

ANALECTA MUSICOLOGICA

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Alessandro Scarlatti Das kompositorische Schaffen



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Das kompositorische Schaffen

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Sabine Ehrmann-Herfort und Gerhard Kuck



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Einleitung

Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725), der aus einer Musikerfamilie stammte, kannte sie alle, die italienischen Kulturregionen. In ganz Italien hat er versucht, Fuß zu fassen, freilich nicht immer mit demselben Erfolg. So verbindet sein Lebenslauf den tiefen Süden des Landes mit Mittel- und Oberitalien. Geboren wurde Scarlatti in Palermo auf Sizilien, am südlichen Ende der italienischen Halbinsel. Neapel und Rom, beide auf dem italienischen Festland gelegen, gehörten später zu seinen bevorzugten Aufenthaltsorten. Für den Hof von Ferdinando de' Medici in Florenz und für Venedig nahm er Kompositionsaufträge an und erhoffte sich dadurch Chancen für eine Anstellung, die sich allerdings in beiden Fällen nicht realisieren ließ.¹ Doch waren bereits Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts gerade Scarlattis Opern – zumindest gefühlt – überall in Italien präsent. So konstatierte das Vorwort zu Scarlattis *Penelope la casta* (Neapel 1696) überaus selbstbewusst, der Komponist habe in den vergangenen sechzehn Jahren sechzig Opern für Rom, Neapel und für verschiedene weitere Theater Italiens geschaffen.² Dementsprechend verband Scarlattis Œuvre um 1700 Italien zu einer Art kultureller Einheit. In seinen späten Lebensjahren änderte sich diese Situation, weil sein Komponieren partiell als konservativ wahrgenommen wurde und vielfach nicht mehr dem aktuellen Publikumsgeschmack entsprach. Trotzdem war Scarlattis kompositorischer Lebenslauf – sieht man einmal von seinem venezianischen Aufenthalt ab – zu seinen Lebzeiten eine Erfolgsgeschichte, unabhängig davon, dass sich gerade in Neapel auch vielfältige Widerstände und Proteste gegen den Komponisten formierten, weil man seine Konkurrenz fürchtete und das Feld nicht einem ›Zugereisten‹ überlassen wollte.³

* * *

1 Zur Biografie von Alessandro Scarlatti vgl. Edward J. Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti. His Life and His Works*, London 1960; Benedikt Johannes Poensgen, *Die Offiziumskompositionen von Alessandro Scarlatti*, Diss. Hamburg 2004, 2 Bde., online <https://ediss.sub.uni-hamburg.de/handle/ediss/1108> (letzter Zugriff: 23. Juni 2023), Bd. 1: *Zur Biographie und zu den Offiziumskompositionen Alessandro Scarlattis*, S. 1–59, insbes. S. 28–31; Roberto Pagano, *Alessandro and Domenico Scarlatti. Two Lives in One*, Translated by Frederick Hammond, Hillsdale / NY 2006 (Lives in Music Series 6); ders., *Alessandro e Domenico Scarlatti. Due vite in una*, Lucca 2015; Norbert Dubowy, Art. *Scarlatti, Alessandro*, in: MGG Online, hrsg. von Laurenz Lütteken, Kassel u. a. 2016 ff., veröffentlicht November 2016, <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/45978> (letzter Zugriff: 23. Juni 2023).

2 Matteo Noris und Alessandro Scarlatti, *Penelope la casta. Drama per musica*, Neapel 1696, »Amico Lettore«: »venendo con questo à compire il numero di sessanta Opere Drammatiche, che in sedici anni, in Roma, in Napoli, ed in diversi Teatri d'Italia hà posti in Musica«.

3 Vgl. Poensgen, *Die Offiziumskompositionen von Alessandro Scarlatti* (wie Anm. 1), S. 13 f.

Alessandro Scarlatti war ein Star der römischen Musikszene seiner Zeit. In seinem Schaffen konzentrierte sich das damalige römische Musikleben wie in einem Brennglas. So kam er bereits als 12-Jähriger im Jahr 1672 nach Rom, und schon als 17-Jähriger zog er in den Palazzo des römischen Architekten und Bildhauers Gian Lorenzo Bernini in der Via della Mercede, im historischen Zentrum Roms. Offenbar eröffnete ihm diese Verbindung zum berühmten Bernini viele Türen in der römischen Kulturszene. Denn Scarlatti begann schon bald mit zahlreichen wichtigen Kulturschaffenden der Stadt in Kontakt zu treten, Verbindungen zu knüpfen und Kompositionsaufträge entgegenzunehmen. Auch wenn er sich mehrfach nach Neapel hin orientierte und bei verschiedenen neapolitanischen Vizekönigen, die er zuweilen ebenfalls bereits aus Rom kannte, den Posten eines Kapellmeisters übernahm, bewahrte er doch lebenslang eine intensive Verbindung zur Stadt am Tiber.

Erste Ämter als Kirchenmusiker versah Alessandro Scarlatti in Rom an den Kirchen San Giacomo degli Incurabili und San Girolamo della Carità.⁴ Schon gleich zu Beginn seiner römischen Karriere pflegte er auch engen Kontakt zum Oratorium der Erzbruderschaft des SS. Crocifisso, wo alljährlich in der römischen Fastenzeit lateinische Oratorien dargeboten wurden und für das er bereits in der Saison des Jahres 1679 eine Komposition lieferte.⁵ Die Darbietungen an diesem für die Aufführungstradition lateinischer Oratorien so überaus renommierten Ort wurden vor allem von den Mitgliedern der Bruderschaft, vom römischen Adel und von zahlreichen Rom-Touristen besucht und in den Reiseberichten der Gäste vielfach gerühmt. Noch im Heiligen Jahr 1725 – dem Todesjahr Scarlattis – hat man im SS. Crocifisso ein letztes Mal eines seiner Werke aufgeführt, das mit lateinischem Text unterlegte Passionsoratorium.⁶

In seinen frühen römischen Jahren konzentrierten sich Scarlattis Aktivitäten – neben den Tätigkeiten als Maestro di cappella in diversen Kirchen – des Weiteren auf zahlreiche Palazzi im Zentrum Roms, wo er für den Adel Opern und andere Auftragskompositionen zur Aufführung brachte. Schon früh stand der Komponist in enger Verbindung zu den kulturellen Zirkeln um die Ex-Königin Christina von Schweden, die ihm zwischen 1679 und 1684 den Ehrentitel eines Kapellmeisters in ihren Diensten verlieh, ihn überhaupt nach Kräften förderte und als Taufpatin eines seiner Kinder fungierte. Ab 1682 wirkte Scarlatti dann als Maestro di cappella an San Girolamo della Carità, wo bereits Filippo Neri im 16. Jahrhundert begonnen hatte, *Esercizi spirituali* abzuhalten und wo auch noch zu Scarlattis Zeiten eine lebendige Aufführungstradition für italienischsprachige Oratorien bestand.

4 Vgl. dazu Arnaldo Morelli, *Alessandro Scarlatti Maestro di Cappella in Roma ed alcuni suoi Oratori*, in: Note d'archivio per la storia musicale, N. S., 2 (1984), S. 117–189.

5 Vgl. Thomas Griffin, *Alessandro Scarlatti e la serenata a Roma a e Napoli*, in: La musica a Napoli durante il Seicento (Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Napoli, 11–14 aprile 1985), hrsg. von Domenico Antonio D'Alessandro und Agostino Ziino, Rom 1987, S. 351–368.

6 Vgl. dazu den Beitrag von Johann Herczog in diesem Band.

Mittlerweile hatte sich Scarlattis Ruhm als überaus erfolgreicher Komponist auch bis nach Neapel verbreitet. So schickte das damals führende Opernhaus Neapels, das Teatro San Bartolomeo, mit einem seiner Impresari eine Art ›Headhunter‹ nach Rom, der Scarlatti im Herbst 1683 erfolgreich für Neapel abwarb und einige Sänger und Instrumentalisten gleich mitnahm. Vom Jahresende 1683 bis ins Jahr 1702 organisierte Scarlatti in Neapel die Opernsaison am Teatro San Bartolomeo. Zugleich wurde er 1684 – nach dem Tod des alten Maestro di cappella – auch Kapellmeister am neapolitanischen Real Palazzo, was bei den etablierten Musikkreisen der Stadt auf heftigste Ablehnung stieß.⁷ Neben Opern waren es in Neapel hauptsächlich Kantaten und Serenate zu festlichen Anlässen, mit denen man Scarlatti beauftragte und die in den Palästen des neapolitanischen Adels aufgeführt wurden.⁸ Im Jahr 1693 schließlich übernahm er in Neapel zusätzlich die künstlerische Leitung des öffentlichen Opernhauses San Bartolomeo. Zugleich hatten ihn weiterhin immer wieder Kompositionsaufträge der römischen Aristokratie erreicht, zu der er – nicht zuletzt aufgrund der in Neapel bisweilen erlittenen Zurückweisung – die Verbindungen intensivierte und sich dazu häufig persönlich aus Neapel in die Papststadt begab. In Rom stand er in engem Kontakt mit Pietro Ottoboni, dem römischen ›Musikpapst‹ der Zeit, der 1689 in den Rang eines Kardinals aufgestiegen und sodann im Kunst- und Musikleben der Stadt präsent war wie kein Zweiter. Zu Libretti aus der Feder Ottobonis hat Scarlatti zahlreiche Kompositionen geschrieben. So wurde beispielsweise mit der Oper *La Statira*, für die der Kardinal den Text verfasst hatte, zu Beginn des Jahres 1690 das römische, am Tiberufer gelegene Operntheater Tordinona nach Jahren der Schließung wieder eröffnet.

Doch zurück nach Neapel, wo der Spanische Erbfolgekrieg inzwischen für sehr unsichere Zeiten sorgte. Um den Kriegswirren zu entgehen, verlegte Scarlatti seinen Wohnsitz von 1703 bis 1709 erneut nach Rom und nutzte die Gelegenheit, die Kontakte zu seinen stadtrömischen Förderern weiter auszubauen. Er war auf deren Rückhalt angewiesen, denn auch in Rom hatte man ihn nicht immer wohlwollend empfangen. Große Anerkennung erwies man Scarlatti jedoch dann im Juli 1703 beim alljährlichen Fest des Karmeliterordens in der an der Piazza del Popolo gelegenen römischen Kirche Santa Maria di Montesanto. Hier hatte die Begeisterung für seine Musik sogar für einen handfesten Skandal gesorgt, als das Publikum ein Tabu brach und dem Altar den Rücken zukehrte, um sich der von Scarlatti selbst geleiteten Aufführung auf den Tribünen über dem Eingangsportal zuzuwenden. An Enthusiasmus für Scarlattis Musik mangelte es in Rom also nicht, obwohl sich der Komponist in seinen kirchenmusikalischen Ämtern nicht nur beliebt gemacht hatte, weil er oftmals durch Abwesenheit glänzte.

7 Vgl. Pagano, *Alessandro e Domenico Scarlatti. Due vite in una* (wie Anm. 1), insbes. S. 63–82.

8 Vgl. zur Serenata auch Thomas E. Griffin, *The Late Baroque Serenata in Rome and Naples: a Documentary Study with Emphasis on Alessandro Scarlatti*, 2 Bde., Ph.D. diss., University of California 1983.

Ab 1705 war der Sizilianer dann auch Mitglied in der ›famiglia‹ von Kardinal Pietro Ottoboni und wirkte in dessen römischer Residenz, dem Palazzo della Cancelleria, als Komponist und Leiter der Musik.⁹ Dass Scarlatti 1706 als einer von drei Musikern in die römische Accademia dell'Arcadia aufgenommen wurde, ist vermutlich ebenfalls Pietro Ottoboni zu verdanken. Mit seinem Eintritt in diese literarische Akademie wurde dem Musiker Scarlatti eine besondere Ehre zuteil, die in diesem Jahr im Bereich der Musik außer Scarlatti nur noch zwei weitere musikalische ›Schwergewichte‹, nämlich Corelli und Pasquini, erfuhren.¹⁰ In der Accademia dell'Arcadia konnte Scarlatti neue römische Literaturtrends miterleben und vermutlich die aktuellen pastoralen Tendenzen kennenlernen, die seine Kantaten sowie einzelne seiner Opern prägen sollten.

Auch für seine Oratorien lieferte ihm sein Mentor Ottoboni etliche Texte. So komponierte Scarlatti zu einem Libretto des Kardinals im Jahr 1708 das Oratorium *Il martirio di S. Cecilia*, das die grausame Leidensgeschichte der römischen Märtyrerin Cecilia erzählt. Mit diesem Projekt reihte sich Scarlatti in die großen, mit der römischen Chiesa nuova assoziierten Namen ein, war er doch zuvor in den Jahren von 1703 bis 1705 dieser Kirche als ›Hilfskapellmeister‹ verbunden gewesen. Im Jahr 1707 hatte er dann eine ähnliche Stellung als Coadiutore an der Basilica von Santa Maria Maggiore inne.¹¹ Ottoboni ließ Scarlattis Oratorium *Il martirio di S. Cecilia* 1708 vermutlich in der Cancelleria, seinem eigenen Amtssitz, im Rahmen eines Oratorien-Zyklus in der Fastenzeit als zweiteiliges Stück aufführen und am 1. März 1708 im Oratorium der Chiesa nuova wiederholen.¹² So wurde bei den Filippinern ein Werk nochmals aufgelegt, das zuvor schon an anderem Ort dargeboten worden war. Anlass dazu war wohl der enge Bezug zum Aufführungsraum der Filippiner, der der Heiligen Cecilia geweiht war. Im Jahr 1709 fand im Theater Ottobonis in der Cancelleria eine weitere Aufführung des Stücks statt, das nun nach Art einer Oper und mit dem Untertitel »tragedia sacra« in drei Akte gegliedert war und mit Szenenwechseln und Requisiten in einer Bühnenversion präsentiert wurde – ein Beispiel

9 Vgl. Hans Joachim Marx, *Die Musik am Hofe Kardinal Ottobonis unter Arcangelo Corelli*, in: Studien zur italienisch-deutschen Musikgeschichte, hrsg. von Friedrich Lippmann, Köln / Graz 1968 (Analecta musicologica 5) S. 104–177.

10 Vgl. Fabrizio Della Seta, *La musica in Arcadia al tempo di Corelli*, in: Nuovissimi studi corelliani. Atti del terzo Congresso Internazionale (Fusignano, 4–7 settembre 1980), hrsg. von Sergio Durante und Pierluigi Petrobelli, Florenz 1982 (Quaderni della Rivista italiana di musicologia 7), S. 123–150; Sabine Ehrmann-Herfort, *Die Kantate als Experimentierfeld musikalischer Reformstrategien im Umfeld der Arcadia*, in: Berthold Over (Hrsg.), *La fortuna di Roma. Italienische Kantaten und römische Aristokratie um 1700*, Kassel 2016 (MARS. Musik und Adel im Rom des Sei- und Settecento 3), S. 49–65; Ayana O. Smith, *Dreaming with Open Eyes. Opera, Aesthetics, and Perception in Arcadian Rome*, Oakland / Calif. 2019.

11 Die Libretti des Oratoriums aus den Jahren 1708 und 1709 bezeichnen den Komponisten Alessandro Scarlatti hingegen als »Maestro di Cappella della Sacrosanta Basilica di S. Maria Maggiore«.

12 Zum Aufführungskalender von Scarlattis Werk vgl. Saverio Franchi, *Drammaturgia romana II (1701–1750)*, Rom 1997 (Sussidi eruditi 45), S. 56 und 67.

für die vielfältigen Funktionen des Oratoriums in Rom, zu denen Scarlatti gerade auch in den Zeiten beitrug, in denen es in Rom auf päpstliche Verfügung hin keine Opernaufführungen geben durfte.

Im Jahr 1709 kehrte Scarlatti nach Neapel in sein Amt als *Maestro di R. Cappella* zurück. Zugleich wirkte er weiterhin in Rom und nun speziell auch am römischen Teatro Capranica, an dem insbesondere zwischen 1711 und 1724 wieder öffentliche Opern aufgeführt wurden.¹³ Darunter waren zahlreiche Bühnenwerke von Alessandro Scarlatti selbst, der sich zwischen 1718 und 1722 nochmals in Rom aufhielt. In dieser Zeit stand das Teatro Capranica in einer intensiven Austauschbeziehung mit der bereits genannten Accademia dell'Arcadia, was auch Folgen für den Opernspielplan des Theaters hatte, in dem ab 1711 pastorale Bühnenwerke aufgeführt wurden. Bei der Programmplanung des Hauses konkurrierten einflussreiche Kunstförderer wie Francesco Maria Ruspoli, die polnische Ex-Königin Maria Casimira sowie der päpstliche Vizekanzler Pietro Ottoboni. Sie alle gehörten nach 1700 zu den zentralen Akteuren der römischen Kulturlandschaft und ließen zusätzlich zu den Darbietungen im Capranica auch Opern in ihren eigenen häuslichen Privattheatern auf die Bühne bringen. Ein Höhepunkt der Opernaufführungen dieser Jahre am römischen Capranica war 1721 die Präsentation von Scarlattis Oper *Griselda*, geschrieben »per il Principe Ruspoli«.¹⁴

* * *

Das Verzeichnis von Scarlattis Kulturkontakten liest sich wie ein Who's who der Schönen, der Reichen und der einflussreichen Förderer römischer Musikveranstaltungen. All diese Personen haben Scarlattis Schaffen entscheidend protegiert. Desgleichen stand der Palermitaner nicht nur in engstem Kontakt mit Pietro Ottoboni und Benedetto Pamphilj, sondern auch mit Francesco Maria Ruspoli, Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna und dessen Sohn Carlo Colonna¹⁵ sowie mit dem Architekten Giambattista Contini, mit Christina von Schweden und später auch mit der »anderen« Königin, Maria Casimira aus Polen.¹⁶ Überdies pflegte Scarlatti ein produktives Zusammenwirken mit den renommiertesten Musikern seiner Zeit, so beispielsweise mit dem Sänger Paolo Pompeo Besci, genannt Paoluccio, der bereits bei den frühen neapolitanischen Aufführungen von Scarlattis Opern *La Psiche, ovvero Amore innamorato* (1683) und *Il Pompeo* (1684) mitwirkte.¹⁷ Auch Papst Clemens XI. schätzte

13 Vgl. dazu Reinhard Strohm, *A Context for Griselda: the Teatro Capranica, 1711–1724*, in: Alessandro Scarlatti und seine Zeit, hrsg. von Max Lütolf, Bern u. a. 1995 (L'Opéra-Studio di Genève), S. 79–114.

