

LOUISE K. STEIN



THE MARQUÉS,
THE DIVAS,
AND THE CASTRATI

GASPAR DE HARO Y GUZMÁN
AND OPERA IN THE EARLY MODERN SPANISH ORBIT

The Marqués, the Divas, and the Castrati



Frontispiece 1 [Feliciano de Almeida?], *Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán, marqués del Carpio* (1668), MTCE017846, © Museo del Traje, Madrid. This portrait was painted in Lisbon, almost certainly in February or early March 1668 by the Portuguese royal portraitist Feliciano de Almeida at the conclusion of the Treaty of Lisbon for which Carpio served as the Spanish crown's representative. Carpio is depicted elegantly in Spanish colors with an elaborate red and gold sash over his military garb. The maritime approach to Lisbon includes a depiction of the Torre de São Vicente or Torre de Belém where Carpio spent years as a prisoner of war.

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The two most beloved people in my world have unfailingly encouraged me and traveled with me in pursuit of the Marqués del Carpio's operatic legacy. With love and deepest gratitude for countless brilliant ideas, sharp musicality, endless patience, sustenance of every kind, and buoyant enthusiasm, I dedicate this book to Gary and Julius—the best family anyone ever had.

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A Note about the Musical Examples

The musical examples in Chapters 1 and 5 from Juan Hidalgo's Madrid opera *Celos aun del aire matan* are extracted from *Juan Hidalgo: Celos aun de aire matan, Fiesta cantada (Opera in Three Acts) with Text by Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, edited by Louise K. Stein, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era 187 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2014). Used with kind permission. www.areditions.com. The musical examples in Chapters 2 and 4 are transcribed from the manuscript sources noted in their captions. The musical examples from *La púrpura de la rosa* (Lima, 1701) are extracted from Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco

and Juan Hidalgo, *La púrpura de la rosa, fiesta cantada, ópera en un acto*, edited by Louise K. Stein (Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 1999). Used with kind permission. I am deeply grateful to Julius Stein-Supanich for his precise work correcting the electronic drafts, and to Dr. Alexander Dean for his kind patience, superb suggestions, sharp ears, and expert creation of camera-ready copy for the examples.

List of Abbreviations

Libraries and archives are indicated by their RISM sigla (Répertoire Internationale des Sources Musicales).

Musical pitches are designated by letter names and register by octave in the Helmholtz system, from C to c''''.

Sartori followed by a number refers to the libretto listing in Claudio Sartori, *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800: catalogo analitico con 16 indici*. 7 volumes. Cuneo: Bertola & Locatelli, 1990–94.

Quotations transcribed from manuscript documents have been lightly modernized for clarity. Quotations from printed sources and transcriptions quoted from secondary sources have not been modernized.

S	soprano
SC	soprano castrato
A	alto
AC	alto castrato
MSC	mezzo-soprano castrato
T	tenor
B	bass
attrib.	attributed to
ded.	Dedication
fol.	Folio
fols.	folios
MS	manuscript

The Marqués, the Divas, and the Castrati



Frontispiece 2 *Gaspar de Haro e Gusman viceré di Napoli. Impossibile e possibile* (1683–87), F-Psg, EST 92q RES P. 82. © Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris.

Introduction: An Extraordinary Patron

“Impossibile è possibile,” the impossible becomes possible. This epigraph on an anonymous engraved portrait of Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán (1629–87) likely refers to the economic and political reforms he effected as viceroy of densely populated and seemingly ungovernable Naples, 1683–87. But the motto could well describe his extraordinary life and accomplishments as a theatrical producer across political and geographical borders from Madrid to Rome to Naples in a less studied but crucially prolific age for opera. Carpio, as he has usually been referred to by scholars, was among the most distinguished of Spanish aristocrats, with hereditary titles as fifth Marquis de Heliche, seventh Marquis del Carpio, second Duke of Montoro, third Count of Morente, and fifth Count of Olivares. He inherited wealth, a huge and excellent library, a supremely valuable archive, and a substantial art collection from his father, but his sensitivity, dedication, and personal charm well surpassed those of his illustrious forebears. By all accounts he was an exceptionally energetic promotor of the arts, endowed with voracious curiosity and a sharp aesthetic sense from a young age. He became the “foremost private collector” of paintings in Europe in his time, if only for the quantity of paintings he possessed.¹ When his collections were assessed posthumously in 1687, they contained at least 3,000 works, 1,200 in his Spanish palaces and some 1,800 more in Naples.²

Carpio lived an extraordinary life as aristocratic producer, collector, patron, conspirator, soldier, prisoner, courtier, diplomat, ruler, lover, husband, and father. His social and political status were such that King Charles II of England went so far as to intervene in 1664 to request his release from the Portuguese prison where he languished as a valuable prisoner of war.³ Though many aspects of his biography have fascinated scholars, Carpio left behind no personal or

¹ Marcus Burke, “A Golden Age of Collecting,” in *Collections of Paintings in Madrid 1601–1755*, ed. Marcus B. Burke and Peter Cherry (Los Angeles: Provenance Index of the Getty Information Institute, 1997), 1:157; José Luis Colomer, “Pautas del coleccionismo artístico nobiliario en el siglo XVII,” in *Modelos de vida en la España del Siglo de Oro*, ed. Ignacio Arellano and Marc Vitse (Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2004), 1:123–58 (in particular 131–33).

² Burke, “A Golden Age of Collecting,” 157.

³ Carpio directly petitioned King Charles II, his secretary Henry Bennet, and the Lord Chancellor for help on his own behalf, while the English ambassador in Madrid also sent letters to the Portuguese in 1664. See Richard Fanshawe, *Original Letters of His Excellency Sir Richard Fanshawe, during His Embassies in Spain and Portugal* (London: A. Roper, 1702), 17, 26–27, 234–37, 239.

family archive and only a fragmented correspondence. Historians of books and visual art have scrutinized the inventories of his collections made prior to each relocation of his household and following his death. Beyond collecting art and antiquities, he was a patron of contemporary artists (Diego Velázquez, Carlo Maratta, and Luca Giordano were among those he supported), attempted to establish a Spanish academy of painters in Rome, and sponsored an academy for women painters in Naples. Scholars of visual culture have the luxury of experiencing firsthand the exquisite paintings, drawings, and other objects he commissioned or collected because so many of them are displayed in major public and private museums. His collection included Diego Velázquez' stunning *The Toilet of Venus* or *La Venus del espejo* (London, National Gallery, also known as the "Rokeby Venus"), the sole surviving seventeenth-century Spanish female nude, for example.

Carpio's transformative engagement with musical theater stands out because he supported or produced more than one species of opera in both court and commercial theaters in multiple loci of production. He made Hispanic operas possible in Madrid, organizing two fully-sung opera productions without any prior firsthand exposure to the genre. In Rome he outdid his political rivals, producing a hugely successful outdoor serenata in Piazza di Spagna with famous soloists, the orchestra of Arcangelo Corelli, and startling visual effects—apparently, Rome's first such large-scale public serenata. He went on to produce an erotic Spanish musical play in the Spanish embassy after hiring carpenters to move the stage and interior of the Teatro Capranica into Palazzo di Spagna. He drew composer Alessandro Scarlatti and architect Philipp Schor away from esteemed Roman patrons, installing them in Naples as the principal artisans for his opera productions. He spent lavishly, renovated the system of production in Naples, extended the capability of the stage in the public theater, and raised the standard of performance. Making the impossible possible, he cleaned the smudges from Naples' tarnished reputation as an opera center so that the city would finally become amenable to top singers. A cadre of operatic castrati were given salaried positions in the royal chapel, while other singers and musicians ventured south from Rome once they were guaranteed improved conditions. Opening the doors of the Palazzo Reale in Naples for the start of his highly original 1683–84 season, Carpio literally inaugurated a new operatic age there. Productions of considerable beauty with daring effects and virtuoso singers attracted overflowing audiences to both the palace premieres and subsequent public runs at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo. Attendance at the viceroy's productions became an important feature of social life for the nobility as well as the middle class. Carpio's gallant attention to the *damas* assured that their attendance at the public theater would be safe and socially desirable.

Because no single repository of documents or musical scores can be mined to illuminate Carpio's motivations, relationships, and accomplishments, this book brings forth material salvaged from a long list of impossibly tattered sources. Of the operas that Carpio produced, only the Hispanic operas *Celos aun del aire matan* (Madrid 1660) and *La púrpura de la rosa* (Lima 1701) are broadly accessible in modern editions and arrangements (and both have been brought to the modern stage internationally). In contrast, most of what survives from Carpio's Italian productions awaits attention in a mute array of manuscript scores and aria collections.

Carpio destroyed some of his papers while still others were scattered during his travels or dispersed after his death. Letters and musical manuscripts were surely lost in one or another fire or disaster—a fire in the Spanish embassy in Rome; the 1734 fire that destroyed the royal Alcázar in Madrid and its musical collections; the 1755 Lisbon earthquake that took with it the royal Portuguese library and music collections of João IV and João V; earthquakes in Mexico and Peru, notably the Lima earthquakes of 1678, 1687, and 1746; the bombing of Naples in WWII and the vengeful 1943 blaze set in the Naples Archivio di Stato by the departing Nazi forces; loss of secular music and archival material during the revolutionary epoch in the Americas; and the fire that destroyed the National Library of Peru in 1943. Because only the slimmest autobiographical reflection concerning music or theater has been uncovered thus far, any writing about Carpio's behind-the-scenes activity relies to a great extent on what others thought of him. Thankfully, he was a charismatic personality who consistently attracted attention from competitors, enemies, admirers, chroniclers, supplicants, superiors, gossips, and writers of *avvisi*.

This book is the first to elucidate Carpio's excellence and importance within the history of opera in the Spanish orbit. Navigating across geographical, political, and linguistic borders, it follows him, reporting what can be known about his productions, recovering their music whenever possible, and evaluating his as-yet-unrecognized legacy to colonial America. The uneven proportions among the chapters result from the different problems posed by the circumstances, historiography, available documentation, and state of the musical sources for each locus of production. Though Carpio was the patron who most clearly understood Alessandro Scarlatti, for example, this composer's music from Carpio's Rome and Naples years has previously received scant attention. The unexpectedly grateful harvest of newly identified extant music from the Naples productions has greatly expanded this book, such that Chapter 4 is particularly long and detailed.

Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán first took charge of music-theatrical productions as a young man at the Spanish court during the years in which his father, Luis Méndez de Haro (1598–1661), was King Philip IV's *valido* and placed the organization of all kinds of royal entertainments in his son's hands. Producing expensive

shows (*comedias* with music, the first zarzuelas, the first Spanish semi-operas, and two immensely important Spanish operas), Heliche (as he was known before 1661) quickly gained a reputation as a daring, innovative, and demanding producer. Only one small opera, *La selva sin amor* (1627), had been heard at the Spanish court previously.⁴ Produced by Tuscan diplomats within their deliberate political strategy, it featured brilliant stage effects and machines whose quality far exceeded that of the music. This was an inauspicious beginning for Spanish opera.⁵ Once Heliche took charge in the years 1650–62, he arranged for professionally performed, partly-sung entertainments to delight and encourage Philip IV's very young second wife, Mariana de Austria. These shows were absolutely formative for distinctive Spanish conventions, the most definitive being the separation of divine and mortal discourse. Most important, they demonstrate how lyrical song was exploited as an artifice for erotic stimulation.

The two Spanish operas that Heliche produced in 1659–61, *La púrpura de la rosa* and *Celos aun del aire matan* (poetry by Pedro Calderón de la Barca and music by Juan Hidalgo de Polanco), were designed as natively Spanish artistic creations. Both were politically significant within the commemoration of the Peace of the Pyrenees and marriage of the Infanta María Teresa to Louis XIV (as explained in Chapter 1). But to mount two fully-sung operas in Spanish within Madrid's busy theatrical culture where the usual offerings were spoken plays firmly anchored in histrionic verisimilitude was, again, to create the possible

⁴ This first Spanish operatic experiment, *La selva sin amor*, was a short pastoral eclogue with poetry by Lope de Vega. It was performed just twice for the royal family and courtiers in December 1627 and failed to ignite an interest in either fully-sung opera or Italianate music at the Spanish court, though Cosimo Lotti's inventive staging was admired. Lotti (1571–1643) had been sent from the Medici court, arriving in Madrid in March 1627.

⁵ The opera was staged in a dismountable theater in the *salón grande* (later called the *salón dorado*) of the Alcázar palace. The libretto's versification suggests that Lope de Vega emulated the Florentine pastoral libretti that circulated in printed editions. The Bolognese lute and theorbo player Filippo Piccinini was invited to compose the music (no music has been recovered) but was unfamiliar with recitative, so Bernardo Monanni, an amateur musician within the delegation, composed the two longest scenes. Lope reported that the king was enthusiastic about the all-sung performance. On Lotti's staging and the reports of the Tuscan embassy, see especially Shirley B. Whitaker, "Florentine Opera Comes to Spain: Lope de Vega's *La selva sin amor*," *Journal of Hispanic Philology* 9 (1984): 43–66; an additional unpublished description of the performance sent by Giovanni Battista Pamphili, then the apostolic nuncio to Philip IV, dated Madrid, 23 December 1627, and discovered by Salvador Salort-Pons, is V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Spagna 67, fol. 400; see "'Recitar Cantando' How the Florentines Brought Modern Opera to Spain (1627)," *The Medici Archive Project*, October 2002, <https://web.archive.org/web/20060115204558/http://www.medici.org/news/dom/dom102002.html>. See also Louise K. Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods: Music and Theatre in Seventeenth-Century Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 191–205; Louise K. Stein, "Opera and the Spanish Political Agenda," *Acta Musicologica* 63 (1991): 125–27. Carmen Sanz Ayán, "El discurso festejante de dos cortes en guerra. Las representaciones palaciegas en Madrid y Barcelona durante la Guerra de Sucesión," *Pedralbes* 33 (2013): 229–64 has explained (231), "Fue en realidad una parte, la más llamativa, de toda una serie de actos representativos de los florentinos al servicio de una estrategia global de presencia y amistad en las relaciones con la monarquía hispánica. Los representantes del gran duque de Toscana, con su ingeniero de bandera Cosme Lotti a la cabeza, quisieron seducir con sonos italianos y estilo recitativo, los oídos y la voluntad de un Felipe IV."

from the impossible. In these Spanish operas, actress-singers performed as both male and female characters (though the comic *gracioso* was typically a low-voiced male). Lyrical song is voiced almost exclusively by young female voices and strikingly associated with desire and erotic engagement. In producing these operas, Carpio overcame the difficulty of casting fully-sung opera in a male-dominated society that considered it undignified or even emasculating for a man to perform a fully-sung serious role onstage. Inventing the expedient of all-female casts whose actress-singers performed characters of both genders from the Ovidian myths made Spanish opera possible. Revival performances in Madrid and elsewhere also marked dynastic marriages or alliances and were similarly cast in this fashion. At courts under the Spanish crown, serious musical theater was designed to entertain an elite audience while accomplishing valuable cultural and political work within the politics of monarchy. As the following chapters elucidate, the epithalamic politics of Carpio's Spanish productions established a durable association between opera and dynastic survival that would condition the politics of opera production in the Spanish orbit for many decades.

Carpio arrived in Rome as Spanish ambassador to the Holy See at a crucial but difficult moment for opera during the papacy of Innocent XI. The closing decades of the seventeenth century witnessed the growth of the opera business in Italy, sparked in part by both societal change and a constant demand for operatic novelty, with the consolidation of essential performance conventions and musical forms. Despite excellent exceptions, scholars generally have not paid as much attention to this period as they have to the earlier part of the seventeenth century and the opera business in cities farther north. Much of the tremendously important operatic output of Alessandro Scarlatti, the most prolifically influential aria composer for decades before and just after 1700, remains all but inaccessible to musicians, for example.

Scholars of seventeenth-century opera have been gradually peeling aside layers of generalization to learn more precisely how patrons, composers, singers, stage architects, producers, and theater managers interacted. Certainly, opera productions were subject to the preferences and resources of patrons, but because opera engaged early modern societies in myriad ways and was dependent on multiple patterns of influence—with often less-than-transparent financial arrangements—opera production in this period prompts a reconsideration of traditional assumptions about patronage and models of production. The fact that opera (in Spanish and in Italian) was produced in the Spanish territories within a focused understanding of its political significance raises a number of challenges to the more familiar history of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century opera outside the Spanish orbit: how and where operas traveled, how the genre was adapted, how operatic conventions and stagecraft developed, how the surviving

operas might be understood, and why Spaniards in positions of power invested in such an expensive, elaborately musical, and admittedly foreign genre.

Spanish governors and viceroys produced opera in Spanish and in Italian in Naples and Milan, in other Spanish zones in Italy, and in colonial cities such as Lima and Mexico, drawing on some combination of money from the crown with personal funds (the precise sources of funding are one topic of current exploration). Spanish producers, patrons, and their diverse publics, together with the composers and singers they supported in Madrid, Rome, Naples, Lima, and Mexico, have heretofore received minimal scholarly attention. Surprisingly, through an epoch of societal and political shifts, pivotal moments in the history of opera and related genres across the Spanish dominions illuminate a consistent politics of production, originally subject to and conditioned by Carpio's imagination, personal inclinations, and politics.

Carpio was the first to shape opera production in both Spain and Italy, and his dual legacy reached the Americas within and beyond his lifetime. In Chapter 1, the music, performers, gender implications, conventions, and social-political importance of the two Spanish operas of 1659–61 are explained. Not long after these opera productions, while he was preparing other musical plays, the marquis was brought low by the machinations of his enemies. He was accused and tried for plotting to blow up the Coliseo theater at the Buen Retiro palace, the very theater whose renovation he had closely supervised and where the opera productions took place. He endured exile and years as a prisoner of war in Lisbon, negotiated a peace treaty on behalf of Spain, and was permitted to return to Madrid briefly. His undeniable talent and ingenuity were acknowledged, but the regent, Queen Mariana of Austria, feared his power and flamboyant personality. After delaying his departure for years, Carpio was forced finally to accept his new assignment and travel to Rome as Spanish ambassador to the Holy See.

Carpio's first experience of Italian opera took place in Venice during carnival 1677. Once in Rome, his new position and elegant deportment won him acceptance within the circle of opera's advocates; in the Rome of Queen Cristina of Sweden and the intolerant Innocent XI, he became a protagonist with an appreciation for Italian music and musicians. In Chapter 2, I explain how this Spaniard, fascinated by Rome and its antiquities but often in conflict with papal authority, became an early patron of rising Italian musicians including Scarlatti. His Roman productions were designed to project his preeminence as Spanish ambassador and further the cause of the Spanish monarchy but earned his reputation as a generous friend to musicians.

Carpio departed Rome to take up his position as Viceroy of Naples in early January 1683. Though Naples had known opera first in 1649 during the tenure of Viceroy Count of Oñate, the Spanish viceroys who preceded Carpio did not universally value or support the genre. The fortunes of opera during the reigns

of earlier viceroys and the documentary evidence concerning opera in Naples before 1683 are explored in Chapter 3 to provide a background against which Carpio's extraordinary work as an opera-producing viceroy in 1683–87 may be evaluated. Chapter 4 is devoted to Carpio's renovation of the production system in Naples and the four opera seasons preceding his death in November 1687. Carpio made the business of opera possible in Naples by putting together a superb artistic production team, recruiting first-rate singers, and boldly assigning operatic castrati to salaried positions in the royal chapel for the first time. By setting a high standard for opera production and promoting the integration of opera into public life in Naples, Carpio laid the foundation for the city's future brilliance as an operatic center. The idea that opera's political purpose was to encourage and support dynastic survival (a crucial justification for fully-sung opera years earlier in Madrid) also shaped Carpio's Naples productions to some extent, as did his gallant respect for women. But the persistent force of this concept across time and space becomes starkly evident in the earliest opera productions of the Americas. Chapter 5 is devoted to the sources, music, motivation for, and nature of the first operas produced in Lima and Mexico City, 1701–28. Carpio's almost mythical status as a producer of fully-sung and partly-sung theatricals in the Spanish orbit was well known to his peers, including a slightly younger generation of aristocrats who served the crown in the American vicerealties. The Count of Mondlova in Lima offers one example; Carpio's nephew and successor as viceroy in Naples, Luis Francesco de la Cerda, offers another. Tracing the performance history and music of the first opera of the Americas, *La púrpura de la rosa*, prompts the realization that opera might not have reached the Americas when it did, had it not been for Carpio's paradigmatic example and clear, consistent politics.

Whatever his policies, any seventeenth-century opera producer would be doomed to failure without capable theaters, excellent composers, talented stage architects and scene painters, and, most of all, fabulous singers. Throughout my research, every attempt has been made to understand the mechanisms and qualities of each production. Leaving general theories of patronage aside, a principal objective has been to understand practical matters—just what was the marquis' role and how were individual opera productions and performances put together under his supervision? Whenever possible, I have tried to explore the contribution of singers to the operatic enterprise. Carpio was an unconventional patron whose activity in different cities and in different theatrical cultures brought his ideas and the influence of taste into the careers of more than one type of singer. In Madrid, he recruited and supervised the work of young actress-singers with predominantly light, untrained voices. They learned their roles by rote; this is reflected in the musical sources and in the way that the music designed for them draws from the tradition of the *romance*. Carpio's intervention considerably

enhanced the professional lives and status of these low-born women. He seems to have treated them well, despite his early reputation as a libertine. In Rome and Naples, on the other hand, the singers he heard and eventually contracted brought a very different sound and array of abilities to the operatic enterprise. These were highly trained Italian castrati and *prime donne* whose approach to performance and expectation regarding professional conduct and compensation were very different. Carpio's support for female singers in Naples seems consistent with his parallel reputation for gallantry toward noble women and interest in the work of female painters. Note in Chapter 4 that the prima donna Giulia Francesca Zuffi returned to Naples at the start of Carpio's first season, sang the especially feminine role of Psiche, and appeared in all of his subsequent productions. It might be that Zuffi's way of singing especially pleased Carpio and she in turn valued his protection. Perhaps one aspect of Carpio's success as a producer was his talent for assigning just the right singers to the diverse roles in the operas he had chosen to produce (admittedly, there is little evidence about the extent to which the composers or theater managers in his employ weighed into casting decisions). Witness the deployment of two very different castrati, Giovanni Francesco Grossi and Paolo Pompeo Besci, in the Naples operas. The Marquis del Carpio delighted audiences with his productions and was indeed a friend to musicians. Though the sound of his *divas* and *divos* seems irretrievably lost, perhaps the musical examples provided in this book might at least stimulate new performances that echo their voices and revive his extraordinary legacy.

Inventing Hispanic Opera: Opera as Epithalamium

The first successful producer of Spanish-language opera, Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán (Figure 1.1) was born into wealth, privilege, and a politically powerful family whose interest in music was unremarkable.¹ He was known by his title

¹ In addition to the manuscript biographies sketched during his life or shortly thereafter, an early printed biography is included in Joseph Antonio Álvarez y Baena, *Hijos de Madrid* (Madrid, 1789–91), 2:298–301. A number of Italian sources were considered for the first time in Maria Elena Ghelli, “Il viceré Marchese del Carpio (1683–1687),” *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane* 58 (1933): 280–318; 59 (1934): 257–82. Among musicological studies, see Thomas E. Griffin, “Nuove fonti per la storia della musica a Napoli durante il regno del marchese del Carpio (1683–1687),” *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 16 (1981): 207–28; Stein, “Opera and the Spanish Political Agenda,” 126–67; Stein, “De la contera del mundo,” 79–94; Louise K. Stein, “Three Paintings, a Double Lyre, Opera, and Eliche’s Venus: Velázquez and Music at the Royal Court in Madrid,” in *Cambridge Companion to Diego Velázquez*, ed. Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 170–93, 226–35; Louise K. Stein, “Una música de noche, que llaman aquí serenata: Spanish patrons and the serenata in Rome and Naples,” in *La Serenata tra Seicento e Settecento*, 2 vols., ed. Gaetano Pitarresi and Nicolò Maccavino (Reggio di Calabria: Laruffa Editore/Conservatorio di Musica Francesco Cilea, Istituto Superiore di Studi Musicali, 2007), 333–72; Stein, “Opera and the Spanish Family,” 223–43; María Asunción Flórez Asensio, “El marqués de Liche: Alcaide del Buen Retiro y ‘Superintendente’ de los Festejos Reales,” *Anales de historia del arte* 20 (2010): 145–82; Louise K. Stein, “Para restaurar el nombre que han perdido estas Comedias, The Marquis del Carpio, Alessandro Scarlatti, and Opera Revision in Naples,” in *Fiesta y ceremonia en la corte virreinal de Nápoles (siglos XVI y XVII)*, ed. José-Luis Colomer, Giuseppe Galasso, and José Vicente Quirante (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2013), 415–46; Louise K. Stein, “A Viceroy behind the Scenes: Opera, Production, Politics, and Financing in 1680s Naples,” in *Structures of Feeling in Seventeenth-Century Cultural Expression*, ed. Susan McClary (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 209–49; Agostino Ziino, “Alessandro Scarlatti ‘Proveditor di chiesa,’ il marchese del Carpio e l’Arciconfraternita di Santa Maria Odigitria dei Siciliani,” in *Devozione e Passione: Alessandro Scarlatti nella Napoli e Roma barocca*, ed. Luca Della Libera and Paologiovanni Maione (Naples: Turchini Edizione, 2014), 211–23; Louise K. Stein, “Three Spaniards Meet Italian Opera in the Age of Spanish Imperialism,” in *Passaggio in Italia: Music on the Grand Tour in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Margaret Murata and Dinko Fabris (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 231–47; and Louise K. Stein “¿Escuchando a Calderón? Arias y Cantantes en *L’Aldimiro* y *La Psiche* de Alessandro Scarlatti,” in *La Comedia Nueva Spagnola e le scene italiane nel seicento: trame, drammaturgie, contesti a confronto*, ed. Fausta Antonucci and Anna Tedesco (Florence: Olschki, 2016), 199–219. Spanish documents concerning the early years and the library were introduced in Gregorio de Andrés, *El marqués de Liche, bibliófilo y coleccionista de arte* (Madrid: Artes Gráficas Municipales, 1975); close biographical work and study of the library have been contributed by Felipe Vidales del Castillo, “La biblioteca del VII marqués del Carpio, embajador de Carlos II en Roma, durante sus años en Italia (1677–1687),” in *En tierra de confluencias Italia y la Monarquía de España: siglos XVI–XVIII*, ed. Cristina Bravo Lozano and Roberto Quirós Rosado (Valencia: Albatros Ediciones, 2013), 213–26; Felipe Vidales del Castillo, “Una biblioteca escrita. Proyección intelectual del VII marqués del Carpio a través del primer inventario conocido de sus libros,” in *Culturas del escrito en el mundo occidental del Renacimiento a la contemporaneidad*, ed. Antonio Castillo Gómez (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez,



Figure 1.1 *Retrato de Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán* (1683), MS/7526, fol. 1r, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid.

2015), 212–28; the exhaustive Felipe Vidales del Castillo, “El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras” (PhD diss., Universidad Complutense Madrid, 2016); and Felipe Vidales del Castillo, “Dando forma a un valido. La estrategia de don Luis de Haro para la consolidación del marqués de Heliche,” in *Hijos e hijas de validos: familia, género y política en la España del siglo XVII*, ed. Rafael Valladares Ramírez (Valencia: Albatros, 2018), 199–225. An invaluable study of the atlas is Rocío Sánchez Rubio e Isabel Testón Nuñez, ed., *Imágenes de un imperio perdido. El atlas del Marqués de Heliche* (Badajoz: 4 Gatos, 2004). Most scholarly attention has been dedicated to the collections of art and antiquities, including Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque*, rev. ed. (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1980), 190–92; Beatrice Cacciotti, “La collezione del VII Marchese del Carpio tra Roma e Madrid,” *Bolletino d’Arte* 86–87 (1994): 133–96; Fernando Checa Cremades, “El Marqués del Carpio (1629–1687) y la pintura veneciana del Renacimiento. Negociaciones de Antonio Saurer,” *Anales de Historia del Arte* 14 (2004): 193–212; Leticia M. de Frutos Sastre, “El arte de la posibilidad: Carpio y el coleccionismo de pintura en Venecia,” *Reales Sitios* 162 (2004): 54–71; Alessandra Anselmi, “Il VII Marchese del Carpio

as Marquis de Heliche (also Liche, Eliche, Licce; in this chapter “Heliche”) before he inherited the title of Marquis del Carpio in 1661 after his father’s death. His father, Luis Méndez de Haro (1598–1661), married to Catalina Fernández de Córdoba, was the *valido* or first minister to King Philip IV after the spectacular fall of Heliche’s grand-uncle, Gaspar de Guzmán, Count-Duke of Olivares.² Luis de Haro played a decisive role in European politics, especially as principal representative of the Spanish crown in the negotiations toward the Peace of the Pyrenees and the Spanish-French marriage. Known to be quiet and discreet, with a cool head suited to difficult negotiations, he carefully shaped his son’s education with a view to the young man’s advancement at court, while recognizing Gaspar’s passionate, energetic, impetuous, and decisive character. Heliche’s education initially prepared him to become his father’s successor.³ But his career did not advance through the portals usually associated with masculine accomplishment and power (toward an advantageous military command, for example). Instead, his appointments moved him into close emotional and physical proximity to the king and the royal family. He first served as companion to his contemporary, Prince Baltasar Carlos, who died of an illness in 1646 at the

da Roma a Napoli,” *Paragone Arte* 71 (2007): 80–109; Alessandra Anselmi, “Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán VII Marchese del Carpio: ‘Confieso que debo al arte la Magestad con que hoy triumpho,’” *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 15 (2007): 187–253; and Giulia Fusconi, “Il ‘buen gusto romano’ dei Viceré: la ricezione dell’effimero barocco a Napoli negli anni del Marchese del Carpio (1683–1687) e del Conte di Santisteban (1688–1696),” in *Le Dessin Napolitain*, ed. Francesco Solinas and Sebastian Schütze (Rome: De Luca, 2010), 209–20. Many studies consider Heliche’s collections, beginning with the excellent Rosa López Torrijos, “Coleccionismo en la época de Velázquez: El marqués de Heliche,” in *Velázquez y el arte de su tiempo* (Madrid: Alpuerto, 1991), 27–36; Burke and Cherry, *Collections of Paintings in Madrid*; Fernando Marías, “Don Gaspar de Haro, marqués del Carpio, coleccionista de dibujos,” in *Arte y Diplomacia de la Monarquía Hispánica en el siglo XVII*, ed. José Luis Colomer (Madrid: Fernando Villaverde, 2003), 209–19; Jorge Fernández-Santos Ortiz-Iribas, “Un lote de pinturas de la colección del Marqués del Carpio adjudicadas al Duque de Tursi,” *Reales Sitios* 155 (2003): 42–47; María Jesús Muñoz González, “La Capilla Real del Alcázar y un altar de pórfido,” *Reales Sitios* 164 (2005): 50–69; and María López-Fanjul y Díez del Corral, “A Game of Drawing Fame: Sebastiano Baldini and his Gifts to the Marqués del Carpio,” in *Collecting Prints and Drawings*, ed. Andrea M. Gáldy and Sylvia Heudecker (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018), 19–36. Leticia M. de Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama: alegoría del marqués del Carpio* (Madrid: Fundación Arte Hispánico, 2009) provides an art-historical documentary biography, uneven in its assessments; the marquis’ collections, politics, and politics of collecting are thoughtfully considered in Jorge Fernández-Santos Ortiz-Iribas, “The Politics of Art or the Art of Politics? The Marquis del Carpio in Rome and Naples (1677–1687),” in *The Spanish Presence in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, ed. Piers Baker-Bates, Miles Pattenden, et al. (Burlington: Ashgate, 2015), 199–227; Jorge Fernández-Santos Ortiz-Iribas, “No minorar la memoria de mis pasados.’ Apuntes para una biografía política de Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán, marqués del Carpio,” *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna* 45 (2020): 689–715; and Giulia Fusconi, Jorge Fernández-Santos Ortiz-Iribas, and Brigitte Kuhn-Forte, “New Insights into the ‘Carpio Album’ (SAL MS 879): Commissioning, Authorship and Cultural Agenda,” *The Antiquarian Journal* 101 (2021): 333–68.

² Concerning Luis de Haro, see the invaluable Alistair Malcolm, *Royal Favouritism and the Governing Elite of the Spanish Monarchy, 1640–1665* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

³ Vidales del Castillo, “Dando forma a un *valido*,” 199–225, explains how Heliche’s education was designed to prepare him to follow in the footsteps of his forebears.

age of sixteen. Just as Philip IV trusted Luis de Haro because they had “grown up together,” so Gaspar formed a close and beneficial relationship with Baltasar Carlos.⁴ The relationship prospered thanks to Heliche’s ability to demonstrate compassion and affection—the terms “cariño” and “profundo sentimiento” surface in the documents about this relationship.⁵ The king found Heliche to be the ideal companion for the prince, so he might well have become the prince’s *valido*, had the child lived to succeed his father.⁶ Following the sudden death of the prince, Heliche’s service was rewarded with the prerogatives of Caballero de la Orden de Alcántara on 21 November 1646; he was recognized from that date forward as Marquis de Heliche.⁷ Philip IV long remembered Heliche’s kindness to the young prince and the reciprocal affection the prince showed the marquis.⁸

Even after the death of the prince, Heliche was entrusted with duties both familial and intimate, responsibilities whose success depended upon personal energy, organizational talent, and capacity for empathy.⁹ His accumulated court appointments placed him ever closer to the person of the monarch. He served in place of his father as Montero Mayor, Royal Huntsman, in charge of the king’s hunting parties beginning at age fourteen in 1643. The outdoor exercise provided

⁴ John H. Elliott, “Prólogo,” in *Imágenes de un imperio perdido. El atlas del Marqués de Heliche* (Badajoz: Presidencia de la Junta de Extremadura, 2004), 16, describes how, by age twenty, Heliche was already in advantageous close proximity to the royal family; see also Malcolm, *Royal Favouritism*, 58–59, and Vidales del Castillo, “Dando forma a un *valido*,” 199–225.

⁵ See “Vida de don Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán, Marqués de Heliche” in “Obras varias en prosa y verso,” E-Mn, MS 17691, fols. 86–146: “Y aunque de corta edad, halló la senda de conservarse en su cariño, con tal arte, que jamas motivó desconfianza al Rey, ni Zelos a su Padre” (88v–89); “Continuó el Marqués en la asistencia del Príncipe afianzándole cada día mas en su gracia, las frequentes demostraciones de cariño, pues las materias mas reservadas que ocultava su Pecho, las fiava a la prudencia, y recato del Marqués, el qual, solo procuró merecer todo a su amo, con una cuidadosa puntualidad en su asistencia, privándose por no faltar a ella, aun de los divertimientos que correspondian al número de sus años, Por que devió al Rey incomparable estimación” (90v–91v); “no havia sujeto mas proporcionado en todo para andar al lado de su hijo que el Marqués” (91v); “Es de ponderar, que en los cortos años del Marqués, reynase tan profundo sentimiento, como se le reconoció en aquella sazón, y mucho tiempo después” (92v).

⁶ Vidales del Castillo, “El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras,” explains Heliche’s education and proximity to the prince; see especially 56–57, 73, 82.

⁷ E-Mh, MS 9–88.

⁸ “Fue muy favorecido del Príncipe Baltasar Carlos en sus tiernos años y este favor fue con suma aprobación de su padre, Felipe IV,” according to the unsigned biography probably written by Juan Vélez de León, E-Mn, MS 18722/56, fol. 204.

⁹ Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán was made Caballero de la Orden de Alcántara on 21 November 1646, and recognized from that date with the title Marquis de Heliche [E-Mh, MS 9–88]; on 28 December 1648 he was sworn in as *Gentilhombre de Cámara* [E-Mpa, Expedientes Personales, Ca 496/43]; on 23 January 1654, he became Montero Mayor [E-Mpa, Expedientes Personales, Ca 496/43]; from 27 September 1642, he served in place of his father as *Alcaide* of the Pardo palace; subsequently, 6 December 1648, he was assigned the Buen Retiro palace as well [E-Mpa, Expedientes Personales, Ca 668/2]. His father reaffirmed Gaspar’s governance of the Buen Retiro in August 1654 [E-Mh, MS 9–1075, fol. 21]. After his father’s death, the king removed Gaspar from the governance of the Buen Retiro but affirmed him as *alcaide* of the Pardo and Zarzuela palaces, “con su sitio y bosque, a pesar de pertecener a la Alcaydía del Buen Retiro, de que es propietario el Duque de S. Lucar” [7 and 13 January 1662; E-Mpa, Expedientes Personales, Ca 496/43].

by these expeditions was absolutely necessary for the king's physical health and virility, and thus deemed essential to the well-being of the entire monarchy.¹⁰ From 27 September 1642, Heliche substituted for his father as governor or *alcaide* of the Pardo palace; on 6 December 1648, he became *alcaide* of the Buen Retiro palace as well.¹¹ On 28 December 1648 he was sworn in as *Gentilhombre de Cámara* (Gentleman of the King's Chamber). In 1650 his proximity to the king increased when he was elevated to *Gentilhombre de Cámara* "con ejercicio," with privileges exceeding those of other gentlemen of the chamber, including other *grandees*.¹² Heliche's position as *Montero Mayor* was affirmed on 23 January 1654.¹³ His father reaffirmed his governance of the Buen Retiro in August of that year.¹⁴ Given his son's quick success as a theatrical producer, Luis de Haro fully shifted the responsibilities and privileges of the Buen Retiro, Pardo, and Zarzuela palaces onto his shoulders.¹⁵ Philip IV formally assigned Heliche the *alcaldía* of the Buen Retiro in September 1658, "in place of" his father, whom the king described as burdened with "constant and serious responsibilities in my service."¹⁶ In 1659, when Luis de Haro was curating from afar the arrangements for the reception of the French ambassador, Antoine Gramont (who would request the hand of infanta María Teresa on behalf of Louis XIV), Philip IV himself suggested that Heliche should be chosen as the courtier who would officially greet and escort Gramont into the king's presence.¹⁷ But after his father's death in 1661, the king removed Gaspar from the governance of the Buen Retiro, while affirming his responsibility for the Pardo and Zarzuela palaces, "con su sitio y bosque, a pesar de pertecener a la Alcaydía del Buen Retiro, de que es propietario el Duque de San Lucar."¹⁸

¹⁰ Vidales del Castillo, "El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras," notes that he could not accompany the king initially because he did not yet wear a sword; María José del Río Barredo, *Madrid, Urbs Regia: la capital ceremonial de la monarquía católica* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2000), 148–56, explains the importance of outdoor "juegos caballerescos" during the reign of Philip IV.

¹¹ E-Mpa, Expedientes Personales, Ca 668/2, Don Luis Méndez de Haro; Haro reinforced this assignment again in 1654; see E-Mh, MS 9-1075, fol. 21, Madrid, August 1654.

¹² Vidales del Castillo, "El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras," 83–84.

¹³ E-Mpa, Expedientes Personales, Ca 496/43.

¹⁴ E-Mh, MS 9-1075, fol. 21.

¹⁵ Gabriel Maura y Gamazo, *Carlos II y su corte* (Madrid: Librería de F. Beltrán, 1915), 2:200–1, notes that these positions provided close proximity to the king in informal settings:

"El Alcaide de los sitios reales era, además de empresario de grandes fiestas palatinas, el servidor de más fácil y frecuente acceso al Monarca en excursiones cinegéticas, salidas en coche y meriendas campestres; oportunidades propicias a la expansión y al afecto, como no los actos de Corte a que presidía hierático el protocolo."

¹⁶ Copy in E-Mh, Colección Salazar, tomo 25, K-14, fol. 14v, quoted by Sánchez Rubio and Testón Nuñez, *Imágenes de un imperio perdido. El atlas del Marqués de Heliche*, 25.

¹⁷ Luis de Haro rejected this idea, according to Bertrand Haan, "Diplomatic Stagecraft at the Court of Spain: The 1659 Reception for Louis XIV's Ambassador Antoine Gramont" in *Ambassadors in Golden-Age Madrid. The Court of Philip IV through Foreign Eyes*, ed. Jorge Fernández-Santos and José Luis Colomer (Madrid: CEEH, 2020), 146–71 (154).

¹⁸ E-Mpa, Expedientes Personales, Ca 496/43, 7 and 13 January 1662.

Material Traces of an Interest in Music

Little or nothing is known about Heliche's musical education, though his relevant formation in several other disciplines was superior, even for a man of high privilege.¹⁹ For example, early scientific training with mathematics and military construction at the Casa de la Contratación in Seville (1645–46) provided a grounding in engineering that became useful when he supervised stage architects and the construction of stage machines.²⁰ But Heliche's busy activity as a producer of new genres of musical theater and opera in the years 1650–62 in Madrid strongly suggests a musical inclination, though he is not described as a participant in private evenings of chamber music. Nevertheless, some musical items are listed in the inventories of his enormous library—standard printed works such as *Dimostrazioni harmoniche* (Venice, 1571) of Gioseffo Zarlino, the *Musurgia Universalis* (Rome, 1650) by Athanasius Kircher, and *Flores de musica* (Lisbon, 1620), a printed collection of music for keyboard instruments and harp by the Portuguese organist Manuel Rodrigues Coelho. A shipping list of items he sent to Spain from Naples in January 1687 includes liturgical books (“misales, letanías, libros de himnos”) as well as other unspecified manuscript scores and pages of music (“otras composiciones and cartas de música”).²¹ It might be that he collected the music of the many plays and operas he produced in Madrid, Rome, and Naples. Upon his death, at least part of his library in Naples went to his nephew, the opera-loving Luis Francisco de la Cerda y Aragón, who divided it with Francisco de Benavides y Dávila, Count of Santisteban (Carpio's successor as viceroy).²²

A rubricked but undated list of musical instruments found in the “bóveda oscura” of the royal Alcázar palace specifies that some were chosen by Heliche (“Lo elegido por el Marqués de Liche”), but it may be that he simply had access to them for his service to the crown: a harp, six viols (“biolones”), a lute with its case, two small portable organs, eight old recorders (“flautas viejas”), one broken tin sackbutt, three cornetti, five bajones, another large bajón with its case, and another smaller one. These instruments were kept in a large old chest in the Alcázar, and many were in poor condition (“quebrados y maltratados”). A second chest claimed or chosen by Heliche contained six more bajones, another cornetto, and four books of music.

¹⁹ Vidales del Castillo, “El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras,” 54–79.

²⁰ Vidales del Castillo, “El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras,” 68–77.

²¹ E-E, IV-&-25, fol. 29v, Vidales del Castillo, “El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras,” 1004–5; a later shipping list included in E-Mca, Caja 221-2, doc. 2, lists liturgical books including chant books, noted in Vidales del Castillo, “El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras,” 594.

²² E-Mca, Caja 215-1, Juan de Moreda letter to Señora Marquesa del Carpio, 19 March 1688: “La librería la parten entre el Marqués de Cogolludo y el Virrey por haverse ajustado los dos en esta forma.” On the dispersion of Carpio's books in Italy, see Vidales del Castillo, “El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras,” 593–96.

Presumably, Heliche gathered these instruments for use in the performances he organized and supervised.²³

Heliche's own collections, inventoried in 1651 and 1682, focused especially on art and antiquities but also included musical instruments, as do the posthumous inventories made in Naples in 1687–89. These documents do not include the instruments typically owned by enthusiastic amateurs of his social class (lutes, viols, guitars). Wind instruments are ever-present. Heliche may have played tenor and bass recorders himself, but these, along with many other loud instruments (cornetti, bajones, sacabuches, chirimías, and a pífano) were more likely played by servant musicians for ceremonial purposes and during outdoor banquets and entertainments. During his last years in Madrid, Heliche organized summer aquatic festivals or *naumachiae* on the lake known as the “*estanque*” in the park of the Buen Retiro. For these royal entertainments, slave musicians were costumed and trained to play wind instruments.²⁴ Of course, the hunting horns (“*cornetas de montería*”) and their amplifier (“*bozina de marfil*”) would have served Heliche himself in his position as the king's chief huntsman.²⁵ In

²³ E-Mpa, Sección Administrativa, Casa, Oficios de la Real Casa, Leg. 879, undated document (c. 1650–60), “Instrumentos de Música que se hallaron en la dicha bóveda oscura.” I am grateful to Luis Robledo for sharing this document with me.

²⁴ In his letter of 4 July 1657 (*Avisos*, 2:90), Barrionuevo mentioned the “*moros músicos*” who performed on boats in the *estanque*. In 1670, Tomás Gallo, player of bass viol and violón in the Real Capilla, requested overdue payment from the crown because he had not been reimbursed ten years earlier when Heliche had ordered him to gather “*cantidad*” of wind instruments, including “*bajones grandes y chicos, sacabuches, corneta y chirimías*” for the teaching of the “*moros que entonces estaban en el Buen Retiro.*” The memorial of 14 April 1670 indicates that Gallo had purchased the instruments; the consulta of 19 April 1670 notes that Gallo “*de orden del Marqués de Liche juntó algunos Ynstrumentos para la enseñanza de los esclavos que había en el Real Retiro ha diez años.*” E-SIM, Tribunal Mayor de Cuentas, leg. 3766, records payment ordered by Heliche in 1661 for a uniform for Juan de Dios “*un esclavillo de música*”; another entry dated 23 August 1661 records payment to a tailor who provided uniforms “*para los esclavos que sirven en las galeras en que se embarcan Sus Magestades en el estanque grande del Buen Retiro (23 August 1661).*” On 24 December 1661, D. Vicente de Borja, Tesorero de la Cassa y Sitio del Buen Retiro, recorded payment “*al Licenciado Xptoal Galán, maestro de la música de los esclavillos xptianos que sirven a Su Magestad en las Galeras y embarcaciones del Buen Retiro, desde 1 Diciembre 1660 hasta fin de Diciembre 1661.*” See E-Mpa, Real Capilla, Caja 123, documents dated 15 March, 14 April, and 19 April 1670. I am grateful to Luis Robledo for reminding me of our long-ago work with these Capilla Real documents. Concerning earlier aquatic spectacles on the *estanque*, see David Sánchez Cano, “*Naumachiae at the Buen Retiro in Madrid,*” in *Waterborne Pageants and Festivities in the Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J. R. Mulryne*, ed. Margaret Shewring (London: Routledge, 2013), 313–28.

²⁵ E-Mahp, Protocolo 9819, fol. 974, a posthumous notarized inventory taken in Madrid on 22 October 1689 before an auction, lists “*Ynstrumentos de Música,*” with valuations assigned by Melchor Rodríguez, “*maestro de instrumentos de la Capilla Real de Su Magestad*”; it includes 1 “*cornetilla de metal sobre dorada,*” 3 “*cornettas mutas,*” 1 “*bajoncillo en quarta,*” 2 flautas “*de tenor,*” 1 cornetilla “*tercera arriba,*” 3 “*flauttones bajos,*” 1 “*estorlotte [sic?] que es tono de bajón con su caxa,*” 1 “*flauttón de tenor,*” 2 “*cornetas de montería,*” 1 “*bajón con gauzas con su contera y dos gauzas de plata de filigrana y cerquillo arriba de la boca,*” 2 “*bajones de tres llaves y a uno le faltan las 2 llaves de delante,*” 1 “*bozina de marfil,*” 2 “*chirimías de tenor guarnecidas de filigrana de plata dorada con su zerquillo arriba y abaxo y las abrazaderas de los gauzas,*” 2 “*chirimías de tiple, la una con zerquillo de plata arriba y abaxo y la otra llana,*” and “*un pífano en dos piezas son su caxa.*” E-Mca, Caja 221-2, fol. 10–10v, enumerates a shorter list of instruments found at Carpio's residence on the edge of Madrid

Italy he owned more than one harpsichord. Whether played by Heliche or by professional musicians including Alessandro Scarlatti, harpsichords would have been useful for private concerts as well as consultations and rehearsals with the composers and singers he supported (see Chapters 2 and 4).²⁶

Heliche's Temperament

Heliche was famous, even notorious, for his unabashedly passionate, vehement, and sensitive character—unusual in a culture that valued masculine restraint and emotional control as the true marks of nobility. Displays of choler were subject to royal censure. Volatility was discouraged, such that Heliche and the Almirante de Castilla found themselves briefly exiled from the court in 1649, even after they quickly healed a dispute.²⁷ Heliche's extraordinary sensitivity was recognized sometimes to his advantage—it had contributed to his undeniable success as the companion to Baltasar Carlos before 1646, enhanced

known as the Jardín de San Joaquín: “un estorlote que es tono de bajón con su caja 200 reales”; “Una Corneta de Montería en 30 reales”; “Una cornetilla de tercera arriba en 33 reales”; “Una bozina de marfil en 150”; at fol. 11–11v: “Dos bajones de música” 150 reales; “Seis chapres [?] de bronce con asas y otras nueve redondas con sus agujeros en medio” 156 reales; “Otro bajoncillo con su caja”; “Otro sin ella y otro descompuesto.” E-Mca Caja 221-2, part of the posthumous Naples inventory (1689) lists wind instruments in a section obviously dedicated to items of lesser value: “Mas diferentes ynstrumentos de música, como son trompetillas, cornettas y otras cosas deste jénero y entre ellas una de metal dorada que parece de estimación,” as well as “Un cuerno de Rinoceronte,” “Una chirimía or cornetta de marfil,” “Otra chirimía de madera con bocal de plata,” “Una cornetta con bozel de plata de feligrana,” “Otra chirimía de palo con un sacabuche de yerro y una guarnición de metal al modo de feligrana,” “Otras dos chirimías de palo con guarnición de feligrana dorada, con su caja,” “Dos cornetas de caza.” A later section of E-Mca 221-2 lists items remaining at the Jardín de San Joaquín” on 10 October 1692: “Dos bajones de música,” “Tres flautones cornamuta tassados en 150,” “Otro bajoncillo en su caja,” “Otro sin ella y otro descompuesto.”

²⁶ E-Mca, Caja 304-2, fol. 230v (Rome 1682): “Un cimbalo grande bianco, che posa sopra a due satiri intagliati di rilievo, e vi sono quattro puttini, o Amoretti intagliati di rilievo non coloriti con alcuni fogliami, puggioli [?], e riporti intagliati con sua cornicia di sopra, et altra di sotto all'intorno di pero nero, et altri segni, et ordegni intagliati di detto cimbalo guarnito di dentro di pietre incastrate in argento diverse, e di differenti colori di due figurine Marine e due Puttini di rilievo d'intaglio.” The posthumous Naples inventory, E-Mca Caja 217-12, includes parts of the stand and decoration for this “cimbalo grande,” as well as “Un cimbalo nuovo, e li piedi in Spagna con figure intagliate, e dorate,” as well as another “Un cimbalo grande a tre registri.” See also Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 2:235 and 389.

²⁷ “Vida de don Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán, Marqués de Heliche,” E-Mn, MS 17691, fol. 95r–95v; “en una de las comedias que la villa celebraba en Palacio a los reyes, tuvo un embarazo el Marqués con el Almirante en uno de los salones, que luego se ajustó.” Carpio went to his lands in Carpio near Córdoba for two months, but because the plague threatened there, he moved to Torrelaguna [Tor de Laguna] near Madrid for two months and then was recalled to the court to attend to the king during the latter's brief illness (“asistirle como su gentilhomme de cámara”); his reunion with the king was characterized by mutual “demonstraciones de regocijo.” Vidales del Castillo, “El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras,” 82, interprets this event as early evidence of Heliche's “faceta más soberbia y colérica.”

his appreciation for works of art, and fueled his activity as theatrical producer. Luigi Baccio del Bianco (1604–57), the Florentine stage architect and engineer employed at the Spanish court from early 1651 to his death in 1657, reported that Heliche and his father, “the ones who rule the *fiestas* and govern the world,”²⁸ had shown him great benevolence and courtesy, though it was exhausting to try to satisfy the young patron’s demand for “novelty,” “violent machines,” frequent and startling transformations, spectacular flights, dangerous descents, earthquakes, storms, and the like.²⁹ No risk was too extravagant in Heliche’s productions, hence the several accidents and near accidents caused by daring stage effects.³⁰

The expensive brilliance of his productions and his mounting influence made of Heliche a frequent magnet for criticism.³¹ He earned the unsparing opprobrium of Jerónimo de Barrionuevo, a cleric whose epistolary *Avisos* remain an important source for all manner of rumors, news, and reports about people and events during four years in Madrid (1654–58). Barrionuevo despised Heliche and wrote caustically about the cost of his productions. The mere fact of elaborate productions during a time of scarce resources and costly military conflicts invited his cynical and acerbic remarks; the crown, “instead of watching three and four comedias every day,” should have been “focusing only on the defense of Spain.”³²

Heliche’s passions and sensitivity were often associated in the minds of his critics with the illnesses he suffered throughout his life—frequent headaches, possibly a kind of epilepsy, fevers, gout, and what was likely a painful arthritis. Barrionuevo made snide reference to Heliche’s ill health, blaming it on his many sexual liaisons and attributing both to purported “bewitchment” by women.³³

²⁸ “quelli che comandano le feste e governano il mondo,” I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, f. 5456, p. 259, letter of 5 February 1655, transcribed in Mina Bacci, “Lettere inedite di Baccio del Bianco,” *Paragone* 14 (1963): 73.

²⁹ I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato f. 5407, fol. 209, letter of 19 July 1653, and Mediceo del Principato f. 5456, fol. 259, 5 February 1655, both transcribed in Bacci, “Lettere inedite,” 71–73.

³⁰ On Baccio’s criticism of the moral standard at the Spanish court theaters, see Franco Borsi, Cristina Acidini, Gabriele Morolli, and Luigi Zangheri, “Pietà, paganesimo e cavalleria nell’ effimero del seicento mediceo,” *La scenografia barocca*, ed. Antoine Schnapper (Bologna: Editrice CLUEB, 1982), 88–89; Phyllis Dearborn Massar, “Scenes for a Calderón Play by Baccio del Bianco,” *Master Drawings* 15 (1977): 365–75.

³¹ Vidales del Castillo, “El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras,” carefully exposes the attitudes and rationale of Carpio’s enemies.

³² Jerónimo de Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, ed. Antonio Paz y Meliá, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 221 and 222 (reprint Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1968–69), letter of February 1657, 2:64, and similar remarks on 27 December 1656, 1:39. Selections are also included in Jerónimo de Barrionuevo, *Avisos de Madrid de los Austrias y otras noticias*, ed. José María Díez Borque (Madrid: Castalia, 1996). See also Deborah Compton, “Damning Female Portraits: The ‘Avisos’ of Jerónimo de Barrionuevo (1654–58),” *Hispania* 95 (2012): 201–10.

³³ Madrid, 7 October 1654: “El marqués de Liche dicen esta hechizado. Aun otros hablan más claro, diciendo son espíritus, y le conjuran de secreto.” Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, 1:65, 71, 120; Andrés, *El*

In October 1654 he wrote, “The marquis de Liche has again fallen ill, some say from weakness and stomach problems, but the most certain cause is bewitchment.”³⁴ In January 1655, he reported Heliche’s suffering from *cuartan fever* (“*cuartanas*”), then described Heliche’s April 1655 illness as caused by sexual escapades with common women who cast their spells.³⁵ Heliche was ill again in summer 1657 and seeking a cure at the thermal waters at Alhama de Aragón.³⁶ When he nearly lost function in his arm, he needed to visit the baths again.³⁷ Evidently, toward the end of 1657 the effects of this medical condition led to a near paralysis on one side of his body at age twenty-eight.³⁸ The Marquis de Osera noted that Heliche was “continually ill” and often “indisposed” through autumn 1658.³⁹ Philip IV described Heliche as suffering from “extraordinary illnesses” and “very rare mishaps,” but expressed great sympathy and concern, referring to the young man affectionately as “muy buen mozo,” perhaps understanding his unusual temperament.⁴⁰

marqués de Liche, 12, carried Barrionuevo’s view uncritically into modern scholarship, describing the marquis as having a “*vida de liviandades*” and “*existencia licenciosa*.”

³⁴ “El marqués de Liche ha tornado a recaer, unos dicen de debilidad y flaqueza de estómago y lo más cierto, de hechizos,” Madrid, 21 October 1654, Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, 1:71.

³⁵ “ha estado estos días muy al cabo de una enfermedad que no la entienden. Algo está ya mejor, aunque no del todo bueno. Es mozo y hace mil desórdenes, en particular de mujeres, que piensan le tienen hechizado, gastando con ellas cuanto tiene y le dan, que no es poco,” Madrid, 3 April 1655, Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, 1:120.

³⁶ 25 July 1657, Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, 2:100.

³⁷ 31 October 1657, Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, 2:102. In April 1658, he took the cure at the thermal baths again, this time with a subvention from the king (“30,000 ducados de ayuda de costa”); see letter of 10 April 1658, *Avisos*, 2:167.

³⁸ Sor María Jesus de Ágreda sent the king a sympathetic assessment of Heliche’s condition from her convent: “El marqués de Heliche ha pasado por aquí; vino a este convento y me ha hecho compasión verle con males tan extraordinarios. Hame dado noticias muy gustosas de la Reina nuestra señora y Sus Altezas, y mi cariño las solicitó con preguntas muy repetidas, con que tuve muy buen rato. Hame pedido carta para la vuelta para la Reina nuestra señora y V. M.: condescenderé por enfermo con su petición si no es disgusto de V. M.” 15 September 1657 in Carlos Seco Serrano, ed., *Cartas de Sor María de Jesús de Ágreda y de Felipe IV*, (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1958), BAE 108–9; 1:88–89.

³⁹ Santiago Martínez Hernández, *Escribir la corte de Felipe IV: el diario del marqués de Osera, 1657–1659* (Madrid: Ediciones Doce Calles, 2013), 696, 701; Francisco Jacinto Funes y Villalpando, marquis de Osera, was an Aragonese noble who resided temporarily in Madrid in 1657–60 while appealing criminal charges against his brother. His manuscript diary, E-Mca, Montijo, Caja 17, was first excerpted in Jacobo Stuart Fitz-James y Falcó Alba (duque de), “Noticias de la corte extractadas de la correspondencia del marqués de Osera relativa al proceso de su hermano (1657–1660),” in *Noticias históricas y genealógicas de los Estados de Montijo y Teba según los documentos de sus archivos* (Madrid: Imprenta Alemana, 1915), 264–94, but is now far more accessible with extensive commentary in Martínez Hernández, *Escribir la corte*.

⁴⁰ “Con razón os ha hecho lástima ver al marqués de Eliche, porque ha cuatro años que padece mucho y con bien raros accidentes; y cierto que es muy buen mozo. Plegue a Dios que le aprovechen los baños: él sera muy bien recibido con vuestras cartas, pues siempre las admitiremos con mucho gusto.” Letter of 25 September 1657, Seco Serrano, ed., *Cartas de Sor María de Jesús de Ágreda y de Felipe IV*, 89.

Beyond his illnesses, the obvious intensity of Heliche's sexual interest in common women provoked comment.⁴¹ He enjoyed more than one openly amorous relationship with an actress and pushed the limits of decorum by defending his lovers when involving them in activities proscribed by their low standing.⁴² An anonymous satire appoints him "rey comisario de comediantes bufones, alcahuetes, y juez, pesquisidor de la residencia de las doncellas y farsantas, profeso maometano con çerrallo en el mentidero y mezquita en el Retiro."⁴³ In Barrionuevo's jaundiced view, this habitual defense of actresses and common women was a sign of mental instability and bewitchment.⁴⁴ Many others hailed the young Heliche as gallant and impassioned. Francois Bertaut de Fréauville, a French abbot, lawyer, and brother of Madame de Motteville who visited Madrid with the embassy of Mariscal Gramont in autumn 1659, considered Heliche the only Spanish courtier who displayed "courtly manners." He assessed Heliche's predilection for actresses and common women as the natural expressions of a "spirited" temperament. After initially pointing to Heliche as "terribly debauched . . . despite having the most beautiful wife in the world,"⁴⁵ Bertaut softened his evaluation, explaining that, in "the style of

⁴¹ For example, in a letter of 13 March 1661 from the Duke of Montalto to his brother, "El marqués de Eliche havia dado en gustar de una comediantaja; hansela desterrado, y se halla con perturbación de ánimo, enojándose a ratos con su padre, sintiéndose del Rey, y destemplándose con todos" E-Mah, Estado, Libro 104.

⁴² Barrionuevo, 26 June 1658, reports: "Domingo llegó correo del marqués de Liche a su padre... y se dice de él que yendo a Pamplona, le regaló mucho el conde de Santisteban, Virrey, a quien pidió el día siguiente una llave de un postigo, y excusándose de dársela por que se había perdido, le hizo descerrajar, y por allí metía a la Damiana, comedianta, su amiga, todas las noches, una de las cuales fue presa por la ronda con un lacayo suyo, y llevada a la cárcel, haciéndola información de amancebada con el que la traía, y desterrada. Sobre lo cual pasaron entre el Virrey y Liche palabras pesadas, y luego se puso en camino y se volvió a los baños, y aunque dio cuenta el Virrey al Valido, al que lo remitió que lo hiciese, no lo ha hecho, y se ha retenido la carta," *Avisos*, 2:201. Andrés, "El marqués de Liche," 10–14 makes reference to this Damiana and the Venus del Espejo, though the association was suggested first by Felipe Picatoste y Rodríguez, "El siglo XVII," in *Estudios sobre la grandeza y decadencia de España* (Madrid: Imprenta de la viuda de Hernando, 1887), 3:121; see also José López-Rey, *Vélezquez Painter of Painters* (Cologne: Taschen, 1996), 1:156, 238 n. 153.

⁴³ GB-Lbl, Egerton, MS 567, fol. 144r, 22 October 1661, cited in Vidales del Castillo, "El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras," 216.

⁴⁴ Steeped in his own personal beliefs or moral code, and without sufficiently interrogating the sources, Marcus Burke uncritically accepts Barrionuevo's opprobrium, contributing an absurdly unsparing negative assessment: "Don Gaspar's artistic interests appear to have been among the few worthy character traits of his youth . . . Don Gaspar either had an unbalanced mind or was suffering from venereal disease. Reports of public altercations with the Principe de Astillano and the Duque de Bejar, not to mention a long-standing rivalry with the Duque de Medina de las Torres, further strengthen the image of mental instability. Later events would prove Don Gaspar capable of dangerous behavior." Burke and Cherry, *Collections of Paintings in Madrid*, 1:462.

⁴⁵ François Bertaut de Fréauville, *Relation d'un Voyage d'Espagne où est exactement décrit l'estat de la cour de ce royaume, et de son gouvernement* (Paris: Louis Billaine, 1664), 77–78; see also *Journal du voyage d'Espagne contenant une description fort exacte de ses royaumes . . .* [1659] (Paris: Claude Barbin, 1669 and 1682); reprinted ed. François Cassan, *Revue Hispanique* 47 (1919): 1–317 and 230–31. Concerning Gramont's embassy, see Haan, "Diplomatic Stagecraft," 146–71.

this realm” (“la mode du pays”), most Spanish aristocrats enjoyed lower-class mistresses (“quasi tous *amancebados* avec quelque Comedienne ou quelque femme du pareille estoffe, & *amancebado*, en Espagnol, ne veut pas dire ny galant ny débauché en general”). Bertaut further admitted that the tedious formal aristocratic *galanteo* practiced in Madrid would anyway be dismissed in France as silly pretense.⁴⁶

In light of the frequent seventeenth-century association between music and heightened affective communication, Heliche’s passionate nature and libidinous attachments provide an important clue toward explaining the politics of production that he developed for specifically musical plays, especially given the gendered aspects of onstage singing in Madrid. His “prudent and Christian” father had arranged a suitable first marriage for him, designed to “rein in” the excess of his son’s considerable “inclination” toward women.⁴⁷ But Gaspar’s overall sensitivity could be harnessed to advantage. His father must have perceived how both talent and frank personal inclinations might advance his career. The gentleness Heliche displayed toward the child prince Baltasar Carlos, his defense of down-trodden women, and the unabashed tenderness he expressed for the prince and in letters to his wife, daughters, and, later, his favorite niece in Rome, all point to an extraordinary personal sensitivity—an important quality for a hands-on opera director in his milieu. His tendency to express himself without inhibition and his support for feminine intelligence were also distinctive, placing him at the forefront of what Dewald has underlined as a fresh movement toward “affective individualism” among the European nobility.⁴⁸

Heliche, Mariana de Austria, and Theatrical Production in Madrid

Heliche took charge of the royal entertainments at a crucial moment, just after the reopening of Madrid’s public theaters following years of national mourning (Philip IV’s first wife, Isabel, had died in 1644, as did his only male

⁴⁶ Bertaut, *Journal du voyage d’Espagne*, ed. Cassan, 206.

⁴⁷ My translation of comments from “Vida de don Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán, Marqués de Heliche,” E-Mn, MS 17691, fols. 95r–96v; cited in Vidales del Castillo, “El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras,” 82. Heliche’s secretary, Juan Vélez de León, recalled that he had advised the marquis to avoid liaisons with women to whom he was not married (E-Mn, MS 3923, fols. 201, 213), as noted in Vidales del Castillo, “El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras,” 848. The marriage contract for Heliche and his first wife, Antonia María de la Cerda, daughter of the Duke of Medinaceli, was signed at Puerto de Santa María (Cádiz), in March of 1649.

⁴⁸ See Jonathan Dewald, *The European Nobility, 1400–1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 168–76.

heir, Baltasar Carlos, in 1646). The very young archduchess Mariana de Austria (1634–96), the king's Austrian niece, originally intended for Prince Baltasar Carlos, became Philip's new bride.⁴⁹ Her primary responsibility was to produce a royal heir as soon as possible, and Heliche's highest priority was to entertain her.⁵⁰ Heliche surely learned about Mariana's enjoyment of musical theater before her arrival because each day of her journey between Vienna and Madrid was documented carefully. The official chronicle, with details about the entertainments she attended, appeared in an elegant publication very soon after her arrival in Madrid.⁵¹

During the months in northern Italy and at the palace of the Spanish governor in Milan, Mariana was feted with both Spanish comedias and Italian operas. She attended a privately sponsored opera ("comedia italiana en música") in Trent on 26 April 1649. In Milan during the first two weeks of June, she enjoyed almost daily private performances of Spanish comedias. On Sunday 20 June in Milan, an Italian *Teseo* ("la comedia intitulada el Teseo") was performed by eighty students of the Jesuit school with "diferentes coros de buena música" and stage effects prepared by Curzio Manara ("las apariencias todas extraordinarias y bien executadas, de que fue inventor Don Cursio Manara Cremonés"), whose troupe was called "Febiarmonici."⁵² On Tuesday 22 June, a danced ball (*sarao*) was held at the Spanish governor's palace, and on 23 June an opera (most likely Cavalli's *Giasone*) was sung without staging in the same palace room ("en el Salón en que se hizo el Sarao"). This opera, described as a "Comedia armónica, intitulada el Iasón, aunque sin las apariencias y ornatos, que estavan dispuestos," was later fully staged for the public by Manara. On 24 June "los mas escogidos músicos

⁴⁹ Silvia Z. Mitchell, *Queen, Mother, and Stateswoman: Mariana of Austria and the Government of Spain* (College Park: Penn State University Press, 2019), 28–29, chronicles the events leading to the marriage, noting: "During her engagement, Mariana's body was under great scrutiny. Reports about her physical readiness for childbearing were sent through both private and diplomatic channels to Madrid, revealing the anxiety over the future of the succession. Philip IV learned of Mariana's first menstrual period in May 1648 and was upset at finding out such important news indirectly."

⁵⁰ According to Laura Oliván Santaliestra, *Mariana de Austria: imagen, poder y diplomacia de una reina cortesana* (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 2006), 33: "la presión por dar un heredero varón a la corona se acentuó hasta tales extremos, que la reina hubo de sufrir continuos abortos, embarazos sucesivos y muertes prematuras de pequeños infantes."

⁵¹ Jerónimo de Mascarenhas, *Viage de la serenissima reyna Dona Maria Ana de Austria, segunda muger de Don Philipe Quarto deste nombre, Rey Catholico de Hespana, hasta la real corte de Madrid desde la Imperial de Viena* (Madrid: Diego Díaz de la Carrera, 1650) [E-Mn, 2/33668].

⁵² Concerning Manara, see Sergio Monaldini, "Manara, Curzio," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 68 (2007), [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/curzio-manara_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/curzio-manara_(Dizionario-Biografico)/); Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, "Dalla 'Finta Pazza' alla 'Veremonda': Storie di febiarmonici," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 10 (1975): 380–81; Davide Daolmi, *Le origini dell'opera a Milano (1598–1649)* (Cremona: Brepols, 1998), 231–32; and Nicola Michelassi, "Balbi's Febiarmonici and the First 'Road Shows' of *Giasone* (1649–1653)," in *Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage, Manuscript, Edition, Production*, ed. Ellen Rosand (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), 307–19.

de Milán” sang and played from a balcony to serenade the royal entourage in a garden, and on Thursday 8 July Mariana attended the public production of *Giasone* from behind a privacy screen (“Jueves ocho se representó en el teatro público la comedia harmónica, intitulada el Iasón y aunque estava dispuesto lugar para que la viesse la Reyna en público, resolvió verla destrás de zelosias con sus Damas... Fue obra insigne, y de muchas apariencias, bien executadas; de que fue inventor Don Cursio Manara, Cremonés, el que hizo las de la otra Comedia”). On 18 and 20 July, a Spanish comedia with emblematic political significance (*La mayor hazaña de Carlos V*) was performed for Mariana at the governor’s palace. On Saturday 24 July, she attended an opera at the public theater (“comedia harmónica, que se representó en el teatro común”), and on the afternoon of 29 July she again attended an opera, this one most likely Cavalli’s *L’Egisto* (“por la tarde se le representó otra comedia harmónica, intitulada el Egisto, que pareció generalmente bien”).⁵³

Heliche and the Renovation of the Coliseo del Buen Retiro

The need to entertain Mariana clearly motivated Heliche’s immediate investment in the theaters and new music-theatrical genres for the renovated palaces of the Buen Retiro, the Alcázar, and, later, the Zarzuela palace.⁵⁴ The Coliseo theater in the Buen Retiro palace had opened briefly in February 1640 but had fallen into disrepair; “hecho un cascarón,” it was placed under the guardianship of Luis de Haro, who deputized Heliche as its manager. It was probably not yet renovated when Mariana arrived, so it was unlikely to have been the site of the first entertainments staged for her. These were not produced by Heliche, but by an older courtier, Lorenzo Ramírez del Prado (without the ingenuity of Cosimo

⁵³ In Mascarenhas, *Viage de la serenissima reyna Dona Maria Ana de Austria*, see especially the performances described on pages 34, 110, 169, 174, 177, 185, 195, 197. Other pertinent sources are presented in Daolmi, *Le origini dell’opera a Milano*, 224–39, 526–27, and *passim*. A letter of 31 July 1649 to Cardinal Giovan Carlo Medici from the singer Anna Francesca Costa documents that this singer had been retained in Milan by the Spanish governor, marquis de Caracena, so that she could sing for the queen; see Sara Mamone, *Serenissimi fratelli principi impresari. Notizie di spettacolo nei carteggi medicei. Carteggi di Giovan Carlo de’ Medici e di Desiderio Montemagni suo segretario (1628–1664)* (Florence: Le Lettere, 2003), 146–47; among the several studies of Mariana’s journey, see Teresa Zapata Fernández de la Hoz, “El viaje de las reinas austriacas a las costas españolas. La travesía de Mariana de Austria,” *El Archivo de la Frontera*, Centro Europeo para la Difusión de las Ciencias Sociales (CEDCS), 14 November 2010, <http://www.archivodelafrontera.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/08/CLASICOS034.pdf>.

⁵⁴ Mariana’s vibrant personality, enjoyment of theater, and effect on the court are described in Alistair Malcolm, “Spanish Queens and Aristocratic Women at the Court of Madrid, 1598–1665,” *Victims or Viragos?*, ed. Christine Meek and Catherine Lawless, *Studies on Medieval and Early Modern Women* 4 (Dublin: Four Courts, 2005), 173–77; María Teresa Chaves Montoya, *El espectáculo teatral en la corte de Felipe IV* (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2004), 155–56, provides extracts from the Italian reports sent by papal and Medici envoys in Madrid concerning the first entertainments for the new queen.

Lotti, who had died in 1643). Ramírez del Prado hurriedly generated outsized expenses though the performers were amateurs from the new queen's household.⁵⁵ According to two official *avvisi* (one sent to the Medici court and another to the papal administration), Ramírez del Prado's show was performed thrice at the Buen Retiro with attractive sets, costumes, and stage machines. But these *pro forma* *avvisi*, written by scribes who did not actually attend, are contradicted by a third eyewitness evaluation from Ludovico Incontri, the Florentine representative in Madrid since 1649. His letter states that the "feste nuziali" with exquisite music and elegant costumes were not given in the theater itself, but in another room, the "salone reale al Buon Ritiro." The visual effects and machines were nothing special.⁵⁶ Incontri's letter suggests that this amateur performance was staged with a dismantable theater in the high-ceilinged Salón del Buen Retiro, the capacious Hall of Realms decorated to proclaim "the power and glory of Philip IV."⁵⁷ This arrangement had been common years earlier when Lotti's dismantable theater accommodated the royal family's seasonal moves among royal sites and palaces.⁵⁸

Ramírez del Prado's entertainments apparently lacked innovation and polish. There is no question that Heliche then stepped in to meet the challenge of producing better entertainments for the teenage queen.⁵⁹ As early as 1650, an unpublished letter to the Duke of Veragua mentions that Heliche was planning an expensive but unnamed "machine play which they say will cost 20 thousand ducats."⁶⁰ By January 1651, the Buen Retiro's Coliseo theater was operational for

⁵⁵ As specified in E-SIM, Tribunal Mayor de Cuentas, leg. 3766, an order for payment of 4,000 ducats, authorized by Lorenzo Ramírez del Prado, and sent 27 January 1650 from Pedro Vicente de Borja to Simón de Alcántara, Grefier de la Reina. Apparently, an administrative tangle resulted from Ramírez del Prado's oversight; see N. D. Shergold and J. E. Varey, *Representaciones palaciegas 1603–1699* (London: Tamesis, 1982), 52–56.

⁵⁶ "Vi furono molte macchine, stimate miraculose; ma al Sr. Marchese del Borro et a me parvero assai inferiori a quelle che si fanno costà allo stanzone de' Comedianti." Documents of 5 March 1650 in I-Fas, *Mediceo del Principato*, f. 4969, and V-CVaav, *Segreteria di Stato, Spagna*, b. 101. Chaves Montoya's reading of this situation does not agree with mine; she interprets the documents to suggest that the Coliseo was the site of the performance and that it was already equipped with capable machines; see Chaves Montoya, *El espectáculo teatral*, 148–49, 156.

⁵⁷ Jonathan Brown and John H. Elliott, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV*, 2nd rev. ed. (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 148–63 make clear that the term "Salón del Buen Retiro" referred to this elongated room, which measured 34.6 meters long by 10 meters wide by 8 meters tall, and was decorated to symbolize the dynasty's past, present, and future power.

⁵⁸ The room in the Alcázar palace known as the salón dorado, where a dismantable theater was customarily employed, was also renovated for Mariana; see Norman D. Shergold, *A History of the Spanish Stage from Medieval Times until the End of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 303–5; Shergold and Varey, *Representaciones palaciegas*, 16–17 and *passim*; Chaves Montoya, *El espectáculo teatral*, 148–50.

⁵⁹ Though Barrionuevo does not credit him with this activity until 1655; Barrionuevo, *Avisos* 2:107, 222.

⁶⁰ "comedia de apariencias que se ha de hacer que dicen costará 20 mil ducados," letter of 18 January 1650 from Juan Alonso Verdugo de Albornoz in Madrid to the Duke of Veragua, E-Mca, Caja 102-11, 7242.

the Calderón play, *Darlo todo y no dar nada*, performed by professional acting companies and staged with Heliche's supervision. He is termed "superintendente" in various financial documents dated 1651–53, especially those concerning his close management of the artists who worked on the decoration of the Coliseo and staging of its productions (Baccio del Bianco, Dionisio Mantuano, Angelo Nardi, and Francisco Rizi de Guevara, to name a few).⁶¹

A notice in a printed gazette for the period April 1652 through March 1653 explicitly associates the lively theatrical activity at the court and Baccio's work as stage engineer after his February 1651 arrival with the king's desire to keep Mariana entertained with "cosas extraordinarias, y peregrinas."⁶² "The king's concern for the amusement of his young bride proved fully justified. Mariana could not abide the gloom of the Alcázar and sought escape to the Retiro whenever she could manage it."⁶³

Later seventeenth-century writers credited Heliche, and none other, with the renovation and redecoration of the Coliseo. When Cardinal Savo Millini arrived in Madrid as papal nuncio (1677), he noted that this "beautiful theater" was made according to Heliche's orders.⁶⁴ Francisco de Bances Candamo (1662–1704), court dramatist to Carlos II (who likely learned the Coliseo's history from documents in the royal library), wrote around 1690 concerning the advent of machine plays (comedias de tramoyas) that "the Marquis de Heliche was the first to order the design of *mutaciones* and machines."⁶⁵ Figure 1.2 shows a beautiful undated drawing by Rizi with the facade of the Coliseo stage opening onto a garden set beyond.⁶⁶

The artist Antonio Palomino (1653–1726), who also had access to the royal library, asserted that Heliche had hired the Bolognese painter Dionisio Mantuano as his "engineer for the machines and scene changes of the famous productions

⁶¹ E-SIM, Tribunal Mayor de Cuentas, leg. 3766, including an order of 5 August 1653 signed by Luis de Haro and payments ordered by Heliche as "Superintendente" at the Buen Retiro. Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 41–42 further identifies Dionisio Mantuano, Agostino Mitelli, and Angelo Michele Colonna as among those supervised by Heliche.

⁶² *Escrivense los sucesos de la Europa, y otras partes desde el abril de 1652 hasta el Março de 1653* (n.p., but likely Madrid, 1653), bound into E-Mn, MS 2384, fol 4; see also E-Mhm, AH 8/4 (1624) (26).

⁶³ Brown and Elliott, *A Palace for a King*, 229.

⁶⁴ E-PABm, Papeles de Savo Millini 6/3/347, "Memorie sopra la Nunziatura."

⁶⁵ "fue el primero que mandó delinear mutaciones, y finger máquinas y apariencias"; Francisco de Bances Candamo, *Theatro de los Theatros de los passados y presentes siglos*, ed. Duncan W. Moir (London: Tamesis Books, 1970), 29, 42 n. 80.

⁶⁶ Details in this Rizi drawing correspond to what is known about the Coliseo from other sources, including a 1680 description incorporated with a manuscript text of Calderón's *Hado y divisa de Leonido y Marfisa*; E-Mn, MS 9373, fols. 110r–113r, "Descripcion de la comedia yntitulada Ado y Divisa de Leonido y Marfisa que se hizo a sus Magestades Don Carlos Segundo y Doña María Luysa en el Coliseo del Retiro el día 3 de marzo del año 1680"; transcribed in *Comedias de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca, Colección más completa que todas las anteriores*, ed. Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, 4 vols. (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1851–58; reprint 1945), 4: 355–57.



Figure 1.2 Francisco Rizi de Guevara, *Decoración teatral* for the Coliseo del Buen Retiro with inscription “illustrate et fovet” (1657–70?), DIB/16/35/11, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid.

that in those days Their Royal Majesties enjoyed in that Royal Theater.”⁶⁷ An intricate drawing of a stage set (shown in Figure 1.3) with a garden, fountains, and allegorical figures has often been attributed to Mantuano.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ “ingeniero para las tramoyas, y mutaciones de las comedias célebres, que en aquel tiempo hacían a Sus Magestades en dicho Real Sitio”; Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco, “Vidas de los pintores,” in *El museo pictórico y escala óptica* (Madrid: Lucas Antonio de Bedmar, 1715–24), 3:407 [E-Mn, ER/1014]; Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco, *El museo pictórico y escala óptica*, ed. Juan Antonio Ceán y Bermúdez (Madrid: Aguilar, 1947), 1012–13. David García Cueto, *La estancia española de los pintores Boloñeses Agotino Mitelli y Angelo Michele Colonna, 1658–1662* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2005), 186–202, provides an insightful account of Heliche’s direction of the Italian artists; Brown and Elliott, *A Palace for a King*, 217–23, describe some productions without citing Heliche as their organizer. Chaves Montoya, *El espectáculo teatral*, considers Italian stage designers and painters, but does not register the importance of Heliche’s supervision. Many thanks to Shirley Whittaker and David García Cueto for insightful suggestions about Heliche’s relationship with Italian artists in Madrid.

⁶⁸ The drawing probably was made within plans for an unidentified *auto sacramental*. Teresa Zapata, *La entrada en la Corte de María Luisa de Orleans* (Madrid: Fundación de Apoyo a la Historia del Arte Hispánico, 2000), 239–40, offers an exploratory study of the drawing and its allegorical figures.

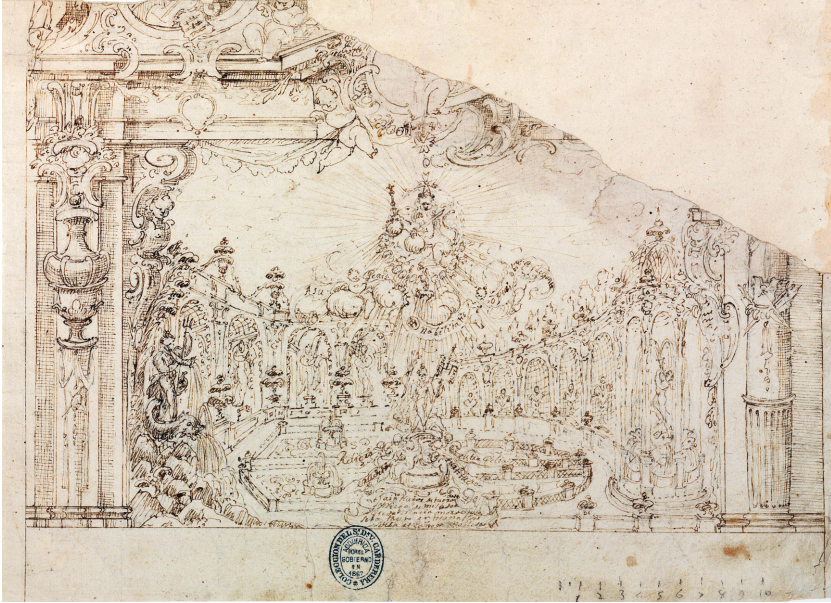


Figure 1.3 Dionisio Mantuano [attrib.], *Decoración teatral* (1675), DIB/14/47/54, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid.

Heliche's renovation of the Coliseo likely took place between 1650 and 1652. Luis de Haro had sought to recruit Baccio as early as March 1650, but the latter arrived in Madrid in February 1651.⁶⁹ Most likely, the expansion of the back-stage area of the Coliseo and the installation of capable stage machines commenced after his arrival. The newly outfitted Coliseo “marks the definitive intersection of Spain’s theatrical tradition with Italian models and their applied knowledge of geometry. In its construction style and technical possibilities, it was the most sophisticated playhouse in Spain and one of Europe’s most advanced theatres: it was designed to make full use of the potential of perspective, stage machinery, artificial illumination, sound projection, and luxurious decoration.”⁷⁰ Before the renovation, only plays that did not require machines had been given at the Buen Retiro. Heliche’s productions of mythological semi-operas in 1652 and 1653

⁶⁹ Salvador Salort Pons, *Velázquez en Italia* (Madrid: Fundación de Apoyo a la Historia del Arte Hispánico, 2002), 123–26, traces Baccio’s recruitment and the correspondence concerning his arrival.

⁷⁰ Alejandro García-Reidy, “The Technical Environment of the Early Modern Spanish Stage,” in *Science on Stage in Early Modern Spain* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 58–78.

(Calderón's *La fiera, el rayo y la piedra*, and *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo*) exploited the theater's full potential.

No seventeenth-century architectural plan for the Coliseo has survived, but a 1708 drawing by René Carlier for Robert de Cotte shows how this new Coliseo was placed within a larger rectangular perimeter, in keeping with the palace's overall division into quadricular spaces.⁷¹ When the palace was designed in the 1630s, the space that would eventually hold the theater was just a large space that could be publicly accessible in a section of the palace removed from the royal living quarters and already designated for entertainment. Lotti, the first Italian stage engineer to serve the Spanish court, has sometimes been credited with the theater's design, but, in fact, his most elaborate productions were offered either in the lake or estanque of the Buen Retiro or in a dismantlable theater in the Alcázar palace. Lotti employed a dismantlable stage in rooms at the Buen Retiro (in the rectangular masking room or in the Hall of Realms in the same section of the palace) before the Coliseo was finished, as well as at the Alcázar.⁷²

During his 1655 visit to Madrid, Robert Bargrave described the Coliseo as it was under Heliche's management: "the Playhouse gallantry contriv'd for its purpose; furnished with diverse Machines, Scenes, & handsome Representments."⁷³ The early eighteenth-century French drawing by Carlier (1708; see Figure 1.4) and several seating charts (one is included as Figure 1.6) show it to have been Italianate in design, with a high proscenium arch, painted backcloths that allowed perspective scenery, eleven slots for movable painted flat side wings (perhaps capable of holding double sliding wings or "bastidores") on each side of the stage, and machinery for flights, descents, and cloud machines. A detail from the Carlier drawing shows how the palace wall was bumped outward (Figure 1.5) at a point behind the stage—it is quite likely that this architecturally awkward extrusion in the wall dates from after 1651 and was made necessary by the installation of machinery not included in the theater as originally built before Heliche's renovation. A rear window in the back wall may have allowed a "final distant perspective, not of artificial trees and shrubs, but of the real Retiro gardens beyond."⁷⁴

⁷¹ Shergold, *A History of the Spanish Stage*, 328–30, summarizes elements of the theater's construction; María Asunción Flórez Asensio, "El Coliseo del Buen Retiro en el siglo XVII: teatro público y cortesano," *Anales de Historia del Arte* 8 (1998): 171–95, also includes speculation about lighting and additional information about seating; see also María Asunción Flórez Asensio, *Músicos de compañía y empresa teatral en Madrid en el siglo XVII*, 2 vols. (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2015), 1: 67–80.

⁷² Brown and Elliott, *A Palace for a King*, 213–16.

⁷³ Michael G. Brennan, ed., *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave Levant Merchant (1647–1656)* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1999), 208.

⁷⁴ Brown and Elliott, *A Palace for a King*, 217.

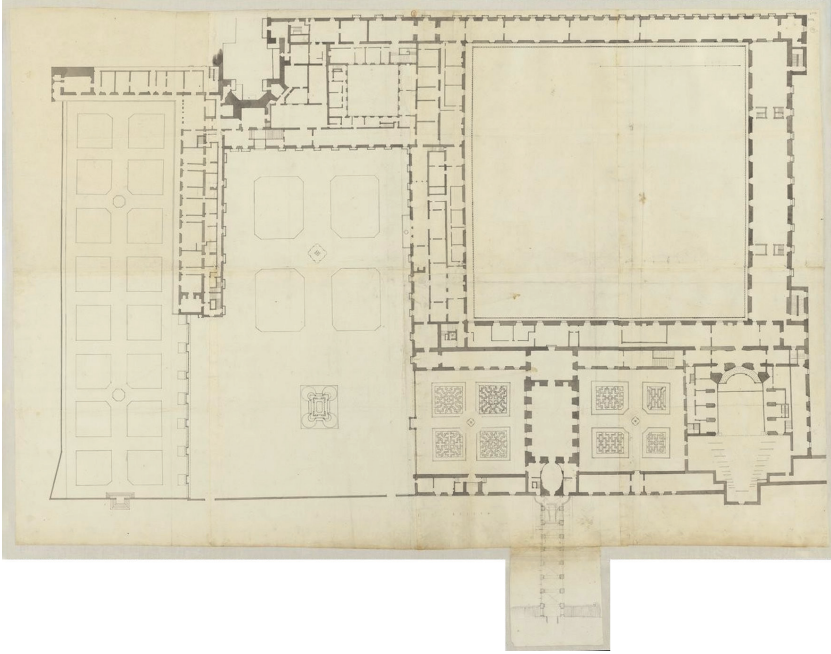


Figure 1.4 Rene Carlier for Robert de Cotte, *Le Buen Retiro, plan du palais tel qu'il était avant les projets* (1708), Estampes AG-294 (5), Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

The instrumental ensemble was placed where the basso continuo players could see the singers, in a space in front of and at the foot of the stage (illustrated in Figure 1.6), according to two seating plans that probably date from 1703.⁷⁵ The earliest visual evidence for the theater's layout is a seating chart drawn up in June 1655 before the performance of a standard comedia (*La renegada de Valladolid*).⁷⁶ The distribution of the boxes to competing courtiers in this plan demonstrates just how quickly the Coliseo had become central to the life of the court under Heliche's management and following Mariana's arrival. It shows three levels with twenty-four boxes (twelve on each side of the room) distributed to the nobility, the king's ministers, and court officials. The room had an oval shape with an ample crescent-shaped box designated "Balcón de Su Magestad" at one

⁷⁵ E-Mpa, Sección Administrativa, leg. 667, "Planta de la distribución del Coliseo..." signed by Antonio Mayers. All of these plans are included in J. E. Varey and Margaret Greer, *El Teatro Palaciego en Madrid: 1586-1707* (London: Tamesis Books, 1997), 249-54, though the reproductions are poor.

⁷⁶ José de Villareal, "Planta del repartimiento de los aposentos del Coliseo del Buen Retiro, para la representación de *La renegada de Valladolid*, ordenada por Don Luis de Haro, mi señor," Madrid, 27 June 1655; E-Mav, Archivo de la Secretaría, 2-458-24; as well as the nineteenth-century copy in "Papeles referentes al Coliseo del Buen Retiro," E-Mn, MS 14004/3.

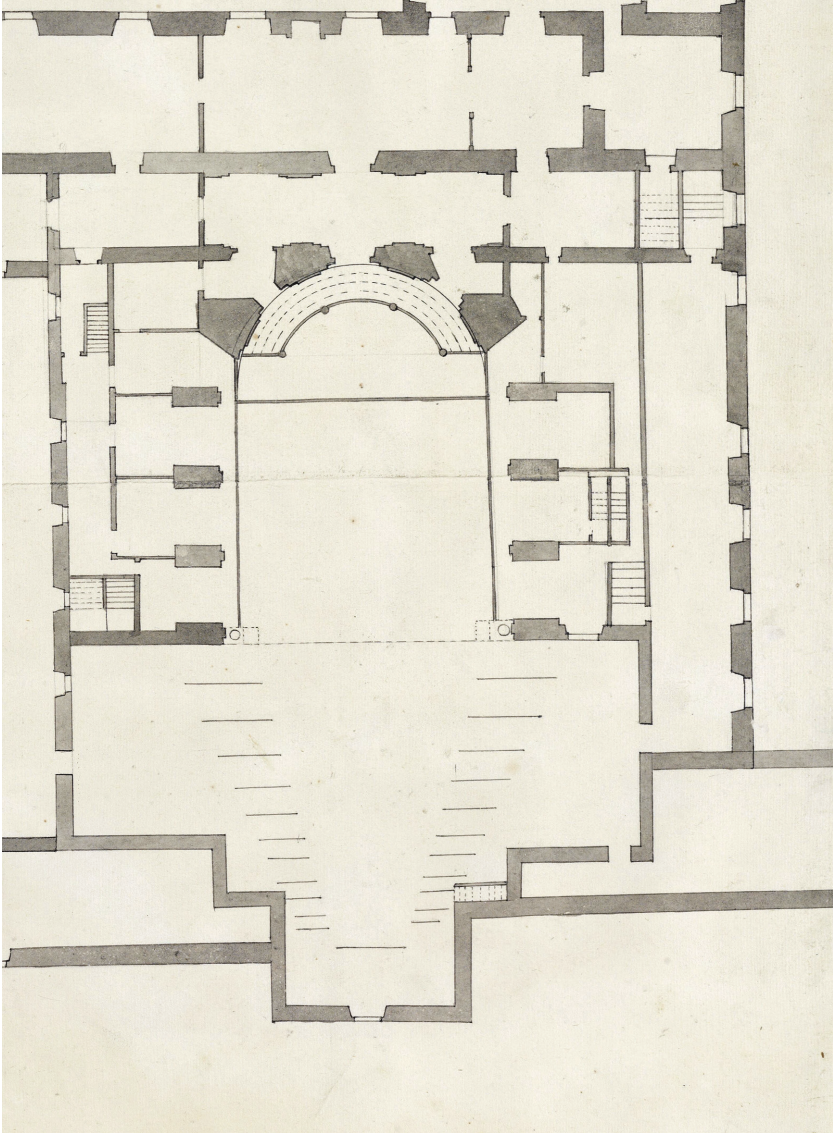


Figure 1.5 Detail, Rene Carlier for Robert de Cotte, *Le Buen Retiro, plan du palais tel qu'il était avant les projets* (1708), Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

end of the oval facing the stage. The *cazuela* where noble ladies were seated was located under the royal box, facing the stage; three more boxes were contained in the space under the *cazuela*, according to the late seventeenth-century plans. A French visitor's report echoed by Madame D'Aulnoy characterized the boxes as

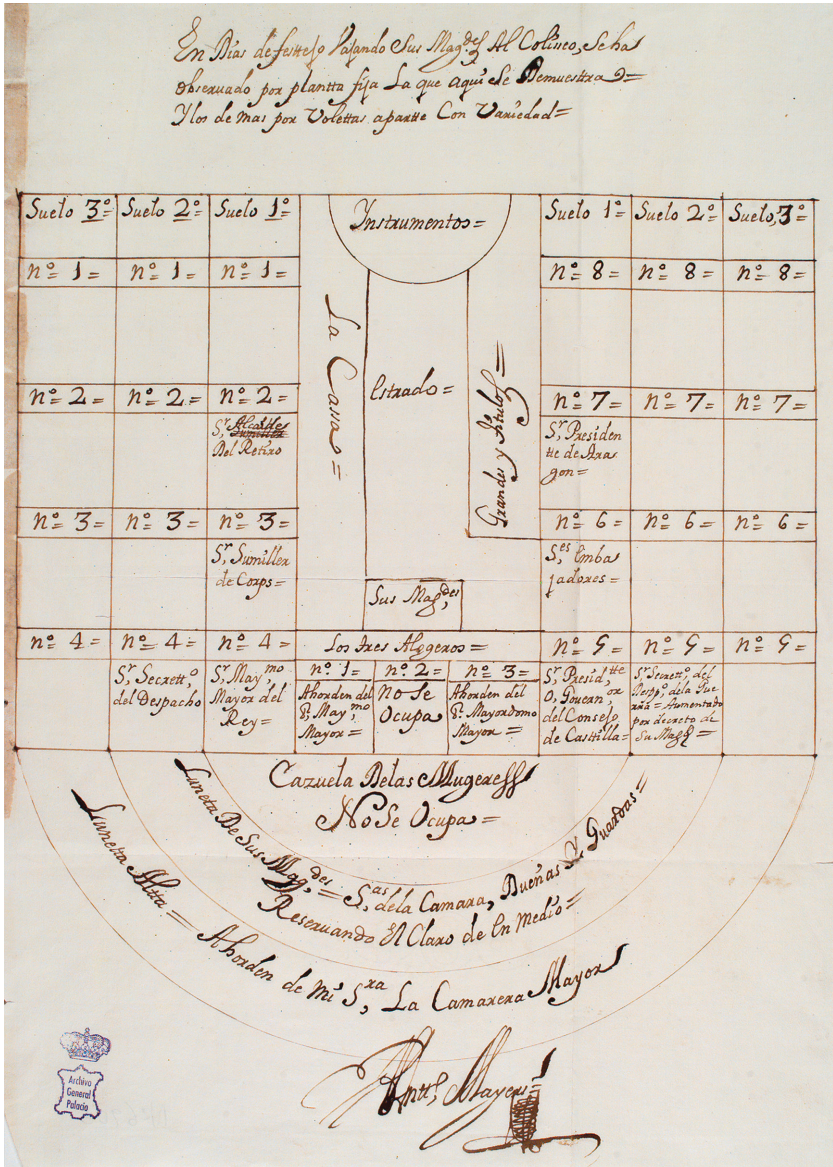


Figure 1.6 Planta de la distribución del Coliseo del Buen Retiro en días de festejo con la asistencia de los Reyes (1703), Planos, Mapas y Dibujos, 6906. © Archivo General de Palacio, Madrid.

comfortably spacious, each seating as many as fifteen.⁷⁷ The painter and art theorist Antonio Palomino included retrospective information about the Coliseo's dimensions in his treatise concerning perspective. The stage as he described it was deep and raked, with a capacious opening beneath a high proscenium arch.⁷⁸ An elaborate curtain covered the stage opening, and the walls of the theater were beautifully embellished with paintings. Thus, the Coliseo was italianate but nevertheless incorporated features of the Spanish *corral*, namely the three rows of boxes on either side, the *cazuela* as a balcony at the back, and additional bench seating in *gradas* on the ground floor for the paying public (when their majesties were absent rather than sitting on special elevated pillows for the best view of the perspective scenery).

In 1656 Heliche ordered a large silver chandelier to be moved from the church of Nuestra Señora de Atocha into the Coliseo, "in order to bring more light and adornment" to the theater.⁷⁹ This notice and others like it witness his power as superintendent for the Coliseo. Precisely because he was such a hands-on producer, constantly in evidence and so intimately involved, his name appears frequently in reports about both court theater and the business of the commercial theaters. Documents reveal him sending agents in search of performers,⁸⁰ separating actress-singers from their companies in order to bring them to rehearsals for musical plays,⁸¹ ordering the companies to one or another royal theater for rehearsals (whether or not they were scheduled to perform in the *corrales*),⁸² designating the plays to be performed and providing the companies

⁷⁷ "La sale pour les Comedies est d'un beau dessein, fort grande, toute ornée de sculpture & de dorure. On peut être quinze dans chaque loge sans s'incommoder . . ." Marie-Catherine Le Jumel de Barneville, Baroness d'Aulnoy, *Relation du voyage d'Espagne* (Paris: chez Anisson & Possuel, 1693), 2:122 [E-Mn, 2/14973]; the 1691 English translation gives: "There may be fifteen in a box without inconvenience to each other," see *Madame D'Aulnoy Travels into Spain*, ed. Raymond Foulché-Delbosc (London: Routledge, 1930; reprint 2005), 241; also José García Mercadal, trans. and ed., *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal: siglo XVII* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1959), 2:1037.

⁷⁸ Palomino de Castro y Velasco, *El museo pictórico y escala óptica*, 2:132. Rafael Maestre, "El actor calderoniano en el escenario palaciego," in *Actor y técnica de representación en el teatro clásico español*, ed. Jose María Díez Borque (London: Tàmesis, 1989), 177–93 suggests dimensions of almost 190 square meters for the stage. See also Chaves Montoya, *El espectáculo teatral*, 83–84.

⁷⁹ Letter of 27 February 1656, Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, 1:248.

⁸⁰ J. E. Varey and N. D. Shergold, *Teatros y comedias en Madrid: 1651–1665. Estudio y documentos* (London: Tamesis, 1973), 38, 125.

⁸¹ E-Mav, Archivo de la Secretaría, 2-468-24; Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *Documentos para la biografía de D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca* (Madrid: Fortanet, 1905), 253–54; Varey and Shergold, *Teatros y comedias en Madrid: 1651–1665*, 228.

⁸² A certificate of 28 February 1658 in E-Mav, Archivo de la Secretaría, 2-468-24, indicates, for example, that the company of Francisco García "Pupilo" did not perform *La adúltera penitente* in the corral del Príncipe because at eight in the morning they received an order from Heliche to go to the Buen Retiro to rehearse *Afectos de odio y amor* (Calderón) in preparation for its performance on Tuesday in Lent; document transcribed in Pérez Pastor, *Documentos para la biografía de D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, 253–54; Varey and Shergold, *Teatros y comedias en Madrid: 1651–1665*, 228.

with copies of them,⁸³ presiding over rehearsals,⁸⁴ arranging rehearsal spaces within or adjacent to royal and aristocratic palaces, and even renting a house for extended rehearsals.⁸⁵ In the decade preceding his two opera productions, it was surely Heliche who brought together the poet Calderón and composer Hidalgo to create the partly-sung royal productions.⁸⁶ An especially costly series of performances in 1657 featured the one-act “piscatory eclogue,” *El golfo de las sirenas*, as well as the first zarzuela, Calderón’s *El laurel de Apolo* with music by Hidalgo.⁸⁷ A glimpse of Heliche’s personal management is provided in an October 1657 letter from the Marquis de Osera. When Osera hoped to talk with Heliche in his apartments one morning, Heliche brushed him and other nobles aside and, without regard for social rank, eagerly chatted about theatrical business with a commoner, an “administrador o arrendador de los corrales de la comedia,” “chanzando con él y con otros,” though he had not yet finished dressing. Osera was irritated that Heliche made him wait and prioritized a conversation with a social inferior.⁸⁸

Heliche’s dedication to royal pleasures went beyond his theatrical productions: he stocked the forests in the park around the Buen Retiro palace, in Balsaín, and those surrounding the Pardo and Zarzuela palaces with rabbits

⁸³ According to a notarial certificate of 5 February 1656, E-Mav, Archivo de la Secretaría, 2-468-20, when the company of Francisca Verdugo was rehearsing, “de orden del Sr. Marqués de Liche vino don Carlos de Ribas su caballero y le entrego otra comedia demas de las que tiene repartidas.” See Varey and Shergold, *Teatros y comedias en Madrid: 1651–1665*, 219–20.

⁸⁴ On 30 November 1660, Heliche’s presence at a rehearsal with musicians and with Calderón was noted; in 1658 when musicians and the companies of Bartolomé Romero and Diego Osorio were gathered for a full musical dress rehearsal at the Buen Retiro, Heliche, anxious to start the rehearsal, shouted “¡pues vengan a empezarl!” E-Mav, Archivo de la Secretaría, 2-468-24; the rehearsal was for Calderón’s *Los tres afectos de amor*, performed the next day, 28 November 1658, for the prince’s birthday; see also Pérez Pastor, *Documentos para la biografía de D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, 258, 277–79; Varey and Shergold, *Teatros y comedias en Madrid: 1651–1665*, 228–29, 234.

⁸⁵ On 7, 17, and 18 February 1656, rehearsals took place in the garden of the palace of the Count of Monterrey (Heliche’s brother); in late November and early December 1660, rehearsals for a “Fiesta que era toda cantada” were held in a house that Heliche had rented especially for this purpose in the neighborhood where the actors lived, at the corner of the Calle León and Calle Huertas; see E-Mav, Archivo de la Secretaría, 2-468-20 and 2-468-29; Varey and Shergold, *Teatros y comedias en Madrid: 1651–1665*, 38, 219, 234–35.

⁸⁶ Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, offers a detailed account of the genres and the collaboration between Calderón and Hidalgo. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori was perhaps the first modern scholar to understand Heliche’s importance as a producer of musical plays; see his *Actores famosos del siglo XVII. Sebastián de Prado y su mujer Bernarda Ramírez* (Madrid: Tipografía de la Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos, 1916), 83 and *passim*. *Actores famosos* also appeared as a series of articles in *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* 2 (1916): 251–93, 425–57, 583–621; 3 (1917): 3–38, 151–85.

⁸⁷ Further analysis in Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, chapters 4 and 6.

⁸⁸ Osera manuscript diary, 18 October 1657, in E-Mca, Montijo, Caja 17; see Martínez Hernández, *Escribir la corte de Felipe IV*, 44, 182. The arrendador in 1655–59 was Jerónimo de Montalvo, “arrendador de los corrales and alguacil de Casa y Corte” as identified in J. E. Varey, N. D. Shergold, and Charles Davis, *Los arriendos de los corrales de comedias de Madrid: 1587–1619. Estudio y documentos* (London: Tamesis Books, 1987), 54; and Varey and Shergold, *Teatros y comedias en Madrid: 1651–1665*, 17–20, 66–67. Heliche and his wife lived at this time in apartments in his father’s palace, known as the Palacio de Uceda, located directly in front of the royal Alcázar.

and other small game for the king's hunts, and organized nautical battles and displays with small boats carrying musicians who entertained from the waters of the Buen Retiro's estanque.⁸⁹ His service to the royal family was valued, such that a hunting expedition in 1655 was postponed because he was ill with fever.⁹⁰ Similarly, when a nautical festivity with musicians on the estanque of the Buen Retiro was postponed in 1657 because he was ill, even Barrionuevo noted that without him "los reyes no hallan cosa sazónada."⁹¹ Success with all of these endeavors fueled the rapid consolidation of his personal power—he became both indispensable and envied. He dispatched business and issued commands, sometimes even from his bed, daring to preside over a "kind of court" of his own, surrounding himself with ceremony while shaping social rituals and astutely manipulating others.⁹² Bertaut described Heliche's morning gatherings:

The Marquis of *Heliche* his [Luis de Haro's] eldest, who is a grandee, as I have just related, lives more in the French manner than any lord of Spain, leaving to his father, who one barely sees any more than the king, the matters of state, and instead holding a sort of court each morning upon rising [from bed], where he lets himself be seen, even though he is one of the ugliest men in the world, albeit straight and well-built in size. He possesses abundant intellect and is quite debauchorous: even though he has the most beautiful wife in the world, he always loves some actress and other young ladies whom he entertains; yet he has gained a powerful influence in the mind of the king, and in his pleasures, and for the latter he is practically *Alcayde* of all of [the king's] country houses, such as El Retiro and others, and it is thought that he is as close to [the king] as his father [is], and that he shall succeed [his father] in the position that they used to call *de privado*, but which they now call *valido*, if his father were to be absent. He also is Gentleman of the Chamber *con exercicio*, or in function.⁹³

⁸⁹ Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, 2: 90, letter of 4 July 1657, mentions "moros músicos" who entertained from boats on the estanque.

⁹⁰ "Ayer había de ser la montería, y por darle la cuartana a Liche, mandó el Rey se suspendiese hasta hoy. Desde medio día comenzó a nevar, que lo hizo toda la noche, amaneciendo esta mañana media vara de nieve, con que se ha dejado hasta mañana." Letter of 27 January 1655, Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, 1: 107.

⁹¹ "y el día de la cuartana de Liche no hay fiesta, porque sin él los Reyes no hallan cosa sazónada"; letter of 4 July 1657, Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, 2:90. Similarly, when Carpio was too ill with quartan fever to attend the St. John's day festivities he had organized, Philip IV publicly commented, "el marqués esta malo, no se puede ver nada sin él," as reported in a rubric to Ignazio Sambiase ["D. Ignacio San Blas"], *Il regno festeggiante per l'entrata al governo del suo Gran Vicerè, e Capitan Generale, l'Illustrissimo, et Eccellentissimo Signore Don Gaspar de Haro i Guzman Marchese del Carpio, e di Licce, del Consiglio di Stato, e Guerra* [Nápoles], s.n., [1685], I-Nn, SQ XXXV C 38, p. 29.

⁹² Stuart Fitz-James y Falcó Alba (duque de), "Noticias de la corte extractadas de la correspondencia del marqués de Osera," 280–94; Martínez Hernández, *Escribir la corte de Felipe IV*, 62 and *passim*.

⁹³ "Le Marquis de *Liche* son aisé, qui est Grand comme je viens de dire, vit plus à la Française qu'aucun Seigneur d'Espagne, laissant les affaires à son pere que l'on ne voit gueres non plus que le Roy, au lieu qu'il a toujours une espece de Cour le matin à son lever, où il se laisse voir, encor qu'il soit un des plus laids hommes du monde, mais droit & bien fait dans sa taille. Il a beaucoup d'esprit & est

At night, he hosted gatherings at which other nobles joined him to eat, chat, and gamble.⁹⁴ Osera complained that Heliche treated him very rudely,⁹⁵ but he nevertheless felt obliged to seek Heliche's attention, precisely because the marquis had the power to make things happen.

Heliche's demands sometimes invited jurisdictional conflict, even with the court painter and royal interior decorator (*apostador*), Diego Velázquez, on at least one occasion. As alcaide of the Buen Retiro palace, Heliche controlled the assignment of seats in its theaters. But this privilege contradicted a long-established protocol that assigned such duties to the *apostador* and the mayordomo mayor. The conflict with Velázquez arose when Heliche planted guards at seats he was about to assign, a move that witnesses later claimed was an attempt to overrun or tread on (*atropellar*) Velázquez's legitimate jurisdiction. The painter, exercising his own authority, threw out the guards and refused to be intimidated. Felipe de Torres, a later Jefe de Tapicería, recalled that during Heliche's time at court, "obró entonces el poder y no la razón."⁹⁶

Repercussions affected the life of the city especially when Heliche organized machine plays and musical plays that pulled Madrid's acting companies away from the public theaters for extended periods. From 1 December 1651 to 24 December 1652, for instance, the troupes were occupied at the Buen Retiro, the Alcázar, or the Pardo palaces for eighty-four days with fifty-two rehearsals "for his Majesty's service."⁹⁷ Many of the court plays during Heliche's tenure also had extended runs as public entertainments, however, so that the public theaters could recoup losses. Ticket holders could enter the Coliseo from a side entrance that led away from the royal living spaces.⁹⁸ Even the nobles were expected to

fort débauché: encor qu'il ait la plus belle femme du monde, il aymé toujourns quelque Comedienne & d'autres Demoiselles qu'il entretient; mais il s'est fort insinué dans l'esprit du Roy, & dans ses plaisirs, & pour cela est quasi *Alcayde* de toutes ses maisons de campagne, comme *del retiro* & autres, & on croit qu'il est aussi bien auprès de luy que son pere, & qu'il luy succederait dans le poste qu'ils appelloient autresfois *de privado*, mais qu'ils appellent à cette heure *valido*, si son pere manquoit. Il est aussi Gentilhomme de la Chambre *con exercicio*, ou en fonction." I quote from Bertaut, *Journal du voyage d'Espagne*, ed. Cassan, 230; many thanks to Julius Stein-Supanich for providing this English translation.

⁹⁴ Friday 20 October 1657 and Sunday 26 January 1659 are just two of many examples described in Osera's diary and transcribed in Martínez Hernández, *Escribir la corte de Felipe IV*, 187, 904–5.

⁹⁵ With "terribles indecencias... pasando a desprecios"; 18 October 1657, Martínez Hernández, *Escribir la corte de Felipe IV*, 182.

⁹⁶ The primary source is a later review of protocols, E-Mn, MS 7011, fols. 22v–34v, especially fols. 28–20; see Varey and Greer, *El Teatro Palaciego en Madrid*, 68–69, 146–49; concerning the confrontation between Heliche and Velázquez, see J. E. Varey, "Velázquez y Heliche en los festejos madrileños de 1657–1658," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 169 (1972): 416–19.

⁹⁷ Cotarelo y Mori, *Actores famosos*, 80.

⁹⁸ An *aviso* registered the opening of the Coliseo theater in the Buen Retiro on 4 February 1640, with the king, queen, and many courtiers in attendance, as well as "gente que pagó la entrada como en los demas corrales." "Noticias de la Corte de Felipe IV," E-Mn, MS 8177 fol. 12–12v. On the Coliseo as a public theater, see J. E. Varey and N. D. Shergold, *Teatros y comedias en Madrid: 1666–1687* (London: Tamesis, 1974), 35–38; Shergold and Varey, *Representaciones palaciegas*, 37–38; and

pay. The pattern set in May 1652 with the semi-opera *La fiera, el rayo y la piedra* (Calderón, music presumably by Hidalgo) became typical: its first performance was for the king and queen, the second for the royal councils, and the third for the municipal officials, followed by thirty-seven days of performances for the paying public.⁹⁹

Artistic Collaboration

Heliche left no autobiographical testimony about his decisions or procedures, but it seems clear that he began by putting together an artistic team for the court productions. Baccio arrived from Florence in 1651, dispatched by the Medici to serve the Spanish court with the express purpose of staging machine plays.¹⁰⁰ In the same year, the dramatist Calderón de la Barca took holy orders and ceased to write for the public theaters. He was a seasoned courtier and well-respected dramatist who had served as a soldier in the Spanish forces led by Heliche's great uncle, the Count-Duke of Olivares. Years earlier he had chafed at the Florentine Lotti's attempts to intervene in shaping the plots of his court plays.¹⁰¹ During the years in which the theaters were closed after the deaths of Philip IV's first wife and Prince Baltasar Carlos, Calderón had written only *autos sacramentales*. Most likely, it was Heliche who convinced him to focus again on royal entertainment. Calderón's court plays for Heliche's productions of the 1650s differ considerably from his early plays, as I have noted elsewhere.¹⁰² Juan Hidalgo, the principal harpist and continuo player at court from around 1630, may have begun composing for the court theaters already in the early 1640s (an autobiographical memorandum suggests this), but his extant secular music can only be dated from the 1650s.¹⁰³ Hidalgo composed for at least nine *autos sacramentales* (allegorical religious plays performed for Corpus Christi), and sixteen court plays produced by Heliche—he provided songs for spoken comedias, partly-sung

José María Díez Borque, "Espacios del Teatro Cortesano," in *Teatro cortesano en la España de los Austrias*, ed. José María Díez Borque, *Cuadernos de Teatro Clásico* 10 (1998): 132–34; the system of compensation devised for the managers of the public theaters when the acting troupes were called to the court is described in Varey, Shergold, and Davis, *Los arriendos de los corrales de comedias de Madrid: 1587–1619*, 36–49.

⁹⁹ According to María José del Río Barredo, this process of "popularizing" the court festivities was initiated decades earlier during the *valimento* of the Count-Duke of Olivares (Heliche's great uncle), as explained in Río Barredo, *Madrid Urbs Regia*, 169–71. As I have suggested elsewhere, the incorporation of well-known songs and popular dances in the court plays contributed to this process.

¹⁰⁰ Bacci, "Lettere inedite," 68–77.

¹⁰¹ Leo Rouanet, "Un autographe inédit de Calderón," *Revue hispanique* 6 (1899): 196–200.

¹⁰² Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 126–31.

¹⁰³ Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 298–301.

zarzuelas and semi-operas, and the scores of two fully-sung operas. Within the triumvirate of stage architect, poet, and composer, Hidalgo was third in line, but if Calderón's *Darlo todo y no dar nada* of 1651 and the even more spectacular *La fiera, el rayo y la piedra* of 1652 showcased Baccio's Italianate staging and impressive sets, the third semi-opera, *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo* (1653), incorporated extensive and innovative vocal, instrumental, and dance music to coordinate with daring visual effects. In his letters, Baccio describes his own frustrated attempts to guide the Spanish composer and musical establishment toward more Italianate musical procedures.¹⁰⁴

It is important to underline here that Heliche did not recruit foreign musicians, singers, or composers, or jettison the *comedia* and its performance traditions, even in the years in which he established a place for the Spanish semi-operatic genres and then opera without recourse to foreign musical models. He had never experienced a fully-sung opera, but had surely learned about Italian opera from correspondents in Milan, Naples, and Venice. Heliche had no need of an Italian composer, however. Even as imported erotic paintings by Flemish and Italian artists proliferated in the royal collection and those of the art-loving aristocracy, Heliche did not seek or import a foreign musical idiom. Venetian paintings of episodes from the same stories Calderón manipulated for his opera libretti hung in the palace, but no Venetian operas were heard at court.¹⁰⁵ Rather, though the female nudes in the royal collection were "almost all made outside Spain, and those in the collections of Spanish grandees were either imports or copies,"¹⁰⁶ the erotic potential of Spanish song in musical theater and opera was fully realized by home-grown Venuses. The operas and musical plays were audibly Hispanic, steeped in native song and Hispanic dance patterns, even if they were staged with visual effects designed by Baccio and his successor, Antonio Maria Antonozzi.¹⁰⁷ Heliche, who did not experience Italian opera in performance until decades later (see Chapter 2), must have recognized the force of native tradition that demanded a local musical idiom. Further, the economics and exigencies of theatrical production in Madrid could not accommodate foreign singers and foreign music in this period.

¹⁰⁴ Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 130–37, 149, 277–79; Massar, "Scenes for a Calderón Play," 365–75, 445–55; Bacci, "Lettere inedite."

¹⁰⁵ José Luis Colomer, "Pautas del coleccionismo artístico nobiliario en el siglo XVII," in *Modelos de vida en la España del Siglo de Oro: El noble y el trabajador*, ed. Ignacio Arellano and Marc Vitse (Madrid: Universidad de Navarra/Editorial Iberoamericana, 2004), 123–58, comments on the Spanish taste for Venetian paintings (pp. 132–38).

¹⁰⁶ Peter Cherry, "Seventeenth-Century Spanish Taste," in Burke and Cherry, *Collections of Paintings*, 1:73; Colomer, "Pautas del coleccionismo," 139–40.

¹⁰⁷ Concerning Antonozzi in Madrid, see Juan Ramón Sánchez del Peral y López, "Antonio María Antonozzi, ingeniero de las comedias del Buen Retiro (1657–1662). Nuevos datos para la biografía de un inventor de 'maravillosas apariencias,'" *Archivo español de arte* 80 (2007): 261–73; Chaves Montoya, *El espectáculo teatral*, 263–77 and *passim*.

Performers

Traditionally, two excellent and well-balanced troupes were formed and retained in Madrid for the season every year during Lent to ensure that neither of the public theaters (the Cruz and the Príncipe) would operate at an automatic disadvantage. More important, the same companies that performed comedias in the public theaters performed the court plays produced by Heliche, as well as the two autos sacramentales designed for both royal and public viewing and staged annually at Corpus Christi. Under Heliche's leadership, the recruitment of balanced companies assured that the best actress-singers and musicians would stay in Madrid. This concern for professional musical talent, a novelty in the early 1650s, became routine, as explained in a consultation among those managing the theaters sometime later, after Heliche's departure. An undated *informe* stresses the importance of overseeing the formation of the companies, "porque se hagan con igualdad ambas compañías y no se hagan con desigualdad poniendo en la una los mejores papeles y mas música que en la otra." The practice of adding musical extras ("sobresalientes," some of whom did not belong to any company) is also cited, since "siempre que ha sido necesario traer algun comediante o comedianta para la mayor formación, se ha enviado... para traerle." The practice of joining two companies together, initiated by Heliche for the musical plays and operas, was standard by the time of the document: "Y con ellas [las dos compañías] siempre se han hecho las fiestas a Su Magestad pues en el arbitrio de los señores que han cuidado de ellas, juntar ambas compañías o sacar las principales partes de la una y ponerlas en la otra, como ha sido estilo y se ha ejecutado así en las fiestas que se han hecho en Palacio... pues en ambas compañías se procure siempre queden los mejores representantes y mayores músicas."¹⁰⁸ This document argues that only the city officials overseeing the theaters should be allowed to make decisions about the assignment of personnel to the troupes, thus placing their judgment over that of any palace official. It may be that the memory of Heliche's absolutely personal and tyrannical involvement in the business of theater still cast a heavy shadow years after his departure from Madrid, prompting this new specification.

The musicians and singers for Heliche's court productions were drawn from two very different groups—on the one hand, the actors, actresses, and musicians who worked in the acting troupes, and, on the other, a few instrumentalists who were employed at court and in the Royal Chapel. The regular musicians from the theatrical companies were the same ones who composed, arranged, improvised, and performed music for the public theaters.¹⁰⁹ These harpists and guitarists taught the actress-singers their music and played in the basso continuo ensemble.

¹⁰⁸ E-Mav, Archivo de la Secretaría, 3-470-23.

¹⁰⁹ Flórez Asensio, *Músicos de compañía*, 2:467–709 offers a catalogue of biographical information about the musicians associated with the acting troupes.

They also provided offstage music and performed as costumed “musicians” onstage when a scene called for them. The core of the theatrical orchestra for the court plays and operas, however, was drawn from the highly skilled, salaried instrumentalists of the Royal Chapel and chamber, including harpists, keyboard players, and violin and violón players. A document from 1658 bears witness to this combination: a core group of three court musicians—the harpist Hidalgo, the keyboard player Francisco Clavijo, and the bass viol and violón player Tomás Gallo—is listed in attendance along with actors and actresses at the meal served during a rehearsal in the Buen Retiro.¹¹⁰ This combination (musicians from the acting troupes together with royal musicians) had provided music occasionally for court plays staged in earlier decades. After 1650, their collaboration made it possible for the Spanish court to produce highly musical plays while respecting the production system that provided a regular series of comedias almost daily in the commercial theaters.

Women Singing Onstage

Roles in the royal musical plays and operas during Heliche’s years in Madrid were sung almost exclusively by female actress-singers from the acting troupes. They performed both the male and female characters, such that singing roles, even for male characters such as Apollo, Adonis, and Cephalus, were invariably assigned to women, except for special comic characters and a few “old man” *barbas* roles (Rústico in *Celos aun del aire matan* and Morfeo in the semi-opera *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo*, for example). This distinctively Spanish preference for female voices onstage, together with an association between high-status mythological characters and high female voices, was among the performance conventions preserved from earlier courtly practice. In one of the earliest surviving Spanish court plays, *La fábula de Dafne*, from the 1590s,¹¹¹ the *dramatis personae* lists nymphs and shepherds, the deities Apolo, Diana, Venus, and Cupido (along with

¹¹⁰ E-Mpa, Sección Administrativa, leg. 666 [=11744]; see also Shergold and Varey, *Representaciones palaciegas*, 60.

¹¹¹ The performance was sponsored by the widowed Empress Maria of Austria (1528–1603), daughter of Charles V, widow of Maximilian II, Queen of Bohemia and Hungary, and sister to Philip II, and took place in her rooms at the Convent of the Descalzas Reales at two o’clock in the afternoon on one of the Sundays of Carnival, probably in the 1590s, to entertain the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia and Prince Philip (future Philip III). See Esther Borrego Gutiérrez, “Del mito a la escena. Una ‘Fábula de Dafne’ de finales del siglo XVI en las Descalzas Reales,” *Analecta malacitana: Revista de la Sección de Filología de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras* 39 (2016–17): 321–34. Teresa Ferrer Valls, *La práctica escénica cortesana: de la época del emperador a la de Felipe III* (London: Tamesis, 1991), 58–75; Teresa Ferrer Valls, *Nobleza y espectáculo teatral (1535–1622); Estudio y documentos* (Valencia: Universitat de Valencia, 1993), 26–29. Pilar Ramos López, “Dafne, una fábula en la corte de Felipe II,” *Anuario musical* 50 (1995): 23–45, does not situate this *Dafne* in the context of other court plays with music. The manuscript text and description are F-Pn, MS Espagnol 501 (R.52.915), fol. 2; described in Alfred Morel-Fatio, ed., *Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des*

Cupido's brothers, Acaristo and Erocriso). The river Peneo was the comic barbas role, "with long hair and a long beard." Musicians from the royal chapel played instrumental music from an offstage gallery, mostly hidden from view, but all the onstage characters were played by young courtiers. The deities and allegorical figures speak in Italianate verse in eleven-syllable lines providing elevated poetic decorum within the main action of the play; but the texts of the few songs in the play are in traditional Spanish octosyllabic meter.¹¹²

In this early *Dafne*, the well-known *romance* "Venteçico murmurador..." was performed onstage by doña Isabel Sánchez (one of the daughters of the king's favorite painter, Alonso Sánchez Coello). As the deity Apolo, she sang while accompanying herself on the harp.¹¹³ A young female amateur thus was costumed as Apolo but sang a simple romance, despite the play's Italianate literary and visual features. When Isabel Sánchez sang "Venteçico murmurador...", her harp accompaniment likely unfolded as closely-spaced, easy-to-reach chords. She probably did not sing in a special, elevated style, given that this romance circulated among other such songs in a familiar vernacular repertory. The extant settings of "Venteçico murmurador..." offer clear declamation of the poetic text enlivened by typically Hispanic hemiola, in a homophonic and homorhythmic texture—what the sixteenth-century vihuela books refer to as "música golpeada."¹¹⁴

A similar scene from Lope de Vega's *Adonis y Venus*, performed at court between 1598 and 1603 by a professional acting company, demonstrates how the tradition of assigning sung roles to young women carried over from the amateur

Manuscripts, Catalogue des manuscrits Espagnols et des manuscrits portugais (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1892).

¹¹² One song whose text is in the popular seguidillas meter is introduced with the stage direction, "From within the tiring room the music of various instruments is heard, and [musicians] sing this pastoral ballad in praise of Apollo" ("Suena dentro del vestuario música de varios instrumentos y cantan este Romance pastoril en alabanza de Apolo"), F-Pn, MS Espagnol 501 (R.52.915), fol. 28.

¹¹³ F-Pn, MS Espagnol 501 (R.52.915), fol. 48. Like her father, Isabel Sánchez Coello was also a painter, although her musical talent was noted in contemporary sources, as summarized in Ramos López, "*Dafne*," 8. Another female painter also reputed to be a fine musician was Sofonisba Anguissola, who was sent to the Spanish court as a companion and painting instructor to the young Isabel Valois and remained after Isabel's death in 1568 as a tutor to the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia (to 1575); see Maria Kusche, "Sofonisba Anguissola en España," *Archivo Español de Arte* 248 (1989): 391–420.

¹¹⁴ "Venteçico murmurador" appears in printed poetic *romanceros* from 1595. Four surviving musical sources preserve it: V-CVbav, Chigi L.VI.200, p. 19, a manuscript anthology dated 1599 with poetry and songs in "*alfabeto*" notation for the Spanish guitar; E-Mn, MS M/1370-1372 "Romances y letras a tres voces," p. 39, transcribed in Miguel Querol, ed., *Romances y letras a tres voces*, Monumentos de la Música Española 18 (Barcelona: CSIC, 1956), 71–72; and E-PAbm, B89-A-18 [MS R. 6828/860, MS 13231], fols. 104v–105 (both polyphonic songbooks copied in aristocratic circles around 1600–20); and an arrangement for Spanish guitar in Luis de Briceño, *Método muy facilissimo para aprender a tañer la guitarra* (Paris: Pierre Ballard, 1626). The three-voiced polyphonic settings are nearly identical, despite variants in their poetic texts, and they are closely related to the settings for Spanish guitar (one Italian and the other French).

courtly productions into the later professional ones. The central scene of the third act is the most openly amorous and lyrical moment in the play. Venus sings an eight-line romance (a poem well known in its time) to convey the affective eroticism of the scene in which Adonis rests in her lap. The song-text, “Rapazillo lisongero, el de los ojos vendados...,” maintains the playful tone that pervades the play. In its performance conventions, this scene is very similar to Apollo’s musical scene from *La fábula de Dafne*. In both cases, a young woman sings an amorous romance onstage within her role as a mythological deity and in the presence of the sleeping mortal object of desire. Note that musical performance is the vehicle for the overpowering the sexual greed of Apollo toward Dafne, on the one hand, and the libidinous anxiety of Venus for Adonis, on the other. According to the precedent set in these very early court plays, sexual desire, male or female, was voiced exclusively in lyrical song by young female singers.

The musical plays Heliche produced in the 1650s also drew from Ovid’s erotic mythological stories, reworked and sometimes intertwined by the dramatists (as in Antonio de Solís’ hybrid *Triunfos de Amor y Fortuna*). Two points need to be underlined concerning the presence of song in Heliche’s productions: the voices of young women were essential, and singing itself became a kind of erotic display appropriate only for low-born women. In early 1658, during preparations for an important machine play, Heliche issued an order that affected the staffing of the theatrical companies and the distribution of the actress-singers. As Barrionuevo reported:

On the feast day of San Blas, their majesties go to the Buen Retiro, and on 8 February they will attend the *comedia grande* that is to cost 50,000 ducats, with machines and effects never before seen or heard. Some 132 people perform, among them 42 women musicians that have been brought together from all over Spain, without leaving any behind [in the provinces]... and among them *la Bezona* [Francisca Bezón] has arrived, very much a lady, from Seville, and *la Grifona* [Bernarda Manuela], who escaped from her imprisonment; with all of them, the *fiesta* will be grand and will last through all of carnival until Ash Wednesday, so that we may all enjoy it.¹¹⁵

So many of the best actress-singers were called to Madrid for Heliche’s production of *Triunfos de Amor y Fortuna* (offered three nights just before Lent and

¹¹⁵ “El día de San Blas se van los Reyes al Retiro, y a los 8 de febrero a la comedia grande, que costará 50.000, ducados, de tramoyas nunca vistas ni oídas. Entran en ella 132 personas, siendo las 42 de ellas mujeres músicas que han traído de toda España, sin dejar ninguna en Andalucía, Castilla la Nueva y Vieja, Murcia, Valencia; y entre ellas ha venido la Bezona, muy dama de Sevilla, y la Grifona, que se escapó de su encierro; con que la fiesta sera grande y durará las Carnestolendas hasta el día de Ceniza, para que todos la gocemos.” Cotarelo y Mori, *Actores famosos*, 107; see also letter of 9 January 1658 in Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, 2:149.

then again in May and June for the public), with its prolonged rehearsal period, that more than one itinerant troupe working elsewhere in Spain was robbed of singing women. This forced a reorganization of the acting companies, accomplished during Lent, when the guild held its annual meeting in Madrid. Heliche's bold move set a precedent—for most future productions, the female singers he selected were required to leave their companies for an extended period of rehearsals and performances at court under his orders. Documents about the financial affairs of the public theaters are replete with descriptions of how agents sent by Heliche would appear at the theaters to pull individual actress-singers away from their roles in spoken comedias, just so that they could participate in rehearsals for the royal productions.

Heliche consistently shaped the casts for the court productions, even sometimes adding *sobresaliente* singers with sufficient renown to have extracted themselves from direct obligation to any company. Thanks to Heliche's decisions, some of the most talented female singers were thus emancipated into a kind of free agency. Musical talent and vocal ability became highly valued attributes that could broker some degree of independence even for these common women. In exchange for their obedience, or perhaps out of respect for their talent, the marquis accorded his singers special treatment that they would not otherwise have enjoyed. He sent carriages to ferry them to and from rehearsals and performances,¹¹⁶ fed them with sweets and meriendas, added elegant dresses to their wardrobes, and, in some cases, kept them well in special lodgings.¹¹⁷ The three Andrade sisters (Micaela, Feliciana, and Ana), recruited from Toledo in 1657, were lodged in an especially comfortable house. Heliche gave them a generous per diem for their meals, promised them richly decorated dresses for their first appearance before the king, guaranteed another special costume for their performances in the autos sacramentales, and generally gave them "anything they wish and ask for; and, rightly so because, it is said that they are deserving because they are uniquely talented to appear in any genre of festivity."¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ See, for example, letters from Heliche to the Duke of Montalto, 1659–1661, within "Papeles tocantes a la caballeriza de la Reina 1641–1661," E-PAbm, B84-F-01/04, 4 vols. [olim 21-2-1-I/IV].

¹¹⁷ Cotarelo y Mori, *Actores famosos*, 121.

¹¹⁸ "El Marqués de Liche ha traído de Toledo a Madrid para festejar al Rey, tres hermanas, que llaman las Tinientas, por serlo de teniente de cura de la Magdalena de aquella ciudad. Son de extremado parecer: representan, cantan, tocan, y bailan, y tienen todas las partes necesarias de graciosidad, que hoy se hallan en grado excelente y superior. Tiénelas en una casa muy regaladas, dándoles cada día para su plato 50 reales, y un vestido riquísimo el primer día que las viere y oyere el Rey, y para el Corpus, otro, y todo cuanto desean y piden por su boca; y de verdad que, según se dice, lo merecen, por ser únicas y generales en todo género de festejo." Letter of 4 April 1657 in Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, 2:74–75; Cotarelo y Mori, *Actores famosos*, 98. See also E-Mn, MS 12917 and MS 12918, in modern edition N. D. Shergold and J. E. Varey, eds., *Genealogía, origen y noticias de los comediantes de España*, Fuentes para la historia del teatro en España (London: Tamesis Books, 1985), 2:419–20; Pérez Pastor, *Documentos para la biografía de D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, 248–49, transcribes the order from the municipal authorities (E-Mav, Archivo de la Secretaría, 2-197-16) that specifies the travel reimbursement and payments to the Andrade sisters.

Heliche raised the status of actress-singers as a group beyond what it had been before he institutionalized the professional performance of large-scale, musically endowed court plays for dynastic occasions. Dresses, shoes, stockings, and other items of stage attire were the most valuable professional assets that actresses possessed outside their own bodies. When troupes and their actresses were contracted annually for the autos sacramentales in Madrid, their trunks and dresses were embargoed as a kind of security deposit to assure their cooperation.¹¹⁹ To meet Heliche's elevated production standard, the actresses were especially well dressed when they performed at the palace. The new dresses paid for with royal funds exhibited luxury items (gold and silver thread, brocade, embroidery, sequins, pearls, gems or false gems, extensive lace) otherwise strictly prohibited by sumptuary law. At court and onstage, the actresses were dressed almost royally, thus preserving royal decorum in that their voices emerged from bodies shaped and clothed for royal viewing. Dressed in finery, their performances maintained a kind of verisimilitude, offering a simulacrum of interactions among the powerful and well dressed.

For actresses born in poverty, restricted by low social standing, and accustomed to hard work, the rewards of performing in the palace plays were inestimable.¹²⁰ Most had been introduced to the stage in a period of apprenticeship from a very young age.¹²¹ Many were trained to perform by their parents or alongside their brothers. From 1586 to around 1660, actresses in Madrid were only permitted to work in troupes that also employed their husbands, fathers, or brothers—a restriction typical in other early modern European contexts as well. From approximately 1660 onward, as Sanz Ayán has noted, actresses emerge more frequently in the documents as independent agents and female directors known as *autoras*. Some of these autoras were widows who simply continued to head the troupes formed and previously directed by their husbands. But others were industrious businesswomen who eschewed marriage altogether. More than likely, Heliche's intervention in the business of theatrical production not only changed the relationship between the actresses in Madrid and the

¹¹⁹ One example is E-Mav, Archivo de la Secretaría, 2-198-11, the embargo of “una arpa con su caja” belonging to the harpist Marcos Garcés “el Capiscol,” and “la ropa” as well as “dos arcos de vestidos” belonging to María de los Santos that took place at her lodgings on 28 February 1662; for other examples, see N. D. Shergold and J. E. Varey, *Los autos sacramentales en Madrid en la época de Calderón, 1637–1681: estudio y documentos* (Madrid: Ediciones de Historia, Geografía y Arte, 1961), 63, 252, 285.

¹²⁰ María Asunción Flórez Asensio, “Que más parecía casa de título que de particular,” *Bulletin hispanique*, 118 (2016): 647–72, argues that some actresses were financially advantaged and thus collected paintings; she does not consider that they may have been receiving and selling paintings, rather than merely collecting them as luxury items.

¹²¹ Carmen Sanz Ayán, “Las ‘autoras’ de comedias en el siglo XVII: empresarias teatrales en tiempos de Calderón,” in *Calderón de la Barca y la España del Barroco*, ed. José N. Alcalá-Zamora and Queipo de Llano and Ernest Belenguier (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2001), 2:543–79, especially 549–50.

commerce of the public theaters but accelerated a process of professional female emancipation.

What little is known about the lives of the actress-singers indicates that they were featured in Heliche's productions at a very young age. Manuela de Escamilla (b. 1648) was only seven, for example, when she began to appear onstage in comic skits; at age thirteen she married for the first time and was performing comic pants roles in Madrid, paired with her father, Antonio. When she performed a principal role in the opera *Celos aun del aire matan*, she was no older than fourteen or fifteen.¹²² Various scraps of documentary and musical evidence suggest that Hispanic singers sang onstage in a manner different from what developed into virtuoso singing in Italy or France. Spanish writings about music in this period offer little about vocal technique. But both Luis de Milán in the early sixteenth century and Pablo Nassarre in the early eighteenth century offer at least a few remarks. Milán's book contains mostly solo music for vihuela but also includes pieces with poetic texts (twelve villancicos, four romances, and six sonnets) whose vocal lines are printed in red in the tablature. He admonishes the singer to embellish and sing with a degree of agility comparable to that of the skilled vihuela player. The vihuela was a very soft instrument whose sound died rapidly, so the singer is advised not to produce a heavy, loud sound. Moreover, "Here the *romances* begin, and to perform them one must play the chords slowly but play very quickly the [instrumental] flourishes at the ends of phrases when the voice finishes The singer has to *hacer garganta* [sing ornaments or passagework] when the vihuela is not making *redobles* [i.e., ornaments or diminution]."¹²³

Milán's term "hacer garganta" has usually been understood to mean "to improvise vocal embellishments." But the specificity of his reference to the throat is noteworthy in connection with amorous song-texts. In Calderón's zarzuela *El laurel de Apolo*, which Heliche produced in 1657, a comic character mentions fast ornaments or divisions rising from the throat to explain that, even in disguise, the Olympian deities can be identified in conversation by their "gorgoritas de garganta" (trills or gurgles of the throat).¹²⁴ There are many more small references

¹²² Shergold and Varey, eds., *Genealogía, origen y noticias de los comediantes de España*, 421; Cassiano Pellicer, *Tratado histórico sobre el origen y progresos de la comedia y del histrionismo en España* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Administración del Real Arbitrio de Beneficencia, 1804), 2:86–90, [E-Mn, 1/16746].

¹²³ At the heading for the first romance (p. 180), "Con pavor recuerdo el moro," "Aquí empieçan los romances y han de tañer lo que fuere consonancia a espacio [i.e., despacio] y los redobles que hay a las finales quando acaba la voz muy apriessa"; at the beginning of "Triste estaba muy quejosa la triste reina troya" (183) "El cantor ha de hacer garganta quando la vihuela no hacer redobles"; and before the first sonnet, "O gelosia d'amanti orribil freno" (184) "el cantor puede hacer garganta donde hallar a [hallara] que hay lugar"; Luis de Milán, *Libro de música de vihuela de mano intitulado El Maestro* (Valencia: Francisco Díaz Romano, 1536), 180–84 [E-Mn, R/9281].

¹²⁴ Bata remarks, "The gods, even when they are disguised, give clear signs of their identity, in that they do not speak as we do . . . they speak with such a sweet melody, such smooth consonance,

to the throat and to a bubbling or gurgling vocal agility threaded through Spanish sources. Almost two centuries after Milán, Nassarre (1650–1730) also mentions agility and explains that high voices (such as those of boys and women) are “quick in the divisions” or “pasos de garganta” that are commonly referred to as “most elegant” (“de gala”).¹²⁵ He further explains that naturally high voices produce a lighter, higher, and more agile sound because the “tube in which the voice is formed is narrower” (“caña donde se forma la voz es mas delgada”). In Nassarre’s view, the weaker vocal musculature of young women benefits the art of singing because it allows them to move the voice quickly, when the “epiglottis or little tongue that covers the organ of the larynx moves itself at the same time and makes a very fast movement, closing and opening the little opening very rapidly” [“epiglot o lengüecilla que cubre el organo de la Larinx se mueve al mismo tiempo y tiene mas veloz movimiento, cerrando y abriendo muy aprisa el agugerillo”]. For Nassarre, the natural voice (“voz natural”) is the most pleasing, whereas singing in *falsete* requires a forceful push of air that involves a species of distasteful physical violence. He disapproves of singers who use too much vibrato (“vozes que estan tremolando”), emphasizing that “thin voices” “vozes delgadas” and those “de poco cuerpo” are preferable because singers with light voices can more clearly articulate the words. Though his treatise was published in 1723–24, he worked on it for some fifty years, so it reflects late seventeenth-century Spanish practice. Nassarre articulates priorities and preferences contrary to the kind of powerful singing and unification of the chest and head voices that Pier Francesco Tosi championed in his more familiar 1723 Italian treatise.¹²⁶

Tosi and the castrati he valued were heirs to a tradition of virtuoso singing that had first emerged at Italian courts in the last decades of the sixteenth century. At the Spanish royal court in the same period, entertainments featured young amateur court ladies whose songs from a well-known Spanish repertory were untouched by the “nuove musiche.” While Italian listeners came to appreciate trained, mature female voices, not to mention big-chested castrati, the profession of “theatrical singer” in Madrid did not respond to the same aesthetic. Nassarre’s

that their voices always sound like music in one’s soul. Thus, hearing someone make such trills of the throat, recognize him for a god.” “Los dioses, aun disfrazados, / Dan de quien son señas craras, / Que no habran como nosotros. / ...Con tan dulce melodía, / Tan suave consonancia, / Que siempre suena su voz / Como música en el alma: / Y así, en oyendole que hace / Gorgoritas de garganta, / Cátales Dios.” *El laurel de Apolo in Tercera parte de comedias de D. Pedro Calderon de la Barca* (Madrid: Domingo García Morrás, a costa de Domingo Palacio y Villegas, 1664), 194 [E-Mn, R/10637].

¹²⁵ Pablo Nasarre, *Escuela Música según la práctica moderna* (Zaragoza: herederos de Diego de Larumbe, 1723–24), 1:46 [E-Mn, R/9268].

¹²⁶ Pier Francesco Tosi, *Opinioni de’ cantori antichi e moderni* (Bologna: Lelio dalla Volpe, 1723); English translation and adaptation in John Ernest Galliard, *Observations on the Florid Song or Sentiments on the Ancient and Modern Singers* (London: J. Wilcox, 1743).

preferences would seem to map particularly well onto Heliche's productions from the 1650s in which very young, untrained, female actress-singers performed to the accompaniment of gut-strung harps, guitars, and violas da gamba. The kind of voice that Nassarre preferred was a naturally light and agile female voice whose tone is produced without force and without much vibrato—just the sort of voice likely produced by Heliche's singers.

That principal sung roles in Hispanic opera were only assigned to women with high voices might also respond to early modern Spanish ideas about masculine dignity. For a man to openly display himself through the unbound vehicle of emotive song seems to have been indecorous, effeminate, and unattractive. Heliche himself was taunted as a young man merely for displaying his feelings in public, though his capacity for unabashed emotional expression was later admired in Italy. Professional male singers employed at the royal court in the chapel and chamber were never seen onstage, though they were heard singing from offstage in some early court theatricals.¹²⁷ Presumably, Spanish actors and musicians protected their masculinity. Just after Heliche's departure from the court, an actor indeed attempted to escape a sung role. The theatrical company of Joseph Carrillo was ordered in February 1663 to bring an actor named Gerónimo de Heredia to Madrid from Sevilla. He was chosen for the principal male role in one of the autos sacramentales planned for Corpus Christi. The organizers claimed that among all the actors in Madrid, nobody else would be capable of taking this role in Calderón's auto *El divino Orfeo*. The voice of Orfeo in this religious play was to represent the voice of the Christian god, so it obviously could not be assigned to a woman. Once Heredia arrived and was handed his part, he attempted to leave the city—he was detained again with all of his possessions embargoed to prevent a second flight. On 5 May, two days before the start of the final rehearsals, Heredia was warned that he would be jailed if he attempted to flee.¹²⁸ The documents give no explanation for his refusal to play a well-remunerated leading role in an auto sacramental, and, certainly, there were plenty of other actors in Madrid. A glimpse at the text of Calderón's *El divino Orfeo* suggests an explanation. The role of Orfeo, with his "golden voice," was to be mostly or even entirely sung, and required the performance of *recitado*.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ See Louise K. Stein, "The Musicians of the Spanish Royal Chapel and Court Entertainments, 1590–1648," in *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs: Music and Court Ceremony in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Tess Knighton (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2005), 173–94.

¹²⁸ Documents transcribed in Shergold and Varey, *Los autos sacramentales en Madrid*, 168–73, 188.

¹²⁹ The opening stage direction for Orfeo in the 1663 version of Calderón's auto sacramental states, "Adviértase que cuanto represente ha de ser cantado en estilo recitativo" and later, "Canta Orfeo como siempre" and so on; see *Autos sacramentales alegóricos y historiales... compuestos por Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca... primera parte* (Madrid: José Fernández de Buendía, 1677), 157, 160, 171–72 [E-Mn, R-33881]; see also the modern edition, Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *El divino Orfeo, versión de 1663*, ed. Eduardo Duarte (Kassel: Reichenberger, 1999); (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2000), <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmckp7z2>.

The stage directions bring Orfeo onstage, walking toward the public while singing with wide-open mouth. Rather than risk ridicule or a loss of stature for exposing himself onstage in this way, Heredia risked arrest and imprisonment. It might also be that the particular kind of singing necessary for this role was gendered as female. *Recitado*, essential for this Orfeo, was designed for young women who took the principal roles in Calderón's partly-sung mythological court plays. Perhaps it was considered feminizing in that it conveyed more verisimilar affective sincerity than did lyrical strophic coplas. Moreover, on a continuum of sung genres, *recitado* was clearly an invention and thus artificial, though typically reserved for especially intimate, desperate, or passionate utterances. It was a difficult-to-perform, rarely employed, unusual kind of singing, perfected by actress-singers. Both passionate and artificial, it might be compared to certain styles of dress that were thought demeaning to Spanish masculine *gravitas*. Spanish men cultivated restraint in both dress and bearing. Indeed, the nobles who accompanied Philip IV and María Teresa to the Spanish-French border in the Basque country for her marriage noted the strong contrast between their own sobriety of costume and the flamboyant artifice displayed by the French group, though "French elegance could not be dismissed merely as gaudy ornaments of feathers and ribbons."¹³⁰ If elaborate artifice and decoration were less than fully masculine in the Spanish view, perhaps male characters, especially those that sang *recitado*, were commonly assigned to actress-singers in the musical plays because onstage performance of artificial *recitado* and decorative airs was unattractively unmasculine.¹³¹

¹³⁰ 12 June 1660: "Escriben muchos de nuestros cortesanos que fueron tantos los señores y señoras que vinieron de Francia a esta acción, y tantas y ricas las galas con que la lucieron, que conocidamente quedamos inferiores de nuestra parte, aunque hubo gran cuidado en este esmero, sin perdonar a gasto, con lo cual en esta ocasión ya no la tendremos para decir, como en otras, que las galas francesas se reducian a follaje de plumas y cintería." Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, 2:224; for an analysis of French and Spanish visual display within the politics of this encounter, see José Luis Colomer, "Paz política, rivalidad suntuaria, Francia y España en la isla de los Faisanes," in *Arte y diplomacia de la monarquía hispánica en el siglo XVII* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2003), 61–88.

¹³¹ Given contrasting French and Spanish attitudes, it is hardly surprising that, though both courts produced fully-sung opera in 1660 to mark the treaty or royal marriage, the results were strikingly different. Mazarin commissioned a libretto from the Roman Francesco Buti and wrote to Florence, Rome, Turin, Venice, and Vienna, in search of musicians. In August 1659, he endeavored to recruit Francesco Cavalli as composer for the French celebration. A Venetian ambassador convinced Cavalli and secured his leave from the Serene Republic. It is likely that Philip IV and Heliche learned of the French plans. Because the new Salle des Machines in the Tuileries, designed by Gaspare Vigarani, was not completed in time, the commissioned opera (Cavalli's *Ercole amante* with additional music by Lully) was put off until February 1662. In November 1660, an older opera, Cavalli's *Xerse*, was performed in the Grand Gallery of the Louvre to honor the royal marriage. See Michael Klaper, "'Ercole amante sconosciuto': Reconstructing the Revised Version of Cavalli's Parisian Opera," in *Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage, Manuscript, Edition, Production*, ed. Ellen Rosand (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), 333–52; Henry Prunieres, *L'Opéra Italien en France avant Lully* (Paris: E. Champion, 1913), 221–31.

The contrast between the sound of Spanish and French women onstage was noted by the French gentleman Antoine de Brunel, when he visited Madrid in 1655. He wrote that the singing of the actresses in Madrid sounded like the cries of young children.¹³² Thus the sound of femininity enacted for the court audience was very young and unschooled—hardly surprising, given that Spanish aristocrats preferred to marry extremely young women, hoping that the freshness of youth would bring enhanced fertility to the essential project of aristocratic succession. The performances of very young actress-singers poured forth the erotic persuasion of song from an ideal vessel. Though the actresses appeared fully clothed, their natural voices could spark the viewer-listener to imagine what moved beneath their costumes.

Erotic mythologies, whether painted or performed onstage, were acknowledged to stimulate the erotic imagination.¹³³ It seems reasonable to conclude that the shows on erotic mythological stories produced between 1650 and 1662 were meant to inspire the royal couple and celebrate their procreative success, however temporary. Musical plays and operas were only performed to celebrate events of dynastic significance—royal births and their anniversaries, the queen's pregnancies, the namedays of the royal family, and, finally, dynastic alliances and weddings. The right kind of stimulating entertainment was epithalamic—meant to encourage royal conception. Of course, every successful conception was cause for celebration. When one of the queen's pregnancies was announced in June 1655, a "cape and sword" play was produced immediately at the Buen Retiro, first for the royal family and then for the public. The queen watched the play and observed the audience from behind a screen, without being indecorously observed.¹³⁴ As her pregnancy advanced, Heliche commissioned twenty-two new plays distributed between the two companies in Madrid.¹³⁵ In December 1656, it was reported that a "gran comedia y otros muchos divertimientos" were in preparation for 20 January 1657 at the Zarzuela palace, "where she likes to go every year."¹³⁶ When Prince Felipe Próspero was born (28 November 1657), Heliche organized an extended series of festivities whose highpoint was a

¹³² "On les commence par quelque Prologue en Musique, mais on chante si mal, que leur harmonie semble des cris de petits enfans," Antoine de Brunel, *Voyage d'Espagne, curieux, historique et politique, fait en l'année 1655* (Paris: C de Cercy, 1665), 28.

¹³³ It may be that both Calderón and Heliche knew Lope de Vega's consideration of this idea in *La quinta de Florencia*; see Frederick A. de Armas, "Lope de Vega's *La quinta de Florencia*: An Example of Iconic Role-playing," *Hispanófila* 84 (1985): 31–42, concerning this comedia and its embeddedness in seventeenth-century society.

¹³⁴ Letter of 16 June 1655, Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, 1:148.

¹³⁵ Letter of 24 November 1655, Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, 1:222; Shergold, *A History of the Spanish Stage*, 313.

¹³⁶ Letter of 13 December 1656, Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, 2:34; her birthday was celebrated on 22 December 1656 with a new play at the palace and other festivities; Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, 2:39. Two companies were combined for the zarzuela, *El golfo de las sirenas*, at the Zarzuela palace on 17 January 1657; see Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, 2:53–54; Shergold, *A History of the Spanish Stage*, 317–18.

musical machine play (appropriate descriptions were published and circulated to his own credit).¹³⁷ The king prayed in public and rode in solemn procession to the church of Nuestra Señora de Atocha, where the Te Deum was sung. Fireworks and celebratory bullfights followed, together with outdoor equestrian competitions and displays performed by teams of elegantly attired courtiers on fine horses. The fireworks, torch-lit processions, bullfights, and equestrian games in 1657–58 followed the expected protocol after a royal birth. Heliche's production of *Triunfos de Amor y Fortuna* by Antonio de Solís, with songs by Hidalgo and singing actresses draped on machines, was the long-planned novelty,¹³⁸ offered in the Coliseo beginning 27 February 1658, with visual effects designed by Baccio (d. 1657) but engineered by his successor, Antonozzi.¹³⁹

The queen's youthful femininity was accented and reflected in the nearly all-female casts of the musical plays. Elegantly dressed, the actresses appeared similar to court ladies. Actresses were both exploited and ennobled by the official attention they received in Heliche's productions. These low-born women could enjoy at least the illusion of power onstage—a chance they enjoyed in much smaller numbers, if at all, elsewhere in Europe. The manuscript *Genealogía, origen y noticias de los comediantes de España* makes a point of describing actresses as pious and devout, as if to clear all actresses from the charge of being loose women.¹⁴⁰ It is unclear, however, whether Heliche would protect actresses (materially, professionally, or personally) if they rebuffed the advances of other male aristocrats. There are indications that they were not deliberately protected in sexual relationships with courtiers.¹⁴¹

The association between erotic pleasure and young singing actresses easily grew from real-life sexual activity, including the king's own affairs. As is well known, in his youth King Philip chased young actresses, among them María

¹³⁷ The principal *relación* is E-Mn, R/4443, Luis de Ulloa, *Fiestas que se celebraron en la Corte por el nacimiento de Don Felipe Próspero, Príncipe de Asturias* (n.p., n.d.), no pagination; concerning Heliche's exploitation of the event and these publications for personal political promotion, see Vidales del Castillo, "El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras," 205–14.

¹³⁸ In *Comedias de Don Antonio de Solís secretario del Rey...* (Madrid: Melchor Álvarez, 1681), 1–54; concerning the music, see Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 282–85.

¹³⁹ The staging is reviewed in Shergold, *A History of the Spanish Stage*, 320–24; Varey, "Velázquez y Heliche," 410–15; Brown and Elliott, *A Palace for a King*, 206; and Chaves Montoya, *El espectáculo teatral*, 269–77; concerning Baccio and the performance dates for this "comedia grande," see Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 282 n. 58.

¹⁴⁰ E-Mn, MS 12917 and MS 12918.

¹⁴¹ This anecdote from Barrionuevo's letter of 7 November 1657 (*Avisos*, 2:107) is illustrative: "Estaban el marqués de Almazán y conde de Monterrey juntos viendo una comedia. Antojóseles una comedianta muy bizarra que representaba muy bien y con lindas galas. Asieron de ella sus criados, y así como estaba, la metieron en un coche que picó, llevadosela como el ánima del sastre suelen los diablos llevarse. Siguióla su marido, dando, sin por qué, muestras de honrado, y con él un alcalde de corte que se halló al robo de Elena. No se la volvieron, aunque los alcanzaron, hasta echarle a la olla las especias. Mandólos el Rey prender. Todo se hará noche; contentarán al marido, con que habrá de callar y acomodarse al tiempo, como hacen todos, supuesto que se la vuelven Buena y sana, sin faltarle pierna ni brazo, y contenta como una Pascua. Llámase la tal la Gálvez."



Figure 1.7 Portrait of María Inés Calderón, *Alegoría de la Vanidad*, Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid, 00610746. © Patrimonio Nacional.

Inés Calderón, known as La Calderona.¹⁴² The anonymous portrait shown in Figure 1.7, known as the *Allegory of Vanity* but long assumed to depict this actress, might inform our understanding of the natural freshness and youthful femininity appreciated in Heliche's singers.¹⁴³

¹⁴² Her name was originally Inés Isabel María Calderón, according to Manuel Gómez García, *Diccionario Akal de Teatro* (Madrid: Akal, 1997), 133. Their son, Juan José de Austria (born the same year as Heliche and addressed as "Su Alteza"), was fully recognized by the king; he ruled briefly for almost two years beginning in 1677 until his unexpected death due to illness in September 1679.

¹⁴³ *Alegoría de la vanidad*, anonymous painting in the Real Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales, Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional de España, Inv. 00610746.

María Inés is painted in court attire, but the elegance of her costume does not contradict the natural beauty displayed in the portrait through the budding femininity of her partially exposed breasts and the exuberant naturalness of her undulating waves of hair. This paradigm of fresh “natural” beauty contrasts strongly with the artificial beauty that visitors to Madrid observed in the *damas* of the royal court. The Dutch diplomat Lodewijck Huygens, who visited the court in 1660–61, wrote that “all ladies use such heavy makeup that their skin has a white and red glow. Some looked adequate, none beautiful.”¹⁴⁴ Spanish female aristocrats cultivated an “excessively slender” physical delicacy, with fine features, shiny lacquered dark hair, and pale, soft white skin, as depicted around 1660 in the Carreño de Miranda portrait of Heliche’s sister-in-law, Doña Inés de Zúñiga, Countess of Monterrey (see Figure 1.8).

Madame D’Aulnoy refers to their very tightly bound waists, their “excessive” thinness, and the many formulas employed to lighten their complexions. They painted their faces thickly, plucked their eyebrows, and lacquered their hair.¹⁴⁵ In Heliche’s time at court, noble and royal women even wore the notoriously uncomfortable *guardainfante*, a metal contraption worn under female hoopskirts to produce extremely wide skirts suggestive of full pregnancy and imagined to project enhanced fertility.¹⁴⁶

A strong visual correlative to the seductive naturalness of young, untrained female voices is projected in *Venus at the Mirror* or *Venus and Cupid* painted by Diego Velázquez (Figure 1.9). This sole surviving Spanish female mythological nude was included in an inventory of Heliche’s collection drawn up 1 June 1651 in Madrid (so Velázquez may have painted it before his second Italian journey, which took place from early 1649 to June 1651).¹⁴⁷ It was either commissioned by Heliche, presented to him as an epithalamic wedding gift, or purchased by him, and it sheds light on his taste during the years in which he shaped the predominantly female casts that sang and danced as deities for the royal enjoyment.¹⁴⁸ A later inventory of 1677 notes that the Venus was placed with other

¹⁴⁴ Maurits Ebben, “Lodewijck Huygens’ Spanish Journal, 1660–1661: Perceptions of Spain and Confirmation of the Identity of the Dutch Republic,” *Dutch Crossing, Journal of Low Country Studies* 42 (June 2017): 118–34, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/03096564.2017.1335844>. The quote is from page 130.

¹⁴⁵ Marie-Catherine Le Jumel de Barneville, Baroness d’Aulnoy, *Relation du voyage d’Espagne* (Paris: Claude Barbin, 1691), 2: letter 8, especially 242–44, 262–64; Spanish translations in Condesa D’Aulnoy, *Viaje por España en 1679 y 1680, y cuentos feéricos*, ed. and transl. Marta Corominas and Mercedes M. Villalta (Barcelona: Editorial Iberia, 1962), 2:174–82; and García Mercadal, *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal: siglo XVII*, 1014–19.

¹⁴⁶ See Amanda Wunder, “Women’s Fashions and Politics in Seventeenth-Century Spain: The Rise and Fall of the *Guardainfante*,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 68 (2015): 133–86.

¹⁴⁷ For the inventory, see Burke and Cherry, *Collections of Paintings*, 464–83; concerning Velázquez’s second sojourn in Italy, see Salort Pons, *Velázquez*, 83–145.

¹⁴⁸ See Jonathan Brown, *Velázquez, Painter and Courtier* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1986), 181–83 concerning this painting and Heliche’s taste, as well as Stein, “Three



Figure 1.8 Juan Carreño de Miranda, *Doña Inés de Zúñiga, Condesa de Monterrey* (ca. 1660). © Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid.

paintings of an erotic nature on the ceiling of a gallery, along with a depiction of the chaste Susana before the elders, a Danaë “with the shower of gold in a landscape naked lying on a red cloth,” and a canvas of sleeping Apollo “with the

paintings, a double lyre, opera, and Eliche’s Venus”; Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 102, summarizes the extensive bibliography.



Figure 1.9 Diego Velázquez, *Toilet of Venus* (1647–51). © National Gallery, London.

nine Muses around him playing musical instruments.”¹⁴⁹ Though Velázquez’ live model for his Venus was probably not the famous actress Damiana, as was once supposed (she became Eliche’s mistress later, in 1658), it is still possible that Velázquez painted one of the actress-singers as Venus.¹⁵⁰ The dark grey sheets in the painting are striking and evidently were so in the minds of his contemporaries, who might have associated them with those of an actress who created a scandal by making her bed with sheets of black taffeta.¹⁵¹ Velázquez’ Venus offers a case study in the erotic naturalness valued by Heliche and his peers. The model’s sleek feminine nakedness is viewed from behind, and she is painted without the traditional mythological attributes called for by the iconography of Venus—strings of pearls and curly blonde hair. Here Venus is not self-involved in her toilet, but perhaps looking at someone else, the viewer, by means of her mirror. Her unadorned face as reflected in the mirror is not only blurry but less than striking, and, in contrast to what was fashionable for court ladies, her hair is neither black nor lacquered. Certainly, this strong-boned, unadorned Venus is a woman of the lower class, celebrated here by the painter as natural and coolly comfortable in her nakedness.

The emphasis on “naturalness” in the two paintings I have mentioned can inform understanding of the analogous presentation of high, untrained female voices in the Spanish musical plays and operas. The “natural” voices featured in singing roles communicated an audible eroticism in parallel to the everyday integration of the actresses into the lives of royal and aristocratic men. Actresses and other lower-class women provided erotic stimulation and engagement, considered especially useful because men and women lived such separate lives at court. The queen’s household and noble ladies in waiting were housed in the Alcázar palace. At night, when the king’s councils had concluded their business for the day and male courtiers had departed, the queen’s female attendants were locked into their apartments until the palace was opened the next morning.¹⁵² Noble women lived narrowly regulated lives and spent most of their time alone or in the company of other women. The higher a woman’s social status, the more remote and cloistered her existence, and the less time she spent in the company of her husband. The delicately pale ladies famously avoided physical exercise and were thought to be especially vulnerable to illness. Their health was of great concern to their husbands and male relatives precisely because female cooperation

¹⁴⁹ Duncan Bull and Enriqueta Harris, “The Companion of Velázquez’s *Rokeby Venus* and a Source for Goya’s *Naked Maja*,” *The Burlington Magazine* 128 (1986): 643–44; Brown, *Velázquez, Painter and Courtier*, 181–83.

¹⁵⁰ Barrionuevo relates gossip about Heliche and Damiana in his letter of 26 June 1658, *Avisos* 2:201; see also Andrés, *El marqués de Liche*, 10–14.

¹⁵¹ This association was suggested by Picatoste y Rodríguez, “El siglo XVII,” 3:121; see also López-Rey, *Velázquez Painter of Painters*, 1:156, 238 n. 153.

¹⁵² Malcolm, “Spanish Queens and Aristocratic Women,” 162.

and fecundity were essential to the sustenance of family lines and the entire aristocratic hierarchy.¹⁵³

The strong sexual current in Spanish aristocratic society was openly acknowledged, though the rules of decorum that separated men and women at court created an impediment to the sexual education of the aristocracy. Even some moralists approved of the necessary evil of licensed brothels on property owned by Madrid.¹⁵⁴ The well-educated English merchant Robert Bargrave, who visited Madrid in February 1655, considered the women of Madrid “much more lascivious & Meretricious, then in other places: some pretending to be driven to it by necessity, while others certainly are drawn to it by theyr Inclinations: theyr habit is very comely; theyr behavior very crafty, theyr Discours very Ingenuous; but theyr bodies generally Infectious.”¹⁵⁵ Brunel also noted Madrid’s large number of courtesans and lamented the desperation of the many abandoned women who had been cast out and impoverished by overly jealous husbands. Some were employed by the city as public prostitutes and checked occasionally by physicians.¹⁵⁶ Antoine III Agénor de Gramont, Duke of Gramont, decried Madrid’s legions of prostitutes and claimed even to have witnessed their open-air couplings with male clients. He recorded that male courtiers spent most nights in the houses of public prostitutes or courtesans, on whom they lavished excessive sums instead of engaging in productive flirtation with women of quality. Osera’s diary provides insight into what he deemed the excessive and disorderly sexual conduct of male courtiers. Martínez Hernández has described the “costoso galanteo” within “el amplio universo extraconyugal en el que se movían los nobles,” underlining the frank acceptance of sometimes brutally transgressive heterosexual activity.¹⁵⁷ Osera remarked that his peers engaged intimately with actresses who caused them amorous suffering. In April of 1658, for example, he mentioned a falling out a friend had had with “an actress whom he claims as one of his ladies.” On one occasion, Osera himself accompanied the Almirante de Aragón to the house of “the actress he communes with.”¹⁵⁸ Courtiers involved themselves with actresses even to the point of ruining themselves financially, according to Gramont.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵³ Pedro Luis Lorenzo Cadarso has studied juridical documents to understand the place of women in the social structures of seventeenth-century Spanish society, including at court; see “Los malos tratos a las mujeres en Castilla en el siglo XVII,” *Brocar: Cuadernos de investigación histórica* 15 (1989): 119–36.

¹⁵⁴ Adrienne Laskier Martín, *An Erotic Philology of Golden Age Spain* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2008), 19, points out that laws regulating prostitution had been promulgated by the crown in the 1560s and 1570s to protect prostitutes while harnessing the economic benefits of the industry; see her chapter, “Prostitution and Power,” 1–42, 203–8.

¹⁵⁵ Brennan, ed., *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave*, 206.

¹⁵⁶ Brunel, *Voyage d’Espagne, curieux, historique et politique, fait en l’année 1655*, 79, 132–34.

¹⁵⁷ Martínez Hernández, *Escribir la corte de Felipe IV*, 98.

¹⁵⁸ Diary entry of 6 May 1658, Martínez Hernández, *Escribir la corte de Felipe IV*, 436.

¹⁵⁹ García Mercadal, *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal: siglo XVII*, 540. Similarly, Brunel, *Voyage d’Espagne, curieux, historique et politique, fait en l’année 1655*, 45–46, observed that the grandees spent large sums on courtesans.

Madame D'Aulnoy, relying on the observations of her French predecessors, noted the degree to which noble women were closely guarded and isolated, while their husbands, fathers, and brothers sought intimacy with common women.¹⁶⁰ Not wishing to frighten or harm their wives with uncontained lust and physical passion, aristocratic men often did not seek sexual intimacy with their wives unless they already had taken the edge off their physical needs by spending time with a lover or woman of pleasure. In this way, extra-marital sex with lower-class women contributed to the preservation of the social order.¹⁶¹

Heliche's production of Spanish musical plays is embedded in this context. Moreover, his talent as a producer and appetite as a collector were clearly inseparable from his own appreciation of women in the flesh, on the stage, and on canvas. Early on, he used his status to gather the best actress-singers in Madrid for the court productions,¹⁶² thus enhancing their working lives. His promotion of professional women as actresses, singers, and artists was unprecedented in the Hispanic context, as far as I know. One large machine play with music prepared in 1655 was said to exhibit twenty-four singing women on each of its fantastic stage machines, while the burlesque that he presented later in the same year showcased seventy.¹⁶³ The casts of the two operas he produced in 1660–61 call for eleven to fifteen female singers but only one or two men in comic or special roles.¹⁶⁴ Solo songs were generally assigned to characters played by young women, such that the casting promoted actress-singers and reinforced a gender distinction rooted in the practice of earlier amateur court plays with music. But Heliche seems to have institutionalized his personal inclinations, exercising a

¹⁶⁰ María Isabel Sánchez Quevedo, *Un viaje por España en 1679* (Madrid: Akal, 1994), 25, 49; Condesa D'Aulnoy, *Viaje por España en 1679 y 1680*, 1:219; García Mercadal, *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal: siglo XVII*, 1072–74.

¹⁶¹ Martin, "An Erotic Philology," 21, points out that prostitution merchandized the female body in Madrid, where "legislation to control prostitution and sexuality abounded in this period. Regulated prostitution was, in the final analysis, a practical tool to preserve the existing social order by solidifying hierarchical class and gender relationships."

¹⁶² Heliche's recruitment of actress-singers for court productions can be documented from at least 1657; the anonymous satire, "Relación de las fiestas del felice parto de la Reyna," E-Mn, MS 18660/12, fol. 5v, portrays him as a pimp and his actresses as prostitutes; see also Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, 2:74–75, 149; Cotarelo y Mori, *Actores famosos*, 104–7; Shergold and Varey, eds., *Genealogía, origen y noticias de los comediantes de España*, 419–20; and Pérez Pastor, *Documentos para la biografía de D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, 248.

¹⁶³ Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, 1:121, 153.

¹⁶⁴ Leaving aside brief ensembles for peasants and soldiers, *La púrpura de la rosa* calls for fifteen female solo roles (eleven if nymphs also double as allegorical figures) and only two male singers—a baritone for the allegorical figure Desengaño, and a tenor for Chato, the comic rustic. *Celos aun del aire matan* offers ten solo roles for women and only one male role (again, a comic tenor, the gracioso Rústico). See Stein, *Songs of Mortals*; see also the critical edition Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, Juan Hidalgo, and Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *La púrpura de la rosa, fiesta cantada, ópera en un acto*; ed. Louise K. Stein (Madrid: SGAE/Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 1999); and Juan Hidalgo and Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Celos aun del aire matan, fiesta cantada, ópera in three acts*, ed. Louise K. Stein, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era*, 187 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2014), xvi–xxi, 2.

preference for female voices and feminine display in musical plays and operas whose exquisite lyricism moved the “affections” of his audience.

Royal succession was essential in an absolutist system sustained by heredity, so a king needed to engender heirs, especially male ones, to perpetuate his dynasty. Philip IV stressed this as his greatest concern and duty.¹⁶⁵ Members of the aristocracy were expected to perpetuate the hierarchy as well by producing heirs to carry on their traditions, accumulate wealth, and serve the king in hereditary positions. Heliche’s own dearth of legitimate offspring was an abiding source of despair. His first marriage (1651) to the fifteen-year-old Antonia María de la Cerda (1635–70) did not produce children who lived past infancy, as far as is known, in part because he was forced to live away from his wife for the long years of his arrest, exile, military service, and imprisonment in Portugal. He did sire at least three (and possibly four) illegitimate children.¹⁶⁶ Following his second marriage to Teresa Enríquez de Cabrera (d. 1716), he delayed his departure for Rome precisely in order to engender children and protect his wife’s pregnancies. Their first child, Catalina, born in April of 1672, would be the only one to survive to adulthood.¹⁶⁷ Each male aristocrat was to “crear sucesión,” both in the physical sense and as a service to the monarchy. This may explain why the fertile extra-marital escapades and twenty-nine bastard offspring of the king himself did not invite censure or cause embarrassment, and why notice of the queen’s every missed menstrual period was publicly celebrated. Heliche and his peers reported their wives’ missed menses (*faltas*) in letters to other men in their families, though noble women passed their days in the protective custody of groups that excluded men. Mythological plays attended by carefully controlled

¹⁶⁵ Philip wrote: “el preñado de la Reina camina con felicidad; pedidle a Nuestro Señor la alumbre con bien, dando a esta Monarquía la sucesión de varón que tanto ha menester, y que nos saque a salvo de la borrasca que corremos”; letter of 1 September 1655 to Sor María Jesús de Ágreda, in Seco Serrano, ed., *Cartas de Sor María de Jesús de Ágreda y de Felipe IV*, 2:31.

¹⁶⁶ Carpio’s son Juan de Guzmán, an actor known as “Guzmanillo” (d. Tarragona 1684), was born to the actress Luciana Mejía; see Shergold and Varey, eds., *Genealogía, origen y noticias de los comediantes*, 144, 420. Burial notices from the family pantheon in Loeches identify two more illegitimate children who did not reach adulthood, Victoria de Haro y Guzmán (d. 1651) and Francisco de Haro y Guzmán (d. 1659); see Gregorio Marañón, *El Conde-Duque de Olivares. La pasión de mandar* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1952), 436. It has been suggested that Mateo José de Roa (also found as Matteo Joseph de Roa), one of Carpio’s secretaries in Italy, was also his illegitimate son; Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 218

¹⁶⁷ Marañón, *El Conde-Duque de Olivares*, 436, lists the burial of three legitimate children in the pantheon at Loeches: Luis de Haro y Guzmán in 1673, the newly born Francisco Nicolás de Haro in 1675, and María Teresa de Haro y Guzmán in 1679. See also Vidales del Castillo, “El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras,” 143–44. From Italy, Carpio repeatedly begged to be repatriated in order to live with his wife. In a letter to Carlos II, E-PAbm, Embajada de Roma, tomo 49, 8 December 1680, he sees his “casa [lineage] y la del Conde de Monterrey mi hermano sin mas sucesión que una hija,” among other problems; soon thereafter, in another letter, E-PAbm, Embajada de Roma, tomo 49, 22 December 1680, for example, he expresses the concern that his “casa se halla tan aniquilada,” and requests leave to return to Spain, not wanting to desert his wife and daughter or die in Italy; he specifically laments his “falta de sucesión” in a long letter to Medinaceli in E-PAbm, Embajada de Rome, tomo 56, 15 February 1682.

audiences provided refined stimulation for the court, an incitement to productive action for the noble men and women who attended Heliche's productions. It was hoped that the king and his vassals would be sexually productive, even in old age, because procreation was essential to the perpetuation of the ruling class. Spanish aristocrats clearly appreciated erotic stimulation in erotic art, theater, and music, and these held political value because they were as "good" for kings and aristocrats as they were potentially dangerous to the uneducated masses. If connoisseurs and theorists of art acknowledged that "subjects pertaining to Venus and Cupid were appropriate to the bedroom, where they stimulated desire and the conception of beautiful children,"¹⁶⁸ and the function of art was to delight and instruct, Heliche's musical court plays on amorous subjects arguably were also designed with erotic and didactic intent.

Heliche's productions enacted models of amorous desire and stimulation for the barely adolescent queen, for other ladies at court, and for the king and his courtiers at the Buen Retiro, a pleasure palace where "nothing is overlooked in the service of entertainment and royal magnificence."¹⁶⁹ At the Retiro, fountains were "placed strategically throughout the gardens," so it cannot be coincidental that a larger-than-life triton sporting a quite sizable phallus (depicted clearly in Figure 1.10) and blowing a trumpet from atop his pedestal was featured in the fountain located in the queen's garden, adjacent to her apartments.¹⁷⁰

The royal collection included numerous paintings on erotic mythological stories. Displayed at the heart of the Alcázar palace in the king's private chambers, the Titian *Poesie* and other paintings of female nudes were enjoyed by aristocratic viewers precisely because they were pointedly erotic (they were covered with a cloth when the queen or a lady passed through).¹⁷¹ Both Philip IV and Heliche had known these nudes from an early age; Heliche even had copies of them painted by Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo. It is not by coincidence that

¹⁶⁸ Cherry, "Seventeenth-Century Spanish Taste," 71.

¹⁶⁹ "et puisque vous m'avez demandé la description des premieres maisons des champs que je verrois, il faut que je vous parle de celle du *Retiro*, qui est royalle et ou l'on n'en rien oublié pour le divertissement et pour la magnificence." Jean Muret, letter of 10 January 1667, in Alfred Morel-Fatio, ed., *Lettres écrites de Madrid, en 1666 et 1667* (Paris: A. Picard, 1879), 52–53.

¹⁷⁰ Brown and Elliott, *A Palace for a King*, 77–79 (drawing is on p. 78).

¹⁷¹ Concerning Philip IV's collection of nude paintings, Javier Portús has noted (p. 43), "the greatest art-loving monarch that Spain has ever known decorated the walls of the most intimate and personal room of his palace with paintings by Titian which represented mythological scenes or other subjects which included nudes," but "this is not the only occasion within the context of Spanish culture of this period where we find an association between the siesta and looking at nudes"; Javier Portús, *The Sala Reservada and the Nude in the Prado Museum* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 2002), 13–65. On the other hand, Portús also points out that Rubens' resplendently nude "Andromeda" was displayed in the Salón Nuevo of the Alcázar, a central room where many public functions took place; see also Steven N. Orso, *Philip IV and the Decoration of the Alcázar of Madrid* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986). The classic study of the Titians is David Rosand, "Ut Pictor Poeta: Meaning in Titian's Poesie," *New Literary History* 3 (1972): 527–46.

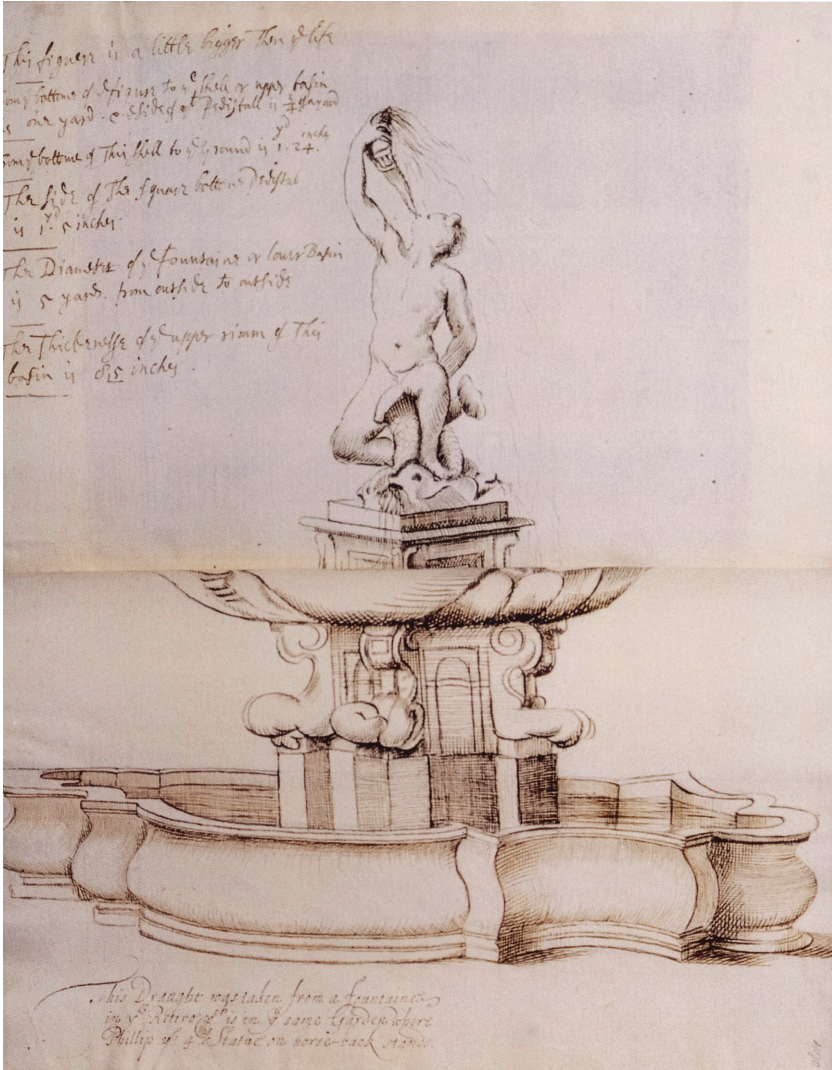


Figure 1.10 Triton Fountain, queen's garden, Buen Retiro, Earl of Sandwich *Journal 4*, Mapperton House. Courtesy of The Right Honourable John Montagu, Earl of Sandwich.

his collection contained a significantly larger number of paintings on profane and mythological subjects than did most other Spanish collections, with an especially large number of female nudes.¹⁷² For a wall in his own palace (the Palacio

¹⁷² Burke, "A Golden Age of Collecting," 159, and Burke and Cherry, *Collections of Paintings*, 464, state that Carpio's collection was "notably profane" during his Madrid years, with "only about 20 percent" of the works treating sacred topics.

de la Moncloa in Madrid, destroyed in 1936) Heliche commissioned a frescoed copy of José Ribera's "Venus lamenting the death of Adonis," in which a Venus with hair let down and exposed breasts rushes to console and embrace her mortally wounded lover.¹⁷³ As noted above, in 1651, the young Heliche's collection of about 350 master paintings included Velázquez's *Venus at the Mirror* or *Venus and Cupid*, the first known Spanish painting on this "Toilet of Venus" theme.¹⁷⁴ Considered undeniably erotic and even indecent at the time, this masterpiece became Heliche's at approximately the same time that he began to explore the stimulating erotic potential of musical theater.¹⁷⁵ The Velázquez *Venus*, apparently painted from a live model, was placed on a ceiling in Heliche's palace in the company of a Venetian old-master "Venus Reclining in a Landscape,"¹⁷⁶ a "juxtaposition of paintings of the female nude may have been meant to increase their erotic appeal, just as in Titian's *poesie*, where different versions of the nude were represented in different pictures of the series."¹⁷⁷ If Heliche's talent for the erotic drew attention because, "generally speaking, the vicarious sensual pleasure afforded by painted nudes was considered pornographic, morally corrupting, and sinful,"¹⁷⁸ he was certainly not alone in cultivating this taste for mythologies and female nudes at a court where moral or religious concerns were set aside,

¹⁷³ Rosa López Torrijos, *La mitología en la pintura española del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1985), 80–82, 420. A photograph of the fresco taken before the destruction of the palace is included in María Teresa Fernández Talaya, *El real sitio de La Florida y La Moncloa, evolución histórica y artística de un lugar madrileño* (Madrid: Fundación Caja Madrid, 1999), 186. The fresco copied the painting attributed to Ribera, now held in the Cleveland Museum of Art; unsurprisingly, the stage direction for Venus' arrival onstage in the analogous scene in Calderón's *La púrpura de la rosa* is in keeping with Ribera's depiction.

¹⁷⁴ See Bull and Harris, "The companion of Velázquez's *Rokeby Venus*," 643–44; Brown, *Velázquez, Painter and Courtier*, 181–83.

¹⁷⁵ Francis Haskell, "La *Venus del espejo*," in *Velázquez* (Barcelona: Galaxia Gutenberg, Amigos del Museo del Prado, 1999), 235, commented "la Venus del espejo ha tenido una reputación extraña: quienes la conocieron más de cerca—el marqués del Carpio, los Alba, Godoy, Morritt—estaban convencidos (y sin duda encantados) de que era indecente y sólo apta para ser vista por unos pocos escogidos; y hay que admitir que, en el contexto de sus épocas, tales supuestos eran razonables"; likewise, Fernando Marías, *Velázquez. Pintor y criado del rey* (Madrid: Nerea, 1999), 169–73, notes the painting's overt sensuality and identifies sources for its erotic imagery. Portús, *The Sala Reservada*, 62, underlines the painting's originality, "carnal reality," and "troubling" lack of emotion or narrative; here an unclad body, which has previously been seen as a Venus or a Danaë, is now a nude. On seventeenth-century musical eroticism, see Stein, "Three paintings, a double lyre, opera, and Eliche's Venus"; Louise K. Stein, "Eros, Erato, Terpsichore and the Hearing of Music in Early Modern Spain," *Musical Quarterly* 82 (1998): 654–77; and Louise K. Stein, "Al seducir el oído...,' delicias y convenciones del teatro musical cortesano," in *El teatro cortesano en la España de los Austrias*, ed. José María Díez Borque, *Cuadernos de Teatro Clásico* 10 (Madrid, 1998): 169–89.

¹⁷⁶ As pointed out in Cherry, "Seventeenth-Century Spanish Taste," 74, later inventories of Heliche's collection from 1677 and 1689 list this picture as a *Danaë* by Tintoretto. The painting accompanied Heliche to Rome and then to Naples, where it stayed until it was sent back to Madrid in 1688.

¹⁷⁷ Cherry, "Seventeenth-Century Spanish Taste," 74.

¹⁷⁸ Cherry, "Seventeenth-Century Spanish Taste," 71.

in comparison to earlier epochs.¹⁷⁹ Moreover, the royal collection (which included more than one version of Titian's *Venus and Adonis*, for example, along with Peter Paul Rubens' erotic fantasy, *The Three Graces*)¹⁸⁰ was considered the epitome of good taste.

My point is that Heliche was chosen and groomed to become the courtier with the power to entertain. His success with this weighty responsibility was due precisely to his passionate sensitivity and obvious affinity for the erotic. In other words, he was awarded his court positions precisely because of his temperament, his tendencies, and his gallantry toward women, not merely despite them. He was famously "without scruples" when it came to collecting, trading, or talking about nude paintings, and he was neither boastful nor ashamed of a strong sexual appetite.¹⁸¹ Without any experience of Italian opera, and working within the Spanish court's ancient protocols and creaky administrative apparatus, weighed down by all manner of bureaucratic baggage, Heliche opened the way for the creation of a Spanish kind of opera with a powerful purpose.

Opera Production in Madrid

The Context for the "Lost" *La púrpura de la rosa*

Fully-sung Spanish opera with music by Hidalgo was introduced in Madrid after a decade of Heliche's partly-sung productions. But the two Hidalgo operas of 1659–61 were not conceived of as an aesthetic leap toward musical modernity or in emulation of any foreign model. Rather, Spanish opera was invented to serve political events whose outcome would be crucial to the very survival of the Spanish Hapsburgs. The Peace of the Pyrenees with France was signed in November 1659 and the marriage of Philip's daughter, Infanta María Teresa, to Louis XIV took place in June 1660 at the Spanish-French border, so it is hardly surprising that rivalry with France provided one motive for the decision to mount fully-sung rather than partly-sung opera.¹⁸² Heliche was closely involved in the planning of the encounter

¹⁷⁹ Portús, *The Sala Reservada*, 22–38, traces the arguments against painting and collecting lascivious images, pointing out that even after an Inquisitorial prohibition, the "collections of the king and the nobility continued to be enriched" by their acquisition (p. 37).

¹⁸⁰ Portús, *The Sala Reservada*, 25.

¹⁸¹ In letters between the marquis de Villagarcía in Venice and Juan Gaspar Enríquez de Cabrera, Almirante de Castilla (Heliche's father-in-law) in Madrid, Heliche is revered for his lack of "scruples" in such matters; see letters of February 1683 in E-Mah, Estado, Libro 197. Fernando Bouza, *Imagen y propaganda. Capítulos de historia cultural del reinado de Felipe II* (Madrid: Akal, 1998), 206, relates that the Almirante admired the fact that Heliche "no escrupulizaba los desnudos más atrevidos."

¹⁸² Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 208–9, and Stein, "Opera and the Spanish Political Agenda."

between the Spanish and French parties near Fuenterrabía.¹⁸³ He purchased tapestries and textiles for the decoration of the Spanish pavilion, was included in the royal entourage that traveled with the bride, and planned the court celebrations. In keeping with the overall iconography for the occasion, Calderón and Hidalgo provided two epithalamic fully-sung Spanish mythological pastoral operas. The one-act *La púrpura de la rosa*, subtitled “representación música” and “fiesta que se hizo a sus Magestades en el sitio de la Zarzuela, toda de música,” was performed on 17 January 1660.¹⁸⁴ But Heliche may also have produced this opera or selected scenes from it in October 1659 when hosting the French embassy led by marshal-duke Gramont that visited Madrid to request the hand of María Teresa on behalf of Louis XIV. The printed text of Calderón’s *loa* to *La púrpura de la rosa* mentions the royal baby Prince Fernando Tomás, so at least the prologue that reached print may have been written before he died on 22 October. It is possible that an early private performance of *La púrpura de la rosa* took place during the French visit.¹⁸⁵ The only surviving *loa* text underlines the novelty of fully-sung opera and explains that the opera was originally meant for performance at the smaller Zarzuela palace before it was brought to the Coliseo.¹⁸⁶ When *Alegría* and *Tristeza* are recruited into the *fiesta*, bringing “magic affect” with them, *Música* exclaims that the applause will confirm “in truth the affects can bring about miracles.” The royal women are compared to goddesses, addressed as the “deidades destas riberas” whose affective responses to powerful song might assure necessary miracles in dynastic marriage.

Y vosotras, deidades	And you, goddesses
destas riberas,	of these river banks,
advertid que afectos	be advised that affects
no son finezas.	Are not favors.
Bien podéis admitirlos,	Well may you admit them,
dirá el aplauso	and the applause will tell,
si es verdad que afectos	if it is true that affects
hacen milagros	bring about miracles

¹⁸³ On the meeting of the Spanish and French at the border, see Colomer, “Paz política, rivalidad suntuaria,” 61–88; Heliche is identified in the official account, Leonardo del Castillo, *Viage del Rey nuestro señor Don Felipe Quarto el Grande, a la frontera de Francia: funciones reales, del desposorio, y entregas de la Serenissima señora Infante de España Doña Maria Teresa de Austria: vistas de sus magestadescatolica y christianissima, señora reyna christianissima madre y señor Duque de Anjou: solemne iuramento de la paz, y sucessos de ida y buelta de la jornada: en relación diaria...* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1667), 54–55, 252; see also Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 48.

¹⁸⁴ Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 205–19.

¹⁸⁵ Hypotheses for dating Calderón’s text are considered in the extremely useful Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco and Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *La púrpura de la rosa*, ed. Angeles Cardona, Don Cruickshank, and Martin Cunningham (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 1990), 25–44.

¹⁸⁶ The text of the opera and its *loa* are included in *Tercera parte de comedias de D. Pedro Calderon de la Barca*, 203v–218 [E-Mn, R/10637]. See also Edward M. Wilson, “The Text of Calderon’s *La púrpura de la rosa*,” *The Modern Language Review* 54 (1959): 29–44.

La púrpura de la rosa introduced Spanish performance practices into the genre of fully-sung opera with young Spanish actresses singing the major roles, thus also reviving a strong Classical precedent.¹⁸⁷ The seventeen solo roles in the cast (if the roles for nymphs and minor allegorical characters are not doubled) include just two male voices—the comic gracioso Chato (most likely a tenor) and the frightening old-man allegorical figure of Desengaño. The epithalamic potential of Spanish song was exploited in this one-act opera on the story of Venus and Adonis through the natural voices of Spanish actress-singers. Hidalgo's Madrid score has not survived as such, but music from his setting is found in other contemporary musical sources, as well as the 1701 manuscript composed or compiled by Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco for production in Lima.¹⁸⁸

The performance history of *La púrpura de la rosa* in and beyond Madrid confirms a continuing and exclusive association with dynastic marriage. Just as Mariana de Austria had been feted with mythological love stories and voices echoing her youthful femininity, so Marie-Louise d'Orleans, her first daughter-in-law, was welcomed and encouraged in 1680 by singing women in *La púrpura de la rosa* after her marriage to Carlos II at age seventeen. In contrast, most of the spoken plays offered within the same set of royal festivities in 1679–80 traced chivalric and heroic themes perhaps meant to fortify the groom. Calderón and Hidalgo supervised the Madrid revivals of *La púrpura de la rosa* that featured some singers and musicians from the opera's premiere. The first revival, 25 August 1679 for the new queen's nameday, followed the announcement of the proxy betrothal and a concentrated period of rehearsals that began before 11 August. The new queen made her formal entry on 13 January 1680. The second revival was performed on 8 January 1680 after rehearsals that began on 6 January. This time, *La púrpura de la rosa* both welcomed Marie-Louise and marked the birthday of Hapsburg Archduchess Maria Antonia.¹⁸⁹ A commemorative broadsheet of the royal marriage printed

¹⁸⁷ In wedding songs, “the chorus consisted of young maidens . . . their participation in the ritual and performance of often bawdy epithalamic songs served to motivate and prepare them for eventual marriage and consummation,” as explained in Thomas K. Hubbard, “Poetry, Greek, Choral Lyric” in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*, ed. Michael Gagarin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 355; see also Lyn Hatherly Wilson, *Sappho's Sweetbitter Songs: Configurations of Female and Male in Ancient Greek Lyric* (London: Routledge, 1996).

¹⁸⁸ On the Lima 1701 production and relationships among musical sources, see Chapter 5 and Stein, ed., *La púrpura de la rosa*; the borrowing of some melodies in villancicos is explained in Carmelo Caballero Fernández-Rufete, “En trova de lo humano a lo divino: las óperas de Calderón de la Barca y los villancicos de Miguel Gómez Camargo,” *La ópera en España e Hispanoamérica: una creación propia*, ed. Emilio Casares and Alvaro Torrente (Madrid: ICCMU, 2001), 95–116; their appearance in pieces for guitar or harp, and as poems with short-hand notation for guitar, is noted in Francisco Alfonso Valdivia Sevilla, “Los tonos con cifras de Juan Jiménez de Góngora: nuevas fuentes musicales de *La púrpura de la rosa*,” *Revista de musicología* 35 (2012): 131–54.

¹⁸⁹ Documents in Varey and Shergold, *Teatros y comedias en Madrid: 1666–1687*, 177–79; Shergold and Varey, *Representaciones palaciegas*, 98–103; Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 206.



Figure 1.11 “Het vertoonde Opera” vignette, Jacobus Harrewijn, Philibert Bouttats, *Marie-Luise d’Orleans, reine d’Espagne*, c. 1679. F-Pn, Département des Estampes et de la photographie, Qb4, *Histoire de France 1668–1697*, 1679 (P69301).

by Philibert Bouttats in Antwerp and engraved by Jacobus Harrewijn (who apparently never visited Spain) incorporates an imagined scene from the opera with the caption “Het vertoonde Opera” (see Figure 1.11). This engraving is striking for what it conveys about how the revival of Heliche’s first Spanish opera was framed. Though he conceived it from a distance, the Flemish artist nevertheless projected the epithalamic thrust of the opera amid the celebrations of the marriage by foregrounding the undressed Cupid flying in to shoot his arrows directly at the royal newlyweds seated under a canopy just in front of him.¹⁹⁰ *La púrpura de la rosa*’s court revivals in 1690 and 1694 again were connected with dynastic occasions and featured Hidalgo’s music, as would the 1701 production in Lima as well (see Chapter 5).

¹⁹⁰ The broadsheet is Jacobus Harrewijn and Philibert Bouttats, *Marie-Luise d’Orleans, reine d’Espagne* [c. 1679], F-Pn, Département des Estampes et de la photographie, Qb4, *Histoire de France 1668–1697*, 1679 (P69301). The theater depicted by Harrewijn in the vignettes is clearly the Coliseo of the Buen Retiro, though the financial accounts about the revival staging (see note 187) indicate that the opera was performed in the “Salón de Palacio” of the Alcázar. It may be that the engraving captures a scene from a lost 1680 loa. The combination of figures and their placement on cloud

The Music of *Celos aun del aire matan*

Si va già disponendo nel Retiro di rappresentare di prossimo la commedia in musica con macchine, che non si trovò in ordine il carnevale passato.¹⁹¹

Si cominciò l'altro ieri a rappresentare l'opera in musica chiamata *Pocri* nel gran teatro del Retiro assistendovi Sua Maestà no dal balcone ma dal mezzo della sala da basso per godere meglio di quelle macchine e prospettive; invitativi li ministri [ambasciatori] dei principi, riuscendo l'azione di grandissimo applauso. Ieri fui recitata di nuovo per i consigli et oggi per le Corti e Magistrati di Madrid, e successivamente soddisfarà la curiosità di tutti gli altri per fino alla festa di Corpus Domini.¹⁹²

machines do not correspond to any scene from *La púrpura de la rosa*, or even to any scene from the Calderón and Hidalgo *Ni amor se libra de amor*, a musical play featuring Cupid and Psyche that was originally produced by Heliche and revived on 3 December 1679. It encloses some thematic similarity to the material in the opening loa for Calderón's spoken play *Hado y divisa de Leonido y Marfisa* performed in March 1680. The engravings are fully reproduced as figures 2–5 in Pablo Vázquez Gestal, "La majestad de los sentidos. Teatro, imágenes y performance en la corte de Carlos II," *Criticón* 140 (2020): 161–215, <https://doi.org/10.4000/criticon.18006>. Zapata, *La entrada en la Corte de María Luisa de Orleans*, 234–35, reproduces the vignette of the imagined opera scene and considers it as information about the decoration of the Coliseo theater in 1679. Earlier reproductions appeared in Shergold, *A History of the Spanish Stage*, illustration 7b (without correct attribution); and María Teresa Chaves Montoya, "Asimilación y continuidad de la escenografía 'a la italiana' en las fiestas teatrales del reinado de Carlos II," in *Carlos II y el arte de su tiempo*, ed. Alfonso Rodríguez G. De Ceballos y Ángel Rodríguez Rebollo (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2013), 445–84 (figura 8, p. 476).

¹⁹¹ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Spagna, b. 125, fol. 185; 25 May 1661. That an opera or semi-opera ("commedia in musica, con superbissime machine") had been planned for Carnival 1661 at the Buen Retiro is clear from an avviso of 2 February 1661 transcribed in Mamone, *Serenissimi fratelli principi impresari*, 362. It may be that *La púrpura de la rosa* was revived for the royal family at the Zarzuela palace on 24 January 1661, but no title is provided in the avviso, I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, f. 5384, Lettere di diversi dalla Spagna, 1659–1662, fol. 247v, Madrid, 26 January 1661, transcribed Mamone, *Serenissimi fratelli principi impresari*, 360: "Ter l'altro nella villa della Sarsuela il Signore Marchese di [Lecce] fece rappresentare a Loro Maestà una bellissima commedia in musica, con machine e mutazioni di scene che riuscirono vaghissime e mirabili e vi intervennero tutte le più principali Signore e Signori della corte."

¹⁹² V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Spagna, b. 125, fol. 228–228v, 8 June 1661; the same notice appears on fol. 237v, with a slightly different wording, including the "Ambasciatori." I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, f. 5384, Lettere di diversi dalla Spagna, 1659–1662, fols. 357r–358r, Madrid, 1 June 1661, confirms "Domenica prossima si rappresenterà per la prima volta nell'Eliseo [sic] del Buon Ritiro a Loro Maestà la commedia in musica che si sta preparando da più mesi in qua. E quando le Maestà Loro torneranno ad abitare al Palazzo Reale, che seguirà il dì 15 del corrente, li comici satisfaranno al popolo, con rappresentargliela più volte"; I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, f. 5384, Lettere di diversi dalla Spagna, 1659–1662, fols. 336r–337r, Madrid, 8 June 1661, notes this was "una delle più belle commedie che si sia veduta da molti anni indietro in questa corte"; see Mamone, *Serenissimi fratelli principi impresari*, 376.

The “opera in musica chiamata *Pocri*” performed in Madrid beginning on 6 June 1661 and mentioned in this report was undoubtedly the fully-sung *Celos aun del aire matan*, a three-act opera on the story of Cephalus and Procris with text by Calderón and music by Hidalgo.¹⁹³ As noted in the papal legate’s report, the opera

¹⁹³ The music of Hidalgo’s *Celos aun del aire matan*, the earliest extant Spanish opera, is preserved in two undated manuscript scores offering vocal parts and bass line. P-EVp, MS CLI 2-1 includes the three acts or *jornadas*, each in its own paste-and-parchment bound volume. Though copied later, it may be significant that it is found in Évora, Portugal, where Carpio was likely stationed during his military service in 1663. An earlier manuscript, E-Mca, MS Caja 174-21, “Música de la Comedia Zelos aun del Ayre matan. Primera jornada. Del Mo. Juan Hidalgo,” offers only act 1 but was likely copied within Hidalgo’s lifetime, probably contemporary with the opera’s first Madrid performances or revival. This manuscript entered the library of the Duke of Alba well after the seventeenth century. Three seventeenth-century Spanish *comedia* collections include the text of *Celos aun del aire matan: Parte 19* of the widely distributed *Comedias nuevas escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, Melchor Sánchez, 1663); the *Parte quarenta y una, de famosas comedias de diversos autores* (Pamplona: Joseph del Espiritu Santo, n.d. but most likely in the 1670s); and Juan de Vera Tassis y Villarroel, ed., *Séptima Parte de Comedias del célebre poeta español don Pedro Calderón de la Barca... que corregidas por sus originales, publica don Juan de Vera Tassis y Villarroel, su mayor amigo* (Madrid: Francisco Sanz, 1683). The first page of the libretto in *Parte 19* (fol. 194) states “La Gran Comedia, Zelos aun del Ayre Matan. Fiesta que se representó a sus Magestades en el Buen Retiro. Cantada.” The Vera Tassis 1683 edition (fol. 259) gives “La Gran Comedia, Zelos aun del Ayre Matan. Fiesta Cantada que se hizo a sus Magestades en el Coliseo del Buen Retiro.” See Stein, ed. *Celos aun del aire matan*, 257–59, for a detailed explanation of the musical and literary sources. The considerable bibliography about this opera includes: José Subirá, *La música en la Casa de Alba* (Madrid: [Rivadeneira], 1927), xix, 57–82; José Subirá, *La participación musical en el antiguo teatro español*, Publicaciones del Instituto del Teatro nacional 6 (Barcelona: Diputación provincial, 1930); José Subirá, “Le style dans la musique théâtrale espagnole,” *Acta Musicologica* 4 (1932): 67–75; *Celos aun del aire matan. Ópera del siglo XVII. Texto de Calderón y música de Juan Hidalgo*, ed. José Subirá (Barcelona: Institut d’Estudis Catalans, 1933); José Subirá, “El operista español D. Juan Hidalgo: Nuevas noticias biográficas,” *Revista de las ciencias* 1 (1934): 1–9; Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Historia de la zarzuela, o sea el drama lírico en España* (Madrid: Tipografía de archivos, 1934), 54–56; Charles Van den Borren, “Un opéra espagnol du XVIIe siècle, *Celos aun del aire matan*, texte de Calderón, musique de Juan Hidalgo,” *La revue musicale* 16 (1935): 253–60; Otto Ursprung, “*Celos aun del aire matan*: Text von Calderón, Musik von Hidalgo, die älteste erhaltene spanische Oper,” in *Festschrift Arnold Schering zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Helmuth Osthoff (Berlin: Glas, 1937), 223–40; José Subirá, “Calderón de la Barca, libretista de ópera: Consideraciones literario-musicales,” *Anuario Musical* 20 (1965): 59–73; José Subirá, “La ópera ‘castellana’ en los siglos XVII y XVIII,” *Segismundo* 1 (1965): 23–42; Ruth Landis Pitts, “Don Juan Hidalgo, Seventeenth-century Spanish Composer” (PhD diss., George Peabody College for Teachers, 1968), 99–181; Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Celos aun del aire matan*, ed. and trans. Matthew D. Stroud (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 1981); Stein, “Opera and the Spanish Political Agenda,” 125–67; Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 219–57; Juan Hidalgo and Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Celos aun del aire matan: Fiesta cantada en tres jornadas*, ed. Francesc Bonastre (Madrid: ICCMU, 2000); Louise K. Stein, “De la contera del mundo: Las navegaciones de la ópera entre dos mundos y varias culturas,” in *La ópera en España e Hispanoamérica: Actas del Congreso Internacional La Ópera en España e Hispanoamérica, una Creación Propia*, Madrid, 29. XI–3. XII de 1999, 2 vols., ed. Emilio Casares and Álvaro Torrente (Madrid: Ediciones del ICCMU, 2001), 1:82–89; Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Celos aun del aire matan*, ed. Enrique Rull Fernández (Madrid: UNED, 2004), which does not take into account the musical setting; Louise K. Stein, “Opera and the Spanish Family: Private and Public Opera in Naples in the 1680s,” in *España y Nápoles: Coleccionismo y mecenazgo virreinales en el siglo XVII*, ed. José Luis Colomer (Madrid: CEEH, 2009), 423–43; and Stein, ed., *Celos aun del aire matan*. For the extant Lima, 1701, score of *La púrpura de la rosa*, PE-Lbnp, MS C-1469, see Chapter 5, as well as Stein, ed., *La púrpura de la rosa*; the poetic text is transcribed and edited in *La púrpura de la rosa*, ed. Cardona, Cruickshank, and Cunningham.

originally was intended for an earlier performance date but was postponed because it was not yet “in order” during Carnival 1661. Scholars have often assigned to *Celos* a performance date of 5 December 1660, when a “fiesta cantada” was performed at court. This fiesta had been intended for the 28 November birthday of Prince Felipe Próspero but was moved forward when the prince took ill. A notice in the *Gazette de France* confirms that Heliche produced a musical play or opera with machines in December at the Zarzuela palace, but offers no title; this might have been another performance of the 5 December “fiesta cantada,” whether a revival of the one-act *La púrpura de la rosa* (which had anyway been intended for the smaller stage of the Zarzuela palace in the first place), or an early performance of *Celos aun del aire matan*.¹⁹⁴ The actresses in the companies of Diego Osorio and Juana de Cisneros had trouble learning this *fiesta*, even after twelve days of rehearsal in a special house Heliche had rented for this purpose.¹⁹⁵ It may be that *Celos* was originally intended for this December date, but there are contradictions between its first printed libretto and other documents. The printed libretto states that it was performed at the Coliseo of the Buen Retiro,¹⁹⁶ while the archival documents for the December “fiesta cantada” mention only “Palacio,” pointing to the Alcázar. The *Gazette de France* locates a December production at the Zarzuela, as noted above. The cast list given with the printed text of *Celos aun del aire matan* argues against the December premiere for this opera because it includes three actress-singers (Bernarda Manuela, who sang as Pocris; María de Anaya, who sang as Megera; Bernarda Ramírez, who sang as Floreta) who were not in Madrid in December of 1660 because they traveled with the company of Sebastián de Prado, sent by Philip IV to Paris for the entertainment of the future queen of France (the Infanta María Teresa). Prado’s company left Madrid in April of 1660 and returned by April of

¹⁹⁴ I am grateful to Michael Klaper for kindly bringing this important notice to my attention: “De Madrid, le 31 Janvier 1661. Le 23 du Passé, leurs Majestez Catholiques furent de Pardo à Sarsüela, où le Marquis de Lecque leur donna le divertissement d’une Comédie en Musique, avec des Machines, tout à fait magnifiques. Elles y estoient accompagnées des principaux Seigneurs & Dames, que ce Marquis régala, aussi, d’une Colation des plus splendides. Enfuite dequoy, Elles s’en retournèrent, à la clarté d’un nombre infini de flambeaux, qu’il avoit fait poser sur tout le chemin, avec quantité de feux d’artifice.” *Gazette de France, Recueil des Gazettes Nouvelles ordinaires et extraordinaires* 26 [1 January 1661] (Paris: Du Bureau d’Adresse, 1661), 194–95, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k64580780/f217.item.r=Madrid#>. According to a notarial certificate of 22 December 1660 in Madrid, the companies of Diego Osorio and Juana de Cisneros performed a “Fiesta... a S. M.” at “Palacio,” confirming that a large-scale work was performed at one of the palaces; E-Mav, Archivo de la Secretaría, 2-468-29; see partial transcription in Varey and Shergold, *Teatros y comedias en Madrid: 1651–1665*, 235.

