

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

The logo for UMI (University Microfilms International) is displayed in a stylized, serif font. The letters are tall and closely spaced, with a classic, academic feel.

A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
313:761-4700 800:521-0600

CHI SOFFRE SPERI AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE *COMMEDIA DELL'ARTE*

ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROMAN OPERA

by

Susan Gail Lewis

copyright © Susan Gail Lewis 1995

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the

SCHOOL OF MUSIC AND DANCE

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of

MASTER OF MUSIC
WITH A MAJOR IN MUSICOLOGY

In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

1995

UMI Number: 1376044

Copyright 1995 by
Lewis, Susan Gail
All rights reserved.

UMI Microform 1376044
Copyright 1995, by UMI Company. All rights reserved.

This microform edition is protected against unauthorized
copying under Title 17, United States Code.

UMI

300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48103

STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

This thesis has been submitted in partial fulfillment of requirements for an advanced degree at The University of Arizona and is deposited in the University Library to be made available to borrowers under rules of the Library.

Brief quotations from this thesis are allowable without special permission, provided that accurate acknowledgment of source is made. Requests for permission for extended quotation from or reproduction of this manuscript in whole or in part may be granted by the copyright holder.

SIGNED: *Susan Gail Lewis*

APPROVAL BY THESIS DIRECTOR

This thesis has been approved on the date shown below:

John T. Brobeck
John T. Brobeck
Professor of Musicology

July 21, 1995
Date

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to many people for their assistance during the course of my research on early Roman opera. I would like to thank the Graduate Committee for its encouragement and prompt approval of my thesis proposal. Special appreciation is given to the Graduate Reader, the late Dr. Roy Johnson. Gratitude is also extended to the members of my oral examination committee, Drs. James R. Anthony, John T. Brobeck, and Edward Murphy. Their numerous recommendations and encouraging words were very helpful in the final stages of my thesis. Laura Benedetti merits special acknowledgment for her assistance with translations. Several individuals deserve recognition for their contributions to my musical growth: Dr. John Boe, Dr. John T. Brobeck, Dr. Paula Fan, Morella Morelli, Dr. Edward Murphy, and Drs. Rudolph Schnitzler and Ireneus Zuk of Queen's University, Kingston, Canada.

I would like to express my deepest thanks to my advisor, Dr. John T. Brobeck. His constant enthusiasm and guidance throughout the course of my master's program were of immeasurable worth. I am particularly indebted to his careful editing and invaluable suggestions regarding my thesis.

To my friends and colleagues at the University of Arizona, I extend my appreciation for their kindness. Finally, I would like to thank my family for their love and support expressed throughout the duration of my master's program.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-----|
| ABBREVIATIONS | 5 |
| LIST OF FIGURES | 6 |
| LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES | 7 |
| LIST OF TABLES | 8 |
| ABSTRACT | 9 |
| CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION | 10 |
| CHAPTER 2. <i>CHI SOFFRE SPERI</i> : CONTENT AND STRUCTURE | 21 |
| A. Plot Synopsis | 21 |
| B. Musical and Dramatic Content | 23 |
| CHAPTER 3. <i>LA FIERA DI FARFA</i> AND THE 1639 REVIVAL OF <i>CHI SOFFRE SPERI</i> | 74 |
| CHAPTER 4. MUSICAL COLLABORATION IN <i>CHI SOFFRE SPERI</i> | 87 |
| CHAPTER 5. <i>CHI SOFFRE SPERI</i> AND THE DRAMATIC TRADITIONS OF ITALY IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY | 103 |
| CONCLUSIONS | 116 |
| REFERENCES | 120 |

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|------------|--|
| AB | Archivio Barberini |
| b. | busta (envelope) |
| Barb. lat. | <i>I-Rvat</i> Barbieri latini |
| BAV | Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana |
| c. | chapter |
| CFB | Cardinal Francesco Barberini, Sr. |
| col. | column |
| CS | Cappella Sistina (or Cappella Pontificia) |
| D | BAV, CS, Diario |
| fasc. | fascicle |
| fig. | figure |
| fol. | folio |
| gius. | giustificazione/i |
| MS | manuscript |
| n. | note, footnote |
| no | number |
| Ottob. lat | <i>I-Rvat</i> Ottoboniani latini |
| p | page |
| v | verso (f.v., <i>folio verso</i> , on the back of the page) |
| I 1 | act scene |

LIST OF FIGURES

| | |
|--|----|
| FIGURE 1, Palazzo Barberini: <i>Piano nobile</i> , 1628-1638 | 79 |
|--|----|

LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES

| | |
|--|----|
| EXAMPLE 1, Excerpt from Act I:3. | 30 |
| EXAMPLE 2, Excerpt from Act I:3. | 32 |
| EXAMPLE 3, Act I:6. Frittellino and Colillo (Duet), “Per bivere a sto munno.” | 37 |
| EXAMPLE 4, Act I:4. Eurilla. | 51 |
| EXAMPLE 5, Excerpt from Act III:3. | 58 |
| EXAMPLE 6, Act II:4. Zanni, “Franzeschina me garbada.” | 61 |
| EXAMPLE 7, Act II:4. Coviello, “Alla guerra.” | 63 |
| EXAMPLE 8, Act II:8. Egisto, “Rondinella che d’intorno.” | 67 |
| EXAMPLE 9, Passacaglia from the Prologue. | 70 |
| EXAMPLE 10, Act II:1. Passacaglia introducing “Ombra lieve lampo breve.” . . . | 70 |
| EXAMPLE 11, Act II:2. Passacaglia/Ritornello for Fileno’s aria, “La beltà che porta al core.” | 71 |
| EXAMPLE 12, Act III:5. Passacaglia introduction to “Chi vuol trarre i di contenti.” | 71 |

LIST OF TABLES

| | |
|---|----|
| TABLE 1, Musical Organization of <i>Chi soffre spero</i> | 23 |
| TABLE 2, Mazzocchi's and Marazzoli's Contributions to <i>Chi soffre spero</i> | 97 |

ABSTRACT

Chi soffre speri (1637, 1639) was twice produced by the Barberini family as part of the festivities surrounding the yearly Roman Carnival. The opera's music resulted from a collaboration between two composers, Virgilio Mazzocchi and Marco Marazzoli. The librettist for the opera was Giulio Rospigliosi, and Gianlorenzo Bernini designed sets for the 1639 Act II *intermedio*, *La Fiera di Farfa*. The extensive influence of the *Commedia dell'arte*, most evident in the use of masked characters, distinguishes *Chi soffre speri* from its operatic predecessors. The *Commedia* borrowings affected the musical and textual style of *Chi soffre speri*, resulting in a merging of the dramatic traditions of opera and the *Commedia dell'arte*. The popularity of the *Commedia dell'arte* in Rome and the city's unique cultivation of a dramatic sub-genre known as the *Commedia ridicolosa* may help explain why this fusion of opera and the *Commedia dell'arte* occurred there in the late 1630s.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Chi soffre speri (“Who suffers, may hope”) was presented by members of the papal family, the Barberinis, for the annual Roman Carnival in 1637 and 1639. In this regard, the opera belongs to the tradition of seventeenth-century Italian courtly opera that began in Florence around 1600. The princely operas performed at the Medici court provided the example for the first operas presented in other Italian musical centers, including Mantua, Venice, and Rome. The Florentine model, itself stemming from the dramatic traditions of the Renaissance, formed the basis for Roman opera through the 1620s, the decade immediately preceding the Barberini years of operatic patronage.

Early Italian operas drew upon the occasional entertainments of the Renaissance, namely the *intermedio*, the *pastorale*, and the *mascherata*. *Intermedi* were spectacular presentations that celebrated marriages and other special events. Typically, a secular spoken play was staged, with music and dance placed in the prologue and at the end of the acts to provide diversionary entertainment. The Florentine court sponsored two of the most sumptuous *intermedi* of the sixteenth century, the 1539 celebrations for the wedding of Cosimo I and Eleonora of Toledo, and the even more elaborate set of six *intermedi* occasioned by the marriage of Grand Duke Ferdinand de’ Medici and Christine of Lorraine in 1589.¹ A related work, the *pastorale*, was intended for either staged or

¹ Donald Jay Grout, *A Short History of Opera*, 3rd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 31. For an extensive discussion of the festivities at the Florentine court, see A. M. Nagler, *Theatre Festivals of the Medici, 1539-1637*, trans. George Hickenlooper (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964) and Orville K. Larson, “Spectacle in the Florentine *Intermezzi*,” *Drama Survey* 2 (1963): 344-52.

unstaged presentation. *Pastorales* were often performed in-between the acts of *intermedi*, as was the case for the 1539 nuptial celebrations. Their bucolic settings were particularly well suited for the addition of songs, choruses, and dances. Dancing was also a vital component of the *mascherata*, a festivity that combined ballroom dancing with dramatic scenes.²

Though the dramatic and musical roots of opera lay in the courtly entertainments of the Renaissance, the Florentine Camerata movement provided the necessary intellectual and artistic stimulus for the full emergence of the new genre. The Camerata included three principal groups, one of which was lead by Giovanni dei Bardi, a second by Jacopo Corsi, and the third by the Roman Emilio de' Cavalieri. These groups provided a venue for both philosophical speculation and artistic creativity. The Camerata musicians experimented with the solo madrigal to create the *stile rappresentativo*, a declamatory style of solo recitative (accompanied by basso continuo) that attempted to recreate the accents and affects of heightened speech. The music in both early opera and monody (accompanied solo songs) consisted largely of affective solo writing in the *stile rappresentativo*. In opera, the new melodic style was first employed for *Dafne* (Florence, 1594?, 1598) and *L'Euridice* (Florence, 1600), both of which were composed, in part, by Jacopo Peri. The Florentine recitative also influenced the musical style of other northern Italian cities. In Mantua, for example, Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo* (1607) combined the *stile rappresentativo* with madrigalian choruses, popular songs, and airs.

² Nagler, 116

The Florentine style also provided the impetus for the first Roman operatic-type productions. In 1600, after over a decade of service at the Medici court, Cavalieri left Florence to return to Rome.³ In February 1600 his *Rappresentazione di Anima, et di Corpo* (possibly the earliest complete extant musico-dramatic work) was first performed in the Oratorio di S Maria in Vallicella in Rome.⁴ Cavalieri's *Rappresentazione* combined moralizing allegory, pastoral imagery, and dance with the new monodic style. Along with oratories, the numerous Jesuit Colleges in Rome also provided venues for early quasi-dramatic works, among them Agostino Agazzari's *Eumelio* (1606) and *David musicus* (1613) of Alessandro Donati.⁵ Some early Roman operas were also based on secular, Classical topics, as was the case in Stefano Landi's *La morte d'Orfeo* (Rome? 1619) and Filippo Vitali's *L'Arenusa* (1620).

The pontificate of Urban VIII (1623-44) marked a new interest in the stage, one promoted by Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy, numerous literati, the Jesuit Colleges, and the

³ Silke Leopold, "Rome: Sacred and Secular," in *The Early Baroque Era: From the Late 16th Century to the 1660s*, Music and Society, ed. Curtis Price (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1994), 55.

⁴ H. Wiley Hitchcock, "Cavalieri, Emilio de'," *New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1992), 1:780. It has also been suggested that the *Rappresentazione* was performed in the oratory of the Chiesa Nova (Leopold, 55 and Nino Pirrotta and Elena Povoledo, *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi*, trans. Karen Eales [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982], 239).

⁵ For a discussion of music in the Jesuit Colleges, see Thomas Culley, *A Study of the Musicians Connected with the German College in Rome during the Seventeenth Century and of Their Activities in Northern Europe* (St. Louis: Jesuit Historical Institute, St. Louis University, 1970).

papal nephews, Don Taddeo Barberini and Cardinals Francesco and Antonio Barberini.⁶ Under Urban VIII, Rome became a leading operatic center. Florentine opera provided the model for the Roman operas produced during the early years of Urban VIII's reign. Like their Florentine predecessors, Roman operas often drew their plots from Classical sources, as was the case in Cardinal Maurizio's *Bacco trionfante dell'Indie* (1624) and Domenico Mazzocchi's *La catena d'Adone* (1626).⁷ In 1626 Cardinal Francesco visited the Medici court, where he heard two sacred dramas, *Sant'Orsola* and *La Giuditta*. Two years later, both Francesco and Antonio visited Florence to partake in the celebrations honoring the wedding of the Duke of Parma and Margherita de' Medici. The event was commemorated in both Parma and Florence. In Florence, the musical entertainments culminated in the production of the opera *La Flora* by Andrea Salvadori. *La Flora* was set to music by Marco da Gagliano and Jacopo Peri, and its sets were designed by Alfonso Parigi.⁸ These performances at the Medici court gave the Barberinis a model of spectacle to both emulate and surpass.

In the 1630s the Barberini family commissioned a number of Roman operas. Their productions featured the best castrati of the day, including Marc'Antonio Pasqualini

⁶ Margaret Murata, "Rome," *New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 4:23.

⁷ Frederick Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 184.

⁸ Hammond, *Spectacle*, 184.

and Loreto Vittori, a Florentine singer.⁹ Cardinals Francesco and Antonio sponsored the majority of the Barberini operas dating from these years, though Don Taddeo maintained a sizable artistic entourage that included Michelangelo Rossi, a castrato, a dancing master, and several boys who participated in the family's operas.¹⁰ Besides the performances occasioned by the visits of diplomats and dignitaries, the Barberinis regularly presented entertainments for the Roman Carnival. Typically, these included both a sacred and a secular opera, a Quarantore (Forty Hours' devotion), spoken dialogues, and masquerades presented by Don Taddeo's boys. Performances were given at one of the several Barberini palaces, most frequently at the Palazzo Barberini (alle Quattro Fontane) and the Palazzo della Cancelleria, where Cardinal Francesco resided from 1632 onward.¹¹

Though there is evidence suggesting that the Barberini family may have promoted dramatic performances as early as 1628 and 1629, the first extant Barberini operatic production is Stefano Landi's *Sant' Alessio*, the work that inaugurated the theater at the Palazzo Barberini in 1632 (first perf. 1631, rev. 1634).¹² This opera is notable for its

⁹ Contemporary accounts report that when Vittori sang in Urban's choir, the Cappella Sistina, his listeners were occasionally obliged to throw open their garments to prevent themselves from fainting (Lacy Collison-Morley, *Italy after the Renaissance: Decadence and Display in the Seventeenth Century* [New York: Russell and Russell, 1972], 88)

¹⁰ Hammond, *Spectacle*, 83.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 13

¹² In August 1628 Cardinal Francesco presented a *dramma musicale* by Ottavio Tronsarelli (poss. set to music by Kapsberger) in the Sforza palace at the Quattro Fontane. In June of 1629 *Diana schernita*, an opera by Giacinto Cornacchioli, was

inclusion of two comic servants drawn from the *Commedia dell'arte* tradition, a type of borrowing that figured prominently in some subsequent Barberini operas. The decade 1632-42 saw the yearly production of operas for the Carnival season, among them *Erminia sul Giordano* (1633), *Santa Teodora* (1635), *San Bonifatio* (1638, rev. 1639), *La Genoinda ovvero l'innocenza difesa* (1641), *Il palazzo incantato* (1642), and *Dal male il bene* (1654), the opera that reopened the Barberini theater following the family's exile (1644-53). In general, these operas built upon the pastoral model, adding to it an increase in spectacular scenery, more choruses and dances, and more elaborate special effects and stage machinery. In addition, some plots drew from epic literature or the lives of saints, the latter of which may reflect the influence of both the Jesuit Colleges and the papacy. The saintly plots and moralizing allegories that typified Roman opera presented a stark contrast to the licentiousness and revelry associated with the Carnival season.

Chi soffre speri was produced for the Roman Carnivals of 1637 and 1639. The opera was first performed on 12 February 1637 and was presented at least five more times; its revised version debuted on 27 February 1639 and was repeated four times.¹³

performed at the residence of Baron von Hohen Rechberg. This opera is linked to the Barberini family by both the dedication to Don Taddeo Barberini of the printed score, and by the libretto's frequent references to bees, one of the three emblems of the Barberini coat of arms (Ibid., 200-2). Evidence that *Sant'Alessio* was first performed in 1631 is provided by an *Avviso* (a manuscript news report intended for circulation), although Barberini documents do not allude to a performance in that year (Margaret Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court, 1631-1668* [Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981], 19-23, 221-48).

¹³ Margaret Murata, "Chi soffre speri," *New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 1:847; Gloria Rose, "Mazzocchi, Virgilio," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), 11:870; and Hammond, *Spectacle*, 235. The opera

The opera resulted from the efforts of four principal artists. The opera's librettist, Guilio Rospigliosi (1600-69), wrote the libretti for all of the Barberini operatic productions. Rospigliosi, a native of Tuscany, came to Rome in 1624. He immediately secured himself a position in Cardinal Francesco's literary circles and soon became the Barberini's favorite librettist. Rospigliosi also held several diplomatic and religious posts that prepared him for his short tenure as Pope Clement IX (1667-69). The composers of *Chi soffre speri*, Virgilio Mazzocchi (1597-1646) and Marco Marazzoli (1602/08-62), both of whom were established musicians, were employed by Cardinals Francesco and Antonio, respectively. Mazzocchi was also *maestro di cappella* at the Collegio Romano, one of the most famous Jesuit Colleges in Europe. Finally, the 1639 productions of *Chi soffre speri* were enhanced by the set designs of Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598-1680), widely recognized as one of the greatest sculptors and architects of the Italian Baroque.

Both the musical and textual content of *Chi soffre speri* distinguish the opera from predecessors such as Landi's *Sant'Alessio*. A discussion of early Roman opera usually brings to mind choruses, cloud machines, flying gods, and other spectacular effects. These features are lacking in *Chi soffre speri*, though choruses and stage machinery are used in the *intermedi*, most notably in the 1639 Act II *intermedio*, *La Fiera di Farfa*. The opera itself mainly consists of recitative-like dialogues with basso continuo accompaniment, enlivened by a handful of popular songs, some more weighty arias and duets, and a single lament. The recitative observes a more natural, speech-like

was revived by students at the Collegio Ghislieri in 1669, during the papacy of Clement IX (Rospigliosi) (Murata, *Operas*, 258)

declamation than the earlier Florentine *stile rappresentativo*, and it is used by both comic and serious characters. The recitative--which often takes the form of a dialogue--generally is more interesting textually than musically. Musical and emotional weight tends to be given to the serious characters and particularly Lucinda, who has an expressive aria or solo scene in each of the opera's three acts.