14 Ebd., S. 106–110.

15 Vgl. dazu neuerdings Chiara Pelliccia, *Il cardinal Colonna e Alessandro Scarlatti: musica e teatro in tempo di villeggiatura all'inizio del Settecento*, in: *Recercare* 34 (2022), S. 95–116.

16 Vgl. dazu Benedikt Poensgen, *Zur Biographie Alessandro Scarlattis während der italienischen Jahre Georg Friedrich Händels: mögliche Begegnungen, Einflussnahmen und Fehlattritionen*, in: *Händel-Jahrbuch* 46 (2000), S. 191–204.

17 Vermutlich pflegte Alessandro Scarlatti auch Kontakte zu dem Sänger, Arzt und römischen

Scarlatti als umtriebigen Komponisten und Kapellmeister sehr und verlieh ihm 1716 den Titel eines Cavaliere. Scarlatti bedankte sich dafür mit der Komposition der *Missa Clementina* II.

Die bereits angesprochenen Ortswechsel, für die Scarlatti mehrfach seinen Wohnsitz von Rom nach Neapel und zurück verlegte, stehen in engem Zusammenhang mit Scarlattis Dienstverpflichtungen, den politisch instabilen Verhältnissen in Neapel sowie den vielfältigen Arbeitsaufträgen, die er für hochgestellte Persönlichkeiten aus dem römischen und neapolitanischen Adel zu erfüllen hatte. Obwohl beide Städte, Rom wie Neapel, für Scarlattis kompositorisches Schaffen eine zentrale Rolle spielten, sind seine Rom-Aufenthalte wissenschaftlich weit besser aufgearbeitet als seine Jahre in Neapel. In der Stadt am Vesuv begegnete er der spanischen Kultur, die insbesondere auch sein Opernwerk prägte. Wenngleich er als Pädagoge offenbar wenig Ehrgeiz entwickelte und beispielsweise von seiner Tätigkeit am neapolitanischen Conservatorio di Santa Maria di Loreto im Jahr 1689 schon nach wenigen Monaten wieder entbunden wurde,¹⁸ hat er doch gerade in seinen letzten Lebensjahren als Lehrer in Neapel noch prägende Eindrücke hinterlassen. Hier kam er kurz vor seinem Tod mit den aus Deutschland angereisten Musikern Johann Joachim Quantz und Johann Adolf Hasse zusammen.¹⁹

* * *

Nach wie vor ist Alessandro Scarlatti heute als einer der »großen« Komponisten seiner Zeit nicht immer »angemessen« repräsentiert. Das betrifft nicht nur die Aufführungspraxis und die musikalischen Darbietungen seiner Werke, sondern auch die wissenschaftliche Sekundärliteratur sowie das Fehlen eines vollständigen Werkverzeichnisses und einer kritischen Edition.²⁰ Im wissenschaftlichen Diskurs wurde auf solche Desiderate immer wieder aufmerksam gemacht.²¹ Diesen Forderungen kann

Chronisten Giovanni Antonio Francesco Massonetti, der über Aufführungen von Werken Alessandro Scarlattis berichtete und zudem mit Paolo Besci gut befreundet war. Vgl. dazu *Musica, medicina, cronache di corte al tempo di Arcangelo Corelli. Il Diario romano di G.A. Francesco Massonetti 1659–1729*, hrsg. von Giancarlo Rostirolla, Livia Martinoli Santini und Candida Santoro, Rom 2021, S. 38, 245, 256 u. ö.

18 Vgl. Dubowy, Art. *Scarlatti, Alessandro* (wie Anm. 1).

19 Vgl. dazu Pagano, *Alessandro e Domenico Scarlatti. Due vite in una* (wie Anm. 1), S. 396f.

20 Freilich gibt der folgende, 1972 erstellte Katalog einen Überblick über Alessandro Scarlattis Schaffen: Giancarlo Rostirolla, *Catalogo generale delle opere*, in: Roberto Pagano und Lino Bianchi, *Alessandro Scarlatti*, Turin 1972 (Collana di monografie per servire alla storia della musica italiana), S. 317–595.

21 Vgl. Carole F. Vidali, *Alessandro and Domenico Scarlatti. A Guide to Research*, New York / London 1993, S. XVII. Auf die dort gemachten Bemerkungen hat sich die Forschung zu Alessandro Scarlatti immer wieder bezogen, vgl. Poensgen, *Die Offiziumskompositionen von Alessandro Scarlatti* (wie Anm. 1), S. VI; vgl. ebenfalls Luca Della Libera, *La musica sacra di Alessandro Scarlatti durante il periodo romano di Händel*, in: Georg Friedrich Händel in Rom. Beiträge der Internationalen Tagung am Deutschen Historischen Institut in Rom 17.–20. Oktober 2007, hrsg. von Sabine Ehrmann-Herfort und Matthias Schnettger, Kassel u. a. 2010 (Analecta musicologica 44), S. 155–184: 155.

man freilich zum jetzigen Zeitpunkt kaum nachkommen, die Zahl der bisher noch unbekanntem Stücke, Überarbeitungen und Gelegenheitswerke erschwert ein solches musikwissenschaftliches Ordnungsvorhaben. Der vorliegende Band versucht auf die gegebene Situation zu reagieren und die aktuelle Scarlatti-Forschung zu stimulieren. So entstand die Idee, die zahlreichen Detailstudien zu Scarlatti in einer Art ›Handbuch‹ zusammenzuführen und damit ein Grundwissen anzubieten, das Scarlattis kompositorisches Œuvre aus der Perspektive der Gattungen erschließt.

Zu Lebzeiten galt Scarlatti als »Orfeo della Musica«.²² Die Zeitgenossen des Komponisten und auch die unmittelbar nachfolgenden Generationen waren von den hohen kompositorischen Qualitäten des Sizilianers überzeugt. So besaß schon der in der Musikszene seiner Zeit bestens vernetzte römische Kardinal und Mäzen Benedetto Pamphilj nachweislich Abschriften von Scarlattis Kompositionen. Außerdem erfuhren manche von Scarlattis Opern noch zu seinen Lebzeiten eine europaweite Verbreitung, beispielsweise *Pirro e Demetrio*, das nach Aufführungen in Neapel und Rom (1694) bald schon den Weg auf Bühnen außerhalb Italiens fand. In Deutschland wurde das Stück gleich an mehreren Orten aufgeführt, während es in London vor Ort sogar maßgeblich an der Etablierung der italienischen Oper beteiligt war.²³ Ferner ist überliefert, dass Johann Adolf Hasse der Meinung war, sein Lehrer Scarlatti sei »der größte Meister in der Harmonie von ganz Italien«, während Niccolò Jommelli offenbar insbesondere Scarlattis Kirchenkompositionen schätzte.²⁴ Der deutsche Musikschriftsteller und Komponist Johann Mattheson zählte Alessandro Scarlatti bereits 1721 neben Keiser, Händel, Telemann und anderen zu den »allerberühmtesten« Komponisten in Europa.²⁵ Doch kurz danach beginnt sich in Johann Gottfried Walthers *Musicalischem Lexicon* (Leipzig 1732) – zumindest für den deutschsprachigen Bereich – die Erinnerung an Alessandro Scarlatti einzutrüben.²⁶ Zwar gibt es in Walthers Publikation einen Artikel zu Alessandro Scarlatti, der insbesondere Kantaten und Motetten des Komponisten anführt und anschließend als »berühmten Römischen Capellmeister« den Sohn Domenico Scarlatti erwähnt. Schon in Johann Matthesons *Ehren-Pforte* (Hamburg 1740) fehlt allerdings überhaupt ein Artikel zu Alessandro Scarlatti. Partiiell verändert sich die Rezeptionshaltung um 1800 wiederum, wurden doch in den Chorproben des Heidelberger Juraprofessors Anton Friedrich Justus Thibaut auffallend häufig Stücke von Alessandro Scarlatti gesungen.²⁷ Mit seiner Scarlatti-Begeisterung hatte Thibaut auch Carl

22 Vgl. Poensgen, *Die Offiziumskompositionen von Alessandro Scarlatti* (wie Anm. 1), S. 57.

23 Vgl. dazu Sarah M. Iacono, *Il ›Pirro e Demetrio‹ di Alessandro Scarlatti: fonti sconosciute e novità documentarie fra Napoli e l'Europa*, in: *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 43/45 (2008/2010), S. 3–43.

24 Vgl. dazu Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Historisch-biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler*, Zweyter Theil, Leipzig 1792, als: *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler (1790–1792)*, hrsg. von Othmar Wessely, Bd. 1, Graz 1977, Sp. 400.

25 Johann Mattheson, *Das forschende Orchestre*, Hamburg 1721, S. 276.

26 Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon oder Musicalische Bibliothec*, Leipzig 1732, S. 546.

27 Vgl. Silke Leopold, *Monteverdi, Scarlatti und die Erfindung der Marienvesper. Über den Umgang mit Alter Kirchenmusik*, in: *Die Tonkunst* 10 (2016), S. 4–13 (Thema – Geistliche Musik von Alessandro Scarlatti).

Friedrich Zelter beeinflusst, der Thibaut 1816 in Heidelberg besuchte.²⁸ Aus Zelters Beständen finden sich im Archiv der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin geistliche Musikstücke und eine ganze Reihe italienischer Kantaten – darunter auch die Kantate »*Su le sponde del Tèbro*« – aus der Feder Scarlattis, dazu drei Opern aus dem Besitz der preußischen Königin Sophie Charlotte.²⁹ Bestand hatten solche Wiederentdeckungen im 19. Jahrhundert allerdings nicht, Scarlatti blieb nach wie vor ein Geheimtipp und ein Komponist für Kenner.³⁰

* * *

Anlässlich einer Tagung in Würzburg im Jahr 1975 wurde wohl erstmals in der deutschen Nachkriegszeit ein wissenschaftliches Gespräch über Alessandro Scarlatti in Gang gebracht, das viele Facetten seines Schaffens diskutierte. Der von Wolfgang Osthoff und Jutta Ruile-Dronke herausgegebene Band erschien 1979 und beschäftigte sich nicht nur mit dem Opernwerk, wenngleich auf ihm, neben Kirchenmusik und Orgelmusik, ein Hauptakzent lag.³¹ Ostoffs Kolloquium zu Scarlatti blieb allerdings in Deutschland in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts die einzige Veranstaltung zu Scarlattis Werk und Wirken. Auch einige Jahre später ging es bei einer internationalen wissenschaftlichen Veranstaltung in Genf schwerpunktmäßig um die Opern.³² Die zugehörigen Tagungsakten wurden 1995 publiziert.³³ Zum Fokus auf Scarlattis Opern kam in der Forschung nach dem Jahr 2000 das Interesse an seiner geistlichen Musik hinzu. Benedikt Poensgen legte hierzu eine zweibändige Arbeit vor, die im Netz online zugänglich ist.³⁴ Auch der im Jahr 2016 erschienene Band der Zeitschrift *Die Tonkunst* mit seinem Thementeil zu Alessandro Scarlatti fokussierte primär dessen geistliche Musik.³⁵

Insbesondere seit dem 350. Geburtstag des Komponisten im Jahr 2010 hat sich die Scarlatti-Forschung beträchtlich weiterentwickelt³⁶ und wird sicherlich zum Jahr

28 Ebd., S. 8f.

29 *The Archive of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin. Catalogue / Das Archiv der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin. Katalog*, mit Beiträgen von Axel Fischer, Matthias Kornemann, Ulrich Leisinger, Ralph-Jürgen Reipsch, Christoph Henzel, Klaus Hortschansky, Tobias Schwinger, Mary Oleskiewicz, Berlin / New York 2010, S. 168, 176, 180, 672.

30 Leopold, *Monteverdi, Scarlatti und die Erfindung der Marienvesper* (wie Anm. 27), S. 11.

31 *Colloquium Alessandro Scarlatti*. Würzburg 1975, hrsg. von Wolfgang Osthoff und Jutta Ruile-Dronke, Tutzing 1979 (Würzburger musikhistorische Beiträge 7).

32 Séminaire international, 1988 in Genf.

33 *Alessandro Scarlatti und seine Zeit* (wie Anm. 13).

34 Poensgen, *Die Offiziumskompositionen von Alessandro Scarlatti* (wie Anm. 1).

35 *Die Tonkunst* 10 (2016): Thema – Geistliche Musik von Alessandro Scarlatti (wie Anm. 17). Darin neben dem Beitrag von Silke Leopold u. a. vgl. Susanne Fontaine, *Zur Einführung*, S. 2f.; Sabine Ehrmann-Herfort, *Am Schnittpunkt von Antike und Christentum. Alessandro Scarlatti und die römische Accademia dell'Arcadia*, S. 14–24; Luca Della Libera, *Die römische geistliche Musik von Alessandro Scarlatti*, S. 33–42.

36 Vgl. dazu beispielsweise *Devozione e passione. Alessandro Scarlatti nel 350° anniversario della nascita*. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Reggio Calabria, 8–9 ottobre 2010), hrsg. von Nicolò

2025, der 300. Wiederkehr von Scarlattis Todestag, noch einmal zusätzlich wichtige Impulse erfahren. In den vergangenen Jahren standen in der internationalen Forschung insbesondere die Opern, die Oratorien, Scarlattis geistliche Musik sowie die Kantaten und Serenate im Fokus der Untersuchungen. Gerade auch zu den Kantaten wurden in der letzten Zeit zahlreiche Editionen publiziert. Und in der Datenbank »Clori. Archivio della cantata italiana«, die eine umfangreiche Forschungsplattform für die italienische Kantate bereitstellt, finden sich viele Kantaten von Alessandro Scarlatti.³⁷

Bei all diesen Untersuchungen fällt indes auf, dass man sich stets schwer damit getan hat, Alessandro Scarlattis Werke in musikalische Traditionen einzuordnen. Seine Kompositionen sind in hohem Maße determiniert durch die oben beschriebenen römischen und neapolitanischen Aufführungskontexte, die eine »absolute« Rezeption der Stücke zumindest erschwerten, sowie durch Auftraggeber, die vielfach aus dem Adel stammten und deren Positionen dabei schon bald als konservativ oder veraltet galten. So gelang es Scarlatti beispielsweise in seinen späten neapolitanischen Jahren nicht wirklich, sich auf das dortige neue bürgerliche Publikum einzustellen. In diesem Zusammenhang sieht Reinhard Strohm die stärkste Weiterwirkung Scarlattis dort, wo er für ein sozial offenes Publikum komponierte.³⁸

In der vorliegenden Veröffentlichung soll das reiche Spektrum von Scarlattis Kompositionen in den Blick genommen und im Rahmen der Gattungsdiskussion zumindest in Ansätzen genauer untersucht werden. Ohne Vollständigkeit anzustreben, möchte das Buch damit die beträchtlichen Möglichkeiten der Scarlatti-Forschung aufzeigen und mithin weitere Untersuchungen zu diesem faszinierenden Komponisten anregen, der in janusköpfiger Weise Traditionelles und Innovatives verbindet.

* * *

Der erste der drei Beiträge zum musikdramatischen Werk Scarlattis stammt von Louise K. Stein und beschreibt Alessandro Scarlattis Opern bis ins Jahr 1687. Dabei zeigt die Autorin die Fülle der Kontakte auf, die seine Bühnenstücke bis 1687 bestimmten, außerdem analysiert sie die vielfältigen weiteren Kontexte und Faktoren, welche die Werke geprägt und bestimmt haben. Chronologisch fortschreitend diskutiert im Anschluss der Beitrag von José María Domínguez Scarlattis neapolitanische Opern, die unter der Patronage der Vizekönige Graf von Santisteban und Luis Francisco de la Cerda, Herzog von Medinaceli, zwischen 1687 und 1702 entstanden sind. Im letzten Opernbeitrag schließlich thematisiert Francesca Menchelli-Buttini Alessandro Scarlattis Opern nach 1702 in ihrer ganzen Vielfalt.

Maccavino, Soveria Mannelli 2013 (Conservatorio di Musica »F. Cilea«, *Sopplimenti musicali I*, 14), sowie Ignace Bossuyt, *De oratoria van Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725). Meesterwerken uit de Italiaanse barok*, Leuven 2015.

37 <https://cantataitaliana.it/> (letzter Zugriff: 28.06.2023).

38 Reinhard Strohm, *Alessandro Scarlatti und das Settecento*, in: *Colloquium Alessandro Scarlatti*. Würzburg 1975 (wie Anm. 31), S. 153–176: 163.

Danach folgt als weiterer zentraler Untersuchungsgegenstand im Œuvre Scarlattis das Oratorium. Johann Herzogs Beitrag *Historische und evolutive Dynamik im Oratorienchaffen von Alessandro Scarlatti* fokussiert hierzu auf einen innerhalb von Scarlattis Oratorienentwicklung feststellbaren Stilwandel, der sich von traditionellen Verankerungen zu Beginn von Scarlattis Oratorienchaffen entfernt und später gattungsmäßig wie kompositorisch für einen radikalen Wandel sorgt, der Scarlatti auch zu einem Wegbereiter der Wiener Klassik und der galanten Kompositionsart macht.