¹⁹⁵ Documents from E-Mav, Archivo de la Secretaría, 2-468-29 concerning the rehearsals have been published in modern sources, including Pérez Pastor, *Documentos para la biografía de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, 277–79, and Varey and Shergold, *Teatros y comedias en Madrid: 1651–1665*, 234. The December 1660 “fiesta cantada” may even have been a revival of *La púrpura de la rosa*, whose accepted first performance date is 17 January 1660. The poetic sources for *La púrpura de la rosa* are reviewed in *La púrpura de la rosa*, ed. Cardona, Cruickshank, and Cunningham, 1–61.

¹⁹⁶ *Parte diez y nueve de Comedias nuevas y escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España* (Madrid: Pablo de Val, 1663), fol. 194.

1661. It seems unlikely that *Celos aun del aire matan* received more than one production in 1660–61. But Heliche produced an unidentified “bellissima commedia in musica, con macchine e mutazioni di scene,” on 24 January 1661 to entertain the court at the Zarzuela palace (perhaps this was again *La púrpura de la rosa*, a smaller work more suited to the smaller stage at the Zarzuela).¹⁹⁷ In any case, *Celos* was certainly the opera about “Pocri” performed in June 1661 and mentioned in the papal nuncio’s correspondence—other documents confirm that a “fiesta grande” began at the Coliseo of the Buen Retiro in June 1661, prepared by at least eleven full days of rehearsal with the companies of Sebastián de Prado and Antonio Escamilla.¹⁹⁸ The performances ended a few weeks later for the start of Corpus Christi and the necessary staging of the autos sacramentales. In mid-July the stage machines and sets for *Celos* were taken down to prepare for another work destined for production after the happy conclusion of the queen’s pregnancy and a royal birth.¹⁹⁹

The documents about the scheduling of rehearsals and performances for *Celos aun del aire matan* and the unnamed fiesta cantada reveal some of the inherent difficulties of opera production in Madrid. A fully-sung opera placed special demands on the actress-singers. It required more rehearsal time than a spoken play because the actresses had to memorize their sung verses and perform convincingly in the musical ensemble and in coordination with the movements of the stage machines and scenery. The expanded rehearsal time for the singers left most of the men in the companies idle. Yet to produce an opera, Heliche required whole companies to leave off their work on the public stages, with the consequent loss of income both for these actors and for the commercial theater managers, who depended on almost daily comedia performances and constant variety to attract the public. On 12 February 1661, for example, both companies were rehearsing comedias in the public theaters when they were interrupted and called by Heliche’s order to rehearse a “fiesta grande” at the Coliseo del Buen Retiro. Perhaps this was an early rehearsal for *Celos*. When the company of Juana Cisneros, actress and *autora*, performed in the Teatro del Príncipe the next day (13 February; the play was *Amparar al enemigo*), she received a scolding from

¹⁹⁷ See the 23 January 1661 order regarding wax for an unnamed play, transcribed in Shergold and Varey, *Representaciones palaciegas*, 61; and I-Fas, *Mediceo del Principato*, f. 5384, *Lettere di diversi dalla Spagna, 1659–1662*, fol. 247v, Madrid, 26 January 1661; Mamone, *Serenissimi fratelli principi impresari*, 360: “Ter l’altro nella villa della Sarsuela il Signore Marchese di Lecce fece rappresentare a Loro Maestà una bellissima comedia in musica, con macchine e mutazioni di scene che riuscirono vaghissime e mirabili.”

¹⁹⁸ See transcriptions in Varey and Shergold, *Teatros y comedias en Madrid: 1651–1665*, 159–60; Bernarda Ramírez, wife of Sebastián de Prado, died 24 October 1662; see Cotarelo y Mori, *Actores famosos*, 124–28, 144.

¹⁹⁹ “Si è disfatto nel Retiro tutto il teatro e macchine dell’ultima commedia per disporre un altro con differenti invenzioni, per il nuovo spettacolo che si destina dopo che segua come si spera il felicissimo parto della Maestà della Regina, la cui gravidanza si trova già prosperamente avanzata al principio del settimo mese.” V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Spagna, b. 125, 13 July 1661, fol. 289. See Chaves Montoya, *El espectáculo teatral*, 318.

Heliche for keeping her actresses away from the rehearsals for the “fiesta grande,” especially since in mid-February the production was still “very behind schedule with regard to the machines and the rehearsals.”²⁰⁰ As rehearsals in the Coliseo progressed, an accident delayed things even further—Luisa Romero (assigned the role of Céfalo in the printed cast list for *Celos*) fell from a moving stage machine so the premiere was delayed yet again until after Easter.²⁰¹ What seems to have been a staging rehearsal with “all the machines and lighting” took place in the Coliseo nevertheless on 25 February, the musician Gaspar Real standing in for Luisa Romero. On 26 and 27 February, and 1 March, both companies involved in the “fiesta grande” (those led by Juana Cisneros and Diego Osorio) also participated in rehearsals and then gave a performance on 1 March of a completely different spoken comedia with *sainetes* in a private room at the Buen Retiro palace (an entertainment traditionally was offered to their majesties for Sunday in carnival).²⁰²

If *Celos aun del aire matan* was the “fiesta grande” in rehearsal in February, as well as the one readied for performance in June 1661, then the documents offer confusing information involving more than the requisite two companies. The documents name the companies of Juana de Cisneros and Diego Osorio as those called to rehearse in February, while the companies of Sebastián de Prado and Antonio de Escamilla are listed in the later documents about rehearsals and performances in June 1661. It is probable that when the authorities formed two strong companies for Madrid during Lent (when the theaters were closed and all the actors gathered in Madrid to attend the meetings of their guild) in preparation for the autos sacramentales of 1661, Prado and Escamilla were chosen to form the best companies, such that the new groupings are listed in the contracts drawn up for them at the end of March 1661. When Prado’s company returned from France, Heliche may have assigned its three best singers (Bernarda Manuela, Bernarda Ramírez, and María de Anaya) to the cast of *Celos*, while the singers from the companies of Juana Cisneros and Diego Osorio who were already in the cast (Luisa Romero, Mariana de Borja, and Manuela de Escamilla, for certain) had been reassigned to perform later in the auto sacramental destined for the reshaped company now led by Escamilla. Mariana de Borja definitely moved from Osorio’s to Escamilla’s troupe (she had belonged to Osorio’s company in 1659, but in 1661 she is listed in Escamilla’s company).²⁰³ María de los Santos was

²⁰⁰ E-Mav, Archivo de la Secretaría, 2-468-29, partially transcribed in Varey and Shergold, *Teatros y Comedias en Madrid 1651–1665*, 235–37; Pérez Pastor, *Documentos para la biografía de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, 280–81.

²⁰¹ If the “fiesta” being rehearsed in February was *Celos aun del aire matan*, the accident involving Luisa Romero would have occurred during a rehearsal of the final scene, since Céfalo does not ascend on a machine until the very close of the opera.

²⁰² E-Mav, Archivo de la Secretaría, 2-468-29, partially transcribed in Varey and Shergold, *Teatros y Comedias en Madrid 1651–1665*, 235–37; Pérez Pastor, *Documentos para la biografía de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, 280–81; see also I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, f. 2974, 2 March 1661, reported in Chaves Montoya, *El espectáculo teatral*, 287, 316.

²⁰³ Documentation on these companies in E-Mav, Archivo de la Secretaría, 2-198-12 and 2-198-14.

paid as a member of Prado's company in an undated list, though she is not listed as part of the company as formed at the end of March for the *autos*.²⁰⁴ It may be that the February rehearsals were devoted to staging. Or it may be that the return of Prado's company was essential to the opera project because the musical rehearsals for *Celos* were going badly without Prado's singers.²⁰⁵ Moreover, it is worth asking if Heliche's frustration with the companies of Osorio and Cisneros, noted in the February documents during Prado's absence, was exacerbated by the fact that lesser singers caused delays. A notice sent to the Medici court from Madrid mentions that another actress "would have to learn the role by memory" ("fra tanto andrà imparando alla mente la parte della medesima") during Luisa Romero's recuperation.²⁰⁶ Though it is impossible to identify precisely all the casts for Heliche's productions before *Celos* because the documentation is fragmentary, most of the names in the printed *reparto* for *Celos* refer to actress-singers of note with whom Heliche and Hidalgo had worked before.²⁰⁷

Aside from its intrinsic musical beauty and dramatic power, the score of *Celos aun del aire matan* offers a large, coherent, musically proficient opera composed in a non-operatic environment, brought to the stage by a producer who had never heard or seen any variety of Italian opera, and whose project involved young singers who were not trained as opera singers, though they were generally known for their convincing stage performances. To be successful, the genre of opera had to be adapted to these circumstances and to the prevailing musical and performance conventions in Madrid.

Hidalgo drew from the native and courtly song traditions of his own time and place (he did not follow Italian or French paradigms). The tradition of the romance is the fount from which all kinds of secular and theatrical song in the Hispanic world were nourished. The lyrical declamation so essential to Hidalgo's *Celos aun del aire matan* has antecedents in the constantly circulating, orally transmitted repertory of the romances, which belonged to everyone from the skilled improviser to street musicians, tavern singers, professional actors and

²⁰⁴ See E-Mav, Archivo de la Secretaría, 2-198-12 and 3-470-23.

²⁰⁵ Cotarelo y Mori, *Actores famosos*, 169 offers an extract from the will prepared by Sebastián del Prado in 1674 that suggests Heliche's special regard for the actor; Prado possessed a portrait of the marquis painted by Velázquez, which most likely was a gift from Heliche: "Item con condición que dé a D. Isidro Alonso de Valdivieso un cuadro de una cabeza de Velásquez, que viene a ser un retrato del Marqués del Carpio"

²⁰⁶ I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, f. 2974, avviso of 2 March 1661, reported in Chaves Montoya, *El espectáculo teatral*, 316 n. 101.

²⁰⁷ The role of Aura is left off the printed cast list for *Celos*, but the women who played the other roles, Josepha Pavia (Diana), Bernarda Manuela (Pocris), María de los Santos (Alecto), and Mariana de Borja (Eróstrato), were among the select group known as "célebres músicas"; Luisa Romero (Céfalo) was later remembered particularly for her declamatory singing ("celebrada música por los rezitativos que los cantó con primor"); Manuela de Escamilla (Clarín), daughter of the famous Antonio de Escamilla (Rústico), achieved early fame both as a singer and for playing comic pants roles that required a diminutive physical stature ("Juan Ranillas"); information about the singers can be gleaned especially from E-Mn, MSS 12917-12918; Shergold and Varey, eds., *Genealogía, origen y noticias de los comediantes*; Cotarelo y Mori, *Actores famosos*, *passim*.

actresses, and courtly amateurs. Romances were characterized by affective restraint, but they were brought to the stage by the thousands in the Spanish *comedia*, a genre known for emphatic histrionic expression. At no point in the seventeenth century did a break with the romance tradition occur. The singers who served Heliche and for whom Hidalgo composed had grown up singing and learning songs within a fairly homogenous tradition. As late as 1652, when Baccio was at work under Heliche's supervision, he complained that "one cannot get it into the heads of these gentleman that one can speak singing"; apparently, the Spaniards had no idea how to perform recitative and no desire to sing on-stage in an Italianate manner.²⁰⁸ Several of Baccio's letters to the Tuscan court convey his surprise at the extent to which the musical aspect of the court theatricals (and indeed of the theatrical business in Spain) was happily immersed in native practices and aesthetic. His attempts to meddle in Hidalgo's work and impose something of the decorum he brought from Florence met with little success.

What Baccio heard as imprecise and sloppy, the Spanish singers and musicians understood as improvisation within the romance tradition—a fusion of lyrical and declamatory song. Reaching back at least to the time of Luis de Milán's gentle admonishment about how to introduce fast notes, Spanish singers knew how to improvise or "gloss." The balance of clear declamation, shaped melody, and appropriate ornament distinguished a good execution. Both courtly amateurs (Doña Isabel Sánchez in her role as Apolo in the 1598 *La Dafne*, for example) and the professional actress-singers of Heliche's time who could barely read music sang the same kinds of songs, within a familiar, long-standing improvisatory tradition.

Hispanic opera became possible only when it was composed with strophic *tonos* and *tonadas* that did not demand complete musical literacy. Hidalgo's exploitation of standard Spanish associations between words and musical gestures, and his application of contemporary Spanish conventions (e.g., specific types of music for corresponding types of scenes), facilitated performance by the actress-singers who were already experienced stage performers and singers of popular song. Even for singers accustomed to singing in Spanish, however, *Celos* is very wordy, its poetry laden with difficult baroque metaphor. Because the singer-actresses learned their roles by rote, both of Hidalgo's operas for Madrid were delayed and required long periods of rehearsal. In *Celos aun del aire matan*, when Hidalgo set the interactive scenes of action that demanded simultaneous acting and singing in the familiar contemporary medium of the melodious strophic air, his actress-singers became opera singers. Composer and singers in seventeenth-century Madrid were at home with restrained affective singing and improvised declamation compatible with rhythmically animated, song-like stretches of largely conjunct melody.

²⁰⁸ Stein, *Songs of Morals*, 136–37, 149, 275–77.

An important signpost toward understanding how this music moved its listeners emerges from the anti-theatrical controversy. Popular songs and dances, such as *chaconas*, *jácaras*, and *seguidillas*, were the target of outcries against “venereal” and “lascivious” music when performed in the public theaters, precisely because music could move the passions of the listeners in dangerous ways.²⁰⁹ The moralists’ critique of stage music as “venereal music” suggests how this rhythmically animated opera could be heard as powerfully erotic—representing, mimicking, encouraging, or inspiring lascivious, carnal, venereal, or procreative engagement. In the contest between hearing and seeing, hearing allowed the insidious and unguided flood of music and words into the very bodies of the listeners with its inescapably suggestive power.²¹⁰ In the dictionary of the learned Spanish royal academy, *venérea* is “what pertains to Venus, or to sensual [sexual?] pleasure” (“lo que pertenece a la Venus, o al deleite sensual”).²¹¹ In Hidalgo’s opera, the power of song is fueled with particularly Hispanic musical materials, subject to the traditional distinction between morally correct music and music that seventeenth-century Spanish moralists, listeners, and performers could recognize as “venereal.”²¹²

In *Celos aun del aire matan*, the *jácara* and the *seguidilla* introduce low-status comic characters, but their deployment is not without erotic significance. When the mercenary Clarín, Céfalo’s squire, sings a through-composed *jácara* in act 2 that perfectly defines his character (Example 1.1) he describes how his master, Céfalo, has been distracted by the cries of a distressed woman.

By straying from his path to enter the feminine precinct of the chaste nymphs, Céfalo has trespassed, igniting the goddess Diana’s wrath. Of course, Céfalo’s heroic action makes no sense at all to the greedy misogynist Clarín.²¹³ Clarín’s narrative is set as a *jácara* because Céfalo has violated the sanctity of the feminine and in doing so has committed a criminal act, however motivated by honorable heroism. But Hidalgo’s choice of *jácara* music also conveys Clarín’s own scurrilous analysis of the situation.

²⁰⁹ See Stein, “Eros, Erato, Terpsichore,” 654–77; and Stein, “‘Al seducir el oído...’” 169–89.

²¹⁰ Padre Ignacio Camargo acknowledged the connection between well-crafted music and affective power as “music’s enchantment” (el encanto de la música), and he described the erotic effects of performances by actress-singers, identifying enchantingly beautiful songs as among the artifices that “spread the crude fire of lasciviousness” (arrojando el fuego torpe de la lascivia) that transformed the public theaters or *patios* into a “center of sensual delight” (centro de las delicias sensuales); see Stein, “Eros, Erato, Terpsichore”; Stein, “‘Al seducir el oído...’” 169–89; and Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Bibliografía de las controversias sobre la licitud del teatro en España* (Madrid: Tipografía de la Revista de archivos, bibliotecas, y museos, 1904), 123–27.

²¹¹ [Real Academia Española], *Diccionario de la lengua castellana en que se explica el verdadero sentido de las voces...* (Madrid: Imprenta de Francisco del Hierro, impresor de la Real Academia Española, 1726–1739), 6:444–45; “Venereo, rea. adj. Lo que pertenece a la Venus, o al deleite sensual. Es del Latino *Venerus*. Lag. Diosc. lib.6. Prefac. Tengo por burla lo que hallo escrito en algunos doctores Arabes, que cierta doncella muy acabada y hermosa fue mantenida desde niña con el Napelo, para cautamente atosigar algunos reyes, y príncipes, que despues con ella tuviessen conversación *venerea*... Comunmente continencia se toma por abstinencia del acto *venereo*.”

²¹² Stein, ed., *La púrpura de la rosa*, xxvi, and the score beginning at 112.

²¹³ Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 230–33.

Example 1.1 Juan Hidalgo, *Celos aun del aire matan* II, mm. 125–301.

CLARÍN

No-ble en Ti - na - cria na - cis - te, y co -

129
- mo nun - ca se a - ú - nen, de la for - tu -

134
- na y la san - gre las va - rias so - li - ci -

139
tu - des can - san - do al mun - do vi - ví - as,

144
por lo mal que en él se su - fren,

149
so - bre es - ca - se - ces de po - bre, las va - ni -

Example 1.1 Continued

154

da - des de_i - lus - tre. Qui - so Dios y tu ven -

159

tu - ra que_en es - te es - ta - do te_a - cu - de la he -

164

ren - cia de_un ti - o que_en Li - dia ma - ta -

169

ron sus se - nec - tu - des, con cu - yas

[.]

174

nue - vas a - le - gre (por__ es - tar pues - to_en cos -

179

tum - bre que__ se re - go - ci - je, el vi - vo

Example 1.1 Continued

184

de lo que el muer-to se pu-dre) a to -

189

mar la po - se - sión ve - ní - as,

194

cuan-do en la cum - bre de a - quel mon - te, los cie - los

199

qui - sie - ron que el e - co es - cu - ches de u - na des -

204

- ma - ya - da voz, y que de o -

209

- ír la re - sul - te que u - na nin - fa pa -

Example 1.1 Continued

214

gue en san - gre ___ lo que o-tra en ai - re con -

219 *aprisa*

su - me. Vol - vi - mos (por - que no se - a

224

la re - la - ción pe - sa - dum - bre) a bus -

229

car nues - tros ca - ba - llos que por _ e - sos

234 *despacio*

ce - rros hu - yen, cuan - do o - tra vez ___ nos ha -

239

lla - mos, sin ___ sa - ber pa - ra qué u - se de vo -

Example 1.1 Continued

244

- ces con - ti - go_a - mor;

249

(pues en lo tier - no_y lo dul - ce de ___ tu con - di - ción,

254

_ no du - dé cuán - to_es di - li - gen - cia_i -

259

nú - til, quien ___ siem - pre tu - vo buen plei-to, ver

264

¡qué_a vo - ces lo ___ re - du - ce!) Se - *aprisa*

269

gun - da vez ___ la ___ tal ___ nin - fa vis - te; y_en vez ___

Example 1.1 Continued

274

de que bus - ques los ca - ba - llos, y te

279

va - yas don - de a - co - mo - da - do triun - fes,

284

ve - o que en u - na al - que - rí - a te al - ber - gas,

289

y en e - - - - -

290

- lla, el lus - tre de tu es - plen - dor dis - fra - za - do en -

296

tos - co sa - yal en - cu - bres. ¿Qué es es - to se - ñor?

The opera's seguidillas are performed by Rústico, a comic rustic who begins the opera as the goddess Diana's gardener. On the surface, the seguidillas merely identify his low social level and clumsy rusticity. But Rústico's seguidillas (excerpted in Example 1.2) also pull at an important thread within the erotic subject-matter of the opera.

Example 1.2 Juan Hidalgo, *Celos aun del aire matan* I, mm. 607–737, excerpt.

606 RÚSTICO ERÓSTRATO

Aun - que la his - to - ria es mu - cha, to - da la he de de - cir. Em -

609 RÚSTICO 1. [copla]

pie - za. Es - cu - cha. Per - si - guien - do las fie - ras di -

614

cen que un dí - a con un co - ro to -

619 2. [copla]

pas - te de her - mo - sas nin - fas. Vis - te

624

en - tre e - llas a Au - ra, y el que te in - cli - ne,

629

es ra - zón, que la es - tre - lla ni da ni pi - de.

When he sings “Persiguiendo las fieras / dicen que un día...” he is explaining the opera’s events to Eróstrato, the ignoble, cowardly *hombre-fiera* who has been hiding. Rústico narrates Eróstrato’s illegal hunting in Diana’s realm. Of course, Eróstrato was not merely hunting for game, but hunting out a female lover in his pursuit of an amorous tryst with Aura. Rústico, ever the simpleton, brags about

his own effectiveness as facilitator of this illegal tryst, revealing important facts of the opera's plot. Hidalgo's choice of the seguidilla surely was meant to highlight the forbidden nature of Eróstrato's incursion into the feminine space clearly marked as Diana's chaste realm. Naturally, Rústico also delights in his own titillation while he sings the repeated seguidilla coplas.

That the seguidilla narrates uninvited entries into otherwise off-limits female spaces in *Celos aun del aire matan* is not surprising, given that seguidillas had already invaded similarly in earlier works. Calderón and Hidalgo surely knew Cervantes' story, *El celoso extremeño* (published in Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Novelas ejemplares*, Madrid 1613), in which the trickster Loaysa deployed music to persuade a naïve black servant, the eunuch Luis, to allow him into the fortress house constructed by the jealous husband, Carrizales, to protect his young bride, Leonora. Once Loaysa slips inside the house, Leonora's *damas* and her corrupt *dueña* admire him through the orifice of a keyhole. Then they hear his songs and dance to his tunes, cuckolding the sleeping Carrizales by exposing his closely guarded bride through the ears to a kind of pleasure she had never known before. The power of music here invades a closed physical space for women and delivers new knowledge, at once innocent and corrupt. Music brings pleasure but also human wickedness ("malicia humana") into the house in the Cervantes story. The song performed and danced inside the fortress-house of *El celoso extremeño* is a well-known seguidilla, "Madre, la mi madre / guardas me ponéis..." framed by Cervantes to ensure the reader's complicity. Cervantes goes beyond the familiar refrain, however, by providing his own long version of the song-text so that the duration of the song is extended in the reader's imagination. Cervantes' gloss focuses on how female desire and sexual appetite grow—which is comic but also viciously ironic in this musical penetration.

Seguidillas also invaded female privacy in an analogous but wholly serious scene in the Calderón semi-opera, *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo*, produced by at the Buen Retiro in 1653 (with music I have ascribed to Hidalgo). In this scene, the god of sleep, Morfeo, has sung a soothing song to convey to the sleeping mortal, Perseo, the shocking, incestuous circumstances of his conception. The stage set (see Figure 1.12) changes to reveal Perseo's mother, Danaë, in her chamber.

In his dream, Perseo is shown how Danaë was locked in a chamber in her father's palace and guarded by ladies in waiting. Within the chamber, Danaë and her *damas* sing a well-known *romance* to alleviate their loneliness. But they are suddenly interrupted by another fast, racy song performed by supernatural offstage voices. To the rhythm of this new song, pieces of gold rain down into the room so that the greedy guardians ignore Danaë in their avaricious frenzy, opening the way for the god Jupiter, who, disguised as Cupid, descends



Figure 1.12 Baccio del Bianco, *Andrómeda y Perseo* (1653), Seduction of Danaë, MS Typ 258H, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

to rape Danaë. The loud racy song, “El que adora imposibles / llueva oro...” bursts into the enclosure and initiates the violation of Danaë through her sense of hearing.²¹⁴ The music sounds festive, rather than threatening, but, just as in the Cervantes story, the song that brings sexual knowledge into the female chamber is the seguidillas, a dance considered “venereal” by seventeenth-century moralist-critics. In all three examples (the Cervantes story and the two Calderón dramas) the seguidillas entertain and delight characters of low social status: the servants who are supposed to be guarding Leonora in *El celoso extremeño*, the ladies in waiting whose duty it is to watch over Danaë in *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo*, and the bumbling Rústico who revels in the salacious details of his narrative in act 1 of *Celos aun del aire matan*. In all three cases, the supposedly innocent seguidillas introduce or describe erotic transgression and violate feminine space.

Celos aun del aire matan pointedly encourages erotic engagement and conjugal love but responds to the circumstances and attitudes of its time and place,

²¹⁴ US-CAh, MS Typ. 258H, fols. 126v–128; see Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 159–62, 463–64.

where aristocratic women lived cloistered lives and were assigned politically expedient marriages.²¹⁵ In real life, women who resisted social norms or reacted jealously against the prevailing double-standard were punished and even cast out.²¹⁶ While *Celos*, following Ovid, provides a warning against female jealousy in marriage and male spousal neglect, it also clearly dethrones chastity because it was composed for the festivities surrounding a much sought-after dynastic alliance. The pastoral love story is framed as a conflict between beneficial erotic desire and destructive neglect or “anti-love,” extremes personified in the goddesses Venus and Diana.

The role of the nymph Procris is invested with especially dramatic and contrasting sections of music because her story is at the heart of the opera (thanks to Calderón’s turn away from Ovid’s focus on Cephalus’ suffering). Procris (“Procris” in Calderón) has a complicated story with several different strands within Greek mythology.²¹⁷ She was the daughter of Erechtheus, King of Athens (in another tradition she is the daughter of Cecrops) and married to Cephalus, whom she deceived with Pteleon, seduced by favors and a golden crown. Cephalus has neglected her for years, spending his time with Eos, goddess of the dawn. Cephalus returns to her disguised as a stranger and tricks her into apparent infidelity. Ashamed, Procris flees to Crete. There she assists King Minos, whose wife Pasiphae has cursed him for his infidelity so that he cannot engender human offspring. Procris gives Minos a special herb that restores his procreative power.²¹⁸ Minos rewards her with a sleek hunting dog and a javelin that always hits its mark. After her return to Cephalus, she will perish by this very spear.

The mythological warnings against both marital neglect and impulsive womanly suspicion are essential pillars in *Celos aun del aire matan*. In Calderón’s source (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, book 7, and *Ars Amatoria* 3), Cephalus is the narrator whose tears flow freely as he recalls the loss of his beautiful wife and how their blissful marriage was ruined by her needless jealousy. The golden-tipped javelin always returns “with proof of blood upon it / back to the hand that threw it.”²¹⁹ Ovid describes the death of Procris as a very bloody affair, though she is associated in earlier sources with restoring male procreative potency. She dies in great pain, attempting to pull out the offending javelin that has failed to

²¹⁵ An overview of the queens married to the Spanish Hapsburgs is provided in Magdalena S. Sánchez, “Court Women in the Spain of Velázquez,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Velázquez*, ed. Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 87–108.

²¹⁶ See Lorenzo Cadarso, “Los malos tratos a las mujeres en Castilla,” 119–36.

²¹⁷ Stroud, ed., *Celos aun del aire matan*, 30–31; see also Charles P. Segal, “Ovid’s Cephalus and Procris: Myth and Tragedy,” *Grazer Beiträge* 7 (1978): 175–205.

²¹⁸ Pierre Grimal, *The Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, trans. A. R. Maxwell-Hyslop (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 392.

²¹⁹ Ovid, *The Metamorphoses*, trans. Horace Gregory (New York: Viking Press, 1958), 207.

return to its thrower, Cephalus, as rivers of blood flow from her breast. At the court of Philip IV, the hope that the aged king's procreative ability would be restored by his adolescent bride allows a clear comparison to the episode in the Greek version of the myth in which Procris provides the curative herbs to impotent King Minos. And in the opera, Calderón transposed the symbolism of the unerring spear (it begins the opera as the chaste Diana's weapon, then belongs to Céfalo, wounds Pocris, and finally kills her) while clearly treating Pocris as a vessel of tragically unexploited procreative potential. Initially, however, Pocris' blood flows not as a failure of erotic engagement, but because of it when she first meets Céfalo.

Pocris undergoes an essential epithalamic transformation in *Celos aun del aire matan*, from assuredly innocent bride, through sexual desire and knowledge, to conjugal contentment, until her unwise jealousy opens her to a tragic death at the point of a javelin. She begins the opera as the nymph most observant of the goddess Diana's rule of chastity, revealing to Diana the crime of love committed by another nymph, Aura, who has enjoyed a tryst with Eróstrato in Diana's realm. When Venus saves Aura from Diana's arrows and transforms her into a nymph of the air, Aura vows to defy Diana again and exact her revenge on Pocris by causing her to suffer in love (see the plot synopsis provided in Appendix 1).

Pocris moves through various stages of femaleness. Her transformation into a love-torn spouse undone by jealous despair begins in her first confrontation with Céfalo. Céfalo has found Diana's unerring magic spear, which Pocris grabs as she attempts to retrieve it for the goddess. Wresting it from Céfalo (act 1, m. 462 in Example 1.3), she is accidentally pierced by the obviously phallic weapon and sings a *recitado* monologue that begins as an explanatory description of how the blood flows from her wound.

Hidalgo's music becomes expressively charged when Pocris suffers the wider physical effects of the piercing (mm. 471–76). She gives voice to her pain in melodic and harmonic sequence, singing pathos in descending leaps of a fourth and a minor third, followed by a descending tritone on “aliento” (breathe), which also prepares the cadence to D minor. In the next section (mm. 476–83), she sings of having lost her sense of self while enduring visions and shadows that seem to attack her. The melodic sequence is derived from repeated notes and broken triads, and the harmonic pattern turns to emphasize major harmonies (D–G–E–A–D–G–C), finally moving from A minor to a half cadence on E major (the harmony most closely associated with the deleterious effects of Diana's power in this opera). Typical of Hidalgo's music, the affective treatment is systematic; the rhythmic organization of Pocris' declamation, together with its harmonic and melodic rhythm, allow her to be heard as verisimilar. She sings while imagining that shades and monsters rush at her, singing without pause (without rests), until the words “no sé, no sé de mí” (I know not, I know nothing

Example 1.3 Juan Hidalgo, *Celos aun del aire matan* I, mm. 458–83.

POCRIS

¿Qué es a - ja - do? Pri-me-ro que por tu-yo le ten-gas, con

(*Quiere quitarle el venablo, luchen, y hiérese Pocris con él.*)

460 CÉFALO POCRIS
él has de qui-tar - me la vi-da. Ad-vier-te... Suel-ta. Mas, ¡ay, ay, de mí in-fe-

463 CÉFALO POCRIS
li - ce! ¿Qué has he - cho? Con la cie - ga có - le - ra, no ad - ver -

465
tí que en la cu - chi - lla pues - ta te-ní - a la ma - no; y tan - to al he -

468
rir - me con e - lla la púr - pu-ra de ro - jo co - ral que la en-san-grien - ta,

471
me es-tre-me-ce, me hic-la, me des - ma - ya, me a - fli - ge, me a - tor-men -

The musical score is presented in a standard format with a treble clef for the vocal line and a bass clef for the accompaniment. The time signature is common time (C). The key signature has one sharp (F#). The score is divided into five systems, each with a measure number on the left. The lyrics are written below the vocal line. A performance instruction in Italian is placed between the first and second systems. The bass line consists of whole notes and rests.

Example 1.3 Continued

475
ta, que ni a-lien-to, ni vi-vo, y en o-fus-ca-da i - de - a de som-bras que me a-

478
sal - tan, de ho-rro - res que me cer-can, no sé, no sé de mí. ¡De-

481
ten - te, a-guar - da, es - pe - ra! ¡No! ¡no me ma - tes!

Example 1.4 Juan Hidalgo, *Celos aun del aire matan* II, mm. 731–36.

731
POCRIS (*aparte*)
¡Ay, de mi vi-da, si se a - cuer-da del do - lor!

of myself) (mm. 479–80), when, emotionally exhausted, her voice sinks to the lower part of her range, and rests represent her gasping for air. This is the first of the highly emotional *recitados* that Pocris sings to disrupt the complacent normalcy of strophic coplas. Later in the opera, when Pocris recalls the pain of this wound (act 2, mm. 731–36, excerpt in Example 1.4), her music is again made to sound briefly distinct from its surrounding harmonic context, due to its accidentals and the semitone emphasis in the bass line.

The “wound,” and Pocris’ unrestrained singing about its effects, render her especially attractive to Céfalo, who immediately falls in love with her. Her openly voiced feminine vulnerability was surely also exciting to Hidalgo’s audience, expressed with the emphasis of a highly affective *recitado* unleashed outside the rhythmic girdle of repetitive *coplas*. When Pocris appears again onstage, she is

heard to be restored to herself in the dignified *coplas* she sings while simultaneously enforcing her separateness from Céfalo, though she soon succumbs to his entreaties (act 1, mm. 1130–1213, Example 1.5).

When Céfalo begins courting her with eighteen measures of flattery, Hidalgo empowers Pocris to interrupt his orderly *coplas* (m. 1147); she turns his musical reasoning back at him, dominating the discourse through nearly twenty-three measures, until he interrupts her to restate his case. That Pocris is drawn to Céfalo, even as she attempts to set limits, is clear from the increased frequency of their exchanges through shared *coplas* (mm. 1190–1213 in Example 1.5). This

Example 1.5 Juan Hidalgo, *Celos aun del aire matan* I, mm. 1130–1497, excerpt.

CÉFALO

Aun - que ven - gar - te del sus - to fue - ra mi a -

1134
plau - so ma - yor, me pa - ra tu vis - ta, más im - pe -

1139
rio - sa que tu voz, [a que] en - tre a - par - te el cui -

1144
POCRIS
da - do de a - quel pa - sa - do do - lor. No le ten - gas y -

1149
de - jan - do el a - ca - so y la i - lu - sión,

Example 1.5 Continued

1154

no_el ha_ber - te de - te - ni - do a - tri - bu - yas a ___ fa -

1159

vor, que_es bien, si tú_un ries_go_im - pi - des, que_im - pi - da_o - tro

1164

ries - go yo. Por es - to que no si - guie - ses

1169

CÉFALO

di - je_a_e - sa fie - ra. Aun - que son ca - ri - cias y no pie -

1174

da - des, per - dó - ne - me tu ri - gor; que yo me_he de

Example 1.5 Continued

1179

per - sua - dir a lo que me es - tá me - jor, y

1184

ya que no soy di - cho - so, dad-me_a_en-ten - der que lo

1189

POCRIS

soy. Per - sua-dir - te_a_lo_im - po - si - ble es va-na - glo -

1194

CÉFALO

rio - sa_ac - ción. Dar-se por ven-ci - do an - tes del

1199

POCRIS

ries - go po - co va - lor. El que su bien an - ti -

Example 1.5 Continued

1204 CÉFALO

ci - pa, pe - li-gra, en la pre - sun - ción. ¿Qué im - por - ta que él

1209 CLARÍN

no lo se - a pa-ra que lo pien - se yo? Y us -

1214

ted en a - ques - te al - cá - zar ¿no me di - rá quién es?

1219 FLORETA CLARÍN

Soy nim - fa de es - ca - le - ra, a - ba - jo. La, en - ho - ra -

1224 FLORETA CLARÍN

bue - na me doy. ¿La, en - ho - ra - bue - na? ¿De qué? De que

Example 1.5 Continued

1229

por lo me - nos, no lle - ga - rá a sus ac - ce -

1234

FLORETA

so - rias de - sa - len - ta - do mi ar - dor. An - tes sí;

1239

que en las sir - vien - tes co - rre con - tra - ria ra - zón;

1244

(Sale Aura, en lo alto, sobre un águila [invisible para los demás].)

pues las de es ca - le - ra a - ba - jo, de des - ván a - rri - ba son.

1250

AURA

Ya que a la dei - dad de Ve - nus, de - jan - do en

Example 1.5 Continued

1252

nue-vaman-sión, de ser de los bos-ques nin - fa, nin-fa de los vien-tos soy, a

1256

cu-yo su-a-ve a - lien-to han de vi - vir des-de hoy, de Au-ra ins-pi-ra-dos, la

1260

plan - ta, la a - ve, el cris - tal y la flor, en flor, cris - tal, a - ve y

1263

plan - ta, no ha - ya o mú - si - ca o ver - dor que a - mor no pu - bli - que, y

1266

pues de - bí a Cé - fa - lo, el fa - vor, y, el ren - cor le de - bí a Po - cris, y

Example 1.5 Continued

1269

se ha-llan jun-tos los dos, a lo-grar los dos a-sun-tos del fa-vor y del ren-

1274

cor, ins - pi - re su - a - ve - el - au - ra de - a-

1279

POCRIS (*aparte*)

CÉFALO (*aparte*)

mor. ¡Qué muer-ta voz! ¡Ay, de mí! ¡Ay, de mí! ¡Qué vi -

1284

LOS DOS (*aparte*)

par - te del al - ma ha -
- va voz! Ha - cia la par - te del al - ma ha -

1289

blan-do es - tá el co - ra - zón.

POCRIS (*aparte*)

blan-dó es - tá el co - ra - zón. Mas con ce - rrar al en -

Example 1.5 Continued

1294 CÉFALO (*aparte*)

can - to el o - í - do li - bre, es - toy. Mas con mo -

1299

rir al he - chi - zo, cum - pli - ré mi, o - bli - ga - ción.

1304 POCRIS CÉFALO

¿Dón - de vas? A - se - gu - ran - do el pa - sa - do ries - go

1309 POCRIS CÉFALO

voy. No, no has de pa - sar de a - qui. Per - do - ne - es - ta

1314

vez tu voz, que no la he de o - be - de - cer co - mo

Example 1.5 Continued

1319

POCRIS

CÉFALO

an - tes... ¿Por_ qué no? Por - que man - dar - me que -

1324

dar en la pa - sa - da_o - ca - sión, cuan-do_a no mi - rar -

1329

- te i - ba tras a - quel bru - to fe - roz,

1334

no.es lo mis - mo que man - dar - me que - dar, cuan-do_a ver - te

1339

POCRIS

voy. Quien só-lo_al gus-to_o - be - de - ce, po-co de-be a

Example 1.5 Continued

1344

su pa - sión; que o - be - de - cer con - tra el gus - to,

1349

CÉFALO

es la fi - ne - za ma - yor. Por - que ve - as que no

1354

(Hacen que se van.)

es in - te - rós, si - no a - ten - ción, ve - te en paz.

1359

POCRIS

AURA (*aparte*)

En paz te que - da. Aun - que se a - par - ten los dos,

1364

ins - pi - re su - a - ve - el - au - ra de a - mor.

Example 1.5 Continued

1369 POCRIS (*aparte*)

¡Por - que di - go que se que - de no más, se que -

1374

- da! ¿Quién vió tan mal man - da - da, o - be - dien - cia?

1379 CÉFALO (*aparte*)

¡Por - que me di - ga que no la si - ga, te - mo!

1384

¿Quién, cie - los, vió en la cie - ga con - fu - sión del te - mor y la, o -

1389

- sa - dí - a tan bien man - da - do, el te -

Example 1.5 Continued

1394 AURA (*aparte*)
 mor? Ins - pi - re su - a - ve_ el_ au - ra de_a-

1399 POCRIS (*aparte*) CÉFALO (*aparte*)
 mor. Pe-ro si se fue ve - ré. Más ve - ré si se_au-sen -

1402 POCRIS CÉFALO POCRIS
 to. ¿A qué vuel-ves? ¿Yo qué sé? ¿Tu_a qué vuel - ves? ¿Qué sé

1404 AURA (*aparte*)
 yo? Ins - pi - re su - a - ve_ el_ au - ra de_a-mor.

1409 POCRIS
 Yo_a de - cir - te que si que - das en to - da_a - ques - ta re -

Example 1.5 Continued

1411

gión, su-pues - to que de_ex-tran - je - ro ya_el in - dul - to se_a - ca -

1413 CÉFALO

bó, co-rre pe-li - gro tu vi - da. Yo_a de - cir que le co - rrió ya, pues le

1416 POCRIS

ten - go dos lu - ces, si me que - do y si me voy. Pues, si te dan a_es-co -

1419 CÉFALO

ger, au-sen-tar - te_es el me - jor. Si_el me - jor es au-sen - tar-me, ¡ay, Dios! ¿cuál se -

1422 POCRIS

rá_el pe - or? A mí, que_el que fue - re se - a. Ve - te, pues;

Example 1.5 Continued

1425 CÉFALO

no vuel-va yo a ha-llar-te,a-quí cuan-do vuel - va. E - so,es de -

1428 POCRIS CÉFALO

cir-me que no me va-ya, si,has de vol-ver. E-so,es lo - cu-ra. Doy que sea lo-

1431 POCRIS

cu - ra, pe-ro lo - cu - ra pues - ta,en ra - zón. ¿No te vas?

1435 CÉFALO POCRIS (*aparte*) CÉFALO (*aparte*)

Si tu te vas. ¡Qué pe-na! ¡Qué con - fu - sión!

1440 POCRIS CÉFALO

Pe - ro yo sa-bré ven - cer - la... Más sa - bré se - guir - la

Example 1.5 Continued

1445 POCRIS CÉFALO

yo... Por más que ig-no - ra - do_a - cen - to... Por más que ig-no -

1450 POCRIS CÉFALO

ra - da voz... ...en mi_o - pro - bio... ...en mi des -

1454 POCRIS CÉFALO POCRIS

di - cha... ...en mi_in - ju - ria... ...en mi te - mor... ...en mi_o -

1458 CÉFALO POCRIS CÉFALO

fen - sa... ...en mi for - tu - na... ...en mi_a - gra - vio... ...en

1462 POCRIS CÉFALO

mi fa - vor... ...[me]es - té di - cien - do_al o - í - do...di -

The image displays a musical score for a scene from an opera. It consists of five systems of music, each with a vocal line and a bass line. The vocal line is in treble clef, and the bass line is in bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are in Spanish. The characters POCRIS and CÉFALO are indicated above the vocal line. The lyrics are: yo... Por más que ig-no - ra - do_a - cen - to... Por más que ig-no - ra - da voz... ...en mi_o - pro - bio... ...en mi des - di - cha... ...en mi_in - ju - ria... ...en mi te - mor... ...en mi_o - fen - sa... ...en mi for - tu - na... ...en mi_a - gra - vio... ...en mi fa - vor... ...[me]es - té di - cien - do_al o - í - do...di -

Example 1.5 Continued

1467 LOS DOS Y AURA

cien-do es - té al co - ra - zón... Ins - pi - re [su-

1472 (Vanse los dos.) CLARÍN

a - ve el au - ra de a - mor.] ¿Y los dos en qué que-

1477 FLORETA CLARÍN

da - mos? ¿En qué que - da - mos los dos? Con que di -

1482

re - mos bai - lan - do de nues-tros a - mos al son:

1487 LOS DOS

Ins - pi - re su - a - ve el au - ra de a - mor.

Example 1.5 Continued

1492 TODOS

Ins - pi - re su - a - ve el au - ra de_a - mor.

Ins - pi - re su - a - ve el au - ra de_a - mor.

Ins - pi - re su - a - ve el au - ra de_a - mor.

Ins - pi - re su - a - ve el au - ra de_a - mor.

Ins - pi - re su - a - ve el au - ra de_a - mor.

musical sharing communicates a growing intimacy, one that has filled Céfaló with desire ever since their struggle over the magic spear. Pocris here behaves in a way conventionally acceptable for ladies in Hidalgo's audience.

Aura is now a nymph of the air determined to defy Diana; she rides above the stage on an eagle, invisible to those below, seizing the chance both to avenge herself on Pocris and satisfy her debt of favor to Céfaló by inducing Pocris to feel desire. Aura's refrain "Inspire suave el aura de amor..." (mm. 1274–79 in Example 1.5) becomes an audible love potion that pours in through Pocris' ears, even as she tries to block its "enchantment" (mm. 1292–97). When Aura reiterates her refrain, both Pocris and Céfaló recognize its powerful influence. Their temporary separateness from each other is reestablished when they sing new music, walking away briefly to occupy distinct spaces. But after another frightening rain of lyrical enchantment poured down by Aura, Pocris and Céfaló break into duple-meter *recitado* whose independence creates tension, exposing and strengthening Pocris' position. Finally, succumbing to desire, the "locura / locura puesta en razón" that neither fully understands, they sing shared triple-meter coplas with increasingly close interactions, such that the return of the music of Céfaló's earlier courtship now slides them into an inescapable intimacy, celebrated when they sing, together with Floreta and Clarín, Aura's *estribillo* to close act 1.

Aura's mysterious airs have filled Céfaló and Pocris with unquenched desire that propels their courtship into act 2 when, ironically, Céfaló presents Pocris with an armful of flowers during the ceremony that celebrates anti-love in Diana's temple. He sings a lyrical $\frac{3}{4}$ strophe in praise of her beauty and her virginity, "De azucena y rosa ves un iris..." (mm. 670–707, Example 1.6).

Example 1.6 Juan Hidalgo, *Celos aun del aire matan* II, mm. 670–707.

De a-zu - ce - na y ro - sa ves un

674
i - ris, cu - ya be - lle - za sim - bo - lo es de la pu -

679
re - za, y san - gre de Ve - hus es; ya - sí a tus

684
pies, ro - sa y a - zu - ce - na, in - fie - ro

689
li - son - je - ro don, pues u - na es del can -

694
dor i - ma - gen, y o - tra en ver - dor, de u - na

699
púr - pu - ra te - ñi - do. ¡Mue - ra el a - mor

704
y vi - va el ol - vi - do!

When he describes the color of the iris as that of the “sangre de Venus” (679–82), a hint of *jácara* music underlines his recollection of Pocris’ earlier wound. Pocris receives the flowers and his flattery, though embarrassed to be reminded of the bloody penetration she suffered in their struggle over Diana’s spear. At the end of act 2, Céfalo finally has the chance to embrace her, carrying her to safety in his arms after she staggers, fainting, from out of the fire set by Eróstrato to destroy Diana’s temple.

Angry Diana, enforcer of chastity, has lost not only her spear but also her ruined temple, so she opens act 3 without the symbols of her power, singing atop a boulder in a barren landscape. Her presentation, impotent and presiding over barrenness, is important; she is audibly reduced in the musical hierarchy as well because she has lost the commanding voice with which she sang to the mortals gathered in her disrupted temple ceremony. Reduced in stature, she sings “Ya que aqueste peñasco / cuya esmeralda bruta...,” a long declamatory *tonada* with nearly twenty strophic coplas in duple meter (act 3, mm. 1–96, excerpted in Example 1.7).²²⁰

Clearly, this change of musical texture (from *recitado* to *tonada*) and her confinement within a strophic form shared with her minions (Alecto, Mejera, and Tesífone) signal that her rule of chastity is now weaker than the procreative energy propelling her former nymph, Pocris. Diana and her Furies suddenly disappear when their emerald boulder disintegrates at the end of their *tonada*.

Pocris now resides with Céfalo as his contented wife in a stage-set simulacrum of the Spanish royal palace; the stage direction calls for them to meet in a “salón regio con los fondos de retretes y jardines” (act 3, before m. 97). But Pocris complains of her isolation; she has only her maid, Floreta (the female *graciosa*), to confide in, in a situation akin to what real-life aristocratic and royal women experienced. After recalling the power of the “sangre” and “fuego” that have united her with Céfalo, she sings a set of ten persuasive coplas, “Del desmayo, del susto, del miedo...” in which she tries to explain to Céfalo how it is that her conjugal happiness is pregnant with worry (act 3, mm. 146–305; excerpted in Example 1.8).²²¹

Céfalo spends more and more time out hunting in the forests, unaware that his attention to the mysteriously caressing voice of the breeze is a trap set for him by Aura (herself the breeze) to draw him from Pocris and punish her. Pocris sings a melody that is smoothly sequential with a sing-song quality

²²⁰ “Ya que aqueste peñasco / cuya esmeralda bruta...” is also preserved in harp tablature with a full text in E-Mn, MS M/2478; another harp tablature, B-Gu, Hs.3898/4, sets just the first strophe of poetry; the first line of text and music appears in E-Bc, Mus. MS 753/24, “Diferentes tonos para la Xacara.” This *tonada* was mentioned in letters between Constantijn Huygens and Sebaastian Chièze, as pointed out in Rudolf Rasch, “Music in Spain in the 1670s Through the Eyes of Sébastien Chièze and Constantijn Huygens,” *Anuario Musical* 62 (2007): 97–124 (mention on pp. 109–10).

²²¹ “Del desmayo del susto del miedo...” also in E-Bc, Mus. MS 753/24, and Mus. MS 759/5.

Example 1.7 Juan Hidalgo, *Celos aun del aire matan* III, mm. 1–91, excerpt.

[1. copla]
DIANA

Ya que a-ques - te pe - ñas - co, cu - ya es-me - ral - da

bru - ta, pe - da - zo de - sa - si - do del ve - ne - no - so mon - te de la lu -

na, es mi tro - no, des - pués que ni pom - pa más su - ma ni do - sel más ex -

cel - so ha de te - ner mi ma - jes - tad au - gus - ta, has - ta que a su es - plen -

dor el tem - plo res - ti - tu - ya, que sa - crí - le - go fue - go en par - das rui - nas

con - vir - tió ca - du - cas; des - de él de mi ven

(see Example 1.8). It may be that Hidalgo intends these sequences to sound gently nagging, but their smooth concordant surface surely also is meant to help Pocris hide the urgency of her jealous doubts. Céfalo is unmoved by these restrained coplas; perhaps, in his hearing, they pale in comparison to the absolute vulnerability Pocris had expressed in the highly emotional act 1 *recitado* that sparked his desire in the first place (see Example 1.3).

Eager to return to the hunt, Céfalo leaves Pocris unconvinced by his hurried assurances, so she detains and interrogates his squire, Clarín, a shifty

Example 1.8 Juan Hidalgo, *Celos aun del aire matan* III, mm. 146–305, excerpt.

[1. copla]
POCRIS

Del des - ma - yo, del sus - to, del mie - do, a cu - yo pa -

151
vor el sen - ti - do per - dí, de un fue - go, a o - tro fue - go, es - ca -

156
pan - do mi vi - da, a - pe - nas co - bra - da, en tus bra - zos me

161 [2. copla]
vi, cuan - do deu - do - ra, ¡ay tris - te! al am - pa - ro, y aún

166
más que al am - pa - ro deu - do - ra, ¡ay de mí! a la

171
blan - da que - ja del llan - to, si tor - pe en la voz, en los

176 [3. copla]
o - jos su - til, me de - jé ven - cer de tu

misogynist. In a pivotal scene (act 3, mm. 438–525, Example 1.9), arrogant Clarín tries to evade Pocris’ questions about Céfalo’s attention to the mysterious voice on the mountainside. He even suggests that some satyr roves the ridges in search of the nymph, but he lets slip that the voice seems to belong to “Laura.”

Clarín’s immediate discomfort and dissembling are conveyed through subtle rhythmic means; his musical accents do not quite fit the poetic accents in his text,

Example 1.9 Juan Hidalgo, *Celos aun del aire matan* III, mm. 438–525.

CLARÍN

Yo, se - ño - ra, soy cri - a - do, y si su - pie -

443
ra la cau - sa, por de - cir - la la di - je - ra;

448
só - lo sé que en la cam - pa - ña se re - ti - ra de -

453
— no - so - tros a la más in - cul - ta es - tan - cia del

458
mon - te, don - de a sus so - las lo más de las

463
sies - tas pa - sa en las mú - si - cas sus - pen - so

[2]

[4]

Example 1.9 Continued

468

de u-nos pá - ja-ros que can - tan co - mo con hu - ma - na

473

voz: cu - ya dul - ce con - so - nan-cia, u - na

[#]

478

vez que qui - se o - ír - la, no pu - de, por - que u - na ex-

483

tra - ña fie - ra a-tra - ve - só la sen - da, que es la

[#]

488

que hoy el va - lle es - pan - ta co-mo él di - jo, y pa - ra

493

mí al - gún sá - ti-ro es que an - da en bus - ca de al -

Example 1.9 Continued

498

gu - na nin - fa. Pien - so que su nom - bre es

[F]

503

Lau - ra, por - que a mo - do de bra - mi - do o - í que di -

508

- jo en vo - ces al - tas: "Lau - ra es mi pe - na, Lau - ra

[F]

513

es la que me hie - la y me a - bra - sa." Pe - ro es - to a tí,

[F]

518

¿qué te im - por - ta? Y pues - to que po - co o na - da, a - díos,

523

(Vase.)

que Cé - fá - lo es - pe - ra.

[F]

creating a forced sound and obvious awkwardness that tell the listener just how off-balance he is when Pocris puts him on the spot concerning Céfaló's seemingly unfaithful behavior. Moreover, Clarín uses *jácara* music here—its roguish connotation reveals his own delight in his suspicions about Céfaló's infidelity, even as he tries to conceal them from Pocris. Céfaló's music a bit later (act 3, mm. 1158–98, Example 1.10) seems to refer back to Clarín's music—an intricate reference when Céfaló confirms how he is concealing his attraction to the voice of the breeze (Aura) from Pocris. He sounds unstable and whiny, responding to Clarín with

shaky *jácara*-infused false assurance. When the comforting voice of Aura again calls to him (mm. 1199–1232 in Example 1.10), she moves the harmony away from A minor to a reassuring C major, but with passing major harmonies that include the harmony associated with Diana's destructive power (E major, which becomes V of A major, which becomes V of D major). Subsequently, when Céfalo returns to his *coplas* (m. 1233 in Example 1.10), the unconvincing nature of his self-justification is emphasized in repeated but unstable descending *c*" to *g*# leaps, cloying *g*# to *a*' semitones at cadences, and two-note slurs in his vocal line.

Example 1.10 Juan Hidalgo, *Celos aun del aire matan* III, mm. 1158–1233.

CÉFALO

Por-que no pre - su-mas que de ti no fi - o lo que a Po - cris

1161
ca - llo, ve - rás que te di - go. A - que - lla bel - dad, a quien to - dos

1165
vi - mos con-ver - ti - da en ai - re, con-ser - van-do el mis -

1168
mo nom-bre de Au-ra es quien en el cris-ta - li - no im-pé - rio de Ve-nus hoy

1172
go-za el do-mi - nio. És-ta, a - gra-de - ci-da a cuan-do mi brí-o in-ten-tó li -

1176
brar-la en a - quel pe - li - gro, vién-do-me u - na sies-ta del ar-dien-te es -

Example 1.10 Continued

1180

tí-o pos-tra-do al can-san-cio a la sed ren-di-do, el su-dor, que el

1184

ros-tro par-tió con los ri-zos, ya que no a cen-da-les, en-ju-gó a sus-pi-

1188

ros. Mu-lli-dos a fuer-za de ro-sas los ris-cos, vi le-chos en quien fue,el

1192

sue-ño mi-a-li-vio, en que, o mal des-pier-to, o no bien dor-

1195

mi-do, en hu-ma-na voz su dei-dad me di-jo;

1199 AURA (*canta dentro*)

Siem-pre que an-sio-so el a-fán de la ca-za te fa-

1204

ti-gue, lla-ma Au-ra que le mi-ti-

Example 1.10 Continued

1209

gue a cu - yas vo - ces ve - rán tus con -

1214

go - jas cuán - to es - tán en tu fa - vor _____ los fa -

1219

vo - res de a - que - lla que hoy en - tre al - bo - res po -

1224

ner pue - de de su ma - no, en los hom - bros del ve -

1229

ra - no, el im - pe - rio de las flo - - -

1233

CÉFALO

res. Aun a - ho - ra pa - re - ce que sue - na en mi o - i - do, y pues de su a -

1236

gra - do pa - so di - ver - ti - do las tre - guas que

The focus returns to Pocris when she overhears Céfalo, mimics him momentarily by singing his copla, considers what she has heard, then leaps to conclusions about how he spends the long hours away from her. Suddenly changing meter and register, she explodes impulsively with broadly consonant, sweeping melody (Example 1.11, mm. 1271–1386), hurling her voice to the top of her range as she literally paints the limit of her patience at high *g* and then sinks to a low *d*' when she feels herself “dying of love” before quitting the stage.

Example 1.11 Juan Hidalgo, *Celos aun del aire matan* III, mm. 1268–1386.

POCRIS

“¡Po-cris por quien mue-ro, Lau-ra por quien vi - vo!” ¡Oh

1272 nun - ca, Flo - re - ta, le_hu - bie - ra se - gui - do has - ta don -

1277 - de, ha - cien - do can - cel es - te

1282 ris - co, lle - ga - ra, o - ca - sión en que_hu - bie - ra o -

1287 í - do, “¡Po - cris por quien mue - ro, Lau -

1292 - ra por quien vi - vo!” Es - pe - ra, a - man - te trai - dor,

1297 mi - ra que es mu - cho ri - gor, do - blán - do - me los re - ce - los, que tú me ma - tes de

Example 1.11 Continued

1301

ce-los, y yo me mue - ra de_a-mor. Si mi vi - da te_es-tor - bó,

1305

no tú qui-tár - me-la tra - tes, pues yo lo_ha-ré, pues no_es, ¡no!, me-nes -

1308

ter que tú me ma - tes pa-ra que me mue-ra yo. Dé-ja-me con

1312

los con-sue-los de que yo te_hi-ce.el fa-vor, pues no me - jo-ra_el do-lor que

1316

tú me ma-tes de ce-los, y yome mue - ra de_a-mor. Mas

1320

¿qué_es lo que ha - go? Mas ¿qué_es lo que di - go? Las lá -

1325

- gri - mas ce - sen, ce - sen los sus - pi -

Example 1.11 Continued

1330

- - ros, y ya_he-cho,el em - pe - ño, be - ber so - li -

1335

ci - to la_ pon - zo - ña,al va - so y,al_

1340

ai - re,el he - chi - zo. Y_a - sí, tú, Flo -

1345

re - ta, por-que me - nos_ rui - do ha - ga,u - na,en su a -

1350

ce - cho, en_ a - ques - te si -

1355

tio te que-da, en-tre tan - to que so - la le si - go has -

1360

- ta que_ mis pe - nas ve - an

Example 1.11 Continued

1365

si_a - ve - ri - guo qué Lau-ra,es a - ques - ta por

1370

quien él ha di - cho: “¡Po - cris por quien mue -

1375

ro, Lau - ra por quien vi - vo!” Que,aun-que co-

1380

bar-de,el te-mor, flo-res pi-se y sien-ta hie-los, na-da,a-ven - tu-ro,en ri-gor, en

1384 (Vase.)

que,él me ma - te de ce - los, si yo me mue - ro de_a-mor.

Hidalgo reinforces the verisimilitude of Pocris' reaction in this passage by employing the device of *sinalefa* as an interpretive clue for the singer. If all of the notated pitches and rhythms here are sung as written, including the repeated notes, the stresses in the poetic line are difficult to accommodate. But when the passage is sung with all of the *sinalefa* restored, some of the accented syllables must be elongated, further emphasizing the hemiola already composed into the music. This elongation, a kind of deliberate rubato resulting from the *sinalefa* and the notated hemiola, forces the singer to dramatize Pocris' heightened expression with appropriately verisimilar flexibility, rather than rush through the passage. Hidalgo had exploited this technique for Pocris earlier in this act with bitterly comic effect (act 3, mm. 566–72 in Example 1.12), when, desperate for a confidante, she chooses to rely on Floreta against her better judgment. In this case, the rhythmic pattern goes against the metric accentuation of the poetic line, lending Pocris an appropriately tentative sound as she struggles with her doubts about Floreta.

Example 1.12 Juan Hidalgo, *Celos aun del aire matan* III, mm. 556–72.

sien - do Cé - fa - lo y Cla - rín los que nos li -

560
bra - ron, ha - ga la ne - ce - si - dad

564
vir - tud, ha - cien - do la con - fian -

569
za de ti, que no pue - do

Hidalgo often deployed harmonic change, surprise, or sudden alteration to project the meaning of Calderón’s poetry in *Celos aun del aire matan*. For example, after the invisible Aura interrupts Diana’s address to the mortals in the temple scene in act 2, Diana suspects that the “new voice” proclaiming “Long live love!” contains the “cadence of Venus” (mm. 844–50 in Example 1.13).

Example 1.13 Juan Hidalgo, *Celos aun del aire matan* II, mm. 832–50.

DIANA

¿Mue - ra el ol - vi - do y vi - va el a -

836
mor? Es - pe - rad. ¿Qué nue - va

Example 1.13 Continued

841
voz, sa - cri - le - ga - men - te in - fiel, en los co - ros de—

846
— Di - a - na cláu - su - la de Ve - nus es?

Her music conveys her suspicions by moving away from G minor to realize a strong cadence in F major instead. At several crucial points in the opera, Hidalgo's music explains Pocris' thoughts or feelings by means of sudden harmonic shifts. We hear an unusual a^\sharp notated in her vocal line (act 3, m. 610 in Example 1.14) to signal her suddenly heightened anxiety when she is about to be tipped into a vortex of jealousy by the fury Alecto, who approaches her (unseen by Pocris) at Diana's behest (mm. 631–47 and 661–70 in Example 1.14).

Example 1.14 Juan Hidalgo, *Celos aun del aire matan* III, mm. 609–738.

y sa - le co - mo que es ra - bia. En fin, es un no sé qué,

613 FLORETA
que so - bre mis mie - dos cau - san a - ques - tas no - ti - cias. ¿Có - mo?

616 POCRIS
Co - mo si voy a a - pu - rar - las ha - llo...

(Alecto canta bajo al oído, y ella repite con despecho lo mismo, de modo que para la música son dos, y para la representación no es más que uno, porque lo uno ha de ser repetición de lo otro.)

Example 1.14 Continued

(618) ALECTO



...que Cé - fa - lo ya de tus fi - ne - zas se can -

624 POCRIS



sa... ...que Cé - fa - lo ya de mis fi - ne - zas se

629 ALECTO



can - sa... ...pues por un mon - te te de - ja...

634 POCRIS



...pues por un mon - te me de - ja...

ALECTO



...que a sus so - las se re -

639 POCRIS



ca - ta en lo o - cul - to dél... ...que a sus so - las se re -

Example 1.14 Continued

644 ALECTO POCRIS
 ca - ta en lo_o-cul - to dél... ..a - don - de... ..a - don - de...

649 ALECTO POCRIS
 ...blan - dos vien - tos le re - ga - lan... ..blan - dos vien - tos le

654 ALECTO POCRIS
 re - ga - lan... ..tier - nas vo - ces le di - vier - ten... ..tier - nas

659 ALECTO
 vo - ces le di - vier - ten... ..dul - ces pá - ja - ros le can -

664 POCRIS ALECTO
 tan... ..dul - ces pá - ja - ros le can - tan... ..cuan - do_o-tro_a_u - na

669 POCRIS
 Lau - ra bus - ca. ...cuan - do_o-tro_a_u - na Lau - ra

673 *(aparte)*
 bus - ca. ¿Por cuán - to pu - die - ra (¡oh va - ga fan - ta -

Example 1.14 Continued

676

sí - a del te - mor, cuán - to el dis - cur - so, a - de - lan - tas!) por cuán - to,

679

vuel - vo, a de - cir, pu - die - ra ser que el bus - car - la fue - ra ce -

682

lo - so de que con Cé - fa - lo...? La voz fal - ta... Pe - ro

686

¿qué mu - cho, qué mu - cho, si no hay de - cen - tes pa -

691

la - bras, que no de - cen - tes pa - sio - nes se, a - tre - van a pro - nun -

697

ciar - las? Y pues - to que es — el de - cir - las aún pe -

702

or que i - ma - gi - nar - las, ven con - mi - go que he — de

Example 1.14 Continued

707

ver (si_o - tro tra - je me dis - fra - za, y sin

712

ser dél co - no - ci - da, si - go de_em - bo - zo sus

717

plan - tas) qué a - ves, qué vien - tos, qué vo - ces,

722

qué_i - lu - sio - nes, qué fan - tas - mas, qué de - li -

727

- rios, qué qui - me - ras son és - tas que le_a - rre -

732

ba - tan tan - to_el sen - ti - do y_en

736

fin quién es es - ta Lau - ra.

The sound produced by conflicting accidentals was also surely intended to underscore the “falseness” of the misleading words Alecto sings as he whispers into her ear, with numerous B \flat s and an unnatural emphasis on C-major harmonies within the larger context of D minor. The B \flat s create audible *falsas* (cross

relations) within the established harmonic context. As Procris questions her own perceptions (mm. 722–29 in Example 1.14), singing of “ilusiones,” “fantasmas,” “delirios,” and “quimeras,” sharp A-major harmonies convey the sting of jealous suspicion. At such moments, strongly affective expression is encoded in Procris’ music and facilitates its performance. The sharp side of the circle of fifths (harmonic areas of the sharp hexachord) is especially associated with wounds and with Diana’s destructive vengeance, so major chords (especially A major, E major, and B major, several moves away from the no-sharp or one-flat safe zones) are not universally “happy”; rather, their bright sound is “sharped,” forceful and pungent. When Procris (act 3) deliberately crosses into the wild, forested mountainside where Céfalo hunts—a male preserve—she also incorrectly usurps male power by “hunting” Céfalo (seeking to observe him in his interaction with “Laura”). In this male precinct, she will pay dearly for her wildly emotional reactions. By embracing jealousy, Procris has transgressed; actions motivated by jealousy were sanctioned for men but forbidden to noble women in seventeenth-century Madrid. In their very intensity, her transgression and her state of affect are framed as both perilous and characteristically feminine.²²²

Spying on Céfalo and listening for the voice of the mysterious “Laura,” Procris is surprised when the voice does not arrive to answer his entreaty (act 3, mm. 1798–1800 in Example 1.15); Aura can see Procris but tricks her by remaining silent.

Example 1.15 Juan Hidalgo, *Celos aun del aire matan* III, mm. 1796–1802.

The musical score consists of three systems of vocal lines. The first system is for AURA [aparte], starting at measure 1796. The second system is for POCRIS [aparte], starting at measure 1798. The third system is for AURA [aparte], starting at measure 1801. Each system includes a vocal line in treble clef and a bass line in bass clef. The lyrics are in Spanish and are written below the vocal lines.

AURA [aparte]
 Ven, Au - ra, ven, re - pi - tió; mas su - fra Po - cris y pe

POCRIS [aparte]
 ne. ¿Ven, Au - ra, ven, y no vie - ne? No soy a quien lla - ma

AURA [aparte]
 yo. ¿Quién el fa - vor dí - la - tó?

²²² Procris’ wild transgressive frenzy is described vividly in Ovid; in the *Ars Amatoria*, “women supposedly do not know how to handle their own emotions successfully, and Procris perfectly exemplifies the consequences of such failure,” as explained in William S. Anderson, “The Example of Procris in the *Ars Amatoria*,” *Cabinet of the Muses: Essays on Classical and Comparative Literature in Honor of Thomas G. Rosenmeyer*, ed. Mark Griffith and Donald J. Mastrorarde (Atlanta: Scholar’s Press, 1990), 137–38.

The move from the A-major chord to D (m. 1799 in Example 1.15) is thwarted by an unexpected B-minor chord, such that the expected sound does not “arrive” in the accompaniment either. The opera’s mortal tragedy is horribly fulfilled when Céfaló hurls the magic spear at what he senses moving in the underbrush (hoping to kill an animal). The spear again pierces Pocris; when a weeping Céfaló finally gives Pocris his full attention and looks directly into her eyes (act 3, m. 2062 in Example 1.16), the harmony not only emphasizes major chords but recalls the harmonic sequence from the act 1 scene in which Pocris was wounded in the struggle over Diana’s spear (D–G–E–A–D–G–C).

Example 1.16 Juan Hidalgo, *Celos aun del aire matan* III, mm. 2062–75.

CÉFALO (*Mirala al rostro*)

Mas, ¡ay! No es si - no de to - da el al - ma. No

2065 sé si o-tra vez me a-tre-va a ver-la, por si o-tra guar - da a - pa - ren - tes se - ñas,

2068 que en tu - pi - das som - bras par - das de la i - de - a, co - mo ob - je - to que en mí

2071 vi - ve, me re - tra - ta la i - ma - gen de... pe - ro a ver - la me a -

2074 tre - vo, y no a pro - nun - ciar - la. De...

Lyrical song provides the backbone and essence of Hidalgo's exploration of fully-sung drama, with strophic airs (coplas), rather than the Spanish equivalent to recitative (*recitado*) serving as the principal vehicle for forward motion. Lyrical song also carries the power to enchant, as when, in a demonstration of the power of purely audible concord, the triple-meter refrains sung by Aura are the catalyst for growing mutual desire between Pocris and Céfalo in act 1 (act 1, mm. 1130–1497; see Example 1.5). Pocris is most exposed vocally and most attractive to Céfalo when she reacts in non-strophic, flexibly verisimilar phrases for the crucial moments of her transformation and tragedy. Male characters, however, are assigned more constrained music; in this sense they comport themselves with more dignity overall because they rarely expose themselves in recitado. Céfalo is meant to seem highly rational and sure of his integrity. But he is sincerely and musically touched in a foreshadowing of the tragedy when a brief but surprising chromatic inflection, a sudden, jarring $f\sharp$ (m. 1253 in Example 1.17) for the word “agravio” (injure), signals the pain that he experiences as he sings of unintentionally harming Pocris through neglect. The $f\sharp$ is a kind of *falsa*, appropriate because Céfalo, filled with “*tierno cariño*” (tender affection), deceives himself into believing that his pursuit of the audible but unseen “Laura” does not hurt Pocris.

Example 1.17 Juan Hidalgo, *Celos aun del aire matan* III, mm. 1247–58.

CÉFALO

¿qué mu - cho que al - ti - vo bus-que_a-que - lla

1249

fie - ra que tan - tos han vis - to_y yo nun - ca en - cuen-tro; y

1252

más cuan-do mi - ro que en es - to_a-gra - vio el tier - no ca -

1255

ri - ño con que_a Po - cris be - lla a - do - ro_y_es-ti - mo?

Example 1.18 Juan Hidalgo, *Celos aun del aire matan* III, mm. 1735–50.

CÉFALO

Au-ra, ven, ven y en cro - má-ti-cos ta - les den a - li-vio a mis con-

1739 go - jas - los pa - sa -

1742 - jes de las ho - jas, las pau-sas de los cris-ta - les, que, sos-te-ni-dos mis

1746 ma-les, ha - cien-do fu - gas es-tén. Ven, Au - ra, ven.

Hidalgo later assigns Céfalo the simple but rational device of word painting when he calls to the unseen Aura (Example 1.18, mm. 1735–50): his “cromáticos,” “pasajes,” and “sostenidos” are painted, respectively, by chromatic alteration, an unusually long “passage” of melisma, and the application of sharps (“sostenidos”) to produce the E-major chords representing the power of Diana, the source of the “males” (troubles) Céfalo suffers, together with a short melodic imitation and an imitative sequence in the bass to set “fugas” (fugues).

It is unclear whether Hidalgo means to dignify Céfalo or detract from his nobility with the direct simplicity of these associations. The ignoble “hombre-fiera” Eróstrato, whose deplorable thirst for revenge after his loss of Aura leads him to violence and arson—the latter crime a display of violent misogyny in that he burns the nymphs inside Diana’s temple—also sings blatant examples of word painting whose unsophisticated quality might be intended to reinforce his rough-hewn nature. When he flees Diana’s wrath (act 3, mm. 1830–64 in Example 1.19) and is driven mad (and to suicide) by guilt and the knowledge that he is pursued both by Diana and by the mortal hunting party, he describes the vegetation in the underbrush as “se tejen y se enmarañan” (densely woven and entangled). His fears come alive in an inescapable strict canon between the “entangled” bass line and vocal line; he is pursued quite literally in music when the poetic imagery is described in his song. Eróstrato (Example 1.19, mm. 1865–85) also sings the words “peña más alta” (highest cliff) and “piélago más profundo” (deepest sea) to appropriately high and low pitches.

Example 1.19 Juan Hidalgo, *Celos aun del aire matan* III, mm. 1830–97.

ERÓSTRATO

Aun has - ta_a - quí don - de más se te - jen

1835
— y se.en - ma - ra - ñan con lo.a - ris - co de las bre -

1840
ñas lo.es - ca - bro - so de las plan - tas, si - guién - do -

1845
- me vie - nen. ¡Cie - los! Si son i - ras -

1851
— de Di - a - na bien po - drán lo - grar cas -

1856
ti - gos; pe - ro no to - mar ven -

1862
- gan - zas. Pues, cuan - do mi di - li -

Example 1.19 Continued

1868

gen - cia o su cen - tro no me val - ga,

1873

me sa - bré de - ses - pe - rar des - de la pe -

1877

- ña más al - ta al pié - la - go

1882

más pro - fun - do, muer - to

1887

a ma - nos de mi ra - bía,

1892

an - tes que a las de sus i - ras.

Just as the tunes and rhythms of preexistent dances such as the *jácara* and the *seguidilla* added layers of meaning within *Celos aun del aire matan* (as explained earlier in this chapter), so too, other kinds of musical quotation brought the opera's message that much closer to the everyday audible experience of Hidalgo's public. Hidalgo deploys the tune of a well-known song when

Pocris anxiously confesses to Floreta the overwhelming jealous fears that will catapult her into her ultimate tragedy. Her dilemma becomes more poignant through her musical quotation of the estribillo of the well-known “Molinillo que mueles amores...” (act 3, mm. 1271–95 in Example 1.11). This song, whose poetry is quoted in act 1 of Lope de Vega’s *San Isidro labrador de Madrid* (probably 1604–6), circulated as early as the first decade of the seventeenth century. Scholars have established that the mill is “inextricably related to the world of sex, sexuality, and prostitution,” a “locus of erotic initiation and sexual dalliance” and, in its connection to fertility rites, milling “denotes sexual intercourse.”²²³ The *molinillo* or gristmill in the song represents the grinding jealousy of an obsessively jealous lover (usually a woman). Hidalgo’s audience would have known the song-text, whose estribillo in Lope’s play, “no coja desdenes / quien siembra favores, / que, aunque me sustenta, matarme podrán,” is chillingly relevant to Pocris’ tragedy—her “scornful” opening accusation against Aura, rather than “planting seeds of favor,” brings her a bitter harvest, grist for the “mill” of her sexually charged, obsessively jealous thoughts. A musical setting of the song-text (with a slightly varied wording for the estribillo) by Juan del Vado y Gómez (1625–91), Hidalgo’s younger colleague at the royal court, offers the same tune that Hidalgo set with passionately insistent sequences for Pocris.²²⁴

Another kind of musical quotation creates bawdy musical humor, including references to either homosexuality or bestiality, in a scene between Rústico and Eróstrato. Diana has punished Rústico by making him appear as an animal to the other mortals (he has been seen as a lion, a bear, a tiger, and a dog). In act 3 (mm. 992–1033 in Example 1.20; and mm. 1077–90 in Example 1.21), Rústico is unaware that he will appear as himself again, but he risks emerging from his hiding place in the forest. He encounters Eróstrato without immediately recognizing him (the latter is disguised, covered by the skins of wild animals). Eróstrato, the *hombre-fiera*, violently embraces Rústico, mistaking him for the embodiment of the unsettling, mysterious voice (the fury Mejera) he has just heard.

²²³ Martin, *An Erotic Philology*, 35; Agustín Redondo, “De molinos, molineros y molineras,” in *Literatura y folklore: problemas de intertextualidad*, ed. José Luis Alonso Hernández (Salamanca: Editora de la Universidad de Salamanca, 1985), 101–15.

²²⁴ Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 339, 387; the song by Juan del Vado y Gómez (E-Mn, Ms M/3881/15) was first published in *Treinta canciones de Lope de Vega: (1635–1935)*, ed. Jesús Bal y Gay (Madrid: Residencia de Estudiantes, 1935), 87–89. This quotation by Hidalgo was kindly brought to my attention by Luis Robledo.

Example 1.20 Juan Hidalgo, *Celos aun del aire matan* III, mm. 992–1066.

RÚSTICO

8 I - ma - gi - ne su mer - cé (en cuan - ta a - li -

997 ma - ña hay hoy) la que quie - re; que é - sa

1002 soy, é - sa he si - do, é - sa se - ré, sin

1007 más di - la - ción, pues ta - les son mis va - rios a - tri -

1012 bu - tos, que he - cho pe - ri - cón de bru - tos y pen -

1017 dan - ga de a - ni - ma - les, del man - jar que va a

Example 1.20 Continued

1022

bus - car, al pun - to le ser - vi - ré;

1027

pe - ro no me co - ma, aun - que le dé a es - co -

1032

ERÓSTRATO RÚSTICO

ger el man - jar. ¡Rús - ti - co! ¡E - so es bue - no!

1037

ERÓSTRATO RÚSTICO ERÓSTRATO

Es - pe - ra... ¿Rús - ti - co yo? ¿Qué hay que a -

1042

RÚSTICO

som - bre? Ser pa - ra las fie - ras hom - bre, y

1047

ERÓSTRATO

pa - ra los hom - bres fie - ras... ¿Qué quie - res de - cir? De -

Example 1.20 Continued

1052 RÚSTICO

ten - te. Que nin - gu - no hay que me ve - a

que_a - li - ma - ña no me cre - a, no qui -

tan - do lo pre - sen - te, si - no su mer - cé.

Example 1.21 Juan Hidalgo, *Celos aun del aire matan* III, mm. 1077–93.

RÚSTICO

A - ho - ra le co - no - cí, y

ya no me ad - mi - ra el tra - je: que no es mu - cho ve -

a sal - va - je el que_e - na - mo - ra - do vi. Mas,

¿qué es lo que pa - sa? di - me.

Rústico, ever aware of appetites, sings about being eaten as a beast, while he tries to elude further embraces from Eróstrato, believing that Eróstrato is actually a beast that desires and pursues him. The music Hidalgo recruits for this long passage is directly quoted from his own earlier opera, *La púrpura de la rosa*, where these *coplas* are sung by Venus to Adonis as the beautiful mortal awakens from a dream that prefigures his tragic death (he dies after being gored by a wild boar sent by the jealous warrior-god Marte).²²⁵ In the scene from *La púrpura de la rosa*, whose tune Hidalgo's audience might easily have remembered (see Example 5.3 in Chapter 5), Adonis is unaware that Amor (Cupid) has wounded him in his sleep with a love-poisoned arrow. Venus assures him that "the heaviness of a nightmare" might still affect him. At first, Adonis is unaware of his own feelings, but desire overcomes him when Venus turns to walk away. He calls out and she responds by asking if, indeed, he "looked at" and recognized her in their earlier first encounter ("¿Pues, no me viste entonces?"), to which he confesses that he did, indeed, see her ("confieso que te vi"), initiating a poetic gloss on "looking and seeing." As the two characters are vanquished by mutual longing, they share *coplas* in ever-closer musical interaction to lead them into Venus' love-infused garden.

Hidalgo's scene in *Celos* between Rústico and Eróstrato (act 3, beginning at m. 981) sets up an audible parallel to this scene between Venus and Adonis from *La púrpura de la rosa* (Example 5.3) because Rústico has not "seen" (i.e., recognized) Eróstrato, and Eróstrato (moving blindly around the stage because of his disguise) has grabbed and embraced Rústico without really knowing him either. But the best part of the joke draws a parallel between the heightened and soon-to-be consummated sexual desire of Venus and Adonis and the gustatory or sexual engagement that Rústico fears as he is clutched by the wild beast (actually, the disguised Eróstrato). Venus and Adonis enter her garden where "todo es amor" (all is love), and once "inside" in luxuriant sexual safety, Adonis need not fear wild beasts. Poor Rústico, on the other hand, has been embraced unawares and fears being mistaken for an animal, only to be either sexually violated or devoured by one. Hidalgo's self-quotation of erotically charged music from a pivotal scene in *La púrpura de la rosa* within this comic scene of mistaken identities and intentions between Rústico and Eróstrato is brilliantly funny.

Conclusion

The two Hidalgo operas belong to a small cluster of mythological dramas with music created under Heliche's supervision. They were received appreciatively by the court, the theater-going public, and other musicians. Calderón wrote his own parody of *Celos aun del aire matan* in his burlesque play *Céfalo y Pocris*,

²²⁵ See Stein, ed., *La púrpura de la rosa*, 73–78.

and some of this opera's scenes and conventions were parodied in other comic pieces.²²⁶ As late as 1699, the *fin de fiesta* for the zarzuela *Júpiter y Yoo, Los cielos premian desdenes* by Marcos de Lanuza Mendoza y Arellano, Count of Clavijo, called for music from Hidalgo's *Celos*.²²⁷ Individual songs or scenes from the opera were memorable enough to become part of the larger, popular repertory. Tunes and song-texts were embedded in the web of musical correspondences shared across social levels that characterized Hispanic musical culture. Quotations (musical or textual) from both operas are found in anthologies of vocal or instrumental music, poetic miscellanies, the texts of other plays, and even in sacred villancicos by other composers.²²⁸ Not surprisingly, the most widely circulated tonadas from *Celos aun del aire matan* belonged to the female protagonists, Diana and Pocris.

Heliche surely realized that fully-sung opera could be a powerful stimulant. Though the two operas were produced as suitable epithalamia for the Infanta María Teresa in her marriage to Louis XIV, Philip and Mariana were the most

²²⁶ See Alonso de Olmedo's two-part *Píramo y Tisbe*, E-Mn, MS 14851, fols. 225-231v; Aura's act 1 estribillo "Ay, infelz de aquella..." is parodied in Francisco de Castro, *Alegría cómica explicada en diferentes assumptos jocosos, tercera parte* (Zaragoza, 1702), 61; as well as in the "Baile de Júpiter y Calixto," E-Mn, MS 15788/1. Diana's "Ya que aqueste peñasco..." the opening of act 3, is parodied in the "Bayle del Juicio de Paris," published with Marcos Lanuza Mendoza y Arellano, *Las Belides: Zarzuela que se escribió para celebrar el día de los Años de la Reyna Madre... Doña Mariana de Austria* (1687; E-Mn, T/2633, 23-28).

²²⁷ *Júpiter, y Yoo, Los cielos premian desdenes, fiesta zarzuela...* (Madrid: Francisco Sanz, 1699), E-Mn, T/23659, fol. 22: "La música es sobre la de Zelos aun del Aire matan."

²²⁸ For the circulation of material from *La púrpura de la rosa*, see Chapter 5. Concerning *Celos aun del aire matan*, as noted in Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 375, 407, Diana's act 3 tonada, "Ya que aqueste peñasco / cuya esmeralda bruta..." is also preserved in harp tablature with a full text in E-Mn, MS M/2478; the first lines of text and music appear in E-Bc, Mus. MS 753/24, "Diferentes tonos para la Xacara." The text is identified as "Tono cantado en la comedia que se hizo en el Retiro año de 61, Romance endecasílabo Calderón," in E-Mn, MS 17666, pp. 486-89, and included in the poetic anthology "Tonos a lo divino y a lo humano," E-Tp, MS, Casa de la Cultura, MS 391, fols. 91-92; see Rita Goldberg, *Tonos a lo divino y a lo humano* (London: Tamesis, 1981), 151-52; another harp tablature, B-Gu, Hs.3898/4, sets just the first strophe of poetry. The song was mentioned in letters between Constantijn Huygens and Sébastien Chièze, as pointed out in Rasch, "Music in Spain in the 1670s," 97-124 (mention on pp. 109-10). Also from act 3, Pocris' "Del desmayo del susto del miedo..." appears with music in E-Bc, Mus. MS 759/5 and E-Bc, Mus. MS 753/24, as well as in a E-E, MS 29 (2.186), fols. 100v-103v, "Obra sobre la tonada del desmayo: de todo juego," for keyboard, noted and transcribed in Maurice Esses, *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias in Spain During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1994) 1:248-49; 2:130-37; the text of "Del desmayo" appears in poetic anthologies E-Mn, MS 2202, fols. 186-87; E-Mn, MS 3884, fol. 168-168v; and E-Mn, MS 4103, p. 67. Poetry from Céfalo's "Hermosa Pocris mía..." (act 3) is included with notation for guitar chords in the "Libro de diversas letras" of Josep Fontaner (c. 1689), E-Bc, MS 888, fol. 22, p. 41. The poetry of Eróstrato's "Ya que dejo esparcida..." from act 1 of *Celos* appears as a "trova" in a collection of sacred poetry by Francisco Figuerola, Valencia, Biblioteca Serrano Morales del Ayuntamiento, MS 6408, as explained in Andrea Bombi, *Entre tradición y modernidad. El italianismo musical en Valencia 1685-1738*, 2 vols. (Valencia: Institut Valencià de la Música, 2011), 1:216, 308, 312; 2: 247-50. Three musical segments from act 3 of *Celos* ("Ya que aqueste peñasco..." "Del desmayo, del susto, del miedo..." and "Suspended los acentos... y pues que ninfa del aire...") were incorporated in various ways into villancicos by Miguel Gómez Camargo for the Cathedral of Valladolid in the 1660s, according to detailed research by Carmelo Caballero Fernández-Rufete, "Nuevas fuentes musicales de teatro Calderoniano," *Revista de musicología* 16 (1993): 2958-76; and Caballero Fernández-Rufete, "En trova de lo humano a lo divino," 95-115, the latter with musical examples.

important listeners at the opening performances (the Infanta probably did not hear *Celos aun del aire matan*, in any case, because she had arrived in France by the time of its production). Significantly, Philip and Mariana attended Heliche's productions together, but otherwise spent little time in each other's company.²²⁹ That a production of *Celos* for the royal couple occurred in June, when Mariana was safely into the seventh month of her pregnancy, might suggest that the opera's exciting but mostly tragic unfolding, complete with Pocris' two bloody wounds, was deemed inappropriate during the earlier phase of the queen's pregnancy in February 1661. Surely, any reference to marital wounding would have been very ill received—the royal wife's bloodless missed menses were precisely what everyone desperately desired.²³⁰

Heliche was no stranger to the real-life quest for dynastic survival, moreover he brought his expertise with erotic art to the project of opera production—his collection of paintings was replete with female nudes, and copies of Titian's erotic mythological paintings (the *Poesie* in the royal collection) were frescoed directly onto the walls of his palace. There is little doubt that he and others appreciated the eroticism of Veronese's *Venus and Adonis*, Titian's *Danaë*, or Velázquez's *Toilet of Venus* (reproduced as Figure 1.9).²³¹ Velázquez' teacher, Francisco Pacheco, had condemned the provision of erotic mythologies, including the “prodigally lascivious Venus,” in *El arte de la pintura* (1649), and underlined the fact that such paintings were not mere anatomy studies,²³² even chastising masters such as Titian and Veronese for having supplied vividly licentious paintings for the “salons and chambers of the great men and princes of the world.”²³³ The outstanding *Venus* by Velázquez belonged to Heliche and was just one among many paintings on erotic subjects in his palace during the years in which he produced the operas and devised all-female casts for the royal enjoyment.²³⁴

²²⁹ Malcolm, “Spanish Queens and Aristocratic Women,” 171–73, describes Philip's infidelity during his first marriage and the way his “nocturnal escapades” distracted from the required sexual passion for his first wife; he regretted his behavior and tried harder with Mariana.

²³⁰ Compte, “Damning Female Portraits,” 207, explains, for example, how Barrionuevo “dwells almost obsessively on the signs of prospects for future pregnancies. The reader is treated to very specific minutia about missed menses, stirrings in the womb, and the Queen's cravings during pregnancy.”

²³¹ See further Haskell, “La *Venus del espejo*,” 235; Marías, *Velázquez. Pintor y criado del rey*, 169–73.

²³² Pacheco, *El arte de la pintura*, 376.

²³³ Pacheco's text reads: “que se han extremado con la licenciosa expresión de tanta diversidad de fábulas; y hecho estudio particular de ellas, con tanta viveza o lascivia, en debuxo y colorido; cuyos cuadros (como vemos) ocupan los salones y camarines de los grandes señores y príncipes del mundo. Y los tales artificios alcanzan no sólo grandes premios, pero mayor fama y nombre.” Francisco Pacheco, *El arte de la pintura*, ed. Bonaventura Bassegoda y Hugas (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 1990), 376; see Jonathan Brown, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978), 72.

²³⁴ The other pictures included a depiction of the chaste Susana before the elders, a Danaë “with the shower of gold in a landscape naked lying on a red cloth,” and a canvas of sleeping Apollo “with the nine Muses around him playing musical instruments.”

Surely Heliche's appreciation of erotic art informed his productions; opera could become usefully erotic. Known for his discriminating eye, he could be counted on as a man "without scruples" when it came to things erotic. Indeed, after his departure from Madrid, his peers lamented his absence, complaining that without him there was nobody with whom to share one's Titian nudes.²³⁵ If paintings of mythological nudes were obviously erotic, so too Heliche's opera productions. Threaded through with "lascivious" tunes and dances, they provided the royal couple with libidinous encouragement delivered as entertainment.

The choice of myths for the two operas of 1659–61 placed them within the larger iconography of the dynastic marriage and the peace treaty, as I have argued elsewhere.²³⁶ But Heliche's personal understanding of eroticism, of music's power, and of his audience surely shaped their performance conventions. By the time Hidalgo was composing his first opera in 1659, mythological opera had been supplanted by heroic operas loosely based on Classical historical plots just about everywhere else in Europe. Yet Heliche produced mythological pastorals whose extended passages of lyrical song served explorations of Calderón's interpretation of erotic Ovidian myths, the poetry issuing from the throats and on the breath of very young women. Heliche's casting of women with high voices as both serious male and female characters also seems to have overruled prohibitions against female impersonation in male roles.²³⁷ In these operas, actress-singers were required to do precisely what had been so often forbidden—they not only sang as male characters but may even have been dressed in male clothing.²³⁸ In Figure 1.13, Baccio's own depiction of the god Mercury on a cloud shows the character in male garb though he was performed by a woman.

²³⁵ "no escrupulizaba los desnudos más atrevidos," according to his father-in-law: see Bouza, *Imagen y propaganda*, 206.

²³⁶ Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 212–17, reveals the relationship between two paintings in the royal collection, the Veronese *Venus and Adonis* and *Cephalus and Procris*, and the two Calderón-Hidalgo operas that Heliche produced on the same mythological stories.

²³⁷ A royal order issued in 1657, perhaps motivated by Heliche's introduction of singing women, reiterates the long-standing prohibition but offers the possibility that certain roles might require an exception, and in that case the male costume should be adjusted to be modest and appropriate: "que ninguna muger pueda salir al teatro en habito de hombre, y que si hubiese de ser preciso para la representación que hagan estos papeles, sea con traje tan ajustado y modesto que de ninguna manera se les descubran las piernas ni los pies... de manera que solo se diferencie el traje de la cintura arriba." Extracted from "Real orden del Consejo de Aragón sobre las trajes de las comedias [1 January 1657]," in Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos acerca del histrionismo español en los siglos XVI y XVII*, segunda serie (Bordeaux: Fret et Fils, 1914), 166–67.

²³⁸ On the larger question of *siglo de oro* actresses performing in male clothing, see Carmen Bravo Villasante, *La mujer vestida de hombre en el teatro español* (Madrid: SGEL, 1976); Lola González, "La mujer vestida de hombre. Aproximación a una revisión del tópico a la luz de la práctica escénica," *Memoria de la palabra: actas del VI Congreso de la Asociación Internacional Siglo de Oro 2002*, ed. María Luisa Lobato and Francisco Domínguez Matito, 2 vols. (Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2004), 1:905–16; and María José Rodríguez-Campillo, María Dolores Jiménez-López, and Gemma Bel-Enguix, "El disfraz varonil en el teatro español de los Siglos de Oro," *Triangle* 4 (2011): 69–85.



Figure 1.13 Baccio del Bianco, *Andrómeda y Perseo* (1653), Palas and Mercurio on a Cloud, MS Typ 258H, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

All the more reason for Hidalgo's gendering of musical types. With a consistently high tessitura, the actress-singers were muses whose generous performance might move the royal couple toward success with the procreative mission so essential to the survival of the monarchy.

Hidalgo's music in *Celos aun del aire matan* conveys the inner thoughts and passions of the protagonists more completely and more forcefully than does the poetry alone (this is especially true of his music for Pocris, the opera's central axis). The power of music to affect human emotions had been explicitly addressed in the loa to Hidalgo's first opera, *La púrpura de la rosa*, performed just the year before *Celos aun del aire matan*. The all-sung *fiesta cantada* unleashed the power of music to move the affections of the listener in the Spanish context. Opera administered its dose of "veneral music" as a powerful affective erotic stimulus through the ears. As Heliche knew well, members of the royal family were the listeners whose affects most needed to be moved.

Epilogue: Exile and Subsequent Travel

To some extent, Heliche had inherited his father's enemies, and this, together with his libertine conduct, increasing influence, entrepreneurial genius, and

volatility, made of him the object of a vengeful conspiracy after his father's death. His unwise misunderstanding with the king about the ownership of a painting stirred resentment, but he was unjustifiably pushed aside when a cousin and rival, Ramiro Núñez de Guzmán, Duke of Medina de las Torres, who inherited the title of Duke of San Lucar from Luis de Haro, insisted on taking charge of theatrical productions at the Buen Retiro (the *alcaldía* anyway transferred with the title previously held by Heliche's father). Seizing upon his vulnerability and the king's displeasure, Medina de las Torres and his party plotted Heliche's dishonor. On 14 February 1662 the stage of the Coliseo was ready for a performance of Calderón's *El hijo del sol, Faetón* (with sets by Dionisio Mantuano), but a carpenter chanced to notice (or merely claimed to have seen) three packets of gunpowder and fuses set beneath the stage. Gaspar de Haro was accused of having plotted to blow up the stage, ostensibly because Aniello de Guzmán, son of Medina de las Torres, would take over superintendency of the Buen Retiro. The ensuing investigation became a complex, many-layered case with the testimony of countless witnesses (most of them reporting mere hearsay). Heliche, his family, and his allies maintained his innocence while his enemies pressed ever harder.²³⁹ He was first accused of treason—had the fuses beneath the stage ignited, the palace would have exploded and killed the sovereigns. But he no longer held the requisite keys to open the Coliseo and no proof at all had been found to substantiate the accusation. Nevertheless, Heliche was placed under arrest and imprisoned for months as false statements fueled a deeply confusing judicial process. Because the entire case had so frightened Queen Mariana, Heliche was originally sentenced to two years of prison in a closed castle plus eight years of exile, as well as a monetary fine. Later, the sentence was amended but not dissolved. After visiting his lands and his family, he joined the army and reached the troops commanded by Juan José de Austria in Badajóz near the Portuguese border as they prepared to take the city of Évora. He was wounded in the Battle of Ameixial, near Estremóz, and taken prisoner on 8 June 1663.²⁴⁰ Considered a valuable prisoner of war, he was held in Lisbon, first at the Castelo de São Vicente a par de Belém and later in the Castelo de São Jorge. He twice tried to escape but found himself ill and depressed at age thirty-four. His years of imprisonment were devoted to reading, study, and reflection. As Vidales del Castillo has explained, the marquis matured

²³⁹ The primary documents concerning these events and legal proceedings are E-Mn, MS 11011, fols. 58–70; E-Mn, MS 10596, fols. 47–99v; and E-Mn, MS 10695, fols. 158–75; and E-Mp, VIII/9390, fols. 274–90. Vidales del Castillo, “El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras,” 101–18, provides the most insightful and carefully researched summary to date; see also Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 61–66. María Asunción Flórez Asensio, *La corte en llamas. Proceso al marqués de Heliche (1662–1663)* (Madrid: CEEH and Marcial Pons, 2023) appeared in print after my book had entered production and too late for me to consider fully here.

²⁴⁰ Vidales del Castillo, “El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras,” 116–19, provides a careful review of the documents concerning the trial, the final sentence, and Carpio's military services.

in these years (1663–68): “Los años de presidio marcaron un punto de inflexión en su vida y le sirvieron para reinventarse, en cierto modo, como el político que no había sido en Madrid.”²⁴¹ Upon the death of Philip IV, Mariana de Austria pardoned Heliche on 15 September 1665. In 1667, in part because he was distantly related to the Braganzas (the Portuguese royal family), she appointed him to negotiate and sign the ultimate peace treaty with Portugal, which was signed 13 February 1668.²⁴² Flush with success, he returned to Madrid in May 1668.²⁴³ His first wife, Antonia de la Cerda Enríquez de Ribera y Portocarrero, daughter of the seventh Duke of Medinaceli, became ill and died in January 1670. He married again in June 1671 to Teresa Enríquez de Cabrera, daughter of his friend Juan Gaspar Enríquez de Cabrera, Almirante de Castilla. Apparently because Mariana (then Queen Regent) and her advisors feared his temperament and ambition, in December 1671 he was assigned the distant posting as Spanish ambassador to the Holy See.²⁴⁴ He delayed his departure repeatedly, citing the need to put his affairs in order, his wife’s delicate pregnancies, and his own poor health.²⁴⁵ Heliche, his wife Teresa, and their two-year-old daughter, Catalina, departed Madrid on 17 April 1674. Thanks to various practical impediments, they did not embark toward Italy as planned but spent sixteen months in Cartagena and Murcia (his wife gave birth in Espinardo).²⁴⁶ Threatened by the spread of the plague and lacking financial resources, Teresa and his daughters returned to Madrid to manage affairs and be cared for by her family. By the end of 1676, after spending more than forty days on a ship under quarantine in the port of Barcelona, Heliche finally decided to travel toward Italy via the overland route with only four servants and without most of his baggage. He passed through France in the last bitterly cold weeks of 1676.²⁴⁷

²⁴¹ Vidales del Castillo, “El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras,” 121.

²⁴² Vidales del Castillo, “El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras,” 133; Rafael Valladares, *La rebelión de Portugal: guerra, conflicto y poderes en la monarquía hispánica, 1640–1680* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1998), 218.

²⁴³ Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 69, notes: “De hecho, consiguió recuperar sus puestos de las alcaldías de los reales bosques, asistir al Consejo de Indias como gran canciller y, sobre todo, emular a su predecesor en el cargo que una década antes había conseguido la firma de las paces con Francia en los Pirineos.”

²⁴⁴ Andrés, *El marqués de Liche*, 26–27; Fernández-Santos Ortiz-Iribas, “The Politics of Art,” 201.

²⁴⁵ Leticia M. de Frutos Sastre, “El VII Marqués del Carpio (1629–1687), mecenas y coleccionista de las artes” (PhD diss., Universidad Complutense Madrid, 2006), 400–7; Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 71.

²⁴⁶ Documents pertaining to the stay in Murcia are presented in José Carlos Agüera Ros, “Don Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán, VII Marqués del Carpio, comitente artístico durante su viaje a Roma como embajador ante la Santa Sede,” in *Patronos, promotores, mecenas y clientes* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1988), 431–34; see also Vidales del Castillo, “El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras,” 143–47.

²⁴⁷ Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 137–44, follows the trail of documents for Carpio’s fraught journey from Madrid to Milan.

2

Negotiating Operatic Culture in Rome 1677–82

A First Experience of Italian Opera

Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán's first experience of Italian opera occurred in Italy almost twenty years after the premieres of the Spanish operas he produced in Madrid. Known as Marquis del Carpio after his father's death, he was sent to Rome as Spanish ambassador to the Holy See. He delayed his departure from Spain for as long as possible and reached Italy in January 1677 after extensive delays and an overland journey through France. When he passed through Tronzano, in the Piedmont region, he was forty-six years old, "of medium-to-short stature with blonde but greying hair and beard."¹ In Turin and then Milan he recuperated while awaiting official letters of ambassadorial presentation from the crown.² During his stay in Milan, it was known that he planned to visit Venice for the carnival.³ The Spanish ambassador in Venice, Gaspar de Teves y Tello de Guzmán, Marquis de la Fuente (1608–73), rightly surmised that Carpio would arrive in time to attend a Venetian opera production.⁴

Carpio arrived in Venice (apparently on 25 February 1677, Fat Thursday), donned a mask, and accompanied de la Fuente to the theater where they had

¹ Fusconi, Fernández-Santos Ortiz-Iribas, Kuhn-Forte, "New Insights into the 'Carpio Album,'" 333–34, provide this excellent information about the passport, citing E-SIM, Estado, Libro 115, fol. 616.

² The rigors of his journey are summarized in an unsigned contemporary biography (probably written by his secretary, Juan Vélez de León), in "Noticias de la vida del Marqués del Carpio," E-Mn, MS 18722/56, fol. 201. In Milan, he was the much-fêted guest of his friend and brother-in-law, the Spanish governor, Count of Melgar (Juan Tomás Enríquez de Cabrera y Toledo). I-Vas, Senato III (secrete), Dispacci da Roma, f. 188, 23 January 1677, contains a report from Antonio Barbaro (the Republic's agent in Rome) to the effect that in Milan, "facevan grand'aparecchi per trattarlo e riceverlo." In Venice, Carpio may have sought the Republic's mediation in the negotiations toward the Treaties of Nijmegen, as noted in Giuseppe De Vito, "Il Rubens 'pintado' da Luca Giordano; ma quando?," *Ricerche sul '600 napoletano: saggi e documenti 1998* (Naples: Electa, 1999), 118–37.

³ "per la curiosità del Carnavale," in I-Vas, Senato III (secrete), Dispacci da Roma, f. 188, 23 January, 6, 13, 20, and 27 February 1677.

⁴ E-Mah, Estado, Libro 161, 7 February 1677, Venice, Marquis de la Fuente to Villagarcía in Genoa [?]: "todavía se detiene en Milano el Señor marqués del Carpio adonde coge más frescas las nuevas de Madrid... pudiera ser que se llegase aquí a ver una comedia que tenemos no mala."

the honor of being seated in the Doge's box.⁵ It was convenient for Carpio to attend an opera while fulfilling his political mission, thanks to the centrality of opera at carnival.⁶ After the performance, they attended the *licenza* offered at the Doge's palace, which also was attended by the papal nuncio and the French ambassador, with whom Carpio apparently attempted a secret conversation. Carpio took advantage of the chance to meet the papal nuncio as well: when they encountered each other for the first time at the *licenza*, they embraced and walked off arm in arm, as if old friends.⁷ This close contact allowed them to converse without being overheard.⁸ By the time the agent of the Inquisitori di Stato visited the Spanish embassy on the following Monday (1 March), the decoration in the rooms that Carpio had occupied was already dismantled and their furniture removed. Carpio had departed under cover of darkness the night before (28 February), so the agent failed to discover just what political business he had transacted in Venice.⁹

Four theaters were to present operas during the 1677 Venetian carnival.¹⁰ Though Carpio would likely not have had time to attend them all, the report of the Inquisitore di Stato confirms that he attended at least one, most likely Giovanni Legrenzi's *Totila* (libretto by Matteo Noris), at the Teatro SS. Giovanni e Paolo, which was distinguished by its stage machines and described as the most splendid that season.¹¹ A review of this impressive production was printed

⁵ The "palco di Sua Serenità"; most likely the Doge was absent when Carpio and his companion were seated there, given the strictures against social commerce between Venetians and foreigners, though "anonymity was preserved through masking," and on this date "theatrical attendees were required to be masked," as noted in Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *A New Chronology of Venetian Opera and Related Genres, 1660–1760* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 23.

⁶ I-Vas, Senato III (secrete), Dispacci da Roma 1677–79, f. 188–92, dispatches of Antonio Barbaro; extracted in De Vito, "Il Rubens 'pintado,'" 119–37; Stein, "'Para restaurar el nombre,'" 415–46.

⁷ The term *licenza* referred in the seventeenth century to a dedicatory epilogue or scene added to the end of an opera to honor a patron. In this eyewitness account of Carpio's activity in Venice, the word seems to be used to designate the celebration that Carpio and other dignitaries attended at the Doge's palace following the opera performance.

⁸ I-Vas, Inquisitori di Stato, 566 (Onorato Castelnovo, 1671–79), 26 February and 3 March 1677. This document and Castelnovo's reports about Carpio were first presented in Stein, "'Para restaurar el nombre,'" 417–18, 440–41.

⁹ I-Vas, Inquisitori di Stato, 566, report of Wednesday, 3 March 1677. In E-Mah, Estado, Libro 161, 6 March 1677, Venice, the Marquis de la Fuente also noted that Carpio had departed Venice on the Sunday night ("Domingo en la noche"). Carpio's visit aroused questions about protocol in the Venetian Collegio, which was not informed of his arrival through the proper channels, but 300 *ducati* were sent to the Spanish ambassador so that a "rinfresco" would be offered in his honor, according to I-Vas, Collegio, Cerimoniali, Registro III, fols. 176v–177, 28 February 1676 (*more veneto*) signed by Angelo Zon, segretario.

¹⁰ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Nunziatura di Venezia, b. 118, fol. 29, 16 January 1677: "Non vengano concesse per anco le maschere, ma ben si le recite dall'opere in musica ne' 4 teatri." Selfridge-Field, *A New Chronology*, lists *Elena rapita da Paride*, at the Teatro Sant'Angelo opening probably on 11 January; *Totila* at the Teatro SS. Giovanni e Paolo, opening probably on 4 February; *Il Nicomede in Bitinia*, at the Teatro San Moisè, opening most likely on 6 February; and *Antonino e Pompeiano* at the Teatro San Salvatore, opening most likely on 10 February.

¹¹ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Nunziatura di Venezia, b. 118, fol. 63v, 6 February 1677.

in *Le Mercure galant* (the earliest criticism of Venetian opera to appear in this French journal).¹² The Teatro SS. Giovanni e Paolo was favored by the Spanish ambassador, in any case, and it was here that Carpio most likely experienced his first Italian opera.¹³ It may even be that the “Real Torneo” in five scenes after act 3 of *Totila* on Fat Thursday was meant to honor the “royal” representatives in attendance—that is, the Spanish king’s representatives, de la Fuente and Carpio. Among its allegorical characters, La Pace was particularly relevant in 1677 during the important negotiations toward the Treaties of Nijmegen.

Carpio may well have satisfied multiple political obligations by attending *Totila*.¹⁴ The Grimani family who owned the theater were pro-Spanish and known to facilitate diplomatic encounters by entertaining foreign visitors at the theater.¹⁵ Because Carpio was so distinguished a visitor, and his fascination with musical theater was well known, it is altogether likely that they invited him to their production. The *Totila* libretto is dedicated to Ferdinando Carlo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, a vigorous patron and sponsor of virtuoso singers whom the Spaniards watched closely and wished to retain as an ally, though he soon chose to ally himself with the French.¹⁶ In 1677, it would have been prudent for Carpio

¹² See the transcription in Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *Pallade Veneta: Writings on Music in Venetian Society 1650–1750* (Venice: Edizioni Fondazione Levi, 1985), 338–40.

¹³ Villagarcía, successor to the Marquis de la Fuente as Spanish ambassador to the Venetian Republic; according to E-Mah, Estado, Libro 184, a letter from Fernando de Valdés in Milan to Villagarcía in Venice, he rented a box on a permanent basis at the Teatro SS. Giovanni e Paolo; Villagarcía felt obligated to attend a premiere there when Giacomo Antonio Perti’s *Martio Coriolano* (libretto by Francesco Silvani) was performed in January 1683 to honor Carpio’s appointment as Viceroy of Naples. The libretto, Sartori 15043; I-Nc, Rari 9-9/2; carries a dedication to Carpio dated 20 January 1683. As pointed out in Selfridge-Field, *A New Chronology*, 53, dedicatees usually attended the first performance; but in January 1683 Carpio had just assumed power in Naples and was bedridden with an illness, so Villagarcía attended as his stand-in. It is still possible that Carpio sent the customary gift, though it may also be that the Grimani honored him with the dedication in order to curry favor, or that the librettist, Silvani, hoped for a commission for Naples.

¹⁴ Selfridge-Field, *A New Chronology*, 51, has noted that the constitution of the audience for a given opera could depend on the identity of the opera’s dedicatee: “not only those to whom operas were dedicated were physically present for first performances in an overwhelming number of cases . . . they traveled in the company of large entourages who could fill significant numbers of available seats.” While Carpio probably was not in Venice for the first performance of *Totila* (likely 4 February 1677), his political loyalties would likely have obliged him to be present at the Fat Thursday performance when he was in Venice, and at that time the Grimani may well have honored him in some way.

¹⁵ In 1677, the Grimani were closely allied with the dedicatee of *Totila*, Ferdinando Carlo, Duke of Mantua, and tied by marriage to a branch of the Gonzaga family. Concerning the Grimani and their theatres, see Harris Sheridan Saunders, “The Repertoire of a Venetian Opera House (1678–1714): The Teatro Grimani di San Giovanni Grisostomo” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1985), 8–14, 21–26; Selfridge-Field, *A New Chronology*, 49, 55–56; and the relevant passages in 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).

¹⁶ As Christopher Storrs has explained: “Spain’s position in Italy generally, but particularly in north Italy, depended upon the goodwill of a host of lesser Italian princes and states, including the Duke of Mantua and the republic of Genoa, whose amity was ensured by a judicious mixture of favours (pensions, titles, marriages, offices and so on) and the threat of being on the receiving end of Spanish force which none of the other Italian powers could match . . . Spain paid a subsidy to the Duke of Mantua after 1665 towards the costs of the garrison of Casale, the key to Monferrato and to

to honor the duke by attending *Totila*.¹⁷ Whichever Venetian production Carpio attended, his experience would have been enriched by the *balli* and minor pieces performed between or at the ends of acts.¹⁸ Their music, choreography, and formal theatricality would have been completely new to him—fundamentally unlike the farcical *entremeses* or the mostly improvised and visually straightforward Spanish *bailes* and *entremeses cantados* he was accustomed to.

Carpio held distinct memories of his few days in Venice, so he surely carried away a strong impression after hearing arias by one or more of the most esteemed composers in the Venetian genre. No autobiographical account of Carpio's Venetian opera-going has surfaced, to my knowledge, though in his prolific correspondence with his colleague, José Antonio de Mendoza Caamaño y Sotomayor, third Marquis of Villagarcía de Arosa (also found as Arousa), he stated that Venice offered the “best” musical plays in Europe.¹⁹ When the Venetian representative in Rome, Antonio Barbaro, met with Carpio in Rome in March of 1677, Carpio delivered a “panegirico” about the potency of the Venetian Republic's arsenal and the elegance of the city and its patricians, stating that “seeing that city, one loses the appetite to see any other.”²⁰ Unfortunately, the 1677 Venetian libretti do not list the singers, so it is difficult to know how their performances struck Carpio and whether any of them impressed him enough for him to hire them later in Rome or Naples. None of the 1677 Venetian libretti were later used for productions in Naples, but Carpio did produce adaptations of Venetian libretti from other seasons (as explained in Chapter 4).²¹ Legrenzi was the only composer showcased in 1677 whose music Carpio later featured in

communications between Milan and the rest of the Monarchy The duke, whose Spanish pension was already in substantial arrears, had agreed to the sale [of the Casale in Monferrato to Louis XIV] as early as 1677 . . . troops in Louis's pay entered Casale in 1681.” See “The Army of Lombardy and the Resilience of Spanish Power in Italy in the Reign of Carlos II (1665–1700),” *War in History* 4 (1997): 377–80.

¹⁷ The libretto to *Il Nicomede in Bitinia*, performed at the Teatro S. Moisè in February 1677, is dedicated to the Empress Eleanora, a Gonzaga who had become a Hapsburg by marriage, and its performance might also have invited Carpio's attendance, given his status as a representative of the Spanish monarchy.

¹⁸ The 1677 libretti for *Totila* and *Il Nicomede in Bitinia* include an array of minor pieces: “Abbatimento per Vandali e Romani,” “Ballo di pastori con fiere,” “Ballo di scalpellini con martelli, e scalpelli,” “Ballo di ristoratori con badili, e zappe,” as listed in Irene Alm, *Catalogue of Venetian Librettos at the University of California, Los Angeles* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 144–46.

¹⁹ “Antonio de Mendoza y Caamaño de Sotomayor, Marqués de Villagarcía, Correspondencia diplomática” vol. 10, E-Mn, MS 7947, fol. 778, 4 (or 24?) January 1684, Naples, Carpio to Villagarcía in Venice: “pero Vuestra Excelencia se halla en el centro de las comedias mejores de Europa.”

²⁰ I-Vas, Senato III (secrete), Dispacci da Roma, f. 188, 20 March 1677.

²¹ *Il Giustino* (Venice 1683 and then Naples November 1684); *Il Galieno* (Venice 1676, and possibly Naples 1685); and *Il Nerone* (Venice 1679, Genoa 1681, Naples 1686); *Olimpia vendicata* (Venice 1682, Naples 1685 or 1686); *L'Etio* (Venice 1683, Naples 1686); *Clearco in Negroponte* (Venice, 1685, Naples 1686).

Naples (*Il Giustino* was produced with revisions by Alessandro Scarlatti in the 1684–85 season).

Italian Opera as Heard by Spanish Compatriots

Among Spaniards, Carpio was uniquely prepared because he had produced musical plays and opera in Madrid. But Italian opera's priorities and performance practices could be misunderstood by visitors whose expectations had been shaped exclusively in Spain. His friend Villagarcía was among those homesick diplomats who not only lamented a forced residency in Venice—a watery playground he described as a “sink drain”—but seems to have been unimpressed by Venetian opera. Villagarcía succeeded the Marquis de la Fuente as Spanish ambassador and kept a box at the new Grimani Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo where he entertained when necessary. He complained, “while it is true that the carnival festivities in Venice are very gay, and deservedly famous, I confess my own poor taste, in that I would eagerly trade them for those of a village in my homeland.”²² By 1687 he lamented, “for me all the year is Lent, because without a taste for these things, there can be no fiesta.”²³ His comments suggest that he went to the opera when it seemed politically important to do so. Giacomo Antonio Perti's opera *Marzio Coriolano* was performed at the Teatro SS Giovanni e Paolo beginning on 23 January 1683 in honor of Carpio's appointment as Viceroy of Naples, and on this occasion, for example, Villagarcía observed protocol “como buen mosquetero” by attending the opera dedicated to his superior, though he was loathe to venture out when it was snowing.²⁴ He had received a copy of the libretto in advance and promised to send it to Carpio, but his nostalgia for the cultural rites of his birthplace prejudiced his reception of the new and foreign.²⁵

A page from the travel diary of another noble Spaniard records a striking description of an initial experience with Italian opera in Rome. Joseph Alfonso Guerra y Villegas, a member of the minor nobility who served as a scribe in the

²² “Villagarcía, Correspondencia diplomática” vol. 9, E-Mn, MS 7946, fol. 334, 25 January 1681, Venice, Villagarcía to Carpio in Rome: “si bien son muy alegres los [días?] de esta sazón, pues sabe Vuestra Excelencia cuan célebre es con razón el carnaval de Venecia, yo confieso mi mal gusto en que de buena gana gana los feriaras con una aldea mía.”

²³ E-Mah, Estado, Libro 177, 8 February 1687, Venice, Villagarcía to the Count of Melgar in Madrid: “Para mi todo el año es cuaresma, porque sin gusto no hay fiesta.”

²⁴ The libretto dedication is dated 20 January 1683; see I-MOe, 83.F.12.5; Sartori 15043; Selfridge-Field, *A New Chronology*, 158 states that the first performance occurred on 23 January and that the run ended on 11 February.

²⁵ “Villagarcía, Correspondencia diplomática” vol. 10, E-Mn, MS 7947, fol. 502, 23 January 1683, Venice, Villagarcía to Carpio in Naples: “me encamino a ver la comedia en música que empieza esta noche, pues siendo dedicada a Vuestra Excelencia no he querido dejar de concurrir como buen Mosquetero. Ahora me la traen, y sin verla la remito adjunta porque me parece que a un Virrey de Nápoles recién llegado no pueden dejar de sobrarle muchos ratos para leerla y semejantes empleos.”

Spanish Royal Chapel, arrived in Rome in February 1681 during carnival.²⁶ He was received and hosted by the Duchess of Sermoneta (Leonor Mencía Pimentel y Moscoso, married to Francesco IV Caetani, eighth Duke of Sermoneta) at the large palace of the Caetani di Sermoneta on the corso.²⁷ From this privileged perch, Guerra watched the Roman carnival unfold. He was surprised by the real-life cross-dressing, gender exchange, and inversion of social status enjoyed by Romans at carnival: “las mujeres iban vestidas de hombres, los hombres en traje de mujeres... los príncipes de pícaros, y las gente ruin de caballeros.” He rode to the opera in a carriage, “to the place where a comedia was performed in the small theater, because His Holiness had prohibited the use of the large one.” It is possible that Guerra did not understand that the mere size of the theatre was irrelevant to the pope’s displeasure (in any case, the prohibition of public performances had been lifted temporarily in January). Guerra called the theater he attended “el corral pequeño,” employing the term “corral” used for the public theaters where spoken plays were performed in Madrid, exposing a Spanish understanding. He heard Bernardo Pasquini’s *Il Lisimaco* (libretto by Giacomo Sinibaldi) at the Teatro della Pace, a small theater opened to the public on occasion and the venue named in a seventeenth-century source.²⁸

What Guerra wrote about the opera’s performance is noteworthy for its detail as well as its misplaced emphasis on instrumental music:

It was the story of Alexander the Great, all sung without interpolating any verse that was not accompanied by the instrumental ensemble, the style in this Country. The costumes for this performance were excellent—the

²⁶ E-Mn, MS 8406: “Jornada que hizo D. Joseph de Guerra y Villegas el año passado de mill seiscientos y ochenta a Francia, estados de Milán, la Romanía y Reyno de Nápoles,” considered in Stein, “Three Spaniards Meet Italian Opera,” 231–47. Concerning the career of Guerra y Villegas, see Álvaro Torrente and Pablo-L. Rodríguez, “The ‘Guerra Manuscript’ (c.1680) and the Rise of Solo Song in Spain,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 123 (1998): 153–58; see remarks about music from another of his diaries in Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 328; Louise K. Stein, “Henry Desmarest and the Spanish Context: Musical Harmony for a World at War,” in *Henry Desmarest (1661–1741). Exils d’un musicien dans l’Europe du Grand Siècle*, ed. Jean Duron and Yves Ferraton (Versailles: Éditions du Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles, and Liège: Pierre Mardaga, 2005), 86–90; and Henri Léonardon, “Relation du voyage fait en 1679 au-devant et à la suite de la Reine Marie-Louise d’Orléans, femme de Charles II,” *Bulletin Hispanique* 4 (1902): 104–18, 247–55, 342–59.

²⁷ The Caetani di Sermoneta were faithful supporters of the Spanish monarchy in Rome; see Laura Gori, “Una famiglia filospagnola tra Cinquecento e Seicento: i Caetani di Sermoneta. Dinamiche politiche e aspetti culturali,” *I rapporti tra Roma e Madrid nei secoli XVI e XVII: arte diplomazia e politica*, ed. Alessandra Anselmi (Rome: Gangemi, 2013), 176–92.

²⁸ Concerning *Il Lisimaco*, see Arnaldo Morelli, *La virtù in corte. Bernardo Pasquini (1637–1710)* (Lucca: LIM, 2016), 63–66; the Teatro della Pace is listed as the venue for its performance in a printed broadside quoted in Lowell E. Lindgren and Carl B. Schmidt, “A Collection of 137 Broad-sides Concerning Theatre in Late Seventeenth-Century Italy: An Annotated Catalogue,” *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 28 (1980): 197; the diminutive size of the theatre is referred to in an address to the reader “Al discreto lettore” in the libretto, I-Rn, 34.1.H.82; Sartori 14299; see also Gordon Ferris Crain, “The Operas of Bernardo Pasquini,” 2 vols. (PhD diss., Yale University, 1965), 1:203; 2:119, 157, suggesting that the opera was presented in Queen Christina’s theater at Palazzo Riario.

theater adorned by many and unique changes of scene, and in the area near the benches [i.e., on the floor in front of the stage] were gathered a great number of violones,²⁹ violins, harpsichords, and other instruments, and they accompanied with great skill. The changes of scenery and the different sets were dressed with many lights, located in such appropriate places that they lit up the theater, so that one could see everything that happened. The entertainment lasted, according to what I was told, more than four hours. At the end of the first act some gentlemen distributed a printed sonnet written in praise of the maestro who had set the play to music, and there were shouts of praise for the company that performed it, from which I inferred that both the work and the performance must have been very fine, although I indeed left with an empty stomach [i.e., unenlightened] since I did not understand the Roman language; it seemed to me that the music was well executed and the instruments sounded heavenly; but, after the first act, I went back to my lodgings.³⁰

Il Lisimaco introduced Guerra to Italian musical conventions and castrato singers, but Guerra saw and heard the performance as a Spaniard—he neither bubbled over with praise for the singers nor expressed delight after hearing fully-sung drama. He found the fact that it was fully-sung particularly odd because the drama involved an historical, heroic subject (both of the fully-sung Spanish operas he might have heard in Madrid before coming to Italy were erotic mythological pastorals). That an heroic story, the “history of Alexander the Great,” was “fully-sung” “without interpolating any verse not accompanied by instruments” impressed him as the decidedly odd “style of this region.” He admired the beauty of the theater’s interior decoration, scene changes, and lighting, and noted that the skillful orchestra comprised “a great number of viols, violins, harpsichords and other instruments.” The Roman theatrical orchestra seemed to him expert and “very large” in comparison to Spanish theatrical ensembles (the latter were

²⁹ In the seventeenth century, the Spanish term “violones” refers to bowed, unfretted string instruments of the violin family, but it is unlikely that a Roman orchestra in the 1680s would incorporate a lot of viols. A representative contemporary orchestra in Rome (1680) included eight violins, three violas, one cello, and three double basses, according to John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650–1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 106.

³⁰ E-Mn, MS 8406, fols. 68–69: “era la historia de Alejandro Magno toda cantada sin interpolar verso que no fuese acompañado de instrumentos, estilo del país. Los vestidos de la farsa eran excelentes—el teatro vestido de muchas y singulares mutaciones; en la parte de los taburetes concurría gran cantidad de violones, violines, clavicordios, y otros instrumentos, y con gran destreza acompañaban. Estaban las mutaciones y teatros vestidos de muchas luces colocadas en lugares tan propios que alumbraban el corral, percibiendo la vista todo cuanto se ejecutaba. Duraba, según me dijeron, más de cuatro horas. Al fin de la primera jornada repartieron unos caballeros entre los señores y damas un soneto de molde echo en alabanza del maestro que había puesto en música la comedia; hubo vítores a la compañía de donde infería yo debía ser muy buena la representación y el concepto, si bien me fui en ayunas por no entender la lengua Romana; pareció me muy bien ejecutada la música y del cielo los instrumentos, pero a la primera jornada hice la de mi posada.”

not orchestras, of course, but improvising guitar and harp ensembles). To see the composer or “maestro” lauded in a sonnet circulated to the largely aristocratic audience was also novel because composers were rarely acknowledged in Madrid. Guerra abandoned the theater after the opera’s first act with a proverbial “empty stomach” because he did not understand a word of the “Roman” language. The music “seemed” to him well sung, but Guerra is uncertain on this point—the performance conventions and sound of the singers were both new to his ears. He felt secure enough to proclaim that the orchestra (“los Ynstrumentos”) sounded “heaven-sent,” appreciating the instrumental ensemble more than any other feature of the performance. His comments underline the disparity between the brilliant strings-dominated orchestral playing for which Rome was becoming justly famous and the improvisational practice of Spanish ensembles with softer plucked and strummed instruments.

These reactions from Villagarcía and Guerra—two educated Spaniards who appreciated Spanish drama but found the language, conventions, and music of Italian opera obscure and even tedious—reveal some ways in which opera might produce unsuccessful cultural confrontations. Carpio, in contrast, not only appreciated Venetian opera, but became an effective patron and producer of Italian opera later in Naples. In Rome he learned to appreciate and support Italian singers and musicians, while navigating a course toward social and political success with musical theater, such that his activities open a unique window on the Roman landscape of opera production and musical patronage.

Amid the Vicissitudes of Opera Production in Rome

Carpio arrived in Rome on 13 March 1677, with four servants and only the suitcases they could manage. During his first months there, he struggled to adjust to the weather and the political climate. His letters from his first six months in Rome include reports of diplomatic incidents designed to sabotage him and cast the Spanish as the villains in the continuing competition with France. His posture during the spring and summer of 1677 was thus defensive, in part because his reputation as a libertine preceded him. In the midst of the Spanish-French conflict concerning Messina, Carpio spearheaded recruitment of soldiers to send to Sicily, provoking waves of antagonism against him and against the Spanish presence in Rome. Anti-Spanish enemies primed the pope to dislike and distrust him, and he was nearly recalled to Madrid. By the end of the year, however, his loyalty, diplomacy, and careful strategies began to bring results—the pope began to show him minimal signs of respect.³¹

³¹ Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 190–92 provides insight into this situation.

In Rome Carpio cut an elegant and colorful figure, beloved of the *popolo* and the Roman ladies, and of especial interest to writers of *avvisi*. He lived in the centrally located Palazzo di Spagna, with his staff and entourage. His activity from 1677 to the end of 1682 provided a conduit through which both Spanish and Roman culture flowed as he cultivated strong social relationships with aristocrats aligned with the Spanish side of the political spectrum.³² Extant fragments from his correspondence with other Spanish diplomats provide glimpses of his participation in Rome's political life and efforts to foment Spanish culture there while enhancing his own reputation. At the same time, the *avvisi* describe him touring the eternal city incognito while he learned the city's physical and political topography, viewing churches, ruins, paintings, and sculpture.³³ Despite the political and financial complaints flavoring his letters, he was avidly collecting antiquities and Italian art.³⁴

As Spanish ambassador, he was expected to represent the crown with an elegant and distinguished public persona. Initially an outsider, Carpio nevertheless developed a polished image and sought to serve the Spanish cause effectively through his display of patronal generosity. Rome was a city full of musicians and musical innovation in this period, where large-scale profane musical activities were supported by competing patrons without a single or unified public. Political factions and social stratification meant that Rome lacked the kind of centralized patronage and institutional continuity for the support of opera and musical theater that characterized Madrid, on the one hand, with its well-oiled mechanisms for commercial theater and the patronage of a royal court, or Venice, on the other, with its comparatively small oligarchy and well-established commercial theaters. In Rome, opera had functioned as a commercial venture on the Venetian model for a brief time in the 1670s, when a handful of operas reworked from Venetian productions and a few by Roman composers were produced in the public Teatro Tordinona. This theater, on property leased from the Archconfraternity of S. Girolamo della Carità, was opened in 1671 by Count Jacques (Giacomo) D'Alibert with the support of Queen Christina of Sweden and Maria Mancini Colonna, but shuttered in 1675 by papal order, ostensibly to honor the Holy Year; it did not reopen until 1690.³⁵ Rome's musical life and

³² A Barberini cardinal, most likely Carlo Barberini, had helped him to stabilize his dealings with Innocent XI; the assistance of Carlo Barberini is noted in E-Mn, MS 7940, fol. 109, letter of 18 December 1677. He also had a cordial relationship with Prince Giovanni Battista Ludovisi, from another Roman family in the Spanish orbit; one of his sojourns at a Ludovisi palace or villa is described in E-PAbm, *Avisos de Roma*, tomo 5, 29 October 1678.

³³ E-PAbm, *Avisos de Roma*, tomo 10, fol. 148, 1? June 1680, notes that Carpio "con pochi quattrini" but with "grandissima cortesia" and sweet persuasion had carried away "una quantità di quadri delle più qualificati che siano in Roma e senza incomodo li si portava al suo Palazzo."

³⁴ Burke, "A Golden Age of Collecting," 161–62 notes that Carpio became "a leading patron of painters in Rome" and reviews the evidence of his taste and activity as "Maecenas."

³⁵ Eugene J. Johnson, *Inventing the Opera House* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 254–76, 303–6; fundamental studies include Alberto Cametti, "Cristina di Svezia, l'arte musicale

entertainment were organized in a way that reflected the social geography of the nobility and the composition of the city's elite. There were more than 150 Roman families boasting feudal titles of nobility in this period. Intersecting with the Roman nobility were the wealthy and influential cardinals (Romans and non-Romans). Nobles, cardinals, and aristocratic or royal foreigners, such as Queen Christina and representatives of other sovereigns, participated, collaborated, and competed as patrons and protagonists.

Thanks to almost limitless funds, Carpio had exercised his skill and taste as a patron and producer in Madrid to entertain and stimulate an aged king and his very young queen. In his first years in Rome, on the other hand, he was bereft of economic resources and did not immediately find the political and social platform required for private musical theater in a Roman context already threaded with difficulties. Opera had an unstable but nevertheless growing presence in Rome in Carpio's more than five years there.³⁶ Pope Innocent XI not only objected to profane subject matter and reemphasized the long-standing Roman tradition of excluding women from the public stage, but even disapproved of private events featuring female singers.³⁷ Theatrical performances by singers employed at churches were prohibited (though this could hardly be observed in practice), and a variety of restrictions affected the seating arrangements and construction of the boxes. Public commercial opera as such did not flourish in Rome after 1675, but "*opere private* as well as collectively sponsored *opere venali*—commercial enterprises meant to generate a profit" were staged in private palaces and financed through a combination of private patronage, investment, and ticket

e gli spettacoli teatrali in Roma," *Nuova antologia* 239 (1911): 641–56; Alberto Cametti, *Cristina di Svezia, l'arte musicale e gli spettacoli teatrali in Roma* (Rome: Romano Mezzetti, 1931); Alberto Cametti, *Il teatro Tordinona poi di Apollo*, 2 vols. (Tivoli: Arti grafiche Chicca, 1938); Arnaldo Morelli, "Mecenatismo musicale nella Roma Barocca: il caso di Cristina di Svezia," *Quaderni Storici* 32, no. 95 (1997): 387–408; Arnaldo Morelli, "Il mecenatismo musicale di Cristina di Svezia: Una riconsiderazione," in *Convegno internazionale Cristina di Svezia e la musica* (Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1998), 321–46; and Valerio Morucci, "L'orbita musicale di Cristina di Svezia e la circolazione di cantanti nella seconda metà del Seicento," *Recercare* 32 (2020): 153–76.

³⁶ Margaret Murata, "*Theatri intra theatrum* or the Church and the Stage in Seventeenth-Century Rome," in *Sleuthing the Muse: Essays in Honor of William F. Prizer*, ed. Kristine K. Forney and Jeremy L. Smith (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon, 2012), 181–200, documents the anti-theatrical controversy in Rome leading into this period and notes, "Under Innocent XI, when all Rome recognized his hostility to amusements, including the theater, the number of *private* productions increased tremendously." Valeria De Lucca, *The Politics of Princely Entertainment. Music and Spectacle in the Lives of Lorenzo Onofrio and Maria Mancini Colonna* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 171, has noted: "Pope Innocent XI's papacy, which lasted until 1689, represents one of the most complex phases for the relationship between Church and theater in seventeenth-century Rome."

³⁷ According to Murata, "*Theatri intra theatrum*," 187: "In 1678, Innocent XI forbade women from singing on stage, taking away a major attraction. In 1680, he forbade cardinals from attending operas, taking away some social cachet." On the question of women performing onstage in Rome, see Live Hove, "The 'Women' of the Roman Stage: As Goethe Saw Them," *Theatre History Studies* 21 (2001): 61–79.

sales.³⁸ Theaters in Rome during the years of Carpio's residence were built into or created within noble palazzi, but did not have promotional facades or special entrances as theaters.³⁹ Around 1679, for example, the Teatro Capranica was created within a section of the Capranica palace when Pompeo and Federico Capranica inherited it—they knocked down walls and combined the rooms of two apartments, setting aside this first-floor space for a theater first termed the "sala per accademie."⁴⁰ In 1682 Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna installed a theater in his palace at Piazza Santi Apostoli with the supervision of the architect Carlo Fontana and managerial guidance from the former impresario of the Teatro Tordinona, Filippo Acciaiola.⁴¹ Colonna's theater was constructed "so as to host a socially diverse audience while also taking care of carefully separating its members according to their social class."⁴² It seems especially striking that some of its features appear to have modelled on those that allowed the Coliseo in the Buen Retiro (which Colonna had just visited during his time in Spain) to be simultaneously private and used as a commercial theater open to the ticket-buying public (see Chapter 1 concerning the Coliseo).

To some extent, in Rome the rental of boxes by the aristocracy defrayed production expenses while also allowing noble families some income from the extra space in their urban palazzi. As plans for the 1680 carnival fell into place, for instance, Acciaiola reported to Colonna that those wishing to attend at the palace of Pompeo Capranica would pay for their boxes.⁴³ But in 1678 and 1680 the pope "demanded that admission to certain theaters be free."⁴⁴ When Colonna opened his own new theater in 1682, after his return from Spain, "at least some members of the audience—*dame* and *cavalieri*, members of the lower nobility, and possibly foreigners, merchants, and bankers—had to pay an entrance fee as well as rent

³⁸ De Lucca, *The Politics*, 172; De Lucca, *The Politics*, 197, provides important points about the financing and costs of opera in Rome in the post-Tordinona period.

³⁹ Elisabetta Natuzzi, *Il Teatro Capranica dall'inaugurazione al 1881, cronologia degli spettacoli con 11 indici analitici* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1999), 15, notes that, aside from the Tordinona, the Roman theaters in the seventeenth century were all initially private and did not have external identification or special façades as theaters.

⁴⁰ Natuzzi, *Il Teatro Capranica*, 42–43.

⁴¹ De Lucca, *The Politics*, 239–42, describes the theater; see also Valeria De Lucca, "Dalle sponde del Tevere alle rive dell'Adria' Maria Mancini and Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna's Patronage of Music and Theater between Rome and Venice (1659–1675)" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2009), 11 and 73; Elena Tamburini, *Due teatri per il Principe. Studi sulla committenza teatrale di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna (1659–1689)* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1997).

⁴² De Lucca, *The Politics*, 241.

⁴³ See I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Carteggio Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, letter from Acciaiola, Rome, 14 October 1679. Another letter sent on 2 March 1680 to Ippolito Bentivoglio, transcribed in Sergio Monaldini, *L'Orto Dell'Esperidi: Musicisti, Attori e Artisti Nel Patrocinio Della Famiglia Bentivoglio (1646–1685)* (Lucca: LIM, 2001), 422, noted: "si premise la vendita de palchetti non dei bollettini" Frank D'Accone, *The History of a Baroque Opera: Alessandro Scarlatti's Gli equivoci nel sembiante* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1985), 6–7, confirms that subscriptions were taken for seating in the palchetti.

⁴⁴ Murata, "Theatri intra theatrum," 188.

to obtain a box.⁴⁵ Seating arrangements seem to have been contingent upon social standing, political and familial relationships, notions of decorum, and social convention. Thousands of *bollettini* of different values were printed; some were distributed in the manner of invitations to the aristocracy, but it is unclear just how commoners were supplied with or invited to purchase them.⁴⁶

Annually, well in advance of the short Roman carnival season, sponsors and prospective audiences held the expectation that opera might once again be produced, aware that the pope's permission might be withheld or rescinded at any moment.⁴⁷ This insecurity endangered operatic finances for producers and the musicians they hired.⁴⁸ Arrangements with musicians and composers were negotiated many months prior to the start of carnival and did not always proceed smoothly. Even when patrons collaborated, the only reliable employment for an opera composer was a position in an aristocratic household or at an established religious institution.⁴⁹ Support from a highly placed protector or protectress was essential. Queen Christina's endorsement, and the publicity that accompanied it, notably enhanced Alessandro Scarlatti's early reputation.⁵⁰ Opera's supporters during Carpio's more than five years in Rome—Queen Christina, Pompeo Capranica, Duke Giovanni Pietro Caffarelli, Colonna, and the pope's nephew, Livio Odescalchi—schemed and petitioned the pontiff on a yearly basis for permission to stage operas (publicly or privately). The *avvisi* reflect the desire of Romans of high station, the titled nobility, and distinguished visitors to attend operas, but also offer insight into its various contingencies and requisite negotiations.

⁴⁵ De Lucca, *The Politics*, 244.

⁴⁶ Tamburini, *Due teatri*, 387; De Lucca, *The Politics*, 244–45.

⁴⁷ For example, permission to produce operas for carnival 1681 hinged on the separation of men from women (even if high-born) in the boxes. See E-PABm, *Avisos de Roma*, tomo 12, fol. 217, 1 February 1681: "Si darà mano alle commedie in quest'altra settimana con ordine che gli uomini stiano separati dalle donne, alle quali si dia solamente il palchetto, e che a gli uomini se gli vedono le mani perché non sguiscino a toccatigli; con l'assistenza in oltre di tre reverendi Barboni ogni sera, i quali sappiano riferire, chi hai detto la Corona, e chi ha fatto insolenze."

⁴⁸ E-PABm, *Avisos de Roma*, tomo 10, fol. 345, 30 November 1680, explains that the pope's prohibition of public opera ("commedie venali") for the 1681 carnival was still in place, but that Pompeo Capranica had already spent a lot of money on his production, even hiring musicians from elsewhere ("avendo fatto molte spese, e fatti venire anche i musici di fuori").

⁴⁹ Arnaldo Morelli, "Alessandro Scarlatti maestro di cappella in Roma ed alcuni suoi oratori," *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale* n.s. 2 (1984): 118; Diana Poultney, "Alessandro Scarlatti and the Transformation of the Oratorio," *Musical Quarterly* 59 (1973): 86, explains that "Papal opposition to theatrical music in Rome during much of Scarlatti's lifetime meant that the most important artistic events of the year were the Lenten oratorio performances. In fact, it was partly through the medium of oratorio that the young Scarlatti made his mark as a composer." On collaboration among patrons, see, for example, Valeria De Lucca, "L'Alcasta and the Emergence of Collective Patronage in Mid-Seventeenth-Century Rome," *The Journal of Musicology* 28 (2011): 195–230.

⁵⁰ As reflected in E-PABm, *Avisos de Roma*, tomo 11, fol. 12, 4 September 1680: "Avendo li comici di Capranica fatto scissura con Bernardo Pasquini, hanno eletto in suo luogo, per mettere in musica la loro commedia del futuro Carnevale, Il Scarlatti con tanta soddisfazione della Regina di Svezia che questa ha cortesemente avettata [avventata?] la loro protezione."

Carpio's decisions about what kind of events to sponsor in Rome, his participation as a producer, and his eventual relationships with musicians and singers were conditioned both by his political priorities in the Roman context and what he learned from the entertainments he attended. During the 1678 carnival he may have attended a performance of the opera offered at Palazzo Colonna by Giovanni Pietro Caffarelli.⁵¹ Additionally, Scarlatti's earliest known opera, *Amor quando si fugge allor si trova*, setting a libretto by Vincenzo Maria Veltroni, seems to have been produced first in 1678 outside of Rome with support from Flavio Chigi and Benedetto Pamphili.⁵² As Morelli has pointed out, though the libretto is termed a "dramma per musica," the plot hinges on the country-house encounter at a villa in Frascati between two pairs of siblings who become amorously entangled and then happily betrothed. Pamphili had angered the pope in January 1678 by ignoring his request that private theatrical performances in the city be given only to audiences segregated by gender (with ladies and gentlemen attending on alternate nights).⁵³ Given this conflict, and the fact that the 1678 Roman carnival was judged to be melancholy,⁵⁴ it seems likely that this easy-to-produce new opera by a rising composer was meant to entertain connoisseurs—perhaps especially the Spanish faction—at Pamphili's country estate.

Rome experienced renewed operatic activity in carnival 1679 and Carpio is named as among opera's supporters.⁵⁵ Three operas were being produced privately: "that of the Capranica, which can't be listened to; the one of a certain architect Contini, which is very beautiful; and the one of Duke Caffarelli, which the Spanish ambassador, who wanted to hear it yesterday, asked to have performed

⁵¹ Tamburini, *Due teatri*, 141–42. De Lucca, *The Politics*, 189, states that four operas were produced privately in 1678.

⁵² Arnaldo Morelli, "Amor quando si fugge allor si trova: un libretto per Scarlatti esordiente," *Il Saggiatore Musicale* 24 (2017): 229–38, provides a firm identification, context, and further bibliography; see also Jean Lionnet, "Une partition inconnue d'Alessandro Scarlatti," *Studi musicali* 15 (1986): 183–212; Jean Lionnet, "A Newly Found Opera by Alessandro Scarlatti," *Musical Times* 128 (1987): 80–81; Frank D'Accone, "Ancora su l'opera prima di Scarlatti e la Regina," in *Convegno internazionale Cristina di Svezia e la musica*, ed. Bruno Cagli (Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1998), 71–97; and Frank D'Accone, "Cardinal Chigi and Music Redux," *Music Observed: Studies in Memory of William C. Holmes*, ed. Colleen Reardon and Susan Parisi (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park, 2004), 65–100. The untitled score identified by Lionnet, V-CVbav, Chigi Q.V.66, does not name Scarlatti, but one aria, "Farfaletta intorno al lume, delirando si raggira," is ascribed to him in V-CVbav, Chigi Q.IV.46, fols. 1–4; V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4158, fols. 7–12v; and I-Nc, 34.5.1ter, fols. 43r–44v; in I-Nc, 34.5.1ter, fols. 35r–36r it is without attribution; I-Nc, Arie 80, fols. 1r–2v is incomplete; further sources are listed in Lowell Lindgren and Margaret Murata, *The Barberini Manuscripts of Music* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2018), 191–92, 198–99. Christine Jeanneret, "L'objet-musique, Paysage De La Mémoire. Le Mécénat Et La Collection Musicale Chigi à Rome Au XVIIe Siècle," *Revue De Musicologie* 103 (2017): 3–52, identifies (p. 42) Giuseppe Fede as the principal copyist of the score, V-CVbav, Chigi Q.V.66.

⁵³ Alessandro Ademollo, *I teatri di Roma nel secolo decimoseptimo* (Rome: L. Pasqualucci, 1888; Bologna: Forni, 1969), 152.

⁵⁴ Ademollo, *I teatri di Roma*, 599–600, describes the mood.

⁵⁵ De Lucca, *The Politics*, 223: "the year 1679 was quite extraordinary for the production of operas in Rome, seeing an unprecedented flourishing of venues, companies, and works."

in the daytime.”⁵⁶ The first opera, *Dov'è amore è pietà*, a serious “opera regia” with music by Pasquini, opened the new theater in Palazzo Capranica on 6 January 1679. The libretto was based on Giovanni Andrea Moniglia’s text for Francesco Cavalli’s much earlier *Ipermestra*, but with a smaller cast and without the elaborate stage effects of the original (Morelli has termed this a “radicale rifacimento”).⁵⁷ Pasquini’s score does not survive, so it is difficult to know why it was deemed “impossible to hear” and “universally judged a failure.”⁵⁸ The second opera was Alessandro Scarlatti’s lighthearted pastoral with only four characters, *Gli equivoci nel sembiante* (libretto by Domenico F. Contini), performed with great success in a makeshift temporary theater at a house owned by the architect Giambattista Contini (the librettist’s brother) in February 1679. This opera attracted the attention of the French ambassador and so delighted Queen Christina that she sponsored further performances at the Collegio Clementino for the cardinals and nobility.⁵⁹ Apparently, when Scarlatti was prevented from leading one of the performances (afraid of being pursued by agents of the Cardinal Vicar), the alto castrato Giovanni Francesco Grossi, already a favorite of Queen Christina’s though likely without any role in this opera (it lacks an alto role), assumed the direction in his absence.⁶⁰ The third opera, sponsored by Duke (Giovanni Pietro) Caffarelli, has not been identified, though it “vied with Scarlatti’s opera for ‘top honors’ that season.”⁶¹ Filling out the list of private performances for carnival

⁵⁶ D’Accone, *The History of a Baroque Opera*, 11, 158.

⁵⁷ Morelli, *La virtù in corte*, 148–49; Saverio Franchi, *Drammaturgia romana. Repertorio bibliografico cronologico dei testi drammatici pubblicati a Roma e nel Lazio. Secolo XVII* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1988), 521–22; D’Accone, *The History of a Baroque Opera*, 16; on the first production of Francesco Cavalli’s *L’Ipermestra* in Florence and its connection to the birth of a Spanish prince, see Nicola Usula, “Di verità alterate e complesse strategie: Giovan Carlo de’Medici e l’Ipermestra di Moniglia e Cavalli (Firenze 1654–58),” in *Le voci arcane. Palcoscenici del potere nel teatro e nell’opera*, ed. Tatiana Korneeva (Rome: Carocci, 2018), 25–43.

⁵⁸ D’Accone, *The History of a Baroque Opera*, 11, translates “che non si può sentire” as meaning that the opera was “impossible to listen to.”

⁵⁹ D’Accone, *The History of a Baroque Opera*, 11–33; De Lucca, *The Politics*, 228, notes that it was performed “several times in various venues, including the Collegio Clementino, the house of Alessandro Capizucchi, and in the residence of the Roman family of the Ravenna, not without incurring the rage of Pope Innocent XI.”

⁶⁰ De Lucca, *The Politics*, 332–33, quotes from a letter of 5 February 1679: “Ma il compositore della musica essendo contumace del Signor Cardinal Vicario non ha possuto [sic] assistere alla sua opera, ritrovandosi ritirato in chiesa per causa d’un matrimonio della sorella fatto senza solennità della chiesa con il figlio del auditore del cardinal Langravio quale ha dormito diverse notti con la sposa, e poi dal padre mandato alla sua patria in Germania si che in suo suplito Giovan Francesco regola l’orchestra.” De Lucca suggests (223–24) that “Grossi must have been one of the *musici* in this opera and must have played a prominent role in its staging since he was willing to ‘regolarla’ at the last moment, given Scarlatti’s inability to attend.” But Grossi, an alto with a consistent though limited range, could not have had a singing role in *Gli equivoci nel sembiante* because it calls only for two sopranos and two tenors. If indeed he directed a performance, that might explain why an elegantly copied extant score (I-Bc, MS BB 320, without a sinfonia) is said to have belonged to him. For the story of this manuscript and its relationship to I-MOe, Mus.F.1055, see D’Accone, *The History of a Baroque Opera*, 10–11.

⁶¹ D’Accone, *The History of a Baroque Opera*, 16.

1679 are spoken plays, such as *Evilmero*, a “tragedia in versi sciolti” by Giuseppe Domenico de Totis performed at the Collegio Romano with a fully-sung prologue by an as yet unidentified composer setting a text by Benedetto Pamphili.⁶²

Carpio was the Spanish ambassador who requested a special daytime performance of the unidentified but widely appreciated third opera of “Duke Caffarelli.”⁶³ I suggest that the performance he sponsored was almost certainly Scarlatti’s *Amor quando si fugge allor si trova*, whose premiere he probably had heard at the Pamphili estate in 1678. It projected a pro-Spanish message with its references to the Spanish-French battles at Messina (which Spanish forces had been winning by the end of 1677). The opera’s noble Sicilian protagonists, Almidero and Lindora, are on the run precisely to escape the violence of the French-supported revolt at Messina.⁶⁴ Carpio himself had contributed to the negotiations toward the treaty between Spain and France signed on 17 September 1678, but it was not until 5 February 1679 that Emperor Leopold I finally agreed to the terms of the treaty.⁶⁵ Carpio might well have offered a daytime production of Scarlatti’s pro-Spanish *Amor quando si fugge allor si trova* between 5 and 8 February 1679 at the Palazzo di Spagna to celebrate the peace. Morelli’s identification of the libretto within a manuscript also containing a text by “principe Caffarelli” seems highly suggestive in light of the involvement of “Signor Duca Chaffarelli” with the third opera of 1679.⁶⁶ Adeptly making this

⁶² D’Accone, *The History of a Baroque Opera*, 17–18.

⁶³ I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, f. 3658, fol. 885v, 8 February 1679, letter of Enea de’Vecchi to Giovanni Filippo Marucelli, transcribed in D’Accone, *The History of a Baroque Opera*, 11, 16, 158; Ademollo, *I teatri di Roma*, 157.

⁶⁴ Messina, strategically essential to commerce between the western and eastern Mediterranean, was occupied by the French in 1674, with consequent threat to Naples and other Spanish areas. French naval power around Messina began to decline in November 1677; the French withdrew in January and February 1678. Scarlatti’s *Amor quando si fugge allor si trova* might well have been performed first in carnival 1678 outside of Rome as a private celebration of the continuing French retreat, and then at Carpio’s Spanish embassy a year later “in the daytime” once the Spanish victory was complete. That Carpio was involved in the negotiations toward the peace is surely relevant. See Antonio Ramón Peña Izquierdo, “El virrey de Sicilia Cardenal Portocarrero y la revuelta de Messina a través de la correspondencia con el plenipotenciario español en Venecia, marqués de Villagarcía (1677–1678),” *Tiempos Modernos. Revista electrónica de historia moderna* 2 (2001), <http://www.tiemposmodernos.org/tm3/index.php/tm/article/view/14/26#75.75>.

⁶⁵ Avvisi suggest that Carpio was involved in the peace negotiations with “many trips” to Milan and “and other places” later in February 1678; in March 1678 it was rumored that he would be sent to Nijmegen as Spain’s chief negotiator; see V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 6418, fols. 56 and 101v, Avvisi di Roma, 19 February 1678 and 19 March 1678. Jorge Fernández-Santos Ortíz-Irribas, “‘No minorar la memoria de mis pasados.’ Apuntes para una biografía política de Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán, marqués del Carpio,” *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna* 45 (2020): 689–715, maintains (699–700) that Carpio rejected the role of negotiator in Nijmegen.

⁶⁶ Morelli, “*Amor quando si fugge allor si trova*,” 233–34, notes that another text by “principe Caffarelli” (likely Giovan Pietro Caffarelli, Duke of Assergi) is found in the same manuscript as the libretto; Lionnet, “A Newly Found Opera,” briefly noted the role of Messina in the plot; that a possible 1679 revival occurred as the opera sponsored the Spanish ambassador is my suggestion. Duke Giovanni Pietro Caffarelli later served as corago for the 1683 production of Scarlatti’s *L’Arsate*, as pointed out in Anne-Madeleine Goulet, “Costumes, décors et machines dans *l’Arsate* (1683)

opera the centerpiece of an embassy event, complete with refreshments served (as was his generous habit) to the Roman nobles and cardinals of the Spanish party, furthered Carpio's regalistic politics. He projected Spanish superiority while associating himself with both the peace treaty and the excellence of Scarlatti's opera (as a Sicilian, Scarlatti was a Spanish subject). It might be that the singers for *Amor quando si fugge allor si trova* were only available in the daytime due to other performance commitments during carnival. Moreover, a daytime performance at the embassy allowed Carpio to show off his extensive collection of master paintings and would also cost less than a nighttime event because it required fewer candles and torches. By producing a pro-Spanish opera by "the Sicilian," Carpio advanced a project he had embarked on from his first weeks in Rome—namely, enhancing his reputation to regain the esteem of his sovereigns.⁶⁷

Carpio pursued valuable relationships with opera's sponsors and producers who were socially and politically important in Rome. Queen Christina was a vigorous promoter of opera, patron of Scarlatti, and protectress of singers in the 1670s and 1680s, though her own financial resources were limited.⁶⁸ Carpio developed a positive rapport with her, and she invited him to attend performances, especially once the Spanish-French royal wedding of 1679 altered political protocols.⁶⁹ Christina attended multiple performances of two operas in carnival 1680 that Carpio likely heard as well. Pasquini's *L'Idalma o Chi la dura la vince*,

d'Alessandro Scarlatti. Contribution à l'histoire de l'opéra à Rome au xviii^e siècle," *Dix-septième siècle* 262 (2014): 152, 164, 166.

⁶⁷ María López-Fanjul y Díez del Corral, "Las representaciones de don Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán, VII marqués del Carpio: retratos, alegorías y emblemas," *Archivo español de arte* 86 (2013): 291–310, has commented on Carpio's determined attempts to regain his sovereign's esteem through art and the dissemination of his own image: "Tras ser condenado culpable del atentado contra la Familia Real en el Buen Retiro, Carpio dedicó el resto de su vida a recuperar el favor de los monarcas. Uno de los caminos que eligió para ello fue la divulgación de sus logros políticos y culturales acompañados de su retrato. Esta práctica alcanzó su momento más importante durante los años del Marqués como embajador de España en Roma donde comenzó a utilizar abiertamente el arte como doble herramienta propagandística" (292).

⁶⁸ Morucci, "L'orbita musicale di Cristina di Svezia," 153–76; De Lucca, *The Politics*, 230.

⁶⁹ Vidales del Castillo, "El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras," 155–56, comments on Carpio's cultivation of members of Christina's circle, and the fact that his secretary, Juan Vélez de León, participated in meetings of her academy; Vidales del Castillo (p. 432) also notes "el marqués tomó parte en academias y entró en contacto con eruditos y científicos del círculo de Cristina de Suecia y del Colegio Romano jesuítico." As pointed out in Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 364–65, before assuming his ambassadorial post, Carpio had been instructed to cultivate Queen Christina, and it is apparent that she responded to him favorably; she advocated for Carpio and the Spanish cause with the pope, as explained in E-PABm, *Embajada de Roma*, tomo 50, January 1680, for example; see also E-PABm, *Embajada de Roma*, tomo 49, 10 November 1680; in E-PABm, *Embajada de Roma*, tomo 61, 11 April 1682, Rome, letter to de los Vélez, Carpio points to his relationship with Queen Christina. That Carpio received drawings as gifts from Christina is noted in López-Fanjul y Díez del Corral, "A Game of Drawing Fame," 19–36. Before leaving Rome for Naples, Carpio invited Christina to visit him in Naples, according to I-Ras, "Ephemerides cartariae" vol. 89, fol. 14v; see also Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 513–14.

with a libretto by De Totis, was produced at the Teatro Capranica beginning on 6 February.⁷⁰ Significantly, this successful opera resulted from a determined collaboration among composer Pasquini, librettist De Totis, director-stage designer Acciaoli, and theater owner Giuliano Capranica.⁷¹ The collaborative model may well have influenced Carpio's later formation of his production team for Naples. The opera's delightfully scandalous plot (the action begins when a young gallant, having just eloped with Idalma, decides he no longer loves her and abandons the sleeping girl in a forest) about erotic love and honor has a Spanish flavor and seems to have been based on an as-yet-unidentified Spanish comedia. Carpio likely enjoyed this opera's projection of a libertine protagonist and its passionately affective arias (the cast has not yet been identified). Christina herself sponsored Scarlatti's *Lonestà negli amori* (libretto by Pietro Filippo Bernini) at the small Teatro della Pace (and subsequently also at Palazzo Riario), and Scarlatti is formally identified as the queen's *maestro di cappella* in the libretto (Christina had named him *maestro di cappella* in September 1678).⁷² Both operas were repeated at the Collegio Clementino, "where the Sacred College [of Cardinals] might attend with greater decorum."⁷³

The pope's reluctance to allow opera productions, especially those open to the public or involving ticket sales, overshadowed the preparations for the 1681 carnival operas. An avviso of 23 November 1680 reports, for example:

To Monsignor Governor, who, as he did last year, asked for permission to have operas performed, the Pope replied that he does not want public opera performances; hence, Duke Caffarelli, who has spent how many thousands of scudi to decorate the small public theater [the Teatro della Pace], is disappointed as is Capranica, who wanted to stage them in his palace, as he did last year, and hearing about such a prohibition has displeased D. Livio [Odescalchi] to such an extent, that there are those who say it must be the work of the Pope's enemies who want to make him hateful to the People: this morning in his

⁷⁰ Morelli, *La virtù in corte*, 57–58, 149–51. Bernardo Pasquini, *L'Idalma*, ed. Howard Mayer Brown (New York: Garland, 1977); "Pasquini, Bernardo," John Harper, revised by Lowell Lindgren, Oxford Music Online, updated January 20, 2001, <https://doi-org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.21020>, lists a score in F-Pn; and arias in F-Pc, I-Fbecherini, I-Folschki, and I-Vnm.

⁷¹ Morelli, *La virtù in corte*, 149.

⁷² Sartori 17081; I-MOe, 88-D24-6; a possibly autograph score of act 1 is I-Rc, MS 2571; a complete manuscript score is I-MOe, Mus.F.1057; eleven arias from *Lonestà negli amori* are included in I-Nc, 60.1.54, along with eighteen arias and one duet from *Gli equivoci nel sembiante* and one incomplete aria from *L'Aldimiro*; other aria anthologies are listed by Giancarlo Rostirolla, "Catalogo generale delle opere di Alessandro Scarlatti," in *Alessandro Scarlatti*, ed. Roberto Pagano and Lino Bianchi (Torino: Edizioni RAI, 1972), 333–34, and Norbert Dubowy and Dinko Fabris, "Scarlatti," *MGG Online* (2016, 2018) <https://www.mgg-online.com/article?id=mgg11433&v=2.0&rs=mgg11433>.

⁷³ Murata, "Theatri intra theatrum," states that Innocent XI "forbade cardinals from attending operas" in 1680, however.

audience with the Pope, the Governor himself wanted to discuss the matter again with His Holiness, so it may turn out that [the productions] of Capranica and in other private houses may be permitted, but without palchetti, because it is thought that disturbances occur in them.⁷⁴

In this instance, Livio Odescalchi first appealed to his uncle without success:

D. Livio Odescalchi begged His Holiness to allow the performance of operas in Casa Capranica, but he received a negative response; and although Monsignor Governor informed His Holiness that the Queen of Sweden also desired the enjoyment of the operas, on last year's example, in any case, His Holiness replied, that last year, contrary to his intention, both boxes [palchetti] and tickets [bollettini] were seen; he added that in times of plague and earthquakes, no public performances should occur in Rome.⁷⁵

When Queen Christina "took over the role of advocate of all opera lovers and practitioners in the city,"⁷⁶ her intervention ultimately forced the pope's hand, but, as late as the first week of January 1681, forthcoming dates of premieres and their financial arrangements could not be confirmed.⁷⁷ When papal permission was finally granted, it carried restrictions: "Operas will be produced, but with all modesty, without scandal, without confusion, and without boxes."⁷⁸ The pope wished to prohibit ticket sales and seating in closed boxes, and declared that the boxes must be open "senza tramezzi" (without enclosure).⁷⁹ The poet Sebastiano

⁷⁴ E-PAbm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 10, fols. 313v–314, 23 November 1680: "A Monsignore Governatore, che come l'anno passato chiede la permissione di farsi le commedie, il Papa rispose, che non vuole si facciano le pubbliche in musica: onde il Duca Caffarelli, chi ha spesi al quanti migliaia di scudi per ornare il picciolo teatro pubblico, resta deluso si come anco il Capranica, che le voleva fare in sua casa, come l'anno passato, e tal proibizione è dispiaciuta a tal segno a D. Livio, che dicono abbi detto che ciò segue per opera de nemici del Papa medesimo per renderlo odioso al Popolo: E questa mattina nell'udienza ne voleva lo stesso Governatore parlare di nuovo a Sua Santità, che può essere permetti quelle di Capranica ed in altre case dei Particolari, ma senza Palchetti, ne quali tiene [teme?] si commettano disordini."

⁷⁵ E-PAbm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 10, fol. 344, 30 November 1680: "D. Livio Odescalchi supplico S. Sta. di permettere la recita delle commedie in casa del Capranica, ma ne riportò la negativa; e benché Monsig. Gov.re dicesse alla Santità Sua, ch'anche la Regina di Svezia desiderava il divertimento delle commedie in musica, come l'anno passato, ad ogni modo S. S. li disse, che l'anno passato contro la sua intenzione si videro palchetti, ed anche bollettini; e soggiunse che in tempo di peste e terremoti non si dovevano fare commedie pubbliche in Roma."

⁷⁶ De Lucca, *The Politics*, 230.

⁷⁷ The situation is described in numerous avvisi and confirmed in I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Carteggio Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna 1681/59, 3 January 1681, Rome, Sebastiano Baldini to Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna.

⁷⁸ E-PAbm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 12, fol. 72, 4 January 1681: "Si faranno poi le commedie, ma con ogni modestia, senza scandalo, senza confusione, e senza palchetti." The boxes are described in related avvisi as constructed "senza tramezzi."

⁷⁹ E-PAbm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 12, fol. 57v, 25 January 1681: "Avranno presto principio le due commedie che hanno avuto l'essere per i tanti voti fatti a Giove, cioè quella di Caffarelli alla Pace, e l'altra di Capranica, dove vi sono anco fatti i Palchetti, quali perché no siano più litigiosi, si sono

Baldini's 15 February letter to Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna (then in Spain) mentions the pope's displeasure and efforts to shut down opera productions, despite Queen Christina's support for operas planned at the Collegio Clementino and Teatro della Pace.⁸⁰ Indeed, on 18 January 1681 Baldini wrote to Colonna that the two principal operas of 1681 were not yet ready, but would likely open in February.⁸¹ In the end, three operas were staged during the 1681 carnival.

Although Carpio had retreated to seaside villages for eight days for the sake of his health,⁸² he returned to the city in time to attend the first opera, *Commedia Intitolata Dalla padella alla bragia*, a comic opera with libretto by Domenico Filippo Contini and music by Angelo Olivieri. This was an in-town revival of a piece already performed at Palazzo Barberini in Palestrina (outside Rome) on 21 January 1681, within the festivities for the marriage of Costanza Barberini with Gaetano Francesco Caetani.⁸³ The Rome performance on 7 February took place at the request of Queen Christina at the Collegio Clementino, rather than at the queen's own residence, ostensibly because the Collegio provided a more capable stage.⁸⁴ Carpio accepted the queen's

fabbricati senza tramezzi, facendo tutti assieme un corpo solo, acciò si possono più facilmente mischiare gli Ebrei con i Samaritani; avvertendo per i quelli comici a non farvi nascere disturbi di sorte alcuna, se non vogliono far per sempre scena vuota."

⁸⁰ I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Carteggio Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna 1681/103; for extracts, see De Lucca, *The Politics*, 338–39.

⁸¹ I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Carteggio Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna 1681/103: "ma fin a Febbraio non si darà principio, non essendo allordine."

⁸² E-PAbm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 12, fol. 72, 4 January 1681, states that Carpio was not feeling well and, on the advice of his doctors, was planning to seek a change of air, perhaps at Nettuno or Santa Marinella; observers expressed hope for his recovery "because he is such a generous noble" ("si spera la totale sua guarigione desiderata da tutti per essere generoso signore"); see also E-PAbm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 12, fol. 143, 1 February 1681. E-PAbm, Embajada de Roma, tomo 50, 16 February 1681, Rome, letter from Carpio to Carlos II, explains that he had only been away for eight days at a "viña que tengo fuera de los muros" in order to recover his health, and that he had dispatched embassy business from there because "mi único fin ha sido y es morir en servicio de Vuestra Majestad."

⁸³ The manuscript score is V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4210–12, as described in Margaret Murata, "A Topography of the Barberini Manuscripts of Music," in *I Barberini e la cultura europea del Seicento*, ed. Lorenza Mochi Onori, Sebastian Schütze, and Francesco Solinas (Rome: De Luca Editori d'Arte, 2008), 380. Many thanks to Margaret Murata for information concerning this opera and for enlightening me about the 1681 season. Costanza Barberini, Duchess of San Marco (1657–87), married Francesco Caetani (1656–1716), Prince of Caserta, Grandee of Spain, son of Filippo II Caetani, Duke of Sermoneta, second Prince of Caserta and Topazia Caetani. An avviso in E-PAbm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 12, fol. 58, dated 25 January 1681, notes the occasion and location of the first performance: "Sono partite di qua molte mute con dame, principi, e cavalieri, alla volta di Palestrina, andati a vedere le commedie, che si fanno colà in occasione dei sponsali di quella principessa con il Caserta, dove anco è andato il Cardinale Carlo Barberino perché in tali casi, si dispensa ogn'uno dalla bacchettoneria." On the revival at the Collegio Clementino, see Arnaldo Morelli, "La musica a Roma nella seconda metà del Seicento," *La musica a Roma attraverso le fonti d'archivio*, ed. Bianca Maria Antolini, Arnaldo Morelli, and Vera Vita Spagnuolo (Lucca: LIM, 1994), 129.

⁸⁴ Morelli "La musica a Roma," 129; Johnson, *Inventing the Opera House*, 255–56 explains that Christina had installed a "modest private theater seating three hundred people" at Palazzo Riario, but she had "insufficient space or money to produce the large-scale entertainments that some Roman patricians offered in their far grander palaces." Johnson, 263–64, explains that Christina sponsored

invitation.⁸⁵ Indeed, on 7 February he declined to receive a special Maltese ambassador at the Palazzo di Spagna, on the excuse that the latter had chosen to visit the French ambassador first. After the Maltese envoy ascended the stairs with his entourage and was met outside the reception rooms by Carpio's Gentlemen of the Chamber, Carpio's chief usher twice announced in a loud voice, "His Excellency cannot receive you because he is suffering a bad headache." Carpio then slipped out quickly, "incognito," before the retreat of the Maltese party, "and that evening attended the commedia at the Collegio Clementino, to which he had been invited" by Queen Christina.⁸⁶ Carpio's attendance at the Collegio Clementino was reported in the flurry of avvisi provoked by the controversial presence of unauthorized women in the audience. At Queen Christina's request, the pope allowed the opera to be performed at the Collegio Clementino, but specifically prohibited attendance by women other than the queen and the princess di Rosanno (Olimpia Aldobrandini), protectress of the Collegio. When the latter arrived to find that a lady-in-waiting to Queen Christina had invited twenty other ladies, Maffeo Barberini (d. 1685), Prince of Palestrina, became angry and immediately went to fetch his wife and daughter.⁸⁷ Deliberately scorning ("in disprezzo") the pope's orders, the prince not only brought his wife and daughter ("la figliuola sposa" Costanza Barberini, for whose wedding the opera had been staged a month before), but seated them on either side of Carpio, the Spanish ambassador, "as if to place them securely under his protection."⁸⁸ Carpio's close association with this opera's patron can be discerned in this episode. Other notices suggest that Maffeo Barberini was a close ally of Carpio's

productions at the Collegio Clementino to "defy" and "circumvent" Innocent XI's attempts to ban opera productions.

⁸⁵ Avvisi of 10 February report that this performance at the Collegio Clementino was attended by the Spanish ambassador (Carpio) and the princesses di Rossano (Olimpia Aldobrandini), Palestrina (Olimpia Barberini), and de Gaetani, at the invitation of the queen; additional sources confirm that other unauthorized ladies were present as well, which angered the pope: see E-PAbm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 12, fol. 132v, 15 February 1681; E-PAbm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 12, fol. 197v, 15 February 1681; and I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Carteggio Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna 1681/103, 15 February 1681, Rome, letter from Sebastiano Baldini to Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna.

⁸⁶ E-PAbm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 12, 8 February 1681: "andò poi ieri [il Ambasciatore Straordinario del Gran Maestro] per far lo stesso con quello di Spagna, onde dopo mandate la prima, e seconda ambasciata, qual fu accettata, e salite le scale, col corteggio di tutti i cavalieri avanti nelle stanze, con l'incontro di gentiluomini spagnoli, gli se fece incontro il Decano di Staffieri, e si disse due volte ad alta voce, 'Sua Eccellenza non lo può ricevere perché le duole il capo,' e subito l'Ambasciatore di Spagna uscì incognito per la porti-cella del Palazzo, avanti, che ne uscisse il Cavaliere; e la sera andò a la commedia al Collegio Clementino, alla quale era stato invitato dalla Regina di Svezia che vi è padrona." Carpio's positive relationship with Queen Christina is mentioned in a number of documents, including notice of their cordial exchange of gifts prior to his departure from Rome; see I-Rli, MS 36.A.16, fols. 510v and 531, October 1682; López-Fanjul y Díez del Corral, "A Game of Drawing Fame," 21.

⁸⁷ E-PAbm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 12, fol. 197v, 15 February 1681.

⁸⁸ "come in sicuro sotto la sua protezione," E-PAbm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 12, fol. 153, 22 February 1681.

among the Romans. Carpio, “con gravità spagnuola,” had attended a public festivity with him in February 1678.⁸⁹ The prince regularly invited Carpio to his hunting palace at Monterotondo, and in January 1679 had entertained him with a Spanish *comedia* performed by excellent musicians there.⁹⁰ In a letter to the Marquis de los Vélez, Carpio noted that this “*comedia en música*” was “muy buena,” without mentioning the title.⁹¹

The two principal operas of 1681 were Pasquini’s *Il Lisimaco* (libretto by Sinibaldi), produced by Caffarelli with Queen Christina’s support at the Teatro della Pace beginning on 1 February,⁹² and Scarlatti’s *Tutto il mal che vien, non vien per nuocere* (libretto by De Totis) at the Teatro Capranica.⁹³ As Baldini explained in a letter of 1 March 1681, the “fans” (*partiali*) of each composer (Scarlatti v.s. Pasquini) proclaimed his opera to be superior.⁹⁴ Carpio’s experience of *Il Lisimaco* was formative—it featured the high soprano Besci (whose performance was praised in a printed broadside provided in Figure 2.1) and the alto Grossi, two superb singers he would later hire to sing together in Naples.⁹⁵

At the Teatro Capranica, Scarlatti’s *Tutto il mal che vien, non vien per nuocere* was produced for the Accademici Uniti with financial subvention from Colonna.⁹⁶ Two of the castrati, Giuseppe Sansone “Milanese” and

⁸⁹ V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 6418, fol. 60, Avvisi di Roma, 26 February 1678.

⁹⁰ V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 6388, fol. 6r, 7 January 1679: “il Principe di Palestrina ha dato in questa settimana all’Ambasciatore di Spagna dilettevole trattenimento al suo luogo di Monterotondo di una bellissima commedia in lingua spagnola recitata dai primacci musici con sontuosi banchetti e curiose caccie.” Earlier invitations to Monterotondo and Frascati in October 1677 are reported in E-PABm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 2, fol. 251r, 2 October 1677. The “magnificenza e splendore” of the prince’s hospitality and the “bella commedia in musica” are reported upon Carpio’s return to Rome in V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 6418, fol. 6v, Avvisi di Roma, 7 January 1678. Another visit to Monterotondo is reported in V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 6418, fol. 465, Avvisi di Roma, 3 December 1678. Yet another avviso notes that Carpio enjoyed a “caccia bellissima” and lunch with the prince at Monterotondo; see avvisi of 1682, I-Rli, MS 36.A.16, fol. 36v, 17 January 1682.

⁹¹ “habiendo vuelto ayer de la caza (con cuya ocasión me ha festejado el señor Príncipe de Palestrina, con una commedia en música que ha sido muy buena),” E-SIM, Estado, Libro 121, 6 January 1679, Rome, letter to the Marquis de los Vélez.

⁹² Scores for *Il Lisimaco* are D-WD; D-HS, ND VI 2602; and I-MOe, Mus.F.875; arias from the opera are included in F-Pn, RES VMF MS-134; US-Su, Rare Books ML96.S33 T8; and I-Nc, 60.1.57. Many thanks to Arnaldo Morelli for enlightening me concerning these sources.

⁹³ I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Carteggio Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna 1681/103, 1 February 1681, Rome, letter from Sebastiano Baldini to Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna.

⁹⁴ I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Carteggio Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna 1681/103.

⁹⁵ These singers are identified in a letter to Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, extracted in De Lucca, *The Politics*, 230–31, 334–35; see also Morelli, *La virtù in corte*, 63–66, 162; Lindgren and Schmidt, “A Collection of 137 Broadside,” 197; Crain, “The Operas of Bernardo Pasquini,” 1:203; 2:119, 157; and the comments of Joseph Alfonso Guerra y Villegas reported earlier in this chapter.

⁹⁶ Extant libretti confirm revival performances in Ancona 1683, Sienna 1683, Ravenna 1685, Florence 1686, Naples 1687 (as *Dal male il bene*), and Rimini 1694; a complete partially autograph score (with additions for the Naples 1687 revival as *Dal male il bene*) survives at I-MC, 6-B-2; another score at D-Bs, Mus. ms. 19643; Olinda’s first aria (I, 1), the two-strophe da capo aria “Luci belle, che siete d’Amore” survives in an undated autograph page from an otherwise lost manuscript, in US-NYpm Mary Flagler Cary Music Collection, S286.T967 (Cary 328); six arias from the opera are included in I-Nc, 60.1.57; further arias in I-Nc, 33.4.10; I-Nc, 33.5.17; and I-Nc, 34.5.1ter; other fragments, copies, and arias are noted in Rostirolla, “Catalogo generale,” 334–35; Dubowy and Fabris,

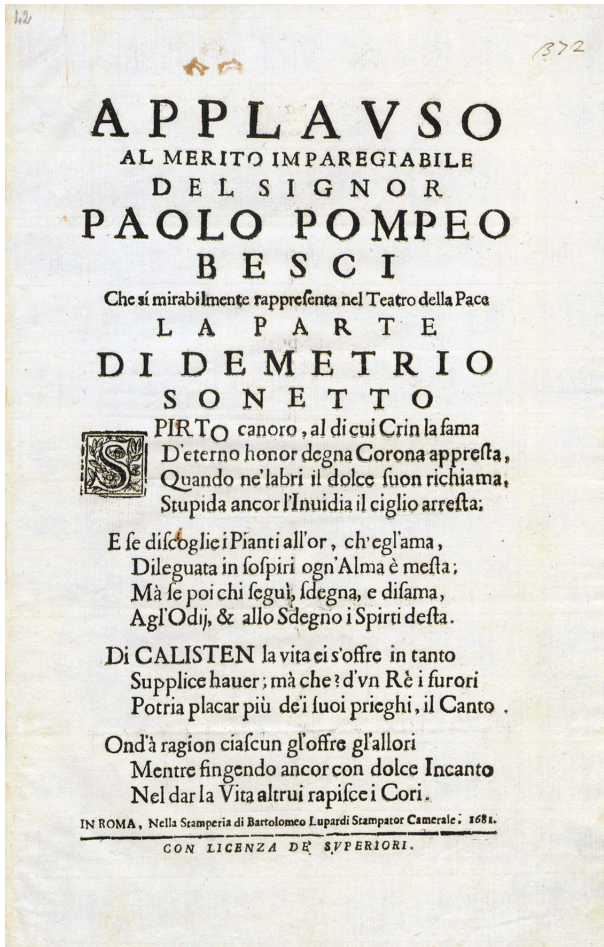


Figure 2.1 *Applauso al merito impareggiabile del signor Paolo Pompeo Besci che si mirabilmente rappresenta nel teatro della Pace la parte di Demetrio* (1681). IB6.A100. B675 no. 42, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Bernardo Pascoli da Ravenna, were celebrated for their performance as the female protagonists, Doralba and Lucilda.⁹⁷ The broadside praising De Totis' work on this production is included in Figure 2.2. Carpio would surely not

"Scarlatti"; Lindgren and Murata, *The Barberini Manuscripts of Music*, 186–87; see Tamburini, *Due teatri*, 144–45, for the involvement of Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna and documents about the expenses.

⁹⁷ They are praised in two letters from Sebastiano Baldini in Rome sent to Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna in Madrid; see I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Carteggio Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna 1681/103,

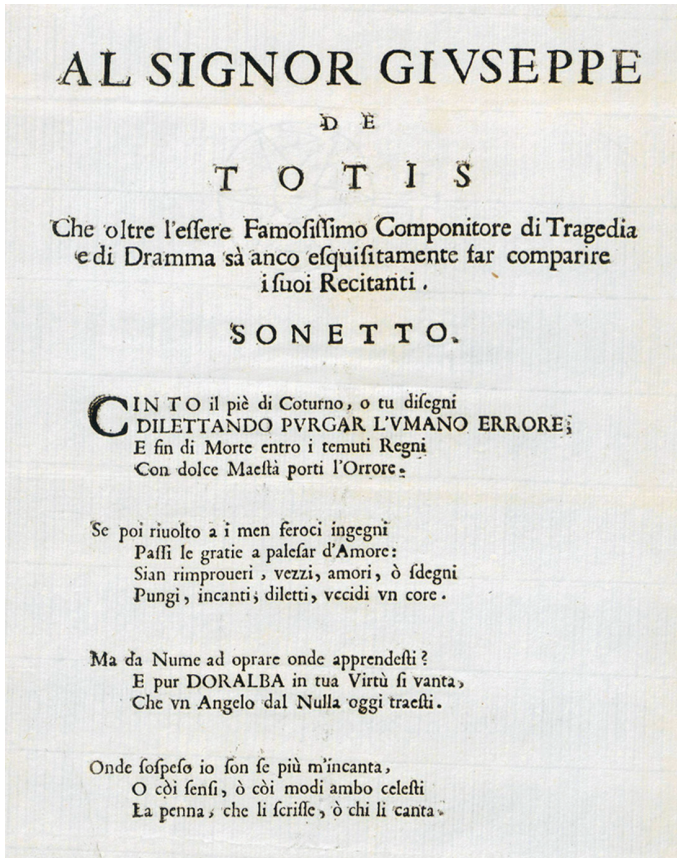


Figure 2.2 *Al signor Giuseppe de Totis che oltre l'essere famosissimo compositore di tragedia e di dramma sa anco squisitamente far comparire i suoi recitanti* (1681). IB6.A100.B675 no. 127, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

miss this production, whose De Totis libretto has a cape-and-sword plot, likely derived from a Spanish *comedia*.⁹⁸ Significantly, Carpio later brought De Totis to Naples to provide libretti based on Spanish *comedias* for his Naples operas.

Rome, 15 February 1681 and 1 March 1681; see De Lucca, *The Politics*, 231; Lindgren and Schmidt, "A Collection of 137 Broad-sides," 196–97, offer the suggestion that De Totis served as the stage director for this production.

⁹⁸ Sartori 24166; I-Rn, 34.1.F.35.6; Franchi, *Drammaturgia romana*, 534; see also Norbert Dubow, "Identity and Poetic Style: The Case of Rosmene by Giuseppe de Totis," in *Music as Social*

In summary, Carpio probably became an astute connoisseur of Roman opera productions during his years in Rome. He likely heard Scarlatti's first operas, had requested a special daytime performance of one of them, was embraced by the circle around Queen Christina, and maintained close contact with other protagonists as they commissioned, promoted, supported, staged, or composed opera. It may be that his involvement also stimulated the composition of libretti based on Spanish plays or treating Spanish themes. In these years, the Spanish political agenda was Carpio's primary ambassadorial responsibility and project, while his strained ambassadorial finances and precarious health surely were among the factors conditioning his activity.

Entertainments with a Spanish Flavor

Most of the events Carpio produced in Rome had a Spanish flavor and were designed to enhance his image, convey his personal elegance, project his preeminence above other ambassadors, and demonstrate support for the monarchy. Despite the fact that he had come to know the Roman serenata in the summer of 1677, thanks to a series organized by other patrons, when he began to present his own public fiestas in July and August 1677, bullfights in Piazza di Spagna were soundly rejected by the pope.⁹⁹ Perhaps to smooth ruffled feathers, the Prince of Palestrina entertained Carpio with two serenades in his honor (11 and 28 August 1677).¹⁰⁰ But two years later, in July 1679, Carpio again planned a bullfight instead of a serenata to celebrate the announcement of the betrothal of Carlos II and Marie-Louise d'Orleans because Spanish protocol called for bullfights after the announcement of a

and Cultural Practice: Essays in Honour of Reinhard Strohm, ed. Melania Bucciarelli and Berta Joncus (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), 208; Maria Grazia Profeti, *Commedie, riscritture, libretti: La Spagna e l'Europa* (Florence: Alinea, 2009), 464–65.

⁹⁹ V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 6384, fol. 260, 31 July 1677: "L'ambasciatore di Spagna per distinguersi dagli altri fa continue feste nella sua Piazza di Caccie del toro, et abbattimenti con un concorso infinito di popolo, per le quali sono successe uccisioni di uomini, e molti feriti, et hora ha sospeso di farle per concorrere nella soddisfattone del Pontefice." See Alessandra Anselmi, "El marqués del Carpio y el barrio de la embajada de España en Roma," in *La monarquía de las naciones. Patria, nación y naturaleza en la Monarquía de España*, ed. Antonio Álvarez-Ossorio Alvaríño and Bernardo J. García García (Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2004), 566–69, 582.

¹⁰⁰ I-Rao, Ic-F-5, "Notizie" compiled for Livio Odescalchi, 25 August 1677. See also Thomas Griffin, "Alessandro Scarlatti e la serenata a Roma e a Napoli," in *La Musica a Napoli durante il Seicento*, ed. Domenico Antonio D'Alessandro and Agostino Ziino (Rome: Edizioni Torre d'Orfeo, 1987), 352–53.

royal betrothal. This kind of bloody spectacle was deemed inappropriate in papal Rome, except by the eager popolo.¹⁰¹

Carpio's optimism about his situation in Rome began to increase in early 1680, when he learned that the Duke of Medinaceli (Juan Francisco de la Cerda, eighth Duke of Medinaceli), his father-in-law from his first marriage, had become the king's *valido*.¹⁰² Nevertheless, in letters to Medinaceli and others, he complains about his poor health, lack of funds, and long separation from his wife and daughter.¹⁰³ When Carpio was reconfirmed as ambassador in March 1681, a large bonus payment or "ayuda de costa" from the crown allowed him to become more expansive.¹⁰⁴ He quickly organized a famous banquet with music in the last week of March for more than thirty-five prelates to celebrate the 26 March birthday of the reigning queen (Marie-Louise d'Orleans).¹⁰⁵ Perhaps by this date he also appreciated the musical resources available in Rome and imagined how they might be exploited to enhance his reputation for gallantry and generosity while celebrating events of significance to the monarchy. By December 1685 as viceroy in Naples, he was deemed "tanto amico della musica."¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 6420, Avvisi of 1679, 29 July 1679: "L'ambasciatore cattolico pieno di brio dice, che vuole fare feste per il detto matrimonio, e che desidera ad 'uso di Madrid fare la caccia di tori, ma non si crede li venga permessa tal cosa, più da barbari che da cristiani."

¹⁰² Medinaceli was chosen as *valido* to Carlos II in late 1679 and confirmed 22 February 1680.

¹⁰³ In E-PAbm, Embajada de Roma, tomo 51, 2 March 1681, a personal note appended to a letter from Carpio to Medinaceli implores: "que no me dejes perecer aquí miserablemente sin el consuelo de ver a mi mujer e hija... la forma de mis asistencias, ni me permiten estar en Roma, ni en esta viña sino ir a un hospital que no sé cómo se puede esto esperar de la piedad de Su Majestad y de un primer ministro tan generoso como tú, ni que el Marqués de Eliche no halle en el Duque de Medinaceli aquellos favores que siempre se ha experimentado"; a second letter, E-PAbm, Embajada de Roma, tomo 54, 28 September 1681, Carpio to Carlos II, states: "si el detenerme en Roma es destierro, Vuestra Majestad oiga mis defensas en los delitos que se me imputaren." Within the year, in E-PAbm, Embajada de Roma, tomo 61, 7 June 1682, Carpio requested to be relieved of his ambassadorship with "licencia para volver a mi casa"; "Si soy tan incapaz, no sé para que se me mantiene [el rey] en este puesto, cuando tan repetidas instancias hago para que se me quite de él... es menester licenciarme [to return to Spain] o tolerarme, pues no hay medio término entre estas dos cosas." These entreaties, with references to ill health, financial issues, and lack of succession ("el lastimoso estado de mi casa"), continue at least through August 1682.

¹⁰⁴ E-PAbm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 12, fol. 243v, 8 March 1681, mentions the ayuda de costa; E-Mah, Estado, Libro. 198, 31 January 1682, Venice, letter from Villagarcía to Carpio, notes that the further receipt of "4 mesadas" from Naples in early 1682 made possible Carpio's expensive productions: "A fe que se conoce la abundancia, como efecto de las quatro mesadas de Nápoles en la comedia que hace la familia de Vuestra Excelencia y no dudo será como otras que he visto dispuestas por Vuestra Excelencia y en su casa; si le faltasen entremés a Vuestra Excelencia que hubiese avisado en tiempo le habría enviado distinta relación del estado en que me tienen."

¹⁰⁵ E-PAbm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 12, fol. 284v, 29 March 1681, Rome: "Mercordi [mercoledì] poi il suddetto Signore Ambasciatore di Spagna per il giorno natalizio della Regina sposa diede splendidissimo banchetto con musica a ca. 35 prelati"; another avviso with the same date (fol. 308) states that on the morning of the Spanish queen's onomastic day, the banquet with music included thirty prelates.

¹⁰⁶ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Avvisi 48, 22 December 1685; and in the "Avvisi Marescotti" of the same date (fol. 269r–v), the latter published in Gloria Staffieri, *Colligite Fragmenta. La vita musicale romana negli "Avvisi Marescotti" (1683–1707)* (Lucca: LIM, 1990), 65.

Musical performance in celebrations organized by Carpio was supported by impressive visual effects, whether theatrical sets or staging with fireworks and ephemeral constructions. Even when the solemn Mass and *Te Deum* were sung to mark the birthday of Carlos II in November 1680, Carpio unveiled a feast for the eyes accompanied by “many choirs of music and sinfonias played by a large number of instruments” at the church of S. María di Monserrato (“of the Aragonese nation”).¹⁰⁷ Inside the church, the expected “richissimo apparato” was on display for the devotion of the Forty Hours. But outside the church, Carpio also displayed “around 300 of his paintings by the most famous painters” to the huge public that gathered to see his exhibition.¹⁰⁸ Romans were eager to see how Carpio had enriched the church’s interior, so that the number of faithful ascended considerably; the crowds were not drawn “by religious devotion alone.”¹⁰⁹ On more than one occasion, Carpio enhanced his own prestige while publicly demonstrating fidelity to the monarchy by exhibiting portraits of the king and queen dressed in French style (“vestiti alla Francese”). He did this, for example, during Pentecost in early June 1680 at the Sicilian church for the Feast of the Madonna di Costantinopoli.¹¹⁰ Later that summer, Carpio contributed paintings for the celebration of the feast of San Giovanni Decollato (29 August), an annual exhibition organized by one or more of the city’s noble families in the cloister of the church named for this saint.¹¹¹ Furious upon finding that another private collector was also intending to show his paintings, Carpio started to withdraw his collection rather than share the limelight.¹¹²

Carpio’s emphasis on visual art and visual effects, characteristic of his Madrid productions, also conditioned his Italian presentations. That he considered a musical event without visual effects lacking in elegance is revealed in a 1682

¹⁰⁷ E-PABm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 10, fol. 260, 9 November 1680 notes: “a più cori di musica e sinfonie di quantità d’istromenti.” According to V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 6388, fol. 149v, 17 June 1679, Carpio shifted his allegiance from San Giacomo degli Spagnoli (founded as the church associated with the kingdom of Castile) on Piazza Navona, to the Chiesa di Santa Maria di Monserrato degli Spagnoli (associated originally with the crown of Aragón), because of a disagreement with Cardinal Omodei, the auditor of San Giacomo degli Spagnoli. E-PABm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 9, fol. 77, 20 January 1680, notes instructions from Madrid ordering him to attend functions at San Giacomo. Nevertheless, as described in E-PABm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 10, fol. 256v, 29 June 1680, he staged a lavish procession to the Aragonese church. On the Spanish churches in Rome, see Diana Carrió Invernizzi, *El gobierno de las imágenes: ceremonial y mecenazgo en la Italia española de la segunda mitad del siglo XVII* (Madrid: Iberoamericana Editorial, 2008), 192–212.

¹⁰⁸ E-PABm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 10, fol. 260, 9 November 1680: the event began with a long procession to the church on 6 November, the carriages filled with the nobility and clergy, and ended with a day-long celebration on 10 November, when the service of the Forty Hours was sung and the Holy Sacrament displayed.

¹⁰⁹ E-PABm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 10, fol. 288, 16 November 1680.

¹¹⁰ E-PABm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 10, fol. 184, 15 June 1680.

¹¹¹ The tradition is described in Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: Art and Society in Baroque Italy*. Revised and enlarged edition (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1980), 126–28; and more generally in Francis Haskell, *The Ephemeral Museum: Old Master Paintings and the Rise of the Art Exhibition* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 8–12.

¹¹² E-PABm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 10, fol. 515, 31 August 1680.

letter about the boorish conduct of Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, whose son Filippo had recently been married to Carpio's beloved young Spanish niece, Lorenza de la Cerda (Medinaceli's fifteen-year-old daughter). Writing to Lorenza's father, Carpio pours forth a litany of complaints—Colonna forced doña Lorenza to ride around Rome in a shabby old carriage, was stingy with money, attempted to suffocate her social life, and so on. Colonna had offered her a “very ordinary” serenata, whereas Carpio himself had magnanimously presented her with performances of Spanish plays in Palazzo di Spagna.¹¹³ In Carpio's view, the modest serenata for a small audience was exemplary of Colonna's miserly ungallantry. In contrast, the serenata Carpio organized in Piazza di Spagna for the feast of Santa Ana, 26 July 1681, the nameday of the queen mother, featured music, decorations, and numerous torches illuminating of the façade of the embassy. Carpio's first serenata, prepared with “solito brío Spagnuolo,” also featured the distribution of generous refreshments for the musicians and ladies and gentlemen in attendance, though a large crowd of commoners filled the piazza as well.¹¹⁴

The 1681 Serenata in Piazza di Spagna

The public musical event Carpio produced in Piazza di Spagna on 25 August 1681 for the nameday of the new reigning queen, Marie-Louise d'Orleans, was an ostentatious milestone in his trajectory. Several years in Rome brought him in contact with musicians worthy of his investment, and, by this date, he could afford to pay the best players and singers, having finally received an *ayuda de costa* from Madrid. The serenata featured three male soloists as Fama, Pace, and Il Tebro, joined by a large orchestra.¹¹⁵ A printed libretto and an aquaforte engraving by Giuseppe Tiburzio Vergelli of the setting and ephemeral decorations designed by Philipp Schor (illustrated in Figure 2.3) demonstrate that the entire space of the Piazza di Spagna was exploited as a stage for special effects.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ E-PABm, MS 24-2-9, Embajada de Roma 1682, 7 June 1682, Rome, letter from Carpio to Medinaceli: “pues no se le hizo a esta señora otro festejo, que una música de noche (que llaman aquí serenata) bien ordinaria, y asistida solo de algunos hábitos de Santi Espíritus, que fue muy reparable.”

¹¹⁴ E-PABm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 13, fols. 215 and 217, 2 August 1681. The aviso also notes that Colonna is organizing a splendid serenata for San Lorenzo in his cortile, with the three famous female singers, “celebre cantarine,” despite the pope's displeasure. The same notice about the “3 famose cantatrici” appears in I-Rao, Ic-F-2, avvisi sent to Don Livio Odescalchi, 9 August 1681.

¹¹⁵ The number of sixty instruments (“Concerto di Sinfonie con 60 Instrumenti”) is given in avvisi cited by Griffin, “Alessandro Scarlatti,” 355; *Mercure galant* (quoted below), mentions 70.

¹¹⁶ The text in V-CVBav, RG.ArteArch.IV.1 (21), no. 19, fol. 160: *Applauso festivo alla sacra real maestà di Maria Luigia Regina delle Spagne. Serenata a 3 voci. Disposta da Giuseppe Fedè. In ossequio dell'Eccellentissimo Signor Marchese dal Carpio Ambasciator... Cantata in Roma la sera di S. Luigi nella Piazza di Spagna* (Rome: N. Angelo Tinassi, 1681), a large-sized commemorative printing; a manuscript copy of this text is V-CVBav, Barb. lat. 3873, fols. 44–47v. Another printed text is V-CVBav, Chigi.IV.2236, whose layout is similar to but does not exactly duplicate that of V-CVBav,

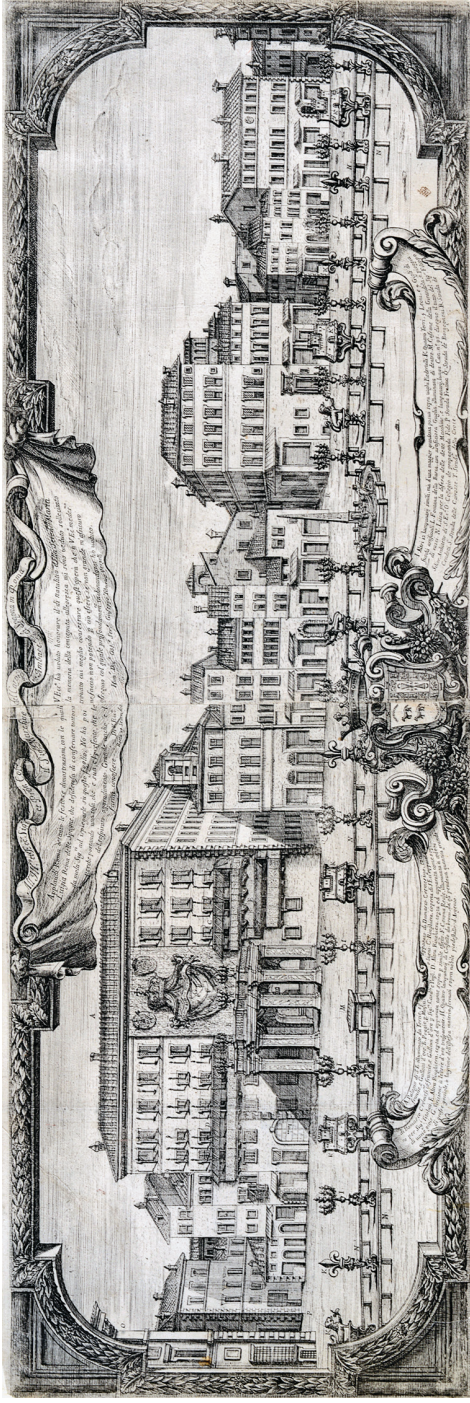


Figure 2.3 Philipp [Filippo] Schor, Tiburzio Vergelli, *Apparato effimero in piazza di Spagna per il compleanno di Maria Luisa Regina di Spagna* (1681), Museo di Roma, Gabinetto Comunale delle Stampe, inv. GS 2808. © Museo di Roma, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali, Rome.

Carpio paid for the composition and printing of a Spanish description (*relación*) of this serenata, and later sent an exemplar with the engraved image of Schor's constructions to the Duke of Medinaceli in Madrid as proof of his continued fidelity and promotion of the Spanish cause.¹¹⁷ Significantly, this printed *relación* describes in detail only the material, visible, and tangible signs of elegance and prestige—the elegant uniforms worn by the members of Carpio's household, the fireworks and torches designed to illuminate the Spanish symbols of towers and lions (for Castilla and León), the decorations in Spanish colors hung outside the Palazzo di Spagna over the door of the embassy (crimson damask with gold trim), the refreshments, and the teatro, a large platform stage over the principal door of the Palazzo di Spagna, extolling in detail what was seen, rather than what was heard. But the music coordinating Carpio's trademark visual effects amid the light from hundreds of torches transformed Piazza di Spagna.¹¹⁸ Not surprisingly, given the pause in French-Spanish hostilities, Carpio's "full magnificence" was praised in the *Mercurie galant*.¹¹⁹

RG.ArteArch.IV.1 (21), no. 19, and whose title page does not mention Fede or Carpio. None of these printed text booklets includes the words for the second strophe of the aria "Vada pure il Gange altero," which is complete only in the single extant anonymous copy of the serenata's vocal music, GB-Lam, MS 128, pp. 25–120, "Perché si cessa armoniose corde." Griffin, "Nuove fonti," 214 identifies GB-Lam, MS 128 as the source for the vocal music. Thomas Griffin, "The Late Baroque Serenata in Rome and Naples: A Documentary Study with Emphasis on Alessandro Scarlatti" (PhD diss., UCLA, 1983), 84–85, suggests that the Italian booklet was distributed to the audience. The text is attributed to "Sr. de Totis" (Giuseppe Domenico De Totis) in the *Ephemerides cartariae*, as noted in Morelli, "La musica a Roma," 115, 130. The engraving of Schor's design for the piazza (Rome, Museo di Roma, Gabinetto Comunale delle Stampe, inv. GS 2808) is reproduced in Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 248; Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco and Silvia Carandini, eds., *L'Effimero Barocco* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1977), 1:296–97; Giulia Fusconi, "Philipp Schor, gli Altieri e il Marchese del Carpio," in *Un regista del gran teatro del barocco. Johann Paul Schor und die internationale Sprache des Barock*, ed. Christina Strunck, Römische Studien der Bibliotheca Hertziana 21 (Munich: Hirmer, 2008), 181; and Alessandra Anselmi, *Il Palazzo dell'Ambasciata di Spagna presso la Santa Sede* (Rome: Edizioni De Luca, 2001), 179. My thanks to Jorge Fernández Santos and Alessandra Anselmi for many suggestions regarding Schor and Carpio. See also Elena Povoledo, "Gian Lorenzo Bernini, l'elefante e i fuochi artificiali," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 10 (1975): 512.

¹¹⁷ A little-known copy of the engraving and the descriptive *relación* are also included in E-PABm, Embajada de Roma, tomo 53, 27 August 1681, Rome, a letter from Carpio to Medinaceli. The printed Spanish *relación*, I-Rn, Misc. VAL. 722/7, Francisco Antonio de Montalvo, *Descripción de las Fiestas con que celebró el Real Nombre de la Reyna N. Sra. Doña María Luisa de Orleans* (Rome: Angelo Tinassi, 1681), is dedicated to Carpio's daughter, Doña Catalina de Haro y Guzmán.

¹¹⁸ Griffin, "The Late Baroque Serenata," 75–81, quotes extracts from avvisi di Roma at D-Mbs emphasizing the visual effects and size of the orchestra. Stephanie Tcharos, *Opera's Orbit: Musical Drama and the Influence of Opera in Arcadian Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 112, 259–60, notes Carpio's serenata and the political intention of such events in light of the Franco-Spanish rivalry.

¹¹⁹ *Mercurie galant*, October 1681, 195–98, offers considerable detail: "La Feste de S. Louïs, dont la Reyne d'Espagne porte le nom, a esté célébrée à Rome avec une' entiere magnificence par Mr le Marquis de Liche, Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté Catholique. Plus d'un mois auparavant, la Place appellée d'Espagne, avoit esté illuminée chaque soir par un tres-grand nombre de Lumieres que ce Ministre faisoit mettre aux Fenestres, & dont il fournissoit la dépense. Le soir du 24 d'Aoust, veille de la Feste, la quantité en fut de beaucoup plus grande, ce qui faisoit un tres-bel effet dans cette Place.

Music floated up from the very door of the Spanish embassy “as if it were sounding spontaneously” (“all’ improvviso”). The Spanish *relación* defines the genre as the “serenata, as it called by the Italians, because it is music to be played in the night air” (“serenata, que dicen los Ytalianos, porque es música al sereno”), noting that “anyone would have said that Orpheus and the Sirens played and sang like el Boloñez and Paoluccio.”¹²⁰ “Paoluccio” was the soprano castrato

Le devant de son Palais estoit orné d’un Manteau Royal fleurdelisé & doublé d’Hermine, & au dessus on voyoit une Couronne illuminée de neuf petites Lampes de verre qu’on y avoit attachées. Une Cartouche, derriere laquelle on avoit mis des Lumieres, faisoit lire de fort loin ces paroles en Lettres distinctes. Maria Aloysia, Hisp. Reg. Le long du Palais estoit une superbe Tribune enrichie de Peintures & de Dorures, & éclairée de cinq Chandeliers à six bras chacun. Le divertissement commença par la Musique placée sur cette Tribune, & composée d’environ six-vingts Voix & Instrumens. On chanta d’abord un Dialogue à la loüange de la Reyne d’Espagné. La Symphonie estoit admirable, & dura une heure entiere, pendant laquelle, Mr le Marquis de Liche fit servir des rafraichissemens aux Dames qui s’y trouverent en Carrosse. La Musique ayant cessé sur les dix heures du soir, on alluma aussitost, non pas un Feu, mais douze Feux d’artifice, éloignez de soixante pas les uns des autres, ce qui causa un fracas extraordinaire, & d’autant plus grand qu’il y avoit plus de cent Carrosses dans la Place, dont les Chevaux ne pouvant souffrir le bruit des Petards, ny l’excessive clarté des continuelles Fusées dont ils estoient accablez, avançoient & reculoient à tous momens. Ainsi quantité de Gens furent blessez, & par ces Carrosses, & par le feu des douze Machines. Il y en eut quatre représentant la Castille par de grandes Tours. Quatre autres représentoient le Royaume de Léon par de grands Lyons qui fouloient un Globe sur des Rochers; & les quatre autres estoient de grandes Fleurs-de-Lys hautes de six pieds, plantées sur des Roches. Ce qu’il y eut de particulier, & dont tout le monde demeura surpris, c’est qu’après que l’artifice eût joiué, le feu prit aux quatre Machines qui représentoient le Royaume de Léon, & les consuma avec tous ces gros Lyons qui furent réduits en cendres. Ce ne fut point pour s’être communiqué de l’une à l’autre, car la premiere estoit à *Propaganda Fide*, la seconde à *Monte d’Oro*, la troisième un peu en deça de la Trinité du Mont, & la quatrième entre la Ruë d’Espagne & la Fontaine. D’ailleurs ces quatre Machines étoient entremeslées des huit autres, dont l’artifice joiüa sans les consumer. Un Chandelier de six bras éclairoit entre chacun de ces Feux. Cet Ambassadeur avoit encor fait planter devant son Palais douze gros Piliers, sur chacun desquels estoit un grand Lustre de cristal garny de vingt Lampes, & sur la Fontaine on avoit dressé une Pyramide de vingt pieds de haut, ornée de Hiéroglyphes qu’on voyoit à la lueur d’un tres-grand nombre de Lampes dont la Pyramide estoit remplie. La Reyne de Suede & tous les Princes & Princesses de Rome, joiürent de ce Spéctacle. Le concours du Peuple y fut extraordinaire, & tout le monde admira la magnificence de Mr l’Ambassadeur. Ces réjouissances sont des témoignages publics de la passion que les Espagnols ont pour leur Reyne, qui ne se fait pas moins aimer que toutes celles que la France leur a données. Ce soir là mesme, apres que les Feux eurent joiué, on alla au Cours dans la Plaine, & on n’en revint qu’à plus de deux heures apres minuit. La Princesse Palliano Colonna y parut habillée à la Françoise, pour obliger son Beau-pere, qui luy avoit demandé cette marque de complaisance. Elle avoit un Manteau de Brocard d’or qui luy donnoit un fort grand éclat, mais il luy manquoit d’estre coëffée; & comme elle ne l’a jamais esté, elle refusa de joindre cet ornement à son habit, & on eut beaucoup de peine à luy faire prendre au moins une Coëffe blanche de foye. Elle retourna au Cours plusieurs autres soirs, sans avoir d’autre Cocher que le Prince son Mary. Le petit Abbé Colonna son Frere menoit le second Carosse où les Espagnoletes estoient. Mr le Marquis de Liche avoit dessein de donner a cette jeune Princesse le Divertissement d’un Combat de Taureaux contre des Hommes, selon l’usage d’Espagne, mais Sa Sainteté ne voulut point le permettre, à cause qu’il y a toujours plusieurs Personnes tuées ou blessées dans ces sortes de Combats.” Comments pertaining to music are extracted in Barbara Nestola, “La musica italiana nel Mercure galant,” *Recercare* 14 (2002): 136–37.

¹²⁰ Montalvo, *Descripción de las fiestas*, fol. 3: “Y estaban en el Teatro los músicos, y habiendo cautivado las atenciones, la dulce armonía de los instrumentos, comenzó la Serenata, que dicen los Ytalianos, porque es música al sereno... Orfeo y las sirenas tañían y cantavan como el Boloñez y Paolucho. La discreción de la letra, la consonancia de la música, y la destreza de los Cantores, competía tan igual... La música, en fin, se oyó con aplauso universal, componiéndose aquella humana gloria de tres voces e innumerables instrumentos.”

Paolo Pompeo Besci (also Besce), whom Carpio had surely heard at the church of San Giacomo (he is listed as a singer there during two years) and on stage in the role of Demetrio, the “primo canto” in Pasquini’s *Il Lisimaco* during carnival 1681 at the Teatro della Pace.¹²¹ Paoluccio belonged to Queen Christina’s roster of singers before Carpio later recruited him for Naples.¹²² Through his association with Carpio in Rome, Paoluccio began what would become a long service to Spanish patrons, though he also served other significant patrons including Cardinal Ottoboni. John Jackson, a nephew of Samuel Pepys, reported to his uncle from Rome in December 1699 that he had heard “ravishing musick” performed by Paoluccio and Arcangelo Corelli in a performance sponsored by Cardinal Ottoboni.¹²³ Singing in a later entertainment at the Palazzo della Cancellaria in 1705 or 1706, Paoluccio was described as having “the finest voice” and the highest voice among castrati in Rome: “His voice was an Octave, at least . . . higher than any one else’s, it had all the Warblings and Turns of a Nightingale, but with only this difference, that it was much finer” and sounded almost inhuman. While other castrati were famously arrogant, Paoluccio was “the best natured creature in the world.” Eager to please composers, “Paoluccio steers another Course, and is always complaisant to the Masters, indeed he . . . is right to keep himself in their good graces . . . He was well-loved by the Masters, especially Corelli.” Paoluccio had a good deal of stamina, and the high tessitura and youthful vigor of his voice still impressed listeners who heard him in Rome just after 1700.¹²⁴

The arias assigned to *La Fama* in Carpio’s 1681 serenata seem clearly designed for Paoluccio’s voice. *La Fama*’s first aria, “Perché chiaro rimbombi il gran nome” in D major, carries a trumpet obbligato part while the majestic virtuoso vocal line reaches up to high b” and as low as e’: it floats comfortably in the top fifth of this range, though it also crosses smoothly down through the *passaggio* (see

¹²¹ “Applauso al merito impareggiabile del signor Paolo Pompeo Besci” (Rome: Bartolomeo Lupardi, 1681); US-CAh, IB6. A100.B675 no. 42, identified in Lindgren and Schmidt, “A Collection of 137 Broad-sides,” 197.