Much of the scholarly interest in *Chi soffre speri* derives from the opera's prominent use of masked comic characters borrowed directly from the plays of the *Commedia dell'arte*. With the exception of the lovers, the characters in *Commedia* plays appeared in "masks" (specific make-up and costumes), and for this reason, their art was known as the "Comedy of Masks." In the 1637 version of *Chi soffre speri*, Rospigliosi adopted two *Commedia dell'arte* masks; for the opera's 1639 revival, he added two more.¹⁴ In the later version of *Chi soffre speri*, comic characters are present in twenty of the opera's thirty-five scenes, attesting to an unusually high degree of *Commedia* influence

The extensive borrowing from the *Commedia dell'arte* differentiates *Chi soffre speri* from both its predecessors and contemporaneous operas presented in other Italian musical centers. In Venice Francesco Manelli's and Benedetto Ferrari's *Andromeda* (1637) opened San Cassiano, the first public opera house. This opera drew from Classical mythology and employed elaborate stage machinery, cloud machines, a golden

¹⁴ The unmasked page, Moschino, is a minor character who functions in only two scenes

chariot drawn by peacocks, and the opening of the sky upon the winged horse Pegasus.¹⁵

The absence of these operatic features distinguishes *Chi soffre speri* from operas presented in northern Italy in the late 1630s.

Because of the important role played by comedy in *Chi soffre speri* (whose libretto represents an amalgam of a serious plot derived from Book 9 of Boccaccio's *Decameron* and newly composed comic material), much of the general literature on Italian opera labels it the first comic opera.¹⁶ Specialists in the field of Roman opera, however, have questioned this characterization. Nino Pirrotta has described *Chi soffre speri* as a transference of the mask tradition of the *Commedia dell'arte* into opera.¹⁷ Margaret Murata has asserted that "*Chi soffre speri* is no more a comic opera than *Turandot* of Adami and Simoni, and it is much less a comedy than Hofmannsthal's *Ariadne auf Naxos*."¹⁸ Furthermore, in the most extended critique of Barberini patronage

¹⁵ Murata, *Operas*, 34.

¹⁶ Claude V. Palisca, *Baroque Music*, 3rd ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1991), 128-29. See also Rose, "Mazzocchi, Virgilio," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 11:870 and Eleanor Caluori, "Marazzoli, Marco," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 11:642. Rose refers to *Chi soffre speri* as a "comic opera," whereas Caluori calls it the "first comic opera."

¹⁷ Nino Pirrotta, "Commedia dell'arte and Opera," in *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque: A Collection of Essays*, Studies in the History of Music 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 355. For an extensive discussion of the relationship between early opera and the *Commedia dell'arte*, see 343-60, a revision of Pirrotta's earlier article (Pirrotta, "Commedia dell'arte and Opera," *Musical Quarterly* 41 (1955): 305-24).

¹⁸ Murata, *Operas*, 34. More recently, Murata has modified her assessment, asserting that "the lack of chorus perhaps more than the inclusion of comedians, places the libretto in the comic genre" (Murata, "Chi soffre speri," *New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 1:848).

to date, Frederick Hammond recently characterized *Chi soffre speri* as a “sentimental tragicomedy.”¹⁹

Although this scholarship has substantially enhanced our understanding of the genre of *Chi soffre speri*, a number of issues pertaining to the creation and revision of the opera remain to be fully addressed, the most important of which is, why did opera of this type appear when and where it did? The following pages examine both this question and other unresolved issues concerning the composition and historical significance of *Chi soffre speri*. The opera as a whole is described in Chapter 2, “Content and Structure,” in which both musical and textual examples are used to illustrate the relationship between *Chi soffre speri* and the plays of the *Commedia dell’arte*. One of the best-known portions of the opera is the 1639 Act II *intermedio*, *La Fiera di Farfa*, which is believed to have been composed solely by Marazzoli.²⁰ Although a great deal has been written about this *intermedio*, which replaced the 1637 depiction of a May Competition, the factors leading up to its composition have yet to be completely elucidated. Chapter 3 adduces several factors that may have influenced the composition of the 1639 *intermedio*. The attribution problems inherent in a work written by two composers are outlined in Chapter 4, “Musical Collaboration,” a chapter that also proposes a possible division of labor. The final chapter analyzes Roman dramatic traditions of the early decades of the

¹⁹ Hammond, *Spectacle*, 226

²⁰ BAV, AB, CFB, gius. 3315, fols. 89, 92, Hammond, *Spectacle*, 238, 335 n. 107

seventeenth century in an effort to explain why opera of this type appeared in Rome in the late 1630s.

CHAPTER 2. *CHI SOFFRE SPERI*: CONTENT AND STRUCTURE

A Plot Synopsis²¹

The allegory of the opera is established in the prologue, wherein the goddesses of Virtue, Sensuality, and Idleness decide on the story to be presented. Their forces will be contested in the opera. Virtue ends the prologue by saying that she will intervene to demonstrate that without virtue, love is vain.

The main plot of *Chi soffre speri* is drawn directly from Book 9 of Boccaccio's *Decameron*. The opera is set in Tuscany (Saturnia) in the fourteenth century. Egisto, the impoverished hero in both Boccaccio's tale and *Chi soffre speri*, pursues his beloved Alvida, a wealthy widow whose son is dying. Her son's only wish is to have Egisto's last worthy possession, his prized falcon. Despite her past dismissal of Egisto, Alvida sends word that she and her household will dine with him. Egisto receives his guests warmly, but soon realizes that he has nothing to offer them for dinner. As a last resort, he orders his falcon to be sacrificed for the feast. After dining, Alvida reveals the true intent of her visit--to retrieve the falcon for her son. Upon learning of her request, Egisto is overwhelmed with grief. Alvida is charmed by Egisto's love for her. In the body of the dead falcon, a heliotrope is found that cures Alvida's son. Egisto and Alvida plan to marry and all ends happily.

There are a number of departures from Boccaccio's tale. The most significant is the addition of two male servants for Egisto, Zanni and Coviello, who provide comic relief in the form of songs, dances, extended dialogues, and tricks. Their two sons--Frittellino and Colillo, respectively--were added to the 1639 version of the opera. The

²¹ This plot synopsis is modeled on Margaret Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court, 1631-1668* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 258-59. Scene numbering for both the plot synopsis and Table 1 (pg. 23) adhere to the 1639 version of the opera, as the music for the original presentation of the opera is lost.

main plot is further complicated, moreover, by the addition of subplots centering on Alvida's servant, Lucinda. She loves Egisto and disguises herself as a man, Armindo, in an attempt to thwart Egisto's plans of wooing Alvida (I:7-8). Armindo, in turn, is pursued by the shepherdess Eurilla. The inclusion of the bucolic characters of Ergastro, Eurilla, and Dorillo exemplifies the use of pastoral elements in *Chi soffre spera*.

Throughout the course of the opera's three acts, Boccaccio's tale is greatly enlivened by the comic and pastoral characters and the Lucinda subplot. The first act introduces the main characters. The action soon gives way, however, to comic relief as Zanni and Coviello discuss ways to alleviate their hunger (I:9). They introduce the first *intermedio*, which features singing and dancing. In the 1639 version of *Chi soffre spera*, a spectacular thunderstorm ends the *intermedio*. Act II opens with Alvida confiding her mistrust of Egisto to her servant Rosilda (II:1). Eurilla refuses her shepherd-suitor Dorillo (II:2). Zanni and Coviello entertain Dorillo as they try to steal his cheese (II:3-4). Act II:5, which was added for the 1639 version of *Chi soffre spera*, features Zanni, Coviello, and their sons. Alvida informs Egisto of her visit, and Egisto's servants prepare for the feast (II:13). In the 1639 version of *Chi soffre spera*, they visit the market in Farfa (*Intermedio* to Act II, *La Fiera di Farfa*). The fair replaces the May festival *intermedio* of 1637. Act III opens with Egisto's page, Moschino, chattering to Dorillo about the upcoming feast. Armindo (Lucinda in disguise) laments Egisto's rejection (III:3), and in the 1639 version of the opera, some nymphs try to boost her spirits (III:4). Alvida joins Egisto for the feast. After consuming the falcon, Egisto weeps upon learning of Alvida's request. A fast-paced series of events end the opera: in the tower's ruins, the shepherd Ergastro finds a cache of rare jewels (III:10), Fileno arrives to report that Armindo has killed himself, leaving behind a love letter for Egisto (III:11). Egisto discovers that Armindo must have been his long-lost sister, and Silvia and Titiro arrive to report that

Lucinda has not in fact died, and that the elixir has cured Alvida's son (III: 12-13). Egisto gains both Alvida for a wife and Lucinda for a sister. All celebrate as the opera closes with an elaborate *intermedio* titled *Fiori*.²²

B. Musical and Dramatic Content

TABLE 1

Musical Organization of *Chi soffre speri*

PROLOGUE

Sinfonia

Chorus of Four Nymphs, "Al mormorio di vago rio."

Chorus of Four Nymphs, "Ecco l'aria serena."

Chorus of Four Nymphs, "S'a fronte e di Virtù."

ACT I

Scene 1 Silvano and Egisto

Scene 2 Egisto, Silvano, Zanni, Coviello, and Moschino

Scene 3 Egisto, Zanni, and Coviello

²² Expense records for the 1639 production list five thousand flowers for this *intermedio*, BAV, AB, CFB, gius. fol. 65 (Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, "Production, Consumption and Political Function of Seventeenth-Century Opera," *Early Music History* 4 [1984] 218 n.28)

Table 1—*Continued*

Scene 4. Eurilla

Scene 5. Eurilla and Silvia

Scene 6. Colillo and Frittellino, “Puo servir per Intermedio.” (Alternative Intermedio)
Duet, “Per bivere a sto munno.”

Scene 7. Lucinda (Armando), “Si vil tetto alle fiamme.”

Scene 8. Armando and Egisto

Scene 9. Zanni and Coviello

Intermedio

Sinfonia

ACT II

Scene 1. Alvida and Rosilda
Duet, “Ombra lieve lampo breve.”

Scene 2. Eurilla and Dorillo
Duet, “Non è prato che non s’infiori.”
Eurilla, “Spezzate alme costanti.”

Scene 3. Zanni and Coviello

Scene 4. Dorillo, Zanni, and Coviello
Zanni (*Bergamasca*), “Franzeschina me garbada ”
Coviello, “Alla guerra ”

Scene 5. Colillo, Frittellino, Zanni, and Coviello

Scene 6. Armando, “O mio martire acerbo.”

Scene 7. Armando and Silvia
Silvia, “Se pensate alme costanti ”

Scene 8. Egisto, “Rondinella che d’intorno.”

Table 1—*Continued*

Scene 9. Egisto, Coviello, Zanni, and Moschino

Scene 10. The same, plus Armindo

Scene 11. Egisto, Coviello, Zanni, and Moschino

Scene 12. The same, plus Alvida, Rosilda, and Armindo

Scene 13. Coviello and Zanni

Intermedio, *La Fiera di Farfa* (1639)

Sinfonia

ACT III

Scene 1. Dorillo and Moschino

Dorillo, “Se non c’è tempo.”

Scene 2. Fileno, “La beltà che porta al core.”

Scene 3. Armindo

Scene 4. Dafne, Lidia, and Nereal

Trio, “Gia del prato i bei tesori.”

Scene 5. Eurilla and Silvia

Duet, “Chi vuol trarre i di contenti.”

Scene 6. Moschino

Scene 7. Alvida, Egisto, and Rosilda

Scene 8. The same, plus Zanni

Scene 9. The same, plus Clori

Scene 10. The same, plus Ergasto

Scene 11. The same, plus Fileno

Table 1—*Continued*

Scene 12. The same, plus Silvia

Scene 13. The same, plus Titiro

Intermedio

The dramatic structure of *Chi soffre speri* follows the format of the secular plays of the *Commedia dell'arte*. The opera abandons the Classical five-act organization, still found in *Sant'Alessio*, in favor of a three-act outline that corresponds to the structure of the *scenari* (plots) of *Commedia* plays. The change in construction results in a reduction of the required number of *intermedi* from four to two or three.²³ In addition, designations such as *Favola* and *Pastorale*, which were applied to *Chi soffre speri*'s predecessors, begin to be replaced by *Commedia in musica* or simply *Commedia*.²⁴ Though the 1639 *argomento* calls *Chi soffre speri* a *Commedia in musica*, one extant document refers to the opera as a *Pastorale*.²⁵ The term *Commedia* could designate either a play in general, or specifically, a comedy. In reference to both *Chi soffre speri*

²³ The Act III "Intermedio of the Flowers" is included in the 1639 score, but not in the 1667 print of the libretto (Vat. lat. 13340).

²⁴ Nino Pirrotta and Elena Povoledo, *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi*, trans. Karen Eales (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 274 and n. 115.

²⁵ BAV, AB, CFB, gius. 3315, f. 22r. "per servizio della Pastorale . . . al Palazzo alle 4 fontane", Frederick Hammond, "Girolamo Frescobaldi and a Decade of Music in Casa Barberini 1634-1643," *Analecta musicologica* 19 (1979): 119 n. 77.

and the *Commedia dell'arte*, it may be suggested that the broader connotation of the word (play) is the more suitable meaning.

During the seventeenth century, the plays of the *Commedia dell'arte* were often criticized for their obscene content and often frivolous nature. In defenses and treatises written by *Commedia* performers, however, there is evidence that the plays were usually intended to educate audiences. The discourses justify the art by claiming that it fulfilled the two functions of theater, to entertain and to morally edify. The aim of moral enlightenment is retained in *Chi soffre sperì*. Indeed, the *argomento* for the 1637 version of *Chi soffre sperì* states that the main objective of the opera “must be instruction together with delight.”²⁶ The opera draws on themes of virtue, love, and temptation. These forces of good and evil are compared in the following chorus from the prologue, “S’a fronte e di Virtù.”²⁷

Text:

S’a fronte e di Virtù la dolce volutta
Chi vincerà?
Chi potente sia piu

²⁶ BAV, Stamp. Barb. JJJ. VI. 16, item 9 (Rome: Reverenda Camera Apostolica, 1637), Frederick Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 226, 333 n. 71.

²⁷ Examples are taken from the facsimile edition of the 1639 score (*I-Rvat* Barb. lat 4386). Very little punctuation is found in this manuscript. For clarity, punctuation markings have been added to both the Italian texts and the translations. The facsimile of the score may be consulted in Virgilio Mazzocchi and Marco Marazzoli, *L’Egisto overo chi soffre sperì*, ed. Howard Mayer Brown, *Italian Opera, 1640-1770*, ser. 2, vol. 61 (New York: Garland, 1982). Facsimiles of a 1639 *argomento* and a 1667 manuscript libretto (Vat. lat. 13340) are found in vol. 14 of *Italian Opera Librettos: 1640-1770*, ed. Howard Mayer Brown (New York: Garland, 1983).

Il mondo hoggi vedrà
 Tal mai lite non fù
 Come questa hor sarà.
 S'a fronte e di virtù la dolce volutta
 Chi vincerà?

Translation:

Between Virtue and sensual pleasures,
 Who will win?
 He who is more powerful.
 Today the world will see
 There has never been
 A quarrel like this one that will now be.
 Between Virtue and sensual pleasures,
 Who will win?

Virtue's response to the question ("Who will win?") confirms the victory of goodness over evil, and includes the titular phrase of the opera.

Text:

Perfida Volutta de con quanti modi
 Per adescare ogn' alma
 Fabrichi menzognera insidie e frodi.
 Mi cederai pur hoggi a mè la palma?
 Ordirò sì di questa vela i nodi
 Che sia palese, e piano
 Che fuor della Virtude
 Ogn' altro Amore è vano.
 E con esempi chiari
 Da nobil Cavaliero il mondo impari
 Che chi di far procura
 Della Virtude acquisto
 Bandir deve dal seno
 Con generosa forza ogn' altra cura
 E insegnarò non meno
 Che per gl' aspri sentieri
 Della vita mortal
 Chi soffre sperì

Translation:

Wicked pleasures, many are the ways
 In which your lies and frauds
 Entrap every soul.
 Today, will you surrender to me?
 I will destroy your traps
 And slowly and clearly
 I will show everyone that except for Virtue
 Every other Love is vain.
 And with clear examples
 From a noble gentleman
 The world will learn,
 That he who pursues
 Virtue and wants to acquire it
 Must ban from his heart,
 With generous strength, every other care.
 I also will teach that
 He, who in the harsh paths of life
 Suffers, shall hope.

As shown by the prologue, *Chi soffre spera* fulfills the instructive function of theatrical entertainment.

The body of the opera consists mainly of lengthy recitatives that encompass both the serious main plot of the opera and the conversations of the comic servants. In the dialogue sections, the music of the comic and serious characters is not differentiated in style, even though Egisto tends to be given more lofty texts. As exemplified by the following excerpt from Act I.3, these passages resemble spoken dialogues with basso continuo accompaniment (see Example 1)

EXAMPLE 1, Excerpt from Act I:3.

Coviello

1

Pe di- ce- re lo ve- ro io ereo che non se tro- va chiù pro- de- go de

4

te - ne 'n tut- to quan - to lo ri- vier- so mun - no.

(♯) (4/3) (6/4) ♯

Egisto

7

Ad ogn' al- ma ben na- ta' m- bir con- vie- ne - di gen- ti- lez- za il

10

van - to. Ma che mai cre- de ves- te che fos- se quà ven- u - to a

(b) (b) (b)

13

chie - der - mi cos - tui.

(b) #

Text:

Coviello:
 Pe dicere lo vero
 Io creo che non se trova
 Chiù prodego de tene
 'n tutto quanto lo rivierso munno

Egisto:
 Ad ogn'alma ben nata ambir conviene
 Di gentilezza il vanto.
 Ma che mai crede veste
 Che fosse quà venuto
 A chiedermi costui.

Translation:

Coviello:
 To tell the truth,
 I believe that one cannot find
 A more worthy love than virtue
 In all the depraved world.

Egisto:
 For every well-born soul
 Shall strive to acquire kindness.
 But what do you think?
 This person has come to ask me.

The more anguished content of Egisto's text is clearly shown later in the same scene,
 as exemplified by Example 2.

EXAMPLE 2, Excerpt from Act I:3.

1

Ma già sper-ar co-tan-to a/me non li-ce. Me lo vie-ta/il te-

4

no-re del-la ma stel-la/in fi-da E sol pia-ce/ad Al-vi-da

7

di tor' la vi - ta a chi l'ha da - to il co - re. O eru - da

MS: MS: F

($\flat 6$ / 4) ($\flat 6$ / 4) (b) (b) #
(b)

11

Don - na, O Fa - to, O di mie lun - ghe pe - ne

($\flat 6$ / 4) #
(b) b b

14

Mer - ce - de/in - deg - na, e gui - der - do - ne in - gra - to.

6 b (b) b (b)

Text:

Ma già sperar cotanto a me non lice,
 Me lo vieta il tenore
 Della mia stella infida.
 E sol piace ad Alvida
 Di tor la vita a chi l'ha dato il core.
 O cruda Donna, O Fato,
 O di mie lunghe pene
 Mercede indegna, e guiderdone ingrato.

Translation:

But I am not allowed to hope so much.
 The tenor of my untrustworthy star denies it to me.
 Alvida takes pleasure in taking away
 The life of he who has given her his heart.
 O cruel Woman, O Fate,
 Unworthy and ungrateful reward of my long pains!