Die beiden anschließenden Beiträge loten das weite Feld der Kantaten Alessandro Scarlattis aus. Zunächst vermittelt Andrea Zedlers Text »*By the genius and abilities of Ales. Scarlatti*« – *Scarlatti und sein Kantatenœuvre* einen Überblick über die römischen Kantaten Scarlattis und untersucht an ihnen die These von der Exklusivität dieser Kompositionen für bestimmte Aufführungskontexte. Der Doppelbeitrag von Giulia Giovani und Simone Ciolfi zum Thema *Alessandro Scarlatti – »der fruchtbarste und originellste Komponist von Kammerkantaten«* stellt Scarlattis Kammerkantaten unter eher speziellen Blickwinkeln vor. Der erste Teil des Textes zeigt, wie sich die Quellenlage der Kantaten Scarlattis auch heute noch durch weitere Funde, die vielfach in Privatsammlungen aufbewahrt werden, beständig erweitert. Dabei erweist sich die Rekonstruktion dieser Bestände als besonders schwierig und zuweilen unausführbar. Auch die von Roger 1701 gedruckten und Scarlatti zugeschriebenen Kantaten werden in diesem Zusammenhang diskutiert. Der zweite Teil des Textes analysiert die verschiedenen, in diesem Repertoire vorhandenen Arientypen und die vielfältige Gestaltung der dazugehörigen Rezitative, die von zahlreichen antik-rhetorischen Einflüssen geprägt sind und sich als ergiebiges Experimentier- und Innovationsfeld erweisen.

Der Text von Luca Della Libera untersucht anschließend *Alessandro Scarlattis geistliche Musik*, ein Gattungsbereich, für den Scarlatti zeitlebens komponierte. Der Fokus richtet sich in diesem Beitrag sowohl auf die Entstehungskontexte der geistlichen Musik als auch auf das weite Panorama der ästhetisch-kompositorischen Zusammenhänge sowie auf das Rezeptionsverhalten, das insbesondere in Deutschland im Blick auf Scarlattis Messen und Psalmen besondere Züge aufweist.

Silke Leopolds Studie widmet sich unter dem Titel *Die spekulative Kunst des Komponierens. Scarlatti und das polyphone Madrigal* der Komposition und insbesondere der Textvertonung der acht Madrigale, die von Scarlatti erhalten sind. Außerdem fragt sie nach möglichen Motiven, warum Scarlatti, der Opern- und Kantatenkomponist, so großes Interesse an einer musikalischen Form zeigte, die an der Wende vom 17. zum 18. Jahrhundert bereits als archaisch und veraltet galt.

Sarah-Denise Fabian untersucht abschließend *Alessandro Scarlattis Instrumentalmusik*, die im Œuvre des Komponisten eine eher untergeordnete Position einnimmt. Scarlattis Instrumentalstücke haben nicht zuletzt aufgrund der Quellenlage in Forschung und Praxis bisher wenig Beachtung gefunden. Demgegenüber kann die Autorin belegen, dass sich Scarlattis Instrumentalmusik durch eine erstaunliche Vielfalt zeitgenössischer Formen und Traditionen auszeichnet.

* * *

Auch diese Publikation ist wieder ein gemeinsames Produkt, an dem viele mitgewirkt haben. Zunächst möchten wir uns bei den Autorinnen und Autoren bedanken für ihre Geduld und für ihr Entgegenkommen – auch angesichts der Verzögerungen, die sich bei der Bearbeitung und Drucklegung des Bandes ergeben haben. Unser Dank geht ferner an Raffaele Mellace, der die Veröffentlichung mit seiner kompetenten Beratung sehr effizient unterstützt hat. Außerdem danken wir Silke Leopold und Angela Romagnoli für ihre stets hilfreichen Expertisen. Gerhard Kuck hat die italienischen Beiträge mit großer Akribie ins Deutsche übersetzt und sich dafür auf wunderbare Weise allererst in das Werk Alessandro Scarlattis und in dessen Zeit eingearbeitet. Dafür möchte ich mich bei meinem Kollegen sehr herzlich bedanken. Kara Rick hat in bewährter Weise und mit großem Engagement die Korrektur der Texte vorgenommen und das Register des Bandes erstellt. Auch dafür danken wir ihr sehr herzlich. Außerdem danken wir dem Deutschen Historischen Institut in Rom und seinem Direktor, Martin Baumeister, für die wohlwollende Förderung unseres Publikationsvorhabens, Diana Rothaug vom Bärenreiter-Verlag in Kassel für ihre Geduld. Wir wünschen uns, dass dieser Band die Forschungen zum reichen Œuvre Scarlattis weiter beleben und vorantreiben möge.

Sabine Ehrmann-Herfort

Rom, im Juli 2023

Scarlatti riscoperto

Alessandro Scarlatti and Opera 1677–1687

Louise K. Stein

Abstract: This essay explains Alessandro Scarlatti's embeddedness in the musical life of Rome and Naples to 1687 through a compact tour of his operas, including his earliest works for the Roman stage and the operas composed for Naples during the tenure of Spanish viceroy Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán, marquis del Carpio (d. 1687). Scarlatti rose to prominence in Rome despite his youth and status as an outsider (he was a Sicilian immigrant), thanks to the fluent originality of his music and enthusiastic support from influential patrons in an epoch in which opera in Rome was a multiply contingent enterprise and the pope's permission could be withheld or rescinded at any moment. Scarlatti's music was particularly useful to Carpio as Spanish ambassador to the Holy See. Once he became viceroy of Naples, Carpio engineered Scarlatti's transfer to Naples and subsequently appointed him *maestro* of the Neapolitan royal chapel. The composer was absolutely essential to Carpio's larger project – raising the quality and production standards of opera in Naples. This survey of Scarlatti's operas to 1687 describes the typology of the operas, the nature of the arias, operatic casting, the circumstances of production (where known), the extant musical sources, and the chronology and organization of opera seasons. A focus on Scarlatti's relationship with the marquis del Carpio sheds new light on the composer's career and politics, as well as his contributions to a powerfully collaborative production team in Naples.

The Roman Context for Scarlatti's Early Operas

Late seventeenth-century Rome was a city full of musicians where large-scale profane musical activities were supported by competing patrons without a single or unified 'public'.¹ Though patrons sometimes collaborated, Rome lacked centralized

1 The foundational research for this essay was enriched in myriad ways by suggestions from Valeria De Lucca, Luca Della Libera, José María Domínguez, Dinko Fabris, Teresa Gialdroni, Rosalind Halton, Arnaldo Morelli, Margaret Murata, Guido Olivieri, and Agostino Ziino, whose collegial generosity is gratefully acknowledged. For more about Scarlatti and opera to 1687, see Louise K. Stein, *The Marqués, the Divas, and the Castrati. Opera in the Early Modern Spanish Orbit*, New York (forthcoming 2024).

patronage and institutional continuity in the secular sphere, such that the only reliable employment for composers was provided by religious institutions.² Opera in Rome had functioned as a commercial venture on the Venetian model for a brief time in the 1670s, when a handful of reworked Venetian operas and a few by Roman composers were produced in the public Teatro Tordinona, which opened in 1671 with support from Queen Christina of Sweden and Maria Mancini Colonna, then closed in 1675 by papal order for the Holy Year; it did not reopen until 1690.³

During Alessandro Scarlatti's early years in Rome, operas were offered exclusively in private venues and financed mainly through private patronage.⁴ Theaters were built into noble palazzi without promotional facades.⁵ Around 1679, for example, the Teatro Capranica was created within a section of the palace inherited by Pompeo and Federico Capranica, who knocked down walls and combined the rooms of two apartments, setting aside a first-floor space for a theater initially termed the »sala per accademie«. ⁶ In 1682 Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna installed a theater in his palace at Piazza Santi Apostoli with the supervision of the architect Carlo Fontana and guidance of the former manager of the Teatro Tordinona, Filippo Acciaiuoli.⁷

2 Arnaldo Morelli, *Alessandro Scarlatti maestro di cappella in Roma ed alcuni suoi oratori*, in: Note d'archivio per la storia musicale n. s. 2 (1984), pp. 117–144: 118; David Poultney, *Alessandro Scarlatti and the Transformation of the Oratorio*, in: *Musical Quarterly* 59 (1973), pp. 584–601: 586, explained 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*, in: *The Journal of Musicology* 28 (2011), pp. 195–230.

3 Eugene J. Johnson, *Inventing the Opera House*, Cambridge 2018, pp. 254–276, pp. 303–306; fundamental studies include Alberto Cametti, *Cristina di Svezia, l'arte musicale e gli spettacoli teatrali in Roma*, in: *Nuova antologia* 239 (1911), pp. 641–656; id., *Cristina di Svezia, l'arte musicale e gli spettacoli teatrali in Roma*, Rome 1911; id., *Il teatro Tordinona poi di Apollo*, 2 vols., Tivoli 1938; Arnaldo Morelli, *Mecenatismo musicale nella Roma barocca: il caso di Cristina di Svezia*, in: *Quaderni storici* 32/95 (1997), pp. 387–408; id., *Il mecenatismo musicale di Cristina di Svezia. Una riconsiderazione*, in: *Convegno internazionale Cristina di Svezia e la musica* (Roma, 5–6 dicembre 1996), Rome 1998 (*Atti dei Convegni Licei* 138), pp. 321–346.

4 See Lowell Lindgren, *Il dramma musicale a Roma durante la carriera di Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725)*, in: *Le muse galanti: la musica a Roma nel Settecento*, ed. Bruno Cagli, Rome 1985, pp. 35–57; Stefania Severi, *I teatri di Roma*, Rome 1989, pp. 94–154, provides concise information about Roman theaters of the Seicento.

5 Elisabetta Natuzzi, *Il Teatro Capranica dall'inaugurazione al 1881, cronologia degli spettacoli con 11 indici analitici*, Naples 1999, p. 15.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 42 s.; Luigia Cannizzo, *Vent'anni di storia di un teatro romano: il Capranica (1678–1698)*, in: *Il libro di Teatro, annali del dipartimento musica e spettacolo dell'Università di Roma*, ed. Roberto Ciancarelli, Rome 1991, vol. 1, pp. 31–46.

7 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)*, Ph. D. Princeton University, 2009, pp. 11 and 73; Elena Tamburini, *Due teatri per il Principe. Studi sulla committenza teatrale di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna (1659–1689)*, Rome 1997; Valeria De Lucca, *The Politics of Princely Entertainment. Music and Spectacle in the Lives of Lorenzo Onofrio and Maria Mancini Colonna*, New York 2020, pp. 239–242.

The rental of boxes by the aristocracy defrayed production expenses while providing noble families some income. As plans for the 1680 carnival materialized, for instance, Acciaiuoli reported to Colonna that those wishing to attend operas at the Capranica palace would pay for their boxes.⁸ Seating arrangements seem to have been contingent upon political and familial relationships, notions of decorum, and social convention. Nobles and foreign ambassadors paid to attend operas at these private theaters, to be sure, but it is unclear to what extent commoners were supplied with *bollettini* or invited to purchase them.

The advent of the short Roman carnival season carried the annual expectation that opera might be produced, though the pope's permission could be withheld or rescinded at any moment.⁹ Opera's supporters in Scarlatti's early years – Queen Christina, Pompeo Capranica, Duke Caffarelli, Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, and even the pope's nephew, Livio Odescalchi – petitioned for permission to stage operas. Innocent XI not only objected to profane subjects and supported the long-standing Roman tradition of excluding women from the public stage, but also wished to prevent women from singing at private events. Theatrical performances by singers employed at churches were prohibited (though this could hardly be observed in practice), while a variety of restrictions affected the seating arrangements.¹⁰

Scarlatti's First Roman Operas

The earliest known Scarlatti opera, *Amor quando si fugge allor si trova*, setting a libretto by Vincenzo Maria Veltroni, seems to have been produced outside of Rome in 1678 with support from Flavio Chigi and Benedetto Pamphilj.¹¹ As Arnaldo 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. Pamphilj had angered the

8 See I-SUss, Archivio Colonna, Carteggio Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, letter from Acciaiuoli, Rome, 14 October 1679. Another letter sent on 2 March 1680 to Ippolito Bentivoglio, transcribed in Sergio Monaldini, *L'orto dell'esperidi: musica, attori e artisti nel patrocinio della famiglia Bentivoglio (1646–1685)*, Lucca 2001, p. 422, noted »se 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 1985, pp. 6f., confirms that subscriptions were taken for seating in the palchetti.

9 Permission to produce operas for carnival 1681 hinged on the separation of genders, for example: »Si darà mano alle commedie in quest'altra settimana con ordine che gl'huomini stiano separati dalle Donne, alle quali si dia solamente il Palchetto, e che a gl'huomini se gli vedono le mani per che han guischino [rischino?] a toccatigli; con l'assistenza in oltre di tre reverendi Barboni ogni sera, i quali sappino riferire, chi hai detto la Corona, e chi ha fatto insolenza«. E-PABm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 12, fol. 217, 1 February 1681.

10 On the question of women performing onstage in Rome, see Live Hove, *The »Women« of the Roman Stage: as Goethe Saw Them*, in: Theatre History Studies 21 (2001), pp. 61–79.

11 Arnaldo Morelli, *Amor quando si fugge allor si trova: un libretto per Scarlatti esordiente*, in: Il saggiatore musicale 24 (2017), pp. 229–238, provides a firm identification, context, and further biblio-

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).¹² It appears that Pamphilj organized this smallish production to entertain connoisseurs gathered at one of his country estates. The untitled score does not name Scarlatti, but one of its arias, »*Farfalletta intorno al lume, delirando si raggira*«, is ascribed to him in three manuscript anthologies.¹³

The investment of patrons such as Pamphilj and Chigi, together with Scarlatti's appointment at San Giacomo degli Incurabili al Corso, testify to the extent to which his music was appreciated in Rome.¹⁴ Further success with opera was facilitated by crucial early support from the Berninis and Queen Christina, despite Innocent XI's opposition.¹⁵ Scarlatti's *Gli equivoci nel sembiante* (1679; see below), a lighthearted pastoral with roles for two verisimilar pairs of lovers (two sopranos and two tenors), launched his career as an opera composer and was soon revived in Rome, Bologna, Siena, Naples, Ravenna, and other Italian cities, as well as at the Imperial court in Vienna (February 1681, with the title *L'amor non vuole inganni*).¹⁶

In carnival 1680, Scarlatti's *L'honestà negli amori* (libretto by Pietro Filippo Bernini) was offered at the small Teatro della Pace, dedicated to and sponsored by Queen Christina (it was subsequently repeated at Palazzo Riario). Scarlatti is identified as

graphy; see also Jean Lionnet, *Une partition inconnue d'Alessandro Scarlatti*, in: Studi musicali 15 (1986), pp. 183–212; id., *A Newly Found Opera by Alessandro Scarlatti*, in: Musical Times 128 (1987), p. 80 f.; Frank A. D'Accone, *Ancora su l'opera prima di Scarlatti e la Regina*, in: Convegno internazionale Cristina di Svezia e la musica (see note 3), pp. 71–97; and id., *Cardinal Chigi and Music Redux*, in: Music Observed. Studies in Memory of William C. Holmes, ed. Colleen Reardon and Susan Parisi, Warren / Mich.: Harmonie Park 2004, pp. 65–100.

12 Alessandro Ademollo, *I teatri di Roma nel secolo decimosettimo*, Rome 1888; Bologna 1969, p. 152.

13 The anonymous score for the opera identified in Lionnet, *A Newly Found Opera* (see note 11), is I-Rvat, Chigi Q.V.66; the E minor two-strophe aria, »*Farfalletta intorno al lume, delirando si raggira*«, is ascribed to Scarlatti in I-Rvat, Chigi Q.IV.46, fols. 1–4; I-Rvat, 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 (60.1.54), 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, pp. 191 f., pp. 198 f.

14 Morelli, *Alessandro Scarlatti maestro di cappella* (see note 2); documents transcribed pp. 138–141; Caroline Giron-Panel, »*Si elige Alesandro Scarlotti per nostro mastro di cappella*«: informations inédites sur la chapelle musicale de San Giacomo degli Incurabili», in: La Musique à Rome au XVIIe siècle: études et perspectives de recherche, ed. Caroline Giron-Panel and Anne-Madeleine Goulet, Rome 2012, pp. 95–120.

15 Giron-Panel, »*Si elige Alesandro Scarlotti*«, p. 111.

16 D'Accone, *The History of a Baroque Opera* (see note 8), pp. 107–127: 178, describes the five extant manuscript scores and offers documents about the seventeenth-century productions; see the modern edition Alessandro Scarlatti, *Gli equivoci nel sembiante*, ed. Frank D'Accone, Cambridge / Mass. 1982 (The Operas of Alessandro Scarlatti), p. 7; sources are also listed in Norbert Dubowy and Dinko Fabris, Art. *Scarlatti*, MGG Online, ed. Laurenz Lütteken, Kassel etc. 2016–2018. For Scarlatti's early operas in Siena, see Colleen Reardon, *A Sociable Moment: Opera and Festive Culture in Baroque Siena*, New York 2016.

the queen's *maestro di cappella* in the libretto.¹⁷ The far-fetched romantic intrigue of *L'honestà negli amori*, complete with pirates, takes place in Algiers, though this opera, like Scarlatti's two earlier operas, requires only a small cast and simple sets. The often-performed »*Già il sole dal Gange*« from *L'honestà negli amori* shows how Scarlatti exploited the strophic da capo aria in his early operas. His emblematic use of a strong principal motive, compact energy, musical economy, and control of counterpoint and harmonic organization, can be compared to his colleague Arcangelo Corelli's lean, focused approach in trio-sonata movements from this same period. Scarlatti's next opera, *Tutto il mal non vien per nuocere*, was produced in Rome for carnival 1681 at the Teatro Capranica for the Accademici Uniti.¹⁸ The libretto by Giuseppe Domenico De Totis, designated »comedia per musica«, is considered to have a »cape and sword« plot perhaps derived from an as yet unidentified Spanish comedia.¹⁹ Whether termed *dramma per musica* or *commedia per musica*, these early operas are frivolous in tone and subject matter, following the Roman fashion of the moment.