¹²² He sang in a 1682 production at the new Colonna theater, according to De Lucca, *The Politics*, 245. In Naples, he filled the position vacated by the departure of Antonio Aceti; see Ulisse Prota-Giurleo, *I Teatri di Napoli nel secolo XVII*, ed. Ermanno Bellucci and Giorgio Mancini (Naples, 2002), 3 vols., 3:132–33, 138–39, 141–43; and Guido Olivieri, “Per una storia della Tradizione Violinistica Napoletana del ‘700,” *Fonti d’archivio per la storia della musica e dello spettacolo a Napoli tra XVI e XVIII secolo*, ed. Paologiovanni Maione (Naples: Editoriale Scientifica, 2001), 230–32, 244–45.

¹²³ Samuel Pepys, *Private Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Samuel Pepys 1679–1703*, ed. J. R. Tanner (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1926), 1:257–58.

¹²⁴ Charles Ancillon, *Eunuchism displayed: Describing all the different kinds of eunuchs; shewing the esteem they have met with in the world, and how they came to be made so. Wherein principally is examined, whether they are capable of marriage, and if they ought to be suffered to enter into that holy state, . . .*, trans. [from *Traité des eunuques* (n.p., 1707)] Robert Samber (London: printed for E. Curl, 1718), 34–37, 39–40. My study of Paoluccio’s life, operatic roles, and relationships with his patrons is forthcoming.

Example 2.1). La Fama's second aria, "Risplende, risplende sul Tago con luce novella" (E minor, adagio, with two violin parts), is decorated with intricate melismatic writing in the high range; its vocal line reaches up to the high b" more than once in commanding "forte" phrases. All in all, the arias for La Fama in this serenata are slightly higher in range and tessitura than those for La Pace, and La Fama sings the higher line in their duet. La Pace was surely also sung by a castrato, however—perhaps one of the Fede brothers, Giuseppe or Francesco Maria.¹²⁵ Giuseppe Fede is named in the title of one of the printed texts as having "put together" this serenata, but it is unlikely that he composed the serenata because he was not known as a composer or credited with any other music.¹²⁶ The role of Il Tebro might have been performed by Giuseppe's nephew, Innocenzo Fede; the role fits the range of a modern bari-tenor, lying in the higher part of the baritone range (it only calls for two low Gs, considered outside the modern tenor range). Il Tebro requires a virtuoso singer, in any case, though Il Tebro's arias are less elaborate than those for La Fama and La Pace (a standard distinction for low-voice roles).

When Carpio encountered him, Giuseppe Fede was among the busiest of Roman musicians and probably sang in some of the entertainments Carpio heard in Rome between 1677 and 1681. He had been performing for more than twenty years; sang in operas and serenades for Queen Christina, in sacred operas or oratorios for the Pamphili, in operas sponsored by the Chigi and the Barberini; and had long worked for the Colonna family.¹²⁷ He also sang in, and for a time directed, the choir at San Giacomo degli Spagnoli, the Spanish church where Carpio almost certainly heard him. Influential and respected, Fede offered trusted advice and administrative guidance to the Spanish churches as they organized musical forces.¹²⁸ He had introduced himself musically to Carpio at least

¹²⁵ E-PABm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 13, fol. 217, 2 August 1681: the pope had even expressed irritation when women performed in a private serenata at the Colonna palace for the feast of San Lorenzo. E-PABm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 13, fol. 218v, 2 August 1681, mentions "Francesco Maria Fede, musico castrato" in a humorous avviso about his relationship with a female singer.

¹²⁶ In Stein, "Una música de noche, que llaman aqui serenata," 344–45, I erroneously interpreted "disposta da" to signify that Fede was the composer; I offer my deepest gratitude to Arnaldo Morelli for suggesting otherwise.

¹²⁷ See Morelli, *La virtù in corte, passim*; Carolyn Gianturco, "Cristina di Svezia scenarista per Alessandro Stradella," in *Convegno internazionale Cristina di Svezia e la musica*, ed. Bruno Cagli (Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1998), 64; Remo Giazotto, *Quattro secoli di storia dell'Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, 1970), 169 and *passim*; De Luca, *The Politics*, 188, 223, 226, 229, 321, 332; Tamburini, *Due teatri*, 38–39, 187, notes that Fede lived in the Colonna household in 1669.

¹²⁸ I-Rcns, Obra Pía de Santiago, N.III.1137, "Libro de recividas de las mesadas que se dan a los Músicos, desde primero de Henero de este año de 1668," indicates that Giuseppe Fede sang in the chapel from at least 1668, and served as acting maestro di cappella at San Giacomo degli Spagnoli beginning in 1682; see the summary in Jean Lionnet, "La musique à San Giacomo degli Spagnoli et les archives de la Congrégation des Espagnols de Rome," in *La musica a Roma attraverso le fonti d'archivio*, ed. Bianca Maria Antolini, Arnaldo Morelli, and Vera Vita Spagnuolo (Lucca: LIM, 1994), 479–506.

Example 2.1 Anon. [Alessandro Scarlatti?] strophe 1, “Perché chiaro rimbombi il gran nome,” GB-Lam MS 128, pp. 27–40.

The musical score is written for Tromba and La Fama in 3/8 time, key of D major. It consists of three systems of staves.

- System 1:** The Tromba part (top staff) begins with a melodic line: a half note D4, quarter notes E4, F4, G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, quarter note C5, quarter note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, quarter note F4, quarter note E4. The La Fama part (bottom staff) has a bass line: a half note D3, quarter notes E3, F3, G3, quarter note A3, quarter note B3, quarter note C4, quarter note B3, quarter note A3, quarter note G3, quarter note F3, quarter note E3.
- System 2:** Starts at measure 4. The Tromba part continues: quarter notes D4, E4, F4, G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, quarter note C5, quarter note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, quarter note F4, quarter note E4. A piano (*p*) dynamic marking is placed below the staff. The La Fama part continues: quarter notes D3, E3, F3, G3, quarter note A3, quarter note B3, quarter note C4, quarter note B3, quarter note A3, quarter note G3, quarter note F3, quarter note E3.
- System 3:** Starts at measure 8. The Tromba part continues: quarter notes D4, E4, F4, G4, quarter note A4, quarter note B4, quarter note C5, quarter note B4, quarter note A4, quarter note G4, quarter note F4, quarter note E4. The La Fama part continues: quarter notes D3, E3, F3, G3, quarter note A3, quarter note B3, quarter note C4, quarter note B3, quarter note A3, quarter note G3, quarter note F3, quarter note E3.

Example 2.1 Continued

12

p *f*

p *f*

16

Per - ché chia - ro rim -

20

bom - bi_il gran no - me,

24

per - ché chia - ro rim - bom - bi_il gran no - me

•

Detailed description: This musical score is for Example 2.1 Continued, spanning measures 12 to 24. It features a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The score is divided into four systems. The first system (measures 12-15) shows the vocal line starting with a whole note G4, followed by rests. The piano accompaniment consists of eighth-note patterns in the right hand and quarter-note patterns in the left hand, with dynamics *p* and *f* alternating. The second system (measures 16-19) contains the lyrics 'Per - ché chia - ro rim -'. The vocal line has a melodic line with a fermata on the final note. The piano accompaniment continues with similar rhythmic patterns. The third system (measures 20-23) contains the lyrics 'bom - bi_il gran no - me,'. The vocal line has a melodic line with a fermata on the final note. The piano accompaniment continues. The fourth system (measures 24-27) contains the lyrics 'per - ché chia - ro rim - bom - bi_il gran no - me'. The vocal line has a melodic line with a fermata on the final note. The piano accompaniment continues. The score ends with a double bar line and a fermata symbol.

Example 2.1 Continued

28

del - la de - a che d'I - be - ria è il_ de - si - re,

32

del - la de - a che d'I - be - ria è il_ de -

35

si - re. Fe - bo vuo - le che sian le sue

39

chio - me au - ree cor - de, au - ree

43

cor - - - - de di mu - si - che

Example 2.1 Continued

47

li - re, au - ree cor - de di mu - si - che

51

li - re. Fe - bo vuo - le che sian le sue

55

chio - me au - ree cor - - -

59

- de di mu - si - che li - re, au - ree

Example 2.1 Continued

63

cor - de di mu - si - che li - re.

67

The musical score consists of two systems of staves. The first system (measures 63-66) features a vocal line with lyrics and a basso continuo line. The second system (measures 67-70) continues the vocal and basso continuo parts. The key signature is G major (one sharp) and the time signature is 3/4. The vocal line includes the lyrics "cor - de di mu - si - che li - re." and "re." at the end of the second system.

as early as July 1680, when “the Fedes” surprised Carpio with an impromptu serenata at the Palazzo di Spagna, hoping to earn his patronage.¹²⁹

Carpio’s 1681 serenata featured rising stars capable of innovative performance. The nickname “El Boloñez” clearly points to Arcangelo Corelli, who surely played in and led the large orchestra with at least seventy players (the number seventy is mentioned in one account from the Cartari-Febei documents in Rome),¹³⁰ and whose “sinfonia di molti strumenti” opened the entertainment before the first entry of *La Fama* (“dopo una sinfonia di molti strumenti così canta la Fama”) and

¹²⁹ E-PAbm, *Avisos de Roma*, tomo 10, fol. 394, 31 July 1680: “Li musici Fede che per esser vecchi nell’arte sanno i colpi sicuri conoscendo la generosità dall’Ambasciatore di Spagna andarono domenica sera a cantarli una bella serenata sotto il suo Palazzo dove concorre gran quantità di popolo, benché la Piazza di Spagna non abbia il concorso che aveva gli altri anni.”

¹³⁰ See Morelli, “La musica a Roma,” 130.

then closed the serenata. Corelli's ascension in Rome took place during Carpio's time there. He was almost certainly the "violino bolognese" who played in the instrumental ensemble at San Giacomo degli Spagnoli for the all-important feast day of the saint in July of 1677, a service that Carpio naturally would have attended as the newly installed Spanish ambassador.¹³¹ He surely also heard Corelli's performances when he was invited to events by members of the nobility who became the composer's chief patrons, and seems to have known other violinists who performed with Corelli in Rome. Carlo Ambrogio Lonati and Carlo Manelli played for several years in the instrumental ensemble for major feast days at San Giacomo degli Spagnoli.¹³² Lonati (c. 1645–c. 1710–15), a well-known Milanese singer, violin virtuoso, and the leader of instrumental music for Queen Christina in Rome before Corelli, had served in the Spanish orbit as a violinist in the Spanish Royal Chapel at Naples.¹³³ A Spanish *memorial* of 29 November 1678 explains that Lonati went to Madrid from Milan in 1678 as requested by the king but stayed for only a few months before he was granted permission to return to Italy.¹³⁴ Carpio was likely involved in facilitating Lonati's travel to Madrid.

Carpio's serenata occurred during a formative period for Corelli's innovative Roman orchestra. The first document mentioning Corelli's presence in Rome dates from 1675; he was appointed musician to Queen Christina only in 1679, a scant two years prior to this serenata.¹³⁵ It is thus significant that Carpio's 1681 serenata employed the Corelli orchestra in a new way (this has not been noted previously by scholars listing the orchestra's major early performances). Carpio's serenata was among the very first public musical displays of its kind in Rome and offered a valuable public platform for Corelli's talent. It was even more ingenious in its splashy deployment of the ensemble and virtuoso soloists with surprising

¹³¹ Corelli's participation is noted in Lionnet, "La musique à San Giacomo degli Spagnoli," 492.

¹³² Lionnet, "La musique à San Giacomo degli Spagnoli," 492.

¹³³ On Lonati's music, see Peter C. Allsop, "Problems of Ascription in the Roman Sinfonia of the Late Seventeenth Century: Colista and Lonati," *The Music Review* 50 (1989): 34–44; Peter C. Allsop, *The Italian "Trio" Sonata from Its Origins until Corelli* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); Peter C. Allsop, "Le simfonie a 3 di Carlo Ambrogio Lonati," in *Seicento inesplorato. L'evento musicale tra prassi e stile*, ed. Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi, and Maurizio Padoan (Como: Antiquae Musicae Italicae Studiosi, 1993), 21–43; and Norbert Dubowy, "Lonati, Carlo Ambrogio," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), 15:89–90; and Norbert Dubowy, "Lonati, Carlo Ambrogio," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 65 (Treccani, 2005–), [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/carlo-ambrogio-lonati_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/carlo-ambrogio-lonati_(Dizionario-Biografico)).

¹³⁴ Lonati performed in the Royal Chapel in Naples between 1665 and 1667; he appeared as the comic Lesbo in the November 1667 Naples production of *Scipione Africano* (Francesco Cavalli); see the libretto I-Bu A.V.Tab.I.F.III.41.2, and front matter given in Sartori 21268. A document in E-Mpa, Capilla Real, Caja 139, contradicts Dubowy, "Lonati, Carlo Ambrogio," 89–90, by making clear that if Lonati was in Genoa as impresario and composer at the Teatro del Falcone for the 1677–78 season, he likely departed Genoa sooner. See also [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/carlo-ambrogio-lonati_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/carlo-ambrogio-lonati_(Dizionario-Biografico)).

¹³⁵ Spitzer and Zaslav, *The Birth of the Orchestra*, 116.

visual effects than the events with French sponsorship routinely emphasized by scholars.¹³⁶

One of Corelli's surviving pieces from this period might well represent what was performed as the opening "sinfonia" before the entrance of La Fama. Corelli's "sonata" in D major for trumpet, two violins, and basso continuo (WoO 4) matches the instrumental scoring of the 1681 serenata and seems within the composer's style for this early date. Corelli's only work for solo trumpet, it seems to have circulated widely in manuscript copies.¹³⁷ One extant manuscript labels its parts with the title "Sinfonia a. 4 2 violini Tromba e Basso A. Corelli."¹³⁸ Another Corelli piece in G minor for strings and basso continuo (WoO2) is notated on the verso pages of the four loose leaves containing this D-major trumpet "sinfonia," and its notation contains designations for "soli," "solo," and "tutti" of the sort that would apply to a concerto or sinfonia for a Corellian orchestra, rather than the chamber instrumentation of a simple trio sonata. These designations on the verso pages reinforce my contention that the D-major "sonata" (WoO 4) with trumpet was performed as a large-ensemble piece in the manner of a sinfonia. It would make a particularly fitting sinfonia to open Carpio's 1681 serenata.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Spitzer and Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra*, do not mention Carpio's serenata at all.

¹³⁷ John Wallace and Alexander McGrattan, *The Trumpet* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012), 122–23.

¹³⁸ GB-Ob, Tenbury MS 1312; see Hans Joachim Marx, ed., *Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der musikalischen Werke Arcangelo Corellis* (Cologne: A. Volk Verlag, 1976), 5:44–50, with critical notes and source information, 112–14.

¹³⁹ In his paper for the Nineteenth Biennial International Conference on Baroque Music, Birmingham, UK, 15 July 2021, Peter Holman identified the violinist and composer John Lenton (1657–1719) as the copyist of GB-Ob, Tenbury MS 1312. Lenton most likely copied the two Corelli pieces from a Roman manuscript dating before 1692 and designated each as "sinfonia" based on his experience of their performance. Holman has confirmed that the watermark on these four sheets indicates that the paper was not English, while the musical content would suggest that they are relatively early Corelli works. He has suggested that the manuscript may have been carried to England by musicians in the Earl of Castlemaine's 1686–87 embassy to Innocent XI on behalf of James II. See Peter Holman, "Corelli in the London Theatres: John Lenton, Tenbury MS 1312 and the English Reception of WoO 2 and WoO 4," in *Essays in Honour of Margaret Crum*, *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal* 16 (2022): 66–89. My as yet unpublished research suggests additional possibilities: any among the Italian musicians sent to London to serve in the Catholic chapel of Maria Beatrice d'Este (James II's queen) might have carried the Corelli pieces to London. Francesco II, Duke of Modena, was a devoted fan of Corelli's music. During his 1686 visit to Rome, a group of "celebri musici destinati al viaggio d'Inghilterra per la cappella della Regina" performed in Rome on 6 December 1686 just prior to their departure for London (I-MOs, *Ambasciatori Esteri*, Roma 306, report of Guglielmo Codebò). Another likely trajectory for the manuscript might be the journey to London of castrato Giovanni Francesco Grossi and his colleague, the composer and violinist Carlo Ambrogio Lonati, who arrived at the English court in January 1687. The Castlemaine embassy and its musical events are recounted in John Michael Wright, *Raggiungimento della solenne comparsa, fatta in Roma gli otto di Gennaio 1687 del Conte di Castelmaine, ambasciadore di Giacomo secondo, re d' Inghilterra, in andare pubblicamente all' udienza del papa Innocenzo XI* (Rome: Domenico Antonio Ercole, 1687) and John Michael Wright, *An Account of His Excellence Roger Earl of Castlemaine's Embassy from His Sacred Majesty James the IInd, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland & to His Holiness Innocent XI* (London: Tho. Snowden for the Author, 1688); see also Margery Corbett, "John Michael Wright, An Account of His Excellence Roger Earl of Castlemaine's Embassy from His Sacred Majesty James the IInd, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland & to His Holiness Innocent XI," *The Antiquaries Journal* 70 (1990): 117–20.

The vocal music for this August 1681 serenata, preserved anonymously, was almost certainly composed by Scarlatti. The designation “disposto da Giuseppe Fedè” in one of the printed libretti was likely meant to recognize Fedè as the helpful organizer who brought together the large number of musicians and singers required for the performance. This organizational feat was in keeping with Fedè’s other well-known activity. As was typical of the genre, this serenata unfolds with a series of short recitatives and distinctive arias. The recitatives mostly close with illustrative cavate that emphasize specific words in the allegorical poetry or allude to the occasion. The recitative “Quanto il mondo a voi deve,” sung by La Fama to introduce the seventh aria, alludes to the Spanish king as “Giove Ispano,” points to the monarchy as “l’Eroica maestà del genio Ibero,” and mentions Carpio as “famoso Gaspar.” The aria, “Perché de suoi fasti / il suono rimbomba,” begins with a ringing echo effect by means of alternating dynamic levels when sudden loud chords are sounded by the basso continuo. The recitative for Tebro and Fama before the ninth aria (Pace’s allegro “S’invola pur, s’invola / ogni stupor da tè”) alludes to the Duke of Medinaceli as “dell’Atlante Ispano l’altera Prole / di Cerda e d’Aragona honore” and the Queen as “Maria Luigia,” “sol di bellezza.” Pace’s final aria, “Vada pur il Gange altero / d’ingemmar la cuna al sol,” is beautifully lyrical, unfolding a poetic metaphor in praise of the queen’s beauty. The strikingly direct, economical musical content of the arias (listed in Table 2.1) points to Scarlatti, with pervasive bass ostinati, propulsive bass figures, brilliant counterpoint, illustrative text settings in the vocal lines, and rich harmony with occasionally unusual harmonic shifts.

With Corelli, Fedè, Paoluccio, and Scarlatti, as well as the dramatist De Totis and the engineer and visual artist Philipp Schor, Carpio brought together a collaborative team from among the best artists in Rome in 1681. A stunning musical performance emerged from an elegant visual display created by Schor that featured enormous flaming emblems of the Spanish monarchy, castles for “Castilla” and lions for “León.” But music also poured forth an audibly explicit musical reference to Spain and to Spanish taste and tradition (though this is not explained in the published descriptions). The strophic aria for La Pace, “Lieta prole di regii sponsali / ristoro de’ mali / la Pace son io. / Cinta il crine d’olive feconde / del Tebro alle sponde / festoso m’invio,” is none other than an *españolito* (see Example 2.2). Among the “revered old tunes and dances” (“tañidos y danzas antiguas”), the *españolito* was particularly associated in Spain with occasions in honor of “their majesties and other princes,” as explained in the 1641 dance treatise by Esquivel Navarro.¹⁴⁰ Scarlatti’s use of this dance in the serenata for the Queen of Spain’s nameday was especially appropriate. When La Pace sang this

¹⁴⁰ Juan de Esquivel Navarro, *Discursos sobre el arte del danzado, y sus excelencias* (Seville: Juan Gómez de Blas, 1642), fol. 38.

air, Peace came forth clothed in a majestic Spanish dance, one everyone present could identify as both majestic and Spanish.

Seventeenth-century sources mostly preserve this dance-tune as the subject of *diferencias* for instrumental performance, but at least one other vocal-music setting of the *españolita* survives.¹⁴¹ The *españolita* surfaces as the principal material for “Serafín que, con dulce armonía,” an eight-part Christmas *villancico* for two choirs and basso continuo by Joan Cererols (1618–76), a monk at the monastery of Montserrat in Catalonia. This piece unfolds with eight solo strophes or coplas in the vernacular, the *españolita* illustrating the comforting presence of the angel or “serafín” of peace who watches over the birth and suffering of the Christ.¹⁴² Comparing this *villancico* to La Pace’s Roman aria, it becomes clear that the composer in Rome adapted the tune and harmony of the *españolita*, smoothing out the melody and shaping it into a tuneful aria while decorating the bass line, enlivening the harmonic rhythm, and modernizing bass and harmony slightly, so that the aria is gilded with Roman contemporaneity. While this arrangement sheds the pristine, antique quality of the *españolita* to some extent (a quality retained in Cererols’ *villancico*), the tune’s identity still rings out proudly to sustain the allegory, surrounded by the torches burning with the royal symbols of Castilla and León. This coordination among musical, visual, and political symbols was Carpio’s trademark, and his message of personal elegance, national grandeur, and obeisant service to the crown surely echoed after the last torch was extinguished. This serenata claimed physical, visual, and aural space by inhabiting all of the piazza, lighting up the night sky over Rome, and filling the air with thrilling music. The expansiveness of this presentation is especially significant within Carpio’s battle to expand the *quartiere spagnolo* and retain its immunity from papal power.¹⁴³ Carpio described this serenata in a letter to the duke of Medinaceli as having “all possible luster,” explaining that his intention had been to garner respect for the crown and dignify his own position as Spanish ambassador (in the face of negative campaigns by the French).¹⁴⁴ Perhaps Carpio himself suggested that the composer build La Pace’s aria from the *españolita*. In the course of

¹⁴¹ Esses, *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias in Spain*, 2:138–64, gives a nearly complete catalogue of extant Spanish settings of the *españolita* for guitar, harp, and keyboard.

¹⁴² Preserved in E-Bc, MS Mus. 748; see David Pujol, ed., *Joan Cererols, Mestres de l’Escolania de Montserrat* (Montserrat: Monestir de Montserrat, 1930–1932), 2:73–87. My thanks to Hénar Álvarez for helping me to locate the manuscript in Barcelona.

¹⁴³ Anselmi, “El marqués del Carpio y el barrio,” 566–69; Maximiliano Barrio Gozalo, “El barrio de la embajada de España en Roma en la segunda mitad del siglo XVII,” *Hispania, Revista Española de Historia* 67 (2007): 993–1024; Barrio Gozalo, “El barrio de la embajada,” 1002, also explains how, beginning in the 1660s, the rival French and Spanish ambassadors exploited outdoor festivities such as serenades to demonstrate their claims.

¹⁴⁴ E-PABm, *Embajada de Roma*, tomo 53, Rome, 27 August 1681, letter from Carpio to Medinaceli.

Table 2.1 Music for Carpiòs 1681 Serenata in GB–Lam MS 128

	Pages in GB- Lam, MS 128	Character and aria incipit	Notes
1	25–40	FAMA “Perché chiaro rimbombi / il gran nome”	$\frac{3}{2}$, D major, aria with trumpet and strings, two strophes
2	43–54	FAMA “Risplende sul Tago con luce novella”	$\frac{4}{4}$, E minor, adagio, strings, two strophes, ostinato in bass
3	55–59	PACE “Lieta prole di regi sponsali / ristoro de mali”	$\frac{3}{4}$, A minor, begins voice and basso continuo only; strings enter with the ritornello after the first vocal statement; two strophes; this is a setting of the “Españoleta” tune and pattern
4	60–68	TEBRO “Quei rivi d’argento”	$\frac{3}{4}$, D minor, melismatic aria for baritone with strings; the melismatic figure painting the text is traded among parts to represent the river Tebro; note the ostinato figures in the bass line
5	68–75	FAMA and PACE “Bella madre di Cupido / dea di Gnido”	$\frac{3}{4}$, A minor, duet, allegro and short adagio section, ritornello at close; includes concitato for “cedi vinta alla dea ch’ Iberia adora”; energetic bass line
6	76–92	TEBRO “Zeffiri alati / tepidi fiati”	$\frac{3}{4}$, G major, allegro; special string scoring “Qui suonano 4 violini soli e due violette”; for baritone, both melismas and long-sustained notes; two strophes; ostinato figure with eighth and quarter notes
7	95–97	FAMA “Perché de suoi fasti / il suono rimbomba”	$\frac{4}{4}$, C major, allegro, voice and basso continuo only; begins with striking echo effects in the basso continuo; aria is followed by a four-measure string ritornello
8	98–112	PACE “Vada pur il Gange altero / d’ingemmar la cuna al sol”	$\frac{4}{4}$, F major, adagio, with strings, written out da capo aria with a substantial B section; two strophes (each is da capo), and a dal segno to begin the second strophe
9	114–116	PACE “S’involi pur, s’involi ogni stupor da tè”	Recitative, allegro, with political references in the poetic text
10	117–121	FAMA, PACE, TEBRO “No, che stupor non è / che un regno di più mondi”	$\frac{4}{4}$, D major, adagio, with strings and trumpet; marked “violini” and “Tromba”; basso continuo line marked “tutti”

Example 2.2 Anon. [Alessandro Scarlatti?] strophe 1, “Lieta prole di regi sponsali”
GB-Lam MS 128, pp. 55-59.

La Pace

Lie-ta pro - le di re - gi spon - sa - li ri - sto-ro de'
 ma-li la Pa-ce son io, lie-ta pro - le di re - gi spon - sa - li ri -
 sto-ro de' ma-li la Pa-ce son io. Cin-ta_il cri - ne d'o - li - ve fe -
 con-de del Te-bro_al-le spon-de fe - sto - sa m'in - vi - o, cin-ta_il
 cri - ne d'o - li - ve fe - con-de del Te-bro_al-le spon-de fe - sto - sa m'in -
 vi - o, fe - sto - - - - - sa, fe -

Example 2.2 Continued

38

sto - sa m'in - vi - o, del Te - bro_al - le spon - de fe - sto - sa m'in - vio.

44

50

Non più Mar - te vi

56

producing this serenata, Carpio was in touch with his colleague Villagarcía (in Venice) who flattered him and advised that he rely on his own innate creativity. If Carpio allowed his usual generosity and style (“buen aire”) to flow forth, the serenata was certain to be elegantly endowed.¹⁴⁵

The 1681 serenata enhanced Carpio’s reputation among aristocratic peers and reaped dividends in popular acclaim for his image as a generous representative of the monarchy. A letter sent to Venice and attributed to Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni explains that Carpio’s festivities began “several evenings” before August 25, with “gatherings with a great number of ladies, commoners, and coaches . . . the ambassador, having furnished oil and lights at considerable expense to all the artisans, has all the houses in the piazza illuminated at his expense and beverages and refreshments given to the princesses, ladies, and cavaliers.”¹⁴⁶ So many carriages were parked in and around the piazza and in the streets leading up to it that disturbances “have arisen at these crowded gatherings, and the Apostolic palace has gently informed the ambassador that he should cease . . . which he has promised to do after the feast of San Luigi” (the nameday of the queen).¹⁴⁷

In the many notices about this serenata, Carpio’s sponsorship is described as more generous and his results as more spectacular than others that season or from the recent past. This was a hugely expensive production with unusual musical and visual effects (not to mention the refreshments that Carpio distributed to the musicians and the audience).¹⁴⁸ It drew enormous crowds to the very portals of the Palazzo di Spagna, appealing both to Roman ladies and to commoners, while enhancing Carpio’s reputation as an effective ambassador of peace and goodwill. The excitement it generated, and the chance for social display, was such that Lorenza de la Cerda chose not to view and listen to the music from the special seating that Carpio had arranged for her inside the Palazzo

¹⁴⁵ “Villagarcía, Correspondencia diplomática,” vol. 9, E-Mn, MS 7946, fol. 509, 23 August 1681, Venice, letter from Villagarcía to Carpio in Rome: “Menester es que Vuestra Excelencia se acuerde de que es marqués del Carpio y se olvide de ser embajador para manifestar tan llenos efectos de su generosidad como se han visto en la fiesta de San Roque, que no dudo sería suntuosa, ni que tendría el granito de sal que no ha faltado nunca a todas las [fiestas] en que Vuestra Excelencia ha puesto la mano, lo que toca al buen aire no me hace novedad, y solo pudiera extrañar lo contrario a quien conoce a Vuestra Excelencia, en cuya licencia para volver a su casa es cierto que se habla pero el fundamento con que corre la voz solo Vuestra Excelencia puede saberle.”

¹⁴⁶ Griffin, “The Late Baroque Serenata,” 82, quoted with translation from I-Vas, *Dispacci degli ambasciatori al senato*, Roma, f. 194.

¹⁴⁷ Griffin, “The Late Baroque Serenata,” 82.

¹⁴⁸ Refreshments are noted in E-PAbm, *Avisos de Roma*, tomo 13, fol. 217r, 2 August 1681 and elsewhere. Details about the expenses are lacking; one avviso suggests 4,000 scudi; and at least 482 scudi were spent on “el gasto de las luminarias y serenata,” according to a 1681 list of “gastos secretos de esta embajada de Roma” in E-SIM, *Estado*, Legs. 3065 and 3318, transcribed in Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, Apéndice, 2:263–68. V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 6420, *Avvisi* of 1679, fols. 307–8, 311v–312v; an avviso dated 26 August 1679 clarifies that Carpio previously had planned an earlier large-scale fiesta for the new queen’s nameday, with “spesa di 8,000 scudi,” until papal permission was withdrawn.

di Spagna, but preferred to remain outside in her carriage, on the excuse that she would be closer to the singers onstage and better able to hear the words.¹⁴⁹ Among the disturbances said to be caused by the piling up of carriages, two gentlemen found themselves in dispute with raised voices and drawn swords, but “the ambassador quickly intervened in person and made peace, and the next morning he invited them to dine with him in order to consolidate the peace and harmony between them.”¹⁵⁰ Here Carpio is framed as the effective peacemaker creating order from the chaos of conflict—he is described just as he hoped to be. In the eyes of his contemporaries, Carpio could be identified as *La Pace* personified.

Patron and Protector in Rome

Of the musicians involved in the 1681 serenata, only Fede and Corelli remained in Rome for the duration of their careers. Corelli was fully supported by Benedetto Pamphili and Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, as is well known. Many other musicians who emerged in Rome around 1680 left the city to forge careers with more stable employment elsewhere, among them Alessandro Scarlatti and the singer Paoluccio. These two, at the top of their profession in Rome, were hired into Carpio’s musical establishment in Naples, most likely because it offered their best hope for continuous, lucrative employment.

It seems likely that Carpio had offered Scarlatti protection in Rome well before the move to Naples. As far as is known, Scarlatti had arrived in Rome from Palermo with his mother and siblings in 1672. In April 1678 his marriage to Antonia Maria Vittoria Anzaloni was registered in Rome. Scarlatti’s relationship with Carpio flowed from his origin as a Sicilian because Sicily was a Spanish viceroyalty. The activities of the Sicilian confraternity in Rome, the “Archiconfraternità della Madonna d’Itria detta di Costantinopoli, della Nazione Siciliana abitante in Roma,” also known as the confraternity of Santa Maria Odigitria, were relevant to the Spanish especially during the revolt in Messina, which was supported by French troops that withdrew finally in January 1679. Carpio attended the celebration of the feast of the Madonna di Costantinopoli at the corresponding church in June 1680, when it was decorated with “tapestries

¹⁴⁹ In response, Carpio moved the seating he had prepared for her out into the piazza, according to E-PABm, *Avisos de Roma*, tomo 13, fol. 217r, 2 August 1681: “La Principessa Colonna, che andò ad udire la detta serenata e che fu invitata dal detto ambasciatore nel suo palazzo, dove gli aveva preparato il palchetto, essa col solito brio Spagnuolo mandò a ringraziarlo, dicendo che per udire più da vicino le parole della musica voleva restare in carrozza; ma il detto Ambasciatore ordinò che fosse portato il detto palchetto così adottato nella piazza, dove sali colla sua compagnia, e fu mandata poi a regalare, oltre una quantità di rinfreschi.”

¹⁵⁰ Griffin, “The Late Baroque Serenata,” 82.

and paintings by famous painters.”¹⁵¹ And when Carpio requested that the confraternity organize a festivity to honor the marriage of Carlos II and Marie-Louise d’Orleans, Scarlatti, in attendance as a member of the confraternity, offered “to make the music for the mass in that celebration, not only at his own cost and without any payment at all, but to make it very solemn and replete with perfect virtuosi.”¹⁵² If Scarlatti offered his services and those of other musicians without cost, it was because he knew Carpio would fully repay such generosity. Similarly, Scarlatti and his peers also performed without compensation and on their own initiative for Queen Christina in September 1680, demonstrating gratitude for her protection with a surprise serenata in the courtyard of her palace.¹⁵³

Given his deep commitment to family and constant lament about his own paucity of offspring, Carpio would have been entirely sympathetic to Scarlatti, a Spanish subject with several young children to support. Scarlatti enjoyed the favor of Queen Christina and sought the support of other well-placed patrons but seems to have been dissatisfied financially and temperamentally with his church positions and too-modest income (from December 1678 until November 1682 as maestro di cappella at the church of S. Giacomo degli Incurabili, and then at S. Girolamo della Carità from November 1682). Other encounters between Scarlatti and Carpio probably occurred between 1679 and 1681, in addition to the composer’s work on the 1681 serenata. In April 1679, Alessandro, his wife Antonia, his infant son Pietro, his brother Francesco, his mother Eleonora, a widow named Maddalena (probably his mother in law?), and a servant lived in a building that belonged to the great sculptor Cavaliere Gian Lorenzo Bernini,

¹⁵¹ V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 6422, fol. 277, 15 June 1680.

¹⁵² Ziino, “Alessandro Scarlatti ‘Proveditor di chiesa,’” 211–23; Ziino (218–19), suggests that Carpio may have been named Primicerio of the confraternity from 1680. The quotation is my translation of extracts from documents in the archive of L’Arciconfraternita di S. Maria Odigitria dei siciliani first published in Giuseppe M. Croce, *L’Arciconfraternita di S. Maria Odigitria dei siciliani in Roma: profilo storico, 1593–1970* (Rome: Istituto nazionale di studi romani, 1994), 53–54, and Ziino, “Alessandro Scarlatti ‘Proveditor di chiesa,’” 221–22, that read as follows: “Dal Ecc.mo Sig. Ambasciatore di Spagna s’è inteso il desiderio che tiene [cut].si faccia demonstratione d’allegrezza p. il Matrimonio di S. M.tà [only a few words readable]” [B. 5, registro 23, f. 32/r.] “Pocchia il Sig. Alessandro Scarlatti maestro di Cappella della Maestà di Svezia si esibisce fare la musica per le messe in detta funtione, non solo a proprie spese e senza rico[mpensazio] ne alcuna, ma farla solennissima e colma di perfettissimi virtuosi.” B. 5, registro 23, f. 32/r. José María Domínguez, “Scarlatti, Alessandro,” in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome: Treccani, 2018) 91:339, provides a fuller reading of this essential document: “e perché. si ritrova la Chiesa esausta e poco abile, a simile spesa il sig. Alessandro Scarlatti maestro di cappella della Maest. di Svezia si esibisce fare la musica per la messa in detta funzione non solo a proprie spese e senza ricompensa alcuna, ma farla solennissima colma di perfettissimi virtuosi.”

¹⁵³ E-PABm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 11, fol. 12, 4 September 1680; this notice directly follows the notice given above concerning Queen Christina’s delight after “comici di Capranica” had decided to produce an opera by Scarlatti (*Tutto il mal che vien, non vien per nuocere*) instead of one by Pasquini.

whose son Filippo Bernini had served as godfather in 1679 to Scarlatti's first child, Pietro. Sometime before the annual census taken in the parish of Sant'Andrea delle Frate two years later on 18 March 1681, the Scarlatti family had moved out of the Bernini property and relocated to Strada Felice, within the jurisdiction of the Spanish ambassador and close to the embassy. The census lists Alessandro Scarlatti, his wife, new baby Benedetto, sister-in-law, Anna, and the substitution of brother Giuseppe for Francesco. The census a year later (15 March 1682) lists the Scarlatti family with yet another new baby, Raimondo, again at "Vicolo di Porta Pinciana, Strada Felice" as well.¹⁵⁴ The Scarlatti family thus lived within the area designated as the quartiere spagnolo, ruled by Carpio as the Spanish ambassador and exempt from papal jurisdiction. The Scarlattis resided in what was likely a newer building during a period in which Carpio was especially vigorous, pushing back against pressure exerted by Pope Innocent XI to annul all the diplomatic privileges and take control of the ambassadorial areas. The pope's plan was to cancel the special status or immunity of the diplomatic zones, on the excuse that they had become the refuge of prostitutes, gamblers, and hoodlums.¹⁵⁵ The immunity of the Spanish ambassador's zone was particularly inviting to prostitutes, in part because the area had been home to their profession before the construction of the Palazzo di Spagna there earlier in the century, but also because the Piazza di Spagna was located not far from the Porta del Popolo, the area most densely provided with hostels and temporary lodging for newly arrived visitors.¹⁵⁶ One of Alessandro Scarlatti's sisters apparently seduced and contracted a scandalous marriage to a cleric in 1679, and this perhaps led the authorities to take a dim view of Alessandro. The avvisi report that the composer "ha un notevole pregiudizio con la Corte del Vicario per un matrimonio fatto alla macchia da sua sorella con un chierico,"¹⁵⁷ though it is unclear to what extent he was threatened or found his opportunities reduced. The boisterous success of *Gli equivoco nel sembiante* in February 1679 further irritated the pope but galvanized Scarlatti's protectors;

¹⁵⁴ I-Rvic (Archivio Storico del Vicariato), Stati d'Anime, Sant'Andrea delle Frate, Registro delle anime, vol. 67 (1676, 1677), vol. 67 (1678), vol. 71 (1682–83).

¹⁵⁵ Anselmi, "El marqués del Carpio y el barrio," 566–69.

¹⁵⁶ Barrio Gozalo, "El barrio de la embajada," 993–1024, 997.

¹⁵⁷ Ademollo, *I teatri di Roma*, 157–58; Edward J. Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti: his Life and Works*, ed. Frank Walker (Arnold: London, 1960) 24, 239–40; Roberto Pagano and Lino Bianchi, *Alessandro Scarlatti* (Torino: Edizioni RAI, 1972) 46–47; D'Accone, *The History of a Baroque Opera*, 12, 158; Roberto Pagano, "Alla ricerca della vera 'Scarlatti,'" *Studi musicali* n.s. 6 (2015): 131–33; Caroline Giron-Panel, "Si elige Alessandro Scarlotti per nostro mastro di cappella: informations inédites sur la chapelle musicale de San Giacomo degli Incurabili," in *La musique à Rome au XVIIIe siècle: études et perspectives de recherche*, ed. Caroline Giron-Panel and Anne-Madeleine Goulet (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2012), 111. Often overlooked is the fact that Anna Maria Scarlatti sang the role of Emilia (seconda donna) in a strong cast including Giovanni Francesco Grossi, Francesco Ballerini, Francesco di Castris, and others in Pietro Simone Agostini's *Il ratto delle Sabine* (libretto by Giacomo Francesco Bussani) at the Teatro Grimani in Venice in 1680, as noted in the libretto, I-MOe, 90.D.02 (4), p. 9; Sartori 19542.

Queen Christina recognized a threat and acted swiftly to protect him.¹⁵⁸ Carpio seems to have offered his protection as well, since the composer moved his family to Strada Felice within the quartiere spagnolo, into an apartment in a building owned and occupied by the architect Mattia de Rossi.¹⁵⁹ Carpio's close engagement with the artists and architects in the circle of Bernini surely facilitated the transfer of the Scarlatti family into the safety of the quartiere.¹⁶⁰ Figure 2.4 shows an outline of Carpio's Spanish quarter in 1683.

Sometime after the 1682 census (15 March) but before the 1683 census (30 March), the Scarlatti family had cleared out of their lodgings on Strada Felice and moved to Strada Paolina, where they lived until sometime between 11 March 1684 and their move to Naples. Their relocation to Strada Paulina happened just at the same time that the residence of the Spanish ambassador was reduced to only a caretaking staff because Carpio had relocated to Naples with his household.¹⁶¹ Immediately following Carpio's departure for Naples (2 January), bailiffs swept through the streets of the Spanish quarter on 16 January 1683 at the Pope's orders, hunting down anyone suspected of illegal activity, harassing, arresting, and jailing people who had been protected prior to Carpio's departure by his resistance to papal intervention.¹⁶² Absent Carpio, the immunity of the quarter was dissolved—an affront to the Spanish monarchy.

¹⁵⁸ D'Accone, *The History of a Baroque Opera*, 11–30, describes and documents the collaboration of the Bernini brothers and the architect Contini in producing *Gli equivoci nel sembiante*, its success, the disturbances caused by its popularity, the machinations of Queen Christina and a number of others on behalf of Scarlatti and against the pope's attempts to entirely prevent theatrical performances; the pope's distress at the participation of chapel singers and the fact that they collected earnings from the tickets sold to private performances; and an avviso of 15 February 1679, provided in Pagano and Bianchi, *Alessandro Scarlatti*, 46–47, explains that Queen Christina sent one of her carriages to bring Scarlatti safely to the theater for one of the performances.

¹⁵⁹ Rossi was Bernini's "intimate though not very gifted pupil," who nevertheless wielded considerable influence in Rome at the time, according to Rudolf Wittkower, "Carlo Rainaldi and the Roman Architecture of the Full Baroque," *The Art Bulletin* 19 (1937): 268; Irving Lavin, "Bernini's Death," *The Art Bulletin* 54 (1972): 162, 186. Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 406–8, 494, describes the close relationship between Carpio and the Bernini circle.

¹⁶⁰ Rossi's influence as principal architect to Benedetto Pamphili, another of Scarlatti's new patrons, may also be relevant; Carpio and Pamphili shared many interests, and both drew the pope's ire. Concerning Rossi and Pamphili, see Alessandra Anselmi, "De Rossi, Matthia," in "Notizie degli architetti attivi a Roma tra il 1680 e il 1750," in *In Urbe Architectus. La professione dell'architetto, Roma 1680–1750*, ed. Bruno Cantardi and Giovanna Curcio (Rome: Argos Edizioni, 1991), 357–60. In January 1678, Benedetto Pamphili had angered the pope by ignoring his request that private theatrical performances be given only to audiences segregated by gender so that ladies and men would attend on alternate nights; one of the operas sponsored by Pamphili was deemed scandalous because it presented chapel singers singing in women's clothes: see Ademollo, *I teatri di Roma*, 152, and Filippo Clementi, *Il carnevale romano nelle cronache contemporanee dalle origini al secolo XVII*, 2nd ed. (Città del Castello: Edizioni R.O.R.E.-Niruf, 1938–39), 1:509, 511; Crain, "The Operas of Bernardo Pasquini," 1:201 gives this as 1677.

¹⁶¹ I-Rvic, *Stati d'Anime, Sant'Andrea delle Frate*, "Registro delle anime," vol. 71, fols. 87–88.

¹⁶² Anselmi, "El marqués del Carpio y el barrio," 572; Barrio Gozalo, "El barrio de la embajada," 996, gives the dates as 14 and 15 January.

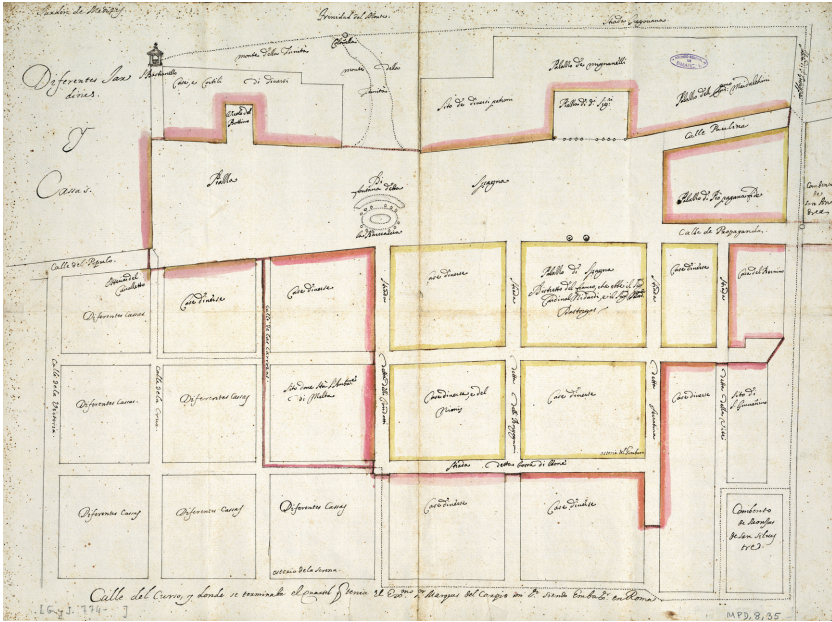


Figure 2.4 *Quartel que tenía el Exmo. Señor marqués del Carpio mi señor siendo Embaxador en Roma (1683), Archivo General de Simancas, MPD 08, 035.*
 © Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte, Madrid.

The fact that Scarlatti and his family were moved into the Spanish quarter for two years, and then left Strada Felice at the same time that Carpio’s Roman embassy was dismantled, reinforces the notion that Carpio became a most important protector of the family sometime in later 1679 and before March 1681 (when the census first registers the family at Strada Felice). The family then moved to Strada Paolina (now Via Babuino), which flowed out of the Piazza di Spagna just to the north of the Palazzo di Propaganda Fide. Only the beginning of this street belonged to the expanded quartiere during Carpio’s time.¹⁶³ If the Scarlatti family lived on the section of the Strada Paolina that fell within the quartiere, then they moved even closer to Palazzo di Spagna. But it may be that the family lived farther along the street, in the direction of Piazza del Popolo, outside the area to which Carpio had claimed jurisdiction, and outside the area brutally targeted by the Pope’s agents in January 1683. Strada Paolina was home to a number of visual artists, many of them non-Roman, as well as to

¹⁶³ See the map “Calle del Corso, y donde se terminaba el quartel que tenía el Ex.mo s.or Marqués del Carpio mi S.r siendo embaxador en Roma,” 1683, reproduced in Anselmi, *Il Palazzo dell’Ambasciata*, 178.

a community of Sicilians, perhaps because the Sicilian church and confraternity of the Madonna di Constantinopoli were nearby.¹⁶⁴

In Rome, the Scarlatti family formed a close connection with the Schor family of Tyrolese artists whose famous patriarch, Johann Paul Schor, had worked as a designer for Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna. Carpio was a devoted client of the Schor workshop; he had chosen Philipp Schor as embassy architect in November 1679,¹⁶⁵ and, among other projects, Philipp designed the apparatus for Carpio's 1681 serenata in honor of the queen's birthday. When Carpio moved to Naples, he created a salaried position for Philipp as royal engineer—barely a year later Scarlatti was appointed maestro of the royal chapel. Schor and Scarlatti collaborated as stage engineer and composer for Carpio's Naples operas beginning in autumn 1683. Although no documentation has surfaced to support this claim, Ulisse Prota-Giurleo suggested that Schor "fetched" Scarlatti from Rome.¹⁶⁶ It seems more likely that Scarlatti's recruitment for Naples began in Rome between 1679 and 1682 through the composer's relationship with Carpio, and that the close relationship between the Scarlatti and Schor families grew from their collaborative work for Carpio and Colonna. The Schor family had resided for many years in Piazza di Spagna at the foot of the Trinità dei Monti.¹⁶⁷ In 1684–86, when both Philipp and Alessandro were in Naples, the remaining Schors continued at the same address in the parish of Sant'Andrea delle Frate,¹⁶⁸ but a few years later, in 1687 and 1688, Anna Scarlatti and Giuseppe Scarlatti joined the Schor household.¹⁶⁹ In the census of 1689, Giuseppe Scarlatti is still part of the Schor household, representing the last recognized co-habitation between the two families,¹⁷⁰ though Schors continued at the same address into 1695 (Anna Scarlatti and her two servants had moved to Strada Fratina).¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁴ Laura Bartoni, *Le vie degli artisti: residenze e botteghe nella Roma barocca dai registri di Sant'Andrea delle Fratte, 1650–1699* (Rome: Edizioni Nuova Cultura, 2012), 60–62.

¹⁶⁵ Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 251, states that Carpio had appointed Philipp Schor to the position of embassy architect in November 1679.

¹⁶⁶ "Da un affitto così oneroso, si capisce già che i tre soci volevano fare le cose alla grande, presentando al pubblico napoletano compositori famosi, cantanti eccezionali, scenarii mai visti. A tal fine lo Schor si recò a Roma per 'combinarsi' il giovane e già famoso Alessandro Scarlatti." Ulisse Prota-Giurleo, *Il teatro di corte del Palazzo Reale di Napoli* (Naples: L'Arte Tipografica, 1952), 37.

¹⁶⁷ Jorge Fernández-Santos Ortíz-Iribas, "A 1679 Inventory of the Schor Residence at the Trinità dei Monti," in *Un regista del gran teatro del barocco, Johann Paul Schor und die international Sprache des Barock*, ed. Christina Strunck, *Römische Studien der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 21 (Munich: Himmer Verlag, 2008), 73–74.

¹⁶⁸ I-Rvic, Stati d'Anime, Sant'Andrea delle Frate, "Registro delle anime," 11 March 1684, 8 April 1685, 20 March 1686, fol. 1v.

¹⁶⁹ I-Rvic, Stati d'Anime, Sant'Andrea delle Frate, "Registro delle anime," 13 March 1687, fol. 45v, 15 April 1688, fol. 1v.

¹⁷⁰ I-Rvic, Stati d'Anime, Sant'Andrea delle Frate, "Registro delle anime," 12 March 1695.

¹⁷¹ I-Rvic, Stati d'Anime, Sant'Andrea delle Frate, "Registro delle anime," 12 March 1695, fol. 76.

Along with Scarlatti and Schor, the playwright Giuseppe Domenico De Totis, who created the poetic texts for Carpio's 1681 serenata, also became integral to the creative team for Carpio's Naples operas. Carpio became familiar with De Totis' plays and libretti in Rome, where both men belonged to the Accademia degli Umoristi.¹⁷² Carpio surely favored or even supported De Totis' work in the "spada e cappa" genre based on or in emulation of Spanish comedias, and he probably heard De Totis' *L'Idalma o Chi la dura la vince* in Pasquini's setting in carnival 1680, as well as Scarlatti's *Tutto il mal che vien, non vien per nuocere* in carnival 1681.

Spanish Productions at Palazzo di Spagna

Carpio once again became a celebrated protagonist in the public sphere about six months after the success of the 1681 serenata, when he produced a series of Spanish plays in the embassy in 1682.¹⁷³ These productions were the crowning achievement of his emergence as a patron of music and theater in Rome. Prompted by pressing political circumstances, he decided to mount productions inside the Spanish embassy, though his interest in featuring and entertaining women, as well as his desire for positive self-representation, are ever-present in their planning and execution. His exquisite entertainments prevented the carnival from becoming dreary. Reports concerning general preparations for the 1682 carnival help to clarify the context. As early as August 1681, for example, bidding on the lease opened for the "teatro per le commedie pubbliche" with many bidders ("sono molti quelli che offeriscono") at the asking price of 2,000 scudi, though the price might be driven up to an unheard of 3,000 scudi by the competitive squabbling. Anonymous observers feared that interested parties would give up altogether, leaving the lease unsold and the city without entertainments ("ma piaccia al cielo non si pentano poi a mezza strada").¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² See *Applausi Poetici tributati dall'Accademia degli Humoristi all'illustrissimo et eccellentissimo signore il signore D. Gaspare d'Haro e Gusman, Marchese del Carpio... Dichiarato Vice-Re, e Capitan Generali del Regno di Napoli* (Rome: Michel'Ercole, 1682) [V-CVbav, Miscell.H.88 (int. 3)], published in 1682 in celebration of Carpio's appointment as Viceroy of Naples and his recovery from a long illness, containing sonnets and Latin epigrams in his honor by members of the academy. I am grateful to Jorge Fernández Santos Ortíz Iribas for bringing this to my attention. See also Vidales del Castillo, "El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras," 582–84. De Totis was secretary of the Accademia degli Umoristi, according to Lowell Lindgren, "De Totis, Giuseppe Domenico" Oxford Music Online, <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-5000009348>.

¹⁷³ To Carpio's advantage was the fact that his Roman audience had already developed a taste for Spanish plays and their intricate plots, in part through many available translations and adaptations; for examples see the invaluable Profeti, *Commedie, riscritture, libretti*, 150–74.

¹⁷⁴ E-PABm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 13, fol. 240, 9 August 1681.

Similar passages in the avvisi and references in Carpio's letters illustrate how the prohibition of public theatrical performances provided Carpio with the perfect excuse to mount an impressive theater right inside the embassy itself. As the Palazzo di Spagna did not already contain a theater (it received a permanent one in 1746), Carpio brought carpenters to the Palazzo Capranica and paid them a large sum to dismantle the unused theater and stage there, which were then transported and rebuilt inside the embassy: the ambassador "at great expense has had the Capranica theater moved [to his palace] in order to produce a Spanish comedia with his pages and gentlemen, with some thought as well to producing the opera prepared for that theater [the Capranica]."¹⁷⁵ Most likely, the wooden theater was set up in the large hall on the *piano nobile* floor of the Palazzo di Spagna, next to the *salone dell'udienza*.¹⁷⁶ No complete material description of the Capranica theater (with measurements for the stage or a definitive number of boxes) is known for this period, but in the 1690s it contained four tiers of boxes (*palchetti*). Likewise, during Carpio's time as ambassador, the theater built into the Colonna palace and opened in 1682 had four tiers of fifteen boxes each and was described as "grand" in contemporary descriptions.¹⁷⁷

With the stage and whatever other sections he had removed from the Teatro Capranica, Carpio created in the embassy a "sumptuous theater" "with beautiful sets created without regard for their expense of more than 4,000 scudi . . . the most beautiful theater that has been made in many years."¹⁷⁸ The first two comedias honored Lorenza de la Cerda, Carpio's niece by his first marriage (daughter of the Duke of Medinaceli and newly arrived Princess of Paliano as the bride of Filippo Colonna). In a long series of letters, Carpio registers his delight in offering Spanish plays for the "Roman ladies." Most important, he explains why he thought it best to keep his "family" (his household and embassy staff) within his quartiere during carnival, so that it "might in this more decent

¹⁷⁵ See Natuzzi, *Il Teatro Capranica*, 51; Clementi, *Il carnevale romano*, 1:610; Tamburini, *Due teatri*, 23, inadvertently omits the source. That Carpio moved the Capranica stage is also described in an earlier avviso, E-PAbm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 14, B82-A-14, fol. 366v, 17 January 1682: "applica egli ad una commedia che fa in casa, ove con gran spesa ha fatto trasportare il teatro di Capranica per farvi rappresentare una commedia spagnola da suoi paggi e gentile, con qualche pensiero di farvi anco l'opera preparata per detto teatro"; another avviso, E-PAbm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 14, B83-A-1, fol. 418, 31 January 1682, mentions that Carpio's productions would likely cost about 4,000 scudi. Both De Lucca, *The Politics*, 242, and Frutos Sastre, "El VII Marqués del Carpio," 523, interpret the avisos to mean that Carpio purchased the theater.

¹⁷⁶ The suggestion about the location of this temporary theater is mine; the interior of Palazzo di Spagna in this period is explained in Anselmi, *Il Palazzo dell'Ambasciata*, 88, 102, 117.

¹⁷⁷ Tamburini, *Due teatri*, 12.

¹⁷⁸ "vagli prospetti scenici fatti senza risparmio con spesa di sopra quattro mila scudi"; "Il teatro e il più bello che si sia fatto d'alcuni anni in qua." E-PAbm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 14, fol. 448 and 452, 7 February 1682. See also quotations from I-MOs, Cancelleria Ducale, Ambasciatori, Roma, b. 299, Dispacci di Giacomo Muzzarelli Pacchioni, 31 January 1682; Tamburini, *Due teatri*, 394; Natuzzi, *Il Teatro Capranica*, 51; Clementi, *Il carnevale romano*, 1:612.

manner pass the time during this scandalous carnival season.”¹⁷⁹ Note, however, that the “decency” Carpio was concerned to protect had little to do with morality or modesty and everything to do with political strategy during a period of strained relations between France and Spain. In February 1682, Spain concerted a treaty with other European powers against France, designed to deter Louis XIV’s further aggression in the Low Countries, and in 1683 Spain declared war on France. A public confrontation in 1681 between Carpio and the French ambassador, François-Annibal d’Estrées, concerning a serious question of protocol (whose carriage should have preeminence and go first in the procession of the ambassadors) precipitated a flagrant breakdown in relations between the two ambassadors and their parties. The several stages in this Franco-Hispanic conflict were eagerly reported in the *avvisi*. Carpio ordered Spanish soldiers to stand ready in their garrisons, and an alarmed Innocent XI wanted above all to avoid violence in the streets. Aware that d’Estrées might be planning to ambush him with public affront or worse during the coming carnival, Carpio decided not to frequent public places during carnival—this decision was among the few that the pope actually approved of. According to the *avvisi*, the populace feared not only that the carnival would be dull, but, worse, that all carnival celebrations might be shut down.¹⁸⁰

More than one *avviso* states that Carpio was preparing to produce the operas planned by Duke Giovanni Pietro Caffarelli and Filippo Acciaiuoli for staging at Colonna’s new theater during carnival 1682, though some merely express the hope that he might also produce Italian operas.¹⁸¹ As noted above,

¹⁷⁹ E-Mah, *Estado*, Libro 198, 24 January 1682, Rome, Carpio letter to Villagarcía in Venice: Carpio intended to “tener mi familia en casa... y por este medio menos indecente abroquelarme de los aparatos que me tienen preparados los del Etré.” Many thanks to Fernando Bouza for advice concerning this correspondence.

¹⁸⁰ Clementi, *Il carnevale romano*, 1:609: “Qui si farà un carnevale molto melancolico per essere stato prohibite da Nostro Signore tutte le commedie, anche quelle de’ Seminarii, in forma che Roma no vi sarà altra commedia che quella del Contestabile: la quale, per farsi in casa propria, non cade sotto le medesime prohibitioni; ma questa porterà poco solievo a Roma. Di più si crede no si faranno neanche gli otto giorni di maschere, e tutto ciò per le consapute gare tra gl’Ambasciatori di Francia e Spagna ne’ corteggi ultimi.”

¹⁸¹ One *avviso* floated the idea (“qualche pensiero”) of presenting the operas originally planned for the Capranica theater at the Spanish embassy. Another circulating during carnival stated that Carpio himself wanted to produce the Italian operas: “Vuole il Signore Ambasciatore Cattolico nel suo teatro oltre le commedie spagnole fare anche le due in musica del Cavaliere Acciaiuoli, e del Duca Caffarelli”; E-PABm, *Avisos de Roma*, tomo 14, fol. 389v, 24 January 1682; see Tamburini, *Due teatri*, 392. “Questa sera darà principio alle sue commedie l’Ambasciatore di Spagna, il quale ha fatto fare nel suo palazzo a questo fine un teatro con scene bellissime ed abiti di gran prezzo, dove recitarono due opere spagnole, rappresentate da suoi servitori attuali e due italiane in musica che sono le medesime che son state rappresentate in casa del Contestabile e tutto per dar trattenimento alla sposa principessa di Palliano, o meglio del figlio del medesimo Contestabile.” I-MOs, Cancelleria Ducale, Ambasciatori, Roma, b. 299, *Dispacci di Giacomo Muzzarelli Pacchioni*, 31 January 1682, quoted in Tamburini, *Due teatri*, 394. I-Rli, MS 36.C.4, fol. 21, 7 February 1682, also reports that he was producing both Spanish plays and Italian operas.

avvisi about his transfer of the Teatro Capranica stage to the Spanish embassy suggest further that he offered to produce the operas that were being prepared for the Teatro Capranica but could not be staged there due to the pope's prohibition.¹⁸² However, when Carpio wrote to Cardinal Cibo to request papal permission, he mentioned only his intent to produce a Spanish play that members of his household had prepared for his niece, not an Italian opera, though he noted “no hallo inconveniente en ellos por ver que se hacían otras comedias en casas particulares.” His purpose, he explained, was to make sure “por todos medios que mi familia se porte con la mayor modestia, y siendo tan ocasionado el tiempo de carnaval... solicitando por este medio la mayor quietud.”¹⁸³ Carpio definitely intended to please the pope and enhance his own reputation, while making a strong pro-Spanish statement. His sparsely surviving correspondence includes no mention at all of producing Italian operas in 1682.¹⁸⁴

That season Caffarelli and Acciaiuoli produced operas at Colonna's theater—*Il falso nel vero* (“dramma per musica” apparently with both text and music by Caffarelli, produced beginning 17 January) and *Chi è cagion del suo mal pianga se stesso* (a “dramma burlesco” with scenario and music by Acciaiuoli).¹⁸⁵ The first seems to have been a complete flop; the second was said to have some amusing qualities.¹⁸⁶ Cardinals complained about their seating at the Colonna theater, and

¹⁸² E-PAbm, Avisos de Roma, B82-A-14, fol. 366v, 17 January 1682. The prediction from the Modenese agent, I-MOs, Cancelleria Ducale, Ambasciatori, Roma, Dispacci di Giacomo Muzzarelli Pacchioni, b. 299, 31 January 1682, is cited in Tamburini, *Due teatri*, 394; Clementi, *Il carnevale romano*, 1:610. Also, E-PAbm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 14, B82-A-14, fol. 389v: “Vuole il Signore Ambasciatore Cattolico nel suo teatro oltre le commedie spagnole fare anche le due in musica del Cavaliere Acciaiuoli, e del duca Caffarelli; e perché il Cavaliere col farsi negare più volte al gentiluomo dell'Ambasciatore ricusava di darli la sua, questo minaccio di risentirsene per lo che il cavaliere per consiglio d'amici si porto ad offrirla al maestro di camera dell'Ambasciatore, da cui benché invitata la Regina di Svezia non vi andrà siccome non sono per andarvi nemmeno le principesse mogli di feudatari di Spagna informate che il primo palchetto sarà per la sposa Colonna.”

¹⁸³ E-PAbm, Embajada de Roma, tomo 61, 20 January 1682, Rome, letter from Carpio to Cardinal Cibo; the latter's reply, 1 February 1682, conveys the pope's permission to perform “le preparete commedie,” that is, the Spanish ones. In a 24 January 1682 letter to Paris Maria Boschi, Carpio's friend Sebasiano Resta reported a long conversation with Carpio in Rome, noting that Carpio's priority was the preparation of a comedia for carnival; letters in I-BOas, Fondo Boschi, b. 200, referenced in Maria Rosa Pizzoni, “Resta e Magnavacca, conoscitori e collezionisti,” in *Dilettanti del disegno nell'Italia del Seicento, Padre Resta tra Malvasia e Magnavacca*, ed. Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò (Rome: Campisano Editore, 2013), 105, 127; I am grateful to Dr. Marco Micheletti for so kindly providing me with photographs of these letters.

¹⁸⁴ De Lucca, *The Politics*, 247, following E-PAbm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 14, asserts that the operas produced by Acciaiuoli and Caffarelli in the Colonna theater “were performed in the theater of the Marquis del Carpio just a few days later in February 1682.”

¹⁸⁵ Tamburini, *Due teatri*, 389–92; De Lucca, *The Politics*, 245–47. Sartori 09621, I-MOe 70.G.09/8, *Il falso nel vero* (Rome, 1682); Sartori 05444, I-MOe 70.E.11/3, *Chi è cagion del suo mal pianga se stesso*.

¹⁸⁶ Tamburini, *Due teatri*, 389–92; De Lucca, *The Politics*, 246.

Lorenzo Onofrio himself was rude to some nobility in attendance. If Carpio indeed decided to outshine Colonna by producing these Italian pieces following his two Spanish carnival plays, there is no question that the stage sets constructed during Lent for his *Ni amor se libra de amor* (whose performances began near the end of April) could have accommodated *Il falso nel vero*—the two works share *mutazione* in common.¹⁸⁷ It is just possible, thus, that Carpio produced *Il falso nel vero* after Easter during the run of *Ni amor se libra de amor*, though it is highly unlikely that he would produce a show already dismissed as “boring.”¹⁸⁸ He probably had no wish to be associated with the “tedious” carnival pieces that reflected badly on Colonna, a man he firmly disliked.¹⁸⁹

Carpio converted the Spanish embassy into an entertainment center and focus of carnival beginning on the evening of 31 January 1682, drawing the nobility away from Palazzo Colonna, displaying his generosity to political advantage, and outshining his rivals.¹⁹⁰ His correspondence in January 1682 emphasizes his curation of his public image while revealing attempts to clear his name once again after yet another series of false accusations.¹⁹¹ Carpio wrote to Villagarcía that his intention was to be “purposefully showy (the plays are ‘vistosas’) and to keep up all appearances of maintaining myself with some degree of dignity.”¹⁹² In reply, Villagarcía congratulated Carpio for having chosen “guitars” as weapons with which to fend off a French assault.¹⁹³ Similarly, a congratulatory note from the

¹⁸⁷ See the libretto Sartori 09621, I-MOe 70.G.09/8, *Il falso nel vero* (Rome, 1682); De Lucca, *The Politics*, 245–46; Franchi, *Drammaturgia romana*, 541.

¹⁸⁸ E-PABm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 14, fol. 408r, 31 January 1682, reports that Colonna’s production was tedious: “riusci molto tediosa, come anco nella replica.”

¹⁸⁹ Vidales del Castillo, “El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras,” 158–59, explains another example of Carpio’s disdain for Colonna.

¹⁹⁰ E-PABm, B82-A-14, Avisos de Roma, tomo 14, fol. 386v, 24 January 1682, notes that Carpio’s entertainment, produced in his “superbo e magnifico teatro” will be “superiore a tutte le altre... facendo a gara col Contestabile, che non poule competergli per trovarsi già indebitata la sua.”

¹⁹¹ Writing to the Duke of Medinaceli, Carpio explains the difficulties he has had with his enemies in Rome and then emphasizes his loyalty to the crown: E-PABm, Embajada de Roma, tomo 56, 18 January 1682, Rome “y más querré morir en una cárcel, que perder un dedo del decoro de Su Majestad por hecho mío.”

¹⁹² “mantenerme menos indignamente” in E-Mah, Estado, Libro 198, 24 and 31 January 1682, Rome, Carpio to Villagarcía in Venice.

¹⁹³ E-Mah, Estado, Libro 198, 14 January 1682, Venice, Villagarcía to Carpio: “Si es testimonio la voz que corre quanto a haber dicho Vuestra Excelencia no hacia prevención, sino de guitarras contra las de los de Etré, consuélase Vuestra Excelencia conque no es de mal aire y con haber logrado el aplauso de esa corte con las fiestas que ha hecho en su casa, siendo buena prueba de su lucimiento y decencia el que hayan sido del agrado del Papa con la circunstancia de habérsele escrito así a Su Majestad de que yo estoy sumamente gustoso.” In E-PABm, Embajada de Roma, tomo 61, 20 January 1682, Rome, Carpio to Cardinal Cibo, Carpio sought papal approval for the performance of a Spanish comedia in the embassy during carnival, “procurando por todos medios que mi familia se porte con la mayor modestia.” By this date, 20 January, Carpio’s cast had just learned the first play: “acabasen de estudiar una comedia española que tenían empezada para festejar en este Real Palacio a mi sobrina mi Signora la Princesa de Paliano, solicitando por este medio la mayor quietud.”

Marquis de los Vélez explicitly recognized Carpio's success at pleasing the pope and the Roman ladies while achieving his political objective.¹⁹⁴

Carpio's fiesta attracted plenty of attention and he responded generously to the crowd:

... when a large group congregated outside, I just opened the doors wide, even though here I was entertaining without a woman of the house ... All of the principal ladies were here ... with a *torneo* that I had worked out for them after the play. There were forty-eight *damas* ... As for the French, they seem to have held off, thinking it might be seen as shameful to dare to attack a place with so many guests!¹⁹⁵

The *torneo* that Carpio himself had "worked out" for the Roman ladies was an ingenious, original addition, though perhaps inspired by Carpio's earlier Venetian experience of the royal *torneo* that followed *Totila*. Years later, when Cardinal Ottoboni gave the same sort of participatory and semi-staged "festino" or reception after a performance of Scarlatti's *La Statira* in 1690 at the Teatro Tordinona "in the manner of Venice," it was hailed as "the first of its kind," and "a new spectacle for Rome."¹⁹⁶ Carpio's *torneo* stands out nevertheless because it was designed especially for the Roman ladies, providing yet another typical example of his gallantry, clear appeal to feminine sensibility, and support for women.

Following the same protocol that governed performances at the Buen Retiro in Madrid, Carpio's Spanish plays were first offered privately for an invited audience—for the nobility, cardinals, foreign diplomats, and prelates, as well as artists Carpio admired. He delegated the distribution of seats in the boxes for the ladies and gentlemen to two experienced prelates of the Roman nobility he could trust with delicate matters, Monsignor Giudice and Monsignor Spinelli, "judging them to be the most appropriate because of the practice they have in this business." This request from Carpio left Spinelli "between Scilla and Charybdis"; he

¹⁹⁴ E-SIM, Estado, Libro 127, 11 February 1682, Naples, Marquis de los Vélez to Carpio in Rome: "Alégrame infinito de que Vuestra Excelencia haya logrado sus fiestas con tal acierto y satisfacción que no solo se haya conseguido el gusto de su Santidad y de las damas y caballeros de esa corte, sino de los otros fines políticos que hacen el intento más apreciable. Aquí también hemos tenido el divertimento de las comedias que el Príncipe de Pomblin y Duque de Atri han ejecutado con ocasión de su boda, que añadida la fiesta solita de Palacio han sido bastante ocupación de estos días por lo cual y por otros embarazos que el martes de carnestolendas no pude despachar ayer el correo"; Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 458 n. 403. The comedias produced by the "Príncipe de Pomblin y Duque de Atri" were the operas *Celos aun del aire matan* and *L'Ulisse in Feacia*, respectively, honoring the marriage of Lavinia Ludovisi to the Duke of Atri, as explained in Stein, "Opera and the Spanish Family," 223–43; Hidalgo, *Celos aun del aire matan*, ed. Stein, xi, 269–76 and *passim*.

¹⁹⁵ E-Mah, Estado, Libro 198, 7 February 1682, Rome, letter from Carpio to Villagarcía in Venice.

¹⁹⁶ William C. Holmes, *La Statira by Pietro Ottoboni and Alessandro Scarlatti: The Textual Sources with a Documentary Postscript* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1983), 81–84.

could not decline to assist Carpio, but neither did he want to risk endangering his relationships with others, including the pope.¹⁹⁷

Subsequent performances at Palazzo di Spagna were open to the public (again following a precedent from the royal court). Despite the ban on public performances, Carpio opened his ambassadorial theater to “people of all classes” with great success, boldly asserting the legal immunity of his quartiere and demonstrating to all Rome that he maintained the upper hand in this conflict with the pope. Carpio explained in a letter to the king that in presenting the plays and generously offering his entertainments to both a select audience and the public, his ingenuity was serving the Spanish cause.¹⁹⁸ The elegance of their staging, with beautiful sets and costumes, was especially important because the plays were in Spanish, a language that most of his audience did not speak or read fluently. Moreover, bringing people from various social levels into Palazzo di Spagna made them original participants on a social stage set in an elegant space they had previously not been permitted to view. Note that Carpio’s choice of plays, from among all the comedias he knew, was guided by his skillful self-projection and gallant appreciation of what his dedicatee, Lorenza de la Cerda, would appreciate.¹⁹⁹ He managed things deftly—having arranged for Mons. Giudice and Spinelli to assign the palchetti, Carpio could walk around to all parts of the theater with “royal ease and a very galant manner as a private individual,” addressing all those present with warm familiarity.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ E-PABm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 17, fol. 352, 7 February 1682; E-PABm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 14, fol. 449, 7 February 1682: “Sono stati deputati dall’Ambasciatore di Spagna a fare la distribuzione delle palchetti del suo teatro a Dame e Cavalieri, i Mons. Giudice e Spinelli stimandoli più pratici d’ogni altro in qual maneggio.”

¹⁹⁸ E-PABm, Embajada de Roma, tomo 61, 15 February 1682, Rome, letter from Carpio to Carlos II: “puedo decir a Vuestra Majestad que se ha logrado esto con gran decoro de mi representación, con mucha estimación y gusto del Papa, y con entera satisfacción de esta nobleza y pueblo, sin que en todo este tiempo y con haber sido innumerable la gente que ha concurrido de todas esferas a ver las comedias españolas que dispuse en este palacio haya habido el más remoto motiva de desazón, creyendo yo que aunque en material tan leve como esta he servido bien a Vuestra Majestad que es lo que por todos caminos solicito.”

¹⁹⁹ “L’Ambasciatore di Spagna domenica sera fece la prima volta la prima sua comedia, e la replicò lunedì sera, e martedì poi fece la seconda, che essendo spagnuole, e recitate con gran fretta, furono intese da pochi; molti però hebbero gusto in veder le scene, habiti e gran gala del d[ett]o Amb[asciato]re in specie che si è dichiarato per sino che durarà il carnevale di no voler esser riconosciuto per ministro del Rè, per non star in sossiegno; con le dame poi v[à] in guazzetto // servendo tutte con disinvoltura e galanteria; le comedie del contestabile sono adesso calate di stima levandogli il concorso il d[ett]o Amb[asciato]re”; unsigned letter from Rome, 4 February 1682, transcribed in Monaldini, *L’Orto dell’Esperidi*, 490.

²⁰⁰ E-PABm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 14, fol. 449, 7 February 1682: “Sono stati deputati dall’Ambasciatore di Spagna a fare la distribuzione degli palchetti del suo teatro a dame e cavalieri, i Mons. Giudice e Spinelli stimandoli più pratici d’ogni altro in qual maneggio; ove andando poi Sua Eccellenza per ogni parte del detto teatro colla sua regia disinvoltura, e maniera molta galante in qualità di privato, discorre famigliarmente con tutti a segno che non da ‘ne ricevi suggestioni per godere e far’ godere a ciascuno la libertà.”

The first two plays were *comedias de enredo* whose plots the audience might easily follow with the printed Italian *scenari* Carpio distributed—Calderón de la Barca's *Fineza contra fineza*, with loa and an entremés, and Agustín de Moreto y Cavana's *No puede ser*. The drama onstage involved characters of all social levels, as was typical of the Spanish *comedia*. But Carpio's choices further stimulated the vogue for the Spanish "cape and sword" drama in Rome. Two recently successful operas set libretti of this type, notably the De Totis *L'Idalma* (1680) set by Pasquini and the De Totis and Scarlatti *Tutto il mal che vien, non vien per nuocere* (1681). A loa, "La audiencia de Apolo," penned by Juan Vélez de León, one of Carpio's secretaries,²⁰¹ opened the Roman *Fineza contra fineza* with special gallantry by directly praising Lorenza de la Cerda as her portrait was incorporated into the frontispiece of the stage.²⁰² It alludes both to Lorenza and to Carpio with an allegory involving Apolo, Ingenio, Musas, Comedia, Loa, and Entremés, as well as an ensemble or choir of "Música." As the loa opens, musicians (Música) sing offstage as Apolo is discovered atop Mount Parnassus, accompanied by Ingenio and the Musas, in a staging similar in effect to what Carpio had previously worked into his Madrid productions.²⁰³

Fineza contra fineza encapsulated a message essential in Carpio's personal politics at this point in his life by celebrating "pardon and forgiveness over vengeance and retribution" and linking "forgiveness to the obligations of honor as understood through *fineza*."²⁰⁴ Its plot, setting, and some of its poetry also draw from themes, images, and characters Carpio had previously produced. The play is set in a remote epoch of ancient history and hinges on a contest of loyalties between followers of Venus and followers of the chaste goddess Diana.²⁰⁵ Significantly, this same conflict was central in the opera *Celos aun del aire matan*, which Carpio had produced in Madrid. In *Celos*, an unseen Venus rescued the

²⁰¹ E-Mn, MS 2100, fols. 275–80: "Loa, para la Comedia de Fineza contra Fineza, con que en Roma celebró los felices años de mi Señora Doña Lorenza de la Zerda, Condestablea Colona, Su Exmo. tío el Señor Marqués del Carpio, siendo embajador en aquella corte año de 1685. Y que escribió de su precepto Don Juan Vélez de León su Secretario de Cámara y Zifra. La Audiencia de Apolo."

²⁰² E-PABm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 14, fol. 452, 7 February 1682: "Il teatro è il più bello, che si sia fatto d'alcuni anni in qua e il prologo delle commedie spagnole e in lode della città di Roma, della Duchessa di Paliano sposa, e della sue casa della Cerda, e dell' Ambasciatore senza nominare la casa Colonna con il ritratto della sposa nel frontespicio della scena."

²⁰³ E-Mn, MS 2100, fol. 275: "Canta la Música y se descubre Apolo y el Monte Parnaso, asistido del Ingenio, y de las Musas." The choir sings "En el tribunal de Apolo / es la justicia tan clara / que las razones se pesan / y se miden las palabras." When the figure of Entremés requests a song ("y pues sale la comedia / baia [vaya] un tonillo de España"), the choir ("Música") sings "Pues la comedia española / te debe toda su gala, / lo que Italia la diste / es bien te vuelva en Italia" (fol. 276v). Toward the end of the loa, the opening music was heard again, most probably, with the words, "En el Alcázar de Apolo / busca el honor su alabanza / que del Rayo de la envidia, / solo su laurel le salva" (fols. 278, 280).

²⁰⁴ Thomas Austin O'Connor, "The Grammar of Calderonian Honor," in *The Golden Age Comedia: Text, Theory, and Performance*, ed. Charles Ganelin and Howard Mancing (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1994), 141.

²⁰⁵ O'Connor, "The Grammar," 141–45, provides a synopsis.

nymph Aura, transformed her into a nymph of the air, and exploited the nymph and her voice as an artifice to oppose Diana. In both *Fineza contra fineza* and *Celos*, the action takes place on earth, among mortals; Venus is represented but has no spoken role, and Calderón's exploitation of mythology is multivalent. As *Fineza contra fineza* opens, a conquering king, Anfión of Chipre, arrives in Tesalia and sends his men to the temple of Diana to destroy her statue and replace it with a statue of Venus. King Anfión is the son of the mythological Acteón (Actaeon) the youthful hunter who mistakenly glimpsed Diana at her bath and was killed by his own hunting dogs when Diana sought revenge by turning him into a stag. Seeking to destroy the cult of Diana, Anfión forces the women who worship in Diana's temple as priestesses to convert and change loyalties. After further intrigue, mistaken identities, overheard confessions of love, and trials and tests of various bonds, one of the priestesses secretly throws the statue of Venus into a pit, angering Anfión. He threatens to kill all of the women unless the guilty party confesses. At the last minute, after all of the protagonists have revealed their desire, motives, honorable decisions, newfound affections, and new loyalties, the play ends happily. The unseen Venus triumphs in the end when pledges of love are sealed as the six protagonists pair off into three couples bound for matrimony. Stripped of her power, Diana has been dethroned and absolute female chastity debunked. However conventional the ending, the clever female characters display brave determination and sharp independence of mind throughout the play.²⁰⁶

Carpio's Rome production of *Fineza contra fineza* likely included moments of exciting spectacle with music. The Italian scenario (whose title page is reproduced in Figure 2.5) gives "Monti della Tessaglia" as the setting, while the printed Spanish comedia text specifies "a natural landscape with a view of the temple of Diana" ("Apariencia de campaña con vista del templo de Diana"). Significantly, this set was also featured in Carpio's Madrid production of the opera *Celos aun del aire matan*. The burning Temple of Diana is referred to early in act 1 in both the Spanish text and the Italian scenario of *Fineza contra fineza*, when a choir of trapped priestesses sings from within it. The scenario (p. 5) explains, "S'Odono le schiere del Re di Cipro applaudire al Regio commando, e molte Ninfe con Suoni, e Canti implorerà la pietà del Re." If Carpio's Rome presentation of *Fineza contra fineza* involved only the simplest of stagings, the fire might have occurred offstage with the voices of the trapped nymphs sounding from the wings. When the exterior of the temple is to be brought into view later

²⁰⁶ For a more complete literary analysis, see Marlene G. Collins, "Subversive Demythologizing in Calderon de la Barca's *Fineza contra fineza*: The Metamorphosis of Diana," *Hispanic Review* 73 (2005): 275–90; on the concept of "fineza," the courageous actions taken by the characters in the play, and its reception, see Beatriz Mariscal Hay, "Observaciones sobre la recepción de *Fineza contra fineza* de Calderón: representación y lectura," *Anuario Calderoniano* 1 (2008): 269–83.

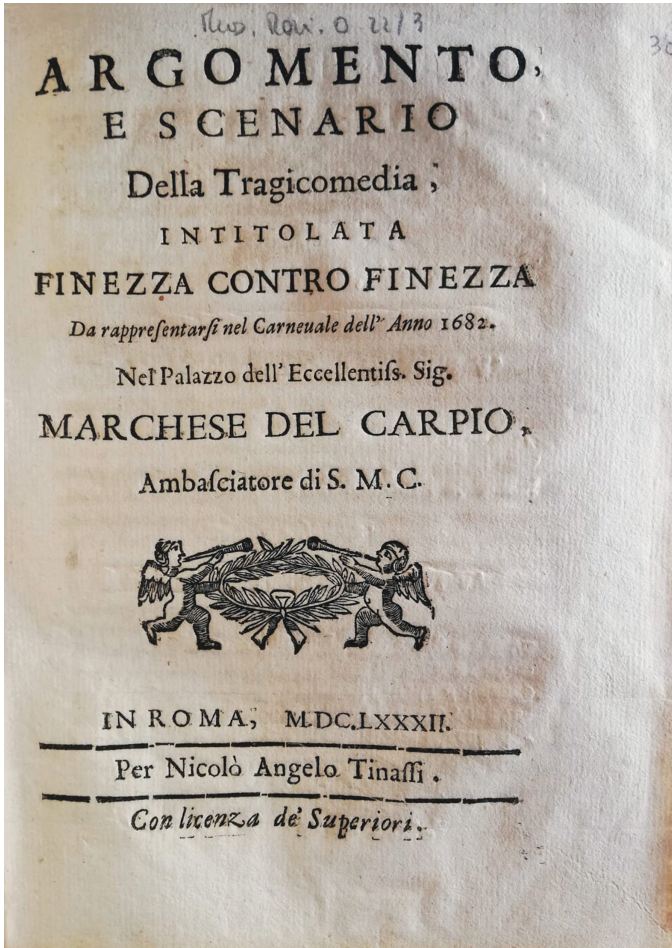


Figure 2.5 Title page, *Argomento e scenario della Tragicomedia intitolata Finezza contro finezza* (1682), MUS Rari.o.22/3, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence. © Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura. Divieto di riproduzione.

in the play, this was accomplished most easily with a simple painted flat or drop curtain. If the transported Capranica stage included machines for Carpio's production, however, a more elaborate artifice might have moved the temple into view onstage. At the end of the play, Calderón's special effect—the magical emergence of Cupid from the depths of a cistern accompanied by a celebratory chorus—might have been staged simply by bringing Cupid out of a painted cave or a standard trapdoor in the stage floor (with the unseen choir again singing offstage). But the Italian scenario for *Finezza* does not mention Cupid here at

all—instead, it reveals a comic ending: Lelio, a clumsy servant gracioso who has tripped and landed in the pit, appears with the statue of Venus while the spoken voice of an unseen “amorino” commands that, to placate Venus, the hostilities end with the marriage of Ismenia to Anfione and Doris to Celauro (p. 20).

Calderón’s Spanish text of *Fineza contra fineza* calls for important audible effects and songs that might have posed a challenge in Rome, though amateur musicians would likely have had no trouble putting together short, homophonic, four-part settings of the song-texts, or learning the songs from notated music Carpio brought to Italy in his traveling library. The opening of the play is set in a clearing outside the temple of Diana. Drums and trumpets sound offstage to signify the battle in which King Anfión of Chipre conquers Tesalia (the instruments are not specified in the Italian scenario, but the acclamation is mentioned). A soldier announces that the temple of Diana is burning, and a choir of Diana’s priestesses sings from within the burning temple, begging for mercy from the conqueror (they sing a quatrain in standard romance meter offstage). True to the Calderonian tradition, their “harmonies and moans” (“clausulas y gemidos”) affect Anfión as “very powerful spells” (“hechizos muy fuertes”), though he resists. These are the “suoni e canti” that implore him in the Italian scenario. Ismenia enters and the choir sings the repeating quatrain with her as the scene continues (again, the choir probably sang offstage).²⁰⁷ The final song-text in this scene (a quatrain beginning “Pues el invicto Anfión / la saña en piedad convierte...”) celebrates Venus, whom the priestesses have agreed to worship in order to avoid enslavement by Anfión. “Caxas, y trompetas, y música a un tiempo” accompany the final iteration of its refrain. All of these women’s choruses in *Fineza contra fineza* easily recall two similar choruses in *Celos aun del aire matan*: the anguished singing by trapped priestesses in *Fineza* resembles that of the suffering nymphs who sing from within the burning temple of Diana toward the end of act 2 of *Celos*. And the dramatic placement and function of the feminine “viva” chorus in honor of Anfión and Venus in *Fineza* recall the repeating choral estribillo sung by nymphs in act 2 of *Celos* (“Pues la victoria mayor...”).

Act 2 of *Fineza contra fineza* opens with an offstage fanfare of shawms and military drums (“Dentro chirimías, atabalillos, y música”) accompanying the priestesses as they sing a second, longer song to acclaim their newly adopted deity, Venus: “Venid, hermosas ninfas / destas incultas selvas...” with two coplas and an estribillo, “Venid y en nuevo rito, y nueva ofrenda / dad nueva aclamación a Deidad nueva.” The shawms are a verisimilar prop to underline the sacred nature of their hymn. The Italian scenario (p. 9) points out that Anfione hears this

²⁰⁷ In E-Mn, R/12588, *Quarta parte de comedias nuevas de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca...* (Madrid: Joseph Fernández de Buendía, 1672), 518–63, the stage directions indicate that the priestesses sing “dentro” (offstage).

celebration. Again, the situation and poetry of the choral intervention in the comedia bear striking resemblance to the opening chorus in honor of Diana in act 2 of *Celos*. In both play and opera, the characters sing as they walk in procession carrying offerings as they approach the temple (the temple of Venus in *Fineza*, the temple of Diana in *Celos*). Several characters in both play and opera sing insincerely, pledging themselves falsely but disguising themselves aurally by blending their voices into the choir of the faithful. In the Italian scenario, trumpets sound to announce the entrance of an excited secular and military authority, Celauro (p. 9), who rushes onstage to tell Anfione about the threat posed by Aristeo and his army. Later, as scene six in the scenario indicates (p. 10), the noise of “Terremoti, e Tempeste” is an audible special effect that was easily produced.

In the first scene of the Italian scenario for act 3, Anfione’s fury is highlighted by his threatening posture—“con la spade alla mano vuol uccidere tutte le Ninfe del Tempio.” Doris draws the death sentence to pay for the “crimes” of all the disobedient priestesses, and, when she is led in a mournful procession to beg for mercy, the stage direction in the Spanish text calls for “cajas destempladas” to sound from offstage (p. 555), an aural effect that the Italian scenario faithfully notes as “suono di Tamburi scordati.” The association of cajas destempladas with funereal scenes and tragic laments was also featured in other works Carpio produced in Madrid and later in Naples. In *Fineza contra fineza*, the funeral march emphasizes that Doris will surely be sacrificed, until a typically last-minute revelation averts the tragedy—in the original Spanish text, Cupid emerges suddenly carrying the statue of Venus while an unseen offstage choir sings a celebratory song, “Finezas contra finezas, / más la madre del amor, / que las castiga, las premia.” This final song is analogous to the final ensemble song in *Celos* that celebrates a similarly averted tragedy and accompanies the ascent of Pocris as a star and Céfalo as a breeze. But the happy ending in Carpio’s Rome production of *Fineza contra fineza* was funny, rather than spectacular or joyful; in the Italian scenario, the stumbling comic Lelio appears lugging the statue of Venus, while the spoken voice of an unseen “amorino” represents the goddess (p. 20).

Instrumental and vocal music are intrinsic to the sense of *Fineza contra fineza*, and the Roman production seems to have included most of the aural effects called for in the Spanish original, except for the final choral song (according to the Italian scenario). The instrumental effects—the sound of shawms, then trumpets and drums, and mistuned drums for the traditional funereal sound—were easily produced backstage by freelance musicians hired for the run of the play or even on a nightly basis. But assigning performers to the choral songs may have been more difficult because serious singing roles were assigned only to female actress-singers in the Spanish tradition; all of the singing in Calderón’s

Fineza contra fineza is assigned to female choirs. Gender identification of the voices as female would seem essential to the play's message but producing these gendered musical sections in Rome may have presented a challenge for Carpio and his all-male household. Carpio's embassy in Rome did not contain any women, even as servants, because he was without his wife and the women who would have attended her. *Fineza contra fineza* featured his mayordomo mayor, Sebastián de Villareal y Gamboa, as King Anfione.²⁰⁸ But if the choirs gendered as female in the play were not performed by women's voices (and perhaps not even by high voices), the sound of male voices, especially low ones, would have robbed the play of its power to examine fully the questions it so skillfully poses about female agency. From the start of the play, the aural contrast between male aggression (Anfión's commands) and the female laments it engenders (the songs of the suffering priestesses) is essential. It might be that Carpio hired professional singers to sing in Spanish and perform female roles in the comedias.

The 1682 avvisi reporting that Carpio intended to produce Italian operas as well as Spanish plays for carnival are puzzling. It may be that Carpio himself launched this aggrandizing rumor within his overall campaign of self-promotion, just to arouse fervid expectation for his productions. It could also be that writers of avvisi learned that he had hired professional female singers, or that the performers in Carpio's shows somehow overlapped with those cast in the operas produced at Palazzo Colonna during the same carnival. According to De Lucca, Duke Caffarelli produced *Il falso nel vero*, featuring "royal lovers and an extraordinary number of set changes" in Colonna's theater from mid-January 1682.²⁰⁹ The *dramatis personae* of both *Fineza contra fineza* and *Il falso nel vero* specify eight cast members—five male characters and three females. While the male characters in *Fineza contra fineza* may have been played by men from Carpio's household, it might be that the three female roles of Ismenia, Doris, and the servant Livia (Libia in the Spanish) were taken by the same actresses who performed the three female roles of Argene, Celidaura, and the comic Eurilla in *Il falso nel vero* (assuming that actresses rather than castrati took those roles in the 1682 Caffarelli production), and that the offstage female choirs in Carpio's play included female singers. This solution only works if the actress-singers who performed in *Il falso nel vero* could take on spoken roles in Spanish, and if the two productions were not offered on the same nights.

²⁰⁸ In the manuscript collection E-PAbm, B-97-V2-23, "Il tempio della Fama aperto alle Glorie dell'Eccellentissimo Signore Don Gasparo de Haro y Guzmán" (compiled Naples, 1684), Sebastiano Baldini dedicated his poem "Le nove muse" to Sebastián de Villareal and his performance in the 1682 comedia; see Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 244.

²⁰⁹ De Lucca, *The Politics*, 246.

Precisely which musical settings were heard in Carpio's 1682 Roman *Fineza contra fineza* is unclear. Carpio seems to have had music for *Celos aun del aire matan* at hand—in January 1682 this opera had just been staged in Naples with the sponsorship of Giovanni Battista Ludovisi thanks to Carpio's likely intervention (as explained in Chapter 3).²¹⁰ The striking similarity of musical scenes in *Fineza contra fineza* to analogous scenes in *Celos aun del aire matan* might suggest that Hidalgo's music from *Celos* could have been adjusted to work for the song-texts in *Fineza*. The premiere of Calderón's *Fineza contra fineza* had taken place in 1671 in Vienna, where excerpts from *Celos* likely were performed as well.²¹¹ The only extant music for *Fineza contra fineza* by a Spanish composer is preserved in an early eighteenth-century Spanish manuscript anthology known as the "Novena" manuscript, originally compiled for the *Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Novena*, the Spanish actors' guild in Madrid.²¹² The three straightforward, mostly homophonic, declamatory four-voice settings of song-texts for *Fineza* in the Novena manuscript ascribed to Peyró surely served later Spanish revivals of the play; their composer, Joseph Peyró, was a theatrical musician from Valencia who worked in Madrid during the first two decades of the eighteenth century.²¹³ Peyró's settings for *Fineza contra fineza* cannot be connected easily

²¹⁰ See Chapter 3; see also Stein, "Opera and the Spanish Family"; and the introductory essay in Stein, ed., *Celos aun del aire matan*, xi–xii, xxiii, with relevant bibliography and sources for performances beyond Madrid. A list of Spanish entertainments produced in Rome and Naples can be found in Stein, "Una música de noche, que llaman aquí serenata," 364–72.

²¹¹ Evidence that music from *Celos aun del aire matan* did arrive in Vienna is found in the concert program drafted by Leopold I himself, preserved in A-Wn, Mus. MS 16583/2, fol. 96v, in a manuscript otherwise containing dances by Johann Heinrich Schmelzer. Thanks to Nicola Usula for kindly sharing his preparatory research toward a catalog of Leopold's music in Vienna, part of the Université de Fribourg, SNF project "Italian opera beyond the Alps." Leopold's insistent requests for the music of *Celos*, sent to his Madrid ambassador in 1667, are transcribed in Alfred Francis Pribram and Moriz Landwehr von Hagenau, eds., *Privatbriefe Kaiser Leopold I an den Grafen F. E. Pötting: 1662–1673*, Fontes rerum austriacarum. Abteilung II, Diplomataria et acta, vol. 56 (Vienna: C. Gerold's Sohn, 1903–4), 276, 293, 295, 300, 312, 354. For context, see Hidalgo, *Celos aun del aire matan*, ed. Stein, xi–xii. On *Fineza contra fineza* in Vienna and the *suelta* edition printed there, see Mercedes de los Reyes Peña, "El teatro barroco en las cortes europeas: las representaciones de *Fineza contra fineza* en Viena (1671) y en Madrid (1717)," *Théâtre, Musique et Arts dans les Cours Européennes de la Renaissance et du Baroque*, ed. Kazimierz Sabik (Warsaw: Uniwersytet Warszawski, 1997), 115–41; Mercedes de los Reyes Peña, "Relaciones teatrales españolas y austriacas durante el reinado de Leopoldo I y Margarita de Austria (1663–1673)," in *Barroco español y austriaco: fiesta y teatro en la Corte de los Habsburgo y los Austrias*, ed. José María Díez Borque and K. F. Rudolf (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1994), 59–66; and Andrea Sommer-Mathis, "Las relaciones teatrales entre las dos ramas de la Casa de Austria en el Barroco," in *Barroco español y austriaco: fiesta y teatro en la Corte de los Habsburgo y los Austrias*, ed. José María Díez Borque and K. F. Rudolf (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1994), 41–57.

²¹² See Louise K. Stein, "El 'manuscrito novena': sus textos, su contexto histórico-musical y el músico Joseph Peyró," *Revista de musicología* 3 (1980): 197–234; and Louise K. Stein, "El manuscrito de música teatral de la Congregación de Nuestra Señora de la Novena. Su música, su carácter y su entorno cultural," in *El manuscrito musical de la Congregación de Nuestra Señora de la Novena*, facs. ed. Antonio Álvarez Cañibano (Madrid: Instituto Nacional de las Artes Escénicas y la Música, 2011), 53–101; the manuscript is now E-ALMA, MS Novena, held by the Museo del Teatro in Almagro.

²¹³ E-ALMA, Ms Novena, pp. 5–6; Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 270–72.

to Carpio's Roman production, but may well represent something like the songs that delighted Carpio's Roman audience.

Carpio assigned *Fineza contra fineza* pride of place as the first of his 1682 productions because it was his birthday gift and tribute to Lorenza de la Cerda (the actors in the loa bow to her as well). The play puts forth a blazingly feminist argument intrinsic to Carpio's continued exaltation of feminine integrity.²¹⁴ It also argues for "compassion and forgiveness" as obligations of true nobility (relevant to Carpio's own personal trajectory and the rehabilitation of his reputation). Given that Lorenza had arrived in Rome as a new bride expected to conceive a Colonna heir, *Fineza contra fineza* (again, like *Celos aun del aire matan* before it) also served as an epithalamium, dethroning celibacy and exalting sexual desire as useful to marital harmony. The play's history prior to 1682 further illuminates the appropriateness of Carpio's choice. The premiere of *Fineza contra fineza* took place at the Imperial court in Vienna at the request of the empress Margarita (daughter of Philip IV) on 22 December 1671, to honor the birthday of Mariana de Austria. In fact, a letter from the emperor to Count Pötting in Madrid clarifies that Calderón had then only recently finished writing the play.²¹⁵ The Vienna premiere included the two entremeses (most likely not by Calderón) whose texts are included in the luxury *suelta* edition printed by Matheo Cosmerovio (the comedia's *editio princeps*).²¹⁶ Calderón wrote the play expressly for the Viennese celebration arranged by the Spanish ambassador to the Imperial court, Pablo Spínola Doria, Marquis de los Balbases, at the request of Emperor Leopold. Pablo Spínola Doria was married to Anna Colonna, a significant connection in that Carpio's *Fineza contra fineza* was dedicated to Lorenza de la Cerda, just married to Filippo Colonna. *Fineza* was designed originally to entertain the young empress Margarita, who continued to speak Spanish and for whose benefit the Imperial court then was steeped in Spanish culture. In Rome, it was dedicated to Lorenza, another Spanish *dama* recently married and newly arrived in a foreign environment. By staging a play with such a royal, indeed Imperial, pedigree for Lorenza, Carpio revealed himself a master of the "fineza" demonstrated by the drama's protagonists. That the play was still relevant and even fashionable in 1682 is confirmed by the fact that it was produced again in December 1682

²¹⁴ Note as well that Carpio commissioned a series of "Belle" that included eight portraits of Roman ladies, according to Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 424–26, 496–97.

²¹⁵ "en el cumpleaños de la Reyna habe ich ein spanische Comedi halten lassen. ist erst neulich von Calderon gemacht worden," in *Privatbriefe Kaiser Leopold I*, 2:207; Reyes Peña, "El teatro barroco en las cortes europeas," 120.

²¹⁶ Reyes Peña, "El teatro barroco en las cortes europeas," 120. Music for the two Vienna 1671 entremeses is included in A-Wn, Mus. MS 18800; the Schmelzer dances from the entertainment are A-Wn, Mus. MS 16583, numbers 237–41.

in Madrid at the royal Alcázar palace in what may have been its first peninsular performance.²¹⁷

Carpio's second Roman production in honor of Lorenza featured Agustín de Moreto's *No puede ser*, well chosen given its content and performance history.²¹⁸ This play introduced cloak-and-sword gallantry, disguise, and the antics of a hilarious gracioso, but its themes are concordant with Carpio's taste and preferences. It opens with an eloquent defense of poetry as a sublime and worthy endeavor, as the smart and sensitive gallant, Don Félix de Toledo, converses with his servant, the comic Tarugo (played by Sebastián de Villareal y Gamboa). They are about to attend a noble academy hosted by Don Félix's friend Doña Ana, an independent and intelligent woman of high station, in an elegant, richly decorated room in her palace. At Doña Ana's behest, musicians sing to entertain her guests as the academy begins. In this sole musical moment in the play, the musicians sing about virtuous intelligence and beauty—characteristics that the play will reveal as triumphant in the noble female protagonists, Doña Ana and her cousin, Doña Inés. Of course, the nature of love is among the enigmatic topics brought to the academy by its assembled participants, who pose enigmas, recite poems, and improvise poetic glosses on well-known phrases. Doña Ana presents a metaphorical enigma about something that cannot be contained or guarded, and the subject turns out to be “a woman in love” (*la mujer enamorada*). This leads her cousin and future husband, Don Pedro, to insist not only that women need to be supervised closely, but that a man has the power to safeguard a woman's virtue. This he hopes to demonstrate by example—his plan is to take extreme measures to protect the virtue of his sister, Doña Inés. Don Pedro is adamant and arrogant in his point of view, though Doña Ana finds it both silly and insulting, and Don Félix dismisses it as nonsense (“*un disparate*”), especially since “*de la mano del cielo viene solo la que es buena.*” As the play unfolds, Don

²¹⁷ Performed 3 December 1682 by the company of Simón Aguado; Shergold and Varey, *Representaciones palaciegas*, 156, 243, 248. Carpio may well have owned a copy of the Viennese *suelta* and an exemplar of the *Quarta parte de comedias nuevas de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca* with the play's second printing. For the publication history, see Kurt Reichenberger and Roswitha Reichenberger, *Bibliographisches Handbuch der Calderón-Forschung. Manual bibliográfico calderoniano* (Kassel: Thiele & Schwartz, 1979–81), 1:265; Henry W. Sullivan, *Calderón in the German Lands and the Low Countries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 96–97; Martin Franzbach, *Untersuchungen zum Calderóns in der europäischen Literatur vor der Romantik* (Munich: W. Fink, 1974), 131.

²¹⁸ *No puede ser el guardar una mujer* (based on Lope de Vega's earlier *El mayor imposible*) was first performed in Madrid in November 1659 by the company of Sebastián del Prado, when Carpio's control of court entertainments and power at court were at their height; for the performance and publication dates, see Lobato, “La dramaturgia de Moreto,” 53–71 (66–67); it was first printed in *Parte 14 of Comedias nuevas escogidas [Pensil de Apolo, en doze comedias nuevas de los mejores ingenios de España]* (Madrid: Domingo García Morrás, 1661), and included in the dramatist's posthumous *Segunda parte de las comedias de don Agustín Moreto* (Valencia: Imprenta de Benito Macé, 1676). See also Tania de Miguel Magro, “A Study of Women's Intelligence in Moreto's *No puede ser*,” *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 62 (2010): 79–102.

Félix and Doña Ana conspire to teach their pompous friend Don Pedro a lesson, with the invaluable assistance of Tarugo and his many disguises. As part of their ruse, Don Félix courts Doña Inés de Pacheco but actually falls in love with her (and she with him). In the end, Doña Ana has proven her point about female intelligence, and three happy couples are headed for wedded bliss—Don Félix with Doña Inés, her servant Manuela with Tarugo, and a wiser and less jealous Don Pedro with Doña Ana.

Though this play ends with conventional matrimonial alliances, it reiterates the importance of affective choice and sexual attraction—the love that binds Don Félix and Doña Inés is mutual and freely chosen, and the play follows its intricately joyful blossoming from desire to commitment. The vigorous female protagonists are strikingly independent; most of their dialogue emphasizes their astute manipulation of the men. Women in this play make choices, and, in what seems to have been Carpio's own worldview, stand out as stronger, more honest, and just as learned as the men in their lives. Given its characters, themes, and message, Moreto's play was a brilliant offering to Carpio's niece, since she seems to have been clever and high spirited like the ladies in the play. Moreover, just around this time, Carpio felt that Lorenza was being oppressed and mistreated by Colonna, her new father-in-law, whom he disliked intensely as a real-life embodiment of the ungallantry in Moreto's fictional Don Pedro.²¹⁹ Carpio seems to have pointed a finger at Colonna, who had been unable to control or "guard" his own wife (by this date, all Europe knew that Maria Mancini had fled Colonna's abuse to take refuge in a Madrid convent). Needless to say, while his wife's escape and refusal to return home caused Colonna no end of humiliation and damaged his reputation, they certainly proved the truth of the maxim upon which Moreto's play was based—"No puede ser el guardar una mujer."

The performance history of *No puede ser* draws associations with Hapsburg court performances and a royal pedigree similar to that of *Fineza contra fineza*. Carpio likely produced the play in Madrid in 1659 before his 1662 exile (its publication in the 1661 collection points to a prior date of performance).²²⁰ *No puede ser* was mounted as a private palace performance on 23 May 1680 in Madrid for the royal family (including Queen Marie-Louise) by the company of Manuel Vallejo. Only a short time after Carpio's Rome production, *No puede ser* received its third palace performance in Madrid on 12 April 1682 by the acting company of Simón Aguado, which also performed *Fineza contra fineza* in December of the same year in Madrid. Payments for these Madrid performances in 1680 and 1682 were authorized by Lorenza's father,

²¹⁹ See the letter in E-PAbm, MS 24-2-9, Embajada de Roma, 1682, 7 June 1682.

²²⁰ Lobato, "La dramaturgia de Moreto," 66, asserts that the premiere occurred in November 1659 but offers no supporting evidence; Varey and Shergold, *Teatros y comedias en Madrid: 1651-1665*, lacks an entry for *No puede ser*.

the Duke of Medinaceli, the likely sponsor.²²¹ Certainly, Carpio chose two plays that were thematically appropriate for Lorenza's birthday and approved by her powerful father. Both plays projected "royal" status, given their performance history on Imperial or royal occasions, and both plays conveyed strong messages within Carpio's personal politics, contributing to the renovation of his image.

The only song called for in *No puede ser*, "Es el ingenio noble, como el sol...," belongs to the verisimilar world of everyday mortal characters and is performed by servant musicians to entertain the arriving guests as Doña Ana's academy commences. This kind of song (together with another song of the same type in the loa) could be fashioned easily by a solo singer, or two or three singers, accompanied by a guitar or guitars—precisely the sort of ensemble that any prominent Spanish household could bring together from among its members of all social levels (no musical setting seems to be extant from any performance). But the casting for Carpio's Rome production still poses a problem, given that the play allegedly was performed by Carpio's all-male household. A manuscript loa for *No puede ser*, ascribed to Carpio's secretary, Juan Vélez de León, lists members of Carpio's staff as its performers: Don Sebastián de Villareal, Don Joseph de Corquera, Don Juan de Moreda, Don Manuel de Hugarte, Don Manuel de Olivera, Don Gaspar de Mesa—as well as "Músicos."²²² Three of the men, Olivera, Cabrera, and Hugarte, do not appear onstage in the loa, but are referred to in conversation by the others. Within the loa, as Villareal attempts to organize the men for their comedia performance, Cabrera and Hugarte not only fail to appear, but send complaints and explain that they will not appear onstage as women. When offstage music and singing are suddenly heard, Corquera, Villareal, and Moreda are surprised, then assured because the estribillo of the song-text lauds their efforts to accomplish the impossible ("lo que no puede ser"). The men onstage do not sing—instead, they repeat the words sung by the offstage musicians by reciting them.²²³ *No puede ser* includes six male characters (four serious aristocrats, one clever gracioso, and one comic old man) and three females (one a comic servant). Because the list of actors given with the manuscript loa names only six men, and two of them register complaints about performing *in travesti*, perhaps the six male roles required to stage *No puede ser* were performed by Carpio's staff, but the three female roles were not. Moreto's two aristocratic female protagonists, Doña Ana de Pacheco and Doña Inés de Pacheco, would seem to require conventionally female gestures, body movement, and voices to enact

²²¹ Documents concerning these performances are extracted in Shergold and Varey, *Representaciones palaciegas*, 240, 242, 246.

²²² "Loa para la Comedia de No puede ser. Que se representó en Nápoles [*sic?*] por algunos de los criados mayores del Exmo. Señor Marqués del Carpio, entonces Virrey de aquel reyno; y la escribió de su orden Don Juan Vélez de León su Secretario de Justicia," E-Mn, MS 2100, fols. 289–93.

²²³ The section of the loa with the song is E-Mn, MS 2100, fols. 291v–293.

convincingly the feminine wiles so essential to the message of the play. Carpio's productions took place extraterritorially, in his private theater at the Spanish embassy, so perhaps actresses could perform there.²²⁴ It may also be relevant that, though the pope subscribed to the notion that women should not appear onstage, he nevertheless was further angered when actors "vestiti da donna" performed in a private entertainment at the Pamphili palace.²²⁵

Carpio's third play of the season, *Ni amor se libra de amor*, was produced beginning on 26 April at a time when entertainment had become a much-desired commodity and his prospective audience sought relief during unusually hot weather. For example, when a rumor to the effect that "una vaga commedia in musica" was to be performed after Easter 1681 outside the city (in Velletri), a large contingent of prelates and gentlemen gathered there, even before the pope had conveyed his official permission.²²⁶ An initial rehearsal for Carpio's production of *Ni amor se libra de amor* took place on 21 March,²²⁷ and by 18 April rehearsals at Palazzo di Spagna were progressing well. The performances lasted from the opening on 26 April to the end of May.²²⁸ The embassy account for April 1682 puts the cost at 6,926 scudi,²²⁹ and, beyond that, Carpio also financed the printing of a commemorative Italian scenario, *Ne meno amore si libera da amore*, with translations of the Spanish song-texts, in order to frame the occasion as elaborately celebratory and self-congratulatory.²³⁰ He joked in a letter to Villagarcía that he had managed to avoid conflict with the French—"most ardently warlike Mars"—by immersing himself in the "delights of Venus," given the play's erotic content.²³¹

²²⁴ Tamburini, *Due teatri*, 146–47, notes that Colonna exploited the notion of "private entertainment" in his cortile to feature female singers in a 1681 serenata.

²²⁵ Clementi, *Il carnevale romano*, 1:509.

²²⁶ To the chagrin of the sponsors, only a conditional permission finally arrived, such that they were not permitted to accept money at the door; E-PAbm, *Avisos de Roma*, tomo 12, fol. 453, 24 May 1681.

²²⁷ I-Rli, MS 36.A.16, fol. 146v, 21 March 1682: "Oggi poi si è provata la commedia spagnola, che il medesimo ambasciatore ha risoluto di far recitare dopo la settimana di Pasqua in quello suo palazzo, la quale sarà molto riguardevole per la vaghezza delle macchine, balletti, et altro."

²²⁸ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, *Avvisi* 46, fol. 208v, 30 May 1682: "Si sono finite le commedie, e già si è disfatto il teatro dell'Ambasciatore Cattolico, non essendo più le stagione per simili divertimenti, oltre ch'è necessario di sgombrare per la festività di San Pietro."

²²⁹ "Mas seis mil novecientos y veinte y seis escudos que importó el gasto de las dos comedias con machina que se hicieron este mes en Palacio para celebrar los años de la Reyna Reynante nuestra señora, cuya fiesta se transfirió a este mes por haverlos cumplido en viernes," reported in E-SIM, Leg. 3065, "Quenta y relación jurada de los gastos secretos de esta embajada en Roma," transcribed in Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, Apéndice 2:266.

²³⁰ *Scenario della tragicomedia intitolata Ne meno amore si libera da amore* (Rome: N. Angelo Tinassi, 1682), I-Rc, Vol. Misc. 456/8; V-CVbav, *Miscell.H.131* (int. 10). Many thanks to Dr. Nancy D'Antuono for sharing with me her excellent analysis.

²³¹ E-Mah, *Estado*, Libro 198, 18 April 1682, Rome, letter from Carpio to Villagarcía: "La semana que viene espero que se haga la comedia para celebrar los años de la Reina y holgaré que corresponda al festejo [?] y la satisfacción de estas damas a quien soy deudor de tantos favores. Notará Vuestra Excelencia que no me hallo metido entre lo más ardiente de Marte, y [sic "sino"?] entre las delicias de Venus, pues este y Cupido es su título."

Ni amor se libra de amor, a partly-sung comedia by Calderón de la Barca on the story of Cupid and Psyche, held significance both in Carpio's personal history and for its political associations. It was first performed on 19 January 1662 with music by Hidalgo at the Buen Retiro palace just prior to Carpio's arrest and banishment—apparently the last play he readied for production there. A second production was given in his absence with music by Hidalgo and a new loa by Calderón at the Coliseo del Buen Retiro on 3 December 1679 to welcome the new queen, Marie-Louise d'Orleans (further court revivals took place in 1687 and 1693). This "royal" association surely conditioned Carpio's choice of *Ni amor se libra de amor* as appropriate for the queen's birthday in Rome 1682.

The highly musical play features a mortal female protagonist of marriageable age, as had the two plays Carpio already had offered during carnival 1682. But in *Ni amor se libra de amor* the mythical Psyche is the female protagonist, and the amorous plot is driven by Cupid, the god of love himself. As in Apuleius, Cupid/Amor resorts to otherworldly means to contain her. In *Ni amor se libra de amor*, the king of Cnidus has three daughters (Selenisa, Astrea, and Psiquis). The two royal suitors promised to her sisters happen to see Psiquis in the temple of Venus, and her beauty turns their heads. Anteo, Psiquis' suitor, tells the others that Venus has foretold that Psiquis is to marry a monster. The community acclaims her beauty and turns against Venus, acclaiming Psiquis instead. This provokes Venus' angry jealousy, so she sends Cupido to punish Psiquis. Moved by her resplendent beauty, Cupido ("love itself" in the play's title) is unable to harm her. Meanwhile, because of Venus' curse, Psiquis is rejected by her own father and left on a deserted island. Cupido visits her there, and at his behest she is acclaimed goddess by supernatural choruses. Thanks to his love, she enjoys unlimited luxury, as long as she abides by her promise not to attempt to see his face. Mortal in her weakness, she cannot resist the doubts provoked by the taunts of her envious sisters. Her trust in a husband who does not reveal himself waivers, and Psiquis contrives to view Cupido's visage while he sleeps. When a drop of wax from her burning candle touches his face, Cupido awakens suddenly to find Psiquis leaning over him with a dagger in her hand. Enraged at this betrayal, he deserts her instantly and the enchanted palace vanishes (to provide a happy ending, he later pardons her and stays her hand when she attempts suicide with the same dagger).

The play was first published in Calderón's 1664 *Tercera parte de comedias*, but the stage directions in this first edition were modified in a later 1687 edition with emendations by Calderón's friend, Juan de Vera Tassis.²³² The later stage

²³² *Tercera parte de comedias de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca* (Madrid: Domingo García Morrás, 1664) [E-Mn, R/10637]; *Tercera parte de comedias del célebre poeta español don Pedro Calderón de la Barca... que nuevamente corregidas publica don Juan de Vera Tassis y Villarroel* (Madrid: Francisco Sanz, 1687) [E-Mn R/11347]; concerning the various printings of this collection, see Edward M. Wilson, "On the 'Tercera Parte' of Calderon 1664." *Studies in Bibliography* 15 (1962): 223–30; for the music, see Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 171, 178, 270–72, 320, 348, and *passim*.

directions may well reflect the dramatist's own revisions and enhancements for the December 1679 production that celebrated the arrival of Queen Marie-Louise at the Buen Retiro.²³³ The most important difference between these two editions of the Spanish play with respect to music is that a monologue and another lyrical text toward the end of act 2 are indicated as sung in the 1687 printing, but not designated as sung in the 1664 edition. My evaluation of Carpio's Rome production relies on comparisons between the two versions of the play printed in Madrid and the 1682 Italian scenario, *Ne meno amore si libera da amore* (whose titlepage is reproduced as Figure 2.6). Trying to determine just how the musical scenes were performed in Rome is especially complicated because this *comedia* not only required more songs than the others Carpio produced that year but was steeped originally in Spanish conventions for musico-dramatic effects.

The Italian scenario *Ne meno amore si libera da amore* provides a mere summary rather than an exact translation of the Spanish drama. It opens with a new loa featuring allegorical figures clothed to represent Asia, Africa, and America. They struggle to wrest the portrait of Queen Marie-Louise from the actor costumed as Europe because each continent wishes to be the first to celebrate her birthday. The noise of a tempest threatens to blow them away to make way for the representative of the Heavens ("il Cielo"), who snatches up the portrait and gives it to the Sun as he arrives in a shining chariot pulled by four horses. A choir sings to reinforce the spoken declamation of the representative of the Heavens, who in turn calls on the Planets to celebrate, while the Four Parts of the World call on the choir of the Nymphs of the Earth to sing praise of the queen's glory. This encomium of the Heavens is completed by a solo song or aria. The Sun calls on the Stars and explains that Marie-Louise's image belongs to the Heavens, a message reinforced in another solo song designed to soothe the Four Parts of the World upon whom her beauty shines like another Sun. Other solo songs followed the encomia of individual planets—Saturn, Jove, Mars, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon. As the Heavens and the Planets leave the stage, the Four Parts of the World sing that the earth is worthy of competition with the Heavens because the queen's beauty spreads over it as do the heavens. The loa concludes with choral songs proclaiming the queen's superior beauty.

While the representative of the Heavens sings his or her own "aria" (the stage direction reads "Prima Aria del Prologo cantata da tutto il Choro, che repete il medesimo, che canta il Cielo"), most of the other "arie" seem not to have been sung by the characters themselves in this loa, but instead by "il choro" or "una voce," according to the indications preserved in the printed scenario. For example, "Quinta Aria a una voce concludendo quello che dice Saturno" and "Aria undecima cantata da tutto il Choro." This might suggest that unseen singers sang offstage while costumed actors pantomimed onstage. But it is also possible that

²³³ Norman D. Shergold, "Calderón and Vera Tassis," *Hispanic Review* 23 (1955): 212–18.



Figure 2.6 Title page, *Scenario della Tragicomedia intitolata Ne meno amore si libera da amore* (1682), Vol. Misc. 456/8. © Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome.

the printed scenario merely translates Spanish stage practices awkwardly into Italian ones, since it even designates the ensemble songs as “arie.” Of course, if the cast assembled for this production were short on singers, grouping them into a “choir” for the music of the loa would have been an expedient solution to a practical performance challenge.

The singers who would have formed the allegorical and anonymous choirs in the *loa* were also participants in the choirs of the *comedia* proper, but the Italian scenario suggests as well that the Roman performance of *Ni amor se libra de amor* offered more solo songs than are called for in the 1664 and 1687 Spanish printings of the play. Essentially, some of the ensemble songs in the Spanish original were made into solo songs for the Rome performance. The estribillo “Pues que Venus envidia / la beldad suya...,” for example, is rendered as “Già che Venere invidia la di lei beltà” in the Italian scenario for “a una voce, mentre il Popolo acclama Psiche per Dea della bellezza” and repeated in the same way. Two of the act 1 arias in the Italian scenario do not seem to have equivalents or models in Calderón’s Spanish text (at least not in the text as it has come down to us), so they may have been new. The aria labelled as the ninth musical intervention in act 1, “All’armi miei furori, all’armi,” sung by “una voce repetendo quello che dice Cupido,” is one of them. Though its content seems absolutely appropriate for Cupido’s first appearance—armed with bow and arrows, he is spoiling for a fight—there is no equivalent speech in the Spanish play. Similarly, the last of the “arie” listed in the scenario, “Felice è l’anno a chi lo termina,” a celebratory birthday song at the close of act 1 (“Nel fine del’ primo Atto si canta quest’Aria”), clearly connected the action of the play to the occasion of the queen’s birthday, though no model for the text occurs in the earlier Spanish printed editions of the play.

The differences between the Roman production and its Spanish antecedents are particularly evident for act 2. An important passage that was performed as a solo in recitative in the later Spanish productions of the *comedia* was not sung at all in the Roman production, to judge by the fact that the Italian scenario provides no translation of the passage. The 1687 Vera Tassis edition of the play gives the more musical reading of the scene, one that accords with the extant Spanish musical sources. When Psyche finds herself abandoned on an unfamiliar island, she encounters a veiled nymph carrying a torch who emerges from the grotto or cleft in the mountainside to guide her toward Cupid’s underground palace. This nymph sings sixteen lines of recitative beginning “De quien en tanta tragedia...” Although this passage is not indicated as sung in the Italian scenario, once the nymph introduces Psyche into the enchanted palace, a solo voice becomes more prominent in the Italian scenario, replacing the sound of the mysterious, anonymous supernatural choirs that held such importance in the Spanish productions. The scenario indicates that the responses from the ensembles, “Los dos coros” and “Todos” in the Spanish play, were performed by “Tutto il Choro” in the Italian production, but that the statements of individual choirs (for example, “El sol destes montes...,” “La más bella rosa...,” and “La estrella de Venus...,”) were rendered instead as solo songs. Thus, instead of the mysterious antiphonal effect produced by the two choirs specified in Calderón’s Spanish text, the Rome performance was simplified to require fewer singers in that a solo voice replaced one of the ensembles.

As act 2 continues, the Italian scenario again suggests that some of the choral responses called for in the Calderón text were sung instead by a solo voice. In answer to Psyche's spoken questions (in the scene that includes "Toda bella Psiquis es / de tu divina belleza..."), Cupid's spoken lines to Psyche in the Spanish text were also spoken (and not sung) in the Italian production. But when the stage direction in the Spanish play calls for a choir or ensemble—"El y Música"—the Italian scenario instead offers "Duodecima [aria] concludendo quello che dice Amore," "Decima terza [aria] a una voce come sopra," and so on.²³⁴ The lines "Venus bella / no procures..." [etc.], translated to begin "Venere bella non volere," are indicated as sung by the choir ("Decima nona [aria] tutto il Choro ripetendo quello che dice Psiche") in response to Psyche's spoken lines, such that the Italian scenario here follows the practice called for in the Spanish text. The same occurs with the lines beginning "Aunque mal podrá huyendo..." assigned to "Música" in the Spanish text (translated as "Ancorché mal potrà col fuggire" in the Italian scenario). Again, the Italian scenario brings the second act to a close with a sung birthday tribute, "Felice e l'anno a chi lo termina" performed by "tutto il Choro."

The Italian scenario for act 3 of the play includes translations for all of the act 3 song-texts in Calderón's *comedia*, but the numbering of the segments in the scenario makes it difficult to understand the abbreviated performance directions. It may be that the printer erred in his placement of a performance direction or that the compiler of the scenario lost track of the repeated *estribillos*. Nevertheless, the musical interventions in the Roman performance followed the Spanish model's sequence of ensemble songs performed by "Músicos," together with some solo strophes. For example, the Italian scenario opens act 3 with an ensemble song that is nevertheless called an "aria" ("Aria prima tutto il Choro"), "Cuatro eses ha de tener / Amor para ser perfecto..." accurately rendered in the Italian scenario as "Quattro S. deve avere Amore per esser perfetto" that is then twice repeated. The song is incorporated as "Il verso intercalare della Musica" (p. 19). Subsequently, when Cupid employs his supernatural power to open a scene-within-a-scene so that Psyche may view the wedding of her sisters, a second ensemble song in the Spanish texts provides audible verisimilitude with a festive sound because *Arsidas* has declared "que hoy todo ha de ser festejos," and announces "canciones, bailes, músicas, y danzas." Although both Roman and Spanish productions surely employed multiple voices and instruments for this scene, the Italian scenario confusingly offers the direction "Quarta [aria] a una voce" before the translation of the text "Alle nozze felici di quattro amorosi affetti." This is the only indication for a solo voice in act 3; from this point forward all of the headings for the translated song-texts call for "Tutto il Choro." It is likely that the direction "[aria] a

²³⁴ Cupid's "Hermosísima Psiquis, / cuya planta produce..." is not indicated as sung in the *editio princeps* of the play in Calderón's *Tercera parte*, though it is indicated as sung in a later *suelta* edition; a strophic setting for voice and bass line, marked "Solo," is provided in E-ALMA, Ms Novena, p. 213.

una voce” was misplaced; it would make optimal sense to place this indication before the song-text beginning “La Deità, di questi Monti, il Sole di questi Orizzonti, l’Aurora di queste Selve,” since this section of poetry in the Spanish play, beginning “La deidad destes montes / el sol de todos estos horizontes...” is to be sung by two solo voices. The comedia stage directions indicate that the scene was to begin with an instrumental ritornello accompanying the entrance of *damas* with musicians, their voices acclaiming Psiquis: “Tocan instrumentos” [dentro] y luego salen *damas y músicos*” in the 1664 printing, and then “Salen del Palacio las Damas que pueden, los Músicos, Friso, y Flora, y Siquis” in the Vera Tassis 1687 edition, followed by the indication that “Música 1a” and “Música 2a” sang the solo coplas.

Carpio’s production of the two Spanish plays that required specific musical effects (*Fineza contra fineza* during carnival and then *Ni amor se libra de amor* after Easter) raises important questions about how the musical scenes were performed in Rome. That these Roman productions did not use music by an Italian composer or songs performed in Italian seems clear. But it might be useful to ask whether the casts were filled out entirely by the gentleman in Carpio’s entourage as has previously been assumed. In January 1682, Carpio wrote to the Marquis de los Vélez that the plays were to be performed by his “familia.”²³⁵ The Modenese envoy in Rome reported, admittedly with second-hand information, that the Spanish plays were “rappresentate da suoi [Carpio’s] servitori.”²³⁶ And a laudatory poem penned later by Baldini concerning *Ni amor se libra de amor* indicates that two gentlemen in Carpio’s household played Cupid and Psyche—Sebastián Villareal y Gamboa as Cupid and Bartolomé Cobreras as Psyche.²³⁷ Nevertheless, after studying the Italian scenari and further documents, I suggest not only that Carpio hired professional instrumentalists, but also that his productions resulted from collaboration among members of his entourage, professional singers, and professional musicians. In his 7 February letter to Villagarcía, Carpio reported on the success of his carnival productions and added “just last night, the Pope’s music director decided to place himself among the musicians just to be able to see the play.”²³⁸ Thus, “musici” (professional musicians) were involved in the performance. In Carpio’s production of *Ni amor se libra de amor*, the choral songs and solos would also surely have called for professional singers, even if Villareal and

²³⁵ E-SIM, Estado, Libro 127, 30 January 1682, Rome, Carpio to Marquis de los Vélez in Naples, transcribed in Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 458 n. 392.

²³⁶ I-MOs, Cancelleria Ducale, Ambasciatori, Roma, Dispacci di Giacomo Muzzarelli Pacchioni, b. 299, Rome, 31 January 1682; also cited in Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 457 n. 386.

²³⁷ E-PABm, B-97-V2-23, Baldini, “El tempio della Fama,” fol. 58v; see Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, Apéndice, 2:154. Baldini was a “constant member” of Queen Christina’s academy and contributed to “improving Carpio’s public image in Italy, a task he had successfully performed for the Colonna and Chigi families” as explained in López-Fanjul y Díez del Corral, “A Game of Drawing Fame,” 22.

²³⁸ “solo refiero a Vuestra Excelencia que ante noche el mro. de Capilla de su Santidad estimó hallar lugar entre los músicos para ver la comedia,” E-Mah, Estado, Libro 198, 7 February 1682, Rome, letter from Carpio to Villagarcía in Venice.

Cobreras took the spoken roles of Cupid and Psyche. An avviso of 18 April reported that a “great crowd of nobility” attended one of its rehearsals and enjoyed Carpio’s copious refreshments, noting that the orchestra included forty or more instruments.²³⁹ Another avviso stated that Carpio’s production was “accompanied by grand symphonies [sinfonie] and scene changes.”²⁴⁰ And yet another explained that the professionals who had sung in his comedias were rewarded with superb refreshments and a celebratory visit to his suburban villa.²⁴¹

Spanish troupes performed in Rome and Naples with some regularity, thanks to the patronage of the “Spanish families.”²⁴² Indeed, Spanish actors and actresses might well have been recruited from a company available in late 1681 and early 1682 because a Spanish troupe capable of performing an opera was resident in Naples in 1677–78 and seems to have remained in Italy after that date.²⁴³ In the first week of 1679, the Prince of Palestrina had arranged to entertain Carpio with a performance of “una bellissima comedia in lingua Spagnola recitata da i primacci musici” at Monterotondo (see above). In the first week of February 1681, the Prince of Piombino presented a “bella comedia spagnuola” in his apartments at the Castello Nuovo in Naples, and, shortly thereafter, Viceroy de los Vélez offered a comedia “in musica in Spagnuolo” at the Palazzo Reale (probably *Las fatigas de Ceres*, a revival of *El robo de Proserpina* from 1678). On 25 August 1681, for the queen’s onomastic day, “una bellissima comedia Spagnola,” Calderón’s *El segundo Escipión*, was performed in Naples for an intimate audience at the Palazzo Reale. Another “bellissima comedia spagnola” was staged there for the nobility in September 1681 to celebrate the birthday of the viceroy’s wife.

²³⁹ E-PAbm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 15, fol. 208v, 18 April 1682: “L’Ambasciatore di Spagna, che vuol darsi bel tempo, a dispetto di chi non vuole, fece ieri[?] sera provare la sua commedia nel suo palazzo e vi andò quantità grande di nobiltà e perché il numero degli strumenti avanzava la quarantina, fu chi disse, che quel teatro avesse racchiuso nel suo ventre le musiche di Orfeo, e le sinfonie di Anfione, correndo tutti i virtuosi a qual dolce nido [nicchia?], voltando gli occhi non a lui, ma alle sue monete. Sono innumerabili i preziosi rinfreschi, che colla sua generosità fa dispensare il detto Ambasciatore, e Dame, e cavalieri, che vanno alle sue commedie, tanto più soavi, quanto la corrente stagione li appetisce: non mancando poi Sua Eccellenza d’andare in persona a ringraziare tutti, e sapere, se la commedia gli è gradita, perché le dame si erano gonfiate come palloni, fu chi li disse, che era superfluo, mentre nella prima commedia fattasi a posta per questi virtuosi, e artigiani, aveva usato lo stesso colle loro mogli.”

²⁴⁰ “accompagnata da gran sinfonie e mutazioni di scene,” in I-Rli, MS 36.C.4, fol. 69, 2 May 1682.

²⁴¹ “Il Signore Ambasciatore di Spagna diede venerdì nella sua villa una bellissima ricreazione alla Duchessa di Paliano, ed una sontuosa merenda agli musici che hanno cantato alle dette sue commedie,” according to I-Rli, MS 36.A.16, fol. 238, 4? or 9? May 1682; and E-PAbm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 15, fol. 282, 9 May 1682.

²⁴² A list of Spanish fiestas and Italian serenades sponsored by or for Spanish patrons in Rome and Naples is included in Stein, “Una música de noche,” 364–72.

²⁴³ The first printing of Manuel García Bustamante’s libretto to *El robo de Proserpina, y sentencia de Júpiter*, Sartori 20058, carries a dedication date of 22 December 1677; a performance in Naples was planned by de los Vélez for January 1678 but was delayed to early February and repeated on 22 February, according to reports in V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 90, fols. 38v, 89, and 150v, 11 January, 1 and 2 February 1678. Although the libretto claims Filippo Coppola as the composer and the musicians of the royal chapel as performers, *El robo de Proserpina* requires a large cast with a number of comic roles, so, most likely, the cast was filled out by the members of the Spanish acting company (“Istrioni Spagnoli”) resident in Naples in autumn 1677; see V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 89, fol. 272, 21 September 1677, and fol. 521v, 14 December 1677.

Spanish actors and singing actresses for Carpio's Rome 1682 partly-sung productions might also have attracted Carpio's attention due to performances of Hidalgo's *Celos aun del aire matan* in Naples in early 1682. The Prince of Piombino, the same Giovanni Battista Ludovisi who had already produced Spanish plays in Naples, and whose household included skilled Spanish and Italian musicians and singers, began preparations for his production of *Celos* in early fall 1681.²⁴⁴ This was several months before *Celos aun del aire matan* would be staged in Naples following the marriage of his sister Lavinia Ludovisi and the Duke of Atri (see the detailed consideration in Chapter 3). According to the Florentine agent in Naples, the opera "pleased the audience more for the beauty of the costumes and sets than for the quality of the musical performance and composition,"²⁴⁵ which may be one reason Carpio chose to produce partly-sung Spanish works in Rome rather than a fully-sung Spanish opera. Significantly, Carpio reproduced some of the highly successful scenic effects from *Celos* in his Roman *Fineza contra fineza*, where they were again praised. *Celos* was performed in Naples between 28 January and 3 February 1682, so it is possible that members of the Spanish company could have performed in *Fineza contra fineza* in Rome prior to this date. The company was certainly available later on for Carpio's Roman production of *Ni amor se libra de amor* after Easter 1682.

The Italian scenario *Ne meno amore si libera da amore* shows that the Rome 1682 production reworked the Spanish text of the play from the 1664 printing, with its simpler effects and without the solo song for the mysterious nymph. Though the scenario shows that ensemble songs were instead performed as solo songs, it also reveals that Carpio's Roman production did not attempt to replicate the play's most striking demonstration of the Spanish music-theatrical conventions—the scene from act 2 in which a veiled nymph emerges from the hidden cleft in the earth and with her song lures Psiquis into Cupido's enchanted subterranean palace. The veiled nymph's solo "De quien en tanta tragedia..." and the next solo song in the 1687 Vera Tassis edition do not appear in the "translations of the arias" in the Italian scenario.

The 1687 Vera Tassis edition of *Ni amor se libra de amor* presents the scene in a way that would incorporate the extant music. The scene opens with two choirs of mysterious unseen voices singing at Cupido's behest to acclaim Psiquis. Hearing the offstage choirs, Psiquis asks "To whom do these voices belong?" ("¿Cuyas serán

²⁴⁴ I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, f. 4122, 14 October 1681, Naples, letter of Giovanni Pietro Cella: "Insiste questo Signore Principe di Piombino con molta applicazione in collaterale per ricuperare le terre alienate... tal applicazione l'ha assai allontanato dal gioco, divertendosi al presente impiegato nel rappresentare alcune commedie in musica per solennizzare gli sponsali della sorella col Signore Duca d'Atri, e per tal cagione questo Signore Viceré s'inasprì un poco contro detto Signore Principe perché ritenne a prezzo di re un musico che deve recitare ad una commedia che si rappresenterà a Palazzo nel giorno natalizio di Sua Maestà Cattolica."

²⁴⁵ I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, f. 4122, 10 February 1682, Naples, Giovanni Pietro Cella: "La commedia del Signore Principe di Piombino è riuscita di soddisfazione più in riguardo della vaghezza degli abiti, e scena che della musica e composizione."

estas voces?”). A grotto or cleft in the side of a mountain opens and a veiled nymph carrying a torch emerges; her response “To she who in such a tragedy” (“De quien en tanta tragedia...”) identifies the voice as hers. The stage direction here calls for a sung monologue: “Por una gruta que habrá en el Teatro, sale una Ninfa con un velo en el rostro, y una hacha encendida en la mano, y canta.” Unsurprisingly, the extant music for this monologue in the MS Novena is a declamatory *recitado*.²⁴⁶ It may represent what was performed in the 1679 Madrid court revival likely supervised by Calderón and Hidalgo. In 1679 Carpio was in Rome and would not have known this revival, though he may have received news of its success.

Within the enchanted palace, Cupido courts Psiquis with music and assures her of his love, though she cannot see his face. His spoken lines in the 1687 edition of the Spanish comedia make clear that his monologue, “Hermosísima Siquis...,” is to be sung: “pues no pueden los ojos, la enamoren los oídos.” A solo-voice setting of “Hermosísima Psiquis” is included in the Novena manuscript (the only musical source for the four solo pieces from *Ni amor se libra de amor*).²⁴⁷ The role of Cupido, a supernatural male character, was surely performed by an actress-singer in the Madrid productions; the long *recitado* here awakens choral responses from invisible offstage servant-musicians, in keeping with Spanish conventions. Cupido cannot reveal himself to Psiquis visually, but he conveys his amorous desire through her sense of hearing. He sings to Psiquis (rather than speaking to her) to allow her to arrive gently at the realization that he is divine and desires her. It appears that Cupido’s monologue was not sung in Carpio’s 1682 production, though the choral responses surely were sung, given that Italian equivalents for their texts are provided in the scenario.²⁴⁸

Carpio’s *Ni amor se libra de amor* met with rousing success in Rome, “accompanied by grand symphonies and many set changes” and with elegant lighting effects.²⁴⁹ This production was exceptional among Rome’s theatrical offerings in 1682 because it was both musically and visually demanding, requiring numerous special effects along with both ensemble songs and solo

²⁴⁶ E-ALMA, Ms Novena, pp. 211–12.

²⁴⁷ As argued in considerable detail in Stein, “El manuscrito de música teatral de la Congregación de Nuestra Señora de la Novena,” 63–67, and earlier in Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 270–73, although the music is unattributed in the Novena manuscript, it is most likely by Hidalgo, since the four-part ensemble pieces from *Ni amor se libra de amor* also appear ascribed to Hidalgo in E-Mn, MS 13622, and the Novena versions are strikingly close in detail to the latter settings (some are exact concordances and some contain very insignificant variants). Two of the four-part pieces in Novena seem to be recomposed versions of the Hidalgo pieces. Hidalgo was involved with two productions in Madrid (1662, 1679) and it is possible that his music was employed in revivals, some songs without alteration and others lightly recomposed. Since there are no concordances for the solo songs, it is unclear whether these represent older music that was heard in successive revivals and thus incorporated in the early eighteenth-century Novena anthology, or recomposed versions of Hidalgo’s original solos.

²⁴⁸ Another possibility is that Cupido’s monologue was performed by an offstage singer during this scene while Sebastián de Villareal y Gamboa acted the part onstage.

²⁴⁹ “una commedia spagnola accompagnata da gran sinfonie e mutazioni di scene,” according to I-Rli, MS 36.C.4, fol. 69, 2 May 1682. As the performances continued, Carpio rewarded the musicians by inviting them to his villa, offering “una sontuosa merenda alle musici che hanno cantato alle dette sue commedie,” I-Rli, MS 36.A.16, fol. 238, 4? or 9? May 1682; and E-PABm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 15, fol. 282, 9 May 1682.

songs for enchantment and divine persuasion.²⁵⁰ *Ni amor se libra de amor* also incorporated some conventional scenes and settings of the sort that had garnered success in earlier operas. It called for:

1. Act 1: Courtyard (Cortile) probably adjacent to the Temple of Venus
Closed royal garden (Giardino chiuso)
Open view of the garden (“S’apre il Proscenio del Giardino”)
2. Act 2: Stormy seascape with a shipwreck (“Mare tempestoso con Isola deserta, Nave naufragate con marinari, e dietro la nave”)
Desolate shoreline, with a ship arriving and departing in the stormy seascape
Entrance to a grotto (Grotta), which Psiche is led to by a shade
Anti-chamber (Anticamera) within a palace (within the grotto), with view of gardens
3. Act 3: Anti-chamber (Anticamera)
Anti-chamber proscenium (“S’apre il Proscenio dell’Anticamera”) where ghosts carrying candles (“lumi alla mano”) reveal Psiche’s family in Gnido (a scene-within-a-scene treatment)
Anti-chamber (“Si chiude il Proscenio dell’Anticamera”)
Garden with perspective of the sea (“Giardino con veduta di Mare”) and adjacent mountain (“Anteo cade giù per la Montagna a piedi di Cupido”)
Cupid’s palace chamber with tables piled with gleaming silver vessels (“Camere di Cupido, con tavole, e credenze di argenteria”)
Gardens
Earthquake that swallows up the palace and its gardens
Horrible scene with a deep, jagged ravine (“Scena orrida,” “gran rovina”)

By comparison, the highly successful *Gli equivoci nel sembiante* of 1679 had required only one setting (“La scena si rappresenta boschereccia”) and only four characters, with no supernatural effects. Like *Ni amor se libra de amor*, however, it also included a scene in which the female protagonist is asleep in the outdoors and discovered by her male counterpart. In *Gli equivoci nel sembiante* (I, 7), Clori is asleep in the wood when she is discovered by Eurillo. In *Ni amor se libra de amor* (I, 15) Cupido discovers and feasts his eyes upon the sleeping Psiche in the setting of the open proscenium of the garden. Clori, like Calderon’s Psiquis, is

²⁵⁰ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Avvisi 46, fol. 175, 2 May 1682: “Giovedì fui celebrato da questo Ambasciatore Cattolico l’anniversario della nascita della Regina Sposa di Spagna... e per maggiormente solennizzare detta festa, si recitò iersera nel medesimo suo palazzo una commedia spagnola, la quale si è resa anche più vaga per la decorazione del teatro, mutazione di scene, e quantità di macchine diverse, con che viene meritamente a riportare il pregio d’una delle più belle, che si siano viste in Roma, e per tal rispetto si rappresenterà altre volte nel corso della futura settimane per soddisfare alla curiosità delle Dame, e degli altri, che bramano vederla.”

accused of wrongdoing she has not committed and later attempts suicide, only to be saved from her own hand by the male who has observed her sleeping and falsely accused her, although Eurillo in Contini's libretto has no supernatural powers and is neither as beautiful nor as seductive as Calderón's Cupido.²⁵¹ The libretto to another opera produced at the Teatro Capranica, *Dov'è amore è pietà* (1679, music by Pasquini), calls for the courtyard ("Cortile") and palace rooms ("Appartamenti Reali") that later appeared in Carpio's play, as well as a wood. And in *Dov'è amore è pietà* yet another female protagonist survives an attempted suicide when Ipermestra tries to stab herself to death but is saved by a man who loves her with secretly adulterous passion. Finally, in the Pasquini setting of De Totis' *L'Idalma*, first produced at the Teatro Capranica in 1680, four sets are called for: a forest with a prospect or view of the sea ("Bosco con veduta di mare"), the courtyard of a palace or villa ("Cortile"), a gallery with various views ("Galleria con varie vedute"), and a garden ("Giardino"). In act 1, *Idalma*, the female protagonist, is found asleep in a wood by a man who later becomes her champion—a plot mechanism similar to that of the sleep scenes in *Gli equivoci nel sembiante* and *Ni amor se libra de amor*. In summary, like *Ni amor se libra de amor*, three of the operas produced at the Teatro Capranica before 1682 featured female protagonists who attempt suicide; two of the operas include scenes in which the female protagonist is asleep and lustfully observed by a male who becomes her champion; and a third has a similar plot mechanism.²⁵² Most important, *Ni amor se libra de amor*, *Fineza contra fineza*, and *No puede ser* all featured affectively charged roles for strong female protagonists whose integrity and passion put them temporarily in harm's way. These exciting female characters must have garnered loud applause from the *donne romane* and Lorenza de la Cerda, the dedicatee of the 1682 carnival plays. Carpio knew that *Ni amor se libra de amor* contained elements that were likely to be well received by Roman audiences, but the Italian scenario, *Ne meno amore si libera da amore*, confirms that his Roman production called for an even longer list of scene changes and special effects than what had been typical of recent Roman operas. It seems especially likely that the sets, mutazione, and machines were the invention of Philipp Schor. The visual effects within an endearing plot permitted Carpio to feature Spanish music, most likely performed by professionals. With *Ni amor se libra de amor*, Carpio celebrated the Spanish queen's birthday with characteristic extravagance. The stage of the Teatro Capranica, relocated to the Spanish embassy

²⁵¹ Concerning the libretto to *Gli equivoci nel sembiante*, see D'Accone, *The History of a Baroque Opera*, 35–48.

²⁵² Of course, sleep scenes were common in seventeenth-century Italian opera, occurring in Luigi Rossi's *Il palazzo incantato* (libretto by Giulio Rospigliosi, Rome 1642), Claudio Monteverdi's *L'incoronazione di Poppea* (Giovanni Francesco Busenello, Venice 1643), Antonio Cesti's *Orontea* (Giacinto Andrea Cicognini, Innsbruck 1649) and *Il pomo d'oro* (Francesco Sbarra, Vienna 1668), as well as in Cavalli's wildly popular *Il Giasone* (Giacinto Andrea Cicognini, Venice 1649), *L'Eritrea* (Giovanni Faustini, Venice 1652), *Ercole amante* (Francesco Buti, Paris 1662), and *Pompeo magno* (Nicolò Minato, Venice 1666), for example.

and probably enhanced by Schor, accommodated more than the usual number of scenes and machines.

The theme of Cupid and Psyche was Carpio's choice again for the traditional fiesta for the Spanish cause in Rome at the end of June in 1682, following the ceremony in which the "Hacanea" (*Chinea* in Italian) was presented to the pope as tribute from the Spanish king and kingdom of Naples. As Spanish ambassador, it was Carpio's duty to organize the elegant procession of Spanish and Roman nobles and prelates (and their horses and carriages) and host a celebration at the Spanish embassy following the ceremony. The Piazza di Spagna again drew crowds for fireworks and refreshments, with a spectacular fountain of wine overseen by a huge depiction of Psyche and Cupid over the door of the embassy.²⁵³ The printed description by Montalvo only provides details about what was seen, not what was heard, so it is difficult to know whether music from the 1682 *Ni amor se libra de amor* was heard again during this event that projected Carpio himself as a loyal and generous Cupid—"a monster of love and devotion to his sovereigns."²⁵⁴ Both Carpio's presentation of *Ni amor se libra de amor* and his public fiesta after the hacanea ceremony in 1682 recruited the myth of Cupid and Psyche to enhance his reputation amid his ever-present concern for the rehabilitation of his image. His comparatively modern ideas about personal choice and feminine agency shaped his entertainments, while his generosity and elegance earned him the respect and applause of the nobility.²⁵⁵ Nobles among those in the Spanish party ("principii feudatari di Spagna") made their appreciation known through their attendance, but "not many among the French" attended.²⁵⁶ The French ambassador instead made sure he was seen daily on the Corso to give the impression that he suffered no jealousy at Carpio's success, though the masked crowds of nobility and popolo attracted to the Piazza di Spagna were much larger even than those seen on the Corso itself.²⁵⁷

²⁵³ I-Rn, 341.N.4, 22, Francisco Antonio Montalvo, *La esfera de los aplausos del Excelentísimo Señor Marqués del Carpio en la presentación de la Hacanea ala Santidad de Nuestro Señor Inocencio XI* (Rome: Imprenta de la Rev. Camera Apostólica, 1682), dedicated to Carpio's niece, Lorenza de la Cerda, Princess of Paliano: "un frontispicio de arquitectura moderna cerrada por todas sus partes, y delante de este Alcázar en figura de laberinto se veía Siquis con una vela en la mano, procurando reconocer a Cupido, que dormía. Asunto fue esta fábula de la gran comedia que hizo representar Su Excelencia a los felices años de la Reyna Nuestra Señora, y empresa de los fuegos con que solemniza la más célebre función de nuestro gran Rey."

²⁵⁴ Montalvo, *La esfera de los aplausos*, fol. 3v: "porque quien examinare las acciones deste gran Príncipe [Carpio] hallará a todas luces, que es un monstruo de amor y de fineza."

²⁵⁵ E-PABm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 14, fol. 452, 7 February 1682: "Il Signore Ambasciatore di Spagna, il quale con dimostrare di volere spendere per dar gusto alla città, viene estremamente applaudito, massime dalla nobiltà per le grandi cortesie che da lui ricevano."

²⁵⁶ E-PABm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 14, fol. 452, 7 February 1682: the Borghese and Pamphilli princes did not attend because they were in mourning and outside of Rome, Pamphilli in a spiritual retreat at his "priorato."

²⁵⁷ E-PABm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 14, fol. 468, 14 February 1682.

Conclusion: “el buen gusto romano”?

Carpio's theatrical and musical productions enhanced his public reputation and opened paths toward his political success, supported always by his unfailing personal charm, lavish spending, organizational talent, and distinctive flair. Carpio arrived in Rome with a well-formed taste for visual art, but that taste was refined considerably by what he saw in Venice and Rome.²⁵⁸ Historians of visual art have established that, during his five years as Spanish ambassador in Rome, Carpio developed an appreciation for “el buen gusto romano.”²⁵⁹ The Roman years were indeed formative for his musical understanding and developing expertise with opera. He began his ambassadorship with little experience of Italian opera or Italian singers, even as a listener. Despite his initially limited financial resources and fluctuating health, he developed Roman entertainments as part of the arsenal he deployed to fend off recurring reputational attacks from both personal enemies and enemies of the monarchy, while steering through the ever-boiling tempests of Franco-Spanish conflict. His productions and festivities in Rome—especially a very loud, space-claiming, famously public 1681 serenata, and then the 1682 comedias which Romans of all social levels enjoyed—supported his fierce attempts to maintain the power and jurisdiction of the quartiere Spagnuolo. Though he did not have his own musical establishment during the Roman years, Carpio not only learned to appreciate Italian music, Italian opera, and Italian singers, but rose within the ranks of opera's supporters to feature some of the most significant musicians on the Roman scene (Corelli, Scarlatti, and Besci). To the extent that he employed Italian musicians and singers, Carpio's Roman productions were Italianate. Roman audiences found Scarlatti's music exciting, but perhaps its turbulent energy lacked the decorum required by certain patrons entrenched in a Roman aesthetic clearly heard in music by Bernardo Pasquini, for example. Scarlatti was not a Roman and never did benefit from secure and uninterrupted support in Rome. But his music resonated especially with Carpio, a Spanish patron of obviously passionate temperament who encouraged bold innovation and paid for it generously. Scarlatti's music for Carpio (in Rome and later in Naples) was musically distinct from the creations of Pasquini, the paragon of Roman taste and musical “virtù” supported by the Borghese. Rightly heralded as original, Carpio's entertainments in Rome were characteristically independent, even startling and disruptive, with a sharp Spanish flavor, rather than wholly subsumed by “el buen gusto romano.”

²⁵⁸ Colomer, “Pautas del coleccionismo,” 132.

²⁵⁹ See Fusconi, “Il ‘buen gusto romano’ dei Viceré,” 209–10; Fernández-Santos Ortiz-Iribas, “The Politics of Art or the Art of Politics,” 199–227 (p. 217) asserts, without taking the music itself into account, that “Carpio's cultivation of a refined ‘buen gusto romano’” led to Carpio's “‘Romanization’ of the Parthenopean stage,” a characterization inaccurate for Carpio's Roman and later Neapolitan music-theatrical productions.

3

Naples, Opera, and Spanish Viceroy to 1683

By the time of Carpio's arrival in Naples, opera had a thirty-year history there, many of whose details have eluded scholars. Documentary sources mined productively by a young Benedetto Croce in *I teatri di Napoli secolo XV–XVIII* (1891) seem to have been irretrievably lost.¹ As Fabris has noted, “Naples was different from other European capitals, chiefly because of the absence of a stable prince-governor. The viceroys changed so frequently that it was very difficult or even impossible to establish consistent patterns of patronage . . . The musical institutions situated close to the seat of viceregal power were only partially affected by the predilections of successive viceroys.”² On the other hand, the viceroys were not “mere emulators of royal patronage practices,” given their personal preferences. Viceregal patronage as political investment fell within the Spanish government's “overall strategy” for promoting stability and loyalty among its subjects.³ Nevertheless, the paucity of consistent musical sources and the imprecision of contemporary reports have meant that the interests and investments of individual viceroys have rarely been scrutinized, leaving musicologists with only a hazy sense of how the Spanish viceroys interacted with, supported, or failed to support opera.⁴ It is fruitful to consider some of the impediments that individual

¹ Benedetto Croce, *I teatri di Napoli secolo XV e XVIII* (Naples: Luigi Pierro, 1891), cites now-lost “Notizie dell'Archivio degli Incurabili” (149), “Libri d'appuntamenti” (146, 223, 296), “Libri d'appuntamenti e conclusioni del Governo degli Incurabili” (128), “Libri patrimoniali” (59, 149, 185, 212), “carte dell'Ospedale degli Incurabili” (59, 194), “Libri maggiori degli Incurabili” (68, 94), “Libro patrimoniale delle masserie e case della R. Casa degli Incurabili, compi. il 1699” (86), and “Platea della Real Casa degli Incurabili” (65).

² Dinko Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples: Francesco Provenzale (1624–1704)* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007), 15.

³ Diana Carrió-Invernizzi, “Royal and Viceregal Art Patronage in Naples (1500–1800),” in *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, ed. Tommaso Astarita (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 384.

⁴ The first opera productions in Naples were the focus of a path-breaking article by Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, followed soon after by a convincing chronology of opera productions fashioned by Bianconi from the information in printed libretti. Antonio D'Alessandro provided essential context and nuance through a reading of avvisi about the titles performed in the 1650s. See Bianconi and Walker, “Dalla ‘Finta Pazza,’” 379–454; Lorenzo Bianconi, “Funktionen des Operntheaters in Neapel bis 1700 un die Rolle Alessandro Scarlattis,” in *Colloquium Alessandro Scarlatti. Würzburg, 1975*, ed. Wolfgang Osthoff (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1979), 13–116; and Domenico Antonio D'Alessandro, “La musica a Napoli nel secolo XVII attraverso gli avvisi e i giornali,” in *Musica e cultura a Napoli dal XV al XIX secolo*, ed. Lorenzo Bianconi and Renato Bossa, *Quaderni della Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 9 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1983), 145–64;

viceroys confronted, encountered, or created in Naples, prior to Carpio's deliberate renovation of the production system, and to ask how opera served or was exempt from the imperial program of the Spanish monarchy in the decades before 1683.

The Count of Oñate and the First Operas in Naples

Naples was introduced to fully-sung opera during the reign of Viceroy Iñigo Vélez de Guevara y Tassis, eighth Count of Oñate y Villamediana (1597–1658), who was sent to Naples after the ten-month Revolt of Masaniello and arrived 1 March 1648. Before his arrival, Juan José de Austria (a brilliant commander and Philip IV's illegitimate son) put down the Masaniello uprising and hastened the departure of the much-despised Duke de Arcos. The prince departed Naples on 22 September 1648, leaving Oñate a city partly in ruins with a starving populace. Oñate's priority was to rebuild the city, attend to basic human needs, and secure the safety of people and commerce. He was undoubtedly among the richest of the Spanish grandees even before his term as Spanish ambassador to the Holy See and brief residence in Rome, and he spent lavishly on art, architecture, and urban reform in Naples, though the diarist Innocenzo Fuidoro (Vincenzo D'Onofrio) noted that his objective was to make it easy for the Neapolitan nobility to "admire" his power amid the spacious avenues and magnificent vistas he created.⁵

The "calamitous times" (tempi calamitosi) during and following the Masaniello revolt discouraged both conspicuous spending on entertainment and all sorts of public gatherings, apart from religious observance. Naples had been without secular festivities (public or private) during the carnival of 1647 due to the official mourning after the death of the Spanish Infante Baltasar Carlos (the symbolic funeral service in Naples took place on 30 March). Though scholars have assumed that Oñate exploited opera as an *instrumentum regni* to subdue

and especially Domenico Antonio D'Alessandro, "L'opera in musica a Napoli dal 1650 al 1670," in *Seicento napoletano*, ed. Roberto Pane (Milano: Edizioni di comunità, 1984), 409–30, 543–49. Domenico Antonio D'Alessandro further considers a range of questions about theater with music in his documentary essay "Mecenati e mecenatismo nella vita musicale napoletana del seicento," in *Storia della music e dello spettacolo a Napoli*, ed. Francesco Coticelli and Paologiovane Maione (Naples: Turchini Edizioni, 2019), 297–400. Earlier publications such as Croce, *I teatri di Napoli*, and Ulisse Prota-Giurleo, "Breve storia del Teatro di Corte e della musica a Napoli nei secoli XVII e XVIII," in *Il Teatro di Corte del Palazzo Reale di Napoli*, ed. Felice De Filippis and Ulisse Prota Giurleo (Naples: L'arte tipografica, 1952), are less reliable but very important for their citation of now-lost sources.

⁵ Ana Minguito Palomares, "La política cultural del VIII conde de Oñate en Nápoles 1648–1653," in *Calderón de la Barca y la España del Barroco*, ed. José Alcalá-Zamora and Ernest Belenguier (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2001), 1:966–69.

the Neapolitans, other rituals of power were even more essential in this regard.⁶ Indeed, Oñate delayed his first easy opportunity to display power and wealth publicly by postponing the solemn *possesso*, a formal celebration with an ostentatious procession involving all the male members of the Neapolitan nobility, barons, and feudal lords.⁷ Given the hunger and instability in the city, it would have been imprudent not to delay it. During and after the Masaniello revolt, many nobles took refuge in their feudal estates to feed their families and escape the desperate populace. The preparation for a cavalcata placed a financial burden on these groups, requiring them to spend copiously on uniforms for horse and rider, appropriate gold and silver ornaments, as well as lodging and food for an extended stay inside the city. Those who declined the viceroy's call were forced to pay a tax.⁸ Oñate did not immediately pressure the nobles, whose loyalty he could not yet fully gauge,⁹ but deferred the public display of his power, announcing that the populace would be better served by a stabilization of the price of bread and increased availability of wheat.¹⁰

Oñate's formal act of possession finally occurred on 11 February 1649 with a solemn cavalcata for all the nobility and officials. Significantly, this procession was preceded by a "gran fiesta" performed in the sala regia or "salón grande" of the Palazzo Reale on the night of 10 February in recognition of the royal marriage contract and "feliz himeneo" of Archduchess Mariana de Austria and Philip IV. A rare Spanish report describes this performance as a "gran comedia musical" with the participation of "voces sonoras" so it was at least partly-sung.¹¹

⁶ John A. Marino, *Becoming Neapolitan: Citizen Culture in Baroque Naples* (Baltimore: Johns-Hopkins University Press, 2010), 80, emphasizes the ways in which court rituals eased a return to normalcy after the turbulence of violent conflict.

⁷ The cavalcata took place on 11 February 1649: "la cerimonia ufficiale della presa di possesso della carica vicereale e comportava il giuramento di osservanza delle particolari leggi e consuetudine del Regno"; Giuseppe Galasso, *Il regno di Napoli. Il mezzogiorno spagnolo e austriaco (1622-1734)* (Torino: UTET, 2006), 543.

⁸ On the cavalcades, see Gabriel Guarino, "Public Rituals and Festivals in Naples, 1503-1799," in *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, ed. Tommaso Astarita (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 257-79; Gabriel Guarino, *Representing the King's Splendour: Communication and Reception of Symbolic Forms of Power in Viceregal Naples* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2010), 43-58 and *passim*.

⁹ Galasso, *Il regno di Napoli*, 543, notes that many among the feudal nobility declined to participate in the cavalcade intended to legitimize Oñate's power.

¹⁰ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 43, fol. 422, 17 October 1648. The fact that Oñate sought not merely to enforce his authority but to include the representatives of the populace and the baroni in social and material restoration of the city after the revolt is emphasized by Rosario Villari, *Elogio della dissimulazione. La lotta politica nel '600* (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1987), 166 and *passim*.

¹¹ "Fue una gran comedia musical, id est, hablando los que la representaban en voces sonoras al son de muchos y bien acordados instrumentos. cosa que solamente en Italia he visto este modo de representar, con tan raras tramoyas que el Teatro tuvo seis transformaciones diferentes." The original source is "Papeles varios manuscritos y impresos tocantes a la guerra de Nápoles," E-Mn, MS 2437, fol. 88v, quoted in José María Domínguez, "Napoli e l'opera italiana nel seicento," in *Storia della musica e dello spettacolo a Napoli*, ed. Francesco Cotticelli and Paolgiovane Maione (Naples: Turchini Edizioni, 2019), 630-31; Domínguez identifies the author as Jacinto de Aguilar y Prado, whom Oñate subsequently appointed as governor of Trani.

Given the author's encomiastic intention and the fact that the papal nuncio's avviso merely notes this as a comedia, Oñate's cavalcata appears not to have been heralded or followed by an opera performance. Rather, the musical "comedia" production may well have resembled the "representación real y festiva máscara" *El nuevo Olimpo* performed in December 1648 at court in Madrid to celebrate the king's engagement and Mariana's birthday.¹²

Oñate thus gently began to court the nobility by inviting them to the palace for theatrical performances and refreshment; the 10 February event was followed by another the very next week to which the papal nuncio was also invited.¹³ A series of propagandistic festivities in July extended this courtship with another partly-sung and elaborately staged performance on 4 July, the *Trionfo di Partenope Liberata, Recitato in Musica nel Palazzo Reale*. This entertainment celebrated the arrival in Milan and passage through Italy of Philip IV's young bride, Mariana de Austria,¹⁴ while projecting Oñate's importance within the monarchy and in connection with royal events.¹⁵ Bringing the nobility to the palazzo reale on significant dynastic occasions allowed the viceroy to shift their focus of social interaction to his locus of control, diverting them from their long-engrained practice of staging theatricals as independent events that did not depend on his presence but allowed them to converse out of his earshot. Theatrical production at the viceroy's palace was not required by official protocol or the Spanish *etiquetas*, but it could effectively strengthen ties with various officials and the highest stratum of Neapolitan society.

In the autumn of 1649, "preparations [began] for beautiful festivities to be mounted as soon as the news of the royal marriage arrives," among them, the construction of a staging area for jousts and other outdoor exhibitions in front of the palace, with banks of seats for spectators.¹⁶ Mariana de Austria, on her

¹² Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 96–101.

¹³ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 44, fols. 51 and 57, 9 and 16 February 1649, reporting comedia performances of 10 and 17 February.

¹⁴ Bianconi and Walker, "Dalla 'Finta Pazza,'" 379–454; at 388–90 the event is explained as an allegory of the viceroy's personal power; D'Alessandro, "L'opera in musica," 410; D'Alessandro, "Mecenati e mecenatismo," 357–59 provides a detailed analysis of the printed text. I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 44, fol. 227v, 6 July 1649, the report of nuncio Monsignore Altieri to the papal secretary, states: "Per la venuta della Regina Sposa in Italia, e per l'allegrezza delle nozze, il Signore Viceré ha qua voluto fare dimostrazione con un'azione in musica che farà domenica domani a sera. Vi è stato invitato anco il Signore Cardinale; in onore delle nozze di Sua Maestà ha' accettato l'invito, e v'interrà in pubblico." According to I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 44, fol. 230, 13 July 1649, and fol. 327, 25 September 1649, the viceroy was also planning a torneo and "mascherata di numerosi cavalieri" to be performed in front of the palace on the announcement of the news of the marriage from Spain.

¹⁵ On this point, see Joan Lluís Palos, "Imagen recortada sobre fondo de púrpura y negro. La reina Mariana de Austria y el virrey de Nápoles," in *La historia imaginada. Construcciones visuales del pasado en la Edad Moderna*, ed. Joan Lluís Palos and Diana Carrió-Invernizzi (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2008), 121–52.

¹⁶ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 44, fol. 327, 25 September 1649.

way from Vienna to become Philip IV's new queen, travelled through northern Italy in summer 1649 and spent months in Milan, where she appreciated fully-sung opera and other entertainments. The royal marriage took place near El Escorial on 11 October 1649 and was announced officially on 8 December in Naples, igniting festive observances that began with the *complimenti* required by protocol. The nobility, dressed in finery and bearing gold chains as gifts, congratulated the viceroy at his palace.¹⁷ The next evening, he regaled them with a comedia. Again, Oñate delayed the torch-lit cavalcata by the male nobility and officials of the realm, though it was the traditional act of obeisance after the announcement of a royal marriage or birth, and its planning had begun even before the announcement of the marriage.

It is especially significant that prominent local aristocrats intervened with the viceroy in 1649 and early 1650 to move music-theatrical productions honoring a dynastic occasion into the palazzo reale. An entertainment sponsored by the Prince of Cellamare was followed by another sponsored by Giovanni Sanseverino, Count of Saponara. These were financed by the respective nobles and demonstrated Neapolitan support for Oñate and the crown. The Prince of Cellamare's entertainment may have been a tableaux vivant with music that did not require stage machines. Termed "bella comedia," "bel festino," and "opera in musica," with balletti, a masked ball, and a staged work with music, it was performed on 16 January 1650 in one of the spaces renovated by Oñate (likely the room next to the chapel later termed "sala dei viceré"), "where it has been usual to perform ordinary [Spanish] comedias during the reign of Viceroy Count of Monterrey" ("dove era solito recitarsi le commedie ordinarie al tempo del Signore Conte di Monterrey"). The stage for the Count of Saponara's "opera in musica" *La fedeltà occulta* was set up in the more spacious "salone grande" (also "sala grande" or "sala regia"),¹⁸ and its planning had begun as early as 25 September,¹⁹ well in advance of its final rehearsal and premiere on Sunday evening, 20 January 1650,

¹⁷ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 44, fol. 410 dated 7 December 1649 states that the nobility has been invited to the palace and will go there to congratulate the viceroy "tomorrow" (8 December).

¹⁸ I-MOs, Cancelleria Ducale, Notizie e avvisi dall'estero, b. 41, avviso of 11 January 1650: "Il Signore Principe di Cellamare, Corriero maggiore, fa preparare anche una bella commedia da recitarvi in Palazzo, et sentirvi prima di quella che tiene pronta il Signore Conte della Saponara con balletti superbi, nella quale s'intende si spenderà esso Principe circa 6000 ducati, e si farà nella stanza fatta rinovare et ingrandire dal Signore Conte d'Ognat, dove era solito recitarsi le commedie ordinarie al tempo del Signore Conte di Monte Rey, mentre il Salone grande di Palazzo stà occupato per quella che fa fare il detto Signore Conte della Saponara"; D'Alessandro, "L'opera in musica," 410. D'Alessandro, "Mecenati e mecenatismo," 367–71 locates the Prince of Cellamare's entertainment in the sala dei viceré and suggests that these two entertainments may have been among the performances prepared by the Febiarmonici.

¹⁹ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 44, fol. 327, 25 September 1649; D'Alessandro, "L'opera in musica," 410, and Bianconi and Walker "Dalla 'Finta Pazza,'" 380, offer a similar report sent to Florence in January 1650.

for the viceroy and the invited nobility.²⁰ Costing in excess of 6,000 ducati, *La fedeltà occulta* was partly-sung (“la maggior parte recitata in musica”) and elaborately staged.²¹ These entertainments were not organized by Oñate, but, like the partly-sung entertainments produced for Mariana in Madrid, they were crucial demonstrations of dynastic optimism and brought the nobility to the palace at a pivotal moment in the relationship between the viceroy and the king’s subjects. Because they were private and given indoors, however, they did not display power or authority in view of the wider populace.

When the viceroy asserted his position at the top of the hierarchy for all to see, he did so through loud, colorful public events, such as the cavalcata or *incamisciata*, equestrian games, and bullfights. These crossed the heart of the city while requiring the financial participation and presence *en masse* of all the nobles and barons, demanding a priori obedience and a substantial economic outlay. In contrast, when the viceroy sponsored plays and musical theater at his palace for the “dame e cavalieri,” he removed the financial pressure on the extended nobility while instead inviting a flexible, more intimate interaction in a protected space, out of view of the popolo. Aware of the precarious nature of his position, Oñate twice deferred the processions that might loudly proclaim his power. He also did not immediately produce fully-sung opera. Instead, he guided the nobility into his palace with a careful deployment of theater and music. In Madrid, under the *valimento* of the Count Duke of Olivares, the Spanish aristocracy had been guided to the Buen Retiro palace during the reign of Philip IV in precisely this manner.

Some confusion has surrounded Oñate’s productions, performers, and motivations because fully-sung opera was new in Naples and writers of *avvisi* were inconsistent or imprecise in their terminology. But opera did become an audible pillar of his restoration efforts, in keeping with the renovation of the palace and activities that were the “true pivot in the evolution of the kingdom’s government in the seventeenth century.”²² Opera did not immediately replace other kinds of entertainment—rather, sponsoring it and encouraging established

²⁰ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 45, fol. 53, 25 January 1650: “Domenica a sera fu recitata in Palazzo l’opera che fece fare il Signore Conte della Saponara; riuscì bellissima e vaga per molte macchine, e viste di prospettive. Durò per lo spatio di nove hore. Il teatro fu pieno di dame e cavalieri. Il Signore D. Beltrano fu a vederla sopra un palchetto incognito con le gelosie calate.” Beltrán Vélez Ladrón de Guevara was the brother of the Count of Oñate.

²¹ With “gran quantità d’apparenze”; D’Alessandro, “Mecenati e mecenatismo,” 359; D’Alessandro, “L’opera in musica,” 410 quotes from an *avviso* sent to Florence, but it is unclear whether the *avviso* sent to Florence or the one sent to the papal secretary, I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 44, fol. 327, is more reliable.

²² During the 1647 revolt, the Spanish authorities had abandoned the palace to take refuge in the Angevin fortress of the Castel Nuovo; Oñate began his reign by immediately ordering that the palace and the fortress “be restored to their original function”; see Carlos José Hernández Sánchez, “Nation and Ceremony: Political Uses of Urban Space in Viceregal Naples,” in *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, ed. Tommaso Astarita (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 165.

genres were complementary initiatives. Oñate surely had not known opera or even semi-opera or zarzuela before his departure for Italy (the first Spanish semi-operas were produced in Madrid by Carpio in 1652 and 1653 when Oñate was already in Naples).²³ But he was deeply interested in theater and had leased one of the most expensive private boxes (*apostentos*) in Madrid's Corral del Príncipe in 1642.²⁴ He might have attended an opera in Venice if he visited there at some point during his short time as Spanish ambassador in Rome (July 1646 to February 1648).²⁵ In Rome he is reported to have come in contact with a company of singers who later also came to Naples.²⁶ When the entertainments of 1649 and 1650 (whose music has not been found) were mounted from the ground up, this surely demonstrated to Oñate that Naples lacked an established infrastructure, appropriate spaces for opera with stage machines, and, most important, access to a resident troupe of singer-actors and musicians experienced with fully-sung performance.

In all probability, Oñate's decision to bring Venetian opera to Naples was prompted by what he learned about the operas presented to entertain Mariana de Austria during her long sojourn in Milan with the Spanish governor there in summer 1649. These operas were performed by a company known as *Accademici Discordati* led by the stage engineer Curzio Manara.²⁷ Oñate was the chief Spanish representative in Italy and controlled the flow of funds to the governors of the Spanish possessions there. He corresponded with the governor of Milan,

²³ D'Alessandro, "Mecenati e mecenatismo," 360, mistakenly assumes that Oñate had experienced zarzuelas before coming to Naples (zarzuela had not yet been invented before his departure from Madrid) and suggests that Oñate had experienced opera in Rome during the years 1646–48, which is also highly unlikely.

²⁴ Shergold, *A History of the Spanish Stage*, 534; J. E. Varey and N. D. Shergold, *Teatros y Comedias en Madrid: 1600–1650. Estudio y documentos* (London: Tamesis, 1971), 122.

²⁵ Bianconi and Walker, "Dalla 'Finta pazza,'" 380–82.

²⁶ Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples*, 154, states: "Viceroy Oñate's real intention of introducing musical performances by the Armonici, whom he had met in Rome when he was there as Spanish ambassador, was one of propaganda, in particular to celebrate the victory over Masaniello, with a kind of spectacle as yet unknown in Naples." Prota-Giurleo, "Breve storia del Teatro di Corte," 20–21, described a company calling itself the *Accademia dei Febiarmonici*, led by Antonio Generoli, asserting that it had formed in Rome in 1646 but arrived in Naples to serve Oñate in 1651. But the notary document about the formation of the company in Naples, including Angelica Generoli, Caterina Gabrielli, Angela Visconti, Francesco Sarleti, and Francesco Cerillo, and calling itself "Accademia de' Musici, detta de' FebiArmonici" is dated several years later, 1 June 1655; see I-Nas, *Notai del Seicento*, Carlo Celso de Giorgio di Napoli, scheda 358, prot. 10, fol. 209–209v, partially quoted in Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli nel secolo XVII*, 3:185. D'Alessandro, "Mecenati e mecenatismo," 400–8 provides further details.

²⁷ D'Alessandro, "Mecenati e mecenatismo," 361 notes "l'arrivo, l'affermazione, l'apogeo e l'usanza dei drammi in musica di compositori veneziani presso la corte napoletana" and highlights the possible influence of the Venetian resident Polo Vendramin in Naples 1650–53. On Manara, see Monaldini, "Manara, Curzio"; and Nicola Michelassi, *La doppia "Finta pazza". Un drama veneziano in viaggio nell'Europa del Seicento* (Florence: Olschki, forthcoming); Nicola Michelassi, "La doppia 'Finta pazza.' Un dramma veneziano in viaggio fra Italia e Francia," 2 vols. (PhD diss., Università degli Studi di Firenze, 2013), 1: chap. 8, 10.

Luis Francisco de Benavides Carillo y Toledo, third Marquis de Caracena (1620–1668), whose responsibility it was to host Mariana and her entourage.²⁸ Moreover, he organized the aristocratic ambassadorial group that represented Naples and traveled to pay homage to the new queen.²⁹ He surely received daily reports about Mariana's 1649 stay in Milan and learned about the Italian opera, Spanish comedias, and pastoral play performed for her there.³⁰ Productions of Francesco Cavalli's *Giasone* and *L'Egisto* with staging by the architect and engineer Manara were among the novel entertainments Mariana most enjoyed in Milan.³¹ Oñate's interest in musical theater as a royally sponsored entertainment was probably fueled by the reports concerning Manara and opera in Milan. He very likely heard about these shows and their effect on the young queen at just about the same time that Carpio learned about them in Madrid. Manara led the first troupe Oñate supported in Naples, though the famed Venetian theatrical engineer and choreographer Giovanni Battista Balbi later rejoined the troupe called *Febiarmonici* there.³² While it is unclear whether Oñate initially approached Manara and/or Balbi, or if these men of the stage offered their services on their own initiative (or indeed at the suggestion of the composer, Cavalli, or his intermediary), Oñate's confidence in the *Discordati* and *Febiarmonici* registers his desire to bring the very latest in operatic quality to Naples within his grand plan for the city's revitalization.

Naples' first fully-sung opera was a production of Cavalli's *Didone et incendio di Troia* being planned in Naples by early September 1650 and first performed on 12 October in the "stanza del Pallonetto di Palazzo," with continued performances through November.³³ This opera initiated a series of Venetian operas (instead of Spanish comedias or partly-sung allegories). Manara's company subsequently

²⁸ See Palos, "Imagen recortada sobre fondo de púrpura y negro," 136–42.

²⁹ Ana Minguito Palomares, "Linaje, poder y cultura: el gobierno de Íñigo Vélez de Guevara, VIII Conde Oñate, en Nápoles (1648–1653)" (PhD diss., Universidad Complutense Madrid, 2002), 778.

³⁰ Oñate's correspondence with Caracena about other matters is quoted and cited in Ana Minguito Palomares, *Nápoles y el virrey conde de Oñate. La estrategia del poder y el resurgir del reino (1648–1653)* (Madrid: Sílex ediciones, 2011), *passim*. Michelassi, "La doppia 'Finta pazza,'" 1: chap. 8, 10, suggests that Oñate decided to use opera as propaganda, but does not explain how Oñate would have developed any familiarity with opera before Manara's troupe came to Naples.

³¹ See Chapter 1 for the musical entertainments offered to Mariana according to Mascarenhas, *Viage de la serenissima reyna Dona Maria Ana de Austria, segunda muger de Don Philipe Quarto deste nombre, Rey Catholico de Hespana, hasta la real corte de Madrid desde la Imperial de Viena*.

³² Michelassi, "Balbi's *Febiarmonici*," 307–19; Minguito Palomares, "Linaje, poder y cultura," 969, suggests that Oñate became a kind of mecenaz to Balbi.

³³ D'Alessandro, "L'opera in musica," 412. The 10 October 1650 dedication of the Naples libretto (Sartori 07725) is signed by the stage engineer Curzio Manara. Concerning the sources for *La Didone*, as well as the text of this dedication, see Appendix 1 and Appendix 2 in Valeria Conti and Nicola Usula, "Venetian Opera Texts in Naples from 1650 to 1653: *Poppea* in Context," *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 27 (2021), <https://sscm-jscm-issues/volume-27-no-2/venetian-opera-texts-in-naples-from-1650-to-1653-poppea-in-context/>; as well as Dinko Fabris, "Didone by Cavalli and Busenello: from the Sources to Modern Productions," *De musica disserenda* 3 (2007): 135–55.

performed *Il Nerone ovvero l'incoronazione di Poppea* (Claudio Monteverdi) and *L'Egisto* (Cavalli).³⁴ Fabris and others have emphasized that the operas were to be staged as elaborately as possible.³⁵ The troupe, now called Febiarmonici (“compagnia di musici comici”; “comici forastieri italiani, chiamati Febiarmonici, che rappresentano in musica”) stayed on in 1651, supported financially (“spesati”) by the viceroy.³⁶ In September 1651, under Balbi's direction, the Febiarmonici performed Cavalli's *Giasone* in a theater set up in the pallonetto di palazzo. Thus far, the Venetian operas heard in Naples (*Didone*, *L'incoronazione di Poppea*, *L'Egisto*, *Giasone* in multiple revivals, and *La finta pazza* in July 1652) had been composed for Venetian premieres, were variously revised in their travel beyond Venice, and then were minimally adjusted for performance in the pallonetto of the viceroy's palace.³⁷ Balbi's 23 December 1652 Neapolitan production of an opera on a Spanish-themed libretto, Cavalli's *Veremonda l'Amazzone di Aragona* (libretto by Luigi Zorzisto [Giulio Strozzi] based on Giacinto Cicognini's *Il Celio*), however, may well have been this opera's premiere.³⁸ Initially planned

³⁴ See Conti and Usula, “Venetian Opera Texts in Naples” for vital details about sources and chronology; see also Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples*, 36; Fabris, “*Didone*”; Michelassi, “Balbi's Febiarmonici,” 316. Concerning the Naples score for *L'incoronazione di Poppea*, see Ellen Rosand, *Monteverdi's Last Operas, A Venetian Trilogy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), 94–103 and *passim*.

³⁵ In producing *La finta pazza* (Sacriati) and *Veremonda l'Amazzone d'Aragona* (Cavalli) in 1652, Balbi and his Febiarmonici introduced Neapolitan audiences to the “innovations of the Venetian stage machinery and dance” according to Irene Alm, “Balbi, Giovan Battista,” *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/41028>. Balbi also staged and choreographed *Le magie amorose* (a revival of Cavalli's *Rosinda* that included some new texts by Giulio Cesare Sorrentino) and possibly *L'Arianna* (lost music by the Neapolitan Giuseppe di Palma). See Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples*, 155; Bianconi and Walker, “Dalla *Finta Pazza*,” 382–84; Bianconi, “Funktionien des Operntheaters,” 48.

³⁶ Ulisse Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli nel '600. La commedia e le maschere* (Naples: Fausto Fiorentino Editore, 1962), 15–16; Bianconi and Walker, “Dalla *Finta Pazza*,” 381–82.

³⁷ In their remarkably detailed study, “Venetian Opera Texts in Naples,” <https://sscm-jscm.org/jscm-issues/volume-27-no-2/venetian-opera-texts-in-naples-from-1650-to-1653-poppea-in-context/>, Conti and Usula conclude “Apart from the direct references to the city of Naples and its politics, many of the textual manipulations (often due to censorship), found only in the Neapolitan sources, were basically revealed to have preceded the Neapolitan revivals, having spread widely outside of Venice. Therefore, those textual manipulations should be considered a sample of what generally happened outside of the Venetian Republic, in contexts where moral, religious, and political issues were more delicate. The Neapolitan cases from 1650 to 1653, therefore, should not be considered as peculiar, or extraordinary: rather, they seem to be merely the best-documented examples of Venetian revivals during the early fifties of the seventeenth century.” Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples*, 155, 180–81, suggests that the Neapolitan revival of *L'incoronazione di Poppea* “may have been prompted by the news of the birth of a child to the Queen of Spain.” Rosand, *Monteverdi's Last Operas*, 96–99, suggests that revisions and excisions to *L'incoronazione di Poppea* for Naples might be the result of authoritarian religious censorship.

³⁸ I-MOs, Cancelleria Ducale, Notizie e avvisi dall'estero, b. 44, 24 December 1652, provides the date of the Naples performance and connects the performance to the victory at Barcelona; I-CVaa, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 48, fol. 404, 24 December 1652 confirms the title “*l'Amazzone d'Aragona*.” Sartori 24632 includes an undated dedication to Oñate. Conti and Usula, “Venetian Opera Texts” point out that *Veremonda* “perfectly matched Oñate's program of self-promotion through musical theater, even if the work had probably not been conceived for the Neapolitan court, and certainly not with the subjugation of Barcelona in mind” (p. 3), provide many valuable

as a dynastic celebration of the new queen's birthday, and featuring "l'Amazzone d'Aragona," the opera took on additional political significance following the victory of the royal troops at Barcelona (which could not have been foreseen when *Veremonda* was composed or first planned).³⁹ The performance followed several days of "fuochi e luminari," a "festino" at the palace, a cavalcata, and the singing of the Te Deum commemorating the Spanish victory. From this point onward, Italian opera in Naples was subject to the same firm association with dynastic events that would shape opera and musical plays elsewhere in the Spanish empire. Opera was funded primarily to celebrate and encourage the survival of the Spanish Hapsburgs and their representatives.

Spaces for Opera in Oñate's Naples

In light of Spanish practices at the royal court, it is highly significant that opera was first offered in Naples from the palace, the very seat of royal power, through Oñate's sponsorship, and that each premiere reportedly was followed by performances at the palace for paying spectators. The primary sources of information about these first opera productions in Naples are avvisi collected elsewhere. But because the writers of avvisi were not theatrical producers or musicians, and most often had not witnessed the performances themselves, the information they supply is often contradictory, especially as concerns the location of the productions and the nature of their staging.⁴⁰

During Oñate's short reign, three spaces in the palace were renovated to house performances. The first, referred to as the "pallonetto di palazzo" or "stanza del pallonetto," was easily cleaned up because it was a kind of tennis court that may well have featured a stage similar to that of a Spanish corral. Spoken comedias had been offered there in earlier years and would be later on as well; the pallonetto likely had mostly bench seating like that of a corral.⁴¹ In late 1650

details about the sources, and note "although it is still uncertain if it was first performed in Venice or not: the comparison between the sources confirms that the Neapolitan libretto's textual status succeeded the Venetian one, and derived from an early Venetian version of the drama, then modified in Naples to fit the context." Michelassi, "La doppia 'Finta pazza,'" 1: chap. 8, 13–16 argues that a Venetian production preceded the Neapolitan one. A critical edition of Cavalli's score by Wendy Heller is in preparation.

³⁹ For hypotheses concerning the significance of the production, see Bianconi and Walker, "Dalla 'Finta Pazza,'" 382–84; Wendy Heller, "Amazons, Astrology and the House of Aragon: *Veremonda* tra Venezia e Napoli," in *Francesco Cavalli e la circolazione dell'opera veneziana nel Seicento*, ed. Dinko Fabris (Naples: Turchini Edizioni, 2005), 147–64; D'Alessandro, "Mecenati e mecenatismo," 384–90; Michelassi, "La doppia 'Finta pazza,'" 1: chap. 8, 13–16.

⁴⁰ Confusion also results from the fact that the word "teatro" referred both to a structure or space used as a theater and to the stage set within such a space; moreover, writers of avvisi use the term "teatro" whether the stage and seating for the audience were permanent or temporary.

⁴¹ In advance of the *Didone* production, notices in I-MOs, Cancelleria Ducale, Notizie e avvisi dall'estero, b. 41, avvisi of 27 September 1650 and 18 October 1650, encouragingly puff the coming

avvisi reported that Oñate had ordered the renovation of an additional large space for opera that would be “much more comfortable for the spectators.”⁴² This second space, apparently fitted with palchetti, was enclosed by the wall of the palace that faced the park (“dalla parte del Parco”). That Oñate’s plan for this renovation was announced succinctly in the avvisi surely reflects his astute manipulation of publicity to spotlight his magnificence while generating expectation and arousing appetite for the very productions that would continue to bring the nobility to the palace. An avviso of 10 June 1653 reports that work on the palace interior had progressed, “to render it majestic and truly royal” (“per renderlo maestoso, e veramente reale”), including the completion of a “gran sala” near the chapel (“vicino alla Cappella”).⁴³ This renovated space, smaller than the sala regia, became known as the “sala dei viceré” because Oñate intended to decorate it with the series of portraits of viceroys he commissioned from Massimo Stanzione, “famoso Pittore Cav. Massimo.”⁴⁴ The avvisi identify this large room near the chapel as the place into which the theater was set for the December 1652 performances of *La Veremonda*,⁴⁵ offered in the “nuova sala di Palazzo con bellissime apparenze”; the “sala in palazzo fatta fare da Sua Eccellenza a fine solo di potersi rappresentare commedie” (see below). The phrase “a fine solo di potersi rappresentare commedie” might mean that Oñate equipped a stage (whether permanent or dismountable) with machines when he renovated this sala near

performances, explaining the cost of admission, price of a seat, and price of a *palchetto*, and stating that the performers (Manara’s *Febiarmonici*) were paying “a loro spesi” (27 September) and “da detta compagnia a sue spese” (18 October) for the costumes, construction of the stage, sets, and seating. References to a palcho or palchetti in the pallonetto in this period are puzzling, but it may be that newly constructed seating replaced the benches to accommodate the nobility. Bianconi and Walker, “Dalla ‘Finta Pazza,’” 379–80.

⁴² “Il Signore Viceré ha ordinato si faccia in palazzo dalla parte del parco un gran teatro da rappresentare Tragedie più comodo assai alle ascoltanti di quello del Pallonetto.” I-MOs, Cancelleria Ducale, Notizie e avvisi dall’estero, b. 41, 15 November 1650; Bianconi and Walker, “Dalla ‘Finta Pazza,’” 379–80; D’Alessandro, “Mecenati e mecenatismo,” 374.

⁴³ I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, f. 4116, 10 June 1653, an avviso sent from Naples to Baltasar Gondi.

⁴⁴ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 48, fol. 376v, 7 December 1652. Here again, Oñate followed the example of Milan: “To make visible the continuity of viceregal government, between 1649 and 1652 Oñate commissioned for the palace a series of portraits of all Naples viceroys since the Great Captain, most of which were painted by Massimo Stanzione. This idea of creating a gallery of the king’s highest representatives was realized at the end of the 16th century in the ducal palace in Milan.” See Hernando Sánchez, “Nation and Ceremony: Political Uses of Urban Space,” 257–79.

⁴⁵ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 48, fol. 376v, 7 December 1652 Naples; and I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, f. 4116, 10 December 1652, Naples; as well as avvisi in I-MOs, Cancelleria Ducale, Notizie e avvisi dall’estero, b. 44, 10 and 24 December 1652, Naples, extracted in Bianconi and Walker, “Dalla ‘Finta Pazza,’” 382–84; D’Alessandro, “L’opera in musica,” 415; Michelassi, “La doppia ‘Finta pazza,’” 1: chap. 8, 14; Minguito Palomares, “Linaje, poder y cultura,” 912–14. D’Alessandro, “Mecenati e mecenatismo,” 387–89 quotes a description of the room in full from the manuscript “Successi storici raccolti dal governo del conte di Ognate” ascribed to Innocenzo Fuidoro; D’Alessandro, “L’opera in musica,” 415, cites an avviso that confuses the picture by assuming that the “new room” where *Veremonda* was performed was the “stanza un tempo del pallonetto.”

the cappella, especially since some opera prologues (that for *Veremonda*, 1652, and *Il Teodosio*, 1676–1677) performed there for dynastic celebrations required machines for the aerial descent or arrival of allegorical characters or deities. Oñate's likely intention was to create a space that would accommodate stage machines while also providing comfortable seating for the audience.⁴⁶ Though the sala dei viceré was important within Oñate's overall palace renovations, it did not become the primary space for opera productions ever after. Performances there in future decades were generally restricted to those commemorating certain dynastic events, in keeping with the room's overtly political decoration.

The largest space to house opera productions for Oñate and his successors was also the largest room in the palace, the "sala regia" also known as the "gran sala," "salone grande," or "sala grande." This had always been the palace area most accessible by the public—"es comun y libre a todo genero de gente sin distincion" according to the early ceremoniale of Juan de Garnica—and it was cleared for dancing in the evening,⁴⁷ though sometimes smaller, more private rooms hosted modest entertainments. The sala grande was the room into which temporary stages were built for special events. It was in poor condition when Oñate arrived as viceroy, but its size and structure remained unchanged, even after his palace renovation.⁴⁸ Once opera was integrated into Neapolitan culture, operas were offered at the palace only on certain dates (for dynastic occasions and, eventually, during carnival), so the sala grande would be used for non-operatic entertainments most of the time. Saraos offered in the sala grande were far more frequent than operas until 1683 when they all but ceased and the Marquis del Carpio renovated the room and installed new palchetti (see Chapter 4).

It seems likely that temporary, dismountable theaters, similar to those used in various large rooms in the Madrid palaces (in particular, the salón dorado at the Alcazar), served opera productions at the viceroy's palace, including those given in the sala grande. A dismountable theater could be taken down to clear space or moved from room to room, as necessary. That a demountable theater was employed might explain why some supernatural scenes were excised from the first Neapolitan stagings of Venetian operas.⁴⁹ Balbi's 1652 production of *Veremonda*

⁴⁶ Palchetti are noted in I-CVaa, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 48, fol. 404, 24 December 1652; and later "In detto tempo [November 1670, during the reign of Viceroy Pedro de Aragón] si rappresentò una commedia pubblica in Palazzo, nella sala dei viceré"; when the Duke of Ferdinandina, General de las Galeras, was in Naples, the viceroy offered him seating in a palchetto, though a chair set on the "piano del pavimento" behind a screen is also mentioned; see *Cerimoniale del vicereame spagnolo e austriaco do Napoli 1650–1717*, ed. Attilio Antonelli (Naples: Rubbettino Editore, 2012), 259.

⁴⁷ As quoted in Sabina De Cavi, "Senza causa et fuor di tempo"; Domenico Fontana e il Palazzo Vicereale Vecchio di Napoli," *Napoli Nobilissima. Rivista di Arti Filologia e Storia*, series 5, vol. 4 (2004): 197.

⁴⁸ Pier Luigi Ciapparelli, "I luoghi del teatro a Napoli nel Seicento: le sale 'private,'" *La musica a Napoli durante il seicento*, ed. Domenico Antonio D'Alessandro and Agostino Ziino (Rome: Edizioni Torre d' Orfeo, 1987), 367.

⁴⁹ Some excisions are noted in Rosand, *Monteverdi's Last Operas*, 97–99.

seems to have been an exception, in that the prologue in the Naples libretto calls for stage effects more elaborate than those listed in the Venetian libretto.⁵⁰ The oft-quoted Fuidoro specifically praises “grandiose apparenze,” “voli diversi,” and so on, though the daring aerial activity might have been enacted with statuettes or puppets.⁵¹

In 1652, following Oñate’s orders, the Santa Casa degli Incurabili invested in and began to renovate the public Teatro di San Bartolomeo, not far from the palace. This theater could not immediately house performances after the revolt of Masaniello because its interior was ruined.⁵² Neapolitan chronicles not only credit Oñate with the impulse to restore the theater, but associate its renovation with his plan to bring opera on the Venetian model, “in the Venetian usage,” to Naples.⁵³ The Santa Casa degli Incurabili was the charitable association administering the Ospedale degli Incurabili, the asylum or hospital for the mentally ill (one of the two largest hospitals in a city of twelve hospitals). The Teatro di San Bartolomeo had been erected in 1621 with financing from the Santa Casa. It was first a venue for spoken theater whose profits supported the Ospedale. Because mental illness was considered incurable, especially that

⁵⁰ See Conti and Usula, “Venetian Opera Texts,” Appendix 2, “Paratexts and texts in the Neapolitan sources only” for a critical edition of the prologue from the 1652 Naples libretto, as well as Balbi’s dedication and lists of mutazione, macchine, and balli. <https://sscm-jscm.org/v27/Conti-Usula/Conti-Usula-appendix-2.pdf>.

⁵¹ Innocenzo Fuidoro [Vincenzo D’Onofrio], *Successi del Governo del Conte D’Oñate 1648–1653*, ed. Alfredo Parente (Naples: Luigi Lubrano, 1932), 189–90: “Dalla compagnia de’ comici forastieri italiani, chiamati Febi armonici, che rappresentano in musica, nel proscenio formato nel Palazzo regio fu recitato il soggetto intitolato *L’Amazzone di Aragona*, con grandiose apparenze, come di città, palazzi, meschite [moschee?], giardini, battaglie e simili; con voli diversi, balli alla spagnola formati da otto persone scese per aria nel palco sopra otto basilischi e draghi, e smontati con spade nude nel volo, con varii assalti scambievoli fra di loro con bell’ordine ballarono assai bene. Vi fu anche un altro ballo alla moresca di otto altre persone con varii stromenti usati da quella nazione, ed appresso un bastimento regolato di bastoni, formando varie mutanze e postovi alcuni pappagalli, intervenendovi come al solito Sua Eccellenza con convito di dame e cavalieri che è quanto mobbliga la penna a raccogliere in queste carte il racconto per la vittoria della debellata Barcellona.” See also D’Alessandro, “Mecenati e mecenatismo,” 389; Michelassi, “La doppia ‘Finta pazza,’” 1: chap. 8, 16; Bianconi and Walker, “Dalla ‘Finta Pazza,’” 382; D’Alessandro, “L’opera in musica,” 415.

⁵² Spanish soldiers were billeted in the theater during the Masaniello revolt or “sollevazioni,” according to Franco Mancini, *Scenografia Napoletana dell’Età Barocca* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1964), 16, 20; Domenico Antonio Parrino, *Nuova guida de forastieri per osservare e godere le curiosità più vaghe e più rare della real fedelissima gran Napoli, città antica e nobilissima* (Naples: Il Parino, 1725; edition revised by his son) [I-Nsn, CAPASSO 03.F. 19], 121, states: “Il Teatro poi è uno de’ più famosi d’Italia, fu saccheggiato a tempo de’ tumulti, e rovinato dal fuoco nel 1684 [sic] sempre rifatto; mà per comando del Viceré Duca di Medina Celi ingrandito al maggior segno, con chiudersi un vicoletto è riuscito mirabile.” See also Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli nel ‘600*, 20. N.p.: n.p., 1725.

⁵³ Carlo Celano, *Delle notizie del bello, dell’antico, e del curioso della città di Napoli* (Naples: Giacomo Raillard, 1692), “giornata quinta” 24–25, describes the *jus* granted to the Santa Casa and the Teatro di San Bartolomeo as a theater for “pubblici strioni”: “Ne tumulti popolari dell’anno 1646 fu ruinato da soldati per servirsi de legnami a brugiare. Fu con molta spesa rifatto come prima a causa, che il Signore Conte d’Ognate, avendo introdotte le commedie in musica all’uso di Venetia, rappresentar le fece dentro Palazzo nel luogo, che serviva per lo gioco della palla, che è quello dove oggi sta l’officio delle Galere.”

caused by venereal disease, the Ospedale faced prohibitive expenses that justified its dependence on the purportedly immoral activity of this commercial theater.⁵⁴ Following the Spanish model, the order held the monopoly on a portion of the proceeds resulting from all theatrical performances, in accord with the *Jus repraesentandi* decreed by Philip II, enforced in Naples beginning in 1589, and reinforced by Philip IV.⁵⁵ Permission from the Santa Casa was required before tickets to any staged entertainment could be offered for sale.⁵⁶ Moreover, the wording of the royal decree explicitly connects the procedures for commercial theater in Naples to those of Madrid: the Santa Casa is charged with enforcing the *Jus* “according to what is done with other hospitals in the city of Madrid” (“conforme a lo que con otros ospitales se haze en la villa de Madrid”).⁵⁷

Viceroy and Inconsistent Levels of Support

It is striking that opera productions in Spanish Naples began with support from the Spanish viceroys in precisely the same years that Carpio (then known as Marquis de Heliche) began producing musical theater in the new partly-sung genres of semi-opera and zarzuela in Madrid. Of course, these Spanish aristocrats were consistently writing to and receiving letters from each other, given their family connections, relationships, and importance in the administrative hierarchy of the monarchy. Naples stood in closer proximity to the Italian cities and courts that already featured commercial opera, so its viceroys could call upon resources and models unavailable and impractical in Madrid, where the busy commercial production of spoken theater formed the spine of the theatrical enterprise.

Before opera as a commercial venture could be tested in Naples beyond the palace, Oñate was recalled suddenly to Madrid and departed at the end of 1653. But his activity proved paradigmatic in several ways. Operas at the Teatro di San

⁵⁴ The exorbitant cost of treating incurable mental illness motivated the Santa Casa's investment in the theater for decades to come; Giovanni Battista Pacichelli, *Il regno di Napoli in prospettiva, prima parte* (Naples: M. Luigi Mutio, 1703) [E-Mn, 3/62725], 58–60, highlights the huge expense of treating “morbi gallici” and illnesses deemed “insanabili.”

⁵⁵ See also Croce, *I teatri di Napoli*, 58–59, 86.

⁵⁶ Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, “Production, Consumption, and Political Function of Seventeenth-Century Italian Opera,” *Early Music History* 4 (1984): 209–96 (265); Dinko Fabris, “Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples: The Case of Francesco Provenzale (1624–1704)” (PhD diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, 2002), 60; eighteenth-century documents with language from the original 1583 decree of Philip II and subsequent consultations of 1646, 1670, and 1685 are included in Francesco Coticelli and Paologiovanni Maione, *Le Istituzioni Musicali a Napoli durante il Vicereame Austriaco (1707–1734)* (Naples: Luciano, 1993), 145–75.

⁵⁷ Quotation from the royal decree in Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli nel '600*, 37; see also references in Bianconi and Walker, “Production, Consumption,” 265; Fabris, “Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples,” 60; and Coticelli and Maione, *Le istituzioni musicali*, 145–75.

Bartolomeo were generally performed by visiting companies supported by the proceeds from ticket sales, together with variable levels of viceregal and aristocratic sponsorship. For the next three decades, in keeping with the Spanish pattern, theater managers in Naples were obliged to and supported in various ways by the viceroys, whose private palace presentations did not preclude commercial ones. The performers of the 1657–1659 operas at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo, for example, were collected into a company known as the *Accademia degli Armonici* and bound in a commercial arrangement to the impresario Gregorio delle Chiave (or Chiavi).⁵⁸ Yet their 1658 contract specifies an obligation to perform not only at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo but also in the Palazzo Reale when called to do so by the viceroy (“nel Reale Palazzo quando fussero chiamati da Sua Eccellenza”).⁵⁹ This obligation mirrors that of acting companies in Madrid that were similarly required to perform or rehearse at the palace. When public spectacles in Naples were suppressed in 1656 and the city’s population was reduced by over half by an epidemic of the plague, private performances at noble palazzi may have sustained the handful of performers who survived. The plague and the unrelated death of a princess in Madrid called for a muted 1656 carnival, though private performances were nevertheless organized in private venues,⁶⁰ and a troupe referred to as *Febiarmonici* offered a commedia “recitata in musica” at the Palazzo Reale on Thursday evening 24 February for the viceroy, his family, and the nobility.⁶¹

The spring of 1657 brought the resumption of commercial performances, although the contagion was still being reported. Viceroy Count of Castrillo (Carpio’s great uncle) supported months of festive commemoration to unify the city and banish the specter of the plague.⁶² He was especially careful to include

⁵⁸ I-Nas, *Notai del Seicento*, Carlo Celso de Giorgio, scheda 358, prot. 13, fols. 510v–513; Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli nel secolo XVII*, 3:24–25, 192; Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples*, 152. D’Alessandro, “Mecenati e mecenatismo,” 400–1 provides details about Delle Chiave.

⁵⁹ Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli nel ‘600*, 25–28.

⁶⁰ I-CVaav, *Segreteria di Stato*, Napoli 54, fols. 181v and 201–2 mentions the “mal successo parto della Regina di Spagna” and notes that Diomede Carafa, Duke of Maddaloni, produced a “bella commedia” on 20 February 1656 in his richly adorned palace, followed by a banquet for the viceroy, his family, and the nobility; this event is also noted in I-Fas, *Mediceo del Principato*, f. 4116, 22 February 1656. I-CVaav, *Segreteria di Stato*, Napoli 54, fol. 191, 26 February 1656, notes that this play, *L’incostanza punita* by Francesco Zacconi (Naples: Roberto Mollo, 1656) [US-CAh, IC6 Z1181 656i] did not please the viceroy, because it dealt with “materiale odioso e gelosia di sollevazione popolare contro il suo principe.”

⁶¹ I-CVaav, *Segreteria di Stato*, Napoli 54, fol. 192, 26 February 1656, and Napoli 54, fols. 201v–202, 29 February 1656: the “figli del Signore Duca di Medina, et anche il Signore Principe di Caserta” are named among those invited; I-Fas, *Mediceo del Principato*, f. 4116, 29 February 1656, confirms “Giovedì sera fu commedia in palazzo fatta rappresentare in musica dalla compagnia di Febi Armonici, per trattenimento di quest’ eccellenze e nobiltà... et alcune altre commedie sono state rappresentate in case di particolari.” To my knowledge, this performance by the *Febiamonici* at the Palazzo Reale in February 1656 has not been previously reported.

⁶² See Ida Mauro, “‘Pompe che sgombrarono gli orrori della passata peste et diedero lustro al presente secolo.’ Le cerimonie per la nascita di Filippo Prospero e il rinnovo della tradizione equestre napoletana,” in *Fiesta y ceremonia en la corte virreinal de Nápoles (siglos XVI y XVII)*, ed.

representatives of the city's various social strata in his planning. Singing of the Te Deum, Masses of thanksgiving in the major churches, fireworks, bell-ringing, and bullfights were all required by Spanish Habsburg ceremonial, but the Naples celebration included additional outdoor and indoor events with music to impress both the populace and the local elites. The first opera production of 1657 seems to have been the "commedia recitata da Febiarmonici nel Teatro di S. Bartolomeo" for which the viceroy showed support by attending on 13 May, well after the end of carnival.⁶³ Subsequent dynastic events would soon motivate further opera production. In expectation of a royal birth, sets were being built at the viceroy's palace as early as October 1657 (though the full celebration of the birth did not take place until months later in January 1658). These sets may have been used for *L'Artemisia*, performed by the Febiarmonici at the palace on Wednesday 21 November for the viceroy and invited nobility. The fact that this opera had already been presented "for the first time" at the public Teatro di San Bartolomeo but would be revived at the palace demonstrates clearly that the company and the impresario were determined to pursue opera as a commercial enterprise but sought viceregal support.⁶⁴ The next month, "*Il Xerse*" was performed "by order of the viceroy" ("per ordine di Sua Eccellenza") on 21 December 1657 at the palace for the viceroy and the invited nobility in recognition of the queen's birthday.⁶⁵

Following the precedent set by *Veremonda* and again with *Il Xerse*, the association between opera and high-level dynastic celebration spurred the production of three operas in Naples with the viceroy's support in 1658. When the actor-singers and musicians (termed Febiarmonici or Armonici) were occupied with rehearsals at the palace, the viceroy followed the typically Spanish model by providing a subsidy to the managers of the Teatro di San Bartolomeo. The managers of the public theater and the companies strategized to maximize the economic benefit of commercial performances. Beginning in January 1658, for example, the Eletto dal Popolo (Felice Basile) was preparing an opera for performance at the palace, with a new stage, sets, and expanded capacity for scene changes and stage effects.⁶⁶ During carnival 1658, while the Febiarmonici were rehearsing

José-Luis Colomer, Giuseppe Galasso, and José Vicente Quirante (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europe Hispanica, 2013), 355–84; Marino, *Becoming Neapolitan*, 193–95. A useful overview is Victor Minguez Cornelles, Pablo González Tornel, Juan Chiva Beltrán, and Inmaculada Rodríguez Moya, *La fiesta barroca: Los reinos de Nápoles y Sicilia (1535–1713)* (Castelló de la Plana: Universitat Jaume I and Biblioteca Nazionale Siciliana Alberto Bombace, 2014), 47–58.

⁶³ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 58, fol. 41v, 15 May 1657; avvisi from the nuncio in Naples note that cases of plague were still a threat as late as March 1657.

⁶⁴ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 59, fol. 294 and 303, 20 and 24 November 1657.

⁶⁵ "di meraviglia bello," I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 59, fol. 390v, 18 December 1657 and 399v, 22 December 1657.

