

learned pen of the Arcadian academician [Giandomenico] Pioli [and] set to music by [Alessandro] Scarlatti, the master of the Royal Chapel. The Viceroy along with the flower of the nobility went to enjoy this entertainment. On Sunday [May 26] the feast of the glorious Saint Philip Neri was celebrated with extraordinary pomp and rich silver furnishing by the Oratorian Fathers. And the very sweet voices of the said *virtuosi* Matteo Sassano and Francesco de Grandis were prominently heard in the polychoral music given there . . .

Napoli 28. Maggio 1709

Sabbato andò per la prima volta in Scena nel Teatro di S. Bartolomeo uno applauditissimo Drama, cantato da scelte famosissime Voci, intitolato: *L'Amor Volubile, e Tiranno*, della penna erudita del Pioli, Accademico Arcade, posto egregiamente in Musica dallo Scarlatti, Maestro della Cappella di Palazzo, essendovisi portata à goderne il divertimento il Vice-Rè, col fiore della Nobiltà. Domenico fù celebrata con estraordinaria pompa, e ricchezza d'apparati, & argenti da' PP. dell' Oratorio, la festività del glorioso S. Filippo Neri; e nella famosa Musica che vi fù à più cori, spiccarono le amabilissime voci delli scritti Virtuosi Matteo Sassano, e Francesco de Grandis . . .

8.2.7 The Birthday Celebrations in 1709 for the Emperor Joseph I

As mentioned above on page 564, an unidentified serenata was heard in the Royal Palace of Naples as part of the public celebration for the birthday of the Habsburg Emperor in 1708. The festivities honoring Joseph I on this occasion a year later are described in similar terms by the *Gazzetta di Napoli*. Although the works heard in 1709 are again

unnamed, it seems likely that the composition and execution of the music at the official function in the Royal Palace on July 26 fell within the customary duties of the master of the Royal Chapel, Alessandro Scarlatti:

> Naples, July 30, 1709
>
> On Thursday [July 25] royal chapel was held by our Most Eminent Viceroy [Cardinal Grimani] for the feast of the Apostle Saint James in the church dedicated to him called "degli Spagnuoli" [*i.e.*, the Chiesa di San Giacomo degli Spagnuoli] with the customary formality and attendance of the nobility, judges, and military officers. On the following day, July 26 (the feast of the glorious Saint Anne, it being the birthday of the Most August reigning Emperor Joseph I), the liveliest demonstrations of pomp and magnificence were organized by His Eminence in commemoration of this event. On the morning of the said day the city magistrates in a body, all the military officers, the ministers of the courts of law, the titled dignitaries, and cavaliers wearing rich gala came to the Royal Palace to express their happiness to His Eminence, wishing His Imperial Majesty long life; and with all of them in the same Royal Palace, His Eminence held chapel with very choice music, the celebrated Matteuccio Sassano singing. There was a salvo by all the cannons of our fortresses with triple volleys by the battalion of infantry stationed here in the square. Later that same day very many ladies, adorned in capricious and precious apparel, came to the same Royal Palace and were introduced by the noble receptionists so that they might enjoy the pleasant spectacle of the burning of a vast theatrical firework display, the inventor of which was His Eminence's architect Giuseppe Cappello, who built it one hundred and sixty *palmi* [35.2 meters] in length and about one hundred [22 meters] in height in the square in front of the said Royal Palace. The firework display told the story of the Phlegrean Giants who, setting mountain atop mountain, made war on Jove, who, supported by groups of clouds at the summit of the largest of these mountains, thundered while seated

on an eagle. The remainder of the firework display was decorated with golden statues, trophies, and other adornments alluding to the glories of Austria, the beautiful design of which is to be seen in a copper engraving separately published in folio, and the description on a separately published sheet. That night it seemed that an Etna vomiting a rain of fire in curious shapes was burning for the great delight of the *immense number of people who came to see it.* After this delightful fire, the said ladies had a very pleasant musical entertainment by choice voices and instruments with a prodigious quantity of all sorts of desirable refreshments. On the following Sunday [July 28] the Most Serene Prince of Darmstadt, the Governor General of the Army, celebrated the said birthday of the aforesaid Imperial Majesty with truly sumptuous pomp, holding an extravagant dinner for all the German and Spanish officers, which was also attended by the Neapolitan princes; and that same night in the great hall of his palace there was a public celebration to which all the ladies and cavaliers of illustrious birth were invited, the said Most Excellent brothers and nephew of the Most Eminent Viceroy also being in attendance where to their indescribable satisfaction they enjoyed the musical entertainment of a very beautiful concert by the choicest *virtuosi* as well as the sumptuous display of sweet and iced liquor refreshments.

Napoli 30. Luglio 1709

Giovedì per la Festività dell' Apostolo S. Giacomo, nella Chiesa à lui dedicata, detta degli Spagnuoli, fù dal nostro Eminentiss. Vice-Rè Cardinal Grimani tenuta Capella Reale, coll' accostumate formalità, ed intervento di Nobiltà, Tribunali, e Capi Militari. Il giorno appresso 26. dello spirante, Commemorzione della Gloriosa S. ANNA; essendo il Giorno Natalizio dell' Augustiss. Imperadore Regnante GIUSEPPE PRIMO; furono di Sua Em. praticate tutte le più vive dimostranze di fasto, e magnificenza per solennizzarne la memoria. La mattina di detto Giorno si condussero nel Real Palagio a feiicitarne Sua Em. il Magistrato della Città in corpo, tutta la Generalità, i Ministri de' Tribunali, i Titolati, e Cavalieri adornati con ricche gale, augurando

lunga vita à S.M. Cesarea; e con tutti loro tenne Cappella l'Em. Sua nello stesso Real Palagio con sceltissima musica, cantandovi il celebre Matteuccio Sassano. Vi fu salva di tutto il cannone delle nostre Fortezze, con triplicata scarica fatta dal Battaglione di Fanti nella Pazzi [*sic*] ivi piantato. Sul tardi dello stesso giorno si condussero adornate di capriciosi, e preziosi arredi moltissime Dame nello stesso Real Palagio, introdottevi da' Cavalieri recivitori, per godere il vago spettacolo del brugiamento d'una vasta Machina Teatrale di fuoco artificiato, Inventore di cui fù l'Architetto Giuseppe Cappello, [?] di S. Em. nella Piazza dello stesso Palagio Reale di 160. palmi di latitudine, e circa 100. di altezza. Figurava nella Favola de' Giganti di Flegra, che ponendo Monti sopra Monti, movevano Guerra a Giove, quale nella sommità del maggiore di quei Monti sostenuto da gruppi di nubi, stava fulminante sopra l'Aquila assiso, essendo il resto di detta Machina adornata da Statue, trofei, & altri fregi allusivi alle Glorie Austriache; vedendosene in foglio separato intagliato in Rame il bel Disegno di essa, e la Descrizione in foglio à parte; sembrando quella sera, che brugiossi con sommo diletto dell' immenso Popolo, che vi accorse a vederla, un' Etna vomitante ir istravagati [*sic*] e curiose forme un diluvio di fuoco. Doppo questo gustoso incendio, ebbero ivi stesso dette Dame un gratissimo divertimento armonioso di scelte voci, ed istrumeti [*sic*], con una prodigiosa quatità [*sic*] di rinfreschi d'ogni sorte desiderabile. La Domenica poi prossima susseguente questo Serenissimo Principe Darmstat, Governatore Generale dell' Armi, celebrò detto Giorno Natalizio della prefata Cesarea Maestà con pompa veramente sontuosa, tenendo ad un lautissimo pranzo tutta la Generalità Alemana, e Spagnuola, in cui intervennero ancor de' Prencipi Napolitani, e la medesima notte nella gran Galleria del suo Palagio vi fece un pubblico Festino, con invito generale di tutta la più fiorita Nobiltà di Dame, e Cavalieri, intervenendovi ancora gli scritti Eccellentissimi Fratelli, e Nipoti di questo Eminentissimo Vice-Rè, che con inesplicabile sodisfazione goderono il trattenimento di una bellissima Musica de' più scelti Virtuosi, essendovi altresì comparso lautissimo il rinfresco di Dolci, & Acque gelate.

8.2.8 Alessandro Scarlatti's Serenata *Le Glorie della Bellezza del Corpo e dell'Anima*

On April 23, 1708, the Emperor's younger brother and Habsburg claimant to the throne of Spain, Charles III, married Elisabeth Christine of Braunschweig-Lüneburg *per procurationem*, the wedding being celebrated in person on August 1 of that year in Barcelona. A year later, on August 28, 1709, the Viceroy of Naples celebrated the birthday of this Queen of Spain with a sumptuous entertainment for the Neapolitan aristocracy. The *Gazzetta di Napoli* describes the events of that day as follows:

> Naples, September 3, 1709
>
> Wednesday the twenty-eight of last month, the feast of the Patriarch Saint Augustine upon which the most happy birthday of Her Majesty Queen Elisabeth of Spain is celebrated, was made for this reason by His Eminence Cardinal Grimani our Viceroy one of the most festive occasions ever seen. On the morning of that so happy day, after having received the congratulations in the Royal Palace of the city magistrates, judges, and nobility in rich gala, His Eminence then went with them in attendance to the royal church of the nuns of Santa Chiara accompanied in two coaches by two Grandees of Spain, who were the Prince of San Nicandro Cattaneo and the Count of Acerra Cardenas. His Eminence was served by the companies of horse guard, by pages on foot, by all the German guard with their Lieutenant Count Stella on horseback, as was the cavalry master Count Zambeccari, with all the members, high and low, of his numerous court. And in the said church a solemn *Te Deum* was sung by the palace musicians, His Eminence holding royal chapel while

volleys were fired by the cannons of our fortresses and by the battalion stationed in the great courtyard of the same church. And His Eminence, who in all his undertakings cannot depart from the heroic and grand because of that natural instinct of his soul which renders him visible to all the world a well-deserved son of glory, did not omit a single means of commemorating such a great day. An immense number of ladies richly and capriciously dressed were received by the widowed Duchess of Limatola Gambacorta at the entrance to the Royal Palace, as also occurred for the cavaliers, whence [they were led] to one of the large halls which, because it was painted with all their portraits, was called "of the Viceroys." His Eminence had the noble idea, befitting the season and those in attendance, to have erected and constructed with great splendor by the architect Giuseppe Cappello a most agreeable garden equal to any real one. To the sides and in the middle, with statues of sirens, tritons, and other well-composed figures of beautiful design in pure white stucco, there arose seven fountains gushing very abundantly with various playful streams of water. In the center of this garden, at its highest point, arose a magnificent *loggia* consisting of thirty arches held up by an equal number of large corbels, with beautiful partitions, which seemed to be of elegant marble. An equal number of pyramids draped with beautiful flowery festoons and decorated with great vases of flowers towered above the *loggia*. They were made of a transparent material upon which could be read in large letters the most glorious names of Charles III and Elisabeth, with [the words] *Viva, Viva,* written on the sides of four tablets of the same transparent material. The sides of this garden were decorated with leafy trellises embellished by a torrent of flowers. And their beauty was increased by a great number of vaste mirrors hanging from the same trellises, held up by playful cupids, and embellished by green flowery festoons which doubled the images of the delightful decorations for the eyes of the audience. After having gratified the eyes of all that very noble company, their ears were delighted by the music of four select voices, accompanied by a multitude of instruments, alternately praising the glories of the physical and the spiritual beauty of such an

exalted heroine, a composition by the pen of the Abbate [Giuseppe] Papis animated by the music of the master of the Royal Chapel Alessandro Scarlatti. The singers, however, had to yield their place to Fame, as more befitting the grandeur of such an undertaking. His Eminence (who attended privately) also had a comic intermezzo performed by two gardeners in the little theater erected facing the entrance to the said garden, which for scenery displayed a similar garden. In the mean time, refreshments--prepared in quality and quantity in accordance to the generous custom of the said Most Eminent [Cardinal Grimani]--were served to all the nobility, he likewise having had printed libretti distributed which contained not only the verses sung, but an engraving of all the said garden as well. At the end of the entertainment, so that it might be no less long than delightful, many [gambling] tables were arranged on the grounds of the garden at which those guests, who would leave that delightful place only against their will, began to play. By the noble and novel idea, by the well-conceived design, by the well-constructed statues, by the copious number of bizarrely conceived lights of burning wax which shone from the chandeliers, and by every other part of it, the festival was esteemed the most beautiful and fairest ever seen in the Royal Palace, although it be judged in any case but an imperfect reflection of His Eminence's great heart when compared to his desire that in every act he might display with prominence the glory and happiness of his and our exalted sovereigns.

Napoli 3. Settembre 1709

Mercordì 28. del caduto, Festività del Patriarca S. Agostino, commemorandosi il Giorno felicissimo della Nascita di S.M. ELISABETTA Regina delle Spagne, fù reso per ciò de' più sollenni, che siansi veduti da Sua Em. il Cardinal Grimani nostro Vice-Rè, quale doppo aver la mattina di sì fausto dì ricevuto nel Real Palazzo le congratulazioni del Magistrato della Città, Tribunali, e Nobiltà in ricca gala; passò poi col di loro intervento Sua Emin. nella Real Chiesa delle Monache di S. Chiara, accompagnata in Carrozza da due Grandi di Spagna, che furono il Principe di S. Nicandro Cattaneo, & il Conte dell'

Acerra Cardenas; servita l'Emin. Sua dalle Compagnie di Guardia a cavallo, da' Paggi a piedi, da tutte le Guardie Alemane, col suo Tenente Co: Stella a cavallo, siccome lo era il Cavallerizzo Maggiore Conte Zambeccari, con tutto il pieno della sua numerosa Corte nobile, e bassa; & in detta Chiesa fù cantato solenne Te Deum da' Musici di Palazzo, tenendovi Sua Em. Real Cappella, sotto la scarica del Cannone di queste Fortezze, e del Battaglione nel gran cortile della medesima Chiesa disposto. E sua Em. la quale in qualunque cosa, che intraprende, non sà partirsi dall' Eroico, e dal grande, per quello istinto naturale del proprio animo, che lo rende alla vista di tutto il Mondo figlio benemerito della Gloria, non tralasciò modo di render memorabile un sì gran Giorno; la di cui ricevute dalla Vedova Duchessa di Limatola Gambacorta, ebbero un' immenso numero di Dame, ricca, e capricciosamente abbegliate, l'ingresso nel Real Palazzo, come seguì de' Cavalieri, ove in una delle gran Sale di esso, detta de' Vice-Rè, per esservi dipinti tutti i Ritratti de' medesimi; avea l'Em.S. con nobile Idea appropriata alla stagione, e a chi dovea intervenirvi, fatto innalzare, e costruire dall' Architetto Giuseppe Cappelli, con ogni maggior splendidezza, un' amenissimo Giardino, che non avea, che invidiare a niun' altro naturale; A lati di cui, e nel mezzo vi sorgevano, sgorgando con zampillare in varj giuchi, acque abbondantissime, sette Fontane con statue di Sirene, Tritoni, ed altri ben composti simulacri con vaga architettura di candidissimo stucco; s'inalzava all'intorno fino alla parte superiore di detto Giardino, una magnifica Loggia, che consistava di 30. Archi, sostenuta da altretanti gran Menzoloni, con bel ripartitimento disposti, che parean di fini marmi; sopra la qual Loggia torreggiavano, fregiato il tutto da vaghi festoni d'infiorate verdure, framezzate da gran vasi di fiori, altretanti Piramidi di materia trasparente, ove à gran caratteri leggevansi i gloriosissimi Nomi di CARLO TERZO, & ELISABETTA, col VIVA, VIVA, ch' esprimevasi in quei lati in 4. Tabelle del medesimo trasparente lavoro. Addornavano i lati di questo Giardino fronzonute spalliere, fregiate da un diluvio di fiori; ed accresceva la vaghezza di esso, pendenti dalle medesime spalliere, sostenuti da varj scherzanti Amorini, & abbelliti di verdi infioriti festoni un gran numero di vasti

Specchi, che geminata a gli occhi degli astanti rappresentava quel delizioso Adornamento; nel quale essendo disposto senza vedersi i Musici, e Sonatori; doppo essersi appaggato l'occhio, restò di tutta quella nobilissima brigata sodisfatto l'orecchio, dall' armonia di 4. scelte Voci, accompagnate da una moltitudine d'Instrumenti, vicendevolmente cantando le glorie della bellezza del Corpo, e dell'Anima di così alta Eroina, distesa dalla penna dell' Abb. Papis, & animate dalla Musica del Maestro della Real Cappella Alessandro Scarlati [*sic*], mà da' Musici poi fù ceduto il luogo alla Fama, come più propria alla grandezza di tanta impresa. Fece anche recitar S.Em. (che privatamente v'intervenne) un giocoso Intermedio da due Giardinieri, nel picciol Teatrino, che rimaneva innalzato in faccia all'entrata di detto Giardino, con non dissimil vaghezza, e con altra veduta eguale formato; andado [*sic*] nel mentre attorno à tutta quella Nobiltà i rinfreschi, apprestati e nella qualità, e nella quantità, secondo il generoso costume de detta Em., che fè pure dispensare in istampa i Libretti, contenenti non meno i versi cantati, che altresì impresso tutto detto Giardino, nel pieno di cui nell' ultimo del detto festeggiamento, per renderlo non meno più lungo, che dilettevole, erano apprestate molte tavole, ove incominciossi il giuoco da quei Signori, quali mal volentieri si partirono poi da quel delizioso luogo, che in ogni sua parte era un' incanto alla loro libertà, essendo stato per la nobile, nuove Idea, per il ben' inteso disegno, per le ben costruite Statue, per la copiosità di lumi, che in varia curiosa invenzione d'accese cere splendevano da' Lampanarj; e per ogni altra parte di esso, fu stimato il più vago, e bello, che siasi nel Real Palazzo veduto, giudicata ad ogni modo una picciola immagine del gran cuore dell' Eminenza Sua, al confronto di quel desiderio, ch' Egli hà in ogni sua operazione di fare spiccare la gloria, e felicità de gli alti di Lui, e nostri Sovrani.

An exemplar of the libretto published on this occasion is preserved in the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice.[603] On pages five and six it contains the following "Description of the decorations of the Hall of the Viceroys" (*Dichiarazione dell' Adornamento della Sala de' Vice-Rè*):

> The functions on the morning of August 28 having been fulfilled by the Most Eminent Cardinal Grimani, Viceroy, with his reception of the congratulations on such a happy day made by the [representatives of the] city, the ministers, and nobility, and by their attendance at royal chapel at which the *Te Deum* was solemnly sung while salvos were fired by all the fortresses, His Eminence spent the evening in the great hall called "of the Viceroys," which was sumptuously decorated to serve as the site of a musical entertainment and for gambling, prepared in order to celebrate with grandeur the birthday of Her Catholic Majesty Elisabeth, Queen of Spain.
>
> The said hall appeared as a beautiful garden, entirely illuminated, at the sides of which arose six fountains placed at proportional distances, with one in the middle. All seven were adorned with statues representing sirens, tritons, and other imaginary beings in pure white stucco of fine design. A great quantity of water flowed in curious forms from them for the entire duration of the entertainment, it spurting in particularly playful streams from the above-mentioned fountain in the center. The upper part and the angles of the lateral fountains were decorated with quite large mirrors, supported by many cupids in bizarre groupings, and by gracefully intertwining floral festoons. The remaining expanses, from one part to another of this garden, were covered with various sorts of fresh greenery interspersed with flowers and proportional niches and other

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603. It is listed in Appendix I. Unfortunately, this copy of the libretto lacks the engraving depicting the garden.

architectural decorations. The entire grand circuit of the upper part of the said garden was embellished by a magnificent *loggia* supported by thirty large corbels and divided into an equal number of arches, each of which was interlaced with and composed of flowers and greenery. And the singers and instrumentalists who occupied that entire grand circuit were situated in each of them. The said arches were held up by suitable pillars divided into an equal number of feigned marble columns which bore rich vases of natural flowers. And in the center at the summit of the said thirty arches an equal number of transparently designed pyramids arose upon which could be read in large letters the glorious names of Charles and Elisabeth, monarchs of Spain, there likewise having been written on four tablets on the sides of the same transparent [pyramids] *Viva Viva* in large cubital letters. A large chandelier of burning wax shone while hanging from each of the above-mentioned arches. An equal number of them hung from the said corbels which served to illuminate the lower part of the garden; and a corresponding number of chandeliers in the middle [of the garden] were likewise suspended from the various beautifully intertwining [groups] of cupids. The great ceiling of this hall was covered [with stars] as if it were the heavens above this imaginary garden. Facing the entrance at its lowest part arose a little theater with the view of a pleasant garden [on its stage] upon which the comic intermezzo was recited. Finally, many tables for gambling were arranged on the floor of the hall which lengthened the duration and increased the pleasure of this entertainment.

Adempite le funzioni della mattina nel dì 28. Agosto dall' Eminentiss. Cardinal Grimani Vice-Rè, col ricevere le congratulazioni di sì felice Giorno dalla Città, Ministri, e Nobiltà; e coll' intervenire alla Real Cappella, cantandovisi sollennemente il *Te Deum*; e facendovisi la Salva di tutti li Castelli; Passò la sera l'Em. Sua nella Gran Sala de' Vice-Rè, sontuosamente adornata, per essere presente al divertimento di Musica, e Giuoco, fatto apprestare à motivo di maggiormente celebrare il Giorno Natalizio della Maestà Cattolica di ELISABETTA Regina delle Spagne.

Figurava la detta Sala un vago Giardino da per tutto illuminato, ne' lati del quale, con proporzionata distanza sorgevano sei Fontane, & una nel mezzo, tutte e sette adorne di Statue, rappresentanti Sirene, Tritoni, ed altri Simulacri di candidissimi Stucchi, e di bel disegno, sgorgando da esse in curiose forme, per tutto il tempo, che durò il trattenimento gran quantità d'acque, zampillando particolarmente con varj giuochi l'accennata Fonte di mezzo. Erano poscia fregiati tutti li laterali Fonti e di sopra, e ne gli angoli da ben grandi Specchi, sostenuti da più Amorini in bizzarre forme aggruppati, e da Festoni di fiori leggiadramente intrecciati. Il rimanente delle distese dall' una, e dall' altra parte di questo Giardino, erano ricoverte da diverse qualità di fresche verdure, sparse pure tutte di fiori, con proporzionati Nicchi, & altri adornamenti d'architettura. La parte superiore di detto Giardino, per tutto il gran giro di esso, veniva abbellita da una Magnifica Loggia, sostenuta da 30. Menzoloni, e ripartita in Altritanti Archi, intersiato, e composto ciascheduno di essi di fiori, e verdure; e situativi in ogn'uno i Musici, e gli Strumenti, che occupavano tutto quel circuito. Sostenevano detti Archi confacevoli Pilastri, divisi da altritanti Termini, che mentivano il Marmo, e che reggevano ricchi Vasi di fiori naturali, e sù nel mezzo della cima di detti trenta Archi s'inalzavano altre tanti Piramidi di trasparente lavoro, ove à gran caratteri leggevansi i gloriosi nomi di CARLO, & ELISABETTA Monarchi delle Spagne, esprimendosi altresì in quattro Tabelle in quei lati dello stesso trasparente à lettere Cubitali; VIVA VIVA; Risplendeva poscia pendente dal mezzo d'ogn'uno degli Archi accennati un Lampanario con cera accese, pendendone altresì un egual numero dalle predette Mensole, che serviva à dar lume alla parte inferiore del Giardino, e restando pure appesa nel mezzo quantità corrispondente di Lampanarj, che erano sostenuti da varj Amorini, vagamente intrecciati; venendo coperta la gran volta della Sala in figura, come di Cielo di questo finto Giardino. Nel fondo di esso in faccia all'entrata, sorgeva un picciolo Teatro, con veduta pure d'ameno Giardino, sopra di cui vi fù recitate l'Intramezzo [*sic*] giocoso; restandovi per ultimo nel piano della Sala disposte molte

tavole per giocare, le quali resero più lungo, e più dilettevole il trattenimento.

Neither the *Gazzetta* nor the libretto refers to *Le Glorie della Bellezza* as a serenata. Nevertheless, it is clearly conceived in the tradition of the serenata and will be treated as one in this study. The existence of this work first came to light when Ulisse Prota-Giurleo published a portion of the extract from the *Gazzetta di Napoli* cited above.[604] By simply italicizing a phrase found in it, Prota-Giurleo gave this work the title it now bears: *Le Glorie della Bellezza del Corpo e dell'Anima*. This title seems to suggest that the work is sung by several allegorical characters, which, however, is not the case. Prota-Giurleo did not know of the libretto, which on its title page refers to the work as simply a "Musical entertainment in praise of Her Catholic Majesty Elisabeth, Queen of Spain" (TRATTENIMENTO/MUSICAL/IN LODE DELLA MAESTA' CATTOLICA/DI ELISABETTA/REGINA DELLE SPAGNE). Although the title given this work by Prota-Giurleo is clearly not its original, it is probably preferable to that found on the libretto and will be retained in this study.

Pages seven through eleven of the libretto preserve the texts of two cantatas, the first praising Queen Elisabeth's

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604. Prota-Giurleo, "Breve storia," p. 88.

physical attributes, the second lauding her spiritual qualities. These are followed on pages twelve through sixteen by an *Intermedio* or comic intermezzo. Sung by a servant girl and a gardener (Violetta and Nardo), it consists of a flirtatious encounter between the two low-born lovers and ends with a duet honoring the Queen and wishing her male offspring. The libretto ends with a third cantata on pages seventeen through nineteen. The hope is again expressed that the Queen give birth to many offspring, and the cantata ends with the exclamation "Long live Charles and Elisabeth" (*E Viva Carlo, Elisabetta Viva*). The three cantatas are sung by four soloists and a chorus identified on page six of the libretto as Francesco de Grandis, Giovanna Albertina, Matteo Sassano, Aurelia Marcelli, and the singers of the Royal Chapel. Santa Marchesini and Giovanni Battista Cavana are identified as the singers of the comic intermezzo. The music heard at this festival is not known to have survived.

8.2.9 Antonio Caldara's Serenata *Chi s'arma di virtù vince ogni affetto*

Besides preserving an account of the performance of *Le Glorie della Bellezza*, the *Gazzetta di Napoli* of September 3, 1709, reports the performance of a serenata in Rome:

Rome, August 31

On Tuesday evening [August 27] the Marchese Ruspoli, Prince of Cerveteri, gave for the nobility and people of Rome a very beautiful serenata from the balcony of his palace which was received with universal applause.

Roma 31. Agosto

Martedì sera il Marchese Ruspoli Prencipe di Cerveteri diede alla Nobilta, e Popolo di Roma, dalla Ringhiera del suo Palazzo, una bellissima Serenata, che hà ricevuto l'applauso Universale.

The performance of this serenata was also noted by Francesco Valesio, who reports:

Tuesday, August 27, 1709

This evening Prince Ruspoli gave a very beautiful serenata entitled *Chi s'arma di virtù vince ogni affetto*, sung by three famous female vocalists. On the facade facing the Piazza dei Santi Apostoli there were torches in all the windows and on the balcony of the Palazzo Bonelli where he lives. Two feigned balconies with painted parapets were added above the main gate where they sang and played, and above the said loggia there were chandeliers with candles with glass towers above to protect from the wind, which certainly made itself heard since the air was darkened by the wind and it threatened to rain. But then it eased off somewhat, and the serenata ended at four hours of night, the same prince having distributed fine refreshments in abundance. Cardinals Pamphilj, Trémouilles, Colonna, and Ottoboni were in attendance, the square full since that morning with carriages left there without horses; and there was an infinite crowd of people.

Martedi, 27 Agosto 1709

Il prencipe Ruspoli fece questa sera una bellissima serenata intitolata *Chi s'arma di virtù vince ogni affetto*, cantata da tre celebri cantarine. Erano tutte le fenestre del palazzo

> Bonelli che esso habita, nella facciata rivolta verso la piazza de' SS. Apostoli, con torcie alla ringhiera. Sopra la porta dove si cantò e sonò erano stati aggiunti dui bracci di ringhiera finta con parapetti dipinti e sopra la sudetta loggia v'erano candelieri con candele e sopra campane di vetro per riparo del vento, che veramente sentirono poiché, oscuratasi l'aria con vento, minacciò pioggia, che poi andò a scaricarsi altrove, e terminò la serenata alle 4 hore della notte, havendo il medesimo prencipe fatti distribuire copiosi e lauti rinfreschi. V'intervennero gli cardinali Panfilii, Tremoglie, Colonna et Ottoboni, essendo ripiena la piazza fin dal giorno di carroze senza cavalli e vi concorse popolo infinito.[605]

Ursula Kirkendale has brought to light the copyist's bill for this serenata in which it is described as performed "con Palco alla Ringhiera da Sua Eccellenza Padrone."[606] This phrase led Kirkendale to suggest that the work was heard in the garden of a suburban villa belonging to Ruspoli. The accounts preserved in the *Gazzetta di Napoli* and in Valesio's *Diario*, however, clearly indicate that the serenata was performed from a temporary structure built above the main gate of the Palazzo Bonelli.

In addition to the serenata given by Ruspoli on August 27, the *Diario di Roma* preserves the following accounts of music at Rome during the summer of 1709:

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605. Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, IV, 323.

606. Kirkendale, *Caldara*, p. 52.

Friday, August 16, 1709

This evening Cardinal Colonna gave a serenata on the loggia which crosses the Via Pilotta at his palace on the Piazza dei Santi Apostoli, and many nobles attended to whom he had copious refreshments distributed.

Venerdi, 19 Agosto 1709

Fece il cardinale Colonna questa sera una serenata su la loggia che attraversa la strada della Pilotta al suo palazzo a' SS. Apostoli e vi intervenne gran nobiltà, alla quale fece
607
distribuire copiosi rinfreschi.

Saturday, September 7, 1709

This evening [Maria Casimira], the Queen of Poland, gave a noble serenata with a great crowd of people at her casino at the Trinità dei Monti.

Sabato, 7 Settembre 1709

Fece questa sera la regina di Polonia al suo casino alla Trinità de' Monti una nobile serenata
608
con gran concorso di popolo.

Thursday, September 12, 1709

In commemoration of the liberation of Vienna from the siege by the Turkish army, in which her husband King Jan [Sobieski] IV of Poland played such a critical role, the widowed Queen of Poland had her casino in which she lives at the Trinità dei Monti very beautifully illuminated this evening, and there was a beautiful cantata to hear which was given at the customary place of the bridge which crosses the Strada Felice.

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607. Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, IV, 318.

608. *Ibid.*, VI, 328.

Giovedi, 12 Settembre 1709

Per la memoria della liberazione di Vienna dall'assedio dell'armi turchesche, nel che v'hebbe tanta parte il re Giovanni IV di Polonia suo marito, questa regina vedova di Polonia fece questa sera bellissima illuminazione nel casino che essa habita alla Trinità de' Monti e nel udire una bella cantata in musica fatta nel luogo consueto del ponte che attraversa la strada Felice.[609]

In addition to the above, Valesio also reports that music was performed out-of-doors in honor of the Virgin on August 18 and September 15.[610] All these works and their composers remain unidentified.

8.2.10 The Birthday Celebrations for Charles III in the City and Kingdom of Naples

From the *Gazzetta di Napoli* it would appear that the Viceroy Cardinal Grimani did not mark the birthday of Charles III, October 1, 1709, with the performance of a serenata in the Royal Palace. The following extracts from the *Gazzetta* show, however, that there was no lack of celebration in the city and Kingdom of Naples on this occasion:

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609. *Ibid.*, VI, 330-31.

610. *Ibid.*, VI, 318-19, 332-34.

Naples, October 8, 1709

Besides the news from other parts of the Kingdom, we have been informed that the Royal Governor and Military Captain of the city of Tropea, Don Antonio Caracciolo, celebrated the birthday of our monarch . . . with, among other things, a noble serenata given that evening [October 1] at his palace, which was completely illuminated with torches, for the enjoyment of the public, to whom precious refreshments were dispensed.

For the same reason, the English Consul General in Naples of His Brittanic Majesty had a fountain of wine prepared in his house and gave a serenata and a banquet for many, with a great number of wax torches on his balconies.

Napoli 8. Ottobre 1709

Siamo ragguagliati oltre gli altri luoghi del Regno, che il Regio Governatore, e Capitano a guerra della Città di Tropea D. Antonio Caracciolo, solennizò il Giorno Natalizio del Nostro Monarca . . . con fare altresì la sera di detto giorno godere nel suo Palazzo (ch'era tutto di torcie illuminato) una nobil Serenata a quel Pubblico, a cui si dispensarono preziosi rinfreschi.

Così per il medesimo motivo questo Console generale per S.M. Brittanica della Nazione Inglese, fece in sua casa Fonti di vino, diede una Serenata, Banchettò molti con gran lumi di cera a' suoi balconi.

Naples, October 15, 1709

News has been received from many parts of the Kingdom about the expressions of joy made by the Royal Ministers in celebration of the said birthday of our lord the King . . . In Lecce the Count of Montuoro Capua . . . had a famous serenata, composed by his chapelmaster the celebrated Carlo Monza of Milan, given for enjoyment in his residential palace.

Don Luzio Capece, the President of the Province

of Abbruzzo Citra [had a *cuccagna* erected in front of his palace and sacked by the commoners while his noble guests enjoyed al musical entertainment which he gave that evening in his palace . . . Don Francesco Capece Zurlo had a magnificent theater built in a hall of his palace where he had a noble serenata sung by excellent foreign voices, and then some of that city's nobility performed a comedy entitled *La Necessità aguzza l'Ingegno* and a very noble heroic opera entitled *Gli Amori Guerrieri* was given with rich costumes and very sumptuous scenery.

Napoli 15. Ottobre 1709

Si è ricevuto avviso da molte parti del Regno dell' espressioni giolive, c'hanno fatto molti Regij Ministri per sollennizzare lo scritto Giorno Natalizio del Rè N.S. . . . In Lecce il Conte di Montuoro Capua . . .fè . . . la sera godere nel Palazzo di sua Residenza una famosa Serenata, composta dal celebre Carlo Monza da Milano suo Maestro di Cappella . . .

Don Luzio Capece Preside della Provincia di Abbruzzo Citra . . . trattenimento Musicale, ch' egli fè dare la sera in detto suo Palazzo . . . Don Francesco Capece Zurlo . . . nel suo Palazzo, nella cui Sala fè eregere magnifico Teatro ove fè cantare una nobil Serenata da scelte Voci forastiere, e quivi poi si rappresentò da' Nobili di quella Città una Commedia, nominata *La Necessità aguzza l'Ingego*, e un' Opera Eroica nobilissima, intitolata *Gli Amori Guerrier*, con ricchi abiti, e superbissimi apparati.

In addition to the serenatas reported during the month of October in honor of Charles III on his birthday, the *Gazzetta* also records one in celebration of a local aristocratic birth in Naples that month:

Naples, October 22, 1709

On Sunday the twentieth of this month with every great splendor and rich pomp a beautiful baby girl was held at the holy [baptismal] font by

the Duchess of Monteleone Pignatelli d'Aragona and by the Prince of Torella Caracciolo, which was happily born to the Marchesa D. Vittoria Gaeta, the wife of Colonel D. Cesare Gaeta, the Marchese of Montepagano . . . that evening the said Marchese [gave] an entertainment consisting of gaming and music with a noble serenata . . .

Napoli 22. Ottobre 1709

Domenica 20 del corrente, fù tenuto al sagro Fonte con tutta la maggiore splendidezza, e ricca pompa, dalla Duchessa di Monteleone Pignatelli d'Aragona, e dal Principe della Torella Caracciolo, una vaga Bambina, di cui felicemente sgtavossi [*sic*] la Marchesa D. Vittoria Gaeta, moglie del Colonello D. Cesare Gaeta, Marchese di Montepagano . . . la sera detto Marchese . . . una nobil serenata, con trattenimento di giuochi, e Musica . . .

Unfortunately, none of the serenatas mentioned in the *Gazzetta* during October of 1709 have been identified.

8.2.11 Antonio Orefice and Francesco Mancini's Opera *Engelberta, ò sia la Forza dell' Innocenza*

From the *Gazzetta di Napoli* it is learned that Alessandro Scarlatti did not furnish the music heard at the celebration honoring Charles III on his nameday at Naples in 1709:

Naples, November 5, 1709

Last night in a large hall of the said Royal Palace all the ladies, adorned in curious and noble costumes, gathered to rejoice in the celebration of such a day [the feast of Saint Charles Borromeo, the nameday of Charles III]. There was a royal festival at which a very famous opera entitled *L'Engelberta, ò sia la Forza dell' Innocenza* was performed by rare and select voices as felicitously set to music by the *virtuosi*

Antonio Orefice and Francesco Mancini, the second master of the Royal Chapel . . .

Napoli 5. Novembre 1709

Ieri sera poi per render più plausibile, e festivo un tanto Giorno in una gran Sala del detto Real Palazzo, concorrendovi tutte le Dame con capricciosi, e nobili arredi adornati . . . vi fu Festino Reale, rappresentandovisi un famosissimo Drama Musicale da rare e scelte Voci, intitolato: *L'Engelberta, ò sia la Forza dell' Innocenza*; posto egregiamente in Musica dalli Virtuosi Antonio Orefice, e Francesco Mancini Vice-Maestro della Real Cappella . . .

8.2.12 An Unidentified Serenata at Rome in Celebration of the Nameday of Charles III

After much delay Pope Clement XI finally recognized Charles III as the legitimate King of Spain on October 10, 1709.[611] For this reason the Imperial Ambassador in Rome[612] instituted especially brilliant festivities in celebration of Charles' nameday that year. They are reported in the *Gazzetta di Napoli* of November 12, 1709, as follows:

Rome, November 9

The Marquis of Prié here has obtained permission for many artisans to work night and day and even Sundays in order to finish two very beautiful coaches used in [the celebration on] the feast of Saint Charles. On the said day there were fireworks, fountains of wine, balls, and

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611. Oswald Redlich, *Das Werden einer Grossmacht: Österreich von 1700 bis 1740* (Brünn: Rohrer, 1942), p. 52.

612. Ercole Giuseppe Turinetti, the Marquis of Prié.

serenate . . . [celebrating] the Pope's recognition of Charles III.

Roma 9. Novembre

Questo Signor Marchese di Prié fece lavorare giorno, e notte anche le feste, mà con licenza à molti Artefici per finirsi due bellissime Carozze, servite per il giorno di S. Carlo. In detta giornata vi furono de fuochi artificiali, Fontane di vino, Balli, e Serenate . . . per la ricognizione fatta dal Papa di Carlo Terzo.

A much more revealing account of these festivities is preserved in the *Diario di Roma* of Francesco Valesio:

Monday, November 4, 1709

Today the Marquis of Prié gave a very sumptuous banquet, fifty-seven guests being at the table. After the meal the festival began with a very great crowd of people, two fountains of wine having been erected, one of red at the main gate of the side of the Palazzo Gaetani facing the Corso where the said Marquis lives, and the other of white at the gate of this same palace's garden on the Piazza di San Lorenzo. As is customary, the fountains were on top of a make-believe castle with a basin supported upon wooden legs dyed red. Beside the last of the said fountains a platform for the invited nobility and foreign cavaliers [was built since] the gallery or loggia above that same garden wall was unable to accomodate everyone. Opposite that said platform there was another for the instrumentalists and singers, who sang a serenata for four voices. At the bottom of the said piazza, which was surrounded for eight paces by beams with torches on top, a grand firework display was built representing a broken reef with an opening surrounded by the sea. At the summit of this there was a round temple with the figures as [shown] in the adjoining printed account bound in paste-board. Behind the said display a semicircular painted canvas was placed [showing] the sun rising from the sea which, seen through the opening of the reef, created a fine, theatrical sight. To insure that the carriages did not obstruct the piazza, which was itself

quite narrow, all the streets leading into it were barricaded and the soldiers of the next district, the Bocca di Leone, were called to prevent any disorders, whence, having been assigned places in the piazza and at the said palace, they remained through the end without any trouble having arisen. At the arrival of night the windows of the first and second stories of the Palazzo Gaetani and its facade were illuminated with torches, the same having been done with lanterns throughout the entire Piazza San Lorenzo and all its houses. All the Roman princes and those dependent on the House of Austria did the same to their palaces. The same occurred at the Palazzo di Firenze at the Campo Marzo and at the Palazzo Farnese, only in the latter, two windows were not illuminated because Cardinal Pallavicino, who enjoys an apartment there, would not allow the torches to be lit, he being a passionate francophile. After the ringing of the bells at one and a half hours of night the serenata began, which could hardly be heard because of the many people who filled the piazza, and at three hours the fireworks were ignited, which succeeded to much satisfaction. After this ended, there was a celebration in the said Marquis' palace which was attended by many ladies and cavaliers . . .

Lunedi, 4 Novembre 1709

Fece il marchese di Priè in questo giorno un lautissimo banchetto, essendovi alla tavola cinquantasette convitati. Il doppo pranzo diede principio alla festa con grandissimo concorso di popolo, essendovisi fatte due fontane di vino, l'una di rosso al portone del palazzo Gaetani, abitato dal detto marchese, dalla banda che corrisponde su la strada del Corso, e l'altra di bianco alla porta del giardino del medesimo palazzo su la piazza di S. Lorenzo: erano le fontane sopra un finto castello secondo il consueto con tazza rilevata su piede di legno, tinte di rosso; di fianco all'ultima di dette fontane era formato un palco per la nobiltà e cavalieri forastieri invitati, non essendone capace di tutti il corridoro o loggia che è sopra il muro del medesimo giardino; dirimpetto al detto palco ve ne era altro per li istromenti e musici, che a quattro voci cantarono la serenata. Nel fondo poi di detta piazza, che era otto passi

circondata da travi con sopra fiaccole, vi era formata una gran machina di foco rappresentante un gran scoglio diviso et aperto nel suo principio, circondato dal mare: nella cima di questo v'era un tempio rotondo con le figure, sì come nell'annessa relazione stampata, di cartone contornate. Dietro alla machina sudetta v'era posta in forma di semicircolo una tela dipinta con un sole che sorgeva dal mare, che, veduto dal traforo dello scoglio, rendeva una vista vaga e teatrale. Per impedire che le carrozze non ingombrassero la piazza per se stessa assai angusta, erano state sbarrate co' travi tutte le strade che vi hanno l'ingresso et erano stati chiamati ad assistervi gli soldati del quartiero prossimo di Bocca di Leone per ovviare alli disordini, onde, distribuiti per la piazza et allo stesso palazzo, vi dimorarono sin alla fine, senza essere seguito alcun sconcerto. Venuta la notte, si illuminò con torcie il palazzo Gaetano nel primo e secondo ordine di fenestre et all'intorno con fiaccole, siccome tutta la piazza di S. Lorenzo e le fenestre delle case con lanternoni, havendo similmente illuminati gli loro palazzi tutti gli prencipi romani e dependenti dalla casa d'Austria. Il simile se fece al palazzo di Firenze a Campo Marzo et al palazzo Farnese, solo che in questo in due fenestre del cardinale Pallavicino, che vi gode un appartamento, per essere appassionatissimo francese non volle che nelle medesime vi fossero accese le torcie. Doppo il suono delle campane ad un'hora e mezza di notte, fu dato principio alla serenata, che poco si poté udire per la gente che riempiva la piazza, et alle 3 hore si diede il fuoco alla machina, che riuscì copiosa e di sodisfazzione. Terminato cio', fu il festino nel palazzo del marchese sudetto, al quale intervennero moltissime dame e
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cavalieri . . .

According to the editors of the *Diario di Roma*, the printed account of this festival mentioned by Valesio is entitled:

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613. Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, IV, 352-54.

ESATTISSIMA/DESCRIZZIONE/Di tutte le Feste, Illuminazioni, e Fuochi,/fatti fare la sera di S. CARLO/4. del presente Novembre 1709./*Dall' Illustrissimo, & Eccellentissimo Signore*/ERCOLE GIVSEPPE/TVRINETTI/Del Sacro Romano Imperio Marchese di Prié &c.,/e Ministro Cesareo alla Sede Apostolica,/*Con la Descrizzione della Machina Artificiale del fuoco,/e del suo Significato*/In occasione del Giorno Natalizio, e del Nome/della Reale, e Cattolica Maestà/DI CARLO TERZO/D'AUSTRIA, RE' DELLE SPAGNE:/*IL TVTTO DESCRITTO*/DA FRANCESCO POSTERLA. [Printer's device showing the two-headed Habsburg eagle wearing a crown] In ROMA, Pe'l Buagni. 1709.)(*Con licenza de' Superiori.*/Si vendono da Gaetano Capranica Libraro alle due Catene della Sapienza.

This print has not been studied, and it remains to be discovered if its author, Francesco Posterla, further describes or identifies the serenata for four voices heard on this occasion.

Chapter 9

Rome and Naples from 1710 through 1713

9.1 Rome during 1710

For the remainder of Alessandro Scarlatti's lifetime both the Bourbon Philip V and the Habsburg Charles III continued to assert his right to the throne of Spain, and for much of this period Rome played host to two rival ambassadors, each claiming to represent the affairs of Spain. According to the *Gazette de France*, the cancellation of the public opera planned for performance during the carnival of 1710 in the Teatro Capranica can be attributed to a dispute between Don Joseph Molinés, the Bourbon representative, and the Marquis of Prié, the Imperial Habsburg Ambassador:

> Rome, January 12, 1710
>
> The Marquis of Prié had claimed to be in possession of a box at the Teatro Capranica, but Monsignor Molinés, having had it shown that it had been bought by the Duke of Medina Celi for him and his successors, has forced him to give up this claim. (February 8, 1710)

Rome, February 1, 1710

This year all the entertainments of carnival have been permitted: operas, comedies, masquerades, and horse races. But the opera that was to be performed in the Teatro Capranica will not be given because of the unresolved differences between Don Joseph Molinés, the Dean of the [Sacred Roman] Rota who is charged with the affairs of Spain, and the Marquis of Prié concerning the Spanish Ambassador's box. (March 1, 1710)

De Rome, le 12 Janvier 1710

Le Marquis de Prié avoit pretendu se mettre en possession d'une loge au Theatre de Capranica, mais le sieur Molinés ayant fait voir qu'elle avoit esté achetée par le Duc de Medina Celi pour luy & ses successeurs, l'a obligé de se desister de cette pretention. (8 Fevrier 1710)

De Rome, le 1r Fevrier 1710

On a permis cette année tous les divertissements du Carnaval, les Operas, les Comedies, les masquerades & les courses de chevaux. Mais l'Opera qui devoit se representer sur le Theatre de Capranica ne sera pas representé parceque les differences entre Don Joseph Molinés Doyen de la Rote & qui fait les affaires d'Espagne, & le Marquis de Prié, pour la loge des Ambassadeurs d'Espagne, n'ont pu estre terminez. (1r Mars 1710)

9.1.1 A Planned Performance of Alessandro Scarlatti's Opera *L'Amor Volubile e Tiranno*

In his *Diario di Roma*, Francesco Valesio identifies the opera planned for performance in the Teatro Capranica as Alessandro Scarlatti's *L'Amor Volubile e Tiranno*:

Wednesday, December 4, 1709

Some Roman cavaliers had intended to present an opera, [the text of which was] written by [Giandomenico] Pioli [and] which was given last year in Naples, in the former Palazzo Rucellai, which today belongs to the Riarij, across from the Palazzo Gaetani under the protection of the Imperial Ambassador the Marquis of Prié. But because the court has displayed little satisfaction with it, it has been decided to move its place of performance to the Teatro Capranica.

Mercoledi, 4 Dicembre 1709

Da alcuni cavalieri romani si era destinato farsi un dramma in musica, opera del Pioli che fu recitata l'anno scorso in Napoli, nel palazzo già de' Rucellaj hora de' Riarii dirimpetto a quello de' Gaetani, sotto la protezzione del marchese di Prié, ministro cesareo; ma, havendone mostrata poca sodisfazzione la corte, si sono risoluto trasportare la recita nel teatro
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Capranica.

Evidently this dispute was very nearly resolved, and the opera was given at least once in rehearsal before being banned:

Saturday, January 4, 1709

It appears that, in addition to the usual comedies given privately, the one prepared for public performance in the Teatro Capranica will also be given since the dispute between the Marquis of Prié and Monsignor Molinés, each of whom wants the loge which belonged to the Spanish Ambassador, appears near resolution by means of an expedient by which they both relinquish it to the princess who is the niece of the Queen of Poland.

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614. Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, IV, 364.

Sunday, January 26, 1710

This evening the opera in the Teatro Capranica was rehearsed, but without costumes.

Monday, January 27, 1710

This morning the performance of the opera in the Teatro Capranica was prohibited because the Marquis of Prié has complained that the Prince of Avellino, designated by King Charles III as his ambassador in this court, has expressed the desire [to take possession] of the loge which belonged to the ambassadors of Spain, and it is the same which was formerly rented for the Duke of Uceda by Monsignor Molinés, who has also protested [and expressed] his intention not to relinquish it . . .

Sabato, 4 Gennaio 1710

Stimasi che nel futuro carnevale siano per farsi, oltre le consuete comedie particolari, anco la publica preparata nel teatro Capranica, poiché l'impegno preso dal marchese di Prié e monsignor Molines, di volere ciascheduno il palchetto che era de gl'ambasciatori di Spagna, pare possa sopirsi col mezzotermine preso che ambedue lo cederanno alla prencipessa nepote della regina di Polonia.[615]

Domenica, 26 Gennaio 1710

Questa sera si è fatta la prova, ma senza habiti, della comedia del teatro Capranica.[616]

Lunedi, 27 Gennaio 1710

È stata questa mattina prohibita la recita della comedia del teatro Capranica, poiché il marchese di Prié si è protestato che il prencipe d'Avellino, dichiarato dal re Carlo III ambasciatore in questa corte, ha fatta

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615. *Ibid.*, IV, 369.

616. *Ibid.*, IV, 376.

> dichiarazione volere il palchetto che era de gl'ambasciatori di Spagna et è lo stesso che di già ha pagato per il duca d'Uçeda monsignor Molines, che si è*protestato ancor esso non volerlo in alcun modo rilassare . . .[617]

Although Scarlatti's opera was never official heard in the Teatro Capranica in 1710, at least four other operas were given in Rome during carnival that year.[618] Their performances as well as the performances of a number of oratorios during Lent are recorded in Francesco Valesio's *Diario di Roma*. Unfortunately, Valesio fails to record the events of summer and fall, 1710.

9.1.2 Giuseppe Valentini's Cantata *La Pace e la Discordia*

A libretto entitled *La Pace e la Discordia: Cantata a due . . . di Rinaldo Giangi* evidently preserves the text of a work given in Rome in celebration of the Emperor Joseph's birthday, July 25, 1710. Although no account of its performance has come to light, the catalogue of libretti in the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, identifies its composer as Giuseppe Valentini.[619]

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617. *Ibid.*, IV, 376-77.