For carnival 1683, Scarlatti composed in response to the interest and investment of new patrons loyal to opposite political factions. He brought forth two more operas, as well as music for a smaller theater piece. Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, head of one of the most powerful Roman families in the Spanish political orbit, offered two operas at his palace in carnival 1683 – Scarlatti's new *Il Pompeo* (27 January) and Bernardo Pasquini's *La Tessalonica*.²⁰ Colonna had often traveled to Venice for

17 Claudio Sartori, *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800*, Cuneo 1990–1993, libretto 17081; among the extant exemplars, see, for example, I-MOe, 88-D24-6; a possibly autograph score of act 1 is I-Rc, MS 2571; a complete manuscript score is I-MOe, MS Mus.F.1057; four arias from *L'honestà negli amori* are included in F-Pn, RES VMF MS-134; eleven are included in I-Nc, Arie 80 (60.1.54), along with 18 arias and 1 duet from *Gli equivoci nel sembiante*, and 1 incomplete aria from *L'Aldimiro*; other aria anthologies are listed by Giancarlo Rostirolla, *Catalogo generale delle opere di Alessandro Scarlatti*, in: Roberto Pagano and Lino Bianchi, Alessandro Scarlatti, Turin 1972, pp. 331–367: 333 f., and Dubowy and Fabris, art. *Scarlatti*.

18 According to extant libretti, revival performances took place in Ancona 1683, Siena 1683, Ravenna 1685, Florence 1686, Naples 1687 (as *Dal male il bene*), and Rimini 1694; a complete, partially autograph score with additions intended for the 1687 Naples revival survives at I-MC, 6-B-2; another score is D-Bs, Mus.ms 19643. A description and some musical extracts are offered in Alfred Lorenz, *Alessandro Scarlatti's Jugendoper: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der italienischen Oper*, 2 vols., Augsburg 1927, 1: 66–78; 2: 20–39. 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); arias from the opera are included in F-Pn, RES VMF MS-134; US-Su, Rare Books ML96.S33 T8; I-Nc, Arie 229 (60.1.57); 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*, pp. 334 f.; Dubowy and Fabris, art. *Scarlatti*; Lindgren and Murata, *The Barberini Manuscripts of Music* (see note 13), pp. 186 f.

19 Sartori, *I libretti* (see note 17), libretto 24166; I-Rn, 34.1.F.35.6; Saverio Franchi, *Drammaturgia romana. Repertorio bibliografico cronologico dei testi drammatici pubblicati a Roma e nel Lazio. Secolo XVII*, Rome 1988, p. 534.

20 See Tamburini, *Due teatri* (see note 7), p. 151 regarding the premiere of *Il Pompeo*; the surviving bound score dated 1683, B-Br, Ms II 3962 Mus., Fétis 2519, offers a reading close to that of the 1683 Rome libretto; see the facsimile in Alessandro Scarlatti, *Il Pompeo*, ed. John H. Roberts, New

carnival and had been a patron of Venetian opera prior to his residence in Spain as viceroy of Aragon (1678–1681). In Spain, he negotiated the marriage of his son, Filippo, to Lorenza de la Cerda, daughter of the powerful 8th Duke of Medinaceli. Even while distant from Rome, he followed the increasing success of «il Siciliano» through letters from his agents during the years in which Scarlatti's earliest operas had their first performances. Colonna had been interested in Francesco Cavalli's *Pompeo Magno* (first produced at the Teatro San Salvatore in Venice for carnival 1666), whose libretto by Nicolò Minato had been dedicated to the opera-loving Maria Mancini Colonna, now his estranged wife. As De Lucca has pointed out, Scarlatti's opera «synthesizes Lorenzo Onofrio's old and new passions, interests, and tastes» by bringing a subject from Venetian opera into contemporary Rome with music by a rising composer.²¹ Scarlatti and his unnamed librettist (perhaps De Totis) based the 1683 *Il Pompeo* on the same story treated in the Minato-Cavalli *Pompeo Magno*, but sharpened and deepened its drama, reducing the incidents of the plot and adding new aria texts.²²

Il Pompeo represents an important change in taste and in Scarlatti's approach: it is a densely-woven, highly dramatic opera whose characters from ancient Roman history come to life through vibrant, muscular new arias. It was immediately successful in Rome with 17 performances. Many of its arias were copied into a plethora of anthologies and it enjoyed revival performances in Naples, Ravenna, Leghorn, and Palermo.²³ Musical evidence in the only extant score suggests that Scarlatti may have consulted Cavalli's *Il Pompeo Magno*, perhaps in Colonna's library.²⁴ One aria in *Il Pompeo* not only retains the Minato aria text but reveals musical inspiration from Cavalli's setting. In Pompeo's big fully-scored D major aria from act 1, «Sonno placido

York/London 1996 (Handel Sources 6). For *La Tèssalonica*, see Arnaldo Morelli, *La virtù in corte. Bernardo Pasquini (1637–1710)*, Lucca 2016, pp. 67f., 175–180; Barbara Nestola, *I molli femminili per Bartolomeo Montalcino in due opere 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*, Rome 2021, pp. 405–418. <https://books.openedition.org/efr/17607>, and Gordon Ferris Crain, *The Operas of Bernardo Pasquini*, 2 vols., Ph.D. diss., Yale University 1965, vol. 1, pp. 152–164; vol. 2, pp. 163–195.

21 De Lucca, «Dalle sponde del Tebro alle rive dell'Adria» (see note 7), pp. 268f.; eadem, *The Politics* (see note 7), pp. 250–260; Scarlatti, *Il Pompeo*, p. IX.

22 Concerning the earlier operas, Micheletti has astutely noted, «Quindi fino al 1683 l'interesse per i drammi veneziani nella città eterna è quasi nullo; il proliferare di numerosi teatrini privati e i continui divieti papali favoriscono per lo più una produzione di opere con pochi personaggi, di intreccio avventuroso e romanzesco con scarse pretese scenografiche. A queste tipologie di opera appartengono, tra le altre, *La donna è ancora fedele* (1676) e *L'Idalma ovvero Chi la dura la vince* (1680) di Pasquini e le tre opere che Scarlatti compone prima del Pompeo.» See Marco Micheletti, *La fortuna del Pompeo di Alessandro Scarlatti*, in: *Studi musicali* 6 (2015), pp. 37–95 (quoted from p. 39); and Marco Micheletti, *Il Pompeo di A. Scarlatti (Roma 1683)*, Tesi di laurea magistrale, Università di Bologna, 2014; Tamburini, *Due teatri* (see note 7), pp. 151ff., presents documents pertaining to staging, costumes, and rehearsals.

23 Micheletti, *La fortuna del Pompeo*.

24 *Ibid.*, pp. 39f; B-Br, MS II 3962, fols. 75r–79v.

nume» (I,13), Pompeo calls on sleep, the »tranquil deity«, to cure his ills and restore his frayed patience. 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. Gentle chords of accompaniment sound before the vocal entry interrupts the ritornello with a sustained pitch for »Sonno« supported by the arrival of the tonic chord. The idea for the sustained notes in the opening vocal line might have been borrowed from the opening of Cavalli's aria on the same text.²⁵ Nevertheless, Scarlatti's sigh figures in the first section, together with other illustrative figures, such as the gently concitato violin figuration in the second section underlining »dell'incendio primier«, mark the aria as both modern and original. In Scarlatti's opera, the aria not only grants sleep to Pompeo but creates an extended moment of calm before the aborted violence that ends act 1 – the young Farnace just barely prevents Mitridate from beheading Pompeo.

Also in the 1683 carnival season, Scarlatti fulfilled commissions from patrons allied with the French crown and the opposing political party. To celebrate the birth of Louis, Duke of Burgundy, son of the Dauphin and grandson to Louis XIV, a prose comedy, *La dama di spirito geloso*, wrapped around an opera, *La guerriera costante* (libretto for both printed in Bracciano, 1683), was performed in the Orsini palace in Rome, known as the Palazzo Pasquino. Scarlatti's music for the small opera, *La guerriera costante* or *Fidalba e Oreste*, was performed as »drammetti in musica« following each act of the comedy.²⁶ Scarlatti also composed the opera *L'Arsate*, to a libretto by Flavio Orsini, Duke of Bracciano, for further Francophile celebrations. This »commedia grande« or »commedia in versi«, offers a love story among royals set in Cyprus. The score has not been recovered, though some of its arias were copied into seventeenth-century anthologies.²⁷

Orsini's *L'Arsate* libretto differs from most contemporary Italian libretti in its unconventional metrical arrangements, perhaps reflecting his Francophile interests. Featuring Scarlatti's music, the production was lavishly costumed and staged at the Orsini palace with financing from Antonio Lante della Rovere, Duke of Bomarzo and Prince of Belmonte, recently married in 1682 to Louise-Angelique Charlotte de la Trémouille, the sister of Orsini's wife, Marie-Anne de la Trémouille (later known as Princesse des Ursins). The 1683 Orsini-Lante festivities were politically significant in that they provided a platform for the introduction of Louise-Angelique Charlotte to Roman society and the resumption of Marie-Anne's activities on behalf of the

25 I-Vnm, Contarini MS It.IV.377 [9901], fols. 48v–49.

26 Detailed information about the score and vocal partbooks, I-Rvat, Barb. lat. 4230, is provided in Lindgren and Murata, *The Barberini Manuscripts of Music* (see note 13), pp. 477–481; Gloria Rose, *Tivo Operas by Scarlatti Recovered*, in: *The Musical Quarterly* 58 (1972), pp. 420–435, identified arias from *Fidalba e Oreste* in I-Vnm, MS It.IV.467 [9991]; the 1683 performance is contextualized in Anne-Madeleine Goulet, *Costumes, décors et machines dans l'Arsate (1683) d'Alessandro Scarlatti. Contribution à l'histoire de l'opéra à Rome au xviiie siècle*, in: *Dix-septième siècle* (2014), pp. 139–166.

27 Many extant arias are listed in Goulet, *Costumes, décors et machines dans l'Arsate*.

French cause (she had returned to Rome only the end of 1682 after a period in France).²⁸ But they did not lead to sustained employment for Scarlatti.

That Scarlatti's music was all the rage in 1683 seems clear from the status of his several patrons. But the fact that he accepted multiple commissions surely also suggests that he sought a stable, well-remunerated position, given his growing family and limited enthusiasm for some of the duties of his church positions.²⁹ Though he is still listed as »Maestro di Cappella« to Queen Christina as late as 1684 (in the libretti to *La Psiche*, printed Naples, December 1683 and the Neapolitan *Il Pompeo* of early 1684), it is likely that the queen's straightened finances beginning in 1683 simply could not provide the steady compensation and secure future that Scarlatti required.³⁰

Scarlatti and the Marquis del Carpio

Scarlatti's next position, as maestro of the royal chapel in Naples, surely resulted from his relationship during the period 1677–1682 in Rome with Gaspar de Haro y Guzmán, 7th marquis del Carpio, Spanish ambassador to the Holy See prior to his appointment as viceroy in Naples. Distinct from Scarlatti's other patrons, Carpio had been a hands-on producer of musical theater even prior to his time in Italy. At Madrid's royal court he had produced musical plays, zarzuelas, semi-operas, and two Spanish operas years before he first experienced Italian opera in Venice during carnival 1677.³¹ Carpio arrived in Rome on 13 March 1677 and became an elegant, colorful figure of especial interest to writers of avvisi, the *popolo*, and Roman ladies.

When Scarlatti's *Gli equivoci nel sembiante* received its Roman premiere in 1679, the avvisi already pointed to Carpio as among opera's supporters. 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,

28 See the detailed study in Goulet, *Costumes, décors et machines dans l'Arsate*; Anne-Madeleine Goulet, *The Princesse des Ursins, Loyal Subject of the King of France and Foreign Princess in Rome*, in: *Music and Diplomacy from the Early Modern Era to the Present*, ed. Rebekah Ahrendt, Mark Ferraguto, Damien Mahiet, New York 2014, pp. 191–207; eadem, *Il caso della principessa des Ursins a Roma (1675–1701) tra separatezza e integrazione culturale*, in: *Ricerche* 23 (2011), pp. 175–187; eadem, *La Musique à Rome dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle d'après les fonds d'archives familiales: le cas du fonds Lante Della Rovere*, in: *La Musique à Rome au XVIIe siècle* (see note 14), pp. 75–94.

29 Morelli, *Alessandro Scarlatti maestro di cappella* (see note 2), p. 117, underlines Scarlatti's preference for work as a theatrical composer.

30 According to Cametti, *Il teatro Tordinona* (see note 3), p. 71: »Nel 1683, nella considerazione che la Camera apostolica aveva bisogno di danaro per poter soccorrere l'imperatore contro i turchi, le fu tolta anche la pensione concessale dal Rospigliosi«.

31 Relevant information about Carpio's visit to Venice is provided in 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, José Vicente Quirante Rives, Madrid 2013, pp. 415–446.

which the Spanish ambassador, who wanted to hear it yesterday, asked to have performed in the daytime». ³² The first opera, performed 6 January 1679 at the Capranica theater, was Pasquini's *Dov'è amore è pieta*, ostensibly a revision of Cavalli's much earlier *Ipermestra*, but lacking the elaborate visual effects of the original. ³³ Because Pasquini's score does not survive, it is difficult to know why it was deemed »impossible to hear« and »universally judged a failure«. ³⁴ The second opera was Scarlatti's *Gli equivoci nel sembiante* setting a libretto by Domenico F. Contini and performed in a makeshift temporary theater »prepared by Monsignors Cesi and Bernini« at a house owned by the architect Giambattista Contini (the librettist's brother). ³⁵ Queen Christina sponsored further performances at the Collegio Clementino for the cardinals and nobility.

Carpio, the Spanish ambassador, surely heard *Gli equivoci nel sembiante*, but it is unclear why he requested a special daytime performance of the unidentified but widely-appreciated third opera of Duke Caffarelli. ³⁶ Perhaps the third opera was a revival of Scarlatti's *Amor quando si fugge allor si trova*, which Carpio probably attended at the Pamphilj estate the previous year. It enclosed just the kind of pro-Spanish statement that he would eagerly support, given its references to the Spanish-French battles at Messina (which Spanish forces had been winning by the end of 1677). The noble Sicilian protagonists, siblings Almidero and Lindora, are penniless and on the run to escape the violence of the French-supported revolt at Messina. ³⁷ Carpio himself had been involved in negotiations concerning Messina and toward the Trea-

32 I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, filza 3658, fol. 885v, letter of Enea de'Vecchi to Giovanni Filippo Marucelli, Rome, 8 February 1679; Ademollo, *I teatri di Roma* (see note 12), p. 157; D'Accone, *The History of a Baroque Opera* (see note 8), pp. 11 and 158; Giron-Panel, »Si elige Alessandro Scarlatti« (see note 14), p. 111. Concerning intrigues among patrons for this season, see Morelli, *La virtù in corte* (see note 20), pp. 52–58.

33 Morelli, *La virtù in corte*, pp. 148 f.; Franchi, *Drammaturgia romana* (see note 19), pp. 521 f.; D'Accone, *The History of a Baroque Opera* (see note 8), p. 16; one aria survives in I-MOe.

34 D'Accone, *The History of a Baroque Opera*, pp. 11, 16, translates »che non si può sentire« to mean it was »impossible to listen to«, and provides further detail about why it was a flop.

35 D'Accone, *The History of a Baroque Opera*, pp. 14 f., 150; see also id., *Ancora su l'opera prima di Scarlatti e la Regina* (see note 11) for stylistic analysis and notes about aria forms.

36 I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, filza 3658, fol. 885v, letter of Enea de'Vecchi to Giovanni Filippo Marucelli, Rome, 8 February 1679, transcribed in: D'Accone, *The History of a Baroque Opera*, pp. 11, 16, 158; Ademollo, *I teatri di Roma* (see note 12), p. 157.

37 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. 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)*, in: *Tiempos modernos. Revista electrónica de historia moderna* 2 (2001), <http://www.tiemposmodernos.org/tm3/index.php/tm/article/view/14/26#75.75> (18 June 2022).

ties of Nijmegen in February 1677, just after arriving in northern Italy.³⁸ Spain and France signed a treaty on 17 September 1678, but it was not until 5 February 1679 that Emperor Leopold I finally agreed to the peace with France, so Carpio might have mounted a second daytime production of a small opera between 5 and 8 February 1679 at Palazzo di Spagna to celebrate this peace. If the unnamed opera was indeed composed by Scarlatti, a Sicilian and thus an authentic credit to the Spanish crown, so much the better. *Amor quando si fugge allor si trova*, would certainly have suited the occasion. Morelli's identification of the libretto within a manuscript containing a text by ›principe Caffarelli‹ seems highly suggestive in light of the involvement of ›Signor Duca Chaffarelli‹ with the third opera of 1679.³⁹

The Scarlatti Family and the Quartiere Spagnolo

Scarlatti's relationship with the Spanish ambassador during his early years in Rome is difficult to piece together, but may have been more important than has been explained previously. Alessandro and his family lived within the ambassador's legal jurisdiction during Carpio's time in the Palazzo di Spagna. First, in 1676 and 1677, they were situated in the parish of Sant'Andrea delle Fratte at ›Strada nova in casa di Paolo Strada«. ⁴⁰ After the composer's marriage in 1678, Scarlatti and his wife moved within the parish into a building owned by Cavaliere Gian Lorenzo Bernini. The parish census of 23 April 1679 locates the 19-year-old ›Sr Alessandro Scarlatti, M di Musica« at ›Isola del Cavalier Bernini« with his wife Antonia, his infant son Pietro, his brother Francesco, his mother Eleonora, sister Anna Maria, a widow named Maddalena (perhaps his mother in law), and a servant.⁴¹ The sculptor himself, with family and servants, also lived in this block, in his own palace (›Palazzo proprio«).⁴²

38 See I-Vas, Senato III (secrete), Dispacci da Roma 1677–79, filze 188–192; extracts in Giuseppe De Vito, *Il Rubens »pintado« da Luca Giordano; ma quando?*, in: Ricerche sul '600 Napoletano 1998, Naples 1999, pp. 119–137; Stein, ›Para restaurar el nombre que han perdido estas Comedias« (see note 31), pp. 417 f., 440.

