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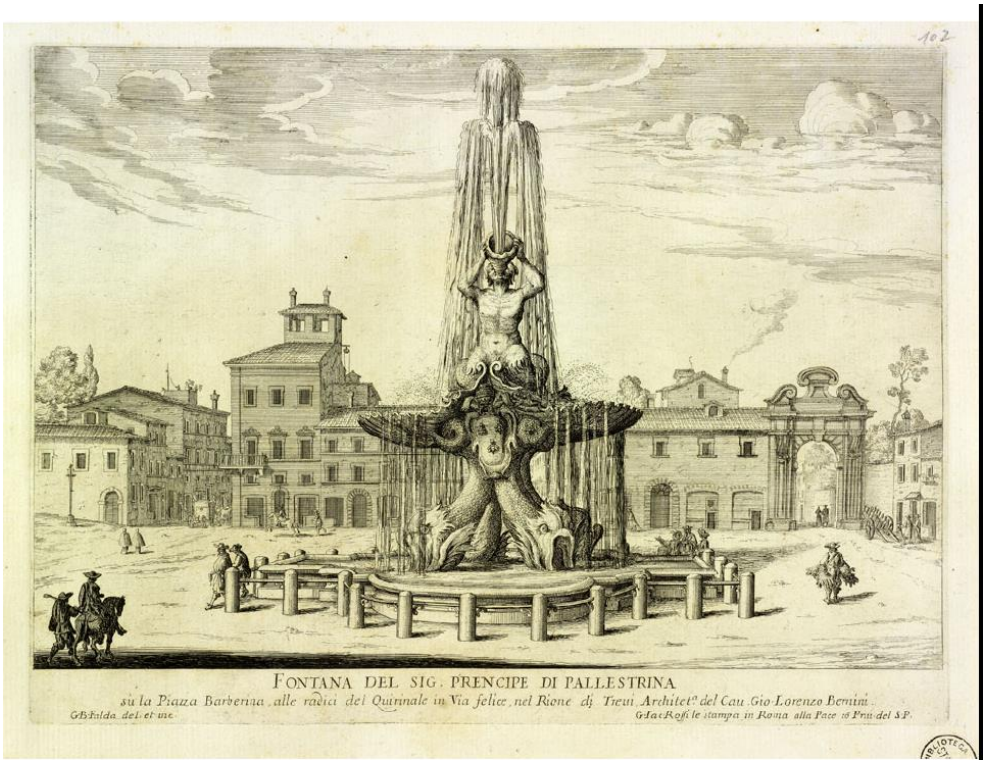
Scenography at the Barberini court in Rome: 1628-1656

by

Leila Zammar



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List of Abbreviations

APUG	Archivio della Pontificia Università Gregoriana (Archive of the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome)
Arch. Barb.	Archivio Barberini (Barberini Archives)
Barb. lat.	Barberini latini
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican Apostolic Library)
BNCR	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma (Central National Library of Rome)
ca.	carta (paper)
cas.	cassetto (drawer)
Comp.	Computisteria (accountancy)
Cors.	Biblioteca Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana (Rome)
Cred.	credenza (closet)
Giust.	Giustificazioni
ind.	indice (index)
lett.	lettera (letter)
maz.	mazzo (bunch)
MS or ms	manuscript
Ottob. lat.	Ottoboniani latini
sc.	*scudi*
VAdS	Archivio di Stato di Venezia (State Archives of Venice)
Vat. lat.	Vaticani latini

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to shed light on the development of scenography at the Barberini court in Rome during the period 1628-1656, filling a gap in the study of the staging of performances in this city during the seventeenth century. Differently from the performances staged in other contemporary courts, the spectacles staged by the Barberini (nearly all of them at the Palazzo alle Quattro Fontane) have been discussed mainly from a musicological perspective and have been little investigated from a theatrical point of view. This thesis shows that members of the Barberini family played a key role in the development of staging techniques and theatrical devices in Rome, using dramatic productions in order to advance and consolidate their power. It also gives special attention to the development of scenographic techniques in Rome in the first half of the seventeenth century.

The discussion makes use of a wide range of primary sources, including reports, *avvisi*, letters, engravings, and contemporary manuals of scenography and theatrical sketches. Most notable are the rich archival resources of the Vatican Library, especially the payment records (*giustificazioni*) that shed light on people hired and materials employed for the various spectacles. A selection of these documents is transcribed and made available for the first time in the Appendix.

Since the impressive development of scenography at the Barberini court was achieved thanks to the collaboration of numerous artists and artisans, either belonging to the Barberini entourage or engaged from other courts, their contribution also forms part of the discussion.

The thesis includes computer-aided reconstructions of stage plans for several of the spectacles investigated. These provide a methodological tool for clarifying the hypotheses proposed, consisting in the graphic representation of the scenographic elements of the performances analysed.

Introduction

The aim of this dissertation is to shed new light on the development of scenography and theatrical devices at the court of the Barberini family in Rome during the period 1628-1656. During this time, the Barberini invested money and energy in sponsoring spectacles both in order to promote themselves, socially and politically, and to address moral and political messages to the guests attending their performances. To reach their goals the powerful family hired well-known musicians, singers, painters, architects and artisans to devise complex theatrical events. The reason for focusing here on the scenography of these spectacles is that, notwithstanding the importance of this aspect, most previous studies concerning the Barberini family's patronage of theatrical activities have been centred on their musical features. The scenography matched the innovations and impact of the music and is worthy of study in its own right.

The Barberini were not the only noble family to sponsor theatrical performances in Rome during the seventeenth century. The Pamphili, the Colonna, the Rospigliosi, and the Capranica rivalled them, but the Barberini dominated during the first half of the seventeenth century, contributing significantly to the introduction of new theatrical techniques and devices.[1] An understanding of this contribution should in turn offer a basis for further analysis of the development of scenography in Rome during the early baroque period.

The performances investigated here were staged mainly at Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane and in the adjacent Teatro Barberini and the congruous number of performances analysed makes this dissertation the first systematic study concerning the scenography of the spectacles sponsored by the Barberini during the seventeenth century in Rome.[2] Based on detailed analysis of primary materials, I

[1] For an overview of the contemporary spectacles staged by the other noble families in Rome during the seventeenth century, see Maurizio Fagiolo Dell'Arco, *La Festa Barocca. Corpus delle feste a Roma* (Rome: De Luca, 1997).

[2] There are indeed in-depth studies concerning these spectacles but they are by musicologists and, therefore, they are mainly related to their musical aspects. Among these studies are: Margaret Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court (1631-1668)* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981); Frederick Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome. Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); Frederick Hammond, *The Ruined Bridge. Studies in Barberini Patronage of Music and Spectacle 1631-1679* (Sterling Heigts, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2010); Frederick Hammond, 'The Creation of a Roman Festival: Barberini Celebrations for Christina of Sweden', in *Life and the Arts in the Baroque Palaces of Rome: Ambiente Barocco*, ed.

have provided hypothetical stage plans for most of the performances analysed, which is one of the most innovative contributions of this dissertation.

Strongly interconnected research questions form the basis of my investigation. The first concerns the artists/artisans who had the task of staging the spectacles sponsored by the Barberini, building the stage, creating the scenography and making the necessary theatrical devices and machinery. The core question of this dissertation, which is strictly interrelated to the first, relates to the spaces chosen to stage the spectacles and the type of scenography, theatrical devices and machinery created by the artists and artisans as well as their development during the period 1628-1656. The two previous questions pave the way for a third one, which concerns the similarities or differences between the staging of performances in Rome and the staging of performances in other Italian and European courts. This question also involves the role played by the artists hired by the Barberini in Rome who had already worked in other Italian and European courts and their contribution in developing theatrical sets, devices and machinery.[3] A last but not less important research question concerns the influence of other types of theatrical spectacles in

by Frederick Hammond and Stephanie Walker (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 53-69; Davide Daolmi, *La drammaturgia al servizio della scenotecnica le «volubili scene» dell'opera barberiniana* <http://www.examenapium.it/barberini/barberini.pdf>; Davide Daolmi, '"L'armi e gli amori". Un'opera di cappa e spada nella Roma di mezzo seicento' (doctoral dissertation, La Sapienza University, Rome 2000-2001); Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, 'Consumption and Political Function of Seventeenth-Century Opera', *Early Music History*, 4 (1984), 209-96.

[3] Among these artists are Francesco Guitti (*c.* 1600-1645), Enzo Bentivoglio (*c.* 1575-1639), Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680) and Giovanni Maria Mariani. Guitti, born in Ferrara, was engaged by the Barberini for the Carnival seasons 1633 and 1634, but he had already worked in other Italian courts among which was Parma, where he had been involved in building the Teatro Farnese, inaugurated in 1628. Bentivoglio, also born in Ferrara, who organized for the Barberini the joust known as the *Giostra del Saracino* in Piazza Navona in Rome on 25 February 1634, had already been engaged in other Italian courts including Florence, Mantua, Parma and Modena. Numerous scholars have investigated Gian Lorenzo Bernini's career as a sculptor and painter. However, his theatrical activity and his contribution to the development of machinery and theatrical devices has been rarely investigated. The most systematic study on Bernini as a man of theatre is Elena Tamburini's *Gian Lorenzo Bernini e il teatro dell'arte* (Florence: Le lettere, 2012), which shows how this artist supervised most performances and spectacles sponsored by the Barberini in Rome. Moreover, he was held in great esteem in France – as witnessed by Cardinal Richelieu's insistence in asking him to go to France to plan the new theatre at the Palais-Cardinal in Paris after 1639. Thanks to this esteem, Bernini had a fundamental role in influencing some theatrical choices of the French court. The Palais-Cardinal, for instance, inaugurated in January 1641 with the staging of the tragicomedy *Mirame* by Jean Desmartes, involved numerous artists and artisans belonging to the entourage of the Barberini because Bernini convinced Mazarin to hire them. Among these artists was the painter Giovanni Maria Mariani, an artist travelling from court to court. Born in Ascoli, he later moved to Genoa, where he excelled in both fresco and oil painting. Later, Mariani resided for a period at Rome, and then in Florence. When he was in Rome, he was hired by the Barberini and created one of the perspective scenes of the opera *Chi soffre, speri* that inaugurated the Teatro Barberini during Carnival 1639 (see Chapter 3). About the role played by Mariani in January 1641 in Paris, see Raimondo Guarino, 'Il leggibile e il visibile. Su un'edizione di *Mirame* di Desmartes', in *Teatro e Storia*, 35 vols (Rome: Bulzoni, 1986-2014), XXXII (2012), pp. 45-54.

Rome on the scenography of the performances analysed: for instance, *commedia dell'arte* plays and Jesuit theatrical performances. These questions are analysed in further depth below, but they have been summarized here in order to provide an idea of the main research co-ordinate of this study.

Genre of the performances analysed and places where they were staged

The performances examined in this dissertation were all staged at Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane and in the adjacent Teatro Barberini. The sole exception is the opera *San Bonifacio* (1638), which was performed at Palazzo della Cancelleria. All of these performances belong to the category of festivals defined as spectacles, that is, theatrical forms like opera, *ballet de cour* and tournament.[4] They include the following: the ballet *Il contrasto di Apollo e Marsia* (*The Contest of Apollo with Marsyas*), August 1628; the operas *Il Sant'Alessio*, Carnival 1632, *L'Erminia sul Giordano*, Carnival 1633, *Il Sant'Alessio*, Carnival 1634, and *I Santi Didimo e Teodora,* Carnival 1635 and 1636; the ballet *La pazzia d'Orlando* (*Orlando's Madness*) and the opera *San Bonifacio*, Carnival 1638; the opera *L'Egisto ovvero Chi soffre, speri* (*Egisto or Who suffers, hopes*), Carnival 1639, and its second *intermedio*, entitled *La fiera di Farfa* (*The Fair of Farfa*), Carnival 1639; the operas *Il palazzo incantato d'Atlante* or *La lealtà con valore* (*The Enchanted Palace of Atlantis* or *Loyalty with Valour*), Carnival 1642, and *La vita humana ovvero Il trionfo della pietà* (*Human Life or the Triumph of Piety*), Carnival 1656; the joust *La giostra dei caroselli* (*The Joust of Carousels*), Carnival 1656. This list does not include all the performances sponsored by the Barberini, because this dissertation intentionally focuses on the most relevant performances staged at the Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane and in the adjacent Teatro Barberini, which were the places chosen by the Barberini for their most important socio-diplomatic meetings. The only exception is the opera *San Bonifacio*, staged at Palazzo della Cancelleria, which is included among the operas analysed because its expenses are mingled with those for *La pazzia d'Orlando*.

[4] See Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, 'The Early Modern Festival Book: Function and Forms', in *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by J.R. Mulryne, Hellen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Margaret Shewring, 2 vols (Aldershot and Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2004), I, 3-17.

Occasions and places for festivals in Rome

The performances staged by the Barberini were subject to the policies of the Papal State where festivals were strictly regulated by the religious calendar and confined to religious occasions, although they were also influenced by etiquette and by political events. The most important religious occasions were the election of a pope, his death, the canonization of a saint, a jubilee and the feast of the *Quarantore*.[5] The election of a pope was followed by the ceremony of the *possesso*, which consisted of a cavalcade through various symbolic places of the city, while his death was commemorated with the erection of a catafalque in St Peter's basilica.[6] Among the non-religious circumstances were the celebrations for the election or death of an allied sovereign, the entrance into the city of an illustrious guest, the recovery from illness of an eminent person or a solemn reception. These celebrations might include fireworks, jousts, carousels or banquets, as well as the performance of one or more musical dramas. The improvised performances of the comic actors of the *commedia dell'arte* were also well appreciated in Rome even though they were subject to certain restrictions, which established that their plays were allowed during the Carnival period but were totally forbidden between Ash Wednesday and Easter Monday.[7] Because of the restrictions, most public performances, including almost all the spectacles analysed in this dissertation, were organized during Carnival.

Performances in Rome were staged either in public piazzas or in private halls belonging to the most influential Roman families. These places were transformed

[5] During the seventeenth century in Rome, the celebration of the *Quarantore* (or *Quarant'ore*) took place during the last days of the Carnival season. It consisted in exposing the Blessed Sacrament in some Jesuit churches for forty hours (hence the name) as an act of expiation for the sins committed during carnival. Celebrated artists were engaged to build the magnificent ephemeral apparatuses used to expose the Sacrament. For further information see Fagiolo Dell'Arco, *La Festa Barocca*, pp. 45-55.

[6] The *possesso* was essentially a codified ceremony consisting in a cavalcade from the basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano to San Peter's, passing through two triumphal arches – the first erected by the populace of Rome on the ramp of the Campidoglio; the other erected by the Farnese family in front of their villa on the palatine hill. The symbolical meaning of the cavalcade was the ascent of the new elected pope from the role of cardinal to the role of head of the Catholic Church. For more information on the *possesso* see Fagiolo Dell'Arco, *La Festa Barocca*, p. 46.

[7] There are numerous studies concerning the *commedia dell'arte*; among the more recent books, the following offer a good overview of the genre: *The Routledge Companion to Commedia dell'Arte*, ed. by Judith Chaffe and Olly Crick (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), Siro Ferrone, *La commedia dell'arte. Attrici e attori italiani in Europa XVI-XVIII sec.* (Turin: Einaudi, 2014) and Margaret A. Katritzky, *The Art of Commedia: A Study in the Commedia dell'Arte 1560-1620 with special Reference to the Visual Records* (Amsterdam: Rodobi, 2006).

into theatrical sets for the occasion, thanks to the collaboration of numerous artists and artisans who built wooden stages, boxes, machines and increasingly elaborate sets and theatrical devices. Gradually, during the seventeenth century, some Roman families started building permanent court theatres following the example of other Italian and European courts that had preceded them.[8] The Barberini were the first family to have a permanent theatre in Rome, the Teatro Barberini, which was inaugurated in time for the Carnival season 1639. The characteristic of most of these theatres, including the Teatro Barberini, was that they still had ephemeral stages, apparatuses and machines, which were removed at the end of the theatrical season.

The Barberini family: a brief overview

Francesco Seniore and Maffeo Barberini

Since the role of the Barberini family is central to this dissertation, their history and their position in Rome require some explanation. The members of the Casa Barberina, or Tafani da Barberino, were originally poor farmers from the small country village of Barberino di Val d'Elsa in Tuscany, where they had settled since the eleventh century. They moved to Florence by the fourteenth century, becoming at first wealthy merchants and then powerful bureaucrats.[9] Their climb up the social

[8] The first permanent theatre in Europe was built in 1548 inside the Hotel de Bourgogne in Paris. A few years later, in 1576, some professional actors built their first theatrical building, The Theatre, in London. Three years later, Madrid had its first important public theatre, the Corral de la Cruz (1579). In Italy, the first project of a permanent theatre was for the Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza on a project by Andrea Palladio (1518-1580), which was inaugurated in March 1585. In the meantime, in 1580, Venice had its first permanent theatre, the San Cassiano, inaugurated during Carnival 1581. Other Italian cities soon had their own theatrical buildings. In 1588, Sabbioneta, a feud subject to the Gonzaga family, inaugurated its first permanent theatre in a project by Vincenzo Scamozzi. In 1618, it was the turn of Parma to have its permanent theatre, the Teatro Farnese, built as a project by Giovan Battista Aleotti. For further discussion about the first permanent theatres in Italy see Giovanni Attolini, *Teatro e spettacolo nel Rinascimento* (Bari: Laterza, 1997), pp. 88-104, Cesare Molinari, *Storia del teatro* (Milan: Editori Laterza, 2001), pp. 96-102 and Marvin Carlson, *Theatre: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp.15-19. For an overview concerning the building of the H**ô**tel de Bourgogne in Paris, as well as details of the first performances staged there, see Margaret A. Katritzky, *Women, Medicine and Theatre, 1500-1750: Literary Mountebanks and Performing Quacks* (Aldershot and Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 195-204.

[9] The original coat of arms of the Barberini displayed a pair of scissors and three horseflies, *tafani* in Italian. This choice was due to the locality of Tafano near Barberino di Val d'Elsa, the place of origin of the Barberini, whose toponym was used as a nickname to identify the family. On the other hand, the scissors represented the founder of the dynasty, a tailor responsible for the family fortune, gained thanks to his ability in the wool trade. See Irving Lavin, 'Urbanitas Urbana the Pope, the Artist and the Genius of the Place', in *I Barberini e la cultura europea del Seicento*, ed. by Lorenza

ladder ground to a halt between 1580 and 1620 because of a severe economic crisis.[10] Nevertheless, a new and more flourishing period was about to open for the Tuscan family. With family support, Francesco Barberini (1528-1600) went to Rome in the late sixteenth century to undertake an ecclesiastical career. Since this career offered the opportunity to gain an enhanced status and economic benefits, the Barberini hoped that Francesco's success would open new possibilities of social achievement for him and his relatives. Once Francesco had established himself in the papal curia, he promoted his family's advancement. For instance, he provided the money necessary for his most gifted nephew, Maffeo (1568-1644), to follow in his steps.[11] Francesco could not foresee that this young relative, just admitted to attend the Jesuit Collegio Romano, would become one of the most powerful popes of the seventeenth century.

Once Maffeo had completed his studies in Pisa in 1588, where he gained his doctorate *in utroque iure*, he returned to Rome and started to make a name for himself and his family. To facilitate his social advancement he pretended to belong to a Florentine noble family and changed his family name from Tafani da Barberino to Barberini.[12] Moreover, he replaced the three horseflies on the family coat of arms with three bees.[13] Later, to improve his and his family's status, he bought a palazzo in Via dei Giubbonari where he went to live with his eldest brother Carlo (1562-1630).[14] After purchasing the Palazzo ai Giubbonari, known as *casa grande*,

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Mochi Onori, Sebastian Schütze and Francesco Solinas (Rome: De Luca Editori d'Arte S.r.l., 2007), pp. 15-30.

[10] During this period, across the European continent, fields became less and less fertile because of intensive exploitation, resulting in a series of famines. At the same time, the crops' crisis determined a parallel crisis in the textile industry and in commerce with a consequent impoverishment of the population. This general situation worsened in Italy because of its peculiar socio-political conditions consisting in a sort of feudal system adopting a capitalistic economy. For a further analysis of the Italian crisis of these years, see Eric Hobsbawm, 'The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century', in *Crisis in Europe, 1560-1660: Essays from Past and Present*, ed. by Trevor Aston (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), pp. 5-58.

[11] The brief overview about Maffeo Barberini's life is based on Georg Lutz, 'Urbano VIII', in *Enciclopedia dei Papi*, 3 vols (Rome: Treccani, 2000), III, 298-321.

[12] Maffeo's choice depended on the consideration that to gain a position in Rome it was necessary to have noble origins. However, as well analysed by Irene Fosi, he was only one of numerous other people of Tuscan origin who had tried to change their status to gain social favours for their family. See Irene Fosi, 'Genealogie e storie di famiglie fiorentine nella Roma del Seicento', in *Istituzioni in Toscana nell'età moderna*, ed. by Archivi di Stato di Firenze, 2 vols (Florence: Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, 1994), I, 179-95.

[13] For the symbolic meaning of bees, see Irving Lavin, 'Urbanitas Urbana', (pp.16-17).

[14] The Palazzo ai Giubbonari was another place where the Barberini staged their operas. An early version of *Il Sant'Alessio* was staged there in February 1629 (see Tamburini, p. 45) and again in 1631 (see Murata, p. 221). Moreover, there is evidence that in 1632 this palazzo was the location for the sacred performance entitled *La Regina Ester* (see Tamburini, p. 45).

Maffeo commissioned a family chapel in the church of Sant'Andrea della Valle and started affirming himself as a patron of the arts.[15] In 1606, he became cardinal, in 1608 bishop of Spoleto, and in 1611, he was appointed papal legate of Bologna, where he joined the Accademia dei Gelati.[16] In 1617, Maffeo was appointed prefect of the Segnatura di Giustizia in Rome.[17] Once in Rome, he joined the Accademia degli Umoristi, where he met among its members Leone Allacci (1586-1669), Giulio Rospigliosi (1600-1669) and Agostino Mascardi (1590-1640).[18] He then gained increasing respect and authority thanks to his literary abilities, entering the cultural entourage of Clement VIII Aldobrandini (1592-1605) and then of Paul V Borghese (1605-1621).[19] When he was elected to the papal see on 6 August 1623 numerous intellectuals, among whom were the poet Giovan Battista Marino (1569-

[15] The term *casa grande* is used several times in Maffeo's payment records (see, for instance, Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Giust. I, vol. 1, fol. 337r and vol. 3, fol. 121r). About the edification of the chapel and its importance as a socio-political symbol, see Peter Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome: Barberini Cultural Policies* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp 70-78. Expenditures for the chapel from April 1608 are recorded in Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Giust. I, vol. 2, fols 162r, 175r and 202v.

[16] Both Maffeo and his nephew Francesco, whose academic names were *il ricoverato* and *il rinvigorito* respectively, were members of the Accademia dei Gelati. The interests of this academy ranged from poetry and painting to drama in the form of pastoral plays, comedies and tragedies. When Maffeo joined the Accademia, it is possible that he met Marquis Pio Enea degli Obizzi (1592-1674), who was himself a member of the academy – his academic name was *il rigenerato*. The meeting is of particular interest for this study because Pio Enea soon became one of the most important organizers of theatrical performances and festivals. On Pio Enea degli Obizzi see Nicola Badolato, 'Obizzi, Pio Enea II', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 82 vols (Rome: Treccani, 1960-2015), LXXIX (2013), 69-72. For a full list of the members of the Accademia dei Gelati and some of their publications, see 'Accademia dei Gelati', in the online *Database of Italian Academies* <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/ItalianAcademies/BriefDisplay.aspx?SearchType=Simple>. See also Clizia Gurreri, ' 'Nec longum Tempus': l'Accademia dei Gelati tra XVI e XVII sec. (1588-1614)', in *The Italian Academies 1525-1700: Networks of Culture, Innovation and Dissent*, ed. by Jane E. Everson, Denis V. Reidy and Lisa Sampson (New York: LEGENDA and Routledge, 2016), pp. 186-96 and Michele Maylender, *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia*, 5 vols (Bologna: L. Cappelli, 1926-1930), III (1929), 81-88.

[17] For further information on this subject, see 'Tribunale della segnatura di grazia e giustizia', in *Direzione Generale per gli Archivi (DGA) Sistema Guida generale degli Archivi di Stato italiani*, <http://guidagenerale.maas.ccr.it/GuidaGenerale.aspx?dns=hap:localhost/guidagenerale/GG07300 41709>

[18] The Accademia degli Umoristi, founded by Paolo Mancini in Rome after 1600, was the most celebrated Roman academy before the Arcadian Academy. For a complete list of the members of this Accademia and for some bibliographical suggestions, see *Database of Italian Academies* <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/ItalianAcademies/AcademyFullDisplay.aspx?RecordId=021-000001571&searchAssocType=>. See also Maylender, V (1930), 370-81.

[19] The Aldobrandini's predilection for the young Barberini is attested by the numerous assignments the pope gave to him. Soon after his election to the papal see in October 1593, for instance, Clement VIII nominated Maffeo governor of Fano and in October 1600 asked him to be his legate *a latere* in Florence, where the pope had been invited to attend Henri IV and Maria de' Medici's marriage. The latter experience was for the young Barberini both an occasion to assist to the performances organized to celebrate the wedding couple and his first contact with the French court. See Bernard Barbiche, 'Les nonciatures en France de Maffeo Barberini', in *I Barberini* (see Lavin, above), pp. 31-36.

1625), the astronomer Galileo Galilei (1564-1642), and the philosopher and astrologer Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639), hailed this event positively.[20] The newly-elected pope assumed the name Urban to show his affection for Rome, the *urbs* par excellence.[21]

Maffeo's election to the Holy See marked the start of a long season of cultural and political influence for the Barberini family in Rome, obtained through a well-planned strategy. On the one hand, the newly-elected pope, with the support of his eldest brother, Carlo, took advantage of the peculiar political system of the Roman court, which was based on political ties acquired thanks to agreements and ecclesiastical exchanges of benefits.[22] On the other, he understood the importance of culture as a means of propaganda. Therefore, he attended the gatherings of old and new scientific and literary academies to gain support among intellectuals. Then, with the collaboration of his nephews, Francesco, Taddeo, and Antonio, sons of his brother Carlo, he supported numerous forms of artistic expressions: he understood that the arts, including the art of staging performances, could be used as a powerful means of propaganda.

Francesco Iuniore

The same year as his election to the papal see, Maffeo nominated his nephew Francesco (1597-1679) to be Cardinal-Padrone.[23] Francesco became one of his uncle's closest collaborators and the papal Secretary of State. In March 1625, Francesco went as papal legate to France to meet Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642) born Armand-Jean du Plessis, Duke de Richelieu. The function of Francesco's mission was to strengthen the papacy's ties with an anti-Augsburg country in a delicate phase of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648).

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[20] To understand the reasons for Galileo and Campanella's enthusiastic reaction to the election of Maffeo Barberini to the papal see, see John Bedlon Scott, 'Galileo and Urban VIII, Science and Allegory at Palazzo Barberini', in *I Barberini* (see Lavin, above), pp. 127-36. See also Luigi Guerrini, 'Maffeus Davidicus. L'Ars poetica barberiniana nella visione di Tommaso Campanella', in *I Barberini* (see Lavin, above), pp. 137-42.

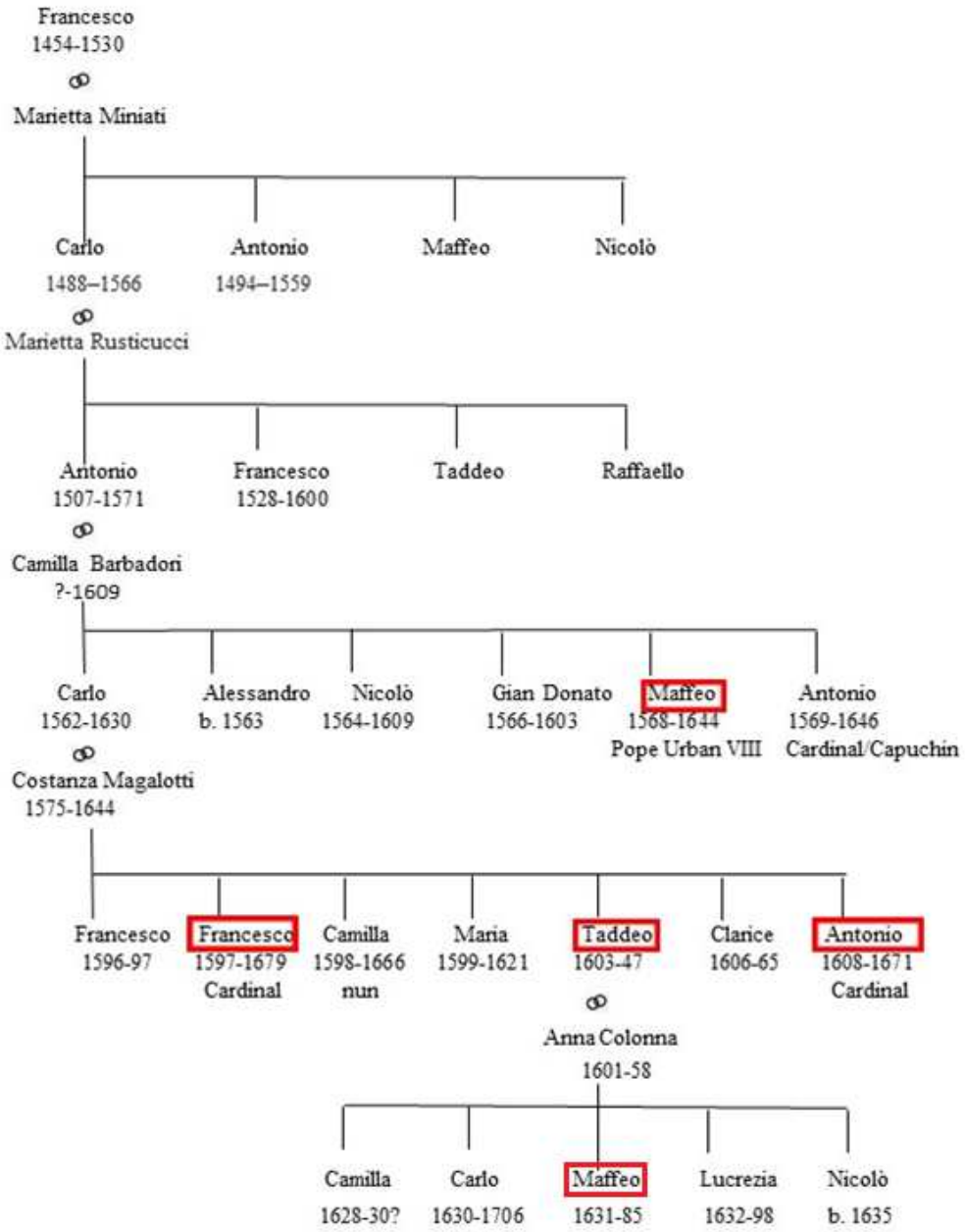
[21] On the choice of the name and its meaning, see Lavin, 'Urbanitas Urbana', pp. 20-22.

[22] See for instance the analysis of the relationships between merchants and popes during the sixteenth and seventeenth century in Irene Fosi, 'Fra Siena e Roma: famiglie, mercanti, pontefici fra Cinquecento e Seicento', in *I giardini Chigi fra Siena e Roma dal Cinquecento agli inizi dell'Ottocento*, ed. by Carla Benocci (Siena: Fondazione Monte dei Paschi, 2005), pp. 13-38.

[23] For Francesco Barberini's career as a cardinal, see Rietbergen, pp. 143-79 and Alberto Merola, 'Barberini, Francesco', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, VI (1964), 172-76.

The Barberini family tree

(The names of the members of the family particularly relevant to this study are highlighted in red.)



During his sojourn in France, Francesco was welcomed by banquets, solemn masses and visits, which put him at the centre of the courtly life for several months. He was also invited to attend a play staged in his honour at the Jesuit College of Avignon on 21 April 1625.[24] In the performance, the papal legate was portrayed as Aristea, calming down the waters of the rivers Ebro and Rhone – a metaphor clearly referring to the hope that Francesco's mediation would bring peace and harmony.

When Francesco returned to Rome in December, he purchased the Palazzo Sforza in Piazza Grimana, which would be transformed into Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane, the location of most of the performances analysed for this study.[25] The following year, Francesco left Rome once more, this time to serve as papal legate in Spain. His mission was to curb the warfare between France and Spain for control of the Valtellina.[26] Although Francesco's missions in France and Spain did not achieve their political aim, they allowed him to come in contact with cultural environments that influenced his future artistic choices. From 1626 to 1633, he stayed in Rome, residing at Palazzo della Cancelleria, where he was given San Lorenzo in Damaso as his titular church. This gave him the opportunity to sponsor operas in the former and celebrations for the *Quarantore* in the latter. Among the operas he staged in the Palazzo della Cancelleria was *San Bonifacio* (Carnival 1638), which is one of the operas studied in this dissertation.[27] However, the very first performance he sponsored was *Il contrasto di Apollo con Marsia*, performed at Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane in August 1628; the occasion was a banquet offered to the powerful Colonna family, whose political importance will be explained below.

Francesco's brilliant ecclesiastical career did not prevent him from cultivating his literary interests as attested by the remarkable collection of books and manuscripts that he assembled in his library at Palazzo Barberini.[28] Moreover, the countless dedications to him of books, including musical scores, libretti, and

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[24] For furfther information about Francesco Barberini's legation in France and about the spectacles performed in his honour, see Clément Pieyre, 'La légation du cardinal Francesco Barberini en France en 1625, insuccèss de la diplomatie du pape Urban VIII', in *I Barberini* (see Lavin, above), pp. 87-94.

[25] See Chapter 1, introductory section, below.

[26] For further information about Francesco's legation in Spain see José Louis Colomer, 'Arte per la riconciliazione: Francesco Barberini e la corte di Filippo IV', in *I Barberini* (see Lavin, above), pp. 95-110.

[27] *San Bonifacio* is analysed in Chapter 1, below.

[28] See Cinzia Fortuzzi, 'Due inventari della biblioteca Barberina', *Il Bibliotecario*, 1 (1997), 201-16.

treatises on various subjects suggest that he was also greatly esteemed for his intellectual skills by contemporary scholars. In July 1624, he founded the Accademia dei Virtuosi, which met at the Palazzo del Quirinale.[29] Among the intellectuals participating in the early sessions of this academy was Giulio Rospigliosi (1600-1669), the future Pope Clement IX, who would become the faithful librettist of the operas sponsored by the Barberini.[30]

Taddeo Barberini

Carlo Barberini's second son, Taddeo (1603-1647), unlike his elder brother, renounced undertaking an ecclesiastical career after completing his studies at the Collegio Romano. His choice gave the possibility to the Tuscan family to tighten their ties with other Roman families, thanks to Taddeo's marriage to Anna Colonna (1601-1658). Given the social importance of this wedding, the pope himself celebrated it on 24 October 1627. This marriage was a smart political choice: on the one hand, the Colonna family were perhaps the greatest Roman baronial clan; on the other, they had good relations with the Spanish faction in Rome, who had always opposed the Barberini for their open philo-French policy. It is not by chance that the first performance analysed in this study, *Il contrasto di Apollo con Marsia*, was staged at Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane on 15 August 1628 during a banquet offered to the Colonna family. It is, indeed, the first evidence of the Barberini's use of performances to convey political messages.[31]

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[29] Palazzo del Quirinale in Rome had been the residence of the popes since 1605, during the pontificate of Paul V Borghese (1605-1621). The Accademia dei Virtuosi had two main gatherings. The first founded by cardinal nephew Ludovisi in the early 1620s, the other by cardinal nephew Francesco Barberini in 1624. The latter was mainly interested in musical matters ranging from listening to madrigals to questions related to Greek music theory. For further information about the Accademia dei Virtuosi see Andrew Dell'Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011), pp. 45-46.

[30] Another member of the Accademia dei Virtuosi was Giovanni Battista Doni (1595-1647), who wrote a *trattato di musica scenica*, a treatise on music for the stage, giving some advice on how to stage successful performances. This treatise is the first section of Doni's *Lyra Barberina*, ed. by Anton Francesco Gori, 2 vols (Florence: Giovanni Battista Passeri, 1763), a collection in two volumes containing all Doni's major writings about music. The role played by the Italian Academies on the development of music and theatre deserves further investigation and it is subject of discussion by numerous scholars as witnessed by the workshop entitled 'Literature, Theatre, and the Arts in the Italian Academies (1525-1700)', University of Reading, UK, 24 June 2014. For the role played by the Innominati in Parma in the reform of the theatre see Lisa Sampson, 'Reforming theatre in Farnese Parma: The Case of the Accademia degli Innominati (1574-1608)' in *The Italian Academies 1525-1700: Networks of Culture, Innovation and Dissent*, pp. 62-76.

[31] For a full analysis of *Il contrasto*, of the banquet and of the political meaning of both, see Chapter 1, below.

Upon his father's death in 1630, Taddeo assumed a military role as commander of the papal troops and, the following year, Urban VIII conferred on him the title of prince prefect of Rome.[32] Taddeo's interest in theatrical activities is attested by his economic support to the staging of the operas *Vita del glorioso Alessio*, staged at the Palazzo ai Giubbonari (Carnival 1631) and *Erminia sul Giordano* (Carnival 1633), staged at the Palazzo alle Quattro Fontane. The latter will be analysed in Chapter 2. Taddeo also gave his financial contribution to the construction of the Teatro Barberini, which was, as already discussed above, the first public theatre in Rome.[33]

Antonio Barberini

The last of Carlo's sons, Antonio (1608-1671), studied at the Collegio Romano like his elder brothers. Maffeo made him prior of Malta, and then, in 1628, cardinal. Antonio was particularly interested in the visual arts and took drawing lessons first from Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630) and then from Andrea Sacchi (1599-1661). The latter became one of the most active artists in supporting the Barberini in their political ascent and in collaborating to the staging of some of their spectacles.[34] Sacchi's portrait of Marc'Antonio Pasqualini, Antonio's favourite singer, for instance, is a clear reference to the first performance analysed in this dissertation, *Il contrasto di Apollo con Marsia* (August 1628), and a homage to Urban VIII. Apollo, who crowns Pasqualini in the painting, represents the pope-poet, who had always liked to identify himself with the sun-god. This painting is also an important iconographic document attesting the involvement of Pasqualini in this early performance.[35] Sacchi was engaged by the Barberini also in the staging of some performances: in 1639, he was responsible for the set design for the joust *La giostra del Saracino*; in 1641, he decorated the scenes for the opera *La Genoinda* and in

[32] He was also an eclectic reader as witnessed by the inventory of his books, which included volumes ranging from geography to agriculture, poetry, music and other subjects. See Hammond, *Music and Spectacle*, p. 34.
[33] For the construction of the Teatro Barberini, see Chapter 3, below.
[34] An example of Sacchi's artistic support is his fresco entitled *Divina Sapienza* (Divine Wisdom), decorating a room on the *piano nobile* of Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane. This fresco was meant to be an allegorical celebration of the Barberini family as is well explained by Hieronymo Tetio (or Teti) in his *Aedes Barberinae ad Quirinalem* (Rome: Mascardi, 1642), pp. 83-98. This book is one of the most important sources of information on Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane.
[35] On the iconographic meaning of this painting in relation to *Il contrasto di Apollo con Marsia*, see the analysis preceeding fig. 1.5 in Chapter 1, below.

1642, he was responsible for sets and machinery for the opera *Il palazzo incantato*. The latter will be analysed in Chapter 4.

Antonio had several other cultural interests, which led him to protect contemporary writers and thinkers. Among them were the Tuscan Lelio Guidiccioni (1582-1643), the Frenchmen Jean Jacques Bouchard (1606-1641) and Gabriel Naudé (1600-1653), the German Lucas Holstenius (1592-1662), who became librarian of the Barberini Library at Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane, and the Italian Hieronymo Tetio, also known as Girolamo Teti or Tezi (1580-1645). Guidiccioni, Bouchard and Teti left writings that have proved to be precious sources for the hypotheses proposed in this dissertation. [36]

Socio-political implications of the performances analysed

Besides representing a step forward in the knowledge of the theatrical devices and staging techniques that flourished in Rome thanks to the patronage of the Barberini and of their artistic entourage, this study also sheds new light on the socio-political implications that underlie the performances analysed. The use of festivals as a means of political propaganda all over Europe is well known.[37] In seventeenth-century Italy, this aspect is more evident because the lack of a powerful central government had brought the ruling classes to use the arts, including theatrical performances and festivals, to display their power and assert their position *vis-à-vis* the other social classes as well as among their peers. While towards the end of the fifteenth century dukes, princes and kings liked to entertain their friends in their properties, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries most rulers preferred to organize public performances in order to establish or reinforce their political power.

The Barberini organized spectacles firstly to assert, then to maintain and finally to reaffirm their socio-political status in Rome because during their political

[36] Hieronymo Tetio is the author of the book *Aedes Barberinae* (see footnote 34, above), which he dedicated to Antonio Barberini who, since 1635, had established his residence at Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane. Guidiccioni and Bouchard left very interesting relations concerning the performance of *Il Sant'Alessio* staged for the Carnival of 1632 (see Chapter 1). For further information about Guidiccioni see Michele Di Monte, 'Guidiccioni, Lelio', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, LXI (2003), 330-34.

[37] See *Europa Triumphans*, I, 3-17 as well as *Atlante tematico del Barocco in Italia. Le capitali della festa*, ed. by Marcello Fagiolo, 2 vols (Rome: De Luca, 2007).

and economic ascent they had to face numerous enemies and rivals, both in Rome and outside the borders of the Papal State. When, for instance, Urban VIII 'officially' attacked Galileo for his support of Copernicanism, his action was a means to avoid being denounced for heresy together with his former protégé. His support of Galileo's theories had in fact caused him to be accused of negotiating with the Protestants and of openly opposing the Catholic Spanish faction still involved in the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). The performances that the Barberini commissioned during this period of turmoil were meant to re-establish their position after both the events related to the Thirty Years' War and the Galileo affair, concluded with his trial in 1632, had weakened their authority. Apart from the numerous events, ranging from celebrations for the *Quarantore*, to banquets, jousts, and various performances, the powerful family mainly relied on operas to achieve their goal: these included *Il Sant'Alessio* (1632), *L'Erminia sul Giordano* (1633), a new version of *Il Sant'Alessio* (1634) and *I Santi Didimo e Teodora* (1635 and 1636), all of which are analysed in this dissertation.[38]

In the following years, the position of the Barberini worsened. Their growing power and territorial expansion threatened to upset the delicate balance of power among the Italian courts, which had lasted since the treaty of peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559) and disturbed some European powers interested in maintaining their influence in Italy. This is the main reason why, when the papacy tried to conquer the Duchy of Castro, during the early 1640s, all the main European and Italian rulers, including Emperor Ferdinand III, the king of France, the king of Spain, the grand duke of Tuscany, the duke of Modena and the Republic of Venice exerted pressure on the pope to desist. The long war that broke out had devastating consequences for the Barberini in spite of their attempts to justify their actions. Again, a theatrical performance served as a means of propaganda. *Il palazzo incantato di Atlante*, staged during Carnival 1642, was in fact a warning to the duke of Parma and an exaltation of the Barberini family, as will be discussed in Chapter 4. In light of the historical events related to the delicate phase of the war of Castro,

[38] The political meaning of these performances as well as their importance for the development of theatrical devices and techniques will be analysed closely in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, below.

the circumstances of this opera can be read as commentary on the contemporary political situation.[39]

Following the death of Urban VIII on 28 July 1644, Cardinal Giovanni Battista Pamphili (1574-1655) became the new pope (assuming the name of Innocent X) and the situation for the Barberini worsened. In spite of the support received by both Cardinal Francesco and Cardinal Antonio during the conclave, the new-elected pope embarked on a political rapprochement with the Spanish crown that was to force the Barberini to leave Rome. All the members of the noble family were allowed to return to Rome only in June 1653, following a reconciliation with Innocent X. The next Carnival they were once more among the most fervent organizers of celebrations.

During Carnival 1655, profane celebrations were not allowed because of the recent death of Pope Innocent X (7 January 1655), but the following Carnival was one of the most celebrated ever. This was due to the presence of Christina, ex-queen of Sweden, who, after her conversion to the Catholic faith on 24 December 1654, had moved to the capital of the Roman Church. Her arrival in Rome on 23 December 1655 offered a unique occasion for the new pope, Alessandro VII (1555-1667), to make this event a symbol of the victory of the Catholic Church over Protestantism.[40] Therefore, he welcomed the initiatives by numerous wealthy families of organizing spectacles in honour of the ex-Protestant queen during the Carnival 1656. This was a great occasion for the Barberini. Indeed, the two new performances they commissioned for that Carnival, the opera *La vita humana* and the joust *La giostra dei Caroselli*, were devised to convey political messages aimed at re-establishing and reinforcing the position of the family at the papal court. These last two performances were also the last spectacles sponsored by the Barberini, and their analysis will conclude this dissertation.

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[39] See Anonymous, *Allegoria et argomento dell'attione rappresentata in musica intitolata Leltà con* valore (Rome: stamperia della reverenda camera apostolica, 1642). For further information on the meaning of this opera and for analysis of its staging, see Chapter 4, below.

[40] There are numerous accounts of Christina's travel to reach Rome and about the festivals organized in her honour along the route. The most detailed accounts are Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato, *Historia della sacra real maestà di Christina Alessandra regina di Svezia* (Rome: Stamperia della reverenda camera apostolica, 1656), the anonymous *Epilogo del viaje, que hico, desde Brusellas a Roma… Christina Alezandra reyna de Suecia* (Rome: Reverenda Camera Apostolica, 1656), the anonymous *Vera relazione del viaggio fatto dalla maestà della regina di Svezia per tutto òlo stato ecclesiastico* (Rome and Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1656) and Nicholas Lescalopier's *Relation de ce qui s'est passé a l'arrivee de la Reine Christine de Svede. A effaune en la maison de monsieur Hesselin* (Paris: Robert Ballard, 1656).

Sources and methodology

My research has focused on the most relevant primary and secondary sources related to the productions analysed in this thesis to create a solid framework to my discussion. Since previous studies have analysed these productions mainly from a musicological perspective, my aim has been to look for information involving their scenography with the intention of filling a gap in the field of theatrical studies. The ideas proposed below, which concern the staging of these spectacles, their set design and their theatrical devices, are based on the following methodology. Firstly, I undertook a meticulous investigation of primary sources, which has allowed me to uncover first-hand information that I have then interpreted using all the other sources available. Paintings and engravings, manuals on scenography, descriptions of spectacles, letters, *avvisi*, and other primary sources as well as the most relevant secondary literature have then helped me to make likely reconstructions of the staging of the spectacles, which form the focus of my discussion. To make my hypothetical reconstructions more accessible, I have sketched several stage plans based on the results obtained. These plans do not report all the scenographic details such as lights, decorations etc.; nevertheless, they have proved to be a useful methodological tool, since they provide visual support for the assumptions proposed.

The following subsections provide an overview of the most relevant sources that I have examined to support my discussion, explaining the reasons for choosing them.

Primary sources

The primary sources consulted consist of archival documents including libretti, scores, letters, *avvisi*, reports, requests for payment, and payment records as well as seventeenth-century manuals on scenography, paintings and engravings. Among these primary sources, this study systematically exploits, for the first time, the series of documents held as ‘Giustificazioni I’ in the Barberini Archives of the Vatican Library at Vatican City. This is a collection of accounts, payment requests or payment receipts, produced by artisans, artists, or servants, who were hired by the following members of the Barberini family: Francesco *seniore* (the elder), Antonio *iuniore* (the younger), Carlo, Francesco *iuniore* (the younger), and Benedetto. Most

of these documents have been little investigated, because they were not inventoried until 2014.[41] They are important because, even when they simply confirm or complete data that can be found in other collections of documents concerning the Barberini accounting (*Giornali*, *Registri dei mandati* and *Libri Mastri*), they usually contain additional details. In some cases, they provide the exact measurements for some pieces of scenery and help in an understanding of the operation of theatrical devices. These documents are often difficult to interpret because they contain numerous abbreviations and are in the handwriting of numerous people, including poor artisans who did not know the correct spelling of words. Furthermore, several documents contain lists of expenses that are not recorded by subject but only follow a chronological order; hence, the search for information related to the staging of performances has been a very challenging task. For example, it is frequent to find measurements for wood used to build the stage among measurements for pieces of furniture destined for other, non theatrical, purposes or pieces of information related to the same aspect (illumination, building machinery, staging etc.) recorded in apparently unrelated documents. Finally, some words found in these manuscripts, which belong to the vocabulary used in Rome during the seventeenth century, are nowadays completely forgotten. They include terms for food, jobs, artisans' utensils, etc.

To help other scholars I have transcribed for the first time the most relevant *giustificazioni* in the Appendix to this dissertation. Transcriptions, both in the Appendix and in the thesis, have followed the current practice of modern (not diplomatic) editions. In particular, I have modernized spelling, punctuation, and capitalization; silently corrected evident mistakes of spelling and grammar; silently expanded most abbreviations; and indicated with ellipses ([…]) parts of text that have not been transcribed and with asterisks ([***]) parts that are unreadable. I have indicated in angle brackets (< >) words, parts of words, or sentences that have, in rare cases, been supplied to complete the sense. As for the morphological and phonological aspects, I have preserved local dialectal forms, including *dui* and *doi* (for *due*), *paro* (in modern Italian, *paio*) and the nouns referring to artisans' jobs ending in *–aro*, which are regional variants of the Italian (i.e., Florentine) terms

[41] Luigi Cacciaglia, archivist of the Vatican Library, has recently made an inventory of these manuscript documents. See Luigi Cacciaglia, *Le "Giustificazioni" dell'Archivio Barberini - Inventario* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2014).

ending in *–aio*: for example 'berrettaro' for 'berrettaio' (hatter), 'calzolaro' for 'calzolaio' (shoemaker), 'bicchieraro' for 'bicchieraio' (glassmaker), etc. The terms *gennaro* and *febbraro*, which were local, morphological variants of the Italian *gennaio* and *febbraio* (January and February) have been maintained, as well as the distinction between the forms 'et' and 'e', for the English 'and'. The inconsistencies of the original spelling (e.g., *viglie/veglie*) has been maintained, including those in the use of single vs. double consonants (e.g., *gennaro/genaro*) and the inconsistent spelling of the phonetic sound /k/ (e.g. *facino/fachino/facchino* for *facchino*, porter). Since the manuscripts transcribed include words that belong to the vocabulary used in Rome during the seventeenth century nowadays completely forgotten, I have interpreted, translated and listed them either in footnotes or in the Glossary at the end of this dissertation to provide a useful tool to other researchers. This has been possible thanks to the support of several sources among which are the *Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana*, edited by Salvatore Battaglia, and the *Vocabolario degli Accademici*, edited by the Accademici della Crusca.[42] Also the other translations in this dissertation, unless otherwise specified, are my own.

The decision to use paintings and engravings as reliable visual documents is based on the consideration that from the late-sixteenth century they were commissioned to record a faithful memory of the events and spectacles portrayed.[43] With this in mind, the engravings embellishing the printed scores of the operas *Il Sant'Alessio* (Rome: Masotti, 1634), *L'Erminia sul Giordano* (Rome: Masotti, 1637) and *La vita humana or Il trionfo della pietà* (Rome: Mascardi, 1658) have been analysed for evidence of scenographic details. Other forms of visual representation can supplement these engravings. For example, for the analysis of the joust entitled *La giostra dei Caroselli*, performed during Carnival 1656, besides Gualdo Priorato's detailed description of the event, I have relied on Filippo Lauri and Filippo Gagliardi's painting, portraying the joust.[44] This painting belongs to the

[42] *Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana*, ed. by Salvatore Battaglia, 21 vols (Turin: UTET, 1961-2002) and *Vocabolario degli Accademici*, ed. by Accademici della Crusca, 1st edn (Venice: Giovanni Alberti, 1612).

[43] The use of illustrations as visual documents aimed at leaving a vivid and lasting memory of an event was introduced for the first time in Florence in the 1570s. See Alessandra Buccheri, 'Il ruolo della scenografia da Bernardo Buontalenti a Giulio Parigi', in *Storia delle arti in Toscana* (Florece: EDIFIR, 2001), pp. 21-28. On the use of visual recordings as reliable documents of festivals see also: Henri Zerner, 'Looking for the Unknowable: the Visual Experience of Renaissance Festivals', in *Europa Triumphans*, I, 75-98.

[44] For the painting, see Chapter 5, fig. 5.9, below.

type of visual documents that report simultaneously all the various stages of the event, while the engravings mentioned above represent separately each scene of the performance they illustrate. Although these visual sources do not include measurements, they portray useful details, which have been used here alongside other sources including payment records, written reports, and contemporary manuals about scenography. Among the seventeenth-century manuals on scenography I have made extensive use of Nicola Sabbatini's *Pratica di fabricar scene e machine ne' teatri* (Ravenna: Stampatori Camerali, 1638) and Fabrizio Carini Motta's *Trattato sopra la struttura de' teatri e scene* (Guastalla: Alessandro Giavazzi, 1676). Moreover, I have based some of my assumptions on the sketches by the engineer Pietro Paolo Floriani (1585-1638) illustrating several theatrical devices designed by Francesco Guitti.[45]

As for the written primary sources investigated, because of the lack of a single patron in Rome numerous documents about Roman performances are scattered in various private archives. The Vatican Library has acquired some of these, including the Barberini archives, but others remain the property of the families who possessed them. Since members of these other families often attended or participated in spectacles organized by the rival families, they sometimes wrote reports or letters describing them.[46] That is why it is possible to find documents related to performances staged under Barberini patronage in other private collections. An example is a manuscript I found while looking for information about Malatesta Albani, who was responsible for organizing a sword-fight in the second *intermedio* of the opera *La fiera di Farfa* (1639). This document, a drawing evidently referring to a set design showing the sun rising, has allowed me to propose a new theory concerning Bernini's celebrated machine of the rising sun.[47]

[45] These sketches, held in the Associazione Compagnoni Floriani di Villamagna in Macerata have been classified as codex α and codex β by the scholar Giuseppe Adami in his *Scenografia e scenotecnica barocca tra Ferrara e Parma (1625-1631)* (Rome: Breitschneider, 2003).

[46] Numerous letters, descriptions and *avvisi* have been already transcribed and translated by other researchers. These documents are too extensive to be mentioned here. A complete list can be found in the Bibliography.

[47] For a discussion of this hypothesis see Chapter 4, below, and Leila Zammar, 'Gian Lorenzo Bernini: A Hypothesis about his Machine of the Rising Sun', *Arti dello Spettacolo/Performing Arts*, III (2014), 249-68.

Secondary sources

As mentioned above, previous studies concerning the Barberini family's patronage of theatrical activities have been mainly centred on their musical features and only rarely have considered their staging. Since scenography matched the innovations and impact of the music, the analysis of the spectacles examined in the chapters below is intended to give it the relevance it deserves, moving from the staging details proposed by other scholars, and adding to them the results obtained by investigating a great number of the primary sources available. In this section, I will refer to the most relevant secondary literature regarding the spectacles sponsored by the Barberini, emphasizing the contribution that my discussion brings to the field of theatrical studies.

The musicologists Margaret Murata and Frederick Hammond, for instance, have proposed interesting hypotheses about the staging of some of these spectacles and their conjectures have been considered in my discussion. Both of them investigate a great amount of archival material and give a detailed history of the performances examined, including information about their composers, their musicians, and their audiences.[48] Nevertheless, they do not undertake a systematic analysis of the staging of these performances, as this dissertation does. Other scholars have made interesting comments on the scenography that, together with the numerous primary sources transcribed, have proved to be helpful for my analysis. The musicologist Davide Daolmi, for instance, makes an interesting proposal concerning *La vita humana*, staged in 1656, suggesting the use of a hybrid scene, consisting of fixed walkable side-wings and movable shutters.[49] He bases his supposition on the evidence that the digressions added to the libretto of this opera did not add anything to the plot but must have had the function of giving the actors time to move from an upper position to the stage level. Since it is not practical to stand on flats, he suggests the use of walkable side-wings. Years earlier, the scholar Elena Povoledo, in examining the engravings from the printed score of this opera, had affirmed that its set design still consisted of a Serlian scene in spite of the contemporary development of theatrical techniques.[50] Both these views are somehow surprising if we consider that the Barberini always wanted to be up-to-

[48] See footnote 2, above.
[49] See Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, passim.
[50] See Povoledo.

date and that the use of walkable side-wings was already becoming an old-fashioned practice, only used by the companies of comic actors. The 'modern' practice, which was spreading all over Italy, consisted in the use of movable shutters sliding in grooves, which allowed the simultaneous replacement of all the shutters at once. My discussion brings evidence that this new practice does not correspond to the few images that we have of the performances staged in the *sala dei marmi*. The engravings embellishing the score of the operas *Erminia sul Giordano* (1633) and *Il Sant'Alessio* (1634), examined closely in Chapter 3, seem to confirm the use of fixed side-wings and flats as suggested by Daolmi even if both sets of engraving do not allow us to affirm that the fixed side-wings were practicable.[51] A different conclusion is suggested by one of the engravings embellishing the score of *La vita humana* (1656), showing two characters standing on the side-wings and by some manuscript documents that I have uncovered related to the opera *Il palazzo incantato d'Atlante* (1642), which report that some actors sung while standing on pieces of scenography.[52] Thanks to these primary sources, I have been able to find evidence for both the use of an old Serlian scene, as proposed by Povoledo, in the early operas examined, and of the use of a hybrid scene, as proposed by Daolmi, in some operas staged from 1642.[53]

Elena Tamburini's recent study concerning Gian Lorenzo Bernini has also focused on some of the performances discussed in this thesis.[54] In particular, her analysis of the performances staged for the Barberini from 1632 in their Palazzo and then, from 1639, in the adjacent theatre, has offered new insights to the staging of spectacles sponsored by the noble family. However, Tamburini's study is mainly centred on Bernini's role, whereas I have brought to light the role played by the numerous other artists hired by the Barberini, emphasizing their individual contribution to the development of scenography.

Maria Anne Purciello and Virginia Christy Lamothe have also discussed in their dissertations some of the spectacles analysed below, but once again, they have

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[51] See Stefano Landi, *Il S. Alessio, dramma musicale dall'eminentissimo et reverendissimo card. Barberino* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1634) and Michelangelo Rossi, *Erminia sul Giordano. Dramma musicale* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1637).

[52] See Chapter 5, fig. 5.5, for *La vita humana* and the last section of Chapter 4 for *Il palazzo incantato*.

[53] For my hypothesis about the use of a *Serlian* scene, see my analysis of *Il contrasto di Apollo con Marsia* in Chapter 1, below.

[54] See Tamburini, passim.

given little attention to the scenographic aspects of these performances.[55] Lamothe's dissertation, for instance, provides an in-depth look at four of the operas commissioned by the Barberini from the poet Giulio Rospigliosi and from the papal musicians Stefano Landi and Virgilio Mazzocchi: *Il Sant'Alessio* (1632, 1634), *Santi Didimo e Teodora* (1635), *San Bonifacio* (1638), and *Sant'Eustachio* (1643). However, her discussion focuses on the religious culture in which these operas took place, and examine their music and drama more than their staging. Anne Purciello explores another aspect of these performances, comedy, but similarly to Lamothe she does not give enough space to their scenography. Nevertheless, Chapter 4 of her dissertation has been particularly interesting to me because of the in-depth analysis of the libretto of the opera *Chi soffre, speri*, which highlights the veiled religious and political messages that the Barberini wanted to convey.

This thesis also relies on numerous books concerning seventeenth-century scenography; among these are Nicola Sabbatini's seventeenth-century manual and Giuseppe Adami's more recent twenty-first-century study.[56] The latter is a rigorous investigation of the development of the art of scenography in the courts of Parma and Ferrara based on a very large set of archival documents, including sketches of set designs and machinery. This last group of documents has helped me to connect the results of my investigation to the practice of staging performances in other Italian and European courts and to interpret some documents concerning the operas I have been studying. They have also allowed me to offer new proposals on the type of theatrical devices and machinery employed in the operas sponsored by the Barberini after 1632.

Apart from its individual features, any artistic phenomenon is the expression of the socio-political context in which it develops. This assumption implies that whoever approaches an artistic production cannot ignore its geographical collocation, its historical framing, and the cultural-intellectual development of the society that produces it. With this in mind, it would have been impossible to me to frame my research adequately without considering a wider socio-political context.

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[55] See Virginia Christy Lamothe, 'The Theater of Piety: Sacred Operas for the Barberini Family (Rome, 1632-1643)' (doctoral dissertation University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2009) and Maria Anne Purciello, 'And Dionysus Laughed: Opera, comedy and Carnival in Seventeenth-Century Venice and Rome' (doctoral dissertation Princeton University, 2005).

[56] See Nicola Sabbatini, *Pratica di fabricar scene e machine ne' teatri* (Ravenna: Stampatori Camerali, 1638) and Giuseppe Adami, *Scenografia e scenotecnica barocca*.

The extensive influence of the pro-French and pro-Spanish parties in seventeenth-century Rome, for instance, or the fervent political, cultural and artistic exchanges, which involved people from all over Europe, have been taken into account to reveal the socio-political implications of the performances analysed. In this respect, the published proceedings of an international conference concerning the Barberini family and their relation with the European culture of the seventeenth century, held at Palazzo Barberini in Rome in 2004, has offered important information to contextualize my research.[57]

A further step was necessary to place these performances within a wider European culture of festivals. Among the numerous studies I have relied on, two works have helped me greatly: the two volumes of the A*tlante Tematico del Barocco in Italia* and the two volumes of *Europa Triumphans.* These volumes have helped me to locate the performances sponsored by the Barberini family in a wider context than the court of Rome.

In conclusion, thanks to an in-depth investigation of primary and secondary sources, I have been able to shed new light on the scenography and on the socio-political implications of the staging of a significant number of performances sponsored by the Barberini in Rome during the seventeenth century, offering an important contribution to theatrical studies.

[57] See *I Barberini e la cultura europea del Seicento*, ed. by Lorenza Mochi Onori, Sebastian Schütze and Francesco Solinas (Rome: De Luca Editori d'Arte S.r.l., 2007).

Chapter 1

New light on early performances (August 1628 and Carnival 1632)

This chapter analyses two performances staged during the first half of the seventeenth century in Rome thanks to the financial support of Cardinal Francesco Barberini – the first, *Il contrasto di Apollo con Marsia*, was performed in August 1628 on the occasion of a banquet; the second, *Il Sant'Alessio*, was performed during Carnival 1632.[1]

Cardinal Francesco was the first member of the Barberini family to sponsor performances at the Palazzo alle Quattro Fontane. The young cardinal bought the palazzo from its previous owner, Alessandro Sforza (*c.* 1572-1631), in December 1625, soon after his return from his legation in France (March-December 1625).[2] The following year, as early as February, he went as papal legate to Spain and returned only in October 1626. It is plausible that Francesco's experience at the courts of France and Spain had a deep influence on his later interest in sponsoring performances. During the period of his legations he was welcomed in both countries by banquets, solemn masses, performances, and visits, which must have made a great impression on him. The *gentiluomo* Cassiano dal Pozzo (1588-1657), who followed Francesco in both countries, left a detailed record of these legations in his *Diario.*[3] This includes information about the numerous social events that Francesco attended, among which were several banquets accompanied by musical entertainments, like the one attested in the following excerpt:

> Mentre si mangiava, in una stanza – che rispondeva dove si mangiava – si fece continuo concerto di viole. Vi fu anco il Famoso liuto di Filippo Piccinino Bolognese, e nell'ultimo del passo sonorono una battaglia a meraviglia bene.[4]

[1] Evidence of Francesco Barberini's economic support is provided by the payment records for these performances, which are held in the Vatican Library and will be mentioned in detail below in this chapter.

[2] On Barberini's legation in France, see Introducion to this dissertation and also Pieyre.

[3] The manuscript *Diario*, held in Vatican City, BAV, Barb. lat., ms 5689, consists of 264 folios of 310x260 millimeters with binding in parchment.