618. The works are listed in Strohm, *Italienische Opernarien*, II, 293.

619. Cairo and Quilic, *Biblioteca teatrale*, no. 2997.

9.1.3 The Nameday Celebration for Charles III

In addition to the cantata performed for the Emperor's birthday, it appears that the Roman aristocracy of the Habsburg faction was treated to some sort of musical demonstration on November 4, 1710, the nameday of Charles III. Unfortunately, the only known account of this performance comes from the pro-Bourbon *Gazette de France*, which grudgingly records this event as follows:

> Rome, November 8, 1710
>
> It is believed that he [the Prince of Avellino] had the arms of the Archduke [Charles III] raised above the gate of his palace and that he subsequently gave a large dinner party, but that it all ended with a concert in his apartment where verses in praise of this prince were sung. (December 6, 1710)
>
> De Rome, le 8 November 1710
>
> On croyoit qu'il feroit élever les armes de l'Archiduc sur la porte de son Palais, & qu'il donneroit ensuite un grand disner; mais tout se termina à une Musique dans ses appartements, où on chanta des vers à la louange de ce Prince. (6 Decembre 1710)

The work or works heard on this occasion in Rome remain unidentified, and nothing is known of the corresponding celebrations that year in Naples.

9.2 Rome and Naples during 1711

The *avvisi di Roma* in Munich preserve much valuable information concerning the operas heard in Rome during the carnival of 1711, including the following candid description of their reception by the public:

9.2.1 Carnival Operas

Rome, January 10, 1711

> Operas have begun to be performed by the gentlemen here in their beautiful theaters. From what one hears, the Most Eminent [Cardinal] Ottoboni's [opera] did not measure up to expectations in respect to its words or its music. Nor were its singers, better suited to the church than to the stage, worthy of the truly beautiful theater with machines in the Palace of the Cancelleria, the opera itself proving to be long and boring. The opera by the Prince of Cerveteri Ruspoli was given in the beautiful, newly remodeled theater in the main hall of his palace . . . Although the opera is regarded as [too] melancholy, the music is very fine. It was performed on Sunday evening [January 4] for a very noble audience. In the front box were seen Donna Maria Bernardina with her son Don Alessandro and the Most Eminent [Cardinals] Ottoboni and Corsini. Soon the opera at the Teatro Capranica will begin, which it is believed will prove to be the best.

Roma, 10 Gennaio 1711

> Fù dato princip.*io* da q*ue*sti S.*ignori* a fare rappresentare ne lor belli Teatri le Opere Musicali, quella dell' Em.*inentissimo* Ottoboni nel palazzo di Cancelleria, *per* quello si sente non

> corrisponde si alla composit.*ione* delle parole, ne à quella di chi l'hà messa in musica, ne meno li Cantanti più da Chiesa, che da scena, al veram.*ente* belliss.*imo* Teatro con Machine, che l'Opera in se riesce lunga, e Tediosa; Quella del Princ*i*pe di Cerveteri Ruspoli nel suo Palazzo il Teatro fatto fare tutto di novo nella sua prima Sala è bello . . . ben' che l'Opera riesce Malinconica, la Musica è boniss.*ima*, Dom.*enica* sera fù rappresentata, vi fù Nobiliss.*ima* Udienza, nel palchetto di faccia vi si vidde la Sig.*nora* D. Maria Bernardina con Il S.*ignore* D. Aless.*andro* Figlio, e li S.*ignori* Em.*inentissimi* Ottoboni, e Corsini. In breve si darà princ*i*p.*io* à quella del Teatro Capranica, che si crede, che sia per riuscire la migliore[.] [620]

According to Reinhard Strohm's very useful overview of the Neapolitan and Roman opera repertory, Filippo Amadei's setting of *Teodosio il giovane* was the work heard in Ottoboni's domestic theater.[621] Ruspoli's first opera of that season was *L'Anagilda ovvero la fede ne' tradimento*.[622] Girolamo Gigli furnished the libretto and Antonio Caldara set it to music. The first opera heard that season in the Teatro Capranica was *L'Engelberta o sia la forza dell' innocenza*. It may have been a revival of the setting by Antonio Orefice and Francesco Mancini heard during the carnival of 1709 in Naples. The *avvisi di Roma* report that at its first performance it was poorly received:

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620. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 198, fol. 161r.

621. Strohm, *Italienische Opernarien*, II, 295.

622. *Ibid.*; Kirkendale, *Caldara*, pp. 57-60.

Rome, January 17, 1711

On Wednesday evening [January 14] with a great crowd of ladies and gentlemen the opera entitled *La Forza dell' Innocenza* was begun at the Teatro Capranica. But because the singers were quite ordinary and the instrumentalists who comprised the unhappy orchestra worse, the opera came off very badly the first evening. It now remains to hear how well the opera being prepared by the Queen of Poland will succeed.

Having seen that his opera was well liked, the Most Eminent [Cardinal] Ottoboni is occupying himself entirely with this entertainment by having the furnishings in the boxes of his theater made more luxurious without a thought to the expense. The Prince of Cerveteri Ruspoli, however, is challenging him in this contest of theatrical [display]. Besides operas, improvised spoken comedies are often being heard and are succeeding very well and to much applause.

Roma, 17 Gennaio 1711

Con gran' concorso di Dame e Sig.*nori* Mercoledi sera fù dato princip.*io* all' Opera Musicale nel Teatro Capranica ove il Dramma è intitolato la Forza dell' Innocenza, Ma per essere li Musici assai ordinari, li sonatori peggio, che formavano un' Orchestra infelice per la prima sera l'Opera riesci mala, ma Male assai, Resta adesso sentire che riuscita sarà per fare l'Opera Musicale, che và prepar.*and*o la Regina di Polonia[.]

Vedutosi dall' Em.*inentissim*o Ottoboni, che l'Opera sua viene molto stimata, stà tutto applicato al d.*ett*o suo divertim.*en*to, con andare sempre più accomodando il suo Teatro senza riguardo à qual si sia spesa in particolare nel comodo de Palchetti; Però il Prin*cip*e di Cerveteri Ruspoli, che garreggia anch' elli nella splendidezza nel genere del Teatro, Oltre l'Opera Musicale, vi fà spesso sentire delle Comedie in prosa all'Improviso che riescono assai bone, et applaudite[.]

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623. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 198, fols. 163v-64r.

The first opera given by Queen Maria Casimira in 1711 was Domenico Scarlatti's setting of Carlo Sigismondo Capeci's libretto *Tolomeo et Alessandro overo la corona disprezzata.* The *avvisi di Roma* in Munich preserve an account of its favorable reception on the evening January 19:

> Rome, January 24, 1711
>
> On Monday evening [January 19] the Queen of Poland had her opera premiered at her Casino at the Trinità dei Monti in which fine singers, both male and female, performed. It was generally applauded as better than all the others.
>
> Roma, 24 Gennaio 1711
>
> Lunedi sera dalla Regina di Polonia fù fatto dar principio à fare rappresentare la Opera Musicale al suo Casino alla Trinit de Monti, ove operano Canterine, e buoni musici, la quale communem.*ente* viene applaudita *per* la Migliore di tutte la altre[.][624]

An *avviso* written a week later reports that both Ottoboni and Ruspoli had begun preparations for the performance of a pastoral opera. Evidently, both gentlemen had decided to inaugurate their respective theaters that year with a serious opera and to follow it with a pastoral. Ruspoli's

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624. *Ibid.*, fol. 165v.

second opera can be identified as Caldara's *La Costanza in amor vince l'inganno*, first heard on February 6, 1711.[625] Ottoboni's second opera has not been identified:

> Rome, January 31, 1711
>
> On Wednesday evening the Queen of Poland heard the opera given by the Most Eminent [Cardinal] Ottoboni, who graciously turned the theater over to Her Majesty so that she might invite the ladies and gentlemen [of her choice]. There were very abundant refreshments for everyone. His Eminence [Ottoboni] is having a little pastoral opera prepared for his theater. The Prince of Cerveteri Ruspoli is doing likewise.
>
> Although the opera at the Teatro Capranica is held to be the worst, there is always a good crowd [in attendance], and a new opera is also being prepared for the said theater.
>
> Roma, 31 Gennaio 1711
>
> Mercoledi sera la Regina di Polonia fù à sentire l'Opera Musicale, fà rappresentare l'Em.*inentissimo* Ottoboni dal quale in quella sera fù concesso liberam.*ente* il Teatro à S.*ua* Maes.ta che ne fece fare l'Invito à Dame, e Sig.*nori*, vi furno *per* tutti abondantiss.*imi* rinfreschi, S.*ua* Em.*inenza* *per* detto suo Teatro fa preparare un Operetta Pastorale in Music, Il simile va facendo preparare Il *Princ*ipe di Cerveteri Ruspoli[.]
>
> Benche l'Opera del Teatro Capranica venga stimata la più inferiore, vi è sempre buon concorso, et anco *per* il d.*etto* Teatro si prepara nuova Opera.[626]

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625. Kirkendale, *Caldara*, p. 57.

626. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 198, fol. 168v.

A week later the following information is reported in one of the *avvisi*:

> Rome, February 7, 1711
>
> Because of the increasing devotion to the feast of the Purification of Our Lady the Blessed Virgin Mary [Monday, February 2] in this city and to render the grace due her in remembrance of the vow made in the year 1703 when the earthquake was felt, the performance of operas, comedies, and balls have been banned on Sunday and Monday by order of His Holiness.
>
> Although the opera performed in the Teatro Capranica is regarded as quite poor, on Tuesday evening [February 3] the Queen of Poland went to hear it. And the four Most Eminent [Cardinals] Ottoboni, Gozzadini, [?], and Conti went . . .
>
> On that same evening [February 3] the Prince of Cerveteri Ruspoli's opera [*L'Anagilda*] was also given. Donna Maria Bernardina was in [one of] the first boxes dressed bizarrely as a Persian wearing a great quantity of very beautiful jewels on her head, arms, and all over [her body]. The Princess Pamphilj, also dressed as a Persian, was in another adjoining [box] with Prince Alexander, the son of the Queen of Poland.
>
> On Tuesday evening almost all the colleges began to perform their comedies. As far as is known, those in the Collegio Clementino were well received.
>
> Rome, 7 Febbraio 1711
>
> Per che sia in resa magg.*iore* Veneratione da questa Città la giornata della Purificatione della Beatiss.*ima* Vergine Maria Nostra Sig.*nora*, e renderli le dovute gratie in memoria del Voto fattosi *per* le scosse di Tremoti ci si fece sentire l'Anno 1703. di Ordine S.*ao* S.*antissimo* furno fatte sospendere *per* Domenica, e Lunedi le

recite delle Opere, e di tutte le Commedie si vanno rappresentando; come anco di festini di
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ballo.

Ben che l'Opera si rappresenta nel Teatro Capranica riesca alquanto debole, la Regina di Polonia volse essere martedi sera, a sentirla, e vi si portorno quattro Sig.*nori* Em.*inentissimi* Ottoboni, Gozzadini, [?], e Conti . . .

La med.*esima* sera fù la recita anco dal Princ*i*pe di Cerveteri Ruspoli, ove ne primi palchetti vi fù la Sig.*nora* D. Maria Bernardina Vestita Bizzaram.*ente* alla Persiana intesta, alla braccia, e da *per* tutto con quantità di belliss.*ime* gioie, come vi fù anco in altro Palchetto contiguo la Princ*i*pessa Pamfilij pur in Abito alla Persiana, con il S.*ignore* Princ*i*pe Aless.*andro* figlio della Regina[.]

Martedi sera diedro principio quasi tutti li Collegi à rappresentare le lor Commedie, *per* quello sin qui si sente, viene applaudito quelle
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del Collegio Clementino[.]

The final account of the 1711 carnival season in the *avvisi di Roma* preserves a brief reference to Domenico Scarlatti's opera *L'Orlando overo la gelosa pazzia*, Queen Maria Casimira's second and final work of the season:

Rome, February 21, 1711

As an end to carnival . . . the operas and comedies were performed in the usual theaters, with a festive gathering held at the Casino of the Queen of Poland at the Trinità dei Monti which began after the opera at six hours [of night], where there were masquerades by sixty ladies. Her majesty's niece, the Princess, danced and, wearing very beautiful jewels, presented a rich spectacle;

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627. *Ibid.*, fol. 169r.

628. *Ibid.*, fols. 169v-170r.

and they [all] danced until after thirteen hours of Wednesday.

Roma, 21 Febbraio 1711

Terminatosi il Carnovale . . . la sera furno rappresentate ne soliti Teatri le Opere, e Commedie, Con un' festino fattosi al Casino della Regina di Polonia alla trinità de Monti, doppo la Opera, principatosi a ore sei, ove furno da sessanta dame mascherate, ci ballò la Principessa Nipote di S.*ua* M.*aesta*, che fece una ricca comparsa con belliss.*ime* gioie, e ballarno sin passate le ore 13 del mercoledi mattina[.][629]

9.2.2 The Nameday Celebration for the Emperor Joseph I

The celebrations in Rome sponsored by the Marquis of Prié*on March 19, the feast of Saint Joseph and the nameday of the Emperor, are briefly recounted in an *avviso* dated March 21, 1711. Mass was sung in the Church of S. Maria dell' Anima with "the finest singers of the city and very good consorts of various instruments" (*li migliori musici della Città, e bonissimi Concerti di quantità di Varij strumenti*). Later that day the Marquis gave a dinner for many guests at which "there was a band of trumpets and other instruments" (*vi fù concerto di Trombe, et altri strumenti*).[630]

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629. *Ibid.*, fol 173r-v.

630. *Ibid.*, fol 183r-v.

Much of this information is confirmed in a letter by Charles-François Poerson, the Director of the French Academy in Rome. Evidently much instrumental music was heard on this occasion, but no cantata or serenata:

> On Saint Joseph's day, the nameday of the Emperor, the Marquis of Prié held a grand festival and gave a magnificent dinner attended by the Prince of Avellino (the Archduke's Ambassador), Prince Don Livio Odescalchi, and more than eighty persons of Roman as well as of German, English and other nationality who, during the meal, were treated to a grand concert of violins, trumpets and drums. Following this they took a promenade and returned that evening where there was a grand ball which lasted until dawn.
>
> Le jour de St Joseph, feste de l'Empereur, M. le Marquis de Priez fit une grande feste et donna un magnifique disné, où se trouvèrent le Prince d'Avelino, Ambassadeur de l'Archiduc, le Prince Dom Livio Odeschalchy et plus de quatre-vingt personnes, tant Romains, Allemands, Anglois qu'autres géniaux, qui, pendant le repas, furent régalez d'une grande musique de violons, trompettes et timbales; ensuite de quoi l'on fut à la promenade et l'on revint le soir, où il y eut grand bal qui dura jusqu'au jour.[631]

9.2.3 An Opera Planned for Performance during May

Two extracts from the *avvisi di Roma* in Munich show that Queen Maria Casimira attempted to have an opera performed

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631. M. Anatole de Montaiglon, *Correspondance des Directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome avec les Surintendants des Bâtiments* (Paris: Charavay Frères, 1889), III, 456, letter no. 1499 dated March 21, 1711.

during May, either in the Teatro Capranica or in her domestic theater at the Trinità dei Monti. It is doubtful that such a performance ever took place, however, and no such work can be identified in the literature:

> Rome, April 11, 1711
>
> The Queen of Poland has not only repeatedly made new requests to His Holiness by means of the Most Eminent [Caruinal] Sacripanti that she be permitted to perform an opera this coming month of May in the Teatro Capranica (although it has been all but refused), but she has even tried to enlist the support of the Most Eminent [Cardinal] Ottoboni and of other Cardinals well disposed toward her when they visited her to wish her well during the coming celebrations of Easter. The arrival of her son Prince James Sobieski, who is bringing the famous female singer Tilla[632] [Maria Domenica Pini] and other fine musicians with him, is expected daily.
>
> Rome, May 4, 1711
>
> The Queen of Poland and her son Prince Alexander Sobieski are doing everything possible to have an opera performed in the theater at her casino at the Trinità dei Monti at the end of the present month. To this end fine singers have been engaged including the famous female vocalist Tilla, who has already arrived here. They have been sent here by Her Majesty's oldest son Prince James Sobieski, who was about to come here from Venice. Hearing of the recent death of the Emperor Joseph, he has changed his mind and returned to his estates.

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632. According to a letter published in Fabbri, *Alessandro Scarlatti e il Principe Ferdinando de' Medici*, pp. 74-76, Tilla sang the soprano role of Rossane in Alessandro Scarlatti's opera *Il Gran Tamerlano* (Pratolino, September 1706). She also sang the role of Filli at the Venitian performance of Francesco de Lemene's opera *La Ninfa Apollo* (Venice, Teatro S. Cassiano, Carnival 1709).

Roma, 11 aprile 1711

Questa Regina di Polonia non solam.*ente* hà fatto replicare *per* mezzo dell' Em.*inentissimo* Sacripante nuovi offizij à S.*ua* Santità che li sia concesa licenza di poter rappresentare Un Opera in Musica nel Teatro Capranica q*ue*sta pros.*simo* mese di maggio, Che già li fù quasi negato; ha voluto anco interporvi l'Em.*inentissimo* Ottoboni, et altri Em.*inentissimi* sua bene affetti in occas.*ione*, sono stati à passarli li complimenti de felici Auguri nella pros.*sima* Pasqua e feste; Attende di giorno, in giorno l'arrivo del P*rincipe* Giacomo Subieschi figlio, che conduce con se la Tilla famosa Canterina, et altri buoni professori della Musica.[633]

Roma, 4 maggio 1711

La Regina di Polonia, e Princ*ipe* Aless.*andro* Subieschi suo figlio vanno allestendo il bisognevole, *per* fare rappresentare nel Teatro al Casino alla Trinità de Monti *per* alla fine del corr.*ente* mese un' Opera in Musica, con essersi provisti di buoni musici, con essere già qua comparsa la Tilla famosa cantarina, Indirizatali dal Princ*ipe* Giacomo Subieschi pur' figlio magg.*iore* di S.*ua* M.*aesta*, che stava à Venezia *per* quà venire, sentito la seguita Morte dell' Imper.*atore* Giuseppe, mutato pensiero, e ritornato à suoi Governi.[634]

9.2.4 Music during the Summer

Whether or not an opera was in fact performed in May of that year, the Queen of Poland's singers had ample opportunity to display their talents at the many gatherings

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633. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 198, fols. 188v-189r.

634. *Ibid.*, fol. 197r.

arranged in the patrician chambers of Rome that spring and summer. The following extract from the *avvisi di Roma* furnishes an idea of the difficulties encountered by diplomats and musicians in a society where precedence and honor were easily offended:

Rome, August 8, 1711

> News is circulating concerning the unpleasant state of affairs between the Queen of Poland and the Marquis of Prié. It was started for the most part by Roberto Bellarmini, a gentleman of the Queen, who was obligated by the Marchese Rinaldo Del Bufalo to have Tilla sing at a social gathering in his house which was to be attended by the Marquis of Prié, by his wife and son, and by the Contestabile Colonna and his wife. Everything was readied that evening when the said singer sent word that she could not be there to oblige them because of honest difficulties. This, then, being reported to those personages in the said social gathering, [Bellarmini] would not allow her [to be absent]. Because it was said that Bellarmini went about this too boldly, throwing the blame also on another female vocalist of Her Majesty, who by implication would have been slandered, the Queen finally became angry, discharged Bellarmini from her service, and had an apartment in her own residence given to Tilla. The Marquis of Prié*took great offense at this, believing that the Queen had not permitted [Tilla] to go sing at the Marchese Del Bufalo's social gathering because of his presence there, and that an insult was meant for him and no one else. When this came to be understood, but not resolved because ladies were involved, Prince Alexander, the Queen's son, was almost compromised in this affair, since if the Marquis of Prié and the Contestabile Colonna had wished to hear Tilla sing during the time that operas are to be performed this summer, the best boxes would have gone to the said gentlemen. The Marchese Silvio Maccarani took it upon himself to try to resolve this unpleasant situation and entered into negotiations with Their Serene Highnesses [of Tuscany] through Count Fede [the

Medici Ambassador] concerning the agreement permitting Tilla to come here and to serve the Queen. In the interest of the common good many solutions were proposed but all were rejected by one side or the other. On Wednesday morning by dispatch sent from the Princess of Bavaria, the wife of Prince Ferdinando [dei Medici], the Queen was desired to accede to the recall [to Florence] of her *virtuosa* Tilla. On Monday night the Queen's son Prince Alexander had her sing a serenata with two other of their domestic singers on the well-furnished balcony of his apartment facing the Church of the Trinità dei Monti where a great crowd gathered, and it was said that he had her sing in public so that everyone might hear her.

Roma, 8 agosto 1711

Correvan qual che disgusto impegno fra la Regina di Polonia et il March.*ese* di Prie, Originato *per* lo più da Roberto Bellarmini gentilomo della med.*esima per* esservi impegnato con il March.*ese* Rinaldo del Bufalo di fare andare in sua Casa la Tilla à cantare in una Conversatione ove vi sarebbero stati li S.*ignori* March.*ese* di Prie sua Sig.*nora* Consorte e Figlio, Contes.*tabile* Colonna, e Contestabilessa, stava tutto allestito la d.*etta* sera, quando la detta Canterina mandò à dire, non potere essere à servirli *per* suoi giusti impedim.*enti*, risaputosi poi che venuto a saperlo de Personaggi, che erano in detta Conversat.*ione*, non volse darli licenza che dicosi ne andava propalando con tutta libertà il sud.*etto* Belarmini con darne la colpa anco all' altra Cantarina di S.*ua* M.*aesta* che *per* emulatione ne' havessi anco q*uesta* sparlato, in fine la Regina se ne alterò, licenzò il Belarmini dal suo servitio, et alla Tilla li fece dare appartam.*ento* nella sua prop.*ria* abitat.*ione*; del che alquanto se ne dimostrò mal sodisfatto il M.*archese* di Prie, concepito in se, che la Regina non havesse permessa la licenza l'andare à cantare nella Conversat.*ione* del March.*ese* del Bufalo, *per* che vi si haveva à ritrovare lui, e che tale affronto veniva à lui, e non ad' altri, con essertene anco dare *per* inteso, e non venire à risolut.*ioni per* havere da fare con Dame, Il Pr*inci*pe Aless.*andro* figlio della Regina, anco esso sparlato sopra tal fatto, che se il M.*archese*

di Prie, e Contes.*tabi*le Colonna havessero voluto sentire cantare la Tilla, nel tempo si son fatte rappresentare le opere in musica la p*rese*nte estate, li p.*ri*mi luoghi sarian stati p*er* detti Sig.*nori*; p*er* rimediare à qual che inconveniente vi potesse nascere Il Marche.se Silvio Maccherani, ne fece negotio con Il Conte Fede in qual negotio à firenze, con li Ser.*inissi*mi la venuta quà della Tilla p*er* servire in queste recite la Regina, p*er* quiete comune furno proposti più modi di aggiustam.*en*ti si dal una parte, q*ua*nto dall' altra venivano rigettati; Mercoledi mattina p*er* staffetta venuta da Firenze stata fatta spedire dalla Pr*inci*pessa di Baviera consorte del Pr*inci*pe Ferdinando alla med.*esi*ma Regina, Si volesse contentare rimandarli la sua Virtuosa Tilla. Il Pr*inci*pe Aless.*andro* figlio della Regina lunedi notte, sopra la ringhiera al suo appartam.*en*to bene accomodata p*er* verso la Chiesa della Trinità de Monti, con altri due musici pur di lor Casa la fece cantare una Serenata, ove fù gran Concorso, e disse, l'hà fatta cantare in publico, p*er* farla sentire à tutti.[635]

The above reference to operas performed during the summer of 1711 is enigmatic, and no such works are known. The serenata sung by Tilla and two other of Maria Casimira's singers remains unidentified. Domenico Scarlatti may well have been involved in this work since he was then engaged as the Queen's *maestro di cappella*.

The *avvisi di Roma* in Munich report as follows several other serenatas heard that summer, although none of them can be identified:

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635. *Ibid.*, fols. 223v-224v.

Rome, August 15, 1711

The Piazza Navona having been flooded with the customary water because these are now the hottest days, one is made to feel much cooler. On Saturday night Prince Pamphilj had many cantatas sung by one of his female vocalists and two fine male singers accompanied by a good band of various instruments, clarins, and trumpets, on several skiffs . . .

Roma, 15 agosto 1711

Allagata Piazza Navona dalle solite Acque ben che in quei giorni, che son li caldi maggiori, si fecero sentire assai fresche; sabato notte sopra alcune Barchette Il Principe Pamphilj vi fece cantare in compagnia di due boni musici, una sua Cantarina, con l'accompagnam.ento di bon concerto e di varij strumenti, Clarini, e Trombe, più
636.
Cantate . . .

Rome, August 15, 1711

As is the generous custom of the Most Eminent [Cardinal] Ottoboni, who pays no heed to his increasing debts, the feast of Saint Lawrence [August 10] was celebrated with no regard for the expense of the many guests invited to his Church [S. Lorenzo in Damaso] in the Cancelleria on Monday. It was entirely decorated with rich and beautiful hangings [and] with much silver. The music was very good, [and] the motets, sung by fine singers, elevating. The remainder [of the services], that is Vespers and Mass, was sung in Gregorian with *falso bordone* by a great many singers. The said orchestra was very good, [and] very fine *sinfonie* composed by the very accomplished Arcangelo [Corelli], who even performed in person, were heard as played by about forty instruments.

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636. *Ibid.*, fol. 225r.

Roma, 15 agosto 1711

Al Costume di solita generosità regnante nell' Em.*inentissimo* Ottoboni, senza riguardo alcune di accrescimento à Debiti, oltre il gran' convito fatto in d.*etta* mattina di lunedi à molti Sig.*nori*, Vi solennizzo nella sua Chiesa di Cancelleria la festa di S. Lorenzo, tutta bene apparata di ricche, e belle Tappezerie, quantità di Argenti; boniss.*ima* Musica, levati li Motetti, che furno cantati da buoni musici, Il restante, cioè Vespri, e Messa furno cantati alla Greçoriana da quantità di musici con boni falsi Bordoni il d.*etto* Concerto fù buoniss.*imo*, Vi furno anco sentite buoniss.*ime* Zinfonie, sonate da circa quaranta Istrumenti, le composit.*ioni* del Virtuos.*issimo* Arcang.*elo* che vi sonò anco lui
637
med.*esimo* . . .

Rome, August 15, 1711

On that same evening [Monday, August 10] the Most Eminent [Cardinal] Colonna had a great number of lights bizarrely arranged behind his palace by the garden. And the arms of the Pope and of the Colonna were conspicuously placed above and below two large burning suns above the bridge near the convent of the fathers of the Santi Apostoli. A fine serenata, alluding to his late father Lorenzo [Onofrio Colonna], was sung by three of the best singers and accompanied by a numerous and well-ordered band of various instruments. All the ambassadors as well as the Marquis of Prié*[and] his wife and daughter were there to hear it. Coaches had already been sent very early that morning to fill the places in the Piazzetta [della Pilotta] and almost all of the so-called Viale della Pilotta assigned by Count Amilcar, the Contestabile's master of horse, who led the horses away. That night at the appointed time the said coaches were occupied by the ladies and cavaliers to whom they belonged. The said festival was thought to be very beautiful. The crowd of people was immense. The refreshments were distributed in an orderly manner and without any difficulty. The

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637. *Ibid.*, fol. 225r-v.

Venetian Ambassador heard it from the window of the convent of the Santi Apostoli.

Roma, 15 agosto 1711

La med.*esi*ma sera dall' Em.*inentissi*mo Colonna *per* dietro al lor Palazzo *per* [?] il Giardino, bizzaram.*ente* si vidde da *per* tutto ben scompartiti quantità grande di lumi, e con Arme del Papa, e Colonna Collocati sotto e sopra due alluminati, e gran soli, sopra il ponte *per* verso il Convento de P.P. de SS.i Apostoli da tre boni e migliori musici vi si sentì cantare una bona serenata allude alla memoria di Lorenzo suo Padre accompagnata da numeroso, e ben concertato vari strumenti, A sentirla vi furno tutti *que*sti S.*ignori* Mi*nistri* de Princ*ipi*; Sig.*nora* Consorte e figlia del M*arche*.se di Priè; Già *per* la piazzetta, e quasi da *per* tutto il Viale detto della pilotta, la mattina di bon ora vi furno mandate Carrozze à prender luoghi distribuiti dal Conte Amilcar Cavallerizzo del Contes.*tabi*le Che levati li Cavalli, la sera al tempo debito tutte ripiene di Dame, e Caval.*ieri* P*adroni* delle med.*esi*me Carozze; La d.*etta* festa fù stimata Belliss.*ima*, Il Concorso del Popolo vi fu grandiss.*imo* li rinfreschi furno dispensati con buon' ord.*ine* senz' alcuna doglienza di niuno; l'Amb.*asciatore* di Venezia fù à sentirla ad' Una finestra del convento di SS. Apostoli[.] 638

Rome, August 22, 1711

Through the good offices of Count Fede [the Medici Ambassador], the few remaining difficulties between the Queen of Poland and the Marquis of Prié concerning the singer Tilla have been resolved. All the blame was put on Roberto Bellarmini, who finds himself no longer in Her Majesty's service. And Tilla is to remain here to serve Her Majesty during the coming carnival.

Roma, 22 agosto 1711

Con li boni maneggi del Conte Fede, restorno aggiustate le piccoli pendenze vertenti à conto

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638. *Ibid.*, fol. 225v.

della Tilla Canterina tra la Regina di Polonia, e M.*archese* di Prié, datone la colpa di tutto a Roberto Bellarmini, che si trova fuori del servitio di S.*ua* M.*aesta* e la Tilla, restà quà àservire S.*ua* M.*aesta* *per* il Venturo Carnovale[.] 639

Rome, September 19, 1711

A serenata by two of her female and two of her male singers with a good consort of instruments was heard on the same Saturday [September 12] from the balcony which Her Majesty [Queen Maria Casimira] had previously furnished above the main entrance to her residence at the Trinità dei Monti in order that cantatas and serenatas be given there. It did not receive great applause, however, especially since the chill of the north wind that night caused many of the ladies and gentlemen in their coaches to leave before it was over. Upon hearing the noise Her Majesty said that if this weather continues it would be better to cease [giving] serenatas and to begin, or to think about [beginning], the operas to be sung this coming carnival.

Roma, 19 settembre 1711

Alla Ringhiera gia fattasi accomodare da S.*ua* M.*aesta* sopra il Portone di sua abitat.*ione* alla Trinità de Monti, *per* farvi sentire e cantate, e serenate, la med.*esima* sera di sabato dalle sue due Canterine, et altri due suoi musici, con bon concerto di strumenti vi fù sentita Serenata, che non hebbe grande applauso, tanto più, che la Tramontana in quella notte si fece sentire causò, che più Carrozzate di Dame, e Sig.*nori* si partirno, avanti restasse terminata, nel sentirsi da S.*ua* M.*aesta* Il rumore, disse, se q*uesto* tempo và seguitando, sarà bene tralasciare le serenate, e dar' princip.*io* ò pensare alle Opere da farsi cantare il Venturo Carnovale. 640

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639. *Ibid.*, fol. 228v.

640. *Ibid.*, fol. 235r-v.

In addition to the anonymous works referred to above, it appears that Francesco Maria Ruspoli presented at least one serenata during the summer of 1711. On August 24 of that year Ruspoli was billed for the copying of a *Serenata a 3* (Mercurio, Adone, Venere). Antonio Caldara has been identified as its composer.[641]

9.2.5 Celebrations at Naples for the Nameday of Charles VI

On April 17, 1711, the Austrian Emperor Joseph I died, and on October 12 of that year his younger brother Charles III, the Habsburg pretender to the throne of Spain, acceded to the throne of the Holy Roman Empire as Charles VI. Thus the celebration of Charles' nameday on November 4, 1711, was of particular significance. Even the pro-Bourbon *Gazette de France* reported the following from Naples:

> Naples, November 3, 1711
>
> The celebrations for the election of the Archduke will begin tomorrow and will last for three evenings. (December 5, 1711)
>
> De Naples, le 3 Novembre 1711
>
> Les festes pour l'Election de l'Archiduc commenceront demain & dureront trois soirs. (5 Decembre 1711)

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641. Kirkendale, *Caldara*, pp. 64, 368.

Naples, November 10, 1711

On the fourth of this month the public festivities for the election of the Archduke as Emperor began after the [Viceroy] Count Borromeo had ceremonially received the compliments of all the ministers and nobility. On the fifth, which was the third evening of illuminations, he was obliged to go to various places in the city to observe the preparations for the fireworks at sea with some large structures loaded with fruit, confection, and other refreshments to be abandoned to the populace. But a half hour after nightfall such a furious rain fell that all the lights were extinguished, the decorations displayed at various places wrecked, and the fireworks ruined to such an extent that on the following day the machines had to be abandoned to the pillage of the populace; and the Viceroy gave a concert in the hall of the palace. (December 12, 1711)

De Naples, le 10 Novembre 1711

Le 4 de ce mois, on commença les rejouissances publiques pour l'Election de l'Archiduc à l'Empire, aprés que le Comte Borromée eut receu en ceremonie les compliments de tous les Corps & de la Noblesse. Le 5, qui estoit le troisiéme soir des illuminations, il devoit aller en divers endroits de la Ville, pour voir les preparatifs des feux d'artifice preparez sur la Mer, avec de grandes machines chargées de fruits, de confitures & d'autres rafrachissements qui devoient estre abandonnées à la populace. Mais à une demie heure de nuit, il tomba une pluye si furieuse, qu'elle esteignit toutes les illuminations, gasta les tentures qui estoient en plusieurs endroits, & deconcerta les artifices de telle maniere, que le lendemain il fallut se contenter d'abandonner à*la populace le pillage des machines, & le Viceroy donna una musique dans le salon du Palais. (12 Decembre 1711)

9.2.5.1 Alessandro Scarlatti's Serenata *Amore, Pace e Providenza*

The *Gazzetta di Napoli* of November 10, 1711, preserves a more flattering account of these festivities. Although it fails to shed any light on the music heard in the Royal Palace on November 5, it mentions as follows the performance of a serenata by Alessandro Scarlatti on November 4:

> At nightfall of the same Wednesday [November 4] . . . a noble serenata praising His Majesty was sung with very pleasing melodies by three voices and four choruses on a suitable stage in the square [in sight of the balconies of the Royal Palace]. [The words] were admirably composed by the Abbate [Giuseppe] Papis, [and] it was set to music by the celebrated master of the Royal Chapel [Alessandro] Scarlatti. It ended with [the exclamation] "Long live Charles" followed by several joyful salvos of cannon fire after which a vast and very beautiful firework display was set off . . .
>
> Sù l'imbrunire dello stesso Mercordi . . . in quella piazza . . . dove poi, sovra uno adeguato Palco con gratissima melodia a 3. voci, e 4. Cori si cantò una nobil Serenata in preggio di S.M., composta egregiamente dall' Abbate Papis, posta in musica dal rinomato Maestro della Real Cappella, Scarlati [*sic*], al terminarsi della quale col Viva, Viva Carlo, segui il plauso d'alcuni strepitosi spari giolivi, e successivamente principiò ad incendiarsi una vastissima machina di vaghissimo fuoco artificiale . . . [642]

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642. This extract from the *Gazzetta di Napoli* is reproduced in part by Prota-Giurleo, "Breve storia," p. 89.

The work heard on this occasion survives in three manuscript scores and a printed libretto. Edward Dent, who knew of only one of these scores and who did not know of the printed libretto, named this serenata *Pace, Amore e Providenza* after the three allegorical figures represented by the soloists.[643] In fact, these characters are listed in the order *Amore, Pace e Providenza* in the libretto, and the serenata will be listed under this title in the present study. Like Dent's title for this serenata, *Amore, Pace e Providenza* is not the original title of the work and does not date from the eighteenth century.

Dent mistakenly thought that the text of *Amore, Pace e Providenza* made reference to the Peace of Rastatt, 1714. Of the serenata he wrote:

> The libretto is more than usually political. *Providence* quite early in the work informs *Peace* and *Love* that it is all very well for them to sing "*Viva amore*," but that it is really owing to him (*Providence* is a bass) that Charles is firmly established, not only on the throne of Naples, but on several others as well. *Love*, however, insists that it was he who "smoothed his path to the Iberian throne" and also presented Charles to "afflicted Germany." *Peace* appears to feel rather hurt at the other two taking to themselves all the credit of the recent diplomatic successes, and threatens to go away, but is restrained by *Providence*, and

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643. Dent, *Scarlatti*, p. 131.

"Now that the Ebro, Danube, and the
Rhine

Haste with their tribute to the feet
of Charles,"

we end with the usual chorus of jubilation.[644]

With the discovery of the printed libretto there can be no doubt that *Amore, Pace e Providenza* was the serenata mentioned in the *Gazzetta* of November 10, 1711. The title page of the libretto clearly identifies the occasion and date of its performance, and on page five the performers and composer are listed as follows:

INTERLOCUTORI.
Amore *il Sig. Domenico Antonelli.*
La Pace *il Sig. Domenico Tempesti.*
La Providenza *il Sig. D. Antonio Manna.*
Cori *i Musici della R. Cappella.*
Musica del Signor Alessandro Scarlatti
Maestro della Real Cappella.

The title page of the libretto and the *Gazzetta* report that the serenata required four choruses in addition to the three soloists. Each of these four SATB choruses probably consisted of only one singer to a part and each chorus may have been placed in a different part of the theatrical machine from which the serenata was sung.

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644. *Ibid.*, pp. 131-32.

9.2.5.2 An Unidentified Work by Nicola Porpora

In addition to Scarlatti's serenata *Amore, Pace e Providenza*, it is very likely that other works were heard around this time in Naples. According to Alberto Pironti, a "Composizione drammatica [title unknown]" by Nicola Porpora was heard in Naples in the palace of the Prince of Hessen-Darmstadt in November, 1711.[645] Perhaps this work is the same as Porpora's *Serenata a tre voci* (Deianira, Iola, Ercole), a score of which is preserved in the Austrian National Library, Vienna. According to Helmut Hell this score is of Neapolitan provenance and dates from around 1712.[646]

9.3 Naples and Rome during 1712

On May 22, 1712, the Emperor Charles VI was officially crowned King Charles III of Hungary, adding this land to the many others over which he ruled. This news was received

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645. Alberto Pironti, "Porpora, Nicola," *The New Grove* XV, 126.

646. Helmut Hell, *Die Neapolitanische Opernsinfonie in der ersten hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1971), p. 511.

with great rejoicing throughout the Habsburg Empire, and even the *Gazette de France* was obliged to report the following celebrations on this occasion from Naples:

> Naples, June 21, 1712
>
> On the nineteenth the [Viceroy] Count Borromeo held royal chapel in the Church of Santa Chiara for the coronation of the Archduke as King of Hungary, and that evening there were serenades and fireworks at sea and in front of the [Royal] Palace. (July 23, 1712)
>
> De Naples, le 21 Juin 1712
>
> Le 19, le Comte Borromée tint Chapelle Royal dans l'Eglise de Sainte Claire, à cause du Couronnement de l'Archiduc, en qualité de Roy de Hongrie, & il y eut le soir des serenades & des feux d'artifice sur mer & devant le Palais. (23 Juillet 1712)

The Venetian *residente* Antonio Paolucci likewise witnessed these festivities and reported the following to his superiors in an *avviso* dated June 21, 1712:

> Last Sunday [June 19] the Viceroy held royal chapel here in the Church of Santa Chiara where the *Te Deum* was solemnly sung with volleys of artillery fire from the castles for the coronation which occurred on the twenty-second of last May in Possonia of Charles III as King of Hungary; and that night the nobility were entertained with a serenata in the Royal Palace to which the foreign diplomats were also invited.
>
> Domenica passata tenne il S.*ignor* Vice Rè Capella Reale in questa Chiesa di s.*an*ta Chiara dove fù cantato solennem.*en*te il Te Deum sotto lo sbaro della artigliaria del Castello *per* la corronatione seguita in Possonia il di 22 del scaduto maggio di Carlo 3.° in Re d'Ungheria, e la notte trattene nel Regio Palazzo la Nobiltà con

una serenata, à cui intervenero anco li ministri
di Principi.[647]

A more detailed account of these celebrations is furnished by the *Gazzetta di Napoli* of June 21, 1712:

> The happy news from the Imperial court of Vienna to the effect that His Imperial Catholic Majesty the Emperor (and our Lord and King, may God preserve him) was crowned King of Hungary in Possonia on the twenty-second of last May (an account of which is to be published separately) having reached His Excellency our Viceroy Count Borromeo, His Excellency immediately made arrangements that it be celebrated. Thus, on the morning of last Sunday . . . [June 19, he received the compliments of the nobility after which they all went to the Church of Santa Chiara where] . . . *Te Deum* and Mass were sung by the Royal Chapel, animated by the harmonious voice of the celebrated Matteuccio [Matteo Sassano] . . . And as a crown for the celebration of this royal coronation, His Excellency had a noble serenata sung, the introduction of which was performed by the Royal Genius of Austria. [It was] set to music by the famous master of the Royal Chapel [Alessandro] Scarlatti, and the said Sassano likewise sang [in it]. There were several beautiful firework displays of new invention which, while burning nearby at sea, were enjoyed by that entire noble assembly from the open loggias and garden where the singing took place . . . the quantity, variety and rare quality of the refreshments being beyond description . . .
>
> Pervenuto a S.E. il Conte Borromeo nostro Vice Rè il fausto avviso dall' Imperial Corte di Vienna, che S.M. Cesar. e Catt. l'Imperatore, e Rè N.S.D.G. che erasi coronato Rè d'Ungheria in Possonia a' 22 del caduto Maggio di cui vi è Relazione a parte, fè subito S.E. prevenire le funzioni per festeggiarla, ond'è che la mattina della scorsa Domenica . . . Te Deum, e Messa da'

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647. ASV, Dispacci degli ambasciatori al senato, Napoli, filza 114.

> Musici della Real Cappella, animata dagli Armonici concenti del rinomato Matteuccio Sassano . . . E per coronare il Festiggiamento [*sic*] di una tal Real Coronazione fe S.E. cantare ivi una nobil Serenata, la cui introduzione figurava il Real Genio Austriaco, posta in Musica dal famoso maestro della Real Cappella, Scarlatti, e cantovvi altresì il nomato Sassano. Vi furono alcuni vaghi fuochi di nuova invenzione, che brucciaronsi nel contiguo mare, goduti dalle scoperte Loggie, e Giardino, essendo esplicabile la copiosità, la 648 varietà, e rara condizione de' Rinfreschi . . .

9.3.1 Alessandro Scarlatti's *Serenata for the Coronation of Charles III as King of Hungary*

In the modern work-lists for Alessandro Scarlatti this serenata appears under the title *Il Genio Austriaco*. Neither a score nor a libretto for this work is known to have survived, however, and the documents cited above fail to record its true title or even to mention the number of singers required. It is curious to note that the allegorical figure "the Genius of Austria" sang an introduction to a serenata by Alessandro Scarlatti in 1713 and also appeared in the prologue of the composer's opera *La Virtù trionfante dell'Odio e dell'Amore* (Naples, May 1716). Because so little is known about the serenata of 1712 and to reduce the possibility of confusing it with the serenata of 1713, the earlier work will be called the

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648. Reproduced in part by Prota-Giurleo, "Breve storia," p. 89.

Serenata for the Coronation of Charles III as King of Hungary.

9.3.2 The Nameday Celebration in Rome for Louis XIV

Soon after the election of Charles VI as Holy Roman Emperor the maritime powers withdrew their support from the Habsburg cause. Peace negotiations began in earnest in early 1712, and with the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht on April 11, 1713, as well as a complex series of pacts among the powers extending to 1715, the War of the Spanish Succession was brought to a close. After suffering a number of reverses such as the loss of Naples in 1707, it was clear by the summer of 1712 that the Bourbons would emerge from this conflict more powerful than ever. With the intention of conspicuously displaying the prestige of their monarch, several leaders of the Bourbon faction in Rome celebrated the nameday of Louis XIV with a brilliant public entertainment described in the *Gazette de France* as follows:

> Rome, August 27, 1712
>
> On the twenty-fifth, the feast of Saint Louis the King of France, Cardinal de la Trémoille held chapel in the nation's church [San Luigi dei Francesi] where the feast was celebrated with a large apparatus and much magnificence; and twenty-seven cardinals were there, those not in attendance having sent their excuses. That evening Prince Vaini had the interior and exterior of his palace illuminated and gave a large concert of voices and instruments where many verses in

praise of the King were sung. At the same time, Don Joseph Molinès had the Palazzo di Spagna illuminated by a great number of torches and had refreshments distributed to the personages of quality and to the people in celebration of the birth of the Prince of Spain on this same day in 1707. (September 24, 1712)

De Rome, le 27 Aoust 1712

Le 25, Feste de S. Louis Roy de France, le Cardinal de la Tremoille tint Chapelle dans l'Eglise de la Nation, où la Feste fut celebrée avec un grand appareil & beaucoup de magnificence, & il s'y trouva vingt sept Cardinaux: ceux qui n'y assisterent pas ayant envoyé faire leurs excuses. Le soir le Prince Vaini fit illuminer son Palais dedans & dehors, & donna un grand concert de voix & d'instruments, où on chanta plusieurs vers à la louange du Roy. Don Joseph Molinès fit en mesme temps illuminer le Palais d'Espagne d'un grand nombre de flambeaux, & distribuer des rafraischissements aux persones de qualitè & au peuple, à cause de la naissance du Prince d'Espagne nè le mesme jour 1707. (24 Septembre 1712)

Since Alessandro Scarlatti was at this time in Habsburg service as master of the Royal Chapel of Naples, it would seem highly unlikely that music of his was heard on this occasion in Rome. Yet a letter by Charles-François Poerson, the Director of the French Academy in Rome, reports the surprising news:

August 27, 1712

Prince Vaini gave a celebration in front of his palace on the feast of Saint Louis which was well applauded. The verses, all of which were in praise of the King, were the composition of the lawyer [Giovambattista Felice] Zappi, son-in-law of the Cavalier [Carlo] Maratti, and the music by the famous Scarlatti. The facade [of Vaini's palace] was well decorated, and refreshments were

distributed there even to those in the square in their coaches.

Monsignore Molinés, who occupies the Palazzo di Spagna facing Vaini's palace, had his palace illuminated and gave out a vast amount of refreshments; and all about the square the cry "Long live Louis the Great" was heard.

27 Aoust 1712

M. le Prince Vaïni a fait une feste, le jour de St Louis, devant son Palais, qui a esté fort applaudie. Les vers, qui estoient tous à la gloire du Roy, sont de la composition de l'Avocat Sapi [*sic*], gendre du Cavalier *Maratto*, et la musique du fameux Scarlati [*sic*]. La façade étoit bien ornée, et l'on y distribuoit des raffraischissements, jusqu'à ceux qui étoient dans des carosses sur la Place.

Monseigneur Molinés, qui occupe le Palais d'Espagne vis à vis Vayni [*sic*], fit illuminer son Palais et donner abondance de raffraichissemens, et l'on entendit, par toute la Place, crier, à haute vois: "Vive à toujours le grand Louis."[649]

Giovambattista Felice Zappi, the librettist of the serenata set by the "fameux Scarlati," is known to have previously collaborated with Alessandro Scarlatti sometime during the first decade of the eighteenth century at a gathering of the Roman Arcadian Society.[650] The "fameux Scarlati" referred to by Poerson, however, was probably Domenico Scarlatti, who in 1712 was employed in Rome as the

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649. Montaiglon, *Correspondance des Directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome*, IV, 142-43.

650. Cited above in connection with the serenata *Venere, Amore e Ragione*.

chapel master of Queen Maria Casimira, an acknowledged member of the Bourbon faction. Although there is no hint of such a serenata in the work-list of Domenico, he is known to have composed a *Cantata à trè Voci* for performance in Queen Maria Casimira's palace, probably on September 12, 1712. Only Carlo Sigismondo Capeci's text of this work is known to have survived.[651]

9.3.3 Nicola Porpora's Cantata for the Emperor's Nameday Celebration

A *Cantata a quattro voci* (Fortuna, Genio, Valore, Gloria) by Nicola Porpora has been identified by Helmut Hell as the work given by the Imperial Ambassador, the Marquis of Prié, to mark the Emperor's nameday at Rome on November 4, 1712. Although no account of its performance is known, a complete score for parts one and two of the cantata is preserved in the National Library, Vienna,[652] and an autograph score of the second part only is owned by the British Library, London.[653] Of the latter score Hell reports:

> In it information is found showing that this part was composed in the period October 29 to

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651. Kirkpatrick, *Domenico Scarlatti*, pp. 52, 418.

652. A Wn, 17642.

653. GB Lbl, 14120.

November 2, 1712. Thus the cantata was certainly composed for the nameday of the Emperor, November 4.

Darin finden sich Angaben, nach denen dieser Teil in der Zeit vom 29. Okt. bis zum 2. Nov. 1712 komponiert wurde. Die Kantate ist also sicher für den Namenstag des Kaisers (4. Nov.) entstanden.[654]

9.4 Rome and Naples during 1713

At the news of the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht the Portuguese Ambassador at Rome, the Marques de Fontes, held a celebration which included musical performances on May 3 and 5, 1713. Charles-François Poerson describes these festivities as follows:

May 6, 1713

. . . the Ambassador of Portugal made his first entry last Sunday [April 30] at the news received last week that the treaties had been signed on April 11 at Utrecht. He invited the Cardinals de la Trémoille and Ottoboni, and all the princes and prelates under the protection of Spain; and the following day he sent word to Monsignore de Molinés as well as to the other foreign ministers of the birth of the Prince of the Asturias.

On Wednesday [May 3] he had the *Te Deum* sung at [the Church of] S. Antonio dei Portughesi where the ambassadors and ministers of this court assembled. That evening there was a concert and illuminations. On Thursday he had a display of fireworks set off facing his palace. This celebration ended on the third day with

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654. Hell, *Die Neapolitanische Opernsinfonie*, p. 511.

refreshments and music.

6 May 1713

. . . M. l'Ambassadeur de Portugal fit sa première Entrée, dimanche passé, sur la nouvelle que l'on eut, l'autre semaine, que les Traitez avoient été signés à Utreck le 11 d'avril. Il invita les Cardinaux de la Trémoille, Ottoboni, tous les Princes et Prélates qui sont sous la protection d'Espagne, et envoya donner part, le lendemain, à M. de Molinès de la naissance du Prince des Asturies, ainsi qu'aux autres Ministres étrangers.

Mercredy, il fit chanter le *Te Deum* à St Antoine des Portugais, où se trouvèrent les Ambassadeurs et Ministers qui sont en cette Cour. Le soir, il y eut concert et illuminations. Jeudy,il fit tirer un feu d'artifice vis-à-vis son Palais. Cette feste finit le troiseème jour par quelques rafraîchissements et de la musique.[655]

9.4.1 Nicola Porpora's *Nuova aurea e culta età dell' onore*

By June of 1713 Nicola Porpora was employed by the Marques de Fontes as his chapel master,[656] and the surviving libretto of Porpora's *Nuova aurea e culta età dell' onore* indicates that it was one of the works heard on this occasion in May, 1713.[657] A year later Domenico Scarlatti is known to have begun a long association with

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655. Montaiglon, *Correspondance des Directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome*, IV, 203.