39 Morelli, *Amor quando si fugge allor si trova* (see note 11), p. 233 f. notes that another text by ›principe Caffarelli« (perhaps Giovan Pietro Caffarelli, duke of Assergi) is found in the same manuscript as the libretto; Lionnet, *A Newly Found Opera* (see note 11), briefly noted the role of Messina in the plot; but neither scholar has suggested this possible 1679 revival or a connection to the Spanish ambassador. Duke Giovanni Pietro Caffarelli later served as corago for the 1683 production of Scarlatti's *L'Arsate*, as pointed out in Goulet, *Costumes, décors et machines dans l'Arsate* (see note 26), pp. 152, 164, 166.

40 I-Rvic (Archivio Storico del Vicariato), Stati d'Anime, Sant'Andrea delle Frate, ›Registro delle anime« 1676 and 1677, reported in Luca Della Libera, *La musica sacra romana di Alessandro Scarlatti*, Berlin / Kassel 2018, pp. 35 f., 157 f.; see also Laura Bartoni, *Le vie degli artisti: residenze e botteghe nella Roma barocca dai registri di Sant'Andrea delle Fratte (1650–1699)*, Rome 2012, p. 248.

41 I-Rvic, Stati d'Anime, Sant'Andrea delle Frate, ›Registro delle anime« 68 (1679), n. p.; Bartoni, *Le vie degli artisti*, p. 272.

42 Bartoni, *Le vie degli artisti*, pp. 107–114.

His son, Pietro Filippo Bernini, served as godfather in 1679 to Scarlatti's first child, Pietro Filippo.⁴³ Sometime prior to the 18 March 1681 annual census taken in the parish of Sant'Andrea delle Frate, the Scarlatti family moved out of the Bernini property and relocated to Strada Felice, within the Spanish ambassador's jurisdiction and closer to the Spanish embassy.⁴⁴ The family included Scarlatti and his wife, Pietro, a new baby, Benedetto, Anna (designated »sorella di Antonia«), and the substitution of brother Giuseppe for Francesco. Just a year later (15 March 1682) the census lists the family with yet another new baby, Raimondo, still at »Viscolo [sic for Vicolo] di Porta Pinciano, Strada Felice«.⁴⁵ The Scarlatti family thus lived in what was likely a newer building within the *quartiere spagnolo* governed by Carpio and exempt from papal jurisdiction during a period in which the ambassador vigorously asserted his control of the quarter against efforts by the pope to cancel the special »immunity« of the diplomatic zones, on the excuse that they had become the refuge of prostitutes, gamblers, and hoodlums.⁴⁶ The immunity of the Spanish ambassador's zone was attractive to prostitutes because the area had been home to their profession before Palazzo di Spagna had been built earlier in the century. Piazza di Spagna was located not far from the Porta del Popolo with its many hostels and temporary lodging for newly-arrived foreign visitors.⁴⁷ One of Scarlatti's sisters may have worked as a prostitute; she had seduced and contracted a scandalous marriage to a cleric in 1679. This seems to have led the authorities to take a dim view of Alessandro too, though it is unclear to what extent he was threatened. Reportedly, the composer »ha un notabile pregiudicio con la Corte del Vicario per un matrimonio fatto alla macchia da sua sorella con un chierico«.⁴⁸ The success of *Gli equivoci nel sembiante* in February 1679 energized Scarlatti's supporters – Queen Christina acted swiftly to protect him.⁴⁹ Carpio likely offered his protection too, given the composer's move to Strada Felice within the quartiere, into a building owned and occupied by Mattia

43 Della Libera, *La musica sacra romana* (see note 40), p. 36.

44 I-Rvic, Stati d'Anime, Sant'Andrea delle Frate, »Registro delle anime« 70 (1681), fol. 27.

45 Ibid., »Registro delle anime« 71 (1682), fol. 19.

46 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 Alvariño, Bernardo J. García García, Madrid 2004, pp. 563–596.

47 Maximiliano Barrio Gonzalo, *El barrio de la embajada de España en Roma en la segunda mitad del siglo XVII*, in: *Hispania, Revista española de historia* 67 (2007), pp. 993–1024: 997.

48 Ademollo, *I teatri di Roma* (see note 12), pp. 157 f.; Edward J. Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti: His Life and Works*, ed. Frank Walker, London 1960, p. 24, and 239 f.; D'Accone, *The History of a Baroque Opera* (see note 8), pp. 12, 158; Roberto Pagano, *Alla ricerca della vera »Scarlatti«*, in: *Studi musicali* n. s. 6 (2015), pp. 131–147; Giron-Panel, »Si elige Alessandro Scarlatti« (see note 14), p. 111.

49 Cametti, *Cristina di Svezia* (see note 3), pp. 646 s.; D'Accone, *The History of a Baroque Opera* (see note 8), pp. 11–30, 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 others on behalf of Scarlatti and in light of the pope's attempts to banish theatrical performances, the pope's distress at the participation of chapel singers, and the fact that profit resulted from the tickets sold to private performances.

de Rossi,⁵⁰ principal architect to Benedetto Pamphilj.⁵¹ Carpio's close relationship with artists, architects, and other high-ranking patrons perhaps facilitated the family's relocation into the protected area.

Carpio received news of his appointment as viceroy of Naples in early September 1682 and departed Rome at the start of January 1683. Sometime after the 15 March 1682 census but before the 1683 census (30 March), the Scarlatti family left their lodgings on Strada Felice and moved to Strada Paolina, where they lived briefly until sometime between 11 March 1684 and their move to Naples. Their relocation to Strada Paolina happened just at the time that the residence of the Spanish ambassador was emptied because Carpio moved with his household to Naples.⁵² Soon after Carpio's 2 January 1683 departure, bailiffs swept through the Spanish quarter at the pope's orders, hunting down anyone suspected of illegal activity, and harassing, arresting, and jailing those who had been shielded previously.⁵³ The pope dissolved the immunity of the quartiere, in direct affront to the Spanish monarchy.

Scarlatti and his family were moved into the Spanish quarter and thus under Carpio's protection for at least two years, but then left Strada Felice at the same time that Carpio's embassy was dismantled. Strada Paolina (later joined to Via Babuino) flowed out of the Piazza di Spagna just to the north of the Palazzo di Propaganda Fide. It might be that only the beginning of this street belonged to the expanded quartiere spagnolo in this period.⁵⁴ Strada Paolina was home to a number of visual artists, many of them non-Roman, as well as to a community of Sicilians, with the Sicilian church and confraternity of the Madonna di Costantinopoli nearby.⁵⁵ If the Scarlatti family lived further along the street, in the direction of Piazza del Popolo, they moved outside the area to which Carpio had claimed jurisdiction, and thus outside the area brutally targeted by the pope's agents in January 1683.

The Scarlatti family became closely connected to the Schor family of Tyrolean artists in Rome, whose famous patriarch, Johann Paul Schor, had worked as a

50 On Rossi, see Anna Menichella, *Matthia de' Rossi, discepolo prediletto del Bernini*, Rome 1985; Bernini's »intimate though not very gifted pupil«, wielded considerable influence in Rome, according to Rudolf Wittkower, *Carlo Rainaldi and the Roman Architecture of the Full Baroque*, in: *The Art Bulletin* 19 (1937), pp. 242–313: 268; Irving Lavin, »Bernini's Death«, in: *The Art Bulletin* 54 (1972), pp. 159–186: 162, 186. Leticia M. de Frutos Sastre, *El Templo de la Fama: alegoría del Marqués del Carpio*, Madrid 2009, pp. 406f., 494, describes the close relationship between Carpio and the Bernini circle.

51 Concerning Rossi and the Pamphilj, see Alessandra Anselmi, *De Rossi, Matthia*, in: *Notizie degli architetti attivi a Roma tra il 1680 e il 1750*, In *Urbe Architectus. La professione dell'architetto, Roma 1680–1750*, ed. Bruno Cantardi and Giovanna Curcio, Rome 1991, pp. 357–360; and Menichella, *Matthia de' Rossi*, pp. 36–42; Carpio and Pamphilj shared many interests, paid each other visits, and both drew the pope's ire.

52 I-Rvic, Stati d'Anime, Sant'Andrea delle Frate, »Registro delle anime« 71, fols. 87–88.

53 Anselmi, *El marqués del Carpio y el barrio de la embajada* (see note 46), p. 572; Barrio Gonzalo, *El barrio de la embajada de España* (see note 47), p. 996, gives the dates as 14 and 15 January.

54 See the map from E-SIM provided as Fig. 8 in Alessandra Anselmi, *Il Palazzo dell'Ambasciata di Spagna presso la Santa Sede*, Rome 2001, p. 178.

55 Bartoni, *Le vie degli artisti* (see note 40), p. 60f.

designer for Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, among others. Carpio was a familiar client of the Schor workshop; Filippo Schor had even guided his viewing of the Colonna art collection in 1679.⁵⁶ Filippo designed the apparatus for Carpio's 1681 serenata, a production for which Scarlatti almost certainly provided music. In Naples, Carpio created an important salaried position for Schor as royal engineer.⁵⁷ Just a year later, he appointed Scarlatti *maestro* of the royal chapel. Schor and Scarlatti collaborated as stage engineer and composer for Carpio's Naples opera productions beginning in autumn 1683, though no documentation has surfaced to support Ulisse Prota-Giurleo's claim that Filippo Schor 'fetched' Scarlatti from Rome.⁵⁸ It seems that Carpio had recruited Scarlatti for the Naples position and encouraged the collaboration between Filippo and Alessandro during his time in Rome. The Schors had resided for many years in Piazza di Spagna at the foot of the Trinità dei Monti.⁵⁹ In 1684–1686, when both Filippo and Alessandro were mostly in Naples, the remaining Schors continued at the same address.⁶⁰ In 1687 and 1688, Anna Maria Scarlatti and Giuseppe Scarlatti joined the Schor household.⁶¹ In the census of 1689, Giuseppe is still with the Schor household, representing the last recognized co-habitation between the two families,⁶² though Schors continued at the same address into 1695 (Anna Scarlatti and her two servants had moved to Strada Fratina).⁶³

56 Natalia Gozzano, *La quadreria di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna. Prestigio nobiliare e collezionismo nella Roma barocca*, Rome 2004, p. 251.

57 On Schor in Naples, see Alba Cappellieri, *Filippo e Cristoforo Schor, «Regi Architetti e Ingegneri» alla Corte di Napoli*, in: *Capolavori in Festa. Effimero barocco a Largo di Palazzo (1683–1759)*, Naples 1997, pp. 73–78.

58 «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», Ulisse Prota-Giurleo, *Il teatro di corte del Palazzo Reale di Napoli*, Naples 1952, p. 37.

59 Jorge Fernández-Santos Ortiz-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 internationale Sprache des Barock*, ed. Christina Strunck, Munich 2008 (*Römische Studien der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 21), pp. 73–82: 73 f.; id., *Da Roma a Madrid, passando per Napoli: aggiunte su Philipp Schor, architetto e scenografo al servizio della monarchia spagnola*, in: *I rapporti tra Roma e Madrid nei secoli XVI e XVII: arte diplomazia e politica*, ed. Alessandra Anselmi, Rome 2015, pp. 656–679.

60 I-Rvic, Stati d'Anime, Sant'Andrea delle Frate, «Registro delle anime», 11 March 1684, 8 April 1685, 20 March 1686, fol. 1v; Fernández-Santos Ortiz-Iribas, *Da Roma a Madrid*, pp. 657–663, traces the close ties between Carpio and Filippo Schor.

61 I-Rvic, Stati d'Anime, Sant'Andrea delle Frate, «Registro delle anime», 13 March 1687, fol. 45v, 15 April 1688, fols. 1v and 40v; Fernández-Santos Ortiz-Iribas, *Da Roma a Madrid*, p. 672, cites these documents.

62 I-Rvic, Stati d'Anime, Sant'Andrea delle Frate, «Registro delle anime», 12 March 1695.

63 *Ibid.*, «Registro delle anime», 12 March 1695, fol. 76.

Scarlatti, Carpio, and the Sicilian Confraternity

Scarlatti very likely had joined the Sicilian confraternity, the Arciconfraternità di S. Maria Odigitria, at the church of the Madonna di Costantinopoli within the Spanish jurisdiction.⁶⁴ The confraternity's activities were relevant to the Spanish cause especially during the revolt in Messina supported by French troops that finally withdrew in January 1679. The marriage of Carlos II and Marie-Louise d'Orléans in November 1679 brought a temporary peace between France and Spain with celebrations in Rome. Carpio seems to have supported the confraternity financially and was impressed by Scarlatti's activity on behalf of the group.⁶⁵ When Carpio suggested that the confraternity organize a celebration after the 1679 royal marriage, Scarlatti, in attendance at the January 1680 meeting (perhaps even by prior agreement with the ambassador, as Ziino has suggested), 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.«⁶⁶ Scarlatti could only offer his services and those of other musicians without cost because he knew Carpio would provide compensation. In a similar way, Scarlatti and his peers performed for Queen Christina in September 1680 on their own initiative, expressing gratitude for her protection with a surprise *serenata* in the courtyard of her palace.⁶⁷ In June 1680 Carpio not only attended the celebration of the feast of the Madonna di Costantinopoli at this church, but contributed to the event's splendor with »arazzi e quadri di celeberrimi pittori.«⁶⁸ He exhibited portraits from his own collection of the king and the new queen dressed in French style.⁶⁹ Most likely, the mass for this feast day featured the Sicilian Scarlatti's music as well.

The public *serenata* that Carpio produced in the Piazza di Spagna on the evening of 25 August 1681 to celebrate the name-day of the new queen surely featured Scarlatti's music, though he is not named in the printed descriptions of the event or the surviving manuscript copy of the vocal music.⁷⁰ As was typical of the genre,

64 See Anselmi, *El marqués del Carpio y el barrio de la embajada* (see note 46), pp. 566–569; Barrio Gonzalo, *El barrio de la embajada de España* (see note 47); and Anselmi, *Il Palazzo dell'Ambasciata di Spagna* (see note 54).

65 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 2014, pp. 211–223; Ziino (pp. 218f.) suggests that Carpio may have been named Primicerio of the confraternity from 1680.

66 My translation from the extracts given in Ziino, *Alessandro Scarlatti »Proveditor di chiesa«, pp. 221 f.*; and Giuseppe M. Croce, *L'Arciconfraternita di S. Maria Odigitria dei siciliani in Roma: profilo storico, 1593–1970*, Rome 1994, pp. 53f.

67 E-PAbm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 11, fol. 12, 4 September 1680; this notice directly follows one that reports the queen's delight after »comici di Capranica« had decided to produce an opera by Scarlatti (*Tutto il mal non vien per nuocere*) instead of one by Pasquini.

68 I-Rvat, Barb. lat. 6422, fol. 277, avviso of 15 June 1680.

69 E-PAbm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 10, fol. 184, 15 June 1680.

70 The descriptive account is Francisco Antonio de Montalvo, *Descripción de las Fiestas con que cele-*

this serenata includes arias and short recitatives; many of the latter close with *cavate* underlining allegorical concepts or words relevant to the political occasion. The recitative sung by La Fama to introduce the seventh aria («*Perche de suoi fasti / il suono rimbomba*») alludes to the Spanish king («*Giove Hispano*»), the monarchy («*l'Eroica maestà del genio Ibero*»), and Carpio («*famoso Gaspar*»). The recitative for Tebro and Fama before the ninth aria (Pace's allegro «*S'involi pur, s'involi ogni stupor da tè*») refers to the 8th Duke of Medinaceli («*dell'Atlante Hispano l'altera Prole di Cerda ed' Aragona honore*») and queen «*Maria Luigia*», as «*sol di bellezza*». Pace's final aria, «*Vada pur il Gange altero / d'ingemar la cuna al sol*», is a beautifully lyrical setting of a poetic text praising the queen's beauty. The strikingly direct, focused motivic material of the arias accords with Scarlatti's approach in this period, especially with pervasive bass *ostinati*, propulsive bass figures, brilliant counterpoint, illustrative text setting, and rich harmony with occasional unusual harmonic shifts.

The strophic aria sung by La Pace, «*Lieta prole di regii sponsali / ristoro de mali la Pace son io*», is an encomium of the dynastic union with an audibly Spanish tune. Musically, the aria is an *españolito*, among the «*revered old tunes and dances*» («*tañidos y danzas antiguas*») associated with royal Spanish occasions.⁷¹ Pace's aria sustains the allegory with an audibly Spanish reference for the queen's special day. The composer (most likely Scarlatti) adapted the *españolito*, enlivening and modernizing the harmony.

An engraving by Giuseppe Tiburzio Vergelli illustrates how Schor's ephemeral decorations for this serenata filled Piazza di Spagna.⁷² Hundreds of torches trans-

*bró el Real Nombre de la Reyna N. Sra. Doña María Luisa de Orleans, Rome 1681, dedicated to Carpio's daughter, Doña Catalina de Haro y Guzmán, in: I-Rn, Misc. VAL. 722/7; and E-PAbm, Embajada de Roma, tomo 53. The anonymous copy of the vocal music, Perche si cessa armoniose corde is GB-Lam, MS 128, pp. 25–120. The text is I-Rvat, 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 Fede. In ossequio dell'Excellentissimo Signor Marchese dal Carpio Ambasciator [...] Cantata in Roma la sera di S. Luigi nella Piazza di Spagna, Rome 1681, a large-sized commemorative printing; other libretto sources are I-Rvat, Chigi Misc. IV 2236, fols. 118–121, and a manuscript copy in I-Rvat, Barb. lat. 3873, fols. 44–47v. I-Rvat, RG.ArteArch.IV.1 (21) and I-Rvat, Barb. lat. 3873, fols. 44–47v name Giuseppe Fede as having «disposta» the serenata. The poetry is attributed to «Sr. de Totis» (Giuseppe Domenico De Totis) in I-Ras, *Ephemerides Cartariae* 88, fols. 53v–55v, as pointed out in Arnaldo Morelli, *La musica a Roma nella seconda metà del Seicento*, in: *La musica a Roma attraverso le fonti d'archivio*, ed. Bianca Maria Antolini, Arnaldo Morelli, Vera Vita Spagnuolo, Lucca 1994, pp. 107–136: 115, 130.*

71 Juan de Esquivel Navarro, *Discursos sobre el arte del danzado, y sus excelencias*, Seville 1642, fol. 38; instrumental variation sets on the *españolito* were more common than vocal settings; see Maurice Esses, *Dance and Instrumental Diferencias in Spain during the 17th and Early 18th Centuries*, Stuyvesant / NY 1994, vol. 2, pp. 138–164. An eight-part Christmas *villancico* on the *españolito* with eight solo *coplas*, E-Bc, MS Mus. 748 «*Serafin que, con dulce armonía*», by the Catalan monk Joan Cererols, describes the comforting presence of the «*serafin*» of peace watching over the birth and suffering of the Christ; see Joan Cererols, ed. David Pujol, *Montserrat 1930–1932 (Mestres de l'Escolania de Montserrat)*, vol. 2, pp. 73–87.

