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

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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.

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 Principessa 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
19
quelle hore notturne à farsene una panzata.

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

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 Giovedì sera fatta reiterare la serenata, che fù fatta alla Villa Strozzi alle 13. Dame in honor della Principessa di Sonnino havendo S.*ua* Ecc.*ellenza* voluto [?], che si honorino li meriti di quella digniss.*ima*

20

Dama.

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 perciò fù da sua Ecc.*ellenza* presa per la coda havendo lasciato il capo à quella

21

Dama, che ne godette del p.*rimo* fiore.

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.

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

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

Roma, 28 agosto 1677

Il Principe di Pelestrina si stà apparecchiando per domani à sera per fare una serenata à questo Ambasciatore 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

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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.enica notte si incaminò alla volta di Piazza di Spagna per sentire la degna serenata si doveva fare à nome del Principe di Pelestrina all'Ambasciatore 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

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 Cavaglieri, à quali non furono dati generosi

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rinfreschi. [Illustration 2]

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 finalmente mercoledì sera fatta la serenata del Principe di Palestrina 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'Ambasciatore 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 massime ne tempi stravaganti che corrono, ne quali Roma non hà bisogno di Musica ne di
26
canzone.

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. Cleria Colonna, the Princess of Sonnino, born a Cesarini, was married to Filippo Colonna, the younger brother of the Grand Contestabile Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna.

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

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

28. [Abbé de Pagean], *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

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 François" 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

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

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 Ambasciatore Cattolico per il giorno natalizio della Regina madre di Spagna 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
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alcuni Titulari, e Dame che furono a sentirla.

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

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 Cappella in S. Luigi de francesi.

Portando il nome di detto Santo la Regina sposa di Spagn.a L'Ambasciatore Cattolico fece la sera seguente 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 Medesima Regina, et in Cima una gran Corona tutta illuminata, et in detta ringhiera fu bellissimo Concerto di Sinfonie con 60 Instrumenti et cantate varie ariette di dea Fama Pace, e fiume Tebro in lode della medesima Regina con grandissimo concorso di Popolo, Nobiltà, e Dame alla quale si diede pretiosi rinfreschi oltre il banchetto dato la mattina a gran numero di Prelati, e Cavalieri . .

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. [Illustration 4]

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

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

78. Fr. José M. Pou y Martí, *Archivo de la Embajada de España . . . Índice Analítico 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 necessità, 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 remittente, 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.*ellentissimo* 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]~~-derabile, 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 concerto 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 Mirabile 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

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spettatori giubilo universale.

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

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

(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'Eminentissimo d'etre per la recup.erata salute del Re [?] fece fare con sontuoso apparato pitturesco et elogi; adornare la facceata della Chiesa della Trinita de Monti et la sera bellissime Girandole e fuochi artificciati con fontane di vini con Intervento di questa Nobiltà sopra Palchi con splendidissimi rinfreschi et a sentire una bellissima serenata nella Piazza Farnesiana con altri fuoghi e torce alle fenestre come anco hanno fatto altri S.ignori
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affetionati a quella Corona . . .

[Illustration 7]

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

Illustration 7

Avviso di Roma dated April 26, 1687

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

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} Ambasciatore 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

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Nobiltà e Popolo[.] [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 *palchi* 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

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

Illustration B

Avviso di Roma dated August 30, 1687

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

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 ViceRè ad
Instigazione 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

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

207. Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti*, pp. 24, 35-36, 108, 239-41.

208. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 194, fol. 189r.

and to hear music, and to go talk to any body that
one is acquainted with, with all the freedom in

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the world.

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

Lunedì sera fù cantata nel Cortile del Principe Borghese bella serenata fatta alla Principessa di

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Rosano.

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] . . .

275. [Mary Berry], *Some Account of the Life of Rachel Wriothesley, Lady Russel* (London: Longman, Hurst, et al., 1817), 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 Cardinale di Buglione diede
Cena alla Regia alla Sig.nora sposa
Contestabilessa 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
Apostolil]. 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 medesima sera [lunedì] dal
Duca Bonelli data una serenata alla Principessa di
Rosano, che la fecero cantare sopra le rimesse,
per verso la Piazza [de' Santi Apostolil],
Aspettavasi sentire qualche buona festa, che la
medesima 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

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'improvviso 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 increase 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, lunedì 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* Buglione 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

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

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Grandiss.imo concorso di Popolo.