656. Frank Walker, "A Chronology of the Life and Times of Nicola Porpora," *Italian Studies*, VI (1951), 33-34.

657. Cairo and Quilic, *Biblioteca teatrale*, no. 2868.

several Portuguese patrons, and in the libretto of a large cantata honoring the Portugese *Infante* which he composed in 1714, Domenico is named as the Marques de Fontes' chapel master.[658]

9.4.2 The Celebration in Naples of the Empress Elisabeth's Birthday

On August 28, 1713, a *cuccagna* was exposed to the pillage of the commoners of Naples in the square facing the Royal Palace to mark the birthday of the Habsburg Empress. The *Gazzetta di Napoli* of August 29, 1713, describes this structure as a

> . . . mountain of no small [dimensions] which demonstrated that the *cuccagna* was not make-believe. The ground no less than the trees from which it was made were filled and covered with all sorts of the most desirable food stuffs, with fowl, and with other living animals; and as appropriate to the season of figs [*i.e.*, summer], fat salamis, among other things, hung there with an infinite number of the choicest hams.
>
> . . . non piccolo monte che faceva riconoscere non esser favolosa la cuccagna, qual' egli figurava, ripieno e ricoverto non meno il suolo che gli alberi, di tutte le sorte de' più desiderabili commestibili, volatili ed altri vivi animali e, adeguata alla stagione de' fichi vi pendevano tra l'altro grassi salami, con infinito numero di sceltissimi prosciutti.

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658. Kirkpatrick, *Domenico Scarlatti*, pp. 59, 419.

9.4.2.1 Alessandro Scarlatti's Serenata *Il Genio Austriaco, Il Sole, Flora, Zeffiro, Partenope, e Sebeto*

That evening a serenata was presented for the nobility in the lavishly decorated great hall of the Royal Palace. The *Gazzetta* of August 29 describes it with characteristic hyperbole as follows:

> The words of the much-acclaimed serenata were by the masterful pen of the Abbate [Giuseppe] Papis. The three [*sic*] characters represented the Genius of Austria, Zeffiro, Flora, the Sun, Partenope, and the Sebeto, sung by very choice voices including among the others the famous D. Antonio Manna and the sweetest swans of our [River] Sebeto, Matteuccio Sassano and the Cavaliere Grimaldi, the music being by the first master of the Royal Chapel, Alessandro Scarlatti. The musical instruments consisted of innumerable drums, trumpets, hunting horns, as well as flutes and all manner of bowed instruments and an organ; and [there was] a great number of singers in the chorus.
>
> Le parole della Serenata, che riuscì plausibilissima, furono della penna maestra dell' Abbate Papis. I tre personaggi figuravano: il Genio Austriaco; Zeffiro, Flora, Il Sole, Partenope, & il Sebeto, cantata da sceltissime voci, essendovi oltre il famoso D. Antonio Manna, i due più soavi Cigni del nostro Sebeto, Matteuccio Sassano ed il Cavaliere Grimaldi, essendo la Musica del Primo Maestro della R. Cappella, Alessandro Scarlatti. Gli armoniosi Strumenti furono innumerabili Timpani, Trombe, Corni di Caccia, oltre Flauti, tutti l'alte [*sic*]

sorti d'Arco e Organo, e gran quantità di Musica per il Coro.[659]

The art historian Franco Mancini has brought to light the existence of a printed libretto preserving the text of this serenata.[660] The catalogue of the Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, Naples, lists three exemplars under the call numbers:

- Sala 6a Misc. C. 180/h
- 24.I.4(3
- B. Branc. 103.H.1(2

In November, 1979, only the copy bearing the third call number could be found. It consists of seventeen unnumbered pages, the poet's dedication to the Viceroy Count Daun appearing as follows on pages three and four:

> Having again obtained the honor to be of service, my pen joins together the sentiments of joy nourished within my breast with the infinite expressions of happiness by Partenope [*i.e.*, Naples], whose breast has come aflame with a most faithful love at the birthday celebrations of Her Imperial and Catholic Majesty Elisabeth, Empress and reigning Queen. Such as they are, I dedicate them to Your Excellency in the firm hope that you will not disdain them, they having had the good fortune to appear at your command. May Your

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659. This extract was first brought to light by Prota-Giurleo, "Breve storia," p. 89.

660. Franco Mancini, *Feste ed apparati*, p. 261, no. 303.

Excellency then accept them in this short composition, admiring in it the view [i.e., engraving] of the sumptuous apparatus of the great hall as well as that in the square [facing the Royal Palace] where that same day the people of Partenope enjoyed the fruits of your splendor; and with all most due respect I desire the glory to affirm myself openly Your Excellency's most humble, devoted and obliged servant.

Naples, August 28, 1713
Giuseppe Papis

Agli' infiniti giubili di Partenope, che gli vengono accesi nel seno da un fedelissimo Amore per festeggiare il Natalizio Giorno di Sua Maestà Cesarea, e Cattolica ELISABETTA Imperatrice, e Regina Regnante, hà ottenuto l'onore ancora la mia penna d'interessarvisi, con accoppiare a quelli i sentimenti di gioja, che nel mio petto nudriva: Quali eglino si siano, a V.E. li consacro, con ferma speme, che non li sdegnerà, avendo avuto la sorte di sortire alla luce per un suo comando. Si degni dunque l'E.V. accettarli in questo brieve Componimento, ammirandovisi in esso la Veduta del sontuosc Apparato della Gran Sala; come altresì quello della Real Piazza, dove nello stesso giorno il Partenope Popolo hà goduto i frutti della sua Splendidezza, e con ogni più divoto rispetto, ardisco ascrivermi la gloria di palesarmi

Di V. E.
Napoli 28. Agosto 1713.
Umiliss. Devotiss. & Obligatiss. Serv.
Giuseppe Papis

The two engravings mentioned by Papis were lacking in the single copy of this libretto found in 1979. Fortunately, they have both been published several times by Franco Mancini.[661] At the top of the engraving depicting the performance of the serenata the following inscription appears in two banners:

> Perspective view of the apparatus in the great hall/of the Royal Palace upon which the serenata/was performed for the entertainment of His Excellency/and for the nobility on the night of the birthday of/Her Imperial and Catholic Majesty/Elisabeth, reigning Empress/on August 28, 1713
>
> Prospetto dell' Apparato della Gran Sala/Del Real Palazzo ove deve rappresentarsi la/Serenata per Trattenimento di S.E./e della Nobiltà nella Notte del Dì Natalizio/di Sua Maestà Ces.r e Catt.a/Elisabbetta Imperatrice Regnante/a 28 Agosto 1713

The engraving shows that the serenata was performed on a temporary stage built at one end of the great hall. The singers were evidently situated in front of a backdrop depicting several mythological or allegorical figures whose identity is not clear. It is highly doubtful that the

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661. The *cuccagna* is reproduced in Mancini, *Feste ed apparati*, p. 39, ill. 16 and in the same author's *Scenografia napoletana dell' età barocca* (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, [1964]), p. 49, ill. 19. The engraving showing the performance of the serenata is found in these two works on p. 38, ill. 15, and p. 143, ill. 62, respectively.

singers employed stage movement as in an opera, the manner of performance appearing very similar to that of an oratorio.

On page five of the libretto Alessandro Scarlatti is named as the composer. It is also mentioned that eighty string and wind instruments of every sort and six choruses for the *ripieno* were heard in this performance:

> Ottanta Stromenti di tutti i generi da Corde, e da Fiato. Sei Cori di Musici per lo Pieno.

The *interlocutori* are listed as follows: IL SOLE, *Il Sig. Gaetano Borghi*; FLORA, *La Sig. Angiola Augusti*; ZEFFIRO, *Il Sig. Matteo Sassano*; PARTENOPE, *Il Sig. Gio. Antonio Archi*; SEBETO, *Il Sig.D. Antonio Manna*. The libretto clearly shows that the serenata was divided into two parts. At the beginning of each part the Cavaliere Nicola Grimaldi representing IL GENIO AUSTRIACO sang a cantata as an introduction. No music for this serenata is known to have survived.

Chapter 10

Rome and Naples from 1714 through 1716

10.1 The Roman Carnival of 1714

Reinhard Strohm lists only three operas heard in Rome during the carnival of 1714: Gasparini's *Lucio Papirio* and Caldara's *Tito e Berenice* in the Teatro Capranica, and Domenico Scarlatti's *Amor d'un ombra e gelosia d'un aura* in Queen Maria Casimira's domestic theater.[662] From the following two letters addressed to the Marquis de Torcy in France, it appears that Scarlatti's opera received the palm:

January 29, 1714

> . . . The Queen of Poland's health continues to improve after the violent rheum which led to fears for Her Majesty's life. The little opera which the Prince [her son] had prepared for her theater is nevertheless being given at her residence. Donna Maria Bernardina Albani attended the first performance there, the Princess Sobieski acting as hostess. Cardinal Ottoboni and Don Carlo were also there . . .

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662. Strohm, *Italienische Opernarien*, II, 299.

February 13, 1714

. . . The entertainments of carnival are finally over. They were neither so grand nor extensive as those of the preceding years . . . The Queen of Poland's opera was liked the best . . .

29 Janvier 1714

. . . La Reine de Pologne commence à se mieux porter d'un violent rhume, qui a fait craindre pour la vie de Sa Majesté. On représente cependant chez elle le petit Opèra que le Prince a fait préparer pour son Théâtre. Donna Maria Bernardina Albani y assista la première fois; la Princesse Sobieski en fit les honneurs. Le Cardinal Otthoboni et Don Carlos en furent aussy .[663] . .

13 Février 1714

. . . Les divertissemens du Carnival sont enfin terminez. Ils n'ont été ny si grands ny si universels que les années précédents . . . L'Opéra de la Reyne de Pologne a été le plus estimé .[664] . .

10.2 Roman Serenatas during the Summer of 1714

The *Gazette de France* preserves the following description of a public celebration given in Rome by the Marques de Fontes on August 10, 1714:

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663. Montaiglon, *Correspondance*, IV, 276.

664. *Ibid.*, 332-33.

Rome, August 11, 1714

> Yesterday the Portuguese Ambassador had the *Te Deum* sung in his national church [S. Antonio dei Portughesi] in thanksgiving for the birth of the second son of his master the King. That evening he gave a magnificent serenata on a theater erected in front of his palace in the Piazza Colonna, which was completely illuminated; and there was a great gathering of nobility and of people. (September 8, 1714)

De Rome, le 11 Aoust 1714

> Hier, l'Ambassadeur de Portugal fit chanter le *Te Deum* dans l'Eglise Nationale, en action de graces de la naissance du second fils du Roy son Maistre. Le soir il donna une serenade magnifique sur un Teatre elevé devant le Palais, dans la place Colonne, qui estoit entierement illuminée, & il y eut un grand concours de Noblesse & de peuple. (8 Septembre 1714)

10.2.1 Domenico Scarlatti's *Applauso Genetliaco*

The work heard on this occasion was almost certainly Domenico Scarlatti's *Applauso Genetliaco*, of which only a libretto survives. Although Ralph Kirkpatrick writes that it was composed "to celebrate the birth of the Crown Prince of Portugal on June 6, 1714," the title page of the libretto simply states that it was for the *Infante* of Portugal.[665] The *Gazette de France* makes no reference to such a performance in June or July of that year.

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665. Kirkpatrick, *Domenico Scarlatti*, pp. 59, 419.

10.2.2 The Nameday Celebration for Louis XIV

Two weeks after the Portuguese celebration, the nameday of Louis XIV was occasion for a lavish public festival in Rome sponsored by the French. From a letter of the Director of the French Academy in Rome it is learned that music played a major role in this celebration. Whether or not a serenata as well as the customary Mass and *Te Deum* was heard, however, is not clear:

> August 28, 1714
>
> The festival of Saint Louis [August 25] was one of the most magnificent ever seen. Thirty-three cardinals were present, only Cardinals Bouillon and Priulli, who were not invited, were missing, the latter because he is a Venetian. The music was admirable, and there was an extraordinary crowd.
>
> The Empress having been born on the festival of Saint Augustine [August 28], Count Gallas [the Imperial Ambassador] should hold a magnificent festival this evening.
>
> 28 Aoust 1714
>
> La feste de St-Louis a été une des plus pompeuses que l'on ait jamais veues. Il s'y trouva trente-trois Cardinaux; il n'y manqua que les Cardinaux de Bouillon et Priulli qui n'y furent pas invitéz, ce dernier parcequ'il est Venetien. La musique fut admirable, et il y eut un concours de monde tout extraordinaire.
>
> L'Empératrice étant née le jour de St-Augustin, M. le Comte de Gallas doit faire ce soir une Feste magnifique.[666]

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666. Montaiglon, *Correspondance*, IV, 276.

10.2.3 The Birthday Celebration for the Habsburg Empress

In a letter addressed a week later to his superior in France, Poerson describes Count Gallas' festival on the birthday of the Empress Elisabeth Christine in these words:

> September 4, 1714
>
> On Tuesday evening [August 28] Count Gallas gave a serenata ostensibly for the birthday of the Empress in front of his palace on a sort of theater where there were fifty singers as well as instrumentalists, and next to his palace they built a sort of amphitheater held up by painted pilasters and crowned by a gilt wood cornice and a crimson damask curtain fringed with gold. Thirty cardinals were there interspersed in no order among several princes, princesses, and other persons of distinction. The entire square was illuminated with torches, and the refreshments were distributed there in great abundance.
>
> 4 Septembre 1714
>
> Mardy au soir, sous prétexte du jour de la naissance de l'Impératrice, le Comte de Gallas donna une Sérénade devant son Palais, sur une espèce de téastre [*sic*] où il y avoit cinquante tant musiciens que joueurs d'instrumens, et, contre le Palais, l'on avoit fait une espèce d'emphitèastre [*sic*], soutenue de pilastre peints et couronnéz d'une cornich de bois doré des campanes et rideaux de damas cramoisi, garnis de franges d'or. Là estoient treize Cardinaux, pesle-mesle avec plusieurs Princes, Princesses et autres personnes de distinction. Toutes les places estoient éclairées de flambeaux, et les rafraîchissements y furent distribuez en grande abondance.[667]

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667. *Ibid.*, 332-33.

A similar account of this festival is preserved in the *Gazette de France*:

Rome, September 4, 1714

On the twenty-eighth [of August] Count Gallas, the Emperor's Ambassador, gave a magnificent festival in celebration of the birthday of Her Imperial Majesty. The Piazza dei SS. Apostoli and the entire facade of his palace was illuminated with torches of white wax, and an amphitheater was built for the music which was furnished by some of the finest voices and by all sorts of instruments. Since he had invited the cardinals and the principal lords and ladies of this court, and because their number was too great to be accommodated in the palace, a box was erected which took up the entire facade [of his palace] and was magnificently furnished. After the music the numerous assembly was served a great quantity of refreshments, of fruit, of confections, and of liqueurs; then there was a ball which lasted all night. (September 29, 1714)

De Rome, le 4 Septembre 1714

Le 28, le Comte de Gallasch Ambassadeur de l'Empereur, donna une feste magnifique pour celebrer le jour de la naissance de Sa Majesté Imperiale. La place de *Sant' Apostoli* & toute la face du Palais, estoient illuminez de flambeaux de cire blanche, & on avoit elevé un amphitheatre pour la Musique composée des plus excellentes voix & de toute sorte d'instruments. Comme il avoit invité les Cardinaux & les principaux Seigneurs & Dames de cette Cour, & que le nombre en estoit trop grand pour pouvoir tenir dans le Palais, on dressa une loge qui en occupoit toute la face, & qui estoit magnifiquement parée. Après la Musique, on servit à la nombreuse compagnie quantité de rafraischissements, de fruits, de confitures & de liqueurs, puis il y eut un bal qui dura toute la nuit. (29 Septembre 1714)

10.2.3.1 Giovanni Bononcini's Serenata *Sacrificio a Venere*

The work heard on this occasion was Giovanni Bononcini's *Sacrificio a Venere*. Although Bononcini's music for this serenata is not known to have survived, a libretto and another detailed account of its performance are cited earlier in this study on page 42. This account, reproduced as Appendix IV, also contains a description of the nameday celebrations for the Emperor Charles VI given by Count Gallas in Rome on November 4, 1714. On the latter occasion a *sinfonia* and three unidentified cantatas by Giovanni Bononcini served as an introduction to a ball. A similar although less detailed account of the Emperor's nameday celebration in Rome is preserved in the *Gazette de France* of December 1, 1714.

10.3 The Neapolitan Carnival of 1715

In connection with the popular celebration of carnival, several performances of music took place below the balconies of the Royal Palace of Naples in 1715. Although there is little reason to suspect that Alessandro Scarlatti or other members of the Royal Chapel took part in these

entertainments, the following accounts preserved in the *Gazette de France* suggest that the *canti carnascialeschi* of fame during the Renaissance survived in some form into the eighteenth century:

> Naples, February 12, 1715
>
> The prayers of Forty Hours were begun on Sunday the tenth of this month, and on the same day the entertainments of carnival began with the parade of the chariot loaded with bread furnished by the company of bakers, which was followed by another full of masked musicians and of all sorts of instruments. They stopped in front of the Palace where the Viceroy and his wife were on a balcony, and then the first was abandoned to [the pillage of] the people. (March 16, 1715)
>
> De Naples, le 12 Fevrier 1715
>
> On fit le Dimanche 10 de ce mois, l'ouverture des prieres de Quarante Heures, & le jour mesme on commença les divertissements du Carnaval, par la marche du chariot chargé de pains, que donne la Compagnie des Boulangers, qui estoit suivi d'un autre rempli de Musiciens masquez, & de toute sorte d'instruments, qui s'arresterent devant le Palais, où le Viceroy & la Vicereine estoient à un balcone, & ensuite le premier chariot fut abandonné au peuple. (16 Mars 1715)
>
> Naples, March 6, 1715
>
> The diversions of carnival are continuing in peace; and the poultry sellers having created a great chariot full of every sort of their ware, the fish dealers presented the spectacle of their own [chariot] loaded with fish in pyramids, and as is the custom, both were abandoned to the populace. Both [groups] were numerous and dressed magnificently, with many musicians and instruments. On the same day, Sunday [March 3], Count Daun held royal chapel where the *Te Deum* was sung in thanks to God for the conclusion of peace between the Emperor, the Empire, and France, and there were several salvos of artillery fire by the

> fortresses, the vessels, and the galleys. That evening and for the next two days there were illuminations and other [acts] of rejoicing all throughout the city. (April 6, 1715)
>
> De Naples, le 6 Mars 1715
>
> Les divertissements du Carnaval se sont continuez avec tranquillité, & les Poullailliers ayant fait paroistre un grand char rempli de toute sorte de piece de leur marchandise, les marchands de poissons, ont donné le spectacle du leur chargé de poissons en piramides, & l'un & l'autre furent, suivant l'usage, abandonnez à la populace. Les uns & les autres estoient en grand nombre habillez magnifiquement, avec plusieurs instruments & des musiciens. Le Dimanche mesme jour, le Comte de Thaun tint Chapelle Royal, où le *Te Deum* fut chanté en action de graces à Dieu, pour la conclusion de la Paix entre l'Empereur, l'Empire & la France, & les deux jours suivants, il y eut des illuminations & d'autres rejouissances par toute la Ville. (6 Avril 1715)

During much of the seventeenth century, the performances of serenatas were normally restricted to the warmer months of summer. It has been shown above, however, that during the last years of Spanish rule at Naples and even more so after the Habsburg conquest of 1707, such works were increasingly given indoors. As the Baroque reached its zenith in Naples, the serenata became less dependent on the weather and the season.

The *Gazette de France* fails to record the performance of any serenatas in Naples during the summer of 1715, but that fall it reports the arrival of happy news from Vienna which would give rise to several such congratulatory cantatas in

the months to come:

> Naples, October 15, 1715
>
> Since the news of the Empress' pregnancy has been confirmed, it has been decided that acts of public celebration be undertaken which are to begin with three nights of illuminations. (November 16, 1715)
>
> De Naples, le 15 October 1715
>
> Comme la nouvelle de la grossesse de l'Imperatrice a esté confirmée, il a esté resolu d'en faire des rejoüissances publiques, qui commenceront par des illuminations durant trois nuits. (16 Novembre 1715)

10.4 Alessandro Scarlatti's *Serenata in Honor of the Vicereine Donna Barbara d'Erbenstein* and his Serenata *Filli, Clori e Tirsi*

On the feast of Saint Barbara, December 4, 1715, the Viceroy Count Daun mounted a conspicuous public festival in Naples to honor his wife on her nameday. The *Gazzetta di Napoli* reports that Alessandro Scarlatti composed the work given for the entertainment of the noble ladies of Naples that evening in the Royal Palace:

> Naples, December 11, 1715
>
> Wednesday morning the feast of Saint Barbara, which is the nameday of Her Excellency the Vicereine . . . and that evening . . . all the ladies of our city . . . heard a very beautiful serenata set to music by the celebrated first

Master of the Royal Chapel, Cavalier Scarlatti, which was sung in praise of the said Most Excellent Lady.

Napoli, 11 Dicembre 1715

Mercordì mattina giorno di S. Barbara, ch'è il Nome di Sua Ecc. la Signora Vece-Regina . . . e la sera . . . tutte le Dame della nostra Città . . . ascoltarono una vaghissima Serenata, Che si cantò in loda di detta Eccelentis. Signora posta in note dal celebre Primo Maestro della Real Cappella, Cavalier Scarlatti.[668]

According to all modern work-lists for Alessandro Scarlatti, the music for this serenata is not extant. A scrutiny of the text of his serenata *Filli, Clori e Tirsi*, however, reveals that it was most certainly written for performance on the nameday of Barbara d'Erbenstein. Three scores of this serenata survive, and although none are dated, references such as the following sung by Clori in a recitative leave no doubt as to the occasion celebrated:

Oh happy day,
propitious and blessed,
and such it should be, since today
is the great nameday
of the sublime reigning
nymph, wife of Wirrick,
to whom it was
our happy lot to have destined
the command and care
of our fields.

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668. This citation was first brought to light by Prota-Giurleo, "Breve storia," pp. 90-91.

O giorno fortunato,
Giorno fausto, e beato.
E tale esser dovea s'oggi è quel giorno
Del gran nome sublime
Della Ninfa sovrana
Di Wirrigo consorte
A che fu destinato
Per nostra lieta sorte
La custodia, e'l commando
Delle nostre campagne.

Sentiments such as the above could have been sung on Barbara's nameday any year during Count Daun's tenure in Naples (1707-08, 1713-19). There is, however, a reference in *Filli, Clori e Tirsi* to the Habsburg Empress Elisabeth's pregnancy which would further limit the years in which it could have been heard. In a recitative Tirsi silences his companions with the following words:

Quiet now, whilst
my praise I shall direct
to the great Charles, just
defender of our faith, [and] to Elisabeth,
his most worthy wife,
from whose fruitful womb
the world awaits new Leopolds.

Or voi tacete intanto
Ch'io volgerò il mio canto
A Carlo il grande, il giusto
Scudo di nostra fede, a Elisabetta
Di lui ben degna sposa,
Dal di cui sen fecondo
Novelli Leopoldi attende il mondo.

This clearly limits the performance of *Filli, Clori e Tirsi* to either December 1715 when Elisabeth was carrying the Archduke Leopold or to December 1716 when the Empress was again pregnant, this time with Maria Teresia.

Edward Dent[669] noted a number of references in this serenata to war with the Turks, such as the following in an aria and recitative sung by Tirsi:

> The farmer of Thrace
> will soon weep
> at the sight of his fields
> devoured by flames.
>
> Yes, yes, one day we may well hope
> to see the noble [Habsburg] eagle
> settle its nest on the ruins
> of rebellious Byzantium.
>
> Il Trace agricoltor
> Ben presto piangerà
> Che i campi suoi vedrà
> Preda del fuoco.
>
> Si, si sperare ci giovi
> Veder l'Aquile altere
> Di Bizanzio rubella sulle rovine
> Un di fermarsi il nido.

Dent mistakenly thought that these references had some connection with the Peace of Passarowitz and hence he assigned *Filli, Clori e Tirsi* to the year 1718. This is

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669. Dent, *Scarlatti*, p. 169.

doubtful since with the signing of that treaty on July 21, 1718, peace was concluded between the Empire and the Turks.

Although there is a possibility that *Filli, Clori e Tirsi* may have been given on the feast of Saint Barbara in 1715, the belligerent tone of its text strongly suggests December 4, 1716, as its date of performance. On April 13 of that year the Emperor Charles VI pointedly renewed his alliance in the Holy League with Venice, effectively insuring war with the Turks. Hostilities began later that summer, and by December 1716 several notable victories had been scored in Hungary.[670]

In the meantime the Empress Elisabeth had given birth to her first child, the Archduke Leopold, on April 13, 1716. To the great distress of the Habsburg Empire, the young Leopold died on November 4, 1716. In this context Tirsi's reference to "new Leopolds" urgently desired from the "fruitful womb" of the Empress takes on special significance. By December of 1716 all of Europe must have known that the Empress was again with child.

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670. Redlich, *Das Werden einer Grossmacht*, pp. 218-25.

10.4.1 *La Ninfa del Tago*, a probable revision of *Filli, Clori e Tirsi*

No printed libretto is known which corresponds to the Neapolitan performance of *Filli, Clori e Tirsi*, but in 1721 the text of this serenata appeared in print at Rome in a nineteen-page libretto bearing the title:

> LA NINA/DEL TAGO/*COMPONIMENTO MUSICALE*/FATTO CANTATE/*Dall' Eminentiss., e Reverendiss. Principe*/NUNO DA CUNHA/*Cardinale di S. Chiesa, e Generale Inquisitore/in tutte i Domini Portughesi*/Per il Giorno del Felice Nome della S.R.M./*DI*/GIOVANNI V./RE' DI PORTOGALLO./[Printer's device]/IN ROMA 1721. Per Antonio de' Rossi.)(*Con licenza de' Superiori.*[671]

As the title page indicates, *La Ninfa del Tago* was given by the Portuguese Cardinal Nuno da Cunha in celebration of the nameday of João V, King of Portugal. Presumably this event took place on June 24, the feast of Saint John the Baptist. The text of *La Ninfa del Tago* corresponds very closely to that of *Filli, Clori e Tirsi* except that the specific references in the latter have been altered to

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671. Copies of this libretto are preserved in I Vgc, I Rvat Rac. Gen. Miscell. A. 67 (int. 11), and I Rc Misc. 1335.

conform to a new occasion. *Filli, Clori e Tirsi*, for example, begins with the following recitative sung by Filli:

> From the florid banks
> of my home [the River] Volturno, I come to you,
> oh beautiful, delightful shores of Partenope
> [*i.e.*, Naples].
>
> Dalle fiorite arene
> Del mio patrio volturno, a voi ne vengo
> Di Partenope belle ò piagge amene.

For the Roman performance of *La Ninfa del Tago*, Filli's text has been altered as follows:

> From the golden banks
> of my home [the River] Tagus, I come to you,
> oh delightful shores of the happy Tiber.
>
> Dalle dorate arene
> Del mio paterno Tago, a voi ne vengo,
> Del Tevere felice, o piagge amene.

Although neither the poet nor the composer of *La Ninfa del Tago* is identified in the libretto, it seems very likely that Alessandro Scarlatti's music for *Filli, Clori e Tirsi* served with only minor revisions on this latter occasion. As shown above in the case of *Venere, Adone e Amore*, Scarlatti was not averse to reusing the music of a Neapolitan serenata at a later date in Rome. If, as seems likely, Scarlatti's music for *Filli, Clori e Tirsi* appeared again in *La Ninfa del Tago*, it would represent the earliest

known work of his produced for a Portuguese patron. No score corresponding to *La Ninfa del Tago*, however, is known to be extant.

10.4.2 Francesco de Lemene's Opera *La Ninfa Apollo*

Although the poet of *Filli, Clori e Tirsi* and *La Ninfa del Tago* remains anonymous, these two texts clearly find their inspiration in Francesco de Lemene's *La Ninfa Apollo*, a three-act opera which begins with the character Lilla singing the words:

> From the florid bank
> of my home [the River] Cephisus, I come to you,
> happy sky, sweet breeze, and pleasant shade
> of the Thessalian temple . . .
>
> Da la fiorita arena
> Del mio patrio Cefiso a voi ne vegno,
> Ciel felice, aura dolce, ed ombra amena
> De la Tessala Tempe . . .

The text of this opera first appeared in print in 1692 in a collected edition of the poet's works where *La Ninfa Apollo* is described as "performed in Rome" (*rappresentato in Roma*).[672] The circumstances of this first performance remain obscure, but the numerous reprintings of this

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672. *Poesie diverse del Signor Francesco de Lemene . . . parte prima* (Milan: Carlo Giuseppe Quinto, 1692). pp. 22-33.

libretto at subsequent performances testify to its popularity in the early years of the eighteenth century. Allacci, for example, lists a total of six printings, one as late as 1734.[673] In 1744 the literary critic Francesco Saverio Quadrio included de Lemene among the reformers who have made the Italian opera "if not perfect, at least in some measure bearable" (*se non perfetta, almen sofferibile alquanto*).[674] *Filli, Clori e Tirsi* and *La Ninfa del Tago* are considerably shorter than a three-act opera and represent a much abbreviated version of de Lemene's opera with some additional material not found in *La Ninfa Apollo*.

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673. Leon Allacci, *Drammaturgia . . . accresciuta e continuata fino all'anno MDCCLV* (Venice: G. Pasquali, 1755), cols. 561-62.

674. Francesco Saverio Quadrio, *Della storia e della ragione d'ogni poesia* (Milan: Francesco Angelli, 1744), Libro III, p. 434.

10.5 Domenico Sarro's Serenata *La Contesa di Pallade e Venere*

In Naples a three-voice serenata by Domenico Sarro is reported to have been given as early as January 21, 1716, on the wedding of the Prince of Montaguto.[675] Reinhard Strohm identifies Sarro's *La Contesa di Pallade e Venere*, a score of which is preserved in the Bavarian State Library, Munich, as the work heard on this occasion.[676] A reading of this serenata's text, however, fails to confirm Strohm's findings. For although "Carlo" and "Austria" are prominently mentioned several times in it, no explicit reference to the wedding of the Prince of Montaguto could be found.

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675. Prota-Giurleo, "Domenico Sarro," *Archivi: Archivi d'Italia e rassegna internazionale degli archivi*, XXVI (1959), 75. Michael F. Robinson, "Sarro, Domenico Natale," *The New Grove*, XVI, 501. Florimo, *La Scuola musicale di Napoli*, III, 27, seems to suggest 1718 as the date of this serenata's performance.

676. Strohm. *Italienische Opernarien*, II, 217.

10.6 Festivities in Honor of the Electoral Prince Karl Albrecht of Bavaria

During the years 1715-16 the Electoral Prince Karl Albrecht of Bavaria undertook a grand tour of several of the great cities of Italy.[677] Numerous musical performances were organized in his honor, and because his visit to Rome and Naples fell within the period of celebrations honoring the birth of the Empress Elisabeth's first child, the spring of 1716 witnessed an extraordinary number of festive musical performances in the two cities.

Karl Albrecht's arrival in Rome is reported with these words by the *Gazette de France*:

> Rome, April 7, 1716
>
> On the third of this month the Electoral Prince of Bavaria arrived here totally incognito in the coach of the Abbate Scarlatti, the Bavarian Elector's minister, who went to meet him several miles outside the Porta del Popolo through which he entered with a cortege of eighteen other coaches pulled by six horses [bearing] lords

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677. Karl Albrecht's travel diaries are preserved in the Bavarian State Library, Munich, (cgm 5016 and 6067) and in the Bavarian National Museum, Munich, (Inv. Nr. 2368) according to Robert Münster, *Kurfürst Max Emanuel, Bayern und Europa um 1700: Katalog der Ausstellung* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1976), II, 229.

attached to his family. Having traversed the Via del Corso, he went to reside at the palace of the Abbate Scarlatti, who has taken several nearby houses in order to lodge the numerous attendants of this Prince, who went to visit the Church of Saint Peter on the fourth. The Marquesses Patrizii, Teodoli, del Buffalo, and the Count Bolognetti were appointed to accompany him, and the principal [lords] of this court are preparing several entertainments for him after the festivities. (May 2, 1716)

De Rome, le 7 Avril 1716

Le 3 de ce mois, le Prince Electoral de Baviere arriva icy entierement *incognito* dans le carosse de l'Abbé Scarlati, Ministre de l'Electeur de Baviere, qui estoit allé à sa rencontre à quelques milles hors la porte *del Popolo*, par laquelle il entra, avec un cortege de dix-huit autres carosses à six chevaux de Seigneurs attachez à sa Maison. Ayant passé par la ruë du Cours, il alla descendre au Palais de l'Abbé Scarlatti, lequel a pris des maisons contiguës pour le logement de la nombreuse suite de ce Prince, qui le 4, alla visiter l'Eglise de S. Pierre. Les Marquis Patrizii, Teodoli, del Buffalo, & le Comte Bolognetti ont esté destinez pour l'accompagner, & les principaux de cette Cour luy preparent plusieurs divertissements après les Festes. (2 May 1716)

Two weeks later the *Gazette de France* reports the activities of Karl Albrecht in Rome as follows:

Rome, April 21, 1716

On the eighteenth [of April] . . . the Marquis Angelo Gabrieli gave for him [Karl Albrecht] a great festival in his palace . . . Next week he must depart for Naples, and the Viceroy has undertaken grand preparations in order to receive him. (May 16, 1716)

De Rome, le 21 Avril 1716

> Le 18, . . . le Marquis Angelo Gabrieli luy a donné une grande feste dans son Palais . . . Il doit partir la semaine prochaine pour aller à Naples, & le Viceroy fait de grands preparatifs pour le recevoir. (16 May 1716)

On April 13, 1716, the Empress Elisabeth gave birth in Vienna to her first child, the Archduke Leopold. News of the birth arrived in Rome and Naples on April 24. In the meantime, the *Gazette de France* reports the following from these two cities:

Naples, April 21, 1716

> Work continues in preparation for the celebrations on the Empress' confinement, and the barons have been advised by circular letters to attend the festive cavalcade which will be held to mark this occasion on the twenty-eight of July.

Rome, April 28, 1716

> The Electoral Prince of Bavaria is still here, and several magnificent festivals have been given for him, among others the Duke of Zagarolo [Rospigliosi's] in the Palazzo Rospigliosi, as well as those by Duke Strozzi and by Prince Ruspoli. (May 23, 1716)

De Naples, le 21 Avril 1716

> On travaille . . . aux preparatifs des festes, pour l'accouchement de l'Imperatrice, & les Barons ont esté avertis par des lettres circulaires, de se trouver à la Cavalcade solennelle qui se fera pour ce sujet, & qui est marquée au 28 de Juillet.

De Rome, le 28 Avril 1716

> Le Prince Electoral de Baviere est encore icy, & on luy a donné plusieurs festes magnifiques, entre autres le Duc de Zagarole dans le Palais

Rospigliosi, ainsi qu'ont esté celles du Duc Strozzi, & du Prince Ruspoli. (23 May 1716)

Some of the festivities witnessed by Karl Albrecht in Rome are described in greater detail a week later in the *Gazette de France*:

Rome, May 5, 1716

There was such a great crowd at the horse race given for the Electoral Prince of Bavaria outside the Porta Pia that they were obliged to close it in order to prevent any disorder among the great number of coaches leaving the city. The Electoral Prince went to the vineyard of Count Bolognetti accompanied by Don Carlo Albani in a magnificent coach. Then a great ball was given for his entertainment in the same vineyard, after which he went to Prince Ruspoli's palace where there was a grand concert of voices and instruments and other entertainments. (May 30, 1716)

De Rome, le 5 May 1716

Il y eut un si grand concours à la course de Barbes qui fut donnée au Prince Electoral de Baviere hors de la porte Pie, qu'on fut obligé de la fermer, afin d'empescher le desordre, par le grand nombre de carosses, qui sortoient de cette Ville. Le Prince Electoral se rendit à la Vigne du Comte Bolognetti, estant accompagné de Don Carlo Albani, dans un carosse magnifique. Ensuite on luy donna le divertissement d'un grand bal dans la mesme Vigne, puis il alla au Palais du Prince Ruspoli, où il y eut un grand concert de voix & d'instruments, & d'autres divertissements. (30 May 1716)

10.6.1 Antonio Caldara's Cantata *Amor senza amore*

The work heard at Ruspoli's palace can probably be identified as Antonio Caldara's cantata for three voices *Amor senza amore*.[678] The performance of this work must have taken place during the last days of April since an anonymous account of events at Naples reports Karl Albrecht's arrival there on April 30, 1716:

> On April 24, 1716, couriers for the Viceroy arrived from Vienna with the news of the birth of the Empress' son. That very night triple salvos were fired, with three evenings of illuminations, and festivities with three salvos each evening by all the fortresses and galleys. And on the thirtieth of the said month the Duke of Bavaria arrived incognito that night to see the above-mentioned festivities.
>
> A' 24 Aprile 1716 venne Coriere da Vienna al Vicerè coll'avviso d'essersi sgravata d'un maschio l'Imperatrice. Nella notte medesima si fece triplicata salva, con tre sere d'illuminazioni, e festini con tre salve per ciascheduna sera da tutti li Castelli e Galere. Ed a 30 del mese sudetto venne di notte incognita il Duca di Baviera[679] per vedere li sudetti festini.

The *Gazette de France* preserves the following account of these celebrations in Naples:

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678. Kirkendale, *Caldara*, pp. 81, 378.

679. "Racconto di varie notizie accaduti nella città di Napoli dall' anno 1700 al 1723," *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, XXXI (1906), 450.

Naples, May 5, 1716

> The celebrations for the birth of the Archduke were held here with extraordinary magnificence, the entire city having been illuminated for three evenings as well as the galleys and fortresses. Cardinal Pignatelli, the Archbishop of Naples, had the *Te Deum* sung in thanksgiving in the Metropolitan church on the first of this month, and the prelates who were here attended it with a great crowd of nobility and of people. The Electoral Prince of Bavaria, who arrived here on the evening of the preceding day, attended these ceremonies. (June 6, 1716)

De Naples, le 5 May 1716

> Les rejouissances pour la naissance de l'Archiduc, se sont faites icy avec une magnificence extraordinaire, toute la Ville ayant esté illuminée durant trois soirées, ainsi que les Galeres & les Chasteaux. Le Cardinal Pignatelli Archevesque de Naples, fit chanter le *Te Deum* en action de grace, dans l'Eglise Metropolitaine le 1r de ce mois, & les Prelates qui se trouvent icy, y assisterent, avec un grand concours de Noblesse & de peuple. Le Prince Electoral de Baviere qui estoit arrivé le soir du jour precedent, assista à ces ceremonies. (6 Juin 1716)

10.6.2 Alessandro Scarlatti's Opera *La Virtù trionfante dell'Odio e dell'Amore*

The *Gazzetta di Napoli* as quoted by Ulisse Prota-Giurleo documents another of the musical performances witnessed by Karl Albrecht during his brief stay in Naples:

> On the third of May, 1716, "the Viceroy lavishly entertained the Most Serene Electoral Prince of Bavaria as well as all the military officers with a meal, and that evening an opera entitled *La Virtù trionfante dell'Odio e dell'Amore* was performed in the great hall of the Royal Palace with a prologue alluding to the birth

of the Most Serene Archduke Leopold of Austria." The music was by Scarlatti, and on the eleventh of May the said opera was moved to the boards of the [Teatro] San Bartolomeo, "and Their Excellencies and the Most Serene Prince of Bavaria and a great gathering of ladies and cavaliers attended in order to enjoy the performance of such a famous opera."

Il 3 maggio 1716, "il Vicerè trattò lautamente a pranzo il Serenissimo Principe Elettorale di Baviera, come anche tutti li Generali e Militari, e la sera si rappresentò, nella Gran Sala del R. Palazzo, un'Opera intitolata *La Virtù trionfante dell'Odio e dell'Amore*, con un Prologo alludendo alla nascita del Serenissimo Arciduca Leopoldo d'Austria". La musica era dello Scarlatti, e detta Opera l'11 maggio passò sulle scene del S. Bartolomeo, "e v'intervennero le LL. EE. e il Sereniss. Principe di Baviera e gran concorso di Dame e Cavalieri per godere la 680 rappresentazione d'una tanto famoso Opera".

At the performance of this opera in the Royal Palace a libretto bearing the following title was distributed to the Viceroy's guests:

LA VIRTÙ/TRIONFANTE/De l'Odio, e de l'Amore./*DRAMMA PER MUSICA*/DA RAPPRESENTARSI/Nella Sala del Real Palazzo./PER FESTEGGIARE/LA FELICISSIMA NASCITÀ/DEL SERENISSIME/LEOPOLDO/ARCIDUCA d'Austria,/PRENCIPE de las Asturias,/E/DUCA di Calabria./*PER ORDINE*/DI S.E. IL SIG. VICERÈ/WIRRICO/CONTE DI DAUN, &c./[Printer's device]/IN NAPOLI à dì 3. Maggio 1716./Nella Stampa di Michele-Luigi Muzio/*Con Licenza de' Superiori*.

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680. Prota-Giurleo, "Breve storia," p. 91.

Francesco Silvani's text of the opera proper is a rather conventional three-act work based on Greco-Persian history. Of greater interest is the prologue which occupies eight preliminary unnumbered pages of the libretto. The characters who sing it are listed as:

Il Genio Austriaco, Il Sig. Francesco Bernardi, detto il Senesino

La Magnificenza, La Sig. Margherita Durastanti

La Gloria de' Principi, La Sig. Agata Landi

L'Ossequio, Il Sig. D. Antonio Manna, Virtuoso della Real Cappella di Napoli

Le XII. Provincie del Regno, Dodici Virtuosi della Real Capella

In addition to these singers, dancers representing the four continents as well as four flying cupids and a chorus of Tritons playing conch shells appeared in this prologue.

As observed earlier in this study, the allegorical figure "the Genius of Austria" had previously sung an introduction to Alessandro Scarlatti's *Serenata for the Coronation of Charles III as King of Hungary* (June 19, 1712) and to the same composer's serenata *Il Genio Austriaco, Il Sole, Flora, Zeffiro, Partenope, e Sebeto* (August 29, 1713). Allegorical figures such as those listed above are precisely the sort typically employed in the serenata of this period, and,

except for the element of dance and the elaborate stage machinery, the prologue of *La Virtù trionfante dell'Odio e dell'Amore* must have closely resembled a serenata. Unfortunately, none of the music heard on this occasion is known to have survived.

10.6.3 The Serenata *Il Gran giorno d'Arcadia*

While in Naples the Electoral Prince may also have witnessed the performance of Domenico Sarro's *Il Gran giorno d'Arcadia*, a work reported to have been given sometime in May in the Royal Palace as part of the celebration for the birth of the Archduke Leopold.[681] A serenata by Leonardo Leo bearing the same title is also alleged to have been performed sometime during 1716 in Naples.[682] Until further documentary evidence is brought to light, however, serious questions remain concerning the authorship and the circumstances surrounding the performance of *Il Gran giorno d'Arcadia*.

Evidently Karl Albrecht's sojourn in Naples lasted only about two weeks, for his return to Rome around the middle of

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681. Prota-Giurleo, "Domenico Sarro," p. 75; Robinson, "Sarro, Domenico Natale," *The New Grove*, XVI, 502; Strohm, *Italienische Opernarien*, II, 217.

682. Helmut Hucke, "Leo, Leonardo," *The New Grove*, X, 668.

May is reported as follows in the *Gazette de France*:

> Naples, May 17, 1716
>
> After having received here the honors due his birth, the Electoral Prince of Bavaria returned to Rome. After treating him to a magnificent dinner, the Viceroy sent him a gift of all sorts of refreshments, of wines, of chocolate, and of confections carried by seventy men. (June 13, 1716)
>
> De Naples, le 17 May 1716
>
> Le Prince Electoral de Baviere, après avoir receu icy les honneurs dus à sa naissance, est parti pour retourner à Rome. Le Viceroy après l'avoir traité magnifiquement à disner, luy envoya un regale de toute sorte de rafraichissements, de vins, de chocolate & de confitures, porté par soixante-dix hommes. (13 Juin 1716)

At his return to Rome, Karl Albrecht was treated to a new round of entertainments described as follows in the *Gazette de France*:

> Rome, June 2, 1716
>
> On the twenty-seventh of last month the Prince of Rossano [Borghese] gave a magnificent festival for the Electoral Prince of Bavaria in the Borghese vineyard at the Porta Pinciana attended by the principal lords and ladies of this city. When he had seen the palace and curiosities which filled the apartments and the garden full of flowers, a table of sixty covered dishes was served, and there were three services each of forty great dishes. After the dinner and a ball which followed, Don Camillo Borghese, the oldest son of the Prince of Rossano, mounted a very beautiful horse upon which he displayed his horsemanship. Then the Electoral Prince mounted the horse, and the lords and ladies [boarded their] open carriages to tour the entire length of the park where he hunted. When he returned to the palace a concert by the best voices was given for

him, then a magnificent meal, and refreshments in great abundance were distributed to all the personages in his suite. On the next day, the twenty-eight, the Prince of Rossano sent the Electoral Prince a gift of wine, of fruit, of liqueur, and of venison carried by sixty men, and he made a present of the well-trained horse, with the saddle, the holster, and the sheaths of pistols inlaid with gold and jewels. The evening of that same day the Electoral Prince went to the Pamphilj vineyard where he had gone days earlier, and he invited several persons of quality there. Count Bolognetti also gave a celebration in his palace for him. (June 27, 1716)

De Rome, le 2 Juin 1716

Le 27 du mois dernier, le Prince de Rossano donna une feste magnifique au Prince Electoral de Baviere dans la Vigne Borghese, à la porte *Pinciana*, où se trouverent les principaux Siegneurs & Dames de cette Ville. Lorsqu'il eut veu le Palais & les curiositez dont les appartements sont remplis, & le jardin de fleurs, on servit une table de soixante couverts, & il y eut trois services de quarante grands plats chacun. Aprés le disner & un bal qui suivit, Don Camillo Borghese, fils aisné du Prince de Rossano, mounta un tres-beau cheval, auquel il fit faire le manege. Ensuite le Prince Electoral monta à cheval, & les Seigneurs & Dames dans des caleches decouvertes, pour se promener dans toute l'estenduë du Parc, où il chassa. Lorsqu'il fut de retour au Palais, on luy donna un concert des meilleures voix, puis une magnifique collation, & on distribua à toutes les persones de la suite, des rafraichissements en grande abondance. Le lendemain 28, le Prince de Rossano envoya au Prince Electoral un present de vins, de fruits, de liqueurs, de Venaison porté par soizante hommes, & il luy fit presenter le cheval de manege, avec la selle, la housse, & les sourreaux de pistolets brodiz d'or & de pierreries. Le mesme jour, le Prince Electoral alla le soir à la Vigne Pamphile, où il estoit allé les jours precedents, & il y invita plusiers persones de qualité. Le Comte Bolognetti luy a donné aussi une feste dans son Palais. (27 Juin 1716)

A second, less flattering account of the entertainment given for Karl Albrecht by the Borghese is preserved in a letter by the Director of the French Academy in Rome. It would appear that this festival served as the model for a more lavish and successful entertainment honoring the Electoral Prince of Saxony near Venice:

> Prince Borghese gave a very beautiful entertainment in his Villa Pinciana for the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, which, however, did not at all come up to the expectations concerning such entertainments which have been formed in Rome, where things are continually being done on a grander scale.
>
> The Electoral Prince was there at noon. Immediately, two tables were served, one of thirty-eight dishes and the other of forty. After the dinner Prince Camillo, the oldest son of the Prince of Rossano and the grandson of Prince Borghese, displayed his horsemanship on a richly harnessed steed bearing the arms of Bavaria. It was exercised in the presence of the Prince of Bavaria, who then mounted the animal and chased several deer, of which he killed five; and at sunset they reentered the palace.
>
> As soon as the Prince alighted from the horse, Prince Borghese begged the Electoral Prince to accept the horse, saying that after having served so great a Prince, it could no longer be mounted by others. After some formalities it was accepted.
>
> Then there was a cantata and magnificent refreshments, and the festivities ended with a ball at which there were only three princesses, relatives of the Borghese, who were also the only ones at dinner, the customs of this country not permitting other ladies or Roman lords to attend the meal or the ball, which ended at midnight when they retired.
>
> There has been news from Venice that the

Venetian Lord Foscari, the brother of the *Auditore della Rota*, after having learned the plan of this festival and that there was much talk in Rome concerning the gift presented to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria by the Borghese, has feted the Electoral Prince of Saxony according to the same plan, but much more magnificently than the Borghese, in a villa of his on the Brenta [Canal] where the tables were more abundantly and better displayed, a great number of the highest nobility and more than sixty ladies having been invited, and the table open to everyone present. The hunt which followed the meal was magnificent and attended by many, all the beaters and hunters wearing uniforms of gold lace.

Upon returning they found a supper, corresponding in magnificence to the dinner, during the course of which a melodious composition was heard. After the supper words in praise of the Electoral Prince [of Saxony] and of his august house were sung, and then they ended with a ball in which the Venetian ladies shone as much for their grace as for their rich apparel.

Monsieur le Prince Borghuèse a donné un divertissement assés beau dans sa Villa Pinciana au Prince Électoral de Bavière, mais, cependant, qui n'a pas tout à fait répondu aus idées que l'on s'en étoit formé dans Rome, où l'on grossit tous les jours les objets.

Le Prince Électoral y fut à midy. Aussitost l'on y servit deux tables, l'une de trente-six couverts et l'autre de quarante. Après le diné, le Prince Camille, fils aisné du Prince Rozane et petit-fils du Prince Borghuèse, travailla un cheval de manège, richement harnaché avec les armes de Bavière, l'exerça en présence du Prince de Bavière, qui le monta ensuite et chassa quelques daims, dont il en tua cinq, et, à la chutte du soleil, l'on entra dans le Palais.

Sitôt que le Prince fut descendu de cheval, le Prince Borghuèse pria le Prince Électoral d'accepter le cheval, disant qu'ayant servi à un si grand Prince il ne devoit plus être monté de personnes. Après quelques cérémonies, il fut accepté.

Ensuite, il y eut une cantade et un magnifique raffraîchissement, et la feste finit par un bal, où il n'y eut que trois Princesses, parentes des Borghuèses, qui étoient les seules qui furent aussi au dîné, le cérémonial de ce pays n'ayant pas permis que d'autres Dames, ny Seigneurs Romains, fussent ny du repas ny du bal, lequel finit à minuit que chacun se retira.

L'on a eu avis de Venize que le Seigneur Foscary, frère de l'Auditeur de Rotte, Venitien, ayant sçeu que l'on faisoit grand bruit à Rome du régale que les Borghuèses devoient faire au Prince Électoral de Bavière, après avoir sçeu le plan de la feste, a, sur le même plan, fétoyé le Prince Électoral de Saxe dans une maison de délices qu'il a sur la Brenta, mais bien plus magnifiquement que Borghuèse, les tables mieux servies et plus abondantes, y ayant invité grand nombre de la première Noblesse et plus de soixante Dames, et table ouverte à tous ceux qui s'y sont présentés. La chasse, qui suivit le repas, fut nombreuse et magnifique, tous les piqueurs et chasseurs ayant des habits galonnés uniformes.

Au retour, l'on trouva un souper qui répondit à la magnificence du dîner, pendant lequel on entendit une mélodieuse musique. Après le souper, l'on chanta des paroles à la gloire du Prince Électoral et de son auguste Maison, et ensuite l'on finit par un bal, où les Dames Vénitiennes brillèrent tant par leurs bonnes grâces que par la
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richesse de leurs habits.