[4] '[…] While we were eating, in the same hall there was a continuous concert of viols. Also present was the famous lute of Filippo Piccinino Bolognese, and at the end of the concert, they played a wonderful battle scene […]'. See Cassiano Dal Pozzo, *Diario*, in Vatican City, BAV, Barb. lat., ms 5689, fols 69r-70v. Also transcribed in Maria Grazia Profeti, 'Spettacoli musicali a corte tra Firenze e Madrid', in *Rime e suoni alla spagnola, atti della giornata internazionale di studi sulla chitarra*

During his legation to France, besides banquets, solemn masses, and visits, Francesco was invited to attend an allegorical play staged at the Jesuit College of Avignon on 21 April 1625. In this play, the cardinal himself was portrayed as Aristea, the mythological character narrated by Herodotus (*c.* 484-425 BC) in his *Histories* (IV, 13-16).[5] This was an expedient to address a message to the guest. The habit of portraying guests in allegorical ways became a trait common to most performances analysed in this study, suggesting that at least some of these celebrations and spectacles must have been a source of inspiration for Cardinal Francesco and later for his relatives. Further evidence of this influence is that, starting in 1626, Francesco offered banquets with the aim of strengthening his family's socio-political ties. Guests included influential cardinals like Federico Cornaro (1579-1653) and Giulio Cesare Sacchetti (1587-1663), as well as new and potentially powerful clergymen.[6]

Ideally, this chapter's analysis would begin with the masquerade staged during Carnival 1628 in the Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane, but this spectacle is poorly documented and cannot therefore be included among the entertainments examined here.[7] On the other hand, *Il contrasto di Apollo con Marsia* is the first performance staged in the palazzo for which several documents survive; it will therefore be the first spectacle discussed in this dissertation as an example of early entertainment sponsored by the Barberini.[8] However, since *Il*

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barocca, Biblioteca Riccardiana 7 febbraio 2002, ed. by Giulia Veneziano (Florence: Alinea, 2003), p. 100.

[5] For the allegorical meaning of this performance, see the the sub-section dedicated to Francesco Iuniore in the Introduction to this dissertation. For further information on Aristea, see Emanuele Dettori, 'Aritea di Proconneso "sciamano" e "corvo": una presentazione (con qualche nota)', *Quaderni di Classiconorroena*, I (2005), 9-24.

[6] The following payment records by Francesco Barberinini attest the organization of these banquets: Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Giust. I, vol. 42, fols 52r-61v; vol. 43, fols 86r-87v; and Appendix, item [3], fols 216r-217v.

[7] Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Giust. I, vol. 46, fol. 170r: 'ristretto della spesa del mese di marzo 1628: per la mascherata fatta il giorno del carnevale […]' ('account of the expenses of the month of March 1628 for the masquerade done for the day of carnival […]').This masquerade was staged employing a set design consisting mainly of painted canvases, as witnessed by the following payments: 'per haver dipinta una scena da commedia, cioè le bande di qua, et di là finte le case in prospettiva sc. 18' and 'per haver dipinti tre fogli da aprire e serrare in tela, grandi da una banda fatti paesi, et dall'altra fogliami d'argento macinato monta almeno sc. 100' ('[…] for having painted a comedy scene, that is, on the one side, strips, on the other, false houses in perspective, 18 *scudi*' and 'for having painted three big canvases to be opened and closed. On one side, I painted countries, on the other foliage of grinded silver. It is worth at least 100 *scudi* […]'). See Appendix, item [5], fols 152r and 152 v, dated January 1628 and May 1628.

[8] In Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb, Giust. I, vol. 46, there are some payments referring to expenses for banquets and for bringing to, and back from, Palazzo Barberini chairs and instruments. A

contrasto (offered during a banquet) represents a different type of performance from the other spectacles analysed in this study, I shall first offer an introduction to these kinds of musical entertainments. As we shall see, what we know about *Il contrasto* includes precious information about its stage design and costumes.

The second performance analysed in this chapter, *Il Sant'Alessio*, belongs to the genre of opera, whose roots can be traced back to some Florentine performances of the late sixteenth century.[9] However, while early operas in Florence were based on subjects taken from Greek mythology, early Roman operas were based on religious or allegorical subjects intended to teach Christian or moral values. A first reason for this choice is the peculiarity of the Roman court, where the popes had a great control over any type of performance. A further reason is that the Jesuit Collegio Romano and Seminario Romano, with their theatrical activities, exerted a great influence on early Roman operas both in terms of plots and scenography.[10]

In light of the above, it is credible that the main reason for Cardinal Francesco to support performances was that he understood the potential offered by some types of spectacles as a means of tightening political ties and of conveying either moral or religious/political messages. This is evident both in *Il contrasto di Apollo con Marsia* and in *Il Sant'Alessio*, whose plots, as investigated in the following sections, hide other messages than the more superficial ones. Further to their meaning, the analysis of these early performances offers the opportunity to shed light on the contribution of the Barberini on the development of more and more complex types of scenography in Rome, which is the main focus of this dissertation.

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payment clearly refers to costumes and tapestries, which were used for *la commedia* (see Appendix, item [1]).

[9] Opera was born in Florence thanks to the members of the Camerata de' Bardi or Florentine Camerata. The earliest opera for which the entire score survives, is *Euridice*, with a libretto by Ottavio Rinuccini and music by Jacopo Peri, which was performed at Palazzo Pitti in Florence, on 6 October 1600. However, Peri had composed an earlier opera, *Dafne*, also using a libretto by Rinuccini, two years earlier. Almost contemporary to these early performances was the first Roman opera, *La rappresentazione di anima e corpo*, with music by Emilio de' Cavalieri, performed in Rome for the Carnival in 1600. The reason for this almost simultaneous birth is that the contacts between the Florentine and the Roman courts had lasted for a long period of time. Caccini, who also composed an opera in 1602 based on Rinuccini's *Euridice* was of Roman origin and travelled to Rome frequently. In the late sixteenth century, he had been in Rome to introduce his *nuove musiche*, which is now understood as a prelude to the birth of opera. On the other hand, Emilio de' Cavalieri had been in Florence on several occasions and had the opportunity to meet the composers of the Florentine Camerata. Therefore, it is likely that his first Roman opera took inspiration from the early experiments of the new genre by Peri and Caccini. See Donald Grout and Hermine Weigel Williams, *A Short History of Opera*, 4th edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 41-42.

[10] See William H. McCabe, *An Introduction to the Jesuit Theatre* (St Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1983) and Bruna Filippi, *Il teatro degli argomenti. Gli scenari seicenteschi del teatro gesuitico romano* (Rome: Istituto Storico S.I., 2001).

Since the creation of a set design involves the adaptation of a space with the aim of producing the best background to a performance, the description of the places where these early spectacles were staged is also important. The banquet of 15 August 1628, as well as *Il Sant'Alessio* and all the operas analysed performed before 1639, were staged at Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane. As mentioned above, this was once Palazzo Sforza, which Cardinal Francesco Barberini purchased from Duke Alessandro Sforza on 18 December 1625. The following year Francesco gave it to his brother Taddeo.[11] On 13 September 1632, Taddeo also became the owner of the streets crossing the Barberini territory. The boundary of the property now went from Via S. Nicola da Tolentino (north), to the monastery of S. Susanna (east), to the Strada Pia (south), and to the Strada Felice and Vicolo Barberini (west), giving the property an almost perfect rectangular shape as shown in the image below.

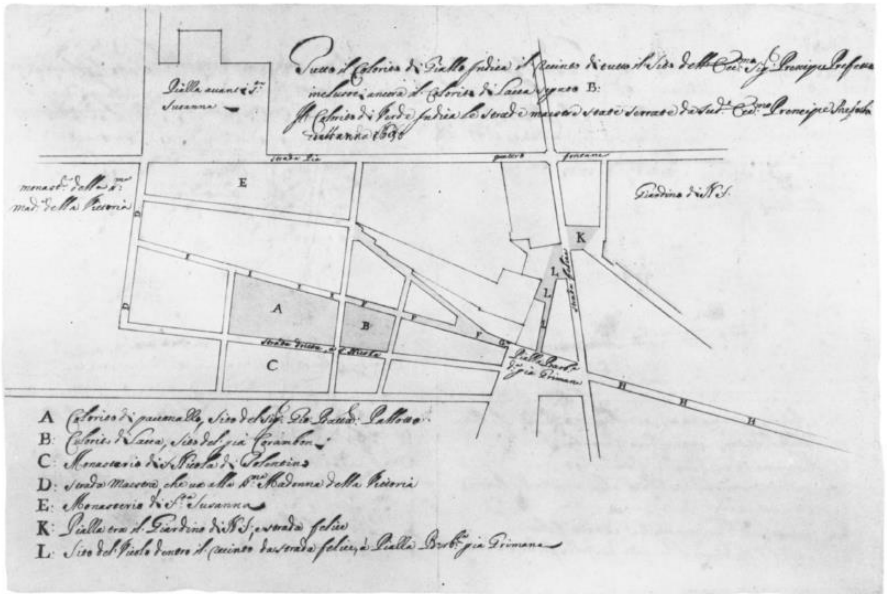

Fig. 1.1 Palazzo Barberini in 1632, BAV, Arch. Barb., ind. II. Cred. V, cas. 80, lett. P. maz. CVIII, no. 32.

Soon after Cardinal Francesco purchased Palazzo Sforza, he started restoring and enlarging the building. He examined numerous projects, none of which considered

[11] See Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Comp. 78, Registro dei mandate, anni 1625-1630, fol. 11r n. 764 and 765, which record a total amount of 75000 *scudi* spent to purchase the palace. According to Patricia Waddy the site where the Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane was built was occupied in ancient Roman times by the Circus of Flora, the ruins of which were still visible in Renaissance times. In 1549, Cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi bought this property, built a casino and used it for his collection of antiquities. In 1565, Cardinal Giulio della Rovere purchased the property, which was later sold by his heirs to Cardinal Alessandro Sforza in 1578. See Patricia Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces*, passim.

the demolition of the original palazzo, which became one of the two longitudinal wings of the new building.[12] The old building was substantially preserved and was paralleled by a new building with a similar shape, which was connected to the old one by a longitudinal section, which gave the new palazzo an H-shape plan. On the ground floor, two large flights of stairs departed on either side to give access to the *piano nobile* of each wing. Here, above the vestibule, there was a large *salone*, later frescoed by Andrea Sacchi (1599-1661) with his *Divina Sapienza* (*Divine Wisdom*).[13] Next to it, on the north side, there was another room, later known as the *sala dei marmi* (the marble room), which is where most early operas sponsored by the Barberini were performed (see the room highlighted in green in the figure below).



Fig. 1.2 Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane: *piano nobile* with the *sala dei marmi* highlighted in green from Létaroully as published in Davide Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 30.

The position and the size of the *sala dei marmi* are relevant for the theme of this dissertation because, if it is still uncertain where exactly inside the Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane *Il contrasto di Apollo con Marsia* was staged, there

[12] See Patricia Waddy, 'The Design and Designers of Palazzo Barberini', 151-85.
[13] About this fresco, see Introduction, footnote 34.

is evidence that all the following operas performed at the palazzo before 1639 were staged there.[14] A brief description of the site will help to understand the hypothesis about the scenography of these performances. The room, which has a vaulted ceiling, is 13 m wide and 17 m long, and it measures at the height of the cornice which runs all around the walls delimiting the ceiling (i.e. excluding it) about 9 m. It is therefore likely that the reason for choosing this room to stage performances was that it is one of the largest of the palazzo and that its height allowed the use of theatrical machines like clouds, for instance, which might have been easily hidden under the ceiling.

Il contrasto di Apollo con Marsia: August 1628

Il contrasto di Apollo con Marsia was staged to entertain the Colonna family, invited to the Barberini residence to participate in a luxurious banquet organized in their honour on Tuesday, 15 August 1628. The Colonna, who had become related to the Barberini after Taddeo Barberini and Anna Colonna's marriage, were among the most powerful families in Rome and were clearly of interest to the social-climbing Barberini.[15] Anna Colonna's father, Filippo Colonna (1578-1639), had long-standing and strong political ties with the Spanish monarchy; thanks to these, in 1611 he had become *gran contestabile* of the kingdom of Naples. Philip III of Spain (1578-1621) had also offered him economic support when he decided to reorganize the administration of the numerous territories he possessed within the Papal State. Thanks to his growing power and to the peculiar relationship he had with the Spanish monarchy, Filippo Colonna was also able to gain Urban VIII's favour. In a period in which the Barberini were accused of being enemies of the Spanish monarchy and of promoting a pro-French campaign, it was important for them to strengthen their ties with a philo-Spanish family. Moreover, a stronger relationship with the aristocratic Colonna gave the Barberini the possibility to gain their place among the old nobility of Rome thanks to their new-acquired family relationship.

[14] In 1639, the Barberini inaugurated their Teatro, which was built adjacent to the Palazzo. See Chapter 4, below.
[15] For further information about the importance of this relation, see the sub-section dedicated to Taddeo Barberini in the Introduction to this dissertation.

Since *Il contrasto* was performed during a banquet, it must be considered that it was only a part of a larger spectacle including the decoration of the room, the disposition of tables and chairs, the position of the guests, the presentation of every single course, and the role played by those in attendance. The fact that seventeenth-century banquets were organized as spectacles is well evidenced by the numerous banqueting treaties and relations, which circulated in Italy.[16] These writings also provide some useful information about the people involved in organizing banquets and their role. They all attest that the steward, who is usually referred to as *lo scalco*, was the person responsible for all the steps of the organization of the event, ranging from the choice of tableware, wine and food, to the way it had to be presented to the guests. All the attendants followed a rigid protocol, which was part of a larger spectacle including the decoration of the room with gorgeous brocades and numerous sugar, marzipan, and ice sculptures. In light of the above, this section, further to the analysis of the performance *Il contrasto di Apollo con Marsia*, provides a brief description of the apparatus designed for the event.

The room where the banquet of 15 August 1628 took place was carefully prepared for the occasion – the payment records attest that it was furbished with nine golden columns (probably used to support the numerous baskets mentioned in the payments). Moreover, ice sculptures, among which were a pyramid, some columns and basins, twelve cups and twenty spouts, embellished the room. There were also numerous flowers and different types of baskets, some of which were adorned with fresh flowers.[17] The ice pyramid was almost certainly filled with iced fruit since it was common at the time to use this type of decorations for banquets.[18]

Similarly to other contemporary banquets, the meal offered by Francesco Barberini to the Colonna family consisted of numerous courses, including meat, fish, vegetables, fruit and cakes. Musical entertainments were an essential part of a banquet, but it is feasible that they did not include much vocal music as singing might have disturbed the conversation of the guests. According to the above, the choice of performing a ballet instead of a play or an opera was usually the best

[16] See for example the banquets described by Vittorio Lancelotti in *Lo scalco Prattico* (Rome: Francesco Corbelletti, 1627) and the art of cooking described by Bartolomeo Scappi in *Dell'arte del cucinare* (Venice: Alessandro Vecchi, 1610).
[17] All the details related to the banquet mentioned in this section, if not otherwise specified, are based on the list of payments kept in Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Giust. I, vol. 49/A, n. 1226, fols 31-34, partly transcribed as item [4] in the Appendix to this dissertation.
[18] See, for instance, Lancelotti, p. 203.

choice. This might be the reason why *Il contrasto di Apollo con Marsia* consisted mainly of danced numbers.[19]

The theme of the performance was based on the *dramma musicale* entitled *Marsia* by Ottavio Tronsarelli (d. 1646), published four years later in a collection of *drammi musicali* by the same author and dedicated to Cardinal Francesco Barberini (see the frontispiece of the collection in the picture below).[20]



Fig. 1.3 Frontispice of Ottavio Tronsarelli's *Drammi musicali* (Rome: Francesco Corbelletti, 1632).

This was not the first time that Tronsarelli was engaged by the Barberini; the previous year he had already written the texts for three short musical entertainments (*La sirena*, *Il Narciso* and *Il giudizio di Venere*). These performances were staged on 24 October 1627 for the wedding of Taddeo Barberini (1603-1647) and Anna Colonna (1601-1658), celebrated by Pope Urban VIII at Castel Gandolfo. The libretto for *La sirena* (*The Mermaid*) attests the use of some stage effects.[21]

[19] Ottavio Tronsarelli in his *Drammi musicali* (Rome: Francesco Corbelletti, 1632), at page 218, defines his *Marsia*, a dance.
[20] Ottavio Tronsarelli, *Drammi*, pp. 217-42.
[21] For the *argomento* and the *libretto* of *La sirena*, see Ottavio Tronsarelli, *Drammi*, pp. 57-70.

The set design represented a view of the Albano lake with Castel Gandolfo.[22] At the beginning of the first scene, Dori and Glauco say that the wave of the lake divides into two shores, describing the set design consisting of a representation of the waters that opened, allowing the mermaid Parthenope with Dori and Glauco to pass through.[23] Moreover, it can be inferred from the printed drama that the waters waved and the treetops swayed thanks to some theatrical device. During the second scene, Tronsarelli's musical drama reports that Apollo descends on a cloud. Thus, the actor playing the god made his apparition on stage thanks to a stage machine representing a cloud.

Tronsarelli was also the author of the libretto for another performance, which was sponsored by Giovan Giorgio Aldobrandini (1591-1637), prince of Rossano. This spectacle, entitled *La catena di Adone* (*Adone's Chain*) after Giovanni Marino's *Adone*, had been performed during Carnival 1626, with a musical setting by Domenico Mazzocchi and a great display of scenographic effects. The plot offered the opportunity to use numerous theatrical devices to appeal to the audience. These devices ranged from a cloud, from which Apollo descended, to the use of backdrops, which opened to show new perspectives.[24] Since Tronsarelli was responsible for staging *Il contrasto di Apollo con Marsia*, it is plausible that he tried to reproduce some of the theatrical effects he had already used for the staging of these dramas. Therefore, the following analysis will also consider Tronsarelli's previous experience to unearth evidence of its influence on the staging of *Il contrasto.*

Since *Il contrasto di Apollo con Marsia* was performed during the banquet of 15 August 1628, mentioned above, or soon after, it was conceived as part of a larger spectacle involving guests, attendants, and food. The printed version, included in the collection of *Drammi musicali* mentioned above, describes it as a *ballo*, a dance.[25] The composer of the music is unknown, but may have been Kapsberger (*c.* 1580-1651) because at the time he was in Cardinal Francesco's service and had

[22] This can be inferred by the printed *argomento*, which reports that 'Parthenope Sirena […] con Dori, e con Glauco per sotterranee vie giunge nel Lago Albano, ovvero di Castel Gandolfo.'
'[…] the mermaid Parthenope […] with Dori, and with Glauco through underground paths reaches the Albano lake, that is Castel Gandolfo […]'. See Tronsarelli, p. 58.
[23] '[…] del chiaro lago divisa l'onda in doppia sponda […]'. Souce: Ottavio Tronsarelli, *Drammi*, p. 58.
[24] For further information about this opera See Simona Santacroce, ' *"La ragion perde dove il senso abonda"*: La catena d'Adone di Ottavio Tronsarelli ', *Studi secenteschi*, 55 (2014), 135-53.
[25] See Tronsarelli, *Drammi*, p. 218.

already composed music for the Barberini family.[26] Despite Tronsarelli's definition of *Marsia* as a dance, it is probable that one of Francesco Barberini's favourite castratos, Marc'Antonio Pasqualini (1614-1691), was involved in the performance – the presence of both Marsyas and Apollo in Andrea Sacchi's portrait of Marc'Antonio Pasqualini may commemorate his participation in *Il contrasto di Apollo con Marsia.*[27] Sacchi's painting (fig. 1.5) shows Pasqualini in the foreground dressed in a shepherd's costume, wearing a tiger skin and playing a harpsichord. Beside him, Apollo, who holds a lyre in his left hand, is crowning the singer with a laurel crown. In the background, the satyr Marsyas, visibly angry, lies tied to a tree trunk with his bagpipes besides him. The reference to the contest is apparent, but there are in the portrait further mythological references. Observing the instrument played by Pasqualini, for instance, it is soon evident that its decoration refers to the mythological story of Apollo and Daphne. The myth tells that the river god Peneus, Daphne's father, in order to help his daughter escape from Apollo's lascivious desires, transformed the nymph into a laurel tree. Unable to possess his beloved physically, Apollo decided to decorate his attributes with the laurel to maintain a contact with Daphne's substance forever.[28] Another element in the painting that bears a symbolic meaning is the three-legged stand supporting the instrument. Tripods during the Renaissance and the Baroque period were associated with the figure of Apollo and had various functions among which that of being gifts offered to the gods and to people as symbols of esteem, dignity, and valour.[29]

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[26] This can be deduced from Leone Allacci's biographies of illustrious men, where Kapsberger is credited as the musician who had composed the music for Maffeo Barberini's collection of poems entitled *Poemata* in 1624 and also as the composer of the music for a chorus sung on the occasion of the wedding of Taddeo Barberini and Anna Colonna (14 October 1627). See Leone Allacci, *Apes urbane, sive de viris illustribus* (Rome: L. Grignani, 1663), p. 159. For further information about Kapsberger, See Hammond, *Music and Spectacle*, p. 78 and Rietbergen, pp. 134 and 135.

[27] Marc'Antonio Pasqualini (1614-1691) was one of the most famous castrato singers of the first half of the seventeenth century in Rome. He became one of the favourite singers of Cardinal Antonio Barberini and he performed in numerous operas patronized by the Barberini family, including some of the Rospigliosi operas analysed for this study. He joined the Barberini in Paris in 1646 where he sang in Rossi's *Orfeo*. When he returned to Rome in 1647, he joined the choir of the Sistine Chapel where he stayed until his death. Roger Freitas in his *Portrait of a Castrato: Politics, Patronage, and Music in the Life of Atto Melani* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) offers a good insight to the condition of singers in Rome during the seventeenth century.

[28] About the myth of Apollo and Daphne, see *Mythology: Myth, Legends and Fantasies*, ed. by Janet Parker and Julie Stanton (Cape Town: Struik, 2006), p. 39.

[29] For a deeper analysis of the iconography of Andrea Sacchi's painting, see Terence Ford, 'Andrea Sacchi's Apollo crowning the singer Marc'Antonio Pasqualini', *Early Music*, 12.1 (1984), 79-84.



Fig. 1.4 Andrea Sacchi (1599-1661), Marc'Antonio Pasqualini crowned by Apollo, oil on canvas (243,8 x 194,3 cm), The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, United States.

The *argomento* of Tronsarelli's *Marsia* reports that while Minerva was playing a flute, her friends made fun of her because of the way she puffed her cheeks while blowing into the instrument.[30] The goddess, disappointed, threw the instrument away. Marsyas found it and enjoyed playing the flute for his friends. Attracted by the melody, the Muses arrived. Later Marsyas met Apollo and decided to challenge him in a contest, asking the Muses and the heroes to be the judges of the competition. According to the myth, Apollo won the competition because he added singing to his playing. In *Il contrasto,* Marsyas's punishment would consist in his transfiguration into a spring of water. However, thanks to the intercession of the heroes, the satyr regained his freedom and Apollo had to be content with his glory. This is not the traditional ending of the mythological story, which finishes with the flaying of Marsyas.[31] In reference to this new ending Tronsarelli, in the preface to the *dramma*, specifies that 'la favola è alterata, non per obbedire al proprio capriccio, ma per servire all'altrui comandamento'.[32] This statement evidently refers to the fact that the idea of changing the ending was not due to the will of the author of the libretto, but to pressure from the sponsor, Cardinal Francesco Barberini. Thus, the moral teaching of the opera was influenced by one of the

[30] For the printed *argomento*, see Tronsarelli, p. 219.
[31] See Kirk Shoshanna, *Greek Myths: Tales of Passion, Heroism, and Betrayal* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2005), pp. 113-15.
[32] '[…] the tale has been changed, not in accordance to my own whim, but to meet someone else's wishes […]'. See Tronsarelli, p. 220.

Barberini's favourite themes – that justice and power should always be mitigated by mercy and that charity and justice are divine virtues descending from Divine Providence.

Although the subject had its roots in pagan tradition, this was not problematic for Francesco Barberini, for whom Apollo had a non-pagan significance. Although Urban VIII (Maffeo Barberini) had often condemned the use of mythological images as one of the main reasons of poetry's loss of power, Apollo was an exception.[33] Since the beginning of his pontificate, Maffeo Barberini, himself a poet and music lover, had liked to identify himself with the god-sun. For example, the lost fresco by the painter Andrea Camassei which decorated the ceiling of one of the rooms on the ground floor of Palazzo Barberini was entitled *Apollo e le Muse sul Parnaso* and showed the pope disguised as Apollo. There are also numerous paintings, tapestries, and decorations commissioned by the Barberini referring in some way to Apollo or his attributes.[34] One of the most elaborate allusions to the mythological character and to his relation with Urban VIII can be found in Pietro Da Cortona's fresco *Triumph of Divine Providence* decorating the ceiling of the big *salone* on the *piano nobile* of Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane, which is the main room next to the *sala dei marmi* (see fig. 1.5, below).[35]



Fig. 1.5 Pietro Da Cortona, detail from *Triumph of Divine Providence* (1633-1639), fresco (24x14 m), Rome, Palazzo Barberini, Sala Pietro da Cortona.

[33] See Scott, pp. 127-36.
[34] See Angela Negro, 'Un arazzo Barberini con "Apollo e Mercurio" per la Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica', in *I Barberini* (See Lavin, above), pp. 447-52.
[35] Urban VIII liked to associate his image with that of the god-sun and his virtues as a poet. The Barberini in their heraldic deeds often used the image of the sun, representing the pope as the sunny centre of a constellation made up of the other members of the family. See for instance Scott, pp. 127-36.

It is not easy to guess in which room of the Palazzo *Il contrasto* was staged because the documents uncovered so far do not include this information and it is unlikely that it was given in the *sala dei marmi*, since in 1628 it had not been completed.[36] However, it is thinkable that Tronsarelli somehow supervised the performance, because his name appears in a payment reporting that he was given 8.60 *scudi* to have some boots covered with gold and other 77.60 *scudi* for some instruments and other unspecified items.[37] Even if the payments do not specify any piece of scenography for this performance, Tronsarelli's printed drama specifies that the scene is set in Phrygia – the only reference to ornamentation is a request for payment, which records that on 12 August 1628 twelve labourers brought two statues and a pedestal from the rooms into the hall.[38] Perhaps these were the same statues that a payment attests that were restored six months earlier.[39] This detail is extremely interesting because the practice of placing statues in courtly theatres was very common in Italy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Two very popular examples are the equestrian statue of the prince in the Teatro Farnese in Parma, and the statue of the emperor Vespasian in the Teatro in Sabbioneta.[40]

If we compare the scenography of this performance with that used for the previous performance staged by Tronsarelli, *La catena d'Adone* (1626) mentioned above, it is soon evident how the latter had a more elaborate set design. However, while the payment records for *Il contrasto* do not report expenses for any type of setting, the printed drama provides a good deal of information about its scenography. At the very beginning, it suggests a fixed satiric Serlian scene representing a landscape with a wood and a river (see fig. 1.6). This can be inferred by the first speech by Pallas, that is Minerva, who says '[…] così in questo ruscel querulo, e schietto/ L'imago del mio volto erra scolpita […]', hinting at a landscape with a river.[41]

[36] See Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces*, p. 198.
[37] See Appendix, item [3], fol 129r.
[38] See Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Giust. I, vol. 48, n. 1114, fol. 39v.
[39] See Appendix, item [2].
[40] See *Theatricality in Early Modern Art and Architecture*, ed. by Caroline Van Eck and Stijin Bussels (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), p. 20.
[41] '[…] thus in this frank and mournful river/ the image of my face wanders engraved […]'. See Tronsarelli, p. 224.

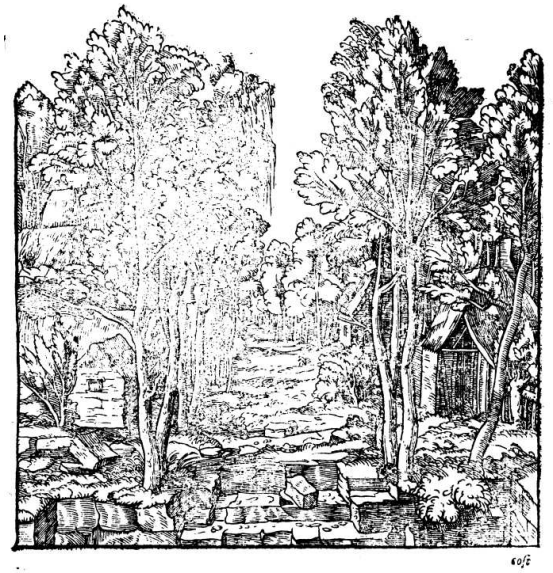

Fig. 1.6 Sebastiano Serlio, *Tutte l'opere d'architettura di Sebastiano Serlio bolognese* (Venice: Francesco de' Franceschi, 1584), p. 51.

The printed drama also suggests that Pallas entered on stage on a cloud since Marsyas, Servando and Acrisio, who intervene soon after the goddess finished her speech, speak about a 'Grave nembo', that is a heavy cloud, hanging over the river. What follows '[…] piove lampi d'or cocenti./ Da baleno fiammeggiante, arde il colle saettato […]' suggests the use of some theatrical device to produce the effect of a storm with lighting and thunders.[42] A comparison between the opening of *Il contrasto* and *La catena d'Adone* shows that the libretto of the latter attests the use of several scenic effects since the beginning of the performance. The prologue of *La catena*, for instance, starts with the following stage directions: 'Viene Apollo sopra una nuvola, espone chi egli sia [...]. S'apre la prospettiva e si muta nella grotta di Vulcano, dove si scorgono i ciclopi che, battendo le saette a Giove, cantano allegra canzone. Apollo entra. La grotta si chiude, e ritorna la prospettiva con aspetto boschereccio […].'[43] This excerpt suggests that Apollo, similarly to Pallas in *Il contrasto*, enters on stage descending from the sky on a theatrical machine representing a cloud. However, differently from *Il contrasto*, it attests the use of tree-shaped wings sliding on tracks. In fact, we read that the central perspective opens showing an infernal cavern where Apollo enters and which then closes behind

[42] '[…] it rains burning golden lightning/ and the hill, struck by aflaming bolt, burns. […]'. See Tronsarelli, p. 223.

[43] 'Apollo comes on a cloud and explains who he is [...]. The perspective opens and changes into Volcano's cavern. There one sees the Cyclops who, as they forge Jupiter's arrows, sing a merry song. Apollo enters. The cavern closes and the wooded landscape returns'. Translation from the original text quoted in Simona Santacroce, , ' *"La ragion perde dove il senso abonda"* ', (p 142).

the god, recreating the original setting of a wood. No passage in the printed *Marsia* suggests the use of side-wings sliding on tracks, which means that further to the fixed scene there were only a few scenographic effects.

The almost total lack of scenic effects and theatrical machinery in *Il contrasto* did not affect the magnificence of this performance, which was mostly due to the gorgeous costumes sewed for the occasion.[44] The printed *argomento* includes the cast of characters (Marsyas, Apollo, Minerva, three shepherds, and two nymphs), which correspond to the number of costumes manufactured for the performance. The costume of Minerva, referred to as Pallade (Pallas) both in the 'Giustificazioni I' and in the printed drama, was an armour, which was painted both on the breast and in the back with oil colours.[45] The goddess probably also wore a *morione*, the typical headpiece used in the goddess's iconography, consisting in a helmet similar to the one shown in figure 1.7, which was decorated for the occasion with ten feathers and long veils.



Fig. 1.7 *Morione* used from the second half of the 16th century to the beginning of the 17th century. See: <http://www.armscollection.com/medioevo.htm>

Marsyas and his friends only wore furs, while the costumes created for Apollo and the nymphs were more elaborate. Apollo, for instance, wore a woollen suit covered by a mantle embellished by silver ribbons and a wig of golden curly hair decorated with a symbol of the sun. The nymphs had shirts decorated with roses, corals and jewels and wore curly wigs garnished with jewels, pearls, and two white feathers each. Their costumes were also embellished with numerous rosettes and coloured

[44] Great attention for instance was given to manufacture the costumes for the actors as attested by the *giustificazione* reporting the expenses for the performnace, which records a huge amount of money spent to purchase the items necessary to sew the costumes and pay the tailors (see Appendix, item [3] fols 129r-134v).

[45] See Appendix, item [3], fol. 133r: '[…] per colorire a olio il petto e la schiena dell'armatura di Pallade […]' ('[…] to paint with oil colours the breast and back of Minerva's armour […]').

strings. It can be also inferred that most actors wore silk tights because the list of payments reports the purchase of seven pairs of tights – four flesh-coloured, two blue and one white. The four flesh-coloured tights must have been for Minerva and the shepherds, the blue for the nymphs and the white for Apollo, while Marsyas must have worn fur trousers. The instruments held by the actors playing Apollo and Marsyas, a violin with its bow and the flute, were silver-plated.[46]

The great display of elaborate costumes with ribbons, jewels, and wigs as well as the use of fresh flowers was undoubtedly meant to overcome the lack of dazzling scenography.

Il Sant'Alessio: Carnival 1632

After *Il contrasto di Apollo con Marsia*, staged at Palazzo Barberini in August 1628, there is no news of other entertainments staged there until Carnival 1632. However, there is evidence that during the years 1628-1632 the Barberini cultivated their theatrical interests by attending numerous performances, both in Rome and in other cities, and organizing spectacles in their other properties.[47] Among the most important events that both Antonio and Francesco Barberini attended were the celebrations for the wedding of Maria Cristina de' Medici (1609-1632) and Odoardo Farnese (1612-1646) held in December 1628 in Parma. One of the entertainments organized for the occasion was the staging of Torquato Tasso's *Aminta*, which was performed with a set of *intermedi* composed by Claudio Monteverdi (1567-1643). For this *intermedi* the Barberini had provided some of their most skilled singers among which was Marc'Antonio Pasqualini, while the Farnese hired Francesco Guitti (*c.* 1600-1645), one of the best engineer-architects from Ferrara, to plan the set design. This experience proved to be crucial for the later choices of the Barberini, who would invite Guitti in Rome to design the

[46] The description of the costumes and accessories is based on the payment records and requests for payment (see Appendix, item [3]).

[47] See Murata, pp. 15-17. Moreover, Giacinto Gigli in his diary writes that the Barberini attended the canonization of Andrea Corsini (1301-1373), which took place in St Peter's Basilica on 22 and 29 April and on 22 May 1629. This was the only canonization held during the reign of Urban VIII and Gian Lorenzo Bernini was responsible for building the apparatuses, which required about three months work. See Fagiolo Dell'Arco, *La Festa Barocca*, pp. 270-71 and Giacinto Gigli, *Diario Romano (1608-1670)*, ed. by Giuseppe Ricciotti (Rome: Tumminelli, 1958), pp. 105-6.

scenography for the operas they staged for the Carnival seasons 1633-1634.[48] As for the Barberini's theatrical activities in Rome during the year 1629, the scholar Elena Tamburini has found evidence that as early as February 1629 they staged an opera based on the life of St Alexis in the Palazzo Barberini (known as *casa grande*) in Via dei Giubbonari in Rome. This evidence consists of a letter written by the scholar Lelio Guidiccioni (1582-1643), who was often in Rome because of his longstanding relations with numerous artists and intellectuals living there.[49] The letter, dated 16 February 1629, was sent by Guidiccioni from Lucca in Tuscany to Cardinal Francesco Barberini and refers to a performance sponsored by the cardinal that the Tuscan scholar attended during one of his travels in Rome. In this letter, Guidiccioni writes that the main character of the spectacle was 'Alexius Romanorum nobilissimus' and that he was impressed by the astonishing machinery used for two scenes designed for the performance, representing Hell and Heaven.[50] Since Guidiccioni was used to attending Tuscan performances, his opinions suggest that during this period scenography in Rome had reached a level not inferior to Tuscan scenography, at least in terms of dazzling effects.

The following year there is no news of performances organized by the Barberini – this was almost certainly due to the death of Carlo Barberini (1562-1630), brother of the pope.[51] Nevertheless, there is news of another performance entitled *Vita del glorioso Alessio* (*Life of the Glorious Alexis*), which was staged in the Palazzo Barberini in Via dei Giubbonari in March 1631, under the patronage of Don Taddeo Barberini.[52] The same subject of the performances mentioned above was used for *Il Sant'Alessio* staged at Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane for the Carnival season 1632. All these performances were based on one of the most

[48] About the collaboration of Guitti in staging operas for the Barberini, See Chapter 2 in this dissertation.
[49] About Lelio Guidiccioni, see Introduction, footnote 36.
[50] 'Alexis, most noble of the Romans'. The letter, held in Vatican City, BAV, Barb. lat. 2958, fols 209r–209v, is transcribed in Tamburini, pp. 59-60.
[51] 'Alli 25 di Febraro morì in Bologna Carlo Barberino fratello del Papa, che era Generale di Santa Chiesa, il corpo del quale fu poi portato a Roma nella chiesa di S. Andrea della Valle, e sepolto nella Cappella dei Barberini' ('On 25 February, the brother of the pope, Carlo Barberino, who was general of the Holy Church, died in Bologna. His body was later brought to Rome and buried in the Barberini Chapel inside the Church of S. Andrea della Valle'). See Gigli, p. 111.
[52] There is evidence that in 1631 both Francesco and Taddeo Barberini organized performances, which took place in March as attested by two *avvisi*, one dated 1 March and the other 8 March 1631. See Vatican City BAV, Vat. lat. 12948, fols, 69v and 77r, transcribed also in Murata, p. 223. However, they were almost certainly private performances because during Carnival 1631 it was forbidden to celebrate on a large scale; the ban was meant to respect the sad condition of other Italian cities affected by the plague, as attested by Giacinto Gigli in his *Diario Romano*, p. 119.

popular subjects of hagiographical literature – the life of the saint who left on his wedding night to preserve his chastity and dedicate his life to God. This same topic had been the subject of numerous accounts, which had been widespread in Europe since the Middle Ages, and of several performances staged in Italy during the late Renaissance and early Baroque period.[53]

Although this choice of subject may seem odd, it was probably due to the Barberini's intention to reconcile the splendour of the papal court with the moral integrity professed by Catholic doctrine. A confirmation of this hypothesis is that the opera *Il Sant'Alessio* is the first of a series sponsored by the Barberini that employed either religious or moral subjects. The powerful family carefully selected the subjects of these operas with the help of Giulio Rospigliosi (1600-1669), the future Pope Clement IX, who wrote most of their libretti.[54] Rospigliosi had long been part of the family's entourage. Moreover, he had had a close relationship with Francesco Barberini since 1626, when he was sent to Spain by Pope Urban VIII as *legato a latere* of the cardinal. The period spent in Spain was for Rospigliosi on the one hand, an occasion to become intimate of Cardinal Francesco, on the other, an occasion to approach the Spanish cultural environment. In particular, he was introduced to the theatre of Lope de Vega and to the theatrical form of the *autos sacramentales*, which had, together with the popular tradition of the *sacre rappresentazioni* and the Jesuit dramas a great influence on his future career as a playwright.[55] Since most operas that form the subject of this study are based on

[53] Leone Allacci in his *Drammaturgia* (Rome: Mascardi, 1666), at pp. 11-12 reports about numerous performances based on the life of Saint Alexis. Here I have only mentioned the performances that preceded the operas on the same subject patronized by the Barberini. Allacci writes of a performance in *ottava rima* entitled *Sant'Alessio*, which was performed first in Siena in 1554, then in Florence in 1560 and in 1589. He also speaks about another performance entitled *S. Alessio. Rappresentazione della vita e morte del glorioso Alessio*, which was staged in Orvieto in 1608, then in Ronciglione in 1612 and in Viterbo in 1631.

[54] Giulio Rospigliosi was born in Pistoia in 1600 from a family of Milanese origin. After embarking on an ecclesiastical career in Pistoia, in 1614 he moved to Rome to attend the Jesuit Seminario Romano; very likely he was involved in staging the theatrical performances of the Jesuit Bernardino Stefonio. He went to Pisa in 1618 and there completed his studies *in utroque iure* in 1624. When he returned to Rome, he entered the service of Cardinal Antonio Barberini and was soon introduced to the other members of the family, becoming their most faithful librettist and theatrical adviser. When Pope Alexander VII died on 20 June 1667, he was elected pope with the name of Clement IX but his papacy lasted only two years (he died of a heart attack in October 1669). See Luciano Osbat, 'Clemente IX, papa', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 82 vols (Rome: Treccani, 1960-2015), XXVI (1982), 282-93 and Danilo Romei, *Profilo biografico di Giulio Rospigliosi* <www.nuovorinascimento.org/rosp-2000/biografia/profilo.pdf>

[55] The *sacre rappresentazioni*, meaning holy performances, developed in Tuscany during the fifteenth century. They were similar to the English and French mystery plays and to the Spanish *auto sacramentales*. Their origin can be traced to the Middle Ages when sections of the sacred Scriptures were transformed for didactic purposes into liturgical dramas and performed by priests as part of the worship service. A very interesting introduction to the *sacre rappresentazioni* and their

librettos written by Rospigliosi, the analysis of them will also consider the influence of all these theatrical models.

In light of the above, it is soon clear why the Barberini, after the allegory of *Il contrasto di Apollo con Marsia*, sponsored performances based on hagiographic subjects, dramatizing lives of saints and martyrs. The central message that the Barberini wanted to convey with each of these operas was that the teachings of the Catholic Church and the lives of its saints and martyrs were still examples to follow despite the difficulties due to a period of war, plague, and reformation. True Christians, like Alexis in *Il Sant'Alessio*, were expected to resist the temptation of the flesh and the desire to gain wealth, honour, and power for their own benefit, because if they wanted to be admitted to join a heavenly and peaceful afterlife they only had to follow the true Christian values taught by the Catholic Church. The purpose of the Barberini was likely inspired by the Jesuit school theatre, since Rospigliosi, Pope Urban VIII, and his nephews had all studied in Jesuit institutions, where the staging of performances involved both Jesuit priests, who were usually responsible for writing their texts, and their students, who were trained to control their voice and gestures in order to recite them.[56] A common element between the Jesuit plays and the early operas staged by the Barberini is the choice of subjects, which were usually either based on episodes taken from the Bible or about the life of saints or martyrs because these sources appeared to be the best suited to give audiences examples to follow. Another element is the antithesis World versus God, whereas worldly weaknesses, like vanity of power and fame, appeared as the worst attempts to undermine one's own salvation. In both cases, the true message of the performance was usually conveyed in episodes placed at the end of the play, showing either a character who had refused to follow the true Christian values condemned to eternal damnation, or the hero's conversion rewarded with eternal glory. This was a way to warn the audiences of the consequences of their deeds. Another common element is the use of allegorical figures. They ranged from mere

influence on the development of Tuscan scenography is Konrad Eisenbichler, 'Depicting Theatre: Contemporary Evidence for Renaissance Theatre Sets in Renaissance Italy', in *Theatre and the Visual Arts*, ed. by Giuliana Sanguinetti Katz, Vera Golini and Domenico Pietropaolo (New York, Ottawa, Toronto: Legas, 2002), pp. 52-63.

[56] Priest-playwrights were usually professors of poetry with a skill in Greek and Latin versification. Some of them became so popular among their contemporaries that they were asked to write plays also for performances staged in distant colleges. An example is the request that the Munich Jesuits made to the general in Rome to find a special writer for the pageant *Costantinus* of 1574. See McCabe, p. 37.

personifications of ideas, attitudes and desires to the representation of ghosts, angels, devils, and spirits of the dead, which often appeared in dream scenes or visions of either Hell or Heaven and in pantomimes, which had the function either of summing up what had already occurred on stage or foreshadowing what was about to happen.

The 1632 performance of *Il Sant'Alessio* at the Palazzo alle Quattro Fontane is the first documented example of an opera sponsored by the Barberini that explicitly adhered to the principles mentioned above. It was given in honour of Prince Hans Ulrich von Eggenburg (or Eckembergh), Duke of Kremau, who was the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II's most important minister.[57] The choice of the subject was made in order to convey a precise message to this special guest: the true Christian is not afraid of losing family and friends to follow the right principles of his faith. This message contained very timely political overtones, which become clear if one considers contemporary debates concerning the Holy Roman Empire's electoral system. For centuries, the Empire had been an electoral monarchy, in some ways subject to the papacy that had the important role of crowning an Emperor after his election. Since 1555, the Peace of Augsburg had established that German princes were free to decide whether to choose Lutheranism or Catholicism. After his election to the throne in 1619, Ferdinand II (1578-1637) revealed his intention to restore the Holy Roman Empire to its pre-1555 arrangements. Hence, the aim of the performance was to encourage Ferdinand in his intention – the example of St Alexis in the opera was designed to show him that his reward for following the principles of the Catholic faith would be to gain eternal glory, in spite of the difficulties he might encounter.[58]

Apart from its political meaning, this performance is important for this study for the following reasons. On the one hand, it is the earliest opera of a series staged in the *sala dei marmi* at Palazzo Barberini between 1632 and 1639 (the date of the inauguration of the Teatro Barberini). On the other, it is the earliest product of the long collaboration between the Barberini and Giulio Rospigliosi in the role of

[57] Prince Hans Ulrich von Eggenburg would be sent again on a mission in Rome in 1637-1638. The reason for his missions was that Ferdinand of Habsburg, elected King of the Romans in December 1636, was in need of the support of Pope Urban VIII in a period in which Europe's religious balance, involved in the Thirty Years' War, was turning in favour of the Protestants. For further information on Prince Eckembergh's mission, see Rietbergen, pp. 181-215.
[58] For the political interpretation of this first version of *Il Sant'Alessio*, see Rietbergen, pp. 391-93.

librettist.[59] It also shows the first seeds of the development of increasingly sophisticated techniques invented to create illusionistic landscapes, thanks to ingenious theatrical devices and machinery.

Rospigliosi based his libretto on the *Legenda aurea* (*c.* 1260) by Jacopo da Varagine or Varazze (*c.* 1228-1298). Differently from other versions, this legend reports that Alexis, son of the Roman senator Eufemiano, left on his wedding day for a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and later decided to return to living as a beggar and sleeping under a staircase at the entrance of his father's palace. After his death, the pope was able to identify him thanks to a paper he was holding in his clenched fist that only the pope managed to open. When the pope realized who the man living under the staircase actually was, he finally proclaimed Alessio's sanctity.

Similarly to the authors of the performances written for the Jesuit school theatre, Rospigliosi inserted allegorical figures in his libretti, which were often the occasion for spectacular scenographic effects, as it will be shown later. The allegorical characters of *Il Sant'Alessio* are the city of Rome, Religion, an angel and the devil.[60] Rome sings in the Prologue, introducing the plot. The presence of the city of Rome in the Prologue has a double function: on the one hand, it gives the action a precise geographical location; on the other, it conveys the idea of Rome as the centre of Christianity where the example of St Alexis becomes an example for every Christian to follow. The allegorical character of Religion adds further meaning to the plot – it conveys a political message since Religion is immediately associated with the papacy as the major authority in religious matters and its presence in the opera shows a clear intention to discredit the beliefs of the followers

[59] For more information about the inauguration of the theatre, see Chapter 3, below.

[60] Rospigliosi's version starts with a prologue sung by a personification of Rome who exalts her many glories, among which is Alessio. The first act opens with Adrastro, a Roman soldier, trying to comfort Alessio's father, Eufemiano, for the loss of his son. Both in fact ignore the fact that Alessio has returned and lives as a beggar under his father's staircase, where a demon tries to tempt him and where he suffers abuse at the hands of his father's two servants, who perform the *scene ridicolose* – scenes modelled on the contemporary *commedia dell'arte* plays. In an attempt to take advantage of Alessio's weakness in seeing his relatives' sufferings, the demon tries to convince him to return to his former life in his father's palace surrounded by the love of his family. The demon also impels Alessio's mother and bride to leave in search of him in a further attempt to overcome Alessio's resistance in revealing his real identity. Then, dressed as a hermit, he approaches Alessio once more pretending to speak in the name of God and tries to convince him to go back to his loving family. Alessio understands that the hermit is not speaking sincere words and asks heaven to help him. An Angel appears scaring the demon and comforting Alessio. The messenger of God exalts the correctness of Alessio's decisions, announcing his forthcoming death and the end of his suffering. In the final act of the opera, a voice from heaven reveals Alessio's real identity. The saint is welcomed to heaven and hailed by a glorious apotheosis of angels, while the demon, now completely defeated, disappears.

of the Protestant Reformers. The character representing the pope, who, declaring Alexis's sanctity, is shown to the audience as the only earthly authority able to discern what is right and wrong according to the true Christian faith, strengthens this intention. He is also the only human being who can show the way towards the true faith and an afterlife of eternal glory.

The music for the opera was composed by Stefano Landi (*c.* 1590-1639) whose name appears in the frontispiece of the *argomento* of the opera published in 1634 (see fig. 2.13).[61] Among the guests who witnessed the first performance was the French libertine Jean Jaques Bouchard (1606-1641), one of Antonio Barberini's protégés, who had been invited to attend the performance of *Il Sant'Alessio* on Monday 23 February 1632.[62] His journal is an important source of information for the 1632 version of the opera since it records that the performance consisted of a prologue and three acts, the first of five, the second of seven, and the third of three scenes but making use of only four backgrounds:

> […] la première representoit la ville de Rome, avec ses palais; la seconde l'Enfer, d'où sortirent quantité de diables; la troisième fut le mausolée ou tombeau de St Alexis; et la quatrième une gloire du Paradiso où était St Alexis avec quantité d'anges.[63]

Bouchard was so enthusiastic about the performance that he decided to dedicate a few words of his journal to describe the sets of the opera. He wrote that there were

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[61] Stefano Landi was born in Rome on 26 February 1587. His father, Antonio Mattei, died when he was still a child; he was given his mother's surname according to his grandfather's testament. In 1595, Landi entered the Collegio Germanico where he was admitted as *putto soprano* (boy soprano). Later, in 1599, he decided to embrace a religious career and in 1602 was admitted to the Seminario Romano where he completed his studies in 1607. His musical career started in 1610 when he became the organist of the church of Santa Maria in Trastevere. Later he was engaged as a musician in numerous churches, which gave him the opportunity to form important relations with members of the Roman nobility, who later commissioned him music for their private celebrations and were the dedicatees of some of his compositions. He entered the entourage of the Barberini in 1624 and in 1627, he composed the Mass for the celebration of Taddeo Barberini and Anna Colonna's wedding. In 1929, he became a member of the pontifical chapel and the Barberini hired him regularly both as a music teacher and as a composer. *Il Sant'Alessio* was his first opera. Landi died in Rome on 28 October 1639. See Arnaldo Morelli, 'Landi, Stefano', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, LXIII (2004), 406-11.

[62] Bouchard writes that Cardinal Francesco Barberini accompanied him inside the room and made him sit next to Luca Holstenius, who was asked to explain the subject to him. See Christy Lamothe, p. 101: 'Le Cardinal luy mesme fit entrer Ορεστης par dessous l'eschafaut, et le conduisant par la main le fit seoir à ses pieds sur un betit banc, et commanda à Luca Holsteinius de se tenir près Ορεστης et luy expliquer le subjet'. Ορεστης is a pseudonym used by Bouchard in his journal.

[63] '[…] the first represented the city of Rome with its palazzos; the second Hell, whence numerous demons came out; the third the shrine or tomb of St Alexis; and the fourth a glory of Paradise, where Aexis was present with a great multitude of angels.' See the French text transcribed in Fagiolo Dell'Arco, *La Festa Barocca*, p. 50. For Bouchard's journal, see Emanuele Kanceff, ed., *Oeuvres de Jean-Jacques Bouchard*, vol. 1: *Journal* (Turin: G. Giappichelli, 1976).

four sets, the first representing the city of Rome with its palaces, the second representing Hell from which numerous devils came out, the third showing the tomb of St Alexis, and the fourth the glory of Paradise, where St Alexis appeared surrounded by a great number of angels. He does not report any *intermedi* played between the acts of the opera. Another interesting aspect described by Bouchard is the fact that women's roles were played either by young pages or by castratos, since women were usually not allowed to act on Roman stages. This caused some cardinals during the performance to indulge in what Bouchard saw as unbecoming behaviour, since they invited the singers to kiss them.[64]

Bouchard's journal is also useful in that it contains additional information about the scenography of the opera and the decoration of the room, whose total costs were about 1324.37 *scudi.* Bouchard writes:[65]

> Ce fut une des belles representations qui se soit jamais faite à Rome, disoit on. Orestès <Bouchard's pseudonym> onques ne vit rien de si somptueus, et si agreeable. Toute la salle estois tendue de satin rouge, bleu et jaune avec un dais au dessus, de mesme, qui couvroit toute la salle.[66]

The positive impression about the scenography of the opera expressed by Bouchard in his journal is partly contradicted by the report of the Florentine resident who notes that the people who attended the performance complained about the way in which it was staged.[67] Probably this negative impression was due to the fact that contemporary Florentine performances were still more elaborate and accurate than

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[64] See Emanuele Kanceff, ed. *Oeuvres de Jean-Jacques Bouchard*, vol. 1, pp. 150-52, quoted and translated in Christy Lamothe, p. 105. 'The performers who played either women or choristers or angels were perfectly beautiful, being either young pages or young castratos *di cappella*, so that muffled sighs were all one heard in the hall, which admiration and desire drew forth from the peacock breasts. As for the men in purple, having more authority, they behaved with greater freedom, even to the point that Cardinals San Giorgio and Aldobrandini, with puckered lips and frequent and sonorous clucking of the tongue, invited those beardless actors to come and be kissed […]'. Translated from the following original text: 'Les recitans qui representoint ou femmes ou choeurs ou anges estoint beaus en perfection, estans ou jeunes pages, ou jeunes chastrez *di capella*, de sorte que l'on n'entendoit que souspirs sourds par la salle, que l'admiration et le desir faisoint eschaper *dai petti impavonazzati*, car pour les rouges, ayants plus d'autorité, ils se comportoint aussi plus librement, jusques là χε λε χαρδ. Σαν Γιοργιο, et Αλδοβρανδιν, *protensis labjis et crebris sonorisque popismatibus glabros hos ludiones ad suavia invitabant* […].'

[65] See Hammond, *Music and Spectacle*, p. 204.

[66] 'It was – people said – one of the most beautiful performances ever staged in Rome. Orestes [i.e., Bouchard] never saw anything so sumptuous, and agreeable. The whole room was lined with red, blue and yellow satin with a canopy top, of the same material, which covered the whole hall.' Translated from the French text transcribed in Fagiolo Dell'Arco, *La Festa Barocca*, p. 50.

[67] See the report transcribed and translated in Hammond, *Music and Spectacle*, p. 203 and Luigi Zangheri, 'Alcune precisazioni sugli apparati effimeri di G.L. Bernini', *Barocco romano e barocco italiano*, p. 112.

early Barberini spectacles, in spite of the opinion expressed by Guidiccioni in the letter mentioned above about the 1629 version of this opera. The Florentine resident, used to attending performances in Florence, had obviously noticed the difference between the spectacles staged under the Medici's patronage and these Roman performances. Nevertheless, the Roman public was not used to very elaborate settings and to the use of astonishing machinery, so they appreciated the effort made by the Barberini. This is what we can deduce from the following two *avvisi*:

> […] e mercoledì notte fu recitata la rappresentazione di S. Alessio nel Palazzo degl'Eminentissimi Signori Barberini a Capo le Case con l'intervento delle principali dame e signori di questa città, in particolare del Signor Principe d'Ecchemberg tutta recitata in musica, sendo riuscita una delle più belle fattesi da un tempo in qua.[68]

> Fu anco fatto mercoledì sera al Palazzo de Signori Barberini a Capo le Case per dare trattenimento al principe di Echembergh Tedesco la rappresentazione in musica di S. Alessio Romano sendo benissimo riuscita con grande stupor delli personaggi, dame, et signori che vi sono intervenuti.[69]

In spite of the opinion expressed in these *avvisi*, the overall impression of this early version of *Il Sant'Alessio*, compared to the later performances patronized by the Barberini, is that of an opera staged without a great expenditure of energy. This is evident if we compare this early opera with the spectacles organized for the Carnival seasons 1633 and 1634 that had more elaborate settings and machinery, as it will be shown in the following chapter. Nevertheless, the 1632 version of *Il Sant'Alessio* is important since it was staged to compete with the numerous performances that were given during that Carnival because, differently from the previous year, Pope Urban VIII had encouraged the staging of performances of any kind, ranging from comedies to *commedia dell'arte* plays, masked balls and operas. This different attitude was because the pope wanted to celebrate the return of Urbino to the papal state.[70] The consequence was that the Barberni had to compete

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[68] 'On Wednesday night the performance of *S. Alessio* was recited at the Palazzo of the most eminent Signori Barberini at Capo le Case, where the most important Ladies and Gentlemen of this city were present, in particular the Prince of Eccheberg. All of it was sung and the result was one of the most beautiful performances in a long time.' See Vatican City, BAV, Barb. lat. 6352, fol. 46v. The *avviso* is also transcribed in Murata, p. 223.

[69] 'The performance with music of Sant'Alessio also took place on Wednesday night at the Palazzo of the Signori Barberini at Capo le Case, to entertain the German Prince of Echebergh. It was a splendid success and caused amazement in the ladies and gentlemen who attended'. See Vatican City, BAV, Ottob. lat. 3338, fol. 475v. The *avviso* is also transcribed in Murata, p. 224.

[70] See Giacinto Gigli, *Diario Romano*, pp. 126-27.

with numerous other wealthy noblemen and with the Jesuits of the Seminario Romano.[71]

It can be argued that they asked their protégé Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680) to supervise the staging of the opera. Even if the presence of the artist is not attested by any evidence in the payment records, it is credible that the Barberini took advantage of Bernini's competence in theatrical matters, whenever they had to stage a performance. Bernini's biographer, Filippo Baldinucci (1625-1696), confirms this hypothesis when he writes that the artist was involved in the staging of almost all the operas patronized by the Barberini during the seventeenth century and that when he was not directly involved in making the backdrops and inventing new machines, he was engaged to supervise the productions.[72] A further hint to support this hypothesis is given by the presence of Bernini among the artisans employed in building the Teatro Farnese in Parma on the occasion of the celebrations for the 1628 Medici-Farnese wedding. Since both Francesco and Antonio Barberini were in Parma for the occasion, they probably asked Bernini to join them to snatch a few secrets from the famous architect-scenographer Guitti.[73]

Regardless of who designed the scenography, it consisted of the four scenes described by Bouchard in his journal. The first, which represented the city of Rome, was used as a background to the prologue recited by the character representing the city of Rome that almost certainly entered on a theatrical machine. This scene must have been very similar to the scene created for the 1634 version of the opera.[74] The model was likely Sebastiano Serlio's tragic scene (see fig. 1.8).

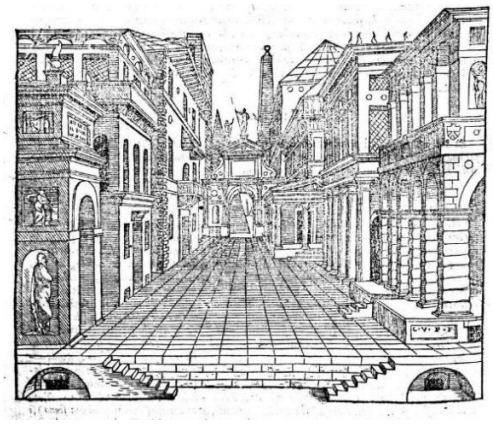

Fig. 1.8 Sebastiano Serlio, *Tutte l'opere d'architettura di Sebastiano Serlio bolognese* (Venice: Francesco de'Franceschi, 1584), vol. II, p. 51.

[71] For the spectacles performed during Carnival 1632, see Murata, pp. 19-20.
[72] See Filippo Baldinucci, *Vita del cavaliere Gio. Lorenzo Bernino, scultore, architetto, e pittore* (Florence: Vincenzo Vangelisti, 1682), p. 45.
[73] About the presence of Bernini in Parma in 1628, see Tamburini, p. 45, and Adami, p. 92.
[74] See Chapter 2, fig. 2.18.

If Bernini supervised the entire performance, some documents attest the involvement of the painter-architect Pietro da Cortona in at least one of the scenes designed for this opera.[75] These documents report that Cortona was given five sheets of linen for several pieces of small scenes, and six *canne* (about 6 m) of cloth for the Devil's eye.[76] This cloth must have been used to manufacture the second set of the opera, that is the set used as background to the second act, in which the devils are shown dancing in hell trying to seduce St Alexis. During the seventh scene of this act, the audience saw an angel entering from the top of the scene. This was the second theatrical machine employed during this opera, which allowed the descent of the actor who played the angel. A similar machine was used later in the same act to allow the actor playing Religion, to make his entrance.

The third scene, showing the tomb of St Alexis, was the set for the first part of the third act, while the fourth, representing the glory of Paradise, was created using another spectacular machine. Since Bouchard writes that during this scene St Alexis appeared surrounded by a great number of angels, it can be assumed that the scene was constructed using a multi-layered cloud that allowed the contemporary appearance of several angel-actors welcoming the saint in Paradise. The performance ended with a new entrance of Religion.

The total lack of images for this performance does not assist any hypothesis on its set designs. The overall impression is that the Barberini were still experimenting with the new theatrical means and that they did not invest much money and energy in it. They simply asked two artists of their entourage – Pietro da Cortona and Gian Lorenzo Bernini – to help them in staging *Il Sant'Alessio*. The results, as seen above, were satisfactory, but they were nothing but a pale dawn to the future development of the stage design and machinery employed in the later performances sponsored by the noble family.

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[75] Maurizio Fagiolo Dell'Arco assumed that Pietro da Cortona was responsible for all the scenes of this version of *Il Sant'Alessio.* See Maurizio Fagiolo Dell'Arco 'Incontri con Giulio Rospigliosi e con Clemente IX'in *Lo spettacolo del sacro, la morale del profano*, ed by Danilo Romei (Florence: Edizioni Polistampa, 2005), pp. 9-29 (pp. 10-12).

[76] See Jörg Martin Merz, *Pietro da Cortona and Roman Baroque Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 45.

Chapter 2
Operas staged with the collaboration of Francesco Guitti (1633-1634)

The years 1633-1634 are extremely important for the following analysis because the documents investigated up to now provide evidence that, during this period, the Barberini invested a great amount of money and energy in sponsoring performances, which could rival the spectacles staged in other Italian and European courts. They did this because they needed to reinforce their position during a period of turmoil in which both the events related to the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) and the 'Galileo affair' had weakened their authority.[1] Since Urban VIII (Maffeo Barberini) had been accused of negotiating with the Protestants and of openly opposing the Catholic Spanish faction, he had to be very careful in patently supporting Galileo's theories to avoid being denounced for heresy together with his former protégé. The reason for this is that the Jesuits, who initially had admired the astronomer's discoveries, had later 'officially' attacked Galileo Galilei (1564-1642) for the theories that he had developed since 1625, and which he eventually published in his *Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi* (1632).

Since the above events had deeply affected Urban VIII's credibility, both the pope and his nephews tried to re-establish their position by every potential means. To this end, they sponsored numerous events, ranging from celebrations for the *Quarantore*, to banquets, jousts and various performances, including those analysed in this chapter.[2] To achieve their aim, the powerful family engaged some of the best

[1] See for instance Hammond, 'The Artistic Patronage of the Barberini and the Galileo Affair', in *The Ruined Bridge*, pp. 89-101. Hammond states that the most important Italian and European rulers had used the above events as a pretext to create new alliances and to tighten ties with other powerful sovereigns and courts in order to fight against old and new enemies. Catholic France, for instance, partially encouraged by the pope, had supported the Protestant Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus (1594-1632) in opposing Catholic Spain. Meantime the Empire, as well as anti-papal Venice that tended to create alliances with whoever was against the papacy, sided with Spain. Besides the difficulties created by the Thirty Years' War, at the beginning of his reign, Urban VIII had to face other critical situations, which resulted in exhausting and useless diplomatic missions. Among them the war, which arose at the death without heirs of Vincenzo II Gonzaga, concerning the Mantuan Succession (1628-1632), which was claimed both by the French and by the Spanish. The spreading of the plague worsened the already difficult political situation, creating further instability. Brought by the German mercenaries, who had crossed the Italian borders to sack Mantua in 1630, the plague soon spread to Venice proceeding southward to Bologna and Florence and almost reaching Rome, where special security measures were adopted to avoid contagion. See also: David Marshall Miller's 'The Thirty Years War and the Galileo Affair', *History and Science; an Annual Review of Literature, Research and Teaching*, 46 (2008), 49-72.