The speed at which most of the text was delivered in *Chi soffre speri* may have been influenced by the fast dialogues of the *Commedia dell'arte* performers. Nino Pirrotta has noted that this quickness facilitated the development of *recitar cantando* (a contemporaneous term for the *stile rappresentativo*) as the equivalent of speech on stage.²⁸ The Roman style of *recitar cantando* is characterized by fast rhythms in the imitation of ordinary speech, rather than heightened speech, upon which the Florentine recitative is modeled. Pirrotta also commented on the relationship between the *recitar cantando* and the later *recitativo secco*, the latter of which he found to be of greater musical interest.²⁹

²⁸ Pirrotta and Povoledo, 274

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 274 and n. 70

Perhaps the strongest connection between *Chi soffre speri* and the *Commedia dell'arte* is the opera's use of masked characters. Rospigliosi borrows a series of masks from the *Commedia dell'arte*: the Bergamasque Zanni, the Neapolitan Coviello, and Frittellino and Colillo--the sons of Zanni and Coviello, respectively--who are added for the opera's 1639 revival. The earliest *Commedia dell'arte* plays included both a *zanni* (either a "clown" in general, or a comic character named Zanni), and his Neapolitan companion, who was usually called Coviello.³⁰ Rospigliosi retains this comic pairing in *Chi soffre speri*. Zanni's son, Frittellino, a livelier version of the *zanni* prototype, was the creation of the Bolognese actor Pier Maria Cecchini (1563-1645).³¹ Besides directing the *Compagnia degli Accessi*, which disbanded in 1604, Cecchini wrote two important treatises in defense of the *Commedia dell'arte*: *Brevi discorsi intorno alle Comedie comedianti e spettatori* (1614) and *Frutti delle moderne Comedie et aviso a chi le recita* (1628). The comic *zanni* in both the *Commedia dell'arte* and *Chi soffre speri* occupied themselves spying, pandering, jesting, singing, and running errands for their masters. Rospigliosi retains the types of comic humor associated with these characters, as well as their use of dialect, their costumes, their personality traits, and their idiomatic physical gestures

³⁰ Allardyce Nicoll, *The World of Harlequin: A Critical Study of the Commedia dell'arte* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP), 83. The name Zanni derives from the Bergamasque for "Giovanni."

³¹ Nicoll, 84

The use of *Commedia dell'arte* masks in *Chi soffre speri* seems to have influenced the opera's overall musical and textual style. The dialogues and comic antics of Egisto's male servants, Zanni and Coviello, are borrowed directly from the *Commedia dell'arte* with little or no alteration. Dramatically, they serve to entertain and enliven the potentially monotonous pattering recitative. Their diversionary amusement often takes the form of *lazzi* ("stage business"), which comprise a wide assortment of jokes, tricks, songs, dialogues, jests, and dances, in the tradition of the *Commedia dell'arte*.

Commedia-type amusements were even more prevalent in the 1639 version of *Chi soffre speri* than they were in the original presentation of the opera. The newly added *Commedia* masks of Frittellino and Colillo are allotted their own scene, Act I:6, which is headed "Puo servir per Intermedio," indicating that it could serve as an alternate *intermedio* to the first act. The scene begins with fast-paced recitative in which the young boys complain of their fatigue after spending hours looking for their fathers. The extended duet that follows contrasts with the pattering style of the recitative (see Example 3).

7

me- glio che pen sar- e/a nien- te.

Per viv- ere/a sto mon- do al- leg- ra- ment'

(#) (6/4) (6) #

10

non c'e lo me- glio non c'e lo

a non ghe mei che non pen- sa- ranient'. a no ghe mei a no ghe mei

(#) (#)

13

me - glio non c'e lo me-glio non c'e lo me-glio che non pep - sar - e'a
a non ghemei a non ghemei mei a non ghe mei ch'el non pen - sa - re/a

MS: e

(#) (6) (7) (#)

16

nien - te.
nient' Sem - per can - cher i -

MS

(6)

(6)

($\frac{3}{4}$)

(6)

(6)

vel in - tras - cal - tra mal - anne

MS.

MS.

MS.

22

(6)

gnon chi len ol so Zer -

MS.

MS.

MS.

19

25

Sem - per can - cher ig -
Zorn' e nott'.

MS: $\left(\begin{smallmatrix} 9 \\ \#7 \\ 5 \end{smallmatrix} \right)$ (6)

(#) $\left(\begin{smallmatrix} 9 \\ \#7 \\ 5 \end{smallmatrix} \right)$ (6)

28

not - te chi te - ne lo cer -

(6)

31

MS: .

vel - lo im - brogli - ato in mal - an - ni/e

(6) (6) (7)

MS:

34

MS: .

iorn - e not - te.

in - fras - cat tra mal -

(♯) (6) MS: ♯ ♯

MS: . MS: .

(6) (6)

cal - - - in - - - tras - - - cal
MS: o

im - - - bro - - - im - - - to - - - gli - - - a - - -
MS: o

37 38 39 40

(#) (6) (#)

anne
MS: o

im - - - bro - - - gli - - - ato - - - in - - - ma - - - lan - - - ne
MS: o

41 42 43 44

43

glia - to in - mal - anne e ior e
in mal - an - ne e zorn' e

(6) (4 - 3)

46

not - te. - Pe - rò Zan - ni mio bel - lo
nott'. Pe -

49

Spien - zer - a - to cam -

rò co - la me bel

(6) (6/5)

52

par vo - gli/a co - si.

an - ca

(6) (♯) (♯)

55

mi vi - ver sen - za pen - sar a

58

io per - zi
voi co - si an - ca

(F#) (F#) (F#)

61

io pos - si

mi

MS:

(#)

78

Bra - vo pe vi - ta mi - a ma nó pa - re. Che nu'n/ce sim - mo

81

con-cer-ta - ti ass - ieme chiu de nò mis e miel - lo.

(9)
(7)
(5)

Text:

Colillo:

Per bivere a sto munno allegramente
Non c'è lo meglio che pensare a niente.

Frittellino:

Per vivere a sto mondo allegrament'
A non ghe mei che non pensare nient'
Semper cancher ignott
Chi ten ol sò Zervel
In frascat tra malanne e Zorn' e nott'

Colillo

Sempre cancher ignotte
Chi tene lo cervello
Imbrogliato in malanni e `iorne e notte
Però Zanni mio bello

Frittellino

Però Cola me bel

Colillo:
Spienzerato campar voglio a cosi.

Frittellino:
Anca mi viver senza pensar a voi cosi.

Colillo:
Io perzi

Frittellino:
Anca mi

Colillo:
Io possi
Bravo pe vita mia ma nò pare,
Che nu 'n ce simmo concertati assieme
Chiù d'uno mise e mezzzo.

Translation:

Frittellino/Colillo:
To live joyfully in this world
There is nothing better than to think of nothing.
He who reasons day and night,
Looking for the unknown,
Finds himself entangled among misfortunes.

Colillo:
But my beautiful Zanni.

Frittellino:
But my beautiful Cola.

Colillo:
I want to live carefree

Frittellino:
I also want to live without thinking of you in this way.

Colillo:
I lost

Frittellino:
Me too.

Colillo:
I could.
I have an infinite desire to live,
But it doesn't seem
That we have not planned together
For more than a month and a half.

The carefree attitude of the young boys reflects their *Commedia dell'arte* heritage.

Two common features of *Commedia dell'arte* plays are the use of disguises and secondary plots. In *Chi soffre speri*, Rospigliosi retains these elements by including a subplot based on Lucinda (servant to Alvida) and her love for the hero, Egisto. To discourage Egisto from wooing her mistress, Lucinda disguises herself as a man, Armindo, who is pursued by the shepherdess Eurilla.³² Deluded love for a disguised girl was a common *Commedia dell'arte* subplot. In the opera, Eurilla's infatuation may be regarded as a subplot to the subplot.³³ In her solo scene (I:4), Eurilla expresses her love for Armindo (see Example 4)

³² The chief features of Lucinda's history appear in the character of Viola in *Twelfth Night*. Italian examples of this character type include the play *Gl' Ingannata* (Sienna, 1531) and the 36th tale in Part II of Matteo Bandello's *Novelle* (pub. 1554) (Stuart Reiner, "Collaboration in *Chi soffre speri*," *Music Review* 22 [1961]: 277)

³³ The disguise scenario is perhaps further complicated by the ban of women from the Roman operatic stage. The character of Lucinda was portrayed by a man. Consequently, Armindo was a man portraying a woman disguised as a man.

EXAMPLE 4, Act I:4. Eurilla.

1

Che mi - rar - se/o miei lu - mi,

b

3

Lu-mi trop - po bram - o - si. o - ve vol - ge - re

6

in-cau-ta-men-te il guar - do. Per - ch'ogn' hor mi con -

(b6)

9

su - mi? Per - che mai non ri - po - si? Ah!

MS: G

7 - 6 # b

12

las - sa. av - vam - po et ar - do, e l'a - ma - to splen -

b (7/5/2) (b) (b)

15

do - re quan - to piu ce - lo/lil fo - co. Rad -

17

dop - pia in - cen dio/all' al - ma/e pe - na al

(6)

19

co - re. Ma in si rom - ito lo - co.

(#) (b) # #

22

Hor che nes - sun' m'as - col - ta hor ch'io son so - la. Chi mi

(6/4/2) (#)

25

vie-ta/il chia-mar - l'a - ma-to no-me? Ar - min -

(#) (#)

28

do. ah - per-che fug - gi? Sap-pi Armin - do eh'io

31

fa - mo. Sap - pi eh'io chiu-do/in - seno un fo - co/im -

33

men - so, Sap - pi che tu mi strug - gi.

($b6-5$) (4)

36

Ma che di - co, ò che par - lo o - ve tras - cor - ri

39

Eur - illa. Ah - semp - li - cet - ta ah fol - le dunque il tuo

($\frac{4}{3}$)

42

fu - o co hai di sco - prir bal - dan - za.

(4)
(3)

Text:

Che mirarse o miei lumi,
 Lumi troppo bramosi,
 Ove volgere incautamente il guardo.
 Perch' ogn' hor mi consumi?
 Perché mai non riposi?
 Ahi lassa, avvampo et ardo,
 E l'amato splendore
 Quanto più celo il foco.
 Radoppia incendio all'alma e pena al core.
 Ma in sì romito loco,
 Hor che nessun' m'ascolta hor ch'io son sola.
 Chi mi vieta il chiamar l'amato nome?
 Armindo, ah perchè fuggi?
 Sappi Armindo ch'io t'amo,
 Sappi ch'io chiudo inseno un foco immenso,
 Sappi che tu mi struggi.
 Mâ che dico, o che parlo
 Ove trascorri Eurilla,
 Ah semplicetta ah folle
 Dunque il tuo fuoco hai di scoprir baldanza

Translation.

Oh eyes, desiring eyes, what did you see
 When you glanced so imprudently?
 Why do you consume me?

Why do you never rest?
 Oh poor me, in flames I burn.
 And the more I hide the fire,
 The more fire and pain spread
 In my heart and soul.
 But in such a lonely place,
 Now that no one is listening to me,
 Now that I am alone,
 Who forbids me to call the name of my love?
 Armindo, why do you escape from me?
 Please know Armindo that I love you,
 Please know that I enclose in my heart an immense fire,
 Please know that you consume me.
 But what are these words?
 What am I saying?
 Where are you Eurilla?
 Naive and crazy young lady,
 Out of your fire you can uncover boldness.

Eurilla's love for Armindo is secondary in importance to Armindo's (Lucinda's) passion for Egisto. The complications associated with the Lucinda/Armindo subplot are not borrowed from Boccaccio's tale, but reflect additions by Rospigliosi. Musically, Lucinda is one of the most important characters in the opera. In each act she has either an extensive solo aria or recitative. At the close of Act III:3, Lucinda/Armindo reflects upon the anguish engendered by Egisto's rejection of her (see Example 5).

EXAMPLE 5, Excerpt from Act III.3.

1

(b)

Gia la ter - ra s'in - vo - la, men - tre lan - guen - d' io ghia - cco.

1

($\frac{5}{3}$) \sharp (b) ($\flat\frac{6}{4}$) (b)

4

on - de mi - se - ra e so - la Ohi - me ri -

4

(7) $\flat\frac{6}{4}$

6

man - go a eru - da mor - te in bra - cco

6

MS

($\flat\frac{6}{4}$) 4 - 3 (b) (b)

(p3)

Text:

Gia la terra s'invola,
Mentre languend' io ghiaccio,
Onde misera e sola.
Ohime rimango a cruda morte in braccio.

Translation:

Already the earth flies away,
While I languish and freeze.
Wherefore miserable and alone,
Alas, I remain in the arms of the cruel death.

The passage features expressive harmonic motion that reflects the text, most notably in measure 6 on the words “cruda morte.” The affective style of the music differs from the pattering recitatives that are frequently assigned to both the comic servants and the main characters. Instead, Lucinda/Armino is given a serious musical soliloquy that poignantly closes the scene.

Popular songs and dances played a diversionary role in both early opera and *Commedia dell'arte* productions. Iconographical evidence confirms their use in *Commedia dell'arte* plays. Depictions of characters with instruments, either singing or dancing, are found in books, in engravings by Jacques Callot (*Balli di Sfessania*, 1622), in frescoes in the Trausnitz Castle (ca. 1578), in Franco-Flemish paintings, and in Giacomo Franco's Venetian engravings (1610).³⁴ Furthermore, numerous publications

³⁴ Pirrotta and Poveledo, 85.

present Pantalone and his comic companions singing their lines, often in duets, trios, or quartets.³⁵

Nino Pirrotta has observed that music and dance served three main purposes in *Commedia* plays: they fulfilled requirements of the plot; they revealed character, often in monologue; and they provided diversionary entertainment.³⁶ He also suggested that each *Commedia dell'arte* performer had a favorite stage song. Many such monophonic songs exist in a volume of music by Marco Facoli entitled *Balli d'Arpicordo* (Venice, 1588). The collection contains instrumental versions of monodic songs, titled *Arie*, which are accompanied by a feminine name (e.g., *Arie della Signora Livia*). The anthology's connection with singers in the *Commedia dell'arte* is strengthened by the inclusion of works entitled *Aria della Commedia* and *Aria della Commedia nova*.

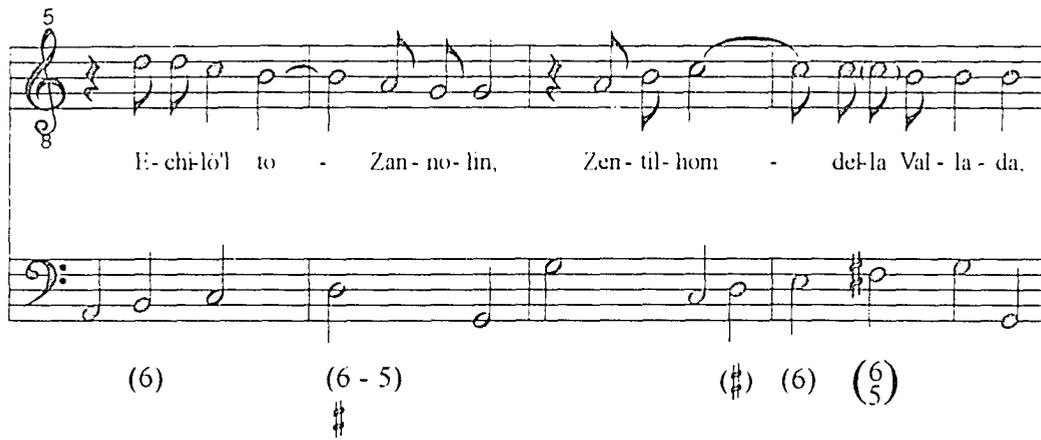
Songs performed by masked characters also provided diversion in *Chi soffre speri*. Quite possibly, the opera's popular songs are indicative of the music cultivated by contemporaneous *Commedia dell'arte* troupes. The songs and dialogues of the comic servants in both the *Commedia dell'arte* and *Chi soffre speri* often involve thievery and cheating.³⁷ This type of comic swindling is found in Act II:4 of *Chi soffre speri*. In this

³⁵ Nicoll, 158

³⁶ Nino Pirrotta, "Commedia dell'arte and Opera," *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque: A Collection of Essays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 351. The following discussion is based on Pirrotta, "Commedia dell'arte and Opera," 348.

³⁷ Nicoll, 177

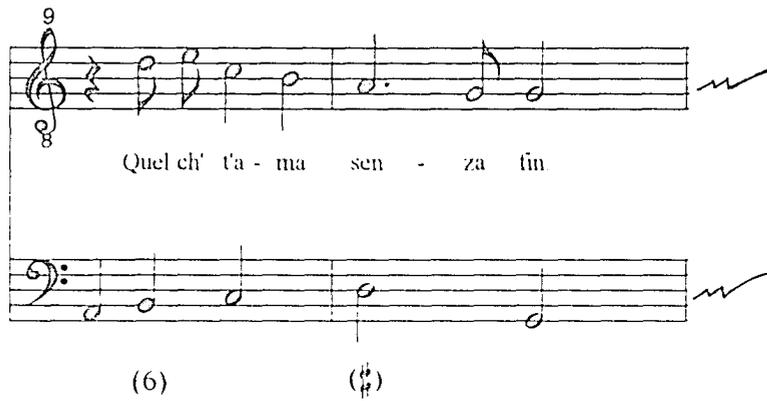
5



E - chi - lò'l to - Zan - no - lin, Zen - til - hom - del - la Val - la - da.

(6) (6 - 5) (#) (6) (6/5)

9



Quel ch' t'a - ma sen - za fin

(6) (#)

Text

Franzeschina me garbada,
 Echilò 'l tò Zannolin,
 Zentilhom della Vallada,
 Quel ch' t'ama senza fin

Translation

Franzeschina, who pleases me so,
 Here is your Zannolin,
 Gentleman of the Valley,
 The one that loves you endlessly

The opening line addresses Franzeschina, the maidservant who often portrayed the wife of Zanni in *Commedia dell'arte* plays.³⁸ Following Zanni's *bergamasca*, Coviello sings an amusing warlike song (see Example 7).

EXAMPLE 7, Act II:4. Coviello, "Alla guerra."

1

Al - la guer - ra! - la guer - ra. chi/e ba -

MS: ♩

(#) (#) (#)

³⁸ Franzeschina (Franceschina) was the stage name of Battista Amorevoli da Treviso, the man who was the first actor to play the role of Zagna, the female counterpart of Zanni. Battista has been linked to the Gelosi company in 1577. An actress by the name of Silvia Roncagli played the role in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. In 1614, however, the Franzeschina of the Uniti troupe was once again a man, Ottavio Bernardini. The use of male actors to play this female part gave the name Franzeschina a connotation that was not maidenly, though in the seventeenth century more youthful depictions of her are found (Nicoll, 96; Warren Kirkendale, "Franceschina, Girometta, and their Companions in a Madrigal 'a diversi linguaggi' by Luca Marenzio and Orazio Vecchi," *Acta musicologica* 44 [1972]: 192 n. 40; Winifred Smith, *The Commedia dell'arte* [New York: Benjamin Blom, 1964], 193).