A description of the festivities attended by Karl Albrecht during the first week of June is preserved as follows in the *Gazette de France*:

Rome, June 9, 1716

After the procession on Monday of Pentecost [June 1] which was attended by the Pope in the

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683. Letter of Poerson to D'Antin dated June 9, 1716, in Montaiglon, *Correspondance*, V, 7-8.

company of some cardinals and prelates, he [the Pope] went to visit those in religious orders at the church of Spirito Santo, which was magnificently decorated; then [he visited the church] of San Teodoro. On the third feast [of Pentecost, June 2] he went to [the church of] San Giovanni in Laterano, and while returning he entered the Capitol and saw the decorations for an *accademia* in honor of painting, sculpture, and architecture, for which a discourse was spoken by the Chamberlain of honor, Signor [Giovanni Vincenzo] Lucchesini, after which there was a grand *sinfonia* and various poetic works were read followed by the distribution of prizes to those who had the best success in their studies of these arts. The Electoral Prince of Bavaria was there with several cardinals and prelates. Cardinal Schrottenbach gave a grand celebration for him the same day at Frascati in the Visconti vineyard. On the third of this month he attended an *accademia* held at the Collegio Clementino where several works in prose were read in honor of the birth of the Archduke . . . On the same day [June 4] the Electoral Prince of Bavaria was entertained magnificently by Don Carlo and Don Alessandro Albani at Castel Gondolfo. (July 4, 1716)

De Rome, le 9 Juin 1716

Après la Procession du Lundy de la Pentecoste, à laquelle le Pape assista, accompagné des Cardinaux & des Prelats, il alla visiter l'Eglise des Religieuses du Saint Esprit, qui estoit magnifiquement ornée, puis celle de S. Theodore. La troisième Feste, il alla à S. Jean de Latran, & au retour, il entra au Capitole & vid l'appareil qui avoit esté fait pour une Academie de Peinture, de Sculpture & d'Architecture, à la louange desquelles le sieur Lucchesini Camerier d'honneur prononça un discours, après lequel il y eut une grande symphonie, & on fit la lecture de diverses pieces de Poësie, puis on distribua le prix à ceux qui avoient le mieux reussi dans les estudes de ces Arts. Le Prince Electoral de Baviere s'y trouva avec plusieurs Cardinaux & Prelats. Le Cardinal de Schrottenbach luy donna le mesme jour une grande feste à Frascati, dans la Vigne Visconti. Le 3 de ce mois, il assista à une Academie tenuë au College Clementin, où on recita

> plusieurs pieces en prose & en vers, sur la naissance de l'Archiduc . . . Le mesme jour, Don Carlo & Don Alessandro Albani, traiterent magnifiquement à Castel Gandolfe, le Prince Electoral de Baviere. (4 Juillet 1716)

A detailed description of the lavish decorations arrayed in the Capitol for the *accademia* of fine arts is preserved in the letter by the Director of the French Academy in Rome cited above on page 684. Evidently Karl Albrecht witnessed the performance of a large cantata as well as "une grande symphonie" at this festive gathering:

> Regarding the festival held by our Academy of Saint Luke, it could have taken place only in Rome. For that day the Pope gave us [the use of] the Campidoglio, of which principally the main hall was magnificently furnished. Along the facade, on a platform of four levels decorated with tapestry, there were four raised seats, the middle one for me, the other two for the counselors, and the fourth for the secretary. It was remarked that altogether we four comprised three hundred and twenty years, there being one of ninety-five who reads and paints without spectacles. Behind us there was the chair for the speaker [Giovanni Vincenzo Lucchesini], at the sides, benches for the poets, and behind us the academicians. A balcony [was] above where the musicians numbering fifty voices and instruments were situated. Above [that] there was a large portrait of the Pope crowned with a dais in the form of a dome [made] entirely of crimson damask with gold trim and braid; [one was] designed [to accommodate] the Electoral Prince, and the other for the ambassadors. Below [there were] thirty-six arm-chairs with golden velvet embroidery placed in a semi-circle for the cardinals, and behind them more common arm-chairs for the prelates. The rest of the place was full of leather-covered benches for those who made up the assembly.

The Pope came that morning and remained there for over an hour. He was so pleased that he complimented us several times.

Two days earlier I had invited the Electoral Prince, who did not fail to come around the fifth hour that evening with Princes Don Carlo and Don Alessandro Albani, nephews of the Pope.

Sixteen cardinals and more than fifty prelates and many noblemen arrived at the same time [as the Electoral Prince], and at five and a half hours it began with an admirable *sinfonia* after which the speaker gave a lecture in praise of painting, sculpture, and architecture; the Pope was [also] much praised. Then the poets, six from our Arcadian Society and six from the Quirinal Society, recited some pieces of poetry. After this we presented the prizes which were given by the cardinals to the young men whom we judged [deserving].

Then the music began again, and the most beautiful voices of Rome sang a cantata with forty-five instruments which was admired by the entire assembly, the members of which left at nine and a half hours of evening. Because of the pleasure which they experienced there and the great quantity of candles which illuminated this magnificent apartment and especially this great hall, they took no notice of the late hour.

A l'égard de la feste que notre Académe de Saint-Luc a faite, elle ne se peut faire qu'à Rome. Le Pape nous a donné pour ce jour-là le Campidoglio, dont principalement la grande sale fur magnifiquement parée. A la façade, sur une estrade de quatre degrez garnie de tapis, étoient quatre siéges, celuy du milieu pour moy, les deux autres pour les Conseillers et le quatriéme pour le Secrétaire. L'on remarqua que nous faisons tous quatre trois cens vingt ans, y en ayant un de quatre-vingt-quinze, qui lit et peint sans lunettes. Derrière nous étoit la chaise de l'Orateur; à coté, des bancs pour les Poettes, et, derrièr nous, les Acadèmiciens. Au-dessus, un balcon, où étoient les musiciens, au nombre de cinquante voix et instruments; au-dessus étoit un grand portrait du

Pape, couronné d'un daix en forme de Dôme, le tout de damas cramoisy, avec crépines et galons d'or, dessiné, pour le Prince Électoral et l'autre pour les Ambassadeurs. En bas, trente-six fauteuils, de velours brodé d'or, étoient en demi-cercle pour Messieurs les Cardinaux, et derrièr eux, des fauteuils plus ordinaires pour les Prélats; le reste de la Place étoit remply de bancs garnis de cuir pour ceux qui composoient l'Assemblée.

Le Pape y vint le matin et y resta plus d'une heure. Il fut si content qu'il nous complimenta plus d'une fois.

J'avois, deux jours devant, invité le Prince Électoral, qui ne manqua pas d'y venir, vers les cinq heures du soir, avec les Princes Don Charles et Don Alexandre Albano, neveux du Pape.

Dans le même temps vinrent seize Cardinaux et plus de cinquante Prélats, et beaucoup de Noblesse, et à cinq heures et demie l'on commença par une admirable simphonie, après laquelle l'Orateur fit un discours à la louange de la Peinture, Sculpture et Architecture; le Pape y fut beaucoup loué. Puis les Poettes, six de notre Académie des Arcades et six de l'Académie des Quiriny, récitèrent des morceaux de poésie. Après quoy nous délivrâmes les Prix, qui furent donnés par Messieurs les Cardinaux aux jeunes gens à qui nous les avions adjugé.

Ensuitte [*sic*] la musique recommença, et les plus belles voix de Rome chantèrent une Cantade avec quarante-cinq instrumens, ce qui fut l'admiration de tout l'assemblée, qui en sortit à neuf heures et demie du soir. L'on ne s'appercevoit pas qu'il étoit si tard par le plaisir qu'on y trouvoit et par la grande quantité de bougie qui éclairoit ce superbe
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appartement et surtout ce grand Salon.

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684. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

10.6.4 The Anonymous Cantata *Il Genio della Baviera*

In addition to Caldara's *Amor senza amore*, two other cantatas given in Rome in honor of Karl Albrecht can be identified. The text of one survives in an eight-page libretto which bears the title:

> CANTATA/A TRE/IL GENIO DELLA BAVIERA./LA GLORIA./LA FAMA./[Printer's device]/IN ROMA, MDCCXVI./Nella Stamparia della Rev. Camera Apostolica./*Con licenza de Superiori.*
>
> 685

Neither the poet nor the composer of *Il Genio della Baviera* is named in the libretto, and no score preserving the music of this work has been identified. Like that of *Filli, Clori e Tirsi* and *La Ninfa del Tago*, the opening of *Il Genio della Baviera* bears a striking resemblance to Francesco de Lemene's *La Ninfa Apollo*. For example, *Il Genio della Baviera* begins with the following recitative:

> From the banks of the [River] Danube, I come to you,
> beautiful Latin shores,
> and I am the Genius of the BAVARIAN heaven.
> Since my LORD wanders from shore to shore,
> far from his paternal abode,

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685. Copies of this libretto are preserved at I Vgc, GB Lbm, and I Bu.

and by his presence alone
ennobles each strand upon which he treads . . .

Dalle rive dell'Istro à voi ne vegno
Belle Sponde Latine,
E del BAVARO Cielo il Genio io sono.
Da poi che lunge dal paterno Soglio
Il mio SIGNOR le piante
Porta di lido in lido, e di se stesso
Fà dove passa insuperbir l'arene . . .

10.6.5 The Anonymous Cantata *Primavera, Gloria e Roma*

Another large cantata given at Rome in honor of Karl Albrecht exists in an anonymous score preserved in the Bavarian State Library, Munich.[686] The music is copied in the hand of Francesco Lanciani, a professional Roman copyist, and is decorated with nine illuminated initials. The lavishly bound score bears the coat-of-arms of the Bavarian Elector and was certainly presented to Karl Albrecht as a souvenir of its performance in Rome.

Robert Münster, the Librarian of the Bavarian State Library, believes that this work may have been heard on May

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686. D Mbs, Mus. Mss. 225. The cantata is for two sopranos (Primavera and Gloria), an alto (Rome), chorus, and orchestra. It begins "Largo, e alla Francese" with a chorus of nymphs who sing:

Chiuso è già Borea nevoso
Nel suo carcere gelato

25, 1716, in the Palazzo Bolognetti, Rome. This is suggested by an extract from one of Karl Albrecht's travel diaries which describes an entertainment there on that date for the Prince

> *with magnificent refreshments for the many guests and a cantata composed for this specific occasion.*
>
> mit prächtigen confecturen in häuffiger Gesellschaft und einer hierzu eigentlich componierten Cantata.[687]

As shown above, however, there were numerous other occasions in Rome when this cantata might have been performed for Karl Albrecht. Until more information comes to light, the precise date and place of this cantata's performance and of the performance of *Il Genio della Baviera* remain uncertain.

10.7 Alessandro Scarlatti's Serenata *La Gloria di Primavera*

About a week after Karl Albrecht's departure from Naples, Alessandro Scarlatti's serenata *La Gloria di Primavera* was heard in the palace of Don Nicola Gaetano d'Aragona in celebration of the birth of the Archduke Leopold. According

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687. Münster, *Kurfürst Max Emanuel, loc. cit.*

to the libretto printed on this occasion the performance took place on May 19, 1716.[688] This information, however, is contradicted by the *Gazzetta di Napoli* which reports:

> Naples, May 26, 1716
>
> On Wednesday evening [May 20] His Excellency the Viceroy with Her Excellency the Vicereine went to hear the serenata in praise of the birth of the Most August young Prince which Don Nicola Gaetano d'Aragona, the Duke of Laurenzano, and [his wife] Donna Aurora Sanseverino, of the Princes of Bisignano, had sung in their palace which, because of the rare architecture of the theater as well as by the beauty of the performer's costumes and the excellence of the music, succeeded most admirably, it having been repeated the following day [May 21] as well as on Saturday [May 23] with all the ladies and cavaliers of our city in attendance to whom were distributed noble refreshments in abundance . . .
>
> Napoli, 26 Maggio 1716
>
> Mercordì la sera Sua Eccelenza il Sig. Vece-Rè con Sua Eccelenza la Sig. Vece Regina andarono ad ascoltar la Serenata in lode della nascità dell'Augustissimo Principino, fatta cantare nel suo Palazzo da D. Nicola Gaetano d'Aragona Duca di Laurenzano, e D. Aurora Sanseverino de' Prencipi di Bisignano, quale riuscì al sommo ammirabile, sì per la rara architettura del Teatro, come per la vaghezza degli abiti de' Virtuosi, & eccellenza della Musica, essendosi replicata il giorno appresso, come anche nel Sabbato, con l'intervento di tutte le Dame, e Cavalieri della nostra Città, à quali furono compartiti copiosi, e nobili rinfreschi . . .

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688. The title page of this libretto is photographically reproduced by Pagano, *Scarlatti*, opposite p. 321.

Evidently the plans for the performance of *La Gloria di Primavera* had to be changed at the last moment. Instead of one performance as originally scheduled on May 19, three were given, on May 20, 21, and 23, probably to accommodate the great number of nobles wishing to hear the work.

It has already been observed that during the period of Austrian rule at Naples, serenatas were frequently given indoors. This innovation required the construction of elegant theaters, and, although serenatas were usually not acted in the manner of operas, stage machinery appears to have been employed in some cases. The Neapolitan libretto of *La Gloria di Primavera* included an oversized engraving by Giuseppe Maliar showing the set designed by Christoforo Schor for the performance of this serenata.[689] A caption at the bottom of the engraving reads:

> View of the scenery for the serenata on the most happy birth of the Most Serene Archduke Leopold of Austria, etc., performed by Don Nicola d'Aragona and Aurora Sanseverino, Princes of the Gaetano family
>
> Veduta della Scena per la Serenata fatta rappresentare nella felicissima Nascita del Serenissimo Leopoldo Arciduca d'Austria et ct dalli Sig.*ri* D. Nicola Gaetano d'Aragona e Aurora Sanseverino Prencipi della Famiglia Gaetana

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689. Reproduced by Pagano, *Scarlatti*, opposite p. 321.

The engraving shows four characters seated in each corner of a symmetrical stage. A deity is seated upon an elevated cloud at the very center of the set. Since the serenata is sung by Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter, and Jove, it is clear that the four seasons are depicted at the corners with Jove in the center. Although this engraving may simply represent a decorative backdrop, it probably shows the actual disposition of the singers on stage. A list of *interlocutori* is printed on unnumbered page three of the libretto as follows. It states that Jove was indeed seated upon a theatrical machine:

GIOVE in machina. Il Sig. D. Antonio Manna, Virtuoso dell'Augustissimo Imperatore Regnante.

PRIMAVERA. Il Sig. Marchese D. Matteo Sassano.

ESTATE. La Signora Margherita Durastanti.

AUTUNNO. Il Sig. Francesco Vitale.

INVERNO. Il Sig. Gaetano Borghi, Virtuoso dell'Eccellentiss. Signora D. Aurora Sanseverino, Duchessa di Laurenzano.

MUSICA. Del Sig. Cavaliere Alessandro Scarlatti, Primo Maestro della Real Cappella.

Ingegniere della Scene il Sig. Cristoforo Scor.

According to the modern work-lists for Alessandro Scarlatti, *La Gloria di Primavera* was also performed in Vienna during 1716. Alexander von Weilen brought to light

what he believed to be evidence for such a performance when he identified a manuscript libretto of this serenata in the Austrian National Library, Vienna.[690] In fact, this library possesses two almost identical manuscript librettos of *La Gloria di Primavera*, but they do not document the performance of this serenata in Vienna during the eighteenth century. *La Gloria di Primavera* was resurrected by the nineteenth-century music historian Raphael Georg Kiesewetter and performed in Vienna at "Kiesewetters Historischen Hauskonzerten" on December 26, 1825, and in November, 1828.[691]

The two librettos in the Austrian National Library were clearly prepared on one of these occasions, and one of them (MS. 12982) contains annotations in red ink like those found in Kiesewetter's conducting score preserved in the same library.[692] A manuscript copy of Kiesewetter's program notes distributed to the Viennese audience in 1825 is

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690. Alexander von Weilen, "Zur Wiener Theatergeschichte. Die vom Jahre 1629 bis zum Jahre 1740 am Wiener Hofe zur Aufführung gelangten Werke teatralischen Charakters und Oratorien," *Mittheilungen des österr. Vereines für Bibliothekeswesen*, IV Jahrgang (1900), Supplement, p. 77.

691. Herfrid Kier, *Raphael Georg Kiesewetter (1773-1850): Wegbereiter des musikalische Historismus* (Regensburg: Gustave Bosse, 1968), p. 184.

692. All these sources are described in Appendix I.

preserved in this score. These notes are reproduced with an English translation in Appendix VI. It is clear from these notes that Kiesewetter knew little about the first performance of *La Gloria di Primavera* in Naples and that he was guided as much by patriotic as by artistic considerations when he revived the work in Vienna.

Although there is no evidence to suggest that *La Gloria di Primavera* was ever performed during the eighteenth century in Vienna, there can be no doubt that it was heard in London during the composer's lifetime, a fact proven by a libretto printed by Thomas Wood in London bearing the date 1721. Frank Walker has called attention to several advertisements in the *Daily Courant* referring to the performance of one of Alessandro Scarlatti's serenatas in London on March 28, 1721. On March 22, 1721, for example, the following announcement appeared:

> At the King's Theatre in the Hay-Market, on Tuesday next, being the 28th of March, will be perform'd A Serenata, Compos'd by Sig. Cavalliero Allessandro [*sic*] Scarlatti, perform'd by Sig. Francesco Bernardi Senesino, Signora Durastanti, Mrs. Anastasia Robinson, Signora Salvai, Sig. Boschi. No Persons will be admitted without Tickets, which will be deliver'd on Monday and Tuesday next, at Mrs. White's Chocolate House in St-James'-street, and at the Theatre, at half a Guinea each. Gallery 5s. The Stage will be

illuminated, and put in the same Form as it was in the Balls.[693]

There can be no doubt that *La Gloria di Primavera* was the work heard on this occasion. The London libretto includes a list of *interlocutori* on unnumbered page four which corresponds exactly to the list of singers reported above in the *Daily Courant*:

GIOVE.	*Il Signor* Boschi.
PRIMAVERA.	*Il Sig.* Bernardi *detto* Senesino.
ESTATE.	*La Signora* Durastanti.
AUTUNNO.	Mrs. Anastasia Robinson.
MUSICA.	Del Cavaliere *Alessandro Scarlatti*.

It is of interest to note that one singer, Margherita Durastanti, sang in both the Neapolitan and London performances of this work. There is, of course, no evidence that Alessandro Scarlatti was in London to supervise this performance which, in all likelihood, was undertaken by the composer's younger brother Francesco as a commercial venture.

Although the composer's autograph score of *La Gloria di Primavera* is not known to be extant, five complete scores and one preserving the music for part one only of the serenata are known to survive in manuscript. MSS. 271, 272

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693. Frank Walker, "Some Notes on the Scarlattis," *The Music Review* XII (1951), p. 197.

and 275 in the Library of the Conservatorio di S. Pietro a Majella, Naples, are the earliest surviving sources. They appear to date from near the time of the serenata's first performance in Naples. All the other musical sources of this work listed in Appendix I are of nineteenth-century origin.

The conducting score used by Kiesewetter when he gave *La Gloria di Primavera* on December 26, 1825, in Vienna is preserved in the Austrian National Library. Although clearly prepared in the nineteenth century, it accurately preserves the serenata as found in the earliest Neapolitan sources. The scores in the Bavarian State Library, Munich, and in the British Library, London, were copied by J.J. Maier. According to information found on their title pages, they were "scored according to the original parts in Kiesewetter's library" (*Spartirt nach den Originalstimmen der Kiesewetterschen Bibliothek*). The orchestration of the scores copied by Maier, however, does not correspond to that seen in the earliest sources. Rather, it represents a modernization somewhat reminiscent of Mozart's arrangements of Handel. The probable explanation is that Kiesewetter reorchestrated *La Gloria di Primavera* in a more modern style after its first Viennese performance and that these scores represent the work as heard in November, 1828.

Besides the sources listed in Appendix I, Robert Eitner mentions a MS score of Alessandro Scarlatti in the "Stadbibl. zu Hamburg" bearing the title:

> The Introduction to a Serenade . . . upon the birth of the late King of the Romans being in 9 parts: 2 Trumpetts, 2 Hautb., 1 Basson, 2 V. 1
> 694
> A. & Th. B.

This was probably a copy of the opening *sinfonia* to *La Gloria di Primavera*. The use of the English language on its title page suggests that it may have had some connection with the London performance of 1721. Dr. Bernhard Stockman of the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg, reports in private correspondence that this score was lost in World War II.

10.8 An Entertainment in Honor of the Archduke Leopold by Alessandro Scarlatti in the Jesuit College of Naples

Ulisse Prota-Giurleo, presumably reporting information found in the *Gazzetta di Napoli*, states that a month after the Neapolitan performance of *La Gloria di Primavera*, Alessandro Scarlatti was again called upon to furnish music

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694. Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon* (rpt.; Graz: Akademische Druck, 1959), VIII, 454.

for a celebration in Naples honoring the birth of the Archduke Leopold:

> In June of that same year [1716], still in celebration of the birth of the Archduke Leopold, three cantatas set to music by the Cavalier Scarlatti were performed in the Jesuit College. Matteo Sassano, a soprano of the Royal Chapel, Francesco Vitale, a contralto, Giovanni Francesco Costanzi, a tenor of the Royal Chapel, and Don Antonio Manna, a bass belonging to the Most August reigning Emperor and to the Royal Chapel of Naples, sang.
>
> Nel giugno di quello stesso anno, sempre per festeggiare la nascita dell'Arciduca Leopoldo, furono eseguite nel Collegio della Compagnia di Gesù tre *Cantate*, poste in musica dal Cav. Scarlatti. Vi cantarono Matteo Sassano, soprano della R. Cappella, Francesco Vitale, contralto, Gio. Francesco Costanzi, tenore della R. Cappella, e D. Antonio Manna, basso dell'Augustissimo Imperatore Regnante e della R. Cappella di Napoli.[695]

Although it would seem that three separate works were heard on this occasion, it should be recalled that Scarlatti's serenata *Le Glorie della bellezza*, a work clearly conceived as a single entertainment, was divided into three cantatas and a comic intermezzo. Whether or not the three cantatas heard at the Jesuit College in 1716 were likewise planned as a single entertainment is unknown since neither a libretto nor a score preserving their text or music has been identified.

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695. Frota-Giurleo, "Breve storia," p. 91.

Chapter 11

The Final Years in Rome and Naples

11.1 1717

The *Gazette de France* reports that sometime shortly before June 29, 1717, a large musical entertainment was presented in Rome by Cardinal Pamphilj:

11.1.1 Cardinal Pamphilj's Entertainment for the Chevalier de Saint George

Rome, June 29, 1717

> The Chevalier de Saint George, accompanied by Cardinal Gualterio and by Don Carlo Albani, went to Tivoli to view the antiquities and the Este vineyard, and that evening he returned to this city. Then he went to the Priorato [di San Basilio or "of the Knights of Malta" on the Aventine Hill] where Cardinal Pamphilj, the Gran Priore of Rome, gave a grand concert of voices and instruments for him. (July 24, 1717)

De Rome, le 29 Juin 1717

> Le Chevalier de Saint George, accompagné du Cardinal Gualterio, & de Don Carlo Albani, alla à Tivoli voir les antiquitez & la Vigne d'Este, & revint le soir en cette Ville. Il est allé depuis

au Prieuré, où le Cardinal Pamphile Grand Prieur de Rome luy a donné un grand concert de voix & d'instruments. (24 Juillet 1717)

No mention of this concert is to be found in Lina Montalto's study of Cardinal Pamphilj, and it is very unlikely that Alessandro Scarlatti was responsible for it. Not until September 21 of that year did the Viceroy Count Daun grant Scarlatti permission to leave Naples and to reside in Rome through the carnival season of 1718.[696] That season witnessed the performance of his one hundred and ninth opera, *Il Telemaco*, in the Teatro Capranica.

11.1.2 Leonardo Leo's Serenata *Diana amante*

During Scarlatti's absence Leonardo Leo's serenata *Diana amante* was heard in the Royal Palace of Naples on December 4, 1717, at the celebration of the Vicereine Barbara d'Erbenstein's nameday.[697]

11.1.3 Celebrations in Rome for the Victories of the Holy League

On August 16, 1717, the Holy League dealt the Turks a decisive blow in the Balkans when Imperial forces captured

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696. Prot-Giurleo, "Breve storia," p. 91.

697. Helmut Hucke, "Leo, Leonardo," *The New Grove*, X, 669.

Belgrade. This victory and several others were cause for much rejoicing throughout Christian Europe that fall, concerning which the *Gazette de France* reported the following from Rome:

> Rome, October 12, 1717
>
> On Sunday the tenth in the German National Church [of S. Maria] dell'Anima they celebrated a solemn Mass after which the *Te Deum* was sung by several choirs of musicians in thanksgiving for the victories reported in Hungary over the enemies of the faith. Having been invited by Count Gallas [the Imperial Habsburg Ambassador], the cardinals as well as the Ambassador of Portugal and of Venice, and many prelates, princes, and princesses were there. Then he [*i.e.*, Count Gallas] gave a magnificent meal after which there was a ball, gambling, and a grand concert. (November 6, 1717)
>
> De Rome, le 12 October 1717
>
> Le Dimanche 10, on celebra dans l'Eglise *dell'anima* de la Nation Allemande, une Messe solennelle, à l'issuë de laquelle le *Te Deum* fut chanté à plusieurs choeurs de Musique, en action de graces des victoires remportées en Hongrie, sur les ennemis de la Foy. Les Cardinaux s'y trouverent, ayant esté invitez par le Comte de Gallasch, ainsi que les Ambassadeurs de Portugal & de Venise, & plusieurs Prelats, Princes & Princeses. Il donna ensuite un repas magnifique, après lequel il y eut bal, jeu & une grande Musique. (6 Novembre 1717)

Although nothing specific is known about the work or works heard on this occasion, Giovanni Bononcini, who served Count Gallas in Rome from 1714 to 1719,[698] was probably

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698. Lindgren, "A Bibliographic Scrutiny," I, 151.

responsible for this "grande Musique."

11.2 1718

In response to the growing power of Spain, a defensive alliance was formed by England and Austria in 1716 which eventually grew into the Quadruple Alliance. By 1718 fear of Spanish military ambition had reached such a state that in June a British fleet under the command of Admiral George Byng was sent into the Mediterranean. On August 1, 1718, to the great relief of the Habsburg Viceregal Court, the fleet arrived in the Bay of Naples. Pattee Byng, the son of Admiral George Byng, recorded in his journal several of the entertainments offered for the enjoyment of the visiting British in these words:

> That afternoon [August 3] my father sent me with his compliments to the Vice-Queen, and to desire she would honour the King's ship with her presence the next day and dine on board, and hoped, as it would be an additional honour to him, that the Viceroy might be her guest; and she accepted of the invitation . . . At night the Viceroy ordered an opera to be performed in compliment to my father who had a box allotted for him, and the English officers of the Fleet, who were all admitted without paying, and Count Ferdinand Daun, the Viceroy's eldest son, and young Baron Wacktendonck, introduced me to several ladies in their boxes, of the greatest distinction and beauty, amongst which were the Duchesses of Seminara, Tripalda, Termoli, Gravina and Cerenza and the Marchioness Fuscaldi.

> The next day my father thought the sea had too much motion and it would be inconvenient for the Vice-Queen to go off, so he sent me to her to desire upon this account, that she would defer honouring the Fleet till the next day.
>
> In the afternoon we went to see the Grotto del Cane and the Solfo Terra, two noted places out of town, and then my father went to the Viceroy's, where they consulted further upon the public affairs: when that was over, we went to a concert of music, which the Viceroy had ordered in the other apartments of the palace.[699]

Neither the opera, evidently heard in the Teatro San Bartolomeo on August 3, nor the work or works heard at the concert given a day later in the Royal Palace can be identified.

On the evening of August 5 the British fleet sailed from Naples for Sicily where on August 16 they surprised and destroyed the Spanish fleet off the Cape of Passaro. News of this victory soon reached Naples where it was cause for much celebration.

11.2.1 The Anonymous Serenata *L'Andromeda*

While the main body of the British fleet was still in Sicily, a serenata was heard during October in the Royal Palace of Naples in celebration of the Viceroy's

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699. *Pattee Byng's Journal*, ed. J.L. Cranmer-Byng (London: Navy Records Society, 1950), pp. 17-18.

birthday. According to Eugenio Faustini-Fasini, who presumably reports information gleaned from the *Gazzetta di Napoli*, this occasion was marked by the performance of a serenata entitled *L'Andromeda*. Although its composer remains unidentified, Nicola Grimaldi, Marianna Benti Bulgarelli, Matteo Sassano, and Antonio Manna are reported to have sung.[700]

This was probably the same serenata heard by Pattee Byng who, however, recorded the date of its performance as October 19, 1718:

> The nineteenth of this month [of October] was the Viceroy's birthday. There was a great appearance at Court where everybody was very fine. I dined with the Viceroy. At night there was a serenade, and all the persons of distinction were there.[701]

Under the command of Admiral Byng the main body of the fleet made its triumphal reentry into the Bay of Naples on November 2, 1718. Pattee Byng records the arrival that month not only of the victorious British, but also of many other aristocrats and officers of distinction. The following extract from the young Englishman's journal

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700. Eugenio Faustini-Fasini, "Gli Astri maggiori del 'bel canto' Napoletano: Il Cav. Nicola Grimaldi detto 'Nicolino,'" *Note d'Archivio*, XII (1935), p. 307, n. 1. *Cf.* Strohm, *Italiensiche Opernarien*, II, 208

701. *Pattee Byng's Journal*, p. 38.

furnishes some idea of the glittering round of entertainments witnessed that month in Naples:

> He [George Byng] had not been at Naples many days when Count Lusan, nephew to the Marquis de Perlas, Secretary of State at Vienna, brought him from the Emperor, his picture set round with large brilliant diamonds, which my father wore upon all festive days.
>
> The Empress's name day [November 19] was one of them, which happened soon afterwards. There was a great Court in the morning and we dined with the Viceroy. In the afternoon there was, what they call a calcagna [*sic*], before the palace. This is a building of wood which the populace drag upon wheels along the great street of Toledo, into the place before the palace of the Viceroy. All sorts of meat and fowls are fixed upon it in every part, so that it is covered with them. The way to get up to it is made very slippery, and when the Viceroy holds out his handkerchief from the balcony of the place, it is the signal to the populace (which is very numerous at Naples) to get up upon it and demolish it. The struggling of such a concourse of people to get up this slippery way, and the strife afterwards in loading themselves with what they can tear off, is the amusement to the spectators. At night there was an assembly at court of all the persons of distinction both men and ladies. Naples was never so full of nobility as this winter, for they had been required to repair hither at the first breaking out of the war, and none returned to their estates but as they had leave from the Viceroy for a certain time settled. This, and the continual arrival of troops from Lombardy and Germany amongst which there were so many generals and officers of distinction, made the Court and the city more splendid and more sociable than it had been known at any time before, and there were no balls, serenades and masquerades given, but what we were invited to, and I was introduced into

> all the assemblies which were held at one house or other every night . . .[702]

11.2.2 Alessandro Scarlatti's Serenata *Partenope, Teti, Nettuno, Proteo, e Glauco*

It is unfortunate that Pattee Byng's journal preserves no specific account of the events at court two days after the return of the British fleet to Naples. The Emperor Charles VI's nameday fell on November 4, and there can be little doubt that Alessandro Scarlatti's serenata *Partenope, Teti, Nettuno, Proteo, e Glauco* was the work given to mark this occasion in 1718.

This serenata survives in a single manuscript score which lacks any indication on its title page of the occasion for which it was written or of its date of performance. However, the many references in its text to the great name "Carlo" clearly identify it as a nameday cantata for the Emperor Charles VI. November 4, 1718, is suggested as its date of performance by the following recitative in which the mythological character Teti alludes to a number of Habsburg victories over the Turks and the Spanish Bourbons which occurred during 1716, 1717 and 1718:

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702. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

Noble victories, each shining like another gem
in the golden wreath about the Imperial brow:
the ruined and conquered city [Temesvar]
extending at length along the [River] Temeso
which was a secure, well-guarded
stronghold of the faithless rebel;
Serbia and its first city, whose walls they
boasted
were secure and invincible;
the subjugated Dacians;
so many cities and people,
taken from the ferocious Thracians [Turks]
that, subdued and broken, they
implored pardon and peace;
and restive Spain opens wide a path
through her land for his [Charles'] worthy,
lofty triumphs.

L'alte vittorie, ond'altra gemma splende
Nel'aureo serto a la Cesarea chioma,
E l'abbattuta, e doma
Città, che sul' Temeso ampia si stende
Ch'era al rubello infido
Certo guardate Nido
La Servia, e sua prima Città che il muro
Vantava inespugnabile sicuro;
I soggiogati Daci,
Tante Citadi, e tanti
Popoli, tolti dal furor de Traci,
Che debbellati, e infranti,
Chieser perdono, e pace
E l'Espan pertinace, ampia disserra
Strada a suoi degni, alti trionfi in terra.

It is likewise clear from the text of this serenata that it was written after the British victory over the Spanish fleet at the Cape of Passaro. In the following recitative Teti and Partenope refer to the many victories by the Emperor Charles VI as well as to the recent success scored on his behalf by Admiral George Byng:

Teti:

And is the wide sea perhaps not full
of his [Charles'] victories and glories?
And on whose behalf did the happy masts
of the British warrior come
and, penetrating the heart of a closed port,
smash or burn the enemy ships in a tremendous
battle,
conquering and taking all?

Partenope:

Also for him [Charles]
did Britain extinguish and
disperse to the winds the great
fleet that Spain, in vain, dared to unveil.
George [Byng] upset and confounded their
haughty plan
and caused their insane, audacious
leader [Philip V] to freeze in fire, to burn in
the waves.

Teti:

I know that every shore is filled with his
[Charles'] name.

Chorus:

Long live Charles the Great, etc.

Teti:

E che, forse non è di sue vittorie,
E di sue glorie l'ampio mar ripieno?
E per chi mai, con le felici antenne
L'Anglo guerrier sen venne,
E penetrando a chiuso porto in seno,
Con tremenda battaglia, o franse, o accese
Gl'avversi legni, e tutti vinse, e prese?

Partenope:

Anco per lui l'Ispagno,
Che osò spiegar in vano
Vele infinite al vento,
Fù dal Brittano dissipato, e spento.

Giorgio il disegno altier turba confonde,
E'l temerario, insano,
Fe nel foco gelare, arder nel'onde

Teti:

Sò che del nome suo piena ogni riva.

Coro

Viva, viva il gran Carlo
Viva il gran Carlo, viva, viva, viva.

Although no account of the performance of Scarlatti's *Partenope, Teti, Nettuno, Proteo, e Glauco* has come to light, allusions in its text such as the above leave little doubt that it was heard in Naples for the nameday celebration of Charles VI in 1718. Admiral George Byng and other British officers were almost certainly among the audience who witnessed its performance.

11.2.3 An Unidentified Serenata by Domenico Sarro and Leonardo Leo's *Le Nozze di danza*

In addition to the anonymous *L'Andromeda* and Scarlatti's *Partenope, Teti, Nettuno, Proteo, e Glauco*, two of the many other serenatas heard that year in Naples can be partially identified. According to *The New Grove*, Domenico Sarro

furnished a four-voice serenata for the Vicereine Countess Daun in 1718[703] and Leonardo Leo's serenata *Le Nozze di danza* was performed that year in Naples at the palace of the Prince of San Nicandro.[704] The exact dates and other circumstances of these performances are evidently unknown.

11.3 1719

Long before 1719 a number of Neapolitan *virtuosi* had won considerable fame in the theaters of London and in the salons of the English aristocracy. One in particular, the celebrated castrato called "Nicolino," must have recognized many former acquaintances among the officers of the British fleet, for as early as 1708 he had made his London debut in Alessandro Scarlatti's opera *Pirro e Demetrio*. Subsequently he sang in several of Handel's most successful works.

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703. Robinson, "Sarro," XVI, 501.

704. Hucke, "Leo," X, 668.

11.3.1 Nicola Grimaldi's Serenata in honor of Admiral George Byng

The *Gazzetta di Napoli* of January 10, 1719, reports that shortly after the new year the renowned Nicola Grimaldi sponsored a serenata at his residence in honor of the British Admiral and his officers:

> . . . on Tuesday evening [January 3] the Cavalier Grimaldi gave a very noble serenata in his own palace on the Strada di Chiaia for the Most Excellent Admiral George Byng and for other English officers and cavaliers in celebration of the victory which he won during the current campaign in Sicily. It was sung by the said Cavalier [Grimaldi], by Marianna Benti Bulgarelli (called *la Romanina*), and by Giovanni Battista Minelli, all *virtuosi* of the Teatro San Bartolomeo, with refreshments in abundance; and because of the love for the said [English] nation borne by the said [Nicola Grimaldi], who lived many years in London, His Excellency [Admiral Byng] applauded and enjoyed it greatly.
>
> . . . martedì sera il Cav. Grimaldi diede all'Ecc. Sig. Ammiraglio Giorgio Binghs ed altri ufficiali Inglesi e Cavalieri nel suo palazzo, sito nella strada di Chiaia, una nobilissima Serenata per la vittoria da esso ottenuto nella presente campagna in Sicilia. La quale fu cantata da esso Cavaliere, da Marianna Benti Bulgarelli, detta la Romanina, e da G.B. Minelli, tutti virtuosi del Teatro di S. Bartolomeo, con copiosissimi rinfreschi, che riuscì applauditissima e di sommo gusto di S.E. e ciò anche per l'affetto che porta alla detta Nazione,

per la dimora che ha fatto il medesimo a Londra
per molti anni.[705]

Although the work heard on this occasion remains unidentified, Leonardo Leo is said to have been its composer.[706]

11.3.2 Domenico Sarro's Cantata *La Gara della Virtù e della Bellezza*

According to Ulisse Prota-Giurleo, Domenico Sarro's three-voice cantata *La Gara della Virtù e della Bellezza* was performed in Naples during May, 1719, in celebration of the wedding of Don Scipione Spinelli, the Duke of Seminara, with Donna Emanuela d'Evil.[707] In *The New Grove*, however, this cantata is dated 1718.[708]

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705. Giuseppe A. Pastore, *Leonardo Leo* (Gelatina: Editore Pagano, 1957), p. 123, n. 4. Also cited by Faustini-Fasini, "Gli Astri maggiori," p. 307.

706. Pastore, *loc. cit.* This information is repeated by Hucke, "Leo," *The New Grove*, X, 668.

707. Prota-Giurleo, "Domenico Sarro," pp. 75-76. This information is repeated by Strohm, *Italienische Opernarien*, II, 218.

708. Robinson, "Sarro," XVI, 501.

11.4 1720

Certainly there were numerous serenatas at Naples in 1720, and much remains to be learned about this aspect of Neapolitan musical culture. Some idea of the intensity of the festivities that summer can be gathered from the following entry made by Pattee Byng in his journal:

> While we remained at Naples, which was about three weeks, my father expecting every day with some impatience his last orders from the King to return home, it happened there were a great many entertainments, concerts of music and balls given by the persons of the first distinction, which made the time pass very agreeably.
>
> The Princess of Gesualdo, the Duchesses of Cerifalco, of Termoli and of Gravina, and the Countess of Montoro had great assemblies, and the Marchioness of St. Marco had one with a ball. The Duchess of Montdgragone gave a ball at Posilipo. This is one of those places near Naples where the Neapolitains have their parties of pleasure, either upon the sea in barges or in the houses by the waterside. Here one evening the young Princess of Avelino gave a very fine entertainment and concert of music at the Duke dell'Isola's palace by the seaside. The Prince and Princess of Torella gave several dinners and suppers. And amongst these diversions there was a great party made to go on board the Maltese galley that lay in the Darsena and to row into the bay and to Posilipo. But the motion of the sea being troublesome, we returned into the Darsena, and there, had a fine entertainment and danced on board the galley all night. There was in this party the Princesses of Gensano, Torella and Gesso, the Duchess of Termoli, the Princess of Aquaviva, the Marchioness dell'Amoroso, the

Princess of Caserta, the Marchioness of St. Marco, the young Princess of Avelino, and the Duchess of Riaria, most of them the greatest beauties and most agreeable women in Naples.[709]

Some of this information can be verified as follows in the *Gazette de France*:

> Naples, July 9, 1720
>
> Admiral Byng is still here and awaits orders from the court of London . . . Commander Pompilio de Chiaia, who came here to compliment the Cardinal Viceroy [Michele Federico d'Althann] in the name of the Grand Master of Malta at the evacuation of the Kingdom of Sicily, has fulfilled his commission; and he had an audience to which he went attended magnificently by many servants. On the seventh he entertained the Knights of the Order of Malta who are in this city with many Neapolitan lords on his galley; and that evening he departed from the Darsena with two of his galleys. Many ladies having embarked there, he gave a concert of voices and instruments for them which was followed by magnificent refreshments . . . (August 10, 1720)
>
> De Naples, le 9 Juillet 1720
>
> L'Admiral Bing est encore icy, & il attend les ordres de la Cour de Londres . . . Le Commandeur Pompilio de Chiaia qui est venu icy pour complimenter le Cardinal Viceroy au nom du Grand Maistre de Malte, sur l'evacuation du Royaume de Sicile [*sic*], s'est acquité de sa commission, & il a eu une audience, à laquelle il alla avec une nombreuse & magnifique livrée. Le 7, il traita sur sa Galere les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de Malte qui sont en cette Ville, avec plusieurs Seigneurs Napolitains, & le soir, il sortit de la Darsene, avec ses deux Galeres. Plusieurs Dames s'y estoient embarquées, & il leur donna un concert de voix & d'instruments, qui fut suivi d'un magnifique rafraischissement . . . (10 Aoust 1720)

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709. *Pattee Byng's Journal*, pp. 283-84.

11.4.1 Neapolitan Festivities for the Birthday of the Empress

According to the *Gazette de France* the Viceroy Cardinal Wolfgang Hannibal Schrattenbach celebrated the birthday of the Empress Elisabeth on August 28 and September 1, 1720, as follows:

> Naples, September 3, 1720
>
> On the twenty-eight of last month, the birthday of the Empress, the Cardinal Viceroy, whose health is entirely recovered, received the customary compliments, and then attended with a very large cortege of magistrates and nobility the grand Mass and *Te Deum* which was sung to the sound of all the artillery of the fortresses and to many firings of the muskets. On the first of this month a pyramid built in front of the Palace and loaded with all sorts of things to eat was abandoned to the populace. That evening the Cardinal Viceroy gave a concert of voices and instruments in the Palace, and there was a very great gathering of lords and ladies. (October 5, 1720)
>
> De Naples, le 3 September 1720
>
> Le 28 du mois dernier, jour de la naissance de l'Imperatrice, le Cardinal Viceroy qui est entierement rétabli, reçût les compliments accoûtumez, & il assista ensuite avec un trés-grand cortege de Magistrats & de Noblese à la grande Messe & au *Te Deum* qui fut chanté au bruit de toute l'artillerie des Chasteaux & de plusieurs decharges de mousqueterie. Le 1r de ce mois, on abandonna au peuple la Pyramide construite devant le Palais, qui estoit garnie de toute sorte de choses propres à manger. Le soir, le Cardinal Viceroy donna dans le Palais un concert de voix & d'instruments, & il y eut un trés-grand concours de Seigneurs & de Dames. (5 Octobre 1720)

11.4.1.1 Domenico Sarro's Serenata *Scherzo festivo fra le Ninfe di Partenope*

The *Gazzetta di Napoli* as quoted by Prota-Giurleo, however, seems to contradict the above. It reports that Domenico Sarro's serenata *Scherzo festivo fra le Ninfe di Partenope* was heard in the Royal Palace on August 28, 1720:

> September 3, 1720
>
> For the birthday of the Empress on Wednesday [August 28] a famous serenata entitled *Scherzo festivo fra le Ninfe di Partenope* was sung in the great hall of the Vicaroys in the Royal Palace in praise of the said Most August Empress. It was composed by the poet Domenico Gentile, one of this city's leading men of letters, and was set to music by the celebrated chapelmaster Don Domenico Sarro. Sung by the finest *virtuosi* found here to the accompaniment of one hundred and forty instruments, it succeeded to the total satisfaction of all those who heard it.
>
> 3 Settembre 1720
>
> Mercoledì pel Compleanno dell'Imperatrice, nel R. Palazzo nella Gran Sala dei Vicerè, si cantò una famosa Serenata in lode di detta Augustissima Signora Imperatrice Regnante, intitolata *Scherzo festivo tra le Ninfe di Partenope*, composta dal celebre Poeta ed uno dei principali letterati di questa Città Domenico Gentile, posta in note dal celebre M.o di Capella D. Domenico Sarro, quale riuscì di total soddisfazione di tutti che l'ascoltarono, cantandovi li primi virtuosi che qui ritrovano, con accompagnamento di 140 strumenti.[710]

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710. Prota-Giurleo, "Domenico Sarro," p. 76.

11.4.1.2 Nicola Porpora's Serenata *Angelica*

Perhaps two serenatas, one on August 28 and another on September 1, were heard in the Royal Palace to mark this occasion. Whatever the explanation may be for the discrepancy noted above, Nicola Porpora's serenata *Angelica* was also clearly written in celebration of this same event. This serenata bears the distinction of being the poet Metastasio's earliest work conceived for a musical setting. Most modern scholars report its first performance on August 28, 1720, not in the Royal Palace of Naples, but in the Neapolitan palace of the Prince of Torella.[711]

11.4.2 Celebrations in Rome for the Nameday of the Empress

Several weeks later a large cantata was heard in Rome on the eve of the nameday of the Empress. Although the work in question has not been identified, the following account of its performance is preserved in the *Gazette de France*:

> Rome, November 23, 1720
>
> On the same day [November 18] Cardinal Althann invited the Sacred College and the foreign princes and princesses in this city to the entertainment of a cantata which he had sung that evening in his

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711. The evidence for the earliest performance of this work is reviewed by Strohm, *Italienische Opernarien*, II, 202-203.

palace in celebration of the festival of Saint Elisabeth, whose name the Empress bears. On the morrow, the day of the festival, this cardinal received the customary compliments from many cardinals and from the principal lords attached to the Emperor in the name of His Imperial Majesty, and that evening he gave a magnificent meal in his palace, which was illuminated, just as were those belonging to Cardinal del Giudice and to the Contestabile Colonna.

De Rome, le 23 Novembre 1720

Le mesme jour, le Cardinal d'Althan fit inviter le Sacré College, & les Princes & Princesses estrangeres qui sont en cette Ville, au divertissements d'une Cantate qu'il fit chanter le soir dans son Palais, pour celebrer la Feste de Sainte Elisabeth, dont l'Imperatrice porte le nom. Le lendemain jour de la Feste, ce Cardinal receut au nom de Sa Majesté Imperiale, les compliments ordinaires de plusieurs Cardinaux, & des principaux Seigneurs attachez à l'Empereur, & il donna le soir un magnifique repas dans son Palais, qui fut illuminé, de mesme que ceux du Cardinal del Giudice & du Connestabile Colonne. (21 Decembre 1720)

11.5 1721

11.5.1 Domenico Sarro's Serenata *L'Andromeda*

Ulisse Prota-Giurleo has brought to light an extract from the *Gazzetta di Napoli* indicating that a serenata for six voices by Domenico Sarro was heard in Naples on January 28, 1721, in celebration of an aristocratic wedding. The *Gazzetta* as quoted by Prota-Giurleo reports:

For the marriage of Don Giovanni Battista

> Filomarino, the Prince della Rocca, with Donna Vittoria Caracciolo of the Marquises of San Eremo, a famous serenata alluding to the said marriage will be sung this evening [January 28, 1721] in their richly decorated palace. Set to music by the celebrated Neapolitan chapelmaster Domenico Sarro, it will be sung by some of the finest male and female vocalists found in this capital who [will represent] the six characters [of the serenata].
>
> Per gli Sponsali di D. Gio. Battista Filomarino Principe della Rocca con D. Vittoria Caracciolo de' Marchesi di S. Eremo, nel Palazzo riccamente addobato, questa sera sarà cantata una famosa *Serenata* allusiva alle dette nozze, posta in note dal celebre Domenico Sarro, M.o di Cappella Napoletano, e sarà cantata da sei Personaggi delli primi Virtuosi e Virtuose che si ritrovino in questa Capitale.[712]

Although Prota-Giurleo asserts that the text of this serenata was by Metastasio, Reinhard Strohm identifies a libretto by the poet Di Rosa entitled *L'Andromeda* as the work set to music by Sarro on this occasion.[713]

11.5.2 Domenico Sarro's Serenata *Endimione*

Later that same year Sarro set to music Metastasio's text *Endimione* which was performed as a serenata at another aristocratic Neapolitan wedding. Prota-Giurleo cites the

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712. Prota-Giurleo, "Domenico Sarro," p. 76.

713. Strohm, *Italienische Opernarien*, II, 218-19. Sarro's *L'Andromeda* should not be confused with the anonymous serenata of the same name heard in Naples during October, 1718.

following extract from the *Gazzetta di Napoli* documenting the performance of the serenata:

> On Monday evening of last week [June 9, 1721] the festivities began in the house of the Duke della Cerenza, Pinelli, a Grandee of Spain and a Counsellor of State, for the wedding of his daughter with the Marquis of San Vincenzo, Pignatelli; and a famous serenata for four voices entitled *Endimione* was sung by the finest vocalists found here, set to music by the renowned Neapolitan chapelmaster Domenico Sarro. Besides the flower of all the ladies and cavaliers who attended, His Excellency the Viceroy also came incognito to hear it.
>
> Lunedì la sera della scorsa settimana cominciarono li Festini in casa del Duca della Cerenza, Pinelli, Grande di Spagna e Consigliere di Stato, per le nozze della sua figlia, con il Marchese di S. Vincenzo, Pignatelli, e vi si cantò una famosa *Serenata* a 4 voci dalli migliori Virtuosi, che qui si trovano, intitolata l'*Endimione*, posta in note dal rinomato Maestro di Cappella Domenico Sarro, Napoletano, ed oltre al fiore di tutte le Dame e Cavalieri, che vi furono, vi si portò anche incognito ad ascoltarla S.E. il Vicerè.[714]

11.5.3 Nicola Porpora's Serenata *Gli Orti Esperidi*

In 1721 Metastasio also furnished the text of Nicola Porpora's serenata *Gli Orti Esperidi*. This was the work heard that year in the Royal Palace of Naples at the

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714. Prota-Giurleo, "Domenico Sarro," p. 76.

celebration honoring the Empress on her birthday, August 28.[715] This occasion is reported as follows in the *Gazette de France*:

> Naples, September 2, 1721
>
> On the twenty-eighth of last month the birthday of the Empress was celebrated here with much magnificence. Prince Borghese, this Kingdom's Viceroy, received the compliments of the foreign ministers and of the nobility that morning. That afternoon he attended the *Te Deum* which was sung to the sound of a triple salvo by the artillery of this city, and that evening there was a grand concert of voices and instruments at the Palace. (October 4, 1721)
>
> De Naples, le 2 Septembre 1721
>
> Le 28 du mois dernier, on celebra icy avec beaucoup de magnificence l'Anniversaire de la naissance de l'Imperatrice. Le Prince Borghese Viceroy de ce Royaume, receut le matin les compliments des Ministres estrangers & de la Noblesse. L'aprés-midy il assista au *Te Deum* qui fut chanté au bruit d'une triple salve de l'artillerie de cette Ville, & le soir il y eut au Palais un grand Concert de voix & d'instruments. (4 Octobre 1721)

11.5.4 Festivities in Naples on the Nameday of the Emperor

The festivities in Naples on November 4, 1721, the feast of Saint Charles and the nameday of the Emperor Charles VI, are described as follows in the *Gazette de France*:

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715. Strohm, *Italienische Opernarien*, II, 203. Mancini, *Feste ed apparati*, pp. 41–43.