[2] During the seventeenth century in Rome, the celebration of the *Quarantore* (or *Quarant'ore*) took place during the last days of the Carnival season and consisted in exposing the Blessed Sacrament

artists available among whom was Francesco Guitti (*c.* 1600-1645). A pupil of Giovanni Battista Aleotti (1546-1636), one of the most distinguished architects and engineers of the time, Guitti, born in Ferrara, had been involved in building the Teatro Farnese of Parma, which was inaugurated in 1628 for the Medici-Farnese wedding celebrations. As seen in Chapter 1, this wedding was attended by both Francesco and Antonio Barberini.[3] Guitti had already shown his ability in creating innovative types of settings in 1625, on the occasion of a tragedy with *intermedi* staged to welcome Taddeo Barberini in Ferrara.[4] On this occasion Guitti had surpassed his master, since, besides Aleotti's tragic scene, he designed other types of settings, ranging from the forest scene, to the maritime, to the infernal.[5]

For the spectacle staged on Taddeo's visit, Guitti had also invented numerous machines and theatrical devices, which, must have impressed the young Barberini, who wanted Guitti to be responsible for the staging of the performance entitled *Erminia sul Giordano.* This performance, staged at Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane for the Carnival season in 1633, is one of the operas analysed in this chapter, which includes two sections. The first is about the staging of the above-mentioned *Erminia sul Giordano*, which witnesses the first engagement of Francesco Guitti. The latter is about a renovated version of *Il Sant'Alessio*, staged during the Carnival season 1634, which was the second performance staged at Palazzo Barberini that was organized with the collaboration of Guitti. The importance of the role played by the Ferrarese architect in Rome is attested by the

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in some Jesuit churches for forty hours (hence the name), as an act of expiation for the sins committed at that season. Celebrated artists were engaged to build the magnificent ephemeral apparatuses used to expose the Sacrament. For further information, see Fagiolo dell'Arco, *La Festa Barocca*, pp. 45-55.

[3] The Medici and the Farnese families had negotiated a marriage contract since 1620 according to which Maria Cristina de' Medici (1609-1632) would marry Odoardo Farnese (1612-1646). However, in 1621, Maria Cristina became a nun and her sister Margherita (1612-1679) was urged to take her place. The official engagement of Odoardo and Margherita took place on 14 February 1627 while their wedding was continually delayed until its celebration on 14 October 1628. On occasion of the wedding, there was the inauguration of the Teatro Farnese with a performance entitled *La Flora* on a libretto by Andrea Salvadori (1591-1634) and music by Marco da Gagliano (1582-1643). See Kelley Harnes, *Echoes of Women Voices: Music, Art and Female Patronage in Early Modern Florence* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2006), pp. 175-80.

[4] Francesco Guitti, who was at the time a member of the Accademia dei Tenebrosi in Ferrara, wrote a description of the *intermedi*. Catarino Doino published this in Venice in 1626, where the author's name is hidden under the academic pseudonym of Ispido Cavaviere Tenebroso. See Giovan Battista Estense Tassoni, *Intramezzi inventati in lode della citta di Ferrara dall'ill.mo sig.r Co. Gio. Batt. Estense Tassoni* (Venice: Catarino Doino, 1626). About Tassoni and the Accademia dei Tenebrosi see Girolamo Baruffaldi, *Notizie istoriche delle Accademie letterarie ferraresi scritte dall'abate Girolamo Baruffaldi secondo aggiunti in fine alcuni sonetti dello stesso autore* (Ferrara: eredi Giuseppe Rinaldi, 1783), p. 33.

[5] See Adami, passim.

words written by Pio Ascanio di Savoia (1580-1649) in the preface to the 1639-printed *libretto* of the joust entitled *L'Andromeda*, performed in Ferrara in 1638. At pages 4 and 5 of the *libretto*, reporting about Guitti's contribution to the staging of this performance, he wrote:

> La cura poi delle scene e delle macchine fu data al Signor Francesco Guitti, il quale già molto tempo fa in cento occasioni di feste grandi ha tal gloria acquistata, che non ha bisogno dell'altrui testimonio; lo sanno i Teatri non solo di Ferrara, e di Parma, ma sallo il teatro del mondo Roma, ov'egli primiero introdusse l'uso delle macchine con meraviglia universale, e particolare soddisfazione dei padroni, ai quali nello spazio di due anni servì con applauso mirabile in varie occorrenze, prima al Signor Principe Don Taddeo Prefetto, e poi al Signor Cardinal Francesco, e al Signor Cardinal Antonio Barberini, avendone riportati molti onorati regali; […].[6]

Since Pio Ascanio di Savoia speaks about new machines employed by Guitti for the first time in the operas analysed in this chapter, the following sections investigate their staging to individuate the innovative devices that became the basis for the further development of scenography and theatrical machinery in the spectacles sponsored by the Barberini in Rome.

Erminia sul Giordano (Carnival 1633)

After the first performance based on the life of a saint, *Il Sant'Alessio* (1632) analysed in Chapter 1, the Barberini sponsored another sacred opera, *Erminia sul Giordano*. Taddeo Barberini, then living at Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane with his wife Anna Colonna, produced it. Taddeo did not organize it entirely by himself since, according to a report of the Venetian ambassador, Cardinal Francesco supported his brother in supervising the construction of the theatre '[…] rubando ai suoi affari, e alle sua comodità tutto il tempo che può, pur di essere presente a questa

[6] 'Mr Francesco Guitti was charged with looking after the scenes and the machinery. He has such a well-deserved fame, acquired over a long period at hundreds of great festivals, that he does not need a recommendation. Not only do the theatres of Ferrara and Parma know this, but also the theatre of the world, Rome. There, he was the first to introduce the use of machinery to universal stupefaction, and to the great satisfaction of his masters, whom he served for two years with admirable praise on various occasions, first the Signor Prince Prefect Don Taddeo, then the Signor Cardinal Francesco and the Signor Cardinal Antonio Barberini, having as a reward several honoured gifts […]'. See Pio Ascanio di Savoia, *L'Andromeda* (Ferrara: Francesco Suzzi, 1638), pp. 4-5.

costruzione […].'[7] Another dispatch of the Venetian ambassador reports that the total amount of money spent for the performance was of about five thousand *scudi.*[8]

Erminia, which represents Taddeo's only production of an opera, saw a greater display of energies than seen in *Il Sant'Alessio*, staged in the previous Carnival. Taddeo had consolidated his position as prefect of Rome, a position he had held since August 1631, and there were numerous other reasons for celebrating.[9] The plague had finally finished and Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi (1595-1632), the most dangerous rival of the Barberini, supporter of the Borgia family and of the Spanish faction, had passed away. One of the most powerful non-Catholic European authorities, the Protestant King Gustavus II Adolphus of Sweden (1594-1632), had died at the battle of Luzern, and the Barberini could finally reject the embarrassing accusation of having negotiated with him, since no one else was able to prove it. Last, but not least, the ascent to the throne of Poland of Prince Wladislaw Wasa (1595-1648), who belonged to the Catholic branch of the Swedish dynasty, had created a new balance for the Catholics in Europe.

In light of the above, it was extremely important for the Barberini to take advantage of the socio-political context to reinforce their position also through the organization of spectacles. *Erminia sul Giordano* is a good example of the use of a theatrical performance produced with this aim. It was staged in the *sala dei marmi* of Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane for the Carnival season 1633 and Taddeo Barberini dedicated it to his wife, Anna Colonna. The dedication presumably aimed at strengthening ties with Anna's powerful family.[10] On this occasion, Taddeo hired some of the most celebrated artists of the period. Further to Francesco Guitti, who was responsible for the staging of the opera, Taddeo engaged numerous other artists. Among them, the musician Michelangelo Rossi (*c.* 1601-1656), who wrote the score for this opera, which had its first printed version only in 1637 (see the frontispiece in the figure below).[11]

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[7] '[…] stealing from his affairs, and from his own convenience all the time he can, in order to be present at this construction […], as tranlated in Hammond, *Music and Spectacle*, p. 206, from Venice, Archivio di Stato (VAdS), Senato III, filza 101, fol. 40v.

[8] Transcribed and translated by Hammond in *The Ruined Bridge*, pp. 94-95, footnote 9.

[9] About the position of Taddeo as prefect of Rome, see Gigli, p. 120.

[10] About the importance of the relation with the Colonna family, see the sub-section about Taddeo Barberini in the Introduction to this dissertation and the introduction to Chapter 1.

[11] Michelangelo Rossi was a violinist, organist and composer who was born in Genoa at the beginning of the seventeenth century. After his first musical experiences in his hometown, in 1624 he moved to Rome at the service of Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy. He followed his master to Turin in 1629, where he took part in the performance of *Arione* of Bisogni. When he came back in Rome in 1630, he started taking lessons from the organist Girolamo Frescobaldi. In 1638, he moved to the


ERMINIA
SVL GIORDANO
DRAMMA MVSICALE
D. TADDEO BARBERINO
PREFETTO DI ROMA
E PRINCIPE DI PELLESTRINA.
LA SIGNORA
D. ANNA COLONNA
BARBERINA
PREFETTESSA DI ROMA.
DA MICHELANGELO ROSSI.
IN ROMA.

Fig. 2.1 Frontispiece of Michelangelo Rossi's score of *Erminia sul Giordano* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1637).

Although Pope Urban VIII usually did not encourage operas based on non-religious subjects, *Erminia sul Giordano* did not encounter the pope's opposition because its plot was well suited to teach Christian values, through its relation to the Crusades.[12] Giulio Rospigliosi, who was responsible for writing a suitable *libretto* to the opera,

court of Modena and in 1640 was again in Rome. See Alberto Basso, *Dizionario enciclopedico universale della musica e dei musicisti - Le biografie*, 8 vols (Turin, UTET, 1988), VI, 444. On the occasion of the first printing of the score in 1637 Rossi wrote the following dedication to Anna Colonna: 'ad Anna Colonna Barberini / Illustrissima et Eccellentissima Signora Padrona colendissima, L'*Erminia*, che se n'andava fuggitiva per la solitudine delle selve, raccolta con particolar sua ventura dentro al maestoso palazzo di Vostra Eccellenza, ricevé l'onore di vedersi non solo ammessa al cospetto di nobilissime Dame, ma d'esser anco benignamente ascoltata e compatita nell'istoria de' suoi successi. E perché una pellegrina, com'ella era, non avrebbe potuto comparir se non poveramente, trovò l'incostanza della fortuna di essa non poca emenda con la generosità della sua Eccellentissima Casa, dalla quale fu abbellita con ornamenti regali. Volendo ora presentarsi in pubblico nuovamente col mezzo di queste stampe, ricorro all'esperimentato patrocinio di Vostra Eccellenza pregandola che se una volta come forestiera l'accolse, ora, come beneficata da lei, la difenda. Et io con questa occasione rassegnandole l'umilissima servitù che le devo, le fo profonda riverenza. Di Vostra Eccellenza Illustrissima umilissimo et devotissimo servitore Michelangelo Rossi' ('to Anna Colonna Barberini / most Illustrious and Excellent Mistress, ever to be honoured: the [spectacle of] Erminia, who was fleeing through the lonely woods, was luckily welcomed in the Palazzo of Your Eccellency and received the honour not only of being admitted to the presence of very noble ladies, but also of being kindly listened to and pitied for the story of her adventures. And since a pilgrim, as she was, could not appear other than poorly, she found great relief to the inconstancy of her fortune in the generousity of Your Excellent House, where she was royally adorned. Since she wishes to present herself to the public once again through this publication, I request Your Excellency's long-standing patronage, since you already once welcomed her as a stranger, I would ask that you would now offer her your protection, as someone who has received your favour. As for me, I seize this occasion to reaffirm my most humble devotion and offer my respects. I remain the most humble and faithful servant of Your Most Illustrious Eccellency, Michelangelo Rossi.')

[12] See for instance the operas *Chi soffre, speri* and *Il palazzo incantato di Atlante* analysed in Chapter 3, below.

based it on two passages from Tasso's epic poem *La Gerusalemme liberata* (first published in 1580 in Venice), one from the end of canto VI and the other from the beginning of canto VII. He also drew on some excerpts from his own pastoral play, *Il fiume Giordano* (1625), which was based on the same episodes from the *Gerusalemme.*[13]

The interest of *Erminia* for this study mainly concerns its scenographic effects, since it provides evidence of the development of new techniques and stage machinery later used in the 1634 version of *Il Sant'Alessio*. An anonymous letter, inserted by the printer into the score in 1637, is the first useful document attesting the use of machines and devices never seen before by the Roman public. The following excerpt briefly describes the scenes and the scenographic effects created for this opera:

> […] attesi i piacevoli inganni delle macchine e delle volubili scene che, impercettibilmente, fecero apparire, ora annichilarsi, un gran rupe e comparirne una grotta e un fiume dal quale si vede sorger prima il Giordano e poi le Naiadi; ora venirsene Amore a volo et appresso nascondersi fra le nuvole; ora per i sentieri dell'aria in un carro tirato da draghi portarsi Armida et in un baleno sparire; ora cangiarsi l'ordinaria scena in campo di guerra, le selve in padiglioni e le prospettive del teatro in muraglie dell'assediata Gerusalemme; ora da non so qual voragine di Averno far sortita piacevolmente orribile i demoni in compagnia di Furie, le quali insieme danzando et assise poscia in carri infernali per l'aria se ne sparissero; et ora poi finalmente Apollo, con vaghissima comitiva di Zeffiri, sopra un carro sfavillante di lucidissimi splendori, far sentire un concento di inestimabile melodia. E chi fu Apollo? Il signor Michelangelo Rossi, compositore insieme delle musiche e sinfonie di tutta l'opera: il quale sopra la più sublime parte del carro, mentre i Zeffiri infioravano l'aria, sonò con sì dolce armonia il suo violino, che ben mostrò aver sopra le Muse e le scene dominio e signoria. La lode delle macchine e mutazione delle scene è dovuta all'acuto ingegno del Sig. Francesco Guitti, ferrarese, tanto eccellente in inventare, ordinare e governare sì fatte macchine e teatri, quanto testificano la maravglia e l'applauso universale [...].[14]

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[13] The *argomento* of the opera takes inspiration from the episodes related to Princess Erminia of Antioch, a city conquered by the Crusaders. Among them was Tancredi, who treated her well and protected her in spite of her Muslim faith. Tancredi's behaviour caused Erminia to fall in love with him. Therefore, when she was set free and allowed to go to Jerusalem with her old mother, she longed for love. Later, when she understood that Tancredi loved Clorinda, she became jealous and decided to steal Clorinda's armour and leave the city to look for Tancredi. The Christian soldiers attacked her, believing her to be Clorinda. Nevertheless, she was able to reach the shores of the river Jordan and to take refuge in a forest, where a family of shepherds took care of her. Later in the poem, Erminia is shown in the company of the maidens of the sorceress Armida, but finally she abandoned her Muslim people and went over to the Christian side. When she found Tancredi, seriously wounded in combat, she healed him. The plot of the opera concerns the events starting with Erminia reaching the shores of the river Jordan.

[14] '[…] I waited for the pleasing tricks of the machinery and of the changeable scenes, which imperceptibly made a huge rock appear then disappear, and a cavern and a river appeared, from which the Jordan <river> came out first, then the Naiads. Now Love came flying and then he hid among the clouds; now Armida came through the air on a chariot carried by dragons, then she suddenly disappeared; now an ordinary scene would give way to a battlefield, and the woods would transmute into pavilions, and the theatre backdrops would change into the besieged walls of Jerusalem. Then, I do not know from which abyss of hell, Demons and Furies made their pleasantly

Based on the letter above, it can be argued that for this performance Guitti employed some of his spectacular stage devices, which, together with the scenery painted by Andrea Camassei (1602-1648/49), created amazing stage effects.[15] The following payment order, dated 25 February 1633, attests the engagement of Camassei to paint the scenes and coordinate some other painters, who helped him:

> […] scudi 60 baiocchi 85 moneta pagabili ad Andrea Camassei mastro pittore gli facciamo dare per pagare le giornate a diversi pittori che hanno lavorato il Carnevale passato per [***] delle scene fatte fare da noi per la commedia conforme al conto datone da lui […].[16]

For the success of the production, the role played by Giulio Rospigliosi was fundamental because he wrote the libretto inserting numerous characters' appearances and disappearances to exploit Guitti's genius – this gave the Ferrarese artist the possibility to use some of his most astonishing machines.

For a likely hypothesis about the type of settings and machinery designed to stage this spectacle, this chapter provides an analysis of the few images related to the performance. These images consist of five out of the six illustrations of the scenes by Andrea Camassei, engraved by the artist François Collignon (*c.* 1609-1687), which were produced for the press of the score printed by Paolo Masotti in

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horrific appearance. <These Furies> first danced together, then sat in infernal chariots before disappearing in thin air. Then finally Apollo, with a most pleasant company of Zephyrs, <appeared> sitting on a most bright and splendid chariot; together they produced a chorus of exquisite harmony. And who played the part of Apollo? Mr Michelangelo Rossi, composer both of the score and of the interludes of the whole opera. He sat atop the chariot and, while the Zephyrs embellished the tune, played his violin with such sweet harmony that he affirmed his mastery and rule over the Muses and the scenes. Praise for the machines and the changing of the scenes should go to the sharp wit of Mr Francesco Guitti, from Ferrara, who was quite as excellent in inventing, ordering and managing such machines and scenes, as the general wonderment and praise would lead one to believe […]'. Translated from the original document transcribed in Angelo Solerti, *Le origini del melodramma*, 2 vols (Milan, Palermo, Naples: Sandron, 1904), I, pp. 130-31, footnote 2.

[15] According to Passeri, Camassei, born in Bevagna (Umbria), decided to go to Rome to improve his painting abilities. There he studied with Domenico Zampieri, known as Il Domenichino, and developed a good painting technique which allowed him to be engaged by Enzo Bentivoglio and later by Taddeo Barberini and other members of the Barberini family. See Giambattista Passeri, *Vita de' pittori scultori ed architetti* (Rome: Gregorio Settari, 1772), pp. 157-64. For further information on this author see also: Ann Sutherland Harris, 'A contribution to Andrea Camassei Studies', *The Art Bulletin*, 52.1 (1970), 49-70.

[16] '[…] We order to give 60 *scudi* and 85 *baiocchi* to the master painter Andrea Camassei for the labour of several painters who worked last Carnival for […] the scenes we ordered to prepare for the Comedy, according to the calculation he gave us […]'. See Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Comp. 191, fol. 88r.

1637.[17] Since it was common during the late Renaissance and early Baroque Period to insert engravings in printed scores or *argomenti* in order to leave visual memory of an event, this study uses this type of images as evidence of the theatrical settings of the performances related to them.[18] However, since they are not scientific documents, because they do not report the proper measurements of the various elements, they are only used as the basis for hypothesis that are then further supported by other contemporary documents (descriptions, drawings, letters, *avvisi*) and by seventeenth-century manuals of scenography and scenographic practices. It must also be considered that, since the engravings do not indicate any measurement, the only dimension that can be guessed is the length of the proscenium, which corresponds to the length of the shorter side of the *sala dei marmi*, which measures 13 metres.

To understand the type of scenography and machines that Guitti invented for this performance, the following analysis considers all the surviving documents available so far. These include the printed *argomento,* the letter mentioned above, some payment records and the engravings of the score illustrating the scenes. A first look at the engravings suggests that Guitti used a fixed scene, movable shutters and other stage devices when he wished to change the setting for the opera. For this type of scenery, the musicologist Davide Daolmi suggests the definition of 'hybrid scene', that is a scene made up of fixed side-wings and movable shutters sliding on tracks.[19] He also argues that the hybrid scene is the type of setting used in both *Erminia sul Giordano* and in the revised version of *Il Sant'Alessio* staged in the *sala dei marmi* for Carnival 1634. Whereas, while in *Il Sant'Alessio* the fixed side-wings represent palaces, in *Erminia* they stand for trees, which was an unusual setting for the early seventeenth century. Breaking with the traditional Serlian set design of a city was a novelty that Guitti had already introduced in Parma along with other scenic effects that he liked to invent to modify the setting before his audience's eyes. In *Erminia*'s prologue, for instance, as well described in the letter inserted in the score, a huge rock opened and a cavern and a river appeared. This

[17] François Collignon was born in Paris. In about 1626, he started his apprentice with the engraver Jacques Callot. In 1634, he moved to Rome to complete his training as an engraver. After two years, he went back to Paris but later, in 1646, decided to settle in Rome. There he became also an appreciated print-seller and publisher. See *François Collignon (biographical details)* <http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=128826>

[18] About the use of illustrations as visual documents, see Introduction, footnote 43.

[19] See Daolmi, '"L'armi e gli amori"', pp. 31-34.

description fits with the set visible in the second engraving of the score, which shows the fixed tree-shaped side-wings and a waterfall in the background (see fig. 2.3). The stone that opened, transforming itself into a cavern, is at the centre of the scene. The anonymous letter reports that the stone was not there when the curtain opened, but 'imperceptibly' appeared during the performance. The engraving also shows the personification of the river Jordan standing next to the stone, but the letter reports that the actor embodying the river 'raised' from the stone first, soon followed by the Naiads. A caption in the score confirms that the rock appeared before the audience's eyes since it says that 'nell'aprire della tenda si scorge una rupe la quale rompendosi in minute parti lascia scoperta la grotta del fiume, e dal mezzo dell'acqua sorge prima il Giordano e poi le Naiadi'.[20] Further to the information about the rock, the caption reports that the curtain opened. This means that Guitti followed the second method described in the excerpt below from Nicola Sabbatini's manual of scenography:

> Come e in quale modo si abbia da levar la tenda, che copre la scena. Cap. 37.
> In due modi, con diverse operazioni si potrà levare la tenda, con la quale si suole coprire la scena innanzi, che s'incominci la commedia. Il primo sarà che ella dall'alto cali al basso nel piano della sala. Il secondo, che dal basso salga in alto, nascondendosi sopra il cielo, quando però ne sia la commodità. In quanto al primo vi sarà poca fattura, poiché si farà con due semplici troclie, o girelle che le vogliamo nominare, le quali siano conficcate dalle bande al principio del cielo, con due funicelle, due capi delle quali siano legate alla tenda dalla parte superiore di essa, e gli altri si porranno nelle mani a due persone, le quali all'ora, che si darà loro il cenno, o con trombe o con altro, lascearanno cadere la tenda liberamente, che così con questa operazione si sarà fatto quanto si proponeva.[21]

Guitti must have made a device similar to the one he had designed for the *intermedi* staged in 1625 on occasion of the visit of Taddeo in Ferrara. This device, sketched by Floriani is shown in the figure below.

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[20] 'When the curtain opens, a rock appears and, breaking into small pieces, exposes the cave of the river uncovered, and from the middle of the water first the Jordan appears, then the Naiads.' See Michelangelo Rossi's score, p. 3. Also transcribed in Daolmi, '"L'armi e gli amori"', p. 42.

[21] 'How and in which way the curtain that covers the scene has to be removed. | The curtain that is used to cover the scene before the comedy begins can be removed in two ways. The first is to drop it to the hall's floor. The second it to raise it from the bottom to the top where it will be hidden above the sky, if it is feasible. The first method does not need much egineering because it requires two simple pulleys or swivels. These must be fixed on both sides to the arena where the sky starts, using two ropes, two ends of which must be tied to the upper part of the curtain; the other two ends must be held by two people. At the right moment (signalled for instance by trumpets) they must let the curtain drop freely, thus obtaining the desired effect […]. See Nicola Sabbatini, *Pratica*, p. 58.

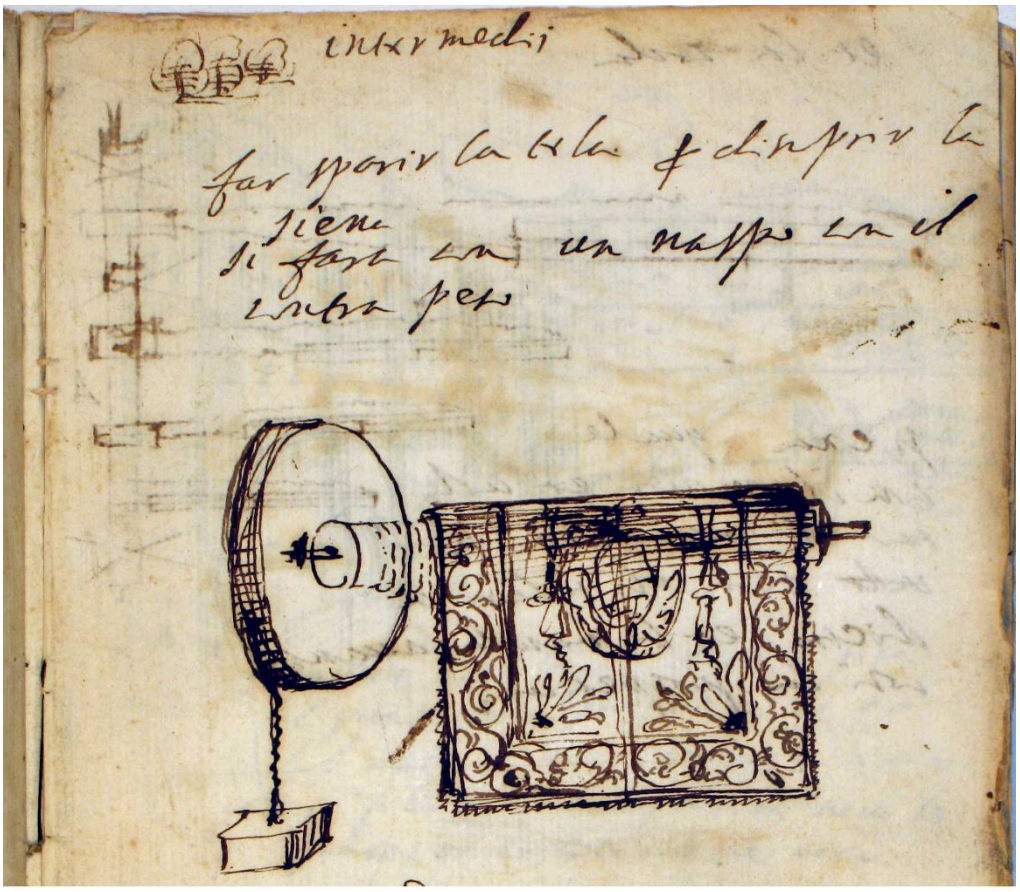


Fig. 2.2 Macerata, Associazione Compagnoni Floriani di Villamagna (by kind permission), all rights reserved ©, codex α, fol. 15r, table VIII, detail.

This is a curtain that, as the note says, raises 'con un naspo con il contra peso,' that is, by winding on a pivot moved by a single counterweight. Similar curtains had already been used during the sixteenth century in Europe. There is evidence, for instance, that they were employed for some spectacles staged on the occasion of the entrance of Charles V in Bruges in 1515. Later, Bernardo Buontalenti (1531-1608) designed a device very similar to the one created by Guitti when he staged the *intermedi* to the comedy *La Pellegrina* at the Teatro Mediceo degli Uffizi in Florence in May 1589. Despite the above examples and other sparse evidence of the use of this type of curtains during the early seventeenth century both in Italy and in other European countries, these devices were not very popular until the early Baroque period. [22]

To continue with the analysis of the scenography of *Erminia sul Giordano*, it can be observed that the second engraving also shows that three of the Naiads are

[22] The artist, who is usually recognized as the one who spread the use of raising the curtain in modern theatres is the Ferrarese Alfonso Rivarola, known as Il Chenda (1591-1640). For further information about the origin and development of the raising of the curtain, see Adami, pp. 133-34.

coming out from a lower level than the stage level, which means that there must have been a trap door in the stage. Unfortunately, since there are no images showing the front stage and the platform on which the stage was built, it is not possible to make any conjecture about the depth of the space under the stage. The engraving also portrays Amore in the sky. This is also attested by a caption in the score noting that the god appeared flying in the sky, then spoke to the river Jordan and disappeared among the clouds.[23]

The above analysis suggests that Guitti employed a machine to make the stone open, another to make Amore fly and a piece of scenography to make the clouds. It is also plausible that the artist used a theatrical device representing a waterfall, since this is another element portrayed in the engraving just behind the rock. All the elements mentioned are visible in the second engraving in the score (see figure below). For each engraving analysed in this chapter, I have provided a conjectural stage plan, highlighting the scenographic elements with different colours (see Tables 2.1-2.13 below).



Fig. 2.3 Second of the six engravings embellishing Michelangelo Rossi's score of *Erminia sul Giordano* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1637).

The distance of this prologue from the static prologues of Florentine tradition is evident. While in Florentine prologues a single character appeared, singing an aria, in *Erminia*, the stillness of the old prologues gives way to a more dynamic scene –

[23] See Michelangelo Rossi's score p. 3. Also transcribed in Daolmi,'"L'armi e gli amori"', p. 42, footnote b: 'Volando Amore per aria parla al Giordano e col medesimo volo si inalza tra le nuvole'. 'Amore, flying in the sky, speaks to the Jordan <river> and in the same flight raises among the clouds'.

think about the personification of the river Jordan coming out from the rock, followed by the Naiads and about Amore, who arrives flying in the sky. Similar spectacular effects were common in the contemporary performances staged by the Jesuits in the Collegio Romano. In the Jesuit dramas, the prologues were usually the most spectacular part of the performance, including numerous apparitions and the use of astonishing machines. They must have influenced the Barberini, who wanted the prologue of their operas to have the same spectacular effects.[24] As for the machine used to open the rock, this was probably similar to the machine already used by Guitti before his arrival in Rome as witnessed by the sketch shown in fig. 2.4, which refers to a similar machine created by the Ferrarese artist before his arrival in Rome. This sketch, by the engineer Pietro Paolo Floriani (1585-1638), is part of a series of theatrical drawings referring to pieces of scenery and machinery designed by Guitti between 1625 and 1628 in Ferrara and in Parma.[25] In particular, the drawings that are of interest for this study belong to the group classified as codex β in the collection. This codex contains sketches related to the projects for the renovation of the hall in the Teatro degli Intrepidi of San Lorenzo in Ferrara and to the machines designed by Guitti on occasion of the visit of Taddeo Barberini in 1625.[26] The note at the bottom of the drawing describes the machine as the device to make the mountain open or break.[27] Even if the note speaks about a device used to open a mountain, it must have been very similar to the device created by Guitti for the opening of the rock in *Erminia*'s prologue, since the letter mentioned above reports that the rock opened before the audience's eyes.

[24] For more information about the Prologue in the theatre of the Jesuits, see Filippi, pp. 49-51.
[25] These sketches are part of a collection divided into two notebooks, handwritten by Floriani, that the scholar Giuseppe Adami, who found them in the Associazione Compagnoni Floriani di Villamagna, Macerata, has classified them as codex α and codex β. Adami was also the first to publish and describe them in his *Scenografia e scenotecnica barocca.*
[26] See Adami, p. 41.
[27] 'ordimento della montagna che si spacca o apre.' See Macerata, Associazione Compagnoni Floriani di Villamagna, codex β, fol. 18r, table LXII.

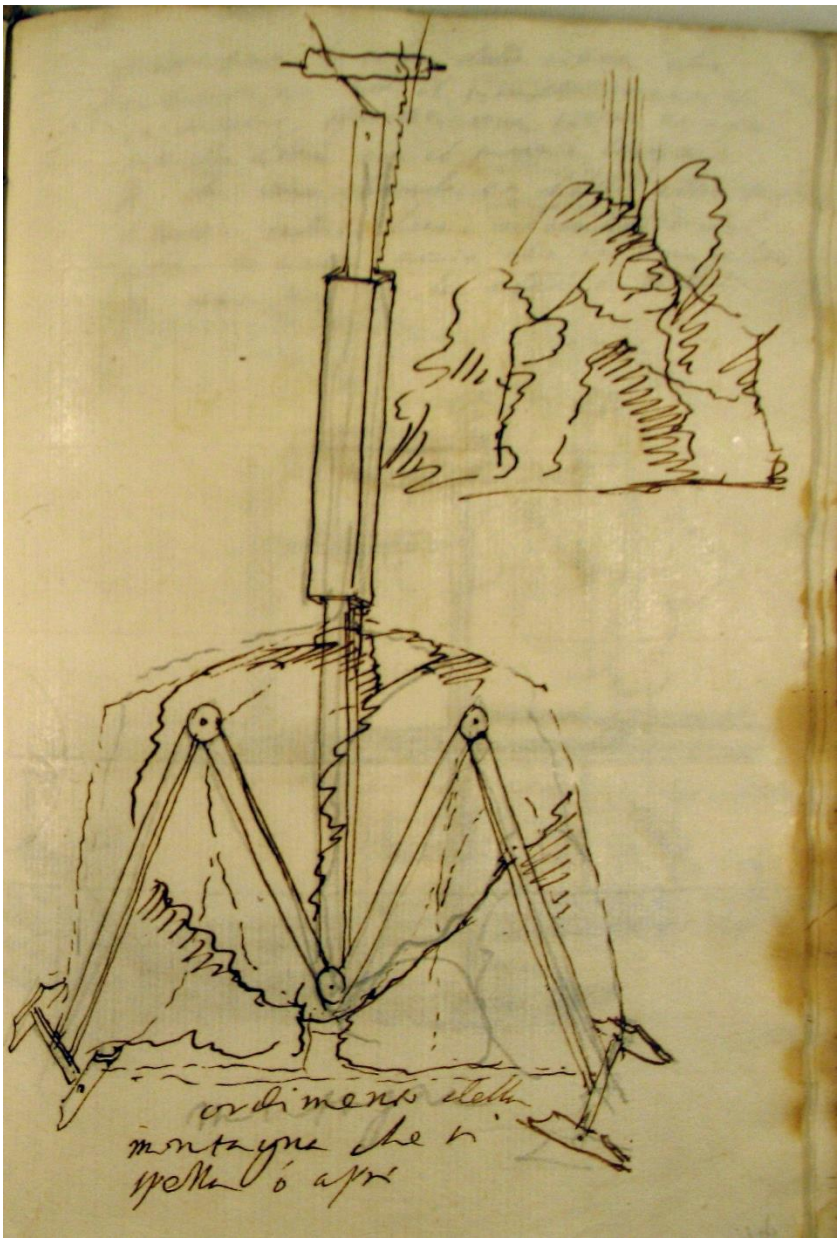


Fig. 2.4 Macerata, Associazione Compagnoni Floriani di Villamagna (by kind permission), all rights reserved ©, codex β, fol. 18r, table LXII.

The setting for the first act was the one represented in the third engraving of the score (see fig. 2.5). It does not differ much from the setting used for the prologue, except for the stone that opened in the previous scene and, therefore, does not appear in this plate. The wild landscape with trees on both sides must be the fixed scenery of the opera because the same setting reappears several times during the performance, as the following analysis will show. The main difference between the second and the third engraving, that is the scene used for the prologue and the scene used for the first act, is the background – since the third engraving does not display the three-dimensional waterfall visible in the setting for the prologue. The

waterfall might have disappeared under the stage similarly to the rock or a painted backdrop might have covered it.



Fig. 2.5 Third of the six engravings embellishing Michelangelo Rossi's score of *Erminia sul Giordano* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1637).

Looking at the details from the second and the third engraving shown in fig. 2.6, the first hypothesis seems to be the most likely. The figure attests that the elements labelled with the numbers 1, 2 and 3 in the detail from the second engraving (fig. 2.6 a.) are still visible in the detail of the third engraving (fig. 2.6 b.). If Guitti had used a backdrop to hide the waterfall, the element labelled 3 in both details would have been covered to the audience's sight. Since fig. 2.3 shows that this element was placed behind the waterfall, a backdrop sliding before it would have certainly hidden the tree in the background.



a. b.

Fig. 2.6 a. Detail from fig. 2.4 and b. detail from fig. 2.5.

As for the fixed scenery, that is the tree-shaped side-wings on either sides of the stage, a comparison between the second and the third engraving and the following drawing by Floriani from the same codex mentioned above evidences the similarities between the two pieces of scenery. Since figure 2.8 refers once more to a scenography created by Guitti, it helps to understand how the artist designed the fixed scenery of *Erminia sul Giordano*.

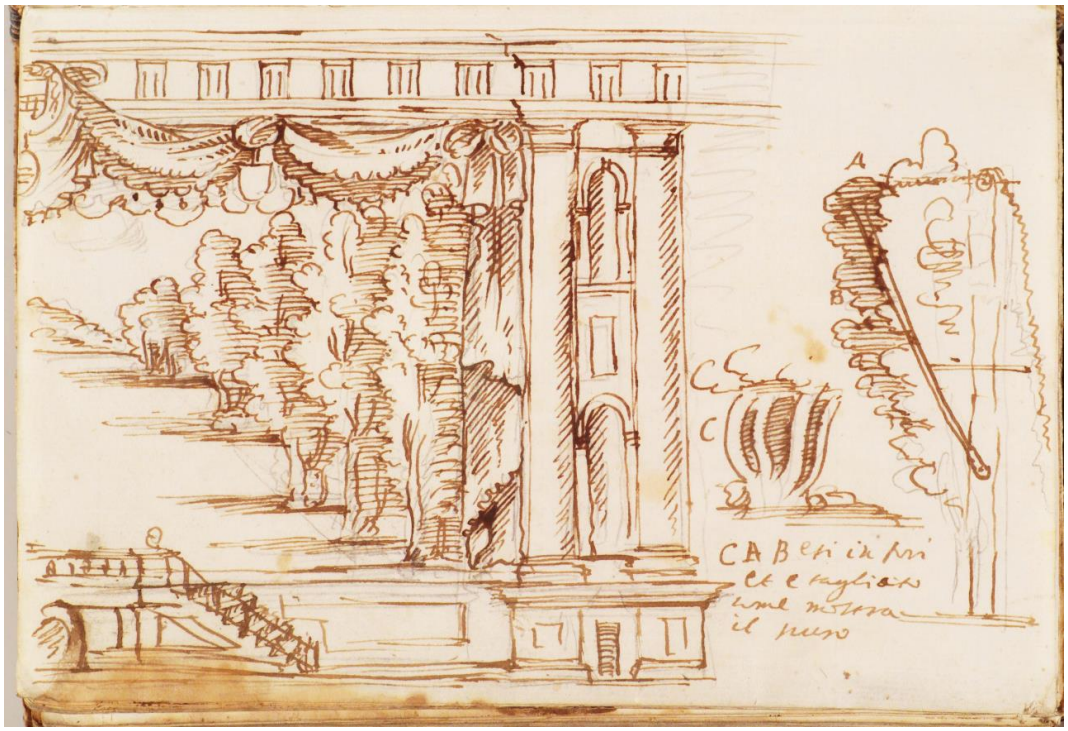


Fig. 2.7 Macerata, Associazione Compagnoni Floriani di Villamagna (by kind permission), all rights reserved ©, codex β, fol. 2r, table II.

The details sketched on the right of the figure show the front and the back of one of the tree-shaped wings and Floriani specifies that 'CAB è sì in fuori ed è tagliata come mostra il retro.'[28] These details are important because they show that Guitti did not use a single piece of wood to make the wings, but a more complex piece of scenography consisting in two sections. The first, which is the larger section visible in the drawing, was probably nailed onto the stage. It consisted of a board, which was the core of the wing, covered by a tree-shaped thin board or canvas. The second consisted of a stick also covered with a thin tree-shaped board or canvas. This second section was secured to the main board thanks to a pivot, while a wire and a pulley allowed for moving it outwards and inwards.

[28] 'CAB is outwards and it is cut as shown on the reverse'.

A caption in the score says that in the last scene of the first act, Armida enters on a flying chariot pulled by dragons – this was another striking scenographic effect offered to the audience.[29] Once more, Floriani's notebooks help to understand how Guitti created this machine. Among the drawings belonging to the codex α, there is the sketch shown in fig. 2.8, which portrays a machine that must have been similar to the one used for Erminia's entrance.

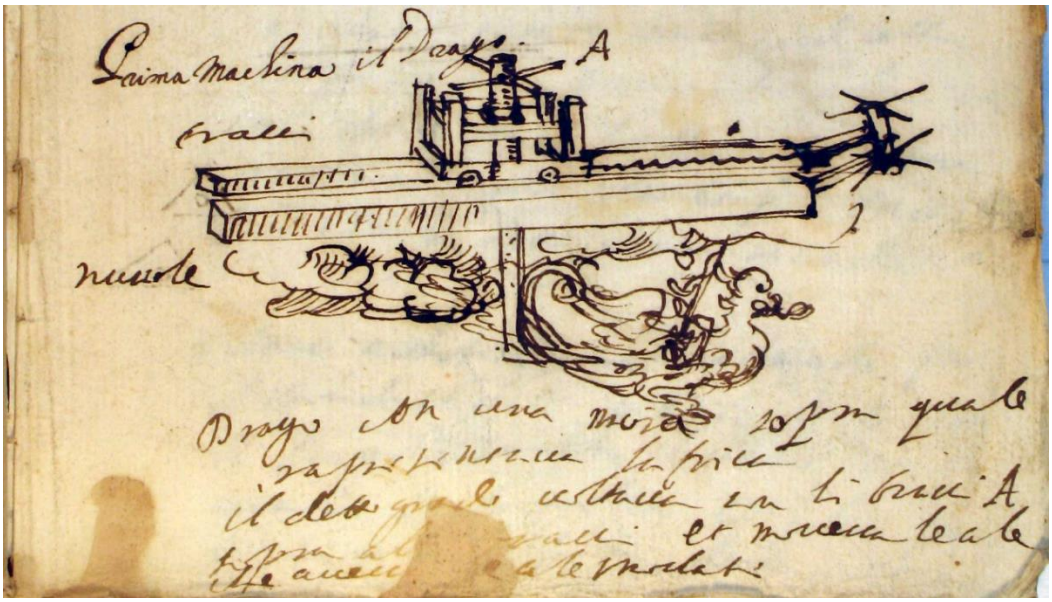


Fig. 2.8 Macerata, Associazione Compagnoni Floriani di Villamagna (by kind permission), all rights reserved ©, codex α, fol. 15r, table VIII, detail.

The vaulted ceiling of the *sala dei marmi* was perfect to design machines like this. Guitti could easily hide the tracks to the audience's sight and the spectacular effect was therefore granted.

The machines employed in the prologue and in the first act were nothing compared to the devices that Guitti designed for the second act. Here, the artist displayed his most impressive engineering effects. During this act, Armida, waiting for Tancredi, uses her magic to break the space-temporal gap and see what is going on in Jerusalem. The audience saw both sides of the scene changing into military tents, while a new backdrop appeared, showing the sieged walls of Jerusalem, as attested by the following caption in the score 'mutandosi i lati della scena in un

[29] 'Viene per aria un carro tirato dai draghi, il quale, discesa che è Armida, sparisce' ('A chariot pulled by dragons comes though the sky, and, as soon as Arminda descends, disappears'). See Michelangelo Rossi's score p. 39. Also transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 42, foonote c.

campo attendato, si scopre nella prospettiva la muraglia di Gierusalemme con i soldati alla difesa'.[30]

The transformation of the scene is witnessed by the fourth engraving of the score, which represents the setting for this episode of the second act. Apart from a few treetops belonging to the fixed scene, this engraving shows a setting completely different from the previous ones. This was probably the first time for a Roman audience to see a scene that completely changed before their eyes. The technique used by Guitti was to make flat side-wings sliding on tracks, cover the fixed side-wings representing the trees, while the central perspective opened, showing the new backdrop displaying the besieged walls of Jerusalem with numerous soldiers standing on them. This image is related to the episode of the second scene of the opera when the public saw Armida, standing on the proscenium, looking back inside the stage, where Argante, soldier in Jerusalem, faced a chorus of soldiers.

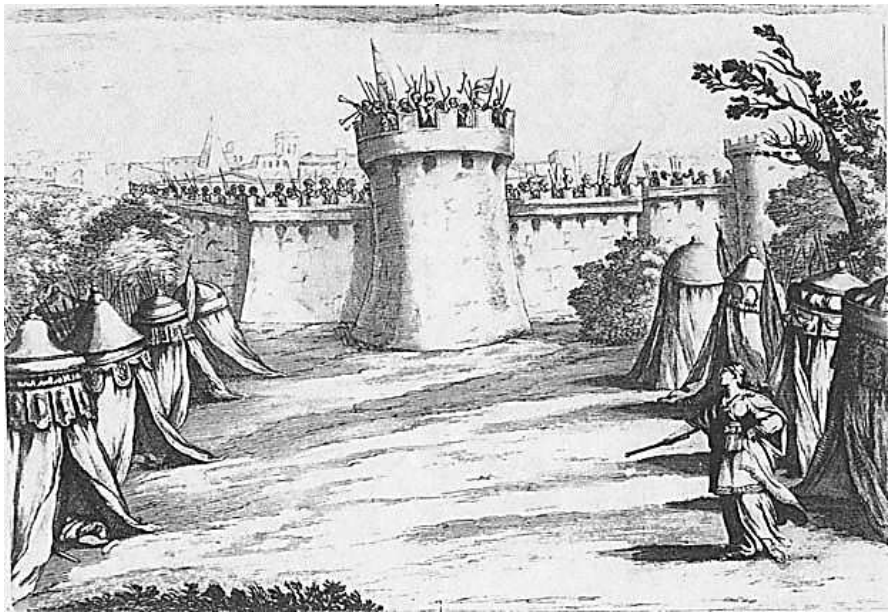


Fig. 2.9 Fourth of the six engravings embellishing Michelangelo Rossi's score of *Erminia sul Giordano* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1637).

The scene changed again when Tancredi arrived and Armida used her magic to make the vision vanish. At her order that everything disappears, the audience saw the tents moving out of sight and the forest scene appear again, while a painted backdrop covered Jerusalem's walls.

[30] 'The sides of the scene transform themselves into a military camp with tents, while in the backdrop one sees the walls of Jerusalem with its defending soldiers'. See Michelangelo Rossi's score, p. 86, also transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 42, foonote d.

The fifth engraving of the score (see fig. 2.10) shows an infernal setting with a cavern in the background. Guitti would design a very similar cavern for the second setting of the revised version of the opera *Il Sant'Alessio* staged in the same room for the Carnival season 1634 (see next section). It is likely that he exploited all the possibilities offered by the vaulted ceiling of the *sala dei marmi* to hide the devices used to move clouds, chariots and other pieces of scenery. In this case, the vault served to hide the grooves used to make two separate pieces of scenery slide and join to form the top of the cavern. This happened during the third scene of the third act at Arminda's invocation of infernal spirits. The changing of scene was produced together with the scenographic effect of darkening the stage accompanied by rain, hail and wind.[31]



Fig. 2.10 Fifth of the six engravings embellishing the score of *Erminia sul Giordano* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1637).

The technique of darkening the stage and the effects described above must have had a double aim. On the one hand, darkness created the atmosphere for the infernal scene, on the other, the device that produced thunder and rain was designed to cover the noise produced by the pieces of scenery sliding on the tracks. Besides the apparition of the cavern, the entrance of three furies, who followed a chorus of demons, and then went out of sight flying on three separate clouds, created another scenographic effect. After this episode, Armida made the infernal scene disappear

[31] A caption in the score says: 'S'oscura il cielo e cade orribil pioggia con grandine e con vento' ('The sky darkens and a horrible rain falls, with hail and rain'). See Michelangelo Rossi's score, p. 119. Also transcribed in Daolmi, '*La drammaturgia*', p. 43, footnote b.

and the forest scene appeared again. The pieces of scenery that formed the cavern almost certainly slid back on the tracks and uncovered the fixed scenery.

In the final scene, displayed in the sixth engraving of the score (fig. 2.11), the fixed scenery was again the setting for the opera. However, Guitti created a new machine to allow the composer, Michelangelo Rossi, disguised as Apollo, to make his spectacular entrance on stage. Rossi/Apollo descended on a cloud, surrounded by actors playing the zephyrs, and sung about the imminent rescuing of Jerusalem from the unfaithful (one of the recurring dreams of the papacy).



Fig. 2.11 Sixth of the six engravings embellishing the score of *Erminia sul Giordano* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1637).

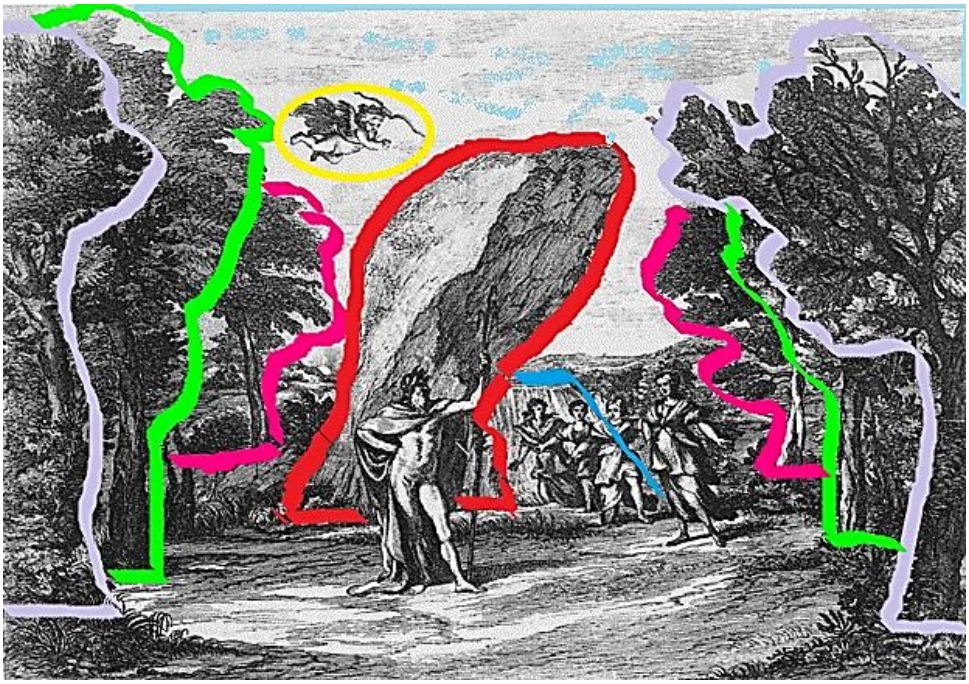
This cloud was created using a theatrical machine that was likely as the one described by Nicola Sabbatini in Chapter 44 of the second volume of his manual.[32] Since this type of cloud was used several times in performances staged by the Barberini, a full description will be given later in this study.[33]

In light of the above analysis, what follows is an attempt to reconstruct the staging plan created by Guitti. Tables 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5, are divided into two overlying sections. Each upper section displays one of the engravings analysed above, while the lower section shows a reconstruction of the stage plan corresponding to the engraving contained in the table. To demonstrate the use of a fixed scenery and movable shutters, the various elements visible in each engraving have been highlighted using different colours. The same colours are then used for the equivalent elements sketched in the hypothetical stage plans provided for each

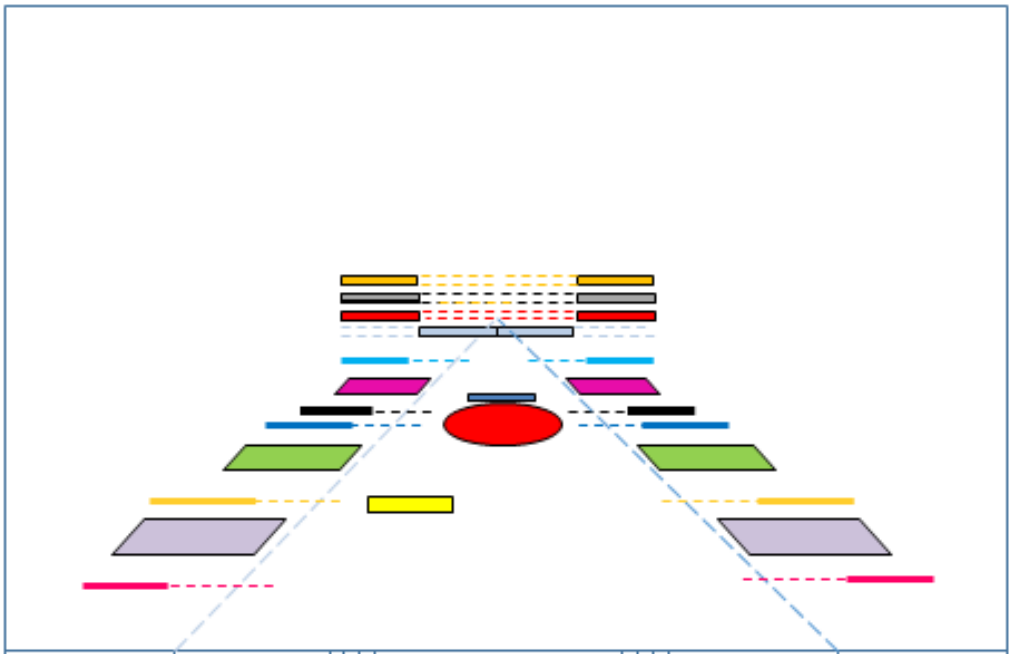
[32] See Nicola Sabbatini, *Pratica*, pp.138-41.
[33] See Chapter 5 and fig. 5.4, below.

engraving and placed below each of them. A comparison between engravings and hypothetical stage plans will make it easy to understand the assumptions proposed in this section about the type of scenography and theatrical devices designed by Guitti for each scene.

TABLE 2.1

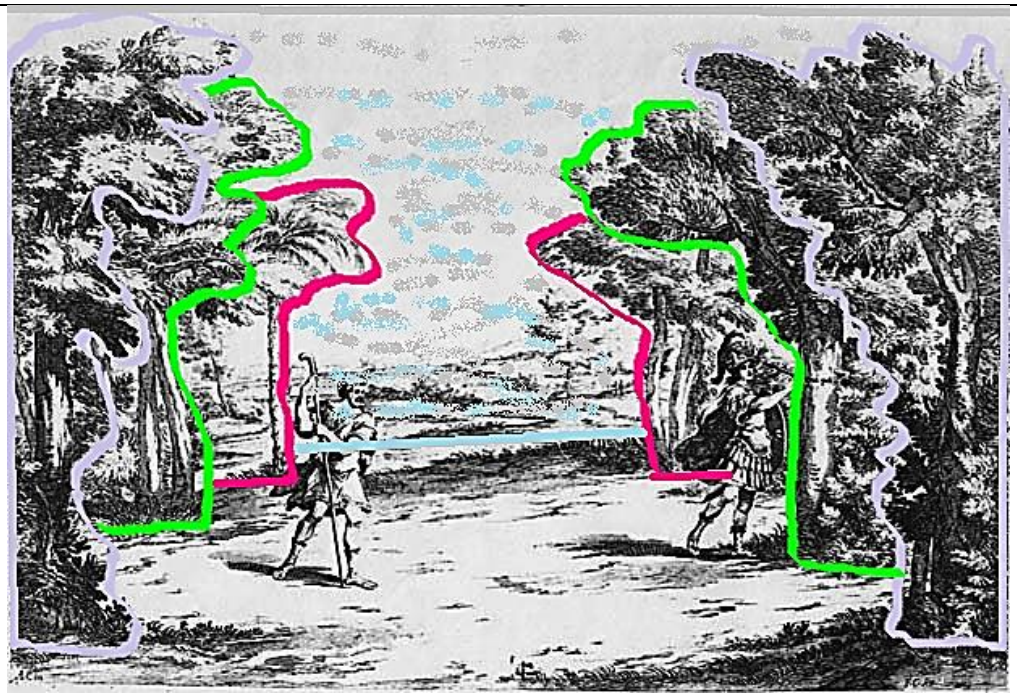


a. Second engraving from the score of *Erminia sul Giordano* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1637) with the scenographic elements highlighted with different colours.

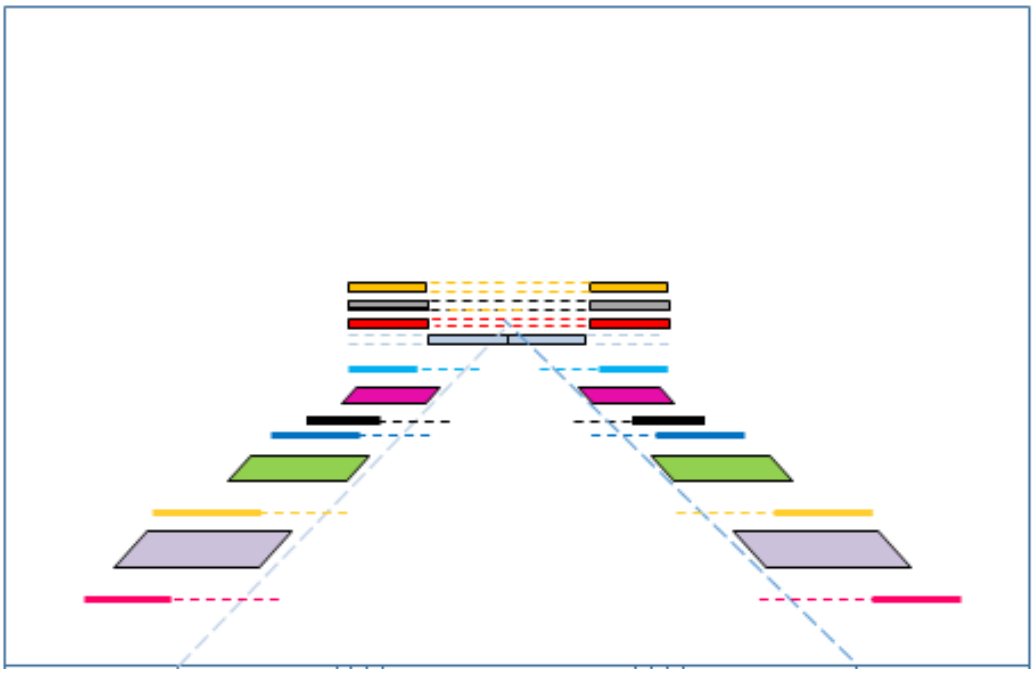


b. Hypothetical stage plan for the Prologue of *Erminia sul Giordano* based on the engraving above.

TABLE 2.2

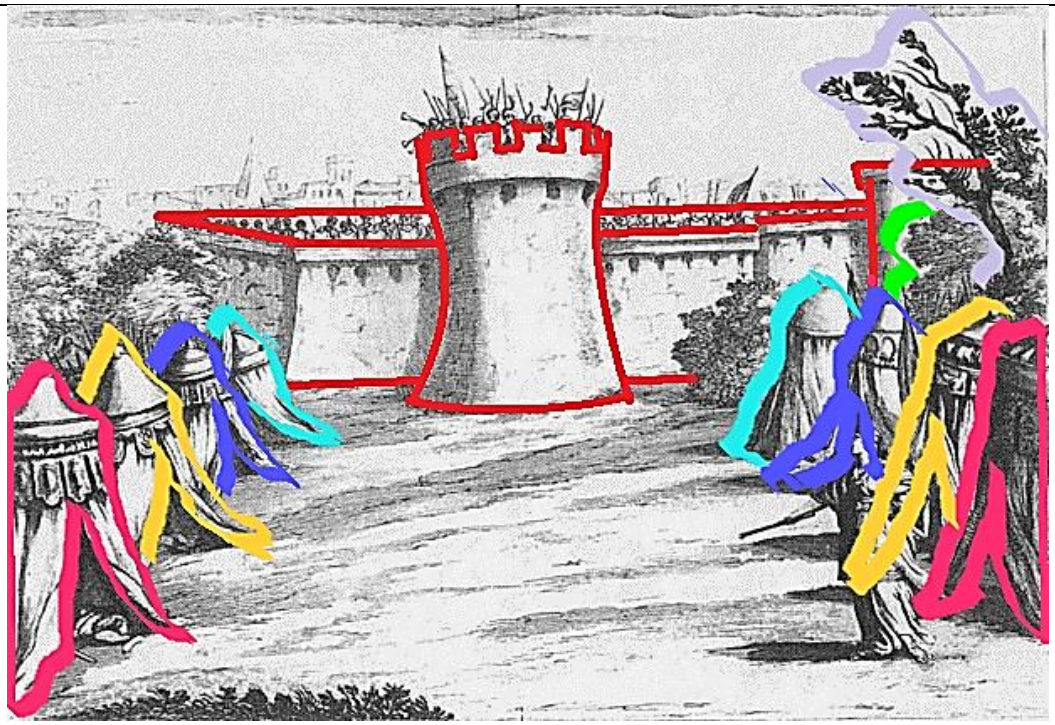


a. Third engraving from the score of *Erminia sul Giordano* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1637) with the scenographic elements highlighted with different colours.

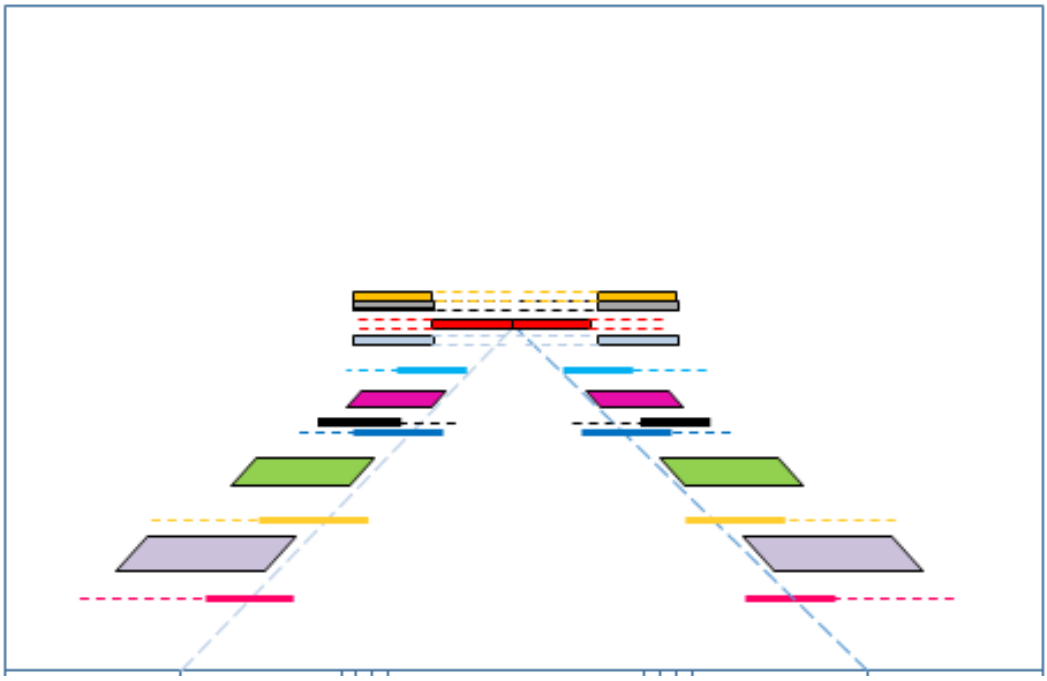


b. Hypothetical stage plan for Act I of *Erminia sul Giordano* based on the engraving above.

TABLE 2.3

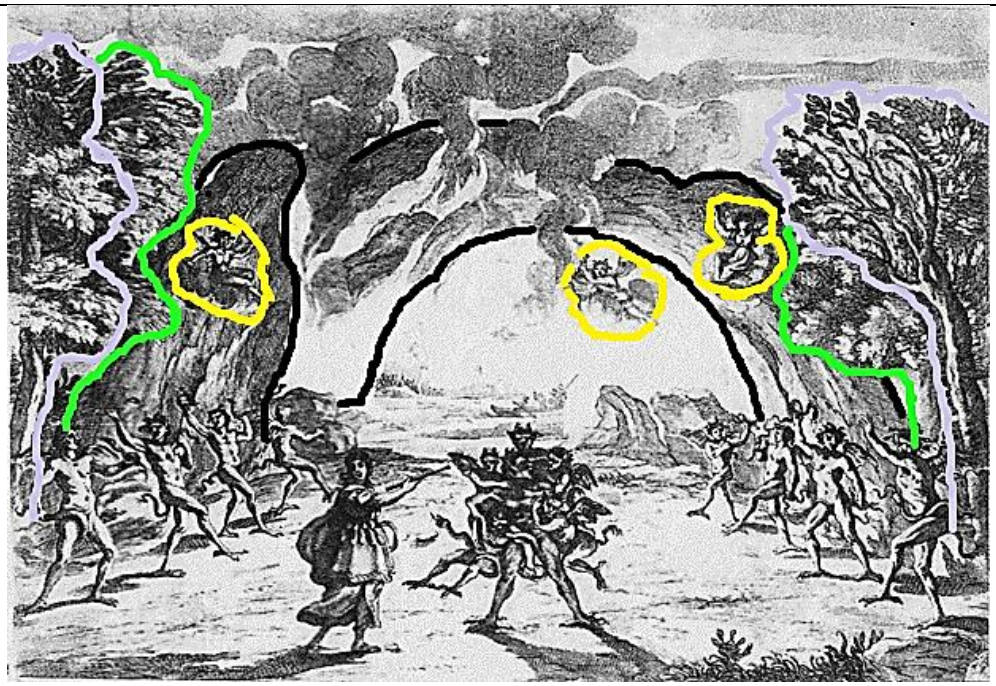


a. Fourth engraving from the score of *Erminia sul Giordano* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1637) with the scenographic elements highlighted with different colours.