72 The engraving (Rome, Museo di Roma) is reproduced in *L'effimero barocco*, ed. Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco and Silvia Carandini, 2 vols., Rome 1977, vol 1, pp. 296f.; and Anselmi, *Il Palazzo*

formed the piazza as music floated up from the very center of the quartiere, »as if it were sounding spontaneously«. Montalvo's *relación* notes »anyone would have said that Orpheus and the Sirens played and sang like el Boloñez and Paolucho«. ⁷³ »El Boloñez« was Arcangelo Corelli, the *violino primo* who led the large orchestra (the number 70 is mentioned in one account) and whose »sinfonia di molti strumenti« opened and closed the entertainment. ⁷⁴ Three male soloists sang as Fama, Pace, and Il Tebro. ⁷⁵ »Paoluccio« was the soprano castrato Paolo Pompeo Besci (also found as »Besce« and »Beschi«) who, like Scarlatti, first served Queen Christina and then was hired for Naples. ⁷⁶ The arias assigned to La Fama in this 1681 serenata seem designed for Paoluccio's powerful high soprano voice. ⁷⁷ The first, »*Perche chiaro rimbombi il gran nome*« in D major, features a trumpet obbligato and a majestic virtuoso vocal line reaching to high b^2 and as low as e^1 , while La Fama's second aria, »*Risplende, risplende sul Tago con luce novella*«, an E minor adagio, is decorated with intricate melismatic writing.

dell'Ambasciata di Spagna (see note 54), p. 179; E-PAbm, *Embajada de Roma*, tomo 53, contains a 27 August 1681 letter from Carpio to Medinaceli, together with a little-known exemplar of the engraving and Montalvo, *Descripción de las Fiestas* (see note 70), enumerating the material and visual symbols displayed in the piazza and over the door of the embassy.

73 Montalvo, *Descripción de las Fiestas*, fol. 3: »Y estavan en el Teatro los músicos, y habiendo cautivado las atenciones, la dulce armonía de los instrumentos, començó 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«.

74 I-Ras, »Ephemerides Cartariae« 88, fols. 54v–56; see Morelli, *La musica a Roma nella seconda metà del Seicento* (see note 70), pp. 115, 130; *Concerto di sinfonie con 60 instrumenti*, in: D-Mbs, *Cod Italicus* 193, cited in Thomas Griffin, *Alessandro Scarlatti e la serenata a Roma e a Napoli*, in: *La musica a Napoli durante il Seicento*, ed. Domenico D'Alessandro and Agostino Ziino, Rome 1987, pp. 351–368; concerning Corelli's orchestra, see especially John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650–1815*, Oxford 2004, pp. 105–136.

75 Innocent XI frowned upon public performances by women and even expressed irritation when three »celebre cantarine« sang a private serenata in the cortile of the Colonna palace on Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna's onomastic day, the feast of San Lorenzo, noted in E-PAbm, *Avisos de Roma*, tomo 13, fol. 217, 1681.

76 Both are listed as serving Queen Christina in the Naples libretti to *La Psiche* and *Il Pompeo*. In Naples, Besci 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., vol. 3, pp. 132f., 138f., 141ff.; Guido Olivieri, *Per una storia della tradizione violinistica napoletana del '700*, in: *Fonti d'archivio per la storia della musica e dello spettacolo a Napoli tra XVI e XVIII secolo*, ed. Paologiovanni Maione, Naples 2001, pp. 230ff., 244f.; Jean Lionnet, *La Musique à San Giacomo degli Spagnoli*, in: *La musica a Roma attraverso le fonti* (see note 70), pp. 479–506; and Gloria Staffieri, *Colligite fragmenta. La vita musicale romana negli »Avvisi Marescotti« (1683–1707)*, Lucca 1990, p. 43.

77 On Besci's singing, see Louise K. Stein, »*Escuchando a Calderón? Arias y Cantantes en L'Aldimiro y La Psiche de Alessandro Scarlatti*«, in: *La Comedia Nueva e le scene italiane nel Seicento: trame, drammaturgie, contesti a confronto*, ed. Fausta Antonucci and Anna Tedesco, Florence 2016, pp. 199–219.

The music for this serenata is preserved without attribution but is likely Scarlatti's, though the printed Montalvo *relación* states that the performance was »put together« (»disposta da«) by Giuseppe Fede, Fede is not known to have been a composer but perhaps he helped to recruit the serenata's large number of performers.⁷⁸ He had been singing in Roman entertainments for over 20 years, advised the Spanish churches as they organized musical forces,⁷⁹ sang in the papal chapel, and sang in, and for a time directed, the choir at San Giacomo degli Spagnoli.⁸⁰ He had introduced himself musically to Carpio at least as early as July 1680, when »the Fedes« surprised the ambassador with an impromptu serenata in the hope of winning his patronage.⁸¹ One of the Fede castrati may have performed as La Pace in the 1681 serenata.⁸²

Scarlatti Maestro in Naples

Scarlatti's contributions to Spanish dynastic celebrations in Rome shed light on how his appointment as *maestro* of the Neapolitan royal chapel came about, though it is highly significant that *Gli equivoci nel sembiante* already had been performed for dynastic occasions in Naples prior to Carpio's tenure as viceroy. It was the closing event in a cycle commemorating the Spanish-French royal marriage when it was staged in March 1680 at the palace of Domenico Carafa, Duke of Maddaloni, and then restaged in December 1681 at the viceroy's palace for Mariana de Austria's birthday (followed by performances at the public theater).

78 In an earlier essay, 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: musica, poesia, scenotecnica*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, ed. Nicolò Maccavino, Reggio Calabria 2007, vol. 2, pp. 333–372: 344 f., I erroneously understood »disposta da« to signify that Fede was the composer; I offer copious thanks to Arnaldo Morelli for suggesting otherwise. Concerning Fede, see Morelli, *La virtù in corte* (see note 20), *passim*; Carolyn Gianturco, *Cristina di Svezia scenarista per Alessandro Stradella*, in: *Convegno internazionale Cristina di Svezia e la musica* (see note 3), pp. 45–69: 64; and Remo Giazotto, *Quattro secoli di storia dell'Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia*, Rome 1970, p. 169 and *passim*; according to Tamburini, *Due teatri* (see note 7), pp. 38 f., 187, Fede lived in the Colonna household in 1669.

79 Lionnet, *La Musique à San Giacomo degli Spagnoli* (see note 76), pp. 488–491.

80 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 to replace Nicolò Stamegna. Documents in Rome, Biblioteca de la Iglesia Nacional Española en Roma, Obra Pía de Santiago, N.III.1137, *Libro de recibidas de las mesadas que se dan a los Músicos, desde primero de Henero de este año de 1668*. See also the summary in Lionnet, *La Musique à San Giacomo degli Spagnoli*, pp. 488–491.

81 »Li musicci Fede che per esser vecchi nell'arte sanno il 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 habbia il Concorso che haveva gli altri anni«, E-PAbm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 10, fol. 394, 31 July 1680.

82 For »Francesco Maria Fede, musico castrato« in a humorous avviso, see E-PAbm, Avisos de Roma, tomo 13, fol. 218v.

By appointing Scarlatti as maestro, Carpio famously passed over the Neapolitan Francesco Provenzale, the chapel's *de facto* musical director and »maestro onorario« during the illness of Pietro Andrea Ziani (died 12 February 1684). He probably distrusted the Neapolitan's ties to the chapel's *cappellano maggiore*, Geronimo Della Marra, and obvious power among local musicians.⁸³ Aware of the success of Scarlatti's operas in autumn and winter 1683, Della Marra wrote to Carpio on 9 February 1684 in Spanish, warning him against appointing another »foreign subject from an opposing nation« (»extrangero súbdito de Nación opuesta«) and encouraging him to reward those loyal to the crown.⁸⁴ The letter is puzzling in that Scarlatti was foreign only as a non-Neapolitan. He was a Spanish subject, just as the Neapolitans were, and he had already demonstrated his fealty to the Spanish cause in Rome. Maybe another »foreign« candidate (perhaps another northerner) had been recommended to Carpio at the same time.⁸⁵ The diarist Domenico Confuorto noted that Scarlatti was chosen »in concorrenza d'altri virtuosi patrioti« (talented Neapolitans).⁸⁶ By 15 February 1684, it was known that Carpio had named Scarlatti as maestro,⁸⁷ though Scarlatti's administrative request for the position is dated 16 February.⁸⁸ The very next week, Provenzale and his adherents threatened to leave their posts.⁸⁹ When

83 Dinko Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples: Francesco Provenzale (1624–1704)*, Aldershot Hampshire 2007, pp. 224f.; Prota-Giurleo, *Il teatro di corte del Palazzo Reale di Napoli* (see note 58), p. 32, explains that Della Marra was »amico ed estimatore [...] del Provenzale« a point accepted by Roberto Pagano, *Alessandro e Domenico Scarlatti: due vite in una*, Lucca 2015, 2 vols., vol. 1, p. 64.

84 The now-lost document in Spanish was preserved in I-Nas, *Varietà del Cappellano Maggiore*, Consulte, fasc. 48; see Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples*, pp. 224f.; Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli nel secolo XVII* (see note 76), vol. 3, pp. 137ff., 329f.

85 Francesco Valsini's libretto to Giacomo Antonio Perti's *Marzio Coriolano*, produced in 1683 at the Teatro SS Giovanni e Paolo in Venice, carries a 20 January 1683 dedication to Carpio (I-MOe, 83.F12.5); in February 1683, despite Ziani's ill health, Carpio had received from the marquis de Villagarcía, Spanish ambassador in Venice, a letter dated 10 February 1683 recommending Ziani (»súbdito de esta Republica«), given his talent and service to the previous viceroy; E-Mn, MS 7947, fol. 522.

86 *Giornali di Napoli dal MDCLXXIX al MDCIC*, ed. Nicola Nicolini, 2 vols., Naples: Luigi Lubrano, 1930–1931, vol. 1, p. 119.

87 »Essendo passato all'altra vita l'Abbate Ziani, celebre compositore di Musica, e che era maestro di Cappella di Palazzo, al Sr 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, anco nazionali che erano in concorrenza, non senza loro gran rammarico e mortificazione«; I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, filza 4122, Naples, 15 February 1684, letter from Giovanni Pietro Cella in Naples to Francesco Panciatici in Florence. Dent 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; see Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti* (see note 48), pp. 34 and 238; this date is confirmed in Paologiovanni Maione, *Il mondo musicale seicentesco e le sue istituzioni: la Cappella Reale di Napoli (1650–1700)*, in: Francesco Cavalli. *La circolazione dell'opera veneziana nel Seicento*, ed. Dinko Fabris, Naples 2005, pp. 309–341: 313.

88 A document confirming Scarlatti's 16 February 1684 supplica is provided in Maione, *Il mondo musicale seicentesco e le sue istituzioni*, p. 313; see also Della Libera, *La musica sacra romana* (see note 40), p. 39.

89 »Essendo stato dichiarato per nuovo Maestro di Cappella di Palazzo lo scritto Scarlatti, partirà

it became known that Scarlatti was to prepare and direct the Holy Week music to be sung by the regular chapel musicians together with the three castrati who remained in Naples after the 1684 carnival operas, the participation of »mercenary musicians« provoked the resignation of six chapel singers and their leader, Provenzale.⁹⁰ Not surprisingly, replacements with operatic experience were appointed from among musicians known to Scarlatti and Carpio in Rome.

Carpio's selection of Scarlatti as his chapel-master has sometimes been overshadowed by speculation about other possible patrons.⁹¹ But only the sovereign's representative could issue commands affecting the membership and leadership of the Royal Chapel. Likewise, opera could flourish only with the viceroy's investment. Productions financed by the viceroy to commemorate the royal birthdays in November and December were necessary because the proceeds of the carnival operas alone could not sustain a full season. Intent on raising the standard of opera production, Carpio departed from established precedent to provide stable employment for the indispensable elements of a resident company – Scarlatti, Schor, and excellent singers.⁹² A special Cappella Reale at the huge Basilica of Santa Maria del Carmine for the birthday of Carlos II in November 1683 had already featured the three most famous singers, as well as some eighty musicians, »cosa non più veduta«.⁹³

questo dentro la presente settimana per Roma ad accomodare alcuni suoi affari e piantar casa qua. L'elezione 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 doppio Pasqua per affrancare la perdita di chi s'è 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, filza 4122, Naples, 22 February 1684, Giovanni Pietro Cella to Francesco Panciaticchi. See further documents in Maione, *Il mondo musicale seicentesco e le sue istituzioni*, pp. 313 ff.

90 See Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples* (see note 83), pp. 15, 19, 222, 224 f.; Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli nel secolo XVII* (see note 76), vol. 3, pp. 138–143.

91 In Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti* (see note 48), pp. 34–38, the account of Scarlatti's hiring in Naples dissolves in speculation; Prota-Giurleo, *Il teatro di corte del Palazzo Reale di Napoli* (see note 58), pp. 38 f., provides the undocumented assertion that the Duke and Duchess of Maddaloni »seized the opportune moment to conquer the position of Maestro della R. 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 2006, pp. 20 f. notes merely that Carpio recognized Scarlatti's »dazzling Roman ascent«; Pagano, *Alessandro e Domenico Scarlatti: due vite in una* (see note 83), vol. 1, pp. 55 f., prioritizes the influence of the duke and duchess of Maddaloni, without excluding Carpio's involvement.

92 Regarding Carpio's desire to restore »to the theater in this city the credit and applause that it had lost in recent years«, see Stein, »Para restaurar el nombre que han perdido estas Comedias« (see note 31), pp. 415–446; »the participation of opera singers in liturgical functions was an absolute novelty for Naples« according to Alessandro Scarlatti, *Concerti sacri, opera seconda*, ed. Luca Della Libera, Middleton / WI 2009 (Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era 153), Introduction, p. IX.

93 *Giornali di Napoli dal MDCLXXIX al MDCIC* (see note 86), vol. 1, p. 110.

Scarlatti and Opera in Naples to 1687

Scarlatti's involvement in the administration of the Naples productions is difficult to gauge. He had gathered some of the opera singers and musicians in Rome prior to the 1683–1684 season.⁹⁴ His brief tenure as maestro di cappella at San Girolamo della Carità in Rome had begun in 1682 (while Carpio was also in Rome) and extended through the *fiesta* for San Girolamo (30 September) 1683.⁹⁵ From San Girolamo della Carità three performers were brought to Naples: Pietro Ugolini (archileuto), Paoluccio, and the violinist »Giovan« (probably Giovanni Carlo Cailò) were hired into the royal chapel and performed in Carpio's operas.⁹⁶ Scarlatti may have negotiated their financial arrangements. Entrusted with the hiring of an orchestra, he is listed twice on the 25 September 1683 notarial document that records a binding contract between the Florentine financiers Alessandro Guidetti and Filippo Maria Gondi and the production team of 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 recorded that Scarlatti has selected five instrumentalists for the orchestra (»A cinque Musici d'Istrumenti per l'Orchestra nominandi dal Sig. Alessandro Scarlati«).⁹⁷ On the other hand, the singers were contracted individually and the sums advanced to them were higher than, or on par with, what is listed for Scarlatti himself. Significantly, the document ties together the palace productions and those at the public theater, showing that an entire season was planned to open at the palace with the November and December royal birthdays. Later documents suggest that the recruitment funds advanced by the financiers to Schor, Vaccaro, and Della Torre were supplied by Carpio in the first place.

Three Scarlatti operas were featured in the 1683–1684 Naples season: *L'Aldimiro o vero Favor per favore* was designed for the birthday of Carlos II in November 1683, followed by *La Psiche* to honor of the Queen Mother Mariana de Austria's birthday (though its premiere was delayed until January 1684), and a revised *Il Pompeo* for carnival 1684. *L'Aldimiro* was De Totis' first libretto for Carpio and the first altogether new Italian libretto commissioned for Naples in many years.⁹⁸ It initiated a trio of

94 As reported as late as 16 October 1683: »Cominciano a radunarsi quei musici, che devon andar a Napoli nel prossimo carnevale per rappresentar diverse opere in questo nuovo teatro, e presto ne cominceran le prove dovendo andarvi anco di qua gli instrumentisti«; Staffieri, *Colligate fragmenta* (see note 76), p. 55.

95 Morelli, *Alessandro Scarlatti maestro di cappella* (see note 2), pp. 119f.

96 Olivieri, *Per una storia della tradizione violinistica* (see note 76), pp. 230ff., 244f.

97 I-Nas, Notai del Seicento, Geronimo de Roma, di Salerno, Sch. 1214, prot. 23, fol. 583v–587; Olivieri, *Per una storia della tradizione violinistica*, pp. 231 f., provides an accurate transcription; Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli nel secolo XVII* (see note 76), vol. 3, pp. 132ff., 326ff., provides an incomplete transcription.

98 The libretto includes a cast list and attribution to »Sig. Alessandro Scarlati Maestro di Cappella«; the dedication is dated 6 November 1683; I-Bu, A.V.Tab.I.E.III.22a.6; Sartori, *I libretti* (see note 17), 00667.