Naples, November 4, 1721

Today being the feast of Saint Charles, whose name the Emperor bears, Prince Marcantonio Borghese, the Viceroy of this Kingdom, after having received on this occasion the compliments from the nobility and ministers, went to the chapel in the Palace where the *Te Deum* was sung to the sound of a triple salvo by the artillery in the castles and ramparts. This afternoon he had abandoned to the people a great quantity of meat and baked goods which he had arranged on an edifice built in front of his Palace, and this evening he is to give a magnificent concert for the lords and ladies of this city. (December 6, 1721)

De Naples, le 4 Novembre 1721

Aujourduy Feste de Saint Charles dont l'Empereur porte le nom, le Prince Marc-Antoine Borghese Viceroy de ce Royaume, aprés avoir receu à cette occasion les compliments de la Noblesse & des Ministres, s'est rendu à la Chapelle du Palais, où le *Te Deum* a esté chanté au bruit d'une triple salve de l'artillerie des Chasteaux & des ramparts. Cette aprés-midy il a fait abandonner au peuple une grande quantité de viandes & de patisseries qu'il avoit fait arranger sur une machine dressée devant son Palais, & ce soir il doit donner un concert magnifique aux Seigneurs & aux Dames de cette Ville. (6 Decembre 1721)

Although the *Gazette* refers to the music heard that evening as "un concert magnifique," it probably consisted of a large occasional cantata or serenata. The specific work remains unidentified.

11.5.5 Cantatas in Rome Sponsored by Cardinals de Rohan and Colonna

Similar accounts of the performance at Rome of several large cantatas during 1721 are preserved in the *Gazette de France*. On July 21, for example, an unidentified work was given by Cardinal de Rohan:

> Rome, July 29, 1721
>
> On the twenty-first [of July] Cardinal de Rohan again gave a superb meal followed by a grand concert of voices and instruments at which eight cardinals and several foreign ministers were present. (August 23, 1721)
>
> De Rome, le 29 Juillet 1721
>
> Le Cardinal de Rohan donna encore le 21 un repas superbe suivi d'un grand concert de voix & d'instruments, auquel se trouverent huit Cardinaux & plusieurs Ministres Estrangers. (23 Aoust 1721)

Of greater interest are the following two extracts from this journal:

> Rome, August 12, 1721
>
> On the evening of the eighth [of August] the gallery of the Palazzo Pamphilj in the Piazza Navona was illuminated, and the symphony and cantata which Cardinal Ottoboni is to have performed on Assumption Day in the square in front of the Cancelleria was rehearsed. On the tenth Cardinal Colonna gave a very beautiful serenata on one of the bridges joining the Palazzo Colonna to its gardens. The beautiful apartment next to it was barely sufficient to accommodate the guests. This festival was marred by an accident. Several servants having made some noise

in one of the courtyards of the palace, people ran to an adjoining balcony, but the balcony, overloaded, collapsed and crushed a valet who was under it. Don Mario Gabrielli, one of Cardinal Priuli's gentlemen, and Don Alessandro Colonna Carbogniano also fell into the courtyard. The first suffered a broken arm and leg, the second, dangerously wounded, subsequently received last rites, but the third, having fallen on the first two, was not harmed at all. Happily, Cardinal Borgia was held back by several persons who were behind him. (September 6, 1721)

De Rome, le 12 Aoust 1721

Le 8 au soir, la galerie du Palais Pamphile dans la place Navone, fut illuminée, et on y fit la repetition de la simphonie & de la Cantate que le Cardinal Ottoboni doit faire executer le jour de l'Assomption dans la place qui est devant le Palais de la Chancellerie. Le 10, le Cardinal Colonne donna une trés belle serenade sur un des Ponts qui joignent le Palais Colonne aux jardins qui en dependent: le bel appartement qui y est contigu, fut à peine suffisant pour contenir les conviez. Un accident troubla cette Feste: quelques gens de livrée ayant fait du bruit dans une des cours du Palais, on courut à un petit balcon qui y répondoit; mais le balcon trop chargé, se rompit & écrasa un valet qui se trouva dessous: Don Mario Gabrielli, un Gentilhomme du Cardinal Priuli & Don Alexandre Colonne Carbogniano, tomberent aussi dans la Cour: le premier eut un bras & une cuisse cassée: le second dangereusement blessé, a receu depuis ses Sacrements; mais le troisiéme estant tombé sur les deux premiers, ne se fit aucun mal: le Cardinal Borgia fut heureusement retenu par quelques personnes qui estoient derriere luy. (6 Septembre 1721)

Rome, August 19, 1721

Of the five persons who were wounded on the same day [August 10] by the collapsed balcony at the apartment of Cardinal Colonna, news of which has been recently reported, Count Althann, the nephew of the cardinal of this name, and Don Alessandro Carbogniano are out of danger. Signor Mario Gabrielli is in the ninth day of

convalescence but without fever or other complication. Only Count Mantova, Cardinal Priuli's squire, and this cardinal's servant are dead. Such a great accident is causing the necessary precautions to be taken at the palace of Cardinal Ottoboni, who gave on the fourteenth a magnificent festival for the cardinals in this city and for the nobility and people. (September 13, 1721)

De Rome, le 19 Aoust 1721

Des cinq personnes qui furent blessées le mesme jour par la chute du Balcon de l'appartement du Cardinal Colonne dont on a parlé dans les dernieres nouvelles, le Comte d'Althan neveu du Cardinal de ce nom, & Don Alexandre Carbogniano, sont hors de danger: le sieur Mario Gabrielli, est dans le neuviéme jour de sa blessure, mais sans fiévre & sans autre accident: le seul Comte Mantoüa Ecuyer du Cardinal Priuli & le laquais de ce Cardinal sont morts. Un si grand accident a fait prendre toutes les precautions necessaires dans le Palais du Cardinal Ottoboni, qui donna le 14 une feste magnifique aux Cardinaux qui sont en cette Ville, à la Noblesse, & au peuple. (13 Septembre 1721)

This extract from the *Gazette* continues with the account of the performance of the cantata *Roma giuliva* discussed earlier beginning on page 46. The serenata given by Cardinal Colonna on August 10 which was marred by the accident remains unidentified.

11.5.6 Portuguese Festivities in Rome

Two festivals given by the Portuguese Ambassador at which music was heard during the fall of 1721 in Rome are reported as follows in the *Gazette de France*:

Rome, October 28, 1721

On the twenty-second [of October], the birthday of the King of Portugal, his ambassador to this court, Don Andrea de Melo de Castro, received the usual compliments from the cardinals of the nations and from the prelates and Roman lords friendly to His Portuguese Majesty. That evening this ambassador gave a magnificent festival in his palace. It began with a concert of voices and instruments which was interrupted by refreshments. [After] the concert ended, gaming tables were presented upon which various plates of cold meat were then served as is the custom. Cardinal del Giudice, Acquaviva, Gualtiere, de Rohan, da Cunha, Schrottembach, Sainte Agnés, Pereira, Conti, and Ottoboni were present at this festival, as well as a great number of prelates, lords, and Roman ladies. This minister is having an opera in honor of the Pope prepared, and he will have it performed in his palace on the sixteenth of next month, the day upon which His Holiness has stated that he will take possession of the Church of San Giovanni in Laterano. (November 22, 1721)

De Rome, le 28 Octobre 1721

Le 22, jour de la naissance du Roy de Portugal, Don André Mello de Castro son Ambassadeur en cette Cour, receut les compliments ordinaires des Cardinaux Nationaux & des Prelats & Seigneurs Romains affectionnez à sa Majesté Portugaise: cet Ambassadeur donna le soir une feste magnifique dans son Palais: elle commença par un concert de voix & d'instruments qui fut interrompu par une collation: le concert fini, on presenta des tables à jouer, sur lesquelles on servit ensuite divers plats de viandes froides, selon la coûtume. Les Cardinaux del Giudice, Aquaviva, Gualtieri, de Rohan, d'Acunha, Schrottembach, Sainte Agnés, Pereira, Conti & Ottoboni, se trouverent à cette feste, ainsi qu'un grand nombre de Prelats, de Seigneurs & de Dames Romaines. Ce Ministre fait preparer un Opera à l'honneur du Pape, & il le fera representer dans son Palais le 16 du mois prochain, auquel jour Sa Sainteté a declaré qu'elle prendroit possession de l'Eglise de Saint Jean de Latran. (22 Novembre 1721)

As mentioned above on page 666, the Portuguese Cardinal Nuno da Cunha had *La Ninfa del Tago*, probably a revision of Alessandro Scarlatti's serenata *Filli, Clori e Tirsi*, given on or around June 24, 1721, for the nameday celebration of his King João V. The cantata which the Portuguese Ambassador had performed on the evening of October 22 that year for the king's birthday remains unidentified.

11.5.6.1 Alessandro Scarlatti's *La Virtù negli amori*

The work which the Portuguese Ambassador, Don Andrea de Melo de Castro, is reported above having prepared for performance in his palace on November 16, 1721, can be identified as Alessandro Scarlatti's *La Virtù negli amori*. Although the *Gazette de France* refers to it as an opera, the introductory remarks by the poet Gaetano Lemer printed on pages three through five of the libretto clearly indicate that *La Virtù negli amori* was originally conceived as an occasional cantata. As the date of its scheduled performance drew near, it was enlarged almost to the size of an opera and the site of its performance was transferred to the Teatro Capranica:

> Know, courteous reader, by what exact command of His Excellency Don Andrea de Melo de Castro, Ambassador of His Majesty the King of Portugal, I have been led to write this fable for his chamber, lacking decor and any scenic apparatus, in the manner of one customarily performed in the limited

space of a residence. It later happened that many and prudent reasons induced His Excellency to move it to a larger place in order to better provide for your comfort. And for this reason it was necessary to make use of it in a manner different from that originally proposed. Whence, imperfect as it was, I was none the less agreeable to have it offered for your view. Not that I am troubled at all by it, for I am well aware of your faculty of discernment; but in all honesty I have deemed it my duty to give an account of what occurred. The action takes place in Portugal, called by the ancients Lusitania. That region was named after Lauso and Lisa, companions or offspring (as some maintain) of Bacchus; they likewise suggested to me the idea of introducing into it verisimilitude and the customs of those western races as reported by Herodotus. The ability to divine the future, attributed to them by writers of mythology, was added. Night, sent to you by her father, Love, will inform you of the rest according to those verses of Orpheus in the *Argonautici*:

> Il gemino ridite, e Sommo Amore
> Padre della quieta oscura notte

Its performance was occasioned by the exalted and filial devotion professed by the most powerful King João V of Portugal to our Holy Father and Lord Innocent XIII (long may he live to make happy our days) and by the immense joy and interest conceived by the most pious monarch at his most glorious elevation to the Pontificate. Thus did his ambassador His Excellency Don Andrea de Melo de Castro believe it his duty to demonstrate with distinction the joy of his prince, of his nation, and his own joy in the midst of the communal joy of Rome on the happy assumption of it in these happy days by His Holiness by offering you a musical festivity with scenery as great as the short amount of time and the change in plans allowed. The music is by the Cavalier Alessandro Scarlatti, already known to you for his excellence. The arrangement of the scenery is entirely by the famous Francesco Bibiena. Enjoy it, and live happily.

Sappi, Lettor Cortese, che preciso commandamento dell'Eccellenza del Signor DON ANDREA DE MELO DE CASTRO Ambasciadore della Maestà del Rè di Portogallo, recommi a scrivere codesta Favola per la sua Cammera, ignuda di decorazioni, e d'ogni artifizio, come quella, che in angusto sito, e dimesticamente rappresentar si dovea. E poscia accaduto, che molte, e prudenti ragioni anno indotta l'ECCELLENZ SUA a transportarla in luogo più vasto per meglio provedere al tuo commodo; e così a doverne usare altramente da quello, che da principio s'era proposto, onde imperfetta, com'essa era, è convento a me ancora d'offerirla agli sguardi tuoi: non che punto me ne sia rincresciuto, perche la tua discretezza mi è nota: ma hò stimato doverti render conto di quanto avvenne, per non abbusarne. L'Azzione si fa in Portogallo, dagl'Antichi Lusitania chiamata. Lauso, e Lisa compagni, o Figli (com'altri voglion) di Bacco, che a quella Regione dettero il nome, anno altresì suggerito a me l'argomento d'intrecciarla sul verisimile, e sul costume rapportato da Erodoto di alcuni di quei Popoli Occidentali; aggiuntavi l'opportunità del Vaticinio da' Mitologi assegnata loro. La Notte ti avvertirà del resto a te mandata da Amor Padre di lei secondo quei versi di Orfeo negl'Argonautici

"Il gemino ridite, e Sommo Amore
"Padre della quieta oscura notte

L'occasione di rappresentarla è stata la somma, e figliale Devozione, che il potentissimo Rè GIOVANNI V. di Portogallo professa al nostro Santiss. Padre, e Signor INNOCENZO XIII. (che lungamente, per felicità de' nostri giorni ne sia serbato) e l'immenso giubilo, ed interesse da quel piissimo Monarca conceputo per la di lui gloriosissima esaltazione al Ponteficato: onde l'Eccellenza del Signor DON ANDREA DE MELO DE CASTRO suo Ambasciadore, ha creduto dovere distintamente rimostrare la letizia del suo Principe, della sua Nazione, e la propria in mezzo alla gioia commune di Rome, per il Felice Posseso presone della SANTITÀ SUA in questi giorni, apprestando a te una Festa Musical con quell'apparato, che per l'angustia del tempo, e

per la nuova determinazione ha potuto
maggiore. La Melodia è del Cavalier *Alessandro Scarlatti* a te già noto per la sua eccellenza; la disposizione tutta è del celebre *Francesco Bibbiena*. Godine, e vivi lieto.

Because of its place of performance, the Teatro Capranica, *La Virtù negli amori* has been listed by some scholars as one of Alessandro Scarlatti's operas. Despite the poet's remarks reproduced above, which clearly reveal it to have been conceived as a cantata, the confusion surrounding this work is understandable. The dimensions of *La Virtù negli amori*, more than any other of Scarlatti's serenatas, approach that of an opera. The allegorical figure Night accompanied by a chorus of shades begins the work with an introduction, and it ends to rejoicing by the Sun and another chorus. These two sections served, in effect, as a prologue and *licenza* to the body of the work. As in the prologue and final scene to many a baroque opera, theatrical machines were evidently employed to spectacular effect at the beginning and end of *La Virtù negli amori* All overt references to the occasion celebrated were also limited to the outer portions of the work.

The plot of the fable revolves around the conflict between duty and love experienced by two pairs of lovers. In this it resembles many others found in the pastoral opera of the day and depends upon intrigue to a

much great degree than normally observed in a serenata. The work is divided into three parts, not acts, and the libretto contains no explicit scenic divisions. Nevertheless, if the "prologue" and *licenza* are not counted, each part of *La Virtù negli amori* comprises ten scenes. Following the conventions of opera, most of them end with exit arias. Despite its place of performance, size, and structure, *La Virtù negli amori* was not an opera, and there is no indication in the libretto that stage movement or acting was employed during its performance. The music is not known to have survived.

By the second decade of the eighteenth century much of the music-loving public at Naples and Rome had come to expect in opera, cantata, and even oratorio a new style of writing foreign to that of Alessandro Scarlatti. *Cambise*, his last work produced for the Neapolitan stage, was heard in 1719. At Rome his operas continued to be heard for a few more years thanks to the aristocratic patronage of Cardinal Ottoboni and Prince Ruspoli, men who appreciated the sometimes severe intellectual quality of Scarlatti's music and evidently preferred it to the styles of Bononcini, Gasparini, Porpora, or of Scarlatti's younger Neapolitan rivals such as Leonardo Leo, Leonardo Vinci, and Domenico Sarro.

11.6 Alessandro Scarlatti's Serenata *Erminia*

The serenata *Erminia* has the distinction of being Alessandro Scarlatti's last major work which can be precisely dated.[716] It was heard in the Palazzo Stigliano,[717] Naples, on June 13, 1723, in celebration of the wedding of Don Ferdinando Colonna, the Prince of Stigliano, with Donna Maria Luisa Caracciolo, the Princess of Santo Buono. The unfortunate fact that the three surviving scores from the eighteenth century preserve the music for the first part only led Edward Dent to believe it "apparently unfinished."[718] That it was completed as well as the circumstances of its performance were established by Ulisse Prota-Giurleo, who brought to light and slightly misquoted the following extract from the *Gazzetta di Napoli*:

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716. A detailed study of this work including an edition of the music and an English translation of the libretto can be consulted in Thomas Edward Griffin, "Alessandro Scarlatti's Serenata: *Erminia, Tancredi, Polidoro e Pastore* (1723)," (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1975).

717. Today the Banca Commerciale Italiana at Via Roma 184.

718. Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti*, p. 169

June 15, 1723

On Sunday, in the same palace, an excellent serenata for four voices entitled ERMINIA was sung, as set to music by the never sufficiently praised Cavaliere Alessandro Scarlatti, of whom it may truly be said that the more his age increases the more he acquires novel and sublime ideas in his compositions, by the four *virtuosi* of highest rank to be found in this city, that is: Carlo Broschi (called Fariniello [*sic*]) soprano, who played the part of *Erminia* to much applause, as also did Andrea Pacini contralto, *Tancredi*, Annibale Pio Fabbri tenor, *Polidoro*, and D. Antonio Manna bass, who played the role of the *Shepherd*; and His Eminence the Viceroy [Cardinal Michele Federico d'Althann] attended privately [*i.e.*, without the entourage that attends him in official public appearances] and gave evidence of his special esteem for it . . .

15 Giugno 1723

Domenica poi nel medesimo Palazzo si cantò una eccelente serenata, intitolata ERMINIA, a quattro voci, posta in Note dal non mai abbastanza lodato Cavaliere Alessandro Scarlatti, che veramente può dirsi, che quanto più cresce nell'età, tanto maggiormente acquista nuove sublime Idee nelle sue Composizioni, e fu cantata da' primi quattro Virtuosi, che si ritrovano in questa Città, cioè Carlo Broschi (detto Fariniello) Soprano, che con molt'applauso rappresentò la parte d'*Erminia*, come altresì Andrea Pacini Contralto, *Tancredi*, Annibale Pio Fabri Tenore, *Polidoro*, e D. Antonio Manna Basso, che rappresentava la parte di *Pastore*, e vi si portò in forma privata ad ascoltarla Sua Eminenza, il Signor Vecerè, che ne dimostrò un spezial compiacimento . . . [719]

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719. Prota-Giurleo, "Breve storia," p. 94.

The fact that Farinello sang the role of Erminia suggests to Roberto Pagano that Pietro Metastasio may be the poet of this work.[720] A printed libretto for the 1723 performance of *Erminia* is preserved in the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome. On unnumbered page three the composer and the setting of the scene on the banks of the River Jordan are identified, but the poet is nowhere named:

> *La Scene si finge nelle Campagne di Soria*
> *sù le rive del Giordano.*
> MUSICA
> Del Signor Cavaliere ALESSANDRO SCARLATTI
> Maestro della Real Cappella
> di Napoli.

Torquato Tasso's epic poem *La Gerusalemme liberata* served as the basis for this libretto, and it is clear that the anonymous poet of *Erminia* worked closely from the original. Not only are the characters and argument of the serenata based on Tasso, but numerous images, metaphors, similies, and even entire lines of poetry are taken directly from *La Gerusalemme liberata*.

In Tasso, Erminia, Princess of Antioch, is taken prisoner by Tancredi during the conquest of that realm by the Christian forces. He generously restores her liberty, and

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720. Pagano, *Alessandro Scarlatti*, p. 232.

she takes refuge in Jerusalem shortly before it is put under siege. Uneasy because of her passion for Tancredi and impatient to tend his wounds, she soon flees Jerusalem dressed in the arms of the pagan warrioress Clorinda. Before she can reach the Christian tents, however, she is seen and pursued by a squad of Christian knights who mistake her for Clorinda. Her pursuers are led by the brothers Poliferno and Alcandro, who have good reason to hate Clorinda since she slew their father in combat. Only one of these brothers appears in Scarlatti's serenata where he is called Polidoro. Canto VII of Tasso's poem, the so-called *pastorale* of Erminia, serves as the basis for the text of the serenata. The action can be summarized as follows:

> The tired and frightened Erminia wanders alone in a dark forest where she has been chased by the Christian knights. Only be calling the name of her beloved Tancredi is she consoled. Suddenly, hearing the sounds of rustic wind instruments and a chorus of youths, she sees an old man at work at the threshold of a rustic hut. He is startled at the sight of an armed knight, but Erminia quickly reveals herself as a woman and calms him. She begs for shelter and aid which he is glad to provide, for unlike those who live at court, shepherds harbor in their breast neither worry, ambitious desire, nor greed; all that life requires is provided by the flock, garden, and stream. She divests herself of the baleful arms and, dressed as a simple shepherdess, accompanies the children as they lead the snowy flock to pasture. Polidoro, enraged at the thought that Clorinda has escaped him, enters. He questions the fair shepherdess and is soon smitten by her beauty and demeanor. He loses all thoughts of

vengeance, only desiring to stay with her; but she must leave, for it does not not become the lowliness of a shepherdess or the lovely purity of a bashful virgin to be found among warriors. Tancredi enters in search of his beloved Clorinda. He finds her arms beside the shepherd's hovel and, fearing foul play, roughly questions him. The shepherd tries to conceal the girl's presence, but at the sight of Tancredi's blade, tells the knight where she can be found. Polidoro enters and tells Tancredi of his love for the beautiful shepherdess. Tancredi feels the stings of jealousy, for surely she is the beautiful Clorinda. The two knights exit, Polidoro in search of lodging, and Tancredi the fair Clorinda. Part one of the serenata ends with Erminia alone beside a clear brook.[721] She takes a measure of comfort from the beauty of nature, but, as she lies down to sleep, doubts and fear again assail her. She is tormented by her love for Tancredi.

Part two begins with the return of Tancredi from his unsuccessful search for Clorinda. He wishes to question the shepherd further, but Polidoro enters, and the shepherd offers both knights shelter in his humble cottage. The worn-out Polidoro accepts while the ardent Tancredi burns to continue the chase. As the sun sets, Erminia and children gaily return with the flock. The shepherd points her out to Tancredi, who is disappointed not to see his beloved Clorinda. Erminia, agitated at the unexpected sight of the hero for whom she has conceived such an undeclared passion, swoons. The shepherd is enraged at Tancredi for causing such a change in her bearing. Polidoro attempts to console her, but only at the sound of Tancredi's voice does she revive. He questions her, and gradually she reveals her identity and, to Tancredi's dismay, her love for him. He in turn begs for pardon since he loves another, at which Erminia is afflicted by even greater sorrow. Erminia,

---

721. This final recitative and aria from part one of the serenata has been edited by Raymond Meylan, *Erminia: Rezitativ und Arie für Sopran, Streicher und Basso Continuo* (Frankfurt: Henry Litolff's Verlag, [1971]).

Tancredi, and Polidoro express their perplexity in a trio. Finally, at the evidence of such fidelity, Polidoro renounces his claim to Erminia's affection and entreats his colleague to accept her. Tancredi can resist no longer; after bidding farewell to Clorinda in an aria, he gives himself to Erminia. The shepherd is overcome with sudden joy. In a vision he sees his poor home transformed into a rich, splendidly ornate royal palace from the midst of which arises a lofty COLUMN of choice white marble whose top is magnificently sculpted into the form of a generous LION.[722] The shepherd wishes the pair much happiness and many offspring. They embrace and the serenata ends with a chorus of rejoicing.

The column and the lion were the heraldic devices of the Colonna and Caraccioli families, respectively,[723] and it is possible that such a column was raised in the Palazzo Stigliano on this occasion.[724]

722.

> . . . in ricca fastosa ornata Reggia,
> In Mezzo a cui di bianco marmo eletto
> S'erge altera COLONNA,
> Ove per dotta man sculto si mira
> Generoso LEON, che 'l capo estolle.

723. Their coats of arms are depicted by Scipione Mazzella, *Descrittione del regno di Napoli* (Naples: Gio. Battista Capello, 1601), pp. 751 and 618.

724. Franco Mancini, *Feste ed apparati*, p. 48, mentions "l'addobbo disposto da Filippo Marinelli nel palazzo del principe di Stigliano in via Toledo per accogliere la sposa Maria Luisa Caracciolo nel 1723."

Alessandro Scarlatti is known to have written a number of chamber cantatas and sacred compositions after *Erminia*, but it appears to be his last major secular work. On October 22, 1725, the composer died at Naples. A notice of his death appeared in the *Gazzetta di Napoli* of October 30, and some indication of the widespread esteem he still enjoyed among the aristocratic public is suggested by the fact that the *Gazette de France* of November 24 also recorded his passing:

> De Naples, le 23 Octobre 1725
>
> Le Chevalier Alexandre Scarlati, fameux Musicien & maistre de la Chapelle Royale du Palais de cette Ville, mourut ces jours passez dans un âge fort avancé.

11.7 A Summary of the Serenatas of Alessandro Scarlatti

Scores of nineteen serenatas by Alessandro Scarlatti are known. In addition, printed librettos preserving the texts of three other serenatas by Scarlatti have been identified. Given the nature of the sources, there can be little doubt about the identity of these twenty-two works. They are listed in Appendix I. Other documents

cited in this study name Scarlatti as the composer of ten serenatas, bringing the total number to thirty-two. Some of these may eventually be identified with surviving scores; frequently the latter are undated and the circumstances surrounding their first performance are unknown. For example, the *Serenata in the Palazzo della Posta* (number 10 below), known from an account in the *Gazzetta di Napoli*, may prove to be the same as *Clori, Lidia e Filli* or *Venere e Amore*. With these reservations in mind, the information presented in this study is summarized below in a format similar to that used in *The New Grove*:

1	
TITLE (incipit):	Diana ed Endimione (Voi solitarie piante)
LIBRETTO:	–
LIBRETTIST:	–
SCORING:	2 vv, insts
PERFORMANCES:	ca. 1679–1685
SOURCES:	F Pn, ?F Ly, I MC, US Wc
2	
TITLE (incipit):	L'Olimpo in Mergellina
LIBRETTO:	–
LIBRETTIST:	–
SCORING:	–
PERFORMANCES:	Mergellina, 25 Aug. 1686; PR, 16 Sept. 1686
SOURCES:	–
3	
TITLE (incipit):	Serenata in Honor of James II of England
LIBRETTO:	–
LIBRETTIST:	–

SCORING: -
PERFORMANCES: Rome, Palazzo Doria-Pamphilj, 1688
SOURCES: -

4
TITLE (incipit): Serenata for Scipione Giuvo
LIBRETTO: -
LIBRETTIST: -
SCORING: 4 vv, insts
PERFORMANCES: Naples, house of Scipione Giuvo, 8 Oct. 1691
SOURCES: -

5
TITLE (incipit): Venere, Adone et Amore (Dal giardin del piacere)
LIBRETTO: -
LIBRETTIST: F.M. Paglia
SCORING: 3vv, instrs
PERFORMANCES: Posillipo, 15 July 1696; rev. Rome, Aug. 1706
SOURCES: GB Och, I MC, D Müs

6
TITLE (incipit): Il trionfo delle stagioni
LIBRETTO: -
LIBRETTIST: F.M. Paglia
SCORING: -
PERFORMANCES: Naples, Piazza del Palazzo Reale 26 July 1696
SOURCES: -

7
TITLE (incipit): Il Genio di Partenope, la Gloria del Sebeto, il Piacere di Mergellina (Venticelli soavi che con ali)
LIBRETTO: -
LIBRETTIST: -
SCORING: 3vv, instrs
PERFORMANCES: Mergellina, 5 Aug. 1696
SOURCES: I MC

8
TITLE (incipit): Venere e Amore (Del Mar tirreno in su l'amena sponda)
LIBRETTO: -

LIBRETTIST: -
SCORING: 2vv, instrs
PERFORMANCES: Naples, ca. 1695-1700
SOURCES: B Br
EDITION: A. Tirabassi (Brussels, 1921)

9
TITLE (incipit): Clori, Lidia e Filli (Già compito il suo giro)
LIBRETTO: -
LIBRETTIST: -
SCORING: 3vv, instrs
PERFORMANCES: ca. 1700
SOURCES: B Bc

10
TITLE (incipit): Serenata in the Palazzo della Posta
LIBRETTO: -
LIBRETTIST: -
SCORING: -
PERFORMANCES: Naples, Palazzo della Posta
2 June 1701
SOURCES: -

11
TITLE (incipit): Serenata based upon "l'opera da farsi"
[? *Tiberio imperatore d'oriente*]
LIBRETTO: -
LIBRETTIST: -
SCORING: -
PERFORMANCES: Naples, Palazzo Reale
19 April 1702
SOURCES: -

12
TITLE (incipit): Clori, Dorino e Amore (Cari lidi, amene sponde)
LIBRETTO: -
LIBRETTIST: -
SCORING: 3vv, chorus, instrs
PERFORMANCES: Naples, Palazzo Reale
1 May 1702
SOURCES: D Müs, Bpkb

13
TITLE (incipit): Serenata for Queen Maria Casimira
LIBRETTO: –
LIBRETTIST: Card. Pietro Ottoboni
SCORING: –
PERFORMANCES: Rome, Palazzo Zuccari
9 Aug. 1703;
Palazzo Venezia
10 Aug. 1703
SOURCES: –

14
TITLE (incipit): Serenata for the Spanish Ambassador
LIBRETTO: –
LIBRETTIST: –
SCORING: 2vv (Scarlatti's daughters)
PERFORMANCES: Rome, Palazzo di Spagna
4 Oct. 1703
SOURCES: –

15
TITLE (incipit): Venere e Adone; Il giardino di amore (Care selve, amati orrori)
LIBRETTO: –
LIBRETTIST: –
SCORING: 2vv, instrs
PERFORMANCES: ca. 1700–05
SOURCES: D Müs, Bpkb
EDITION: O. Drechsler (Frankfurt: Hansen, 1963)

16
TITLE (incipit): Endimione e Cintia (Sento un'aura che dolce)
LIBRETTO: –
LIBRETTIST: –
SCORING: 2vv, instrs
PERFORMANCES: Rome, ? 1705
SOURCES: D Müs, Bpkb, B Bc

17
TITLE (incipit): Zeffiro e Clori; Flora pellegrina (Vaga, auretta soave)
LIBRETTO: Flora pellegrina (Rome: Francesco Chracas, 1705)
LIBRETTIST: G. Buonaccorsi

SCORING: 2vv, instrs
PERFORMANCES: Rome, 14 Sept. 1705
SOURCES: D Müs, Bpkb, B Bc

18
TITLE (incipit): Amore e Virtù ossia Il trionfo della virtù (No, che non voglio più)
LIBRETTO: –
LIBRETTIST: –
SCORING: 2vv, instrs
PERFORMANCES: Rome, ? 1706
SOURCES: D Bpkb
EDITION: A. Tirabassi (Brussels, 1923)

19
TITLE (incipit): Fileno, Niso e Doraìbo; Serenata a Filli (Tacete, aure tacete)
LIBRETTO: –
LIBRETTIST: –
SCORING: 3 vv, instrs
PERFORMANCES: Rome, ? 1706
SOURCES: D Müs

20
TITLE (incipit): Sole, Urania e Clio; Le Muse Urania e Clio lodano le bellezze di Filli (O mie figlie canore)
LIBRETTO: –
LIBRETTIST: –
SCORING: 3vv, instrs
PERFORMANCES: Rome, ? 1706
SOURCES: D Müs

21
TITLE (incipit): Venere, Amore e Ragione; Il ballo delle ninfe (Cerco Amore, Amor che fa?)
LIBRETTO: –
LIBRETTIST: S. Stampiglia
SCORING: 3vv, instrs
PERFORMANCES: Rome, ? 1706
SOURCES: D Müs (2), Bpkb, E Mn
EDITION: H. Williams (Clinton, NY, 1982)

22
TITLE (incipit): Cupido ed Onestà; Il trionfo dell'Onestà (Puote sì poco)
LIBRETTO: -
LIBRETTIST: -
SCORING: 2vv, instrs
PERFORMANCES: Rome, Sept. ? 1706
SOURCES: D MÜs

23
TITLE (incipit): Le glorie della bellezza del corpo e dell'anima (In sì bel giorno, che il Gran Natale)
LIBRETTO: Trattenimeno musicale (Naples: Parrino, 1709)
LIBRETTIST: G. Papis
SCORING: 4vv, choruses, instrs
PERFORMANCES: Naples, Piazza del Palazzo Reale 28 Aug. 1709
SOURCES: -

24
TITLE (incipit): Amore, Pace e Providenza (Al fragor di lieta tromba)
LIBRETTO: Serenata a tre voci (Naples: Parrino, 1711)
LIBRETTIST: G. Papis
SCORING: 3vv, choruses, instrs
PERFORMANCES: Naples, Piazza del Palazzo Reale 4 Nov. 1711
SOURCES: D MÜS, Bpkb, B Bc

25
TITLE (incipit): Serenata for the Coronation of Charles III as King of Hungary (*olim* Il Genio Austriaco)
LIBRETTO: -
LIBRETTIST: -
SCORING: -
PERFORMANCES: Naples, Palazzo Reale 19 June 1712
SOURCES: -

26
TITLE (incipit): Il Genio Austriaco, Il Sole, Flora, Zeffiro, Partenope, e Sebeto (Dia la Fama il suo fiato)

LIBRETTO: Serenata in lode (Naples: Muzio, 1713)
LIBRETTIST: G. Papis
SCORING: 6vv, choruses, instrs
PERFORMANCES: Naples, Palazzo Reale 28 Aug. 1713
SOURCES: -

27
TITLE (incipit): Serenata in Honor of the Vicereine Donna Barbara d'Erbenstein
LIBRETTO: -
LIBRETTIST: -
SCORING: -
PERFORMANCES: Naples, Palazzo Reale 4 Dec. 1715
SOURCES: -

28
TITLE (incipit): Filli, Clori e Tirsi; La ninfa del Tago (Dalle fiorite arene del mio patrio)
LIBRETTO: La ninfa del Tago (Rome, Rossi, 1721)
LIBRETTIST: ? based on Francesco de Lemene's *La ninfa Apollo*
SCORING: 3vv, instrs
PERFORMANCES: Naples, Palazzo Reale 4 Dec. 1716; rev. Rome, 1721
SOURCES: D Müs (2), Bpkb,

29
TITLE (incipit): La gloria di Primavera (Nato è già l'Austriaco Sole)
LIBRETTOS: La gloria di Primavera (Naples: Muzio, 1716) (London: Wood, 1721)
LIBRETTIST: N. Giovo
SCORING: 5vv, chorus, instrs
PERFORMANCES: Naples, Palazzo di Nicola Gaetano d'Aragona, 20, 21, 23 May 1716; London, King's Theatre in the Hay-Market, 28 March 1721; Vienna, Kiesewetters Historischen Haus-konzerten, 26 Dec. 1825; Nov. 1828
SOURCES: I Nc (3), A Wn, D Mbs, GB Lbl

30

TITLE (incipit):	Partenope, Teti, Nettuno, Proteo e Glauco (Chi al vasto, ondoso, formidabil Regno)
LIBRETTO:	-
LIBRETTIST:	-
SCORING:	5vv, chorus, instrs
PERFORMANCES:	Naples, Palazzo Reale 4 Nov. 1718
SOURCES:	US Wc

31

TITLE (incipit):	La virtù negli amori (Dolce sonno, oblio de' mali)
LIBRETTO:	La virtù negli amori (Rome: Rossi, 1721)
LIBRETTIST:	G. Lemer
SCORING:	6vv, chorus, instrs
PERFORMANCES:	Rome, Teatro Capranica 16 Nov. 1721
SOURCES:	-

32

TITLE (incipit):	Erminia (Ove smarrita, e sola)
LIBRETTO:	Erminia favoletta drammatica (Naples: Ricciardo, 1723)
LIBRETTIST:	-
SCORING:	4 vv, chorus, instrs
PERFORMANCES:	Naples, Palazzo Stigliano, 13 June 1723
SOURCES:	I MC, Nc (2), GB Lcm,

Appendix I

The Sources for Alessandro Scarlatti's Serenatas

The following is a chronological list of the surviving scores and librettos of Alessandro Scarlatti's serenatas. In order to avoid the possibility of multiple listings of any serenata, I have not included those serenatas by Scarlatti which can be documented from other sources (such as the *Gazzetta di Napoli* or various *avvisi*) but for which neither a score nor a libretto can as yet be unequivocally identified. A numbered list of Scarlatti's serenatas making use of the information presented here as well as that found in other documentary sources is given above in section 11.7.

I.

Diana ed Endimione
"Voi solitarie piante"

SA (Diana, Endimione) vl.I, vl.II, vltta., vlc., b.c.

ca. 1679-1685

Scores: 1) I MC, 126.D.i. 1 volume, green leather covered pasteboard binding with gold tooling, 42 unnumbered fols., oblong format, 27 x 20.5 cm., 8 staves. --fol. 1r: *Serenata a Due. Diana, et Endimione/Del Sig.r Alessandro Scarlatti*

2) F Pn, Vm.7.49. 1 volume, 44 unnumbered fols., 8 staves. --fol. 1r: *Serenata A 2. con VV. Del Sig.r Ales. Scarlatti* --fol. 44r: *Fine*

3) US Wc, ML 96. S328 case. 2 flyleaves followed by pp. 1-56, oblong format, 29 x 22.4 cm. --title page: *Serenata a 2 Con V.V./Del Sig e Alesandro Scarlatti*

4) F LY (Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale), 133.954, according to the typescript catalogue of this library's musical holdings seen by Edwin Hanley in 1965.

5) An early copy of this serenata seen for sale at the antiquarian book dealer Maison Pugno, Paris, by Edwin Hanley in July, 1955.

Comment: Only the first two scores listed above have been examined. The Library of Congress has refused to allow its copy to be photographed, and the Bibliothèque Municipale of Lyon has not answered inquiries about their score. The present location of the score once for sale by Maison Pugno is unknown.

II.

Venere, Adone et Amore
"Dal giardin del piacere"

SSA (Venere, Adone, Amore), concerto grosso, vl. solo, vlc. solo, 2 trps., vl.I, vl.II, vltta., vlc., cb., lt., b.c.

Text by Francesco Maria Paglia

Naples, Casino del vicerè a Posillipo, July 15, 1696; Rome, August 1706.

Scores: 1) I MC, 126.D.6. 1 volume, bound in red leather with the Colonna family's heraldic device tooled in gold on the cover, fols. 1-63, oblong format, 26.5 x 21.5 cm., 10 staves. --fol. 1r: *Serenata à 3/Con stromenti/Venere, Adone, et Amore/del Sig.r Alessandro Scarlatti/Per l'apertura di Posilipo nell'Anno 1696*

2) GB Och, 992. 1 volume, 84 fols., 10 staves. --fol. 1r: *Del Sig. Al'ssandro Scarlatti/ Serenata à 3. Con strom.ti/e Due Trombe/ Venere, Adone, Amore* --fol. 84r: *Fine/ della/Serenata* --inside the front cover: *E.L. Richard Goodson*

3) Dbrd Müs, 3945. 1 volume, 148 fols., oblong format, 20 x 27 cm., 10 staves. --fol. 1r: *Venere, Adone, et Amore/Serenata à 3: cõ: Strom:ti/Del Sig:r Alesandro Scarlatti./In Roma/Agosto 1706* --fol. 75r: *Fine della Prima Parte/della serenata* --fol. 76r: *Parte Seconda/della serenata à 3./Del Sig.r Alessandro Scarlatti.* fol. 148r: *Fine della Serenata*

Comment: The 59 folios following score 1 in I MC, 126.D.6 preserve a work entitled: *Serenata à 2/Aglaura, e Corebo/con VV./Del Sig.r Severo de*

Luca "Taci, taci Corebo tu sei troppo importuno." Both serenatas in this volume are copied by the same hand which copied the anonymous *Dialogo* in I MC, 126.D.5. (cf. *Il Genio di Partenope*). Scores 1 and 2 preserve the version of this serenata heard at Naples in 1696. Score 3 is copied in part by Antonio Giuseppe Angelini, an example of whose hand is reproduced by Ewerhart, "Die Händel-Handschriften," opposite p. 128.

Illustration 16

D Müs 3945, fol. 1r.

Illustration 17

D Müs 3945, fol. 16r.



F.1.D.1.5

Venere, Adone, et Amore
Serenata à 3: Co: Strum:

Del Sig.r Alessandro Scarlatti

In Roma

Agosto 1706

5445

Venere

el Giardin del piacere,

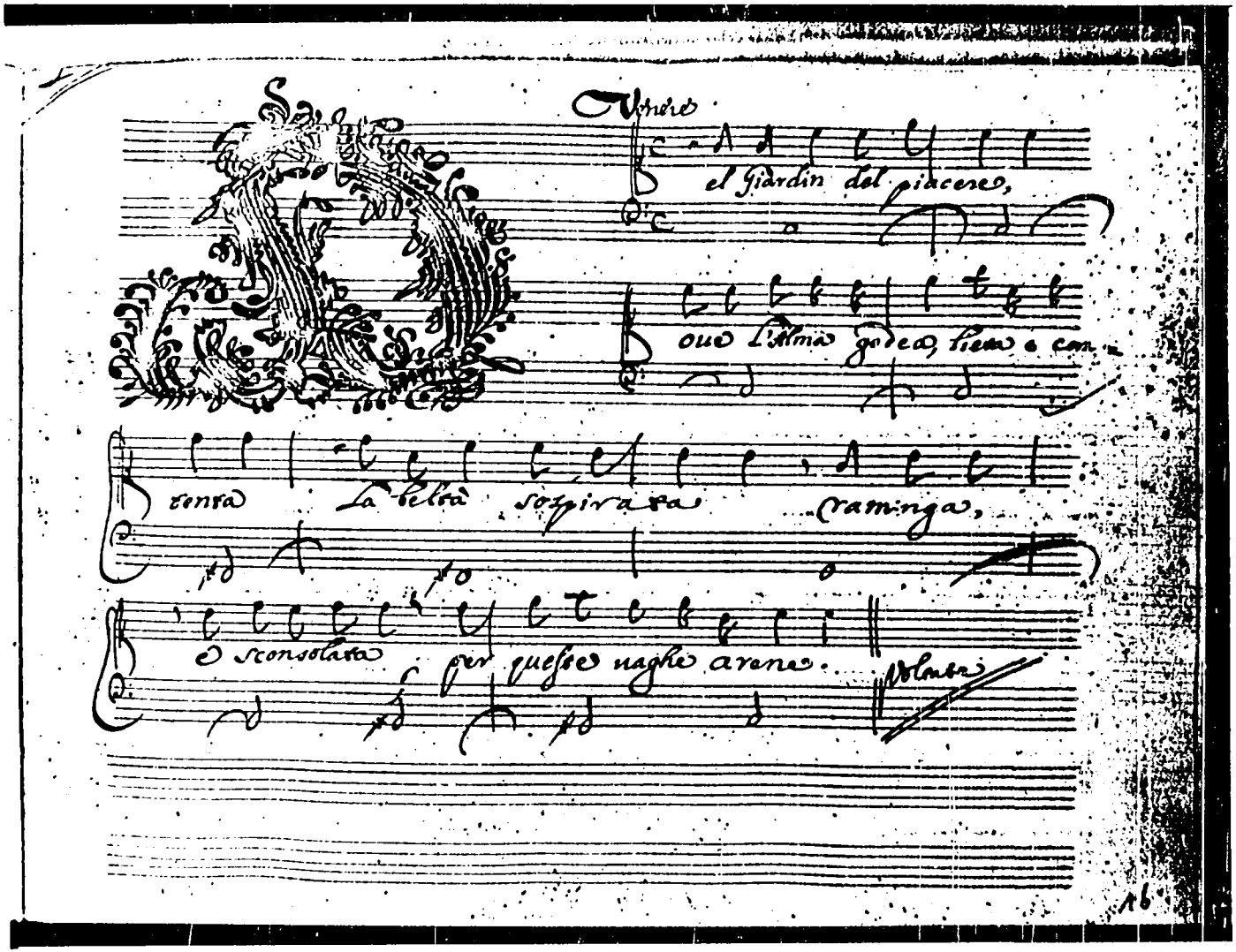
oue l'Alma godea, lieta e con-

tenta la beltà sospirata ... raminga,

e sconsolata per queste vaghe arene.

Volante

16



III.

Il Genio di Partenope, la Gloria del Sebeto, il P[illegible]ere di Mergellina
"Vent[illegible]ili soavi che con ali"

SSA (Genio di Partenope, Gloria del Sebeto, Piacere di Mergellina), vl.I, vl.II, vitta., vlc., b.c.

Naples, on the shore of the Mergellina, August 5, 1696.

Score: 1) I MC, 126.D.5. 1 volume, fols 1-107, oblong format, 26.5 x 20 cm., 8 staves. --fol. 1r: *Serenata à 3 con stromenti/del Sig:r Aless:o Scarlatti 1696./Genio di Partenope/il Sig:r Matteo Sassani/Gloria del Sebeto/Sig:ra Vittoria Bombace/Piacere di Mergellina/Sig:r Dom:o L'Aquilano./stromenti/concertino/concerto grosso/echi in Lontananza* --fol. 107r: *Fine*

Comment: Like the volume I MC, 126.D.6. (cf. *Venere, Adone et Amore* above), this volume is bound in red leather with tooled ornamentation in gold, the heraldic device of the Colonna family appearing prominently on the front and back cover. The remainder of this volume, fols. 108-137, preserves an anonymous Neapolitan cantata entitled: *Dialogo/Mergellina e Zefiro./Canto, e Alto cŏ V.V.* "Aurette gioconde ch'in sen mi scherzate." This *Dialogo* is copied by the same hand which copied both serenatas in I MC, 126.D.6. (cf. *Venere, Adone et Amore* above).

Illustration 18

I MC 126.D.5, fol. 1r.

Illustration 19

I MC 126.D.5, fol. 25r.

I MC 126. D. 5

Serenata à 3. con Stromenti

del Sig.r Aless.o Scarlatti 1696.

Genio di Partenope // il Sig.r Matteo Sassani

Gloria del Sebeto // Sig.ra Vittoria Bombace

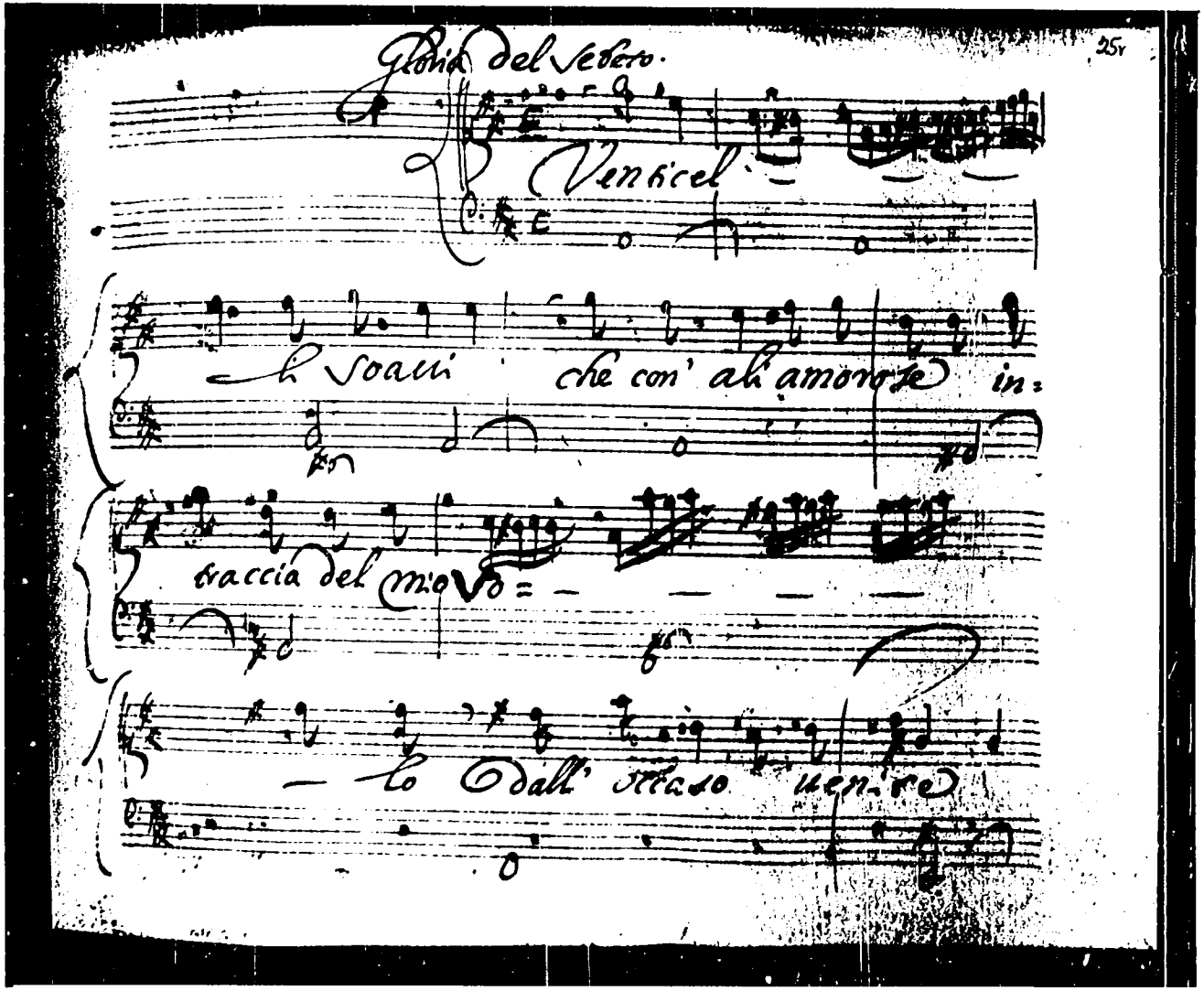
Piacere di Mergellina // Sig.r Dom.o L'Aquilano

Stromenti

Concertino

Concerto Grosso

Echi in Lontananza


Gloria del Sebeto.
25r
Venticel
li soaui che con' ali amorose in=
traccia del mio Vo=
lo dall' occaso uen=re

IV.