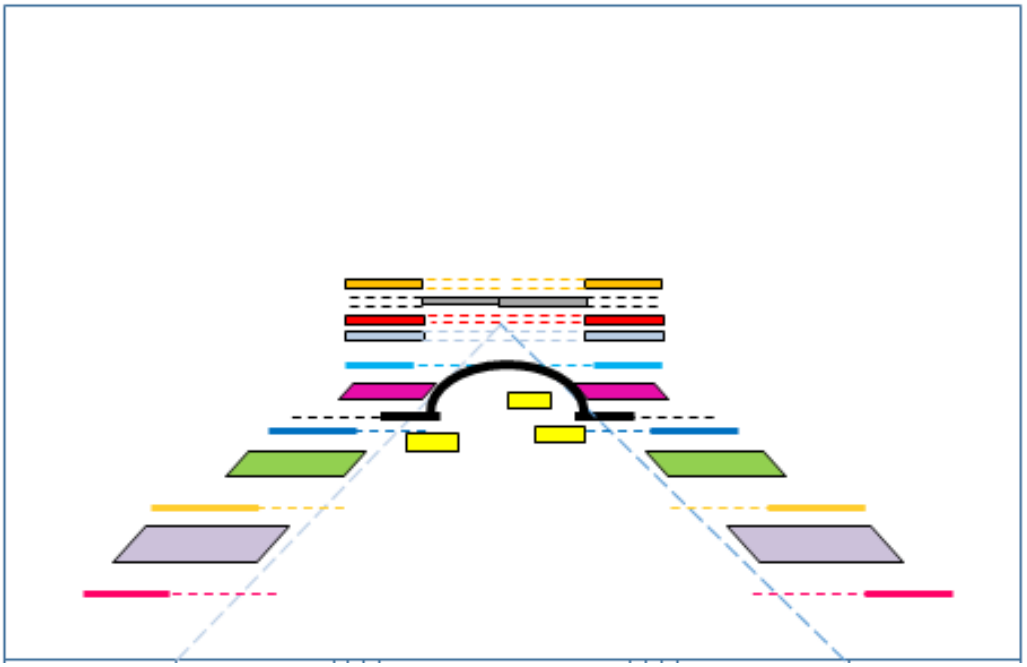


b. Hypothetical stage plan for the first setting of Act II of Erminia sul Giordano based on the engraving above.

TABLE 2.4

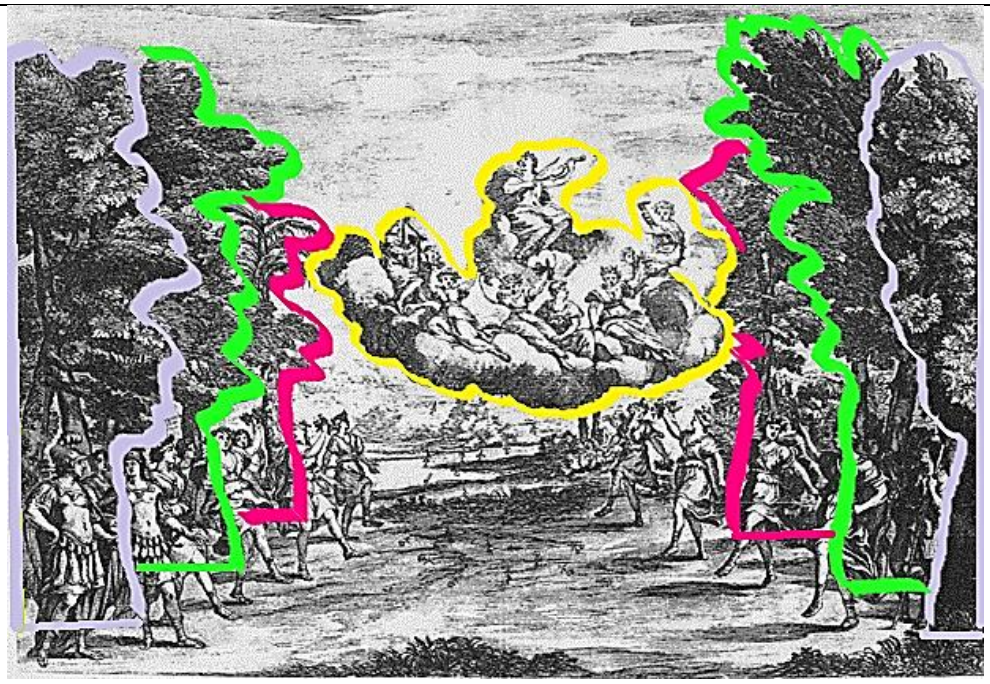


a. Fifth engraving from the score of *Erminia sul Giordano* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1637) with the scenographic elements highlighted with different colours.

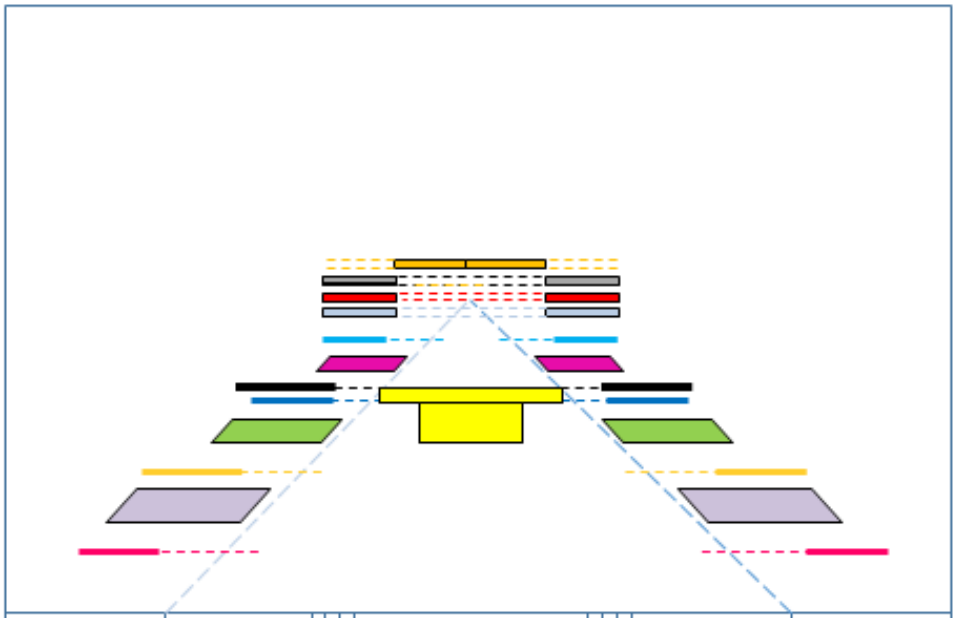


b. Hypothetical stage plan for the second setting of Act II of *Erminia sul Giordano* based on the engraving above.

TABLE 2.5



a. Sixth engraving from the score of *Erminia sul Giordano* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1637) with the scenographic elements highlighted with different colours.



b. Hypothetical stage plan for Act III of *Erminia sul Giordano* based on the engraving above.

According to the above hypothesis, Guitti designed the scenography for *Erminia sul Giordano* with a fixed scene made up of three sets of fixed tree-shaped side-wings, four sets of movable shutters and four different backdrops. Other pieces of scenery were the rock, the fountain, the cavern, the numerous types of clouds and Armida's dragon-chariot – the last machine does not appear in the engravings. To create all this, Guitti exploited both the vaulted ceiling of the *sala dei marmi*, and the space under the stage. To move the four sets of shutters, he must have used a central beam placed under the stage, which was able to make all sets slide simultaneously, thanks to a system of ropes linked to the beam. The Ferrarese architect had already used a similar device in other spectacles he had designed as attested by the sketch below.

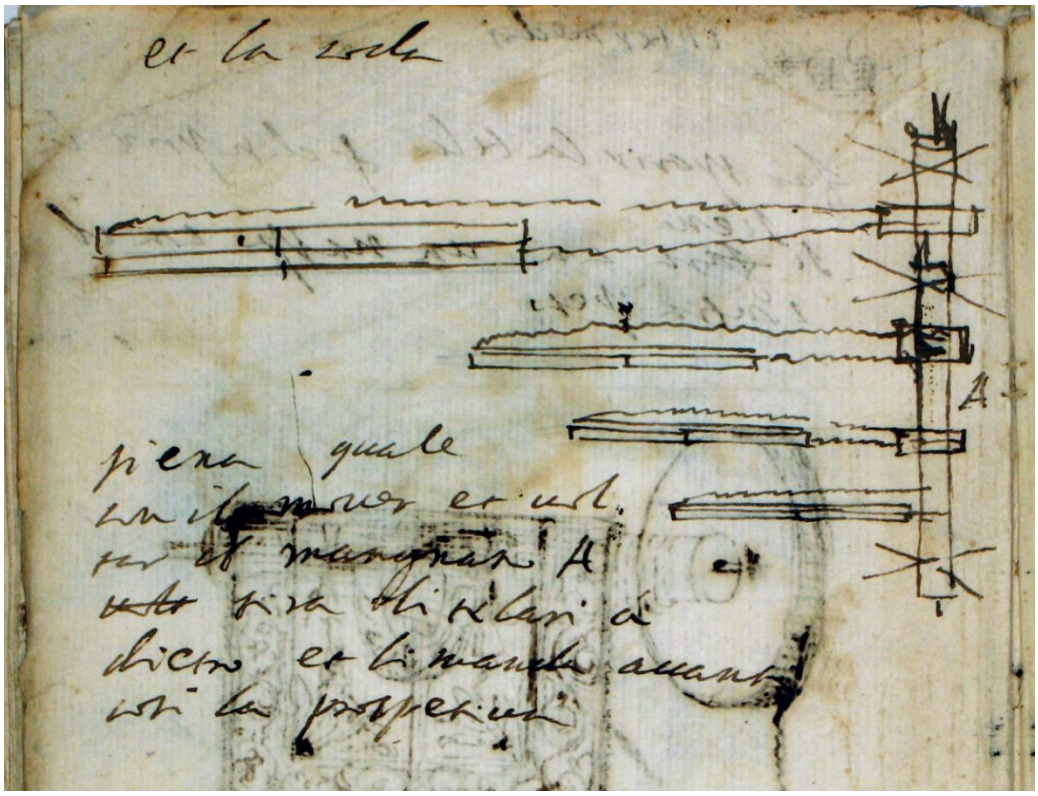


Fig. 2.12 Macerata, Associazione Compagnoni Floriani di Villamagna (by kind permission), all rights reserved ©, codex α, fol. 15v, table IX, detail.

This sketch belongs once more to the series of drawings collected into the two notebooks by Paolo Floriani mentioned above. It shows one-half of the stage with the central beam (A in the sketch), three movable side-wings, one part of the central perspective and the ropes, which allowed all the above pieces of scenery to move. The note describes the operation of the device with the following words: 'siena

quale con il mover et voltar il mangano tira li telari adietro et li manda avanti così la prospettica'.[34] Since this description fits with the analysis of the scenography made through the engravings and the other documents, it can be assumed that Guitti used this device in staging *Erminia sul Giordano* in 1633.[35]

Il Sant'Alessio (Carnival 1634)

The Carnival season 1634 saw the staging in the *sala dei marmi* of a new version of *Il Sant'Alessio*. This opera was based on the same subject as the 1632 version analysed in Chapter 1, but for the new staging, Rospigliosi rewrote the libretto. He did it once more to offer Guitti, who was responsible for the scenography of the new staging, the possibility to express his innovative ability. The result was that the set design was much more elaborate than the one of the opera performed two years earlier. This is attested by the eight engravings, representing the scenes of this new performance, carved by François Collignon for Paolo Masotti's printed version of the score (see frontispiece in the figure below). These images will be at the basis of the following analysis of the scenography of the 1634 version of *Il Sant'Alessio*, together with other contemporary documents used to support the hypothesis proposed.



Fig. 2.13 Frontispiece of Stefano Landi's score of *Il Sant'Alessio* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1634).

[34] 'scene that by moving and turning the beam pulls the canvases backward and by so doing places the backdrop in front of them'. See Macerata, Associazione Compagnoni Floriani di Villamagna, codex α, fol. 15v, table IX, transcribed in Adami, p. 135.

[35] A modern version of the opera was staged on 22 September 2000 at the Teatro Manzoni in Pistoia played by the ensemble Musa Ludens. See *Opera 2001*, ed. by Giorgio Pugliaro (Turin: EDT, 2001), p. 231.

The score provides evidence that the first part of the prologue consisted of a dedication to the Polish prince Alexander Charles Wasa (1614-1634), brother of King Wladislaw, who was the guest of honour of the performance and the addressee of the message conveyed by the opera. A *dispaccio* reports that the prince was in a box, almost in the center of the room that he shared with Antonio and Francesco Barberini.[36] The visit of Alexander Charles Wasa (1614-1634) was also the occasion for Antonio Barberini to organize a joust in his honour in Piazza Navona.[37] The joust, known as the *Giostra del Saracino*, took place on 25 February as also reported by the chronicler Giacinto Gigli in his diary.[38] Andrea Sacchi (1599-1661) was responsible for its design, while Enzo Bentivoglio (*c.* 1575-1639) planned the entire event and wrote a detailed description of the joust, which was printed by Vitale Mascardi and embellished with engravings by Collignon.[39] For this occasion, also, the sets and machinery were invented by Francesco Guitti.

[36] '[...] stette in un palco, quasi in mezzo la stanza, ma più verso la man dritta, e sebbene stava a man manca di Antonio e di Barberino, nondimeno per la disposizione del medesimo palco, il luogo di Sua Altezza era il più degno […].'('[…] he was in a box, almost in the center of the room, but a bit on the right, and although he was to the left of Antonio and of Barberino, nevertheless, because of the position of the stage, the place of His Holiness was the worthiest […]'). See Florence, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Mediceo del Principato, *Dispaccio Med. 3355*, fol. 85v, transcribed in Tamburini, p. 47.

[37] For further information about the joust, see Hammond, *Music and Spectacle*, pp. 214-24.

[38] Giacinto Gigli, *Diario Romano*, pp. 142-43.

[39] Andrea Sacchi (1599-1661) was born in Nettuno and arrived in Rome in 1621, after a period of apprentice with Francesco Albani (1578-1660). Between 1627 and 1629, he worked with Pietro da Cortona (*c*. 1996-1969) at Villa Sacchetti (Castelfusano), showing the first divergences with Cortona's style. He had his first important engagement by the Barberini in between 1629 and 1632, when he painted the fresco entitled Allegory of Divine Wisdom at Palazzo Barberini. See Ann Sutherland Harris *Seventeenth-Century Art and Architecture* (London: Laurence King, 2005), pp. 120-23. Enzo Bentivoglio (*c*. 1575-1639) was born in Ferrara where he was educated in the arts, letters and chivalry. He had close relations with Ranuccio Famese, Duke of Parma, Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, Cosimo II, Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cesare and Francesco d' Este, Dukes of Modena and with the Borghese Cardinals. In 1601, he co-founded the Academy of the Intrepidi in Ferrara. In 1608, he went in Rome as ambassador of Ferrara, and since then he lived partly in Rome and partly in Ferrara. He organized numerous jousts and theatrical performances. For further information, see Tiziano Ascari, 'Bentivoglio, Enzo', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, VIII (1966), 611-15.

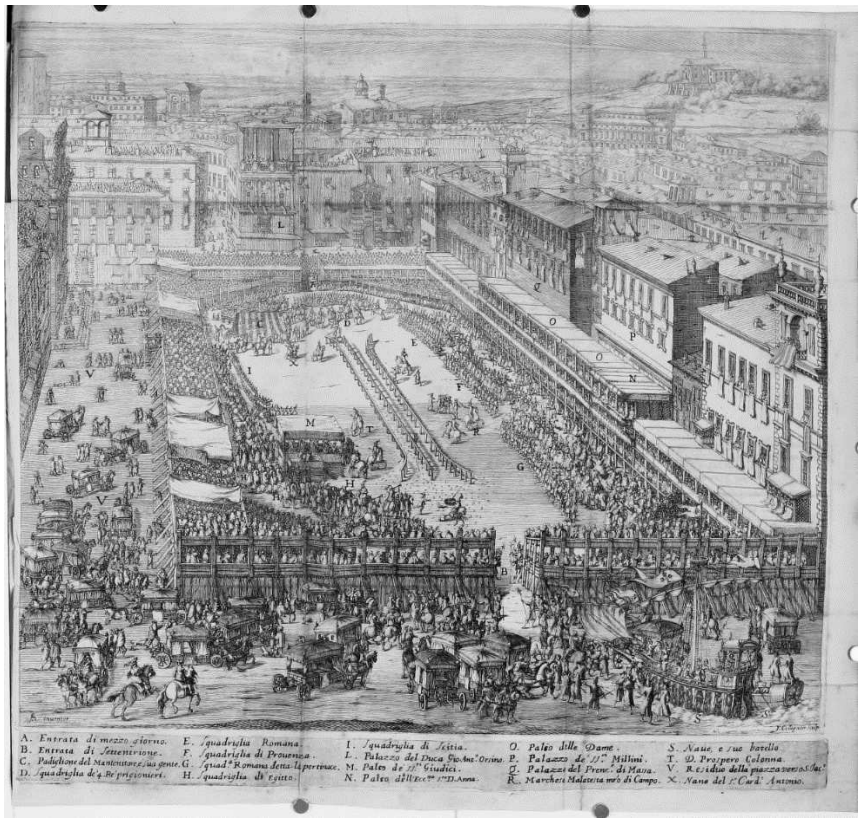


Fig. 2.14 Last out of the thirteen engravings embellishing Guido Bentivoglio's *Relatione della famosa festa fatta in Roma alli 25 di febbraio 1634* (Rome: Vitale Mascardi, 1634).

The overall amount of money spent to stage this new version of *Il Sant'Alessio* was 1841.50 *scudi.*[40] The name of the inventor of the scenes is still uncertain. Two overlapping initials, immediately followed by the word 'inventor', are visible on the pedestal of the columns designed on the left of some of the engravings of the score (see detail below).

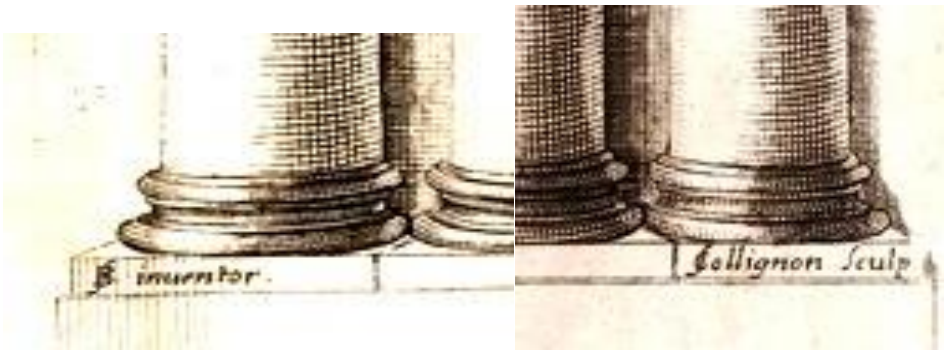


Fig. 2.15 Details from the second engraving embellishing the score of *Il Sant'Alessio* (Rome: Mascardi, 1634).

[40] See Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Comp. 305, *Registro de Mandati, 1630-1637*, n. 3630 also transcribed in Murata, p. 225, note 12. The same amount of money is documented by Appendix, item [6], fol. 82v, which contains the detailed list of people involved in the staging of the opera, and the sum of money paid to each of them.

Several scholars have investigated them, making different hypothesis on the inventor's name.[41] Irving Lavin suggests they might be the initials of the painter Francesco Buonamici (1592-1659), whose name appears in the payment records held in the Vatican Library, which include some of the expenses for the performance of *Il Sant'Alessio*.[42] Even if it could be possible to confuse the first initials of both inscriptions with a J or with an S, the inscription on the first plate helps in finding the right solution. In fact, the letter *f*, which is highlighted in the detail below from the first engraving of the score, is identical to the first initial letters of both names engraved in the picture analysed above. This might be a confirmation of Lavin's hypothesis.

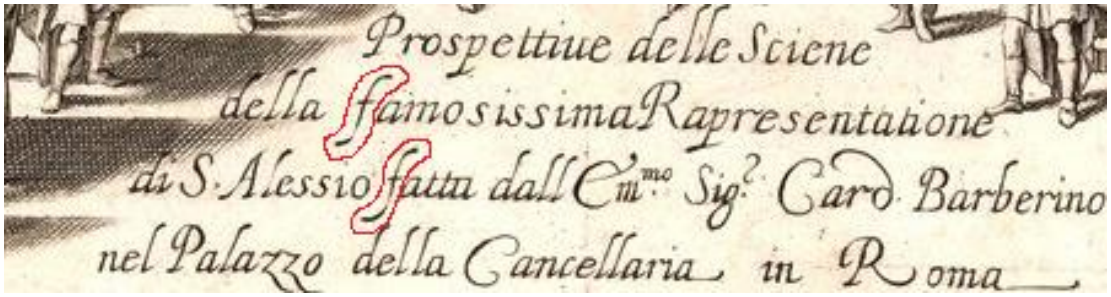


Fig. 2.16 Detail from the first engraving from the score of *Il Sant'Alessio* (Rome: Mascardi, 1634) with the letters f highlighted in red.

In the list of payments mentioned above, the name of Buonamici appears among the names of the people hired to stage the performance. His name is preceded by the name of the conductor, only mentioned as Francesco, and is followed by the name of Guitti. This offers further evidence that both Buonamici and Guitti were among the artists involved in the staging of this new version of *Il Sant'Alessio*.

The Barberini probably decided to repeat *Il Sant'Alessio* in 1634, rather than *Erminia sul Giordano* or perform a new spectacle on a new subject, because, given the circumstances of contemporary Poland, this opera was the best suited to convey the political message the Barberini wanted to address to their Polish guest. Since in 1599 King Sigismund III had decided to embrace the Catholic faith, consequently losing the throne of Sweden, the Barberini saw this event as an episode to be used as a clear parallel to St Alexis's choice of renouncing his family house commodities

[41] See for instance: Irving Lavin, 'Bernini and the Theatre', in *Visible Spirit*: *The Art of Gianlorenzo Bernini*, 2 vols (London: Pindar Press, 2007), I, 15-32 (p. 17), also in Irving Lavin, *Bernini e l'unità delle arti visive*, Italian translation by Grazia Lanzillo (Rome: Edizioni dell'Elefante, 1980), p. 160, note 6.
[42] See Appendix, item [6], fol. 82v.

in order to live a saintly life according to his faith.[43] Wladislaw Wasa, Sigismund's son, had ascended the throne of Sweden after his father's death in 1632 and, since he was willing to regain parts of the original Wasa kingdom, he had taken into consideration the idea of marrying a Protestant. For this reason, he had decided to send his brother, Alexander Charles, to receive the pope's permission, which was denied by Urban VIII. The political intent of the opera is evident since it is believable that one of the messages of *Il Sant'Alessio* was that the true Christian never puts his marriage and his secular interests above his faith and his Christian charity.

Among the spectators were the Cardinals Aldobrandini, Bentivoglio and Brancaccio, who sat in a separate box. This detail is reported by Fulvio Testi (1593-1646), at the time the secretary and ambassador of Francesco d'Este from Modena, who joined them later. The ambassador, as he writes in a letter dated 15 February 1634, had been given another seat, but he did not consider it to be appropriate to his position. He was on the point of leaving when Cardinal Francesco, informed about his intentions, sent the Count Carpegna to invite him to take a seat in the box reserved for the Cardinals.[44] This episode is relevant for this study because it attests that whoever was responsible for organizing the staging of a performance had to plan carefully the disposition of the guests invited to attend. The wrong place attributed to an influential person could have caused socio-diplomatic troubles and negatively affect the success of the event.

The composer of the music, Stefano Landi (*c.* 1590-1639), who had already composed the music for the earlier version of *Il Sant'Alessio*, wrote a preface to the opera. This intended to explain to the listeners that the reason for some musical *arditezze* was the very short time he had to compose the music for this new version of the opera. Nevertheless, he concluded by saying that both the ability of the musicians and the magnificence of the scenes and of the appearances, made the performance memorable. For this reason, he wanted to include in the printed version of the score a letter by someone that he described as a man of letters '[…] la cui penna fece senza colori un ritratto dell'opera'.[45] The unknown author opened the letter with his apologies to Cardinal Francesco for not being able to tell him in

[43] See Christy Lamothe, p. 150.
[44] See Fulvio Testi's letter in Christy Lamothe, p. 102.
[45] '[…] whose pen made without colours a portrait of the opera.' See the preface to Stefano Landi's *Il S. Alessio*.

person, what he was going to write, because of the weather and because of some health problems. He then described the opera as perfect in each part – structure, composition, costumes, and eloquence – and conforming to Aristotle's teachings. Soon after, he started describing the scenes with the following words:

> […] La prima introduzione di Roma nuova, il volo dell'Angelo tra le nuvole, l'apparimento della Religione in aria, opere furono d'ingegno e di macchina ma gareggianti con la natura. La scena artifitiosissima; le apparenze del Cielo e dell'Inferno meravigliose; le mutazioni dei lati e della prospettiva sempre più belle, ma l'ultima della sfuggita e quel portico cupo illuminato con l'apparenza lontanissima del giardino, incomparabile. Gli abiti sontuosi, vistosi, vaghi, varii, antichi, proprii ed atti a coloro che gli portavano: gli ingressi nel palco e li ritorni dentro alla scena, misurati ed a tempo; i balli ingegnosi e vivaci; tutte le cose e tutte le parti ben connesse tra di loro e col suo corpo ben disposte e ben governate.[46]

According to the scholar Elena Tamburini, the author of the letter might be the Jesuit Tarquinio Galluzzi.[47] This assumption seems to be convincing because the letter continues with the following words:

> […] Con questa veduta ho io guadagnata confermazione di giudizio ad un mio discorso che ho già fatto dove approvo la Tragedia, la quale prendesse per soggetto il personaggio di eminente bontà, e santità, quantunque paia che il contrario ne abbia decretato Aristotele. Il discorso è dedicato all'Eminentissimo Signor Cardinale, della cui autorità sono stato più volte confortato a darlo alla stampa […].[48]

Since Tarquinio Galluzzi is also the author of a book entitled *Rinovazione dell'antica Tragedia e difesa del Crispo* with the subtitle *Discorsi all'Eminentissimo e Reverendissimo Cardinale Barberino* (Rome: Stamperia Vaticana, 1633), the last passage of the letter above seems to be a clear reference to this work and therefore a confirmation of Tamburini's hypothesis. Moreover, at the

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[46] 'The first apparition of new Rome, the flight of the angel among the clouds, the apparition of Religion in the sky, were works of ingenuity and machinery, but they rivalled with nature. The scene was very ingenious; the appearances of Heaven and Hell, wonderful; the mutation of the side-wings and of the perspective scene more and more beautiful; but the last scene, showing the backdrop with the garden in the far distance, which lit the darkness of that portico was incomparable. The costumes were sumptuous, gaudy, gorgeous, varied, <resembling> ancient <costumes>, and completely befitted those who wore them; the entrances on stage, and the exits through the side-wings, proper and on time; the dances were ingenious and lively; every single thing and every section were well joined together and well ruled and well organized'. Adapted from the letter inserted into the score, which is also transcribed in Alessandro Ademollo, *I teatri di Roma nel secolo decimo settimo* (Rome: L. Pasqualucci, 1888), pp. 17-18.

[47] See Tamburini, p. 33.

[48] '[…] In watching this performance I had a confirmation of what I have already written in a discourse of mine: there I approve a tragedy that takes as its subject someone endowed with outstanding goodness and sanctity, although it seems that Aristotle affirmed the opposite. My discourse is dedicated to his Great Eminence the Cardinal, whose authority more than once encouraged me to publish it. […]' See the prologue (pages unnumbered) to the score of Landi's *Il Sant'Alessio*, which includes the anonymous letter.

beginning of the *Rinovazione*, Galluzzi evidently refers to *Il Sant'Alessio* when he writes:

> […] Io veng'ora a questa impresa vie maggiormente confortato dal soggetto santissimo a cui Vostra Eminenza diede, non molto fa, rappresentazione e teatro con fornimento di ricchissime vesti, di eccellenti attori, di maravigliose apparenze, e di vaghissima scena, ove tal fu l'applauso dei spettatori, che sol questo può dar consentimento e favor all'introduzione di sì religiosi argomenti […][49]

The impression is that Galluzzi wanted to attribute to the Barberini priority in introducing religious subjects in a secular genre like opera – in this respect, spectacular effects and theatrical devices were considered a further means to involve the public.

Before proceeding with the analysis of the scenography for the 1634 staging of *Il Sant'Alessio*, it is important to point out that, similarly to the 1632 version, the new opera had a prologue and three acts. However, a comparison with Bouchard's description of one of the 1632 performances of the opera highlights that this new revised version had a different prologue and, despite the same number of acts, more scenes. In fact, the first act consisted of six instead of five scenes, the second of ten instead of seven, and the third of five instead of three scenes. The increased number of scenes is a further evidence that this new version had a more elaborate libretto and consequently a more complex scenography than the one performed in 1632. To prove this, this section analyses the eight engravings of the score, together with the captions and the descriptions of the scenes that are included both in the score and in the printed *argomento*.[50] These, supported by other contemporary documents and by the payment records for the staging of the opera, are at the basis of the conjectures below, shedding new light on the set design for this new version of *Il Sant'Alessio*. The first conjecture is that, differently from the opera *Erminia sul Giordano* analysed in the previous section, and differently from the opera *Chi*

[49] '[…] I am most encouraged to seize this venture by the most holy subject that His Eminence staged not long ago and provided with very rich costumes, excellent actors, wonderful backdrops, and superb scenes, where so great was the spectators's appreciation that this alone points to how uncontroversial is the introduction of such religious subjects […]'. See Tarquinio Galluzzi, *Rinovazione dell'antica Tragedia e difesa del Crispo* (Rome: Stamperia Vaticana, 1633), p. 7.

[50] Paolo Masotti published both score and argomento in 1634 in Rome. The Biblioteca Corsiniana in Rome holds a manuscript document (Cors., ms 632), which contains a copy of the libretto of *Il Sant'Alessio* reporting that it is by an uncertain author. A comparison with the score printed by Masotti in 1634 reveals that it corresponds to the version of the opera performed in 1634 – same number of acts, scenes and same captions (with irrelevant differences). This means that whoever copied the libretto was unaware that the text was by Giulio Rospigliosi.

soffre, speri, which would inaugurate the Teatro Barberini in 1639, the curtain, which hid the scene to the audience's eyes, was not raised, but dropped.[51] This is attested by a caption in the score that says that the symphony introducing the prologue '[…] si fa prima di calar la tenda'.[52] The technique used corresponds to that described by Nicola Sabbatini in chapter 37 of his manual as the first technique to remove the curtain.[53] It consisted in a simple device made up of two pulleys placed on either side of the upper front-stage, at the beginning of the ceiling of the scene, and of two ropes. An end of each rope was tied to the upper side of the curtain; the other end was in the hands of two people responsible to make it drop at once. Sabbatini describes this technique as more economically convenient than the second one, but more risky, because sometimes the two people, who held the ropes' ends, did not release them exactly at the same time, spoiling the effect of making the scene appear at once, and showing only a part of it. The picture below shows the elements that form the device used for this technique. The rectangle indicated by the letters ABCD represents the curtain, while E and F are two pulleys, which must be fixed in G and H respectively. One of the endings of a first rope is tightly tied to the A corner of the curtain and passes around the pulley E, while the other ending, K (erroneously printed as an A in the picture), is held by a person responsible for leaving it at the right time. A second rope is similarly tied to the B corner of the curtain, passes around the pulley F and is held by a person at its ending L. The picture shows that it is also possible to give the responsibility to make the curtain fall only to a person placed in M and holding both endings of the ropes – the risk in this case is that the person is too slow and the audience sees him, spoiling the effect.

[51] For the inauguration of the Teatro Barberini, see Chapter 4 below.
[52] '[…] it is played before dropping the curtain'. See p. 1 of the score printed by Paolo Masotti in Rome in 1634. The symphony was recorded in 2011 by the Ensemble II Falcone, conducted by Fabrizio Cipriani and posted on youtube on 29 September 2011 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RCXDtLKspIo>
[53] See Sabbatini, p. 52. About the use of raising the curtai, see footnote 22, above.

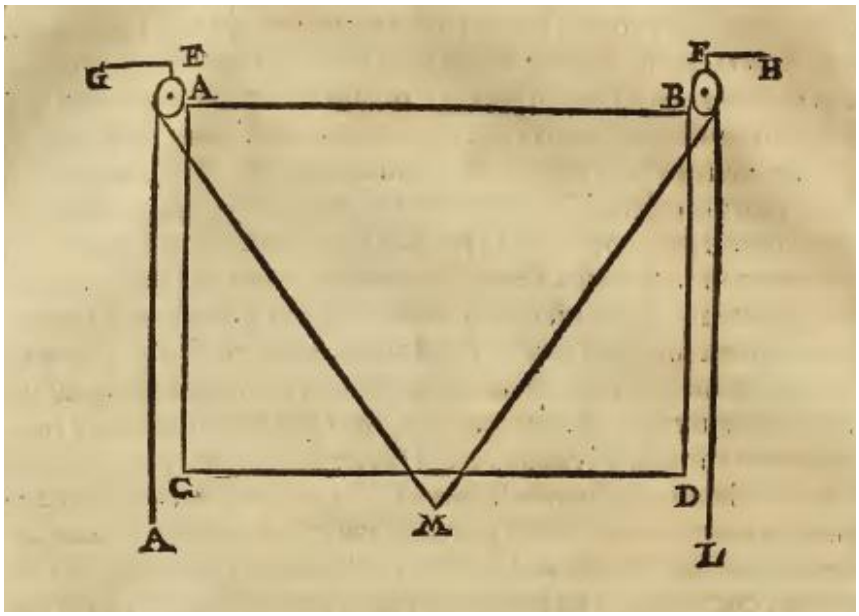


Fig. 2.17 Nicola Sabbatini, *Pratica di fabricar scene e machine ne' teatri* (Ravenna: Stampatori Camerali, 1638), p. 60.

At the beginning of the performance of the 1634 version of *Il Sant'Alessio*, once the curtain fell, the audience saw the set shown in the first engraving of the score (fig. 2.18). It represents the scene used for the prologue of the opera, which is described in the score with the following words:

> Coro di Schiavi, Roma. Roma, sopra un trofeo di spoglie circondata da diversi schiavi […]. Nello sparire della tenda si scopre Roma in un teatro sopra un soglio fabbricato d'armi e d'insegne diverse. A piedi d'essa un coro di schiavi, che cantano […].[54]



Fig. 2.18 First out of the eight engravings embellishing the score of *Il Sant'Alessio* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1634).

[54] 'A chorus of slaves in Rome. Rome on a trophy of spoils surrounded by numerous slaves. As soon as the curtain disappears, Rome appears in a theatre on a platform made up of several different weapons and symbols. At her feet, a chorus of slaves, who sing […].' See Landi, p. 8.

It can be argued, observing this picture, that the scene consisted of fixed side-wings, simulating palaces, placed on either side of the stage – these created a traditional setting of a Roman city. If we compare this plate with the engraving below, representing the scene for the Jesuit tragedy entitled *La Svevia*, staged in the Collegio Romano in 1629, the similarities are obvious.[55]



Fig. 2.19 engraving embellishing Luigi Altoviti's printed *argomento* of *La Svevia*, published by Francesco Corbelletti in Rome in 1629. See Filippi, p. 125.

The early date of this last performance, compared to the season of the Barberini operas, and the fact that both Cardinal Francesco and Cardinal Antonio attended one of the performances of the tragedy, suggest that the Barberini were deeply influenced by the scenography used by the Jesuits in their school theatre.[56] Both engravings, for instance, show four sets of houses on either side of the stage, use the same type of perspective, and both adhere to the setting of the tragic scene as proposed by Sebastiano Serlio in his second book of architecture (see picture below).[57]

[55] The engraving embellishes the printed *argomento* of *La Svevia*, published by Francesco Corbelletti in Rome in 1629. See Filippi, p. 125.
[56] See Filippi, p. 130.
[57] First published in 1545, it was reprinted in Sebastiano Serlio, *Tutte l'opere d'architettura di Sebastiano Serlio bolognese* (Venice: Francesco de'Franceschi, 1584), p. 51.

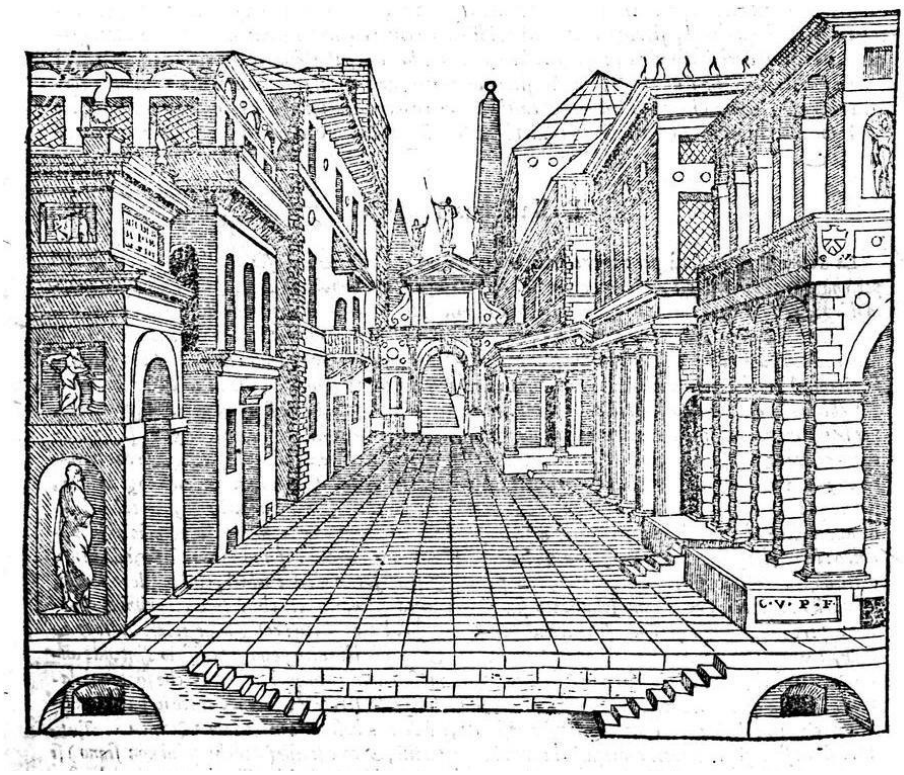


Fig. 2.20 Sebastiano Serlio, *Tutte l'opere d'architettura di Sebastiano Serlio bolognese* (Venice: Francesco de'Franceschi, 1584), vol. II, p. 51.

The above considerations provide evidence that, during this period, both the Barberini and the Jesuits still used a fixed Serlian scene for some of their performances.[58] Moreover, a comparison between the description of the number of scenes and the changing of scenes of *La Svevia* and the 1634 version of *Il Sant'Alessio*, allows for the following observations. First, *La Svevia* still adhered to the model of Greek tragedies, which had a prologue followed by five acts, while *Il Sant'Alessio* only had a prologue and three acts. Then, both performances included ballets and choruses and used machines to make some characters either ascend or descend from the sky. Finally, both performances used some kind of devices to change the scene. Unfortunately, it is impossible to know how the Jesuits changed it, because there are no other surviving images or detailed descriptions available about the staging of *La Svevia*, while it is possible to offer a hypothesis about the staging of *Il Sant'Alessio* thanks to the engravings of the score and all the other documents available. Engravings numbered two, four, five, six and eight, for instance, give some information about the front-stage. It can be assumed that the

[58] There are other examples of the use of Serlian scenes in other Italian cities during the early seventeenth century. The most relevant example to this study is the scene designed by Guitti for the Teatro degli Intrepidi in Ferrara attested by an engraving dated 1618 by Oliviero Gatti, published in Adami, p. 61.

stage was built on a platform raised from the ground floor probably in order to give space to some traps underneath and to the devices used to move the side-wings – see for instance the second engraving shown in the picture below.



Fig. 2.21 Second of the eight engravings embellishing the score of *Il Sant'Alessio* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1634).

Perhaps Guitti had designed a similar front-stage the previous year for the staging of *Erminia sul Giordano*, since the analysis made in the above section indicates that he needed a raised stage to hide some of the theatrical devices necessary to create the scenography for that opera.

The second engraving of the score is also important because it gives some information about the front-stage – it shows four steps before the stage and two Corinthian columns, which support the cornice, placed on pedestals on either side of the front-stage. The function of the cornice was to hide from the viewers' sight the machines placed under the vaulted ceiling of the room, which were used for the apparition of the characters descending from the sky and to hide the two pulleys used for raising the curtain as well. Another hint given by the engraving is that differently from other operas staged on later occasions by the Barberini, the musicians did not play in front of the stage because there is no space for an orchestra there. Finally, there are no decorations like vases, fountains and/or water jets on the

front-stage – elements that would become familiar in later operas staged by the Barberini.[59]

It can be argued that the audience members attending *Il Sant'Alessio* in 1634, when entered the *sala dei marmi*, saw the front-stage with the four Corinthian columns, the cornice, and the curtain hiding the scene. As soon as the curtain fell, they saw the scene portrayed in the first engraving. This shows the fixed side-wings and the machine with the triumph of the personification of the city of Rome, which was placed in the backstage. A comparison between the first and the third engraving of the score makes clear that both have numerous elements in common. The only difference between the two consists in the machine used for the entrance of the personification of Rome, which in the first engraving hides the central section of the backstage visible in the third one. The palaces on either side of the stage are scenographic elements shown also in the fourth and sixth engravings, which means that they were part of the fixed scene of the opera. This consisted of the fixed side-wings, representing palaces, a fixed three-dimensional backdrop with three arches, and a perspective-painted backdrop, showing the typical background of a three-street view of a city. The hypothesis that the three-arched backdrop is a piece of scenography and not a painted canvas, is supported by the fact that the third, fifth and sixth plates display a three-dimensional element visible behind the left and central arch. The detail below, from the third engraving, shows the three-dimensional element, indicated by the red arrow.

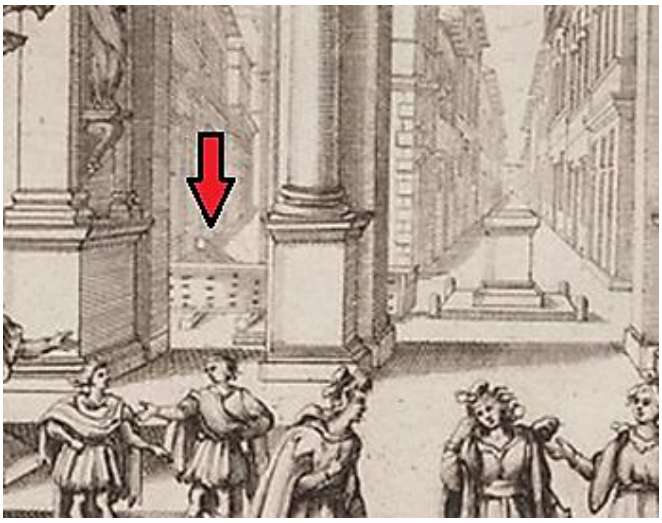


Fig. 2.22 Detail from the third engraving, with the red arrow pointing at the three-dimensional element.

[59] Among the operas staged by the Barberini that used this type of decorations are *Chi soffre, speri* (Carnival 1639), analysed in Chapter 4, below, and *La vita humana* (Carnival 1656), analysed in Chapter 5, below.

The theatre consultant Michael Holden, when asked to give an interpretation of the device for this study, generously sketched the drawing below (see fig. 2.23), suggesting that this three-dimensional element might be part of a section of the stage reserved for stage carpenters.[60] He assumes that the machine in the gap between the columns consists of two elements. The foreground element might be a pile of wood with spacer pieces between timbers to allow a rope to be passed through to lift the timbers using what he thinks is a crane behind, that is the second element. Holden considers it more likely that the front element is a door standing on one edge in a carpenters' cradle so that hinges (or locks) can be set into the sides. He explains that the reason for dismissing the pile of wood is that, on a raked stage, the pile would tend to fall forwards.

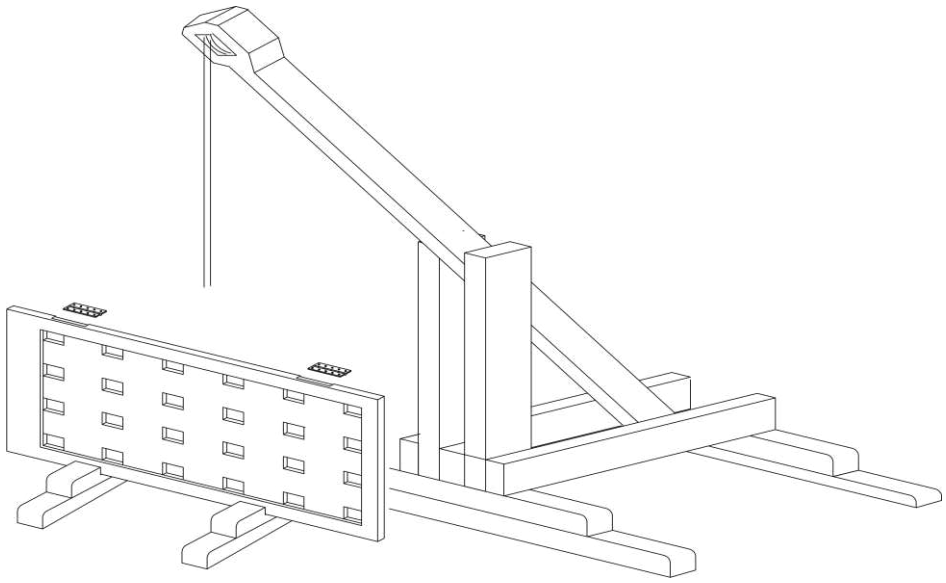


Fig. 2.23 Michael Holden, sketch giving an interpretation of the element highlighted by the red arrow in fig 2.22.

Another hypothesis is that this element might be a device similar to the one designed by Guitti for the already mentioned *intermedi* staged on occasion of Taddeo Barberini's visit to Ferrara in 1625 (see fig. 2.24). According to this hypothesis, this device was used to move clouds or/and other theatrical machines.

[60] Michael Holden MA, MSTC, FRSA, has been chairman of the Society of Theatre Consultants (STC) since 1970. Holden trained as a stage manager and producer in London and the regions before joining Theatre Projects Consultants in 1970. His more than 45 years of theatre consultancy work include the Barbican, the Lyric Hammersmith, the Globe and numerous other theatres.

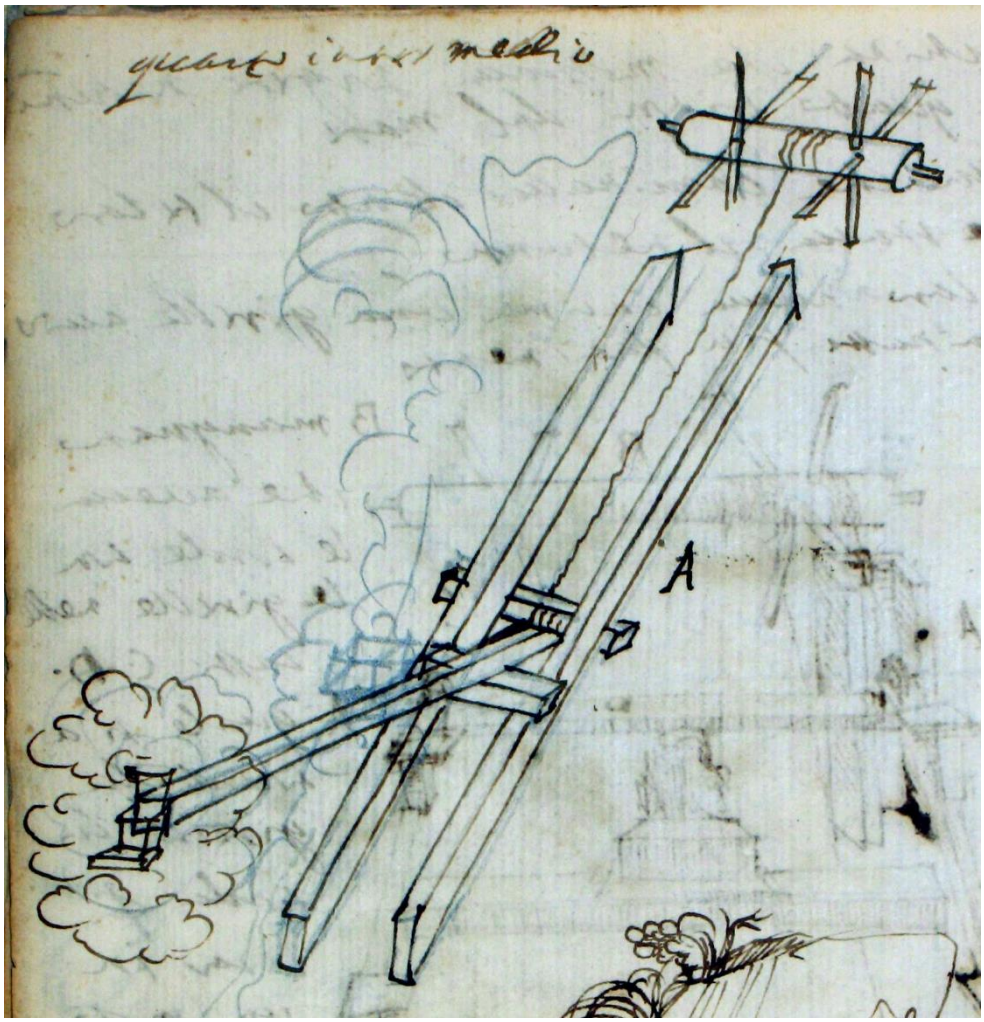


Fig. 2.24 Macerata, Associazione Compagnoni Floriani di Villamagna (by kind permission), all rights reserved ©, codex α, fol. 22v, table XXIII, detail.

Coming back to the analysis of the engravings for *Il Sant'Alessio*, it can be observed that the second, corresponding to the scene set for the fourth scene of Act I, shows a completely different set-design than the first (see fig. 2.21). It consists of an infernal cavern with a demon at the centre of the stage surrounded by four demons (very likely played by young pages) and eight larger demons on both sides of the stage – all of them are portrayed dancing.[61] Bouchard, who attended one of the 1632 performances of the opera, as seen in Chapter 1, did not mention this scene in the section of his journal related to this event. Rospigliosi must have added it for the version performed for Carnival 1634. The set-design was similar to that created by Guitti the previous year for the hell scene of *Erminia sul Giordano* as a comparison between fig. 2.10 and 2.21 can show. The main difference concerns the ceiling –

[61] Confirmation of this can be found in a line in the list of expenses for the performance, which reads 'A quel <che> ha suonato il liuto per insegnare i balli ai paggi […]' ('to the person who played the lute to teach the dances to the pages […]'). See Appendix, item [6], fol. 82v.

whereas in *Erminia* there is no evidence of the use of theatrical devices to change the skies, in *Il Sant'Alessio* the scene-changing involved the upper section of the scene. A caption in the score of *Il Sant'Alessio* says 'si muta la scena in un inferno e nella lontananza si rappresentano le pene dei dannati,' but this description does not perfectly fit the image portrayed in the engraving.[62] This, despite showing a hell scene, does not display a backdrop representing the pains of the damned. On the other hand, the cave must have been constructed by making lateral flat side-wings slide on tracks and cover the fixed three-dimensional wings.

The fourth engraving, which represents a wild landscape with Apollo in the centre playing a *chitarrone* and, on each side, four dancers, also portrays a completely different set design, which was again created thanks to sliding side-wings, which covered the fixed wings (see fig. 2.25). This set corresponds to the sixth scene of the first act defined in the printed score as 'scena aggiunta per l'introduzione di un ballo'.[63] This means that this is one of the scenes that were not performed in the 1632 version of the opera.

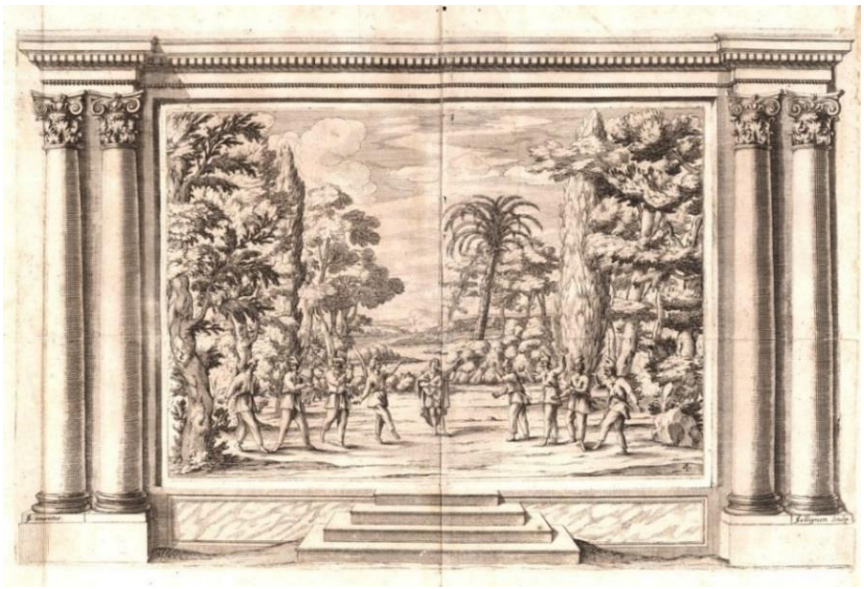


Fig. 2.25 Fourth of the eight engravings embellishing the score of *Il Sant'Alessio* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1634).

The set here is similar to the one corresponding to the fixed scene in *Erminia sul Giordano* but it is plausible that whereas in *Erminia* the tree-shaped side-wings were nailed to the stage, here they consist of shutters sliding on tracks. A confirmation of this hypothesis comes from a caption in the score that says 'si muta

[62] '[…] the scene changes into a hell and in the distance the pains on the damned are represented'. See Landi, p. 45.
[63] '[…] scene added to introduce a dance'. See Landi, p. 67.

la scena in una selva'.[64] The solution proposed by Guitti to conceive the scene-change might have been the one shown in the figure below. This is a detail from one of the notebooks by Floriani, relative to a scenography by Guitti, and describes the operation of tree-shaped flats sliding on tracks placed under the stage.[65]

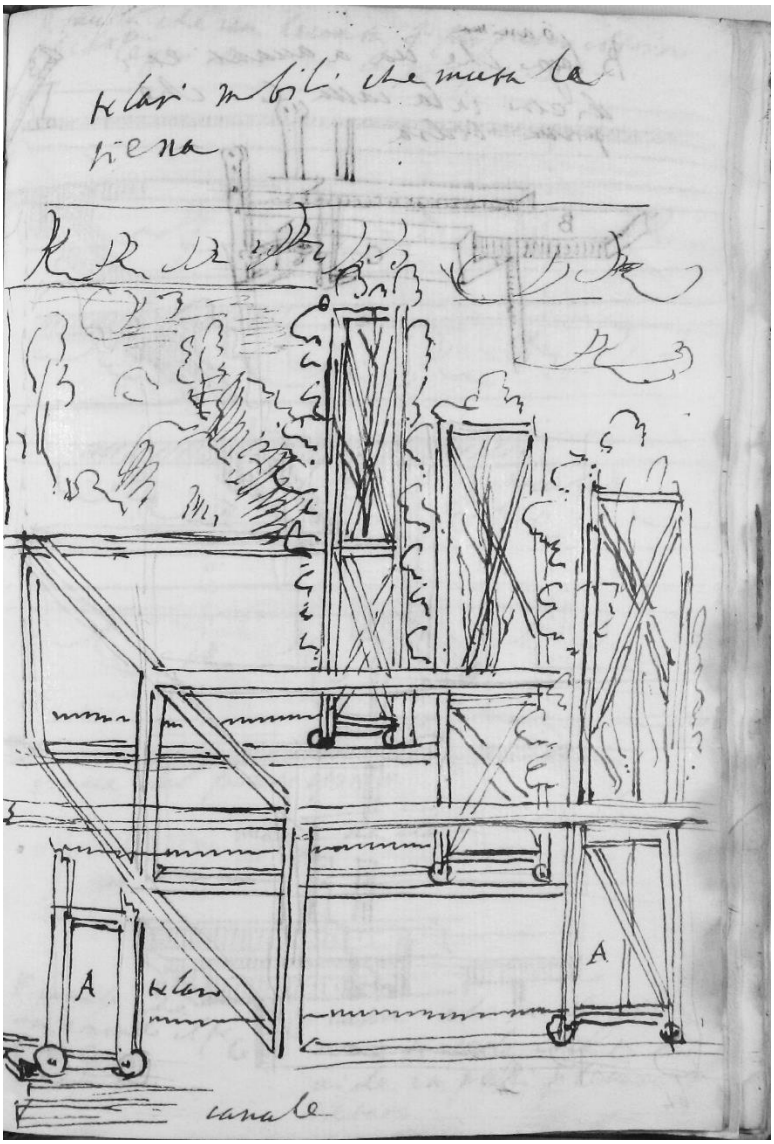


Fig. 2.26 Macerata, Associazione Compagnoni Floriani di Villamagna (by kind permission), all rights reserved ©, codex β, fol. 13r, table LVII, detail.

Act I ended with a dance described in the printed score with the following words 'escono otto contadini vestiti all'uso di quei tempi, e si trattengono con un ballo composto di vari scherzi'.[66] Since the scene-change happened before the

[64] '[…] the scene changes into a forest'. See Landi, p. 67.
[65] For the description of the operation of this device, see Adami, p. 200.
[66] '[…] eight peasants, dressed in period costumes, emerge and take part in a dance made up of several scherzos'. See Landi, p. 69.

audience's eyes, there is no wonder that Act II was introduced by a symphony. The musical intermission allowed the workers (hired to help during the performance) to make the movable shutters slide back and the fixed scene appear again. For the first six scenes of this act Gutti did not use other theatrical devices. All the characters intervening, ranging from the demon to Alexis's wife and mother as well as the nurse, Marzio and Curzio, made their entrances simply by walking onto the stage. The scene visible in the fifth engraving corresponds to the seventh scene of Act II, when an angel appeared to comfort Alexis and to reveal his destiny to him. The plate shows the fixed scene already seen in the first and third plates, but the angel in the sky, suggests that Guitti used a theatrical machine to allow this character to make his apparition flying.

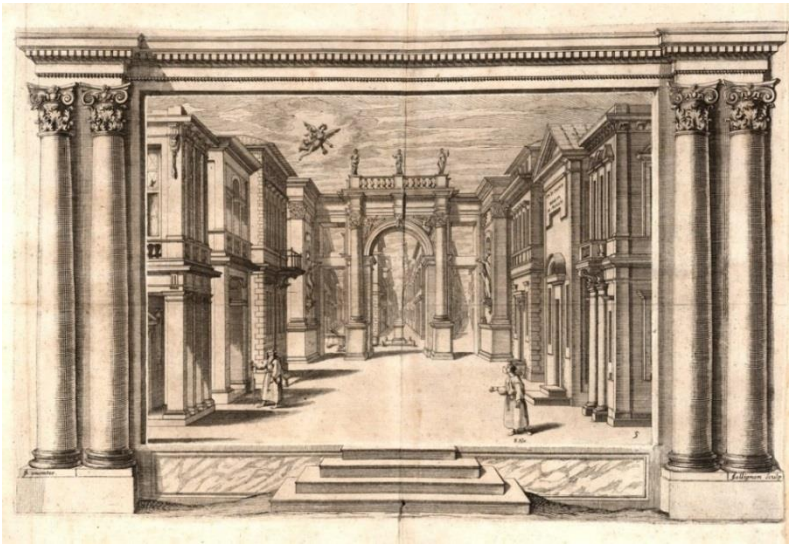


Fig. 2.27 Fifth of the eight engravings embellishing the score of *Il Sant'Alessio* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1634).

The position of the angel in the engraving suggests that this machine allowed the character to move diagonally from one side of the sky to the other. This impression is confirmed by a caption in the score that suggests that the actor-angel entered flying down from heaven and that at the end of the scene, disappeared flying up in the sky.[67] This means that, differently from other machines that were conceived to make characters descend with a vertical movement, this machine allowed a transversal movement. This type of theatrical device was much more complicated than even the multi-layered clouds employed both in *Erminia sul Giordano* and in

[67] '[…] viene l'angelo volando dal cielo e al fine della scena in verso il cielo sparisce'. See Landi, p. 105.

Il Sant'Alessio. Sabbatini gives an idea of the difficulty in creating them in his manual on scenography. In Chapter 45 of the second book of his *Pratica di fabricar scene e machine ne' teatri*, he offers a detailed description of a machine, which might be very similar to the one created by Guitti in 1634.[68] The following, is an excerpt of the description. This is transcribed to help understand the operation of the machine used to move the cloud for the angel in *Il Sant'Alessio*:

> Occorrendo far discendere una nuvola, la quale incominciando dall'ultima parte del cielo, se ne venga sempre all'innanzi, fino a mezzo il palco con persone sopra, si dovrà fare in questa maniera, supponendo però, che dietro le scene a dirittura del fine del cielo vi sia luogo comodo, e capace almeno di piedi venti in circa. Si piglia una buona trave, lunga piedi venticinque, la quale dovrà servire per leva […] e si porta perpendicolare all'orizzonte, fermato nel piano della sala a dirittura dell' ultima parte del cielo, e che sia d'altezza di quattro piedi sopra il piano del palco, tanto in dentro però, che non sia veduto da quelli di fuori, poi vi si fermerà sopra la leva, aggiustandosi in modo che il suo moto non sia difficile. Dopo, lontano dal fulcimento dieci piedi, in altezza di venti, vi si porrà una girella di metallo se fosse possibile. Acciocché sia sicura, e atta a sostenere il peso, questa dovrà esser posta a piombo ad un'altra, che si dovrà mettere a basso della medesima grandezza, e sicurezza, alta dal piano della sala piedi tre, la quale dovrà servire per guida del canapo all'argano, che sarà messo a dirittura di essa girella, tanto distante da un lato, quanto sarà più comodo all'argano, perché le persone possano girare i manubri senza impedimento alcuno, Si piglierà poi un canapo di buona grossezza, e che sia ben sicuro, acciocché venendo a patire nell'operare non fosse cagione di qualche disordine. Un capo del canapo si legherà fidatamente nell'estremità della leva, cioè dal canto dell'ultimo del cielo, e passando l'altro capo nella girella che fu posta sopra il cielo, nel venire a basso passi per l'altra posta di sotto, per lo rivolto dell'argano. Di poi nell'altra estremità della leva, cioè verso gli spettatori, si dovrà fabbricare la nuvola, la quale si comporrà sopra due pezzi di legno di giusta grossezza, con i suoi posamenti, dove hanno da stare sicure le persone, che vi dovranno andar sopra. Compita che sarà la nuvola, si porrà l'estremità di essa sopra l'estremità della leva in bilancio tra i due pezzi di legno, in maniera che in qualunque modo sia mossa, o alto, o basso la leva, sempre resti la nuvola perpendicolare all'orizzonte, acciocché mentre essa calasse innanzi le persone, che vi stanno sopra non cadessero a basso, e anco perché non venga veduta la leva.[69]

[68] See Sabbatini, pp. 141-46.