De Totis libretti (with *La Psiche* and *Il Fetonte*, the latter for the king's birthday 1685) based on Spanish plays by Pedro Calderón de la Barca that Carpio himself had produced or readied for production years earlier in Madrid. Carpio had also produced the source plays for *L'Aldimiro* and *La Psiche* in Rome in 1682 at the Spanish embassy.⁹⁹

Extensive work was lavished on the preparation of the stage, scenery, and seating for *L'Aldimiro* at the palace for the 6 November 1683 royal birthday, such that a »new and more majestic theater« was prepared.¹⁰⁰ *L'Aldimiro*'s first performance was given in the dismantable theater at the palace,¹⁰¹ following the Spanish custom. The Florentine agent described it as »more or less in the manner of a rehearsal« because of the small audience and dismantable theater. A second private performance for the nobility took place on 11 November when the overflowing audience was too big even for the Sala Grande.¹⁰² An extended run at the public Teatro di San Bartolomeo continued apparently through 14 December, possibly even until as late as 20 December when construction of new sets began for *La Psiche*.¹⁰³

L'Aldimiro was strikingly original and immediately successful.¹⁰⁴ The production required 18 different sets beyond the prologue (most operas called for just 10 or 12

99 The source play for *L'Aldimiro*, Calderón's *Fineza contra fineza*, received its premiere in Vienna in 1671 for the birthday of the empress Margarita (daughter of Philip IV). Its first public performance took place in Madrid in December 1682, months after Carpio's carnival 1682 Roman production, but prior to De Totis' libretto. The relationship between the comedia and the De Totis libretto was revealed by Norbert Dubowy, in *Identity and Poetic Style: The Case of Rosmene by Giuseppe Domenico de Totis*, in: *Music as Social and Cultural Practice: Essays in Honour of Reinhard Strohm*, ed. Melania Bucciarelli and Berta Joncus, Woodbridge 2007, pp. 199–214; see also Lorenzo Bianconi, *Funktionen des Operntheaters in Neapel bis 1700 und die Rolle Alessandro Scarlatti*, in: *Colloquium Alessandro Scarlatti*, Würzburg 1975, ed. Wolfgang Osthoff and Jutta Ruile-Dronke, Tutzing 1979, pp. 13–116; Stein, »Para restaurar el nombre que han perdido estas Comedias« (see note 31), pp. 415–446; 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 2013, pp. 209–249; and eadem, »Escuchando a Calderón?« (see note 77), pp. 199–219.

100 The extant undated manuscript of *L'Aldimiro*, US-BEm, MS 141, was probably copied for a production in Livorno; see John H. Roberts, *The Music Library, University of California, Berkeley*, in: *Library Quarterly* 64 (1994), pp. 73–84: 79; as well as <http://berkeley.edu/news/media/releases/96legacy/scarlatti.html>. Many anthologies contain arie staccate concordant with arias in this score; see Dubowy and Fabris, art. *Scarlatti* (see note 16); Rostirolla, *Catalogo generale delle opere di Alessandro Scarlatti* (see note 17), p. 336; Stein, »Escuchando a Calderón?«; and Mauro Amato, *Le antologie di arie e cantate tardo-seicentesche alla Biblioteca del Conservatorio S. Pietro a Majella di Napoli*, 2 vols., Tesi di Dottorato di Ricerca–VII Ciclo, Cremona, Scuola di Paleografia e Filologia Musicale, 1998.

101 »La sera del sabato sudetto fu a Palazzo recitata per la prima volta l'opera in quell'novo, e maestoso Teatro, e fu fatta per l'Armada sudetta benché pensasse Sua Eccellenza farla pubblica ma risolve nella detta forma per vedere come riusciva, et in effetto restò assai applaudita.« I-Rasv, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 95, fol. 812v, 9 November 1683.

102 I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, filza 1598, 7 and 9 November 1683, letters from Giovanni Berardi in Naples to Appollonio Bassetti in Florence.

103 I-Rasv, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 95, fol. 945v.

104 »piacque indicibilmente, così per le apparenze, come per i musici, e sopra tutto vieni applaudito il Teatro delle scene«, I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, filza 1598, 9 November 1683, Giovanni Berardi in Naples to Appollonio Bassetti in Florence.

in this period).¹⁰⁵ The opera moves swiftly. Scarlatti created strong affective juxtapositions among voices and ranges, melodic types, aria forms, and between short and more expansive arias (fully-scored arias versus those accompanied by basso continuo alone). The music feels action-packed and the characters sound as distinct individuals because Scarlatti crafted roles especially for singers whose voices he knew well.

Some idea of Scarlatti's music for *L'Aldimiro* can be gleaned by understanding the principal characters. The strident high-soprano title role of Aldimiro, assigned to Paolo Pompeo Besci, »Paoluccio«, features 17 arias, along with recitative scenes and duets. It calls for stamina and versatility, with both fiery rage arias and gentler pathetic ones. Aldimiro has a high tessitura (c^2 to g^2) and a range from d^1 to b^2 . The arias emphasize the »voce di testa«; many call for the singer to initiate phrases on very high notes. The role favors major keys (C, G, D, A, and B major on the sharp side, and B-flat major on the flat side) in keeping with the title character's forceful nature. Scarlatti consistently assigned *voce di testa* passages for Aldimiro's angry arias and employed a lower range for his pathetic arias, perhaps to allow the castrato to display both versatility and sustained high notes. Indeed, the association of high notes with angry outbursts in Aldimiro's arias would seem to contradict Tosi's explicit advice that »the higher the Notes, the more it is necessary to touch them with Softness to avoid Screaming«.¹⁰⁶ Delicacy was required as well in the many repetitive fast-note scale figures that revealed beauty of tone rather than fiery agility. Scarlatti accommodated Besci with many high-pitched opportunities for the *messa di voce*, and these are placed almost exclusively in Aldimiro's arias. On the other hand, Aldimiro's coloratura passages retain a remarkable consistency across the aria types. From the start, Aldimiro's energetic melismas push the action forward, in contrast to arias for other male characters that lack this kind of melismatic virtuosity.

Completely different characteristics pertain to Lucimoro, whose extended recitative passages demand special histrionic skill. This role may have been imagined first for Giovanni Francesco Grossi (who failed to arrive in time for rehearsals) and then adjusted to suit Giuseppe Costantini. From his first aria, »*Astri fieri che splendetes*« (I,11) the listener understands that Lucimoro is maligned by fate to conceal his love for Dorisbe. His clever, somber masculinity contrasts with Aldimiro's showy stri-

105 The famous production of Legrenzi's *Totila* at the Teatro SS Giovanni e Paolo in Venice exhibited 11 sets; Sartorio's Venetian *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* 12; Viviani's 1678 Venetian revision of the Minato-Cavalli *Scipione Africano* also called for 12, whereas Viviani's *Mitilene* produced in Naples in 1681 by Gennaro delle Chiavi called for 14 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«. Several of the sets for the Naples premiere of *L'Aldimiro* referenced the redecorated rooms in Carpio's palace filled with portraits and antiquities he brought from Rome.

106 Pier Francesco Tosi, *Opinioni de' cantori antichi, e moderni o sieno osservazioni sopra il canto figurato*, Bologna 1723, pp. 11 f.: »Avverta però, che quanto più le note son' alte, tanto più bisogna toccarle con dolcezza per evitar gli strilli«. *Observations on the Florid Song*, trans. John Ernest Galliard, London 1743, p. 19: »Let him take care, however, that the higher the Notes, the more it is necessary to touch them with Softness, to avoid Screaming«.

dency. Lucimoro protests and laments, such that his arias traverse mostly minor keys. Scarlatti underlines the »fierceness« of destiny (*«Astri fieri»*) in Lucimoro's first aria with an insistent, threatening repeating bass figure (in B minor), while the vocal line exhibits strength of character through determined repeated notes that sound despite the orchestral threat. The aria's striking dissonances require precise intonation. The vocal melody here is largely conjunct and syllabic, with affectively-charged semitone figures. Lucimoro closes act 1 filled with jealousy in *«Alme ree, che nel regno de'pianti»*, an exciting F minor fully-scored aria with a long ritornello and concitato figures for the infernal »flames« of jealousy.

The central female protagonists in *L'Aldimiro*, Arsinda and Dorisbe lack the moral complexity of Calderón's *damas* but Scarlatti's arias convey their amorous longing and changing affective states. Arsinda and Dorisbe sing eleven arias each with challenging music. Their different musical characters 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. Of her eleven arias, five are fully scored and feature vocal strength and projection.

While Arsinda is the first to confront Aldimiro and her boldness prevents his destruction of the temple in the opening scenes, she sings 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*², Arsinda's highest note in the opera, without preparation, emphasizing feminine valor. Arsinda's first fully-scored aria arrives as late as II,11, *«Se vergin'imbelle»*, with unaccompanied openings to the first and second vocal statements, 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 motives. Scarlatti cleverly frames Arsinda by only gradually pulling the orchestra into supportive conversation with her vocal melody. Arsinda first sings her own motive against the orchestra but then takes the lead, especially in the final phrase »d'abbattere il Re«, as if prescient of her final victory.

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 requires vocal stamina and sings more fully-scored arias. Her arias are a bit flashier, with both impressive melismas and opportunities for the *messa di voce*. Arsinda comes into her own through arias that convey delicacy but demand precision, control, and tuning. Four of them deploy the voice in hauntingly beautiful unaccompanied entries. Teresa Laura Rossi's voice may have been softer than Zuffi's, since Scarlatti assigned her fewer fully-scored arias. As if to bring forth her inner beauty one last time, Arsinda's last aria, the C major *«Dolci sguardi»*, which closes the opera, finishes with a sustained note that grants her the last word and a concluding *messa di voce* (an opportunity previously enjoyed most often by other characters).

* * *

The second opera of the 1683–1684 Naples season, *La Psiche, ovvero Amore innamorato*, was very successful.¹⁰⁷ The libretto by De Totis is based on *Ni amor se libra de amor*, an erotically charged musical play by Calderón de la Barca, on the story of Cupid and Psyche.¹⁰⁸ Only a partial list of apparenze is given in the front-matter of the libretto, and some of the scene changes lack proper cues in the stage directions (an issue common to Spanish comedia texts as well). Visual and musical special attractions include elaborate effects produced by sets, stage machines, and lighting, together with the sound of a highly recruited alto castrato, Grossi, as well as the expected comic scenes. *La Psiche* was intended for the queen mother's birthday (22 December), but on that date the construction of the scenery and stage effects had just begun. Grossi's late arrival, illness among the cast, and the time needed to coordinate the special effects contributed to the delays; the palace premiere finally occurred on 4 January 1684, with abundant refreshments for Carpio's invited guests.¹⁰⁹

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.¹¹⁰ A »sinfonia« emanates from the temple as Arsida and Lidoro arrive to marry Psyche's sisters. An offstage choir from within the temple acclaims Psyche (I,6 and 7), despite her well-reasoned objections (she fears that Venus will become jealous and seek revenge). In a spectacular solo scene, Amore, masked as a deity, makes his entrance in Venus' chariot pulled by six doves that are then set loose (I,8).

107 No complete score for *La Psiche* has been located; a complete list of the extant arias was presented in Louise K. Stein, *Scarlatti's La Psiche: Arias and Production*, paper for the 15th Biennial International Conference on Baroque Music, University of Southampton, July 2012; see eadem, *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 2021, pp. 39–60; Amato, *Le antologie di arie e cantate tardo-seicentesche alla Biblioteca del Conservatorio S. Pietro a Majella di Napoli* (see note 100); Duboway and Fabris, art. *Scarlatti* (see note 16); Stein, *¿Escuchando a Calderón?* (see note 77); and Lindgren and Murata, *The Barberini Manuscripts of Music* (see note 13), pp. 148–151.

108 Nancy D'Antuono, *Il teatro in musica: tra fonti spagnole e commedia dell'arte*, in: *Commedia dell'arte e spettacolo in musica tra Sei e Settecento*, ed. Alessandro Lattanzi and Paologiovanni Matione, Naples 2003, pp. 213–234 compares the *Psiche* libretto with the Calderón text. See also Stein, *¿Escuchando a Calderón?*. The Calderón play's first Madrid performance was 19 January 1662 (with revivals at the Madrid court in 1679, 1687, and 1693); it was published in Calderón's *Tercera parte de comedias*, Madrid 1664. Concerning music in *Ni amor se libra de amor*, see Louise K. Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods: Music and Theatre in Seventeenth-Century Spain*, Oxford 1993, pp. 171, 178, 270 ff., 320, 348, and *passim*. It was the last court play that Carpio produced before his exile from the royal court; he revived it successfully in Rome in May 1682.

109 I-Fas, Mediceo del Principato, filza 1598, Naples 7 December 1683, Giovanni Berardi to Apollonio Bassetti in Florence; I-Rasv, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 95, fol. 964v; Napoli 96, fol. 50, Giovanni Muti, 11 January 1684; the date of the premiere is confirmed by Carpio himself in a letter to Villagarcía in Venice dated 4 January 1684 that also mentions a full house (»no quedale campo para nadie«); E-Mn, MS 7947, fol. 778.

110 In the opening of Calderón's *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 supplied by Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, ed., *Comedias de Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, Madrid 1863; reprint Madrid 1945, III [BAE 12], p. 657.

Amore and his carriage vanish when Selenisa, Astrea, and Atamante (Psiche's family) walk onto the set. Amore returns «in forma humana» (I,12, 14, 15) to meddle in the lives of the mortals and punish Psiche because her beauty has affronted Venus. When Amore discovers Psiche asleep and readies his arrow to kill her, he is instead wounded by her beauty. Psiche awakens and indignantly stabs Amore with his own arrow. 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 opera's excitement.

Act 2 opens with the view of a shipwreck on a stormy sea. A chorus of singing sailors covers the noise of the stage machinery before the mortals, Atamante, Psiche, Anteo, Liso, Flora and soldiers, disembark onto a deserted island.¹¹¹ Later, when the ship sails away with Atamante and Anteo (II,4), Psiche and her comic servants remain stranded on the frightening «Loco horrido sul lido del mare». Psiche's suicide is prevented; just as she is about to jump from a peak into the sea, a forested cliff falls into place suddenly 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) to lead Psiche along a narrow path and through the side of a cliff into Amore's subterranean palace. The two comics, Flora and Liso, chatter away appropriately, so the ghost does not frighten the audience.¹¹² Liso is accosted by a troupe of Satyrs, then forced to ride on a wild goat that has descended to the stage from the forested ridge.¹¹³ The rough terrain of this ridiculous scene is immediately smoothed in the following supernatural scene for Amore and the three graces (Musica, Poesia, Ricchezza),¹¹⁴ itself a prelude to the «Gallery full of gold and silver vessels» (II,9) to which servants with burning torches lead Psiche. Immersed in the luxury around her, Psiche expresses «contenti» in juxtaposition to the «tormenti» that Amore has described in his preceding love-

111 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 amendentran» (*Comedias de Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, p. 666).

112 The descent of the cliff is only in the libretto; in Calderón, the comic characters Flora and Friso stumble onto Psiquis and prevent her suicide with their reassuring presence. The supernatural elements in this scene in the Calderón play are audible, rather than visual – antiphonal choirs (off-stage) that 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 or cleft in the mountainside (the ghost in the opera is based on this nymph).

113 The satyrs in the opera are an elaborate transformation of the «salvajes» 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.

114 The scene with Amore and the Graces replaces the scene in the Calderón play in which unseen, antiphonal choirs accompany and praise Psiquis as she enters Cupido's lavish underground palace.

struck aria. As Amore approaches and sings offstage, the theater is suddenly plunged into darkness («Qui spariscono i lumi»). He 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 Gnido«), 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. The apparition vanishes when Psiche moves to embrace her father, Atamante, provoking another of Psiche's laments.¹¹⁵

Act 3 opens within Amore's dimly lit enchanted palace. When Amore and Psiche embrace, Psiche sings gratefully of her beloved »lampo«. Amore gives her a glowing jewel decorated with his portrait – the jewel somehow glows with light so that the audience can admire it as well. Psiche rejoices in a solo scene before her family and her 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). Psiche's jealous sisters cause her to wonder whether Amore really is a monster. Anteo redoubles his efforts to rescue Psiche while Lidoro and Arsida still desire her. In the tragic climax central to the myth, Psiche watches over Amore as he sleeps, in a staging whose intimacy parallels and answers her sleep scene from act 1. Carrying a dagger and a lamp, Psiche approaches to reveal the sleeping god's face (III,20). Struck by his beauty, she realizes her mistake too late – a drop of burning wax falls and awakens Amore before she can discard the dagger. Furious and betrayed, Amore flees and creates an earthquake to destroy the set. The enchanted palace goes up in smoke («Qui viene un terremoto, e tutta la reggia d'Amore va in fumo») shocking the mortal characters who watch from one side of the stage.

The famous *Il Vespasiano* that had opened the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo in Venice in 1678 may have been a relevant model for the pairing of Grossi and Zuffi as the protagonists: they had sung together as husband and wife in that production and perhaps on other occasions as yet unidentified. Amore and Psiche sing twice the number of arias as the next most prominent role, so the distribution of arias and solo scenes reinforces the opera's central love story. The allocation of arias and stage time effectively pushed the mortal characters further into the background, compared to their significance in *Ni amor se libra de amor*. Psiche is given twice as many arias as her sisters, but Zuffi was wedged vocally between two castrati – the high soprano of

115 The apparition in the opera is based on that of the Calderón play, but the scenes showing Psiche's family and weddings in Egnidus are longer in the opera because the mortal characters have opportunities for arias; in the Calderón play, the apparition with Psiquis's family is just a brief scene, which Cupido cuts off 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, 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 all the music sung by Cupido and the choirs, rather than merely by what she has seen of the palace before his arrival.