Venere e Amore
"Del Mar Tirreno in su l'amena sponda"

SA (Amore, Venere), fl., vl.I, vl.II, vlc., lt., b.c.

ca. 1695-1700

Score: 1) B Br, II 3970 D (Fétis 2528). 1 volume, 105 fols., oblong format, 26 x 19.6 cm., 8 staves. --fol. 1r: *Serenata à due Voci/Venere, e Amore/con Flauto, e Violini, Violoncello/Del Sig:re Aless:o Scarlatti* --fol. 104v: *Fine della Serenata*

Modern edition: *Venere e Amore, serenata a due voci, con flauto, violini e violoncello, a cura di A. Tirabassi*. Brussels: Institut Belge de Musicologie (Maison Chester), 1921.

V.

Clori, Lidia e Filli
"Già compito il suo giro"

SSA (Lidia, Filli, Clori), vl.I, vl.II, vltta., vlc., b.c.

ca. 1700

Score: 1) B Bc, F 669z. 1 volume, 60 fols., oblong format, 26.5 x 21.8 cm., 8 staves. --fol. 1r: *Serenata, à trè Voci,/ Clori, Lidia, e Filli, con Violini/del Sig:r Alessio Scarlatti* --fol. 60v: *Fine*

VI.

Clori, Dorino e Amore
"Cari lidi, amene sponde"

SSA (Clori, Amore, Dorino), SSATB (Chorus),
vl. solo, vlc. solo, vl.I, vl.II, vltta.,
vlc., cb., b.c.

Naples, Palazzo Reale, May 1, 1702

Scores: 1) Dbrd Müs 3940. 2 volumes,
115 and 66 fols. respectively, oblong
format, 27 x 20 cm., 8 staves. --vol. I,
fol. 1r: *Serenata à 3/Due Soprani*
e cõtralto/cõ Stromẽti/Clori, Dorino,
e Amore./Cantata in Napoli alla
Preseẽza/Di Filippo V: Rè delle Spagne/
Musica del Sig: Aless:o Scarlatti
--fol. 115r: *Fine della P:ma Parte*
--vol. II, fol. 1r: *Seconda Parte/Della Serenata*
à 3:/Fatta in Napoli/Alla Presenza di
Filippo V: Rè/delle Spagne/Del Sig.
Aless.o Scarlatti --fol. 66v: *Fine*

2) Dbrd Bpkb, 19648. 1 volume, 114 fols.,
oblong format, 29 x 21 cm., 10 staves.
--fol. 1r: (upper left corner) *Barone Dubloff/*
(center) *Parte I. della/Serenata a*
tre/Clori. Dorino. Amore/con stromenti/
Cantata in Napoli/alla presenza di
Filippo V/Re delle Spagna/del
Cavaliere/Alesandro Scarlatti./
Partitura/(lower right corner) *fogli*
18 1/4/ --fol. 75r: (upper left corner)
Barone Dubloff/(center) *Parte II./*
della Serenata a tre/Clori Dorino Amore/
con stromenti/di Cavaliere/Alessandro
Scarlatti./Partitura/(lower right
corner) *fogli 10*

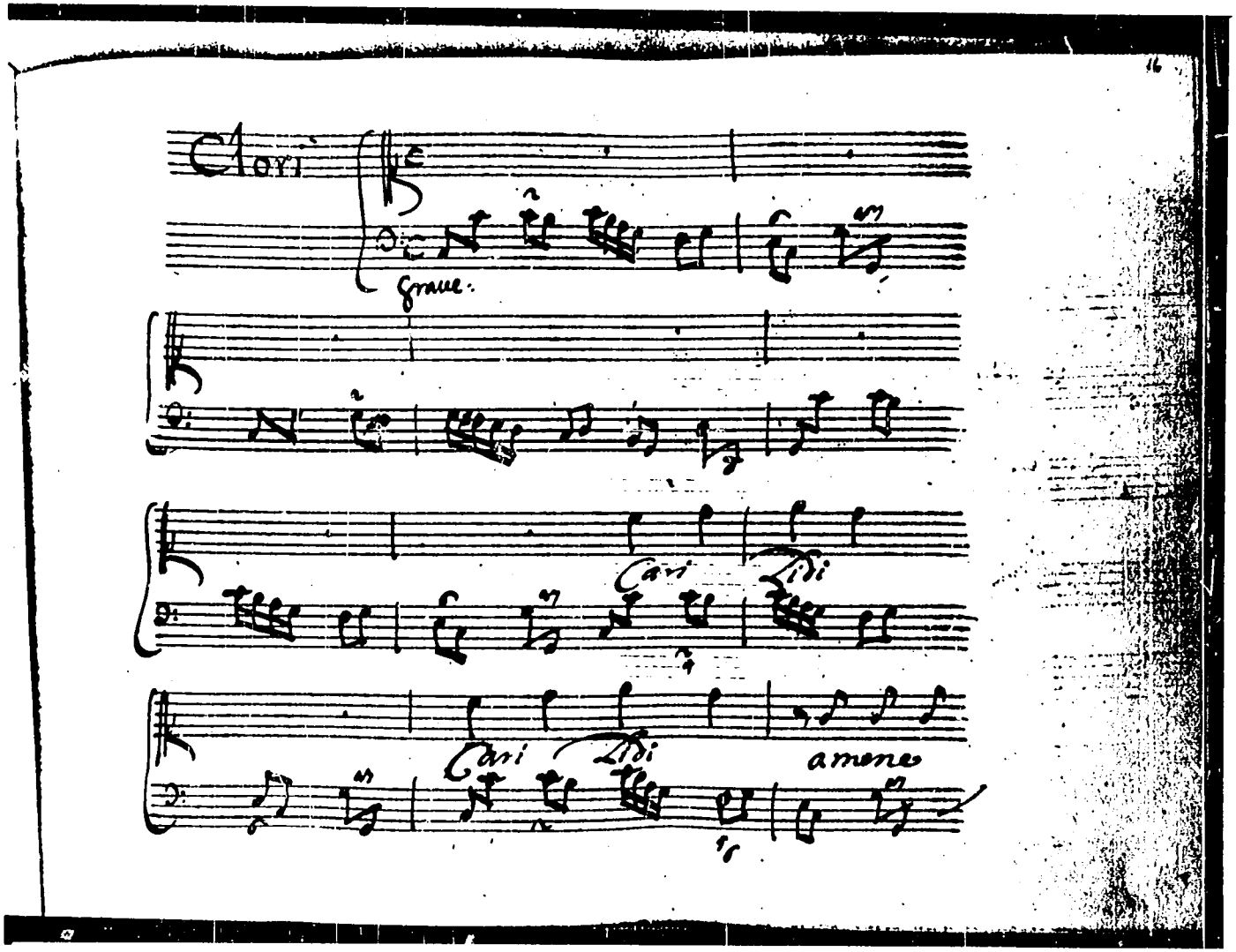
Comment: Score 1 was copied by Antonio Giuseppe Angelini.

Illustration 20

D Müs 3940, fol. 1r.

Illustration 21

D Müs 3940, fol. 9r.


Grave.
Cari
Lidi
Cari
Lidi
amore

VII.

Venere et Adone; Il Giardino di Amore
"Care selve, amati orrori"

SA (Adone, Venere), concertino, concerto grosso, fl., trp., vl.I, vl.II, vlc., lt., b.c.

ca. 1700-1705

Scores: 1) Dbrd MÜs, 3937. 1 volume, fols. 77-202, oblong format, 27.5 x 20.8 cm., 8 staves. --fol. 77r: *Il Giardino d'Amore/Serenata à 2: C.A./con Violini Flautino, e Tromba/ Venere et Adone/Del Sig. Aless: Scarlatti* --fol. 202v: *Fine*

2) Dbrd Bpkb, 19646. 1 volume, 90 fols., oblong format, 29 x 21 cm., 10 staves. --fol. 1r: (upper left corner) *Baron Dubloff/* (center) *Il Giardino di Amore/Serenata a due Canto e Alto/con Violini Flauto e Tromba/Venere e Adone/del Cavaliere Alesandro Scarlatti./ Partitura/foglio 23*

Comment: Score 1 was copied by Antonio Giuseppe Angelini. The volume Dbrd MÜs, 3937 also contains A. Scarlatti's solo-voice serenata "Notte ch'in carro d'ombre" (fols. 1-39) and the serenata *Amore, Pace e Providenza* (fols. 41-76).

Modern edition: *Il Giardino di Amore: Serenata . . .Klavierauszug.* ed. Otto Drechsler. Frankfurt am Main: Wilhelm Hansen, 1963.

VIII.

Endimione e Cintia
"Sento un'aura che dolce"

SS (Endimione, Cintia), concerto gross, concertino, vl. solo, vlc. solo, 2 obs., trp., vl.I, vl.II, vltta., vlc., lt., b.c.

Rome, ? 1705.

Scores: 1) Dbrd Müs, 3927. 1 volume, 118 fols., oblong format, 27.5 x 20 cm., 8 staves. --fol. 1r: *Endimione e Cintia/Cantata/à Due Soprani/Con stromenti/Del Sig.e Aless.o Scarlatti* --fol. 118r: *Fine*

2) Dbrd Bpkb, 19650. 1 volume, 76 fols., oblong format, 29 x 21 cm., 10 staves. --fol. 1r: (upper left corner) *Barone Dubloff/* (center) *Endimione e Cintia/a due Soprani/con stromenti/del Cavaliere/Alessandro Scarlatti./Roma 1705/Partitura/* (lower right corner) *fogli 19*

3) B Bc, litt. XY 15,173z, pp. 123-187.

Comment: Score 1 was copied mostly by Antonio Giuseppe Angelini. Scores 2 and 3 are late eighteenth or early nineteenth-century copies. The volume B Bc, MS. litt. XY 15,173z also contains the serenatas *Amore, Pace e Providenza* and *Zeffiro e Clori; Flora pellegrina*, but this volume is of little value as a source since it was evidently copied from the Dobloff scores in Berlin.

IX.

Zeffiro e Clori; Flora pellegrina
"Vaga, auretta soave"

SA (Clori, Zeffiro), vl.I, vl.II, vltta., b.c.

Text by Giacomo Buonaccorsi

Rome, garden of Monsignor Corsini's suburban villa called "Bella Vista," September 14, 1705.

Scores: 1) Dbrd Müs, 3939. 1 volume, 43 fols. oblong format, 28 x 21 cm., 10 staves.
--front cover: *Serenata à due cõ: Stro■:ti./Zeffiro, e Clori, con stro:ti/Del Sig:r Aless:o Scarlatti 1706*
--fol. 43r: *Fine*

2) Dbrd Bpkb, 19651. 1 volume, 43 fols., oblong format, 29 x 21 cm., 10 staves.
--fol. 1r: (upper left corner) *Barone Dubloff/* (center) *Clori e zeffiro/Serenata a due/con Stro■enti/del Cavaliere/Alessandro Scarlatti/Partitura/* (lower right corner) *fogli 10*

3) B Bc, litt. XY 15,173z, pp. 33-76.

Libretto: FLORA PELLEGRINA/*Serenata à due voci/* DELL'ABBATE GIACOMO BUONACCORSI/IN OCCASIONE DELLI SPONSALI/*Degl' Illustri■i Signori./*IL SIGNOR MARCHESE/BARTOLOMEO CORSINI,/E SIGNORA/MARIA VITTORIA/ALTOVITI./ [Printer's device consisting of the two families' princely coat of arms]/IN ROMA 1705. Nella Stamparia di Gio: Francesco Characas./ *CON LICENZA DE' SUPERIORI.*

Comment: Score 1 was copied mostly by Antonio Giuseppe Angelini.

Illustration 22

D Müs 3939, cover.

Illustration 23

D Müs 3939, fol. 5r.

Serenata à due cõ: Strom:ti

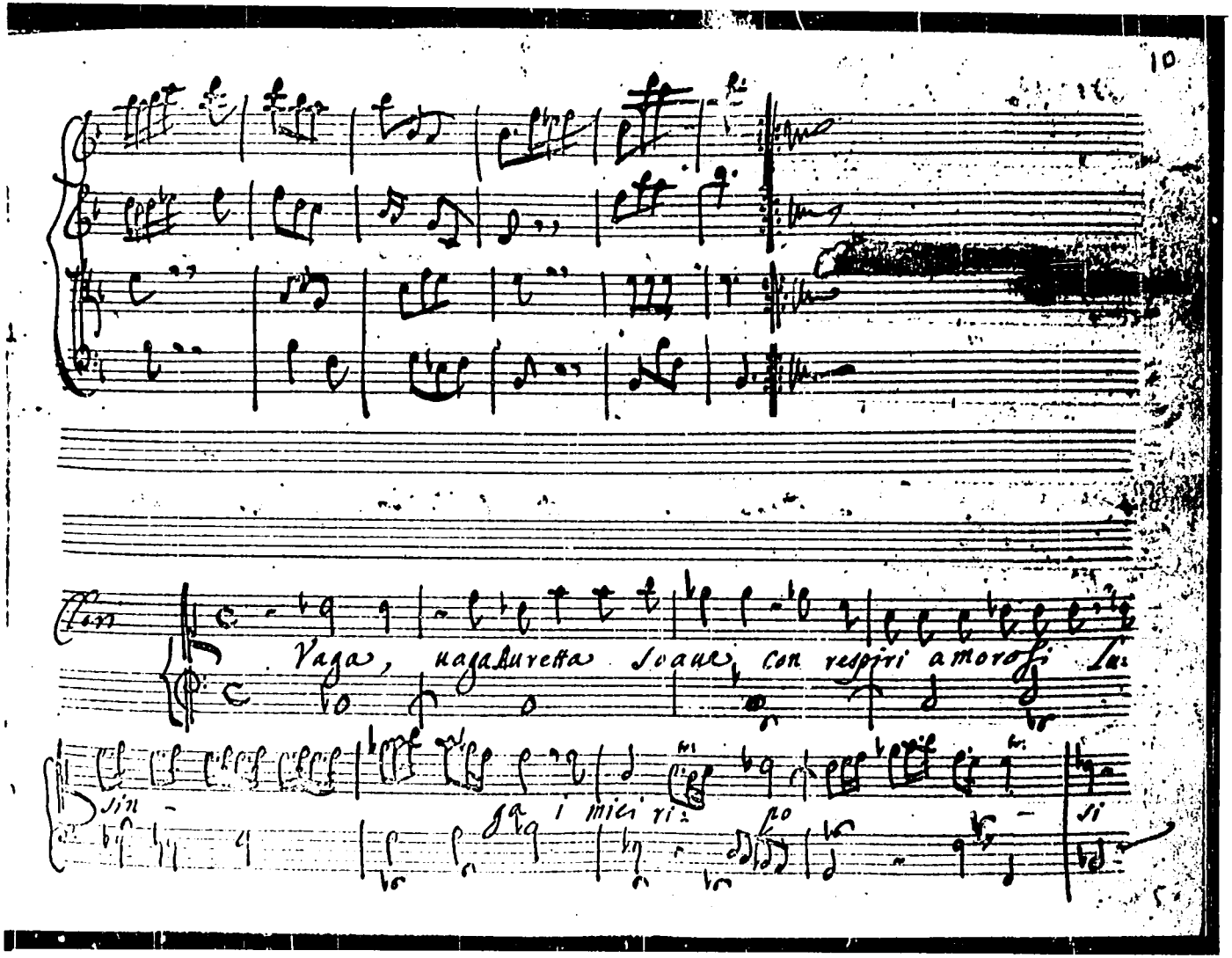
Zeffiro, e Clori.

Del Sig: Aless.o scarlatti 1705

3939

Vaga, uaga Auretta soaue, con respiri amorosi lu-

sin - ga i miei ri - po - si



X.

Amore e Virtù ossia il Trionfo della Virtù
"No, che non voglio più"

SS (Amore, Virtù), vl.I, vl.II, vlc., b.c.

Rome, ? 1706.

Score: 1) Dbrd Bpkb, 19649. 1 volume, fols. 86-133, oblong format, 29 x 21 cm., 10 staves.
--fol. 86r: (upper left corner) *Monsieur le Baron Doblhof*/(center) *Amore e Virtù/ ossia il trionfo della Virtù/Cantata/a due voci con stromenti/del Cavaliere/Alessandro Scarlatti/Roma 1706/Scritta per il Principe Ruspoli/ Partitura/*(lower right corner) *fogli 12*
--fol. 110v: *Seconda Parte*

Comment: This volume also contains A. Scarlti'serenata *Venere, Amore e Ragione* (fols. 1-85).

XI.

Fileno, Niso e Doralbo; Serenata a Filli
"Tacete, aure tacete"

SSA(Fileno, Niso, Doralbo), vl.I, vl.II, vltta., vlc., b.c.

Rome, ? 1706.

Score: 1) Dbrd Müs, 3941. 1 volume, 88 fols., oblong format, 27.5 x 20.5 cm., 8 staves.
--fol. 1r: *Fileno, can. Niso, can. Doralbo Alto./Serenata à Filli/à 3. con stromenti/Tacete Aure tacete/Roma/Del Sig:r Alessandro Scarlatti 1706*
--fol. 88v: *Fine*

Comment: This volume copied in part by Antonio Giuseppe Angelini.

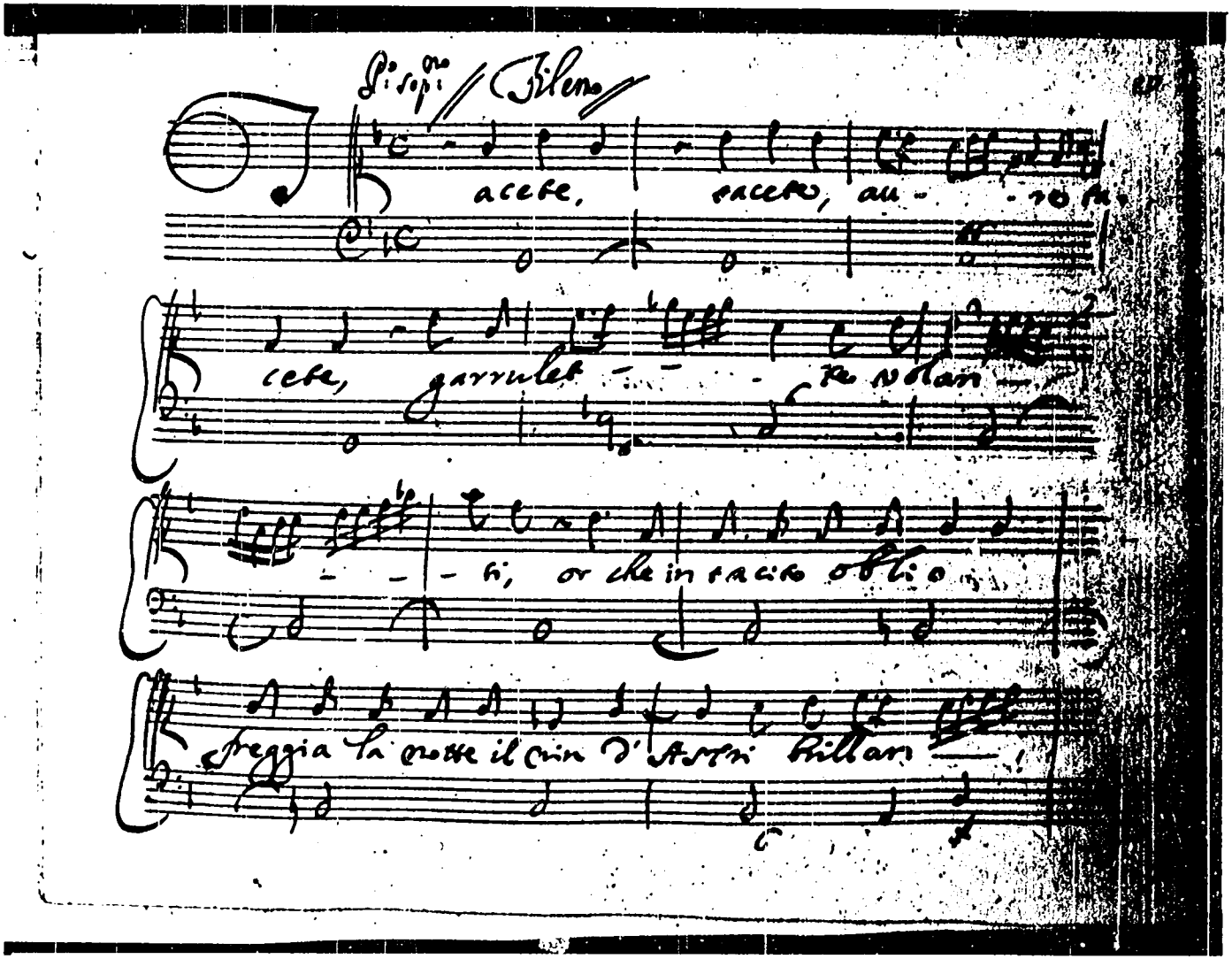
Illustration 24

D Müs 3941, fol. 1r.

Illustration 25

D Müs 3941, fol. 10v.


Can: Can: Alt:
Tileno, Niso, Dorabo
Serenata à Tilli Sem.
à 3 con stromenti
Tacete aure tacete
Roma
Del sig.r Alessandro Scarlatti
3941


Pio sopr.no
Tileno
acete, tacete, au - - ro ta -
cete, garrulet - - - te volan -
- - - ti, or che in tacito oblio
freggia la notte il crin d'Astri brillan -

XII.

Sole, Urania e Clio; Le Muse Urania e Clio lodano le bellezze di Filli
"O mie figlie canore"

SSA (Sole, Urania, Clio) vl.I, vl.II, vlc., b.c.

Rome, ? 1706.

Score: Dbrd Müs, 3925. 1 volume, 38 fols., oblong format, 27 x 20.5 cm., 10 staves.
--fol. 1r: *Le Muse Urania, e Clio/Lodano le Bellezze di Filli/Cantata à 3. con stromenti./Il Sole, Urania, e Clio./Del Sig.r Alessio Scarlatti 1706*
--fol. 38r: *Fine della Serenata*

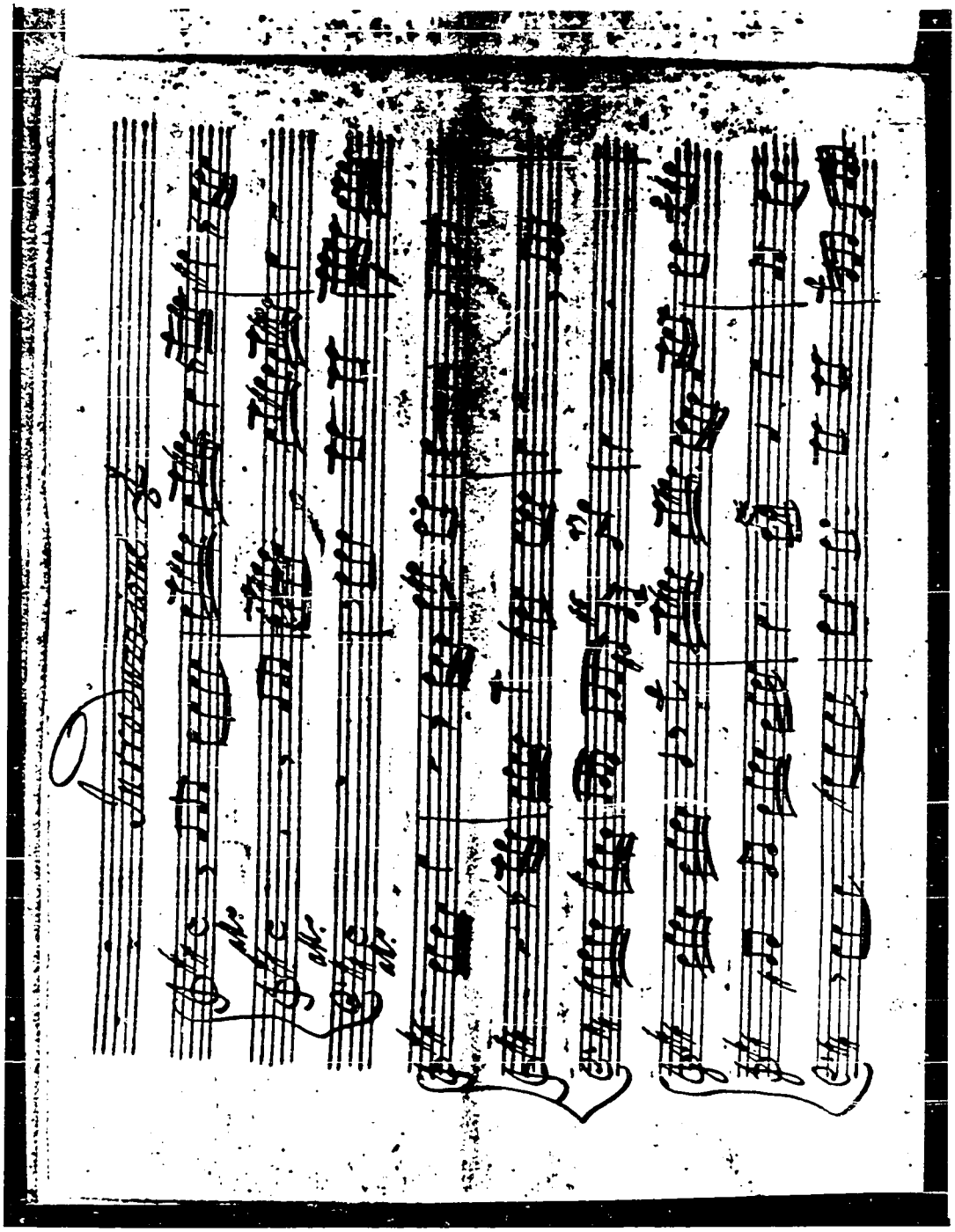
Illustration 26

D Müs 3925, fol. 1r.

Illustration 27

D Müs 3925, fol. 1v.


3925



XIII.

Venere, Amore e Ragione; Il Ballo delle Ninfe
"Cerco Amore, Amor che fa?"

SSA (Venere, Amore, Ragione), concerto grosso,
2 fls., 2 obs., vl.I, vl.II, vltta., vlc., b.c.

Text by Silvio Stampiglia

Rome, ? 1706.

Scores: 1) Dbrd Müs, 3944. 1 volume, 172 fols.,
oblong format, 27 x 20 cm., 8 staves.
--fol. 1r: *Serenata à 3/Con Violini,
violette/Obue e Flauti./Venere Canto/Amore
Canto/e Alto Ragione* --fol. 88v: *Fine della
P.ma/Parte* --fol. 90r: *2.a Parte*
--fol. 172r: *Fine*

2) Dbrd Müs, 3935. 1 volume, 103 fols.,
oblong format, 27 x 20 cm., 8 staves.
--fol. 1r: *Venere, havendo perso Amore,/lo
ritrova frà le Ninfe, e Pastori/dei
Sette Colli/Cantata à 3: cõ:
V.V.ni Violette, Flauti, obue/e Violoncelli/
Musica d'Alessandro Scarlatti./Poesia di
Silvio Stampiglia Roma 1706* --fol. 1v:
*Amore Sop:no S:re Checchino/Venere Sop:no
S:re Pippin de la Regina/Ragione Alto: S:re
Mont Alcino./Ballo di Pastori, e Ninfe*

3) Dbrd Bpkb, 19649. 1 volume., fols. 1-85,
oblong format, 29 x 21 cm., 10 staves.
--fol. 1r: (upper left corner) *M.r Le Baron
Charles Doblhof/*(center) *Venere avendo perduto
Amore/lo ritrova fra le Ninfe, e Pastori/delli Sette
Colli./Cantata a 3 con stromenti./Musica/
del Cavaliere Alessandro Scarlatti/Poesia di
Silvio Stampiglia Roma 1706./*(lower right
corner) *fogli 20 1/4*

4) E Mn, 2244. 1 volume, fols. 23-60, oblong format, 27 x 20.5 cm., 8 staves.
--fol. 23r: *Scelta d'Arie dell'/Ballo delle Ninfe,/con Violini, Oubue, e Flauti/Del Sig. Alessandro Scarlatti 1706* --fol. 24v: *Venere Sig.r Pasqualino* --fol. 30r: *Amore S. Checchino*
--fol. 33v: *Ragione S.r Mont'alcino*
--fol. 60v: *Fine*

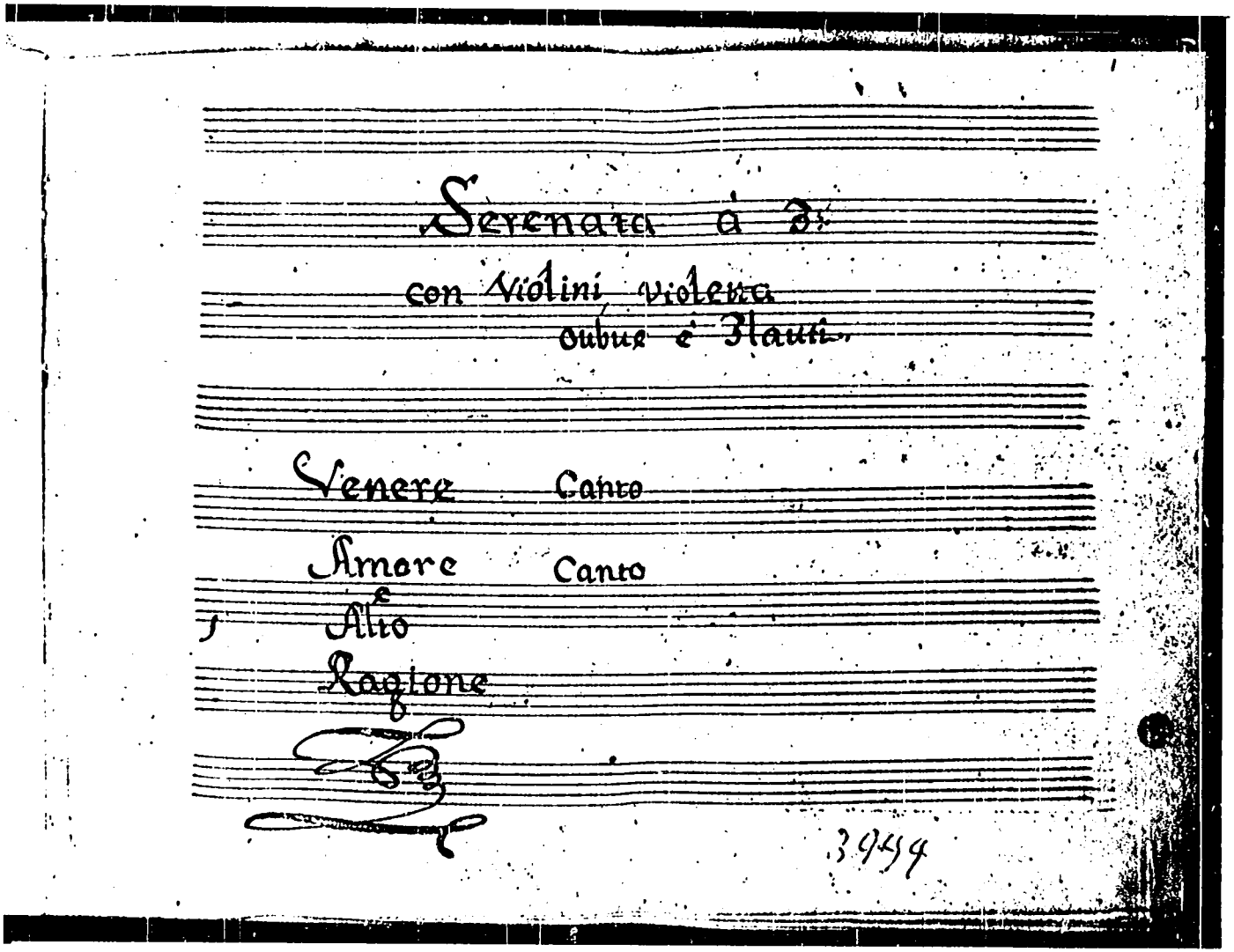
Comment: Scores 1 and 2 were copied by Antonio Giuseppe Angelini. The volume Dbrd Bpkb, 19649 also contains Alessandro Scarlatti's serenata *Amore e Virtù* (fols. 86-133). In score 4 the arias "O voi costanti Pastori amanti" and "Un vero Amore," as well as the duets, trio, recitatives, and *sinfonia* are lacking.

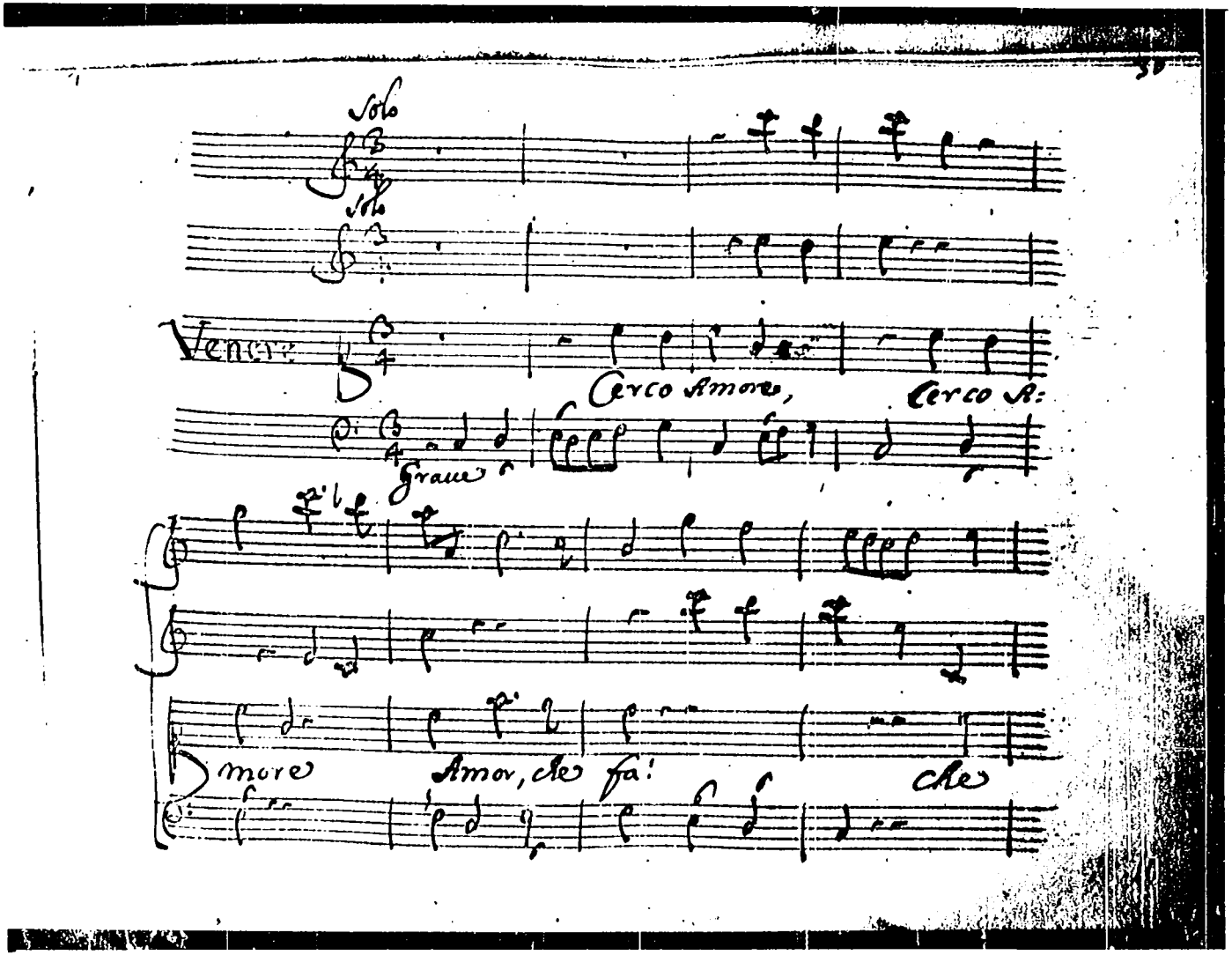
Illustration 28

D Müs 3944, fol. 1r.

Illustration 29

D Müs 3944, fol. 16r.


Serenata à 3:
con Violini violetta
oubue è Flauti.
Venere Canto
Amore Canto
E
Alto
Ragione
3454


Solo
Solo
Venere
Cerco Amore,
Cerco A:
Grave
more
Amor, che fai
che

XIV.

Capido ed Onestà; Il Trionfo dell'Onestà
"Puote sì poco"

SS (Cupido, Onestà), vl.I, vl.II, vlc., b.c.

Rome, ? September 1706.

Score: 1) Dbrd Müs, 3946. 1 volume, 20 x 27.5 cm., 10 staves. --fol. 1r: *Il Trionfo dell'Onestà/Serenata à 2: Sop:ni cõ: Violini/Del Sig: Aless:o Scarlatti/In Roma 7bre 1706*

Illustration 30

D Müs 3946, fol. 1r.

Illustration 31

D Müs 3946, fol. 1v.

XV.

Le Glorie della bellezza del Corpo e dell'Anima
"In sì bel giorno, che il Gran Natale"

4 solo voices, choruses, and instruments

Text by Giuseppe Papis

Naples, Palazzo Reale, Sala dei vicerè, August 28, 1709.

Libretto: TRATTENIMENTO/MUSICALE/IN LODE DELLA MAESTA' CATTOLICA/DI ELISABETTA/REGINA DELLE SPAGNE;/Fatto cantare nel Real Palazzo per il Giorno/Natalizio della M.S./DALL'EMINENTISSIMO SIGNOR/CARDINAL GRIMANI/Vice-Rè, Luogotenente, e Capitan Generale in/questo Regno, &c./*A* 28. *Agosto del* 1709./ CONSACRATO AL SUBLIME MERITO/DELL'EMINENZA SUA/DA GIUSEPPE PAPIS./[Printer's device]/ IN NAPOLI, M.DCC.IX./Presso Domenico Antonio Parrino Impressore, e Libraro/dell'Eminentissimo Vice-Rè./*Con Licenza de' superiori.*

20 pages. 8°.
pp. 3-4: Dedication signed by Giuseppe Papis.
pp. 5-6: Description of the so-called Hall of the Viceroys.
p. 6: Singers listed in the order of their voices in the cantatas. Prima Voce. *Il Signor Francesco de Grandis, Virtuoso del Serenissimo di Modena.* Seconda Voce. *La Signora Giovanna Albertini, detta la Reggiana.* Terza Voce. *Il Signor Matteo Sassano.* Quarta Voce. *La Signora Aurelia Marcelli.* Nell' Intermedio. *La Signora Santa Marchesini. Il Signor Gio: Battista Cavana.* Nelli Cori. *I Musici della Real Cappella.* Musica del Sig. Alessandro Scarlatti Maestro della Real Cappella.

XVI.

Amore, Pace e Providenza
"Al fragor di lieta tromba"

SAB (Amore, Pace, Providenza), SATB (choruses), 2 obs., bsn., 2 trps., vl.I, vl.II, vltta., vlc., tmp., b.c.

Text by Giuseppe Papis

Naples, Piazza del Real Palazzo (today the Piazza del Plebiscito), November 4, 1711.

Scores: 1) Dbrd Müs, 3937. 1 volume, fols. 41-76, oblong format, 27.5 x 20.8 cm., 10 staves. --fol. 41r: *Serenata à 3 Voci con Ripieni, e più Istrumenti/Del Sig.r Alessandro Scarlatti* --fol. 76r: *Fine*

2) Dbrd Bpkb, 19651. 1 volume, fols, 45-86, oblong format, 29 x 21 cm., 10 staves. --fol. 45r: (upper left corner) *Sig. Barone Dubloƒ*/(center) *Serenata a tre voci (Al fragor)/ con Ripieni e Stromenti/del Cavaliere Alessandro Scarlatti/Partitura/*(lower right corner) *fogli 10 1/4* --fol. 86r: *Fine*

3) B Bc, MS. litt. XY 15,173z, pp. 77-122.

Libretto: SERENATA/A TRE VOCI, E QUATTRO CORI/In lode di Sua Maestà Cattolica/CARLO TERZO/MONARCA DELLE SPAGNE,/E SESTO IMPERATORE ELETTO,/*Da cantarsi nella gran Piazza del Real Palazzo la sera delli/ 4. Novembre 1711. Giorno, in cui si festeggia il suo Real Nome*:/PER ORDINE/DELL'ECCELLENTISSIMO SIGNOR CONTE/CARLO BORROMEO/*Vicerè, Luogotenente, e Capitan Generale in questo Regno.*/CONSACRATO/Al Sublimo Merito/DELL' ECCELLENZA SUA/DA GIUSEPPE PAPIS./[Printer's device]/IN NAPOLI, Per Domenico-Antonio Parrino. 1711.

12 unnumbered pages.
p. [1]: An engraving of Charles III (King of Spain) and VI (Holy Roman Emperor).
pp. [3-4]: Dedication signed by Giuseppe Papis.
p. [5]: INTERLOCUTORI./Amore *il Sig. Domenico Antonelli.*/La Pace *il Sig. Domenico Tempesti.*/La Providenza *il Sig. D. Antonio Manna.*/Cori *i Musici della R. Cappella.*/Musica del Signor Alesssandro Scarlatti/Maestro della Real Cappella.

Comment: The volume Dbrd Mus, 3937 also contains Scarlatti's solo-voice serenata "Notte ch'in carro d'ombre" (fols. 1-39) and the serenata *Venere et Adone* (fols. 77-202). The volume Dbrd Bpkb, 19651 also contains Scarlatti's serenata *Zeffiro e Clori; Flora pellegrina* (fols. 1-43). The copy of the libretto cited above is found in the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice.

XVII.

Il Genio Austriaco, Il Sole, Flora, Zeffiro, Partenope, e Sebeto
"Dia la Fama il suo fiato"

6 soloists, 6 choruses, and, according to the *Gazzetta di Napoli* "innumerabili Timpani, Trombe, Corni di Caccia, oltre Flauti, e tutti l'altre sorte d'Arco e Organo, e gran quantità di Musica per il Coro." [*sic*]

Text by Giuseppe Papis

Naples, Palazzo Reale, sala grande, August 28, 1713.

Libretto: SERENATA/IN LODE/Di Sua Maestà Cesarea, e Cattolica/ELISABETTA/IMPERATRICE, E REGINA REGNANATE/*DA CANTARSI*/Nel Real Palazzo/ PER LO GIORNO NATALIZIO/DELLA MAESTA' SUA/ PER ORDINE/*DELL'ECCELLENTISS. SIG. CONTE*/ VVIRRICO DI DAUN/Vicerè, Luogotenente, e Capitano Generale/in questo Regno./*A* 28. *Agosto del* 1713./CONSAGRATA AL MERITO SUBLIME/DELL'ECCELLENZA SUA/DA GIUSEPPE PAPIS./[Printer's device]/IN NAPOLI, Nella Stampa di Michele Luigi Muzio./dove si fabricano nuovi Caratteri. 1713./*Con Licenza de' Superiori.*

16 unnumbered pages.
pp. [2-3]: Dedication signed by Giuseppe Papis.
p. [4]: INTERLOCUTORI./IL SOLE. *Il Sig. Gaetano Borghi.*/FLORA. *La Sig. Angiola Augusti.*/ZEFFIRO. *Il Sig. Matteo Sassano.*/ PARTENOPE. *Il Sig. Gio. Antonio Archi.*/ SEBETO. *Il Sig. D. Antonio Manna.*/Ottanta Stromenti di tutti i generi da Corde, e da Fiato./ Sei Cori di Musici per lo Pieno./*Musica del Sig. Alessandro Scarlatti, primo Maestro della Real Cappella.*

Comment: The libretto reports that an *Introduzione* was sung at the beginning of parts one and two of this serenata *Dal Sig. Cavaliere Nicola Grimaldi* who represented IL GENIO AUSTRIACO. According to the card catalogue of I Nn, this library possesses three copies of this libretto under the call numbers:

1) Sala 6a Misc. C.180(f.

2) 74.I.4(3

3) B. Branc. 103.H.1(2

Only the third exemplar could be found in November, 1978. According to Franco Mancini this libretto should contain two engravings. The one showing the performance of this serenata is reproduced by Mancini in his *Scenografia napoletana*, ill. 62, and in his *Feste ed apparati*, ill. 15. The only copy which could be found in 1978, however, lacked these engravings.

Illustration 32

Title page of the libretto: SERENATA IN LODE . . . 1713

SERENATA
IN LODE
Di Sua Maestà Cesarea, e Cattolica
ELISABETTA
IMPERATRICE, E REGINA REGNANTE
DA CANTARSI
Nel Real Palazzo
PER LO GIORNO NATALIZIO
DELLA MAESTA' SUA
PER ORDINE
DELL'ECCELLENTISS. SIG. CONTE
VVIRRICO DI DAUN
Vicerè, Luogotenente, e Capitano Generale
in questo Regno.
A 28. Agosto del 1713.
CONSAGRATA AL MERITO SUBLIME
DELL'ECCELLENZA SUA
DA GIUSEPPE PAPIS.

IN NAPOLI, Nella Stampa di Michele Luigi Muzio,
dove si fabricano nuovi Caratteri. 1713.
Con Licenza de' Superiori.

XVIII.

Filli, Clori e Tirsi; Serenata in onore della viceregina Donna Barbara d'Erbenstein
"Dalle fiorite arene del mio patrio Volturno"

La Ninfa del Tago
"Dalle dorate arene del mio paterno Tago"

SSA (Filli, Tirsi, Clori), 2 fls., 2 obs., vl.I, vl.II, vltta., vlc.I, vlc.II, b.c.

Naples, Palazzo Reale, probably on December 4, 1716; Rome, 1721.

Scores: 1) Dbrd Müs, 3942. 1 volume, 116 fols., oblong format, 27 x 21 cm., 10 staves. --fol. 1r: *Serenata à 3. Voci/Due Canti et un Alto/Con Stromenti/Filli, Clori, Tirsi/Musica/Del Sig.r Cavaliere Alessandro Scarlatti* --fol. 65r: *Fine della Prima Parte* --fol. 116v: *Il Fine L.D.M.V.*

2) Dbrd Müs, 3943. 1 volume, 117 fols., oblong format, 26 x 20.5 cm., 10 staves. --fol. 1r: *Serenata à 3 Voci/Due Canti, Et Alto/Con più Istromenti/ Filli, Clori, e Tirsi/Musica/Del Sig:e Cavaliere Alessandro Scarlatti.* --fol. 66r: *Fine Della Prima Parte* --fol. 67r: *Parte Seconda* --fol. 117v: *Il Fine L:D:M:V:*

3) Dbrd Bpkb, 19647. 1 volume, 94 fols., oblong format, 29 x 21 cm., 10 staves. --fol. 1r: (upper left corner) *Sig. Barone Carlo Dublof/*(center) *Serenata a tre voci (Dalle fiorite)/due Canti e Alto/con stromenti/Filli Clori Tirsi/Musica/ del Cavaliere Alessandro Scarlatti./Partitura./* (lower right corner) *fogli 24* --fol. 24r: *Fine*

Libretto: LA NINFA/DEL TAGO/*COMPONIMENTO MUSICALE*/FATTO CANTARE/DALL'*Eminentiss., e Reverendiss.*

Principe/NUNO DA CUNHA/*Cardinale di S. Chiesa, e Generale Inquisitore/in tutti i Domini Portoghesi*/Per il Giorno del Felice Nome della S.R.M./ *DI*/GIOVANNI V./RE' DI PORTOGALLO./[Printer's device]/IN ROMA 1721. Per Antonio de' Rossi.)(*Con licenza de' Superiori.*

19 pages. 8°. Copies of this libretto can be found at:

1) I Vgc
2) I Rvat, Rac. Gen. Miscell. A.67 (int.11)
3) I Rc, Misc. 1335.

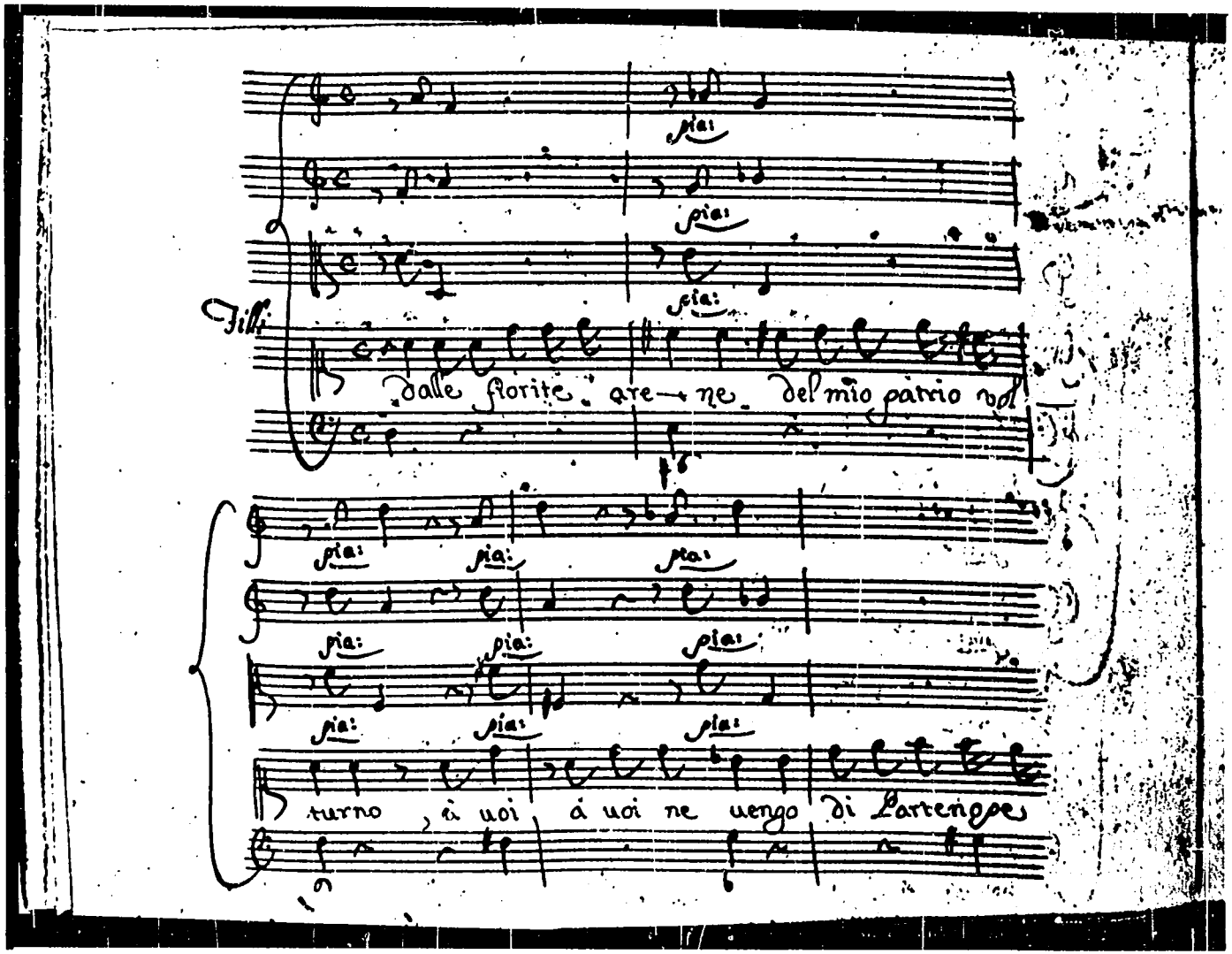
Comment: Neither the poet nor the composer is named in the libretto. The three scores listed above represent the work as heard in Naples.