5

len - te se pon - ga/in fret - ta, spa - ta' - lo

(#) (#) (#) #

9

fian - co e pen - na'l - la be - ret - ta.

(#) (#) (#) # #

13

Sen - ti pe/d' ogn - i stra - da la tap - pa

(#) (#) (#) #

17

tap - pa tap - pa. Sù sù/ar - ran - ca la

F# G# A# B#

21

spa - ta Sù sù im brac - cia/la cap - pa.

F# G# (F#) (G#)

25

Sen - ti la tap - pa tap - pa

(F#) (G#) (F#) (G#) (F#)

29

Sien-ti la tap - pa tap - pa la tap - pa tap - pa.

(#) (#) (#) (#) (#) (#) (#)

MS: 6

33

For - se le - va lo vien-to all' au - rechie lo suo - no.

MS: 6

(#)

Text:

Alla guerra alla guerra,
 Chi e balente se ponga in fretta,
 Spata allo fianco e penna alla beretta.
 Senti pe d'ogni strada
 La tappa tappa tappa
 Sù sù arranca la spata
 Sù sù im braccia la cappa.
 Senti la tappa tappa.
 Forse leva lo viento
 All' aurecchie lo suono

Translation:

To the war, to the war
 He who is valorous
 Be ready in a hurry

Sword on your side and feather in your berret.
 Hear in every street
 The steps of soldiers.
 Hurry, hurry, keep your sword ready
 Hurry, hurry, keep yourself ready.
 Hear the steps of the soldiers.
 Perhaps the wind will hide
 The sound from the ears.

The comic songs of the servants differ considerably from the arias given to Egisto, the central heroic character in *Chi soffre speri*. In his brief “Rondinella che d’intorno,” Egisto sings of winning Alvida’s good favor. The song features melismatic ornaments in the vocal line. This embellished style is employed almost exclusively in the songs and duets sung by the serious characters in the opera (see Example 8)

EXAMPLE 8, Act II:8. Egisto, “Rondinella che d’intorno.”

The image shows a musical score for the vocal line of Egisto's "Rondinella che d'intorno." It consists of two staves: a treble clef staff for the vocal line and a bass clef staff for the basso continuo line. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The vocal line begins with a first ending bracket (marked '1') over the first measure. The lyrics are: "Ron-di-nel-la che d'in-tor-no vai spie-gan-do/il vo-lo in-sta-bi-le". The basso continuo line has three figured bass notations: (6), (6), and (b6) under the first three measures.

4

Gia t'in-vi-ta a/far ri - tor - no bel se - ren di Cie lo/am - a - bi-le.

(6) (6) (6) (6/3) (4)

7

A gio - i - re/i fior - t'al - let - ta -

(6) (6/5) (4)

9

no a scher-zar -

(#) (6/5) (7) (6/4) (6) (6)

12

- l'au - re t'af - fret - ta - no.

(6
4
3)

Text:

Rondinella che d'intorno
 Vai spiegando il volo instabile.
 Già t'invita a far ritorno
 Bel seren di Cielo amabile.
 A gioire i fior t'allettano
 à scherzar l'aure t'affrettano.

Translation:

Swallow, you go around
 Spreading your unstable flight.
 The loving clear sky
 Invites you to return.
 The flowers entice you to enjoy.
 The breeze hurries you
 To a joyful play.

Egisto's solo scene continues with a return of the pattering recitative so prevalent in *Chi soffre spera*.

In addition to the short solo songs that occasionally enliven the opera, dances provide diversion, with passacaglias being especially prominent. There are two

In accordance with the tradition of improvising instrumental music in both early opera and the *Commedia dell'arte*, only bass notes are given for the dance music in the operatic score. Presumably the instrumentalists would improvise over the bass line.⁴⁰ Payment records indicate that the instrumental group for *Chi soffre speri* consisted of two violins (on the melody) and continuo. In 1639 the continuo group comprised two harpsichords, two *violini*, two lutes, a harp, and a *cetra*.⁴¹ The improvisatory nature of the dance music in *Chi soffre speri* provides a further link between the opera and the music of the *Commedia dell'arte*.

As we have seen, a variety of evidence seems to link the *Commedia dell'arte* with *Chi soffre speri*. The three-act structure and educational intent of the opera are consistent with the plays of the *Commedia dell'arte*. Moreover, much of the recitative (comprising the bulk of the opera) is cast in a rapid pattering style similar to the declamation employed in spoken *Commedia* plays. Furthermore, both entertainments make use of subplots and disguises. Most importantly, however, two masks for the 1637 version and an additional two for the 1639 revision of the opera are directly borrowed from the prototypes of the *Commedia dell'arte*. The comic servants in *Chi soffre speri*

⁴⁰ Performers frequently improvised independent instrumental music (Frederick Hammond, "Bernini and the 'Fiera di Farfa'," in *Gianlorenzo Bernini: New Aspects of His Art and Thought: A Commemorative Volume*, ed. Irving Lavin [University Park: Penn. State University Press, 1985], 120).

⁴¹ Murata, *Operas*, 258. Textual considerations in *La Fiera di Farfa* required the use of a cittern, a bagpipe, a *cifalo*, a Jews' harp, and "one who whistles like a nightingale" (Hammond, "Bernini and the 'Fiera di Farfa'," 119).

perform a variety of diversionary *lazzi*, including dances and a few popular style songs.

Finally, the performance of the dance music seems to reflect the improvisatory instrumental practices of the *Commedia* players.

CHAPTER 3. *LA FIERA DI FARFA* AND THE 1639 REVIVAL OF
CHI SOFFRE SPERI

With entirely new text and music, the 1639 Act II *intermedio*, *La Fiera di Farfa*, represents the most significant departure from the 1637 version of *Chi soffre speri*. It replaced what has been described as a May Competition, a revelry performed at the Tuscan festival that celebrated the beginning of May, the *Calendimaggio*.⁴² The music to the new *intermedio* is thought to have been composed solely by Marazzoli, an attribution based on his possession of a separate manuscript containing only the music for *La Fiera di Farfa*.⁴³ The *intermedio* featured a backdrop and scenery created by Bernini, who also designed the famous rising and setting of the sun that end the *intermedio*. His contribution to *La Fiera* represents the first documented evidence of his participation in Barberini operatic productions.⁴⁴

⁴² For a discussion of both Carnival and May festivals in Europe, see Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 178-204

⁴³ *La Fiera di Farfa* exists in the full score of *Chi soffre speri* (BAV, Barb lat 4386) and in BAV, Chigi Q. VIII. 190, a manuscript that contains only the *intermedio*. Oliveriana 168 and Vat lat 13599 (both text sources), and Chigi Q. VIII. 190, lack a closing madrigal to *La Fiera di Farfa* (Margaret Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court, 1631-1668* [Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981], 33). For a comprehensive list of documents pertaining to *Chi soffre speri*, see Murata, *Operas*, 259-62

⁴⁴ Historian Filippo Baldinucci was the first to attribute the scenography for *La Fiera di Farfa* to Bernini. In 1682, in his biography on Bernini, he wrote "There will live forever in the world the fame of the comedy of the *Fair*, made for Cardinal Antonio at the time of Urban [VIII], where there appeared all that is customarily seen in such assemblages" (quoted in Frederick Hammond, "Bernini and the 'Fiera di Farfa,'" in *Gianlorenzo Bernini: New Aspects of His Art and Thought. A Commemorative Volume*, ed. Irving Lavin [University Park: Penn. State University Press, 1985], 117). Proof of Bernini's

Although Bernini's designs and sets for the *intermedio* no longer exist, Jacques Callot's depiction of a similar fair at Impruneta in 1619 provides an indication of the spirit of *La Fiera*.⁴⁵ Town fairs were lively events in seventeenth-century Italy. Spectators were entertained by street performers and revelers while merchants noisily peddled their wares. Like *La Fiera di Farfa*, Callot's fair included dancers, vendors, carriages, an inn, and *Commedia dell'arte* characters.⁴⁶ *La Fiera di Farfa* also featured double choruses, a mock duel, a *palio* (race), and the only scene change in the entire opera. The atmosphere of the fair is portrayed musically at the outset of the *intermedio* with a double chorus exclaiming "Alla Fiera, Alla Fiera. La vaga primavera hoggi con pompa altera v'invita a schiera" ("To the fair, To the fair. Charming spring with proud splendor today invites you in crowds").

The new *intermedio* represents only one of several revisions made for the 1639 production of *Chi soffre speri*. Revising and restaging an opera was not unusual for the Barberinis. It was customary to present an opera a year or two after its first performance, as was the case in most of the Barberini operas that preceded *Chi soffre speri*. What is unusual with *Chi soffre speri*, however, is the amount of the newly composed material added to the 1639 version, with the replacement *intermedio*, *La Fiera di Farfa*,

involvement is found in Barberini financial documents which he countersigned (BAV, AB, CFB, gius. 3315, fol. 20r, Hammond, "Bernini and the 'Fiera di Farfa'," 125 n.9). See n. 128 below

⁴⁵ Ibid., 120

⁴⁶ Ibid.

consuming eighty-four pages in its separate manuscript (Chigi Q. VIII. 190). Despite the extensive descriptions and commentary about *La Fiera di Farfa*, the question of why it was necessary to add an entirely new *intermedio* remains unanswered.

Why did Rospigliosi, Marazzoli, and Bernini collaborate to create a new *intermedio*? There is reason to suspect that the composition of *La Fiera* was inspired, in part, by Urban VIII's recovery in 1639 from a serious illness sustained two years earlier. A crucial turning point in Urban's pontificate came in the mid to late 1630s, after he had suffered an illness in 1635 and approached death in 1637.⁴⁷ His sickness of 1637 was so severe that Gabriel Naudé, a member of Cardinal Francesco's household, observed that "the pontificate is at its end."⁴⁸ Urban's public role significantly diminished; he gave fewer appearances and began to turn most of his duties over to the cardinal-nephews. The new powers of the cardinals were so great that Odoardo Farnese, the Duke of Parma (1612-46), blamed them for the War of Castro that was fought between Parma and the papacy in 1641.⁴⁹

Given the pope's deteriorating condition, and the increased political responsibilities of the cardinals, the Carnival entertainments of 1638 were produced in

⁴⁷ Frederick Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 23-24.

⁴⁸ Gabriel Naudé, *Lettres de Gabriel Naudé à Jacques Dupuy (1632-1652)*, ed. Phillip Wolfe (Edmonton: LEALTA/ALTA Press, 1982), 38, quoted in Hammond, *Spectacle*, 231.

⁴⁹ Hammond, *Spectacle*, 24.

haste and were described by Rospigliosi as “very flat.”⁵⁰ For the festivities of that year, Cardinal Francesco presented the opera *San Bonifatio* and a mimed ballet, *La Pazzia d’Orlando, ovvero l’Acquisto di Durlindana* (“The Madness of Orlando, or The Acquisition of Durlindana”). The opera was performed six times at the Palazzo Cancelleria, in a large three-story high room that inhibited the use of stage machinery.⁵¹ The ballet was given four times at the Palazzo Barberini.⁵² In a letter to his brother, Camillo, dated 1 January 1638, Rospigliosi describes the lack of festivity associated with the production of *San Bonifatio* in the following manner:

[the opera] was decided upon just before Christmas, and up to now not even the half has been composed, but it will be an unpretentious [*ordinaria*] thing, and without any change of scene or apparition. . . .⁵³

It may be noted, parenthetically, that “apparition” here refers to the spectacular effects achieved in many Roman operas by means of elaborate stage machinery. Urban VIII’s declining health, combined with the additional political responsibilities of Cardinals Antonio and Francesco, may have contributed to the lack of spectacle in the Carnival entertainments of 1638.

⁵⁰ Giulio Rospigliosi to his brother (Camillo Rospigliosi), 1 January 1638: “E questo anno il carnevale è assai basso,” quoted in Murata, *Operas*, 290 n. 1.

⁵¹ Hammond, *Spectacle*, 231

⁵² Ibid

⁵³ Murata, *Operas*, 290

In February 1639, however, Urban VIII's health took a turn for the better. He told Cardinal Corner that he felt the weight of his years (he then was seventy-one), though on the whole he was quite well.⁵⁴ The new Venetian envoy also found him in good health.⁵⁵ A recovering pope was a positive image for the papacy and a possible reason for the addition of a spectacular *intermedio* to the Carnival festivities of that year. Despite his improved physical condition, however, Urban VIII was unable to perform public ceremonies outside the Vatican for the last four years of his life (1640-44). In fact, it was rumored that when he did appear at his window following an illness, he was actually dead and his body was made to move by the artifice of Bernini.⁵⁶

A more important factor accounting for the addition of *La Fiera di Farfa*, however, is the completion of the Barberini theater at the Palazzo Barberini, which coincided with some of the 1639 performances of *Chi soffre speri*. Figure 1 (p. 79) shows a floorplan of the *piano nobile*, the main floor of the palace.⁵⁷

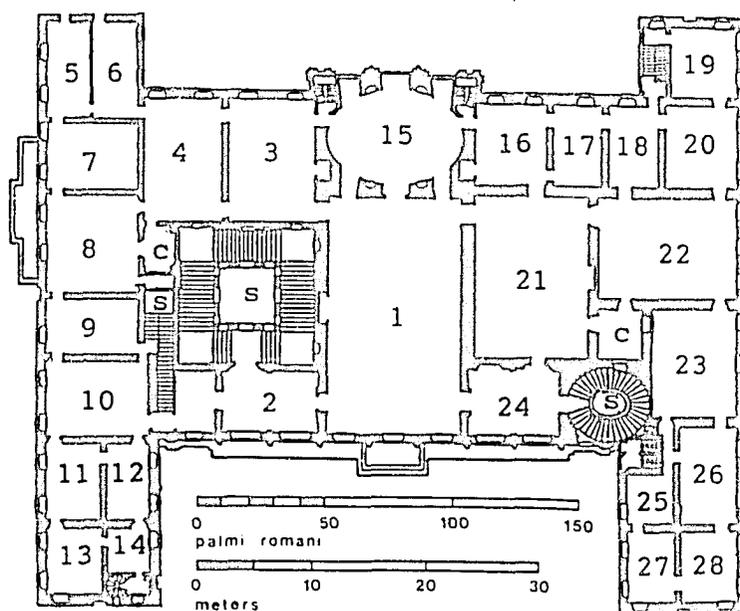
⁵⁴ Cardinal Corner to the Senate, 12 February 1639 (Rome), quoted in Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, trans. Dom Ernest Graf (London: Kegan Paul, 1923-53), 29:401 and n.3.

⁵⁵ Pastor, 29:401-2, 402 n.1.

⁵⁶ Jennifer Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture: The Industry and the Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 218 n. 67, quoted in Hammond, *Spectacle*, 24.

⁵⁷ This figure is modeled on Patricia Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces: Use and Art of the Plan* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990), 183, Fig. 102 (reconstruction by David DiMarco). Measurements are given in *palmi romani*, the unit of measure used in the *misure e stime* (construction records) of seventeenth-century Roman documents. 1 *palmi* is the equivalent of 0.2234 meter, or 9 inches (Waddy, xiii).

FIGURE 1

Palazzo Barberini: *Piano nobile*, 1628-1638

Central Wing (1, 15) joins the North Wing (secular, 2-14) with the South Wing (ecclesiastical, 16-28)

C Chapel S Staircase

1 Salone ("large hall"); ceiling fresco by Pietro da Cortona, *Divine Providence*

2 Vestibule

3-4 Anterooms

5/7 Connect garden apartments with main *piano nobile* apartment

5-6 Part of Anna's garden apartments [wife of Don Taddeo]

7-14 Formal rooms of the *piano nobile*

7 Possibly an alternate audience room

8 Salotto (lounge); ceiling by Andrea Sacchi, *Divine Wisdom*

9 Anteroom leading to the audience room (10)

13-14 Possible audience room or gallery-like hall

15 Oval room; used for literary meetings, though originally intended as an anteroom

16-20 Cardinal Francesco's summer rooms

21 Anteroom where theatrical performances were given (beginning in February 1632)

22 Anteroom; the vaulted room above it, originally intended as Cardinal Francesco's *guardaroba* (cloakroom), served as the dressing room for the comedies

Though one account reports that the opera was presented “in the large hall below” (Fig 1, no. 21, p. 79), where the previous operas had been performed, other contemporary reports of the 1639 version of *Chi soffre speri* clearly speak of a new theater.

The existence of a new and semi-permanent theater is confirmed in Barberini records, with Antonio’s account book from 13 June to 16 December 1636 showing expenditures for masonry, carting, beams, metalwork, all for the “new large hall which is being built contiguous to our palace at the Quattro Fontane.”⁵⁸ The *Avvisi di Roma* state that *Chi soffre speri* was performed “Sunday evening for the first time in the theater made especially for such occasions in the palace of Cardinal Antonio at Capo le Case which can accommodate four thousand persons comfortably.”⁵⁹ This second production marked the opening of the newly completed Barberini theater. The theater survived the last of the Barberini productions and remained intact with internal alterations until 1932, when it

⁵⁸ Waddy, 247.

⁵⁹ *Avviso* of 5 March 1639, quoted in Murata, *Operas*, 261 n. 10. Capo le Case (“where the houses end”), the name of a street close to the Palazzo Barberini, was another appellation for the Palazzo Barberini (Hammond, *Spectacle*, 235, 334 n 97). Contemporary accounts vary in their estimations of the theater’s capacity. Reports indicate that the theater held between 3,500 and 4,000 spectators. In a letter dated 1 March 1642 Giulio Rospigliosi wrote “Il teatro è capace di 3,500 persone, o di vantaggio’ (*I-Rvat*, Vat. lat. 13364, fols. 19-21, quoted in Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, “Production, Consumption and Political Function of Seventeenth-Century Opera,” *Early Music History* 4 [1984]: 220 n. 36). There is scholarly dispute over the actual capacity of the Teatro Barberini, Silke Leopold maintains that the theater held “only a few hundred privileged spectators” (Silke Leopold, “Rome. Sacred and Secular,” in *The Early Baroque Era: From the Late 16th Century to the 1660s*, Music and Society, ed. Curtis Price [Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1994], 60). Others (Waddy, 247 and Hammond, *Spectacle*, 14), however, assert that the theater could hold between 3,000 and 4,000 people.

was demolished to build the new Via Barberini that linked the old center of Rome with the train station.⁶⁰

The completion of the theater significantly enhanced the production of operas at the Palazzo Barberini and may well have occasioned the addition of a new and spectacular *intermedio*. Operatic performances at the Palazzo Barberini had begun as early as 1632, before Don Taddeo and his family moved into the palace.⁶¹ At that time, the palace and theater were still under construction and the facilities were “make-shift,” with Cardinal Francesco’s *guardaroba* (Fig. 1, vaulted room above no. 22, p. 79) serving as a dressing room.⁶² The plays were presented in the first anteroom to the apartments of the south wing (Fig. 1, no. 21, p. 79).⁶³ The incomplete state of the theater posed a threat of danger and embarrassment. Regarding *Erminia sul Giordano* (1633), Cardinal Francesco wrote of crowds of people standing on the masons’ scaffolding for a glimpse of the production through the windows. The scaffolding collapsed and sent everyone “topsy-turvy.” Fortunately, Don Taddeo calmly stilled the panic.⁶⁴ Thus, after years of

⁶⁰ Waddy, 248

⁶¹ Ibid., 246. Don Taddeo and his wife, Donna Anna Colonna, resided at the Palazzo Barberini from 1632-35. From 1635, Cardinal Antonio was the palace’s principal tenant (Hammond, *Spectacle*, 14).