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
281
Filippo remarried, 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

280. *Ibid.*, fol. 73v.

281. Confuorto, *Giornali*, II, 286.

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 mercoledì 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
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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.]

Lunedì le monache di S.^{anta} Marta fecero fra
loro una rappresentatione 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.

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

Martedì sera Il Marchese Maccarani volse fare sentire una serenata alla Regina di Polonia, con haverla fatta cantare nel Cortile del Palazzo di Don Livio, benché vi Cantasse Faostina con altra femmina, riuscì poco buona, e con meno

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acclamazione.

[*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

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palace.

[*Ibid.*]

Madama la Principessa 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 bonissimo Concerto di strumenti Una bella

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'Archietti, 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 furono 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 Principe di Belvedere

294. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. fols. 178v-179r.

la Qual serenata Il detto Duca Bonelli la fece cantare Domenica sera alla Principessa 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

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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 settimana, Cioè la Domenica et Il Giovedì la sera Madama la Principessa Orsini tiene in sua Casa la *Conversazione*, e vanno spesso à favorirla questi Signori Ambasciatori Regij, quello di Francia non vi manca mai, vi è trattenimento, e di Musici, e di

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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.

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 Principessa di Palestrina ne diede Una à Madama la Principessa Orsini, e la fece Cantare nel Cortile del Palazzo di detta Madama, Altra se ne senti alla Trinità de Monti fatta cantare dal Principe Tassi, fù cantata da quattro Canterine due stavano in Casa, Altre due in strada in Carozza, che si rispondevano, vi si senti; nuova Canterina fiorentina figlia della Calcagninaia, e questa, e l'Altre si portano bene, che ne riceverno buono

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Aplauso[.]

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 lunedì stata a sentire una Rappresentatione in Comedia dalle monache di Santa Marta, ove furono

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date copiosi rinfreschi . . .

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

297. *Ibid.*, fols. 186v-187r.

298. I Rn, MS. 789, fol. 404r-v.

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'Ambasciatrice di Spagna col seguito di molte
Dame Romane, e Forastiere per godere il
divertimento delle Commedie, che vi si

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recitano.

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 ³⁰⁵Pagano and ³⁰⁶Bianconi 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 dell] 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

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.*ior* Domo Colonna, Mercoledì 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 stiacchia, due, ò tre che non ebbero 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.*isa*

serenata, ed alli Sig.nori Card.inali Ottoboni, et Homodei introdotta una Virtuosa Canterina il tutto per divertire l'Em.inentissimo 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.inentissimi 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.ia 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 Aceditor della

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Camera che ne era questo 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

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 fa 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 Prencipe se
310
n'havesse à ritrovare aggravato.

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 fu fatta una bellissima serenata con grandissimo Concorso di Popolo; che li fu data da più Sig.nori Caval.ieri
311
Francesi[.]

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

310. *Ibid.*, fols. 295v-296r.

311. *Ibid.*, fol. 300r.

accomplished females sing with various instruments.

22 settembre 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 vari;

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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

Martedì sera Il Sig.nor Card.inale Ottoboni nel Palazetto de Se.renissimi di Parma diede una bella serenata a più Dame e Caval.ieri fra queste vi furono 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

312. *Ibid.*, fol. 4v.

313. *Ibid.*, fol. 305r.

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

321

lingua francese.

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

322

Queen of the Romans by giving a fine party at

323

his palace, 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.

Giovedì sera la Sig.nora Ambasciatrice di
Germania volse solennizzare Il Comple Annos, della
Reg.ina de Romani con fare una bella Festa al suo
palazzo, la quale principiò con una bella Cantata

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 . .
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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 trattenero 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 (*conversazioni*) . . .

324. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 196, fol. 346r-v.

325. *Ibid.*, fol. 346v.

Restorno terminati martedì notte li spassi
Carnovaleschi, essendovi state Comedie in
quantità, oltre quella tutta in musica fattasi
fare dal S.ignor Card.inale Ottoboni nel Collegio
Nazareno, ne hà fatta similme.ente rapresentare
altra pure in musica Il S.ignore Principe Tassi al
suo Casino alla Trinità de Monti, ove vi hanno
Cantato le sue Canterine, riuscita assai bona le
Parole del S.ignor Abb.ate 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
326
Ballo, con moltiss.ime Conversat.ioni . . .

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'Eccellentissimo Sig.