Illustration 33

D Müs 3942, fol. 1r.

Illustration 34

D Müs 3942, fol. 9v.


Tilli
dalle florite are-ne del mio patrio vol
turno, à uoi à uoi ne uengo di Partenope

XIX.

La Gloria di Primavera
"Nato è già l'Austriaco Sole"

SSATB (Primavera, Estate, Autunno, Inverno, Giove), SSAT (chorus), 2 fls., 2 obs., 2 trps., bsn., vl.I, vl.II, vltta., vlc., b.c.

Text by Nicolò Giovo

Naples, Palazzo di Nicola Gaetano d'Aragona e Aurora Sanseverino, May 20, 21, 23, 1716; London, King's Theatre in the Hay-Market, March 28, 1721; Vienna, Kiesewetters Historischen Hauskonzerten, December 26, 1825, and November, 1828.

Scores: 1) I Nc, 271, 272 (olim 21.2.5-6). 2 volumes, 110 fols., and 138 fols., 10 staves. --vol. I fol. 1r: *Parte Prima/Serenata a Cinque Voci/ Con Violini, Violette, Violoncelli, Oubué, Flauti, e Trombe/Primavera, Estate, Autunno, Inverno, e Giove/Musica/del Sig. Cavaliere Alessandro Scarlatti* --vol. I fol. 110r: *Fine della/P.a Parte* --vol. II fol. 1r: *Serenata a 5 voci/Seconda Parte/Giove/Primavera/Autunno/ Inverno/Estate* --vol. II fol. 138v: *Fine*

2) I Nc, 275 (olim 34.6.34). 1 volume, 110 fols., 10 staves. --fol. 1r: *Parte Prima/ Serenata à Cinque Voci/Con Violini Violette, Violoncelli, Oubuè, Flauti, e Trombe/Primavera, Estate, Autunno, Inverno, e Giove/Musica/Del Sig.r Cavaliere Alessandro Scarlatti* --fol. 110r: *Fine della P.a Parte.*

3) I Nc, 273, 274 (olim 6.4.30-31). 2 volumes.

4) A Wn, SA.68.C 16. 2 volumes, 123 and 177 fols, oblong format, 27 x 21.5 cm., 10 staves. --vol. I fol. 1r: *SERENATA/a cinque voci/ con Violini, Viole, Violoncelli/Oboe, Flauti e Trombe./Primavera, Estate, Autunno, Inverno e*

Giove./Musica/del Cavaliere Alessandro Scarlatti./ Composta per festeggiare la Nascita dell' Arciduca/e Prence Ereditario Figlio di S.M. Ces.e Cattolica/di Carlo VI./l'anno 1716./ Prima Parte vol. I fol. 2r-v: *Interlocutori . . .* (the singers are not named) *. . . Tavola . . .* (listing the recitatives and set pieces of this volume, Nr. 1-22, as an aid in performance. These numbers correspond to those in the scores in Dbrd Mbs and GB Lbm and to those found in one of the MS libretti in A Wn, Handschriften Sammlung) --vol. I fol. 3r: (upper right corner) *Aufgefuhret . . . Kiesewetter . . . 26. Dezember 1825./*(center) *Serenata a cinque voci/Con Violini, Viole, Violoncelli, Oboe, Flauti, e Trombe/Primavera, Estate, Autunno, e Giove/Musica/Del Sig.r Cav.re Alessandro Scarlatti/*(lower right corner) *Ex coll. R. Kiesewetter 31.* --vol. II fol. 1r: (as above on vol. I fol. 1r except at the end of the title *Seconda Parte* --vol. II fol. 2r-v: *Tavola . . .*" (listing the recitatives and set pieces of this volume, Nr. 23-59, as an aid in performance. These numbers likewise correspond to the three sources mentioned above.) --vol. II fol. 3r: (title as found on vol. I fol. 3r except at the end *Seconda Parte*

5) Dbrd Mbs, 1623. 1 volume, 98 fols., oblong format, 33.5 x 24.5 cm., 16 staves. --fol. 1r: *Serenata/*(in a second hand) *a 5 voci con varij stromenti./*(original hand) *Componirt zur Feier der Geburt des Erzh. Kronerben/Carl VI. im Jahr 1716./von/ Alessandro Scarlatti.* (right center of main title) *R. Kiesewetters Catalog/seiner Samlg altermusik/pg. 79./*(lower left of main title) *Spartirt nach den Original-stimmen der Kiesewetterschen/Bibliothek* --fol. 42r: *Fine della I. Parte.* --fol. 42v: *Seconda Parte.*

6) GB Lbl, Add. 32391. 1 volume, fols. 1-96, oblong format, 31 x 25.5 cm., 14 staves. --fol. 1r: *Serenata/Componiert zur Feier der Geburt des Erzh. Kronerben/Carl IV. im Jahr 1716./ von/Alessandro Scarlatti./*(right center of main

title in pencil) *R. Kiesewetter's Catalog/seiner Samlg alter Musik/pg. 79./*(lower left of main title in pencil) *Spartirt nach den Originalstimmen der Kiesewetterschen Bibliothek.*

Libretti: 1) LA GLORIA/DI PRIMAVERA/NELLA/FELICISSIMA NASCITA/*DEL SERENISSIMO*/LEOPOLDO/ARCIDUCA d'Austria,/PRENCIPE de las Asturias, e/DUCA di Calabria./SERENATA/Fatta rappresentare nel loro Palazzo/DALLI SIGNORI/D. NICOLA GAETANO/ D'ARAGONA,/E/D. AURORA SANSEVERINO/Prencipi della Famigli Gaetana./*POESIA*/DELL' ABATE NICOLO' GIOVO,/Detto trà Pastori di Arcadia EUPIDO./[Printer's device]/In Napoli 19. Maggio 1716./Nella Stampa di Michele-Luigi Muzio./*CON LICENZA DE' SUPERIORI.*

24 unnumbered pages. 8°.
p. [3]: INTERLOCUTORI./GIOVE in machina. *Il Sig. D. Antonio Manna, Virtuoso dell'/ Augustissimo Imperatore Regnante.*/PRIMA-VERA. *Il Sig. Marchese D.Matteo Sassano.*/ ESTATE. *La Signor Margherita Durastanti.*/ AUTUNNO. *Il Sig. Francesco Vitale.*/INVERNO. *Il Sig. Gaetano Borghi, Virtuoso dell' Ec-/cellentiss. Signora D. Aurora Sanseve-/rino, Duchessa di Laurenzano.*/MUSICA *Del Sig. Cavaliere Alessandro Scarlatti, Primo/Maestro della Real Cappella.*/Ingegniere della Scena il Sig. Cristoforo Scor.

An engraving, 41.8 x 32.4 cm., by Giuseppe Maliar showing the stage designed by Christoforo Schor accompanies the libretto and has the caption: *Veduta della Scena per la Serenata fatta rappresentare nella Felicis ma Nascita del Serenissimo Leopoldo Arciduca d'Austria/et ct dalli Sig ri D Nicola Gaetano d'Aragona e Aurora Sanseverino Prencipi della Famiglia Gaetana*

2) La GLORIA/DELLA/PRIMAVERA./SERENATA.

31 pages. 4°.
p. 3: LA GLORIA/DELLA/PRIMAVERA,/SERENATA./Rappresentata in Napoli/PER LA/NASCITA/Dell' Ultimo Serenissimo/Arciduca d'Austria./ [Printer's device]/LONDRA:/Per Thomas Wood

in *Little Britain.*/M.DCC.XXI.
p. 4: Interlocutori./Giove. *Il Signor* Boschi./Primavera. *Il Sig.* Bernardi *detto* Senesino./Estate. *La Signora* Durastanti./ Autunno. *Mrs.* Anastasia Robinson./Inverno. *La Signora* Salvai./*MUSICA.*/Del Cavaliere *Alessandro Scarlatti.*

3) A Wn, Handschriften Sammlung, MSS. 12982 and 12983. Two almost identical MS libretti, each of 14 fols., evidently prepared by Kiesewetter. --fol. 1r: *Serenata/à cinque voci/con varj strumenti/Componimento drammatico/in due Parti./ per celebrar/la faustissima Nascità/dell'Arciduca e Prence Ereditario/figlio della Sacra Caesarea Cattolica/Maestà di Carlo VI,/l'anno MDCCXVI/Musica/del Cavaliere Alessandro Scarlatti.*

Comment: Score 2 contains the music for the first part of the serenata only. It is copied by the same hand as score 1. Score 3 is a nineteenth century copy of little value as a source. There are two pages of MS material bound at the beginning of score 4, vol. I, and three pages at the beginning of score 4, vol. II. This material consists of the program notes distributed by Raphael Georg Kiesewetter at the performance of this work at his house on December 26, 1825. It is reproduced as Appendix VI to this dissertation. According to Reinhard Strohm (*Italienische Opernarien*, II, 223), score 4 is in the hand of Kiesewetter. It corresponds closely to scores 1 and 2, the two earliest sources. Scores 5 and 6 are in the hand of J.J. Maier. The orchestration of scores 5 and 6 has been modernized and does not correspond to that of scores 1, 2 or 4. In score 6 all but the voice part for the aria "L'offre sempre in pace" is lacking. The copy of libretto 1 cited above is found in I Mb, Racc. Dramm. Corniani Algarotti 5825. Other copies can be found in I Ba, and in GB Lbl. The copy of libretto 2 cited above is found in US Wf, 1259 06 B3. None of the above sources suggest a Viennese performance in 1716.

XX.

Partenope, Teti, Nettuno, Proteo e Glauco
"Chi al vasto, ondoso, formidabil Regno"

SSSAB (Teti, Nettuno, Proteo, Partenope, Glauco), SATB (Chorus), obs., 2 trps., 2 hrns., vl.I, vl.II, vltta., vlc., b.c.

Naples, probably in the Palazzo Reale on November 4, 1718.

Score: 1) US Wc, M 1490.S28 case. 1 volume, 107 fols., oblong format, 26.5 x 21 cm., 10 staves. --fol. 1r: *Serenata/a Cinque Voci con VV:ni, Ouboè, Trombe, e Corni da caccia/ Partenope, Teti, Nettuno, Proteo, e Glauco Basso/ Per l'invittissimo Monarca Carlo Sesto Imperatore, e Re di Spagna/Musica del Cavaliere/Sig:e Alessandro Scarlatti* --fol. 107v: *Fine L.D.B.M.V.*

XXI.

La Virtù negli amori
"Dolce sonno, oblio de' mali"

Text by Gaetano Lemer

Rome, Teatro Capranica, November 16, 1721.

Libretto: 1) LA VIRTU'/NEGLI AMORI/*COMPONIMENTO MUSICALE*/FATTO CANTARE/*Dall'Eccellenza del Signor*/d. ANDREA DE MELO/DE CASTRO/*Ambasciadore Ordinario della Maestà*/DEL RE' DI PORTOGALLO/In occasione di pubblica gioja/per il solenne Possesso/*PRESO DALLA SANTITA' DI N.S.*/PAPA INNOCENZO/DECIMOTERZO/*Nel giorno 16. di Novembre dell'anno 1721.*/[Printer's device]/In Roma, Per Antonio de' Rossi nella strada/del Seminario Romano./*CON LICENZA DE' SUPERIORI.*

53 pages. 8°.
pp. 3-5: *GAETANO LEMER/al Lettore.*
p. 5: La Melodia è del Cavalier *Alessandro Scarlatti* . . . la disposizione tutta è del celebre *Francesco Bibbiena.*
p. 7: *PERSONE DELLA FAVOLA.*/LAUSO Figlio di Bacco./AGAVE./LISA./TOANTE./CORO, e ballo di Pastori./*DIETA'*/ . . .

Comment: Numerous copies of this libretto are extant. *E.g.*, three exemplars in I Rvat (Ferraioli V 7762 int. 11; Dramm. Allacc. 262/14; Barberini JJJ V 31) as well as others in I Rc, I Bc, and I Ba.

XXII.

Erminia
"Ove smarrita, e sola"

SATB (Erminia, Tancredi, Polidoro, Pastore),
SSAT (chorus), 2 obs., 2 fls., 2 trps., 2 hrns.,
bsn., vl.I, vl.II, vlta., vlc., cb., b.c.

Naples, Palazzo Stigliano, June 13, 1723.

Scores: 1) I MC, 126 C 39. 1 volume, 128 fols.,
oblong format, 27 x 21.5 cm., 10 staves.
--fol. 1r: *Serenata a 4o. Voci con/
Varij Stromenti/Per l'ecc.mo Sig. Principe
di Stigliano/In occasione de suoi Sponsali/
Musica/Del Sig. Cav.re Aless.dro/Scarlatti/1723*

2) I Nc, 269 (olim 21.2.7). 1 volume,
128 fols., 10 staves. --fol. 1r:
(upper left corner in a second hand:)
Erminia/Tancredi/Polidoro/Pastore
(upper center in second hand:) *Parte
Prima* (primary hand:) *Serenata a
4o. Voci, Con/Varij Stromenti/Per l'ecc.mo
Sig. Principe di Stigliano/In occasione
de suoi Sponsali/Musica/Del Sig. Cav.re
Aless.dro Scarlatti/1723* --fol. 128v:
Fine della/P.a Parte

3) GB Lcm, 577. 1 volume, 119 fols.,
oblong format, 20.6 x 25.7 cm., 10 staves.
--fol 1r: *Serenata a 4 Voci/con Varij stromenti/
Musica/Del Sig. Cav.l.e Scarlatti*
--fol. 119v: *Il Fine della P.a Parte*
--inside front cover: *South Kensington
Museum/Given by J. Ella Esq.:/From the
Library of the Musical/Union Institute./
No. 172*

4) I Nc, 270 (olim 6.4.29).

Libretto: 1)ERMINIA/*FAVOLETTA DRAMMATICA*/DA CANTARSI/In occasione delle felicissime NOZZE/DEGL'ILLUSTRISS.MI ED ECCELLENTISS.MI SIGNORI/FERDINANDO/COLONNA/*Principe di Stigliano*;/E/MARIA LUISA/CARACCIOLO/*De' Principi di Santobono.*/[Printer's device]/ IN NAPOLI/MDCCXXIII./Per Francesco Ricciardo Stampatore di Sua Eminenza/il Signor Vecerè./ *Con Licenza de' Superiori.*

40 unnumbered pages.
p. [3]: *PERSONE DELLA FAVOLA.*/Erminia./ Tancredi./Polidoro./Pastore./Coro di Ninfe, e Pastorelli./*La Scena si finge nelle Campagne di Soria sù le rive del Giordano.*/MUSICA/Del Signor Cavaliere ALESSANDRO SCARLATTI/Maestro della Real Cappella/di Napoli.
p. [5]: PARTE PRIMA
P.[25]: PARTE SECONDA

Comment: Scores 1 and 2 are copied by the same hand. Score 4 is a nineteenth-century copy of little value as a source. The only known copy of the libretto is preserved in I Rc, Misc. Dram. A. 26/8/. The music for the second part of the serenata is not known to have survived.

Appendix II

An account of the celebrations in Naples sponsored by the Viceroy del Carpio for the nameday of the Queen of Spain Maria Luisa of Bourbon in 1685.

The following pamphlet consists of four unnumbered printed pages which are bound as folios 209 and 210 into Tomo I (1679-87) of Confuorto's manuscript journal preserved in the library of the Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, Naples. This volume bears the call number: Cart. 210 del MS. Confuorto XX.C.20. The pamphlet is entitled:

> BREVE/RELAZIONE/Degl'applausi festosi tributati all'Augu-/stissimo nome/DI MARIA LUISA/BORBONE./REGINA DELLE SPAGNE./DALL'ECCELL. SIGNORE./MARCHESE DEL CARPIO./Vice-re, e Capitan Generale del Re-/gno di Napoli &c./*Nel giorno delli 26. Agosto 1685.*/[Printer's device]/*Con Licenza de Superiori.*

Alle Glorie del nome di Maria Luisa Borbone Regina delle Spagne, ed al cenno dell'Eccellentissimo Sig.*nor* Vice-Rè Marchese del Carpio ha veduto con istupore il Sebeto, galeggiare sù l'onde, e riposare nella delitiosa riviera di Mergellino le sfere d'un Cielo tanto più maestoso, quanto in esso hà saputo la Magnificenza di S.*ua* E.*ccellenza* unire i giorni alle notti, ed il Sole istesso alle stelle. Il di lui genio emulatore de Cesari hà sormontato nell'applaudire a i suoi Regnanti i confini dell'impossibile, poiche non bastandogli havere incatenato l'incostanza del mare, n'hà traspiantato un Cielo; e più Glorioso Archimede non si è contentato di ristringere in picciol globo le sfere mutole ne suoi segni, ma in vasto, e maraviglioso Teatro hà dato vita alle tele, & anima di fuoco ad ogni tegno celeste. Ne quì s'arrestano le meraviglie, mentre al corteggio d'un Iride Maestosa sono a gara concorsi co i loro tributi gli elementi uniti, quali a i comandi del Grand'HARO scordatisi le naturali querele han contribuito vicendevolmente i loro ossequij alle pompe bizarre di generoso Capriccio. Se forsi consideri come iperboli i termini co i quali mi porto alla descrittione di Festa così cospicua, leggine il veritiero racconto in questo foglio,

interroga chi ne fù spettatore, e scorgerai che sono i cassi gl'erarij della Rettorica nel rappresentare all'Idea ciò che avanza di gran lunga le vaste Idee de mortali.

Il giorno di Domenica 26. del corrente mese di Agosto benche proprio, dal Prencipe de Pianeti fù ceduto al bel Nome della Regina Regnante nostra Signora Maria Luisa Borbone, & ad essa consecrato, acquisto nuovi splendori nella solennità di tante pompe reali.

Nella facciata dell'avvisato Teatro fabricato sul mare, e dilatato a palmi 300. di lunghezza ne due angoli dalla parte del mare torreggiavano due Piramidi di altezza di palmi 120. In quella del lato destro, e nelle quattro facciate del piedestallo miravansi la Rettorica, Musica, Poesia, e Matematica: nel corpo la Meraviglia, l'Intelligenza, la Ragione, la Ricchezza, la Scienza, Vittoria, Misericordia, Gratitudine, Grandezza, Immortalità, Prosperità, Magnificenza, Vigilanza, fede, Sapienza, splendidezza, temperanze, e fermezza. In quella del lato sinistro nel Piedestallo l'Astronomia, l'Architettura, la Scoltura, la Pittura: nel corpo, la Modestia, Perfettione, Pietà, Prudenza, Purità, Religione, Gravità, Benignità, Igegno, Liberalità, Magnanimità, Merito, Costanza, Dominio, Eloquenza, Equità, Gioventù, Giuditio, Speranza, Bellezza, Benevolenza, Bontà, Carità, e Clemenza. Occupando sei virtù ogn'una delle Quattro facciate di ciascheduna Piramide, Sosteneva ciascuna di dette Piramidi una corona Imperile col motto

Virtutes titulis, titulos virtutibus ornat.

Trà le due Piramidi ergevasi un Arco trionfale di altezza di palmi 80. e di latitudine 60. sostenuto da due ordini di colonne di ordine Corintio con diverse figure di Imperatori Romani. Coronavasi la parte superiore nell'arco da questo verso.

Sempre bonos nomenque tuum laudesque canebunt.

E nel mezzo sopra l'Arco il seguente Elogio

Nomini, Numini
Mariae Ludouscae Borboniae Austriacae
Faustum Omen.

Nel parapetto poi del Gran Teatro erano con regolata simetria disposti festoni fioriti col suo medaglione in cima, quali tutti insieme componevano le Armi della Maestà della sudetta Regina; ed il restante del sodetto

[*sic*] parapetto all'intorno era occupato da quantità di fuochi artificiati, e questi framezzati da 1200. torcie di mistura sulfurea per accendersi a suo tempo tutte ad un tratto come segui formavan Teatro al soprad.*etto* Teatro sul mare le poppe di 24. Galere, ed in terra la gran Ringhiera delle Dame, nel Palagio di S.*ua* E.*ccellenza* & infinita quantità di Palchetti occupati dalla Nobiltà di Napoli, e scalinate, e palchi innumerabili angustia al concorso del Popolo che ondeggiava anche su le rive di Margellino [*sic*] e sopra un numero prodigioso di felluche, che ricoprivano l'acque tra'l lido, e l Teatro [*sic*].

Si diè principio alla caccia de tori circa le 21. hore, e riuscì dilettevole così per la fierezza de Bruti, come per la mirabile destrezza, ed arte di Giocatori, quali hor col pericolo sfuggito, or con la fuga pericolosa diedro replicati motivi alle gioie del volgo e negli applausi, e nelle rifate; è ben vero che il lor diletto fù anche accompagnato da non poco spavento, poiche uno de i tori desiderando springionarsi da quel recinto ne stimando sicuro il suo soggiorno sul mare si aprì à viva forza la strada sul ponte, e furiosamente passando per mezzo il popolo senza danneggiare alcuno portossi a loco più libero, ma non gia più sicuro, perche sovragiunto da i cani seguì la sorte de suoi compagni, quali fino al numero di 12. restorono sul campo oggetto de colpi de Toreatori, e preda della Ciurma. Non prima finì il gioco, che cominciassero a comparir le tenebre, ma ben presto furono queste fugate, e dalle torcie, e luminarij comparsi nel Palagio di S.*ua* E.*ccellenza* e per tutta la riviera del delitioso Pusilipo [*sic*], e di Chiaia, e sul Teatro le piramidi illuminate al di dentro facean spiccare con bizzarria più leggiadra le loro figure tutte di fuoco. Ne hebbe tempo l'occhio di fermarsi in oggetto si delitioso, compartendo la sua curiosità all'orecchio, che nel rimbombo di mille fulmini di gioie hebbe anch'esso la sua portione del godimento. Et in vero i fuochi riuscirono a meraviglia dilettevoli, e de i più belli, che si sian visti,e aggontovi il vederli scherzar sovra l'onde si possono senza esageratione alcuna nominarsi impareggiabili. Alla Partenza di S.*ua* E.*ccellenza* applaudirono i bronzi delle Galere, e il rimbombo spargendosi per gl'opposti monti formava un eco sonoro habile a risvegliar l'allegrezza anche ne sassi. L'istesso Etna terrore di Partenope, ò invidiso del mare, ò al suo Signore si vidde con replicate avampi gareggiare con Mergellino.

Il lunedì seguente alla medesima hora del precedente si diede principio alla festa col gioco del Toro che durò fin tanto che il Sole lasciò di flagellare il Teatro co i raggi troppo cocenti, e forsi avveduto che ove era Sole Maria

Luisa un giorno a lei consecrato occupava due giri solari, e ancor le notti, ardendo di vergognoso sdegno partecipava a noi con più forza il suo calore. Quando dunque si oppose con le sue ombre a i furori di Febo il colle di Pausilippo [*sic*] si vidde la comparsa del Carosello nell'ordinanza che segue.

Precedeva le Quadriglie de Cavalieri giostranti il Sig.*nor* D. Domenico Martio Pacecco Carrafa Duca di Maddaloni Mastro di Campo della Piazza preceduto da quattro Cavalli di maneggio superbamente bardati, da trombette, e timpani, da 12. Palafrenieri addobbati di ricche livree e da due aiutanti di Campo, che dovean portar gl'ordini dall'una all'altra parte de giostratori. Indi seguivano sei quadriglie di Cavalieri ciascheduna delle quali era preceduta da Trombetti, timpani, cariaggio, & otto lacche della loro divisa. La prima Quadriglia di color negro, & argento havea per capo il Sig.*nor* D. Oratio Carafa, e suoi compagni li Signori D. Fabio Capece Galeota Duca della Regina, D. Nicola Coppola, e D. Girolamo Caracciolo. La seconda di color Giallo, & Argento havea per capo il Sig.*nor* D. Ottavio de Medici, e per compagni li Signori D. Stefano Marini Marchese di Genzano, D. Tomaso d'Aquino Conte di Martorano, e D. Antonio del Giudice Prencipe di Cellamare. La terza di color Camorcio, e Argento havea per capo il Sig.*nor* D. Marino Caracciolo Prencipe d'Avellino, e suoi compagni li Sig.*nori* Marchese di Moteforte di Cala Lofredo, D. Fabritio Pignatelli, e D. Antonio Munutolo, e non potendo questo intervenire v'andò in suo luogo, il Sig.*nor* D. Antonio Carmignano. La quarta di color Violaceo, & Argento havea per capo il Sig.*nor* Marchese di Cervinara, e suoi compagni li Sig.*nori* D. Nicola di Capua, D. Fabritio di Capua, e D. Domenico Caracciolo. La quinta di colo Verde, ed Oro havea per capo il Sig.*nor* D. Antonio di Sangro, e suoi compagni li Sig.*nori* D. Gio. Filomarino, D. Angelo Pignatelli e D. Gioseppe Piccolomini, e finalmente la festa di color Incarnato ed Argento havea per capo il Sig.*nor* D. Gennaro Carmignano, e suoi compagni li Signori D. Baldassar Cataneo Prencipe di S. Nicandro, D. Oratio Tuttavilla Duca di Calabritto, e D. Gio: Battista Caracciolo.

Passeggiorno le sudette Quadriglie a due a due precedute dal loro equipaggio tutto il lido sottoposto a i palchi, e passando poi per il ponte al gran Teatro girorono lo steccato più volte. Alla ricchezza degl'habiti, alla leggiadria de Cavalieri, alla bizzarria de destrieri, allo suolazzar degl'alti e superbi cimieri, allo splendor delle gioie l'occhio che passeggiava curioso si confondeva nella varietà e magnificenza di tanti oggetti riguardevoli, & hora il pensiero più si confonde nel tramandarne alla penna i

concetti più esplicanti, onde lascierò alla riflessione di chi legge il formarne l'idea con più vantaggio, assicurandosi, che mai sia tale che uguagli la perfettione del vero.

Finito il passeggio ripassorono i Cavalieri dal Ponte a Terra, e sopra nuovi Cavalli deposti li cimieri, e presi cappelli con pennacchiere de loro colori reintrono nello steccato, e comincioronc i giuochi della Biscia, che per l'ordine, misura, figura, e varieta riusci di indicibil diletto. Indi dieron principio al Carosello correndo una Quadriglia appresso l'altra colpendosi co i Caroselli su le targhe, & hor l'una lasciandosi, e l'altra subentrando apportavano con una guerra giocosa un martial diletto, e con la bizzaria diun perfetto cavalcare ammiratione a i spettatori.

Non finì il Carosello che con finisse la luce del giorno, mà nella loro mancanza rinacquero le meraviglie. La riviera come la precedente sera lampeggiò col numero innumerabile delle faci, gl'Obelischi divennero machine di fuoco, le Galere fecero pompa di mille lucide Stelle in mezzo all'acque, e l'arco sopra descritto precipitando in un colpo, scoprì racchiudeva nel seno un Cielo intiero epilogato in un Arco Baleno illuminato al di dentro, e sopra di esso si raggiravono li sette pianeti ne suoi Carri; Appena s'applicava la vista sul mare, che fù richiamata alla terra da nuovo e sontuoso stupore.

Viddesi comparire sù la riva, e sotto il balcone di S.*ua* E.*ccellenza* un magnifico Carro del Sig.*nor* Co:*nte* di Montoro costrutto dalla perizia del Sig.*nor* Pietro del Pò che rappresentando anch'egli un Cielo in Terra a fronte de l'altro Cielo sul Mare, garreggiava nell'altezza con le stelle ne essendogli permesso il torreggiar de giganti, col giongere al pari della ringhiera di tante bellissime Dame potea vantarsi di star al pari di mille soli. Era tirato da quattro Cavalli al pari de quali reggeva i freni il tempo regolatore, e distruttore del tutto. Precedevano venti lacchè a Cavallo con torcia in mano, e quattro trombe sopra un gruppo di nuovole sopra & intorno alle quali fiameggiavano infinite torcie. In cima del gran Carro assiso in maestoso trono, con chioma d'oro, e circondato da mille raggi sedeva il Sole; a sue piante sedevano in due filo otto costellationi celesti, quattro d'Eroi, e quattro d'Eroine, Ercole, Crione, Perseo, e Cepheo, Berenice, Andromeda, Arianna & Helice; & erano i personaggi che le rappresentavano li Sig.*nor* Conte di Montoro sudetto, il quale facendo la serenata si celeste per camerati li Sig.*nor* Co:*nte* di Sinopoli, Co:*nte* d'Aversa, Marchese di

Bracigliano, D. Fabritio Ruffo, Prencipe di Conca, D. Vincenzo di Capoa e D. Francesco di Capoa. più avanti, e più basso occupavano il piano il coro di dicidotto [*sic*] musici, tra voci ed istromenti, che in habito di Sirene rinovorono l'opinione di Platone, che alle Sirene appropria l'armonia delle sfere.

Giunta così superba, e maestosa Machina a dirimpetto del balcone di S.*ua* E.*ccellenza* cominciò la Sinfonia ad ammutire i venti, e riempir l'aria di gioconda armonia, che mista, e di concerti di voci, e di stromenti rapì affatto nel Cielo gl'animi de gl'uditori. Al finir della musica comparvero sul ponte otto ballerini con torcie in mano rappresentando le otto stelle che con le loro leggiadra carole rapirono gl'occhi di tutto il Teatro, indi fece partenza il Carro corteggiato dagl'applausi di tutti gl'astanti, lasciando la Fantasia tutta ripiena della magnificenza straordinaria del Sig.*nor* Co:*nte* di Montoro, il quale per incontrare i cenni di S.*ua* E.*ccellenza* hà con la profusione dell'oro fatto spiccare l'ossequio che nutrisce verso il nome de suoi Regnanti, e la generosità che professa nelle intraprese che abbraccia.

Così terminorono gl'applausi festivi tributati dall'Eroico Genio del Sig.*nor* Marchese deli [*sic*] Carpio al nome della Maesta Regnante di Maria Luisa Borbone Austriaca; ne i quali essendosi rinovata le memorie de i fasti più sontuosi del Campidoglio, non puol terminare la fama d [*sic*] confessare che S.*ua* e.*ccellenza* come grande nella Nascita, e Magnanimo nelle attioni, a misura del sangue, e dell'animo sà diffonder tesori, sà obligar gl'Elementi, per imprimere nelle memorie degl'huomini a caratteri di diamante la sua memoria Gloriosa.

Appendix III

An account of the celebrations in Naples sponsored by the Viceroy Medina Celi for the nameday of the Queen of Spain Marianna of Neuburg in 1699.

The following pamphlet consists of four unnumbered printed pages preserved in I Nn (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale) under the call number: (Rari) S.Q. XXV.L.37/4. It bears the title:

> RELAZIONE/DELLA/FAMOSISSIMA FESTA/*Nel giorno della Glorioso S. ANNA à/26. di Luglio 1699.*/Per solennizzare il Nome, che ne porta la Maestà/della Regina Nostra Signora/M. ANNA/DI NEOBURGO/Fatta celebrare nella Riviera di Chiaja, e nello/Scoglio di Mergellina/DALL'ECCELLENTISSIMO SIGNORE/D. LUIGI/DE LA CERDA, E ARAGONA/*Duca di Medina Celi, d'Alcalà, &c-Vicerè, e Ca-/pitan Generale in questo Regno.*/[Printer's device]/In Napoli Appresso Domenico Antonio Parrino à Toledo,/e per Cavallo, Michele Luigi Mutio 1699./*Con Privilegio.*

Il genio della magnificenza, che nel Sangue Regio spicca sempre, e si ammira nell'Eccellentissimo Signor Duca di Medinaceli, plausibilissimo Viceregnante di questo Regno, havendo incontrata congiuntura uguale al suo istinto nel celebrare l'Augusto Nome di Anna, di cui và adorna la Maestà della nostra Reina, aprì nel Dì festivo della Gloriosa S. ANNA nella lunga nuova Strada di Medina Celi, presso la deliziosa Riviera di Chiaja un Teatro d'ossequiosa Gloria tributaria di Nome sì Augusto, con una non mai veduta bizzarria di Sollennità, che nelle strade dell'antico Roma, ne' suoi Cesari Trionfanti pure ammirarono; nè seppero fingere i capricciosi ritrovati de' Romani. Mentre che si videro ristretti in più d'un miglio di ben ordinato sentiero tutti gli elementi garreggiare, e pretendere la precedenza, e'l vanto delle più splendidità nel pascere la curiosità degli occhi; del più provido in sovvenire à i desiderj di quasi infinito popolo benificato. Sicche può con ogni più sincera espressione dirsi, che a' cenni sovrani dell'Eccellenza Sua la Natura con tutto lò piu delizioso,

che può dare l'Eliseo Partenopeo, e l'Arte con tutto ciò, che può spirare magnificenza entrasse in duello, per rendere, ad onore del Gran Nome della Nostra Reina, eterno il Nome di S.E. che per felicitare i suoi affezionati Sudditi, hà potuto in poche ore piantare le colonne del non più oltre alla sontuosità dell'apparato.

Adunque nella mentovata Strada Medina Celi, che si distende colà nell'amenissima Riviera di Chiaja, sito adeguatissimo per festeggiamenti Regali, resa per se stessa deliziosa dal vicino mare, che le bacia il lembo, e per la terminata dilettevolissima veduta del nostro Cratero, tanto dall'Istorie decantato; volle il Sign. Vicerè fare innalzare, sicome seguì, sotto la direzione del REgio Architeto Christofano Scor, una palizzata, che per lo spazio di poco men, che seimila palmi, alta ventitre, distendevasi lungo questa Strada, tutta à meraviglia nobilmente composta di vaga architettura à mischio marmo con suoi Pilastri, e Cornicioni, come dalla perizia dell'arte si richiede, e da sotto ogni vano, che componeva questa architettura, sorgeva naturale un'Olmo, quale accostavasi colle frondose sue cime à i bei festoni, che raddoppiati in ognun di quei vacui, verdeggiante pendevano intersiati di varj coloriti fiori, pendenti da medesimi Cornicioni, abbelliti dalle spalliere di fronzonita verzura, che trà un pilastro, e l'altro, in altezza di cinque palmi dilatavasi per tutto il corso della detta Strada. Fregiavano per ogni parte de' mentovati vani l'Imprese dell'Augustissima Monarchia Spagnuola al numero di 273. scompartite con tutta maestria; ed ergendosi altresì sopra d'ogni Pilastro un bel vaso di non mentiti agrumi, e fiori, oltrepassando il numero di 270, unito al grato gorgogliare delle zampillanti fontane, che à luogo di questa via sgorgono cristalline linfe, formavano un dilettevolissimo spettacolo à gli occhi degli Astanti, che in numero innumerabile, così nel giorno antecedente, come in quello dell'accennata festa, affollati d'ogni sesso, d'ogni etade, e d'ogni condizione vi concorsero. Accrescevano non poco la sodisfazione à gli occhi del Popolo trenta Piramidi, che in altezza di trentasei palmi l'una, torreggiavano in ugual partizione collocate lũgo la detta Strada verso il mare, quali vedeansi riccamente cariche, alcune di pane, altre di volatili domestici, molte di varie frutte, e dieci di esse di casci, e graffi saporosi salumi. A ciascuno de' due capi dell'ingresso di detta Strada, innalzavansi, come per trofeo della Magnificenza di circa novanta palmi d'altezza due massiccie scandellate Colonne, che figuravano lapislazzuli, sopra ogn'una delle quali svolazzavano due Fame di proporzionata grandezza, sicome lo erano le Armi della Maestà del nostro Glorioso sempre Invitto Monarca CARLO II. (che Dio guardi, e feliciti) per illuminazione

delle quali Colonne, Arme, e Fama sudetta vi erano prevenute trecẽto lampade per parte, essendove parimẽte disposte altre tremila per tutto il precennato corso della festiva Machina sudetta, oltre ad un altra infinità di lumi d'oglio, e di Cera, che doveano accendersi allo stesso oggetto nelle finestre, e balconi delle case dozzinali, e palagi, che respettivamente adornano dalla parte di terra questa bellisima [*sic*] strada. La mattina di Domenica 26. di Luglio, giorno consegrato alla Gloriosa S. Anna, di cui porta il nome la nostra Regnãte Regina, si vidde il Sign. Vicerè in abito richissima gala cõ tutta la sua nobil corte, spiegandosi con tal' congiuntura vaghissime livree, e particolarmente una assai ricca, e bizzara dal Sig. Co: di Lemos Generale della Regia squadra delle nostre Galee, siccome fece la nobiltà, quale unita à i Minstri di Tribunali Togati, è [*sic*] militari si portarono nel Real Palagio à complimentar sua Eccellenza à *muchos Ãños*. la quale ivi col loro intervento tenne solenne cappella Intanto colma à meraviglia di popolo colla strada tutte le finestre, e balconi, in quelle habitationi situate, cominciò assai prima del solito con frequentissimo concorso il passegio in carrozza di tutta la nobiltà il doppo desinare di quel giorno, essendo in diversi di quei palagi prevenuti rinfreschi pretiosissimi di tutte le sorti, che furono poscia dispensati a Dame, e Cavalieri ivi invitati. Passeggiò la medesima strada entro le sue magnifiche, e ricchissime carozze l'Eccelẽza sua Viceregina accompagnata dalla Signora Principessa di Ceilamare e servita dal nobil accompagnamento di tutte le sue Dame, quali siccome ella comparvero in capricciosa, e ricchisima gala. Quindi poscia l'Ecc. Sig. Vicerè pervenne anch'egli in un regal carrozzino incognito al medesimo passeggio, accompagnato dal suo Capitan delle guardie Alemanne Signor Marchese Pompeo Azzolini. E come che quasi in tutto quel giorno, havesse forsi voluto anche il Cielo per renderlo più durevole, contribuire all'applauso di sì magnifico festeggio fatto dal Signor Duca di Medina, e li ad onore dell'Augustissima nostra Regina; collo splendor dei spessi lampi, rimbombo di strepitosi tuoni, grõdando spessissima pioggia, sistiede in timore nõ havesse ã rimaner impedito perciò il più vago, e dilettevole di questa festa, consistente nell'illuminazione notturna, e nel bruciamento dei fuochi d'arteficio colla luminosa comparsi della squadra delle nostre Galee, che con stravaganti inventioni erano prevenute, con sovrana prudenza stimò bene S.E. terminasse si come segui verso l'imbrunire di questo medesimo giorno la festività col sacchegiamento delle scritte 30. pira li, fatto dal popolo affallato indicibilmente a quelle commestibili Rapine.

Disposte nel mentre il Sig. Vicerè, per maggior vista, e più commodo degli Spettatori per Mare, e per terra, di celebrare il cõpimento di questa solenne funzione, colà nel delizioso Scoglio di Mergellina, presso la dove è il Sepolcro del nostro laureato Poeta Sannazaro. Quivi dunque nella susseguente Domenica 2. di Agosto, che fù il primo giorno sereno, e tranquillo, che incontrossi doppo il dì 26. predetto, furono congegnati su l'intorno dell'acque del contiguo Mare dodici machine di capricciosissimi fuochi artificiosi, quali ergevansi in guisa di Torre, di Campanili, ed in altre curiose sembianze. Vi giunsero poco prima, che all'Occaso tramontasse il Sole, le otto Galee della nostra Regia Squadra, quali, all'approdar, che fece nel mentovato Scoglio il Signor Vicerè, accompagnato nella sua ricchissima Gondola da' Signori Generale dell'Artiglierie Duca di Popoli, Duca di Jelzi, Principe di Cellamare, e dal nominato Signor Marchese Azzolini, salutarono S.E. collo sparo del cannone, il cui atto d'ossequio replicarono esse nel pervenir, ch'ivi fece in nobil Carrozza, e corteggio di sue Dame, la Signora Viceregina, con cui era la mentovata Signora Principessa di Cellamere: vedendosi non meno tutta la strada, che da Napoli conduce al detto Scoglio ripiena di Carrozze, che il mare di Gondole, e filuche di Nobiltà, e Popolo curioso. Annottatosi il giorno, fù aggiornata la notte da lumi, che si accessero nelle preaccennate finestre, & altresì dalla curiosa, stravagante, e novissima invenzione, con cui apparvero illuminate le dette Galee, quali à foggia chi di Palagio, che di Fanale, chi Tempio, qual di Cupola, e d'altre, à guisa di Proteo Marino, variando spesso nelle sembianze, che parea dimostrassero; rapivano dilettevolmente l'attenzione di quel Mondo compendiato di persone, colle loro luminose metamorfosi. Principarono ad ardersi i predetti fuochi d'artificio un doppo l'altro con singolar diletto di ciascheduno, seguitando poscia à far lo stesso effetto le dette Galee da gli artificj di fuoco, che in esse eran congegnati. Onde trà lo strepito de' tuoni, lo strisciar delle folgori, il volar de' razzi, le fontane di fuoco, le vertigini delle girelle, lo scoppiar delle bombe, le sorgenti di stellate facelle, le furie di mille, e mille luminose frenesie, tramischiato da spessa scarica d'artiglierie, così delle medesime Galee, come di due Tartane armate in corso, ivi à tale oggetto fatte venire, formando un apparente, dilettevole inferno, trà tante amabili paure, godendo e l'occhio, e l'orecchio; si chiuse colla maggior sodisfazione di questo il Festeggiamento, mercè una famosissima Serenata, posta in Musica dal rinomato Mancini, che col fiore dell'Armonia fece fare ivi stesso il Sign. Duca d'Ayrola Caracciolo, riuscendo tutta questa sì

giuliva funzione con una sì immensa quantità di gente, senza verun disturbo, per l'ottima direzione di chi con somma prudenza sostiene inalterabilmente, ed incorrotta la Lance d'Astrea.

Così terminò la Festa con plausibilissimo Viva, che uscì da' cuori, e dalle bocche di tutti gli ordini, che aspettano ben presto dall'intercessione, & auspicio di S. ANNA, tanti anni prima sterile, e poi arricchita con impareggiabile Frole, dall'Augustissima ANNA DI NEOBURGO all'Atlante del Cattolico Cielo, per Successore un'Alcide, la cui Nascità porrà la Corona alla felicità di Partenope, avventurosa per godere ora la buona fortuna d'un Governante, che in congiontura tanto desiderata, e sperata, siccome adesso hà reso un sol borgo Strada di Cielo, costringerà allora tutte e diece le Sfere à tributare i pregi, e meraviglie loro a' disegni, che può idearemente sì vasta, che non solo più Regni, ma l'Orbe intero governar potrebbe.

IL FINE.

Appendix IV

An account of the celebrations in Rome sponsored by the Imperial Ambassador Count Gallas for the birthday of the Empress and the nameday of the Emperor in 1714.

The following print consists of eight unnumbered pages and four engravings. The exemplar consulted is found in I Rc (Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense), Exst. in fogl. vol. 21/3. It bears the title:

> RELAZIONI/Della sontuosa Festa celebrata nel felicissimo giorno Natalizio/DELLA/*SACRA CESAREE REAL CATTOLICA MAESTA'*/D'ELISABETTA CHRISTINA/IMPERADRICE/E nel giorno Festivo del Glorioso NOME/DELLA/SACRA CESAREA REAL CATTOLICA MAESTA'/DI CARLO SESTO/ IMPERADORE/E TERZO RE' CATTOLICO/DALL'*/Illustrissimo ed Eccellentissimo Signor Conte*/GIOVANNI VINCISLAO/DI GALLASSO/Ambasciador Cesareocattolico in Roma. [At the bottom of the final page] IN ROMA, Per Paolo Komarek al Corso 1714. *Con licenza de' Superiori.*

Nel vent' otto d'Agosto del 1714. giorno Natalizio della S.C.R.C.M. d'ELISABETTA CHRISTINA Imperadrice, l'Illustriss. ed Eccellentiss. Sig. Conte Gio: Vincislao di Galasso, volendo dar pubblico segno della sua divozione verso di quella Maestà, ordinò così magnifica, e sontuosa Festa, che la maggiore non fu mai vista nella Città nostra fin dal tempo forse degli antichi Cesari. Abiti l'Eccell. Sua nel Palazzo Odescalchi sulla piazza de' SS. Apostoli, a dirimpetto d'un lato del quale, appoggiato al muro d'una parte del Palazzo Colonnense fece erigere uno spazioso, e gran Teatro coperto tutto di tele ingessate dipinte a marmo venato *nella forma, che vedesi nella figura presente*, per far ivi recitare una serenata di tutta magnificenza. Non si volle far il detto Teatro direttamente incontro al portone del Palazzo, il che saria riuscito più commodo, e più conveniente all'architettonica simetria, solo per non impedire nulla del Portico del Tempio de' SS. Apostoli; ma pure il ripiego dell'intelligente Architetto seppe con artificiosa perzia farsi servire di miglior campo per dar prova del suo intendimento l'irregolarità necessitosa del

sito. Era il Teatro illuminato da sessanta torce, e cento candele di bianchissima cera difese da altrettanti paravento di cristallo. Le torce sostenute da ben'intagliate, e dorati torcieri lo circondavano d'intorno alle sponde, e le candele posavano lungo i gradini sopra tante Insegne Romane dorate, ove ogn'Aquila Imperiale, che servia da leggivo, reggeve due lumi, il che a maraviglia illuminava l'adornamento, & adornava l'illuminazione.

