

The Theater of Piety: Sacred Operas for the Barberini Family (Rome, 1632-1643)

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Abstract

Virginia Christy Lamothe: “The Theater of Piety: Sacred Operas for the Barberini Family (Rome, 1632-1643)”
(Under the direction of Tim Carter)

In a time of religious war, plague, and reformation, Pope Urban VIII and his cardinal-nephews Antonio and Francesco Barberini sought to establish the authority of the Catholic Church by inspiring audiences of Rome with visions of the heroic deeds of saints. One way in which they did this was by commissioning operas based on the lives of saints from the poet Giulio Rospigliosi (later Pope Clement IX), and papal musicians Stefano Landi and Virgilio Mazzocchi. Aside from the merit of providing an in-depth look at four of these little-known works, *Sant’Alessio* (1632, 1634), *Santi Didimo e Teodora* (1635), *San Bonifatio* (1638), and *Sant’Eustachio* (1643), this dissertation also discusses how these operas reveal changing ideas of faith, civic pride, death and salvation, education, and the role of women during the first half of the seventeenth century. The analysis of the music and the drama stems from studies of the surviving manuscript scores, libretti, payment records and letters about the first performances. This dissertation also provides a discussion of the religious culture in which these operas took place by examining other contemporary primary sources such as sermons, histories of saints’ lives, spiritual exercises, Jesuit school plays, books of manners and social decorum, and accounts of festivals held in Rome during the papacy of Pope Urban VIII.

Dedication

To Peter, whose love and support mean so much to me.

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Introduction

On Monday, 23 February 1632, at the height of Carnival celebrations, a young man in a mask wound his way up the Quirinal hill from the busy Via del Corso where he had been laughing and throwing eggs at the passing carriages. This young man, the scholar and memorialist from Paris, Jean-Jacques Bouchard (1606-1641), was eager to see the new production of a drama in music commissioned by Francesco Barberini, the wealthy and powerful *nipote* of the reigning Pope Urban VIII, Maffeo Barberini (r. 1623-1644). Although Francesco, as the right-hand man of the Pope, resided at the Cancelleria, or Palace of the Vatican Chancellery, his family was busy restoring and making additions to a new palace at the Piazza delle Quattro Fontane. The north wing of this latter palace, once belonging to the Sforza family of Milan, had been remodeled and taken over by Francesco's brother, Taddeo, the Prince of Palestrina, and his wife and two children. The new south wing was occupied by Francesco's younger brother, Cardinal Antonio Barberini.¹ Bouchard noticed a large amount of dust and scaffolding as he made his way up the palace's central, exposed stairwell. It was going to be much larger and more grandiose than the other palace in which the Barberinis had lived near the markets of the Giubbonari. Earlier that week, Bouchard had come to the grand *salone* to pay his respects to the wife of Taddeo, Anna Colonna Barberini, and had seen the painter Pietro da Cortona sit high up on the scaffolding working on a large fresco of ripe vines,

¹ For more information about the Barberini palaces, and the construction of this palace in particular, see Patricia Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces: the Use and the Art of the Plan* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990), 128-290.

voluptuous women, and, of course, the Barberini bees receiving the triple crown and set among the stars of the zodiac.

Bouchard was not the only one who wandered the hallways of the palace under the eyes of those proud bees. Giulio Rospigliosi, a prelate and the court secretary, had many cares on his mind that night. He had been asked to write a libretto for this entertainment, and, as the secretary of Congregation of Rites, he was well acquainted with the lives of many saints, but most recently those who were special to the city of Rome. Saint Alexis had been chosen for a reason. His story was, like that of many other saints, one of faith, steadfastness, and sacrifice, but also one of return. Cardinal Francesco had been in contact with prelates within the Church and with his missionaries in Greece and in the Middle East in the hope that the Eastern and Western Churches might once again become one.² He had also continued the efforts initiated under Pope Gregory XIII (r. 1572-1585) to support the College in Lebanon to convert the Maronite people.³ The Thirty Years War, one of the most widespread and devastating religious wars Europe had ever endured, was also raging at its peak in the North. The Catholic rulers of northern Europe faced heavy pressure to yield to the Protestant forces. Francesco sought not only to re-unite the Eastern and Western Churches, but also to unify the one True Faith in the face of Protestant opposition. Surely, Rospigliosi could not help but wonder if this story about a saint who voyaged to the east but finally returned to his home in Rome, where he remained steadfast in his faith, would reach the ears of its hearers. The German prince Ulrich von Eggenberg was to be an esteemed

² One example can be found in a letter from Francesco Barberini to Francesco Ingoli, Secretary of the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (*I-Rvat*) Barb. lat. 6442, where he asks about the welfare of the priests and missionaries there.

³ Peter Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome: Barberini Cultural Politics* (Boston: Brill, 2006), 301.

guest at this performance, and as the advisor and ambassador to the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, he needed more than anyone to hear this opera's message of steadfastness and return. Rospigliosi may have turned his gaze to the golden bees that hovered on the ceiling, which did not just represent the Barberini but had long been a symbol of Christian unity.⁴ He must have wondered whether the wonderful scenes, superb players, and the music would move the audience. Or would the machines for the *deus ex machina* creak and groan until they came crashing down?

Often in times of turmoil, national or religious leaders will support artworks that act as a type of propaganda to define and promote their ideals while gathering their supporters. One example can be found in the religious operas produced by the households of Cardinals Francesco and Antonio Barberini, the nephews of reigning Pope Urban VIII during the Thirty Years War. Pope Urban VIII followed in the footsteps of those who had held the seat before him by continuing efforts to revitalize Rome as the center not only of the Catholic world, but also of arts and learning. As the *nipote*, and the Pope's leading diplomat as a legate to France and other Catholic countries, Cardinal Francesco Barberini sought to promote his uncle's interests in revitalizing the Catholic Church in the face of a growing Protestant opposition in the north. Like contemporary artworks and sermons, dramas in Rome often took stories of the lives of saints as their subjects in order to inspire their audience members to lives of piety through faith and good deeds. Of the eight full-length operas with libretti written by Giulio Rospigliosi produced for the Barberini court between 1632 and 1644, the year the Barberini family was forced to flee under the hostile rule of the new pope, Innocent X, five take their subjects from the lives of saints. The saints chosen for these operas were by no means

⁴ George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), 5.

random, but, rather, reflected specific interests of the Church, especially in terms of a desperate need for unilateral orthodoxy of belief and sovereignty. In July 1624, Francesco Barberini formed his own circle of literary, artistic, and theological minds: the *Accademia de' Virtuosi*. From 1624 until 1632, this group discussed, among other topics, the value of poetry and music. One of its members was Giulio Rospigliosi, later Pope Clement IX, whom Francesco had known from his studies at the University of Pisa between 1620 and 1623. Rospigliosi acted as a secretary to Francesco's household while at the same time fulfilling his duties as a papal nuncio to Spain.

Giulio Rospigliosi wrote all of the libretti for these Barberini operas. Rospigliosi is not regarded as a master poet of the seventeenth century, and, in fact, most of these operas are little known outside of the field of musicology. While Rospigliosi's poetry is not exemplary in terms of dramatic content or imagery, it does offer a view of the demand for orthodoxy of belief in the Catholic Church during a time of war and reformation. Each of these stories of the saints in these operas—Alessio (Alexis), Didimo and Theodora (Didimus and Theodora of Alexandria), Bonifatio (Boniface the Martyr), Genoina (Genevieve of Brabant), and Eustachio (Eustace)—commands both the saint on stage and the audience to look first to the Church for divine aid and not rely on their own inclinations. These operas were witnessed by diplomats and rulers from Catholic German states who had, since the autumn of 1631, seen their military campaigns take a turn for the worse. They were also seen by rulers of Poland who were considering the appeal of an alliance with Protestant states, as well as by delegates from France who had already joined forces with the Protestants, despite their Catholic heritage, in order to protect their borders with the German states to the east, to preserve their economic interests in the Low Countries, and to prevent

the continuous rise of power of the Habsburg line. The central message of each of these operas reminded not only these guests, to whom the performances were dedicated, but also many others who witnessed them in a time of war, plague, and reformation, to remain steadfast and loyal under the Church's sovereignty.

Pope Urban VIII, and more importantly, his three nephews Francesco, Antonio, and Taddeo Barberini, were the patrons of fourteen operas, all performed within the various palaces of Barberini residence between 1625 and 1668 (see Table 0.1).⁵ Five of these operas took their themes from the lives of saints, whereas the others drew from writers such as Ariosto (*Il palazzo incantato*), Bocaccio (*Chi soffre speri*), and Tasso (*Erminia sul Giordano*). Each of the five saint operas contains elements that the other Rospigliosi operas do not emphasize, including asceticism and constancy. Each of the saints represented – Alessio, Didimo, Teodora, Bonifatio, Genoina, and Eustachio – go through a process of accepting the need to reject the “things of this world” outlined by Thomas Aquinas in his *Summa theologica*, including wealth, worldly honors, and carnal pleasures.⁶ This dissertation focuses on the operas based on the lives of saints for three important reasons. First, these operas, more than the ones based on popular literature, have messages which urge their audience members to focus on the church and its leaders, and to serve the church as a member of the “Church Militant.” Second, these operas give a greater picture of specific religious ideas held by members of the Catholic faith and advocated by the papacy during the Thirty Years War. These religious ideas, which will be explored in more detail in the following chapters, include the formation of a “Christian Republic,” notions of martyrdom,

⁵ The only opera for which Urban VIII is the patron was *La vittoria del principe Vladislao in Valacchia* of 1625.

⁶ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, I-II, Q.CVIII, art. iv.

the influence of evil and deception, and the religious roles and spiritual capabilities of women. Third, the saints chosen to be represented in these operas give insight into a specific agenda of Francesco Barberini and the papacy to unite all branches of the Catholic faith, and not just those warring in the North but also those in the Orthodox faith of the Middle East. Rospigliosi created a framework for a larger, propagandist message in which the power of temptation to give in to wealth, honor, or pleasures of marriage (or the beneficial treaties which they may bring that would have been disapproved of by the papacy) were to be avoided. The Catholic faithful had no power for government either of themselves or of their states without divine aid. Just like the saintly characters in these operas, the audience received a message that they too were to remain steadfast, and follow only the Church.

Table 0.1: The Barberini Operas, 1632–43

<p><i>Sant’Alessio</i> - music by Stefano Landi (1632-34) <i>Erminia sul Giordano</i> - music by Michelangelo Rossi (1633) <i>Santi Didimo e Teodora</i> - unknown composer, music lost (1635-36) <i>Chi soffre speri</i> - music by Virgilio Mazzocchi and Marco Marazzoli (1637) <i>San Bonifatio</i> - music by Virgilio Mazzocchi (1638) <i>La sincerità trionfante</i> - music by Angelo Cecchini, now lost (1638) <i>Genoinda</i> - music attributed to Virgilio Mazzocchi (1641) <i>Il palazzo incantato</i> - music by Luigi Rossi (1642) <i>Sant’Eustachio</i> - music by Virgilio Mazzocchi (1643)</p>
<p>Later Operas performed for the Barberini family after Urban VIII’s death in 1644:</p> <p><i>Dal male il bene</i>- music by Antonio Maria Abbatini and Marco Marazzoli (1656) <i>Le armi e gli amori</i>- music by Marco Marazzoli (1656) <i>La vita humana</i>- music by Marco Marazzoli (1656) <i>La comica del cielo</i>- music by Antonio Maria Abbatini (1668)</p>

There are two important studies which discuss the history and the events surrounding the operas performed at the Barberini court; Margaret Murata's *Operas for the Papal Court (1631-1668)* (1981) and Frederick Hammond's *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII* (1994). Both authors investigate first hand the surviving archival materials for these operas and give a detailed history of their performances, their composers, their musicians, and their audiences. Murata's book also gives great insight into the larger dramatic and musical structures of these works, while Hammond's offers a large-scale view of the patronage of the Barberini family as a whole. Both of these works have been invaluable sources for my investigation. But neither of them looks at smaller details of the music, or at the dramatic action in the operas in relation to spiritual or cultural ideals held by the papal family in the early seventeenth century. This dissertation provides analysis of the dramatic action, text, and music, and explains them in terms of specific events taking place during the reign of Urban VIII in the midst of the Counter-Reformation and the Thirty Years War. The question of what were the spiritual messages or components of these operas was recently asked by Robert Kendrick in his article "What's so Sacred about 'Sacred' Opera? Reflections on the Fate of a (Sub)Genre." Here Kendrick examines the aesthetic background and literary themes of the early examples of sacred opera in Rome. Kendrick concludes that the operas for the Barberini court had many aspects in common, mainly the mixing of rhetorical levels in their texts and the incorporation of *romanità*, or a view of Rome as the center of the Christian world. This dissertation will focus specifically on the question of genre in terms of mixed rhetorical levels as well as devoting a chapter to explore the issue of *romanità* in terms of the advocacy of a "Christian Republic" of Rome by dramatists during the early seventeenth century. Kendrick's article

also raises the questions of the psychology of the spiritual drama and the use of demons as dramatic characters. He notes that seventeenth-century theologians paid special attention to the ways in which demons were capable of interacting with the perceptual world of humans and deceiving them, and that the demons in these operas function similarly as tempters and deceivers. My dissertation will further explore these treatises on demons in detail as well as contemporary accounts of “demonic” activity in Rome and then demonstrate how the demons are musically able (or unable) to deceive the saint. I will also explore how, although the presence of a demon as a dramatic character was considered dangerous, demons were incorporated into dramas as a type of didactic tool, both in the Barberini operas and in other early dramas on sacred subjects.

This dissertation can be considered a “thick description” commonly used in ethnographic literature. As such, it examines the Barberini saint operas in the contexts of their time and place in terms of religious, cultural, political, or economic conditions of the seventeenth century. In my research I consulted a number of sources, each pertaining to a different topic in seventeenth-century history. Giacinto Gigli’s *Diario di Roma*, edited by Manilo Barberito (1994), Fulvio Testi’s *Lettere*, edited by Maria Luisa Doglio (1967), Teodoro Ameyden’s “Diario di Roma, 1640-47” (Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense [henceforth *I-Rc*] 1831-32), and Andrea Nicoletti’s “Vita di Papa Urbano Ottavo” (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [henceforth *I-Rvat*] 4730-38) were indispensable sources for first-hand accounts of the operas and the events surrounding the papacy of Urban VIII. Pio Pecchiai’s *I Barberini* (1959) and Ludwig von Pastor’s *History of the Popes*, vol. 28 (1938) still remain significant sources for accounts of the Barberini family and their rise to power. Peter Rietbergen’s *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome: Barberini Cultural Policies* (2006)

and Laurie Nussdorfer's *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII* (1992) present the influences of the Barberini family members on religious ideals and political decisions made in the seventeenth century. Patricia Waddy's *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces: the Use and the Art of the Plan* (1990) and John Beldon Scott's *Images of Nepotism: the Painted Ceilings of Palazzo Barberini* (1991) give helpful insight into the religious and political agendas adopted in other works of art commissioned by the Barberini family. Robert Bireley's works, especially *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Reformation* (1981) and *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War: Kings, Courts, and Confessors* (2003) are important sources for understanding the role of the Barberini family in the events of the Thirty Years War. Louise George Clubb's *Italian Drama in Shakespeare's Time* (1989), Bernard Weinberg's *Trattati di poetica e retorica del Cinquecento* (1970), and Margaret Murata's "Classical Tragedy in the History of Early Opera in Rome" (1984) were helpful sources which describe the genres and rhetorical styles used in opera and drama at the time of the Barberini productions. Another valuable source for researching not only the history of saint operas during the seventeenth century, but also for examinations of aspects of gender in them, is Kelley Harness's *Echoes of Women's Voices: Music, Art, and Female Patronage in Early Modern Florence* (2006).

The music for the operas *Sant'Alessio*, *San Bonifatio*, and *Sant'Eustachio* is written for instruments which follow a mean-tone temperament system of tuning. The music moves harmonically between flat, natural, or sharp systems. My examination of the music closely resembles the approach presented by Beverly Stein in her dissertation "Between Key and Mode: Tonal Practices in the Music of Giacomo Carissimi" (1994) as well as by Susan Parker Shimp in her dissertation "The Art of Persuasion: Domenico Mazzocchi and the

Counter Reformation” (2000). Just as in the findings of Stein and Shimp, I have found that the music moves between these systems at moments where there is a change of emotion, or to illustrate a new problem that has arisen in the plot or dramatic action.⁷ Further, the mid-seventeenth century, music theorists had long been categorizing types of recitational music according to their composition and to their purpose in a drama. As early as the sixteenth-century discussions of Vincenzo Galilei (c. 1520-1591) and others in the Florentine Camerata of Giovanni de’ Bardi (1534-1612), there appeared to be a difference between the “stile recitativo,” or “recitational style” and the “stile rappresentativo,” or “theatrical style” as understood by seventeenth-century musicians.⁸ The term “stile rappresentativo,” first appeared in print on the title page of Giulio Caccini’s *Euridice* (1600).⁹ By the time of the Barberini, this discussion still continued in the treatises of music theorists such as Giovanni Battista Doni (c. 1593-1647). In his *Annotazioni sopra il compendio de’ generi e de’ modi della musica* (1640), Doni describes a type of recitational singing which he calls “espressivo” or “rappresentativo” which he claims is suitable for the setting of emotionally moving texts in theatrical representations:

Nell’Espressiva dunque si fa professione di bene esprimere gli affetti; & in qualche parte quegl’accenti naturali del parlare patetico; e questa è quella ch’ hà grandissima forza ne gl’animi humani: a segno che, quando è accompagnata d’una vivace attione, e d’un parlare proportionato al soggetto, maravigliosamente commuove il riso, il pianto, lo sdegno, &c. Qui hanno luogo sopra tutto quelle

⁷ It is important to note here that I do not associate any particular system with specific moods, emotions or ideas. I concentrate, rather, on the fact that a change does occur at a particular moment of the dramatic action. I consider these changes important to the audience’s perception of the drama and the characters, regardless of which system the music is changing from or to.

⁸ Claude V. Palisca, “Vincenzo Galilei and Some Links between Pseudo-Monody and Monody,” *The Musical Quarterly* 46 (1960): 344-360.

⁹ Tim Carter, “Stile rappresentativo,” *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

*mutationi di Tuoni, di Genere, e di Ritmo, che sono le maggiori ricchezze, e sfoggi della Musica.*¹⁰

In the Expressive kind, then, one makes a profession of expressing well the affects, and to some extent also those natural accents of “pathetic” speeches. And this is what has the greatest power in human souls, to the extent that when it is accompanied by a lively action and by a speech fitting to the subject, it wonderfully moves [the listener] to laughter, weeping, anger, etc. Here, above all, is where those mutations of mode, genera, and rhythm that are the greatest riches and displays of music have a place.

Doni himself praises the first of the Barberini saint operas, *Sant’Alessio*, in his *Trattato della musica scenica* (included in his *Lyra barberina*) and may have been present at a number of Barberini theatrical productions. It is because of Doni’s observations that I believe the music of Stefano Landi and Virgilio Mazzocchi purposely changed harmonies in order to communicate the drama to the audience members and move their emotions as they listened. In the following chapters I include analysis of recitative from four of the five Barberini operas. I analyze these passages not only according to their changes in harmony which relate to the changes in mood and emotions of the characters singing onstage, but also according to how these changes in harmony may have been perceived by the audience members. Each of the situations in these operas was meant to “teach as well as delight” their audiences. Here, I attempt to understand Doni’s definition of “expressive speech” and search for “the greatest riches of music” as they may have moved their audience to terror, pity, and joy.

¹⁰ Giovan’ Battista Doni, *Annotazioni sopra il Compendio de’ generi e de’ modi della musica* (Rome: Andrea Fei, 1640), 61-62.

Chapter Overview

In this dissertation there are six chapters which examine the Barberini saint operas from different points of view. The first chapter examines the relationship of the Barberini operas to the persons and events central to the Thirty Years War as well as their similarities to and differences from other musical, dramatic spectacles of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The second chapter is an examination of the scenographic features employed in these operas and how they communicated specific messages to the audience about style, genre, or the political authority of the patron. The third chapter describes the use of tragedy, particularly tragedies about the lives of saints, in terms of contemporary ideas about the function of drama in the creation of a “Christian Republic” ruled by the spiritual authority of the Pope. The fourth chapter examines questions of martyrdom, the appropriate use of a “holy” character on stage, and the role of the audience in the efficacy of a dramatic production. The fifth chapter describes the use of demonic characters and the enactment of deception in a drama as a didactic tool in Counter-Reformation drama. The final chapter examines the role of women, and their spiritual capabilities and expectations as depicted in the Barberini saint operas.

Editorial Principles

In editing the music of these operas, I follow a number of standard editorial procedures. I keep the original note-values but add editorial bar-lines (vertical dashed lines) where necessary. Accidentals are standardized according to modern use (one per measure).

Editorial accidentals are placed in parentheses, which are also used for editorial emendations. Text underlay is standardized to use upper case for the beginning of each line of poetry. However, when poetry is laid out as text, beginnings of lines are kept lower case save where upper case marks the beginning of a new sentence. I have also modernized the spellings of words to modern use. For example, words which use older spellings such as j for i, or v for u have been updated. All biblical quotations are taken from the American Standard Version. All translations from Latin or Italian are mine except where otherwise noted.

Musical Analysis

The musical analysis presented in this dissertation relies on two levels of inquiry. First, I examined the overall composition of the musical score in relationship to its libretto. In this examination I looked for the presence of larger forms such as arias, “ariettas,” passages of recitative, and ensemble or choral pieces. Some of these forms are denoted with rubrics in the manuscript or printed scores, others are not. I found that the poetic features of the libretto do not always correspond to the common musical features of passages in aria or recitative. Further discussion of these findings will be discussed in chapter one. My second level of inquiry of the music was at the level of the harmonic system being employed, as I have noted above in connection with Doni. Often within one scene the recitative dialogue or soliloquy could wander between sharp, flat and natural systems (also understood as *durus*, *mollis*, and *naturale* systems). I found that these moments of “harmonic wandering” correspond to the most dramatic and crucial moments of the dramatic action and the plot of the operas. Discussions of this exploration of system will appear in most of the following chapters.

Theorists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries sought to carry out those principles espoused by Horace in creating dramas which would teach as much as delight their audiences. The sacred operas performed at the Barberini court in the seventeenth century were no exception to this ideal. The music, poetry and dramatic action of these operas served as a type of propaganda. Members of the Barberini family sought to reunite all members of the Catholic faith and the musical dramas presented at their court are a call to orthodoxy of belief. In a time of war, plague, and reformation, Giulio Rospigliosi; future Pope Clement IX, and papal musicians Stefano Landi and Virgilio Mazzocchi created dramas which could inspire their audiences to a new understanding of faith, hope, and pious obedience.

Chapter One

Setting the Stage: The Barberini Saint Operas in the Context of War and Reformation

Audience members who attended the first sacred opera at the Barberini court, *Sant’Alessio* in 1632, tell us that seating was specially assigned by Francesco Barberini, and that those with most dignified positions, usually high-ranking cardinals and prelates along with the guest of honor and the Barberini family members themselves, would be seated in “un palco appartito,” or a special platform. This type of seating is reminiscent of the performances of *La regina Sant’Orsola* (1624 and 1625) and *Giuditta* (1626) for the Medici family in Florence, where a separate raised platform was assembled as the *primo luogo* for the Tuscan rulers and their family members.¹ All other seats for members of the court were arranged on benches on the floor around this raised platform. It is no coincidence that the Barberini productions of the 1630s and 1640s would imitate those of the Medici family in the 1620s. Cardinal Francesco Barberini, as papal nuncio, had attended a performance of *Giuditta* during his visit to Florence on 22 September 1626.² The appearance of this platform in Rome would have translated to audience members as another stage on which the larger, more real drama of power, religiosity, and grandeur was taking place as the Barberini family

¹ Kelley Harness, *Echoes of Women’s Voices: Music, Art, and Female Patronage in Early Modern Florence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 14.

² Margaret Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court (1631-1668)* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 16.

members and their guests were to be seen performing just as much as the characters in the drama.

Pope Urban VIII was born Maffeo Barberini in 1568 to a middle-class merchant family of Tuscan origin. When he was just three years old, Maffeo's father died, leaving his mother, Camilla Barbadori with six small children. Perhaps Maffeo's many anxieties, along with his strong, superstitious belief in astrology and alchemical divinations, began during this crisis in his early life when all had seemed lost but fate interceded. Maffeo's mother brought him to Rome as a child to live with his uncle, Francesco (*seniore*) Barberini (1528-1600), who had moved to Rome, had risen in status to enter the Papal Curia, and had later left his fortune, and that of the rest of the Barberini family to his nephew.³ Maffeo completed his doctorate in laws at Pisa in 1589 and returned to Rome where he became an Apostolic prelate, and in 1601, the papal legate to France.⁴ It was during his first meeting with King Henry IV of France on conveying the Pope's felicitations on the birth of the dauphin, future King Louis XIII, that Maffeo began a long, invested relationship with the House of Bourbon. Maffeo was made a cardinal-priest by Clement VIII in 1606. After serving as the titular cardinal to Sant'Onofrio in Spoleto and as a legate to Pope Paul V in Bologna, Maffeo was recognized as a powerful leader in the church. On 6 August 1623, he was elected Pope Urban VIII.⁵

³ Frederick Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 17.

⁴ Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, trans. Don Ernest Graf, vol. 28 (St. Louis: Herder, 1938), 29-30. All subsequent references are to this volume.

⁵ Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 17.

The Rise of the Barberini Family

Maffeo sought to establish his family as one of the most influential and powerful in Rome.

He first summoned his brother Carlo (1562-1630), a merchant in Florence, to Rome where he named him General of the Church, Castellan of Sant'Angelo, and Governor of the Borgo (an area near the Vatican).⁶ He then invited his younger brother, Antonio (*seniore*), a Capuchin friar. As a sign of humility, Antonio walked from Florence to Rome before receiving from his brother the titular church of Sant'Onofrio and the positions of President of the Apostolic Visitation of Rome (1624-25), cardinal-secretary of the Holy Office of the Inquisition (1629-32), and librarian of the Vatican Library (1633-46), among other important positions.⁷

Maffeo also influenced many other Florentines to come to his ever-growing court in Rome, including Giovanni Battista Doni, poet Giovanni Ciampoli, and artist Pietro da Cortona.

Maffeo also did not hesitate to continue the tradition in creating his nephew as the *nipote*, or first assistant, and nuncio, or personal ambassador, to the Pope. The oldest son of Maffeo's brother Carlo, Francesco (*iuniore*) Barberini (1597-1679), was chosen for this position because he, like his uncle, was educated at Pisa where he became a doctor of laws in 1623.⁸ Shortly after Maffeo's election as Pope, Francesco was raised by his uncle to the rank of cardinal and was granted a number of titular churches and eventually the archbishoprics of

⁶ Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 38.

⁷ Cesare D'Onofrio, *Roma nel Seicento* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1969), 368.

⁸ Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 39-40.

the three most powerful churches in Rome: San Giovanni in Laterano, Santa Maria Maggiore, and St. Peter's Basilica.⁹

Maffeo Barberini's other nephew, Antonio (*iuniore*) Barberini (1607-1671), the younger son of Carlo, was also made a cardinal in August 1627 at the very young age of twenty.¹⁰ While this move to put yet another family member in the Sacred College of Cardinals was beneficial to the Barberini family, it was also viewed by other prelates as very bold. Almost all of the other cardinals of the College disapproved of the elevation.¹¹ But all the distrust in the world could not stop Maffeo and his vice-chancellor *nipote* Francesco from continuing to bestow upon Antonio further responsibilities as a Papal legate. Antonio was chosen by Louis XIII to act as Cardinal-Protector of France almost immediately after his elevation to the cardinalate. In 1631, after taking advantage of the loss of the last of the line in the della Rovere family of the duchy of Urbino, the Pope gave Antonio possession and rule over it.¹² In 1638, Antonio was granted yet another high post in the church, the position of *camerlengo* or chamberlain of the Vatican palace.¹³

Further favors were bestowed upon Carlo's other son, Taddeo (1603-1647), through Maffeo's and Carlo's shrewd acquisition of Roman estates. By 1630, the ancient Roman Colonna family was quickly falling into debt. The Barberini family stood in line to receive a number of favors from the Colonna not only through their vast wealth acquired through numerous high-ranking ecclesiastical positions, but also by way of Taddeo's marriage to

⁹ Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 41.

¹⁰ Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 40.

¹¹ Pio Pecchiai, *I Barberini* (Rome: Biblioteca d'arte editrice, 1959), 189.

¹² Pecchiai, *I Barberini*, 190.

¹³ Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 42.

Filippo Colonna's (1578-1639) daughter Anna (1601-1658) on 24 October 1627.¹⁴ Between 1625 and 1630, the Barberini purchased or negotiated from the Colonna family the estate of the Castello of Roviano, and the principalities of Palestrina, Mezza Salva, and Corcollo. Upon the death of his father, Taddeo Barberini succeeded him as General of the Church, Governor of Borgo, Castellan of Sant' Angelo, and captain of the Vatican guard. In March 1630, the Pope made yet another decisive move by bestowing still another high-ranking position on his relative when he created Taddeo as the Prince Prefect of Rome. This post was traditionally held by the ruling member of the della Rovere family of Urbino, which had transferred to the power of the Papal family. The vast wealth accumulated by all three of the Barberini brothers was one of the largest in the history of the church, each having a yearly income at the equivalent of over 300,000 *scudi*, an amount condemned by other members of the Papal Congregation of Cardinals. Such an enormous income for a cardinal was outlawed by a resolution taken up by the Congregation shortly before Maffeo's death in 1644.¹⁵

The Barberini family members continuously surrounded themselves with great thinkers and writers including Galileo Galilei (1564-1642), Giovanni Battista Doni (1593-1647), Lucas Holstenius (1596-1661), and Giulio Rospigliosi (1600-1669), the librettist for all of the Barberini operas and future Pope Clement IX. In July 1624, Cardinal Francesco Barberini founded the Accademia de' Virtuosi which included many of these men. Francesco had probably become friends with Rospigliosi while the latter attended the University of Pisa between 1619 and 1623. Rospigliosi had also attended the Seminario Romano where he completed a five-year course in letters, philosophy, and theology. Under

¹⁴ Pecchiai, *I Barberini*, 164; Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 45.

¹⁵ Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 46.

Urban VIII, Rospigliosi was appointed first as a prelate and then as the secretary of the Congregation of Rites. In 1632 he was a secretary to Francesco Barberini and in 1636, made secretary to the Pope himself. In the 1640's, towards the end of Urban VIII's reign, Rospigliosi was appointed as the Papal nuncio to the royal court at Madrid. It was in the position of secretary to the Congregation of Rites that Rospigliosi would have received the impetus for writing operas about the lives of saints, since two of the duties of this congregation were to oversee the entertainment of foreign dignitaries, as well as to supervise the collection of saints' lives and the celebration of saints feast days, and to consult on the beatification of new saints.

Artists and Musicians in the Patronage of the Barberini family

Because of their immense wealth and cultural connections, Barberini family members were able to become some of the greatest patrons of the arts that the Baroque era, and perhaps any other, had ever seen. They employed many of Italy's greatest artists, including painters Pietro da Cortona (1596-1669), Andrea Sacchi (1599-1661), and Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665), the sculptor Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680), and musicians including Girolamo Frescobaldi (1583-1643), brothers Domenico Mazzocchi (1592-1665) and Virgilio Mazzocchi (1597-1646), Stefano Landi (1583-1643), and the castrato Marc'Antonio Pasqualini (1614-1691). While these artists came from different parts of Italy and from various backgrounds, their purpose within the Barberini circle was the same: to bring glory to the Eternal Seat of the Catholic Church, most importantly through the exaltation of her ruling papal family. Painters Andrea Sacchi and Pietro da Cortona adorned the numerous ceilings

of the Barberini palace at Quattro Fontane with symbolic images of the celebration of Urban VIII's election to the papal throne.¹⁶ At the same time, musicians including Girolamo Frescobaldi, Stefano Landi, and Virgilio Mazzocchi entertained the Barberini family and their many guests with chamber pieces, madrigals, and musical dramas within the Barberini home, and with countless works for the church when in the service of Rome's greatest basilicas. Here I will focus on the composers of the music for the sacred operas dealing with the lives of saints, Stefano Landi and Virgilio Mazzocchi.

Stefano Landi's grandfather settled in Rome around 1550 and became a member of the Arciconfraternita del Santissimo Crocifisso. Landi himself became a lifelong member of this confraternity, entering around 1595, and acting as their choir director beginning in 1611. He received his training in Rome where he took minor orders after studying at the Collegio Germanico in 1595 and then at the Seminario Romano beginning in 1602.¹⁷ During his lifetime he served a number of patrons, primarily ecclesiastical ones in Rome and Venice. In the years leading up to his employment for the Barberini family, he served as a singer in the Cappella Sistina and an instructor to many of Rome's finest singers. When commissioned to write *Sant'Alessio* originally for a performance in 1631 which was postponed until the following Carnival season, Landi was no newcomer to opera. In 1619 he dedicated his first opera, *La morte d'Orfeo* to Alessandrio Mattei, a cleric in the household of Pope Paul V.

Virgilio Mazzocchi also began his career in the seminary, taking minor orders at Civit  Castellana in 1614. He then moved to Rome later that year to study with his brother

¹⁶ For more specific history of the creation of these paintings and their spiritual and political agendas, see John Beldon Scott, *Images of Nepotism: the Painted Ceilings of the Palazzo Barberini* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

¹⁷ Silke Leopold, *Stefano Landi: Beitr ge zur Biographie; Untersuchungen zur weltlichen und geistlichen Vokalmusik* (Hamburg: K.D. Wagner, 1976), 21-27.

Domenico who was in the service of Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini (1596-1638), later the *camerlengo* to Pope Urban VIII until Aldobrandini's death.¹⁸ Mazzocchi entered the service of Cardinal Francesco Barberini in 1625, but also gained many commissions from members of the Jesuit order. From 1626 until 1629 Mazzocchi held the post of *maestro di cappella* at the Jesuit basilica of Il Gesù.¹⁹ Mazzocchi also had experience writing music for musical dramas when he composed the music for the Barberini court for the first performance of *Chi soffre speri* in 1637. From 1626 until 1629 Mazzocchi taught music at the Jesuit Collegio Romano, and in 1628 he composed the music for the *intermedi* for a performance of the Latin Christian play *Crispus*.²⁰ In 1629 Mazzocchi served as the *maestro di cappella* at the Cappella Giulia at St. Peter's Basilica, where he remained until his death.²¹

The Barberini nephews prided themselves in the patronage not only of some of Rome's greatest composers, but also of her greatest singers. The most outstanding of these was the castrato Marc'Antonio Pasqualini whose likeness was memorialized in the painting by Andrea Sacchi which shows him in the personification of Orpheus being crowned by Apollo. The son of a barber from the small town of Imola, no one would have expected Pasqualini to become one of the most celebrated singers of his day. Pasqualini received his musical education while in the employment of the church of San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome

¹⁸ Wolfgang Witzemann, "Beiträge der Brüder Mazzocchi zu den musikalischen Akademien Kardinal Francesco Barberinis," in *Akademie und Musik: Erscheinungsweisen und Wirkungen des Akademiegedankens in Kultur- und Musikgeschichte; Institutionen, Veranstaltungen, Schriften; Festschrift für Werner Braun zum 65. Geburtstag zugleich Bericht über das Symposium "Der Akademiegedanke in der Geschichte der Musik und angrenzender Fächer,"* ed. Wolf Frobenius, Nicole Schwindt-Gross, and Thomas Sick (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1993), 182-83.

¹⁹ Witzemann, "Beiträge der Brüder Mazzocchi," 186.

²⁰ Witzemann, "Beiträge der Brüder Mazzocchi," 186.

²¹ Witzemann, "Beiträge der Brüder Mazzocchi," 190.

where he sang as a boy soprano trained by Vincenzo Ugolini.²² At a young age, Pasqualini was given the honorable opportunity to sing for the Farnese wedding festivities of 1628 in Parma where he was auditioned personally by Claudio Monteverdi.²³ In 1629, Cardinal Antonio Barberini, a long-time supporter of the boy soprano, personally bought out Pasqualini's contract and he entered into Barberini service.²⁴ In 1631, Pasqualini was admitted into the Cappella Sistina. Eventually as a senior member of the Sistina in 1648, Pasqualini was elected the *puntatore* or "point taker" who noted the absences, lateness, and inappropriate behaviors of the other singers. This election is quite ironic since Pasqualini himself, as a young man, was frequently cited as being very tardy, inappropriately dressed, or rude when in service and rehearsal.²⁵ Besides Pasqualini's impish behavior, scholars have come to know Pasqualini as a small man who looked much younger than his actual age. Upon first meeting Pasqualini, Claudio Monteverdi thought that the fourteen-year-old boy could not have been older than eleven.²⁶ Aside from his very high soprano voice, Pasqualini's stature most likely made it easier for the creators of the Barberini operas to cast him in so many female leading roles.

Another famous castrato in the employment of the Barberini court was Loreto Vittori (1600-1670). Originally from Spoleto, Vittori sang as a boy in the cathedral there.

²² A. Cametti, "Musicisti celebri del Seicento in Roma: Marc'Antonio Pasqualini," *Musica d'oggi* 3 (1921): 70.

²³ Margaret Murata, "Further Remarks on Pasqualini and the Music of *MAP*," *Analecta musicologica* 19 (1979): 125.

²⁴ Cametti, "Musicisti celebri del Seicento in Roma," 71.

²⁵ Murata, "Further Remarks on Pasqualini," 129-130.

²⁶ Murata, "Further Remarks on Pasqualini," 130.

Sometime around 1617, he was discovered by Maffeo Barberini and taken to Rome.²⁷ He remained in Rome for only a short while, because in 1619 he was taken to Florence by Niccolò Doni, a relative of Giovanni Battista Doni, where he lived in the Doni household and sang many leading roles in Florentine productions, including Jacopo Peri's (1561-1633) and Marco da Gagliano's (1582-1643) *Medoro* (1619). He returned to Rome under the patronage of Cardinal Lodovico Ludovisi, nephew of Pope Gregory XV (r. 1621-1623) who had petitioned Grand Duke Cosimo II de' Medici to have him in his service. He remained in the service of the Ludovisi family until the death of Cardinal Lodovico in 1632. He often travelled with the cardinal to Bologna and Florence where he sang in various theatrical productions, including Marco da Gagliano's *La regina Sant'Orsola* in 1624.²⁸ While in Rome, he sang in the Cappella Sistina beginning in 1622 until he retired in 1647 after 25 years of service.²⁹ Some time after the death of Cardinal Lodovico Ludovisi, Vittori entered the service of Cardinal Antonio Barberini, although he had sung for various Barberini occasions in the 1620's. The Barberinis would also have seen him sing in Domenico Mazzocchi's *La catena d'Adone* in 1626. He received a regular salary from Antonio Barberini between 1637 and 1642.³⁰ In 1643, Vittori was ordained as a priest and was affiliated with the Chiesa Nuova. We know from surviving accounts of the Barberini productions that he took part in the 1642 performance of Luigi Rossi's (1597-1653) *Il*

²⁷ Biancamaria Antolini, "La carriera di cantante e compositore di Loreto Vittori," *Studi musicali* 7 (1978): 141-88; see also Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 65.

²⁸ Frederick Hammond, "Musicians at the Medici Court in the Mid-Seventeenth Century," *Analecta musicologica* 14 (1974): 151-69.

²⁹ Sergio Pagano, "Una visita apostolica alla cappella dei cantori pontifici al tempo di Urbano VIII, 1630," *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* 16 (1982): 40-72.

³⁰ Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 65.

palazzo incantato, but he may have performed in other Barberini operas as well.³¹ Vittori wrote a number of *arie* as well as being something of a dramatist and a composer; as we shall see, he was the composer and librettist for a number of dramas, including two about the lives of saints: *Sant'Ignazio* (1640), written for the centenary celebrations of the Jesuit Order, and *Santa Irene* (1644), dedicated to the Barberini family.³² Unfortunately none of the music for these dramatic productions survives. The only such music extant is that of *Galatea*, a pastoral drama dedicated to Antonio Barberini which may have been performed in Rome in 1639.³³

Filippo Vitali (1590-1653), a Florentine priest, probably came to Rome in 1619 or 1620 for the performance of his opera *Aretusa* (1620). In his dedication of the *Sacrae modulationes* (1631) to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, he indicates that he was in the service of Cardinal Antonio Barberini. He was admitted into the Cappella Sistina that same year by Pope Urban VIII where he sang as a tenor for fourteen years.³⁴ Vitali was very prolific as a composer of vocal chamber music. There are thirteen surviving volumes of his music published between 1616 and 1647 along with his music for *Aretusa*.³⁵

³¹ Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 85-86.

³² Arnaldo Morelli, "Il 'Teatro spirituale' ed altre raccolte di testi per oratori romani del Seicento," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 21 (1986): 61-143; see also Biancamaria Antolini, Arnaldo Morelli, and Vera Vita Spagnuolo, eds., *La musica a Roma attraverso le fonti d'archivio: atti del convegno Roma 4-7 giugno, 1992* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1994).

³³ Domenico d'Alessandro, "La musica a Napoli nel secolo XVII attraverso gli *avvisi* ed i giornali," in *Musica e cultura a Napoli dal XV al XIX secolo*, ed. Lorenzo Bianconi and Renato Bossa (Florence: Olschki, 1983), 145-64.

³⁴ Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 83.

³⁵ For a complete list and transcriptions of some of this music, see James W. Pruett, "The Works of Filippo Vitali" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1963).

Two other favorite singers of the Barberini nephews who also regularly performed in the court operas as well as in the Cappella Sistina were Angelo Ferrotti (fl. 1620-1660) and Paolo Cipriani (fl. 1620-1660). Angelo Ferrotti was born in Orvieto and came to Rome to study with Stefano Landi who later sent him to Savoy in order to perform Landi's second book of *Arie* (1627) for its dedicatee, the Princess of Piedmont.³⁶ In June 1629, Cardinal Francesco Barberini hired the castrato to sing for the Cappella Sistina. Both he and Paolo Cipriani served the Barberini family from the late 1620's until the 1660's. Court records tell us that Francesco Barberini oversaw their education by hiring for the young men a *maestro di grammatica*, private counterpoint teachers, and a viol instructor.³⁷

Finally, Bartolomeo Niccolini (1593-1672), a bass, was made famous by his performance as the demon in *Sant'Alessio*. He must have had a very impressive range, since the role of the demon requires the singer to have a range of two octaves, from a low *E* up to *e'*. Other than performing in a number of the Barberini operas, Niccolini sang in the Cappella Sistina after winning a place by competition in 1624.³⁸

The Barberini Saint Operas in the Context of the Thirty Years War

While it is a daunting task to examine the many artworks of Rome in the mid-seventeenth century, even just those created under Barberini patronage, one can follow an overall trend in their purpose. Art sought to prompt not just admiration on the part of the onlooker but also

³⁶ Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 80.

³⁷ Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 80.

³⁸ Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 82.

participation in a drama to which access was gained by way of faith. Most histories of the Thirty Years War paint a picture of Urban VIII and his Barberini nephews either as wholly biased towards Louis XIII of France, or as isolated figures who remained in a state of constant confusion over the enduring hostilities between the Bourbons of France and the Habsburgs of Spain and the Holy Roman Empire.³⁹ I would contend, however, that the Barberini family members were at all times aware of the political and other activities of all Catholic powers involved in the bloody struggles, and that the operas presented at the Barberini court, especially those with themes taken from the lives of saints, contained propagandist messages meant for specific persons in the audience. I would also suggest that the papacy greatly influenced the decisions of the Catholic Habsburg rulers to continue the fighting of the war, even when faced with the need to negotiate for peace and make concessions to Protestant forces. The papacy advocated a severe religious position throughout the war, and until at least 1635, the position of the Habsburg Emperor and surviving documents of the war's history show us that the Pope's views were often respected.⁴⁰ The audience members at the Barberini saint operas, to whom certain performances were dedicated, were the same officers and ambassadors who would influence and make many of the crucial decisions for continued war or peace during the many phases of the Thirty Years War.

³⁹ Cicely V. Wedgewood's *The Thirty Years' War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939) strongly advocates that the Barberini favored the French crown and were controlled, as much as Louis XIII at this time, by the political designs of Cardinal Richelieu. Robert Bireley's *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counter-Reformation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981) contains a great deal of detailed, thoroughly researched information from primary sources about the events of the Thirty Years War, but downplays the involvement of the Barberini family, as does Joseph Poliřenský's *The Thirty Years' War*, trans. Robert Evens (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971).

⁴⁰ Myron P. Gutmann, "The Origins of the Thirty Years' War," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18 (1988): 758.

The events of the Thirty Years War first began with the election of Ferdinand II (r. 1619-1637) as the Holy Roman Emperor in 1619. By the early seventeenth century, many provinces of Germany had come under the rule of Protestant princes and dukes. In 1620, the Protestant nobles of Germany refused to pay homage to Ferdinand II as their new territorial ruler unless he first renewed the free exercise of religion of the Peace of Augsburg granted to the Protestant nobles in 1555.⁴¹ Because Ferdinand II did not want to accept any concessions of land given to the Protestants through this treaty, the Protestant nobles elected their own King of Bohemia, Frederick V (r. 1596-1632). Ferdinand II saw himself as a Catholic ruler whose duty it was not to compromise ecclesiastical lands to Protestant heretics. His refusal to accept the Peace of Augsburg most likely drove these Protestant nobles to ally themselves with those Protestants already rebelling against the Catholic rule of the Habsburgs and Maximilian I (1573-1651) of Bavaria in the region of Bohemia during the year 1618. This movement for Protestant nobles to form alliances against the Hapsburg rule is seen by most historians as the beginning of the Thirty Years War. In 1620 the intervention of the Barberini family first becomes evident. Ferdinand II saw his dominion on the brink of religious and civil war and from this point until the Peace of Prague in 1635, he was torn between the decision to make peace with the Protestants and to agree to the concessions of ecclesiastical lands to Protestant nobles, and his firm determination to uphold the Catholic Church and her properties. Ferdinand II was greatly influenced throughout the war until his death in 1637 by two advisors: William Lamormaini (1570-1648), a Jesuit and his confessor who kept regular correspondence with the Holy See, and Hans Ulrich von Eggenberg (1568-1634), a politician and statesman hand-chosen by Ferdinand II to act as chancellor of the

⁴¹ Bireley, *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counter-Reformation*, 9.

Empire and advise him, as well as to make a number of trips to Rome when seeking the aid of the Pope.

On 8 November 1620, all of the emperor's hopes and fears for his Empire were realized in the first major conflict of the Thirty Years War to prove effective against the Protestant Bohemian rebels and their king, Frederick V: the Battle of White Mountain near Prague. Here, Catholic forces under the command of Johann Tserclaes, Count of Tilly (1559-1632), and Spanish royal troops crushed the Bohemian rebels and secured safe access of the Catholic states to Prague. Frederick V, due to his short reign as Protestant king and his flight from Prague after the Battle of White Mountain, was attacked in popular *Briefmaler* throughout Germany and earned the title of the "Winter King."⁴² The current Pope in 1620, Paul V (r. 1605-1621), immediately recognized the opportunity presented at the Battle of White Mountain to defeat members of the Protestant faith and assisted Ferdinand II and Maximilian I with generous financial, diplomatic, and military aid.⁴³ But the aims of Urban VIII throughout the war were different from those of his predecessors, and he supplied only paltry sums of money to support the Habsburg cause. Instead, Urban long dreamt of a united Catholic front against the enemies of the church, but had originally imagined the enemy only as the Turks of the Ottoman Empire. He and his nephews, rather than fully support the aims of the Habsburg families, distrusted their European domination. They felt it was pertinent that in the face of this rising power and any future adversity shown them by this and other Catholic States, the authority of the Pope should remain absolute not only in ecclesiastical spheres, but also in secular matters of state. Shortly after his election to the papacy in 1623,

⁴² W. A. Coupe, "Political and Religious Cartoons of the Thirty Years' War," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 25 (1962): 65-86.

⁴³ Bireley, *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counter-Reformation*, 43.

Urban paid special attention to the situation in the Empire and established a special congregation to deal with questions of ecclesiastical immunity.⁴⁴ Until his death in 1644, Urban and his nephews Francesco and Antonio would remain unyielding in making any concessions to Protestant leaders, and urged Catholic rulers to remain steadfast in support of the interests of the church. They did this not only in the many briefs sent to the crowns of Germany, Spain, and France, but also through the representations of steadfast heroism displayed by the saints portrayed on the Barberini stage.

The Thirty Years War can be divided into three decades of intermittent fighting, and into four distinct periods. The Barberini operas were performed for visiting dignitaries embroiled in the war at the most crucial turning points between second and third of these four periods. The first period is traditionally called by historians the “Bohemian War,” which starts with Ferdinand’s command for the defenestration of Prague and the subsequent election of Frederick V of the Palatine in Bohemia by Protestants in the years 1618-1619, and ends in 1623 with the complete victory of the Catholic league first at White Mountain (1620), then at Mannheim and Heidelberg (1622) and Stadtlohn (1623), culminating in the complete surrender of Bohemia (for major battles in the Thirty Years War, see Table 1.1). The second period is categorized as the “Danish War,” which starts in 1625 with the intervention of Christian IV of Denmark (1577-1648) on behalf of the defeated Protestants and ends in 1629 when the Danish were forced to make the Peace of Lübeck. It is shortly after the close of this period, and the beginning of the Swedish War period (1629-1635) that the Barberini operas began to be produced, and the largest amount of propaganda for both sides of the war began to spread in all countries across Europe. Scholarly pamphlets and learned treatises as well as

⁴⁴ Bireley, *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counter-Reformation*, 42.

popular cartoons and illustrated broadsheets, or *Helge*, appeared throughout the many warring German and Scandinavian states.⁴⁵

Table 1.1: Major Battles of the Thirty Years War

In Favor of Catholic Forces	In Favor of Protestant Forces
Battle of Zablatti – 10 June 1619	
Battle of White Mountain - 8 Nov. 1620	
Capture of Mannheim - Sept. 1622	
Capture of Heidelberg - Sept. 1622	
Battle of Stadtlohn - 6 Aug. 1623	
Surrender of Bohemia - Nov.-Dec. 1623	
Battle of Dessau Bridge - 25 April 1626	
Battle of Lutter - 27 Aug. 1626	
Siege of Magdeburg - 20 March 1631	
	Battle of Breitenfeld - 17 Sept. 1631
	Seizure of Leipzig, Prague, Würzburg, Mainz and Frankfurt Nov. 1631- March 1632
	Battle of Rain - March 1632
Siege of Nuremburg - June-Sept. 1632	
	Battle of Lützen - 16 Nov. 1632
Battle of Nördlingen - 6 Sept. 1634	
	Battle of Compiègne - Oct. 1635
	Battle of Wittstock - 4 Oct. 1636
	Seizure of Freiburg, Willenweier and Breisach - Spring 1638
	Battle of Jankau - 24 Feb. 1645

⁴⁵ Coupe, “Political and Religious Cartoons of the Thirty Years’ War,” 67-68.

It was during this same period that the Barberini operas first appeared as well with their own propagandist messages. The final period of the war is the “French Intervention” which started with the French occupation of Alsace in 1635 and ended with the Peace of Westphalia concluding the war in 1648.

In 1632 the first performance of *Sant’Alessio* was given at the Barberini’s new palace at Quattro Fontane in honor of this same ambassador to the Holy Roman Emperor, Hans Ulrich von Eggenberg. As we shall see in later chapters of this dissertation, this opera’s greatest message was one of return to Rome and steadfastness of one’s faith, even at the risk of losing dearly loved friends and family. This message would have meant something to Eggenberg who had come to Rome seeking aid for Emperor Ferdinand II after the battle of Breitenfeld on 17 September of 1631, which proved a turning point in the Thirty Years War as a devastating loss for the Catholic forces at the hands of the militarily adroit King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolfus (r. 1594-1632), who had recently entered the war on the side of the Protestant nobles. Just weeks before this performance of *Sant’Alessio* on 18 February 1632, the Protestant forces had seized Leipzig, Prague, Würzburg, Mainz, and Frankfurt.⁴⁶ Before arriving in Rome, Eggenberg watched these cities fall to the Protestant forces and realized the need for a treaty with concessions made to the Protestant nobles, but he was afraid to advocate their cause to an unyielding Ferdinand II, who had issued in 1629 the Edict of Restitution which demanded that Protestant nobles give up any ecclesiastical lands gained by them since the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. Ferdinand II was constantly advised by Lamormaini, through his fellow Jesuits in Rome, that the Pope would never accept any concessions on the part of the Holy Roman Empire. Hoping for an alternative to

⁴⁶ Bireley, *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counter-Reformation*, 169.

explaining the need for concessions to Protestant forces to a stubborn Ferdinand II and Lamormaini, Eggenberg instead turned to the commander of the Imperial forces, Albrecht Eusebius von Wallenstein (1583-1634) and authorized him to make contact with Saxony, hoping for an alliance. John George I of Saxony (1611-1656) had at the outset of the war been allied with the Catholic forces, but by the mid-1620's he saw any advancements of the Habsburgs in the war as a threat to the borders of Saxony, and so he allied himself with the Swedish and Protestant nobles.⁴⁷ Wallenstein hoped to make peace with his former general Hans Georg von Arnim (1583-1641), who had fought with Wallenstein until the Battle of Breitenfeld where he served the Saxon army in alliance with the Protestant nobles and the Swedish forces. This meeting between generals only made Eggenberg even more aware of the need for concessions before there could be any hope for peace with the Protestants, and he called together a meeting of theologians to re-examine the question of the Edict of Restitution in light of the current military defeats.⁴⁸ Eggenberg had been made aware of the desperate situation of the Imperial forces, as well as of the poverty and disease beginning to spread throughout the Empire which caused great violence in towns amongst townspeople and soldiers alike.⁴⁹ High taxation and billeting had also proved detrimental to the German economy.⁵⁰ Even the theologians called by the emperor agreed that concessions needed to be made and a treaty needed to be reached. But word reached Rome soon enough. On 13

⁴⁷ Polišenský, *The Thirty Years' War*, 85.

⁴⁸ Bireley, *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counter-Reformation*, 171.

⁴⁹ See Gerhard Benecke, *Germany in the Thirty Years War* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979), which provides primary documents including a series of letters concerning soldiers and townspeople during the war in the section "Brawling Townsmen and Troops, Wiedenbrück, 1632," 78-79, as well as "Smallpox and Quack Medicines," 75-76. A more complete examination of the economic situation in Germany during and after the war is given in Henry Kamen, "The Economic and Social Consequences of the Thirty Years' War," *Past and Present* 39 (1968): 44-61.

⁵⁰ Polišenský, *The Thirty Years' War*, 193.

December 1631 Francesco Barberini sent a letter to Vienna stating that under no condition would the Pope accept the proposed concessions for a treaty with the Protestant forces.⁵¹ Eggenberg's invitation to the Barberini palace in February 1632 was not just any visit of a foreign dignitary, but was a call to obedience to the Pope during the turning point of a perilous war. The dramatic production of *Sant'Alessio*, in which the title character reminds his audience members that they must remain steadfast in their faith, was no mere evening entertainment, but, rather, a strong message to Eggenberg that he must advise the emperor to find other means to ending a religious war.

At the same time, the papacy did not want to see the Imperial forces gain too much power. Having Ferdinand II rule in the German lands to the north was one thing, but to have Imperial and Protestant forces fighting in the Italian peninsula was quite another. In September 1629, 38,000 Imperial troops crossed the Alps and laid siege to Mantua. The city was nearly decimated by the end of July 1630.⁵² These were the worst battles of a smaller conflict known as the War of Mantuan Succession (1628-1631). The last three dukes of the house of Gonzaga to rule Mantua; Francesco IV (r. 1612), Ferdinando (r. 1612-1626), and Vincenzo II (1626-1627) all died without legitimate heirs. The resulting conflict pitted France against the Habsburgs as each claimed an heir to rule the duchy. Pope Urban VIII knew there was only so much he could do to mediate the situation. After the rule of Mantua was secured by the Treaty of Cherasco in June 1631, the French heir Charles Gonzaga-Nevers was confirmed as duke. In exchange, France was forced to renounce its conquests in Italy. The Pope feared however, that the balance of power between the French and the

⁵¹ Bireley, *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counter-Reformation*, 173.

⁵² Robert Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years' War: Kings, Courts, and Confessors* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 101.

Habsburgs would shift, and the Habsburgs could re-arm themselves and lay siege to other cities surrounding Mantua in Northern Italy. The first performances of *Sant'Alessio* could also have been a message to the Imperial ambassador that no matter what the Imperial power was capable of, the Church was yet a higher authority.

The second performance of *Sant'Alessio* brings us more evidence of the Barberini involvement in, and knowledge of, the secret pacts made at the next crucial phase of the Thirty Years War in 1634. The year 1632 had proved just as ill-fated for the Catholic forces as had 1631. The troops of Philip IV of Spain (r. 1621-1665) had been driven from the Palatinate, and the troops of the Imperial allies were expelled from Alsace by the Swedish forces.⁵³ Although Wallenstein made another decisive victory at Nuremberg in September 1632, the other powerful military figure in the Catholic forces, the Count of Tilly, died of his wounds shortly after the Battle of Rain in March 1632, and his second-in-command, general Gottfried Heinrich Graf zu Pappenheim (1594-1632), was also killed at the Battle of Lützen in November. During this last battle, the Protestants were victorious in spite of the death of their commander, Gustavus Adolfus of Sweden. After so many defeats, there was yet a silver lining of hope since after the reported death of Gustavus Adolfus, Eggenberg sought to renew the contract of Wallenstein, as the Empire depended on his assistance.⁵⁴ But Wallenstein began to prove himself to be a difficult figure in the war. He himself was unhappy with the Edict of Restitution as it affected his holdings in the province of Friedland. When a papal brief arrived for Wallenstein congratulating him on his renewed service to the Imperial forces, Wallenstein told the papal nuncio who reported back to Francesco Barberini that he

⁵³ Geoffrey Parker, *The Thirty Years' War* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 132.

⁵⁴ Bireley, *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counter-Reformation*, 182.

“would rather be at war with the Turks than with the heretics.”⁵⁵ During the spring and summer of 1633, Wallenstein engaged in secret negotiations with Arnim. Word of these negotiations, and of Wallenstein’s penchant for consulting astrologers and fortune-tellers, came back to Rome and made Catholic rulers uneasy.⁵⁶ Muzio Vitelleschi (1563-1645), General of the Society of Jesus, reported to the Pope and to Lamormaini (who reported to Ferdinand II) that he felt Wallenstein’s astrological inquiries were a “tool of the devil” and he saw them as the reason Wallenstein had begun to fail to exploit his military advantage.⁵⁷ When Maximilian I sent troops to Breisach and exposed Regensburg from where the Swedish ally Bernard of Weimar (1604-1639) could invade and take Bavaria or Austria, Vitelleschi and Lamormaini immediately alerted Ferdinand II of his move and commanded him to send Wallenstein to reinforce Regensburg. Wallenstein, however, did not advance on Regensburg and, moreover, retreated from the city. Bernard did seize Regensburg in November 1633 and subsequently began to pillage Catholic lands in Bavaria. Maximilian immediately called for Wallenstein’s dismissal, and Eggenberg stated that this retreat was the “most harmful, the most dangerous, the most unconsidered thing” that Wallenstein could have done.⁵⁸ Hoping still for a truce, Wallenstein continuously ignored commands to advance on Bernard of Weimar and remained in contact with Protestant electors and renewed contact with Sweden and its ally, France. Ferdinand II assigned Eggenberg and two other advisors the responsibility of deciding Wallenstein’s fate. They declared that Wallenstein was to be removed from service, brought to Vienna for trial, and if found guilty of treason, to

⁵⁵ Bireley, *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counter-Reformation*, 182.

⁵⁶ Parker, *The Thirty Years’ War*, 119-120.

⁵⁷ Bireley, *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counter-Reformation*, 195.