326. *Ibid.*, fol. 358v.

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 Ambasciatore di Spagna v`a preparando grand' Alestimento, per fare feste di allegrezze per Il nuovo Rè Filippo V.^o, e si dar`a principio queste feste il p.rimo maggio, Giorno Natalio, e Nome di S.^{ua} M.^aesta Cattolica, E si `e per credere, che dette feste siano per essere

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grandiose . . .

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 Sabato 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

330. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 196, fol. 381v.

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 solennizzare 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, lautissima Cena a Dame, e Caval. *ieri* levatosi della Tavola, ando à terminare quella notte in un
336
festino di Ballo, che duro sino all'Alba.

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

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 grandissima quiete Il Principe Tassi Il suo ben' accomodato Casino alla Trinità de Monti, e per suo maggior divertimento spesso la sera vi fa cantare dalle sue Canterine delle serenate con buon Concerto di strumenti, ove vi concorre molta nobiltà, si di Dame, che di Cavalieri[.]

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 Marchese Dufrano napoletano nel suo Casino, e Giardino alla Trinità de Monti contiguo à quello del Principe Tassi fece cantare la Virtuosa Mamfredi, accompagnata da buon

337. *Ibid.*, fols. 403v-404r.

concerto di strumenti, et à prendere il fresco la
medesima sera vi concorsero buon numero di
Carrozze di Dame, e Cavalieri, nella cui
occasione il detto Marchese si mostra Generoso
338
in fare distribuire quantità d'Acque Gelate.

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 Marchese 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 Signore 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 benissimo; Vi fù à sentire molte Principe, e Dame, fra le quali vi occorono la Contestabilessa Colonna, Duchessa di Poli, e Duchessa di Sora, e vi saria stato maggiore Il Concorso, se fusse stata cantata per avanti, mà il Cantarsi à ore sei
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della notte, causò, che molti se ne andorno[.]

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 Corrente 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 Martedì sera assai bene, e si sono fatte buone Conversat.ioni di Cenare all'Aria la notte . .

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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.

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 Principe Tassi ove vi si faceva radunanza d'ogni sorte di gente, con l'occasione di sentirvi cantare le sue Canterine, e di più Il Marchese Dufrano [?] Casino contiguo sotto la protezione di d.etto Principe, vi seguivano belle Conversazioni, e non poche potenze, oltre li accidenti occorsivi, già accennati, d.etto Marchese fece sfregiare una Donna, Che fattosene negotio con l'Ambasciatore di Spagna, che si saria venuto in fine alle dovute risoluzioni. Per ordine di Sua Eccellenza Il Marchese Dufrano in pochi giorni sfrattò di quà, Il Principe Tassi non solo non vi fà Cantare serenate, mà ha licenziato le Canterine, li sonatori, e Tutti, Tanto più anco che d.etto Ambasciatore si è dichiarato poco sodisfatto, della meno accuratezza, e attenzione hebbe il d.etto Principe la Notte seguì l'accidente del Cavaliere Giustiniani, con Il suo Cavalerizo

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magg.ioref.]

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

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 Marchese 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 faceva dare dalla servitù l'Eccellenza, Per non venire à risolutioni strane, ne fù parlato all'Ambasciatore di Spagna si dell' Uno che dell' Altro, oltre che un Servitore Dufrano haveva sfregiata una Puttanella, Al detto Marchese 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 sonatori 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*.

342. *Ibid.*, fol. 422r-v.

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 Pasqualini 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 lunedì sera nella ringhiera del suo palazzo fece cantare a due Pasqualini una serenata, che hebbe buono applauso dal Gran concorso di Popolo vi fù; detta 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 .

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. . .

Valesio reports that five days later Don Livio Odescalchi wished to give another public serenata. On this occasion, however, it was given privately indoors:

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 principe 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 pubbliche per ovviare alli sconcerti che sogliono partorire onde fu poi fatta

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nelle stanze del medesimo palazzo.

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

349. Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, I, 486.

e fù fatta replicare lunedì sera, ove vi fù un grandissimo concorso di Principesse e Dame, con tutta la Nobiltà di Roma, non vi mancò chi dicesse, essere state l'Essequie fattesi da Spagnoli à Francesi restati ultimamente nel

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Conflito seguito in Lombardia[.]

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

Mercordì 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'Ambasciatrice Cesarea nel suo Cortile Compositione di Giuseppe della Porta suo Virtuoso,

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quale riuscì assai meglio della sud.detta[.]