⁶² Waddy, 246

⁶³ Ibid

⁶⁴ AB, Ind IV, no. 1254, fols. 15r-v (App. 3), Waddy, 247, 395 n.298. Murata, *Operas*, 23-27 and 249-52 document *Erminia* and its presentation at the palace

performances in rooms remodeled to accommodate the staging of operas, the building and completion of a theater designed specifically for that purpose was a momentous event.

The completion of the theater came at an opportune time for the cardinals. The finished theater provided them with the symbolic means necessary to legitimize their authority, which had increased upon the pope's illnesses of the mid to late 1630s. Frederick Hammond aptly describes the political significance of the new theater by writing:

In performing opera in a large room converted from other uses [as was the case for opera prior to *Chi soffre sperì*], the younger Barberini had followed the general practice of other Roman princes and academies; by constructing a monumental court theater, they proclaimed themselves a ruling house ranking with the Medici and the Farnese. . . .⁶⁵

Indeed, all three papal nephews would benefit from the prestige and power associated with the new theater at the Palazzo Barberini. Possibly for this reason, the nephews shared the cost of the new theater in 1637: Cardinal Francesco paid 1,163 scudi, Cardinal Antonio contributed 2,590 scudi, and Don Taddeo donated 1,067 scudi.⁶⁶

The mere size of the theater, purported to have held as many as four thousand spectators, was a symbol of papal power. In his list of features of the 1639 version of *Chi soffre sperì*, Massimiliano Montecuccoli, the Modonese envoy, commented on the

⁶⁵ Hammond, *Spectacle*, 235.

⁶⁶ Waddy, 246-48, quoted in Hammond, *Spectacle*, 335 n.98.

size of the hall before praising the novelty and artifice of the perspective scenes.⁶⁷

Moreover, after ten years of construction, the completion of the Palazzo Barberini made it the largest palace in Rome.

The decision to add a depiction of the fair of Farfa may also have served to legitimize the power and authority of the papacy. The choice of locale for the fair seems to have been politically motivated. Cardinal Francesco, the opera's chief promoter and patron, had been appointed abbot of the great Benedictine abbey at Farfa by Urban VIII in 1627.⁶⁸ This fact would have been known to the vast majority of the audience. As such, the Barberinis could exploit this symbolic power and use it to emphasize their extensive holdings outside of Rome.

La Fiera di Farfa also drew upon the astrological images associated with the Barberini family.⁶⁹ The sun, a conventional symbol of wisdom, was one of three emblems

⁶⁷ Massimiliano Montecuccoli to the Duke of Modena, 2 March 1639 (Alessandro Ademollo, *I teatri di Roma nel seicento decimosettimo* [Rome: L. Pasqualucci, 1888], 28, translated in Hammond, "Bernini and the 'Fiera di Farfa'," 115-16, 125 n.2).

⁶⁸ Hammond, *Spectacle*, 26. Some of Cardinal Francesco's household goods were actually purchased at the real fair of Farfa (Hammond, "Bernini and the 'Fiera di Farfa,'" 119).

⁶⁹ For a discussion of solar imagery in works commissioned by the Barberini family, see John Beldon Scott, *Images of Nepotism: The Painted Ceilings of Palazzo Barberini* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 51, 70-71, 77-79, 141-42, 188-89. Bernini's sunrise and sunset were also used in the 1639 production of *San Bonifatio* and the 1641 presentation of *La Genomda overo l'innocenza difesa* (Murata, *Operas*, 39-40). For contemporary accounts of *La Fiera di Farfa*, see Hammond, "Bernini and the 'Fiera di Farfa,'" 117-19, Irving Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 148 n. 8, 151 n. 17, and Ademollo, 28-30.

identified with the Barberini family, the other two being laurel and bees.⁷⁰ Palace decorations highlighted these three Barberini insignias. They appear in paintings by Andrea Sacchi that surround the main fresco, *Divine Wisdom*, in the great hall of the north wing (Fig. 1, no. 8, p. 79).⁷¹ Likewise, Pietro da Cortona's ceiling fresco for the *salone* of the central wing (Fig. 1, no. 1, p. 79), *Divine Providence*, features bees, laurel, and the sun, which constitute the Barberini family coat of arms. Barberini symbolism is retained in *La Fiera di Farfa* by the concluding sunrise and sunset. This spectacular effect was often emphasized in contemporary reports, as is the case in an account by Girolamo Teti:

You would have seen the first light from the east chasing away the dark night, soon little by little raising itself from out the waves; and more than this, artfully illuminating everything, so that whoever had just entered the theater really leaving the sun in the West, would easily believe the opposite, just as though it were approaching, about to shine on new markets, which were exhibited most delightfully in the very same image of real things. . . .⁷²

The sunrise and sunset reinforced the solar imagery associated with the Barberini family, hence, they became another means of displaying their power.

That the cardinals recognized the political potency of *La Fiera di Farfa* is suggested by the care taken in all aspects of the production. Preparations for the revised

⁷⁰ Francis Haskell, *Painters and Patrons: A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 51.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Girolamo Teti, *Aedes Barberinae ad Quirinalem* (Rome: Mascardi, 1642), 35, quoted in Murata, *Operas*, 206 n. 64.

Chi soffre speri were well underway by mid-January, over one month before the opera's debut. Towards the end of the month, artists began to paint Bernini's set. It was built in the Vatican and carried over to the Palazzo Barberini upon its completion. Nicolò Menghini was responsible for rehearsing the effects, which required twenty-four men to operate.⁷³ There was a month of constant singing rehearsals accompanied by lute.⁷⁴ The extravagance of the production was also evident in the expensive binding and gilt ornamentation of the printed *argomenti*, which were presented to the more noble members of the audience.⁷⁵ As well, the fountains of the palace ran nonstop for three days, and the garden scene mentioned in an *Avviso* of 5 March 1639 featured two onstage fountains.⁷⁶ As indicated by both contemporary accounts and extensive payment records, the 1639 version of *Chi soffre speri* seems to have been prepared with particular care.

As we have seen, a variety of factors help explain the addition of *La Fiera di Farfa* to the 1639 version of *Chi soffre speri*. The recovery of Urban VIII from illness

⁷³ BAV, AB, CFB, gius. 3315, fols. 6-28; Hammond, *Spectacle*, 239, 336 n.111. Menghini is cited on fols 11-13. "Sig. Guido" (poss. Bernini's collaborator Giudobaldo Abbattini?) was paid for the painting of the set and G. B. Soria did the carpentry. The materials included wood, cloth, paper, wires, glue, various colors of paint, silver, and gold (Hammond, *Spectacle*, 239 and Bianconi and Walker, 219 n.29)

⁷⁴ Bianconi and Walker, 219.

⁷⁵ Around 4,000 copies of the *argomento* were printed, compared to 1,500 and 2,350 for the two Barberini spectacles of 1638. A copy of the *Argomento et allegoria della comedia musicale intitolata Chi soffre speri* (Rome, Rev. Camera Apostolica, 1639) is found in *I-PESo*, A.II.b.12.M7, together with the 1637 edition (Bianconi and Walker, 219 n.34)

⁷⁶ Hammond, *Spectacle*, 239.

may account for the attention given to the production of *La Fiera di Farfa*, particularly in relation to the quickly assembled entertainments of the previous year. The opening of the newly completed and elaborately decorated theater may have provided the stimulus for the spectacular nature of the Carnival entertainments of 1639. Moreover, after ten years of construction, the completion of the theater marked the culmination of the Palazzo Barberini, making it the largest palace in Rome. The addition of a new *intermedio* to *Chi soffre speri* provided a means to commemorate the newly finished theater that was the focal point of the entire palace. The new *intermedio*, with its political overtones, further enhanced and legitimized the authority of the papacy. These factors help explain the addition of the replacement *intermedio*, *La Fiera di Farfa*, a sumptuous entertainment featuring spectacular effects created by the supreme artist and papal favorite, Gianlorenzo Bernini.

CHAPTER 4. MUSICAL COLLABORATION IN *CHI SOFFRE SPERI*

The attribution of individual movements of both the 1637 and 1639 versions of *Chi soffre speri* has occasioned considerable discussion and debate among scholars. The work appears to be the only Roman opera commissioned by the Barberini family during Urban VIII's pontificate that resulted from a collaboration between two musicians. Though there is no dispute that both Mazzocchi and Marazzoli were involved in the 1639 revival of *Chi soffre speri*, there has been debate over whether Marazzoli played any role in the 1637 production of the opera. In addition, there is much uncertainty as to how the music of the opera was divided between the composers. Most of the first and second versions of *Chi soffre speri* are the same, though scenes were added, reordered, and renumbered for the 1639 production. The later version incorporated a revised prologue, a slightly altered Act I *intermedio*, a new *intermedio* for Act II, two new scenes treating the new characters of Colillo and Frittellino (I:6, II:5), and another bucolic scene (III:4).⁷⁷ In addition to the sunrise and sunset ending *La Fiera di Farfa*, 1639 sources include two other new stage effects: a sudden thunder shower of red rain at the conclusion of the first act *intermedio*, and the crumbling of Egisto's tower in Act III.⁷⁸ Other changes involved the abridgment of scenes. Only the musical score for the rearranged 1639 version

⁷⁷ Margaret Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court, 1631-1668* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 34 and Stuart Reiner, "Collaboration in *Chi soffre speri*," *Music Review* 22 (1961): 273.

⁷⁸ Frederick Hammond, "Girolamo Frescobaldi and a Decade of Music in Casa Barberini: 1634-1643," *Analecta musicologica* 19 (1979): 113 n. 66.

survives. After first examining the past debate over Marazzoli's involvement in the original version of the opera, a variety of evidence will be presented in an effort to shed light on the probable division of labor in *Chi soffre speri*.

The scholarly debate over Marazzoli's participation in the 1637 version of *Chi soffre speri* was first brought to prominence by Pier Maria Capponi. In the 1950s, Capponi asserted that Marazzoli did not contribute to the original *Chi soffre speri* and only wrote the replacement *intermedio*, *La Fiera di Farfa*, for the 1639 production of the opera.⁷⁹ Capponi felt that Marazzoli's late date of birth (which he believed to be 1619) would have made it unlikely that the composer would have participated in the 1637 staging of the opera. In the 1960s, however, Stuart Reiner proposed that Mazzocchi and Marazzoli both worked on the 1637 version of *Chi soffre speri*.⁸⁰ His argument included new documentation of an earlier birthdate for Marazzoli (ca. 1602-8). Other evidence that Reiner adduced to link Marazzoli with the 1637 performance included the fact that

⁷⁹ Reiner, 269, citing Pier Maria Capponi, "Marazzoli, Marco" *Enciclopedia dello spettacolo* 7, dir. Silvio D'Amico (Rome: G. C. Sansoni, 1961), col. 90

⁸⁰ Reiner explored the possibility of Marazzoli's involvement in the 1637 production of *Chi soffre speri* in "Collaboration," 265-82. He also provided an opening argument, which he later rejected, that Marazzoli did not in fact write *La Fiera di Farfa*. Reiner based the argument against Marazzoli's composition of the replacement *intermedio* on the fact that the manuscript found in his possessions was unsigned, it was not in his hand, and it lacked a title page. Reiner concluded that the limit or extent of Marazzoli's participation in the 1639 production could not be determined from the inventory of his possessions that accompanied his last will. The document was found in the Archivio del Vicariato in Rome, and reported by Pier Maria Capponi in 1953. See Reiner, 269-73 and Pier Maria Capponi, "Marco Marazzoli e l'oratorio 'Cristo e i farisei,'" in *La scuola romana* (Siena: Accademia Musicale Chigiana, 1953), 103

Marazzoli was in Rome before 1637, and that he was in the entourage of Cardinal Antonio Barberini in 1631. Reiner also felt that Marazzoli's likely composition of *La Fiera di Farfa* suggested that he wrote the original 1637 *intermedio* that it replaced.⁸¹

The issue of Marazzoli's involvement in the 1637 version of *Chi soffre sperì* was resolved conclusively in the late 1960s by Paul Kast's discovery of an expense record entitled *Conti delle spese p[er] la comed[i]a alle 4 font[an]e l'Anno 1637* ("Expenses for the Comedy at the Quattro Fontane 1637").⁸² The document records the expenditures for the 1637 production of *Chi soffre sperì* and names the Quattro Fontane as the opera's venue, though rehearsals also took place at the Palazzo Cancelleria. The document lists two columns of expenses: *brutto* and *netto*. The *brutto* may be regarded as the estimated cost, while the *netto* reflects the actual amount of scudi dispersed. In most cases, the negotiated payment (*netto*) reflects a reduction of three to fifty percent from the amount claimed (*brutto*).⁸³ Heading the list are payments for two scribes: 84

⁸¹ Reiner, 267-68, 274-75. For information on Marazzoli's birthdate, see Paul Kast, "Biographische Notizen zu römischen Musiken des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Analecta musicologica* 1 (1963): 50. A document listing rhubarb pills for "il Sr Marco Marazzoli" dates from 1631 and confirms Marazzoli's participation in Cardinal Antonio's legation to Urbino in that year (Roma, Archivio di Stato Misc. "Famiglie," b. 14 [*Barberini*], fasc. 6, fol. 8r, cited in Reiner, 268 and n. 12).

⁸² The discovery is reported in Paul Kast, "Unbekannte Dokumente zur Oper *Chi soffre sperì* von 1637," in *Helmuth Osthoff zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*, ed. U. Aarburg and P. Cahn (Tutzing: Schneider, 1969), 129-34. The expenses for the 1637 version of *Chi soffre sperì* are found in *I-Rvat* Ottob. lat. 2476, fols. 497-498.

⁸³ This trend in reduction is also evident in the payment records for the 1639 version of *Chi soffre sperì*. For a discussion of payment variances for the 1639 production of the opera, see Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, "Production, Consumption and

scudi to the *Scrittore del S. Mazzocchi* and 42.10 scudi to the *Scrittore del S. Marco*.

The total expenditure for the 1637 version of the opera was 1505.09 scudi.⁸⁴ The basis for payment, whether it be number of pages or leaves, or subject matter, is not indicated by the figures. From the difference in the amounts paid to the two scribes, Kast inferred that Mazzocchi composed about two thirds of the opera, and Marazzoli wrote the remaining third.⁸⁵

Research on the nature of the collaboration in either the 1637 or the 1639 version of *Chi soffre speri* is rather sparse. In the absence of a full analysis of the opera's music, Reiner's article, which predates Kast's discovery, remains the most extensive inquiry into the division of labor in *Chi soffre speri*. Reiner suggested that both composers contributed more or less equally to the two versions of the opera. He attributed the serious material to Mazzocchi and the more extraneous parts (the three *intermedi*, the

Political Function of Seventeenth-Century Opera," *Early Music History* 4 (1984): 216-17

⁸⁴ Murata, *Operas*, 261.

⁸⁵ In addition to finding the payment record, Kast found a complete sixteen-page *argomento* for the opera. Its title page reads as follows: *Argomento et Allegoria della Comedia musicale Intitolata Chi soffre speri, E rappresentata All'Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo Principe Federico Lantgravio d'Assia. In Roma, Nella Stamperia della Rever[enda] C[amera] Apost[olica] 1637*. The *argomento* indicates that the 1637 presentation of *Chi soffre speri* honored Frederick of Hesse (1616-82) who visited Rome incognito as a young, rebellious prince and converted to Catholicism (Kast, "Unbekannte," 129-30). The *argomento* also calls the opera *Chi soffre speri*, whereas other documents had referred to it as *Il falcone*. Abd-el-Kader Salza called the 1637 version *Il falcone* in his article, "Drammi inediti di Giulio Rospigliosi poi Clemente IX," *Rivista musicale italiana* 14 (1907): 477.

pastoral scenes, and the 1639 additions) to Marazzoli. Reiner used the subject matter of the libretto as the basis for his allocation of the music for the body of the opera, dividing the text into the Boccaccio-derived elements and the Lucinda/Eurilla subplots.⁸⁶ The resultant assignment is as follows, according to the scene numbering of the 1639 version:

| | |
|------------|---|
| Mazzocchi: | prologue, Act I: 1-3, 7-9; Act II: 1, 6, 8-13; Act III: 2, 3, 6-13 |
| Marazzoli: | Act I: 4-6; Act II: 2-5, 7; Act III: 1, 4, 5 and all three <i>intermedi</i> ⁸⁷ |

Collaboration proposals developed after Kast's discovery have tended to follow his 2:1 ratio of musical composition. For the 1637 version of *Chi soffre speri*, Margaret Murata asserted that Marazzoli wrote the entire second act and its *intermedio*, and Mazzocchi probably set the outer two acts.⁸⁸ In the early 1980s, Murata attributed four arias and two duets to Virgilio Mazzocchi. They are as follows: "Se vil tetto alle fiamme" (S, I:7); "O mio martiro acerbo" (S, II:6); "Rondinella che d'intorno" (S, II:8); "La belta che porta al core" (S, III:2); "Ombra lieve lampo breve" (SS, II:1); and "Che vuol trarre i

⁸⁶ Reiner, 276-77. Reiner provides a brief summary of Rospigliosi's librettos (1632-42) to show that *Chi soffre speri* is unique in its inclusion of a subplot that is unrelated to the central story.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 282. Reiner cites the similarity between the text of the inserted shepherd scene (III:4) and the first four lines of the original *intermedio* to Act II (1637), to provide further evidence that the composer of the 1637 *intermedio*, that is Marazzoli, also wrote the new scenes.