⁵⁸ Bireley, *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counter-Reformation*, 201.

be executed. But before Wallenstein could be captured, he and a few supporters fled in the direction of Pilsen in hopes of reaching Arnim or Bernard of Weimar. Wallenstein was stopped at Eger before reaching aid and was assassinated by three subordinate officers of the emperor. While the death of Wallenstein caused much concern and confusion for many in Rome, there is evidence which shows that the Barberini family members were well aware of all of the negotiations made by Ferdinand II to see him removed from service by any means possible. Count Fulvio Testi (1593-1646), who attended the revival of *Sant'Alessio* in 1634, wrote on 29 March 1634, just a few weeks after its performance to his patron, Prince Francesco I d'Este of Modena (1610-1658) about what he had heard at the Barberini court concerning Wallenstein's assassination. He states that some people of the court believed that the French were to blame for the commander's death, while other believed it to be some treachery at the hands of the Duke of Saxony or the Duke of Savoy, but he claims that he was told the true story by Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini that Wallenstein was discovered making secret pacts with General Arnim and was planning to make an agreement with Bernard of Weimar to overthrow the Duke of Saxony and take possession of the kingdom of Bohemia.⁵⁹ Based on the number of meetings between Wallenstein, Arnim, and Bernard of Weimar, this assertion could very well be true. While no history of the Thirty Years War makes mention of the Barberini having any knowledge of the secret plots to remove Wallenstein from service, or to assassinate him, this letter proves that they were indeed aware of all of these events. Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini must have been very uneasy on the night of 11 February 1634 when he, like Testi, watched the second performance of *Sant'Alessio*, this time in honor of Alexander Charles, Prince of Poland, who, like Wallenstein, was in the

⁵⁹ Fulvio Testi to the Duke of Modena, 29 March 1634, in Fulvio Testi, *Lettere*, ed. Maria Luisa Doglio, vol. 2 (Bari: Laterza, 1967), 123-24.

midst of negotiations with Protestant factions. Aldobrandini's knowledge of the Wallenstein affair suggests that the Barberini family members were also aware of the situation because he was the acting *camerlengo* to the Pope, which required him to conduct business in the papal chambers and report any news immediately to the Vice-Chancellor, Francesco Barberini. After this performance in 1634, things did not improve for the Catholic forces. In April 1635, France officially entered the war by concluding a treaty of alliance with the Swedish forces, and on 19 May it declared war on Spain.⁶⁰ The emperor felt he had no choice but to find peace with Saxony, and on 30 May 1635 the Peace of Prague was signed aligning these two German sides against the new threat of the French and the Swedes.

The papal family was constantly caught up in negotiations in an attempt to balance power between the French and the Habsburgs in Germany and Spain. Beginning in the late 1620's, Louis XIII of France (1601-1643), on the advice of Jean Armand, Cardinal of Richelieu (1585-1642), saw an opportunity in the Thirty Years War to seek new quarrels with their powerful Habsburg neighbors. This set the French on a course of constant collision with the authority of the papacy. Gregory XV and Urban VIII alike called many times through visits of papal nuncios and briefs for France to join the other Catholic crowns of Spain and the Empire in an effort to suppress Protestant powers. But France chose the opposite route. On Richelieu's advice, Louis XIII pledged to pay the Netherlanders (who were at war with Spain) 1,200,000 *livres* and another million each year for two years with the concession that the Netherlands would either repay half of the money (if needed) to the French or provide soldiers and ships at their request for any use, and that the Netherlands would not conclude peace or armistice with Spain under any condition without the consent of

⁶⁰ Poliřenský, *The Thirty Years War*, 214.

the French king.⁶¹ Richelieu and Louis XIII then threatened the Spanish Habsburgs and the Vatican if the French Protestant Grisons did not regain the territory they had lost by means of the Vatican's mediation between France and Spain concerning the lands in the Valtelline in the Lombardy region of northern Italy. Cardinal Richelieu regarded the decision of Urban VIII to allow the Spanish free passage through the Valtelline as a betrayal of France.⁶² The French king and his advisor instead threatened that they would ally with Protestant forces in the war against the Empire.⁶³ On 11 December 1624, a French army of 9,000 men under the direction of François-Annibal d'Estrées, the Marquis de Coeuvres (1573-1670), forced the Marchese di Bagno, commander of the papal army, to surrender the Valtelline.⁶⁴ The Pope was worried not only by the defiant position taken by the French, but also by the rumor that it was the Venetians who had supplied the French troops with artillery. He immediately sent briefs to France demanding an armistice in the Valtelline and the punishment of Coeuvres. Whereas the Pope was often resistant to sending aid and even paltry sums of money to the Habsburgs in support of their cause, in the case of the Valtelline, Urban VIII ordered the raising of 9,000 men led by his nephew, Taddeo Barberini, and sent them to areas surrounding the Valtelline, as well as other cities in northern Italy, including Ferrara and Bologna.⁶⁵ He was determined to protect the peace of Italy and stop the spread of Protestantism in Italian lands. On 25 February 1625, Urban VIII sent his nephew Francesco

⁶¹ Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 68.

⁶² Anthony Levi, *Cardinal Richelieu and the Making of France* (New York: Carroll and Graf, 2000), 87.

⁶³ Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 69.

⁶⁴ Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 70.

⁶⁵ Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 75.

Barberini to Paris as a legate to attempt negotiations with Louis XIII.⁶⁶ But Francesco Barberini returned to Rome without any success. Despite Urban's many stern letters to Louis XIII, Richelieu and the French king continued to lend help to the Protestants through their support of Commander Ernst von Mansfeld (1580-1626). Richelieu brazenly defended this position of aid of the Protestants along with the French invasion of the Valtelline in a pamphlet published and distributed in May 1625.⁶⁷ Although the Barberini were eventually successful in concluding the Valtelline problem with the Peace of Monzón in March 1626, the French continued to defy the authority of the Holy See. This is most evident in a war of the press between the Vatican and the French crown. In 1625, Antonio Santarelli, a Jesuit priest, published in Rome a treatise entitled *Tractatus de hæresi, schismate, apostasia, sollicitatione in sacramento pœnitentiæ, et de potestate Romani pontificis in his delictis puniendis* (*A Treatise on Heresy, Schism, Apostasy, and the Abuse of the Sacrament of Penance, and on the Power of Roman Popes to Punish These Crimes*).⁶⁸ This contained many claims of papal authority, including the right to depose kings. The French crown, under Richelieu's influence, was greatly angered by this publication, and ordered that copies of the book be burned by the public executioner in Paris on 13 March 1626.⁶⁹ The French responded with their own tract which stated that the Pope could not lay an interdict on a king and his realm, nor for any reason absolve the king's subjects from service or have any coercive power over the king in any matter.⁷⁰ In light of the developments of the French

⁶⁶ Levi, *Cardinal Richelieu and the Making of France*, 88; Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 76.

⁶⁷ Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 81.

⁶⁸ Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 392.

⁶⁹ Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 393.

⁷⁰ Levi, *Cardinal Richelieu and the Making of France*, 68.

invasion of the Valtelline, Urban VIII was willing to recant his position and acknowledged that Santarelli's book had come at an inopportune time when the Pope wanted the French to desist their invasions and fight for the Catholic cause. Vitelleschi, as General of the Jesuit Order gave orders for Santarelli's work to be withdrawn and a new edition printed without the offending passages.⁷¹ But this was not enough for Richelieu. On 16 March 1626, the Jesuits of Paris were coerced into making a declaration rejecting Santarelli's work and agreed to a censure upon them by the Sorbonne as "punishment." Although Urban VIII sent word through a papal nuncio that he did not approve of these extreme measures, the censure was passed under Richelieu's supervision in April.

At the same time as the Santarelli affair, two other pamphlets were being passed around Rome and Paris alike. In 1625 an anonymous publisher printed *Admonition de G. G. R., théologien, à très-chrétien roi de France et de Navarre, Louis XIII* (*Admonition by G.G.R., theologian, to the Most Christian King Louis XIII*) and *Secrets politiques de Louis XIII, roi* (*Political Secrets of King Louis XIII*).⁷² These pamphlets illustrate the Barberini's urging of the French crown to stop financially supporting the Protestant cause through the Dutch and Swedish armies and instead to fight the Protestants, but the French refused to do so. Beginning in January 1631, the French were providing 400,000 thalers a year for five years to subsidize Sweden's war against Imperial and Catholic forces.⁷³ The problems with France came to a head finally in 1635 nearing the eve of the Peace of Prague when Richelieu allied with Savoy, Mantua, and Parma against the Spanish and attacked the Spanish holding of Milan. After many briefs and letters, it became evident to the Barberinis that their pleas

⁷¹ Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 393.

⁷² Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 89.

⁷³ Parker, *The Thirty Years' War*, 124.

for peace between France and Spain were falling on deaf ears. The Barberini family wanted to show impartiality between the French and the Habsburgs, yet at the same time to promote the authority of the Church. In February 1635, three performances of a musical drama about the lives of the martyrs Saints Didimus and Teodora were given at the Palazzo Barberini. Like *Sant'Alessio* (given in 1632 and 1634), the messages of this opera advocated steadfastness in faith, a refusal of riches and power, and the importance of one's Christian beliefs over the possibility of political alliances against one's faith. On the first night of the performance, Cardinal Antonio Barberini, the Cardinal-Protector of France, invited the ambassadors of France to watch the spectacle. On the second night, Taddeo Barberini, the Prince Prefect of Rome, invited many Roman dignitaries into the audience, and on the third, Cardinal Francesco Barberini asked the Spanish ambassadors to Rome to attend.⁷⁴ It is clear from these three performances that the Barberinis were attempting to send a message of Catholic unity to all three parties.

Other performances of the Barberini saint operas were also meant to speak to specific dignitaries in their audiences, much like *Sant'Alessio* and *Santi Didimo et Teodora*. A performance of *San Bonifatio* was dedicated to the visit of Johann Eggenberg (son of Hans Ulrich von Eggenberg), the Duke of Kremau and new ambassador to Rome for Ferdinand II's successor, his son Ferdinand III. At this time, the Catholic forces saw continued defeat, especially at Wittstock by Sweden's new commander, Lennart Torstenson (1603-1651), who was thought to be even more cunning and resourceful an enemy than Gustavus Adolfus. But the papacy was also concerned about the recent victories just a few months earlier in the spring and summer of 1638 of Duke Bernard of Weimar. Bernard had been supplied large

⁷⁴ All of these dignitaries are named in an *avviso* dated 10 February, 1635; see Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 255.

sums of money by the French and had taken Freiburg, Willenweier, and Breisach for the Protestant forces. Because of the Empire's loss of Breisach, the Spanish Habsburgs could no longer travel between their possessions in the Netherlands and those in Italy, namely through Milan.⁷⁵ It would appear that the Pope was suspicious of the new emperor and his ambassador because, although Johann Eggenberg arrived in Rome in June 1638 and was received by Francesco Barberini, he was not officially received by the Pope, and was not allowed to make a triumphal entry until November.⁷⁶

A renewed interest in promoting the Catholic cause in convincing the Habsburgs not to make any concessions to Protestant nobles is seen in the production of *Genoinda* performed on 16 June 1641 in honor of Franz Wilhelm, Prince of Wartenberg and Bishop of Osnabrück (r. 1625-1661).⁷⁷ Franz Wilhelm was one of the noble ministers chosen by the emperor for negotiations that were to take place in 1642. After the Diet of Regensburg in September 1640, the Barberini continued to urge the emperor to protest the recommended concessions to Protestant forces.⁷⁸ Perhaps through the messages of remaining steadfast and through their talks with Osnabrück, the Barberini hoped that no concessions would be made in the negotiations of 1642. Perhaps the message of this opera was also meant to appeal to the nationalist sentiments Franz Wilhelm may have had for his homeland, since Saint Genevieve of Brabant was a "patron saint" (although not recognized by Rome as such) of the Holy Roman Empire, rather than a Roman saint like those chosen for the other Barberini productions.

⁷⁵ Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 359.

⁷⁶ Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 358.

⁷⁷ Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 296.

⁷⁸ Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 367.

The production of *Sant'Eustachio* may have also had specific messages for “two brothers of the Count Palatine” who attended its performance on 12 February 1643.⁷⁹ This opera, more than any other, addresses themes of war and surrender. In this drama, Saint Eustace, a former general to Hadrian’s Roman army, becomes a Christian and is martyred for his faith. The Barberinis were perhaps hoping that the ambassador-brothers would seek peace and restoration with France at the peace negotiations that were to take place in Cologne later that year. In the opera, Eustachio is joined by all of the members of his family in his martyrdom. This could have been a symbolic message that the Barberinis hoped for Catholic triumph through the united kings of the Catholic faith.

The Barberini Saint Operas in the Context of Sacred Drama

In their quest to bring about the authority of the Catholic Church by means of representing its saints, the Barberini family decided upon those whose stories not only centered on their homecoming to Rome, but also were among the oldest hagiographies. Four of the five saints chosen to be represented in these entertainments were those who lived during the paleo-Christian era, or before the sixth century. The religious dogma presented by both the historical and allegorical characters put the audience’s focus, both in terms of their attention to the artwork as well as of their participatory belief systems, on the Church, and specifically on its leaders. Allegorical characters such as “Penitence” and “Religion” appear onstage to remind the audience, as much as the saints or other characters, that they must always turn their gaze to the Church which is their guide and their help. As we shall see in subsequent chapters, these types of characters also focus on the Church’s leaders as God’s true appointed

⁷⁹ As noted in an *avviso* dated 14 February 1643; see Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 343.

sovereigns who are to lead the Christian Republic as they fight for heavenly glory. The Church and its leaders sought to establish the Catholic faith as the one true faith under the rule of the Pope in the face of opposition and factions within the Church that developed as early as the fifteenth century. By the sixteenth century, plays about the lives of saints became even more popular as more and more Protestant opposition to the church was established throughout Europe. Saints stood as heroes and leaders of the Catholic faith, and the older their stories, the longer the Catholic Church would appear to be established to audiences of these dramas.

This difference between dramatic representation of the historic and the dogmatic is seen in earlier sacred representations of Spain, the *Autos sacramentales*. These representations began as a type of mystery play with both real and allegorical characters that enacted the birth, life, and death of Christ as well as the theological implications of his incarnation celebrated through the Eucharist on the feast of Corpus Christi. In the late Renaissance, however, these dramas also began to recall the lives of Old Testament heroes and Christian-era saints while still at the same time referring to the Eucharist and Christ's incarnation. These early saint plays in Spain include Gil Vicente's *Auto de San Martinho* (1504) and Diego Sánchez's *Farsa di Santa Susaña* (1525).⁸⁰ These Spanish writers, and this new mixed genre of hagiographical dramatic representation and allegorical play which stemmed out of the *auta sacramental*, were profoundly influential on writers contemporary to Rospigliosi's time, including Lope de Vega whose works Rospigliosi most likely would

⁸⁰ Bruce W. Wardropper, "The Search for a Dramatic Formula for the *Autas sacramentales*," *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association of America* 65 (1950): 1200, 1202.

have known from his trips to Spain in the 1620's while travelling with Francesco Barberini.⁸¹ Just as Vega wrote prose and dramatic works based on the lives of saints and stories of the crusades in the tradition of Torquato Tasso, so, too, did Rospigliosi.⁸²

The operas presented at the Barberini court are also reminiscent of an older Italian dramatic tradition that dates back to the fifteenth century, that of the *rappresentazione sacra*. These "sacred representations" were religious plays with music, usually in the vernacular. Many of these plays were cultivated in Florence and written with texts in *ottava rima* and were drawn from the Bible, or, like the Barberini operas, drawn from hagiographies.⁸³ Although many of the plays are anonymous, some surviving, better-known *rappresentazioni sacre* that were published in the fifteenth century were written by Feo Belcari (1410-1484) and Lorenzo de' Medici (1449-1492).⁸⁴ Also similar to the Barberini operas, many of the *rappresentazioni sacre* were performed by boys or young men and often used elaborate stage machinery.⁸⁵ The genre of the *rappresentazione sacra* was an important forerunner of opera and oratorio. Many scholars trace the genre through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and include Emilio de' Cavalieri's (1550-1602) *Rappresentazione di Anima, et di Corpo*,

⁸¹ Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 3-4, 9. For more specific information about Rospigliosi's trips to Spain, see Maria Grazia Profeti, "Rospigliosi e la Spagna," in *Lo spettacolo del sacro, la morale del profano su Giulio Rospigliosi (Papa Clemente IX)*, ed. Danilo Romei (Pistoia: Polistampa, 2005), 133-52.

⁸² Federico Carlos Sainz de Robles, *Lope de Vega: Obras Escogidas*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Aguilar, 1964-67).

⁸³ Michael J. Anderson, "Theatre Spectacles in Florence" in *The Medieval European Stage, 500-1550*, ed. William Tydeman *et al.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 450; Alessandro d'Ancona, *Sacre rappresentazioni dei secoli XIV, XV, e XVI* (Florence: Successori Le Monnier, 1872); Mario Bonfantini, *Le sacre rappresentazioni italiane* (Milan: Bompiani, 1942).

⁸⁴ Anderson, "Theatre Spectacles in Florence," 450.

⁸⁵ Anderson, "Theatre Spectacles in Florence," 450.

performed in Rome in 1600, as a part of the tradition.⁸⁶ Also, like the Barberini operas, these *rappresentazioni sacre* were performed frequently during Carnival. Although they were often staged in local churches supported by lay confraternities and intended as a more “moral” alternative than the viewing of street performances of comedies, these sacred plays often absorbed comic and other elements of street performances like those of the *commedia dell’arte*.⁸⁷ One can see another similarity here in the Barberini operas such as *Sant’Alessio* and *San Bonifatio* which, although they depict the tragic subject matter of the last days of Christian martyrs, include comic characters and scenes.⁸⁸

Deciphering the genre of a staged, musical drama in the seventeenth century can be tricky. The *Rappresentazione di Anima, et di Corpo* is often referred to in the musicological literature as an “oratorio” while the works performed in Rome at noble courts are called “operas” even though both of these types of works were staged and involved other dramatic elements such as costumes and dancing. Also, like the Barberini saint operas, oratorios of the seventeenth century frequently took their subject matter from hagiographical stories as well as from the Old and New Testaments of the bible. In oratorio as in the Barberini operas, these hagiographical stories are treated freely with embellishment for edification of the audience and very little scriptural quotation. It is important to remember that there is no

⁸⁶ See Arnaldo Morelli, *Il tempio armonico: musica nell’Oratorio dei Filippini in Roma 1575-1705* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1991), 82-87; Carolyn Gianturco, “Opera sacra e opera morale: due ‘altri’ tipi di dramma musicale,” in *Il melodramma italiano in Italia e in Germania nell’età Barocca: atti del V Convegno internazionale sulla musica italiana nel secolo XVII, Como 1993* (Como: Centro italo-tedesco Villa Vigoni, 1995), 175-77.

⁸⁷ Paolo Toschi, *Le origini del teatro italiano* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1999), 693.

⁸⁸ For more information concerning comedy in *Sant’Alessio* see Maria Anne Purciello, “And Dionysus Laughed: Opera, Comedy and Carnival in Seventeenth-Century Venice and Rome” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2005).

known documentation of the use of the word “oratorio” for a musical work before 1640.⁸⁹

Before 1640 this term only referred to hall adjacent to a church in which “Oratorians” such as the followers of Filippo Neri would meet and hold services (and the *Rappresentazione di Anima, et di Corpo* was first performed in the Oratory of the Vallicelliana [Chiesa Nuova] in Rome). Stylistically, in some ways, the saint operas for the Barberini court do not resemble “oratorios” that appear in the second third of the seventeenth century onwards. These “oratorios,” as they are named after 1640, are unstaged dramatic dialogues performed in oratories which often contain the crucial character of the narrator. Many oratorios of the seventeenth century are also linked in both their music and their text to a liturgical tradition. The music for oratorios resembles (or even borrows from) traditional *laude* of the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries. The texts are also related to celebrations of the Mass or particular feast days. After 1660 it was common in Rome and elsewhere to find an oratorio performed in conjunction with a Mass or other liturgical service. This includes oratorios about the lives of saints, as their performances are often linked to the celebration of a particular saint’s feast day. The libretti for these oratorios are far more narrative in structure than dramatic in the unfolding of the events of the plot. But there are some similarities that the Barberini operas have in relationship to those works of the oratorio genre. First, like the Barberini operas, the music of oratorios from the seventeenth century are written largely in recitative. Like the texts of the Barberini operas the recitative texts in oratorios with Italian texts are poetic, and they usually employ a mixture of seven- and eleven-syllable lines. The few arias provided, like those of the Barberini saint operas, appear in wide variety of forms and styles; from strophic to through-composed to those with or without ground bass

⁸⁹ Howard Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, vol. 1 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 6.

accompaniments and ternary or binary forms. But unlike the libretti provided by Giulio Rospigliosi for his operas for the Barberini court, oratorios of the seventeenth century are relatively simple and use few rhetorical devices.⁹⁰

Another similar genre which is also closely related to the Barberini saint operas is that of the Jesuit school play. These plays were usually written in Latin and performed by students of the many Jesuit schools and colleges in Italy and throughout Europe.⁹¹ The most popular subjects of these plays were tragedies, including martyr plays, saints' lives, and pageants about Christ judging human behavior.⁹² Like the Barberini operas and the earlier *rappresentazione sacra*, these plays were performed at Carnival or on special occasions where sometimes prizes would be awarded to the young men who performed them.⁹³ These plays have their history in the founding of the Jesuit order which, until 1555, regularly employed dialogues of two or more characters where a moral debate occurred as a part of the Jesuit education.⁹⁴ After 1555, fully staged comedies and tragedies were performed as enrichments to the curriculum. The tragedies, commonly called *ludi solemnes*, were composed by Jesuit teachers of rhetoric at the schools, and were based on models from ancient Greek and Latin literature.⁹⁵ The intention of these dramas was to teach the young

⁹⁰ Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, 205.

⁹¹ For a thorough overall history of Jesuit drama, see William H. McCabe, *An Introduction to Jesuit Theater: a Posthumous Work*, ed. Louis J. Oldani (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1983). For more detailed information about Jesuit theater in other countries throughout Europe, see Jean Marie Valentin, *Jesuites et le théâtre* (Paris: Desjonquères, 2001) and Jean Marie Valentin, *Le théâtre des Jésuites dans les pays de langue allemande (1554-1680)* (Bern: P. Lang, 1978).

⁹² Louis J. Oldani and Victor R. Yanitelli, "Jesuit Theater in Italy: its Entrances and Exit," *Italica* 76 (1999): 18-19.

⁹³ McCabe, *An Introduction to Jesuit Theater*, 9-10.

⁹⁴ Oldani and Yanitelli, "Jesuit Theater in Italy," 18.

⁹⁵ McCabe, *Introduction to Jesuit Theater*, 10.

men at the schools, as well as perhaps their audience members, moral lessons on which they were to base their lives. Jesuit rhetorician Gianantonio Vipirano (d. 1613) wrote about the purpose of Jesuit drama in his *De poetica libri tres* (Rome, 1579): “Quid enim aliud est poesis quam in fictis personis vivendi rationem doces philosophia?”⁹⁶ Like the plays of the *rappresentazione sacra* genre, as well as the Barberini operas, the Jesuit dramas often included spectacular staging, costumes and scenery in perspective as well as gymnastics, dances, and songs.⁹⁷ Some of the most famous Jesuit plays created in Rome include Bernardo Stefonio’s *Crispus* (1597) which was performed nearly annually throughout the seventeenth century, and Leone Santi’s (fl. 1600-1650) *Il gigante* (1632)—presented in the same week as the first performances of *Sant’Alessio*—and *Joseph* (1648).⁹⁸

In the late sixteenth century, certain “rules” for putting on a Jesuit play were codified by the *Ratio atque institutio studiorum* of 1586, with another edition printed in 1591. This “handbook” of Jesuit education practices dictated that Jesuit plays were to edify their players and audiences alike with moral lessons, were not to include any female roles or female costumes, and must be in Latin.⁹⁹ By the 1630’s, some Jesuit plays began to break these rules, including the aforementioned *Il gigante*. In doing so, they added more musical numbers and a variety of poetic styles in either Latin or, as became more common in the seventeenth century, the vernacular. More specific details about other aspects of *Il gigante*

⁹⁶ “What else is poetry than philosophy using fictitious characters to teach the basis for how one should live?” See Oldani and Yanitelli, “Jesuit Theater in Italy,” 18.

⁹⁷ For specific examples, see Gianfranco Damiano, “Drammaturgia e spettacolo al Collegio Milanese di Brera,” in *I Gesuiti e i primordi del teatro barocco in Europa*, ed. Maria Chiabò and Federico Doglio (Rome: Centro Studi sul Teatro Medioevale e Rinascimentale, 1995), 331-48.

⁹⁸ Margaret Murata, “Classical Tragedy in the History of Early Opera in Rome,” *Early Music History* 4 (1984): 116-17.

⁹⁹ Oldani and Yanitelli, “Jesuit Theater in Italy,” 19.

which set it apart from the prescribed ideals of the *Ratio atque institutio studiorum* will be examined in the next chapter on scenography and staging.

One of the first Jesuit dramas to be set entirely to music is *David musicus* (1613) by the Jesuit professor of rhetoric, Alessandro Donati (1584-1640), with music (now lost) composed by Ottavio Catalani (fl. 1610-1644). Based on the existing libretto for this work, scholars assume from the strong metrical poetry of the sections in dialogue that the music was similar to early monody in a recitative style.¹⁰⁰ Elsewhere, the libretto suggests more lyrical pieces with minor sapphic stanzas which include sung choruses and a closing duet. Between 1617 and 1630 Leone Santi (1585-1682), a professor of rhetoric at the Collegio Romano, presented eight works which he dubbed “melodramas.”¹⁰¹ Another example of music in Jesuit theater is seen in the composition of music for plays by an unknown writer, *Il sacrificio d’Isaac* and *Giuditta*, by Giacomo Carissimi in 1656.¹⁰² Unfortunately the music for both of these plays is now lost. But one may get a better idea as to what the music for some Jesuit dramas may have been like from looking at the music from an academic defense from 1617 which includes a number of large choruses.¹⁰³

There are two productions sponsored by the Barberini family that closely resemble Jesuit dramas. *San Bonifatio* has many parallels to Jesuit school dramas. It was written for a cast of all boy sopranos and did not include any spectacular scenery or machines. The opera

¹⁰⁰ *I-Rvat* Barb. lat. 1819 is the only known copy. For closer analysis of this work, see Murata, “Classical Tragedy in the History of Early Opera in Rome,” 113-17.

¹⁰¹ Murata, “Classical Tragedy in the History of Early Opera in Rome,” 117.

¹⁰² Oldani and Yanitelli, “Jesuit Theater in Italy,” 24.

¹⁰³ Domenico Allegri and Cesare Laurenti, *Music for an Academic Defense, Rome 1617*, ed. Anthony John, Louise Rice and Clare Woods, *Recent Research in the Music of the Baroque Era*, vol. 134 (Middleton WI: A-R Editions, 2004).

was performed by boys who attended the Seminario Vaticano San Pietro. What is more, this opera included an intermedio called “Il Pedante” in which the schoolboys act out a comical skit where they sit in a classroom and try to memorize Horatian odes.¹⁰⁴

The second production of the Barberini family which resembles a Jesuit drama is a Latin play called *Susanna* based on the apocryphal biblical story. This drama, produced once again by the students and alumni of the Seminario Vaticano San Pietro and with intermedii between its acts, was performed with a shortened version of *Sant’Eustachio* in 1643 at the Palazzo Rusticci in Borgo (near the Vatican). The *avvisi* from 1643 tell us that this play did have scenery and machines. While no libretto, *argomento*, or musical score for the play itself are to be found, the story for *Susanna* may have been adapted from two sources. The first is a production with the same title written by Decio Memmolo performed in 1632 at the monastery at the Chiesa Santa Susanna.¹⁰⁵ The second source may have been a poem, *Susanna combattuta*, found in Maffeo Barberini’s private library.¹⁰⁶

There are some elements of the Barberini saint operas which resemble another known practice of the Jesuits: that of spiritual exercises. Although the practice of spiritual exercises is known to have occurred in several Catholic orders since the mid-fourteenth century, the published *Spiritual Exercises* (1548) of Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuit order, are perhaps the best known and most practiced to this day.¹⁰⁷ The goal of performing these

¹⁰⁴ Rome, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei – Biblioteca Corsiniana (henceforth, *I-Rli*) Rossi 302, and *I-Rvat* Vat. lat. 10230; see also Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 207.

¹⁰⁵ The libretto for this work was published in Rome in 1632; a copy can be found at *I-Rn* Roma 34.1.G.71.

¹⁰⁶ *I-Rvat* Vat. lat. 13345. The binding of this volume contains both Maffeo’s and Antonio’s (iuniore) escutcheons.

¹⁰⁷ Loyola’s exercises in many ways resemble those of Ludolph of Saxony in his *Vita Jesu Christi* and the anonymous treatise once thought to have been written by St. Bonaventure, *Meditationes vitae Christi*, both dating from the mid-fourteenth century. The practice of spiritual exercise was also known in Spain before

exercises was to examine one's conscience by meditating and contemplating, praying vocally and mentally in order to seek and find the Divine Will as the management of one's life on earth. Throughout the exercises, Loyola makes reference to an "evil angel" as he views the human soul as being in a constant state of "tug-of-war" between the temptations of evil and the obedience to do good. The instructions remind the participant that God and the devil were active in the whole process of meditation. It is in this regard that the saint operas of the Barberini court bear resemblance to the spiritual exercises. Demons are commonly found in these saint operas and dress in disguise in order to gain access to the saintly characters, their friends or their families. The demons are presented in this opera in a wholly sensual, experiential manner to the audience. They sing and dance and emerge from fiery caves with hideous bodies and deep, disturbing voices. Loyola warns the participant from the very beginning of the exercises, that "the enemy of human nature tempts under the appearance of good rather when the person is exercising himself in the Illumination of Life."¹⁰⁸ The scenographic depictions of demons in these operas, as well as their songs and their bodies, are similar to Loyola's descriptions in exercises 65-71 of the "Meditation on Hell." Here too, the participant is encouraged to "see with the sight of the imagination the length, breadth and depth of Hell," to "see with the sight of the imagination the great fires and the souls as in bodies of fire," and to "hear with the ears, wailings, howlings, cries and blasphemies against the Church."¹⁰⁹ But sometimes, especially while in disguise, the demons of these operas do not appear or sound frightening at first, but, rather, appear in disguise. Loyola also includes

Loyola's publication as is seen the many new editions of the *Meditationes vitae Christi* in Spain around 1500 as well as Garcia de Cisneros's publication of his *Ejercitatorio de la vida espiritual* of 1500 and Alonso de Madrid's *Arte para servir a Dios* of 1521.

¹⁰⁸ Ignatius Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises*, trans. George E. Ganss (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1992), 24.

¹⁰⁹ Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises*, 46-47.

in his directions for the exercises themselves a list of “rules.” These rules may have come about after Loyola’s extensive practices and experience with conducting the exercises among his followers and students. Some of the rules apply to more practical matters such as the distribution of alms to the poor. Others deal with spiritual, metaphysical questions about the “discernment of evil.” It is easy to see a connection to the aggressive *moresca* performed by the demons in their first appearance in Act I of *Sant’Alessio* and Loyola’s seventh rule for the “Greater Discernment of Spirits” that demons will “enter perceptibly with clatter and noise when it is contrary [to the soul’s state].” But the saintly characters are tested and tempted by demons in these operas at their moments of sadness and confusion because demons can also assume another appearance, as this same rule of discernment tells us that demons may also “enter with silence as into their own home, through an open door.” Each time after the saint encounters a demon who tells him a lie, the saint finds himself in a state of uncertainty and fear. This idea is also similar to Loyola’s fifth rule for the discernment of spirits that the demon “takes away its peace, tranquility and quiet.” These same principles are found in spiritual exercises written by followers of the Jesuit order, namely Gaspar Loarte (1498-1578) in *The Exercise of a Christian Life* and Theresa of Avila (1515-1582) in *The Interior Castle*, as well as in numerous writings by Francois de Sales (1567-1622) and Pierre de Bérulle (1575-1629). A closer examination of how demons interact with saintly characters in these operas, and their relationship to spiritual exercises is presented in chapter five of this dissertation.

It is important that we, as scholars, resist the temptation to use spiritual exercises as a template for understanding the drama and form of the Barberini saint operas. It is reasonable to see the similarities between the temptation experiences of the participant in the exercises

as described by Loyola and the saintly protagonist of one of these operas. It is also reasonable to assume that the opera's creators, Giulio Rospigliosi, Stefano Landi, and Virgilio Mazzochi, as well as many of their original cast members, would have known well the practice of spiritual exercises, as they were educated in the leading Jesuit institutions including the Seminario Romano and the Collegio Germanico, and took orders at the church of Il Gesù. In terms of function and genre, I would argue that the spiritual exercises are more closely related to *rappresentazioni sacre* or even oratorio. The spiritual exercises were not meant, in their publication, as a sort of "self help" book, but rather, a spiritual journey one undertook with the help of spiritual guide. An elder Jesuit was often chosen to lead the participant through the various exercises. In this sense, one can more accurately view the printed Spiritual Exercises as a sort of "teacher's edition." The spiritual exercises would not have been performed on one's own in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. I would liken this spiritual leader to a narrator in *rappresentazione sacre* or in an oratorio since, at times, the exercises do take on a narrative form as they recount stories such as the nativity or the crucifixion of Jesus.

One must also acknowledge that the operas also adapt features which pertain to the criticisms of Loyola's exercises that were voiced by members of the Inquisition during the sixteenth century. The first of these criticisms was that the exercises taught the participant too much reliance on their inner inspiration in a Pelagian sense. It may be for that very reason that the saints who are tempted in these operas and find themselves in a state of confusion and anxiety are not able to overcome the words of the demon on their own. It is only when the saint calls out to heaven for divine aid that an angel comes and eases their suffering. The Inquisition was also suspicious of the Loyola's exercises' lack of insistence

on a life of poverty, chastity, and obedience in order to find peace and an understanding of salvation.¹¹⁰ It may be for this reason that the saintly protagonists of *Sant’Alessio* and *San Bonifatio* give up a worldly life of love and luxury in order to pursue a more humble, pious existence.

Another genre of drama to which the Barberini saint operas are closely related is the *tragedia sacra*. These were sacred plays written after in the Council of Trent, the earliest possibly being the anonymous *Saul* of 1566 and the *Martirio di Santa Caterina* of 1568.¹¹¹ These plays, unlike the Jesuit plays of the same era, were intended for the theater and were performed in the vernacular. This genre was a fluid one which absorbed many of the themes of earlier *rappresentazioni sacre* and Jesuit school dramas. The *tragedie sacre* are set apart from these other genres, however, because the plays often are caught between attempting to observe the demands both of sacred histories of the Church and neo-Aristotelian principles. In a treatise entitled *Rinovazione dell’antica e primera tragedia* (1633), historian Tarquinio Galuzzi defends this mixture of elements, as we shall see in chapter three. Some plays of the *tragedia sacra* genre also began to contain a hybrid content of tragedy and comedy, and of mixed levels of style (erudite tragedy vs. antics of the *commedia dell’arte* tradition). By the seventeenth century, plays of the genre were also given the label “tragicomedia” by Alessandro Donati in his treatise *Ars poetica* (1631), and as “hilarotragoedia” by Ottaviano Castelli (c. 1602-1642) in his treatise *Dialogo sopra la poesia drammatica* (1640).¹¹² We

¹¹⁰ John W. O’Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 43.

¹¹¹ Louise George Clubb, *Italian Drama in Shakespeare’s Time* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 212.

¹¹² Elena Tamburini, “Per uno studio documentario delle forme sceniche: i teatri dei Barberini e gli interventi Berniniani,” in *Tragedie dell’onore nell’Europa barocca*, ed. Maria Chiabò and Federico Doglio (Rome: Centro Studi sul Teatro Medioevale e Rinascimentale, 2002), 260-261.

know that Castelli envisioned the Barberini operas to be exemplary of this mixed genre from a poem written by him and dedicated to Francesco Barberini which praises the opera *Santi Didimo e Teodora*, which he may have witnessed first hand.¹¹³ There is little doubt that the Barberini family members were aware of these new dramatic forms and ideas, since both Galuzzi's and Donati's treatises were dedicated to Francesco Barberini.

It is important to note that Donati was not the first to write a treatise on tragicomedy, but, rather, the term was made famous (or notorious) by Giovanni Battista Guarini in his *Compendio della poesia tragicomica* (1601). In tragicomedy, Guarini envisioned a drama which combined the more decorous elements of comedy with the pathos of tragedy. Here there would be a positive resolution to the contradictory emotional states, or *affetti*, presented in the drama.¹¹⁴ In tragicomedy, a number of unexpected twists and turns of the plot would develop intrigue and keep the audience member from guessing the ending of the play. A tragic end would be averted by a "credibile miracolo" which would, in turn, delight the audience. But, at the same time, Guarini still advocated for the Aristotelian unities. Guarini states in the *Compendio*:

*se sarà domandato che fine è quello della poesia tragicomica, dirò ch'egli sia d'imitare con apparato scenico un'azione finta e mista di tutte quelle parti tragiche e comiche, che verisimilmente e con decoro possano stare insieme, corrette sotto una sola forma drammatica, per fine di purgar con diletto la mestizia degli ascoltanti.*¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Ottaviano Castelli, "Sopra la sontuosissima Festa di S.ta Teodora," (Rome, 1635), *I-Rvat Barb.* lat. 3832. The binding of the volume in which this poem is collected matches those other volumes owned by Francesco Barberini, bound in white vellum with a gold bee tooled on the front and back covers.

¹¹⁴ Maurice Slawinski, "The Seventeenth-Century Stage," in *A History of Italian Theater*, ed. Joseph Farrell and Paolo Puppa (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 131-132.

¹¹⁵ Michele Marrapodi, *Shakespeare, Italy, and Intertextuality* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), 80-81.

if asked what is the aim of tragicomic poetry, I will say that it is to imitate with theatrical means a feigned and mixed action of all those tragic and comic parts that realistically and with decorum can stay together, in a single dramatic form, in order to purge with delight the sadness of the listeners.

Guarini made his “third genre” better known in his drama some years earlier, *Il pastor fido* (performed 1598, if not before) where he combined not only the comic with the tragic, but also elements of the sixteenth-century pastoral play. Guarini was not the first to write plays with this combination of dramatic elements. Some earlier examples include the early sixteenth-century Latin “mixed dramas” and other vernacular plays including Baldassare Castiglione’s and Cesare Gonzaga’s *Tirsi* of 1506 and Luigi Tansillo’s *I due pellegrini* (c. 1527). A closer examination of Donati’s and Galuzzi’s treatises and the mixing of Aristotelian and other elements into sacred drama will be explored further in chapter three of this dissertation.

Overall, these sacred plays are the most similar to the Barberini operas in this sense as well as a number of others. First, like the Barberini operas, the *tragedie sacre* focused on the lives of saints, most specifically martyrs. They also, like the Barberini operas, are composed in *versi sciolti*, mixing eleven- and seven-syllable lines.¹¹⁶ As one finds also in all of the Barberini operas, plays of this genre also included a prologue in the tradition of Horace. The prologue was usually spoken to the audience by an angel, a muse, or a historical or allegorical character who does not otherwise take part in the drama.¹¹⁷ Like the Barberini operas, these plays do not include scenes of horror or show the actual death of a saint taking place on the stage, following the advice of Aristotle in his *Poetics*. And as we shall also see in *Sant’Alessio* and *San Bonifatio*, the *tragedie sacre* often included devils or demons who

¹¹⁶ Clubb, *Italian Drama in Shakespeare’s Time*, 216.

¹¹⁷ Clubb, *Italian Drama in Shakespeare’s Time*, 215.

act as aids to the saint's persecutors, change their appearance, or are set as foils to angelic characters.¹¹⁸ The use of demons in religious, dramatic productions and in the Barberini operas will also be discussed in more detail in chapter five. The creators of these dramas wanted to promote a type of theater that was edifying in terms of Christian values, but also appealing to the lay public.¹¹⁹ They wanted the viewers to put themselves in the place of the saint on stage in order to understand the play's spiritual messages. This way, the theater was suspended somewhere between the teachings of the Jesuits, the dramas of Horace and Seneca, the ideals of Aristotle, and a mystical vision of heaven.

However, perhaps the most influence on the creation of the Barberini saint operas was exerted by a series of works created in Florence in the 1620s. The first of these was *Il martirio di Sant'Agata* of 1622. This play, written by Jacopo Cicognini (1577-1633) with some music by Giovanni Battista da Gagliano (1594–1651), was performed in the manner of the *rappresentazione sacra* in that it was sung by men and boys of the Compagnia di Sant'Antonio di Padova during Carnival season before Archduchess Maria Magdalena of Austria (1589-1631), regent of Florence and wife of the recently deceased Grand Duke Cosimo II de' Medici (1590-1621), and Cosimo's mother, Christine of Lorraine.¹²⁰ Like the Barberini operas, this work took on a propagandist function when the ruling regents asked that the confraternity repeat its performance for the visit of the Spanish ambassador to Rome, Don Manuel de Zuñiga, later that year. This ambassador was one of the men chosen to decide on a Protector of the territories in the Valtelline region disputed between France and

¹¹⁸ Clubb, *Italian Drama in Shakespeare's Time*, 217.

¹¹⁹ Anna Cerbo, *Il teatro dell'intelletto: drammaturgia di tardo Rinascimento nel meridione* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1990), 53.

¹²⁰ Harness, *Echoes of Women's Voices*.

Spain. Maria Magdalena's son, eleven-year-old Ferdinand II (1610-1670), was in line for the position. Maria Magdalena had to know that an opera portraying women as liberators and protectors could help sway the decisions of the ambassador who might otherwise have had anxieties over her power as regent over the Valtelline until her son came to the correct age to assume his rulership.¹²¹

Like *Il martirio di Sant'Agata*, later saint plays with music performed at the Florentine court also had many similarities to the operas of the Barberini court in Rome. *La regina Sant'Orsola* (1624 and 1625), and *Il martirio di Santa Caterina* (1627) both depict the lives of early Christian saints. Similarly, the production of *Giuditta* (1626) which was witnessed by Francesco Barberini at the Florentine court, depicted, like the saint operas, a holy person who rejected the things of the world in order to stand firm in her faith and commit great acts of bravery in the face of opposition. Also like the Barberini operas, all of these sacred works presented at the Florentine court were performed for the visits of foreign dignitaries, including those from Rome, Spain, the Holy Roman Empire, and Poland. The Florentine regents brought spiritual drama with music from the churches of the confraternities to the halls of the ruling court in order that it might be seen not only by the lay religious, and, moreover, that it might function as a propagandist device towards specific dignitaries involved with the various battles and treaties of the Thirty Years War. Francesco Barberini, who witnessed one of these performances, sought to do the very same thing.

¹²¹ Harness, *Echoes of Women's Voices*, 70-71.

The Relation of the Barberini Saint Operas to Hagiographical Literature

The seventeenth century was an exciting time in the history of the creation of hagiographical literature. The Council of Trent, which concluded in 1563, recognized the need for hagiographical literature to be used for sermons and remain as such a part of liturgical services, but many members of its congregation were aware of the vast number of hagiographies existing, as well as of the fact that saints were being venerated on a local, rather than ecclesiastical, level. The Council of Trent's mandate covered changes to be made concerning the missal and the breviary.¹²² This way, authority over the cults of saints could be established by the Pope, and any celebrations of new saints would be strictly regulated. In an effort to follow the decrees of the Council of Trent concerning revisions to liturgical materials which contained litanies on saints' lives for each saint's feast day, the Sacred Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies was established as part of Sixtus V's reform of the Roman Curia in 1588.¹²³ This same congregation was still handing out decrees concerning the veneration of saints during the rule of Urban VIII. Twice in 1625, and again in 1634, papal bulls were published with strict new regulations setting limits upon devotions to persons who had not been authorized by the Church hierarchy.¹²⁴ No new cults could be established without the Pope's approval unless they had existed for at least a century. Saints were also a focal point of the spiritual and social agendas of the Barberini family because their stories held immense power over the Church's faithful. Although hagiographical

¹²² Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 18.

¹²³ Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy*, 18.

¹²⁴ Laurie Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 169-170.

literature as it is defined today can include any type of writing on holy persons of the church from saints lives to sermons, liturgical books, or even records of miracles or visions, all hagiographical literature has had one primary goal: not merely to preserve a biography of a saint, but rather to depict that person as an exemplar for the faithful. This is most clearly seen in the preface to St. Bertholdus of Micy's ninth-century writing *The Life of St. Maximus of Micy* where he states that "God's love provided their deeds to serve as a norm of living for the men of their own times...they are to be imitated piously."¹²⁵

At the same time as the Congregation of Sacred Rites was deciding decrees on the veneration of saints, another movement in the history of hagiographical literature was taking place amongst the Jesuits in Belgium, the beginnings of the largest collection of saints' lives ever compiled: the *Acta Sanctorum*. In the face of growing populations of Calvinist Huguenots in Belgium, Jesuit missionaries sought to transform the faithful of the Low Countries by preaching sermons based on the lives of saints. Upon realizing that the archives of local monasteries in Belgium contained several thousand records of saints lives, Heribert Rosweyde (1569-1629) began the great undertaking of investigating the validity of and compiling these stories into a logical order. When Rosweyde sent the first volumes of his work to Cardinal Roberto Bellarmine (1542-1621) in Rome, Bellarmine was immediately impressed with the monk's dedication, but responded "This man counts, then, on living two hundred years longer!" and tried to persuade Rosweyde to abandon the project.¹²⁶ Rosweyde, however, refused to give up his research, and his work continues to this day on what later

¹²⁵ Thomas F. X. Noble, and Thomas Head, eds. *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1995), xvii-xviii.

¹²⁶ R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540-1770* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 137.

became the *Acta Sanctorum*, a multi-volume set of saints' lives compiled in order of the saints' feast days with extra volumes which describe indexes of martyrologies and holy relics. After Rosweyde's death in 1629, another Belgian Jesuit was assigned the task of investigating Rosweyde's research and reporting to the Order on its worth. This Jesuit, a novice named Jean Bolland (1596-1665), saw such immense value in the work that he himself continued the compilation of the volumes with the blessing of the Jesuit Order and the Congregation of Sacred Rites beginning in 1635. The first volumes containing over 2,500 pages relating the lives of saints for the feast days of the month of January were published in 1643.¹²⁷ Still today, the Société des Bollandistes continues this research.¹²⁸

The first compilers of the *Acta Sanctorum* had many traditional hagiographical writings to consult in their investigations. Catholic scholars locate in the Biblical book of Acts the first account of a saint's life, that of St. Stephen the Martyr in chapters 6:1 through 8:2. Saints' lives continued to be committed to writing. During the first centuries after the writing of the New Testament, biographies of early ascetic mystics and martyrs began to appear, such as the second-century *Martyrdom of Polycarp* and *Life of Ignatius of Antioch*. The meeting of the church fathers at the First Council of Nicea in 325 also brought about a number of anonymous histories of the apostles, most famously the lives (and some accounts of martyrdoms) of saints Matthew, Andrew, Peter, Thomas, Bartholomew, and John. Some of the more prominent histories of saints' lives were written by those named as the early Fathers of the Church, namely saints Jerome, Ambrose of Milan, and Augustine. This era is commonly known as the Patristic Era. The saints' lives as written by these men, along with

¹²⁷ Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, 137.

¹²⁸ The most recent volume celebrates 400 years of research on Christian hagiography: *Bollandistes, saints et légendes; Quatre siècles de recherche 1607-2007* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 2007).

the writings of Gregory of Nyssa and John Chrysostom during the fourth and fifth century, were compiled many times by later hagiographers as the *Liber vitae patrum*. The first of these was written in the early Medieval period by Gregory of Tours (c. 538-595). By this point, saints' lives began to take on traditional, standardized features now referred to as topoi or types. These types include the virgin martyr, the military saint, the monastic saint, the holy church father or doctor of the church, and the imitator of Christ who has the ability to perform the same miracles, such as healing leprosy or raising the dead, that are attributed to Jesus of Nazareth in the New Testament. Sometimes a saint is recounted in these *vitae* as having the attributes of more than one topos. Perhaps the most well known precursor to the *Acta Sanctorum* was Jacobus de Voragine's (1230-1298) *Legenda aurea* or "Golden Legend." Originally compiled around 1260, this multivolume work of saints' lives survives in more than a thousand manuscript copies from before the dawn of the printing press in the fifteenth century. Voragine's work was well known most likely because it was meant for a liturgical purpose, as each entry on a saint has references to liturgical readings for each feast day. This practice carries over into the writing of the *Acta Sanctorum* to this day.

The saints chosen for the Barberini operas are often found in well-known hagiographical literature. St. Alexis was one of the more popular subjects of sacred representations. There are at least four existing printed sources for dramatic representations of Alexis's story written before the 1632 and 1634 performances of *Sant' Alessio*; these were often reprinted between the 1550's and 1630's.¹²⁹ There are also seven Italian manuscript

¹²⁹ Dramatic representations of Saint Alexis include: anon., *Rappresentazione di Santo Alessio* (Siena: n.p., n.d.; reprinted Florence: n.p., 1554; Florence: n.p., 1560; Florence: Giovanni Baleni, 1589); anon., *La rappresentazione di Santo Alexo nuovamente ristampa* (n.p.: n.p., 1570; I-Rvat Stamp. Dramm. Allacci 305 [int.12]); anon., *Rappresentazione della vita, e morte del glorioso S. Alessio* (Orvieto: Antonio Colaldi, 1608; with reprints including Ronciglione: Lodovico Grignani and Lorenzo Lupis, 1621; Viterbo: Bernardino Diotallevi, 1631); P. Ortensio Scamacca, *Alessio, tragedia sacra* (Palermo: Giambattista Maringo, 1632).

sources of dramatic representations from the fifteenth century. It is perhaps because the Saint Alexis story was so popular in religious dramas of previous years that the patron of *Sant' Alessio* chose this subject for the first sacred opera to be performed in the Barberini household. The story of the Roman Saint Boniface was also known to audiences before the Barberini opera of 1638 in the form of a sacred drama with sung choruses, as well as a manuscript of a drama from the fifteenth century.¹³⁰ There is also an anonymous print of a tragedy on the life of Saint Eustace from 1606 as well as nineteen manuscript sources of dramas on Eustace's life.¹³¹ The life of Saint Teodora of Alexandria is somewhat more complicated. As early as the fifteenth century, the attributes of this saint along with the events of her life and martyrdom are conflated with those of a saint "Taysis" more commonly known as Thaïs. There are at least six surviving manuscripts of dramas concerning Teodora or Thaïs (both saints lives often appear in the same volume with very similar stories) from the fifteenth century.¹³²

The story of *Genoinda* as treated by Rospigliosi is a little different from these other traditional saints in that she does return to her husband in the happy ending of this drama. Genoinda, also known as Genovefa and Genevieve of Brabant, is reported to have lived during the Carolingian era, but no manuscript sources of the story date back that far.¹³³ The

¹³⁰ Anonymous, *Il Bonifacio, tragedia sacra* (Venice: n.p., 1625).

¹³¹ Giovan Antonio Liberati, *Tragedia di S.Eustachio* (Viterbo: Girolamo Discepolo, 1606; two copies in *I-Rvat* Stamp. Dramm. Allacci 92). Several of these sources for the plays of Saints Alexis, Boniface, and Eustace are also cited in Lione Allacci, *Drammaturgia* (Venice: Giambattista Pasquali, 1755; facs. Turin: Botega d'Erasmus, 1966).

¹³² Many references to saint plays based on the lives of saints Alexis, Boniface, Eustace, Teodora, and Taysis are found in libraries throughout Europe and are listed in Carlo Delcorno, *La tradizione delle "Vite dei santi padri"* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2000).

¹³³ For a complete history of the legend of Genevieve of Brabant, see Heinrich Sauerborn, *Geschichte der Pfalzgräfin in Genovefa und der Kapelle Frauenkirchen* (Regensburg: G.J. Manz, 1856); Bruno Golz, *Pfalzgräfin Genovefa in der deutschen Dichtung* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1897).

oldest versions of the story are found in a manuscript dated 1472 by Matthias Emichius, the Bishop of Mainz. But Rospigliosi most likely found the source for this opera's plot from one of the seventeenth-century versions of the story that were printed and circulated throughout Europe by the Jesuits. The first was by Marquard Freher, a Jesuit who studied the fifteenth-century manuscript and published the story of Genevieve of Brabant in his *Origines palatinae* in 1613. Perhaps more well known was the work of the French Jesuit René de Cerises whose *L'innocence reconnue, ou Vie de Sainte Geneviève* was published in 1638. The title of de Cerises' story bears strong resemblance to *Genoinda's* other title, "L'innocenza difesa." This same story was published again in 1640 by de Cerises in a collection of three saints' lives, *Les trois états de l'innocence affligées*, which also included stories of Saint Hirlanda of Brittany and Joan of Arc.

***Sant'Alessio* (1632, 1634)**

Sant'Alessio, performed in 1632 and again in 1634 with some added scenes, tells the story of the fifth-century Saint Alexis.¹³⁴ In the original story recorded in an eleventh-century French manuscript, Alexis voyages to Syria on his wedding night, wishing to remain chaste and to dedicate his life to God as a mendicant. There he lives for a number of years, often

¹³⁴ For more information about the first story of Saint Alexis, see Susan Ashbrook Harvey, *Asceticism and Society in Crisis; John of Ephesus and the 'Lives of the Eastern Saints'* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 19-21. For a history of the eleventh century version of the story of St. Alexis story, see Carl J. Odenkirchen, *The Life of St. Alexis, in the Old French version of the Hildesheim Manuscript*. (Brookline, MA: Classical Folia Editions, 1978); Roldolfo Reiner, "Qualche nota sulla diffusione dell'legenda di Sant'Alessio in Italia," in *Raccolta di studii critici dedicata ad Alessandro d'Ancona festeggiandosi il XL anniversario del suo insegnamento*, ed. L. Ferrari, G. Manacorda, and F. Pintor (Florence: G. Barbèra, 1901), 1-12. For more information about the earliest accounts of the Saint Alexis story, see Charles E. Stebbins, *A Critical Edition of the 13th and 14th Centuries Old French Poem Versions of the "Vie de Saint Alexis"* (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1974); Christopher Storey, *La "Vie de Saint Alexis": texte du manuscrit de Hildesheim* (Paris: Minard, 1968).

performing miracles, until he one day returns home to Rome. In the version performed for the Barberini family, the opera begins with a prologue, sung by a representation of Rome who sings of her many glories, among which is Alessio, the Christian soldier. The first act opens with Adraastro, a Roman soldier returning from war who comforts Eufemiano, Alessio's father and a Roman nobleman who has been missing his son for many years. Unknown to Eufemiano and to the rest of his family, Alessio has in fact returned, but he lives unrecognized as a beggar underneath his father's staircase. He suffers abuse at the hands of his father's servants, and is tempted by a demon to return to his former life of luxury in his father's house. Alessio is mourned by his mother, wife, and father, which gives the demon his ability to plan a temptation for Alessio. The demon makes Alessio's grieving wife and mother decide to go out in search of Alessio, and the latter must decide whether or not to reveal his true identity. It is at this moment that the demon comes to him, dressed as a hermit and claiming that he bears the word of God when he tells him that he should return to his loving family. But Alessio realizes that his uncertainty comes from an evil spirit, and asks heaven to help him, whereupon an Angel comes to scare away the demon and assures Alessio that he has done the right thing and is to die soon. The final act of the opera focuses on the events after Alessio's death, where his true identity is revealed by a miraculous voice from heaven. The demon is defeated, and the saint is shown in a glorious apotheosis in heaven.

Santi Didimo e Teodora (1635, 1636)

The second sacred opera produced by the Barberini family was *Santi Didimo e Teodora*, performed in 1635 and again in 1636 at the Palazzo alle Quattro Fontane. The prologue for

this opera depicts Heavenly Love, Martyrdom, and Virginitly who speak of the persecutions of the ancient Christians in Egypt. Cleopatra is then shown weeping over the pains of her afterlife, but she is sent back to the world of the damned. The first act opens with Teodora, a newly converted Christian, declaring her faith to her mother and nurse, and then to the high court. Teodora is loved by the pagan consul Olibrio, who asks the proconsul Eustratio to spare her, but even Teodora clamors for her own death. Olibrio asks Didimo, a fellow soldier, for advice, but he discovers that Didimo too has become a Christian. An allegorical scene is included where Pleasure, Riches, Vanity, and Idleness demonstrate the delights of the world and complain of Teodora who tries to resist them, but Teodora is visited by an angel who prepares her for her persecution.

Teodora's nurse tries once again to make Teodora reconsider her vows to be a Christian, but to no avail. Teodora's family holds a joust among the cavaliers of the court to win the hand of Teodora, but during the event, a message arrives telling how Teodora has blasphemed and has knocked down the idols in the temple.

Another allegorical scene is included where Teodora is beset with temptations where Pleasure and Riches try to dissuade her, citing her mother's distress. Teodora has been imprisoned in a brothel, and Didimo convinces her to escape with her life. Olibrio is furious on discovering Teodora's escape. Didimo vows that he is prepared to die in Teodora's place. The mothers of Didimo and Teodora are distraught. Teodora's nurse plots with Olibrio to send Didimo a false letter from Teodora in which she renounces her Christian faith, which they hope will result in both of Teodora's and Didimo's renunciations. Didimo is grief-stricken by the letter but unmoved in his convictions. That night, as the Egyptians begin one

of their religious celebrations, the sky darkens, and during the sudden storm, the idols are struck down once again.

Pleasure and Vanity once again renew their efforts against Teodora, and she begins to rethink her actions. As the day begins anew, she decides to return to Alexandria and face her death. She turns herself in to Olibrio and takes her place beside Didimo before Eustratio. They resolve to die together, as Olibrio, in anguish, confesses to the false letter. Their grieving parents listen to the report of the martyrs' deaths, but the spirits of Didimo and Teodora are heard in heaven as they calm and reassure them.

San Bonifatio (1638)

The thirteenth-century church of Sant' Alessio on the Aventine hill in Rome was built as an addition to the fourth century church of San Bonifatio, or Boniface the Martyr.¹³⁵ The Barberini family produced an opera based on the life of this second-century saint, *San Bonifatio*, in 1638 at the Palazzo della Cancelleria currently inhabited by Francesco Barberini as the Vice-Chancellor of the Church. The opera opens with the lovers Bonifatio and Aglae singing and dancing together, but their life of pleasure is unnerving to the girl. When her lover takes his leave, Penitence arrives and reminds Aglae of the passing of her youth and her days of foolishness. Meanwhile a comedic Captain courting Aglae sends his servant with a message for her bragging of his military prowess. Bonifatio is then seen telling his servant of his joyful life with Aglae, but Aglae comes and asks him to go to Tarsus to fight for a year for the Christians. Bonifatio is torn and does not understand her intentions, but he is willing

¹³⁵ Olivia Muratore, Maria Richiello, and Paolo Barbato, *La storia e il restauro del complesso conventuale dei Santi Bonifacio e Alessio all'Aventino* (Rome: E. del Rosa, 2004).

to go. A demon then appears and vows to tempt Bonifatio and Aglae alike. Aglae's household is in an uproar as they believe that Algae is sending Bonifatio to his death, but a guardian angel appears to reassure him. In Rome, the Captain continues his attempts at seducing Aglae but remains unsuccessful. The demon appears to Bonifatio in Tarsus and tries to convince him to return to Aglae and rekindle their love, but as Bonifatio is steadfast in his resolve, the demon then tempts Aglae to call Bonifatio back to her in Rome. The opera ends with Bonifatio being taken captive by the Romans. He refuses to yield to them and chooses death. His servant returns to Rome and delivers the message to Aglae who has awaited the end of the year's vow. The final scene is a ballet of the Church Militant and the Church Triumphant who declare their victory.

***Genoinda* (1641)**

The next sacred opera presented at the Barberini court, *Genoinda* of 1641, was not based on the life of a paleo-Christian saint but, rather, on a medieval figure who was viewed as a patron saint of Germany, although she was not regarded as a saint by the papacy. It is important to note that Rospigliosi never refers to Genoinda as a "saint." *Genoinda* tells the story of Genevieve of Brabant whose husband, Siegfried (Sifrido), the Duke of Bavaria, sets out with his men against the Moorish infidel. He leaves Genoinda in the care of his trusted councilor Gelone, who secretly is in love with her. In his attempts to seduce Genoinda, Gelone consults with her nurse, Oriclea. When Oriclea makes suggestions to Genoinda that perhaps her husband may not return, Genoinda rebukes her. One day while Genoinda and her ladies amuse themselves with songs and a recitation of the story of Judith, Gelone arrives

with gifts and a false messenger who relates Sifrido's failure and death. But Gelone is still unable to conquer Genoinda. Because he is left in charge of Sifrido's kingdom, he has Genoinda and her young son ostracized by the court. When he hears that the duke and his men are returning, he orders the nurse to trick the duke into believing that Genoinda has been unfaithful to him. Sifrido is enraged and orders his wife to be killed, but Ariadeno, the captain of his army, convinces him to have her executed secretly. After Genoinda is led away to be killed, two of the household's servants speculate whether she and her son might have been murdered unjustly. They lament her death, and even her nurse is remorseful. In an attempt to overcome his unhappiness, Sifrido throws a large party, but it ends with an argument between Gelone and Ariadeno in which Sifrido intervenes but fails to reconcile them. Gelone is tormented by his conscience and decides to kill Sifrido to gain peace of mind. The damsels of the court have had a dream that Genoinda is alive, and they go to the temple to pray. The men of Sifrido's court go out to hunt, and Gelone and his men lie in wait to assassinate Sifrido. The assassins discover Genoinda, who had been spared and has been living in the woods. Sifrido and his men come upon them all, Gelone is caught, the truth is revealed, and Genoinda is pardoned. In turn, she then pardons Gelone.