⁶⁶ As is made clear in I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 61A, the entertainment he planned at the palace was to be a special private event; outside, in front of the palace, seats for spectators

this palace opera, they were called away on Sunday 17 February by imitators or competitors (“emuli”) of the Eletto dal Popolo to perform “the same opera that they will do [later] at the palace” at the public theater. This plan was thwarted by an order from Basile himself and the company was brought back to the palace. This opera, *Il trionfo della Pace*,⁶⁷ finally received its palace premiere on the evening of 24 February and was praised for its varied sets and impressive velocity of flights. The event attracted such a large crowd of nobility that the space for the audience was completely filled and some were forced to miss the performance.⁶⁸ This opera received at least one additional performance in March with new intermedi ordered by the viceroy.⁶⁹ A “new” opera (perhaps *La gara de’setti pianeti* mentioned by Antonio Parrino)⁷⁰ was performed by the Febiarmonici at the viceroy’s palace on Wednesday evening 1 May, and the invited audience again exceeded the capacity of the theater.⁷¹ The audience was unusually large precisely because the nobility, baroni, cavalieri, and titolati had come to the city as ordered by the viceroy in advance of the “cavalcata, che qui chiamano incamisciata” that

and a staging area called a “teatro” were erected for the outdoor “tornei,” “giostri,” and equestrian displays to be performed publicly by the nobility. A long series of avvisi explains how the Neapolitan baroni, cavalieri, and titolati were repeatedly called to the city in advance by the viceroy to organize quadrilles and prepare the solemn cavalcata honoring the royal birth.

⁶⁷ Sartori 23871 gives the title as *Il Trionfo della Pace per le fascie del serenissimo principe delle Spagne. Dramma musicale del dottor Giuseppe Castaldo*. The only date provided is 1658; the dedication is signed by Felice Basile.

⁶⁸ D’Alessandro, “Mecenati e mecenatismo,” 415 offers the date of Thursday 28 February, but the avviso sent by the papal nuncio clearly gives the date as Sunday 24 February: I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 61A, fol. 159–159v, 2 March 1658 provides the date: “Domenica sera si recitò poi in musica l’opera intitolata *Il trionfo della pace* e riuscì molto bella, massimamente nella varietà delle scene e velocità de voli, ancorché per la gran moltitudine della gente nobile concorsavi si sentirsi qualche confusione prima di cominciarci, e convenno a buon numero de’ Cavalieri e Dame partirsi; essendo stato incapace il luogo del Teatro per tanta gente; accluso viene l’esemplar dall’opera.” The published libretto by Giuseppe Castaldo, dedicated to the Viceroy Count of Castrillo, includes a letter from Felice Basile dated 10 January 1658 and offers a long list of allegorical and mythological characters in double columns, as well as “apparenze” and “machine.” *Il trionfo della Pace per le fascie del serenissimo principe delle Spagne: dramma musicale* (Naples, 1658); I consulted the Getty Research Institute exemplar at <https://archive.org/details/iltrionfodellapa00cast>.

⁶⁹ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 61A, fol. 185v, 12 March 1658, “Si reciterà ancor di nuovo la commedia dell’Eletto del Popolo Felice Basile, con l’aggiunta di alcuni intermedi, avendolo precisamente ordinato il Signore Viceré.” If it was performed on 4 March, a date that D’Alessandro and Bianconi suggest for an opera performance, that date is not given in the avvisi, I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 61A, fols. 159–160v, 171, 2 March 1658 and 5 March 1658; the evening of 2 March is possible since a “festino” took place at the palace on this date, while on 3 March a “commedia di burla” was performed there by “comici pubblici.”

⁷⁰ Bianconi, “Funktionien des Operntheaters,” 51; D’Alessandro, “L’opera in musica,” 420 and 546–47.

⁷¹ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 61A, fol. 335v, 30 April 1658, “Domani a sera li Febi Armonici a Palazzo reciterano un’opera nuova in musica per trattenimento della numerosa nobiltà che qui si ritrova; I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 61A, fol. 347, 4 May 1658: “Ruscì molto vaga l’opera in musica che da Febi Armonici si recitò mercoledì [mercoledì] sera a Palazzo; et il concorso delle Dame e Cavalieri ad ascoltarla fu tale, che riuscì angusta la sala del teatro per capirli.”

would commemorate the birth of the Infante.⁷² Viceroy Castrillo's motivation for a palace performance so long after the end of carnival was "to entertain the large number of nobles who are still here" ("per trattenimento della numerosa nobiltà che qui si ritrova"). As late as May, the city was still full of those who had come to prepare for the cavalcata, some of whom were paying to rent temporary quarters, so the viceroy was obliged to entertain and feed them. This production was also a dynastic celebration, counted among the *feste* honoring the Infante's birth that culminated in public events on 12 May in the temporary staging area outside the palace.⁷³

The performers labelled "Febiarmonici" apparently entertained at the palace for dynastic celebrations in autumn 1658—on 31 October and for the 28 November birthday of the Infante Felipe Próspero. Meanwhile, the expected Te Deum and cavalcata had been announced for 20 October but postponed to 27 October. The 31 October opera was a shortened revival of Felice Basile's *Il trionfo della Pace*, in preparation since August.⁷⁴ The November opera was "a new opera," undoubtedly *Il Theseo overo L'incostanza trionfante* with music by the Neapolitan composer Francesco Provenzale, according to a note in the printed libretto.⁷⁵ In the preface to the libretto of *Il Theseo*, Provenzale is praised as the composer of "*Ciro, Xerse, and Artemisia*," previously performed operas that had "enticed" his audience. Clearly, he had been collaborating with the Febiarmonici since at least the autumn of 1657 because *L'Artemisia* was given at the palace on 21 November 1657, after its premiere in the Teatro di San Bartolomeo, and *Il Xerse* was staged at the palace only a month later, on 21 December 1657. As for *Il Giro* (libretto by the Neapolitan poet Giulio Cesare Sorrentino) scholars have long assumed that Provenzale's setting was heard in Naples in 1653 because a libretto published in Venice in 1654 explains that the opera originated in Naples and was revised for a Venetian production with music by Cavalli.⁷⁶ *Il Giro* was indeed in preparation in Naples by the Febiarmonici troupe under Balbi's leadership before the

⁷² The final cavalcata took place on 10 June 1658 and the viceroy issued his permission for the nobility to return to their lands around 15 June, according to I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 61A, fol. 522v, avviso of 17 June 1658 (as early as March many nobles already in the city had requested leave to return to their lands, but the viceroy had declined their petition).

⁷³ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 61A, fols. 347 and 400.

⁷⁴ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 61B, fol. 125–125v, 13 August 1658; the avviso notes: "Tra le feste che si preparano per l'elezione dell'Imperatore, il Signore Felice Basile fa di nuovo recitare *Il Trionfo d'Amore* arricchito d'intermedio; l'opera però si modera, perché non rechi colla lunghezza tedio a spettatori."

⁷⁵ Sartori 23116; Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples*, 158; Bianconi, "Funktionen des Operntheaters," 52.

⁷⁶ See Sartori 5662 (printed Genova, 1654) and Sartori 5663 (printed in Venice, 1654, with a dedication dated 30 January 1653); Alm, *Catalog of Venetian Librettos*, 55–56; Dinko Fabris, "Statira di Venezia a Napoli," in *Francesco Cavalli e la circolazione dell'opera veneziana nel Seicento*, ed. Dinko Fabris (Napoli: Turchini, 2005), 166, clarifies Cavalli's contributions to the 1654 Venetian premiere of *Ciro*: "mentre per la rappresentazione veneziana di *Ciro* nel 1654 si era limitato ad aggiungere nuova musica alla partitura originale del napoletano Francesco Provenzale."

end of Oñate's reign, as Michelassi has suggested.⁷⁷ But the sudden, unexpected arrival of the Count of Castrillo on 10 November 1653 surely interrupted the preparations for a palace production. In the end, only a "bella commedia" was performed on 9 November as a "tacita licenza" while Oñate said his goodbyes: the ship carrying Oñate's successor already had been sighted.⁷⁸ As far as is known, no Neapolitan libretto for *Il Ciro* was issued, increasing the possibility that Balbi and his company found themselves on the road to Venice with Sorrentino's draft Neapolitan libretto in manuscript, but without having performed the opera itself in Naples. Still, in the preface to *Il Theseo*, *Il Ciro* is listed as having preceded the other Provenzale operas.

Provenzale was collaborating with a Neapolitan company of Febiarmonici several years after Balbi's hurried departure, and this seems to have been the Neapolitan iteration of Febiarmonici that survived the 1656 plague year. They were constituted as "academici della Accademia de' Musici, detta de' Febi Armonici" in their contract with Gregorio delle Chavi.⁷⁹ It makes sense to suggest that Provenzale's *Il Ciro* was ultimately produced in Naples after the plague year, in chronological proximity to the productions of the other operas mentioned in the preface to *Il Theseo*. *Il Ciro* was probably not produced by Balbi's company in Naples, but instead by the reconstituted Neapolitan company. It may have been the opera "recitata in musica" at the viceroy's palace by the Febiarmonici on 24 February 1656 or the "commedia recitata da Febiarmonici nel Teatro di S. Bartolomeo" with the presence of the viceroy on 15 May 1657.⁸⁰

The birth of another Spanish royal infant spurred preparations for a series of celebrations that began in January 1659 and would include another costly cavalcata (to be ridden after Easter), but the preferences of the new viceroy also influenced the offerings in Naples. Gaspar de Bracamonte, third Count of Peñaranda, was said to be "inclinato all'allegria," so the nobility planned an especially lively carnival full of outdoor ("giostri, tornei") and indoor ("commedie, e balli") entertainments.⁸¹ The carnival was nevertheless "fredissimo" and without maskers, although two unnamed staged works were offered in private

⁷⁷ Michelassi, "La doppia 'Finta pazza,'" 1: chap. 8, 21.

⁷⁸ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 49, fol. 669, 15 November 1653; an avviso of 11 November sent to the Medici court confirms the performance of this final "bella commedia" at the palace; see Mamone, *Serenissimi fratelli principi impresari*, 480.

⁷⁹ I-Nas, Notai del Seicento, Carlo Celso de Giorgio, di Napoli, scheda 358, prot. 12, fols. 111v–112, partially quoted in Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli*, 3:24–25.

⁸⁰ On the other hand, Sorrentino, the librettist for *Il Ciro*, had also adapted or added to the libretto for a revival of Cavalli's *Rosinda* (*Le magie amoroze*, 1653) and provided another libretto (*La fedeltà trionfante*) for this same troupe in 1655. See Conti and Usula, "Venetian Opera Texts," paragraphs 2.4, 5.2, 13.4 at <https://sscm-jscm.org/jscm-issues/volume-27-no-2/venetian-opera-texts-in-naples-from-1650-to-1653-poppea-in-context/#app> for Sorrentino and the operas of 1653; Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples*, 155–59 considers the Neapolitan contributions to scores and libretti.

⁸¹ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 61D, fols. 28v and 146, 14 January and 18 February 1659.

noble palaces.⁸² The opera *Il Medoro* was performed by the Febiarmonici at the viceroy's palace on 19 February for the "dame e cavalieri," after which the viceroy served refreshments ("sorbetti et acqua di padiglia") to his guests.⁸³ Because Viceroy Peñaranda preferred comedias to opera,⁸⁴ "comedias all'uso di Spagna" were performed frequently at the palace by a Spanish company that he retained.⁸⁵ In early November 1659, Spanish comedias were performed by a Spanish company in the "gioco del pallonetto a Palazzo" because the viceroy preferred to bring them to the palace, though he also enjoyed Spanish plays at the Teatro di S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini, where they were customarily given. The *comedia* performances at the palace were open to the paying public, "each one who attends paying his own entry."⁸⁶ The traditional "gala" ceremony was held on the Infante Felipe Próspero's birthday in November 1659, but there is no record of an opera following it. In the first week of December 1659, the nobility performed a torchlit *incamisciata* procession with over a hundred riders to celebrate the Peace of the Pyrenees, followed by a "festino e ballo" at the palace. An opera performed by the Febiarmonici at the palace for the viceroy and invited nobility on the afternoon of 26 December was among the festive events honoring this essential treaty with France. The opera was probably *L'Eritrea* (Faustini/Cavalli), whose Neapolitan libretto carries a dedication to Antonio Fonseca, Conde del Vasto [Basto], dated 20 December. The dedication to a high-ranking official other than the viceroy implies that the opera was already in production at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo with sponsorship by the dedicatee, though performances may have moved back to the public theater after a palace presentation, in anticipation of carnival 1660.

⁸² I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 61D, fol. 146v, 18 February 1659 and fol. 158, 25 February 1659.

⁸³ *Il Medoro* is most likely the same opera with libretto by Aurelio Aureli and music by Francesco Lucio that had been performed at the Teatro SS Giovanni e Paolo in Venice during carnival 1658 (the dedication by the impresario Francesco Piva is dated 11 January 1658); Alm, *Catalog of Venetian Librettos*, 62–63; Sartori 15378.

⁸⁴ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 61D, fol. 968v, 13 December 1659, reports that on 8 December 1659 the viceroy and his consort attended the "opera" *Zenone* given in his honor by scholars at the Jesuit Seminario Nobili. There is an extant scenario, *Scenario del Zenone tragedia recitata da' signori conuittori nobili del Collegio di S. Francesco Saverio l'anno 1659* (Bologna: Giovanni Battista Ferroni, 1659) [I-Bca] for a *Zenone* performed at the Jesuit college in Bologna in the same year.

⁸⁵ Peñaranda supported the company of Adrián López with a monthly subsidy of 100 ducados, and the Santa Casa degli Incurabili allowed the company to keep all but a quarter of the proceeds from the sale of entry tickets for their productions. On this point, see Cotarelo y Mori, *Actores famosos*, 33–34 and 37. According to I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 61G, fol. 381, 30 October 1660, when López was murdered on his way to the palace one evening by Spanish soldiers, Peñaranda let it be known that he was furious, and he subsequently paid for the actor's funeral and masses for his soul. See also Innocenzo Fuidoro [Vincenzo Onofrio], *Giornali di Napoli*, ed. Franco Schlitzer (Naples: Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, 1934), [I-Nn, MS X.B.17], 1:60–61, which reports that the monthly *aiuto di costa* was 200 ducati, in addition to the proceeds from the rental of palchetti and the gift of valuable costumes because his company was deemed "comediani del Re Nostro Signore."

⁸⁶ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 61D, fols. 865, 4 November 1659, and 874v, 8 November 1659.

In summary, Oñate's introduction of opera and the genre's sponsorship by his successors did not ensure that it would become the dominant palace entertainment in Naples in the decade following Oñate's departure. The nature of the relationship between the private and public performances offered by the reconstituted company known as the Febiarmonici in the difficult years following the plague epidemic is not easy to pin down. In 1659, 1660, and 1661, apparently, only one opera was performed per year. The company that performed the Venetian *L'Eritrea* in December 1659 seems to have been an itinerant visiting company that only stayed in Naples into carnival 1660. The 1660–1661 operas set libretti by Neapolitan authors, so perhaps they were performed by a locally constituted troupe. Significantly, in these years, the avvisi describe terrible disorder in Naples, with shortages of food, streets full of vagabonds and criminals, a rise in homicides, and all kinds of criminal activity keeping people at home. Explaining the lackluster carnival of 1661, for example, one avviso relates, “Molti altre commedie si sono fatte nelle case da particolari; et in questa maniera senza disordine di considerazione si è terminato il carnevale.”⁸⁷ But the paucity of palace operas during the reign of Peñaranda (1659 to summer 1664) surely owes something to his emphatic preference for Spanish comedias and the presence of a Spanish company he retained both for his own entertainment and for commercial performances in the pallonetto at the palace. Beginning in January 1660, the Spanish actors were to perform every Thursday evening at the palace—an arrangement that absolutely mirrors the tradition at the royal court in Madrid where comedia performances known as “particulares” also took place on Thursdays during carnival. In June 1660, Peñaranda even extended the practice so that Spanish comedias were performed twice a week at the palace for the nobility.

An opera company with non-Neapolitan singers caught the viceroy's attention before August 1662, however, according to a comment in Fuidoro to the effect that “donne forastiere cantatrice” were again in Naples and set to perform in the public theater (“Compagnia di Comici detti Febi Armonici, che rappresentavano Commedie alla stanza pubblica in Musica”).⁸⁸ Presumably, Viceroy Peñaranda offered this company a subsidy, and they planned commercial opera performances in the Teatro di San Bartolomeo about which we lack reports. Probably they performed the two Venetian operas whose libretti were published in Naples in 1662 (*Alessandro vincitor di se stesso* and *Gl'avvenimenti de Orinda*).⁸⁹ For the first birthday of the future King Carlos II on 6 November 1662, only a “festino reale” (perhaps a *ballo*) had taken place at the palace for the nobility

⁸⁷ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 61K, fol. 125v, 21 February 1662.

⁸⁸ Fuidoro, *Giornali di Napoli*, 1:135; Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli*, 3:205.

⁸⁹ Bianconi, “Funktionen des Operntheaters,” 53.

after their protocolled *visita de gala* to congratulate the viceroy. Nevertheless, in October or early November, the viceroy granted the Febiarmonici a subsidy (an *ayuda de costa*) so that they would stage a new opera at the palace in the “teatrino del Regio Parco” installed by Oñate. This reference to a “theater of the royal park” could point either to the space adjacent to the Cappella Reale (identified as the *sala dei viceré*) or to that of the *pallonetto*.⁹⁰ The 7 November contract for the Febiarmonici, partially quoted by Prota-Giurleo, explains the composition of the company and states that the company has received material from the lessee of the public theater, Gennaro delle Chiave (sometimes Chiavi), who has also received material for sets and costumes from the viceroy’s agent (“Antonio Testa, Maggiordomo del Palco [*sic* Parco] del Reale Palazzo”); the contract allows the company to rent these necessary materials from Delle Chiave for performances from that date “until the end of carnival,” and makes clear that the viceroy has provided support for performances at both the royal palace and the Teatro di San Bartolomeo.⁹¹

The Naples libretto for *Alessandro vincitor di se stesso* carries a dedication to the viceroy dated 8 October,⁹² though the 1662 contract is dated 7 November, which might indicate that date of the libretto’s dedication has no relevance for the date of the palace performance. An *avviso* clearly states that this opera was performed on the evening of 22 December by the Febiarmonici at the palace to celebrate Queen Mariana’s birthday with all of the nobility by general invitation.⁹³ In other words, despite his strong preference for Spanish plays, even Viceroy Peñaranda supported the production of this opera for this principal dynastic celebration. Further, the early November date of the contract regulating the use of materials fits well with a date of first performance in December, since the company would need to take possession of material for costumes and sets as the production was being prepared, not after its premiere. I suggest that the early October printing of the libretto to *Alessandro vincitor di se stesso*, with its dedication to the viceroy, might indicate that the opera originally was intended for the 6 November birthday of the Infante Carlos. On the other hand, it may be that the printing of the libretto was meant to invite Peñaranda’s support for a well-remunerated palace premiere, given the lean years the company (or its predecessor) and the managers at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo had endured due to his preference for Spanish plays. Unfortunately, despite the plans clearly underlined

⁹⁰ Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli nel '600*, 39 specifies “in quel teatrino del Regio Parco, fatto costruir dall’Ognatte.”

⁹¹ I-Nas, Notai del Seicento, Francesco Antonio Montagna, di Napoli, scheda 1133, prot. 12, fols. 449–50, partially quoted in Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli*, 3:39–40.

⁹² Sartori 00883; I-Nc, Rari 10.05.10.06; Bianconi, “Funktionen des Operntheaters,” 16, 53.

⁹³ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 61L, fol. 619, 23 December 1662: “Giovedì sera à Palazzo si recitò da Febi armonici *L’Alessandro vincitor di se stesso* con l’invito generale delle Dame e Cavalieri per il compleaños della Maestà della Regina.”

in their November contract, the company seems not to have continued with opera productions during carnival 1663 in the public theater, though this was surely what they had hoped to do. An avviso of 2 February 1663 notes that the melancholy carnival did not include an opera performance at the palace or the at the commercial theater because of illness among the performers.⁹⁴

Viceroy Peñaranda's production of an opera for the queen's birthday in December 1662 emphatically revived the association between opera and dynastic celebration (a precedent brought to Naples by Oñate years before and confirmed by Carpio in Madrid with Hidalgo's operas). Moreover, Peñaranda, who had been a protégé of Luis de Haro, clearly also responded to the recent precedents set by Carpio's production of semi-operas for the Madrid court. The sequence of events I suggest for 1662–1663 makes sense in light of later patterns in Naples as well. Most of the operas performed through the 1680s were offered publicly only after they were first staged at the Palazzo Reale, and most of the printed libretti from Naples in this period bear dedications to the reigning viceroy.⁹⁵ The standard pattern seems to have been that a private performance for the viceroy (and his guests) would precede public stagings. Even if some of the latter began at the palace, just about all continued at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo, such that, beyond whatever was produced during carnival, both private palace performances and commercial productions planned for the months of November and December ostensibly commemorated royal birthdays and other dynastic occasions of the Spanish Hapsburgs.

Vicereally sponsored performances in a theater set up (most likely temporarily) in the sala grande at the viceroy's palace were sometimes opened to the public. This practice seems comparable to that of the salón dorado in the Madrid Alcazar, where a dismountable theater was erected quite often in the same period, as it had been from the early decades of the seventeenth century. Palace performances in Naples involved sets and staging, to judge by extant descriptions and remarks in avvisi, though the theater set up in the palace apparently provided limited accommodation for spectators. Whole productions were moved to the Teatro di San Bartolomeo for commercial runs with sets and costumes that originally had been paid for or provided by the viceroy. Some staging materials were taken down from the temporary stage in the palace and then mounted into the

⁹⁴ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 61M, fol. 142v, 2 February 1663: "Si è terminato il carnevale con molta malinconia non essendosi fatte che poche maschere et alcune commedie private senza festa pubblica a Palazzo, né sui Teatri ordinari per mancanza di comici, trovandosi le parte principali ammalate."

⁹⁵ In conformity with what Carpio had organized in Madrid, beginning in late 1660 Viceroy Count of Peñaranda (Gaspar de Bracamonte y Guzmán) instituted the practice of offering operas at the Palazzo Reale in Naples for the royal birthdays (that of the queen mother on 22 December, and of Carlos II on 6 November after 1661). For further details before the 1680s, see Bianconi, "Funktionen des Operntheaters"; Bianconi and Walker, "Dalla 'Finta Pazza'"; and Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples*, 154–61.

permanent stage of the San Bartolomeo theater. It is unlikely that the temporary palace theater had the mechanisms necessary for every kind of elaborate visual spectacle. Certainly, in Madrid in the same years, sets and whole productions were moved from one royal venue to another, and in later years palace plays were adapted for the lesser resources of the public corrales—an obvious precedent that the Spanish viceroys knew well.

The relationship among viceregal authority, palace operas, and operas in the commercial theater varied in the two decades before Carpio's arrival in Naples, though information about the public theater is lamentably scarce. The "compagnia delli Febi armonici" performed at the palace during carnival 1665.⁹⁶ Then the theaters were closed during the long period of official mourning following the death of King Philip IV (17 September 1665). "Gli'Armonici" were permitted to resume "in their usual theater" after most of the official funerals in Naples had taken place in January and February 1666.⁹⁷ The impetus for the unusual reopening of the Teatro di San Bartolomeo before the end of the official mourning might be found in the suddenly desperate financial situation of the new Ospedale dei Poveri, since a portion of the revenues earned by the theater was siphoned off to support the hospitals. In later years, the Teatro di San Bartolomeo became the principal venue for opera during carnival, though most operas had their premieres at the palace. Of course, the operas for the birthdays of Carlos II (6 November) and the queen mother, Mariana de Austria (22 December), were always staged first at the Palazzo Reale in this period.⁹⁸

Consistent patterns of opera production are especially difficult to discern for the reign of the Marquis de Astorga, Antonio Pedro Sancho Dávila y Osorio, who demonstrated his poor taste early on by refusing opera performances already in preparation. When he arrived from Rome in the middle of carnival 1672 to take possession, he assured a tepid carnival by showing little interest in the maschere readied by the Eletto dal Popolo. The "opere musicali" planned for the last three days of carnival at the palace were not heard, although their stage and sets were already in place.⁹⁹ In April, stage and sets were again ready for two

⁹⁶ "La sera [15 February] fu fatta la rappresentazione in musica a Palazzo dalla compagnia delli Febi armonici," according to Fuidoro, *Giornali di Napoli*, 1:269; Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli*, 3:51.

⁹⁷ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 67, fols. 124 and 460, avvisi of 2 March 1666 and 5 November 1666, report that masses were celebrated in all the churches in Naples beginning in January, including that of the Giesù Nuovo on 5 March; the "dame" were permitted to change out of their mourning clothes (*luto*) on 5 November for the birthday of Carlos II.

⁹⁸ For example, I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 64, fol. 428v, 25 October 1664 explains that a "teatro" for a performance of "La vita del glorioso S. Gennaro" by musicians of the "Casa dei Turchini di Loreto" is being prepared in the "gran sala che vi fabricò il Signore Conte d'Ognatte," evidently the sala dei viceré; another avviso, I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 64, fol. 460, 8 November 1664, notes that the previous Thursday evening (6 November) "si recitò musicalmente il Martirio di S. Gennaro a Palazzo" for the birthday of prince Carlos, a dynastic occasion.

⁹⁹ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 77, fol. 127v, 27 February 1672; and as reported on fol. 138v, 5 March 1672: "invano riuscì l'allestimento delle scritte scene in Palazzo, mentre non ci rappresentò cosa alcuna senza penetrarsene la causa."

opera performances at the palace on 18 and 20 April, but these performances did not take place either, though one of them may have been given on the evening of 21 April for the nobility.¹⁰⁰ Perhaps Astorga simply did not support the efforts of the local company. Indeed, by October 1672 the Neapolitan company found itself mired in problems when he financed the preparation of “*commedie in musica*” by a company of “*musici forastieri*” whom he brought from Rome in mid-October (their first performance was intended for the same day as a cavalcata planned for early November).¹⁰¹ On behalf of the viceroy, an agent had spent a good deal of money to purchase costumes from Filippo Acciaioli in Rome.¹⁰² Nevertheless, a Spanish *comedia*, rather than an opera, was offered at the palace for the king’s birthday on 6 November 1672.¹⁰³ It is unlikely that any palace opera performance took place at all in November or December 1672. *L’Ercole in Tebe* began a run of well-attended performances at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo by “*I Febiarmonici*” on Sunday 20 November, “*con grandissimo concorso, et applauso,*” but whether these performers were the “foreign” troupe the viceroy had invited from Rome or a company formed in Naples is unclear.¹⁰⁴ *L’Ercole in Tebe* was later performed at the palace on 8 January 1673 for invited dame and cavalieri (with refreshments).¹⁰⁵ This was not the only opera whose success at the public theater preceded a palace performance for the viceroy and his guests. Several years earlier, four performances of *L’Argia* at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo in February 1667 “*dalla compagnia de Febi Armonici*” were well appreciated such that it was subsequently performed at the palazzo reale on 21 February for “a great number of the ladies and the principal nobility.”¹⁰⁶ In the case of *L’Ercole in Tebe* in November 1672 and January 1673, the arrangement was especially advantageous to the company because it allowed the manager of the public theater to begin setting up the stage and sets for a new carnival opera without bypassing a protocolled performance at the palace that would bring the theater and the company further earnings. Carnival was the period in which the theaters could count on their most enthusiastic paying audience, of course. In 1673, the season at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo began early when *Caligula delirante* was performed by the “Armonici” beginning on or before 12 January (prior to the official start of Neapolitan carnival on 17 January, feast of San Antonio Abbate). The viceroy

¹⁰⁰ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 77, fol. 230v, 16 April 1672, and 238v, 23 April 1672.

¹⁰¹ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 78, fol. 232v, 15 October 1672.

¹⁰² I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 78, fol. 232v, 15 October 1672: “*esercitandosi col molto valore il Signore Conte d’ Elci nel dare gli ordini necessari, avendo egli procurata la compra degli abiti del Signore Pippo Acciaioli da Roma.*”

¹⁰³ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 78, fol. 269v, 5 November, and fol. 292, 12 November 1672.

¹⁰⁴ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 78, fol. 346, 26 November 1672; Sartori 9059; the libretto is dedicated to Astorga by Vito Zazzara, presumably the manager of the public theater in 1672, who may have been put in place by Astorga; Bianconi, “*Funktionen des Operntheaters,*” 62.

¹⁰⁵ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 79, fol. 21, 14 January 1673.

¹⁰⁶ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 68, fol. 130, 26 February 1667.

Table 3.1 Productions of the 1672–73 Naples Season

Title of opera	Teatro di San Bartolomeo	Palazzo Reale
<i>L'Ercole in Tebe</i>	20 November 1672	8 January 1673
<i>Caligula delirante</i>	12 January 1673	29 January 1673
<i>Girello (burlesco)</i>	8 February 1673	14 February 1673

himself attended “incognito” (without his entourage) on 19 January but did not host a palace performance of *Caligula delirante* until 29 January.¹⁰⁷ Performances of a second carnival opera, *Il Girello* (with libretto by Acciaoli himself),¹⁰⁸ began just over a week later beginning on Wednesday 8 February at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo with the viceroy’s attendance the next evening. When the viceroy decided to host the nobility, this production was brought to the palace for an evening on Tuesday 14 February.¹⁰⁹

In bringing the three operas to the palace during carnival 1673 (see Table 3.1), recruiting a non-Neapolitan company, and purchasing expensive costumes from Acciaoli in Rome, Viceroy Astorga lent support to opera in Naples. But he demanded Spanish plays and other kinds of entertainment far more often than opera. He brought opera to the palace only to court a resentful nobility. Astorga’s crude habits, disabling gluttony, weakness, and lack of proper deportment motivated the nobility and many officials to withdraw from him.¹¹⁰ It is likely that the 1672–73 productions that opened at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo (instead of at the palace) helped the “Armonici” to maintain the interest of their most important patrons—the nobility and the ministerial class—amid the antipathy that these groups were openly expressing for the viceroy. Holding premieres for full audiences at the public theater, rather than at the palace, where the success of a production could be spoiled at the whim of the viceroy or by an aristocratic boycott, helped the performers to maintain or develop connections to private patrons among those who heard their public productions. This pattern of presenting operas first at the public theater and only later at the palace may have continued throughout 1673 and into carnival 1674, since an early

¹⁰⁷ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 79, fol. 38, 21 January 1673; fol. 75, 4 February 1673.

¹⁰⁸ Bianconi, “Funktionien des Operntheaters,” 62; see also Robert Lamar Weaver, “*Girello*, a 17th-Century Burllesque Opera,” *Quadrivium* 12 (1971): 141–63.

¹⁰⁹ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 79, fol. 97 11 February 1673; this is counted as “la terza opera” performed by the Febi Armonici, “Mercordi [mercoledì] sera nel Teatro di S. Bartolomeo si diede principio da Febi Armonici a rappresentare la terza opera detta *il Girello* con grand’ applauso, e concorso, e giovedì sera vi fu ad udirla il Signore Viceré.” The palace performance is mentioned in I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 79, fol. 118v, 18 February 1678.

¹¹⁰ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 80, see, for example, the avvisi at fols. 251, 470, 546, 566, and *passim*.

September 1673 notice reports that the December productions in the Teatro di San Bartolomeo were already being planned “under the viceroy’s sponsorship, though he has given the responsibility for them to the Captain of the Guards, and for this purpose male and female *virtuosi* have been gathered from Rome and elsewhere.”¹¹¹ In a further symptom of the siphoning of activity away from the viceroy’s palace, the Princess d’Avellino broke with protocol entirely in January 1674 by inviting the dame to the Teatro di San Bartolomeo for *Orontea regina d’Egitto* (Ciccognini and Cesti),¹¹² followed by “suntuosi rinfreschi” of the sort usually offered to the ladies by the viceroy at his palace. This special evening for the ladies, “outside the usual,” may have been organized as a reaction against Astorga’s habit of offering theatrical performances at the palace only for the men, since the *cerimoniale* notes that at the many (“muchísimas”) comedia performances Astorga sponsored, the all-male audience was served copious refreshments.¹¹³

The preeminence of the palace premieres and the connection between opera and dynastic celebration were reinforced during the reign of Fernando Fajardo y Álvarez de Toledo, Marquis de los Vélez (viceroy 1675–1683), who arrived suddenly on 10 September 1675, sent by the crown to force the early departure of the disgraced Astorga (he took the government in hand on 19 September). Restoring the association between palace premieres and royal birthdays in November and December offered the perfect excuse to invite the nobility to the palace for private productions before each opera moved to the public commercial venue. Thus, in December 1675, “as is customary” (“secondo il solito”), an opera performance at the palace commemorated the queen’s birthday. With this arrangement, the singers and musicians, as well as the lessees of the public theater, also benefitted because the November and December operas provided the equivalent of an autumn or advent season after the king’s early November birthday, and even began a winter season prior to the 17 January start of carnival when the operas moved to the Teatro di San Bartolomeo. If it had not yet been performed at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo, the December birthday opera could even become the first opera of carnival in the public theater. Though his activities and interests have not been studied closely, it appears that Viceroy de los Vélez supported opera vigorously. Seven of the operas produced during his years as viceroy (September 1675 through December 1682) appear to have been newly conceived and composed in Naples, some of them for special occasions (as listed in Table 3.2).

¹¹¹ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 80, fol. 268, 9 September 1673.

¹¹² I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 81, fol. 16, 6 January 1674: “Giovedì sera la Signora Principessa d’Avellino invito gran quantità di dame alla commedia dell’Armonici nel pubblico teatro di questa città, e vi si portarono fuori dell’usato, essendosi tutte trattate con sontuosi rinfreschi.” The title of the opera is confirmed in Bianconi, “Funktionen des Opertheaters,” 64.

¹¹³ Antonelli, ed., *Cerimoniale*, 230.

Table 3.2 Operas Conceived or Composed for Naples 1676–81

<i>Il Teodosio</i>	November 1676 Carnival 1677	Composer unknown; libretto ded. signed by “Li Musici della Real Cappella”
<i>Il robo de Proserpina y sentencia de Júpiter</i>	December 1677 Carnival 1678	Spanish libretto Manuel García Bustamante; music attrib. Filippo Coppola
<i>Chi tal nasce tal vive, ovvero L’Alessandro Bala</i>	December 1678	Libretto Andrea Perrucci; music attrib. Pietro Andrea Ziani
<i>L’Arsinda d’Egitto</i>	November 1680	Libretto Baldassare Pisani; music Cristofano Caresana
<i>L’Adamiro</i>	Carnival 1681	Libretto Baldassare Pisani; music Giovanni Cesare Netti
<i>Las fatigas de Ceres [= El robo de Proserpina]</i>	Carnival 1681 at the palace only?	Spanish libretto Manuel García Bustamante; music attrib. Filippo Coppola
<i>Mitilene, regina delle Amazoni</i>	November 1681	Libretto Conte Barbò; music “Abbate Viviani”

The precise financial relationship between the palace and the public theater during carnival is difficult to assess, though subsidies from the viceroys facilitated both public and private productions. Some carnival operas were heard first at the public theater—apparently, this was the case for *Amor per vendetta overo L’Alcasta* (February 1676), if the information in the printed libretto is accurate.¹¹⁴ But the dates of performance given in many printed libretti are contradicted by information from other sources, most notably the avvisi sent by the papal nuncio to the papal secretary. The 1678 Naples libretto to *L’Aureliano*, for example, carries an undated dedication that refers to the king’s birthday, though the title page states only that it was to be performed at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo (not the palace). The weekly avviso in a letter from the papal nuncio reports, to the contrary, that it was performed first “a palazzo,” for the nobility as an evening entertainment

¹¹⁴ As pointed out in Bianconi, “Funktionen des Operntheaters,” 25, 69–71, there are two 1676 libretti for *Amor per vendetta o vero L’Alcasta* printed in Naples: Sartori 01440, I-Bu, A.V.Tab.I.E.III.24a.6, *Amor per vendetta overo L’Alcasta. Dramma per musica rappresentato in Napoli nel Teatro di San Bartolomeo* (Naples: Carlo Porsile, 1676), whose dedication to the viceroy is dated 2 February 1676 and whose title identifies the performance as having taken place at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo. The second *Amor per vendetta overo L’Alcasta* libretto, Sartori 01441, I-Mb, Racc.dramm.3502 (Naples: Lodovico Cavallo, 1676), includes an elaborate “Prologo, La Guerra de Giganti” alluding to the battles at Messina; this libretto’s title indicates performance “in Palazzo l’anno 1676,” and the dedication to the viceroy is dated 15 February. Oddly, the avvisi sent by the papal nuncio in Naples in the first half of 1676 offer little information about the viceroy, his court, or the aristocracy, and do not mention operas or plays. Concerning the 1673 Rome production, see De Lucca, “*L’Alcasta* and the Emergence of Collective Patronage.”

on the king's birthday, following the customary ceremony of "complimenti" and refreshments hosted by the viceroy and his consort.¹¹⁵

The nature of the company that performed in both venues seems difficult to pin down without further research. The series of libretto dedications to the viceroy signed by Gennaro delle Chiave might indicate that the "musici del teatro pubblico" worked as a stable company under his management. But notices about the company's members are scarce, except for those about the infamous Giulia de Caro who had managed the company in 1673–1675, thanks to hands-on protection from Viceroy Astorga.¹¹⁶ Most of the evidence suggests that productions of natively Neapolitan opera were performed by mostly local singers. But the frequent mention of "musici forastieri" recruited by the viceroys or their agents and paid to travel from Rome to perform Venetian operas (many of them also staged in Rome before Naples) points back to the plan sketched by Oñate with Manara and Balbi. Only three operas, sometimes four, were produced in Naples during each regular season, so it could be expedient to import whole productions and then adjust them for Naples.

Bringing companies from outside Naples offered distinct advantages for the imported genre, though Naples' significant history as host to itinerant *commedia* troupes was surely relevant as well.¹¹⁷ Singers with operatic experience who were recruited from Rome, Venice, or other northern cities and courts (where they had trained for the operatic stage) needed less rehearsal time. They knew their roles, could sing while acting convincingly, had worked in collaboration with other performers in the opera they brought to Naples, and already had their costumes at the ready. This explains why, for decades, lead singers did not immediately come from Naples, with few exceptions, despite the fact that Naples was itself a city replete with other kinds of singers and musicians. Naples had four conservatories specializing in musical training and countless churches and convents requiring the service of singers.¹¹⁸ But without an established company in which to apprentice in Naples, of course, young women could not be trained to sing operatic roles per se, even if some of them sang in local comedy troupes. On the other hand, the castrati and other men in the viceregal musical establishment were singers and instrumentalists of the royal chapel whose duties were carefully circumscribed by

¹¹⁵ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 90, fol. 889, 8 November 1678.

¹¹⁶ On Giulia de Caro, see Paologiovanni Maione, *Giulia de Caro 'Famosissima Armonica' e Il Bordello Sostenuto del Signor Don Antonio Muscettola* (Naples: Luciano, 1997); Paologiovanni Maione, "Giulia de Caro 'seu Ciulla' da commediante a cantarina. Osservazioni sulla condizione degli 'Armonici' nella seconda metà del Seicento," in *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 32 (1997): 61–80; and Paologiovanni Maione, "Giulia de Caro: from whore to impresario. On cantarine and theatre in Naples in the second half of the seventeenth century," unpublished paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Seventeenth-Century Music, Charlottesville, VA, April 1999.

¹¹⁷ Since the late sixteenth century, companies of itinerant *comici* had enriched their earnings by performing at the Palazzo Reale and in private houses; see, for example, Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli*, 2:76.

¹¹⁸ See Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples*, 79–94.

notions of decorum because their music represented the King of Spain and the chapel preserved the traditions of the Spanish royal chapel.¹¹⁹

The men of the chapel were not to mix with “Comediantes, ni otras personas de aquella esfera,” according to a directive from the cappellano maggiore.¹²⁰ Three castrati from the chapel nevertheless sang in the first opera production sponsored by Viceroy de los Vélez, presumably because some of the singers who had performed in the public theater had departed Naples in the corrupt Astorga’s wake. When de los Vélez arrived on 10 September 1675, *La Dori* may have been already in preparation. It was first performed for the nobility and important officials on 10 November at the palace, in observance of the king’s birthday with “ogn’altro virtuoso eunuco” in the cast, forced to appear “mixed into” the same company as the singers from the “teatro mercenario.” In this instance, the chapel singers reportedly could not shrug off the viceroy’s order to perform, though it violated the long-standing prohibition against chapel singers taking the stage.¹²¹ Significantly, de los Vélez abandoned his plan for the involvement of royal singers by the end of the year. In preparation for carnival 1676, he instead paid the travel expenses and a subsidy to import an opera troupe from Rome.¹²² Some performances of *Il Teodosio* for the king’s birthday in November 1676 included musicians from the royal chapel, however, whether singers or players of instruments, and these performances were open to a paying public, if the diarist Fuidoro’s report is accurate.¹²³ *Il Teodosio*, which may have been newly composed for Naples, likely also celebrated the announcement of the king’s engagement.¹²⁴ It could be argued that singing onstage at the palace for nothing less than the king’s birthday, a dynastic celebration, was legitimate service for the men whose primary assignment was performance in the king’s Neapolitan chapel. Another libretto with a long list of characters was printed

¹¹⁹ Stein, “The Musicians of the Spanish Royal,” 173–94; and Paologiovanni Maione, “Il mondo musicale seicentesco e le sue istituzioni: la Cappella Reale di Napoli (1650–1700),” in *Francesco Cavalli e la circolazione dell’opera veneziana nel Seicento*, ed. Dinko Fabris (Naples: Turchini Edizioni, 2005), 320–22).

¹²⁰ I-Nas, Affari diversi della Segreteria dei Viceré, fascio 500, 29 October 1682, quoted in Maione, “Il mondo musicale,” 322.

¹²¹ Fuidoro, *Giornali di Napoli*, I-Nn, MS X.B.17, fol. 129–129v, ed. Vittoria Omodeo, 3:315; also quoted in Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli*, 3:272.

¹²² Fuidoro, *Giornali di Napoli*, I-Nn, MS X.B.17, fol. 145v, ed. Omodeo, 3:328: “Sua Eccellenza [de los Vélez] ha fatto venire da Roma una conversazione d’istriani musici, chiamati col nome generale di Febi armonici, con seicento docati per il loro viaggio da Roma in Napoli”; Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli*, 3:272.

¹²³ Fuidoro, *Giornali di Napoli*, I-Nn, MS X.B.17, fol. 236v, ed. Omodeo, 4:68: “e la notte seguente [i.e., 7 November] in Palazzo li musici della cappella regia rappresentarono, come dissi di sopra, *Il Teodosio* in musica; ove concorse nobiltà infinita napoletana e spagnola, ed anco molta gente civile del popolo a goderla”; Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli*, 3:277.

¹²⁴ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 86, fol. 72v, 13 October 1676: “Qui si sta in allegrezza per le dichiarazioni delle nozze del Re, con la figliuola dell’Imperatore avendo questa mattina sparato tutti li castelli nel tempo medesimo che il Signore Viceré riceveva li complimenti da tutti questi ministri e nobiltà.”

for a palace revival in the last days of carnival 1677. This libretto specifies the sala dei viceré as the venue, but also provides an allegorical prologue requiring machines for the descent of Pallade and Astrea; Giove and Il Tempo subsequently appeared “in Aria.”¹²⁵

In summary, the viceroy’s support for opera was manifest in several ways during this period. If some performances of *Il Teodosio* at the palace were open to the paying public, then perhaps so were performances of other operas, especially since Spanish comedias sponsored by Viceroy Peñaranda at the pallonetto di palazzo in 1659 had been open to the public, “each one who attends paying his own entry.”¹²⁶ De los Vélez also paid the travel and lodging expenses of the “foreign” troupe so that its indispensable singers could remain in Naples. Additionally, he paid for costumes and sets for palace premieres and then allowed the same materials to be reincorporated into productions at the public Teatro di San Bartolomeo. He reimbursed all of the singers for the original cost of their costumes for the November 1676 palace performance of *Il Teodosio*, for example.¹²⁷ These costumes were surely worn again when the opera was offered at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo during carnival 1677 and when the production was brought back to the palace and performed in the sala dei viceré toward the end of the same carnival.¹²⁸ A private performance of *Anacreonte* on 12 February 1679 in the sala regia (sala grande) at the palace for the viceroy, his consort, and the nobility¹²⁹ was probably repeated at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo as the second opera of carnival, following *Le fatiche d’Ercole per Deianira*, whose libretto reveals that it was revised for the Teatro di San Bartolomeo by the dramatist and dramaturg Andrea Perrucci.¹³⁰ Later

¹²⁵ There are two Neapolitan printings of the libretto, one in conjunction with the November production and a second with a new prologue and “tramezzi” for the palace performance in the last days of carnival 1677, “Da rappresentarsi in Palazzo nella Sala dei Viceré in questi ultimi giorni di Carnevale.” The undated dedication in the second printing, I-Bu, A.V.Tab.I.F.III.10.5, is signed by “Li Musici della Real Cappella”; no composer has been identified, but Bianconi, “Funktionien des Operntheaters,” 67, posits the chapelmaster Filippo Coppola.

¹²⁶ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 61D, fol. 865, 4 November 1659 and 874v, 8 November 1659.

¹²⁷ Fuidoro, *Giornali di Napoli*, I-Nn, MS X.B.17, fols. 235v–236, notice of 30 October 1676; ed. Omodeo, 4:67–68; Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli*, 3:277.

¹²⁸ Bianconi, “Funktionien des Operntheaters,” 67; Sartori 23038, I-Bu A.V.Tab.I.F.III.10.5; the title of this second Naples printing of the libretto names the location: *Il Teodosio. Melodramma per musica da rappresentarsi in Palazzo nella Sala de’ Viceré in questi ultimi giorni di carnevale del presente anno 1677. Con un nuovo Prologo e Tramezzi posti nel fine dell’opera in questa seconda impressione. Dedicato all’illustrissimo [. . .] d. Fernando Ioachin Faxardo [. . .] viceré, luogotenente e capitano generale di questo Regno* (Naples: Lodovico Cavallo, 1677).

¹²⁹ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 91, fol. 106–106v, 14 February 1679, and Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli*, 3:288. Most likely Antonio Sartorio’s *Anacreonte tiranno*, first performed at the Teatro San Salvatore in Venice in December 1677; see Selfridge-Field, *A New Chronology*, 124 for details.

¹³⁰ Revised from the 1672 *Ercole in Tebe*, “riformato per il Teatro di San Bartolomeo di Napoli dal dottor Andrea Perruccio”; the dedication by Francesco della Torre to de los Vélez is dated 28 January 1679; I-Bu, A.V.Tab.I.E.III.24a.5; Sartori 9814; Bianconi, “Funktionien des Operntheaters,” 69.

in 1679, *Alessandro Magno in Sidone* was staged for the king's birthday on 6 November at the palace by a company identified in an avviso as "the musicians of the public theater."¹³¹ Fuidoro recorded that this opera subsequently was brought to the Teatro di San Bartolomeo, embellished by balli and a "gioco della torcia."¹³²

The operatic enterprise in Naples was thus multiply contingent—the viceroy's funding allowed the public theater to operate, performers and sets moved between venues, and the most valuable members of the audience (the wealthy aristocracy) engaged with productions both at the palace at the viceroy's invitation and in the public sphere, where their elegance in manners and appearance could be admired by those from lower ranks of Neapolitan society. By 1680, the practice of preparing and staging an opera first at the viceroy's palace to commemorate the queen mother's December birthday and then moving it to the Teatro di San Bartolomeo for its commercial run was standard. For example, *Ifide greca* was performed at the palace on the evening of Sunday 22 December 1680 in honor of the queen mother's birthday, and then the production moved to the public theater beginning on or before the start of carnival (17 January 1681). During the public run of *Ifide greca*, another opera went into preparation at the viceroy's palace, probably *L'Adamiro* with music by the Neapolitan composer Giovanni Cesare Netti.¹³³ It is unlikely that *L'Adamiro* was performed in the San Bartolomeo theater that year, however, because a fire rapidly destroyed the building on the night of 6 February 1681. The fire also incinerated props, set materials, and costumes, the "mille scudi di robbe" stored in the theater and the houses around it where most of the performers lived or were lodged. Awakened by the noise of screaming neighbors, the performers were only saved by appearing "almost in the nude" and coming through the windows "in a miraculous manner," thanks to ropes thrown and handled by the neighbors. The fire did not completely halt the season; opera performances were offered publicly beginning on 18 February in the "other, smaller theater" (the Teatro di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini) and at the palace for the nobility.¹³⁴

¹³¹ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 91, fol. 733v, 7 November 1679: "si recitò a palazzo il dramma dell'Alessandro Magno in Sidone da questi musici del Teatro pubblico."

¹³² Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli*, 3:109, 297.

¹³³ *L'Arsinda d'Egitto*, performed 6 November 1680 for the king's birthday, was also composed by a Neapolitan, Cristoforo Caresana; performance dates from I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 92, fol. 796, 810, 814; Napoli 93, fol. 90; see also Sartori 02893; Bianconi, "Funktionen des Operntheaters," 72–73.

¹³⁴ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 93, fol. 99, 11 February 1681 and 116–116v, 18 February 1681; see also Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli*, 3:310–11, quoting from manuscript "Avvisi di Napoli."

Operas at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo after the Fire

The fact that the Teatro di San Bartolomeo could not be reopened in time for the royal birthday productions of 1681 explains the nature of the operas performed at the palace in November and December 1681, when palace performances were followed by public ones at the smaller Teatro di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini.¹³⁵ The first opera being prepared for the king's birthday was *Mitilene regina delle Amazzoni*, whose palace premiere was delayed a week until 13 November. The libretto by Count Theodoro Barbò drew from the Spanish comedia *Las Amazonas* (1655) by Antonio de Solís y Rivadeneyra.¹³⁶ Barbò, a Milanese aristocrat whose mother was Spanish and whose military career was dedicated to fighting for the Spanish cause, had visited Naples in April and May 1677 to assemble a fleet and arm his ships before sailing to take up his post as Generale dell'Artiglieria and Governatore dell'Armi di Reggio [di Calabria]. He successfully chased off the French during the revolt of Messina, becoming a hero in the Spanish cause and remaining in close contact with Viceroy de los Vélez.¹³⁷ The theme of the *Amazonas* was explored in other commemorative operas of significance within the Spanish Hapsburg orbit, beginning with *La Veremonda* (1652) and extending to *La caduta del regno delle Amazzoni* (1690). In 1681, the relatively small cast, absence of stage action calling for machines, and minimal requirements for scene changes also made *Mitilene* a practical choice when public performances would depend on the modest resources of the Teatro di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini. The opera calls for only three female Amazons (sopranos) who might also sing three of the mythological and allegorical female roles in the now-lost music of the prologue (perhaps the nymphs Galatea and Dori, together with Felicità); a male soprano for King Armidoro; a "bass" for his general; a "tenor" captain, Arsindo; and a male alto for the role of the lowly squire, Dorillo. The libretto offers conventional sets; the most exciting stage action happens within the only set that does not recur, the "prison scene with ruins," in which Ippolita laments and then somehow sleeps

¹³⁵ D'Accone, *The History of a Baroque Opera*, 125, first suggested that *Gl'equivoci nel sembiante* was chosen in 1681 precisely because of its "modest scenic and musical requirements."

¹³⁶ See Andrea Garavaglia, "Amazons from Madrid to Vienna, by way of Italy: The Circulation of a Spanish Text and the Definition of an Imaginary," *Early Music History* 31 (2012): 215–19; Carlo Lanfossi, ed., *Un'opera per Elisabetta d'Inghilterra. La regina Floridea* (Milano 1670), critical edition of the libretto by Teodoro Barbò and music by Francesco Rossi, Ludovico Busca, Pietro Simone Agostini (Milan: LED Edizioni Universitarie di Lettere Economia Diritto, 2009); and Margaret Murata, review of *Un'opera per Elisabetta d'Inghilterra. La regina Floridea*, ed. by Carlo Lanfossi, *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 16, no. 1 (2010), http://www.sscm-jscm.org/v16/no1/mr_murata.html.

¹³⁷ I-CVaa, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 88, 13 April 1677, fol. 412; 27 April 1677, fol. 544; 25 May 1677.

onstage through the furtive entrances, exits, and revelations of other characters (III, 12–16).¹³⁸

A second short opera that required even more modest resources in cast and staging was Alessandro Scarlatti's *Glequivoci nel sembante*, produced at the palace for the queen mother's birthday in December 1681. It had been performed first in Rome and subsequently in Bologna, then in Naples previously on 2 March 1680 at the palace of Domenico Carafa, Duke of Maddaloni, for the "ladies and gentlemen," as is well known. It carried a gilded pedigree as an opera worthy of a Hapsburg dynastic celebration because it had also been produced in Vienna or Linz during carnival 1681.¹³⁹ *Glequivoci nel sembante* is a light pastoral comedy with only four characters engaged in amorous intrigue fueled by disguises and mistaken identities; it too features a scene in which the female protagonist sleeps onstage, so it has some of the very same elements that characterize *Mitilene*, though the amorous intrigues of the latter are more dramatic than comic and unfold amid the imposing settings of the military encampment, royal salons, and prison. Ease of production made Scarlatti's comic opera a good choice in December 1681 because subsequent public performances could be accommodated at the limited Teatro di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini. Moreover, its comedy might also please the Teatro de Fiorentini's usual audience. Its success at the Maddaloni palace in Naples only the previous year and at the Imperial court in carnival 1681 also set precedents. Perhaps the December 1681 palace performance was meant especially to please the court ladies who had visited with the viceroy's consort earlier in the day, observing the ritual of the "complimenti" for the royal birthday.¹⁴⁰

Operas for Special Occasions

The schedule of opera performances in Naples in the final seasons preceding Carpio's arrival was augmented when de los Vélez or other officials produced operas to honor special guests or occasions beyond the royal birthdays and

¹³⁸ *Mitilene regina delle Amazoni. Melodrama per musica. Rappresentato nel Real Palazzo à 6. di novembre, giorno del compleaños del Rè Nostro Signore, che Dio guardi* (Naples: Carlo Porsile, 1681); Sartori 15648; I-Nn, Lucchesi-Palli 22-II-28; I-MOe 83.G.18/5; see the music by Giovanni Bonaventura Viviani, I-Nc, Rari 6.6.22 (32.2.38); Bianconi, "Funktionen des Operntheaters," 74. *Mitilene* also sleeps and is observed by other characters in act 3, scenes 10–11.

¹³⁹ D'Accone, *The History of a Baroque Opera*, 115–17, 121–25; I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 93, fol. 947v, 23 December 1681, gives the date of the 1681 Naples performance as 22 December; on 125 and 162, D'Accone offers a similar report from the Tuscan agent in Naples. Herbert Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof im 17. Jahrhundert* (Tutzing: Verlegt Beihans Schneider, 1985), 91, 502, gives Linz, not Vienna, as the location for the performance organized for the Dowager Empress.

¹⁴⁰ I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, f. 4122, 23 December 1681, Naples, Giovanni Pietro Cella to Signore Priore Panciatichi, implies that the opera was intended especially for the ladies.

carnival. Some of the additional productions were opened to the public, while others were private. The Neapolitan nobility had a long tradition of private theatrical patronage, but because private performances were restricted to invited guests, scholars know little about most of them. The *Giornali* of Fuidoro and Domenico Confuorto, as well as various sets of manuscript avvisi, offer basic facts concerning some events, such as title, date, and place of performance. But the writers of avvisi and giornali were not among the guests at private performances, so their accounts are not those of eyewitnesses.

As noted already, the first Naples performance of Alessandro Scarlatti's *Glequivoci nel sembiante* was offered by the Duke of Maddaloni in his palace at the close of carnival on 2 March 1680. His production was not merely an ad hoc carnival party, however, but an event that capped months of festivities for the recent and long-sought Spanish-French alliance resulting from the marriage of Carlos II and Marie-Louise d'Orleans. That this opera was sponsored originally in Rome by Queen Christina of Sweden surely reflected well on Maddaloni. Moreover, the duke had been chosen by Viceroy de los Vélez as custodian in Naples for the *feste* surrounding the far-away royal marriage.

Beginning in October 1679, after the requisite Cappella Reale, fireworks, comedias, and festive ceremonies at the palace, the viceroy sent notice to the nobility requiring their participation in the cavalcata and other commemorative public events.¹⁴¹ The Duke of Maddaloni, the Duke of Atri, the Prince of Castiglioni, and others (“i primi titolati”) were named “capi” to organize and lead them.¹⁴² In late October and early November, the Jesuit Collegio de' Nobili staged a performance in honor of the marriage, “con molta spesa in dimostrazioni d'allegrezza per le Nozze del Re.”¹⁴³ *Alessandro Magno in Sidone* was performed on 6 November 1679 at the palace by “questi musici del teatro pubblico” for the king's birthday. This opera and the opera for the queen mother's December birthday were folded into a longer series of dynastic observances and different sorts of events, calculated to draw in both the popolo and the nobility. A cavalcata on 21 November 1679 that began in front of the palace and proceeded up Strada Toledo featured the captains and officials “della nazione spagnola” in groups bearing torches and costumed as representatives of the four parts of the monarchy—Spaniards, Italians, Ethiopians, and indigenous Americans, “tutti

¹⁴¹ I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, f. 1597, fol. 296, 24 October 1679, Naples, P. Berardi to Apollonio Bassetti in Florence; the viceroy's decision, announced in October, was to “solennizzare le nozze del Re... col maggiori dimostrazioni di magnificenza et allegrezza, con solennissima cavalcata di titolati, a quali si è scritto, con una famosa opera nuova in musica con macchine, et apparenze, con Torneo; con feste di Tori; dati gli ordini che ne venghino molti dalla Basilicata, che sono li più feroci del Regno; con maschera di 36 cavalieri; con otto quadriglie... si procura che il tutto sia all'ordini per carnevale.”

¹⁴² I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 91, fols. 653, 669, and 706, 24 October 1679.

¹⁴³ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 91, fol. 718, 31 October 1679 and fol. 733, 7 November 1679.

vestiti di lame false d'argento, e d'oro, con penne et infettucciati negli cavalli, portando ognuno i suoi servitori vestiti nella medesima forma." At the end of January and beginning of February 1680, equestrian games and balls were being planned for the nobility, together with an opera for the viceroy's palace and another "planned by the Duke of Maddaloni." In front of the palazzo reale, an outdoor theater and viewing stand were erected in preparation for the bullfights that traditionally entertained the popolo after the announcement of a royal marriage or birth. Palchetti were rented and tickets sold for seats at these outdoor events in two or more levels of price.¹⁴⁴

By the end of December 1679, the city was full of titled nobility and lesser baroni, including those who came from their feudi to participate in the cavalcata (those who stayed away paid a significant tax for non-participation).¹⁴⁵ The events organized by the nobility included outdoor chivalresque displays on horseback and a ballo for thirty-six gentlemen in the sala grande of the palace on 22 February 1680, preceded by a musical prologue ("introduzione in musica") and closing with the traditional *ballo della torcia*.¹⁴⁶

The production of *Eteocle e Polinice* in the sala grande at the palace on 31 January and 4 and 5 February 1680 was an especially important element in this commemorative series and illustrates how the production of a single opera at the palace could reach and entertain diverse elements of society. It opened with the antics of a singing giant and the gradual unveiling of the stage set.¹⁴⁷ The 1680 Naples libretto includes an allegorical prologue, termed "Accademia di Parnaso," "Introduttione al Drama," featuring Apollo and the nine Muses on Mount Parnassus at the center of the stage, joined by Imeneo and Amore, and contested by Lucina (Moon). Two triumphal carriages approach, rolling in from opposite sides of the stage—the one drawn by lions carried La Spagna; the other was drawn by nymphs and carried Partenope. The libretto's description of the

¹⁴⁴ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 92, fol. 78–78v, 6 February 1680.

¹⁴⁵ I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, f. 1597, fol. 339v, 26 December 1679, Naples, P. Berardi to Apollonio Bassetti in Florence: "signori che vengono da loro feudi per intervenirvi alla cavalcata, molti di piccoli Baroni, et alcuni de' più cospicui ancora... et altri per non venirvi a spendere, han contribuito qualche somma di denaro."

¹⁴⁶ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 92, fol. 93–93v, 13 February 1680; fol. 107–107v, 20 February 1680; fol. 132, 27 February 1680.

¹⁴⁷ "Comparve un Gigante in sala, il quale parla al Viceré, e tutto un tempo comincia a comparire sulla nuda scena, o per meglio dire, comparisce nella nuda sala parte del proscenio, e, tuttavia parlando in musica il detto Gigante, si vede compita tutta la scena a vista de' spettatori, e dalli Musici della Cappella Regia si rappresenta, cosa per vero che reca ad ognuno grandissimo ammirazione e diletto insieme. La compositione è stata posta in musica nella Città di Venetia, dove si fa professione particolare di queste sceniche rappresentazioni in musica. L'inventione e magistero è di Aniello Perrone, scultore di legnami famosissimo e il primo che oggi nell'Italia coltivi questa professione. Le pitture sono del gran Giordano, eccellentissimo pittore"; Prota-Giurleo, "Breve storia del Teatro di Corte," 34; Prota-Giurleo, *I Teatri di Napoli*, 3:114, gives this as a quotation from Fuidoro, *Giornali di Napoli*, I-Nn, MS X.B.19, fols. 96–97, though the Fuidoro notices edited by Schlitzer and Omodeo conclude in June 1679.

stage effects for the prologue specifies that as the prologue ends, the mountain sinks from view and the muses remain on floating globes of cloud that solidify and disappear as they rise.¹⁴⁸ Obviously, this was an expensive entertainment whose cost would be excused because it accomplished necessary political work. The action was designed to entertain everyone while conveying the value of the dynastic celebration. The stage sets were painted by Luca Giordano (“del gran Giordano”) with stage effects engineered by Aniello Perrone “scultore di legnami famosissimo.”¹⁴⁹ A *ballo* of eagles and lions followed act 1; one involving Spanish gentlemen and French ladies followed act 2. The first palace performances drew overflowing crowds of nobles and their families,¹⁵⁰ but subsequent ones were opened to the public because this was a “festivity celebrating His Majesty, the King and should thus be enjoyed by all of his subjects.”¹⁵¹

The second carnival production, Antonio Sartorio’s *Giulio Cesare in Egitto*, was a reworking of an opera first produced in Venice in 1677.¹⁵² In Naples, Giulia Francesca Zuffi sang the prima parte role of Cleopatra; the libretto contains a laudatory sonnet addressed to her. After the palace premiere, public performances commenced at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo on 19 February. By the beginning of March, the royal palace was reportedly still “sempre in festa” during the last days of carnival, with plays and a final *ballo* in the sala grande.¹⁵³ The Duke of Maddaloni’s private *Glequivoci nel sembiante* on 2 and 5 March 1680

¹⁴⁸ Sartori 09334; B-Bc, 20.193, *Eteocle e Polinice. Drama per le feste delle nozze regali famosamente celebrate dall’ecc.mo signor marchese de Los Velez vicerè di Napoli* (Naples: Salvator Castaldo, 1680) with list of “Apparenze di scene” at fol. 4v. According to Ciapparelli, “I luoghi del teatro a Napoli nel seicento,” 369, this globe machine was also deployed similarly in much earlier entertainments at the palace.

¹⁴⁹ Fuidoro, *Giornali di Napoli*, I-Nn, MS X.B.19, fols. 96–97, cited in Prota-Giurleo, “Breve storia del Teatro di Corte,” 34; Prota-Giurleo, *I Teatri di Napoli*, 3:114; Aniello Perrone (1633–1696) and his brother Michele were well-known artists who created wooden religious sculpture for churches, together with figures for Neapolitan *presepe*.

¹⁵⁰ I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, f. 1597, fol. 362, 6 February 1680, Naples, P. Berardi to Appollonio Bassetti in Florence, records the date of the first performance as 4 February, so perhaps the 31 January performance was just for a smaller invited audience. The avviso confirms that the performance lasted seven hours “con belle scene et apparenze” and that the number of people crowding in to see it exceeded the number of seats available, but for those who were pushed out, yet another performance was being arranged, despite the “disgust” of the musicians (“ancorché con repugnanza di musici”).

¹⁵¹ “essendo questo un festino della Maestà del Re N. S., a ragione dev’essere goduto da tutti”; Fuidoro, *Giornali di Napoli*, I-Nn, MS X.B.19, fols. 96–97, as quoted and cited in Prota-Giurleo, *I Teatri di Napoli*, 3:114 and 299; Prota-Giurleo, “Breve storia del Teatro di Corte,” 34; the report attributed to Fuidoro notes that the music was Venetian; see also I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 92, fol. 78v, 6 February 1680; the libretto, B-Bc 20.193, qualifies *Eteocle e Polinice* as a “drama per le feste delle nozze regali”; see Bianconi, “Funktionien des Operntheaters,” 26–27, 71.

¹⁵² The Naples libretto is Sartori 12206; I-MOe, 90.D.20/5; the extant score, I-Nc, Rari 6.4.15, corresponds to the Naples reworking. See the modern edition Antonio Sartorio, *Giulio Cesare in Egitto*, ed. Craig A. Monson (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 1991).

¹⁵³ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 92, fol. 107–107v, 20 February 1680; fol. 148–148v, 5 March 1680.

was the elegant conclusion of this cycle of feste, followed only by a small Spanish comedia staged privately for the viceroy on the last night of carnival.¹⁵⁴

When *Gl'equivoci nel sembiante*, “un piccolo, ma gentilissimo drama,” was produced again in 1681, it was particularly useful because it worked for a smaller theater and called for only four singers.¹⁵⁵ Moreover, the calendar of opera rehearsals and performances in Naples from autumn and through December 1681 was suddenly unusually crowded because three other operas went into rehearsal in the city during this period, leaving the human resources (singers and actors) available for opera production undoubtedly strained. *Mitilene regina delle Amazzoni* and *Gl'equivoci nel sembiante* were the viceroy's official operas planned for the November and December royal birthdays (see above). But two other operas were being organized by private patrons to honor the marriage uniting the Duke of Atri (of the Acquaviva d'Aragona, one of the oldest Neapolitan families) and the Roman princess Lavinia Ludovisi, sister of Giovanni Battista Ludovisi, General de las Galeras de Nápoles. Performance of these two operas (an Italian one in the Palazzo D'Atri, and a Spanish one in Prince Ludovisi's apartments in the Castel Nuovo) also seems to have been opened to the public following their initial private premieres.

The first opera honoring the Ludovisi wedding was *L'Ulisse in Feaccia*, a recent opera by the Neapolitan composer Antonio del Gaudio that had been produced successfully in the previous season at the Teatro Zane a San Moisè in Venice, apparently as a puppet opera (the title page of the Naples libretto is given in Figure 3.1).¹⁵⁶ In early September 1681 when he received royal permission to marry Lavinia, the Duke of Atri celebrated openly, driving around Naples in a fancy carriage and strikingly fine clothes to announce the betrothal; his finery exhibited his elation.¹⁵⁷ Shortly thereafter, he sent a large and precious gift of jewelry to Lavinia. By the end of September, preparations had begun for the “commedia in musica” to be presented at the d'Atri palace as soon as the marriage

¹⁵⁴ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 92, fol. 167, 12 March 1680.

¹⁵⁵ I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, f. 1597, fol. 1165v, 23 December 1681, Naples, Orazio d'Elci to Apollonio Bassetti in Florence.

¹⁵⁶ In the address to the reader (“Amico Lettore”) of the Venetian libretto, Sartori 24213, I-MOe, 83.E.26 (7), fol. 1v-2, the librettist mentions the use of wooden and wax figures: “Hò procurato con la scielta del Drama di porti in Scena un oggetto aggradevole, che animato dalla Musica di soggetto virtuoso porterà al tuo udito soave trattenimento; E se la vista si diletto per avanti in vedere gli atteggiamenti humani ben'esspressi da un legno, or nelle figure formate di Cera, apprenderà più vaghi stupori di quello di Dedalo, poichè non suppongono precipij.”

¹⁵⁷ I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, f. 4122, 2 September 1681, Naples, Giovanni Pietro Cella: “Il Signore Duca d'Atri attende il consenso di Sua Maestà dell'accasamento stabilito con la sorella del Signore Principe di Piombino, e frattanto va preparando molto sontuoso le nozze, e preziosi regali da inviarli alla sposa”; 9 September 1681: “Il Signore Duca d'Atri avendo ottenuto dalla corte di Spagna il consenso del suo accasamento con la Signora Lodovisia sorella di questi Principe di Piombino, in contrassegno di tal contentezza ieri si fece vedere per la città con una superbissima carrozza, e ricca livrea, dando parte a parenti del futuro suo sposalizio.”



Figure 3.1 Title page, *L'Ulisse in Feacia* dramma per musica da rappresentarsi in Napoli (1682), Comm. 323/5. © Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome.

could be concluded. The hoped-for date was November, though, in the end, the marriage did not take place until January.¹⁵⁸

Payments recorded in the duke's mother's bank account help explain how the opera was produced by the duchess, an aristocratic, private, amateur patron.¹⁵⁹ The opera's title is specified for some of the payments, as is the fact that it was to include a prologue and would be staged in the duchess' palace.¹⁶⁰ Funds for the opera came from her household account—the same account that paid for a luxurious new carriage for the bride, new upholstery in the house, silver ornaments, and new statues for the front porch, among other things.¹⁶¹ The duchess hired an entrepreneur named Antonio Bentivoglio in October 1681, with the stipulation that all of the manufacturing work toward the production—the preparation of all of the “costumes, scenes, machines, boxes, and stairs”—had to be completed by the first days of December 1681.¹⁶² The payments to Bentivoglio, beginning

¹⁵⁸ I-Fas, *Mediceo del Principato*, f. 4122, 16 September 1681, Naples, Giovanni Pietro Cella: “Il Signore Duca d’Atri inviò un superbissimo regalo di gioie alla sua futura sposa Lodovisia, e va preparando per novembre prossimo le funzioni del suo sposalito con gran pompa”; and 23 September 1681: “Questo Signore Duca d’Atri prepara alcune commedie in musica per solennizzare con tali divertimenti e per soddisfazione della nobiltà il suo spozalizio.” Domenico Confuorto, *Giornali di Napoli dal 1679 al 1690*, ed. Nicola Nicolini (Naples: Lubrano, 1930), 1:79, reported that the duke offered “commedie” in the palace on via Atri after the wedding and the arrival of Lavinia in Naples in late January.

¹⁵⁹ Payments in I-Nasbn, *Sacro Monte e Banco della Pietà*, *Pandetta and Libro Maggiore 1681/II*, and 1682/I, *Giornali copiapolizze di cassa, matricole 783, 784, 786, 787, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796* contain the entries for payments relevant to this opera on 10, 20, 24, 31 October, 19 November, 5, 10, 19, 23 December 1681, and 9, 22, 24, 25, 28 January 1682. Because a number of the bank books are lost, in fragile condition, or unavailable, the payment records for any single event or household are incomplete and it is difficult to draw firm conclusions about the total expenditure. My research in the Banco di Napoli archive also involved bank records from the Banco di San Giacomo and the Banco della Santissima Annunziata. I gratefully acknowledge the inestimable advice of Dr. Cornelia Del Mercato, formerly of the Archivio Storico dell’Istituto-Fondazione Banco di Napoli, and that of my sage colleague, Dr. Lucio Tufano. See Stein, “Opera and the Spanish Family,” 223–43.

¹⁶⁰ I-Nasbn, *Sacro Monte e Banco della Pietà*, *Giornale di Cassa, 1681/II*, *Matri. 783, 784, 786*, 10 October 1681: “Alla Duchessa d’Atri per cinquanta ducati e per lei ad Antonio Bentivoglio a conto di ducati seicento che si li danno per fare tutto quello che bisognerà per l’opera dell’Alise [*sic*] in Feaccia, a tutte sue spese conforme all’appuntato.” 20 October 1681: “per l’opera d’Ulisse in Feaccia, et suo prologo, da rappresentarsi in sua casa.” 5 December 1681: “Alla Duchessa d’Atri ducati venti et ad Antonio Bentivoglio a conto dell’opera che doveva farsi in loro casa.”

¹⁶¹ I-Nasbn, *Sacro Monte e Banco della Pietà*, *Giornale di Cassa, 1681/II*, *Matri. 786*, for example, 24 October 1681, the Duchess paid for “ferro e ferratura della carrozza alla spagnola di velluto torchino” and on 2 January 1682, payments were issued to Gennaro Monte “per saldo di 4 statue d’argento per servizio della casa.” Many payments dating from October to January were for household repairs, embellishment, furniture and decorations, adornment to carriages, clothing for the Duke of Atri, and so on.

¹⁶² I-Nasbn, *Sacro Monte e Banco della Pietà*, *Giornale di Cassa, 1681/II*, *Matri. 786*, 20 October 1681: “Alla Duchessa d’Atri 68 e per lei ad Antonio Bentivoglio sono a compimento di ducati trecento ed atteso l’altri duecento trentadue—l’ha ricevuti cioè ducati 50. per nostro banco e ducati 182 per il banco dell’Annunziata, e detti ducati 300 sono a conto di ducati seicento che si è convenuto [per fare?] tutti li vestiti, scene, palchetti o scalinate, che serveranno per l’opera d’Ulisse in Feaccia, et suo prologo, da rappresentarsi in sua casa, componere ancora lui li scene, le spese dei genti per voltare la macchine, per tre volte, ed ogn’altra spesa che vi bisognerà fuori di quella da pagare li musici, e che debbia esser all’ordine per li primi giorni di Xbre.” I-Nasbn, *Sacro Monte e Banco*

in October and ending after the actual performances in January, were for “everything except the paying of musicians.” The duchess also paid Marc Antonio Ferro for the printing of the libretto, just prior to the actual performance.¹⁶³

The composer, “Il Cavalier Antonio del Gaudio,” signed the libretto’s dedication on 26 January 1682;¹⁶⁴ he likely composed or arranged his own music for this privately sponsored Naples performance, though the records of the d’Atri accounts in the Banco della Pietà do not register payments to him.¹⁶⁵ It is as yet unclear who performed the opera, how the musicians were paid, or even if the composer was paid and by whom. The entries in the duchess’ household account only explain that a theater with sets and machines was erected inside the d’Atri palace, and that the work on costumes, theater, and sets began a full three months before the performance. The theater was to be completed more than a month before the wedding, presumably to allow for adequate rehearsal.¹⁶⁶ The opera was to be folded into a series of entertainments honoring the marriage “with magnificence and decorum,”¹⁶⁷ with “the noblest of costumes and superb stage sets.”¹⁶⁸ The viceroy and his consort attended its performance on Saturday 31 January, when, during the prologue, the singer “Alessandra” began to sing with a beautiful voice while suspended on a machine, until, at that very moment, she lost her voice, gaining the compassion of the audience. The performance took place in a temporary theater set up in a private palace that may have had only limited space for the audience, to judge by the fact that some performances were segregated by

della Pietà, *Giornale di Cassa*, 1681/II, Matri. 783, on 31 October: “ad Antonio Bentivoglio a conto di ducati trecento che se li resta dovendo per le scene e vestiti per l’Ulisse in Feaccia secondo all’acordo.” On 23 December: “a Antonio Bentivoglio a conto delle scene, vestiti, et altro per l’opera, che dovrà farsi in casa.”

¹⁶³ I-Nasbn, *Sacro Monte e Banco della Pietà*, *Giornale di Cassa*, 1682/I, Matri. 794, account 1014, 24 January 1682: “Alla duchessa d’Atri ducati 10, tari 4—e per lei a Marc Antonio Ferro per intero pagamento della stampa dell’opera che doverà recitarsi in loro casa.” I-CVaav, *Segreteria de Stato*, *Avvisi* 46, fol. 65, 24 January 1682 reports that the marriage service has taken place in Rome.

¹⁶⁴ *L’Ulisse in Feacia drama per musica. Da rappresentarsi in Napoli in casa dell’Eccellentissimo Signor Duca D’Atri. In occasione delle sue nozze coll’Eccellentissima Signora D. Lavinia Ludovisii* (Naples: Marc-Antonio Ferro, 1682). [I-Rc, Comm. 323/5]; Sartori 24214.

¹⁶⁵ I-Nasbn, *Sacro Monte e Banco della Pietà*, *Giornale di Cassa*, 1682/I, Matri. 794, account 1226. Del Gaudio himself maintained an account at the Banco della Pietà during the first semester of 1682, but its activity seems to represent cash withdrawals.

¹⁶⁶ It may also be that the duke and his mother did not know precisely when the marriage by proxy in Rome was to take place but surmised in late October that it would most likely not be celebrated in November as they had hoped. A copy of the marriage contract dated 5 December 1681 and signed by Lavinia Ludovisi, her brother Giovanni Battista, and Gian Gerónimo Acquaviva d’Aragona, Duke of Atri, can be found in I-CVaav, *Boncompagni-Ludovisi*, Prot. 293/7. Further notarial documents pertaining to the marriage are in I-Nas, *Archivio dei Notai*, Silverio Antonio Tonelli, 1681, Scheda 453, protocollo 20.

¹⁶⁷ I-CVaav, *Segreteria di Stato*, Napoli 93, fol. 932, 16 December 1681: “il quale [Duca d’Atri] sta già preparando commedie et altri feste per solennizzare li sponsali con magnificenza e decoro.”

¹⁶⁸ I-Fas, *Mediceo del Principato*, f. 1598, 3 February 1682, Naples, Orazio d’Elci to Appollonio Bassetti.

gender: one performance was given for the ladies and their families (“le dame e loro parenti”), and the performance on 3 February was for “li soli cavalieri.”¹⁶⁹ Another performance on 9 February “che riusci mirabilmente” was offered so that the singer “Alessandra” could fully perform her role.¹⁷⁰

The union between the Ludovisi and d’Atri families facilitated the political maneuvers of those loyal to the Spanish crown in Italy, but *L’Ulisse in Feaccia* seems to have had little to do with politics. Its entertaining plot would even seem to beg the question of noble decorum altogether. The opera’s location, Phaecia, was a mythical place where love reigned, and where King Acheloo and his two daughters made Odysseus lavishly welcome when he landed there after surviving a shipwreck. Phaecians, like seventeenth-century Neapolitans, were a people dedicated to maritime pursuits, so perhaps a parallel to the actual geography of Naples was intended, though such a comparison surely worked just as well when the opera was first performed in watery Venice the year before. Ulisses resists erotic temptation to remain a faithful husband during his visit to Phaecia, but it is hard to find any serious message beyond this projection of martial fidelity. In the opera, King Acheloo’s two daughters compete for Ulisse’s sexual attention. It becomes clear that the daughter who presents the most lavish gifts is more likely to win a chance to seduce him.¹⁷¹ This plot might be read as hilariously appropriate to Lavinia’s wedding, just because Lavinia herself had been very picky about the choice of husband and was not about to leave the convent or Rome for any suitor who lacked considerable material wealth. Conversely, the emphasis on Ulisses’ fidelity and ability to resist sexual and material temptations was surely flattering to the groom, the Duke of Atri. But the opera’s producer in Naples, the groom’s mother, seems to have mirrored the bride’s concerns just by setting out to produce something showy and expensive, paying lavishly for sets, costumes, and the printing of the libretto in the same stream of payments that financed other luxury items.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, f. 1598, 3 February 1682, Naples, Orazio d’Elci to Appollonio Bassetti.

¹⁷⁰ I-Fas, Mediceo di Principato, f. 1598, 10 February 1682, Naples, Orazio d’Elci to Appollonio Bassetti: “Il Duca d’Atri iersera fece ripetere la sua [commedia], che riusci mirabilmente perché era tornata la voce ad Alessandra cantatrice.”

¹⁷¹ See Hendrik Schulze, *Odyseus in Venedig. Sujetwahl und Rollenkonzeption in der venezianischen Oper des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2004), 290–97, for a careful discussion of this anti-heroic and somewhat comical plot. I thank Dr. Schulze for sharing his thoughts with me in private correspondence.

¹⁷² I-CVaav, Boncompagni-Ludovisi, Prot. 331/24: “Note di spese fatte dal Duca d’Atri in occasione delli sponsali con la Signora D. Lavinia Ludovisi,” “Foglio del Signore Condulmari circa la Signora Duchessa d’Atri,” “Nota di molte spese fatte dal Duca d’Atri,” which lists the post-nuptial expenses. Payments include “La Carrozza di Velluto Cremisi” 6000; “La Commedia” 2000; “1 Rinfreschi” 600; “2 Banchetti” 300; “Regali a Viceré e Viceregina” 400; Seggia di velluto uniforme” 800; along with other expenses for horses bought in Rome and luxury fabrics such as brocade, silks, and damask. The opera (2000) and the special carriage in which the duke greeted his bride (6000) required the largest expenditures.

The bride's brother, Giovanni Battista Ludovisi, produced a Spanish opera to crown the festivities for his sister's marriage. The opera he produced was none other than *Celos aun del aire matan*, the second Spanish opera produced in Naples during the reign of Viceroy de los Vélez (the title page is reproduced in Figure 3.2). Dynastic concerns motivated this Neapolitan

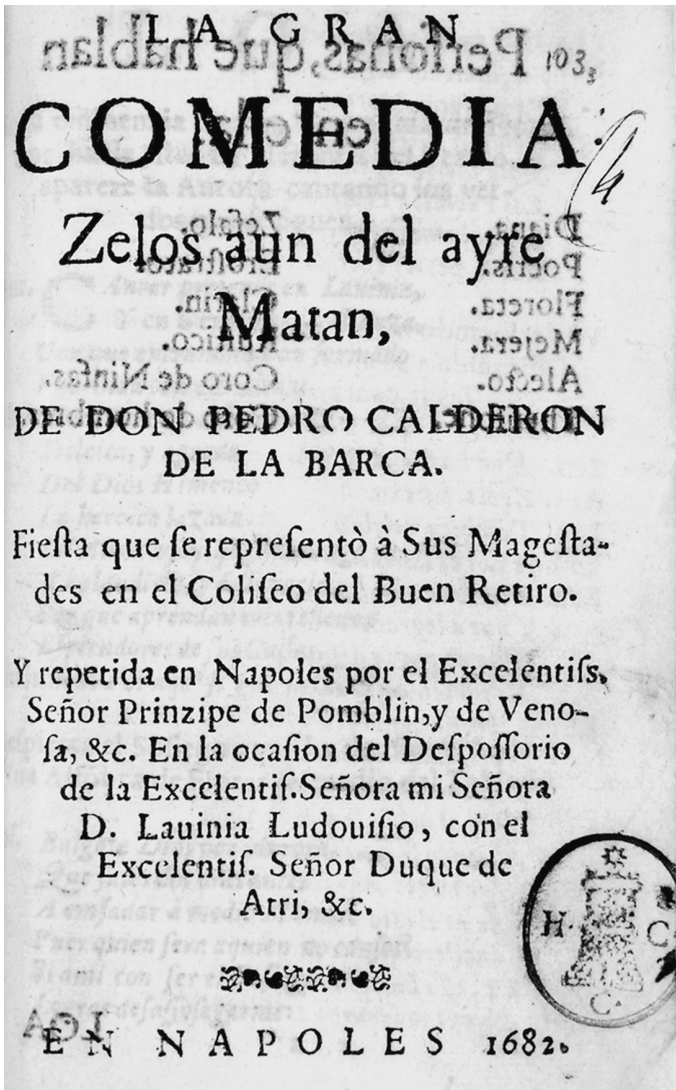


Figure 3.2 Title page, *La gran comedia Zelos aun del ayre matan de Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca* (1682), Comm. 487/4. © Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome.

production of *Celos* because the alliance of the two families was so important for the progress of the Spanish cause in Italy. Though *Celos* was an older opera with a text by Calderón de la Barca set by a still-living Spanish court composer, Hidalgo,¹⁷³ it was surely chosen because of its performance history and weighty association with Spanish royalty. Ludovisi, Prince of Piombino, arranged for the opera to be staged in his apartments within the Castel Nuovo.¹⁷⁴ He had sponsored other theatrical performances in the Castel Nuovo before, but the seating area in the theater set up for *Celos aun del aire matan* was especially capacious, given that “more than three thousand people enter every night [arriving in] two hundred carriages and a hundred *seggie*.”¹⁷⁵ Public performances followed an initial protocolled private opening.

This opera's preparation was followed with interest by writers of avvisi. In mid-October 1681, Ludovisi was preparing the Spanish “comedia in musica” and irritated the viceroy by hiring one of the singers needed for the Italian opera planned for the celebration of the king's birthday.¹⁷⁶ It may be significant that whereas both *Mitilene* and the next opera sponsored by the viceroy (*Glequivoci nel sembiente*) needed only small casts, conventionally easy sets, and nothing in the way of complicated stage effects, *Celos aun del aire matan* required spectacle and a large female cast with only one male singer

¹⁷³ The privately printed 1682 Naples libretto, *La gran comedia Zelos aun del ayre matan... Fiesta que se representó a sus magestades en el Coliseo del Buen Retiro. Y repetida en Napoles por el Excelentiss. Señor Príncipe de Pombin, y de Venosa, &c. En la ocasion del Desposorio de la Excelentis. Señora mi Señora D. Lavinia Ludovisio, con el Excelentis. Señor Duque de Atri, &c. Napoles 1682* [I-Rc Comm. 487/4] does not exactly reproduce the content or title of any of the three Spanish editions (Madrid 1663; Pamplona n.d.; or Madrid 1683; see Chapter 1). The Naples libretto omits the word “cantada,” but other documents explain that the production was fully-sung. See Stein, “Opera and the Spanish Family”; Stein, ed., *Celos aun del aire matan*, 257–68 concerning the *Celos* sources, and 271–74 for an edition of the text of the Naples loa.

¹⁷⁴ I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, f. 4122, 10 February 1682, Naples, Giovanni Pietro Cella: “Nel Castel Nuovo nell'appartamento del Signore Principe di Piombino, quasi in tutte le sere è stata rappresentata una Commedia in Musica per divertimento alla Signora sposa Duchessa d'Atri sua sorella, avendo anco fatto un invito generale alle Dame e Cavalieri chi vi sono intervenuti in gran numero, e sempre regalati di copiosissimi rinfreschi. Detta Signora Duchessa d'Atri riesce molto spiritosa e libera nel trattare colle Dame.”

¹⁷⁵ I-Fas, Mediceo di Principato, f. 1598, 10 February 1682, Naples, Orazio d'Elci to Appollonio Bassetti: “Non è stata stimata però gran politica l'aver permesso in questi tempi sospetti tali commedie in Castelnuovo, dentro di cui necessariamente si entravano più di tre mille persone ogni notte, sopra 200 carrozze, e 100. *seggie*.”

¹⁷⁶ In I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, f. 1597, fols. 1112 and 1114, Naples, Orazio d'Elci to Appollonio Bassetti, *Mitilene* is referred to as “la commedia in musica del Generale Conte Barbó” and “la commedia in musica composta dal Signore Conte Barbó.” It belongs to the series of celebratory operas on the Amazons theme, associated with Spanish victories or dynastic events, beginning with *La Veremonda* and extending to *La caduta del regno delle Amazzoni*, whose probable source was either the *comedia* by Antonio Solís or a *refundición* based on Solís. See Garavaglia, “Amazons from Madrid to Vienna,” 215–19; Lanfossi, ed., *La regina Florida*, and the Murata review of same.

(the comic role of bumbling Rústico calls for a tenor). Prince Ludovisi paid “a kingly sum” to recruit this singer and pull him away from the viceroy’s rehearsals for *Mitilene* in mid-October, only weeks before its planned premiere at the palace, but several months before the Ludovisi wedding and attendant celebrations.¹⁷⁷ The singer, “Tonno di Gravina, musico di Montesarchio,” was apprehended “by force” and narrowly escaped being thrown in shackles, thanks to the intervention of the viceroy’s consort.¹⁷⁸ Because Rústico is the only role for a male voice in *Celos*, Gravina was most likely a tenor with comic ability; he likely sang the corresponding role of Arsindo in *Mitilene*.¹⁷⁹ In the end, the palace premiere of *Mitilene* was put off to 13 November anyway, because the viceroy’s wife was indisposed.¹⁸⁰ One avviso reported that it only garnered “mediocre applause.”¹⁸¹

The special Neapolitan printing of the libretto to *Celos aun del aire matan*, with its unique loa and ninety-six pages of single-column text, is longer than most Neapolitan libretti of the period (the list of characters and the opening page of the loa are presented in Figure 3.3). It likely was printed privately, perhaps at the request of Prince Ludovisi or Carpio himself, given that it carries no printer’s mark.¹⁸² It may be that Carpio also provided Ludovisi with a manuscript copy of the score. It is unlikely, though not impossible, that the prince owned the *Celos* score himself—his father, Niccolò Ludovisi, had probably been in attendance

¹⁷⁷ I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, f. 4122, 14 October 1681: “Insiste questo Signore Principe di Piombino con molta applicazione in collaterale per ricuperare le terre alienate... tal applicazione l’ha assai allontanato dal gioco, divertendosi al presente impiegato nel rappresentare alcune commedie in musica per solennizzare gli sponsali della sorella col Signore Duca d’Atri, e per tal cagione questo Signore Viceré s’inaspri un poco contro detto Signore Principe perché ritenne a prezzo di re un musico che deve recitare ad una commedia che si rappresenterà a Palazzo nel giorno natalizio di Sua Maestà Cattolica.”

¹⁷⁸ The singer’s name and these details are included in I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, f. 1597, fol. 1093v, 11 October 1681, Naples, Orazio d’Elci to Apollonio Bassetti.

¹⁷⁹ I-Nc, Rari 6.6.22 (32.2.38); the libretto, Sartori 15648; I-Nn, Lucchesi-Palli 22-II-28 is dedicated to the viceroy by “il Maestro di Cappella D. Giovanni Bonaventura Viviani,” though his name is not mentioned in the avvisi. If Gravina was an alto, rather than a tenor, he may have sung the role of Dorillo in *Mitilene* and the role of Clarín in *Celos aun del aire matan* (though the latter was composed originally to be a female pants role).

¹⁸⁰ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 93, fols. 850 and 863–863v, 11 and 18 November 1681; see also Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli*, 3:314–15.

¹⁸¹ I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, f. 4122, 18 November 1681, Naples, Giovanni Pietro Cella to Signore Priore Panciatichi.

¹⁸² In Madrid, Carpio had owned a printing press and proudly distributed privately printed *suelta* editions of plays that he sponsored there, so he may also have been involved in the preparation of the 1682 Naples *Celos* libretto. On Carpio’s printing press in Madrid, see Fernando Bouza, “Impresos y manuscritos en un siglo de comedias,” in *Calderón de la Barca y la España del Barroco*, ed. José N. Alcalá-Zamora and Ernest Belenguer, 2 vols. (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal España Nuevo Milenio, 2001), 2:419–20. Carpio’s ownership of a printing press is confirmed in E-Mahp, Protocolo 9819, fols. 958 and 973, a posthumous inventory of his possessions made in Madrid.

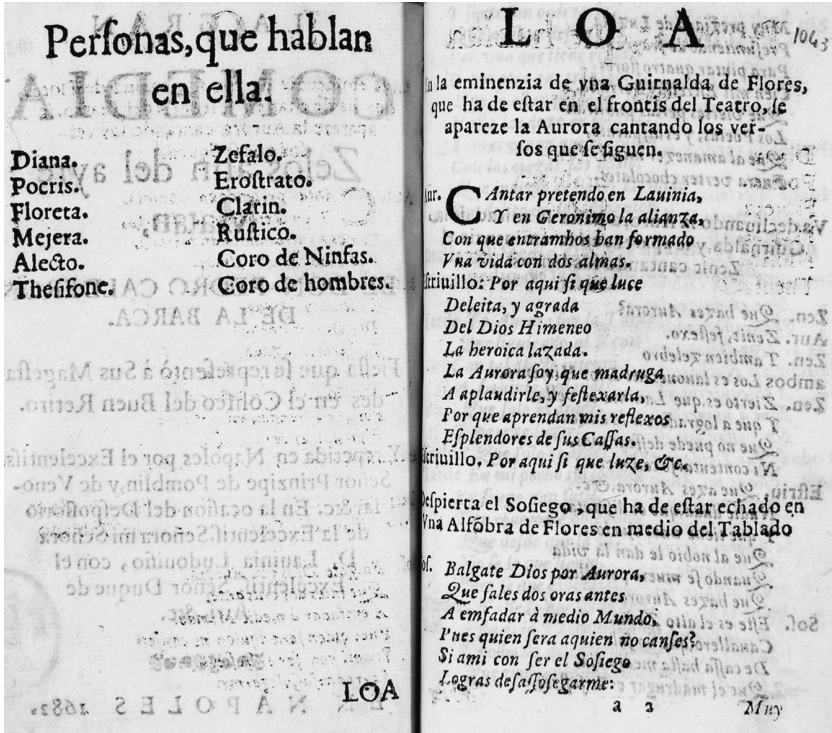


Figure 3.3 Dramatis personae and opening of the *Loa* in *La gran comedia Zelos aun del ayre matan de Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca* (1682), Comm. 487/4. © Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome.

when the opera was first performed in Madrid because he was then Viceroy of Aragón and Sardinia and would have hastened to present himself at the royal court for the festivities surrounding the marriage of the Infanta María Teresa. Giovanni Battista Ludovisi, Lavinia’s brother, had visited Spain more recently, but it was Carpio who collected books and manuscripts and who had been responsible for the opera’s very commission in Madrid. Carpio certainly knew the prince and probably also knew the Duke of Atri, with whom he had much in common (both were distinguished in their loyalty to the crown and their interest in music, art, and theater).

The title page of the 1682 Naples *Celos* libretto omits to name a composer, but the phrase “Fiesta que se representó a sus magestades en el Coliseo del Buen Retiro. Y repetida en Napoles... En la ocasion del Desposorio de la Excelentis. Señora mi Señora D. Lavinia Ludovisio, con el Excelentis. Señor Duque de Atri” (see Figure 3.2) suggests that the “fiesta cantada” performed in 1682 Naples is the same one that received its premiere in Madrid in 1661 after the marriage of

María Teresa to Louis XIV.¹⁸³ In other words, the same music, Hidalgo's music, was used in both productions. According to the Florentine agent, the production in Naples "pleased the audience more for the beauty of the costumes and sets than for the quality of the musical performance, libretto, or overall concept."¹⁸⁴ It is unsurprising that Hidalgo's Spanish setting composed just over twenty years earlier seemed old fashioned and musically tame in 1682 Naples. Though he knew his Neapolitan audience well, the prince nevertheless chose this aged and rarely performed Spanish opera and probably obtained a score from Carpio.

The machinations, heated consultations, and tearful exhortations that led to Lavinia's marriage explain why *Celos*, a particularly rare and politically emblematic Spanish opera, was staged in Naples. Lavinia's marriage was a dynastic alliance crucial to the Spanish agenda. She was the daughter of Niccolò Ludovisi (d. 1664) and Costanza Pamphili, niece of Pope Innocent X. Her marriage mattered to the crown because the Ludovisi were Spanish grandees with powerful alliances within the church and strategic territories in Italy. When Lavinia and her siblings were orphaned in 1664 by their father's death and 1665 by their mother's death, King Philip IV brought them under the protection of the Spanish crown, with the stipulation that their marriages would have to be approved by the sovereign. The three girls, Olimpia, Lavinia, and Ippolita, were confined to the convent of Tor de'Specchi in Rome. Their older brother, Giovanni Battista (d. 1699), Prince of Piombino and Venosa, managed their affairs, though his decisions often provoked the ire of their uncle, Cardinal Niccolò Ludovisi.¹⁸⁵ The royal decree prevented the cardinal from arranging marriages to suit his own purposes.¹⁸⁶ Cardinal Ludovisi worried that Giovanni Battista was somehow "incapable" of producing heirs, though it is not clear whether this was due to his sexual preferences, well-known marital difficulties, or debauchery.¹⁸⁷ Of the three girls,

¹⁸³ Concerning the date of the premiere in Madrid, see Chapter 1; it has often been given as 5 December 1660, but the more secure date is 7 June 1661, as suggested in Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 219–20; Stein, "Three Paintings," 186–93; and confirmed by Chaves Montoya, *El espectáculo teatral*, 287–89. The opera was revived in Madrid at the Alcázar palace in 1679, 1684, and 1697.

¹⁸⁴ I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, f. 4122, 10 February 1682, Naples, Giovanni Pietro Cella: "La commedia del Signore Principe di Piombino è riuscita di soddisfazione più in riguardo della vaghezza degli abiti, e scena che della musica e composizione."

¹⁸⁵ Niccolò Albergati-Ludovisi (1608–87) was a cardinal and later vice-dean and then dean of the Sacred College of Cardinals. Lavinia's father, Prince Niccolò Ludovisi (d. 1664; son of Count Orazio Ludovisi, brother of Pope Gregory XV, and cousin of Msgr. Niccolò Albergati), requested his promotion to the cardinalate and recognized him with the condition that he assume the Ludovisi arms and family name. See Luciano Meluzzi, *I vescovi e gli arcivescovi di Bologna* (Bologna: Grafica Emiliana, 1975), 442.

¹⁸⁶ I-CVaav, Boncompagni-Ludovisi, Prot. 331/16, 19 July 1665: "a non trattare, né concluderne alcuno [matrimonio] senza la scienza et assenso di Sua Maestà."

¹⁸⁷ Giambattista Ludovisi was married to María de Moncada, daughter of the Marquis de Aytona; he returned from Spain to Naples with his Spanish wife in December 1675 to assume his post as "Generale delle galere di Napoli," as noted in Fuidoro, *Giornali di Napoli*, 3:326–27. I-CVaav, Boncompagni-Ludovisi, Prot. 331/11, states: "Il Cardinal Ludovisio tanto interessato nel servizio di

“povere orfane principesse,” Lavinia was the one with the best marital prospects, for she was both lively and physically attractive.¹⁸⁸ Her older sister, Olimpia, was inclined to religion and had a bad complexion, “abbattuta da continue malattie et imperfezioni,” such that doctors judged her unfit for marriage and unlikely to produce offspring.¹⁸⁹ Olimpia was thirty-three years old by the time Lavinia’s unmarried, virginal status at the age of twenty one precipitated a crisis.

Lavinia’s brother and her uncle had been negotiating toward marital alliances for Lavinia for several years at cross purposes. The prince had attempted first to marry her to a minor marquis in Sardinia, but Lavinia refused to be sent “to such an isolated and hated island” far from Roman social life.¹⁹⁰ Proposed marriages to princes from the Borghese and Colonna families did not materialize. In the wake of these failures, Lavinia felt that she had become the target of damaging gossip. The cardinal’s own choice was Pope Innocent XI’s nephew, Livio Odescalchi (1652–1715), Duke of Ceri, but Livio and his uncle had not yet decided whether he would marry or become a cardinal.¹⁹¹ Carpio, in his capacity as Spanish ambassador to the Holy See, was involved from the start in the search for an appropriate husband for Lavinia. He did not favor the proposed match with Odescalchi,¹⁹² but instead attempted to forge a match between Lavinia and

questa casa tanto più preme nell'accasamento delle Nipoti, quanto, che si vede il Principe fratello delle medesime senza figliuoli, ed in stato per il poco riguardo, chi egli ha avuto a sé medesimo di potersi con molto fondamento credere, chi egli non possa avere successione.” On the other hand, according to I-CVaav, Boncompagni-Ludovisi, Prot. 331/19, the cardinal also knew that a few years earlier the prince had sired several children outside his marriage, spending “nel termine di 30 mesi 200 mille scudi in Cagliari in una di cognome Baccaglia, ed è certo che da tal commercio egli ebbe due figli maschi e due femmine, e stato tanto tempo fa riferito al cardinale esser tutte quanto queste creature passate all'altra vita.” I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, f. 4122, 12 May 1682, Naples, Giovanni Pietro Cella, describes the estrangement between the prince and his wife.

¹⁸⁸ I-CVaav, Boncompagni-Ludovisi, Prot. 331/11, October 1679?, copy of a letter from Cardinal Ludovisi to Carpio in Rome.

¹⁸⁹ I-CVaav, Boncompagni-Ludovisi, Prot. 331/11.

¹⁹⁰ I-CVaav, Boncompagni-Ludovisi, Prot. 331/11; the prince’s first plan was to marry Lavinia to the Marquis of Villator but she objected to being sent far from Rome to live in Sardinia, “in quest’Isola aborrita... che considerava tanto lontano da suoi parenti.” Another of the cardinal’s letters in I-CVaav, Boncompagni-Ludovisi, Prot. 331/19, suggests that he had blocked the prince’s plans for his sisters from the start.

¹⁹¹ In the end, Livio remained a bachelor and became the richest prince in Rome after his uncle’s death in 1689. He was an important patron and collector, as described in Marcel Roethlisberger, “The Drawing Collection of Prince Livio Odescalchi,” *Master Drawings* 23 (1985–86): 5–30; and Saverio Franchi, “Il principe Livio Odescalchi e l’oratorio ‘politico,’” in *L’oratorio musicale italiano e i suoi contesti (secc. XVII–XVIII): Atti del convegno internazionale, Perugia, Sagra Musicale Umbra, 18–20 settembre 1997*, ed. Paola Besutti, Quaderni della Rivista Italiana di Musicologia 35 (Florence: Olschki, 2002), 199–257.

¹⁹² I-Rao, “Notizie, Livio I Odescalchi, l’opera d’Innocenzo XI, e le vicende famiglia Odescalchi,” Ic-F-5, 2 June 1677, sent to Livio, notes that Carpio was brought into the cardinal’s plan at least in appearance: “Tornano poi questi benedetti novellisti a replicare le loro antiche cantilene sopra la persona di V.E. suscitando di novo per mano dell’Ambasciatore di Spagna le proposizioni di sponsali tra V.E., e la sorella del Principe Lodovisio.” Avvisi of 14 July and 15 September 1677 in I-Rao, Ic-F-5, indicate that the idea of marrying Lavinia to Livio was still in the air. That Carpio was unenthusiastic

Francesco Barberini, the oldest son of the Prince of Palestrina.¹⁹³ A Ludovisi-Barberini marriage would surely fortify the Spanish “family” in Italy and heal old wounds. Though Carpio’s efforts infuriated the cardinal, Lavinia was enthusiastic—marrying a Barberini would permit her to live grandly among the “*donne romane*.” Carpio’s plans were even approved in Madrid, but fell through, as had others, so Lavinia remained in the convent.¹⁹⁴

By 1681 Lavinia was depressed and anxious, feeling “beaten down” by the embarrassing series of failed betrothals. Overcome by “a thousand torbid thoughts” (“*mille torbidi pensieri*”) and still confined, she feared that only a very well-placed husband and elaborate celebrations would silence gossip within and beyond the convent.¹⁹⁵ Thanks to collaboration between Carpio and Lavinia’s brother, a new and promising candidate was found in Gian Geronimo Acquaviva d’Aragona, Duke of Atri, a rich, refined aristocrat from one of the principal Neapolitan families who also needed to provide for his family’s succession.¹⁹⁶ Even the cardinal opined, “no better match than the Duke of Atri could be expected to come

about Livio is clear from his letters: in E-PAbm, *Embajada de Roma*, tomo 61, 11 April 1682, he described Livio as “*limitada en autoridad*” and “*tan corto de espíritu*,” and de los Vélez confirmed Livio’s “*natural insipidez y poca representación de este cavallero*.” Carpio may have doubted both Livio’s political acumen and his ability to produce offspring, so he did not support the cardinal’s plan. See also further letters in I-CVaav, *Boncompagni-Ludovisi*, Prot. 331/11.

¹⁹³ The *avvisi* chronicle the search for Lavinia’s husband and Carpio’s involvement with varying degrees of detail: E-PAbm, *Avisos de Roma*, tomo 9 [B82-A-09], fols. 35v and 105, 10 June 1680, Rome, describe the conflict between Carpio and the cardinal, also mentioning the other suitors and the fact that Lavinia is intent on getting married.

¹⁹⁴ I-Rao, “*Notizie, Livio I Odescalchi, e le vicende famiglia Odescalchi*,” Ic-F-5, 14 February 1680: “*Si da per stabilito il matrimonio tra il Primogenito del Principe di Palestrina e la signora Lavinia Ludovisi, che porta secco l’eredità del Principiato di Piombino quando il principe di lei fratello muoia senza figli maschi. Il cardinale Lodovisi aveva genio di darla a D. Livio, ma l’irrisolutezza del Papa hà dato impulso al detto Principe d’applicare a questo trattato, e subito stabilito tornerà a Napoli.*” I-CVaav, *Boncompagni-Ludovisi*, Prot. 293/10 offers an undated and unsigned draft of the capitoli matrimoniali for Lavinia Ludovisi and Francesco Barberini, “*figlio primogenito di Maffeo Barberini, Principe di Palestrina.*” Cardinal Ludovisi distrusted the Barberini and feared “*torbidi andamenti*” against the Ludovisi. Carpio’s involvement and the cardinal’s dim view of this match are described in letters from 1680. I-CVaav, *Boncompagni-Ludovisi*, Prot. 331/23, January 1680, from Lavinia to her brother, states her agreement to marry Francesco Barberini, along with letters from Madrid dated summer 1680 sanctioning the proposed marriage with “*real compiacimento.*”

¹⁹⁵ In I-CVaav, *Boncompagni-Ludovisi*, Prot. 331/28, 8 June 1681, letter from Cardinal Ludovisi to Giovanni Battista Ludovisi, the cardinal described Lavinia as “*battuta da tutte quelle parti, per le quali ho stimato più facile il far breccia nell’animo suo, ma piena di passione m’ha sempre ribattuto...* Ho compatito il suo trasporto, considerandola da mille torbidi pensieri agitata, e per la rimembranza d’*avere persa la speranza dell’accasamento con Nipote del Papa, la probabilità di quello con Borghese, la certezza di quello col Contestabile, e per vedersi a stretta ad’ accasarsi con soggetti fuori di Roma, la pluralità poi dei quali la rende più confusa, poichè in un monastero che è la sentina di tutte le ciarle di Roma, e particolarmente colla facilità ch’ella ha d’ascoltare tutti.*”

¹⁹⁶ Gian or Giovan Geronimo [also found as Gian Girolamo] II Acquaviva d’Aragona (1663–1709), fifteenth Duke of Atri, was the son of Francesca di Giuseppe Caracciolo and Giosia III Acquaviva D’Aragona; the latter’s loyal service to Philip IV of Spain earned him the title of Grandee First Class and membership in the Order of the Golden Fleece. Giosia was also an important art collector, and Gian Geronimo seems to have inherited his collection. This alone would guarantee that he was known to the Marquis del Carpio, a voracious collector of paintings. Gian Geronimo

forth in the present circumstances.”¹⁹⁷ Lavinia finally accepted this match when her younger and more compliant sister, Ippolita, was hastily married to the very rich Duke of Sora and placed in her own Roman palace.¹⁹⁸ Above all, she hoped not to be left without a fine Roman residence, and consented on 8 June 1681 because the Duke of Atri would furnish her “colla grandezza conveniente alla sua condizione.”¹⁹⁹ Her brother the prince, her uncle the cardinal, and Ambassador Carpio finally all supported the same suitor because their shared goal was to strengthen the Spanish alliance in Italy. To reward Lavinia’s cooperation, they promised her lavish, showy wedding celebrations.

Lavinia demanded royal treatment and received, quite literally, a royal opera created to honor the most important Spanish marriage of the century, forged when the Spanish Hapsburg succession itself had been under threat. The 1682 Naples production of *Celos* celebrated a nuptial contract that resolved the Ludovisi succession, a dynastic crisis of smaller scale. In *Celos*, music has an especially strong effect on the amorous impulses of the characters. Céfalo and Pocris are brought together by Venus and capitulate to the effects of sensually appealing, insistently concordant, strophic melodies and coplas in triple meter, and Pocris’ hearing of repetitive, lyrical music serves as a sort of aphrodisiac that stimulates her amorous longing, rendering her receptive to erotic embraces. In Naples, Hidalgo’s opera served as an epithalamium for Lavinia, carrying strong encouragement toward procreative activity on behalf of the Spanish cause. In Italy, it was not unusual for a wedding between noble families to be followed by an opera, but staging *Celos* matched the extreme luxury of the other rewards Lavinia received for doing her familial duty.²⁰⁰ Given her tendency to put on airs, she must have been delighted with *Celos* precisely because it had been previously staged (in Madrid) only for royal celebrations.²⁰¹

was from 1691 a member of the Arcadian Academy, as “Idalmo Trigonio.” See Baldassarre Storce, *Istoria dell’famiglia Acquaviva Reale D’Aragona* (Rome: Il Barnabó, 1738), 86–87; Pompeo Litta, *Famiglie celebri di Italia* (Milan: P. E. Giusti, 1819), 1:88–89; Vincenzo Bindi, *Gli Acquaviva letterati. Notizie biografiche e bibliografiche* (Naples: F. Mormile, 1881), 177–80; Guido Morelli, “Gli Acquaviva d’Aragona duchi d’Atri in un manoscritto del secolo XVIII,” *Atti del Sesto Convegno Gli Acquaviva D’Aragona, Duchi di Atri e Conti di S. Flaviano* (Teramo: Centro abruzzese di ricerche storiche, 1985), 1:61–78.

¹⁹⁷ I-CVaav, Boncompagni-Ludovisi, Prot. 331/28: “che ne un partito migliore del Signore Duca d’Atri poteva proporre nelle congiunture presenti.”

¹⁹⁸ Ippolita was married on 19 October 1681 to Prince Gregorio I Boncompagni, Duke of Sora and Arce.

¹⁹⁹ I-CVaav, Boncompagni-Ludovisi, Prot. 331/28, letters from the cardinal and from Lavinia to Giovanni Battista Ludovisi. I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 93, fol. 487, 24 June 1681, offers the news of the engagement.

²⁰⁰ For example, E-PAbm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 11 [B82-A-11], 9 November 1680, reports: “È stato fatto il matrimonio tra il primo figlio del Principe di Caserta e la figlia del Principe di Palestrina, ove per le nozze si prepara una commedia in musica.”

²⁰¹ Montserrat Moli Frigola, “Palacio de España: centro del mundo. Ingresos triunfales, teatro y fiestas,” in *Il Barocco Romano e L’Europa*, ed. Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1992), 738, notes that noble families aspired to imitate royal weddings especially when dynastic succession was endangered: “falta de descendencia hace que se celebren con mucho lujo y mayor preocupación.”

Neapolitan chroniclers described the operas and other events surrounding her marriage as having cost “spese quasi reale.”²⁰²

Spanish Operas for Dynastic Celebrations

Celos was not the first opera in Spanish produced in Naples for an occasion of special significance within the Spanish agenda. An earlier opera, *El robo de Proserpina, y sentencia de Júpiter*, with a libretto by the viceroy’s Secretario de Guerra, Manuel García Bustamante, was sponsored by de los Vélez himself to celebrate the visit of Vincenzo Gonzaga Doria (1602–1694), whose arrival in Naples was expected when he was on his way to serve as the Spanish Viceroy of Sicily. In January 1678, this “comedia spagnola in musica” was to be performed after “many months” of preparation; its premiere was delayed ostensibly because Gonzaga had not yet arrived. By 1 February, the viceroy commanded that the opera receive its palace premiere immediately; its first performance took place on the next day. A second performance was given on 22 February after Gonzaga’s formal reception by the viceroy at the palace.²⁰³ The libretto was issued in two editions: the first, carrying a dedication dated 22 December 1677 from the musicians of the royal chapel, states that the opera commemorated the queen mother’s birthday, but no performance prior to February 1678 is noted in either the nuncio’s reports or other avvisi. This first edition of the libretto also points to Filippo Coppola as the composer and musicians of the royal chapel as performers (though both assertions might be called into question).²⁰⁴ Fuidoro’s journal follows this libretto, naming Coppola as the composer and stating that musicians of the royal chapel performed it as “the first opera with an entirely Spanish-language libretto ever performed at the royal palace.” The journal nevertheless emphasizes that the opera “should have been performed” for the queen mother’s birthday but was postponed because the musicians wished to sing their roles “with perfect Castilian pronunciation.”²⁰⁵ The Spanish libretto to *El robo de Proserpina* requires a large cast with a number of comic roles, so it is likely that the list of performers was filled out by the members of the Spanish acting company resident in Naples in autumn 1677 (this company was supported by the viceroy,

²⁰² Confuorto, *Giornali*, 1:79.

²⁰³ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 90, fols. 38v, 89, and 150v, 11 January, 1 and 2 February 1678.

²⁰⁴ Filippo Coppola [?] and Manuel García Bustamante, *El robo de Proserpina y sentencia de Júpiter*, ed. Luis Antonio González Marín (Barcelona: CSIC, 1996); the review by Jack Sage in *Il Saggiatore musicale* 5 (1998): 156 is useful, as is Dinko Fabris’ insightful review in *Revista de musicologia* 19 (1996): 421–26; see also Bianconi, “Funktionen des Operntheaters,” 25–27, 67–68.

²⁰⁵ Fuidoro, *Giornali di Napoli*, I-Nn, MS X.B.18, fol. 129v, 2 February 1678, 4:190; also quoted in Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli*, 3:281–82 (my translation).

who attended its nightly comedia performances).²⁰⁶ Given the opera's imitation of a Spanish musical idiom, the harpists and certain other instrumentalists from the Neapolitan royal chapel probably reinforced the ensemble.²⁰⁷

El robo de Proserpina, y sentencia de Júpiter was revived at the royal palace during carnival 1681 as *Las fatigas de Ceres*; the printed libretto contains an unsigned dedication to Viceroy de los Vélez from the musicians of the royal chapel. It explains that the "comedia armónica" had been improved for its revival ("Pudieramos decir ahora que se había renovado, y que se ha mejorado"), while the unsigned printer's address to the reader points to the opera's new brevity and refreshed style.²⁰⁸ On 17 February 1681 its performance in the sala grande at the palace was given just one night after that of another opera ("una bellissima opera in musica"), probably *L'Adamiro* with music by the Neapolitan Giovanni Cesare Netti, whose libretto does not give a performance date but states that it was "to be performed" at the palace ("da rappresentarsi nel Regio Palazzo"). The public run of *L'Adamiro* at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo had been thwarted by the 6 February fire, but the Febiarmonici had already rehearsed it and would ultimately bring their production to the Teatro di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini on 18 February.²⁰⁹

The notice of two completely different operas given performances at the palace on 16 and 17 February points to performances by two different companies. A Spanish company had performed at the Castel Nuovo in October 1680 and was

²⁰⁶ I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 89, fol. 272, 21 September 1677 and fol. 521v, 14 December 1677, letters from the nuncio in Naples to Cardinal Alderano Cibo, Secretary of State in the Papal States, indicate that a company of "Istrioni Spagnoli" was in Naples, performing in public and invited to perform at the palace in autumn 1677.

²⁰⁷ It may not be coincidental that harpist Francesco de Lise [Lise, Liso, or Riso?] was recommended for extra pay because he had "always served punctually in the regular [chapel] functions and in the extraordinary ones at Posillipo and in Commedie." "Il Cappellano Maggiore riferisce che Francesco de Riso [sic?], musico d'arpa, serve da 11 anni nella Real Cappella con 7 ducati 1 tari e 5 grani di soldo fisso, e ducati 4 por gastos secretos, oltre i 4 anni che servi prima da soprannumerario senza soldo. Il suo valore nella professione e notissimo ed ha sempre servito con grandissima puntualità nelle funzioni ordinarie e in quelle straordinarie di Posillipo e Commedie." Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli*, 3:111, 296, from I-Nas, Varietà del Cappellano Maggiore, Consulte, fasc. 43, 3 August 1679, a consulta sent by the Cappellano Maggiore to the viceroy.

²⁰⁸ I-Rc, Comm. 487/2, *Las fatigas de Ceres, comedia armonica, que se repite en este Carneval de orden del... Señor Marques de los Velez... por los Musicos desta Real Capilla* (Naples, 1681); dedication and "to the reader" on fol. 58–58v; this 1681 libretto also contains the "Prólogo para la fiesta celebrada a los felices años de la Reyna Madre nuestra señora en el de 1677," intended originally for the queen mother's 1677 birthday.

²⁰⁹ I-Nn, S.Q.XXIV I 23, n. 6, 19 February 1681, quoted in Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli*, 3:311, states: "Domenica sera [16 February] il Signore Viceré fa rappresentare nella Sala Reale una bellissima opera in musica, e lunedì sera [17 February] un'altra parimente in musica in Spagnolo, che riusci l'una e l'altra assai magnifica." Though it is altogether possible that the date is given incorrectly, Antonelli, ed., *Cerimoniale*, 356, reports that this opera was given again, on 15 March 1681, when Viceroy de los Vélez "hizo una fiesta secreta en la sala grande, que la compuso el Secretario de Guerra don Manuel Bustamente, y Su Excelencia hizo venir a oirla a la Señora Princesa de Pomblín [Piombino] la virreyna, Su Excelencia Principe de Pomblín, y el marqués de Taracena." See also Croce, *I teatri di Napoli*, 186. I-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 93, fol. 116–116v, 18 February 1681, notes the transfer to the "piccolo Teatro S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini."

in the city again for carnival 1681; this company might have been engaged to perform the Spanish opera as well.²¹⁰ They performed a “bella comedia spagnola” in the Prince of Piombino’s rooms at the Castel Nuovo on Sunday 9 February. The prince (Giovanni Battista Ludovisi) offered his private “comedia spagnola” to enliven carnival after the loss of the Teatro di San Bartolomeo.²¹¹ The Spanish company could easily perform a spoken play from its repertory without much rehearsal, even while rehearsing *Las fatigas de Ceres*, especially if they already knew the opera from its February 1678 performances. Because the Spanish opera required considerable coordination among singers, orchestra, and the moving stage machinery for its twelve scene changes and *apariencias*, it seems likely that the Spanish actors, together with some royal chapel musicians or musicians serving the Prince of Piombino, had been preparing it while the Febiarmonici were rehearsing the Italian opera elsewhere.

The frequent production of Spanish comedias, together with Spanish-language operas, accomplished political work in Naples; such productions supported by the viceroy reinforced political kinship among Spaniards and assuaged their cultural homesickness (just as they did in the far-off American colonies).²¹² On 25 August, the viceroy had sponsored a performance of Calderón de la Barca’s play *El segundo Escipión*, and in early autumn the birthday of the viceregina was celebrated with another “bellissima commedia spagnola” for the entire court at the Palazzo Reale.²¹³ The Prince of Piombino seems to have sponsored at least one Spanish production each year. On 30 June 1683 he reportedly offered Carpio a performance of “una comedia spagnola in musica,” possibly another revival of *Celos aun del aire matan*, after borrowing money “from those who could not refuse his request.”²¹⁴ Because the prince’s productions in 1682 and 1683 were both operas “in musica,” it is entirely probable that a Spanish troupe (or troupes) replete with singers resided in Naples in these years. But it also appears that the prince maintained a group of singers and players of Spanish music in his own household. The chronicler and

²¹⁰ I-Nnsn, MS XX1.B.9, fol. 2, and I-Nn, SQ XXIV.I.23, n.6 “Avvisi giornali di Napoli,” 1681, quoted in Stein, “Una música de noche,” 333–72; Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli*, 3: 310–11.

²¹¹ I-Nnsn, MS XX1.B.9, fol. 2, and I-Nn, SQ XXIV.I.23, n.6, “Avvisi giornale di Napoli,” 11 February 1681, states: “Per causa di detto incendio sono mancati li trattenimenti delle opere in musica, ma non quelli di belle commedie particolari. Domenica sera le loro Eccellenze furono poi invitate dal Signore Principe di Piombino ad una bella commedia spagnola, che fa rappresentare nel suo quarto dentro il Castello nuovo... Detta commedia per esser riuscita oltre modo magnifica, si dice che le loro Eccellenze la faranno replicare per vederla un’altra volta”; Stein “Una música de noche,” 335–36; Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli*, 3:310–11. According to I-Nas, Maggiordomia maggiore, IV inv., cerimoniale 1485, fol. 104r, transcribed in Antonelli, ed., *Cerimoniale*, 356, the prince invited the viceroy to another comedia in the Castel Nuovo on 20 February 1681 (“una comedia secreta en casa del Principe de Pomblín que era General de las Galeras de Nápoles.”)

²¹² See Stein, “De la contera del mundo,” 79–94, and Louise K. Stein, “The First Opera of the Americas and Its Contexts,” *Opera Quarterly* 22 (2006): 433–58.

²¹³ I-Nnsn, MS XX1.B.9, fol. 2; and I-Nn, MS SQ XXIV.I.23, n.6, “Avvisi giornali di Napoli,” 1681.

²¹⁴ I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, f. 4122, avviso of 6 July 1683; apparently this performance was a gift honoring Carpio to thank him for supporting the sailors and soldiers under the prince’s command.

sometime royal music copyist from Madrid, Joseph de Guerra y Villegas, met a group of talented Spanish musicians outside Naples (in Velletri) when he was traveling from Naples to Rome in May 1681, all of whom belonged to the “household” of the Prince of Piombino, and “sang a 4 in Spanish and Italian admirably.”²¹⁵

Conclusions

In summary, before the last decades of the seventeenth century, some of the Spanish viceroys who arrived in Naples with no previous experience as patrons or connoisseurs of Italian opera made Italian opera a regular feature of public life, essential to both court and civic culture. Support of several kinds from the viceroy assured the survival of the genre in Naples, beginning with his attendance at public performances. The mounting of shared productions with shared publics between the palace and the commercial theaters was supremely important, but this was not an exclusively Neapolitan solution. Nor was it a simple expression of Spanish dominance. The Spanish system was familiar to the viceroys from their experience at the Spanish royal court and involved precisely this cooperative melding of royal and commercial sponsorship. In Madrid, the busy schedule of public *comedia* performances in the two public *corrales* was maintained alongside and despite a fixed (and expandable) schedule of “royal” entertainments at the court. Carpio had organized the patterns and procedures for the royal court’s entertainments in the 1650s, and his activity in turn provided models for the viceroys who were sent to Naples. In Madrid, the crown subsidized the same theatrical troupes that performed *comedias* in the commercial theaters, precisely to ensure that the best troupes would remain in the city to be called upon to perform on short notice. By sustaining the industry of public theater in Spain, the royal family was supplied in turn with the right kind of entertainments performed elegantly by the most talented companies. This cooperation prevented the collapse of the commercial theater in Madrid. By applying a similar kind of benevolently selfish sponsorship to Italian opera in Naples, several viceroys, including Oñate and de los Vélez, but especially Carpio and Medinaceli later on, sustained opera and made sure that the public, commercial theater continued to produce opera despite the ever-present financial risk. The Neapolitan practice was Spanish in conception, though it resembled to some degree the combination that also financed opera in Venice and Modena, for example, where support from private or aristocratic backers was combined with commercial proceeds from ticket

²¹⁵ E-Mn, MS 8406, “Jornada que hizo D. Joseph de Guerra y Villegas,” fol. 133–133v, 20 May 1681: “Vino a esta misma posada Don Alonso Biberio, Don Carlos de Peralta, y otros cavalleros de la familia del Príncipe de Pomblín que pasaban a Nápoles, todos músicos diestros, como conocieron a nuestras damiselas hubo gran fiesta, cantaron a quatro en Español y Italiano admirablemente.” My thanks to Pablo-L. Rodríguez for bringing this note to my attention.

sales and the rental of boxes. In this sense, a partial analogy can be drawn between the viceroys in Naples and the Patrician families in Venice, or other aristocratic sponsors such as the d'Este duke in Modena or Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna in Rome. But while it is true that opera succeeded elsewhere thanks to a combination of ticket sales, empresarial skill, and the constant support of wealthy backers and their real estate interests, and in Rome private patronage was the key, with some profit from the sale of *bollettini*, the system in Naples (if it can even be called a "system") did not replicate the Roman, Venetian, or northern Italian situations, nor did it always flourish in the years before 1683.

After the death of Philip IV in 1665, the calendar of performances in Naples (and elsewhere in the Spanish orbit) was designed around the birthdays of Carlos II and his mother, Queen Mariana (later queen mother). Operas were also given during carnival, the most active season for opera elsewhere in Italy and for comedia production throughout the Hispanic world. Revenue collected during carnival was essential to the health of the entire enterprise because this was the annual period that allowed impresarios and troupes their best chance for commercial success. The moral and political excuses for the support of expensive spectacle and public theater in Naples were the same ones brought forth to justify public spectacle in Madrid—theatrical performances provided a safe and controlled entertainment for the citizenry, while honoring the monarchy and displaying the power, good intentions, and generosity of the viceroy. While both public spectacles and private performances for the nobility served the expected propagandistic and political ends, ticket sales and the proceeds from the rental of boxes also supported the Ospedale of the Santa Casa degl'Incurabili in the same way that money from comedia performances and court plays in Madrid supported the hospitals and charities there. The rental of boxes most likely reaped the largest share of the commercial gain from opera performances in Naples, as in Venice, but this amount could not wholly repay the travel and production expenses.²¹⁶

Some of the Spanish viceroys before 1683 understood the political utility of supporting both private and public commercial productions, and they learned to accept or embrace Italian opera as the genre of choice. But few of them appear to have been hands-on producers. Most of the operas they financed were imported rather than newly created to reflect an individual sponsor's taste; most were not fashioned in response to the Neapolitan situation. From time to time, operas were composed or revised by local composers (most notably Francesco Provenzale) and a handful set libretti by Neapolitan poets. The list of operas produced in Naples before 1683 includes only a small number whose content and performance values can be shown to have been shaped by the viceroys themselves.

²¹⁶ Saunders, "The Repertoire of a Venetian Opera House (1678–1714)," 8–9, states that theater owners in Venice derived their greatest profits from the yearly fees they charged for the rental of boxes.

4

Carpio and the Integration of Opera in Public Life, Naples 1683–87

Il nostro signore Viceré è un Viceré di maniera tutta diversa da quanti n'habbiamo havuto pel passato. Vivacissimo al maggior segno, cortesissimo, affabile, risoluto e di ottima intenzione. Gli mancano però i mezzi da poter operare; ma, se potesse, farebbe assai.¹

Just six months after his arrival in Naples as the new Spanish viceroy, the Marquis del Carpio was characterized in this way by the jurist and political philosopher Francesco D'Andrea in a letter to Prince Gian Andrea III Doria Landi. Precisely because he was “completely different” from previous viceroys and governed Naples decisively, with passionate energy, the several reforms he instituted “with the best intentions” garnered permanent laurels in the annals of early modern Neapolitan history.² Overall, historians have been kind to Carpio, though it is clear that his own clever collaboration with contemporary chroniclers contributed to his near-heroic status in the historiographic tradition.³ The Neapolitan diarist Domenico Confuorto praised him as just, fair, insightful, and severe when necessary, “in short, a perfect prince in all matters” (“insomma principe di tutta perfezione”), a viceroy whose comportment also set the proper example for the nobility.⁴ Writing in December 1685, the Scottish philosopher, historian, and traveler Bishop Gilbert Burnet described Carpio as “the only

¹ Francesco D'Andrea, *Lettere a G. A. Doria, 1676–1683*, ed. Imma Ascione (Naples: Jovene Editore, 1995), 289, letter 26 July 1683.

² Salvo Mastellone describes the accelerated transformation of civil and administrative processes and structures in Naples during Carpio's tenure as viceroy; see “Il Buongoverno del Marchese del Carpio (1683–1687) ed il rinnovamento culturale,” *Francesco d'Andrea politico e giurista (1648–1698): l'ascesa del ceto civile* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1969), 115.

³ Vidales Castillo, “El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras,” 160–63, has explained the historiographic tradition and “una cierta sacralización de su figura que partía de los escritos de algunos contemporáneos del marqués como Bulifon, Parrino o Confuorto, y que alcanzó cotas casi demiúrgicas en algunos estudios del siglo XVIII.”

⁴ Ghelli, “Il viceré Marchese del Carpio,” 272; Confuorto, *Giornali* 1:95, 99–102, 132, 145, 155, 189, 192.

Governor of all the Places through which I Passed, that is without exception, beloved and esteemed by all sorts of People.” His transformation of urban life was such that, “The Kingdom of Naples, that hath been so long a scene of Pillage and Robbery, is now so much changed, that in no place of Europe do the Subjects enjoy a more entire Security.”⁵ Historians have noted Carpio’s projection through a revived engine of cultural production, encouragement of burgeoning intellectual modernity, and attempt to modernize aspects of the viceregal administration, while his loyalty to the monarchy and Spanish interests, resistance to papal authority, and stringent punishment of miscreants are also well acknowledged.⁶ His projects sparked “renewal in the arts” and in “the city’s ability to imagine and represent itself.”⁷ His “enlightened reforms . . . laid the foundations for a ‘new civilisation’ which was soon to lift Naples once again into the forefront of intellectual Europe.”⁸ Attracting significant artists to the city—the painters Giacomo and Teresa del Po, the architect and designer Philipp Schor, the Austrian architect Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, among others—Carpio “sought to turn Naples into a great European capital.”⁹ Carpio’s Naples attracted a number

⁵ “Indeed, if Spain had been so happy as to have such Viceroyes and governors as it has now in Naples, their affairs could not have declined so fast as they have done. The Marquis of Carpy . . . is now Viceroy of Naples, and is the only Governor of all the Places through which I Passed, that is without exception, beloved and esteemed by all sorts of People . . . He hath repressed the Insolence of the Spaniards so much at Naples, that the Natives have no occasion to complain of the haughtiness of their Masters . . . he hath also brought the Courts of Judicature, that were thought very corrupt, to Reputation again . . . The Kingdom of Naples, that hath been so long a scene of Pillage and Robbery, is now so much changed, that in no place of Europe do the Subjects enjoy a more entire Security.” Gilbert Burnet, *Some Letters Concerning and Account of What Seemed Most Remarkable in Switzerland, Italy, some Parts of Germany, etc., in the Years 1685 and 1686* (Amsterdam: Printed for the Widow Swart, 1688), 136–45 (quotations from 136–38).

⁶ José María García Marín, *Castellanos viejos de Italia. El Gobierno de Nápoles a fines del siglo XVII* (Milan: Giuffrè Editore, 2003), 62, 127, 219. Vidales Castillo, “El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras,” 181, is particularly insightful on this point: “Una vez que quedó establecido su poder entre 1684 y 1685, y confirmada la mayor autonomía e independencia de las decisiones tomadas en Madrid e incluso en Roma, retomó la política cultural y festiva que tanta fama y rédito político le había garantizado en Madrid y en Roma.” See also Harold Samuel Stone, *Vico’s Cultural History: The Production and Transmission of Ideas in Naples, 1685–1750* (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

⁷ Vladimiro Valerio, “Representation and Self-perception: Plans and Views of Naples in the Early Modern Period,” in *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, ed. Tommaso Astarita (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 79.

⁸ Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, 191–92.

⁹ Valerio, “Plans and Views of Naples,” 80; concerning Carpio’s recruitment of visual artists and notions of modernity, see Riccardo Lattuada, “La stagione del Barocco a Napoli (1683–1759),” *Capolavori in festa, effimero barocco a Largo di Palazzo (1683–1759)* (Naples: Electa, 1997), 23–54, but especially 26, 30, and *passim*. Jorge Fernández-Santos Ortiz-Iribas, “‘Sin atender a la distancia de payses. . .’ el fasto nupcial de los príncipes de Feroletto entre Nápoles y Mirandola,” *Reales Sitios* 167 (2006): 28–49 (32), states, “Las reformas introducidas en la administración del Virreinato, tendentes a eliminar el bandidaje y la venalidad, iban acompañadas de una utilización estratégica de las fiestas. Como máxima de gobierno, Don Gaspar de Haro hacía referencia a las tres ‘efes’—forca, farina, feste—que resumían un programa centrado en la represión de los delitos, la regular provisión de las necesidades básicas de los habitantes y un calendario de festividades hasta entonces no igualado.” A posthumous (1713) evaluation, Baldassare Blandi, “Registro memorabile di Detti, e fatti eroici nel Gouerno di Napoli del Vicerè D. Gaspar d’Haro Marchese del Carpio,” I-Nsn, MS XXII.B.17, fols. 142–48, describes Carpio’s commitment: “solea dire che lui governava Napoli con tre Lettere F, Feste,

of important visitors among the European nobility who enjoyed his generous hospitality and attended one or another of the “grand and marvelous” public events he sponsored (carnival displays, operas, serenatas, maritime exhibitions, and outdoor summer festivals).¹⁰ His transformation of Naples even sparked the publication and spread of guidebooks about the city, though the genre had hardly been cultivated there before.¹¹ In Naples, “the once profligate youth with a tarnished reputation was transformed into an unimpeachable and severe reformer whose government would be long remembered by the middle-class intelligentsia (the *ceto civile*) and the common people as a period of ethically oriented efficiency enlivened by spectacular festivities.”¹²

Carpio’s catalytic intervention in the history of opera in Naples has not been fully explored or understood. At the most obvious level, his productions served the monarchy and the Spanish cause while promoting his own reputation for generosity and elegance. Like other viceroys, he was expected to engage in practices that mirrored those of the royal court. But dynamic representations of the prestige of the sovereign also enhanced the viceroy’s power to mediate among multiple social groups. This mediation became exceptionally important in a city as diverse and densely populated as Naples.¹³ Carpio attempted to sanitize a corrupt administration, issuing some twenty-nine decrees during his short reign—one of them regulated theatrical production and stipulated that even private productions required the viceroy’s permission.¹⁴ His modernization of the production system and investment in spectacle, musical quality, and originality

Farina, e Força. Con le feste il Popolo si rallegra, e guadagna, con la farina si sazia, e dorme, e con la forca teme, ed obbedisce.”

¹⁰ Valerio, “Plans and Views of Naples,” 80. V-CVaav, Avvisi 46, fol. 503v, 6 March 1683, Rome, reports that Queen Christina was planning to visit Naples. The viceroy’s master of ceremonies recorded visits from, among others, the Duke of Vernò, nephew of the Duke of Vendome, in March 1683, followed by that of the Maltese ambassador, and then three brothers [*sic* for sons?] of the Prince of Neuberg; Prince Pamphili (Monsignore Benedetto Pamphili) made a private visit at the end of March 1683. Two sons of the Duke of Neuberg arrived in January 1685, the Duke of Mantua in May 1686, the Duchess of Bracciano in June 1686, and the Duke of Modena in January 1687. In 1684, the Duchess or Marquise Mariscotti visited to enjoy the especially imaginative carnival displays, “que aquel año se hizieron muy sunptuosas que jamás se había visto tal cosa en Nápoles; y esta señora estubo con gran gusto” (382). See Antonelli, ed., *Cerimoniale*, 376–428. Vidales del Castillo, “El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras,” 350, has noted, “Frente a las mucho más escasas de los virreinales de Astorga y de los Vélez, en cuatro años Carpio recibió casi treinta visitas de religiosos, príncipes, militares y diversas damas europeas.” For a list of Spanish fiestas, plays, and Italian serenate sponsored by or for Spanish patrons, see Stein, “‘Una música de noche,’” 364–72;

¹¹ Valerio, “Plans and Views of Naples,” 80.

¹² Fernández-Santos Ortiz-Iribas and Kuhn-Forte, “New Insights into the ‘Carpio Album,’” 334.

¹³ Gaetano Sabatini, “Las cuentas del virrey: los gastos de la corte virreinal de Nápoles a finales del siglo XVII,” in *Las cortes virreinales de la Monarquía española: América e Italia. Actas del Coloquio Internacional Sevilla, 1–4 junio 2005*, ed. Francesca Cantù (Rome: Viella, 2008), 317.

¹⁴ The twenty-third of the *prammatiche* passed by Carpio states, “che non si facesero commedie in casa senza ordine del Viceré con bando di Vicaria.” See Giovanni Battista Pacichelli, *Il regno di Napoli in prospettiva*, part 3 (Naples; n.p., 1703) [E-Mn 3/62727], 235–36.

raised the standard for opera productions, laying an essential foundation for the city's future excellence as an operatic center.

Practical Considerations

Theaters and Finances for Opera in Naples

The opera season began with the king's birthday (November 6) and usually ran through the last Tuesday of carnival. Operas were staged at two primary venues in Naples in the 1680s, although other sites were employed occasionally. Each of Carpio's productions was staged first in the Palazzo Reale, in a "large theater provided with *palchetti*" ("teatro grande, fornito di palchetti per le Opere") adjacent to or facing the room in which he displayed his antiquities and a collection of "more than 400 pieces" by distinguished artists brought from Rome, as noted briefly in Pacichelli's 1685 *Memorie*.¹⁵ This "theater" was surely set up in the palace space that traditionally permitted public access, the largest room in the palace, known by various names throughout its history. In 1683 it was the "sala regia" or "sala grande." No plan of the Palazzo Reale from Carpio's epoch has survived, but an earlier engraved plan of the piano nobile modified closer to his time in Naples is useful (see Figure 4.1).¹⁶

The original purpose of this grand space (designated A) was to receive public matters, so people of all sorts could be admitted to it. The private spaces of government and power flowed out from here toward the public street.¹⁷ Earlier viceroys had employed this room as the "salón de saraos" for *balli* and theatrical presentations at night; it had housed opera in the years just preceding Carpio's arrival. Of course, the practice of using multivalent spaces in the viceroy's palace for public opera performances stretches back to Oñate and the first opera productions in Naples (as explained in Chapter 3). Likewise, the Coliseo at the

¹⁵ Giovanni Battista Pacichelli, *Memorie de' viaggi per l'Europa Christiana*, 5 vols., part 4, vol. 1 (Naples: Giacomo Raillard, 1685) [E-Mn, 2/71115], 39.

¹⁶ This image is reproduced in Sabina de Cavi, *Architecture and the Royal Presence: Domenico and Giulio Cesare Fontana in Spanish Naples (1592–1627)* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 173, fig. 76, and on 234, fig. 114, with the proper designations for each room superimposed on the image of the engraving; it is also included in Diana Carrió-Invernizzi, *El gobierno de las imágenes: ceremonial y mecenazgo en la Italia española de la segunda mitad del siglo XVII* (Madrid: Vervuert, 2008), 291, fig. 53. My understanding of the history and architecture of the Palazzo Reale has been immeasurably enhanced by private correspondence with Sabina De Cavi and Robin Thomas; see also Robin L. Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft: Charles of Bourbon's Naples, 1734–1759* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013).

¹⁷ As Juan de Garnica expressed, "y esta [sala] es muy comun y libre a todo genero de gente sin distinction," quoted in Sabina De Cavi, "'Senza causa et fuor di tempo,' Domenico Fontana e il Palazzo Vicereale Vecchio di Napoli," *Napoli Nobilissima. Rivista di Arti Filologia e Storia*, series 5, vol. 4 (2004): 197.

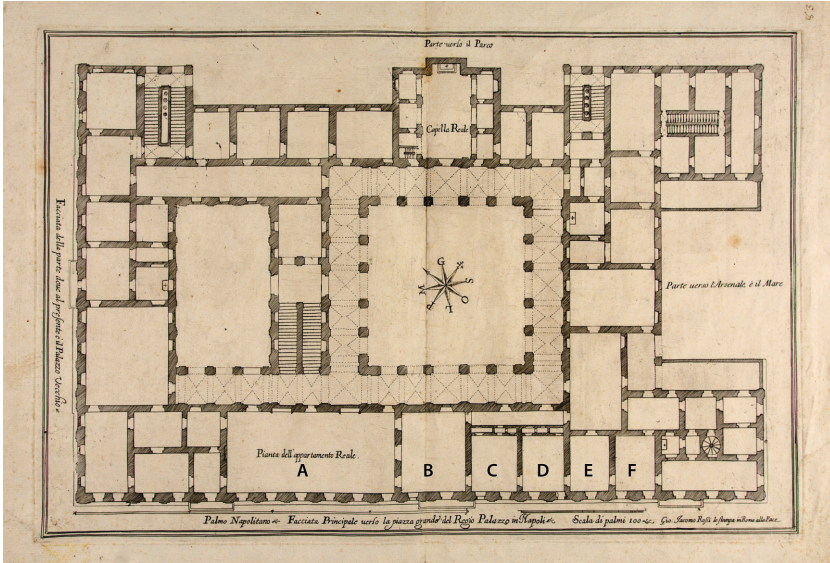


Figure 4.1 Johannes Eillarts (engraver) and Giovan Giacomo De Rossi (printer), *Plan of the Royal Palace of Naples, piano nobile* (c. 1648/1677), C.G.05A02. © Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli.

Buen Retiro palace in Madrid had served both the private protocolled premieres and commercial runs of Carpio's productions in the 1650s. At the Coliseo, the ticket-buying public could enter through a door that opened onto a courtyard, leading away from the royal apartments.¹⁸

A Palace Theater

It may seem surprising that the viceroy's palace in Naples was not endowed with a permanent theater until the eighteenth century, but dismountable theaters at viceregal palaces were typical across the Hispanic dominions, consistent with practices and the royal court's protocols set out in the *etiquetas*. At the heart of the empire, a large rectangular palace room in the Madrid Alcázar, known as the "salón dorado" because of its gilded ceiling panels, had a dual private and

¹⁸ It may not be coincidental that Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, a Spanish grandee who had experienced the Spanish model firsthand during his residence in Spain, similarly opened his new opera theater in Palazzo Colonna in Rome in 1682 as a private theater that nevertheless allowed the paying public to enjoy commercially managed productions; see De Lucca, *The Politics*, 234–77; Natuzzi, *Il Teatro Capranica*, 15, 42–43.

public function, parallel to that of the *sala regia* or “gran sala” in the Naples palace.¹⁹ The *salón dorado* housed occasional public performances and many private premieres. The depictions of its stage and scenery from 1672, as well as prolific references to arming and disarming its dismountable theater, confirm that the stage was small (8 meters wide by 6 meters deep, or 26 feet by 19.5 feet) and close to the floor of the room, but equipped with machines and devices for special effects.²⁰ In Naples, Carpio apparently employed at least one similarly capable dismountable theater in the *sala grande* of the viceroy’s palace for his productions beginning in 1683. A posthumous December 1687 inventory of Carpio’s possessions includes the wooden components of just such a theater, with stage cloths and scenery as well (see Appendix 1).²¹ This stage may not have been the only dismountable theater used in the Naples palace, however. The details provided by the inventory suggest that its stage was small and sturdy (made from hardwood) with many beautifully painted sets. The stage floor, 26 palmi wide (about 22.5 feet) by 22 palmi (about 19 feet) deep, was mounted on six wooden sawhorses. There were six flats that moved in pre-cut channels on the stage floor and at least eight overhead proscenium curtains. The screens and cloths provided material for some twenty-four different sets, including the expected *città*, *giardino*, and *anticamera* (city view, garden, noble interior room). A second collection of stage materials was inventoried in a room that may have been dedicated to storage, the “*sala oscura*” near the main apartment.²² The stage materials inventoried here include additional material for curtains and at least four more complete set changes. The inventory also lists an elegant costume in a special trunk.²³ Carpio’s successors—temporary Viceroy Colonna and then the

¹⁹ J. E. Varey, “Lauditoire du *Salón dorado* de l’Alcázar de Madrid au XVIIe siècle,” in *Dramaturgie et Société*, ed. Jean Jacquot (Paris: CNRS, 1968) 1:77–91; and the “Introducción” to Juan Vélez de Guevara, *Los celos hacen estrellas*, ed. J. E. Varey and N. D. Shergold (London: Tamesis, 1970), lv–lxxi. Fernando Checa provides a list of documents about “arming” and “disarming” the dismountable theater for the *Salón Dorado*; see *El Real Alcázar de Madrid: Dos Siglos de Arquitectura y Coleccionismo en la Corte de los Reyes de España*, ed. Fernando Checa Cremades (Madrid: Nerea, 1994), 35.

²⁰ Varey and Shergold, “Introducción,” *Los celos hacen estrellas*, lxxxv–lxxxviii; Varey and Greer, *El Teatro Palaciego en Madrid*, 19–21; José Manuel Barbeito, “Francisco Herrera el Mozo y la comedia *Los celos hacen estrellas*,” *El Real Alcázar de Madrid*, ed. Checa Cremades (Madrid: Nerea, 1994), 171–72; Rafael Maestre, “Escenotecnia de los ‘salones dorados’: el del Alcázar, el del palacio del Buen Retiro,” in *Espacios teatrales del Barroco español*, ed. José María Díez Borque (Kassel: Reichenberger, 1991), 185–97.

²¹ David García Cueto, “Presentes de Nápoles. Los virreyes y el envío de obras de arte y objetos suntuarios para la Corona durante el siglo XVII,” in *España y Nápoles: Coleccionismo y mecenazgo virreinales en el siglo XVII*, ed. José Luis Colomer (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2009), 293–321 (313) suggests that Carpio’s dismountable theater may have been a theater for marionettes, though the dimensions of Carpio’s theater were significantly larger than those of marionette and puppet theaters.

²² This room is number 29 in the early eighteenth-century plan of the palace reproduced in Antonelli, ed., *Cerimoniale*, 32.

²³ “Un baullo di vacchetta con chiodatura d’ottone con dentro un vestito di più pezzi di Lama d’argento falso, rosso, e giallo per comedia con perle, e vetri falsi.” E-Mca, Caja 217/12, p. 88; Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 2:526.

Count of Santisteban—also employed a dismantable theater or theaters. In early January 1688 during Colonna's short tenure, for example, a dismantable theater termed "il teatro piccolo" was set up in the sala d'Alba of the palace (likely for a commedia burlesca or marionettes) and then taken down.²⁴ The designation of this theater as "the small one" suggests that the palace was also equipped with another larger dismantable stage. In 1696, however, Viceroy Duke of Medinaceli decisively moved opera performances, including the premieres, out of the palace following his complete renovation of the Teatro di San Bartolomeo.²⁵

Moving to the viewer's right in the Fontana plan printed by De Rossi (as shown in Figure 4.1), the rooms contiguous to the sala regia or sala grande (A) in the palazzo reale became progressively more private as they led, finally, to the private antechambers (E, F) and viceroy's bedchamber. Carpio may have used the *seconda sala* or *sala dell'udienza* (B) adjacent to the sala grande—as a tiring room behind the stage, if his stage was at this end of the larger space. On the other hand, if the stage was located on the opposite end of the sala grande, this "seconda sala" (B) might have allowed additional gentlemen to stand with a distant view of the stage when the palchetti were filled to overcrowding, as they were reported to have been at the first performances of *L'Aldimiro*. Pacichelli registers that Carpio's collection of antiquities was displayed in a room next to his theater, however, so this "seconda sala" may have become his gallery—slightly more private than the theater, but still public enough that he could invite officials and visitors in to admire his good taste.

According to the papal nuncio, the theater (probably meaning the entire room, stage, and seating) was "novo e maestoso" when *L'Aldimiro* received its palace premiere in November 1683,²⁶ but it is unclear how many spectators could be accommodated when the palchetti were set up in the sala, following Carpio's remodeling of the room and its dismantable theater. None of Carpio's productions took place in the sala dei viceré, a room adjacent to the cappella reale and decorated with portraits of the viceroys, though a temporary theater had been set up there occasionally before his tenure.²⁷

²⁴ The Colonna accounts reveal a payment "per aver disarmato il teatro piccolo dentro al quarto d'Alba, e postolo al suo luogo," I-SUSS, I.A.73, transcribed in Tamburini, *Due teatri*, 176; De Lucca, *The Politics*, 291. An earlier 1682 Roman inventory of Carpio's possessions from Palazzo di Spagna in Rome, E-Mca, Caja 302/4, fols. 224–225, 230v–231, 239–239v, 374v, also includes theatrical scenery "del teatro di Sua Eccellenza in Roma." Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 542, asserts that the theater Carpio erected in the Spanish embassy in Rome for his 1682 comedias was brought to Naples and is thus synonymous with the theater in the posthumous Naples inventory E-Mca, Caja 217/12.

²⁵ See José María Domínguez Rodríguez, "Mecenazgo musical del IX Duque de Medinaceli: Roma-Nápoles-Madrid, 1687–1710," 2 vols. (PhD diss., Universidad Complutense Madrid, 2010), 1:172–77.

²⁶ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 95, fol. 812v, 9 November 1683.

²⁷ The sala dei viceré was sometimes used for ceremonial celebration of dynastic occasions well after Carpio's time: see Cristoforo Schor, "Addobo della Sala del Viceré per il compleanno dell'Imperatrice Elisabetta" (1713) reproduced in Riccardo Lattuada, "Napoli e Bernini: Spie di un rapporto ancora inedito," in *Barroco Napoletano*, ed. Gaetana Cantone (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1992), 666.

A Public Commercial Theater

Carpio's successful campaign to raise the standards for opera in Naples began in 1683 and depended on very close coordination of resources between his palace productions and those in the commercial Teatro di San Bartolomeo. This paradigmatic coordination assured that by 1700 the reputation of the San Bartolomeo had improved so much that Domenico Antonio Parrino could boast, "this theater is among the most famous of Italy . . . here the best companies of actors, singers, and musicians in Italy have performed."²⁸ During Carpio's tenure, operas received their premieres at the palace and then enjoyed runs of variable length at the commercial theater. Comments in the avvisi confirm that sets from the palace premieres usually were taken down and moved as rapidly as possible to the Teatro di San Bartolomeo,²⁹ which had been enlarged when it was rebuilt in 1681 after the fire that consumed it on the night of Thursday 6 February 1681 (see Chapter 3). Architectural detective work involving the present-day substratum of the church of Graziella al Porto Napoli, also known as Santa Maria delle Grazie al Porto and Santa Maria Visitapoveri, whose construction began in 1737 on the site of the Teatro di San Bartolomeo, suggests that the theater had a trapezoidal perimeter after the 1681–82 reconstruction, so it was similar in outline to a contemporary Venetian theater.³⁰ The only known depiction of the theater is an undated later engraving, *Vue du fameux Théâtre de la Ville de Naples in Italie*, that clearly shows the theater as it was before its 1737 destruction, with spectators in eighteenth-century dress (shown in Figure 4.2).³¹

This engraving may or may not be accurate in its angles; it depicts a wide interior space with two levels of boxes on the long sides of the rectangle, topped by a third level used as a gallery. Slightly below the level of the boxes, the interior space was crossed on the lowest level by rows of seats in the *parterre* with space for part of the audience to stand in what appears to be a raked floor area whose

²⁸ *Napoli città Nobilissima, antica e Fedelissima* (Naples: Domenico Antonio Parrino, 1700) [I-Nsn, Raccolta Notarianno, B-1075], 2 vols., 1:136–37: "Il Teatro poi è de' più famosi d'Italia, fu saccheggiato à tempo de'tumulti, e rovinato dal fuoco nel 1684 [sic 1681] sempre rifatto, ma per comando del Viceré Duca di Medina Celi ingrandito al maggior segno, con chiudersi un vicioletto è riuscito mirabile. Qui hanno rappresentato le migliori compagnie d'Italia, di commedianti, recitanti, e musici, e particolarmente in questi tempi, che per la musica s'è giunto all'estremo delle spese, ed abbellimenti, fu già concesso il quarto del lucro all'Incurabili da Felippo II como appare da un'epitaffio di marmo, ch'era vi su la porta antica, col *ius exigendi*, dove si fanno commedie pubbliche."

²⁹ This had also been Carpio's practice in Madrid as early as 1657 when, for example, "todas las tramoyas y aparatos" used for the "comedia grande" (almost certainly Calderón's *El golfo de las sirenas*) staged for the sovereigns at the Palacio de la Zarzuela were moved to the Coliseo in the Buen Retiro so that the production could continue there during carnival. See Barrionuevo, *Avisos*, 2:53–54, and Shergold, *A History of the Spanish Stage*, 316–17.

³⁰ Paolo Mascilli Migliorini, "La chiesa di S. Maria Visitapoveri a Napoli e il Teatro di San Bartolomeo," *Soprintendenza per i Beni Ambientali e Architettonici di Napoli e Provincia, Bollettino d'informazione 1997–1998* (Naples: Fausto Fiorentino, 2000), 23–28.

³¹ London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Harry Beard Collection, F.152-4, hand-colored engraving, *Teatro de la Ville de Naples* (Paris: Mondhare, c. 1859–99).

uppermost side is at the back of the theater and whose lowermost area is lower than the floor of the stage and even slightly lower than the wooden orchestra box for the musicians. Presumably, another set of raised central palchetti crossed the back of the theater (out of view in the engraving), and from these boxes the view of the perspective scenery would be optimal. The engraving shows a stage set with perspective scenery, movable wings, and a high proscenium arch that rises to a point higher than the uppermost gallery. The height of the proscenium seems similar to that depicted in engravings of the stage set for *La caduta dell'Amazzoni* (January 1690),³² suggesting that the height of the proscenium in the Teatro di San Bartolomeo was comparable to that of Colonna's theater in Rome. The San Bartolomeo stage and proscenium arch also appear similar to what is seen in familiar depictions of seventeenth-century Venetian theaters.

It is difficult to know just how large an audience the Teatro di San Bartolomeo accommodated; the engraving in Figure 4.2 seems to show from five to seven people in each box and at least a dozen boxes on each of the two levels, with a crowded uppermost standing-room gallery and additional spectators on their feet in the lowest part of the theater.³³ The Teatro di San Bartolomeo was not as capacious as Rome's Teatro Tordinona, which had six tiers with twenty-one boxes each, as well as five central boxes allocated to Queen Christina (who paid an annual subscription). It also seems to have been smaller than the theater built into the Colonna palace, which had four tiers and fifteen palchetti in each.³⁴ The San Bartolomeo was perhaps comparable in size to the smaller among the Venetian opera theaters, the S. Apollinare, but even that one had three tiers of boxes.³⁵

The smaller Teatro di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini in Naples, which had opened in 1618 and mostly housed performances by comedy troupes, contained twenty-two palchetti, each with four seats, plus six additional *palchi* called *corritori*. The parterre offered an additional sixteen rows with sixteen "*sentali*" in each row—in other words, 256 seats beyond the boxes. Since the Teatro di San Bartolomeo is referred to as the larger of the two public venues in Naples, it surely held the larger audience, perhaps 600 people when it was rebuilt in 1681–82. The prospects for expanding its stage and backstage areas after the 1681 fire were especially advantageous because the contiguous houses and those behind the theater had burnt down as well. Most likely, the area of the stage and backstage were enlarged to allow the installation of the stage machines required for

³² Produced in Rome to celebrate the marriage of Charles II and Mariana of Neuburg, libretto by De Totis, music by Pasquini, stage designs by Girolamo Fontana and Filippo Acciaiuoli; see the libretto with engravings US-NHub, Italian Festivals + 51.

³³ Alba Cappellieri, "Il Teatro di San Bartolomeo di Scarlatti a Pergolesi," *Studi Pergolesiani* 4 (2000): 131–46 (144 n. 26), has suggested that in 1626, well before Oñate ordered its renovation and conversion into an opera theater, the San Bartolomeo included thirty-four palchetti with 140 chairs to place into them, as well as 310 seats in the *platea*.

³⁴ Tamburini, *Due teatri*, 12, 339.

³⁵ Glixon and Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera*, 19–23.

serious opera through the first years of the 1690s³⁶—equipment for movable and perspective scenery, together with machinery for the kinds of transformations called for in the libretti of operas produced there.

Very likely the technical potential of the Teatro di San Bartolomeo was improved both when the theater was rebuilt after the fire and again when Carpio took charge, following the 1682–83 season. From November 1682 through carnival 1683, before Carpio's production team took over, three libretti were printed for productions staged by the engineer and impresario Gennaro delle Chiave. The Santa Casa degli Incurabili (which owned the theater) allowed this temporary arrangement with Delle Chiave despite a long legal dispute and his earlier dismissal, probably because they knew as early as September or October 1682 that Carpio would be arriving and would appoint his own production engineers. The limited effects called for by the stage directions in the libretti from Delle Chiave's late 1682 and planned early 1683 productions suggest that the theater was not yet equipped with stage machines for flights, apparitions, and sudden transformations. The opera that reopened the Teatro di San Bartolomeo in late 1682, Giovanni Buonaventura Viviani's *L'Astiage, re di Media*, had first been produced with Viviani's music for the 1676–77 season at the Teatro SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice beginning in December 1676.³⁷ The 1682 Naples libretto for *Astiage* does not call for the same degree of elaborate spectacle as the earlier Venetian libretto.³⁸ It requires fourteen sets, eleven of them listed in its front matter with the heading "Apparenze ordinate dall'Ingegniero Sig. Gennaro delle Chiavi."³⁹ But the simplified staging in Naples largely follows the scheme for *Astiage* in the libretto from a Milan 1679 production dedicated to the Spanish governor's consort, Anna Catalina de la Cerda, Countess of Melgar.⁴⁰ It is significant that both the Naples and Milan libretti leave out a fantastic scene invented for act 1 scene 6 of the 1677 Venetian premiere, in which a palace room is transformed by the opening of a "horrid Inferno" as part of Astiage's dream. In Delle Chiave's production (as in Milan 1679), the infernal set, the appearance of Caronte, and Caronte's *sdrucchioli* aria are all omitted, and the ghost of Cirene merely walks onstage briefly to visit Astiage. The Naples libretto also lacks the

³⁶ Franco Mancini, *Scenografia napoletana dell'età barocca* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1964), 18.

³⁷ Selfridge-Field, *A New Chronology*, 119–20; Bianconi, "Funktionen des Opertheaters," 75–76.

³⁸ I have compared the 1682 Naples libretto, Sartori 03262, *L'Astiage re di Media. Melodrama da rappresentarsi nel Teatro di S. Bartolomeo* (Naples: Carlo Porsile, 1682), I-Bu Aul.V.Tab. I.F.III.Vol. 57/3, with the 1677 Venetian libretto, Sartori 03260, *Astiage. Drama per musica nel famoso Teatro Grimani di SS. Gio. e Paolo* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1677), I-Mb Racc. Dramm. Corniani Algarotti 1125.

³⁹ The 1682 Naples libretto, I-Bu Aul.V.Tab. I.F.III.Vol. 57/3, includes a dedication dated 22 November 1682 signed by Delle Chiave, though the title page gives the date of printing by Carlo Porsile as 1681.

⁴⁰ For the Milan production, Sartori 03261; *Astiage. Drama per musica recitata nel Regio Teatro di Milano* (Milan: Stampa del Ferrario, 1679), I-MOe, 83.D.37/1.

stage direction calling for the “Attio che conduce al Seraglio delle Fiere” seen in the Venetian III, 14 and the Milan III, 13. The “Sala Regia de Christali” (III, 19 of the Venetian libretto) becomes merely a “Sala Regia” in III, 17 of Milan 1679, and then “Sala Reale” in III, 17 of Naples 1682. The similarities exposed in comparing the Naples libretto for Delle Chiave’s production to the earlier Milan libretto are especially telling, given that, at these loci of Spanish governance, private palace premieres typically were produced on dismountable stages.

Two operas whose libretti state that they were produced by Delle Chiave in Naples for carnival 1683, *Il Lisimaco* and *La Fiordispina*, may not have been performed at all because Carpio was seriously ill for much of the period between January and April.⁴¹ On 12 April the Florentine agent in Naples wrote that Carpio had begun to work but was still very weak and did not attend any public functions; not until 27 April was his health much improved.⁴² Though the two libretti carry dedications to Carpio from Delle Chiave, the *cerimoniale* and the reports of the papal nuncio for this period do not mention any opera productions for carnival 1683 and describe the carnival as “restrained” out of respect for the viceroy’s grave indisposition.⁴³

Il Lisimaco and *La Fiordispina* were the last operas planned under Delle Chiave’s management, and their libretti state that they were intended for the Teatro di San Bartolomeo. Significantly, the stage directions in their libretti suggest that the San Bartolomeo theater was not yet equipped for stage machines. *Il Lisimaco*, an opera on a historical subject, does not call for any effects that required machines, though the staging may have taken advantage of perspective.⁴⁴

⁴¹ His right foot was attacked by gout during his journey from Rome, and, according to his correspondence, this and other maladies kept him confined to his room at least from 12 February to 6 March 1683; see “Villagarcía, Correspondencia diplomática” vol. 10, E-Mn, MS 7947, fol. 505, Naples, 12 January 1683, Carpio letter to Villagarcía in Venice. At the beginning of March he was moved out of temporary lodging and into the *palazzo reale*, and, by the first week of March, he had named his staff (the equivalent of his cabinet), according to V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 95, fol. 134, avviso of 2 March 1683 sent by the papal nuncio. By 9 March he was improving “poco a poco,” though still convalescent, as reported in “Villagarcía, Correspondencia diplomática” vol. 10, E-Mn MS 7947, fols. 5239, 538, Naples, 12 February to 9 March 1683, Carpio letters to Villagarcía in Venice, E-Mn, MS 7947, fols. 523–29, 538. As late as 20 April, he was still not completely recovered, but at least he was well enough to leave the palace; “me hallo en estado que mi combalicencia me da lugar de salir de casa de quatro días a esta parte, y aunque no todavía para aplicarme a los negocios como quisiera, espero conseguirlo brevemente.” “Villagarcía, Correspondencia diplomática,” vol. 10, E-Mn, MS 7947, fol. 576, Naples, 20 April 1683, Carpio letter to Villagarcía in Venice.

⁴² I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, filza 1598, 27 April 1683.

⁴³ “Estubo malo el señor marqués del Carpio mas de dos meses y fue tan grave la enfermedad que toda la Quaresma estubo en la cama,” according to the notes in the *cerimoniale*; see Antonelli, ed., *Cerimoniale*, 356; see also V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 95, notices sent from the nuncio in February and March 1683, fols. 116, 131, 134, 151, and 174. Nevertheless, Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 543 and appendix 401–2 (and elsewhere) erroneously states that *Il Lisimaco* and *La Fiordispina* were Carpio productions.

⁴⁴ Sartori 14303; *Il Lisimaco. Drama per musica di Giacomo Sinibaldo rappresentato nel Teatro di S. Bartolomeo di Napoli* (Naples: Carlo Porsile, 1683), I-Bu, A.V.Tab.I.E.III.22a.3. Concerning Pasquini’s music, the cast for the 1681 Rome production, and the reception of *Il Lisimaco* after its Roman premiere, see Morelli, *La virtù in corte*, 63–66, 161–75.

Act 1 opens with a “Campagna e Padiglioni con la città di Sufa in lontananza,” act 2 features the “Tempio di Giove con Statue et Altare in prospettiva,” and act 3 includes “Anfiteatro con Popolo affacciato su’l recinto di muraglie.” Likewise, the stage directions in the Naples 1683 libretto for *La Fiordispina* do not call for the action of any machinery beyond that for straightforward set changes.⁴⁵

By the time Carpio’s first season began in November 1683, the Teatro di San Bartolomeo, as it was “rebuilt” by the Santa Casa after the fire, had been open for less than a year but potentially only in use for part of that period.⁴⁶ The Florentine agent in Naples described enormous expenditures in preparation for the 1683–84 season (see below), and the theater was considered “new” in a notice sent to Cardinal Maescotti in Rome.⁴⁷ It seems the Teatro di San Bartolomeo underwent a renovation in spring and summer 1683 after Delle Chiave’s management ended at the beginning of April 1683, such that it was greatly improved by Carpio’s new production team.⁴⁸ Only a few years after the end of Carpio’s tenure, Carlo Celano considered operas at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo to be expensively produced and to feature only the very best singers.⁴⁹ It is telling that the Teatro di San Bartolomeo apparently was not enlarged or modernized again until a decade after Carpio’s death, when his nephew, Viceroy Luis Francisco de la Cerda y Aragón (Marquis de Cogolludo and ninth Duke of Medinaceli), invested in renovations in 1696 and 1699.⁵⁰ Later, in the early eighteenth century, new and larger theaters designed for Neapolitan *opera seria* were opened—the Teatro Nuovo sopra Montecalvario (1724), designed by Domenico Antonio Vaccaro, which housed five tiers of

⁴⁵ Sartori 10686; *La Fiordispina. Drama per musica rappresentato nel Teatro di S. Bartolomeo di Napoli* (Naples: Carlo Porsile, 1683), I-Bu, A.V.Tab.I.E.III.22a.5.

⁴⁶ According to a notarial document, when Delle Chiave took possession of his lease on the theater again in July 1682, the theater had been “completamente rifatto”; see Ulisse Prota-Giurleo, “Notizie inedite intorno a Giovanni Bonaventura Viviani,” *Archivi d’Italia*, 25, no. 2 (1958): 238. The Naples libretto to Viviani’s *L’Astiage, re di Media*, Sartori 03262; I-Bu A.V.Tab.I.F.III.57.3, has a dedication dated 22 November 1682 from Delle Chiave to the Marquis de los Vélez and indicates performance at Teatro di San Bartolomeo; see Bianconi, “Funktionen des Operntheaters,” 76.

⁴⁷ “Questo nuovo theatro” seems to be the Teatro di San Bartolomeo because the avviso points to productions to be staged in carnival 1684, though “nuovo theatro” might refer to the theater Carpio also set up in the palazzo reale for the November and December operas. The avviso dated 16 October 1683 is transcribed in Staffieri, *Colligite Fragmenta*, 55.

⁴⁸ Parrino, *Napoli città Nobilissima*, 1:136–37, mistakenly dates the fire to 1684, but also states that the theater was “sempre rifatto.”

⁴⁹ Carlo Celano, *Delle notizie del bello, dell’antico, e del curioso della città di Napoli* (Naples: Giacomo Raillard, 1692), “giornata quinta,” 25: “Nell’anno 1681 vi s’attaccò fuoco, ne vi restò altro ch le mura, con la spesa di molte migliaia di scudi fù rifatto di nuovo, come si vede. In questo v’hanno rappresentato le prime compagnie d’Italia, oltre le Napolitane, nelle quali vi sono stati huomini grandi in quest’arte. Hora nel Carnevale vi si rapresentano con molta spesa, Comedie in musica, ed in ogni anno vi và qualche casa à male per cagion delle cantarine, che vi rapresentano, e che cantando incantano.”

⁵⁰ Concerning the 1696 renovations, see Domínguez Rodríguez, “Mecenazgo musical,” 1:172–77 and *passim*; see also documents quoted in Cappellieri, “Il Teatro di San Bartolomeo,” 145–46 n. 29.

twenty-six boxes each, and the Teatro San Carlo (1737), designed by Giovanni Antonio Medrano and Angelo Carasale to hold some 3,000 people in six tiers of boxes, a royal box, and standing room for part of the audience. As a venue for serious opera, the Teatro di San Bartolomeo was completely replaced by the much larger Teatro San Carlo, now the oldest continuously functional venue for public opera in Europe. It is important to note, however, that although Viceroy Medinaceli moved opera out of the Palazzo Reale and confined it to the public Teatro di San Bartolomeo during his tenure, the Teatro San Carlo originally formed part of the reconstructed later eighteenth-century Palazzo Reale, where it substituted for the sala regia and once again brought opera into the architectural heart of the viceroy's domain, displaying his power in a royal box while embracing a limited public.⁵¹

Libretti and the Schedule of Productions

The printed libretti for the operas produced under Carpio's supervision, especially those for his first two seasons in Naples, heralded the refreshed elegance that awaited Neapolitans in the refurbished theaters and contributed to Carpio's ongoing campaign of self-promotion.⁵² They contain much essential information, including detailed lists of sets, machines, and, in some cases, *dramatis personae* with the singers' names. While the libretto dedications have given modern scholars the impression that the operas were performed squarely on the dates of these dedications for the occasions they refer to, especially those for the 6 November birthday of Carlos II and 22 December birthday of the queen mother, many of the operas received delayed premieres, and nearly all were planned as part of a larger season. Typically, the final rehearsal for each opera took place in costume at the palace with Carpio in attendance. A few evenings later, the official premiere constituted a gala event at the palace (if the production was fully

⁵¹ See the fascinating study of the theater's design and purpose in Thomas, *Architecture and Statecraft*, 24–40.

⁵² As Vidales del Castillo, "El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras," 415, has emphasized, the prints dedicated to Carpio also drew attention to his sponsorship: "Si el poder, como ya se ha dicho, atraía dedicatarios, también cuidaba a los autores y fomentaba la impresión de determinadas obras. Como más adelante podrá leerse, Nápoles supuso para Carpio la cristalización de la estrategia tipográfica ensayada en Madrid, y allí combinó el gusto e interés por la imprenta con la obligación de hacer de ella una herramienta política y de gobierno." Moreover (182 and *passim*), printers, especially Antonio Bulifon and Domenico Antonio Parrino, became Carpio's faithful "artisans of glory" in Naples: "A diferencia de cómo llevó a cabo esta política en Madrid, donde él personalmente interactuaba con Calderón y Solís, con Baccio y Antonozzi o con Leonardo Ferrari y Dionisio Mantuano, en Nápoles delegó la dirección de sus campañas de autopropaganda en Bulifon y Parrino. Ambos ejercieron como sus más fieles artisans of glory entre 1684 y 1687, especialmente Bulifon, que hizo de la estrategia cultural y política de Carpio su propia estrategia editorial y comercial."

ready) for an invited court audience including the viceroy, his ministers and guests, and the nobility, followed by lavish refreshments. Carpio thus exploited opera (as had his predecessor) to draw the nobility into the palace and away from plebian observers, displaying his generosity and receiving universal praise in return. Each opera then enjoyed a considerable run of public performances, which sometimes began at the palace but continued at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo.

Opera Finances in Naples

Carpio's expenditures for musical theater supported his high standards and dutiful offerings to the sovereign and to Neapolitans, but they also undeniably contributed to the drain on the royal treasury and the huge debt that was to become his legacy. Because so much documentation has been lost, it is difficult to know just how much of the funding for opera productions Carpio provided from personal accounts, how much came from official or royal funds, and how the proceeds from the rental of boxes and sale of tickets figured into the finances of production (no account books have survived).⁵³

The arrangement in Carpio's Neapolitan years seems to have mirrored the integration of court and commercial financing he had exploited in Madrid to produce elaborate musical plays and the two Hidalgo operas. Carpio's position at the top of the hierarchy in Naples placed at his disposition a stream of royal funds because musical theater was deemed politically beneficial to the monarchy and of solace for its subjects, just as it had been in Madrid. Public festivities, serenatas to commemorate Hapsburg victories, expensive productions at the Palazzo Reale, and operas at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo—all could be justified as politically expedient. The viceroy had numerous sources of funding from the public treasury ("erario publico") according to Sabatini, among them a salary in the range of 30,000 to 37,000 ducats.⁵⁴ Private funds, "spese proprie," are mentioned from time to time in the documents, but the so-called *Cuenta de gastos secretos* was the primary source that Carpio and his immediate successors drew upon.⁵⁵ An annual limit of 6,000 reales was stipulated for this fund, but viceroys consistently spent well above this amount. If spending to around 24,000 ducats was expected, Carpio's spending from the *gastos secretos* exceeded this to reach an average of 90,000 ducats per year, though this crescendo was also accelerated by his hard-fought suppression and extirpation of the bandits (a success appreciated by both his subjects

⁵³ Cappellieri, "Il Teatro di San Bartolomeo," 133–34, 143–44 provides two bank notices that mention the rental of boxes at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo.

⁵⁴ Sabatini, "Las cuentas del virrey," 313–34 (322–24).

⁵⁵ De Lucca, *The Politics*, 303–4, documents this in considering Colonna's opera finances during his few months in Naples.

and his Spanish superiors).⁵⁶ The expenses of productions for the royal birthday celebrations and carnival (“gastos de las fiestas Reales y de Carnestolendas”) were appropriate expenses for the ordinary *gastos secretos* account, according to a notice about balancing the books following the brief tenure of Carpio’s immediate successor, Colonna; the document mentions the “24,000 ducados señalados para gastos secretos.”⁵⁷ On the other hand, other documents record that Carpio was assigned at least “6000 reales castellanos per year in Ayuda de Costa in order to spend on privy expenses in service to the crown,”⁵⁸ though the many withdrawals from his *gastos secretos* account reveal that his spending was far in excess of this amount. Significantly, the viceroy was not required to justify or provide reasoning for his spending from the ordinary *gastos secretos* account, a precedent dating from the time of Philip III that Carpio invoked in January 1683 mere weeks after his arrival in Naples.⁵⁹ A list of unexplained withdrawals from the “Gastos secretos del Exmo. Señor Don Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán, marqués del Carpio, Virrey” dated 29 May 1684 reiterates that the viceroy “is not required to provide a rationale for these expenses now, nor has been at any other time” and includes a long list of dates on which funds were released, with amounts—usually 2,000 or 500 for each withdrawal—but without any explanation of their purpose.⁶⁰

Before Carpio took control of opera production in Naples, the impresario at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo seems to have held the responsibility for paying the singers and musicians who performed in the carnival operas. For this purpose, for example, Gennaro delle Chiave withdrew funds from the Banco di San Giacomo just as his term of management ended to pay singers and musicians for their work in previous operas (probably those that had been

⁵⁶ Sabatini, “Las cuentas del virrey,” 325–26.

⁵⁷ E-SIM, Estado, Nápoles, legajo 3320; my thanks to Valeria De Lucca for kindly sharing her notes concerning these documents via personal correspondence, 14 March 2012.

⁵⁸ I-Nas, Tesoreria Generale Antica, Scrivania di Razione e Ruota dei Conti, Registri, Seconda Serie, Registro 6, fol. 55: “6000 reales castellanos al año de Ayuda de Costa para gastarlos en cosas secretas del servicio de Su Magestad.”

⁵⁹ “Su Excelencia con mandato de 18 de henero 1683... que porque el Rey Nuestro Señor Don Felipe Tercero por una orden firmada de su Real mano y refrendada de Andrés de Prada su Secretario de Estado de la fecha en Madrid a 8 de mayo de 1610 mandó que a los señores virreyes... 6000 reales castellanos cada año durante su gobierno para gastarlos en cosas secretas de su Real Servicio de los quales solo los virreyes hagan de tener noticia... sin haver de dar quenta de ellos en ningún tiempo.” I-Nas, Tesoreria Generale Antica, Scrivania di Razione e Ruota dei Conti, Registri, Seconda Serie, Registro 6, fol. 55.

⁶⁰ “no ha de dar quenta de ellos ahora ni en otro tiempo alguno.” I-Nas, Tesoreria Generale Antica, Scrivania di Razione e Ruota dei Conti, Registri, Seconda Serie, Registro 6, fols. 125–125v, 285–285v. I have been unable to understand exactly how the Neapolitan and Spanish currencies relate to each other. E-Mah, Estado, legajo 2066, Minutos de Certificaciones 1685–1699, Nápoles, 30 April 1688, “Certificación de lo que importa cada ducado Napolitano reduzida a moneda de Castilla,” signed by Don García de Bustamente, Caballero de la Orden de Santiago del Consejo de Su Magestad su Secretario de la Negociación del Reyno de Nápoles en el Supremo de Italia y del Despacho de la Reyna and sent to Don Juan Francisco Roco de Castilla, states: “Se halla, que cada ducado Napolitano se reputa por diez carlinos de aquella moneda, y reduzidos estos a la de Castilla importa cada ducado Napolitano nueve Reales menos seys Maravedís de plata Castellanos.”

planned and rehearsed during the last months of the reign of Viceroy Marquis de los Vélez). A payment to Giovanni Donato Oliva (an instrumentalist) notes that he had played in “31 performances that have been given at the Teatro di S. Bartolomeo.”⁶¹ This is a healthy number of performances, but it is unclear whether the reference to “31 performances” points to what today would be called “services,” such that it included opera rehearsals. If operas were not performed in carnival 1683 when the viceroy was convalescent, then this payment would be for musical work in the public runs of the November and December 1682 operas. Other withdrawals show that three singers—Anna Antonia Fabritii, Caterina Pumarico, and Maddalena Frasconi—were paid most of their fees before the start of carnival. Fabritii was recruited from Rome, where the largest part of her fee had been paid to her in advance through the financial agents Giovanni Guglielmo and Felice Serena.⁶²

From the start of his opera seasons, Carpio entrusted overall financial management to the Florentine financiers or “*asentisti*,” Alessandro Guidetti and Filippo Maria Gondi, whose expertise with currency exchange and financial matters of all sorts was surely invaluable. Their bank accounts show a very busy stream of deposits and withdrawals, though it is impossible to pinpoint just how much of this activity had anything to do with music or theater. In October 1686, for example, the account of Guidetti and Gondi at the Banco di San Giacomo paid 156 ducats to the governors of the Santa Casa dell’Incurabili toward the 1,000 ducats that Carpio’s production team (Nicola Vaccaro and Philipp Schor) still owed for the rental of the theater “and the houses next door to it” for the preceding 1685–86 season. It seems that the production team (*appaltatori*, also termed *assentisti*) were obligated to pay a third of each year’s lease for the theater in advance to the Santa Casa degli Incurabili. When they fell behind schedule with the necessary payment, they risked the confiscation of their property (i.e., sets, props, and costumes stored in the theater and contiguous houses).⁶³ Vaccaro and Schor had already paid installments totaling 844 ducats, but Guidetti and Gondi lent the money “from their own funds” and for this reason required direct “reimbursement from Schor and Vaccaro.”⁶⁴ The special wording of this

⁶¹ 3 April 1683, transcribed in Mauro Amato, “Le antologie di arie e di arie e cantate tardo-seicentesche alla biblioteca del Conservatorio ‘S. Pietro a Majella’ di Napoli,” 2 vols. (PhD diss., Università di Cremona, 1998), 115.

⁶² Amato, “Le antologie di arie e cantate,” 1:115.

⁶³ See the references to the 1685 case in later documents presented in Coticelli and Maione, *Le istituzioni musicali*, 145–84, especially 155.

⁶⁴ I-Nasbn, Banco di San Giacomo, Giornale di Cassa, matrici. 450, p. 457, as transcribed in Amato, “Le antologie di arie e cantate,” 1:115, entry of 12 October 1686: “Ad Alessandro Guidetti e Filippo Maria Gondi Ducati cento cinquanta sei e per essi alli governatori della Casa dell’Incurabili a compimento di Ducati mille, che s’erano obligati pagare filippo Scor e Nicola Vaccaro per l’affitto hanno tenuto l’anno 1685 del Jus rappresentandi le comedie con il teatro in S. Bartolomeo e Case contigue atteso l’altri Ducati ottocento quaranta quattro detti Governatori l’hanno ricevuti, cioè Ducati cinquecento sotto li 2 Gennaio e Ducati 300 a 18 marzo prossimo passato con due loro

entry might suggest that Guidetti and Gondi did not always lend “from their own funds,” but, rather, that they usually lent money provided by the viceroy. Later payments from the account of Guidetti and Gondi to Alessandro Scarlatti and to singers who performed in Carpio’s productions, including soprano Giulia Francesca Zuffi and castrato Matteo Sassano, confirm that the financiers were acting as Carpio’s paymasters through 1687.⁶⁵ One payment that may have been a gift specifies that, following Carpio’s order, Sebastián de Villareal y Gamboa (mayordomo mayor and maestro de cámara) had already given Sassano 150 ducats for the past season for his performance in three operas; the account of the financiers Guidetti and Gondi should now pay to Villareal the remaining 200 ducats owed to Sassano so that the singer might be fully compensated for performing in the three operas of that season (1686–87).⁶⁶ After Carpio’s death, Guidetti and Gondi were making payments to musicians who performed both at the palace premieres and at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo during the reigns of Carpio’s successors, to judge by documents including a 16 March 1689 payment to the violinist Giovanni Carlo Cailò from their account at the Banco di San Giacomo. Cailò was paid upon his presentation of a certification for his work in the “tre opere in musica nel Real Palazzo e Teatro di San Bartolomeo” during the 1688–89 season.⁶⁷

It appears that some of the singers in Carpio’s first season were paid once in advance and then again at the close of the season. The most important document recovered thus far is the notary document of 25 September 1683 recording the payment order sent to the Roman banker and “negoziante” Leonardo Libri in Rome by Guidetti and Gondi in Naples for the recruitment of singers and musicians from Rome and Bologna.⁶⁸ Libri, Guidetti, and Gondi were all involved in a broad array of Carpio’s financial transactions; the credit they had

polize del medesimo nostro banco pagabili a detti Scor e Vaccaro, da quali sono stati girati a detti Governatori e Ducati quarantaquattro per mano di Pietro d’Orlando Palchettaro; quali Ducati 1000 si pagano di loro propij denari, e per doverne esser rimborsati da detti Scor e Vaccaro.”

⁶⁵ Amato, “Le antologie di arie e cantate,” 1:116.

⁶⁶ I-Nasbn, Banco di San Giacomo, 1686/II, Giornale di Cassa, matri. 456, p. 234, as transcribed in Amato, “Le antologie di arie e cantate,” 1:116, entry of 26 February 1687: “Ad Alessandro Guidetti e Filippo Maria Gondi Ducati duecento e per esso a Matteo Sassano a compimento de Ducati 350 che l’altri 150 l’ha ricevuto Ducati 50 per [...] e Ducati 100 si son pagati a Sebastiano de Villavale [*sic* for Villareal] y Lamboa [*sic* for Gamboa] con causa [...] ordinateli con suo viglietto del 17 corrente e per haver supplito detto Matteo alle recite delle 3 opere fatte nella passata stagione [...] detto pagamento d’ordine di questo Eccellentissimo Don Marchese del Carpio Viceré e Capitano generale di questo regno per doverne essere rimborsati.”

⁶⁷ Olivieri, “Per una storia,” 246–47.

⁶⁸ I-Nas, Pizzo Falcone, Archivio dei Notai, Notai del Seicento, Geronimo de Roma, di Salerno, scheda 1214, protocollo 23, fols. 583v–587, 25 September 1683; transcribed in Olivieri, “Per una storia,” 231–32; Prota-Giurleo, *I Teatri di Napoli*, 3:132–33, 326–28.

extended to him during his Roman years continued into his tenure in Naples.⁶⁹ This document partially explains the binding contract between Guidetti and Gondi and Schor, Vaccaro, and Francesco della Torre. The singers (Paolo Pompeo Besci, Giuseppe Costantini, Michele Fregiotti, Domenico di Gennaro, Stefano Carli, Giovanni Ercole, Giulio Cavalletti, Teresa Laura Rossi, an unidentified “terza parte di donna,” and Giulia Francesca Zuffi), a copyist, five orchestral players, and Scarlatti himself were advanced money before coming to Naples, in order to guarantee their arrival. The amounts are given in Roman scudi for all but Zuffi, who must have been in Naples (her 600 scudi are noted as equivalent to “660 ducati de Napoli da pagarsi in Napoli”). Scarlatti was in charge of this payment to the musicians who could collect their funds in Rome through “cedole bancarie” before travel to Naples. Moreover, the top singers were initially given higher amounts than Scarlatti himself, though perhaps he enjoyed a separate financial agreement as composer.

Some singers also received further compensation after the close of the season. Letters written in April 1684 in Naples by the poet Sebastiano Baldini to Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna in Rome describe how the top castrati, Giovanni Francesco Grossi “Siface,” Besci “Paoluccio,” and Costantini “Brunswick” or “Brunsvic,” were asked to stay in Naples after carnival because Carpio hoped to produce yet another new entertainment with a full cast for the queen’s 26 April birthday. According to Baldini’s gossipy letters, Grossi was still in Naples and looking to collect his payment at the bank around 15 April. His financial arrangement was separate from the others because he had been borrowed from the Duke of Modena, rather than hired on the roster of musicians recruited in Rome. He had only performed in two of the three operas that season—*La Psiche* and *Il Pompeo*—because he had managed to arrive too late for the rehearsals of the first opera, *L’Aldimiro*. At the end of April 1684, before Grossi was returned to Duke Francesco II d’Este in Modena, he was paid with a “poliza” (letter of payment) worth 400 *doppie* that he could collect on in Rome through Leonardo Libri, the same banker who had paid advances in Rome to the singers and musicians listed on the 25 September 1683 notarial document. This payment seems to have been in addition to a letter of credit provided to him in Naples for transaction through one of the Neapolitan banks. As expected, Carpio also gave Grossi a ring said to be worth 150 ducats.⁷⁰

The arrangements for the other two castrati, the high soprano Besci and the contralto Costantini, and for some of the singers in later productions, were more complicated because Carpio appointed them to salaried positions in the

⁶⁹ This is explained by Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 524.

⁷⁰ I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Carteggio Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, 1684/96, Baldini, letter of 29 April 1684.

Cappella Reale (see below). Besci was the highest-paid singer in the opera casts after Grossi—the 25 September notarial document indicates that he was advanced 700 scudi in Rome before the season. It is likely as well that he sang in and received remuneration for singing in the Holy Week music that Scarlatti provided for the royal chapel in late March 1684 (Easter fell on 2 April). If, in early April 1684, Besci was unsure whether to stay in Naples, by 15 April he had been promised 9.5 ducati per month as well as 16 ducati from the ordinary *gastos secretos* account (“per gastis segreti”), though the amount from this amount was as yet in doubt (“rimanendo in aria i gastis segreti”).⁷¹ On 20 April he officially was assigned the post in the Cappella Reale that had become vacant upon the resignation of Antonio Aceti.⁷² Besci was to receive the same salary of 8 scudi per month that Aceti had received, according to the extant *mandato*. He finalized his arrangements in Naples by the end of April, content with the monthly salary, amplified by the additional fees from the “gasto segreto.”⁷³

The notarial document of 25 September 1683 makes clear that Scarlatti had been consulted about this cast for the coming season at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo, as had Vaccaro, Della Torre, and Schor, before the date of the document. But it is difficult to know how deeply Scarlatti was involved in administrative matters. Carpio had come to know Scarlatti in Rome and brought him to Naples as principal composer, music director for the operas, and, eventually, chapelmaster. Oddly, however, in outlining his responsibilities, the document confirms that he was responsible only for the actual selection of players for the orchestra and the *terza dama*. Upon Scarlatti's request, he will be advanced funds in the amount of 5,035 scudi through “cedole bancarie” to pay the musicians who have been recruited in Rome and Bologna, but in doing so he incurred an obligation to Schor, Vaccaro, and Della Torre, whose responsibility it was to reimburse Guidetti and Gondi and turn over the specified portion of the profits.

Olivieri has suggested, with good reason, that Scarlatti gathered some musicians in Rome.⁷⁴ It seems Scarlatti may have negotiated their financial arrangements on behalf of Carpio and the Naples production team, since he was working closely with some of them. His last Roman position in this period was that of maestro

⁷¹ “Paoluccio, che ha ducati 9 il mese e 16 per gasto segreto, non e contento, rimanendo in aria i gastis segreti, si che va meditando, se non trova miglior situazione alle sue provisioni, di ritornarsene a Roma.” I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Carteggio Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, 1684/96 [fol. 80v?], Baldini, letter of 15 April 1684.

⁷² Aceti departed in the wake of Francesco Provenzale's resignation. I-Nas, *Mandatorum*, vol. 285, fol. 125; see Prota-Giurleo, *I Teatri di Napoli*, 3:132–33, 138–39, 141–43, 331; Olivieri, “Per una storia,” 230–32, 244–45.

⁷³ I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Carteggio Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, 1684/96, Baldini letter of 22 (or 27?) April. Baldini's wording suggests that Paoluccio had received confirmation that funds from the “gastis segreti” would indeed be assigned to him.

⁷⁴ Olivieri, “Per una storia,” 231–32. De Lucca, *The Politics*, 273, might overstate the case with the assertion that Scarlatti “followed Carpio to Naples with a small ‘company’ of singers.”

di cappella at San Girolamo della Carità, beginning in 1682 (while Carpio was still in Rome) and extending certainly through the *fiesta* for San Girolamo (30 September) 1683.⁷⁵ Some of those who performed with him at San Girolamo della Carità were brought to Naples: Besci, Pietro Ugolini (archlute), and the violinist “Giovan” (Giovanni Carlo Cailò) performed in Carpio’s operas and were hired into the royal chapel.

The bank receipts pertaining to *L’Olimpo in Mergellina*, a serenata performed by “a hundred musicians among the voices and instrumentalists,” organized in Naples for Carpio in August 1686 (for the nameday of Queen Marie-Louise of Spain, and again in September 1686 for the elaborate celebrations after the Imperial victory at Buda), provide a useful point of comparison. To pay the musicians, the financial agents deposited money into Scarlatti’s bank account at the Banco di San Giacomo, and then Scarlatti arranged for the bank to pay the musicians and singers directly from his account. In this case, Scarlatti acted as Carpio’s musical paymaster as well as composer and conductor.⁷⁶ A typical entry from the account books at the Banco di San Giacomo giving a musician’s payment for work in the serenata reads: “Ad Alessandro Scarlatti, ducati cinque, et per esso ad D. Mattia Barella per haver sonato alle prove e serenate fatta ad Posillipo li 25 agosto per servizio di Sua Eccellenza.”⁷⁷ The 1686 serenata, *L’Olimpo in Mergellina*, depended on money provided by the viceroy but dispersed by financial agents who were not agents of the crown or the government; this model also applied in part to the financing of the operas.⁷⁸

The 25 September 1683 notary document reveals that Guidetti and Gondi sent money to Rome and Bologna in advance, and that the specified musicians were contractually bound to perform in the operas produced by Vaccaro, Schor, and Della Torre. But it is highly significant that it also mentions the palace performances, tying together the palace productions and those at the public theater, and illuminating how Carpio planned for an entire season that began at the palace with the November and December royal birthdays. Once production

⁷⁵ Morelli, “Alessandro Scarlatti maestro di cappella,” 117–45, with documents transcribed, 138–41.

⁷⁶ See documents presented in Stein, “Una música de noche,” 333–72; and Maione, “Il mondo musicale,” 309–41.

⁷⁷ I-Nasbn, Banco di San Giacomo, 1686/II, Giornale di Cassa, matricole 450, p. 629, 31 October 1686.

⁷⁸ Although the account books for the “Cuenta de Gastos Secretos” in Carpio’s time seem not to be extant, letters and copies of letters in I-Nas, Regia Camera della Sommara, Segretaria, Regale, Carte Reali, at least shed some light on the nature of this fund. For example, in copies of letters from 1685, Carpio is asked to reduce from 90 to 24 ducados per year the amount he expects to draw on from the gastos secretos, “incluyéndose el de las fiestas reales y de carnestolendas, y poniéndose por gasto público lo que se pagava de sueldos, ayudas de costa, y limosnas a oficiales y a otro género de personas,” I-Nas, Regia Camera della Sommara, Segretaria, Regale, Carte Reali, busta 10, fol. 205. This argument about what should be paid through “gastos secretos” versus the fund for “gastos públicos” continues for some years. With the support of the Collateral Council, Carpio and his successors request more money through the gastos secretos account.

began in November, Vaccaro, Schor, and Della Torre were legally obligated to collect and then deposit with the lenders, Guidetti and Gondi, “the entire quantity of money that they receive” from the rental of boxes (“palchetti”) at the Teatro San Bartolomeo, as well as from the performances (“recite”) at the royal palace. At the protocolled palace premieres, the nobility and invited officials celebrated the royal birthdays with the viceroy. But it is unclear if they paid for a seat in a box or accepted this invitation without incurring any expense beyond the cost of appropriate attire. Subsequent palace performances were opened to the public (or, at least, to the better-off segment of the public) on some occasions.

Guidetti and Gondi provided the initial capital as a loan to Schor, Vaccaro, and Della Torre. But the 25 September 1683 document specifies that all of the money (“tutte le quantità di denari che perveniranno”) from the rental of boxes had to be given to Guidetti and Gondi to repay their loan, and, of course, the *affitto* of the Teatro di San Bartolomeo was paid to the Santa Casa degli Incurabili because of the *jus repraesentandi*. So it is unclear how the theater made any profit, unless its profit was drawn from the lower-priced entrance tickets and the amount that spectators paid for individual seats. A contemporary document comparing the amounts paid to *comici* (troupes performing spoken theater or commedia dell’arte performers) and the monies from which the impresarios derive the payments in theaters across Italy identifies both “palchi” (boxes) and “careghe” (seats) as the sources from which the comedy troupes were paid in Naples.⁷⁹ A much earlier 1618 notarial document pertaining to the smaller comedy theater, the Teatro dei Fiorentini, indeed offers this same model: when the Teatro dei Fiorentini opened, the cost of each *palcho* was 20 *carlini*, but the cost to use each seat was 1 *carlino*, and the *parterre* had an additional sixteen rows with sixteen “*sentali*” in each row, amounting to 256 seats that brought in 256 *carlini* for each comedy performance.

The amounts collected by the managerial team seem not to have been sufficient for the repayment of the loan, however, because, in December 1684, during Carpio’s second season, Vaccaro, Della Torre, and Schor still owed 5,424 ducats. Guidetti and Gondi had only received 2,000 ducats “da parte del Regio Palazzo” and 752 ducats “da parte dei Palchetti,” but again they lent the money needed to pay the musicians and singers who were performing and would continue to perform at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo for all of the coming carnival. The 1684 document specifies that Guidetti and Gondi were again to receive all the proceeds from the rental of the boxes and from the palace performances (“recite che si faranno nel Regio Palazzo”).

⁷⁹ I-MOs, Archivio per materie, Spettacoli pubblici, 8A.

Some of the funds dispersed by Guidetti and Gondi as a loan to the production team must have been supplied by Carpio himself in the first place (as was the case for the 1686 serenata). Just prior to Carpio's death in November 1687, Guidetti and Gondi were issued 4,000 ducats to repay loans they had provided months earlier through the Banco di San Giacomo "for a private expense incurred in service to His Majesty."⁸⁰ A similar entry for another reimbursement notes that it constituted repayment for the funds they had already disbursed in contracting the performers ("obligación hecha a los comediantes de las comedias").⁸¹

Apparently, at the start of Carpio's first opera season in Naples some attempt was made to prevent financial losses at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo by increasing the cost of leasing a box there. But the shortfalls (between the cost of singers and musicians and the amount the producers had on hand to repay the loans) grew nevertheless. The higher rental cost for the 1684 carnival is reported in a letter from a Florentine agent in Naples, Giovanni Berardi, who explains that the new *appaltatori* had raised the price of the boxes because their new productions—Carpio's productions—were more elaborate than those in previous years. Noting the obvious investment in the theater (probably referring to the Teatro di San Bartolomeo), Berardi describes "la gran sala destinata per tali recitamenti" as:

"enlarged and beautified . . . the managers [*appaltatori*] having spent from 10,000 to 12,000 scudi and thus, as a consequence, the price of the boxes is now higher, in that the price for a box used to be 100 scudi, and now they ask 300, and it is thought that they may raise the entrance fee to 150, without, however, altering the price of a seat, which has for a long time been stable at 5 giulii for each."⁸²

In the late nineteenth century, before quite so many precious resources and documents had disappeared, Benedetto Croce consulted the now-lost "Libro patrimoniale" of the "Archivio degli Incurabili" and found a similar figure: "Il Teatro di San Bartolomeo fu rifatto colla spesa di circa ottomila ducati."⁸³ The

⁸⁰ 15 November 1687, "por un gasto secreto de servicio de Su Magestad," in I-Nas, Tesoreria Generale Antica, Scrivania di Razione e Ruota dei Conti, Registri Seconda Serie, Busta 9.

⁸¹ I-Nas, Tesoreria Generale Antica, Scrivania di Razione e Ruota dei Conti, Registri Seconda Serie, Busta 9, fol. 31.

⁸² I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, filze 1598, 9 November 1683, Giovanni Berardi in Naples to Apollonio Bassetti in Florence: after praising the sets unveiled at the palace premiere of *L'Aldimiro*, Berardi goes on to say that they will be used at the public theater as well, "e chi servirà poi nel solito luogo di San Bartolomeo, ingrandita, ed abbellita la gran sala destinata per tali recitamenti, avendo fatta la spesa gli Appaltatori di dieci in dodici mila scudi ed in conseguenza è cresciuto il prezzo degli palchetti soliti pagava per tutto il carnevale cento scudi, ed ora vi domandano trecento, e si crede se tasseranno cento cinquanta, senza però alterare il prezzo degli sedie stabilito ab antiquo di cinque giuli per ciascheduno."

⁸³ Benedetto Croce, *I Teatri di Napoli, secolo XV-XVIII* (Naples: Luigi Pierro, 1891), 185 and quote 188. Mascilli Migliorini, "La chiesa di S. Maria Visitapoveri a Napoli e il Teatro di San Bartolomeo," 25, states that the reconstruction of the San Bartolomeo cost 70,724 ducats.

higher cost for the rental of a box at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo during carnival did not discourage attendance, however, since enthusiastic audiences and “molto concorso” are reported in this and subsequent seasons. If the price of renting a box during carnival 1684 was 300 Roman scudi, equivalent to 450 ducati in Naples, and the theater contained some thirty boxes, the rental of boxes at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo would yield something like 13,500 ducati—apparently, a healthy sum.⁸⁴

A New Operatic Production Team

When Carpio’s production team became lease holders and took on the management of the Teatro di San Bartolomeo at the beginning of April 1683, they benefitted from an event they had had nothing to do with—the fire that had destroyed the theater on the night of Thursday, 6 February 1681. Vaccaro and Della Torre replaced Gennaro delle Chiave, an impresario and stage architect who had been associated with the theater since as early as 1652 and whose father, Gregorio, had been an “*apparatore*” before him. Gennaro had held the lesse or *affitto* of the San Bartolomeo theater from at least 1662.⁸⁵ He had relinquished his association with the theater after a protracted legal battle with the Santa Casa degli Incurabili following the 1681 fire, though he nevertheless was permitted to manage it for some five or six months and recoup some of his losses by reopening it in autumn 1682. Delle Chiave’s management ceased when Vaccaro offered on 5 April 1683 to rent the theater for 1,000 ducati per year for three years.⁸⁶ Vaccaro’s partner on the new lease was Della Torre (d. 1685), who had worked with Delle Chiave occasionally beginning as early as 1669, and thus knew something about theatrical administration. He had signed on as Delle Chiave’s partner for a lease that began in April 1679, so by 1683 he was in a position to understand how to manage the rebuilt and enlarged theater.⁸⁷ Della Torre and Vaccaro were close friends or associates (Vaccaro stood godfather to Della Torre’s son in 1671).⁸⁸ It may be that Vaccaro had painted or designed scenery in earlier years. He most likely had known the third member of the team, Philipp Schor, in Rome, where Nicola and his father, the famous

⁸⁴ To estimate the relationship between Florentine scudi and Neapolitan ducati, see monetary equivalents in William C. Holmes, *Opera Observed: Views of a Florentine Impresario in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 167.

⁸⁵ See Prota-Giurleo, *I Teatri di Napoli*, 3:38–40.

⁸⁶ I-Nas, Pizzo Falcone, *Notai del Seicento*, Ferdinando Falanga, di Napoli, scheda 472, protocollo 23, fols. 94–100; Prota-Giurleo, *I Teatri di Napoli*, 3:323–24, provides a partial transcription.

⁸⁷ Prota-Giurleo, *I Teatri di Napoli*, 3:277, 291–92.

⁸⁸ Prota-Giurleo, *I Teatri di Napoli*, 3:245.

painter Andrea Vaccaro, had earlier fled the Masaniello revolt; reportedly, Nicola had been a disciple of Salvator Rosa.⁸⁹ Schor and his brother, Cristoforo, sons of the famous Johann Paul Schor (known as “Giovanni Paolo Tedesco”), had grown up in Rome in the Bernini circle. The Schors were among the busiest artists designing ephemeral architecture, carriages, and stage sets. Johann Paul had participated in the design of the private theater in the Colonna palace and served as “corago” for the Colonna production of Cesti’s *Oronthea* in 1661.⁹⁰ Carpio had been a devoted client of the Schor workshop and Philipp had guided Carpio’s private tour of the Colonna art collection in 1679.⁹¹ Carpio had lured Philipp away from Colonna’s service by promising him the post of Architect to the Spanish Embassy, before offering him a well-remunerated position in Naples.⁹² Though Della Torre was the more experienced manager for the theater, Vaccaro was the initial lessor, perhaps because he already knew and could work with Schor. Carpio appointed Schor to a permanent position in Naples as “Ingegnere del Regno” with a monthly salary.⁹³ Carpio’s attention to this appointment in late April 1683, when he was barely out of his sick-bed, and still beset with “grave indipositione,” speaks volumes about his priorities.⁹⁴ Indeed, Schor’s work for Carpio proved decisive not only for the operas, but also for his broader plan of cultural renewal and self-promotion.⁹⁵

⁸⁹ Bernardo De Dominicis, *Vite dei Pittori...* (Naples: Trani, 1844), 3:225–26, 295–96, 346–47; Maria Claudia Izzo, “Nicola Vaccaro impresario e scenografo del pubblico teatro di Napoli San Bartolomeo dal 1683 al 1689,” in *Ricerche sul’600 napoletano. Saggi e documenti* (Naples: Electa, 2002), 44–61; Cappellieri, “Il Teatro di San Bartolomeo,” 131–46.

⁹⁰ Concerning Filippo Schor, see Alba Cappellieri, “Filippo e Cristoforo Schor, ‘Regi Architetti e Ingegneri’ alla Corte di Napoli,” *Capolavori in festa, effimero barocco a Largo di Palazzo (1683–1759)* (Naples: Electa, 1997), 73–78; Alba Cappellieri, “Filippo Schor e Fischer von Erlach a Napoli: nuovi contributi per la diffusione del barocco romano nel vicereame del Marchese del Carpio,” *Un regista del gran teatro del barocco. Johann Paul Schor und die internationale Sprache des Barock*, ed. Christina Strunck, *Römische Studien der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 21 (Munich: Hirmer, 2008), 193–219; Giulia Fusconi, “Il ‘buen gusto romano’ dei Viceré; La ricezione dell’effimero barocco a Napoli negli anni del Marchese del Carpio (1683–1687) e del Conte di Santisteban (1688–1696),” *Le Dessin Napolitain*, ed. Francesco Solinas and Sebastian Schütze (Rome, 2010), 209–20. About *Oronthea* in Rome, see Valeria De Lucca, “Dressed to Impress: The Costumes for Antonio Cesti’s *Oronthea* in Rome (1661),” *Early Music* 41 (2013): 461–75.

⁹¹ Natalia Gozzano, *La quadreria di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna. Prestigio nobiliare e collezionismo nella Roma barocca* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2004), 251.

⁹² Christina Strunck, “Neue Überlegungen zur Künstlerfamilie Schor. Eine Einführung mit Dokumenten aus den Archiven Colonnas und Borghese,” in *Un regista del gran teatro del barocco. Johann Paul Schor und die internationale Sprache des Barock*, ed. Christina Strunck, *Römische Studien der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 21 (Munich: Himmer Verlag, 2008), 20–22.

⁹³ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 95, fol. 151; see also I-Nas, Regia Camera della Sommaria, Viglietti Originali e Dispacci, f. 84, document of 22 April 1683.

⁹⁴ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 95, fol. 174, 20 March 1683, reports that Carpio is still very ill but has been receiving officials at his bedside and dispatching business despite being bedridden.

⁹⁵ Fernández-Santos Ortiz-Iribas, “Sin atender a la distancia de payeses,” 32: “La formación tardo-berniniana de Filippo Schor se reveló decisiva en proyectar a gran escala la magnificencia del Virrey, como ya lo había hecho, dentro de parámetros mas modestos, para el Embajador ante Inocencio XI. De hecho, y como consecuencia de la rigurosa aplicación por parte del Virrey de las pragmáticas contra el lujo, los regocijos patrocinados por éste adquirían, si cabe, un mayor perfil político.”

Vaccaro and Della Torre found it worthwhile to offer 1,000 ducats per year to lease the Teatro di San Bartolomeo from the Santa Casa degli Incurabili—higher than the 630 ducats per year that Delle Chiave had paid—because the theater was bigger and better after the fire and renovation.⁹⁶ They probably also knew in advance that Carpio had hired Schor, a brilliant engineer and designer, to work with them. Schor joined the palace administration with a prestigious position, but his focus was the design and operation of elaborate stage machines for the operas and other festivities. Most likely, money for the improvement of the stage and sets came from Carpio's *gastos secretos* account, or even from the fund for public works.

The impresarial investment of 10,000 to 12,000 Florentine scudi (equal to approximately 15,000 to 18,000 Neapolitan ducati) for the improvement of the theater, mentioned by the Florentine agent, seems a large amount, especially since the theater was basically in good condition by July 1682 after the 8,000 ducats the Santa Casa had already invested in its restoration.⁹⁷ It is entirely likely, then, that some of the funding that Della Torre, Vaccaro, and Schor received was provided by Carpio to further upgrade the stage machinery, once Schor had worked out the technical requirements. According to letters from the king, the royal *fiestas* were indispensable even in difficult financial circumstances and were to be subventioned with funds from the *gastos secretos* account as usual.⁹⁸ For his productions, Carpio exercised his own power precisely because the weighty administrative apparatus with customary and actual mechanisms designed to limit his expenditures often failed. As is well known, he died owing money to the crown and to many other creditors, including his bankers. His contemporary, Parrino, noted, however, that viceroys “enjoy the same privileges and pre-eminences, and they are entitled to the same reverence, that is required to the person of the prince of whom the viceroys are images.”⁹⁹ If the expenditures Carpio released for public festivities in Naples invited criticism on more than one occasion,¹⁰⁰ his talent as a producer was nevertheless intrinsic to his success

⁹⁶ Prota-Giurleo, *I Teatri di Napoli*, 3:126, 323, provides notes from a now-lost document with the figure 1,000 ducats.