⁸⁸ Margaret Murata, "Marazzoli, Marco," *New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1992), 3:199-200 and Margaret Murata, "Mazzocchi, Virgilio," *New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 3:290.

di contenti” (SS, III:5).⁸⁹ The assignment of music early in Act III (III:2 and III:5) to Mazzocchi lead Murata to ascribe the entire act to him. Murata cited collaboration patterns in subsequent Roman operas, which divide the musical composition into large act or half-act blocks, in support of her proposed allocation. For the 1639 version of the opera, Murata agreed with the widely held supposition that Marazzoli wrote *La Fiera di Farfa*. She also hypothesized that Marazzoli was responsible for the first *intermedio* because of its opening dances, which share titles with the main dances in the Barberini’s 1638 ballet, *La Pazzia d’Orlando, overo l’Acquisto di Durlindana* (music lost), in which Marazzoli participated.⁹⁰

The expense records for the 1639 revival of *Chi soffre spera* (the most extensive of any Barberini opera) shed additional light on how the composition of the music was divided between the two composers. For his contribution to the revision of the opera, Mazzocchi received a total of 112 scudi for music copying, which was allocated as follows: 75 scudi for copying three new scores, 15 scudi for adding new material to two 1637 scores; 10 scudi for music paper and plain paper of various sizes; and 12 scudi for making separate parts and binding two librettos.⁹¹ Marazzoli submitted receipts for

⁸⁹ Murata, *Operas*, 453-57. Virgilio Mazzocchi’s “La belta che porta al core” and “Chi vuol trarre i di contenti” may both be found in Vogel 1646¹. The latter is also located in *I-Bc MS Q 46*, fols. 42-43v (Murata, *Operas*, 450).

⁹⁰ Marazzoli is listed under the heading “Alle quattro fontane” in the giustificazioni for the 1638 Carnival presentations (Gius. 2992, fol. 11r; Hammond, “Girolamo Frescobaldi,” 118 and n. 72).

⁹¹ BAV, AB, CFB, gius. 3315, fol. 83, Bianconi and Walker, 219 n. 32.

approximately 37 scudi, with the following allotment: 6.58 scudi for music paper (totaling 234 folios) and the binding of five volumes; and 30 scudi paid to his scribe, Belardino Terentio, for the copying of the entire *comedia*.⁹² Mazzocchi's bill for separate parts suggests that he may have had more responsibility for training the singers. Indeed, Stefano d'Giudici, Don Taddeo's dancing master, received 25 scudi for "having taught the singers of *Mazzocchi* for several months" (*italics mine*).⁹³ The considerable difference in payment (112 scudi for Mazzocchi compared to 37 for Marazzoli) strongly suggests that Mazzocchi was responsible for composing most of the music in *Chi soffre speri*.

Closer analysis of the activities of the composers, coupled with the payment records, suggests a more refined view of the division of labor in *Chi soffre speri*. There is reason to suspect that Mazzocchi composed most of the music for the soprano roles in the opera. Among these roles are the nymphs and allegorical characters in the prologue (Dafne, Lidia and Clori; Sensuality/Silvia, Indolence, Virtue/Alvida), Lucinda/Armindo, Eurilla, Fileno, Moschino (Egisto's page), and the Boccaccio-derived figures of Egisto, Alvida, and Silvia. Several types of evidence suggest that Mazzocchi wrote the music for these soprano parts.

Mazzocchi was very familiar with both the soprano and castrato voices. He had the important task of training Cardinal Francesco's prized boy castrati (*putti musici* or

⁹² Ibid., fol. 87 for paper and fol. 86 for scribal payments.

⁹³ BAV, AB, CFB, gius. 3315, fols. 90-91, Frederick Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994], 238, 335 n. 109.

castratini), who were the highlight of his *musica*.⁹⁴ The Cardinal recruited young boys, often from the various Barberini holdings (such as Palestrina), educated them, and compensated their parents.⁹⁵ The boys' training was rigorous and included three hours of singing daily, an hour of literature, an hour's singing lesson, theory, counterpoint, keyboard, and composition.⁹⁶ Mazzocchi also wrote school operas for performance by boy sopranos, possibly during his tenure as *maestro di cappella* at the Collegio Romano.⁹⁷

Mazzocchi's faculty for writing for male sopranos is also shown in his sacred opera *San Bonifatio* (1638, rev. 1639).⁹⁸ Performers in the opera's all-soprano cast included four of Cardinal Francesco's boy singers (whom Mazzocchi trained), recruits from the Seminario Vaticana (founded by Card. Francesco in 1637), members of the Cappella Sistina, and Mazzocchi himself.⁹⁹ Similarly, the music for Mazzocchi's and

⁹⁴ The word *musicisti* usually designated a singer, while *musica* seems to refer to the musical establishment as a whole (Hammond, *Spectacle*, 77).

⁹⁵ Frederick Hammond, "More on Music in Casa Barberini," *Studi musicali* 14 (1985) 239. N. 13 lists documents for payments to the mother of a *putto musico* sent to the Prince of Poland.

⁹⁶ G. A. Angelini Bontempi, *Historia musica* (Perugia: Costantini, 1695), 170, quoted in Hammond, "Casa Barberini," 239; see also Hammond, "Girolamo Frescobaldi," 101.

⁹⁷ Gloria Rose, "Mazzocchi, Virgilio" *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), 11.870.

⁹⁸ For casting information, plot summary, and documents pertaining to *San Bonifatio*, see Murata, *Operas*, 289-92.

⁹⁹ Hammond, *Spectacle*, 233. Performance by boys was not uncommon in Rome. The

Rospigliosi's *La Genoinda overo l'innocenza difesa* was sung by twenty-one boys.¹⁰⁰

We know that Mazzocchi alone wrote the music for both *San Bonifatio* and *La Genoinda*, the former of which was composed between the production of the original and revised versions of *Chi soffre speri*. Indeed, the four arias and two duets that Murata attributed to Mazzocchi are all written for soprano voices. Likewise, Mazzocchi's last opera, *Sant'Eustachio* (1643), includes ten soprano roles and was probably also intended for performance by boys.¹⁰¹

Marazzoli, on the other hand, seems to have favored writing music for male characters sung by low voices (tenors and basses). In addition to being a virtuoso harpist, Marazzoli was a tenor, and on 23 May 1637, at the pope's request, he entered the Cappella Sistina.¹⁰² He retained the post for the remainder of his life. Marazzoli's ability and penchant for writing for lower vocal ranges are shown in his operatic compositions

productions of the Jesuit Colleges, with which both the Barberini family and Rospigliosi were well acquainted, were quite successful (Hammond, *Spectacle*, 232).

¹⁰⁰ Murata, *Operas*, 39.

¹⁰¹ In addition to the ten soprano parts, *Sant'Eustachio* included roles for two tenors, one alto, and one mezzo-soprano (Murata, "Mazzocchi, Virgilio," *New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 3:290)

¹⁰² Reiner, 268 and n. 14. New documentation contradicts Eleanor Caluori's earlier assertion that "there is no evidence that he [Marazzoli] lived in or visited Rome prior to 1637" (*New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 11:642). In 1986 Wolfgang Witzeman provided confirmation that placed Marazzoli in Rome in 1626 (Murata, "Marazzoli, Marco," *New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 3:199, see also Marco Marazzoli, *Cantatas by Marco Marazzoli, c. 1605-1662*, ed. Wolfgang Witzemann, *The Italian Cantata in the Seventeenth Century*, vol. 4 [New York: Garland, 1986], v-x)

that followed *Chi soffre speri*: his Ferranese opera, *L'Amore trionfante dello Sdegno* (*Armida*, occasioned by a wedding in 1641), and *La Vita humana* (1656).¹⁰³

Additional evidence pertinent to the division of labor in *Chi soffre speri* may be derived from consideration of the composers' degree of involvement with the *Commedia dell'arte* traditions. Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker have suggested that a bill for a mask for Marazzoli indicates that he may have portrayed Zanni, and possibly composed his music, in the 1639 performances of *Chi soffre speri*.¹⁰⁴ Murata agreed that Marazzoli may well have played Zanni in the opera's revival.¹⁰⁵

Both Marazzoli's likely portrayal of Zanni and his tendency to write for low male voice parts indicate that he may have composed the music for scenes featuring Zanni and Coviello, two tenor roles. The likelihood that this is true is strengthened considerably by the common derivation of both characters from the *Commedia dell'arte* stage. The same reasoning suggests that Marazzoli also wrote the music for the scene involving Colillo and Frittellino, their sons. In short, it may be suggested that the same composer wrote the music for all of the scenes emphasizing masked characters borrowed from the *Commedia dell'arte*.

¹⁰³ For a discussion of Marazzoli's tendency to compose for lower voice parts, see Murata, "Marazzoli, Marco," *New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 3.201.

¹⁰⁴ Bianconi and Walker, 221 n. 38. The bill of the clothing seller includes a "zani con barba fino dato al Sig e Marcho delarpe [de l'arpa]", BAV, AB, CFB, gius. 3315, fol. 106.

¹⁰⁵ Murata, *Operas*, 258.

One final piece of evidence relevant to the division of labor in *Chi soffre speri* is the recurring passacaglia patterns discussed in Chapter 2 (pg. 69-70 and Examples 9-10). One of the two duets that incorporates a passacaglia (“Ombra lieve lampo breve”) has been attributed to Mazzocchi. Considering the derivation of the passacaglia from a passage in the prologue, it seems more than likely that Mazzocchi also wrote the prologue to *Chi soffre speri*.

The following table (2) summarizes the division of labor described above¹⁰⁶

TABLE 2

Mazzocchi’s and Marazzoli’s Contributions to *Chi soffre speri*

| Section | Reiner (1961) | Murata (1981, 1992) | Lewis (1995) |
|---|------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| PROLOGUE (Nymph choruses and Allegorical figures) | Mazzocchi | | Mazzocchi |
| ACT I | | | |
| Scene 1 (Silvano and Egisto) | Mazzocchi | | Mazzocchi |

¹⁰⁶ The divisions of labor apply to the 1639 version of *Chi soffre speri* (Barb. lat. 4386), the only extant musical source of the entire opera. For the scenes and sections to which Murata does not specifically refer, no attribution has been indicated.

Table 2—*Continued*

| Section | Reiner (1961) | Murata (1981, 1992) | Lewis (1995) |
|---|------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Scene 2 (Egisto, Silvano, Zanni, Coviello, and Moschino) | Mazzocchi | | Mazzocchi |
| Scene 3 (Egisto, Zanni, Coviello) | Mazzocchi | | Mazzocchi |
| Scene 4 (Eurilla) | Marazzoli | | Mazzocchi |
| Scene 5 (Eurilla and Silvia) | Marazzoli | | Mazzocchi |
| Scene 6 (Colillo and Frittellino, "Puo servir per Intermedio" (Alternative Intermedio)) | Marazzoli | Marazzoli | Marazzoli |
| Scene 7 (Armindo) "Se vil tetto alle fiamme" | Mazzocchi | Mazzocchi | Mazzocchi |
| Scene 8 (Armindo and Egisto) | Mazzocchi | | Mazzocchi |
| Scene 9 (Zanni and Coviello) | Mazzocchi | | Marazzoli |
| Intermedio | Marazzoli | Marazzoli | Marazzoli |
| ACT II | | | |
| Scene 1 (Alvida and Rosilda) Duet, "Ombra lieve lampo breve" | Mazzocchi | Mazzocchi | Mazzocchi |
| Scene 2 (Eurilla and Dorillo) Duet, "Non e prato che non s'infior" Eurilla, "Sprezzate alme costanti" | Marazzoli | VM or MM | Mazzocchi |
| Scene 3 (Zanni and Coviello) | Marazzoli | | Marazzoli |

Table 2—*Continued*

| Section | Reiner (1961) | Murata (1981, 1992) | Lewis (1995) |
|---|------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Scene 4 (Dorillo, Zanni, and Coviello) Zanni, "Franzeschina me garbada" Coviello, "Alla guerra" | Marazzoli | VM or MM trad. | Marazzoli |
| Scene 5 (Colillo, Frittellino, Zanni, and Coviello) | Marazzoli | | Marazzoli |
| Scene 6 (Armindo) "O mio martiro acerbo" | Mazzocchi | Mazzocchi | Mazzocchi |
| Scene 7 (Armindo and Silvia) Silvia, "Se pensate, alme costanti" | Marazzoli | VM or MM | Mazzocchi |
| Scene 8 (Egisto) "Rondinella che d'intorno" | Mazzocchi | Mazzocchi | Mazzocchi |
| Scene 9 (Egisto, Coviello, Zanni, and Moschino) | Mazzocchi | | Mazzocchi |
| Scene 10 (the same, plus Armindo) | Mazzocchi | | Mazzocchi |
| Scene 11 (Egisto, Coviello, Zanni, and Moschino) | Mazzocchi | | Mazzocchi |
| Scene 12 (the same, plus Alvida, Rosilda, and Armindo) | Mazzocchi | | Mazzocchi |
| Scene 13 (Coviello and Zanni) | Mazzocchi | | Marazzoli |
| Intermedio, <i>La Fiera di Farfa</i> | Marazzoli | Marazzoli | Marazzoli |

Table 2—*Continued*

| Section | Reiner (1961) | Murata (1981, 1992) | Lewis (1995) |
|---|------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| ACT III | | | |
| Scene 1 (Dorillo and Moschino) Dorillo, "Se non c'e tempo piu" | Marazzoli | VM or MM | Mazzocchi |
| Scene 2 (Fileno) "La belta che porta al core" | Mazzocchi | Mazzocchi | Mazzocchi |
| Scene 3 (Armindo) | Mazzocchi | | Mazzocchi |
| Scene 4 (Dafne, Lidia, and Nerea) Trio, "Gia del prato i bei tesori" | Marazzoli | VM or MM | Mazzocchi |
| Scene 5 (Eurilla and Silvia) Duet, "Chi vuol trarre i di contenti" | Marazzoli | Mazzocchi | Mazzocchi |
| Scene 6 (Moschino) | Mazzocchi | | Mazzocchi |
| Scene 7 (Alvida, Egisto, and Rosilda) | Mazzocchi | | Mazzocchi |
| Scene 8 (the same, plus Zanni) | Mazzocchi | | Mazzocchi |
| Scene 9 (the same, plus Clori) | Mazzocchi | | Mazzocchi |
| Scene 10 (the same, plus Ergasto) | Mazzocchi | | Mazzocchi |
| Scene 11 (the same, plus Fileno) | Mazzocchi | | Mazzocchi |
| Scene 12 (the same, plus Silvia) | Mazzocchi | | Mazzocchi |
| Scene 13 (the same, plus Titiro) | Mazzocchi | | Mazzocchi |
| Intermedio | Marazzoli | | Marazzoli |

According to the new division of labor proposed above, Mazzocchi composed the majority of the music for the 1639 version of *Chi soffre speri*. The table allocates the prologue and twenty-nine scenes to Mazzocchi, and six scenes and all three *intermedi* to Marazzoli. The length of *La Fiera di Farfa* (which consumes over eighty-four pages in its separate manuscript) helps explain the relatively few scenes ascribed to Marazzoli in the body of the opera. Moreover, the designation of Act I:6 as an “alternative intermedio” strengthens its attribution to Marazzoli, who seems to have composed all three of the other *intermedi*. Reiner’s suggestion that Marazzoli composed the three *intermedi* coincides with the new scheme. The proposed division also adheres to Murata’s attribution of arias and duets to Mazzocchi. In the new distribution of music suggested above, Marazzoli’s lengthy Act II *intermedio* balances Mazzocchi’s composition of Act III. Mazzocchi’s scene group, in turn, offsets Marazzoli’s concluding *intermedio*. This procedure of alternating music between the two composers is concurrent with subsequent operatic collaborations in Rome.

Though the exact division of labor for the 1637 and 1639 versions of *Chi soffre speri* may never be precisely known, evidence drawn from payment records, performance conditions, and the *Commedia dell’arte* suggests a possible assignment of work in the opera. Expense records for the 1637 version of the opera indicate that Mazzocchi composed about two thirds of the opera, and Marazzoli wrote the remaining third. Payment books for the opera’s revival, however, imply a somewhat different ratio of composition, with Mazzocchi appearing to have written most of the music for the opera

The nature of Mazzocchi's and Marazzoli's collaboration may be explained, in part, by Mazzocchi's considerable experience with treble voices, which suggests that he wrote the music for these voice types. Likewise, Marazzoli's tendency to write for the tenor voice and his probable portrayal of Zanni in the 1639 performances of *Chi soffre speri*, suggest that he wrote the music for scenes featuring Zanni and Coviello. The common derivation of Zanni, Coviello, and their two sons from the *Commedia dell'arte* argues that the same composer, namely Marazzoli, wrote the scenes featuring these characters. Moreover, the use of a passacaglia pattern in a duet attributed to Mazzocchi, hints that he also wrote the music for the prologue from which the passacaglia derives. These factors shed light on the nature of Mazzocchi's and Marazzoli's collaboration in *Chi soffre speri*.

CHAPTER 5. *CHI SOFFRE SPERI* AND THE DRAMATIC TRADITIONS OF
ITALY IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The two most important types of staged entertainment performed in Italy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were opera and the plays of the *Commedia dell'arte*. The *Commedia dell'arte* emerged around the middle of the sixteenth century, and by the dawn of the seventeenth century, troupes flourished in both Italian streets and courts. Indeed, the first phase of the *Commedia dell'arte* (ca. 1550-1630) saw the formation and rise of several itinerant professional troupes, including the Gelosi, Confidenti, Desiosi, Uniti, Accesi, and Fedeli.¹⁰⁷ These groups consisted of career performers (*comici*) who spread their fame by touring throughout Italy and Europe. A troupe usually consisted of between ten and twelve players of three different types: masked comic servants (*gli zanni*), masked old men (*i vecchi*), and unmasked lovers (*gli innamorati*). The term mask implies the use of a consistent, recognizable costume and make-up for the character. Typically, a performer assumed the role of one particular character for the duration of his/her career. Many *Commedia* roles were either invented or inspired by the specific actors that played them. The mask of Frittellino, for example, was created by Pier Maria Cecchini, the last leader of the Accesi troupe

The immense popularity of the *Commedia dell'arte* may explain the transference of some of its chief components to the baroque operatic stage. However, though it is

¹⁰⁷ Robert Erenstein, "The Humour of the *Commedia dell'arte*," in *The Commedia dell'arte from the Renaissance to Dario Fo*, The Italian Origins of European Theatre 6, ed. Christopher Cairns (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989), 121

clear that *Chi soffre speri* makes use of borrowings from the *Commedia dell'arte*, it is unclear why the fusion of the *Commedia dell'arte* and opera occurred in Rome in 1637. The Florentine and Mantuan courts also had close links with both early opera and the *Commedia dell'arte*. Operatic presentations at these courts normally alternated with performances by *zanni*.¹⁰⁸ In addition, the Duke of Mantua at one time owned the Gelosi troupe, the first professional theater, making Mantua a center for Mask Comedies.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, the public presentation of opera in Venice was modeled on the successes of the *Commedia dell'arte* troupes in that city. Given the popularity and influence of the *Commedia dell'arte* in northern Italy, would it not seem more probable for the merger of the *Commedia dell'arte* and opera to have occurred in one of these northern cities? What were the unique features of Roman culture that made Rome the center for the union of the *Commedia dell'arte* and opera?