[69] 'If the goal is to lower a cloud with people on it from the furthest part of the heavens to the centre of the stage, we must follow this method (as long as, behind the scenes, directly behind the ends of the coverage for the stage ceiling, there is a usable space of at least 20 feet). Let us take a good strong beam 25 feet long, which will serve as a lever. It will be placed perpendicular to the horizon and fixed on the floor of the hall directly under the last section of the heavens. Its height must be 4 feet above the level of the stage, but <it must be placed> far enough inside that the spectators cannot see it. Then, the lever will be fixed on it, and adjusted so that its motion is smooth. At 10 feet from the fulcrum and 20 feet high, let us put a metal pulley, if possible, so that it is secure and able to support the weight. This pulley must be placed directly above another one of the same size and firmness at 3 feet from the floor of the hall, which will serve as a guide for the rope to the capstan. The capstan will be placed directly in line with the pulley and far enough to one side for the people operating it to turn the handles without interference. Let us take a strong, firm rope, so that no accident may occur during the operation, and tie one end securely to the end of the lever (i.e., at the back of the heavens) and let us pass the other end through the pulley that was placed above the heavens. As it comes down, let the rope pass through the other pulley placed beneath it for the revolving of the capstan. Make a cloud at the other end of the lever (i.e., that towards the spectators) and place it on two pieces of wood of the proper size with platforms where the people who have to go up in it may stand firmly. Once the cloud is completed, you will put it at the extremity of the lever, balanced between the two pieces of wood, so that whether the lever is moved up or down the cloud will always remain perpendicular to the horizon. Thus, as the cloud descends, the people will

This description on the one hand, explains the operation of the cloud-machine, on the other, seems to fit with the second hypothesis proposed above about the element highlighted by the red arrow in fig. 2.22. If this were the case, the element would not be anything but part of the theatrical device to make some characters descend on clouds. At the end of the eighth scene, which involves Marzio and the demon, the spectators were once more astonished by another stage effect since the score reports that the devil turned into a bear.

The setting shown in the sixth engraving corresponds to the scenography for the ninth scene of Act II and it is very similar to the one described above. It differs from the previous one only in the more elaborate machine that the Ferrarese architect created to make the personification of Religion, surrounded by clouds, descend from the sky.

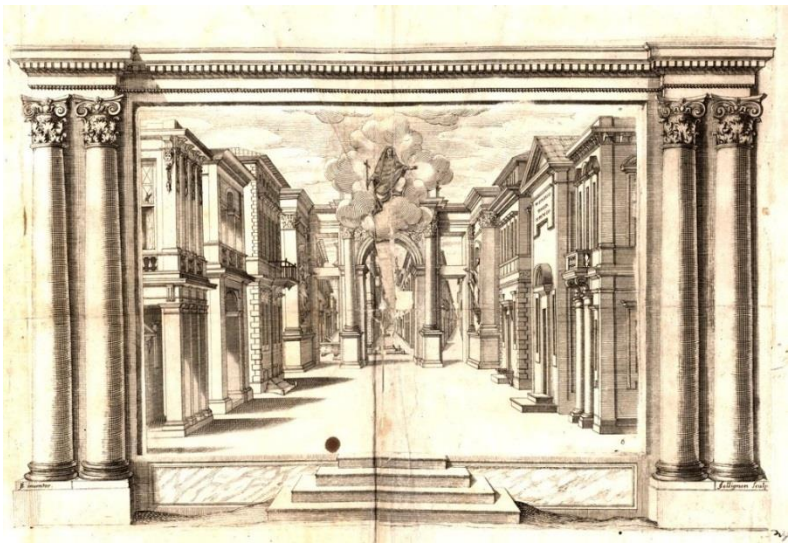


Fig. 2.28 Sixth of the eight engravings embellishing the score of *Il Sant'Alessio* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1634).

In this case, the movement of the machine might have been a simple vertical movement as the one made by the cloud designed for the final scene of *Erminia sul Giordano* (see fig. 2.11). Therefore, the operation of the machine might be the one shown in fig. 3.1.

The tenth and last scene of Act II, which involves Eufemiano, Adrasto and Nunzio, ends with another dance by Roman youths ('giovani romani').[70] This is soon followed by a symphony that introduces Act III. Once more, it is likely that

not fall out, and also the lever will not be seen.' Translation adapted from John H. McDowell, *The Renaissance Stage: Documents of Serlio, Sabbatini and Furttenbach*, ed. by Barnard Hewitt (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1958), pp.158-59.

[70] See Landi, p. 125.

the instrumental piece was played to allow for preparing the devices for the next stage effect. This took place during the first scene of Act III, where Guitti used another spectacular machine. The audience saw the earth opening and the devil falling into a pit of fire.[71]

Another scene-change happened at the beginning of the third scene of Act III. Here a caption in the score reports that '[…] mutandosi la scena appariscono le loggie e il giardino del Palazzo nel quale sotto alla scala giace il corpo del Santo'.[72] This description fits with the seventh engraving of the score, which shows the fixed side-wings with a new background. This represents a loggia with the stairs of the Palazzo of Alexis's father and a niche below, inside of which there is the hero's dead body. This new background was probably created using two three-dimensional pieces of scenery. These, sliding in grooves, joined to form the three-arched structure. In the background, a backdrop painted with a *trompe l'oeil* technique, represented the courtyard of the Palazzo of Alexis's father.



Fig. 2.29 Seventh of the eight engravings embellishing the score of *Il Sant'Alessio* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1634).

The eighth engraving simultaneously displays the fourth and the fifth (and last) scene of Act III. It shows again the fixed scenery and the background used for the

[71] A caption in the score describes this with the following words: '[…] sotto ai piedi del demonio manca all'improvviso la terra ed egli trabocca in una voragine di fuoco' ('[…] the earth suddenly disappears under the devil's feet, and he falls into a pit of fire'). See Landi, p. 134.
[72] '[…] with the scene-change the loggias and garden of the Palazzo appear. Inside, under the stairs, lies the dead body of the saint.' See Landi, p. 142.

previous scene but now Alexis is shown ascending to Heaven on a cloud surrounded by a host of angels playing various instruments.



Fig. 2.30 Last of the eight engravings embellishing the score of *Il Sant'Alessio* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1634).

The upper part of this image fits to the description of the scene placed at the beginning of Act III in the score, which says that the angels, while accompanying the saint's soul, convince his relatives that they are wrong to mourn Alexis's death because he is welcomed in Heaven with great joy.[73] The lower section represents the virtues dancing, an episode that happens at the very end of the opera.[74]

The cloud used in this scene evidently required a much more elaborate theatrical machine than the ones used to make the clouds of the previous scenes of the opera. However, a comparison between this cloud and the detail shown in fig 2.31 from a drawing sketched by Guitti in Parma in 1628, suggests that the Ferrarese architect had already created a theatrical machine congruent to the cloud shown in fig. 2.30 before his arrival in Rome.[75] Both figures show two overlaid sections with a similar shape, designed to allow numerous characters to descend from the ceiling. Furthermore, the cloud of fig. 2.30 has an arrangement that matches the arrangement of the theatrical machine sketched in fig 2.31, showing all the backstage devices necessary to operate it.

[73] '[…] gli angeli accompagnando l'anima del Santo, persuadono ai parenti, che a torto si dolgono nel Mondo per la morte di chi è ricevuto nel cielo con tanto giubilo'. See Landi, p. 151

[74] See the very last caption in the score that says 'balletto delle virtù', in Landi, p. 166.

[75] The scholar Giuseppe Adami has demonstrated that Aleotti, Guitti's master, had already used a similar machine in 1618. Therefore, Guitti did not invent this device, but he reused it in some of the performances he was responsible for staging. See Adami, pp. 168-71.

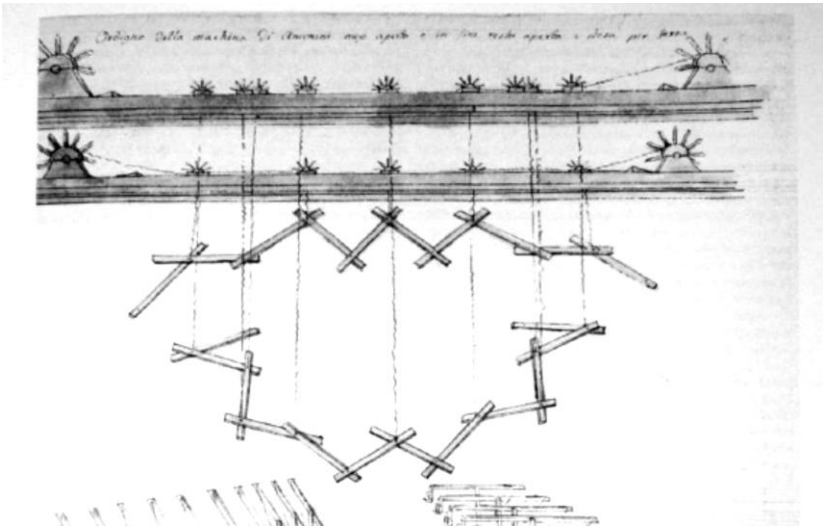
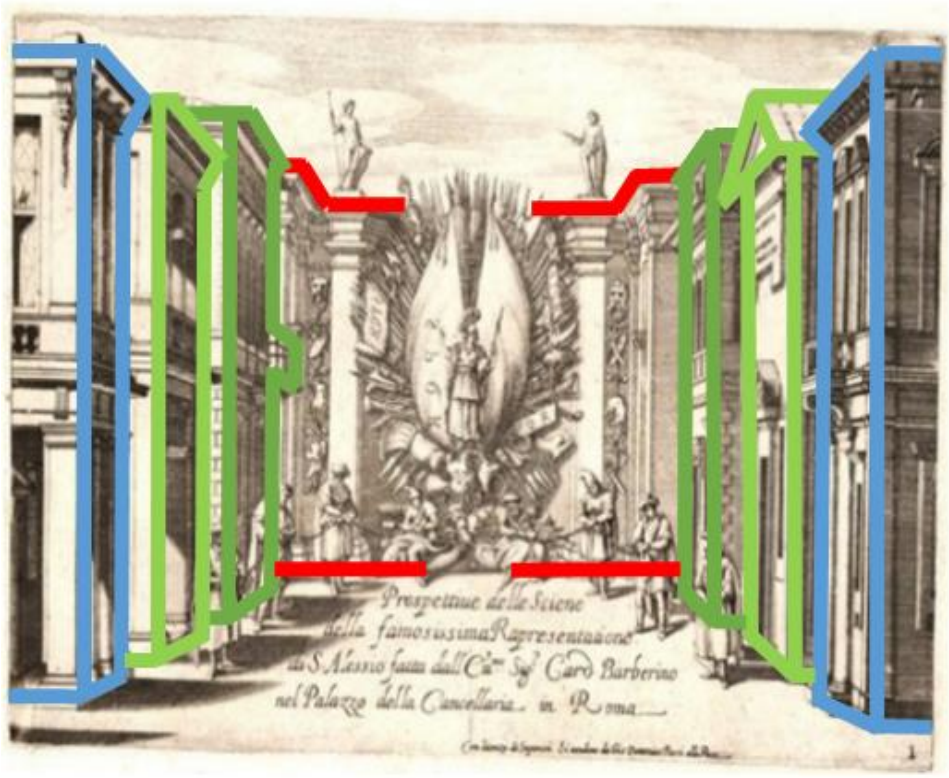


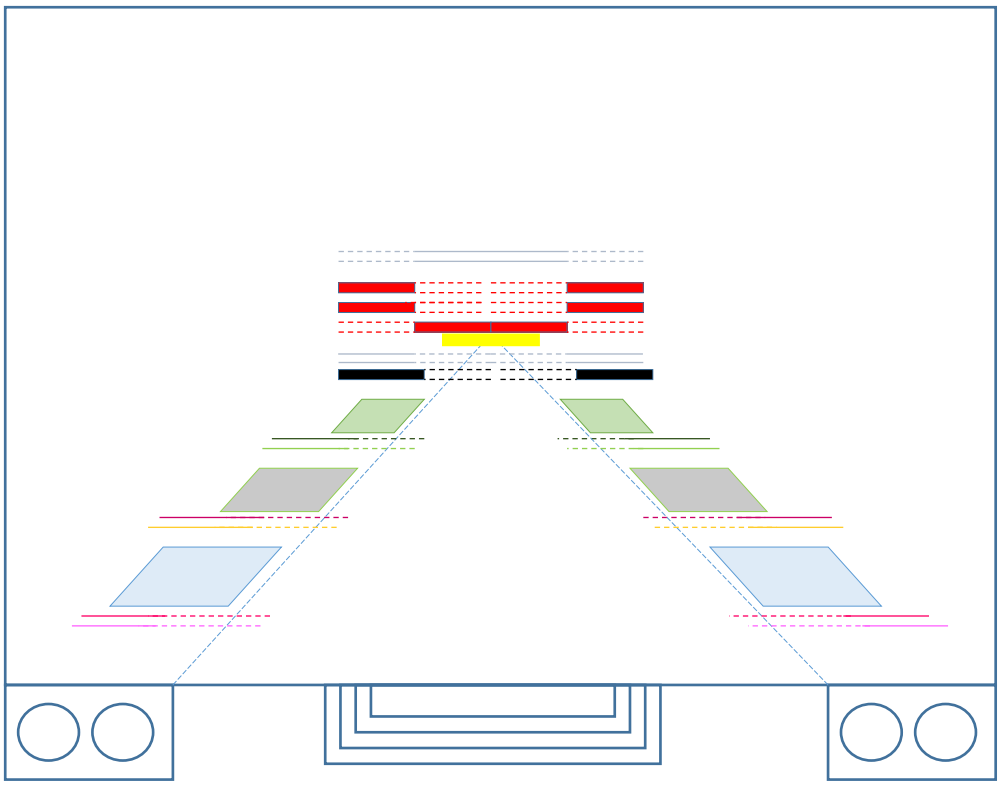
Fig. 2.31 Detail from Parma, State Archives, Mappe e disegni, 4/16. Published in Giuseppe Adami, *Scenografia e scenotecnica barocca*, p. 171.

In order to understand the way in which Guitti designed the changing of sets all the engravings embellishing the score have been reproduced below and the different elements (fixed side-wings, movable shutters, perspectives, and machines) have been highlighted with different colours. A stage plan, including all the scenographic elements described above, is provided for each engraving. The following tables, which follow the same criteria of those already used for the analysis of *Erminia sul Giordano*, add a new overall insight to the scenographic techniques employed in this performance.

TABLE 2.6

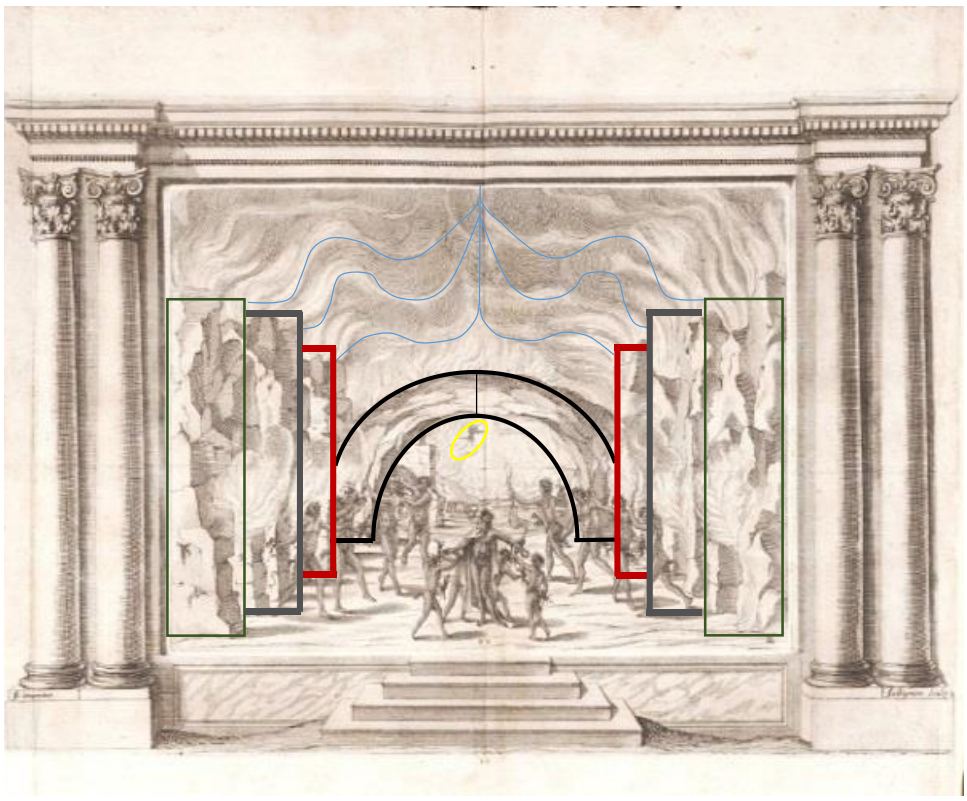


a. First engraving from the score of *Il Sant'Alessio* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1634) with the scenographic elements highlighted with different colours.

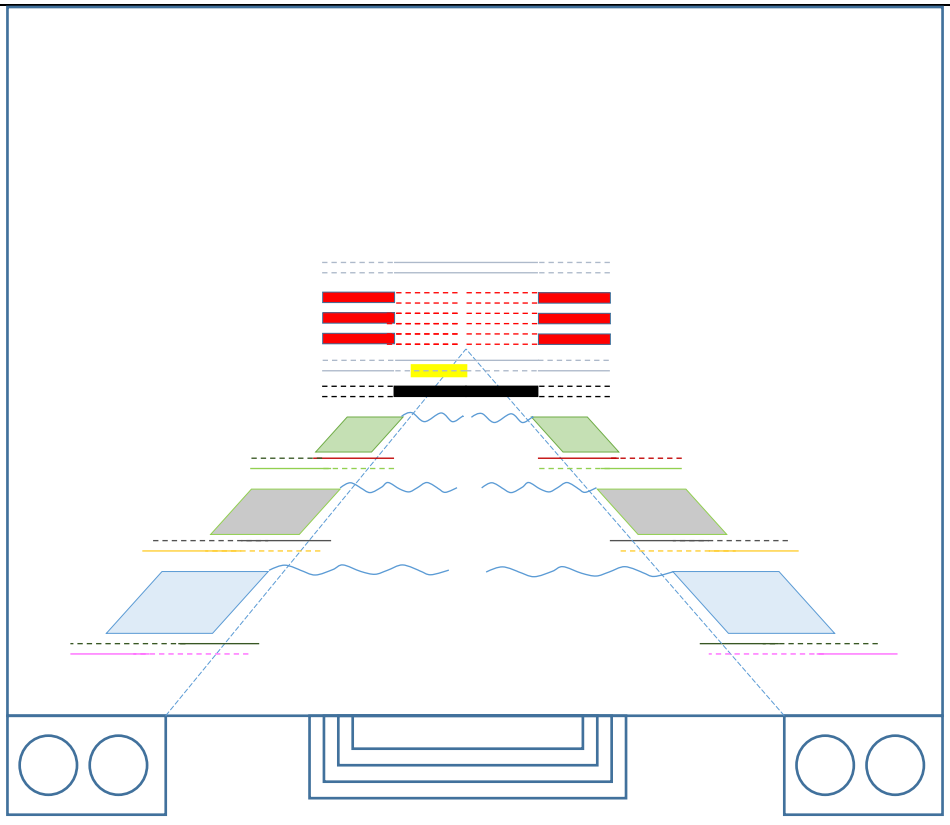


b. Hypothetical stage plan for the Prologue of *Il Sant'Alessio* based on the first engraving.

TABLE 2.7

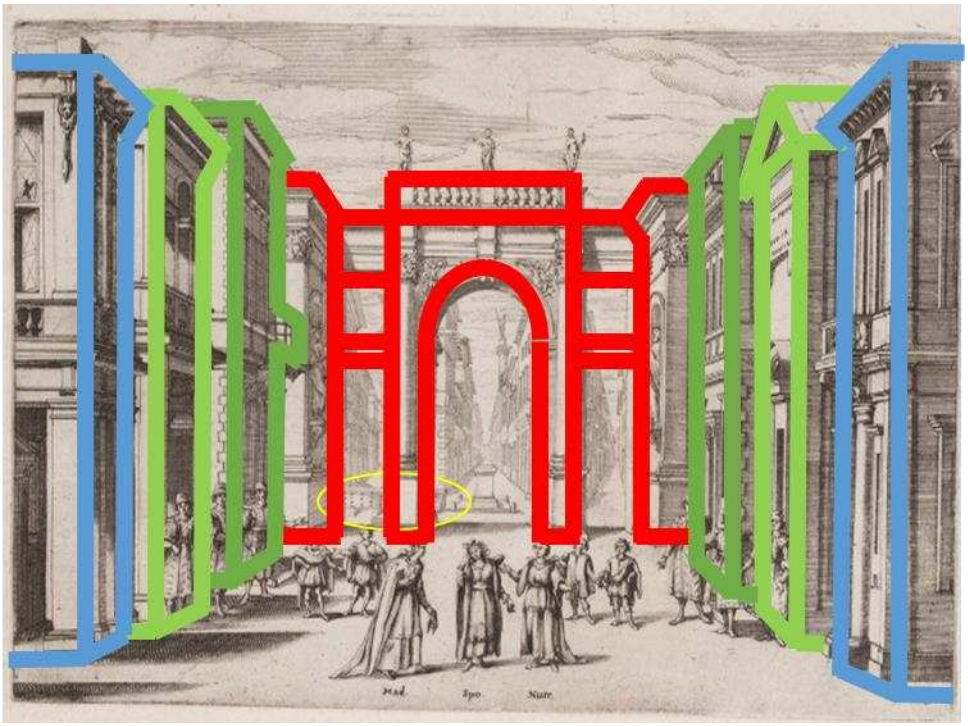


a. Second engraving from the score of *Il Sant'Alessio* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1634) with the scenographic elements highlighted with different colours.

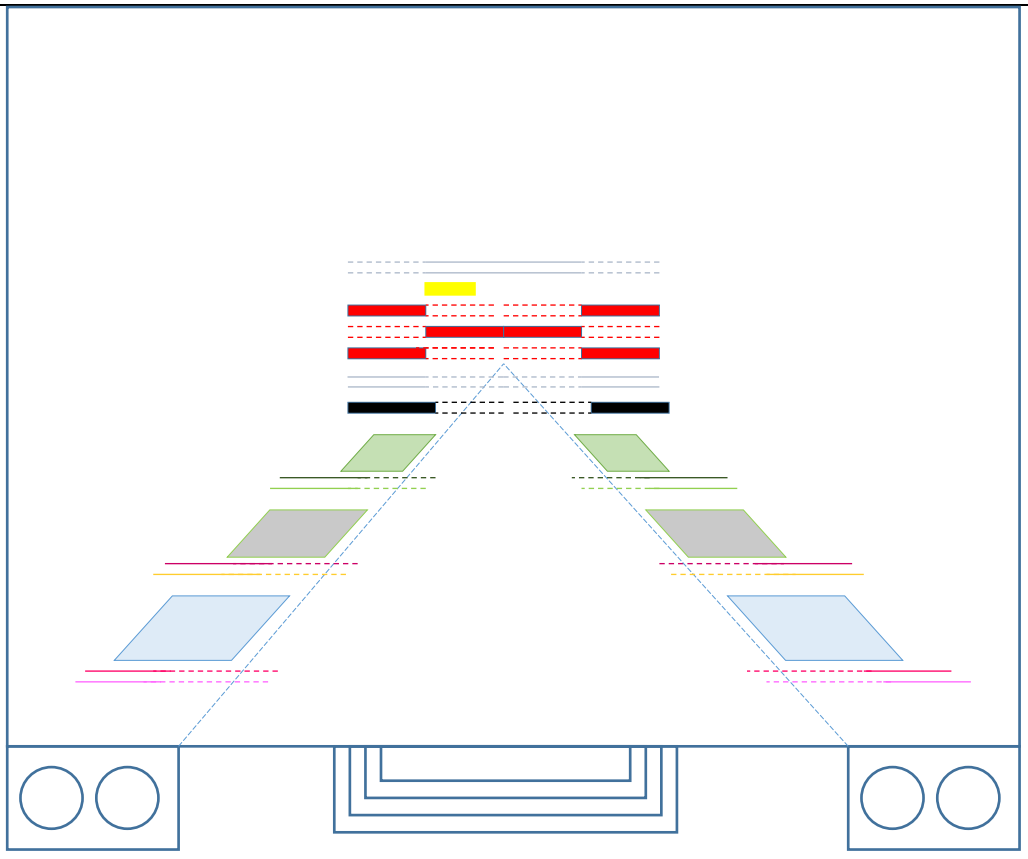


b. Hypothetical stage plan for the the fourth scene of Act I of *Il Sant'Alessio* based on the second engraving.

TABLE 2.8

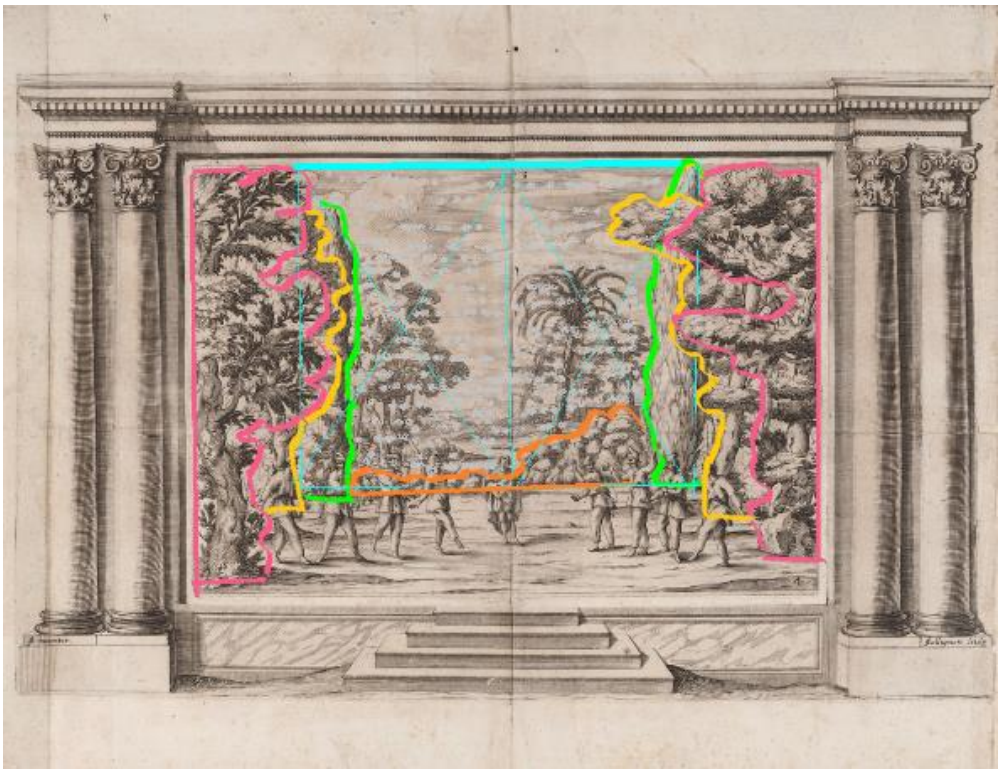


a. Third engraving from the score of *Il Sant'Alessio* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1634) with the scenographic elements highlighted with different colours.

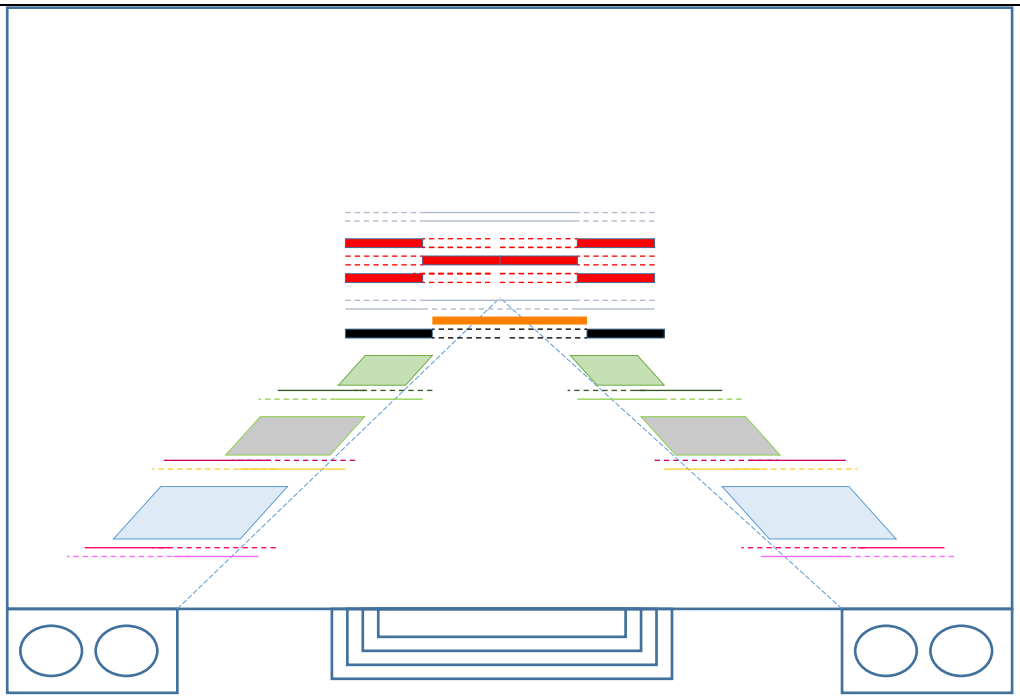


b. Hypothetical stage plan for the fifth scene of Act I of *Il Sant'Alessio* based on the third engraving.

TABLE 2.9

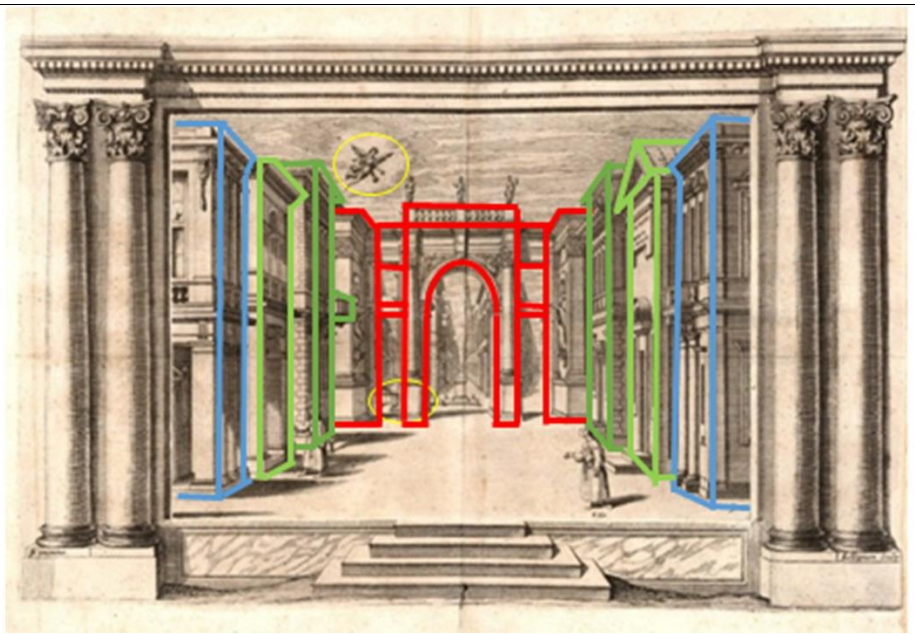


a. Fourth engraving from the score of *Il Sant'Alessio* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1634) with the scenographic elements highlighted with different colours.

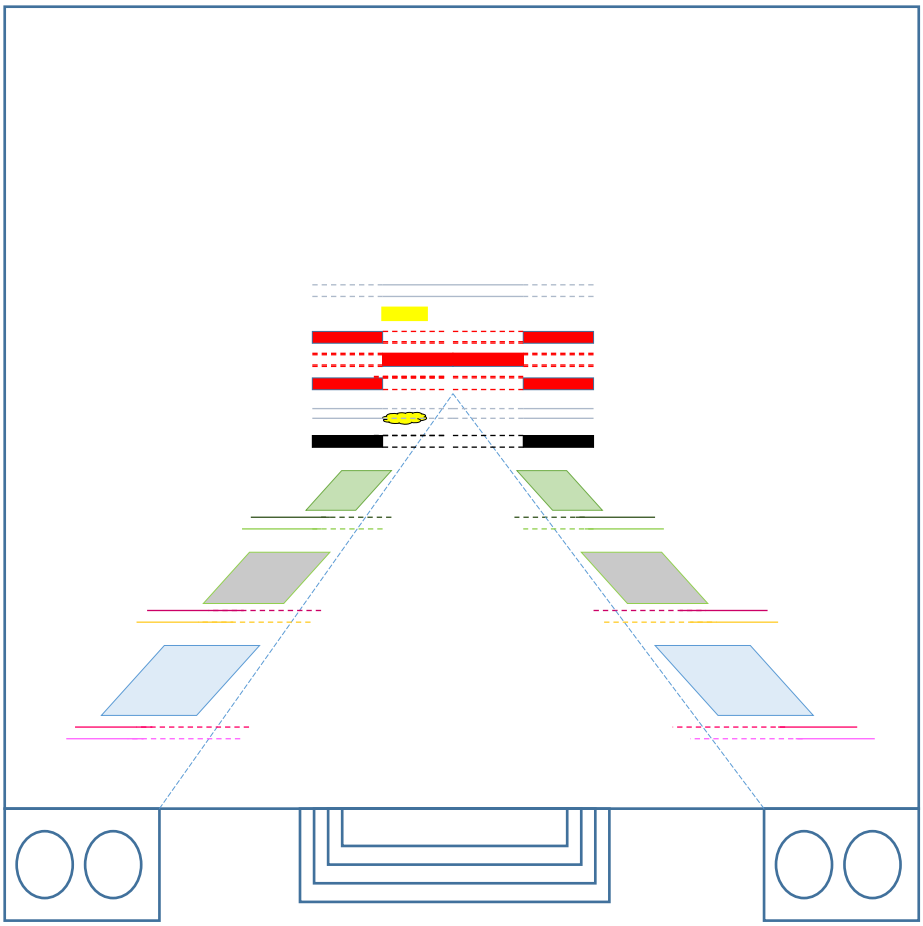


b. Hypothetical stage plan for the sixth scene of Act I of *Il Sant'Alessio* based on the fourth engraving.

TABLE 2.10

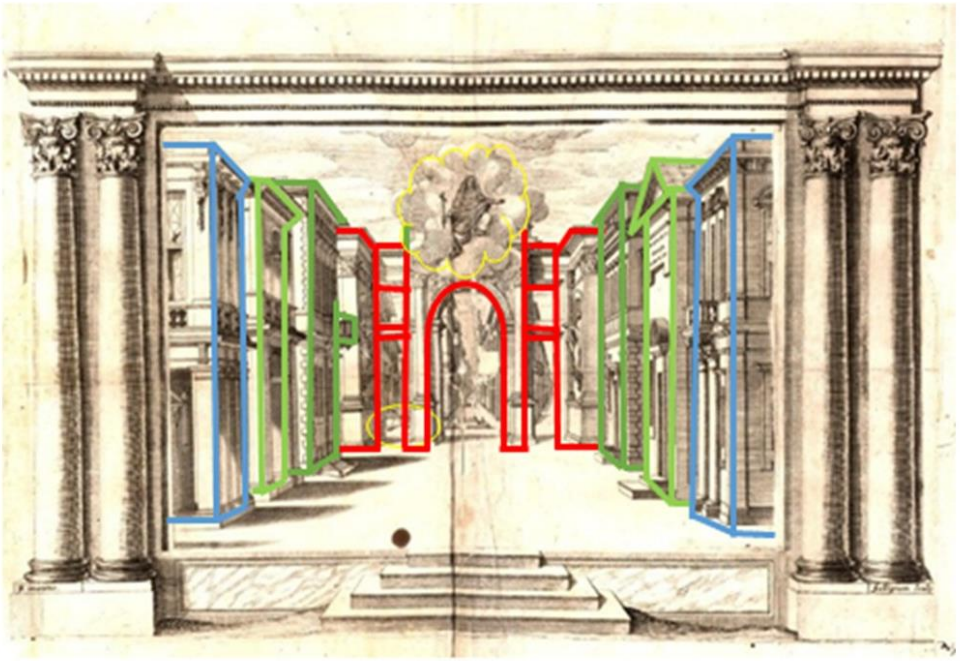


a. Fifth engraving from the score of *Il Sant'Alessio* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1634) with the scenographic elements highlighted with different colours.

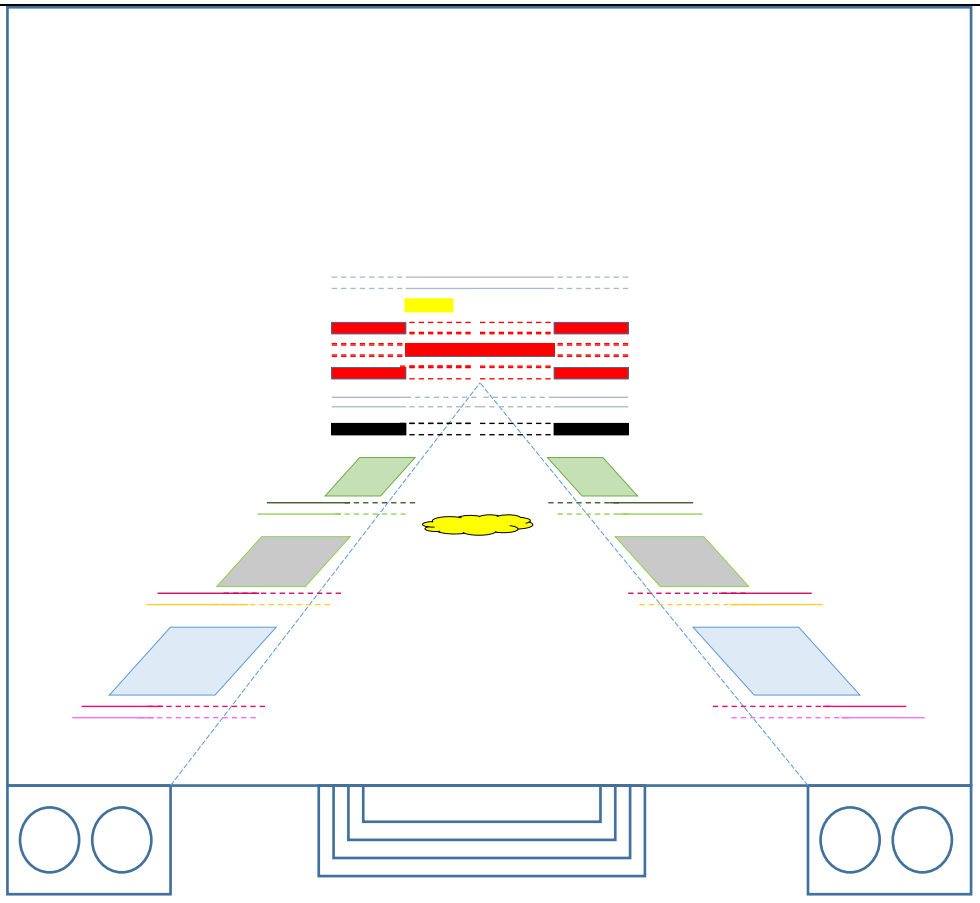


b. Hypothetical stage plan for the seventh scene of Act II of *Il Sant'Alessio* based on the fifth engraving.

TABLE 2.11

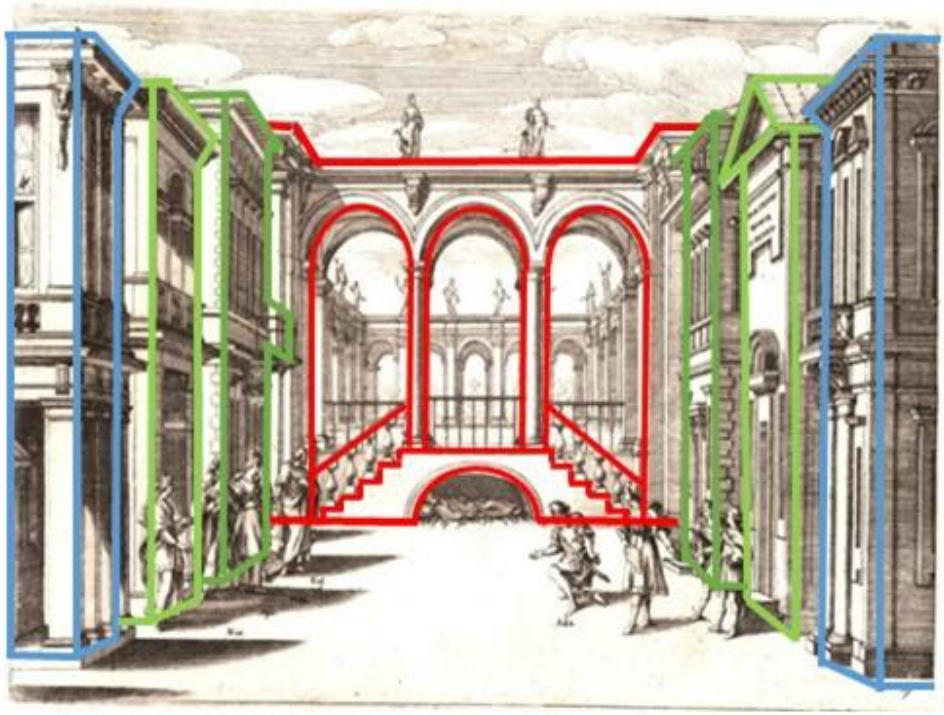


a. Sixth engraving from the score of *Il Sant'Alessio* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1634) with the scenographic elements highlighted with different colours.

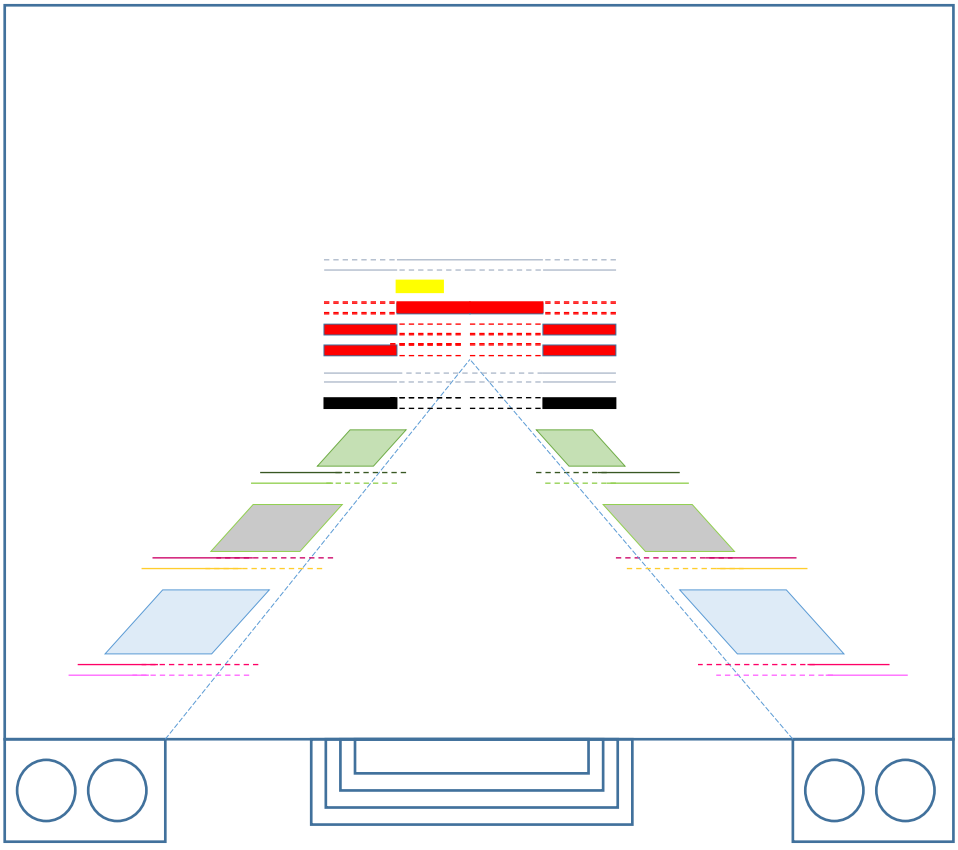


b. Hypothetical stage plan for the ninth scene of Act II of *Il Sant'Alessio* based on the sixth engraving.

TABLE 2.12

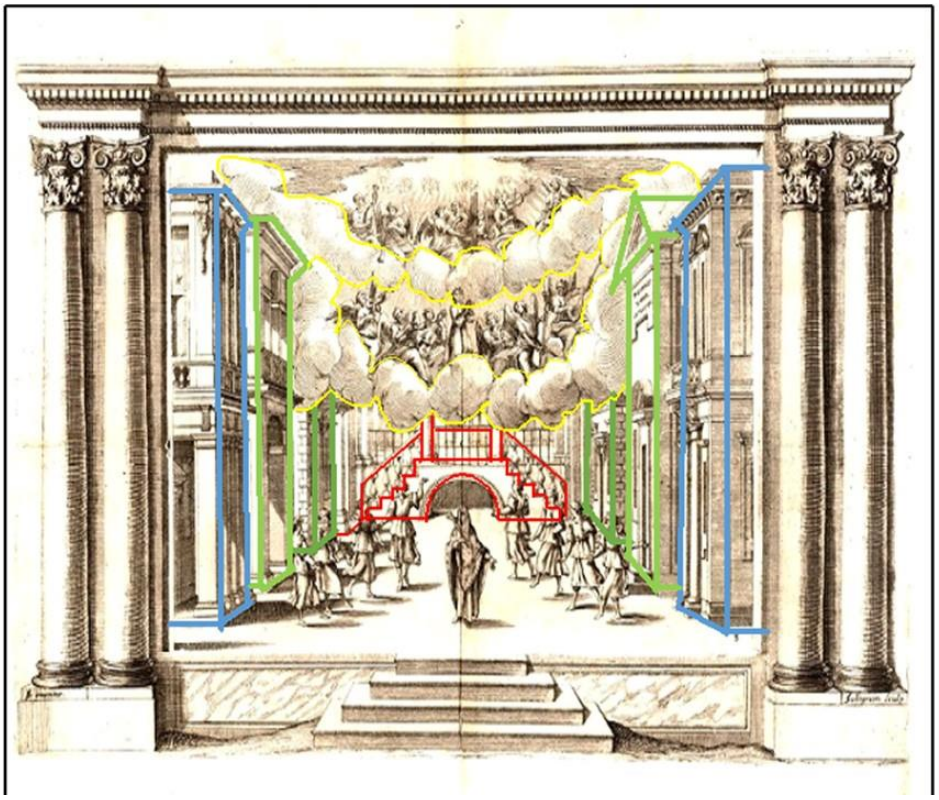


a. Seventh engraving from the score of *Il Sant'Alessio* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1634) with the scenographic elements highlighted with different colours.

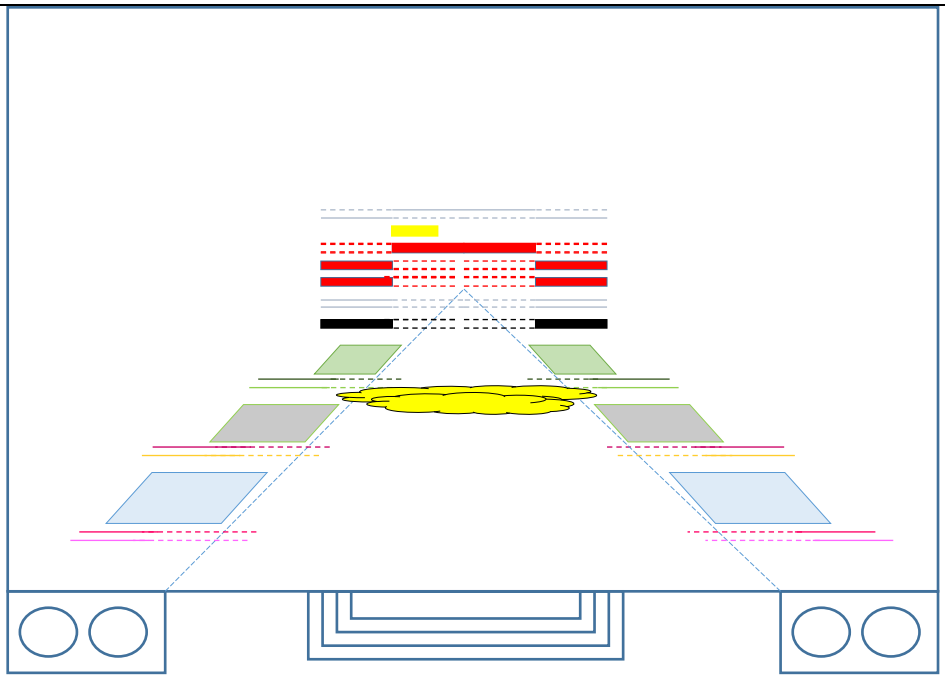


b. Hypothetical stage plan for the third scene of Act III of *Il Sant'Alessio* based on the seventh engraving.

TABLE 2.13



a. Eight engraving from the score of *Il Sant'Alessio* (Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1634) with the scenographic elements highlighted with different colours.



b. Hypothetical stage plan for the fourth and sixth scene of Act III of *Il Sant'Alessio* based on the eight engraving.

A comparison between Tables 2-5 and 6-13 makes clear that Guitti created the scenography both for *Erminia* and for *Il Sant'Alessio* with a fixed scene and movable shutters. Some of the theatrical machines are similar in both performances, but the new version of *Il Sant'Alessio* had a more elaborate setting with more scene-changes. These were produced with a double set of side-wings sliding on tracks and with more three-dimensional scenographic elements. Overall, there is evidence that Guitti introduced in Rome techniques and devices that he had already planned for the set design of previous spectacles performed in Ferrara and Parma between 1625 and 1631. This brought the Barberini's entertainment up to the most recent developments and this contributed significantly to the overall ambitions conceived through their patronage. The following chapter will bring evidence that the two-year theatrical experience described in this chapter will be at the basis of the further development of staging in the performances sponsored by the Barberini.

Chapter 3
Further Developments (1635–1638)

After his two years' experience in Rome, Guitti went back to Ferrara where, in 1635, he collaborated in staging the joust entitled *La Discordia superata*. In 1637, the Ferrarese architect was in Venice, where he designed scenes and machines for the opera *Andromeda*, with a libretto by Benedetto Ferrari (1603-1681) and music by Francesco Manelli (1594-1667).[1]

When Guitti departed from Rome, he left behind the seeds for a further development of theatrical devices and techniques. This is attested by the performances staged for the Carnival seasons of 1635, 1636 and 1638 that demonstrate that Guitti's teachings were a stimulus for the other architects-engineers, who worked in the service of the Barberini after him. These operas, which will be deeply analysed in this chapter, are *I Santi Didimo e Teodora*, often mentioned simply as *Santa Teodora*, which was performed for the Carnival seasons 1635 and 1636, and *La pazzia d'Orlando* and *San Bonifacio*, both performed for the Carnival season 1638. Francesco Barberini paid the expenses for all these performances.

I Santi Didimo e Teodora and *La pazzia d'Orlando* were both staged in the *sala dei marmi* of Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane, then the residence of Cardinal Antonio Barberini, while *San Bonifacio* was staged at Palazzo della Cancelleria, then the residence of Francesco Barberini. It is possible to advance a hypothesis about the responsibility for the staging of these performances. For *I Santi Didimo e Teodora* it is reasonable that Francesco Barberini engaged the architect-engineer Giovanni Battista Soria (1581-1651), who had been at the service of the noble family since 1626.[2] Soria may well have been responsible for building stage,

[1] As already mentioned, Pio Ascanio di Savoia, who was responsible for writing the libretto of the joust entitled *L'Andromeda*, at pages 4 and 5 of this booklet speaks about the contribution given by Guitti to the development of the scenography in Rome (see Chapter 2, above, footnote 6). For further information about Guitti's experience during the years 1635-1637, see Adami, p. 23.

[2] The architect Giovanni Battista Soria (Rome 1581-1651) was born in Rome, where he worked under the patronage of the Borghese family from 1614 to 1626. During this period, he met Gian Lorenzo Bernini, who evidently introduced him to members of the Barberini family. He started working for the Barberini since 1626 and became a friend of Pietro Berettini da Cortona. He worked in numerous properties of the Barberini and, between 1633 and 1635, designed the library at Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane. See *The Grove Encyclopedia of Decorative Arts*, ed. by Gordon

sets and machinery for the opera. His involvement can be inferred from the list of payments, which also report a total amount of 2,190.74 *scudi* spent to pay for the material and for the people involved in the spectacle.[3]

As for *La pazzia d'Orlando* and *San Bonifacio,* the payment records report the names of numerous artists and masons, but the artists who were given the major roles were Niccolò Menghini (*c.*1610-1655) and Francesco Romanelli (*c.*1610-1662). Menghini had been part of the entourage of the Barberini for several years.[4] Since 1632, he had been at the service of the Tuscan family as a restorer and curator of Francesco's collection on antiques. This means that he had had enough time to meet and make friend with the other artists working at Palazzo Barberini, including Soria, Cortona and Bernini. Almost certainly, he had also had the opportunity to see some of the spectacles performed in the palazzo and to assist in their staging. The above conjecture could explain the reason for the great responsibility he was given in staging *La pazzia* and his later involvement in the staging of *Chi soffre, speri,* implying that the Barberini greatly trusted his theatrical skills.[5] For the Carnival season 1638, Menghini, who received 760.90 *scudi*, was responsible for hiring some artists and for buying most of the material employed.[6] He also collaborated with other artists in building the fixed parts of the scene, including the stage for *La pazzia d'Orlando*, which was the main task of Giovanni Battista Soria (1581-1651).[7] The latter was engaged by Menghini himself as attested by the following request for payment signed by Soria:

> nota della spesa fatta per servizio della comedia fatta al Palazzo delle 4 Fontane fatta fare dall'Eminentissimo Cardinale Francesco Barberino fatta da me Giovanni Battista Soria. Ordinò il Signor Niccola Menghino[8]

On the other hand, Romanelli was responsible for painting numerous canvasses, very likely used to make side-wings and perspectives. He also ordered the colours

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Campbell, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), I, 372. See also: Patricia Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces*, note 111, p. 388.

[3] See Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Comp. 51, fol. 161r. Also in Hammond, *Music and Spectacle*, p. 226.

[4] About Niccolò Menghini and his career in the service of the Barberini, See Lothar Sickel, 'Niccolò Menghini: "statuario di casa" del cardinale Francsco Barberini', in *I Barberini* (See Lavin, above), pp. 221-30.

[5] For the staging of *Chi soffre, speri*, See Chapter 4, below.

[6] See for instance: Appendix, item [8], fols 252r, 266r and 267r.

[7] See Appendix, item [8], fol. 166v.

[8] '[…] note of the expenses incurred by me, Giovanni Battista Soria, by order of Mr Niccolò Menghini in respect of the comedy performed at the Palazzo delle Quattro Fontane by will of His Eminence Cardinal Francesco Barberini'. See Appendix, item [8], fol. 274 r.

for himself and for the other painters as well as some cardboard used to make some clouds.[9]

Although the 'Giustificazioni I' do not report the name of Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680) among the people involved in the staging of the operas analysed in this chapter, it is reasonable that the Barberini asked him to supervise the work of the other artists.[10] The powerful family certainly knew Bernini's skill in theatrical matters – a skill well attested by his biographer Filippo Baldinucci (1625-1696).[11] Apart from the spectacles that Bernini organized in his house for his own guests, the same biographer reports:

> […] <a Giulio Rospigliosi> toccò a comporre i Drammi che per onesto trattenimento e letizia del Romano Popolo fecero i Principi Nipoti del Papa recitare in musica con apparenze di belle prospettive, ed artificiosissime machine di tutta invenzione e con intera assistenza del Cavalier Bernino […][12]

Another excerpt from Baldinucci's biography also attests the role of Bernini as supervisor of operas sponsored by members of the Barberini family. In particular, it refers to his involvement in staging performances on behalf of Antonio Barberini:

> Ad istanza del Cardinal Antonio Barberini compose il Bernino (ed a proprie spese, da persone dell'arte, cioè da pittori, scultori, e architetti), fece rappresentare le belle ed oneste commedie delle quali a suo tempo si parlerà; siccome ancora altre ne furono ammirate in Roma con machine meravigliose, che furono parto dell'ingegno di lui, e fatte a spese dello stesso Cardinale Antonio, come pure diremo a suo luogo.[13]

According to what is affirmed in these excerpts, Bernini would have supervised all the productions staged under the patronage of the Barberini. His theatrical experience had already gained him the supervision of the staging of the early operas sponsored by the Barberini.[14] It is also probable that he was at Guitti's side during the years 1633-1634, taking advantage of this collaboration for stealing some more

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[9] See Appendix, item [8], fol. 271r.
[10] About the possible involvement of Bernini in most operas sponsored by the Barberini, see Tamburini, pp. 269-74.
[11] See the section entitled '*Il Sant'Alessio*: Carnival 1632', in Chapter 1, above.
[12] '[…] <Giulio Rospigliosi> was responsible for writing the plays that the pope's prince nephews ordered to be recited in music for the virtuous entertainment and amusement of the Roman people. These plays had a display of beautiful perspectives and sophisticated machinery, invented and fully created by Cavalier Bernino.' See Baldinucci, p. 54.
[13] 'Under request of Cardinal Antonio Barberini, Bernini planned (and staged at his own expense, with the collaboration of people of art, that is painters, sculptors, and architects), the beautiful and wholesome comedies of which I will speak in due course. In the same way other wonderful machines that were the fruit of his genius and that were made at the expense of the same Cardinal Antonio, were admired in Rome, as I will say later.' See Baldinucci, p. 23.
[14] See Chapter 1, above.

technical secrets from the Ferrarese architect, as he had already done in Parma in 1628.[15]

Even if Bernini's name does not appear in the list of expenses for *I Santi Didimo e Teodora*, *La pazzia d'Orlando* and *San Bonifacio*, some of the innovative techniques that will be examined below were likely due to the suggestions that he gave to his artist-friends. His passion for the theatre had allowed him to develop more and more sophisticated devices. His experience side by side with Francesco Guitti, as well as his fervent activity as actor-scenographer for the performances he staged in his own house, allowed him to assimilate the techniques introduced by Guitti in Rome and further develop them, adding his personal skill and inventiveness.[16]

I Santi Didimo e Teodora (Carnivals 1635 and 1636)

I Santi Didimo e Teodora was the second sacred opera produced by the Barberini.[17] It was staged for two consecutive Carnival seasons (1635 and 1636) in the *sala dei marmi* of Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane in Rome. The name of the composer is still unknown, although some scholars believe he might have been either Stefano Landi or Michelangelo Rossi.[18] Even though the opera was performed several times, the score was lost very soon, as attested by the following letter, dated 9 January 1666, by Giberto Borromeo (1615–1672) to his brother Vitaliano (1620–1690), who shared with him a passion for theatre:[19]

> Quanto a le commedie San Alessio, San Bonifatio et Santa Teodora già dissi a Vostra Signoria Illustrissima che la prima fu stampata ma ora non se ne ritrova, la seconda non fu stampata in musica et della terza non fu stampata, né se ne ritrova che le parole manoscritte, ma non già la musica, la quale fu dal signor cardinale Barberino data al

[15] See Chapter 1, above, in particular footnote 73.
[16] It is also possible that Bernini had already developed his theatrical skills in Parma in 1628, when he was involved in building the Teatro Farnese. See Tamburini, p. 45, and Adami, p. 92.
[17] The first was *Il Sant'Alessio* discussed in Chapter 2, above.
[18] See for instance Hammond, *Music and Spectacle*, p. 225.
[19] Giberto Borromeo was born in Milan on 28 September 1615. He started his studies in Brera where he discussed his dissertation in 1632. For the subject of his dissertation, Giberto had sent a letter to Urban VIII for suggestions. This was his first approach with the Roman court in the hope of a possible future career. He visited the eternal city numerous times before completing his studies in *utroque iure* in Pavia 1636. Then, he finally planned to go to Rome to undertake an ecclesiastical career. He moved to Rome in 1638 and soon entered the entourage of Urbano VIII. See Anna Elena Galli, **'**Giberto III Borromeo: strategie politiche e scelte figurative di un cardinale milanese nella Roma di pieno Seicento'**,** *Archivio storico lombardo*, 129 (2003), 440-58.

> signor cardinale Sant'Angravio al quale fu rubata; al signor cardinale Barberino che voleva ad istanza della Regina di Svetia farla recitar di novo non è stata possibile il ritrovarla […].[20]

The libretto, on the other hand, was once more by Giulio Rospigliosi (1600–1669), who based the plot on a legend that dates back to the fourth century, the period of the alleged events. According to this, Theodora was a virgin and young noble Christian from Alexandria, who was imprisoned by the Roman Prefect Eustratius and condemned to be taken into a brothel for refusing to offer sacrifice to the Roman gods. The Christian soldier Didymus, who gave her his clothes to allow her to escape, rescued her. Once discovered, Didymus was brought to the prefect, who condemned him to death. According to Saint Ambrose, who reported the legend, Theodora could not allow her saviour to die alone and she decided to die with him. They were both beheaded.[21]

The seventeenth-century Roman public had known the subject of the opera since 1632, when Girolamo Bartolomeo Smeducci (1584–1662) published a tragedy entitled *Santa Teodora* in a collection of Tragedies dedicated to Pope Urban VIII. The same subject had been used for two *sacre rappresentazioni* dating back to the sixteenth century – the first, entitled *Teodora*, by Flaminio Malaguzzi (1536–1552) was published posthumously in 1578; the latter, by Agostino Faustini, was a spiritual tragedy entitled *Teodora d'Alessandria*, which was published in 1613. Rospigliosi took inspiration from both Smeducci's and Faustini's tragedy, even if there are more similarities between his libretto and Faustini's drama.[22]

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[20] 'As for the comedies *San Alessio*, *San Bonifatio* and *Santa Teodora*, I already told Your Illustrious Majesty that the first was printed, but now cannot be found, the second was not printed in music, and the third was not printed at all, and only the manuscript words can be found, but not the music that Cardinal Barberini gave to Cardinal Sant'Angravio, from whom it was stolen; Cardinal Barberini, who wanted to stage it again to entertain the Queen of Sweden, was not able to find it […]'. See Anna Elena Galli Gilberto Borromeo e Giulio Rospigliosi <http://www.nuovorinascimento.org/rosp-2000/persone/borromeo/borromeo.htm>

[21] The legend was known during the seventeenth century thanks to Alonso de Villegas Selvago's *Flos sanctorum Nuevo, y hystoria general de la vida, y hecos de Iesu Christo, Dios, y Señor nuestro. Y de todos los sanctos de que reza, y haze fiesta la Yglesia catholica: conforme al breviario romano* (Venice: Felix Valgrisio y Angel Tavan, 1588) that soon had an Italian edition: Alonso de Villegas Selvago, *Nuovo leggendario della vita, e fatti di N.S. Giesu Christo, e di tuttii santi, delli quali celebra la festa, e recita l'officio la s. Chiesa Catholica, conforme al Breviario romano riformato* (Venice: I Guerra, 1588). These early editions had numerous reprints mostly in Italian, during the following two centuries. In the 1590's reprinted edition by I Guerra that I consulted, the legend of the two saints is at pp. 757-59.

[22] See Rosella Cristofori, 'Le opere teatrali di Giulio Cesare Rospigliosi', *Studi romani*, XXVII, 3 (1979), 302-16.

The Barberini planned to offer the performance to the main dignitaries belonging to the three main parties present in Rome – the Roman, the French, and the Spanish. This is attested by numerous *avvisi*, which report that Cardinal Antonio, Cardinal Francesco and Taddeo Barberini, according to their proper role, made their best effort to invite the most important dignitaries and political personalities.[23]

Since all the operas sponsored by the Barberini had a political aim, it is evident that in staging *I Santi Didimo e Teodora* the powerful family were advocating the unity of the different parties present in Rome (the Roman, the French and the Spanish, mentioned above) under their common Christian faith. As for *Il Sant'Alessio*, also in *I Santi Didimo e Teodora* the intended message was that the true Christian prefers to renounce power and wealth to defend his/her beliefs. The main difference between the two operas is that, while in *Il Sant'Alessio* the sacrifice of the hero leads only to his own salvation, in the case of *Santa Teodora* there is a mutual sacrifice of the two heroes aiming at rescuing and supporting each other. The veiled message of the opera is that the true Christian never abandons another Christian even at the cost of his/her life.