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.

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 furono le Conversazioni furono fatte nella medesima sera, Una dalla Sig.nora Amb.asciatrice Ces. area di una bella Cantata . . . Altra Conversazione fù tenuta dalla Principessa di Forano Strozzi di Canto, ove vi furono sopra 20 Dame, quantità di Prelati, e Cavalieri, e vi cantò

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anco la medesima Principessa.

352. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 196, fols. 464v-465r.

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

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 medesima sera dal Sig.nore Card.inale
Ottoboni fù fatta la solita Accademia con
Nobilissima Audienza, e vi furono avanti cantate
due delle primi Lamentationi dell' settimana
tradotte in Volgare, le parole di Sua Em.inenza,
la musica di Scarlatti, con un superbissimo
concerto di Bassi, contrabassi, Virole, e Violini
composit.ione di Arcangelo, e poscia vi furono
recitate bene Poetiche compositioni da Varij
357
Virtuosi[.]

A set of lamentations for Holy Week by Alessandro
Scarlatti is extant, but it is a setting of the Latin
358
text. 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

357. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 196, fol. 490r.

358. Giancarlo Rostirolla, "Catalogo generale delle opere di
Alessandro Scarlatti," in Pagano, *Scarlatti*, pp. 524-25.

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.archese 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.enissimo Principe di Toscana nel pros.simo Autunnof.]

Vi devono essere stretti trattati di matrimonio tra la Canterina Mignatta, et il Fortuni; maestro
371
di Casa del Sig.nore Contes.tabile Colonna.

371. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 196, fol. 523r.

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.^{no}re Principe D. Livio hà versam.ente accomodato con tutta lindura e ricchezza 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, lunedì sera ne fece Una, ove vi fù à favorirlo il Sig.^{no}re Card.inale Grimani, e Sig.^{no}re Amb.asciadore Ces.areo e molti

377

Altri Sig.^{no}ri[.]

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 grandissima solennità il giorno di Venerdì nel Cortile della Sapienza tutto benissimo apparato vi fu adottorato un nipote di Monsignore Paraviani, con havere sostenuta Conclusione dedicata à Sua Santità, per cui vi fu ad assistere Il Signore Cardinale Carlo Barberini, e vi furono à favorire ventidue Signori Eminentissimi, e quasi tutta la Prelatura, che per lo più questi stavano sopra nelli Loggioni, e vi furono Zinfonie, e Cantate sopra ben disposto palco, ridotto il detto 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.

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.
Crazio 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 Conclusionone, 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.

379. *Ibid.*, fol. 534v.

380. *Ibid.*, fol. 536r.

Roma, 12 settembre 1702

. . . Card.inale Arquien Padre della Regina di Polonia, che li venivano da Francia hà risoluto fare in sua Casa più riforme di spesa superflue, con havere fra queste, riformato la Provis.ione

381

à Musici.

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

Martedì sera dal Sig.nore Principe D.on Livio Odescalchi, nella ringhiera del Palazzo ove abita a S.anti Apostoli fu a sentirla nel salone col il S.ignore Card.inale suo Padre, Dame e Sig.nori, che godendosi per fuori à piazza vi furono quantita di Carozze con Principesse, Dame, e Caval.ieri, e

382

gran Popolo d'ogni genere[.]

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

Giovedì sera la Sig.nora Duchessa di Zagarola fece cantare nel Giardino del suo Palazzo à Montecavallo una bona serenata à S.ignori

381. *Ibid.*, fol. 538v.

382. *Ibid.*, fol. 542r.

Principi Giustiniani, ove vi intervennero anco
molti S.ignori Cardinali 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

Martedì, e Venerdì nel Seminario romano fù da quei seminaristi rappresentata Virtuosa Comedia dedicata a S.*ua* S.*antita*, con intermedi; in musica rappresentanti in Versi latini la passione di Nostro Sig.*nore* Gesu Christo. Il tutto ben disposto con boniss.*imo* Concerto di strumenti, vi furono à tempo boni ballatti, e vaghe Comparsæ; 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 . . .

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
385
passò discorsi . . .

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 *Virtutus triumphus in soleenni 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
386
spent about three thousand *scudi* on this event.

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

385. *Ibid.*, fol. 546v.

386. Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, II, 231-33.