***Sant'Eustachio* (1643)**

The final sacred opera performed for the Barberini family was *Sant'Eustachio*. This opera was performed in 1643 at the Palazzo Campeggi-Rusticucci in Borgo, adjacent to the Vatican. This opera tells the story of the second-century saint Eustace, a general to the pagan Roman emperor Hadrian. The opera begins with Eustachio's victorious return to Rome and

meeting with the emperor who is impressed with his military abilities. In the next scene, an angel appears to Teopiste, the wife of Eustachio, who promises that Christ and heaven will support her. While in prayer, Teopiste is discovered by the Roman consul, Leontio, who tells her that her Christian faith will bring her imprisonment and death.

But the audience then learns that Eustachio himself is secretly a Christian, although he has asked God to spare him until he can again see his sons whom he lost with his wife in a shipwreck many years before. His sons, Agabito and Teopisto, have been in Rome living with shepherds and have also converted to the Christian religion. They hear of Eustachio's victories, but not knowing of his conversion, they scorn his worldly glory.

Because Eustachio is the emperor's favorite, he is envied by Alerico, a courtier, who plans to ruin him by revealing his Christian faith. The angel then appears to Eustachio and tells him to prepare himself for battle. The Emperor Hadrian asks Eustachio to make a sacrifice at the temple of Mars. Eustachio, however sees the emperor's request as an opportunity to declare his faith. Eustachio is imprisoned, and his sons and his soldiers look with sorrow as he is led away from the temple.

Teopiste, who is in prison, hears of the news of her husband and is in awe. Eufrosia comes to visit her and supports her faith. They are interrupted by a messenger who announces that Eustachio has been condemned to death.

Teopisto and Agabito decide to emulate the man they have recently discovered to be their father. As Eustachio is being led to the arena where he will be killed, Teopiste calls out to him, but he does not recognize her. They are reunited just as, to the amazement of the onlookers, their sons also present themselves. The family declares that they will die together.

The opera closes when a messenger tells two Romans and Eufrosia of the martyrdom of Eustachio and his family, and an angel appears telling of their triumph in heaven.

The Saint Operas in Relation to Other Barberini Operas

All of the operas presented at the Barberini court contain elements of a moral story which clearly delineates what is “right,” where characters are rewarded for their piety or obedience, from what is “wrong,” where characters are punished and spoken to with vituperation for their actions. While the other operas do not feature saints as their protagonists, the plots and dramatic action of two of the other operas, such as *Erminia sul Giordano* (1635) and *Il palazzo incantato* (1642) do feature aspects of religious warfare as they take their stories from the crusader tales in Torquato Tasso’s *La Gerusalemme liberata* and war with “Saracen” armies in Ariosto’s *Orlando furioso* respectively. *Chi soffre speri*, which was presented at the Barberini court in 1637, bears resemblance to the comical aspects of *Sant’Alessio* and *San Bonifatio* with its many stock characters and situations from the *commedia dell’arte* tradition.

In terms of music, the Barberini operas have many resemblances to the other operas presented at the Barberini court with music also written by Virgilio Mazzocchi as well as by Marco Marazzoli (with Virgilio Mazzocchi on *Chi soffre speri*) and Luigi Rossi (*Erminia sul Giordano* and *Il palazzo incantato*). The musical language in Rome in the 1630’s and 1640’s was a flexible one. Musical features present in these operas could be used for both comic as well as tragic or theologically dramatic situations. All of the operas have sung choruses at the end of each act. They also contain rhythmic dance-like songs with irregular rhythms that

are sung by comic characters. All of the scores, both those in print as well as in manuscript, contain rubrics which denote “arias” or “ariettas” found in these operas. Like the saint operas, *Erminia sul Giordano*, *Chi soffre speri*, and *Il palazzo incantato* also contain many arias which change meter partway through, rather than remaining in the triple meter in which they begin. As in the saint operas, these changes in meter in the arias often correspond to metrical changes in the poetry. In all of the operas, arias are few and far between, and the music to each of these operas is made up largely of recitative dialogue which moves between flat and sharp systems. I have found that there are more instances of this moving between sharp and flat systems in the saint operas than in the other operas. But these instances are not isolated to the saint operas alone. Just like in the saint operas, these tonal shifts occur when a character is being tempted or deceived by another character. As in all of the operas, music in an extreme sharp system usually indicates evil, deception, or a highly emotional state a character is in. Likewise, “good,” or emotionally stable characters with sound advice (or characters pretending to have sound advice) are presented with music in the flat system.

Other Dramatic Representations of Saints with Music in Rome in the Time of the Barberini

The Barberini operas listed above were not the only dramatic musical representation made in Rome during this period. There were other representations, including dramatic musical enactments of the lives of some female saints and Old Testament figures. Like the above-mentioned saint operas, these plays on the lives of female saints, Irene, Barbara, and Agatha, were all taken from stories of Roman saints from the paleo-Christian era. The exception to this was the play *La regina Ester* performed in 1632, which depicts the life Queen Esther as

told in the Old Testament. But these saint plays were not sung throughout, even if they may have had choral numbers and *intermedi*. Also, their libretti were not all written by Rospigliosi. They may have been dedicated to members of the Barberini family, but not all of these plays were produced under Barberini patronage. Because the music is lost for all of these plays, we do not have much information about their composers or what the music may have been like.

The first of these plays to be performed for the Barberini family was one mentioned in letters and payment records for 1632 as *La regina Ester*. Silke Leopold has discovered payment records which reveal that Taddeo Barberini was the patron of this production, probably performed during the same weeks as the 1632 performances of *Sant'Alessio*, and that it, too, was performed at the Palazzo alle Quattro Fontane.¹³⁶ Three “Esther” libretti exist in the Vatican Library containing two different versions of the play.¹³⁷ Two of these texts, Barb. lat. 3776 and 3804, are identical in wording and content, with the exception of a pen and ink drawing of Urban VIII’s coat of arms on the front page of the latter.¹³⁸ There is some speculation as to whether Giulio Rospigliosi may have written this play, since a letter from his brother Camillo to Giulio asks for a copy of an *argomento* for “this other representation done in the palace of Signor Don Taddeo.”¹³⁹ We do know that some type of music was involved in this production since there are five choruses, and payment records reveal that musicians and singers were hired to perform. As Murata notes, some of the

¹³⁶ Leopold, *Stefano Landi: Beiträge zur Biographie*, vol. 2, documents 53, 54, and 56.

¹³⁷ *I-Rvat* Barb. lat. 3876, 3776, and 3804.

¹³⁸ Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 20.

¹³⁹ Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 20.

singers were from the choir of the Cappella Sistina since the diary of 1632 notes that “many were occupied...in the representations” meaning both *Sant’Alessio* and *Ester*.¹⁴⁰

Barbara sacra alle api is another saint play, published in Viterbo in 1632, that was dedicated to the Barberini family (a copy survives in the Vatican Library); it was written by a Bernardo Turamini of the Minorite Observance, or in other words, a Franciscan friar.¹⁴¹ Nothing is known about this play’s patron or when it was actually performed. Francesco Barberini most likely owned this copy of the libretto since it is bound in a volume which resembles many others of Francesco’s books bound in white parchment bearing his escutcheon on the cover and a gold bee etched on the spine. Not only does the frontispiece tell us that the play was dedicated to the “Potentissime Barberine,” but so, too, does the story itself. Barbara is locked in a bath house tower by her father Dioscoro so that no man may see her, even though there are still marriage proposals which she refuses. Her father goes away to leave her in the tower where she is converted by a vision of three bees in a window and she becomes a Christian. She has the masons add a third window to the bath house in honor of the Trinity. Barbara’s father returns to find that Barbara has become a Christian, which is against the rulings of the pagan emperor who remains unnamed. In his anger, her father nearly kills her, but takes her to a judge who condemns her to death. After Barbara’s death, miracles occur and voices are heard from heaven. Her father is then struck down by lightning. Several times in the choruses of this play, usually at the mentioning of the vision of the golden bees, the Barberinis are praised. The choruses of this play may have been sung,

¹⁴⁰ Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 20.

¹⁴¹ “Agata Costante,” *I-Rvat Stamp. Barb.* JJJ.I.60.

and likewise the final chorus of angels who praise Barbara as she is shown in heaven.

Unfortunately no music for this production survives.

Another saint play dedicated to Antonio Barberini was *Agata costante* which relates the story of third century Saint Agatha who was martyred in Catania, Sicily, during the reign of Decius (250-253). A copy of the play's libretto is found also in the Vatican Library.¹⁴²

Agatha was a virgin loved by Senator Quintianus, but refused his proposals of marriage.

Instead Agatha chose to dedicate her life to Christ and live as a virgin. In his anger,

Quintianus has Agatha tortured, including having her breasts cut off, which became the

subject of many religious paintings.¹⁴³ She is miraculously healed by a vision of St. Peter

while being held in prison. Quintianus then has Agatha put to death. She is shown in the

final scene of the play in an apotheosis in heaven. Like *Barbara sacra*, this play also

includes many choruses which may have been sung, but any music has been lost. This copy

of the play's libretto is printed without a date, but is believed to be from either 1630 or

1632.¹⁴⁴

Santa Irene is the last saint play that was dedicated to and performed for the Barberini family sometime shortly before Maffeo's death in the summer of 1644. Based on the life of Saint Irene, she is another third-century saint martyred during the reign of Decius. A copy of the printed libretto, complete with dedications and introductory poems in praise of the

¹⁴² I-Rvat Stamp. Barb. JJJ.I.41.

¹⁴³ For paintings and ideas of sexuality concerning the image of Saint Agatha, see James Clifton, "'Being lustful, he would delight in her beauty': Looking at S. Agatha in Seventeenth-Century Italy," in *From Rome to Eternity: Catholicism and the Arts in Italy 1550-1650*, ed. Pamela Jones and Thomas Worcester (Boston: Brill, 2002), 143-78.

¹⁴⁴ Saverio Franchi, *Drammaturgia romana: repertorio bibliografico cronologico dei testi drammatici pubblicati a Roma e nel Lazio*, vol. 9 (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1998), 187.

Barberini can be found at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Rome.¹⁴⁵ Irene, the princess of Macedonia, chooses, like many saints, to live as a virgin and to dedicate herself to Christ. She is martyred in this play by the pagan Prince Sabar, son of Decius, whose love she spurns. The frontispiece of this play tells us that it was written by Loreto Vittori, the aforementioned priest, composer, and singer in the Cappella Sistina. A letter printed with this text in 1644 tells us that the drama was performed at the palace of “Marchese di Nobili” in Rome. This same letter tells us that Vittori had originally written the entire drama to be sung, but because there were only a few singers on hand to present the drama, it was instead presented with only some of the scenes with music, and mostly choral numbers. Unfortunately the music has not been found.

Other Musical-Dramatic Works Commissioned by Members of the Barberini Family

The Barberini family were the patrons of other dramatic, musical works which were also performed in Rome during the Carnival seasons and at other special occasions. These performances range from dramatic plays with some added music to pantomimed ballets. Most of these performances were dedicated to and performed in honor of visiting dignitaries from various Catholic regions in Europe.

On 19 January 1625 a performance was given in honor of the visiting Prince Władisław Wasa of Poland (1595-1648). Along with a sumptuous banquet, the prince and other dignitaries at the papal court were entertained by an opera titled *La vittoria del principe Vladislao in Valacchia*. Written by Giovanni Ciampoli (fl. 1600-1630), it recounts the heroic

¹⁴⁵ *I-Rn* 34.1.H.9 (int. 2).

efforts of Prince Władisław in his victory against the Turks at Khotin in 1621.¹⁴⁶ A musical score for the performance was composed by Johann Hieronymus Kapsberger (c. 1580-1651), but it is lost. Ciampoli's *Istoria di Polonia*, on which he based the play, praises not only the Catholic prince of Poland for his efforts, but also recounts a larger story about the efforts of the Church Militant through all Catholic countries which fight valiantly against any heretic. Although this was an opera based on recent history, one can see the beginning of the propagandist agenda of the Barberini household as espoused by drama in this early production, a tradition which continued with the later dramas.

Other examples of musical dramas commissioned by the Barberini family were those that were performed in honor of the marriage of Taddeo Barberini and Anna Colonna on 24 October 1627. The account given in *Componimenti poetici di vari autori nelle nozze delli eccellentissimi signori D. Taddeo Barberini e D. Anna Colonna* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1629) tells us that a number of dramatic musical entertainments and “comedies,” some of which were also written by Ciampoli, were performed during the week-long celebrations. It is believed that one of these dramatic musical productions could have been *La sirena*, with a libretto by Ottavio Tronsarelli which is dedicated to the couple.¹⁴⁷ We know from the surviving libretto preserved in Tronsarelli's *Drammi musicali* (Rome, 1631) that this production must have had several special stage effects since two scenes represented views of Lake Albano and Castel Gandolfo where the couple were married, as well as scenes of a cave and the magical descent of Apollo from the sky. Unfortunately, any music for this production has not yet been found.

¹⁴⁶ Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 200.

¹⁴⁷ Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 13.

During the Carnival season of 1638, during the same weeks as performances of *San Bonifatio*, Cardinal Francesco Barberini was also the patron of a ballet with music entitled *L'acquisto di Durindana*.¹⁴⁸ A surviving *argomento* tells us that the story of the ballet was loosely taken from Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* with added nymphs and shepherds to complement the main characters of Orlando and Angelica.¹⁴⁹ The surviving *avvisi* tell us that the ballet was performed four times at the Palazzo alle Quattro Fontane. It is presumed from a surviving letter by Giulio Rospigliosi that he was responsible for planning its dramatic action.¹⁵⁰ Although the performance is characterized as a "ballo co' gesti," we know that it must have involved vocal music as well, since a *giustificazione*, or bill of payment, from the household at Quattro Fontane tells us that Francesco's singers, Angelo Ferrotti and Paolo Cipriani, as well as Marco Marazzoli (c. 1602-1662), Odoardo Ceccarelli (c. 1600-1662), and Cardinal Antonio's singer Marc'Antonio Pasqualini, and Taddeo's singer Gioseppe Bianchi (fl. 1637-1663), were all paid for performing. As Frederick Hammond notes, we also know from other household records that "viols and violins, violoni, harpsichords, and other instruments" were moved to the Palazzo alle Quattro Fontane for the performances of this ballet.¹⁵¹ Sadly, we do not know much about the music itself for this performance because it has been lost.

¹⁴⁸ In some of the surviving documents for this ballet, especially in the *avvisi* from February 1638, this ballet is also called *La pazzia d'Orlando*.

¹⁴⁹ *I-Rc* preserves three copies of the printed *argomento*: Vol. Misc. 288 (7); Vol. Misc. 1904 (24); and Vol. Misc. 2236 (8). Two copies are also in collections found at: *I-Rvat*. Stamp. Barb. JJJ.VI.16, and Stamp. Loreto IV.3.

¹⁵⁰ Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 233-34.

¹⁵¹ Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 233-34,

In November 1638 Cardinal Antonio Barberini in collaboration with members of the French embassy at the Palazzo del Ceuli commissioned a play with music for the festivities in celebration of the birth of the Dauphin of France. *La sincerità trionfante*, to a libretto written by Ottaviano Castelli, depicted a chronological history of the kings of France. The music was composed by Angelo Cecchini (fl. 1619-1639) who worked for the court of the Orsini family in Rome. No music for the production survives. We do know from payment records of Antonio Barberini, however, that this work involved special scenic effects that were designed by Giovan Francesco Grimaldi (1606-1680), student of Pietro da Cortona and the famous sculptor of the decorations of the Galleria of the Villa Borghese in Rome.¹⁵²

A final example of a commission by Francesco Barberini of a dramatic work with music is that of the Latin tragedy *Troades* during Carnival 1640. Scholars of music and drama in the Barberini circle, namely Giovanni Battista Doni and the French scholar Jean-Jacques Bouchard, sought at this time to explore how ancient drama was actually performed, and how music was to serve a role in these productions. This tragedy by Seneca was produced for Francesco Barberini by Bouchard, who followed Doni's principle that ancient drama had not been sung throughout, but, rather, only during the passages in lyric meters.¹⁵³ It was performed at the Palazzo Rusticucci-Campeggi in Borgo. Giulio Rospigliosi composed a prologue and six *intermedi* to be performed with this tragedy.¹⁵⁴ These *intermedi* and the choruses were set to music by Virgilio Mazzocchi. No singers are named

¹⁵² See Marie-Françoise Chistout, *Le ballet de cour de Louis XIV, 1643-1672* (Paris: Picard, 1967) for information about this ballet, its importation to France after this performance, and pictures of the sets. For more information about Giovan Francesco Grimaldi and the Villa Borghese, see Howard Hibbard, "Palazzo Borghese Studies II: the Galleria," *The Burlington Magazine* 104 (1962): 9-20.

¹⁵³ Murata, "Classical Tragedy in the History of Early Opera in Rome," 132.

¹⁵⁴ Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 279.

in the surviving documents of this production, and unfortunately, no music for the production survives. We do know that Bouchard and Mazzocchi thought their work to be innovative from a letter of Bouchard's to Cardinal Mazarin (1602-1661) in France which states "we only employed [the music] in some passages of the tragedy" and "the style of the music was entirely new...keeping with the rules of ancient rhythm, something which has never been practiced in our time."¹⁵⁵

The Barberini Operas in the Context of Musical Dramas Performed in Rome (1600-1651)

The Barberini operas were quite unlike many of the other dramas performed at other Roman courts during the first half of the seventeenth century. Pope Urban VIII discouraged themes from pagan tradition.¹⁵⁶ Even the subjects of two other operas written during Urban VIII's reign that were not based on the lives of saints were taken from literature that could be accommodate to Christian ethics by virtue of their being based on the crusades: *Erminia sul Giordano*'s plot was adapted from Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* and *Il palazzo incantato* was adapted from Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*. Because of their connection to Christian literature, Urban VIII may have felt less opposed to their productions. Likewise, *Chi soffre spera* tells a moral tale as a type of dramatic allegory, even though its source is book nine of Boccaccio's *Decameron*. There are no surviving accounts of the Barberini's acting as patrons of operas with Greek or Roman mythological subjects. Although Taddeo Barberini is listed as the dedicatee for Giacinto Cornacchioli's (1598-1673) *Diana schernita* of 1629,

¹⁵⁵ Murata, "Classical Tragedy in the History of Early Opera in Rome," 133.

¹⁵⁶ Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 5-6.

there are no reports his involvement as the opera's patron. Therefore, unlike the other dramas performed in Rome, the Barberini operas do not contain plots from mythology as did the earliest sung dramas like Jacopo Peri's and Giulio Caccini's *Euridice* (1600). Instead the subject matter of their plots more closely resemble the first two musical dramas performed in Rome, Emilio de' Cavalieri's *Rappresentazione di Anima, et di Corpo* (1600) and Agostino Agazzari's (1579-1642) *Eumelio* (1606). Like these earlier operas, the Barberini operas often include allegorical characters who debate about the temptations of the world.

Cavalieri's *Rappresentazione di Anima, et di Corpo* was produced in the Oratory of the Vallicelliana in Rome. This was the same oratory used by Filippo Neri (1515-1595) and his followers during religious services which involved semi-dramatic readings of saints' lives which incorporated sung *laude* and spiritual exercises of writers like Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556) or Gaspar Loarte (1498-1578) into the service.¹⁵⁷ The *Rappresentazione* was a fully staged work with spoken dialogue and three acts entirely set to music.¹⁵⁸ Cavalieri's music helps portray the dialogue between the soul and the body as they debate about the temptations of a worldly life.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ For a history of Philip Neri and the Oratory, see Arnaldo Morelli, *Il tempio armonico: musica nell'Oratorio dei Filippini in Roma, 1575-1705* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1991); Arnaldo Morelli, "The Chiesa Nuova in Rome around 1600: Music for the Church, Music for the Oratory," *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 9 (2003) <<http://www.sscm-jscm.org/v9/no1/morelli.html>>; Meriol Trevor, *Apostle of Rome: a Life of Philip Neri 1515-1575* (London: Macmillan, 1966).

¹⁵⁸ For a new edition of the musical score, see Emilio de' Cavalieri, *Rappresentazione di Anima, et di Corpo*, ed. Murray C. Bradshaw (Middleton, WI: American Institute of Musicology, 2007). For a reproduction of the letters and rubrics contained in this score, see Piero Weiss, *Opera: a History in Documents* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 19-23.

¹⁵⁹ For more about the musical, dramatic, and rhetorical structures in the *Rappresentazione di Anima, et di Corpo*, see Claude V. Palisca, "Musical Asides in the Diplomatic Correspondence of Emilio de' Cavalieri," *Musical Quarterly* 49 (1963): 339-55; Silvia Casolari, "Allegorie nella *Rappresentazione di Anima, et di Corpo*," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 33 (1998): 7-31; Murray C. Bradshaw, "Salvation, Right Thinking, and Cavalieri's *Rappresentazione di Anima, et di Corpo*," *Musica disciplina* 52 (1998-2002): 233-50.

Agostino Agazzari, a nobleman and composer from Florence, was employed in Rome as the *maestro di cappella* at the Seminario Romano when he created *Eumelio* for the young students at the seminary in 1606.¹⁶⁰ Unlike the traditional Jesuit academic dramas, *Eumelio* was sung throughout and its score was published in Venice the same year as its production. It is a morality play where the shepherd Eumelio is tempted by the Vices to live a life of pleasure. When he is taken to hell, other shepherds beg Apollino (Apollo) and Mercurio (Mercury) to rescue him.¹⁶¹

Wealthy cardinals acting as sponsors of dramatic, musical production had long been in practice before the Barberini nephews commissioned their works in the mid-seventeenth century. Before the Barberinis, Alessandro Peretti Damasceni (1571-1623), better known as Cardinal Montalto, began to establish himself both as a high-ranking member of the Papal Curia and Vice-Chancellor of the Church, as well as a wealthy Roman landowner as the *nipote* of the reigning Pope Sixtus V (Felice Peretti, r. 1585-1590).¹⁶² The height of Cardinal Montalto's musical patronage came after the death of his uncle, with the production of the opera *Amor pudico* during carnival season of 1614. This allegory of "chaste love" incorporating many mythological gods and goddesses was performed in celebration of the November 1613 wedding of Michele Peretti, the younger brother to Cardinal Montalto, and

¹⁶⁰ For a complete biographical history of Agazzari, see Thomas Culley, *Jesuits in Music: a Study of the Musicians Connected with the German College in Rome in the 17th Century and of their Activities in Northern Europe* (St. Louis: Jesuit Society of America, 1970), 113-18.

¹⁶¹ For more details about the plot of *Eumelio*, see Margaret Frische Johnson, "Agazzari's *Eumelio*, a 'dramma pastorale,'" *Musical Quarterly* 56 (1971): 491-505; Silke Leopold, "Das geistliche Libretto im 17. Jahrhundert: zur Gattungsgeschichte der frühen Oper," *Die Musikforschung* 31 (1978): 245-57.

¹⁶² For a history of Cardinal Montalto's patronage of music in Rome, see John Walter Hill, *Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera from the Circles around Cardinal Montalto*, 2 vols. (New York: Clarendon Press, 1997).

Anna Maria Cesi.¹⁶³ This opera was also fully staged and sung throughout. An *avviso* from February 1614 tells us that “all the actors, dressed in royal garb, were made to speak in music.”¹⁶⁴ We know also from this same *avviso* that the opera was performed with *intermedi*, some dancing, and elaborate scenery showing ancient Rome, modern Rome, the Elysian Fields, and a river with Charon’s boat. The libretto of this work was written by Jacopo Cicognini. The music was provided by a number of singer-composers who were members of Montalto’s household, or of the Cappella Sistina, including Cesare Marotta (c. 1580-1630), Giuseppino Cenci (c.1580-1616), Ippolito Machiavelli (1568-1619), and Giovanni Bernardino Nanino (c. 1560-1618). Like the Barberini operas, most of the text of the libretto was written in *versi sciolti* of seven- or eleven-syllable lines presumably set as recitative. The opera also included 29 closed lyrical pieces, composed mostly in *ottava rima* or *terza rima*.

Another court opera presented in Rome with some similarities to the later Barberini operas was Filippo Vitali’s *Aretusa* of 1620. The libretto was written by the opera’s own patron, Monsignor Ottavio Corsini, a prelate in the papal court.¹⁶⁵ Also like many operas in seventeenth-century Rome, it, too, was performed during the Carnival season. Although the opera depicts the story of the nymph Arethusa as she is pursued by Alphaeus according to Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, rather than a sacred or allegorical spiritual subject, the opera’s poetic and musical structures bear resemblance to the later Barberini operas. Each act closes with a large choral ensemble and there are very few, brief solo arias for the main characters, much

¹⁶³ For a complete plot and poetic excerpts of *Amor pudico*, see Hill, *Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera*, 1: 281-87.

¹⁶⁴ Hill, *Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera*, 1: 288.

¹⁶⁵ Pruett, “The Works of Filippo Vitali,” 52.

like *Sant'Alessio*.¹⁶⁶ There are also some ensemble pieces which employ irregular rhythms which resemble those of the demon chorus in *Sant'Alessio* and the pedantic songs of the comedic characters in *San Bonifatio*.

One of the most famous precursors to the Barberini operas is *La catena d'Adone* with a libretto by Ottavio Tronsarelli (c. 1580-1646) fashioned after the famous poem *Adone* by Giovanni Battista Marino, and with music by Domenico Mazzocchi. The opera was sponsored by Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini and Prince Giovanni Aldobrandini and performed in Rome at the Palazzo Conti during Carnival 1626. It is somewhat surprising that an opera with such an erotic theme was performed for many of the church's most high-ranking cardinals and prelates, including both Francesco and Antonio Barberini and Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini.¹⁶⁷ In this mythological drama, the sorceress Falsirena attempts to seduce Adonis, but realizes she can only hold him captive by a magic chain made by the Cyclops. She is rejected by Adonis and in her fury, she conjures up Pluto to learn that Adonis loves Venus. Falsirena uses her powers to transform her appearance to appear as Venus. In the end, Adonis is rescued by the true Venus who descends from the sky. Although the librettist inserted an explanation of the drama as a "moral allegory" in the score (printed in Venice in 1626), Urban VIII clearly did not approve of this lusty tale as he placed Marino's poem on the Index of banned materials later the next year.

¹⁶⁶ For more detailed analysis of the music of *Aretusa* see Donald J. Grout, "The Chorus in Early Opera," in *Festschrift Friedrich Blume zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Anna Amalie Abert and Wilhelm Pfannkuch (New York: Bärenreiter, 1963), 151-161; Nino Pirrotta, "Early Opera and Aria," in Nino Pirrotta and Elena Povoledo, *Music and Theater from Poliziano to Monteverdi* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 276-77; Silke Leopold, "'Quelle bazzicature poetiche, appellate ariette': Dichtungsformen in der frühen italienischen Oper 1600-1640," *Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 3 (1978), 101-41; Paolo Fabbri, *Il secolo cantante: per una storia del libretto d'opera in Italia nel seicento*, 2nd ed. (Rome: Bulzoni, 2003).

¹⁶⁷ Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 15-16.

La catena d'Adone resembles the Barberini operas first in the characteristics of its scenography. This opera was one of the most elaborately staged productions in Rome: its scenery was designed by Francesco de Cupis, and was reused for the comedy *La selva incantata* later that year. Like the scenery for the Barberini operas, the opera used new inventions in scenographic design to make the changes in scene occur quickly and quietly. Also like the Barberini operas, the sets were made to resemble three different scenes which had become “standards” since the time of dramatic *intermedi* such as those performed for the Florentine court for the wedding festivities in 1589. The set for *La catena d'Adone* used six revolving *periaktoi* with three scenes – an arcade of columns, a wood, and an Inferno – on each side, as well as a false proscenium.¹⁶⁸ The sets for *Sant'Alessio*, and *Didimo e Teodora* both resembles these types of scenes. Descriptions of the scenery for the Barberini operas will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Cardinals Francesco and Antonio Barberini may have noticed several similarities between *La catena d'Adone* and those operas written later for their courts in the construction of their musical scores, not least in the fact that all of these operas were sung by the same singers borrowed from the papal chapel. One important feature of the opera is that Mazzocchi writes in a note added to the 1626 printed score that there were “many other semi-arias (‘mezz’arie’),” which were meant to “break the tedium of the recitative.”¹⁶⁹ Mazzocchi’s music for this, his one surviving opera with music, was even criticized by Sigismondo d’India for showing Mazzocchi’s “lack of experience” because it was

¹⁶⁸ Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 15-16.

¹⁶⁹ Stuart Reiner, “Vi sono molt’altre mezz’arie...,” in *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, ed. Harold Powers (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 241.

“completely stuffed with canzonettas.”¹⁷⁰ This appearance of some type of brief passages in aria style is apparent in the operas for the Barberini court for with music written by Virgilio Mazzocchi, especially those written for minor characters in *San Bonifatio*, and *Sant’Eustachio*. The “mezz’arie” found in all of these operas with music written by the Mazzocchi brothers suggests a new “Roman” style of composition for the stage, and changing tastes in musical styles. The first operas for the Barberini court had very few aria passages, and consisted mostly of recitative. As Domenico Mazzocchi’s note suggests, Roman audiences must have begun to find the recitative tedious since the later operas for the Barberini court, as well as other operatic pieces later in the seventeenth century began to incorporate more and more passages in aria style.

Domenico Mazzocchi’s music for *La catena d’Adone* resembles that of the music for the Barberini operas also in the ways in which the music contains quick changes in harmony, often including dramatically altered chromatic passages. These passages occur at times when Falsirena is angered by Adonis and when she conjures magical powers. Similarly, in Virgilio Mazzocchi’s operas, and to some extent in *Sant’Alessio* by Stefano Landi, the passages where the characters are the most grieved or confused by the temptations or fearful situations that they are presented with, the music also rapidly changes harmonically with highly chromatic passages. Some of Falsirena’s passages where she is employing her magic powers to alter her appearance may especially be likened to those passages where the demon in *Sant’Alessio* and in *San Bonifatio* does the same.

Two other operas performed in Rome around the time of the Barberini operas, both with dedication to members of the Barberini family, were produced for patrons other than the

¹⁷⁰ Tim Carter, “Intriguing Laments: Sigismondo d’India, Claudio Monteverdi, and Dido *alla parmigiana* (1628)” in idem, *Monteverdi and his Contemporaries*, (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000), X: 38.

Barberinis. These were Giacinto Cornacchioli's (1598-1673) *Diana schernita* of 1629 and Loreto Vittori's *Galatea* of 1644. *Diana schernita* was first performed in the house of Baron von Hohen Rechberg in Rome. We are to assume that Hohen Rechberg was the opera's patron. The printed score of *Diana schernita* of 1630 tells us that the work was dedicated to Prince Taddeo Barberini who may have witnessed the work. Rubrics in the printed score tell us that the ending of the opera includes a scenic presentation of the Barberini bees. Based on classical myths of Cupid and influenced by the poems of Marino, *Diana schernita* is a modest work in five short acts, with only four solo singers, a small cast, and few instruments.

It is uncertain whether or not Loreto Vittori's *Galatea* was performed in Rome before its known performance in Naples at the palace of Prince Cariati in 1644. One is led to believe that the work was produced in the presence of the Barberini family because of its dedication to Antonio Barberini in the printed score of 1639, but this is uncertain because of Vittori's personal history. In November 1637, Vittori kidnapped Plautilla Azzolini, the wife of a famous painter. Although Vittori's biographer Erythraeus and others dismissed the kidnapping by calling it "a mild error of youthful desire" or stating that Azzolini ran away with Vittori on her own accord, Urban VIII was furious with Vittori and ordered the governor of Rome to prosecute him. Vittori was protected, however, by Antonio Barberini who continued to pay him his salary, and he was later pardoned by Francesco Barberini. The music for *Galatea* was written during Vittori's exile in Spoleto in 1638-39.¹⁷¹

The music for this opera is the one surviving score of a dramatic work by Vittori. *Galatea* includes in each scene at least one lyric piece set as a chorus or an aria or duet. Also, each of the three acts concludes with a choral finale. *Galatea* bears resemblance to

¹⁷¹ Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 175.

earlier works of the Florentine or Mantuan tradition, especially Galatea's lament "Pur mi lasci crudele" (Act III, scene 1) which is similar to Monteverdi's *Lamento d'Arianna*.¹⁷²

In the time immediately following the death of Maffeo Barberini in 1644, few dramas with music were produced in Rome under the rule of Pope Innocent X, Giambattista Pamfili (r. 1644-1655). One of the few operas known to have been produced was for the household of the Colonna family, the anonymous *Il ratto di Proserpina* in 1645. More importantly, in one of the few works commissioned by Innocent X and the Pamfili family, *Sant'Agnese* of 1651, there is a direct connection between the style of this opera and the saint operas produced for the Barberini court.¹⁷³ This opera in three acts by papal singer Mario Savioni (1606-1685) to a libretto by Domenico Benigni contains many arias and choral numbers which included dancing that closed each act. Aside from its hagiographical theme, *Sant'Agnese* resembles the Barberini saint operas in that it also includes scenes where a demon (Lucifer) appears in hell, vowing to tempt the saint, as well as the saint's apotheosis in heaven at the end of the opera.

Shortly after the death of their uncle, Francesco and Antonio Barberini were forced to flee from Rome by Pope Innocent X for their continued support of the French monarchy, especially through Cardinal Mazarin. Upon their return to Rome in 1654, a new opera, *Dal male il bene* with libretto by Giulio Rospigliosi was performed. This opera, along with two more with libretti also by Rospigliosi, *Le armi e gli amori* of 1656 and *La vita humana* (also

¹⁷² For musical analysis of Vittori's *Galatea* and comparisons to other seventeenth century works, see Loreto Vittori, *La Galatea*, ed. Thomas D. Dunn (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2002).

¹⁷³ For more information about the history of saint operas in Rome and an analysis of *Sant'Agnese*, see Saverio Franchi, *Il melodramma agiografico del Seicento e la S. Agnese di Mario Savioni* (Florence: Olschki, 1997).

1656) were performed in honor of Queen Christina of Sweden. The last plays closely resemble those witnessed in Spain by Rospigliosi where he travelled in the 1650's.¹⁷⁴

In a time of religious war and counter-reformation, the members Barberini family became some of the greatest patrons of the arts which glorified Rome and the Catholic church. Saints stood as exemplars and heroes to the Catholic faithful in this time of trial, and their stories were retold in through the music and drama of the operas for the Barberini court. These operas had specific messages of fortitude and the authority of the Church that were meant to be heard by the many visiting dignitaries that were embroiled in the Thirty Years War. In the following chapters, these operas will be examined according to their relationship to dramatic and scenographic practices, of the political ideals of the papacy, of ideas of sacrifice and martyrdom, of the horrors of war and plague, and of the social aspects of gender and spirituality.

¹⁷⁴ Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 49-50.

Chapter Two

Screens, Scenes, and Flying Machines: The Importance of Illusion in the Theatrical Productions of the Barberini Family

The operas written for the Barberini court in seventeenth-century Rome were intended to dazzle the noble visitors to Rome in their audiences to whom they were dedicated.

Today, any sightseer in Rome can walk a few blocks from the Barberini Palazzo alle Quattro Fontane and step inside the church of Santa Maria della Vittoria on the corner of the Via Barberini. Deceptively modest on the outside, Santa Maria della Vittoria houses one of the greatest Baroque works of art of the seventeenth century: Gian Lorenzo Bernini's *Ecstasy of Saint Teresa* (completed 1652). This statue was commissioned by the Cornaro family in 1642 for their chapel in the left transept of the church. When one enters the church and first encounters the Cornaro family chapel, one is immediately struck by the sculptures of the Cornaro family members sitting in marble structures which resemble "theater booths" on the left and right sides of the saint. This point has been made by a number of art historians in commenting on the 'theatricality' of Baroque works of art.¹ What is more interesting, however, about Bernini's sculptures in this chapel is that it is physically impossible for the Cornaro family members in their booths to see Teresa in her apotheosis of ecstasy. The broken pediment and cornice and short

¹ This point was first made by Anthony Blunt in his *Artistic Theory in Italy: 1450-1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940), 107, 120. See also his "Gianlorenzo Bernini: Illusionism and Mysticism," *Art History* 1 (1978): 78.

colonnade which frame the sculpture block their view. In this sculpture, Bernini made a very important point: to those who enter the chapel, Teresa's ecstasy does not take place in this artwork without the presence of Cardinal Federico Cornaro and his family, but their connection to this enactment of Teresa's life cannot be made without an audience to stand at some distance and to take part in its drama, while at the same time noticing the behavior and elevated position of the patron.

Much like Bernini's sculpture, the saint operas performed for the Barberini family each contained two dramas being "staged" at the same time. The first was the unfolding of the story of a martyrdom of a saint, but the other was the drama of the Barberini family as they were set on a platform amid their audience. It was the audience member's duty to observe both dramas simultaneously, and to draw connections between the story of the saint and that of the opera's patrons. Scenographic features added many elements of surprise. Angels flew down from heaven to defeat demons who crawled through trapdoors leading to Hell. Characters could seek long-lost loved ones within a city, or sing and dance in a magical wood. Audiences were dazzled by final scene of apotheosis with angels singing amidst the clouds of the heavens.

But scenographic features existed not only for the stage where the first drama was taking place, but were also created for the drama of the patron. A certain level of decorum was expected of high-ranking cardinals like Francesco or Antonio Barberini. And, as their wealth grew, artistic representations of the family's power and grandeur were expected to be displayed to any who entered the palace's halls. Scenographic features for both of these dramas have immense cultural importance. The eye-witness accounts of the spectators not only describe an illusion, but also tell us that illusion is one

that the audience already wanted to believe. Stage sets and machinery were designed according to prescribed principles that were effective in that their ratios and mathematical proportions were already set so that the movable parts would function and the perspective would seem realistic to the eye. They were also designed to follow these principles because they were thought to have been established first in the theaters of ancient Greece and Rome. Thus, the employment of such ancient ratios and proportions gave the impression of a long-established authority to the representation, and its patrons, in its reception.

This chapter will examine the scenographic features exploited by the Barberini family in the productions of the saint operas, as well as describe the cultural meanings implied by them. The focus of these cultural meanings will be how the scenery and machinery displayed the authority of the Barberini family members, and by extension, that of the Catholic Church. I will also present a number of first-hand accounts of the Barberini productions written by audience members and show how these letters, like the scenery for an opera, create an impression or illusion of the Barberini family as well.

Screens...

Before becoming the patrons of a number of dramatic musical spectacles in Rome, Cardinals Francesco and Antonio Barberini had witnessed a number of productions in Florence and elsewhere which may have strongly impacted the way in which they later requested their own dramatic productions be performed. These spectacles involved elaborate changes of scenery and stage machines which produced special effects. Since

the sixteenth century, if not before, wealthy families in Italy had vied to produce the most breathtaking representations for festivities such as weddings, religious celebrations, and for the festive period of Carnival preceding Lent. On 12 February 1626, Cardinals Francesco and Antonio Barberini attended a production of Ottavio Tronsarelli and Domenico Mazzocchi's *La catena d'Adone* given at the Aldobrandini palace. This production included a number of theatrical feats performed by stage machines which controlled six revolving *periaktoi*.² Later that year, on 22 September, as the cardinals were travelling home from a trip to Madrid, they saw an opera, *Giuditta*, at the Pitti Palace in Florence about the story of Judith and Holofernes.³ The final *intermedio* of this opera praised the Barberini family for the reunification of Catholic countries. The mythological goddess Iris comes as an emissary of peace and Juno's messenger, informing Juno and her husband Jupiter that the bees must be credited with securing peace in Europe. Jupiter then invites the bees to join the stars, and with the aid of theatrical machinery, they take their place amid the zodiac.⁴ The Barberini family witnessed Tronsarelli's comedy *La sirena* at Lake Albano for the wedding of Taddeo Barberini and Anna Colonna in 1627. In this production, the audience saw Apollo descend from the sky with the help of a machine, and trap doors built into the stage allowed characters to descend into a lake.⁵ Finally, another example of notable scenographic elements can be found in Giacinto Cornacchioli's *Diana schernita* which

² Margaret Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court (1631-1668)* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 15.

³ Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 16.

⁴ Kelley Harness, *Echoes of Women's Voices: Music, Art, and Female Patronage in Early Modern Florence*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 128-29.

⁵ Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 13.

was performed at the palace in Borgo of Johann Rudolph, Baron of Hohen Rechberg, in honor of Taddeo Barberini in 1629.⁶ In this work, machinery was employed in order to transform the body of Endymion as a stag into a yellow lily upon which three gold bees descended to rest. The bees then carried the lily up to the blue-painted clouds of heaven, behind which appeared the three bees on the blue coat of arms of the Barberini family.⁷

With the sheer expenses incurred by producing a spectacle complete with papal singers, costumes, scenery and machines, the patronage of such a work said a great deal about the Barberini family's social and economic status. Cardinals Francesco and Antonio Barberini continuously sought to confirm their social status through inviting high-ranking church and civic officials to grandiose spectacles. The first of the two sacred Barberini operas which I am examining were given at the Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane. These productions took place in the *salotto* to the right of the grand *salone* with the famous frescoed ceiling by Pietro da Cortona.⁸ This moderately large room could fit about 200 persons and a small stage. It had a large, barrel-vaulted ceiling and was well-lit by two clerestory windows to the back of the room. It also contained a large fireplace and access to an antechamber which connected to the side staircase.⁹ We

⁶ Margaret Murata, "Giacinto Cornacchioli," *Grove Dictionary of Opera Online* ed. L. Macy (accessed 20 June 2007, <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>).

⁷ Printed *argumento rubric* in the printed score of *Diana schernita, favola boscareccia* (Rome: Robletti, 1629), 35: "alle fine à persuasione di Pane fa mutar il cervo in un Giglio giallo sopra il quale si vanto à posar trè Api d'oro che poi la Dea commanda si trasportino in Cielo, e nel suo Cerchio circondato da nuvolette d'argento si mirasse trè Aponi d'oro."

⁸ See Oskar Pollak, *Die Kunsttätigkeit unter Urban VIII*, vol. I: *Kirchliche Bauten und Paläse* (Vienna: B. Filser, 1928), 290, and 187, item 886 "Muro della facciata incontro che divide il salone dal salotto dove si faceva le comedie."

⁹ Patricia Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces: the Use and the Art of the Plan* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1990), 200.

are told by contemporary reports that a large number, most likely about 200, attended *Sant’Alessio* in 1632 and 1634, and *Santi Didimo e Teodora* in 1636.

The two other operas were performed in other Roman palaces. Both *San Bonifatio* and *Genoinda* were performed in the Palazzo della Cancelleria, or the seat of the Apostolic Chancellery and the residence of Cardinal Francesco Barberini. I do not write about *San Bonifatio* in this chapter because it is unique in that it did not employ any scenographic or mechanical effects. I believe that this is tied to its other unique feature: that it was written to be performed by schoolboys, and therefore some element of simplicity was meant to be maintained in its production. *Genoinda* was performed in January and February 1641. The room used in the Cancelleria could hold even more guests than that of the any of the rooms at the Palazzo alle Quattro Fontane. This salone, adjoining the famous *Sala dei cento giorni* which was used most likely for the banquet hall, was the largest one in the palace, measuring three stories high and was nearly as large as the narthex of the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso immediately below it.¹⁰ It is estimated that this room could hold close to 1,000 people.

Documents of particular importance which describe these spectacles are the “Avvisi di Roma” or news reports that were copied by household secretaries and delivered from household to household, city to city. *Avvisi* reported births, baptisms, weddings, religious celebrations, deaths, and other important occasions. The *avvisi* were sometimes written and sent out even before the festivities took place. Since these *avvisi* circulated by means of letters from one secretary to another, from one household to

¹⁰Armando Schiavo, *Il Palazzo della Cancelleria* (Rome: Straderini, 1964), 43-44, 92. See also Edward J. Olszewski, “Decorating the Palace: Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667-1740) in the Cancelleria,” in *Life and the Arts in the Baroque Palaces of Rome*, ed. Stefanie Walker and Frederick Hammond (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 93-111.

another in Rome and elsewhere throughout Europe, they served as a type of society page.¹¹ It is clear that a dramatic representation with significant scenographic features was considered important to the patron's economic and social status. In these *avvisi*, the author makes a point of connecting two important features of the event's production: those who attended, and the scenography, as in the case of an *avviso* dated 18 February 1634 on the performance of *Sant'Alessio*:

*La sera domenica et anco mercoledì fu di nuovo recitata nel Palazzo dell'Ecc.mo Prefetto di Roma la rappresentatione di Sant'Alessio in musica a compiacenza de' Signori et altra nobilta che per prima non l'havevano potuto vedere, riuscendo cosa bellissima così per l'interlocutori che ciascuno fece eccellentemente la parte sua, come per la vaghezza degli habiti, e diversita dell'apparenza delle scene, et intermedij.*¹²

Sunday evening and also on Wednesday was performed again in the Palace of the Most Excellent Prefect of Rome [Taddeo Barberini] the representation of *Sant'Alessio* in music for the pleasure of the lords and other nobility that had been unable to see it before, and it was a most beautiful thing, both because of the characters, each of whom played his part excellently, and also because of the beauty of the costumes and the diversity of the scenery and the *intermedi*.

Similarly, an *avviso* of 10 February 1635 describes the production of *Santi Didimo e Teodora* with even more detail on the noble guests:

Martedì sera nel Palazzo dell'Eccellentissimo Signor Prefetto di Roma a Capo le Case per la prima volta fu recitata in musica la Rappresentatione di Santa Teodora che il Signor Cardinal Barberino fa far a sue spese per recreatione di questa città, sendovi intervenuti quasi tutti li Prelati della corte, invitativi da Sua Eminenza come parimente questo Signor Ambasciatore di Francia, e li Signori

¹¹ Mario Infelise, "Roman *Avvisi*: Information and Politics in the Seventeenth Century," in *Court Politics in Papal Rome, 1492-1700*, ed. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 212-13.

¹² *I-Rvat* Ottob. Lat. 3339, pt. 4, fol. 427. Because there are no documents listing any descriptions of separate scenes or *intermedi*, I would suggest that the *intermedi* the writer is referring to are the musical numbers that were later inserted between the scenes of the original 1632 version. These scenes included singing and dancing, such as the scene listed as "Scena Aggiunta: per introductione di un ballo" at the end of Act I where Curtio sings a song and servants come and dance in a Roman forest, and the first scene of Act III where the Demon and his chorus appear again to sing and dance in the inferno, even though their appearance does not make sense in the context of the plot since Alessio has already made his peace with the Angel that he will die soon and go to heaven.

*Duchi di Bracciano, e Sforza con altri Signori riuscendo veramente cosa singolare, e commendata da tutti, cosi per la compositione delle parole fatta da Monsignor Rospigliosi da Pistoia Segretario della Congregazione de' Riti, e per l'eccellenza della musica, come per la varietà, e vaghezza degli habiti, mutationi de scene, prospettive, machine, et intermedij di balletti, et in particolare d'una bellissima Barriera, che fanno i paggi del medesimo Signor Prefetto di Roma.*¹³

Tuesday evening in the palace of the Most Excellent Lord Prefect of Rome [Taddeo Barberini] and the chief of the Barberini houses [Quattro Fontane] for the first time was performed in music the representation of Saint Theodora which the Lord Cardinal [Francesco] Barberini had done at his expense for the recreation of this city. Present were almost all the prelates of the [papal] court, invited there by His Eminence, and likewise the Lord Ambassador of France, and the Lords Dukes Bracciano and Sforza with other lords. It was something unique, and was commended by all, both for the composition of the words done by Monsignor Rospigliosi of Pistoia, Secretary of the Congregation of the Rites, and for the excellence of the music, and for the variety and splendor of the costumes, changes of scenery, perspectives, machines, and *intermedi* with dances, and in particular one beautiful *barriera* done by the pages of the same Lord Prefect of Rome.

Because of the abundance and speed of transmission of the *avvisi*, noble patrons of the arts could paint a reputation of great wealth and taste, not only through the productions themselves, but merely through the news that the productions took place.

But a prince of the Church such as a cardinal and nephew of the Pope had to create many more impressions. An important image he always needed to maintain was that of propriety. First and foremost, it was questioned by some prelates during the seventeenth century whether or not it was appropriate for a cardinal to watch a theatrical performance, or, if he did, whether he should allow others to see him do so. The only opera for which there is a record of Pope Urban VIII attending was *La vittoria del principe Vladislao in Valacchia* in 1625. There is evidence to believe that like their uncle, Cardinals Francesco and Antonio Barberini were expected to show caution and decorum when faced with the question of attending dramatic productions. In 1635, papal

¹³ *I-Rli* Codex 763, *Avvisi di Roma*, 10 February 1635, fol. 45; also given in Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 255.

historian Girolamo Lunadoro commented that cardinals who chose to watch dramatic representations should follow the example set by Cardinal Alessandro d'Ottaviano de' Medici (later Pope Leo XI, 1535-1605, r. 1605) and watch from behind screens (*gelosie*) so that they may not be viewed by others.¹⁴ Hammond cites another edition of this treatise about the papal court from 1644 where the author goes so far as to warn that cardinals must never attend comedies, and if they did, they should not be recognized by their ceremonial regalia.¹⁵ A similar warning appeared in a later treatise by Gregorio Leti, who repeated Lunadoro's advice and stated that in earlier times cardinals did not attend comedies, and that those aspiring to the papacy should not do so.¹⁶ Some writers, including the Spanish Jesuit theologian Gaiete Alberto and, later, the Florentine Jesuit Giovanni Domenico Ottonelli, warned about entertainments performed during Carnival, particularly street performances by troupes of the *commedia dell'arte*, which could have elements that were vulgar or even mocking of church authorities.¹⁷ Cardinals, then, had to be very careful about which dramatic representations to see, and at which to be seen.

There were a number of ways in which a cardinal's acts of propriety could come into question, but also a number in which they could make a show of protecting their

¹⁴ Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces*, 22, quoting Girolamo Lunadoro, *Relatione della corte di Roma, e de' riti da osservarsi in essa* (Rome, 1635): "stare in luogo ritirato, sotto Gelosia, per non esser visto."

¹⁵ Quoted in Hammond, "More on Music in the Casa Barberini," 238, from Girolamo Lunadoro, *Relatione della corte di Roma* (Venice: Brigonci 1644), 103: "Li Cardinali non devono andar mai à Comedie, ò cose simili, & andandovi, avvertiscano non vi star con la berretta, mà con il cappello, e zimarra."

¹⁶ Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces*, 57.

¹⁷ Gaiete Alberto, *Predica contro l'abuso delle comedie, fatta nella città di Huesca la sera della circoncisione dell'Anno 1629*, trans. Alessandro Adimari (Florence: Franceschini & Logi, 1648); Giovanni Domenico Ottonelli, *Della christiana moderazione del theatro* (Firenze: Luca Franceschii & Alessandro Logi, 1649); and Giovanni Domenico Ottonelli, *Della christiana moderazione del theatro, libro detto l'ammonitioni a' recitanti, per auuisare ogni christiano à moderarsi da gli eccessi nel recitare*, 2nd ed. (Florence: G. A. Bonardi, 1652).

reputations. Did the Barberini heed Lunadoro's and Leti's advice? There is some evidence to suggest that they may have taken at least a few precautions. Payment accounts from Cardinal Antonio's household account list the costs of carpenters' bills for the construction of booths and *gelosie*, aside from 185 benches and stools for the audience members to sit upon.¹⁸ Since the materials for the screened booths are listed together with the benches and stools, one would assume that this listing was organized as a separate entry meant for "places for the audience to sit." It is therefore possible that the cardinals did sit in separate screened booths for this comedy, but it still would have been well known from any of the numerous surviving *avvisi* that Cardinal Antonio Barberini was the patron of this opera who incurred all its expenses.

But the impressions upon the audience members that could be made by the production of a dramatic spectacle worked for more than just the patrons of the work. It seems from the accounts that a certain amount of the prestige gained by Cardinals Francesco and Antonio Barberini was thought to have rubbed off on those invited to watch their productions. Jean-Jacques Bouchard, an ambassador of the royal family in France and son of the king's personal secretary, Jean Bouchard, remarked that not only was he invited to attend the performance of *Sant'Alessio* on Monday 23 February 1632, but also that

*Le Cardinal luy mesme fit entrer Ορεστης par dessous l'eschafaut, et le conduisant par la main le fit seoir à ses pieds sur un betit banc, et commanda à Luca Holsteinius de se tenir près Ορεστης et luy expliquer le sujet.*¹⁹

¹⁸ *I-Rvat* Barb. lat. Libro Mastro Generale C, (Antonio) Arch. Barb. Comp. 214, fol. 343; *sportelli* and *gelosie* are listed as "spese che si fanno per servizio della comedia che fà rappresentare S. Eminenza nel Carnovale del presente anno nel salone del palazzo alle 4 font.e."

¹⁹ Emanuele Kanceff, ed., *Oeuvres de Jean-Jacques Bouchard*, vol. 1: *Journal* (Turin: G. Giappichelli, 1976), 151.

The Cardinal himself admitted Orestes [Bouchard's pseudonym] underneath the scaffolding and, leading him by the hand, bade him sit at his feet on a little bench and commanded Luca Holsteinius to keep close to Orestes and explain the subject to him.²⁰

Clearly one must be important to have received such special personal treatment from the cardinal himself. Fulvio Testi, secretary and Estense ambassador, writes about a similar show of favor by Cardinal Francesco in his account of the performance of *Sant'Alessio* on 15 February 1634 in his letter to Francesco d'Este in Modena:

Ieri il signor cardinale Barberini mi fece invitare alla rappresentazione di Sant'Alessio, et io questa sera vi sono andato. Supposi che mi fosse per esser dato luogo decente e lontano da tutte le controversie, ma veggendomi messo in parte che non mi piaceva e che, a giudizio mio, non era di quella riputazione che si conviene a questa carica che vesto, sotto pretesto d'un poco d'indisposizione di stomaco me ne son levato con risoluzione d'andarmene, tutto però con gran modestia e senza farne una minima doglienza. Il signor Cardinale l'hà risaputo e ha mandato il signor conte Carpegna, fratello del cardinale, a farne scusa et a pregarmi che resti; e Sua Eminenza medesima, dopo mille termini di benignità e mille discolpe, m'ha fatto condurre in un palco appartato, dove pur anche sono stati i signori cardinali Aldobrandini, Bentivoglio e Brancaccio.²¹

Yesterday the Lord Cardinal Barberini invited me to the performance of *Sant'Alessio*, and so I went there this evening. I thought I would have been given a fitting seat far from all the hubbub, but seeing that I was to be put in a place which did not please me, and which, to my judgment, was not of that position which is appropriate to the duties which I undertake, therefore under the pretense of a bit of a stomach ache I got up resolved to leave, all of course, with great modesty and without making even the smallest scene. The Lord Cardinal took note of it and sent the Lord Count of Carpegna, brother of the Cardinal, to apologize and beg me to stay; and his Eminence [Francesco] himself, after a thousand words of kindness and a thousand apologies, led me to a separate box, where there were also the Lord Cardinals Aldobrandini, Bentivoglio, and Brancaccio.

If we are to believe these accounts, there is a great deal to be learned about the cultural understanding of the performance of such a theatrical entertainment. The reputation of

²⁰ Piero Weiss, *Opera: a History in Documents* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 33.

²¹ Fulvio Testi, *Lettere*, ed. Maria Luisa Doglio, vol. 2 (Bari: Giuseppe Lateranza e Figli, 1967), 74 .

the wealthy patron may have gained a great deal from putting on such a performance, especially his ability to afford such festivities with elaborate costumes, scenery, and machines (which are also praised by both Bouchard and the writers of the *avvisi*). There were delicate matters of rank which, in the case of Testi, demanded to be recognized. Also, if we are to believe Testi, the cardinals did take some precautions so as not to be seen sitting with the rest of the audience members. Instead, they sat in a separate box which could have signified preconceived notions of decorum as well as of rank.

The screens and illusions which the Cardinals sat behind could not completely hide them. The political climate of seventeenth-century Europe is only thinly veiled in these accounts. Testi may have made a point of writing about his little upset because the city of Ferrara, previously the duchy of the Este family, had been seized by the papacy in 1598 under Pope Clement VIII and incorporated into the Papal States.²² There still remained a deep rift between the Este family and the papal court, which is apparent from Testi's tone in this, and many of his letters concerning his visits to Rome.

Bouchard must also have recognized other undercurrents in the behavior of the Barberini family and other cardinals present at the 1632 performance. Because of the rise of Protestantism, and the tensions brought about by the massive destruction and loss of life in northern Europe from the Thirty Years War, it was difficult for the papacy to act as the head of the *Universal Church* and still remain politically neutral. There were two dominating forces in Europe, between which the Barberini family's favors swayed like a

²² James F. Loughlin, "Pope Clement VIII," *The Catholic Encyclopedia online*. (accessed on December 14, 2007 <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04027a.htm>>).

pendulum: the royal family of France, and the Habsburg empire and the King of Spain.²³ Since the Barberini family was originally Tuscan in origin and had strong ties to the Medici, they were often assumed to be biased towards the policies of France. This was because Maffeo Barberini (Urban VIII) had come to power through a Medici pope (Alessandro d'Ottaviano de' Medici, Pope Leo XI).²⁴ But the strife from France's military endeavors and disputes within its royal family pushed the limits of the Barberini's allegiance to the Medici and to the French crown. Urban VIII first doubted the loyalty of France when in 1624 Cardinal Richelieu instructed the Marquis de Coevres to attack the papal holdings in the Valtelline.²⁵ This alliance with France continued to be weakened by the French queen. During the 1620's, Maria de Medici was still the reigning queen-regent of the royal council under her son, King Louis XIII, but she vied with Cardinal Richelieu who had become increasingly popular with the king as an advisor and policy maker of the royal family. On 12 November 1630, now dubbed the *journée des dupes*, Marie led a coup in order to overthrow Richelieu and reclaim authority over the throne, but she failed. She was banished first to Compiègne in 1630, and then escaped to Brussels where she lived from 1631 until 1638.²⁶ Likely, Bouchard and his father would have wondered if the Barberinis would continue to support the queen, or would distance themselves in favor of a powerful member of the Church itself. He would also have been concerned about the broader political implications of the

²³ For more information about Barberini family and politics, see Peter Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome: Barberini Cultural Policies* (Boston: Brill, 2006), 7-18.

²⁴ Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, trans. Ernest Graf, vol. 27 (St. Louis: Herder, 1938), 29-30. All subsequent references are to this volume.

²⁵ Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, 68-71.

²⁶ Georges Mongrédien, *La journée des dupes, 10 novembre 1630* (Paris: Gallimard, 1961).

performance. It was dedicated to Hans Ulrich, Furst von Eggenberg (also Eckembergh), an emissary of Emperor Ferdinand II. Ferdinand II was a staunch Catholic and his strong opposition and persecution of Protestant populations in Austria and Bohemia led to further upheaval and bloodshed in the Thirty Years War. Eggenberg was a spokesperson not only for Ferdinand II, but also for the Catholic League which in 1632 included Poland, Spain, and Bavaria. It was also at this time that Louis XIII of France, son of Marie de' Medici, under the urging of Cardinal Richelieu, became increasingly more involved in the war, but allied on the side of the anti-imperial Protestants. At the production of *Sant'Alessio* in 1632, the Barberinis had to treat the French and their ambassador very carefully. But according to Bouchard, their behavior, and that of other cardinals, was wholly disturbing:

*Les recitans qui representoient ou femmes ou choeurs ou anges estoient beaux en perfection, estans ou jeunes pages, ou jeunes chastrez di capella, de sorte que l'on n'entendoit que souspirs sourds par la salle, que l'admiration et le desir faisoient eschaper dai petti impavonazzati, car pour les rouges, ayants plus d'autorité, ils se comportoient aussi plus librement, jusques là χε λε χαρδ Σαν Πιοργιο, et Αλδοβρανδιν, protensis labjis et crebris sonorisque popismatibus glabros hos ludiones ad suavi va invitabant ...*²⁷

The performers who played either women or choruses or angels were perfectly beautiful, being either young pages or young castratos *di cappella*, so that muffled sighs were all one heard in the hall, which admiration and desire drew forth from the peacock breasts, for the men of the purple, having more authority, behave with greater freedom, even to the point that Cardinals San Giorgio and Aldobrandini, with puckered lips and frequent and sonorous clucking of the tongue, invited those beardless actors to come and be kissed...²⁸

Apparently, if Bouchard is to be believed, the sense of decorum that was to be gained from watching a representation about a saint which was meant as a public display of

²⁷ Kanceff, ed., *Oeuvres des Jean-Jacques Bouchard*, vol. 1: *Journal*, 150-52.