⁹⁷ This amount is gleaned from now-lost legal documents quoted by Prota-Giurleo, *I Teatri di Napoli*, 3:126; see also Cotticelli and Maione, *Le istituzioni musicali*, 155; Cappellieri, “Il Teatro di San Bartolomeo,” 133.

⁹⁸ “y el ser inexcusables estas fiestas en celebridad de mis años y para divertimento público” in spite of the fact that “el estado de mi real hacienda obliga a escusar qualquier gasto superfluo por mínimo que sea maiormente... en estos tiempos devia limitarse, y no estenderse para comedias.” I-Nas, Regia Camera della Sommaria, Segreteria Regale, Carte Reali, busta 11, fol. 251–251v, royal letter of 19 June 1689.

⁹⁹ Domenico Antonio Parrino, *Teatro eroico, e politico dei governi de' vicerè del regno di Napoli dal tempo del re Ferdinando il Cattolico fino al presente* (Naples: Nuova Stampa del Parrino y del Mutii, 1692); the quote is from Guarino, *Representing the King's Splendour*, 18.

¹⁰⁰ Griffin, “The Late Baroque Serenata,” explains that the festivities in Naples were particularly lavish during Carpio's tenure. In 1686, following Carpio's celebration in honor of the queen's nameday, the Venetian resident in Naples, Antonio Maria Vincenti, criticized his spending in a report to the Venetian senate, as quoted in Griffin, “Nuove fonti,” 223.

as viceroy.¹⁰¹ Musical and theatrical performances reinforced appreciation of his generosity. His invitations to palace performances and the lavish refreshments he served after them further ensured his popularity with the nobility, while his encouragement of carnival festivities and the fabulous open-air summer festivals at Posillipo attracted popular support for otherwise stringent reforms.¹⁰²

Carpio's tendency was to exercise personal power "sin contrastes," placing absolute trust only in a small group of people he selected for positions of responsibility.¹⁰³ This impulse toward personal control and selective trust resonates in his restructuring of opera production and recruitment of a collaborative production team. Moreover, his earlier success as a producer informed his actions in Naples. In Madrid, Carpio himself had assumed the entire responsibility of entertaining Philip IV and the royal court from 1650 to 1662. His avidity was such that Baccio del Bianco complained from Madrid in 1652 with some exaggeration about the many projects he was given and the pressure of overseeing all of the visual effects, including set construction, painting, props, and costumes—all but the music.¹⁰⁴ Baccio worked as an old-fashioned "corago"¹⁰⁵ and complained precisely because he had not expected to be forced into that overarching position.¹⁰⁶ But he did not manage theatrical finances or hire actors, singers, or musicians. The *arrendadores* of the public theaters in Madrid cooperated with Carpio's requirements, so that the acting companies and singers complied when Carpio ordered them to participate in a rehearsal or production at court. In Madrid, Carpio was at the head of a cooperative production model in which the commercial interests of the public

¹⁰¹ Anselmi, "El marqués del Carpio y el barrio," 572, has characterized Carpio's tenure as viceroy as one of "un extremo rigor y firmeza, e incluso prepotencia, como en el caso de la leva forzosa de soldados para Messina, y al mismo tiempo una gran liberalidad y munificencia en los espectáculos y la cultura."

¹⁰² Carpio produced these expensive, showy, visually entertaining seaside festivals especially for the namedays of the queen mother and the reigning queen, but little can be said about their music, beyond the fact that they incorporated vocal and instrumental music, as noted in Griffin, "Nuove fonti," 222–223. Primary documents and descriptions with copious information about them are collected and excerpted in Griffin, "The Late Baroque Serenata," 85–103. Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 2:452–65, transcribes descriptive encomia about the 1684 and 1685 festivals from Juan Vélez de León, "Obras en prosa y en verso," E-Mn, MS 3924, fols. 1–20v.

¹⁰³ García Marín, *Castellanos viejos de Italia*, 229.

¹⁰⁴ I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, filze 5450, fols. 474–75, 4 August 1652, Baccio del Bianco to Prince Mattias De'Medici [?], quoted without identification of the addressee in Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, 260; Bianconi and Walker, "Dalla 'Finta Pazza,'" 452–53.

¹⁰⁵ On the *corago*, see Gerardo Guccini, "From the Corago to the Maestro di Scena: Possible Variations and Significant Developments in the Baroque Theater," in *Opera On Stage*, ed. Lorenzo Bianconi, Giorgio Pestelli and Kate Singleton (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 128–34.

¹⁰⁶ Salort Pons, *Velázquez en Italia*, 484, document b50, transcribes a 10 May 1653 letter from Francesco Ottonelli in Madrid to the Duke of Modena reporting that Del Bianco, supervising the visual aspects of *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo* (a semi-opera), complained that those working the stage machines did not correctly follow his designs. Some of Del Bianco's discouraged remarks about the music of Heliche's royal court productions are considered in Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 149, 278, 281.

theater were protected despite the potential ruin the corrales faced when the acting companies were called to rehearse and perform for long periods at court.

In Naples, a variety of approaches to opera production had been tried before Carpio's arrival with inconsistent success (as explained in Chapter 3). By assembling his own production team and installing the foundation for a resident opera company, Carpio avoided investing too much authority in one individual *apaltatore* whose loyalty might be questionable or whose fortunes might be tied inextricably to local interests and the public theater. Further, his rejection of the model of the sole *corago* suggests that he realized that producing opera on the grand scale as he imagined it would require a collaborative effort. Carpio brought together a gifted artist to serve as stage architect and engineer (Schor), a talented dramatic painter (Vaccaro) who also knew his way around the local authorities and the owners of the public Teatro di San Bartolomeo, and an experienced local impresario with artistic ability (Della Torre). Carpio's mayordomo mayor and camarero mayor, Sebastián de Villareal y Gamboa, was also later among those engaged in the organization of his opera productions.

To write, arrange, revise, or "translate" the libretti for his Naples operas, Carpio brought the poet Giuseppe Domenico de Totis to Naples. In Rome, Carpio may have attended performances of De Totis' play *Evilmero* at the Collegio Romano in 1679 with a fully-sung prologue (by an as yet unidentified composer). And he most likely knew De Totis' work as librettist and director in the operas *L'Idalma* (Rome, 1680, music by Bernardo Pasquini) and *Tutto il mal che vien, non vien per nuocere* (Rome, 1681, Alessandro Scarlatti). It may be that Carpio chose De Totis because of his knowledge of the Spanish theater or skill in translating from Spanish originals.¹⁰⁷ De Totis had provided the text of Carpio's famous 1681 serenata (see Chapter 2), and Carpio financed the first productions of at least four of De Totis' eight libretti. *L'Aldimiro* was both De Totis' first opera libretto for Carpio and the first altogether new Italian libretto commissioned for Naples in many years. It initiated a trio of De Totis libretti for Naples based on comedias by Calderón (*L'Aldimiro*, *La Psiche*, and *Il Fetonte*), though *L'Idalma* and *Tutto il mal* for Rome may also have been modelled on as-yet-unidentified Spanish comedias.

Carpio clearly wished to have his own composer and musical adapter close at hand. He chose Scarlatti as principal composer, arranger, and conductor for the Naples operas, rather than import a northerner or entrust his productions to any musician already in Naples. It has been suggested that Schor was instrumental in recruiting Scarlatti, even that Schor was sent to Rome to bring Scarlatti to Naples.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, Schor and Scarlatti had worked together in Rome, both had

¹⁰⁷ De Totis' libretto to *L'Idalma* "si colloca pienamente in questo filone della commedia di derivazione spagnola," according to Morelli, *La virtù in corte*, 149–61.

¹⁰⁸ "Da un affitto così oneroso, si capisce già che i tre socii volevano fare le cose alla grande, presentando al pubblico napoletano compositori famosi, cantanti eccezionali, scenarii mai visti. A tal fine lo Schor si recò a Roma per 'combinarsi' il giovane e già famoso Alessandro Scarlatti."

served Queen Christina and Colonna, and their families were closely linked (see discussion in Chapter 2). In choosing Scarlatti, Carpio necessarily passed over the aged and infirm Venetian, Pietro Andrea Ziani, still titular *maestro* of the Neapolitan royal chapel in 1683, a composer who had supplied operas for Naples previously.¹⁰⁹ Ziani was *maestro* of the chapel until his death in February 1684, though Francesco Provenzale had been given the title of “maestro onorario” in 1680 and was the chapel’s *de facto* musical director. Though Provenzale was an experienced opera composer, Carpio recruited and appointed Scarlatti instead. Apparently, Provenzale’s old-fashioned style and more diffuse approach to drama and text setting did not appeal to Carpio, though it is also likely that he was wary of Provenzale’s evident connection to the administrator of the royal chapel, Geronimo della Marra, and power as a kind of *capo* among local musicians.¹¹⁰

Carpio had supported Scarlatti in Rome, well aware of his status as a rising star. He appreciated his music and surely had planned to install him in Naples well in advance. He may also simply have liked the composer personally and embraced the latter’s situation as a father with a growing family. Della Marra, *cappellano maggiore* of the royal chapel, probably expected Carpio’s appointment of Scarlatti after the success of the composer’s first operas for Naples in December 1681 and, especially, autumn 1683. Della Marra wrote to Carpio on 9 February 1684 in Spanish, warning him in the clearest terms against choosing a “foreigner” over the heads of the loyal musicians who already served faithfully in the chapel.¹¹¹ Della Marra asserted that Ziani had been awarded the leadership of the chapel “not because of his merit, but due to favoritism” (“no por el camino del mérito, sino por el favor”), and cautioned Carpio against selecting another “foreign subject of an opposing nation” (“extrangero súbdito de Nación opuesta”), encouraging him instead to “haga merced a los vasallos del Rey N.ro Señor” to avoid that “súbditos de otros Príncipes usurpen a los de Su Mag.d.” Did Della Marra imagine that Carpio would hire a French musician? Buoyed by the success of Scarlatti’s *Il Pompeo* in Naples, Carpio selected Scarlatti as *maestro*

Prota-Giurleo, *Il teatro di corte*, 37; and “A tal fine lo Schor si recò a Roma per scritturarvi lo Scarlatti e quanto di meglio offrissi la piazza,” Ulisse Prota-Giurleo, “Ricerche archivistiche per la storia dell’arte: Francesco Provenzale,” *Archivi d’Italia* 25 (1958): 53–79 (quote on p. 66).

¹⁰⁹ Oddly enough, not long after arriving in Naples, Carpio had received a letter from the Marquis de Villagarcía in Venice recommending Ziani in February 1683, even though Ziani had already served the cappella reale since 1680 and was in very poor health. The letter is “Villagarcía, Correspondencia diplomática,” vol. 10, E-Mn MS 7947, fol. 522, Venice, 10 February 1683, Villagarcía to Carpio in Naples.

¹¹⁰ Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples*, 224–25; Prota-Giurleo, “Francesco Provenzale,” 63, described the *cappellano maggiore*, Geronimo della Marra, as “prelato di severi e onesti costumi, intendentissimo di cose musicali... amico ed estimatore del Coppola e del Provenzale.”

¹¹¹ The now-lost document was preserved in I-Nas, Mandatorum, vol. 285, fol. 125; there are transcriptions in Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples*, 224–25; Prota-Giurleo, *I Teatri di Napoli*, 3:137–38, 329–30; another version of the letter, cited as pertaining to I-Nas, Varietà Cappellano Maggiore, Consulte, fasc. 48, is quoted in Prota-Giurleo, “Francesco Provenzale,” 76.

of the chapel. This was widely known by 15 February 1684,¹¹² though Scarlatti's formal administrative request for the position is dated 16 February.¹¹³ The very next week, Provenzale and his adherents among the chapel musicians threatened to leave their posts.¹¹⁴ Carpio appointed Scarlatti to prepare and direct the Holy Week music to be sung by the regular chapel musicians together with the three castrati (Grossi, Besci, and Costantini) who remained in Naples after the 1684 carnival operas. This participation of such "mercenary musicians" became the excuse for a revolt with the resignation of six chapel singers and their leader, Provenzale.¹¹⁵ Not surprisingly, replacements were appointed from among musicians known to Scarlatti and Carpio in Rome and chosen to form the backbone of a stable opera company.¹¹⁶

In fact, though he did not appoint Provenzale, Carpio actually did proceed as Della Marra recommended, in that Scarlatti, as a Sicilian, was anyway a subject of the Spanish crown and he had already demonstrated his loyalty in Rome. Scarlatti was "foreign" in that he was not Neapolitan, but he was not a "foreign subject of an enemy nation." Carpio only transgressed against local precedents

¹¹² "Essendo passato all'altra vita l'Abbate Ziani, celebre compositore di Musica, e che era maestro di Cappella di Palazzo, il Signore Vice Re ha conferito questo posto allo Scarlatti che si ritrova qua in congiuntura delle Commedie che si sono recitate in Palazzo e nel Teatro, et avendo in esse dato sufficiente notizia della sua professione, l'ha S. E. anteposto a molti altri soggetti, ancor nazionali che erano in concorrenza, non senza loro gran rammarico e mortificazione"; I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, filze 4122, Naples, 15 February 1684, letter from Giovanni Pietro Cella to Francesco Panciaticchi, Segretario di Stato e di Guerra to Cosimo III Medici in Florence. Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti*, 34, 238 offered 17 February 1684 as the date of Scarlatti's appointment, based on notes from a document in I-Nas, Scrivania di Razione e Ruota de' Conti, vol. 3, fol. 82v; this date is confirmed in Maione, "Il mondo musicale," 309–41 (313).

¹¹³ A document confirming Scarlatti's 16 February 1684 supplica is provided in Maione, "Il mondo musicale," 313; see also Della Libera, *La musica sacra romana*, 39.

¹¹⁴ "Essendo stato dichiarato per nuovo Maestro di Cappella di Palazzo lo scritto Scarlatti, partirà questo dentro la presente settimana per Roma ad accomodare alcuni suoi affari e piantar casa qua. Lelezione a questa carica ha sopra modo disgustato alcuni Musici della Cappella che avrebbero desiderato si abilitasse al posto un nazionale, che n' ha fatto risolvere alcuni d'essi a licenziarsi dal servizio, con altri pretesti, fin' ora non è stata accettata la loro rinunzia e si fa pratica di far restar qua altri musici di Roma, restando convenuto di soldi il musico chiamato di Bransvich con trenta ducati al mese, allettandosene altri con speranze maggiori, e si crede che per dopo Pasqua per affrancare la perdita di chi s' e ingerito, nella recita delle commedie passate si replicheranno, o tutte tre, o alcuna d'esse, pubblicando i partitari esser restati defraudati dall'apparenza d'utile"; I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, filze 4122, Naples, 22 February 1684, Giovanni Pietro Cella to Francesco Panciaticchi, in Florence. See also other documents cited in Maione, "Il mondo musicale," 313–15.

¹¹⁵ See Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples*, 15, 19, 222, 224–25; Prota-Giurleo, *I Teatri di Napoli*, 3:138–43; Prota-Giurleo, "Francesco Provenzale," 53–79.

¹¹⁶ Seven musicians were newly incorporated; singers Besci, Costantini, Di Gennaro, and Matteo Sassano, together with the archlute player Ugolini, and violinists Giovanni Carlo Cailò and Francesco Scarlatti, were assigned their chapel salaries from 18 April 1684 in a document that lists fixed salaries "sueldo fixo" as well as amounts from the "gastos segretos." See Prota-Giurleo, *I Teatri di Napoli*, 3:331; Maione, "Il mondo musicale," 330–31, for the transcription of the now-lost I-Nas, Affari diversi della Segreteria dei Viceré, fascio 551, 20 April 1684. Documents concerning the appointment of violón and violin players Julio De Marchi (Giulio Marchetti) and Nicola Vinciprova from November and December 1685, and Bonaventura Venetiano and Francisco Pablo Capoccio April and May 1687, are included in Domínguez Rodríguez, "Mecenazgo musical," 2:215–21.

in April 1684 by hiring singers who had no record of service to the chapel, inviting a non-Neapolitan (Scarlatti) to compose and direct the Holy Week music, bringing in opera singers to perform with the regular chapel singers for sacred occasions, and installing theatrical castrati in salaried chapel positions. It has long been assumed that “the participation of opera singers in liturgical functions was an absolute novelty for Naples,”¹¹⁷ though chapel singers had been pressured to sing onstage in the decade prior to Carpio’s arrival.¹¹⁸ The new “mercenary musicians” Carpio installed in the chapel were first heard in a special *cappella reale* outside the palace for the birthday of Carlos II in November 1683 at the capacious Basilica of Santa Maria del Carmine.¹¹⁹ Some eighty musicians had performed, “cosa non più veduta.”¹²⁰ The “marvelous sound” created especially by the contralto and soprano operatic voices drew a large crowd of popolo, serving both Carpio’s purpose and that of the church authorities.¹²¹

Carpio’s deliberate personal agency in choosing Scarlatti as his chapelmaster has sometimes been overshadowed by speculation about the involvement of other patrons.¹²² But no private patron—indeed, nobody other than the viceroy or his sovereign—could issue commands affecting the

¹¹⁷ Alessandro Scarlatti, *Concerti Sacri, Opera Seconda*, ed. Luca Della Libera, Recent Researches in Music of the Baroque Era 153 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2009), x; Prota-Giurleo, *Il teatro di corte*, 39–40.

¹¹⁸ Maione, “Il mondo musicale,” 322–23.

¹¹⁹ The singer Giovanni Ercole described the event in a letter to Colonna dated 13 November 1683: “non manco far sapere a Vostra Eccellenza come già fu cantata la messa a 4 cori, e fu fatta cappella reale al Carmine, dove ci fu quasi tutto Napoli per sentire la musica, e tra musici e istromenti eravamo settantasei musici e veramente fu una bellissima festa?” “I shall not fail to tell Your Excellency that the mass for four choirs has already been sung, and they did a *cappella reale* at the Carmine, where almost the entire city of Naples came to hear the music, and between singers and musicians we reached the number of seventy-six, and it was a beautiful feast.” I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Corrispondenza di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, 1683, no. 131, transcribed and translated in De Lucca, *The Politics*, 275, 341–42.

¹²⁰ Confuorto, *Giornali*, 1:110.

¹²¹ “con pompa non ordinaria, et uniforme al genio di Sua Eccellenza si per la musica che riuscì a meraviglia, per le novelle voci di contralto e soprano che qua sono venuti per far spiccare in questi teatri le loro virtuose maniere, come per il numeroso concorso del popolo chi vi fu la.” V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 95, fol. 812, 9 November 1683.

¹²² In Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti*, 34–38 the account of Scarlatti’s hiring in Naples dissolves in speculation; Prota-Giurleo, *Il teatro di corte*, 38–39, provides the undocumented assertion that the Duke and Duchess of Maddaloni “seized the opportune moment to conquer the position of Maestro della Reale Cappella for the young and already famous composer” (my translation); Roberto Pagano, *Alessandro and Domenico Scarlatti: Two Lives in One*, trans. Frederick Hammond (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon, 2006), 20–21 notes merely that Carpio recognized Scarlatti’s “dazzling Roman ascent”; Pagano, *Alessandro e Domenico Scarlatti: due vite in una* (2015), 1:55–56, prioritizes the influence of the Duke and Duchess of Maddaloni, though without excluding Carpio’s involvement; Dubowy and Fabris, “Scarlatti,” state correctly, “wahrscheinlicher ist, da. der Vizekönig selbst, Gasparo de Haro Marquès del Carpio, seit Januar 1683 an der Spitze des Königreichs und zuvor als spanischer Botschafter in Rom Augenzeuge von Scarlattis Aufstieg, hinter der Berufung stand, da er auch andere Künstler aus Rom mit sich brachte.”

membership and leadership of the Royal Chapel. Indeed, Carpio overruled Della Marra's objections to several royal chapel appointments because he valued musical expertise and talent over the supposed moral failings and personality defects the administrator detected.¹²³ Carpio's high musical standards for opera went hand in hand with high standards of musical excellence in the chapel. Opera required the viceroy's energetic support in Naples, in part because the carnival operas alone could not support expensive singers for a full season (the November and December productions for royal birthdays were absolutely necessary, as I have explained in Chapter 3). Carpio's astute installation of Scarlatti, Schor, and the others was a significant leap toward modernity; presumably, he had imagined this for some time. Note that Carpio did not even attempt to put together a company or a cast from the available Neapolitan locals. Instead, he arranged for the recruitment of individual artists, musicians, and singers whose talents he had come to know in Rome. By forming his own production team, Carpio also broke away from a pattern followed by other viceroys: he did not rely on "Febiarmonici" of any sort. He did not import a company that had been formed elsewhere, nor did he rely on a single local impresario at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo. These crucial distinctions need to be underlined, especially because they are easily lost in the language employed by Neapolitan chroniclers whose habit it was to use the word "Febiarmonici" merely to designate any variety of "opera performers." What Carpio attempted to establish was a reliable opera production system whose most crucial elements would remain in Naples with suitable emoluments, and whose productions—private or public, at the palace or the commercial theater—would serve his own interests.

Musicians and Singers

Carpio entrusted Scarlatti with the hiring of an orchestra, hence the composer's name is listed twice on the 25 September 1683 notarial document recording Guidetti's and Gondi's binding contract with Schor, Vaccaro, and Della Torre—once toward the bottom of the list with an assigned compensation of 500 scudi and once at the top of the document, where it is noted that Scarlatti has selected five instrumentalists for the orchestra ("A cinque Musici d'Istrumenti per

¹²³ For example, Della Marra objected to Carpio's order to appoint Giulio Marchetti, claiming that "este hombre tiene notas de suma infamia, que le inhabilitan a tener sueldo en la Capilla Real"; Carpio's secretary, Diego Ortíz de Zárate, responded, "que a este sujeto se le ha dado la plaza de 5 ducados por ser el músico de violón [or violin?] más diestro que hay en Nápoles y necesitarse de él en la Capilla Real, y que a Su Excelencia [Carpio] no le consta que tenga defectos o nulidades para servir semejante empleo." See I-Nas, Segreteria dei Viceré, Viglietti Originali, b. 613, Memorial of 17 November 1685, transcribed in Domínguez Rodríguez, "Mecenazgo musical," 2:215.

l'Orchestra nominandi dal Sig. Alessandro Scarlatti.")¹²⁴ These players, whose total aggregate compensation is to be 660 scudi, are not listed by name, though the notary listed individually the names of the original singers hired for the 1683–84 season (minus Grossi). The document is quite specific in stating that Scarlatti has chosen "the five instrumentalists," whose compensation as a group is hardly more than that of the *prima donna*. On the other hand, the singers were contracted individually, and the sums they were advanced at the time of their recruitment were higher than or on par with what the document lists for Scarlatti himself.

The recruitment of singers for the 1683–84 opera season in Naples was a top priority during summer 1683. In Madrid, Carpio had hand-picked his singer-actresses and kept them close at hand, even shifting women from one company to another. In Naples, he did not leave the choice of singers entirely up to his production team or agents; his personal involvement is especially clear in the correspondence concerning Grossi (see below). Carpio's determination regarding the quality of the casts is also emphasized in letters to operating Colonna in Rome.¹²⁵ Motivated by his desire to "obey the viceroy and contribute positively to the situation of this poor house" (the Teatro di San Bartolomeo), one of Carpio's financial agents, Giovanni Francesco Del Rosso [Rossi?], sought Colonna's intervention when attempting to recruit a certain "Chiara" for Carpio's Naples operas.¹²⁶ He suggested that "Chiara," who was in Rome and clearly well known to or controlled by Colonna, be encouraged to

¹²⁴ I-Nas, Pizzofalcone, Archivio dei Notai, Notai del Seicento, Geronimo de Roma, di Salerno, scheda 1214, protocollo 23, fols. 583v–587, 25 September 1683; Olivieri, "Per una storia," 231–32; Prota-Giurleo, *I Teatri di Napoli*, 3:132–33, 326–28.

¹²⁵ De Lucca, *The Politics*, 274, transcribes the sender's name as Giovanni Francesco De Rossi, but it seems likely that this was Giovanni Francesco Del Rosso, a negotiator, businessman, and banker from a well-established Florentine banking family who was deeply engaged in Carpio's affairs and among those who lent enormous sums of money to him in Rome and Naples, as did Alessandro Guidetti and Filippo Maria Gondi. The three are named as principal creditors in Carpio's own "Copia memoria de lo que se me acuerda de deudas en Roma y en Nápoles," E-Mca, Caja 162/20, transcribed in Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 2:586—as well as in another posthumous document, E-Mca, Caja 150/221. Concerning Del Rosso's activity in Naples, see especially María Jesús Muñoz González, "Coleccionismo y mercado de arte en el Nápoles virreinal del siglo XVII: el papel de los hombres de negocios," in *Banca, crédito y capital: la monarquía hispánica y los antiguos Países Bajos, 1505–1700*, ed. Carmen Sanz Ayán and José Bernardo García García (Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2006), 499–504; Leticia de Frutos Sastre, "Noticias sobre la historia de una dispersión: el Altar de pórfido del VII marqués del Carpio y un lote de pinturas," in *Ricerche sul'600 napoletano. Saggi e documenti 2003–2004* (Naples: Electa, 2004), 60–84.

¹²⁶ "Questa sera fo inviare alla s.ra Chiara l'instr.o di questi Assentisti del Teatro, et se gl'augmenta il prezzo sino alli ducati Cinquecento; In ciò non vi ho altro motivo, che d'ubbidire al s.r V. Re, et cooperare all'utile di quella povera Casa; e se V.E. conoscerà che gli convenga q.sta introduzione; sono a supplicarla di darglene la permissione"; extract from I-SUSS, Archivio Colonna, Corrispondenza di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, 1683, Giovanni Francesco de Rossi [*sic*, Del Rosso?] to Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, Naples, 6 July 1683, camicia 32. My thanks to Valeria De Lucca for generously sharing her transcriptions of these letters.

accept a contract for Naples precisely because Carpio was determined to hire top singers while raising the standard of production and the reputation of the Naples theater.¹²⁷ Contracts offered to the singers specified details of the commitment and remuneration, but allowed at least some room for negotiation.¹²⁸ In the case of “Chiara,” though the production team (referred to in Del Rosso’s letter as *assistenti* or theater managers) could not initially offer her more than the 500 ducats, she would be able to count on a contract for the *prima parte* roles of the next season at the higher rate of 700 ducats were she to garner sufficient applause in her first season. Del Rosso assumed that “with her spirit and style, she will receive many gifts,” and “the viceroy himself, because he so wishes to bring esteem to this theater,” will be the “protector of its etiquette and modesty” especially in order to attract an audience including ladies of the highest rank. The urgency of this appeal stemmed from the fact that another valued soprano, Scarlatti’s sister (“la Scarlatti”), would not appear due to a personal matter. He notes that, beyond benefitting the theater, Colonna’s intervention with “Chiara” would please Carpio.¹²⁹ Del Rosso indicates that the same conditions were spelled out in all of the contracts for singers (including those for the highly rated Zuffi and Besci), though separate arrangements were also possible. If “Chiara”

¹²⁷ “Ho fatto insinuare alla s.ra Chiara di doversi portare a recitare in q.sto Teatro nel futuro Carnevale, che si vuol ridurre assai splendidam.te con le migliori voci d’Italia per il genio, che ha il s.r V. Re di metterlo in stima; onde se pare a V.E., che le mie insinuazioni non siano lontane dalla convenienza la supplicarei di farla risolvere a venire, acciò quella povera Giovane non rimanghi perduta; mentre io tutto a V.E. profundam.te m’inchino.” Extract from I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Corrispondenza di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, busta 1683, Giovanni Francesco de Rossi [*sic*, Del Rosso?] to Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, Naples, 29 June 1683, camicia 32. My thanks to Valeria De Lucca for generously sharing her transcriptions of these letters.

¹²⁸ The contract offered to the singer “Chiara” is referred to as the “instrumento di questi Assistenti del Teatro” in a 6 July 1683 letter sent from Del Rosso in Naples to Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna; the singer’s fee has already been raised to 500 ducats. “Questa sera fo inviare alla s.ra Chiara l’instr.o di questi Assistenti del Teatro, et se gl’augmenta il prezzo sino alli ducati Cinquecento; In ciò non vi ho altro motivo, che d’ubbidire al s.r V. Re, et cooperare all’utile di quella povera Casa; e se V.E. conoscerà che gli convenga q.sta introduzione; sono a supplicarla di darglene la permissione”; I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Corrispondenza di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, busta 1683, Giovanni Francesco de Rossi [*sic* Del Rosso?] to Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, Naples, 6 July 1683, camicia 32. My thanks to Valeria De Lucca for sharing her transcriptions of these letters.

¹²⁹ “Quanto a Chiaruccia. Questi Assistenti non possono dar’ più di ducati Cinquecento; e però vero, che portandosi con applauso li farrei soggiacere alla spesa del viaggio; e s’obligano nell’anno venturo patteggiarla per ducati settecento, e dargli in tutte l’opere la p.ma parte. Crederei anco che con lo spirito, e modi della med.ma Donna conseguisse qui molti regali, che portano assai avanti [avanzì?]; et il s.r V. e che vuol’ poner[porre?] in credito q.sto Teatro sarà egli Protettore dell’osservanza, e modestia di esso, volendo introdurre che la s.ra V. Regina con. il consueto vada al d.o Teatro con le Dame. La Scarlatti si crede, che non recitarà per qualche impedim.to personale: onde se V.E. vuol’ usar’ del suo arbitrio, sarà non solo un far’ utile a quella Casa per risolversi una volta ad uscire; ma anco sarà molto accetto al s.r V.e.” I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Corrispondenza di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, busta 1683, Giovanni Francesco de Rossi [*sic* Del Rosso?] to Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, Naples, 13 July 1683, camicia 32, transcription by Valeria De Lucca whom I thank for generously sharing her transcriptions of these letters.

wished to “be different” (“andar distinta”) and run the risk of appearing without a standard contract, her travel expenses would turn out to be considerable.¹³⁰ Should “Chiara” decide to join the casts in Naples, she must arrive in time to be “in palco” by 10 November. In my view, because the 1683 season opened on the 6 November royal birthday with *L’Aldimiro*, this *terminus ante quem* suggests that he was recruiting Chiara only for the second or, especially, the third opera of the season. Colonna’s intervention regarding the third opera (for carnival 1684) could make sense, especially because this was to be a revised production of Scarlatti’s *Il Pompeo*, which already had been produced in 1683 at Colonna’s theater in Rome (see below).¹³¹

Though little is known about many of the singers in Carpio’s productions, particularly those at the lower end of the pay scale, he surely knew the talents of those he had heard in Rome in churches, serenatas, private musical events, oratorios, and operas. The tenors Michele Fregiotti (“Michelino”) and Domenico di Gennaro offer an example. The Roman Fregiotti (Rosmiro in *L’Aldimiro*, Lidoro in *La Psiche*, Pompeo Magno in *Il Pompeo*) is not listed in the notarial documents pertaining to the first season in Naples, though he is listed correctly in the 1684 libretto to *Il Pompeo* as belonging to the musical establishment of the Barberini Prince of Palestrina, a close Roman acquaintance of Carpio’s. Fregiotti had performed in the Pasquini–De Totis *L’Idalma o Chi la dura la vince* in Rome (carnival 1680). In 1683 he had applied for appointment to the papal choir but was rejected (he eventually joined the choir in 1690).¹³² With his brother, the composer Dionisio Fregiotti, he was a member of the Congregazione dei Musici di Santa Cecilia in 1684. After his operatic roles in the 1683–84 Naples season, he performed as King Gelanore in the Roman production of *Il silenzio d’Arpocrate* (Minato, Pasquini) in 1686 at the Colonna theater.¹³³ The tenor Domenico di

¹³⁰ “Le doi condizioni, che danno tanto fastidio alla s.ra Chiara, sono copiate dall’instr.i co quali si è sempre contrattato, e l’istesse sono espresse *ad unguem* in quello di Giulietta, e di Paoluccio; ma se quella volesse stare senza instr.o, et andar’ distinta, io la servirò come vuole; e però vero che il venir’ qui, bisognerà farlo, e correre quella sorte, che corrono tutti gl’altri, che devono vernir’ di costi, che sono molti, come V.E. potrà intendere, mentre almeno alli 10 di Nov.re devono essere in palco: Se veram.te ha voglia di venire, potria fargli insinuare, che oltre li cinquecento ducati, chiedesse altri cinquanta per il viaggio; che forse io farrei dargleli; ma me lo facci scrivere senza monstrare, che da me gli sia insinuato.” I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Corrispondenza di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, busta 1683, Giovanni Francesco de Rossi [*sic*, Del Rosso?] to Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, Naples, 24 July 1683, camicia 32. My thanks to Valeria De Lucca for generously sharing her transcriptions of these letters.

¹³¹ I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Corrispondenza di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, busta 1683, Giovanni Francesco de Rossi [*sic*, Del Rosso?] to Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, Naples, 24 July 1683, camicia 32; De Lucca, *The Politics*, 274. Many thanks to Valeria De Lucca for generously sharing her transcriptions of these letters.

¹³² See Jean Lionnet, “Un musicista dimenticato, Dionigio Fregiotti,” in *Handel e Gli Scarlatti a Roma*, ed. Nino Pirrotta and Agostino Ziino (Florence: Olschki, 1987), 285–96.

¹³³ See De Lucca, *The Politics*, 223, 229, 271, 273, 275.

Gennaro, recruited “per Vecchia” (to play the comic old nurse roles), was promised 265 scudi to come to Naples. He sang in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome in 1682¹³⁴ and was subsequently awarded a position in the Neapolitan Royal Chapel in April 1684, replacing Antonio Carrano.¹³⁵ Before taking his new position in the chapel, Di Gennaro sang the comic female role (Flora) in *La Psiche* and the female slave Harpalia in *Il Pompeo*; he also performed in subsequent Carpio productions.

Giovanni Ercole (also Hercole) “Giovanni Basso,” a baritone who did not have a role in the first opera, *L’Aldimiro*, but sang as the stern but anguished patriarch Atamante in *La Psiche* and as Cesare in *Il Pompeo*,¹³⁶ belonged to Colonna’s musical establishment and had performed as Cesare in the 1683 Colonna production of *Il Pompeo* in Rome.¹³⁷ Ercole usually sang as an elder statesman or majordomo and was recruited for Naples with the promise of only 230 scudi.¹³⁸ Another Roman baritone, Stefano Carli, was offered even lower compensation in Naples (only 200 scudi as the “Gobbo”), though he had performed previously there in 1678 and 1679.¹³⁹ If the printed libretti are correct, however, he also sang the important lyrical comic roles of Lisardo in *L’Aldimiro*, and the Satyr in *La Psiche*.

For the high-voiced roles, Carpio drew from an emerging generation of professional singers, most of whom had worked with Scarlatti in Rome. Giuseppe (or Gioseppino) Costantini (also found as Constantini), known as “Brunsvich” or “Brunswick,” was a star alto castrato recruited for Carpio’s first season. He was originally from Rome or Naples, had entered the service of Duke Johann Friedrich of Brunswick-Lüneburg at Hannover in 1675, and performed in Venice in 1676–77 at the Teatro San Luca before returning to

¹³⁴ Luca Della Libera, “La musica nella basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore a Roma, 1676–1712: nuovi documenti su Corelli e sugli organici vocali e strumentali,” *Recercare* 7 (1995): 87–161.

¹³⁵ Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples*, 214, 223–24.

¹³⁶ The bass roles he was assigned in Naples also conform to the typology of bass roles in the seventeenth-century Venetian repertory, “the moralizing philosopher/deity/patrician and the comic servant/buffo,” as noted by Vassilis Vavoulis, “A Venetian Impresario’s Quest for a Bass,” *Italian Opera in Central Europe 1614–1780*, vol. 3, *Opera Subjects and European Relationships*, ed. Norbert Dubowy, Corinna Herr, Alina Zórawska-Witkowska, and Dorothea Schröder, 3 vols. (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2007), 3:222.

¹³⁷ Tamburini, *Due teatri*, 151.

¹³⁸ Maintaining his title as “Maestro di musica di Marino” for Colonna, he performed at the Colonna theater in *L’Arianna* (Pasquini, Rome, 1685), *I giochi troiani* (unknown composer, Rome, 1688), *La Santa Dimna* (Rome, 1687), and *Il Colombo* (1691), oratorios in 1692, 1695, and at the Teatro Tor di Nona as the maiordomo Orimonte in *Penelope la Casta* (1696) and as Eurimene “vecchio governatore della città di Faleria” in Giacomo Antonio Perti’s *Furio Camillo* (1696); in the latter two productions, Giovanni Battista Cavana sang the comic-servant bass roles (libretti I-Rn, 40.9.C.16.5 and I-Rig, Rar. Libr. Op. 17. Jh. 17/22.20). See De Luca, *The Politics*, 261, 270–71, 273, 312, 314; Staffieri, *Colligite Fragmenta*, 43–46; Franchi, *Drammaturgia romana*, 700, 702, 703.

¹³⁹ Prota-Giuleo, *I Teatri di Napoli*, 3:103, 106.

Hannover.¹⁴⁰ When Costantini performed in Rome before being recruited for Naples, this was surely thanks to the cooperation between the duke and Roman patrons Colonna and his wife, Maria Mancini. In Naples, he was assigned the second-highest compensation recorded in the September 1683 notarial document (600 scudi), which suggests his high value among the performers. He was also the alto among the “mercenary musicians” who sang the special service *Carpio* arranged at the Basilica of Santa Maria del Carmine Maggiore for the king’s 1683 birthday (recall that Grossi had not yet arrived in Naples by this date). Costantini was assigned the position and wages vacated by Antonio Guida in the royal chapel after the resignation of the Provenzale group. During his time in Naples, he was “keen to keep Colonna informed” and reportedly even prepared a manuscript to send to Colonna with the arias he sang in *L’Aldimiro*.¹⁴¹ He later performed in *I giochi troiani* at the Colonna theater in 1688.¹⁴²

Carpio probably also had heard the young soprano castrato Giulio Maria Cavalletti in Rome; at this early point in his career, he was referred to as “Sr. Giuletto.”¹⁴³ This singer was offered only 160 scudi to come to Naples but was assigned the substantial comic female role of Rondinella in *L’Aldimiro*, a role whose arias undoubtedly required a light voice and fine diction. This and others among his comic roles in Naples called for athletic and histrionic skill, notably as Liso in *La Psiche* and Brillo in *Il Giustino*. Cavalletti also performed the serious role of Farnace, “figlio fanciullo,” in the Naples 1684 *Il Pompeo*, perhaps because his youth enhanced verisimilitude (he had also performed the role in Colonna’s Rome 1683 production).¹⁴⁴ He stayed on in Naples through the first two productions of *Carpio*’s 1684–85 season, listed as musician to the Duke of San Marco (of the Pignatelli family) in the libretti to *Il Giustino* and *L’Epaminonda*. He requested permission to depart Naples for Rome with a horse in March 1685.¹⁴⁵ But he may have returned for *Carpio*’s production of Scarlatti’s *Olimpia vendicata* in December 1685 (see below). While in Naples he nevertheless remained in Colonna’s good graces, singing in Colonna’s Roman productions of

¹⁴⁰ Vavoulis, “A Venetian Impresario’s Quest for a Bass,” 225. I thank Vassilis Vavoulis for generously sharing valuable information about this singer with me in private communication.

¹⁴¹ De Lucca, *The Politics*, 275, 341–42, reference to and transcription of I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Corrispondenza di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, 1683, no. 131, 13 November 1683, letter from Giovanni Ercole to Colonna.

¹⁴² De Lucca, *The Politics*, 261, 271, 275, 288, 312.

¹⁴³ Della Libera, “La musica nella basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore a Roma, 1676–1712,” 154–55 and *passim*.

¹⁴⁴ According to De Lucca, *The Politics*, 272, “he sang in every production at the Teatro Colonna from 1683 to 1686,” though this would seem to contradict the fact that he sang in the Naples *Il Pompeo*.

¹⁴⁵ I-Nas, Segreteria dei Viceré, Viglietti Originali, b. 583, transcribed in Domínguez Rodríguez, “Mecenazgo musical,” 2:213.

L'Arianna (carnival 1685) and *Il silenzio d'Arpocrate* (carnival 1686).¹⁴⁶ Cavalletti prospered later especially as a singer of female roles in Rome and Naples in the years 1695–98, including Lindora in *Furio Camillo* (Rome, 1696). As his voice matured, he grew into leading male roles in Naples and Florence in the early years of the eighteenth century.¹⁴⁷

Carpio may have been instrumental in launching or sustaining the careers of a number of other singers, though his active period in Naples included only four complete opera seasons (he was likely too ill to oversee the rehearsals for the 1687–88 season). The very young Nicolò Grimaldi, an orphaned Neapolitan castrato, apparently made his soprano debut in 1685 at the age of twelve as the page, Armillo, in a revival of Provenzale's *Difendere l'offensore ovvero La Stellidaura vendicante*, produced for Carpio in the summer of 1685 (see below). In autumn 1686, Nicolino received the highest payment among the performers in the Scarlatti serenata, *L'Olimpo in Mergellina*, which was performed at least twice, in public and then in private (see below). He was soon in demand throughout Italy and was later among the first Italian singers to be acclaimed on the London stage (his triumphs there included the title role in Handel's 1711 *Rinaldo*).¹⁴⁸

The high soprano Paolo Pompeo Besci, known as Paoluccio, was a pillar of Carpio's first seasons. Besci had performed as one of three soloists in the elaborate serenata that Carpio produced in Piazza di Spagna in Rome for the queen's birthday in 1681, and had sung at the Spanish church in Rome, San Giacomo degli Spagnuoli, for at least two years during Carpio's time as Spanish ambassador, as well as at Santa Maria Maggiore.¹⁴⁹ He had also collaborated with Scarlatti in the circle of musicians surrounding Queen Christina. His performance in the role of Demetrio, "primo canto," in Pasquini's *Il Lisimaco* in Rome during carnival 1681 (most likely at the Teatro della Pace), was praised in a printed broadside "Applauso al merito impareggiabile del signor Paolo Pompeo Besci."¹⁵⁰ As Demetrio, he sang the largest number of arias in *Il Lisimaco* and

¹⁴⁶ De Lucca, *The Politics*, 272–75.

¹⁴⁷ See Sartori, *I libretti*, vol. 6, Indici 2, "Cantanti," 167–68.

¹⁴⁸ Joseph Roach, "Cavaliere Nicolini, London's First Opera Star," *Educational Theatre Journal* 28 (1976): 189–205; Anne Desler, "From Castrato to Bass": The Late Roles of Nicolò Grimaldi," in *Gender, Age and Musical Creativity*, ed. Lisa Colton and Catherine Haworth (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015); Sartori, *I libretti*, vol. 6, "Cantanti," indice 2, 336.

¹⁴⁹ Jean Lionnet, "La musique à San Giacomo degli Spagnoli au XVIIème siècle et les archives de la congrégation des Espagnols de Rome," in *La musica a Roma attraverso le fonti d'archivio*, ed. Bianca Maria Antolini, Arnaldo Morelli, and Vera Vita Spagnuolo (Lucca: LIM, 1994), 504; Staffieri, *Colligite Fragmenta*, 43; Della Libera, "La musica nella basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore a Roma, 1676–1712," 154 and *passim*.

¹⁵⁰ The printed broadside (Rome: Bartolomeo Lupardi, 1681) US-CAh, IB6. A100.B675 no. 42, first identified in Lowell E. Lindgren and Carl B. Schmidt, "A Collection of 137 Broad-sides, Concerning Theatre in Late Seventeenth-Century Italy: An Annotated Catalogue," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 28 (1980): 197; see also Morelli, "La virtù in corte," 65.

the opera's most elaborate role in its application of written-out *fiorette*.¹⁵¹ In 1682 he may have performed at the theater in Palazzo Colonna.¹⁵² If Carpio's support for Besci began just as the singer was emerging in Rome, he nevertheless became this singer's principal patron for a time, appointing him to a well-remunerated position in the royal chapel. In Carpio's operas, Besci began with the vocally striking title role in *L'Aldimiro* and then performed with florid fidelity as Anteo in *La Psiche*. He was recruited with the attractive fee of 700 scudi according to the September 1683 notarial document,¹⁵³ the highest fee of any musician for the Naples operas apart from Grossi (who was borrowed from a noble patron, the Duke of Modena, and thus not listed in this document). It is unclear precisely when Besci departed Naples, whether in late summer 1686 or in late January 1687, or why, with Carpio's permission, he resigned his chapel position in August 1686. He seems to be absent from the pay records for the 1686 serenata *L'Olimpo in Mergellina*. A Roman avviso records his arrival in Rome in late January 1687, so he may have stayed in or returned to Naples to perform in the November and December 1686 operas (see below).¹⁵⁴ Years after Carpio's death, he was still supported by the Spanish ambassador in Rome and remained in the embassy household in the Piazza di Spagna into the 1690s. His association with Spanish patrons thus lasted for well over a decade.¹⁵⁵

More can be learned about Besci's sound than about the voices of the other singers who came from Rome, thanks to his long career and the attention that foreign visitors invariably paid to Italian castrati. His voice and personality are described in favorable detail by a French traveler whose observations were published in 1707 and then incorporated into a 1718 English publication.¹⁵⁶ Starting from the premise that one castrato did not sound like another ("neither of them had the least Semblance

¹⁵¹ Crain, "The Operas of Bernardo Pasquini," 1:144–46.

¹⁵² De Lucca, *The Politics*, 245; an avviso in V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Avvisi 46, fol. 224v, 13 June 1682, mentions that he was paid for performing in the Colonna theater.

¹⁵³ Documents concerning the hiring of musicians in Protà-Giurleo, *I Teatri di Napoli*, 3:132–33, 138–39, 141–43; find improved transcriptions in Olivieri, "Per una storia," 230–32, 244–45.

¹⁵⁴ Protà-Giurleo, *I Teatri di Napoli*, 3:154, 341–42, states that Besci and Giuseppe Costantini were given permission to leave their chapel positions in Naples, but, since an avviso dated 25 January 1687 states that Besci had just arrived back in Rome, it is likely that he performed in the November and December 1686 Naples operas; see Staffieri, *Colligite Fragmenta*, 74.

¹⁵⁵ "Paolucci musico" is among the six musicians listed among the nearly 200 names in the "Famiglia dell'Ambasciatore di Spagna dell'anno 1690" in I-Rvic (Archivio Storico del Vicariato), Stati d'Anime, Sant'Andrea delle Frate, Registro delle anime, 1690, which reports members of the household of Luis Francesco de la Cerda y Aragón as Spanish ambassador to the Holy See; he is listed again in the ambassador's household in the "Registro di Anime" of 1695. Other musicians include "Giosepe Maria" (perhaps Fede?), Bernardo Caffi, Torquato, Ambrosio Canobio, and Cristoforo Moltini.

¹⁵⁶ Charles Ancillon, *Eunuchism displayed: Describing all the different kinds of eunuchs; shewing the esteem they have met with in the world, and how they came to be made so. Wherein principally is examined, whether they are capable of marriage, and if they ought to be suffered to enter into that holy state, . . .*, trans. [from *Traité des eunuques* (n.p., 1707)] Robert Samber (London: printed for E. Curll, 1718),

with each other”), in comparing Besci “Paoluccio” to his contemporaries, Nicolini and Pasqualini, Besci is described as having “the finest voice” among castrati in Rome in 1705–6, when he was supported by Cardinal Ottoboni. “His voice was an Octave, at least . . . higher than any one else’s, it had all the Warblings and Turns of a Nightingale, but with only this difference, that it was much finer” and sounded almost inhuman. While other castrati were famous for their arrogance, “Paoluccio steers another Course, and is always complaisant to the Masters, indeed he . . . is right to keep himself in their good graces . . . He was well-loved by the Masters, especially Corelli.”¹⁵⁷

Carpio’s initial Neapolitan seasons brought the soprano Giulia Francesca Zuffi back to Naples, though it is unclear whether she was recruited by Scarlatti or by Carpio himself. Zuffi had been paired successfully with Grossi in Pallavicino’s *Il Vespasiano* for the famous gala opening of the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo in Venice in 1678,¹⁵⁸ a production Carpio might possibly have attended (if indeed he visited Venice in 1678 during negotiations for the Treaty of Nijmegen). Certainly, he was aware of Zuffi’s positive reputation as a prima donna. She was endowed with a voice and talent comparable to or even of higher value than those of other sopranos.¹⁵⁹ In a letter advising the Duke of Mantua about the availability of a singer called “Maria Maddalena,” it is noted that the latter sang well “on a par with” Zuffi, but that she did not have a strong voice (the implication being that Zuffi did have “molta voce”).¹⁶⁰ Prior to Carpio’s tenure, Zuffi seems to have stayed away from Naples for a few seasons after a disturbing episode involving male members of the nobility. But she was featured in all of Carpio’s Naples seasons and in February 1688 sang in Scarlatti’s *La Rosmene overo L’infedeltà fedele*, reportedly exhibiting “miraculous” ability.¹⁶¹

When Zuffi and the other leading soprano, Teresa Laura Rossi, gathered in Rome before heading south to Naples, their departure was deemed significant enough to be reported in avvisi.¹⁶² Rossi, from Bologna, had performed in *Apollo*

¹⁵⁷ Ancillon, *Eunuchism displayed*, 30–37.

¹⁵⁸ Selfridge-Field, *A New Chronology*, 126.

¹⁵⁹ See De Lucca, *The Politics*, 274, for references to Zuffi in letters of June and July 1683 from Giovanni Francesco De Rossi [*sic*, Del Rosso?] to Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna.

¹⁶⁰ “che questa Signora Maria Maddalena fiorentina canta bene al pari di Giulietta e della Scarlati, però non ha molta voce”; Giulio Amico, Naples, 9 February 1689, letter sent to Mantova (I-MAA, Gonzaga, b. 829).

¹⁶¹ De Lucca, *The Politics*, 306, offers this extract concerning Zuffi: “Questa sera vedremo nel teatro pubblico per la prima volta l’ultima nostra commedia nella quale la Signora Giulietta fa miracoli, e pure Vostra Eccellenza non l’ha in concetto di santa.” I- SUss, Corrispondenza di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, 1688, Principe del Belvedere to Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, Naples, 21 February 1688 n. 18.

¹⁶² Staffieri, *Colligite Fragmenta*, 56. “Teresa” is also mentioned in a letter, I- SUss, Archivio Colonna, Corrispondenza di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, b. 1683, Giovanni Francesco De Rossi [*sic*, Del Rosso?] to Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, Naples, 6 November 1683 n. 32, noted in De Lucca, *The Politics*, 275.

in *Tessaglia* at the Teatro Formagliari in Bologna in 1679 and sang in the 1679 production of *Atide* at the Teatro Formagliari (libretto by Tomaso Stanzani, music by three composers Giuseppe Tosi, Pietro degli Antoni, and Giacomo Perti), leading a very strong cast that also included such noted singers as Francesco de Castris, the Neapolitan Girolamo Cocola, and Margherita Salicola.¹⁶³ Rossi also led the cast of Domenico Freschi's *Tullia Superba* as Tullia, Queen of Rome, in Reggio Emilia in 1679, in a performance for Duke Francesco II of Modena.¹⁶⁴

Among the singers recruited for Scarlatti's first season in Naples, Carpio considered Giovanni Francesco Grossi (1653–97), the alto castrato known as Siface, absolutely essential. Originally from the small Tuscan town of Chiesina Uzzanese near Pescia, Grossi had begun his career in Rome, employed by private patrons among families in the Spanish faction, including the Borghese.¹⁶⁵ His career on the public stage accelerated when he sang the role of "Siface" in the Roman revival of Francesco Cavalli's *Scipione Africano* at the Teatro Tordinona in 1671 (hence his stage name, "Siface"). He had entered the choir of the papal chapel in 1675 and was subsequently absent or excused on many occasions to sing for special feasts at other churches, according to the chapel's records; he finally resigned on 5 September 1677. Carpio surely heard Grossi in Rome in a religious or devotional service because he frequented many of these churches. Grossi sang on 12 March 1677 in an oratorio at San Marcello, shortly after Carpio's arrival in Rome, for example, and he sang on many occasions through the summer of 1678 at the Spanish church, San Giacomo degli Spagnoli.¹⁶⁶ In the 1680s he sang at San Luigi dei Francesi, but also formed part of a group of specialist singers at Santa Maria Maggiore (certainly in 1678), where Carpio would very likely have heard him.¹⁶⁷ That Grossi's reputation raised expectations is reflected in a letter from Prince Andrea Doria to the Marquis de Villagarcía:

I believed that our operas of this season would have no cause to envy the Venetian ones, since three very famous singers are coming to us, namely Antonia, La Centovente, and la Rimnese, who will play the role of a man; but now that you tell me that Siface, the one I have heard with such pleasure in Rome, will sing in

¹⁶³ *Atide* (Bologna, 1679), Sartori 03425; US-Wc ML 48 [S10381]; Cocola, an "excellent new castrato from Naples" sang in Venice in December 1677, and his voice was praised in a letter the composer Antonio Sartorio sent to the court at Hannover, as explained in Vassilis Vavoulis, "Antonio Sartorio (c. 1630–1680): Documents and Sources of a Career in Seventeenth-Century Venetian Opera," *RMA Research Chronicle* 37 (2004): 22–23.

¹⁶⁴ *Tullia Superba* (Reggio, 1679), Sartori 24091; I-Rn 35.4.K.26.6.

¹⁶⁵ Luca Della Libera, "Grossi, Giovanni Francesco, detto Siface," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Treccani, 2002), https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/grossi-giovanni-francesco-detto-siface_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/; Morelli, *La virtù in corte*, 20, 25, 26, 37–40, and *passim*.

¹⁶⁶ Lionnet, "La musique à San Giacomo degli Spagnoli."

¹⁶⁷ Della Libera, "La musica nella basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore," 87–161.

the Venetian ones, I will admit that just to hear this one singer I would trade you all the others, and when you hear him I think you will agree with me.¹⁶⁸

There is a chance that Carpio had heard Grossi sing in Venice when the revised Cavalli-Viviani *Scipione africano* was performed at the Teatro SS. Giovanni e Paolo (the libretto was printed in 1678, although rehearsals had begun at least as early as December 1677),¹⁶⁹ or when Grossi performed the demandingly athletic role of Tito in Pallavicino's *Il Vespasiano* for the opening of the Teatro S. Giovanni Grisostomo beginning 20 January 1678 (repeated in February 1680).¹⁷⁰ In any case, even before he appeared in the Grimani theaters, Grossi was appreciated by patrons with whom Carpio associated—the Borghese princes, Benedetto Pamphili, and Queen Christina. Though he served the Duke of Modena from April 1679, he was permitted to maintain his public career and performed in Rome during Carpio's period as ambassador. Queen Christina expressed her pleasure at having "obtained him for her theater."¹⁷¹ His success onstage in Rome during carnival 1681 in *Il Lisimaco*, which Carpio likely heard, was reported to the Duke of Modena in an enthusiastic February 1681 dispatch.¹⁷²

Carpio was a discerning patron who expected "roses of just the right tint,"¹⁷³ so his motivation for hiring a stellar cast for his first Neapolitan season surely went beyond the prestige value of the singers. Opera could not succeed in Naples without the right combination of voices in roles whose music was designed to show them off. In Madrid, where histrionic talent was valued over vocal virtuosity, Carpio had shaped productions of varying musical content. But in Naples the recruitment of excellent opera singers and the bold appointment of operatic

¹⁶⁸ E-Mah, Estado, Libro 184, Genoa, 17 September 1677, letter from Andrea Doria Landi to Marquis de Villagarcía in Venice: "Creí que nuestras comedias de este año con venir tres mugeres muy famosas, que son Antonia, la Centovente, y la Rimenesa, que hará papel de hombre, no tuvieran que envidiar a las de allá, pero ahora que me dicen recitará en esas Siface, el que he oido con tanto gusto en Roma, digo, que por este solamente diera todas juntas estas partes, como en oyendo creo haya Vuestra Excelencia de ser de mi parecer, y a su tiempo aguardaré [agradeceré?], que Vuestra Excelencia me lo avise."

¹⁶⁹ The performance date is by no means secure; see Irene Alm, *Catalog of Venetian Librettos, at the University of California, Los Angeles* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 150; Selfridge-Field, *A New Chronology*, 124–25.

¹⁷⁰ Selfridge-Field, *A New Chronology*, 125–26.

¹⁷¹ I-MOs, Cancelleria Ducale, Ambasciatori Esteri, Roma, b. 298, Tavernarini, dispatch of 19 October 1680: the agent has been told by D'Alibert (the queen's secretary) that the queen expresses "grandissimo piacere, e soddisfazione che Vuestra Altezza gli abbia concesso Siface per il suo teatro per questo carnevale." A copy of a letter dated 14 September 1680 from the queen to the duke is included.

¹⁷² I-MOs, Cancelleria Ducale, Ambasciatori Esteri, Roma, b. 298, Tavernarini, dispatch of 8 February 1681: regarding Siface, "il quale porta via l'applauso di tutta Roma, ed ad ogni arietta che canta, si sente risonare tutto il teatro d' applausi, e di e viva, viva." This praise likely refers to his performance in *Il Lisimaco*.

¹⁷³ In a letter to the Count of Puñonrostro, Villagarcía used the phrase "rosas de la tinta que se acostumbra" to describe Carpio's demanding nature; E-Mah, Estado, Libro 77, 8 August 1685.

castrati to salaried positions in the chapel were essential steps toward the higher production values he sought. Renovating the production system and reaching operatic excellence were priorities within his plan for the renovation of public life. Indeed, he assured Grossi that “after the extermination of the bandits,” he would “produce operas in the way they should be done.”¹⁷⁴

Carpio’s determination to bring operatic excellence to Naples is emphasized in his correspondence about Grossi’s recruitment for the 1683–84 season. In the first of the extant letters (12 June 1683), Carpio wrote to his chosen intermediary, Cardinal Carlo Barberini, requesting that he urge Duke Francesco II d’Este to release Grossi and also allay the singer’s fears about the working conditions and standards in Naples.¹⁷⁵ In this letter, Carpio describes his plan to “restore” the “lost” reputation of the Naples theaters by recruiting the very best possible singers (“con pensiero di restituirlo al credito et all’applauso che aveva perduto [il teatro] ne gli anni scorsi, si procura di avere per quest’anno li soggetti più abili che sia possibile”). Carpio asks the cardinal to instruct and even command the singer (“imperargli la licenza”), in case Grossi might find it difficult to come to Naples, given his allegiance to the ducal court at Modena.¹⁷⁶ The cardinal then wrote to his nephew, Prince Rinaldo d’Este in Modena (19 June 1683), explaining the urgency of Carpio’s appeal and requesting his intercession. A messy copy or draft of a response from Prince Rinaldo to Cardinal Barberini dated 26 June explains that Rinaldo has consulted the duke, who may be willing to grant the license but cannot do so without knowing precisely the dates Grossi would need to be in Naples.¹⁷⁷ Responding on 13 July to a letter of 3 July in which the cardinal has forwarded prince Rinaldo’s response, Carpio expresses gratitude (the surviving copy of this letter is in Spanish) while reiterating his hope that the duke will be inclined to grant the license. He further explains that the operas are to begin on 6 November and that Grossi’s presence for rehearsals and performances is required from mid-September 1683 through to the beginning of Lent 1684. He reiterates his concern that Grossi may be resisting or stalling because of the poor reputation of the Neapolitan theaters, and again requests that the cardinal reassure Grossi to bring him around “to reason”:

¹⁷⁴ The conversation, which Grossi had bragged about to Baldini, is reported in I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Carteggio Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, 1684/96, a letter of 22 April 1684 from Baldini in Naples to Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna in Rome.

¹⁷⁵ I-MOs, Cancelleria Ducale, Carteggio, Principe Esteri, 1675/31, 12 June 1683 Naples.

¹⁷⁶ Most likely, Carpio chose Carlo Barberini as his intermediary because the cardinal was the brother of Lucrezia Barberini (Dowager Duchess of Modena, widow of Francesco I d’Este) and thus great uncle to Duke Francesco II d’Este and uncle to Prince Rinaldo d’Este. The correspondence reveals that Carlo Barberini knew Carpio from the latter’s time in Rome and perhaps owed him an unspecified favor. My thanks to Margaret Murata for pointing out the relationship between Carlo Barberini and the d’Este.

¹⁷⁷ I-MOs, Cancelleria Ducale, Carteggio Principi Esteri, Cardinali, Roma, b. 1325/A48 Carlo Barberini.

Las comedias empiezan aquí el día 6 de noviembre con que el tiempo que habra de estar aquí el músico es desde mediado de Septembre hasta principios de quaresma; y por que tengo entendido que por el mal nombre que ha adquirido este Teatro por lo passado y creer que no ha de tener las conveniencias que en otra qualquiera parte, pone Siface algunos reparos en su venida. Suplico a Vuestra Eminencia se sirva de mandar passar con el algunos officios a fin de reducirle a la razón, y que no nos falte esta parte para restaurar el nombre que han perdido estas Comedias, pues con esto se perfeccionara el favor que Vuestra Eminencia me ha hecho y yo quedare nuevamente agradecido.¹⁷⁸

Cardinal Barberini sent a copy of Carpio's letter to Prince Rinaldo (19 July) and thanked him for bringing Carpio's request to the duke's attention. At the bottom of this letter, the cardinal admits with some concern that he has sought Grossi in Rome only to find that the singer already had departed eight days earlier for Modena.¹⁷⁹ Carpio must have written to Cardinal Barberini again with worries about the schedule, because the cardinal wrote to prince Rinaldo by 9 September, reminding him that the duke had granted the license to Grossi and the singer would be expected in Naples in time for the first rehearsals. The cardinal asks Prince Rinaldo if, in fact, Grossi has left Modena and intends to go directly to Naples, or whether he plans to stop in Rome. If the latter, the cardinal himself will be in a position to locate Grossi and provide Carpio with more up-to-date information.¹⁸⁰

Grossi eventually arrived in Naples too late to perform in the first opera (*L'Aldimiro*), but it is unclear exactly what caused his delay. Unfortunately, the surviving letters triggered by Carpio's initial request do not explain why the duke took so long to grant Grossi a license in the first place. My suggestion is that Carpio's request arrived in Modena at a very difficult moment. Francesco II, Prince Rinaldo, and Prince Cesare d'Este found themselves juggling this entreaty from Carpio, the Spanish viceroy and former Spanish ambassador, at the same time that they were attempting to smooth ruffled French feathers and mitigate the effects of a scandal caused by Grossi's insults and rudeness toward the French representatives in Rome, Cardinal d'Estrees and his brother, the French ambassador to the Holy See. Shortly after Carpio's letter had reached Cardinal Carlo Barberini in Rome, Grossi was the guest of Cardinal Francesco Maidaichini (1630–1700), who was allied with the French cause. Grossi was invited to sing for ambassador François Annibal II d'Estrées in the palace of his brother, Cardinal César d'Estrées, because the

¹⁷⁸ I-MOs, Cancelleria Ducale, Carteggio, Principi Esteri, Napoli, b. 1675/31, 13 July 1683, letter in Spanish from Carpio (with his signature) to Carlo Barberini.

¹⁷⁹ I-MOs, Cancelleria Ducale, Carteggio, Principi Esteri, Cardinali (Roma), b. 1325/A48, 19 July 1683; see also I-MOs, Cancelleria Ducale, Carteggio, Principi Esteri, Napoli, b. 1675/31.

¹⁸⁰ I-MOs, Cancelleria Ducale, Carteggio, Principi Esteri, Cardinali, Roma, b. 1325/A48, Carlo Barberini, 9 September 1683, Carlo Barberini to Prince Rinaldo d'Este.

ambassador was planning a serenata. According to reports of 17 and 22 July from a Modenese agent in Rome, Grossi sang in the chambers of the ambassador and the cardinal, but when refreshment was offered without a gift or monetary compensation, he remarked that “per cantare pretendeva delle doble, non dei sorbetti, come avevano fatto altre volte i francesi.” Passing through the antechamber on his way out, he was asked if he planned to perform in the French serenata; Grossi not only announced that he had declined this invitation, but termed the d’Estrées brothers “molto brutti” because they had “scrocate le sue due cantate.”¹⁸¹ Grossi hid in the Estense palace in Rome before escaping to his family home in Pescia, whence he wrote an apologetic letter to Duke Francesco II on 23 July.¹⁸² On 14 August, Cardinal d’Estrees wrote to Prince Cesare d’Este relenting of his earlier demand that the singer be imprisoned.¹⁸³ After Grossi’s impertinent behavior, it is likely that the d’Este were loathe to allow him to travel without supervision; more important, they surely did not want to appear to favor Carpio, a most prominent Spanish representative, in the midst of this diplomatic crisis with the French. After a prudent pause, they sent Grossi to distant Naples once the tempest had passed. In the end, Grossi missed the first opera because he stayed for some days or weeks in Rome. The Modenese agent in Rome, Panciroli, wrote to the d’Este on 27 September 1683 that he had been told to expect Grossi on his way to Naples.¹⁸⁴ As late as 6 November, agent Giovanni Tavernarini explained that Grossi had arrived in Rome on his way to Naples and had been given a very severe reprimand with explicit instructions regarding his future comportment in Naples.¹⁸⁵ Grossi’s precise whereabouts in October 1683 are unknown, though they are vaguely suggested in an ambiguous context in a letter from Cardinal Mairalchini to Prince Cesare d’Este dated 16 October 1683, perhaps implying that the cardinal had recently heard from the singer in Rome.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸¹ I-MOs, Cancelleria Ducale, Carteggio. Ambasciatore Esteri, Roma, b. 302 and 303, reports of Ercole Panciroli in Rome (sent to prince Rinaldo d’Este?), 17 and 22 July 1683; see transcriptions in Elena Bernardi, “Giovanni Francesco Grossi detto il Siface: una biografia artistica” (Tesi di Laurea in Filologia Musicale, Università degli Studi di Bologna, 2009), 38; and Corrado Ricci, “Siface e la sua tragica fine: Storia di un cantante del secolo XVII,” *La lettura: Rivista mensile del Corriere della Sera* 1, no. 12 (Bologna, 1901): 1103–4; Corrado Ricci, *Figure e figure del mondo teatrale* (Milan: Treves, 1920), 64–65.

¹⁸² I-MOs, Casa e stato, Archivio per materie, Musici e musicisti, b. 2, “Cantori,” “Grossi”; Ricci, “Siface e la sua tragica fine,” 1104; Bernardi, “Giovanni Francesco Grossi detto il Siface,” 38, states that the duke recalled Grossi to Modena from Pescia on 28 July.

¹⁸³ I-MOs, Cancelleria Ducale, Carteggio, Principe Esteri, b. 1360/23.

¹⁸⁴ I-MOs, Cancelleria Ducale, Carteggio, Ambasciatori Esteri, Roma, Ercole Panciroli, b. 302; the date above Panciroli’s signature is clearly 27 September, though the date on the outside cover of the dispatch reads 27 November.

¹⁸⁵ I-MOs, Carteggio, Ambasciatori Esteri, Roma, b. 301, 6 November 1683, Tavernarini to Prince Cesare d’Este.

¹⁸⁶ I-MOs, Cancelleria Ducale, Carteggio, Principi Esteri, Roma, b. 1391/130, 16 October 1683, Cardinal Mairalchini to Prince Rinaldo d’Este.

The 1683–84 Naples Opera Season

Carpio's side of the fragmentary correspondence regarding Grossi reveals just how low the reputation of Naples had fallen as an opera center, how determined Carpio was to raise the standard of production, and how anxious he was to recruit the best singers and assure that the rehearsals and season would begin in a timely fashion. Though it is unclear exactly when rehearsals began, he had specified that Grossi needed to be present by mid-September. Letters from the agent Giovanni Francesco Del Rosso to Colonna further emphasize that Carpio was determined to recruit the very best singers, provide appropriate working conditions, including for actress-singers, and make opera attendance a focus of Neapolitan social interaction that would include highborn ladies.¹⁸⁷ Indeed, the operas contributed to and reinforced his modernization of social life and taming of the nobility.¹⁸⁸

Several documents serve to clarify just how Carpio's and Scarlatti's first Naples season came together. Carpio's 13 July letter to Carlo Barberini specified that Grossi was to be in Naples by mid-September because the first opera was planned for the king's birthday (6 November). But the 25 September notary document recording payments to the singers other than Grossi states that their advances were to be paid in scudi by Leonardo Libri in Rome. Thus, most of the musicians were not yet in Naples by 25 September.¹⁸⁹ Scarlatti himself was in Rome at least through the feast of San Girolamo on 30 September to fulfill his commitment to San Girolamo della Carità, and two musicians who were subsequently hired for Naples (Besci and Ugolini) performed with him there.¹⁹⁰ An even later avviso of 16 October conveys that a group of musicians was gathering in Rome in preparation for the Naples operas, though it only specifies (perhaps mistakenly) preparations for the carnival performances at the "new theater."¹⁹¹ The first of Carpio's Naples productions received its premiere as planned on 6 November, but the date of the 16

¹⁸⁷ Del Rosso [or Rossi?] in a letter of 29 June 1683 stated, "che si vuol ridurre assai splendidam. te con le migliori voci d'Italia per il genio, che ha il s.r V. Re di metterlo in stima"; on 13 July he commented that "il s.r V. e che vuol' poner' [porre] in credito q.sto Teatro sarà egli Protettore dell'osservanza, e modestia di esso, volendo introdurre che la s.ra V. Regina con. 5 [?] il consueto vada al d.o Teatro con le Dame." See I- SUss, Corrispondenza di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, busta 1683, Giovanni Francesco de Rossi [*sic*, Del Rosso?] to Lorenzo Onofrio, camicia 32; transcribed in De Lucca, *The Politics*, 274.

¹⁸⁸ Fernández-Santos Ortiz-Iribas, "The Politics of Art or the Art of Politics?," 199–227 has noted (210) Carpio's "marked preference for modernized social gatherings in which women of the nobility enjoyed an unprecedented, and, to many, a shocking degree of freedom."

¹⁸⁹ See the accurate transcription in Olivieri, "Per una storia," 244–45.

¹⁹⁰ Morelli, "Alessandro Scarlatti maestro di cappella in Roma," 117–45; see also Guido Olivieri, "The 'Fiery Genius': The Contribution of Neapolitan Virtuosi to the Spread of the String Sonata (1684–1736)" (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2005), 39–44.

¹⁹¹ "Cominciano a radunarsi quei musici, che devon andar a Napoli nel prossimo carnevale per rappresentar diverse opere in questo nuovo teatro, e presto ne comincieran le prove dovendo andarvi anco di qua gli instrumentisti." Staffieri, *Colligite Fragmenta*, 55; it is unclear whether the "new" theater in this avviso is the one Carpio installed in the palace or the renovated Teatro di San Bartolomeo.

October avviso about the singers gathering in Rome makes it likely that the musical rehearsals for this opera actually began in Rome where Scarlatti was still employed.

L'Aldimiro overo Favor per favore

Scarlatti's *L'Aldimiro overo Favor per favore* received its premiere at the palazzo reale on the king's 6 November birthday, apparently without Grossi. Extensive work had gone into the preparation of the stage, scenery, and seating, such that the papal nuncio's avviso relates that a "new and more majestic theater" was prepared for it at the palace. Carpio had contemplated launching *L'Aldimiro* through a public premiere in a larger space, before finally deciding not to.¹⁹² The Florentine agent, Giovanni Berardi, described the first performance as "more or less in the manner of a rehearsal" ("così per insaio"), perhaps because of the small, invited audience and dismountable theater. Following the Spanish custom, this was a protocolled premiere attended by the viceroy and invited officials. A second private premiere for the nobility ("convito di tutta la nobiltà, cavalieri, e dame"), originally planned for Sunday evening 7 November, took place a few days later, on 11 November, for an overflowing audience, too big even to fit into the sala grande: "con l'intervento di dame e cavalieri in numero così grande che con tutta via spazioso l'uditorio non vi rimase luogo vacante. La medesima opera riuscì buona per sé medesima e per li soggetti che la recitarono e per li scenario che non può vedersi più lungo."¹⁹³ The fact that spectators situated farthest from the theater had trouble appreciating the scenery might confirm not only that the dismountable theater was small but also that its floor was not raked. By 13 November, *L'Aldimiro* had been given three times at the palace; the sets would be moved to the Teatro di San Bartolomeo, and the opera's public commercial premiere was planned for 23 November.¹⁹⁴ The music and staging of *L'Aldimiro* were especially enjoyed through a long public run, certainly until 14 or even 20 December.¹⁹⁵ Public performances again drawing "gran concorso" and Carpio's

¹⁹² "La sera del sabato suddetto fu a palazzo recitata per la prima volta l'opera in quell' novo, e maestoso teatro, e fu fatta per l'Armata suddetta benché pensasse Sua Eccellenza farla pubblica ma risolse nella detta forma per vedere come riusciva, ed in effetto resto assai applaudita." V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 95, fol. 812v, 9 November 1683.

¹⁹³ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 95, fol. 843, 16 November 1683.

¹⁹⁴ I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Corrispondenza di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, 1683, Giovanni Ercole to Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, Naples, 13 November 1683, no. 131; transcribed in De Luca, *The Politics*, 341–42; I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, filze 1598, 9 November 1683 letter from Giovanni Berardi in Naples to Appollonio Bassetti in Florence.

¹⁹⁵ "che piacque indicibilmente, così per l'apparenze, come per i musici, e soprattutto vieni applaudito il Teatro delle scene." I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, filze 1598, Naples 9 November 1683, Giovanni Berardi to Appollonio Bassetti in Florence; an avviso from the nuncio in Naples, V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 95, fol. 945v, 14 December 1683, noted "Recitano tuttavia con soddisfazione queste commedie di musica che [recitano?] nel Teatro di San Bartolome"; on 21

presence may have continued at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo throughout the week preceding the Tuscan agent's avviso of 25 December.

Preparations for the second opera, *La Psiche*, could not begin while *L'Aldimiro* was in production—Giovanni Ercole's letter of 13 November, written just following the three palace performance of *L'Aldimiro*, clarifies that he expected to be assigned a role in *La Psiche* but had not yet seen the music and did not yet know much about it.¹⁹⁶ Indeed, preparation of the new sets and machines ("nove scene et altre invenzioni") at the palace for *La Psiche* did not begin until 20 December, though the libretto announces incorrectly that it was performed for the queen mother's birthday on 22 December. On that date, however, the papal nuncio's avviso confirms that the construction of the scenes and stage effects ("invenzioni") had only just commenced. In fact, *La Psiche* received its delayed palace premiere on 4 January 1684, with abundant refreshments for the nobility and invited guests, following the protocol for the viceroy's evening celebrations of royal birthdays, though, in this case, the celebration did not occur on the birthday itself.

L'Aldimiro and *La Psiche* provide a rare opportunity to study the collaborative process that Carpio set in motion since both were newly composed by Scarlatti for the newly recruited casts who would sing within the fresh staging and effects devised by Schor.¹⁹⁷ The De Totis libretti are based on two of the Spanish comedias by Pedro Calderón de la Barca that Carpio had produced with huge success the previous year at the Spanish embassy in Rome. It appears that Carpio chose these stories personally and supervised the writing of the libretti; he very likely also oversaw the designing of the sets, just as he had done decades earlier in Madrid.

L'Aldimiro overo Favor per favore is a reworking of Calderón's *Fineza contra fineza*, a source play with an especially noble pedigree (see Chapter 2).¹⁹⁸ It was

December a further avviso, Naples, V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 95, fol. 964v, reported "si vanno preparando nove scene ed altre invenzioni per la seconda opera che vi reciterà in questo teatro di San Bartolomeo."

¹⁹⁶ "I am sending to Your Excellency also the opera [*L'Aldimiro*], even though I have no role in it, but in the second I will, and that will be Psyche, from what I heard." "Mando anche a Vostra Eccellenza l'opera, e io in questa recita non ho parte, ma nella second l'averò che sarà Psiche, conforme ho inteso dire"; I-SUSS, Archivio Colonna, Corrispondenza di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, 1683, no. 131, transcribed and translated in De Lucca, *The Politics*, 275, 341–42.

¹⁹⁷ A manuscript score for *L'Aldimiro* (US-BE, MS 141) contains music also heard in the 1683 Naples production; John Roberts identified the Berkeley source in 1989 as copied most likely for Livorno (it includes an added aria only found in the Livorno libretto); see John H. Roberts, "The Music Library, University of California, Berkeley," *Library Quarterly* 64 (1994): 79; as well as an interview at <http://berkeley.edu/news/media/releases/96legacy/scarlatti.html>. An excellent source is Alessandro Scarlatti, *L'Aldimiro*, transcribed by Michelle Dulak and George Thomson, libretto translated by Kristi Brown-Montesanto and Andrew Dell'Antonio (Oakland: Mallard Leisure Systems, 1996). I am grateful to John Roberts and Matthew Weber for having provided materials from the Music Library at the University of California, Berkeley.

¹⁹⁸ *Fineza contra fineza* had been given first in Vienna in 1671 as a birthday present for the Empress Margarita (daughter of Philip IV). Its first public performance in Madrid happened in December 1682, months after Carpio's private Roman production, but prior to his unveiling of the operatic version by

a strikingly original opera with elaborate visual effects that drew overflowing crowds to its performances at the palace and the public theater. Beyond the prologue (which has not survived), the production required eighteen different sets, judging from the list of “Apparenze e Scene” together with the stage directions.¹⁹⁹ This is a large number, given that most operas (including those produced in Venice) called for no more than ten or twelve sets. The famous 1677 production of Legrenzi’s *Totila* at the Teatro SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice exhibited eleven sets in the opera proper; Sartorio’s *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* of the same year in Venice required twelve; Viviani’s 1678 Venetian revision of the Minato-Cavalli *Scipione Affricano* also called for twelve, whereas Viviani’s *Mitilene*, produced in Naples by Delle Chiave in 1681, called for fourteen set changes including repetitions. By comparison, the 1691 revival of *L’Aldimiro* in Siena required fewer sets and a simpler list of “Mutazioni di scene.”²⁰⁰

Several of the sets for the Naples *L’Aldimiro* called for onstage statues or paintings, intentionally reflecting Carpio’s fame as a collector of art and antiquities while projecting his renovation of the interior decoration of the Palazzo Reale. Act 1 scene 10 specifies “Teatro con Colonne e Statue a cavallo,” act 1 scene 13 requires a “Giardino delizioso con statue e fontane,” act 2 opens with a “Sala Reggia con Statue e Quadri,” and act 3 scene 6 displays an “Anticamera Reggia adorna di Ritratti, Statue d’oro, e Specchi”—all referencing rooms in Carpio’s palace that were decorated with portraits and that he had filled with antiquities brought from Rome.

Despite its length, *L’Aldimiro* moves swiftly because De Totis and Scarlatti met the challenge of capturing the interactive dramatic rhythm of their source. Calderón’s action erupts in the midst of crisis, with a violence aptly projected in the opera’s opening stage sets. Scarlatti’s music launches the opera forward even without the interactive propulsion provided by the noise of opposing choirs of singing priestesses that opens the Calderón play. In compact recitative, Rosmiro and Lucimoro are locked in combat, interrupted by Aldimiro (the conquering monarch), who is immediately benevolent; he pardons Lucimoro in a short recitative, followed by a determined C-major aria whose rapid bass line traces a

De Totis and Scarlatti in Naples. On the play’s *editio princeps* and premiere in Vienna, see de los Reyes Peña, “El teatro barroco,” 115–41; the play was subsequently published in *Quarta parte de comedias nuevas de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca* (Madrid: Ioseph Fernández de Buendía, 1672), 518–63 (E-Mn, R/12588).

¹⁹⁹ *L’Aldimiro overo Favor per favore. Drama per musica rappresentato nel Real Palazzo a 6 di novembre, giorno del Compleaños del Re nostro sig. che Dio guardi. Consecrato all’eccellentissimo signore D. Gasparo d’Haro, y Gusmano, marchese del Carpio etc. vicerè, luogotenente e capitano generale nel Regno di Napoli* (Naples: Carlo Porsile, 1683); Sartori 00667; I-Bu, A.III.Caps.101.79.

²⁰⁰ My comparative comments derive from perusal of the following libretti: *Totila* (Venice, 1677) Sartori 23356; I-Vgc, Rolandi ROL.0413.03; *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* (Venice, 1677), Sartori 12205; I-Vgc, ROL.0602.15; *Scipione Affricano* (Venice, 1678), Sartori 21274; I-Vgc, ROL.0831.14; *Mitilene* (Naples, 1681), Sartori 15648; I-MOe, 83.G.18/5; *L’Aldimiro* (Siena, 1691), Sartori 00672; I-Bu, A.V.Tab.I.E.III.06a.03.

dynamic pattern and whose busy sixteenth notes are taken up in striking melismas by the voice. After another brief recitative dialogue (in which Lucimoro faints and is carried off by soldiers), Aldimiro sings another commanding aria, “Forti eroi la cui fè sol potea,” scored with strings and a substantial opening ritornello; the first vocal statement projects with a strong triadic figure and martial dotted rhythms in the basso continuo and strings. In this role designed for Besci, a strident king Aldimiro allows the singer to show off his upper range and ability with both conjunct and disjunct patterns; the violins fall away when the singer engages his highest register. With the clarion call of his high notes and martial dotted rhythms, Aldimiro urges his army to destroy the temple of Diana. In all of about ten minutes, therefore, short, action-packed recitatives and two musically incisive arias for Aldimiro bring the listener into the churning conflict of the story. When brave Arsinda enters with her choir of priestesses (they are silent in the opera but sang in the Calderón drama to support Ismela and Libia), she confronts Aldimiro and his troops, taking off from the same G-major chord with which Aldimiro finished. She sweeps aside his opportunity for a concluding ritornello as if to usurp his power, singing the next inversion of his chord to begin her recitative (a subtle gesture on Scarlatti’s part that nevertheless conveys swiftly to the listener).

If Calderón’s *Fineza contra fineza* involved a great deal of confusion, with numerous conflicts of love and loyalty, the plot in Scarlatti’s opera is clarified through strong juxtapositions of affect and decisive contrasts among voices, ranges, melodic types, aria forms, and short versus expansive arias (arias scored with strings versus those accompanied by basso continuo alone). Thanks to the concentration of affect in every aria, Scarlatti’s music feels action packed, despite the potential stasis of the recitative-and-aria convention. An additional primary feature of the Calderón play also distinguishes *L’Aldimiro*: the characters stand out as distinct individuals, rather than conforming to the expected “stock” profiles common in so many Italian operas by the 1680s. Perhaps for this reason, the music, the singers, the orchestra, and the sets were highly appreciated, but “the words were not thought much of, nor was the plot of the opera.”²⁰¹ The music emphasizes individuality and interaction, in part because Scarlatti crafted the roles especially for chosen singers whose voices he knew well. Vocal gesture and melodic line showcase ability, while enhancing and exaggerating the differences among characters.²⁰² Rejecting conventional practice, and perhaps reflecting an initial preference of Carpio’s, the comic roles of Lisardo and Rondinella were

²⁰¹ According to I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Corrispondenza di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, 1683, no. 131, letter of 13 November 1683 from Giovanni Ercole to Colonna, transcribed and translated in De Luca, *The Politics*, 275, 341–42.

²⁰² See Louise K. Stein, “¿Escuchando a Calderón? Arias y Cantantes en *L’Aldimiro* y *La Psiche* de Alessandro Scarlatti,” *La Comedia Nueva Spagnola e le scene italiane nel seicento: trame, drammaturgie, contesti a confronto*, ed. Fausta Antonucci and Anna Tedesco (Florence: Olschki, 2016), 199–219.

assigned not to a bass and a tenor in drag, but to a bass (Stefano Carli, “baritono”) and a male soprano (Giulio Cavalletti).

The high-soprano title role of Aldimiro (sung by Besci “Paoluccio”) dominates the opera.²⁰³ His strident control as a vengeful monarch is only relaxed when he finally admits to and is softened by his love for Arsinda toward the end of act 3. The role features seventeen arias, along with recitative scenes and duets, suggesting that Besci had a good deal of stamina. In general, his music supports a high tessitura (c” to g”), right in the area that would be considered the difficult passaggio of the modern soprano voice. His range seems to have spanned a healthy d’ to b”. To judge by the music in *L’Aldimiro*, he preferred to sing with his *voce di testa*. Though his range was not extremely large, he most likely sang with a smooth transition in the area between the *voce di petto* and the *voce di testa*, identified for castrati as around c” or d”. This ability to sing smoothly through the passaggio was identified as a mark of excellence by vocal pedagogue Pier Francesco Tosi, among others.²⁰⁴ Many of the Aldimiro arias repeatedly require the singer to initiate phrases on very high notes—hardly surprising, given that the arias were designed for a castrato who sounded “like a nightingale.”

The particular delicacy in Besci’s voice was displayed in the many simple and repetitive vocal runs that prioritize vocal beauty over the potential for volume or flashy agility, but the role includes both fiery rage arias and gentler pathetic arias, suggesting that Scarlatti was generously served by Besci’s versatility. The arias favor major keys (C, G, D, A, and B major on the sharp side of the circle of fifths, and B-flat major on the flat side) in keeping with the nature of the title character. Scarlatti consistently assigned high *voce di testa* tessituras for Aldimiro’s angry arias and employed a lower range for his pathetic arias, perhaps to allow the castrato to display both this versatility and his sustained high notes. Indeed, the association of high notes with angry outbursts in Aldimiro’s arias would seem to contradict Tosi’s recommendation that “the higher the notes, the more it is necessary to touch them with softness to avoid screaming.”²⁰⁵ For Besci’s arias in *L’Aldimiro*, it might be that high notes on emphatic, angry words were meant to display the singer’s superb vocal control in the very high range, however. Scarlatti also featured Besci’s voice by including many sustained pitches of d”, e”, and f”, ideal for displaying the *messa di voce*. In fact, in this opera, long-sustained high notes held over several measures are heard almost exclusively in the arias for Besci.

²⁰³ Stein, “¿Escuchando a Calderón?,” offers detail about Besci and the role of Aldimiro.

²⁰⁴ Describing the desired consistency of sound between registers, Tosi noted “che se l’unione non è perfetta la voce sarà di più registri, e consequentemente perderà la sua bellezza.” Pier Francesco Tosi, *Opinioni de’ cantori antichi e moderni* (Bologna: Lelio dalla Volpe, 1723), 14.

²⁰⁵ “Avverta, però, che quanto più le note son’alte, tanto più bisogna toccarle con dolcezza per evitar gli strilli.” Tosi, *Opinioni*, 11–12; English translation, John Ernest Galliard, *Observations on the Florid Song or Sentiments on the Ancient and Modern Singers* (London: J. Wilcox, 1743), 19.

Across the various aria-types assigned to Besci for his Neapolitan debut, the decorated, coloratura passages retain a remarkable consistency from one aria to another. The coloratura is decidedly repetitive within a given aria, without complicated chromaticism or tricky leap figures in fast-note passages. This concentration of figuration types is striking, though it is unclear whether this consistency suggests that Scarlatti intended these passages to represent the singer's strengths or to respect and minimize his limitations. From the opening of the opera, the energy unfurled in Aldimiro's melismas propels the action forward, especially because the arias for other male characters are not characterized by the same high tessitura or level of melismatic virtuosity.

The role of Lucimoro presents a completely different set of characteristics composed for another castrato, Giuseppe Costantini. This alto role with extensive recitative passages demanded onstage versatility, good diction, and histrionic skill. From his first aria, Lucimoro's "Astri fieri che splendetè" (I, 11), the listener understands that Lucimoro is a pivotal character essential to the plot. He has been maligned by fate and destined to conceal his love for Dorisbe, but his masculinity is not the showy, demanding kind exhibited by Aldimiro. Rather, Lucimoro protests his fate and laments, such that his arias traverse mostly minor keys (B, G, F, D, E). His first aria underlines the "fierceness" of his fate ("Astri fieri") with an insistent, threatening repeating bass figure (in B minor), while the vocal line reveals Lucimoro's strength of character in determined repeated notes that sound despite the orchestral threat. The aria requires control of intonation amid striking dissonance with prominent tritones. The vocal melody is mostly conjunct and syllabic, as is Lucimoro's next aria, "Chi l'alma" (G minor, I, 12), with its sinuous melody, dissonance, and affectively charged semitone figures. Lucimoro experiences a brief hopeful moment in F major (I, 14) in a single-strophe aria whose vocal characteristics are nevertheless similar to those in his other arias, but he closes act 1 filled with jealousy again in the F-minor "Alme ree, che nel regno de'pianti," an exciting fully-scored aria with a long opening ritornello and forceful *concitato* instrumental figures that paint the "flames" of the inferno that torment a jealous lover. Lucimoro endures, again with strong repeated notes and the ability to negotiate semitone figures, dissonance, and harmonic shifts. In act 2, Lucimoro has a strongly affecting solo scene (II, 4) devoted to a single basso continuo accompanied aria, "Chi di me più sventurato," in G minor, $\frac{6}{8}$, and marked "Adagissimo"; here the bass line's dotted figures seem to weigh him down while he contemplates his dilemma, torn between following Mars or Cupid.

The third castrato in the Naples *L'Aldimiro*, Giulio Cavalletti, a teenager at the time, performed as Rondinella, Dorisbe's comic servant (as if a third Priestess of Diana), a radically transformed *graciosa*. In typically comic scenes, Rondinella is courted by both Aldimiro's favorite, Rosmiro (a tenor), and her comic counterpart, Lisardo (bass). Among the excuses for her arias, she sings to admonish, coax, or counsel Dorisbe, usually with the expected simple declamatory

reiterative musical phrases and appropriately lowborn vocabulary, as exemplified in her first aria, “Lo so che Lucimoro in mezzo al cor vi sta” (I, 6). Rondinella’s six arias and participation in two duets reflect well on Cavalletti’s vocal flexibility and potential for comic expression. In “Le donne tutte quante” (I, 7; C major, $\frac{3}{2}$, a through-composed aria with continuo accompaniment), she winks at the fickleness of women with the misogyny typical of comic servants, explaining how “all women are filled with sorrow when a lover dies, but their pain lasts only hours.” The supposed universality of this message is conveyed pointedly through a declamatory principal melody laid out with insistent reiteration and sequence, its descending sections in the bass seemingly enumerating the “donne tutte quante.” A long sustained high note emphasizing the “duration” of the mourning is contradicted by the bouncy dotted-figure stepwise bass pattern repeating its enumeration beneath it. “Vorrei ma non posso” (I, 8; $\frac{3}{4}$, ABA form) in B-flat major with a middle section in G minor expands Rondinella’s comic vocabulary with sprightly constant motion, a winding bass line, further exaggeration through sequences, and a vocal melody shaped by emphatic leaps and short sequential arpeggiations. Rondinella basks in Rosmiro’s attention with delighted lightness in the short “Sentirsi lodare e gusto da re” (II, 5; A major), then ridicules Lisardo’s clumsiness with the emphatically disjunct melodic shapes and imitative figures of the fast, syllabic “Guarda li come sgambetta” ($\frac{3}{4}$, F major). The voice begins with the basso continuo but is reinforced by two violin lines that contribute concitato eighth-note figures and close what seems Rondinella’s biggest aria with a short ritornello.

Following their models in Calderón, the central female characters in *L’Aldimiro*, Arsinda and Dorisbe, begin the opera as women with opposing ideals, though their differences do not explore the moral complexity experienced by the characters in the Calderón drama. The opera’s simplified plot focuses on the love interests of the central characters and their states of affect on the way to a happy resolution (whereas the Calderón play explored moral conflicts, important social issues, and deeply engrained notions of honor). Arsinda and Dorisbe pursue their love interests more narrowly in the opera, so that their initially conflicting loyalties quickly seem to fade into the background. The roles are similar—each sings eleven arias with challenging music. Differences in musical character emerge through the ways in which their vocal skills are deployed and their arias distributed across the unfolding plot.

Dorisbe, sung by Giulia Francesca Zuffi, dominates in act 1 and seems the braver and cleverer of the two women in the early scenes of the opera. Of her eleven arias, five are scored with strings, suggesting that vocal strength and projection were among Zuffi’s prized abilities. In one scene (I, 13) Dorisbe is assigned a dramatic recitative monologue and a challenging two-strophe aria, “Spade ultrici,” whose bass-line ostinato and first vocal motive describe the thrusts of “murderous swords” that Dorisbe imagines having felled her beloved (Lucimoro). As Dorisbe sings stabbing vocal figures high at the top of her range to produce the

“wounds” in her text, the harmony moves through G major, D major, and A major, then D minor, A minor, B major/minor, E minor, before moving V–I in C major and then abruptly shifting to close the aria with two phrases in C minor. Thus, though the aria begins boldly in C major as she confronts her fears, the harmonic movement of the middle section and wrenching turn to C minor ultimately illustrate Dorisbe’s tormented thoughts and feminine vulnerability. By the end of act 1, discovering that her lover, Lucimoro, is indeed alive, Dorisbe rejoices openly and assures him that she is impervious to Aldimiro’s advances, singing a bold aria with strings, “M’offra pur con forte assalto,” in a generous G major. In precisely the kind of affective musical juxtaposition that lends the opera its power, Dorisbe’s happy moment does not convince Lucimoro because he is consumed by the idea that Aldimiro (who has spared his life) is in love with none other than Dorisbe. After a scolding from Aldimiro, act 1 closes within Lucimoro’s perspective with the darkly determined F-minor aria, “Alme ree, che nel regno de’pianti,” describing the pangs and concitato “flames” of suspicious jealousy.

Though Arsinda is the first to confront Aldimiro and her boldness prevents his destruction of the temple in the opening scenes, she is assigned only two arias in act 1. In the first, “Se d’ astri malvaggi,” she bravely contemplates contrary stars, beginning her first vocal statement without accompaniment in a hauntingly beautiful melody that traces the A-minor melodic minor scale. The aria’s final phrase “contro il mio seno” begins on a weak beat, after a rest, but the singer must sound the high a”, Arsinda’s highest note in the opera, without preparation, thus emphasizing feminine valor. Arsinda’s first fully-scored aria arrives as late as act 2, scene 11, “Se vergin’ imbelle,” which she nevertheless begins with unaccompanied openings to the first and second vocal statements, thus reinforcing her role as the brave but “defenseless” virgin of the opera, especially since the bass line and the violins do not take up her opening vocal motives. Scarlatti cleverly paints Arsinda as alone and defenseless at the aria’s opening, only gradually pulling the orchestra into supportive conversation with the vocal line. Arsinda holds her own, first singing her own motive against the orchestra and then leading it, especially in the final phrase “d’abbattere il Re,” as if prescient of her final victory. In her next aria, “Un vezzo, un guardo, un riso,” Arsinda flings forth a mocking bouquet of triplet-infused melisma with a spare, barely supportive accompaniment from the basso continuo, as a pendant to Dorisbe’s aria in the same scene. Arsinda’s vocal precision is displayed again with an unaccompanied first vocal statement placed high in her range. The brave message of her next aria, “Chi non ha petto da frangere,” is reinforced through yet another unaccompanied first vocal statement; in this aria she proves herself fortified and impervious to Love’s “golden arrows,” followed precisely by, rather than led by, a bass line that barely supports her as the aria continues.

Overall, the roles of Dorisbe and Arsinda tax the vocal resources of their singers in slightly different ways, though they share the same range and traverse the same keys. Dorisbe, composed for Zuffi, requires vocal stamina and sings more fully-scored arias. Her arias are a bit flashier than those assigned to Arsinda, with impressive melismas and opportunities for the *messa di voce*. Dorisbe sings more in the early part of the opera, but Arsinda comes into her own later. Her arias, composed for the voice and talents of Rossi, convey her delicacy, but especially demand precision, control, and tuning. Four of them deploy the voice in hauntingly beautiful unaccompanied entries, while the recurring device of beginning a phrase without preparation on the highest note of the range suggests that Rossi had a very beautiful tone that deserved repeated hearing, that she could negotiate high notes without the support of accompaniment, and that she excelled in singing minor-key arias replete with awkward leaps or sinuous melodies that challenged intonation. Rossi may have had a special ability for singing softly, or her voice may have been lighter than Zuffi's, since she has fewer fully-scored arias (her first occurs well into the second act, in II, 11). As if to display her inner beauty one last time through her voice, Arsinda's last aria, "Dolci sguardi" (C major), which also ends the opera, finishes with a long-sustained note that allows her not only the last word, but also a concluding *messa di voce* (an opportunity previously enjoyed more often by the other characters).

La Psiche, ovvero Amore innamorato

La Psiche, ovvero Amore innamorato, the second opera of the 1683–84 season, was enormously successful.²⁰⁶ For the libretto De Totis reworked central episodes from Calderón's erotically charged *Ni amor se libra de amor*, a musical play on the story of Cupid and Psyche. Calderón's play was first performed 19 January 1662 in Madrid (with revivals at the Madrid court in 1679, 1687, and 1693) and published in Calderón's *Tercera parte de comedias* (Madrid, 1664).²⁰⁷ It was the last court play that Carpio produced before his arrest, trial, and exile, and he had produced it again successfully in Rome in May 1682 (as explained in

²⁰⁶ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 96, fol. 50, 11 January 1684: "Riusci di maggior applauso questa seconda opera in musica della prima, che fu recitata martedì a Palazzo, so per la diversità delle scene che vi resero belle alla vista e per la vaghezza della musica, e parole come per la quantità dei Recitanti al numero di 10 e per la nobiltà e Personaggi che vi furono a vederla, e rinfreschi in abbondanza."

²⁰⁷ Nancy D'Antuono, "Il teatro in musica: tra fonti spagnole e commedia dell'arte," *Commedia dell'arte e spettacolo in musica tra Sei e Settecento*, ed. Alessandro Lattanzi and Paologiovanni Maione (Naples: Editoriale Scientifica, 2003), 213–34 offers an insightful comparison of the *Psiche* libretto with the Calderón text. See also Stein, "¿Escuchando a Calderón?" Concerning the musical aspects of *Ni amor se libra de amor*, see Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 171, 178, 270–72, 320, 348, and *passim*.

Chapter 2).²⁰⁸ The story of Cupid and Psyche had also been woven into *Triunfos de Amor y Fortuna* by Antonio de Solís, a machine play with music that Carpio produced in 1658 in Madrid.²⁰⁹ Given his Roman presentations and projections of this myth, it seems to have held special significance for Carpio, perhaps as an allegory of his personal fidelity to the crown.²¹⁰ In *La Psiche*, Cupid is “un mostro d’amore” such that his beloved mortal Psyche may not see his face, causing Psyche’s sisters to suggest that he may be disfigured. Cupid might well represent Carpio himself—the generous lover touched and disarmed by extreme feminine beauty, who hides his own true visage while bestowing his love. Cupid ultimately forgives Psyche, and his love rewards her with a place in the heavens. Though Carpio was a loving vassal of the monarchy, his reputation had been “deformed,” so to speak, by the accusation of treason in 1662 and resulting scandal. Moreover, like Cupid, who is unable to dwell with Psyche in the light of day, Carpio was banished from proximity to his sovereign and reflected glory in Madrid. He was further disabled, in a sense, because his appointments in Italy forced him to live far away from his wife, preventing him from siring the multiple offspring he desired. Carpio addressed his gallantry to the queen mother through his production of *La Psiche* for her birthday. Like Amore in *La Psiche*, he was the “amante perfecto”—in Calderón’s words “sabio, solo, solícito, y secreto” (wise, alone, discreet, and secret), “a monster of love and devotion to his sovereigns,” in the words of the printed description of his 1681 Roman serenata.²¹¹

²⁰⁸ Gabriel Maura Gamazo, *Carlos II y su corte* (Madrid: Librería de F. Beltrán, 1911–15), 1:629–36 provides a summary of the “Proceso contra el marqués de Liche en 1662,” confirming (p. 631) that performances of a play about “Psiquis y Cupido” (i.e., *Ni amor se libra de amor*) had just finished (on 12 February 1662) and preparations began on Monday 13 February for the staging of “Faetón,” whose premiere was planned for 14 February 1662: “Representóse durante varias noches la obra de Lope [sic.] Psiquis y Cupido, y el lunes 13 de Febrero [1662] comenzaron los preparativos para poner en escena, al siguiente día, Faetonte, de Calderón.”

²⁰⁹ The Solís play was planned and almost ready for performances in the spring of 1655 in the Coliseo of the Buen Retiro, with sets and scenes by Baccio Del Bianco; it was postponed and finally staged in February 1658 to celebrate the birth of Prince Philip Prosper, with visual effects by Antonio Maria Antonozzi, some of them most likely based on Del Bianco’s work, as noted in Rodrigo Méndez de Silva’s chronicle of 1658 (E-Mn, Ms 2386, fols. 273–308). A printed luxury *suelta* edition of the play, sponsored by and printed for Carpio, is Antonio de Solís y Rivadeneira, *Triunfos de Amor y Fortuna. Fiesta Real que se representó a sus Magestades en el Coliseo del Buen Retiro...* (E-Mn, R/ 166777). On the sources for this play and its music, see Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 282–85 and *passim*; for a review of the visual effects and Antonozzi’s role in producing them, see Chaves Montoya, *El espectáculo teatral*, 270–76; for Del Bianco’s letter about his preparatory work on the staging of the Solís play, see I-Fas, *Mediceo del Principato*, f. 5456, p. 259, letter of 5 February 1655, transcribed in Bacci, “Lettere inedite di Baccio del Bianco,” 73.

²¹⁰ Among the many mythological paintings in Carpio’s collections, a number treated the story of Cupid and Psyche, the sleeping Cupid, and, especially, the scene in which Psyche approaches the sleeping Cupid holding a lamp or candle; see, for example, listings in Burke and Cherry, *Collections of Paintings in Madrid*, 2:1589–90.

²¹¹ “porque quien examinare las acciones deste gran Príncipe [Carpio] hallará a todas luces, que es un Monstruo de amor y de fineza”; Montalvo, *La esfera de los aplausos*, fol. 3v.

The overall design of *La Psiche* privileges special attractions both visual and musical, with elaborate effects produced by stage machines, lighting, and sets, appealing comic scenes, and, not least, the sound of a specially recruited singer, Giovanni Francesco Grossi, whose performance endeared the opera to its public. Grossi's late arrival, illness among the cast, and the rehearsals needed to coordinate the special effects resulted in a late premiere.²¹² The libretto's front matter offers a partial list of *apparenze* (see Figure 4.3 "interlocutori" and "apparenze" in the libretto) rather than listing all the sets. Moreover, some of the scene changes are not properly cued or described in the printed stage directions, but, instead, must be inferred from the dialogue (an issue common to Spanish *comedia* texts as well).

The first scenes of act 1 appear to take place in a garden adjacent to the "Temple of Eternity," perhaps between the temple and the palace of Atamante, King of Egnidus.²¹³ Replacing the antiphonal choirs of priestesses in the Calderón source play, a "sinfonia," heard as "musici concenti, dolce armonia," emanates from the temple in the opening scene and catches the attention of Arsida and Lidoro, the gentlemen suitors who have arrived to marry Psiche's sisters. Later, a choir (the other singers in the cast, here located offstage) from within the temple acclaims Psiche (I, 6 and 7) in spite of her fears and well-reasoned protests. In a spectacular scene, Amore, masked as a deity, makes his entrance in Venus' chariot pulled by six doves that are then set loose to fly off (I, 8). At the close of this solo scene, Amore and his carriage presumably vanish, since Selenisa, Astrea, and Atamante (Psiche's family) walk onto the set and converse among themselves without noticing Amore or his conveyance. Amore "in forma humana" (I, 12, 14, 15) later begins to meddle in the lives of the mortals when he looks for Psiche in their royal garden, seeking to punish her because her beauty has affronted Venus. When Amore sees Psiche sleeping and raises his arrow to kill her, he instead falls in love, thus wounded by her beauty. Psiche awakens, indignantly stabs Amore with his own arrow, and flees, as he begs her to stay. In act 1, the looming temple of Venus presides over the garden where love blooms. Amore's masked entrance in a carriage, the spectacle of the doves, the music emanating from the temple, and the intimacy of the scene in which Amore falls in love with the sleeping Psiche all contributed to the "special effects" of the first act.

²¹² I-Fas, *Mediceo del Principato*, filze 1598, Naples 7 December 1683, Giovanni Berardi to Appollonio Bassetti in Florence; V-CVaav, *Segreteria di Stato*, Napoli 95, fol. 964v, 21 December 1683, notes that preparation of the sets and machines had just begun; V-CVaav, *Segreteria di Stato*, Napoli 96, fol. 50, 11 January 1684, confirms that the palace premiere had just taken place on the previous Tuesday.

²¹³ At the opening of *Ni amor se libra de amor*, Selenisa sings that the temple is "el templo divino de Venus y Amor"; the setting "Campo entre el palacio del rey de Gnido y el templo de Venus" was suggested by Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, ed. *Comedias de Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca* (Madrid, 1863; reprint Madrid 1945), vol. 3 [BAE 12], 657.

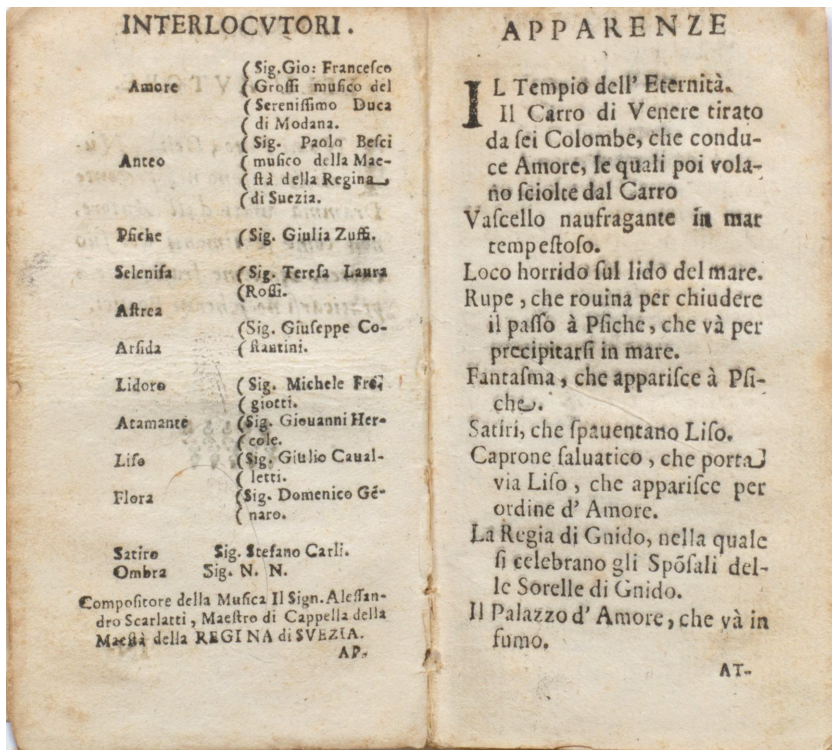


Figure 4.3 “Interlocutori” and “Apparenze,” in *La Psiche, ovvero Amore innamorato* (1683), ML50.2 P78S2, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

In act 2, the visual effects and staging both propel the action and explain it. The opening set, a shipwreck on a stormy sea, immediately displaces thoughts and associations prompted by the amorous garden of act 1. As the ship sails into closer view, the chorus of singing sailors provides an audible prop and hides the noise of the stage machinery, before the mortals step onto a deserted island.²¹⁴ Atamante, Psiche, Anteo, Liso, Flora, and soldiers disembark. Later, when the ship sails away with Atamante and Anteo (II, 4), Psiche and her comic servants are intentionally stranded on the frightening set of the “Loco orrido sul lido del mare.” Psiche succumbs to despair, but her suicide is prevented. Just as she is about to jump from a peak into the sea, a forested cliff falls into place suddenly

²¹⁴ In *Ni amor se libra de amor*, Anteo describes the island: “una isla desierta / e inhabitada, pues solo / se escuchan, señor, en ella / bramidos de horribles brutos, / lamentos de aves funestas, / sin que en su desnudo escollo, / ni planta de humana huella / se encuentre,” whose terrain is “cavadas grutas,” “sombras de incultos troncos,” and home only to “pájaros y de fieras, / que vistos atemorizan / y esuchados amendentan.” Hartzzenbusch, *Comedias de Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, 666.

from above (“Cade una rupe con molti alberi, e sassi che gli chiudono la via”), closing off the sea. A phantasm carrying a torch appears (II, 6) and urges her to arm herself with hope as it leads her along a narrow path, through the trees, and through a cleft in the side of the cliff, to Amore’s underground palace. Flora and Liso chatter away with appropriate comedy, preventing the ghost from frightening the audience.²¹⁵ Liso is accosted by a troupe of Satyrs before being hoisted up and forced to ride away on a wild goat that has dropped to the stage from the forested ridge.²¹⁶ The rough terrain for this ridiculous scene is immediately smoothed in the following supernatural scene for Amore and the three graces (Musica, Poesia, Ricchezza), itself a prelude to the “Gallery full of gold and silver vessels” (II, 9; perhaps a reference to Carpio’s own gallery in the Palazzo Reale) that Psiche is led to by servants who carry burning torches. The scene with Amore and the Graces is an insertion replacing the scene in the Calderón play in which unseen, antiphonal choirs accompany and praise Psiquis as she enters Cupido’s lavish underground palace. In the opera, Psiche enjoys the luxury around her, and expresses “contenti” in juxtaposition to the “tormenti” that Amore has described in his preceding love-struck aria. We hear Amore sing offstage as he approaches, and the theater is suddenly plunged into darkness (the stage direction reads “Qui spariscono i lumi”) as Amore explains how “harsh necessity” prevents him from allowing Psiche to see his face. From within the splendid palace, “the proscenium opens to show a view of the royal palace of Egnidus” (II, 16; “S’apre il proscenio, si vede la Reggia di Gnidio”) so that Psiche, standing to one side of the stage, can view the wedding of her sisters to Arsida and Lidoro, thanks to Amore’s supernatural power. But when Psiche moves forward to embrace her father, Atamante, the apparition vanishes instantly, provoking another of Psiche’s laments.²¹⁷

²¹⁵ The descent of the cliff is original to the opera, not drawn from Calderón’s play; in the play, the comic characters Flora and Friso stumble onto Psiquis before she jumps and thus prevent her suicide with their reassuring presence. The supernatural elements in this scene in the Calderón play are audible, rather than visual—antiphonal choirs (offstage) respond to Psiquis when she calls out to the elements, and the mysterious singing nymph who is veiled and carrying a torch when she leads Psiquis to a grotto through a cleft in the mountainside (the ghost in the opera is based on this nymph).

²¹⁶ The satyrs and their scene in the opera are an elaborate transformation of the “salvajes” (savages) who very briefly carry Friso around the stage at this point in the Calderón play. The comic action in both play and opera produces a distraction and noise to cover the movement of the sets and stage machines as the next supernatural scene is prepared.

²¹⁷ The apparition in the opera is based on that in the Calderón play, but the scenes that show the activity of Psiche’s family and weddings in Egnidus give the mortal characters opportunities for arias, so they are longer in the opera; in the Calderón play, the apparition with Psiquis’ family is just a brief scene, which Cupido abruptly shuts down with the command “Apagad las luces.” The play continues with an extended scene of supernatural effect in the dark, or with the stage in darkness, produced by the singing of the mysterious nymph together with Cupido and the offstage choirs he commands. Because Psiquis is unable to see Cupido or to understand the enigmas in his words, she is both frightened and beguiled by what she hears—all this music—rather than merely by what she has seen of the palace before his arrival.

Presumably, act 3 of the opera opens with dim lighting, within the enchanted palace, since Amore and Psiche here embrace and Psiche sings gratefully of her beloved “lampo.” Amore gives her a glowing jewel decorated with his portrait—the jewel somehow glowing with light so that the audience can see it as well. Psiche rejoices in a solo scene before her family and a mortal suitor, Anteo, arrive at the beach outside (“questo lido” is the location named by Liso when he announces the imminent landing of their ship). The jeweled portrait sparks jealousy in Psiche’s sisters, whose interrogation prompts her to wonder whether Amore is indeed a monster. Anteo redoubles his efforts to rescue and woo her. Lidoro and Arsida, now married to her sisters but once again smitten with Psiche, suffer pangs of desire.

The opera’s tragic climax provides the classic scene so central to the myth, depicted in Figure 4.4, a 1686 Spanish drawing, “Psique se acerca con la lámpara al lecho donde duerme Cupido” by Isidoro Arredondo. Amore climbs into bed and falls asleep as Psiche watches over him, in a staging whose intimacy parallels and answers Psiche’s sleep scene from act 1. Psiche approaches to shine a forbidden light on the sleeping god’s face, carrying a dagger and a lamp (III, 20). Transfixed by Amore’s beauty, she realizes her mistake too late—a drop of burning wax falls and awakens Amore before Psiche can discard the dagger.



Figure 4.4 Isidoro Arredondo, *Psique se acerca con la lámpara al lecho donde duerme Cupido* (1686), DIB/15/5/10, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid.

Furious and betrayed, Amore flees and creates an earthquake that destroys the set. The enchanted palace goes up in smoke (“Qui viene un terremoto, e tutta la reggia d’Amore va in fumo”) to the horror of all the mortal characters witnessing it from one side of the stage.

The staging of *La Psiche* shared some features with *L’Aldimiro*, including the onstage temple and the choir of priestesses who sing in *La Psiche* but appeared silently in *L’Aldimiro*. In both operas, the prominent comic characters were modeled on Calderón’s graciosos, though the comic females were performed by cross-dressed men following the Italian convention. The comic female roles are especially similar, in that Flora in *La Psiche* casts off her mistress’ morays in a way similar to Rondinella’s insouciance in *L’Aldimiro*. Rondinella is wooed by both a tenor and a baritone in *L’Aldimiro*, while the fresh-voiced castrato who sang Rondinella appeared as Liso, Flora’s partner in *La Psiche*; Flora was sung by the comic tenor Domenico Di Gennaro. The substantial comic servant in *L’Aldimiro*, Lisardo, was sung by the bass Stefano Carli, who also performed a small single-scene role as the ghost in *La Psiche* but surely also anchored the chorus of sailors.

If the balance of arias and the genders of the singers among characters in *L’Aldimiro* makes conventional sense for mortal characters who interact following a Calderonian model, the shape of *La Psiche* is utterly different from the Calderón play *Ni amor se libra de amor* because the casting of the much-sought-after alto castrato Grossi, as Amore in *La Psiche*, shifted priorities for De Totis and Scarlatti. In *L’Aldimiro*, Scarlatti had showcased the high-soprano voice of Besci-Paoluccio, while distributing arias somewhat equitably among the other principal roles. In *La Psiche*, the distribution of arias and solo scenes reinforced the central love story between Amore and Psiche: the longest solo scenes and the largest number of arias were for Grossi, followed by Zuffi (Psiche). Amore and Psiche have twice the number of arias compared to the next most prominent role, and the role of Amore, designed for Grossi, focused on his vocal and physical gifts, allowing him unusually extended solo scenes. These lead characters are showcased and have the most stage time, an allocation that effectively pushed the mortal characters further into the background, even compared to their significance in Calderón’s *Ni amor se libra de amor*.

The assignment of vocal types to the other characters nevertheless prompts explanation. In both *L’Aldimiro* and *La Psiche* kings are important, but Aldimiro and Atamante are very different sovereigns, cast for opposite vocal ranges. Aldimiro is a high soprano (Besci) not merely because of his high status but because his transformation is a central mechanism of the plot in *L’Aldimiro*. The stern, paternal Atamante (baritone Giovanni Hercole) in *La Psiche* is merely a secondary character as Psiche’s father. The three mortal suitors in *La Psiche* were assigned to three different vocal ranges (a high-soprano castrato, an alto

castrato, and a tenor). Among them, the role of Anteo holds the highest status and was designed for Besci, the highest voice in the cast. But as Anteo, Besci sang less than half the number of arias assigned respectively to Amore and to Psiche. Taking into account the recitative scenes, Anteo is a much smaller role for this singer than might be expected after the flash and endurance of his earlier role as Aldimiro. Indeed, because Anteo-Besci is listed in second place on the cast list, just after Amore, it is altogether likely that some juggling took place—that the opera was revised to provide Grossi with even more music once he arrived in Naples. Further, the assignment of Anteo to the singer with the highest tessitura and soprano range falls outside the conventional practice in late seventeenth-century Italian opera, so perhaps this was deemed appropriate because Anteo's character claimed such importance in the Calderón source play, where he is essential as an overflowing vessel of heroic virtue compared to the other mortals. In *La Psiche*, Anteo retains his status as the purest example of gallant, heroic virtue among the suitors, though he cannot win Psiche in competition with a deity—love itself. Anteo's higher nobility of character (if not higher social status) might explain why this character was sung by the singer with the highest voice. Arsida was sung by the alto castrato Giuseppe Costantini, and Lidoro by the tenor Michele Fregiotti. Among the female mortals, Psiche is given twice as many arias as her sisters, elevating Zuffi far above her colleagues who sang as Selenisa (Teresa Laura Rossi) and Astrea (the unlisted “terza dama,” recruited with 250 ducats).²¹⁸ In casting the opera, it might be that the successful model of the Venetian *Il Vespasiano* that had opened the new Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo in 1678 was relevant; Grossi and Zuffi had sung together as husband

²¹⁸ According to the 25 September 1683 notary document cited above, the unnamed singer for this “terza parte” was selected by Scarlatti, so perhaps this singer was his talented sister, Anna Maria Scarlatti. As De Lucca, *The Politics*, 274, has pointed out, “During the summer of 1683, while impresario Giovanni Francesco De Rossi [or Del Rosso?] prepared for the upcoming season in Naples, Colonna was asked to help with the negotiations to recruit” “la Scarlatti”; I-SUss, *Corrispondenza di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna*, 1683, Giovanni Francesco De Rossi [*sic*, Del Rosso?] to Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, Naples, 13 July 1683 n. 32. I am very grateful to Valeria De Lucca for kindly sharing her transcriptions of these documents. Baldini refers to Anna Maria in April 1684: “Lo Scarlatti mercoledì [mercoledì] sarà in Roma per aggiustare le cose di Roma, e ritornar presto qua, se pur la sorella non lo travaglierà.” I-SUss, *Archivio Colonna*, Carteggio Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, 1684/96, 15 April 1684, Naples. According to Confuorto, *Giornali*, 1:119, Anna Maria was one of the actresses accused at the beginning of November 1684 in a scandal that caused Carpio to dismiss some of his staff for “stretta e illecita pratica con alcune commedianti”; Confuorto names “Giovanni di Leone” (Juan Vélaz de León, Carpio's Secretario de Cámara y Cifra y de Justicia), and “Emanuele *** Maggiordomo” (Joseph Manuel Imberto y Leoz), although the veracity of this anecdote should be questioned, given that these men continued as valued members of Carpio's staff. Concerning the scandal involving Scarlatti's sister, see also Prota-Giurleo, *I Teatri di Napoli*, 3:333; Roberto Pagano, “Alla ricerca della vera ‘Scarlatti,’” 131–33; Griffin, “Nuove fonti,” 208–9. The terza dama might also have been Maria Rosa Borriani, included in the cast list for the Naples *Il Pompeo* for carnival 1684, or Caterina “Nina” Scarani (also Scarano) assigned the role of Florida in the libretto cast list for *L'Epaminonda* (December 1684) and named in the 6 December 1684 notary document; I-Nas, Pizzo Falcone, *Archivio dei Notai, Notai del Seicento*, Geronimo de Roma, di Salerno, scheda 1214, protocollo 24, fols. 872–75, 6 December 1684, transcribed in part in Olivieri, “Per una storia,” 245–46.

and wife in that famous production and perhaps on other occasions as yet unidentified.

The January 1684 Naples performances of *La Psiche* seem to represent the opera's sole production. No full score with Scarlatti's music is extant, but a substantial number of arias extracted from *La Psiche* survive in assorted aria anthologies, perhaps because Scarlatti's setting was considered very beautiful (see Table 4.1 for the extant arias identified to date).²¹⁹

The role of Psiche, composed for Zuffi, is much larger than her role as Dorisbe in *L'Aldimiro*. Of nearly twenty solo interventions for the title character in *La Psiche*, only six arias are extant, and only two of them convey a cheerful state of affect. Zuffi's role as Psiche thus contrasted considerably with her role as Dorisbe, although both roles begin boldly. Psiche's first aria, "Donzelle tenere" (I, 4; A minor), commands the damsels who follow her to light the fires in the temple without delay in worship of Venus, "mother of love and daughter of Jove." Though the aria text suggests a two-strophe design, Scarlatti instead set it as an aria with two distinct sections, corresponding first to Psiche's address to the followers and, second, to her commands ("Su, su, correte") and exaltation of Venus and Jove (the latter with a sustained high note on "Giove" for the messa di voce over the busily buoyant orchestra). By setting the aria in this way, Scarlatti moves the action forward at the beginning of the opera, where motion is essential and where the analogous scene in the Calderón source play created dynamism through the device of choral responses from the *damas*. Psiche's strength of character emerges through her tears in her next aria, "Del mio labbro gli accesi rubini," a da capo aria in mournful C minor that nevertheless allows her to protest loudly, in vigorous attacks on unprepared high *g* at the top of her range, against the vulgar suggestions of Flora, her servant, to the effect that she needs to take a lover. Psiche is challenged repeatedly by lamentable circumstance, so she spends much of the opera singing melancholy arias—the ever-observant Flora even notes (I, 7) that Psiche laments when she might otherwise have cause to enjoy life. Psiche twice attempts suicide but both times is saved by supernatural forces. After she is saved from her first attempt (II, 5), she nevertheless laments in a lyrical G-minor aria, "A chi mai più cruda sorte," sobbing in descending melodic sequences broken up by rests ("più cruda sorte, più cruda sorte,"). Even the major harmony of the middle section (E-flat major to G major) dissolves into the subdominant minor

²¹⁹ My conclusions about the opera's music are based on my study of the libretto (with its cast list) and the extant *arie staccate* preserved in manuscript collections. Extant arias for *La Psiche* were presented in Louise K. Stein, "Scarlatti's *La Psiche*: Arias and Production," paper for the fifteenth Biennial International Conference on Baroque Music, University of Southampton, July 2012; see also Louise K. Stein "Alessandro Scarlatti, Giulia Zuffi, and the *donnesca voce* in *La Psiche*," in *I quaderni della Scarlatti*, nuova serie II/2 (2020), ed. Daniela Tortora (Lucca: LIM, 2021), 39–60; the invaluable Amato, "Le antologie di arie e cantate," *passim*; Dubowy and Fabris, "Scarlatti"; Stein, "¿Escuchando a Calderón?"; and Lindgren and Murata, *The Barberini Manuscripts of Music*, 148–51.

Table 4.1 Extant Arias from Scarlatti, *La Psiche*

Aria Text Incipit	Role	act and scene	Musical Source
“Fanciulle vezzose”	Selenisa	I, 2	I-Nc, 33.5.37 fols. 109v–111v
“Vaghe schiere, à cui ride nel viso”	Astrea	I, 3	I-Nc, 33.4.5 fols. 95v–98 B-Ear, MS 1 pp. 122–28
“Donzelle tenere”	Psiche	I, 4	GB-Lbl, Add MS 14218 fols. 122v–123
“Non ti credo deità mensogniera”	Anteo	I, 5	V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4149 fols. 217–220v GB-Lbl, Add MS 14218 fols. 121v–122
“Mà cessi il mio pianto”	Anteo	I, 5	
“Se di Psiche le guancie vezzose”	Arsida	I, 5	GB-Lbl, Add MS 31502 fols. 108–110v B-Ear, MS 1 pp. 146–151 GB-Ob, MS Mus. d.254 fols. 146r–148r
“Astri placateui”	Lidoro	I, 5	V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4149 fols. 215–216
“Viva Psiche, viva viva”	Coro	I, 6	
“I sospiri degl’amanti”	Psiche	I, 6	
“Da bando a le tue pene”	Flora, Psiche	I, 7	
“Del mio labro, gl’accessi rubini”	Psiche	I, 7	I-Nc, 33.5.37 fols. 108–109
“Fermate, omai fermate”	Amore	I, 8	I-PAVu, Aldini MS 423 fols. 51–54 [entire scene] GB-Lbl, Add MS 14218 fols. 118v–121 [entire scene]
“Se quando di Pace”	Amore	I, 8	I-PAVu, Aldini MS 423 I-Nc, 33.4.5 fols. 108v–109v B-Ear, MS 1 pp. 130–37
“Fieri dardi, acuti strali”	Amore	I, 8	I-PAVu, Aldini MS 423 I-Nc, 33.4.5 fols. 93–95 B-Ear, MS 1 pp. 178–89
“Sommo Rè, che d’ogni sfera”	Atamante	I, 9	
“Non è solo di Psiche il sembiente”	Selenisa	I, 9	
“Del Sol, de le Stelle”	Astrea, Flora	I, 10	
“Se questo non giova”	Flora	I, 11	

Table 4.1 Continued

Aria Text Incipit	Role	act and scene	Musical Source
“Se non è pago il ciglio”	Selenisa	I, 11	
“Col tenor di questa legge”	Astrea	I, 11	
“Se d’angue vorace”	Amore	I, 12	I-Nc, 33.4.5 fols. 116–17 GB-Lbl, Add MS 14218 fols. 123v–124
“Sei pur simile à un’amante”	Arsida	I, 13	I-Nc, 33.4.5 fols. 101–3 B-Ear, MS 1 pp. 138–44
“Io vagheggio, e rose, e gigli”	Lidoro	I, 14	V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4149 fols. 197–198v
“Che ciglio vivace” / “Che dolce rigore”	Selenisa, Astrea	I, 15	D-B, Mus. MS 19652 [duet] fols. 1v–2v
“Che non ponno gl’influssi spietata”	Anteo	I, 16	
“No, no, non sia vero”	Amore	I, 17	
“Che mostro vezzoso”	Psiche, Amore	I, 17	
“Che in pianti gli amanti”	Amore	I, 17	I-Nc, 33.4.5 fols. 110–11 GB-Lbl, Add MS 31502 fols. 18–21v B-Ear, MS 1 pp. 53–59
“Al lido ò Nocchieri”	Coro	II, 1	
“Dure balze, che schernite”	Psiche	II, 2	
“Crudo padre”	Anteo	II, 3	V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4149 fols. 221–22
“In erma suolo”	Atamante	II, 3	
“Pietà, padre, pietà”	Psiche, Atamante, Anteo	II, 4	
“Vanne pur padre crudele”	Psiche	II, 4	
“Isifile, Arianna”	Psiche	II, 5	
“A chi mai più cruda sorte”	Psiche	II, 5	I-Nc, 33.5.37 fols. 17–18 GB-Lbl, Add MS 14218 fols. 127v–128
“Vivi, ò bella, e se brami gioire”	Fantasma	II, 6	[This character is absent from the dramatis personae.]
“Che nella trappola”	Liso	II, 6	

(continued)

Table 4.1 Continued

Aria Text Incipit	Role	act and scene	Musical Source
“Se già mai di Amore il Regno”	Amore	II, 8	I-Nc, 33.4.5 fols. 113–14
“Il foco d’amore”	Poesia, Musica	II, 8	
“Quando movon le rapide piante”	Ricchezza	II, 8	
“Già l’arti più belle”	Poesia, Musica	II, 8	
“Non più tormenti”	Amore	II, 8	I-Nc, 33.4.5 fols. 106r–108 GB-Lbl, Add MS 14218, fols. 130r–131 GB-Ob, Add MS Mus. d.254, fols. 149r–151v B-Ear, MS 1 pp. 102–12
“Sono troppi i miei contenti”	Psiche	II, 9	
“Se fede non presti”	Amore	II, 10	B-Ear, MS 1 pp. 94–100
“Non poter nel duol morire”	Amore	II, 11	I-Nc, 33.4.5 fols. 103v–105v GB-Lbl, Add MS 31502 fols. 68r–73r B-Ear, MS 1 pp. 69–75
“Per dirtela, ò Flora”	Liso	II, 12	
“Ch’io non pensi al bell’idolo mio”	Anteo	II, 13	B-Ear, MS 1 pp. 85–90 GB-Lbl, Add MS 14218 fols. 126v–127 GB-Ob, Add MS Mus. e.46 F-Pn, RES VMF MS-24, pp. 9–14
“Ma quando io ti miro”	Flora	II, 14	
“Il volto non scopre”	Amore	II, 15	["Io son fedele"]
“Io son fedele”	Amore	II, 15	
“Con le faci, e con gli strali”	Arsida, Lidoro	II, 16	
“Nume placido, e giocondo”	Selenisa	II, 16	
“Spiega omai gl’aurati vanni”	Astrea	II, 16	
“Non può dir che sia piacere”	SelenisaArsida, Lidoro	II, 16	V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4149 fols. 195–196v
“E pur dolce a un cor fedele”	Arsida	II, 16	
“Pupille belle che il cor m’ardete” “Labra vezzose”	Lidoro	II, 16	V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4149 fols. 191–92

Table 4.1 Continued

Aria Text Incipit	Role	act and scene	Musical Source
“Tornate a consolarmi”	Psiche	II, 16	I-Nc, 33.5.37 fols. 14–15
“Lampo, che il Cielo indora”	Psiche	III, 1	
“Contenta poi sarai”	Amore, Psiche	III, 1	
“Care labra in cui d’amore”	Psiche	III, 2	V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4149 fols. 199–202
“Non ti stancar fortuna”	Psiche	III, 3	B-Ear, MS 1 pp. 77–83
“Tù scherzi col periglio”	Amore	III, 4	GB-Lbl, Add MS 14218 fols. 129v–130r B-Ear, MS 1 pp. 169–75
“D’un mostro à g’artigli”	Anteo	III, 4	I-Nc, 33.5.37 fols. 113v–16
“Occhi belli trafigetemi”	Arsida	III, 5	
“Quando il piacere è tanto”	Atamante	III, 5	
“Caro dono i tuoi bei lampi”	Psiche	III, 6	
“Quando credea sanate”	Astrea, Selenisa	III, 7	
“Fiero mostro, ove ti celi”	Anteo	III, 8	I-Nc, 33.5.37 fols. 112–13
“Un’amante, che si gloria”	Arsida	III, 10	
“Quando io cerco l’altrui”	Selenisa	III, 12	I-Nc, 33.5.37 fols. 6–7
“Sovente nel mare”	Astrea, Selenisa	III, 13	
“Che pensi, che temi”	Astrea, Selenisa	III, 14	
“Non più vezzi, non più baci”	Psiche	III, 16	
“Col primo marito”	Flora	III, 18	
“Lumi tiranni”	Lidoro	III, 19	V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4149 fols. 193–194v
“Amare, e godere”	Amore	III, 20	might have been sung by Psiche instead?
“Fra tante pene [gioie]e tante”	Amore	III, 20	GB-Lbl, Add MS 14218 fols. 124v–126r [entire scene] I-Nc, 33.4.5 fols. 117v–118 B-Ear, MS 1 pp. 153–57
“In dolce riposo”	Amore	III, 20	I-Nc, 33.4.5 fols. 118v–119v I-Nc, 33.3.4 fols. 26–27, 48v, 56v, 77v GB-Lbl, Add MS 14218 fols. 125–126r B-Ear, MS 1 pp. 158–68

(continued)

Table 4.1 Continued

Aria Text Incipit	Role	act and scene	Musical Source
“Dormi, ò caro, e i tuoi riposi”	Psiche	III, 20	
“Sempre ascose in fosco orrore”	Psiche	III, 21	
“Può troppo l'affanno”	Amore	III, 23	I-Nc, 33.4.5 fols. 111v–112v

(C minor) before finally cadencing in the dominant, D. Psiche sings a tortured aria to end act 2, when the vision of her family produced by Amore's supernatural powers reveals just how completely her loved ones have abandoned her. In an agonized, beseeching C-minor exhalation, “Tornate a consolarmi,” Psiche pours out her suffering in repeated falling figures, the D-flat lowered second degree, and a concentration of semitone figures that tug at our heartstrings. This single-strophe da capo aria exposes Zuffi's talent for singing at the top of her range, presenting unprepared high Gs preceded by rests no fewer than six times. With this singular feature, Scarlatti assigns Psiche her most characteristically naked, defenseless expression of misery. Although Psiche showed great strength of character by stabbing Amore with his own arrow and striding away in an exciting scene to end act 1, she does not relax to enjoy Amore's adoration until she has first plunged into the emotional depths of “Tornate a consolarmi.”

She finally embraces Amore at the opening of act 3, with what must have been a beautifully lyrical aria, “Lampo, che il cielo indora” (whose music I have not recovered). After Amore presents her with a jewel containing his portrait, Psiche basks just briefly in her happiness (III, 2 and 3). In “Care labbra, in cui d'amore,” a jaunty $\frac{6}{8}$ aria in C major, her erotic delight overflows in bubbling sixteenth-note neighbor-tone figures, leaps, turns, and melismas, even “longing for its ardor” in a smooth but determined rising line to her high g.²²⁰ The open-ended form of the aria, and the fact that Psiche never descends from the topmost notes of her range but dwells there as she thinks about the “lips” of her beloved, leave no doubt as to her newly excited erotic disposition. Given the many measures in which the voice rests but the bass line carries the action forward, it is likely that “Care labra” was scored with strings, celebrating Psiche's elation. In her next aria, the two-strophe da capo aria “Non ti stancar fortuna” (D major), Psiche reclaims her strength in readiness for the imminent visit of her family. Of course, her

²²⁰ See “Care labbra, in cui d'amore,” V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4149, fol. 199.

jealous sisters rekindle her doubts about the nature of Amore. Once alone with her thoughts in a solo scene, she sings what was probably an accompanied recitative, plotting to gaze at Amore in his sleep and perhaps kill the “monster” she fears he might turn out to be. She instructs her servants, Liso and Flora, to gather a torch and a dagger, while arming her heart with “fierceness” to overcome her erotic desire for the “glances,” “kisses,” and “sighs” described in her subsequent aria (now lost), the last in her role.

Scarlatti’s writing for Zuffi in her roles as Dorisbe and Psiche helps us to understand her histrionic and musical talent. Clearly, she could portray strong female characters but also sing to develop a range of affective states. Whereas Scarlatti endowed the role of Dorisbe in *L’Aldimiro* with mostly vibrant major-key arias, his music for Psiche in *La Psiche* required Zuffi to sing mostly minor-key arias, twice embody suicidal anguish, and drag herself through poignant scenes of abandonment and frustration. The text of the pivotal dramatic recitative soliloquy of III, 5 further confirms her credibility as an actress as well. In her arias, Scarlatti consistently shaped her expression through motivic repetition of single words (the three-note motive for “ferite” in “Spade ultrici” from *L’Aldimiro* is repeated eight times, for example), as well as melodic sequences and shapes that required careful tuning of semitone and neighbor-note figures (see the opening of “Se di Tisbe avrò la sorte” from *L’Aldimiro*, and the openings of “Del mio labbro” and “A chi mai più cruda sorte” from *La Psiche*). Most of the long scalar figures she sang were descending scales, while her accuracy and technique were surely tested by the many instances in which Scarlatti’s music required her to initiate phrases after a rest on an unprepared high note (usually the high *g*”).

Giulia Francesca Zuffi and the *donnesca voce*

In *La Psiche*, Zuffi was wedged vocally between two castrati—the high soprano of Besci as Anteo, who pursues her, and the alto of Grossi as the vocally smooth, ardent deity, Amore. If the arias for Zuffi’s roles in the 1683–84 season seem not to exhibit the same level of virtuosity as those for Besci, it may be that this was an aesthetic choice grounded in Carpio’s preferences. In Madrid, Carpio had featured and championed female actress-singers in all of his musical productions. But the tonos and tonadas that Hidalgo composed for Spanish texts did not feature the kind of decorative virtuosity and fioriture associated with Italian singers in this period. It may be that Carpio’s ideal of femininity called for a certain vocal restraint, a melodic decorum and preference for very directly affective and dramatic expression over virtuoso vocal excess. It is likely that this preference for feminine vocal decorum in the arias influenced Scarlatti’s work for his first season in Naples. Zuffi was certainly a capable of singer of fioriture, to judge by passages

in the arias she had performed as Cleopatra in the February 1680 Naples production of Sartorio's *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo.²²¹ The Cleopatra role includes more arias than any other role in that opera (though it is uncertain just how much of the extant music for *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* was performed in Naples), and Cleopatra's arias present characteristics in common with what Zuffi sang in *L'Aldimiro* and *La Psiche*. Five of the Cleopatra arias include one or more tricky melismatic passages of the sort that identify virtuoso singing,²²² suggesting that Zuffi was endowed with vocal agility even if the extant arias from her roles in *L'Aldimiro* and *La Psiche* exhibit little in the way of coloratura decoration.

Zuffi's presence in Naples in 1679 and 1680 (before Carpio's arrival) is noted by diarists and in some avvisi. But these sources are not forthcoming at all about her performances, the sound of her voice, or the quality of her singing. Instead, Zuffi is mentioned only as a focus of licentious or amorous behavior—a fate that frequently has befallen female actress-singers through the centuries and across cultures. Two anecdotes and one putative relationship have received the most attention. The first anecdote was relayed by several sources with slightly different perceptions. The diarist Domenico Confuorto describes an incident that took place on August 6, 1680, when Zuffi was in Naples and invited by the Duke of Maddaloni to join his party of male aristocrats for a day's recreation at Posilippo. Confuorto's wording is significant here in that Zuffi, the “cantarina” (little singer), is invited “for their enjoyment” (“e desiderando di avere, per loro ricreazione una cantarina chiamata Giulietta Zuffi”).²²³ The Duke of Maddaloni sent word that she should hurry to join them, but she declined the invitation, explaining that she had promised to accompany another gentleman, Galeazzo Cicinello, and his companions. Maddaloni dispatched a messenger to convey to Zuffi the threat that if she did not obey him, she would be “seized by force” (pigliata a boffettoni) by his agents. Cicinello learned that Zuffi had been threatened, and challenged the duke to a duel, although duels were strictly prohibited by order of the viceroy. When the viceroy's agents and officers of justice intervened, both gentlemen retreated to their palaces and agreed to forego the duel (in Fuidoro's account, however, the duel took place two days later, and Maddaloni was lightly wounded). It is important to note that the story as told in Confuorto's diary does not focus on Zuffi as a lure to male misbehavior; instead, it exposes Confuorto's clear disapproval of the incorrect, ignoble comportment of the Neapolitan

²²¹ Though the libretto does not provide the cast list, it includes a laudatory sonnet to Zuffi; on the sonnet, see Stein “Alessandro Scarlatti, Giulia Zuffi, and the *donnesca voce*,” 48.

²²² In Antonio Sartorio, *Giulio Cesare in Egitto*, ed. Craig Monson (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, Inc., 1991) these arias are: “Non voglio amar” (pp. 119–22), “Chi tace le catene” (146–48), “E decori un dolce affanno” (218–19), “La fortuna e una sirena” (269–70), and “Se vezzi ed amori” (298–99).

²²³ Confuorto, *Giornali*, 1:47; Protà-Giurleo, *I Teatri di Napoli*, 3:109 gives an excerpted reading.

gentlemen. In contrast, Fuidoro enjoyed offering a more titillating account of the “cantarina” trapped between two groups of male aristocrats and threatened with male violence.

Zuffi is framed very differently in a third account—the description of the same incident in an avviso sent from the papal nuncio in Naples.²²⁴ This source is surely more reliable because the papal envoy was both careful about what he sent to the papal secretary and in a position to have an insider’s knowledge of aristocratic social interactions through closer proximity to the events and the male protagonists. In the avviso sent from the nuncio, Zuffi goes to meet the Duke of Maddaloni and his “cavalieri di camerata” at their point of embarkation, but immediately decides not to accompany them when she realizes that neither the Duchess of Maddaloni nor any other woman is embarking for the excursion (“che non vi sarebbe intervenuta la Signora Marchesa di Mataloni, ne altre dame”). Risking the duke’s irritation and determined not to displease the duchess, Zuffi proceeds to inform the duchess about the situation, but runs into an envoy from the duke, carrying his angry, threatening message. It is unclear in this account how Galeazzo Cicinelli found out about the duke’s scandalous threats, but, feeling that he should display his gallantry, Cicinelli consults with his brother and friends and then challenges the duke to a duel. Then the viceroy himself (Marquis de los Vélez) is informed about the planned (illegal) duel and immediately sends trusted nobles and magistrates (*giudici*) to intervene, forcing the men to resolve their differences by other means. In this account, Zuffi is blameless and thus is offered sanctuary at the “Monastero delle Penitente.” In all versions of the events, Zuffi is victimized by the duke’s threats, and Cicinelli challenges Maddaloni to a duel. But the report from the papal envoy clarifies that she behaved appropriately and was offered temporary sanctuary for this reason. Both Confuorto and the avviso sent by the papal nuncio point with extreme disapproval to the ignoble behavior of the male aristocrats, though the nunzio’s

²²⁴ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 92, fol. 605, 13 August 1680: “Martedì dal Signor Duca di Maddaloni e da altri cavalieri di camerata fu invitata d’andare a Posillipo una tal Giulietta cantarina Romana, la quale nell’atto d’imbarcarsi riconoscendo, che non vi sarebbe intervenuta la Signora Marchessa di Mataloni, ne altre dame, dubitando d’incontrare l’indignazione di queste, ricusò d’andarvi, e si portò a raccontare il fatto alla medesima Signora Duchessa. Ritornata in casa la medesima Giulietta gli arrivò un’ambasciata per parte dal Signor Duca suddetto che se avesse ardito d’andare a Posillipo con altri cavalieri, avrebbe provati i forti risentimenti risaputosi ciò da’ D. Galeazzo Cicinelli fratello del Signor Principe di Cursi, come parziale della medesima Giulietta, si stimò offeso, e si consultò il punto col fratello col Signor Marchese di Toricuso [Torrecusa], e con altri cavalieri, fui mandata la disfida al Signor Duca di Maddaloni per mezzo del Signor Marchese di Genzano come camerata del Duca ed interessato nel fatto, ma prima di stabilire il modo, e luogo del duello, nebbe notizia il Signore Viceré, che mandò subito in giro alcuni giudici, a quali riuscì di fare il mandato a detti cavalieri e d’impedire il duello. Commessosi poi l’aggiustamento di tal differenze all’ Signore Marchese del Tufo, e Priore Brancaccio, si stima ora il tutto composto e quietato con biglietti del Signore Viceré e parole regie, fra tanto la medesima Giulietta si è porta al Monastero delle Penitente.”

report is more generous in its characterization of Zuffi as an innocent victim. Another avviso also sent to Rome firmly identifies the singer as Zuffi (“Giulietta cantarina Romana”), exculpates her completely because she was “determined not to make the gentlemen’s wives jealous,” and casts the Duke of Maddaloni in a harshly negative light.²²⁵

A second anecdote places Zuffi again in the jaws of scandal, pairing her for just one night with the Duke of Mantua, Ferdinando Carlo Gonzaga (1652–1708), a discerning patron but famous for aggressively indulging his libidinous appetite with attractive female singers whenever possible.²²⁶ His fervent pursuit of the young Margherita Durastanti is well known, though Durastanti’s integrity and vocal excellence have not been impugned by modern scholars, thanks, in part, to her association with Handel. In Confuorto’s telling, Ferdinando Carlo is alleged to have sought the nocturnal solace of female singers during his visit to Naples in May of 1686. After visiting the city’s most significant sacred and profane sights (“i luoghi sacri e profani più cospicui della città”), the duke sought erotic adventure and engaged sexually with Nina [Caterina] Scarano, “cantarina,” and “Giulietta,” each for one night. Reading the entire passage, it becomes clear that Confuorto’s anecdote, which he may well have invented, was not designed to debase the women; rather, its intent was to strike with unfettered disapproval at Ferdinando Carlo’s well-known political maneuvers and his sale of Casale di Monferrato to Louis XIV.²²⁷ The duke’s alliance with the French, not his mere pursuit of actress-singers, was what infuriated Confuorto, allowing him to denigrate the duke as “molto libidinoso, e disordinato,” a weak man of poor decisions led by his basest appetites.²²⁸

In a third story, Zuffi is cast as a temptress in an unverifiable account that posits a relationship between Zuffi and the painter and impresario Nicola Vaccaro. In the first published account of Vaccaro’s life, which appeared in De Dominici’s retrospective *Vite* (1742) of Neapolitan painters, blame is stacked against an unnamed female singer (“una cantatrice”) for having lured Nicola Vaccaro into the role of theatrical impresario in spite of the fact that his paintings and frescos were valued by discerning patrons. The point of the story is that Vaccaro betrayed his lineage and wasted his talent in the theater instead of building a successful artistic career. De Dominici wrote that Vaccaro

²²⁵ V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 6422, fol. 343v, 17 August 1680.

²²⁶ See Paola Cirani, *Comici, musicisti e artisti di teatro alla corte di Ferdinando carlo Gonzaga Nevers* (Mantua: Edizioni Postumia/Casa del Mantegna, 2004), 101–12 and *passim*.

²²⁷ “La sera poi, essendo questo principe molto libidinoso e disordinato (anzi in tutte le sue azzioni spropositato e scemonito, come quello che non s’ha curato di levare dalla sua casa la più bella pezza de’suoi Stati, qual è Casale di Monferrato, vendendola al re di Francia), s’ha fatto condurre, per suoi senzuali appetite, Nina Scarano cantarina, con la quale ha dormito la notte, avendo fatto lo stesso la notte precedente con Giulietta, ancor lei canterina.” Confuorto, *Giornali*, 1:149.

²²⁸ Confuorto, *Giornali di Napoli* manuscript quoted in Croce, *I Teatri di Napoli*, 191; and Prota-Giurleo, *I Teatri di Napoli*, 3:339.

changed professions because he “became enamoured” of a singer; “imprisoned in this snare,” he set aside his art and became the impresario at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo just to please her.²²⁹ As Izzo has explained, however, Vaccaro had been involved in the business of theater for some years and knew that the opportunity to collaborate with Schor in Carpio’s productions was both prestigious and financially attractive.²³⁰

De Domenici does not name the singer. It was Ulisse Prota-Giurleo, rather than any seventeenth- or eighteenth-century witness, who framed Giulia Zuffi as the “cantatrice” who pulled Vaccaro off the straight and narrow path. This is hardly surprising. In his *Il teatro di corte del Palazzo Reale di Napoli* (1952), Prota-Giurleo mentioned her triumph in *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* (1680) but stated, “la romana Giulietta, come dai Napoletani veniva chiamata *tout court* Giulia Francesca Zuffi, che si guadagnò fra noi la stessa fama di *Ciulla*,”²³¹ associating Zuffi automatically with the famous prostitute-actress whose company had served and performed for the gluttonous viceroy Astorga (see Chapter 3 concerning Astorga and *Ciulla*). A decade later, when relaying the August 1680 anecdote about Zuffi, the Duke of Maddaloni, and Galeazzo Cicinelli, Prota-Giurleo winked as he moved Zuffi into the titillating role of deliberate temptress.²³² Following Prota-Giurleo, but exaggerating even further, John Roselli debased “Giuletta,” claiming her as a “courtesan-singer” who was an acknowledged prostitute (though this allegation is utterly without foundation). Roselli wrote nothing about her roles or the music she sang, but blithely categorized her as a “high-class call-girl” assigned to the ranks of those whose “technical competence must have been adequate at least.”²³³ Had Roselli considered the fact that she sang *prima parte* roles in *Il Vespasiano*, in *Giulio Cesare in Egitto*, and in the Scarlatti operas for Naples, or even glanced at their music, he might have done better.

Zuffi may have been alluring, and she attracted plenty of male attention in Naples. But it is worth asking why the chroniclers so easily clothed her in the stereotype of actress-as-wanton-female. The first role she is known to have sung is the important and blameless role of Tito’s loyal wife, Arricida, in the 1678 Venetian premiere of Pallavicino’s *Il Vespasiano*. It is unclear what roles she performed between that event and her successful performance in Naples as Cleopatra in the Sartorio *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* (1680). The laudatory sonnet

²²⁹ I quote from the nineteenth-century edition: “ma invaghitosi di una cantatrice, resto preso al vischio in siffatta maniera, che posto da parte i pennelli, divenne impresario del Teatro S. Bartolomeo per compiacerla”; De Domenici, *Vite dei Pittori*, 3:350; Izzo, “Niccola Vaccaro,” 44–61 (p. 44).

²³⁰ Izzo, “Niccola Vaccaro,” 44–61.

²³¹ Prota-Giurleo, *Il teatro di corte*, 34.

²³² Prota-Giurleo, *I Teatri di Napoli*, 3:309–10.

²³³ John Rosselli, *Singers of Italian Opera: The History of a Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 62–63.

addressed to Zuffi in the Naples libretto to *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* offers conventional praise for her “sonorous lips”; the *dolce voce* that issues from those lips becomes “the mother” of love. This comparison between Zuffi and the goddess Venus naturally picks out the associations that male aristocrats in the audience may have attached to her (whether or not she was sexually available to them, as scholars since her time have imagined). More important, the sonnet highlights attributes that may have been considered particularly womanly on stage. It is not too much to characterize Zuffi’s voice in 1683 as a womanly voice that would have been recognized as such next to the sound of the castrati she sang with.

Scarlatti’s music in *L’Aldimiro* and *La Psiche* suggests that a distinction between the womanly voice and the virility of the obviously male castrato sound was important when singers were recruited for Carpio’s productions, and their voices were meant to shape their roles. An audible gendered distinction seems especially crucial in the semi-dark, low-light penumbra of the erotic scenes between Zuffi and Grossi in *La Psiche*. To perform as Cleopatra or as Psiche, it was not enough just to sound as a soprano. What was required was a *donnesca voce*. If sixteenth-century critics of painting acknowledged a “womanly hand” (*donnesca mano*) even though they were loath to praise the merely feminine in artistic creation, perhaps the term *donnesca voce* supplies a useful parallel. Surely Carpio, a patron of female painters in Naples and female actresses in Madrid, could appreciate how a womanly sound would enhance an onstage portrayal of the symbol of the eternal feminine—Psyche—and merit the praise her voice received as the metaphorical “mother” of love in the sonnet.

Zuffi’s *donnesca voce* and womanliness most likely emerged in vocal warmth and nuances of shading from chest to top that a castrato voice was trained not to indulge. If Cleopatra’s music in Sartorio’s opera reveals that Zuffi possessed both vocal strength and delicacy, music from Zuffi’s other roles confirms that she sang with excellent intonation—her typical vocal style involved skill with difficult intervals, quick neighbor-note figures, and closely spaced figuration. She was assigned very little in the way of sustained singing—this is telling, given that her arias as Psiche are fragrant with melancholy. As I have pointed out, delight in erotic love is conveyed in only two arias in *La Psiche*, though enjoyment rather than lament would seem a prerequisite if Zuffi was the iconic loose woman and indeed indulged in purported offstage relationships as a “call-girl.” Overall, the opposite is true: Psiche is a decorous role that inspired sympathy and moved the listener through its several laments. Zuffi’s womanly carriage was cleansed of all immoral traces in this highly emotional role, most likely because of Carpio’s reverence and respect toward women, including seventeenth-century divas.

Giovanni Francesco Grossi and Amore

In *La Psiche*, the womanly Zuffi was paired with the alto castrato Grossi, whose role as Amore in the Scarlatti opera stands out as the central axis of both the libretto and the music. Here Amore is neither the mischievous child nor the wounding aggressor of so many previous tellings of the Cupid and Psyche story. Amore projects a sensitive, loving masculinity that supersedes that of the Cupido drawn in the Calderón source play, in part because fully-sung opera lent itself to affective saturation more easily than did spoken drama, and in part due to the nature of Grossi's voice. In previous roles, Grossi had demonstrated smooth vocal beauty and vocal athleticism. The challenge for Scarlatti and De Totis was to shape the role of Amore for his talents, incorporating the kind of compound scenes with affective contrast that seem to have been Grossi's specialty, while providing a range of conventionally expected aria types across the three acts of the opera.²³⁴

Grossi begins the opera as a deity and venereal messenger in an entrance whose effect is heightened by its delay until eight scenes into act 1. He glides down in costume as the god of love in a chariot pulled by white doves, creatures often associated in visual art with the goddess Venus. This staging, as well as the opening words sung to the doves, "Fermate, femate, omai fermate," replicate those of the opening prologue for the 1671 Rome production of Francesco Cavalli's *Scipione africano*, the opera that featured Grossi in his public stage debut for the opening of the Teatro Tordinona in Rome.²³⁵ His presentation here might suggest that Grossi was physically attractive (as he was reputed to be), worth the special visual display, but the more important question asks how his voice represented the god of love in contrast with Zuffi's donnesca voce. Grossi's descent from the heavens as Amore in *La Psiche*, I, 8, initiates a sectionalized compound solo musical scene (as illustrated in Figures 4.5a–g).

The opening recitative soliloquy, "Fermate, fermate, omai fermate," accelerates into a more urgent *cavata*, "Guidato dallo sdegno," followed by two contrasting

²³⁴ See Stein, "¿Escuchando a Calderón?," 208–19.

²³⁵ *Scipione Africano. Dramma per musica recitato nel Teatro novo di Roma in Tordinona l'anno 1671. Dedicato alla sacra real maestà della Regina di Svetia* (Rome: successori del Mascardi, 1671), Sartori 21272, I-Bu A.V.Tab.I.E.III.14a.5; the stage direction for the opening of the "Prologo" reads "Venere & Amore in un Carro guidato da due Colombe, Marte in una nube" before Venere sings "Fermate, omai fermate." Manuscript scores including this prologue are I-Sc, L.V.32, and V-CVbav, Chigi Q.V.60. It seems highly unlikely that Grossi sang in the prologue because both Venere and Amore are notated as soprano roles. On Alessandro Stradella's authorship of the prologue's music, see Carolyn Gianturco, "Cristina di Svezia, scenarista per Alessandro Stradella," in *Convegno internazionale Cristina di Svezia e la musica*, 45–46. See the forthcoming critical edition of *Scipione Africano* by Jennifer Williams Brown for *The Operas of Francesco Cavalli* (Bärenreiter Verlag); see also De Lucca, "The Politics," 71–78, 117–18; and, concerning the libretto, Sara Elisa Stangalino, ed., Nicolò Minato, *I drammi eroici veneziani: Scipione africano, Muzio Scevola, Pompeo Magno* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2019), 1–55.

A

Del Scarlatti.

armate fermate omai fermate

candide mie colombe il vo lo errante

sciolte dal rigor d'aurato freno Libere trascorrete

di grado il suol più Verdeggiante e Ameno. *Per*

atterrar l'orgoglio d'una bellezza altera dalla più vaga sfera

B

ch' il terzo Ciel di bella Luce in ore guidato dallo

Degno guidato dallo Degno hor giungo amo re

Amo re

Aria.

Se quando di pace Cupido è forziere

Se quando di pace Cupido è fo

Figure 4.5 Alessandro Scarlatti, *La Psiche*, I, 8 scene for Amore (1683), MS Aldini 423, fols. 51–54, Biblioteca Universitaria di Pavia MiC.

C

= riero si ardente hā la face lo strale ha si fie
 ro Che sarà che sa-
 = rā quando a far guerra guerra guerra scende in terra Nume ir-
 - rato e' Dio e Dio guerriero che sarà
 che sarà quando a far guerra guerra guerra scende in

D

terra Nume irato e Dio e Dio guerriero guer-
 = rero e Dio guerriero.
 Dunque di sua beltā tanto presume Lisiche che di bel-
 = lessa e vn ombra sola che alla Madre d' amore al più bel
 Nume gl' incensi usurpa e gl' olocasti inuola

Figure 4.5 Continued

E

Andria
Fieri dardi Fieri dardi acuti stra - li
A ferir a ferir v'inuita vn cor a ferir a fe-
-rir v'inuita vn cor Ma con piaghe Ma con piaghe apre e Mor-
-tali di fierezza di fierezza e non d'Amor e non d'A-
-mor di fierezza di fierezza e non d'Amor fieri

F

dardi fieri dardi acuti stra - li a ferir a fe-
-rir v'inuita vn cor a ferir a ferir v'inuita vn cor
2^a
Benche d'oro Benche d'oro il dardo
mi - o gran ferita feri - te apre in vn sen
gran ferita ferite apre in vn sen son fanciullo son fan-

Figure 4.5 Continued

G

The musical score consists of five systems, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. The lyrics are as follows:

- System 1: -ciullo e' ver ma' Fio spargo nettare spargo nettare e ve-
- System 2: -len e' velen spargo nettare spargo nettare e velen
- System 3: Benehe d'oro il dardo mi - o
- System 4: gran ferita ferita apre in vn sen gran ferita fe-
- System 5: = rite apre in vn sen

Figure 4.5 Continued

aria sections—the first, “Se quando di pace,” slow and lyrical with a sustained note for the *messa di voce*; the second, “Che sarà, quando a far guerra,” faster with repeated notes, *concitato* gestures, and a melisma. A short recitative, “Dunque di sua beltà,” follows, including an accented leap to Grossi’s high note (b’), and finally a two-strophe *da capo* aria, “Fieri dardi,” with an unusual number of soundings of high b’. This closing aria requires excellent diction and vocal agility to convey the speed and character of the *fieri dardi* that Amore and his music describe, with short, tight vocal figures, requiring excellent intonation and light singing in the highest fifth of Grossi’s range. The entire scene seems designed to display beauty of tone, agility, precise tuning, and excellent diction in a progression of affective states. This scene from *La Psiche* may have been Scarlatti’s own prototype for Grossi’s compound solo scenes in later Naples operas. The musical sections clearly provide a vehicle for stylish singing and acting through a series of affective states. First, Grossi commands the doves to slow their course in the opening recitative, until his music in the *cavata* explains the urgency of his mission. The slow, lyrical aria section with a sustained note for the *messa*

di voce naturally focuses on Amore's ability as a peacemaker in cases of mutually requited love. But in the second aria section, the choppy vocal melisma and insistent concitato bass figures expose his threat as *agent provocateur*, equating the heat of his "lighted torches" with the heated desire love produces in those he wounds. In the closing two-strophe da capo aria, "Fieri dardi," the primary motivic figures are descriptive and energizing, as Amore exults in the speed and flash of his arrows and the sting of the lover's wounds.

The role of Amore offered Grossi a number of extended solo scenes beyond his noteworthy first appearance—at least this much can be determined through the libretto and the music for twelve surviving scenes from the role (most of the arias survive in copies notated with soprano clef and thus requiring transposition down into Grossi's alto range; see Examples 4.1–4.9 and 4.11–4.12). When Amore reappears (I, 12) "in forma humana" on earth, determined to find Psiche and claim her as his victim, fourteen lines of recitative precede his aria, "Se d'anguie vorace," which compares his strategy to that of a snake hiding in the grass (see Example 4.1). In Scarlatti's highly descriptive music, the bass line introduces and treats sequentially a slithering descending five-note scale figure. The same figure is taken up in the vocal line for this first vocal section, but subsequent sections treat their own melodic figures, such that the vocal line exposes new motives then repeats them or treats them briefly in sequence over the omnipresent slithering movement of the bass line. The musical snake is thus constantly "hidden" in the basso continuo line. The aria requires excellent tuning and diction from the singer, but also provides a long-held pitch for the *messa di voce*, and, to the contrary, a three-measure sequence of emphatic descending neighbor-note figures punctuated by rests that seems another musical reference to the snake.

When Amore discovers the sleeping Psiche (I, 17), the libretto assigns him twenty-one verses in seven- and eleven-syllable lines while he thinks about whether to stab her. It is likely that this section was set in a way similar to Amore's opening scene, with changes of musical texture and melodic types to illustrate his thoughts and feelings. When he sings "A che più si dimora / Mora l'infida, mora," the stage direction notes that he is about to stab her ("va per ucciderlei"), so the musical setting likely heightened his words, then produced a lyrical vocal line and new harmonies for his sudden burst of desire, "Ma qual novella affetto / Rende stupito il guardo, e il cor tremante." As the scene proceeds, it calls for a short one-section aria (now lost) to set six six-syllable lines (aabccb) while Amore attempts to refocus on his homicidal errand. In a soul-searching soliloquy (seventeen lines), he finally admits to himself that, rather than wound Psiche, he himself has been wounded by her beauty. Throughout this extended scene of thrilling intimacy, Amore is poised as the masculine voyeur with a sleeping Psiche as his presumptive female victim. Already violated by his gaze as she sleeps, Psiche awakens

Example 4.1 Alessandro Scarlatti, "Se d'angue vorace," *La Psiche* I, 12, I-Nc 33.4.5, fols. 116–17.

[Amore]

6
Se d'an-gue vo - ra-ce,

13
se d'an-gue vo - ra-ce cen - su - ra men - da-ce, il mon-do, a me

19
dà, _____ il mon-do, a me dà. Ch'un an-gue di -

25
mo - ri na - sco - sto trá fio - ri, nas - co - sto trá fio - ri stu - por no sa -

31
rà, no, _____ no, _____ no, stu - por no sa - rà. Ch'un an - gue di -

37
mo - ri na - sco - sto tra fio - ri stu - por no sa - rà, no, _____ no, _____

43
no, _____ no, stu - por no sa - rà, stu - por no sa - rà.

from a nightmare, sings a da capo duet with Amore in which she terms him a monster, and indignantly stabs him with his own arrow. After she has rushed away, Amore sings the lyrical E-minor, $\frac{3}{8}$ “Ch’in pianti gl’amanti” (Example 4.2), whose melody again sets the poetry in mostly syllabic fashion, in keeping with the approach favored overall by Scarlatti for this opera. Here again, the most characteristic motive is a descending scalar figure heard first in sequence over four measures of the opening bass line. Triple meter and a persistent dotted figure create

Example 4.2 Alessandro Scarlatti, “Ch’in pianti gli amanti,” *La Psiche* I, 17, I-Nc 33.4.5, fols. 110–11.

[Amore]

7
Ch'in pian-ti gl'a-man-ti dis - til - li - no il cor, — ch'in pian-ti gl'a-

15
man-ti dis - til - li - no il cor, è leg - ge del fa - to non è mio ri - gor, è

22
leg - ge del fa - to, è leg - ge del fa - to non è mio ri - gor, non è mio ri -

29
gor. Se d'un vol - to è in - na - mo - ra - to, è in - na - mo - ra - to ha da

Example 4.2 Continued

37
 pian - ge - re an - che a - mor, ha da pian - - -
 6 6 $\flat 6$ 6 $\flat 6$ 6 $\sharp 6$

45
 - ge - re an - che a - mor. Ch'in
 6 6 43

54
 pian - ti gl'a - man - ti dis - til - li - no, il cor. _____
 5 Da Capo al Fine

a dropping effect—as if the slithering snake has been turned away. The “pianti” suffered by the lover and “distilled” into tears by his wounded heart are captured in the halting dotted figure and descending melodic lines. In the second section, “piangere” suffers the expected descending diminished-fifth leap, and the vocal line is suitably broken up by rests for the rejected lover’s sobs, then proceeds as a gentle melisma to draw out “piangere” before the end of the middle section and subsequent *da capo*. The point, of course, as act 1 closes, is that “even love weeps and suffers from love” (“ha’ da piangere anch’ amor”) or, as Calderón’s original title explained, *Ni amor se libra de amor*.

Much of act 2 is taken up with exciting stage movement and visual effects: the arrival of Psiche’s family on a shipwrecked vessel, Psiche’s interactions with the other mortals, her desperation and attempted suicide, the movements of the tree-covered mountain and emergence of a ghost, and a comic scene for Liso and the satyrs. Amore returns (II, 8) accompanied by the Three Graces (his faithful maidservants, “fide nacelle”) and the allegorical figures of Musica, Poesia, and Richezza—another special presentation for Grossi, who most likely descended again on a machine. Amore sings “Se già mai di Amore il regno,” a bright major-key aria without *da capo* (Example 4.3), to celebrate his new status as a lover with exuberant melismatic enjoyment. “Risuono” is painted with a festive melisma outlining and filling in a first-inversion dominant chord. The drawn-out

Example 4.3 Alessandro Scarlatti, “Se già mai d’Amore il regno,” *La Psiche* II, 8, I-Nc
33.4.5, fols. 113–14.

The musical score is presented in two systems, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a bass line (bass clef). The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The first system begins with a vocal line marked [Amore] and a bass line. The second system starts at measure 4 and includes the following lyrics:

Se già mai d'A-mo-re il re-gno, d'A-mo-re il re-gno ri-suo-
no, ri-suo-no_____ d'e - co fe-stan - te,
d'e - - - - - co, d'e-co,
ri-suo-no_____ d'e - co fe-stan - te

The score includes measure numbers 4, 7, 9, and 12. A sharp sign (#) is present in the bass line at the beginning of measure 12.

Example 4.3 Continued

14
 del gio-ir var-chi o-gni se-gno hor ch'A-mo-re, hor ch'A-

16
 mo-re e fat-to a-man - - - - - te, e

19
 fat-to a-man-te. Del gio-ir var-chi o-gni se-gno hor ch'A-

22
 mo-re, hor ch'A-mo-re e fat-to a-man - - - - -

25
 - - - - - te, e fat-to a-man-te. - - - - -

The musical score consists of five systems, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a bass line (bass clef). The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The vocal line includes lyrics in Italian. The bass line provides harmonic support, often using sixteenth-note patterns and rests. Measure numbers 14, 16, 19, 22, and 25 are indicated at the start of each system.

melisma and echo effect for “deco” showed off Grossi’s tone and control, especially when the bass support falls away and the vocal line is punctuated by rests. This melisma and the next one both engage conjunct motion (for “amante”) but also feature interruption by rests. Amore leaps up an octave on an unaccented syllable at the end of a measure then pushes to arrive at a cadence in the relative minor of the dominant after the second melisma, as if to confirm “e fatto amante.” The final melisma again emphasizes “amante,” but this time engages disjunct motion, opening with a trumpet call and leaping up and down a perfect fourth. This disjunct figure is repeated following a rest, only to be polished off with an unexpected leap of a sixth to a unique sounding of the melody’s highest pitch and a

full octave's scalar descent from it. This fresh, energetic gesture brings the melody to a firm landing on the tonic (in the source, the aria is notated in F major with the vocal line in soprano clef; transposing it down a fifth into B-flat would suit Grossi's alto range). Given the many rests in the vocal part, some of them as long as three or four full beats, this aria about "the resoundingly festive eco" surely involved ritornelli and orchestral accompaniment to support the voice and provide counterpoint against it. This may even have been a trumpet aria—it stands out, compared to other extant arias from *La Psiche*, for its series of melismas and the fact that its vocal line traverses the singer's entire range. The lowest pitch in the melody twice becomes the launching point for scalar figures initiating new phrases. "Se già mai di Amore il regno" (if transposed down into B-flat) indulged Grossi's low notes while touching the top of his range, and exhibiting his control, vocal strength, and ability to sing melismas. Clearly, this aria was composed as a showcase for Grossi's talent in a spectacular scene visually enhanced by the allegorical figures flanking him. It also initiated another compound scene, much of whose music is lost. The closing aria, "Non più tormenti," is an aria of tortured love characterized by descending sequences that mostly fall by step, as if Amore has become weighted down again by the "torments" burdening his heart (Example 4.4). It requires delicacy, however, since Amore must initiate phrases on the highest notes of his range without preparation. If transposed down a fifth into Grossi's range, this aria requires that his top b^{\flat} be sounded eight times in each ABA' strophe, emphasizing Amore's protest, "non!" A well-trained seventeenth-century castrato would likely sing the highest note beautifully but softly.²³⁶ "Non più tormenti" also exemplifies Scarlatti's non-melismatic writing in *La Psiche*.

In another smoothly lyrical aria for Grossi, "Se fede non presti" (II, 10), Amore assures Psiche of his heartfelt devotion with a steady arpeggiation of major triads, unhurried consonance, gentle turns, and sigh figures (Example 4.5).²³⁷

It is easy to imagine that Grossi's sustained singing and beauty of tone were ravishingly effective in this aria when emanating from the intimacy of the dark or barely illuminated stage. Then, when he overhears Psiche responding to Anteo, Amore becomes jealous and laments his misfortune—as a deity he cannot die of his torment but instead must suffer the harshness of eternal martyrdom. After Psiche exits, Amore remains onstage, submerged in jealousy for "Non poter nel duol morire" ($\frac{3}{8}$, E minor in the manuscript sources, A minor within Grossi's range), a haunting Siciliana calling for a sustained legato

²³⁶ Consider the advice about high notes offered by early modern writers, including Tosi; "the higher the Notes, the more it is necessary to touch them with Softness to avoid Screaming," Tosi, *Opinioni*, 11–12; English translation, Galliard, *Observations on the Florid Song*, 19.

²³⁷ The aria is notated in A major in B-Ear, MS 1, pp. 94–100, but would be transposed into D major for Grossi's range.

Example 4.4 Alessandro Scarlatti, "Non più tormenti," *La Psiche* II, 8, I-Nc 33.4.5, fols. 106r–108.

[Amore]

4
Non più tor-men-ti ac-ce-so cor, ac-ce-so cor, ac-

8
ce-so cor! Non più tor-men-ti ac-ce-so cor du-ra mo-men-ti,

12
du-ra mo-men-ti pe-ne d'a-mor, du-ra mo-men-ti,

15
du-ra mo-men-ti pe-ne d'a-mor. Non più tor-

18
men-ti ac-ce-so cor, ac-ce-so cor,

21
ac-ce-so cor, non più tor-men-ti ac-ce-so

24
cor! Non più tor-men-ti ac-ce-so cor!

Example 4.5 Alessandro Scarlatti, “Se fede non presti,” *La Psiche* II, 10, B-Ear MS 1, pp. 94–100.

Amore

4
Se fe - de non pres - ti, se

9
fe - de non pres - ti a un cor, a un cor, che si

14
sfà, a un cor, che si sfà, a -

19
mor te l'at - tes - ti, a - mor te l'at - tes - ti, a - mor, che lo

24
sà, lo sà, lo sà, a - mor te l'at - tes - ti, a -

29
mor che lo sà, a - mor, a -

34
mor che lo sà, a - mor che lo sà.

Example 4.6 Alessandro Scarlatti, “Non poter nel duol morire,” *La Psiche* II, 11, I-Nc 33.4.5, fols. 103v–105v.

The musical score consists of two systems of staves. The top system shows the vocal line in treble clef and the basso continuo line in bass clef. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 6/8. The score is marked with a common time signature of 6/8 and includes a section labeled [Amore]. The lyrics are in Italian and are written below the vocal line. The score includes measure numbers 5, 10, 14, 18, 22, and 26. The lyrics are: "Non po-ter nel duol mo - ri - re, Non po - ter nel duol mo - ri - re e sof - frir pe - na si du - ra, pe - na si du - ra fà si cru - do, il mio mar - ti - re, ch'es - ser nu - me è mia sven - tu - ra, è — mia sven - tu - ra, — fà si cru - do, il mio mar - ti - re, ch'es - ser nu - me è mia sven - tu - ra, è mia sven - tu - ra, è mia sven - tu - ra." The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like *p*.

(Example 4.6). The melodic line again traverses the singer's range, invites careful control and precise intonation, and surely featured beauty of tone.

After a happy scene for Psiche, Amore finally confronts his mortal rival, Anteo, who has pursued Psiche with pure, unflinching devotion and thus earned the audience's sympathy. There are two surviving arias for the scene

of confrontation between the god and the mortal (III, 4), one for each singer. In “Tu scherzi col periglio,” Amore erupts, a furious deity burning with irritation as he attempts to warn off Anteo (Example 4.7; E minor in the manuscript source with soprano clef; b minor if transposed down a fourth into Grossi’s range). The opening of the aria requires Amore to explode without accompaniment, piercing the initial pitch of the primary motive at the top of his range after a rest and without preparation. Most of the vocal phrases begin with a descending leap from an unprepared high note following an accented rest, enhancing the impression that the aria is an angry outburst. Saved for act 3, this is Amore’s only fierce expression in the opera. It allowed Grossi to sing an *allegro concitato* whose primary melodic figures are characterized by disjunct motion, larger-than-normal leaps, dotted rhythms, and the sequentially applied rhythmic figure of an eighth note followed by two sixteenth notes to hammer out his words. The similarly agitated bass line with melodic figures in short note values and octave leaps lends credence to the threat in the aria’s poetry. Though the orchestral scoring has not survived, its power surely enhanced the effect of divine fury. Anteo’s response is a brilliantly intricate and elaborate bravura aria, such that listeners may well have been heartened by the mortal’s superior vocal power in this contest. Amore returns (III, 20, after a number of scenes exclusively involving mortals) to sing another compound scene at the climax of the opera (this music for this scene, Example 4.8, would also require downward transposition into Grossi’s range). In the recitative “Fra tante pene” he explains that he is tired after so much emotional upheaval (*pene* and *gioire*) and now hopes only to fall asleep to the sound of kisses (Example 4.8).

Climbing into bed as Psiche watches over him, the steady triple meter and reiterated motives in his slow, lyrical aria, “In dolce riposo,” lull him to sleep. The aria text is a very loose adaptation from the Calderón song-text performed by an unseen offstage supernatural choir in the analogous scene in *Ni amor se libra de amor*. In both poetic texts, the notion of “adoring” is linked to “the dear one I love” (“mio nume” in the opera, “mi dueño” and “mi amor” in the Spanish play) and to the idea of adoring while sleeping. Amore’s “In dolce riposo” is an elegant lullaby whose smooth melodic lines but surprising harmonies and rhythms achieve a special audible effect within the dimly lighted stage. The heightened intimacy of the scene surely impressed the audience. At this moment in the Calderón source play, Psiche commands a choir of mysterious voices who sing to lull Cupido into sleep (“Siempre acordado rumor, / Que velas en mi favor, / Canta algun tono a este sueño”).²³⁸ Hidalgo’s choral song,

²³⁸ *Tercera parte de comedias de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca* (Madrid: Domingo García Morrás, 1664) [E-Mn, R/10637], fol. 187.

Example 4.7 Alessandro Scarlatti, "Tu scherzi col periglio," *La Psiche* III, 4, GB-Lbl Add MS 14218, fols. 129v-130r.

[Amore]

Tu scher - zi col pe - ri - glio, e non l'in -

3 ten - di, nò, nò, e non l'in - ten - di, 6 26

6 quel mos - tro te - mu - to che vin - cer pre -

8 ten - di, che vin - cer pre - ten - di del rè del - le sfe - re dis - prez - za il po -

10 te - re. Ne te - me di Plu - to le fu - rie e gl'in - cen - di,

12 le fu - rie, le fu - rie e l'in - cen - di. Tu scher - zi col pe -

15 ri - glio e non l'in - ten - di, nò, nò, e

18 non l'in - ten - di. 6 26

Example 4.8 Alessandro Scarlatti, “Fra’ tante pene” and “In dolce riposo,” *La Psiche* III, 20, GB-Lbl Add MS 14218, fols. 124v–126r.

[Amore]

Fra tan - te pe - ne, e tan - te, stan - co di più gio -

3

i - re, i - do - lo mi - o, go - de sen - za sos - pir l' al - ma a - ne - lan - te. Ta -

6

ce - te l' au - re, ta - ce - te, e men - tre io cer - co in let - te rin - vi - go - rir gl' af -

9

fa - ti - ca - ti af - fet - ti. Tac - cia - no gl' au - gel - let - ti, le ce - tre, i fon - ti, i

12

ri - vi, — per lu - sin - ga - re il son - no a un cig - lio in - na - mo - ra - to,

16

15

il suon de' ba - ci è il mor - mo - rio più gra - to

Aria

18

6 6 46

Example 4.8 Continued

25
In dol - ce ri - po - so,

31
in dol - ce ri - po - so già go - do - no i ra - i. So -

37
a - ve, so - a - ve ri - sto -

44
ro, so - a - ve ri -

51
sto - ro mio nu - me vez - zo - so,

57
vez - zo - so, se des - to t'a - ma - i dor -

63
men - do t'a - do - ro,

Example 4.8 Continued

69

t'a - do - - - - ro,

76

se des - to t'a - ma - i dor -

82

men - do - t'a - do - ro,

88

t'a - do - ro.

94

The musical score consists of five systems of vocal and bass staves. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: "t'a - do - - - - ro," (69-75), "se des - to t'a - ma - i dor -" (76-81), "men - do - t'a - do - ro," (82-87), "t'a - do - ro." (88-93), and a final system (94) with a fermata. Annotations include a box around the bass line at measures 77-78 with a "♯6" below it, a box around the bass line at measures 80-81 with a "♯6" below it, and a box around the vocal line at measure 88 with a "[♯]" above it.

“Quedito, pasito, que duerme mi dueño” (Example 4.9), survives in more than one musical source.²³⁹

Scarlatti’s “In dolce riposo” for the same dramatic moment similarly employs descending lines with sustained and tied notes similar to those in “Quedito, pasito.” Strikingly, it also clearly quotes the widely known characteristic melodic gesture from Hidalgo’s “Quedito, pasito” from the parallel scene in the Calderón source play (some quotations can be gleaned from comparing Examples 4.8 and

²³⁹ E-Mn, MS 13622, fols. 49r–50r (Hidalgo); concordant settings in E-ALMA, MS Novena, 220–21; *Libro de música de la cofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Novena: manuscrito Novena*, ed. facs. Antonio Álvarez Cañibano (Madrid: CDMD, 2010), 220–21; Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 270–72, 394–221; Miguel Querol Gavaldá, *Teatro musical de Calderón* (Barcelona: CSIC, 1981), 87–90; Stein, “El manuscrito novena,” 211–13, 227–28; Felipe Pedrell, *Cancionero musical popular español* (Valls: Eduardo Castells, 1922), 4:22–28; Felipe Pedrell, *Teatro lírico español anterior al siglo XIX* (La Coruña, 1897–98), 5 vols., 4–5, 10–12.

Example 4.9 Juan Hidalgo, “Quedito pasito,” *Ni amor se libra de amor* III, E-Mn MS 13622, fols. 49–50.

(canta dentro la música)

Que-di - to, pa - si - to,
 Que - di - to, pa -
 Que - di - to, pa -
 Que - di - to, pa -

3
 que duer - me mi due - ño; que-di - to,
 si - to, que duer - me mi due - ño; que -
 si - to, que duer - me mi due - ño; que -
 si - to, que duer - me mi due - ño; que -

16 6
 5

Example 4.9 Continued

7

pa - si - to, que duer - me mi_a - mor.

di - to, pa - si - to, que duer - me mi_a -

di - to, pa - si - to, que duer - me mi_a -

di - to, pa - si - to, que duer - me mi_a - mor, mi_a -

8

6 5

11

Si can - táis dul - ces que - re - llas o ma - ti -

mor. Si can - táis dul - ces que - re - llas o ma - ti -

mor. Si can - táis dul - ces que - re - llas o ma - ti -

mor. Si can - táis dul - ces que - re - llas o ma - ti -

[Fine]

Example 4.9 Continued

14

za-dos pri-mo - res que, sien-do del cie-lo flo - res, tam-bién sois del

za-dos pri-mo - res que, sien-do del cie-lo flo - res, tam-bién sois del

za-dos pri-mo - res que, sien-do del cie-lo flo - res, tam-bién sois del

8 za-dos pri-mo - res que, sien-do del cie-lo flo - res, tam-bién sois del

18

cam-po.es - tre - llas, no me des - per - téis con e - llas el

cam-po.es-tre - llas, no me des - per-téis con e - llas el

cam - po.es-tre - llas, no me des - per-téis con e - llas el

8 cam-po.es - tre - llas, no me des - per - téis con e - llas el

Example 4.9 Continued

22

al - ma que_a-do - ro; que - di-to,el ru - mor. La vi - da que_es-ti - mo, pa -

al - ma que_a-do - ro; que - di-to,el ru - mor. La vi - da que_es-ti - mo, pa -

al - ma que_a-do - ro; que - di-to,el ru - mor. La vi - da que_es-ti - mo, pa -

8 al - ma que_a-do - ro; que - di-to,el ru - mor. La vi - da que_es-ti - mo, pa -

25

si-to,el cla-mor, y ya que le dais es-te_a-li-vio pe-que - ño,

si-to,el cla-mor, y ya que le dais es-te_a - li-vio pe - que - ño,

si-to,el cla-mor, y ya que le dais es-te_a-li-vio pe-que - ño,

8 si-to,el cla-mor, y ya que le dais es-te_a - li-vio [pe-que - ño,]

[D.C. al fine]

4.9, though the extant aria versions lack Scarlatti's string parts).²⁴⁰ Thus, Scarlatti pays direct homage to Carpio and his personal history by cleverly quoting audible gestures from Hidalgo's famous "Quedito, pasito." *Ni amor se libra de amor* was likely Carpio's last completed Madrid production before his 1662 trial and exile.

In the final scene of *La Psiche* (III, 23, "scena ultima"), Amore appears suddenly, most likely descending rapidly on a machine, to save Psiche from a desperate suicide. Scarlatti shaped Grossi's final appearance as Amore with a bit-sweet contrast between the hopeful resolution in the aria text and the almost

²⁴⁰ The references to Hidalgo's piece were first noted in Stein, "¿Escuchando a Calderón?," 217–19, with a musical example.

threatening combination of fast and driving rhythm, imposing bass line, and minor key. Amore begins “Può troppo l’affanno” with urgency (without a ritornello), and the aria is propelled by a reiterated rhythmic figure in the bass line (see Example 4.10). The combination of fast-paced syllabic writing, well-timed syncopation, and two melismas challenges the singer. The melody emphasizes the top fifth of the singer’s range, though it stretches to his lowest notes as well. Moreover, if transposed into his range, it calls for several soundings of Grossi’s

Example 4.10 Alessandro Scarlatti, “Può troppo l’affanno,” *La Psiche* III, 23, I-Nc 33.4.5, fols. 111v–112v.

[Amore]

Può trop - po, trop - po,

2
 può trop - po l'af - fan - no di va - ga bel - tà,

4
 6
 può trop - po l'af - fan - no di va - ga bel - tà, può trop - po l'af -

6
 #6
 fan - no di va - ga bel - tà: dis - giun - ti non van - no

8
 6
 A - mo - re, e pie - tà, A - mo - re, e pie -

11
 6 6 6 6 6
 tà A - mo - re, e pie - tà, e pie - tà.

Example 4.10 Continued

13
Può trop-po, trop - po, può trop - po l'af-fan - no di va - ga bel -

15
tà, _____ può trop - po l'af-fan - no di va - ga bel -

17
tà, può trop - po l'af-fan - no di va - ga bel - tà!

high note, either preceded by a rest or approached by leap or by step. The leap to the high note at the close of the second melisma might be particularly affective, depending on how the singer manipulated its timing.

Paired with Zuffi's womanly sound, Grossi's sensitive singing was the primary vocal attraction in *La Psiche*, supporting the opera's overall emphasis on both audible and visible intimacy. But Scarlatti also put to good use the high-soprano talent of Besci, Amore's opponent, Anteo, in the plot. Although Besci sang fewer numbers in the role of Anteo than did Grossi as Amore, De Totis and Scarlatti structured the opera so that he is never overshadowed by Grossi onstage. Anteo and Amore appear onstage together only for their confrontation (III, 4), at whose conclusion Grossi has clearly been outsung by the high-soprano Besci's "D'un mostro a gli artigli." This bravura aria for Anteo (Example 4.11) has several outstanding features, folding different varieties of vocal display into its two strophes.

After the first eighteen measures of the A section, the harmony seems directed toward the relative minor, but moves instead to F major (V), smack in the middle of a long melisma that reveals the vocal part as a kind of perpetual-motion machine, pushing into the dominant. Just as the cadence arrives, the scalar eighth-note motion is lifted from the voice and placed in the bass line. The bass line restates the motive from the opening ritornello, while the voice attacks a sustained high *f* held for six measures and then probably turned into a trill to herald the coming V-I cadence in the tonic (m. 31 in Example 4.11). The long melisma and sustained high *f* illustrate the word "costante," demonstrating how Anteo's faithful heart ("petto costante") holds out against the battering motion of the

Example 4.11 Alessandro Scarlatti, “D’un mostro agli artigli,” *La Psiche* III, 4, I-Nc 33.5.37, fols. 113v–116.

[Anteo] D'un mo -

4 - stro_a-gl'ar - ti - gli, d'un mo - stro_a-gl'ar -

9 ti - gli hò pet - to cos - tan -

14

19

24

Example 4.11 Continued

29

te, cos - tan - te. Son cie-co.ai pe -

34

ri - gli, ai pe - ri - gli, per - che so-no_a - man - te, son

39

cie co.ai pe - ri - gli, per - che so - no_a -

44

man - te, per che so - no_a -

49

man - te. D'un mo - stro_a-gl'ar - ti - gli,

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for a vocal piece, continuing from a previous page. It consists of five systems of music, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a bass line (bass clef). The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor). The time signature is not explicitly shown but appears to be common time. The lyrics are in Italian. The first system (measures 29-33) has the vocal line starting with a half note 'te', followed by a quarter note 'cos', a half note 'tan', and a quarter note 'te'. The bass line starts with a half note 'te', followed by a quarter note 'cos', a half note 'tan', and a quarter note 'te'. The second system (measures 34-38) has the vocal line starting with a quarter note 'ri', a quarter note 'gli', a quarter note 'ai', a quarter note 'pe', a quarter note 'ri', a quarter note 'gli', a quarter note 'per', a quarter note 'che', a quarter note 'so', a quarter note 'no', a quarter note 'a', a quarter note 'man', a quarter note 'te', and a quarter note 'son'. The bass line starts with a quarter note 'ri', a quarter note 'gli', a quarter note 'ai', a quarter note 'pe', a quarter note 'ri', a quarter note 'gli', a quarter note 'per', a quarter note 'che', a quarter note 'so', a quarter note 'no', a quarter note 'a', a quarter note 'man', a quarter note 'te', and a quarter note 'son'. The third system (measures 39-43) has the vocal line starting with a quarter note 'cie', a quarter note 'co', a quarter note 'ai', a quarter note 'pe', a quarter note 'ri', a quarter note 'gli', a quarter note 'per', a quarter note 'che', a quarter note 'so', a quarter note 'no', a quarter note 'a', and a quarter note 'a'. The bass line starts with a quarter note 'cie', a quarter note 'co', a quarter note 'ai', a quarter note 'pe', a quarter note 'ri', a quarter note 'gli', a quarter note 'per', a quarter note 'che', a quarter note 'so', a quarter note 'no', a quarter note 'a', and a quarter note 'a'. The fourth system (measures 44-48) has the vocal line starting with a quarter note 'man', a quarter note 'te', a quarter note 'per', a quarter note 'che', a quarter note 'so', a quarter note 'no', a quarter note 'a', and a quarter note 'a'. The bass line starts with a quarter note 'man', a quarter note 'te', a quarter note 'per', a quarter note 'che', a quarter note 'so', a quarter note 'no', a quarter note 'a', and a quarter note 'a'. The fifth system (measures 49-53) has the vocal line starting with a quarter note 'man', a quarter note 'te', a quarter note 'D', a quarter note 'un', a quarter note 'mo', a quarter note 'stro', a quarter note 'a', a quarter note 'gl', a quarter note 'ar', a quarter note 'ti', a quarter note 'gli', and a quarter note 'a'. The bass line starts with a quarter note 'man', a quarter note 'te', a quarter note 'D', a quarter note 'un', a quarter note 'mo', a quarter note 'stro', a quarter note 'a', a quarter note 'gl', a quarter note 'ar', a quarter note 'ti', a quarter note 'gli', and a quarter note 'a'.

bass line. Scarlatti's contrapuntal ingenuity is brilliant. The aria was surely fully-scored (though there are no surviving string parts) to enhance the setting with even more contrapuntal and combinatorial invention. It may well have featured an obbligato violin to compete with the virtuoso singer. Anteo's firm constancy, his "petto costante," is aptly described; when the vocal part stands up vividly to the ever-roving bass and turns of harmony, the singer is indeed oblivious to the dangers ("cieco a i perigli," as the libretto explains) of sliding out of alignment or losing a chance to breathe, while the melismas and long-held high *f* show him to be "intrepido e forte." The notion of moving "against the foundation" ("incontro il cemento") is at the heart of this aria in that the voice must contend with the misleads and unexpected material introduced in the bass line. This virtuoso aria conveys Anteo's human integrity, solidity, and moral triumph over fate. Needless to say, the stage directions permitted Amore/Grossi to exit the stage before Besci's fabulous virtuoso performance.

Il Pompeo

The third opera of the 1683–84 season, Scarlatti's *Il Pompeo*, was expected to be "più bella e più curiosa di tutte per le macchine et inventioni superbe che si preparano" and was recognized as an "opera heroica," in contrast to Carpio's first two productions.²⁴¹ *Il Pompeo* received its Neapolitan premiere at the palace on 3 February 1684. It was moved to the public theater during carnival, apparently remaining in production until the end of carnival (22 February). The libretto by Nicolò Minato, *Pompeo Magno*, was first set by Francesco Cavalli for the Teatro San Salvatore in Venice, 1666, dedicated to Maria Mancini Colonna.²⁴² The same libretto was adapted by an unnamed poet for the 1683 Roman production at the Colonna palace. The shorter, modernized, "streamlined" libretto carries a dedication to Lorenza de la Cerda, inviting a respectful parallel.²⁴³ Carpio surely had not seen the Roman production, but likely heard about its success from Lorenza, so this may have influenced his decision to produce *Il Pompeo* in Naples. The brevity of the 1684 Neapolitan carnival, and the fact that *La Psiche* had demanded so many resources and received such a delayed premiere, may also have conditioned the decision to produce a *rifacimento* of *Il Pompeo*, rather than an entirely new opera. Some of the singers from Colonna's Roman production likely sang in Carpio's Naples production as well.

Il Pompeo is an exciting opera with an array of gripping scenes and touching arias, though the ancient historical story did not call for the striking supernatural effects that had characterized *La Psiche*. Nevertheless, Carpio's 1684 Naples production was more visually spectacular than its Roman antecedent.²⁴⁴ The reading in the sole extant bound manuscript score for the opera, B-Br MS II 3962, is closer to that of the Rome libretto, but this score's origin is unknown. It lacks settings of

²⁴¹ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 96, fol. 91–91v and fol. 95v, 1 February 1684: "Si van preparando con sollecitudine il scenario a Palazzo per la terza opera, che sarà più bella e più curiosa di tutte per le macchine e invenzioni superbe che si preparano, e si dice che se reciterà domani a sera." 8 February 1684: "Giovedì a palazzo avanti il Signore Viceré e questa nobiltà fu per la terza commedia rappresentata in musica il Pompeo opera eroica, e si seguirà nel teatro di San Bartolomeo in questi giorni di carnevale."

²⁴² *Il Pompeo Magno. Drama per musica nel Teatro a S. Salvatore per l'anno 1666* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1666), Sartori 18953, I-Bu, A.III.Caps.099.78; a manuscript score is I-Vnm It.IV.377(=9901).

²⁴³ De Lucca, *The Politics*, 250–60; Alessandro Scarlatti, *Il Pompeo*, ed. John H. Roberts, Handel Sources: Materials for the study of Handel's Borrowing 6 (New York: Garland Publishing, 1986), ix; Marco Micheletti, "La fortuna del Pompeo di Alessandro Scarlatti," *Studi musicali* 6 (2015): 37–95; and Marco Micheletti, "Il Pompeo di A. Scarlatti (Roma 1683)" (Tesi di laurea magistrale, Università di Bologna, 2014); Tamburini, *Due teatri*, 151–53, presents documents pertaining to staging, costumes, and rehearsals for the 1683 production. Sara Elisa Stangalino, "Da Venezia e Vienna a Roma: drammi musicali per Lorenza de la Cerda Colonna," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines* 130 (2018), 447–462, is an important study of four libretti dedicated to Lorenza de la Cerda, including the 1683 *Il Pompeo*.

²⁴⁴ Both the 1683 and 1684 libretti survive: see Sartori 18941; I-Bc, Lo.06972, *Il Pompeo. Drama per musica del sig. Nicolo Minato. Dedicato all'illustriss. & ecc. signora d.na Laurentia de la Cerda Colonna principessa di Paliano* (Rome: Carlo Giannini, 1683), and Sartori 18942, I-Rn, 34.2.C.30.3, *Il Pompeo. Drama per musica rappresentato nel Real Palazzo nel presente anno 1684. Consecrato all'eccellentissimo signore D. Gasparo d'Haro y Gusmano, marchese del Carpio* (Naples: Carlo Porsile, 1684).

new texts introduced in the 1684 Naples libretto.²⁴⁵ Comparing the Roman and Neapolitan libretti reveals that Scarlatti reshaped the opera somewhat for Naples, though he seems to have retained a good deal of music from the 1683 Rome production, especially in act 3. With an unnamed collaborator (probably De Totis) the first two acts were revised, strengthening the drama for Naples while providing new arias and other changes that showcased the talents of a new cast.

The conventional opening set revealed the gates of ancient Rome with a view of the city in the distance, exploiting the effect of deep perspective (as had some scenes in *Il Lisimaco*, produced the previous year). In a “Viva” chorus, a crowd acclaiming Pompeo as he arrives in a triumphal carriage surrounded by his army. In the Naples libretto, a captain (or captains) sings two strophes, reinforcing and prolonging this display of Imperial power. Pompeo has conquered the kingdom of Pontus, but its king, Mitridate, has escaped. Mitridate’s queen, Issicratea, and son, Farnace, are among the prisoners taken by Pompeo. Farnace refuses to submit when slaves and other prisoners throw themselves to the ground at the feet of the conqueror. In a magnanimous gesture, Pompeo decides to celebrate his victory by unexpectedly setting beautiful Queen Issicratea and young Farnace free, in recognition of their noble lineage. Pompeo’s son, Sesto, falls in love with Issicratea, as does Claudio (a son of Caesar). Issicratea rejects both suitors and remains faithful to Mitridate, who is still alive and secretly making his way to Rome in disguise. Mitridate plans to assassinate Pompeo and rescue his family. He meets Farnace in a garden (I, 7), but Farnace does not recognize him. Mitridate slips away after Issicratea sees him for the first time and faints, though he reveals himself later when they unite in another garden (I, 12). Pompeo plans to marry Giulia, a daughter of Caesar, but she is promised to Scipione Servilio.

The opera flows swiftly as these currents of the plot are exposed in act 1, launched first by the opening chorus and then by arias of focused intensity that expose the characters’ primary intentions. This exposition was designed to claim the audience’s attention, beginning with the crowd scene and choral opening for Pompeo’s arrival in a showy carriage, but scenes of intimacy provide striking contrast. When love is openly declared among the arches of a regal “Galleria,” first between Giulia and Scipione (I, 5), and then between Pompeo and Giulia (I, 6), the audience observes and overhears these private interactions in voyeuristic fashion. Scenes exposing mistaken identity are similarly exciting, such as when the disguised Mitridate meets his son Farnace (I, 7) and then his wife Issicratea and her suitors (I, 8). This excitement again leads to scenes of increased intimacy warmed by conjugal joy (I, 12) when, in another garden, described as “Giardino con Bosco, e Fontane da lavare,” Mitridate and Issicratea embrace. The sleep scene of act 1 provides a special glimpse of intimacy slashed by threatened violence and dramatic suspense. Near the close of act 1, Pompeo assures Farnace

²⁴⁵ B-Br, MS II 3962, is reproduced in the facsimile edition Alessandro Scarlatti, *Il Pompeo*, ed. Roberts.

of his favor, then sings himself to sleep (I, 13), observed by the hidden Mitridate, who emerges from a leafy hiding place and, in a shocking juxtaposition between soothing music and violent stage movement, is about to kill Pompeo. Farnace (still without realizing that Mitridate is his father) stops him just as the unsuspecting Pompeo awakens from a nightmare. A frightened Issicratea urges Miridate to escape, while Farnace soothes Pompeo and convinces him to leave the garden by inventing the threat of a menacing snake.

A number of differences between the Rome and Naples libretti for *Il Pompeo* illustrate how the opera was revised for its 1684 Naples production (see Table 4.2), though the Naples score has not been located.²⁴⁶ Significantly, musical settings for the new or replacement aria texts from the Naples 1684 libretto do not appear in the long list of arie staccate from *Il Pompeo* preserved in diverse manuscript anthologies,²⁴⁷ suggesting perhaps that the Naples arias did not circulate widely but may have been closely associated with the individual singers in the Naples cast.

Scarlatti's changes for Naples affect all the roles to varying degrees. Some of the revisions surely were necessary because the cast in Rome 1683 had been entirely male. For Naples 1684, Scarlatti retained the low-voice casting for Pompeo (tenor) and Cesare (bass). The role of Giulia, "perfetto esempio di *mulier domestica*," was sung in the Rome production by the contralto castrato Bartolomeo Montalcino in Rome,²⁴⁸ so it required some replacement arias in Naples 1684, where it was sung by female soprano Teresa Laura Rossi. Issicratea, the female protagonist, was sung by soprano Giulia Zuffi in Naples, rather than the Rome production's soprano castrato Giuseppe Antonio Sansone.²⁴⁹ Mitridate, a tenor in Rome, became an alto castrato role for Grossi in Naples, and Scipione Servilio and Farnace remained soprano castrato roles sung by different types of singers in Naples.

My sense is that Scarlatti increased the drama of the opera's music for the Naples production in accord with the new staging by Schor and Vaccaro (all references to extant music from *Il Pompeo* here refer to the Brussels manuscript, B-Br, MS II 3962). In the opening scene, for example, new strophes sung by the captains prolong the time that the crowd of characters remains onstage, framed by the triumphal set with Rome in the distance. The first aria in the 1683 Roman production, Sesto's "Non ammorzar la face tiranno Cupido," was replaced in the Naples

²⁴⁶ Micheletti, "La fortuna del Pompeo," 45, notes, "Il testo drammatico subisce sostanziali modifiche rispetto a Rm83. L'ordine delle scene rimane il medesimo, ma ne vengono aggiunte tre (I,9; II, 3 e 12; tutte per Scipione solo). In totale il dramma conta 9 arie aggiunte, e 13 con testo rimpiazzato"; Micheletti, "Il Pompeo di A. Scarlatti," 123–30 provides a detailed analysis.

²⁴⁷ See especially Micheletti, "Il Pompeo di A. Scarlatti," 104–8; Amato, "Le antologie di arie e cantate," *passim*; Rostrirolla, "Catalogo generale delle opere di Alessandro Scarlatti," 335–36; Lindgren and Murata, *The Barberini Manuscripts of Music*, 140–44 and *passim*.

²⁴⁸ A penetrating study of this singer, his likely vocal and histrionic talents, and his role in the Rome 1683 *Il Pompeo* and *La Tesselonica* is Barbara Nestola, "I ruoli femminili per Bartolomeo Montalcino in due romane di Alessandro Scarlatti: Indagine sulla relazione tra repertorio e interprete," in *Spectacles et performances artistiques à Rome (1644–1740): Un analyse historique à partir des archives familiales de l'aristocratie*, ed. Anne-Madeleine Goulet (Rome: L'École française de Rome, 2021) 405–418. <https://books.openedition.org/efr/17607>.

²⁴⁹ Nestola, "I ruoli femminili," is particularly insightful concerning Sansone.

Table 4.2 Aria Texts in the Libretto for *Il Pompeo*, Naples 1684

Rome 1683 or Naples 1684?	Scene in Naples	Poetic Incipit	character
	I, 1	“Ecco arriva”	Coro
New Naples 1684	I, 1	“Ogni forza si vince, e si doma” 2 strophes	Capitano
New Naples 1684	I, 2	“Care pene” 1 strophe, opens scene	Sesto
Rome 1683	I, 2	“Per te se’ l chiedi” 1 strophe da capo aria, closes this scene; E minor in B-Br MS II 3962, fol. 15v; text of aria has variants (Naples 1684 provides only the first strophe)	Sesto
New Naples 1684	I, 3	“Se fine al martire” 1 strophe to open I, 3	Issicratea
New Naples 1684	I, 3	“Pietà luci belle” da capo	Claudio
Rome 1683	I, 3	“Questo ciel che produce tanti amanti”	Harpalia
New Naples 1684	I, 3	“Più ch’il ciel tenta d’abbattere”	Issicratea
New Naples 1684	I, 4	“Sostener con alma forte” 6 verses in the aria, followed by 12 of recitative whose text is excerpted from the Roman libretto but with 2 added verses; this opens a compound solo scene for Mitridate in B-Br MS II 3962,	Mitridate
New Naples 1684	I, 4	“Resta ancor qualche speranza” 5 verses, ends this solo scene	Mitridate
New Naples 1684	I, 5	“Cervo al fonte, aquila al Sole”	Scipione
New Naples 1684	I, 5	“Chi non conosce amore” da capo	Scipione
New Naples 1684	I, 5	“Son gioie mensogniere” da capo	Giulia
Rome 1683	I, 5	“Dimmi, fido mi sarai?” duet, 2 strophes	Scipione, Giulia
Rome 1683 (2 strophes)	I, 6	“Che giova, che per me” 1 strophe in Naples libretto	Pompeo
Rome 1683	I, 6	“So ch’intorno a questo core”	Giulia
New Naples 1684	I, 7	“E possibile” short aria text to begin a scene of recitative and interaction; the recitative dialogue is from Rome 1683	Mitridate
Rome 1683	I, 8	“Sposo amato e dove sei” 1 strophe in Naples 1684	Issicratea

Table 4.2 Continued

Rome 1683 or Naples 1684?	Scene in Naples	Poetic Incipit	character
Rome 1683	I, 8	“Amor preparami”	Claudio
New Naples 1684	I, 9	“Sai più, che bramare” da capo aria opens solo scene for Scipione; he continues with a recitative and another aria	Scipione
New Naples 1684	I, 9	“Van di rado insieme unite” da capo	Scipione
New Naples 1684	I, 10	“Partite dal core”	Pompeo
Rome 1683 I, 9	I, 10	“Quelle fiamme dio bendato”	Giulia
Rome 1683 I, 10	I, 11	“Bellezza, che s’ama”	Sesto
Rome 1683 I, 10	I, 11	“A chi serve, e pur dannosa”	Harpalia
New Naples 1684	I, 12	“Riu, che corrono”	Mitridate
Rome 1683, I, 11	I, 12	“Sposo/Mio ben/Mio amore” a 2	Mitridate Issicratea
Rome 1683, I, 11	I, 12	“Che contento dà mai la speranza”	Issicratea
Rome 1683	I, 13	“Sonno placido nume”	Pompeo
Rome 1683	I, 13	“Dolce oblio sonno cortese” [assigned to Farnace in B-Br MS II 3962]	Pompeo
Rome 1683	II, 1	“Bella crudel, pietà” Largo in B-Br MS II 3962	Pompeo
New Naples 1684	II, 2	“Come hai nel seno”	Giulia
New Naples 1684	II, 3	“Anime tormentate” probably a recitative monologue	Scipione
New Naples 1684	II, 3	“Non venite a schiere a schiere”	Scipione
Rome 1683 II, 3	II, 4	“Guerrieri prendete”	Cesare
Rome 1683 II, 3	II, 4	“Viva, viva Pompeo” coro	Militie
Rome 1683 II, 3	II, 4	“Non mi curo della vita”	Pompeo
Rome 1683 II, 3	II, 4	“Viva, viva Pompeo” coro	Militie

(continued)

Table 4.2 Continued

Rome 1683 or Naples 1684?	Scene in Naples	Poetic Incipit	character
New Naples 1684	II, 5	“Una speme lusinghiera” 2 da capo strophes, opens scene	Sesto
New Naples 1684	II, 5	“La sorte mi tormenta” ^a 2 da capo strophes	Sesto
Rome 1683 II, 5	II, 6	“La speranza mi tradisce” 2 strophes	Issicratea
Rome 1683 II, 5	II, 6	“O cessate di piagarmi” 2 da capo strophes	Sesto
Rome 1683 II, 7	II, 8	“Rendimi la mia pace” [allegro, ϕ_1^3 time signature in B-Br MS II 3962, fols. 124–26]	Claudio
Rome 1683 II, 8	II, 9	“Tormentosa gelosia” 2 strophes	Mitridate
Rome 1683 II, 8	II, 9	“Ruscelletto almen tu puoi” assigned to Farnace in Rome 1683 libretto, though it seems assigned to Mitridate in B-Br MS II 3962, fols. 130v–133.	Mitridate
Rome 1683 II, 9	II, 10	“Tanto e dir, che d'altri rai”	Giulia
Rome 1683 II, 10	II, 11	“Sciogli i lacci, senza i nodi” 2 strophes in Rome, 1 strophe in Naples [II, 12 in Naples is lacking in Rome 1683]	Giulia
Rome 1683 I, 4	II, 12	“Toglietemi la vita ancor” 3 strophes for Mitridate in Rome 1683	Scipione
New Naples 1684	II, 12	“Son guerriero, e non amante” da capo aria, 1 strophe	Scipione
Rome 1683 II, 11	II, 13	“Cieche tenebre” 2 strophes	Sesto
Rome 1683 II, 13	II, 15	“Io, che intendo ciò, che fu”	Harpalia
Rome 1683 II, 14	II, 16	“Ogn' hora misero”	Mitridate
Rome 1683 II, 14	II, 16	“Senza morire” 2 strophes	Sesto
Rome 1683 III, 1	III, 1	“Chi di voi, alme d'Averno” 2 strophes	Mitridate
Rome 1683 III, 1	III, 1	“Lusingami speranza” 2 strophes	Issicratea
Rome 1683 III, 2	III, 2	“Condizione umana men felice”	Pompeo

Table 4.2 Continued

Rome 1683 or Naples 1684?	Scene in Naples	Poetic Incipit	character
Rome 1683 III, 3	III, 3	“Più, ch’io penso me n’intendo”	Issicratea
Rome 1683 III, 3	III, 3	“Chi lascia impunito”	Pompeo
Rome 1683 III, 4	III, 4	“Date senso a questi marmi” 2 strophes	Sesto
Rome 1683 III, 5	III, 5	“Vendetta, vendetta” “Su, su vendetta vendetta” in B-Br MS II 3962, fol. 183v	Issicratea
New Naples 1684	III, 5	“Se pene amare”	Sesto
Rome 1683 III, 5	III, 5	“Se giammai del mio martire”	Issicratea
Rome 1683 III, 6	III, 6	“L’adorata / Ingrata”	Claudio
Rome 1683 II, 6	III, 6	“Della ragion tiranno”	Claudio
Rome 1683 III, 9	III, 8	“Bella gioia è la pietà”	Pompeo
Rome 1683 III, 9	III, 9	“Che contrasto nel mio core”	Scipione
Rome 1683 III, 10	III, 10	“Vilipeso, e disprezzato”	Giulia
Rome 1683 III, 11	III, 11	“Tramutatevi in sospiri”	Issicratea
New Naples 1684	III, 11	“Non ha core, ò ha cor di fiera,” “Aria” in Naples libretto	Farnace?
III, 13 in B-Bc score, fols. 233v–236r		NOTE: B-Br MS II 3962 includes an aria for Issicratea just after her last lines of recitative in this scene, and that happy two-strophe aria, “Sei bella o libertà,” ends the opera in B-Br MS II 3962, fols. 233v–236, so that the final speeches of Scipione and Farnace are excluded.	
Rome 1683	III, 13	“Imparate o mortali” closes the opera in Naples; not included in B-Br MS II 3962	Farnace

^a This aria text is lightly revised from its appearance in I, 8 of Scarlatti’s *L’Arsate* (Rome, 1683), libretto by Flavio Orsini, as noted in Micheletti, “Il Pompeo di A. Scarlatti,” 71.

production by an aria on what looks to have been an entirely different state of affect. In “Non ammorzar,” Sesto initiates his determined pursuit of Issicratea in a hopeful G major (fols. 12v–13), whereas the text of his new aria in the Naples libretto, “Care pene / Che quest’ alma tormentate / Lacerate questo cor / Amor me impiaga / E mi risana amor?” (I, 2), addresses the torment of unrequited love. Likewise, Issicratea’s “Se fine al martire” (I, 3) replaces “Questi lumi lacrimosi” to accomplish a radical deepening of affect—in the Naples text Issicratea sings about killing herself, whereas in the Roman aria she merely elaborated a metaphor about constant sadness. The subsequent scene designed for Claudio (I, 3) is shortened in both the extant score and the Naples libretto, though Scarlatti provided a new, now-lost da capo aria on the new text (“Pietà luci belle” replacing “Ah, crudele”) describing a similar state of affect. Issicratea’s “Più ch’l ciel tenta d’abbattere” (I, 3), new for Naples, does not propose a very different affect compared to “Sposo, regno, e libertà” from Rome 1683. Both texts confirm Issicratea’s determined constancy and sterling character, though the poetry for Naples seems more modern. Scarlatti’s new aria, “Più ch’l ciel tenta d’abbattere,” was most likely supplied to better fit Zuffi as Issicratea. It was probably a fully-scored, through-composed aria with concitato figures, in the same vein as the aria it replaced (“Sposo, regno, e libertà”). In I, 5, The aria shared between Scipione and Giulia in the Naples libretto (each sings one da capo strophe), “Chi non conosce amore” / “Son gioie mensogniere” replaces “Chi ritrova il dio d’amore” / “Da Cupido a chi rigore,” with a similar message, though the extant setting of this scene (fols. 35–38v) reveals that Scarlatti perhaps originally set the Roman aria as two clearly non-da capo strophes.