To spread their message and to achieve their political aims, each of the Barberini was involved in inviting the most influential personalities. Taddeo, who was then prefect of Rome, invited numerous citizens and the 'Dame e Signore' of the court that attended one of the performances.[24] Cardinal Francesco was responsible for inviting some powerful Roman families as well as the French Ambassador, as the following *avviso* attests:

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[23] The aim of the Barberini was to re-establish a balance among the three parties after a period of tension. For decades before Urban VIII's election to the papal see, the Spanish had been attracting more and more papal families in their orbit through the concession of Neapolitan states. Thanks to this policy they had obtained the support of the powerful families of the Colonna, the Peretti the Boncompagni, the Caetani, the Savelli, the Conti, the Capranica, the Mattei, the Caffarelli, the Capizucchi and the Aldobrandini. During the 1620s, with the alliance between the Aldobrandini and the Ludovisi, the Spanish had also obtained the support of the latter. In 1623, the election to the papal see of Maffeo Barberini, who was openly pro-French, abruptly interrupted this easy policy of inferences of the Spanish faction in the Roman affairs. However, the political choices of the newly elected pope caused discontent in both the Spanish and the French faction. On the one hand, there was a deep crisis within the Spanish faction, which reached its peak during the 1630s. On the other, the intervention of the papal army in Valtellina (1626) on the Spanish side had deteriorated the relations with France, which had worsened because of Urban VIII's authoritarianism. Finally, the new court ceremonial that the pope had introduced disliked all parties. It was then necessary to find a way to calm the troubled waters. For a deeper analysis of the political situation in Rome during the sixteenth and seventeenth century, see Maria Antonietta Visceglia, 'Factions in the Sacred College', in *From Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 126-29.

[24] See Vatican City, BAV, Ottob. lat., 3346, fol. 30r, transcribed in Murata, p. 255, note 3.

> Martedì sera nel Palazzo dell'Eccellentissimo Signor Prefetto di Roma a Capo le Case per la prima volta fu recitata in musica la Rappresentazione di Santa Teodora che il Signor Cardinal Barberino fa far a sue spese per ricreazione di questa città, essendovi intervenuti quasi tutti li Prelati della corte, invitativi da Sua Eminenza come parimente questo Signor Ambasciatore di Francia, e li signori Duchi di Bracciano e Sforza con altri Signori […][25]

Cardinal Antonio invited and provided accommodation for the French Marshal, Toras, who had been among the main protagonists of the war in Valtellina, who attended one of the performances of *Santa Teodora*:[26]

> Giunse qua mercoledì il Signor Maresciallo di Toras, che viene alloggiato in questo Palazzo del Priorato di Roma alla piazza di San Pietro del Signor cardinale Antonio a spese di sua Eminenza, e giovedì sera intervenne alla Rappresentazione di Santa Teodora, che di nuovo fu recitata coll'intervento anche dei Signori Cardinali, Cappone, Scaglia, Queva, Sant'Onofrio, Bagni, Monti, Brancaccio, Barberino, Borghese, Ginetti, e Antonio, e di molti altri signori.[27]

As for the Spanish party, a letter dated 14 February 1635 by Giuseppe Zongo Ondedei reports that one of the performances was given for the Spanish Ambassadress and for other Princesses.[28]

The following Carnival the opera was staged again at Palazzo Barberini and was given several times as is made clear by the numerous letters and *avvisi* that reported the event. In particular, an *avviso* says that one of the performances staged during the month of January was an entertainment offered to Cardinal Lionne (1611–1671) and Cardinal of Savoy (1593–1657).[29] Both cardinals were important guests because of their political weight in the complex relationship between the Barberini and the other European powers. Lionne, who had just arrived in Rome

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[25] 'On Tuesday night, in the Palazzo at Capo le Case of his Excellence the Prefect of Rome, the performance of Santa Teodora was staged with music for the first time. This was done at the expense of Cardinal Barberini to entertain this city. Almost all the clergymen of the court, invited by His Eminence, were in attendance, as well as the ambassador of France and the dukes of Bracciano and Sforza with other gentlemen […]'. See Vatican City, BAV, Barb. lat. 6355, fol. 30r, fully transcribed in Murata, p. 255, note 4.

[26] About Marshal Toras and his role in the war in Valtellina, see Girolamo Brusoni, *Della Historia d'Italia Libri XXXVIII* (Venice: Storti and Boncirutti, 1671), p. 74.

[27] 'The Marshal of Toras arrived on Wednesday. He was hosted in this Palazzo of the Priory of Rome of Cardinal Antonio at Piazza San Pietro at the expense of His Eminence, and on Thursday night he attended the performance of Santa Teodora, which was again performed also in the presence of cardinals Cappone, Scaglia, Queva, Sant'Onofrio, Bagni, Monti, Brancaccio, Barberino, Borghese, Ginetti, and Antonio, and numerous other Gentlemen'. See the *avviso* of Rome dated 10 February 1635, transcribed in Murata, p. 255, note 5.

[28] Giuseppe Zongo Hondedei, who died in 1674, was Jules Mazarin's secretary. See the 'Lettera di Zongo Hondedei a Camillo Rospigliosi', in *Banca Dati 'Giulio Rospigliosi'* <http://www.nuovorinascimento.org/rosp-2000/documenti/hondedei-1635-02-14.htm>

[29] The *avviso* is held in Vatican City, BAV, Barb. lat. 6362, fol. 11v, and also transcribed in Murata, p. 256, note 10.

under the protection of Cardinal Mazarin, had lived since the age of eighteen with his uncle Abel Servien (1593–1659), ex-counsellor of state for Louis XIII and collaborator of Cardinal Richelieu for foreign affairs.[30] On the other hand, Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy was among the most powerful noblemen in Rome, since he belonged to one of the oldest royal families. His presence in Rome was meant to reinforce the authority of the French faction in a period in which, as analysed above, Spain was gaining more and more power. Savoy first arrived in Rome in 1621 and stayed there for a few months. He returned in May 1623 and had a great influence in the election of Maffeo Barberini to the papal see. He left in January 1627 and was back again in 1635. His presence is documented from spring 1635 to October 1638, during which period he had the opportunity to actively participate in the cultural and artistic life of the papal court.[31] The presence of the two cardinals at the performance had a great political relevance since the Barberini had always tried to tighten political ties with the French monarchy and consequently with the French faction in Rome.

The excerpt below, from the same *avviso* that gives the information about the presence of the two Cardinals, specifies that the version of *I Santi Didimo e Teodora* performed in 1636 was longer and more elaborate than the one performed the previous year:

> Il Signor Cardinale Barberino per ricreazione delli Signori Cardinali di Lionne e di Savoia, e d'altri personaggi ha risoluto di fare recitare di nuovo in musica in questo Carnevale la Rappresentazione di Santa Theodora nel Palazzo del Signor Cardinale Antonio a Capo le Case, dove fu rappresentata l'anno passato, ma con qualche aggiunta, e varietà di prospettive, et intermedi apparenti.[32]

[30] For further information, see *Monarchies, noblesses et diplomaties européennes. Mélanges en l'honneur de Jean-François Labourdette* ed. by Roger Baury, Jean-Pierre Poussou, Marie-Catherine Vignal-Souleyreau (Paris: Pups, 2005), pp. 561-62.

[31] Cardinal Savoy chose as his Roman residence Palazzo Montegiordano, known today as Palazzo Taverna at Monte Giordano. There, he founded one of his Roman academies, the Accademia dei Desiosi that exerted a great cultural influence. Among the most important participants to the academy's meetings were the composer Michelangelo Rossi (*c.* 1601-1656) and the intellectual-publisher Agostino Mascardi (1590-1640), who was also responsible for the organization of most meetings of the academy. For further information about Maurizio of Savoy and the relationship between the House of Savoy and the Roman court, see Tobias Mörschel, 'Il cardinal Maurizio di Savoia e la presenza sabauda a Roma all'inizio del XVII secolo', *Dimensioni e Problemi della Ricerca Storica*, II (2001), 147-78.

[32] 'Signor Cardinal Barberino, to entertain the Signori Cardinals of Lyon and Savoy, and other illustrious guests, decided to stage again in music during this Carnival the performance of Santa Teodora at the Palazzo of Signor Cardinale Antonio at Capo le Case, where it was performed last year, but with some additions and variety of perspectives and with wonderful intermedi.' See Vatican City, BAV, Barb. lat. 6362, fol. 11v, also transcribed in Murata, p. 256, note 10.

The Cardinal of Savoy, fetched by Cardinal Antonio Barberini, was accompanied to Palazzo Barberini, where he was offered a magnificent banquet.[33] Other performances were staged in February for different occasions. One, for instance, was given to entertain the most important ladies living in Rome and their husbands, invited by Taddeo's wife Anna.[34] Maybe the very last performance was staged before 15 February, since on this day Antonio Ferragalli, secretary of Francesco Barberini, wrote a letter to Jules Mazarin, which reports that Montague, son of the grand chancellor of England, arrived in Rome for the very last days of Carnival, but still in time to see a performance of *Santa Teodora.*[35]

In writing the libretto, Rospigliosi took into consideration his previous experiences and created episodes lending themselves to the display of numerous stage effects and the use of theatrical machinery.[36] The printed *argomento* (see frontispiece below), indicates that the opera had a prologue and three acts – the first of eight, the second of eleven and the third of ten scenes.

[33] See Vatican City, BAV, Barb. lat., 6362, fols 15v-16r. See also the transcription of a similar *avviso* in Murata, p. 256, note 10.
[34] The episode is documented by an *avviso* transcribed in Murata, p. 257, note 13.
[35] Vatican City, BAV, Barb. lat. 8044, fol. 180r.
[36] The plot is as follows. In the prologue, Heavenly Love, Martyrdom and Virginity tell about the persecutions of the Christians in ancient Egypt. Cleopatra appears crying and lamenting her sufferings in the afterlife, but is rejected with no mercy among the damned. In the first act, Teodora, just converted to the Christian faith, confesses her decision to her mother and nurse and later to the high court. The pagan consul Olibrio, who loves Teodora, fearing for her life, first asks the proconsul Eustratio to spare her life, later he seeks help from his fellow soldier Didimo, but he realizes that he also has embraced the Christian faith. The allegorical characters Pleasure, Riches, Vanity and Idleness appear trying to tempt Teodora who tries to resist. An angel encouraging her and preparing her to face the persecution that she is going to suffer then visits Teodora. Later Teodora's nurse tries (with no success) to convince her to reject her new faith. In the meantime, while Teodora's parents are organizing a joust in which the cavaliers of the court participate to win Teodora's hand, news is spread about Teodora's blasphemous actions of knocking down the Egyptians' idols in a temple. Again the two allegorical characters, Pleasure and Riches, tempt Teodora. In another scene, Teodora appears in a brothel, where she is imprisoned and Didimo helps her to escape. When Olibrio is told about the escape, he becomes furious. Later Didimo receives a false letter from Teodora, actually written by Olibrio with Teodora's nurse help, in which she says she decided to reject her Christian faith. The letter disappoints Didimo but he decides to continue following his new faith. During the following night, while the Egyptians are celebrating their idols, the sky darkens, and a sudden storm pulls down the idols. Again, Pleasure and Vanity try to tempt Teodora and this time she is almost convinced to renounce her faith, but the day after she decides to go back to Alexandria and face her destiny. Once she joins Didimo, Olibrio is moved and he confesses about the false letter her wrote but they resolve to die together. When the martyrs' parents are told about Didimo's and Teodora's executions they fall in despair, but they are soon reassured by the martyrs' spirits that from heaven comfort them.

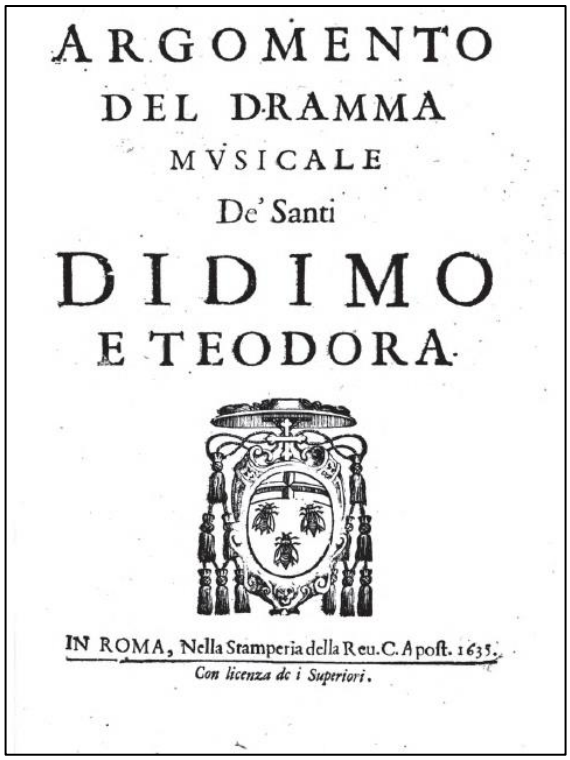

ARGOMENTO
DEL DRAMMA
MVSICALE
De' Santi
DIDIMO
E TEODORA
IN ROMA, Nella Stamperia della Reu. C. A post. 1635.
Con licenza de i Superiori.

Fig. 3.1 Frontispiece of the printed *argomento* of *I Santi Didimo e Teodora* (Rome: Reverenda Camera Apostolica, 1635).

Since most documents concerning this opera are lost, the following analysis is based mainly on a manuscript held in the Trivulziana Library in Milan, which consists of a synthesis of the plot with captions concerning some theatrical directions and scenographic details. The hypothesis proposed below is that the artists who staged *I Santi Didimo e Teodora* created a complex scenography consisting of a set of *periaktoi*, a double set of flats on either side of the stage and a series of backdrops and perspectives. Several machines and theatrical devices were also used to produce stage effects. To support this hypothesis, a figure with a sketch of the stage plan is provided to illustrate the most relevant scene-changes.

Prologue and Act I

In the prologue, the scene represented the city of Alexandria. Three allegorical characters, Martyrdom, Virginity and Celestial Love, appeared descending from heaven.[37] Their entrance is described in the synthesis of the plot that states that

[37] Since the analysis of the scenography of this opera is based mainly on the manuscript document numbered cod. triv. 891 held in the Biblioteca Trivulziana in Milan as transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, pp. 77-86, all references to the manuscript in the following notes will be abbreviated as Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, ms 891 as transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, followed by the page number.

Celestial Love, Martyrdom and Virginity descended on the city, riding on three clouds.[38] A caption in the same manuscript adds some more details, since it reports that at about half of the madrigal sung during the prologue by the three allegorical characters '[…] cominciano a calare le nuvole e al fine della stanza hanno da essere in terra'.[39] The above description suggests that when the curtain opened, the audience saw an empty stage, representing the city of Alexandria – the setting corresponds to the stage plan illustrated in fig. 3.2, which is the first of a series of stage plans in support of the hypothesis provided in this section.

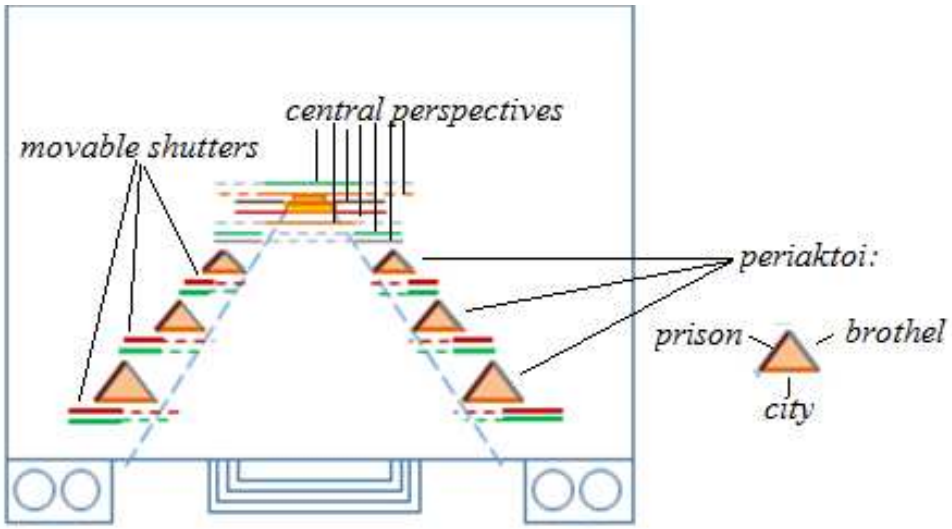


Fig. 3.2 Hypothetical stage plan for the beginning of the Prologue of *I Santi Didimo e Teodora.*

Then, the description reports that the three separate clouds, which brought in the three allegorical characters mentioned above, were lowered to the stage level. This description fits with the cloud machines illustrated in the engraving below, which were designed by Francesco Guitti for the *seconda comparsa* of the joust entitled *La contesa*.

[38] '[…] a cavallo di tre nuvole scendono sulla città amor celeste, martirio e verginità'. See Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 891, as transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 77.
[39] 'the clouds start descending and at the end of the stanza must have reached ground level'. See Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 891, as transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 77.



Fig. 3.3 Second engraving of Francesco Guitti's *La contesa torneo fatto in Ferrara per le nozze dell'illustrissimo signor Giovanni Francesco Sacchetti coll'illustrissima signora donna Beatrice Estense Tassona* (Ferrara: Francesco Suzzi, 1632).

It is plausible that during the descent of the three allegorical characters, the central perspective opened and a monument appeared in the backstage before the audience's eyes – this was soon revealed to be Cleopatra's tomb (see the hypothetical stage plan for this scene sketched in fig. 3.4).

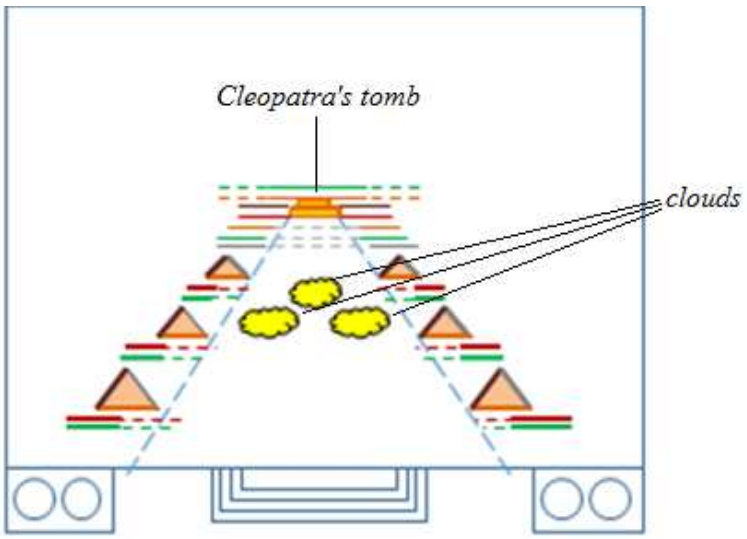


Fig. 3.4 Hypothetical stage plan for the second part of the Prologue of *I Santi Didimo e Teodora.*

The apparition of Cleopatra's tomb was functional to the role of the three characters, which was to introduce the subject of the opera by telling about the persecutions of the early Christians in Egypt. As soon as they finished singing, the tomb of

Cleopatra went into pieces and bricks and rubble were made to fall under the stage.[40] Fig. 3.5 shows a hypothesis of the stage plan for this scene.

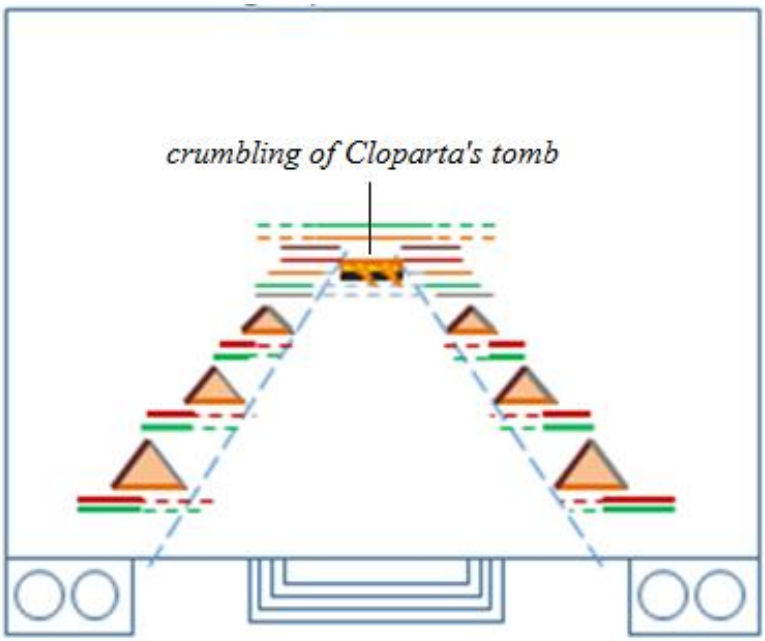


Fig. 3.5 Hypothetical stage plan for the third part of the Prologue of *I Santi Didimo e Teodora.*

When the tomb opened, the ghost of Cleopatra emerged lamenting her sad condition, which consisted in suffering the pains of her eternal perdition. At the end of her speach the ghost fell below the stage'.[41] This means that a trap door allowed the actor playing the role of Cleopatra to disappear before the audience's eyes. At this point, the synthesis of the plot reports that the three allegorical characters rose back to heaven and the perspective closed.[42] The same piece of information is confirmed by a caption reporting that at the end of the prologue, the scene of the city returned, which means that the central perspective closed and the audience saw once more the city of Alexandria as illustrated by the hypothetical stage plan below.[43]

[40]'[…] rovina il sepolcro di Cleopatra e si fanno cadere sotto il palco mattoni e calcinacci.' See Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 891 as transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 77.
[41] '[…] precipita l'ombra nel palco'. See Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana MS 891, as transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 77.
[42] '[…] risalgono in cielo e si chiude il prospetto'.See Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 891 as transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 77.
[43] '[…] finito il prologo ritorna la prospettiva della città'. See Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 891 as transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 77.

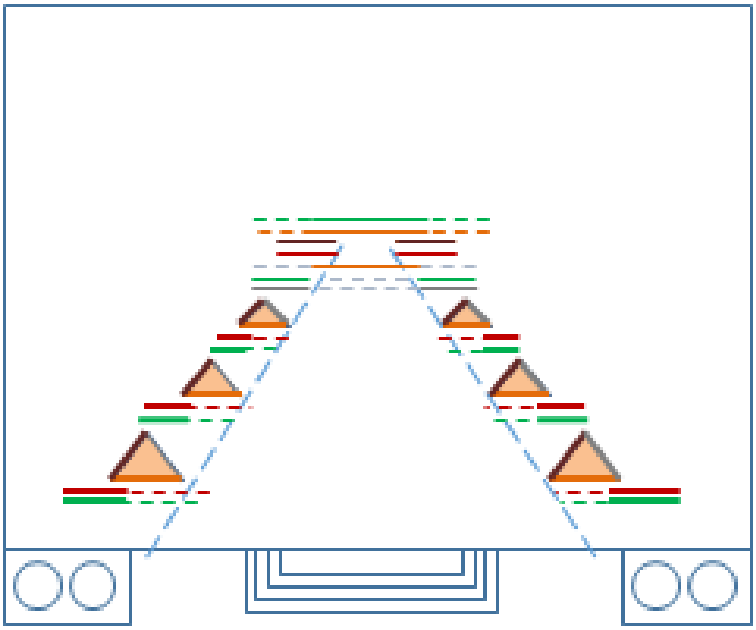


Fig. 3.6 Hypothetical stage plan for the scenes 1-5 of Act I of *I Santi Didimo e Teodora.*

There are some similarities between the scenography of this prologue and that of *Erminia*'s prologue. Cleopatra's tomb, for instance, echoes the rock that opened in *Erminia*'s prologue allowing the personification of the river Jordan to come out. Since it was common at the time to store pieces of scenery to reuse them for later occasions, it is conceivable that the tomb was made reusing parts of the material employed for the rock.[44] The spectacular idea of making characters appear in the sky in the prologue had been already used in *Erminia*, but while *Erminia*'s machine bringing Amore passed in the sky, in *Santa Teodora* the three allegorical characters descended to the stage level.

The setting remained unchanged until the end of the fifth scene of Act I, when a caption in the Trivulziana manuscript reports that all characters went out of stage and a scene representing a garden appeared.[45] This was the setting for the sixth scene, representing the garden of four allegorical characters: Pleasure, Richness, Idleness, and Vanity. This new scene might have been set up using the following techniques: the central perspective, representing the city of Alexandria, opened again and the section of the stage in the background appeared again before the

[44] This is attested by numerous payments that I investigated for the other performances analysed for this study, which are about repairing pieces of scenography as well as mending costumes and shoes. Most of them are collected in the 'Giustificazioni I' of the Archivio Barberini held by the Vatican Library at Vatican City (see Appendix).

[45] '[…] fornita la suddetta scena, rientrati tutti i personaggi, comparisce la scena del giardino.' See Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 891 as transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 77.

audience's eyes but with a different backdrop; in the meantime, pairs of tree-shaped flats smoothly slid on tracks, covering the fixed side-wings.

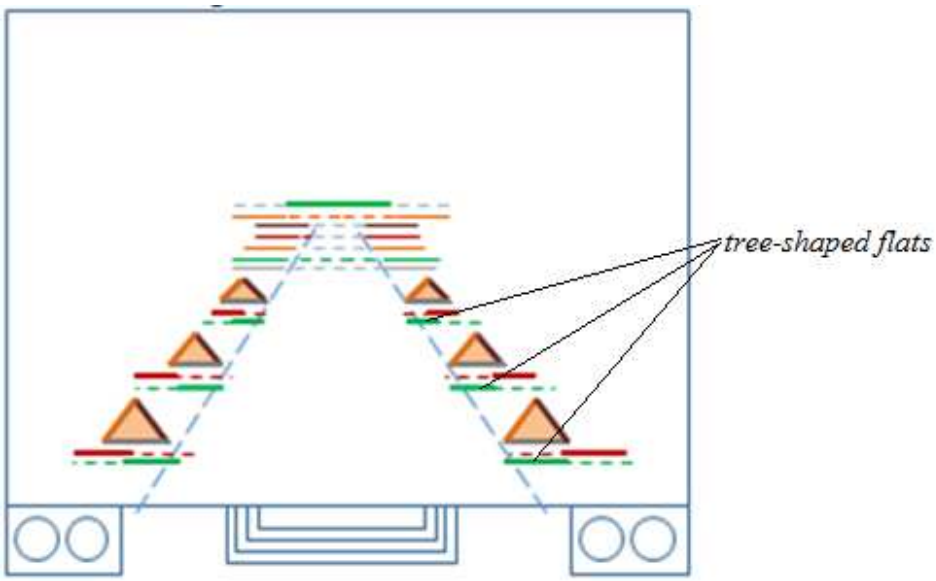


Fig. 3.7 Hypothetical stage plan for scene 6 of Act I of *I Santi Didimo e Teodora.*

During the sixth scene, there was a ballet of nymphs, while at the end of the scene a caption in the manuscript reports that Pleasure and Richness entered to tempt Teodora. While Vanity and Idelness entered the perspective, which makes clear that the central perspective was still open.[46] In considering the space that Cleopatra's tomb must have taken, the above is also a further confirmation that there was enough space behind the central perspective to allow the actors to pass through it or to recite from there – this was, for instance, the case for Cleopatra during the second scene of the Prologue.

At the beginning of the seventh scene of Act I, two captions in the Trivulziana manuscript indicate that the scene changed again. They describe the type of setting reporting that at the beginning of the scene a brothel appeared and indicate the use of a theatrical machine with the words 'sia pronto il carro dell'Angelo'.[47] The scene-change was obtained by making the tree-shaped flats slide back on their tracks, while a new setting representing a brothel appeared before the audience's eyes. This

[46] '[…] Piacere, Ricchezza vanno per dare tentazione a Teodora. Vanità, Ozio entrano nella prospettiva'. See Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 891 as transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 77.

[47] '[…] a principio di questa scena comparisce il lupanare'and 'ensure that the chariot of the angel is ready.' See Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 891 as transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 77.

is the first time during this study in which the investigation of documents proves a scene-change that does not alternate with a fixed scene. The artists could have chosen one of the following two solutions to create this: either to make a fixed scene and prepare four sets of movable shutters, or to make a set of *periaktoi* and prepare two sets of movable shutters.[48] As hinted before, the second solution seems the most likely because it fits better with the stage directions described by the captions of the Trivulziana manuscript. In this case, the stage plan for this scene-change might have been the one illustrated by the following figure.

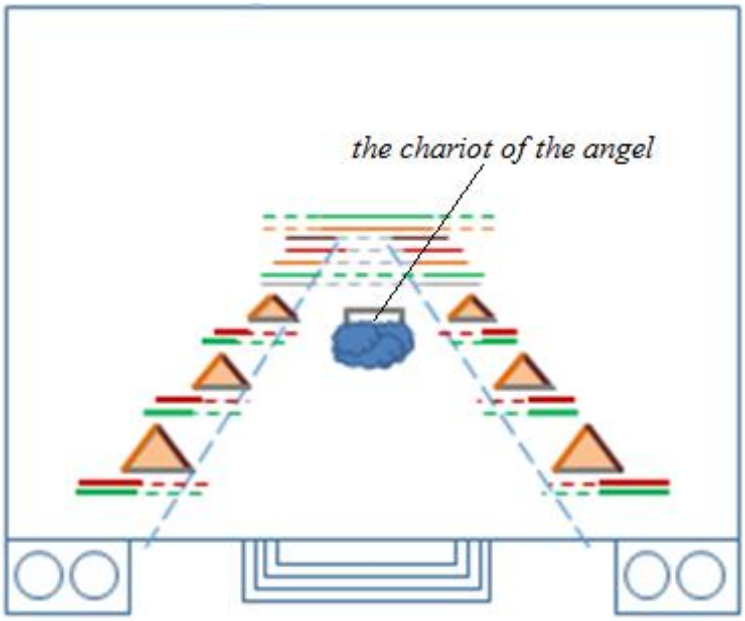


Fig. 3.8 Hypothetical stage plan for scene 7 of Act I of *I Santi Didimo e Teodora.*

Other captions in the manuscript report that during the seventh scene of Act I, the chariot (mentioned above) started coming out slowly. This was a complex piece of theatrical machinery – it appeared in the form of clouds that gently opened disclosing the chariot of the angel. The sketch below illustrates the hypothetical stage plan for this scene.

[48] The first solution has been illustrated by Daolmi in his above mentioned *La drammaturgia*, pp. 47-52.

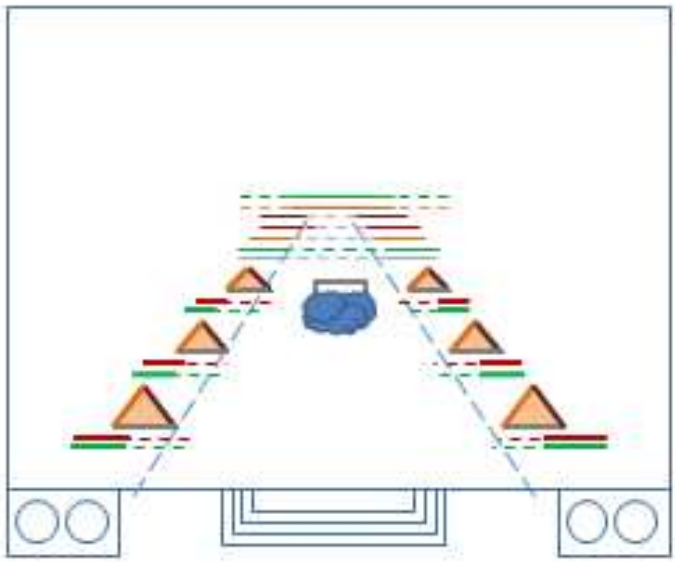
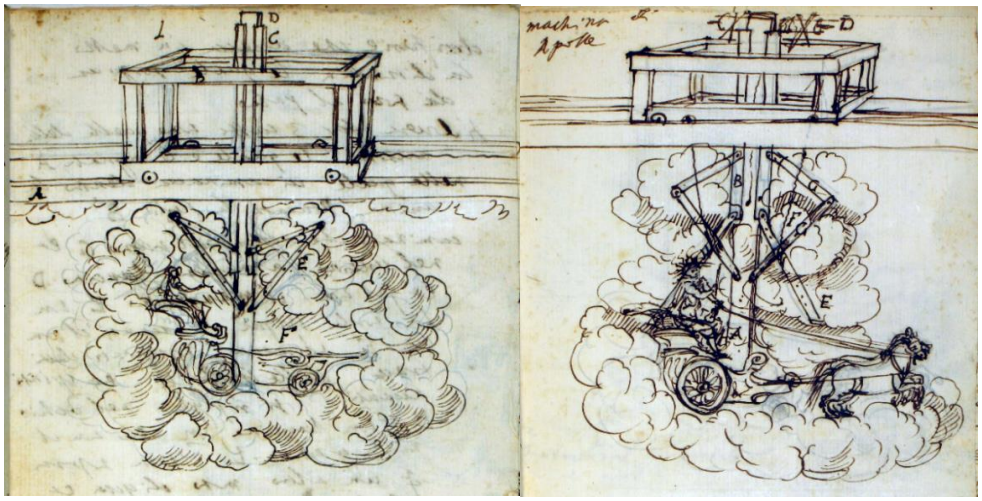


Fig. 3.9 Hypothetical stage plan for the second part of scene 7 of Act I of *I Santi Didimo e Teodora.*

Later, the clouds closed and the angel and its chariot disappeared once more among them.[49]

The above description fits with the drawings below (fig. 3.10a/3.10b), which are both from the notebooks by Paolo Floriani already used for the analysis of the scenography of the operas staged by Guitti in 1633 and 1634. They concern the operation of two theatrical machines that Guitti had designed in Parma in 1628.[50]



3.10a. 3.10 b.

Fig. 3.10a. Macerata, Associazione Compagnoni Floriani di Villamagna (by kind permission), all rights reserved ©, codex α, fol. 30r, table XXXI, detail.

Fig. 3.10b. Macerata, Associazione Compagnoni Floriani di Villamagna (by kind permission), all rights reserved ©, codex α, fol. 36r, table XLI, detail.

[49] A caption reports 'Si riserra il carro e sparisce' ('the chariot of <the angel> closes and disappears'). See Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 891 as transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 77. Also in Murata, p. 204, note 50.

[50] For the description of these machines, see Adami, pp. 163-64 and pp. 175-77.

During the descent of the cloud, the noise of which covered the noise of the panels sliding in the grooves, a new central perspective closed. It completed the setting for the scene representing the brothel.

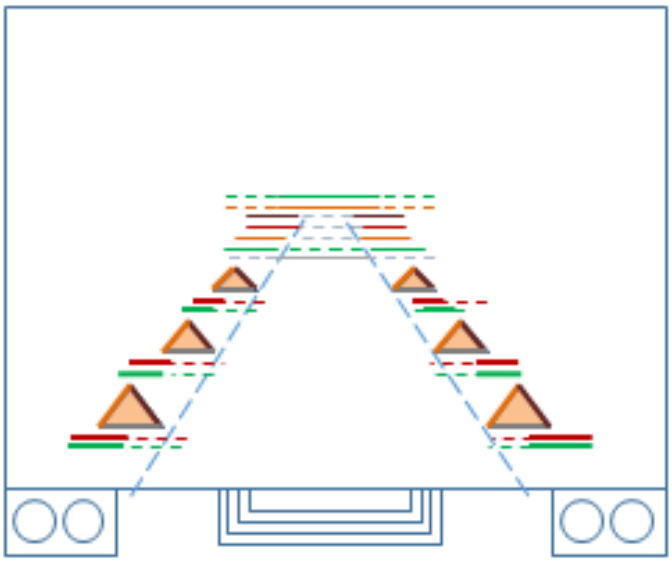


Fig. 3.11 Hypothetical stage plan for the second part of scene 7 and for scene 8 of Act I of *I Santi Didimo e Teodora.*

At the beginning of the eighth and last scene of Act I, the description reports that the setting was still the brothel – Teodora was alone and sang an aria. At the end of the scene, the *periaktoi* turned, the perspective changed and the scene of the city appeared again.[51]

First *intermedio*

This was also the setting at the beginning of the first *intermedio*, which started with a chorus praising Theodora's beauty and richness. As soon as the chorus ended, the central perspective opened, showing a new background – the throne room of the Egyptian President.[52]

[51] This is reported in a caption that says: 'Finita questa scena torna la scena di città' ('At the end of this scene, the scene of the city returns'). See Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 891 as transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 77.

[52] A caption in the Trivulziana manuscript reports 's'apre la prospettiva e vi si vede il seggio del presidente' ('The perspective opens and the throne of the president appears'). See Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 891 as transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 78.

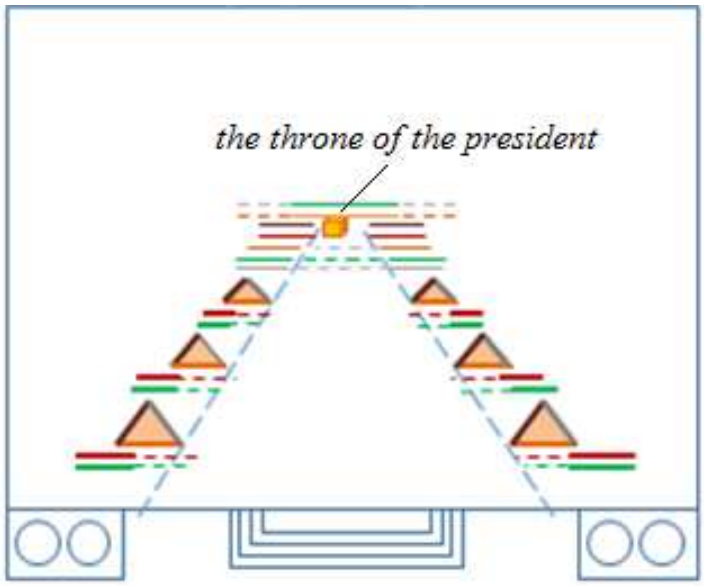


Fig. 3.12 Hypothetical stage plan for the first *intermedio* of *I Santi Didimo e Teodora.*

This was the setting for the joust organized to win Theodora's hand. Three knights appeared, and the written challenge was read. Three other knights entered and the joust started, but Eustrazio, who announced Theodora's refusal to marry, soon interrupted it. At this news, all the actors on stage went out of the audience's sight. The central perspective closed, the *periaktoi* turned and the setting representing a brothel appeared again ending the *intermedio*.'[53]

Act II

The setting representing the brothel was still there at the beginning of Act II. The vices tried again to tempt Theodora and a colonnade of a palace adorned with precious jewels appeared before the audience's eyes.[54] This new setting must have been obtained thanks to a second set of side wings sliding in grooves and to a new backdrop as illustrated in the stage plan sketched in the figure below. During the scene-change, from the backstage, a chorus sang a tempting madrigal, intended to convince Theodora to abandon her faith to live a more comfortable life.[55] Since the

[53] This is recorded in the following caption the Trivulziana manuscript: 'a queste ultime parole, rientrati tutti, viene il lupanaro e si chiude la prospettiva' ('At these last words, once all have left the stage, the brothel appears and the perspective closes'). See Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 891 as transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 78.
[54] See Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 891 as transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 78.
[55] The manuscript reports: 'Si sentono le voci di un coro tentatore [coro]. Aria dentro la scena. Madrigaletto si canta dentro' ('The voices of a tempting chorus are heard [chorus]. Air from inside the scene. A brief madrigal is sung inside <the scene>'). See Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 891 as transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 78.

young girl did not yield to this temptation, the vision of the colonnades disappeared and the setting of the brothel came back once more.[56] This was likely obtained by making the central perspective already used for the brothel close and the second set of side wings slide back uncovering the side of the *periaktoi* representing the brothel.

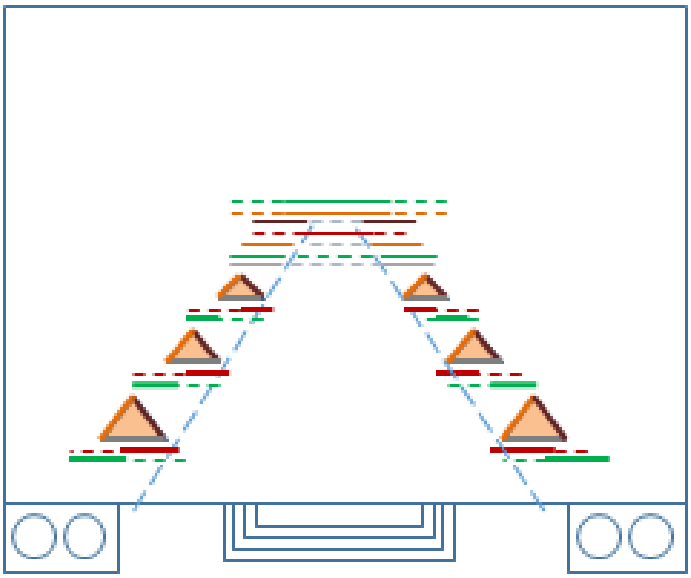


Fig. 3.13 Hypothetical stage plan for scene 1 of Act II of *I Santi Didimo e Teodora.*

At the beginning of the second scene of Act II Didimo entered on stage. He arrived to rescue Theodora and help her to escape, remaining in the brothel in her place. In the following two scenes, Didimo was first discovered by Olibrio, then forced to confess his guilt. At the end of the fourth scene, the setting changed once more and the city of Alexandria reappeared.[57] The *periaktoi* must have turned on themselves showing one of their other two sides, representing the city of Alexandria. The setting remained unchanged until the end of the ninth scene. Then, the *periaktoi* must have turned once more, showing their third side, and a new perspective must have covered the previous one. This scene-change made it possible to transform the brothel into a prison before the audience's eyes. A caption in the Trivulziana

[56] The manuscript reports 'A queste parole sparisce la scena delle collonati e torna il lupanari.' ('At these words the scene of the columnades disappears and the brothel reappears'). See Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 891 as transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 78.
[57] See Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 891 as transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 78.

manuscript describes the very moment in which the changing of scene happened, noting: 'Rientrato il sacerdote comparisce la scena della prigione'.[58]

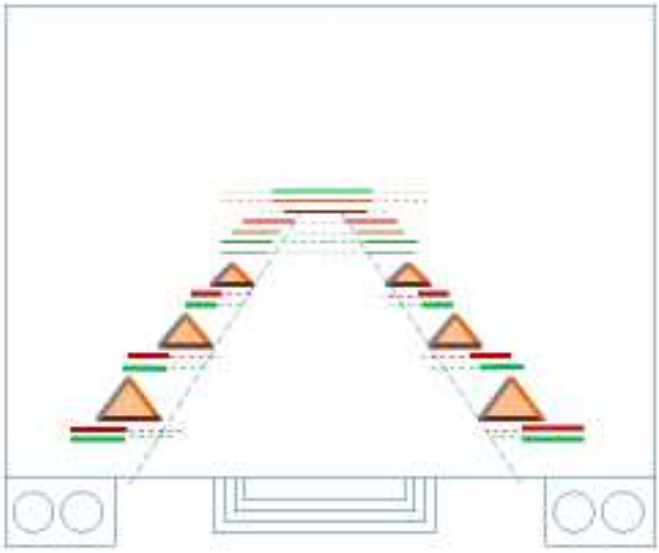


Fig. 3.14 Hypothetical stage plan for the end of scene 9 and for scenes 10 and 11 of Act II of *I Santi Didimo e Teodora.*

At the end of the eleventh scene, which was also the last scene of Act II, the *periaktoi* turned once more. They showed the side representing the city, while the central perspective closed completing the setting for the city of Alexandria.[59]

Second *intermedio*

This setting was still there at the beginning of the second *intermedio*, which opened with a chorus celebrating a pagan rite. When the chorus finished singing, the central perspective opened showing a temple.[60]

[58] A caption of the Trivulziana manuscript says: 'Rientrato Clearco svanisce la prigione e viene la scena della città' ('Once the priest has left the stage, the scene of a prison appears'). See Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 891 as transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 79.
[59] 'As soon as Clearco goes out, the prison vanishes and the scene of the city returns.' See Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 891 as transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 79.
[60] 'A la fin di questa scena s'apre la prospettiva e si vede il tempio' ('At the end of this scene, the perspective opens and discloses the temple'). See Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 891 as transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 79.

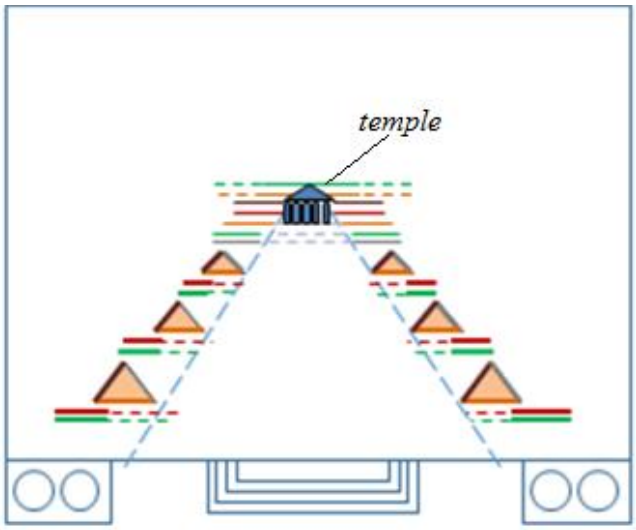


Fig. 3.15 Hypothetical stage plan for the second part of the second *intermedio* of *I Santi Didimo e Teodora*

Then the stage started darkening gradually. A ballet followed, but it was soon interrupted by a storm, with hail, lighting and thunder effects.[61] The theatrical devices employed to create the storm effects attest the complexity of this performance. The artists involved in its staging did not only rely on the visual aspect to reach their audience, but also make use of sophisticated devices able to create the most striking effects – these devices might be seen as evidence of the technical advice by Bernini.

Act III

At the beginning of Act III, the setting was still the scene representing the city of Alexandria. The allegorical character Pleasure opened the act, complaining with Theodora for his failure. When Pleasure finished his complaint, new side wings slid in covering the *periaktoi* and transforming the setting into a wood.[62] It is likely that this setting was obtained reusing the movable shutters, representing treetops, already used for the scene of the garden, but with a different central perspective in the background, as shown below.

[61] 'A queste parole si levano i lumi a poco a poco. […] Qui comincia a grandinare, lampeggiare e tonare. […] Alla fine di queste parole si fornirà col lampo. […] Fuggono per diverse strade e un fulmine percote gli idoli' ('[…] the lights are extinguished gradually. […] Here it starts to hail, followed by lightning and thunder. […] These words will finish at a flash of lightning. […] They all flee in different directions and a lightning bolt hits the idols'). See Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 891 as transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 79.

[62] This scene-change is reported in a caption in the Trivulziana manuscript, which says: 'Rientrato il Piacere si muta la scena con la prospettiva in bosco' ('After Pleasure's exit, the scene changes to a perspective of a wood'). See Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 891 as transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 79.

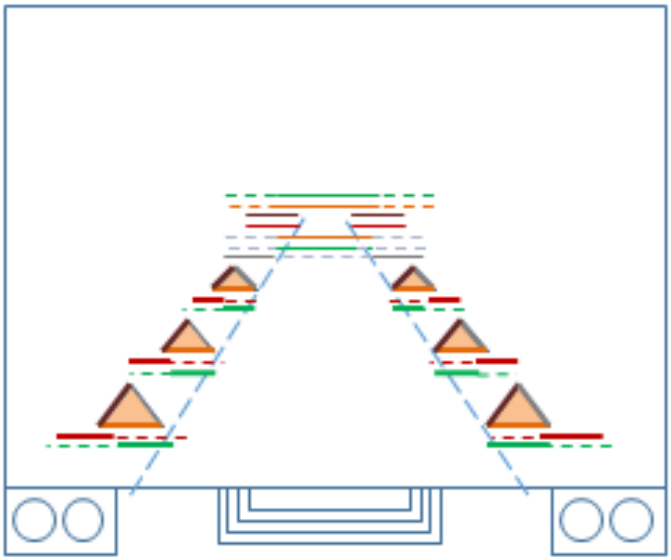


Fig. 3.16 Hypothetical stage plan for the scenes 1-2 of Act III of *I Santi Didimo e Teodora.*

The new setting remained unchanged until the end of the second scene. Then, the movable shutters slid back, the central perspective changed and the scene representing the city of Alexandria appeared.[63] Apparently, there were no other changes until the end of the ninth scene, where the Trivulziana manuscript reports: 'A queste parole si scopre il paradiso'.[64]

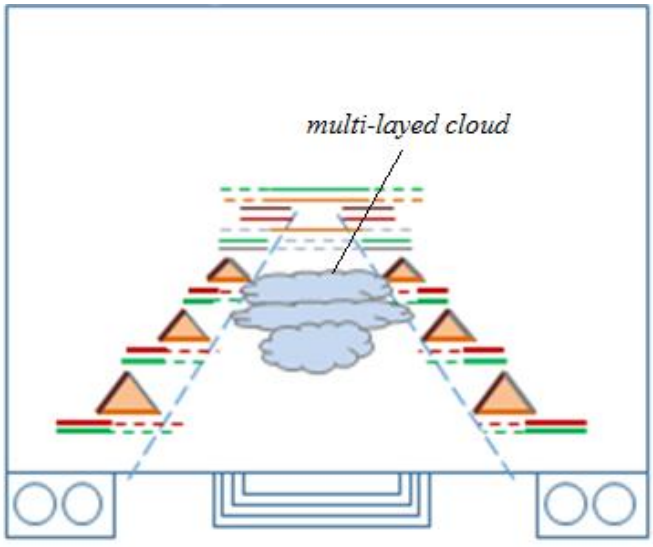


Fig. 3.17 Hypothetical stage plan for the end of scene 9 and scene 10 of Act III of *I Santi Didimo e Teodora.*

[63] 'Rientrata Teodora sparisce il bosco e torna la scena e prospettiva della città' ('After Teodora leaves the stage, the woods vanish and the scene of a city returns'). See Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 891 as transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 79.
[64] 'At these words, paradise is unveiled'. See Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 891 as transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 79.

It is feasible that the machine used for the end of the ninth and for the tenth and last scene of *Santa Teodora*, was similar to the machine used for the apotheosis in *Il Sant'Alessio* (see figg. 2.30 and 2.31). There is evidence that the artists responsible for staging this performance reused pieces of scenery from both *Il Sant'Alessio* and *Erminia sul Giordano* and elements from the scenography commissioned to Bernini and Pietro da Cortona by Francesco Barberini for the celebration of the *Quarantore*.[65]

The very last caption in the Trivulziana manuscript says: 'dopo queste parole si ritira la tenda della scena'.[66] This indication is very interesting because it suggests that at the end of the performance the stage was hidden from the audience's eyes by pulling the curtain. This method is completely different from the one used in *Il Sant'Alessio*, where the curtain fell, but it is the same used for both *La pazzia d'Orlando* and *San Bonifacio*, as can be inferred by reading the requests for payments for these performances (see next section).

According to the above analysis the opera displayed ten different scene-changes, which were the city of Alexandria, the tomb of Cleopatra, the garden of Pleasures, a brothel, the throne room of the President of Alexandria, a colonnade of a rich palace, a forest, a prison, a temple, a wood. Nevertheless, an *avviso* reports that the scene changed twenty-four times. Also considering that the spectators had the sense of a scene-change when dancers entered onto stage and when a particular type of machinery was used, this number of scenes does not fit either with the printed *argomento* or with the Trivulziana manuscript and its captions.[67] However, a letter by the Abbot Pierre Michon Bourtelot describing *I Santi Didimo e Tedora*, gives some other information about the performance and reports scenes that are not mentioned in the Trivulziana manuscript.[68] The following excerpt, for instance, which is an excerpt from Bourdelot's letter describing the scenography of the performance and its stage effects, describes more settings than those analysed above.

> Avreste creduto in una stessa sera di sentire venti commedie se aveste tratto le loro differenze dalla quantità di rare invenzioni che avrebbero potuto dare a venti rappresentazioni abbellimenti al di sopra del comune o se le aveste distinte dal numero

[65] See, for instance, Tamburini, p. 83 and p.107, note 23.
[66] 'After these words the curtain of the scene is pulled'. See Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, MS 891 as transcribed in Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 79.
[67] The *avviso*, dated 10 February is transcribed in Murata, p. 255, note 6.
[68] See the full letter, translated in Italian, in Tamburini, pp. 61-63.

> delle prospettive le cui face, tutte diverse, vi avrebbero persuaso di essere in altrettante sale diverse. Non erano in realtà che mutazioni sceniche per cui, per un virtuosismo ignoto ad Orfeo, in un attimo era possibile fare gran viaggi tra boschi, rocce e palazzi: e come se la commedia fosse durata parecchi anni, si vedevano gli edifici crollare e lasciare tracce fedeli della loro maestà nelle rovine. Altrove ci si serve di tele dipinte ma qui (se devo credere al giudizio della vista) erano veri palazzi, rocce e boschi che si erano messe al posto delle pitture che le simulavano. Mai commedia sarebbe stata più divertente se un malaugurato tuono non avesse turbato la serenità generale: ci sembrò che volesse essere della partita per forza, infatti nel sentire quel rumore che non poteva che uscire dall'improvvisa apertura di una nuvola e nel vedere gli attori fingere con tanta naturalezza, pur nelle vesti di un personaggio dissimulato, un vero timore, chi non avrebbe avuto paura che quel temporale non avesse fatto la sua comparsa fuori e che non ci fosse stata qualche macchina di diversa natura rispetto a quelle che si erano predisposte per la rappresentazione? Ma la nuvola che portava la folgore e che ci aveva rubato il sole per qualche tempo durante la rappresentazione, essendosi scaricata in una grandine di zucchero, ci disingannò e ce ne fece riconoscere l'artificio. Dopo questo leggero timore che ci rese più disponibili a gustare il piacere, non provammo che ammirazione, soprattutto per un mare aperto che scoprimmo fra alcune rocce, i cui flutti si avvicinavano visibilmente a noi; le imbarcazioni a vela e i remi che vi tenevano diverse rotte ci fecero vedere lontananze limitate solo dal cielo; poi vedemmo apparire uno sterminato giardino dove si sarebbe potuto fare una gran messe di fiori. Confesso che fui sorpreso non potendo immaginare abbastanza potere negli uomini da forzare l'ordine delle stagioni e farci godere della dolcezza di una primavera fra i rigori dell'inverno. Questo medesimo potere si estese ancora più lontano: dopo aver dispiegato i tesori della natura e fatto passare come un trionfo ciò che vi è di più vergognoso dentro l'Inferno, ci volle fare l'esibizione di ciò che vi è di più bello nel cielo.[69]

A careful reading of the above excerpt reveals that Bourdelot mentions details that perfectly fit the above analysis and others, such as a maritime scene, that are not reported either in the printed *argomento* or in the Trivulziana manuscript. A

[69] 'You would have thought that you had heard twenty comedies in the same evening to judge from the great variety and number of rare scenographic devices; these could have provided extraordinary embellishments to twenty performances. If you had considered the number of different backdrops, you would have sworn that you were present in the same number of different rooms. Actually, they were nothing but scenic mutations that, through an artifice unknown to Orpheus, made it possible in a flash to travel through woods, rocks, and palaces: and as if the play had lasted several years, you could see the buildings crumble and leave faithful traces of their majesty in the ruins. Elsewhere they use painted canvases, but here (if I must believe my eyes) they were real buildings, rocks and woods that were used in place of the paintings that simulated them. No comedy would have been more entertaining, had an unfortunate thunder not disturbed the general quietness. It seemed that it wanted to be forcefully part of the game. In fact, in hearing that noise, which could only have come out of the sudden opening of a cloud and in seeing the actors pretend so naturally that they were afraid, even though they were disguised as characters, everyones was afraid that that storm had appeared outside and that some machine of a different nature had been used rather than those specially made for the performance. But the cloud that had carried the lightning and that had taken away the sun for some time during the performance, collapsed into a hail of sugar. By so doing it made everything clear and made us recognize the artifice. This slight fear made us more willing to enjoy pleasure. Thereafter we felt nothing but admiration, especially for an open sea that we discovered among some rocks, whose waves visibly approached us. Sailing and rowing boats, holding different routes, showed us backdrops limited only by the sky. Then we saw a very large garden, where one could have made a great harvest of flowers. I confess that I was surprised, since I could not imagine enough power in men to force the order of the seasons and to make us enjoy the sweetness of spring during the rigours of winter. This same power extended even further: after displaying the treasures of nature and having shown, as in a triumph, the most shameful aspects of Hell, it also represented what is most beautiful in Heaven'. Translated from the excerpt transcribed in Elena Tamburini, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, pp. 62-63.

hypothesis to justify these inconsistancies might be that since the opera was given numerous times, there were different types of staging. This does not change the result of the above analysis of *Santa Teodora*, that to stage this opera the artists hired by the Barberini designed more elaborate set designs and more complex machinery compared to that used for *Il Sant'Alessio* and *Erminia sul Giordano*.

During the Carnival season 1637, the Barberini staged an opera entitled *Il Falcone* in their Palazzo alle Quattro Fontane. This opera, based on a short story from the *Decameron* (*c.* 1349-1353) by Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375), was an early version of the opera *Chi soffre, speri* that inaugurated the Teatro Barberini in 1639. The version staged for the Carnival season 1637 was given in honour of the new convert Frederick, Landgrave of Hasse, who was a guest of Francesco Barberini during the years 1636-1637.[70]

La pazzia d'Orlando and *San Bonifacio* (Carnival 1638)

Two spectacles sponsored by Francesco Barberini were staged during the Carnival season 1638: *La pazzia d'Orlando*, performed in the *sala dei marmi* of Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane, and *San Bonifacio*, performed at Palazzo della Cancelleria. The payment records investigated for their analysis report that the former was given four times, while the latter was given six times.[71]

La pazzia d'Orlando was based on the central episode of Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, in which Orlando, chasing the Saracen knight Mandricardo, reaches a forest clearing where he decides to rest. This place had been the site of the secret meetings of Angelica and Medoro, and Orlando finds the evidence of their passion in the numerous messages of love carved in the tree trunks and on the walls of the caves. The hero tries to counter his pain by pretending that what he sees is not true. His efforts crumble when he realises that the bed a shepherd offers him is the same one in which the two lovers spent their first night of passion. Orlando goes mad and destroys everything he finds in his path, including his own armour.

[70] For all the expenses incurred by Cardinal Francesco Barberini to host his guest, see Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Giust. I, vol. 68 and Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, 'Consumption and Political Function of Seventeenth-Century Opera', *Early Music History*, 4 (1984), 209-96. Since there are insufficient surviving documents for a satisfactory analysis of this early version, see the full discussion of the later version in Chapter 4.

[71] See Appendix, item [8], fol. 168r.

Astolfo will be the only person able to restore Orlando's reason after travelling to the moon to retrieve his friend's lost mind.

The performance was originally conceived to be a short entertainment of about two hours, entirely danced, without any singing, but with knights fighting and shepherds celebrations. A letter dated 16 January 1638, which Giulio Rospigliosi wrote to his brother Camillo, is evidence of this. In this letter, Rospigliosi describes the preparation of the performance using the following words:

> [...] i paggi del Sig. Principe stanno preparando un'opera che durerà poco medo di due ore, in cui la pazzia d'Orlando verrà drammatizzata in musica e ballo senza parole o canti, con combattimenti di cavalieri e festeggiamenti di pastori, che sarà qui una piacevole novità.[72]

In his *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*, Frederick Hammond affirms that the performance consisted of three dance movements – *ballo piano*, *trapasso*, and *saltarello*. He argues that in the first movement, the positions taken by the dancers were conceived to represent the letters A and M, initials of the names of Angelica and Medoro. The letters A and M were probably also visible to the audience as part of the stage setting because there is evidence that a shoemaker was paid to carve them for the spectacle.[73] This choice indicates the intention to be faithful to the passage of Ariosto's poem, which refers to the initials of the two lovers being carved everywhere.[74] Other payments attest that numerous rattles were made for the performance. Since these payments also record that some ribbon was purchased to tie the rattles, it is likely that they were worn by the dancers, who shook them during their exhibition.[75]

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[72] '[...] the pages of the Sig. Principe are preparing a complete work which will last a little less than two hours, in which the madness of Orlando will be dramatized in music and dancing without ever speaking or singing, with combats of knights and revels of shepherds; which will be a novelty here, and pleasing.' This translation of the letter is in Hammond, *Music and Spectacle*, pp. 233-34.

[73] See Appendix, item [8], fol. 267r.

[74] 'Angelica e Medor con cento nodi / legati insieme, e in cento lochi vede. / Quante lettere son, tanti son chiodi / coi quali Amore il cor gli punge e fiede. / Va col pensier cercando in mille modi / non creder quel ch'al suo dispetto crede: / ch'altra Angelica sia, creder si sforza, /ch'abbia scritto il suo nome in quella scorza.' ('In a hundred knots, amid those green adobes / In a hundred parts, their cyphered names are dight; / Whose many letters are so many goads / Which Love has in his bleeding heart-core pight. / He would discredit in a thousand modes / That which he credit in his own despite; / And would parforce persuade himself, that rhind / Other Angelica than his had signed'). See Canto 23, lines 103-7 from *The Orlando Furioso translated into English verse, from the Italian of Ludovico Ariosto*, ed. by William Stewart Rose, 2 vols (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1858), I, p. 469. Ludovico Ariosto (1474-1533), *Orlando Furioso* (1516).

[75] '[…] 50 dozzine di sonali di ottone grossi con [***] per fare 10 para di sonaliere a 60 sonali per paro […] canne 30 di fettuccia di seta bianca per mettere alle suddette 20 para di sonaliere […]'. ('[…] 50 dozen big brass rattles […] to make 10 couples of rattles with sixty rattles each […] thirty

The second movement, that is the *trapasso*, conveys a feeling of agitation and corresponds to Orlando's madness and to his fight to have his sword Durindana back. The final *saltarello*, which involved ten dancers, celebrates the acquisition of Durindana by Manricardo, king of Tartary, and his coronation. Although *La pazzia* was a ballet, the payment records mention six sopranos and a bass from St Peter's who were hired to sing the prologue of the performance – this is mentioned as *il prologo delle viole*, perhaps because of the prominence of stringed instruments.[76]

Virgilio Mazzocchi (1597–1646) composed the music for this performance as well as the score for the opera performed at Palazzo della Cancelleria – *San Bonifacio.*[77] The payments report that the musicians hired to play the instruments were the same for both performances, plus three string players who only served for the opera *San Bonifacio*. The five professional dancers engaged for the occasion were also involved in both performances. Thirteen pageboys completed the staff: among them was Malatesta (Albani). This is the first document attesting the presence of Albani in a spectacle staged by the Barberini. As will be examined in the next chapter, he had a more important role in 1639, when he was responsible for organizing the sword-fight in Bernini's second *intermedio* of the opera *Chi soffre, speri*, which inaugurated the Teatro Barberini.[78]

Unfortunately, neither the music nor the libretto for *La pazzia* have survived, although the payments report that 2350 *argomenti* were bound for this performance. An additional 20 copies were made with a binding of parchment and golden threads, and further 20 copies with a binding of *India paper*.[79] An image of the action, whose

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cannas of white silk ribbon to put on the abovementioned twenty pairs of rattles […]'). See Appendix, item [8], fol. 220r.

[76] See Appendix, item [8], fol. 176r.

[77] Virgilio Mazzocchi was born in Civita Castellana in 1597. In 1624, he followed his brother Domenico to Rome and was appointed maestro di cappella at the Chiesa del Gesù, at the Seminario Romano, and at San Giovanni in Laterano. In 1629, he reached the top of his career, covering the position of maestro of the Cappella Giulia at St Peter's. During the period 1636-1645, he also worked for the Barberini family. His composistions range from sacred music, operas, music for feasts and dramatic works written for the students of the Seminario Romano. He died prematurely in 1646. For further information about Mazzocchi, see Saverio Franchi, 'Mazzocchi, Virgilio', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 82 vols (Rome: Treccani, 1960-2015), LXXII (2008), 526-30.

[78] The young Malatesta, who was the son of Orazio Albani from Urbino, Roman senator since 1633, and nephew of Annibale Albani, who would later be the first guardian and prefect of the Vatican Library (years 1640-1650), was educated to become a *gentiluomo.* He was trained in various disciplines, including dancing and sword fighting, which gave him eventually the possibility of entering the papal army. See Silvia Bruno, 'I Barberini e il loro entourage in Francia', in *I Barberini* (see Lavin, above), pp. 317-30 and Chapter 4, footnote 63.