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 exquisite 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 furono 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 Principesse, Dame, e Caval.*ieri* à quali abundantem.*ente* furono 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
395
dispensando.

Through the influence of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, Alessandro Scarlatti was appointed *coadjutore* or assistant to Giovanni Bicille, the *maestro di cappella* of the Oratorio

395. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fols. 24v-25r.

Roma 24 maggio 1703

La med.*esima* sera dal Sig.*nora* March.*ese* Riccardi in sua Casa fù convita Conversat.*ione* di musica, e sonatori, con un tavolino d'Ombre, ove fù la Sig.*nora* Paolina moglie incognita dell'Amb.*asciatore* Veneto, con altre due dame la M.*archesa* Riccardi, e de Angelis, con li loro mariti li Emn.*inentissimi* Ottoboni, Rubini, D.

400

Ant.*onio* Ottoboni, et altri Sig.*nori*.

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 Prencipessa di Forano, in cui l'Istessa

401

Prencipessa vi cantò un'arietta.

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:

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., Ninal, 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 mercoledì sera fece fare la Regina di Polonia [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.æstà Sua regalarono di frutti, e confettura Le Prencipesse, 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] belcw 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.

402. D Mbs. Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 81r-v.

Roma 14 agosto 1703

Giovedì verso le 3. della notte
dall'Eminentissimo Ottoboni fece spiegare in
parte delle sue grandezze con fare una serenata
per servizio di questa Regina sotto il suo Palazzo
alla Trinità de Monti, e si vide detta Regina
complimentata da tre porporati
cioè L'Eminentissimo di Janson S. Croce, et
Ottoboni, che riuscì famosamente e concorse quasi
tutta questa nobiltà, e L'Ambasciatore, et
403
Ambasciatrice privatamente[.]

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. 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 medesima serenata che fece fare il Signore
Cardinale Ottoboni fu fatta in Casa d'un
Cameriere del Signore Marchese Ruspoli in faccia
405
al Palazzo di detto San Marche . . .

Nine days later the customary flooding of the Piazza
Navona took place, an account of which also mentions the

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 detta Piazza vi fù la regina con l'Em.inentissimo d'Archien suo Padre, à quali dalla solita generosità del Principe Pamphilj fù dato prelibatissimo 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 Pamfilij. Al Palazzo de Cupis ove abita Monsig.nore Molines, alla ringhiera vi furno l'Ambasciatore, et Ambasciatrice di Spagna, quelli di Venezia con la Marchesa Riccardi alla ringhiera di Monsieur Marco Mercante.

La medesima sera alla Trinità de Monti alla
solita ringhiera la regina vi fece cantare la
406
serenata . . .

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],
407

a castrato in Her Majesty's service. 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 v`a 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

406. *Ibid.*, fols. 87v-88r.

407. Cf. Kirkendale, *Antonio Caldara*, p. 351.

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

429. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 129v.

430. *Ibid.*, fol. 134r.

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 martedì sera dal S.ignore Amb. asciatore di Venezia ove fù bone Cantate, e

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
434

Ballo sino à giorno.

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*
435
of Francesco Valesio. 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

434. *Ibid.*, fol. 141r.

435. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 37.

Em.inentissimi, e l'Amb.asciatore di Venezia,
oltre l'esservi stato un grandissimo concorso di
436
Popoli[.]

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
437
Aracoeli. 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:

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 Giovedì 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 otto Sig.nori Card.inali, e molti
438
Prelati[.]

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
439
held in a sumptuously decorated hall at the Campidoglio. 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

438. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 157v.

439. *Ibid.*, fol. 166r. Cf. Kirkendale, *Antonio Caldara*, pp. 56-57.

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.

441. Marx, "Die Musik am Hofe Kardinal Ottobonis," p. 159, no. [80].

Roma, 3 giugno 1704

Mercoledì 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.ªa San.tita vi mando t.utta la Camera secreta, Vi fù difficoltà 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, Bottigliera 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 lautissima 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.

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
Giovedì 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 Operationsi di Esserciti; Cavallereschi[.]
Vi furono à favore di li Sig.nori Card.inali
Carpigna, Pamfili; Ottoboni, Rubini, e
Pignatelli, molti Prelati, e Nobiloni con essere
state date da med.esimi Sig.nori le dovute lodi et
443
Aplausi[.]

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
444
at Versailles. 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

443. *Ibid.*, fol. 183r-v.