The role of Mitridate was performed by a tenor in the Rome 1683 production, but because Grossi (an alto) was cast in this role for Naples, it required important changes. The first extended solo scene for Mitridate (I, 4) was almost entirely rewritten for the Naples libretto, offering a clue as to how the role suited Grossi. The opening thirteen lines of poetry in the Minato libretti (Venice 1666 and Rome 1683) are excised in Naples 1684, where a new aria text begins the scene, followed by twelve central lines of poetry for recitative from the Rome libretto. The scene in the Naples libretto closes with another new aria text for Grossi, augmenting the character’s decisive masculinity and shaping him as the sort of steady male who confronts fate head on in the first aria, while maintaining the tender hope that his constancy will be rewarded in the closing aria of the scene. Most striking, the declamatory “Toglietemi la vita ancor” is removed from this scene in the Naples libretto and reassigned to Scipione later in the opera, in his extended solo scene act 2, scene 12.²⁵⁰ This is just one of several adjustments, enhancements, and expansions of the role of Scipione in the Naples libretto,

²⁵⁰ The aria text “Toglietemi la vita ancor” originated in act 1, scene 11 of Nicolò Minato’s libretto *Il silenzio di Harpocrate* first set by Antonio Draghi for Vienna, 1677; Sartori 22010; I-Rc, COMM 326 2, pp. 30–31. See Norbert Dubowy, “Opera di Draghi in Italia?,” in *Quel novo Cario, quel divin Orfeo: Antonio Draghi da Rimini a Vienna: atti del convegno internazionale*, ed. Emilio Sala and Davide Daolmi (Lucca: LIM, 2000), 231.

surely motivated by the fact that Besci was cast in this role for Naples. For example, in the scene of mutual romance in the “Galleria” between Giulia and Scipione (I, 5), Scipione’s character is strengthened in that he sings a new aria text, “cervo al fonte, aquila al sole,” to invest the scene with energetic haste (he has long yearned to be reunited with Giulia). It replaces an aria for Giulia in the Rome libretto that is lacking in the extant score, in any case. In Naples, Scipione and Giulia then sing consecutive da capo strophes of another new aria, before closing with a duet whose text (and possibly music) they had also sung in Rome.

Following these crucial introductory scenes, in which Grossi’s voice and histrionic flair characterized Mitridate, Besci projected Scipione, and Zuffi shaped Issicratea, the Naples libretto largely follows the Roman libretto for act 1, but telling exceptions again emerge from the contrasting castrato roles of Mitridate and Scipione. In Mitridate’s first garden scene (act 1 scene 7 in the “Giardino”), the more intimate setting allows him to recognize and sing about his tender feelings for his son, the unsuspecting Farnace, though he is constrained to hide his identity from the confused young man. The first eight lines of Minato’s libretto for the scene are deleted in the extant score (fol. 44), and the scene begins in recitative when Mitridate sees Farnace approaching. In the Naples libretto, however, Mitridate has a reflective private moment and sings an aria instead. His aria, “E possibile / Che splendesse al mio natale,” precedes the recitative interaction. A shorter aria for the tenor Mitridate in the Roman score, “Date pace afflitto core,” inserted following Farnace’s first line of recitative, was removed in Naples. In the Naples libretto, this clear separation between private reflection and dialogue, and between scene-opening aria and interactive recitative, seems an advance over Minato’s 1666 original. In fact, however, the Cavalli setting of the scene (I, 12) in *Il Pompeo Magno* also begins with an aria for Mitridate, albeit with a discursive poetic text that was excised in Naples, perhaps because it was old fashioned. By assigning Mitridate a scene-opening aria that guided the audience to focus entirely on Grossi in the Naples production, Scarlatti and his librettist made sure that the alto had the stage entirely to himself while singing an aria designed especially for his voice. Grossi as Mitridate opens the scene with an extended recitative monologue (thirteen lines of poetry for recitative) about his suffering, replete with occasions for declamatory emphasis and word-painting through lyrical insertions as he unburdens himself to the natural world around him. This leads to an aria (two eight-line strophes) on a long metaphorical text, “Riu, che corrono” (replacing “Che stupor se’pene acerbe” from the Roman 1683 libretto), to assure that his amorous suffering is echoed and reinforced by elements of nature—river, birds, breezes, rays of light, waves of the sea, and so on. Here it is easy to imagine a lyrical musical setting with a smooth vocal line emphasizing Grossi’s famously beautiful sound and elegant delivery, with sustained notes for the messa di voce. It may be more than coincidental that in Carpio’s most elaborately musical Madrid production, *Celos aun del aire matan*, an important scene established conventional musical gestures for such invocations to the powers of a sympathetic

universe and elements of nature, and that many subsequent scenes in Spanish zarzuelas featured the same audible convention.²⁵¹

Although no music from Naples seems to have survived for act 1 scenes 9 and 10—the first an extended solo scene for Scipione and the second for Pompeo—these scenes provided opportunities for soprano Besci and tenor Michele Fregiotti to establish the inner lives of their characters. The scene for Scipione (I, 9 in Naples) is entirely absent from the Roman libretto (and from B-Br MS II 3962), presumably because Scarlatti designed it especially for Besci. It opens with a da capo aria text, “Sai più, che bramare / Acceso mio cor,” whose first section about inflamed jealousy might call for the energetic singing Besci was known for, in contrast to a smaller middle section about sweetness. A second aria for Scipione, “Van di rado insieme unite / Gran bellezza e fedeltà,” closes the scene, its poetry emphasizing both great beauty and great fidelity, in a musical setting that likely illustrated Scipione’s celebration of Giulia’s beauty and constancy with decorative, major-key emphasis.

Pompeo renews his pursuit of Giulia in the next scene, and, after Giulia rejects him, in the Naples libretto he sings a short, direct recitative and a new aria text “Partite dal core / Fuggite volate,” which would call for a spirited, concitato setting. The aria added by Scarlatti in Naples underscores Pompeo’s anger at this rejection. Giulia nevertheless ends the scene in both the Rome and Naples libretti with the unequivocal “Quelle fiamme dio bendato.” At the opposite side of the affective spectrum, the Naples libretto retains Pompeo’s big fully-scored aria from the Roman libretto’s act 1, “Sonno placido nume” (I, 13), though the extant musical setting offers a slightly different text (Example 4.12a).²⁵²

Pompeo calls on sleep, the “tranquil deity,” to cure his ills and restore his frayed patience. In the beautifully expansive extant D-major setting, the opening ritornello features two-note slurs between violin parts paired at the third in a descending progression that is then exchanged into the basso continuo line with the strings providing gentle chords of accompaniment before the voice enters with a sustained notes for “Sonno” supported by the arrival of the tonic chord; thus, the voice enters before the actual close of the ritornello, as if Pompeo collapses with exhaustion, drugged by the sleep-inducing slurred figures to sing into the tonic chord’s arrival. Scarlatti’s idea for the sustained notes in the opening vocal line may have been suggested by the opening of Cavalli’s aria on the same text in his *Il Pompeo Magno* (see Example 4.12b). Since the 1666 Cavalli opera was a favorite of Colonna’s, perhaps Scarlatti consulted its music in the Colonna library.²⁵³

Scarlatti’s sigh figures, together with other illustrative figures, such as the gently concitato violin figuration in the second section for “dell’incendio primier,” mark

²⁵¹ Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 239–43 and *passim*.

²⁵² B-Br, MS II 3962, fol. 75r, replaces verse 3 of the poem with “spargi d’oblivione i miei ardori.”

²⁵³ I-Vnm, It.IV,377(=9901), fols. 48v–49v.

Example 4.12a Alessandro Scarlatti, “Sonno placido nume” *Il Pompeo* I, 13, B-Br MS II 3962, fols. 75–79v.

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system (measures 1-4) includes a vocal line in treble clef and a basso continuo line in bass clef with figured bass. The second system (measures 5-8) continues the vocal line and basso continuo. The vocal line begins with the lyrics "Son - no, _____ son - no pla - ci - do nu - me _ coi tuoi". The basso continuo line provides harmonic support with a steady rhythmic pattern of eighth notes and rests.

Example 4.12a Continued

12

dol - ci so-po - ri spar-gi d'o-bli-vi-o-ne i mie-i, i mie-i, i

15

mie-i ar-do-ri so - pi - tor de pen-sie - ri

18

deh fa', deh fa' ch'o-ve_io mi de - sti,

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for three systems, each with five staves. The top two staves of each system are for vocal parts (Soprano and Alto), and the bottom three are for piano accompaniment (Right Hand and Left Hand). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 8/8. The lyrics are in Italian. The first system (measures 12-14) features a vocal melody with a slur over measures 12-13 and a fermata at the end of measure 14. The piano accompaniment has a steady eighth-note bass line. The second system (measures 15-17) continues the vocal melody with a slur over measures 15-16 and a fermata at the end of measure 17. The piano accompaniment continues with eighth notes. The third system (measures 18-20) shows the vocal melody with a slur over measures 18-19 and a fermata at the end of measure 20. The piano accompaniment continues with eighth notes.

Example 4.12a Continued

21

ch'o-ve io mi de - sti del - l'in - cen - dio pri-mier,

23

del - l'in - cen - dio pri-mier or - ma non re - sti, or - ma non re - sti,

25

8 del - l'in - cen - dio pri-mier,

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for a vocal piece, likely an aria or duet, in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. It consists of four systems of staves. Each system includes a vocal line (soprano or alto clef), a piano accompaniment (treble and bass clefs), and a basso continuo line (bass clef). The lyrics are in Italian and are placed below the vocal line. The first system (measures 21-22) begins with the vocal line. The second system (measures 23-24) continues the vocal line. The third system (measures 25-26) concludes the vocal line. The piano accompaniment provides harmonic support throughout. The basso continuo line is present in all systems, providing a bass line for the ensemble.

Example 4.12a Continued

27

del - l'in - cen - dio pri - mier or - ma non re - sti, or - ma non re -

29

sti, or - ma non re - sti.

32

43

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for Example 4.12a Continued, spanning measures 27 to 43. The score is written in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. It consists of five systems of staves. The first system (measures 27-28) features a vocal line (soprano) and a piano accompaniment (right and left hands). The vocal line begins with the lyrics 'del - l'in - cen - dio pri - mier or - ma non re - sti, or - ma non re -'. The second system (measures 29-31) continues the vocal line with the lyrics 'sti, or - ma non re - sti.' and includes a piano solo section. The third system (measures 32-33) shows the vocal line ending with a fermata. The fourth system (measures 34-35) shows the piano accompaniment concluding with a fermata. The fifth system (measures 36-43) shows the piano accompaniment continuing with a fermata. The page number 43 is located at the bottom center.

Example 4.12b Francesco Cavalli, “Sono placido nume” opening, *Il Pompeo magno* I, 13, I-Vnm It.IV.377 (9901), fols. 48v–49, opening.

4

Pompeo

76

Son -

7

no pla - ci-do nu - me con tuoi

Example 4.12b Continued

10

dol - ci so - po - ri spar - gi d'o - bli - vi - o - ni

13

miei, i mie - i ar - do - ri.

The musical score consists of two systems. The first system (measures 10-12) features a vocal line in the upper staff and a piano accompaniment in the lower staff. The second system (measures 13-15) includes four staves: two vocal staves (soprano and tenor) and two piano accompaniment staves (right and left hand). The lyrics are written below the vocal staves.

this aria as modern and original. The smooth lyrical vocal line traverses a respectable tenor range of *f* to *g'*, which may also have suited Fregiotti in Naples. This aria brings sleep to Pompeo and provides an extended moment of calm before the music shifts into the aborted violence that closes act 1 (when Farnace watches over Pompeo's sleep and just prevents Mitridate from slicing off the ruler's head).

After this thwarted assassination attempt in the garden, the opening set of act 2 returns to the seat of power, the "Galleria Regia," where Pompeo renews his pursuit of Giulia. In a scene that is completely new in the libretto for Naples, the honorable Scipione spends an anguished solo scene (II, 3) deciding that he should step aside to allow Giulia's advancement. In a palace room, where spoils and trophies of war are distributed (II, 4 "Salone di Palazzo, dove vengono portate le spoglie havute in guerra con i Trofei"), a glittering stage set exposes a view of the Roman army massing in the distance, as Cesare, Pompeo, Claudio, Farnace, and militiamen gather. Cesare sings his only aria, "Guerrieri prendete," encouraging another military campaign; the extant score (fols. 94–97v) offers a virtuoso aria with strings and concitato melismas leading without a break into the chorus of militiamen acclaiming Pompeo. Pompeo briefly takes up the challenge in recitative, but quickly shifts the topic when he sings about his amorous failure with Giulia and consequent disillusion. Another "Viva, Pompeo" chorus covers the

noise of the stage machinery as the set changes to that of another palace room (II, 5) and the new fascinating subplot driven by Sesto's lust for Issicratea and the treachery of her servant, Harpalia.

In the especially gripping dramatic sequence that closes act 2, Sesto sings a long aria about his amorous hope and another about his tormented fate (both in II, 5). To open the scene in the Naples libretto, the two-strophe da capo aria text "Una speme lusinghiera" replaces the aria text "Da quegli occhi luminosi" from the Rome libretto (a basso continuo-accompanied two-strophe aria at fols. 102–103v in the extant score). In the midst of the dialogue between Sesto and Harpalia, the Naples libretto assigns a substantial two-strophe da capo aria to Sesto, "La sorte mi tormenta," expanding his role and deepening our perception of his amorous despair. Issicratea's "La speranza mi tradisce" (II, 6 in Naples), retained from the Roman libretto (II, 5), perhaps inspired Scarlatti to create this additional pendant aria for Sesto. When Issicratea approaches, lamenting her own fate, she rebuffs Sesto, but he sings yet another long aria before leaving her alone. This beautiful aria, "O cessate di piagarmi," is present in both libretti and set as two da capo strophes in the extant score (fols. 107v–109v). Mitridate overhears Sesto's final words and mistakenly concludes that Issicratea has become unfaithful. In the Rome libretto and extant score Issicratea fires off a long and elaborately angry rebuttal of these accusations in the aria "Col suo rocco mormorio" (fols. 113–23). This exciting aria, originally composed for Sansone, appears to have been omitted from the Naples production since it is not included in the Naples libretto at the end of II, 7 (see further consideration of Issicratea's arias below). In Naples, Issicratea merely concludes her recitative with the words "ma questa pena, oh dio, mi fa languire," and the next scene begins as Claudio approaches (Mitridate fades back into his hiding place).

Jealous Claudio falsely accuses Issicratea of loving Sesto (II, 8 in the Naples libretto) and sings "Rendimi la mia pace," an aria in the extant score whose musical setting (fols. 124–26) is a darkly exciting allegro exposing the anxiety of illicit desire. Alone in the "Logge" of the palace, but observed by a soldier standing guard, Mitridate sings his tortured "Tormentosa gelosia" (II, 9 in Naples, II, 8 in the Rome libretto; fols. 126–127v) before Farnace approaches him, still innocent of the fact that Mitridate is his father. Farnace brings Mitridate a weapon stolen from Pompeo's trophy room, which the older man immediately recognizes and reclaims as his own. But still too afraid to trust Farnace with the truth, Mitridate (a tenor in the Roman production) sings another substantial aria, "Ruscelletto almen tu puoi," about the irony of his fate (II, 9).²⁵⁴ If the extant musical setting (fols. 130v–133) was sung in the Naples production, it probably was transposed

²⁵⁴ In B-Br, MS II 3962, fols. 130v–133, this two-strophe aria with ritornello is set in tenor clef, confirming that it was intended for Mitridate, though the Rome libretto assigns it to Farnace.

up a minor third from A minor to C minor to fit perfectly into Grossi's alto range. Its melodic style, with brief but recurrent embellishment in short melismas, and neighbor-note and minor-third figures, would fit well with his established reputation for light singing, elegance, and beauty of tone. Moreover, the accumulation of arias in contrasting, distinctive types in scenes II, 8 and II, 9 increases the affective energy surrounding and emanating from Mitridate, especially since his "Tormentosa gelosia" follows immediately (without any recitative dialogue) upon Claudio's powerful "Rendimi la mia pace," and "Ruscelletto almen tu puoi" is immediately followed by Giulia's "Tanto e dir." The ritornello for strings that closes "Ruscelletto" in the extant score (fols. 132v–133) finally allows Mitridate to move offstage before the opening of the scene in which Pompeo again pleads his case with Giulia.

Though the extant score's origins are as yet unclear, its music for act 2, scenes 8–12 of *Il Pompeo* illustrates how a Scarlatti opera from this period becomes an exciting drama through its music. The succession of aria texts in these scenes invited Scarlatti's deployment of affectively charged, contrasting arias in close succession to advance the plot while rewarding the audience's emotional investment in the action and characters. The revisions for Naples also provided new aria texts for top singers, such that Scipione is assigned a weighty new solo scene in the Naples production (II, 12) with two contrasting arias, the first ("Toglietemi la vita ancor") in a thoughtful, declamatory idiom, and the second, "Son guerriero, e non amante," a da capo aria whose martial poetry surely called for concitato arpeggiation and flashy coloratura.

The accumulation, contrast, and entangling of affective states bring act 2 toward its final, thrilling scenes, which move quickly and take place at night in the darkened apartment of Issicratea and at the door to her bedchamber. Outside the bedchamber, the onstage movement, presence, or absence of a lamp creates a special visual effect that alternately threatens or reassures, as characters enter and leave the landing. Sesto begins the dramatic sequence by calling on the "blind darkness" (in Naples II, 13). The extant setting of Sesto's aria (fol. 142, with violins) opens with a chilling appeal to "Cieche tenebre"; the vocal line offers two measures of completely unaccompanied singing to emphasize Sesto's stealth as he prepares to assault Issicratea. Later, the aria's lyricism dissolves into recitative when Sesto confesses doubt and feels pangs of guilt at his own dishonorable intention. Issicratea hears a noise and appears carrying a lamp (II, 14); she sends Sesto away, admonishing him for his "folly." Mitridate slips into the apartment from the garden (II, 15) and finds the bedroom door locked. Hearing him, Issicratea mistakes him for Sesto, emerges from her bedroom, and again cries out to send Sesto away, dropping the lamp in the meantime. Fumbling and frightened in the darkness, she calls for her servant, Harpalia, who finally appears with another light. Issicratea enters her room while Mitridate remains

hidden outside it in the dark. Harpalia's "Io c'intendo ciò che fu" in Scarlatti's extant setting (fols. 148v–150v) is a lively, fully-scored E-minor aria, tinged with evil as she brags about her worldly knowledge, asserting that a timid lover will never succeed. When she strides off to find Sesto, with the intention of helping him trap Issicratea, Mitridate, still hidden in the dark, shows himself to the audience aurally by singing a short aria about patient suffering, "Ogni hora misero" (II, 16). The constant rhythm in Scarlatti's setting (fol. 151–151v) seems to clock the minutes that pass while Mitridate hides, and its steadily moving bass line traces what he hears—Harpalia's retreating then returning footsteps. Harpalia reappears with Sesto, encourages him to renew his assault on Issicratea, and promises to leave the bedroom door unlocked, then departs, taking the light with her and leaving Sesto in darkness. Issicratea emerges, again carrying a lamp, and again requests that Sesto leave. Believing that she is alone with Sesto and unaware that Mitridate protectively observes from his hiding place, she calls out to Harpalia. Mitridate hears Sesto proclaim that he will not take Issicratea dishonorably, thus exposing Harpalia as the true villain. Frightened to be alone with Sesto, Issicratea grabs his sword and holds the blade to her own throat, threatening suicide if he will not back off. She drops the lamp, exclaiming "Oh' Dio son morta" as Mitridate pulls her to safety under the cloak of darkness. The sword drops and Sesto imagines that Issicratea has killed herself. Blanketed with guilt and fearing the anger of the gods, Sesto sings "Senza cadere soffra chi può" before slinking away. Scarlatti's setting is a fast, unsettled, two-strophe, E-minor aria with strings (fols. 154–56). In the final scene of act 2, Mitridate has the stage to himself as he emerges from the bedchamber, locks the door, and picks up Sesto's discarded sword. The libretto offers his commentary on Harpalia's iniquity in ten lines suitable for recitative. Harpalia approaches carrying a lamp and asks who is moving in the antechamber in the dark of night. The stage is just barely illuminated by the lamp. In the midst of their short recitative exchange, Mitridate stabs her with Sesto's sword. He leaves the lamp on the floor beside her to illuminate her bleeding corpse—a brilliant theatrical effect. The bloody murder stands on its own in the Naples libretto though it was softened in both Minato's original 1666 Venetian libretto—when the comic Delfo discovers Harpalia's corpse and initiates a dance joined by twelve little ghosts to end act 2—and in the 1683 Rome libretto where it is followed by an intermedio.²⁵⁵

Scarlatti did not make extensive changes to act 3 for Naples: only two aria texts from the Rome libretto were replaced in the Naples libretto for act 3, such that transposition, rather than wholesale substitution, seems to have been his

²⁵⁵ The stage direction reads "L'uccide col ferro di Sesto, le pone il lume a canto." Compare I-Bu, A.III.Caps.099.78, pp. 58–59 (Sartori 18953) with I-Bc, L. 06972, pp. 57–58 (Sartori 18951); and I-Bu, A.V.Tab.I.F.III.48.1 (Sartori 18942), p. 44.

resource in this section. In both libretti act 3 opens in the “Galleria” with an aria for Mitridate, “Chi di voi, alme d’Averno,” a fully-scored aria in B-flat major (extant score fols. 158–62). The tenor register of the extant setting would have been too low for Grossi as Mitridate in Naples, but the range of the aria spans only an octave, so transposition up a third to D major not only places it squarely in Grossi’s range but would feature his high Bs (b’). “Chi di voi, alme d’Averno” is Mitridate’s only aria in act 3, suggesting that, because the role of Mitridate had already been expanded for Grossi in acts 1 and 2, Scarlatti did not adjust act 3 in any elaborate way to suit him, beyond providing this act-opening showcase. Typically, Grossi’s roles in other operas offer only one substantial aria in the final act, in any case. Scarlatti’s easy solution here was probably to transpose this aria and Mitridate’s subsequent recitatives into Grossi’s alto register.

In revising his own opera, Scarlatti employed various kinds of revision for Naples, as far as can be discerned from the libretti and extant score. The role of Issicratea had been performed by virtuoso soprano castrato Sansone in Rome.²⁵⁶ Scarlatti’s revisions for Zuffi in the role of Issicratea for Naples suggest that declamatory arias, arias with contained and localized fioriture, and those with melismas that could be successfully negotiated by a female singer were suitable for Zuffi and thus retained for Naples. Overall, the libretto called upon Zuffi’s talent as an actress, while the Naples adjustments perhaps emphasized her womanly voice and appearance. The text of the most elaborately virtuoso aria in the opera (as preserved in B-Br, MS II 3962, fols. 113–23), Issicratea’s “Col suo rocco mormorio,” is omitted altogether from the Naples libretto. Its music presents exciting, vocally challenging melismatic passages to be sung against the full activity of a string orchestra. If this aria was not performed in the 1684 Naples production, this might be because it did not suit Zuffi. Elsewhere in the Naples libretto, there is further evidence that Scarlatti replaced some of the virtuoso arias in the score with new arias for her, though he also retained some arias from the Roman Issicratea for Zuffi in Naples, as can be seen in Table 4.3.

Scarlatti carried Pompeo’s music from Rome into the Naples production with little alteration, to judge by the 1684 libretto. Though this was a tenor role in both productions, it was expanded slightly for the Naples tenor, Fregiotti, only by the addition of an aria in act 1. When Pompeo is rebuffed by Giulia (I, 10 in Naples; I, 9 in the Rome libretto), he sings a da capo aria “Partite dal core / Fuggite volate” reiterating the point already declared in his recitative, namely, that he triumphs when assaulting enemy fortresses, not human hearts. The aria

²⁵⁶ “Miraculous’ soprano Giuseppe Antonio Sansone seems to have been a favorite choice when it came to the role of dramatic female protagonists: in 1683 he sang in *Pompeo*, very likely the role of Queen Isicratea, who is disguised as a slave at the beginning of the opera, as suggested by the wig for the role of a slave that was made for this singer.” De Lucca, *The Politics*, 271; and see Nestola, “I ruoli femminili,” paragraph 9 and *passim*.

Table 4.3 Issicratea Arias in Scarlatti, *Il Pompeo*, Naples 1684

Act/scene	Issicratea aria text in Naples 1684	Issicratea aria in score B-Br, MS II 3962
I, 3	“Se fine al martire” 1 strophe, opens the scene	“Quanto lumi lacrimosi” fols. 16v–17v elaborately melismatic vocal line, basso continuo accompanied
I, 3	“Più ch’il ciel tenta d’abbattere”	“Sposo, regno, e libertà” fols. 21–25; allegro, with strings, furious declamatory aria with special repeated-note vocal device demanding precision and control
I, 8	“Sposo amato, e dove sei”	“Sposo amato, e dove sei” fols. 48–49v, smoothly declamatory, basso continuo accompanied
I, 12	“Che contento da mai la speranza”	“Che contento da mai la speranza” (I, 11 in Rome libretto), fols. 69–71v, lyrical, smoothly declamatory, moderate tempo, $\frac{6}{8}$, 2 strophes with rit., basso continuo accompanied
II, 6	“La speranza mi tradisce”	“La speranza mi tradisce” (II, 5 in Rome libretto), fols. 105v–106v, declamatory, 2 strophes with rit., basso continuo accompanied only
II, 7	No aria for Issicratea at end of this scene	“Col suo roco mormorio” (II, 6 in Rome libretto) fols. 113–23; furious virtuoso aria with challenging melismatic passages as well as sustained notes, with strings, 2 strophes
III, 2	“Lusingami speranza”	“Lusingami speranza” (III, 1) fols. 165–167v, 2 strophes, presto, perhaps calls for quick enunciation and light singing, basso continuo accompanied
III, 3	“Più ch’io penso meno intendo”	“Più ch’io penso meno intendo” fols. 170–72, allegro, largely declamatory but with some melismatic decoration (in this case, melismas could be adjusted or modified) and sustained notes for the messa di voce, 2 strophes with rit., basso continuo accompanied.
III, 5	“[Su, su,] Vendetta, vendetta”	“Su, su, vendetta, vendetta” fols. 183v–188; fast, vengeance aria, declamatory with localized melisma (2 two-measure passages of closely spaced neighbor-tone melismas of the sort Zuffi sang in other roles), with strings

(continued)

Table 4.3 Continued

Act/scene	Issicratea aria text in Naples 1684	Issicratea aria in score B-Br, MS II 3962
III, 5	“Se già mai del mio martire”	“Se già mai del mio martire” fols. 190v–196, moderate tempo, lightly embellished with confined melismas (none extending beyond one measure) that could be modified, 2 strophes, with strings
III, 11	“Tramutatevi in sospiri”	“Tramutatevi in sospiri” fols. 224–26, fully-scored

strengthens Pompeo’s character, allows him a graceful response to Giulia’s rejection, prolongs the scene, and allowed Fregiotti his own aria, while enlivening the moment before Giulia launches into her own important aria, “Quelle fiamme,” closing the scene with an expansive two-strophe da capo aria (allegro and F major at fols. 56v–57v).

The role of Giulia was only slightly enlarged and made more emphatic for the Naples production. Originally an alto role for castrato Montalcino in Rome, the arias whose music was retained for the Naples production and performance by soprano Teresa Laura Rossi must have been transposed. When I, 5 was rewritten for the Naples production with new arias and a greater presence for Besci, this revision also affected the role of Giulia in that her role gains an additional da capo aria (“Son gioie mensogniere”). The duet for Scipione and Giulia would have been rewritten for the higher voices of Besci and Rossi as well. In the next scene, I, 6, Giulia’s two-strophe “So ch’intorno a questo core” (a continuo aria in G-minor with ritornelli for strings, fols. 42v–44) surely had to be revised; transposition up a fifth into D minor would bring this setting into Rossi’s range. Its vocal character suits what is known about her voice from her other roles in Naples. Similarly, a few scenes later (I, 9), if the music of the extant “Quelle fiamme” was brought to Naples, it may have been transposed up into B-flat major where Rossi would sing her high g”. In act 2, a new aria for Giulia “Come hai nel seno” closes II, 2 in the Naples libretto and allows Giulia to express her anger in a private moment preceding the new and expansive solo scene for her beloved, Scipione. The vehement “Come hai nel seno” evidently replaced “Se un tormento” (a through-composed, fully-scored alto aria, fols. 90v–93v in the extant score). The structure of the aria text in the Naples libretto, its emphatic five-syllable lines in *sdruciolli*, and its comparison between Giulia’s anger and the vengeful furies of Hades (Megera and Aletto) suggest that “Come hai nel seno” may well have been Rossi’s fiery fully-scored show-stopper for the Naples production. Giulia’s next aria in act 2, “Sciogli i lacci” (B minor, fols. 139v–142), could well have been transposed into G minor to fit Rossi’s

soprano register and provide her with *g* high notes in Naples. Giulia's only act 3 aria "Vilipeso, e disprezzato" (III, 10) is in B-flat major in the extant score with fully-scored ritornelli (fols. 221v–223v). If performed in Naples, it most likely was transposed up a fourth or, even better, a fifth, into F major, to provide Rossi with high *a*'s as her top notes for this emphatic final aria of her role.

It is worth noting that Scarlatti's arias for the role of Giulia in the extant Brussels score have a common characteristic: the "B" sections of "Quelle fiamme," "Sciogli i lacci," and "Vilipeso, e disprezzato" are all strongly contrasting in tempo and rhythmic character. That of "Quelle fiamme" is suddenly an exclamatory, sighing $\frac{3}{8}$ Largo (in contrast to the $\frac{3}{4}$ Allegro of the A section). The mid-section of "Sciogli i lacci" is a similarly sudden Largo that begins with and emphasizes a descending-leap sigh gestures, but nevertheless includes a prominent sustained note for the *messa di voce*. In "Vilipeso, e disprezzato," the B section reinforces the "Allegro e presto" tempo marking of the aria in the extant score (fol. 221v) but suddenly changes from common time to a fast $\frac{3}{8}$. Without the now-lost Naples score, it is unclear whether Scarlatti merely transposed these arias up into Rossi's range or wrote new music for the older aria texts. If the former, then Rossi adapted and shaped her performance while accepting at least some of the special characteristics that had originally shaped the arias for her alto castrato colleague in Rome.

The role of Sesto in Naples was only slightly enhanced for the alto castrato Costantini, to judge by the evidence of the 1684 libretto, although the role was similarly an alto castrato role in the Rome production, so he may have sung it there as well. The aria "Non ammorzar la face" (I, 2) is replaced by a new aria, "Care pene," whose poetry seems to emphasize a different affect (see above). The important conversation between Sesto and Harpalia in II, 5 was expanded considerably in Naples by adding two new arias for Sesto. In Naples, Sesto opens the scene with a calm, hopeful, two-strophe *da capo* aria text, "Una speme lusinghiera," which replaces "Da quegli occhi luminosi" from the Rome libretto (musical setting in B-Br MS II 3962, fols. 102–103v) then sings another two-strophe *da capo* aria, "La sorte mi tormenta," to reinforce his side of the conversation with Harpalia.²⁵⁷ The poetry of the second aria describes his amorous suffering in extreme terms and suggests a violent contrast with the first aria. Perhaps the scene in the Naples libretto was designed to feature Constantini's ability in expressing concentrated affects. Scarlatti also enhanced Constantini's final appearance in act 3 (III, 5 in the Naples libretto) through aria substitution: "Se volontier per te / Alla morte espongo il seno" is replaced by the two-strophe "Se pene amare / D'acerba morte" in the 1684 Naples libretto. This is a

²⁵⁷ Micheletti, "Il Pompeo di A. Scarlatti," 71, points out that the aria text of "La sorte mi tormenta" is drawn from act 1, scene 8 of Scarlatti's *L'Arsate* (Rome 1683; libretto by Flavio Orsini) and only lightly revised.

crucially dramatic moment for Sesto: Issicratea calls for vengeance in an elaborate fully-scored aria and accuses him of murdering Harpalia (an accusation he is unable to shed because Mitridate has not yet taken responsibility for the crime). Sesto sings this aria before being led away by Pompeo's guards. Scarlatti likely composed the new aria for Constantini as Sesto because this singer had vocal strengths that had not been showcased in the original "Se volontier per te," for the unnamed singer who performed in the Roman production.

In general, it seems safe to conclude that Scarlatti's changes to his own score were effected in order to exploit the strengths of a new cast led by singers with distinct characters and abilities: Grossi (Mitridate), an alto castrato with a small range known especially for beauty of tone and talent as a dramatic actor, and Besci, a high soprano whose vocal character extended to flamboyant virtuosity, but whose pleasing versatility onstage surely shaped the honorable Scipione Servillo as distinct from Mitridate in the Naples production. Scarlatti also revised his music and strengthened certain roles to make them more dramatic within the enhanced staging in Naples. This in turn may have reinforced the heroic nature of the "opera heroica" for the larger audiences that attended during carnival when the production moved to the Teatro di San Bartolomeo. Unfortunately, music for the new arias composed to new texts in the Naples libretto seems not to survive, though a number of arias concordant with those in the extant score B-Br MS II 3962 also can be found in manuscript aria anthologies. The presence of so many arias in anthologies points to the continued popularity of the opera, as do its subsequent performances in Ravenna, Leghorn, and Palermo.²⁵⁸

La Tessalonica and 1684

After carnival, Carpio definitely hoped to produce an additional opera in Naples in 1684 for the queen's 26 April birthday, following the precedent he had set with his Roman *Ni amor se libra de amor* of 1682. He wrote on 19 February 1684 to the Duke of Modena, praising Grossi's performances and explaining that the singer's presence would guarantee the splendor and beauty of a celebration for this royal birthday.²⁵⁹ On the same day, Grossi himself wrote to Modena explaining that he had met with Carpio that morning to request permission to depart Naples (since his license from the duke only specified that he would serve in Naples through carnival). In their conversation, Carpio had expressed his desire to retain Grossi for the "opera that would be performed after Easter for the queen's birthday." And

²⁵⁸ See Roberts, "Introduction"; Scarlatti, *Il Pompeo*, ix.

²⁵⁹ I-MOs, Cancelleria Ducale, Archivi per materie, Musici, b. 2, Naples, 19 February 1684, Naples, Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán to Francesco II d'Este, Modena. There are two versions, one in Italian and another in Spanish, both with Carpio's signature.

when Grossi seemed to demure, mentioning the limited license from Francesco II, the viceroy responded “suddenly” to suggest that the singer might find a way to content himself in Naples at least until such time as a response from the duke arrived.²⁶⁰

Carpio’s plan was discussed among the singers and production team; echoes of these discussions were conveyed in somewhat caustic letters from Baldini to Colonna in Rome. By April, according to Baldini, another production had become unlikely because the enormous expense of this first season had caused the production team to run out of money.²⁶¹ Any thought of producing De Totis’ new libretto about “Fetonte” had been set aside (*Il Fetonte* was later produced with elaborate machine effects in November 1685, as explained below).²⁶² On 15 April, Baldini further reveals that Scarlatti is making a visit to Rome, where Colonna will surely see him; Grossi has not yet been paid, but hopes to depart for Modena soon; and the other castrati, unsure of their future compensation, are deliberating whether to accept what will be offered them in Naples.²⁶³ Eventually, as Baldini confirmed in a letter of 22 April, Besci was content with his financial arrangements and would remain in Naples. But even at this late date, Baldini claimed that another opera was out of the question (“la comedia terza non si farà ne se può fare”).²⁶⁴

Perhaps while Scarlatti was away attending to personal matters in Rome (his daughter Cristina had been baptized at Sant’Andrea delle Frate on 15 April 1684), sometime after Siface’s departure from Naples but prior to the end of May 1684, the remaining singers, led by Besci and Costantini, agreed with the appaltatori at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo to perform a fourth opera, in this case Bernardo Pasquini’s *La Tessalonica*, though the financial arrangements were several times in danger of falling through.²⁶⁵ It may be that the two castrati who signed the libretto dedication had performed in the 1683 Roman *La Tessalonica* dedicated to Lorenza de la Cerda. The Naples premiere was offered privately,

²⁶⁰ I-MOs, Cancelleria Ducale, Archivi per materie, Musici, b. 2, Naples, 19 February 1684, Giovanni Francesco Grossi to Francesco II.

²⁶¹ I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Carteggio Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, 1684/96, 4 April 1684, Naples, Baldini to Colonna in Rome: “la commedia non si farà, perché gli appaltatori sono spiantati, né vi e altri, che voglia andare in rovina.” Further references to the financial difficulties of the appaltatori are scattered through other April 1684 letters from Baldini.

²⁶² I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Carteggio Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, 1684/96, 11 April 1684, Naples, Baldini to Colonna in Rome: “La terza commedia non si farà; non credo che in Napoli si faranno più commedie sull’esempio dello spiantamento di questi affittuari del teatro”; “Il Signore De Totis, il cui Fetonte e restato in aria, a differenza dall’altro che cadde nel Po.”

²⁶³ I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Carteggio Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, 1684/96, 15 April 1684, Naples, Baldini to Colonna in Rome.

²⁶⁴ I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Carteggio Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, 1684/96, 22 April 1684, Naples, Baldini to Colonna in Rome.

²⁶⁵ I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Carteggio Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, 1684/96, 22 or 27 May 1684, Naples, Baldini to Colonna in Rome.

honoring the birthday of Carpio's wife, Teresa Enríquez de Cabrera, though Besci and Costantini dedicated the libretto to his daughter, Catalina de Haro y Guzmán, as explained on the elaborate title page of the Naples libretto.²⁶⁶ The libretto's dedication date is 28 June (which may have been the birthday of Teresa Enríquez de Cabrera). Subsequent performances took place at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo; an avviso in the nuncio's report of 18 July implies that performances of "una opera nova" at the Teatro San Bartolomeo had just begun.²⁶⁷

Carpio had not attended the Rome premiere of *La Tessalonica* with Pasquini's music at the Colonna palace in carnival 1683 because he was already in Naples and in very poor health, but he surely learned about it from Lorenza de la Cerda since the opera was produced in her honor.²⁶⁸ Perhaps the singers chose it because they knew he had missed the Rome production. It is noteworthy that this Pasquini opera clearly representative of recent Roman taste seems to have been introduced in Naples not especially by Carpio but instead as the choice of singers he had recruited to Naples whose careers were otherwise shaped by Roman patrons.²⁶⁹

The libretto's performance history provides an additional motivation for a 1684 Neapolitan revival of *La Tessalonica*. The libretto by the Imperial court poet Nicolò Minato had been set first by Antonio Draghi in Vienna for the birthday of the Empress Eleonora "per commando dell'arciduchessa Maria Anna" in 1673—an Imperial Hapsburg precedent that lent a certain status to the work.²⁷⁰ The opera tells the story of a heroine of royal birth who triumphs over difficulties to marry well, so it was appropriate for the birthday of Carpio's wife. As Morelli has pointed out, *La Tessalonica* fits the genre of an "opera regia," given the regal status of its principal characters.²⁷¹ *Tessalonica*'s singing voice is the attribute that first attracts and beguiles King Cassandro. Pasquini set a revised version of

²⁶⁶ Sartori 23083, I-Bu A.V.Tab.I.F.III.50.1, *La Tessalonica. Melodrama di Nicolò Minati per lo Teatro di S. Bartolomeo. Consecrato all'eccellentissima signora D. Caterina [sic] De Haro y Gusman [...] figlia del vicerè in occasione della celebrazione del dì natalizio di D. Teresa Enriques de Cabrera [...] moglie d'esso eccellentissimo sig. vicerè, degnissima madre d'essa eccellentissima D. Caterina e viceregina di Napoli* (Naples: Gio. Franc. Paci, 1684).

²⁶⁷ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 96, fol. 475v, 18 July 1684: "si va recitando un'opera nova da questi musici, e cantarine, la quale riesce assai gradita per divertimento in questo tempo estivo." Concerning the the Minato libretto and aspects of the opera's staging, see Sara Elisa Stangalino, "Strategie parasinestetiche' nella *Tessalonica* di Nicolò Minato (Vienna 1673 / Roma 1683)," in *Spectacles et performances artistiques à Rome (1644–1740): Une analyse historique à partir des archives familiales de l'aristocratie*, ed. Anne-Madeleine Goulet (Rome: Publications de l'École française de Rome, 2021), 419–38. <https://books.openedition.org/efr/17654?lang=en#text>.

²⁶⁸ De Lucca, *The Politics*, 258, points out that Lorenza de la Cerda was the "dedicatee of three of the five operas produced between the carnival seasons of 1683 and 1686: *Il Pompeo* and *Tessalonica* (1683), *L'Arianna* (1685), *L'antro, ovvero l'inganno amoroso* and *Il silenzio d'Arpocrate* (1686)"; see also Stangalino, "Da Venezia e Vienna a Roma."

²⁶⁹ On the concept of "buen gusto romano" for visual art in Carpio's years, see Fusconi, "Il 'buen gusto romano' dei Vicerè," 209–20.

²⁷⁰ Sartori 23081; I-Vnm Dramm.0832.01; De Lucca, *The Politics*, 267–68, comments insightfully on the "migration" of Minato's libretti from Vienna to Rome.

²⁷¹ Morelli, *La virtù in corte*, 175.

the Minato libretto (this was his first opera for the Colonna theater).²⁷² With some thirteen arias and two duet texts for the title role, the opera projects an especially strong female protagonist (sung by a soprano castrato in Rome).²⁷³ *La Tessalonica* was surely chosen to honor the three Spanish ladies (Lorenza in Rome and then Carpio's wife and daughter in Naples) with complete awareness of the libretto's marked homage to a Hapsburg empress. Indeed, the association of *La Tessalonica* with royal women continued even beyond Rome and Naples—the libretto for Florence 1686 is dedicated to the grand duchess, Vittoria di Toscana (Victoria of Bavaria). Thus the Naples 1684 summer production, dedicated to Carpio's daughter for his wife's birthday, observed a Hapsburg precedent followed within the social circle Carpio had frequented in Rome.

La Tessalonica may well have pleased Carpio—though he did not follow up by producing any other opera by Pasquini—since it was performed yet again in Naples before the official start of the 1684–85 season, perhaps with revisions. While the theater set up in the viceroy's palace was being prepared for *Il Giustino*, the season's first opera, for the king's birthday, the Duke of Maddaloni stepped in to offer his palace as a venue. Late October avvisi record that he offered an opera for the nobility and visiting Tuscan officials to commemorate the birthday of Carpio's wife, Teresa Enríquez de Cabrera, and then to entertain a party of official visitors from the Tuscan navy.²⁷⁴ It is likely that this was again Pasquini's *La Tessalonica*, given that the Naples libretto offers a prologue for the birthday of the viceregina.²⁷⁵ Carpio attended these performances beginning on 20 October, when he brought members of the nobility with him and offered a gallant public greeting to the damas after the performance. On subsequent evenings, he attended “de secreto.”²⁷⁶

²⁷² Morelli, *La virtù in corte*, 175; Crain, “The Operas of Bernardo Pasquini,” 1:163; and Lina Montalto, *Un mecenate in Roma barocca; il cardinale Benedetto Pamphili (1653–1730)* (Florence: Sansoni, 1955), 320, posit a second Rome production in June 1683 for Cardinal Benedetto Pamphili.

²⁷³ Morelli, *La virtù in corte*, 179–80; Nestola, “I ruoli femminili” provides insight concerning singers for the Rome production.

²⁷⁴ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 96, fol. 887–887v, 24 October 1684, and 907v, 31 October 1684.

²⁷⁵ Sartori 23083; I-Bu, A.V.Tab.I.F.III.50.1, fols. 4v–5v; Bianconi, “Funktionen des Operntheaters,” 78.

²⁷⁶ As noted by the master of ceremonies in I-Nas, Maggiordomia maggiore, IV inv., cerimoniale 1483, fol. 108r, transcribed in Antonelli, ed., *Cerimoniale*, 382: “Fue Su Exçelencia en casa del duque de Matalón a ver una comedia.” “A 20 de octubre de 1684 el señor marqués del Carpio fue a ver una comedia en casa del señor duque de Matalón en su palquette y llevó con él a ver la dicha comedia al príncipe de Belmonte, al príncipe de Furino, al príncipe de Çelamar, al príncipe de Satriano y a los duques de Ielzi, de Muñano y de la Rocca. Concurrieron todas las damas y, acabada la comedia, Su Exçelencia quiso salir en público para saludar a todas las damas y pasó por delante de ellas y se salió por la sala grande.” “Todas las demás vezes que se hiço esta comedia fue Su Exçelencia, de secreto, a verla y la segunda vez la vio con el general de las galeras del gran duque, que se hallaba en Nápoles con sus galeras. Su Exçelencia se tomó el primer lugar, hubo muchos dulçes y gran fruta.

The 1684–85 Naples Opera Season

Il Giustino

By 24 October, the scenery for the first official opera of the season, *Il Giustino*, planned for 6 November, was being installed at the theater set up in the viceroy's palace, while the opera at the Maddaloni palace continued in private performance.²⁷⁷ Giovanni Legrenzi's *Il Giustino* was first produced in Venice at the Teatro San Salvatore in 1683,²⁷⁸ but was revised by Scarlatti and given an elaborate new prologue appropriate to the royal birthday. Following its 6 November palace premiere, *Il Giustino* was offered publicly with performances often attended by Carpio at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo until at least 5 December, though perhaps even later.²⁷⁹

At first glance, the list of operas produced during Carpio's second season in Naples is puzzling after his highly original first season included two completely new Scarlatti operas based on Calderón texts. In 1684–85, only Severo de Luca's *L'Epaminonda*, intended for the birthday of the queen mother, was entirely new. Financial concerns seem to have had little to do with Carpio's decisions, however. An avviso sent to Rome concerning the preparations for *Il Giustino* reported, "At the palace by order of the viceroy they are working at top speed

Acabada la comedia Su Exçelencia se despidió de del tal general, se puço en silla y se bino a Palaçio." V-CVaav Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 96, fols. 887 and 907v, avvisi of 24 and 31 October, confirm that the opera was performed more than once in October: "si ritorno a replicare l'opera in musica per dare questo divertimento all'officiali delle galere e nobiltà fiorentina con vari segni di generosità usati per lo rinfreschi che ebbero" (fol. 907v).

²⁷⁷ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 96, fol. 887v.

²⁷⁸ Venetian score with music by Legrenzi in I-Vnm, MS It.IV.426 [9950]; in modern edition ed. Stefano Faglia and Franca Maria Saini (Parma: l'Oca del Cairo, 2006), 2 vols. The 1683 Venetian libretto is Sartori 12359; I-Vcg, 59A-91-5; I-Rc, Comm. 433/2. There are two extant manuscript scores from the 1684 Naples production. The earlier one, I-Nc, Rari 6.5.4 [32.3.32], is copied by several hands including that of Alessandro Scarlatti and contains the unique prologue as well as some performance markings, though it is incomplete (there are missing pages and occasional missing bass lines). Another score, I-Rc, MS 2572, dated 1685, is a more elegantly copied but shorter version of the music, lacking the prologue. The Naples libretto is *Il Giustino. Melodrama da rappresentarsi per lo compleanno di Carlo II monarca delle Spagne nel Regal Palaggio. Dedicato all'eccellentissimo signor D. Gaspar d'Haro e Gusman, marchese del Carpio, vicerè e capitán generale nel Regno di Napoli* (Naples: Antonio Gramignani, 1684), Sartori 12360; I-Rc, Comm. 350/3; I-Bu, A.V.T.I. E.III, 22a.1. The performance edition of Legrenzi's *Il Giustino* by Luciano Bettarini (Milan: Casa Editrice Nazionalemusic, n.d.) draws confusingly on all three manuscript musical sources. The Legrenzi opera is given a systematic musical analysis in Rudolf Bossard, *Giovanni Legrenzi: Il Giustino. Eine monographische Studie* (Baden-Baden, 1988). See also Claudio Sartori, "Due Legrenzi recuperati," *Acta Musicologica* 46 (1974): 217–21.

²⁷⁹ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 96, fol. 1024v, 5 December 1684: "Tutte le recite d' il Giustino fatte in questo Teatro di San Bartolomeo sono riuscite bellissime e di totale soddisfazione, essendovi portato spesso a sentirli il Signore Vicerè, e già si sta preparando un altr' opera nova per dopo le incinenti [imminenti?] feste di Natale."

to prepare the new staging for a beautiful opera that will be performed on the day of the birthday of His Catholic Majesty, preparing a festivity in proportion with His Excellency's good taste, for he does not seek to limit any expense, preferring to display his characteristic generosity."²⁸⁰ Nevertheless, the fact that a Venetian opera was chosen for the royal birthday in November 1684 provokes historical and analytical questions different from those prompted by *L'Aldimiro* and *La Psiche*, the operas that opened Carpio's first season and in whose creation Carpio's fingerprint is easily discerned.

It seems relevant that Carpio's very first experience of Italian opera occurred during carnival 1677 in Venice, shortly after his arrival in Italy. He surely heard music by one or more of the most successful composers of the *dramma per musica* and witnessed firsthand the famed excellence of Venetian opera. Attending Legrenzi's *Totila* in 1677 may have shaped his decision to produce the same composer's *Il Giustino* (which had enjoyed numerous performances in Venice to the end of carnival 1683).²⁸¹ As for the singers, it is difficult to know whether any of the performers Carpio heard in 1677 impressed him such that he hired them for Naples (the 1677 Venetian libretti lack cast lists). In Naples, Carpio did not favor Venetian operas—he eventually produced fewer Venetian operas than had earlier viceroys. Moreover, each imported opera was modified and adapted for Naples. The visual effects and staging of the Venetian *Il Giustino* were praised in a letter published in *Le Mercure Galant* and in private diplomatic correspondence,²⁸² so, even if Carpio did not attend its 1683 production, he surely had learned about its success. The most compelling motivation for Carpio's choice of *Il Giustino*, however, was probably the long list of spectacular stage effects and scene changes it required.

Because Carpio was a connoisseur of paintings and a master of visual display, it is hardly surprising that the visual effects in *Il Giustino* were modified in several ways for his 1684 production by his talented engineer, Schor. The Naples libretto and score open with an entirely new sung loa or prologue.²⁸³ The supernatural first scene of act 1, which in Venice had included Venus, Hymen, and various Graces (typical of Venetian opera in this period), was removed entirely

²⁸⁰ V-CVaav, Segretaria di Stato, Napoli 96, fol. 887v, 24 October 1684: "A palazzo per ordine d' il Signore Viceré si lavora a tutta passata facendo rifare un novo teatro, perché vi si abbia a recitare la bellissima opera in musica per il giorno d' il compleanno di Sua Maestà Cattolica, preparandosi una festa proporzionata al buon gusto di S.E., che non guarda a qualsivoglia spesa, purché spicci la generosità dell'animo suo."

²⁸¹ Selfridge-Field, *A New Chronology*, 159–60.

²⁸² Selfridge-Field, *Pallade Veneta Writings on Music in Venetian Society, 1650–1750* (Venice: Edizioni Fondazione Levi, 1985), 352.

²⁸³ Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, 191–92, comments on the obviously "pro-monarchical" content of the Naples prologue to *Il Giustino*, but erroneously states that the opera was "performed with identical music and text" at Venice and Naples.

in Naples, but the figure of the Atlas sustaining the globe was retained and moved to the new elaborately musical and visual allegorical prologue. Atlas presides over the glorification of monarchy sung by four ancient kings (Nino of Assyria, Ciro of Persia, Alexander the Great with Macedonians, and the Roman Caesar Augustus). When an earthquake shakes loose the huge globe on Atlas' shoulders, it breaks into four sections representing the four regions of the Spanish empire—Europe, Asia, Africa, and America—and a giant statue of Carlos II is thrust into view from the center of the broken globe, as the allegorical figure of Monarchy (a soprano) sings in praise of the Hapsburg cause and Carlos II. The Atlante figure sometimes appeared in the *balli* attached to Venetian operas, but the complete allegory in this prologue was absolutely typical of the Spanish stage. Indeed, in 1684 the Atlas figure may have been associated especially with Carlos II.²⁸⁴ Carpio had had his own Atlas (“Atlante agobiado, y sobre las espaldas una esfera, con todos los círculos y signos celestes”) frescoed onto a wall in one of his Madrid residences, the Jardín de San Joaquín, between 1658 and 1662 by Angelo Michele Colonna.²⁸⁵ Most important, both of these ideas—the Atlas sustaining the globe and praise of the Spanish monarchy delivered by singing representatives of the four parts of the empire—had appeared years earlier in loas that Carpio produced in Madrid. A singing Atlante sustaining the globe opened the prologue to the 1653 Calderón semi-opera *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo*, with music probably by Hidalgo and famous stage effects by Baccio del Bianco. Only a few years later, the loa to Calderón's “fiesta de zarzuela” *El laurel de Apolo* (written in 1657 but not performed until early 1658) included four festive choirs, each costumed and carrying emblems to represent the inhabitants of Asia (Hebrews), Africa (Moors), America (Native American “*Indios*”), and Europe (Spaniards). In the heroic section of the loa, prince Philip Prosper (Felipe Próspero born 28 November 1657), the newborn son of King Philip IV, is hailed by the choir of Asians (two men and two women) as a successor to Alexander the Great and Philip the Great; the Moors of the African continent salute him as a “second Alcides”; while American natives sing his praises as the “Cacique”

²⁸⁴ For example, the Loa to Agustín de Salazar y Torres, *Elegir al enemigo*, performed for the third birthday of Carlos II in Madrid in 1664, also presents singing figures to represent America, Asia, Africa, and Europe, along with the four parts of the day, the four seasons of the year, and the four elements; see Agustín de Salazar y Torres, *Cythara de Apolo, segunda parte* (Madrid: Antonio González de Reyes, 1694), 1–8. The allegory of the “cuatro partes del mundo” was especially frequent in Calderón's *autos sacramentales* and in representations of the Spanish empire in ephemeral art, exalting the Hapsburg cause and the Spanish monarchs as guardians of the Catholic faith; see Susana Hernández Araico, “Las cuatro partes del mundo en autos y loas sacramentales de Calderón: *La semilla y la cizaña* y el cuarteto cultural,” *Criticón* (Toulouse) 73 (1998): 143–56; and Víctor M. Mínguez Cornelles, “Exequias de Felipe IV en Nápoles: La exaltación dinástica a traves de un programa astrológico,” *Ars longa: Cuadernos de Arte* 2 (1991): 53–62.

²⁸⁵ Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 58.

of “barbarian America.” As a Hapsburg descendent and future ruler of the empire, he is compared by the European choir to the Roman Caesar as “príncipe insigne... César del año” and “rey de los meses.”²⁸⁶ In the prologue to the Naples *Il Giustino*, when Atlas and the figures representing great rulers and past empires from the “cuatro partes del mundo” are brought together, the allegory is memorably enhanced through Scarlatti’s musical setting. The example set by Carpio with this prologue was followed in 1690 by Luis Francisco de la Cerda, then Marquis de Cogolludo and Spanish ambassador in Rome, when he sponsored a “festa teatrale,” *La caduta del regno dell’Amazzoni* (libretto by De Totis, music by Pasquini), to commemorate the second marriage of Carlos II. In the prologue to *La caduta del regno dell’ Amazzoni*, a globe bursts to reveal the singing allegorical figures L’Europa, L’Asia, L’Africa, and L’America; the Atlas figure sings as he struggles to lift the fallen globe, and America, Africa, and Europe also dance.²⁸⁷ A satirical pasquinade of this event took aim at the ambassador, throwing cold water on his pomp by pointing out that he modeled his festivity on the one produced by Carpio, and ridiculing him for “pobreza de medios” as a producer.²⁸⁸

Carpio’s past success with spectacular musical theater resonates in his decision to produce *Il Giustino*, an opera replete with striking contrasts and fabulous effects. The famous Spanish appetite for frequent and startling transformations, spectacular flights, earthquakes, storms, and other effects had even impressed Del Bianco decades earlier when he worked under Carpio’s direction in Madrid,²⁸⁹ concerned that the marquis was inclined to take the kind of extravagant risks that resulted in accidents and near accidents.²⁹⁰ As listed in Table 4.4, the three acts of *Il Giustino* unfold in a range of settings and with brilliant effects whose description in the 1684 libretto suggests that the scenes crafted by

²⁸⁶ Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Loa to El laurel de Apolo* in *Comedias de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, ed. Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch (Madrid, 1850–56), 4 vols., 2 [BAE 9]:655–56.

²⁸⁷ The fallen Atlante and the arrival of *americani*, *affricani*, and *europoi* in elaborate *carri* emerging from the sea are depicted in engravings of the sets by Girolamo Fontana, published in a luxury *quarto* edition of the libretto (US-NHub, Italian Festivals + 51) that de la Cerda y Aragón sent to a number of his peers. Domínguez Rodríguez, “Mecenazgo musical,” 1:105–23, and *passim*, describes how this patron mounted a veritable “campana de propaganda” to call attention to this production both before and after its performances. The political function of the prologue is mentioned in Montserrat Moli Frigola, “Fiesta pública e jimeneo: La boda de Carlos II con Mariana de Neoburgo en las Cortes Españolas de Italia,” *Norba: Revista de arte* 9 (1989): 111–44, which also includes reproductions of some of the engravings from the exemplar in V-CVbav. See the description and musical incipits in Crain, “The Operas of Bernardo Pasquini,” 1:173–82; 2:207–53.

²⁸⁸ Moli Frigola, “Fiesta pública e jimeneo,” 116.

²⁸⁹ Baccio’s criticism is noted in Borsi, Acidini, Morolli, Zangheri, “Pietà, Paganesimo e cavalleria nell’effimero del seicento medico,” 88–89.

²⁹⁰ Noted in several of Baccio’s letters to the Tuscan court, see Mina Bacci, “Lettere inedite,” 68–77; and mentioned in Massar, “Scenes for a Calderón Play,” 365–75. See also Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 187.

Table 4.4 Sets and Machines in *Il Giustino*, Naples 1684

Stage sets and Machines in <i>Il Giustino</i>, Naples 1684	
I, 1	“Piazza Imperiale per l’incoronazione, e sponsali dell’Imperatore Anastasio, e Imperatrice Arianna, la quale sopra maestoso trono dona il diadema imperiale ad Anastasio”
I, 7	“Campagna con viti & alberi irrigate dal fiume Ismeno, che si tramuta in una Reggia” “Campagna, Giustino con l’aratro tirato da bovi” “Arato tirato da bovi, che si spezza”
I, 8	“Sorgi la notte con la Luna” “La Fortuna sopra la rota, che gira” “La Fortuna sopra la rota, Giustino addormentato” “Qui si tramuta la scene in Maestosa Reggia” “Qui sparisce insieme con la scena, ritornando la Campagna, mirandosi spuntar il Sole, che nasce”
I, 9	“Sale sopra una quercia inseguito da un uom selvaggio”
I, 11	“Carro di Vitaliano” [Vitaliano] “sopra un carro” “circondato da Capitani e Squadre”
I, 14	“Salone Imperiale con appartamento d’Eufemia” “Appartamenti di Eufemia”
I, 15	“Reggia”
I, 16	“Carro dell’Allegrezza che guida il ballo” “L’Allegrezza in macchina guida il ballo di cavalieri, e dame” “Qui segue una gran sinfonia, ponendosi a loro luoghi li cavalieri, e dame, la macchina parte, e una dama invita Giustino al ballo” “La Dama prende a un altro cavaliere per la mano, e qui si da principio al ballo”
II, 1	[Reggia] “Coro di dame e cavalieri” “Guardie”
II, 4	“Scogli dirupati con mare agitato da venti, vedasi una grande armata, che passa naufragio, restando gittati sopra il lido” “Scogli dirupati con capanna sopra il mare agitato da venti” “Mare tempestoso con armata navale, che scorge naufragio”
II, 7	“Dragone marino, che esce dal mare, e combatte” “Vedasi a poco a poco sorgere dal mare spaventoso mostro, nuotando verso terra Giustino, che sopravviene”
II, 9	“Amantio sbarcando da una feluca”
II, 11	“Giardino”
II, 16	“Campo di Guerra con esercito schierato da squadre Romane”
III, 4	“Luogo delizioso suburbano a Costantinopoli”
III, 8	“Giardino con torre” “Deliziosa con torre”

Table 4.4 Continued

Stage sets and Machines in <i>Il Giustino</i> , Naples 1684	
III, 12	“Torre della sommità della quale precipitano due prigionieri”
III, 18	“Mostruosa con tronchi d'alberi dai lati. Giustino tra le guardie” “Monte che si spezza da un fulmine, ove comparisce vasta caverna illuminata da facci sepolcrali con tomba da Vitaliano senior” “Qui si scocca un fulmine, dal quale resta aperta una parte del monte, che formerà un ampia caverna piena di sepolcri, nel mezzo della quale vedasi il sepolcro del padre di Vitaliano con molte lampade sepolcrali d'intorno”
III, 19	“Ombra, che esce da un sepolcro” “Sparisce”
III, 22	“Stanza Imperiale” “Sode suono di Trombe”
III, 24	“Anfiteatro con trono per l'incoronazione di Giustino. Anastasio, Giustino coronati d'alloro, coro di soldati, e di popolo”

Schor and Vaccaro may have been even more exciting than those in the original Venetian production.

Both spectacular crowd scenes and scenes of intimacy contributed to the opera's thrill. As had the operas of the 1683–84 season, the opening of *Il Giustino* featured a crowd—a choir of princes, captains, and guards fills the set of the “Imperial Piazza” in Constantinople, prepared for the enthroned Empress Arianna's crowning of a new Byzantine emperor, Anastasio, with the Imperial Laurel. Another crowd scene closes act 1 with an onstage *ballo* among courtiers overseen by the allegorical figure of L'Allegrezza. Non-singing crowds of guards, soldiers, court ladies, courtiers, or popolo filled the stage in other scenes, sometimes as background witnesses to important action, as when Amantio, a general, raises his sword and offers to lead an army (I, 2); Polimante requests Arianna's hand in marriage for the enemy tyrant, Vitaliano of Bithynia (I, 3); Arianna is placed under armed guard (I, 4); horrid Vitaliano attempts to kiss Arianna, who rejects him with a slap (I, 12); or Arianna is shackled or chained in view of soldiers (II, 6 and III, 22)—and so on. But like *La Psiche* and *Il Pompeo*, this opera also featured scenes of intimacy, intimate conflict, and intimate danger, most importantly when Giustino falls asleep in his field and is visited by a dream (I, 7), an impassioned Giustino is about to strike the kneeling Vitaliano (III, 1), Eufemia defends herself against Andronico's attempt to rape her (III, 4), Giustino and Eufemia enjoy a love scene (III, 6), and Anastasio mistakenly accuses and bitterly rejects Arianna, throwing her to the ground before she casts off the scepter and crown (III, 14).

Il Giustino was the first opera to pass directly from Venice to Naples during Carpio's reign, with substantive revisions to libretto, visual effects, and music. The libretti and primary musical sources invite an understanding of how this Venetian opera was reshaped by Carpio's production team for its Naples 1684 performances. The musical score and Naples libretto begin with a unique loa or prologue; it is the only surviving music for any newly composed prologue or loa from a Naples opera in this period, as far as is known.²⁹¹ The political function of the loas is beyond question—the Sicilian actor, poet, and drama theorist Andrea Perrucci (1651–1704), dramaturg at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo and probable author of the loa to *Il Giustino*, acknowledged this explicitly in his treatise, *Dell'arte rappresentativa*.²⁹² Given Carpio's passionate commitment to higher standards for operatic production, vigorous self-promotion, dedication to the monarchy, and attempts to prove his loyalty to the crown, it can hardly be coincidental that the loas to the operas he sponsored for the king's birthday in Naples were longer and more elaborate than those performed for earlier and later viceroys.²⁹³

The complete loa for *Il Giustino* allows a rare glimpse of the collaboration between patron and composer—a sense of how Carpio's personal and political agenda was made audible. Scarlatti's music expands the prologue, setting a more elaborate text than the one published in the libretto and featuring two allegorical characters not included at all in the printed libretto, La Giustitia and La Pietà, who sing solo arias and participate in the final ensemble. These particular allegorical figures were not typical of Venetian opera.²⁹⁴ Rather, they were invented by Perrucci and Scarlatti to carry out the political work expected by the viceroy in this loa. The music of this loa in the Naples score also suggests that some attempt was made to brand the opera with the kind of conventionally Spanish musical arrangement appropriate to an heroic loa. Alessandro Scarlatti likely had opportunities to hear Spanish music in Rome and Naples.²⁹⁵ He seems to have

²⁹¹ I-Nc, Rari 6.5.4, fols. 1–18r.

²⁹² The unsigned poetic text of the loa to *Il Giustino* is most likely by Andrea Perrucci (1651–1704), the house poet for the San Bartolomeo theater from 1678; Norbert Dubowy, “Avezzo a cose studiate, e sode’ Legrenzi compositore d’opera negli anni settanta,” *Giovanni Legrenzi e la capella ducale di San Marco*, ed. Francesco Passadore and Franco Rossi, *Quaderni della Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 29 (Florence: Olschki, 1994), 473; Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples*, 185. In *Dell'arte rappresentativa premeditata ed all'improvviso* (Naples: Michele Luigi Mutio, 1699), 1:176, Perrucci described the spectacular prologues for the “Compleannos de’ Monarchi Regnanti, in Spagnuolo, detti loas” and included *Il Giustino* in the list of operas for which he had supplied such texts. See Lucio Tufano, “I testi per musica di Andrea Perrucci, prime ricognizioni,” *Aprosiana. Rivista annuale di studi barocchi*, nuova serie, 9 (2001): 329–46.

²⁹³ Dubowy, “Avezzo a cose studiate,” 476–77.

²⁹⁴ Roles for La Monarchia and La Pietà do not appear in seventeenth-century Venetian libretti; Giustizia appears only in one Venetian libretto (the prologue to the unusual “opera morale” *Il Gioseffo* produced in 1688), according to Alm, *Catalogue of Venetian Librettos*, 119, 1026.

²⁹⁵ It may be that Scarlatti witnessed the performances of Calderón plays with Spanish music produced by Carpio in Rome in 1682, which were attended by people of all social levels (“gente de

understood what a sung loa to a Spanish court play was like. The opening solo song for Nino, first King of Assyria, “Sopra gli omeri d’Atlante” in the Naples score (I-Nc, Rari 6.5.4, fols. 1v–2 for tenor), for example, is similar in shape and structure (but not musical idiom) to the song of Atlante in the loa to the semi-opera *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo*, one of Carpio’s earliest Madrid triumphs.²⁹⁶ Scarlatti’s final chorus in the *Il Giustino* prologue, “Viva, viva d’Esperia il gran monarca” (I-Nc, Rari 6.5.4, fol. 18), is sung by Monarchia (the highest voice), Giustitia, Pietà, Cesare, Nino, Alessandro, and Ciro (the lowest voice). It is longer, more important to the allegory, and more musically elaborate than most of the “Viva” choruses sung to hail Roman heroes in earlier Venetian operas,²⁹⁷ raising the possibility that it may have been designed within the typology of the “Viva” choruses from earlier Spanish works produced by Carpio. It shares trademark musical effects of the “Viva” chorus in common with the music from the final “Coro de Dioses” in act 3 of *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo* (“¡Viva, viva la gala del gran Perseo!”),²⁹⁸ with the acclamation sung to the goddess Diana (“¡Viva la deidad que a los corazones!”) near the end of the Calderón and Hidalgo opera *Celos aun del aire matan*,²⁹⁹ with the anonymous music for the chorus “¡Viva el gran príncipe nuestro!” from act 1 of Calderón’s *Darlo todo y no dar nada*,³⁰⁰ and with the chorus “¡Viva, Felipo, viva! ¡Viva el sucesor!” from the loa to the Lima, 1701, *La púrpura de la rosa* with music by Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, among other examples.³⁰¹

todas esferas”) and at least one prominent Italian musician, as Carpio noted in a letter to the king; E-PAbm, Embajada de Roma, tomo 61, 15 February 1682. A production of the Calderón-Hidalgo *Celos aun del aire matan*, sponsored by the Prince of Piombino, took place in Naples in 1682, and it might be that Carpio brought Hidalgo’s music for this opera with him to Rome; see Stein, “Opera and the Spanish Family.”

²⁹⁶ Music in US-CAh, MS Typ. 258H, fol. 108r, transcribed in Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 444–45.

²⁹⁷ The final “Real Torneo” appended to Legrenzi’s *Totila* (which Carpio may have heard in Venice in 1677) ends with a tiny five-measure “Viva” chorus (“Viva la Pace, e viva”). There were other Italian models for the “Viva” chorus as well. An eight-measure “Viva” chorus in triple meter occurs in Francesco Cavalli’s *Scipione Africano* (as first performed Venice, 1664), where it is sung offstage in the prologue, and in act 1, scenes 1 and 3, amid the celebration of Scipione’s victory. A very short “Viva” chorus is sung to honor Pompey in act 1, scene 1 of Cavalli’s *Pompeo Magno* (Venice, 1666). A tiny three-measure “Viva” ensemble closes *L’Ercole in Tebe* (music by Giovanni Antonio Boretti, libretto by Aurelio Aureli, Venice 1671), almost as an afterthought. Scores of *Totila*, *Scipione Africano*, and *L’Ercole in Tebe* are available in facsimile in the series *Italian Opera 1640–1770*, ed. Howard Mayer Brown, vols. 5, 6, and 9 (New York: Garland, 1977–78). A brief “Viva” is sung within the “Choro di Militie” that opens Scarlatti’s *Il Pompeo* (Rome 1683 and Naples 1684). My thanks to Jennifer Williams Brown, Valeria De Lucca, Norbert Dubowy, Dinko Fabris, Beth Glixon, and Wendy Heller for advice concerning the Venetian repertory.

²⁹⁸ US-CAh, MS Typ. 258H, fols. 148r–150r; the opening of the chorus is transcribed in Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 470.

²⁹⁹ P-EVp, MS CL 1/2-1, fols. 51–52v; see Hidalgo, *Celos aun del aire matan*, ed. Stein, 243–45.

³⁰⁰ E-Mn, MS 13622, fol. 177r, identified in Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 119–20 and 404. A transcription with some errors is included in Felipe Pedrell, *Teatro lírico español anterior al siglo XIX* (La Coruña, 1897–98), vols. 3–4.

³⁰¹ Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco and Juan Hidalgo, *La púrpura de la rosa* [Lima, 1701], ed. Louise K. Stein (Madrid: ICCMU, 1999), 19–27. There are many more extant texts than extant

The transformative deeds of Giustino claim the focus in the opera proper, with elaborate spectacle designed to amplify his heroism. The first of Giustino's scenes (I, 7–8) opens as a view of a countryside traversed by the Ismenos river with vineyards and trees. Giustino, a simple peasant, laments his fate and longs for the military life while guiding a plow pulled by oxen. He falls asleep, night falls, and the moon rises. Fortune appears in the heavens atop her turning wheel before the set is suddenly transformed into the Royal Salon (“Maestosa Reggia”) of Giustino's dream. When Fortune and the “Reggia” disappear, the scene changes back to the countryside just as the sun rises in the dawn sky. Giustino's plow breaks in two and drops or flies away as he seizes his heroic calling. The first test of his bravery occurs when he rescues Eufemia and Brillo in a forest. Brillo hangs from an oak tree to escape a wild man or werewolf (“huom selvaggio,” “mostro horrendo”) who has already claimed other human victims (their bloody corpses are described by Brillo). Giustino vanquishes the monster and impresses Eufemia, who thinks about Giustino in a solo scene before the set changes to a battlefield with Vitaliano entering in a triumphal chariot. Giustino's transformation is complete by the end of act 1 when he joins Eufemia, Brillo, Andronico, and courtiers in a ballo (accompanied by a “gran sinfonia”) guided by the allegorical Allegrezza, who sings from atop her own machine.

The opening of act 2 presents a jarring visual contrast to the regal closing scene of act 1. The opening set is a view of a shipwreck on a stormy sea as a great navy approaches (II, 4 “Scogli dirupati con mare agitato da venti, vedrassi una grande armata, che passa naufraggio, restando gittati sopra il lido,” also “Scogli dirupati con Capanna sopra il Mare agitato da venti,” and “Mare tempestoso con Armata Navale, che scorse naufraggio”). The sea and its dangers—ever present in both Venice and Naples—flavor the settings for much of act 2. Far removed from his peasant origins, Giustino displays his heroism against a supernatural threat even in this maritime setting. In one of the most spectacular scenes in the Naples production, Arianna is chained to a rock or a reef that juts out into the sea (II, 7) while a sea monster (“spaventoso mostro,” “Dragone marino”) is seen to emerge slowly from the roiling waters toward her. Scarlatti retained Legrenzi's powerful original aria for Arianna, “Numi, o voi ch'il ciel reggete,” fully-scored in E minor (I-Nc, Rari 6.5.4, fols. 124–126v). The opening ritornello is distinctive with a consistent quarter-note rhythmic figure, closely spaced homophonic voicing for the instrumental ensemble, and two-sixteenth-plus-an-eighth-note figures that fill in minor thirds but land on anticipatory dissonances in the highest violin line,

musical settings of such “Viva” choruses and refrains, but music for a number of ensembles of this type is cited in Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 404–5. The prologue to *El robo de Proserpina y sentencia de Júpiter* (Naples, 1678), composed in Naples on a text by Manuel García Bustamante, also includes a “viva” ensemble with some of the expected musical gestures, though it unfolds as a series of brief duets. See Coppola [*sic?*] and García Bustamante, *El robo de Proserpina y sentencia de Júpiter*, ed. Luis Antonio González Marín, 73–75.

characteristics that, taken together in a slow tempo, comprise a funeral march. Arianna's aria with fully-scored ritornelli (whether for violins, viols, or winds) provides a thrilling musical centerpiece to set up the stage action. Giustino, singing recitative, arrives just in time to rescue her and engage in a staged battle onstage with the sea monster. A cue written into the Naples score, "Segue la battaglia col mostro," indicates that an orchestral "battaglia" accompanied the action and punctuated Giustino's recitative. For Naples, Scarlatti excised a number of superfluous lines of recitative, together with the supernatural, anonymously sung echo effects from the Venetian production. Thus, in Scarlatti's revision of this scene, the participation of otherworldly singing characters was reduced to better focus the drama and avoid a confusion of topics. As a result, the hero, Giustino, rescues the damsel in distress swiftly while maintaining his heroic human actions against the monster as the center of dramatic attention. Once rid of the superfluous echo effects, the scene in Carpio's production demonstrated heroic morality and the efficacy of Giustino's masculine human valor.

Just prior to the emergence of the sea monster, and before Arianna sings her aria, she is led in chains to the seaside by the evil Polimante and a "choro de'soldati" in both the Venice and Naples libretti. No text for this *choro* is provided in libretti or scores—instead, Polimante and Arianna sing recitative dialogue as Arianna is shackled. This is one of many instances in which Carpio's team in Naples stayed within a conventional Italian musical design and did not follow a Spanish precedent. A very similar scene of mortal valor had been visually showcased, complete with a menacing sea monster, in one of Carpio's first large-scale Madrid productions, the 1653 Calderón *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo*, where Andrómeda is chained to a rock as the sea monster moves ever closer, growing larger with each wave, and the half-mortal hero Perseo arrives to set her free.³⁰² In *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo*, instrumental and vocal-ensemble music sets up and then enhances the tragic mood of the scene before the battle and the rescue. First, "ecos cantados" herald the arrival of Perseo riding on Pegasus, while the verisimilar sound of discordant drums and muted trumpets fills the theater to prepare the aural setting for the chorus of "música lamentosa" sung by musicians onstage during Andrómeda's enchainment, and continue as the accompaniment to the "lamentación," an ensemble song, "La que nace para ser / estrago de la fortuna..."³⁰³

In the comparable scene from the Legrenzi/Scarlatti *Il Giustino*, the scoring and rhythmic figures of the full ritornello to Arianna's "Numi, o voi ch'il ciel reggete" (II, 7) and the music of the aria itself provide the lamentation

³⁰² See text and rubrics in US-CAh, MS Typ. 258H, fols. 93v–95v; and Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Andrómada y Perseo*, ed. Rafael Maestre (Almagro: Museo Nacional del Teatro, 1994), 159–62.

³⁰³ See text and rubrics in US-CAh, MS Typ. 258H, fols. 87v–89, and music at fols. 140v–142; Maestre 149–52, 246–49.

(Example 4.13). A circle-of-fifths progression is embellished by passing tones on each beat in the steady march-like rhythm (we can imagine passing tones from beats 2 to 3 and 4 to 1). But what is happening in this melody is distinctive: the passing tone arrives early at a dissonant, affectively charged anticipation. These weeping dissonances in the violins together with the accented seventh chords provide the audible equivalent to funereal discordant drums and muted trumpets.

Example 4.13 Giovanni Legrenzi, Alessandro Scarlatti, “Numi, o voi ch’il ciel reggete,” *Il Giustino* II, 7, I-Nc Rari 6.5.4 [32.3.32], fols. 124–126v.

The musical score consists of six staves. The top two staves are for Violins I and II, the next two for Violas and Cellos/Double Basses, and the bottom staff is for Arianna. The music is in common time (C) and features a steady march-like rhythm. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The score is divided into three systems of four measures each. The first system shows the beginning of the piece, with the Arianna part starting on a whole rest. The second system begins with a measure number '4' and shows the continuation of the circle-of-fifths progression, with the violin parts featuring prominent dissonances and passing tones. The third system begins with a measure number '8' and continues the progression, with a measure number '6' appearing above the second measure of the system.

Example 4.13 Continued

12

Nu-mi_o voi ch'il ciel reg-ge - te

16

con la___ des - tra_om-ni - po - ten - te,

Example 4.13 Continued

20

voi che gli as-tri ri - vol - ge - te soc - cor - re - te. u - n' in - no -

24

cen - te, voi che gl' as-tri ri - vol - ge - te soc - cor -

Example 4.13 Continued

29

re - te, u - n' in - no - cen - te.

Giustino's heroism is tested again in a frightening scene of supernatural effect toward the close of act 3, when he wanders in exile through a barren landscape with only "shades and visions" (III, 18, "ombre e sogni") for company. A lightning bolt strikes the mountainside, opening a gaping cavern barely illuminated by funereal torches with the tomb of Vitaliano's father within the grotto. Giustino fights the specters guarding the tomb; they flee when he raises his sword but leave him lightly wounded. He loses consciousness and lies bleeding onstage as Vitaliano emerges from the cavern (III, 19) and grabs the sword. The ghost of Vitaliano's father rises from the grave and sings to caution his son against murdering Giustino (his unrecognized brother). Carpio's production improves on the Venetian original by prolonging this moment and expanding it musically. The Ghost (a bass) sings "Ombra vana e larva errante," a long G-minor *ombra* aria with strings (or possibly trombones?) and a striking rhythmic ostinato (Example 4.14), whereas in Venice he had merely bobbed up to sing three short lines of recitative. This change is significant in light of Spanish precedent: more than twenty years before *Il Giustino*, mysterious supernatural figures singing convincing, lyrical songs had distinguished Carpio's Madrid productions. Indeed, lyrical song as a vehicle for supernatural advice, persuasion, or admonishment was a hallmark of Spanish plays with music from at least the sixteenth century.³⁰⁴

³⁰⁴ For supernatural songs in the *comedia*, see Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 22, 26, 159, 162–63, and *passim*; Stein, "The Musicians of the Spanish Royal Chapel and Court Entertainments," 187–94.

Example 4.14 Alessandro Scarlatti, “Ombra vana e larva errante,” *Il Giustino* III, 19, I-Nc Rari 6.5.4 [32.3.32], fols. 244v–247v.

The first system of the musical score consists of five staves. From top to bottom: a vocal line (treble clef), a second vocal line (treble clef), a keyboard accompaniment (grand staff), a bass line labeled 'Ombra' (bass clef), and a basso continuo line (bass clef). The music is in 3/2 time and the key signature has one flat (B-flat). The vocal lines and keyboard accompaniment feature a melodic line of quarter notes: C4, D4, E4, F4, G4, A4, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4. The 'Ombra' line is a whole rest. The basso continuo line provides a harmonic accompaniment with notes: C4, D4, E4, F4, G4, A4, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4.

The second system of the musical score consists of five staves. It begins with a measure rest marked with a '4'. The vocal lines and keyboard accompaniment continue with the same melodic line as in the first system. The 'Ombra' line has a whole rest. The basso continuo line continues with the same harmonic accompaniment. The lyrics 'Om - bra va - na e lar - va er -' are written below the basso continuo line.

The third system of the musical score consists of five staves. It begins with a measure rest marked with a '7'. The vocal lines and keyboard accompaniment continue with the same melodic line. The 'Ombra' line has a whole rest. The basso continuo line continues with the same harmonic accompaniment. The lyrics 'ran - te dal mon - do de - gli es - tin - ti io sor - go a te,' are written below the basso continuo line.

Example 4.14 Continued

10

io sor-go_a te. Nel san-gue

del ger-ma - no non im-brat - tar la ma - no;

fer - ma il fer - ro ven - di - can - te che sos -

Example 4.14 Continued

19

teg - no all' im-pe - ro es - ser ei de', che sos-teg - no all' im-

22

pe - ro es - ser ei de', es - ser ei de'.

25

Om - bra va - na e lar-va_er - ran - te dal mon-do

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for three systems of music, numbered 19, 22, and 25. Each system consists of four staves: two vocal staves (Soprano and Alto) and two piano accompaniment staves (Right and Left Hand). The music is in G minor (one flat) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are written below the vocal staves. The first system (measures 19-21) has lyrics: 'teg - no all' im-pe - ro es - ser ei de', che sos-teg - no all' im-'. The second system (measures 22-24) has lyrics: 'pe - ro es - ser ei de', es - ser ei de''. The third system (measures 25-27) has lyrics: 'Om - bra va - na e lar-va_er - ran - te dal mon-do'. There are some small 'b' markings below the piano accompaniment staves in measures 21 and 24.

Example 4.14 Continued

The image displays two systems of musical notation for a vocal piece. The first system, starting at measure 28, features a vocal line in the bass clef with lyrics: "de - gli_es-tin - ti io sor-go_a te, dal mon-do de - gli_es-". The piano accompaniment consists of two staves: the upper staff in treble clef and the lower staff in bass clef. The second system, starting at measure 31, continues the vocal line with lyrics: "tin - ti io sor - go_a te." The piano accompaniment continues in the same two-staff format. The music is in a minor key, indicated by one flat in the key signature.

Overall, the impact of the modifications to the staging of the prologue and the three acts in the Naples *Il Giustino* (compared to the Venetian original) went beyond ensuring that the opera was visually impressive. The changes wrought in Naples were intended to shape the opera for the Spanish king's birthday while drawing it into the fabric of Carpio's personal history. Combined visual and musical effects in the Naples revision imbued Carpio's production with a stronger Hispanic identity. The addition of an entirely new character, the graciosa Gelidia, and newly composed comic scenes with arias for both Brillo and Gelidia (I, 14; II, 15; III, 7) are a significant modification in this regard. Moreover, the comic scenes in the Naples *Il Giustino* differ from those of the local Neapolitan tradition of the *commedia*, in that they were not improvised, but written out and almost certainly devised by the erudite Perrucci (who also authored the loa text). It is easy to imagine that they were designed with a Spanish orientation because the comic characters also interact with the serious characters, the comic scenes are extensive, and they emphatically disrupt the flow of the serious plot of the opera (as do the comic scenes in Spanish musical comedias). As was typical in Italian opera, however, the comic female role, Gelidia, was sung by a male tenor dressed as a woman, and the male comic figure, Brillo, was sung by a man with a high voice. This assignment of roles to vocal ranges directly clashes with the Spanish conventions, in which the tenor comic role would be reserved for the

male gracioso.³⁰⁵ In Scarlatti's music, Gelidia and Brillo are figures typical of operatic comedy, with simple, repetitive airs in triple meter of the sort employed both in the Spanish theater and on the Venetian and Neapolitan stages. But one of Gelidia's arias in particular conveys what may have been intended as a Spanish flavor. In their first comic scene together at Eufemia's apartments (I, 14 "Salone Imperiale con appartamento d'Eufemia"), Gelidia sings "Che mala sorte, tengo in amor" (Example 4.15). Her whining semitone figures and descending leaps are

Example 4.15 Alessandro Scarlatti, "Che mala sorte, tengo in amor," *Il Giustino* I, 14, I-Nc Rari 6.5.4 [32.3.32], fol. 84–84v.

Example 4.15 shows the musical score for Gelidia's aria "Che mala sorte, tengo in amor" from Alessandro Scarlatti's *Il Giustino*. The score is in 3/4 time, key of B-flat major, and features a vocal line and a basso continuo line. The lyrics are: "Che ma - la sor - te, che ma - la sor - te ten - go in a - mor, ten - go in a - mor. Pos - so di - re sen - za ar - ros - si - re son pur bel - la, son zi - tel - la, son pur bel - la, son zi - tel - la, ben - ché un po - co an - ti - ca si - a non sva - ni la bel - tà mi - a e pu - re in ques - ta cor - te non sò".

³⁰⁵ For example, the tenor role of Rústico in Hidalgo's *Celos aun del aire matan*, first performed by the famous Antonio de Escamilla, who was not known for a pretty voice. Clarín, a satirical lowlife mercenary

Example 4.15 Continued

35
pre - da d'un cor, non sò pre - da, pre - da d'un

41
cor, non sò pre - da, pre - da d'un cor. Che ma - la

47
sor - te, che ma - la sor - te ten - go in a - mor, ten - go in a -

53
mor, che ma - la sor - te, che ma - la sor - te ten - go in a -

59
mor. Che ma - la sor - te, che ma - la sor - te ten - go in a - mor.

supported by a darkly colored *jácara*-like bass line and harmony upset by syncopation.³⁰⁶ It may be that Scarlatti fashioned this unusual setting because Gelidia (in tenor range) is behaving like such a tart and complaining about fortune in love—the character type and topic often identified with *jácara* music in the Spanish musical theater.³⁰⁷ On the other hand, the love duets that Gelidia and Brillo sing later (II, 15, I-Nc, Rari 6.5.4, fols. 159–164v), “Mi seguìti invano / Deh ferma mio ben”

among the *graciosos* in *Celos aun del aire matan*, was sung by a female mezzo-soprano dressed as a man (the young Manuela de Escamilla) in Carpio’s 1661 Madrid production; in the extant score for *La púrpura de la rosa* (Lima, 1701), Chato, the comic rustic, is also a tenor role. See Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 253–54.

³⁰⁶ On the musical identity of the *jácara* in Spanish theatrical music, Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 232–33, among other sources.

³⁰⁷ Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 232–33. The large sections of *jácara* music that frame the dilemma of Venus and Adonis with “No puede amor, hacer mi dicha mayor” and Amor’s “Si puede, pues que no puede” with its harmonic syllogisms about “dicha” and “desdicha” in *La púrpura de la rosa* are exemplary. See Torrejón y Velasco and Hidalgo, *La púrpura de la rosa*, ed. Stein, xiv–xv, xxvi–xxvii; see also

and “Di le nevi se sotto l’incarco / Cara mia con quelle nevi,” seem caricatures of conventional Venetian operatic love duets.³⁰⁸ Scarlatti’s comic music for Gelidia and Brillo in their last fully comic scene (III, 7; I-Nc, Rari 6.5.4, fols. 199–204) brings forth the bubbling, duple-meter patter song indelibly associated with staged Neapolitan musical comedy.

The revised Naples *Il Giustino* seems more dramatic and more sharply focused than its Venetian predecessor, despite the antics of the *parte buffe*. The heroic weight of the drama is increased: the alterations to the opening stage effects (the removal of Venus, the placement of Atlas in the prologue, the earthquake and statue of Carlos II with the four regions of the empire), the newly composed music for the four monarchs, and the seriously lyrical arias for the allegorical figures shift the opera’s topic away from the amorous subject matter of Venus toward the heroic and political realm of Atlas and Monarchy. Venus, Hymen, and their consorts often appeared in the opening scenes of Venetian libretti. But in Carpio’s creative imagination, within the associations he had developed in Madrid, these mythological figures would be out of place in an heroic opera because they were narrowly associated with dynastic weddings and epithalamia in the Spanish theater and thus less appropriate for the king’s 1684 birthday. For Carpio’s Naples production, Scarlatti excised the arias for Venere at the beginning of act 1 and for the figures of Eternità and La Gloria in the final scene of act 3 (the crowning of Giustino), but saved Legrenzi’s aria for Allegrezza (I, 16) and its dances.³⁰⁹ Not surprisingly, the analogous figure of Alegría had also appeared in a Calderón loa years earlier, in Carpio’s path-breaking production of Hidalgo’s *La púrpura de la rosa*. It can hardly be coincidental that two of the most impressive stage sets in the *Il Giustino* libretto—the Atlas and the globe effects from the loa, and the damsel about to be devoured by the sea monster from act 2—were also among the favorite effects that Carpio had chosen for his grand Spanish productions.

Scarlatti’s reductions and revisions to *Il Giustino* carved out a more organized, convincing drama for the Neapolitan production, in part because his additional arias and replacement arias altered the balance between music and drama. Without any surviving explanation from the composer, it is impossible to explain all of the modifications, but, presumably, certain roles and singers in the Neapolitan *Il Giustino* were given more music or more elaborate music to fortify characters and display their voices. Scarlatti substituted in a new aria for Giustino in act 3 (III, 1), “Scherza e ride la sorte incostante” whose principal motive engages emphatic leaps

the jácara sung by Clarín, “Noble en Tinacria naciste,” in which he complains about Céfalo’s attraction to Pocris in Hidalgo, *Celos aun del aire matan*, ed. Stein, 72–77.

³⁰⁸ For example, “Pur ti miro” attached to Claudio Monteverdi’s *L’incoronazione di Poppea*; see Alan Curtis, “*La Poppea impasticciata*, or Who Wrote the Music to *L’incoronazione* (1643)?,” *JAMS* 42 (1989): 23–54.

³⁰⁹ Legrenzi’s music for the allegorical characters Venere, Eternità, and La Gloria is I-Vnm, MS It.IV.426 [9950], fols. 3–4 and 76–78; music for Allegrezza at fols. 23v–25 (I, 15 in the Venetian score).

that reinforce musically the moral and heroic nature of the character. Others among the title character's arias are slightly expanded and transposed, most likely to accommodate the singer who sang the role in Naples.³¹⁰ Giustino's final act I aria, "Io no son nato" (I, 16), is marked "un ton più alto" in the Naples score, and Giustino's first aria in act 2, "Beltà, Circe vezzosa," is marked "un ton più alto" as well.³¹¹ In both the Venetian and the Neapolitan scores, however, Giustino not only has more arias than any other character, but sings a greater number of arias with full scoring (sixteen arias in Naples, nine of them with fully-scored ritornelli).

It is puzzling that the Naples manuscript score (I-Nc, Rari 6.5.4) does not provide more evidence of transposition, revision, and aria substitution. The Naples cast included little-known singers (Antonio Carrano, Agata Carrano, Rinaldo Cattaneo, Nicolò Ferretti, and Caterina Scarano) whose trajectories are difficult to follow after the 1684–85 Naples season (*Il Giustino*, *L'Epaminonda*, and possibly *Il Galiano*).³¹² But others—Besci, Di Gennaro, Zuffi, Domenico Graziani, and Cavalletti—were clearly stars. Scarlatti had composed absolutely new roles for some of them in *L'Aldimiro* and *La Psiche* just the previous season. With six newly composed arias, the role of Eufemia (assigned to the soprano Caterina Scarani in Naples) shows the most consistent revision and expansion, compared to Legrenzi's 1683 Venetian setting. All that is known about Scarani, however, is that she sang in Naples in the 1684–85 season. The arias Scarlatti composed for her in the Naples *Il Giustino* invest Eufemia with a newly vehement musical and dramatic character. All the new arias for Eufemia are virtuoso pieces with powerful melismas and coloratura, set in a notably higher range than the Eufemia arias in Legrenzi's 1683 Venetian score. Scarlatti's arias seem to indicate that Scarani was a flashier singer than the singer who had performed as Eufemia in Venice 1683. Moreover, in rewriting the role, Scarlatti's arias project a livelier, angrier female character. The last full aria for Eufemia in the Naples production seems to have been her vengeful, virtuoso D-major allegro aria (Example 4.16) "Mio core all'armi / Vendetta io vò" (III, 10),³¹³ which is more elaborately virtuosic than the Legrenzi aria from the 1683 Venetian production.³¹⁴

³¹⁰ The *dramatis personae* in the Naples libretto lists the castrato Antonio Carrano "detto Bisignano" as Giustino. He also sang the title role in *L'Epaminonda* (Naples, 1684) and the second male role in *Il Galiano* (Naples, 1685) according to these libretti, but it is difficult to contextualize Scarlatti's writing for him without further sources. His wife, Agata (Carano, Carani), sang small roles in Naples and later in Palermo in 1702–3. See Sartori, *I libretti*, vol. 6, "Cantanti," 152. Another Antonio Carrano was a tenor in the Neapolitan chapel and among those who resigned in 1684 with Provenzale; see Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples*, 214, 223–24; and Prota-Giurleo, *I Teatri di Napoli*, 3:138, and *passim*.

³¹¹ I-Nc, Rari 6.5.4, fols. 97–98v and 102v–105. Besci's voice was clearly higher than Carrano's. The final aria with trumpet, "Con aura sonora," is assigned to Giustino in the Venice score (I-Vnm, MS It.IV.426 [9950]), but to Anastasio in the Naples score (I-Nc, Rari 6.5.4, fols. 265–68v) and the 1684 Naples libretto. The assignment in the 1685 copy from the Naples score (I-Rc, MS 2572) is ambiguous.

³¹² See Sartori, *I libretti*, vol. 6, "Cantanti," *passim*.

³¹³ This aria from the Naples production is missing in I-Nc, Rari 6.5.4 between the folios numbered 215 and 216 in modern hand because a page has been torn out; it is supplied in I-Rc, MS 2572, fol. 91–91v, transcribed in Bettarini, 314–16.

³¹⁴ I-Vnm, MS It.IV.426 [9950], fol. 59v–60r.

Example 4.16 Continued

13
 - - - - - ta, ven-det - ta io vò.

(15)
 Fa-rò scem-pio di quel - l'em-pio, ch'il mio la-bro, ch'il mio

18
 la - bro pro - fa - nò, ch'il mio la - bro, ch'il mio la - bro

20
 pro - fa - nò, ch'il mio la - bro, ch'il mio la - bro

22
 pro - fa - nò. Mio co - re

Da capo

The Naples libretto for *Il Giustino*, assigns the role of the emperor Anastasio to the soprano castrato Besci.³¹⁵ To judge by the arias Scarlatti composed for Besci in *L'Aldimiro*, together with the extant Anteo aria from *La Psiche*, Besci had a good deal of stamina and specialized in florid singing in

³¹⁵ John Jackson, a nephew of Samuel Pepys, reported to his uncle from Rome in December 1699 about the “ravishing musick” performed by Besci and Arcangelo Corelli with the patronage of Cardinal Ottoboni; see *Private Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Samuel Pepys 1679–1703*,

the high register. As Aldimiro, he sang some seventeen arias along with recitative scenes and duets; his range seems to have spanned a healthy d' to b'' , and the arias consistently maintain a high tessitura (c'' to g'') in the passaggio of the modern soprano voice. Within the associations that tended to govern the relationship between range and social status in late seventeenth-century Italian opera, it was appropriate for the highest castrato to sing the male character of highest social status, which may be why Scarlatti gave Besci the role of Anastasio in *Il Giustino*. But while the role of Anastasio preserved in the sources for the 1684 Naples production was physically possible for a singer with Besci's range, some of its arias have a lower tessitura than those Scarlatti apparently had composed for him only a year earlier in *L'Aldimiro* and in later operas. As included in the extant score, the role of Anastasio, with its seven arias with full ritornelli, three arias accompanied only by the basso continuo, two duets, and approximately four cavatas appended to recitative, may not have fully tested Besci's stamina. Two arias do showcase Besci's vocal strength—a new large aria that Scarlatti added to the role of Anastasio, “All’armi, all’armi,” and the reassignment of “Con aura sonora” to this role (Examples 4.17 and 4.18).³¹⁶

Anastasio sings “All’armi, all’armi” (II, 16) to rouse his troops before they engage with Vitaliano's armies. This D-major warrior aria is illustrative of Besci's virtuosity, with concitato arpeggiations and fast melismas that cross his range, more than one type of melismatic figuration, rapid imitative exchanges with the trumpet, a long sustained high note held against the busy activity of the trumpet and basso continuo, and the challenge of declaiming the text in rapid rhythmic patterns (Example 4.17).³¹⁷

“Con aura sonora” is a through-composed, non-*da capo* aria with an additive structure (each section of aria poetry focuses on distinct musical figures). For Besci, this aria again features trumpet obbligato and strident vocal lines marked by arpeggios, melismas, decorative figuration traded back and forth between voice and trumpet, and impressively long-sustained pitches sung against the trumpet and the accompaniment. In a broad triple meter, it ends the opera with a triumphant, celebratory flourish (Example 4.18).

ed. J. R. Tanner (London, 1926), 1:257–58. As noted previously, his range was described as “an octave, at least, higher than anyone else's” around 1705 in Ancillon, *Eunuchism Display'd*, 29–31; see also Stein, “¿Escuchando a Calderón?,” 199–219, and my forthcoming study of Besci's operatic roles and relationships with patrons.

³¹⁶ I-Nc, Rari 6.5.4, fols. 265–268v.

³¹⁷ Act II, scene 16 in I-Nc, Rari 6.5.4, fols. 165r–169v.

Example 4.17 Alessandro Scarlatti, “All’armi, all’armi,” *Il Giustino II*, 16, I-Nc
 Rari 6.5.4 [32.3.32], fols. 165r–169v.

Anastasio

3
 Al-l'ar-mi, al-l'ar - mi, al - l'ar - - - mi

6
 miei fie - ri guer-rie - ri, miei fie - ri guer - rie - ri la trom-ba vi

8
 chia - - - ma,

Example 4.17 Continued

10

al - l'ar-mi, al-l'ar - mi, al - l'ar-mi, al - l'ar - mimieffe - ri guer-

12

rie - ri, la trom - ba, la trom - ba vi chia - ma,

14

la trom - ba vi chia - ma.

16

Nel sem-bian-te, nel sem-bian-te le mie glo-ri-e io vi leg-go

Example 4.17 Continued

19

si_ vin - ce - rà, si_ vin - ce - rà, si vin - ce -

21

rà; L'i-ni-mi - co, l'i-ni-mi - co ca-de-rà, ca-de-rà,

23

ca-de-rà, ca-de-rà,

25

l'i-ni-

Example 4.17 Continued

27

mi-co ca - de-rà con bel-li-ci car-mi

30

di vos - tre vit-to - rie rim-bom - ba la fa - ma, rim-bom - ba la

32

fa - - - - -

35

Example 4.17 Continued

38

ma. Al-l'ar-mi, al-l'ar-mi, al-

41

l'ar - - - - - mi

43

miei fie - ri guer-rie - ri, miei fie - ri guer-rie - ri la trom-ba vi

45

chia - - - - - ma,

Example 4.17 Continued

47

al - l'ar-mi, al-l'ar - mi, al - l'ar-mi, al - lar - mimieife - ri guer-

49

rie - ri la trom - - - ba, la trom - ba vi chia - ma,

51

la trom - ba vi chia - ma.____

Example 4.18 Giovanni Legrenzi, Alessandro Scarlatti, “Con aura sonora,” *Il Giustino* III, 25, I-Nc Rari 6.5.4 [32.3.32], fols. 265–268v.

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with three staves: vocal line (treble clef), basso continuo line (bass clef), and a third staff (likely a second vocal line or basso continuo). The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is 3/8. The score includes the following lyrics:

Anastasio

Con au-ra so - no-ra, con

6 au - ra so - no - ra dia fia-to_a le trom-be

12 la fa-ma ca - no - - -

18 ra, _____

24

Example 4.18 Continued

29

dia fia to, ale trom-be, al-le trom -

37

43

be la fa-ma ca-no -

49

54

ra,

Example 4.18 Continued

59



64

il cie-lo rim-bom - - - - -

69

- - - - - be d'ap-plau-so gio-con -

74

do, _____ rim - bom - - - be,

79

rim - bom - - - bed'ap - plau-so gio - con - do.

Example 4.18 Continued

85

Da Giu - sti - no ap - pren - da il mon - do

91

ch'a vir - tù l'o - nor suc - ce - de, e del - la

97

glo - ria, e del - la glo - - - - - ria

103

è so - lo il mer - to,

108

è so - lo il mer - to, he - re - - de, il mer - to, he - re - - de.

In summary, the role of Anastasio is fuller, with more music in the Naples score than in the earlier Venetian one. What can be learned from the extant score suggests that Scarlatti retained most of the Legrenzi arias for Anastasio, transposed some of them to suit Besci's high soprano voice sometime after the score was compiled, and added some new arias to suit him.

In Naples, Besci as Anastasio was paired with Zuffi in the role of Empress Arianna. Scarlatti retained some Legrenzi arias for Arianna that would have suited Zuffi, given the range and register of the arias Scarlatti composed for her the previous season. Scarlatti composed a new version of “Cosi vago” for Zuffi as Arianna (I, 13). Both the Legrenzi and the Scarlatti settings of this aria are in C minor, in triple meter, and traverse the same range, but where the Legrenzi aria for Venice highlights smooth, sustained singing, the long phrases of the Scarlatti aria are laced with conjunct motion in tight melismas that render it more emphatic.

In conclusion, the extant scores and libretti for the Naples *Il Giustino* bear witness to the process through which this Venetian opera was adapted to suit the theatrical practices, cast, political interests, and taste of Carpio, its producer and patron in Naples. That Carpio sponsored this opera does not suggest that he was especially supportive of the Venetian genre in particular. Rather, he likely was attracted to the opera’s heroic content, visual effects, and potential for adaptation to the occasion of the king’s birthday. The extensive new scenes for two comic characters who behave like singing graciosos, the rearrangement and invention of new stage machines and visual display that revive some of Carpio’s trademark effects from his famous Madrid productions, and the exclusion of allegorical figures that would be improper in an heroic context according to the Spanish usage, transformed *Il Giustino* into a different and more effectively Hispanized production in Naples for Carpio’s celebration of the Spanish royal birthday. Some of the visual effects, together with Scarlatti’s overall musical tightening-up, strengthening of the role of Giustino, and development of a passionate Eufemia, give the Naples *Giustino* a stronger heroic flavor, a more pronounced association with the Spanish agenda, and a more modern stage rhythm than its Venetian source. My suspicion, however, is that the production team for this opera in 1684 paid more attention to the effectiveness of what was seen on stage and less attention to what was heard. True, Scarlatti seems to have acknowledged Spanish musical-dramatic conventions in composing the loa, providing lively new music for the comic characters, and infusing at least one of the comic arias with a Spanish tinge. His music definitely brought new life and greater dramatic importance to the roles of Giustino and Eufemia as he adjusted them for new singers. And he composed a handful of additional arias for others, including an ingenious, other-worldly ombra aria (Example 4.15) that gives the ghost a full musical identity in a wonderfully spine-tingling scene (III, 19), just as if it were part of a spectacular zarzuela or comedia. The two substantial trumpet arias for Besci in the role of Anastasio both amplify the martial or heroic sound of the opera and feature one of Carpio’s prized singers whom Scarlatti knew well. But it is still puzzling that the extant score seems not to include many adjustments made for him. *Il Giustino* opened Carpio and Scarlatti’s second Naples opera season. Given its brilliant staging, effective new music by Scarlatti, and the strength of the cast, this Naples *Il Giustino*, produced by Carpio’s hand-picked artists and musicians, surely achieved his passionately articulated desire to restore integrity—in this case both artistic and political integrity—to operatic production in Naples.

L'Epaminonda

The sets and scenes for the next opera, *L'Epaminonda* by Severo de Luca, were being prepared at the palace theater by 5 December, but the opera was not ready for the 22 December birthday of the queen mother (despite the libretto's 21 December 1684 dedication). The avviso that accompanies the nuncio's report of 5 December notes that preparations had begun for the opera to be performed after Christmas, so there was no intention to produce an opera precisely on the queen mother's birthday itself.³¹⁸ A notary document dated 6 December 1684 records that Guidetti and Gondi were ready to provide payments to singers and musicians for their work "in the current season" (i.e., the tardily produced *L'Epaminonda* whose libretto was dedicated for the queen mother's birthday) and for "all of carnival 1685."³¹⁹ This document (excerpted in Figure 4.6) also reflects changes in personnel after the previous season, modifications that are reflected in the cast lists in the libretti.

Apparently, Grossi did not sing in Naples in 1684–85, nor did Costantini "Bransvich," Fregiotti, Ercole, Rossi, or Carli. New singers Caterina Scarani, Antonio

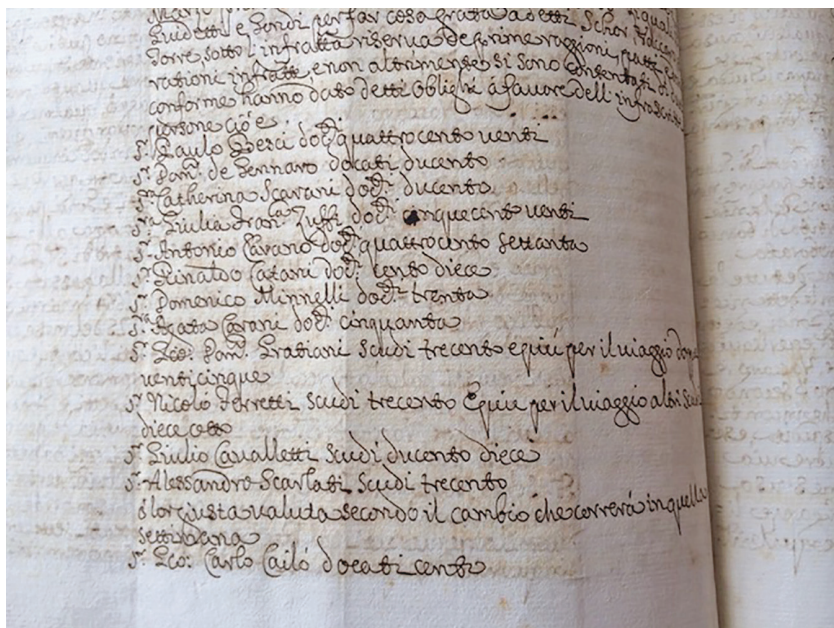


Figure 4.6 Detail from 6 December 1684 document, Archivio dei Notai, Notai del Seicento, Geronimo de Roma, scheda 1214, protocollo 24, fol. 873, Archivio di Stato, Pizzofalcone, Naples.

³¹⁸ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 96, fol. 1024v, 5 December 1684: "Tutte le recite d' il Giustino fatte in questo Teatro di San Bartolomeo sono riuscite bellissime e di totale soddisfazione, essendovi portato spesso a sentirli il Signore Viceré, e già si sta preparando un altr' opera nova per dopo gli imminenti [?] feste di Natale."

³¹⁹ I-Nas, Pizzo Falcone, Archivio dei Notai, Notai del Seicento, Geronimo de Roma, di Salerno, scheda 1214, protocollo 24, fols. 872–75, 6 December 1684, transcribed in part in Olivieri, "Per una storia," 245–46.

Carrano called “Bisignano,” Domenico Graziani, Nicolò Ferretti, Francesco Mennillo, Agata Carrano, and Rinaldo Catani joined Besci, Zuffi, Cavalletti, and Di Gennaro in the 1684–85 season for *Il Giustino*, *L’Epaminonda*, and possibly *Il Galieno*, with the exception of Mennillo, who is not listed for *L’Epaminonda*. A singer named Anna Scola is listed only once, as the second donna in the libretto to *Il Galieno* for carnival 1685. Maria Rosa Borrini sang only in *Il Pompeo*, and Agata Carrano disappears after *L’Epaminonda*. At least one of the singers from the 1683–84 season, Giovanni Ercole, was employed by Colonna and returned to Rome for the 1685 carnival productions at the Colonna theater.³²⁰ Table 4.5 presents the payments assigned to singers in the 1683 and 1684 notary documents.³²¹

Table 4.5 Payments Assigned to Singers in the 1683 and 1684 Notary Documents

Singer	Voice type	September 1683	December 1684
Paolo Pompeo Besci, “Paoluccio”	SC	700 scudi	420 ducati
Antonio Carrano “Bisignano”	SC		470 ducati
Giuseppe Costantini “Bransvich”	SC	600 scudi	
Giulia Francesca Zuffi	S	600 scudi (as 660 ducati)	520 ducati
Teresa Laura Rossi	S	300 scudi	
Giovanni Domenico Graziani	S		300 scudi + 25 doppie for travel
Nicolò Ferretti	AC		300 scudi + 18 scudi for travel
Domenico di Gennaro	T	265 scudi	200 ducati
Caterina “Nina” Scarani	S		200 ducati
Michele Fregiotti	T	250 scudi	
Terza Donna?	S	250 scudi	
Giovanni Ercole	B	230 scudi	
Stefano Carli	B?	200 scudi	
Giulio Cavalletti	SC	160 scudi	210 scudi
Rinaldo Catani	T		110 ducati
Agata Carani or Carrano	S		50 ducati
Domenico Minnelli	B		30 ducati

³²⁰ According to De Lucca, *The Politics*, 272, Giulio Cavalletti “sang in every production at the Teatro Colonna from 1683 to 1686,” though this might be inaccurate because he is clearly listed in the libretti as singing in the Naples productions for 1683–84 and 1684–85, including those for carnival 1684 and carnival 1685 (*Il Pompeo* and *Il Galieno*).

³²¹ I-Nas, Pizzo Falcone, Archivio dei Notai, Notai del Seicento, Geronimo de Roma, di Salerno, scheda 1214, protocollo 23, fols. 583v–587, 25 September 1683; and I-Nas, Pizzo Falcone, Archivio dei Notai, Notai del Seicento, Geronimo de Roma, di Salerno, scheda 1214, protocollo 24, fols. 872–75, 6 December 1684.

The cast changes as well as the 6 December 1684 notary document seem to suggest that this season was plagued by instability. Clearly the production team needed more funding from Guidetti and Gondi, the lenders, in order to continue the 1684–85 season, despite their already accumulating debt.³²² The rehearsal schedule may have been affected by casting problems in that the palace premiere of *L'Epaminonda* did not take place until 1 January 1685.³²³ On the other hand, the success of *Il Giustino* might have caused the late premiere for the second opera, *L'Epaminonda*, precisely because the *Giustino* performances at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo had continued at least until mid-December and perhaps even as late as 20 or 21 December. Public performances of *L'Epaminonda* began at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo by 8 or 9 January and continued “con applauso” through to the end of carnival (March 6), according to the nuncio’s information.³²⁴ But *L'Epaminonda* was the only completely new opera offered during the 1684–85 Naples season. It may be that the composer, De Luca, presided over the final rehearsals and the premiere, given that Scarlatti went to Rome at the end of December 1684 for the 30 December baptism of his son, Alessandro Raimondo, at Sant’Andrea delle Frate (it is unclear when he returned to Naples). During this season, the production of operas by local musicians with libretti by Perrucci is noteworthy—De Luca’s *L'Epaminonda* in January and through March and then Provenzale’s *Stellidaura vendicante* in summer 1685.

Like *Il Giustino*, *L'Epaminonda* is a loosely historical opera with an heroic focus. But the libretto follows the pattern of Carpio’s earlier productions in its bold projection of a strong, heroic female protagonist, Apollia. Indeed, the libretto seems crafted especially with the politics of the queen mother’s birthday in mind.³²⁵ The plot takes as its point of departure the famous second battle of Mantinea (362 BCE) in the Peloponnesian War, in which the Thebans, led by Epaminondas, battled the Spartans, led by King Agesilaus II. Perrucci’s libretto

³²² I-Nas, Pizzo Falcone, Archivio dei Notai, Notai del Seicento, Geronimo de Roma, di Salerno, scheda 1214, protocollo 24, fols. 872–75, 6 December 168; Olivieri, “Per una storia,” 245–46.

³²³ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 97, fol. 4, 2 January 1685. De Luca was paid at least 150 ducats, according to the 6 December 1684 notary document I-Nas, Pizzo Falcone, Archivio dei Notai, Notai del Seicento, Geronimo de Roma, di Salerno, scheda 1214, protocollo 24, fols. 872–75.

³²⁴ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 97, fol. 4, 2 January 1685: “Ieri sera poi fu rappresentata la nova opera in musica per il compleanno della Regina Madre a Palazzo intitolata L’Epaminonda, la quale è ben riuscita per la vaghezza della musica, delle scene, e del nobile teatro, con il concorso di questa nobiltà di dame e cavalieri, ne fu inferiore la generosità del Signore Viceré in trattare tutti con lautezza di rinfreschi per render tanto più gradito un così nobile divertimento.” The avviso of 9 January 1685 (fol. 9) states: “L’Epaminonda opera in musica, che si recitò a palazzo come si avviso, hora si va recitando in questo Teatro di San Bartolomeo con applauso.”

³²⁵ *L'Epaminonda. Melodrama del dottor Andrea Perruccio da rappresentarsi nel Regal Palaggio per lo compleanno della maestà di D. Marianna d’Austria regina madre. Consecrato all’eccellentissimo signor D. Gasparo d’Haro e Gusman marchese del Carpio, viceré e capitan generale nel Regno di Napoli* (Naples: Antonio Gramignani, 1684); Sartori 08958; I-MOe, 70.E.10, 7; I-Rn 34.2.C.30.4.

portrays both ancient warriors as strict observers of the military code of honor. Apollia, daughter of Agesilao, first appears dressed as a warrior (“Vestita d’armi la Patria difendea”). She has been taken prisoner in battle while defending her country and, as the opera opens, is about to be sacrificed in the temple of Mars. Recognized as a woman, she is loved by Leonido and spared the death penalty. But, as the plot unfolds, she intervenes in the martial conflict with uncommon valor despite demonstrations of feminine passion within the tender love story.

At first glance, the martial setting and general source for Perrucci’s 1684 libretto might seem an awkward offering to the queen mother on the happy occasion of her birthday. But salient aspects of the libretto reveal Perrucci crafting a politically appropriate story with a flattering reflection of Mariana as the central *femme forte*, Apollia. The bellicose theme and setting in neutral ancient Mantinea surely reflect the fact that Hapsburg forces had been repelling French incursions following Louis XIV’s punishing bombardment of the independent (and thus presumably “neutral”) city of Genoa in the wake of a Genoese alliance with Spain. Carpio was involved personally in planning the Spanish response from his position as Viceroy of Naples (at the top of the Spanish administrative structure in Italy). In a letter of 16 May 1684, Baldini noted that the Genoese had written to Carpio for military support (“dubitando de’ Francesi l’avevano pregato di soccorso”), and Carpio had responded by sending ships immediately. Just ten days later he reported, “Qui si sta con molta agitazione per le cose di Genova per i corrieri, che vengono da Milano... stando Sua Eccellenza [Carpio] con grande applicazione a tutto... non avendo altro scopo, che di ben servire la corona.”³²⁶ In August 1684, just months before *L’Epaminonda*’s premiere, Spain signed a ceasefire with France known as the Truce of Ratisbon. It must be in deference to this treaty that neither of the warring elder statesmen in Perrucci’s libretto is a true villain—Epaminonda and Agesilao are drawn as honorable patriarchs who just happen to wage war. Perrucci’s Apollia seems to epitomize a strong, decisive Marianna de Austria, whose valor and resourcefulness benefit her family and her people repeatedly. Carpio’s efforts to win over Marianna (at whose urging years before he had been exiled and then appointed to Italian postings) had not flagged, so it is reasonable to suggest that his production of *L’Epaminonda* quite deliberately painted a flattering portrait of her unwavering service to the dynasty.

The opera opens with a visually spectacular sung loa (whose music is lost) that thrusts the spectator into another famous conflict, the Judgment of Paris among the goddesses Pallas, Juno, and Venus (the mythical fuel for the Trojan War). The stage reveals a view of Mount Parnassus complete with Pegasus and the nine Muses

³²⁶ I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Carteggio Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna 1684/96, Baldini letters of 16 and 27 May.

carrying musical instruments. Pallas descends from the mountain, and a “gran sinfonia” sounds from a large offstage orchestra. Venus arrives in a carriage pulled by swans with the Three Graces walking beside her, before Juno arrives in her carriage drawn by Peacocks, accompanied by three nymphs. Apparently, these deities walk or ride onto the stage itself, rather than descending in flying machines from above. Each of the goddesses sings a bellicose claim to future victory, until Amore arrives in a flaming chariot, imploring them to set aside their differences and embrace harmonious concord (“Belle dive pace, pace”), since “In si bella tenzone / Son pari le Corone, / Hor chè Paride fatto Amor.” If “Paride” is here a reference to Louis XIV (Paride is forgiven for starting the war in the first place) the Hapsburg eagle is also named in the last quatrain, transformed into a “Phoenix” (“Fatte l’Aquila Fenici / Vivan secoli”). The harmony among goddesses and nations resounds in another “Sinfonia,” before the final chorus celebrates “Marianna eccelsa, e Carlo il Grande.”

Beyond the prologue, many of the stage sets in *L’Epinonda* recall those used for *Il Giustino* or *Il Pompeo*: the military encampments and pavilions (I, 4; I, 19; II, 1; II, 14; II, 19; II, 20; III, 4; III, 7; III, 8; III, 13); the royal salon (I, 7, II, 13, II, 15); the palace garden with fountains at night (I, 20); the ruins of an ancient city, in this case Mantinea (III, 1; III, 14); and the forest dense with trees (II, 1; II, 7) that becomes a “bosco orrido” where monsters attack (II, 23), for example. The constancy of the young lovers, Apollia and Leonido, is tested through standard twists of plot fueled by the expectations of their warring fathers. First, Apollia appears in chains until she is saved by Leonido. Later, Leonido is readied for execution as Theban archers prepare to shoot him to the sound of trumpets and discordant drums, until Apollia arrives with the Spartan army, brandishing her sword in his defense. Further on, Leonido emerges from a frightening subterranean prison beneath a ruined wall in Mantinea just in time to fight off an attacker (the villainous schemer, Anticrate). In a stunning complex of martial violence that the audience was surely meant to deplore, both *Epinonda* and *Agésilao* are wounded. The *deus ex machina* that finally unites the lovers and reconciles the opposing families is a sudden earthquake in the Piazza di Mantinea that not only topples the equestrian statue of *Epinonda* but causes it to bury nasty Anticrate (III, 15).

L’Epinonda featured other special sets, including the opening Temple of Mars adorned with military trophies and a central altar flanked by burning torches (I, 1). Dawn breaks with a rising sun (II, 1; compare this to *Il Giustino* I, 8). Most likely, the sorceress Florida’s “camere secrete” (I, 6; I, 12; III, 5) featured appropriately magical decorations and implements. Armed with potent spells, Florida (Apollia’s rival for Leonido’s affection) and her comic servant the *vecchia* Canilia ride into the horrid forest in a chariot pulled by dragons, but Florida’s malignant powers are blunted by Amore, who rides into view on a cloud then swoops down to lift Florida onto the cloud and bear her away, while old Canilia is attacked by a horde of little monsters (II, 23–24).

De Luca surely knew well the voices in his cast because they had performed in *Il Giustino* (excepting Francesco Mennillo, who sang as Erasto and Polimante in *Il Giustino* but for whom no role is listed in *L'Epaminonda*). Zuffi and Besci were paired as Apollia (with some twenty arias and duets) and Leonido (with eighteen). Antonio Carrano “Bisignano” sang as Leonido’s father, Epaminonda, opposite Nicolò Ferretti as Apollia’s father Agesilao. Carrano’s Epaminonda was a much smaller role (five arias and three duets plus cavate) than the busy title role he had performed in *Il Giustino*. None of the arias he sang in *L'Epaminonda* has survived, but the subsidiary nature of the role and smaller number of arias assigned to it in the libretto indicate that Carrano ceded precedence to Besci as Leonido, who also far overshadowed the third castrato, Graziani, who sang as Archidamo (disguised as Cleonimo). Florida, the princess-sorceress and former lover of Leonido, was sung by Scarani, the vehement Eufemia of *Il Giustino*, while the comic nurse, Canilia, was assigned to tenor Di Gennaro (the Gelidia of *Il Giustino*) paired with Cavalletti as Carildo, the page.

A complete score for De Luca’s *L'Epaminonda* seems not to survive, but extant arias shed light on the nature of the music and the voices in the cast. Only four arias are extant among those intended for the castrato Graziani as Archidamo. Graziani was sent from Florence to Naples by Francesco Maria Medici.³²⁷ The 6 December 1684 notary document awards him 300 scudi plus travel expenses.³²⁸ Earlier in 1684 he had performed as Rosaura, the principal female character, in *Lo speciale di villa* at Pratolino,³²⁹ though an annotation penned into an exemplar of its libretto indicates that he was an alto. The role of Andronico in the Naples *Il Giustino* was clearly a soprano role, however, and the extant arias from *L'Epaminonda* preserved in an anthology are notated in soprano clef (as is typical in such collections). Table 4.6 lists extant arias identified for *L'Epaminonda*.

³²⁷ See I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, filze 5650, letters of 18 October 1684 from Francesco Maria Medici to the Prince of Ottaiano in Naples, and response of 31 October 1684; I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, filze 5874, letters of 24 October 1684, 21 November 1684 from Grand Prince Ferdinando di Cosimo III to Giuseppe de’ Medici, Prince of Ottaiano in Naples; a letter dated 7 November 1684 from the Prince of Ottaiano to Ferdinando di Cosimo III confirms that Graziani will sing in the Naples operas through the end of carnival. Other letters discovered by Francesca Fantappiè indicate that Francesco Maria Medici loaned Graziani to Carpio, and that he arrived in Naples, carrying a letter to the Prince of Ottaiano dated 18 October 1684, just in time for the opera that “would very soon be performed” (“deve prontamente rappresentarsi”); from Naples, Giuseppe de’ Medici, Prince of Ottaiano, assured Francesco Maria in a letter dated 31 October that he would assist the singer in any way possible. See I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, 5650, filze 75, in Francesca Fantappiè, “Un garbato fratello et un garbato zio’ Teatri, cantanti, protettori e impresari nell’epistolario di Francesco Maria Medici (1680-1711),” 2 vols. (PhD diss., Università degli Studi, Firenze, 2004), 2:27. Many thanks to Dr. Fantappiè for so kindly sharing her work with me.

³²⁸ I-Nas, Pizzo Falcone, Archivio dei Notai, Notai del Seicento, Geronimo de Roma, di Salerno, scheda 1214, protocollo 24, fols. 872–75, 6 December 1684, transcribed in part in Olivieri, “Per una storia,” 245–46.

³²⁹ *Lo speciale di Villa drama rappresentato in musica nella Villa di Pratolino* (Florence: Vincenzo Vangelisti, 1684), I-MOe, 70.H.11/3; Sartori 22381.

Table 4.6 Arie Staccate from De Luca, *L'Epaminonda*, Naples 1684–85*

“Stelle, barbare stelle”	Apollia	I, 1	I-Nc, 33.4.5, fols. 122r–123r
“S’ il mio genio non fosse guerriero”	Apollia, Leonido	I, 3	US-BEm, MS 117, fols. 45r–46v
“Bellezze mie neglette”	Florida, Canilia	I, 6	I-Nc, 33.5.37, fols. 116v–177r
“In amore finga chi sa”	Florida, Canilia	I, 6	I-Nc, 33.5.37, fols. 177v–188v F-Pn, RES VMF MS-29, p. 41 US-BEm, MS 117, fols. 47r–48v
“Sei troppo crudele fortuna”	Apollia	I, 8	I-Nc, 33.4.5, fols. 123v–124v F-Pn, RES VMF MS-29, p. 57 US-BEm, MS 117, fols. 10r–11v.
“Un laccio, ch’è d’oro”	Apollia	I, 10	I-Nc, 33.4.5, fols. 126v–127v F-Pn, RES VMF MS-29, p. 68 US-BEm, MS 117, fols. 26r–27v
“Sol mancava a questo core”	Florida	I, 13	F-Pn, RES VMF MS-29, p. 76
“Quanto più s’ nasconde il fuoco”	Apollia	I, 14	I-Nc, 33.4.5, fols. 50v–51v F-Pn, RES VMF MS-29, pp. 33–40 US-BEm, MS 117, fols. 36r–37r
“Consigliami amore”	Apollia	I, 14	I-Nc, 33.4.5, fols. 49r–50r US-BEm, MS 117, fols. 17r–19r
“Dimmi amore se fine darai”	Archidamo	I, 15	F-Pn, RES VMF MS-29, p. 84
“Son dell’anima calamite”	Leonido	I, 16	F-Pn, RES VMF MS-29, p. 92
“Fu la speme mia fallace ombra vana”	Leonido	I, 17	F-Pn, RES VMF MS-29, p. 49.
“Care tenebre, ombre adorabili”	Archidamo	I, 20	US-BEm, MS 117, fols. 41r–44r
“Consulta mio core”	Leonido	II, 3	US-BEm, MS 117, fols. 59r–60v
“Sei di ferro, sei diamante”	Apollia	II, 4	I-Nc, 33.4.5, fols. 125r–126r F-Pn, RES VMF MS-29, p. 102 US-BEm, MS 117, fols. 1r–2r
“Il mio cor non è macigno”	Florida	II, 11	F-Pn, RES VMF MS-29, p. 110 US-BEm, MS 117, fols. 28r–31r
“Sdegno amor furie tormenti”	Apollia	II, 12	I-Nc, 33.4.5, fols. 52r–53v F-Pn, RES VMF MS-29, p. 117 US-BEm, MS 117, fols. 24r–25v
“Come spiro, come vivo”	Apollia	II, 14	US-BEm, MS 117, fols. 49r–50v
“Crudo cielo io ben discerno”	Leonido	II, 16	US-BEm, MS 117, fols. 12r–16v.
“Dove sei degli occhi miei vago sol”	Apollia	II, 19	I-Nc, 33.4.5, fols. 128r–v [I-Rsc, Accademico A-MS-454?]

Table 4.6 Continued

“Cingetemi, stringetemi crudelissime catene”	Leonido	II, 22	F-Pn, RES VMF MS-29, p. 126 US-BEm, MS 117, fols. 57r–58v
“Fermati o mia speranza”	Archidamo	III, 6	I-Nc, 33.4.5, fols. 54r–55r US-BEm, MS 117, fols. 22r–23v.
“Amor se m'avvalorì spero”	Archidamo	III, 6	F-Pn, RES VMF MS-29, p. 134
“Su guerrieri al campo”	Agesilao	III, 8	US-BEm, MS 117, fols. 51r–56r [alto clef; D major with orchestra]
“Gioisci nel seno”	Apollia	III, 12	US-BEm, MS 117, fols. 20r–21v

* I-Nc, 33.4.5 [Arie 228] and I-Nc, 33.5.37 [Arie 216].

To judge by the libretto, Archidamo seems lighter in affect than Leonido, the central heroic male role in *L'Epaminonda*. But Archidamo provided a secondary disguised prince whose constancy and heroism conquer the woman he desires and redeem her at the close of the opera. The role comprised many fewer arias than the high castrato role of Leonido—only four solo arias together with four duets. But the duet for Archidamo and Leonido composed for Graziani and Besci, whose text “Dunque al armi” (II, 9) surely sounded forth with a trumpet line, moves the plot forward in a pivotal scene of high drama. This duet contrasts importantly with Graziani’s first appearance in the opera, when he sings with amorous longing for Florida but is heard by the comic vecchia, Canilia (Gennaro), who concocts a recipe for further intrigue and titillation by leading Archidamo to arrive at a nocturnal garden tryst with Apollia (who is instead expecting Leonido). Graziani also sang two duets with Scarani singing as Florida (I, 12 and II, 8); these probably were intended to parallel the stronger pairing of Besci-Zuffi. Graziani’s surviving arias from this opera reveal a capacious range (d’ to a^b in the soprano clef). The ABA aria “Dimmi amore se fine darai / Al dolore che morte mi dà” (I, 15) demonstrates that he may have been especially skilled in singing leaps that spanned awkward intervals within melismas, as well as plaintive semitone neighbor-note figures, smoothly rising and falling scalar melismas, and unprepared leaps to pitches in his high range (Example 4.19).

If stainless Apollia is a sympathetic heroine designed to melt hearts, Florida, the secondary female character desires the wrong prince (Leonido) and uses her sorceress’ magic to become Apollia’s scheming rival. Apollia is virtuous though transgressive—she dons male armor and fights as a man to save her country. Florida, sung by Caterina Scarani, is brazenly transgressive and selfishly impulsive—her magic flows toward lust and seduction. Given Scarani’s performance as Eufemia in the previous opera, *Il Giustino*, and the nature of the extant

Example 4.19 Severo De Luca, “Dimmi, Amore, se fine darai,” *L’Epaminonda* I, 15, F-Pn RES VMF MS-29, pp. 84–91.

[Archidamo]

Dim-mi, A - mo - re, dim-mi, A -

mo-re se fi - ne da - rai — al do - lo - re, — al do -

lo - re — che mor - - - -

- te mi da. Ma tu al co - re, — ma tu al

co - re ri - spon - di che mai, ma - i la ca - te -

- - - na, la ca - te - na dis - ciol - ta sa - rà, ma tu al

Example 4.19 Continued

18
co - re, — ma tu, al co - re ri-spon - di che mai, ma - i

21
la ca-te - - - na, la ca-te - na di-

24
sciol - ta sa-rà. Dim-mi, A - mo-re se fi - ne da-

27
rai — al do - lo - re — al do - lo - re — che mor -

30
- - - te mi da, al do - lo - re, al do-

34
lo - re che — mor - te mi da.

arias Scarlatti composed for her, it appears that Scarani was particularly suited to affectively complicated roles—roles that called for anti-heroic vehemence but were thin on conventionally female lovelorn tenderness. Florida's aria "Il mio cor non è macigno / Che d'amor resisti al fuoco" (II, 11) seems designed to demonstrate musically both aspects of her character (Example 4.20).

Example 4.20 Severo De Luca, “Il mio cor non è macigno,” *L’Epaminonda* II, 11, F-Pn RES VMF MS-29, pp. 111–16.

[Florida]

Il mio cor non è ma-

ci - gno che d'a-mor re-sis-ti-al fo -

co, che d'a-mor re-sis-ti-al fo -

co.

Hò un ge-nio be-ni-gno che sà com-pa - ti - re, che sà com-pa-ti - re,

pe - no - so mar-ti - re del bar - ba-ro di - o

Example 4.20 Continued

16

far - fal - la an - cor io di fiam - me son gio -

18

co.

21

Il mio cor non è ma - ci - gno che d'a-mor re-sis-ti-al

24

fo - co, che d'a-

27

mor re-sis-ti-al fo - co,

30

co.

The A section of the aria illustrates her attempts to stand up to the “fire” of love’s passion without wavering. It opens in somber B minor, but the two central melismas push away from this tonic by means of a sequential figure endowed with suspensions and requiring the expected accidentals for the raised thirds of the major subdominant and dominant chords in the rising harmony. The aria’s B section in D major explains, to the contrary, that Florida has a gentler “benign” side to her character that “knows how to feel sympathy for the painful martyrdom caused by the barbarous deity.” At the close of the B section, Florida feels herself no stronger than a “moth” dancing toward the flames (of love), expressed in an extravagantly leaping melisma spanning *d’* to *a* and reaching her highest pitches over a barely supportive bass line in eighth notes punctuated by rests.

The role of Apollia, composed for Zuffi, stood clearly at the center of *L’Epaminonda*, despite the presence of the three castrati. The libretto specifies fifteen arias and five duets, shared arias, or ensemble pieces for Apollia. The extant arias (see Table 4.6) for this role share melodic characteristics with arias assigned to Zuffi in previous operas and shed light on how Zuffi’s performance projected a powerful woman.³³⁰ In “Stelle barbare, crudelissime comete” (I, 1), Apollia lashes out angrily in declamatory fashion with closely spaced conjunct motion together with neighbor-note figures in the first section, similar to those associated with Zuffi in other operas. In the contrasting triple-meter second section, “Rigori, furori, non prezzo, no no,” she explodes with forceful leaping figures punctuated by rests and emphasizing the high register, set against the unyielding turbulence of eighth-note motion in the bass line.³³¹ The hauntingly melancholic § *Siciliana*, “Sei troppo, troppo crudele fortuna per me” (I, 8), and the spirited “Un laccio, ch’è d’oro” (I, 10) again showcased Zuffi’s strength as a negotiator of wordy, declamatory arias. The melody in “Un laccio” is primarily conjunct with scalar figures, closely spaced pitches, and brief melismas over an insistent bass line that pushes forward in constant eighth notes. The primary motivic figure in Apollia’s “Quanto più s’asconde il foco” (I, 14; Example 4.21) is first introduced in the bass line of the opening ritornello but hides the “fire” described in the text within a rapid sixteenth-note figure that flickers with regularity amid the otherwise stolid eighth-note motion.

³³⁰ It is likely that the extant arias belong to the Naples production, given that F-Pn, RES VMF MS-29 only includes arias from the three Naples 1684–85 productions—*Il Giustino*, *L’Epaminonda*, and *Il Galieno*; *L’Epaminonda* was revived in Palermo in 1687 to honor the birthday of Isabel María Pacheco y Girón, Duchess of Uceda; the Palermo libretto, I-Bu A.V.Tab.I.F.III.47.2; Sartori 08959 has an undated dedication but no cast list; see Anna Tedesco, *Il Teatro Santa Cecilia e il Seicento Musicale Palermitano* (Palermo: Flaccovio, 1992), 266

³³¹ Aria (voice and basso continuo) without composer attribution in I-Nc, 33.4.5, fols. 122–23.

Example 4.21 Severo De Luca, “Quanto più s’ nasconde il foco,” *L’Epinonda* I, 14, F-Pn RES VMF MS-29, pp. 33–40.

3
 Quan-to più s'a-scon-d'il fo -

6
 co più di-mo-stra, il suo po - ter, più di-mo - stra,

8
 più di-mo - stra, più di-mo-stra, il suo po - ter.

11
 Pia-ga, oc-cul - ta

14
 a - sco-so_ar-do - re que-sto co-re strug-ger fan-no

Example 4.21 Continued

17
 à po-co, à po-co e m'è for - za,

20
 e m'è for-za di ta-cer, e m'è for - za,

23
 e m'è for-za di ta-cer. Quan-to più s'a-scon-d'il fo -

26
 co più di-mo-stra il suo po-ter, più di-mo - stra, più di-mo - stra,

29
 più di-mo-stra il suo po - ter.

Apollia's opening melody, with its innocent ascending leap to the tonic and controlled repetition of tonic pitches over six full beats, thus suppresses the fire of her passion. These gestures of emotional control are deliberately set against the bass pattern with its flickering flame, as Apollia attempts to "hide" her own feelings. Naturally, the power of passion is nevertheless demonstrated at the words "più dimostra il suo poter" as the melody rises to her highest notes (g" and a"), with calming repeated quarter notes on g" before the vocal line is invaded by irrepressible neighbor-note and scale figures in sixteenth notes. The B section showcases careful, repetitive eighth- and quarter-note leaps, first ascending g' to d" and then d" to g" to outline the vigor of the dominant harmony

over forceful but regular cadential patterns in the bass line. In an ingenious irregularity, as Apollia weakens but explains that she is forced to be silent, singing “e mi è forza di tacer,” the bass pattern from the A section returns to guide the aria back to E minor, while the vocal line moves down in register, signaling near defeat as Apollia here eschews melisma and instead sings half notes on “forza” before finally completing the return of “Quanto più s’asconde il foco.”

Apollia’s furious and strikingly melismatic “Sdegno, amor, furie, tormenti” (II, 12) was surely composed as a dramatic bravura rage aria with strings (Example 4.22).

Example 4.22 Severo De Luca, “Sdegno, amor, furie, tormenti,” *L’Epaminonda* II, 12, F-Pn RES VMF MS-29, pp. 117–25.

[Apollia]

3 Sde - gno, A - mor, fu - rie, tor - men - ti, che vo -

5 le - te da un mi - se - ro cor, che, che, che, che vo - le - te da un mi - se - ro

7 cor, che vo - le - te da un mi - se - ro cor, che vo -

9 le - te da un mi - se - ro cor?

The musical score consists of four systems of staves. Each system has a vocal line (treble clef) and a bass line (bass clef). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The first system is marked with a '3' and the name '[Apollia]'. The second system is marked with a '3' and contains the lyrics 'Sde - gno, A - mor, fu - rie, tor - men - ti, che vo -'. The third system is marked with a '5' and contains the lyrics 'le - te da un mi - se - ro cor, che, che, che, che vo - le - te da un mi - se - ro'. The fourth system is marked with a '7' and contains the lyrics 'cor, che vo - le - te da un mi - se - ro cor, che vo -'. The fifth system is marked with a '9' and contains the lyrics 'le - te da un mi - se - ro cor?'. The bass line features a complex rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes, often with beamed pairs, providing a driving accompaniment to the vocal line.

Example 4.22 Continued

22

Sde-gno, A -

25

mor, fu - rie, tor-men-ti, che vo - le-te da_un mi-se-ro cor, che, che,

27

che, che vo - le - te da_un mi - se-ro cor, che vo - le -

29

- te da_un mi-se-ro cor, che vo - le - te da_un mi-se-ro

31

cor?

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for a vocal piece, continuing from a previous page. It consists of five systems of music, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a bass line (bass clef). The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are in Italian. The first system (measures 22-24) shows the vocal line with a rest followed by 'Sde-gno, A -'. The second system (measures 25-26) continues the vocal line with 'mor, fu - rie, tor-men-ti, che vo - le-te da_un mi-se-ro cor, che, che,'. The third system (measures 27-28) continues with 'che, che vo - le - te da_un mi - se-ro cor, che vo - le -'. The fourth system (measures 29-30) continues with '- te da_un mi-se-ro cor, che vo - le - te da_un mi-se-ro'. The fifth system (measures 31-32) shows the vocal line with a rest followed by 'cor?' and a fermata, while the bass line continues with a melisma. The bass line throughout the piece features rapid sixteenth-note motion.

The rapid sixteenth-note motion in the bass supports first a climbing E-minor arpeggio interrupted by rests, and then a sobbing descending sequence (“che volete da un misero cor”) interrupted by the desperately repeated question “che, che” at the bottom of the range. The full question, “che volete da un misero cor?,” is repeated and expanded with a descending neighbor-note melisma covering the octave from *e*” to *e*’ stated twice before an emphatic

but wordless restatement in the basso continuo of the ritornello. The aria's B section is both permeated by and given over to long melismas as Apollia calls on imaginary monsters for inspiration ("Si, si, terribili voi mostri orribili avventatemi ispiratemi coi serpenti") then fully embraces her rage ("la rabbia e'l furor"). The return of A begins with an unabridged restatement of the opening ritornello and concludes with a restatement of the secondary ritornello from measures 10–11.

Leonido, Apollia's love interest, is a sympathetic figure so she sets him aside temporarily when she is determined to wage war (in male attire and despite her gender) on behalf of her patria. In the libretto, the role, designed for Besci, offers thirteen arias and five shared arias or duets, of which five arias and one duet are extant. After saving Apollia's life in the opening scenes, Leonido's steadfastness throughout his trials is finally rewarded with her hand in marriage. Leonido's second aria, "Son dell'anima calamite / Due nere pupille," is placed late in act 1. He describes his irresistible attraction to Apollia in a harmonically rich $\frac{6}{8}$ Siciliana in A minor, with long, lyrical phrases that traverse the range of a tenth. This aria especially showcased Besci's ability with its long-breathed vocal phrasing, high notes preceded by rests that called for a gentle but precise articulation, close repetition of melodic figures designed to exhibit vocal control through dynamic contrast, a large leap before a soft passage initiated on a high note, accidentals that required excellent intonation, and two long-held sustained notes for the messa di voce (that these unfurl over such an active bass line suggests that the aria was fully-scored). In the D minor "Fu la speme mia falace" (I, 17), after Epaminonda has ordered him to battle and scorned his "effeminate" tendency to follow his heart, Leonido laments his fortune, comparing his once-bright hope to the brief flash of a phantasm (Example 4.23).

The image of the "ombra vana" is described through an elusive descending melodic sequence whose slippery harmony creates a chain of 7-6 suspensions with resolutions rendered insubstantial by eighth-note rests on beats two and four. The ghostly "flashes" of lost hope trace leap figures that are first introduced in the bass (mm. 5–7), where they provide fleeting resolution of the suspensions; moving forward, they "flash" in the vocal melody (mm. 8–9) and bass to paint "spari." The quick, ascending filled-in-third escape figure on measure 8 beats 3–4 is especially illustrative of the escaping phantasm (probably transformed through embellishment in performance). The aria's B section, beginning "et un'iride di pace," finds "peace" by cadencing to E major (m. 14), but then introduces its own series of delayed resolutions, beginning with a $IV\frac{5}{4}$ chord in E minor (m. 14) moving to a $\frac{5}{7}$ chord on D to produce unstable, even "deceptive"

Example 4.23 Severo De Luca, "Fu la speme mia falace," *L'Epaminonda* I, 17, F-Pn RES VMF MS-29, pp. 49-56.

[Leonido]

4

Fù la spe-me mia fal-la-ce_om-bra va - na, om-bra va - na,

7

om-bra va-na che spa - ri, spa-ri, spa-ri, om-bra va - na, om-bra va-na che spa-

11

ri, om-bra va-na che spa - ri. Et u-n'i - ri-de di

14

pa-ce lu-sin-gan - - - do, lu-sin-gan -

Example 4.23 Continued

17
do, lu - sin - gan

19
do mi tra - di, lu-sin-gan

22
do mi tra - di. Fù la spe-me mia fal-

25
la-ce_om-bra va - na, om-bra va - na, om-bra va-na che spa - ri, spa-ri, spa-ri,

29
om-bra va - na, om-bra va-na che spa - ri, om-bra va-na che spa - ri.

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for a vocal piece, continuing from a previous page. It consists of five systems of music, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (bass clef). The vocal line includes lyrics in Italian. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note bass line and more complex rhythmic patterns in the upper register. The key signature changes from one flat to two flats between measures 19 and 22. The score ends with a double bar line at measure 31.

harmonic motion beneath the extravagantly sobbing broken melismas in the vocal line, painting the word “lusingando.” The sequence is then repeated a fourth higher for another weeping statement of “lusingando.” The music of measures 18–21 is repeated exactly at measures 21–24, elongating the B section and allowing Besci to show off vocal control and sensitivity in the soft dynamic through the long phrase with delicate melismas. The B section cadences in A minor and the da capo begins abruptly, then closes with a final repetition

of “ombra vana che spari” that surely called for a ghostly pianissimo. Similar exhibitions of vocal ability are included in Leonido’s “Cingetemi, stringetemi” (II, 22), especially the long rising and falling melismas interrupted not by rests but by suspended, sustained notes held over the bar line. The device of the suffering, sobbing melisma interrupted by rests, familiar from “Fu la speme mia fallace,” is also heard in the B section of “Cingetemi, stringetemi,” within the phrase “sono a strati et alle pene.” The entire melisma setting “pene” within this phrase is repeated—another feature in common with Leonido’s “Fu la speme mia fallace.” The vocal line in “Cingetemi, stringetemi” opens with an unaccompanied statement of the principal motive—in this it resembles the opening of Scarlatti’s “Toglietemi la vita ancor” from *Il Pompeo*, which was reassigned to the role of Scipione in Naples (II, 12) so that Besci would sing it. In summary, despite limited sources, it is clear that the Leonido arias not only differed in their vocal writing from those designed for Apollia but were especially crafted to suit Besci. Further, judging by their poetic texts and extant settings in aria anthologies, Leonido’s role explored the realm of tender affects and love-torn longing, whereas Apollia’s inhabited a wider spectrum of affects from energetically controlled desire to irritation, anger, and explosive rage. Zuffi’s arias as Apollia seem to project beyond Perrucci’s text, pointing to the feminine valor of a *femme forte* appropriate to the birthday of the invulnerable, widowed queen mother, while Besci’s Leonido stressed the masculine sensitivity, gallantry, and constancy that Carpio himself was renowned to have embodied. Thus, even if *L’Epaminonda* fictionalizes a famous battle between two honorable ancient heads of state and can be understood as appropriate to the celebration of the Truce of Ratisbon, it also enclosed the expected personal offering from Carpio to Queen Mother Mariana. He was her loyal and adoring suitor, the loving subject who remained faithful despite her disdain.

Il Galieno

The third opera of the 1684–85 Naples season and the first of the carnival operas was to have been *Il Galieno*, whose libretto includes a dedication to Carpio dated 17 February 1685, signed by Schor, Vaccaro, and Della Torre.³³² This dedication mentions two previous operas, *Il Giustino* and *L’Epaminonda*, and explains how an opera about the misdeeds of a tyrant should serve to illuminate the good fortune enjoyed by Neapolitans under Carpio’s enlightened rule:

³³² *Il Galieno. Melodrama del sig. Matteo De Noris per lo Teatro di S. Bartolomeo. Consecrato all’eccellentiss. sig. D. Gaspar d’Haro e Gusman marchese del Carpio, vicerè e capitano generale nel Regno di Napoli* (Naples: Antonio Gramignani, 1685); Sartori 11190; I-Bu A.V.Tab.I.F.III.41.7

If Fortune is always contrary to Heroes, as hath been demonstrated with *Giustino* and *Epaminonda*, we, who thanks to the guidance of Your Excellency, only experience favorable Fortune, aware that placing opposites in close view of each other brings out their splendor, bring to the stage a celebrated monster in the person of the Emperor Gallienus, so that the people of Partenope would have occasion to admire, in the person of Your Excellency, a Prince who is all Justice and Precision; and, if in the deeds of *Giustino* and *Epaminondas* there was something to admire, [you] who govern Partenope have known how to supercede those glorious gestures; today we hope that, detesting the deeds of a Gallienus, your virtue would shine with even more brilliance.³³³

Beyond this 1685 libretto, there is no mention of a production of *Il Galieno* in the avvisi. A copy of a score with music by Carlo Pallavicino is held in Naples, bearing the inscription “1683 7 fbro. Fine” (or “1683 7bre. Fine”) just after the final measures of music at the close of the third act.³³⁴ This manuscript once belonged to the library of the Conservatory of the Pietà dei Turchini and to the Real Collegio di Musica di San Sebastiano, though its handwriting and notation appear to be Venetian, and it contains the same prologue used in the Venetian performances and offered in the Venetian sources.³³⁵ The *Il Galieno* libretto by Matteo Noris was first set by Carlo Pallavicino for the theater of SS. Giovanni e Paolo as the featured carnival opera of 1676. The first printed libretto carries a dedication dated 23 December 1675, but the libretto was revised considerably during its initial Venetian run. In the second printing, “33 of the opera’s 71 arias were omitted, and 40 new ones inserted,” for example.³³⁶ The score preserved in

³³³ My rough translation, “Se la Fortuna sempre a gli Eroi contraria tale s’è dimostrata con *Giustino*, & *Epaminonda*; Noi che dalla destra di V. E. solo conosciamo la nostra benigna Fortuna, sapendo che vicino a gl’opposti maggiormente i loro opposti risplendono portiamo su le Scene un Mostro Laureato, qual fu l’imperator Galieno, accio habbino i popoli di Partenope occasione d’ammirare nella persona di Vostra Eccellenza un Principe tutto Giustitia, & Accuratezza; e se nell’attioni di *Giustino*, e d’*Epaminonda* ebbero campo d’ammirare, chi nel governare il destriero di Partenope ha Saputo superare di quelli i gloriosi gesti; hoggi speriamo, che detestando d’un Galieno l’opre, vedando quelle della sua Virtù maggiormente risplendere; ne di questo disperiamo presso la di lei Gratia il gradimento, non essendo vittima piu cara alla Virtù consecrate, che quella d’un Tiranno abbattuto; Gradisca dunque con questo Drama la devotione de servi, che non badano a fatica per incontrare il suo compiacimento, lo riguardi con occhio benigno, mentre dedicandole l’humile nostro affetto restiamo da Napoli 17 Feb 1685.” Quoted verbatim from the libretto, I-Bu, A.V.Tab.I.F.III.41.7

³³⁴ I-Nc, Rari 6.5.7 [32.2.8].

³³⁵ As noted in Bianconi, “Funktionen des Operntheaters,” 79.

³³⁶ Julian Smith, “Carlo Pallavicino,” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 96 (1969), 57–71 (quote from p. 65); Selfridge-Field, *A New Chronology*, 117–18. Without explaining the differences or commenting on their significance, Dubowy, “Avezzo a cose studiate,” 457–94, has noted that the three 1676 printings of the Venetian libretto contain the changes made during the Venetian production, and that these changes are represented in the three different versions of the Venetian opera in

Naples includes aria texts from all of the Venetian printings of the libretto; its music for act 1, scene 1, for example, is a composite with material from scene 1 in the first Venetian printings, together with material from the second and third printings. The text of the loa from the 1685 Naples libretto is not set in this score at all; rather, the score begins with exactly the same music as that contained in the Venetian score (I-Vnm, Contarini It. IV, 424 [=9948]), but then the opening becomes a longer piece (though without any reference to the prologue in the 1685 Naples libretto). The score in Naples appears to be a compilation offering most of the arias from more than one Venetian production. It does not present the version of *Il Galieno* staged in Naples in 1685, though it may contain some music that was chosen for the Naples production. To complicate this picture, a number of manuscript aria anthologies offer arie staccate from *Il Galieno* that can be traced clearly to Venice rather than to Naples 1685.

Two extant arias can be associated with the 1685 Naples production, however, because they are included in an aria manuscript solely dedicated to arias from operas performed in Naples in 1684–85.³³⁷ The manuscript contains many arias from Scarlatti's revised *Il Giustino* and De Luca's *L'Epaminonda*. Two arias on texts from the Naples *Il Galieno* are included as well: the first, "Il tuo volto e un ciel d'amor" (I, 8 in the Naples libretto), is largely concordant with a setting in both the Venetian score and the 1683 score held in Naples, and it carries an ascription to Pallavicino.³³⁸ The second aria, "Del Tebro famoso risveglia le trombe," is ascribed to Scarlatti and, indeed, presents a different, more elaborate setting of the poetic text from the Naples libretto (I, 5), where it is assigned to Emiliano (this aria text also appears in the three printings of the Venetian libretto). In the Venetian libretto, this aria text occurs in I, 6 as a duet between Ottone and Emiliano. Not surprisingly, the musical setting in the Venetian score and in the 1683 score now held in Naples are indeed both duets and concordant with each other. Both are in A major and in triple time (time signature "3"), whereas the virtuoso aria ascribed to Scarlatti with the text "Del Tebro famoso risveglia le trombe" (Example 4.24) is in D major and common time, notated in the alto range.³³⁹

Although the two pieces vaguely share an opening melodic gesture, the aria ascribed to Scarlatti is a much more elaborate piece—a virtuoso solo aria

three extant manuscript scores. I have consulted the three editions of the 1676 libretto, Sartori 11187, I-Rn, 40.9.F.15.7; Sartori 11188, I-MOe, 83.E.13 (01); and Sartori 11189, I-Vgc, Rolandi Pallavicino A-Z, as well as the score I-Vnm, Contarini It. IV, 424 (=9948).

³³⁷ F-Pn, MS RES. VMF MS-29. I am forever indebted to Alessio Ruffatti for kindly bringing this manuscript to my attention as I was gathering sources for this chapter.

³³⁸ F-Pn, MS RES. VMF MS-29, pp. 138–47.

³³⁹ F-Pn, MS RES. VMF MS-29, pp. 148–52.

Example 4.24 Alessandro Scarlatti, “Del Tebro famoso risveglia le trombe,” *Il Galieno* I, 5, F-Pn RES VMF MS-29, pp. 148–52.

[Emiliano]

3
Del Te - bro fa - mo - so,

5
del Te - bro fa - mo - so ris - ve - glia la trom -

7
- - ba, ris - ve - glia la trom - - -

9
- ba e l' a - ria rim - bom - ba al suon stre - pi -

11
to - so, stre - pi - to - so, al suon stre - pi -

Example 4.24 Continued

12
to - so s'ar - mi, s'ar - mi il ciel, s'ar - mi la ter - ra, la

14
ter - ra sot - to zo - na di fo - co ar - - -

16
- - - da la guer - ra, sot - to

18
zo - na di fo - co ar - - -

20
- - - da la guer - ra, ar - da la

22
guer - ra, ar - da la guer - ra, ar - da, ar - da la guer - ra!

The musical score consists of six systems, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a bass line (bass clef). The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are in Italian and describe a scene of war and destruction. The bass line is particularly active, featuring dotted rhythms and energetic sixteenth-note passages. There are some performance markings, such as #3, in the bass line.

resplendent with difficult melismas and trumpet-like passages over a vigorous bass line with dotted rhythms and energetic sixteenth notes. In performance, it surely included a trumpet obbligato. The strong and up-to-date character of the aria fits well with the other music Scarlatti had composed or arranged for the 1684–85 season. Further, this aria tends to confirm that the score of *Il Galieno*

now held in Naples and concluding with the rubric “1683 7 fbro. Fine” (or 7tbre) does not contain the music of the opera as produced there in February 1685 but, instead, offers a compilation of Pallavicino’s music from the Venetian productions. This score was probably sent to Naples in 1683 for consideration—maybe for Carpio’s own early consideration. In any case, this unique version of “Del Tebro famoso risveglia le trombe” by Scarlatti certainly suggests that *Il Galieno* was revised and modernized by Scarlatti’s adaptation for the Naples cast of carnival 1685.

Summer Festivities 1685

Summer festivals lasting for weeks on the coastline and at Posillipo were traditional in Naples, though the sources say little about their music. The two that Carpio organized in summer 1685 for the nameday of Queen Mother Mariana and that of the reigning queen were especially elaborate. They were so expensive that the crown did not want to provide subvention, so Carpio paid for both with personal funds.³⁴⁰ The 26 July celebration (Saint Anne) included a maritime parade of navy ships, boats, yachts, and barges, and bullfights of various sorts on a huge, specially constructed wooden stage erected offshore as a platform on piles over the water. This spectacle was viewed by an estimated 350,000 people of all social classes, the gentry seated in palchetti on the shore and others on the overlooking roads, gardens, and hills. An impressive fireworks display followed with illuminated political emblems and symbols in praise of the queen mother and the monarchy. The “enticement of the music” was provided by musicians on barges during the entire show.³⁴¹ Some idea of the extent of this festivity can be gleaned from the famous engraving shown as Figure 4.7.

³⁴⁰ Antonelli, ed., *Cerimoniale*, 390; Vidales del Castillo, “El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras,” 245–55, provides insight into the political importance of these festivities, together with their cost and publicity.

³⁴¹ *Relazione della solenne festa de’ Tori; e de’ fuochi artifiziatzi fattasi nel Mare di Napoli il giorno di S. Anna,.... 1685. Ordinata da quel Vicerè Marchese del Carpio, per solennizzare il nome de la Maestà della Regina Madre N. S.* (Milan: Marc’ Antonio Pandolfo Malatesta, 1685), GB-Lbl, General Reference Collection, T.2226.(6.). [Antonio Román], *Relación de la fiesta real, celebrada por el excelentísimo señor marques del Carpio, virrey, y capitan general del reyno de Napoles, a 26 de julio, al agosto nombre de la reyna madre nuestra señora doña Mariana de Austria; traducida de italiano. Publicada el sabato 25 de agosto 1685* (Madrid: Sebastián de Armendariz, 1685), E-Mn, VE/188/10. Confuorto, *Giornali*, 1:129 provides a concordant but shorter description; see also Griffin, “The Late Baroque Serenata,” 95. A detailed engraving, *Teatro que el excelentísimo señor marqués del Carpio... hizo para celebrar el nombre de la Reyna Madre* (Naples, 1685) by Federico Pesche, designed by Sebastiano Indelicato and printed by Antonio Bulifon [I-Nn, MS XV.G.15], is reproduced in Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 558–59; Antonelli, ed., *Cerimoniale*, 386–87; and the exhibition catalogue “Opere a stampa. Il fondo della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli,” in *Capolavori in*



Figure 4.7 Federico Pesche, Sebastiano Indelicato, *Teatro que el excelentísimo señor marqués del Carpio... hizo para celebrar el nombre de la Reyna Madre* (Naples: Antonio Bulifon, 1685), MS XVG15 © Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli.

On 26 August, for the nameday of Queen Marie-Louise, Carpio offered another maritime festival on a huge offshore platform decorated with allegorical symbols and a triumphal arch. In addition to bullfights, trumpets and drums announced a procession of twenty-four nobles in six quadrilles, together with their households, all elegantly costumed and riding decorated horses, followed by equestrian games, an equestrian ballet (*gioco dei caroselli*), and a triumphal car full of musicians who performed a serenata.³⁴²

During this summer, Carpio also promoted a summer opera first performed in June 1685 at the viceroy's palace and later at a palace on Mergellina. Most likely, this was Provenzale's *La Stellidaura vendicante*, a comic opera with five roles

fiesta, effimero barocco a Largo di Palazzo (1683–1759), 237; Cappellieri, “Filippo Schor e Fischer von Erlach,” 203, attributes the design to Filippo Schor.

³⁴² Breue relazione degli applausi festosi tributati all'augustissimooome di Maria Luisa Borbone. Regina delle Spagne dall'eccl. signore marchese Del Carpio. Vice-rè, e capitan generale del Regno di Napoli &c. nel giorno delli 26 agosto 1685 (Naples: Domenico Antonio Parrino, 1685), I-Fnc, 1003/25; Juan Vélez de León, “Relación de las fiestas celebradas por la onomástica de la Reina María Luisa en Nápoles, 1685,” E-Mn, MS 3923, fols. 12r–20v; see Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 1:556, and 2:462–65; Confuorto, *Giornali*, 1:130; Griffin, “The Late Baroque Serenata,” 97–99.

setting a libretto by Perrucci, originally produced in 1674.³⁴³ It is unclear how the opera might have been revised for this revival.³⁴⁴ Four of the five singers in the cast are listed in the libretto with their roles, but they are not among the singers from the previous season. Only three of their names surface elsewhere: the twelve-year-old Nicolò Grimaldi sang a small role as Armillo, the page. Domenico Ferro, a bass, and Felice Mastroangelo, a tenor, were “figliuoli” of the Pietà dei Turchini conservatory, according to Prota-Giurleo, who also asserts that the impresario, Gaetano Scoppa, wanted to introduce these “very young Neapolitan singers” to the viceroy before the start of a modest run of performances at his theater, the Teatro dei Fiorentini.³⁴⁵ In later years, Mastroangelo performed in Palermo, both onstage and in the royal chapel there,³⁴⁶ whereas Grimaldi subsequently enjoyed an illustrious career in Naples and far beyond.

The 1685–86 Naples Opera Season

Il Fetonte

An especially spectacular opera opened Carpio's 1685–86 opera season—Scarlatti's *Il Fetonte*, setting a libretto by De Totis based on Calderón's *El hijo del Sol, Faetón*, a play of special significance in Carpio's personal history.³⁴⁷

³⁴³ The 1685 performances are noted in V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 97, fol. 536v, 19 June 1685: “Sono già cominciati li spassi e trattenimenti a Posillipo e nel Palazzo d' il Signore Viceré si è fatta una commedia”; and fol. 627v, 26 June 1685: “Il Signore Viceré ha pigliato un Palazzo a Mergellina per li trattenimenti di Posillipo per servire la signora moglie di queste Generale delle Galere e questi signori Principesse e Dame, e per il giorno di San Pietro vi farà fare la commedia, che con il passato [avviso] si avvisò esser stata fatta a Palazzo.” The libretto is Sartori 07874, I-Bu, A.V.Tab.I.E.III.22a.7, *Difendere l'offensore ovvero La Stellidaura vendicante. Melodrama del d.r Andrea Perruccio. Consecrato all'eccellentiss. sig. marchese Del Carpio viceré e capitan generale nel Regno di Napoli* (Naples: Carlo Porsile, 1685); Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples*, 167–79, describes the opera's performance history, plot, characters, and music, and provides extracts from the libretto and score.

³⁴⁴ Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples*, 251–52, lists performances and musical sources, including I-Rsc, G. MS 29 (N.3.18) copied by Gaetano Veneziano c. 1678?, and eight extant arie staccate.

³⁴⁵ Prota-Giurleo, *I Teatri di Napoli*, 3:148, without documentary sources for this information, however. Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples*, 224 affirms the venue as Teatro dei Fiorentini and states that the singers were students of Provenzale at the Pietà dei Turchini.

³⁴⁶ Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples*, 176.

³⁴⁷ The libretto is Sartori 10111; I-Rn, 34.2.C.30.2 and I-Rc, Comm. 316/4; *Il Fetonte. Melodramma da rappresentarsi nel Real Palazzo per lo compleanno della maestà di Carlo II. Consecrato all'eccellentiss. sig. d. Gasparo d'Haro y Gusman, marchese del Carpio etc., viceré luogotenente e capitan generale nel Regno di Napoli* (Naples: Giovanni Francesco Paci, 1685). The dedication signed by Filippo Schor and Nicola Vaccaro is dated 4 November 1685. The *protesta* in the 1690 libretto to the De Totis, *La Rosmene ovvero L'infedeltà fedele Melodrama* (Rome: Stamperia della Rev. Cam. Apostolica, 1690), set by Scarlatti, includes a statement to the effect that the libretti to *L'Idalma*, *Tutto il mal non vien, non vien per nuocere*, *La Psiche*, *Il Fetonte*, and *L'Aldimiro* are all by the same poet; see Sartori 20192; I-Rn, 34.1.A.13.1, p. 2.

Although the libretto states that it was performed for the 6 November king's birthday, both the palace premiere and the subsequent public performances at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo began tardily; the dress rehearsal occurred on 19 November at the palace, followed by a first performance on 21 November.³⁴⁸ The opera was said to be very lovely, "because of the superb sets and scenery as well as the cast." By 27 November public performances at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo had begun—they continued until at least 17 or 18 December, with Carpio's frequent attendance.³⁴⁹

Carpio was especially involved in this production. In a letter of 16 November 1685 to his friend and brother-in-law the Duke of Pastrana in Madrid (who followed his example as patron and producer of musical theater at the royal court), Carpio wrote:

The comedia for the His Majesty's birthday will finally be performed just after this letter is mailed, for it has cost us a great deal of effort, not to mention trying to adjust it, for it is *Faetón* translated from the one that was done there [in Madrid] with big machines and with the best musicians of all Italy, an added expense, to be sure, and the theater [staging] will not detract from the splendor of this festivity. This is all I can say for now.³⁵⁰

"Faetón traducido" was the libretto to *Il Fetonte* (1685), written at Carpio's request. Carpio's comments reveal that he felt a personal responsibility for the production, which cost his team—"us"—a lot of trouble. Moreover, he describes the libretto as a "translation" of a play on the same myth that was performed in Madrid with elaborate machines and stage effects. It had to be "adjusted" ("el ajustarlo") for Naples. The fine Italian musicians, the best in all Italy, who will

³⁴⁸ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 98, fol. 573, 20 November 1685: "Teri sera [= 19 November] nel Palazzo del Signore Viceré si provò la nova commedia intitolata il Fetonte, e mercoledì [mercoledì; 21 November] sera si reciterà per la prima volta, e dicessi sia molto vaga, si per i superbi scenari, come anche per i soggetti che recitano." At fol. 595, 27 November: "mercordi [mercoledì; Wednesday 21 November] per la prima volta... si recitò nel Palazzo del Signor Viceré l'opera intitolata il Fetonte per il compleanno di Sua Maestà. V'intervennero numerosi concorso di cavalieri e dame, et il Signore Viceré, con la solita sua generosità, fece a tutti un copioso rinfresco. Et fin ora si va recitando in questo Teatro di San Bartolomeo." According to I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, filze 1599, 4 December 1685, letter from Giovanni Berardi in Naples to Apollonio Bassetti in Florence, the performances began tardily at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo after a tardy palace premiere because some of the singers were missing.

³⁴⁹ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 98, fol. 631, 4 December: "Si va tuttavia recitando in questo teatro di San Bartolomeo l'opera in musica, e spesso v'intervennero il Signore Viceré." Fol. 675, 18 December: "Già si va preparando nel Palazzo del Signore Viceré la nova commedia, terminatosi il Fetonte."

³⁵⁰ E-Tahn, Osuna Cartas, Leg. 38/1: "La comedia que se haze para los años de Su Majestad se representará en partiendo este correo, que nos ha embarazado mucho, y también el ajustarlo que es Faetón traducido de la que se hizo allí, con gran máquina, y con los mejores músicos de toda Italia, un encarecimiento, y el teatro no deslucirá la fiesta. Esto es cuanto puedo dezirte de por ahora."

perform are an expensive enhancement (“un encarecimiento”) compared to the Spanish original’s musical component, but Carpio is confident that the staging will be appropriately elegant.

His choice is especially significant in light of his personal entanglement with the Spanish play that was the model for *Il Fetonte*. Calderón’s *El Faetonte*, or *El hijo del sol*, *Faetón*, was first performed at court in Madrid in 1661 or 1662.³⁵¹ It may have been the last spectacle play that Carpio readied for production before his exile.³⁵² Indeed, the marquis’ political ruin at home was tied directly to his attention to this play. After Luis de Haro died in November 1661, Philip IV decided that Carpio’s position as governor of the Buen Retiro palace should pass to his cousin, the Duke of Medina de las Torres, who had inherited the title of Duke of San Lucar from Carpio’s father. As the story goes, Carpio’s passionate identification with the staging of court plays was such that he plotted to blow up the stage rather than see the credit for the ingenious stage machines for *El Faetón* assigned to his rival and successor. But Carpio clearly was framed when gunpowder was discovered beneath the sets for *El Faetón* on 14 February 1662 and he was accused of having plotted to blow up the stage machines (see above, epilogue to Chapter 1).³⁵³

³⁵¹ A first-rate comparative analysis of the libretto and Calderón play is Nancy L. D’Antuono, “Calderón a la italiana: *El hijo del sol*, *Faetón* en la corte virreinal de Nápoles en 1685,” in *El texto puesto en escena. Estudios sobre la comedia del siglo de oro en honor a Everett W. Hesse*, ed. Barbara Mújica and Anita K. Stoll (London: Tamesis, 2000), 22–32.

³⁵² The date of the Madrid premiere of *El Faetonte* is accepted by some scholars as 1 March 1661 and by others as 14 February 1662, as summarized in the introduction to Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *El Faetonte. Fábula escénica*, ed. Rafeal Maestre (Madrid, 1996), 1–2, 14–15. The documentation in favor of 14 February 1662 is convincingly put forth in Chaves Montoya, *El espectáculo teatral*, 292–99. The play was prepared for March 1661, but put off due to various delays, technical problems, and accidents (Chaves Montoya, 295). Thus, it is likely that the play was first rehearsed and the production designed while Heliche exercised the position of governor of the Buen Retiro (though the honor belonged to his father as perquisite of the title Duke of San Lucar), though it was not yet performed for the court until February 1662. If 14 February 1662 is the date of the premiere, as argued in Shergold, *A History of the Spanish Stage*, 325–27, then the 1662 production could still have been planned and designed by Heliche because his successor, Medina de las Torres, did not take possession of his position on the Junta de Obras y Bosques until March 1662, according to Chaves Montoya, *El espectáculo teatral*, 291. An unpublished document, E-SIM, Casa Real, Casa y Sitios Reales, Leg. 315, fol. 199, Consulta to the queen from the Junta de Obras y Bosques, 18 February 1668, explains that Heliche’s position as Alcaide of the grounds and palaces of the Pardo, Balsain, and the Zarzuela ran from 7 February 1662, though his brother, the Count of Monterrey, served in his place during the course of his legal problems. Since Heliche was still in charge of the Zarzuela and did not immediately relinquish the keys to the Coliseo of the Buen Retiro, it seems very likely that he was stubbornly preparing theatrical productions at court in Madrid until the very day of the gunpowder discovery on 14 February 1662. See also documents of 7 and 13 February 1662, with Heliche’s assignment to the post of Alcaide of the Pardo, Zarzuela, and Balsain, in E-Mpa, Expedientes Personales, Ca 496/43.

³⁵³ The historical record is preserved in various sets of legal documents, principally E-Mah, Consejos, Leg. 25793, “Sumaria y autos de la causa criminal contra los culpados en el intentado Incendio del Real Sitio del Buen Retiro”; E-Mn, MS 6751, fol. 110; and E-Mn, MS 2280, “Papeles del Buen Retiro,” “Causa contra el marqués de Heliche”; an excellent detailed analysis of all of the sources is provided in Vidales del Castillo, “El VII marqués del Carpio y las letras,” 101–19.

The Calderón play whose climax is Phaethon's ill-fated ride in the sun's chariot emphasizes the dangers of youthful impetuosity and erotic vulnerability. The rivalry between Faetón and his half-brother Epafo could be seen to portray Carpio's rivalry with his cousin, whose lineage allowed him to usurp Carpio's position as producer of plays at the Buen Retiro.³⁵⁴ The plot of *Il Fetonte* might even be understood as a critical self-projection—an admission or even apology (intended for the queen mother) for the excess of youthful hubris Carpio had demonstrated in Madrid before his trial and exile. In act 3 of the Neapolitan *Il Fetonte* libretto, the title character is impulsive, obsessed, and frenzied. As he struggles to show himself superior to his fraternal rival, he sings impassioned arias challenging destiny and death, but falls violently to earth when he loses control of Apollo's chariot of the sun. Like Carpio, Fetonte lands in exile far from home, a victim of his own uncontrolled ambition, passion, and familial jealousy.

Carpio's choice of the Phaethon story and Calderón's play as the basis for the opening opera of the 1685–86 season in Naples may well have been motivated by his own personal history, rather than by a larger political objective, though the occasion was both public and innately political (the viceroy's Neapolitan celebration of the king's birthday). Politics aside, however, a fascination with the stage machinery and the spectacular effect of the airborne chariot and fall of Fetonte would be reason enough for Carpio's choice. It cannot be coincidental that the machine of "the chariot of the sun" ("el carro del Sol") had been employed in the summer festivities at Posillipo Carpio organized in honor of the queen's nameday in August 1685.³⁵⁵ Moreover, *Il Fetonte* was hardly unique among Carpio's Naples operas in its reuse of images and themes from his Spanish productions, demonstrating the consistency of his politics of production across time, as had *L'Aldimiro*, *La Psiche*, and even *Il Giustino*.

The Calderón source play contains a long list of mythological characters and an episodic plot filled out with parallel rivalries, as Nancy D'Antuono has explained. The principal mechanism of the male rivalry between Faetón and Epafo (Epafo is named Silvio in the opera) is accompanied by a parallel female

³⁵⁴ Margaret Rich Greer, *The Play of Power. Mythological Court Dramas of Calderón de la Barca* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 105–17, suggests that the play should be understood as Calderón de la Barca's "lesson" to Philip IV concerning the ambitions of his bastard son, Juan José de Austria; but Greer does not take into account that Carpio (when he was Marquis de Heliche) commissioned it. Heliche and other influential aristocrats were strong supporters of don Juan José de Austria, in part because they objected to the valido appointed by Mariana de Austria during her regency and also knew that Carlos II would be an unfit sovereign, unlikely to produce heirs.

³⁵⁵ "Pompa incomparable, Generosidad increíble," E-Mn, MS 3923, fol. 18v–19.

rivalry between the naiad Galatea and the driade Amaltea, a disciple of chaste Diana. Ultimately, the plot issues a warning.³⁵⁶ After the fall of Faetón, Calderón's gracioso, Batillo, returns the spectator to the real world outside the theater by enunciating Calderón's message—fools may take the myth at face value as entertainment, but the wise will recognize the perils of unbridled pride and ambition.³⁵⁷ In contrast, the end of the Scarlatti opera introduced a completely new triumphal moment that pulls the audience into the real-life occasion of the king's 1685 birthday, a "viva" chorus labeled in the libretto as "madrigale a cinque," "Viva il gran Carlo, viva."

The libretto follows the Calderón play for the most part, though the scenes were inevitably shaped into recitative monologue or dialogue together with arias and some duets, forcing a simplification of the drama and a distillation of the affective expression of individual characters. As was typical of Carpio's other Italian productions based on Spanish plays, the graciosos and their comic scenes are retained, but the ensemble singing so essential to the supernatural atmosphere in the Calderón play (the three choirs at the opening, for example) is absent. The mysterious ensembles at the opening of act 1 in Calderón are replaced in the opera by what appear as shared aria strophes sung by principal characters, Fetonte and Silvio, for example. Many interwoven strands in the Calderón play were left aside or simplified to fabricate the opera libretto. There is evidence suggesting that the staging of the three acts in Naples was simpler in the early scenes in order to focus on the spectacular fall of Fetonte and the resulting fire scene. But the entry of Tetis in I, 2 provided a special effect in the opera that drew from the earliest printed version of the play (Tetis is introduced when a reef opens to reveal her riding astride a dolphin),³⁵⁸ and, indeed, there is evidence to support the idea that this was prepared initially in 1662 while

³⁵⁶ "Calderón entreteje en el mito de Faetón toda una gama de personajes mitológicos. Estos son: Epaphos, Admetus, Tetis, Peleus, Doris, Galatea y Amaltea. Durante toda la obra, el contraste Faetón/Epafos viene subrayado por el de Galatea, diosa de las náyades, y Amaltea, diosa de las driades fieles a Diana, que sirven de mensajeras y amparo de los dos galanes, respectivamente. La tensión dramática producida por la adición de estos personajes y los consiguientes episodios de los que forman parte tienden a disminuir el poder dramático del mito de Faetón, el cual se desarrolla sólo en la segunda mitad del Tercer Acto... Calderón desvía de la rivalidad amorosa para entrar en el mundo lírico-mágico del mito con Faetón y Climene, quienes, acompañados de la diosa Iris, se encaminan al palacio del Sol" D'Antuono, "Calderón a la italiana," 26.

³⁵⁷ D'Antuono, "Calderón a la italiana," 26.

³⁵⁸ Within the *Cuarta parte de Comedias de Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca* (Madrid: Bernardo de Hervada. A costa de Antonio de la Fuente, 167?) [1674?], E-Mn, R/30982, at fol. 164 the stage direction reads: "Ábrese el escollo donde está Tetis sobre un pescado, y Doris en tercero de ninfas." In the 1688 pseudo-Vera Tassis *Cuarta parte de Comedias del célebre poeta español don Pedro Calderón de la Barca* (Madrid: Francisco Sanz, 1688), the stage direction is more elaborate, reading "Ábrese el escollo, y se ve Tetis, sentada en una concha, y Doris sobre un pescado, y entre las ondas algunas Ninfas, y Syrenas, que forman el Coro tercero."

Carpio (then Marquis de Heliche) was in charge of the Coliseo, prior to his arrest.³⁵⁹ A number of impressive stage effects were unveiled during the opera's celebratory loa and brought back at the end: Jove appears to celebrate the king's birthday, for example, in another scene entirely absent from the printed Calderón play.

Music for only two scenes from *Il Fetonte* has been recovered, both from act 1. Tetis, a daughter of Neptune and thus a goddess, has hunted down the disguised nymph Climene, who is disguised in animal skins ("in habito di fera") as she traverses on the forested mountainside (I, 12). When Tetis mistakes Climene for an animal and raises her trident to kill her, she pauses upon hearing the disguised nymph sing in a human voice. A mysterious force holds Tetis back and causes her to faint. Fetonte walks into this scene and prevents Climene from spearing the immobile Tetis. Inquiring as to her identity and the motive for her unhappiness, he also hears Climene sing a short recitative (I, 13), "Piango perchè tu sei / La verace cagion di miei contenti, / La verace cagion dei dolori miei / ...Per te vivo e per te moro," which confuses him. Climene leaves the stage after singing an aria that implicates Fetonte as the source of her unhappiness. This aria, "Sei mia gloria, e sei mio scherno," is preserved in a single source as a two-strophe da capo aria for soprano in D minor, without attribution as to composer or performer (Example 4.25).³⁶⁰

Fetonte, left alone onstage to ruminate on his unfortunate destiny, is mired in confusion. The layout of his long scene in the libretto (I, 14) offers ten lines of recitative soliloquy followed by two long non-da capo aria strophes.³⁶¹ The extant aria from this scene, "Forse non bastano" (Example 4.26), reveals that this powerful compound scene for Fetonte was shaped for a singer of considerable presence. Impressively dramatic in F major and $\frac{3}{2}$, it is fully-scored in the source for two violin parts, viola, and unfigured bass line.³⁶² This aria bears extraordinary similarity to other arias identified as composed for Grossi. It is notated in alto clef, with a range $c^\#$ to c'' , and tessitura generally d' to b' , focused on the upper fourth, f' to b' . The vocal line engages smooth melodic shapes with several phrases beginning on and descending by scalar figures from the high b' , with only occasional short, light conjunct decorative melismas. The poetic text calls for concitato effects, but, aside from the characteristic triadic figure in the vocal melody, these are produced only by the

³⁵⁹ Shergold, *The Spanish Stage*, 326–27, points out that the documents about Heliche's trial that elaborate on the discovery of the gunpowder trail under the stage at the Coliseo del Buen Retiro also describe just how the discovery of a sea with a reef that opens with Tetis sitting "on a fish" unfolded.

³⁶⁰ I-Nc, 33.4.36a, fols. 75–76v.

³⁶¹ I-Rc, Comm. 316/4, page 14.

³⁶² GB-Lbl, Add MS 31506, fols. 169v–71.

Example 4.25 Alessandro Scarlatti, "Sei mia gloria, e sei mio scherno," *Il Fetonte* I, 13, I-Nc 33.4.36a, fols. 75–76v.

[Climene]

1. Sei mia glo - ria, e sei mia scher - no,
 2. Per te vi - vo, e per te mo - ro,

3
 mia spe-ran - za e mi - o, e mio ti-mo - re; ri - so.e
 tu con-so - li, e.af-flig - gi, e.af-flig-gi l'al - ma; mio tor -

6
 duol, ri - so.e duol, cie-lo.et in - fer - no, cie-lo.et in - fer -
 men - to, mio tor - men - to, e mio ri - sto - ro, e mio ri - sto -

9
 no, guer - ra.e pa - ce, o - dio.et a - mo - re, a -
 ro, spi - na e fior, tem - pe - sta.e cal - ma, e

11
 mo - re. Sei mia
 cal - ma. Per te

14
 glo - ria, e sei mio scher - no, mia spe - ran - za e mi - o, e
 vi - vo, e per te mo - ro, tu con - so - li, e.af-flig - gi, e.af-

17
 mio ti - mo-re; mia spe-ran - za e mi - o, e mio ti-mo - re.
 flig-gi l'al - ma; tu con-so - li, e.af-flig-gi, e.af-flig-gi l'al - ma.

Example 4.26 Alessandro Scarlatti, “Forse non bastano,” *Il Fetonte* I, 14, GB-Lbl Add MS 31506, fols. 169v–171.

The first system of the musical score consists of five staves. The top four staves are for instruments: two treble clefs (likely strings) and two bass clefs (likely lute or basso continuo). The fifth staff is the vocal line, starting with the label "[Fetonte]". The lyrics "For - se non bas - ta - no," are written below the vocal staff. The music is in 3/2 time and begins with a whole rest in the vocal line for the first two measures.

5

The second system continues the vocal line from measure 5. The lyrics "for - se non bas - ta - no d'a - mo - re, i ful - mi - ni" are written below the vocal staff. The music continues in 3/2 time.

9

The third system continues the vocal line from measure 9. The lyrics "per la - ce - rar - mi, per la - ce - rar - mi?" are written below the vocal staff. The music continues in 3/2 time.

Example 4.26 Continued

13

Che si sca - te - na - no dal cie - co Ba - ra - tro,

17 *Adagio*

an - cor le fu - ri - e per tor - men - tar - mi,

21

per tor - men - tar - mi, per tor - men - tar -

Example 4.26 Continued

25

mi. Che si sca - te - na - no dal cie - co

29

Ba - ra - tro, an - cor le fu - ri - e per tor - men -

33

tar - mi, — per tor - men - tar - mi, per tor - men -

Example 4.26 Continued

The musical score consists of two systems. The first system (measures 38-40) features a vocal line in treble clef and a bass line in bass clef. The vocal line has lyrics: "tar - mi, per tor - men - tar". The second system (measures 41-44) features a vocal line in treble clef, a piano accompaniment in bass clef, and a basso continuo line in bass clef. The vocal line has the lyric "mi." at the beginning of measure 41. The piano accompaniment consists of a steady eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a more active bass line in the left hand. The basso continuo line provides harmonic support with a similar eighth-note pattern.

orchestra, which never challenges the voice but instead allows the voice to flow without interruption, often with little support.

“Forse non bastano” seems to have Grossi’s trademark gestures, but the *Fetonte* libretto lacks a cast list. Thankfully, a sliver of documentary evidence points to Grossi as the singer for whom Scarlatti composed the title role. A letter of 29 October 1686, from Carpio to Carlo Barberini, confirms that Grossi had performed in the 1685–86 season in Naples (and had promised to perform in Naples for the 1686–87 operas).³⁶³ After its palace premiere, *Il Fetonte* enjoyed a long run at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo until around 18 December, a success that is hardly surprising, given that Grossi sang as Fetonte amid Schor’s impressive stage effects.

³⁶³ Of course, Carpio was counting on Grossi, until he learned that the singer was to be sent to London: “Con la carta de Vuestra Eminencia del 12 del corriente, recibo la que me remite del Señor Duque de Modena, que es en orden del motivo por que el Músico Siface no puede hallarse en Nápoles a tiempo que pueda entrar en la primera obra dispuesta para los años de Su Majestad, y aunque concurre la circunstancia de faltar Siface a la palabra que desde el año pasado dió a los Apaltadores, todavía conociendo yo que es primero cumplir con el gusto del Señor Duque, facilmente me he conformado.” I-MOs, Cancelleria Ducale, Carteggio, Principi esteri, Napoli, b. 1675/31, Carpio to Cardinal Carlo Barberini, 29 October 1686.

Olimpia vendicata

Before Christmas 1685, the palace theater was being readied for another new opera, Scarlatti's *Olimpia vendicata*, whose final rehearsal did not take place before 31 December (well past the queen mother's birthday it was designed to celebrate). The palace premiere of *Olimpia vendicata* occurred on 3 January 1686 before performances continued at the public Teatro di San Bartolomeo amid increasing applause through its final performance on 3 February. Scarlatti's was the second setting of the libretto by Aurelio Aureli, but he does not seem to have borrowed music from Domenico Freschi's earlier version (Venice 1682, Pavia 1684), though Freschi's arias circulated widely, especially in northern Italian sources.³⁶⁴ Many arias from Scarlatti's *Olimpia vendicata* are extant in anthologies, as listed in Table 4.7, and an undated, bound copy of the Scarlatti score lacking the overture survives (GB-Lbl, Add MS 37976).

As was the case for the operas of Carpio's first and second seasons, Scarlatti composed for a strong cast and endowed *Olimpia vendicata* with distinctive characters. The principal roles included not only the expected two female sopranos (Olimpia and Alinda), but, unusually, two male alto roles (Bireno and Osmiro; eleven arias and ten arias, respectively). The serious tenor role of King Oberto (seven arias and three duets) provides Olimpia with a regal admirer and offers Osmiro a reassuring, uncomplicated supporter. Oberto's arias mostly traverse major keys, tend to be short, and feature melodic leaps, syllabic delivery of the text, and active bass lines. The pirate Araspe, also a tenor, sings only a single aria (II, 17, "Bella donna, e che no fà," $\frac{4}{4}$, F major, range f to a') in his man-to-man discussion with his friend Oberto. Yet another tenor role is the comic *vecchia*, Nespa (four arias), whose counterpart, Niso, seems designed for a young soprano castrato (one aria "Al lotto, alla ventura" I, 5, and many recitative interventions).

Scarlatti's music throughout the opera is carefully shaped to project the affective content of every scene and each character's experience of the drama through the vocal talent of each cast member. Olimpia, Princess of Holland, is a forceful protagonist (fourteen arias) who negotiates tricky situations and sings across a wide affective range. The opera begins with mock drama and a long compound musical scene (see Example 4.27) featuring Olimpia "alone on a desert island in the Spanish main, where she has been left by her faithless

³⁶⁴ Libretti for the Freschi opera include *Olimpia vendicata. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro di S. Angelo l'anno 1682* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1682), Sartori 16927, I-Vgc, Rolandi ROL.0308.09; and *Olimpia vendicata. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro Novo di Pavia* (Pavia: Carlo Francesco Magri, 1684), Sartori 16928.

Table 4.7 Arie Staccate from Scarlatti, *Olimpia vendicata*, Naples 1686

“Torna infido a questo lido”	Olimpia	I, 1	GB-Lbl, MS Add 14218, fols. 136v–137.	
“Piangerò l’empia mia sorte”	Olimpia	I, 1	GB-Lbl, MS Add 31512, fol. 117–117v.	
“E la vita de’ mortali”	Olimpia	I, 2	F-Pn, RES VMC MS-88, fol. 18	Lacking in GB-Lbl, MS Add 37976 but not concordant with setting by Freschi in I-MOe, MUS.G.250.
“Pellegrino io son d’amore”	Bireno	I, 3	I-Nc, 33.5.16, fols. 149v–150 GB-Lbl, MS Add 14218, fols. 137v–138.	
“Nobil’ alma ad ozio imbelles”	Alinda	I, 4	F-Pn, RES VMC MS-88, fol. 18v	
“Augelletti, che col canto”	Osmiro	I, 8	F-Pn, RES VMC MS-88, fol. 18–18v	
“Altra sorte non aspetto”	Osmiro	I, 10	GB-Lbl, MS Add 14218, fols. 139v–140. GB-Lbl, MS ADD 31512 fols. 96–97.	
“Tu sai che cosa è Amor”	Oberto	I, 11	GB-Lbl, MS Add 31512, fols. 103v–104v	
“Nel biondo carcere”	Osmiro	I, 12	GB-Lbl, MS Add 14218, fols. 138v–139.	
“Porto in seno un certo core”	Bireno	I, 13	GB-Lbl, MS Add 14218, fols. 135v–136 GB-Lbl, MS Add 31512, fols. 98v–102.	Setting in GB-Lbl, MS Add 31512 omits opening ritornello.
“Riderò quando la sorte”	Osmiro	I, 16	GB-Lbl, MS Add 31512, fols. 103v–104v.	
“Amore ti sento”	Alinda	I, 17	I-Nc, 33.5.37, fols. 11v–13v [Arie 216] 2 strophes	
“Cerca in van su molli piume”	Oberto	II, 1	I-Nc, 33.5.37, fol. 20r–v [Arie 216]	
“Saria pur dolce, e pur soave Amor”	Olimpia	II, 2	GB-Lbl, MS Add 31512, fols. 97v–99v	
“Saria pur dolce, e pur soave Amor”	Olimpia	II, 2	D-Mbs, MS 11406, fols. 40r–44r “Del Sig Scarlatti”	D-Mbs, MS 11406 contains 22 arias said to be from Rome, 1692.

Table 4.7 Continued

“Giurai di non amar”	Alinda	II, 8	I-Nc, 33.5.37, fols. 9r–11r, 2 strophes GB-Lbl, MS Add 31512, fols. 101–102	
“Dell’ardor che chiudo in petto” “Quell’ardor che chiudo in petto’	Bireno	II, 11	I-Nc, 33.4.2 GB-Lbl, MS Add 14218, fols. 133v–134	
“Languisce, gioisce”	Alinda	II, 12	GB-Lbl, MS Add 31512, fols. 102s–103v	
“Io non so se la fortuna”	Alinda	II, 14	D-Mbs, MS 11406, fols. 44v–46r; “Del Sig Scarlatti”	
“Sordo nemico ciel”	Olimpia	II, 16	F-Pn, RES VMC MS-88 fol. 34r	
“Io spero di goder”	Bireno	II, 18	I-Nc, 33.5.37, fols. 18v–19v I-Nc, 33.4.10 [Cantate 47], p. 174–75. GB-Lbl, MS Add 14218, fols. 134v–135	
“Ho perduta nel cor la speranza”	Osmiro	II, 19	GB-Lbl, MS Add 31512, fols. 87–89	
“Care mura adorate”	Bireno	III, 1	GB-Lbl, MS Add 31506, fols. 103v–104r	
“Celar non posso più”	Alinda	III, 4	I-Nc, 33.4.36(A), fols. 1r–2v	
“Crudo tiranno Amor”	Olimpia	III, 4	I-Nc, 33.4.5, fols. 135v–136v	
“Occhi belli idolatrati”	Oberto	III, 8	I-Nc, 33.4.5, fols. 137r–138r I-Nc, 33.5.15 [Cantate Ibride 16], fols. 123v–124v I-Nc, 33.5.17 [Arie 140], fol. 108r–v I-Nc, Arie 228, fol. 133	
“Non è quello l’alimento”	Bireno	III, 9	GB-Lbl, MS Add 14218, fols. 132v–133	
“Deh volate ore, volate non mi fate più penar”	Bireno	III, 10	I-Nc, 33.4.10 [Cantate 47], pp. 176–77 GB-Lbl, MS Add 14218, fols. 131v–132	In GB-Lbl, MS Add 37976, fol. 104r, the ritornello begins as a “Concerto da lontano” with special scoring.

(continued)

Table 4.7 Continued

“Ma qual possente oblio”	Bireno			Accompanied recitative in GB-Lbl, MS Add 37976.
“Baciero pur fortunato”	Oberto	III, 14	GB-Lbl, MS Add 31512, fols. 116–117 I-Nc, 33.5.37, fols. 105v–106v	

N.B.: This list excludes arias from the opera of the same title by Domenico Freschi, many of which can be found in I-MOe, MS MUS. G. 250; I-MOe, MS MUS.G.296; I-MOe, MS MUS.G.315; I-Vnm, MS It.IV.442; I-Vqs, MS C1.VIII.8 (1434); B-Bc MS 686; B-Bc, MS 696; B-Bc MS 698.

lover, Bireno, prince of Zealand.”³⁶⁵ Still asleep under a canopy on a beach after a night of lovemaking, she sings the dreamy “Dolce amor, caro mio bene,” a G-minor *largo* aria with violins, but abruptly interrupts herself, plunging into a recitative soliloquy in C major (“Fantasmi lusinghieri”) when she awakens to see her lover’s ship sailing away in the distance. This shock ignites her A-minor aria, “Torna infido a questo lido,” whose striking harmonic movement conveys her rage, followed by a recitative soliloquy (“Ah, sordo e il crudel”) when, recognizing that she is abandoned, she even imagines her own death. The climax of the scene brings the plaintive E-minor “Piangerò l’empia mia sorte,” which the unaccompanied voice begins with a distinctively expressive, smooth ascending leap of a sixth followed by a descending half step. As shown in Example 4.27, this multi-sectional solo scene closes with the C-minor “E la vita de’mortali,” in which the heroine contemplates the vicissitudes of fate with expressive rising and falling melismas.³⁶⁶ Olimpia’s opening scene immediately projects exciting histrionic flexibility, rhythmic vitality, and virtuoso singing through its juxtaposition of contrasting affects.

Araspe, a pirate chief, appears on the deserted island. Olimpia immediately hides her identity and becomes his captive (I, 2). She identifies herself only as the servant “Ersilla,” a disguise she maintains later when a storm washes them onto the shores of King Oberto’s court at Ibernia (I, 10). Olimpia, bold, worldly, and focused on a secret revenge, slips into the court as Alinda’s maid. The determined, mostly syllabic “Altra sorte non aspetto” (I, 10; $\frac{4}{4}$, D minor), begins on an

³⁶⁵ Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti*, 39–40, includes an amusing synopsis of the opera’s plot. The opening stage direction in the libretto (I-Rn, 34. 1.E.16.08) reads “Olimpia, che giace sopra d’un letto in un padiglione, che dormendo parla in sogno.”

³⁶⁶ The text for “E la vita de’mortali” is included in the Naples libretto but lacking in the score GB-Lbl, Add MS 37976; an aria likely by Scarlatti on this text is F-Pn, RES VMC MS-88, fol. 18, which is not concordant with the setting by Freschi.

Example 4.27 Alessandro Scarlatti, “Dolce amor, caro mio bene,” *Olimpia vendicata* I, 1, GB-Lbl Add MS 37976, fols. 1–5.

Largo

Olimpia

4

6 6 6 76 7 6 #

8

7 b b 6 98 43 #

Example 4.27 Continued

12

(Olimpia che giace, parla in sogno)

Dol-ce-a-mor, dol-ce-a-mor, ca-ro, ca-ro mio

6 7 # 6 76 4 # 5

16

(qui si desta)

ben, por-ti strin-go. O del son-no fan-

76 #

20

tas-mi lu-sin-ghie-re, o fal-so nu-me in ve-ce del mio ben strin-go le piu-me,

6 # 6

23

Bi-re-no a me t'ac-cos-ta, e do-ve sei? — Bi-re-no,

#

Example 4.27 Continued

26

ohi-mè; qual ge-lo d'in-so - li - to ti-mo-re m'as-sa-le il cor, mi-se-ra

*(qui s'alza impetuosa
dal letto, et esce fuor dal
Padiglion chiamando Bireno)*

29

me che fi - a? Bi-re - no, Bi - re - no, a - ni-ma mi - a,

32

do - ve, do - ve mai sei nu-me gra - di - to. (I - to) Mio te-so-ro, mio sol,

*(vede in mare la nave
di Bireno, che parte)*

35

chi a me t'as-con-de? (On-de) Ah, che so-lo a mie vo-ci E-co ris-pon-de.

39

Ma in - fe - li - ce, che veg - gio! di Cin - tia ai va - ghi

42

rai; quel pin, che scor-go, var - car non lun-gi il mar a gon-fie ve - le la na - ve e

Example 4.27 Continued

*(qui furiosa si porta sù la cima
d'un gran sasso, che riguarda
sù'l mare)* Aria

45 si del-l'a-ma-tor cru-de-le. Tor-na, tor-na in-fi-do, tor-na in

48 fi-do a' ques-to li-do, tor-na in-fi-do, tor-na, tor-na in-

50 fi-do, tor-na, tor-na in-fi-do a' ques-to li-do per pie-tà

53 de' miei tor-men-ti, per pie-tà de' miei tor-men-ti, o-di in-

56 gra-to, in-gra-to, in-gra-to i miei la-men - - -

#6 #

Example 4.27 Continued

59

ti, per pie-tà

62

de' miei tor-men-ti o-di in-gra-to, in-gra-to, in-gra-to i miei la-men-

65

ti. Ah,

68

che sor-do_e il cru-del e per-che_ei vol-ga a ques-te_a-re-ne il pi-no

71

in - dar - no es - cla - mo, e scuo-to in va - no il li - no.

Example 4.27 Continued

73 *(qui scende dal sasso)*

So - vra_in - os - pi - te spiag - gia ab - ban - do - na - ta, e so - la mi -

76 - se - ra, che fa - rò sa - tia - ti, sa - tia - ti cru - do

78 **Ritornello**

fa - to io mo - ri - rò.

81

Example 4.27 Continued

84

86 87 88

88

Pian - ge - rò, pian - ge - rò l'em-pia mia

91

sor-te sin ch'il duo - lo, sin ch'il duo - lo il cor mi sve -

94

- - na, il cor mi sve - na, ed ha-vrò dop-po la

97

mor - te, ed ha - vrò dop - po - la - mor - te, il se - pol - cro in ques - t'a -

Example 4.27 Continued

99

re - - - - - na.

102

Pian - ge - rò l'em-pia mia sor-te sin ch'il duo - lo,

105

sin ch'il duo - lo il cor mi sve - - - - na, il

108

cor _____ mi sve - na, _____ il cor _____ mi sve - na.

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for a vocal piece, continuing from Example 4.27. It consists of four systems of music, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a bass line (bass clef). The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are in Italian. The first system (measures 99-101) shows the vocal line with a long rest followed by a melisma on the word 'na'. The second system (measures 102-104) begins with a piano dynamic marking and features a descending melisma. The third system (measures 105-107) continues the melisma with leaps and rests. The fourth system (measures 108-110) concludes the melisma with further leaps and rests.

unaccompanied high *f* and features further unprepared attacks on her highest pitches (*f* and *g*) following rests. A carefully spaced conjunct, descending melisma expresses her suffering (“penar”) over harmonically lively bass motion; a contrasting melisma with leaps and rests paints her sighs (“sospirar”).

In act 2, the beauty and flexibility of Olimpia’s voice are exploited to complicate the plot. First she inadvertently interrupts Oberto’s solo scene by singing from an adjacent room. Thanks to Scarlatti’s clever device in “Saria pur dolce, e pur soave Amor” (II, 2; $\frac{4}{4}$, D minor), Oberto hears Olimpia sing a high *a* and this draws forth his amorous passion (Example 4.28). But an entirely different kind of aria, Olimpia’s short, declamatory “Son povera serva” (II, 10; $\frac{4}{4}$, A minor) lacks accompaniment, ritornello, or melismas precisely because it serves as her disguise—pretending to be lowly “Ersilla,” she hides her noble identity by

Example 4.28 Alessandro Scarlatti, “Saria pur dolce, e pur soave Amor,” *Olimpia vendicata* II, 2, GB-Lbl Add MS 37976, fols. 46–47.

Olimpia

Sa-ria pur

3
dol - ce, e pur so - a - ve_a-mor, sa-ria pur dol - ce, e

6
pur so - a - ve_a-mor se si tro-vas - se chi con-ser-vas-se fe - de___ nel

9
cor, se si tro-vas - se chi con-ser-vas-se fe - de___ nel cor, chi con-ser-

12
vas - se___ fe - de nel cor. Sa-ria pur

Example 4.28 Continued

15
 dol - ce, e pur so - a - ve_a-mor, sa-ria pur dol - ce, sa-ria pur dol - ce, e

18
 pur so - a - ve_a-mor. Ch'as - col - to? Er - sil-la_e ques-ta?

Oberto

21
 Che si-re-na ca-no-ra col suo la-bro cos-tei l'al-me_in-na-mo-ra o - là.

repeating herself in servant-like syllabic fashion to convince Bireno (whom she has accidentally encountered) that she is merely a slave.

Olimpia's solo showcase in act 2 begins with a recitative, "Ah, più torbido chaos" (II, 16), and continues with a substantial, D-major virtuoso aria with violins, "Sordo nemico ciel" (Example 4.29). In the first statement of the principal motive, the voice engages with two violin parts but without the basso continuo; the lack of bass support may be intended to project the "deafness" in the first line of the poetry, "sordo nemico ciel." Two long, sequenced, ascending melismas on "cor" (the second one reaching to *g*) explain the "tempering" of torment in the phrase "deh tempra a questo cor i suoi tormenti." Forceful repeated notes emerge from a rising scale in the middle register of the voice against surging concitato sixteenth-note bass motion to explain the "oppression" tormenting the tortured soul, its "laceration" painted by a melodic line sliced into short segments by rests and breathless sixteenth-note figures exchanged between the voice and the instrumental ensemble and then incorporated into a determined melisma as "lacerata" is reiterated.

In contrast, Princess Alinda (nine arias), sister of Oberto, King of Ibernia, is simpler and more conventional. She falls for Bireno, rejecting the smitten Prince Osmiro her brother has chosen for her. Initially pledging to avoid love's entanglements altogether, her first aria, the expansive "Nobil'alma ad otio imbelli," seems to capture her resolve with typically graceful rhythmic consistency,

Example 4.29 Alessandro Scarlatti, "Sordo nemico ciel," *Olimpia vendicata* II, 16, GB-Lbl Add MS 37976, fols. 66-69.

Olimpia

Sor - do, sor - do ne - mi - co

ciel, sor - do, sor - do ne - mi - co

deh tem - pra_a ques - to cor, deh tem - pra_a ques - to

Example 4.29 Continued

6
cor _____ i

8
suoi tor - men - ti, deh tem - pra_a ques - to cor _____

10
i suoi tor - men -

12
ti. Op - pres - sa del do-

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for a vocal and piano piece. It consists of four systems of music. Each system has a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment line (bass clef). The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are in Italian. The first system starts at measure 6 with the word 'cor'. The second system starts at measure 8 with the lyrics 'suoi tor - men - ti, deh tem - pra_a ques - to cor'. The third system starts at measure 10 with the lyrics 'i suoi tor - men -'. The fourth system starts at measure 12 with the lyrics 'ti. Op - pres - sa del do-'. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a more active bass line in the left hand.