²⁸ Weiss, *Opera: a History in Documents*, 33.

Rome's orthodoxy was lost on these cardinals. Bouchard is clearly comparing the behavior of the cardinals to that of birds with his use of the term "impavonazzati" (applied to the strutting of peacocks). Bouchard is most likely referencing themes in Aristophanes *The Birds*, most likely as a way of suggesting that like Pisthetairos, Urban VIII had made himself the ignorant ruler of a utopian city surrounded by a large wall.²⁹ While the Barberinis had an agenda in using the propagandist messages of the saint operas to promote their authority and the stance of the Church during the Thirty Years War, so too did Bouchard. Bouchard wanted very much to undermine any authority put forth by the Barberini in these operas, and to question the idea of allegiance to the head of a Church who acted so inappropriately. His agenda is clearly mirrored in the stance of Cardinal Richelieu who, unlike Roman cardinals, considered himself first a servant of the state, and only second to the Church.³⁰

The illusions of importance and rank gained by the cardinals and other guests were just as transparent in other accounts of bad behavior. An *avviso* copied in Paris mentions the events of the performance of *Il palazzo incantato* on 1 March 1642:

*D. Paolo Sforza fu quasi costretto di duellare con un' francese, che voleva maltrattare Marc'Antonio [Pasqualini] il castrato...volsè S. Eminenza transferirsi alle Quattro Fontane per aggiustare certe macchine che nelle comedie fatte si sono sconcertate. Il medesimo cardinale di suo mano bastono alcuni servitori che fuori della porta facevano troppo strepito nell'aspettare i padroni. Minacciò altri che dicevano alli recitanti che parlassero più forte; et continuamente si è inserito in cose poco proporzionate al grado che sostiene.*³¹

Don Paolo Sforza was almost forced to engage in a duel with a Frenchman who wanted to mistreat Marc'Antonio Pasqualini, the castrato...His Eminence

²⁹ Here I am referring to how Urban VIII and many other popes before and after him contributed to the building and restoring of the ancient Aurelian walls which still today surround Rome; see Malcolm Todd, *The Walls of Rome* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1978).

³⁰ Geoffrey Treasure, *Mazarin: the Crisis of Absolutism in France* (London: Routledge, 1995), 23-24.

³¹ Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 305.

[Cardinal Antonio Barberini] had wanted to move to the Quattro Fontane so as to improve some of the machines which had worked badly in the recent comedies. The same cardinal by his own hand beat a few of the servants that were outside the gate who had made too much noise in waiting for their masters. He threatened others who told the performers that they should speak more loudly, and over and over again he involved himself in matters scarcely proportionate to his rank.

Just as much as the Barberini family members wanted to put up a screen of illusion of power and grandeur, accounts like this were written perhaps by audience members who had hopes of tearing those same screens down on account of moral or social disgraces, or to serve broader political agendas.

Scenes...

Since the sixteenth century, dramatic representations in Italy had been produced in the households of wealthy patrons with highly ornamented scenery. This type of scenery often involved three or more pairs of painted flats positioned parallel to each other which created the illusion of perspective by each successive pair of flats from the front to the back of the stage made smaller. There would also be a backdrop, and over-hanging scenery painted complementary to the pairs of flats. This type of scenery was first described by Mannerist architect Sebastiano Serlio (1475-1554) in his *Secondo libro dell'architettura* of 1545.³² But a change of the scene from a cityscape to a woodland or inferno required a great amount of time and a number of men to pull or carry out the previous flats, and push new ones onto the stage. The introduction of mechanical devices in the seventeenth century made changes of elaborate scenery faster and easier,

³² Richard Andrews, "The Renaissance Stage," in *A History of Italian Theater*, ed. Joseph Farrell and Paolo Puppa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 35.

not to mention leaving the possibility for new displays of special effects. We have many surviving descriptions of the scenographic techniques used for the production of *La pellegrina* and its *intermedi* for the wedding of Ferdinando de' Medici and Christine of Lorraine in Florence in 1589. It is believed that the changes of scenery for this production were made possible by triangular rotating *periaktoi* rather than the changes of flats on the wings and backdrops done by hand.³³ Further mechanical innovations for changing scenery was developed in Parma for the opening of the Teatro Farnese in 1628. During the theater's construction, the theater's architect Giovanni Battista Aleotti, wrote to the Duke of Parma that he had installed the wings of the sets which moved forwards and backwards by way of a cylinder.³⁴

By the 1630's many other new innovations in mechanically controlled scenery had been made possible, and are described in detail in Nicola Sabbatini's *Pratica di fabricar scene e macchine ne' teatri* of 1638. While many scholars have talked about the surviving accounts of these scenographic representations, particularly those sponsored by the Medici in the sixteenth century as well as those in early seventeenth-century Rome and the theaters of Venice, there is little scholarship that has been done to identify the cultural ideologies that were represented in the scenes themselves.³⁵ Davide Daolmi, in a

³³ Elvira Garbero Zorzi, "L'immagine della festa medicea: la tradizione di un mito," in *Claudio Monteverdi: studi e prospettive*, ed. Paola Besutti, Maria Teresa Gialdroni, and Rodolfo Baroncini (Florence: Olschki, 1998), 434-36.

³⁴ Beth L. Glixon and Jonathan E. Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera: the Impresario and His World in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 230.

³⁵ For more information on the scenographic displays in the sixteenth century, particularly the 1589 wedding festivities, see James M. Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589: Florentine Festival as Theatrum mundi* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996). For a history of Roman dramatic productions and their scenographic features, see Saverio Franchi, "Osservazioni sulla scenografia di melodrammi romani nella prima metà del Seicento," in *Musica e immagine tra iconografia e mondo dell'opera*, ed. Biancamaria Burmana and Galliano Ciliberti (Florence: Olschki, 1993), 151-75; for information on the mechanisms used for theatrical effects in Venetian theaters, see Glixon and Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera*, 227-76.

recent article, has identified that the operas produced for the Barberini family used a fusion of different types of scenographic technologies, including “flying” sets which could be raised or dropped from the fly space above the stage as introduced in *Sant’Alessio*’s first productions by Roman scenographer Francesco Guitti, and the older tradition of fixed, book-shaped scenes in the wings, also used by Sebastiano Serlio in the sixteenth century, in order to achieve the desired special effects.³⁶ But what cultural significance did these scenes and machinery convey to the audience members? Different types of painted land-, sea-, or cityscapes each represented ideas of social status. The use of moveable parts in the scenery which were placed along the sides to the stage and created the illusion of perspective, resonated with new ideas becoming more widespread about faith and salvation in the Catholic Church at this time. What is more, such scenery was not confined solely to the realm of secular entertainments, and thus its use could have also incurred theological meaning.

In July 1635 Francesco Barberini made certain that his great spectacle, *Sant’Alessio* would not be forgotten. He paid not only to have the score printed and a number of copies disseminated throughout Europe (there are at least fifteen surviving copies today), but also for engravings of eight scenes which were included with some copies of the printed score. The exact identity of the original artist or engraver is unknown, since each plate only bears the name J. Collignon in the lower right-hand corner, most likely a relative of the Roman engraver François Collignon who would later engrave scenes of a joust held in Piazza Navona in 1635 and the celebrations of the birth

³⁶ Davide Daolmi, “La drammaturgia al servizio della scenotecnica: le “volubili scene” dell’opera Barberiniana,” *Il saggiautore musicale* 13 (2006): 5-62.

of the dauphin in 1636.³⁷ It is also unknown whether these scenes are true to the original sets themselves. But their features do reveal a number of interesting clues about the genre of the opera and the real purpose of the score when it was published and distributed. Francesco had good reason to want to preserve some memory of these scenes. They were originally created and painted by the Barberini's artist-in-residence, the great Pietro da Cortona, in collaboration with the sculptor Gian Lorenzo Bernini, and showed a number of different settings.³⁸ There was a city scene, the mouth of hell, a countryside, the gates of Alexis's palace and staircase, and a vision of heaven which appears over the house to show the angels and the saint in paradise.

Pietro da Cortona was a master of perspective painting. He employed this technique not only in his painting of the scenes for this and other Barberini productions, but also in the frescoed ceiling of the *salone* of the Barberini palace which adjoins the room in which the production took place, as well as in his paintings for the Vatican palace.³⁹ Cortona would have known well Sebastiano Serlio's treatise on architecture, as would have Gian Lorenzo Bernini.⁴⁰ From them one could learn not only the most

³⁷ The accounts of these festivities as well as twelve engravings of the events produced by François Collignon are printed in Guido Bentivoglio, *Festa fatta in Roma alli 25 di Febraio MDCXXXIV* (Rome: Mascardi, 1635).

³⁸ The payment records in the Barberini account book *I-Rvat Arch. Barb. comp. 263*, "Alfabeto di entrate et uscite della guardarobba 1632-1635," shows that Pietro da Cortona was given cloth and other items for making the scenery for the production of *Sant' Alessio* in January and February of 1632. See also Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, *Seventeenth-Century Barberini Documents and Inventories of Art* (New York: New York University Press, 1975), 12-13.

³⁹ For more a more detailed history of Pietro da Cortona's paintings for the Barberini family, see John Beldon Scott, *Images of Nepotism: the Painted Ceilings of the Palazzo Barberini* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

⁴⁰ Sarah McPhee, "Bernini's Books," *The Burlington Magazine* 142 (2000): 442-48, describes recent discoveries of the library of Gian Lorenzo's younger brother, Luigi, including books that once belonged to Gian Lorenzo, such as copies of Serlio's treatises.

effective way to make the imaginary world of the story come alive and be realized before the audience's eyes, but also what types of scenes were to be used for which types of plays. For a tragic scene, Serlio recommended a city scene of wealthy palaces, monuments, or even ancient ruins, since tragedy, according to Serlio, was the true theater of the educated and elite. For a comic scene, one would instead use a city scene of a market-place or a well where the common people and the city's poor would gather. Serlio remarks that while enjoyable, comedy was the theater of the common man, and did not require special aptitude, intelligence, or breeding to enjoy. Serlio also suggests that pastoral plays with comic or other crude elements could take place in the countryside, especially if the characters are those such as shepherd and farmers who would dwell outside of the city.⁴¹

If we are to assume that Cortona followed Serlio's suggestions, Cortona used his scenic ideas well to portray connotations of genre as regards *Sant'Alessio*, and what types of audience members would have watched its production. The first city scene is nearly identical to the one in Serlio's book. This would imply that even though the death and glorious rise to heaven of a saint is not supposed to be wholly tragic, the genre of the work was understood by its scenographer to be more closely aligned with tragedy. Most of the characters in the opera were of the nobility, and one would not dare to represent a saint in a comic manner. The genre of *Sant'Alessio* is somewhat unclear as it is presented in other accounts. Most speak of the opera simply as a "rappresentazione," most likely in the same way that they would describe the *rappresentazioni sacre* such as Emilio del Cavaliere's *Rappresentazione di Anima, et di Corpo* (1600). The title-page of the score

⁴¹ Bernard Hewitt, ed., *The Renaissance Stage: Documents of Serlio, Sabbatini and Furtenbach*, trans. Allardyce Nicoll *et al.* (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1958), 28-29.

calls the opera a “Dramma musicale” but pages 1, 3, 9, and 11 list on the bottom the name of the opera and the words “Historia sacra.” I would like to make a connection between these engravings and these accounts to suggest that all of these “genres” could have been understood in the manner of ancient tragedy, not so much “sad” as “proper,” “learned,” and even “aristocratic.” Aristotle himself links the tradition of epic histories to that of tragedies in that both were learned and serious genres. In contrast, the accounts of the comedic operas of the Barberini court, such as *Il palazzo incantato*, always, by both the writers of the *avvisi* and by Rospigliosi himself, use the term “commedia.” While the words on the print of the score and the suggestion made by the scenery do not tell us exactly what the genre *is*, they do tell us that it is not a comedy.

But what about the opera’s comic elements? We know that there were two pageboy characters who sang and danced and even played a slapstick scene full of puns with the Devil. Cortona had a special place for these characters in his scenographic plan. After a hard day of taunting the unrecognized Saint Alexis, the page Curtio declares that he will “leave” Rome to enjoy the countryside. It is here that Cortona’s countryside scene was used. The third plate in the series depicts Curtio and a group of peasant farmers singing and dancing as Curtio accompanies them on his guitar. The printed score tells us that this scene was an “added scene” which was not included in the original production of 1632. I would speculate that this scene was inserted between Acts I and II and functioned as a type of *intermedio*, since it has a great deal of dancing and its subplot has little to do with the opera itself. This “added scene” could have been subtracted from the production on any given day of a performance. One account from an *avviso* of the performance of 11 February 1634 notes that it was repeated. The first time was for the

prelates of the church, while the second, on a Wednesday, was for an audience which excluded clergy since it was performed for the ladies of the court, their husbands, and their relatives.

*Quella sera nel Palazzo dell'Eccellentissimo Prefetto di Roma a Capo le Case fu di nuovo recitata in musica la rappresentatione di Santo Alessio alla presenza di molti Eminentissimi Prelati, et altra nobilta, e mercoledì fu anco recitata con l'intervento solamente di queste principali Dame con li loro mariti, e parenti.*⁴²

That evening in the palace [alle Quattro Fontane] of the Most Excellent Prefect of Rome at the chief of the [Barberini] houses was once again performed in music the representation of *Sant'Alessio* in the presence of many most eminent prelates, and other nobility, and on Wednesday it was also performed in the presence solely of the principle ladies with their husbands and relatives.

It is possible, therefore, that the added scenes were intended for the Wednesday performance with its more secular audience.

In the case of *Sant'Alessio*, Daolmi shows that the buildings on the sides of the set were book-shaped movable flats.⁴³ For the first and the second sets on the sides, there would be two or three book-shaped flats folded together with the inside of the “book” facing off-stage. When a change of scenery was necessary, one of the inside parts of the “book” in the first flat would cover the front of the second flat, and the same would happen with the inside of the second flat to cover the front of the third. “Volubili scene” or “flying scenes” would come in from the outside wings or from above to cover the onstage front flats as well as the scenery across the top of the proscenium and the backdrop.⁴⁴ One reason for the choice of this type of scenery to be used was that the book-shaped flats did not require to be built as a part of a permanent stage. These flats,

⁴² *I-Rvat* Ottob. lat. 3339 pt. 4, 11 February 1634, quoted in Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 225.

⁴³ Daolmi, “La drammaturgia al servizio della scenotecnica,” 6, 24-25.

⁴⁴ Daolmi, “La drammaturgia al servizio della scenotecnica,” 13

as described by Serlio, were more simple and could be moved by hand. Mechanized flat-wing scenery was being developed in the mid-seventeenth century by architects such as Nicolo Sabbatini (1574-1654) and Fabrizio Carini Motta (c. 1630-1700), but this new technology required a permanent stage with large machines to pull and push the flats into place. These flat-wing scenes were made possible by the use of wing frames or poles that extended from trolleys built into the floor of the stage through open slots. The scenic flats rested inside the frames on hooks attached to the frames. The onstage ends of the trolleys to be moved onstage were attached with ropes to a central shaft and the offstage ends of the trolley, which operated in pairs, were connected to each other with direction-changing ropes and pulleys.⁴⁵ The Barberini operas which took place in various rooms of the palaces that did not house a permanent stage, such as the one annexed to the Palazzo Barberini in 1642, probably used a mixture of simple scenic flats moved by hand, and some machinery to fly in other flats and backdrops, as well as bring in “flying” characters. The machinery that was likely used in these productions was the kind that could be built for the room and then removed afterwards, since this *salotto* was also used for other purposes. The room was too narrow to house the required machinery and raised stage for mechanized flat-wing technology built into a permanent stage. I would argue that the illusion created by these sceneries not only was something that had come to be expected by audiences of the seventeenth century, but also was of theological importance.

Illusion is the central theme of the opera where Alessio is in constant search for truth of God’s will. He sings in his first aria that the grandeur of the palace in which his family lives is merely a fading illusion, and that he would choose to follow the things of

⁴⁵ Frank Mohler, “The Survival of the Mechanized Flat Wing Scene Change: Court Theaters of Gripsholm, Český Krumlov, and Drottningholm,” *Theater Design and Technology* 35 (1999): 46.

heaven and not the material things of earth. He is nearly duped by the Devil dressed as a monk, but an angel from heaven reveals his disguise. Alessio himself is unrecognizable to his own family. The onstage mixture of scenographic materials then have the same effect. Here, Alessio's marvelous world of ancient Rome can quickly be transformed by only the veil of a painted sheet in order to become Hell itself. This transformation is emblematic of a type of neo-Stoic philosophy of Plato's cave of shadows in Book X of *The Republic*, which had become popular in sermons and teaching materials of the Catholic Church during the seventeenth century. One of its greatest proponents was Belgian humanist Justus Lipsius (1547-1606), who sought to reconcile the ancient Stoic philosophies of the likes of Plato and Marcus Aurelius and others with the beliefs of Catholicism in his treatise *De constantia (On Constancy)* of 1584.⁴⁶ Lipsius had been known in Rome since he spent two years at the Vatican examining documents while under the patronage of Cardinal Granvella whom he served as a Latin secretary, and afterwards in his later life when he was sought after by many royal courts throughout Europe.

But the moveable scenery in *Sant'Alessio* would not have been the only part of the scenery which would have resonated with spiritual or cultural ideas of the seventeenth century. During the carnival festivities in which all of the Barberini operas were produced, another type of representation was delighting audiences every night of the week which involved highly ornamented scenery, also designed by Pietro da Cortona. However, these representations were performed in a church. The *Quarant'hore* or Forty Hours Devotion services of the mid seventeenth century became a mainstay of Catholic

⁴⁶ Robert Bireley, "Justus Lipsius: Founder of the Tradition (1589)," in idem, *The Counter-reformation Prince: Anti-Machiavellianism or Catholic Statecraft in Early Modern Europe* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 72-100.

pre-Lenten rites because they drew large crowds, and with them, large amounts of alms for the church and for the poor. Originating in 1551 in the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso (located in the first level of the Cancelleria), the *Quarant'hore* was a Catholic counter-reformation liturgical service centering on the celebration of the transubstantiation of the sacrament of communion. (Most Protestant groups by the mid-sixteenth century had rejected the idea of transubstantiation.) The Eucharistic adoration began with a priest placing a consecrated host in a monstrance that was then placed in an *apparato*, or elaborate small platform built specifically for the occasion on the altar of the church. The host was then kept there for three days as a symbol of Christ's death and stay in the tomb. By the 1630's these *apparati* included painted flats arranged to give the illusion of space much like the stage sets of the Roman operas.⁴⁷ Since the *Quarant'hore* was not linked to any specific occasion in the liturgical calendar, a diverse selection of scriptural readings, prayers, devotions, benedictions, and music accompanied each service.⁴⁸ After three days, the service then moved to another church where the adoration continued. The scenery which brought the focus onto the host for such *Quarant'hore* were an important component of the service, and the best artists such as Bernini and Pietro da Cortona were commissioned by the Barberini to create scenes which were to rival all other churches in Rome.

Frederick Hammond, Marc Weil, and others have compared the *Quarant'hore* services to theatrical representations because of the presence of ornate scenery and also

⁴⁷ Mark S. Weil, "The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974): 218-248.

⁴⁸ See Frederick Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 151-157

because of the musical interludes between sermons and prayers. One can easily understand the similarities in the scenographic display, and the dramatic nature of the event when comparing the *Quarant'hore* to an opera such as *Sant'Alessio* when reading the descriptions made by onlookers and the official printed *relationi* of these services.

One account describes the scenery designed in 1633 by Cortona as

most superbly made...arranged in the form of a theater with colonnades, niches, and gilded statues of saints with other ornaments, rays of the sun being represented at the high altar, in the midst of which was placed the Most Holy Sacrament held up by two very large angels, with a great supply of wax lights in silver candelabra above the *apparato*, and silvered torches...⁴⁹

Another account of a *Quarant'hore* service held in 1640 in the Gesù describes the scenery—this time designed by another artist in the service of the Barberini, Niccolò Menghini—in similar terms:

dopo del quale terminata la Messa cantata, e portato il Santissimo Sacramento al luogo disegnato, che si levò dall'Altare Maggiore fatto per quel giorno amovibile, mà riccamente ornato con frontale tutto ricamato d'oro con gran Candelieri, e Croce massicci d'argento, tra quali erano ripartiti [f.173v] quattro grandi Angeli simili, in atto ciascuno di sonare diversi Stromenti.

Stendevasi una gran tenda di Taffettani rossi e gialli dalla sommità della volta fino a terra, che copriva tutta la prospettiva di altezza di palmi centro vintidue, e di larghezza ottanta, in modo tale, che non appariva cosa alcuna: e cominciata a poco a poco a calare, essendosi in quell'istante oscurate tutte le fenestre, con gran gusto de' riguardanti comparve il bel Prospetto, tutto colorito di varie, e ben diseguate, e maestrevolmente compartite figure, che diverse Storie rappresentavano, con esser' il Teatro illuminato da più di quattro mila lumi, de' quali nè pur'uno à gli occhi de' riguardanti si manifestava, ma sotto la luce veniva dal riverbero, al cui lume risplendeva la gran Chiesa.⁵⁰

after the conclusion of the sung Mass, the Most Holy Sacrament was put in the designated place, which was elevated upon the high altar that was made moveable for that day, but most richly ornate with its front all covered in gold with large

⁴⁹ Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 154.

⁵⁰ Quoted from Antonio Gerardi, *Relatione del solenne apparato della Quarant'hore 1640* (Rome: Vincenzo Bianchi, 1640), *I-Rvat Stamp*. Chigi IV.2207.

candles and a cross embellished with silver, between which were placed four large angels similarly [adorned in silver] in the act of playing diverse instruments.

There was extended a taffeta drape of reds and yellows from the top of the vault to the ground, that covered all of the perspective scene at the height of 122 *palmi*, and 80 *palmi* wide, in a manner not to show anything behind it: and it began little by little to fall, with all the windows being darkened at that same moment, and to the great enjoyment of the spectators there appeared a beautiful scene, all embellished by various, well drawn, and masterfully distributed figures which representing various [Biblical] stories, with the theater lit by more than four thousand lights of which not a single one was seen by the spectators, but, rather, the light came from reflections, and the great church was resplendent with it.

The account then goes on to describe four images representing scenes from the Bible.

Le due à mano destra erano, l'una del Rè David con il teschio del Filisteo à piedi, in atto di sonare l'Arpa, per dar lode alla Divina Maestà: e l'altra di Elia Profeta invitato dall'Angelo à mangiare del pane e beber dell'acqua ch'egli haveva portato, per arrivar al Monte di Dio Oreb.

Le due altre à mano sinistra erano, l'una del gran Sacerdote Melchisidech, che teneva il pane, & un vaso di vino in un gran bacile, simbolo del Sacerdotio di Christo Nostro Signore; e l'altra era del forte Sansone in atto di bere l'acqua, che usciva dalla prodigiosa mascella, dopo la vittoria de' Filistei, à i piedi del quale era un Leone morto, nella cui bocca uno sciamo d'Api haveva fatto il savo del miele, figura del Santissimo Sacramento.⁵¹

The two on the right hand side were, first, King David with the head of the Philistine (Goliath) at his feet, in the act of playing a harp, in order to give praise to the Divine Majesty: and second, the Prophet Elijah invited by the angel to eat the bread and drink the water which he had brought him in order for him to travel to God's mountain, Mount Oreb.

The two on the left hand side were, first, the great priest Melchizedek, who held the bread and a flask of wine in a great basket, a symbol of the Sacrament of Christ Our Lord; and second, strong Samson in the act of drinking the water which flowed from the spring made by his prodigious jaw-bone after the victory over the Philistines, at the feet of whom there was a dead lion, in the mouth of which a swarm of bees had made sweet honey, representing the Most Holy Sacrament.

Although I believe it is relevant to cite just how similar a religious service like this is to a dramatic, theatrical production, I would also encourage scholars to see the converse; that perhaps a seventeenth-century audience would have compared the Barberini operas to a

⁵¹ *I-Rvat Stamp Chigi IV. 2207 (int. 3).*

religious service. When one views the final plate of the scenic designs of *Sant'Alessio* which contains a view of the saint's apotheosis in heaven, one cannot help but wonder if the *apparato* designed by the same Pietro da Cortona just the year before came to mind. This idea that the opera could be compared to a religious service is only further enhanced when one considers the aria sung by the character of "Religion" who recaps the story of the saint by advising the audience members, just as one would in a sermon in the seventeenth century, that they too should follow the saint's example and not follow deceptive temptations of the world.

Although nearly all of the Barberini productions involved elaborate scenery, I would argue that the surviving accounts of the scenery used for *Sant'Alessio* allow us to discern a number of frames through which the audience viewed the representation. The Rome they saw that evening was the Rome of a great palace within a great palace of the Barberini family. It was the Rome of the poised, educated elite as was noted from the princely dwellings of a classic tragic scene which stood firmly beneath the creaking floorboards of the nearly finished massive Barberini library. This Rome was also the seat of the Catholic faithful, who were constantly reminded of their heritage of devotion through grandeur.

Strong parallels can be drawn between the scenic effects of *Sant'Alessio* and those of *Erminia sul Giordano* of 1635 and of *Santi Didimo e Teodora* of 1635 and 1636. Like *Sant'Alessio*, *Erminia sul Giordano* was also performed in the same room at the palace at the Quattro Fontane. The scenery for this opera was painted by Andrea Camassei (1602-1649), an artist in the household of Taddeo Barberini, and the machinery was designed by Francesco Guitti. The first display of scenic effects the audience witnessed in *Erminia*

sul Giordano was in the prologue where a giant stone broke open to reveal a cavern and river. Out of this cavern stepped the personification of the River Jordan. Like the character of “Religion” in *Sant’Alessio*, many characters in *Erminia sul Giordano* also arrived on the stage after flying in a chariot, including Armida, the Furies, Amore and Apollo.

Santi Didimo e Teodora was also performed a number of times in the same room at the palace at the Quattro Fontane. According to Francesco Barberini’s account records, the same machines from the 1633 production of *Erminia sul Giordano* were used here.⁵² We know from a manuscript libretto in the Trivulziana library in Milan that this opera contained a number of different scenes as well as machinery to control the raising or lowering of characters from the “sky.”⁵³ This manuscript preserves a number of stage directions and brief descriptions of the *prospettive* or “backgrounds.” The opera began with a prologue where Heavenly Love, Martyrdom, and Virginity descended on a cloud before the tomb of Cleopatra. Suddenly, the tomb breaks open and Cleopatra’s ghost enters the stage from inside the tomb.

Santi Didimo e Teodora includes nine different scenes; the tomb of Cleopatra, the city of Alexandria, the garden of “Pleasure,” the throne room of the President of Alexandria, a brothel shown both from the outside and the inside, a forest, a prison, and the final scene where the saints are shown with the angels in Paradise. These scene changes are not only used for the purpose of creating a sense of verisimilitude as the story progresses through different locations, but certain types of scenes are used for certain

⁵² Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, 225.

⁵³ Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana (henceforth, *I-Mi*) MS 891, “Theodora, tragedia sacra rappresentata in Roma di M.R.”

actions. For example, the city set returns many times throughout the production and acts as a setting for lamenting monologues. The reason for this use of the city scene, as suggested by Serlio, refers to the “high” art genre of tragedy where lamenting monologues were common to the style and genre. Like the forest scene in *Sant’Alessio* where the servants sing and dance, the characters of pleasure, riches and vanity sing and dance in a garden in order to tempt Teodora into following them instead of her Christian faith. This mixture of scenery is reflective of the mixture of styles commonly found in the Barberini operas as well as the “hilarotragedia” or “tragicomedia” advocated by Alessandro Donati in his *Ars poetica* (Chapter 58, “De tragicomoedia) and Ottaviano Castelli in his *Dialogo sopra la poesia drammatica* published as a part of his *La Sincerità trionfante, ovvero L’erculeo ardore* (Rome, 1640).⁵⁴

Although *San Bonifatio* had no scenery or machines used for its production, there was one scenographic trick that began the production. Giulio Rospigliosi relates to his brother, Camillo, in a letter after the first production how a stage suddenly appeared out of nowhere, where the floor had previously appeared to be bare.⁵⁵ This same trick was adopted again for the performances of *Genoinda* in 1641. We know from a letter written by Ottaviano Castelli to Jules Mazarin in February 1641 that the opera included a number of elaborate forest and city landscapes, a sunset created by machines originally designed by Bernini, and a view of the Castel Sant’Angelo from across the Tiber illuminated by

⁵⁴ For more discussion of this mixture of styles and genres, see Elena Tamburini, “Per uno studio documentario delle forme sceniche: i teatri dei Barberini e gli interventi Berniniani,” in *Tragedie dell’onore nell’Europa Barocca*, ed. Marco Chiabò and Federico Doglio (Rome: Centro Studi sul Teatro Medioevale e Rinascimentale, 2002), 260-61.

⁵⁵ Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 37.

fireworks.⁵⁶ It is also possible that the final set of *Genoinda* (the view of the Castel Sant'Angelo) had originally been used in a performance at the French Embassy in Rome in December 1638.

We do not know much about the sets used for *Sant'Eustachio*. Giulio Rospigliosi himself called the production “more ordinary than usual.”⁵⁷ We know from surviving documents that it was performed on its own as well as in the form of an *intermedio* between acts of another drama, *Santa Susanna*. The opera requires no machinery and only a small cast. None of the surviving eye-witness accounts or payment records mentions any scenery being created for this work.

...and Flying Machines

The most important and perhaps potentially the most impressive display which any dramatic representation could employ was the machinery which could send a god in a golden chariot across the stage, bring storms upon tempest-tossed ships, and bring the setting of the sun and the rising of the moon. Machinery was so important to stage spectacles that treatises which described their mechanical production, like that of Nicolo Sabbatini, were printed and reprinted throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Sabbatini showed in his *Pratica di fabricar scene e macchine ne' teatri* of 1638 that proper precautions and precise engineering were of the utmost importance to the

⁵⁶ Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 40, 298.

⁵⁷ Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 45.

employment of machinery, particularly the kind that would create the illusion that a person is descending on a cloud onto the stage. In chapter 45, entitled *Come si possa far calare una nuvola, che dall'estremità del cielo venga sempre all'inanzi sino a mezo il palco con persone sopra* (*How one is able to lower a cloud from the height of heaven continuously down to the middle of the stage with a person upon it*), Sabbatini lists in great detail the supports needed before the machine can be fully built:

si piglia una buona trave, lunga piedi venticinque, la quale dovrà servire per leva, et il mezo di essa si fermerà sopra un fulcimento, o posamento bene assicurato con barbacani o puntelli, et una staffa di ferro. Il fulcimento dovrà esser fatto con un pezzo di trave più grosso della detta leva, e si porrà perpendicolare all'orizzonte, fermato nel piano della sala...⁵⁸

one takes a good beam, twenty-five feet long, which must serve for the lever, and in its middle one attaches it to a fulcrum or support well secured with clasps or nails, and a stirrup of iron. The fulcrum must be made with a piece of a beam which is larger than the aforesaid lever, and it is placed perpendicular to the horizontal, fixed to the floor of the room...

Even though Sabbatini claims that even a small room could employ such scenographic techniques, these machines were so heavy that they required the strength of four to eight men to operate them:

Quando si vorrà fare questa operazione si porranno ai manubrii quattro o otto uomini, dai quali sarà lentamente rivoltato l'argano, che allora con quella porporzione verrà a calare la nuvola, sin tanto che sarà posata sopra il piano del palco...⁵⁹

When one wants to perform this operation, four or eight men must be put to work, by whom the mechanism will be slowly rotated, so that with this proportion the cloud will happen to descend until it is placed upon the floor of the stage.

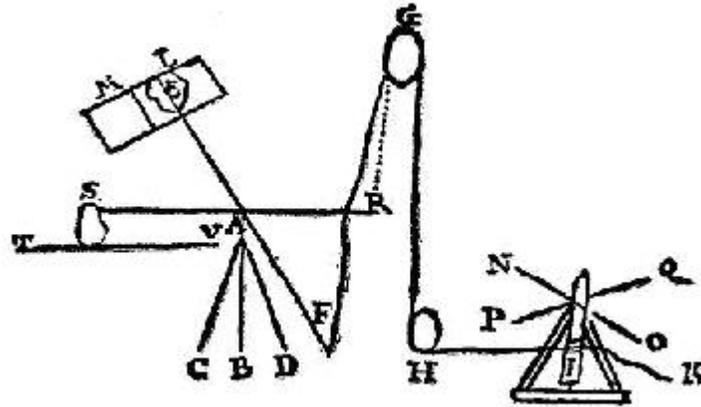
The diagram of such a mechanism is drawn in Sabbatini's treatise:⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Niccolò Sabbatini da Pesaro, *Pratica di fabricar scene e macchine ne' teatri*, facsimile edited by Elena Povoledo (Rome: Carlo Bestetti, 1955), 126.

⁵⁹ Sabbatini, *Pratica di fabricar scene e macchine ne' teatri*, 127.

⁶⁰ Sabbatini, *Pratica di fabricar scene e macchine ne' teatri*, 127.

Figure 2.1: Diagram of the Descending Cloud Mechanism



Another type of machine which may have been employed for productions such as *Sant' Alessio* is that of the unfolding scene which revealed the celestial angels and clouds of the final apotheosis of the saint in heaven. Rather than just a backdrop or “Volubili scene” at the front of the stage, this scene would gradually unfold while travelling from upstage to downstage in a final, dramatic gesture “revealing” heaven.⁶¹ This effect was created by a simple machine that enabled a device to travel through the “sky” from upstage to downstage, as it expanded, eventually to fill the upper portion of the stage with scenes of “heaven.” In order for this special effect to take place, there were special requirements of the theater space. First, the theater space required enough fly-space above the stage to allow some method of moving a small machine from its upstage position to a downstage one. The high, barrel vaulted ceiling of the *salotto* of the Barberini palace provides this necessary fly space. Also, if the theater was using mechanized flat-wing scenery, the machine had to still be able to move between the flats from upstage to

⁶¹ For a detailed explanation of this special effect, see Frank Mohler, “A Brief Shining Moment: An Effect that Disappeared from the Illusionistic Stage,” *Theater Symposium* 4 (1996): 83-90.

downstage without interfering with their pulley systems or wooden frames. Seeing that it was unlikely that the *salotto* of the Barberini palace could house the required stage and machine system used to operate a mechanized flat-wing system, and instead used simple, book-shaped scenes without pulleys, it would be very possible to move the machine for the apotheosis effect from upstage to downstage between the book-shaped scenes on each side of the stage. The machine itself that would create the “unfolding” apotheosis effect would be able to allow for expansion and lowering of the effect. Because only one pulley system was needed to pull the machine downstage, it was more than possible that the Barberini palace’s temporary stage in the *salotto* could have performed this special effect. Such a system of creating an unfolding apotheosis scene is described in Fabrizio Carini Motta’s *Costruzione de teatri e machine teatrali (Construction of Theaters and Theatrical Machinery)* of 1688, a manuscript housed in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena, as well as an article titled “Recueil de Planches sur les arts Mécaniques avec leur explication” (“Collection of prints on the mechanical arts”) in Diderot’s tenth volume of his *Encyclopédie* of 1762.

Although it has been noted that the Barberini were very proud of their machines, seeing as they, too, were designed by the best artists, including Francesco Guitti (who had designed a number of machines for festivities in Florence and Parma), the painter of several frescoes in the Barberini palace, Andrea Sacchi, and also the sculptor Gian Lorenzo Bernini, scholars often do not discuss the difficulties which they created.⁶² Theatrical machines were as much of a burden as they were a blessing for any entertainment. They were large, heavy, and noisy, and did not always work well. On 11

⁶² For more information on Francesco Guitti, see Giuseppe Adami, *Scenografia e scenotecnica barocca tra Ferrara e Parma (1625-1631)* (Rome: Bretschneider, 2003).

January 1634, a nervous Giulio Rospigliosi wrote to his brother, Camillo, that he felt that the machines for *Sant’Alessio* might not function as they were meant to by the time of the opera’s performance:

*Non è dubio che quando si rappresenterà al Signor Principe di Pollonia, le macchine sarebbero potute andar meglio, ma ci fu pochissimo tempo. Et io dubitaro di peggio, perchè a pena si erano provate mai. Oltre che rispetto alla moltitudine e grandezza delle macchine, il passo dove si rigira ogni cosa, è così angusto che è da maravigliarsi che non seguisse sempre mille disordini...*⁶³

There is no doubt that when it is represented for the Lord Prince of Poland, the machines might be able to work better, but there has been too little time. And I fear the worse, for they have hardly been tried out. Apart from the number and size of the machines, the space where everything operates is so narrow that one can only wonder that a thousand disorders might not result.

Also, as one can see from the later example of the *avviso* to Paris concerning the 1642 performance of *Il palazzo incantato*, the machines even broke down and were in need of repair. It is important to note, though, that perhaps the reason for which Sacchi’s machines did not function was because he lacked the skills of an architect when he designed them, as he was only a painter.

The engravings of the scenes of *Sant’Alessio* tell us still more about the machines used for the Barberini productions. If one looks closely at the scenes which involved machinery used to carry the angel down from the sky and on to the stage, part of the machine used to do this is drawn into the scene (see Figures 2.2 and 2.3, below). One can see that this piece of machinery is similar to the one shown at position “A” in Sabbatini’s drawing. Three possibilities come to mind as to why this would be. First, it is possible that the engraver was merely copying the drawing he was given. This drawing could have been a set design meant as a type of blueprint for building the sets, rather than a

⁶³ Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 224.

Figure 2.2: Scene from *Sant'Alessio*, the descent of the Angel

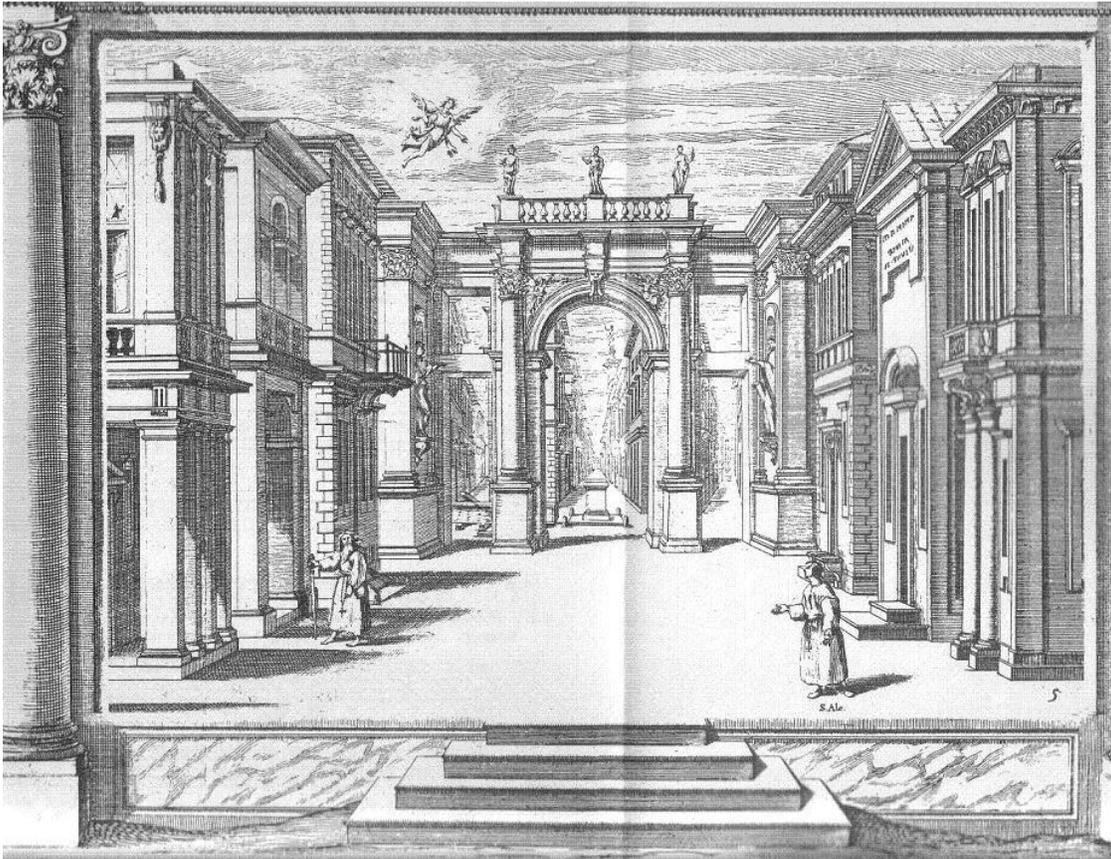
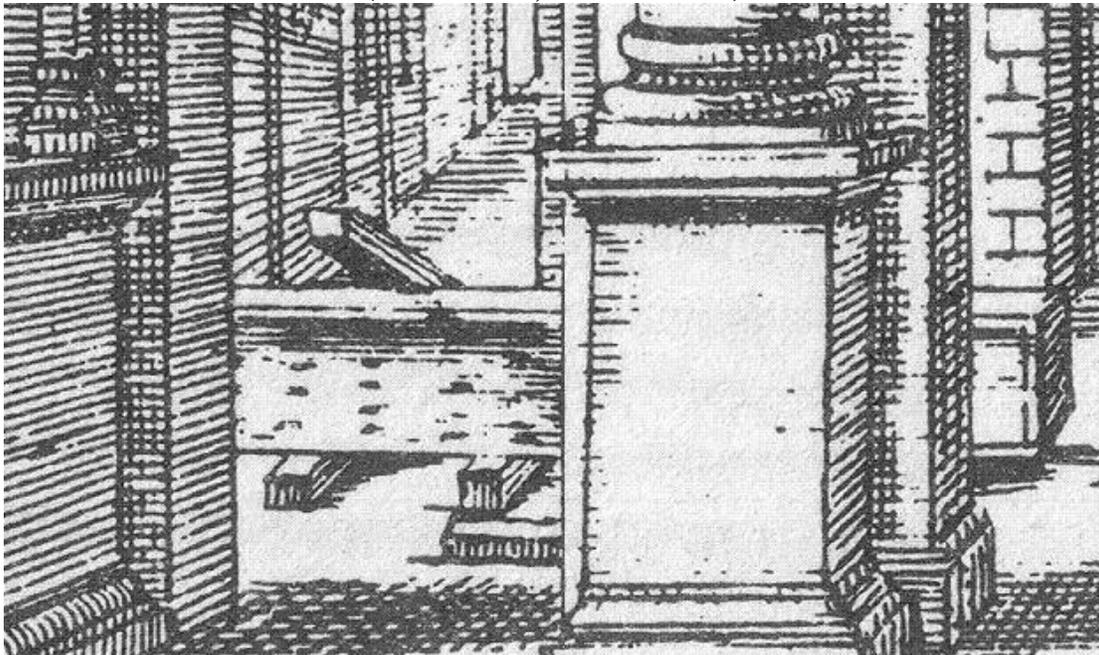


Figure 2.3: Close-up view of machinery in the background of Figure 2.2 (from center, left hand side)



descriptive picture made after the fact. The second possibility is that the engraver realized that the detail was there and purposely left it in. I do not believe that the engraver would do so as an artistic representation of extreme verisimilitude to show *exactly* every detail that took place, since every scene was placed into a frame of classical columns and decoration which were not found in the original room. Instead, he may have left the detail in as a symbol of the Barberini's power and ability to put on a production which involved such complicated machinery. It would be impossible for him to show all of the machines behind the scenes, but he could give a hint that the machines were, in fact, there. One must not forget that this score was printed at the expense of the Cardinal Francesco, and was distributed most likely to those who had attended the opera in order to commemorate the event. If Francesco had the ability to have his scenes and costumes commemorated, why not the machines as well?

The production of *Sant'Alessio* also included special effects of hail, thunder, and lightening in the scene of the mouth of hell. This effect must have been a favorite of the Barberini family members or their audiences because it was re-used again in *Erminia sul Giordano* in 1633 and for *Santi Didimo e Teodora* in 1635 and 1636. The Trivulziana manuscript of the libretto for *Santi Didimo e Teodora* also tells us that special machines were used to raise and lower the lights during the scene of Teodora's temptation. Sabbatini provides four different chapters on the use of lighting techniques, including one on *Come si possa fare che tutta la scena in uno istante si oscuri (How to darken the whole scene in a moment)*, which may have been the inspiration for the technique of lowering and raising the lights in this scene.⁶⁴ Sabbatini describes the furnishing of

⁶⁴ Sabbatini, *Pratica di fabricar scene e macchine ne' teatri*, 72.

cylinders which can be raised or lowered over a burning candle by means of a pulley system to accomplish this trick.

No matter how inspirational the story of the saint's life could be in moving the soul of an audience member to tears or to do good works, the cardinals Francesco and Antonio Barberini, their lives, their wealth, and their power, were just as much a part of the production. The descriptions of the creators and onlookers of an event such as a Barberini opera often provide us with valuable clues as to what they saw and how they understood it. However, scholars must always be careful to look beyond the praise of these events, as visiting dignitaries often were merely obliged to say any number of formulaic niceties, or they may be more inclined to report the opposite. Often, hospitality fell short of expectations built by the impressions of wealth; scenery reminded these visitors of the illusion of their fragile worldly existence; and the magical transportation of heavenly bodies could groan under their own weight and come crashing down as Rospigliosi himself feared they would in the letter to his brother just before the 1634 performance of *Sant'Alessio*.⁶⁵ The screens, scenes, and flying machines used by the Barberini operas allowed two dramas to unfold simultaneously. They not only brought to life the story of a Christian martyr before the eyes of the visiting onlookers, but also communicated the authority of the Barberini family through their wealth and power. Scenographic elements contained specific messages about social status that may not be apparent to audiences of our time. The scenery and machines help the observer of these dramas identify with not only the life of the saint, but more importantly, the authority of the operas' patrons.

⁶⁵ *I-Rvat Vat. lat. 13362*, transcribed in Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 224.

Chapter Three

Republican Idealism and the Rebirth of Tragedy

Pope Urban VIII faced a number of political problems during his pontificate. By the time of his papacy, the sovereignty, authority and military power of the Pope over Catholic Europe had long been tested during the early years of the Reformation and had been nearly destroyed by the Sack of Rome in 1527. The authority of the Pope was further challenged under one of Urban VIII's predecessors, Pope Paul IV (r. 1555-1559) who, with the help of his cardinal-nephew, waged a bloody war with Spain and lost the support of the Italian people. The treaty of Câteau Cambresis secured a temporary peace in 1559, but by the turn of the seventeenth century, the role of the Roman Pontiff as a leader and mediator once again was questioned and undermined. The bloodshed of the ongoing Thirty Years War (1618-1648) threatened the power of the Pope as Catholic Church leaders such as Cardinal Richelieu of France increasingly made alliances with Protestant rulers who gained control over territories in Italy, such as the Valtelline pass, and throughout Northern Europe.¹ The kings of France and Spain also vied for the Pope's nephews, Antonio and Francesco Barberini, to act as their cardinal-protectors, causing further enmity between the two nations leading to war in 1634.²

¹ Domenico Sella, *Italy in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Longman, 1997), 2.

² Olivier Poncet, "The Cardinal-Protectors of the Crowns in the Roman Curia during the First Half of the Seventeenth Century: the Case of France," in *Court Politics in Papal Rome 1492-1700*, ed. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 158-76.

But closer to home, even Catholic rulers, such as those of the two branches of the Habsburg dynasty which controlled both Spain and the Holy Roman Empire, rivaled the Pope's power and authority. Spanish rulers had increasingly exerted their authority in lands held on the Italian peninsula itself in the kingdoms of Sicily, Sardinia, and Naples as well as in the city of Milan. After the Spanish annexation of Saluzzo in the Piedmont, Northern Italy once again became a battlefield between Spain and France, the two major European powers that had formerly controlled much of the Piedmont region.³ As a powerful dynasty in Mantua failed to produce an heir to secure its ducal throne, France, Spain, Austria and the duchy of Savoy sought to reclaim the Gonzaga lands for their own in the War of Mantuan Succession (1628-1631). While historians maintain that the papacy did little to influence the leaders of other European lands at this time with military force, I would contend that the Church's position in all of these matters was made clear to visiting dignitaries from these war-torn lands through the operas presented at the Barberini court.⁴

Saints such Alessio and Eustachio stood as model citizens of the Catholic faith in their celebrated stories, the musical dramas of the court of the Barberini, and in other artworks of the seventeenth century. An example of Alessio's and Eustachio's importance to the religious and political agendas of Catholic Rome can be seen in their depiction in paintings by Giovanni Francesco Romanelli acquired by the Roman senate and hung in the

³ Sella, *Italy in the Seventeenth Century*, 2.

⁴ For more information about Urban VIII's military policies during the Thirty Years War, see Georg Lutz, "Rom un Europa während des Pontifikats Urbans VIII," in *Rom in der Neuzeit; Politische, Kirchliche und Kulturelle Aspekte*, ed. Reinhard Elze, Heinrich Schmidinger, and Hendrik Schulte Nordholt (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaft, 1976), 72-167. Also, for a discussion similar to mine where Urban VIII's and Francesco Barberini's ideals are put forth through culinary techniques at a banquet, see Peter Rietbergen's "Prince Eckembergh Comes to Dinner" in his *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome: Barberini Cultural Politics* (Boston: Brill, 2005), 181-217.

chapel of the Palazzo dei Conservatori in the Campidoglio in 1645.⁵ These two paintings, along with a painting of Saint Cecilia, exemplified the saints as models important not only to the Catholic Faith, but also to the government of Rome. As this chapter will demonstrate, ideas of faith and those of the “proper” government were linked in seventeenth-century thought. As in these painting, Alessio and Eustachio stood as exemplars of a pious life as well as evidence of a “Christian Republic” that had for centuries been idealized in Rome.

Each of the tragic representations of the lives of saints not only speak of reverence of great men and women of the Catholic faith, but are also representative of the Catholic church’s resistance to Protestant power by advocating a universal Republic of the faithful, the so-called *respublica christiana*. Catholic saints represented in these dramas, including Alexis, Boniface, Theodora, Didimus, and Eustace stood as citizens of this Republic as examples of steadfastness in the face of opposition. They represented the kind of warrior the Church sought, one that was not engaged as a militant of the armies of this world, but a member of the Church Militant who fought for their Republic in spiritual matters as they hoped to join the many who had come before them in their afterlife in the Church Triumphant. While new studies are currently emerging on the rhetoric which describes and advocates this Christian Republic in sermons of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, little musicological research has been done to demonstrate how it was advocated in music and drama of the time.⁶ This chapter will not only describe how the Christian Republic was

⁵ For more information about the acquisition of these paintings, see Laurie Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 72.

⁶ For more information on preaching practices which advocated the Christian Republic, see Frederick J. McGinness, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995). For more information concerning Counter-Reformation ideals presented in music of this time, see Susan Parker Shimp, “The Art of Persuasion: Domenico Mazzocchi and the Counter-Reformation” (Ph.D. Diss., Yale University, 2000), and also Steven Saunders, *Cross, Sword, and Lyre: Sacred Music at the Imperial Court of Ferdinand II of Habsburg (1619-1637)* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) and Marc

promoted in these operas, but also demonstrate why a drama about the life of a saint was chosen to do so. In both their texts and in their music, the saintly characters used in two of these productions reveal to the audience, particularly to the opera's dedicatees from the Holy Roman Empire and Poland, what qualities made up the ideal "citizen."

Upon opening the printed score of the opera *Sant'Alessio*, one is greeted with a powerful image, emblematic of the fervent political ideals held by the Pope Urban VIII and his cardinal-nephews during the first half of the seventeenth century. A detailed engraving shows us a woman representing Rome standing upon a trophy of the spoils of war, surrounded by a chorus of shackled slaves (see Figure 3.1). The slaves begin the prologue by singing of the glories of Prince Alexander Charles of Poland, to whom the 1634 production was dedicated. "Rome" then descends from her throne to sing of her majesty. From her recitative we learn that through the ages Rome has been a powerful empire that conquered not only foreign lands, but also hearts in the name of Christ. Rome tells us that the following drama will illustrate the example of one of her most virtuous citizens, Saint Alexis. As a final gesture, Rome frees the slaves from the bonds of their chains, and tells them that she will be beloved in their breasts as a gentle ruler:

Roma:

*Ma, sè tanto son vaga
mostrare in mille modi
la pietà, che m'appaga,
sciolgansi pur delle catene i nodi:
che vogl'io non severo
solo ne' petti un mansueto impero.*

Rome:

But, given that I am so desirous
of demonstrating in a thousand ways
the piety that pleases me,
let these bonds of chains be loosened:
for I want not a harsh rule
but only a gentle one in your breasts.

Fumaroli, "Cicéron Pape: Urbain VIII Barberini et la seconde Renaissance romaine," in his *L'âge de l'éloquence: rhétorique et "res literaria" de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique* (Geneva: Droz, 2002), 202-26.

Figure 3.1: First engraving of the 1634 score of *Sant'Alessio*



The performance of this prologue not only sets the stage for the following drama, but also places the most important political symbols at its start in order to prepare the audience by illustrating the reasons why this type of saint drama was chosen, and how the opera's patrons and creators intended to get their message across. By examining these features in close detail and comparing them to discussions found in a treatise on drama from this time dedicated to Francesco Barberini, one begins to understand the greater social context of this and other operas for the Barberini court, as well as the changing ideas of faith and political rule at the height of the Thirty Years War.

It is easy to surmise that the virtues of the chosen subject of this opera, Alexis, a Roman saint honored in Rome since the ninth century, were meant to reflect not specifically

the cult of that saint, but more the city itself. It is for this reason that Rome is the first character represented in this drama. It is also understandable that in the presence of visiting dignitaries, the nephews of the Roman Pontiff would want to illustrate their power by positioning themselves within a history not just of supreme political rule but also as the head of the universal faith. But it is Rome's final action of freeing the slaves that ought to speak most loudly to scholars not only of history, but also of drama. As commanding as Rome may be as she descends from her throne of the spoils of war, she has won the spoils of her citizens' hearts through compassion, not fear. She does not keep unhappy captives, as she is no tyrant.

We see similar depictions invoking ideas of tyranny enacted in the other operas about the lives of saints which were performed after 1634. Theodora, Didimus, Boniface, and Eustace were all martyred by ancient Roman tyrannical leaders between the second and the fourth centuries. The most illustrative tragedy is the story of Saint Eustace who served the Roman emperor Hadrian in the first half of the second century as a leading military general. The drama that unfolds in this opera depicts many poignant moments where, after his conversion, Eustace is thrown into prison and martyred before Hadrian at the hands of his own soldiers.

But why was the idea of tyranny so important for a drama about the life of a saint? Dramatists of the Renaissance era sought an intellectual and cultural renewal by rediscovering and imitating the ideals of Greek drama from the days of Sophocles, Euripides, and Aeschylus. They studied how these ideals were carried on in the days of the Roman Empire through the dramas of Seneca which were rediscovered in Padua in the late thirteenth

century and became increasingly more popular throughout Italy in the fifteenth.⁷ Another influence which Rospigliosi would have known is found in Marcus Tullius Cicero's first oration against Catiline. Here, after accusing Catiline of conspiracy, Cicero summons a number of witnesses including a personification of Rome herself, as in the prologue to *Sant'Alessio*. Rome begs Catiline to leave the city and not carry out his devious acts which would make him a tyrant over her free people.⁸ Dramatists like Rospigliosi studied orators such as Cicero because they wanted to model their dramas after those of ancient Greece and Rome not only in dramaturgical style, but also in the art of oration.

Above all, Renaissance dramatists and theorists looked most to the rules outlined by Aristotle in his *Poetics*. It is important to realize that these early commentators of Aristotle's *Poetics* and literary critics had their own interpretations of the text which would better fit their own needs. Although an early translation of the *Poetics* into Latin was made in 1278 by William of Moerbeke, it was virtually ignored. It was not until the translation and commentaries in 1498 by Gregorio Valla, and dramatist Alessandro de Pazzi's translation in 1536, that the *Poetics* received the most attention and sparked a number of discourses and publications of new commentaries on the text.⁹ Early on, commentators conflated Aristotle's *Poetics* with another text recently translated and commented upon: Horace's *Ars poetica*. Sixteenth-century theorists turned to both of these texts as models of ancient Greek dramatic and literary theory and often searched for ways to make one treatise conform with the other,

⁷ Salvatore Di Maria, *The Italian Tragedy in the Renaissance* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2002), 18.

⁸ Marcus Tullius Cicero, *First Oration of Marcus Tullius against Lucius Catilina, Delivered in the Senate*, 1.16.7.

⁹ Daniel Javitch, "The Assimilation of Aristotle's *Poetics* in Sixteenth-Century Italy," in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, ed. George A. Kennedy, Glyn P. Norton, and H.B. Nisbet *et al.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 54.

as is seen in Vincenzo Maggi's *In Aristotelis librum de poetica communes explanationes* (1550). Here, Maggi not only appended commentary on Horace's treatise to his published commentary on Aristotle, but also stated that Horace's work was "a stream flowing from the Aristotelian spring of the *Poetics*."¹⁰

The conflation of Aristotle's and Horace's directives fragmented understanding of Aristotle's theory in the mid sixteenth century. While sixteenth-century writers strove to imitate the principles of Aristotle because they viewed them as a model of ancient Greek thought, the reality was that Aristotle's focus on form and function was a minority one, since most other ancient writers, including Horace, measured the effectiveness and value of drama by standards such as truth or morality.¹¹ Theorists in the sixteenth century focused on Aristotle's works because they spoke to the sixteenth-century writer's new need to understand poetry in terms of codification of form and function.

The treatises published on drama and music which interpreted Aristotle's theories, like the treatises on tyranny and the Christian Republic, were also the products of discussions which took place among the learned academies. Other early theorists of drama to interpret Aristotle's *Poetics* included Giambattista Giraldi Cintio in his *Discorso intorno al comporre delle comedie e delle tragedie* (Pavia, 1554). In Cintio's *Discorso*, generic theorizing and codification is most clear, as well as the sixteenth-century writer's need to make Aristotle's principles conform to those which fit the needs of the writer. As Cintio's title suggests, in this work he codifies genres, especially those of comedy and tragedy, and in doing so he includes prescriptions from Aristotle's *Poetics*, as well as from modern theorists. In the case

¹⁰ Javitch, "The Assimilation of Aristotle's *Poetics*," 53.

¹¹ Javitch, "The Assimilation of Aristotle's *Poetics*," 53.

of tragedy, Cintio advocates invented rather than historical plots, much as in his own tragedies. In order to satisfy any critics in this decision, Cintio claims that Aristotle himself advocated for invented plots over those of a historical nature. Cintio even went so far in defending his own tragedy, *Didone*, in a letter to Ercole II of Ferrara in 1543 which stated “Aristotle allows for modification of the genre as it evolves according to changing tastes.”¹²

Nicolò Rossi’s *Discorsi intorno alla tragedia* (Venice, 1590) is another important commentary on Aristotle’s principles for the theater. Here Rossi states that the first aim of tragedy is to inspire fear and pity in the hearts of the spectators, and he gives a number of examples of classic literature which do this.¹³ But he also states that Aristotle’s *Poetics*, while an invaluable source for understanding ancient theater, is not clear on how tragedies should be recreated today. Rossi discusses three elements of dramatic production that are not clearly outlined by the *Poetics* or by other classical sources. The first is in the style of the language in which the drama is composed. Rossi advocates the use of *versi sciolti* of eleven- and seven-syllable lines.¹⁴ This is the common style of recitation found in many dramas of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, as well as of recitative in opera. Rossi also devotes a great deal of text to the staging of a tragedy with sets and costumes.¹⁵ Much of his discussion is similar to those descriptions found in Sebastiano Serlio’s *Secondo libro dell’architettura* of 1545. Finally, this treatise mentions one aspect of tragedy which is often overlooked by literary critics of his time, that of the use of music. While Rossi’s discussion

¹² Javitch, “The Assimilation of Aristotle’s *Poetics*,” 62.

¹³ Niccolò Rossi, “Discorso intorno alla tragedia,” in *Trattati di poetica e retorica del Cinquecento*, ed. Bernard Weinberg, vol. 4 (Rome: G. Laterza, 1974), 66.

¹⁴ Rossi, “Discorso intorno alla tragedia,” 67.

¹⁵ Rossi, “Discorso intorno alla tragedia,” 104-105.

of music is brief, he does advocate the composition of music for tragedies, especially choruses in ancient Greek modes.¹⁶ His reason for this is that the ancients, such as Plato, were convinced of the ability of the modes to stir the passions. Thus Rossi believes that music is an essential part of tragic representations because it aids in tragedy's first aim: to bring about fear and pity in the hearts of its spectators.