It may be suggested that the answer to these questions lies, in part, in the Roman cultivation of a sub-genre of the *Commedia dell'arte*, the *Commedia ridicolosa*.¹¹⁰ The *ridicolosa* was a distinct Roman phenomenon that enjoyed immense popularity in the city

¹⁰⁸ Nino Pirrotta, "Commedia dell'arte and Opera," in *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque: A Collection of Essays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 353

¹⁰⁹ K. M. Lea, *Italian Popular Comedy: A Study in the Commedia dell'arte, 1560-1620, with Special Reference to the English Stage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), 1.279

¹¹⁰ The word *ridicolosa* entered into literary parlance through its appearance in Aristotle's *Poetics* (Jackson Cope, "Bernini and Roman *Commedie ridicolose*," *PMLA* 102 [1987] 185 n 3)

and its surrounding territories. The *Commedia ridicolosa* included the same repertoire of masks, dialects, brevity, clowning, and bawdy humor as the *Commedia dell'arte*. The *Commedia dell'arte* plays were produced by professional actors who were required to improvise their parts from an established *scenario* that roughly outlined the plot of the play. The *scenari* were supplemented by *lazzi* recorded in pocketbooks. The *lazzi* included stock dialogues, tricks, and music, particular to each mask, that were adapted for the performance at hand. The element of improvisation was always maintained. The *Commedie ridicolose* may be distinguished from the *Commedia dell'arte*, however, in that their texts were fully notated. Indeed, the *Commedia ridicolosa* is perhaps best understood as a *Commedia dell'arte* play written out for performance by dilettantes rather than career actors. Quite possibly, the Roman *ridicolosa* emerged from a desire on the part of learned amateurs to participate in the *Commedia* traditions of the professional players.

The complete notation of *ridicolosa* texts may have resulted in a subtle distinction in content between the *ridicolosa* and the improvised *Commedia dell'arte*. In the *Commedia dell'arte*, only one dialect is typically associated with any single mask. Zanni, for example, often speaks in his native Bergamasque, whereas Coviello uses Neapolitan phrases indicative of his origin. The written *ridicolosa*, however, seems to employ a wider variety of dialects than the standard *Commedia dell'arte* play. Vergilio Verucci's *I diversi linguaggi* ("The Diverse Languages"), for example, incorporates Venetian, Bergamasque, Bolognese, Neapolitan, French, Romanesque, Sicilian, Matriccian,

Perugian, and Florentine dialects.¹¹¹ Verucci drew attention to his accomplishment in the prologue to his text, where he claims that in the improvised plays of the professionals, each actor contributed a single language, whereas he used and mastered an assortment of different dialects.¹¹² Two other textual variances between the *ridicolosa* and its improvised counterpart, the *Commedia dell'arte* play, are the *ridicolosa*'s emphasis on the female servant and the French Captain.

In the decades before *Chi soffre spera*, Rome was flooded with *ridicolosa* texts. In the early seventeenth century, theatrical texts comprised one third of the total output of the Dominici printing house in Ronciglione, near Rome, and in other printing houses in the Viterbo.¹¹³ Of the one third, nearly seventy-five percent represented texts by authors of *Commedie ridicolose*.¹¹⁴ Though the products of learned amateurs, the market for *ridicolosa* texts extended to all facets of Roman society. Texts were sold in the streets and in shops of the bookseller-printers. They became a symbol of Roman culture and were often reissued and reprinted in the tens of thousands.¹¹⁵ Though publishing spread

¹¹¹ Lea, 1:217.

¹¹² Luciano Mariti, *Commedia ridicolosa: Comici di professione; Dilettanti; Editoria teatrale nel seicento: Storia e testi* (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1978), 110, quoted in Cope, "Bernini," 178.

¹¹³ Cope, "Bernini," 179-80.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 180, citing Mariti xlv-liv and Dennis E. Rhodes, *La stampa a Viterbo, '1488'-1800* (Florence: Olschki, 1963).

¹¹⁵ Cope, "Bernini," 180.

the popularity of *ridicolose* north to Venice and Bologna, the genre retained its particular Roman stamp.¹¹⁶

The Roman Carnival occasioned the staging of both *Chi soffre speri* and *Commedie ridicolose*. In addition, performances by itinerant *Commedia dell'arte* troupes peaked during the Carnival season. Roman Carnival entertainments typically featured these productions alongside the maskings performed by Don Taddeo's pages.¹¹⁷ Possibly all of these endeavors were sponsored and promoted by members of the Barberini family. In addition, the Roman academies, some of which were supported by Cardinals Francesco and Antonio Barberini, were at the height of their influence during the pontificate of Urban VIII. These establishments attracted scholars, scientists, professional writers, and numerous talented dilettante actors and writers. In fact, Rospigliosi, the librettist of *Chi soffre speri*, was an active member of the Delosi Academy. It may be suggested that this artistic environment fostered the development of the Roman *Commedia ridicolosa*.

Two active participants in this movement were Vergilio Verucci and Giovanni Briccio, who were among the most prolific writers of *ridicolosa* texts. Verucci, a lawyer

¹¹⁶ Mariti, xiii, quoted in Cope, "Bernini," 185 n.3.

¹¹⁷ The term *mascherate* (maskings) could denote merely the wearing of masks, though in some instances *mascherate* were organized court spectacles. The Barberini papers often equated the term with *giostre* (joust). For the Carnival season, Don Taddeo's pages would be costumed and sent out on horseback or in a carriage for the masking. Their dancing talents were often utilized in both the *mascherate* and operas presented by the Barberini family for the Roman Carnival. Extant Barberini documents record that *mascherate* were performed in 1626-28, 1630, 1632-34, 1637-38, and 1641-42 (Frederick Hammond, "More on Music in Casa Barberini," *Studi musicali* 14 [1985]: 257-59).

who became the governor of Foligno, acted Pantalone in his own and others' amateur productions.¹¹⁸ *Ridicolosa* texts by Verucci include *La Porzia e la spada fatale* ("Porzia and the Deadly Sword"), *Pulcinella amante di Colombina* ("Pulcinella Lover of Colombina"), and *La moglie superba* ("The Grand Wife"). Giovanni Briccio seems to have had a more pronounced theatrical talent than Verucci.¹¹⁹ Briccio was a painter, playwright, actor, and author of numerous *ridicolosa* texts. In *Pelliccia servo sciocco ovvero la Rosmira* ("The Foolish Fur Servant or Rosmira," pub. posth. 1676), a bucolic play derived from *Il pastor fido*, Briccio developed the clownish and popular elements of the servants.¹²⁰ In *I difettosi* ("The Flaws"), Briccio gave each character a comic physical defect, while in *La Tartaruca*, he introduced a pedant who uses obscure Italian words with unusual meanings.¹²¹ Other *ridicolosa* texts by Briccio include *La dispettosa moglie* ("The Spiteful Wife"), *Pantalone imbertonaio*, and *L'Ostaria di Velletri ovvero la zitella malmconica* ("Ostaria of Velletri or The Unhappy Maid"), erroneously attributed to A. Tomasini. *Commedie ridicolose* were also written by Paolo Varaldo, Francesco Righelli, Lucio Livio, Silvano Floridi, Francesco Miedelchini, G. B. Salvati (*Il tesoro*, "The Treasure"), and Basilio Locatelli (*Li sei ritrovati*).

¹¹⁸ Cope, "Bernini," 178

¹¹⁹ Franca Angelini, "Ridicolosa," *Enciclopedia dello spettacolo* 8, dir. Silvio D'Amico (Rome: G. C. Sansoni, 1961), col. 968

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid., col. 969

An important contributor to almost every aspect of Italian Baroque art, including *Chi soffre speri* and the *Commedie ridicolose*, was Gianlorenzo Bernini. Bernini was a prolific playwright who wrote as many as twenty plays that he performed at his house, at his own expense, for the enjoyment of a small coterie audience. Bernini's theatrical versatility is evinced in an oft-quoted diary entry of John Evelyn, who in the course of describing St. Peter's wrote:

The Cavaliero Bernini . . . gave a Publique opera (for so they call those shews of that kind) . . . wherein he painted the scenes, cut the Statues, invented the engines, composed the Musique, writ [*sic*] the Comedy, and built the Theatre (19 November 1644).¹²²

Besides writing and staging plays, Bernini performed many *Commedia* roles and instructed other actors. In *Vita di Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, Filippo Baldinucci wrote that Bernini coached his actors by demonstrating all of the parts himself.¹²³

Though often written for the Roman Carnival, as were both versions of *Chi soffre speri*, Bernini's plays were opposite in spirit to the court spectacles presented by the Barberini family. His productions involved little machinery and little financial expense. Bernini boasted that a typical performance cost him a mere *tre baiocchi*.¹²⁴ Early

¹²² Diary, 19 November 1644; John Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. E. S. DeBeer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), 2:261, quoted in Cope, "Bernini," 181.

¹²³ Filippo Baldinucci, *The Life of Bernini*, trans. Catherine Enggass (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1966), 83. For the original Italian, see Filippo Baldinucci, *Vita di Gian Lorenzo Bernini* (Milan: Edizioni del milione, 1948), 149-50.

¹²⁴ The Roman monetary system was based on the scudo and its hundredth part, the *bajocco*. One *scudo* was equal to ten *gruli*, a silver coin commonly called a *paolo* (Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, "Production, Consumption and Political Function of Seventeenth-Century Opera," *Early Music History* 4 [1984]: 282). Bernini's

accounts of his plays tend to emphasize his use of topical satire, rather than the employment of elaborate stage machinery and scenic effects.¹²⁵ Bernini's close relationship with Urban VIII gave him licence to criticize even the most important and powerful people in Rome, including the Barberinis. The satirical nature of Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger's play, *La fiera* (1619), upon which the 1639 *intermedio* for *Chi soffre spera* may be based, possibly influenced Bernini's decision to be associated with the revised version of the opera.

Despite his dramatic abilities, until recently, research on Bernini has not concerned itself with his theatrical acumen. With Cesare d'Onofrio's publication of one of Bernini's plays, however, scholars have begun to devote more attention to Bernini's contribution to and relationship with the theater. D'Onofrio found the play, in the hand of Bernini's secretary, preserved in a collection of Bernini material at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (MS Ital. 2084)¹²⁶ Bernini's play, which is known both as *Fontana di Trevi* and

tre baiocchi productions cost a slight fraction of the expense of a Barberini opera with *Chi soffre spera* (1639) costing over 3,600 scudi to produce.

¹²⁵ In a letter dated 7 February 1635 concerning the Carnival of that year, the lawyer-abbot Giuseppe Zongo Hondedei wrote to his cousin, Camillo Giordani, that Bernini's play bore "points of semblance with that which is happening today" (Alfredo Saviotti, "Feste e spettacoli nel seicento," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 41 [1903] 70, quoted in Simon Carfagno, "The Life and Dramatic Music of Stefano Landi with a Transliteration and Orchestration of the Opera *Sant' Alessio*" [Ph D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1960], 125) Saviotti was the first to bring the Berninian comedy of 1635 to light

¹²⁶ On account of an anti-Spanish sentiment in Act II.2, D'Onofrio dates the play from the pontificate of Urban VIII, as it is unlikely that such a slur would be made during the papacy of the Hispanophile Innocent X. D'Onofrio hypothesizes that the play was intended for the Roman Carnival festivities of 1644. The play is contained in an account

The Impresario, was completely notated in the spirit of the Roman *Commedia ridicolosa*, though, in all likelihood, it was not intended for publication, and was left incomplete, unperformed, and untitled. Like *ridicolosa* texts, Bernini makes use of numerous *Commedia dell'arte* masks, dialects, scenarios and witticisms, even though in most cases he does not fulfill the expectations associated with his borrowings.¹²⁷

Seemingly, the Roman production, printing, and performance of *ridicolosa* texts facilitated the merger of the *Commedia dell'arte* traditions with opera in Rome in 1637. The Roman cultivation of *ridicolosa* texts flourished at the time of the 1637 and 1639 performances of *Chi soffre speri*. Moreover, the likelihood of a transference of *ridicolosa* characteristics to Barberini opera seems probable considering the family's sponsorship of both Carnival entertainments and Roman academies, which may have fostered the production of *ridicolose*. Finally, one of the opera's key contributors, Bernini, was also involved in the writing, acting, and staging of *Commedie ridicolose*.

ledger entitled "Fontana di Trevi MDCXLII," and for this reason D'Onofrio dubbed the untitled play *Fontana di Trevi*. For a comprehensive discussion of *Fontana di Trevi*, see D'Onofrio's edition and commentary in Gianlorenzo Bernini, *Fontana di Trevi: Commedia medita*, ed. Cesare D'Onofrio (Rome: Staderini, 1963). Donald Beecher and Massimo Ciavolella have completed an English translation, with analysis, under the title, *The Impresario (Untitled)* (Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions, 1985). See also Irving Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 152 n 18; Irving Lavin, review of Bernini, *Fontana di Trevi: Commedia medita*, ed. D'Onofrio *Art Bulletin* 46 (1964): 568-72; and Donald Beecher, "Gianlorenzo Bernini's *The Impresario*. The Artist as Supreme Trickster," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 53 (1984): 236-47.

¹²⁷ Beecher, 242.

The *ridicolose* appear to have influenced *Chi soffre speri* in several distinct ways. First, the *ridicolose*'s emphasis on the female servant is retained in the Lucinda subplot of *Chi soffre speri*. Lucinda is given expressive musical treatment that includes an aria or solo scene in each of the opera's three acts. The complications of the female subplot were not borrowed from Boccaccio's tale, but seem to reflect the influence of Roman *Commedie ridicolose*. In addition, a wide variety of dialects is found in the 1639 Act II *intermedio*, *La Fiera di Farfa*. The *intermedio* includes Venetian, Roman, Neapolitan, and Bergamasque, a combination that mirrors the preponderance of dialects found in *ridicolosa* texts such as Verucci's *I diversi linguaggi*. Bernini, whose participation in the *intermedio* is confirmed by payment records, was noted for his knowledge of dialects.¹²⁸ As Balducci reports, Bernini "played all parts admirably, serious and ridiculous alike, and in all dialects which had been presented on stage to his times. . . ."¹²⁹ Bernini's familiarity with dialects suggests that he encouraged their extensive use in the *intermedio*. In any event, he probably coached the performers in their rendering of them.

Yet another connection between *Chi soffre speri* and Roman *ridicolose* is the similarity in the acting experience of the performers portraying the *Commedia dell'arte*

¹²⁸ The bill for the expenses for the fair scene was signed by Bernini on 9 April 1639 (Frederick Hammond, "Bernini and the 'Fiera di Farfa'," in *Gianlorenzo Bernini: New Aspects of His Art and Thought. A Commemorative Volume*, ed. Irving Lavin [University Park: Penn. State University Press, 1985], 119)

¹²⁹ Balducci, *Vita*, 149-50, quoted in Jackson Cope, *The Theater and the Dream: From Metaphor to Form in Renaissance Drama* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 116

roles. Roman *Commedie ridicolose* were performed and written by literary dilettantes who lacked the extensive dramatic skill found in the career players of the *Commedia dell'arte* troupes. Similarly, the *Commedia dell'arte* characters in *Chi soffre speri* were portrayed by singers, rather than full-time *Commedia dell'arte* players. In fact, as noted in Chapter 4, Marazzoli himself appears to have portrayed Zanni in the 1639 production of the opera. The professional chapel singer, Giuseppe Bianchi, also is listed in the expense records for *Chi soffre speri*.¹³⁰ The singer who portrayed the character of Coviello is mentioned only as “Coviello,” though the performer was probably not a member of a professional *Commedia* troupe.¹³¹ Significantly, the use of these nonprofessional actors was retained in *Chi soffre speri* despite the presence of professional *Commedia* players in Rome at the time.¹³²

As we have seen, the popularity and character of Roman *Commedie ridicolose* may have contributed to the fusion of the *Commedia dell'arte* and opera found in *Chi soffre speri*. The improvised traditions of the *Commedia dell'arte* were not immediately

¹³⁰ BAV, AB, CFB, gius. 3315, fol. 44 (a shoemaker's bill); Frederick Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 228, 335 n. 108.

¹³¹ Margaret Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court, 1631-1668* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 258. Frederick Hammond suggests that “Coviello” was a member of a *Commedia dell'arte* troupe, and notes that he was paid the handsome sum of 25 scudi (BAV, AB, CFB, gius. 3315, fols. 88-89r; Hammond, “Bernini and the ‘Fiera di Farfa’,” 119, 125 n. 20).

¹³² Murata, *Operas*, 32 and n. 62.

suitable for elaborate operatic productions, which necessitated a written score to coordinate the singers, the instrumentalists, the dancers, and the stage effects. The transference of the *Commedia dell'arte* conventions to the operatic stage required an intermediary to bridge the gap between the improvised tradition of the former entertainment, and the written style of the latter. Roman *ridicolose* fulfilled this function by capturing, in print, the oral traditions of the *Commedia dell'arte*. Roman *ridicolose* thus successfully created a written tradition from an improvised one, while retaining the widespread appeal of the original model. Fully notated *Commedia ridicolosa* texts, which flourished in Rome for at least thirty years prior to the first *Chi soffre speri*, prepared audiences for the nonimprovised operatic portrayal of masked *Commedia* characters. This change in aesthetic, from improvisation to predetermined texts, was necessitated by the use of nonprofessional actors in both opera and *ridicolosa* plays. Operatic singers and *Commedia ridicolosa* actors were not the career performers of the *Commedia dell'arte*, and thus they required a fully printed text to follow.

In addition, the impact of Roman *ridicolose* on *Chi soffre speri* may have extended from the verbal input of one of the revised opera's key contributors, Gianlorenzo Bernini, who is known to have written at least one *ridicolosa* text. His participation in the 1639 version of *Chi soffre speri* represents the only documented evidence of his involvement in any of the Barberini operas commissioned during the reign of Urban VIII. It may be suggested that as a skilled (though nonprofessional) actor and playwright, Bernini epitomized the essential qualities of the *Commedia ridicolosa*.

Though he only received financial payment for designing the scenes for *La Fiera di Farfa*, Bernini may have been compensated with nonmonetary gifts, such as silver, for other contributions he made, in accordance with contemporary Roman payment practices.¹³³ Given Bernini's prestige and authority on virtually all matters pertaining to Italian Baroque art, it seems hard to imagine that he did not share his theatrical experience and ideas with his fellow contributors to *Chi soffre spera*. Indeed, the key to understanding why the *Commedia dell'arte* and opera merged when and where they did, may in fact lie in the hands of Bernini.

¹³³ Bianconi and Walker, 217 and n. 23

CONCLUSIONS

As has been known for some time, *Chi soffre speri* evolved in the context of the festive Roman Carnivals of 1637 and 1639. Unlike other Barberini Carnival operas, the work includes extensive material for a number of comic characters derived from the *Commedia dell'arte*. In *Chi soffre speri*, the world of the *Commedia dell'arte*, with its masks, disguises, subplots, and fast comic dialogues, merges with operatic style to create what has been appropriately characterized as tragicomedy. Musically, *Chi soffre speri* consists, for the most part, of fast-paced, pattering recitative that is occasionally enlivened by more expressive arias and duets, as well as popular songs and comic episodes in the tradition of the *Commedia dell'arte*. The *Commedia dell'arte* borrowings appear to have been added to increase the musical and textual interest of the opera.