Besci as Anteo and the alto Grossi as the vocally smooth Amore. A kind of feminine vocal decorum differentiates her arias from the castrato arias, though she certainly was capable of singing *fioretture*, to judge by the arias she sang as Cleopatra in the February 1680 Naples production of Sartorio's *Giulio Cesare in Egitto*.¹¹⁶

Only six arias are extant from Zuffi's nearly 20 solo interventions in *La Psiche* – just two of them convey a cheerful affect. Psiche's first aria, «*Donzelle tenere*» (A minor; I,4), 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 text suggests a two-strophe design, Scarlatti enhanced verisimilitude by setting 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). Psiche's strength of character emerges through her tears in «*Del mio labbro gli accesi rubini*», a mournful C minor da capo aria that nevertheless allows her to protest loudly in vigorous attacks on unprepared high *g*'s 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 mostly sings melancholy arias. She twice attempts suicide, but both times is saved by supernatural forces. After she is saved the first time (II,5), she laments anyway in the lyrical G minor «*A chi mai più cruda sorte*». Psiche sings a tortured aria to end act 2, when Amore's supernatural powers reveal just how her family have abandoned her. The C minor «*Tornate a consolarmi*» is a single-strophe da capo aria with no fewer than six high *g*'s preceded by rests. With this singular gesture, Scarlatti assigns Psiche her most characteristically naked expression of misery. She basks in happiness only briefly after Amore presents her with a jewel containing his portrait (III,2 and 3) in the C major «*Care labbra, in cui d'amore*». ¹¹⁷ 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 considers the «lips» of her beloved, leave no doubt as to her newly excited erotic disposition.

The third opera of the 1683–1684 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». As an «opera heroica»,¹¹⁸ it stands in contrast to Scarlatti's first two operas

116 The Cleopatra role includes more arias than any other role in that opera (though it is unclear how much of the extant music was performed in Naples). Five of Cleopatra's arias include virtuosic melismatic passages; see Antonio Sartorio, *Giulio Cesare in Egitto*, ed. Craig Monson, Madison / WI 1991, pp. 119–122, 146 ff., 218 f., 269 f., and 298 f. The libretto (I-MOe, 90.D.20/5) includes a laudatory sonnet to Zuffi.

117 I-Rvat, Barb. lat. 4149, fol. 199.

118 1 February 1684: «Si van preparando con sollecitudine il scenario a Palazzo per la 3a opera, che sarà più bella e più curiosa di tutte per le macchine et inventioni superbe che si preparano, e si dice che se reciterà domani a sera». 8 February 1684: «Giovedì a palazzo avanti il Signore Vicerè e questa Nobiltà fu per la terza comedia rappresentata in musica il Pompeo opera heroica, e si seguirà nel teatro di San Bartolomeo in questi giorni di carnevale». I-Rasv, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 96, fols. 91–91v, 95v.

for Carpio's Naples. News of the success of the 1683 Colonna production had surely reached Carpio; the libretto was dedicated to his niece, Lorenza de la Cerda, wife of Filippo Colonna.¹¹⁹ It may be that Carpio chose this opera for Naples following her recommendation. Carpio and Scarlatti likely decided to produce a rifacimento for the short carnival of 1684 instead of an entirely new opera because *La Psiche* had demanded so many resources and received such a delayed premiere. *Il Pompeo's* Neapolitan palace premiere occurred on 3 February 1684, before the production moved to the public theater during carnival (it seems to have continued in production until the 22 February end of carnival). *Il Pompeo* is an exciting opera with both gripping scenes and touching arias, though the story did not require the supernatural effects that had characterized *La Psiche*. The opening crowd-scene for Pompeo's arrival in a showy carriage contrasts with later scenes of intimacy. 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), these private interactions are observed in voyeuristic fashion by the audience. Scenes exposing mistaken identity are similarly exciting: the disguised Mitridate meets his son Farnace (I,7) and then his wife Issicratea and her suitors (I,8). This excitement gives way to increased intimacy and conjugal joy (I,12) when Mitridate and Issicratea embrace in another garden (»Giardino con Bosco, e Fontane da lavare«). The sleep scene of act 1 is slashed by threatened violence and dramatic suspense. Pompeo assures Farnace of his favor, then sings himself to sleep (I,13), observed by the hidden Mitridate, who emerges from a leafy hiding place. In a shocking juxtaposition between soothing music and violent stage movement, he 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 Mitridate to escape, while Farnace soothes Pompeo.

The Naples production of *Il Pompeo*, with new staging by Schor and Vaccaro, was somewhat more visually engaging than the 1683 Rome production. Scarlatti revised and reshaped his music for Naples,¹²⁰ retaining some arias from his 1683 Roman production but adding other newly-composed arias as well. At least two arias for Naples seem to have been repurposed from Scarlatti's earlier *L'Arsate*: the aria text beginning »Care pene che quest'alma tormentate« from III,6 of *L'Arsate* is sung by Sesto in I,2 of the Naples *Il Pompeo*. »La sorte mi tormenta / e mi fa ridere«, also sung by Sesto in II,5 of the Naples *Pompeo*, first appeared in I,8 of the 1683 *L'Arsate* libretto

119 Roberts (ed.), Scarlatti, *Il Pompeo* (see note 20), p. ix, has pointed out that Minato's *Il Pompeo Magno*, set by Francesco Cavalli and first performed at the Teatro San Salvatore in Venice 20 February 1666, was perhaps chosen for the Colonna theater in 1683 »for family reasons« because the Venetian version had been dedicated to Maria Mancini Colonna.

120 Both the Rome 1683 and Naples 1684 librettos survive. Nothing is known about the origins or copyist of the surviving bound score, B-Br, MS II 3962; its reading is closer to the 1683 Rome libretto but does not contain settings of the new texts found in the 1684 Naples libretto. See Scarlatti, *Il Pompeo* (see note 20).

as an aria for Lucillo. Comparing the Roman and Neapolitan *Il Pompeo* libretti, it becomes clear that Scarlatti's new arias and changes strengthened the drama in the first two acts, though the revisions affect the roles to varying degrees. For example, Issicratea's »*Se fine al martire*« (I,3) replaces »*Questi lumi lacrimosi*«, suggesting a radical deepening of affect: in the Naples text, Issicratea sings about killing herself, whereas in the Roman aria she had merely elaborated a metaphor about constant weeping.

After the crucial expository scenes, the Naples libretto of act 1 largely follows the Roman one. Exceptions emerge from the contrasting castrato roles of Mitridate and Scipione. The role of Mitridate in Naples was adjusted for Grossi (it had been a tenor role in Rome) and Mitridate's first extended solo scene (I,4) was almost entirely rewritten. The opening thirteen lines of poetry in the Minato libretti (Venice 1666 and Rome 1683) are excised in Naples. 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 to shape him as the sort of steady male who unflinchingly confronts fate in the first aria, while maintaining the tender hope that his constancy will be rewarded in the closing aria of the scene. The Naples libretto makes clearer the separation between private reflection and dialogue. The revised Mitridate offered Grossi more opportunity to have the stage entirely to himself while singing music suited to his voice. Likewise, the role of Scipione was enhanced and enlarged, likely because Besci would sing it in Naples.

The 1684–1685 season in Naples opened with Scarlatti's revision of Giovanni Legrenzi's *Il Giustino* for the king's 6 November birthday.¹²¹ Following the palace premiere, it continued in public performances often attended by the viceroy at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo until at least 5 December.¹²² *Il Giustino* was the first Venetian opera offered in Naples during Carpio's reign. It was followed by the Neapolitan Severo de Luca's *L'Epaminonda*, intended for the birthday of the queen mother and the only entirely new opera of the season. Political considerations likely guided the choice of both subjects. An avviso concerning Carpio and preparations for *Il*

121 Legrenzi's Venetian score is I-Vnm, MS It.IV.426 [9950]; see ed. Stefano Faglia and Franca Saini, 2 vols., Parma 2006. An exemplar of the 1683 Venetian libretto is I-Rc, Comm. 433/2. An exemplar of the Naples libretto (Antonio Gramignani, 1684) is I-Rc, Comm. 350/3. 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; it includes the unique *loa* and some performance markings, though it is missing some pages and 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 musical edition by Luciano Bettarini (Milan c. 1980) draws on all three musical manuscripts. Legrenzi's *Il Giustino* receives a systematic musical analysis in: Rudolf Bossard, *Giovanni Legrenzi: Il Giustino. Eine monographische Studie*, Baden-Baden 1988. See also Claudio Sartori, *Due Legrenzi recuperati*, in: *Acta musicologica* 46 (1974), pp. 217–221.

122 An avviso dated 5 December 1684 (I-Rasv, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 96, fol. 1024v) relates, »Tutte le recite d'il Giustino fatte in questo Teatro di San Bartolomeo sono riuscite bellissime e di totale sodisfazione, essendovi portato spesso a sentirli il Signore Vicerè, e già si sta preparando un altr'opera nova per doppo le imminenti feste di Natale«.

Giustino reported that he would spare no expense.¹²³ Following its new prologue, the three acts of *Il Giustino* unfold with brilliant effects whose description in the 1684 libretto suggests that the scenes crafted by Schor and Vaccaro may have been even more stunning than those in the original Venetian production. Carpio's past success with spectacular musical theater resonates in his decision to produce this opera replete with visual contrasts.¹²⁴ In Madrid, he had been inclined to take the kind of extravagant risks that resulted in accidents and near accidents.¹²⁵ In contrast to the operas that opened the 1685–1686 season, but in keeping with *Il Pompeo*, both *Il Giustino* and *L'Epaminonda* feature heroic subject matter – a male hero for the king's birthday and a passionate heroine for the queen mother's birthday.

The revisions to the *Giustino* libretto and music endowed the opera with a stronger Hispanic flavor. Scarlatti's music for the brilliant and politically appropriate Naples 1684 *loa* to *Il Giustino* is the only surviving musical score for a newly-composed spectacular dedicatory prologue from any of the Naples royal birthday operas in this period (as far as is known). The political function of such *loas* in Naples is beyond question. Indeed, the probable author of the *loa* to *Il Giustino*, Andrea Perrucci, acknowledged this explicitly in his treatise, *Dell'arte rappresentativa*.¹²⁶ Scarlatti's music expands the prologue, setting a more elaborate text than the one published in the libretto and featuring two new allegorical characters, La Giustitia and La Pietà, to sing solo arias and participate in the final ensemble. These allegorical figures were not typical of Venetian opera.¹²⁷ Rather, they were invented by Perrucci and Scarlatti to carry out the *loa's* expected political work.

123 «non guarda a qualsivoglia spesa, purché spicchi la generosità dell'animo suo». I-Rasv, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 96, fol. 887v.

124 The famous Spanish appetite for «violent machines», frequent and startling transformations, spectacular flights, earthquakes, storms, and other effects had even impressed Luigi Baccio del Bianco decades earlier when Carpio had demanded such effects for the Spanish semi-operas; see Franco Borsi, Cristina Acidini, Gabriele Morolli, Luigi Zangheri, *Pieta, paganesimo e cavalleria nell'effimero del Seicento medico*, in: *La scenografia barocca*, ed. Antoine Schnapper, Bologna 1982, pp. 85–94: 88f.

125 Noted in Del Bianco's letters to the Tuscan court; see Mina Bacci, *Lettere inedite di Baccio del Bianco*, in: *Paragone* 14 (1963), pp. 68–77; and Phyllis Dearborn Massar, *Scenes for a Calderón Play by Baccio del Bianco*, in: *Master Drawings* 15 (1977), pp. 365–375; Stein, *Songs of Mortals* (see note 108), p. 187.

126 The unsigned poetic text of the *loa* (a laudatory prologue) to *Il Giustino* is most likely by Andrea Perrucci (1651–1704), house poet for the Teatro di San Bartolomeo; see Norbert Dubowy, *Opernpraxis im Königreich Neapel am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Der Fürst und sein Volk. Herrscherlob und Herrscherkritik in den habsburgischen Ländern der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Pierre Béhar and Herbert Schneider, St. Ingbert 2005 (*Austrian Studies* 13), pp. 465–480; Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples* (see note 83), p. 185. In his *Dell'arte rappresentativa premeditata ed all'improvviso*, Naples 1699, vol 1, p. 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 them.

127 Roles for La Monarchia and La Pietà do not appear in seventeenth-century Venetian libretti; Giustizia appears in just one Venetian libretto (the prologue to the unusual 1688 «opera morale» *Il Gioseffo*), according to Irene Alm, *Catalogue of Venetian Librettos at the University of California, Los Angeles*, Berkeley / Los Angeles 1993, pp. 119 and 1026.

Scarlatti's music for the prologue suggests that some attempt was made to capture the flavor of a conventionally Spanish musical *loa*. The opening solo song in the Naples score for Nino, the first king of Assiria, for example, is similar in shape and structure (but not musical idiom) to the song of Atlante in the *loa* to *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo* (one of Carpio's early triumphs in Madrid).¹²⁸ Scarlatti's final chorus in the *Il Giustino* prologue, »Viva, viva d'Esperia il gran monarca« is longer, more essential to the allegory, and more musically elaborate than most of the »Viva« choruses for Roman heroes in earlier Venetian operas, raising the possibility that it may have been designed with trademark effects within the typology of the »Viva« choruses, from Spanish works produced by Carpio.¹²⁹

Giustino's transformative deeds claim the focus in the opera proper, amidst visual spectacle designed to amplify his heroism. The set of II,4 shows a shipwreck in a stormy sea (»Scogli dirupati con mare agitato da venti, vedrassi una grande armata, che passa naufraggio, restando gittati sopra il lido«), such that even in this maritime setting, far removed from his peasant origins, Giustino acts with heroic virtue in the face of a supernatural threat. 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 toward her from the roiling waters. In his music for this spectacular scene, Scarlatti retained Legrenzi's powerful fully-scored E minor aria for Arianna, »Numi, o voi ch'il ciel reggete«. The distinctive opening ritornello has a consistent quarter-note rhythmic figure, closely-spaced homophonic voicing, and two-sixteenth-plus-an-eighth-note figures that fill in minor thirds but land on anticipatory dissonances in the top violin line, characteristics that, taken together, comprise a funereal march. This big aria provides a thrilling musical centerpiece for the stage action. Singing only recitative, Giustino arrives just in time to rescue Arianna and defeat 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. Scarlatti's revision minimized the otherworldly singing characters, allowing mortal Giustino to swiftly rescue the damsel in distress, demonstrating the efficacy of human valor without supernatural echo effects. One of Carpio's first large-scale Madrid productions, the 1653 Calderón *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo*, featured a similar scene. Andrómeda is chained to a rock as the approaching sea monster grows larger with each wave, until the half-mortal hero Perseo arrives to set her free.¹³⁰ The verisimilar sound of discordant drums and muted trumpets

128 US-CAh, MS Typ. 258H, fol. 108r, transcribed in Stein, *Songs of Mortals* (see note 108), pp.444f.

129 Stein, »Para restaurar el nombre que han perdido estas Comedias« (see note 31), pp.430f., 444f., points to concrete examples.

130 See text and rubrics in US-CAh, MS Typ. 258H, fols. 93v–95v; see also Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Andrómada y Perseo*, ed. Rafael Maestre, Almagro, Museo Nacional de Teatro 1994, pp.159–162.

prepares offstage »música lamentosa« to enhance the tragic setting for the ensemble song, »La que nace para ser / estrago de la fortuna«. ¹³¹ In the Scarlatti / Legrenzi *Il Giustino*, the scoring and rhythmic figures in the full ritornello to Arianna's »Numi, o voi ch'il ciel reggete«, with the music of the aria itself, provide the lamentation.

Scarlatti's *Il Fetonte* initiated the 1685–1686 Naples season, setting a libretto most likely by De Totis and based on Calderón's *El hijo del Sol, Faetón*. ¹³² Although intended for the king's birthday, the dress rehearsal at the palace took place on 19 November with the first performance on 21 November (weeks after the royal birthday). By the 27th of November, performances at the Teatro di San Bartolomeo had begun, and they continued until as late as 17 or 18 December with Carpio's frequent attendance. The public performances were said to be very lovely, »because of the superb sets and scenery as well as the cast«. ¹³³ The viceroy seems to have been especially involved in producing *Fetonte*, whose extraordinary visual spectacle and high-quality performers were a source of pride. ¹³⁴ As was typical of Carpio's other productions based on Spanish plays, the libretto retains the *graciosos* and comic scenes, but the choral singing so essential to the supernatural atmosphere in the Calderón source-play (the three choirs at the opening, for example) is removed.

Music presumably by Scarlatti survives for only two scenes from *Il Fetonte*, both from act 1. Tetis, a daughter of Neptune and thus a goddess, has hunted down the nymph Climene, who is disguised in animal skins (»in habito di Fiera«) 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 back Tetis 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 (I,13) a short recitative, »Piango perche tu sei / la verace cagion di miei contenti, / la verace cagion de dolor miei / [...] Per te vivo e per te moro«, and also becomes confused. Climene sings an aria that implicates Fetonte as the source of her unhappiness, then exits. This aria, »Sei mia gloria, e sei mio scherno«, is preserved

131 US-CAh, MS Typ. 258H, fols. 87v–89, 140v–142; Calderón de la Barca, *Andrómeda y Perseo*, pp. 149–152, 246–249.

132 *Il Fetonte, Melodramma*, Naples 1685, I-Rc, Comm. 316/4. The *protesta* in the 1690 libretto to the Scarlatti / De Totis *La Rosmene* indicates that the libretti to *L'Idalma*, *Tutto il mal non vien per nuocere*, *La Psiche*, *Il Fetonte*, and *L'Aldimiro* were all by the same poet; Crain, *The Operas of Bernardo Pasquini* (see note 20), vol. 1, p. 123; Bianconi, *Funktionen des Operntheaters in Neapel bis 1700* (see note 99), p. 80.

133 I-Rasv, Segreteria di Stato, Napoli 98, avvisi of 20, 27 November and 4, 18 December.

134 From Naples, 16 November 1685, Carpio wrote to the duke of Pastrana in Madrid: »La comedia que se haze para los años de Su Magestad 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 Ytalia, un encarezimiento, y el teatro no deslucirá la fiesta. Esto es cuanto puedo dezirte de por ahora«. E-Tah, Osuna Cartas, Leg. 38/1.