By the seventeenth century, theorists and scholars of drama, who, like Rossi, were concerned with how the use of music coincided with Aristotle's principles in order for tragedy to fulfill its purpose, began to write frequently about the ability of both drama and music to move the affections of the audience by means of pity and fear. I will explore how the musical and dramatic features of the Barberini operas conform to this principle in chapters four and five. It seems from surviving accounts that music critics believed that *Sant'Alessio* did conform to Aristotle's principles. For example, the anonymous "learned gentleman" who writes the letter printed in the 1634 score for *Sant'Alessio* states that the drama was indeed very good since all of its dramatic features followed Aristotle's unities and that the music was beautifully sung. Thus *Sant'Alessio* follows Aristotle's principles in that the drama unfolds in the time of one revolution of the sun, with the same action throughout in the same place, with costumes and scenery conforming to the serious nature of the drama, with no violence or death depicted onstage (rather, they are reported afterwards), and with choruses which conclude the action of each act.

But there is one important feature of all of these saint operas which does not conform to Aristotle's principles. Although some of the saints chosen are of noble birth, as Aristotle dictates for tragedy's main characters, they are entirely virtuous men and women. Aristotle prescribes that the aim of tragedy is to purge unhealthy feelings of terror and pity by moving

¹⁶ Rossi, "Discorso intorno alla tragedia," 106-107.

the audience to experience these things, and then emptying them by means of catharsis. In order to do so, Aristotle states that the character must be a person who is neither too good nor too evil. This way, the audience members will have more compassion for the protagonist as they experience their terror and pity along with the character as the drama unfolds on the stage. How, then, could a dramatist reconcile a drama about a holy person with the aims of tragedy according to Aristotle which would require the main character to be of less than perfect character?

One answer to this question is given by Tarquinio Galuzzi in his treatise on drama, *Rinovazione dell'antica e primiera tragedia (Renewal of the Ancient and Original Tragedy)* published in Rome and dedicated to Francesco Barberini in 1633, the year before the second production of *Sant'Alessio*. By “ancient and original” Galuzzi is hinting at tragedies that were written before Aristotle’s ideas were presented in the *Poetics*, although Galuzzi does not mention specifically the tragedies to which he is referring. In Galuzzi’s treatise, we find yet another example of a literary critic modifying the directives of Aristotle in order to suit the needs of an early modern audience. Galuzzi would have had good reason to write a defense of tragic representations. He was a pupil of Bernardo Stefonio, who has been called the father of the “Christian tragedy.” Stefonio’s most famous works were about the lives of paleo-Christian holy men and women, and saints, including *Crispus* and *Flavia*. These were written for Jesuit schools where they were performed on almost a yearly basis since *Crispus*’s first performance in 1597, and were witnessed by Galuzzi when he was a student at the Seminario Romano.¹⁷ Galuzzi sought to establish the importance of these sacred dramas

¹⁷ Stefonio’s *Crispus* had a wide reception history as well, being first published in Rome in 1601 and as far afield as Antwerp, where it was also performed in Jesuit schools in 1634. A modern edition is available: Bernardo Stefonio, *Crispus*, ed. Luigi Trenti (Rome: Bulzoni, 1988).

to the evangelical work of the Church in this treatise, which was printed as a companion to his defense of *Crispus*. Galuzzi would have known well many stories of the lives of saints since he was chosen as one of four learned men by Urban VIII to compile and verify saints' legends for the reforms made to the Proper and Ordinary of the feasts of the *Brevario romano* in spring 1629.¹⁸ Galuzzi begins his treatise by saying that he, like others whom he says have complained, finds it saddening that the laws of tragedy given by Aristotle are so narrow and constrained as to not allow the subject to be one that includes great examples from the history of the Faith. In his argument in favor of including the stories of holy men and women in tragic dramas, Galuzzi argues that Aristotle, although a formidable instructor of the ancient ideals, was not the only author to illustrate tragedy's true principles, and that in fact he changed the purpose of tragedy.

Galuzzi's focus in his treatise is his assertion that the true aim of tragedy, from its most ancient form onwards, was not just to bring about pity and terror for the purpose of catharsis, but also to bring about in the audience the hatred of tyranny. Galuzzi was not the first to write a treatise which discusses this subject of tyranny. One can look as far back as Giovanni Botero's *Ragion di stato* (Venice, 1589) and find a strong history of theorists rationalizing the need for a Christian Prince who ruled by Christian *virtù* rather than with a tyrannical arm. At the turn of the seventeenth century, there were also a number of groups of learned men who met in Rome to discuss the issue of tyranny as opposed to the ideal Christian Republic, including the Accademia degli Umoreisti, the Accademia de' Virtuosi (which met at the Palazzo Quirinale), and the Accademia di Cose dello Stato (which met at

¹⁸ M. Belardini, "Tarquinio Galuzzi," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, ed. Fiorella Bartocchini and Mario Caravale, vol. 51 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1998), 773-74.

the house of Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini).¹⁹ One of the first treatises to come out of the discussions held by these academies was Vincenzo Gramigna's *Del governo regio e tirannico* (*On Kingly Rule and Tyranny*, 1615), which summed up Gramigna's passionate speeches made in the Accademia de' Virtuosi, and also the Accademia dei Desiosi, which met first under Gramigna's employer, Cardinal Scipione Cobelluzzi, and later under Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy. Galuzzi would have known Gramigna's work, not only through this treatise's publication but also through his own involvement in meetings of the Desiosi in 1622 and 1623.²⁰ But soon these ideas about the Christian Republic triumphing over tyranny began to be discussed in terms of how the Christian Republic was to be represented in drama, particularly in tragedy. These ideas were addressed first, but only superficially, in Alessandro Donati's *Ars poetica* (Rome, 1631).²¹ Galuzzi may have been taking his cue from Donati in writing his *Rinovazione dell'antica e primiera tragedia*. Donati was the author of a number of Jesuit sacred tragedies including *Svevia* of 1629 which Galuzzi most likely would have witnessed.

Most importantly, Galuzzi's reason for writing this treatise and his strong interest in defending Christian dramas which might not seem to adhere to ancient principles is because of Francesco Barberini's personal interest in the history ancient drama. During the 1630's and 1640's, the same time that the Barberini saint operas were being produced, Francesco Barberini sponsored the writing of a large theoretical treatise on ancient theater practice. The work was taken up by his secretary of letters (and an audience member at the first production

¹⁹ Mario Rosa, "The 'World's Theater': the Court of Rome and Politics in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century," in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome 1492-1700*, ed. Signorotto and Antonietta, 78-98.

²⁰ Rosa, "The 'World's Theater,'" 83.

²¹ Anna Cerbo, *Il teatro dell'intelletto: drammaturgia di tardo Rinascimento meridionale* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1990), 52.

of *Sant'Alessio*) Jean-Jacques Bouchard.²² The work was so substantial that Bouchard never finished the publication in his lifetime. Fortunately, Bouchard's research in the form of notes, citations, and references have been preserved at the Vatican library.²³ Another friend of Francesco Barberini who regularly worked with Bouchard, Giovanni Battista Doni, also sought to compile a volume of research based on ancient principles of theater as well as of music. Doni's *Trattato delle musica scenica* was written sometime around 1635, but was also not published during his lifetime. In his research on the *Breviario romano* at the Vatican library and the holdings of the Barberini library at the palace at Quattro Fontane, Galuzzi most likely would have met Doni and Bouchard and would have been informed of their research. While Doni and Bouchard sought to recreate ancient theater for Francesco Barberini, Galuzzi did not want Christian drama to lose its place in Roman households and schools even if it did not closely adhere to the principles of ancient drama.

Tragedy, Galuzzi declares, "was born in the Republic and in the state of liberty."²⁴ He cites Plato's writings as evidence of this assertion. He states that long before Aristotle wrote his *Poetics*, Plato contended in his dialogue entitled *Minos* that poets in Athens invented tragedy to re-invoke their hatred against the tribute Minos had forced them to pay, namely seven young men and seven young women to be shut up in the labyrinth to be devoured by the minotaur. Minos was represented as a cruel and unjust tyrant, and the representations of the tragic consequences of this tribute brought about hatred against his

²² Margaret Murata, "Classical Tragedy in the History of Early Opera in Rome," *Early Music History* 4 (1984): 132.

²³ *I-Rvat Barb. lat.* 640, ff. 231-320.

²⁴ "che l'origine della Tragedia è diversa da quella, che ordinariamente se le assegna, e che nacque in Republica, e nello stato di liberta"; Tarquinio Galuzzi, *Rinovazione dell'antica e primiera tragedia* (Rome: Stamparia Vaticana, 1633), 7.

tyrannical rule.²⁵ But, Galuzzi contends, these first tragedies, created during the rule of Theseus after he returned to Athens, were born in the days of a republic, and not a monarchy. Here he cites the biography of Theseus written by the ancient Greek historian Plutarch, which differs from most mythological accounts in that it states that after Theseus returned and consolidated power in Athens, he laid down his regal power and proceeded to order that a republic be established. Galuzzi's reasons for choosing Theseus' reign in Athens have to do with the drama about Crispus, which takes its storyline from Seneca's drama *Phaedra*, in which the title character, the wife of Theseus, makes advances towards his son, Hippolytus. When Theseus discovers them, he wrongly accuses Hippolytus and has him put to death. In Stefonio's *Crispus*, the Crispus character appears in the place of Hippolytus in the original story, and the character of Constantine, the first Christian emperor of Rome, appears in the place of Theseus. This drama depicts a remorseful Constantine, rather than a vengeful one, in order to show his concern for the better good of his empire not to be led by an incestuous prince, rather than his desire to let his son live.²⁶

Galuzzi draws a history of ancient governments in order to establish the reasons for which Aristotle changed this first aim of tragedy, as well as to make an observation about the nature of all monarchies. Galuzzi, like Gramigna in his *Del governo regio e tirannico*, begins his history by stating that the first governments were the monarchies established by the God of the Old Testament, beginning with God as the ruler of the Hebrew people, and

²⁵ "E la tirannica durezza in questo particolar consiste, che le fanciulle, & i fanciulli non se gli davano in servaggio, che frà vinti e vincitori usato sarebbe, mà per pasto del Minotauro... Fù dunque vie maggiormente Tirannica l'azione di Minosse, se havea egli semplicemente domandato i fanciulli per tributo, senza esprimere, che volea dargli à divorare al Mostro, e nondimeno di suo arbitrio, esecitava contro loro sì barbara crudeltà"; Galuzzi, *Rinovazione dell'antica e primiera tragedia*, 9, 10.

²⁶ For more information on the *Crispus* story, see Victor R. Yanitelli, S.J., "The Jesuit Theater in Italy" (Ph.D. Diss., Fordham University, 1945); William H. McCabe, S.J., *An Introduction to the Jesuit Theater: a Posthumous Work*, ed. Louis J. Oldani, S.J. (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1983).

then the kingdoms beginning with Saul. He then focuses on the political objectives of his treatise by stating that all of these monarchies, although they were subject to a powerful king, were in some part elective in nature and did not represent absolute power.²⁷ He traces a line between these monarchies and those of ancient Greece. Galuzzi weaves together the histories of the Hebrew judges with the monarchs established in Athens in the line of Theseus, as well as the ancient rulers of Rome.²⁸ The last of these Athenian monarchs, Melanthus and Codrus, Galuzzi states, reigned during the same years as Saul and David, but they were cruel, tyrannical rulers. Galuzzi relates that after the death of Codrus, the people of Athens hated even the word “king,” and the first governments there consisted of nine elected magistrates and a ceremonial king, whose only true power was reserved for performing sacrifices for religious celebrations.²⁹ The Romans later followed this same model as the Athenian government, including the “king” reserved for religious celebrations, the “Rex sacrificulus.”

But by the time of Aristotle, Galuzzi argues, these governments had changed. Monarchs began to assume more and more power and, so Galuzzi tells us, tragic representations were suppressed in states where republics were dissolved. But Galuzzi is not too hard on Aristotle. He tells us that Aristotle was ignorant of the true aims of tragedy since so much political upheaval had occurred. Alexander the Great, historically noted as a pupil

²⁷ “li quali stati e mutazione furono tutte Monarchiche, ma in gran parte consentite dal popolo, ed’elettive”; Galuzzi, *Rinovazione dell’antica e primiera tragedia*, 14.

²⁸ “Era ne’ gl’anni due mila e ottocento Labdone Giudice de gl’Hebrei, e Rè di Troia Priamo, che fu l’ultimo del suo regno. Venne appresso Sansone: e Ascanio co’ suoi descenti signoreggiò quella parte d’Italia che chiamata fù Latio”; Galuzzi, *Rinovazione dell’antica e primiera tragedia*, 15.

²⁹ “Mà gli Atheniesi... ebbero in odio il nome, e titolo di Rè” and “ch’essi fecero della loro Città, e dominio, riducendolo à popolare, ne diedero il governo ad un Magistrato di nove huomini, de quali il primo dicevasi Rè, il secondo Archonte, il terzo Polemarcho, che vale à dire Capitano à guerra, gl’altri Thesmotheti, cioè Custodi e Presidenti delle legi”; Galuzzi, *Rinovazione dell’antica e primiera tragedia*, 26.

of Aristotle, had taken control not only of Athens, but also most of Western Europe, North Africa, Asia Minor, Persia, and India. Tragic poets, Galuzzi asserts, had the ability to defame the rulers of their time, and could face grave danger in doing so. Thus, Galuzzi affirms, Aristotle changed the true aims of tragedy by not mentioning them in his *Poetics* because he lived in fear of upsetting Alexander, whom Galuzzi names a tyrant.³⁰ Part of Aristotle's fear, which was also shared by his followers, the Peripatetics, came after Aristotle witnessed Alexander arrest and torture to death Aristotle's nephew and pupil, Callisthenes, whose history of Athens displeased Alexander since it argued against the adoption of Persian customs.³¹ In order to avoid punishment, Aristotle was then forced to develop a new form of tragedy which aimed at the purgation of terror and pity, but not at the expense of the ruling monarch. If the characters for this type of drama were neither too innocent, nor too evil, audience members would relate the events of the drama to their own lives, and then also be able to experience catharsis. However, if a tragic drama featured the torture or death of a person too innocent, it would incite hatred against the one inflicting the punishment, most frequently identified as the tyrannical ruler.

Galuzzi expresses the hope that in defending tragic dramas which feature wholly innocent characters, mainly Christian martyrs, more writers will adopt and accept sacred tragedies. His aim was to give audiences an example of a virtuous man or woman by whom

³⁰ “esser la vera cagione, perche Aristotele nella definizione della Tragedia non fece menzione alcuna del fine, e dello scopo datole da Platone, cioè, perche temeva di non dispiacerne ad Alessandro, di cui haveva ben' egli, e per gl'altrui esempi, e per proprij rispetti, ragionevolmente a temere”; Galuzzi, *Rinovazione dell'antica e primiera tragedia*, 43.

³¹ “Che Callisthene in quella conversazione più familiare di quello, che à privato si convenisse, offese l'animo del Rè, e se gli rese molesto, e noioso con libertà di parlare, e con una certa maniera di dispreggio, e di contumacia, ponendosi à contendere, e disputare pertinacemente con esso lui, come con suoi pari in schuola, e nel Liceo di Aristotele disputasse...il fece rinchiudere in una gabbia di ferro...dove il meschino essendo con lunga prigionia dal fetore, e dal marciume già consumato, fu finalmente cosi mal vivo gittato ad'un rabbioso Leone, che sbranollo, e'l divorò”; Galuzzi, *Rinovazione dell'antica e primiera tragedia*, 46.

they could be inspired to live moral lives and to acts of faith. But it is important to realize the context in which Galuzzi imagines this inspiration to virtue, that of a citizen of a Republic. These martyrs are not seen as examples of mere faith, but are also warriors defending a state that is threatened by tyranny. Galuzzi draws a parallel between a tyrant who would deprive his citizens of liberty and one who would take the life of a virtuous man.

*Imperochè quel tal' odioso si destava, e si accresceva contra'l Tiranno, che intendeva toglier la libertà della Republica, ò la vita del corpo, o la robba, e l'havere à Cittadini: mà questo si muove contra colui, che si studia di toglierci la vita dell'anima, e la cittadinanza del Cielo.*³²

Therefore, that disgust [in secular tragedy] arose and increased against the tyrant who intended to remove the liberty of the republic, or life from the body, or the goods and wealth from the citizens. But this [disgust in sacred tragedies] is against him who seeks to deprive us of the life of the soul, and the communion of heaven.

Here, Galuzzi is giving voice to the *respublica christiana*, an idea envisioned since the crusades of the eleventh century in which the world would be united under a single Christian faith. The benefits of Christian tragedy are therefore intended not only for the individual, but, more, for a larger Republic.

*Siche chiunque tali, e si miracolosi esempi di fortezza, e di religione porterà in scena, & in Theatro, havrà colla Christiana Republica una singlar benemerenza; conciosia cosa che propone al popolo efficacissimi, e potentissimi motivi, da stabilirlo, e confermarlo nella sua Fede.*³³

Thus whoever will put on the stage and in the theatre such miraculous examples of bravery and religion will share a singular benefit with the Christian Republic, given that he offers to the people most efficacious and powerful reasons to establish and confirm them in their Faith.

Galuzzi's defense of the Christian Republic, and not any particular empire in power at this time in the seventeenth century, as well as the fact that this treatise is dedicated to the

³² Galuzzi, *Rinovazione dell'antica e primiera tragedia*, 62.

³³ Galuzzi, *Rinovazione dell'antica e primiera tragedia*, 62.

cardinal-nephew of the reigning Pope, show us that he values the power and control of the papacy over those of other monarchs, even the protector of the Catholic Church, the Holy Roman Emperor.

But Galuzzi does not stop here. He goes on to document that all rulers who broke away from the voices of the people of their republics, and absorbed absolute power, changed into tyrants. It is not hard to imagine that the electoral nature of the papacy, the head of this Christian Republic, would be seen by Galuzzi as favorable. He tells us that the members of the Christian Republic in the audience not only will be edified by understanding the miracles of the saints, but will be inspired by the example they see onstage to take action in their own lives. But where is Galuzzi's tyrant in the seventeenth century? He does not point a finger at any potential tyrants, and simply leaves off his line of reasoning by summarizing that it is indeed proper to use holy characters in tragic dramas. Similarly, in each of the saint operas written for the Barberini family, as well as many of the saint dramas written for the Jesuit schools in Rome, the tyrannical leader is often a minor character, or is not seen at all.

The question of the tyrant is better answered by the writings of one of Galuzzi's colleagues, Tommaso Campanella. Like Galuzzi, Campanella had strong ties to the Barberini family and had gained the favor of Pope Urban VIII. He most likely would have known Galuzzi while he lived in Rome from 1629 until 1634, when he acted as an advisor to the Pope, specifically in political matters as well as on astrological occurrences. Campanella, like Galuzzi, also had his qualms over Aristotle. Campanella argued against Aristotle's theories of metaphysics in order to defend the ideas of Galileo Galilei in his *Apologia pro Galileo* of 1622.³⁴ What is more, Campanella's ideas about government and tyranny are

³⁴ John M. Headley, *Tommaso Campanella and the Transformation of the World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 145-179.

strongly echoed by Galuzzi. In his treatise on government, *De governo ecclesiastico* (1593), Campanella argued for the need for a universal theocratic state.³⁵ Like Galuzzi, he constructs his argument by laying out a history of governments, the first being those “ordained by God” for the leaders of the Old Testament which he connects to histories of the ancient Greek and Roman empires. Campanella argues that it is better if the world is governed by one ruler who would have temporal as well as spiritual power. He further illustrates these views in the utopian novel for which he is best known, *La città del sole*, originally written in 1602 but published later as *Civitas solis (The City of the Sun)* in Frankfurt in 1623. Although Campanella was imprisoned for heresy after writing the manuscript for this work, both manuscript copies and later published editions of the work were widely distributed throughout Rome and Germany. Galuzzi states in his treatise that it is better than this ruler be elected rather than given power on account of birthright. Perhaps in a symbolic wink to the Barberini Pope and his cardinal-nephews, Campanella illustrates this point by using the example of bees to show that elected rulers were more “natural.”³⁶ Unlike Galuzzi who merely hints about the nature of tyranny in his historical account, Campanella, in another treatise entitled *Monarchia messiae* published in Rome in the same year as Galuzzi’s (1633), boldly states that all monarchies that are not elective in nature are prone to degenerate into tyrannical dictatorships.³⁷ According to Campanella, only the papacy and Poland had escaped this degenerative state, since their governments were both

³⁵ Headley, *Tommaso Campanella*, 261.

³⁶ Although Campanella, in using bees as his example, is also looking back at the works of Homer and St. Ambrose, I would argue that he reinstates this image as it refers to the emblem found in the coat of arms of the Barberini family. This was not uncommon for writers of the time, since bees are also used as an example in Bernardino Turamini’s drama *Barbara sacra alle api* (Rome, 1632), as well as Leone Allacci’s *Apes urbanae* (Rome, 1633).

³⁷ Headley, *Tommaso Campanella*, 279.

elective in nature. Campanella, in his *De monarchia hispanica* (1600), even wrote a laudatory poem in honor of the Polish electors, urging them to reject the rule of foreign princes, which speaks of tyrants including Minos during whose rule it was “Uncertain whether he will spend or spare,” similar to the descriptions given by Galuzzi in his treatise.

Poland plays a bigger role in understanding the propagandist nature of these operas than scholars have previously thought. The Barberini family may have chosen to repeat *Sant’Alessio* in 1634, rather than reproduce *Erminia sul Giordano* of 1633 or create a new opera, because its themes resonated strongly with the political circumstances that the Polish monarchy was facing in that year, and even, perhaps, with the name of its dedicatee. The first of these themes was reflected in the “anti-tyrannical” language used by the character of Roma in the prologue which was added specifically for this production. Since 1505, the date of the act of *Nihil novi* enacted by the Polish Diet, Poland’s monarchy was semi-electoral in nature.³⁸ A monarch could no longer act unilaterally on any decision without consulting aristocratic members of the senate. This electoral nature of the monarchy was further strengthened in 1569 with the creation of the Noble’s Democracy of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.³⁹ In 1599, King Sigismund III had lost the throne of Sweden on account of being a Catholic (that throne had been held by the King of Poland since the Wasa dynasty of Sweden married the reigning Jagiellon family in Poland in the fifteenth century).⁴⁰

Another theme which Francesco Barberini may have hope would strike a chord with the visiting Polish dignitary was that of Alessio’s choice to abandon his spouse and family in

³⁸ Norman Davies, *God’s Playground: A History of Poland*, vol. 1: *To 1795* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 105.

³⁹ Davies, *God’s Playground*, 247.

⁴⁰ Davies, *God’s Playground*, 328.

order to preserve his faith and asceticism. At the time of the productions of the Barberini's first saint opera, *Sant'Alessio*, Władisław Wasa, Sigismund's son, had recently gained the throne after his father's death in 1632. It is this monarch's brother, Alexander Charles, to whom the opera's second production was dedicated. Alexander Charles' reason for coming to Rome in the first place was that he had been sent as an envoy to receive the Pope's response to his brother's request to marry a Protestant in order to reestablish parts of the original Wasa kingdom, especially that of Sweden, which had been lost to Protestant control.⁴¹ This permission was, of course, denied by Urban VIII, and the messages in *Sant'Alessio* would seem to be that putting one's marriage above one's faith would not be the mark of a true warrior of Christ.

Alexander Charles, and in turn Władisław, may have taken another message of the opera to heart as well. Even when Alessio is tormented by his father's servants, he remains steadfast and does not reveal his identity; nor does he identify himself even when his wife and mother threaten to leave the house in Rome in order to search for Alessio in the East. Alessio does not "battle" heresy or pagan enemies in this opera. In fact, he focuses inward and does not take any actions at all. This Stoic inaction is mirrored in Władisław's policies during the 1630s. When war broke out between the Polish people and the Muscovy region, Władisław worked to create peace with the treaty of Polanów in 1634. He also rallied the branches of the Commonwealth to create the treaty of Stumsdorf in 1635 to ensure peace with Sweden, despite the ongoing battles of the Thirty Years War in which Swedish forces were heavily embroiled.⁴² Władisław was even criticized by some, including the Dutch

⁴¹ Davies, *God's Playground*, 349.

⁴² Davies, *God's Playground*, 349-51.

lawyer and philosopher Hugo Grotius, for not becoming involved in the war, or in the violent outbreaks at Poland's borders caused by the Tartars.⁴³ But since the fifteenth century, Polish rulers had long maintained that it was not proper for a Christian king to take arms. Cardinal Francesco Barberini would have known full well the rising crisis for Poland and for the new king. For this reason the creators of *Sant'Alessio* took extra pains to get their message across to the Polish prince, aside from singing his praises in the prologue. In the final scene of the apotheosis of this 1634 version, Alessio is shown in heaven alongside Prince Aldalbert, Poland's patron saint.

Alessio's story, and Galuzzi's convictions that the best Christian Republic is one ruled by an elected monarch, would also have resonated with the opera's original dedicatee for its first performance in 1632, Prince Hans Ulrich von Eggenburg, Duke of Kremau and Emperor Ferdinand II's most important minister. First, Eggenberg would have been familiar with the type of religious ideas presented in Rospigliosi's opera because, just as Rospigliosi's operas were influenced by the works of Spanish writer Lope de Vega, Eggenberg was also a deep admirer of the works of de Vega. In his library was a complete edition of de Vega's plays, many with annotations in Eggenberg's hand.⁴⁴ But Eggenberg would have also understood the implications of a representation of an "electoral" Christian Republic. The Holy Roman Empire had for centuries been an electoral monarchy in which both the Christian princes of German lands as well as the archbishops of the Catholic Church voted on their ruler. This electoral monarchy, which was established under the rule of Charles IV, King of Bohemia, in the Diet of Nuremberg, resulted in the Golden Bull of 1356,

⁴³ Janusz Tazbir, "Polish Defenders of Political and Religious Peace in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Dialectics and Humanism* 10 (1982): 257-317.

⁴⁴ Robert Bireley, *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counterreformation* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1981), 17.

establishing the Empire's electoral college. Seven electors – originally including the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Saxony, the Margrave of Brandenburg, and the Archbishops of Cologne, Mainz, and Trier – made up this college.⁴⁵ But by the time of Urban VIII's pontificate and the Thirty Years War, the electoral system had changed, and power and landholdings within the Empire had shifted. The Peace of Augsburg of 1555 allowed German princes to choose either Lutheranism or Catholicism within the domains that they controlled. Between 1555 and the start of the Thirty Years War in 1618, many Catholic landholdings had come under the power of Protestant groups. Beginning in 1618, the Duke of Bavaria was also included as an eighth voting member of the electoral college of the Holy Roman Empire. The current emperor, Ferdinand II of Austria (r. 1619-1637), wanted to restore the Holy Roman Empire to the state it had been prior to the Peace of Augsburg. He sought to have Catholic lands and powers restored and reversed many of the pacts made by the Peace of Augsburg in his Edict of Restitution on 6 March 1629.⁴⁶ An opera such as *Sant'Alessio* witnessed by the emperor's emissary would have encouraged Ferdinand to stay the course, and impel his empire to follow only the Catholic faith.

Saint dramas like these presented for the court of Francesco Barberini invited the audience members to share in the tragic experience of the saints and martyrs who sought fortitude and restoration in religious beliefs similar to their own. Alessio's inaction is in many ways characteristic of the military inaction of Władisław (and for that matter, of Pope Urban VIII himself). Alessio's behavior is representative of the neo-Stoic Christian philosophy

⁴⁵ D. S. Chambers, *Popes, Cardinals, and War* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006), 28. See also James Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire* (London: Macmillan, 1978), 243.

⁴⁶ H. G. Koenigsberger, *The Habsburgs and Europe, 1515-1660* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971), 240-41.

made by philosopher Justus Lipsius, most importantly through his two-volume treatise *De constantia* (1584).⁴⁷ Lipsius wrote this treatise in the midst of the war between the Spanish and the Dutch in the Netherlands. The focus of its teaching on “an upright and steadfast strength of soul that was neither elated nor cast down by external or fortuitous events” resonates strongly with the representation of Alessio whose soul withstands the lure of temptation.⁴⁸ This philosophy became increasingly popular in Rome and elsewhere in the Catholic world in that it was employed in the teachings of many Jesuit colleges throughout Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands. But although Lipsius himself criticized his contemporaries who interpreted his theories to mean that one must withdraw from public affairs and retreat into private life, many teachers of Lipsius’ ideas combined these theories with those of the early monastic desert fathers and paleo-Christian saints such as Alexis who did indeed retreat and remain steadfast in isolation.⁴⁹ As Elisabetta de Troja notes, Alessio’s actions can be defined not only as “self-deprecation,” but his entire existence is one in which he lives in a void, a “non-space.”⁵⁰ Alessio not only removes himself from any action in the opera, but he also lives between this world and the next. The staircase he lives beneath acts symbolically as the connection between the physical world, and the heaven to which he aspires.

⁴⁷ Robert Bireley, “Justus Lipsius, the Founder of a Tradition,” in Bireley, *The Counter-reformation Prince: Anti-Machiavellianism or Catholic Statecraft in Early Modern Europe* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 72-73.

⁴⁸ Bireley, “Justus Lipsius,” 76-77.

⁴⁹ Hans Hescher, “Justus Lipsius, ein Vertreter des christlichen Humanismus in der katholischen Erneuerungsbewegung des 16. Jahrhunderts,” *Jahrbuch für das Bistum Mainz* 6 (1954): 196-231.

⁵⁰ Elisabetta de Troja, “Il Sant’Alessio e il motivo dello ‘sposo casto,’” in *Lo spettacolo del sacro, la morale del profano: su Giulio Rospigliosi (Papa Clemente IX)*, ed. Danilo Romei (Pistoia: Polistampa, 2005), 153-68.

We are first introduced to Alessio in the second scene of act I in which Alessio, in an “oratione,” as is presented in the rubric in the printed score, sings:

<i>Se l'hore volano e seco involano cio ch'altri hà qui; chi l'ali a me darà, tanto ch'all'alto polo io prenda il volo, e mi riposi là.</i>	Since the hours fly away and bear off with them what others possess down here, who will give me wings, so that to the highest Pole I may take flight and there find rest?
<i>Nel mondo instabile, altro durabile, ch'il duol non è; chi l'ali a me...</i>	In this unstable world, nothing is lasting save grief; who will give me wings...
<i>Quei rai, che splendono qui l'alme offendono, nè serban fè; chi l'ali a me...</i>	Those eyes that shine down here offend the spirit and do not keep faith; who will give me wings...

Alessio's music for this aria further depicts this void in which Alessio lives, between worlds (see Example 3.1). The cadences at mm. 6 and 15 both emphasize D. The number of accidentals up to the cadence at m. 15 would suggest that D is not only being tonicized, but that the tonal center of the piece is actually D. It is not until the final measures that the original tonality of G is heard. Alessio's music, like his actions in this opera, do not entirely exist in one plane or another, either in the G tonal area, or one on D. Alessio cries out “who will give me wings to fly?” He aspires to fly away from the current world in which he is living and find rest in heaven. His cadence in D at m. 15, after his long “flight” of an ornamental passage landing on a high D, would lead the listener to think that perhaps Alessio's escape was successful. However, his subsequent immediate fall back down to G at m. 18 shows the listener that he must remain, for a time, in the physical world. The instrumental ritornello written for three violins and basso continuo which follows each

strophic verse of this aria solidifies the G tonality, before the next verse modulates momentarily back to D again.

Example 3.1: *Sant'Alessio*, I.2

Alessio:

Se l'ho - re vo - la - no E se - co in - vo - la - no

4 6 6 6

5

Ciò ch'al - tri hà qui; Chi l'a - li à me da - rà Tan

4 3 # # 6 6

9

- to ch'al - l'al - to po - lo Io pren - da il vo - - -

6 6 6 6 b 3

13

- - - lo E mi ri - po - si là, E

5 6 6 5 4 3 #

16

Musical score for voice and basso continuo. The voice part is in treble clef with a common time signature. The lyrics are: mi — ri - po - - si là. The basso continuo part is in bass clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. The lyrics are aligned with the voice part. The basso continuo part has a 6 4 3 fingering indicated below the notes.

Musical score for Violin 1, Violin 2, Violin 3, and Continuo. The Violin parts are in treble clef with a common time signature. The Continuo part is in bass clef with a common time signature. The score consists of two measures.

Musical score for Violin 1, Violin 2, Violin 3, and Continuo. The Violin parts are in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. The Continuo part is in bass clef with a common time signature. The score consists of two measures. The first measure has a 3-measure rest indicated above the first violin staff. The second measure has a 2-measure rest indicated above the first violin staff.

Perhaps the most common features of saints' lives like this one which have their roots in the *Vitae patrum* attributed to St. Jerome, later translated and edited by the fourteenth-century Dominican friar Domenico Cavalca as the *Vite dei Santi Padri*, and then are also found in Jacobus de Voragine's collection *The Golden Legend*, is that the saint's faith, and in

turn, his or her fortitude, must first be tested.⁵¹ It is for this reason that so many saints are shown on the stage facing temptation from demons, seduction, or the threat of torture and death. At this point in act I, scene 2 of *Sant’Alessio*, Alessio’s faith and fortitude have not yet been tested. Alessio’s music, even more than his words, are emblematic of this. Alessio’s triple time aria with a dance-like rhythm has a less than humble appearance. Because he has not yet undergone his temptations, Alessio’s song still combines elements of worldliness with his words of humility and piety.

Alessio’s story is not only representative of the military policies shared by Władisław IV and the papacy at this time, but he represents well the patron of this opera, Francesco Barberini. He is a chaste man who must remove himself from the secular world in order to attain a spiritual status. Although he lives in a Roman palace, he remains humble and he does not take pleasure in its luxurious worldly delights. Francesco, like Alessio, also lived in a Roman palace, and would not have wanted his spiritual status to be overshadowed by his wealth and power in the eyes of other high-ranking church and civic officials. Saints such as Alexis gained cult followings since it was believed that the saint could act as an intercessor between man and God. Once saints went to heaven to become a part of the Church Triumphant, they filled a role that was half way between the mortal men on earth and the highest celestial power of an immortal God. Just as saints had important roles to play not only as an example of sanctity to edify the members of the Christian Republic, but also to act in intercession, so too did a papal *nipote* who took the seat as the highest-ranking cardinal in the Church of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Francesco’s uncle, Maffeo was elected to the papacy to act as a mortal Saint Peter – holding the keys to the kingdom of

⁵¹ For more information about Cavalca’s *Vite dei Santi Padri*, see Paul F. Grendler, “What Zuanne Read in School: Vernacular Texts in Sixteenth-Century Venetian Schools,” *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 1 (1982): 41-54.

heaven. Francesco then also had the power to intercede between his uncle the Pope, and other men within this framework of a Christian Republic.

It is difficult to compare the character of Bonifatio to that of Alessio. It is Aglae's idea that Bonifatio should go to Tarsus, not Bonifatio's. Whereas Alessio is torn and distressed from the first scene in the opera, Bonifatio is shown laughing and dancing with Aglae. When she is humbled by Penitence and convinces Bonifatio to go away to fight for the Christians, Bonifatio is confused and does not understand her motives or his own obligations. A better comparison to Alessio's struggles is seen in the character of Teodora. Like Alessio, Teodora declares her willingness to die for her faith from the very start of the opera. Also like with Alessio, a tempter tries to use Teodora's mother's distress as a persuasion for her to renounce her faith. In act I, scene 1, Teodora tries to convince her mother and her nurse of her unwavering new Christian faith. At the end of this scene, Teodora sings a long speech, similar to the arias of Alessio and Eustachio, where she rejects the fleeting, worldly pleasures, and expresses her frustrations as she is not yet a part of the heavenly world.

Teodora:

*Più non induci il piè sospeso, e tardo,
perche pronto è il sentiero,
ond' io ne corra al Cielo.
Ma ben' giust'è che prima
lasci al mondo bugiardo
ciò, ch'egli adora, e stima.
Le vaghe gemme, e gl'ori,
e gl'ornamenti, e i fiori,
doni son della terra à lei gli rendo:
doni nel vero egregi!*

Theodora:

Do not cause the foot to be more suspended and
slow,
because here is the path,
where I now race to heaven.
But it is right to first
leave to the deceitful world
that which it adores and esteems.
The shining gems, and the gold,
and the ornaments and the flowers,
are gifts from the world, and to it I return them:
proud gifts indeed!

*Ite pompe mal fide, ite miei fregi:
ingemmati monili
son' lucide catene
ond il senso tiranno
l'alme seguaci in servitù mantiene.
Per se dunque li prenda il suolo avaro:
e mentre accorta à calpestar gli
 imparo,
i suoi lampi fallaci il cor dispregi.
Ite pompe mal fide, ite miei fregi.*

Go away, untrustworthy splendors, go away, my
 ornaments:
jeweled necklaces
are sparkling chains
where the tyrannical sense
keeps its following souls in servitude.
So let the greedy soil keep them for itself:
and while I eagerly learn to trample them into the
 ground,
may my heart scorn their false glitter.
Go away, untrustworthy splendors, go away, my
 ornaments.

Although the text here is in *versi sciolti* and therefore likely to have been set as recitative (although the music is lost), the presence of a refrain “*Ite pompe mal fide, ite miei fregi*” suggests that this line, at least, might have been treated more lyrically so as to emphasize to the listener what needs to be left in this world so as to enter the next.

Eustachio is depicted in both his words and his music by papal musician, Virgilio Mazzocchi, in a similar manner to Alessio in that he desires to join the saints of the Church Triumphant in heaven, but yet he remains troubled on earth. Shortly after Eustachio is arrested in act II, scene 2 in *Sant'Eustachio*, the saint is seen alone onstage, and in the same manner as Alessio, he contemplates the vanity and depravity of the world. He then sings an aria in which he, too, expresses his desire to leave the world and fly to heaven where he can find rest.

Eustachio:

*Oh Dio, se d'aspra cura
sempre cinto ne vo',
qual di colomba pura
perche l'ali non hò?
In sì basso confine
onde à te volì, e mi riposi al fine.*

Eustachio:

Oh God, if by harsh cares
am I always to be surrounded,
why do I not have wings
like those of the pure dove?
So that from such base confinement
I might fly to you, and in the end find rest.

Like Alessio, Eustachio finds himself in a void, between the world of heaven and on earth as he sings this lamenting prayer to God during his confinement in a prison cell (see Example 3.2). His music, like that of Alessio's, also depicts this negation by sounding as if it too is trapped between the harmonies of C minor and A flat major. The first problem in this aria which obscures the tonal area of this piece is that both the vocal line and the underlying harmonies avoid authentic cadences on the tonic. The first two phrases end with only temporary cadences pausing on the dominant G chord at m. 14. The first possibility for an authentic cadence suggested by the vocal line is not found until m. 19. But, even this effort at reinforcing the tonality of C minor is thwarted since both the voice and the basso continuo turn the cadence into an authentic cadence on E flat major. In m. 20, the next phrase does go on to play the expected C in the harmony, but for only a brief moment since the melody in the vocal line continues without pause. Opportunities for reinforcement of the tonic C minor in the harmony are avoided in two places, first at mm. 14 and then again at m. 26 where an A flat is heard in the bass below the C in the vocal line. The only tonic cadence happens at the end of the aria at m. 47.

Example 3.2: *Sant'Eustachio* II.2

Ritornello:

Musical score for Violin 1, Violin 2, and Continuo, measures 1-4. The key signature is two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 3/2. Violin 1 starts with a whole rest in the first measure, then plays a series of half notes. Violin 2 plays a series of half notes. The Continuo part provides a harmonic accompaniment with half notes.

Musical score for Violin 1, Violin 2, and Continuo, measures 5-8. The key signature is two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 3/2. Violin 1 plays a series of half notes. Violin 2 plays a series of half notes. The Continuo part provides a harmonic accompaniment with half notes.

Musical score for Eustachio's vocal part, measures 9-12. The key signature is two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 3/2. The vocal line is accompanied by a Continuo part. The lyrics are: "O Dio, che d'as - pra cu - ra Sem - pre cin -".

13

- to__ ne__ vo', Qual di co-lom-ba pu - ra Per-che

17

l'a - li__ non hò? In__ sì__ bas - so__ con - fi - ne

#

21

on - de à te vo - li, on - de à te vo - li e mi ri -

#

25

po - si al fi - ne, On - de à te

30

vo - li, on - de à te vo - li, e mi ri - po - -

#

34

38

42

45

Eustachio, like Alessio, complains that he aspires to be a part of the heavenly world, but yet is imprisoned, in this case literally, on earth. His aria may have been heard by seventeenth-century audiences as a lament as signified by the two statements of the

descending tetrachord heard in the continuo during the instrumental introduction.⁵²

Eustachio's imprisonment is only the beginning of his trials. His fortitude and faith will come under the ultimate test when, in the true fashion of the Greek *anagnorisis*, he recognizes his wife and children and is all at the same time surprised to see them alive, but crushed to learn that they too will be burned alive for their faith. But as his music demonstrates, Eustachio has not yet adopted his utmost potential for humility and piety to overcome this torment. His voice shows the audience that he is still a part of the earthly world and his faith must be strengthened through trial.

Like Alessio, Eustachio is also portrayed in this opera in order to represent the patron of this opera, Cardinal Francesco Barberini and his political ideals. Once a man of the military, he humbles himself to accept the punishment of death without a struggle. Eustachio is no longer concerned about the wars of this world when it is his faith on which he must focus. Although Francesco Barberini, as the Pope's nephew, had at his disposal, a great deal of influence over the warring countries to the north, he chose not to engage the church in bloodshed. On the one hand, some of Francesco's and Urban VIII's inaction during the Thirty Years War may have been a result of fear of further upsetting the conflicting interests in the Catholic states of France and the two branches of the Habsburg empire. But on the other, preaching practices at this point during the Counter Reformation suggest that Catholic

⁵² See Ellen Rosand, "The Descending Tetrachord: an Emblem of Lament," *Musical Quarterly* 65 (1979): 346-59. See also Suzanne Cusick, "'There was not one lady who failed to shed a tear': Arianna's Lament and the Construction of Modern Womanhood," *Early Music* 22 (1994): 21-41, as well as those articles addressing the issue of Monteverdi's lament in volume 27 (1999) of *Early Music*: Leofranc Holford-Strevens, "'Her eyes became two spouts': Classical Antecedents of Renaissance Laments," 379-393; Tim Carter, "Lamenting Ariadne?" 395-405; Anne MacNeil, "Weeping at the Water's Edge," 406-417; Suzanne Cusick, "Revoicing Arianna (and Laments): Two Women Respond," 436-449; as well as Tim Carter, "Intriguing Laments: Sigismondo d'India, Claudio Monteverdi, and Dido *alla parmigiana* (1628)," in his *Monteverdi and his Contemporaries* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2000), X: 32-69; and Jean-Philippe Guyé, "Claudio Monteverdi: le *Lamento d'Arianna*; aspects contextuels, biographiques, documentaires et expressifs," *Analyse musicale* 44 (2002): 3-30.

church officials coupled the ideas of Stoicism learned from the ancient tragedians such as Seneca with Christian beliefs in their characterization of the ideal citizen of the Christian Republic. This coupling of ancient Stoic thought with Christian piety was advocated by the same Tarquinio Galuzzi in an oration given before both Maffeo and Francesco Barberini in 1617 entitled *De studio eloquentiae (On the Pursuit of Eloquence)*.⁵³ Stoicism taught one to master the will in order to overcome emotional responses to fear, and to set reason above all in order to understand the rational order of the universe. Christians like Alessio and Eustachio who combined these teachings with Christian piety would carry on the classical traditions of Rome, such as Stoicism, with the traditions of the Catholic faith and would thus serve as a virtuous citizen of the Christian Republic. Like the saints they chose for the stage, Francesco and the Barberini Pope chose to win hearts to the Catholic cause through education and missions, rather than by the sword.

If seventeenth-century operas were meant to teach as much as to delight, it is important to turn to contemporary sources to discover what, exactly, may have been taught, and in what manner the messages were to be conveyed. Tarquinio Galuzzi's *Rinovazione dell'antica e primiera tragedia* (1633) is a source which explains the political and religious implications of the choice of sacred subjects in tragedies of the seventeenth century. Galuzzi defends the depiction of holy men and women in tragedies, despite the pronouncements of Aristotle which argue against the use of entirely virtuous characters, in order to bring about in the audience members, a hatred of tyranny and oppression. While Galuzzi is not so concerned with the acts of tyrants such as those of the ancient past, he believes these tragic representations will inspire audience members to acts of faith and service to the Christian Republic even to the extent of martyrdom. During the era of the Thirty Years War, the

⁵³ McGinness, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory*, 9.

powerful messages of these tragic saint operas were aimed not only at the Catholic faithful of Rome, but sometimes specifically towards visiting dignitaries from troubled lands, such as Poland and the Holy Roman Empire. In representing these holy men and women who were to inspire the audience to acts of faith, the characters' behavior was characteristic of the Neo-Stoic ideas of inaction and fortitude in the face of temptation. In the case of Alessio and Eustachio, the arias they sing contain harmonies which seem representative of two tonal areas at one time, which in turn illustrates how each saint is lost and trapped between two worlds; that of the physical and that of the spiritual. The representations of their lives lead the audience members to also experience their struggles, temptations, and their final reward as they remain steadfast. But, in the process of becoming a member of the Church Triumphant in heaven, Alessio and Eustachio demonstrate for the audience how to become a citizen of the Christian Republic on earth. In both their music and their text, these saints overcome their worldly attributes, represented musically in the beginning of these operas as florid virtuosic solo lines, in order to adopt a severe attitude of utmost humility and piety. At the same time, these saints were also representative of their patron, Cardinal Francesco Barberini. Those visiting dignitaries and high-ranking Catholic church officials who attended these operas witnessed saints who were characteristically chaste, humble, and self-denying who placed their faith in the power of heaven rather than the power of wealth, social position, or even military force. But Alessio and Eustachio's influence was felt even beyond the years of the pontificate of Urban VIII. Dramatic and musical productions were given in Rome and other republics such as Lucca to celebrate a dual citizenship, both in the earthly republic of their city, as well as in the Christian Republic.⁵⁴ These operatic performances

⁵⁴ See Peter N. Miller, "Stoics who Sing: Lessons in Citizenship from Early Modern Lucca," *Historical Journal* 44 (2001): 313-39.

from the mid- to the late-seventeenth century included representations where Stoic saints such as Alessio and Eustachio sang of their plights with words that depicted their training of their wills to remain steadfast in their faith, despite their trying circumstances. Fortitude in the face of tyranny and oppression was valued during the reign of Urban VIII, and beyond in the seventeenth century, in both the religious and political spheres. Although they defied the principles of Aristotle's *Poetics*, tragedies based on the lives of saints served both religious and political purposes. Audience members who shared in the saint's tragic experience would be reminded not only of their commitment to their faith, but also their duties as a member of the Christian Republic.

Chapter Four

O Welcome Death? Depictions of Martyrdom and the Purpose of Tragedy

Martyrdom, or a saint's willingness to die for his or her Christian beliefs, is perhaps the most extreme example of not only faith but fortitude. Martyrdom became a central theme in the arts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Depictions of the lives of saints in painting and sculpture took on new, dramatic characteristics which stood in contrast to the symbolic representations of previous eras. As the Church continued its Tridentine zeal for rebuilding the center of the Catholic faith, older churches dedicated to early Christian martyrs were restored and given a new, Baroque façade. Gian Lorenzo Bernini was commissioned by Pope Urban VIII upon the discovery of the body of the martyr Saint Bibiana to create a sculpture and frescoes for the church in her name in 1624.¹ Similarly, Alessandro Algardi was commissioned to create life-size terracotta pieces of "Three Martyr Saints" for the restored church of Sante Luca e Martina in Rome in 1634.² Cardinal Antonio Barberini commissioned the renovation of the church of the ancient Roman martyr, Saint Agatha, at Sant'Agata in Suburra.³ Just as Rome's greatest basilica, St. Peter's, was finally completed

¹ Irving Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 280.

² Jennifer Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture: the Industry of Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 217.

³ A discussion of the renovation of ancient churches throughout the seventeenth century is found in Fioravante Martinelli, *Le magnificenze di Rome antica, e moderna: ricercate nel propria sito con tutte le cose notabili ch'in essa si trovano, chiese, monasterij, ospedali* (Rome: Bernabo, 1725).

during the age of the Barberini full of ancient architectural wonders, sweeping Baroque arches and pediments, and thousands of representations of the Church's holy men and women of the past, the dramatic works about the lives of early Christian martyr saints were written according to ancient principles and also took on a type of Baroque façade.

Dramatic representations of early Christian martyrs for the Barberini court, were, like those representations in the plastic arts, commissioned and consumed by members of the Catholic faith. They were not intended as pieces which would convert their audience members, but instead, these representations of martyrdom conveyed important messages of the Church's authority over the lands and rulers, and over their very souls. Just as audiences of foreign dignitaries were impressed with these newly remodeled churches as a rejuvenation of the Church's power, the dramatic representations they witnessed emphasized fortitude despite the religious war and plagues which were tearing their homelands apart. The saintly examples were chosen from the early history of Rome because they showed the primacy of the Catholic church over the newly founded Protestant faith. More than this, each of the saints in these representations was chosen because their stories speak not only of miracles and pious deeds, but also of constancy and resolution not to surrender their beliefs even in the face of death. This ideal of fortitude was highly valued by leading church authorities of the time, especially the patrons of these operas, since it was seen as relevant to the type of fortitude that would be necessary to prevent a weakening of Catholic power during the Protestant Reformation and the ongoing Thirty Years War.

As we have seen in chapter 3, it was one thing to depict the life of a saint as a biographical enactment, but another to mold the drama to fit classical parameters. The elements of ancient Greek tragedy outlined by Aristotle in his *Poetics* that were so valued by

literary and music theorists alike, including the unities of time, space, and action, the opening of a drama *in medias res*, and the goal of catharsis, began to appear in drama in the mid-sixteenth century. The “life” of a saint had to be shortened to fit within the time frame of a single revolution of the sun, and consequently became a depiction just of the saint’s final day on earth. Also, the death of the saint was to be conducted offstage, according to Aristotle’s suggestions, as it was far too horrific to be viewed, whereas it had previously been represented within the dramatic action of the *rappresentazioni sacre* of the previous era.⁴

But there arose a number of paradoxes in reforming these saint plays to fit the ideals of ancient Greece. The death of a saint cannot be seen entirely as a tragedy, as its representation is meant also to inspire the faithful to rejoice that the saint has found new life in heaven, which is always presented in the grandiose apotheosis as the culmination of the final act. Also, according to Aristotle, the main character of serious dramas was to be of noble birth: otherwise the audience members would not feel his story to be of importance. Although some saints’ lives record that the person was, in fact, noble, many other saints were not. In the cases of Alexis, Boniface, and Eustace, we have the son of a Roman senator, a youthful lover, and an army general, but no princes or kings. Second, the main character must have a nature that is neither too good nor too evil. If the character had a nature that was either of these extremes, Aristotle feared that the audience members would not be able to relate personally to the ways in which the character reacted to the events which occurred around him in the drama. Saints’ lives often do not focus on the person’s moral shortcomings. Instead, it is only their superhuman sacrifice and steadfastness, with resultant

⁴ The surviving printed anthologies and collections of libretti for saint plays from the sixteenth century, such as those of *I-Rvat* Capponi V. 685 and *I-Rvat* Stamp. Dramme Allacci 305 are filled with gruesome images of the saints’ moments of martyrdom. Many of the individual plays have the same picture of the dying saint on both the front cover and the last page of the play.

miraculous consequences, that are recounted in sacred histories.⁵ As far as a saint is concerned, the subject may have been viewed by Aristotle and his contemporaries as “too good.”

Critics of drama in the seventeenth century frequently focused on two main issues in the composition of tragedy. The first was the drama’s ability to conform to classical parameters such as those outlined by Aristotle. The second was the drama’s ability to move the audience. When the audience members are affected by these operas, they are able to purge bad humors from their hearts and minds through a process of catharsis, but they are also then able to fill their hearts and minds with the inspiration of the example of the saint they have learned from on the stage. An example of this is first seen in a letter recently discovered by Elena Tamburini by Lelio Guidiccioni, a priest and poet in the literary circle surrounding Urban VIII. Here, Guidiccioni not only praises *Sant’Alessio* for adhering to Aristotelian ideals such as the unity of the plot in the opera, but also compliments the opera’s powerful spirituality:

*l’attione egualm[en]te è spiritosa, e spirituale; unita di Filo, et varia d’intrecciatura; spira all’anima divotione, et all’animo dilittatione è pioggia di soli, è soli di Primavita, chi non asciuga li ruggia a sù gli occhi, et mantiene i raggi dell’allegrezza nel cuori.*⁶

⁵ This is true of medieval saint histories, such as those found in Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda aurea*, as well as of seventeenth-century sermons which often used the lives of saints as their subjects; see Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History in Tridentine Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 17-18, 40-42.

⁶ *I-Rvat* MS Barb. lat. 2958, f. 209; see Elena Tamburini, “Per uno studio documentario delle forme sceniche: i teatri dei Barberini e gli interventi Berniniani,” in *Tragedia dell’onore nell’Europa barocca*, ed. Maria Chiabò and Federico Doglio (Rome: Centro Studi sul Teatro Medioevale e Rinascimentale, 2002), 256-57. I would like to note that Tamburini incorrectly dates this letter as 1629; in fact, what she reads as a “2” is actually a three with a shortened top half-loop, and the “9” is actually a two that has an extra loop at the top, which is commonly found in seventeenth-century hands. Thus, the date of the letter is 1632, the same year as the first accounts of a *Sant’Alessio* opera for the Barberini household. The same formations of these numbers are found on threes and twos on ff. 4, 24v, 46, 49, 53, 59, 64, 66, 84, 89, 176, 216v in *I-Rvat* MS Barb. lat. 2958.

The action is equally spirited and spiritual; united in story line, and varied in its working out; and it breathes into the soul devotion, and to the spirit delight and a rain of light, and the light of the First Life, which does not dry and burn the eyes, and preserves the rays of joy in the heart.

Other writers were also concerned with the ability of a sacred drama to move their audience, but because it was difficult for an opera about the life of a saint to fit classical parameters, they often had to first address the paradoxes dramatist faced when producing an opera of a spiritual nature.

It is at the moment just before the saint's death in these operas in which these paradoxes become most evident, but are also resolved in the most ingenious of ways by both the librettist and the composer. Often, the libretto depicts the saint's mental state as he decides what he must do at a moment of crisis. The music for these scenes has potential for portraying greater dramatic or emotional depth. As in the many representations of other subjects, whether mythological or from romance literature such as Ariosto and Tasso, the audience members already knew the story and outcome of the plot: it was understood that the saint would die and go to heaven. The dramatic end of these productions, therefore, was to bring not only the character of the saint, but also the audience, through a series of revelations. It is the music which accompanies these scenes of martyrdom which moves the audience to a state of grief and terror in order that they may achieve catharsis.

But what is a "good" way for a saint to die? What would a representation of a saint's death look like if it were written for the court of the family of the reigning Pope? The Barberini nephews were not just wealthy patrons of sacred operas. They remained in constant dialogue with scholars about how saints were to be represented on the stage. In Tarquinio Galuzzi's *La rinovazione dell'antica e primiera tragedia* (1633), the author points out the problems which writers face in choosing saints and other holy figures as the subject

of dramatic representations. He states that although saints are, as Aristotle might have suggested, “too good” to be viewed by the audience with sympathy, nevertheless it is necessary for the aims of the Church to inspire the faithful and the Republic of Rome to do good works and live moral, uncorrupt lives by using saintly examples. While the ideals of Aristotle are important in understanding the distinction between what might be deemed good and proper to the stage, and what is deficient and of poor poetic craftsmanship, modern critics go too far in applying Aristotelian principles too strictly, because they were meant to achieve goals that were unique to Aristotle’s time. Galuzzi emphasizes that tragic representations, especially those representations of the martyrdom of an innocent person, are the most effective in achieving this affect of inspiration upon audience members. He also proposes that the death of a saintly person is still within the original parameters of tragedy and is of the utmost importance to the Catholic faithful since it moves the audience to a state of awe that edifies their souls and empowers them to live better, moral lives:

quanto più vide essersi già dilungati dal primiero fine non pochi Poeti, che fecero Tragedie, non per rendere odibile il Tiranno, mà per proporre al Popolo un caso miserabile, e degno dell’humana pietà. Onde agevole gli fù mutar quest’ordine, e dire, che la proprietà nascente dalla Tragica rappresentazione fosse il fin di essa, e quello che intende principalmente operare.⁷

moreover, not a few poets can be seen to have moved beyond the original purpose [of tragedy], who no longer make the tyrant odious but offer to the people a wretched example and one worthy of human pity. Whence it was appropriate to change this [original] principle and to say that the emergent propriety of tragic drama was its end, and that which it seeks principally to achieve.

To Galuzzi, the death of a saint is of primary importance to the inspiring effect of a drama upon the audience. The end of a tragic representation, in this case its ability to move the audience to terror and pity, justifies the means of that tragedy. As far as Galuzzi is

⁷ Galuzzi, *Rinovazione dell’antica e primiera tragedia*, 48.

concerned, it does not matter if the saint onstage is “too good” in Aristotelian terms, so long as they still have the ability to move the audience by a depiction of their impending martyrdom:

dalla veduta de crudeli supplizij dati à persone innocenti nascono infallibilmente come passioni e proprietà, misericordia per la pena non meritata, e timore per la riflessione, e considerazione, che possa cader anche sopra di noi somigliante flagello, ò per disavventura, ò per altrui malvagità.⁸

The sight of cruel tortures applied to an innocent person invariably gives rise to the following as passions and proprieties: pity for the unmerited suffering, and fear for the idea and its elaboration that a similar torment could fall upon us, either by misadventure or by the wickedness of another.

Galuzzi even goes so far as to say that one way in which this inspiration can happen is first through catharsis, wherein the pity and terror stirred up in the hearts of the audience by the recognition of the martyr’s unjust death would be purged through the representation’s bringing about these emotions, and then by their resolution through apotheosis:

Dunque tanti, e sì pericolosi scogli, che se gli paravano avanti, prese partito di prescrivere all Tragedia altro fine, accattato da una certa proprietà, che da essa necessariamente procede; come è il muovere compassione e terrore, e purgare, cioè sanare, e diminuir queste due passioni, che l’animo più del dovere, e della giusta misura spese volte conturbano.⁹

Hence the many so dangerous pitfalls that will confront those who take the part of prescribing for Tragedy another purpose beyond a certain propriety that necessarily proceeds from it, such as to arouse compassion and terror, and to purge them, that is, heal and diminish these two passions which often disturb the soul more than they should, and beyond an appropriate measure.

Galuzzi goes on to suggest that the best type of person to represent in a tragedy was someone who was actually wholly good, and not just “midway between vice and virtue” (*mezano fra’l vizio, e fra la bontà*). A wholly good person was first prescribed for tragedy before the time

⁸ Galuzzi, *Rinovazione dell’antica e primiera tragedia*, 48.

⁹ Galuzzi, *Rinovazione dell’antica e primiera tragedia*, 48.

of Aristotle by Plato in his *Republic*, and prior to that, tragedy found its models in Holy Scripture. Galuzzi also advocates a broader definition of catharsis, and a wider ranging set of parameters in which such a reaction can take place.

These same arguments made by Galuzzi were echoed by the playwright and teacher of rhetoric at the Collegio Romano, Pietro Sforza-Pallavicino. In the printed version of his martyr-tragedy *Ermenegildo martire* of 1644, Pallavicino also advocated the use of holy men and women as protagonists in a tragedy:

*Ed in somma l'isperienza assolve la Tragedia presente da amendue que' difetti, per cui, secondo la varia sentenza de' Commentatori, Aristotile vieta nelle persone tragiche la suprema innocenza. Poiché, quanto allo scandalo contro Dio, hà ella eccitata più tosto in ogni ordine di spettatori una tenerissima e quanto al non esser compassionevole, qualunque volta s'è recitata, hà tratte, le lagrime da molti huomini eziandio d'alto intelletto, e d'occhi anzi duri, che molli.*¹⁰

And in sum, experience absolves present-day tragedy of both those defects for which, for which, according to the varied opinion of commentators, Aristotle prohibits in tragic characters supreme innocence. For, in so far as concerns the scandal against God, it [Tragedy] has excited, rather, in every kind of spectator a most tender devotion; and as regards it not inspiring compassion, any time it is performed, it has drawn the tears of many men even of high intellect, and from eyes as hard as soft.