Several new insights have emerged from our study of the opera. The composition of *La Fiera di Farfa* for the 1639 production seems to have been sparked, in large part, by the completion of a new theater at the Palazzo Barberini. The finished theater symbolized the cardinals' political power and attainment, and its completion marked the culmination of an ambitious building program at the Palazzo Barberini. By this means, the Barberinis attempted to surpass the example set by their Medici and Farnese counterparts, who started the tradition of spectacular courtly opera.

Our study also suggests a revised interpretation of the collaboration between Mazzocchi and Marazzoli. Kast's discovery of payment records for the 1637 production of the opera reveals that Mazzocchi wrote about two thirds of the opera, and Marazzoli

the remaining third. Murata uses firmly attributable segments of the opera to formulate a proposed division of labor that takes Kast's 2:1 finding into account. Expense records for the 1639 version of *Chi soffre speri* seem to indicate that Mazzocchi was responsible for training the singers and writing the majority of the opera. Mazzocchi appears to have been particularly well versed at writing for the soprano voice. For this reason, it has been suggested that he wrote most of the music for the soprano roles in *Chi soffre speri*.

Marazzoli, on the other hand, was adept at composing for the tenor voice. This proclivity, coupled with his likely portrayal of Zanni in the 1639 version of the opera, suggests that he wrote the music for scenes featuring Zanni and Coviello, both of whom were tenors. The likelihood that this supposition is correct is strengthened by the common derivation of Zanni and Coviello from the *Commedia dell'arte* stage. And similar reasoning suggests that the same composer (Marazzoli) wrote the music for scenes featuring their two sons, Frittellino and Colillo.

Finally, the study of Roman dramatic traditions has suggested a new explanation for the vexing question, why did opera of this type appear when and where it did? It has been suggested that Roman *Commedie ridicolose* formed the bridge between the improvised style of the *Commedia dell'arte* and the texted tradition of opera. The distinctively Roman cultivation of *ridicolose* distinguishes Rome from the other Italian cities where *Commedia dell'arte* performances were popular. And *Chi soffre speri*'s probable performance by nonprofessional actors, a defining feature of the *Commedia*

ridicolosa, seems to strengthen the assertion that *ridicolose* created the context for the fusion of the *Commedia dell'arte* and opera.

Scholarly interest in the field of early Roman opera appears to be steadily increasing. The publication of two series of facsimiles, entitled *Italian Opera, 1640-1770* and *Italian Opera Librettos: 1640-1770*, has facilitated a closer musical and textual examination of many early operas, including a few of the Barberini productions. Moreover, the discovery of new documentary evidence--for example, Paul Kast's finding of the 1637 expenses for *Chi soffre speri*, which confirmed Marazzoli's participation and shed light on the division of labor between the two composers in the first version of the opera--has gradually resolved some of the enigmas of early opera. In addition, Frederick Hammond has provided a historical and artistic context for Barberini operatic productions by relating them to the family's overall artistic program, which involved visual arts, sculpture, architecture, and music.

The examination of the factors leading up to the composition of *La Fiera di F'arfa* adds to the scholarly inquiry into the artistic patronage of the Barberini family. The subsequent investigation of the relationship between opera and the *Commedia dell'arte* sub-genre, the immensely popular Roman *Commedie ridicolose*, seems to fill a void in the literature on early Roman opera. The intermediary function of the *ridicolosa* vis-à-vis *Chi soffre speri* and the *Commedia dell'arte* helps explain why these genres merged in Rome in the late 1630s. The preceding observations thus shed new light upon the

dramatic and historical conditions affecting the creation of one of the earliest examples of *Commedia dell'arte* and opera.

REFERENCES

- Ademollo, Alessandro. *I teatri di Roma nel secolo decimosettimo*. Rome: L. Pasqualucci, 1888.
- . *Il teatro barocco*. Bari: Gius. Laterza and Figli, 1981.
- Apollonio, Mario. *Teatro italiano*. Vol 2. *Il teatro dell'età barocca; Il teatro dell'età romantica*. Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1954.
- . *Storia del teatro italiano*. 4 vols. Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1943-50.
- Baldinucci, Filippo. *The Life of Bernini*. Translated by Catherine Enggass. University Park: Penn. State University Press, 1966.
- . *Vita di Gian Lorenzo Bernini*. Milan: Edizioni del milione, 1948.
- Beecher, Donald. "Gianlorenzo Bernini's *The Impresario*: The Artist as the Supreme Trickster." *University of Toronto Quarterly* 53 (1984): 236-47.
- Bernini, Domenico. *Vita del cavalier Gio. Lorenzo Bernino*. Rome, 1713.
- Bernini, Gianlorenzo. *Fontana di Trevi: Commedia inedita*. Edited by Cesare D'Onofrio. Rome: Staderini, 1963.
- . *The Impresario*. Translated by Donald Beecher and Massimo Ciavolella. Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions, 1985.
- Bianconi, Lorenzo, and Thomas Walker. "Production, Consumption and Political Function of Seventeenth-Century Opera." *Early Music History* 4 (1984): 209-96.
- Bianconi, Lorenzo. *Music in the Seventeenth Century*. Translated by David Bryant. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. *Seventeenth-Century Barberini Documents and Inventories of Art*. Compiled by Marilyn Lavin. New York: New York University Press, 1975.
- Boccaccio, Giovanni. *Decameron*. Vols. 1-3. Translated by John Payne. Revised and annotated by Charles S. Singleton. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982.

- Borsi, Franco. *Bernini*. Translated by Robert Erich Wolf. New York: Rizzoli, 1984.
- Bragaglia, Anton Giulio. *Storia del teatro popolare romano*. Rome: Casa Editrice Carlo Colombo, 1958.
- Burke, Peter. *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Cairns, Christopher, ed. *The Commedia dell'arte from the Renaissance to Dario Fo*. The Italian Origins of European Theatre 6. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989.
- Camiz, Franca Trinchieri. "The Castrato Singer: From Informal to Formal Portraiture." *Artibus et historiae* 18 (1988): 171-86.
- Capponi, Pier Maria. "Marco Marazzoli e l'oratorio 'Cristo e i farisei'." In *La scuola romana*, 101-6. Siena: Accademia Musicale Chigiana, 1953: 101-106.
- Carfagno, Simon Albert. "The Life and Dramatic Music of Stefano Landi with a Transliteration and Orchestration of the Opera *Sant'Alessio*." Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1960.
- Collison-Morley, Lacy. *Italy after the Renaissance: Decadence and Display in the Seventeenth Century*. New York: Russell and Russell, 1972.
- Cope, Jackson. *The Theater and the Dream: From Metaphor to Form in Renaissance Drama*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973.
- "Bernini and Roman *Commedie ridicolose*." *PMLA* 102 (1987): 177-86
- Culley, Thomas. *A Study of the Musicians Connected with the German College in Rome during the Seventeenth Century and of Their Activities in Northern Europe*. St Louis: Jesuit Historical Institute, St. Louis University, 1970.
- D'Amico, Silvio, dir. *Enciclopedia dello spettacolo*. 9 vols. Rome: G. C. Sansoni, 1961.
- D'Arienzo, N. "Le origini dell'opera comica." *Rivista musicale italiana* 1 (1895): 597-628 (part 1 only)
- Di Cesare, Mario, ed. *Milton in Italy: Contexts, Images, Contradictions*. Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1991.

- Dixon, Graham. "The Origins of the Roman 'Colossal Baroque'." *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association* 106 (1979-80): 115-28.
- Duchartre, Pierre Louis. *The Italian Comedy: The Improvisation, Scenarios, Lives, Attributes, Portraits, and Masks of the Illustrious Characters of the Commedia dell'arte*. Translated by Randolph T. Weaver. New York: Dover, 1966.
- Evelyn, John. *Diary*. Vol. 2. Edited by E. S. DeBeer. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955. 6 vols.
- Fagiolo dell'Arco, Maurizio, and Marcello Fagiolo dell'Arco. *Bernini [.] Una introduzione al gran teatro del barocco*. Rome: Bulzoni, 1967.
- Falconieri, John V. "Commedia Manuscripts in Rome." *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 33 (1981): 13-37.
- Fasso, Luigi. *Teatro del seicento. La letteratura italiana. Storia e testi*. Vol. 39. Milan/Naples: Riccardo Ricciardi, n.d.
- Franchi, Saverio. *Drammaturgia romana: Repertorio bibliografico cronologico dei testi drammatici pubblicati a Roma e nel Lazio, secolo XVII*. Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1988.
- Fraschetti, Stanislao. *Il Bernini: La sua vita, la sua opera, il suo tempo*. Milan: Hoepli, 1900.
- Ghisi, Federico. "Carnival Songs and the Origins of the *Intermezzo Giocoso*." *Musical Quarterly* 25 (1939): 325-33.
- Gianturco, Carolyn M. "Il melodramma a Roma nel secolo XVII." *Storia dell'opera* 1. Edited by Guglielmo Barblan. Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1977.
- . "Nuove considerazioni su il tedio del recitative delle prime opere romane." *Rivista italiana di musicologica* 18 (1982): 212-35.
- Goldschmidt, Hugo. *Studien zur Geschichte der italienschen Oper im 17. Jahrhundert*. Leipzig: Breitkopf and Hartel, 1901. 2 vols.
- Grout, Donald Jay. "The Chorus in Early Opera." In *Festschrift Friedrich Blume zum 70. Geburtstag*, edited by Anna Amali Abert and Wilhelm Pfannkuch, 151-61. Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1963.

- . *A Short History of Opera*. 3rd ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.
- Hammond, Frederick. "Girolamo Frescobaldi and a Decade of Music in Casa Barberini: 1634-1643." *Analecta musicologica* 19 (1979): 94-124.
- . "More on Music in Casa Barberini." *Studi musicali* 14 (1985): 235-61.
- . "The Artistic Patronage of the Barberini and the Galileo Affair." In *Music and Science in the Age of Galileo*, edited by Victor Coelho, 67-89. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1992.
- . *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Haskell, Francis. *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations Between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980.
- Heck, Thomas F. *Commedia dell'arte: A Guide to the Primary and Secondary Literature*. New York: Garland, 1988.
- Jannaco, Carmine. *Il seicento: Storia letteraria d'Italia*. 2d ed. Milan: Casa Editrice Francesco Vallardi, 1966.
- Kast, Paul. "Biographische Notizen zur römischen Musikern des 17. Jahrhunderts." *Analecta musicologica* 1 (1963): 38-69.
- . "Unbekannte Dokumente zur Opera 'Chi soffire sperì' von 1637." In *Helmuth Osthoff zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag*, edited by U. Aarburg and P. Cahn, 129-34. Tutzing: Schneider, 1969.
- Kelly, J N D. *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Kennard, Joseph Spenser. *The Italian Theater*. 2 vols. New York: William Edwin Rudge, 1932.
- Kirkendale, Warren. "Franceschina, Girometta, and their Companions in a Madrigal 'a diversi linguaggi' by Luca Marenzio and Orazio Vecchi." *Acta musicologica* 44 (1972): 181-235.

- Larson, Orville K. "Spectacle in the Florentine *Intermezzi*." *Drama Survey* 2 (1963): 344-52.
- Lavin, Irving. Review of Bernini, *Fontana di Trevi: Commedia inedita*, edited by Cesare D'Onofrio. *Art Bulletin* 46 (1964): 568-72.
- . *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- . *Gianlorenzo Bernini: New Aspects of His Art and Thought. A Commemorative Volume*. University Park: Penn. State University Press, 1985.
- . "On the Unity of the Arts and the Early Baroque Opera Libretto." *Perspecta* 26 (1990): 1-20.
- Lea, K.M. *Italian Popular Comedy: A Study in the Commedia dell'arte, 1560-1620, with Special Reference to the English Stage*. Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934.
- Leopold, Silke. "Rome: Sacred and Secular." In *The Early Baroque Era: From the Late 16th Century to the 1660s*. Man and Society, edited by Curtis Price, 49-74. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1994.
- Lionnet, Jean. "Performance Practice in the Papal Chapel during the Seventeenth Century." *Early Music* 15 (1987): 3-15.
- Magnuson, Torgil. *Rome in the Age of Bernini*. 2 vols. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1982-86.
- Mariti, Luciano. *Commedia ridicolosa: Comici di professione; Dilettanti; Editoria teatrale nel seicento: Storia e testi*. Rome: Bulzoni, 1978.
- Marazzoli, Marco. *Cantatas by Marco Marazzoli, c. 1605-1662*. Edited by Wolfgang Witzemann. *The Italian Cantata in the Seventeenth Century*. Vol. 4. New York: Garland, 1986.
- Mazzocchi, Virgilio, and Marco Marazzoli. *L'Egisto ovvero chi soffre spera*. Edited by Howard Mayer Brown. *Italian Opera, 1640-1770*. Ser 2 Vol 61. New York: Garland, 1982.
- Molinari, Cesare. *Le nozze degli dèi: Un saggio sul grande spettacolo italiano nel seicento*. Biblioteca Teatrale Studi 3. Rome: Bulzoni, 1968.

- Montagu, Jennifer. *Roman Baroque Sculpture: The Industry of Art*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Morgan, Lady Sydney. *The Life and Times of Salvator Rosa*. 2 vols. London, 1824.
- Murata, Margaret. "Operas for the Papal Court with Texts by Giulio Rospigliosi." Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1975.
- . "Rospigliosiana ovvero, Gli equivoci innocenti." *Studi musicali* 4 (1975): 131-43.
- . "Il Carnevale a Roma sotto Clemente IX Rospigliosi." *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 12 (1977): 83-99.
- . "The Recitative Soliloquy." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32 (1979): 45-73.
- . *Operas for the Papal Court, 1631-1668*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981.
- . "Classical Tragedy in the History of Early Opera in Rome." *Early Music History* 4 (1984): 101-34.
- Nagler, A. M. *Theatre Festivals of the Medici, 1539-1637*. Translated by George Hickenlooper. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964.
- Naudé, Gabriel. *Lettres de Gabriel Naudé à Jacques Dupuy (1632-1652)*. Edited by Phillip Wolfe. Edmonton. LEALTA/ALTA Press, 1982.
- Nicoll, Allardyce. *The World of Harlequin: A Critical Study of the Commedia dell'arte*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963.
- Nussdorfer, Laurie. *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- Oreglia, Giacomo. *The Commedia dell'arte*. Translated by Lovett F. Edwards. New York: Hill and Wang, 1968.
- Palisca, Claude V. *Baroque Music*. 3rd ed. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1991.
- Pandolfi, Vito. *La Commedia dell'arte*. 6 vols. Florence: Edizione Sansoni Antiquariato, 1957.

- Pastor, Ludwig, Freiherr von. *The History of the Popes*. 40 vols. Translated by Dom Ernest Graf. London: Kegan Paul, 1923-53.
- Pirrota, Nino. "Early Opera and Aria." In *New Looks at Italian Opera: Essays in Honor of Donald J. Grout*, edited by William W. Austin, 39-107. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968.
- . "Commedia dell'arte and Opera." *Musical Quarterly* 41 (1955): 305-324. Revised in Pirrota, *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque: A Collection of Essays*, 343-60. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984.
- Pirrota, Nino, and Elena Povoledo. *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi*. Translated by Karen Eales. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Prunières, Henry. *L'Opéra italien en France avant Lulli*. Paris: E. Champion, 1913.
- Reiner, Stuart. "Collaboration in *Chi soffre speri*." *Music Review* 22 (1961): 265-82.
- Rhodes, Dennis E. *La stampa a Viterbo, '1488'-1800*. Florence: Olschki, 1963.
- Richards, Kenneth, and Laura Richards. *The Commedia dell'arte: A Documentary History*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1990.
- Rosand, Ellen. *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
- Rospigliosi, Giulio. Libretto. *Chi soffre speri*. Edited by Howard Mayer Brown. *Italian Opera Librettos: 1640-1770*. Vol. 14. New York: Garland, 1983.
- Rotondi, Joseph Emilio. "Literary and Musical Aspects of Roman Opera, 1600-1650." Ph. D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1959.
- Sadie, Stanley, ed. *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. 20 vols. London: Macmillan, 1980.
- . *New Grove Dictionary of Opera*. 4 vols. London: Macmillan, 1992.
- Salerno, Henry F., trans. *Scenarios of the Commedia dell'arte. Flaminio Scala's Il teatro delle favole rappresentative*. New York: New York University Press, 1967.

- Salviotti, Alfredo. "Feste e spettacoli nel seicento." *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 41 (1903): 68-77.
- Salza, Abd-El-Kader. "Drammi inediti di Giulio Rospigliosi poi Clemente IX." *Rivista musicale italiana* 14 (1907): 473-508.
- Santini, Piero. "Opera-Papal and Regal." *Music and Letters* 20 (1939): 292-98.
- Savage, Roger, and Matteo Sansone. "Il corago and the Staging of Early Opera: Four Chapters from an Anonymous Treatise circa 1630." *Early Music* 17 (1989): 495-511.
- Scott, John Beldon. *Images of Nepotism: The Painted Ceilings of Palazzo Barberini*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Smith, Winifred. *The Commedia dell'arte*. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1964.
- . *Italian Actors of the Renaissance*. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1930.
- Solerti, Angelo, comp. and ed. *Le origini del melodramma; testimonianze dei contemporanei*. Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1903.
- Termini, Olga. "The Role of Diction and Gesture in Italian Baroque Opera." *Performance Practice Review* 6 (1993): 146-57.
- Tessari, Roberto. *La Commedia dell'arte nel seicento: Industria e arte giocosa della civiltà barocca*. Biblioteca di 'Lettere Italiane' 8. Florence: Olschki, 1969.
- Testi, Flavio. *La musica italiano nel seicento: Il melodramma*. Ser. Storia della musica italiana da Sant' Ambrogio a noi. Vol. 1. Milan: Bramante, 1970.
- Teti, Girolamo. *Aedes Barberinae ad Quirinalem*. Rome: Mascardi, 1642.
- Toschi, Paolo. *Le origini del teatro italiano*. Turin: P. Boringhieri, 1976.
- Waddy, Patricia. *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces: Use and the Art of the Plan*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990.
- Wallace, Robert. *The World of Bernini, 1598-1680*. New York: Time-Life Books, 1970.

Wittkower, Rudolf. *Gian Lorenzo Bernini: The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque*. 3rd ed. Revised by Howard Hibbard, Thomas Martin and Margot Wittkower. Oxford: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1981.

Witzenmann, Wolfgang. "Autographe Marco Marazzolis in der Biblioteca Vaticana." *Analecta musicologica* 7 (1969): 36-86 and 9 (1970): 203-94.