Example 4.29 Continued

14

lor que-st'al-ma tor-men-ta-ta lan-gui-sce la-ce-

16

ra - - - -

18

- ta, la-ce-ra - - - -

20

ta, la-scia o mai d'in-vo-lar, d'in-vo-lar i miei con-ten-

Example 4.29 Continued

22




ti, d'in-vo-lar i miei con-ten-ti.

24



Sor - do, sor - do ne-mi - co ciel,

26



sor - do, sor - do ne-mi - co ciel, deh tem-pra a ques - to

Example 4.29 Continued

28

cor, deh tem-pra_a ques - to cor

30

i_suoi tor - men - ti, deh

32

tem-pra_a ques - to cor

34

i suoi tor-men - ti, i suoi tor - men -

36

ti.

smooth, conjunct melodic motion, and clear declamation. In contrast, the G-major “Fuggir voglio il dio di Amor” (I, 6) is scored with violins and characterized by concitato eighth-note patterns and distinctive leaps (Example 4.30). Her desire to “flee” from love is expressed in descending eighth-note scale patterns; love’s “chains” in a descending conjunct melody with a brief chain of suspensions against the bass. Her high tessitura and triplet-figure embellishments for the flattering effects of love nevertheless seem to convey her sexual excitement

Example 4.30 Alessandro Scarlatti, “Fuggir voglio il dio di Amor,” *Olimpia vendicata* I, 6, GB-Lbl Add MS 37976, fols. 21–23.

Alinda

Fug-gir vo - glio il dio d'a - mor,

fug-gir vo - glio, fug-gir vo - glio il dio d'a - mor, il dio, il dio d'a -

mor. Con af - fet - tu - sin - ghie³ - ri al - cun mai le -

6

Example 4.30 Continued

9

gar non spe³ - ri tra ca - te - ne, tra ca - te - ne ques - to cor,

12

con af - fet - ti lu - sin - ghie - ri al - cun mai le - gar non spe -

15

ri tra ca - te - ne, tra ca - te - ne ques - to cor.

Example 4.30 Continued

18

Fug-gir vo - gliò il dio d'a-mor, fug-gir vo -

21

glio, fug-gir vo - gliò il dio d'a-mor, il dio, il dio d'a-mor, il dio,

24

il dio d'a - mor.

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for three systems. Each system contains a vocal line (soprano and alto clefs) and a basso continuo line (bass clef). The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The first system (measures 18-20) shows the vocal line with a rest in the first measure, followed by notes in the second and third measures. The basso continuo line has a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The second system (measures 21-23) continues the vocal line with more notes and rests. The basso continuo line continues with eighth notes. The third system (measures 24-26) shows the vocal line with notes and rests, ending with a double bar line. The basso continuo line also ends with a double bar line.

after her first encounter with Bireno. In essence, while Olimpia is clever, passionate, and steely in her path toward revenge, Alinda comes across as a spirited, lyrical ingenue.

Olimpia dominates the opening scenes but the final scenes of act 1 present important music for Alinda. The virtuoso “Riderò quando la sorte” (I, 16; $\frac{4}{4}$,

A major), though accompanied only by the basso continuo, invites her to sing forcefully of her optimistic confrontation with fate (Example 4.31). Melismas through the words “flagellar” and “l’armi” negotiate neighbor-note and turn figures, repeated notes, and brief syncopation, describing the strokes of adverse fortune that Alinda prepares to endure. Immediately following this, she

Example 4.31 Alessandro Scarlatti, “Riderò quando la sorte,” *Olimpia vendicata* I, 16, GB-Lbl Add MS 37976, fol. 41–41v.

Alinda

Ri-de-rò quan-do la sor-te sa-rà stan-ca

3 in fla-gel-lar - mi, in fla-gel-lar - mi

6 e ch'il fa-to men spie-ta-to con-tra me de-por-ta

9 l'ar - mi. Ri-de-rò

12 quan-do la sor-te sa-rà stan-ca in fla-gel-lar -

Example 4.31 Continued

15
 - mi, in fla-gel-lar - mi, in fla-gel-lar -

18
 Ritornello

mi.

22

6

has the stage to herself in the final scene of act 1 (I, 17), with a recitative soliloquy and an aria, “Amore ti sento” ($\frac{4}{4}$, B minor). She struggles to understand her attraction to Bireno, swears to remain chaste (II 8), and refuses Osmiro again (II, 14). As late as act 2 scene 12, she is still unsure about whether to yield to Bireno and sings the impressive “Languisce, gioisce quest’anima mia” (Example 4.32), a slow, affective $\frac{12}{8}$ *siciliana* in D minor with violins. The vocal melody traverses her *passaggio* with plaintive leaps and neighbor-note figures but emphasizes her highest pitches. In the incisive D-minor *presto* “Io non so se la fortuna” (II, 15; $\frac{4}{4}$), Alinda protests against her fate with emphatic declamatory scale figures and leaps, only to leave her questions unresolved over a dominant chord at the aria’s close.

Example 4.32 Alessandro Scarlatti, “Languisce, gioisce,” *Olimpia vendicata* II, 13, GB-Lbl Add MS 37976, fols. 61–62v.

The musical score is written in 12/8 time. It consists of a vocal line and a basso continuo line. The vocal line is in a soprano clef, and the basso continuo line is in a bass clef. The score is divided into three systems. The first system shows the beginning of the piece. The second system shows the vocal line with lyrics: "Lan-gui -". The third system shows the vocal line with lyrics: "sce, gio - i - sce que-st'a - ni - ma mi - a, lan-gui -".

Alinda

Lan-gui -

sce, gio - i - sce que-st'a - ni - ma mi - a, lan-gui -

Example 4.32 Continued

7

sce gio - i - sce que-st'a - ni - ma mi - a, ne so, ne

9

so co - sa si - a, ne so

11

co - sa si - a, ne so co - sa si - a, ne so,

Example 4.32 Continued

13

ne so co - sa si - a m'ab-ba - glia il

15

cor di due pu - pil - le, il lam - po a -

17

mo, non a - mo, a - mo, non a - mo, e

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for three systems of music, numbered 13, 15, and 17. Each system consists of four staves: two for piano accompaniment (treble and bass clefs) and two for vocal melody (treble and bass clefs). The lyrics are written below the vocal staves. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are: 'ne so co - sa si - a m'ab-ba - glia il' (measures 13-14), 'cor di due pu - pil - le, il lam - po a -' (measures 15-16), and 'mo, non a - mo, a - mo, non a - mo, e' (measures 17-18).

Example 4.32 Continued

19

sen - za ar - dor av - vam - po,

21

a - mo, non a - mo, e

23

sen - za ar - dor av - vam - po, e sen - za ar - dor av - vam -

25

po.

The musical score consists of four systems, each with four staves. The first system (measures 19-20) shows a vocal line and three instrumental staves. The second system (measures 21-22) continues the vocal line and instrumental accompaniment. The third system (measures 23-24) features a vocal line with lyrics and instrumental accompaniment. The fourth system (measures 25-26) concludes the vocal line and instrumental accompaniment. The lyrics are: "sen - za ar - dor av - vam - po, a - mo, non a - mo, e sen - za ar - dor av - vam - po." The score includes various musical notations such as treble and bass clefs, time signatures, and dynamic markings.

The two alto-clef roles in *Olimpia vendicata* were designed for two celebrated alto castrati, Grossi and Costantini. Grossi sang as Bireno, the clever seducer, a subtle rake rather than a brute. After deserting Olimpia, Bireno pursues Alinda. His arias tend to be short with a limited range (a to b^{b'}); most are accompanied by basso continuo alone and seem intended for a lighter voice. The legato vocal lines would seem to call for sensitive musicianship, excellent declamation, flawless control of intonation with expressive dissonances, and an intimate relationship between voice and bass line. Bireno arrives at Oberto's court disguised as a pilgrim and singing the suspension-laden "Pellegrino io son d'amore" (I, 3; C major) whose dotted rhythms, hemiola, and slippery melismatic suspensions against the bass together might suggest his sneaky approach (Example 4.33). Bireno's "Se m'assistete la fortuna" (I, 7; $\frac{4}{4}$) displays the singer's beauty of tone with a long-sustained pitch for the messa di voce over insistent eighth-note bass motion. Even in this brief aria, the vocal line crosses the singer's entire range and reaches up to sound his top pitch (b^{b'}) twice (Example 4.34).

The two-strophe G-minor "Porto in seno un certo core" (I, 13; $\frac{3}{8}$) is similarly lyrical and largely syllabic, shaped by turn and neighbor-note figures. Bireno is at his most charming and appears as a sympathetic lover in the C-major "Dell'ardor che chiudo in petto" (II, 11; $\frac{3}{8}$). To describe Alinda's resistant "costanza," which he must overcome, expressive sustained notes and brief melismas create yearning chains of suspensions in counterpoint with the bass line.

Example 4.33 Alessandro Scarlatti, “Pellegrino io son d’amore,” *Olimpia vendicata* I, 3, GB-Lbl Add MS 37976, fols. 7v–8v.

Bireno

4
Pel-le-gri-no io son d'a-mo-re,

8
pel-le-gri-no io son d'a-mo-re vo cer-can-

12
- do, u-na bel-tà, che dal se-no il cor, il cor m'ha tol-

15
to, il cor, il cor m'ha tol-to; ma' que-

Example 4.33 Continued

18

st'a - ni-ma non sà dir_ chi sia quel va-go vol - to, ch'ha-in-vo -

21

la - to ques - to co -

24

re, ch'ha_in - vo - la - to ques - to co

27

re. Pel - le - gri - no io son d'a-mo -

31

Ritornello

re, pel - le - gri - no, pel - le - gri - no io son d'a - mo-re.

35

Example 4.34 Alessandro Scarlatti, "Se m'assistè la fortuna," *Olimpia vendicata* I, 7, GB-Lbl Add MS 37976, fol. 23–23v.

Aria

Bireno

Se m'as-sis - te la for - tu - na,

que - st'an-cor, que - st'an-cor, spe - ro go - der, spe - ro,

spe-ro go-der, que - st'an-cor, que - st'an-cor spe - ro go-der, —

chi sol strin - ge, u - na bel - le - za non s'av -

Example 4.34 Continued

The musical score for Example 4.34 Continued is presented in three systems. The first system (measures 13-16) features a vocal line with lyrics and a basso continuo line. The lyrics are: "vez - za a gus - tar ve - ro pia - cer. Se m'as - sis - te". The second system (measures 17-19) is a Ritornello, consisting of three staves (treble, alto, and bass clefs). The third system (measures 20-23) continues the instrumental texture with three staves (treble, alto, and bass clefs). The score concludes with a double bar line.

The opening scene of act 3 reveals Bireno alone and pining for Alinda just outside the wall to her apartments. The E-minor aria here, “Care mura adorate” (III, 1; $\frac{3}{2}$), scored with viola and two violin parts, has a truncated, written-out da capo (Example 4.35). After a substantial ritornello, the first vocal statement slides the voice into the smooth contrapuntal web created by the string ensemble, though the instruments do not cover the singer as the aria continues. The lyrical, mostly conjunct melodic line would call for sustained legato singing in keeping with the homophonic impression advanced by the ritornello. This aria would emphasize the lower part of Grossi’s range, exploiting his lowest notes (including a \sharp) and only once just touching a’. This, together with sustained notes, a plaintive use of melodic dissonance to paint the words “a voi m’inchino,” the additional timbre of the viola, and close intervals between the basso continuo and the voice, creates a deeply affecting aria with an overall darker sound. This kind of lyrical aria (especially if sung by Grossi) would considerably soften the characterization of Bireno, endowing him with a lover’s gentle masculinity.

Example 4.35 Alessandro Scarlatti, "Care mura adorate," *Olimpia vendicata* III, 1, GB-Lbl Add MS 37976, fols. 81–83.

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system consists of five staves: two treble clefs, two bass clefs, and a vocal line. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/2. The vocal line begins with a rest, followed by a series of notes. The basso continuo line is labeled "Bireno" and contains several rests. The second system continues the vocal line with the lyrics "Ca - re" and then "mu - ra a - do - ra - te, ca - re mu - ra a - do - ra - te". The basso continuo line continues with a series of notes. The third system continues the vocal line with the lyrics "mu - ra a - do - ra - te, ca - re mu - ra a - do - ra - te". The basso continuo line continues with a series of notes.

Example 4.35 Continued

9

al-ber-go del mi-o sol, à voi m'in - chi - no

13

del suo vol-to di -

17

vi - no un ——— rag-gio sol pit - to-se à me sve - la - te

4

Example 4.35 Continued

21

à me sve-la - te. Ca-re

24

mu-ra_a-do-ra-te, ca-re, ca-re, ca-re mu-ra_a-do-

27

ra - te.

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for three systems. Each system consists of a vocal line (soprano and bass clefs) and a piano accompaniment (treble and bass clefs). The key signature is one sharp (F#). The first system (measures 21-23) features a vocal line with a long note on 'à me sve-la' and a piano accompaniment with a steady bass line. The second system (measures 24-26) continues the vocal line with 'te. Ca-re' and the piano accompaniment. The third system (measures 27-30) includes the lyrics 'mu-ra_a-do-ra-te, ca-re, ca-re, ca-re mu-ra_a-do-' and ends with 'ra - te.' The piano accompaniment in the third system has a more active bass line.

A climactic scene in act 3 (III, 9) begins when Olimpia, still disguised as Alinda's servant, deceives both Bireno and Alinda by pretending to act as their go-between. She initiates a long dramatic sequence that becomes Grossi's biggest scene with his most elaborate arias. As seems typical of some Grossi roles, his showiest singing is reserved until act 3. Olimpia is bent on revenge; disguised as Ersilla, she draws Bireno in by staging a purported tryst with Alinda. As she prepares to serve his supper, the expectant Bireno calmly explains his purpose in "Non è quello l'alimento" (III, 9; $\frac{3}{2}$) an aria in B-flat major about erotic appetite

(Example 4.36). The aria exposes beauty of tone in a texture of close voicing between the melody and bass line. It opens with a striking unprepared entry on the singer's highest pitch (b-b \flat), the voice and basso continuo entering simultaneously after a rest. The hungry lover's erotic yearning is conveyed in the lyrical melody by a repeated figure at the opening, slow neighbor-note figures, and a drawn-out melisma. The score lacks pitches for the instrumental parts, but a rubric calls for violins (staves are drawn for two violins and viola). While Bireno sits at table, Nespa and a group of maidens entertain him, prolonging the scene.

Example 4.36 Alessandro Scarlatti, "Non è quello l'alimento," *Olimpia vendicata* III, 9, GB-Lbl Add MS 37976, fols. 101–102v.

Bireno

Non è quel-lo l'a-li-men-to

4
che dà vi-ta à que-sto cor vuol per ci-bo

7
quel con-ten-to che di-spen-sa, che di-

10
spen-sa il dio d'a-mor, vuol per ci-bo quel con-

13
ten-to, quel con-ten-

16
-to che di-spen-sa il dio d'a-mor.

Example 4.36 Continued

20
 Non è quel - lo _____ l'a - li - men - to _____ che dà

23
 vi - ta _____ à _____ que - sto cor, non e quel - lo _____ l'a - li -

26
 men - to _____ che dà vi - ta _____ à _____ que - sto cor.

The musical score consists of three systems, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a basso continuo line (bass clef). The key signature is one flat (A minor). The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The first system (measures 20-22) contains the lyrics "Non è quel - lo _____ l'a - li - men - to _____ che dà". The second system (measures 23-25) contains the lyrics "vi - ta _____ à _____ que - sto cor, non e quel - lo _____ l'a - li -". The third system (measures 26-28) contains the lyrics "men - to _____ che dà vi - ta _____ à _____ que - sto cor." The vocal line features a mix of quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, often with slurs. The basso continuo line provides harmonic support with a steady bass line.

The emphasis on Bireno continues into the next aria, creating a scene complex for him that may be understood as a pendant to Olimpia's compound scene from the opera's opening. Bireno's "Deh, volate ore, volate non mi fate più penar" (III, 10; $\frac{4}{4}$) in A minor (Example 4.37) begins with a "Concerto da lontano" structured as a *concerto grosso* with two string sections over a single basso continuo (Example 4.37). This concerto becomes the aria's opening ritornello; the principal motive in the violins becomes the primary figure in the first vocal statement, traversing an octave to the lowest notes in the range after the voice emerges from the web of counterpoint in the strings. The ensemble texture is constant, but the strings back off for each vocal phrase, so the voice sounds with only basso continuo. As Grossi/Bireno takes command of an expansive scene, his vocal beauty is grandly escorted but never muffled. Olimpia interrupts his aria when she approaches to serve him a sleeping potion in a goblet of wine. Following a brief recitative conversation among Olimpia, Bireno, and Niso, the effects of the poison are audible as Bireno's tessitura is lowered for

Example 4.37 Alessandro Scarlatti, “Deh, volate ore, volate,” *Olimpia vendicata* III, 10, GB-Lbl Add MS 37976, fols. 104–11.

Concerto da lontano

The musical score is arranged in nine staves. The top two staves are for the first violin and second violin. The next three staves are for the first, second, and third violas. The fourth staff is for the first cello, labeled 'Bireno'. The fifth staff is for the first double bass. The bottom two staves are for the second violin and second double bass. The music is in common time (C) and features a variety of rhythmic patterns and melodic lines.

Example 4.37 Continued

4

8

Deh vo - la - te o - re, vo - la - te,

Detailed description: This musical score continues from a previous page, starting at measure 4. It features a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 3/4. The score is organized into systems of three staves each. The first system (measures 4-7) shows the vocal line with rests and melodic fragments, and the piano accompaniment with rhythmic patterns. The second system (measures 8-11) continues the vocal and piano parts. The vocal line includes the lyrics 'Deh vo - la - te o - re, vo - la - te,' which are positioned below the staff. The piano accompaniment consists of eighth and sixteenth notes, providing harmonic support for the vocal melody.

Example 4.37 Continued

11

deh vo - la - te o - re, vo - la - te, non mi fa - te più pe - nar,

14

non mi fa - te più pe - nar, non mi

Example 4.37 Continued

17

fa - te, non mi fa - te - piú pe - nar, e ve -

20

lo - ci poi por - ta - te quel mo - men - to, ch'il tor - men - to nel mio

Example 4.37 Continued

22

co-re può sa - nar, e ve-lo-ci poi por-

25

ta-te quel mo-men-to ch'il tor-men-to nel mio co - re può sa - nar.

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for Example 4.37 Continued, spanning measures 22 to 27. The score is organized into three systems. The first system (measures 22-24) includes a vocal line with lyrics and a piano accompaniment consisting of three staves (treble, alto, and bass clefs). The second system (measures 25-27) also includes a vocal line with lyrics and a piano accompaniment of three staves. The lyrics are in Italian and describe a state of suffering and the need for relief. The musical notation includes various note values, rests, and accidentals, with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C).

Example 4.37 Continued

28

Deh vo - la - te o - re, vo - la - te. Deh vo -

31

la - te o - re vo - la - te, non mi fa - te più pe - nar, non mi

Example 4.37 Continued

34

fa - te, non mi fa - te più pe - nar, non mi fa - te, non mi fa - te più pe -

37

nar, non mi fa - te più pe - nar.

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for a vocal piece, continuing from Example 4.37. It is divided into four systems. The first system (measures 34-36) shows a vocal line with lyrics and a piano accompaniment. The second system (measures 37-40) continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: 'fa - te, non mi fa - te più pe - nar, non mi fa - te, non mi fa - te più pe - nar, non mi fa - te più pe - nar.' The score is written in a key with one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The vocal line is in a soprano or alto range, and the piano accompaniment is in a lower range. The music is in a 17th-century style, with a focus on the vocal line and a simple piano accompaniment.

Example 4.37 Continued

The image displays a musical score for Example 4.37 Continued, consisting of three systems of staves. The first system begins at measure 41 and contains three staves: two treble clefs and one bass clef. The second system also contains three staves: two treble clefs and one bass clef. The third system contains two staves: one treble clef and one bass clef. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals (sharps and naturals), and rests, indicating a complex musical texture.

a C-minor accompanied recitative, “Ma qual possente oblio” (Example 4.38). The previously busy string parts play sustained notes in close counterpoint to wrap Bireno in slumber. Olimpia approaches seeking revenge, but her attempt to murder him is thwarted when Alinda enters (arriving for her supposed tryst with Bireno).

In contrast to Bireno’s lighter voice and consistently smooth lyricism, Osmiro’s music, composed for Costantini, exposes a wider histrionic arch and more florid singing across a slightly wider range with a higher tessitura (b^{\flat} to $d^{\prime\prime}$). Interestingly, Costantini’s high notes tend to be supported only by the basso continuo, such that, when Osmiro and the orchestra are engaged together, the vocal melody emphasizes the lower tessitura; there is no attempt to pierce through an orchestral texture with high pitches. It may be that Costantini had a stronger chest voice and a darker sound overall than did Grossi. Many of his

Example 4.38 Alessandro Scarlatti, "Ma qual possente oblio," *Olimpia vendicata* III, 10, GB-Lbl Add MS 37976, fols. 112v-113.

The first system of the musical score consists of five staves. The top four staves are for the instrumental ensemble: two treble clefs (flutes or violins) and two bass clefs (cello and double bass). The fifth staff is the vocal line, starting with the name 'Bireno' and the lyrics 'Ma qual pos-sen-te ob-bli-o le pu-'. The music is in common time (C) and begins with a whole note chord in the right hand and a whole note bass line in the left hand.

The second system of the musical score consists of five staves. The top four staves are for the instrumental ensemble. The fifth staff is the vocal line with the lyrics 'pil-le m'in-gom-bra? Por-ta-mi, o son-no, in om-bra'. The music continues with a melodic line in the vocal part and supporting chords in the instrumental parts.

The third system of the musical score consists of five staves. The top four staves are for the instrumental ensemble. The fifth staff is the vocal line with the lyrics 'fra i tuoi fan-ta-smi al-men l'i-do-lo mi-o.'. The system concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots.

vocal lines as Osmiro are more florid than Grossi's. Their melismatic decoration stretches across his range, and they consistently feature semitone figures in the service of dramatic expression. Significantly, his first solo scene and aria immediately follow a solo scene with Bireno's brief "Se m'assiste la fortuna (I, 7), so the two alto castrati are juxtaposed early on, but do not appear onstage together. Osmiro emerges alone from Oberto's palace (I, 8) to sing "Augelletti, che col canto" (Example 4.39; G minor, $\frac{3}{8}$), which introduces him regally with violins. This graceful virtuoso aria, with both challenging melismas and sustained notes for the messa di voce held against the busy bass and violins, provides an immediate early showcase for Osmiro to expose his characteristic "pianto." Subsequently Osmiro and King Oberto (tenor) sing a continuo-accompanied E-minor duet, "Servirò ma quel speranza" (I, 9), whose expressive harmonies convey their common purpose (Osmiro desires Alinda, and Oberto intends to soften her resistance). Osmiro's affectively charged "Nel biondo carcere" (I, 12; E minor, $\frac{3}{4}$) tests intonation with expressive semitone motion and suspension figures, illustrating how a "prison of blond tresses" traps love's tender victim. Insistent repetition and semitone emphasis convey Osmiro's pleas again in "Mia diva Vezzosa" (II, 14; C major, $\frac{3}{2}$).

Osmiro's darkly impressive siciliana with violins, "Ho perduto nel cor la speranza" (II, 19; G minor, $\frac{1}{2}$), closes act 2 with amorous despair (Example 4.40).

The opening ritornello exposes imitative entries in sequence among the violins and bass line with semitone motion and a descending G-minor scale. The first vocal statement conveys the sense of being "lost" with rising and falling conjunct motion in even eighth notes; the bass, incorporating the descending minor tetrachord, underlines Osmiro's hopeless sadness. Before the written-out da capo, the devices in the B-flat-major middle section of the aria express the futility of his constancy, a constancy painted in the exact repetition of "se non giova in amor la costanza," which is anyway derived from the principal motive of the A section. Then a long, slowly rising melisma with tied notes creates a strong chain of suspensions against the bass to illustrate the firmness of Osmiro's desire to exile love from his heart, explained in "darò bando al Cupido dal sen." This aria is a challenge to sing, while its determined, motivically integrated counterpoint explores Osmiro's obsessive desperation.

Example 4.39 Alessandro Scarlatti, “Augelletti, che col canto,” *Olimpia vendicata* I, 8, GB-Lbl Add MS 37976, fols. 23v–25v.

Osmiro

Au - gel - let - ti, che col' can -

6

to sa - lu - ta -

12

te, i pri - mi al - bo - ri, sa - lu -

Example 4.39 Continued

18

ta - - - - - te_i pri-

24

mi_al-bo - ri, voi gar - ri - te, ed io col pian -

30

The musical score consists of three systems, each with four staves. The first system (measures 18-23) features a vocal line with lyrics 'ta - - - - - te_i pri-' and piano accompaniment. The second system (measures 24-29) continues the vocal line with lyrics 'mi_al-bo - ri, voi gar - ri - te, ed io col pian -' and piano accompaniment. The third system (measures 30-34) shows the piano accompaniment continuing with complex rhythmic patterns. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4.

Example 4.39 Continued

36

to sfo - go_al-l'au - re_i miei do-

42

lo - ri, i miei do - lo - ri, voi gar - ri - te,

49

ed io col pian - to, io col pia - - -

Example 4.39 Continued

55

to, i miei do - lo - ri, i miei do -

62

i miei do - lo - ri, i miei do -

68

lo - ri.

Example 4.40 Alessandro Scarlatti, “Ho perduto nel cor la speranza,” *Olimpia vendicata* II, 19, GB-Lbl Add MS 37976, fols. 77v–80.

Ritornello

Osmiro

3

6

Ho per - du - ta nel cor la spe - ran - za di - po -

Example 4.40 Continued

8

ter ac-qui-star il mio ben, ho per-du - ta nel

10

cor la spe-ran - za di po - ter ac-qui-star il mio

12

ben, ac-qui-star il mio ben

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for a vocal piece, continuing from a previous page. It consists of three systems of music, each with a vocal line and two piano accompaniment lines (treble and bass clef). The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor). The time signature is not explicitly shown but appears to be 4/4. The first system starts at measure 8. The second system starts at measure 10. The third system starts at measure 12. The lyrics are in Italian and describe a state of loss and hope. The vocal line is written in a soprano or alto clef. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note bass line and a more active treble line.

Example 4.40 Continued

14

se non gio-va in a-mor la co-stan-za,

16

se non gio-va in a-mor la co-stan-za, da-rò ban -

18

Example 4.40 Continued

20

do, à Cu-pi-do dal sen, da-rò ban-do, à Cu-pi-do dal

22

sen. Ho per-du-ta nel cor la spe-ran-za di po-

25

ter ac-qui-star il mio ben, ho per-du - ta nel

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for a vocal piece, continuing from a previous page. It consists of four systems of music. Each system has four staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a piano accompaniment line (treble clef), a vocal line (bass clef), and a piano accompaniment line (bass clef). The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The first system (measures 20-21) features a vocal line with lyrics 'do, à Cu-pi-do dal sen, da-rò ban-do, à Cu-pi-do dal'. The second system (measures 22-23) continues the vocal line with lyrics 'sen. Ho per-du-ta nel cor la spe-ran-za di po-'. The third system (measures 24-25) continues the vocal line with lyrics 'ter ac-qui-star il mio ben, ho per-du - ta nel'. The piano accompaniment consists of chords and moving lines in both hands.

Example 4.40 Continued

The musical score consists of five systems of staves. The first system (measures 27-28) features a vocal line in the upper staff and a bass line in the lower staff. The second system (measures 29-30) continues the vocal line with lyrics and includes a piano accompaniment line. The third system (measures 31-32) shows the vocal line concluding with a fermata and a final chord, with the piano accompaniment also concluding. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major), and the time signature is 4/4.

27

cor la spe-ran - za di po - ter ac-qui-star il mio

29

ben, ac-qui-star il mio ben.

31

Alinda finally recognizes his constancy in act 3, scene 15, though she still sighs for Bireno. The opening melodic figure in Osmiro's "Torna al core il bel sereno" (4/4, E-flat major, with violins) continues immediately in sequence for the notion of "return" (*torna*) and references the principal figure from his earlier "Ho perduto nel cor la speranza," in the major key. The aria features a prominent rising sequential melisma tracing neighbor notes and leaps of thirds and fourths to paint the flight of "winged Cupid" ("Cupido archier alato"), reaching to the high pitch

of *c*". The physical description in "Baciero quell bianco seno" touches the lower notes of Osmiro's range, followed by a contrasting second rising melisma filled with leaps, repeated notes, semitone figures, short runs, and arpeggiation, for the joy Osmiro feels as the "amatore riamato." The instrumental parts (2 violins, viola, basso continuo) play through and exchange motives with the voice during this melisma, to make this the crowning virtuoso moment of Costantini's performance. A return of the earlier "arciere alato" melisma dominates the truncated *da capo*, which is interrupted by Alinda's C-minor aria "Un alma amante" (III, 15; $\frac{3}{4}$, accompanied by only basso continuo). Finally, Osmiro and Alinda sing together in a smoothly lyrical duet, "Mio restoro / Mia speranza" ($\frac{3}{2}$, F major), with a closing string ritornello.

Olimpia vendicata is filled with stunningly inventive arias. But it is hard to imagine any aspect of the delightfully absurd plot relating to the occasion of the queen mother's 1685 birthday, apart from the fact that Olimpia is an attractively determined female protagonist. The opera opens in Spanish lands—a Caribbean island—which may offer a Spanish touchpoint to reality, though the plot moves to "Ibernia" (medieval Ireland). One scene might provide a clear reference to the Madrid court and Carpio's former role there. Act 2, scene 7, recalls the entertainments that Carpio organized for the royal family on the "estanco" lake on the grounds of the Buen Retiro palace; the setting is a "Lago delizioso riserbato per la pesca Reale con sostegno di porte, che li somministrano l'acqua."³⁶⁷ Indeed, the character of Bireno reflects something of Carpio's own controversial youthful Madrid persona. Attractive to women despite his infidelities, Bireno ends the opera in shackles and consigned to prison, as was Heliche/Carpio during much of his exile. In the opera's *lieto fine* ensemble (a dance in the garden), Olimpia is to wed Oberto, Alinda resigns herself to faithful Osmiro (they sing a final chorus), and the pirate Araspe escorts Nespa, while the enchained Bireno and Niso look on, the latter swearing never again to work as a lover's servant. It may be that the lascivious and potentially scandalous aspects of the highly successful *Olimpia vendicata* provoked the ire of the papal nuncio in Naples. In December 1685, during the opera's rehearsal period, he reportedly issued an order of ecclesiastical censure against singers and musicians who performed in public theaters, prohibiting them from also working in churches. This order was rendered ineffective, in any case, thanks to Carpio's activity as "such a great friend to musicians."³⁶⁸

³⁶⁷ As the scene continues, "Oberto, Araspe sù le riue del Lago," "Alinda, Osmiro, Oberto, Olimpia, Nespa, quali compariscono in nobili Barchette nel Lago alla pesca," and, near the end of scene, "Qui le Barchette d'Alinda, d'Oberto, e d'Olimpia s'inoltrano nel ago alla pesca."

³⁶⁸ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Avvisi 48, fol. 378, 22 December 1685: "Habbiamo da Napoli, che quel nunzio Apostolico avesse d'ordine di Nostro Signore, pubblicata la scomunica contro li musici, e sonatori, che recitano ne teatri pubblici, che non possono più cantare ne sonare nelle chiese, quindi è che un tal Petrozzio, bravo sonatore d'Arciliuto, sonando ad una messa cantata con qualche altro musico e sentito dal Prete, che celebrava, lascio il sacrificio, tornandosene in sacristia, onde s'attende la risoluzione che prenderà quel viceré, ch'è tanto amico della musica." "Petrozzio" was

L'Etio

The third opera of the season, *L'Etio*, was less successful. Its preparation began before 29 January and its dress rehearsal took place on Sunday 10 February at the palace, followed by a 14 February palace premiere. Performances at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo began on 19 February 1686. No full score of *L'Etio* ascribed to Scarlatti or associated with its 1686 Naples production has been located. Pietr'Andrea Ziani's earlier setting of the libretto by Adriano Morselli, *L'innocenza risorta, ovvero Etio*, was produced at the Teatro San Cassiano in Venice in 1683 and revived in Reggio Emilia in spring 1683 as *Il talamo preservato della fedeltà di Eudossa*.³⁶⁹ The libretto for Carpio's Naples *L'Etio* production follows the outline of the Venetian libretto, but a comparison of the 1683 Venetian and 1686 Neapolitan libretti reveals that Scarlatti and Carpio's production team introduced numerous alterations.³⁷⁰ Many concerned the comic roles—the comic page, Gilbo in the northern productions, is replaced by a comic nurse, Gilba, for Naples. In act 1 alone, twelve new scenes involve Gilba, including new recitatives. Arias for Gilba were added in the Naples libretto to scenes I, 11; II, 2; II, 6; and II, 19. Act 2 scene 16 is a new comic scene with an aria for a comic male, Lesbino, as well. Scenes and arias for other characters were added or rearranged, especially in act 2. Act 2 scenes 15 and 21 seem to be unique to the Naples libretto (the latter is very dramatic, with new arias for Sabina and Etio). The recitative exchange between Gilba and Valentiniano in act 3 scene 10 is also new. No score for Scarlatti's version of *L'Etio* has been found, but at least a handful of arias can be assigned to Scarlatti after comparisons among libretti and arias in manuscript collections, as indicated in Table 4.8.

Few conclusions can be reached about Scarlatti's *L'Etio* beyond some observations about the singers in the 1685–86 season. Giulio Cavalletti seems to have returned to Rome and performed in the Colonna theater during carnival 1686,³⁷¹ but he was

surely "Petruccio," Pietro Ugolini or Ugolino (d. 1713), the arclute player who performed under Scarlatti's direction in Rome at San Girolamo della Carità, formed part of Scarlatti's opera orchestra from the start of the 1684–83 season, was hired into the Neapolitan royal chapel in 1684 and was compensated for his work in the 1686 serenata. See Stein, "Una música de noche," 363. A portrait of Pietro Ugolino is among the paintings studied in Leticia de Frutos Sastre, "Virtuosos of the Neapolitan Opera in Madrid: Alessandro Scarlatti, Matteo Sassano, Petruccio and Filippo Schor," *Early Music* 37 (2009): 187–200, which should be read cautiously because it introduces incorrect information concerning opera productions and musicians.

³⁶⁹ See the facsimile edition of I-MOe, MS MUS F.1554: Pietro Andrea Ziani, *Il talamo preservato dalla fedeltà d'Eudossa*, ed. Howard Mayer Brown (New York: Garland, 1978). For information about these productions, see Selfridge-Field, *A New Chronology*, 158; Bianconi and Walker, "Production, Consumption and Political Function," 209–96.

³⁷⁰ Compare *L'Etio. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nel Real Palazzo. Dedicata all'eccellentissimo D. Gasparo d'Aro y Guzman* (Naples: Carlo Porsile, 1686), Sartori 09339; with *L'innocenza risorta ovvero Etio. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nel famoso Teatro di S. Casciano* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1683), Sartori 13354.

³⁷¹ De Lucca, *The Politics*, 272–75.

Table 4.8 Arie Staccate from Scarlatti, *L'Etio*, Naples 1686

“Chi gioca con amore”	Onorio	I/10	I-Nc, 33.5.37, fol. 107–107v; Scarlatti? Absent from the Ziani score, I-MOe, Mus.F.1554, and lacking in the Venice 1683 libretto. C ₄ ³ in D minor, jácara-like bass line, syncopations; the top note in the vocal line is f’.
“Mi vien à lusingar la tenera speranza”	Massimo	I/14	I-Nc, 33.5.37, fols. 104r–105r; Ziani, as in I-MOe, Mus.F.1554, fols. 33v–34.
“Non pensi alcun d’amarmi”	Etio	I/15	I-Nc, 33.5.15 [Cantate Ibride 16], fol. 112–112v, Scarlatti? This setting is not concordant with Ziani setting in I-MOe, Mus.F.1554.
“Non fa quel che non vuole”	Sabina	II/2	I-Nc, 33.5.37, fol. 3–3v; Scarlatti? Aria text is found only in the Naples 1686 libretto.
“Ristoro del mio petto”	Valentiniano	II/3	I-Nc, 33.5.37, fols. 1–2v, Ziani or Scarlatti? Aria not found in the Ziani score I-MOe, Mus.F.1554, though the aria text is included in the Venice 1683 libretto.
“Faccia pur quanto sa”	Valentiniano	II/3	I-Nc, 33.4.5, fols. 138v–139, Ziani or Scarlatti? I-Nc, 33.5.17 [Arie 140], fol. 140–140v These two arias are concordant, but the aria is not found in the Ziani score, I-MOe, Mus.F.1554, though the aria text is included in the Venice 1683 libretto.
“Chi non usa qualche frode”	Massimo	II/4	I-Nc, 33.5.37, fol. 5r-v and I-MOe, Mus.F.1554, fols. 84v–85v; likely Ziani.
“Amor cortese amor”		II/15	I-Nc, 33.4.5, fols. 132v–133v; Scarlatti? The aria is not found in the Ziani score, I-MOe, Mus.F.1554, though the aria text is included in the Venice 1683 libretto.
“Se la sorte non mè contraria”	Massimo	III/13	I-Nc, 34.6.33, fol. 78v [Arie 218], Ziani, concordant with I-MOe, Mus.F.1554, fol. 140–140v.
“La voglio per me”	Onorio	III/15	I-Nc, 33.5.37, fol. 7v-8v; Scarlatti; the aria is very different from the Ziani aria on this text in I-MOe Mus.F.1554, fols. 144–145.
“Da fiato il fato alla tromba”	Eudossa	III/17	I-Nc, 33.5.37, fol. 4r–v; Ziani, concordant with I-MOe, Mus.F.1554, fols. 148v–149r. The text incipit in I-Nc, 33.5.37 is “Da fiato il fiato [<i>sic</i>] alla tromba.”

probably the light soprano castrato who sang as Niso in *Olimpia vendicata*. Letters from October 1686 concerning Grossi and the tenor Canavese make clear that they performed in the 1685–86 Naples operas, as had Gratiani before his return to Florence (see below).³⁷² Besci, Costantini, and Di Gennaro are documented as having remained in the Royal Chapel (the first two only until sometime in the summer of 1686). The Florentine soprano Margherita Neri Bonsi *detta* Bonzini evidently sang in the operas of this season, or perhaps only in the 1686 carnival opera, according to a laudatory sonnet, “Al canto, honestidad y hermosura de Margarita Bonzini, armónica florentina en el teatro de Nápoles año de 1686,” attributed to Carpio’s secretary, Juan Vélez de León (Secretario de Cámara y Cifra).³⁷³ Thus hypothetical cast lists may be advanced for the Naples 1685–86 operas (see Appendix 2: “Singers for the Carpio Productions”).

Carpio’s Final Season 1686–87

The preparation of the first two operas of the 1686–87 season in Naples seems to have been fraught with difficulties and delays, in part because the production schedule was encumbered by a suddenly interpolated celebration whose importance may have strained resources in Naples temporarily. A Hapsburg victory shook the cosmos when the Imperial forces reclaimed the city of Buda from the Ottoman empire, ending battles that had begun in 1684. The 1686 offensive began in June and finished on 2 September.³⁷⁴ Prior to the victory, a serenata with music by Scarlatti, *L’Olimpo in Mergellina* (whose music has not been recovered), was performed on 25 August to celebrate the nameday of the queen, with five soloists, a choir of deities involving twenty singers, and ninety musicians playing instruments.³⁷⁵ The location for the performance is variously described as Mergellina or Posillipo. Confuorto’s brief paragraph about the event specifies

³⁷² I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, filze 1599, 21 October 1686, letter in Spanish from Sebastián de Villareal y Gamboa to Apollonio Bassetti in Florence explains that both Grossi and Giuseppe Canavese (“Sifacice” and “Canaves”) had failed to arrive in Naples. For Villareal y Gamboa’s later activity as a conduit between Scarlatti and the Medici during the tenure of Viceroy Count of Santisteban in 1688–89, see Mario Fabbri, *Alessandro Scarlatti e il principe Ferdinando de’ Medici* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1961), 35–36.

³⁷³ E-Mn, MS 2100, fols. 106v–107; another poem dedicated to her follows at 112v–113; the poems make clear that she traveled to Florence immediately after the close of carnival 1686 (though it may be that she returned to Naples at some point).

³⁷⁴ It is unclear why Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 535, asserts that the news of the Hapsburg victory at Buda reached Naples on 7 August (no source is given).

³⁷⁵ The date is provided in Ausilia Magaugga and Danilo Costantini, *Musica e spettacolo nel Regno di Napoli attraverso lo spoglio della Gazzetta (1675–1768)* (Rome: ISMEZ, 2011), 172; the event is described briefly in Griffin, “The Late Baroque Serenata,” 103–12; documentary sources include Confuorto, *Giornali*, 1:157–61; and *I Giorni Festivi. Fatti per la presa di Buda dall’Arme Austriache nella Fedelissima Città di Napoli Dall’Eccellentissimo Signor Marchese del Carpio, Vicerè...* (Naples, 1687) [bound into I-Nn, MS XLIV.1.81]; for the fragmentary payment records, see Stein, “Una música de noche,” 333–72; and Maione, “Il mondo musicale,” 334–39.

Posillipo and focuses on the behavior of the spectators, who represented all social levels. “A very large gathering, not only of ladies and gentlemen, but also of other classes of people” sat in stacked palchetti built into the Posillipo hill and were regaled with fireworks.³⁷⁶ The huge orchestra and the choirs may well have been located at Mergellina, on a lower level of the topography.

The outdoor presentation of a serenata in late August was not unusual in itself and would not have interrupted the opera schedule. But Carpio ordered more than two weeks of special celebratory events to commemorate the victory at Buda. This second set of performances and installations in late September likely proved disruptive. Workers had begun to set up a stage and seating in front of the viceroy’s palace by 16 September. By 22 September, the special fireworks display was still not ready, so it was deferred to the 25th. In the meantime, the Siege of Buda was acted out on various stages across the city center, heralded by choirs of musicians. Before the 25 September spectacle, “musical compositions alluding to the greatness of the Hapsburgs” were performed. For this hugely important “second festa,” Schor designed a large tableau vivant with a miniature military encampment populated by soldiers representing the Hapsburg troops (see Schor’s artistry as depicted in Figure 4.8).³⁷⁷ His visual effects included actors in a live diorama, extensive fireworks, and exploding structures along with gigantic pyramids of edible material.³⁷⁸ Combatants dressed as Turks or Christians engaged daily in lifelike combat. Fountains of wine were lodged next to edible “cucagne” structures stuffed with bread and cheese, all of this erected in the square in front of the Palazzo Reale and replenished daily, until a final sacking by the happy crowds of popolo.³⁷⁹

Scarlatti’s *L’Olimpo in Mergellina* was performed for the second time on 16 September in the sala grande of the palace; Confuorto relates that it was performed by “a hundred musicians among the voices and instrumentalists.”³⁸⁰ Another description names Scarlatti as the composer and explains that ninety instrumentalists and twenty singers performed.³⁸¹ Thus the same serenata with a modified text appears to have been performed both indoors and outdoors in coordination with Schor’s elaborate tableaux during its final week. Another indoor performance in the sala grande would explain why a scarcity of performance and rehearsal space developed—the set-up for the hundred musicians of the 16 September serenata was installed in the sala grande, the very room that housed Carpio’s palace opera theater

³⁷⁶ “con grandissimo concorso non solo di cavalieri e dame, ma di popolo civile e minuto,” Confuorto, *Giornali*, 1:157.

³⁷⁷ An engraving depicting Schor’s elaborate design for the September 1686 performance was issued as *Planta de la segunda fiesta que el que el Excelentísimo Marqués del Carpió virrey de Nápoles hizo en setiembre 1686* (Naples: Domenico Antonio Parrino, 1686); it is bound into I-Nn, MS XV.G.23/3; see Cappellieri, “Filippo e Cristoforo Schor,” 73–78, and 236–37.

³⁷⁸ See also the description in I-Nsn, MS SG.B.1, “Gazzette di Napoli,” 17 and 24 September, 1686.

³⁷⁹ Confuorto, *Giornali*, 1:161 [I-Nsn, MS XX.C.20–22].

³⁸⁰ Confuorto, *Giornali*, 1:160; Griffin, “Late Baroque Serenata,” 105.

³⁸¹ *I Giorni Festivi*, 7.



Figure 4.8 Philipp Schor, *Planta de la segunda fiesta que el que el Excelentísimo Señor Marqués del Carpio virrey de Nápoles hico en setiembre 1686 por la conquista de Buda da las Armas Imperiales* (Naples: Domenico Antonio Parrino, 1686), MS XVG23 © Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli.

and all of the opera premieres during his tenure as viceroy. If yet another performance by this huge ensemble was offered in this room even later in September, the theater, stage, and sets for *Il Nerone* could not have been installed there on the usual schedule. References to opera dress rehearsals at an additional private venue, the house of the Marquise de Cogolludo, in November certainly suggest that space had become an issue, likely because installing the sets and seating in the sala grande temporarily inhibited the arrangements for any other large-scale performance.

Complicating things further, the spectacles and performances honoring the Imperial victory were invented, directed, engineered, and performed by the same team that produced the operas. Schor designed the fantastic outdoor stage with the battlefield, while Scarlatti organized the serenata's enormous musical ensemble of strings, a few wind instruments, and continuo (theorbo and keyboard players), together with a long list of singers chosen from the Royal Chapel or associated with the Neapolitan conservatories.³⁸² Even the fragmented extant pay records for the serenata demonstrate that the high number of musicians cited in the descriptions was no exaggeration.

³⁸² Stein, "Una música de noche," 333–72; Maione, "Il mondo musicale," 309–34

Despite this richness of local talent, Carpio's final opera season did not begin smoothly, which is why the dedication dates in the libretti turn out to be especially unreliable as dates of performance in this season. That Nicola Vaccaro was on his own for the first time as impresario to coordinate the season at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo may have caused some difficulty (Della Torre had died in October 1685).³⁸³ Apparently, the production of the first opera, *Il Nerone*, was plagued by casting problems that led to a much-delayed premiere (the libretto lacks a cast list, perhaps for this reason). First, Besci and Costantini, two-star castrati, had resigned from the Royal Chapel with Carpio's permission before August 1686 (reason unknown). Significantly, neither is listed in the 1686 serenata payments; their chapel wages, 18 ducati in total, were not reassigned until the end of November. Two other castrati were given positions in the chapel—the contralto Sebastiano Peradies with 7 ducati, the soprano Michelangelo Palombella with 7—and Matteo Sassano was awarded an additional 3 ducati added to the 10.5 he was already receiving.³⁸⁴ It may be that some of these singers were cast in the operas, but not brought into *Il Nerone* far enough in advance for its premiere to take place on 6 November for the king's birthday. Two other male singers, the tenor Felice Mastroangelo and the then-soprano Nicolò Grimaldi, had performed previously in the 1685 summer production of *Difendere l'offensore overo La Stellidaura vendicante*, so they may have been cast in the 1686–87 operas.³⁸⁵ Grimaldi, Sassano, Palombella, and the tenor Di Gennaro were paid for singing in *L'Olimpo in Mergellina* in August and September 1686. Grimaldi received the highest remuneration, followed by Sassano.³⁸⁶ Among the available castrati, perhaps Carpio's 1686–87 productions could draw on a new contralto from the chapel, Peradies, if he was suited to the stage, together with the sopranos from the chapel, as well as the tenor Mastroangelo. Presumably, Di Gennaro, the cross-dressed tenor comic nurse or female servant in earlier productions, also performed in the operas of 1686–87 (he retained his Royal Chapel position at least through 1693).³⁸⁷ Besci, though he resigned his chapel position, may have performed anyway in one or both of the November and

³⁸³ Vaccaro's one-year contract with the Governatori della Santa Casa degli Incurabili (for use of the theater and the adjacent houses from 14 April 1686 to Holy Saturday 1687 for 900 ducats) is recognized in a notary document of 15 October 1686; I-Nas, Notai del Seicento, Ferdinando Falanga, di Napoli, scheda 472, prot. 26, ff. 348–351v, extracted in Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli*, 3:342.

³⁸⁴ Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli*, 3:154–55, 341–43, citing I-Nas, Varietà del Cappellano Maggiore, Consulte, f. 48, and I-Nas, Mandatorum, vol. 290, f. 28, which were unavailable at the time of my research in Naples.

³⁸⁵ See the cast list in the libretto dedicated to Carpio, *Difendere l'offensore overo La Stellidaura vendicante* (Naples: Carlo Porsile, 1685); Sartori 07874; I-Nc, Rari 5.8.12; I-Bu A.V.Tab.I.E.III.22a.7.

³⁸⁶ The payment records for the serenata are incomplete and do not record the special gifts that either castrato might have received; Stein, "Una música de noche," 333–72.

³⁸⁷ See the document of 1693 quoted in Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli*, 3:372.

December 1686 Naples operas, since a late January 1687 avviso states that he had just arrived back in Rome.³⁸⁸

No doubt, the fact that some highly valued singers broke their contracts and did not arrive in Naples on schedule caused further problems. Grossi was suddenly unavailable because the Duke of Modena withdrew his license for Naples and instead sent him to London to sing for Queen Maria Beatrice d'Este, though he was fully expected in Naples well into October 1686 and "in time to appear in the first opera arranged for the king's birthday."³⁸⁹ Carpio learned very late that this singer would be missing; a 29 October 1686 letter acknowledges a recently arrived missive from his intermediary, Cardinal Carlo Barberini, that carried an enclosure from Francesco II. Though his case was hopeless, Carpio's letter explains that Grossi had committed to the November 1686 opera well in advance by giving his word to the *appaltatori* in Naples during the preceding year.³⁹⁰

Grossi was not the only highly esteemed singer who suddenly cancelled. As late as 21 October 1686, a panicked letter in Spanish from Sebastián de Villareal y Gamboa, Carpio's mayordomo mayor and camarero mayor, to his Florentine counterpart, secretary Apollonio Bassetti, explains that both Grossi and Giuseppe Canavese ("Sifacie" and "Canaves") had failed to arrive in Naples.³⁹¹ Canavese's cancellation had arrived just that day, explaining that he had committed to sing in Venice, despite having previously promised to perform in Naples. Having already received his payment via a letter of credit or *polizza* for Naples, he sends it back.³⁹² Villareal begs Bassetti to ask the Medici to persuade Canavese to keep

³⁸⁸ Staffieri, *Colligite Fragmenta*, 74.

³⁸⁹ I-MOs, Cancelleria Ducale, Carteggio, Principi Esteri (Napoli), b. 1675/31, letter of 29 October 1686 from Carpio to Carlo Barberini, "a tiempo que pueda entrar en la primera obra dispuesta para los años de Su Majestad."

³⁹⁰ I-MOs, Cancelleria Ducale, Carteggio, Principi Esteri (Napoli), b. 1675/31, letter of 29 October 1686 from Carpio to Carlo Barberini.

³⁹¹ Canavese was among the singers prized by Grand Duke Ferdinand and his wife, Violante of Bavaria; he had performed in the 1683 Roman *Il Pompeo*, and in earlier operas that Carpio likely heard in Rome; see De Lucca, *The Politics*, 223, 230–31, 272; Anne-Madeleine Goulet, "Costumes, décors et machines dans *l'Arsate* (1683) d'Alessandro Scarlatti. Contribution à l'histoire de l'opéra à Rome au xviiiè siècle," *Dix-septième siècle* (2014): 163; Fantappiè, "Un garbato fratello et un garbato zio," provides numerous references to his activity; Holmes, *Opera Observed*, 31–32, notes that Canavese sang at Pratolino in 1684. He was invited to Naples again in 1690, according to I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, filze 1045, fol. 421, 14 July 1690, a letter in Spanish from Viceroy Count of Santisteban to the grand duke, requesting Canavese so that "en las comedias armónicas, que ya se estan componiendo, no falte en ellas una parte tan principal." José María Domínguez Rodríguez, *Roma, Nápoles, Madrid: Mecenasgo musical del IX Duque de Medinaceli, 1687–1710* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2013), 201, 328, documents Canavese's appearance in Naples in 1699.

³⁹² The *polizza* is referred to in Villareal's letter, I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, filze 1599, 21 October 1686; and I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, filze 1599, fol. 332, 21 October 1686, letter from Giuseppe Domenico Andreoni in Naples to Apollonio Bassetti in Florence; I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, filze 1599, 11 December and 25 December 1685, an earlier incomplete letter from Giovanni Pietro Cella in Naples to Apollonio Bassetti in Florence, with a response dated 25 December, indicate that the arrangement with Canavese has been confirmed in late 1685.

his promise and travel immediately to Naples. In case that is impossible, he hopes they will at least arrange to send Francesco Ballarini in his place.³⁹³ Villareal complains that, without Canavese, Carpio simply will not be able to present an opera at the palace for the 6 November royal birthday.³⁹⁴ A similar letter from a Florentine representative in Naples confirms that Canavese had indeed given his word and agreed to sing in Naples under favorable financial terms (“prezzi molto vantaggiosi”), but has broken his contract on the pretext of a chance to appear in Venice (“valendosi di questo motivo apparente, contro la convenienza da obbligo preciso”). Because the opening of the Naples season was fast approaching and to delay it would not only defraud the expectations of the public but provoke the viceroy’s ire, he suggests that Ballerini be sent immediately to Naples with the promise of valuable compensation in silver ducats, even if this plan would require an order from the grand duke.³⁹⁵ An earlier missive dated 23 October 1686 relays the news of the “mancaza di parola de’ musici” in Naples to another patron, Francesco Maria Medici, and underlines Carpio’s fury: “il Viceré ne sta in colera fieramente.”³⁹⁶

Grossi (an alto castrato) and Canavese (a tenor) were expected for roles in *Il Nerone*, whose premiere was to have occurred on the 6 November royal birthday. But if Carpio and Villareal only learned near the end of October that they would be missing, then Scarlatti was forced to revise the opera quite hurriedly to suit other singers. Ballarini was an alto, so it seems odd that he would be requested as a replacement for Canavese, but perhaps he was recruited as an alternative to Grossi, whose role probably included more arias than any other. Replacing Grossi would have required Scarlatti to revise and reassign a long list of arias for *Il Nerone* and, most likely, for his new *Clearco in Negroponte* (the second opera of the season) as well.

³⁹³ Ballarini was an alto castrato, according to Cirani, *Comici, musicisti e artisti*, 128.

³⁹⁴ I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, filze 1599, 21 October 1686: “Yo me hallo ahora en la mayor angustia del mundo porque habiéndome encargado Su Excelencia el ajuste de las comedias de este año, me faltan Sifacie y Canaves, después de haber dicho que vendrían, y hallándose Canaves en esa corte [Florence] e suplicado al Señor Abogado Andreoni [Giuseppe Domenico Andreoni] se sirva de escribir a V.S.Ima. o a otro, para que le persuada de venir o en su lugar el Ballarino, pero me remito a la carta del mismo Señor Andreoni suplicando solo a V.S.Ima. se sirva de disponer el que venga, pues de otro modo quedo tan desairado como lo puede considerar, particularmente en la fiesta de los años del Rey que es a seis del [mes] que viene en [que] quedará Su Excelencia sin opera en palacio si Vuestro Señor Ilustrissimo no me favorece, y dispone que se desempeñe de Venecia Canaves, pues escribe que va allá después de tener a los aparadores de aquí en palabra hasta hoy que ha enviado la póliza diciendo que no puede venir.” The reply from Bassetti, dated 25 October (also filze 1599), indicates that the grand duke unfortunately cannot intervene.

³⁹⁵ I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, filze 1599, fol. 332, 21 October 1686, Naples, Giuseppe Domenico Andreoni to Apollonio Bassetti in Florence.

³⁹⁶ This letter from Francesco Maria Medici’s agent, Giuseppe Miselli “Burattino,” also mentions instructions to the effect that no singers in his employ would be offered; I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, 5759, number 27, filze 184, fol. 651r, Rome, 23 October 1686, Giuseppe Miselli burattino to Francesco Maria Medici, quoted in Fantappiè, “Un garbato fratello et un garbato zio,” 2:92.

Operas of the 1686–87 Naples Season

Il Nerone

A cloud of speculation concerning the rehearsals and first performance of *Il Nerone* emerges from the avvisi. It may be that, instead of *Il Nerone*, another easier-to-perform opera was given at the palace for the nobility on the 6 November royal birthday (see below). Problems with the cast and the staging left *Il Nerone* still “in preparation” according to an avviso of 5 November, so its premiere was moved to the following Sunday (10 November). But the premiere did not take place until more than ten days later. *Gazzetta di Napoli* records, erroneously, that the palace premiere occurred on 17 November.³⁹⁷ A dress rehearsal (“prova”) for a small private audience with Carpio himself in attendance was given at the house of the Marquise de Cogolludo because Carpio “wished to favor her.”³⁹⁸ The final dress rehearsal occurred on 19 November, followed by a palace premiere on 21 November. Of course, because the writers of avvisi likely did not attend any of the rehearsals or palace performances themselves, their information was gathered at arm’s length. Perhaps, striving for accuracy while recognizing his own confusion, the writer who supplied avvisi to the papal envoy corrected his error from 19 November in his avviso of 27 November, explaining that *Il Nerone* had received one palace performance and was not well liked (“non riesca di piena sodisfattione”).³⁹⁹

No music has been recovered from this Naples production of *Il Nerone*. The history of the libretto by Giulio Cesare Corradi includes two Venetian printings from 1679, the year of its premiere at the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo, together with a libretto for a revival at the Teatro Falcone in Genoa in 1681. The

³⁹⁷ I-Nsn, S.G.B.1, *Gazzette di Napoli*, 1686, reported in Magauggia and Costantini, *Musica e spettacolo nel Regno di Napoli*, 115.

³⁹⁸ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 100, fol. 559, 12 November 1686; “L’opera in musica, che doveva recitarsi a Palazzo la sera delle 6 suddette [6 November] per l’occasione del compleanno della Maestà. Catt.ca. non essendo in ordine, si trasferì per la domenica seguente [10 November] che fu la suddetta ed è riuscita bella... in tanto si compiacque S.E. per favorire questa dama, che si recitasse in prova nella casa della Sigr. marchese di Cocogliudo, ove intervenne qualche dama e cavaliere di confidenza.”

³⁹⁹ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 100, fol. 584, 19 November 1686: “Questa sera nella casa della Signora Marchesa di Cocogliudo si proverà una nuova opera, nella forma che seguì nel principio di questo mese per l’altra avvisata, e poi giovedì sera si farà per la prima volta a palazzo, di dove avara in appresso il teatro per portarlo a quello di S. Bartolomeo, ove ombidue opere si continueranno a recitare per divertimento pubblico.”

“V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 100, fol. 606, 27 November 1686: “L’opera intitolata *Il Nerone*, che si provò come si scrisse in casa della Signora Marchesa di Cocogliudo, ove intervenne l’Eccellenza Sua, si recitò il giovedì appresso nel Teatro di Palazzo con l’invito della nobiltà, et il giorno seguente [22 November] si trasportarono le scene all’altro di S. Bartolomeo. dove si cominciò la recita domenica prossima [24 November] e seguita tuttavia, ma si dice che non riesca di piena sodisfattione.”

1686 Naples libretto dedicated to Carpio does not follow any of the earlier libretti exactly.⁴⁰⁰ Rather, it incorporates some of the initial Venetian 1679 printing, diverges considerably and in important ways from the opera as represented in the second Venetian 1679 printing, and bears a strong resemblance to the 1681 Genoa libretto,⁴⁰¹ which identifies Carlo Pallavicino as the composer for the Genoa production. There is only one unique aria text in the 1686 Naples libretto, Lepido's "D'abbattere ho speranza" (II, 11), but no musical setting for this aria has surfaced. It may be that Scarlatti composed new music for the long list of inherited aria texts in the Naples libretto, but, more likely, he incorporated and revised much of Pallavicino's music from the Genoa production. Grossi had performed in the 1678–79 Venetian production of *Il Nerone* and perhaps also in the Genoa 1681 production.⁴⁰² It is thus quite possible that some of his arias

⁴⁰⁰ The libretti are Giulio Cesare Corradi, *Il Nerone. Drama per musica nel Nuovo Teatro Grimano di S. Gio. Grisostomo* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1679), Sartori 16402, I-Vgc, ROLANDI ROL.0513.13; Corradi, *Il Nerone. Dramma per musica nel nuovo Teatro Grimano di S. Gio. Grisostomo l'anno 1679 Riformato con nuove aggiunte* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1679), Sartori 16403, I-Mb, Racc.dramm,1517; Corradi, *Il Nerone. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro del Falcone l'anno 1681* (Genoa: Il Franchelli, 1681), Sartori 16404, I-Vgc, ROLANDI ROL.1084.06; and Corradi, *Il Nerone. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nel Regal Palazzo nel giorno del compleanno del re. sig. che Dio guardi. Consecrato alleccellentiss. signor marchese del Carpio* (Naples: Carlo Porsile, 1686), Sartori 16405, I-Bu, A.V.Tab.I.F.III.36.4.

⁴⁰¹ Twenty aria texts in the 1686 Naples libretto do not appear in the second Venetian edition, and a dozen or so aria texts in the second Venetian printing do not appear in the Naples libretto—a far higher number of discrepancies than what results from a comparison of the Naples libretto with the first Venetian printing, though some aria texts appear in both the Naples libretto and the second Venetian printing, but not in the first Venetian printing. The most important revision in the second Venetian printing is the deletion of the mythological opera-within-and-opera in Nero's theater that comprises act 3, scenes 2–7 in the first Venetian printing and in the Naples libretto. Some aria texts lacking in the first Venetian libretto appear in both the second Venetian printing and in the Naples and Genoa libretti, etc. Gesine Manuwald, *Nero in Opera: Librettos as Transformations of Ancient Sources* (Berlin and Boston: Walter De Gruyter, 2013), 58–65 offers an excellent comparative literary study of *Nerone* libretti.

⁴⁰² Grossi sang the role of Tiridate in Pallavicino's *Il Nerone* at the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo in Venice (premiere 31 December 1678), a performance reviewed by Jacques Chassebras de Cramailles in the *Mercurie Galant* issue of April 1679, with praise for the "beauty" of Pallavicino's arias and Siface's "incomparable" voice. The *Mercurie* prints music for one aria from this role in *Il Nerone*, "Per non vivere geloso" (I, 17). See Barbara Nestola, "La musica italiana nel *Mercurie galant* (1677-1683)," *Recercare* 14 (2002): 85–145; and Barbara Nestola, *Lair italien sur la scène des théâtres parisiens (1687–1715)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 65, 376. The aria text is only included in the first 1678 Venetian libretto of *Il Nerone* and in the later 1686 Naples libretto (not in the second Venetian printing). "Per non vivere geloso," a two-strophe da capo aria, is found in a trio of manuscripts: I-Vqs, CL.VIII.19 (1441) (which gives the aria in the wrong clef for Grossi's voice); I-MOe, Mus. G. 316; and V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4135; the *Mercurie* and I-MOe, Mus. G. 316 set the aria in the proper clef and range. My research concerning Grossi, this aria, and its sources was presented in "Siface and the French (an Italian Castrato's Encounters with French Listeners in the 1680s)" for the conference "Rethinking Music in France during the Baroque Era," June, 2018, Paris. In I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Carteggio Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, senza firma, 1681/59, Rome, a letter dated 3 January 1681 sent from Rome to Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna in Madrid, almost certainly from Sebastiano Baldini, notes: "Siface venuto a Roma si trova in asso dopo avere lasciato Genova, et altre occ.oni di recitare, e si protesta di volere esser pagato, perché il Papa non dice non voler commedie, ma non voler che si paghi." Because the title page of the 1681 Genoa libretto for *Il Nerone* states that the opera

were carried through to Scarlatti's revised score for Naples. Even before learning that Grossi and others would be absent, Scarlatti likely modified, revised, or transposed Pallavicino arias, rather than compose an entirely new score. Further, if indeed Besci and Costantini left Naples in late summer, Canavese cancelled, and then Grossi was also unavailable, Scarlatti's burden increased during the busy period encumbered by the celebrations for the victory at Buda (and reflected in his stewardship as composer and paymaster for the serenata and other musical events). Scarlatti surely had been counting on the three castrati (Grossi, Besci, and Costantini) for principal roles, as well as the tenor Canavese, so it is likely that he revised quickly for rushed final *Il Nerone* rehearsals with a newly filled-out cast sometime between late October and the 17 November private dress rehearsal ("prova").

In short, two practical obstacles—limited performance space in the palace and missing singers—created a very compressed schedule, especially given the interpolation of the Buda celebrations and the abbreviated duration of the Neapolitan carnival in early winter 1687. Once in production after the 21 November palace premiere, the public performances for *Il Nerone* at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo kept the singers busy, causing a tardy premiere for the second opera, Scarlatti's new *Clearco in Negroponte*, whose production delays were reported to have been exacerbated when its sets and staging required extra work.

Clearco in Negroponte

Clearco in Negroponte was intended for the queen mother's 21 December birthday, but the production was delayed. The protocolled palace premiere for the nobility and invited officials ("dame, e cavalieri, e ministri") took place on 1 or 2 January 1687 (2 January according to the *Gazzetta*),⁴⁰³ after a "dress rehearsal" ("provo in abito") witnessed by the viceroy and his guests ("quantità di cavalieri") in the last days of December (likely 29 December).⁴⁰⁴ A public performance was also given at the palace later on, and a second public performance there was offered on 5 January.⁴⁰⁵ Yet another private performance before 14 January occurred at

has yet to be performed ("*Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro del Falcone l'anno 1681*"), the case for Siface's participation in the Genoa production is doubtful given the report about him in the 3 January 1681 letter.

⁴⁰³ I-Nsn, MS S.G.B.1 "Gazzette di Napoli 1686" and Magaugga and Costantini, 115.

⁴⁰⁴ I-Nsn, MS S.G.B.1 "Gazzette di Napoli 1686" and Magaugga and Costantini, 115.

⁴⁰⁵ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 101, fol. 20, 7 January 1687: "Fu come se scrisse recitata la prima volta pubblicamente l'opera a palazzo, e d'indi trasportato lo scenario a quello di S Bartolomeo, ivi si replicò per la 2a volta domenica sera [5 January], e continuo anche ieri sera. Corre voce, che se tene sia migliore della prima, non riesca di quella soddisfazione, che si credeva universalmente."

the residence of the Marquise de Cogolludo.⁴⁰⁶ Carpio requested this additional private venue because the theater at his own Palazzo Reale was unavailable once preparations for *Il Roderico* had begun. The *Roderico* premiere took place in the sala grande of the palace on 1 February for an invited audience that included the visiting Duke of Modena,⁴⁰⁷ and its public performances at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo naturally needed to conclude before the end of carnival.

In the dedicatory prologue to *Clearco in Negroponte*, the figure of Haste (La Fretta), makes reference to production delays, while she encourages Music, Poetry, and Architecture to hurry and finish their work, before she is banished by Invention (Capriccio). Preparations for *Clearco in Negroponte* were hurried, “in order not to lose time, given the brevity of the short carnival,”⁴⁰⁸ and because setting up the Teatro di San Bartolomeo required more work precisely because the sets and machines were “new and require another kind of artistry.” The scenery at the public theater had to be taken down so that the entirely different and “more delightful” ones for *Clearco in Negroponte*, transported from the palace, could be mounted there.⁴⁰⁹ It is unclear whether the rejected sets at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo were left over from *Il Nerone*; the wording of one avviso seems to suggest that the sets that were replaced were inferior in quality because they had been fashioned for the public in the first place.⁴¹⁰ Public performances of *Clearco* at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo even attracted the viceroy and nobles who had already heard the opera at the palace (“e vi si torno per sentirla quantità di cavalieri et il Signore Viceré, dicesi che riesce bellissima

⁴⁰⁶ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 101, fol. 28, 14 January 1687.

⁴⁰⁷ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 101, fol. 77, 4 February 1687; I-MOs, Cancelleria Ducale, Ambasciatori, Napoli, b. 30, doc. 2; and I-MOs, Casa e Stato, busta 347, sottofascicolo 1974/III, p. 45.

⁴⁰⁸ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 100, fol. 704–704v, “ultimo di 1686” [31 December 1686]: “Se provò l'altra sera a Palazzo in abito la seconda opera intitolata il Clearco in Negroponte, e vi si torno per sentirla quantità di cavalieri et anche il Signore Viceré dicesi che riesce bellissima e nella composizione, e nello scenario tutto diverso dal primo. Domani [1 January] a sera, che il primo dell'anno si reciterà ivi pubblicamente con l'invito solito delle dame e cavalieri e ministri.” “Si prepara in tanto il teatro pubblico di San Bartolomeo, di dove sono levate tutte le scene, e macchine, per piantarvi nuovamente quelle che ora sono esposte a Palazzo, che per essere tutte nuove, vi bisogna altra maestria, e si affrettano i lavori per non perder tempo, per esser corto il carnevale entrante.” V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 101, fol. 28, 14 January 1687: “Continua, tuttavia, e ben spesa la recita della scritta opera in questo Teatro di San Bartolomeo, dove riesce più godibile lo scenario, che si rinnova, che quel che faccino i comici, i per la voce che corra dal principio il Signore Viceré volse che si recitasse anche in casa della Signora Marchesa di Cocogliudo, e vi furono molte dame e cavalieri con l'intervento di Sua Eccellenza.”

⁴⁰⁹ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 100, fol. 704–704v, “ultimo di 1686” [31 December 1686] “Si prepara in tanto il teatro pubblico di San Bartolomeo, di dove sono levate tutte le scene, e macchine, per piantarvi nuovamente quelle che ora sono esposte a Palazzo, che per esse tutte nuove, vi bisogna altra maestria, e si affrettano i lavori per non perder tempo, per esser corto il carnevale entrante.”

⁴¹⁰ They were “quel che faccino i comici,” though performances of spoken *commedie* performed by troupes of “comici” would normally be offered at the Teatro dei Fiorentini, not the Teatro di San Bartolomeo in this period.

e nella compositione, e nello scenario tutto diverso dal primo”), filling the theater beyond the middle of January.⁴¹¹ That the visiting Duke of Modena attended a performance on the evening of Saturday 25 January⁴¹² may explain why a copy of the Scarlatti score is held in Modena among items from the ducal music library.⁴¹³

While the assignment of roles to singers and vocal ranges for *Il Nerone* in Naples remains a mystery without a score, some tentative assignments can be put forth for Scarlatti's *Clearco in Negroponte*. Scarlatti's opera calls for four male sopranos in the serious roles of Clearco, Eurimede, Adrasto, and Aceste; three female sopranos for Asteria, Alcidamia, and Olinda; and two tenors for the comic roles of Filocla (Asteria's servant) and Ismeno (servant to Olinda). The libretto by Antonio Arcoleo had been set first by Domenico Gabrielli for Venice, first produced in December 1685 and into carnival 1686, then revived in Reggio Emilia in 1689.⁴¹⁴ The Venetian libretto was revised extensively for or by Scarlatti, with fewer arias for some roles and more for others (see Table 4.9).⁴¹⁵

Asteria, a paragon among Scarlatti's series of bold female protagonists for Naples, claims the most solo scenes and arias, leaving the other two serious female characters with little stage time. It is possible that this role prompted the

⁴¹¹ I-Nsn, MS S.G.B.1 Gazzette di Napoli 1687; V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 101, fol. 28, 14 January 1687.

⁴¹² V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 101, fol. 42, 21 January 1687, and fol. 58, 28 January 1687; I-MOs, Casa e Stato, busta 347, sottofascicolo 1974/III, p. 31; I-MOs, Cancelleria Ducale, Ambasciatori, Napoli, b. 30, doc. 2: “La sera fu S. A. nel teatro ad un'opera musicale nel palco dove era solita di stare Sua Eccellenza e qui si gode rinfresco di ceccolate [cioccolatte], limonate, dolci, e simili.” A letter from Giovanni Berardi in Naples to Apollonio Bassetti in Florence about the Duke of Modena's visit confirms that he attended one opera at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo (and sat in Carpio's box), and heard another opera given at the palace for a large audience of the nobility; I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, filze 1599, 4 February 1687. A shorter prose account of the duke's visit to Naples is “Lettera del Signore Marchese Francesco Sacrati scritte ad un Amico in Roma circa i cortesi trattamenti fatti dall'Eccmo. Sigre. Marchese del Carpio Viceré di Napoli al Sermo. Di Modena Francesco 2do,” GB-Lbl, Add MS 16483, fols. 228–235.

⁴¹³ I-MOe, Mus.F.1054.

⁴¹⁴ *Clearco in Negroponte. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro Zane a San Moisè l'anno 1685* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1685), Sartori 05745; Selfridge-Field, *A New Chronology*, 171–72. Libretti are also extant from productions of the Gabrielli opera in Bergamo 1687, Venice, 1688, Reggio 1689 (which includes a cast list), Venice 1691, and Palermo 1681. The Domenico Gabrielli score, I-MOe, Mus.F.424, may be autograph; Norbert Dubowy, *Arie und Konzert. Zur Entwicklung der Ritornellanlage in 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1991), 311, associates I-MOe, Mus.F.424 with the 1689 Reggio production.

⁴¹⁵ Sources for the Naples 1686 opera include: *Clearco in Negroponte. Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nel Real Palazzo per lo compleaños della regina madre D. Marianna d'Austria, che Dio guardi. Dedicato alleccellentiss. signor D. Gasparo D'Arò, y Guzman* (Naples: Carlo Porsile, 1686), Sartori 05746, I-Nc, Rari 10.4.1/2; I-MOe, 83.F.35/3; a manuscript Scarlatti score is I-MOe, Mus.F.1054; arie staccate are principally found in manuscript anthologies in I-Nc and I-Rc; see especially I-Nc, 60.1.55 [Arie 211]. See also the invaluable Amato, “Le antologie di arie e cantate,” 267–71. Alfred Lorenz, *Alessandro Scarlatti's Jugendoper: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der italienischen Oper* (Augsburg: Dr. Benno Filser-Verlag, 1927), 1:96–101; 2: examples 122–43, offers comparisons between the Scarlatti and Gabrielli settings.

Table 4.9 Roles and Arias in *Clearco in Negroponte*, Scarlatti v.s. Gabrielli

Scarlatti, <i>Clearco in Negroponte</i>	Gabrielli, <i>Clearco in Negroponte</i>
Asteria: 12 solo, 3 duet	6 solo, 1 duet
Adrasto: soprano, 8 solo, 2 duet (range up to a ^o)	tenor, 7 solo, 1 duet
Alcidamia: 7 solo, 1 duet	10 solo, 1 duet
Olinda: 7 solo, 1 duet (range up to a ^o)	10 solo, 1 duet
Clearco: soprano, 6 solo, 3 duet (range up to b ^o)	6 solo, 3 duet
Aceste: mezzo-soprano, 5 solo 1 duet (range up to e ^o and f ^o)	tenor, 7 solo, 1 duet
Filocla: 4 arias, 1 duet cross-dressed tenor	alto, 1 solo
Eurimede: soprano, 3 solo, 1 duet (range up to g ^o)	tenor, 2 solo, 2 duet
Ismeno: tenor, 3 solo, 1 duet	alto, 3 solo

recruitment of a particularly excellent new female singer for this production, according to a personal letter of recommendation from Lorenza de la Cerda sent to Carpio in the first week of December.⁴¹⁶ It is likely that this singer, Ana Graziosi, joined the cast in Naples as Asteria in time for the delayed *Clearco in Negroponte*. Two strong female singers, Giulia Zuffi and Caterina Scarano, were still in Naples for *Clearco in Negroponte*, though it is difficult to know whether they sang in this production.⁴¹⁷ Yet another soprano, Margherita Neri Bonzi, sang in Naples in 1686, so she may also have been cast in this opera (see below). The widest range of pitches among the sopranos is found in the arias for Olinda (d^o to a^o).

⁴¹⁶ I-Nas, Segreterie dei Viceré, Viglietti Originali, b. 646, letter of 6 December 1686 from Lorenza de la Cerda, Princess of Paliano, in Rome to Carpio in Naples, transcribed in Domínguez Rodríguez, “Mecenazgo musical,” 2:219, 604: “Ex.mo Señor, mi señor y mi tío. Siendo manifiesto a todos lo mucho que V.E. favorece mis recomendados, un caballero de toda mi estimación me ha hecho instancia ponga en el número de éstos a Ana Graziosi [*sic*: Graziosi] lo que ejecutó con particular gusto por las grandes atenciones que le debo, y suplico a V.E. la ampare en todo lo que se le ofrezca, por ir dicha Ana a representar a esa ciudad lo que no dudo logrará autenticando V.E. mayormente lo mucho que debo a V.E. cuya vida guarde Dios muchos años como deseo y he menester.”

⁴¹⁷ Giulia Zuffi was still in Naples in February 1689, according to a letter of 9 February 1689 sent from Naples by Giulio Amico, representative of the Duke of Mantua, concerning the singer Maria Maddalena “fiorentina”; the letter praises Zuffi and also mentions “la Scarlati”; I-MAA, Gonzaga, b. 829 (Napoli). Maria Maddalena is identified as Maria Maddalena Torelli Buonamici in Cirani, *Comici, musicisti e artisti*, 104, 122; and Paola Besutti, *La corte musicale di Ferdinando Carlo Gonzaga ultimo duca di Mantova: Musici, cantanti e teatro d'opera tra il 1665 e il 1707* (Mantua: G. Arcari, 1989), 70.

Scarlatti assigned all four of the serious male characters to soprano castrati, whereas three are tenor roles in the extant Gabrelli score. Interestingly, Scarlatti's choice of range and timbre accentuated the audible comic confusion in an opera whose hilarity and intrigue relied anyway on disguise, cross-dressing, and mistaken identity. The highest soprano role in the Scarlatti opera is that of King Clearco of Thebes, reaching to b" with six arias (three with strings and, one a trumpet aria) and three duets. The range and high tessitura suggest that it was performed by Besci, who had apparently returned to Naples and, as noted above, did not arrive back in Rome until 25 January 1687.⁴¹⁸ It may be that Matteo Sassano "Matteuccio" was assigned the role of Adrasto, the *secondo huomo*, which required an a", and Nicolò Grimaldi (already highly prized in Naples) sang as Aceste, with a top note of f#" (when Grimaldi sang as Icilio in a later Scarlatti opera, *La caduta de' Decemviri*, 1697, that role required a g").⁴¹⁹ The male sopranos, King Eurimede of Corinth (top note g") and Aceste (f#"), seem to emphasize the high range less often. The tenor role of Ismeno, perhaps originally intended for Canavese, may have been assigned to Domenico del Vecchio "Parabita" or Mastroangelo (tenors of the royal chapel), and the cross-dressed nurse, Filocla, to Di Gennaro, a specialist in such roles.

The avvisi emphasize the novelty and high quality of *Clearco in Negroponte* compared to the less successful *Il Nerone*. The entertaining plot offers a number of characters in disguise or whose true identities are unrecognized. Adrasto is Clearco's friend and immediately becomes Asteria's secret love, later revealed to be Isdraspe, Prince of Mileto; Olinda is his unrecognized sister; Aceste is their brother, disguised as a musician; and Asteria and Olinda are both disguised for much of the opera, sometimes in male attire. Leaving aside the allegorical prologue, the opera proper offers eye-catching scenes that serve up precisely the kind of thrills lacking in *Il Nerone*—lasciviousness, cross-dressing, martial bravura, a woman at the end of her rope, farcical comedy, and even the supernatural. The opera opens with the final stage-set of the prologue: a vast navy, seen in the distance, sails within an Aegean seascape at night. Clearco, King of Thebes, disembarks with his forces near Corinth and sets up his encampment. In an unfurnished noble antechamber, within a building whose exterior wall is visible from Clearco's encampment, Asteria's comic nurse Filocla keeps watch, carefully preserving the flame of her candle but complaining about her plight, until she falls asleep. Asteria and Adrasto (who has been held prisoner) emerge,

⁴¹⁸ Staffieri, *Colligite Fragmenta*, 74, quotes a Roman avviso from 25 January 1687, but the final public performance of *Clearco in Negroponte* occurred on 25 January, so perhaps Besci returned to Rome later that night or early the next day.

⁴¹⁹ In the unique musical prologue to *Tutto il mal che vien, non vien per nuocere* (I-MC, MS 6-B-2), most likely dating from 1686 or 1687, Nicolini's highest pitch is f#" ; see also *La caduta de' Decemviri*, ed. Hermine Weigel Williams, *The Operas of Alessandro Scarlatti*, vol. 6, general editor Donald Jay Grout (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 18.

olding hands. When Adrasto awakens Filocla, she hides her still-burning lamp and quickly pulls a veil over her face. Asteria also veils herself to prevent Adrasto from learning her identity, though their conversation reveals that Adrasto and Asteria have been making love in the interior room in the dark (neither knowing precisely whom he/she has been embracing). As dawn breaks, Asteria and Filocla emerge from a doorway, surprised to find themselves in a military encampment. In a hilarious gesture, greedy Filocla attempts to gather some of the trophies and spoils of battle scattered amid the bloody corpses. Then Filocla and Asteria undress some of the corpses and hurriedly disguise themselves in male clothing and armor. Filocla's display of prudery is another comic embellishment—the corpses cannot see her, of course, but she is wary of exposing herself to their male gaze, nonetheless. After Asteria and Filocla exit, Alinda enters with her servant, Ismeno. They appear “seminude” onstage and don the female garments that Asteria and Filocla have thrown off. Withdrawing to one side of the stage, they watch as Clearco, who has been sleeping under an awning, awakens and calls his men to arms. The soldiers breach a ruined wall with a battering ram and fight with what remains of the Corinthian forces, some of whom fall dead while others flee.

Following a formula Scarlatti had exploited similarly in *Olimpia vendicata*, the action of just the first seven scenes of *Clearco in Negroponte* launches the opera with highly entertaining, even scandalous titillation: an extended scene pointing to a lascivious but anonymous sexual encounter between a noble prisoner (Adrasto) and a princess (Asteria); the low humor and antic misbehavior of a cynical, cross-dressed servant (Filocla); semi-nudity with complete undressing and dressing onstage; further cross-dressing and disguise; and the violence of battle, all nested within conventional scenes and effects—a battlefield, the arrival of a ship at night, and the effect of dawn breaking—whose scenes and machines seem to have been among Schor's specialties. The opening scenes in the Naples libretto and Scarlatti's score move beyond those in the Venetian libretto set by Gabrielli because Carpio's production team extended the sexy opening scenes in Naples with a second aria for Filocla (“Non tentar piu' gl'occhi miei,” I, 2 in Naples); the addition of Adrasto to the E-minor “Te lascio mia vita” (I, 3), which Scarlatti set as a duet for Asteria and Adrasto; and an additional new aria for Asteria.

Scarlatti's Asteria was a vibrant heroine, another *femme forte* worthy of the queen mother's December birthday, continuing the pattern Carpio had established in earlier productions. The dramatic excess packed into this role required a singer-actress of considerable talent, with thirteen striking arias (not including *cavate*) at the core of the opera. Four of them set additional or substitute aria texts that enlarge the role beyond the frame assigned to it in the earlier Venetian

libretto. Eight of Asteria's arias are scored with violins while seven explore minor keys. Several scenes exemplify special dramatic flair, range, and flexibility through extreme states of affect. The role demands both virtuoso singing and convincing histrionic ability, though the arias do not call for a particularly wide or high vocal range (e' to g#").

Early in act 1, Asteria's "Muto spoglie, e vesto l'armi" (I, 5; $1\frac{2}{8}$, A minor; text absent from the Venetian libretto) emphasizes her fortitude after she and Filocla have changed into male clothing onstage (Example 4.41).⁴²⁰ The A section quickly provides a melisma on guerra supported by a stolid, determined quarter-note pattern of first inversion chords in the basso continuo. The B section emphasizes the word "cangia" (change) by moving to the dominant, as Asteria sings the declamatory dotted quarter-note pattern above the shifting eighth-note sequence in the bass, then sings an extended rising and falling melisma that includes sustained notes to form suspensions against the active bass. The halting rhythms and melodic intricacy in this melisma seem to convey the weight of amorous suffering that Asteria carries ("in duol volgendo va") as she surveys both her private feelings and the battlefield visible onstage.

A few scenes later, when she is exhibited in chains as one of Clearco's prisoners, she recognizes Adrasto as her secret lover, though he does not recognize her as his lover because he has just seen Olinda in her clothing. When Adrasto identifies Asteria nonetheless as the Corinthian princess (without realizing that he has already made love to her) and daughter of Clearco's enemy, King Eurimene, Asteria reacts with another aria that calls for a contrasting affect. The text of this aria "Dove mi trasse il fato" (I, 10) was also new for the Naples libretto. In Scarlatti's G-minor "Largo" setting (Example 4.42) with violins, tortured chromatic melodic inflections, typical of Scarlatti's engagement with G minor, challenge the singer's breath control and intonation. Asteria's pain ("crudo dolor") expands as "dolor" is set over shifting harmonies, the melody with sustained notes, a brief chromatic ascent, and small neighbor-note embellishments to explain that Asteria is resigned to what she takes to be her love-torn destiny. After all, the lover to whom she surrendered her virginity has just accused her as his enemy. In her next scene, however, Asteria swings to the opposite side of the affective spectrum, lashing out at the dazed Adrasto with the *presto* "Ingrato, spietato" (I, 11; G major, with violins) through concitato gestures in the A section and a contrasting midsection "Pur che adoro" in $\frac{3}{2}$. By this point in the opera, Scarlatti has opened up the dramatic possibilities for Asteria just by increasing her affective range with strongly defined contrasting arias. These extreme juxtapositions of affect

⁴²⁰ I-MOe, Mus.F.1054, fols. 17–18.

Example 4.41 Alessandro Scarlatti, “Muto spoglie, e vesto l’armi,” *Clearco in Negroponte* I, 5, I-MOe Mus.F.1054, fols. 17–18.

Allegro

Asteria

Mu - to spo - glie e ve - sto l'ar - mi

per - ché guer - - - - -

- ra A - mor mi fa. Can - già, an - cor mia

sor - te a - spet - to e il di - let - to per - ché in duol vol - gen - do

va,

Example 4.41 Continued

17
— vol-gen-do va.

20
Mu - to spo - glie e ve - sto l'ar - mi per - ché guer -

23
- - - - - ra A-mor mi

26
fa, per - ché guer - - - - -

29
- - - - - ra A - mor mi fa.

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for a vocal line and a basso continuo line. The score is divided into five systems, each with a measure number (17, 20, 23, 26, 29) at the beginning. The vocal line is in treble clef, and the basso continuo line is in bass clef. The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The music consists of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests and slurs. The basso continuo line includes some figured bass notation (6, 6, 6, 6) under measures 20-23. The score ends with a double bar line at measure 29.

propel the opera, while her many *scene di forza* prolong and stretch moments of dramatic tension.

Asteria's expression deepens and she becomes more emphatic in act 2. She suffers privately for what she believes to be Adrasto's treachery (II, 6) in a soliloquy that Scarlatti structured as a compound scene with a recitative and tiny cavata leading to an aria. In the first "Largo" section of the duple-meter aria "Morirò sì crudel, morirò," appropriately descending scale figures emphasize heavy, drooping minor thirds in C minor in both vocal line and basso continuo (Example 4.43). The aria is further weighted down by dotted rhythms and semitone sigh figures. The longer second section in a faster $\frac{3}{4}$ and G minor explores Asteria's fantasies of revenge, setting three lines of poetic text, "Ma furia

Example 4.42 Continued

The musical score consists of two systems. The first system (measures 8-10) features a vocal line in B-flat major with lyrics: "più cru-do il mio do-lor. Do-ve mi tras-se il". The bass line includes figured bass notation: #6, 6, #6, 6, #. The second system (measures 11-13) continues the vocal line with lyrics: "fa-to per tre-gua, per tre-gua del mio cor, per tre-gua del mio cor." The bass line includes figured bass notation: 6, 6, 6, ♭, 6, 6, ♯.

invisibile, / Ma spettro terribile / La pace del tuo cor agiterò.” Insistent running eighth notes in the bass line and short scalar melismas for the voice describe the “furia invisibile” and “spettro terribile” Asteria will become in order to haunt Adrasto after her suicide. This second section turns to B-flat major, however, when the music briefly imagines the inner “peace” that Asteria intends to destroy. A return of the first “Largo” section and ritornello close the scene.

Asteria’s aria text “Di Cocito larve orribili” (II, 18) was moved from III, 2 in the earlier Venetian libretto to this point in the Naples libretto, while an aria for Olinda was excised. Scarlatti’s aria (Example 4.44) calls for both strong declamatory singing and excellent breath control with melismas against the concitato figures in the violins. In the first section, Asteria invokes infernal specters to release her from love’s torment (A-major harmony here surely represents pungent, heightened emotion, rather than mere cheerfulness). The initial imitative entries for basso continuo and violins in the brief ritornello are emphatic with concitato dotted figures and repeated notes, before Asteria erupts into her a declamatory invocation on e”. Her baroque desperation is further exposed through the immediacy and sudden intimacy of her voice when the violins drop out to leave the voice supported only by concitato exclamations from the

Example 4.43 Alessandro Scarlatti, “Morirò sì crudel, morirò,” *Clearco in Negroponte II*, 6, I-MOe Mus.F.1054, fols. 69–70.

Aria
Largo

Asteria

Mo-ri-rò,

4 mo-ri-rò, si cru-del mo-ri-rò, si cru-del mo-ri-rò, cru-del mori-

7 rò, mo-ri-rò ma fu - ria_in - vi - si - bi-le,

11 ma fu - ria_in - vi - si - bi-le, ma spet - tro ter - ri - bi-le, ter-

16 ri - bi-le ca - pa - ce del tuo co - re a-gi-te-rò, a-gi-te-rò,

21 a - gi - te - rò, ca - pa - ce del tuo co - re a-gi-te - rò,

Example 4.43 Continued

26

a - gi - te - rò.

30 **Largo**

Mo-ri-rò, mo-ri-rò, si cru-del mo-ri -

32

rò, si cru-del mo-ri-rò, cru - del mo-ri-rò, mo-ri - rò.

6 16

35 **Ritornello**

46 6

38

6 43

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for a vocal line and a basso continuo line. The score is divided into five systems. The first system (measures 26-29) shows the vocal line with the lyrics 'a - gi - te - rò.' and the basso continuo line. The second system (measures 30-31) is marked 'Largo' and contains the lyrics 'Mo-ri-rò, mo-ri-rò, si cru-del mo-ri -'. The third system (measures 32-34) continues the lyrics 'rò, si cru-del mo-ri-rò, cru - del mo-ri-rò, mo-ri - rò.' and includes a '6 16' marking. The fourth system (measures 35-37) is marked 'Ritornello' and includes a '46 6' marking. The fifth system (measures 38-43) includes a '6 43' marking. The score uses a treble clef for the vocal line and a bass clef for the basso continuo line, with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C).

basso continuo. Asteria moves deeper into the realm of extreme emotion as the aria progresses, with rising leaps and scale figures against a contrary bass line in forceful dotted figures. The vocal line hammers at pitches in its upper tetra-chord, with repeated attacks on e" and f#". The melisma on "occupate" is pierced

Example 4.44 Alessandro Scarlatti, “Di Cocito larve orribili,” *Clearco in Negroponte* II, 18, I-MOe Mus.F.1054, fols. 96–98v.

Aria

Asteria

Di Co - ci-to lar - ve, or - ri - bi-li

8

voi que - st'a - ni-ma oc - cu - pa - te, lar-ve-or - ri - bi-li

Example 4.44 Continued

12

voi que-st'a - ni-ma_oc-cu - pa - te, voi que-st'a - ni-ma_oc-cu -

15

pa - te, que-st'a - ni-ma, que-st'a - ni-ma_oc-cu - pa -

19

- - te, oc-cu - pa - te, tor - men -

Example 4.44 Continued

23

ta - te-mi, a - gi - ta - te-mi, a - gi - ta - te-mi co,i pen-

27 **Largo**

sie-ri più ter - ri-bi-li, ter - ri-bi-li. Il fu-

31

nes-to vo - stro_o-no-re sul mio co-re sù ver-sa - - -

Example 4.44 Continued

34

te, sù ver-sa - te. Di Co - ci-to

6 # [Da Capo to Ritornello]

[Ritornello]

te.

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for a vocal piece. It consists of two systems. The first system has four staves: two vocal staves (soprano and alto) and two basso continuo staves. The music is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. The lyrics are 'te, sù ver-sa - te. Di Co - ci-to'. There are measure numbers 6 and # below the basso continuo staff, and a bracketed instruction '[Da Capo to Ritornello]'. The second system is labeled '[Ritornello]' and also has four staves. The lyrics 'te.' are under the second vocal staff. The music features a complex rhythmic pattern with many eighth and sixteenth notes.

by gasping rests as it unfolds through leaps and neighbor-note figures. The words “tormentatemi, agitatemi coi pensieri più terribili” occupy a brief melisma that pushes harmonic movement, before Asteria sings a strong octave leap while reiterating the forceful dotted rhythms heard first in the ritornello to unify the aria. The aria’s second section is a $\frac{6}{4}$ “Largo” with chromatic inflections and dramatic unaccompanied high notes sounding in conjunction with rests.

Asteria’s fury is powered by unmistakable sexual energy, but her scandalous dilemma reaches toward an unavoidable crisis at the opening of act 3. As a loyal daughter, Asteria is pledged to do as her father (Eurimede) wishes—she should marry the older King Clearco so that peace may prevail between Thebes and Corinth. But she simply cannot wed Clearco honestly because she is no virgin after her blind lovemaking with Adrasto at the start of the opera. Because Clearco would surely discover her lack of virginity on their wedding night, Asteria faces the seemingly inescapable horror of dishonoring her family and country. She buys time by dissembling in “Dolcissimo nodo / Soave catena,” a sweet duet with Clearco that opens act 3. Once Clearco departs, Asteria has the palace garden and two arias to herself. The first aria text, “Sol per mia sorte,” was added

for Naples and set by Scarlatti as a triple-meter (C_3^3) aria in B-flat major with violins. Because Asteria sings while resigned to a death by suicide, the harmonic underlining adds special poignancy at “dura morte.” In a second aria added for Naples, “So che di mia speranza,” in B minor and a slightly faster triple meter, the largely syllabic delivery of the poetry melts into a long melisma, though the vocal line also features an appropriately long-sustained pitch to represent “costanza” and showcase the soprano’s *messa di voce*.

Asteria prepares for suicide (III, 15) in a stage-set that mirrors the secret nature of her torment—a private room where a dagger and goblet of poison await on a table (“Gabinetti d’Asteria con Tavoliere, sopra il quale vi sarà un ferro, e un Vaso di Veleno”). Here the tortured heroine’s music reveals all her unspoken thoughts and feelings. The accompanied recitative in C major, “Orribile / Terribile,” initiates a compound scene (Example 4.45) with agitated sixteenth notes in the violins, reiterated *concitato* figures, and vocal arpeggios to convey Asteria’s desperation. The short aria section, “Dal regno di Ecate” (G major), begins with only basso continuo support for an eruption of furious declamation, drawing the audience into Asteria’s private imagining of what she perceives to be her demise. The brief “Agitata, tormentata dalle smanie” ($\frac{4}{4}$, G minor, with violins) again presents agitated figures in the orchestra. Sequences in the vocal line land, finally, in B-flat major, before the orchestra drops out as her fury dissolves into sad resignation. A recitative conveys Asteria from G major through harmonies of C major, E major, A minor, F major, and D minor to cadence V–I in A minor. The next scene begins suddenly when Adrasto rushes onstage. Asteria is stubbornly intent on suicide and brandishes the weapons of her destruction while singing a short “Presto” *cavata* in A major with only basso continuo accompaniment. A “*furioso*” bass line and insistent sixteenth-note rising and falling sequences accompany her breathlessly hurled accusation that she will die as the unhappy sacrifice of Adrasto’s cruelty. After listening to her full explanation (including fifteen poetic lines set as recitative), Adrasto finally recognizes Asteria as the princess he made love to in the dark, thanks to the unmistakable heat of womanly passion conveyed through her singing. He offers a reassuring *cavata*, “Ritorna a questo seno,” whose harmony moves predictably from G minor to B-flat major, before Asteria sings her final aria with violins, “Stringami, annodami” (C_4^3), in G minor with a middle section in the relative major. Now Asteria luxuriates in lyricism and beauty of tone, singing smoothly across an octave, *g’ to g’’*, to wash away her suffering—her first aria of this type in the opera.

Throughout *Clearco in Negroponte*, the comic nurse Filocla (tenor) offers antidotes to Asteria’s extreme affective registers. All but one of the scenes for Filocla were newly imagined for the Neapolitan production. Filocla’s first scene carefully exposes the central complication of the plot, namely, that Asteria and Adrasto are making love in the darkened bedroom beyond, while she keeps

Example 4.45 Alessandro Scarlatti, “Orribile, terribile,” *Clearco in Negroponte* III, 13 [III, 15 in libretto] I-MOe Mus.F.1054, fols. 132–133v.

Asteria

Or - ri - bi-le,

ter - ri - bi-le la par-ca sfor-tu-

na - ta, do - vrò mo - rir; non giun-ge an - co - ra, oh Di - o,

6 6 #6 4

Example 4.45 Continued

9 Aria

dal reg - no

11

d'E - ca - te, es - can - le fu - ri - e, e per ac -

13

co - glier - mi... Que - sto e l'ul - ti - mo is - tan - te, ah,

16

ma - le - det - to a - mor, per - fi - do a - man - te.

18

A - gi - ta - ta, tor - men - ta -

The musical score consists of four systems of vocal and piano parts. Each system includes a vocal line in a treble clef and a piano accompaniment in a bass clef. The key signature has one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The first system (measures 9-10) shows the vocal line starting with a whole rest followed by a quarter note G4, and the piano accompaniment with a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. The second system (measures 11-12) continues the vocal line with eighth notes and the piano accompaniment with a similar rhythmic pattern. The third system (measures 13-14) features a vocal line with a quarter rest followed by eighth notes, and the piano accompaniment with a more active eighth-note pattern. The fourth system (measures 16-17) shows the vocal line with quarter notes and the piano accompaniment with a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The fifth system (measures 18-19) features a vocal line with quarter notes and the piano accompaniment with a complex eighth-note pattern. Measure numbers 9, 11, 13, 16, and 18 are indicated at the beginning of their respective systems. A measure number 43 is also present at the end of the piano accompaniment line in the fourth system.

Example 4.45 Continued

20

ta, a-gi-ta-ta, tor-men-ta-ta del-le sma-ni-e.

22

Des-ti-no, non giun-ge l'em-pio an-co - ra. Ec-co-le, o ciel,

25

miei con-ci-ta-ti af-fet-ti com-po-ne-te, il sem-bian-te,

27

fran-ge quel cor di sas-so il dio vo-lan-te.

43

watch beneath ever heavier eyelids. Her first aria, “Certe belle stravaganti” (I, 2 in Naples, but I, 3 in the Venice libretto), is a typical whining servant’s complaint in G minor (C_4^6).⁴²¹ Formally a written-out ABA, it nevertheless closes with a ritornello for violins and basso continuo, perhaps to allow Filocla time for some comic shift of position or onstage gesticulation. Her second aria, “Non tentar più gl’occhi miei,” extends the same scene, but its primary A-major figure returns in the basso continuo to wake her up, mocking her sleepiness. She has trouble singing through the aria and finally nods off into sleep. Two comic scenes for

⁴²¹ “Certe belle stravaganti” set by Scarlatti in I-MOe, Mus.F.1054, fols. 4v–5v; and by Gabrielli in I-MOe, Mus.F.424, fols. 9–10.

Filocla and Ismeno (both tenors) in II, 7 and II, 8 were added in Naples, providing a strong contrast to Asteria's "Morirò" (II, 6) such that Asteria's desperation stands out all the more. They also separate Asteria from Alcidamia and Aceste, whose roles were diminished in Naples compared to the Venetian libretto and the Gabrielli score.

Adrasto, Asteria's secret lover, becomes the go-between for her father, Eurimede, and King Clearco. He weaves through the opera dissembling but often hopelessly confused, emerging as a prince buffeted by twists of circumstance. Asteria's extremes shine forth ever more boldly against his gentle masculinity and smooth musical surface. Any listener would recognize vocal beauty as Adrasto's essential characteristic throughout the opera; this makes sense especially if the role was originally imagined for Grossi (and then transposed from alto to soprano range for the new singer). Adrasto's "Largo" aria in B minor with violins, "Lacci del mio destin" (I, 4), for example, provides an ocean of pretty but melancholy calm before Asteria's high-energy "Muto spoglie, e vesto l'armi." "Lacci del mio destin" opens with a slowly descending minor bass tetrachord, while the opening melodic figure in the vocal line rises and falls with a resignation that sweetens when sustained notes on "dolce" underline the poetic text and describe Adrasto himself. Adrasto is wistfully sweet again in "Occhi da voi mi parto" ($\frac{6}{4}$, B-flat major, accompanied only by the basso continuo). The voice maintains a high tessitura with beautifully unfolding melismas and a sustained high note for the *messa di voce*. Adrasto's "Messaggero son di pace" (C $\frac{6}{8}$, F major) is a virtuoso aria accompanied by flashy writing for two violin parts that closes act I with energetic rays of hope (Example 4.46). The vocal line shows off a variety of melismatic figures as well as sustained notes that would expose beauty of tone with control of breath and intonation. Here melismas are both supported by and sung against the violin counterpoint, conveying Adrasto's new diplomatic responsibility as the speedy "messenger" whose aim is to establish peace between warring rulers. The echo effects and motivic exchange among the parts might suggest the ringing bells that would typically announce an early modern peace treaty. The text of "Messaggero son di pace" replaced the aria "Quanto facile ad ingannarsi" from the earlier Venetian libretto, an aria that merely would have prolonged Adrasto's resigned mood. The new aria as set by Scarlatti provides a buoyant finish to act I.

Adrasto and Asteria meet again in II, 5, and, here too, Adrasto fails to recognize her as his lover or validate her feelings. The brief first section of his aria ($\frac{4}{4}$, A minor), "Se devo amar io voglio amar chi voglio," perhaps intentionally conveys impatient shallowness, though Adrasto explains in its longer C-major, triple-meter second section that he is adrift in a "sea of feeling," his melismas and leaps illustrating his "genio vagante" while smooth repeated quarter-note figures at the top of his range insist that his loving soul is not a rock that can

Example 4.46 Continued

11

ra, ed ho guer -

14

ra in mez - zo al cor. _____

17

Ad E - ni - o

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for three systems. Each system consists of four staves: two vocal staves (Soprano and Alto) and two piano accompaniment staves (Right and Left Hand). The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor). The first system (measures 11-13) features a vocal line with lyrics 'ra, ed ho guer -' and piano accompaniment with sixteenth-note patterns. The second system (measures 14-16) continues the vocal line with lyrics 'ra in mez - zo al cor. _____' and piano accompaniment. The third system (measures 17-19) features a vocal line with lyrics 'Ad E - ni - o' and piano accompaniment. The score includes various musical notations such as treble and bass clefs, time signatures, and dynamic markings.

Example 4.46 Continued

20

smor-zo la fa - - - - - ce

23

e al mio sen

26

l'ac-cen-de a-mor, e al mio sen

Example 4.46 Continued

29

l'ac - cen - de a - mor.

32

Mes - sag - ge - ro, mes - sag - ge - ro son di pa -

36

- ce ed ho guer - - - ra,

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for three systems. Each system consists of four staves: two vocal staves (Soprano and Alto/Tenore) and two piano accompaniment staves (Right and Left Hand). The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor). The first system starts at measure 29 and includes the lyrics 'l'ac - cen - de a - mor.' The second system starts at measure 32 and includes the lyrics 'Mes - sag - ge - ro, mes - sag - ge - ro son di pa -'. The third system starts at measure 36 and includes the lyrics '- ce ed ho guer - - - ra,'. The piano accompaniment features complex rhythmic patterns, including sixteenth and thirty-second notes.

Example 4.46 Continued

40

ed ho guer - - - - ra

43

in mez-zo_al cor, ed ho guer - - -

46

- - ra in mez-zo_al cor.

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for three systems. Each system consists of four staves: two vocal staves (soprano and alto) and two instrumental staves (violin and cello/bass). The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor). The first system (measures 40-42) features a vocal line with lyrics 'ed ho guer - - - - ra' and a complex instrumental accompaniment. The second system (measures 43-45) continues the vocal line with lyrics 'in mez-zo_al cor, ed ho guer - - -' and the instrumental accompaniment. The third system (measures 46-48) concludes the vocal line with lyrics '- - ra in mez-zo_al cor.' and the instrumental accompaniment. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

withstand the attacks of beauty. Adrasto, still convinced that the disguised Olinda, a beautiful girl wearing Asteria's clothes, was his lover, embraces her (II, 10) only to be violently pushed away by a disgusted Olinda (who is really his sister, though neither knows this truth). The soliloquy following this rejection finds him ready to give anything (gems pulled from the depths of the Ganges,

precious metals from the Tagus) for a kiss from the phantom lady who (he thinks) eludes him. In “A piegar d’un arciera pupilla” ($\frac{4}{4}$, A major), his desire to offer (“cortese offrirò”) and pour out (“versare”) such rare offerings is expressed in extended, mostly conjunct melismas that generously flow at the top of his range (including his g^\sharp).

Scarlatti’s brilliant music performed within beautiful stage sets by a stellar cast of talented singers made *Clearco in Negroponte* hugely successful in Naples. But beyond its value as entertainment, the opera accomplished political work for Carpio on the occasion of the widowed queen mother’s birthday. Asteria’s arias construct a determined heroine whose emotional force finally secures peace for her country—an appropriate political message for the occasion, especially following the Hapsburg victory at Buda, reflecting the queen mother’s own history. Asteria is a passionate, sexually alive woman whose virtue resides in her determination, never mind her lost virginity. Scarlatti’s musical argument in support of feminine independence and valor was surely meant to flatter Mariana. Recall that a barely nubile Mariana de Austria was married off to her older uncle, Philip IV, while Scarlatti’s Asteria projects an emancipated heroine allowed to choose her lover and avoid marrying Clearco, the older man her father had chosen for her.

Clearco in Negroponte celebrates female agency and sexual choice, fitting the pattern Carpio had already established consistently in Madrid, Rome, and, to some extent, Naples. He offered *Fineza contra fineza* in Rome in 1682 as a birthday gift with epithalamic encouragement for his strong-willed niece, Lorenza de la Cerda, upon her marriage to Filippo Colonna. *Fineza’s* feminist argument about the power of sexual love is echoed in *Clearco in Negroponte*;⁴²² indeed, the 1686 opera rejects celibacy through Asteria’s arias proclaiming desire as intrinsic to womanly success. In this way, *Clearco* also resembles Carpio’s most important Madrid production, *Celos aun del aire matan*. Given the association forged in Madrid between musical theater and dynastic occasions (operas for royal marriages, semi-operas for royal birthdays), and the fact that in the Hidalgo operas sexual desire felt by a character of either gender was voiced exclusively by very young actresses, Spanish lyrical song as erotic persuasion onstage always poured forth from female vessels. In the Naples operas for the Mariana’s birthday, including *Clearco in Negroponte*, the womanly protagonists sing about sexual desire with particular urgency, while the womanly voice (donna voce) with its warmer timbre distinguished them in casts dominated by castrati. Asteria’s voice and passionate feminine extremes in *Clearco in Negroponte* might

⁴²² An interpretation of the play within the Calderonian system is put forth in Thomas Austin O’Connor, “The Grammar of Calderonian Honor,” *The Golden Age Comedia: Text, Theory, and Performance*, ed. Charles Ganelin and Howard Mancing (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1994), 141–416.

be considered an aural equivalent to the kind of heat considered necessary for procreation. Within Carpio's politics of production, the association between sexually charged female song and Mariana de Austria had become conventional. After all, he had been the producer of the very first Spanish zarzuelas and semi-operas designed to entertain and stimulate Mariana when she was expected to conceive and carry the royal offspring. For Mariana's 1685 birthday, clever and sexually active Olimpia triumphs over the deceptive but charmingly powerful Bireno in Carpio's production of Scarlatti's *Olimpia vendicata*. In 1686, *Clearco in Negroponte* offered generous praise to the long-widowed Mariana as the fertile woman who had managed to conceive and give birth to the king himself (a singularly important achievement given the crisis of the Spanish succession).

Il Roderico

The third opera of the 1686–87 season in Naples, *Il Roderico*, received its premiere in the sala grande at the viceroy's palace on 1 February with subsequent public performances at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo continuing to the end of carnival.⁴²³ The first iteration of the *Roderico* libretto by Giovanni Battista Bottalino had been produced in Milan in 1684 with music by Carlo Francesco Pollarolo; libretti also document prior productions in Bologna, Mantua, Reggio Emilia (as *L'Anagilde overo Il Rodrigo*), and Livorno. It may be that the 1687 Genoa production preceded the Neapolitan one.⁴²⁴ Many aria texts are shared among the *Roderico* libretti, but the Naples libretto does not duplicate any of the other versions, though its reading seems closest, however, to that for the 1684 production at the Regio Teatro in Milan. This is hardly surprising, given that the Milan libretto is dedicated to and was produced for the Spanish governor, Juan Tomás Enriquez y Cabrera, Count of Melgar, Carpio's brother-in-law.⁴²⁵

In light of its proximity to the Hapsburg reconquest and 1686 victory at Buda, and its dedication to Carpio (who surely learned about the opera in the first place from his friend, Melgar), it is significant that *Il Roderico* loosely treats an episode from medieval Iberian history from the early years of Iberian *Reconquista*. The plot, full of treachery and dizzying amorous complication, is set at a Spanish royal court in Toledo presided over by Roderico (Roderic, the last Visigoth to have ruled from Toledo). As the *argomento* explains, after

⁴²³ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 101, fol. 77, 4 February 1687.

⁴²⁴ The *Roderico* / *Sancio* / *Anagilda* / *Anagilde* libretti and their derivation from Spanish and Italian sources are explored in Armando Fabio Ivaldi, "Sancio, ovvero gli equivoci nel sembiante," in *Spagna e dintorni*, ed. Maria Teresa Cacho, Maria Grazia Profeti, et al., *Commedia aurea spagnola e pubblico italiano* 4 (Florence: Alinea, 2000), 264–304.

⁴²⁵ See the 1687 Naples libretto, I-MOe, 90.A.39/4, which I have compared to others including I-MOe, 83.F.27/2 from Milan, 1684; see Sartori 20071 and 20075 and comparisons in Ivaldi, "Sancio."

his brother's death, the tyrant Roderico ruled as regent for his young nephew, Sancio (Sancho), whom he had tried to poison. The child survived thanks to the protection of his valiant mother, the widowed Anagilda (note here the strong resemblance between the opera's story and the regency of Queen Mariana between the death of Philip IV and the marriage of Carlos II to Marie-Louise d'Orleans). In order to regain their kingdom and overthrow Roderico, Anagilda and Sancio set out for North Africa to plead for military assistance from Ulit, the Moorish king. They are reported to have perished in a shipwreck (each believes the other dead), but, in fact, Anagilda reaches Ulit while Sancio is rescued by a fisherman and returns to a forest near Toledo, hiding in disguise as a shepherd. Ulit is attracted to Anagilda and provides his army for the planned overthrow of Roderico, while Zilauro, a noble Tunisian formerly loved by Anagilda, desires Florinda, the daughter of Giuliano, the Christian Prince of Algeciras. Roderico insists on forcing himself on Florinda, who spurns him (I, 12); enraged, he orders his guards to seize her. All of the serious characters develop motives to seek revenge and the downfall of Roderico. But the opera is not without surprises and humor amid the intrigue and threatened violence. As his enemies converge, Roderico flees and attempts to hide in the forest, only to encounter Sancio, who recognizes him. The two exchange clothes (II, 11), such that Sancio unexpectedly gains possession of the regal mantle and his rightful diadem, while Rodrigo continues his flight dressed as a shepherd. Believed to be Roderico, Sancio is then arrested and blindfolded by Ulit and his soldiers (II, 12), until Anagilda arrives to challenge Sancio-as-Roderico to a duel, only to remove his blindfold and make the joyful discovery that the prisoner is really her son, Sancio, alive and well (II, 13). Ulit sighs with love for Anagilda (II, 14), Sancio for Florinda (II, 21). Florinda first jealously loves Zilauro (II, 16–17), which provokes a confrontation with Anagilda, but relinquishes him when she and Sancio rekindle their love. Zilauro is wounded in a first duel with Roderico (II, 6), as Florinda and Anagilda attempt to revive him and engage in a jealous confrontation (II, 9). Florinda realizes she cannot be equally in love with both Zilauro and Sancio (III, 4); Anagilda and Ulit confess their love (III, 6). Roderico, still at large, twice disguises himself as a Moorish slave (III, 1 and III, 13). He also disguises himself as a statue and plants himself in a palace garden in order to spy on Florinda (III, 7–9) during her nocturnal encounters with Zilauro and then Sancio. Still disguised as a Moorish slave, Roderico hatches a plan with an anonymous letter stating that he who loves Florinda is actually planning to murder her. Don Giuliano declares that the rivals for Florinda's affection should settle matters in a joust (III, 13). Ulit has won the heart of Anagilda (III, 15–16). Zilauro, on horseback, prepares to joust with his rival; Roderico throws off his disguise to declare himself Zilauro's actual rival, until Sancio brings the action to a halt (III, 22). Roderico kneels,

confessing his authorship of the dastardly anonymous letter. Sancio declares his intention to marry Florinda and grant half of the kingdom to his penitent uncle, Roderico. Two servant characters, Lesbia and Bubo, provide salacious comic relief and commentary throughout the opera, especially in a comparatively large number of fully comic scenes that directly parody the affairs of the serious characters.⁴²⁶ The libretto required no machines or special visual effects beyond standard sets and perspective scenery.

Only four unique aria texts are introduced into the Naples libretto (compared to the libretti for other productions). Two of them, “A dispetto di fortuna” (II, 5) and “Vieni dolce speranza” (II, 14), expand the role of Ulit, the Moorish king, while the other two enhance the roles of Zilauro, “Chi pensa di farmi piangere” (II, 19), and Florinda, “Ricordati [o] cara di chi fai morir” (III, 8). A full score has not been located for this production, but extant musical settings of aria texts from *Il Roderico* drawn from the Naples libretto are found as arie staccate in three Neapolitan manuscript anthologies.⁴²⁷ One of these, I-Nc, 60.1.55 [Arie 211] contains arias from operas performed in the 1686–87 Naples season.⁴²⁸ Though unusual for such collections of arie staccate, the arias copied into these anthologies are not all notated with soprano clef, so they may offer clues about the opera’s casting. For example, in I-Nc, Arie 211, three of the four arias for the role of Ulit are notated in alto clef, while all of the arias for the role of Roderico are notated in tenor clef in all three manuscripts. Roderico, the usurper, is assigned a full nine arias in the Naples libretto despite being a tenor role. The Naples libretto assigns Florinda eleven arias and two duets, the highest number of any character. Perhaps the production again featured Ana Graziosi (who presumably had just triumphed as Asteria in *Clearco in Negroponte*) and/or Margherita Neri Bonzi (see below). Among Florinda’s arias, the forceful F-major “Taci, che in van pretende di far guerra” in $1\frac{2}{8}$ (I, 6), which was probably fully-scored in performance, stands out for its triplet melismas and long-held note for the messa di voce. Likewise, “Armisi la vendetta in questo cor” is a substantial virtuoso aria. Appendix 3 includes a list of the roles, ranges, and number of arias, as well as a possible cast.

⁴²⁶ Ivaldi, “Sancio,” 288–90, provides an excellent summary of the plot’s complications.

⁴²⁷ I-Nc, 60.1.55 [Arie 211; Cantate Ibride 21], which also contains arias from *Clearco in Negroponte*; I-Nc, 33.4.10 [Cantate 47]; and I-Nc, 33.3.7 [Cantate 56]; see Amato, “Le antologie di arie e cantate,” 2:22–25, 52–63, 267–71. Like many other anthologies, these were not designed to be used as performance scores, but may well have been copied from performance scores or parts. Aria anthologies were generally for study, domestic use, or as collectors’ souvenirs.

⁴²⁸ Amato, “Le antologie di arie e cantate,” 269, explains that the principal scribe copied in forty-three arias from *Clearco in Negroponte* and forty-two from *Il Roderico*.

Tutto il mal: A Private Opera in 1686 or 1687

An additional opera was produced privately at some point in 1686 or 1687 in Naples. This is suggested by music for a small-scale sung prologue included in a little-known partially autograph Scarlatti manuscript score for *Tutto il mal che vien, non vien per nuocere*.⁴²⁹ The music of the prologue appears to have been added at some point at the front of an already existing manuscript score for *Tutto il mal che vien, non vien per nuocere*.⁴³⁰ In performance, this prologue would not require elaborate machines, and its text does not mention the Spanish sovereigns, so it looks to be designed for a private palace revival. Given the names mentioned in the text, it must have been composed while Carpio was alive and during a period in which the singers whose names are penned into the manuscript were performing in Naples. *Tutto il mal* was produced as *Dal male il bene* with an elaborately staged prologue for the December 1687 birthday of the queen mother, immediately following Carpio's death and during Colonna's short interim viceroyalty.⁴³¹ Most likely, the production staged in December 1687 was designed first for Carpio.⁴³² The musical prologue (I-MC, 6-B-2a, fols. 3–8) led by the comic Tilla has the character of an affectionate homage and does not carry the same text as the elaborate prologue printed in the libretto for the December 1687 *Dal male il bene* dedicated to Colonna.

⁴²⁹ I-MC, 6-B-2a; see *Il Fondo Musicale dell'Archivio di Montecassino*, ed. Giovanni Insom (Montecassino, Abbazia di Montecassino-Istituto di Bibliografia Musicale, 2003), 1064. Lorenz, *Alessandro Scarlatti's Jugendoper*, 1:68–69; Griffin, “Nuove fonti,” 210–11. I am extremely grateful to Valeria De Lucca and Rosalind Halton for kindly sharing their photographs of this important source with me.

⁴³⁰ *Tutto il mal che vien, non vien per nuocere* was first performed Rome, 1681, with revivals Ancona 1683, Siena 1683, Ravenna 1685, Florence 1686, Naples 1687 (as *Dal male il bene*), and Rimini 1694. I-MC, 6-B-2a is a partially autograph score including the rubrics and the new prologue here under consideration. Another score, D-Bs, Mus.ms. 19643, has been unavailable to me. Olindo's first aria (I, 1), “Luci belle, che siete d'Amore,” survives in an undated autograph page from an otherwise lost manuscript, in US-NYpm, Mary Flagler Cary Music Collection, S286.T967 (Cary 328); arias from the opera are included in F-Pn, RES VMF MS-134; US-Su Rare Books ML96.S33 T8; I-Nc, 60.1.57 [Arie 229]; I-Nc, 33.4.10; I-Nc, 33.5.17; and I-Nc, 34.5.1ter; other fragments, copies, and arias in anthologies are noted in Rostirolla, “Catalogo generale delle opere di Alessandro Scarlatti,” 334–35; Dubowy and Fabris, “Scarlatti”; Lindgren and Murata, *The Barberini Manuscripts of Music*, 186–87.

⁴³¹ *Dal male il bene. Melodrama da rappresentarsi nel Regal Palazzo per lo giorno natalitio della maestà di Marianna d'Austria reina delle Spagne* (Naples: Domenico Antonio Parrino and Michele Luigi Mutii, 1687); Sartori 07048; I-Bu, A.V.Tab.I.F.III.38.4.

⁴³² De Lucca, *The Politics*, 293 and 296, suggests: “There are good reasons to believe that Colonna might have relied on Carpio's choices when it came to the opera that was produced to celebrate the birthday of Queen Mariana of Austria, mother of King Carlos II of Spain, in December 1687.” Moreover, “Colonna could not have had much time to choose the opera and cast the singers, having arrived in Naples just three weeks before the performance, and that once again, he might have relied on Carpio's choices, or at least on the efficient system of opera production Carpio had put in place, to fulfil his duties as viceroy.”

Unsurprisingly, the poetic content of Scarlatti's manuscript musical prologue relates directly to the production issues posed early in the 1686–87 season. Tilla, the cross-dressed tenor (Doralba's old servant in *Tutto il mal / Dal male il bene*), stands in a garden amid statues.⁴³³ Known as "a famous witch" (*strega famosa*), she is casting a spell with her magic wand because "Don Sebastiano" (Carpio's mayordomo Sebastián de Villareal) is "in fretta." Trying to organize an opera in a hurry, he has called for her assistance. She sings an incantation, hoping to make the musicians on her list appear immediately, "per aria." Invoking Plutone for aid, she sings the names on the list:

Parabita, e Scarlatti.
L'Aquilano e Paoluccio,
Margherita, il Ragazzo, e Matteuccio.

At first, when the musicians fail to materialize, Tilla laments:

Ma tempo non ci resta
e dubito ch'al fine
la comedia farò con queste statue.

Time is short, the dame and cavalieri are already assembled in the theater, and "il Grand'Haro" (an obvious reference to Carpio) is just arriving as well. Suddenly, the statues spring to life and sing "here we are!" in a brief chorus. The notated music for the chorus is rubricated with abbreviated names of the singers penned next to their interventions, "Margherita," "Paoluccio," "Matteuccio," "Nicolini," "L'Aquilano." The sudden blast from the singing statues knocks Tilla to the floor, and she faints ("qui cade la vecchia spaventata"). "Il Ragazzo" (Nicolini) sings a brief solo, followed by "Margherita," who explains that, in homage to "il Grand'Haro," even statues come to life, their voices infused by the power of "Guzmán, light of the heroes" ("Guzmán sol degl'eroi"). An aria, "D'un tal sol nel cielo Ibero, parla il Tago el Manzanares," apparently sung by Margherita, praises Carpio and explains that the statues are alive to sing of his glory. A short recitative locates the prologue "on this humble stage," before the singers conclude with a chorus of "Viva, viva il Grand'Haro, viva viva."

Because the manuscript's cover features the coat of arms of the Maddaloni family, earlier scholars speculated that this manuscript might contain a version

⁴³³ After Carpio's death, parts of his theater and related objects were included in an inventory of his possessions. The libretto to *Dal male il bene* calls for standard sets—Città, giardino, anticamera—whose components were included in the inventory. But eight other inventoried objects, the "8 figure con tornate de pinte... per la commedia da farsi," might have been devised for the prologue with the statues.

of the opera produced at the Maddaloni palace during Carpio's tenure.⁴³⁴ But the undated manuscript obviously contains more than one layer and could well have been bound into this cover and incorporated into a Carafa library at any time. Rubrics on the pages of the prologue indicate that it must have been performed when all of the singers whose names it mentions were active in Naples prior to Carpio's death. The soprano Margherita Neri Bonzi "detta Bonsini" (also Bonzini), "armónica florentina en el Teatro de Nápoles año 1686," sang in Naples in 1686 and may have departed for her native Florence on Ash Wednesday, following the 1686 carnival.⁴³⁵ But she likely returned for the next season and certainly sang in Naples in later years.⁴³⁶ Besci "Paoluccio" resigned his chapel position in summer 1686, but apparently did not leave Naples definitively until at least 25 January 1687. The Neapolitan castrati Matteo Sassano "Matteuccio" and Grimaldi "Nicolini," "il ragazzo," both sang in the Royal Chapel and performed in Scarlatti's serenata, *L'Olimpo in Mergellina*, in August and September 1686 (see above). Nicolini had also performed a small role as the page, Armillo, in the summer 1685 production of Provenzale's *Difendere l'offensore ovvero La Stellidaura vendicante*. Both sang in Naples in subsequent years. The tenor Domenico del Vecchio "detto Parabita" became part of the Neapolitan chapel in 1674 and was called to Madrid in 1678; he returned to Naples in 1684, resumed his position in the chapel, and sang in the 1686 serenata *L'Olimpo in Mergellina* as well. The activities of the alto castrato Domenico Melchiorre, known as "L'Aquilano" (also Domenico Aquilano), are as yet undocumented in this early period, though he was paid for singing in the royal chapel in November and December 1687, so he may well have been in Naples during the preceding season, especially given Villareal y Gamboa's efforts to recruit a replacement for Grossi in October 1686 (see above).⁴³⁷ The role of Tilla would surely have been sung by Domenico di

⁴³⁴ Lorenz, *Alessandro Scarlatti's Jugendoper*, 1:68–69 drew attention to the Carafa coat of arms and mention of Carpio in the prologue: Griffin, "Nuove fonti," 210–11, suggested a date of October or November 1684 because an avviso of 4 November 1684 notes that an opera was performed at the Duke of Maddaloni's palace; my research suggests, to the contrary, that this privately produced opera at the Maddaloni palace was a rifacimento of *La Tessalonica* (see above). In any case, Griffin's suggestion that Paolo Pompeo Besci "Paoluccio" (named in the prologue of I-MC, 6-B-2a, fols. 4–8) departed Naples in the spring of 1685 is incorrect. See also, De Lucca, *The Politics*, 295–96.

⁴³⁵ Rubrics to this effect are attached to two laudatory poems about Margherita by Carpio's secretary, Juan Vélez de León, in E-Mn, MS 2100, fols. 106v–107 and 112v–113.

⁴³⁶ She sang as Arpalice to Nicolini's Lisardo in Scarlatti's *Gerone, tiranno di Siracusa* (Naples, 1692) for the queen mother's birthday (libretto I-Bu, A.V.Tab.I.E.III.29a.3; Sartori 11570); see arias in I-Mc, MS 5-F-4f, fols. 69r–73r, and I-Mc, MS 5-F-4g, fols. 75r–80r; I-MOe, MS Mus.G.293, fols. 47–48; she sang as Teodata in Scarlatti's *Flavio Cuniberto* (Naples, 1693), which also featured Nicolini and Matteuccio; see Lindgren and Murata, *The Barberini Manuscripts*, 121–28 for details of V-CVbav, Barb. lat. 4144 and arias for this production, some of which carry rubrics with the singers' names; she sang with Nicolini again in Scarlatti's *Didone delirante* (Naples, 1696), according to Domínguez Rodríguez, *Roma, Nápoles, Madrid*, 302–3, 319–20.

⁴³⁷ De Lucca, *The Politics*, 296, contributes this valuable observation and reference: L'Aquilano "received a payment for these two months as 'musicista della Real Cappella' on 15 March"; I-Nasbn, Banco di S. Giacomo, volume di bancali estinte, 15 March 1688: "A compimento dei detti 14 per il suo soldo

Gennaro, a reliable specialist in such comic travesti roles who had been recruited for Carpio's first seasons and continued in his salaried chapel position.

An operatic prologue designed for a private audience could suit various occasions. On 10 February 1685, for example, Carpio entertained the Marquis de Cogolludo (Luis Francisco de la Cerda y Aragón, Carpio's nephew by his first marriage) and his wife with a private opera (*comedia secreta*) at the palace soon after their arrival in the city.⁴³⁸ It is unlikely that this prologue and *Tutto il mal* were performed on this date, however, because all of the singers named by Tilla were not yet engaged in Naples. Carpio's birthday, the birthdays of his wife and daughter, and visits by opera-loving dignitaries also might have been celebrated with a private opera performance, but two significant dates in 1686 and 1687 seem the most probable, given the prologue's direct homage.⁴³⁹ The description of "Don Sebastiano" and his "fretta" might point toward autumn 1686 when Sebastián de Villareal y Gamboa was indeed writing anxious letters in late October in a hurried attempt to recruit excellent singers to replace those who had dropped out (notably, the alto Grossi and the tenor Canavese). It may be that this prologue and a revision of Scarlatti's *Tutto il mal che vien, non vien per nuocere* were performed at the palace on 6 November 1686 for the king's birthday. As I have pointed out above, though *Il Nerone* was meant for this date, it was not yet ready because singers for principal roles were still missing just the week before the royal birthday and Scarlatti would need to revise once new singers arrived. Confuorto's chronicle does not mention an opera on 6 November 1686 but does

servito di mesi due novembre e dicembre 1687." He formed part of the royal chapel in 1690, according to a document presented in Olivieri, "Per una storia," 247; and in 1691, according to Maione, "Il mondo musicale," 321. He sang in two 1696 serenatas by Scarlatti, *Venere, Adone et Amore* and *Il Genio di Partenope, la Gloria del Sebeto, il piacere di Mergellina* according to Domínguez Rodríguez, *Roma, Nápoles, Madrid*, 163; Alessandro Scarlatti, *Venere, Adone, et Amore, original version, Naples 1696 and revised version, Rome 1706*, ed. Rosalind Halton (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2009), x, xix, provides further information; L'Aquilano's range as Amore in this serenata was mainly *c'-d'* (with one *g*). Sartori, *I libretti*, vol. 6, "Indice dei Cantanti," 27, lists roles for Aquilano in Naples in 1705 and 1706. He sang in the Royal Chapel in 1708, according to I-Nas, Cappellano Maggiore Diversi, 1161, quoted in Olivieri, "The Fiery Genius," 218; Guido Olivieri, "Tra Napoli e Vienna, musicisti e organici strumentali nel Viceregno Austriaco (1707–1736)," *Analecta Musicologica* 32 (2002): 178–80; and belonged to the chapel in 1708 and as late as 1722, according to Ralf Krause, "Das musikalische Panorama am Neapolitanischen Hofe: zur Real Cappella di Palazzo im Frühen 18. Jahrhundert," in *Studien zur italienischen Musikgeschichte*, ed. Friedrich Lippmann (Regensburg: Laaber, 1998), 1:275, 279–80, 289.

⁴³⁸ See I-Nas, *Maggiordomia maggiore*, IV inv., *cerimoniale* 1483, fol. 108v, transcribed in Antonelli, ed., *Ceremoniale*, 384. It may be that this opera was a performance of the 1685 carnival opera, *Il Galieno*.

⁴³⁹ Unspecified festivities at the palace were held for Carpio's birthday celebration on 1 June 1687; as reported in *avvisi*, he hosted visits in May 1686 from the opera-loving Duke of Mantua (Ferdinando Carlo Gonzaga); in June 1686 from the Duchess of Bracciano (Marie-Anne de La Tremoille), who had already sponsored an opera by Scarlatti (*L'Arsate*) in Rome, 1683; the opera-loving Duke of Modena (Francesco II D'Este) visited Carpio and Naples in late January and early February 1687 (see above); and the Marquis de Cogolludo returned to Naples after a trip to Spain in May 1687.

report that the nobility gathered with Carpio at the palace to celebrate the royal birthday (as protocol demanded).⁴⁴⁰ The November 1686 avvisi register considerable confusion not only about the dates of opera performances but also about the opera titles. An avviso of 5 November indicates that an opera was in preparation for the king's birthday but offers no title. An avviso of 12 November explains that because this opera was far from ready, it was put off until the following Sunday.⁴⁴¹ In the end, *Il Nerone* did not receive its premiere until 21 November. Meanwhile, an avviso of 19 November explains that its final rehearsals and premiere would follow the same procedures as those followed for "the other one [the other opera] already mentioned" ("l'altra avisata"). The prova (dress rehearsal) would take place at the house of the Marquise de Cogolludo, followed by a palace premiere on the coming Thursday. My hypothesis is that the "other opera" performed privately "at the beginning of this month" (i.e., for the royal birthday) at the palace to entertain the assembled nobility might well have been *Tutto il mal che vien, non vien per nuocere*. It would have been easier to perform than *Il Nerone* because it called for only seven singers, rather than the nine required for *Il Nerone*. Given its age and circulation, one or more of the assembled singers may already have known arias or an entire role from *Tutto il mal*. Further, whereas *Tutto il mal* required only standard sets (Cortile, Camera, Giardino, Cortile, Anticamera, Teatro) and no machines, the Naples 1686 libretto for *Il Nerone* calls for a complicated scene-within-a-scene staging of a mythological episode for Endimione and Cintia (goddess of the moon), in which Cintia descends, observes Endimione while hovering on the machine, steps off the machine, and then ascends on the machine, all within a specially lighted "Notturna con Monte Latino." This is followed by an episode in Venus' garden ("Giardino di Venere") for Vulcano, Bronte, Venere, and Marte. All of this mythological action (III, 4–9) takes place while some of the opera's other characters watch from their onstage palchetti.⁴⁴² It is especially significant that partly-sung comedias involving just these mythological episodes were among those Carpio had produced in Madrid.

Another possible occasion for a private revival of *Tutto il mal che vien, non vien per nuocere* with this prologue might be 6 November 1687, precisely because the avvisi do not supply any report of an opera performance at the palace for this royal birthday. Carpio was exceedingly ill by this date—his health had been declining since August though doctors had been trying their best to cure him. On the 6 November royal birthday, he nevertheless hosted a gathering at the palace for his court and the nobility (apparently while reclined on a bed

⁴⁴⁰ Confuorto, *Giornali*, 1:164.

⁴⁴¹ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 100, fol. 527 (5 November 1686), fol. 559 (12 November), 584 (19 November).

⁴⁴² Gesine Manuwald, *Nero in Opera, Librettos as Transformations of Ancient Sources* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 62–65, provides a detailed plot synopsis.

or cot).⁴⁴³ Given his enthusiasm for opera and Scarlatti's music, the "magical" powers praised by Tilla in Scarlatti's prologue, and the fact that the singers could well have been learning *Tutto il mal* because it was scheduled for a December performance as *Dal male il bene*, it seems entirely likely that *Tutto il mal* was performed for an elite invited audience at the palace to honor Carpio and raise his spirits one last time. Carpio's letters suggest that he was feeling better at the beginning of November, but he died on 16 November just before dawn.⁴⁴⁴ Don Sebastiano's "fretta" mentioned in the text of the prologue would indeed have been wholly explicable in this circumstance.

The musical adjustments visible in the undated bound score for *Tutto il mal che vien, non vien per nuocere* (I-MC, 6-B-2a) fit well with the notion that the opera was performed in 1686 or 1687 by the singers whose abbreviated names are rubricated into the prologue and mentioned by Tilla. There is music in Scarlatti's hand for a new sinfonia and prologue, as well as autograph markings and interpolations in the notation of the opera proper. These clearly signal adaptation for the new cast named in the prologue. Six additional substitute arias are sewn or copied into the score in a hand different from that of the original musical notation (these might be autograph as well).

Tilla is a comic tenor in the prologue, though the role was notated first as a soprano role in the original layer of the opera's score. A simple octave transposition would bring Tilla into the tenor range. Presumably, Di Gennaro sang as Tilla, given his continued activity in Naples and reliable success in comic vecchia roles. The role of Olindo, originally for a tenor, became a soprano role in the revival; three new replacement arias for Olindo are sewn into the volume: "Tanti rai" at folios 29–30 (range *g'* to *a*"), "Ma pur sento" at folio 37–37v (range *g'* to *g''*), and "Diro il ver" (range *f#'* to *a*") at folios 60–61. The high range and melodic gestures in the vocal writing in these new Olindo arias, with both sustained notes for the messa di voce and busy fioriture, look particularly suitable for Besci (the high castrato "Paoluccio" named in the prologue).⁴⁴⁵ Another replacement aria for a male soprano is included for Celiodoro's "Certi raggi" at folios 51–52 (range mostly *f'* to *f''*, but with one quick *a*"), so this role could have been assigned to either Sassano or Nicolini (see below). Further evidence of revision for a new cast is conveyed by the rubrics for transposition here and there in the original layer of the manuscript. For example, Doralba's aria "Fingere di non amare" is marked "un

⁴⁴³ V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 102, avvisi and letters from 23 September 1687 to 16 November 1687, fols. 230, 246, 255, 312, 345, 354, 357.

⁴⁴⁴ The course of Carpio's final illness can be traced in his letters to Villagarcía beginning 29 July 1687 in E-Mah, Estado, Libro 194. Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna arrived in Naples as interim viceroy on 21 November; the palace premiere of *Dal male il bene* took place on 22 December for the queen mother's birthday; see V-CVaav, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 102, fol. 411, 22 November 1687 and fol. 502, 23 December 1687.

⁴⁴⁵ On Paoluccio, see above, and Stein, "¿Escuchando a Calderón?," 199–219.

tuon più basso” (fol. 16v), and Adrasto’s “Vivi pur, che il dolce ardore,” is marked “alla 4a bassa” (fol. 80), indicating transposition. Indeed, the most obviously revised role for the revival is that of Adrasto, notated as a tenor role in the older layer of the manuscript but altered to suit an alto castrato in the revival. Rubrics for the alto role in the prologue point specifically to the alto castrato Domenico Melchiorri “L’Aquilano,” who must have replaced Grossi and whose top notes were higher. Among Scarlatti’s adjustments to the role of Adrasto for the Naples revival:

1. The aria text “Che di Tantalo il misero petto” (I, 6 in the Rome 1681 libretto) has no musical setting in I-MC, 6-B-2a.
2. The aria “Io non ho già la cuccagna” (I-MC, 6-B-2a, fol. 25) is preceded by a marking (a large handwritten crosshatch symbol) that might indicate excision; both the 1681 and 1687 libretti provide the aria text “Io so che delirate,” rather than “Io non ho già la cuccagna,” in this scene (I, 12).
3. Adrasto’s two-strophe aria with strings, “Via dal petto alato arcier” (II, 4), remains notated in tenor clef (I-MC, 6-B-2a, fol. 42–42v), but it lies very high in the tenor range so might have been accommodated the alto known as l’Aquilano.
4. Adrasto’s I, 6 “Prigionero d’un biondo crine” is notated as a tenor aria (I-MC, 6-B-2a, fol. 19), but a new replacement aria in alto clef that reaches up to d” with this same aria text is also added at the end of the volume.
5. The Adrasto aria “Se il nume bambino” (II, 12) carries Scarlatti’s emendation “alla 4a bassa” (I-MC, 6-B-2a, fol. 40), indicating transposition up a fourth in performance.
6. Adrasto’s aria “Vivi pur” (I-MC, 6-B-2a, fol. 80) is similarly marked “alla 4a bassa” to be transposed up a fourth in performance.
7. Another replacement aria in alto clef for Adrasto, “Benchè finga mi lusinga” (II, 12), whose vocal part reaches to c”, is added at the back of the volume to replace the original tenor aria on this text (I-MC, 6-B-2a, fol. 56).

The cast for a possible November 1686 or 1687 palace performance with the prologue begun by Tilla and honoring Carpio might have been as suggested in Appendix 3 (the singers’ names are drawn from the manuscript prologue, with the addition of Di Gennaro and Zuffi). Note that castrati did not sing as female characters in any of the Carpio productions.

Carpio in Naples, Some Conclusions

There is no doubt that Carpio’s personal taste and personal politics shaped the content and design of the operas produced in Naples during his reign as

viceroy. They bear traces of his Spanish heritage, past experience as a producer of Spanish entertainments, and even his personal history, as had the plays he produced in the embassy in Rome. Like his Madrid court entertainments, the Naples operas began with elaborately staged allegorical prologues in the Spanish style in praise of the Spanish sovereigns.⁴⁴⁶ Some of them even reproduced visual effects and machines tested decades earlier in his Madrid productions. The prologue to *Il Giustino* (1684), for instance, opens with precisely the same allegory and calls for the same kind of opening stage machine that had opened the loa to the Calderón semi-opera *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo* (1653) nearly thirty years earlier (a huge automaton of Atlas sustaining the globe),⁴⁴⁷ though it introduces an allegory flattering Carlos II.⁴⁴⁸ Another effect from the loa to *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo*, the singing and dancing stars that so impressed Madrid's court audience, also reappeared in Naples, when dancing actress-singers stepped down as Sirens from the huge chariot of Apollo in the 1685 public festivities at Posillipo for the queen's nameday.⁴⁴⁹ The libretto to the 1686 *Il Nerone* includes a tiny opera-within-an-opera in which erotic stories about the loves of the goddesses Venus and Diana ("Gli amore di Venere, e di Marte, di Cintia, et di Endimione") are elaborately staged, revisiting one of Carpio's fabulous musical plays from 1650s Madrid.⁴⁵⁰ And

⁴⁴⁶ Allegorical prologues were not unknown in Venetian operas during Carpio's Neapolitan years, but the large libretto collection indexed in Alm, *Catalog of Venetian Librettos*, 175–217, makes clear that they were not at all in vogue. Mateo Noris' libretti to *Penelope la casta* (Venice, 1685) and *Flavio Cuniberto* (Venice, 1687) are the only two listed for the period 1682–87 to include allegorical prologues. Only one libretto, *Amore innamorato* (Venice, 1686) also by Noris, touches on the mythological love story of Cupid and Psyche. All three of these Noris libretti were first produced at the Teatro Grimani at San Giovanni Grisostomo.

⁴⁴⁷ Drawings of the scenes by Baccio del Bianco for the 1653 production of Calderón's *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo* are preserved in US-CAh, MS Typ. 258H, first described in Massar, "Scenes from a Calderón Play," 365–75, and explained in J. E. Varey, "Scenes, Machines and the Theatrical Experience in Seventeenth-Century Spain," *La scenografia barocca*, ed. Antoine Schnapper (Bologna: CLUEB, 1982), 51–63. Concerning this semi-opera, see Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 144–69 and Stein, "Convenciones musicales en el legado de Juan Hidalgo: el aria declamatoria como tonada persuasiva," *Francisco Bances Candamo y el teatro musical de su tiempo (1662–1704)* (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 1994), 177–218. An "Atlante agobiado, y sobre las espaldas una esfera, con todos los círculos, y signos celestes" was painted in Carpio's Jardín de San Joaquín in Madrid by the artists Agostino Mitelli and Angelo Michele Colonna, as described in García Cueto, *La estancia española*, 190–92.

⁴⁴⁸ *Il Giustino. Melodrama da rappresentarsi per lo compleanno di Carlo II monarca delle Spagne nel Regal Palaggio. Dedicato all'eccellentissimo signor D. Gaspar d'Haro e Gusman, marchese del Carpio...* (Naples: Antonio Gramignani, 1684); Sartori 12360; includes a dedication to Carpio dated 6 November 1684 [I-Rc, Comm. 350/3]. The prologue was newly written for Naples to showcase the visual effects and machines, though the libretto by Niccolò Beregan (Sartori 12359) was set previously by Giovanni Legrenzi and produced in Venice at the Teatro San Salvatore in 1683; the Neapolitan performances included music by both Legrenzi and Alessandro Scarlatti.

⁴⁴⁹ "Pompa incomparable, Generosidad increíble," E-Mn, MS 3923, fols. 18v–19.

⁴⁵⁰ The libretto to *Il Nerone*, with the same mythological comedy within the commedia in musica, was first set for Venice in 1679 (though the 1686 Naples performance seems not to have used the

the “Lago delizioso riserbato per la pesca reale” in act 2, scene 7 of *Olimpia vendicata* might recall the entertainments that Carpio organized for the royal family on the “estanco” on the grounds of the Buen Retiro palace.

Both the entirely new operas and the rifacimenti produced for Carpio in Naples featured music of unmistakable originality and dramatic intensity. But musical traces of Carpio’s history and Spanish precedents are threaded into some of the operas as well. The “Viva” choruses seem more typically Hispanic than Italian. *Il Giustino* includes a jácara-like song for the lascivious comic nurse, and so on. Scarlatti’s music for the climactic scene in *La Psiche* quotes the famous *cuatro* “Quedito, pasito” by Hidalgo from *Ni amor se libra de amor*. In visual effects and in the music of the operas then, Carpio’s taste and self-projection shaped the creative work of the Italian artists who worked for him in Naples. Fragments of their reciprocal homage survive in the texts of many of the loas and in the manuscript prologue to *Tutto il mal che vien, non vien per nuocere*, which may well have been performed for Carpio just days or weeks before he died.

Carpio’s initiative facilitated this decisive moment in the history of Neapolitan opera. The operas he sponsored in Naples were progressive in that they set a high standard in production values—the excellence and ingenuity of the visual effects, voices of talented singers, and highly expressive music mostly by Scarlatti, the rising composer of the moment—but some of them were oddly unfashionable as compared to other Italian operas of the 1680s, given their mythological plots and wonderfully extensive but old-fashioned visual effects. It has been suggested that Carpio’s cultural sponsorship of artists in other genres imported a Roman taste to Naples. His opera productions did not merely reproduce Roman ones, however, nor was he controlled by any Roman peer. To probe beneath the surface of the Naples operas 1683–87 is to learn ever more about how Carpio’s preferences strongly guided the work of the composer, stage architect, and singers.

Historians have attributed to Carpio social, political, and cultural advancements in Naples, so it is unsurprising that his four opera seasons improved Neapolitan standards for opera, created a hearty appetite for the genre among potential spectators, regularized attendance at the public theater, set an example for his successors, and, crucially, laid the foundation for the city’s later development as an operatic center. Though there is little in the way of surviving

same music). Nevertheless, the combination of two amorous myths with extensive scene changes and stage machines recalls the 1658 production of *Triunfos de Amor y Fortuna* by Antonio de Solís in Madrid, in which the myths of Cupid and Psyche and Endimion and Diana were combined, along with other characters from mythology and allegory.

documentation about the physical construction of the theaters or the finances for his productions, by studying the libretti and parsing comments scattered in letters and *avvisi*, I hope to have created a framework for understanding how, where, and with what financial resources the operas were planned, rehearsed, and performed. Carpio set up a comfortable theater with *palchetti* in the *gran sala* of the palace, complete with a capable dismountable stage. His production team also improved the capability of the Teatro di San Bartolomeo even after its 1682 reconstruction (recall that it was deemed “*ingrandita et abbellita*” for the start of the 1683–84 season), installing stage machines designed by Schor. Productions there during Carpio’s tenure deployed newly painted sets that delighted audiences with a high standard of visual artistry. All such improvements in staging and visual effects only became possible because Carpio had recruited, appointed, and financially supported Schor and Vaccaro to replace Gennaro Delle Chiave once and for all.

Naples gained the very best aria composer in Italy as a result of Carpio’s recruitment of Scarlatti as both opera composer and chapelmaster. Something in their relationship bonded the composer to his patron. With Scarlatti’s help and the vigorous activity of Carpio’s agents, some of the top singers in Italy were convinced to make the long journey south—several of them stayed in Naples beyond a single production or season (see Appendix 2 for singers in the Carpio productions). Naples became a more attractive and lucrative place for opera singers, largely because the working conditions gained in stability and the operas in artistic level—singers were awarded salaried positions in the chapel and were provided with additional income from the *gastos secretos* account and gifts, and their performances were shaped by the talents of Schor and Scarlatti. Carpio’s personal financial resources and those available to him through the *gastos secretos* account allowed him to invest in operatic talent of all sorts.

Carpio was a man of paradoxes—a skilled politician who nevertheless resisted compromise. He was an atypically expressive man among men of his class and nationality, and this affective effusion worked to his advantage as an opera producer. It can be difficult to separate the personal and the political. Carpio’s productions were shaped by personal preferences as well as his embeddedness in and intent to influence the cultural policies of the monarchy. López-Fanjul y Díez del Corral’s characterization of Carpio as a collector of drawings seems appropriate also to his profile as an opera producer in Naples:

Carpio was neither a conventional collector nor a conformist politician. It is indeed difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between his private cultural politics and those undertaken in the name of Spain. On the one hand, he followed the rules of magnificence the world expected of his rank and position. On the

other, he included subtle vehicles of meaning . . . to secure his name a place far beyond the geographical borders of Spain.⁴⁵¹

Beyond exaltation of the personal and self-propaganda, Carpio's forceful intervention and investment in higher operatic standards brought opera into the center of public life in Naples. Notices about his palace productions and those at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo confirm that operas enjoyed long runs and that citizens of various social classes attended. But it is essential to underline the consistent promotion of women through strong-willed, and sometimes pointedly transgressive, female operatic protagonists. Through these characters and the unfettered virtuosity of the divas who sang their arias, Carpio's deliberate support for women might be understood as a claim for female advancement if not emancipation. This insistence on agency for women runs through his productions from his earliest days as a producer in Madrid, and through the comedias he offered to invited guests and even to the public in Rome. The Naples operas, especially those for the queen mother's birthday, were vivid projections of this cause. Carpio's gallant attention to women at court in Madrid and the *damas* in Rome has been noted. Amid his renovation of the operatic system in Naples, his policies worked to assure not only that female singers would be treated well but also that noble women might attend the public Teatro di San Bartolomeo as spectators without fearing for their safety or dignity. Repeatedly, female *comedia* protagonists and operatic heroines challenged the place of women in society and modelled avenues of sexual choice. Respect for female intelligence and the enhancement of women's social status is a thread weaving through Carpio's productions. Arguably, then, Carpio's actions on behalf of women went beyond mere gallantry. His attention to female liberty was noted by an early historian of Naples as promotion of the "the shameless liberty of women," among other corruptions of "ancient native customs."⁴⁵²

⁴⁵¹ López-Fanjul y Díez del Corral, "A Game of Drawing Fame," 34; see also María López-Fanjul y Díez del Corral, "Coleccionismo y colecciones de dibujos en la España del Siglo de Oro," in *Dibujo y ornamento. Trazas y dibujos de artes decorativas entre Portugal, España, Italia, Malta y Grecia*, ed. Sabina de Cavi (Córdoba: Diputación de Córdoba, De Luca Editori d'Arte, 2015), 85–95 (p. 90): "Carpio fue un activo mecenas del dibujo y utilizó el medio, además, como herramienta de auto propaganda, como medio de comunicación estratégico en su ejercicio político."

⁴⁵² Under the rubric, "Principio della mutazione del prisco costume in Napoli," Tiberio Carafa (1669–1742) referred to Carpio's tenure as the period in which a kind of female emancipation with corrupted norms for female conduct was encouraged: "tempi ne'quali la corruzione dell'antico patrio costume colla sfacciata libertà delle Donne non s'era pur'anco da per tutto diffusa, ma principiata di già fin dal Governo del Marchese del Carpio." Tiberio Carafa, *Memorie di Tiberio Carafa Principe di Chiusano*, facs. ed. Antonietta Pizzo, 3 vols. (Naples: Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, 2005), 1:30.

5

An Operatic Legacy in the Americas

Carpio's strategic, energetic patronage affected two distinct operatic paradigms in different ways. His engagement with De Totis, Scarlatti, and excellent musicians in Rome and Naples contributed to the development of a kind of opera that proved durable first in newly composed operas and Neapolitan *rifacimenti* of Roman and Venetian operas during his years in Naples, as well as in operas produced there by his successors—temporary Viceroy Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna followed by Francisco IV de Benavides y Dávila, ninth Count of Santisteban (viceroy 1688–96), and, especially, Luis Francisco de la Cerda y Aragón, ninth Duke of Medinaceli (viceroy 1696–1702). The mechanisms of financing and production established during Carpio's tenure were also foundational later for the smooth emergence of *opera seria*, whose cultivation distinguished Naples as an operatic center from the 1720s. On the other hand, Carpio's paradigmatic innovations as a producer of Spanish musical plays and operas in Madrid established conventions whose influence in the Spanish-speaking world lasted into the eighteenth century, even when music by Hidalgo was sometimes replaced by new musical settings. Because both operatic types promoted by Carpio not only retained their vitality beyond the close of the Hapsburg era but also were heard in the Americas, Carpio can rightly be characterized as the first opera producer whose legacy shaped productions in two worlds.

The Context for Opera in the American Viceroyalties

It is remarkable that we know anything at all about the earliest operas produced in the American viceroyalties under the Spanish crown. Though secular music surely circulated and was heard in everyday activity, there is a notable absence of detailed reports describing its performance in the mid- to late seventeenth century. Romances, tunes, dances, and instruments had been brought from Spain by sixteenth-century musicians, soldiers, merchants, administrators, servants, and colonizers. Early chronicles from the first period of the conquest mention romances and describe celebratory spectacles with music of both Spanish and indigenous groups.¹ But silence later on regarding public performances of profane

¹ Some rituals that included dance are described by Francisco Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, son of a Spanish *conquistador*, who was taken prisoner in 1629 by the Araucanian natives in

music suggests that secular song was excluded from the officially approved and reported culture.² Spanish secular and religious authorities harnessed the power of music and indigenous musical voices in the project of creating “harmonized” urban societies encompassing all social and ethnic groups, exploiting the native Andean “passion for spectacle in all of its manifestations,” for instance.³ Authorized descriptions do not report the early presence or invention of bailes such as the chacona and the zarabanda, to name two examples, perhaps because profane music, amorous romances in Spanish, and lively urban bailes all could be subject to misinterpretation or deemed suggestive of forbidden associations.⁴ Just as the attempts to translate Christian doctrine from Latin into Spanish and then into indigenous languages were controversial and required careful oversight (it was feared that heresies might slip in through the vagaries of

what is now Chile. Nuñez de Pineda came to admire and respect his captors but later wrote with pride of his own moral fortitude in resisting the sexual “advances” of the indigenous women; see extracts from *El cautiverio feliz* in Emir Rodríguez Monegal, *Noticias secretas y públicas de América* (Barcelona: Tusquets Editores, 1984), 216–19; see also the many citations from other accounts of “shameful” (desvergonzado) sexual relations between Spanish men and indigenous women, given in Rodríguez Monegal, *Noticias secretas*, 196–99. Amerigo Vespucci set the tone as early as his “Mundus Novus” letter of 1503 to Lorenzo de Medici, when he assumed that the unclothed indigenous women were full of “mucha lujuria”; see the Spanish translation in Rodríguez Monegal, *Noticias secretas*, 54–55. Apart from the chronicles and traveler’s reports, the commonplace of the indigenous women who offer themselves sexually to the otherwise virtuous European men was also reinforced from the early seventeenth century in comedy scenes performed in Spain, as pointed out in Francisco Ruiz Ramón, *América en el teatro clásico español, estudio y textos* (Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 1993), 40–43.

² See, for example, the description of the zarabanda and other bailes of Peruvian origin in a well-known satirical poem from circa 1598 by the Spanish soldier Mateo Rosas de Oquendo, then resident in Peru; the dances are among the “vices” and excesses described in his “Sátira hecha por Mateo Rosas de Oquendo a las cosas que pasan en el Pirú, año de 1598,” [E-Mn, MS/3912], ed. Antonio Paz y Meliá, “Cartapacio de diferentes versos a diversos asuntos compuestos o recogidos por Mateo Rosas de Oquendo,” *Bulletin Hispanique* 9 (1906): 154–278. See also the many examples cited in Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs, “Los bailes de los indios y el proyecto colonial,” *Revista andina* 10 (1992): 353–404.

³ Geoffrey Baker, *Imposing Harmony Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008); and Geoffrey Baker, “El Cuzco colonial: musicología e historia urbana,” in *Incas e indios cristianos: élites indígenas e identidades cristianas en los Andes coloniales*, ed. Jean-Jacques Decoster (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos “Bartolomé de las Casas,” 2002), 195–208 (206).

⁴ Baker, *Imposing Harmony*, 61, has explained that the authorities increasingly discouraged even some of the festive demonstrations they had earlier exploited. For the Peruvian origin of the chacona and its social status, see Stein, “Eros, Erato, Tersichore and the Hearing of Music,” 654–77; and Stein, “Al seducir el oído,” 168–89; earlier studies of the chacona did not take into account its history in colonial Peru, though they pointed toward an origin in the Americas; see Thomas Walker, “Ciaccona and Passacaglia: Remarks on Their Origin and Early History,” *JAMS* 21 (1968): 300–5; Esses, *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias*, 1:612–23 and 2:112–25; and the relevant sections of Richard Hudson, *The Folia, the Saraband, the Passacaglia, and the Chaconne*, *Musicological Studies and Documents* 35 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1982). On the relationship between chacona and chaconne, their trajectory, and significance in seventeenth-century France, see especially Rose Pruiksma, “Music, Sex, and Ethnicity: Signification in Lully’s Theatrical Chaconnes,” *Gender, Sexuality, and Early Music*, ed. Todd M. Borgerding (New York: Routledge, 2002), 227–48.

translation), vernacular music could be subject to the broad unpredictability of oral transmission.⁵

No collection of secular songs survives from Peru in the first century following the conquest. This paucity of sources may result from a turbulent history: manuscripts from the colonial period were surely lost or destroyed in the revolutionary epoch, as regions and political entities sought independence through the expulsion of colonial overlords and destruction of any trace of their institutions.⁶ Of course, historical accounts of music in the viceroalties underline the successful implantation and progress of the music of the Catholic Church. The power and stability of the church affected not only which musical repertoires would be preserved, but also how the region's musical history might be recorded, narrated, and interpreted.⁷ Music was a catechistic art and musical education a tool of the evangelizing process.⁸ The tangible materials of music (cathedral choir-books and, later, performing parts for polyphonic villancicos, for example) and audible, aural ones (musical instruction in European musical instruments and religious song) brought musicians and listeners into the cult of the Eucharist.⁹ Though initially a diverse population of listeners did not

⁵ Estenssoro Fuchs, "Los bailes de los indios y el proyecto colonial," provides a thoughtful analysis of how native dances and songs were treated by the colonial and religious authorities; see also Bruce Mannheim, "A Nation Surrounded," *Native Traditions in the Post-colonial World*, ed. Elizabeth Boone and Tom Cummins (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998), 381–418; Bruce Mannheim, "Gramática colonial, contexto religioso," *Incas e indios cristianos: élites indígenas e identidades cristianas en los Andes coloniales*, ed. Jean-Jacques Decoster (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos "Bartolomé de las Casas," 2002), 209–20 for paradigmatic studies not directly focused on music or dance.

⁶ As Illari has explained it, "Cortes y teatros, huelga decirlo, organizaban y auspiciaban actividades musicales. Pero las cortes fueron desguazadas por las revoluciones libertadoras, ansiosas por librarse no solamente de los virreyes sino también de la parafernalia que los rodeaba, y los teatros sufrieron variadas vicisitudes, con lo cual sus archivos se resintieron. Total, que sólo las iglesias guardaron alguna consistencia en preservar su patrimonio musical. Y aún así, muchísimo se perdió." Bernardo Illari, "La música colonial latinoamericana es..." *Ficta. Revista de música antigua* 7 (2005): 5–9. Concerning opera in the first century of the Peruvian Republic, see José Quezada Macchiavello, "Reseña de una función interrumpida: la ópera en Lima durante el primer siglo de la República," *Lienzo, Revista de la Universidad de Lima* 16 (1995): 131–60.

⁷ A number of studies have influenced my reading of the relationship among written history, musical history, catechism, and indoctrination: see especially, Mannheim, "A Nation Surrounded," 381–418; Mannheim, "Gramática colonial," 209–20; Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs, *Música y sociedad coloniales. Lima, 1680–1830* (Lima: Colmillo Blanco, 1989); J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New 1492–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970); Bruce Mannheim, *The Language of the Inka since the European Invasion* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991).

⁸ On written history, catechism, and indoctrination, see especially Mannheim, "A Nation Surrounded," Mannheim, "Gramática colonial, contexto religioso," 209–20; and Estenssoro Fuchs, *Música y sociedad coloniales*.

⁹ As noted in Baker, "El Cuzco colonial," 195–208; Egberto Bermúdez, "Urban Musical Life in the European Colonies: Examples from Spanish American, 1530–1650," *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns*, ed. Fiona Kisby (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 167–80; Estenssoro Fuchs, "Los bailes de los Indios y el proyecto colonial," 353–404; Ricardo Augusto Zavadvivker, "Cronistas de Indias," in *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*, 10 vols., ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio (Madrid: SGAE, 1999–2002), 4:187–88; and more broadly, Pierre Duviols, *La destrucción de las religiones andinas*, trans. Albor Maruenda (México: Universidad Nacional

necessarily assign the intended significance to what they sang, played, and heard, sacred music enhanced the “exposure to the natural appeal of Christian truths and teaching.”¹⁰ Public, festive, ceremonial music was heard largely within or around religious spaces, especially in Lima with its many churches and convents. It is significant, for example, that the precious manuscript diary of Joseph and Francisco Mugarburu, compiled in Lima between 1640 and 1697, contains no mention of any music beyond church music, offering nothing more than a few general references (without descriptive detail) to music in public events that marked the arrival of successive new viceroys.¹¹

Profane music could be suspected of low habits, immorality, or confusing looseness, so it was distinguished from music understood as cultivated, correct, clean, and appropriate (contrapuntal polyphony setting religious texts).¹² “In colonial records, secular music making is often portrayed as morally dubious.”¹³ Even vernacular sacred villancicos could be accused of impropriety and were subject to easy censure.¹⁴ A June 1704 letter from composer Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco testifies to his awareness of this risk; he reports that some ecclesiastical superiors had already objected to the performance of light music (“música jocosa,” “música de chanza”) and villancicos known as *juguetes* in sacred

Autónoma de México, 1977). Standard older writings about music in colonial Peru include Robert Stevenson, *The Music of Peru: Aboriginal and Viceroyal Epochs* (Washington, DC: Pan American Union, 1960); Andrés Sas Orchassal, *La música en la Catedral de Lima durante el Virreinato*, 3 vols. (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Casa de la Cultura del Perú e Instituto Nacional de Cultura, 1971–72); and Robert Stevenson, *Music in Aztec and Inca Territory*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976).

¹⁰ Kenneth Mills, “The Limits of Religious Coercion in Mid-colonial Peru,” *Past and Present* 145 (1994): 84; see also Baker, “El Cuzco colonial,” 201–6.

¹¹ *Chronicle of Colonial Lima: The Diary of Josephe and Francisco Mugarburu*, trans. and ed. Robert Ryal Miller (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), *passim*.

¹² The interrelation between musical content and social “decency” is a central point in Jesús Ramos-Kittrell, *Playing in the Cathedral: Music, Race, and Status in New Spain* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 33–42 and *passim*, though focused mostly on the later eighteenth century.

¹³ Baker, *Imposing Harmony*, 65; Javier Marín-López, “A Conflicted Relationship. Music, Power, and the Inquisition in Vice-regal Mexico City,” in *Music in Urban Society in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Geoffrey Baker and Tess Knighton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 46–52, explains and documents the multiple prohibitions against public performance of profane music and dances in early modern Mexico City.

¹⁴ Rubén Vargas Ugarte, S.J., “Un archivo de música colonial en el Cuzco,” *Mar del Sur* 5, no. 26 (1953): 1–10, recognized this heritage for the villancicos he found in Cuzco; noting that they were infiltrated by “aires profanos,” he stated, “algunos prelados se propusieron desterrar de las iglesias esta música profana y bailable,” but provided no further details about the prohibition. Sas Orchassal, *La música en la Catedral de Lima*, 1:185–87, noted periodic attempts to suppress vernacular songs: in 1675 Archbishop Juan de Almaguera y Ramírez (1674–76) confined the music of Holy Week and other solemn feasts to plainchant, such that “romances, villancicos, and chanzonetas,” were forbidden; Melchor de Liñán y Cisneros (Archbishop of Lima 1677–1708) lifted some of these prohibitions, but in 1689, “Para poner coto a estos agravios a la santidad de los ritos, despachó don Melchor de Liñan [*sic* Melchor de Liñán y Cisneros], en noviembre de 1689, un ‘Auto para quitar la música’ en la celebración de la mayoría de los servicios divinos.”

precincts, particularly when sung by nuns in their convents.¹⁵ If cloistered nuns were thought to be especially susceptible to the dangerously stimulating effects of religious song, then theatrical songs performed by actress-singers in public theaters and circulating via an unwritten process posed an equivalent danger. Accepting the ultimate separation between music approved by the church, made tangible on paper or in choir-books, and preserved in ecclesiastical archives, and songs that were conspicuously not preserved in written form, seems essential to understanding why profane music of whatever species was excluded early on from officially recorded culture. Many common tunes, themes, musical gestures, and rhythms became useful within the Counter-Reformation nevertheless, precisely because they were familiar and easily incorporated into villancicos. But even this vernacular colonial sacred repertory is fragmented; little is known about just how it sounded in performance.

Scarcely any comment about musical interpretation or technique survives from colonial Peru, excepting a few references in instrumental tutors written by Spanish musicians and printed in Spain. Largely unwritten musical practices infused musical performance with identity at all social levels—rhythmic and timbric conventions, stylistic gestures, modes of embellishment, improvisation, and vocal production were passed along in an oral tradition and in the act of performance. Many accomplished musicians—especially players of the guitar and harp—did not read mensural “score” notation fluently, though this was the notation in which the church’s contrapuntal polyphony (*canto de órgano*) was preserved.¹⁶ Profane songs and dances—the very stuff of Hispanic opera—circulated by ear and on flimsy paper, residing in the memories and bodies of musicians, and in the tunes, patterns, and gestures upon which they improvised.

An opera production in Lima became possible in 1701 thanks to the ability of Lima’s improvising theatrical musicians and actress-singers who shared well-known tunes, skills, and practices very similar to what Hidalgo and theatrical musicians in Madrid had deployed almost a half century earlier. But if the first opera of the Americas could have emerged from a musical continuum of

¹⁵ The letter dated 14 June 1704 from Torrejón y Velasco to a Cuzco chapel-master was discovered in the library of the Seminario de San Antonio Abad in Cuzco and partially transcribed in Vargas Ugarte, “Un archivo de música colonial en el Cuzco,” 3–4.

¹⁶ The importance of memorization and improvised performance in the tierras de ultramar are described by Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz, a Spanish musician who traveled to Peru and published a practical manual for guitar and harp players upon his return to Madrid. In his prologue, he reflected that his travels had taught him “que el mundo es grande, y que no en todas partes concurre lo que en Madrid; y que tiene experiencia el Autor (porque ha visto diferentes Reynos, Provincias remotas, y ultramarinas) que no saben ni practican dichas cifras, ni otras ningunas: porque aunque se tañe, y canta, no es más que de memoria, exceptuando a algunos que saben la Música de Canto de Organo.” See Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz, *Luz y norte musical para caminar por las cifras de la Guitarra Española y Arpa, tañer y cantar a compás por canto de órgano* (Madrid: Melchor Alvarez, 1677) [E-Mn, R/4025], fol. 7.

specifically Latin American songs and dances, the tangible and audible traces of such a preexistent corpus of song are lost. The earliest extant musical sources for secular vocal music from Peru appear to have been copied in the last years of the seventeenth century or even later in the eighteenth century, such that the musical sources for a history of profane music emerge at roughly the same moment as the manuscript score of the first opera of the Americas.¹⁷

La púrpura de la rosa in Lima 1701

La púrpura de la rosa exemplifies the paradigm established in Carpio's Madrid productions and thus extends his legacy.¹⁸ It was produced in Lima in December 1701 to celebrate the eighteenth birthday of the first Bourbon King of Spain, Philip V, and the first year of his reign.¹⁹ Thus the Lima production marked a dynastic alliance between Spain and France, as had Hidalgo's operas of 1659–61.

¹⁷ In addition to the musical manuscript of the 1701 *La púrpura de la rosa* [PE-Lbnp C1469], other sources of secular music from Peru copied in the eighteenth century include a manuscript anthology with eighteen songs and anonymous romances (some of them versions of well-known songs from the Iberian peninsula) compiled by the Spanish Franciscan Gregorio de Zuola (d. 1709), who had worked in the missions and convents in Peru after 1666, in Cochabamba (Bolivia), Urquillos, and Cuzco [RA-BAInm, MS 20.318 "Codex Zuola,"], partly transcribed in Carlos Vega in "Un códice peruano colonial del siglo XVII," *Revista musical chilena* 81–82 (1962): 59–93, as well as Carlos Vega, *La música de un códice colonial del siglo XVII* (Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Instituto de Literatura Argentina, 1931); see also the study and list of contents in Bernardo Illari, "Zuola, criollismo, nacionalismo y musicología," *Resonancias* 7 (2000): 353–404. Other examples include a vernacular Marian hymn and a "sapateo" compiled by Amédée François Frézier in the published report of his travels, *Relation du Voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou* (Paris: J. G. Nyon, E. Ganeau & J. Quillau, 1716) [F-Pn, Arsenal, 4-H-565; the songs can be found at pages 421 and 452 in the second volume of the 1717 edition, E-Mn, GMM/1604, II]; and the section devoted to music (with seventeen songs and three instrumental dances) in volume 2 of the nine-volume "Código Trujillo del Perú" or "Código Martínez Compañón," [E-Mp, II/344, plates 176–93] commissioned by Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón (1737–97), Bishop of Trujillo, who had served as maestro de capilla at Lima cathedral. The elaborate "Código Martínez Compañón" was sent to Spanish King Carlos IV; see the facsimile edition, *Trujillo del Perú*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica del Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana and Patrimonio Nacional, 1985), http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/portales/manuscritos_america_colecciones_reales/obra-visor/trujillo-del-peru--volumen-ii/html/; as well as Adrián Rodríguez van der Spoel, *Bailes, tonadas & cachuas: La música del códice Trujillo del Perú en el siglo XVIII*, trans. and ed. Sarah Griffin-Masson (The Hague: Deuss Music, 2013); and Diana Fernández Calvo, "La música en el códice del obispo Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón," *Revista del Instituto de Investigación Musicológica Carlos Vega* 27 (2013): 343–92. See also Robert Stevenson, *The Music of Perú, Aboriginal and Viceroyal Epochs* (Washington, DC: Pan American Union, 1959), 151–67.

¹⁸ The political background for the Calderón libretto and Hidalgo's Madrid setting is explained in Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 187–219; Stein, "Opera and the Spanish Political Agenda," 125–67; Louise K. Stein, "The Work of Opera in the Spanish Dominions," *The Beginnings of Opera in Europe*, ed. Michael Klaper (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, at press). On the travels of Hispanic opera and its patrons, see Louise K. Stein, "'De la contera del mundo': las navegaciones de la ópera entre dos mundos y varias culturas," *La ópera en España e Hispanoamérica*, ed. Emilio Casares y Alvaro Torrente (Madrid: Fundación Autor, 2001), 79–94.

¹⁹ See Louise K. Stein, "'La música de dos orbes': A Context for the First Opera of the Americas," *Opera Quarterly* 22 (2006): 433–58.

Philippe d'Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV, had been proclaimed King of Spain in Madrid on 24 November 1700 but did not assume power until January 1702. Official published accounts of urban celebrations for Philip V's accession proliferated across the geography of the Spanish empire. The news reached Lima on 9 September 1701, and the city's official commemoration occurred on 5 October 1701, more than two months before the opera performances. It was essential that the city not only recognize the new Bourbon monarch, but also publish a positive description of its acclamation.²⁰ Viceroy Melchor Portocarrero y Lasso de la Vega (1636–1705; third Count of Monclova after succeeding his older brother Gaspar in 1693), was reported to have scheduled Lima's formal acclamation without waiting for the official dispatches to arrive because he recognized the "general and public joy" that the loyal citizens of Lima felt at such "happy news."²¹ *La púrpura de la rosa* was not produced during Lima's October acclamation, however; the protocol for official demonstrations of fealty included the ringing of bells, singing of the Te Deum, fireworks, bullfights, and equestrian displays (as codified prior to the invention of opera).

Viceroy Monclova was a transplanted Spanish aristocrat and soldier from a powerful family. He shared the culture Carpio had known as a young man, as well as the latter's experience of political exile. Both fought under the command of prince Juan José de Austria in the Battle of Ameixial (also known as the Battle of Estremóz) near the Portuguese border. Monclova had distinguished himself early on as a soldier and military commander, rising through the ranks as Capitán de Infantería, Maestre de Campo, and Teniente General de Caballería. He lost his right arm in battle, replacing it with a silver (or metal) prosthesis. After campaigns against the French and the Portuguese led by Juan José de Austria, he became the prince's Sumiller de Corps, known for his fiery political and personal loyalty.²²

²⁰ Stein, "La música de dos orbes," 436–38.

²¹ "Reconociendo su Exc, el general alboroso [*sic*] y público regocijo conque ha sido recibida, y celebrada en la Ciudad de Lima, noticia de tanta felicidad, rebozando en los semblantes de la lealtad Española la alegría común por el ingreso a la Monarquía de España del Rey N. S. D. Phelipe Quinto... ha determinado anticipar el público festivo obsequio, y fausta aclamación, sin esperar los caxones, donde vendrá el despacho, siguiendo el exemplar de la Coronada Villa de Madrid, que antes de ver a su Rey, y Señor en la Raya de sus Reynos, le juró, y aclamó"; *Relación de algunas noticias de Europa*, quoted in José Antonio Rodríguez Garrido, "Teatro y Poder en el Palacio Virreinal de Lima (1672–1707)" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2003), 217; the bound volume containing these newsheets is explained and indexed in Mayellen Bresie, "News-Sheets Printed in Lima between 1700 and 1711 by José de Contreras y Alvarado, Royal Printer: A Descriptive Essay and Annotated List," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 78 (1974): 7–68. José Antonio Rodríguez Garrido and Paul Firbas curated a website devoted to the Lima newsheets: <https://sites.google.com/view/diariolima1700>.

²² He was also appointed Gentleman of the Chamber to Carlos II and served on the Consejo de Guerra and the Junta de Guerra de Indias. Documentary sources for Melchor Portocarrero y Lasso de la Vega include: "Relación que la Real Audiencia y Chancillería de los Reyes hizo de su gobierno en vacante por muerte de Melchor Portocarrero Lasso de la Vega, Conde de la Monclova, Virrey del Perú, a Manuel Omns de Santa Pau, Marqués de Castellidos-Rius, su sucesor," E-Mn, MS 3122,

After the untimely death of the prince in 1679, Melchor Portocarrero had little future at court, though he was a nephew of the powerful Cardinal Luis Manuel Fernández Portocarrero y Guzmán, Archbishop of Toledo, master politician and leader of the extended Portocarrero clan.²³ In 1685 Melchor arrived in the Americas for what amounted to a long political exile charged with crucial political responsibilities. His first posting was as Viceroy of Nueva España (México). Though he begged to be recalled a few years later, he was instead sent to Peru. In 1689 he became Viceroy of Peru, the largest and most important of the monarchy's overseas governments. This assignment assured that administrative control of the American colonies, a key source of wealth for the monarchy, further reinforced and extended the power held by his uncle the cardinal.

Monclova became the longest-serving viceroy assigned to the Americas. By all accounts, he was an honest, effective, benevolent administrator. By 1701, he had survived three sovereigns (Philip IV, Juan José de Austria briefly, and Carlos II) and twenty-two years in the Americas.²⁴ His official correspondence from Lima concentrates on military and administrative matters, the funds needed to restore the city after its 1687 earthquake, and the zealous pursuit of pirates.²⁵ But rare private letters express weariness of colonial distance and nostalgia for the culture of the royal court. Among his correspondents, his cousin and friend in Madrid, Gregorio de Silva y Mendoza (d. 1693), Count of Saldaña and Duke of Pastrana and Infantado, was married to Carpio's sister (María de Haro y Guzmán) and had

fols. 87–108; José Antonio Álvarez de Baena, *Hijos de Madrid ilustres en santidad, dignidades, armas, ciencias y artes*, 4 vols. (Madrid: Benito Cano, 1789–91; ed. facs. Madrid: Atlas, 1973), 4:111–13; Luis Hernández Alfonso, *Virreinato del Perú*, 2nd ed. (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1945), 172–74; Manuel Moreyra y Paz-Soldán and Guillermo Céspedes del Castillo, *Virreinato peruano. Documentos para su historia*, 3 vols. (Lima: Lumen, 1954–55), vols. 1 and 2, “Colección de cartas del Virreinato del Conde de la Monclova”; Felipe Barreda y Laos, *Vida intelectual del virreinato del Perú*, 3rd ed. (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1964); Lewis Hanke et al., eds., *Los virreyes Españoles en America durante el gobierno de la casa de Austria: Peru*, 7 vols. (Madrid: Atlas, 1976–80) 7:153–56; and Juan Bromley, “La ciudad de Lima durante el gobierno del Virrey Conde le Monclova,” *Revista histórica* 22: Lima (1955): 142–62; Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco/Juan Hidalgo and Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *La púrpura de la rosa*, ed. Louise K. Stein (Madrid: Fundación Autor, 1999), “Introduction,” xx–xxii; Stein, “De la contera del mundo”; and Manuel Ortuño Martínez, “Melchor Portocarrero y Lasso de la Vega,” *Real Academia de la Historia, Diccionario Biográfico electrónico*, <http://dbe.rah.es/biografias/10062/melchor-portocarrero-y-lasso-de-la-vega>

²³ At the time of the prince's death, Melchor Portocarrero was a gentleman of the king's chamber and held several important court positions as well. Carpio and Cardinal Portocarrero had both been supporters of Juan José de Austria, and they coincided in Rome in 1677 when the latter was briefly cardinal protector of the Spanish nation: on Cardinal Portocarrero and music, see José María Domínguez Rodríguez, “Música, ceniza y nada: semblanza melomana del cardenal Portocarrero (1635–1709),” in *Creer y entender: homenaje a Ramón Gonsálvez Ruiz*, 2 vols. (Toledo: Real Academia de Bellas Artes y Ciencias Históricas de Toledo, 2014), 2:891–902.

²⁴ Details of his trajectory are provided in Stein, “De la contera del mundo,” 87–88.

²⁵ A list including many of Monclova's extant dispatches and official letters sent from Lima is included as an appendix in Hanke et al., eds., *Los virreyes Españoles*, 7:157–67.

succeeded Carpio as Montero Mayor in 1674. Because he became the sponsor of royal entertainments, he had access to material from the court productions. In 1682, just a few years after the 1679 Madrid revival of *Celos aun del aire matan*, Pedro Manuel Colón de Portugal, sixth Duke of Veragua, had written to Silva y Mendoza requesting the “music of *Celos aun del aire matan* and that of *La estatua de Prometeo*” because “the burdensome occupations of those who find themselves in these [faraway] places never will agree with [be at a par with] the leisure enjoyment of those whom the noise of the court sustains.”²⁶ In a 1692 letter to Silva y Mendoza, Melchor Portocarrero termed the empire’s American regions “la contera del mundo” (the end of the earth).²⁷ It is thanks to his cultural homesickness and eventual conformity within his uncle’s political strategy that the genre of opera, inextricably tied to Spanish dynastic celebrations, arrived in Lima before it was known elsewhere in the Americas.

Melchor Portocarrero almost certainly had attended the first Madrid performances of Hidalgo’s *La púrpura de la rosa* in 1659–60 because he was the right-hand man to Juan José de Austria. In 1659–60, when Carpio (as Marquis de Heliche) arranged the latter’s stay at the Buen Retiro and activities in the environs of the court, the prince expressed enthusiasm for these productions.²⁸ Portocarrero likely also attended the 1679–80 revival performances of *La púrpura de la rosa* when the nobility and the prince were called to court to honor the new queen (Marie-Louise d’Orleans) following her marriage to Carlos II. Calderón’s plays were still widely performed in Hispanic cities, and, as Viceroy of Peru, Portocarrero likely chose *La púrpura de la rosa* in Lima precisely because Hidalgo’s setting had commemorated these crucial earlier Spanish-French alliances.

Calderón’s libretto interprets the myth of Venus and Adonis but incorporates the ever-vengeful, blustering Marte (Mars) and his sister, the warrior-goddess Belona, transforming the myth into a warning against the vices of jealousy and vengeance (in this, Calderón followed contemporary Spanish moralists and

²⁶ “las grandes ocupaciones de los que como yo se hallan en estos parajes, no pueden nunca consentir en el ocio de los que mantiene el ruido de la corte, y así necesitando yo para continuar en ellas de la Música de la Comedia de Zelos aun del Ayre matan y de la Statua de Prometeo, no he podido dejar de emplearte en el cargo de ambas, suplicándote me hagas favor de mandarlas buscar y remetirmelas, y juntamente de avisarme lo que por acá se ofreciere de tu servicio”; E-Tahn, Osuna, cartas, leg. 389/2, 29 November 1682 (orthography modernized here); see Stein, “De la contera del mundo,” 89–90.

²⁷ “Por acá no hay cosa digna de poner a la noticia de V.E.... y las demás domesticas de estas Provincias, es chasco conocido hablar de ellas con ningún hombre racional que no le haya Dios destinado por el Consejo de Indias donde es forzoso que oigan y escrivan a los que habitamos en estas regiones, que son la contera del mundo, y así excuso discurrir con V.E. sobre esto, dejándola para su hermano que nos ha destinado la fortuna para Indios.” E-Tahn, Osuna, cartas, leg. 75/2, Lima, 1 August 1692 (orthography modernized here); letter first quoted in Stein, “De la contera del mundo,” 88.

²⁸ Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama*, 49, 153 nn. 196–98.

emblem books).²⁹ In Ovid, *Metamorphoses* book 10, the transgressive loves of Cinyras and Myrrha (parents of Adonis) and then Venus and Adonis are narrated in song by none other than Orpheus. He sings about those who loved too well and paid the price (his very own Eurydice was lost through his carelessness). In Ovid, the tale of Venus and Adonis thus unfolds in Orphic song, making it especially attractive to Calderón as the subject for an opera libretto. In 1659, Venus ultimately triumphed over Mars to underline the peace sealed between Spain and France after thirty-five years of war. In Lima, 1701, the libretto and its newly written loa commemorated yet another hard-won peace between the same powers achieved through the enthroning of Philippe d'Anjou as King of Spain.

Scholarly opinion is divided as to whether Viceroy Monclova personally favored the installation of a Bourbon king; he had devoted much of his life to fighting the French and preventing French incursions into American commerce.³⁰ But he was also the primary American artifice of his uncle's larger plan for the unification and reform of the monarchy, a plan that favored an alliance with France and rejection of the Austrian candidate, Archduke Charles.³¹ In Lima he was positioned to ensure that institutions and social sectors within the vicerealty would accept the new king, such that, whatever his personal enmity toward the French, the official printed *relación* of Lima's 5 October 1701 acclamation of Philip V underlines Monclova's enthusiasm and organizational zeal.³² It is highly significant, however, that this publication was issued only after considerable delay. Indeed, by late November of 1701 the municipal authorities were very anxious to make sure that news of the splendor and rigor of Lima's commemoration (and the fact that it followed the appropriate protocol) would reach the royal court quickly. Almost two months after the October ceremonies, the

²⁹ Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 213–18, explains how Calderón's libretto was informed by contemporary emblem books and mythographers.

³⁰ Ortuño Martínez, "Melchor Portocarrero y Lasso de la Vega" notes "El cambio de casa reinante en le Monarquía y la consecuente alianza con Francia fue muy difícil encaje para el virrey, que siempre consideró enemigos a los franceses." According to Moreyra and Paz-Soldán and Céspedes del Castillo, *Virreinato peruano*, I:xii, "Perseguir piratas y organizar expediciones militares a Panamá, resultaron para el viejo soldado cosas familiares, casi fáciles; ahora, recibir los barcos franceses tratándolos a la vez como aliados a quienes hay que mimar, contemplar al contrabandista, otrora perseguido, escuchar quejas de respetables comerciantes limeños perjudicados por un tráfico ilícito que no puede suprimir—todo esto resultó nuevo—complicadísimo." Even after the change of dynasty, "Monclova no cambia nada y—como señala Céspedes—no entiende las innovaciones que introduce el primer monarca de la casa de Borbón. Y tampoco éstas—no estará demás decirlo—son en los primeros años del XVIII muy importantes en el aspecto político," as noted in Jorge Tovar Velarde, *Boletín del Instituto Riva-Aguero* 2 (1953): 254–60 (quote from 256).

³¹ On the cardinal and the Portocarrero family, see Antonio Ramón Peña Izquierdo, *La casa de Palma. La familia Portocarrero en el gobierno de la monarquía hispánica (1665–1700)* (Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 2004). I gratefully acknowledge the generous advice of Antonio Ramón Peña Izquierdo, shared in private communications in November and December 2020.

³² The official *relación* of the ceremonies printed in Lima is the unsigned *Solemne proclamación y Cabalgata real que el día 5 de octubre de este año de 1701 hizo la muy noble ciudad de los Reyes* (Lima: Joseph de Contreras y Alvarado, 1701) [E-Mn, R/5751].

Cabildo met on 22 November 1701 and decided that Joseph Terrones (Doctor D. Joseph Gonsáles Terrones, “Abogado de esta Real Audiencia y procurador general y interin Governador”) should compose an official description, “relación de la forma en que se hizo la Aclamación del Rey... y que se ponga en los libros del Cabildo, y que se remita a España testimonio della... y que se envíe de todo testimonio a la persona que tiene los poderes deste Cabildo en la Villa de Madrid para que lo presente a Su Majestad con la carta que sobre esto se escribiera.”³³ Thus the exasperated Cabildo took matters into its own hands in late November to assure that a proper report would be drafted, printed, and sent to Madrid without delay. The date of the Cabildo’s resolution and its tone suggest friction with the viceroy, precisely because the latter, ambivalent or dragging his feet, had not yet ordered such a report. Monclova may merely have been cautious, but the defensive tone of the final report itself conveys that his delay ignited the Cabildo’s anxiety. Nevertheless, as was typical of all such *relaciones*, both the Cabildo’s manuscript draft and the *Solemne proclamación* (which carries no attribution to Terrones) assign to the viceroy a leading role and emphasize his loyalty to the monarchy.³⁴

News of the death of Carlos II reached Lima on 27 April 1700 and was confirmed on 6 May. Theaters in Lima closed for the official mourning, but plans for reopening the public Coliseo theater were revived with the announcement of the new king’s accession.³⁵ *La púrpura de la rosa* was apparently the first theatrical production given at the viceroy’s court after the period of mourning, but it nevertheless formed part of a longer cycle of palace plays sponsored by Viceroy Monclova.³⁶ A newsheet printed in Lima gives this report about the 19 December production for Philip V’s eighteenth birthday:

³³ PE-Lbalm, Libro 33 de Cabildos, fol. 162. A copy of the report drafted in response to this order was entered in the “Libro de Cédulas y provisiones de esa ciudad de los reyes, que comienza el año de 1700–1706” at fols. 103v–106r; it offers the same text that was printed later as the official 1701 *Solemne proclamación y Cabalgata real que el día 5 de octubre de este año de 1701 hizo la muy noble ciudad de los Reyes*.

³⁴ Apparently unaware of the documents cited here from PE-Lbalm, Rodríguez Garrido, “Teatro y Poder en el Palacio Virreinal,” 18–20, accepts that Viceroy Monclova acted with the enthusiasm and haste described in the *Solemne proclamación*, characterizing the viceroy as “la mano rectora del gobernante detrás de todo el proceso ceremonial” (17).

³⁵ Productions in the public theater in the late 1690s seem to have been intermittent or infrequent, in any case, though it is hard to know if this is a false impression based on the relatively scarce documentation from this period. Certainly, the disastrous 1687 Lima earthquake had dire economic consequences and prompted further questions about the morality of attendance at public theaters. The municipal records witness recurring disputes and concerns about seating arrangements, limited space, overly large audiences, and a lack of decorum. In anticipation of renewed performances, in October 1701 the Cabildo discussed recent repairs and resolved to put agents of public order in place to try to control the “desorden tan grande que hay.” See, for example, PE-Lbalm, Libro 33 de Cabildos, fols. 130, 160, 160v; and Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *El arte dramático en Lima durante el virreinato* (Madrid: Estades, 1945), 306–11, 315–16.

³⁶ Based on the titles given in the series of newsheets published and now bound as a collection in *Diarios, y Memorias de los Sucessos principales, y noticias mas sobresalientes en esta Ciudad de Lima, Corte del Perú. Desde 17. del Mes de Mayo del Año de 1700. hasta fines de Diciembre de 1711*

This day of public rejoicing deserves to be recounted, thanks to the happy birthday of our King, Philip V ... whose eighteen years, like the flowers of youth, are the first ones to be celebrated by the faithful recognition and truly Spanish loyalty of these dominions. The City turned out in full-dress, and the nobility adorned the finery on its breasts with diamonds in gallant respect of its sovereign. His Excellency [the viceroy], in whom the generous flame of adoration for his King burns most brightly, attended all the demonstrations of his most dedicated observance; in the morning, with the Royal Audiencia, Courts, and Cabildo, he attended the solemn Mass that was sung in the Cathedral for the health and life of our King ... That night, in one of the patios of the palace, *La púrpura de la rosa* was performed, an elegant composition by D. Pedro Calderón, all in music, and performed with excellently skilled voices and rich display in the costumes, stage apparatus, perspective scenery, machines, and flights. The loa, in which the Muses and Deities crowned our invincible Philip, was also fully sung and acted: His Excellency paid the greatly swollen expenses of this *fiesta*, as well as those of the bullfights, with his usual inexhaustible generosity.³⁷

This is the first piece of operatic criticism published in the Americas, printed in an early issue of the first periodical publication to be legitimately called a newspaper (see the page reproduced here as Figure 5.1).³⁸ It has the

(Lima: Joseph de Contreras y Alvarado, [n.d.] [US-NYp, KSD 76–235], Rodríguez Garrido, “Teatro y Poder en el Palacio Virreinal,” 189–95, offers an analysis of the plays presented at court in 1700 as part of an imperial cycle, though all of them were of the standard “cape and sword” or *comedia de enredo* type.

³⁷ “Día de felicidad Pública, que comienza a contarse por los años felices de N. Rey, Señor D. Felipe V que prospere el cielo: que siendo 18. como flores de la edad, son los primeros que celebra el fiel reconocimiento, y lealtad Española en estos Reinos. Vistióse de gala la Ciudad, y la Nobleza esmaltó con Diamantes la fineza de los pechos en obsequio galante de su Señor. Su Excelencia, en quien arde más visible la llama generosa de la adoración a su Rey, pasó a todas las demostraciones de su mayor culto; asistió la mañana con la Real Audiencia, Tribunales, y Cabildo a la solemne Misa, que se cantó en la Cathedral, por la salud, y vida de N. Rey y Señor, que Dios la continúe por dilatados años feliz. A la noche se celebró en uno de los patios de Palacio la Púrpura de la Rosa, composición elegante de D. Pedro Calderón, toda música, y executada con gran destreza de voces y riqueza de galas, aparato de perspectivas, bastidores, tramoyas, y vuelos. La Loa fue también de música y representación, en que las Musas, y Deidades Coronaban a N. Invicto Filipo: costeano tan crecidos gastos en esta fiesta, como en la de los toros, la siempre inexhausta galantería de Su Excelencia.” *Diario de las noticias más sobresalientes en esta corte de Lima desde 20 de Octubre hasta 19 de Diciembre de este año de 1701* (Lima: Joseph de Contreras y Alvarado, 1701); [US-NYp, KSD 76–235], quoted in Rodríguez Garrido, “Teatro y Poder en el Palacio Virreinal,” 235–36; Bresie, “News-Sheets Printed in Lima,” 30, summarizes this newsheet as item number 14. US-NYp, Digital Collections, <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/2293d9e0-b034-0130-d90f-58d385a7b928>.

³⁸ Bresie, “News-Sheets Printed in Lima,” 1–12, provides an informative summary of early Spanish, Mexican, and Latin American newsheets and relaciones, and argues that this series (entitled *Diarios, y Memorias de los Sucessos principales, y noticias más sobresalientes en esta Ciudad de Lima*) published in Lima for the period 1700–11 constitutes the first newspaper of the Americas: “The standardized title formula, the consecutive nature of the publication, and the extended period of time covered by this Lima news-sheet certainly entitle it to be characterized as a true periodical publication” (12).

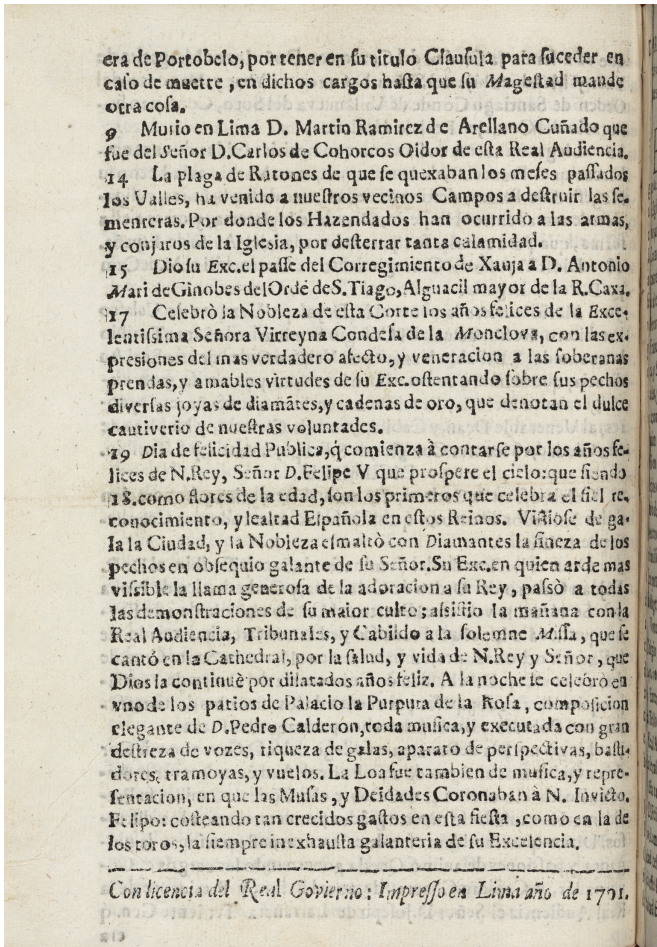


Figure 5.1 Notice of *La púrpura de la rosa* in *Diario de las noticias más sobresalientes en esta corte de Lima (con otras avidas de la Europa) desde fines de Diciembre de 1701. hasta mediado Febrero de 1702* (Lima: Joseph de Contreras y Alvarado, 1702), KSD 76–235, The New York Public Library.

generic quality typical of official reports, but praises the skillful singers, rich costumes, perspective scenery, movable sets, and stage machines. Though conforming to what was usual in printed notices about opera elsewhere in the world, it reveals at least that this was a special production. The success of the enterprise is attributed largely to the famous (long deceased) dramatist Calderón de la Barca. Readers of the Lima *Diario de noticias* were familiar with Calderón's plays because they were still performed frequently both in the colonies and on the peninsula. The content of the newly written loa is briefly

described because its allegory praised the new king (the poet is not named) and it was completely sung. Monclova (“Su Excelencia”) is praised as the generous patron of an extremely expensive production. The names of composer and performers are omitted—as was typical of such printed notices, even in Madrid or Naples—but the fact that the opera was fully-sung is clarified with the term “toda música.”

The next issue of the *Diario* explains that the production (“el festejo Real de Palacio” with its “representación música”) was presented more than once between 22 December and 6 January, and that each night’s performance was offered to a different audience.³⁹ Just as the acclamation ceremonies on 5 October had followed official protocol and the example of Madrid (“siguiendo el exemplar de la Coronada Villa de Madrid”), so the performance of a fully-sung opera followed the paradigmatic association between opera and dynastic succession developed there in Carpio’s much earlier productions. Monclova surely recognized this convention and sponsored the opera as an appropriate way to entertain Lima’s élite on the royal occasion.⁴⁰ In the incomplete loa preserved inside the manuscript score, the muses Calíope and Tersicore pay homage to the new king in a universe changed by the superior presence of a fifth planet, Philip V, who rules over two worlds, emphasizing the continuity of the monarchy and welcoming the change of dynasty.⁴¹ In Lima, *La púrpura de la rosa* was an “imperial act,” however benignly impermanent the consequences.⁴²

³⁹ “El festejo Real de Palacio en celebridad del feliz ingreso a la Corona de N. Rey y Señor Don Felipo V. [que Dios guarde] se repitió convidando su Exc. al V. Deán y Cabildo de esta S. Iglesia de Lima, y todo el numeroso Clero de esta Ciudad, cortejando su Exc. en su quarto a los Capitulares, antes de bajar a la Comedia, con regaladas bebidas, y después bajando a asistirles al teatro, mostrando en todo su Exc. la gran veneración, que professa al estado Ecclesiástico. Tercera vez convidó a todos los Cavalleros de Lima. Quarto día a las dos Religiones de S. Domingo y S. Francisco. Quinta vez a las de S. Agustín, N. Señora de la Merced y S. Iuan de Dios, agasajando siempre su Exc. a los Prelados actuales, y Padres de Provincia, con regalados refrescos en su quarto; y acompañándolos personalmente todo el tiempo de la representación música. Sexta vez convidó a la Real Universidad, que asistió en numeroso concurso de Doctores, y Maestros con los tres Colegios el Real, y Maior de S. Felipe, el Real de S. Martín, y el Seminario de S. Toribio. Séptima, y última vez se representó el día de Reyes a toda la Ciudad, queriendo su Exc. que en tan festiva demonstración del regocijo público, y celebridad de N. Rey, y Señor, tuviessen parte en la común alegría y festejo los amantes Vasallos de su Magestad.” *Diario de las noticias mas sobresalientes en esta corte de Lima (con otras avidas de la Europa) desde fines de Diciembre de 1701. hasta mediado Febrero de 1702* (Lima: Joseph de Contreras y Alvarado, 1702) [US-NYP, KSD 76–235]. Quoted in Rodríguez Garrido, “Teatro y Poder en el Palacio Virreinal,” 240–41; Bresie, “News-Sheets Printed in Lima,” 30, summarizes this newssheet as item number 15.

⁴⁰ As explained in Chapter 1, prior to the coronation of Philippe d’Anjou as Felipe V, *La púrpura de la rosa* was associated with Spanish-French alliances: first the Peace of the Pyrenees and the marriage treaty binding the Infanta María Teresa with Louis XIV, and then the marriage of Carlos II to Marie-Louise d’Orleans, though it was also performed to welcome Maria Anna of Neuburg in 1690.

⁴¹ Rodríguez Garrido, “Teatro y Poder en el Palacio Virreinal,” 220–21.

⁴² “Imperial act” is the term coined in Gustavo Verdesio, “The Original Sin Behind the Creation of a New Europe: Economic and Ecological Imperialism in the River Plate,” *Mapping Colonial Spanish America: Places and Commonplaces of Identity, Culture, and Experience*, ed. Santa Arias and Mariselle Meléndez (Lewisburg, PA, and London: Bucknell University Press, 2002), 139–40, 152–55,

The 19 December premiere was performed for the viceroy, his family, household, and invited guests from among the Spanish nobility. Subsequent evenings between 22 December and 6 January were for other specific groups—the dean and cabildo of Lima Cathedral together with high-ranking clerics, representatives of the principal religious orders, the lower nobility, the “Doctores y Maestros” from the university and the seminary, and so on. The final performance on 6 January 1702, Epiphany or “Día de los Reyes” (also the purported anniversary of the founding of the city of Lima, “Ciudad de los Reyes,” and Viceroy Monclova’s own onomastic day), was offered to the public, “a toda la ciudad.” Plays that incorporated special effects, perspective scenery, and artificial lighting had been offered previously at the palace by Monclova and his predecessors (and would be produced sporadically into the 1740s).⁴³ But by producing a fully-sung opera on a temporary stage set up in a palace courtyard and opening the production to the populace, Monclova was following a precedent set by Carpio at the royal court and observed by other viceroys and governors when they produced opera elsewhere in the empire.⁴⁴ The last

to describe other more important interventions (material and biological) with long-lasting effects. Concerning the viceroy’s motivation for the Lima production, Rodríguez Garrido, “Teatro y Poder en el Palacio Virreinal,” 218–23, presents conclusions that concur with mine, based on a reading of the printed newsheets alone. Earlier studies include Robert Stevenson, “Opera Beginnings in the New World,” *Musical Quarterly* 45 (1959): 8–25; Robert Stevenson, “The First New-World Opera,” *Americas* 16 (1964): 33–35; Samuel Claro, “La música secular de Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco (1644–1729). Algunas características de su estilo y notación musical,” *Revista musical chilena* 117 (1972): 3–23; Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, *La púrpura de la rosa*, transcription and study by Robert Stevenson (Lima: Instituto Nacional de Cultura, 1976); and Pedro Calderón de la Barca y Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, *La púrpura de la rosa*, edición del texto de Calderón y transcripción de la música de Torrejón comentados y anotados por Angeles Cardona, Don Cruickshank, y Martin Cunningham (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 1990).

⁴³ José Antonio Rodríguez Garrido, “El teatro cortesano en la Lima colonial: recepción y prácticas escénicas,” *Histórica* 32 (2008): 115–43, offers a detailed consideration of a dozen or more viceregal palace plays produced 1672–1747 and emphasizes the mediating power of the viceroy; he mentions the portable theater (128). See also José Antonio Rodríguez Garrido, “Mutaciones de teatro: la representación en Lima de *Amar es saber vencer* de Antonio de Zamora en las fiestas por la coronación de Luis I (1725),” in *La producción simbólica en la América colonial*, ed. José Pascual Buxó (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2001), 371–402.

⁴⁴ As noted in Chapter 1, many court productions at the Coliseo theater in Madrid’s Buen Retiro palace opened to the public following their private premieres. As explained in Chapter 4, opera performances in Naples before 1696 usually were staged first in a theater set up in the sala grande of the viceroy’s palace, then moved to the public Teatro di San Bartolomeo, though palace performances were sometimes open to the ticket-buying public as well. Rodríguez Garrido, “Mutaciones de teatro,” 371–402, describes how viceregal celebrations in Lima and productions of spoken plays with special visual effects emulated the practices of the royal court. Sanz Ayán, “El discurso festejante,” 237–38, has emphasized the importance of court productions precisely in this period of dynastic change: “las fiestas reales y el teatro palaciego que se representaba en ellas eran de factura obligatoria porque constituían una celebración política convertida en acto confirmatorio y ratificador de soberanía y lealtad, mucho más necesario, si cabe, cuando esa soberanía podía ser disputada como era el caso de Felipe V de Borbón y de Carlos III de Austria.”

performance was the crowning event of the viceroy's onomastic celebration when the nobility gathered to pay him homage.⁴⁵

These reports about *La púrpura de la rosa* in the earliest periodical publication of the Americas praised a performance of secular music and thus positioned secular music within the official historical record for Lima—a significant legitimization of the public practice of profane vocal performance. The news reports emphasize the opera's uniqueness, sheer costliness, and value as a political statement. Monclova's public sponsorship of *La púrpura de la rosa* brought Lima's élite into the cultural work that opera had accomplished in Carpio's productions elsewhere. Though the genre of opera and Hidalgo's music both carried a royal pedigree, the opera's music was at once audibly accessible to all social levels because some of its tunes were already circulating, its musical materials were drawn from a familiar tradition, and its persuasive lyricism was designed for performance by actress-singers of low social status. At its first arrival in the Americas, then, opera provided a capacious embrace for many segments of Lima's multi-layered society while ennobling secular music itself. Opera had accomplished similarly integrative socio-cultural work in Carpio's Madrid productions, but especially in Naples.

Legitimizing Public Secular Music and the Emerging Criollo Culture

La púrpura de la rosa may well have served to enhance the developing public culture of Lima's criollos at a crucial moment, just as the Hapsburg dynasty and its political project were effectively dissolved.⁴⁶ Writing not long after the Lima

⁴⁵ The entry in the *Diario* states that this last performance was accompanied by a new prologue and new comic or danced *sainetes* (skits) between the acts ("la última repetición de la Comedia, con nueva loa y sainetes, que festejaron la Ciudad"). A new loa and *sainetes* were necessary to honor Viceroy Monclova; *Diario de las noticias mas sobresalientes en esta corte de Lima (con otras avidas de la Europa) desde fines de Diciembre de 1701. hasta mediado Febrero de 1702*, quoted in Rodríguez Garrido, "Teatro y Poder en el Palacio Virreinal," 242.