Galuzzi and Sforza-Pallavicino were not only concerned with what type of dramaturgy was proper for the stage; more important, they focused on how necessary the audience's reactions to the drama were for the edification of their souls. For a long time before the seventeenth century, catharsis had a special role assigned to it by the Catholic church aside from the role of cleansing human emotion assigned by ancient Greek writers. It had long been held by Catholic teachers that catharsis was the first step in achieving an

¹⁰ Pietro Sforza-Pallavicino, *Ermenegildo martire* (Rome, Corbelletti, 1644); cited in Daniela Quarta, "Drammaturgia gesuita nel Collegio Romano: dalla tragedia di soggetto biblico al dramma martirologico (1560-1644)," in *Granteatro: omaggio a Franca Angelini*, ed. Franca Angelini, Beatrice Alfonzetti *et al.* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2002), 157.

understanding of God and his will for man. The fourth-century writings of St. Augustine describe catharsis as a type of penance where evil desires are subdued and emptied so that one's soul could be filled with divine awe.¹¹ Fifth-century Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite used ancient writings about catharsis to illustrate God's emanation of power upon human beings to "cut away" imperfect, ungodly qualities.¹²

Galuzzi certainly claims that saints of a wholly good nature can and should be used in tragic representations, but he does little to address the issue of how they might best be handled. Galuzzi sees the passions of the audience members as necessary in depicting the death of a saint, but he does not go into detail as to how the creators of the drama were meant to write such a drama. I argue here that Rospigliosi's libretti do well to illustrate the saint's steadfastness, but that it is the music of each of these operas which best illustrates and arouses the audience's "passions" as being of a human, raw emotional nature which contradicts the picture of the ideal, Stoic martyr. Although these saint operas might not seem readily to fit the Aristotelian models for tragedy, we shall see that the achievement of catharsis was a major goal in their creation. I will demonstrate that even more than the libretti, the music played the central role in the process of achieving catharsis.

Sant'Alessio

Sant'Alessio displays how Rospigliosi and Landi negotiate the portrayal of someone of steadfast resolve, but whose death stirs pity and fear in his audience. After being tempted in a

¹¹ Erin Sawyer, "Celibate Pleasure, Masculine Desires, and Asceticism in Augustine," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 6 (1995): 1-29.

¹² Jeffrey Fisher, "The Theology of Dis/similarity: Negation in Pseudo-Dionysius," *Journal of Religion* 81 (2001): 529-48.

number of ways by the Devil, Alessio is finally comforted by an Angel that his resolve to die unknown under the stairs of his father's palace is the correct decision, and that he will no longer face temptation, as his death is to come soon. Up to this point, the audience may have felt compassion for Alessio's grieving parents and wife, and perhaps even for Alessio who feels responsible for his wife's and mother's imminent flight from Rome in order to look for him in the East. But Alessio is resolute and exhibits exceptional heroic strength in enduring a humiliating life. Even when facing the risk to his wife and mother, he still does not reveal his true identity. The audience may take notice of Alessio's courage, but they need to be moved by his example for inspiration. Although Alessio, by his words, is ready to die, his music fills the hearts the audience members with the emotions of fear they might feel when facing death.

As he is left alone onstage, Alessio sings:

*O Morte gradita,
ti bramo ti aspetto;
dal duolo al diletto
tuo calle n'invita;
o Morte gradita.
Dal carcer' humano
tu sola fai piano
il varco alla vita,
o Morte gradita.*

Oh welcome death,
I long for you, I wait for you;
from sorrow to delight
your path leads us through life;
oh welcome death.
From the prison of humanity
you alone make smooth
the passage to life,
oh welcome death.

*O Morte soave,
de' giusti conforto
tù guidi nel Porto
d'ogni'alma la Nave;
o Morte soave.
Il viver secondo
tù n'apri nel mondo
con gelida chiave,
o Morte soave.*

Oh sweet death,
comfort of the just,
you guide to safe harbor
the ship of every soul;
oh sweet death.
The second life
you unlock in this world
with your icy key,
oh sweet death.

But Landi's musical setting of this aria tells us a great deal about the emotions the audience should be feeling. This is the only aria in the opera that is both strophic and appears in triple meter throughout the piece, as would be expected of arias of this time. Despite these factors and the brevity of the piece, the aria is still complex in its melodic and harmonic frameworks (see Example 4.1 below). As Alessio sings this piece, his melody seems fragmented, rhythmically unbalanced, and "hiccups" its falling line back upwards in register. This "hiccup" is seen many times in both the verse and the refrain, first at m.3, then again at mm. 7, and 10-12, and at the end of the aria at mm. 26-28. The melody consists of a falling motive that spans only four notes that begins by falling down a fourth and then jumping up a third or a fourth. The rhythm emphasizes the weak beats of the triple grouping by placing a dotted note on beat two. The rhythmic accents of this piece mimic those of a sarabande, but they distort the natural spoken accents of the text.

Example 4.1: *Sant'Alessio* (1634), II.7

Alessio:

O Mor - te gra - di - ta Ti bra - mo ti a -

spet - to; Dal duo - lo al di - let - to Tuo cal - le n'in -

1 2 3 4 5 6 #6

spet - to; Dal duo - lo al di - let - to Tuo cal - le n'in -

spet - to; Dal duo - lo al di - let - to Tuo cal - le n'in -

5 7 (6) 4 5 3

9

vi - ta; O Mor - te, o Mor - te, o Mor - te gra - di -

5 6 5 4 3

14

ta. Dal car - cer' hu - ma - no Tù so - la fai

b3 b3 6 6 6 6 6 6

18

pia - no Il var - co al - la vi - ta _____ O

6 7 6 #3

22

Mor - te gra - di - ta, O Mor - te gra - di - ta, O

26

Mor - te, o Mor - te, o Mor - te gra - di - ta.

4 3

At the point which Alessio sings “Oh death, oh welcome death” just before the first cadence at mm. 10–11, instead of holding the second beat, there is a semiminim rest and then the semiminim on the second half of beat three. This break caused by the rest and the consequent jump of a fourth immediately after it allows for a kind of sob, stalling any smooth motion to a cadence on the tonic.

Harmonically this piece is quite deceptive. In the first half of the first verse, the tonic of the piece is made unclear by the progression down to the cadence on A minor in the third measure on the words “ti aspetto.” This would seem to make A minor sound like the tonic, but an unstable one. The piece cadences again on A with a V-i progression at mm. 11–12. An A major harmony is reached deceptively through a weaker, phrygian cadence at mm. 19–20 on the words “alla vita.” Because this A harmony has been changed from minor to major, the progression sounds even more deceptive. It would seem also that Landi made a clever compositional choice in using Rospigliosi’s verses, which in this aria are constructed in a form close to double stanzas with an internal refrain. Instead of composing music to these stanzas that would repeat over and over again that would allow the audience readiness and willingness to accept Alessio’s fate, he uses the text to allow enough time to first create for the audience a deceptive, emotional attempt to escape death. But, in the second part of the stanza, the audience follows Alessio to accept death as the aria closes in its clear C major.

San Bonifatio

Giulio Rospigliosi and Virgilio Mazzocchi create an even more ingenious scenario in the opera *San Bonifatio* to move the audience members to catharsis and a renewed faith. In his

final scene in act III, scene 2, Bonifatio witnesses the martyrdom of another Christian in the land of Tarsus where he has traveled to fight for the Christians. This Christian character is justly named Innocentio (“Innocent”) after the type of person suggested by Galuzzi to be martyred in tragic representation. Bonifatio has followed Innocentio to the place which the Roman soldiers have led him either to bow before the pagan gods, or to be executed. Here, the audience watches a martyr become inspired by another martyr. As Bonifatio is moved by Innocentio’s example even to the point that he, too, chooses to die for his faith, the audience is to experience Bonifatio’s reactions with him and thus be moved as well. In order to guide us through this process, Bonifatio’s words give a personal commentary about his thoughts and emotions at each point of the representation. As Bonifatio comes upon the square where Innocentio has been led in chains before the city officials, he says to himself:

Example 4.2: *San Bonifatio* (1638), III.2

Bonifatio:

Che mi - ri ò Bo - ni - fa - tio? Ec - co il lo - co, ec - co il cam - po, Che
frut - ta à ve - ra fè tor - men - ti, e stra - tij.

*Che miri ò Bonifatio?
Ecco il loco, ecco il campo,
che frutta à vera fè tormenti, e stratij.*

What are you looking at, o Bonifatio?
Here is the place, here the ground
which brings torments and pain as the fruit
of true faith.

The recitative dialogue of this scene begins in a relatively neutral harmonic system and moves within this system by way of harmonies on C, G, and F major, and A, E and D minor. At times, when Mazzocchi wants to liberate the music from the libretto in order to move the audience to fear or pity, he uses dissonant harmonies or moves farther into the sharp system. This natural harmonic system is well established not only by this utterance by Bonifatio, but also by that of the character Simplicio (“Simpleton”), the governor of Tarsus who reminds the bound Innocentio that he has no escape.

Example 4.2 (continued)

Simplicio:

<i>Non attender' più scampo,</i>	Do not think any more of fleeing,
<i>dell'arco homai per te corso è lo strale</i>	when from the bow now for you the arrow's
	course is set.

The harmonic system is further established when Innocentio himself replies that although he faces death, his soul is strengthened by God and does not fear nor wish to escape. Here Innocentio's harmonies are colored briefly by a dissonant G-sharp in the vocal line at m. 3 when he describes his bold soul facing death, and he ends his statement with a simple C major harmony.

Example 4.2 (continued)

Innocentio:

Nel con - tra - sto mor - ta - le Non pa - ven - ta mi - nac - cie a - ni - ma ar - di - ta,

4 Cui la vir - tù con - for - ta A non cu - rar la vi - ta. E men - tre Dio di sua bat - ta - glia è scor - ta

8 Di pe - ri - gli non te - me: Pe - rò mo - ven - do en - tro al - l'ar - rin - go il

11 pie - de, Con lo - ri - ca di fe - de, Con us - ber - go di spe - me, Tri -

14 on - fa an - co mor - en - do in - vit - ta, e for - te De Ti - ran - ni, del fer - ro, e del - la mor - te.

*Nel contrasto mortale
non paventa minaccie anima ardita,
cui la virtù conforta
a non curar' la vita.
E mentre Dio di sua battaglia è scorsa,
di perigli non teme;
però movendo entro all'assigno il piede
con l'usbergo di speme,*

In the face of death
the courageous soul does not dread menaces,
he who is comforted by virtue
will not care for life.
And since God is the aid in his battle,
it [the soul] does not fear perils;
therefore moving along his foot
with the armor of hope,

10

rà, pe - ri - rà, lan - gui - rà, pe - ri - rà.
 lan - gui - rà, lan - gui - rà, pe - ri - rà.
 lan - gui - rà, lan - gui - rà, pe - ri - rà.
 rà, pe - ri - rà, lan - gui - rà, pe - ri - rà.

*Languirà, perirà
quest'altero,
che l'Impero
delli Dei sprezzando v`a
languirà, perirà.*

He will languish, he will perish
this proud man,
who scorns the rule
of the gods:
he will languish, he will perish.

Innocentio, however, does not seem rattled by the soldiers' frenzy. He instead responds by Stoically affirming his faith in God by means of the simpler, natural harmonic system heard at the beginning of the scene.

Example 4.2 (continued)

Innocentio:

In te po - sto ho, Sig - nor la mia spe - ran - za, Tu sei nu - me ve

6

ra - ce E la mia sor - te al - la tua man sog - gia - ce.

4 3

*In te posto hò, Signor, la mia speranza,
tu sei nume verace
e la mia sorte alla tua man' soggiace*

In you, my Lord, have I put my hope;
You are the true God,
and my fortune lies in your hands.

Bonifatio, in his response, seems to be affected by Innocentio's example, and his words reveal that he has begun to find new courage, now that he is reminded of his faith.

Example 4.2 (continued)

Bonifatio:

Sen-to de-star-mi al se-no, Un non sò che d'in-u-si-ta-to af-fet-to; O-gni ti-mor vien

#6 b₃

me-no, E d'in-so-li-to ar-dir si col-ma il pet-to. A co-stan-za m'in-vi-ta Que-sto di tua co-

b (b) #4 3 b

stan-za e-sem-pio ra-ro, Et à spre-zar la vi-ta

Cam-pion d'Id-dio dal-la tua mor-te im-pa-ro.

4 3

*Sento destarmi al seno,
un non sò che d'inusitato affetto;
ogni timor vien meno,
e d'insolito ardir si colma il petto.*

I feel awakened in my soul
an I-don't-know-what unusual feeling:
every fear becomes less,
and an unaccustomed boldness fills
breast.

*A costanza m'invita
questo di tua costanza esempio raro,
et à sprezzar la vita,
campion di Dio dalla tua morte imparo.*

Your rare example of constancy
invites me to constancy.
Champion of God,
by your death I learn to scorn life.

Bonifatio's music is meant to move the audience towards feeling Bonifatio's inspiration and new found confidence as it moves to D major.

At this point Simplicio takes notice of Bonifatio, and orders that he, too, be bound alongside Innocentio. Because Simplicio is a stupid man and the pagan enemy, Mazzocchi composes his music to depict his dispassionate response in A minor, in contrast to Bonifatio's growing feeling of pity.

Example 4.2 (continued)

Simplicio:

*Permettetigli il varco, il forsennato
non curando il rigor' di nostre pene*

Open the way for this lunatic,
who has no care for the harshness of our
punishments,

da se' stesso ne lacci a' cader' viene. he himself comes to fall into the chains.

In the words of his response, Bonifatio exudes confidence, but in his music, Mazzocchi uses harmonic coloring that depicts the emotional responses the audience is feeling, knowing that Bonifatio, too, faces certain death.

Example 4.2 (continued)

Bonifatio:

D'al - ta for - tez - za ar - ma - to Mu - ni - sti il pet - to ig - nu - do. Achi pu - gna per Dio non man - ca

The first system of musical notation for Bonifatio's response. It consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff, both in common time (C). The treble staff contains a melodic line with lyrics: "D'al - ta for - tez - za ar - ma - to Mu - ni - sti il pet - to ig - nu - do. Achi pu - gna per Dio non man - ca". The bass staff contains a simple harmonic accompaniment. A sharp sign (#) is placed below the bass staff at the end of the system.

4
scu - do. Non chi co - min - cia so - lo, Ma chi du - ra nel duo - lo il pre - mio ac -

The second system of musical notation. It begins with a measure rest marked with the number 4. The treble staff continues the melody with lyrics: "scu - do. Non chi co - min - cia so - lo, Ma chi du - ra nel duo - lo il pre - mio ac -". The bass staff provides harmonic support.

8
qui - sta E so - lo il fin del - la cru - del ten - zo - ne

The third system of musical notation. It begins with a measure rest marked with the number 8. The treble staff continues the melody with lyrics: "qui - sta E so - lo il fin del - la cru - del ten - zo - ne". The bass staff includes a flat sign (b) below the staff.

11
Ap - pa - rec - chia le pal - me, e le co - ro - ne.

The fourth system of musical notation. It begins with a measure rest marked with the number 11. The treble staff continues the melody with lyrics: "Ap - pa - rec - chia le pal - me, e le co - ro - ne.". The bass staff includes a flat sign (b) and the numbers 4 and 3 below the staff.

*D'alta fortezza armato
munisti il petto ignudo.*

Armed with great bravery
have you [Innocentio] strengthened your bare
breast.

*A chi pugna per Dio non manca scudo.
non chi comincia solo,*

He who fights on God's side lacks no shield.
The prize is won not by him who just begins
[the battle]

*ma chi dura nel duolo, il premio acquista
e solo il fin della crudel tenzone
apparecchia le palme, e le corone.*

but who endures it in pain,
and only the end of cruel combat
brings the [martyr's] palms and crowns.

But Innocentio brings Bonifatio's E minor back down to earth via D major harmony to a cadence on G with less sharp chromatic colorings.

Example 4.2 (continued)

Innocentio:

Già di mo - rir pu - gnan - do io tut - to av - vam - po,

4 3

3
Che non è lun - gi al Cam - pi - do - glio il cam - po.

b 6 4 3

*Già di morir' pugnando, io tutto avvampo,
che non è lungi al Campidoglio il campo.*

Already I am eager to die fighting
it is not far from the place of death to the
seat of triumph.

At this point Bonifatio recognizes that the time for his death has also come. His words state that he is happy that he too will die for his faith, and that his death will take him to heaven.

Example 4.2 (continued)

Bonifatio:

O del Cie-lo, e di Dio guer-rier fe-li-ce Hu-mil t'in-chi-no, e

b₃ #₅ b 7 6 b

5

voi pre-ti-o-se ca-te-ne Più che le gem-me e l'o-ro Io vi ba-cio, e v'a-do-

b #₃ # 7 6 # 7 6 6/5 6/5 4 3

10

ro Poi-che per voi ne li-ce L'al-ma scio-glie-re al Ciel frà tan-te pe-ne

b b #₆ #

14

Pre-ti-o-se ca-te-ne, pre-ti-o-se ca-te-ne.

b b b 4 3

*The note values in the manuscript for this measure are incorrect and have been corrected here according to pronunciation of the text.

*O del Cielo, e Dio guerrier felice
humil t'inchino, e voi pretiose catene*

*più che le gemme e l'oro
io vi bacio, e v'adoro,
poiche per voi ne lice*

O of heaven, and of God, the happy warrior
I humbly bow to you, and you o chains more
precious
than gems and gold
I kiss you, I adore you,
since by you the soul is allowed

*l'alma sciogliere al Ciel frà tante pene.
Pretiose catene!*

to be released to heaven from its many pains.
Precious chains!

His words state that he is happy that he too will die for his faith, and that his death will take him to heaven. Yet, the harmonies underlying his recitative sound unstable, moving as far afield as the major triad on F-sharp, and with striking dissonances in the vocal line. His passionate response is so powerful that he moves one of the soldiers to pity him in a similarly sharp domain.

Example 4.2 (continued)

Un Soldato:

The musical score consists of two staves. The top staff is a vocal line in treble clef with a common time signature (C). It contains two phrases of music. The first phrase has six notes: a quarter note G4, an eighth note A4, an eighth note B4, a quarter note C5, an eighth note B4, and an eighth note A4. The second phrase has six notes: a quarter note G#4, an eighth note A4, an eighth note B4, a quarter note C5, an eighth note B4, and an eighth note A4. The bottom staff is a basso continuo line in bass clef with a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one sharp (F#). It contains two notes: a half note G#3 and a half note A3. Below the staves, the lyrics are written: "Sen - to per la pie - tà rom - per - si il pet - to". Below the first staff, the number "6" is written under the first and second phrases. Below the second staff, the number "6" is written under the first phrase, and a sharp symbol "#" is written under the second phrase.

Sento per la pietà rompersi il petto

I feel pity breaking my heart.

Bonifatio models for the audience how one is to react to a story of martyrdom, and the effect on others of choosing this kind of action through faith. It seems that Bonifatio's declaration of faith and willingness to die is able to affect not only the soldier, but even Innocentio.

Example 4.2 (continued)

Innocentio:

*Io di Cristiano zelo
così più fervido affetto
come posso, ti stringo: al Ciel', al Cielo.*

I am, by Christian zeal,
so fervidly affected
that insofar as I can, I embrace you:
to heaven, to heaven.

Innocentio's music also reveals just how much Bonifatio's example has affected him by moving into the same E tonal area. This change in harmonic area represents a kind of transcendent passion that is no longer fearful. This way, the audience can be moved beyond the terror and pity they feel in experiencing the martyrs' deaths, and begin to be filled with hope for their new life in heaven. Simplicio, however, has remained unmoved, in contrast to the martyrs.

Example 4.2 (continued)

Simplicio:

Fol - li mo - rit vo - le - te Vit - ti - ma sven - tu - ra - ta à nu - me ig - no - to

*Folli morir volete
vittima sventurata à nume ignoto?*

Madmen, do you want to die
as the unfortunate victim of an unknown
god?

Bonifatio's music for his next lines shows that he, like Innocentio is also moved. The similarities between Bonifatio's music and Innocentio's show us that they are having a kind of a shared emotional experience which they acknowledge to one another.

Example 4.2 (continued)

Bonifatio:

Con gl'oc - chi del - la fe - de un cor di - vo - to Quel Dio con - tem - pla, e
ve - de, Cui ser - von fiam - meg - gian - ti Sù nel tro - no ce -

6

le - ste Per co - ro - na le stel - le, il sol per ve - ste.

4 3

In bringing about renewed emotion in the audience, Bonifatio's music also resumes the movement back to sharp harmonies. Later in the scene, Bonifatio becomes so emphatic that he even taunts his captors into killing him. His music now moves once again to the sharp system.

Example 4.3: *San Bonifatio*, III.2

Bonifatio:

Che fà la man più len - ta? In que - sto pet - to, ò cru - do, Ho -

b 3 #3 #

4

mai vol - gi il fu - ror, gli stra - li av - ven - ta. Se con - tro à quei t'ir -

5 # b

7

ri - ti, Che dis - pre - gia - no i Tem - pi De tuoi Nu - mi bu - giar - di,

b b b

10

Io son quel - lo son io. Per - che più tar - di, Che non strin - gi la spa - da, Ò non co - man - di al

b b # #

13

me - no Che tra - fit - to dal - l'A - ste à ter - ra ca - da?

9 8 9 8 #

15

Ec - co - ti il col - lo ig - nu - do, ec - co - ti il se - no!

6 # #

*Che fà la man più lenta?
In questo petto, ò crudo,
homai volgi il furor, gli strali avventa.
Se contro à quei t'irriti,
che dispregiano i Tempi
de tuoi Numi bugiardi,
io son quello son io. Perche più tardi,
che non stringi la spada,
ò non comandi al meno
che trafitto dall'Aste à terra cada?
eccoti il collo ignudo, eccoti il seno!*

What slows the hand more now?
To this breast, o cruel one,
now turn your fury, and let fly the arrows.
If you are angry with those
who scorn the temples
of your false gods,
I am one of them. Why do you delay
thrusting the sword,
or why do you not command, at least,
that I should fall to earth, pierced by the spear?
Here is my naked neck, here is my breast!

Simplicio's music for his response is a great contrast to that of Bonifatio's music in the sharp system. He quickly rebukes Bonifatio and is accompanied by flat harmonies. The motion into the flat system is indicated clearly by the placement of a new key signature of one flat in the staves in mid-speech which convey Simplicio's response.

Example 4.3 (continued)

Simplicio:

Ta - ci, per - fi - do, ta - ci, ho - mai s'ap - pre - sti À pu - nir l'em - pio il

5

fer - ro e la ca - te - na, An - zi con fie - ri scam - pi e - stin - to res - ti, Che

8

di mal - vag - gio er - ror fi - glia è la pe - na.

4 3

*Taci, perfido, taci,
homai s'appresti à punir l'empio il ferro,
e la catena, anzi con fieri scampi estinto resti,
che di malvaggio error figlia è la pena.*

Be quiet, fool, quiet,
now the sword is ready to punish the
wicked one,
and also the chain, and there is no
escape,
for the child of wicked error is pain.

These are the martyrs' final moments, and in a duet, they sing about their final resolve to die for their faith (Example 4.4). Like the words in Alessio's final aria, the words of this duet appear to confirm their readiness to die. However, their music tells another story. Once again, the music is liberated from the words by the composer to illustrate one final dramatic gesture of emotion which the audience may experience.

In each of the two stanzas for this duet there are four lines mixing *versi tronchi* and *piani*: “O Dio sia tua mercè / che dal carcere humano...” In the setting of these four lines, Mazzocchi includes a number of dissonant harmonies through chromatic neighbor tones in the vocal lines. The harmonies of this duet seem deceptive to the ear as there are a number of Phrygian cadences on A which hint at D minor. The choice of this setting thus appears to the listener to highlight the tortures they face in the “prison” (in the first stanza) and the “cruel face of death” (in the second). One also notes the descending tetrachord which begins this duet, and appears elsewhere in it, which has been labeled in music of this era by Ellen Rosand an “emblem of lament.” In the repetition of the final line, the harmonies finally resolve to simple, unaltered chords and a cadence in C major. The ritornello for this duet further depicts the need for resolution of the “dissonant” harmonies. It contains the same harmonic structure and melodic shape, but does not contain any of the chromatic accidentals or the descending tetrachord. In this sense, it then “consoles” the saints and further illustrates for the listener a separation from the fears they face in their martyrdom, while looking forward to their upcoming apotheosis.

Example 4.4: *San Bonifatio*, III.2

3

Dio sia tua mer - cè,
 sia tua mer - cè, che dal

#6

6

che dal car - ce - re hu -
 car - ce - re hu - ma -

8

ma - no, o - pra
 ma - no, o - pra

b3

11

del - la tua ma - no,

del - la tua ma - no, L'al - -

6 # #

14

L'al - - - - - ma ri -

- - - ma ri - tor - - - -

#

16

tor - ni à - - - - te, L'al - - - -

- ni à - - - - te,

4 3 b3

18

- - - ma, l'al - - -

L'al - - - - - ma

b3

20

- - - ma ri - tor - - - - -

l'al - - - - -

5

6

22

- - - ni ri - tor - ni à - - - te.

- ma - ri - tor - ni à - - - te.

- - - - -

Ritornello:

Violin I

Violin II

Violoncello

Violin I: R_1 , G_4

Violin II: G_4 , G_4

Violoncello: G_2 , G_2

3

Violin I: R_1 , G_4

Violin II: G_4 , G_4

Violoncello: G_2 , G_2

5

Violin I: G_4 , G_4

Violin II: G_4 , G_4

Violoncello: G_2 , G_2

7

Violin I: G_4 , G_4

Violin II: G_4 , G_4

Violoncello: G_2 , G_2



*O Dio sia tua mercè,
che dal carcere humano
opra della tua mano
l'alma ritorni à te.*

O God, by your mercy,
from this human prison
and into your open hand
the soul returns to you.

By exploiting extreme harmonic contrasts and dissonances, Mazzocchi's music conveys to the audience the urgency and immediacy of the emotional responses of the audience members in ways that the libretto cannot express. The words of this scene portray some dimension of the characters' responses to their upcoming death, but it is the music which shows a deeper dimension of the audience member's responses. Innocentio's and Bonifatio's words in this scene are uttered in a Stoic, matter-of-fact way, but the dissonances in their music show that the composer wanted passions of the spectators to be greatly moved. By the end of the scene, the music helps the audience members to overcome their emotional responses in order to shift from fear and pity to constant resolve.

Sant'Eustachio

In illustrating the death of Eustachio, Mazzocchi and Rospigliosi still seek to create a moving, cathartic reaction in their audience, but do so by taking a different route. This time, they approach the drama in an even more conservative manner, adhering very closely to Aristotle's statutes concerning tragedy and epic verse. As in *Sant'Alessio*, all of the drama

takes place within the span of one day. The previous events of the life of the saint and his family are told in a series of vignettes in the first act of the opera as each of the family members sings an aria about what has happened to them as they are now coming back to Rome. First, Eustachio returns with his troops, victorious from battle. As the story of this saint's life is told in many older versions, including the one included in the *The Golden Legend*, Eustachio had undergone a miraculous conversion during his return from the East, much like the one recorded about the Emperor Constantine. While traveling through the woods, Eustachio encountered a stag who had a cross with the crucified Jesus between his antlers. It was from this vision that Eustachio converted to the then-persecuted faith of Christianity. In the first act of the opera, Eustachio first appears with his soldiers who sing of his many victories. In contrast, Eustachio laments that his wife was lost in a shipwreck during a sea voyage many years ago, and that his sons were carried off by wild animals. Eustachio's wife, Teopiste, then appears onstage after his exit to tell of how she managed to survive the shipwreck, and rejoices at the sight of Rome's city walls after many years of wandering. Once she has exited the stage, Eustachio's sons Agabito and Teopisto appear on stage. They too rejoice that they have returned home, as they had been rescued many years before from the wild animals by kind shepherds, but they doubt that their parents have survived. Much of the plot in the first two acts of the opera then revolves around each of the characters' ignorance of the others' existence, as well as their professions of faith, despite the prohibition of Christianity by the Emperor Hadrian.

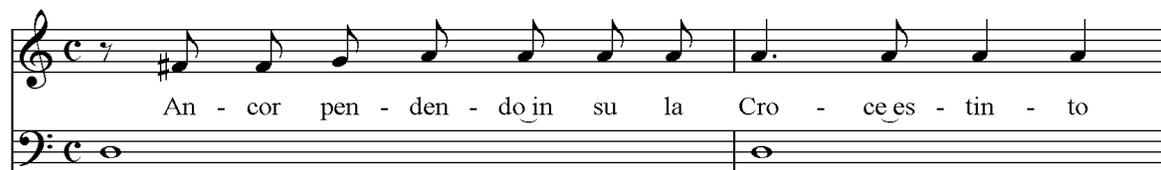
In this setting, Rospigliosi is able to use two Aristotelian ideals for tragedy: *peripeteia* and *anagnorisis*. It is in the third act, at the time of the martyrdom of Eustachio and his family members, when these dramatic events of the plot happen. The *peripeteia* occurs as

the family members are each led alone to the pagan temple either to give up their Christian faith, or to die as an offering to the pagan gods. The *anagnorisis* occurs as the family members finally reveal their true identities to one another and declare their faith together. Instead of Eustachio being put to death alone for his refusal to worship Hadrian's pagan gods, the whole family chooses to die with him. Just as Galuzzi's expanded parameters of how catharsis can occur are utilized in *Sant'Alessio* and *San Bonifatio*, this opera also relies on some of the traditional elements suggested by Aristotle to achieve the cathartic effect upon the audience. Rospigliosi creates a plot in which these elements of *peripeteia* and *anagnorisis* are yet another set of tools used to move an audience. But it is the music of Mazzocchi which gives greater depth and context to each of the characters' reactions during these moments. His choices of tonal relationships illustrate Eustachio's persuasive power over his wife and the fear felt by his children, which are not illustrated in the text. Whereas the words of Agabito and Teopisto illustrate their vows of acceptance of death, their music, like that of Alessio and Bonifatio, is freed from the libretto in order to illustrate the fear and hesitation the audience members might feel.

At the beginning of act III, scene 2, we see Eustachio bravely telling his captor Leontio, a consul to the Emperor Hadrian, that even when threatened with a torturous death, his faith as a Christian is yet unwavering. Each time Eustachio speaks of his faith throughout this entire scene, his recitative moves harmonically to a tonal center on D. This happens the first time Eustachio speaks (Example 4.5), and again at his statement to Leontio (Example 4.6).

Example 4.5: *Sant'Eustachio*, III.2

Eustachio:



An - cor pen - den - do in su la Cro - ce es - tin - to

3



Ei diè mor - te al - la mor - te al mon - do vi - ta.

*Ancor pendendo in su la Croce estinto
ei diè morte alla morte, al mondo vita.*

Even by hanging lifeless on the Cross
He [Christ] gave death to death, and to the
world, life.

Example 4.6: *Sant'Eustachio*, III.2

Eustachio:



Per me sol que - sto chieg - gio Che l'as - pro tuo ta -

3



len - to Ri - man - ga sa - tio o - mai nel mio tor - men - to.

*Per me sol questo chieggiò
che l'aspro tuo talento
rimanga satio omai nel mio tormento.*

I request only this,
that your harsh talent
remains sated by my torment.

It is at this moment that Teopiste, Eustachio's wife, enters and sees him being taken away by Leontio. She states that she cannot believe her eyes which lead her to think she is beholding her long-lost husband. Her music is in E minor, with a cadence on the dominant harmony of that key, B major, which is in contrast to Eustachio's D minor.

Example 4.6 (continued)

Teopiste:

Example 4.6 (continued)

Eustachio:

Che più fra - po - ni in - du - gio? Non co - no - sce pe - ri - glio un vi - vo

ze - lo, L'al - ma ch'è vol - ta al cie - lo D'in - u - ma - no suc - ces - so Non pa -

ven - ta mi - nac - cie, et è più for - te Del fer - ro e del - la mor - te.

*Che più fraconi indugio?
Non conosce periglio un vivo zelo,
l'alma ch'è volta al cielo.
D'inumano successo
non paventa minaccie, et è più forte
del ferro e della morte.*

What other delay is there now?
A true zeal that is turned towards heaven
does not know any dangers.
It does not dread the threat
of inhuman actions, and it is stronger
than the sword and death.

Then to herself, Teopiste begins to contemplate why it would be that Eustachio has been brought here, and if he will bow to the pagan gods.

Example 4.6 (continued)

Teopiste:

Che so - spe - sa più re - sto? È des - so, è des - so. Ma co - me il tro - vo
av - vin - to In - fra i le - ga - mi in giu - ri - o - si e re - i? S'e - ra pur dian - zi ac -
cin - to co - me al - tri dis - se Ad in - chi - nar gli De - i?

*Che sospesa più resto? È desso, è desso!
Ma come il trovo avvinto
infra i legami ingiuriosi e rei?
S'era pur dianzi accinto come altri disse
ad inchinar gli Dei?*

Why do I stand still? It is he, it is he!
But why do I find him beaten,
and in harsh, injurious bonds?
Was he caught earlier, as others said,
to bow before the gods?

Eustachio is surprised to see a woman approaching him and addresses her:

Example 4.6 (continued)

Eustachio:

On - de tan - to stu - por, Don - na pro - ce - de?

Onde tanto stupore, Donna, procede?

From whence comes this surprise, woman?

In doing so, his music returns the recitative back to D. Teopiste responds that she is surprised to see him bound and being led to worship the idols, this time ending on a G major harmony.

Example 4.6 (continued)

Teopiste:

4 3

*Allor ch'io mi credi,
che sconsigliato il piede
tu rivolgessi a gl'Idoli mendaci,
ti circondan' il pie nodi tenaci.*

Whence I believed
that you turned your ill-advised foot
towards the evil idols,
with knots tightening around your foot.

But, Eustachio is determined to confirm that there is no chance that he will give in to fear and deny his faith. He then firmly states, while singing once again over a D harmony, that he worships the sovereign faith as the only way to navigate the ship of life safely.

Example 4.6 (continued)

Eustachio:

I - do - li Eu - sta - chio? Al - la so - vra - na fe - de, Poi - che ri - dus - si il pie - de

4

sta - bi - le il ten - ni: Chi non so - lea per l'on - de in quel - la na - ve, Cui son

7

por - to le stel - le Ben fos - se è se non pa - ve Di nau - fra - gi e pro - cel - le, Ma chi tu sia

11

già di as - col - ta - re at - ten - do, Un in - so - li - to af - fet - to il cor mi pre - me.

*Idoli, Eustachio? alla sovrana fede,
poiche ridussi il piede stabile il tenni:
chi non solea per l'onde in quella nave,*

*cui son porto le stelle
ben fosse è se non pave
di naufragi e procelle,
ma chi tu sia già di ascoltare attendo,
un'insolito affetto il cor mi preme.*

Idol worship for Eustachio? Once I turned
my foot to the sovereign faith I kept it firm:
he who does not shield themselves from the
waves in that ship,
for which the stars are the harbor
would indeed fear
shipwrecks and calamities,
but I wait to hear who you are:
an unaccustomed feeling presses on my
heart.

At the moment that Eustachio begins to wonder who this woman is, the bass line moves up an augmented fourth from C to F sharp, the latter supporting his chord. Eustachio is not able, however, to recognize Teopiste until she can musically speak the same language.

Teopiste then says to Eustachio that she is not surprised that he does not recognize her, because amid the troubles and torments of life her face has changed, her hair has gone gray, and nothing is left of her but her name. She finally reveals herself by stating “I am Teopiste” on the same D harmony to which Eustachio’s music has turned throughout the scene.

Example 4.6 (continued)

Teopiste:

Me-ra-vi-glia non pren-do Se ate no - tanon so - no; Chetra j di - sa-gi e le mi-ser - ie es-

#

5

tre - me, Can-gios-si il volto e in ca-nu-tir le chio-me, E di me non mi re - sta al - tro che il

9

no - me. An - cor me non rav - vi - si,

11

Eu - sta - chio mi - o? Te - o - pi - ste son i - o.

*Meraviglia non prendo
se a te nota non sono;
che tra i disagi, e le miserie estreme,
cangiossi il volto, e incanutir le chiome.*

*E di me non mi resta altro che il nome;
ancor me non ravvisi, Eustachio mio?*

Teopiste son'io.

I do not marvel
that you do not recognize me,
since through the distresses and the extreme
miseries,
my face has changed, my hair has all turned
grey.

And nothing of me remains except my name;
but still, you do not recognize me, my
Eustachio?

I am Teopiste.

Eustachio finally recognizes her, and sings her name on a D harmony. At this point that Eustachio's music takes on a less confident tone. He asks why she would come to him now.

Example 4.6 (continued)

Eustachio:

Te - o - pi - ste! Ahi che sen - to! Co - me qui giun - ge, e co - me Al Ciel

5

piac - que che pu - re Ti ri - veg - gia o Con - sor - te, an - zi il mo - ri - re?

*Teopiste! Ahi che sento!
Come qui giunge, e come
al Ciel piacque che pure
ti riveggia, o consorte, anzi il morire?*

Teopiste! What do I hear!
How did you come here, and how
did it please Heaven that
I should see you again, my wife, before I
die?

Here Eustachio moves away from D, through A minor, to the remote harmonies of E and its dominant. In these past two interjections, Eustachio's harmonies reveal to the audience that this is a moving experience of recognition. This moment of *anagnorisis* is so powerful, in fact, that even the Roman official Leontio interjects here, stating that he too feels pity for the doomed pair, despite his strong sense of duty to put them to death. It is these little asides which also serve the purpose of telling the audience how to respond.

Example 4.6 (continued)

Leontio:

Sento nascere pietade in mezzo all'ire.

I feel pity born within me in the
midst of wrath.

Shortly thereafter, Teopiste begins to recount to Eustachio how she was lost in the shipwreck, over the G major harmony in which Leontio sang. Then, just as Eustachio had done at the beginning of the scene, she affirms her willingness to die for her faith. Here, just as Eustachio sang before her, Teopiste declares her faith and her fearlessness over a D harmony.

Example 4.7 *Sant'Eustachio, III.2*

Teopiste:

Og - gi qua' giun - si do - ve Te - co il pas - so ve - lo - ce Die - tro al - l'or - me di

4
Cri - sto Mo - ver - ò pron - ta à so - ste - ner la Cro - ce.

*Oggi qua' giunsi dove
teco il passo veloce
dietro all'orme di Cristo
moverò pronta à sostenere la Croce.*

Today I arrived here, where
with you in quick step
following the footsteps of Christ
I will go, ready to uphold the Cross.

Eustachio's recognition of his wife is not the only moment of *anagnorisis* in this act. Shortly thereafter, Eustachio is reunited with his two sons, who will also join him in his martyrdom. It appears to the listener at first that Eustachio's music gently leads his sons, just as it had done previously for a dismayed Teopiste, by creating cadences in keys related to D in order to bring the tonal center, and thus the focus of pious martyrdom, back to D in the first part of his response. Here he reminds his sons that they will face this hardship and scorn every terror. However, Eustachio's music moves away from D to move to G where he reminds them of their release from these terrors by their eternity in heaven.

Example 4.8: *Sant'Eustachio*, III.2

Eustachio:

Sì, sì miei fi - gli, al - le vi - cen - de ar - di - ti Di san - gui - no - sa guer - ra Lie - ti pren -

5

de - te o - gni ter - ro - re a scher - no. Ch'og - gi a noi si dis -

7

ser - ra Con non lun - ga bat - ta - glia un Re - gno e - ter - no.

*Si, sì miei figli, alle vicende arditi
di sanguinosa guerra
lieti prendete ogni terrore a scherno.
Ch'oggi a noi si disserra
con non lunga battaglia, un Regno eterno.*

Yes, yes, my sons, to the mutual hardship
of the bloody war
happily take every terror to scorn.
For today to us will unfold
with not a long battle, an eternal kingdom.

Agabito's response to his father shows that although he may be ready to speak about his faith with courage, his music sounds fearful, as it does not move from a C major harmony which was used when Agabito first revealed himself to Eustachio.

Example 4.8 (continued)

Agabito:

Ren - de im - mo - bi - le il pet - to un vi - vo

The musical notation shows a treble clef with a common time signature (C). The melody consists of a series of eighth notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4. The bass line is a single whole note D3.

ze - lo Di con - qui - star tra le fe - ri - te il Cie - lo.

The musical notation shows a treble clef with a common time signature (C). The melody starts with a fermata over the first note (G4), followed by eighth notes: A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4. The bass line consists of whole notes: D3, E3, F3, G3.

*Rende immobile il petto un vivo zelo
di conquistar tra le ferite il cielo.*

A true zeal renders my breast firm
in order, amidst wounds, to win heaven.

Agabito's lack of harmonic movement may depict his, as well as the audience's "immobile" state, as it is reluctant to move to the dominating tonal center on D.

But in the next lines, Agabito's little brother Teopisto reminds him of something important: that their faith may not always help them to win worldly battles, but instead was meant to aid them in a spiritual realm towards which they must now walk.

Example 4.8 (continued)

Teopisto:

I - te - ne pur' a ter - ra Mi - li - ta - ri stro - men - ti: un guer - rier for - te, Se il

The musical notation shows a treble clef with a common time signature (C). The melody consists of eighth notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4, B3, A3, G3, F3, E3, D3. The bass line consists of whole notes: D3, E3, F3, G3.

4

pet - to ar - ma di fe - de, Al - trus - ber - go non chie - de.

*Itene pur'a terra
militari stromenti: un guerrier forte
se il petto arma di fede
altr'usbergo non chiede.*

Let military tools fall to the ground:
a strong warrior,
if his breast is armed with faith,
does not need any other armor.

Here Teopisto's harmony finally moves from C to D major. It is then in this D major harmony that each of the family states their willingness to die in a short four-part passage.

Example 4.9: *Sant'Eustachio*, III.2

Teopisto Al - le ri - tor - te. Al - la mor - te al - la mor - te.

Agabito Al - la mor - te al - la mor - te.

Teopiste Al - la mor - te al - la mor - te.

Eustachio Al - la mor - te al - la mor - te.

(Teopiste:) *Alle ritorte.*
(All:) *Alla morte, alla morte.*

To the chains.
To death, to death.

This last scene in which the saint and his family appear then draws to a close as the family sings together in tightly knit harmony about their common determination to choose martyrdom. Despite what they have endured in this scene, their music reflects their constancy by returning to the same D minor tonal area in which the scene began.

Example 4.10: Sant'Eustachio, III.2

Agabito

Se vol - to a Di - o s'er - ge nos - tro de -

Teopisto

Se vol - to a Di - o s'er - ge nos - tro de -

Teopiste

Se vol - to a Di - o s'er - ge nos - tro de -

Eustachio

Se vol - to a Di - o s'er - ge nos - tro de -

5

si - o, Dall' e - ter - na Bon - tà Chi noi di -

si - o, Dall' e - ter - na Bon - tà Chi noi di -

si - o,

si - o,

10

- vi - de - rà?
- vi - de - rà?
Chi, chi noi di - vi - de -
Chi, chi noi di - vi - de -

15

chi, Dall' e - ter - na Bon - tà Chi
chi, Dall' e - ter - na Bon - tà Chi
rà? Dall' e - ter - na Bon - tà Chi
rà? Dall' e - ter - na Bon - tà Chi

19

noi di - vi - de - rà?

noi di - vi - de - rà?

noi di - vi - de - rà?

noi di - vi - de - rà? For - se i

23

ah no,

il fer - ro, no,

la mor - te,

lac - ci, no,

6 b

27

no, no Dis - prez - za - to ri -
no Dis - prez - za - to ri -
no no Dis - prez - za - to ri -
no Dis - prez - za - to ri -

This musical system contains four vocal staves and a bass line. The lyrics are: "no, no Dis - prez - za - to ri -" on the first staff, "no Dis - prez - za - to ri -" on the second, "no no Dis - prez - za - to ri -" on the third, and "no Dis - prez - za - to ri -" on the fourth. The bass line provides accompaniment for the vocal parts.

31

gor tan - - - to non può,
gor tan - - - to non può, ah
gor tan - - - to non può, la
gor tan - - - to non può, For - se i lac - ci,

This musical system contains four vocal staves and a bass line. The lyrics are: "gor tan - - - to non può," on the first staff, "gor tan - - - to non può, ah" on the second, "gor tan - - - to non può, la" on the third, and "gor tan - - - to non può, For - se i lac - ci," on the fourth. The bass line provides accompaniment for the vocal parts.

35

il fer - ro, il
no, la mor - te,
mor - te, ah no,
i lac - ci, ah

This musical system contains five staves. The top four staves are vocal parts with lyrics. The bottom staff is a bass line. The lyrics are: "il fer - ro, il no, la mor - te, mor - te, ah no, i lac - ci, ah".

39

fer - ro, no, no, no Dis - prez -
no, no, no Dis - prez -
no, no, no, no Dis - prez -
no, no, no Dis - prez -

This musical system contains five staves. The top four staves are vocal parts with lyrics. The bottom staff is a bass line. The lyrics are: "fer - ro, no, no, no Dis - prez - no, no, no Dis - prez - no, no, no, no Dis - prez - no, no, no Dis - prez -".

43

za - to ri - gor tan - - - to non può, tan -
za - to ri - gor tan - to non può,
za - to ri - gor tan - - to non può, tan -
za - to ri - gor tan - - - to non può,
Bass line

47

- to, Dis - prez -
tan - to non può, Dis - prez -
- to, Dis - prez -
tan - - to non può, Dis - prez -
Bass line

51

za - to ri - gor tan - to non può.

za - to ri - gor tan - to non può.

za - to ri - gor tan - to non può.

za - to ri - gor tan - to non può.

za - to ri - gor tan - to non può.

*Se volto a Dio s'erge nostro desio
dall'eterna Bontà
chi noi dividerà?
Forse i lacci, la morte, il ferro, ah no:
disprezzato rigor tanto non può.*

If to fly to God is our desire,
from His eternal goodness
who will divide us?
Perhaps the bonds, death, iron, ah no:
such despised hardships are not able to do
so much.

Eustachio appears to remain steadfast in his bravery through both his text and music during the scene of his martyrdom. Yet the sympathetic pity and suspense felt by the audience members, which enables catharsis, is brought about in this scene through the character's moments of recognition and hesitation, and through the ultimate resolve of his family members to die with him. While the words the characters speak may appear to affirm to the audience that the characters are determined and unshaken in their resolve, the music tells another story. *Sant'Eustachio* may in fact be the most like an ancient classical tragedy of these Barberini operas. It does not contain any comic scenes, as do *Sant'Alessio* and *San Bonifatio*, and also uses classical ideals of *anagnorisis* and *peripeteia*.

It is useful for scholars of the seventeenth century to study sacred operas in order to better understand religious ideas concerning faith and martyrdom in a time of religious war and reformation, but it is especially helpful for scholars to look closely at the music when studying them. Although Rospigliosi's libretti may depict each saint as steadfast and Stoic, the musical settings by Stefano Landi and Virgilio Mazzocchi illustrate the emotional impact of the martyrdom to audience members. Alessio's aria can be likened to crying. Bonifatio, like the audience members, stands witness to an innocent saint's martyrdom and engages in a debate about pity so as to realize the "good" way to die. Eustachio and his family already know the good way to die, yet surprise recognitions are introduced to make the impact more striking for their executioner and the audience.

One can even draw a parallel between the catharsis, renewed faith and religious inspiration of these operas, and the time of year in which these operas took place. These operas were each first performed during Carnival, the festive period preceding Lent which includes "fat Tuesday." Like the purgation that occurs by catharsis in Greek drama, it was a commonly held belief that the mischief that occurred during Carnival – including drunken revelry and egg-throwing by costumed nobility and peasants alike – would act as a purgation to prepare one for the serious and ascetic atmosphere of Lent which followed. Cardinal Francesco Barberini and Jesuit teachers and dramatists who also enacted saint plays during Carnival wrote that they hoped the example of a saint would stand out as an edifying example of holiness in the midst of other representations.

The music plays a special role in these operas in that it depicts the human emotions of the saintly characters in ways that the words of the libretti could not express alone. In demonstrating these human emotions, the saints become more suitable characters for a

tragedy in which the audience is meant to react with terror and pity, and thus experience catharsis at the opera's end. By experiencing catharsis, and watching the saints' steadfast examples, the audience acquires a template for the renewal their own faith, which members of the church believed was necessary in redeeming the "one true faith" of Catholicism in the midst of religious war.

Chapter Five

The Importance of Being Evil: the Didactic Purposes of Demons

Art in Rome in the seventeenth century was created not only for the glorification of the city that was the head of the “True Church,” but also to educate and inspire the Church’s followers for a pious life of good works. This art inspired its audiences by evoking belief not just through depiction, but through physical experience. As we have seen, the saints presented in these operas which tell their life stories are meant to encourage the faithful by giving an example that is so pious that their deeds and resolution are almost unmatched. But within the dramatic framework of an opera, more characters are necessary to further the plot. Whereas the saint is, in a sense, the near-flawless protagonist, he cannot gain his reward of heaven without first being tested. In *Sant’Alessio* and *San Bonifatio*, demonic characters are included in the drama to act as the antagonists who deceive and confound the saints they mean to keep from gaining heavenly glory. This chapter will show how the demonic characters who appear in two of these operas were representations of the most feared form of evil in the seventeenth century: that of deception.¹

But in these operas, the demons have more power than just the ability to act as antagonist in a dramaturgical sense. While inspiration from a saint’s example is one

¹ I model this title, and the subject of this chapter, on the discussions presented in David A. Lines, “The Importance of Being Good: Moral Philosophy in the Italian Universities, 1300-1600,” *Rinascimento* 36 (1996): 139-88, where Lines discusses the influence of moral philosophy on rhetorical studies. The ethics of “being good” became a regular topic of teaching in sermons in Italy in the seventeenth century, especially on saints’ feast days.

important didactic tool used in these operas, demons can be an even more effective example. Whereas the torments of demons and depictions of Hell were popular devices in sermons of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, these demons do not “scare” their audiences to action with the threat of physical torture. Instead, they take on new roles as adversaries in their power to deceive the faithful. They frighten their audience in the ways in which they represent a number of fears in light of changing religious and political ideals. These were fears of evil powers that were unseen in Rome, but whose impact was felt in reality at a distance. Two fears were that Catholics of the world would succumb to Protestant heresies, and would die in their military advances in the North during the Thirty Years War. Another fear was the invasion of Catholic lands in Italy at the hands of heretical Turkish plunderers. There was also great fear of the spread of the plague which had begun to decimate populations in northern Italian cities, and even the city of Urbino, newly acquired as part of the Papal States. Catholic leaders such as the Barberini did not view these potential crisis within separate frameworks of the “political,” “medical,” or “religious.” Instead, they saw each of these evils as the work of spiritual warfare, and they took measures against them by encouraging personal spiritual reflection, as well as city-wide corporate worship and supplication.

Demons were greatly feared in seventeenth century Rome, when death from disease, starvation, war were all too common occurrences. Demons were believed to take shape in any form, both visible and invisible. One of the first early-modern treatises on the nature of demons was Antonio Rusca’s *De inferno et statu daemonorum* (On Hell and the state of demons) published in Milan in 1621. As Robert Kendrick points out, this treatise shows us the changing ideas about the nature of evil in seventeenth-century religious thought in that the demons described by Rusca concentrate their efforts upon, and are able to deceive,

humans because they share a common language and epistemology combined with their own infernal powers and goals.² I would argue that this “common language” includes not only words, but also their spoken or sung sounds. Rusca admits that in their attempts to deceive humans, demons were also able to “feel” human emotions such as hope, fear, or anger.

Some examples of believed demonic activity in Rome around the time of the Barberini productions can be found in diarist Giacinto Gigli’s reports. One is found in an entry for 30 May 1623 where Gigli writes that a baby demon was born to a Roman woman. When the woman saw the child’s distorted features, she brought it to the parish church of S. Quirico, but was turned away by the parish priest who refused its baptism.³ Invisible demons were feared to walk the streets of Rome as well. Devils were believed to live in the old pagan ruins amidst the newly renovated city, in particular the Coliseum, where guards were often posted to prevent witches from performing occult ceremonies.⁴ But these beliefs went beyond the scope of mere superstition. Even in the center of the True Church, devotion and superstition went hand in hand. Demons and demonic activity were seen as a link between the known world of death and sin, and the unknown forces of evil that would betray God’s goodness.⁵ The Catholic faithful were encouraged, in times of trouble and doubt, to turn to the Church and seek divine aid against such forces. The saints represented in all of

² Robert Kendrick, “What’s so Sacred about ‘Sacred’ Opera? Reflections on the Fate of a (Sub)Genre,” *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 9 (2003), <<http://www.sscm-jscm.org/v9/no1/kendrick.html>, para.4.1-2>.

³ Giacinto Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, vol. 1, ed. Manlio Barberito (Rome: Colombo, 1994), 118: “Nelle fine di Maggio alli Pantani una Donna partorì un Demonio, overo creatura in quella forma, la quale essendo portata alla Chiesa di S. Quirico, il Parochiano di quella non la volle battezzare.”

⁴ Franco Cardini, “I diavoli al Colosseo,” in *La città dei segreti, magia, astrologica e cultura esoterica a Roma (secoli XV-XVIII)*, ed. Fabio Troncarelli (Milan: F. Angeli, 1985), 43-54.

⁵ Luigi Fiorani, “Astrologi, superstiziosi e divoti nella società romana del Seicento,” *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma* 2 (1978): 97-162.

the sacred operas for the Barberini court stand as examples that do just this. Rather than fight their suspected demons themselves, they instead call upon the powers of heaven.

In these operas, the demons “go to arms” in a game of deception. One engraving in the 1634 score for *Sant’Alessio* shows us that, when not in disguise, the demons have the same iconographical features as the grotesque figures in late Renaissance paintings such as Michelangelo’s *The Last Judgment* found in the Sistine Chapel, which would have been viewed regularly by the composer of *Sant’Alessio*, Stefano Landi, and by many of the singers of the Barberini operas. The demons may be recognized by the audience members, but they delude the saints and other characters with whom they interact on stage. For example, the demon in *Sant’Alessio* can change his appearance at one time to that of a hermit, and at another, to that of a bear. But, unlike the demons in Michelangelo’s fresco and many other representations in religious art, these demons do not try to impel physically the characters towards the torments of Hell, but, instead, tempt, lure, or deceive them. In each of these operas, only one “head demon” ventures into the world of the saints, but by means of disguise he is not immediately recognized and cast away by the saint. Other demons are shown in the inferno, singing and dancing as they rally themselves to a spiritual war. On the one hand, this frenzied call to arms may have been understood at the simplest level by the Catholic dignitaries who experienced it to be the battle-cry of demons who would later be defeated in this well-known tale of a saint’s rise to heavenly glory. On the other hand the demons may have taken on a much darker significance. Audience members would have also understood them in the context of the evil, unseen forces which brought about the plague, war, and spiritual damnation that seemed to be stealthily moving towards Rome: the center of the Catholic world.

The music of the demons in these operas adds a new dimension which heightens the experience of the audience members in understanding the evil nature of deception. Music, believed by seventeenth-century theorists to be the most powerful of the sensory experiences, had to be handled carefully when put into the voice of a demon. According to Galenic tradition, music, particularly song, comes from the soul by means of the breath. As one soul produces this song, another soul hearing that song reverberates with it. While on the one hand, demonic characters had to be represented musically with some degree of strength in order to convince the audience of their power, the souls of the listeners were thought to resonate with the sounds they heard emanating from the stage. The musical portrayal of demons was, then, a difficult task of a composer, as he would not want to move his audience to a state of devastating fear, inveterate saturnine melancholy, or nefarious impulse. As we shall see in the music examples which follow, the characters make comments that show that each one is indeed aware of the other's song.

Among the most prominent fears at the time of the first of these operas was that of the spread of the plague. Although *Sant'Alessio* was originally intended for production during the Carnival season of 1631, its first performances were canceled due to fear of outbreaks within the city of Rome.⁶ Bubonic plague, spread by Habsburg troops fighting in Mantua in the War of Mantuan Succession, broke out in northern Italy in November 1629.⁷ From this point until the spring of 1632, Rome lived in fear of plague from the ghastly reports of deaths and mass burials from the northern cities of Venice, Milan, and Florence, and even Bologna

⁶ See Margaret Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court 1631-1668* (Ann Arbor: UMI Press, 1981), 19; Frederick Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 202.

⁷ Laurie Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 145.

and Urbino—cities within the Papal States. With emissaries traveling frequently across Italy, Urban VIII as well as civic authorities feared it would not be long before the disease began to decimate Rome in the same manner as in the north. The Pope's first, immediate action was to invite the city of Rome to request divine aid to prevent the plague from spreading south. On 18 November 1629, Urban VIII led the cardinals, ambassadors, and all of Rome's clergy in a procession to Santa Maria Maggiore, the home of the miraculous image believed to have saved the city from plague in 590 AD.⁸ Throughout the duration of the threat of the plague, from 1629 until 1632, the Pope said Mass nearly every Sunday at Santa Maria Maggiore. After hearing that plague had broken out in Bologna on 11 June 1630, the Pope ordered that all parish churches, and soon after, all Roman churches, were to recite the Litany of the Saints each evening. All celebrations and gatherings during the Carnival season of 1631 were to be canceled, with the exception of the *Quarant'hore* celebrations of the Eucharist, out of fear that amidst the crowds of revelers, an outbreak would occur. Giacinto Gigli writes for 22 February 1631 that Rome should not celebrate Carnival while other cities were suffering from the plague:

*essendo venuto il tempo del Carnevale, non si fecero Mascare, ne si corsero palij, acciò Roma non si rallegrasse, mentre molte città dell'Italia piangevano, afflitte dalla peste, et in loco di queste feste si fecero in diverse Chiese orationi di 40 ore solenissime con molto apparato.*⁹

being the time of Carnival, masquerades were not done, nor parades in the streets, so that Rome could not cheer herself while many cities in Italy suffered, afflicted with the plague, and in place of the usual festivities, several churches held orations of the most solemn *Quarant'hore* with much scenery.

⁸ Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, 181.

⁹ Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, 205.

This decree remained in effect until the feast of the Annunciation, 25 March 1632, when the city of Rome celebrated the fact that it remained untouched by the plague (as was to be the case until 1656).¹⁰ This was just a few weeks after the celebrations which featured the 1632 production of *Sant’Alessio*.

Divine aid was not the only remedy against the plague which Urban VIII sought for his Holy City. After receiving news of the outbreaks in 1629, the Pope commissioned Vincenzo Alsari della Croce to study the disease, its spread, and possible preventative measures. His manual, *Providenza metodica per preservarsi dall’imminente peste*, printed in Rome in 1630, explained practical ways to prevent the spread of disease into a city, including quarantine and use of medicinal baths. But della Croce saw the plague as something much larger than a disease whose effects could be seen, prevented, and treated. He devoted his entire first chapter to explaining that the plague was, in effect, an invisible evil that is allowed by God and that supplication was necessary through the intercession of Mary and the saints. He mentions the procession to Santa Maria Maggiore as well as other processions as a means of this type of supplication.¹¹ According to della Croce, Roman citizens had to be on their guard both physically and spiritually if an outbreak was to be avoided.

Just like a religious procession, the fold of the Catholic faithful had to be lead in their struggle against the powers of evil. This can be understood more clearly in della Croce’s impassioned plea for help in preserving the city:

Così spero nella divina misericordia, e nell’intercessione della Gloriosa Vergine Madre di Dio, e di S. Pietro e S. Paolo, e d’altri Santi infiniti, le cui reliquie sempre sono, & adesso più che mai da tutto questo popolo visitate, e venerate; si come

¹⁰ Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, 113; see also Laurie Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics*, 155.

¹¹ Vincenzo Alsari della Croce, *Providenza metodica per preservarsi dall’imminente peste* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1630), 2 (*I-Rvat Stamp. Barb. M.VIII.51*).

*ancora nelle gran diligenze, e provisioni, che giorno, e notte si fanno da N.S. Papa Urbano VIII, e dall'Eminentissimo, e Reverendissimo Sig. Cardinale Barberino Nipote, di segnalata sapere, e di riguardevole integrità di costumi, che tal Fiera ingorda, che si rapace Lupo, anzi horribil Dragone, e così ardente fuoco, restarà prima mozzo di capo, e del tutto estinto, che alla Città Santa mostri il suo tartareo ceffo, e comunichi le sue cocenti fiamme.*¹²

Thus I place my hope in divine mercy and the intercession of the Glorious Virgin Mother of God, and of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and the other infinite number of saints, whose relics are now more than ever visited and venerated by all of the people; and also in the great diligence and provisions which day and night are made by our lord Pope Urban VIII and the most eminent and most revered lord Cardinal Barberini his nephew [Francesco] of distinguished knowledge and of respectable integrity of customs, so that the greedy monster which is a predatory wolf, and a horrible dragon, and thus ardent fire, will be beheaded and wholly extinguished, before it should show its monstrous brow to the Holy City and spread its cooking flames.

Here della Croce does not hesitate to mention the roles played by Urban VIII and Francesco Barberini in the process of intercession against the unseen evil forces, the “wolf” or “dragon” of disease. Della Croce specifically praises Cardinal Francesco here in this passage because he was chosen by the Pope to act as the head of the Congregazione della Sanità.