444. *Mémoires du Duc de Saint-Simon* (Paris: Hachette, 1873),
IV, 119.

à cause de la magnificence avec laquelle toutes
sortes de personnes furent regalées au Palais du
Cardinal de Janson, & à celui 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 personnes 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 Lunedì di giorno 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

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il Concorso delle [dame] . . .

This same *avviso* reports that the French Ambassador also
presented a serenata the following evening:

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 quantità grande d'Istrumenti e per 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] Pamphil; 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

446. *Ibid.*, fol. 186r-v.

sostenevano dodici torcie. Vi fu gran popolo ad udirla e molta nobiltà nelle carrozze, alla quale l'ambasciatore mandò copiosi rinfreschi. Incominciò dopo le campane con un concerto di boè: consisté in due voci, poiché il musico del cardinale della Grange, dopo haveva presa la parte, la rimandò, 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

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sbocca nella piazza di S. Lorenzo.

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 Pprncipe di Valmontone Pamfili; 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

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
454
furno cantate più Ariette[.]

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 lesquels estoient les Musiciens, qui chanterent des Vers à la louanges 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)

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 Amb.asciatrice quale fù cantata da tre buone Cantarine, e riuscì tanto bene, che fù replicata lunedì sera avanti Il Palazzo del Sig.nore

Cardinale D. Janson, e si la prima sera, che la
seconda Il Concorso del Popolo d'ogni Genere vi fu
455
numeros.issimof.]

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

455. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 195r.

MDCCIV./Per Giuseppe de Martijs, nella Stamperia di
458
Gio. Francesco Chracas./Con licenza de' Superiori

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

Mercoledì 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 favore di sentirla più
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Signori Palatini.

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:

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.

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, Comedie, 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)

462. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 241r.

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

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

Giovedì sera nel Palazzo di Cancelleria dal Cardinale Ottoboni fu fatto cantare un bono Oratorio, la composizione delle Parole di Sua Eminenza, della musica di Scarlatti, Vi furono li Signori Cardinali Rubini, Pamfili, Pignatelli, e molti Prelati, li Ambasciatori di Venezia, di Bologna, Marchese Riccardi, con le loro Signore Consorti, con altre Dame e Cavalieri, ove vi

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furono dispensati rinfreschi d'ogni genere.

Fu tanto applaudito l'Oratorio, che fece cantare il Signore Cardinale Ottoboni nel suo Palazzo del Cancelleria Giovedì sera, Che fu costretto alla persuasiva di più Signori, e per farlo sentire in publico, come bellissima sua composizione, nell'Oratorio de Padri della Chiesa Nuova Domenica sera, ove vi fu nobilissima Udienza, et à Soliti Coretti vi furono numeri dodici Signori Eminentissimi, e due Ambasciatori il Cesareo, et il Veneto. Questo se ne attende sentire altro, composizione del

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Signore Cardinale 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

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 XII] 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

Bellissimo Oratorio fece cantare Sabato sera il Sig. nore Cardinale Pamfili, 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 Sua 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 Cardinale Ottoboni, l'Uditorio fù numeroso e di Signori Cardinali, Ambasciatori, Fratelli, e Nipoti del Papa, molti Prelati, Principi, et altri Signori, E' dato fuori in stampa dedicato à Suor Maria Clemente nipote di Sua Santita Monaca nelle Barberine. Domenica sera fù replicato alla Chiesa

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Nuova[.] [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 . . .

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
Pamfili; fece cantare il suo Oratorio nel Collegio
Clementino, Vi fù nobiliss.imo Uditorio . . .
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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, 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, 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 Mūs, MS. 3860.

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
481
serenata.

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:

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 Eminence, 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.*inale* Omodei à Cantare alcune Ariette, doppo andorno à terminare con la Canzoa la Birba, si senti un poco toccar una finestra, domandorno rinfreschi, non ne fù fatto altro, la mattina doppo furno da S.*ua* Em.*inenza* li mariti delle med.*esime* 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
482
sarian gustati[.]

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

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'Adacquamento, et il sabato notte sotto Pamfili; più in mezz'all'Acqua vi fù cantata da Femmine una Serenata Accompagnata da quantità di

483

Vari; strumenti[.]