⁴⁶ Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Historia del Perú. Virreinato (siglo XVII)* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta López, 1954), 444–52, introduced the notion that it was precisely during the late years of Monclova's reign as viceroy that the educated and well-born criollo class in Lima began to assert itself with a strong "sentido americanista" as equal and even superior to the *peninsulares*. For the "criollo mentality" in literature, see Mabel Moraña, "Barroco y conciencia criolla en Hispanoamérica," *Revista de crítica literaria latinoamericana* 14, no. 28 (1988): 229–51. Other important studies of the criollo culture include *Agencias criollas. La ambigüedad "colonial" en las letras hispanoamericanas*, ed. José Antonio Mazzotti (Pittsburgh: Instituto Internacional de Literatura Iberoamericana, 2000); sections of Raquel Chang-Rodríguez, *Hidden Messages: Representation and Resistance In Andean Colonial Drama* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1999); Jerry M. Williams, ed. and trans., *Censorship and Art in Pre-enlightenment Lima: Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo's Diálogo de los muertos: la causa académica* (Potomac, MD: Scripta Humanistica, 1994); Jerry M. Williams, ed., Pedro Peralta Barnuevo, *Historia de España vindicada* (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 2001); Luis Alberto Sánchez, *El Doctor Océano. Estudios sobre Don Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1967); and the elegant chapter about the parallel case of Sigüenza y Góngora in Mexico in Anthony

production, Pedro Peralta Barnuevo (1664–1743), a highly placed court employee, a polyglot writer, and among the most respected of criollo intellectuals, wrote about the utility of public spectacles as “political sacrifice” in his prologue to *Triunfos de amor y poder* (1711), commissioned by Viceroy Diego Ladrón de Guevara to celebrate the victory of Philip V’s troops at Villaviciosa. Peralta’s uncomplicated frankness, the directness of his statement about the sovereign’s control and legitimation of spectacle, result from the purifying effects of colonial distance:

Public festivals consecrated to the Sovereign are a species of political sacrifice to his majesty, whose temples are plazas and theatres. They are festive manifestos in which the people authenticate their joyful fidelity, and the Prince’s sovereignty is founded on their praise. His authority makes itself agreeable with enjoyment, and their faith affirms itself in applause. Whatever most pleases him is loved, and whatever is most [worthy of] being repeated, is printed.⁴⁷

La púrpura de la rosa was just the sort of “political sacrifice” that Peralta described. The genre was new for Lima—perhaps the only fully-sung opera experienced by anyone living there in 1701, aside from Monclova, his wife doña Antonia Jiménez de Urrea, and composer Torrejón y Velasco. Its mythological story was well adapted, nevertheless, to tendencies there. After the first two stages in the colonial process, early eighteenth-century Peruvian writers formulated a syncretism of Classical and Incan myths in plays, official histories, and chronicles, sustaining the notion of the well-educated “sabio criollo.” Criollo writers projected Peru as a place whose elegance and refinement surpassed that of European courts. A fully-sung opera production mitigated against provincialism, while the mythological story claimed a shared inheritance from European antiquity for criollos and peninsular Spaniards. Certainly, the opera’s striking consonance might be heard as analogous to the extreme poetic lyricism cultivated by criollo poets who had also shown a taste for violent fables with bloody episodes and tragic

Pagden, *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1990), 91–132.

⁴⁷ “Son las públicas fiestas que se consagran al Príncipe una especie de político sacrificio de la Magestad, cuyos templos son plazas y Theatros. Son unos festivos manifestos en que el Pueblo autentica la fidelidad con la alegría, y al Príncipe se le funda con el elogio de la soberanía. Hácese bien quisto el derecho con el gozo, y afirmase la fé con el aplauso. Ámase lo que agrada [al soberano]; imprímese lo que se repite.” Pedro Peralta y Barnuevo, *Imagen política del gobierno del Excelentísimo Señor D. Diego Ladrón de Guevara...* (Lima: Gerónimo Contreras, 1714), fols. 46–52 [E-Mn, 2/23474]. Concerning Peralta as a political writer, see José Antonio Rodríguez Garrido, “Ópera, tragedia, comedia: el teatro de Pedro de Peralta como práctica de poder,” in *El Teatro en la Hispanoamérica Colonial*, ed. Ignacio Arellano and José Antonio Rodríguez Garrido (Iberoamericana Editorial Vervuert, 2008), 241–58; *ProQuest Ebook Central*, <https://ebookcentral-proquest.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/lib/umichigan/detail.action?docID=6469198>.

endings—precisely what the plot of *La púrpura de la rosa* offered in 1701.⁴⁸ In performance, Calderón's poetry becomes affectively overloaded by the musical setting's intertwined feminine voices, high tessituras, and persistent lyricism, translating the erotic anxieties of its protagonists into a musical fabric whose constituent parts nevertheless sounded familiar. The opera's music may even be heard as analogous to the "complex refinement" of the criollo writers, with its baroque combination of "the extraordinary and the everyday" and the "courtly and the erudite," in a culture whose refined minority was reassured by and promoted itself through excessive *culteranismo* and *conceptismo*.⁴⁹ Opera was an elegant royal genre, yet the music of *La púrpura de la rosa* is fleshed out with the simple, reiterative, strophic tunes designed for untrained voices supported not by an eruditely notated or composed-out orchestral score, but by an improvised accompaniment of plucked and strummed basso continuo instruments grounded in the ubiquitous harps and guitars.⁵⁶

Criollo writers in early eighteenth-century Lima reinterpreted European myths and legends within narratives of a glittering native Andean past. It was easier to explain away the stain of a pre-Christian heritage by first comparing that heritage to the ancient Greek origins of European culture. The importance of dynastic succession, the divine right of kings to govern, and the nobility of monarchs were among the pillars of belief that Spaniards anyway held in common with their indigenous Andean subjects. Peralta, among Peru's most prolific writers in the early eighteenth century, drew from both Classical and Andean myths in *Jubilos de Lima*, a long chronicle and political tract about Lima's 1723 celebration for the marriage of Prince Luis Fernando de Borbón to the Princess of Orleans (it had taken place in Lerma in 1722). The ancient Greeks enter Peralta's humanistic discourse as a precedent for contemporary political celebrations because their "festive games" honored both politics and religion—a venerable antecedent for the Christian politics of state in colonial Peru. Peralta emphasized, however, that the gentle character of the Peruvian people meant

⁴⁸ On criollo poetry and violent excess, see Francisco Domínguez Matito, "El mitologismo criollo de Domínguez Camargo: Comentarios al Libro 1 del *Poema Heróico de San Ignacio de Loyola*," in *Edición y anotación de textos coloniales Hispanoamericanos*, ed. Ignacio Arellano and José Antonio Rodríguez Garrido (Pamplona: University of Navarra and Editorial Iberoamericana, 1999), 118–21.

⁴⁹ The quoted words are borrowed from Domínguez Matito, "El mitologismo criollo," 113–27; Domínguez Matito, 118–21, also explains the characteristic "exagerada acumulación de evocaciones mitológicas." The text of the 1701 loa to *La púrpura de la rosa*, preserved only in the Lima manuscript, produces a similar effect. On the *sabio criollo*, see Mariano Picón-Salas, *De la conquista a la independencia. Tres siglos de historia cultural hispanoamericana* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1944 and later reeditions), 131–34; Georgina Sabat de Rivers, "El barroco de la contraconquista: primicias de conciencia criolla en Balbuena y Domínguez Camargo," *Estudios de literatura hispanoamericana. Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz y otros poetas barrocos de la Colonia* (Barcelona: Promociones y Publicaciones Universitarias, 1992), 17–48; and "Introducción" in Mabel Moraña, *Relecturas del Barroco de Indias* (Hanover, NH: Ediciones del Norte, 1994).

that *fiestas* in Lima were naturally refined, devoid of the brutality and violence that had characterized those of the ancients. Peralta's fascinating description of the kingdom of Peru is imbued with the particularity of the Andean landscape. Here is Arcadia come-to-life in the Southern Hemisphere, with "mountains and torrents of gold," "trees of life," actual mines of silver, precious gems, and other treasures. The region's natural wonders are unmatched by "what Carthage gave the Romans" or what "the orient and Ophir gave to the ancients." Peralta's history of the Incan empire is punctuated by generous comparison to the heroic deeds of Mediterranean antiquity. The Andean past is described not as an ignorant, pagan society that awaited the civilizing Europeans, but as a series of admirable civilizations endowed with epic virtue through comparison to Classical models. Peruvians' double inheritance was more fascinatingly antique, more noble, and more elegant than what Europeans of the same generation could claim from Classical antiquity.⁵⁰

The mythological story explored in Calderón's text for *La púrpura de la rosa* offered settings (the wild and rugged mountainside, a lush flower-filled garden) and archetypal characters familiar from both European and Andean mythology. Similarly, Peralta's 1723 *Jubilos de Lima* includes numerous comparisons to Classical myths and heroes of European antiquity. He describes a parade with enormous floats that told the story of the pre-Spanish empires. A procession of figures costumed as indigenous Peruvians ("originarios naturales") represented the history of the "antiguos moradores de este Reyno." Mama Huaco is described as "una muger lasciva, bárbara Venus de esta región." The foundational incest story in which the Inca Manco Capac and his sister Mama Ocllo produce their son, Sinchi Roca, might be recognized in Calderón's poetry as Adonis narrates his own incestuous conception.⁵¹ The mountains of Carabaya and Potosí, with their rich mines, are "more useful than Parnassus and the Helicon, fabulous palaces of Apollo" in that they "actually sustain the world with their treasure and are presided over by the sun."⁵² One of the procession's floats carried singing women attired as Incan princesses, whom Peralta compared to "golden-voiced Muses who, when they sang a harmonious prologue before his Excellency the Viceroy, were at once Parnassus itself and the Choir of Muses to their Apollo, as they intoned the sweet rhythms of their march."⁵³ *La púrpura de la rosa* opened with this very same kind of harmonious prologue, composed by Torrejón and

⁵⁰ See Pedro Peralta y Barnuevo, *Jubilos de Lima y Fiestas Reales...* (Lima: Ignacio de Luna y Bohórques, 1723) [E-Mn, R/3641].

⁵¹ Peralta narrates this Incan ancestry in *Jubilos de Lima*, fols. 35v–36v.

⁵² Peralta, *Jubilos de Lima*, fol. 76: "más útiles que el Parnaso, y el Helicón, fabulosos Alcázares de Apolo; pues verdaderamente sostienen el Mundo en sus thesoros, y los preside el Sol con sus influxos."

⁵³ Peralta, *Jubilos de Lima*, fol. 79.

sung by actresses costumed as muses to praise the new sovereign (it may even be that this 1701 loa served as the model for later ones).⁵⁴

Both the printed newssheets about *La púrpura de la rosa* and Peralta's rich descriptions of later viceregal commemorations suggest that Viceroy Monclova's 1701 production was visually elegant in a way that would impress and flatter the criollo élite. In his panegyric description of festivities offered to Viceroy Ladrón de Guevara (viceroys 1710–16), Peralta underlined the luxurious display of riches mined in the Andes—jewels, textiles, and gold and silver leaf and brocade.⁵⁵ The costumes worn by the actors and attire of the audience both displayed a special “richness in the fabrics,” and the “precious jewels that covered the costumes far exceeded what would be seen in Europe, because such elegance could only be seen in Peru.”⁵⁶ The Peruvian criollo, then, had no cause to envy his Spanish peninsular counterpart's artistry or ostentation. The comedias performed in a patio of the viceroy's palace as the fitting conclusion to Lima's dynastic celebrations in 1723 “met the standard of whatever Italy sings in its operas, whatever Paris designs in its perspective scenery, and, in short, whatever discourse Madrid offers in poetry.”⁵⁷ In a similar way, the music of *La púrpura de la rosa* bridged two spheres; it brought to 1701 Lima an opera whose rhythmic vitality and lyrical elegance rendered appropriate homage to the new king in a musical idiom familiar to his Peruvian subjects.

The Extant Lima Score

The principal surviving musical manuscript of the 1701 *La púrpura de la rosa* (PE-Lbnp MS C1469) is the most extensive single collection of secular vocal music from colonial Peru. It was compiled in Lima, as far as can be known.⁵⁸ The manuscript presents 92 folios (21 X 34 cm.), three of them entirely blank, with six staves per page; the music is cleanly copied, but only on facing pages, so that the back of each page with musical notation is also blank. Very likely, the manuscript was put together to commemorate Monclova's production, given the wording of the elaborate title page (as shown in Figure 5.2). The manuscript is elegant in its

⁵⁴ Peralta's loa to *Triunfos de Amor y Poder* (1711) also included Apollo and the Muses come down to earth; see Peralta y Barnuevo, *Imagen política*, fol. 50v.

⁵⁵ Peralta y Barnuevo, *Imagen política*; Ruth Hill, *Hierarchy, Commerce and Fraud in Bourbon Spanish America: A Postal Inspector's Exposé* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2005), 109–11, notes that Peralta attempted to explain away the corruption of Viceroy Monclova's successors by implying that they had missed the chance to govern during a previous lost “Golden Age of Peru.”

⁵⁶ Peralta y Barnuevo, *Imagen política*, fol. 51–51v.

⁵⁷ Peralta y Barnuevo, *Jubilos de Lima*, fol. 83: “y pudo igualar quanto la Italia canta en óperas, quanto París delinea en perspectivas, y en fin quanto Madrid discurre en metros.”

⁵⁸ PE-Lbnp MS C1469, first described in Andrés Sas, “La púrpura de la rosa,” *Boletín de la Biblioteca Nacional* 2, no. 5 (October, 1944): 9.

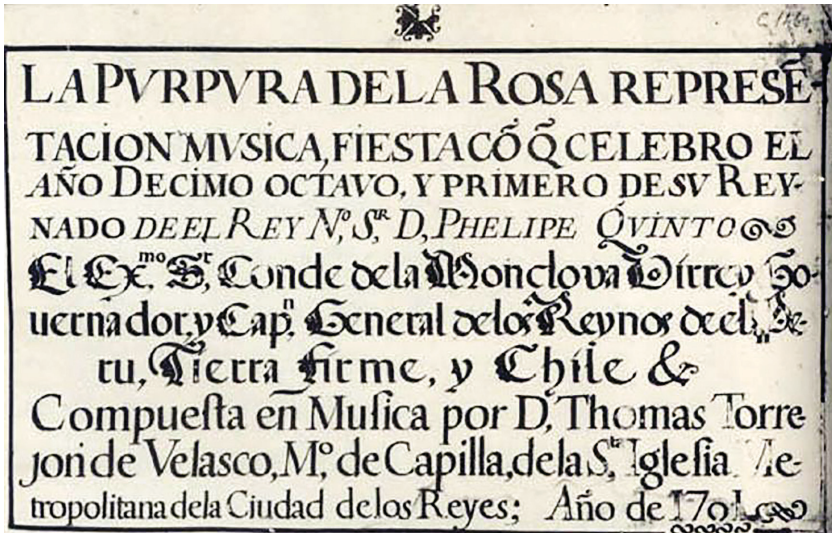


Figure 5.2 Title page, *La púrpura de la rosa* (Lima, 1701), MS C1469, Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, Lima.

clean presentation of text and music on water-marked paper. It shows no signs of use as a performance score, though it begins with a loa that was composed specifically for Felipe V's birthday and the Lima celebration of his accession. The blank pages following the title page and preceding the music for the loa may have been reserved initially for the dedication or other preliminaries pertaining to the opera's commission or production in Lima. It is even possible that the manuscript was compiled with such clarity and in such an unusual layout because it was meant to serve as the basis for a printed edition.

The manuscript lacks certain features essential to any performance of the opera. The number of characters in the loa and their names cannot be gleaned from the manuscript alone. The original order of the solo and ensemble pieces in the loa cannot be discerned with any certainty from the music in the manuscript because the latter provides no more than the text and music for the first copla or strophe in each strophic song, even when the succeeding strophes may have been shared among several characters. No literary source for the loa has yet been identified; the text is surely not by Calderón but might have been written by one of the Peruvian poets known to Torrejón or favored by the viceroy. In any case, there is no reason to question Torrejón y Velasco's authorship of the music for the loa in the 1701 manuscript.

Throughout the Lima manuscript, bar lines are lacking, though single and double vertical lines of division indicate the ends of sections. Repeat signs ✂

are used to indicate the insertion of repeated *coplas* whose poetic texts are not underlaid in the music, and to indicate repeated segments of the sparsely figured bass line. The manuscript does not consistently provide the names of the opera's characters; when provided at all, they are written above the staff. The poetic verse is cleanly but incompletely copied into the musical manuscript. The full musical fabric of the opera proper (aside from the loa) can be pieced together by filling in the missing character names and strophes of poetry from the printed Calderón texts.⁵⁹

The layout of the Lima manuscript indicates that its music might well have been copied into it from performing parts, where the practice of separating the vocal melodies from their bass lines was standard in the Hispanic world. Individual tonos and tonadas from many plays are preserved in just such *papeles sueltos* or performing parts. Of the surviving bound scores of Hispanic theatrical music from this period, only the Lima manuscript preserves precisely this format.⁶⁰ Following the elaborate title page (numbered 1 in the modern pagination) there are three blank unnumbered folios. The "Música de la Loa" follows (page 2 of the modern numbering) with eleven folios. Within this section, the solo songs and duos are given first (fols. 5v–6r, 7v–8r), their bass lines at the bottom of each page, on the first four leaves following the title page and blank leaves. The music of the four extant vocal ensembles or *coros* for the Loa are notated in score, with their bass lines, but without bar lines or precise alignment, on the last seven leaves of the loa (9v–10, 11v–12, 13, 14v–15). A folio is missing between pages 9 and 10 in the modern numbering. This folio would have

⁵⁹ Calderón's libretto first appeared in print in the two nearly identical versions of the *Tercera parte de comedias de D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca* (Madrid: Domingo García Morrás, 1664); it was republished in the edition by Calderón's friend Vera Tassis, *Tercera parte de comedias del célebre poeta español, don Pedro Calderón de la Barca: que nuevamente corregidas publica Juan de Vera Tassis y Villarroel* (Madrid: Francisco Sanz, 1687); an earlier 1662 manuscript of the Calderón text, GB-Ob, MS. Add. A. 143, fols. 170r–198r, provides some variant readings, as explained in Edward M. Wilson, "The Text of Calderón's *La púrpura de la rosa*," *The Modern Language Review* 54 (1959): 29–44. The only places where text and/or music are crossed out and corrected in the Lima manuscript (PE-Lbnp MS C1469) seem to have resulted from the copyist's struggles with the text underlay: in the loa at fol. 11, third line; fol. 12 of the loa, top line; fol. 9 (orig.) of the tonadas, penultimate line; fol. 17 (orig.) of the tonadas, fourth line; fol. 23 of the tonadas, third line; fol. 33 of the tonadas, first and second lines; fol. 45 (orig.), penultimate line; fol. 46 (orig.) top of page; fol. 47 (orig.) last line; fol. 53 (orig.) end of line 4; in the coros section, pages 1, 2, and 3 have small corrections as well.

⁶⁰ For practical reasons, some scores group the larger coros together in one section, separated from the solo tonadas (one example is P-EVp Cod. CLI 2-1, the three-act manuscript for Hidalgo's *Celos aun del aire matan*); Stevenson, "Opera Beginnings," 16–17, describes the Lima manuscript: "Torrejon's surviving score, bound in yellowed parchment, consists of 89 oblong pages (21 by 34 cms.) copied on one side only. Catalogued under call-number C1469 at the Biblioteca Nacional in Lima, it begins with a title page, continues with three blank leaves (especially welcome for their watermarks), 11 unnumbered leaves comprising the loa, 56 numbered plus 55 actual leaves (fol. 20 has been ripped out) devoted to all the solo pieces (tonadas solas) in the main body of the comedia, and concludes with 19 given over to choral selections and vocal ensembles. In addition to fol. 20 of music for the comedia, what should have been fol. 9 of the music for the loa and fols. 16 and 21 of the choral appendix are gone."

contained the conclusion of one coro, certainly, but it is impossible to know what else it might have contained, if anything.

The section devoted to the solo pieces of the opera proper, “Tonadas Solas de la Comedia,” begins on page 13 in the modern pagination (unnumbered fol. 16), providing fifty-five folios with the original foliation given only on the even-numbered leaves to folio 56. The music of Venus’ nymphs for the opening scene of the opera takes up the first opening of this section. Folio 1v of this section contains their solo strophes and the figured bass line or “Acompto” for these strophes. The facing page, (fol. 2r, original numbering 2), contains their ensemble “Id, Llegad, Corred, Volad...” and its “Acompto.” On folio 3v of this section, the opera continues with Venus’ solo interjection “Ay, infelice” and Adonis’ copla in response, “Yo, yo que vivo imán,” offering only the solo vocal lines for what follows, while folio 4r (4 in the original numbering) gives only the bass (C4 clef) for the vocal lines contained on its facing page (fol. 3v). This layout, with six staves of unbarred vocal lines given on the page facing that contain the unbarred, sparsely figured bass lines or “Acompañamientos,” continues through folio 56 in the original numbering, the end of the section devoted to the solo tonadas of the opera proper. The folio numbered 20 in the original numbering has been torn out, so that the bass lines for the vocal solos on the facing page are missing. The page originally numbered as folio 56 presents the bass lines for the last solo lines in the opera (Venus and Adonis beginning “Pues porque mejor lo digas” and Belona “A cuyo aplauso festivo”).

The four-part coros for nymphs and allegorical figures of the opera proper, together with their bass lines, are relegated to a separate section at the back of the manuscript, without any heading of its own, beginning on an unnumbered folio that would be 57 in the original numbering scheme (fols. 72v–90r). In this section, the bass lines are located on the same pages as their corresponding vocal parts in unbarred score format, but the vertical alignment is still imprecise. Throughout the opera, the ensemble pieces are cued into the music at the appropriate places in the earlier section of the manuscript with text incipits above the staff and/or cues in the continuo bass line (“Arma, Guerra,” “A pesar del amor,” “Al arma a 4,” “a coros,” “A4,” and so forth). The order of the choruses in this section follows the order in which they are called for in the libretto. A complete opening (two facing leaves) has been ripped out of the manuscript between pages 82 and 83 of the modern numbering. This opening must have contained the three short choruses included in the libretto and whose initial bass notes are given in the Lima manuscript at folio 46 (original numbering) with the incipits “Al arma ecta” and “No al arma.” A musical reconstruction for these choruses can be made by preserving the opening notes of the bass line; the repetition of the “El Amor” tune and bass line serve as the basic material for the entire lengthy and highly dramatic scene.

A second manuscript that includes excerpts from *La púrpura de la rosa* is held by the music library of the Seminario San Antonio Abad in Cusco. It presents eleven melodic segments from the opera without bass lines, copied precisely and with great effort in a miniscule calligraphy onto a single vertical folio.⁶¹ The folio also contains, and was originally intended for, a texted “Corneta” part in treble clef and standard full-sized scribal hand for a three-choir setting of “Beatus vir” by Gerónimo Vicente. Clearly, the original purpose of the folio itself was to provide this performing “corneta” part for the three-choir psalm setting. The melodies from *La púrpura de la rosa* were added later in tiny handwriting to both sides of the page by an unidentified copyist for an unexplained purpose.⁶²

Torrejón as Composer or Compiler?

The Spanish composer Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco (1644–1728), named on the title page of the Lima manuscript, was educated in proximity to the royal court in Madrid. Born in Villarrobledo, near Albacete, Spain, on 21 December 1644, and baptized there in the parish of San Blas on 23 December, he was the son of María Sánchez Salvador and Miguel de Torrejón y Velasco de la Cruz (1590–1659). He spent his childhood in Fuencarral (close to Madrid) with his parents and siblings.⁶³ His father, Miguel de Torrejón y Velasco, was “Montero de Lebreles” (literally, Huntsman in charge of the Hounds) to King Philip IV and had succeeded his father, Francisco Torrejón y Velasco, in this position.

⁶¹ The melodic segments correspond to lines 1397–1420, 1712–44, 1756–83, 1862–1905, 1806–17, 1784–85, 1818–21, 1910–13, 1933–37, 1950–53, 1433–52 in Cardona et al., eds., *La púrpura de la rosa*, 165–221; see Nelson Mauricio Véliz Cartagena, “Un vestigio de *La púrpura de la rosa* en el Cusco,” in José Quezada Macchiavello and Mauricio Véliz Cartagena, *La púrpura de la rosa de Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco. Primera ópera de América 300 Años, Música del Virreinato del Perú 3* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Centro de Estudios, Investigación y Difusión de la Música Latinoamericana, 2002), 8.

⁶² The manuscript folio in PE-CUsad is listed as CSB 06, LCS 171, in *El legado musical del Cusco barroco: estudio y catálogo de los manuscritos de música del Seminario San Antonio Abad del Cusco*, ed. José Quezada Machiavello (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2004), 224; it was discovered first by Mauricio Véliz Cartagena; see Véliz Cartagena, “Un vestigio de *La púrpura de la rosa* en el Cusco,” 7–9. I am indebted to José Quezada Machiavello and Mauricio Véliz Cartagena for sharing their discovery and providing me with a photocopy of this folio.

⁶³ Primary sources for the biography of Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco include: E-Mah, Inquisición, leg. 1235, exp. 3, “Información genealógica de fray Francisco Javier Torrejón y Velasco, mercedario, natural de Lima (Perú), y pretendiente a persona honesta del Tribunal de la Inquisición de la citada ciudad, 1730”; E-Mah, Inquisición, leg. 1283, exp. 30, “Información genealógica de Juan José Torrejón y Velasco, presbítero y vicario, natural de Lima (Perú), y pretendiente a comisario del Tribunal de la Inquisición de Lima, en la provincia de Conchucos, 1724”; E-Sagi, Contratación 5435; P. Tomás de Torrejón, *Sermones Panegyricos. Obra posthuma... que saca a luz su hermano don Juan Joseph de Torrejón y Velasco*, vol. 2, dedication to the fourteenth Count of Lemos (Madrid: Imprenta de Alonso Balvás, 1737) [E-Mn, 6/3361, vol. 2]; and *Relación de la literatura, y méritos del muy reverendo Padre Maestro Fray Francisco de Torrejón y Velasco... Cathedrático de Lima* (Madrid: n.p., 1746) [E-Mn, R/1231 (170)].

Members of the Torrejón family served in this capacity at least through the end of the seventeenth century. Before his exile, Carpio surely knew Tomás because generations of men in the Torrejón de Velasco family, beginning with grandfather Francisco and including his father, Miguel, and his brother, Francisco, were Monteros de Lebreles de la Real Caza de Montería under Carpio's direct supervision.⁶⁴ Francisco de Torrejón inherited the position in 1659 after the death of Tomás' father.⁶⁵ The family lived in the parish of San Miguel in Fuencarral and were the keepers and trainers of the royal greyhounds during Carpio's most powerful epoch at court, when he organized hunts and sojourns at the Zarzuela and Pardo palaces and signed all of the payment lists for the Monteros de Lebreles, 1654–62. He also processed a substantial *ayuda de costa* of 1100 reales de vellón in 1654 for Tomás' father, Miguel de Torrejón, "atento a su necesidad y tener muchos hijos."⁶⁶

Perhaps the musical talent of young Tomás attracted Carpio's attention, such that he helped to place the boy with the powerful Lemos and Andrade family. In 1658 or 1659 Tomás began to serve as a page to the ninth Count of Lemos, Don

⁶⁴ Monteros de Lebreles were huntsmen who looked after and deployed the royal greyhounds; typically, there were twelve to fourteen of them (thirteen in 1660, for example), according to Christine Hofmann-Randall, *Das spanische Hofzeremoniell 1500–1700* (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2012), 254; concerning the duties of this position, see the very useful Iris Rodríguez Alciade, "Los canes de Felipe III: una aproximación a través de los oficios de la Real Caza de Montería (1598–1621)," *Libros de la corte* 13 (2016): 50–66.

⁶⁵ E-Mpa, Sección administrativa, Caza Real, Legajo 347, includes the royal cédula for the asiento: "teniendo consideración a los servicios de Miguel de Torrejón montero que fue de lebreles de mi Real Caza de Montería y a las demás causas que me [h]a consultado el Marqués de Eliche mi Montero Mayor, he hecho merced como por la presente la hago a Francisco Torrejón su hijo de la plaza." See also E-Mpa, Expedientes Personales, Ca 1036/14, Francisco de Torrejón, certification of his payment of the media anata, 25 August 1659 and receipt 3 September 1659; according to E-Mpa, Expedientes Personales, Ca 1036/20, Tomás de Torrejón's brother, Francisco, died 13 October 1696 and was buried in the parish of San Miguel in Fuencarral, leaving a widow, Damiana Galán, and granddaughter Francisca Pardo. E-Mpa, Expedientes Personales, Ca 1036/18, Miguel de Torrejón, Montero de Lebreles, provides Miguel de Torrejón's date of decease as 30 June 1659 and mentions his widow, María Sánchez, and children, Tomás de Torrejón and María de Torrejón, as well as his father, Francisco Torrejón y Velasco "su padre," who retired circa 1642 (Miguel took his position). Documents concerning other men of the family are preserved in E-Mpa, Expedientes Personales, Ca 1036/6, including Alonso Torrejón, Montero de Lebreles, who paid the media annata for his appointment 14 November 1694; but E-Mpa, Expedientes Personales, Ca 1036/7 concerns Andrés de Torrejón, recommended for the position of Úgier de cámara, 26 September 1691, and who had served for nine years by April 1700, as well as in the army, having fought in Extremadura, Catalunya, and Flanders. His son, Diego de Torrejón, requested the emoluments of his father's position on 3 November 1706.

⁶⁶ E-Mpa, Sección administrativa, caja 9400, [records pertaining to El Pardo, 1654], 30 June 1654, "A Miguel de Torrejón se libraron 1100 reales de vellón... que Su Magestad Dios le Guarde ha mandado se le den de ayuda de costa por una vez atento a su necesidad y tener muchos hijos"; signed by Heliche, 28 June 1654. "Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán, conde de Morente, marqués de Heliche, Gentilhombre de la camara de Su Magestad y su Montero Mayor" certifies and signs all of the orders and pay lists, including payments for rabbits, dogs, wolves, care of trees, gardens, and fountains, refreshments, provisions for meals for the queen, and repairs of many kinds at the palaces of El Pardo and La Zarzuela. A 1654 list of payments, apparently for work accomplished in 1646–47, names artists Diego Velázquez de Silva, Angelo Nardi, Josef Leonardo, and Félix Castello.

Francisco Fernández de Castro Andrade, although it is likely that he was taken into the household of the Count's eldest son, Don Pedro Antonio Fernández de Castro (1632–72), ninth Count of Andrade, who would become the tenth Count of Lemos upon his father's death in 1662. Pedro Antonio Fernández de Castro spent some time in Naples in 1662–63, so scholars have noted that perhaps Torrejón traveled with him (no document confirming this supposition has come to light).⁶⁷ Tomás de Torrejón probably received his musical education while serving the Counts of Lemos. At age twenty-two in 1667 he traveled to Peru as a Gentleman of the Chamber in the entourage of Pedro Antonio, tenth Count of Lemos, who became nineteenth Viceroy of Peru.⁶⁸ Another musician, the harpist and composer Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz, who also served this noble family in Madrid and also traveled in the same entourage, acknowledged precisely this gift of musical instruction from these patrons.⁶⁹ When the Counts of Lemos and Andrade attended court plays in Madrid, Torrejón may well have accompanied them, since protocol allowed a grandee to be accompanied by his eldest son and a page.⁷⁰

The bond forged between Tomás de Torrejón and the Fernández de Castro family was strengthened in Peru, even into the next generation. In 1737, Juan Joseph de Torrejón y Velasco, the composer's son (a priest), published the sermons of his Jesuit brother, the composer's namesake Tomás de Torrejón, and paid homage to the benefits that the family had accrued thanks to the administrative positions assigned by Lemos to the composer in Peru. The 1737 volume is dedicated to the fourteenth Count of Lemos y de Andrade (Ginés Miguel Fernando de Ruiz de Castro), but it includes a brief paragraph about composer Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, explaining that he had "been raised from childhood in the household" of Lemos, served the earlier count as Gentleman of the Chamber, and, once in Peru, held positions that facilitated his ascension within

⁶⁷ Concerning the count's visit to Naples, see Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *El Conde de Lemos Virrey del Perú* (Madrid: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1946), 11–15, and Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *D. Pedro Antonio Fernández de Castro X Conde de Lemos Virrey del Perú* (Lima: Editorial Universitaria, 1965), 14–17. The possibility of Torrejón's travel to Naples is noted in Cardona et al., eds., *La púrpura de la rosa*, 280. Two Venetian operas were produced during the visit of Lemos to Naples: *Alessandro vincitor di se stesso* in October 1662 (Sartori 00883), possibly with music by Antonio Cesti, and *Glavvenimenti d'Orinda, dramma per musica* (Sartori 03571) by Daniele Castrovillari, likely in January and into carnival 1663; the Naples libretto for *Glavvenimenti d'Orinda* carries a dedication to the Count of Lemos. See Bianconi, "Funktionen de Opertheaters," 53.

⁶⁸ E-Sagi, Contratación 5435.

⁶⁹ Ruiz de Ribayaz, *Luz y norte musical* [E-Mn, R-4025], fol. 2. He is also listed with Torrejón in E-Sagi, Contratación 5435, as reported first in Lohmann Villena, *El Conde de Lemos*, 30.

⁷⁰ John E. Varey, "L'Auditoire du Salon dorado de l'Alcázar de Madrid au XVIIe siècle," in *Dramaturgie et Société, rapports entre l'oeuvre theatrale, son interpretation et son public aux xvie et xviii siecles*, ed. Jean Jacquot, 2 vols. (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1968), 1:77–91.

colonial society—Captain of his Armory (Capitán de la Sala de Armas), chief legal authority (Corregidor and Justicia Mayor) in Chachapoyas, and Royal Official of the Treasury (Oficial Real de la Caja) of this northern Peruvian city in the Andes and capital of the Amazon region.⁷¹ When he returned to Lima after the death of his patron, Tomás de Torrejón retained his title as Maestro de Campo. In 1676 he became the chapel master of Lima Cathedral, though he was not a cleric and was married with two children. Widowed upon the death of his first wife, he married again to Doña Juana Fernández de Mendía, a criolla from Callao, with whom he engendered further offspring.

The title page of the Lima manuscript states that the opera was “compuesto por” Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, though *La púrpura de la rosa* seems to be his only secular music. This phrase, “compuesto por,” could be interpreted to mean that Torrejón was either the opera’s composer or the manuscript score’s compiler. There is no doubt that sections of the Lima music, especially the coros in the loa, sound very similar to the music of Torrejón’s extant villancicos composed in Peru. At the same time, the music in the Lima manuscript shares undeniable features with music from Carpio’s Madrid productions, including Hidalgo’s *Celos aun del aire matan*.⁷² This is unsurprising, given Torrejón’s background and the possibility that he studied with Hidalgo. Going further, however, the Lima *La púrpura de la rosa* actually quotes quite a lot of music attributed to Hidalgo in other earlier musical sources, confirming that the Lima manuscript contains music from Hidalgo’s 1659 *La púrpura de la rosa*, as arranged or compiled by Torrejón, most likely in Lima.⁷³

Hidalgo’s Music inside Torrejón’s Opera

Excerpts in several musical sources trace a clear line between Carpio’s Madrid production of Hidalgo’s *La púrpura de la rosa* and the Lima 1701 manuscript ascribed to Torrejón. The earliest datable examples emerge from a source very close to Carpio—the personal papers of Juan Jiménez de Góngora, Marquis de Almodóvar del Río, president of Philip IV’s Consejo de Hacienda, who was Carpio’s immediate protector at court following the 1662 accusation

⁷¹ E-Mn, 6/3361 vol. 2, fol. 2v, *Sermones panegyricos, obra póstuma*.

⁷² Among the productions that Torrejón may well have seen and heard at court between 1658 and 1667 were: *Triunfos de amor y fortuna* by Antonio de Solís with music by Juan Hidalgo and Cristóbal Galán (1658); *El laurel de Apolo*, the first zarzuela, written in 1657 but performed in 1658, with text by Calderón and music most likely by Hidalgo; *La púrpura de la rosa* (1659–60 in its first version) libretto by Calderón and music by Hidalgo; *Celos aun del aire matan*, a three-act opera by Calderón and Hidalgo (1661); *Apolo y Climene* by Calderón (1661); and Calderón’s pastoral comedia *Eco y Narciso* with songs by Hidalgo (1661). For details of these productions and their music, see Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, chaps. 4–7.

⁷³ I have advanced this argument previously in Stein, ed., *La púrpura de la rosa*, “Introduction.”

against him (as Marquis de Heliche).⁷⁴ These folios date from the same years as the Calderón-Hidalgo operas and Carpio's busy activity as their producer. Jiménez de Góngora dates his own guitar lessons to 1658–59 and includes poetic excerpts from several theatrical works performed 1658–61.⁷⁵ The poetic extracts from Calderón's *La púrpura de la rosa* carry notation for guitar chords in *cifras castellanas*.⁷⁶ The first excerpt quotes Adonis' estribillo, "¡Ay de mí! que me da muerte a quien la vida di" (verse 916), followed by the poetry of Venus' desire-filled coplas, "Mas ¿qué triste lamento... ?" (918) with guitar chords notated in *cifras*.⁷⁷ Two more segments excerpted by Jiménez de Góngora from the Calderón-Hidalgo *La púrpura de la rosa* demonstrate further concordance with the Lima *La púrpura de la rosa*.⁷⁸ The first of these provides poetry and *cifras* for "No sé a qué sombra me dormí / de estos troncos y cómo..." (1013), which Adonis sings to Venus to explain his dream, foreshadowing his wounding by the wild boar. In the Lima manuscript this passage begins "No sé, que a sombra me dormí" and unfolds through lyrical *coplas* with a distinctive harmonic pattern; the guitar *cifras* added to this poetic quotation in the Jiménez de Góngora papers point to Hidalgo's lost opera again because they can be analyzed to reveal harmonies concordant with those for this same passage in the Lima manuscript.⁷⁹ Moreover, the bass and harmony from this segment of Hidalgo's music circulated independently in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century instrumental pieces with the designations "Sombras" and "Fantasmas," both of which obviously refer to the dramatic and poetic content of the scene in the Calderón-Hidalgo opera. The *cifras* attached to the poetry in

⁷⁴ E-Mn, MS/14031/13, described in Francisco Alfonso Valdivia Sevilla, "Los tonos con cifras de Juan Jiménez de Góngora: Nuevas fuentes musicales de *La púrpura de la rosa*," *Revista de musicología* 35 (2012): 131–54. Juan Jiménez de Góngora, Marqués de Almodóvar del Río (1608–68), president of the Consejo de Hacienda, was close to the young Heliche/Carpio as the "hechura" of his father, Luis de Haro; see Enrique Soria Mesa, "Góngora, Juan de," Real Academia de la Historia, *Diccionario Biográfico electrónico* (DB~e), 2018, <http://dbe.rah.es/biografias/34359/juan-de-gongora>; and Vidales del Castillo, "Dando forma a un valido," 207. Carpio sought refuge in the house of Jiménez de Góngora in 1662, and the latter pled his case with Philip IV, as summarized in Gabriel Maura y Gamazo, *Carlos II y su corte*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Librería de F. Beltrán, 1911), 1:634: "El joven magnate [Heliche], sobre quien tantos y tan graves cargos se iban acumulando, huyó de su casa, refugiándose en la de don Juan de Góngora; y este Ministro, agradecido al favor que D. Luis de Haro le dispensara, postróse á los pies del Rey, pidiendo clemencia para el hijo del difunto Valido."

⁷⁵ Valdivia Sevilla, "Los tonos con cifras," 134–39; extracts from Solís, *Triunfos de Amor y Fortuna* (1658); Diamante, *Triunfo de la paz y el tiempo* (1659); Calderón, *La púrpura de la rosa* (1659–60) and *Celos aun del aire matan* (1660–61); and Calderón, *Eco y Narcisco* (1661); see Stein, *Songs of Mortals* for other extant songs from these comedias.

⁷⁶ E-Mn, MS/14031/13; Valdivia Sevilla, "Los tonos con cifras," 140–53.

⁷⁷ E-Mn, MS/14031/13, fols. 144v–45r and 148r–v; Valdivia Sevilla, "Los tonos con cifras," 144–46. The melody of the estribillo is earlier introduced by Venus with the words "Ay, de mí, si hallo el descanso donde le perdí" (poetic verse 894). Here citations in parentheses indicate line numbers provided in Cardona et al., eds. *La púrpura de la rosa*.

⁷⁸ Valdivia Sevilla, "Los tonos con cifras," 137–53.

⁷⁹ See the excellent analysis in Valdivia Sevilla, "Los tonos con cifras," 147–53.

the Jiménez de Góngora papers work well as harmonic support for the melody of the corresponding passages in the Lima music.⁸⁰ Another extract written down by Jiménez de Góngora provides poetry and guitar cifras for Desengaño's coplas, "¡O tú, que venciendo a todos..." (1361), establishing yet another harmonic concordance with a passage in the Lima *La púrpura de la rosa*.⁸¹

The coplas sung by Amor to warn Venus and Adonis of Marte's fury offer the most telling concordances between the poetry with cifras in the Jiménez de Góngora folios and the Lima manuscript of the opera. The music that Amor sings, beginning "No puede, pues, que no puede" (1546), serves a long series of coplas initiated by the frightened little deity but subsequently shared among several characters as the conflict between Venus and Marte reaches its apex.⁸² Amor's song and its bass line also appear as the baile "El Amor" in collections of music for guitar and harp. A version for harp in an undated manuscript of probable Iberian origin matches quite closely the melody, harmonies, and bass given in the Lima manuscript (see Figure 5.3).⁸³ But it is unclear whether the source for this undated harp version was Hidalgo's 1659 setting of the opera or Torrejón's 1701 Lima setting. It is possible that Hidalgo pulled "El Amor" into his *La púrpura de la rosa* as a borrowing from a familiar repertory of existing dance songs. "El Amor" is also found in a 1709 guitar manuscript, "Libro de diferentes cifras de gitara escojidas de los mejores autores," whose title clearly admits that it is an anthology of preexistent music.⁸⁴ A setting of "El Amor" is also included in Santiago de Murcia's "Cifras selectas de guitarra," a 1722 manuscript recovered by Alejandro Vera in Santiago, Chile.⁸⁵ An even later source, Santiago de Murcia's manuscript guitar collection "Códice Saldivar no. 4," probably compiled in Madrid around 1730, also contains a setting of "El Amor."⁸⁶ The presence of

⁸⁰ E-Mn, MS/14031/13, fol. 146r-v; Valdivia Sevilla, "Los tonos con cifras," 147-53; see Stein, ed., *La púrpura de la rosa*, "Introduction," xxvi, concerning poetic citations of "No sé, que a sombra me dormí" and the musical versions for instruments.

⁸¹ Valdivia Sevilla, "Los tonos con cifras," 133-54, provides close analysis of the excerpts in E-Mn, MS/14031/13 as well as their concordances.

⁸² Stein, ed., *La púrpura de la rosa*, 124, etc. (rehearsal letter M, m. 10, through rehearsal letters M, N, O).

⁸³ US-Wc, M2.1.T2 (17a) case, fols. 22r-23r.

⁸⁴ E-Mn, MS 811, "Libro de diferentes cifras de gitara escojidas de los mejores autores," 1709, 113; see Stein, ed., *La púrpura de la rosa*, "Introduction," xxvii.

⁸⁵ See Alejandro Vera, "Santiago de Murcia's Cifras Selectas de Guitarra (1722): A New Source for the Baroque Guitar," *Early Music* 35 (2007): 251-69; Vera explains (262) concerning "El Amor" in the 1722 source, "It is difficult to say whether these pieces known around 1705 were collected by Murcia in his manuscript of 1722 or if, on the contrary, his music [and thus "El Amor"] was already known in 1705 and was gathered in the *libro de diferentes cifras* [E-Mn, MS 811]." Murcia's "El Amor por la E" is transcribed in Santiago de Murcia, *Cifras Selectas de Guitarra*, ed. Alejandro Vera, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era 167 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2010), 21.

⁸⁶ Stein, ed., *La púrpura de la rosa*, "Introduction," xxvii; transcriptions in Esses, *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias*, and Craig H. Russell, *Santiago de Murcia's Códice Saldivar no. 4: A Treasury of Secular Guitar Music from Baroque Mexico*, 2 vols. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995).

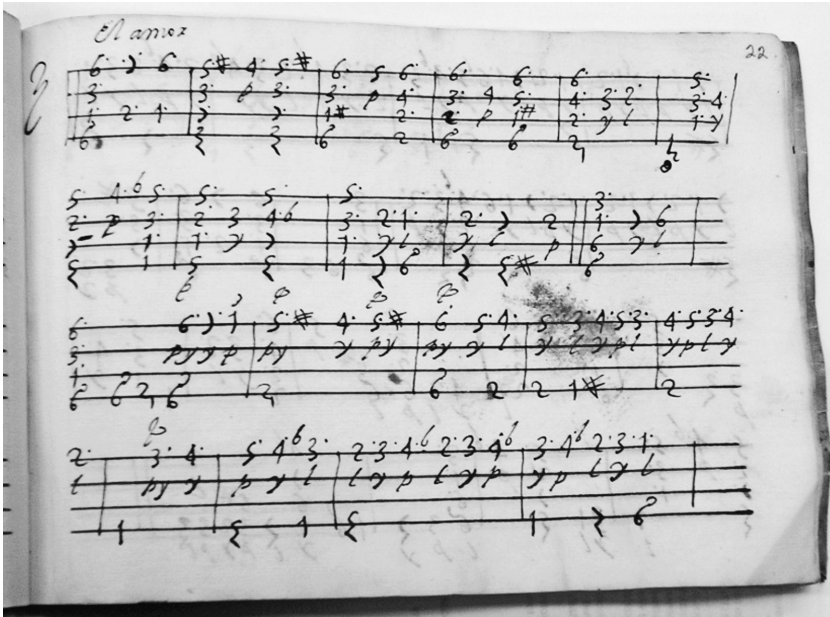


Figure 5.3 *El Amor*, opening page in harp tablature (c. 1670–1700), M2.1.T2 (17a) case, p. 22, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

“El Amor” with guitar cifras in the precious early folios that belonged to Carpio’s close colleague Jiménez de Góngora points to Hidalgo’s *La púrpura de la rosa* and Carpio’s production as the earliest source for this widely appreciated tune and harmonic pattern, as well as the associations that circulated with it. Most important, Jiménez de Góngora’s *cifras* for the poetic extracts from *La púrpura de la rosa* demonstrate convincing harmonic concordances that confirm Hidalgo’s opera as their origin.⁸⁷

Other musical sources connect three sections of music at the heart of the Lima score to music presumed to be from Hidalgo’s earlier *La púrpura de la rosa*. The first example again includes the tune for the extended series of coplas sung by Venus after Adonis joins her estribillo, “He de ver, ¡ay, de mí!” She begins by asking herself whose voice she has heard (“Mas, ¿qué triste lamento / intenta interrumpir / mis penas con sus penas?”) then settles on the means for her revenge, and finally calls on Cupid, “O tú, velero dios, que en campos de zafir,” to wound Adonis. The song that carries her progression from curiosity to resolve is the same tune that Eco sings to lure Narciso in a similarly long series of coplas,

⁸⁷ Valdivia Sevilla, “Los tonos con cifras,” 140.

beginning “Bellísimo Narciso,” in the music for Calderon’s play *Eco y Narciso* (1661).⁸⁸ Both *La púrpura de la rosa* and *Eco y Narciso* were produced by Carpio at the royal court with Hidalgo’s music, and both were erotic pastorals with royal associations (*Eco y Narciso* was also revived frequently later in and beyond Madrid). It is likely that Hidalgo first employed this tono in *La púrpura de la rosa* and then introduced it again for a comparable moment of female sexual longing in Calderón’s *Eco y Narciso*. The young Torrejón might well have heard both Madrid productions. “Bellísimo Narciso” is also glossed as “Bellísimo Narciso, pues que a mi amante pecho” in Agustín de Salazar y Torres’ *Loa* to his comedia *Santa Rosolea* (dated before 1680). In this case, the actress Sebastiana Fernández sang it to parody her role as Eco in Calderón’s *Eco y Narciso*.⁸⁹ It appears likely that the tune, identified as “Bellísimo Narciso,” was also known in the Americas in the seventeenth century because the song-text is incorporated by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz as the “Letra” before the “Sainete Primero de Palacio” performed with her comedia *Los empeños de una casa* (written in 1683 for the court of the Viceroy of New Spain, Tomás de la Cerda y Aragón, Count of Paredes and Marquis de la Laguna). Strikingly, “Bellísimo Narciso” is also the basis for the song of a demonic Eco in her auto sacramental *El divino Narciso* (before 1690). It seems likely that Sor Juana employed “Bellísimo Narciso” as Eco’s seductive expression precisely because of the erotic connotations the song had taken on previously when heard to expose Venus’ anxious desire in Hidalgo’s *La púrpura de la rosa*.⁹⁰ It may be that the 1701 audience in Lima would also have recognized the tune, its persuasive nature, and the associations it carried.

A second musical segment in the 1701 Lima score is strikingly concordant with music from a comic scene for Eróstrato and Rústico from Hidalgo’s *Celos aun del aire matan* (act 3, mm. 992–1033 and 1077–90; noted in Chapter 1). In the Lima *La púrpura de la rosa*, Venus begins to reassure Adonis with this tune (“La pesadez de un sueño,” v. 1047) just after he awakens from his nightmare. As the poison from Cupid’s arrow begins to take effect, Adonis sings a paean to Venus’ beauty in a separate set of coplas (“del aura en tus alientos, todo el humo sutil”), which Venus disdains as outmoded flattery (“atrasadas lisonjas”). But

⁸⁸ Extant music in E-ALMA, MS Novena, 237; facsimile edition Antonio Álvarez Cañibano and José Ignacio Cano Martín, eds., *Libro de música de la Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Novena: manuscrito novena* (Madrid: Centro de Documentación de Música y Danza, 2010); Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 268–70, 273, 369, and *passim*; Stein, “El ‘manuscrito novena,’” 197–234.

⁸⁹ See Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 369; another musical citation of the text is found in E-Mn, MS 13622, fols. 66r and 68r; Sebastiana performed as an actress-singer in other Calderón court plays in the 1670s, but it is unclear in which performance of *Eco y Narciso* she sang the title role, and whether she sang in any performances of *La púrpura de la rosa*.

⁹⁰ Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Los empeños de una casa* and *El divino Narciso* in Francisco Monterde, ed., *Obras completas* (México: Editorial Porrúa, 1969), 390–91 and 736.

when the couple begin to succumb to mutual desire, they finally share the *copla* that Venus had exposed earlier:

ADONIS: ¡Ay!, que no sé qué afecto...

VENUS: No has de pasar de aquí

ADONIS: ...me hace no obedecer.

VENUS: Y agradecer a mí.

The lovers' interaction is then hidden from view temporarily by a starkly contrasting dungeon scene with Marte, Dragón, Desengaño, and frightening allegorical characters. After this extended scene of spectacle, Calderón immediately replaces the horror of Desengaño's prison with the tranquil pleasure-filled interior of Venus' garden where Adonis rests in the ample luxury of her lap.⁹¹ The Lima score exploits yet another preexistent tune for this scene of erotic intimacy, "No puede amor / hacer mi dicha mayor," which surely also circulated before 1701 and likely originated in Hidalgo's creative workshop. To introduce it, Venus calls on her nymphs to sing something to enhance Adonis' pleasure. At this point, Celfa remarks, "Veamos / cómo una música puede / parecer entre otra" ("let's see how one music can appear inside another"), setting up the fact that "No puede amor / hacer mi dicha mayor" brings a musical quotation into the fabric of the opera. Calderón further loads the moment with affective poetic references because Chato responds to Celfa with yet another poetic quotation, "Como / entre lo rojo lo verde," from the first quatrain of the famous *romance morisco* by Luis de Góngora y Argote, "Entre los sueltos caballos / De los vencidos Zenetes, / Que por el campo buscaban / Entre lo rojo lo verde." Calderón likely intended this quotation and the image of blood on the battlefield as a foreshadowing of Adonis' fatal wound from the wild boar, itself a consequence of his involvement with Venus and Marte's jealousy. In the Venus and Adonis myth, the blood ("púrpura") of wounded Adonis stains the white roses red, but the image of red blood on the green of Venus' garden also carries a powerful sexual connotation and recalls the bloody wound suffered by Pocris in her struggle with Céfalo over Diana's spear in *Celos aun del aire matan*. Calderón's quotation of "entre lo rojo lo verde" also compares Adonis to the love-stricken *moro* in the Góngora romance—both are prisoners of love vanquished by violence and doomed just at the point that their amorous longing is satisfied.⁹²

⁹¹ Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 212–18 explains the important relationship between this scene in Carpio's premiere production of the Calderón and Hidalgo *La púrpura de la rosa* and the Veronese painting "Venus and Adonis," which belonged to the Spanish royal collection.

⁹² Antonio Carreño, ed., *Romances de Luis de Góngora y Argote*, 4 vols. (Madrid: Gredos, 1982), 1:323–34, provides extensive information about the many citations of this romance by Calderón and others; Robert Jammes, ed., *La obra poética de Don Luis de Góngora y Argote* (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1987), 317, has noted, "Entre los sueltos caballos" comienza cuando el combate termina: el

Calderón quoted “No puede amor hacer mi dicha mayor” in other plays; moreover, these lines are also featured as the estribillo of a solo song attributed to José Marín (1619–99), another composer who traveled to the Americas only to return to Madrid broke and in ill health.⁹³ Marín’s song cannot be associated firmly with any play or theater, but it shares essential musical characteristics with the setting in the Lima *La púrpura de la rosa*. Perhaps Calderón’s song-text called for a well-known tune familiar to Hidalgo, Marín, and Torrejón. Or, more likely, Marín’s setting is an arrangement of a favorite tune from Hidalgo’s *La púrpura de la rosa*. The music in the Lima manuscript for this scene might have come directly from Hidalgo’s earlier opera, but it might also represent Torrejón’s recollection or revision of the song. In the Lima score, “No puede amor” becomes an ensemble *jácara* set as a large double-choir piece sung by the nymphs with solo strophes for Venus and Adonis.⁹⁴ Within the *jácara*, Venus and Adonis discuss the risks of fortune in love. Though Calderón did not assign Adonis and Venus the lowlife vocabulary typically associated with *jáques* and *marcas*, their dalliance within *jácara* music emphasizes the dangers inherent in their illicit entanglement. This would have been clear to Torrejón’s audience. At the same time, the reiterative overlapping choral interjections of the nymphs resemble the typical shouts of *jáque* choruses in *jácara villancicos*. The music of this scene, whether originally by Hidalgo or newly composed in 1701 by Torrejón, also projects the distinction between moral music and libidinous, venereal, immoral music.⁹⁵

The erotic garden and its pleasures are surrounded by threats, given that love may or may not lead to a positive outcome, as Amor quickly asserts when he rushes into the garden after the nymphs’ chorus. He warns, “Si puede y no puede amor hacer la dicha mayor” and then describes Marte’s jealous rage. The music for the long scene beginning with Amor’s “No puede, pues que no puede crecer las delicias” is yet another *jácara*, this one pushing the confrontation between Venus and Marte to its dramatic climax. The repeated tune and bass line shared

español de Orán lleva en ancas de su caballo a un prisionero, capitán de cien Zenatas, después de haberlo vencido en dura pelea. Asombrado de oír suspirar al moro, el español le pregunta por la causa de su tristeza; el capitán moro le cuenta entonces que está enamorado de una bella y noble Melionesa que durante mucho tiempo se le mostró cruel, pero que comenzaba a ser más tierna en el momento en que ha sido hecho prisionero.” See also Mar Martínez Góngora, “Los romances africanos de Luis de Góngora y la presencia española en el Magreb,” *Caliope* 19 (2014): 77–102.

⁹³ “No puede amor / hacer mi dicha mayor” is ascribed to José Marín in E-Mn, Ms M/3881/22; there is a different anonymous setting a 4 intended for Calderón, *Las armas de la hermosura* in E-ALMA, MS Novena, 66; yet another anonymous setting a 4 in E-ALMA, MS Novena, 94 is intended for Juan Claudio de la Hoz y Mota’s play *El encanto del olvido*; see Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 302–3 and 519–20.

⁹⁴ Stein, ed., *La púrpura de la rosa*, 112–24.

⁹⁵ A conflict dramatized by Miguel de Cervantes in his play, *El rufián dichoso*, exploiting the opposition between “música divina” and the rough song of the *jacarandina*.

among the characters exploit the violent connotations automatically carried by *jácara* music.

The three scenes just considered argue for Hidalgo's authorship of some of the music contained in the Lima manuscript, as do the harmonic concordances between the Jiménez de Góngora guitar *cifras* and several segments of the opera. Yet another kind of musical concordance for the Lima *La púrpura de la rosa* surfaces in a different type of musical source from the epoch of Hidalgo's opera. In the 1660s and 1670s, the chapel master Miguel Gómez Camargo collected and composed villancicos for Valladolid cathedral. Some of them contain excerpts from secular songs—either copied exactly or with little adjustment—with new sacred texts. Quotations from some four sections of *La púrpura de la rosa* have been identified:⁹⁶ the Venus music “Más, ¿qué triste lamento?,”⁹⁷ Adonis' famous “No sé que a sombra,”⁹⁸ the Nymphs' chorus “No puede amor hacer mi dicha mayor,”⁹⁹ and the unmistakable *tonada* for Desengaño “O tú, que venciendo a todos.”¹⁰⁰ These citations, dated between 1662 and 1666, do not carry a direct attribution to Hidalgo, but a close relationship seems likely because Gómez Camargo frequently worked with copies of Hidalgo's music.¹⁰¹ In summary, as

⁹⁶ Miguel Gómez Camargo's citations and adaptations of music from *La púrpura de la rosa* are scrutinized in Carmelo Caballero Fernández-Rufete, “En trova de los humano a lo divino: las óperas de Calderón de la Barca y los villancicos de Miguel Gómez Camargo,” *La ópera en España e Hispanoamérica*, ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio and Alvaro Torrente (Madrid: ICCMU, 2001), 102–8. Gómez Camargo's borrowings from secular music were first revealed in Carmelo Caballero Fernández Rufete's paper “Miscent sacra profanis: música profana y teatral en los villancicos de la segunda mitad del siglo XVII,” at the conference on “Música y Literatura el la Península Ibérica: 1600–1750,” Valladolid, February 1995; see Carmelo Caballero Fernández-Rufete, “Miscent sacra profanis: música profana y teatral en los villancicos de la segunda mitad del siglo XVII,” *Música y Literatura en la Península Ibérica: 1650–1750*, ed. María Virgili Blanquet, Germán Vega García-Luengos, and Carmelo Caballero Fernández-Rufete (Valladolid: V Centenario del Tratado de Tordesillas, 1997), 49–64.

⁹⁷ E-Vc Leg. 71/7 “a lo divino”; Leg. 56/24 contains a villancico a 8 by Camargo with ten solo coplas beginning “Dulcissimo regalo,” a sacred text attached to the “Mas, ¿qué triste lamento?”/“Bellísimo Narciso” tune; another version of the same tune with coplas beginning “Bellísima María” is also included, and the Calderón song-text for “Bellísimo Narciso” is copied out on a separate page.

⁹⁸ E-Vc Leg. 41/33, “Ay, que me muero de amor” solo and a 8, contains a sacred version of Adonis' text, “No se a que sombra mi luz bi, que sus rayos, y como me tienen ya sin mí”; the melody for this text may have been derived from Adonis' song, but this is not an exact musical quotation. In this bundle there are also eight coplas with another text, perhaps developed from Adonis' “En fantasmas del sueño.”

⁹⁹ Fragments from “No puede amor / hacer mi dicha amor” appear as “Si puede amor hacer mi dicha,” in an undated sketch in E-Vc, Leg. 85/282, on the back of a piece of paper with another song, “Deidades del abismo” (from act 3 of Antonio de Solís' *Euridice y Orfeo* 1654?, revived 1684); see Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 320, 350, 374, 527.

¹⁰⁰ The quotation from Desengaño's coplas is found in E-Vc as follows: in Leg. 38/26 the song of Desengaño is quoted in the coplas (for baritone) beginning “O amor que venciendo a todos,” with eight strophes and a continuo bass for harp, within the villancico “O que amor tan dulce”; in Leg. 68/4, for the passion villancico “A ti señor llega” dated 1672, the tune is the basis for the solo coplas beginning “O amor que con tantas ansias,” also for baritone; there are two accompanying bass lines, one without figures, the other for harp; and in Leg. 84/244, a “solo” with eight coplas beginning “O amor que benciendo a todos” for which only the vocal part is preserved. I am deeply grateful for the invaluable assistance afforded me by Pedro Aizpurúa Zalacaín during my research visits to Valladolid Cathedral.

¹⁰¹ See Carmelo Caballero Fernández-Rufete, “Nuevas fuentes musicales del teatro calderoniano,” *Revista de musicología* 16 (1993): 2958–76.

illustrated in Table 5.1, multiple appearances of music from the Lima *La púrpura de la rosa* in a variety of musical sources from the Hidalgo epoch reinforce the idea that Torrejón was not the sole composer of the Lima score but, rather, compiled the score, including sections of music that Hidalgo had composed many decades earlier.

Table 5.1 Musical Concordances for *La púrpura de la rosa*

<i>La púrpura de la rosa</i> PE-Lbnp, C 1469	Guitar, harp, keyboard concordances	Other musical concordances
“¡Ay, de mí! / que me da muerte a quien la vida di.” [vv. 916–17, 946–48] (Stein, ed., 66–68)	E-Mn, MS 14031/13, fols. 144v–145r	
“Mas que triste lamento” [vv. 918–21, 922–45, 949–57] (Stein, ed., 67–68)	E-Mn, MS 14031/13, fol. 148r-v	E-Vc, Leg. 71/7 “a lo divino”; E-Vc, Leg. 56/24 as “Bellísimo Narciso” for <i>Eco y Narciso</i> , E-ALMA, MS Novena, 237; as “Bellísimo Narciso” E-Mn, MS 13622, fols. 66r, 68r
“No sé / qué a sombra me dormí / de estos troncos y cómo” [vv. 1013–44] (Stein, ed. 71–72)	E-Mn, MS 14031/13, fol. 146r-v “Sombras” (guitar cifras) E-Mn, MS M/811, 102, 111–12 Murcia, <i>Resumen</i> 1714, 105–7 “Sombras,” Murcia, Saldívar IV, fol. 35v “Fantasmas” E-VILANOVA I LA GELTRÚbmbv, 5 MS 145, 42–43 “Fantasmas” E-Bc, M 3658, fols. 34–35 (bandurria) “Fantasmas,” GCA-Gc AHAG, Fondo Cabildo. Archivo Musical. Manuel Álvarez, MS 7 (bandurria). “Sombras” (harp) Fernández de Huete, <i>Compendio numeroso</i> , 6 (harp) “Fantasmas,” E-Mn, M/815, 63 (keyboard)	E-Vc, Leg. 41/33 RA-BAinm, MS 20.318, 362
“La pesadez de un sueño...” [vv. 1047–70] (Stein, ed., 73–76)	Hidalgo, <i>Celos aun del aire matan</i> (Stein, ed., act 3, mm. 992–1033 and 1077–90)	

(continued)

Table 5.1 Continued

<i>La púrpura de la rosa</i> PE-Lbnp, C 1469	Guitar, harp, keyboard concordances	Other musical concordances
“O, tú, que venciendo a todos” [vv. 1361–88] (Stein, ed., 104)	E-Mn, MS 14031/13, fol. 148r–v	E-Vc, Leg. 38/26 E-Vc, Leg. 68/4 E-Vc, Leg. 84/244
“No puede amor / hacer mi dicha mayor,” [vv. 1453–1544] (Stein, ed., 112–24)		E-Mn, MS M/3881/22 (Marín) E-Vc, Leg. 85/282 (fragments)
“No puede, pues, que no puede...” [vv. 1546–1711] (Stein, ed. 125–32)	E-Mn, MS 14031/13 fols. 148v–149 “El amor,” E-Mn, MS M/811, 113 (guitar cifras) “El amor,” E-VILANOVA I LA GELTRÚbmbv 5, MS 145, 38 (guitar cifras) “El amor,” Murcia, <i>Cifras</i> <i>Selectas</i> , fols. 9v–10r “El amor,” Murcia, Saldívar IV, fols. 27v–29r “El amor,” US-Wc, M2.1.T2 (17a) case, fols. 22r–23r (harp)	

Hidalgo’s Music Reaching Lima

Somehow, a copy of Hidalgo’s music from a Madrid production of *La púrpura de la rosa* came to be possessed by either Melchor Portocarrero or Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco. It is possible that it arrived within a larger shipment of books and music, such as the one sent from Spain to Lima by Francisco de Echave y Assu in 1689.¹⁰² But a much more direct line of transmission seems likely, given the significance and “royal” stature of the opera. Certainly, Melchor Portocarrero had known Carpio in Madrid; he also maintained influential contacts with family members and others at the royal court during his time in the Americas.¹⁰³ He might have obtained a copy of Hidalgo’s music

¹⁰² See Alejandro Vera, “La circulación de la música española en el Perú del siglo XVII: un cargamento naviero y su contexto,” *Revista de musicología* 44 (2001): 567–99; my thanks to Alejandro Vera for pointing this out prior to the publication of his important article.

¹⁰³ As an example of the close contact among high-ranking aristocrats in the families here under consideration precisely during the period in which Hidalgo’s *La púrpura de la rosa* was composed, note that Carpio (as Marquis de Heliche), Pedro Fernández de Castro, Count of Andrade (Torrejón’s early patron), and Melchor Portocarrero’s sister, Catalina Portocarrero,

well in advance of the 1701 Lima production. A highly placed cousin, Pedro Portocarrero y Guzmán (1640–1708), Senior Chaplain and Patriarch of the Indies with governance of the Royal Chapel 1691–1705, lived in Melchor Portocarrero's houses on the Calle de las Rejas in Madrid after 1699 and during his absence.¹⁰⁴ This Patriarch's position at the head of the royal chapel provided him with easy access to its music archive. If an exemplar of the music for *La púrpura de la rosa* was held there, he certainly could have arranged to have a copy made for his cousin Melchor.¹⁰⁵

Yet another conduit linking Hidalgo's opera, its first producer in Madrid (Carpio), and the Lima production is provided by Torrejón y Velasco's close relationship and correspondence with members of his own family who had served under Carpio's direction and continued as Monteros de Lebreles for several decades after the latter's departure for Italy. Neighbors in Fuencarral were interviewed when fray Francisco Javier Torrejón y Velasco, the composer's son, was vetted for a position within the Inquisition's tribunal in Lima. Asserting that the family was "de primera estimación," six witnesses in Fuencarral testified that Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco had corresponded from Lima with family members in Fuencarral, especially with his brother, Francisco de Torrejón y Velasco, a huntsman who served Carlos II, and that they had seen packages sent from Tomás in Lima.¹⁰⁶

were all present in 1659 at the royal baptism of the Infante Fernando Tomás de Austria, due to their court positions; see Rodrigo Méndez Silva, *Nacimiento y bautismo del Serenissimo infante de España D. Fernando Tomás de Austria* (Madrid: Francisco Nieto y Salcedo, 1659), 10–12 [E-Mn, 3/40071].

¹⁰⁴ E-Mahp, Juan Manuel Pérez de Alvy, protocolo 11.058, fol. 353, 1 June 1699, ratifies a prior legal agreement of 8 May 1686 setting annual rent at 9 reales de vellón.

¹⁰⁵ See Carmen Sanz Ayán, "Portocarrero y Guzmán, Pedro," in Real Academia de la Historia, Diccionario Biográfico electrónico: <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/58637/pedro-portocarrero-guzman>.

¹⁰⁶ E-Mah, Inquisición, leg.1235, exp. 3, "Información genealógica de fray Francisco Javier Torrejón y Velasco, mercedario, natural de Lima (Perú), y pretendiente a persona honesta del Tribunal de la Inquisición de la citada ciudad, 1730": on 22 December 1729, six witnesses in Fuencarral "de los de mayor edad, distinción y noticiosos, y entre ellos los dos Alcaldes de dicho lugar" stated that they did not know Miguel de Torrejón, but had seen the correspondence between Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco and his brother Francisco de Torrejón y Velasco, "y dicen las [noticias] tienen de que Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco su hijo y padre del pretendiente [fray Francisco Javier] pasó a Lima, donde tuvo el ejercicio de música de la Santa Iglesia de aquella Ciudad, quien hizo correspondencia con Francisco de Torrejón y Velasco, Montero de Su Magestad [later listed as "Montero del Sr. Carlos Segundo"] y vecino del dicho lugar de Fuencarral, que hará treinta años que falleció y que se tuvo correspondencia con Francisco de Torrejón y Velasco, Montero de Su Magestad y vecino del dicho lugar de Fuencarral, que habrá treinta años que falleció, y que este era u hermano o primo hermano suyo, y uno de los dichos seis testigos depone haber visto las cartas de correspondencia y participado de algunos géneros que solía enviar, y también que trató y comunicó a Doña María Sánchez algunos años, mujer que fue del referido Miguel de Torrejón y Velasco, y abuela paterna del Pretendiente... y que saben, u algunos vieron, las cartas de Correspondencia que tuvieron el dicho D. Thomás de Torrejón vecino de Lima, con el referido Francisco de Torrejón y

The Inquisition's 1724 investigation concerning another of the composer's sons, Licenciado Don Juan Joseph Torrejón y Velasco, brings up yet another possibility. In 1724 witnesses in Fuencarral recalled that Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco had come from Peru thirty-eight years previously in order to visit his mother, Doña María Sánchez. This suggests that the composer had returned to Fuencarral (and surely Madrid) briefly in 1686.¹⁰⁷ In April of 1686 Melchor Portocarrero was in Madrid when he was appointed Viceroy of New Spain; he departed Spain later and arrived at Veracruz in mid-October. If the information conveyed by the Fuencarral witnesses is accurate, it may be that Tomás de Torrejón and Melchor Portocarrero coincided in Madrid and perhaps encountered each other in late 1685 or early 1686, before the latter sailed for the Americas. Melchor Portocarrero met with Pedro Portocarrero and signed legal documents in Madrid on 8 May 1686 so that Pedro, then Patriarch of the royal chapel, could rent Melchor's Madrid residence for the duration of Melchor's American tenure.¹⁰⁸ It might be that Tomás de Torrejón was provided the opportunity to study or copy out parts from Hidalgo's score for *La púrpura de la rosa* before his travel to Peru with the Count of Lemos in 1667. But it seems more likely that he copied the score when he returned to Madrid in 1686, or that either Torrejón or the viceroy received music from the Hidalgo score sometime after the 1679 and 1680 Madrid court revivals. Significantly, the Calderón text underlaid in the Lima score agrees for the most part with the libretto printed in the 1687 Calderón *Tercera parte*, which may have been based on a manuscript associated with the 1679–80 court productions and provided by Calderón to his friend Vera Tassis.¹⁰⁹

Torrejón y Velasco and the Loa

In addition to music that clearly originated in Hidalgo's 1659 opera, some sections of music in the Lima manuscript were composed by Torrejón himself. The music of the loa is surely his because it sets a unique text obviously designed

Velasco, y vieron los socorros que le hacía y todo." Report from Don Pedro Vélez de Escalante of the Inquisition of Toledo dated 24 April 1730. There is also a statement certified by the Inquisition of Murcia to the effect that Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco was born on 21 December 1644 and baptized in Villarobledo on 23 December.

¹⁰⁷ E-Mah, Inquisición, leg. 1283, exp. 30, "Información genealógica de Juan José Torrejón y Velasco, presbítero y vicario, natural de Lima (Perú), y pretendiente a comisario del Tribunal de la Inquisición de Lima, en la provincia de Conchucos, 1724."

¹⁰⁸ E-Mahp, Juan Manuel Pérez de Alvy, protocolo 11.058, fol. 353, 1 June 1699, which refers to an agreement of 8 May 1686 drawn up by Agustín de Revilla, "escribano de Su Magestad."

¹⁰⁹ See N. D. Shergold, "Calderón and Vera Tassis," *Hispanic Review* 23 (1955): 212–18.

for Lima 1701 with references to Philip V as the new sovereign. Further, the fact that the original foliation in the Lima manuscript excluded these loa pages entirely, such that the loa music is isolated in a separate unnumbered part of the manuscript, could well indicate that the portion of the Lima manuscript containing the music that sets Calderón's original opera libretto was originally put together (and arrived in Torrejón's hands) before its physical attachment to Torrejón's new 1701 music for the loa.

As a composer, Torrejón first surfaces in the music-historical narrative in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century publications that praise his sacred music. His villancicos were his best-known works. The poetry from eight of them was published in Francisco Echave y Assú's elegant *La estrella de Lima* (Antwerp, 1688),¹¹⁰ and the vespers music he composed for Lima's royal exequys for Carlos II was lauded for its "sad harmony of the funeral songs that piously moved the souls of the listeners to the tender effusion of copious tears."¹¹¹ Torrejón's sacred music was cited proudly by Peralta, his younger contemporary, who was among Lima's most respected intellectuals; he named Torrejón and court composer Sebastián Durón (1660–1716; active at the Madrid court until his exile for political reasons in 1706) as leading Spanish composers. In Peralta's description, the Royal Chapel of the viceroy's palace in Lima celebrated with the "best ecclesiastical music in quantity and in rarity, in Villancicos and Tonadas, that the Spanish Duróns and the Torrejóns have produced."¹¹² Peralta thus compared Torrejón not to the late Hidalgo, better known as a composer of theatrical music, but to Durón, whose Latin-texted sacred music and villancicos circulated in the Americas. Years later, in the printed relación of the 1725 royal exequys for Luis I celebrated in Lima, the conservatively pious and orthodox qualities of Torrejón's newly composed funeral music were praised, as "very harmonious, for the variety of its points of imitation, tenderness of its cadences, and closely woven concord of instruments and voices."¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Francisco Echave y Assú, *La estrella de Lima, Convertida en Sol sobre sus tres coronas...* (Antwerp: Joannes Baptista Verdussen, 1688) [E-Mn, 3/22154]. Describing the ceremonies that celebrated Pope Innocent XI's 1679 beatification of the Limeño, Toribio Alfonso Mogrovejo, second Archbishop of Lima, this publication offers a history of the diocese and includes the first published map of Lima, emphasizing the city's orderly layout and piety with images of its many churches.

¹¹¹ Joseph de Buendía, *Parentación real al soberano nombre e immortal memoria del católico Rey de las españas y emperador de las indias el serenissimo señor Don Carlos II* (Lima: Joseph de Contreras, 1701) [E-Mn, ER-4541], fols. 87v–88.

¹¹² "Con la mejor Música Eclesiástica quanto han producido de raro en Villancicos, y Tonadas los Durones, y los Torrejones españoles." Pedro José Peralta Barnuevo y Rochas, *Lima Triumphante, glorias de la América...* (Lima: Joseph Contreras y Alvarado, 1708) [E-Mn, R-3060], fols. 50v–51.

¹¹³ "muy armoniosa, por la variedad de sus puntos de imitación, la delicadeza de sus cadencias, y la estrecha concordancia entre los instrumentos y las voces," Tomás de Torrejón, R. P., *Parentación real: sentimiento público... en las reales exequias de Señor Don Luis I... Rey de las Españas* (Lima: Ignacio de Luna y Bohórquez, 1725) [E-Mn, R/34154].

Torrejón was garlanded with praise in the historical record because he composed sacred music in an appropriately orthodox style, held positions in the secular-religious hierarchy as a colonial administrator and then as chapel master at Lima Cathedral, and provided music for the most important royal and religious rituals in Lima, and because his sons ascended within the ecclesiastical hierarchy.¹¹⁴ *La púrpura de la rosa* is absent from all of these tributes. Indeed, Torrejón's name, listed on the title page of the Lima manuscript, cannot be associated with any extant secular music outside the opera. He surely composed the opera's 1701 loa, but it seems appropriate to think of him as the "compiler," rather than the "composer" in the modern sense, of the Lima *La púrpura de la rosa*. However, given the descriptions of the correctness of his public sacred music, his network of contacts, his personal history, and his possible visit to Madrid in 1686, I would argue that Torrejón was the only composer of his generation in Latin America to whom the viceroy would entrust the musical preparation of an opera celebrating a royal birthday. Torrejón's familiarity with Hidalgo's music and the administrative skills he sharpened in Peru surely enhanced his management of this supremely important operatic project.

Coplas, Estribillos, Bailes, Freely Declamatory Song

Torrejón's music for the loa announces the opera's celebratory purpose. Its structure seems similar to that of a villancico with declamatory choral acclamations, duets, and energetic strophic coplas.¹¹⁵ As in Torrejón's villancicos, extraordinary lyricism and strikingly pan-consonant harmony may be invested with a socially instructive and corrective value, rather than mere metaphorical significance. Within the opera proper, the Lima manuscript contains three principal types of music: strophic coplas; repeating triple-meter estribillos that serve as solo or choral refrains, provide structure, and underline central messages; and freely

¹¹⁴ Villancicos and Latin-texted sacred works by Torrejón y Velasco can be found in PE-CUsad, GCA-Gaha, and Sucre, Biblioteca Nacional de Bolivia, according to Omar Morales Abril, ed., *Villancicos de Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco en la Catedral de Guatemala* (Guatemala: Universidad de San Carlos, 2005), Repertorio de la Catedral de Guatemala 1; and Quezada Machiavello, ed., *El legado musical del Cuzco barroco*. See also Vargas Ugarte, "Un archivo de música colonial en el Cuzco," 1–10; Samuel Claro, "La música dramática en el Cuzco durante el siglo XVIII y Catálogo de Manuscritos de música del Seminario de San Antonio Abad," *Anuario* 5 (1969): 1–48; Robert Stevenson, *Renaissance and Baroque Musical Sources in the Americas* (Washington, DC, 1970); Sas Orchassal, *La música en la Catedral de Lima durante el Virreinato*; and Claro, "La música secular de Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco," 3–23.

¹¹⁵ The order of sections in the loa and the number of repetitions for the solo and duet strophes are unspecified in the Lima manuscript; a hypothetical reconstruction, guided by the sense of the anonymous poetic text, is provided in Stein, ed., *La púrpura de la rosa*, xxxiii and 3–27.

declamatory song. Most of the story unfolds through tuneful airs with repeating coplas framed by estribillos. Of course, such strophic songs, whether called *tono*, *tono humano*, or *tonada*, were the essential element of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Hispanic theatrical music of all kinds, in spoken comedias, mythological semi-operas, or early zarzuelas. *Tonos* or *tonadas* with many coplas dominate whole scenes and sections in both Hidalgo's *Celos aun del aire matan* and the Lima *La púrpura de la rosa*. Long repetitive airs both focus the listener's attention and affect the internal motivations of the opera's characters, especially in scenes of persuasion or seduction. The simple rhetoric of repetition—whether cleanly declamatory or decoratively enticing—demonstrated the power implicit in musical harmony through highly focused, tightly ordered music. Coplas and estribillos are also exploited similarly in vernacular sacred villancicos, conventionally distinguishing sections for dramatic effect and to support poetic structure.

All of the roles except that of the comic gracioso, Chato (a tenor), and Desengaño (a baritone in the Lima manuscript) were intended for young women. Following cues in Calderón's libretto, however, the music of *La púrpura de la rosa* nevertheless conveys character types, social levels, and even gender. For example, the dialogue for Chato and Celfa is laced with comical mispronunciations that highlight their low social status (“mojer” for *mujer*, “aborrida” for *aburrída*, “rofián” for *rufián*, and “mósica” for *música*), so the composer captured their rustic confusion by incorporating popular baile music. In their first scene, Chato and Celfa share linked coplas and interlocking phrases, while a pervasive rhythmic pattern sets them apart from the other characters. While laced with hemiola, their music (a type of *seguidilla*) provides coherence for their intentionally scatter-brained dialogue whose poetry is structured as interlocking *quintillas* (see Example 5.1).

Later, in a darkly “comic” scene full of misogynist banter launched by the bullying Dragón, Celfa is battered before she finally smacks blundering Chato in reprisal. As in the examples cited in Chapter 1, *seguidillas* here again are associated with male incursion into a feminine space, though in this case Celfa's very body is the target. The scene's low-born violence slices forward in clear *seguidillas* (thirteen coplas in all), until it is suddenly interrupted and turned to high tragedy by the sustained cry of the wounded Adonis (“¡Valedme, cielos!”) in a higher-pitched, smoothly ascending melody whose delivery is shaped *ad libitum* around the augmented rhythmic values notated in the score (excerpted in Example 5.2).¹¹⁶ Adonis' verisimilar exclamation becomes even

¹¹⁶ On the *seguidilla*, misogyny, and the invasion of female spaces, see above in Chapter 1.

Example 5.1 Juan Hidalgo, Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, *La púrpura de la rosa*,
Chato and Celfa.

The musical score is written in 3/8 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). It consists of six systems of vocal lines for Chato and Celfa, each with a corresponding bass line. The lyrics are in Spanish and describe a conversation between the two characters.

System 1: CHATO (top line), CELFA (bottom line)
 ¿Sa-brás, Cel - fa, res - pon - der a u - na du - da? A buen se -

System 2: CHATO (top line)
 gu - ro. Des - de que e - res mi — mo - jer, ¿qué se - rá

System 3: CELFA CHATO (top line), CELFA (bottom line)
 Di... Que de pu - ro ver - te, no te pue - do ver? ¿Sa -

System 4: CHATO (top line)
 brás res - pon - der - me a mí tú — a o - tra du - da? Cre - o que

System 5: CELFA (top line)
 sí. A - bo - rri - da yo — tam - bién, ¿por qué no te

System 6: (top line)
 quie - ro bien, ya que — me mue - ro — por tí?

Example 5.2 Juan Hidalgo, Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, *La púrpura de la rosa*, Chato, Celfa, Dragón.

CHATO DRAGON

Pues a-quí ya no hay que ha - cer. Sí hay, por si fal - ta lu-gar des-

CHATO DRAGON CHATO

pués. ¿Qué es? No más que dar de co-ces a su mu-jer. Si e-so

so - lo fal - ta, y a us-ted le im-por - ta,

ahí (por e - so se di - jo) me las den to -

das.

Example 5.2 Continued

CELFA

Pues en ti he de ven - gar - me de tus des-pre -

CHATO

cios. Pa - ra mí ten - drás ma - nos.

ADONIS, *dentro*

¡Va - led - me, cie - - - los!

6 6

more dramatic because it stands out against the regularity of Chato and Celfa's comic seguidillas.

Many sequential coplas convey the erotic desire that grows between Venus and Adonis, moving the listener into their affective domain through persuasive triple-meter lyricism and consonance. The music shared between the two amorous protagonists increasingly ensnares and connects them (as in Example 5.3). That they interrupt each other in mid-copla of their shared music lends verisimilitude to their interaction while conveying love-engendered excitement and confusion. Hidalgo deployed the same technique for Pocris and Céfaló in act 1 of *Celos aun del aire matan*, albeit with a sharper musical characterization.

Example 5.3 Juan Hidalgo, Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, *La púrpura de la rosa*,
Venus and Adonis.

VENUS

La pe - sa - dez de un sue - ño tal vez sue - le se -

guir al más des - pier - to; y pues no es lo que

ADONIS

pre - su - mí, en paz te que - da. ¿Tan pres - to

VENUS

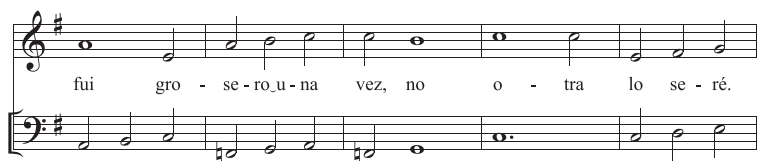
quie - res vol - ver - te? Sí, que bal - do - nes de a -

mor no he de vol - ver a o - ir.

ADONIS

No ha - ce po - co el que en - mien - da sus ye - rros; y si

Example 5.3 Continued



fui gro - se - ro, u - na vez, no o - tra lo se - ré.

VENUS

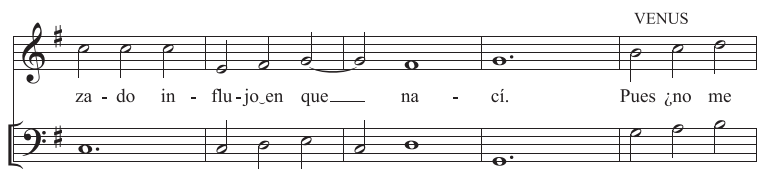


¿Có - mo, a - sí? Co - mo, al ver - te sa - bré for -



zar y re - pri - mir a - quel a - me - na -

VENUS



za - do in - flu - jo en que na - cí. Pues ¿no me

ADONIS



vis - te en ton - ces? Con - fie - so que te vi,

VENUS



pe - ro no te mi - ré. ¿Y hay có - mo dis - tin -

Example 5.3 Continued

The musical score consists of three systems of vocal lines. The first system is for ADONIS, with lyrics: "guir el ver del mi - rar? Pues ¿hay quien ig -". The second system features VENUS and ADONIS, with lyrics: "no - re... Di. ...Que el ver es só - lo ver,". The third system continues the ADONIS line with lyrics: "y el mi - rar ad - ver - tir?". The music is written in G major and 4/4 time, with a bass line that is notably strident and rhythmic.

Though Marte sings mostly within the same vocal ambitus as Venus and Adonis, he has his own rhythmic character, literally marching through some of his scenes in strident duple meter with thrusting bass lines that emphasize his confrontational hubris (Example 5.4). His exaggerated bravado separates him from the opera's amorous focus and is ironically burlesqued in a way comparable to the Mars in Velázquez' painting of the warrior god.¹¹⁷ When Marte chases love (Amor) into the subterranean dungeon or "cárcel de celos" inhabited by Disillusion (Desengaño) and filled with the sound of clanking chains and human suffering, he is completely knocked off his strident rhythmic regularity (beginning at "Pues nunca la planta" in Example 5.5) and finds himself boxed into triple meter with halting rhythms in a suddenly slow tempo (the music is marked "Despacio"). The long, striking, beautifully extended sequential phrases that Marte and Dragón sing in their amazed stupefaction are cued by Calderón's long twelve-syllable poetic lines.¹¹⁸ The musical repetitions in this scene also separate the supernatural grotto from the real world outside it, prolonging the moment and seeming to make time stand still.

¹¹⁷ This reading of Marte through the libretto is noted in Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 217–18; on the painting, see Brown, *Velázquez: Painter and Courtier*, 168.

¹¹⁸ Cardona et al., eds., *La púrpura de la rosa*, 100, provide an expert analysis of the versification of Calderón's text.

Example 5.4 Continued

Cajas y clarines
[Drums and clarin trumpets]

ce - los y a - mor:...

TODOS

¡Ar - ma, ar -

TODOS

¡Ar - ma, ar -

¡Ar - ma, ar - ma, ar - ma, ar -

¡Ar - ma, ar -

- ma! ¡Gue - rra, gue - rra, gue - rra, gue - rra!

- ma! ¡Gue - rra, gue - rra!

- rra! ¡Gue - rra! ¡Vi - va

- ma! ¡Gue - rra, gue - rra!

Example 5.4 Continued

¡Vi - va Mar - te! ¡Vi - va_el
 ¡Vi - va Mar - te! ¡Vi - va_el Sol! ¡Vi - va_el
 Mar - te! ¡Mar - te! ¡Vi - va_el
 ¡Vi - va Mar - te! ¡Vi - va_el
 Sol!
 Sol!
 Sol!
 Sol!

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for five voices. The first system consists of five staves. The top four staves are vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and the bottom staff is the basso continuo. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are: '¡Vi - va Mar - te! ¡Vi - va_el' on the first line, '¡Vi - va Mar - te! ¡Vi - va_el Sol! ¡Vi - va_el' on the second line, 'Mar - te! ¡Mar - te! ¡Vi - va_el' on the third line, and '¡Vi - va Mar - te! ¡Vi - va_el' on the fourth line. The second system consists of five staves, each with a vocal line and the word 'Sol!' written below it. The bottom staff of the second system has a basso continuo line with notes corresponding to the lyrics.

Example 5.5 Juan Hidalgo, Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, *La púrpura de la rosa*, Marte (Cárcel de Celos).

Despacio

Pues nun - ca la plan - ta, pues nun - ca la vis - ta pi - só te - me -
 ro - sa, pre - vi - no con - fu - sa tan ló - bre - ga - es -
 tan - cia, man - sión tan ho - rri - ble, pri - sión tan fu -
 nes - ta ni cár - cel tan du - ra.

When, finally, Desengaño responds to Marte's interrogation, his ponderous coplas, beginning "¡O tú, que, venciendo a todos, a ti solo no te vences," ring out as low-voice masculine music unlike any other section of the opera (one copla is provided in Example 5.6). The bearded, enchained Desengaño, clothed in animal skins, is scolding Marte and frankly attempting to explain the god to himself, so he addresses Marte in simple, octosyllabic verse but sinks into Marte's own usual march-like duple rhythms. Desengaño's baritone sound, unique within the opera, is further weighted down by a deliberately heavy walking bass to illustrate musically just how firmly the heavy shackles of disillusion hold him within the dungeon.

Example 5.6 Juan Hidalgo, Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, *La púrpura de la rosa*, Desengaño.

DESENGAÑO

¡O tú, que ven - cien - do, a to - dos, a ti

so - lo no te ven - ces, y con hu - ma - nas pa -

sio - nes di - vi - nas, se - ñas des - mien - tes!

Naturally, the most dissonant moments in the opera are expressed by the high-voiced allegorical figures who stand guard within this prison. They sing reiterative lamenting solos and small coros as they emerge within the grotto carrying symbolic props. Fear carries a lighted torch, Suspicion a field glass, Envy a writhing snake, and Rage a dagger. The frightening “tono triste” of their ensemble estribillo, “¡Ay de aquel que en principio de celos” (Example 5.7), is created from sustained, suspended exclamations of “Ay” in imitative entries over D major and G major chords; the harmony then moves from D major to even sharper E major, followed by a rising sequence to paint “huyendo el Amor” (fleeing from love) and then again in staggered entries, back from A major to G major (A-D-B-e-C-G-D-G), hovering over G-D-G harmonies to paint in rising sequences the reiterated description of how the disillusioned lover is stuck and prevented from flight (“no le deja, no le deja, no le deja que huya”).

Example 5.7 Juan Hidalgo, Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, *La púrpura de la rosa*, Coro (“en tono triste”).

Dentro la música en tono triste
[From offstage sad music is heard]

MÚSICA

¡Ay de a - quel

¡Ay de a - quel, ay de a - quel

¡Ay de a -

¡Ay de a - quel, de a - quel

que en prin - ci - pio de ce - los, hu -

que en prin - ci - pio de ce - los, hu - yendo el A - mor,

quel que en prin - ci - pio de ce - los, hu -

que en prin - ci - pio de ce - los, hu -

Example 5.7 Continued

yen-do_el A - mor, no le de - ja, no le
 no le de - ja, no le de -
 yen-do_el A - mor, no le de - ja, no le
 8 yen-do_el A - mor, no le de - ja, no le

6

de - ja que hu - ya!
 - ja que hu - ya!
 de - ja que hu - ya!
 8 de - ja que hu - ya!

Example 5.7 Continued

TODAS

Es el Des - en - ga - ño, por quien re - pe -

Es el Des - en - ga - ño, por quien re - pe -

Es el Des - en - ga - ño, por quien re - pe -

Es el Des - en - ga - ño, por quien re - pe -

ti - mos, ya so - las, ya jun - tas:

ti - mos, ya so - las, ya jun - tas:

ti - mos, ya so - las, ya jun - tas:

ti - mos, ya so - las, ya jun - tas:

Example 5.7 Continued

¡Ay de a - quel
 ¡Ay de a -
 ¡Ay de a - quel, ay de a - quel
 ¡Ay de a - quel, de a - quel

que en prin - ci - pio de ce - los, hu -
 quel que en prin - ci - pio de ce - los, hu -
 que en prin - ci - pio de ce - los, hu - yen-do el A - mor,
 que en prin - ci - pio de ce - los, hu -

Example 5.8 Juan Hidalgo, Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, *La púrpura de la rosa*, Coro.

LAS 4

Y las cua-tro, que so-mos las guar-das del pre-so que

Y las cua-tro, que so-mos las guar-das del pre-so que

Y las cua-tro, que so-mos las guar-das del pre-so que

Y las cua-tro, que so-mos las guar-das del pre-so que

ya ce.en pri-sión tan os-cu-ra, al pe-re

ya ce.en pri-sión tan os-cu-ra, al pe-re

ya ce.en pri-sión tan os-cu-ra, al pe-re

ya ce.en pri-sión tan os-cu-ra, al pe-re

Example 5.8 Continued

gri-no_el ries - go_a - vi - sa - mos; mas to - dos le o - yen y
 gri-no_el ries - go_a - vi - sa - mos; mas to - dos le o - yen y
 gri-no_el ries - go_a - vi - sa - mos; mas to - dos le o - yen y
 gri-no_el ries - go_a - vi - sa - mos; mas to - dos le o - yen y

6 6

MARTE

Pues ya ___ que_el a -
 na - die le_es - cu - cha.
 na - die le_es - cu - cha.
 na - die le_es - cu - cha.
 na - die le_es - cu - cha.

Example 5.8 Continued

vi - so de - cis, cuán - to, en va - no al pe - re - gri - no, el

ries - go le a - nun - cia, ya que en -

tré ¿quién el pre - so, es de ce - los?

**Vese dentro de la gruta el Deseñaño, viejo, con barba larga,
vestido de pieles y con prisiones**

*[Within the grotto, Deseñaño is seen, as an old man
with a long beard, dressed in skins, with shackles]*

TODAS

A - que - lla ve - jez he - la - da, y ca - du - ca

A - que - lla ve - jez he - la - da, y ca - du - ca

A - que - lla ve - jez he - la - da, y ca - du - ca

A - que - lla ve - jez he - la - da, y ca - du - ca

Example 5.8 Continued

The musical score consists of three systems, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a bass line (bass clef). The key signature is one sharp (F#).

System 1:

- Vocal line: TEMOR (Que tris - te), SOSPECHA (Pa - de - ce...), ENVIDIA (Pos - tra - da...)
- Bass line: Accompanying notes for the first system.

System 2:

- Vocal line: IRA (Ren - di - da...), TEMOR (Fa - ti - gas...), SOSPECHA (Des - pre - cios...), ENVIDIA (Bal -)
- Bass line: Accompanying notes for the second system.

System 3:

- Vocal line: IRA (do - nes... e_in - ju - rias), MARTE (Quién es, se - pa,)
- Bass line: Accompanying notes for the third system.

The sound effects and supernatural coros in this scene are meant to stand out amid the opera's otherwise extreme consonance and flowing lyricism to clarify Calderón's message: love cannot be chased, captured, or controlled. Having chased Amor, Marte only encounters disillusion, envy, suspicion, rage, and fear. The scene surely was elaborately staged, its visual effects supported by musical ones. Sequences, unusual chords, and delayed resolution of suspended dissonances are exploited in a manner similar to, but more interesting than, the scene for the three Furies from the Calderón and Hidalgo semi-opera *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo* (1653). Baccio del Bianco's descriptive rubric for the scene in *Fortunas*—"what was most astonishing was the dissonance with which they sang, apathetic and horrible"—can be applied to this grotto scene as well, though the extended scene in *La púrpura de la rosa* exceeds the earlier semi-opera scene in length, density, and affective force.¹¹⁹ Both scenes bring to mind the music theorist Nassarre's assertion that the Inferno must sound "confusion, discord, disunion, and chaos."¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ See Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 162–64, 465–67.

¹²⁰ Pablo Nasarre (1650–1730), *Escuela Música según la práctica moderna*, 2 vols. (Zaragoza: Herederos de Manuel Román, 1723), 1:74–75.

Sets of strophic coplas in *La púrpura de la rosa* serve narration, persuasion, and sometimes deliberate deception, while declamatory recitado interrupts their forward motion to highlight the characters' immediate affective responses and intimate reflections. Recitado, more lyrical, consonant, and melodically expansive than contemporary Italian recitative, is the opera's most delicate but flexibly verisimilar musical texture. In *La púrpura de la rosa*, as in Hidalgo's *Celos aun del aire matan*, recitado is almost song-like, unfolding in sequential patterns that surely facilitated memorization by the actress-singers. For example, when the mortal Adonis confesses to Venus the tragically violent circumstances of his conception (incestuous intercourse between his mother, Myrrha, and her father, Cynyras), beginning with the words "Quien aborrecido hijo, tan desde luego nació de su padre," his words naturally control the musical rhythms (see Example 5.9). He narrates his shameful personal history with striking confessional intimacy, explaining why a curse has guided his lonely life from birth.¹²¹ In an intensely dramatic section of this recitado, Adonis sings about his mother's death and the compassionate decision of the Olympian deities to allow her to give birth even after her transformation into a tree. The musical setting here moves through some unusually forceful sharp harmonies, including B major, F-sharp major, and E major, on the way to A major, C major, and A minor, while the melody ascends through eight measures of pointed chromaticism conveying Adonis' heightened affective state.

¹²¹ Calderón's libretto is based on an episode from Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, book 10: Adonis was conceived in incest when King Cinyrus of Cyprus was seduced by his own daughter, Myrrha. After nine nights of sex under cover of darkness, he discovered her identity and attempted to murder her before taking his own life. To spare Adonis, the child she carried, Myrrha was transformed into a Myrrh tree, then Adonis was born from the tree to be nursed and raised by the wild creatures of the forest.

Example 5.9 Juan Hidalgo, Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, *La púrpura de la rosa*, Adonis.

ADONIS

Quien a - bo - rre - ci - do hi - jo tan des - de lue - go na - ció de sus pa - dres,

que aún en e - llos no su - po qué e - ra a - fi - ción. Mi - rra mi

ma - dre lo di - ga, pues a - pe - nas me en - gen - dró, cuan - do en

o - dio del con - cep - to hur - tó de a - man - te trai - ción, su mis - mo

pa - dre mi vi - da y su vi - da a - ban - do - nó, tan - to, que la dí - o la

Example 5.9 Continued

muer-te; cu-ya mí-se-ra-a-flic - ción en sus úl-ti-mos a - lien-tos los dio-ses
 com - pa-de-ció, con-vir - tién-do-la en un ár - bol, de cu - yo llo-ra - do hu-
 mor, guar-dan-do el nom-bre de Mi-rra, na-cí bas-tar - do em-bri-ón, mal-de-
 ci-do de mis pa-dres, y con tan gran mal-di-ción co-mo que de a-mor
 mue - ra. Con-si - de-re tu a-ten-ción, si en mi ho-rós-co-po pri -

Example 5.9 Continued

me - ro a - bor - to de un tron - co soy, si des - pués lle - vo tras
 mí el he - re - da - do te - mor de que de a - mor mue - ra, pue - do no a - bo - rre -
 cer al a - mor. A cu - ya cau - sa, de -

In the final scenes of the opera, the curse Adonis has carried since birth is fulfilled when, wounded by the wild boar fueled by Marte's vengeance, he lies bleeding among the roses. Hearing his final cries, Venus immediately recognizes his voice and sings coplas whose rising sequences convey her desperation, inspiring compassion even from Belona. With womanly sensitivity, Belona and the nymph Libia try to prevent Venus from embracing the corpse. Here Calderón's poetry glosses the López de Zárate romance on the death of Adonis, "Rosas desojadas vierte."¹²² Venus sings a lament-invocation to the powers of the universe, "Un Adonis, ¡ay de mí! ¿Cómo, soberanos dioses...?" (Example 5.10). In this through-composed declamatory song shaped in triple meter with short sequences, the verisimilar force of the goddess' persuasive rhetoric draws affective power through its wide melodic range, insistent gestures, and harmonic movement through segments of the flat, sharp, and natural hexachords.¹²³ Marte tramples upon the weeping goddess' grief by singing a set of naggingly shallow coplas whose triumphant march-like rhythms project his blustering belligerence (Example 5.11). Within Marte's insensitive monologue, Calderón introduces an extended gloss on the opening of Góngora's "Romance de Angélica y Medoro"

¹²² Romance "A la muerte de Adonis" in Francisco López de Zárate, *Obras varias dedicadas a diferentes personas* (Alcalá: María Fernández, 1651), 35–36 [E-Mn, R/20208]; noted in Cardona et al., eds. *La púrpura de la rosa*, 248.

¹²³ For a very similar but longer passage sung by Aura in *Celos aun del aire matan*, see Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 239–43, 500–1.

Example 5.10 Juan Hidalgo, Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, *La púrpura de la rosa*, Venus.

VENUS

Un A - do - nis ¡ay — de mi! ¿Có-mo, so-be-

ra-nos dio - ses, cie - lo, sol, lu - na y es - tre - llas,

ris - cos, sel - vas, pra - dos, bos - ques, a - ves, bru - tos,

fie - ras, pe - ces, tron - cos, plan - tas, ro - sas,

flo - res, fuen - tes rí - os, la - gos, ma - res,

Sale Marte
[Enter Marte]

nin - fas, dei - da - des y hom - bres, su - fris tal es - tra - go?

(1602), “En un pastoral albergue / que la guerra entre unos robles,” juxtaposing the pastoral and the martial, and references to life and death.¹²⁴

¹²⁴ The Góngora romance describes an episode from Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, in which Angelica comes upon the wounded Medoro and proceeds to heal him; the thirteen quoted lines beginning “En un pastoral albergue” are interspersed among the verses sung by Marte, Venus, the Chorus of Nymphs, and Amor; see Luis de Góngora y Argote, *Obras completas*, ed. Juan Millé y Giménez and Isabel Millé y Giménez (Madrid: Aguilar, 1900), 120–21; Carreño, ed., *Romances de Luis de Góngora y Argote*, 1:44, 525; 2:85–99; Cardona et al., eds. *La púrpura de la rosa*, 249.

Example 5.11 Juan Hidalgo, Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, *La púrpura de la rosa*, Marte.

MARTE

Co - mo la paz me dio más bla - so - nes en un pas - to -
 ril al - ber - gue que la gue - rra en - tre_u - nos ro -
 bles; [copla] a cu - ya cau - sa, ti - ra - na, no_hu - bo_en to - do
 es - te_ho - ri - zon - te ni ris - co que no.ex - a - mi - ne, ni pe -
 ñas - co que no to - que, [repeat for 3 more coplas]

Approaching the dead Adonis, Venus responds (Example 5.12) with a powerful lament, “¡Ay, infelice de mí!” exhaling pungent repeated descending diminished melodic fifths (e^b – a’) in smooth coplas while bearing her burden of grief with dignified, sarabande-like offset rhythmic stresses. The final measures describe how the very stuff of life has bled from Adonis. As she contemplates her lover’s corpse, “las venas con poca sangre, los ojos con mucha noche,” she sings a descending mostly conjunct melody spanning e^b – d’, supported by the rhythm of a slow sarabande. Overwhelmed by her tragic loss, she reaches three final sustained notes at the bottom of her range over somber harmony (including the dissonant e^b suspended over A in the bass), a verisimilar expression of her own vanishing strength as she faints into the bed of roses beside Adonis’ corpse.

Example 5.12 Juan Hidalgo, Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, *La púrpura de la rosa*, Venus.

VENUS

¡Ay in - fe - li - ce de mí! In - jus - to a - man -

- te, que po - nes con la fuer - za de tus sa -

6

ñas, la fuer - za de tus te - mo - res:

[6]

aun - que ti - ra - no te ven - gues, por lo me - nos no bla -

6

so - nes que sin ti - rar le A - mor fle - chas

4

le co - ro - nó de fa - vo - res, Fle - chas le ti -

Example 5.12 Continued

ró,el A - mor, te - mi - da dei - dad del jo - ven tan -
 - to, que por-que tus ce - los su ma - yor_
 triun-fo no bor - ren, vi - vi - rá a su rue - go e -
 ter - no, aun-que a - ho - ra en él — y en mí no - tes las
 ve - nas con po - ca san - gre,
Cae Venus desmayada
[Venus falls, in a faint]
 los o - jos con mu - cha no - che.

6

5 56

Opera in New Spain

Celos aun del aire matan in Mexico

The 1701 *La púrpura de la rosa* brought the aged paradigm of Hispanic opera to the Americas in what was likely this opera's only colonial revival.¹²⁵ The manuscript score and the information in the Lima newsheet banish any doubts as to whether it was performed as a fully-sung opera. Much slimmer evidence pertains to a 1728 production of *Celos aun del aire matan* in Mexico. A single printed notice in a *Gaceta* from New Spain suggests that Hidalgo's second opera was performed in 1728 at the court in Mexico City to honor another of Philip V's birthdays:

The happy news about the good health of the King and his royal family, that arrived in the dispatches brought to Veracruz from Havana for His Excellency, and that arrived in that port on the 15th, was celebrated on the 19th in this court, as it was the King's birthday on that day, with widespread ringing of bells, a mass of thanksgiving, and a *Te Deum*, at which, as is customary, the officials of the royal councils, courts, and city were in attendance, all of whom gathered, following protocol, the three evenings immediately following, to attend the comedia, *Zelos aun del ayre matan*, whose performance, amidst similar applause, His Excellency had arranged in the sumptuous theater of the royal palace.¹²⁶

Nothing is known about this production beyond what is offered in the *Gaceta*, namely, that protocolled performances were offered three nights in a row in the theater in the viceroy's palace in Mexico in December 1728, after news of

¹²⁵ I hereby correct an error in a footnote in Stein, ed., *La púrpura de la rosa*, "Introduction," xxv and xxvii: the pertinent issues of the *Diario de las noticias más sobresalientes en esta ciudad de Lima* of 1707, 1708, and 1731 offer no firm evidence for the opera's performance in Lima in these years, though this possibility was promulgated in Everett W. Hesse, "Calderón's Popularity in the Spanish Indies," *Hispanic Review* 23 (1955): 12–27, as well as Guillermo Lohmann Villena and Raúl Moglia, "Repertorio de las representaciones teatrales en Lima hasta el siglo XVIII," *Revista de filología hispánica* 5 (1943): 313–43; clarification and correction are provided in Rodríguez Garrido, "Teatro y Poder en el Palacio Virreinal," 190–92. Susana Hernández Araico, "Venus y Adonis en Calderón y Sor Juana. La primera ópera americana ¿en la Nueva España?," *Relaciones literarias entre España y América en los siglos XVI y XVII*, ed. Ysla Campbell (Ciudad Juárez: Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez, 1992), 137–51 offers the suggestion that the opera might have been performed in New Spain.

¹²⁶ "La plausible [*sic* "apacible"] noticia de la salud del Rey Nro. Sr. y la de su Real familia, que conduxeron los pliegos que traxo a la Vera-Cruz una embarcación desde la Havana para S. Exc. y llegó a aquel Puerto el día 15, se celebró el 19 en esta corte (como assi mismo los años, que el mismo día cumplió S. M.) con general repique, Missa de gracias, y *Te Deum*, a que como es Costumbre, asistió la Real Audiencia, Tribunales, y Ayuntamiento, quienes también concurrieron por sus antigüedades, las tres noches inmediatas, a la comedia *Zelos aun del ayre matan*, que a el misma [*sic*] aplauso hizo representar en el Sumptuoso Teatro de el Real Palacio el Excmo. Sr. Virrey," in *Gaceta de México desde primero, hasta fin de Diciembre de 1728* (México: Joseph Bernardo de Hogal, 1728), num. 13, 100–1, in *Gacetitas de México*, ed. Francisco González de Cossío (México: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1949), 1:143–44.

the king's good health had reached Veracruz by ship from Havana. No trace of music for *Celos* has been retrieved from colonial Mexico, though other tonos and *villancicos* by Hidalgo circulated in New Spain.¹²⁷ "Spanish theater songs of the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries (such as those in the Suro manuscript) were indeed performed in Mexico," as Koegel has pointed out.¹²⁸ It is possible that *Celos* was performed with Hidalgo's music on this occasion, but it may also be that Calderón's text, which circulated in printed comedia anthologies, was performed as a spoken play, or that this 1728 performance employed entirely new music. Whatever the case, the association of *Celos aun del aire matan* with Philip V's birthday as late as 1728 is certainly striking—Hidalgo had composed his opera in 1660 to commemorate the marriage of Philip's grandparents.

As with the 1701 Lima opera, the sponsor in 1728 was a Spanish viceroy with strong ties to the royal court. The Viceroy of New Spain, Juan de Acuña y Bejarano, had been born in Lima in 1658 to Spanish parents in the Americas. He was educated in Madrid, then served as a page at the royal court from age thirteen to age twenty-one, and subsequently as a soldier and military official in Spain and Italy.¹²⁹ In 1678 he was honored with induction into the Order of Santiago, so he might have been at court in February 1679 to attend the Madrid revival of *Celos aun del aire matan*.¹³⁰ He was likely at court for the ceremony in which his older half-brother, Íñigo de Acuña y Castro, mayordomo to Mariana de Austria, was awarded the title of Marquis de Escalona in June 1679. In 1708, Philip V rewarded Juan de Acuña y Bejarano's loyalty by awarding him an aristocratic title of his own as first Marquis de Casafuerte.¹³¹ He was named Viceroy

¹²⁷ See especially the list of 124 theatrical songs in US-SFs, MS M1 inventoried in John Koegel, "New Sources of Music from Spain and Colonial Mexico at the Suro Library," *Notes* 55, no. 2 (1999): 583–613.

¹²⁸ Koegel, "New Sources," 591, carefully explains that "Spanish music with a theatrical connection, whether first heard on the Madrid stage or elsewhere, can be found in various Mexican and Latin American cathedral, ecclesiastical, national, and private archives and collections. Works by Spanish theater composers such as Juan Hidalgo, Juan de Navas, and Sebastián Durón found their way to such places as Bogota Cathedral, Guatemala Cathedral, the Convent of the Holy Trinity in Puebla (now in the Jesús Sánchez Garza Collection at the Centro Nacional de Investigación, Documentación e Información Musical 'Carlos Chavez' [CENIDIM], Mexico City, and Sucre, Bolivia." Two theatrical songs, the *solo humano* "Huyendo del verde margen" by the theatrical musician Manuel de Villafior (active in Madrid, d. 1707), which is also included in US-SFs, MS M1 (fol. 28), and the *solo humano*, "Deidad que postrada" by Antonio Literes," are found in MEX-Magn, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 2821, exp. 10, título Ayuntamiento, published in facsimile in Jesús Alvarado Almanza and Luisa Hernández Cruz, "Dos partituras musicales de los siglos XVII y XVIII, con dos tablaturas para guitarra barroca," *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación* 6, no. 15 (2006): 86–98, <https://bagn.archivos.gob.mx/index.php/legajos/article/view/653>. See also Vicente T. Mendoza, "Páginas musicales de los siglos XVII y XVIII," *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación* 16 (1945): supplement, preserved in E-Mn MP/6243/24.

¹²⁹ Ascensión Baeza Martín, "Acuña y Bejarano, Juan de," <http://dbe.rah.es/biografias/5000/juan-de-acuna-y-bejarano>; n.n., "El virrey criollo (parte I)," *Contenido*, without date, <https://contenido.com.mx/2018/02/el-virrey-criollo-parte-i/>.

¹³⁰ The year of Juan's entry into the Order of Santiago was 1679 according to Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Los americanos en las órdenes nobiliarias (1529–1900)*, 2 vols. (Madrid: CSIC, 1947), 1:7.

¹³¹ Christoph Rosenmüller, *Patrons, Partisans, and Palace Intrigues: The Court Society of Colonial Mexico, 1702–10* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2008), 22–23.

of New Spain in 1721 but served as a witness for the wedding of the king's son, Luis I, to Luisa Isabel de Orleans, before leaving for his American posting. He departed Spain from Cádiz in June 1722, arriving at Veracruz in August. Whether this viceroy sponsored other operas or had commemorated Philip V's birthday with an opera or another kind of music-theatrical event before 1728 is as yet unknown. The *Gaceta de México* ceased publication soon after its initial issue of January 1722 until publication began anew in January 1728.

The Italian Paradigm in New Spain

A second operatic paradigm—Italian opera as performed in Naples with the decisive investment of Carpio and his successors, the last Spanish viceroys—also reached the Americas in the early eighteenth century, though details about music, performances, sponsorship, and reception are shrouded in confusion. Two titles that appear to represent opera libretti printed in Mexico are listed within the entry for “Zumaya (D. Manuel)” in the vast *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana septentrional*, a bibliography of Mexican imprints compiled by the priest and bibliophile José Mariano Beristáin y Martín de Souza (1756–1817).¹³² The earliest among the items he listed for “Zumaya” would be a now-lost *El Rodrigo*, “Drama que se representó en el palacio real de México para celebrar el nacimiento del príncipe Luis Fernando.” Philip V's son, Prince Luis Fernando, was born in Madrid on 25 August 1707, but the news would have arrived some months later in Mexico, so it is likely that *El Rodrigo* was organized as a celebration of the child's first birthday, in 1708. Its sponsor would be Viceroy Francisco V Fernández de la Cueva y Fernández de la Cueva (viceroy 27 November 1702 to 14 January 1711), though Beristáin y Souza's entry states, almost certainly incorrectly, that “Zumaya” worked as translator and composer for the next viceroy, Fernando de Alencastre Noroña y Silva, Duke of Linares and Marquis

¹³² “Zumaya (D. Manuel) natural de México, presbítero, maestro de capilla de la iglesia metropolitana de su patria. Fué muy estimado por su habilidad música del virrey duque de Linares, para cuya diversión tradujo al castellano y puso en música varias óperas italianas. De esta capital pasó á Oaxaca en compañía del Illmo. Montaña, dean de México, obispo electo de aquel obispado, en cuya catedral fué cura párroco. Allí dedicado exclusivamente al estudio de las ciencias sagradas y al cumplimiento de su ministerio pastoral, murió en paz llorado de sus feligreses. Escribió: ‘Vida del P. Sertorio Caputo, Jesuita, traducido del Italiano.’ MS. Es traducción diferente de la que corre hecha por el P. Mora. Jesuita mexicano. – ‘El Rodrigo.’ Drama que se representó en el palacio real de México para celebrar el nacimiento del príncipe Luis Fernando, Imp. en México por Ribera, 1708. 8. – ‘La Partenope.’ Opera que se representó en el palacio real de México en celebridad de los días del Sr. Felipe V. Imp. en México por Ribera, 1711. 8” in José Mariano Beristáin y Martín de Souza, *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana septentrional*, 3 vols. (Mexico: Imprenta de Valdés, 1816–1821), vol. 3 (Amecameca: Tipografía del Colegio Católico, 1883), 325. The information is reiterated in José Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en México 1539–1821*, 8 vols. (Santiago: Impreso en casa del autor, 1907–12), 3:446, and by many subsequent writers.

de Valdefuentes (viceroy in Mexico 15 January 1711 to 15 August 1716). No trace of *El Rodrigo* (as opera libretto or spoken play) or its music has surfaced. There are earlier Italian libretti treating the Spanish “Rodrigo” story and dedicated to Spanish aristocrats or performed for Spanish occasions that might have served as a source or model for a Mexican *El Rodrigo*, if the latter indeed existed. The plot and characters of Giovan Battista Botalino’s *Il Roderico* (set by Alessandro Scarlatti and performed in Naples during carnival 1687 for Viceroy del Carpio) were heavily Spanish in theme (as explained in Chapter 4).¹³³ Francisco Silvani’s *Rodrigo in Algeri* was performed with music by Tomaso Albinoni in Naples 1702 for the birthday of King Philip V.¹³⁴ But the most likely source for an operatic *El Rodrigo* produced in New Spain would have been *Il duello d’amore e di vendetta*, a libretto by Francesco Silvani on the Rodrigo story set in Seville (produced Venice, Teatro San Salvatore, 1700, with music by Marc-Antonio Ziani). This libretto’s dedicatee, Luis Francisco de la Cerda y Aragón, was the brother of Juana de la Cerda y Aragón, consort of Francisco Fernández de la Cueva y Fernández de la Cueva (1666–1724), tenth Duke of Alburquerque and viceroy in New Spain 1702–11. The relationship between the de la Cerda siblings establishes an essential connection among this opera, its highly placed dedicatee in Naples, and the viceregal court in Mexico. Significantly, the content of the libretto’s dedication draws the reader’s attention to the importance of the opera’s specifically Spanish content.¹³⁵

Beristáin de Souza also listed the title of another opera, *La Partenope*, as the work of composer Manuel de Sumaya (1680–1755), and this citation has been the foundation for successive scholarly assumptions, though it only corresponds to an extant undated bilingual libretto printed in Mexico sometime early in the eighteenth century with the Italian text and a Spanish translation on facing pages.¹³⁶ This libretto is a version of Silvio Stampiglia’s *La Partenope, drama in musica*. Its title page states in contradictory fashion that the opera was

¹³³ This libretto, Sartori 20075, *Il Roderico* (Naples, 1687) [I-MOe, 90.A.39 (4)] and others on the same story are studied in Armando Fabio Ivaldi, “Sancio, ovvero gli equivoci nel sembiante,” in *Spagna e dintorni*, ed. Maria Teresa Cacho, Maria Grazia Profeti, et al., *Commedia aurea spagnola e pubblico italiano* 4 (Florence: Alinea, 2000), 264–304.

¹³⁴ Sartori 20095, *Rodrigo in Algeri* (Naples, 1702) [I-Nc, Rari 10.07.21.01].

¹³⁵ Sartori 08607; US-BEm, ML48.I7 no. 192; *Il duello d’amore e di vendetta. Drama per musica da recitarsi nel famoso Teatro Vendramino di S. Salvatore l’anno 1700. Poesia di Francesco Silvani servidore di s.a.s. di Mantova. Consagrato a D. Luigi della Cerda... Vicerè e capitano generale del regno di Napoli* (Venice: Nicolini, 1700).

¹³⁶ *La Partenope Fiesta, que se hizo en el Real Palacio de México el día de San Phelipe, por los años del Rey nuestro Señor Don Phelipe V (que Dios guarde)* (Mexico: Por los Herederos de la Viuda de Miguel de Ribera, [n.d.]) [MEX-Mn, R/M8621/PAR.f; and US-PROb, B7.S783p]. Citations of this title and *El Rodrigo* in the scholarly literature are meticulously scrutinized in Aurelio Tello, “Manuel de Sumaya y la música para escena: a 300 años del estreno de *La Partenope*. Estado de la cuestión y futuras líneas de investigación,” *Heterofonía* 144 (2011): 9–47, though Tello seems not to have had access to the relevant Italian libretti.



Figure 5.4 Title page, *La Partenope Fiesta, que se hizo en el Real Palacio de México El día de San Phelipe, por los años del Rey nuestro Señor Don Phelipe V (Que Dios guarde)* (Mexico: Por los Herederos de la Viuda de Miguel de Ribera, [n.d.]), R/ M8621, Biblioteca Nacional de México, Mexico City.

performed for Philip V’s onomastic day and his birthday: “el día de San Felipe por los años del Rey nuestro Señor” (“the day of Saint Philip for the birthday of the King our Lord”), though Saint Philip the Apostle was celebrated at the beginning of May in this period (1 May), and Philip V’s birthday was 19 December (see Figures 5.4–5.6).

Though the two extant exemplars of the libretto are undated and do not carry Sumaya’s name, Beristáin de Souza linked *La Partenope* to “Zumaya” and offered 1711 as its date. The attribution makes good sense in that Sumaya was a well-educated priest and highly skilled composer who served as singer, organist, and chapelmaster at the Cathedral in Mexico City and later at Oaxaca.¹³⁷ But if he

¹³⁷ Beristáin de Souza, *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana septentrional*, 3 vols. (Mexico: Imprenta de Valdés, 1816–21), vol. 3 (Amecameca: Tipografía del Colegio Católico, 1883), 325, reiterated in Medina, *La imprenta en México*, 3:446, and by many subsequent writers. Beristáin de Souza identified “Ribera” as the printer of both items, though the extant *Partenope* was printed by “Herederos de la Viuda de Miguel de Ribera” a publisher operating 1714–32, according to Kenneth C. Ward, the

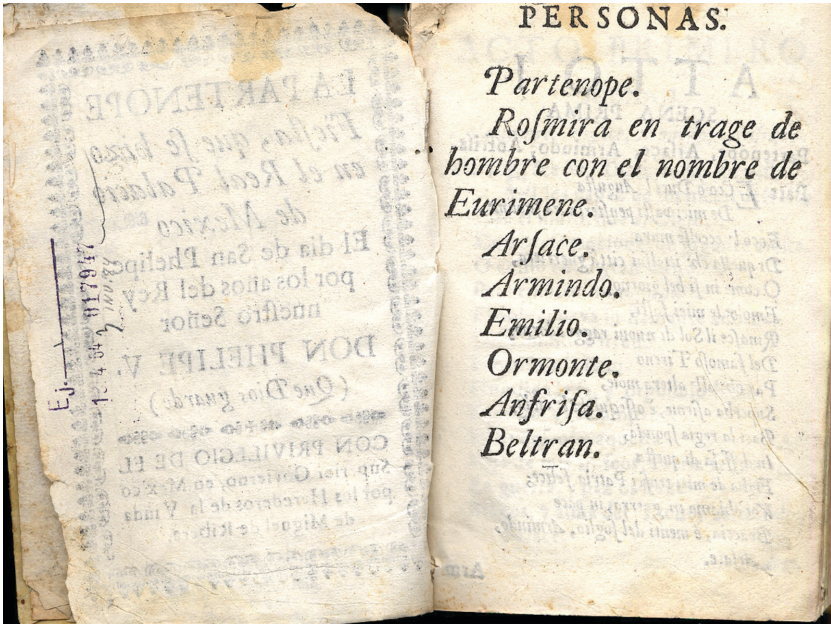


Figure 5.5 *Dramatis personae, La Partenope Fiesta, que se hizo en el Real Palacio de México El día de San Phelipe, por los años del Rey nuestro Señor Don Phelipe V (Que Dios guarde)* (Mexico: Por los Herederos de la Viuda de Miguel de Ribera, [n.d.]), R/M8621, p.3, Biblioteca Nacional de México, Mexico City.

composed or compiled music for *La Partenope*, no corroborative trace of this music has been recovered (like Torrejón, his extant output is limited to sacred music).¹³⁸ It seems that any production of *La Partenope* in Mexico might have taken place before 1711 because various natural disasters made life difficult in the city between 1711 and 1715, including a 1711 earthquake and then crop failures that caused a severe famine. It might be that a performance during these years

former Maury A. Bromsen Curator of Latin American Books, the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, whose assistance I gratefully acknowledge; see Kenneth C. Ward, “¿Quien diablos es María? La imprenta de los herederos de la viuda de Miguel de Rivera,” in *Memorias: Las otras letras. Mujeres impresoras en la Biblioteca Palafoxiana*, ed. Marina Garone (Puebla de Zaragoza, Mexico: Biblioteca Palafoxiana), 80–85.

¹³⁸ A basic biography is provided in Craig H. Russell, “Zumaya, Manuel de,” *Oxford Music Online* (2001), <https://doi-org.proxy.lib.umich.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.31064>; and Aurelio Tello, “Sumaya, Manuel de,” *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana* (Madrid: SGAE, 2002); these are updated in the “Introduction” to Manuel de Sumaya, *Villancicos from Mexico City*, ed. Drew Edward Davies, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era 206 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2019), xii–xv; considerations of Sumaya’s historical importance and music, with extensive bibliography, include sections of Ramos-Kittrell, *Playing in the Cathedral*; and Bernardo Illari, “Ideas de Sumaya,” *Revista de musicología* 43 (2020): 587–628, focused on Sumaya’s attitudes, legacy of prose, and administrative orders.

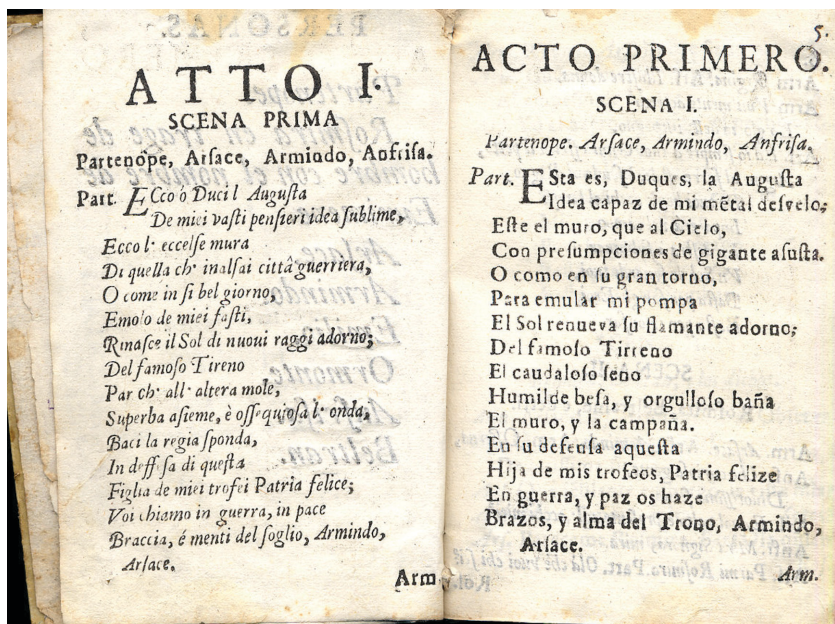


Figure 5.6 Opening of act 1, *La Partenope Fiesta, que se hizo en el Real Palacio de México El día de San Phelipe, por los años del Rey nuestro Señor Don Phelipe V (Que Dios guarde)* (Mexico: Por los Herederos de la Viuda de Miguel de Ribera, [n.d.]), R/ M8621, pp. 4-5, Biblioteca Nacional de México, Mexico City.

was planned but not immediately carried out. Or perhaps the Italian libretto with its Spanish translation was printed later, during the tenure of Viceroy Duke of Linares, when the printing house named on the libretto's title page, "Herederos de la Viuda de Miguel de Ribera," was indeed active.

La Partenope, El Zelueco, and Neapolitan Models

La Partenope clearly points to a Neapolitan model: among the several surviving versions of Stampiglia's libretto that circulated in the early eighteenth century, the reading in the Mexico City libretto is undeniably closest to that of *La Partenope* set by Neapolitan composer Luigi Mancina and performed in Naples for carnival 1699.¹³⁹ But there are quite significant differences between the

¹³⁹ Regarding the European circulation of this libretto, see Robert Freeman, "The Travels of *Partenope*," in *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, ed. Harold Powers (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), 356–85; for the Naples libretto's political context, see José María Domínguez Rodríguez, "Cinco óperas para el príncipe. El ciclo de Stampiglia para el teatro de San Bartolomeo de Nápoles (1696–1702)," *Il Saggiatore Musicale* 19 (2012): 5–40.

Mexican *Partenope* and the libretto and score from the Naples 1699 production.¹⁴⁰ The Mexican *Partenope* deserves a more careful philological examination. It lacks many stage directions, offers a revised sequence for some of its scenes, and omits a number of aria and ensemble texts present in the Naples libretto. Crucially, however, it includes the two comic characters from Naples 1699, Beltrame (*sic* for Beltramme) and Anfrisa, though the placement and content of their scenes show many variants. For example, the first comic scene in the Naples libretto and score (I, 5) is left out of the Mexico City libretto. Instead, act 1, scene 10 is the first comic scene in the latter; it opens with ten lines of recitative not provided in Naples, and then agrees with the Naples libretto (I, 11) from Beltramme's aria "Son tutto fiamme" forward, though this scene is omitted in the Naples score. In the Mexican *Partenope* libretto, act 2, scene 2 begins as does its counterpart in Naples libretto and score until Beltramme's aria "Amore a tempo antico," at which point it proceeds differently with texts for other short comic arias. Beltramme's interventions in his scene with Rosmira in the Mexican libretto (II, 7) mostly follow the Naples libretto (II, 6), but differ from the texts set in the Naples score. Act 3, scene 6 in the Mexican *Partenope* begins with poetry for a comic duet or exchange of short arias, then continues with poetry for recitative passages in agreement with the Naples libretto and score, until the latter call for Beltramme to sing "In amore il mancar di parola," at which point this scene in the Mexican *Partenope* (pages 164–68) offers its own comic poetry for aria and duets. In the final comic scene (III, 11), the text for Beltramme's solo scene in the Mexican libretto is completely different from the analogous scene in the Naples libretto and score. The performance of the comic scenes in Mexico probably responded to local taste following the Hispanic custom of exploiting locally popular music as well as familiar vocabulary and gestures for the comic characters. Nevertheless, whether or not it was fully-sung in performance, *La Partenope* may have included Italian music, perhaps even arias borrowed from the earlier Neapolitan *Partenope*, given the network of connections among Spanish aristocrats and colonial administrators. Theatrical singers in colonial Mexico likely were familiar with such fashionable music, as were their counterparts in Madrid and other European musical centers.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ *La Partenope. Drama per musica di Silvio Stampiglia tra gli Arcadi Palemone Licurio. Dedicato all' [...] signora D. Maria de Giron Y Sandoval duchessa di Medina-Celi e viceregina di Napoli* (Naples: Domenico Antonio Parrino and Michele Luigi Mutio, 1699), Sartori 17812; I-Bu, A.V.Tab.I.E.III.08a.6. The musical setting by Luigi Mancina is I-Nc, Rari 32.2.3, "Partenope Commedia Poesia del Sig. Silvio Stampiglia, Musica del Sig. Luiggi Manzo Rappresentata in Napoli nel Teatro di S. Bartolomeo in Gennaro e Febbraro 1699." Music for the comic scenes from Naples 1699 performed by Giovanni Battista Cavana is also contained in D-Dlb, Mus.1-F-39, vol. 2, fols. 203–26.

¹⁴¹ Javier Marín-López has noted, for example, that many of Zumaya's villancicos "muestran su familiaridad con las innovaciones estilísticas italianas, de las que el compositor era plenamente consciente"; see Javier Marín-López, "Una desconocida colección de villancicos sacros novohispanos (1689–1812); El Fondo Estrada de la Catedral de México," in *La música y el Atlántico. Relaciones*

Beristáin de Souza's attribution of *La Partenope* to Sumaya gains credibility thanks to another, possibly earlier, theatrical text: *El Zeleuco*, "fiesta en música traducida de italiano en español, para la celebridad del cumplimiento de los años de su majestad, el rey nuestro señor Don Felipe V." *El Zeleuco* offers a secure attribution to Sumaya as composer for acts 1 and 2 ("compositor de la música del primero y segundo acto, el Lic. D. Manuel Sumaya, segundo maestro de capilla de de la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana de México; y del tercero, Un ingenio aficionado").¹⁴² Figures 5.7, 5.8, and 5.9 show pages from the libretto. Once again, however, the dates of performance and publication for *El Zeleuco* invite speculation. Because Sumaya only served as "second" chapel master at Mexico City Cathedral during his tenure as an organist during an absence of Antonio Salazar between January and 27 June 1710, this libretto most likely was printed during this period. But because the title page states that the work had yet to be performed ("se ha de executar") at the palace in Mexico, the performance likely occurred after the libretto was printed. Juana de la Cerda y Aragón, wife of the Viceroy of New Spain Francisco Fernández de la Cueva y Fernández de la Cueva (who served 1702–11), is the libretto's dedicatee. Her husband relinquished his post as viceroy on 14 January 1711, so it seems likely that *El Zeleuco* was performed to honor Philip V's birthday in December 1710.¹⁴³

Though no extant music has been identified for *El Zeleuco*, it provides an important example of the kind of music-theatrical event possible at the viceregal court in Mexico around 1710, such that *La Partenope* should not be viewed as an isolated conduit between the viceroy's court and the ever-more-widespread genre of Italian opera in its Neapolitan incarnation in these years. *La Partenope*

musicales entre España y Latinoamérica, ed. María Gembero Ustarroz and Emilio Ros-Fábregas (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2007), 311–57 (325).

¹⁴² *El Zeleuco, fiesta en música traducida de italiano en español para la celebridad del cumplimiento de los años de su Mag. el Rey N. Sr. D. Felipe Quinto (que Dios guarde), que se ha de executar en este Rl. Palacio de México* (Mexico: Viuda de Miguel de Rivera Calderón, en el Empedradillo, n.d.) [E-Mn, T/11399]; the discovery of this libretto was announced in Tello, "Manuel de Sumaya y la música para escena," 23, and reiterated in John Swadley, "Manuel de Sumaya entre los archivos de dos mundos: novedades sobre el músico desde la Biblioteca Nacional de España, la Colección Estrada y la Biblioteca Nacional de México," presented at the Encuentro Internacional de Investigación y Documentación de la Música y las Artes Escénicas, Morelia (Mexico), 17 September 2015, PDF available at <https://ugto.academia.edu/JohnSwadley>. Swadley incorrectly assigned authorship of the Italian *Il Zaleuco* libretto (Sartori 25251, Naples 1688) to Nicola Vaccaro, who signed the 1688 libretto dedication to Colonna on behalf of the theater; Vaccaro was a painter and theater manager originally put in charge of opera productions in 1683 by Carpio for the Teatro di San Bartolomeo, as pointed out above in Chapter 4 and in the bibliography cited there; more likely, the libretto was adapted for Naples by the theater's dramaturge, Andrea Perrucci.

¹⁴³ Tello, "Manuel de Sumaya y la música para escena," 24, suggested 1 May 1710 as the date of performance, rather than Philip V's 19 December birthday, unaware that the viceroy, tenth Duke of Albuquerque, did not relinquish his position until mid-January 1711.

EL ZELEUCO,

FIESTA EN MUSICA,

Traducida de Italiano en Español, para
la celebridad del cumplimiento de los
años de su Mag. el Rey N. Sr.

D. FELIPE QUINTO

(QUE DIOS GUARDE)

Que se ha de executar en este Rl. Palacio
de Mexico.

DEDICADA

A la Excelentissima Señora

DOÑA JUANA DE LA ZERZA

DA, Y ARAGON,

Duquesa de Albuquerque, Marquesa
de Cuellar, Condesa de Ledesma, y de
Huelma, Señora de la Villas de Mombeltran, la Codoffera, Lanzahita, Mijares, Pedro Bernardo, San Estevan Villarejo, y las Cuevas, &c.

Con Privilegio del Superior Gobierno, en Mexico por la Viuda de Miguel de Rivera, Calderon: en el Empedradillo,

Figure 5.7 Title page, *El Zeleuco, Fiesta en Música Traducida de Italiano en Español para la celebridad del cumplimiento de los años de su Mag. el Rey N. Sr. D. Felipe Quinto (que Dios guarde), Que se ha de executar en este Rl. Palacio de México* (Mexico: Viuda de Miguel de Rivera Calderón, en el Empedradillo, n.d.), T/11399, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid.

and *El Zeleuco* together bear witness to the close alignment of theatrical performance traditions among courts under the Spanish crown.¹⁴⁴ *El Zeleuco* offers ten

¹⁴⁴ On the validity of studying the colonial repertory in close comparison to that of the royal court, Susana Antón Priasco, "Espectáculos cortesanos en la América española del siglo XVII: las fiestas como caso para el análisis de la relación entre la Corte y la Corte virreinal," *Estudios de Historia de España* 11 (2009): 197–231, has noted (200–201), "Por otro lado, esta forma de entender el funcionamiento de la monarquía española, nos obliga a estudiar las manifestaciones artísticas de las

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¶ Compositor de la Música del primero, y segundo Act: el Lic. D. Manuel Sumaya, segundo Maestro de Capilla de la Sancta Iglesia Metropolitana de Mexico; y del tercero, Un Ingenio aficionado.

ACTORES DE LA OBRA.

Zeleuco Rey de Locri.

Hermegisto su hijo: *Maria Theresa de Cervantes.*

Climene Princesa: *Maria Theresa la Cantera.*

Silandra Dama: *Iosepha Poblete.*

Atides. Capitan General: *Maria Jacinta Sanchez.*

Fidelmo Galan: *Michaela de Cervantes.*

Ismerio Juez: *Juana Rosa la Cantera.*

Adrastes Juez: *Lutgarda Iosepha de Tobar.*

Ledia Graciosa: *Maria de la Candelaria Suarez.*

Batillo Gracioso: *D. Cosme de Riva de Neyra.*

Figure 5.8 “Compositor” and “Actores de la Obra,” *El Zeleuco, Fiesta en Música Traducida de Italiano en Español para la celebridad del cumplimiento de los años de su Mag. el Rey N. Sr. D. Felipe Quinto (que Dios guarde), Que se ha de executar en este Rl. Palacio de México* (Mexico: Viuda de Miguel de Rivera Calderón, en el Empedradillo, n.d.), T/11399, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid.

colonias’ en estrecha relación con la corte madrileña y no en forma asilada, ya que las tierras fuera de la península formaban una ‘continuación’ de la corte madrileña, por lo menos en teoría. Si la Corte era el lugar de residencia del Rey o la majestad, el lugar donde viva el representante del rey, es decir el virrey, será considerada la corte... Así fue que, manteniendo el modelo de vida vigente en la corte madrileña, la sociedad virreinal, conformada en su mayoría por miembros secundarios de familias nobles españolas, reprodujeron en América colonial el modo de vida cortesano de la península; se constituyeron en alter ego del rey y su corte al organizarse como una sociedad privilegiada alrededor de virrey. Esto incluía por supuesto las fiestas: los ceremoniales y diversiones organizados por los integrantes de estas cortes virreinales fueron una herramienta útil para hacer presente la figura del rey en las lejanas tierras americanas, colaborando en mantener viva la lealtad a la corona, no sólo de los pobladores comunes, sino también de los integrantes de esta élite.”



ACTO I.

SCENA PRIMERA.

Zeleano sentado en un Throno, Ismerio, y Adraestes.

Zel. **T**Ómad la Espada, y sea
 Con el Ceptro de Astrea,
 Vigilante el cuydado
 De las leyes, que he dado
 A mis vasallos, para que se observen,
 E inviolables, y estables se conserven.
 Yo las doy con gran gusto,
 Con fiel dictamen, y con zelo justo;
 Mirad, guardaos, temed, de que os
 deslumbre
 A mistad, ò interès; tal pessadumbre
 Os amenaza. q̄ del contexto todo,
 Si a clausula faltais, en algun modo,
 Si por algun respecto,

A No

Figure 5.9 Opening of act 1, *El Zeleano, Fiesta en Música Traducida de Italiano en Español para la celebridad del cumplimiento de los años de su Mag. el Rey N. Sr. D. Felipe Quinto (que Dios guarde), Que se ha de executar en este Rl. Palacio de México* (Mexico: Viuda de Miguel de Rivera Calderón, en el Empedradillo, n.d.), T/11399, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid.

roles, and all but one is assigned to an actress.¹⁴⁵ This casting of actress-singers in both male and female gendered singing roles was still standard in the Hispanic world, even so long after the paradigm's consolidation in Carpio's productions of the 1650s. But *El Zeleano* is a close but far-from-literal "translation" of the Italian

¹⁴⁵ "Actores de la Obra," in E-Mn, T/11399, fol. 3v; the list is reproduced in Tello, "Manuel de Sumaya y la música para escena," 24.

Il Zaleuco by Nicolò Minato (1634–1700), which was first produced with music by Antonio Draghi in Vienna in 1675 as a birthday gift for Leopold I. Minato's 1675 libretto was revised with the addition of two typically Neapolitan comic characters (Ledia and Batillo) for a performance that likely occurred in Naples in 1688 during the brief tenure of Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna as viceroy.¹⁴⁶ The Mexican *El Zeleuco* includes the Neapolitan Ledia and Batillo, confirming its adaptation from the 1688 Naples libretto—the same kind of adaptation into Spanish of a contemporary Italian libretto that was attempted at the royal court in Madrid in the early eighteenth century. Indeed, the first “opera” performed at the Madrid court in the eighteenth century appears to have been *Decio y Eraclea*, an “opera to be recited in music following the Italian style and meter, in festive celebration” of the first birthday of Prince Luis, son of King Philip V.¹⁴⁷ The shape, size, and layout of the libretto for *Decio y Eraclea*, apparently put together by Cristóbal Moscoso y Montemayor, Count de las Torres, show this to be a Spanish version of Stampiglia's *L'Eraclea* set by Alessandro Scarlatti for Naples.¹⁴⁸ Like *El Zeleuco*, the *Decio y Eraclea* libretto is dedicated to a prominent aristocratic woman, in this case the powerful Princesse des Ursins, Marie-Anne de La Trémoille, chief lady-in-waiting to Queen María Luisa Gabriela de Saboya. Significantly, La Trémoille had been a patron of Scarlatti during her periods of residency in Rome as Duchess of Bracciano.¹⁴⁹ The viceroy for whom both Mancía's *La*

¹⁴⁶ As De Lucca, “The Politics,” 298, has pointed out, the European trajectory of this libretto is really “Vienna—Naples via Colonna in Rome.”

¹⁴⁷ *Decio y Eraclea, Opera. Para Recitar en Música, según estilo, y metro Italiano, en celebración festiva del primer año, que cumple el Serenísimo Señor Príncipe de las Asturias. Dedicada a la excelentísima Señora Princesa de los Ursinos. En el Regio Teatro del Coliseo.* Madrid: Oficina de D. Gabriel del Barrio, Impresor de la Real Capilla. n.d. [E-Mn, R/38907]. Concerning Madrid theatrical productions in this period, see especially Juan José Carreras, “De Literes a Nebra: la música dramática española entre la tradición y la modernidad,” in *La música en España en el siglo XVIII*, ed. Malcolm Boyd, Juan José Carreras, and José Máximo Leza (Madrid: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 19–28; Louise K. Stein and José Máximo Leza, “Opera, Genre, and Context in Spain and its American Colonies,” in *Cambridge Companion to Eighteenth-Century Opera*, ed. Anthony Del Donna and Pierpaolo Polzonetti (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 244–69, 288–91; Louise K. Stein, “El manuscrito de música teatral de la Congregación de Nuestra Señora de la Novena. Su música, su carácter y su entorno cultural,” in *Libro de música de la Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Novena: manuscrito novena*, ed. Antonio Álvarez Cañibano and José Ignacio Cano Martín, eds. (Madrid: Centro de Documentación de Música y Danza, 2010), 53–70; Domínguez Rodríguez, “Mecenazgo musical,” 1:314, 349–55; and Domínguez Rodríguez, *Roma, Nápoles, Madrid*, 250–55.

¹⁴⁸ See the edition of the incompletely preserved music in Alessandro Scarlatti, *L'Eraclea*, ed. Donald J. Grout (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), with facsimile of the libretto; *L'Eraclea drama per musica di Silvio Stampiglia tra gli arcadi Palemone Licurio dedicato all'illustriss. & excell. signora la signora d. Maria de Giron, y Sandoual duchessa di Medina-Celi, e viceregina di Napoli* (Naples: Domenico Ant. Parrino and Michele Luigi Mutio, 1700); Sartori 09015. On the Stampiglia-Scarlatti *L'Eraclea*, see José-María Domínguez-Rodríguez, “Cinco óperas para el príncipe: el ciclo de Stampiglia para el Teatro de San Bartolomeo en Nápoles,” *Il Saggiatore musicale* 19 (2012): 5–40; and Domínguez Rodríguez, *Roma, Nápoles, Madrid*, 168 and *passim*.

¹⁴⁹ For her Roman years, see especially Anne-Madeleine Goulet, “Princesse des Ursins, Loyal Subject of the King of France and Foreign Princess in Rome (1675–1701),” in *Music and Diplomacy from the Early Modern Era to the Present*, ed. Rebekah Ahrendt, Marc Ferraguto, and Damien Mahiet

Partenope and Scarlatti's *L'Eraclea* were produced in Naples, Luis Francisco de la Cerda y Aragón, was the brother of the dedicatee of the libretto to *El Zeleuco*, Juana de la Cerda y Aragón (wife of Viceroy Francisco Fernández de la Cueva y Fernández de la Cueva). The trio of "operas" mentioned here as produced in Madrid and Mexico—*Decio y Eraclea* (Madrid), *El Zeleuco* (Mexico), and *La Partenope* (Mexico)—were adapted for dynastic celebrations from carnival operas produced by viceroys in Naples. In Naples and Madrid, operas were heard by the larger theater-going audience following private protocolled premieres. Though *Decio y Eraclea* was financially supported by the Count de las Torres, for example, following its first performance at the Coliseo theater of the Buen Retiro on 25 August 1708 by the companies of José Garcés and Juan Bautista Chavarría, its public performances continued at the Coliseo into the third week of September.¹⁵⁰ It may be that this pattern also applied in Mexico to productions of *El Zeleuco* and *La Partenope*.

As was typical of operas for important dynastic occasions, the 1708 performances of *Decio y Eraclea* in Madrid opened with an allegorical loa in praise of the sovereigns and prince Luis. Juan de Serqueira (also Sequeyra), an experienced theatrical musician of Portuguese origin who had accompanied and coached singers in Madrid's theatrical companies for over thirty years, composed the loa's music.¹⁵¹ It included sections marked "recitado," an "ayre" marked "da capo," ensemble music for two vocal quartets with violins, as well as two additional short da capo arias (one with violins). It may be that Serqueira also composed or arranged music for the "Intermedio de la Ópera," a comic skit performed between the acts of the opera proper that both parodied an Italian opera aria (probably an aria by Scarlatti) and included a well-known Spanish song, "Ay que soy, tamborilero de gala y primor," composed originally for Calderón's *Fieras afemina amor* (1672), a partly-sung court play that enjoyed several revivals.¹⁵² The music of the loa to *Decio y Eraclea* survives in an incomplete state but demonstrates how a busy theatrical musician outside the royal service adapted to the nascent interest in Italian or Italianate music while still relying on

(New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 191–207; and Goulet, "Costumes, décors et machines dans *l'Arsate* (1683)," 139–66 concerning her sponsorship of Alessandro Scarlatti's *L'Arsate* (Rome, 1683).

¹⁵⁰ J. E. Varey, N. D. Shergold, and Charles Davis, *Comedias en Madrid 1603–1709: repertorio y estudio bibliográfico* (London: Tamesis, 1989), 92–93.

¹⁵¹ The extant score (E-Mn, MS M/2247) includes the incomplete music for the loa followed by the music of act 1 in a separate hand (the music of act 2 appears to be lost). The attribution of the music to Sequeyra is provided in the printed libretto, E-Mn, R/38907, fol. 11; the composer of act 1 is unknown; for more concerning Juan de Serqueira, see the many references to his work in Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, *passim*.

¹⁵² Extant music for this song in I-Vnm, MS It.IV.470 (9994), 1; see Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 170–76, 369.

traditional Hispanic theatrical songs. Significantly, both *Decio y Eraclea* and *El Zeleuco* feature the kind of interactive drama and complications of plot familiar from the Spanish *comedia*, but follow their Italian models by incorporating poetry for da capo arias in nearly every scene. The libretto for *Decio y Eraclea* calls for some forty da capo arias, many fewer than Stampiglia's libretto for *La Eraclea* or Minato's *Il Zeleuco*, however.

Arias from Neapolitan operas were certainly collected and performed in Madrid around 1700, so they may well have circulated within related aristocratic circles in Mexico as well.¹⁵³ In both *El Zeleuco* and the Mexican *La Partenope*, many of the aria texts are excellently close translations from the Italian. The printing of *El Zeleuco* shows attention to the layout typical of da capo aria texts in Italian libretti, whereas the typography in *La Partenope* is less formally clear. If little can be known about the musical setting of the Mexican *La Partenope*, *El Zeleuco* for Mexico and *Decio y Eraclea* for Madrid also demonstrate the persistence of Hispanic performance conventions despite the inclusion of poetry designed to accommodate Italian, Italianate, or Italianizing da capo arias.¹⁵⁴ *El Zeleuco*, “fiesta en música,” was almost certainly an opera, but it might have been partly-sung in the manner of a zarzuela with da capo arias, some strophic songs, and mostly spoken dialogue. In Madrid, the custom of adapting Italian libretti in translation to performance as Spanish zarzuelas became routine during the first two decades of the eighteenth century, mostly because partly-sung genres were easier to produce within familiar performance conventions and the city's system of production. Perhaps this was also the case in Mexico in the same period. *La Partenope* and *El Zeleuco* might even have featured Spanish texts set to preexistent Italian music. The example of the contemporary Spanish-language pasticcio opera, *Dido y Aeneas*, produced at the Madrid court in or around 1710 points toward this possibility. Though its manuscript was prepared at the royal court between 1708 and 1713, it was filled with arias primarily chosen from operas produced in Milan, 1698–1706, their poetry translated into Spanish.¹⁵⁵ *El Zeleuco* and *La Partenope* seem to represent music-theatrical hybrids created to satisfy aristocratic patrons within a process

¹⁵³ On the aristocratic network and the musical sources for Neapolitan music at the Madrid court, see the excellent José María Domínguez Rodríguez, “Comedias armónicas a la usanza de Italia: Alessandro Scarlatti's music and the Spanish nobility c. 1700,” *Early Music* 37 (2009): 201–15; as well as José María Domínguez Rodríguez, “Un pasticcio romano en la corte de Felipe V: el manuscrito M2257 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid,” in *Responsabilità d'autore e collaborazione nell'opera dell'Età barocca: il Pasticcio*, ed. Gaetano Pitarresi (Reggio Calabria: Laruffa, 2011), 87–110.

¹⁵⁴ Andrea Bombi, *Entre tradición y modernidad. El italianismo musical en Valencia 1685–1738* (Valencia: Institut Valencià de la Música, 2011), 25–34, introduces and explores the useful term “italianismo” and its application to music of this period in Valencia.

¹⁵⁵ Antoni Pons Seguí, “*Dido y Eneas*: una ópera pasticcio en la corte de Felipe V,” *Revista de musicología* 37 (2014): 503–40.

of adaptation that took into account the practical possibilities of the court, the theaters, and the acting troupes in Mexico.¹⁵⁶

The Sumaya Question

Arguably, the scholarly habit of assigning the elusive music of *La Partenope* to Sumaya without questioning Beristáin de Souza's information springs from an eagerness to identify and celebrate native-born American composers as innovators. The vast *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana septentriona* (its third volume published posthumously thanks to the work of Beristáin de Souza's nephew) began as an expansion of the incomplete 1755 *Biblioteca Mexicana* of Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren, which did not reach to the end of the alphabet. Unlike modern scholars, however, Beristáin de Souza did not seek the indigenous but underlined the essentially Hispanic in identifying work by generations of Mexican authors and scholars. Since Sumaya was born in Mexico as the child of Spanish parents,¹⁵⁷ Beristáin de Souza's attribution of *La Partenope* to "Zumaya" conforms to his unconditional loyalty to Spain and things Spanish within the belief that New Spain's culture was enfolded within, rather than separate from, that of Spain.¹⁵⁸ In his own epoch, Sumaya seems to have projected a proud but nonmilitant *criollismo*.¹⁵⁹ In separate historical moments, both Beristáin de Souza and Sumaya were closely associated with the Mexico City Metropolitan Cathedral, the former as archdeacon at the cathedral from 1813 and then its Dean. Sumaya began his association with the cathedral as early as 1694, subsequently served as organist there, and then the chapel master from 1715 to his departure in 1738.¹⁶⁰ Because Beristáin de Souza misquotes its title, it may be that he did not examine the fragile *Partenope* libretto himself. But the entry for "Zumaya" in his compendium underlines the criollo's contribution to Hispanic letters especially via the suggestion that he translated "various operas" from Italian into Spanish.¹⁶¹ This notion has yet to be verified by other evidence;

¹⁵⁶ Stein and Leza, "Opera, Genre, and Context," 246–48 and Domínguez Rodríguez, "Mecenazgo musical," 352, describe the process of hybridization, for example.

¹⁵⁷ Concerning Sumaya's parentage, birth certificate, and *limpieza de sangre*, see especially Jesús Ramos-Kittrell, *Playing in the Cathedral: Music, Race, and Status in New Spain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 60–65.

¹⁵⁸ "Beristáin tuvo siempre en mente la misión de conversión de los indígenas y la necesidad de hispanizar y divulgar la cultura. Pero además buscó demostrar en España que los reinos de ultramar no eran simples establecimientos coloniales, y que México y otras ciudades novohispanas eran verdaderos centros de cultura y de gran comercio," Wikipedia https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/José_Mariano_Beristáin_y_Souza.

¹⁵⁹ Illari, "Ideas de Sumaya," 598–604

¹⁶⁰ Illari, "Ideas de Sumaya," considers the composer's writings and administrative orders as *maestro* at the cathedral.

¹⁶¹ Illari, "Ideas de Sumaya," 616–25

it may turn out to be correct. One way or another, Beristáin de Souza offered musicologists a native-born Mexican as the first to have composed an opera in New Spain.

The musicological narrative about eighteenth-century Hispanic contexts, conditioned by an evaluative bias toward innovation in the European mainstream, has tended to identify the presence of Italian, Italianate, or Italianizing musical features with much-desired modernity, even negatively valorizing traditional Hispanic elements. Sumaya has been considered the conduit for musical progress in New Spain not only because he is thought to have composed opera, but because he appears to have been the first (among composers whose extant music has been consulted in Mexican church archives) to notate violin parts in villancicos, even antedating the use of violins at significant peninsular institutions.¹⁶² Given his contribution to the “diversification of musical practices in New Spain churches,” his position in the firmament of New World innovators is secure.¹⁶³ But he also has been deemed merely “transitional” because some of his villancicos “are grounded in relatively conservative counterpoint and contemporary Spanish repertoires” and “conventionally deliver the poetry within the bounds of the Spanish theatre style.”¹⁶⁴ Quite apart from the questionable application of teleological narratives of musical progress, it is clear that any worthy composer of sacred music would display his mastery of strict counterpoint, just as any busy villancico composer in the early eighteenth century would employ word-music associations and affective tropes long familiar within the genre and

¹⁶² Marín-López, “Una desconocida colección de villancicos,” 323 has explained: “Las piezas más antiguas de Sumaya en el Fondo Estrada, compuestas en la década de 1710, son de un gran valor. Una de ellas, el villancico-pregón ‘Oíd moradores del orbe’ (E52/88), compuesto en junio de 1710, es la primera pieza creada en Nueva España que incluye una pareja de violines. Esta fecha es simultánea a la llegada documentada del primer violinista a la Catedral de México, Antonio Cerezo, en septiembre de 1710, y resulta prácticamente contemporánea a la llegada de los violines a dos importantes catedrales de la Península: Sevilla (1708) y Toledo (1709). La fecha de aparición documentada de los violines en México es anterior no sólo a las de otras catedrales hispanoamericanas (en Lima y Valladolid de Michoacán no aparece el primer violinista hasta 1719), sino también a la mayoría de las catedrales peninsulares.” See also Javier Marín-López, “Tradición e innovación en los instrumentos de cuerda frotada de la Catedral de México,” *Harmonia Mundi: los instrumentos sonoros en Iberoamérica, siglos XVI al XIX*, ed. Lucero Enríquez (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma, 2009), 239–60.

¹⁶³ Sumaya, *Villancicos from Mexico City*, ed. Davies, xii; Javier Marín-López, review of *Playing in the Cathedral: Music, Race, and Status in New Spain* by Jesús Ramos-Kittrell *Notes* 75 (2019): 645 offers this regarding Sumaya and the notated violin parts as a symbol of music-stylistic paradigm change toward Italianness: “In the case of Mexico City and other cities in Hispanic America, there are clear indications that characteristics of Italian style had been assimilated by the second decade of the eighteenth century: violinists and works with violin have been documented since 1710 and 1715, respectively, and there is an extant and undated anonymous villancico—datable to the second quarter of the eighteenth century—that displays a group of blacks singing ‘a la ‘mora’ de Italia’ (after the fashion in Italy). In this sense, the radical change in paradigm that, according to Ramos-Kittrell, takes place with the arrival of Jerusalem, should have been refined and moved earlier by several decades, taking into account other determining social factors, such as ways in which the canons’ minds had been conditioned: Sumaya, the true initiator of a movement of aesthetic renewal at the Mexico City Cathedral, was a criollo clergyman educated in the cathedral itself.”

¹⁶⁴ Sumaya, *Villancicos from Mexico City*, ed. Davies, xv.

to his audience. Sumaya's vernacular sacred music need not be propped up by cross-generic comparisons to Hidalgo's much earlier theatrical songs. A carefully argued assessment is that Sumaya's music, original and innovative in its variety and manipulation of musical material, unfolds with a "trasfondo tradicional de base hispánica."¹⁶⁵ His music clearly sounds Hispanic, which may be a projection of the composer's criollo identity.¹⁶⁶ Like music by contemporaries such as Durón, Antonio Literes, Joseph de Torres, or Torrejón (with which he was likely familiar), Sumaya's music cannot be mistaken for that of any Italian.¹⁶⁷

Sumaya's "solos" and "cantadas" for religious occasions include "recitados," "resitativos," and da capo arias or "areas," as well as seguidillas, estribillos, and coplas.¹⁶⁸ It is hard to know if they increase our understanding of the lost music for *El Zeleuco* and perhaps *La Partenope* precisely because sacred vernacular music was conservative and locally proscribed by design. Religious music and theatrical music belonged to very different musical, ethical, and social spheres in colonial New Spain. Theatrical music, often accused of spreading corruption and inciting lasciviousness in both Spain and New Spain, was sung primarily by low-born women. Indeed, the cast of *El Zeleuco* was filled with actress-singers whose professional work had little to do with that of the church singers who performed Sumaya's villancicos. Sacred villancicos imbued with correct counterpoint and performed by trained male singers were designed to inspire devotion and religious conformity through pulchritude of language and absolute clarity of musical imagery.¹⁶⁹ It is likely, in any case, that Sumaya's compositions for the viceroy's theater were completed before his full 1715 appointment as maestro de capilla at the cathedral (as pointed out above, *El Zeleuco* almost certainly was performed in December 1710). If he composed music for *La Partenope*, as he is

¹⁶⁵ Illari, "Ideas de Sumaya," 604.

¹⁶⁶ "podemos entender la conservación de elementos ibéricos como una afirmación de identidad hispana por parte de los compositores, frente al invasor estilo italiano--una reacción que reflejaría las polémicas al respecto en la España peninsular. Por ultimo, es posible englobarla dentro del conjunto de manifestaciones de surgimiento de identidades criollas locales, de alguna manera comprendidas dentro de lo hispánico, pero al mismo tiempo conscientes de sus diferencias específicas" according to Leonardo J. Waisman, *Una historia de la música colonial Hispanoamericana* (Buenos Aires: Gourmet Musical, 2019), 290.

¹⁶⁷ "Ninguna composición de Sumaya puede confundirse con música italiana"; Illari, "Ideas de Sumaya," 604.

¹⁶⁸ See *Cantadas y villancicos de Manuel de Sumaya*, ed. Aurelio Tello (Mexico: CENIDEM, 1994), 23 and 73–181; Sumaya, *Villancicos from Mexico City*, ed. Davies, "Introduction," xiii, cites the cantada "Como aunque culpa" as "Sumaya's most italianate piece"; see the transcription in *Cantadas y villancicos de Manuel de Sumaya*, ed. Tello, 141–48. On the presence of these terms in villancico text booklets for the royal chapel in Madrid, see Alvaro Torrente, "Las secciones italianizantes de los villancicos de la Capilla Real, 1700–1740," in *La música en España en el siglo XVIII*, ed. Malcolm Boyd, Juan José Carreras, and José Máximo Leza (Madrid: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 87–94.

¹⁶⁹ Ramos-Kittrell, *Playing in the Cathedral*, 28–44 describes a variety of urban settings for music in Mexico City, as well as the cathedral chapter's efforts to prevent cathedral musicians from frequenting or collaborating with theatrical musicians.

credited as having done for two acts of *El Zeleuco*, this music was designed to appeal first to the taste and interests of listeners within a small, highly educated court audience, a mere subset of the broader and more diverse public of faithful whose religious experience was to be enhanced by the villancicos. Whatever the stylistic features of Sumaya's cathedral music, the fact that the viceroy trusted him to compose, arrange, or compile music for at least one Italianizing libretto to be performed on Philip V's birthday (the securely ascribed *El Zeleuco*) indicates that the young composer surely had the opportunity to study Italian opera scores or the collectible and ubiquitously circulating manuscript anthologies of contemporary Italian arias.

An Appreciable Contemporaneity

There is no reason to imagine that the first operas performed in the Americas were received as anything but contemporary in their sound, whether they were, like *La púrpura de la rosa*, faithful to the Hispanic paradigm or, like *El Zeleuco* and *La Partenope*, incorporative of fashionable Italian music or Italianate forms of early eighteenth-century solo song. Unquestionably, Lima's 1701 *La púrpura de la rosa*, a smoothly integrated hybrid with both newly composed music by Torrejón in Lima and pre-existent Spanish music by Hidalgo, was innovative for Lima because it was fully-sung. *La púrpura de la rosa* had been revived in Madrid in 1690 and again as recently as 1694 for the reigning queen's birthday.¹⁷⁰ Calderón's plays and Hidalgo's music were still performed in the theaters of Madrid and across the Hispanic world in the early eighteenth century, so *La púrpura de la rosa* was "contemporary" in 1701. Moreover, this opera in particular had not lost its aesthetic value or contemporary appeal as musical theater; it retained its freighted emblematic significance for dynastic commemoration, providing a celebratory identification with the monarchy for the criollo elite in Lima.

As for *El Zeleuco* and *La Partenope*, my speculation is that they also expressed and were valued as projecting appreciable contemporaneity. The poetic texts laid out in the libretti as formal scaffolds for da capo arias may or may not have taken on musical settings composed out in a specifically Italianate manner, however. A Spanish or New Spain composer might well fill

¹⁷⁰ A notary document dated 19 April 1690 confirms that rehearsals took place for a court performance of *La púrpura de la rosa* involving the companies of Agustín Manuel and Damián Polope y Valdés; another revival by the same companies took place on 28 October 1694 in the Saloncete of the Alcázar palace for the birthday of Carlos II's second wife, Queen Maria Anna of Neuburg; see N. D. Shergold and J. E. Varey, *Teatros y comedias en Madrid: 1687–1600. Estudio y documentos* (London: Tamesis, 1979), 124–25, 290, 294.

a da capo structure with conventionally Hispanic gestures, rhythms, phrasing, melodic shapes, and harmonic movement, as did theatrical composers including Serqueira, Manuel de Villafior, and Joseph Peyró in composing for the Madrid theaters in this period.¹⁷¹ An intriguing hybridity is also projected in the theatrical music of court composers such as Durón and Literes.¹⁷² Durón's theatrical music draws from but does not dwell within the Hidalgo paradigm, while also incorporating French minuets and da capo arias beside traditional strophic *tonos*, *tonadas*, and *seguidillas*. Literes composed across a range of styles and genres; his strophic theatrical songs display mastery of the traditional Hispanic approach to affective text setting with controlled dissonance treatment, but his scores also offer da capo arias with highly melismatic vocal lines, fragmentation of the poetic text, rapid figurations in the accompanying instrumental parts, and Italianate expressive gestures. As has been clarified repeatedly, these court composers both worked alongside Spanish and foreign musicians and studied and performed chamber music and vocal music by Italian contemporaries.¹⁷³

Though both Sumaya and Torrejón provided music for dynastic celebrations of the Bourbon monarchy, Sumaya's assignment in Mexico around 1710 differed considerably from Torrejón's in Lima 1701. *La púrpura de la rosa* acclaimed a newly crowned monarch whose throne was as yet precarious. Monclova, the viceroy who sponsored it, knew the paradigm that Carpio established and was nostalgic for the musical-theatrical works he produced in Madrid. He was also an entire generation older than Sumaya's patron, the tenth Duke of Alburquerque.

¹⁷¹ Representative examples can be found in E-ALMA, MS Novena; issues of musical style and modernity are considered in Stein, "El manuscrito de música teatral de la Congregación de Nuestra Señora de la Novena," 53–70; see also Stein, "El 'manuscrito novena,'" 197–234.

¹⁷² Carreras, "De Literes a Nebra"; Stein and Leza, "Opera, Genre, and Context."

¹⁷³ Among foundational studies, see Craig H. Russell, "An Investigation into Arcangelo Corelli's Influence on Eighteenth-Century Spain," *Current Musicology* 34 (1982 [1984]): 42–52; Craig H. Russell, "Santiago de Murcia: The French Connection in Baroque Spain," *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 15 (1982): 40–51; Louise K. Stein, "The Iberian Peninsula," in *Music and Society: The Late Baroque from the 1680s to 1740*, ed. George J. Buelow (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1994), 411–34; Russell, *Santiago de Murcia's Códice Saldivar*, 18–25; Pablo L. Rodríguez, "Música, poder, y devoción: la Capilla Real de Carlos II 1665–1700" (PhD diss., University of Zaragoza, 2003), 105–35 and *passim*; Louise K. Stein, "Henry Desmarest and the Spanish Context: Musical Harmony for a World at War," in *Henry Desmarest (1661–1741). Exils d'un musicien dans l'Europe du Grand Siècle*, ed. Jean Duron and Yves Ferraton (Versailles: Éditions du Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles, and Liège: Pierre Mardaga, 2005), 75–106; Miguel Ángel Marín, "La recepción de Corelli en Madrid (ca. 1680–ca. 1810)," in *Arcangelo Corelli fra mito e realtà storica. Nuove prospettive d'indagine musicologica e interdisciplinare nel 350° anniversario della nascita*, ed. Gregory Barnett et al. (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2007), 573–637; Vera, "Santiago de Murcia's Cifras Selectas de Guitarra," 251–53; Miguel Ángel Marín, "A la sombra de Corelli: componer para el violín," in *La música en el siglo XVIII*, ed. José Máximo Leza, *Historia de la música en España e Hispanoamérica 4* (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2014), 291–304; José Máximo Leza, "El encuentro de dos tradiciones: España e Italian en la escena teatral," in *La música en el siglo XVIII*, ed. José Máximo Leza, *Historia de la música en España e Hispanoamérica 4* (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2014), 191–203.

The two viceroys held different expectations of opera and yearned for different music-theatrical experiences. Torrejón might well have had no experience of opera beyond Hidalgo's work, whereas Sumaya surely had the chance to study Italian (especially Neapolitan) literary and musical models, as did his peers at the empire's center in Madrid, given the constant communication between the royal administration and the viceroys, the accelerated musical exchange and correspondence across the empire, and the information in the printed Mexican libretti here considered. Whatever the precise nature of their hybridity, all the works mentioned in this chapter invite scholars to investigate further this nearly lost early chapter of the history of opera in the Americas through the networks of patronage among viceroys who carried forward Carpio's rich legacy of opera production.

Epilogue: Lima 1943

The most tangible and now audible American legacy of Carpio's operatic activity is the score of *La púrpura de la rosa*, most of whose content reaches back to Hidalgo and Madrid in 1659. The manuscript's history between 1702 and 1943 is as yet unknown, but it emerged into public awareness not long after a tragic fire consumed the National Library of Peru on 9 May 1943, destroying countless other treasures from the colonial era. Following this catastrophe, Jorge Alfredo Basadre Grohmann (1903–80), Peru's most distinguished historian, "a librarian without books, without a building, and almost without a staff ... accept[ed] the position of librarian amidst the remains and ruins of the National Library in order to try to restore to Peru, in whatever way possible, her bibliographic heritage."¹⁷⁴ To rebuild a national library, Basadre issued a call for donations, contacting foreign embassies, scholars, collectors, booksellers, and libraries of all kinds across the Americas and Europe. Rare books and manuscripts were among the items proudly donated or sold to the library by well-to-do Peruvian families.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ "Así fue como llegué a ser bibliotecario sin libros, sin local y casi sin personal. Se me ofreció este cargo cuando aceptarlo implicaba heredar sólo lodo y escombros... . Se me ha enrostrado públicamente, como si hubiese cometido un delito, la amarga decisión de aceptar los restos y escombros de la Biblioteca Nacional para, sobre ellos, tratar de devolverle, en lo posible, al Perú su patrimonio bibliográfico. Se me ha inculcado, inclusive, de haber ocupado una 'sinecura.'" Jorge Basadre, *La Biblioteca Nacional de Lima, 1943–1945* (Lima: Talleres Gráficos de la Editorial Lumen, S.A., 1945), Ediciones de la Biblioteca Nacional, 3:8 (my translation).

¹⁷⁵ Basadre, *La Biblioteca Nacional de Lima*, 10–31, summarizes the process of rescuing damaged items from the ruins and lists the many Peruvian and foreign individuals, families, and institutions who donated books, journals, and funds; see 50–55 for Basadre's description of this broad outreach and some notable purchases.

The manuscript of *La púrpura de la rosa* was brought forward in response to Basadre's entreaty. In a 1975 memoir, he named the manuscript among his "acquisitions of great value" and explained that he had obtained it through "persistent and unstinting personal approaches to the Dora family." With undisguised bitterness, he also referred obviously to Robert M. Stevenson (1916–2012), whose transcription of the music was then soon to be published in Lima: "the manuscript has been the focus of a special study and will be edited without mention of he who obtained it."¹⁷⁶ Indeed, Stevenson had not mentioned Basadre or the previous owners of the manuscript in his 1959 article "Opera Beginnings in the New World," nor did he do so in the long, wandering introduction to his problematic 1976 transcription of *La púrpura de la rosa*.¹⁷⁷ Stevenson did not disclose that a study of *La púrpura de la rosa* only became possible after Basadre's purchase transformed the unheralded musical score into one of the most valuable unquities in Peru's library as it rose from the ashes. In 1945, Basadre did not recognize that his prize contained an opera (he did not understand the score's unusual physical layout and deceptively fragmented appearance). He termed it "zarzuela de Calderón de la Barca representada en Lima en 1701."¹⁷⁸ A single-page notice about the existence of the score, written by the French-born, Brussels-trained Peruvian musician and folklorist Andres Sas Orchesal (1900–67) but likely curated by Basadre, appeared in the October 1944 bulletin of the library.¹⁷⁹

Lucrecia Dora, a non-professional singer and socialite well known in Lima's musical circles, provided Basadre with *La púrpura de la rosa*.¹⁸⁰ María Lucrecia Daría Dora Cebrián (1887–1954) was the third of seven children born to the merchant and restaurateur Nicolas Dora Ghisletti (originally Swiss) and Josefina Cebrián Rodríguez in Lima on 19 December 1887.¹⁸¹ Her baptism on 7 July 1888 took place in the elegant sixteenth-century church of San Marcelo, a prosperous parish in Lima's historic center. Photographs from the period by the Courret photographic studio suggest that the family was socially ascendant and financially advantaged.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁶ "la partitura de la desconocida obra musical *La Púrpura de la Rosa*, escrita y representada en Lima en 1701, obtenida por mi persistente e indesmayable acción personal ante la familia Dora, manuscrito que ha sido objeto de investigación especial y va a ser editado sin mencionar a quien lo obtuvo"; Jorge Basadre, *Recuerdos de un Bibliotecario Peruano* (Lima: Editorial Historia, 1975), 78–79.

¹⁷⁷ Stevenson, "Opera Beginnings"; Torrejón y Velasco, *La púrpura de la rosa*, ed. Stevenson.

¹⁷⁸ Basadre, *La Biblioteca Nacional de Lima*, 53.

¹⁷⁹ Sas, "La púrpura de la rosa," 9.

¹⁸⁰ Basadre, *La Biblioteca Nacional de Lima*, 53.

¹⁸¹ Archivo General de la Nación, Sección de Registros del Estado Civil, partida 3522, constancia 3522, page 365, 19 December 1887.

¹⁸² PE-Lbnp, Colección Eugène Courret, photographic plates (placas de vidrio) made by Estudio Hermanos Courret in the series "Retratos, Mujeres—Perú—Siglo XX—Fotografías," "Retratos, Madres e Hijos—Perú—Siglo XIX," and "Fotografías, Niños—Perú—Siglo XX," include an 1884

Lucrecia's musical activities have yet to be traced. An early notice places her among the "notable amateurs of our feminine social circle" ("notables dilettanti de nuestros círculos femeninos") in an ensemble of nine women performing "Música Incaica," "Música Colonial," and "Música Mestiza" for an important "Conferencia Literario-Musical" in 1910.¹⁸³ The conductor and musical scholar Armando Sánchez Málaga González (1929–2017) recalled that the adult Lucrecia was always stunning, beautifully dressed and coiffed—an impressive woman who made a dramatic entrance at musical evenings hosted by his father, the composer Carlos Sánchez Málaga (1904–95), in the capacious music room of their home.¹⁸⁴ Lucrecia was primarily remembered, however, as the long-time lover of one of Peru's most famous musicians, the pianist, composer, and conductor Federico Gerdes (Federico Carlos Pedro Gerdes Muñoz; Tacna 1873–Lima 1953).¹⁸⁵ Gerdes, son of a German father, was a musical prodigy who departed Peru at age ten, pursued musical study in Germany, and subsequently enjoyed a promising career as pianist, vocal coach, conductor, and choir director at important opera houses and festivals. A specialist in the music of Richard Wagner, among many other notable engagements he prepared the choirs for the 1907 Bayreuth festival under the direction of Siegfried Wagner and conductor Arthur Nikisch. In 1908, the president of Peru, José Pardo y Barreda, called upon Gerdes to return to Peru and organize a national conservatory, then called the Academia Nacional de Música (later Conservatorio Nacional de Música and, finally, Universidad Nacional de Música) overseen by the Sociedad Filarmónica de Lima, whose musical direction Gerdes also assumed.¹⁸⁶

portrait of Lucrecia's mother, Josefina Cebrián de Dora with a baby; an 1888 portrait of Lucrecia's sister, Ana Dora Cebrián; an 1890 portrait of Lucrecia's mother, Josefina Cebrián de Dora, with a young female child that might be Lucrecia; photographic portraits dated 1922 of Lucrecia's sisters, Flora Cebrián de Dora and Carmen Rosa Cebrián de Dora; and a 1926 photograph of "Retrato de los [tres] niños de la familia Cebrián."

¹⁸³ "Conferencia Literario-Musical, Salón de Actuaciones ante S. E. El Presidente de la República el 21 de febrero de 1910," program within "[Discursos] dada en el salón de actuaciones ante S. E. el Presidente de la República, Feb. 1910," Universidad Mayor de San Marcos, Facultad de Letras, *Revista universitaria* 5, part 1 (1910) [Lima: Libería Francés Científica Galland e Rosay, 1910], <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.319510022990521&view=1up&seq=2>.

¹⁸⁴ Armando Sánchez Málaga, personal communication, March 1999, Lima.

¹⁸⁵ A short biography of Gerdes is included in *Who's Who in Latin America: A Biographical Dictionary of Notable Living Men and Women of Latin America*, 3rd ed., ed. Ronald Hilton, 2 vols. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1947; reprint Detroit: Blaine Ethridge Books, 1971), 2:171; see also [n.a.], *Cien Años, Sociedad Filarmónica de Lima* (Lima: Sociedad Filarmónica de Lima, 2006), 72–77.

¹⁸⁶ His imminent arrival was introduced with a brief biographical sketch in *Varietades* 4, no. 2 (1908): 1161, and his performances, teaching, and positions are mentioned frequently in this weekly journal from this date forward. A photograph of the Orquesta de la Filarmónica with a choir and Gerdes conducting a concert on 7 July 1915 appears in *Varietades* 10, no. 1 (1915): 2229; a sharper photograph of the orchestra and choir with conductor Gerdes appears in *Varietades* 10, no. 2 (1915): 2459; a favorable review of the opening concert of the 1920 season of the Filarmónica with

Gerdes arrived in Peru in December 1908 and quickly became both popular and revered. He is often credited with nothing less than the modernization of music in Peru (“modernización musical del Perú”) and the inauguration of a new epoch in its musical life.¹⁸⁷ Lucrecia’s decades-long romance with him was a piquant scandal only because he was already married with two children (he had married Else Gansorr at an early age and was only twenty-five when his second child was born in 1898). Though Federico and Else had divorced, apparently in 1910, Federico and Lucrecia waited until after Else’s decease to marry, reportedly out of respect for the sanctity of the sacrament of marriage.¹⁸⁸ Before their civil marriage in Miraflores on 6 July 1950, they had both lived on Calle Colón in Miraflores, their dwellings conveniently located only about an eight-minute walk apart. Gerdes lived at number 705, apparently with members of the Fabbri and Berckholtz de Fabbri family, who had owned the house since at least 1939. Lucrecia lived at Colón 168, the Dora Cebrián family residence since at least the close of 1943; the purchase of the home coincided with (and may have been made possible by) the sale of the opera manuscript to the National Library.¹⁸⁹

“el coro formado por el Director de la Academia, señor Federico Gerdes, compuesto de algunas distinguidas señoritas llenas de entusiasmo, con verdaderas dotes musicales” appears in *Varietades* 16, no. 1 (1920): 431. Gerdes was twice director of the Conservatorio Nacional de Música, 1909–29 and 1932–43.

¹⁸⁷ “La tarea encomendada a Gerdes constituía un verdadero reto, que no era otro que la modernización musical del Perú” (72); from his first performance in Lima (19 December 1908) certain characteristics would mark his work in the following thirty years—“innovación en el programa musical, audacia, protagonismo, ambición artística y efectismo” (74), quoted from [N.A.], “Federico Gerdes, el Gran Innovador,” in *Cien Años, Sociedad Filarmónica de Lima* (Lima: Sociedad Filarmónica de Lima, 2006), 72–77.

¹⁸⁸ PE-Lagn, Registro de Defunciones, Partida 101, Concejo Distrital de Miraflores, 10 May 1950.

¹⁸⁹ PE-Lagn, Registro de Matrimonios, Acta 156, Concejo Distrital de Miraflores, 6 July 1950, provides the addresses of Federico and Lucrecia at the time of their marriage. After their marriage they lived with Lucrecia’s sisters in the house at calle Colón 168 in Miraflores, according to *El Libro de Oro. Album social de Lima, Balnearios y El Callao 1953–4* (Lima: Editorial Guia Lascano, 1954), 247. The Dora family (matriarch Josefina Cebrián de Dora and unmarried daughters Ana, Lucrecia, Carmen Rosa, and Flora, with widowed daughter Josefina Dora de Berckholtz) had moved to Calle Colón 168 in Miraflores sometime after 1939 and in or before the close of 1943 as listed in the social register, *El Libro de Oro. Album social de Lima, Balnearios y El Callao* [7a edición] 1943–44 (Lima: Editorial Guia Lascano, 1943), 142. PE-Lagn, Registro de Defunciones, partida 118, 12 May 1954, registers the death of Lucrecia Dora de Gerdes, “legítima viuda de Federico Gerdes” in the house at Colón 168. PE-Lagn, Registro de Defunciones, 1953, partida 224, 18 October 1953, confirms that Gerdes had died at the same address. His death certificate was witnessed by Carlos Fabbri Berckholtz, age eighteen, resident at Calle Colón 705. Señor Armando Fabbri and Señora Augusta Berckholtz de Fabbri resided at Colón 705 in Miraflores in 1943–44, according to *El Libro de Oro Album social de Lima, Balnearios y El Callao 1943–44*, 161; the widow Augusta Berckholtz de Fabbri and son Carlos Fabbri were living at Colón 705 in 1953–54, according to *El Libro de Oro Album social de Lima, Balnearios y El Callao 1953–54* (Lima: Editorial Guia Lascano, 1953), 199. In March 1999 I spoke with descendants of Lucrecia’s sister, Josefina Florencia Dora de Berckholtz (the widow of Pablo Berckholtz by the date of publication of the 1943–44 *Libro de Oro*) and of Josefina’s son, Pablo Felipe José Berckholtz Dora (1911–68), who lived in the house at Calle Colón 705, where Gerdes had resided in 1950 at the time of his marriage to Lucrecia. In March 1999, the phone number

Lucrecia was a mature Venus at sixty-two when she finally married her Adonis, the seventy-seven-year-old Gerdes.

Through Lucrecia a delicate thread connects Lima's mid-twentieth-century social, literary, and musical culture with the history of music in the viceroyalty and the travels of *La púrpura de la rosa*. Was she, like so many heroines in Carpio productions, a *mujer fuerte*—a daring example of modern ideas and feminine independence, or just the opposite? What kind of singer was she and what did she perform? Were excerpts from *La púrpura de la rosa* heard in Lima's musical salons? How did the manuscript of the first American opera find its way into Lucrecia's hands? Perhaps it was a gift from Gerdes; *La púrpura de la rosa* was first performed on 19 December 1701, and Lucrecia's birthday was also 19 December (1887). The story of her long and frankly acknowledged amorous partnership with one of Peru's most celebrated musicians became its own myth through repeated retelling, such that, long after her death, musicians in Lima and a younger generation of Dora descendants enjoyed revealing what had been an open secret, embellished with the fiction that she had finally married Gerdes at age ninety. It seems fitting that *La púrpura de la rosa*, an opera initially imagined and organized by Carpio (known then as Heliche) for performance by young actress-singers to encourage erotic engagement, should owe its material survival to a criolla debutante—a twentieth-century Venus and diva of sorts.

listed for the residents of Colón 705 was that of "Dora, familia." It was not possible to interview Lucrecia's surviving sister, Flora María Dora Cebrián, because, at age eighty-eight, she was suffering from dementia, considered inaccessible, and living in an elder-care facility.

APPENDIX 1

Plot Synopses, *Celos aun del aire matan* and *La púrpura de la rosa*

Act 1 takes place in Lydia, in the chaste realm of Diana, in a garden or verdant clearing with the Temple of Diana in view.¹ Aura, a nymph of Diana, has broken her vow of chastity by falling in love and admitting her lover, Eróstrato, into Diana's sacred, loveless domain in a secret tryst (facilitated by Rústico, Diana's gardener). Aura's friend, the nymph Pocris, angrily denounces Aura to Diana and the other nymphs. In punishment for her crime, Aura is tied to a tree and prepared for execution by arrows (the symbol of love). Before her execution can be carried out, Aura curses Pocris and declares that she will be avenged by making Pocris suffer in love as well. As Aura calls for help in an anguished invocation to the powers of the universe and laments, the noble Céfaló (passing in the wood with his servant Clarín) hears her cries and rushes to intervene. When Diana threatens Céfaló with her unerring spear, the goddess Venus (unseen) answers Aura's invocation. Aura and her tree fly from the stage as Venus transforms Aura into a nymph of the air and causes Diana to drop her spear. Céfaló retrieves the spear. When Pocris tries to take it from him, she is wounded in their struggle. Céfaló tries to help her and, in the intimacy of their near embrace, falls in love with her. As mercenary Clarín urges Céfaló to move on, a hunting party passes by in the adjacent wood.

The scene changes to a grove of trees adjacent to the garden and the temple. Rústico tells anxious Eróstrato about Diana's anger and Aura's fate. The loss of his beloved Aura drives Eróstrato to madness and violence; his deranged state of mind is manifest in his appearance as a wildman. He spurns civilization and swears revenge on Diana. Diana punishes Rústico by changing him into a beast (he wears an enormous head with four different animal faces). The unseen Aura, meanwhile, plans her own revenge when her songs infuse Pocris and Céfaló with love's poison, causing them to sing together as they fall helplessly in love.

The drama of act 2 takes place near the entrance to the garden surrounding the Temple of Diana and later moves into the temple proper. The characters gather to honor Diana, although Eróstrato, Clarín, and Céfaló have ulterior motives for their attendance. The ceremony moves into the temple itself. Diana's formal address to the mortals takes place inside the temple but is suddenly interrupted by a mysterious voice. Aura (flying above the stage but invisible to the onstage protagonists) commits sacrilege by singing a triple-meter "air,"

¹ The famous historical Temple of Artemis (Diana) at Ephesus was built beginning around 600 BCE by Chersiphron and his son, financed by King Croesus of Lydia, and completed by other architects. It was destroyed in 550 BCE, then rebuilt before Herostratus set fire to it in 356 BCE. Seventeenth-century writers knew of its design and location because, as one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, it was described by Pliny and others in texts about architecture and mythology. Whereas the historical temple stood in a sandy area overlooking a lagoon, Calderón rejected this setting in favor of the softer and more conventional garden with an adjacent forest and mountains in the background. In the Spanish tradition, the garden was also the more appropriate setting for a crime of love.

her song proclaiming the superiority of steadfast love over neglect and hate. Diana reacts to this affront in a lengthy monologue and then commands all the characters to discard their tainted offerings and vacate the temple.

Following this dramatic scene of conflict, the comic interaction of the *graciosos* (Floreta, Clarín, and Rústico) takes place in a forest clearing near the temple. Céfaló joins them; Eróstrato sneaks in as well, unnoticed by the others. This set becomes the vantage point from which to view the spectacular fire that envelopes the Temple of Diana before the close of act 2. Eróstrato has set the temple on fire to avenge Diana's treatment of Aura. A delighted Aura (seen and heard only by the audience) appears flying above the flames on a salamander. Throughout act 2, Céfaló has continued his wooing of Pocris, who, influenced by the voice of the invisible Aura, suffers from a jealous love. The bond between Céfaló and Pocris is sealed when he rescues her from the burning temple, enveloping her in his arms to save her life. Aura has thus fanned the flames to destroy Diana's temple and fanned the flames of love in Pocris' breast. The ensemble finale of act 2 erupts inside the burning temple with the eight-part chorus, "Moradores de estos riscos...". Aura rides jauntily on her salamander above the stage as the temple burns.

In act 3, Diana's power is waning. The opening set of act 3 reveals the forest with the ruins of the burned temple in view. A jagged boulder springs up suddenly from the ground, carrying Diana with the three Furies perched on the boulder at her feet. Diana declares that she will avenge the several acts of treason committed by nearly all the other characters. In a long strophic declamatory air, she instructs the Furies before sending them to confuse and disturb the mortals. As the Furies rise to disperse, the boulder breaks into four sections, Diana and the Furies are dropped below the stage, and the set changes to a royal salon in a palace surrounded by gardens. In this, the new home of Céfaló and Pocris, the fury Alecto sings to Pocris at Diana's behest, inspiring jealous suspicions about how Céfaló spends his time alone in the hills with "Laura" (actually the voice of the invisible Aura).

The tragic denouement takes place in a forest on the wild, rugged mountainside. While secretly following Céfaló through the landscape, Pocris overhears him singing to "Laura" and mistakes this result of Aura's mischief for confirmation of Céfaló's devotion to a mysterious lover. As the hunting party moves past again, Céfaló senses the presence of the wild beast they seek. In a final scene of confusion, Céfaló takes aim with Diana's spear at Eróstrato (mistakenly seen as a fierce animal), but hits and kills Pocris (hidden in the bushes) instead. As Pocris dies, she sings of being tormented by jealousy of Aura, after hearing Céfaló call "Come, Aura, come" when, in fact, he was only calling out for a cool breeze. Thus, jealousy, even when it is mistaken, is fatal, or *Celos aun del aire matan*. As Diana and her nymphs begin an ensemble to celebrate Pocris' death as a triumph over love, Aura and Venus return to defy Diana yet again. A happy ending, sanctioned by Júpiter, is celebrated as Pocris is transformed into a star and Céfaló into a breeze ("céfiro") before they ascend into the atmosphere with Aura.

Plot synopsis *La púrpura de la rosa* Lima 1701

In the incompletely preserved 1701 loa, the Muses are called upon to acclaim the new sovereign, Philip V, "el quinto planeta," "sucesor del imperio," and celebrate his birthday. Caliope and Terpsicore descend to the Temple of Apollo. Urania, El Tiempo, España, and the Chorus of Muses join them, paying homage to Philip on his accession to the throne.

The participation of the muses Terpsícore, Calíope, and Urania, as well as the figures of El Tiempo and España, can be drawn from the inclusion of these names in the text underlaid with the loa's music. Most likely, these characters were joined by other muses also singing solo coplas.

The setting for the fiesta cantada is a forest where Venus, goddess of love and beauty, enjoys the sport of hunting. As the opera opens, her Nymphs rush onstage expressing their distress: Venus is being chased by the wild boar. Adonis, a valiant mortal, rushes in to rescue her, and Venus faints into his arms. Adonis only learns that he has embraced the goddess of love herself once she recovers. Venus and her nymphs are curious about Adonis and ask him to identify himself, so he explains that he is compelled to flee because the incestuous circumstances of his conception have made him renounce love and flee from beauty. Stunned by her beauty but frightened, Adonis rushes away. Venus begins to pursue him but is stalled by her possessive former lover, the god Marte (Mars), who appears suddenly. When she evades his questions and rushes away, Marte interrogates the Nymphs. Their reluctance fires his suspicions; his threats frighten one nymph into describing how Adonis rescued Venus. Belona, Marte's sister and goddess of war, arrives on a rainbow and summons Marte to combat, hoping to distract him from his love-torn jealousy.

The peasants Chato and Celfa (who serve Venus) cavort in a comic scene, joking about marital boredom until they are interrupted by shouts from a Chorus of Peasants warning that the wild boar is coursing through the woods. Tired from his pursuit of the boar, Adonis lies down to rest. Venus discovers the handsome sleeping mortal and sends her Nymphs away. Initially, she plans to avenge the humiliation of having fainted in his arms, but instead she is flushed with anxious desire upon hearing his voice. Venus calls on Amor (her son, Cupid) and tells him about Adonis' avoidance of love. Amor shoots the sleeping Adonis with a gold-tipped arrow that wounds him in the heart. Infused with love's poison, he awakens suddenly from a deep sleep, surprised to find Venus watching over him. He sings to her confusedly with heightened lyricism to describe a violent dream about the wild boar. This dream foreshadows his death. Adonis sings a paean to Venus' beauty and confesses his inescapable attraction, awakening Venus' own erotic response. Venus is unable to tear herself away, and they reveal mutual desire. Adonis follows the goddess into her garden of delights, flaunting taboo and prohibition. Celfa, Chato, and the Nymphs welcome them, celebrating the fact that "Nobody can say that to live without loving is to live."

At the foot of the mountain, Belona enters with Marte and Dragón, Marte's sidekick and mercenary lieutenant. Marte is still jealous and distracted so Belona and Dragón humor him. Amor is sneaking around in disguise, spying on Marte, who discovers him behind some bushes. Blinded by jealous rage, Marte fails to recognize Amor. Amor's riddles about love make the warrior god even more suspicious. He orders Belona and Dragón to seize Amor, but the winged child cleverly escapes by slipping into a cleft in the rocky side of the mountain, which opens to reveal a glimpse of the Prison of Jealousy with Desengaño (Disillusion) chained within it—an old man with a long beard dressed in rags and shackled. Marte and Dragón enter the grotto with trepidation and find themselves confronted by the masked figures of Temor, Sospecha, Envidia, and Ira (Fear, Suspicion, Envy, and Anger). Together with Desengaño, they warn Marte that when love is chased, disillusion follows. Desengaño brandishes a mirror to show Marte images of Venus and Adonis embracing in a beautiful pastoral setting. Naturally, Marte reacts with furious jealousy and runs from the truth. Dragón is shocked at his own jealousy after seeing that

Celfa's hunting partner is Chato. When Marte threatens to break the mirror, Desengaño causes a sudden earthquake so that the allegorical figures, the vision in the mirror, and the grotto vanish.

The natural beauty of Venus' garden of love banishes the horrors of Desengaño's dungeon. Within the garden, Venus and Adonis enjoy their illicit affair, Adonis resting in Venus' lap, while the Nymphs, Chato, and Celfa sing to entertain them. Amor rushes in to warn them of Marte's fury. Venus urges Adonis to hide in the forest. She intends to subdue Marte with the poisoned waters of Vulcan's forge. When Marte approaches, he is rendered impotent by the songs of the Nymphs and the sound and odor of fountains flowing with the poisoned waters of Lethe (the waters of forgetfulness). Belona brings a Chorus of Soldiers to animate him, as an antidote to the languid music of Venus. Once revived, Marte hunts for Adonis, dragging Chato and Celfa off with him. He orders Dragón to tie them to separate trees. Adonis pursues the wild boar announced by the alarmed shouting of the peasants. Marte uses his supernatural power to make the boar especially vicious, so that Adonis will be mortally wounded. Chato, Celfa, and Dragón have a violent comic scene about bullies, flirtatious wives, and neglectful husbands, interrupted suddenly by the cries of Adonis offstage.

Adonis falls, wounded by the boar and Marte's revenge. Hearing his voice, a distraught Venus arrives with her hair let loose and breast bared to find him fallen. Belona and the nymph Libia try to restrain her from viewing the body (here Calderón glosses "Rosas desojadas vierte" by López de Zárate).² The Chorus describe the blood of Adonis turning the white roses red. Venus sings an invocation to the deities and laments. Marte, with intentional cruelty, describes the death of Adonis and reveals the bloody cadaver among the flowers. With her final breath, Venus laments again and faints. Then Amor happily announces from the clouds that Júpiter has pardoned the lovers, turning tragedy into joy. Venus will rise as the evening star with Adonis as a flower. As Marte, Venus, Adonis, and Belona all comment, the lovers' ascent is framed by the setting sun.

² Romance "A la muerte de Adonis" in Francisco López de Zárate, *Obras varias dedicadas a diferentes personas* (Alcalá: María Fernández, 1651), 35–36 [E-Mn, R/20208]; noted in Cardona et al., eds. *La púrpura de la rosa*, 248.

APPENDIX 2

Items pertaining to the Theater in the Inventories of Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán's Possessions

A. Theaters in the Posthumous Inventory, Naples, 19 December 1687, E-Mca, Caja 217-12, pp. 100-1.

Primieramente un Teatro per far commedie di legname da'
dismettere, cioè sotto:

Sei cavalletti con suo tavolato sopra di larghezza palmi 26 [approximately 6.83 meters = ca. 22'5"], e di fondato palmi 22 [approximately 5.79 meters = 19'] con suoi canali levatori con dodici colonne, che servono per armatura delle scene di castagno, e le tavole d'albuccio, con il suo telarone sopra d'albuccio consistente in sei pezzi, che si dismette con suoi canali per il ritiro delle scene e prosceni. Il telare del cielo con otto telaretti fatti di nuove, e postaci. La tela di casa, mentre sta al servizio del signor Contestabile.

Tre mutazione di scene, con tre pezzi di prosceni, con le scene numero ventiquattro, una mutazione veduta di città, un'altra d'un giardino, altra veduta di anticamera con sua bocca d'opra, e detta bocca d'opra con arme con diversi chiaroscuri, e dalle due bande vi sono due figure lumeggiate d'oro con finimenti d'architettura avanti di detto palco vi è un tellaro di pinto con fregi di fogliami, e cornice sotto, e sopra, e dalle due bande fatto al presente che stava al servizio del Signore Contestabile, due telare nuovi, che prima erano piccoli dentro detto teatro, con armatura di due telare novi a modo di colonne di castagno lavorate, et una colonna per traverso da dismettere, che serve per ponerli [postarci] la tela per fare la lontananza.

E a detto teatro otto figure di folle con tornate de pinte a chiaroscuro per la commedia [p. 101] Commedia da farsi.

Una scaletta da salire di quattro scalini d'albuccio.

Teatro nella sala oscura. Un altro teatro nella sala oscura
consistente cioè:

Quattro vedute e mutazioni di scene, et ogni mutazione di dieci pezzi, l'uno y l'altro d'altezza palmi 16 [approximately 4.21 meters = ca. 13'10" feet].

Prima mutazione di pezzi dieci di giardino con fiori, e cipressi con una figura di chiaro-scuro per scena del naturale.

- 2a mutazione di pezzi dieci della medesima misura dipinta d'arazzi e battaglie con festoni di fiori attorno d'arazzi con cornici di chiaroscuro.
- 3a mutazione d'anticamera come sopra dipinta di contratagli con un quadro de fiori, e nel mezzo, e aparte di detta veduta, specchio, e vasi de fiori, lumeggiati d'oro.
- 4a veduta di città dipinta con diverse architetture di porte e finestre di chiaroscuro, otto cieli, quattro d'aria, e quattro di anticamera di misura di palmi 25 [approximately 6.57 meters = 21'7"] in 30 [7.89 meters = 25.88 feet] ogni uno.
- La bocca d'opera di detto teatro consistenti in cinque telare alle due pezzi di sopra festoni di fiori, et architettura di chiaroscuro.
- Li due pezzi delle bande colonne e pilastri di chiaroscuro.
- Il telaro d'avanti al palco di palmi 3 [0.79 meters = ca. 2'7"] e lunghezza] Palmi 26 [approximately 6.83 meters = ca. 22'5"] con cornice di chiaroscuro di palmi 13 [approximately 3.42 meters = ca. 11'3"], e 14 [approximately 3.68 meters = 12'8"]. alti [altezza] di palmi 7 [1.84 meters = ca. 6']
- Canali per dette scene numero 16 di palmi 9 [2.37 meters = 7'9"] in circa ogni uno.
- Due altri canaloni per i prosceni.
- Diverse tavole dal palco, et asinelle, et altri mozzoni di tavole di castagno e d'albuccio.

B. Parts of a theater in the 1682 Rome inventory, E-Mca, Caja 302/4, fols. 224–25, 229–31, 239–239v, 374v.

- Tre pezzi lunghi di grotta delle scene del teatro di Sua Eccellenza in Roma.
- Tre altri pezzi lunghi di muta di galleria delle scene del teatro di Sua Eccellenza in Roma.
- Tre altri pezzi lunghi di scenetta di cortile di scene del teatro di Sua Eccellenza in Roma.
- Tre altri pezzi minori di giardino delle scene del teatro di Sua Eccellenza in Roma.
- Tre altri pezzi lunghi pure di giardino delle scene del teatro di Sua Eccellenza in Roma.
- Tre altri pezzi lunghi di anticamere delle scene del teatro di Sua Eccellenza in Roma.
- Tre altri pezzi lunghe, pure di anticamere delle scene del teatro di Sua Eccellenza in Roma.
- Tre pezzi lunghi di tele rotolati di prospetto d'avanti delle scene del teatro di Sua Eccellenza in Roma.
- Alcune teste, piedi, e zampe di cavalli posticci della commedia, e teatro di Sua Eccellenza in Roma con una tela di esso teatro.
- Dodici sedie di legno da frate, che si piegano, e servino al teatro di Sua Eccellenza in Roma, et in detta Vigna.
- Li vestiti delli comici della commedia, e teatro di Sua Eccellenza.
- Alcune tele della commedia, e teatro di Sua Eccellenza.
- Tutti li ferri, et ordigni di ferro della commedia, e teatro di Sua Eccellenza.
- Tutti li legni lavorati di detto teatro.
- Li vestiti del teatro della commedia di Sua Eccellenza, che servirono al suo teatro di Roma.

Items in the inventory that may have nothing to do with the theater:

- Le tele bianche, e turchine della detta Vigna rotolate.
- Quattro altri taburetti [*taburete?*] di punto francese.
- Una stuona [*stuoia?*] grande di tela turchina, che serve di portiera in detta Vigna [f. 225v]
- Due tavolini di vacchetta rossa delle finestre delle Vigna.
- Un tavolino tondo coperto di corame rosso con suoi piedi da mangiami sopra in detta Vigna.

APPENDIX 3

Singers in Carpio's Naples Productions

A. Singers in the Naples Operas 1683–84 and 1684–85

L'Aldimiro, November and December 1683

Names from the libretto listed according to level of compensation. Ranges from US-BE, MS 141, which may not be the score from the 1683 Naples production.

Aldimiro	SC	e' – b''	Paolo Pompeo Besci
Lucimoro	AC	b – d''	Giuseppe Costantini "Bransvich"
Dorisbe	S	d' – a''	Giulia Francesca Zuffi
Arsinda	S	d' – a''	Teresa Laura Rossi
Rosmiro	T	g – g'	Michele Fregiotti "Michelino"
Lisardo	B	G – e'	Stefano Carli
Rondinella	SC	e' – g''	Giulio Cavalletti

La Psiche, January 1684

Names from the libretto listed according to level of compensation.

Amore	AC	Grossi Francesco Grossi
Anteo	SC	Paolo Pompeo Besci
Psiche	S	Giulia Francesca Zuffi
Arsida	AC	Giuseppe Costantini "Bransvich"
Selenisa	S	Teresa Laura Rossi
Lidoro	T	Michele Fregiotti
Flora	T	Domenico Di Gennaro
Astrea	S	"terza parte di donna"
Atamante	B	Giovanni Ercole "Giovanni Basso"
Liso	SC	Giulio Cavalletti "Sr. Giulietto"

Il Pompeo, February 1684

Names from the libretto listed according to level of compensation.

Mitridate	AC	Giovanni Francesco Grossi
Scipione	SC	Paolo Pompeo Besci
Sesto	AC	Giuseppe Costantini
Issicratea	S	Giulia Francesca Zuffi
Giulia	S	Teresa Laura Rossi
Claudio	S	Maria Rosa Borrini
Harpalia	T	Domenico Di Gennaro
Pompeo	T	Michele Fregiotti
Cesare	B	Giovanni Ercole
Farnace	SC	Giulio Cavalletti
Capitano	?	Ortensia Paladini

Il Giustino, November and December 1684

Names from the libretto; number of arias, duets, cavate from I-Nc, Rari 6.5.4 [32.3.32].

Arianna	25	S	e' – g''	Giulia Francesca Zuffi
Giustino	21	SC	d' – a''	Antonio Carrano "Bisignano"
Andronico	15	SC	d' – e''	Domenico Graziani
Anastasio	15	SC	d' – g''	Paolo Pompeo Besci
Eufemia	12	S	e' – a''	Caterina Scarani
Vitaliano	9	AC	b – c''	Nicolò Ferretti
Amantio	2	T	g – g'	Rinaldo Catanio
Gelidia	7	T	b \flat – g'	Domenico Di Gennaro
Polimante and Erasto	1	B	c – c'	Francesco Mennillo
Brillo	2	SC	e' – g''	Giulio Cavalletti
Allegrezza	1	S	e' – g''	Agata Carani [<i>sic</i> Carrano]
Ombra	1	B	F – c'	Rinaldo Catanio

L'Epaminonda Planned for December 1684; Performed January
through Beginning of March 1685

Singers as listed in the libretto

Role	Approximate number of arias and duets		Singer
Epaminonda	12	SC	Antonio Carrano "Bisignano"
Leonido	18	SC	Paolo Pompeo Besci
Dorilda	6	S	Agata Carrano
Apollia	20	S	Giulia Francesca Zuffi
Agesilao	7	AC	Nicolò Ferretti
Archidamo	9	SC	Domenico Graziani
Florida	10	S	Caterina Scarani
Canilia	8	T	Domenico Di Gennaro
Carildo	6	SC	Giulio Cavalletti
Alcone		B	Rinaldo Catania
Anticrate	4	B	Rinaldo Catania

B. Probable Casts for the Naples Productions 1685–87

Il Fetonte November and December 1685

Hypothetical cast (none provided in the libretto)

Admeto, Re	SC	Paolo Pompeo Besci
Fetonte	AC	Giovanni Francesco Grossi
Silvio	AC	Giuseppe Costantini
Eridano, vecchio	T	Giuseppe Canavese
Teti	S	Giulia Francesco Zuffi
Climene	S	Caterina Scarani
Nerea, vecchia	T	Domenico Di Gennaro
Lesbino, servo	SC	Giulio Cavalletti

Olimpia vendicata December 1685 and January 1686

Hypothetical cast (none provided in the libretto)

Role	Number of arias and duets		Apparent range	Singer
Olimpia	14	S	d' – a''	Margherita Neri Bonzi “Bonsini” or Giulia Francesca Zuffi?
Bireno	11	AC	a – b'	Giovanni Francesco Grossi
Osmiro	12	AC	b ^b – c''	Giuseppe Costantini
Alinda	10	S	d' – a''	Margherita Neri Bonzi “Bonsini” or Giulia Francesca Zuffi?
Nespa	5	T	g – a'	Domenico Di Gennaro
Oberto	9	T	e – g'	Giuseppe Canavese
Araspe	1	T	f – b'	Domenico Del Vecchio “Parabita”?
Niso	1	SC	g' – g''	Giulio Cavalletti? or Nicolò Grimaldi?

Clearco in Negroponte December 1686 and January 1687

Hypothetical cast (none provided in the libretto)

Role	Number of arias and duets		Range	Singer
Asteria	15	S	e' – g [#] ''	Ana Graziosi
Adrasto	10	SC	f' – a''	Matteo Sassano “Matteuccio”
Alcidamia	8	S	g' – a''	Margherita Neri Bonzi “Bonsini”?
Olinda	8	S	d' – a''	Giulia Francesca Zuffi?
Clearco	9	SC	g' – b''	Paolo Pompeo Besci
Aceste	6	SC	f' – f [#] ''	Nicolò Grimaldi “Nicolini”
Filocla	5	T	g – g'	Domenico Di Gennaro
Eurimede	4	SC	f' – g''	Giulio Cavalletti?
Ismeno	4	T	f – g'	Domenico Del Vecchio “Parabita”?

Il Roderico January 1687

Hypothetical cast (none provided in the libretto)

Role	Approximate number of arias and duets	Register	Range
Florinda, figlia di Giuliano [princess]	13	S	d' – g''
Roderico, usurpatore, zio di Sancio	9	T	f – a'
Zilauro, Infante di Tunisi	10	SC	d' – a''
Ulit, Re dei Mori	8	AC	b ^b – d''
Bubo, servo faceto	8	T	g – a'
Lesbia, giardiniera	6	S	d' – e''
Anagilda, regina vedova, madre di Sancio	6	S	c' – g''
Sancio, Infante del Regno delle Spagne	6	MSC	d' – d''
Don Giuliano, Principe d'Alghizirra	3	SC	g' – g''

Tutto il mal che vien, non vien per nuocere November 1687?

Hypothetical cast for a private palace performance; names drawn from a manuscript score of the prologue (I-MC, 6-B-2a, fols. 3–8).

Doralba	S	Margherita Neri Bonzi “Bonsini”
Celiodoro	SC	Nicolò Grimaldi “Nicolini”? or Matteo Sassano “Matteuccio”?
Lucilda	S	Giulia Francesca Zuffi?
Adrasto	AC	Domenico Melchiorri “l'Aquilano”
Olindo	SC	Paolo Pompeo Besci?
Tilla	T	Domenico Di Gennaro
Falchetto	T	Domenico del Vecchio “Parabita”

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