The civic administrators of Rome, the senators and the conservators, sprung into action pleading for divine intercession. Civic funds were appropriated in 1630 for the creation of silver chalices that were to be given to the churches of Saint Sebastian and Saint Roche, two patron saints of Rome thought to have been associated with miraculous cures of plague.¹³ The chalices would be used not only for show, but also in the celebration of the sacrament of communion. This sacrament is believed by Catholics to be a miraculous event where those performing the act of the Mass as well as those attending participate in recreating the saving power of Christ’s intercession with God through his death and resurrection by means of the miracle of transubstantiation. Just as the miracle of

¹² Della Croce, *Providenza metodica*, 3-4.

¹³ Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII*, 177.

transubstantiation was unseen and otherworldly, its power, as it was believed by the senators and conservators, would then act as an agent against the evil, unseen power of the plague.

Between 1629 and 1632, when the imminent onset of the plague was feared, deceitful, demonic activity was suspected in almost every aspect of everyday life. While there was some understanding by scientists that the plague was spread by human contact, many Catholics believed that some humans could be enchanted by demons, or actually be demons in disguise who would help spread the disease. “Untori,” or “smearers” as they were called, were not only publicly accused, but even prosecuted and executed by reason of their suspected activity of spreading the plague by touching things in common public use, such as city walls, church benches and especially, holy-water urns.¹⁴ Catholics in the seventeenth century believed these “untori” were not just poor or disease-stricken victims who had nothing else to lose, but instead were people who took their orders to help spread the plague from demons with whom they communed. Gigli himself reports of a man nearly lynched in San Lorenzo in Damaso in Rome when suspected of tampering with an urn of holy water as an “untore.”¹⁵

But the fear of plague, and its deceptive nature, was coupled with another fear that had been rising in Rome and throughout Catholic Europe for the past century: that of heresy. Heresy was depicted by Counter-Reformation artists as a “plague” upon Western Christendom just before these outbreaks of bubonic plague began overtaking Italy. In 1617 an altarpiece in Antwerp by an anonymous artist entitled *The Allegory of the Jesuit Order* was painted with figures representing the problems of the Catholic church firing arrows at

¹⁴ Ann G. Carmichael, “Contagion Theory and Contagion Practice in Fifteenth Century Milan,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 44 (1991): 46; see also Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII*, 150-152.

¹⁵ Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII*, 152.

two figures: Saint Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuit Order, and Saint Francis Xavier, one of the order's greatest missionaries. The arrows of the allegorical figures miss their mark, as the Jesuit fathers are both armed with shields with the sign of the cross. But perhaps most convincing in the painting's didactic program is the prominent figure of "Heresy" who is shown not only in its medieval representation as being covered by feathers, but now, is also covered with bubonic sores as she falls to the ground.¹⁶ A similar depiction is found in another altarpiece of the same year, this one by Peter Paul Rubens entitled *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*. Art historians have believed that the representation of the man in front of St. Xavier dressed as a Japanese—just as many other figures in the painting are depicted as being from other Asian countries St. Francis visited—was being "brought back from the dead." Instead, Christine M. Boeckl has argued more recently that the man is suffering from a plague related to his heretical beliefs. St. Xavier's power in "restoring" him is through his preaching of the true, Catholic doctrine.¹⁷

Heresy had roughly been defined since the Middle Ages as the acceptance of a doctrine other than that of the Catholic Church. Pope Leo I (c. 440-460) described heretics as those people who do not "think right" (*recte sentire*).¹⁸ Those who did not adopt "recte sentire" instead were believed to be turned to its opposite: "male sentire." Whereas right thinking encompassed knowledge of God's truth and thoughts of charity and good deeds, "male sentire" gave one thoughts of lies, perfidity, and pride. It was this "male sentire" that

¹⁶ Christine M. Boeckl, "Plague Imagery as Metaphor for Heresy in Rubens' *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*," *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 27 (1996): 984-85.

¹⁷ Boeckl, "Plague Imagery as Metaphor for Heresy," 983.

¹⁸ For an extensive study of "right thinking" and Catholic theology as espoused by sermons of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, see Frederick J. McGinness, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 113-15.

was ascribed to heretics. This belief prevailed well into the Counter Reformation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The famous speaker and member of the Collegio Romano of the 1560s, Pedro Juan Perpiña, warned other Jesuit preachers that even the Protestant heretic could use the rhetoric and learning of classical writers such as Plato, Cicero, and Quintilian to deceive Catholic believers, and to turn hearts and minds away from the True Faith.¹⁹ But the heresy of Protestantism was viewed as more than just a deception of the mind and heart; rather, it was also a deception that came from the Devil. In 1601, the Roman preacher Giovan Battista Asti warned his parishioners that heresy was first instigated by the Devil and spread by his cohorts. As such, Asti viewed heresy as “more deleterious and more pernicious than idolatry.”²⁰ It had been established by many preachers and teachers of Catholic doctrine in the sixteenth century that the fight against heresy was one and the same with the fight between Good and Evil. Preachers in the sixteenth century used the image of the “Church Militant” as a symbol for the Catholic faithful who would “go to arms” whether literally or culturally against the forces of the Devil. This same image is seen in the final scene of *San Bonifatio*, where, after Bonifatio is shown in his apotheosis in heaven, a chorus of the Church Militant and its counterpart, the Church Triumphant (faithful saints who fought for the Church Militant and are now in heaven), sing a final chorus about the joys awaiting those who stay the course and are not deceived by the lies that would lead them away from the Catholic Church. While it is tempting to see this final image of the opera as an instance where the characters are “preaching to the choir,” since the audience members were already high-ranking clergy members and Catholic leaders from Rome and other lands, it held a much deeper cultural meaning. At the same time as the Virtues remind

¹⁹ McGinness, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory*, 14.

²⁰ McGinness, *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory*, 115.

the audience of the rewards that await those who sit before them as they sing and dance, they also hint at the reality of a vituperation that awaits heretics who may have abandoned their ranks.

While the actual effects of the Thirty Years War and the War of Mantuan Succession were not felt directly in Rome, Urban VIII and other Catholic leaders made it a point to celebrate publicly the victories of Catholic forces. Giacinto Gigli records that on 18 December 1628, the Pope carried out a symbolic procession including the college of cardinals and the papal court from the church of Sant'Agostino to San Luigi de' Francesi in order to give thanks to God for the victory gained by Louis XIII of France against the Protestant Huguenot "heretics" in the siege of La Rochelle. Louis XIII had previously joined forces with other Protestant armies in Germany and other disputed territories in the Thirty Years War. Following the procession were various feasts and celebrations held throughout the city, particularly at the palace of the ambassador of France.²¹

Gigli also takes note of the cruel, bloody warfare fought by the "heretical" rogue German armies opposing the Habsburgs during the War of the Mantuan Succession in November 1629. He states that these armies had a thirst not only for destroying Italy, but also for discrediting the power of the Catholic Religion.²² It is for the reason of the defense of the Ecclesiastic State, Gigli writes, that in response to these aggressions, Urban VIII levied

²¹ Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, 173: "A di 18 Dicembre 1628, Papa Urbano andò processionalmente a piedi con il Collegio de' Cardinali, et tutta la Corte di Palazzo dalla Chiesa di S. Agostino alla Chiesa di S. Luigi de' Francesi per ringraziare Dio della Vittoria ottenuta da Lodovico Re di Francia contro li Heretici havendogli tolto la Rocella et per questo detta Chiesa fu nobilissimamente apparata, et la sera si fecero molte feste e fuochi in diversi luoghi, et particolarmente dall'Imbasciatore di Francia, et fu alla d[ett]a Chiesa Indulgenza per due di."

²² Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, 181: "In questo mese di Novembre 1629, si sentivano di molte nove di crudeltà, et impietà usate dalli Soldati Alemanni dell'Imperatore, gran parte delli quali per esser Heretici mostravano di havere sete non solo di danneggiar l'Italia, ma di fare cio chè potevano in dispregio della Religione Cattolica."

a tax in order to raise provisions for defenses within Italy on items imported and exported, such as meat, oil, wine, salt, and wood.²³

But the heretics of the Protestant armies to the North were not the only concern to the papal family and the Catholic faithful in Rome. Since the seventh century, Christians had looked eastward to Arab kingdoms who had conquered Jerusalem and other lands as well as North Africa and parts of Turkey. The Turks, and their invasion and influence in the Italian peninsula, had long been feared in Rome and other Italian states. They were generally approximated by Italians as a multi-ethnic, multi-religious group of non-Catholics who inhabited the areas of South East Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa. People of “Turkish,” “Arab,” and “Moorish” descent were often viewed similarly, and the names of their ethnic groups were used interchangeably by Italians at this time.

Beginning with the capture of Constantinople in 1453 by Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II, Europeans nervously watched and revolted against the expansion of this “pagan” empire. The Republic of Venice had the closest political and economic ties to the Ottoman Empire, and at times, established treaties allowing trade in the Adriatic Sea and along the Dalmatian coast. But other Catholic leaders saw any relationships with the Turks as potentially dangerous. Writers of Latin texts viewed Turks as “barbari,” or cruel, savage enemies of culture and religion.²⁴ Pope Paul II (r. 1464-1471) issued a bull warning against any alliances between the Catholic states in Italy and the “infidel” Turks.²⁵ Later in the sixteenth

²³ Gigli, *Diario di Roma*, 181: “Per questo il Papa, il quale continuamente faceva provisioni per la Guerra in defesa dello Stato Ecclesiastico continuamente riscoteva gabelle dalli popoli...replicate più volte sopra la carne, oglio, vino forastiero, et ancora delli contorni di Roma, sale, legna, cascio.”

²⁴ Robert H. Schwoebel, “Coexistence, Conversion and the Crusade Against the Turks,” *Studies in the Renaissance* 12 (1965): 164.

²⁵ Schwoebel, “Coexistence, Conversion and the Crusade Against the Turks,” 165.

century, anti-Turkish sentiments continued to grow within the Catholic communion. Despite the re-division of lands in eastern possessions made by Charles V, his brother Ferdinand I, and Philip II of Spain, Ottoman leaders continued to form anti-Habsburg alliances and raid border towns.²⁶ By the end of the sixteenth century, Venice also had become embattled in a series of wars over the islands of Cyprus and Crete which they had ruled since 1489.²⁷ Tensions and stereotypes lived on during the Thirty Years War. Frederick II and Habsburg supporters published large selections of incriminating items from a collection of Palatine rebel documents. These documents revealed the Emperor Palatine's intentions to encourage an Ottoman invasion of Habsburg territory. Another incident which struck fear in the hearts and minds in Rome and most of Italy occurred in 1638. In the early summer, just weeks before the second set of performances of *San Bonifatio*, sixteen North African corsairs under the command of Ali Picenino pillaged towns along the coast of Calabria, then along the Italian peninsula raiding ports as they ventured north almost as far as Loreto.²⁸ All but one of the sixteen corsairs were sunk by the Venetian fleet in the Ottoman port of Valona, with one taken under arrest as a warning to Sultan Murad IV. But this victory was not just for the Venetians, but for the entire Catholic faithful as well. Upon the corsairs' capture, Pope Urban VIII sent his hearty congratulations to the Venetian Doge Francesco Erizzo, complementing him specifically on how this victory represented a "renewal of Christian maritime strength."

²⁶ Kenneth Sutton, *Venice, Austria and the Turks in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1991), xvii.

²⁷ Sutton, *Venice, Austria and the Turks*, 91.

²⁸ Sutton, *Venice, Austria and the Turks*, 108.

When we examine the demons depicted in both *Sant’Alessio* and *San Bonifatio*, we find a common association made between demons, and peoples of Arab, Turkish, or Moorish origin. This is especially true in *San Bonifatio* where the saint is depicted in the last day of his life when he is convinced by his lover, Aglae, who has in turn been convinced by Penitence, that instead of spending his days dallying with her, he should go off to Tarsus to fight for the Christians against the invading Moorish armies. In act I, scene 11 of *San Bonifatio*, the demon chooses to disguise himself “con Turbante di Tracia il crine avvolto d’Arabo Peregrin” (my head wrapped in a Thracian turban in the manner of a wandering Arab). This altering of his appearance is marked not only in his words, and therefore likely including his dramatic action at this point, but also in his music. The harmonic framework of his long recitative quickly changes at this passage from the natural system supported by C and G harmonies, to a sharp one (with G-sharp in the melody) which then moves to A minor before returning to the natural system to finish his soliloquy.

Example 5.1: *San Bonifatio*, I.11

Demonio:

Al con-tra-sto, à gl'in-gan ni hor,hor m'in-vi-o, E pren-de-rò per più ce-lar-mi al-

tru-i Con tur-ban-te di Tra-cia il cri-ne av-vol-to, D'A-ra-bo pe-re-grin'le ves-ti, e il

7

vol - to. O - gni pro - va si ten - ti: è ve - ra lo - de

10

O - ve man - ca la for - za, u - sar' la fro - de.

*Al contrasto, à gl'inganni hor, hor
m'invio,
e prenderò per più celarmi altrui
con turbante di Tracia il crine avvolto
d'Arabo Peregrin' le vesti, e il volto.*

*Ogni prova si tenti: è vera lode
ove manca la forza, usar' la frode.*

To the battle, to the deceits now I begin,

and I will bear to hide my true identity
my head wrapped in a Thracian turban
in the manner of a wandering Arab, with the
clothes and the face.

Everything must be tried: it is praise indeed,
where force is lacking, to use deception.

Dressed in this manner, the demon is able to fool both Bonifatio and Aglae, although only temporarily, into thinking that each one has abandoned their faith, or has taken a new lover.

Each time the demon attempts his deceitful ways though, he is defeated by Bonifatio's guardian angel, Lucindo.

In *Sant'Alessio*, the depiction of demons as being likened to Turks may not be as evident to the scholar, but was just as present to the seventeenth-century audience member. In act I, scene 4 of the opera, during the demon's first appearance, his fellow demons are shown with him in an infernal dance, a *moresca* as is directed by the rubric on page 48 of the score (Figure 5.1). Here these grotesque bodies dance with lighted torches in their hands, matching the flames of the scene surrounding them. While the *moresca* was a common

dance performed in court and theatrical settings during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it also had specific connotations to Moors.

Figure 5.1. Engraving Showing the Inferno in the 1634 Score of *Sant’Alessio*



In its earliest traditions in the Middle Ages, the movements of the *moresca* dance represented the fighting of Moors and Christians during the battles of the Crusades.²⁹ This tradition continued into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the dance acquired newly composed songs to accompany its performance about stock characters named “Lucia”

²⁹ Bruno Nettl, “Die Moresca,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 4 (1957): 165-174; see also Alan Brown, “Moresca,” *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

or “Martina” who represented Moorish slaves taken into households in Naples and Sicily.³⁰ These representations were made famous by the French printmaker and draftsman Jacques Callot who sketched a number of *moresca* dances Italy in the 1620s called “Sfessania” after a pseudo-Moorish word found in the song that accompanied this dance.³¹ Aside from recognizing the connection between this type of dance and the idea of the differences and even warfare between Moors and Christians, audience members would have also known that this dance was associated with the grotesque.³² Jacques Callot’s drawings, as well as descriptions of dances given by dancing master Cesare Negri, give accounts of *moresche* performed by masked monsters, or even “gobbi,” or hunchbacked dwarfs.³³ In *Sant’Alessio*, the music changes to triple meter as the demons begin their dance. Note that the song itself for this dance seems also grotesque in that there are also some misaccentuations of the text in *versi sdrucchioli* against the rhythms presented in the melody in addition to the jarring hemiolas (Example 5.2). It would seem at first that the E in the continuo line at measures 9 and 18 is a misprint (a G would be more logical). I would argue however that the E in the continuo line is correct and is meant to build harmonic tension and play with the listener’s expectations.

³⁰ Donald Posner, “Jacques Callot and the Dances called ‘Sfessania,’” *Art Bulletin* 59 (1977): 205.

³¹ Posner, “Jacques Callot and the Dances called ‘Sfessania,’” 206.

³² See Elena Ferrari Barassi, “La tradizione della moresca e uno sconosciuto ballo del Cinque-Seicento,” *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 5 (1970): 37-60.

³³ Daniel Ternois, *Jacques Callot: Catalogue complet de son oeuvre dessiné* (Paris: de Nobele, 1962). For accounts of Negri’s dances, see Yvonne Gustavia Kendall “‘*Le gratie d’amore*’ (1602) by Cesare Negri: Translation and Commentary” (DMA diss., Stanford University, 1985).

But giving these demons voices was a potentially dangerous undertaking for composers Stefano Landi and Virgilio Mazzocchi. Music was believed to have a powerful affect on the human soul since the time of the Ancient Greek doctrine of *ethos*, by early

Example 5.2: *Sant'Alessio*, I.4

Choro de Demonij:

Musical score for the first system of "Choro de Demonij". It consists of four staves. The top staff is a vocal line in 3/2 time, starting with a whole rest followed by a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note B4. The lyrics are "Sde - gno hor - ri - bi - le,". The second staff is a vocal line in 3/2 time, starting with a whole rest followed by a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note B4. The lyrics are "Sde - gno hor - ri - bi - le,". The third staff is a vocal line in 3/2 time, starting with a whole rest followed by a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note B4. The lyrics are "Sde - gno hor - ri - bi - le,". The fourth staff is a bass line in 3/2 time, starting with a whole rest followed by a half note G3, a quarter note A3, and a half note B3.

5

Musical score for the second system of "Choro de Demonij". It consists of four staves. The top staff is a vocal line in 3/2 time, starting with a whole rest followed by a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note B4. The lyrics are "sde - gno hor - ri - bi - le Al - la lu - ce". The second staff is a vocal line in 3/2 time, starting with a whole rest followed by a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note B4. The lyrics are "ri - bi - le Al - la lu - ce". The third staff is a vocal line in 3/2 time, starting with a whole rest followed by a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note B4. The lyrics are "sde - gno hor - ri - bi - le Al - la lu - ce". The fourth staff is a bass line in 3/2 time, starting with a whole rest followed by a half note G3, a quarter note A3, and a half note B3.

10

Ne con - du - ce. Sù, sù, sù,
8 Ne con - du - ce. Sù, sù, sù,
Ne con - du - ce. Sù, sù,

Detailed description: This block contains four staves of music for measures 10 through 14. The first two staves are in treble clef, and the last two are in bass clef. The lyrics are: "Ne con - du - ce. Sù, sù, sù,". The music features a melodic line in the upper staves and a supporting bass line in the lower staves. There are rests in the second and fourth measures of the upper staves.

15

sù, sù, sù ter - - ri - bi -
8 sù, sù, sù ter - - ri - bi -
sù, sù ter - - ri - bi -

Detailed description: This block contains four staves of music for measures 15 through 19. The first two staves are in treble clef, and the last two are in bass clef. The lyrics are: "sù, sù, sù ter - - ri - bi -". The music continues the melodic and bass lines from the previous section. There are rests in the second and fourth measures of the upper staves.

18

le L'a - bis - so s'ar - mi.
 le L'a - bis - so s'ar - mi.
 le L'a - bis - so s'ar - mi.
 le L'a - bis - so s'ar - mi.

*Sdegno horribile
 alla luce
 ne conduce.
 Sù, sù terribile
 l'abisso s'armi.*

A terrible anger
 leads us
 up to the light.
 Come, let the fearsome
 abyss take arms.

church fathers like St. Augustine, and again during the Renaissance. This was in part because, like Ptolemy and other ancient Greek thinkers, Renaissance scholars continued to promote the idea of the “music of the spheres” in that there was a type of music beyond the world that was conducted by the moving bodies of the planets and stars in space throughout the universe. Renaissance thinkers since the time of Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499) believed that the air between physical bodies was somehow living because it possessed motion and displayed passion.³⁴ He created a type of “music-spirit” theory where he dictated the rules by which the music of the planets affected other celestial as well as earthly bodies. In his studies of St. Thomas Aquinas’ *De fato*, Ficino concurred with the medieval theologian that remedies must be made against evil forces in the air. Otherwise, such forces could wreak

³⁴ Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 111.

havoc upon the lives of men, instigating demonic evils such as the plague.³⁵ Johannes Kepler's ideas on music also made musical intonations conform to astronomical properties and ratios in the heavens in his *Mysterium cosmographicum* (1596).³⁶ The Roman Jesuit scientist Athanasius Kircher came to similar conclusions in his treatise, *Musurgia universalis* (1650). Here, Kircher charted which types of "Enneachords" or universal harmonies echoed with "higher" beings and creations, the highest creation being the angelic world of heaven all the way down through metals, stones, plants, animals, and finally, colors.³⁷ Each enneachord, Kircher states, resonates with both a planet in the solar system (as known in the seventeenth century) as well as with the moods and behaviors of earthly creatures.

During the reign of Urban VIII, scientist, theologian, and poet Tommaso Campanella took his belief of the power of music on celestial and human bodies one step further. In his *Astrologica libri VI* of 1629, Campanella describes the events of an eclipse of 1628 where he performed a ceremony with the Pope in order to avoid its evil effects. Aside from his superstitious nervousness, Urban VIII had been ill and was afraid that he would soon die. Campanella describes the ceremony as one where he and the Pope shut themselves in a room where Campanella lit candles, sprinkled rose vinegar, and played "Jovial" and "Venereal" music.³⁸ He believed that the music of these "good" planets would disperse evil infections in the air as well as dispel the power of "bad" planets. The diarist Teodor Ameyden confirmed this ceremony when he wrote in his diary, later collated as the *Elogia Summorum Pontificum*,

³⁵ D. P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella* (London: Warburg Institute, 1958), 67.

³⁶ D. P. Walker, *Studies in Musical Science in the Late Renaissance* (London: Warburg Institute, 1978), 36.

³⁷ Jocelyn Godwin, *Music, Mysticism and Magic: a Sourcebook* (New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986), 154-60.

³⁸ Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic*, 207.

that the Pope and Campanella locked themselves in a room for some time in 1628 on the day of the eclipse. Campanella was so convinced of the power of the music of certain planetary forces on the human body that he even went so far as to research ancient Greek writings about the evil of celestial demons and their power when he included a passage from the writings about Asclepius on attracting these demons into the form of idols by means of rites and music in his *Universalis philosophiae seu metaphysicarum*.³⁹ According to Campanella, through music, these demons could take the form not just of a talisman, but also of a human body.

Because music was believed to have such a powerful affect on the human soul by seventeenth-century thinkers, even to the point that it could be used to summon or create demons, we must not, as modern-day scholars, take lightly the fact that these demons in these operas are given musical voices. It was possible that audience members feared not only for the souls of the characters on stage who heard these demons sing, but also for their own souls as well. It is probably for this reason that demons were only beginning to gain a voice in musical, dramatic representations. Demons did not typically have music in Medieval and early Renaissance spiritual dramas with music, but were only allowed to speak their parts. This is evident from one of the first medieval music dramas, Hildegard of Bingen's *Ordo virtutem* (c. 1151).

In Stefano Landi's opera we see changes in harmonies by means of system modulation occurring at the same moments when the demon wants to manipulate his subject. He does so by badgering questions which he does not even allow the saint to answer, as well as by exhausting lectures. In act II, scene 6, the demon appears to Alessio, dressed as a hermit. He begins by stating that he is a "messenger," this time from God (Example 5.3). He

³⁹ Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic*, 211-12.

claims to have advice that will help the saint. The scene starts with the music for both the demon and Alessio written with harmonies beginning with a sharp E major chord, but then quickly moving to those of the natural system. The demon then begins a long speech to

Example 5.3: *Sant'Alessio*, II.6

Demonio:

Hu - mil ser - vo e in - de - gno Del Ciel son io, che da' ri - po - sti hor-ro - ri

Di lon - tan - e pen - di - ci Er - me si, ma fe - li - ci

Sol per gio - var - ti, A - les - sio, à te ne ve - gno.

2 4 3

Alessio:

Qual mia ven - tu - ra, e qua - le Di Dio som - ma pie - ta - de Da so - li - tar - ii

4

chio - stri Pur hog - gi à gli oc - chi miei fa che tu mo - stri?

7 6

Demonio:

*Humil servo et indegno
del Ciel son'io, che da riposte horri
di lontane pendici
erme si, ma felici
sol per giovarti, Alessio, à te ne vegno.*

Demon:

A humble and unworthy servant
of heaven am I, who from the hidden
privations of distant hills,
lonely, yes, put pleasing,
have come to you, Alessio, solely to help
you.

Alessio:

*Qual mia ventura, e quale
di Dio somma pietade
da solitarij chiostri
pur hoggi à gli occhi miei fa che tu mostri?*

Alessio:

What good fortune of mine, or what
great mercy of God
brings you from your lonely cell
today to appear before my eyes?

Alessio in the natural system, but his music borrows from the sharp system at the word “Ciel” or “heaven,” which sounds out of place, at the point of the demon’s lies to Alessio. In the next passage, the demon tells Alessio that he is not, in fact, pleasing God by abandoning his wife and family and the pleasures that they would bring him.

Example 5.3 (continued)

Demonio:

Dio mes - sag - gier mi man - da, Io la sua men - te, A - les - sio, à te ri -

5

ve - lo, Per - che di fol - le ze - lo Ri - pie - no il co - re ar - den - te, Per Dio cer -

♭3 ♭3

9

car, da Dio ne vai lon - ta - no, On - de tu sof - fri e t'af - fa - ti - chi in va - no.

4 3 ♭3

Dio messagier mi manda;

io la sua mente,

Alessio, à te rivelo,

perche di folle zelo

ripieno il core ardente

per Dio cercar, da Dio ne vai lontano;

onde tu soffri, e t'affatichi in vano;

God sends me as His messenger;

I am to reveal His mind

to you, o Alessio,

for your ardent heart brimming

with foolish zeal,

in seeking after God you go far away from God,

so that you suffer and exert yourself in vain;

The demon's music becomes audibly unstable. His harmonies not only shift quickly between the sharp and the natural systems during his lies, but then move also to the flat system as the demon describes Alessio's wife's sadness. His vocal line becomes liberated from the continuo below it and also includes a number of dissonances, specifically repeated C-sharps against a D minor harmony, and A against a B-flat harmony, as he describes Alessio's wife's suffering and the possibility that Alessio's choices are made when his mind is not thinking clearly.

Example 5.3 (continued)

Demonio:

Poi - che men - tre do - len - te La Con - sor - te ab - ban - do - ni, à lui non pia - ci.

4

E qual leg - ge t'in - se - gna a - spru e cru - de - le Con pro - mes - se fal -

7

la - ci In - gan - nar no - bil Don - na à te fe - de - le? E qual tor - bi - da

11

cu - ra Del - la men - te il se - ren co - sì t'os - cu - ra, Chesì va - ga Con - sor - te, Men - tre perte si

15

duo - le Tu tir - ran - no cru - del con - dan - ni a mor - te?

7 6 #3 #3 6 4 3 b

*Poiché mentre dolente
la Consorte abbandoni, à lui non piaci.
E qual legge t'insegna aspra e crudele
con promesse fallaci*

For when in sorrow
you abandon your wife, you do not please Him,
and what severe and cruel law teaches you
to deceive with false promises

*ingannar nobil Donna à te fedele?
 E qual torbida cura
 della mente il seren così t'oscura,
 che sì vaga Consorte,
 mentre per te si duole,
 uu tiranno crudel condanni a morte?*

a noble lady who is faithful to you?
 And what anxious care
 so darkens the clear sky of your mind
 that you, cruel tyrant, should condemn
 to death so lovely a wife,
 even while she mourns for you?

With each new question and accusation against Alessio, the demon's harmonic progressions become more erratic. Some of these passages have spectacularly dissonant harmonies (the seventh on "so-spira" or "sighs," and note the wheedling repetitions of gestures found on the words "nieghi" and "pieghi."

Example 5.3 (continued)

Demonio:

14

There are also less exaggerated dissonances with the exception of certain expressive words, such as the B-flat on “vana.” It is important to note however, that the vocal line deviates from this more normative practice of recitative setting at his commands “Credi” (“Believe”) and “obedisci” (“obey”). Here the vocal line quickly turns to the sharp system with an F sharp. This new sound acts as a signifier for the listener that the demon is not being truthful with Alessio.

Example 5.3 (continued)

Demonio:

Mà se ogn'al -tra ra - gion va - na à te pa - re, Vol - gi il pen - sier - o al - la dil - let - ta pro -

4 3

5

le, Che con sem bian - te à te gra - di - te, e ca - re, Sè nol ri - cu - si, in

10

bre - ve Na - scerdi te pur de - ve: Fin - gi - ti in - tor - no A - les - sio, i dol - ci

7 6

5
3

4
2

15

fi - gli E dal - le vo - ci lor pren - di j con - si - gli. Tor - na, deh

4 3

19

tor - na al - la tua Spo - sa a - man - te; Por - ta al - la ca - ra ma - dre ho - mai ri -

6 #6 #3 #3 6 7 #6

23

po - so; Ren - di te stes - so al ge - ni - tor do - glio - so; Fre - na il de - si - re er - ran -

b3 6 6 4 3

27

te; Che suol va - na co - stan - za Sol di per - fi - dia ha - ver no - me e sem - bian -

#6 6 7/3 6/4 5 3

32

za; E sag - gio è quel - lo, in cu - i Vin - to il pro - prio vo - ler ce - de al - tru - i

4 3

Cre - di, van - ne, o - be - di - sci. Va - go de gl'an - tri fo - schi

Ti la - scio in - tan - to e me ne tor - no ai bos - chi.

6 7 9 4 3

*Mà se ogn'altra ragion vana à te pare,
volgi il pensiero alla diletta prole,
che con sembianze à te gradite, e care,
sè nol ricusi, in breve
nascer di te pur deve:
fingiti intorno, Alessio, il dolci figli,*

*e dalle voci lor prendi i consigli.
Torna, deh torna alla tua sposa amante;*

porta alla cara madre homai riposo;

*rendi te stesso al genitor doglioso;
frena il desire errante;
che suol vana costanza
sol di perfidia haver nome, e sembianza;*

*e saggio è quello in cui
vinto il proprio voler cede all'altrui.*

*Credi, vanne, obedisci.
Vago degl'antri foschi
ti lascio intanto, e me ne torno ai boschi.*

But if all other reasons seem vain to you,
turn your thoughts to your beloved offspring,
with their faces so welcome and dear to you;
if you don't resist, easily
must the image come.

Imagine, Alessio, your sweet sons around
you,
and from their voices take counsel.
Return, ah return to your loving wife;

restore to your dear mother her peace of
mind;

give yourself back to your grieving father;
rein in your wandering desires;
for such useless persistence commonly
goes under the name and shape of
wickedness;

and wise is he who,
having conquered his own will, yields to
another.

Believe, go, obey.
Yearning for my gloomy caves,
I leave you meanwhile, and return to my
woods.

Although he is confused by what the demon is telling him is “God’s will,” Alessio is afraid to obey him. His heart tells him that there is something not right about the demon’s advice, and his music remains constant in the natural system. Landi’s music for Alessio shows the audiences that Alessio is not completely duped. The 6_5 chord which is formed between the voice and the continuo at measure 2 sounds out of place, and may symbolize Alessio’s “confusion.” There is also an unexpected C-sharp in measure 7 which emphasizes the “delusion” Alessio suspects he is experiencing.

Example 5.3 (continued)

Alessio:

The musical score consists of three systems, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a continuo line (bass clef). The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

System 1: The vocal line begins with a rest, followed by a series of eighth notes. The lyrics are "At-ton-i-to e con-fu-so, Ri-man-go a que-sti det-ti, Nè par ch'ad o-be-dir-lo il cor m'af-". The continuo line has a whole note chord marked with the figure "5" and a half note chord marked with "5 6 5 6".

System 2: The vocal line continues with a half note, a quarter note, and a series of eighth notes. The lyrics are "fret-ti, Te-men-do dal-l'In-fer-no es-ser de-lu-so: Ch'ad o-gni pas-so or-". The continuo line has a half note chord marked with "7 6" and a half note chord marked with "b3".

System 3: The vocal line continues with a series of eighth notes, a quarter note, and a half note. The lyrics are "di-sce un nuo-vo in-gan-no De-gli a-bis-si il Tir-an-no Dun-que à me por-ga a-". The continuo line has a half note chord marked with "5", a half note chord marked with "6", a half note chord marked with "3", a half note chord marked with "4", and a half note chord marked with "3".

13

15

*Attonito e confuso
rimango a questi detti,
nè par ch'ad obedirlo il cor m'affretti,*

*Temendo dall'Inferno esser deluso:
ch'ad ogni passo ordisce un nuovo inganno
degli abissi il Tiranno.
Dunque à me porga aita
chi dall'eterna sede*

*con pietade infinita
dona stabil soccorso a chi lo chiede.*

I am left amazed and confused
at these words,
but my heart does not seem to rush to obey
him,

fearing that Hell may be deluding it:
for the tyrant of the abyss
at every step contrives some new deception.
Therefore let Him lend me his aid,
who from His eternal seat

with infinite mercy
gives firm help to those who ask.

Alessio's request for divine aid is then granted. The demon is chased away by an angel who appears as God's true messenger. The angel's appearance prompts the demon's music to take a sudden turn to the flat system, demonstrating the fear that he feels. He can no longer remain with Alessio and try to deceive him, and he is now telling the truth: he must escape.

Example 5.3 (continued)

Demonio:

Ahi, che di qui mi scaccia Con po-de-ro-sa ma-no Scen-den-do dal-le stel-le An-gel so-

6

5

vra - no, E col suo lu - me o - gni mia spe - me ag - ghiac - cia.

4 3

6

6

4 3

10

Ho - mai qui di fer - mar - mi a lui d'ap - pres - so Dal Ciel non m'è per - mes - so.

6

6

4 #3

*Ahi, che di qui mi scaccia
con poderosa mano
scendendo dalle stelle Angel sovrano,
e col suo lume ogni mia speme
agghiaccia.
Homai qui di fermarmi a lui d'appresso
dal Ciel non m'è permesso.*

Ah! there chases me away
with a powerful hand
a sovereign Angel descending from the stars,
and with his light all of my hopes are turned to
ice
Now to stand near to him
is not permitted to me by heaven.

In *San Bonifatio*, the demon also uses his musical voice to manipulate the characters with whom he interacts. In act II, scene 5, in his first appearance outside of hell, the demon appears to Bonifatio and his servant, Pinarto. At the end of the first act, Bonifatio has decided to go off to Tarsus to fight for the Christians, but he is left not quite understanding Aglae's motives in telling him to do so. He begins to doubt her love, and even her

faithfulness to him. The demon urges Bonifatio to go back on his decision, and instead, to stay and enjoy the delights of love rather than go to Tarsus and die. Bonifatio, not completely understanding Aglae's motives in asking him to go to Tarsus, has decided to leave in order to liberate himself from the "bondage" of love.

Example 5.4: *San Bonifatio*, II.5

Demonio:

Se quan - to hor tu mi nar - ri, E - ra l'A - mor' ve - ra - ce, Co - me es - ser
 può che la bel - tà ch'a - do - ra La - sciar pos - sa un A - man - te che non mo - ra?

b₃ b b

b b b #₃

*Se quanto hor tu mi narri,
 era l'Amor' verace,
 come esser può
 che la beltà ch'adora
 lasciar possa un Amante che non mora?*

If, as you told me,
 your love was true,
 how can it be
 that the beauty who adores [you]
 can leave a lover and not die?

Although he is going off to a bloody war, Bonifatio feels free from the chains of a misguided love in which he has been engaged with Aglae. The previous scene ended with harmonies that began in the sharp system, with a cadence on G major. The demon's music continues in the sharp system, with the relative minor of G major, E minor. His cadence on a B major harmony, however, shows us that the music is emphasizing his move sharpwards.

We can see that Bonifatio is clearly moved by the demon's words and music as his own music continues this trend of moving sharpwards. Here, his answer moves to the harmony of A major.

Example 5.4 (continued)

Bonifatio:

Gio - ia pro - vo, e non pe - ne, Che li - be - ro u - scen - do Ho -
 mai dal la - be - rin - to, O - ve in du - re ca - te - ne Vis - si tant' an - ni av - vin - to.

*Gioia provo, e non pene,
 libero uscendo homai dal Laberinto,
 ove in dure catene
 vissi tant'anni avvinto.*

I feel joy, and not pain,
 that I am free to go now from the labyrinth,
 wherein conquered by in harsh chains
 I lived for so many years.

But the demon is not satisfied with Bonifatio's confident reply. He decides to continue his query by rekindling Bonifatio's love for Aglae. He continues to manipulate Bonifatio both with his words and his music. Where Bonifatio had spoken of his freedom, the demon reminds Bonifatio of the "knots of love" in which he was once entangled, and asks him how he thinks he will flee from those. The demon's music pushes further

sharpwards, moving along a circle of fifths from E major to a B minor chord and even to its dominant, an F-sharp harmony, at the cadence.

Example 5.4 (continued)

Demonio:

Qual gio - ia spe - rar puoi Pri - vo di dol - ci no - di, Che fan - no in mil - le

mo - di De gl'A - ma - tor con - ten - ti, Fug - gir l'af - fan - no à vo - lo?

*Qual gioia sperar puoi
privo de dolci nodi,
che fanno in mille modi
de gl'Amator contenti,
fuggir l'affanno à volo?*

What joy can you hope for
deprived of the sweet bonds
which make in a thousand ways
the pleasures of the lover
flee torment?

Bonifatio tells the demon that his situation is hopeless. He reminds the demon that he loves Aglae but she appears to no longer reciprocate his feelings, so he suffers “a thousand torments” in his love. His music here, while still in the sharp system, “shirks” the demon’s music in that it pulls back from the demon’s cadence on F sharp, and back to E major.

Example 5.4 (continued)

Bonifatio:

Co - sta so - lo un pia - cer' mil - le tor - men - ti.

6 # 5 6 4 3

Costa solo un piacer' mille tormenti.

A single pleasure costs a thousand torments

This only makes the demon continue with his questions, further inquiring of Bonifatio why he would abandon his love in such a hasty decision with perhaps clouded judgment. The demon hints, just as in *Sant'Alessio*, that perhaps what heaven truly wants is the union of the couple, rather than Bonifatio's abandonment. His pause at "Ah, da qual nube oppresso" catches the attention of the listener and emphasizes the demon's argument that perhaps Bonifatio's misguided judgment is his reason for departing to Tarsus. It also serves as a warning to audience members themselves to be aware of the demon's presence as a "dark cloud" upon their own judgments.

Example 5.4 (continued)

Demonio:

Ma val mil-letor men-tiunpia-cerso - lo ah da qual nu - be op-pres-so

4 3 #

6

ciò ch'il Cie - lo ti die - de il fret - to - lo - so pie - de

8

tu vol - gen - do al par - tir to - gli à te stes - so.

#

*Ma val mille tormenti un piacer solo.
 Ah da qual nube oppresso,
 ciò, ch'il Cielo ti diede,
 il frettoloso piede
 tu volgendo à partir togli à te stesso?*

But a single pleasure is worth a thousand torments.
 Ah, what fateful cloud oppresses you
 so that that which heaven gave you
 your hasting foot
 should take from you by your departure?

Bonifatio starts to give way, and even wonders about staying just to spite Aglae,
 returning to the same sharp system as the demon had just sung.

Example 5.4 (continued)

Bonifatio:

Se co - lei mi dis - cac - cia, Do - ve - vo

6

3

for - se al suo dis - pet - to an - co - ra Far' sul Te - bro di - mo - ra.

6 6 6 #

*Se colei mi discaccia,
dovevo forse al suo dispetto ancora
far' sul Tebro dimora.*

But if she sends me away,
perhaps in spite of her I should yet
stay by the Tiber.

The demon agrees with Bonifatio, grounding the same D major harmony as heard in Bonifatio's reply given that the demon has temporarily won the argument.

Example 5.4 (continued)

Demonio

Si, pe-rò che lo sde-gno in A-man-te ve - ra - ce e di no-vel A-mor man - ti-ce e fo - co

b b 4 3

5

e trà gl'A - man - ti in pa - ce con for - tu - na - to af - fan - no tu - te le ris - se à ter - mi-

6 6 #

8

nar sen' van - no Ho sem - pre in - te - so di - re che so - no ap - pun - to

11

li - re Trà l'al - me in - na - mo - ra - te se - ren d'in - ver - no, e nu - vo - li d'e - sta - te.

*Si, però che lo sdegno
in Amante verace
è di novel' amor mantice e foco,

e trà gl'Amanti in pace
con fortunato affanno
tutte le risse à terminar sen' vanno.
Ho sempre inteso dire,
che sono appunto l'ire
trà l'alme innamorate
seren d'inverno, e nuvoli d'estate.*

Yes, but anger
in a true lover
often provides the bellows and the flame
for renewed love,
and for those lovers who are at peace,
in happy torment
end all quarrels.
I have always heard it said
that anger between souls in love
is like a clear day in winter
or a cloudy one in summer.

This music example demonstrates that the demon's arguments in both of these operas are by no means ridiculous. On the contrary, they are very reasonable by taking both Alessio's and Bonifatio's predicaments on their own terms, just as the demon is using Bonifatio's own harmonies to make his arguments "sound" more convincing. Both Bonifatio and Alessio want to please heaven, but are unsure in which way they should do this, since they must both sacrifice the ones they love. One may even argue that at this point, Bonifatio's predicament is an even greater one since he is turning away from the love of a "good" woman who understands heaven's call for him. In the case of Alessio, on the other

hand, he is following the commission given in Matthew 19:29 that one must leave behind even the family in order to gain eternal life, and it is Alessio's wife is clearly not interested in this biblical requirement, and who does not understand Alessio's motivations for leaving.

It is at this point that Bonifatio's servant, Pinarto, jumps in the middle of the discussion. Pinarto sides with the demon and agrees that Bonifatio is only leaving because of his disagreement and confusion over Aglae's intentions. Pinarto hints that Bonifatio's heart is not truly set on heavenly things, but, rather, on love. He doubts that Bonifatio has the ability to leave for Tarsus. Pinarto reinforces what the demon has said, but the harmonies in his music move away from the realm of the demon's sharp system, and into the natural and even towards the flat system, ending on an F major harmony. Mazzocchi's choice to change the harmonic framework of the passage from the demon's sharp system to this new flat one may signal to the listener that Pinarto is speaking as a supposed voice of reason, as opposed to the demon's voice of deception.

Example 5.4 (continued)

Pinarto:

Hab - bia il ve - ro il suo lo - co, Ben trop - po fu - sti tu pron - to al par - ti - re.

Di rac - cen - der il fo - co Ten - tar do - ve - vi in -

6

nan - te, E non muo - ver si tos - to il pas - so er - ran - te.

4 3

*Habbia il vero il suo loco.
Ben troppo fusti tu pronto al partire.
Di raccendere il fuoco
tentar' dovevi inante,
e non muover si tosto il passo errante.*

Truth has its place.
You [Bonifatio] were too ready to leave.
To reignite the flame of love.
you should try in front of her,
and not set off wandering.

The demon continues to badger Bonifatio in another attempt to have him stay, pushing him to believe that Aglae will forget him as soon as he is far away. His music, like his words, pick up just where he last left off, and his harmonies move the music back to the sharp system, ending on a G harmony.

Example 5.4 (continued)

Demonio:

Chi non sà, ch'ho - ra Ag-la - e, Men-tre tu vai lon-tan - o da te si scor - da? Il

b₃ b b # 6

5

co - re non duol s'oc - chio non ve - de, E se son tra gl'A - man - ti i vi - vi

6 # #

8

sguar - di Po - ten - tis - si - mi dar - di, Men - tre va lun - gi il pie - de Dal - l'a -

6 4 6 4 # b3

11

ma - to splen - do - re Man - can quel - l'ar - mi on - de guer - reg - gia A - mo - re.

b 6 6 6/5 4 3

*Chi non sà, che hora Aglae,
mentre tu vai lontano da te si scorda?
Il core non duol s'occhio non vede,
e se son tra gl'Amanti i vivi sguardi
potentissimi dardi,
mentre va' lungi il piede
dall'amato splendore
mancan quell'armi onde guerreggia Amore.*

Who knows whether Aglae
will forget you while you go far away?
The heart does not regret what the eye cannot
see,
and if lively glances between lovers
are the most powerful of arrows,
while you are far off
from your beloved's splendor,
those arms will be lacking with which love
wages battle.

Here the demon gains even more ground, both with his words and his music.

Bonifatio begins to question what he should do, although he still hesitates to rekindle his feelings for Aglae. His music, as his words suggest, shows that he is strongly influenced by the demon's deception. He vacillates between the natural system on which his harmonies begin, in C major, but his music moves farther into the sharp system and ends with cadence on an A major chord.

Example 5.4 (continued)

Bonifatio:

Mos-so dal-le tue no-te il cor va-cil-la. Che fa-rò? Ben io sen-to Che

del-l'an-ti-co ar-do-re Non af-fat-to è smor-za-ta o-gni scin-til-la.

*Mosso dalle tue note il cor vacilla.
 Che farò? Ben io sento
 che dall'antico ardore
 non affatto è smorzata ogni scintilla.*

My heart vacillates, moved by your notes.
 What should I do? To be sure, I feel
 that of my former passion
 not every spark has been extinguished.

But suddenly the demon's intentions of tempting Bonifatio are beginning to be compromised. Just as Alessio felt unsure in his heart about the words the demon was telling him, so too does Bonifatio. While neither Alessio nor Bonifatio has the ability to recognize all of the demon's deception and defeat him on their own, they do have the power to call on divine aid. Once again, the saint prevails after calling upon heaven when a guardian angel comes to his side. This is the most important theological point that is made by these operas. Man cannot resist temptation alone, but must always call on heaven. The saints need divine intervention to distinguish truth from falsehood. Here at the end of the scene, the demon states that he sees his enemy appearing, and that he must flee to escape being caught. A manuscript libretto for this opera, *I-Rvat Vat. lat. 13538*, includes the stage direction "Dem:

vede l'Angelo in forma di Lucindo" (The demon sees the Angel in the form of Lucindo). It is after this, the demon's last words in this scene, that Bonifatio's guardian angel, Lucindo, appears and counsels Bonifatio not to give up his fight for his faith. The change in harmonies here signal to the audience the demon's sudden anxiety. His harmonies quickly move to the flat system, including B flat major harmonies, and to a cadence on F major.

Example 5.4 (continued)

Demonio:

Di quà giun - ge il ne - mi - co, a lui m'in - vo - lo. Ma

4 3

nel - l'as - sal - to or - ren - do San - no vin - cer i for - ti an - cor fug - gen - do.

6 4 3

Men - tre pe - no - so e len - to Bo - ni - fa - tio sen' vie - ne Pre - ven - ghiam noi Pi -

10

nar - to, Di quà non lun - gi à pre - par - ar l'al - ber - go.

6/5 4 3

*Di quà giunge il nemico, a lui m'involo.
Ma nell'assalto orrendo
sanno vincer i forti ancor' fuggendo.*

Here comes my enemy, I'll flee from him.
But in the horrendous heat of battle
the brave know how to gain victory even in
retreat.

*Mentre penoso e lento
Bonifatio sen' viene
prevengiam noi Pinarto,
di qua' non lungi a' preparar' l'albergo.*

While Bonifatio slowly
wends his troubled path,
we shall forewarn Pinarto
to prepare a lodging not far from here.

But it is not only Bonifatio's resolve that the demon is concerned about in this opera.

In act II, scene 9, the demon comes upon Aglae and tries to convince her that, just as her servants Asteria and Farfallino suspected, Bonifatio has fallen in love with another woman and that he should be called back to Rome.

Example 5.5: *San Bonifatio*, II.9

Demonio:

Il vo-lo, e il pas-so ar-re - sta: Ec-co A glae, che in dis-par - te Stas-si in-tra due

tut - ta sos - pe - sa, e me - sta. Io fin - ger - ò che no - ta à me non si - a.

4 3

Aglae:

Quan - to fù gra - ve, ohi - me la col - pa mi - a!

4/2 #3

Demonio:

*Il volo, e il passo arresta:
ecco Aglae, che in disparte
stassi intra due tutta sospesa, e mesta.
Io fingerò che nota à me non sia.*

Demon:

My flight and my path I stop
Here is Aglae who stands aside between these
two,
wholly uncertain and sad.
I will pretend that she is not known to me.

Aglae:

Quanto fù grave, ohime la colpa mia!

Aglae:

How grave, alas, was my fault!

Whereas Aglae's music in the previous scene included erratic leaps and extended harmonies in the sharp system, ending on a cadence on B major, the demon's music enters this scene as smoothly as he comes upon Aglae. His harmonies tend towards the natural system with G, F, and C major. But Aglae's music remains in the sharp system, a strong contrast to the demon. Her music here ends with a cadence on a type of diminished seventh chord leading to the dominant of A. The demon speaks in an aside to the audience at this point, reminding them that he is in disguise. He then addresses a medallion-portrait of Aglae that he is carrying, with his line "Oh, clever paintbrush, to a feigned countenance how could you give such movement, feeling, and spirit?" bringing the audience's attention to the larger scope of the nature of deception by reminding them that art can also be artifice. This medallion had been discarded by Bonifatio in his anger over Aglae's decision to send him away. He recognizes Aglae as the girl on the medallion for whom he has been searching.

His music here remains in the natural system, still in contrast to Aglae. Her music begins again in the sharp system, but then includes harmonies which slowly wander towards the natural system as well. She is curious who is this strange man who speaks in riddles, and why he has come to her.

Example 5.5 (continued)

Demonio:

Per cer - to de - e es - ser que - sta E ri - spon - de co - sì l'e - sem - pio al

ve - ro, Che l'i - stes - so ras - sem - bra in o - gni par - te.

4 3

Aglae:

Chi sa - rà que - sti in ha - bi - to stra - nie - ro?

#

Demonio:

In - ge - gno - so pen - nel - lo à un fin - to

3
vol - to Co - me puoi da - re il mo - to, il sen - so, e l'al - ma?

6 #6 b3

Aglae:

Che chie - di? On - de à me vol - to?

b3 b

Demonio:

Ben' d'o - gn'al - tro pen - nel - lo hai tu la pal - ma.

b3 b

Aglae:

Tut - to pien di stu - po - re Fis - si at - to - ni - to il guar - do, e non fa - vel - li.

Demonio:

*Per certo dee esser questa
e risponde così l'esempio al vero,
che l'istesso rassembra in ogni parte.*

Demon:

To be sure, this must be her,
and the image matches the truth,
same for same in every detail.

Aglae:

Chi sarà questi in habito straniero?

Aglae:

Who is this man in strange clothing?

Demonio:

*Ingegnoso pennello à un finto volto
come puoi dare il moto, il senso e l'anima?*

Demon:

Oh clever paintbrush, to a feigned
countenance
how could you give such movement, feeling,
and spirit?

Aglae:

Che chiedi? Onde à me volto?

Aglae:

What is he asking? Why is he looking at me?

Demonio:

Ben d'ogn'altro pennello hai tu la palma.

Demon:

You win the palm over any other paintbrush.

Aglae:

*Tutto pien di stupore
fissi attonito il guardo, e non favelli.*

Aglae:

All filled with amazement,
he has fixed his gaze, and does not speak.

Next the demon begins to try to persuade her that Bonifatio has given up his courage, has turned back from Tarsus, and has now taken a new lover. As he does so, his music begins in the natural system, but slowly moves more and more towards the sharp system.

The demon wants to confirm to Aglae that the suspicions raised by her nurse and servant in the previous scene are indeed correct. Musically, Aglae sang about these suspicions in the sharp system, and it is to the sharp system that the demon begins to lead her back.

Example 5.5 (continued)

Demonio:

Ag - la - e, che tal tu si - a, Por - ge l'i - ma - go in - du - bi - ta - bil se - gno,

5

Que - sto d'a - mor già pe - gno Bo - ni - fa - tio hor t'in - vi - a, Me - sag - gie - ro di sde - gno.

9

Ei, che d'es - ser da te scac - cia - to à tor - to, A gran ra - gion si duo - le,

13

Que - sta ch'io ti ri - por - to Del - la tua rot - ta fe - de Trop - po in - fau - sta me - mo - ria

16

ha-ver non vuo-le. Quin-di men-tre vol-ge-vo al Te-bro i pas-si, Per-che à te la por-

b₃ b b b₃

20

tas-si, à me la die-de. Ho-mai nuo-vo de-sio nu-tre il pen-sie-ro,

b 4 3 b b₃

24

Che fat-to è già d'un'al-tra don-na a-man-te, Ti sia pur no-to il ve-ro Non più bel-la di

b₃ b b # # 6

28

te ma più co-stan-te. À lei vi-ve, à lei spi-ra e so-lo a-do-ra, I-do-lo di va-

#

32

ghes-za il suo sem-bian-te. E chi sà se pur

#

34

ho - ra Con la sua don - na fi - da Per te fat - to di gel di te si ri - da?

6 6 9 8 b3 #

*Aglæ, che tal tu sia,
porge l'imgo indubitabil segno,
questo d'amor già pegno
Bonifatio hor t'invia,
messaggero di sdegno.
Ei, che d'esser da te scacciato à torto
a gran' ragion si duole,
questa ch'io ti riporto
della tua rotta fede
troppo infausta memoria, haver non vuole.
Quindi mentre volgevo al Tebro i passi,
perche a te la portassi, à me la diede.
Homai nuovo desio nutre il pensiero,
che fatto è già d'un altra donna amante,
ti sia pur noto il vero
non più bella di te ma più costante.*

*A lei vive, à lei spira, e solo adora,
idolo di vaghezza il suo semblante.
E chi sà se pur hora
con la sua donna fida
Per te fatto di gel di te si rida?*

Aglæ, for you are she,
this image gives undoubted proof of it,
this former token of love
Bonifatio now sends to you
as a messenger of hate.
He who quite rightly complains
of having wrongly been sent away by you
does not wish this so unhappy memory
of your broken faith
that I bring back to you.
Therefore since I was returning to the Tiber,
he gave it to me to bring it to you.
Now a new desire nourishes his thoughts,
for he has already fallen in love with another,
and to tell you the truth,
not one more beautiful than you, but more
constant.
He lives for her, breathes for her, and adores
only her,
and his face is an image of delight.
And who knows whether now
with his loyal lady
he, coldhearted toward you, laughs at you?

Aglæ can hardly believe that this “messenger” is reporting to her the truth. She states that even though Bonifatio may have become “ensnared” by a new love, heaven will forgive him because of his youth. As she does so, her music avoids the sharp system and moves to the natural C tonality. But as she is not completely convinced of either Bonifatio’s fidelity or the demon’s arguments; her music ends once again with a cadence on G major in the sharp system.

Example 5.5 (continued)

Aglae:

Stra-ne co-se mi nar-ri, e cre-do à pe-na Cherot-ta u-na ca-te-na In-cau-to

6 6 # # #

5

por-gaad al-tri lac-ci il pie-de. Ma se di fos-co ve-lo Ben-da-to i lu-mi à nuo-vo A

7 6 4 3

9

mor si die-de, Ond'ha ri-vol-to al pre-ci-pi-tio i pas-si L'er-ror suo gio-ve-

6 6

13

nil per-do-ni il Cie-lo: Et ei mi-se-ro las-si, Las-si di mi-li-

b # # #

16

ta-re Sot-to l'in-se-gne di fal-la-ci scor-te Che sti-pen-dio del fal-lo è al fin la mor-te.

5 6

*Strane cose mi narri, e credo à pena
 che rotta una catena
 incauto porga ad altri lacci il piede.
 Ma se di fosco velo
 bendato i lumi à nuovo amor si diede,
 ond'ha rivolto al precipitio i passi
 l'error suo giovenil perdoni il Cielo:
 et ei misero lassi,
 lassi di militare
 sotto l'insegne di fallaci scorte
 che stipendio del fallo è al fin la morte.*

What strange things you tell me, and I can scarcely
 believe
 that having broken the chains [of love]
 his incautious foot would step in another trap.
 But if he has given himself to a new love,
 blindfolding his eyes in shadow,
 whereupon his turns his step to the precipice,
 then may heaven forgive his youthful error:
 and may he, poor thing,
 stop fighting
 under false colors,
 for in the end the price of such error is death.

The demon then begins to try a new tactic. He allows Aglae to come to the conclusion that if Bonifatio has indeed found a new lover, then he has abandoned his Christian zeal. He lets Aglae to convince herself that instead of accepting this loss, she should call Bonifatio back since he would have been fighting in Tarsus under false pretenses. This way, they could have a “pure” marriage. The sudden turn in harmonies from the sharp system to the flat and natural one tells the listener that the demon is not necessarily being truthful with Aglae.

Example 5.5 (continued)

Demonio:

Ag-la - e, se sag-gia se - i, Bo-ni-fa - tio ri - chia-ma e conpu-ri hi-me-

5

ne - i strin - ga A - mor - e e vir - tù dop - pi le - ga - mi. Die - de ad am - bi la

7 5 4 3

9

Cu - na trat - to - ne la ric - chez - za, e - gual for - tu - na: Ah non vo - ler in -

4 3 b3

13

tan - to fac - cia ric - ca al - tra Don - na il tuo tes - o - ro che si strin - ga il suo

b b b b

16

no - do, il tuo si scio - glia, E ciò che à lei si do - na à te si to - glia.

b 6/5

*Aglæ se saggia sei,
Bonifatio richiama
e con puri himenei
stringa Amore, e virtù doppi legami.
Diede ad ambi la cuna,
trattone la ricchezza equal fortuna:
Ah non voler in tanto
faccia ricca altra donna il tuo tesoro,
che si stringa il suo nodo, il tuo si scioglie,
e ciò che à lei si dona à te si toglia.*

Aglæ, if you are wise,
call Bonifatio back
and with a pure marriage
unite love and virtue in a double bond.
Give them both a cradle,
having drawn equal fortune and riches.
Ah, do not allow
him to make another lady rich with your
treasure,
for as he tightens his knot, yours is loosened,
and what he gives to her is taken from you.

However, Aglae not only remains unconvinced by the demon's arguments, but resists his suggestion that she should call Bonifatio back to her in order to save their love. She firmly states her resolution to wait one year for Bonifatio to fight in Tarsus, and then be reunited with him, just as she had in the first act of the opera. We can tell not only from Aglae's words, but also from her music that although she is resolute in her decision, she is still unsure of what actions to take since her music remains in the same flat system as the demon's last statements.

Example 5.5 (continued)

Aglae:

Quand' io tor - na - re il veg - gia Com' ei pro - mi - se al

ter - mi - nar del - l'an - no, Con - si - glio pren - der - ò di ciò ch'io deg - gia.

4 3

*Quand'io tornare il veggia
com'ei promise al terminar dell'anno,
consiglio prenderò di ciò ch'io deggia.*

When I see him return
as he promised, at the end of one year,
then I shall take counsel of what I should do.

Virgilio Mazzocchi's musical treatment of the encounters the characters have with the demon is in some ways similar to that of Stefano Landi's settings in *Sant'Alessio*, but it also differs in some important details since Bonifatio faces a different kind of temptation. In both of these operas, the composers use changes in harmonic systems to signify that the demon is

deceiving the saintly characters, and that the characters are confused or even convinced by his arguments. The setting in *Sant'Alessio* is more straightforward since Alessio immediately becomes uncomfortable with the demon's words. But in *San Bonifatio*, neither Bonifatio nor Aglae doubt some of the demon's very reasonable arguments. Unlike Alessio, Bonifatio's choice to live a saintly life was not his own, and he is unsure as to why he left to go and fight in Tarsus. The harmonic framework of Bonifatio's music tell us that he gives in to the demon's arguments more easily than Alessio did. The same is true of Aglae. Although she does, in the end, tell the demon that she will not call Bonifatio back, her music remains in the same flat system that the demon sang in. Both Bonifatio and Aglae doubt their own feelings, but at least for the moment, they do not doubt the demon's advice.

While these operas do tell us that the Devil and his servants are powerful adversaries, and the cultural references which are tied to these demons and their acts of deception show us that evil could take a number of different forms, we also see, from the dramatic actions of the characters who call on divine aid, that there is hope in overcoming them. Since the mid-sixteenth century, Catholic visionaries such as Ignatius Loyola and Theresa of Avila began writing instructive teachings about how man might best become aware of the invisible forces of evil around him, and how to understand, not just with his mind or his heart, but with all of his senses in his whole body how to perceive and thwart the plans of any evil spirit. Music, being a physical experience of the sound and sensations of the human body, also gained a special connection in these practices of understanding the hidden nature of evil, and strengthening oneself against its inevitable attacks. In both *Sant'Alessio* and *San Bonifatio*, we see techniques of musical composition coinciding with words and dramatic actions of the

characters that strongly resemble the suggestions made about understanding and resisting evil by these writers of spiritual exercises.