[79] See Appendix, item [8], fol. 238r.

mould was carved on wood by a woman who worked in Piazza Navona, embellished the frontispiece of these *argomenti*.[80]

The names of the people involved in the action as well as the names of the musicians who played and sung at Palazzo Barberini can be inferred thanks to the payment requests and list of payments held in the Barberini Archives. The requests for payment for the shoes and boots made for the occasion are matched to the names of the performers – so they offer a complete list of participants and the type of shoes they wore. The artists who interpreted the nymphs wore silver boots and were involved during the first movement, that is the *ballo piano.* They must have been young boys, since in the list there are no female names – which is not a surprise on a Roman stage. The considerable presence of young boys in this performance is also confirmed by an excerpt from a letter written by Giulio Rospigliosi to his brother Camillo, dated 1 January 1638, which states that the opera '[…] sarà fatta e cantata da putti, che non passano undici, o dodoci anni. […].'[81]

Among the other names included in the above mentioned list of people wearing silver boots are the names of the Count of Massa and other men recorded as Capponi, Pili, Amiani, Meocci, Pazzi, and a knight Ranieri (who appears twice in the list, firstly for silver boots and then for golden boots). Malatesta Albani and Sisinio Poli, who complete the list, wore golden boots. They were probably involved in a swordfight, which might have been part of the second movement, the *trapasso*, of the performance. Since this movement corresponds to the episode during which Orlando fights to have his sword Durindana back, it is credible that the numerous swords made for the performance, as attested by the payment records, were used at this point.[82]

Sisinio Poli, whose name appears in the above mentioned list, similarly to Malatesta Albani, was not just a page among others, because he too was later involved by the Barberini in the staging of an opera. The young Sisinio, who was one of the two nephews of Monsignor Fausto Poli, a close friend of the Barberini, would become a pupil of Gian Lorenzo Bernini, learning from him the art of scenography. He was responsible, with Andrea Sacchi, for the set design of the opera *Genoinda* or *L'Innocenza difesa*, performed at Palazzo della Cancelleria

[80] See Appendix, item [8], fol. 265r.
[81] '[…] it will be recited and sung by children no older than eleven or twelve years […]'. See Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 13363. The letter is fully transcribed in Murata, p. 290.
[82] For a complete list of swords provided for the performance, see Appendix, item [8], fol. 212r.

during the Carnival season 1641.[83] The other nephew of Monsignor Poli, Tomaso, brother of Sisinio, who also appears in the list, was engaged for the performance of the opera *San Bonifacio* at Palazzo della Cancelleria.[84]

Among the names of the other actors/dancers is also the name of the Count of Alba. The involvement of Alba in this performance is interesting because it suggests a connection between this performance and another spectacle entitled *La pazzia d'Orlando* staged in Ancona in 1631, where the name of the count appears among the names of the guests invited for the occasion. This performance organized by Prospero Bonarelli (1580-1659), prince of the Accademia dei Caliginosi, on the occasion of the visit of Maria of Austria Queen of Hungary, was dedicated to Taddeo Barberini, who attended the event, as attested by the following excerpt from the relation of the Queen's journey in Italy:[85]

> […] Il signor conte Prospero Bonarelli, per trattenimento del signor Don Taddeo fece radunar un'Accademia, della quale egli era Principe, ove furono recitati molti dotti componimenti. Vi frappose un dramma della Pazzia d'Orlando, innamorato di Angelica, rappresentata in stile recitativo da musici di tanta eccellenza che non lasciavano desiderare quelli di Roma […].[86]

This could have been, therefore, a source of inspiration for the 1638 performance.

Among the singers was Marc'Antonio Pasqualini, who had already played the role of Apollo in *Il contrasto di Apollo con Marsia* in 1628.[87] He had his new pair of French style silver boots for the occasion, however, in reading the list of payments, it emerges that not all the actors had their shoes made anew. Some

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[83] See Chapter 4, introductory section, below.

[84] For more information about the two young brothers, see Silvia Bruno, 'Arte e teatro nelle residenze romane dei Barberini', in *Lo spettacolo del sacro, la morale del profano*, ed by Danilo Romei (Florence: Polistampa, 2005), pp. 82-85.

[85] Prospero Bonarelli was the son of Count Pietro Bonarelli della Rovere (*c.* 1615-1569) and the younger brother of Guidobaldo (1563-1608), author of the most popular pastoral play of his time *Filli di Sciro*. Prospero lived offering his services first to Alfonso II d'Este, duke of Ferrara, then, to Cesare d'Este, at Modana. Between 1610 and 1615, he was in Florence, where he served as *gentiluomo di camera* of Cosimo II Medici. Bonarelli was expert both as a man of letters and as an organizer of tournaments. In autumn 1620, he moved to Ancona, where in 1624 he founded the Accademia dei Caliginosi, in honour of the newly elected pope Maffeo Barberini, Urban VIII. His first literary work *Il Solimano*, became very popular both in the Italian peninsula and in France, giving fame and prestige to its author. See Maria Alberti, 'Le parti *scannate* per il *Solimano* di Prospero Bonarelli', in *Omaggio a Siro Ferrone*, ed. by Stefano Mazzoni (Firenze: Le Lettere 2011), pp. 180-89.

[86] '[…] Count Prospero Bonarelli assembled an academy, of which he was prince, to entertain Signor Don Taddeo. There, numerous learned poems were recited. Among them, he inserted a drama of the madness of Orlando in love with Angelica. It was performed in recitative style by musicians of such great excellence that no one missed those from Rome […]'. See Celio Talucci, *Il passaggio di D. Maria d'Austria regina di Ungheria per lo Stato Ecclesiastico l'anno 1631. Descritto da Celio Talucci.* (Ancona: Printer not specified, 1631), p. 60.

[87] For *Il contrasto di Apollo con Marsia*, see Chapter 1, above.

performers had them only mended and resoled. This piece of information offers further evidence that it was already common during the seventeenth century to keep costumes and shoes for later performances.[88]

As for the visual aspect of *La pazzia*, the list of payments offers first-hand information, which also includes details about the decoration of the room. These details suggest that over the stage there was a deep-blue cloth, simulating a blue sky, which was sewn by two tailors. A *festarolo* was then responsible for covering the other portion of the room, where the audience sat during the performance, with a thicker cloth.[89] Once the *festarolo* finished preparing the room, Niccolò Menghini hired the architect and carpenter Giovanni Battista Soria (1581-1651), who had the tasks of building the stage and of making the *telai* for the canvases.[90] Soria received 66.31 *scudi*, which included the salary for five collaborators who worked for him for four days (maestro Loresozzo, Francesco Momfrino, Jacomo Cociesimo, Flaminio Raimondi, Silvestro Pavoli) and were responsible for dismounting the scenes after the last performance.[91] This is evidence that for this spectacle, as well as for all the spectacles analysed for this study, the stage and all the apparatuses were dismantled after the ending of the last performance programmed for the season.

To build the stage Soria used twenty-eight chestnut boards and four big alder boards, the dimensions of which are not given. He also used five poplar boards, 12 *palms* long (about 2.70 m) and six smaller chestnut boards plus a chestnut rafter 30 palms long (about 6.70 m), which was sawn in the middle. Finally, he bought fifteen small alder boards for six *giuli* each. They were 18 palms long (about 4 m) and were used to make the *telai*. The carpenters were employed for four days to saw the boards that were used for the *telai* and to prepare the thinner boards that were

[88] It is very likely that old costumes, shoes and pieces of scenography were stored up in a place, which some payments for later operas mention as *anticaglia*, which must have had the same role of today's theatrical warehouse.
[89] The seventeenth-century word *festarolo* can be translated as party maker. Its meaning can be deduced by the 'Giustificazioni I' where the term is used for people responsible for furnishing churches, courtyards or halls with cloths and garlands on occasion of banquets, performances or celebrations.
[90] A friend of Pietro Berettini da Cortona, the architect Giovanni Battista Soria (Rome 1581-1651) had already been engaged by the Barberini to design the library at Palazzo alle Quattro Fontane in between 1633 and 1635. See Waddy, p. 388, note 111.
[91] See Appendix, item [8], fol. 274r.

probably used to make the clouds.[92] Seven trips were then necessary to bring all this material to the Palazzo alle Quattro Fontane.[93]

After building the stage, it was necessary to decorate it and paint the canvases used for preparing scenes and perspectives. The front-stage was furnished with a fountain and four vases, which were made anew for the occasion and used to place the torches as attested by two requests for payments, which report 'e più ho fatto quattro altri vasi di latta nuovi grandi per le torce per il palco alle quattro fontane' and 'e più si è fatto quattro volte che si è fatta la commedia alle Quattro Fontane a rimettere e levare le canne della fontana […]'.[94] The investigation of documents attests that decorating the proscenium with vases, fountains and/or spurs of water was common in the operas staged for the Barberini. This type of decoration is a scenographic element analysed in depth in the following chapter.

Most of the scenery for *La pazzia* consisted of canvases, which were first nailed on frames, then covered with chalk and eventually painted. From the analysis of all the performances examined for this study it might be inferred that specialist artisans, usually called *tiratele* (canvas-stretcher) had the task of stretching the canvases on the frames prepared by the sawyers and coating them with a thin layer of chalk. For *La pazzia*, the man who had this role worked four days and three nights to complete his task.

Once the canvases were treated, as described above, it was the task of the painters to transform them into pieces for the set design. It was a hard job and the painters needed twelve days, working day and night to finish it. They had the collaboration of a man who worked for eighteen days to grind the colours and then watched over the scenes for two nights, sleeping on the stage. Among the painters was Giovanni Francione, or Giovanni Fiammingo, a Flemish artist already at the service of the Barberini, who was hired for fourteen days.[95] He was also hired by

[92] See Appendix, item [8], fol. 274r.

[93] The place where the wooden material was prepared is not specified. However, it might be that, similarly to the wooden material for *Chi soffre, speri*, performed the following year, it was prepared at the Fabbrica di San Pietro.

[94] 'and furthermore I made four other new large tin vases to hold the torches for the stage at the <Palazzo alle> Quattro Fontane' and 'for the four times that the comedy was given at the <Palazzo alle> Quattro Fontane to fit and remove the reeds of the fountain [...]' See Appendix, item [8], fols 204v and 205r .

[95] The biography of Giovanni Francione or Fiammingo, is still uncertain. His presence among the artists belonging to the entourage of the Barberini family is documented since 1627, when he was responsible for making some copies of paintings representing landscapes discovered in an ancient room that came to light during the excavations to build Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane. See Bert W. Meijer, ' "Un motif essentiel": l'arco di rocce', in *Arte, collezionismo, conservazione: scritti in onore di Marco Chiarini* (Florence: Giunti, 2004), pp. 255-64.

the Barberini the following year to collaborate in painting the scenes for the opera *Chi soffre, speri* (Carnival 1639).[96] Two other painters, Pietro Ferreri and a young artist called Michelangelo, were hired for eight and four days respectively. The expenses report all the pigments, raw materials, and powders purchased to allow the painters to prepare the colours to paint the canvases. They also confirm the use of different types of brushes among which a kind of brush 'in asta', that is a stick-brush that allows artists to paint large canvases on the floor whilst standing.[97] This information attests that seventeenth-century artists in Rome used a technique typical of the so-called *teatro all'Italiana*, in which the use of huge painted backdrops to simulate realistic landscapes was, and still is, a fundamental scenographic element.

An essential component of all performances was the skilful use of light. For *La pazzia d'Orlando* the payments report that a torch was placed in the middle of the stage and give details of the money spent for the purchasing of one hundred and twenty lunettes and one hundred candleholders to be placed among the scenes.[98] This incredible number of lights is justified by the exigence of making visible to the audience every single movement of the actors on stage and every piece of scenery. One of the main problems in staging a performance during the seventeenth century was that because of the bright lighting of the hall and because of the torches placed within the vases on the proscenium, the spectators hardly saw what happened on stage. It was then necessary to arrange candles, torches and lunettes in the most appropriate places to exalt the hard work of all the artisans involved in creating the scenes. The solution adopted in 1638 must have been similar to the one set out by Guitti in Parma and sketched in the picture below. The caption 'per dar luce alle case A' (to illuminate the houses A) helps to identify the two small roundish elements behind each side wing with lights.

[96] See Chapter 3, above.
[97] See Appendix, item [8], fol. 250r.
[98] See Appendix, item [8], fols 182 and 204.

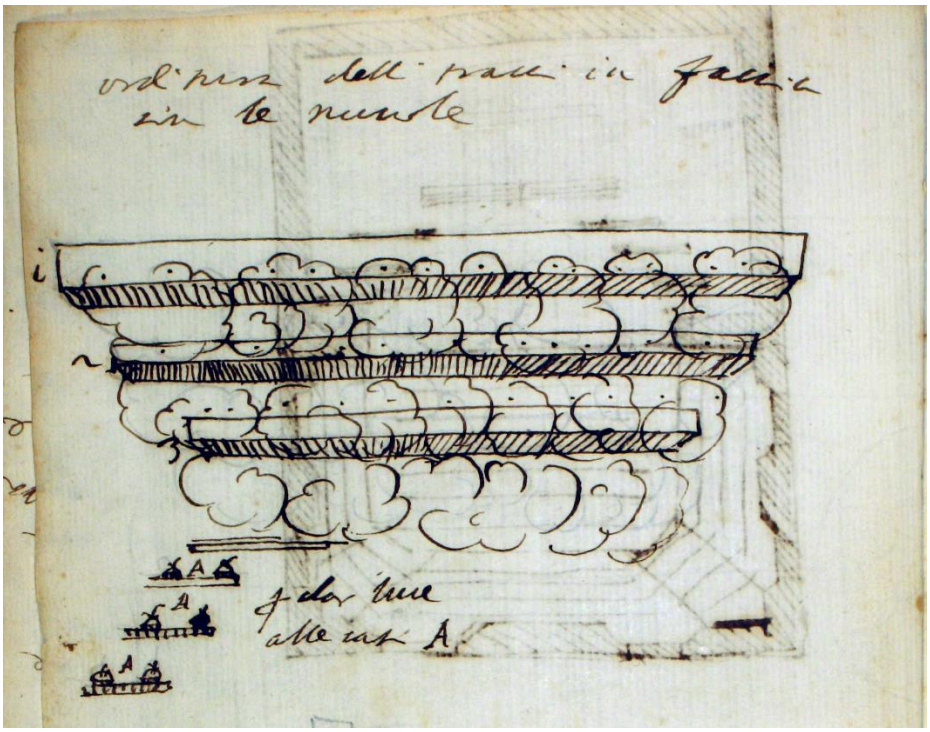

Fig. 3.18 Macerata, Associazione Compagnoni Floriani di Villamagna (by kind permission), all rights reserved ©, codex α, fol. 26v, table XXX.

In spite of its brevity, *La pazzia d'Orlando* had also some scenographic effects. This is attested by the payment records, which include expenses to make a cloud, a chariot and a bear. A request for payment by an ironsmith notes that he made some iron bars for this cloud.[99] This piece of information suggests that the cloud was made to support the weight of a character, because when clouds were only decorative elements of the set design, they were usually made of thin boards (often cardboard) and they were moved using iron wires or ropes, not iron bars. A confirmation can be found in Sabbatini's manual, where the author, in chapter 45, describes how to lower a cloud with people in it with the following words:

> If we wish to lower a cloud with people in it from the rear of the heavens to the centre of the stage, […]. Let us fix its centre on a very steady fulcrum held by means of supports and an iron knuckle. […].[100]

As for the chariot, the payments offer several interesting details. One, for instance, suggests that this chariot had already been used before because it says that six *scudi* were spent 'per aver restaurato un carro dipinto, e inargentato.'[101] Other payments

[99] See Appendix, item [8], fol. 267r.
[100] See *The Renaissance Stage. Documents of Serlio, Sabbatini and Furttenbach*, ed. by Barnard Hewitt (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1958), p. 158.
[101] 'to restore a painted chariot and coat it with silver'. See Appendix, item [8], fol. 205v.

attest that this chariot was operated by a man who was given 0.60 *scudi* to pull it.[102] They also report that this man was Momfrino, one of the above-mentioned collaborators of Soria, who was '[…] dentro al carro e lo guidò tre sere […]'.[103]

The cloud and the chariot doubtless had their effect on the audience, but the most striking part of the performance must have been the apparition of a huge white bear, whose manufacture involved numerous artisans. One of them, Angelo Olivieri, made a mask and prepared painted cardboard models for the four paws of the bear. The manufacture of the costume required two big pieces of white leather.[104]

In considering the above, it seems that *La pazzia d'Orlando* had a quite simple set design consisting in a fixed scene made with painted canvases nailed onto the stage, while the only pieces of machinery were the cloud and the chariot. A little bit more elaborate was the scenography realised for *San Bonifacio*, staged at the Palazzo della Cancelleria. The opera was staged in a *salone* on the *piano nobile* of this Palazzo, which had been Francesco Barberini's residence since 1632. The *salone* is on the side facing Piazza della Cancelleria, just above the porch of the Church of San Lorenzo in Damaso (see room indicated in green in the picture below).

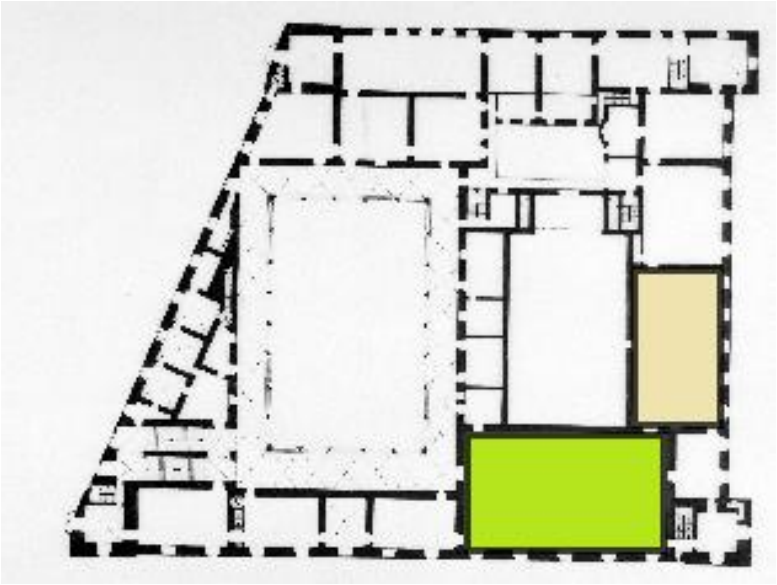

Fig. 3.19 Bibliotheca Hertziana, Aufnahme-Nr. U.Pl. D 48011; Bilddatei bhpd48011; Signatur: pal; Zugang: 1999.05.10, Fotoinhalt: Riß von Palast und Kirche San Lorenzo in Damaso in Höhe des Piano Nobile (B. Schindler).

[102] See Appendix, item [8], fol.171v
[103] '[…] inside the chariot and drove it three times […]'. See Appendix, item [8], fol. 267v.
[104] See Appendix, item [8], fols 206r and 256r.

The choice of this room was maybe due to the fact that it is the largest of the palazzo and it is three stories high, which offered the opportunity to build a raised stage, a proscenium arch and a space under the ceiling to hide some piece of machinery. The stage would have been built along the south wall corresponding to the short left side in the above picture.[105] The access to the hall was achievable through five doors, but almost certainly the guests who attended the opera during Carnival 1638 entered from the door in the north corner of the west wall, which leads to the room known as the *Salone dei Cento Giorni* (the room indicated in beige in fig. 3.19).

Differently from *La pazzia d'Orlando*, which was based on a secular subject, *San Bonifacio* followed the path inaugurated by *Sant'Alessio*, offering the spectators an opera based on the life of the young Boniface, then martyr and saint, and of his lover Aglae. The prologue of the opera, sung by the muses Calliope and Urania, states the moral of the performance: mortals should follow Virtue rather than Love, because the former is the only source of peace. Act I opens with Boniface and Aglae celebrating their life of pleasure by singing and dancing together. Once Boniface leaves, the allegorical character Penitence enters on stage and convinces Aglae to give up her life of pleasure and foolishness. At this point of the opera, the comedic character Captain Dragonivampasparaparapiglia is introduced.[106] He wants to court Aglae and sends his servant Fagotto with a message to the girl, in which he boasts his military glories hoping to impress her. The Captain is evidently one of those *commedia dell'arte* characters that were often used in early operas with the intent to bring light relief to the audience – the comic dialogues between him and his servant Fagotto, had an exhilarating effect. Aglae is not impressed at all by the Captain and decides to reach Boniface. She finds him speaking with his servants, and tries to convince him to leave for Tarsus to fight for the Christians. At first, the young man is confused, but finally Aglae persuades him. This decision provokes the reaction of the Devil, who does not want to lose the power he has long had over the couple, and tries unsuccessfully to tempt them. Act II opens with Boniface, who, alone, is thinking about his future, when his guardian angel arrives to reassure him. The Devil tries to convince Boniface to renounce his purposes and go back to his beloved Aglae, then, defeated, decides to look for Aglae

[105] See Murata, p. 35.
[106] The Barberini were fascinated by the actors of the commedia dell'arte and loved to assist to their improvised performances. A confirmation is that they dedicated a space in their property at the Quattro Fontane to stage commedia dell'arte plays. This was known as the Casino delle Quattro Fontane. See Tamburini, pp. 47-48.

to tempt her. In the meantime, the Captain tries again to conquer Aglae singing her a serenade (a parody of the arias of the virtuoso singers). The Devil tries unsuccessfully to convince Aglae to ask Boniface to reach her in Rome. Act III opens with Boniface, who is being taken captive by the Romans, but, despite to surrender to them, he prefers to be martyred. Aglae receives the news from Boniface's servant and soon two allegorical characters, the Church Militant and the Church Triumphant, appear to declare their victory. The opera ends with a rejoicing ballet.[107] The clear message of the performance is that the Catholic Church embodied in its representative, Urban VIII, was still strong and powerful.[108]

As for *La pazzia d'Orlando*, Mazzocchi composed the music for this opera while Giulio Rospigliosi wrote the libretto. The payment records report that 1500 *argomenti* were bound for this performance with *carta colorita*, while a special copy with a binding of parchment and golden threads was made for Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy, who was the guest of honour of one of the performances.[109] Since Cardinal Francesco liked to organize banquets for the guests who attended the performances, it is credible that he offered these banquets in the large *Salone dei Cento Giorni*, because it was the only room next to the hall where *San Bonifacio* was staged that would have been capable of hosting numerous people. An *avviso* dated 13 February 1638 reports that, on that date, Cardinal Francesco gave one of these banquets for Prince Cardinal of Savoy (1593-1657), which was probably the occasion to give him the special copy of the *argomento*.[110] There is also evidence that Francesco invited his own relatives Antonio and Taddeo Barberini, who attended the performance as well.[111] The presence of Maurizio of Savoy as a guest

[107] See Hammond, *Music and Spectacle*, p. 232 and Christy Lamothe, 'The Theater of Piety', p. 69.
[108] It must be remembered that the pope had been sick the previous year – his illness had lasted from April to August 1637. It was therefore important to convey the message that he was healthy and fully capable of ruling his state. See Gigli, pp. 170-73.
[109] See Appendix, item [8], fol. 238r.
[110] Maurizio of Savoy, son of Carlo Emanuele I, was born in Turin in 1593. He was soon initiated to an ecclesiastical career and when he was only fourteen he became a cardinal. He supported his brother Tommaso of Carignano in promoting a pro-Spanish policy in opposition to the ruler of the Duchy of Savoy, Christine of France. After several years of open conflict, they reached an agreement in 1642. That same year, Maurizio gave up his religious career and married the daughter of Christine, Maria Luisa, assuming the title of Prince of Oneglia. He died in his hometown in 1657. See 'Savoia, Maurizio di, in *Dizionario di Storia* <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/maurizio-di-savoia_(Dizionario-di-Storia)/>
[111] Avvisi di diverse parti nell'anno 1638. Di Roma, 13 February 1638, fol. 43 'In detta mattina il Signor Cardinal Barberino diede un lautissimo banchetto nel Palazzo della Cancelleria al Principe Cardinal di Savoia assieme col Signor Cardinale Antonio, e Principe Prefetto di Roma, e dopo li fece sentire la rappresentazione di San Bonifatio recitata in detto Palazzo.' The document is transcribed in Murata, p. 290, note 2.

of Cardinal Francesco is of particular interest because it attests that during a period of turmoil in Rome between the Spanish and the French parties, which had started in 1635, it was important for the pro-French Barberini family to demonstrate their impartiality towards both factions. Since Cardinal Maurizio had long promoted a pro-Spanish policy, his acceptance to attend a banquet organized by a member of the Barberini family must have had an important significance for the pro-Spanish party in Rome.

For some first-hand information about the settings, the payment records are once more very helpful.[112] These payments attest that Servio Servi, who had been *guardaroba* of Francesco Barberini at least since 1633, was responsible for purchasing almost all the necessary material for the staging of the opera, hiring all the people who contributed to the success of the performance and paying them.[113] He spent a total amount of money corresponding to 1553.63 *scudi.* Among the artists involved in painting the scenes was Giovanni Francesco Romanelli (*c.*1610–1662), who had also the role of supervising the construction of the stage and creating the sets.[114] A drawing by him (see picture below), held in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, shows an incomplete proscenium arch of a stage with the crest of the Barberini – it might refer to the proscenium arch that Romanelli designed for this production. This was in fact the only occasion for the artist to be responsible for a theatrical performance, and when *San Bonifacio* was staged again in November 1638 on occasion of the visit in Rome of Hans Ulrich Furst von Eggenberg, Imperial envoy of Ferdinand III, the responsibility of staging the opera was given to other artists.

[112] In particular, for this section, see Appendix, item [8], fols 165-280.

[113] For the role of the *guardaroba*, as well as for the role of all the other people belonging to the Barberini household, see Appendix.

[114] The painter Giovanni Francesco Romanelli (Viterbo *c.* 1610-1662), also known as il Viterbese, from his birth city, or il Raffaellino, after Raffaello, was trained in Rome, where he studied with Domenichino first and then with Pietro da Cortona. He was a collaborator of his last master in painting the frescos for the chapel inside Palazzo Barberini (1631-32). In 1638, he became Prince of the Accademia di San Luca. For the Carnival of that same year, he was responsible for painting the scenes for the opera *San Bonifacio* performed inside Palazzo della Cancelleria. Both Gian Lorenzo Bernini and Cardinal Francesco Barberini protected him and helped him in having important commissions. In 1646, he was invited to Paris, where he painted the frescos for the Gallery of the Palazzo of Mazarin (1646-47) and some frescos in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Later he made some paintings in the apartment of Anna d'Austria in the Louvre (*c.*1655-57) and had a great influence on French painting. In his last years, he worked mainly in his birth city, Viterbo, where he died in 1662.

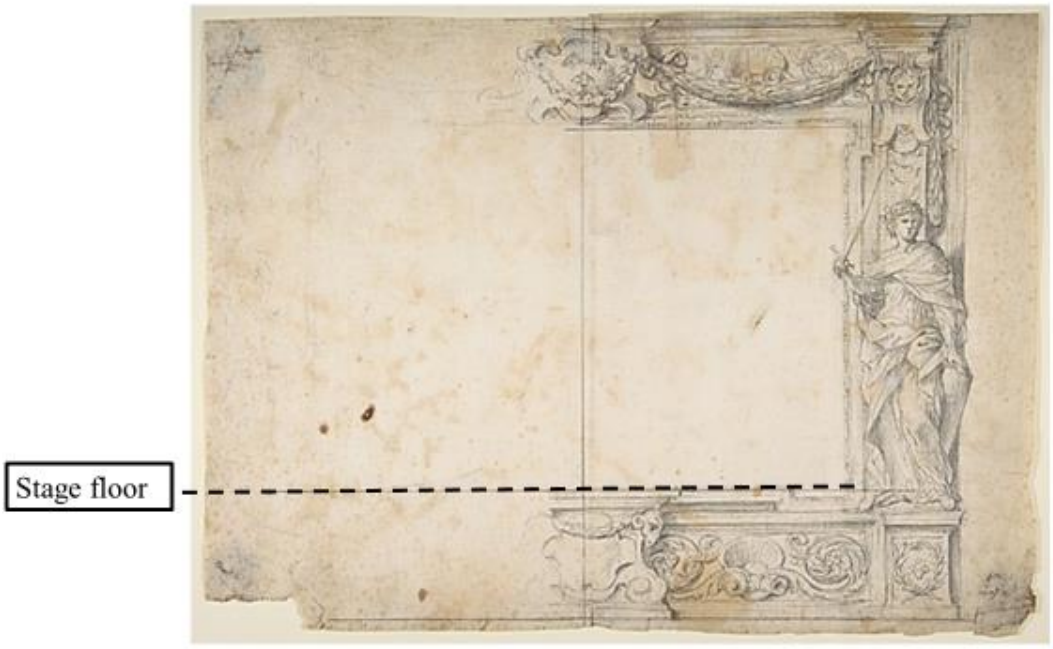

Fig. 3.20 Giovanni Francesco Romanelli (*c.*1610–1662), One Half of a Design for a Frame of a Stage Proscenium, with a Figure of Justice at the Right, and the Barberini Arms in a Cartouche at the Top Date: 17th century. Medium: Graphite or black chalk on cream laid paper. Dimensions: 10-1/16 x 14 in. (25.6 x 35.6 cm). Classification: Drawings. Credit Line: Gift of Leon Dalva Sr., 1965. The Metropolitan Museum. Accession Number is 65.654.120. See: <http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/90007522>

The above drawing suggests that there was not a place for the orchestra in front of the stage and that the proscenium was very simple – only the part of the front-stage visible to the audience has some kind of decorations like garlands and shells. Differently from some of the other operas that form the object of this study, there is hence evidence that the artists who built the stage for the performance of *San Bonifacio* did not create a proper space for the orchestra. However, the musicians, who played in front of the stage, were not visible to the audience because the painter Giovanni Maria Colombo made a frieze of canvas with figures and *vegetable racemes*, which was about 5 m long and 2 m high, which hid the players from the spectators' eyes.[115]

The front-stage was furbished with six vases, holding the torches to illuminate the proscenium. Numerous other lights were then accommodated on the stage, and on the walls, as attested by the request for payment of the artisan Domenico Bolla, which made a detailed list of all the material he provided to support candles and torches, often specifying where they had to be placed. A line in this request for

[115] See Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Giust. I, vol. 71, n. 3017, fol. 105r 'dal Sig. Giovanni Maria d'Orvieto s'è fatto dipingere un fregio in tela alto palmi nove lungo palmi 20 e ½ con figure foglioni di chiaro scuro […]' also in Bruno, 'Arte e teatro', p. 73, footnote 27.

instance says '[…] ho dato numero100 boccaglietti per i moccoli di cera per attaccare tramezzo alle scene […]', attesting that also for *San Bonifacio* they placed some lights behind the side wings.[116]

When the spectators entered the hall, the stage was not visible – a curtain covered it. This is made clear by the following lines from another request for payment by an artisan who helped the other artists every time that they staged the 1638 performances:

> '[…] per aver sparato e parato di taffettani per la rappresentazione di San Bonifacio ed essere stato assiduo giorno e notte per appicciare le lampade e tirare i taffettani ogni volta che si faceva la rappresentazione con due uomini, [...] e per avere attaccato e staccato i taffettani alle quattro fontane da aprire e serrare ed essere stato assiduo ogni volta che si faceva la tragedia con un altro uomo, come si è visto.'[117]

The words above suggest that for both *La pazzia d'Orlando* and *San Bonifacio* they used a curtain which was opened and closed by two men at the beginning at the end of each performance – no use of counterweights or pulleys, as was done for other spectacles.

Another element common to both performances was the decoration of the room. The payment records report that a great amount of fabric bought on the occasion of the performance. In particular, a request for payment by a weaver attests that he made 40 *cannas* (about 80 m) of deep blue taffeta.[118] This must have been the fabric used to cover the ceiling, maybe part of the walls of the room and to make the curtain, as attested by the count of the tailor, who wrote:

> L'Eminentissimo Signor Cardinal Barberini deve dare per fattura di avere messo insieme un paramento di taffetano turchino e fattone un cielo per la rappresentazione […] e più, per aver messo assieme molti altri pezzi di paramento e fattone due pezzi […], <che> stavano dalle bande […] e più, <per> fattura di un paramento di taffetano torchino alto palmi 16 […] fatto in quattro pezzi armato da capo di fettuccia e messoci li doi anelli di ferro […] per numero 300 anelli di ferro grandi messi alli pendenti et a tutto il paramento […].[119]

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[116] '[…] I provided one hundred supports for the wax candles to be placed between the scenes […]'. See Appendix, item [8], fol. 204r.

[117] '[…] for placing and removing the cloths for the performance of San Bonifacio and for being present day and night to set the lights and for pulling, together with two men, the cloths every time that the performance was staged', '[…] for placing and removing the cloths, at the Palazzo alle Quattro Fontane to be opened and closed together with another man every time that the tragedy was given, as you could see'. See Appendix, item [8], fol. 205r.

[118] See Appendix, item [8], fol. 225r.

[119] 'His Eminence Cardinal Barberini owes for the manufacture of some cloth made of deep blue taffeta for the ceiling in the performance […] and to assemble numerous other pieces of fabric to make two pieces […] placed on the sides […] and for the manufacture of some cloth of deep blue taffeta <measuring> 16 palms high (about 4 m) 16 […] made in four pieces, reinforced on the edge

The room was furnished with benches placed in stepped rows and nailed to prevent them from moving from their places. The windowsills of three out of the five windows of the hall were also furnished and used to accommodate two spectators each as attested by the following excerpt from the carpenter Santi Battaglini's bill:

> […] per aver inchiodato assieme tutti a fila i banchi d'appoggi e inchiodato da una fila all'altra i regoli dal basso da poterli tenere che non si movessero dai suoi luoghi […] e più per n° 6 squadre fatte per metter dentro al vano delle finestre per farci due *seditori* per ciascheduna ed averci tagliato n° 6 tavole due per finestra […].[120]

The same carpenter was also responsible for building the stage. His request for payment gives some useful information about the type of setting designed for the performance.[121] First of all, he notes that, after building the stage, he prepared 8 frames (*telai*) of poplar wood, 4 palms long (about 0.90 m) and 12.5 palms high (about 2.80 m), to build the first scenes. Then he prepared other eight *telai* of popler, 3.75 palms long (about 0.85 m) and 12 palms high (about 2.70 m), to build two more scenes to be placed behind. Finally, he made other 8 similar *telai*, 4 palms long and 12 palms high, for the proscenium. He writes that all these *telai* were screwed onto the stage. He also made the central perspective scene, which was placed on a board and fixed on the stage. The perspective scene represented a temple, which was built using four *telai*, 4 palms long and 12 palms high. Behind the temple Battaglini made two steps, which were used to place and hide the lights. The carpenter also refers that he made eight treetops with tracks for each of them, in order to allow them to be moved up and down. It is evident that he had the task to build a fixed scene similar to that described by Sabbatini at page 21 of his manual (see picture below), but with four fixed side-wings on both sides, and the possibility to hide them with the sliding treetops, when it was necessary to change the setting.

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by some ribbon and provided with two iron rings […] and for 300 iron rings attached to the edges of the entire cloth […]'. See Appendix, item [8], fol. 272r.

[120] […] for having nailed the benches all together in rows and nailed the fixings on each row from below so as to prevent them from moving from their places and keep them tight […] and for six squares made to be placed inside the window sills to make two seats each and for having cut six tables, two for each window […]. See Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Giust. I, vol. 71, fol. 217v, transcribed in Bruno, 'Arte e teatro', pp. 78-79.

[121] For this request, see Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Giust. I, vol. 71, fols 216v-217r transcribed in Bruno, 'Arte e teatro', pp. 77-78.



Fig. 3.21 Nicola Sabbatini, *Pratica di fabricar scene e machine ne' teatri* (Ravenna: Stampatori Camerali, 1638), p. 21.

The only piece of machinery was a cloud to lower an actor, as made clear by a payment record that says '[…] per la nuvola fatta con tre telai due dalle bande e uno di dietro con il suo sgabelletto […]'.[122]

The description of the setting of *San Bonifacio* gives the impression of an opera staged without a great display of machinery and scenographic effects, compared to the operas analysed in the previous chapter, which were staged by Francesco Guitti for the Barberini. The only device used to change the scenes, consisted in sliding flats treetops-shaped, which covered the fixed scene. As for the central perspectives that covered the temple placed in the backstage whenever a new set was required, the payments attest that they were held by a man who was paid just for this task.[123]

In spite of the apparent poorness of the above performances, the organization of two contemporary performances for the Carnival season 1638 can be considered as an incredible effort to react to the conditions adverse to the Barberini family – these included on the one hand, the political instable situation in Europe, on the other, Pope Urban's poor health. The Catholic Church was in fact at risk of losing

[122]'[…] for a cloud made with three framed canvases, two for the sides and one for behind, with its stool […]'. See Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Giust. I, vol. 71, fol. 216v, transcribed in Bruno, 'Arte e teatro', p. 78.
[123] See Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Giust. I, vol. 71, fol 217v, transcribed in Bruno, 'Arte e teatro', pp. 78-79.

its moral authority over most European countries for the following reasons. On the one hand, the events related to the Thirty Year's War (1618-1648) were turning in favour of Protestantism; on the other, the growing Islamic power in the East menaced Europe. For these reasons the pope had favourably hailed the election of the Catholic Habsburg Emperor Ferdinand III as King of the Romans (December 1636) because both of them had to face two common enemies – the Protestants, who were increasing their power in Europe, and the Islamic Turks, who menaced their stability from outside. In his turn, Emperor Ferdinand soon sent his ambassador Johann Prince Eckembergh to Rome. News spread in Rome early in January 1637, and when the Prince arrived, he was invited to attend the numerous events organized for the occasion.[124]

Eckemberg officially entered Rome on 18 June 1638 through the Porta del Popolo (the same Porta through which Christina of Sweden would enter on 23 December 1655), where he was welcomed by cardinals, bishops and nobles. [125] One of his first visits was to Monte Cavallo where the pope was waiting for him. The Prince kneeled before Urban VIII following a ritual, which had remained unchanged for centuries, showing the acceptance of a long lasting codified tradition.[126] In November 1638, Francesco Barberini organized a luxurious banquet to honour Ferdinand III's ambassador. A more elaborate version of *San Bonifacio* was staged for the occasion. The choice of remounting this opera was certainly due to the message it conveyed and that the ambassador was supposed to report to the Emperor – it was important to make any effort to renovate the true Christian faith, because it was the only means to conquer the deceitful attempts of the demon and to gain eternal glory.

[124] See Rietbergen, pp. 181-216.
[125] See Chapter 4, below.
[126] The unacceptance of this same tradition would have caused tension between the pope and the Duke of Parma, on occasion of the Duke's visit to Urban VIII in 1642 (see Chapter 4, below).

Chapter 4
Inaugurating the newly-built theatre (1639 and 1642)

After about ten years of Carnival performances mostly staged in the room known as the *sala dei marmi*, on the first floor (the *piano nobile*) of Palazzo Barberini, the 1639 Carnival season saw the inauguration of what was later considered the most important seventeenth-century theatre in Rome: the Teatro Barberini. It was an important event, and the Barberini invited numerous illustrious guests, but the number of people gathered exceeded all expectations.

Cardinal Antonio Barberini invited some special guests, among whom was Massimiliano Montecuccoli, the envoy to Rome of the Este family in Modena. The envoy and the other eminent guests were invited to wait for a while in a small courtyard in order to give less eminent people time to take their seats inside the theatre. Both Cardinal Antonio and his brother, Cardinal Francesco, did their best to accommodate as many people as possible inside the theatre, asking them to sit closely together on the benches.[1]

The theatre was crowded: according to Montecuccoli, at the beginning of the performance there were about three thousand and five hundred guests (an exaggeration meant to indicate that there was a great number of people).[2] John Milton (1608-1674), who was in Rome for the second time during his continental tour (1638-1639) and was on his way back from Naples, was among them. In a letter dated 30 March 1639 to Lucas Holstenius (1592-1662), then librarian at Palazzo Barberini, Milton referred to the deep impression made on him by Francesco Barberini's warm welcome at the theatre's entrance.[3] Jules Mazarin

[1] Massimiliano Montecuccoli to the Duke of Modena, dispatch dated 2 March 1639 quoted in Ademollo, p. 30: '[…] io et molti altri stavano passeggiando in un cortiletto dove il sig. card. Antonio mi haveva detto che mi contentassi trattenermi finch'egli havesse accomodato la gente di minor conto per poter poi dar luogo migliore a me et a chi era meco' ('[…] I and many others were walking in a courtyard where Cardinal Antonio told me that I should wait until he had seated the less important people so that he could provide a better space for me and my companions').

[2] See Ademollo, p. 29: 'Il sig. Card. Barberino et il sig. Card. Antonio travagliarono assaissimo per accomodar quanta più gente fusse possibile, e si figura, ch'ascendessero a 3m e cinquecento persone' ('Cardinal Barberino and Cardinal Antonio went to enormous trouble to make room for as many people as possible. Estimates of their numbers ran at around three thousand five hundred people').

[3] This episode is noted in the following excerpt from a letter to Lucas Holstenius cited in David Masson, *The Life of John Milton* (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1859), p. 634: '[…] Then I could not but believe that it was in consequence of the mention you made of me to the most excellent Cardinal

(1602-1661) must also have been present, because at the time he held the position of *gentiluomo* in the service of Antonio Barberini, a position he held for three years from 1637 to 1639. It is likely that he was impressed by the newly built theatre and especially by some machinery invented by Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680): his enthusiastic reports were probably behind Cardinal Richelieu's insistence on inviting Bernini to France to plan the new theatre at the Palais-Cardinal.[4]

After its inauguration for the Carnival 1639, the theatre remained unused for three years because of the troubles generated by the question of Castro, something that absorbed most of the Barberini's energies.[5] This is maybe the reason why for the Carnival season of 1640 the powerful family only sponsored a performance that was staged at Palazzo Rusticucci.[6] The following year Francesco Barberini organized two banquets at Palazzo della Cancelleria, in honour of the powerful Colonna family with the intention of reinforcing their familiar and political ties. The first was followed by the performance of *La Genoinda* or *L'innocenza difesa* (*La Genoinda* or *Innocence Defended*), dedicated to Isabella Gioieni Colonna who was the sister-in-law of Anna Colonna, wife of Don Taddeo Barberini, at the time prefect of Rome. This performance was given several times during January and February 1641, and was repeated again in June.[7] The second was followed by *La donna malinconica* (*The Melancholic Woman*), a play by Fabio della Corgna (1600-1643). Later that Carnival, *La Genoinda* was staged again at Palazzo Barberini, but not in the theatre. The following letter by Ottaviano Castelli (1605-1642) to Jules Mazarin sets out the chronology of the performances of this opera:

> La prima del Signor Cardinal Barberino in musica di Mazzocchi e poesia di Monsignor Rospigliosi, distribuita a 21 ragazzi e recita[ta] in una rimessa di carrozze, intitolata l'Innocenza difesa, recitata già tre volte fin ora, la prima li 28 del passato e li 30 del medesimo, et oggi che è sabato primo di febraro.[8]

Francesco Barberini, that when he, a few days after, gave that public musical entertainment with truly Roman magnificence, he himself, waiting at the doors, and seeking me out in so great a crowd, nay, almost laying hold of me by the hand, admitted me within in a truly most honorable manner […]'.

[4] According to Elena Tamburini, Bernini must have been the designer of the theatre. This might explain why Monsignor Mazarin, who was in Rome for the 1639's Carnival season, insisted on inviting him to Paris to design the new theater for Cardinal Richelieu; see Tamburini, p. 49.

[5] For some information on the war of Castro, see the section below entitled *Il palazzo incantato d'Atlante* or *La lealtà con valore*.

[6] It was a tragedy by Seneca, with six *intermedi* set to music by Virgilio Mazzocchi. See Murata, pp. 93-98.

[7] See Murata, p. 296.

[8] 'The first <performance> of Cardinal Barberino <was> entitled *L'Innocenza difesa* with music by Mazzocchi and words by Monsignor Rospigliosi. It was distributed to 21 boys and has been recited in a coach house. It has already been recited three times so far, the first on the 28th of last month, the

The setting for this opera, which included forests and city landscapes, among which was a view of Castel Sant'Angelo illuminated by fireworks, was almost certainly due to the collaboration of Andrea Sacchi (1599-1661) and Sisinio Poli, nephew of Monignor Fausto Poli, assisted by Gian Lorenzo Bernini.[9] Another excerpt from the letter by Ottaviano Castelli mentioned above provides evidence of this collaboration. Castelli writes:

> A questa comedia ha fatte due vedute di lontananza il nipote di Monsignor Fausto <Poli>, già diventato ingegniere di macchine sceniche in pochi giorni, e sono l' una il sole cadente del Bernino quale si predica da tutti all'Eminenza non averci parte nessuna benché visibilmente v'assista, e la seconda la veduta della girandola presa da Montecavallo creduta da S. Eminenza per invenzione del nipote, alla quale credenza il linguacciuto [Gian Lorenzo Bernini] dice haver cooperato, che in dette machine tutta la spesa ha fatta Mosignor Fausto.[10]

The Teatro Barberini was reopened for the Carnival season of 1642 with an opera entitled *Il palazzo incantato d'Atlante* or *La lealtà con valore* (*The Enchanted Palace of Atlante* or *Loyalty with Valour*), sponsored by Cardinal Antonio. The taste of the commissioner is evident both in the choice of the subject and in the musical style, that must have exalted the skill of Antonio's favourite singer, the castrato Marc'Antonio Pasqualini (1614-1691).

To enable a detailed analysis of the performances inaugurating the Teatro Barberini in 1639 and in 1642, this chapter is divided into four sections. The first concerns the history of the theatre from its inauguration to its demolition in 1932. The second deals with the contribution of Giovanni Battista Soria and Niccolò Menghini in staging *L'Egisto ovvero Chi soffre, speri* (the opera inaugurating the theatre in 1639). The third focuses on the second *intermedio* of this opera, entitled

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second on the 30th of the same month, and today, that is Saturday 1 February'. Translated from the letter transcribed in Bruno, 'Arte e teatro', p. 81.

[9] As already seen in Chapter 3, Sisinio Poli was among the actors hired for the staging of *San Bonifacio* in 1638. On his involvement in the staging of *La Genoinda*, see also Murata, pp. 40 and 298.

[10] 'The nephew of Monsignor Fausto, who in a few days has become engineer of stage machinery, has made two backdrops of landscapes for this comedy. They are as follows: the first, the setting sun by Bernini, who everyone tells his Eminence has nothing to do with it, although he clearly lends his assistance to it; the second, a view of the pinwheel of fireworks as seen from Montecavallo, which his Eminence believes to be his nephew's invention. That boaster [Gian Lorenzo Bernini] says he led people to believe this. Yet the expense for the aforementioned machines was borne by Monsignor Fausto.' Translated from the original letter transcribed in Bruno, 'Arte e teatro', pp. 81-82. For further information about this opera see also: Leonardo Margiacchi, 'Edizione del dramma per musica *La Genoinda* di Giulio Rospigliosi' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Florence, academic year 2002-2003 <http://www.nuovorinascimento.org/n-rinasc/testi/pdf/rospigliosi/genoinda.pdf>

La fiera di Farfa, and the contribution of Gian Lorenzo Bernini and Malatesta Albani (1617 -1645); the fourth is about *Il palazzo incantato di Atlante*, performed for the Carnival season of 1642.

The Teatro Barberini from its construction to its demolition (1637-1932)

Probably designed by Gian Lorenzo Bernini, the Teatro Barberini was built between 1637 and 1638 by the architects Valerio Poggi and Bartolomeo Breccioli, whose names occur several times in the Vatican Library's 'Giustificazioni I'.[11]

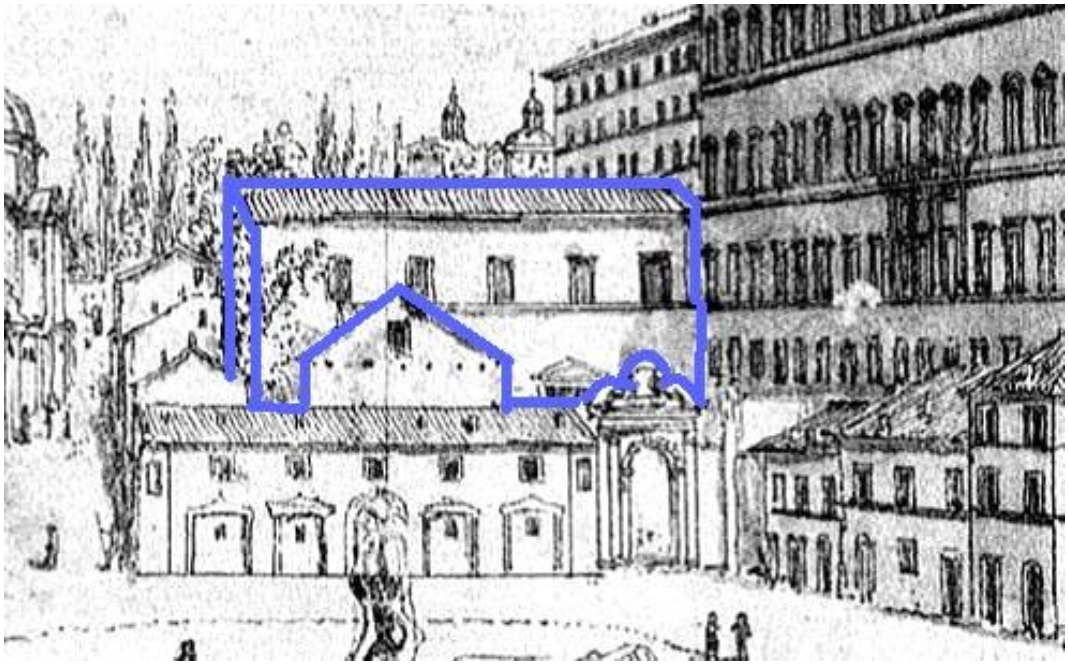

Fig. 4.1 The Teatro Barberini. Detail from figure 4.2, reversed (actual position), with the theatre outlined in blue.

[11] Most payments and requests for payments for *Chi soffre, speri* as well as for its second *intermedio*, *La fiera di Farfa*, are collected in Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Giust. I, vol. 76. To facilitate their consultation, I have transcribed the most relevant documents to this chapter in the Appendix as item [9].

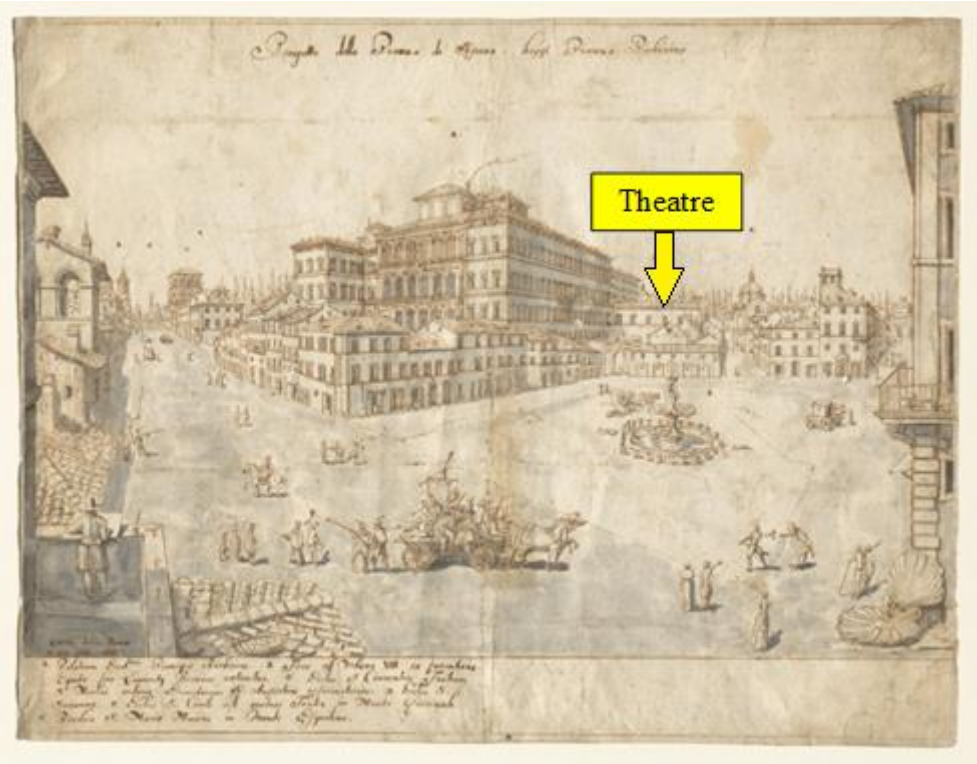

Fig. 4.2 Lievin Cruyl, *Eighteen Views of Rome: Piazza Barberini* (1665), preparatory sketch for engraving. Sheet: 38.3cm x 49.7cm.

The theatre was built incorporating the wall visible on the left of figure 4.3 by the engraver Pompilio Totti (1591-1639); this engraving shows the north façade of Palazzo Barberini with the space in front used for tournaments and therefore known as the *cortile della cavallerizza*.

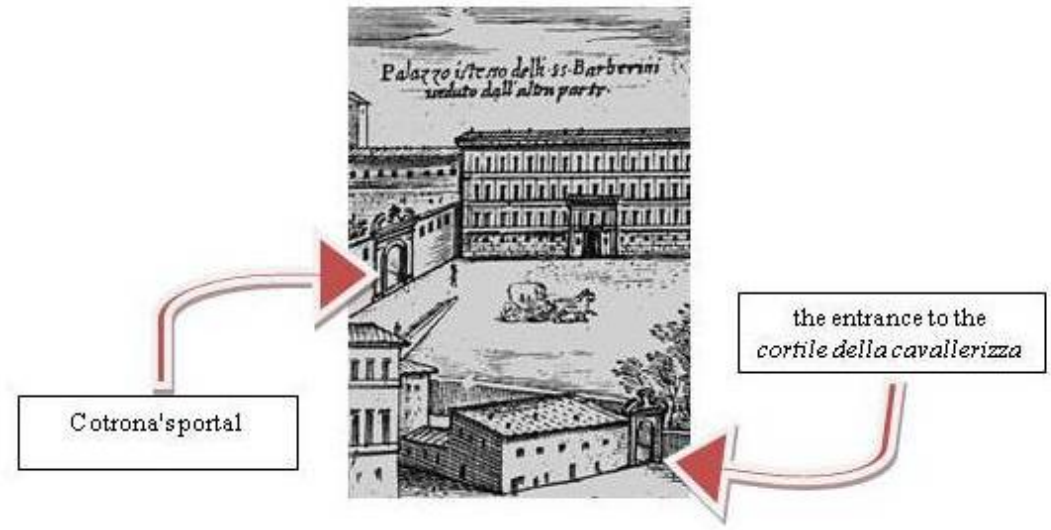

Fig. 4.3 Pompilio Totti, *Ritratto di Roma moderna* (Rome: Mascardi, 1638), p. 275.

The portal visible in the lower right corner was the entrance to the *cortile della cavallerizza*, while the other portal, at the centre of the wall on the left, is the one built by Pietro da Cortona (Pietro Berettini, 1596-1669). In 1639, it became the main entrance to the theatre.

The following figure by Alessandro Specchi (1668-1729) with the detail of the theatre on the left, gives a better idea of the position of the theatre in relation to Palazzo Barberini, because in addition to the theatre, it shows the main entrance of the palace and the *cortile della cavallerizza* (the courtyard commonly used for horse races, carousels, and jousts).

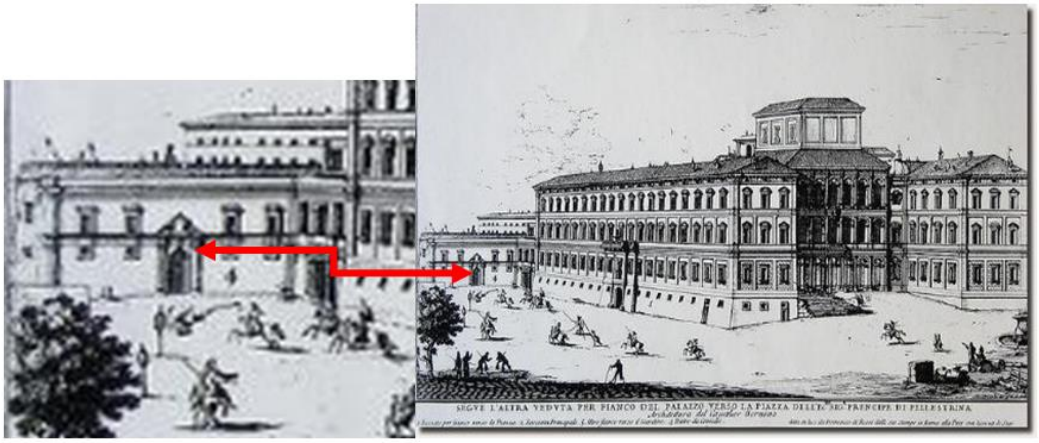

Fig. 4.4 On the right, the nineteenth numbered view from the set of Roman palaces as shown in Alessandro Specchi, *Il quarto libro del nuovo teatro delli palazzi in prospettiva di Roma moderna* (Rome: Giovanni Jacomo Rossi, 1699). On the left, the detail of the theatre.

Some scholars have argued that the dimensions of the theatre were about 17.50 m wide and 30 m long. According to Elena Tamburini, the space for the audience developed in length and the stage was placed on the palace side, where *scale segrete* (secret stairs) allowed sudden apparitions of characters during a performance.[12] Davide Daolmi has compared different images of the building and concludes that between, its inauguration in 1639 and 1665, the theatrical building was about 70 m long, that is, more than twice the length previously assumed.[13] A confirmation of Daolmi's hypothesis comes from a detail of the map by Giovanni Battista Falda presumably published in 1678 (see fig. 4.5).[14] The detail shows that the theatre was situated between the Palazzo Barberini and another building extending to Via San Nicola da Tolentino. The position of the theatre and its length are among the reasons

[12] See Tamburini, p. 49.
[13] See Daolmi, '"*L'armi e gli amori*"', passim.
[14] See Giovanni Battista Falda, *Vedute delle fabbriche, piazze et strade fatte fare nuovamente in Roma dalla S.ta' di N. S. VII Alessandro* (Rome: Giovanni Giacomo Rossi, 1665)

for staging performances including the use of real animals, since it was easy to make them enter on stage, unseen by the audience.



Fig. 4.5 Giovanni Battista Falda, detail from a map (12 sections) mounted on cloth 138x151 cm (Rome: Rossi, 1730). See: <http://pudl.princeton.edu/objects/5d86p0240>

Another aspect to be considered for the operas analysed in this chapter is that during the second half of the seventeenth century, architects were experimenting with the new practice of deepening the stage. This innovation later spread especially in France. The very first double stage was introduced in France in 1645. It was designed by the Italian architect, Giacomo (or Jacopo) Torelli (1608-1668), invited by Mazarin who wanted to introduce Italian opera to Paris. Torelli, encouraged to accept the invitation by his patron, the Duke of Parma, in December 1645 staged a production of *La finta pazza* with music by Francesco Sacrati (1605-1650) and libretto by Giulio Strozzi (1583-1652), in the large hall of the Petit Bourbon, achieving great success with its spectacular scenic effects.[15] The first Italian

[15] The success was so great that Torelli himself decided to write a description of the performance decided to write a description of the performance, including engravings by his own hand, which was published in 1645. See Giacomo Torelli, *Feste teatrali per la Finta pazza* (Paris: printer not specified, 1645).

architect to build theatres with a deeper stage was Gaspare Vigarani (1586-1663). According to Daolmi, this was probably one of the reasons why, in 1659, Vigarani was invited to build the Salle des Machine in the Tuilerie in Paris and to supervise the entertainments organized to celebrate Louis XIV's marriage. The architect accepted the invitation, and the following year he built the theatre. It was about 69 m long and had a stage deep about 40 m, which means that it left only 28.5 m for the audience.

For a correct interpretation of Monsignor Mazarin's choice, it must be remembered that he, soon after the 1639 performance of *Chi soffre, speri*, and impressed by Bernini's role in staging the opera and designing the theatre, asked him to go to Paris to plan the new theatre for Cardinal Richelieu. Later, in 1644 the then Cardinal Jules Mazarin, who had become chief minister during Louis XIV's minority, even before inviting Giacomo Torelli, once again tried to convince Bernini to go to France to offer his services as a man of theatre. A series of letters mentioned by Filippo Baldinucci in his biography of the artist confirms this.[16] Hence, Bernini was asked to go to France earlier than Torelli, and much earlier than Gaspare Vigarani, who arrived at the court of the Sun King only in the summer 1659, invited by Mazarin to contribute with his ability to make Louis XIV's marriage celebrations memorable. This suggests that Mazarin, impressed by Bernini's theatrical skills and by the theatrical devices he designed for the opera, believed Bernini to be responsible for the staging of the whole *Chi soffre, speri*, despite the payments attest the artist's contribution only for second *intermedio*. Mazarin may have witnessed Bernini's work, and it is plausible that he knew that the artist had supervised the entire staging, giving his advice. The use of a double stage, for instance, could have been an idea of Bernini, since this was not the first time he used a double stage in performances held under his supervision.[17] In a letter to the Duke of Modena, the already mentioned Massimiliano Montecuccoli confirms that for the Carnival season of 1637 Bernini staged a performance in his own house with 'two theatres'.[18] The use of multiple stages was not a novelty introduced by Bernini, as there is evidence for the use of double stages in Bologna

[16] See Baldinucci, p. 42.
[17] See Appendix, item [9], fol. 30v.
[18] See the quotation of the letter in Robert Fahrner and William Kleb, 'The Theatrical Activity of Gianlorenzo Bernini', in *Educational Theatre Journal*, 25. 1 (1973), 5-14 (p. 7).

at the end of the fifteenth century.[19] However, it is possible that Bernini was the first to introduce them in Rome.

Before proceeding with the analysis of *Chi soffre, speri*, it is worth giving some more information about the fortune of the Teatro Barberini during the following years. This will explain why it is so difficult to make hypotheses about the settings of the operas that were staged there.

As already mentioned, after its inauguration in February 1639, the theatre remained unused for about three years. During this period, Cardinal Francesco mainly organized performances in other Barberini properties.[20] For the Carnival season of 1642, when the battle of Castro was at a turning point and Urban VIII was evaluating whether to send papal troops against Parma, Cardinal Antonio decided to re-inaugurate the theatre with *Il palazzo incantato di Atlante* or *La lealtà con valore*, an opera intended to offer ideological support to the pope's political strategies. This opera, with a libretto by Giulio Rospigliosi and a musical setting by Luigi Rossi, was first staged on 22 February 1642. There is no news of performances staged in the theatre during the following year. In 1644, with the death of Urban VIII and the consequent vicissitudes of the Barberini family, who were forced to leave Rome, both the palace and the theatre remained in the care of some faithful servants. After the marriage of Maffeo Barberini (1631-85) to Olimpia Giustiniani in June 1653, which allowed the Barberini to return to Rome and re-establish their position, the theatre was restored.[21]

For the Carnival 1654, the Barberini reopened the theatre with a staging of the opera *Dal male il bene* with a libretto by Giacomo Rospigliosi (1628-1684), nephew of Giulio, and music by Antonio Maria Abbatini (1595-1679) and Marco Marazzoli (1619-1662).[22] There is no news of operas performed in the theatre the following year, while the next performance reported by the chronicles is *La vita humana* with a libretto by Giacomo Rospigliosi and music by Marco Marazzoli,

[19] They were first introduced in tournaments and later, at least in 1615, in the theatre built inside Palazzo del Podestà. See Adami, p. 96.

[20] Apart from the performances mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, for Carnival 1640 there is news of a performance entitled *Troades* staged at Palazzo de Rosticucci. Moreover, for the Carnival season of the following year the *libro mastro* of Cardinal Francesco reports details of a *rappresentazione* performed at Palazzo della Cancelleria. See Hammond, *Music and Spectacle*, pp. 240-42.

[21] Maffeo was the son of Urban VIII's nephew, Taddeo Barberini, and of Anna Colonna. See this dissertation's Introduction.

[22] On Giacomo Rospigliosi's responsibility for writing the libretti of the operas staged by the Barberini after 1655, see Davide Daolmi, 'Drammaturgia di *Armi e Amori*: sul recitativo romano di metà Seicento', *Aprosiana*, XI-XII (2003-04), 127-55.

staged on 31 January 1656. This opera was one of a series of performances organized to celebrate the arrival in the Eternal City of the new convert Christina, ex-Queen of Sweden. For the occasion, the Barberini did their best to make her visit to their palace memorable. Apart from *La vita humana* they staged two other operas, *Dal male il bene* and *L'armi e gli amori*, and organized the celebrated Carousel of 28 February 1656 mentioned above. *La vita humana* had such a great success that two years later Marco Marazzoli's score had a printed version embellished by five engravings showing the scenes of the opera, sketched to keep memory of the spectacle alive. The engraver was Giovanni Battista Galestruzzi (1615-1669) who used drawings by Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi, known as *il Bolognese* (1606-1680), to accomplish his task.