Sessantadue violini, dodici contrabassi, dodici violoncelli, due obue, quattro corni da caccia, tre arciliuti, e due cembali, quattro virtuosi Musici, e sedici altri pel Coro servirono alla serenata sotto la direzzione del Sig. Giovanni Bononcino Maestro di musica così celebre a' nostri tempi, che basta dirne il nome per esiger da tutti la dovuta lode alla sua riputazione. Egli in vero fece cosa corrispondente alla sua fama componendo questa serenata, la di cui poesia è del Sig. Paolo Antonio Rolli, il quale avendo a scriver cosa, che portasse la lode d'AUGUSTA al sommo riguardevoli si per essere Imperadrice de' Romani, che per essere la più bella Principessa d'Europe; ad effetto d'esercitare uno stile dolce, e conveniente alla musica, compose una Favola piscatoria, nella quale due Pescatrici, e due Pescatori con il Coro di Pescatori, e Pescatrici ragionando de' loro amori s'inviano per celebrare il giorno festivo al Tempio della Venere Celeste, alle antiche misteriose favole riputata Madre dell'Impero Romano, e Dea della Bellezza; la scena di che si finge sopra il lido del Mare, dove il Tevere mette la sua foce. Ma quello, che era di maggior sontuosità, e magnifigenza a riguardarsi, era la gran Loggia, che l'Eccellentissimo Sig. Ambasciadore avea fatta fabbricare a fronte del Teatro; al grand'invito della Nobiltà. Il Sig. Giulio Contini sì dell'uno, che dell'altra fu l'Architetto, e meritò veramente la lode, che tutta Roma gli diede, per avere in angustia ancora di tempo con tanta intelligenza, e grandiosità architttato, e fatto eseguire il tutto. *La pagine interposta mostra bensì la forma d'essa Loggia, ma non le ricchezze degli adornamenti.* Era situata la medesima Loggia, perche fosse diametralmente opposta al Teatro, tra il portone del Palazzo, e il vicolo dell'Arco, che unisce il Palazzo dell'Eminentiss. Dadda coll' abitazione Odescalcha, sicche la loggia occupava la metà del prospetto di essa abitazione, ed il portone vero dall'una ed il finto dall'altra parte servivano di ben'intesi confini alla Loggia, che posava sopra dodici pilastri del medesimo ordine dorico del portone, e quali con pianta centinata, acciocche facesse miglior prospetto ne i laterali, non avendo ampiezza di sito in faccia, la portavano all'altezza del piano nobile del Palazzo. I pilastri poi delle centine proseguendo sopra in solo numero d'otto per non impedir la

vista de' nobili spettatori, con otto colonne coperte di damasco cremise trinato d'oro, co' suoi piedestalli dipinti a marmo, sostenevano il cornicione della cima tutto messo ad oro, con fregio sotto di velluto cremise riccamente pur trinato, e frangiato, dal quale pendevano festoni di damasco cremise co' soliti ornamenti d'oro, come pur anche pendevano dall'architrave sostenuto da i pilastri. Nel mezzo del cornicione di cima vedevasi la Dea Venere con Amore assisa sopra trofei di guerra, e due schiavi Orientali, ed il tutto era figurato in marmo bianco. Di ricchi paramenti poi, e di plache di cristalli era adornato il dentro della gran Loggia, ove salendo alcuni gradini, s'entrava per le finestre dell'appartamento fatte servire con tutta proporzione da porte. Cento cinquanta torce in varj dorati, e ben intagliati torcieri appogiati al cornicione di cima, ed alla cornice de' piedestalli situati d'intorno al parapetto apparato con damasco cremise increspato, e cadente trinato, e frangiato d'oro, spandevano chiarissimo lume, ed al popolo innumerabile della piazza rendevano illustre spettacolo i nobili Spettatori medesimi. Tutta circondata di torce era la piazza, poichè oltre quelle degli Em̃. Sig. Cardinali Dadda, Ruffo, e Coradini, dell'Eccellentiss. Sig. Contestabile, e dell'Illustriss: Sig. Vannicelli ivi abitanti; altre dell'Eccellentiss. Sig. Ambasciadore empivano gli spazi intermessi poste alle finestre, sul muro del giardino, e sopra travi dipinti, la di la di cui cima si divideva in due vaghi torcieri d'eguale altezza, e distanza. Il numero delle carrozze distaccate per commodo di quelle Dame, che volean goder nella piazza la serenata, delle Signore Cittadine era grandissimo; e l'Illustriss. Sig. Marchese Emilio Massimi Cavallarizzo di S.E. avea le così ben disposte, che il foltissimo popolo ebbe campo di passarvi fra mezzo, e prender quel sito, che piacquegli. Oltre così bella disposizione esercito anche da suo pari il detto Sig. Marchese la cura della piazza commandando a cinquanta guardie stipendiate da Sua Eccellenza per invigilare ed alla quiete ed alla modestia del popolo, di modo, che tutto passò con particolar modestia, ed intiera quiete. Fu degno per verità d'ammirazione tutto quello, che al di fuori compariva, poichè quando a regio splendore convenivasi in una festa cotanto segnalata fu pensato dall'esatta cura de' Sig. Ministri dell'E.S. intenti solo a far che il tutto avesse corrispondenza col nobil animo generoso del loro Eccellentiss. Signore; Ma quello, che dentro al Palazzo fu disposto per rinfresco, e delizia de' Convitati, sorprenderà qualunque animo gentile di tal cose conoscitore. L'Eccellentiss. Signor Conte ricevuti tutti i congratulamenti, e gli auspici di lunga vita per l'Augustissima Imperadrice, sull'imbruni della notte colla saggia scorta dell'Illustriss: Sig. Francesco de'Nobili

Vitelleschi Cavalier dell'Ordine Gerosolimitano, e Maestro di Camera dell'Eccel. Sua si diede a ricever con somma gentilezza gli Eminentissimi Cardinali, le Dame, ed i Prelati con gli altri Signori invitati. Vennero le Dame in vesta di gala, adorne di preziose gemme, ed il simile fecero i Cavalieri Romani, e Forestieri. Già corre fama universale della richissima magnificenza del Palazzo Odeschachi tanto per li suoi superbi paramenti, e rare supellettili, quanto per la gran quantità de riguardevoli quadri de' più famosi Pittori; onde puote ognon' figurarsi, che sontuoso aspetto fossero a' Convitati le sue stanze illuminate da spaziosi lampadarj di cristallo, e fatte adornare di tutto il compimento dall'Illustriss. Sig. Marchese Urbano del Drago Biscia Maggiorduomo di S.E. al di cui saggio avvedimento stava appoggiata la direzzione, e la sopraintendenza del tutto. Fino ad un'ora e mezza di notte continuo la venuta della Nobilt per la scaletta segreta illuminata, e la gran Loggia fu piena alla rinfusa. Dispensati alle due ore da' Sig. Gentiluomini, e Paggi di S.E. gli esemplari della serenata perfettamente stampati in foglio tanto a tutti gl'invitati, quanto a tutte quelle Dame, e Cittadine, che stavano ne' loro sterzi distaccati nella piazza, si diede principio alla gran sinfonia, per proseguire il canto. In tanto il Sig. Domenico Tosi Scaico di N.S. e dell'Eccelentiss. Sig. Conte facea preparare il primo gran rifresco per dispensarlo a mezzo della serenata. Fin dalla mattina sessantacinque Officiali Bottiglieri delle Corti di Roma co'loro subalterni nel giardino del Palazzo, per non aver altro loco, coperti dal sole con una spaziosa tenda di buon'ora cominciarono a lavorar fino a sera le acque agghiacciate di quante sorti mai la lor arte ne somministri. Arrestatosi con plauso di tutti il canto al secondo Coro della serenata, incominciarono i Signori Gentiluomini e Paggi di S.E. a dispensare il rifresco con ordine eguale a tutta la Nobiltà della loggia, e dell'appartamento: e nel medesimo tempo da quattro Gentiluomini preceduti dagli Aiduchi, e seguiti da cento persone con sottocoppe in mano piene di grandigiare d'acque fresche fu pur dispensata l'altra parte del rifresco a tutte le persone, che stavano nelle loro carozze. La sceltezza, e finezza di gusto de' ghiacciati liquori, e l'abbondondanza de' medesimi puote arguirsi dal numero degli Officiali, che tutta una giornata non desisieron mai dal lavoro, e dalla peritissima sopraintendenza del Signor Domenico Tosi Officiale degno della generosità dell'Eccellentissimo Sig. Conte. L'E.S. in questo spazio di tempo portavasi con tutta gentilezza ora all'una, ed ora all'altra parte della gran loggia, ed ivi trattenevasi un tal poco con quelle Dame, e Cardinali, che lo avean favorito, per mostrar loro il particular genio, e gradimento, che aveva di seco far

dimora. Cessato il primo rifresco, ricominciò dalla ripetizione del secondo Coro il proseguimento della serenata; ed in questo mentre nella vasta Camera, che guarda la piazza a sinistra della Sala, illuminata da quattro grandi lampadarj di cristalli, e da triangoli d'argento, che sopra argentee colonne sostenevano i lumi, preparavasi il secondo rifresco, ma fisso in cinque tavole *del disegno, che mostra la figura presente*. Quanto può mai inventar l'Arte nella confezzione dello zuchero, nel condimento delle frutta, e nell'agghiacciamento de' sapori delle medesime stretti a forza di neve in forma, e colore di tutte le poma, tutto era con profusione in bell'ordine esposto alla delizia de' convitati. Posava sulla tavola centinata del piano di mezzo un grandissimo trionfo, che con i quattro primi cartelloni, e fogliami stendevasi fino a gli angoli di essa. In ogni vano delle quattro centine si vedeano quattro conche di porcellana del Giappone piene da piramidi di scelti frutti tolti dalla neve, ed un'altra simil conca in mezzo alzata sopra una piramide di cristalli di Boemia, con infinita copia di confetture, paile, geli, mammellate, biscotteria, cedrati, portogalli, e tutte sorte di frutti, e fiori canditi. Otto altre simili, ma mino i Alzate accompagnavano lateralmente le grandi, con altre tanti vasi minori della stessa procellana, che avean per ciascheduno quattro cedrati freschi con un vago mazzo di fiori. Due cornucopj per parte uscivano da i cartelloni con altrettante tazze di porcellana, che sostenevano piramidi di sorbetto di persico, di pappina, di mandole fresche, e di cedrati, che chiudean dentro le loro frutta siroppate. Le volute del prim'ordine reggevan due tondini di quella porcellana, sopra l'uno de' quali stava una piramidina di botiro ghiacciat, o [*sic*] e sopra l'altra un' altra piramidina di frutti gelati. Le porcellane poi del second' ordine contenevano in ogni lato una piramide nel mezzo di gelo d'agresta con odore di gelsomino, e di Crema con marmellata di cedrato. Quelle del terzo aveano nel mezzo una piramide di Frambues col medesimo frutto intiero siroppato, scannellatto di ghiaccio di color d'Alabastro alto due palmi, e mezzo stava sopra una base nel mezzo del gran Trionfo, e ne sorgeva un verde artificioso albero, dalli di cui rami pendevano centocinquanta frutti gelati. In distanza di sei palmi dal maggior trionfo stavan le quattro tavole centinate, che lo circondavano. Ciascuna tavola avea, secondo l'uso di tal cose, una gran canestra nel mezzo intagliata, ed inargentata, la quale rialzata da ben cento diversi vasi di cristallo di Boemia era piena di perfette confetture, e di freschi cedrati. Quattro altre minori canestre di diversa forma, ne di cui vani laterali stavan due sottocoppe di spuma di panna, e di spuma di cioccolate, posavano presso i quattro lati della grande, a cui presso ne' vani di sotto e

di sopra giacevano due sottocoppe rialzate con sottocoppe di cristallo piene di biscottini, e formegetti di ghiaccio framezzati di cioccolate, e latte alla portoghese gelato in pezzi. Tra le dette sottocoppe v'era un'altra conca della medesima porcellana con piramide di pappina, e piena di frutta di gelo. I vani poi delle tavole eran coperti di tondini dorati con salviette finissime, fazzoletti di seta, cocchiarini, e forchette d'oro, e coltelli. Il tutto in somma era di così prezioso gusto, e delicatezza, che del paro gli occhi, ed il palato dilettava perloche n'ebbero le gentilissime Dame egual sorprendimento, e compiacenza. Finita la bella serenata, la Nobiltà condotta nella stanza del secondo Rifresco alla rinfusa girando intorno alle tavole ne gustò lodandone l'artificio, la delicatezza, e grande appartamento accolsero la riguardevole conversazione, la quale toltasi poi da giocare venne nella superba sala, ove era attesa da gran numero d'istromenti, e da alcune virtuose di canto assistite dal Signor Giovanni Bononcino, che meravigliosamente al solito suonò una sua sinfonia a violoncello solo da tutti plaudita. Ma non dovea finire così sontuoso convito senza quegli ultimi segni di letizia, che la fiorita Nobiltade in tali occasioni suol dare. Quindi e, che diessi moto ad un festoso ballo tanto più gradito a i Nobili convitati, quando ben rade volte solito a vedersi nella nostra Cittade. Sei Lampadarj dorati, che sostenevano sei ceri per ciascheduno, illuminavano la vasta Sala adorna tutta di gran quadri de' più celebri Dipintori; onde è facil cosa l'immaginarsi, che vago, ricco, e dilettoso spettacolo fosse vedervi assise in giro le cortesi Dame, ed i lieti Cavalieri, che alternavano fra di loro piacevoli, e graziose danze. Ebbe in fine compimento colla notte la regia Festa degna della memoria degli Uomini, e per la maestosa generosità dell'Eccel. del Signor Conte Gio. Vincislao di Galasso, e per quella Augustissima, e Bellissima Imperadrice, per lo di cui felice natalizio giorno fù celebrata.

> On November 4, 1714, Count Gallas the Imperial Ambassador presented a display of fireworks in the Piazza dei SS. Apostoli on the feast of Saint Charles Borromeo to commemorate the nameday of the Emperor Charles VI. After the fireworks, the noble guests were invited into the Count's residence where they enjoyed the following entertainment.

Assisi i Convitati furon loro dispensati due componimenti poetici stampati in lode dell'Augustiss. Imperadore, il primo de' quali è del Sig. Paolo Antonio Rolli, ed il secondo è del Paolo Vannini ambi benignamente favoriti dell'alto Patrocinio dell'E.S. Era di già preparato il Sig.

Gio. Bononcino Maestro di Cappella ben noto per la sua riputazione, il quale dispose moltissimi istromenti d'arco, e diede un'armoniosa sinfonia, poscia fece, che la prima delle due virtuose, che stanno al servizio di S.E. cantasse una cantata a voce sola, e quindi assieme col Sig. Francesco Finaja soprano della Cappella Pontificia di meravigliosa voce una cantata a due voci con istromenti, e di poi se dire alla seconda virtuosa un'altra cantata a solo; e la musica dilettò al sommo i nobili ascoltanti si per la dolce modulazionz de' Cantori, che per la maestria del virtuoso Compositore. Diedesi alla fine principio ad un festivo ballo, e l'Illmo Sig. Francesco de' Nobil Vitelleschi cavaliero di Malta Maestro di camera di S.E. n'esercitò con tutta lode la cura. Furono invero dilettosa vista le liete danze per le belle, riccamente adorne Dame, che insieme con i gentili, e valorosi Cavalieri le alternavano; e così magnifica festa durò fino alle 9. ore della notte, coi insolito diletto della Romana Nobiltà, la quale dovrà sempre tener viva memoria della suntuosa magnificenza dell'Eccellenza del Sig. Conte di Galasso intento solo a compiacerla di continuo, e più particolarmente poi ne i festivi giorni di commemorazione degli Augustissimi Regnanti.

Appendix V

Three documents referring to the first performances of Alessandro Scarlatti's oratorio *Il Regno di Maria assunta in cielo*

Document I

Francesco Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, III, 432.

This evening [Tuesday, August 18, 1705] Cardinal Ottoboni had an oratorio splendidly rehearsed in his palace, the Cancelleria, which he will have sung in the courtyard of that palace next Sunday; and to hear it there were nine cardinals and other personages including Don Annibale Albani, the nephew of His Holiness, to whom sumptuous refreshments were given.

Fece il cardinale Ottoboni questa sera solenne prova nel suo palazzo della Cancelleria d'un oratorio per musica che farà poi cantare domenica nel cortile di quel palazzo e furono ad udirlo nove cardinali et altri personaggi, fra' quali don Annibale Albani, nepote di S. Beatitudine, a' quali diede lautissimi rinfreschi.

Francesco Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, III, 438-39.

Today [Sunday, August 23, 1705] in the courtyard of the Cancelleria was seen the preparation of a noble theater, designed by Giovanni Francesco Pellegrini, which Cardinal Ottoboni had built for the singing of an oratorio this evening, the poetry of which was by the same cardinal.

This theater, built opposite the great gate, occupied the entire length of that courtyard. A great pedestal of feigned marble extended outward upon which sat a balustrade of gilt wood with four statues of similar material on it at the end. Two statues of similar material were placed between the one balustrade and the other, between which was placed a great harpischord with very beautiful golden legs

where the four soloists were situated. The line of the balustrade, although painted above, followed the remainder of the pedestal, which from both sides was directed very much inward and upon which there were four stone steps with four great transparent vases of feigned alabaster, which held many torches. At the level of the balustrade, which we called the middle of the pedestal, there arose, in a semicircular, inward facing form, a staircase of four steps, the faces of which were painted with a natural floral design, and upon which were placed at suitable distances chandeliers with torches and reading stands upon which sat the parts for the instrumentalists, for each of whom there were three large wax torches. The said reading stands consisted of a globe with an iris and an eagle whose wings supported it. And the singers and instrumentalists sat upon the same steps. In the middle high above the said steps was seen a painted distant view of antique green, twisted columns which supported an ornamented banner upon which was read the title of the oratorio, which was *Il regno di Maria Vergine*. And since a hanging showing the coat of arms of the said cardinal instead of a painted sketch of the Blessed Virgin was placed there, this formed the upper reaches of the theater. Other twisted columns, outlined and placed in the line of the scene, followed the painted perspective and supported cornices upon which there were flower vases, and, behind these in the empty spaces, there were placed at some distance illuminated tapestries which produced a very beautiful sight.

A large lamp of painted wood with twelve little pans hung from the middle of each arch of the courtyard, and it was flanked by cascades of red drapery which similarly adorned the arches of the second order. The parapet of the upper portico was covered with crimson velvet with a similar fringe. Between each of its columns were placed two stands bearing torches such that the entire courtyard remained wonderfully illuminated that evening. Beginning that day the open carriages, from which the many ladies and personages later listened, were left without horses in the middle of the courtyard. That evening, the main gate having been open and entrance free to all, it was seen filled by an innumerable crowd of people. About two hours of night, after the ringing of the bell, the singing began and, accompanied by eighty instruments, succeeded very beautifully. Because two large bowls [of refreshments] were sent to every arch, drinks in abundance were distributed to the coaches, eight kegs having been consumed.

Si vidde hoggi nel cortile della Cancelleria preparato un nobile teatro fattovi erigere dal cardinale Ottoboni et architettato da Giovanni Francesco Pellegrini, per cantarvi questa sera un oratorio, la di cui poesia era del medesimo cardinale.

Occupava questo teatro, formato dirimpetto alla porta grande, tutta la lunghezza di quel cortile. Porgeva in fuori un gran basamento di finto marmo, sul quale posava una balaustrata di legno dorato con sopra nel fine di quella quattro statue di simile materia, della quale erano similmente due statue che fra l'una e l'altra balaustrata ponevano in mezzo un gran cembalo con bellissimo piede dorato, dove erano le quattro parti de' musici che cantavano. Seguiva l'ordine della balaustrata ma dipinto sopra il resto del basamento da ambidue le parti che era assai all'indentro, sopra di cui erano quattro scaglioni con gran quattro vasi trasparenti di finto alabastro che sostenevano molte torcie. Al piano della balaustrata che dicemmo del basamento di mezzo si scorgevano in forma semicircolare all'indentro quattro gradini dipinti nelle facciate a fiori naturali, su li quali in congrua distanza erano posti candelabri con torcie e leggivi, dove posavano le carte gli sonatori, che per ciascheduno vi erano tre grossi faccolotti di cera: erano composti di globo con Iride et aquila che con l'ale sosteneva detto legiò; e su gli medesimi gradini sedevano gli musici e sonatori. Si vedeva sopraposta nel mezzo di detti gradini una prospettiva dipinta di colonne di verde antico tortuose che sostenevano una cartella con ornamenti in cui si leggeva il titolo dell-
/439/ -l'oratorio, che era *Il regno di Maria Vergine*, e con questa terminavasi l'altezza del teatro, essendovisi, invece d'una imagine della B. Vergine dipinta e contornata, posto un arazzo raccamato con arme del sudetto cardinale. Seguivano l'ordine della prospettiva dipinta altre colonne tortuose contornate e poste in ordine di scena, che sostenevano cornicione con sopra vasi di fiori e dietro a queste, ne' vani, erano posti in qualche distanza arazzi che illuminati rendevano vaghissima vista.

Ne gl'archi del cortile pendeva dal mezzo di cischeduno un lampadario di legno dipinto con dodici padellini et era fiancheggiato da caschate di drappo rosso, delle quali erano similmente adornati gl'archi del secondo ordine. Il parapetto del portico superiore era fasciato di velluto cremisi con frangia simile. Ciascheduna colonna di quello era posta in mezzo da dui torcieri con torcie, sì che restò la sera mirabilmente illuminato tutto il cortile, in mezzo del quale erano carrozze scoperte senza cavalli,

portatevi sin dal giorno, dove poi furono ad udire molte dame e personaggi, essendo stato il portone aperto e libero a ciascheduno l'ingresso, onde la sera si vidde ripieno di popolo innumerabile. Doppo il suono delle campane appresso le 2 hore fu dato principio alla musica, che riuscì vaghissima con l'accompagnamento di ottanta istromenti. Furono distribuite a tutte le carrozze copiose acque, sì come ad ogni arco erano mandate due sottocoppe, essendovisi consumati otto barili di quelle.

Francesco Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, III, 441.

This evening (Monday, August 25, 1705) Cardinal Ottoboni had his oratorio repeated in the courtyard of the Cancelleria with similar magnificence and refreshments, there having been likewise a great crowd of nobles and other people.

Fu questa sera replicato nel cortile della Cancelleria dal cardinale Ottobono l'oratorio con simile magnificenza e rinfreschi, essendovi stato similmente molto concorso di nobiltà et altra gente.

Document II

Found in an anonymous *avviso di Roma* preserved in Dbrd Mbs (Munich, Bavarian State Library), Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 297r.:

Rome, August 25, 1705

Cardinal Ottoboni increasingly entertains thoughts of heroic, virtuous actions. On Tuesday night [August 18] he had a literary *accademia* given in his customary salon with very fine instrumental and vocal music by a number of *virtuosi*. Sonnets and other of their compositions of quality were recited, and he was favored [by the presence of] Signora D. Maria Bernardina with the wife of the Venetian Ambassador [and] Marchessa Mosca, their husbands, and a great number of cardinals, prelates, and nobles. And His Eminence had a concerted work, intended for performance [the following] Sunday night, sung, [it being] an oratorio in praise of the great kingdom of Maria ascended into heaven, the words of which he had written. Having requested the above-named Signora D. Maria Bernardina to act as hostess, as was done [on the evenings of August 23 and 24], the

courtyard of the palace of the Cancelleria was transformed into a very beautiful theater, the front of which was a spacious stage completely illuminated by lanterns of Venetian glass, and everything decorated and covered with hanging cloth. The singers and instrumentalists were situated on the said stage and steps. All of Rome attended, and, since the said festival succeeded so beautifully, it was repeated to everyone's satisfaction on Monday night as well. And the copious refreshments of every kind which always accompany His Eminence's customary generosity were given to all.

Roma, 25 agosto 1705

Sempre più Il Sig.*nore* Card.*inale* Ottoboni và meditando le sue Azioni Eroiche, e virtuose, martedì sera fece *fare* nel suo solito salone Accademia di belle lett.*ere* con boniss.*ime* Zinfonie, e cantate, da alcuni Virtuosi vi furno recitate e sonetti, et altre lor buone compositioni, e vi fù a favorirlo la Sig.*nora* D. Maria Bernardina con l'Amb.*asciatrice* di Venezia, M.*archessa* Mosca, con li loro Consorti, n.*umerossisimi* S.*ignori* Em.*inentissimi*, gran *quantità* di Prelati e Nobilta, e vi fù da S.*ua* Em.*inenza* concertato haver destinato *per* la Domenica sera far cantare un Oratorio in lode del gran Regno di Maria Assunta in Cielo le parole sua Compositione: con haver pregato la med.*esima* Sig.*nora* D. Maria Bernardina à voler far l'Invito come fù fatto, Il Cortile del Palazzo della Cancelleria ridotto à forma di belliss.*imo* Teatro, con in faccia una bene accomodata ringhiera, da per tutto bene illuminato da *quantità* di quadroni di Venezia, tutte apparatto, e ricoperto sopra tutto con tende, sopra la detta ringhiera e scalinata vi furno li musici, e sonatori, e vi fù il Concorso di tutta Roma, che *per* essere riuscita la detta festa belliss:*ima* fù replicata *per* comun sodisfat*ione* anco il lunedì sera, e fu sempre accompagnata la solita Generosita di S.*ua* Em.*inenza* da copiosità di rinfreschi *per* tutti di ogni genere.

Document III

Preserved in I Rvat (Rome, Vatican Library), Urb. lat. 1706, fols. 1r-4v.:

The oratorio entitled *Il Regno di Maria assunta in cielo* published by the Most Eminent Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni who had it shown to the public and performed in a sumptuous

setting in the courtyard of the Cancelleria and sung on the evening of the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of August, 1705.

Among that infinite number of compositions, dramas, oratorios, cantatas, and other things by the eminent pen of the Most Eminent Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, [who] had the oratorio entitled *Il Regno di Maria assunta in cielo* set to music by Alessandro Scarlatti and [who] had had it performed earlier at the *accademia* of gifted men of learning and much celebrated poets customarily held in his palace, [and who], observing the inability to satisfy, as was his desire, the Roman nobility and others who through his generosity were there [and] for whom he wished in all his actions to make known his love, the Cardinal called upon Giovan Francesco Pellegrini of Messina, a famous engineer presently in the service of His Eminence, and made known to him that he wished to show this oratorio in public, desiring that he build in a few hours so that it might be performed therein a theater able to accommodate more than one hundred of the most famous musicians of Rome, they being string, trumpet, and other instrumentalists, as well as the vocalists needed to sing it. In front of the back wall facing the entrance to the courtyard, from one side of this space to the other, a great stage with a forward projection was quickly erected by the valorous genius of the said Cavalier [Pellegrini] in order to accommodate the singers better. A great pedestal, painted to resemble stone in chiaroscuro of many colors, served as the base of the said stage. Above the said stage there were seven spacious steps in rising triangular shape where the instrumentalists were placed, each two of whom had an illuminated gilt music stand which was [made] in the shape of the earth encircled by an iris with an eagle atop, and the rack upon which the instrumentalists' parts were placed wittily rested between the wings [of the eagle]; and for each of these reading stands there were two large wax torches.

The faces of the said steps were all painted with flowers and [the highest step] reached the walkway of the parapets of the first loggias. On the forward projection of the stage, then, were seen two isolated balustrades in gold relief which ended by forming four figures on pedestals, the front two shown from the opening playing with several lions and representing various virtues. In the opening of the said balustrades there was situated a large table, held up at each corner by different figures, upon which the four singers, the most excellent voices of this city, sang. At each side of the stairs the illusion of a double colonnade was created, [the columns of] which were twisted and

decorated with quantities of flower pots, and beyond the circuit of the said columns were seen in the distance various feigned tapestries with the view of other double colonnades, and finally palaces and fountains. Four great vases, made to resemble transparent alabaster, were beautifully positioned on the said stage at its sides upon four large staircases, and lights and torches were placed in and among these [vases] in order to illuminate the stage, which created a very beautiful sight. The sides of the said stage ended with certain large figures, all of which augmented the light with torches. A baluster corresponding to every step was seen at the sides of the staircases [at which point] the above-mentioned title *Il Regno di Maria assunta in cielo* was painted in a ring on the large canvas which rested on the facade of the arches.

Rich decorative hangings extended almost to the edge of the roof, in the midst of which was placed the portrait of the Blessed Virgin ascended into heaven [painted] on transparent cloth; but because of the troublesome wind, this was later taken down and replaced by a large door curtain. All the arches of the said courtyard were decorated with festoons and *tapponi* of crimson taffeta, which was likewise the case with the facade of the [?] which surrounded the upper arches or *patorci*, [which] were covered with rich crimson velvet and skirted with a heavy gold fringe. Likewise, all the feigned windows of the courtyard were decorated; and from each arch hung a large lamp, each with twelve arms on which were affixed small tapers which gave off light of many colors. The large lamps numbered eighteen, which, with the torches of a number beyond counting intermixed among the pilasters of the said arches, so well illuminated the said theater that it was as if the sun shone there. The oratorio was, as has been said, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. The interlocutors were the Queen, Bride, Bridegroom, and Eternity, besides which there were many words alluding to the present emergencies of war and other words entreating the peace of salvation. So well was the said oratorio sung that in respect to those who sang it, as well as to the composition of the words, to him who so sweetly set it to music, and to the instrumental concerto led by Arcangelo Corelli, a virtuoso presently in the service of His Eminence, and with the decorations that were there, Rome had neither seen nor heard a thing of greater worth. Open carriages left without horses in the courtyard the previous day were aligned so closely together in place that they touched one another. Later, the cardinals, the greater part of the Roman prelacy, noble ambassadors, Roman princesses and princes, ladies and cavaliers, and other nobles with an infinite number of people assembled. After

the ringing of the [Angelus] bell ended, the customary devotional exercises of the five *Our Fathers* and of an equal number of *Ave Marias* and of *Gloria Patris*, instituted by Pope Clement XI as a means of gaining an equal number of years of indulgence, [were said]; and this devotion was established, moreover, by the will of the Holy Father because of the earthquake [in 1703] and will be continued as long as His Holiness wishes. Then, the above prayers finished, the *sinfonia* of concerted instruments was begun, followed by the singing of the four sweet voices of the principal singers from the Papal Chapel, who continued to sing until the end of the first part, [at which time] His Eminence had sumptuous refreshments served which continued until the end of the said oratorio. The number of people who gathered here not only inside the palace, but in the courtyard, loggias, [and] windows was very great. And since the theater was built facing the main entrance [of the courtyard], the crowd of people extended to the Piazza dei Pollaroli. Those who were unable to enjoy the music because of the distance, at least enjoyed the magnificent view [of the] above-mentioned illuminated theater. It seemed to His Eminence that considering all those gathered that night, Rome would not be satisfied. Moreover, being mindful of the great number of nobles from the surrounding sister towns and cities who had come to Rome, he wished that it be repeated the night of the twenty-fourth at an earlier hour than the first night. The [number of] new lights, that is, large lamps, was doubled in order to make the said courtyard more luminous than the night before so that they who had undertaken this journey for this reason [*i.e.*, to witness the oratorio] might arrive in more comfort. Allured there by the melody of the first night, much of the Roman nobility and a great number of princesses returned anew, and there were to be seen in the open carriages in the courtyard more ladies than the night before, who, because of the many diamonds that they wore and the great amount of light there in the courtyard, prevented the eye from gazing without remaining bedazzled. The multitude of people was greater than the night before; and the said cantata having ended at the fourth hour of night and the customary refreshments having been again distributed in very great abundance, everyone returned to his palace or house not without admiration for the generosity brilliantly displayed during these nights by such a pious act. The end.

After more consideration this account was done with greater care than the above-mentioned first one.

Oratorio esposto al Publico e fatto rappresentare nel cortile della Cancell.*eria* con sontuoso Apparato intitolato il Regno di M.*aria* assunta in Cielo dall'E*minentissimo* Card.*inale* Pietro Ottoboni dal med.*esimo* dato in luce q*uale* fù cantato la sera delli 23, e 24 Ag.*osto* 1705

Haveva l'E*minente* penna dell'Em.*inentissimo* S.*ignor* P.*ietro* Card:*inale* Ottoboni V.*ice* Cancell.*iere* di S.*anta* Chiesa trà l'altre infinità di Compositioni, di Dramme, Oratorij, Cantate et altre l'Orat.*orio* intitolato il Regno di M.*aria* asunta in Cielo posto in luce dal S.*ignor* Aless.*andro* Scarlatti e fattoq.le rappresentare giorni p.*rima* nell'Accad.*emia* ch'è solita tenere nel suo Palazzo de più eruditi virtuosi e Poeti più celebri, osservando non potere com'è Suo desiderio, di sodisfare alla /1v/ nobiltà Rom.*ana* et altre Persone, che essendo *per* sua generosita, che vuole in tutte le Sue attioni far conoscere la brama sua; si che chiamato il S.*ignor* Card.*inale* Giovan Fran.*cesco* Pellegrini Messinese, et Attual Ser*vitore* dell'E*minenza* Sua et Ingeg*nere* celebre, e rappresentatoli che voleva esponere questo orat.*orio* al Publico, volendo, che nel giro di poch'hore formasse il Teatro *per* ivi rappresentarlo si fa che vi potessero stare molto ben Commodi più di 100 Professori li più celebri di Roma, cioè da Arco, come di Trombe et altro, e Musici, che dovevano cantarlo[.] fù subito dal valoroso ingegno del *detto* Cav.*aliere* nella faciata del Cortile fatt'erigere un gran Palco la grandezza del quale prendeva da una parte e l'altra con un risalto in fuori per più commodo de' Musici, Serviva di base à *detto* Palco un gran peidestallo dipinto di pietra à Chiaroscuoro con più Colori[.] sopra del *detto* Palco vi erano in forma triangolare inalzato sette Commodi gradini, dove stavano a sonare i /2r/ Professori ambedoi de quali havevano il lor Legio lumeggiato à Oro, che era il Mondo con l'Iride con l'aquila sopra, e con bello scherso trà l'ale posava il Legio, dove posavano le Carte delli sonatori, e *per* ciaschedun d'essi eligij v'erano due grossi fiaccolotti di cera.

Le facciate di *detti* scalini erano tutti dipinti à fiori, et arrivavano al passo dei Parapetti delle p*rime* loggie. Il Palco poi nel di cui risalto vi si vedevano due Balaustrate isolate di rilievo dorate che veniva a fargli fornimento sopra de' Piedestalli quattro figure, le due dalla facciata davanti, ove ci era l'apertura che andavano scherzando con alcuni Leoni, e queste rappresentavano diverse Virtù, nell'apertura delle *dette* balaustrate ci era situata una gran tavola sostenuta parimente da diverse figure, nella /2v/ qual Tavola cantavano li 4. Musici de più eccellente

Voci di q*uest*a Città, Da i lati delle scale si fingeva p*er* ogni parte un Gran Collonato, à due per 2., le quali erano ritorte, adornate con quantità di Vasi di fiori, e dallo sfero d*i* d.*ett*e Colonne si vedeva in lontananza diversi Arazzi finti Terminavano q*uest*e Colonne colla veduta di altre Colonne dupplicate, et in fine di essi Palazzi, e fontane[.] *era*no in bellissi*ma* positura eretti sopra del Palco in quattro gran Gradini quattro gran Vasi finti d'Alabastro Trasparente, che venivano a terminare con li lati del Palco et in questi vi erano, e Lumi, e Torcie framischiate per render Luminoso d.*ett*o Palco, che rendea bellis.*si*ma vista. Veniva a terminare d.*ett*o Palco da i lati, con certe gran figure, e quali parim.*ent*e con Torcie augmentavano i lumi. Da i Lati delle scale si vedevano p*er* ogni scalino un Balaustro, ove terminava il d.*ett*o scalino nella gran Tela. che posava la facciata delle /3r/ Archi vi era dipinto in Una Carolla le sopradette Lett.*ere* Il Regno di Maria assunta in Cielo.

Venivano apparati di ricchi Tappeti sino quasi all'estremità del Tetto ove poscia in mezzo fù posto in Tela trasparente il Ritratto della B.*eata* V.*ergine* Assunta in Cielo, ma p*er* l'Incommodo del Vento fù poscia levato e posto una gran Portiera. Erano tutti adornati l'archi del d*ett*o Cortile di festoni e Tupponi di Toffettano Cremesi, e sicome la facciata del dato che ricorre sopra d*ett*i Archi, ò siano Patorci, erassi coperta di ricco velluto Cremesi, et una pesante francia d'oro attorno, parim*ent*e quante fenestre fingevano nel Cortile vennero tutte apparate, e p*er* ogn'arco pendeva un gran Lampadario di 12. braccie p*er* ciascheduno, che vi erano ad'ogni braccio lumini fatti di mistura che rendevano i lumi di più colori, si contavano d*ett*i Lampadarij sino al n.*umero* di 18., che con le Torcie framischiate /3v/ ne pilastri di d*ett*i archi che dalla quantità del N.*umero* non si potevano contare si che erasi bene allumato detto Cortile, che risplendeva quanto vi fosse stato il sole.

L'Orat.*orio* era come si è detto dedicato alla B.*eatissima* Verg.*ine*, l'Interlocutori erano Regina, Sposa, e Sposo, et Eternità, oltre di ciò vi erano molte parole allusive alle emergenze presenti delle Guerre, et altre parole, le quali invitavano la Pace della Sanità[.] fù cantato si eccellentem*ent*e d.*ett*o Orat.*orio* che p*er* la perfett.*ione* di chi lo cantava e come p*er* la composit.*ione* delle parole, e della soavità di chi l'haveva posto in Musica e concerto de stromenti, capo de quali era il S.*ignor* Arcangelo Corelli Virtuoso di S.*ua* Em.*inenza*, che stà al suo attual servitio, che coll'adornam.*enti* che ve erano, Roma non vidde, et udì cosa /4r/ più degna. furono presi i Posti delle Carozze

del Cortile cioè Carozze scoperte dal giorno avanti lasciate nel Cortile senza Cavalli, e strette in forma, che ciascheduna tocava l'altra, poscia concorsi, che furno i Porporati, che furono molti con la mag.*giore* parte della Prelatura di Roma, Amb*asciatori* Baroni Romani Prencipesse, e Prencipi, Dame e Cavalieri, et altra nobiltà, con Infinità di Popolo, doppo terminato il suono delle Campane, divotione solita posta da PP. Clem.*ente* XI.o delli 5. Patri, et altretante ave marie, e gloria Patri per conquistare tant anni d'Indulgenza e questa devot.*ione* del Terremoto et sara seguitata sino che a Sua S*antità* piacerà[.] Terminata dunque d.*etta* Orat.*ione* fù dato principio alla Zinfonia, e concerto d'Istromenti, e poscia al sonoro canto de 4: principali Musici di Cappella del Papa, che continuando il suono et Soave Canto, al fine della p.*rima* parte del q*uale* furono fatte destribuir da S.*ua* Em*inenza* lauti rinfreschi i quali continuarono sino alla fine di d.*etto* Orat.*orio* [.] fù grandissimo il Popolo ch'ivi concorse non solo dentro del Palazzo ma Cortile, Loggie, fenestre, et anco p*er* /4v/ essere il Teatro eretto in faccia al Portone il Popolo concorso stava sino alla Piazza de Pollaroli, q.*uelli* che se p*er* la distanza non potevano godere la Musica, almeno godevano della pomposa Vista, che illuminato faceva l'accennato Teatro. Parve a S.*ua* Em.*inenza* che con tutta la quantità, et altri che vi concorsero in q.*uesta* sera non si fosse sodisfatta Roma oltre haver inteso che da luoghi circonvicini erano p*er* venire in Roma quantità di nobiltà di fuori per portarsi poscia finito alli Suore Paesi, e Città. volsesi replicasse la sera delli 24. in hora più tardi della p.*rima* sera, acciò potessero con più Commodo giungere quelli che p*er* tal *effetto* havevano intrapreso il Viaggio facendo anche raddopiar novi lumi, cioè de Lampadari per render più Luminoso il d*etto* Cortile della sera anteced.*ente*[.] La nobiltà Rom.*ana* allettati dalla melodia della p.*rima* sera, molti vi ritornorno di novo, e quantità di Prencipesse, e si vidde nel Cortile nelle Carozze scoperte più Dame della Sera anteced.*ente* che con tanti diamanti, che esse portavano e colla quantità di Lumi, ch'erano nel Cortile non poteva l'occhio fissar lo sguardo senza Restar abbagliato. La moltitud.*ine* del Popolo fù mag.*giore* della anteced.*ente* sera e terminata d.*etta* Cantata che fù alle hore quattro della notte e replicati li soliti rinfreschi in grandiss.*ima* abbondanza ogn'uno se ne tornò à loro Palazzi, e Case; non senza amirat*ione* della generosità, che in atto sì devoto fece risplendere in ambedue le sere. fine

Q.*uesta* Relat.*ione* è fatta con più esattezza che la sud.*etta* prima p*er* haverla meglio considerata

Appendix VI

The Program Notes Distributed by Raphael Georg Kiesewetter

at the Performance of Alessandro Scarlatti's Serenata

La Gloria di Primavera

at his House in Vienna on December 26, 1825.

The following material consists of five manuscript pages bound into the front of volumes one and two of Kiesewetter's conducting score (A Wn, SA.68.C 16):

The poem has as its subject the celebration following the ardently desired birth in the spring of the year 1716 of the long prayed for heir to the Emperor Charles VI. Looking back in time to the protracted war just recently ended by the Peace of Rastatt, such an event must have been so much the more gratifying, not only to the monarchy, but to the entire world. Since new storms were to be anticipated should the feared extinction of the ruling House of Habsburg's male line occur, the masses might hope to have a guarantor of the barely-attained peace in the son now given to the world by the great Emperor.

The poet has the four seasons engage in a competition after they proclaim and celebrate in song the fortunate event to which they duly attribute the greatest merit. Jove, whom they look up to as judge, decides in favor of Spring. The poem ends with wishes for the health and welfare of the noble new born [Leopold].

The musical composition is of artistic and historical interest to us as an example of secular music in the dramatic chamber style from a period about which in this connection we know nothing at all. [It is] a work by the most renowned musician of his time, who was Charles VI's first master of the Royal Chapel at Naples, where an Austrian Viceroy held court; and it is surely one in which his art is dedicated with love to his monarch on such a happy occasion.

Alessandro Scarlatti (the father of Domenico Scarlatti, well known to all respectable amateurs of the keyboard) was born at Naples in the year 1650. He studied composition in

Rome with the famous Carissimi. Subsequently, he was himself the teacher of Leo, Durante, Hasse, and of other great masters. To a certain extent he is to be viewed as a great reformer of the art who, as a link in the chain of its stylistic [development], makes the transition from the old music to the new through his pupils in the Neapolitan School. At his death at an advanced age in 1725 he enjoyed great esteem, as was the case with few musicians.

Historical Program

The first glance at the theater of the European world irrefutably explains how necessary the preservation of the House of Habsburg was for the maintenance of balance, of peace, and of tranquillity in Europe, especially during that long, fateful period of three hundred years which followed the Reformation. The extinction of the Spanish and of the German Habsburg line immediately resulted in a bloody war which raged throughout all of Europe, from the Netherlands to Naples, and from Portugal to Poland. Indeed, it filled the entire first half of the eighteenth century (1700-1748) with its painful consequences. Philip IV, King of Spain, by two wives had begotten fourteen princes and princesses, after which the Spanish branch of the Imperial House died out with his son Charles II. Likewise, the reckoning of the German line on [its continuation through its] offspring often proved unbelievably deceptive. Only a single prince from that glorious family of twenty-two children belonging to Albrecht I produced sons, and they were by Albrecht the Lame, who from early youth suffered from palsy and failed for a long time to beget any children of Johanna of [?]. How quickly the entire House was again reduced by death to the single precious figure of his grandson Maximilian I; and what a sea of dangers did not threaten this precious head, on water and on land, in war and in adventures, in battle with wild animals and in the burning powder chamber of that abysmal conspiracy, the *Martinsbund*!

Ferdinand III and his son Leopold had by three wives eleven and sixteen children, respectively. And with Leopold's son Charles VI the entire male Habsburg line was extinguished!

The eighteenth century witnessed a Spanish, an Austrian, and a Bavarian War of Succession. The first two threatened the Austrian monarchy with complete dissolution and indeed tore important provinces, even entire kingdoms, from the inheritance of Charles V and of Ferdinand I.

No one can reasonably doubt that, had Charles V died in youth without children, his brother Ferdinand I, the Archduke of Austria and King of Hungary and Bohemia, would have been his natural successor and heir. In the same way, however, Ferdinand I's line, the German, should have succeeded to all the rights and succession when the line of Charles V, the Spanish, was extinguished. Only the [?] wanted it otherwise. When so many glorious hopes went to a too early grave with Joseph I, and Charles VI had to leave Spain to set upon his head the orphaned crowns of Hungary, of Bohemia, and of the German Empire, Spain and America were lost in the Peace of Utrecht, and the throne of Philip V in Madrid was rendered secure. Never can it be made more clear that, in the midst of such diversity, and nowhere in the world as much as in Austria, the dynasty is the single unifying factor and symbol of union and that the first and indispensable condition for the mighty continuation and adornment of the monarchy is the blessed permanence of the ruling dynasty.

Charles VI and all his people had to impress upon themselves this great truth in all its importance. Charles was the last descendant of the Imperial House, and for eight years had already been married to Princess Elisabeth Christine of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, famous for her beauty and spiritual qualities, without having produced a single offspring from this marriage. All this led to much concern for the future. It was thus very natural that Charles VI did not once allow the horrors of the last plague to drive him from Vienna, but rather in the midst of it, on April 19, 1719, assembled his ministers and the great men of the Empire in his fortress and presented the famous statutory decree of union, the Pragmatic Sanction, which gave new force to the unity and indivisibility of the monarchy and to it first born, extending in accordance with the privileges of the House [of Habsburg] the succession also to the female offspring. No wonder then the intoxication of the celebrations which filled Vienna and all the provinces when the Empress and Queen gave birth on April 13, 1716, to Leopold, a Crown Prince and Prince of the Asturias.

All lands sent delegations, minted memorial coins; everywhere week-long, joyous festivals were celebrated. This happy occasion also gave rise to the present serenade by Alessandro Scarlatti, at Naples one of the most famous masters of all the rules of music of that era. [It was] performed there in the Palace of the Viceroy, Field Marshal Count Daun, Prince of Thiano, the celebrated defender of Turin and the father of the victor of Collin.

To bless is the heart's most noble sentiment and the triumph of art, both spoken and representational; and in the city which may rightly call itself the most musical of Europe and at the same time the cradle and fortress of the Emperor for half a millennium, may the art of music aspire to no higher goal than the expression of patriotic thanks for the preservation of the Imperial House, and may it call forth from the most holy sanctity of the heart the sincere wish for its preservation in the distant centuries to come.

(Distributed on the occasion of the performance in the house of the Imperial and Royal Court Counselor Raphael Kiesewetter on December 26, 1825, of the said cantata composed by Alessandro Scarlatti.)

* * *

Das Gedicht hat die Feier der im Früling des Jahres 1716 erfolgten Geburt des mit banger Sehnsucht lange vom Himmel erflehten Erben der Kronen Karls VI. zum Gegenstand, ein Ereignis, das mit einem Rückblick auf die vorhergegangenen langwierigen und erst kürzlich durch den Rastätter Frieden [?] verhinderten Krieg für die Monarchie, ja für die Welt um so mehr höchst erfreulich sein mußte, als bei dem befürchteten Erlöschen des Mannesstammes des habsburghischen Herrscherhauses neue Stürme vorherzusehen waren, so daß die Völker nun in dem der Welt jetzt gegebenen Sohn des großen Kaisers die Bürgschaft der kaum errungenen Ruhe erhalten zuhaben hoffen durften.

Der Dichter läßt die vier Jahreszeiten, nachdem sie das beglückende Ereignis verkündet und besungen haben, in einem Wettstreit geraten, welcher von ihnen hieran der größte Verdienst gebühre. Jupiter, den sie als Schiedsrichter aufsuchen, entscheidet zugunsten des Frühlings. Das Gedicht schließt mit Heil- und Segenswünschen für den erhabenene Ankömmling.

Die musikalishce Komposition, ein Werk des geachtetesten Musikers seiner Zeit, und der einem für seinen Herrn--er war königlicher Oberkapellmeister Carls VI. zu Neapel, wo ein österreichischer Vizekönig Hof hielt--so erfreulichen Ereignis sicher con amore seine Kunst weihte, hat für uns kunstgeschichtliches Interesse als eine Probe der weltliche Musik und eigentlich des dramatischen Kammerstils aus einer in dieser Beziehung von uns gar nicht gekannten Periode.

Alessandro Scarlatti (der Vater des als Klavierkomponist soliderem Liebhabern dieses Instruments wohl bekannten Domenico Scarlatti) war geboren zu Neapel im Jahre 1650, die Komposition studierte er zu Rom bei dem hochberühmten Carissimi. Er selbst wurde nachher der Lehrer eines Leo, Durante, Hasse and anderen großen Meistern. Ein großer Reformator in der Kunst ist er gewissermaßen als dasjenige Glied in der Kette der Wesen anzusehen, das, von der alten Musik zu der--aus der neapolitanischen Schule seiner Zöglinge hervorgegangenen--neuen, den Übergang bildet. Im Genuß einer Achtung, wie wenig Musiker sie selbst erleben, beschoß er seine Bahn in hohem Alter 1725.

Geschichtliches Programm

Wie nötig zur Erhaltung des Gleichgewichtes, des Friedens und der Ruhe in Europa, die Erhaltung des Hauses Habsburg, zumal während der verhängnisvollen, langen Frist jener drei Jahrhunderte gewesen sei, die auf die Reformation gefolgt sind, legt der erst Blick auf das Theater der europäischen Welt unwiderleglich dar. --Das Erlöschen der spanischen und das Erlöschen der deutschen Linie desselben hatte unmittelbar blutige Kriege zur Folge, die von den Niederlanden bis nach Neapel und von Portugal bis nach Polen ganz Europa durchtobten, ja mit ihren Nachwehen die ganz erste Hälfte des XVIII. Jahrhunderts erfüllten (1700-1748).

Philipp der IV., König von Spanien, hatte aus zwei Gemahlinnen vierzehn Prinzen und Prinzessinnen erzeugt und dennoch erlosch der spanische Ast des Kaiserhauses schon mit seinem Sohn Karl dem II. --Zu der deutschen Linie hatten gleichfalls die menschliche Prolabilitätskalküls [?] öfters unglaublich getäuscht. --Aus jener herrlichen Familie Albrecht des I. von zweiundzwanzig Kindern brachte nur ein einziger Prinz seine Herrschaft wieder auf Söhne, und dieser war gerade der von früher Jugend an gichtbrüchige Albrecht der Lahme, der von Johanna von [?] lange Zeit keine Kinder gewann. --Wie schnell war in seinen Urenkeln das ganze Haus wieder auf das einzige teure Haupt Maximilians des I. zusammengestorben, und welches Meer von Gefahren umdrohte nicht dieses teure Haupt zu Wasser und zu Lande, in Krieg und Abenteuern, im Kampf mit wilden Tieren und in der brennenden Pulverkammer wie am schwindelnden Abgrund der Martinsbund!?

Ferdinand der III. und sein Sohn Leopold hatten aus drei Gemahlinnen jener elf, dieser sechzehn Kinder, und mit

Leopolds Sohn Karl dem VI. erlosch der ganze Mannesstamm von Habsburg!

Ein spanischer, ein österreichischer, ein bayerischer Erbfolgekrieg bezeichnen das achtzehnte Jahrhundert. --Die beiden ersten bedrohten die österreichische Monarchie mit gänzlicher Zerstücklung und rissen wirklich wichtige Provinzen, ja ganze Reiche von dem Erbe Karls des V. und Ferdinands des I. ab.

Niemand kann es vernünftigerweise in Zweifel stellen, daß, wäre Karl der V. in der Jugend kinderlos gestorben, sein Bruder Ferdinand der I. Erzherzog von österreich, König von Ungarn und Böhmen, sein natürlicher Nachfolger und Erbe gewesen wäre? --Ebenso aber müßte, nach dem natürlichen Repräsentations- und Erbrecht, als die Linie Karls des V., die spanische, erlosch, ihr die deutsche, oder die Linie Ferdinands des I. in allen spanischen Kronen nachfolgen. --Allein die [?] wollte es anders. Als mit Joseph dem I. so viele herrliche Hoffnungen allzufrüh ins Grab hinunterstiegen und Karl der VI. Spanien verlassen mußte, um die verwaisten Kronen Ungarns und Böhmens und jene des deutschen Reiches auf sein Haupt zu setzen, gingen Spanien und Amerika im Utrechter Frieden verloren, und der Thron Philipps des V. in Madrid war befestigt. --Anschaulicher kann es doch nimmermehr gemacht werden, daß nirgends in der Welt so sehr wie in österreich die Dynastie das einzige Bindungsmittel und Symbol der Einheit unter so vielen Verschiedenheiten, und daß zum mächtigen Bestande und zur Zierde der Monarchie die segensreiche Dauer der herrschenden Dynastie die erste und unerläßlichste Bedingung sei.

Diese große Warheit mußte sich Karl dem VI. und allen seinen Völkern in ihrer ganzen Wichtigkeit aufdringen. --Karl war der letzte Sprosse des Kaiserhauses und bereits seit acht Jahren mit der durch ihre Schönheit und durch ihre Geistesgaben berühmten Prinzessin Elisabeth Christina von Braunschweig-Lüneburg vermählt, ohne daß noch irgendeine Nachkommenschaft aus diesem Ehebund hervorgegangen wäre. --Alles tat bange Blicke in die Zukunft. Es war daher sehr natürlich, daß Karl der VI. sich nicht einmal durch die Schrecknisse der letzten Pest von Wien entfernen ließ, sondern inmitten derselben am 19. April 1719 die Minister und die großen des Reiches in seiner Burg versammelte und das berühmte Staats- und Bundesgesetz der pragmatischen Sanktion gab, welches die Einheit und Unteilbarkeit der Monarchie und die Erstgeburt neuerlich bekräftigend, die Nachfolge gemäß den Hausprivilegien auch auf die weibliche Nachkommenschaft ausdehnte, --Daher war die Trunkenheit des Jubels kein Wunder, welche Wien und alle Provinzen erfüllte,

als die Kaiserin und Königin am 13. April 1716 einem Kronprinzen und Prinzen von Asturien, Leopold gebahr.

Alle Lande schickten Deputationen, schlugen Gedächtnismünzen; überall wurden wochenlange Freudenfeste gefeiert. --Diesem erfreuliche Anlaß entsprang auch die vorliegende Serenata Alessandro Scarlattis, eines in allen Regeln der damaligen Tonkunst höchst berühmten Meisters zu Neapel, aufgeführt im Palast des dortigen Vizekönigs, des Feldmarschalls Graf Daun, Fürsten von Thiano, des berühmten Verteidigers von Turin und Vaters des Siegers von Collin.

Die edelsten Gefühle des Herzens zu segnen ist der Triumph der redenden wie der bildenden Kunst; und in der Stadt, die sich mit Recht die musikalischste in Europa nennen darf und die zugleich seit einem Halben Jahrtausend die Wiege und die Burg der Kaiser ist, mag die Tonkunst keinen höheren Aufschwung und Ausdruck gewinnen, als den Dank für die Erhaltung des kaiserlichen Vaterhauses und die innigsten Segenswünsche für ferne Jahrhunderte aus dem Allerheiligsten des Herzens hervordringen zu lassen.

(Ausgegeben bei Gelegenheit der Auffhrung der hier erwähnten Kantate von der Komposition Alessandro Scarlattis in dem Hause des k.k. Hofrates Raph. Kiesewetter, den 26, Dezember 1825)

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ADDENDA

Mention should be made of several works of scholarship which have either appeared in print or come to my attention too late to be considered in the body of this study. According to Claudio Sartori, a "festa teatrale" by Alessandro Scarlatti entitled *l'Abbandono degli Eroi* was heared in the Palazzo Reale, Naples, in 1684.[1] It is tempting to speculate that it was nothing more than the prologue to Scarlatti's opera *Il Pompeo*, particularly since no reference to such a work has again appeared in the literature. The source of Sartori's information remains unknown.

The circumstances surrounding the performance of Alessandro Stradella's *Il Barcheggio* have recently been clarified by Carolyn Gianturco.[2] A clearer understanding of Cardinal Benedetto Pamphilj's role as a patron in Rome is

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1. Claudio Sartori, "Notizie biografiche," in *Alessandro Scarlatti: Primo e secondo libro di toccate* ed. Ruggero Gerlin (Milan: I Classici musicali italiani X, 1943), p. 134.

2. Carolyn Gianturco, "Music for a Genoese Wedding of 1681," *Music and Letters*, XVII (1982), 31-43.

now possible thanks to Hans Joachim Marx's recent study of the cardinal's account books.[3] Franco Piperno's labors in numerous Roman archives have resulted in a wealth of new information.[4] Finally, Michael Talbot's study of Antonio Vivaldi's serenatas must be singled out as a model of scholarship.[5] Prof. Talbot's detailed study of the serenata in Venice is eagerly awaited.

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3. Hans Joachim Marx, "Die 'Giustificazioni della casa Pamphilj' als Musikgeschichtliche Quelle," *Studi Musicali*, XII (1983), 121-187.

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