Ignatius Loyola's exercises also show us that even a maturing Christian—like the one who has reached some of the inner dwelling places of Teresa of Avila's *Interior Castle*, or like Saints Alessio or Bonifatio, or even Aglae in these operas—can still be confronted and tempted by the Devil and his servants. Loyola speaks many times that it was recorded in the Gospels of the New Testament that even Christ himself was tempted by Satan. In his seventh rule for the greater discernment of spirits, Loyola also outlines how the qualities of sound can be identified to better enable the Christian to discern an evil spirit from a good one:

In those who go on from good to better, the good Angel touches such soul sweetly, lightly and gently, like a drop of water which enters into a sponge; and the evil touches it sharply and with noise and disquiet, as when the drop of water falls on the stone.

And the above-said spirits touch in a contrary way those who go on from bad to worse. The reason of this is that the disposition of the soul is contrary or like to the said Angels. Because, when it is contrary, they enter perceptibly with clatter and noise; and when it is like, they enter with silence as into their own home, through the open door.⁴⁰

Loyola tells us that only a Christian who has inclined his soul towards heaven will perceive the sounds of the Angels, and that the sounds of demons will sound contrary, “with clatter and noise.” But, if that Christian is in distress, he may not notice the demon confronting him, and the demon is allowed access to their soul, their sounds being unrecognized. We can draw strong parallels between this rule for spiritual exercise and the compositional techniques of Landi and Mazzocchi in their scenes for the demons. The demon, in each of these scenes, is allowed to enter “undetected” not just because of his false costume, but also

⁴⁰ Ignatius Loyola, “The Spiritual Exercises,” in *Ignatius of Loyola: The “Spiritual Exercises” and Other Writings*, ed. and trans. George E. Ganss, Paramanda Divakar, *et. al.* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1991), 207.

by way of his music, since he arrives while each of the Christian characters is in distress. He may at times assume a musical “voice of reason” in a steady set of sonorities from the natural system which contrast with the erratic sonorities of the sharp system sung by the saints. At other times, especially in his speech with Alessio, the sonorities in his music become erratic, quickly moving between the natural and the sharp system, with distinctive dissonances heard in the vocal line. Because of the prominence of these spiritual exercises by Loyola, Teresa of Avila, and many others that were modeled after them at this time, perhaps the audience members would have recognized that the characters on stage were not only having a difficult time believing the Devil’s words simply for their semantic meaning, but also because of the *sound* that they made as he sung them. Although Bonifatio’s distress comes from his doubt of his own feelings, unlike that of Alessio, he is still a vulnerable target for the demon to deceive and confuse. Alessio, more than Bonifatio is able to hear the noise created by the demon’s speech, which prompts him to seek divine aid. This is demonstrated both by his words and, more importantly, by his music (“Mosse dalle tue note il cor vacilla,” he says). Yet we see from Bonifatio’s example that even in the times of deception, one is still physically capable of “sensing” evil. Loyola tells us that the sounds of the Angels is contrary to that of the Devil. Both Landi and Mazzocchi emphasize this idea in their music. Each time that the Angel appears, the Devil’s music quickly changes to the opposite, flat system as he flees in an act of submission, back to the Inferno for safety.

Teresa of Avila gives a similar, although more abstract and poetic view of the deception of demons and the sounds they make in her personal confessional text, *The Interior Castle*. Here, she likens the contemplative journey of the soul to the movement through a castle made up of seven interior courts. In each of these courts, demons and other evil

creatures such as poisonous reptiles lurk unseen in order to prevent the traveler from reaching the Heavenly King in the innermost court. The first, and outer, court is the darkest, since it is farthest from the center from which the light of God's truth emanates. Here, the reader must contemplate not only walking blindly in darkness, but also not having the ability to hear or speak. The person must find their way to the inner courts and avoid unseen demons and their lurking dangers by first understanding his or her own person in regard to the love of God, rather than observing that love physically. However, as the reader contemplates moving from outer courts, to the inner ones, the body gradually regains its senses, and in doing so, recognizes both the light and heavenly sounds emanating from the center court, but also the workings of the demons who stand in the way of the traveler in finding it.⁴¹

While Teresa's *Interior Castle* is instructive in a mystical, symbolic sense, one of her other important didactic writings, *The Way of Perfection*, teaches younger nuns with a more practical set of observances and regulations in order to attain holiness. Here, Teresa even speaks about the power of music to aid in resisting the unseen powers of darkness. In one chapter, she instructs the nuns to sing the prayers of the "Our Father" and the "Hail Mary" in order to defy the undetected temptations of the devil. If one is overcome with fear or temptation, her music would sound harsh and the words of their song may even appear in the wrong order.⁴²

These same types of "Spiritual Exercises" continued to be popular not just in Spain, but also in Italy and France in the mid seventeenth century, as in François de Sales's *Avis*

⁴¹ See especially *The Second Dwelling Places*, chapter 1. I am using the translation by Kieran Kavanaugh and Otilio Rodriguez in their edition of *Theresa of Avila: The Interior Castle* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1979), 48-54.

⁴² See Henry L. Carrigan, Jr., *The Way of Perfection by Teresa of Avila* (Brewster, MA: Paraclete Press, 2000), especially chapter 24, "On Vocal Prayer," and chapter 25 "On the Great Blessings of Practicing Vocal Prayer Perfectly," 103-109.

spirituels and *Meditations* which he wrote between 1610 and 1622. What is more, music became an important part of the practice of these exercises, such as those performed by Filippo Neri and his Oratorian congregation at the church of Santa Maria in Vallicella. In 1548, Neri founded the confraternity of the Most Holy Trinity (S.S. Trinità) in Rome in order to pray and to conduct spiritual exercises, as well as discuss theological issues. Music was also part of his devotional services, as he incorporated into the worship Italian sacred songs, or *laude*, known since the later Middle Ages. Spiritual exercises were conducted to assist Catholic followers in their search for spiritual direction, and the music chosen for Neri's congregation was to aid in that search. All spiritual exercises of this time, as we have seen in the examples of those of Ignatius Loyola and Theresa of Avila, depended not on an intellectual knowledge of theology, but a sensory understanding of good and evil. Music was a powerful sensory experience which accompanied these exercises. By 1575, Neri's congregation of followers who came to these services and performed the music with the spiritual exercises had grown so large, with as many as 3000 people, that Pope Gregory XIII officially recognized the group as the Congregation of the Oratorians.⁴³

It is important to remember that the operas *Sant'Alessio* and *San Bonifatio* were not written in the same manner as Jesuit missionary plays for people of newly discovered lands who were unfamiliar with the Catholic faith. Instead, one might consider these operas to be exercises in "preaching to the choir." They were performed before other high-ranking Catholic dignitaries and rulers from Catholic lands. But their didactic purpose still remains. While they do not convert, they do edify and strengthen the faith of those already faithful. It is in the representations of the demons in these operas that we can more fully recognize this

⁴³ Arnaldo Morelli, "The Chiesa Nuova in Rome around 1600: Music for the Church, Music for the Oratory," *Journal of the Society for Seventeenth Century Music* 9 (2003), <<http://www.sscm-jscm.org/jscm/v9/no1/Morelli.html>> par. 3.2, 4.1-7.

didactic purpose. The messages of these operas of piety, fortitude, and finally heavenly reward would speak loudly to visiting ambassadors from the war-torn lands of Poland and Germany who viewed both of these operas. But the deceptive powers of evil would have been recognized even in Rome, who watched from a distance in constant fear of this war, plague, and attacks by armies of heretical believers.

Most importantly, the demons are presented alongside foil characters who also have speeches to impart, not to the saint but instead to the audience members. These characters remind the audience that their help is found in divine aid, which come, first and foremost, through the Church. In the 1634 version of *Sant'Alessio* the character Religione appears and sings a strophic aria where she instructs any “wandering souls” such as Alessio that they must set their sights only on the True Faith. She repeats a line, in each of the three strophes, that these souls must not allow themselves to chase shadows, but instead follow Religion’s “vera luce” (true light). Although Prince Hans Ulrich von Eggenberg of Germany would not have seen this later version of *Sant'Alessio* which featured Religione, he would have been reminded of Religione’s message during his second visit to Rome in which he viewed *San Bonifatio* just before attending a banquet given by the Pope which featured a centerpiece butter sculpture depicting the same “Religione” with a cross in hand, similar to the one featured in the sixth engraving of the 1634 score of *Sant'Alessio*.⁴⁴ Similarly, the choruses of the Church Militant and the Church Triumphant sing of the rewards found in heaven for the saint who does not give up his battle for the faith, but instead finds freedom and joy in his mission.

⁴⁴ See Peter Rietbergen’s “Prince Eckembergh Comes to Dinner,” in his *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome, Barberini Cultural Politics* (Boston: Brill, 2006), 181-217.

Chapter Six

More Precious than Rubies? A Closer Look at Gender and Spirituality

And everyone who has left houses or brothers or sisters or father or mother, or wife, or children, or fields for my sake will receive a hundred times as much and will inherit eternal life.

– Matthew 19:29

A wife of noble character, who can find?
She is more precious than rubies.

– Proverbs 31:10

Because sainthood requires the saint to stand apart from common man, the character who acquires sainthood must remove him or herself from the responsibilities and associations of society, culture, and family. This removal has an effect not only on the saint, but also on their family, friends, and neighbors. Becoming a saint by living a pious life is no easy task. As we have seen in the previous chapters, a saint's fortitude had to withstand the temptations of the Devil as well as the threat of imminent death. But it was not only the saints of these operas who faced temptation and persecution. While the characters of Alessio, Bonifatio, and Eustachio are depicted in the Barberini operas as men who remain steadfast in times of temptation and fear of death, other female characters, namely their wives, mothers, or female companions must also face challenges of their own because of the saint's decisions. These

characters include the “Sposa” in *Sant’Alessio* and Teopiste in *Sant’Eustachio*, the “Madre” in *Sant’Alessio* and Aglae in *San Bonifatio*. What is more, not all of these operas center on male saints. Teodora and Genoina display the same constancy and resolve as their male counterparts in their eponymous operas.

Joan Scott defines gender not as a dichotomy between “male” and “female” identities of a person and their behavior, but, rather, as an integral social connection found between two propositions.¹ It is therefore a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes. Gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power. According to Scott, changes in the organization of social relationships always correspond to changes in representations of power, but the direction of change is not necessarily one way. In this chapter, I will explore how the social roles and representations of power do, and must, change for all characters in the dramas of these operas when a saint chooses to remove himself or herself from their typical gendered roles within their family and society. I will not focus specifically on which characters are “male” or “female,” but rather, what types of social relationships they are establishing through their behavior which allow them to change their representation of power. Recent studies, like those by Judith Butler, have informed scholars that the acting of gender roles is not static. Rather, this acting of roles works to define gender itself in a process of cyclical evolution.² As we study individual scenes from these operas, we will notice how the abandoning of a normative gendered role, or taking on a new gendered role, created for the Catholic society of seventeenth-century Rome a new pattern of gendered behavior on the part of a saint.

¹ Joan Scott, “Gender: a Useful Category of Historical Analysis,” *American Historical Review* 91 (1986): 1067.

² Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 25.

Sainthood was not a gendered profession. As one takes a closer look at the dramatic actions and the music of both male and female characters in all five of the Barberini sacred operas, one begins to see that beneath the misogynistic overlay of the world of seventeenth-century Rome, social boundaries are challenged by men and women alike. It is because saintly characters must separate themselves from society that all characters around them find themselves in need of new patterns of behavior. These boundaries which the characters must then cross include disobedience in action or in word, as well as in dress. Female characters in all of these operas, whether a saint or not, are given the same capacity not only to challenge the authorities of their social order, but also to receive the same spiritual enlightenment as male saints.

In Matthew 19:29 Jesus explains to his disciples that one must be willing to give up even one's own family, country and possessions for the sake of salvation by following him instead. This wandering away from one's family and taking up an ascetic life is a common trope in hagiographies of saints living in the first century onwards, but most commonly it is found in saints' lives from the Paleo-Christian era, which would include Saints Alexis, Theodora, Didimus, Boniface, and Eustace. In writing his libretti for each of these sacred operas, Giulio Rospigliosi was always aware of hagiographical literature, as well as of the dramatic representations of the previous century, the *rappresentazioni sacre*. The first sacred opera of the Barberini court, *Sant'Alessio*, reflects the tenor of Matthew 19:29 perhaps the most clearly and deliberately. Alessio, having returned home from Edessa, lives under the stairs of his own home, but cannot allow himself to be recognized by his own family members lest he give up his ascetic ways and join them once again.

Alessio's role in society has therefore been turned upside down. He cannot take responsibility for his wife and his household. Because Alessio's role has been so greatly changed, the rest of his family members, and the members of his household are also affected. As a result of his grief over the loss of his son, Eufemiano does not assume responsibility for his wife or his household either. He is shown onstage interacting with his wife, the nurse, and Alessio's wife, but he does not comfort them in their grief, and he is not present when Alessio's mother and wife decide to go to Edessa in search of Alessio. This disorder created in Alessio's household continues down to the servants, Martio and Curtio. These characters are shown eating, drinking, dancing, or wandering about the house with little care for their work. It is clear that Eufemiano and Alessio's "Madre" do not keep a careful eye on them.

In so naming his characters, Rospigliosi shows us that there is a great disparity between what the characters' ideal roles in their society were to be, and what they actually are in this drama. Unlike the female characters of Rospigliosi's other operas, "Madre" and "Sposa" are two characters that are only named according to their relationship to Alessio. One then begins to wonder why the women in the opera, although they sing and appear onstage a great deal, are not given names, whereas all of the male characters (Eufemiano, Adrasto, and even the servants Martio, and Curtio) are. Alessio's mother is named as "Aglae" in Jacob de Voragine's account of the fifth-century saint. But the majority of sacred theatrical representations of story of Saint Alexis' life written during the late sixteenth, and seventeenth century, and like Rospigliosi's text, do not give proper names for either the mother or the wife.³ Each of these women are named this way in order to demonstrate their

³ This includes two printed plays, *La rappresentazione di Santo Alexo* of 1570 (*I-Rvat* Stamp. Dramm. Allacci 305), and *La vita di S. Alessio* of 1648 (*I-Rvat* Stamp. Chigi VI 1317), and an undated seventeenth-century manuscript play belonging to the Barberini family, *La Vita di S. Alessio Confessore* (*I-Rvat* Barb. lat. 4500).

stereotypical roles in relation to their husbands and families. They do not need a specific name or a specific personality because they serve the purpose of presenting a moral dilemma in the dramatic action. The more generic they seem, the more these dilemmas are clear to audience members. This idea of wives being subject to their husbands as well as the worker being subject to their master (as is the case of the nurse) should first be understood as a biblical commission.⁴ We know by looking at contemporary writings that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this commission was upheld. First the *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* begins and ends its rules for nuptials and matrimony with quotations from Ephesians 5 and I Peter 3, which state that wives should be submissive to their husbands not only for their sake, but also for the sake of their husband's salvation.⁵

Some of the most explicit examples of beliefs about the wife's subjection to her husband held during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries can be seen in the writings of Orazio Lombardelli and Cherubino da Siena. Lombardelli wrote *Dell'uffizio della donna maritata* (*On the Duties of the Married Woman*, 1574) to instruct not only his new sixteen-year-old wife but also many others as to proper behavior and wifely duty. The ideas of subjection to the husband's leadership come across most pointedly in chapter 3, instruction 13, which states that the wife must not do or say anything without the husband's permission, unless it is clearly for the good of the family; instruction 18 adds that the wife

⁴ A number of passages discuss this matter; most often cited are Esther 1, Colossians 3:18, Titus 2, I Peter 3:1-6, I Corinthians 7:12-16, Ephesians 5:22-30, and Galatians 3:28.

⁵ *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, trans. H. J. Schroeder (Rockford, IL: Tan Books and Publishers, 1978), 181-189. Ephesians 5:22-24 states "Wives, submit to your husbands as to the Lord. ²³For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church, his body, of which he is the Savior. ²⁴Now as the church submits to Christ, so also wives should submit to their husbands in everything." I Peter 3:1 states "Wives, in the same way be submissive to your husbands so that, if any of them do not believe the word, they may be won over without words by the behavior of their wives."

must obey willingly even before the husband's command arrives.⁶ Although Cherubino da Siena's advice book *Regole della vita matrimoniale* (*Rules of Married Life*) was first printed in the latter half of the fifteenth century, it underwent hundreds of printings and translations well into the nineteenth. This treatise was also well known by Catholic priests and theologians in the seventeenth century, so much so that Rudolph Bell suspects that copies of the book were even lent out to parishioners by Catholic priests in the years following the Council of Trent.⁷ In a fashion similar to Lombardelli, Cherubino also instructs wives to be submissive to their husbands. But in the second chapter, he also outlines three ways in which wives are indebted to them. Moreover, women must fear that they may do something that may displease their husband.⁸ Cherubino then goes on to state how these things were dictated by the Apostle Paul in the Bible so that they may be done for the glory of Jesus Christ.

Under other circumstances, Alessio's mother and his wife would be expected in their society, as well as in the society of the seventeenth century, to act with submission towards the will of their husbands. But Alessio's desire for sainthood, and his resulting actions have turned the social world of this family unit upside down. He is absent from the family, and so therefore his wife and mother lack guidance. Alessio's wife and mother, in their grief, decide to go out in search for Alessio. This action would have been inappropriate both in the ancient Rome depicted in the opera as well as in the seventeenth century, as it would be

⁶ Rudolph M. Bell, *How to Do It: Guides to Good Living for Renaissance Italians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 233-234.

⁷ Bell, *How to Do It*, 35.

⁸ Cherubino da Siena, *Regole della vita matrimoniale*, ed. Francesco Zambrini and Carlo Negroni (Bologna: Commissione per i Testi di Lingua, 1969), 18-19: "figliuola mia, debbi stare sempre in paura e in gelosia di non fare alcuna cosa che dispiaccia al tuo marito, nè in fatti, nè in parole, nè in altri gesti."

assumed that the chastity of a woman travelling without a male chaperone would be in great danger. Alessio's wife and mother tell of their plans to leave to the stranger, who, unknown to them is actually Alessio. Alessio reminds them of the danger that they face in such an act of desperation. But Alessio's wife continues her frantic but determined will to leave.

Alessio then tries another tactic. This time he focuses on the importance of submission between a husband and his wife by reminding her that it would not be the will of her husband that she should leave her home.

Alessio:

*M'è noto il dolor vostro, e noto insieme
m'è lo sperar, ch'a dipartirne invita:
mà se giusto è il dolor, vana è la speme;
che forse in parte incognita e romita*

*si cela Alessio, e quanto più il cercate,
più da lui vi scostate.
E forse si cangiato è nel sembante
ch'ancor sè lo vedeste,
nol riconoscereste.*

Sposa:

*Ciò non tem'io, che dove alberga amore,
quando ciechi son gl'occhi, è Argo il core.*

Alessio:

*Gli alpestri monti, e i sassi
ritarderan sovente i molli passi.*

Madre:

*Animoso desire
dona possanza, e fà lieve il martire.*

Alessio:

Your grief is known to me, and also known
to me is the hope that prompts you to depart:
but although the pain is real, the hope is idle;
perhaps Alexis is hiding in some unknown and
solitary place,
and the more you search for him,
the further you will travel away from him.
And perhaps he is so altered in his appearance
that even if you were to see him,
you would not recognize him.

Wife:

I do not fear that, for where love resides,
though the eyes be blind, the heart is an Argus.

Alessio:

Precipitous mountains and rocks
will often slow your tender feet.

Mother:

Bold desire
gives strength and makes light of pain.

Alessio:

*Chi per lungo sentiero errar dispone
a ben mille perigli il petto espone.*

Sposa:

*A petto inerme e nudo,
la virtù rocca, e l'innocenza è scudo.*

Alessio:

*Ma pur ne vieta incognite contrade
la legge d'honestade.*

Madre:

*In ogni loco è d'honestà ricetto
un generoso petto.*

Alessio:

*Dovunque Alessio il senta, ò voi ritrovi,
mai non sarà, ch'il fuggir vostro approve.*

Alessio:

Whoever prepares to wander on a long journey
surely exposes the breast to a thousand
dangers.

Wife:

To a defenseless, naked breast
virtue is a fortress and innocence a shield.

Alessio:

But still the rule of chastity forbids
you to travel on unknown roads.

Mother:

A noble breast will be host to charity
in every place.

Saint Alessio:

Wherever Alessio may hear of this, or find
you,
it can never be that he would commend your
flight.

It is clear from the point of view of the audience (who knows that it is Alessio who is arguing with the two desperate women) that his mother and wife, throughout this dialogue, have lost their abilities to reason. Sposa's line "Though the eyes be blind, the heart is an Argus" reveals that she is, indeed, blind, but so, too, is her heart. She may feel passionately for Alessio, but it is that very passion which blinds her from recognizing him, rather than having the ability of the mythological many-eyed watchdog. This dialogue also reveals that the women have no true words of their own. After Alessio reminds them of the dangers of travelling unknown roads over rugged terrain, the women begin to exchange two-line aphorisms that seem more catechistic rather than being their own words.

By attempting to leave the household, the wife and mother are testing the limits of male authority over their actions. Because Alessio and Eufemiano are preoccupied and drawn away from the traditional responsibilities of a male in such a household, the wife and mother are able to bring about this turmoil. One would expect that one of the male characters would then react to this test of authority, and reiterate to the women that this action would not be considered acceptable. In this scene, Alessio attempts to act on his responsibility to these women by trying to persuade them not to leave. Although Alessio is successful, it is not because of his own authority over the women who stands before him; rather, he becomes a reminder of the Alessio his wife remembers.

Sposa:

*S'io lo voglio imitar, già non l'offendo:
nella scola di lui la fuga apprendo.
Mà, che parlo? Ah non sia, ch'a' suoi
desiri
per mè si contradica. Io sento, io sento,
ch'Alessio istesso, ancor ch'a mè lontano
par che mi parli al core, e che mi dica:
resta nel tuo tormento,
resta, ch'a mè non piace
il tuo partir fugace.
Dunque rimango, ah lassa,
esempio d'aspra sorte,
vilipesa consorte:
e sol per non spiaceri à te non vengo;

mà sè riman la salma,
a cercarti vien l'alma;
ond'al tremante piè manca il sostegno,
già moro per Alessio, e già dal seno
sen fugge l'alma, e il viver mio vien meno.*

Wife:

In wishing to do as he does, I can never offend him:
his own example instructs me to leave.
But what am I saying? Ah, let it never be that I
should contradict his wishes. I sense, I sense
that Alexis himself, though far away from me,
seems to speak to my heart, and that he tells me:
“stay here amid your torment,
stay, for I do not approve
your sudden flight.”
And therefore, alas, I shall remain here
as an example of fate’s malignity,
a scorned wife:
and, solely to avoid your displeasure, I shall not come
to you;
but if my body stays here,
my soul will journey to seek you;
and for this reason my unsteady foot lacks strength,
and already I am dying for Alexis’ sake, and already
my soul is fleeing from my body, and my life is
ebbing away.

The wife can “sense” Alessio’s authority still. The audience’s attention is drawn to this statement because she repeats herself: “I sense, I sense.” Alessio’s arguments have won

her over, but only so that remaining at the house in Rome she will die of longing for him. He may have authority over her body, but not her soul, which will wander to be reunited with him. In a way, the wife can have her cake and eat it too. She remains obedient to her husband's wishes, but at the same time she also separates herself from her societal role by imagining herself a type of saint as well. She does not humbly accept his wish for her to stay and mourn his loss. Instead she describes herself as a martyr who must be forced to die for Alessio since her soul is aligned to him alone.

Alessio's wife and mother can be given names according to their relationship to Alessio because they are not the protagonists of the opera. While their actions spur on the unfolding of the drama, their lives are not the focus. But in Rospiigliosi's other operas, women are called by their proper names because they too share the drama as their lives and actions are a part of the commemoration of the saint, or the female character is herself the chosen saint of the opera. Characters whose lives and actions are more closely linked to the fate of the saint-protagonist include Aglae in *San Bonifatio*, and Teopiste in *Sant'Eustachio*, who share in their husband's arrest, torment, and execution. Rospiigliosi's next sacred opera after *Sant'Alessio*, *Santi Didimo e Teodora* (1635, 1636) examines the lives of both a female and a male martyr. A woman is also the protagonist in *Genoinda*. As mentioned previously, Rospiigliosi takes great care not to call Genoinda a "saint" in his opera, since he, as a member of the Congregation of Sacred Rites, was partially responsible for the new reforms ordered by Urban VIII that only "approved" saints of the Roman church be worshipped by their followers, and not regional, local saints like Genoinda, known as "Saint Genoveffa of Brabante" in German lands and to the opera's dedicatee, Hans Ulrich von Eggenberg.

Just as Alessio's wife and mother test the limits of, but submit to, male authority in their actions in *Sant'Alessio*, so, too, does Teodora. One must remember that challenging authority, as a woman, can be done in a number of ways, some proper and others improper. Teodora's actions are foreshadowed by her foil character, Cleopatra, who appears as a tormented ghost from the underworld in the prologue of this opera. Here Cleopatra expresses her suffering that she experiences after having given in to the temptations and impure desires of a weak heart.

Ombra di Cleopatra:

*Lassa! pur troppo è vero,
che mi pungono il core i falli antichi
con stimolo pungente
e con severo dente:
son' miei gesti impudichi
a lacerarmi il sen' verme severo,
e perche più m'accori il grave eccesso
delle mie voglie impure,
delle mie fiamme oscure,
in questo luoco istesso,
ove io si molle il core
hebbi a darai d'Amore.
Hoggi nobil Donzella
sarà con vanto altero,
non so' se piu costante, ò se più bella,

di sublime honestade esempio vero.
Qui dove in mezzo all'onde
del senso lusinghiero
in tempeste profonde
con naufragio funesto andai perduta,
dall'aspra mia caduta
ella torcendo i passi,
i dolci vezzi, e le minaccie esterne

e non cura, e non teme,
e ben' saggia comprende
che ciò, ch'il mondo apprezza
con sua sembianza adulatrice, e via,
pompe, fasto, beltà, tutt'è bugia.*

Ghost of Cleopatra:

Alas! For it is too true,
that my old mistakes strike at my heart
with piercing edge
and with harsh tooth:
it is my shameful deeds
that are the cruel snake to tear my breast,
and because the grave excess
of my impure desires,
of my hidden flames,
grieves me more
in this very place,
where I one gave so soft a heart to Love.
Today a noble young woman
will have a more honorable story,
I do not know if she is more constant or
beautiful,
but of sublime chastity she is a true example.
Here, where amidst waves
of the enticing senses
in a profound tempest
I was lost in a deadly shipwreck,
from my harsh fall
she turns her steps,
and sweet blandishments and the menace
outside
she neither cares for nor fears,
and wisely she understands
that what the world prizes
with its adulatory appearance,
its pomp, splendor, and beauty, is all lies.

*Hor' mentre a lei disserra
il Cielo un' seggio eterno,
nel più profondo Averno
io cado, io cedo il campo,
e d'ira insieme, è di vergogna avvampo.*

Now while heaven prepares for her
an eternal throne,
I fall into deep Avernus,
I yield the field,
and I am overwhelmed by both anger and
shame.

Whereas Cleopatra challenged authority by her seduction of powerful men, Theodora will challenge authority by refusing the love of a powerful ruler. At the beginning of this opera, Theodora is not in the least afraid of the new edicts issued in Alexandria against Christians. She even declares her willingness to suffer for her faith before the president of Alexandria. Olibrio, a member of the court, is in love with Theodora, and begs that she be pardoned because of her youth. Theodora's family and nurse beg her to give up her faith, but Theodora refuses. In act I, scene 8, a joust is held to determine who will marry Theodora, but a messenger arrives to relate that during the joust, Theodora has gone to the temple and destroyed the images of the pagan gods. The libretto in *I-Rvat* Vat. lat. 13538 gives the following stage directions and lines for Eustratio, the president of Alexandria who is presiding over the joust, as well as the message itself:

[Il Presidente riceve un viglietto, et interrompe la battaglia]
[*The president receives a message, and interrupts the battle.*]

Eustratio:

*Tenta vano ardimento
palesar', chi prevaglia
in preggio di battaglia:
udite ciò, ch'in queste note io sento:*

Viglietto:

*"Spregianda i nostri numi
l'ostinata Theodora,
(temerario pensier' che non presumi!)
ha gettato pur'hora
idolo eccelso à terra."*

Eustratio:

It is a vain desire
to discover who prevails
by way of battle:
Listen now to what I discover in this note:

Message:

Scorning our gods,
the obstinate Theodora
(reckless thought that dares presume it)
has now thrown down
The proud idol upon the ground

Eustratio:

*Di vostre nozze indegna
 si lasci in preda à i vituperii, all'onte,
 e dal volgo schernita
 perda pria l'honestade, e poi la vita.*

Eustratio:

Leave your unworthy marriage ceremonies
 prey to the insults and mockings of the
 world,
 and scorned by all,
 let her lose first her chastity and then her life.

Theodora is also shown pushing the limits of her role as a woman. In act II, scene 2, Theodora manages to escape the brothel where she has been imprisoned by dressing herself as a man in Didimo's armor. She begins to think about the owner of this armor and how he has returned to the authorities of Alexandria to accept his punishment and death as a Christian. It is this armor that reminds Theodora, as she is fleeing Alexandria in act III, scene 2, that she is, herself a soldier for Christ. She decides to take off the disguise of Didimo's Roman arms, and to return as the soldier she truly is.

Theodora:

*Cangiate ho l'armi, e sono homai sicura
 fuor' delle patrie mura.
 Lassa me! qual'alloro
 ne conquista alla fronte il piè fugace?
 Così dunque Theodora à morte vassi?
 Senza punto aspettar' l'assalto audace,
 desti alla fuga i passi:
 passi pur'troppo erranti!
 Poi guerriera di Christo esser' ti vanti?
 Ohime fosse pur'anco
 sotto vel' d'honestade
 stimolatomì il fianco,
 o' della morte un' non inteso horrore!
 Ahì mal nato timore,
 che la palma di mano à me togliești?
 Hor' che farai Theodora?
 Chi fugge dal morir' degna è che mora.
 Timida tu cedesti,
 e in preda à fiero stuolo
 invito altri rimase inerme, e solo.
 E chi sà qual martire*

Theodora:

I have changed my arms, and I am now secure
 outside of my native walls.
 Ah me! What laurel
 crowns the brow of one who flees?
 Is this how Theodora should go to die?
 Without waiting at all for the bold assault,
 you turn your steps to flight,
 steps too much in error!
 And then you praise yourself as a warrior of Christ?
 Alas, if only
 by the flag of chastity,
 I had been moved,
 or some misunderstood horror of death!
 But is it only accursed fear
 that deprives me of the palm [of victory]?
 Now what will you do Theodora?
 Who flees from death deserves to die.
 Afraid you yield,
 and you leave others prey to the haughty crowd,
 steadfast, and alone.
 And who know what suffering

*mentre lungi ne vado, ei soffra in tanto?
Se lo trafigge il ferro, ò se già sono
suscitate le fiamme?
Onde incontri pugnando il guerrier forte
trà gl'incendij del Rogo ombre di morte,

torna, Theodora, e mostra
alma immobile, e franca:
a chi gli chiede aita, il Ciel non manca.*

he will so endure while I leave?
If they will transfix him with the sword, or whether the
flames are already lit?
So you might meet the brave warrior
fighting the shadows of death amid the flames of the
pyre,
turn, Theodora, and show
a soul that is unmoving and sincere:
for whomever calls for aid, heaven does not ignore.

Whereas Theodora pushes the boundaries of male authority in this opera by lashing out with words and violent actions, other women challenge the authority of men by behaving with reason and patience in spite of their adversaries. This is true of Aglae in *San Bonifatio* who assumes a leading role in this opera even though it is not her life or sainthood that is the focus of the plot.

As we have seen, Aglae is viewed by the audience as a “good” woman. She turns away from a life of lust and revelry with her lover Bonifatio after being visited by a character representing Penitence. This character can be seen as an allegorical being, left over from the style of drama found in morality plays of the Middle Ages. It is the actions and decisions of Aglae, and not Bonifatio, which drive the dramatic action. Aglae is converted by Penitence, and it is she who urges Bonifatio to go to Tarsus to fight for the Christian soldiers there. Aglae must also endure the nearly endless appeals for her love from Capitano Dragonivampasparaparapiglia while Bonifatio is away. While the Capitano’s pleas may not be much of a temptation to Aglae as he is more comical than alluring, the demon’s contentions that she should call Bonifatio back before he falls in love with another woman are more difficult for her to resist. In the end, it is Aglae who suffers when she must accept that Bonifatio has been tortured and killed by the Roman soldiers. She does not do so selfishly, but instead vows to honor him in death as much as she loved him in life.

Aglae:

*Et io già fatta alla tua gloria ancella
senza finir giamai
tanto t'honorarò, quanto t'amai.
Ma qui più non si tardi:
portisi il nobil pegno
là, dove il tempio altero,
che inalzerò di sua virtue ben' degno;
dell'invitto guerriero
il valor', la costanza, e la pietade,
specchio saranno alle future etade.*

Aglae:

And I, a maidservant to your glory
for all eternity,
will honor you as much as I loved you.
But let there be no more delay:
carrying the noble task
there, where I shall raise a proud temple
truly worthy of your virtue;
so that of the undefeated warrior
the valor, the constancy, and the piety
will be a mirror for future ages.

In her line “Tanto t’honorarò, quanto t’amai,” Aglae makes a reference to Tasso’s *Gerusalemme liberata*, whose story about Armida bears resemblance to that of *San Bonifatio*. Here, Rospigliosi is making a comparison to Armida’s line “Tanto t’agitarò, quanto t’amai,” (“I will harass you as much as I loved you”) as the sorceress calls out after her once captive lover Rinaldo abandons her.⁹ The audience for Rospigliosi’s opera would have known Tasso’s version of this famous line, not just from literature, but also from the 1633 opera performed at the Barberini court, *Erminia sul Giordano*, where the character of Armida also makes a brief appearance (although the character Rinaldo and this line do not appear in this version). This allusion and play on words emphasizes that Aglae is a “good” woman as opposed to the “bad” sorceress of Tasso’s epic. Without Aglae’s penitence, constancy, and devotion, Bonifatio may not have taken the road towards sainthood. Aglae does not command Bonifatio, but she serves as a gentle if stern reminder of the Christian life he ought to live. As we have seen in the previous chapter, later in the opera, when Aglae is tempted by the demon to call Bonifatio back to her out of fear that he has fallen in love with another woman, she still remains steadfast. Aglae does not react out of jealousy, but instead pities Bonifatio for leaving for Tarsus with the wrong motivations.

⁹ Torquato Tasso, *Gerusalemme liberata*, ed. and trans. Anthony M. Esolen, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 311, canto 16. 59.

Genoinda's character has a number of similarities to Aglae's in that she remains constant, even in the face of loss and temptation. Like Aglae, Genoinda watches her husband go off to a holy war, this one in the Holy Land to fight the "infidel." He leaves her in the care of one of his councilors, Gelone, who is secretly in love with her. Like Aglae, Genoinda's nurse and Gelone conspire to have Genoinda be unfaithful to her love, and to set her heart on Gelone instead. But Genoinda remains steadfast, although unlike Aglae, she must pay a heavy price. Gelone and the nurse convince Genoinda's husband, when he returns from war, that Genoinda has, in fact, been unfaithful and that she must die. Although Sifrido does decide to have his wife killed, she is instead led out into the woods and spared by Adriano, a captain of Sifrido's army.

As I have discussed in chapter 1, Genoinda's story ends differently from the other saint operas because Rospigliosi may not have wanted her to have been seen as a saint in this production in Rome, and therefore the drama lacks the elements of sacrifice and heavenly apotheosis. Genoinda does, however, face these elements to a lesser degree, on an earthly level. She lives a wretched life in the woods with her son before being discovered by her husband and having the truth finally revealed. Genoinda's drama does have a number of similarities to saint's lives. She remains constant, as a spouse as well as to God. Like many female saints, she tests authority by refusing to give in to the will of a male suitor. In this respect, her story is similar to those of saints Agatha, Agnes, and Lucy, who also do not give in to the wiles of an undesired suitor.

Genoinda's strong reaction to Gelone's declaration of affection gives a clear indication of her steadfastness and moral character as well as her willingness to act with disobedience to a male authority figure in order to preserve her virtue. In act III, scene 1,

Gelone tries to convince Genoinda that her husband, Sifrido, has died in battle. He then begins to question whether or not she could love another. But, Genoinda becomes so outraged by Gelone that she even slaps him as she tells him to leave her.

Gelone:

*Morto Sifrido, il disfogar le doglie,
da qual fé mi si toglie?
Al suo morir già la tua fiamma è spenta.*

Genoinda:

Vive la fé, ch'ogni costanza eccede.

Gelone:

Ciò, che unisce la fé, morte rallenta.

Genoinda:

Ciò, che morte allentò, stringe la fede.

Gelone:

*Hora da me si chiede,
o Genoinda, il premio al mio servire.
Vorrei veder languire
un, che struggendo vassi?
Uno, che sol per te s'affanna, e smania?*

Genoinda:

*Così dunque trapassi
dall'amore all'insania?
Pur come fussi appunto
donna del volgo a' tuoi desiri intesa?
Forse hai posto in oblio
chi sei tu? Chi son io?
Temo che sia dentro il tuo petto accesa,
per farne aspro governo,
più che face d'Amor, face d'Inferno.*

Gelone:

With Sifrido dead, and grief released,
what faithfulness remains to keep you from me?
Your flame is already extinguished at his death.

Genoinda:

My faithfulness lives, which every constancy
exceeds.

Gelone:

That which faith unites, death breaks apart.

Genoinda:

That which death loosens, faith tightens.

Gelone:

Now I ask you,
O Genoinda, for the reward for my service.
Would you want to see languishing
one who goes on suffering?
One who only for you has affection, and desire?

Genoinda:

Do you thus move from
love to insanity?
Am I really
a common woman intended for your desire?
Perhaps you have forgotten
who you are, and who I am?
I fear, that there is within your enflamed breast,
to govern it harshly,
not so much the torch of love as that of the

*Lige, Idalia, Erisilda, ove n'andaste?
Ah mal fide Donzelle!*

Gelone:

*Benché costei s'irriti,
al fine è donna imbelle. E par ch'io
tema?
Sù, sù pensieri arditì,
da forza oppresso ogni rigor si scema.
Perche sottraggi il piede?
S'io pur verrò, non ti faran sicura
dalle mie voglie impenetrabil mura.*

Genoinda:

*Sappi tu, che se crede
meco di far contrasto il tuo pensiero,
ardisce haver battaglia
con rocca di diamante un fil di paglia.*

Gelone:

*Già da ciascun lontana,
ogni repulse è vana.
Hor da te chiedo solo
di future pietà, pegno, e conforto;
deh, sia stretta la destra,
poiché il cor non è sciolto.*

Genoinda:

*Ecco la mano a risonar sul volto!
Come tanto presume!
No, che non t'amo, no, perfido, indegno,

empio, scortese, iniquo, ingrato, e rio.
Così dunque il rispetto a me dovuto
hai tu posto in oblio?*

Inferno.

Lige, Idalia, Erisilda, where have you gone?
Ah unfaithful women!

Gelone:

Even though she is irritated,
in the end, women are faint-hearted. And should
it seem that I am afraid?
Come now, ardent thoughts,
all stubbornness yields to force.
Why do you move away?
If I will follow, impenetrable walls will not make
you secure from my wishes.

Genoinda:

Know you, that if
it is your mind to oppose me,
then it is like a piece of straw seeking to do battle
against a diamantine rock.

Gelone:

Long-distance insults,
do no harm.
Now all I ask of you
is future pity, commitment, and comfort;
ah, let us at least hold hands,
even if the heart is not free.

Genoinda:

Here is my hand sounding on your face!
How much you do presume!
No, I don't love you, no, treacherous, unworthy
one,
unholy, uncivil, ungodly, ingrate, and cruel.
Have you thus forgotten
the respect due to me?

Although Genoinda asserts her power and position over Gelone as the wife of the duke, she knows that if Sifrido is dead, then Gelone's threats are real, and she is not safe. Genoinda

not only refuses to compromise her integrity, but also overtly fights against Gelone's manipulative control.

Teopiste, the wife of Saint Eustace is perhaps the best example of the way in which a woman's spiritual capabilities could be viewed as equivalent of those of a man. In act I, scene 3, an angel comes to comfort her as she has just returned to Rome from a shipwreck. She has not seen her husband or her sons for many years and believes them to be dead. The scene concludes with Teopiste singing a song of thanksgiving to God where she asks that the cross alone should be her stairway to heaven. It should be noted that Teopiste, although a woman and not a saint, receives a visit from an angel in the same way as the male saints, Alessio, Bonifatio, and Eustachio. This visitation from an angel and Teopiste's resulting song are reminiscent of the song of Mary, the mother of Jesus. Just as Mary put her faith before the possible harsh social repercussions that she would face, Teopiste also focuses on her faith and accepts that she too will face persecution and possibly even death.

More importantly, the aria Teopiste sings is reminiscent of Alessio's aria. She, too, sings to God, asking for a way to reach Him in heaven, as she is tired of her worldly life. Musically, the aria is also similar to Alessio's aria. Just as Alessio's music fluctuated between two tonal areas when depicting the difference between "heaven" and "Earth," so too does Teopiste's. Here, the aria plays with plagal versus authentic forms of a scale built on D. This way, the tonal center is obscured, at times sounding like D and at others sounding like G. The first four measures of the aria are addressed to God. These lines are set to a mixolydian mode with F naturals heard in the bass line from the very start of the piece. But at "io non chieggio," Teopiste's prayer changes, and she begins to focus on herself as the subject, instead of God.

Example 6.1: *Sant'Eustachio*, I.3

Teopiste:

Re_ del_Ciel che dal_ tu-o seg- gio_ con un guar-do il mon-do af-fre - ni

5

Io non chieg - gio io non chieg - gio di_ mi-a vi - ta i di_ se - re - ni

9

Io non chieg - gio di_ mi-a vi - ta i di_ se - re - ni i di_

13

se - re - ni Chie - de il cor più che_ la_ vo - ce Tra_ quest'_

4 3 # #

17

or - - - ri-de pro-cel - le Che la Cro-ce sia per me

#

21

sca - - - - - la al - le stel - le Che la

#5 4 3 #

25

Cro - ce sia per me sca - - - - -

29

- - - - - la al - le stel - le.

4 3

*Rè del Ciel, che dal tuo seggio,
con un guardo il mondo affreni,
io non chieggio
di mia vita i dì sereni;
chiede il cor più che la voce,
trà quest'horride procelle,
che la Croce
sia per me scala alle stelle.*

King of Heaven, who from your throne
governs the world with a glance,
I do not ask
for serene days for my life;
my heart rather than my voice asks,
amid these horrid storms,
that the Cross
may be for me a staircase to the stars.

Although Teopiste is not a saint, nor the focus of the opera, she demonstrates the same degree of faith as her male counterparts, and also fortitude in proclaiming her faith and accepting imprisonment and eventual death. As Teopiste is singing this prayer, she is discovered by Leontio, the proconsul of Rome. Here Rospigliosi makes another reference to the characters on the stage being able to hear each other singing as he says she is discovered

by her very own “notes.” He reminds her that the penalty for being a Christian is death.

But Teopiste is adamant that she will not deny her faith nor flee in fear of her punishment.

Leontio:

*Scoperta sei,
quanto ritrar' si puote
dalle tue proprie note.
Con ardito pensiero
con voglie mal'accorte
tu Christo siegui, ò Donna.*

Teopiste:

Udisti il vero.

Leontio:

Non sai, che à tal fallir pena è la morte?

Teopiste:

*Sò, che à quel, che s'affretta
di calcare il sentier, che Dio n'addita
con chiari esempi suoi, premio è la vita.*

Leontio:

You are discovered,
by what can be deduced
from your very own notes.
With burning thought
and with ill-conceived desires
you follow Christ, oh lady.

Teopiste:

You have heard the truth.

Leontio:

Do you not know that the penalty for this
failing is death?

Teopiste:

I know that to one who hastens
to tread the path that God shows us
with his clear examples, the reward is life.

The idea that men and women could have the same spiritual capabilities was not a concept new to the seventeenth century. In Matthew 22:23–33, Jesus is questioned by the Sadducees about how men and women are to be married in heaven. Much to their surprise, Jesus answers that in heaven there will be no marriage, but instead men and women “will be like the angels.”¹⁰ Similarly, Paul instructs the members of the church of Galatia that:

You are all sons of God through faith in Christ Jesus, for all of you who were baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus.¹¹

¹⁰ Matthew 22:30.

¹¹ Galatians 3:26-28.

Early monastics and saints wrote that both men and women should strive achieve holiness, and that both would be rewarded in heaven. For example, the fifth-century monastic and hagiographer Theodoret of Antioch (393-466) wrote in his *Historia religiosa*:

From the time when Christ the Master honored virginity by being born of a virgin, nature has sprouted meadows of virginity and offered these fragrant and unfading flowers to the Creator, not separating virtue into male and female, nor dividing philosophy into two categories. For the difference is one of bodies, not of souls.¹²

In demonstrating that there was no difference in the souls of holy men and women, and therefore that the body could be overcome by the pious soul, Theodoret included in his hagiography accounts of saints of both sexes who assumed great bodily achievements. It would seem natural that he and other hagiographers would give accounts of male saints who were “athletes” or “warriors” for their faith in that they remained steadfast in the face of sexual temptation, the extremes of desert climates to which they retreated, and the attacks of demons. These descriptions closely fit those of the characters of Saints Alessio, Bonifatio, Didimo, and Eustachio. But, in a way, these same “virile” capabilities can also be ascribed to the actions of Aglae, Theodora, and Teopiste. Conversely, however, Theodoret also included descriptions of male saints who assumed female roles and behaviors.

It is difficult to judge the “virility” of the male and female characters in these operas who, like many saints, take a vow of virginity or chastity at the time of their Christian conversion. Hagiographers describe these saints as possessing a different virility than the one established through procreation and provision for their offspring. They are therefore still virile, although chaste. Sexual desire was a sign of manhood, but in the case of most hagiographies of male saints, sexuality was also a threat to manhood. These hagiographies of

¹² Quoted from Christian C. Craun, “Matronly Monks: Theodoret of Cyrrhus’ Sexual Imagery in the *Historia religiosa*,” in *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Patricia H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 52.

chaste saints tell us that “real men” are not dominated by sexual desire, but, instead, by their convictions: they overcome it.¹³ Theodoret found yet another way to still ascribe virility to male saints despite their chastity. In doing so, he ascribes female attributes to these men who then take on characteristics of a being who is all at once both male and female. He describes in his *Historia religiosa* male ascetic saints who referred to themselves, and not the corporate body of the church (as described by Paul in 2 Corinthians 11:1-4 and Ephesians 5:21-23 or John in Revelation 21) as the “bride” of Christ.¹⁴ What is more, when Theodoret describes the intimate prayers of these men to Jesus, they are feminine in nature in that they resemble the cries of a woman during sexual intercourse, after which Theodoret turns his discussions of their ascetic bodies as “seed bearers” of faith which incubate and grow the means of faith for others.¹⁵

Female spirituality was emphasized by the writings of another early Christian writer, one who was even more familiar to seventeenth-century Italians: St. Jerome. Beginning in 1565, Paolo Manuzio, founder of the Vatican press, began to publish letters of St. Jerome which were directed at a female audience.¹⁶ In his letters, Jerome advocated virginity or, in the case of married women, chastity, as the preferred state of being. This way, women could focus more of their attention on God rather than children and their husband or other secular concerns. Jerome also advocated that women be educated and learned in holy scripture.

¹³ For a more in-depth discussion of masculinity and clerics, see Jacqueline Murray, “Masculinizing Religious Life: Sexual Prowess, the Battle for Chastity and Monastic Identity,” in *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Cullum and Lewis, 24-40.

¹⁴ Craun, “Matronly Monks,” 49.

¹⁵ Craun, “Matronly Monks,” 50-51.

¹⁶ Francesco Barberi, *Paolo Manuzio e la stamperia del popolo romano (1561-1570)* (Rome: Gela Editrice, 1986), 111-117.

Jerome gave many examples of “holy” women in the early Christian church and described architectural projects which were paid for by Roman matrons including hospitals, convents, monasteries, and churches. Roman women of the sixteenth and seventeenth century were so inspired by these early examples that they too, rather than remarry, remained widows and became patrons of similar projects.¹⁷

Virility through chastity is a central theme in the hagiographical literature of the middle ages and the Renaissance. Female saints were described to have these same “virile” virtues of chastity as the men described by hagiographers like Theodoret. They were studied by early modern moralists and in each case, a changing or mirroring of the opposite gender occurs in order for this power of chastity to be bestowed on the saint. One example is found in Pietro Calanna’s *Philosophia seniorum sacerdotia et platonica* published in Palermo in 1599.¹⁸ Here, the early modern woman, in her virginity, is able to instruct the man in the “cult” of love which she can sense through her ability to transcend the limits of the world, including the limits of her physical body. Similarly, André du Chesne’s *Figures mystiques du riche et précieux cabinet des dames* published in Paris in 1605 instructs lovers to mirror themselves in the other’s soul. “To die to oneself” du Chesne states, “is to live again in another.”¹⁹ This mirroring, and the equal treatment of both male and female saints in these

¹⁷ See Carolyn Valone, “Roman Matrons as Patrons: Various Views of the Cloister Wall,” in *The Crannied Wall: Women, Religion, and the Arts in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Craig Monson (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 49-72 as well as her “Piety and Patronage: Women and the Early Jesuits,” in *Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy*, ed. E. Ann Matter and Joan Coakley (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 157-184.

¹⁸ Ian Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman: a Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 22.

¹⁹ Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman*, 22.

treatises, suggests that female virtue, in the seventeenth century, was not always viewed as something below that of a male.

Much hagiographical literature from the Middle Ages which described female and male saints alike was beginning to become known only during the Barberini's rise to power. As stated previously, Cardinal Francesco Barberini most likely chose saints who were representative of the Eastern Orthodox faith in order to promote his desire to unite the two churches. It was through the work of Leone Allaci, Francesco Barberini's librarian and diplomat, that the stories of many early saints were collected. One collection of these stories was written by Symeon the Logothete, also known as Symeon Metaphrastes, who was commissioned in the late tenth century by Emperor Constantine VII to gather lives of saints.²⁰ Here in this collection, we find not only the story of the Theodora from the Barberini opera, but many others like it about women, who, in order to preserve their chastity or to repent of their sexual sin and achieve sanctity, must dress as men. These stories include different versions of this same Theodora of Alexandria, as well as Euphrosyne of Alexandria, Pelagia the Penitent, Matrona of Constantinople, and Eugenia. We know that Allaci was studying the stories of Symeon Metaphrastes at this time in order to publish his edition of them in Paris in 1664, the *De Symeonum scriptis*. It may well have been Allaci who suggested the story of Theodora to Rospigliosi as a possible libretto for an opera.

Similarly, female saints were also shown to have physical capabilities normally ascribed to men. They too braved the harsh conditions of remote wilderness as the "desert Mothers" of early Christianity. In some instances, female saints were so strong in facing their ascetic, desert life and the temptations of the Devil that their fortitude inspired a male

²⁰ Claudia Rapp, "Figures of Female Sanctity: Byzantine Edifying Manuscripts and their Audience," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (1996): 315.

ascetic to push himself to greater endeavor by observing them.²¹ Some saints, including Judith who slayed her captor Holofernes, are given attributes of warriors. The figure of Judith as a warrior-saint is particularly important to the Barberini family and their dramatic productions. A production entitled *Giuditta* by Andrea Salvadori was given in Florence in honor of Francesco Barberini who brought with him his legate, Giulio Rospigliosi.²² Also, during act II, scene 2 of the opera *Genoinda*, Genoinda passes the time with her ladies-in-waiting with songs and stories about Judith, while unaware of Gelone's evil plans. The story of Judith is important to the opera's plot in that it shows that in the end Genoinda will prevail because of her fortitude given that Judith overcomes her male captor, although with the violent force which Genoinda lacks. It may be revealing also to consider that this opera for the male Barberini court only "pretends" to act out the story of Judith as a play-within-a-play to demonstrate that Genoinda will prevail, although not in a violent way, whereas the story of Judith was performed previously in Florence. Genoinda's lack of violence as opposed to Judith's bloody murder of Holofernes may have been chosen because the opera was originally performed for a female audience: Rospigliosi or the Barberini family members may have felt that the subject matter was inappropriate for women to watch. The lack of a violent female character in the Barberini operas may also have been because of the male patron of the Barberini operas as opposed to a female ruler who was the patron for the works performed in Florence. Kelley Harness suggests that this performance of Salvadori's

²¹ See Susanna Elm, *Virgins of God: the Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

²² Margaret Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court, 1631-1668* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 3. For a more in-depth discussion of the figure of Judith as well as the opera which Francesco Barberini attended, see Kelley Harness, *Echoes of Women's Voices: Music, Art, and Female patronage in Early Modern Florence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 62-110.

Giuditta was intended as a reflection of the female rulers in Florence during the first half of the seventeenth century, and was representative of their power.²³

To a lesser degree, the cardinals and those of the priesthood who attended these operas also exhibited characteristics of a “sexless” being much like the early saints described by Theodoret of Antioch. They remained chaste (at least, in principle) as the church dictated that they could not marry. In this respect, the societal order of the clergy was also turned upside down. The reigning Pope saw himself as most regents would, and sought to provide a legacy for his family. But, unlike secular regents, he could not bestow power or wealth he had acquired upon a son. Instead, the Pope would choose a nephew to become a high-ranking cardinal, or cardinal *nipote*, who would act as an intermediary between the Pope and his family.²⁴ But even a cardinal could not have the same role in society as a man in the secular world. The roles of women extended far beyond the production of children, and since it was forbidden for the cardinal to marry, the women in his extended family’s household took on new roles.

These women, who were also an important part of the Barberini household, did make up a portion of the audiences who attended these operas. Countless *avvisi* for all of the Barberini productions tell us that women, their husbands, and their families would attend separate performances of the operas where members of the clergy were not invited.²⁵ But one woman in the Barberini household during the reign of Urban VIII took on an especially important role, that of the hostess. The hostess participated in the important diplomatic

²³ Harness, *Echoes of Women’s Voices*, 111-113.

²⁴ John Beldon Scott, *Images of Nepotism: the Painted Ceilings of the Palazzo Barberini* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 5-7.

²⁵ Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*. See appendixes A through K for transcriptions of these *avvisi*, 221-434.

business of the family and in their relationships with other families in Rome and elsewhere.²⁶ Whereas wives fulfilled the role of hospitality for secular businessmen, members of the clergy found it necessary to enlist close relatives. The female relative in the house of member of the clergy served both as hostess and as diplomat. This obligation first fell to Costanza Magalotti, who married Urban VIII's brother Carlo Barberini in 1595. After becoming Pope in 1623, Urban VIII urged Costanza to use the term "Eccellenza" and to hold court for the Barberini family.²⁷ Her role as a "social coordinator" for the family was so important that even at the time of her husband's death in 1630, the Pope denied her petition to enter a convent.²⁸ Instead, Costanza was able to retire at home at the palace, and her daughter-in-law, Anna Colonna, assumed her responsibilities after she married Taddeo Barberini in 1627. Cardinals like Francesco and Antonio Barberini, because of their role as clergy, also called on the wives of the important men in whatever province they were visiting.

Because sainthood required a complete abandonment of worldly ideals, saints often found the social order of their world and their relationships with each other turned upside down. In the Barberini operas, one finds a lack of misogyny that would normally be expected of a seventeenth-century world where women either within the church or of the secular world were kept indoors and separate from the society of men. Female characters in the Barberini saint operas are shown to have the same spiritual capabilities as men. Male saints had to find new expressions of power or authority. Similarly, female saints in these

²⁶ Patricia Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces: the Use and Art of the Plan* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990), 27.

²⁷ Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces*, 27. I would like to note that "Eccellenza" was a very high title, that was not yet taken even by cardinals until 1634.

²⁸ Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces*, 27.

operas are depicted as having behaviors which would seem out of the ordinary for women either in early Roman times or in the seventeenth century. Because of an emphasis on virginity or chastity, male saints found new ways to prove themselves “virile” despite their strict adherence to vows of chastity. Through hagiographies up to the seventeenth century, saints also were seen as a type of “third being” which was neither male nor female. In order to depict this type of being, hagiographers described saints with characteristics or behaviors of both sexes, or one sex that mirrors the other. Saints like those shown in the operas for the Barberini court would often push the limits of proper behavior for their gender. Seventeenth-century medicinal writings tell us that thinkers of this time viewed men and women as the same in body, with the exception of the placement of the genitals. The cardinals who commissioned these operas themselves also, in taking vows of chastity, found their social order turned around in that they had to find new ways to preserve wealth and power amidst family lines as well as create social networks among other wealthy or powerful families in Rome and elsewhere.

Conclusion

Many scholars of seventeenth-century opera accept the ideal that musical-dramatic entertainments were meant to teach as much as to delight their audiences, but there remains a vast amount of research on early opera to be done to examine exactly what was being taught, and more importantly, the manner in which it was delivered. In this light, an early opera may be viewed as not only a staged, dramatic and musical entity, but also, as a type of propaganda. In the case of Roman operas based on sacred subjects, the messages being taught are of religious, political, or cultural significance. Pope Urban VIII of the Barberini family sought to reunite all believers of the Catholic faith. In choosing the storylines for all of the operas about the lives of male saints, the Barberinis and Giulio Rospigliosi did not look to Romans, but instead to those who had returned there after living in the East, and thus bridged the first split in the “universal” church. Other operas, including *Santi Didimo e Teodora*, and *Genoinda* portrayed female characters whose acts of heroic bravery served as similar examples as those male saints chosen as protagonists of the other operas.

Members of the Barberini family sponsored a number of operas which utilized grandiose scenery and special effects. Audiences were delighted with a view of the mouth of hell, pyrotechnics, and actors representing the virtues descending upon a cloud. These special effects not only helped create the illusion for the audience members that the mystical events of the lives of the saints were appearing on stage, but also stood as an image of the

Barberini's power, grandeur, and wealth. These operas might have been viewed as more than just dramatic entertainments, but also in the same light as sacred rituals since they contained many elements similar to the *Quarant'hore* service which was popular in Rome at this time.

Within each of these operas, ideas of slavery, tyranny, freedom, and the Church are tied together not just to provide dramatic tension. In fact, these ideas are also linked to the seventeenth-century idea of the genre of tragedy and its aim to edify. In his treatise *Rinovazione dell'antica e primiera tragedia* (1633), Tarquinio Galuzzi argues that it is important to portray tragedies about the lives of holy men and women since the original aim of ancient tragedy was to move the audience to pity and terror when presented with the horrors of tyranny and enslavement. A dramatic representation in this serious genre therefore would aim to move audience members to compassion in order to turn back to their faith and their God in order to resist the tyranny of a heretic church or government that might overtake them.

Each of the Barberini saint operas also portray both male and female saints who exemplify nearly incomprehensible acts of courage and steadfast faith. But within two of these operas, *Sant'Alessio* and *San Bonifatio*, we find demonic characters who deceive the saintly protagonists; such characters not only further the dramatic plot by creating a means to "test" the saint in temptation before he can gain heavenly glory, but also draw the audience into an experience of fear of the unseen world that would encourage them to find their strength in the Church, her leaders, and her doctrines amidst the uncertainties of war, plague, and religious reformation.

It has long been known from Barberini records that women were barred from performing in all of their operas. What is more, they were allowed to attend only select performances. It is easy to read a chauvinist attitude towards women into the culture of this period, no less than in the male-dominated power structure of the Catholic Church itself, but I would argue that if scholars see this chauvinism and turn away, we miss a special opportunity to view the unique spiritual abilities understood at this time to have been held by women. Female characters in the Barberini saint operas are depicted as having the same spiritual capabilities as men in both their words and their music. One can find similar examples in treatises and popular spiritual writings published and directed towards female readership in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.

On the evening of 23 February 1632, as the shining faces of the Church Triumphant sang their final choruses in *Sant'Alessio's* apotheosis, Jean-Jacques Bouchard looked around him. The music that each of these saintly characters had sung that evening was meant to reverberate within his soul and those of the other audience members who sat in such close proximity. Propaganda for the Barberini's great hopes of a unified Church was seen, heard, and felt in a wash of colors and temperaments. The Western world was changing. Here in this room he had heard voices of those saints whose lives were so pious it was nearly impossible to re-enact their steadfastness. Rome, for a time, was spared and sheltered from the war and the plague which they feared encircled them. But soon, the last notes of the music would die out. The great princes of the North would return to their homes and watch their cities burn. But men and women alike could have faith, as did Alexis, Boniface, Didimus, Teodora, and Eustace. They could try to hold their heads high and strive to imitate their bravery...or remember at least a few notes of their music.

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