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 MonSignore Corsini Tesoriere lunedì sera al suo Palazzo detto Bella Vista fuori di Porta San Pancratio, Con numeroso concerto di strumenti vi fù una Cantata à forma di serenata, con doppio lautissima Cena à suoi stretti parenti, numeratovi dieci dame e quattordici Signori[.] Il tutto in onore della Signora Figlia del Signore Giovanni Battista Altoviti sposa, del Signore

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Marcchese Bartolomeo Corsini suo Nipote[.]

The performance of these and other serenatas is recorded by Francesco Valesio as follows:

483. *Ibid.*, fol. 295v.

484. *Ibid.*, fol. 305v.

countryside. Little is known about the music heard during this season of the *villeggiatura*, 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 Conversazioni 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 lautissimi Pasti, à favorire vi sono stati Dame, e Cavalieri, vi si portò il Sig.nore D. Girolamo Pamfili; con la sua Sig.nora
494
sposa . . .

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

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 per le gran
Pioggie hanno abbandonato 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
Conversationsi 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 Villegianti si fece convitare, ma da
tutti quei luochi circonvicini, e Dame, e
Caval.ieri come ancora vi furno à favorirlo da

495

Roma più Carozzate di Dame, e Caval.ieri.

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.

495. *Ibid.*, fol. 324r.

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
497
MDCCV./PAROLE/DI SILVIO STAMPIGLIA/ . . .

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: cò:/Strumenti/Da Cantarsi nel Palazzo
Apostol:ò/Per la Notte di Natale di N. S./L'Anno
498
1705/Musica/Del Sig: Alessandro Scarlatti

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

497. I Rc, Miscell. Dramm. A. 26/13.

498. D Müs, MS. 3926.

arapparechi [sic] per la Cena di quella notte per
li Eminentissimi Cardinali, quali furono 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
500
1707, 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.

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[.]

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 ia
Città tutta si stà moscie, e con una grandiss.ima
Malinconia[.]

Il 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

502

Magniamenti[.]

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 personnes 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

502. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 340v.

Bracciano et a Palo, dove paserà il carnevale con
504
comedie et altre ricreazioni.

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 Marchese Ruspoli ha dato à Cerveteri suo
luogo, con havere 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 Principe di Valmontone con
la sua Sig.nora Consorte, come anco il Duca di
505
Acquasparta, et altri Sig.nori[.]

The household account books of Francesco Maria Ruspoli
506
for the period 1706-1718 are extant, and those for the
period 1708-1718 have been studied in detail by Ursula
507
Kirkendale and Franco Piperno. In the hope that new light
might be shed on the activities of Alessandro Scarlatti, the

504. Valesio, *Diario*, III, 550.

505. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 352v.

506. In the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Fondo Ruspoli, Filze
delle Giustificazioni 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 gaspariniana (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 | \
A 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

<div style="text-align: right; padding-right: 10px;">1.25</div> [No bill found] | |
| 60 | Pagati al S.re Mazarini per suo rimborso per
nota come fogl

<div style="text-align: right; padding-right: 10px;">5.60</div> [Bill]
A di 29: Gen:o 1706/spese fatte da Mazzarini per
l'Ill.mo/S. Marchese Pròn/ . . . /
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 lunedì 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 mercoledì tutti assieme fecero ritorno

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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

508. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 355v.

cardinali et il gran priore di Vandomo, ma né gli
uni né l'altro v'intervennero per cagione di
523
precedenza.

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 solenizzata

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 Vari; strumenti, e per due sere per quelle contigue Contrade vi fù fatta bella luminaria, e con vari; fuochi Artifitiati, che vi fù gran concorso di

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Popolo, e passeggio di Carrozze . . .

It has been suggested that the music heard at this celebration a year later in 1707 was provided by the young George Frederick Handel. 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.

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'aitri due cardinali veneti Rubini e Priolo, ma in darno, non essendo il detto

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cardinale giunto quella notte in Roma.

Saturday, August 14, 1706

This evening the Prince of Valmonte Pamphil; 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

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Navona una nobile serenata con gran concorso.

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

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 Marcese Ruspoli, del che molto ne ha fatto fare doglienze con il medesimo Il suo Zio Cardinale 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
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materie da incontrare Impegni[.]

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 Eccellentissimo
Signore/D. FRANCESCO CESI,/Poesia di Magno de'
Magistris Anagnino./Musica del Sig. Gregorio Cola

528. D Mbs, Cod. Ital. 197, fol. 421v.

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 Preußischer 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.

530. D MÜs, MS. 3896 and A Wn, MS. 17530.

531. Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti*, p. 212.