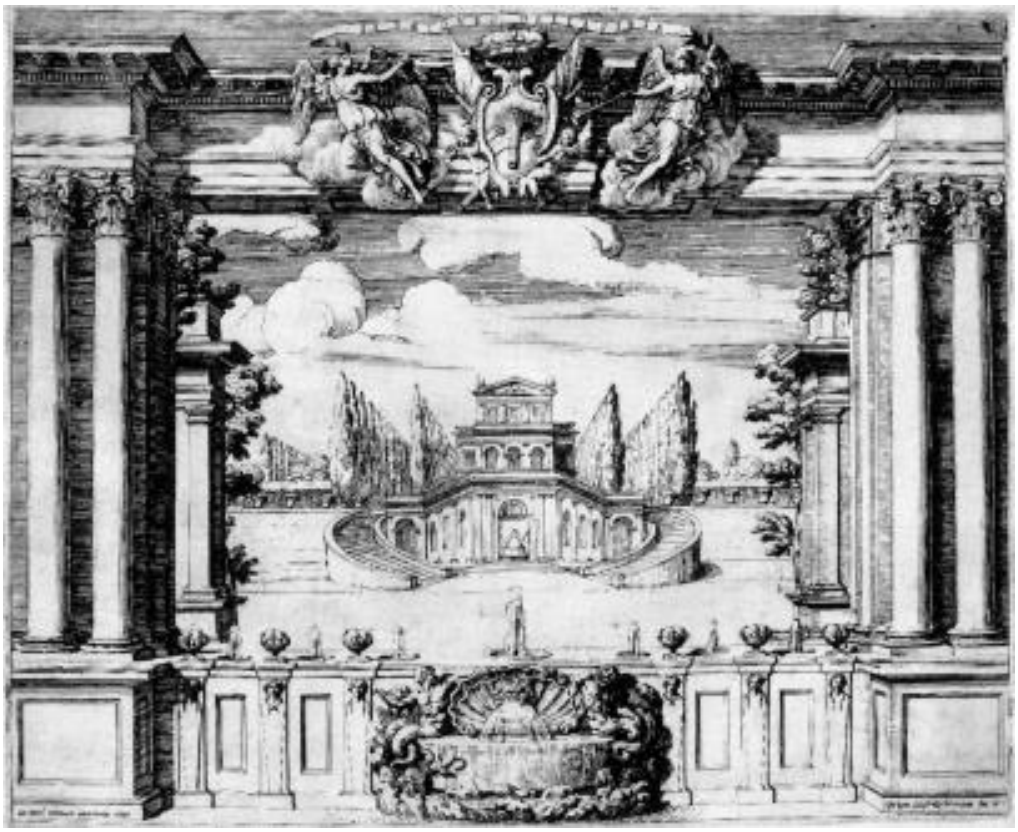

Fig. 4.6 Giovanni Battista Galestruzzi, first out of five engravings embellishing the score of *La vita humana* (Rome: Mascardi, 1658).

Although various scholars have already published all five engravings, it is still worthwhile reproducing and studying them, because they are now the only surviving images of the theatre's stage with its proscenium arch, side wings, and stage machinery. For this reason, they will be closely analysed in the next chapter

in light of some new information emerging from the manuscripts preserved at the Vatican Library.

After the Carnival of 1656 – later referred to as the Queen's Carnival, due to the presence of Christina of Sweden – it seems that no other operas were performed in the theatre. The building was soon used as a barn and then as a stable, while at the beginning of the twentieth century it was used as a garage created by opening a side entrance next to Cortona's portal. This is evident in the photograph below dated 1920s, where the garage's doors, highlighted by a yellow arrow, are clearly visible (fig. 4.7).[23]



Fig. 4.7 The former Teatro Barberini in a photograph published at p. 281 of Anthony Blunt's 'The Palazzo Barberini: The Contributions of Maderno, Bernini and Pietro da Cortona', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 21.3/4 (Jul. - Dec., 1958), 256-87.

A further confirmation of the use of the theatre as a garage at the beginning of the twentieth century comes from the figure below, which shows a car coming out from it.

[23] Anthony Blunt, 'The Palazzo Barberini: The Contributions of Maderno, Bernini and Pietro da Cortona', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 21.3/4 (Jul. - Dec., 1958), 256-87.

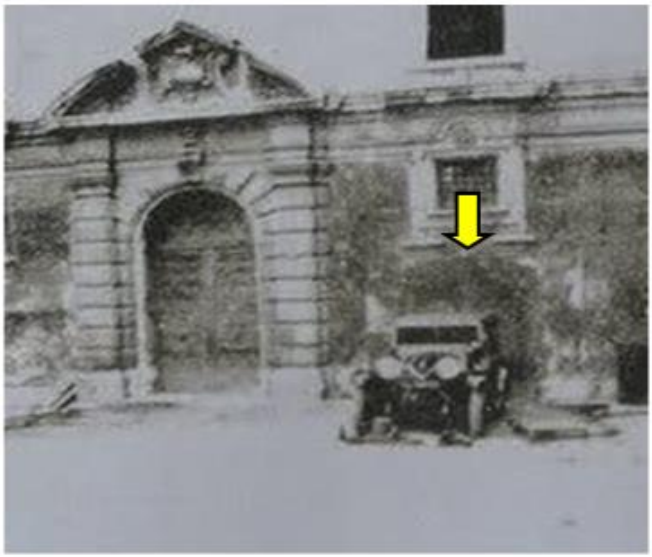

Fig. 4.8 Detail from a photograph of the Teatro Barberini dating 1920s. See: <http://www.romasparita.eu/foto-roma-sparita/54093/teatro-barberini-2>

Unfortunately, the building was pulled down in 1932, after the urban plan approved by Benito Mussolini (1883-1945) the previous year, to make space for the present Via Barberini (formerly Via Regina Elena). The photograph below shows the theatre just before its demolition.



Fig. 4.9 Luce Institute, Actuality Section: photograph number A00036260 dated 6 April 1932.

A new building resembling the old theatre, but smaller and with an upper floor, was erected in its place; fortunately, they saved Cortona's portal, which is now one of the main entrances of the new building



Fig. 4.10 Luce Institute, Actuality Section: photograph number A00024744 dated 1930 (?).

L'Egisto ovvero Chi soffre, speri (Carnival 1639): the contribution of Giovanni Battista Soria and Niccolò Menghini

L'Egisto or *Chi soffre, speri* is the performance that inaugurated the newly built Teatro Barberini in 1639. This was a revised version of the opera *Il Falcone*, performed in the s*ala dei marmi* in 1637.[24] For the 1639 version, Giulio Rospigliosi had the collaboration of the musician Virgilio Mazzocchi (1597-1646), younger brother of the composer Domenico. This new setting had a revised allegorical prologue, two new scenes to give space to the subplot of Coviello's and Zanni's sons, Colello and Frittellino, a revised first *intermedi*o after Act I, and a new *intermedio* at the end of Act II. It was performed for the first time on 22 February and given four more times over the next few days.

The main plot of the opera concerns Egisto, an impoverished gentleman, who loves Alvida, a young widow. To prove his feelings, Alvida asks the young man to sacrifice what he loves most. Egisto agrees and Alvida, conquered by the man's loyalty, accepts his love. This main plot is linked to other subplots including one about Lucinda, who hopelessly loves Egisto, and one about Egisto's servants, Coviello and Zanni, modelled on characters of the *commedia dell'arte*, always

[24] This early version, already mentioned in Chapter 3, had a libretto by Giulio Rospigliosi, drawn from the ninth *novella* from the fifth day of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, and a musical setting by Marco Marazzoli (1619-1662).

fighting to defeat the pangs of hunger and trying to satisfy their appetite without working. Further details of the plot will be mentioned only when relevant to bring evidence to the results of this research. As for the music, the opera contains several choral scenes, mainly in madrigal style, while the recitative style was used for the other sung sections.[25] Most of the libretto was written in Italian, except for the parts sung by the characters borrowed from the *commedia dell'arte*: Zanni, for instance, sang in *bergamasco*, the dialect of Bergamo, and Coviello sang in *napoletano*, the dialect of Naples. Each performance lasted about five hours, and the newly added *intermedio* entitled *La fiera di Farfa* by Gian Lorenzo Bernini became one of the most celebrated theatrical pieces of the seventeenth century.[26]

The following excerpt from the dispatch by Massimiliano Montecuccoli provides a first-hand description of the visual aspect of the opera *Chi soffre, speri*:

> […] Essa commedia per l'ampiezza di un salone a terreno in cui fu rappresentata, per la vaghezza della scena, per la varietà, bizzarria e ricchezza de' vestiti, per l'esquisitezza de' recitanti, e musici, poiché nessuno recitò che non fosse tale, per la novità et artificio delle prospettive, le quali furono due, cioè una fiera dove intervennero fino un carro tirato da buovi, una lettiga condotta da muli con una persona dentro, uno sopra un cavallo che la seguitava et ogni cosa vera e viva; et un' altra che figurava la parte del palazzo del medesimo sig. Cardinale Antonio, che guarda nel suo giardino, e dove per ordinario si giuoca alla pillotta. In altri due appariva una grandissima quantità, e varietà di gente, di carrozze, di cavalli, di lettighe, di giocatori da pillotta e di spettatori.[27]

As in the case of other operas analysed for this study, the entire ceiling of the hall was completely covered with a double cloth. In this case the cloth had a double aim – on the one hand, it decorated the hall; on the other, it was intended to improve its acoustics as reported by Michelangelo Lualdi, who, referring to the Teatro Barberini, wrote:

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[25] For an in-depth analysis of the musical setting and the libretto of the opera, see Purciello, pp. 194-245.

[26] See Vatican City, BAV, Urb. lat. 1107, Avvisi di Roma, fol. 39v, <5 March 1639> (quoted in Ademollo, p. 29).

[27] '[…] This comedy for the great size of the ground floor hall where it was performed, for the magnificence of the scene, for the variety, whimsy, and richness of the costumes, for the skill of the narrators and musicians, since all actors were musicians, for the novelty and artifice of the perspectives, which were two, a fair where they even showed a cart drawn by oxen and a litter drawn by mules with a person inside, followed by a man riding a horse, and everything seemed true and living; and the other (perspective) representing the part of the palace of the same Cardinal Antonio, which overlooks his garden, and where they usually play pilotta. In two others a tremendous number and variety of people, carriages, horses, litters, pilotta players and spectators appeared'. Translated from Massimiliano Montecuccoli, excerpt from the dispatch dated 2 March 1639 to the Duke of Modena, quoted in Ademollo, p. 28. Pilotta was a game of Basque origins consisting in hitting a ball with the fist or with a wooden tool in order to throw it against the wall. See *Sports Around the World: History, Culture, and Practice*, ed. by John Nauright and Charles Parrish , 4 vols (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2012), I, p. 413.

> Il soffitto ad arte è ricoperto d'una gran tenda, che piegandosi più nell'estrema parte del teatro, fà che le voci, che di natura sua sempre ascendono, riflettendo dove più la tenda si abbassa si ricevono con distinzione e diletto in qualsiasi più rimota distanza.[28]

The benches for accommodating the spectators were brought from many different places, including the churches of San Lorenzo in Damaso, Santa Caterina, San Girolamo della Carità and then returned after the five performances, meaning that at that time the Barberini did not intend to have permanent structures inside the theatre. A request for payment reports that it was necessary to fix the benches after each performance. This means that they were either nailed to steps, as was the case for *San Bonifacio*, or just nailed to the ground floor.[29] It is not clear whether there were boxes or not. There is in fact an ambiguous line in the 'Giustificazioni I', which says 'Alli muratori, che andassero a bevere, perché havevano messo la loggia in opera la notte'.[30] However, it is unclear whether the word *loggia* (lodge) refers to a place built for some special guests, or to a lodge built on the stage, as part of the scenography. Another item mentions a platform for the 'throne', 34 palms (about 7.60 m) long and 10 palms (about 2.23 m) wide, almost certainly referring to a special place reserved to the Barberini family.[31]

Four columns with golden capitals and pedestals framed the stage and a proscenium arch covered the device used to raise or lower the curtain and the slots placed under the ceiling. The columns were brought from San Lorenzo in Damaso to the Palazzo alle Quattro Fontane together with the four capitals, pedestals and the proscenium arch: this is what the request for payment recorded on 15 January 1639 reports, specifying that transporting the items required six trips.[32] The four columns, capitals, pedestals, and the cornice, were not newly made for that performance but had been used before, maybe the previous year for the performance of *San Bonifacio*. This is clear from a request for payment dated 4 February 1639, which mentions some flour purchased to prepare a kind of glue used to repair *i*

[28] Michelangelo Lualdi, 'Galleria sacra architettata dalla pietà romana dall'anno 1610 sino al 1645', Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, ms. 1593, fols 252r-253v, transcribed in Tamburini, pp. 63-64: 'The ceiling is artfully covered with a large tent which hangs lower at the further end of the theatre, this causes the voices, which naturally rise, to resound from the lower cloth so as to be heard distinctly and delightfully in the farthest corner'.
[29] See Appendix, item [9], fol. 32v.
[30] See Appendix, item [9], fol. 10r: 'to provide refreshment to the masons, because they worked all night to erect the lodge'.
[31] See Appendix, item [9], fol. 31r.
[32] See Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb. Giust. I, vol. 76, n. 3315, fol. 6r. Also transcribed in Tamburini, p. 94.

cornicioni, e capitelli di cartapesta (cornices and capitals of papier-mâché) because they were all ruined.[33] This request is extremely interesting for this study because it provides some information about the techniques used by the seventeenth-century artisans to restore old pieces of scenery. These techniques will be examined in the conclusion to this study.

Another request, dated 9 February, states that a man named Lorenzo, mentioned as the home *indoratore* (gilder), covered two capitals and two pedestals with *oro di metà* (a type of gold).[34] Although the *oro di metà* was a less precious metal compared to pure gold, its use to cover capitals and pedestals gives an idea of the magnificence of the theatre.

As for the curtain, contrary to Nicola Sabbatini's 1637 description, which mentions only two ways of moving the curtain (one by allowing the curtain to fall, and the other by raising it using counterweights), the device used for *Chi soffre, speri* used a single mechanism to either raise or lower the curtain.[35] This was possible thanks to the collaboration of six masons, who were hired each time they staged the performance. These masons regularly worked in San Lorenzo in Damaso and in St Peter's Basilica, and they were presumably placed in groups of three on each side of the curtain. The counterweights, shown as I-K in the figure below, were probably substituted with *fascie d'ischio*, which were longer and more resistant ropes, made of strings of white oak.

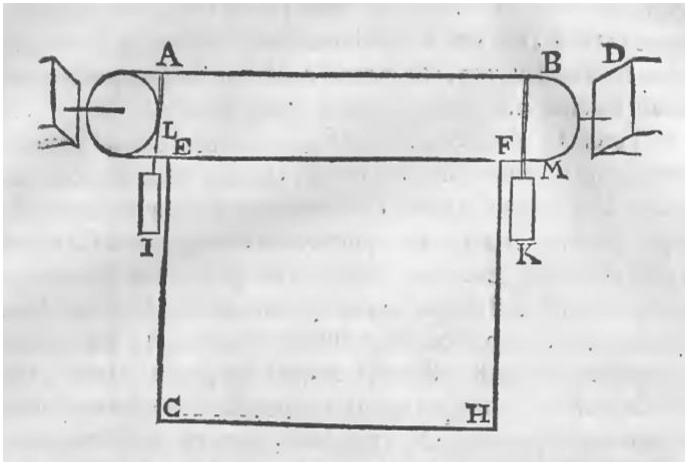

Fig. 4.11 Nicola Sabbatini, *Pratica di fabricar scene e machine ne' teatri* (Ravenna: Stampatori Camerali, 1638), p. 61.

[33] See Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb. Giust. I, vol. 76, n. 3315, fol. 9v. Also transcribed in Tamburini, pp. 94-104, fols 6r-15r

[34] See Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb. Giust. I, vol.76, n. 3315, fol. 11r. Also in Tamburini, pp. 94-104, fols 6r-15r

[35] See Sabbatini, p. 61.

The stage was furnished with two fountains placed inside two tanks: the first 6 palms (about 1.24 m) wide and 4 palms (about 0.89 m) high; the second 6 palms (about 1.24 m) wide and 3.5 palms (about 0.78 m) high, both waterproofed with straw.[36] On the proscenium, there were eight silver vases with floral decorations, and water jets between them.[37] Perhaps their arrangement was similar to the vases alternating with water jets as shown in the first engraving of the score of *La vita humana* (see figure 3.12) where it is possible to see six vases adorned with the Barberini bees alternating with jets of water.[38]

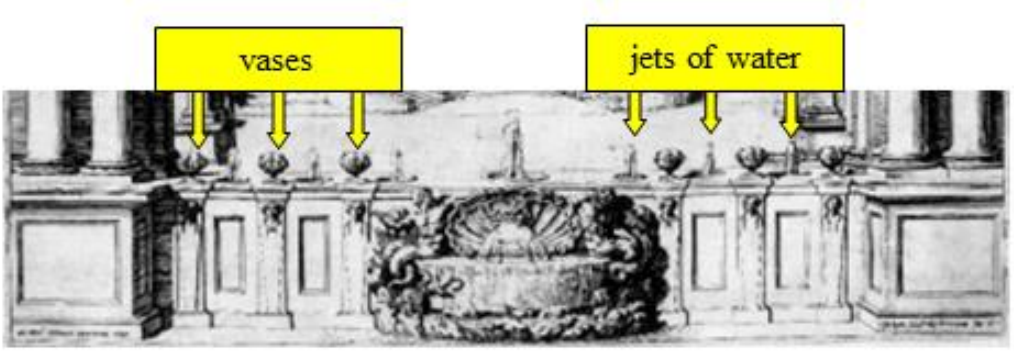

Fig. 4.12 Detail from fig. 4.6.

The person responsible for building the stage was the architect and carpenter Giovanni Battista Soria, who had already made the stage for *La pazzia d'Orlando* in 1638.[39] Soria and the sculptor Niccolò Menghini, who had been responsible for the set design of *La pazzia d'Orlando*, were given the most important tasks in setting the show. The former received 530.75 *scudi* and the latter 530.35 *scudi*, an amount of money higher than that given to all the other people involved in staging the performance, including Gian Lorenzo Bernini who received 248 *scudi*. The only

[36] See Appendix, item [9], fol. 32r.
[37] Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Giust. I, vol. 76, n. 3315, fol. 19v notes: '[…] E più per doi migliara di argento che è servito per inargentare li otto vasi che stavano avanti il palco; e si è inargentato tutta la verdura doi volte l'argento […]' ('[…] and further for two thousand <pounds> of silver, which served to coat the eight vases placed on the front stage; and all the vegetables were silvered twice […]'). Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Giust. I, vol. 76, n. 3315, fol.32v, line 5, mentions a tank placed behind the columns used to hold the water for the water jets.
[38] As discussed in the Introduction, when Maffeo Barberini, the future Pope Urban VIII, sat to Rome he choose to replace the three horseflies on the Barberini's original coat of arms with three bees. For further reference, see Introduction, footnote 13.
[39] For the analysis of the staging of *La pazzia d'Orlando*, see Chapter 3, above.

exception was Pietro Corsi, who was paid 611.64 *scudi*.[40] Considering the fact that he was paid more than anyone else for this opera, he must have been a man with a considerable reputation at the time.[41]

Soria used chestnut wood to build the stage, a kind of wood that at the time was considered the best suited to support the stage with its theatrical machines and side wings.[42] In front of the stage, the architect built a pit for the musicians with a base made of chestnut wood 50 palms (about 11.11 m) long and 10 ¼ palms (about 2.3 m) wide. The pit was hidden by a wooden *ramata* (grid) made of chestnut wood on which two planks were placed to walk on it, to avoid the risk of breaking through it. Another plank, as long as the *ramata* but only 1¾ palms (about 0.4 m) wide, joined the *ramata* to the stage minimizing the difference in level. Two different types of stairs were used to get in and out of the pit: the first, visible to the audience, had four steps each 3 palms (about 0.7 m) wide; the other, maybe used to allow the musicians to get into the pit, and therefore not visible to the audience, was an ordinary ladder (*a frateschia*). At the end of the first stair there was a platform 5 palms (about 1.11 m) long and 3 palms (about 0.70 m) wide with a parapet made of two crossbars, one of which was upright and had four straight edges of 6 palms each (about 1.24 m).

Soria was also responsible for building a room 18 palms (about 4 m) long and 23 palms (about 5 m) high made of chestnut wood in which to keep Niccolò Menghini's 'perspective' scene. This room had an alder door, 18 palms (about 4 m) long and 23 palms (5 m) high, that allowed Menghini's scenery to be taken easily out and in during the performance.[43] This scenery, referred to as *il giardino fatto dal signor Nicola* (the garden made by *Signor* Nicola), and used for the first *intermedio*, was an exact reproduction of the garden of Francesco Barberini's Palace. It took forty-three days to be completed, involving masons from St Peter's (*la fabbrica di San Pietro*) and a group of carpenters and painters that were directly paid by Menghini. They worked at Palazzo Barberini in a place referred to as the

[40] For the complete list of people involved in staging the performance and the relative amount of money they received, see Appendix, item [9], fols 2r, 2v, and 3r.
[41] Unfortunately, I have not been able to find any information about Corsi.
[42] See Ferdinando Galli Bibiena, *L'architettura civile preparata su la geometria e ridotta alle prospettive. Considerazioni pratiche* (Parma: Paolo Monti, 1711), pp. 37-38.
[43] The adler, from the adler tree or *alnus glutinosa*, is a light, soft wood that is durable under water. For further information on the tree and its distribution in Europe, see *The CABI Encyclopedia of Forest Trees*, ed. by NickPasiecznik , Andrew Praciak and Sheila Douglas (Boston: CABI, 2013), p. 60.

anticaglia – this was very likely a place where old things were stored for later occasions.[44]

Among the painters involved in making this 'perspective' scene were Giovanni Maria d'Urbino (Mariani), Giovanni Francesco Bolognese (Grimaldi), Giovanni Fiorentino (Ferri, better known as *il Senese*), Giovanni Battista Speranza (1607-1640) and a man who specialized in 'perspectives' mentioned as *sig. Girolamo*.[45] As with *San Bonifacio*, they used different types of brushes, such as *pennelli in asta*, stick-brushes that allowed artists to paint large canvases while standing up. This painting technique is considered a typical element of the *teatro all'italiana*, where illusionistic paintings, representing landscapes, are a fundamental element of the scenography. Since it was almost impossible to paint large backdrops putting them on easels, artists found it easier to work standing, leaving the canvasses on the floor. To do this they needed brushes with long handles, similar to those used for brooms. This technique is still used today.

One of the stage effects that impressed the viewers marked the end of the first *intermedio*. Montecuccoli described it in his dispatch to the Duke of Modena of 2 March 1639 with the following words: 'Vi fu anche un improvviso imbrunimento d'aria con lampi, tuoni, et un fulmine, che passò per la scena, e successe parimente grandine, e pioggia'.[46] This effect had been already created for other operas, but in this case, the payment records help understand how the effect was obtained, since they report that a mixture of combustible dust was placed into four pans.[47] Another special effect was the collapse of Egisto's tower in Act III, which was perhaps

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[44] For the term *anticaglia*, see Chapter 3, footnote 88, above.

[45] See Appendix, item [9], fol. 17r. Giovanni Maria Mariani was a painter belonging to the Genoese school; when in Rome he became a member of the Roman Academy. For further information on this artist, see Maria Farquhar, *Biographical Catalogue of the Principal Italian Painters* (London: John Murray, 1855), p. 98, and Matthew Pilkington, *A General Dictionary Of Painters.A New Edition, Revised And Corrected Throughout, With Numerous Additions, Particularly Of The Most Distinguished Artists Of The British School*, [use capitals as in current use] 2 vols (London: Thomas M'Lean, 1824), II, 18. Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi (1605/6-1680), called *il Bolognese*, was born in Bologna and was a relative of the Carracci. As a painter, he was admired greatly as a landscape painter, but he was also a distinguished architect and engraver. In Rome, he worked for the most important families including the Barberini, Borghese, Pamphili and Falconieri. For further information about Grimaldi, see Danuta Batorska, *Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi* (Rome: Campisano Editore, 2013). For Speranza, see Francesca Falsetti, 'Percorso di Giovanbattista Speranza', *Studi Romani* (2000), 359-80.

[46] 'There was also a sudden darkening of the air with lightning and thunder, and a lightning bolt, which passed through the scene. There were also hail and rain'. Translated from the dispatch transcribed in Ademollo, p. 28.

[47] '[...] per quattro padelle per metterci dentro la mestura per far luce per la commedia alle 4 fontane' ('[…] for four pans in which to place the mixture to make the light for the comedy at the Quattro Fontane'). See Appendix, item [9], 145r.

obtained with the same stage device used to make Cleopatra's tomb crumble in *Erminia sul Giordano*.[48]

An *intermedio* of flowers closed the entire opera. This was created using fresh flowers. Fifteen crowns of fresh flowers were bought for this *intermedio* for 25 *baiocchi* each, plus another special crown, made of three rings of flowers and embellished with laces and frills which cost 50 *baiocchi*.[49]

Chi soffre, speri had an immediate and lasting success. This is attested both by a payment record, dated 28 December 1647, which reports about 17 *scudi* spent to make a copy of the score to be sent to France, and by recent research by José María Dominguez.[50] Dominguez discovered in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid two different printed versions of the *Argomento e Allegoria* of the opera dated 1649 and 1650 respectively (Mss 2437). Both copies were printed in Trani by Lorenzo Valeri and were almost certainly performed in Andria (Puglia). The 1649 version was performed on occasion of the marriage of Carlo Carafa and includes the *intermedio* of *La fiera di Farfa*. The 1650 version was performed for the birth of Carlo Carafa's first-born son.[51]

Since *La fiera di Farfa* became a celebrated piece in itself, mostly due to Gian Lorenzo Bernini's contribution, its scenography deserves detailed analysis. Therefore, the next section is entirely devoted to it.[52]

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[48] See Chapter 3, fig. 3.5 and footnote 40.

[49] See Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Giut. I, vol.76, n. 3315, fol. 139r. The use of fresh flowers as ornamental decoration was at the time spreading widely in Italy. This was a consequence of the interest in botanical and naturalistic imagery, which gained more and more aesthetic value during the seventeenth century. This interest is attested by the numerous *Florilegia*, that is books of flowers, which were printed during that period – among them was *Flora*, a treaties in four books by Johannes-Baptista Senensis Ferrari printed in Rome in 1638. For further information, see Johannes-Baptista Senensis Ferrari, *Flora* (Rome: Facciotti, 1638).

[50] For the payment record, see Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., *Giornale D* (Cardinal Francesco, years 1641-1648), vol. 727, fol. 539r, also transcribed in Murata, p. 262, note 13.

[51] Professor José María Dominguez (Universidada de La Rioja) recently presented the results of his research in a paper entitled 'Opera romana en la periferia de la Napoles espanola. Un libreto inédito de Chi soffre, speri impreso en Trani, 1649' at an international conference entitled *La Comedia Nueva spagnola e le scene italiane nel seicento. Trame, drammaturgie, contesti a confronto* held in Rome at the Università di Roma Tre (19-21 January 2015), co-organized by the Università di Roma Tre and by the Università di Palermo.

[52] On the *intermedio* see also Friederick Hammond, 'Bernini and the "Fiera di Farfa"', in *Gianlorenzo Bernini: New Aspects of His Art and Thought: a Commemorative Volume*, ed. by Irving Lavin (University Park - London: The Pennsylvania State University, 1985), pp. 115-78. This is a very good source of information on other aspects of *La fiera*. Moreover, it includes the full transcription of the text with a parallel English translation.

The *intermedio La fiera di Farfa* (Carnival 1639)

As already seen above, the second *intermedio* was the main novelty of the 1639 remake of the opera *Chi soffre, speri* performed in 1637 with the title *Il Falcone.*

According to Janie Cole, the *intermedio*, written by Giulio Rospigliosi and composed by Marco Marazzoli, was modelled on Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger's *La fiera*.[53] Buonarroti (1568-1646) had sent a copy of it to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, who is said to have praised the play and promised to publish it in Rome. However, as Domenico Bernini, Gian Lorenzo's son, reports about another performance with the same title staged in Bernini's private theatre, it would be interesting to know which one had been written first, and whether Bernini's was based on the same or on an original subject.[54] It is also likely that the choice of the subject for this *intermedio* was influenced by *Las ferias de Madrid* by Lope de Vega because, as seen in Chapter 1, Rospigliosi had the chance to attend theatrical performances by the Spanish playwright when he was in Spain as *legato a latere* of Cardinal Francesco in 1626.[55]

No matter which of the above sources acted as an inspiration for the *intermedio*, both the *intermedio* and the other performances based on the same subject were influenced by the then widespread notion of the fair as a *teatrum mundi*, that is, a place where it was said to be possible to observe people belonging to all the different social classes with their vices and virtues and therefore, offered a great opportunity to convey moral messages. To be successful in teaching virtue, it was important to make the audience identify with the 'true' people on stage and therefore to create an impression of plausibility and verisimilitude. This task was

[53] Janie Cole, 'Cultural Clientelism and Brokerage Networks in Early Modern Florence and Rome: New Correspondence between the Barberini and Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger', *Renaissance Quarterly* 60 (2007), 729-88 (p. 765): 'Buonarroti's theatrical influence on the cardinal's choice of spectacles is partially evident in his presentation of Rospigliosi's *La fiera di Farfa* in 1639 as an *intermedio* for *Chi Soffre, Speri,* with a set by Gian Lorenzo Bernini. Rospigliosi clearly modeled his work on Buonarroti's spectacle *La fiera*, performed at the Medici Court for Carnival 1619, which represented a moral satire of Florentine society and even served as a metaphor for Florence and the world in a *teatrum mundi*. In 1639, Buonarroti presented Cardinal Francesco with a copy of *La fiera*, which he praised as a fair "where each person may buy wisdom and prudence" and promised to publish it. (see his letter in Vatican City, BAV, Barb. lat. 6460, fol. 77r)'.
[54] In Robert Fahrner and William Kleb, 'The Theatrical Activity of Gianlorenzo Bernini', p. 9: '[…] Although he did not indicate when it was done, Domenico Bernino recorded another spectacular visual effect with which his father startled an audience, this time in his private theatre. It occurred in a production called *The Fair* (*La fiera*) and involved not a flood but a conflagration […]'.
[55] For this conjecture, see Maria Grazia Profeti, 'Rospigliosi e la Spagna', in *Lo spettacolo del sacro, la morale del profano*, ed by Danilo Romei (Florence: Polistampa, 2005), pp. 133-51.

assigned to Gian Lorenzo Bernini, who created the perspective scene for this *intermedio* with the help of the skilled workers from St Peter's Basilica.[56] The total amount of money spent by Bernini to buy what he needed and to pay his collaborators was 248.66 *scudi*, according to a request for payment signed by the artist on 9 April 1639.[57]

Bernini tried to represent the 'true' fair on stage by exploiting the illusion created by the music composed by Marazzoli, who divided the *intermedio* into sections. The first starts with a double chorus following Zanni's recitative at the end of the second act. The chorus sets the mood of a lively fair with its vendors calling for the attention of potential buyers.[58] It was the task of Bernini to create the exact visual atmosphere of the fair by tricking the audience's eyes through his machine. As fairs usually started early in the morning, while the performances of *Chi soffre, speri*, were staged late in the afternoon, Bernini made use of his machine to trace the movement of the sun from dawn to sunset. Bernini likely started operating his machine of the rising sun at the very beginning of the *intermedio*, moving it slowly to give a true impression of a rising sun. The machine probably consisted of a painted *lontananza* (backdrop) of the sky, illuminated by eight torches placed into *canali ad uso di cassetta* (ducts used as boxes) that could be moved thanks to a mechanical device made to raise and lower the torches.[59] This device must have been very difficult to use because, when asked to explain its use, Bernini wrote at the end of the directions sent to Cardinal Richelieu: 'riuscirà quando io costà manderò le mie mani e la mia testa'.[60] The arrival of a lady, who steps down from her litter and enters the fair, ends the first section of the *intermedio* – here the sun was plausibly higher in the sky.

The following and longest section is an episode involving a Narnese mountebank accompanied by his *zanni*, who sings and dances, surrounded by a large crowd.[61] Special benches were built to allow dancing on stage: the payment

[56] See Appendix, item [9], fol. 27r.
[57] See Appendix, item [9], fol. 28r.
[58] Vatican City, BAV, Urb. lat. 1107, Avvisi di Roma, fol. 39v, <5 March 1639> (quoted in Ademollo p. 29): '[...] artisti e mercanti d'ogni sorte, che parlando in musica vanno procurando di vendere le merci, et opere loro […]'. ([…] artists and merchants of all sorts, who speaking in music try to sell their merchandise and their products […]).
[59] See Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Giust. I, vol. 76, n. 3315, fol. 30r.
[60] 'It will work when I send my hands and my head there'. See Baldinucci, p. 76.
[61] The term *zanni*, borrowed from the *commedia dell'arte* performances, was at the time a generic term used for any character belonging to the comic servant class. For further information about the commedia dell'arte about the *commedia dell'arte* I would suggest, among the numerous studies on this subject *The Routledge Companion to Commedia*. About *zanni* see also Molinari, pp. 103-12.

records make reference to six benches, 8 palms (about 1.78 m) long with the sides lined, and with two legs each, which were used to dance on stage, and another, 6 palms (about 1.34 m) long, similar to the previous ones, used by Zanni and Coviello.[62]

At the beginning of the afternoon the lady who had appeared earlier, enters on stage for the second time bringing a change in the mood that will be broken again by a swordfight arising after a gentleman has struck a dog, interrupting a dance. The person responsible for organizing the swordfight and making it as realistic as possible was Malatesta Albani (1617-1645).[63] At the time, he was a young page, son of the former Roman senator Orazio Albani (1576-1653) from Urbino and a member of that city's high nobility. His promising skills in the art of swordfight would made him, a few years later, one of the main protagonists of the battle of Castro (1643-45). Because the young Albani very soon went on to other types of roles at the Barberini court and was mainly engaged as an expert in military strategy, it seems significant that the Albani archives in the Biblioteca Oliveriana in Pesaro contain the drawing of a scenography with some notes sketched by Malatesta, showing a rising sun. Indeed, it seems likely that it refers to Bernini's celebrated machine of the rising sun, which was part of the scenography of the second *intermedio* of *Chi soffre, speri*.[64]

[62] See Appendix, item [9], fol. 31v.

[63] Malatesta Albani was born in Urbino on 5 December 1617. He was the son of Annibale Albani, who was at the time of Urban VIII guardian of the Vatican Library. Malatesta had a brilliant diplomatic and military career (years 1641-1644). In 1644, the pope sent him both in England and in France for diplomatic purposes. At the death of Urban VIII, he returned to Italy. However, in 1645 he decided to go back to France with the promise of an even more brilliant career. Unfortunately, during the travel he fell sick and died in the Duchy of Nevers on 7 October 1645 at the age of 27. This is what his brother wrote in a document held in the Archivio Albani of the Biblioteca Oliveriana of Pesaro: document 1-09-314 (*Notizie biografiche su Malatesta Albani*).

[64] A comparison between Bernini's watercolour and Albani's drawing is important to substantiate the hypothesis that the latter is the bare image of all the elements, which combined, created the image painted in the former. Through the comparison, it might be assumed that Albani's sketch is a possible backstage view of Bernini's scenography. See Zammar.

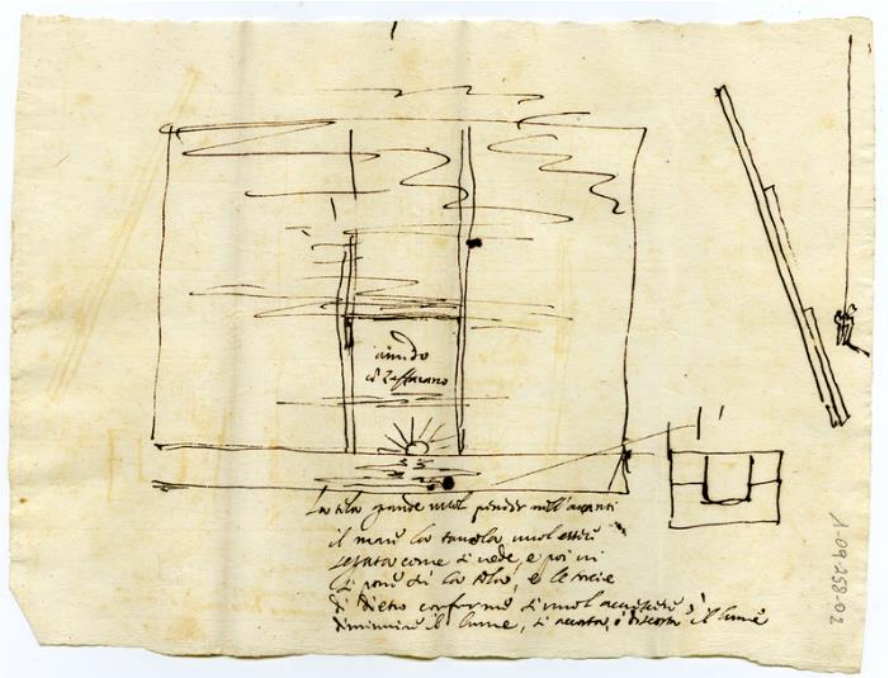

Fig. 4.13 Malatesta Albani, *Appunti con disegno* (notes with drawing), *c*. 1641-1645. Document 1-09-258-02, © project Archivio Albani, Biblioteca Oliveriana, Pesaro (by kind permission).

The notes in the drawing transcribed and translated in the table below give useful information about the machine because they describe how to assemble the main elements used to operate it.

Transcription as in the drawing with modern punctuation and spelling	Translation
Amido con zafferano | La tela grande vuole passare nell'avanti | il mare, la tavola vuole essere | segata come si vede e poi vi | si pone su la tela, e le torce | di dietro. Conforme si vuole accrescere o | diminuire il lume, si accosta, o discosta il lume.	Starch with saffron |[65] The large canvas must be placed in the front of | the sea, the board must be | sawn as shown and then | the canvas must be placed on it, and the torches | behind. Depending on whether you want to increase or | decrease the light, the light is brought nearer or further away.[66]

[65] Starch was used for preparing canvases before spreading tempera colours or pigments on it. See Gino Piva, *Manuale pratico di tecnica pittorica* (Milan: Hoepli, 1989), p. 211.
[66] See Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana, Archivio Albani, Malatesta Albani, *Appunti con disegno* (notes with drawing), *c*. 1641-1645, document 1-09-258-02.

While Bernini's machine makes the sun set, the sword fight ends thanks to Zanni who surrenders leading to the *intermedio*'s happy ending, and the repetition of the double chorus which had opened the *intermedio* states its ending.[67]

To help him create a convincing illusion, Bernini chose the best masons from the Fabbrica di San Pietro. The documents make clear that he worked mainly at St Peter's on the 'perspective' scene, which was then transported to the Palazzo alle Quattro Fontane.[68] He selected different types of wood: planks and panels of alder, joists and rafters of chestnut wood, and planks of fir. He also purchased different types of canvases and cardboards, tins, ropes, wires, strings of zither, threads, different types of nails, and glue.[69] The illusion of a darkened stage was obtained by using eight pikes, 20 palms (about 4.5 m) long and putting some cloth on top of them to cover the lights.[70]

Twenty-four men were involved in each performance, paid 8.10 *scudi* each time.[71] Apart from those responsible for raising and lowering the curtain, three of them had the task of maintaining the water night and day inside the fountains, but most of them were engaged in moving the scenes. A payment recorded on 25 February, for example, reports that a group of masons worked until late to test the scenes and to soap the slots cut into the stage to make them easily slide.[72]

Moving the scenes was effected in three different ways:

a) moving pairs of flats covered with canvases, by using a single mechanism under the stage which changed the set completely and smoothly;

b) moving by hand clouds, skies and ceilings by causing them to slide on rails;

c) moving by hand an entire piece of scenography making it slide on rails.

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[67] As already observed by Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, Zanni's words bringing the *intermedio* to an end 'Amico, hai vinto […]', are a quotation from Claudio Monteverdi's *Il combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda* published a few weeks before in Monteverdi's eighth book of madrigals. See Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, 'Consumption and Political Function', (p. 221).

[68] See Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Giut. I, vol.76, n. 3315, fol. 27v: 'per portatura di detta scena da S. Pietro alle Quattro Fontane sc.3' ('to bring the already-mentioned scene from St Peter's to the Quattro Fontane, 3 *scudi*').

[69] He also used a type of glue called *colla cervona*, which was stronger than other types. It was prepared using remnants of leather gloves. (See 'Colla cervona', in *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* ed. by Salvatore Battaglia, 21 vols (Turin: UTET, 1961-2002), III, 251.)

[70] See Appendix, item [9], fol. 27r.

[71] About the average salary of other artists hired by the Barberini see the section entitled 'Answer to the first research question' in the Conclusion, below.

[72] See Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb. Giust. I, vol. 76, n. 3315, fols 14v and 22r.

The first method can be inferred from a payment dated 23 January, which mentions that several workers were given money for something to drink because they had worked night and day *per tirare il trave di mezzo* (to pull the middle beam). This seems to indicate that some kind of mechanical device, used to change the scenery simultaneously, had already been introduced in Rome. The device must have been similar to that described by Carini Motta and shown in the figure below.[73]

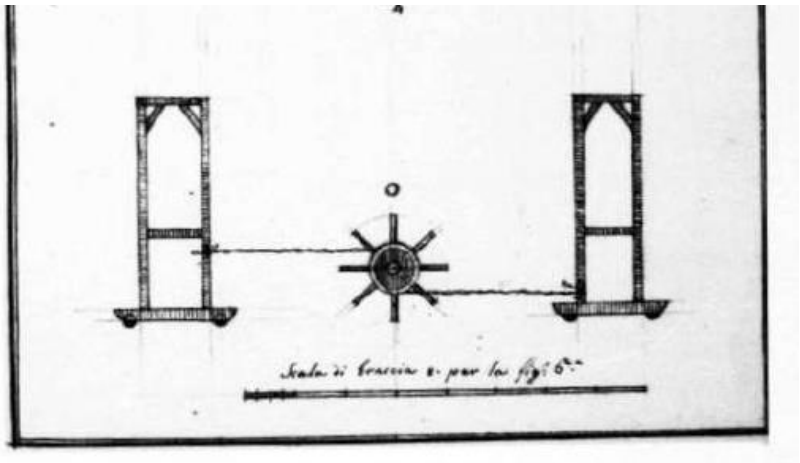

Fig. 4.14 Fabrizio Carini Motta, *Degli ordinamenti per le mutazioni delle scene* in *Costruzione de' teatri e macchine teatrali*, Modena, Bibl. Estense, ms N. G. 3.16, Campori 978, detail of Tav. 3 (1688).

The innovative device of changing the flats simultaneously was first introduced in Ferrara by Giovanni Battista Aleotti, or by the architect-scenographer Francesco Guitti in Parma in 1628 (although the invention dates to a decade earlier).[74] As noted in Chapter 2, it is possible that Guitti himself had introduced it in Rome, when he staged *L'Erminia sul Giordano* and *Il Sant'Alessio* for the Carnival seasons of 1633-1634 and that Bernini had learnt how to build and operate it from him. To make them slide smoothly, the flats were placed into well-soaped slots cut into the stage floor and into the ceiling and were moved in and out thanks to an elaborate series of ropes. The payment records report an astounding number of tracks cut into the stage, totalling 840 palms (about 187.70 m) in length. Some of them must have been used to move the two 'perspective' scenes by Menghini and Bernini, and some other pieces of scenery with heavy structures. This is probably the case of the scene showing Ottavia's lodge, which was made of shaped panels.

[73] Fabrizio Carini Motta, architect and painter, was presumably born in Mantua where he worked as an architect-scenographer between 1648 and 1699. See Edward A. Craig, 'Carini Motta, Fabrizio', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, XX (1977), 112-13.
[74] See Adami, p. 40.

To make the *telai* (see figure below) they used 2565 palms of canvas (about 573 m), of which 758 palms (about 169 m) were old canvases, treated with eggs and flour, mended and prepared to be used anew (and maybe re-used in the future).[75]

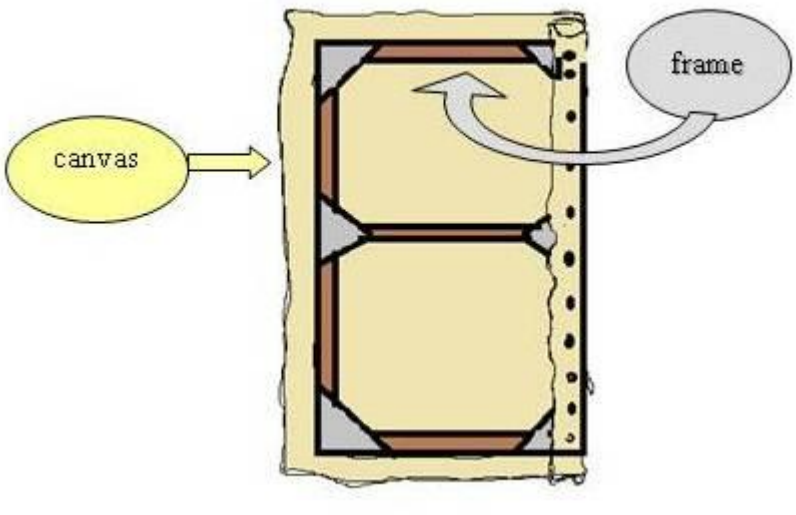

Fig. 4.15 My drawing, showing the sections of a *telaio*.

A request for payment specifies that a scene was made using two *telai* 30 palms (about 6.7 m) high, and 34 palms (about 7.9 m) long, that had been used the previous year counter

The impression of reality was also created thanks to the clever use of optical illusion made by juxtaposing three stages: a main stage where the actors performed; a second illusionistic stage 11.5 palms (2.56 m) wide, and 7.5 palms (1.67 m) long; and a third stage 9 palms (2 m) wide, and 2.5 palms (0.55 m) long. The second and third stages held the *lontananze* (landscapes/backdrops). These appeared when the flats opened, as described by Michelangelo Lualdi in his *Galleria sacra architettata dalla pietà romana dall'anno 1610 sino al 1645*, who writes: 'Nel fine del palco dove si approno le prospettive giace un secondo palco quivi ammirano le lontananze'.[76]

[75] The term *telaro* (frame), used in the 'Giustificazioni I', modern spelling *telaio*, refers to the panels used to make side wings and backdrops.

[76] 'At the end of the stage, where the perspectives open up, there lies another stage where it is possible to admire the landscapes'. See Michelangelo Lualdi, 'Galleria Sacra', passim, also in Tamburini, pp. 63-64.

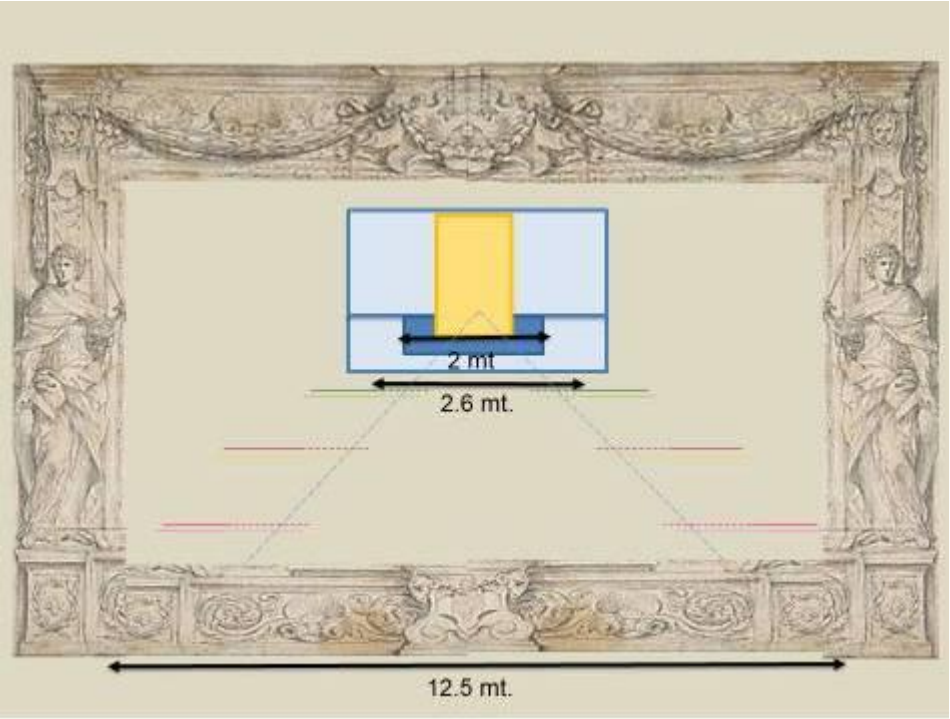

Fig. 4.16 My drawing, showing the hypothetical position of the *lontananze* during the second *intermedio*, based on Malatesta Albani's drawing (see fig. 4.13) and on the measurements deduced from the payments investigated for this chapter.

During the *intermedio* the viewers saw live animals crossing a bridge made of large chestnut boards 43 palms (about 9.60 m) long, and 9 palms (about 2 m) wide. Underneath the bridge, there were three supports: a central support 20 palms (about 4.46 m) high, and two lateral supports 10 palms (2.23 m) high.

Thanks to the illusion created by the use of live animals, of a realistic setting and of the ingenious machine invented by Bernini to manipulate the audience's perception of the passing of time, *Chi soffre, speri* gave the spectators the impression that they were having a real-life experience. This impression is well exemplified by the following description written by Hieronimo Tetio in his *Aedes Barberinae ad Quirinalem* (Rome: Mascardi 1642):

> […] cum Fabula Italica, cui nomen inditum erat *Egisto* seu, *Chi soffre, speri,* elegantissima perageretur et mille rerum imagines in scenam prodirent, vidisses exorientem primo solem nocturnasque tenebras fugantem; mox se paulatim ex undis attolentem, atque adeo artificiose omnia illustrantem, ut, qui modo Theatrum ingressi, eundem vere occidentem reliquerant, retrogradum facile crederent; quasi novas nundinas, quae ibi iucundissime ad veri ipsissimam imaginem, exhibebantur, lustraturus accederet, et praeclara illa armenta sibi abducta dubitaret.[77]

[77] '[...] when the Italian tale whose name was given as *Egisto* or *Chi soffre, speri* was most elegantly executed and a thousand representations of things appeared, you would have seen the first light from the east chasing away the dark night, soon little by little rising itself from out the waves, and more than this, artfully illuminating everything, so that whoever had just entered the theatre really leaving the sun in the West, would easily believe the opposite, just as though it were approaching, about to

Il palazzo incantato d'Atlante (Carnival 1642)

The opera *Il palazzo incantato d'Atlante* or *La lealtà con valore*, often followed by the subtitle *La guerriera amante* (*The Warrior Maiden in Love*), re-inaugurated the Teatro Barberini in February 1642. This year corresponded to a turning point in the war of Castro, whose consequence was the worsening of the relationship between the Barberini and Odoardo Farnese, duke of Castro. This war had its roots in the origin of the Duchy of Castro. The place once belonged to the Papal State and it was ruled by *podestà* (mayors) sent by the pope. On 1 November 1537 Pope Paul III (1468–1549), born Alessandro Farnese, transformed the property into a duchy. The following year his son, Pier Luigi, donated Frascati to the apostolic chamber and obtained the permission to transmit the duchy in perpetuity to his first-born descendants. The territory of the site grew when Pope Paul III added to it Ronciglione and other contiguous lands, transforming Castro into the most important feud of the Papal State both for extension and for income.



Fig. 4.17 Gerhard Mercator, 'Territorio di Siena Con il Ducato di Castro' (Territory of Siena with the Duchy of Castro) in *Atlantis novi pars tertia*: vol. 3 (1638) held in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, Italy. Id. GEO0005401.

shine on new markets, which were exhibited most delightfully in the very same image of real things, and the sun were hesitating over those fine cattle huddled off to themselves'. Translation by Margaret Murata from Hieronymo Tetio, *Aedes Barberinae*, p. 35. See Murata, p. 206, note 64.

When Urban VIII became pope in 1623, he and his nephews started fearing the presence of so powerful a duchy, almost reaching the border of their state, whose owner, Odoardo Farnese, belonged to a very powerful family who ruled Parma and Piacenza as well. Maybe for this reason, in 1639 Taddeo Barberini made a pact with the Siri, depositories of the Monti Farnesi, convincing them not to pay their rent and, consequently, not allowing Odoardo to pay his debts with the Monti.[78] This was the beginning of a long tussle between Odoardo and the Barberini. It led to the first war of Castro, which ended on 13 October 1641 when Taddeo Barberini invaded the feud and conquered Castro. In spite of this defeat, Odoardo continued organizing his armies to regain the duchy. At the beginning of 1642, he was excommunicated.[79]

Il palazzo incantato d'Atlante was performed when the relationship between the Barberini and Odoardo Farnese had worsened. However, Carnival 1642 seemed to be, for the powerful Roman family, a period of relative calm after three years of tension that had forced the Barberini to employ most of their energies to solve the question of Castro.[80] It was then possible to think about staging a new opera and use it as a means to reinforce the family's position. That is why *Il palazzo incantato*,

[78] The creation of the Monti (also known as Monti di pietà) dated back to the late fifteenth-early sixteenth century. It was due to an increasing opposition towards Jewish loan-banking from the Christian population and it was supported by Franciscan leaders such as Bernardino da Siena, Giacomo della Marca, Giovanni da Capistrano, and Bernardino da Feltre. They laid the foundations for the new lending institutions sponsored by wealthy Christians that would extend credit on a non-profit basis. In the late sixteenth century, the Monti di pietà evolved acquiring some features typical of modern banks. This was due to the following events: in 1515, Pope Leone X allowed them to charge interests on their loans; in 1560, Pope Pius IV authorized them to accept deposits from private investors; and in 1569, Pope Pius V allowed them to compensate these deposits. For further information on the relation about the Monti di Pietà and the Papacy during the Renaissance and Conter-Reformation, see Peter Partner, 'Papal Financial Policy in the Renaissance and Counter-Reformation', *Past & Present*, 88 (1980), 17-62. For further information on the most relevant studies about the Monti, see Nicola Lorenzo Barile 'Renaissance Monti di Pietà in Modern Scholarship: Themes, Studies, and Historiographic Trends', *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme*, 35 (2012), III, 85-114. See also: Luigi Pascali, *Banks and Development: Jewish Communities in the Italian Renaissance and Current Economic Performance* (2009) <http://www.csef.it/seminarpdf/Pascali_JMP.pdf> [accessed 5 March 2014]

[79] Giacinto Gigli in his *Diario Romano* (p. 203) writes: 'a di 13 di Gennaro lunedì in Concistoro fu dichiarato scomunicato il Duca di Parma' ('on Monday 13 January in the Concistory the duke of Parma was declared excommunicated').

[80] The war ended only two years later. With the Treaty of Rome signed on 31 March 1644, the Farnese, supported by France, regained the Duchy of Castro and Ronciglione and reconciled with the Holy See. About the chronology of the events related to the war of Castro, see Renzo Chiovelli, ed., 'Cronologia della prima Guerra di Castro (1641-1644) nelle Carte Barberini presso la Biblioteca Vaticana', *Biblioteca e società*, 2 (1994), 3-11.

a *dramma musicale* in three acts, should be analysed taking into account its political implications.

The libretto, written by Giulio Rospigliosi, was based, like *La pazzia d'Orlando*, on an episode from Ariosto's *L'Orlando furioso* (a few stanzas from cantos XI and XII), but the new opera was much more complicated than *La pazzia* because of its numerous plots and subplots. Indeed, Rospigliosi adopted a style that he believed more suitable to create a convincing musical drama involving numerous love stories. The main plot is about the magician Atlante, who, in an attempt to preserve Ruggiero from any possible trouble, has imprisoned him in an enchanted palace, built for this purpose. Whoever approaches the palace is deceived by the magician and imprisoned. Most of the main characters are couples of lovers with the exception of Duke Astolfo, who succeeds in breaking the spell and freeing the prisoners.

The aim of the performance is well exemplified in a written allegory of the opera dated 1662, the *Allegoria et argomento dell'attione rappresentata in musica intitolata Lealtà con valore* (*Allegory and argument of the action set in music titled Loyalty with Valour*).[81] The allegory reveals the hidden meanings of the libretto, making clear to the audience that the moral of the opera is that only when the human mind is moved by reason every deception and worldly obstacle are removed.[82] In light of the contemporary historical events related to the delicate phase of the war of Castro, the circumstances of this opera can be read as a metaphor of the actual political situation. The human mind lost in a worldly labyrinth might be a reference to Odoardo Farnese, duke of Parma. On the other hand, the identification of reason with the Barberini meant that Odoardo needed their help to find the right path in life. Therefore, the opera had a double aim. On the one hand, it represented a warning to the duke of Parma in order to make him rethink his actions and change his mind. On the other, it hinted at the uprightness and fairness of the Barberini family in order to reinforce its authority.

[81] See Anonymous, *Allegoria et argomento dell'attione rappresentata in musica intitolata Leltà con valore* (Rome: stamperia della reverenda camera apostolica, 1662).

[82] This can be inferred from the following words: '[...] quando l'animo si rivolge alla ragione supera finalmente ogni frode, e resta vincitore d'ogni contrasto, poco apprezzando gl'allettamenti del mondo' ('[...] when mind turns to reason, it finally overcomes all deceit, and it wins every contrast, barely appreciating the enticements of the world'). See *Allegoria et argomento dell'attione rappresentata in musica intitolata Leltà con valore* (Rome: stamperia della reverenda camera apostolica, 1642), p. 3.

After its first performance on 22 February 1642, *Il palazzo incantato* was given again in March for Cardinal Ippolito d'Este as indicated by the following *avviso* published in March:

> Marzo 1642
> Nel palazzo del sig.re Cardinal Antonio alle quattro Fontane è stato rappresentato in scena in musica alla presenza de personaggi et altra nobiltà un soggetto intitolato Il Palaggio incantato d'Atlante cavato dal poema dell'Ariosto ch'è riuscito molto bello per l'eccellenza della musica, per la vaghezza degli abiti, per le mutazioni delle scene e per le prospettive e intermedi dei balletti.[83]

The visual aspect of the performance was given a great deal of attention and was the responsibility of the painter Andrea Sacchi. As already seen in Chapter 3, Sacchi had been responsible in 1639 for the set design for the *Giostra del Saracino*, and in 1641 he had decorated the scenes for the opera *La Genoinda*. This was, therefore, his second experience in staging an opera.[84] The painter Filippo Gagliardi helped Sacchi, while Apollonio Guidoni, who had been Gian Lorenzo Bernini's assistant in 1638 for the design a fire machine, was responsible for the costumes and machines.[85] The magnificence of the set design, of the costumes and machines together with the fascination of the dances were a means to celebrate the Barberini's power and wealth.

It is not easy to estimate the exact amount of money spent to stage this opera because of the lack of coherence in the sources. Theodor Ameyden estimated that the Barberini spent a total amount of 8000 *scudi*.[86] These expenses include payments for the materials used to build the fixed part of the stage, as well as for lighting the scenes and to prepare the *telari*. As will be pointed out in the conclusion to this dissertation, all the details included in the payments provide useful information about the materials and techniques used by the artisans who staged the operas for the Barberini. These payments also give information about the furnishing

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[83] 'March 1642. In the Palace of Signor Cardinal Antonio alle Quattro Fontane they performed on stage in music in the presence of the characters and high nobility a subject entitled 'The Enchanted Palace of Atlante' from Ariosto's poem; this resulted very beautiful for the sophistication of the costumes, for the exchange of the scenes and backdrops, and for its *intermedi* and dances'. See Vatican City, BAV, Ottob. lat. 3344, vol. 1, fols 101v and 102r.

[84] See Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Giut. I, vol. 240, fol. 43r. The payment dates 3 February.

[85] Filippo Gagliardi was the artist who would paint, together with Filippo Lauri, the picture entitled *Giostra dei Caroselli.* This is one of the main pieces of evidence of the joust organized by the Barberini for the Carnival season 1656 to honor Christina of Sweden.

[86] See Filippo Clementi *Il Carnevale romano*, 2 vols (Città di Castello: Unione Arti Grafiche, 1939), I, p. 489.

of the hall since they record expenses for one hundred eighty-five wooden benches and ten stools.[87]

Another piece of evidence of the large amount of money spent for the performance is a letter by Ottaviano Castelli to Jules Mazarin dated 11 January 1642, in which Castelli writes:

> II Signor Cardinal Antonio tutto il giorno spende nella direzione della sua commedia con spese indicibili et inutili, essendosi fin' ora speso in legni per far modelli, più di ottocento scudi, in modo che tutta la corte se ne meraviglia […].[88]

In spite of Antonio's effort and involvement in organizing the performance, the première did not satisfy the cardinal's expectations. Perhaps because of Sacchi's inexperience in this field, his machines did not work properly and some canvases, which had been restored for the occasion, broke. All this is revealed in a letter by Ottaviano Castelli to Mazarin, dated 23 February, which also gives other details related to the first performance:

> Hier sera l'Em.mo Antonio fece rappresentare la sua festa del Palazzo d'Atlante, la quale in riguardo delle macchine andò tanto male che S. Em.za si adirò terribilmente, minacciando di galera e cose simili; e veramente con qualche ragione perché il S. Andrea Sacchi per altro ingegnoso, in questo come poco pratico, non è riuscito <a> niente [...].[89]

As for the music, the composer of the score was Luigi Rossi (1597-1653), who introduced in this opera a new musical style never used before in Rome, giving the lyrical aspects of the music more space in comparison to the previous operas patronized by the Barberini.

In analysing the score, it can be observed that there were no *intermedi* between the acts of *Il palazzo incantato.* This was another reason for the opera to

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[87] See Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Comp. 233, fol. 186v.

[88] 'Cardinal Antonio spends all day directing his Comedy with incredible and unnecessary expense, since at this point they have spent more than eight hundred *scudi* for the wood to make the models'. See the original text transcribed in Henry Prunière, 'Les représentations du Palazzo d'Atlante à Rome (1642) d'après des documents inédits', *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft* (Jan.-Mar., 1913), 218-26 (p. 220).

[89] 'Yesterday evening his Eminence Antonio had his festival, Il Palazzo d'Atlante, performed, but it went so badly because of the machinery that his Eminence was terribly furious and he threatened jail and similar things. With some reason actually, because Mr Andrea Sacchi, despite his genius in other things, was not very expert in this, had no success at all [...]'. Translated from the full Italian text transcribed in Henry Prunière, 'Les représentations du Palazzo d'Atlante à Rome (1642)', (pp. 222-23).

be criticized. Monsieur de Lyonne in a letter to Mazarin, dated 24 February, reported the lack of *intermedi* as one of annoyance to the public.[90]

The two copies of the manuscript score (Vatican City, BAV, Barb. lat. 4388 and Barb. lat. 4389) analysed for this study, do not give much information about the setting for the opera. The latter must have been a copy used by the musicians during one of the performances since it contains numerous corrections, erasures and modifications of the text. It may be one of the earliest copies of the manuscript score.[91] Nevertheless, they both report that at the beginning of scene 17 of Act II, where there is a dance of dwarfs and a chorus of maidens, the latter sing *sulle logge* (on the lodges).[92] Since the word *loggia* (lodge) seems to refer to a lodge built on the stage, this may be the first unquestionable evidence of a walkable piece of scenography used in an opera patronized by the Barberini. In both manuscripts mentioned above there is also another interesting reference to the staging of the opera. Here, at the beginning of scene 8 of Act III, it is reported that dames and knights are *nel giardino* (in the garden). This reference may hint at a separate section of the stage, suggesting the use of a double stage for this opera.

As in other operas analysed for this study, *Il palazzo incantato* involved a sword fight. Similar to the sword fight placed during the second *intermedio* of the 1639 version of *Chi soffre, speri*, the mock fight that took place at the end of Act II of *Il palazzo incantato* took place using real weapons. This can be inferred from an order of payment dated 10 June 1642, which reports that they spent 38 *scudi* 'per il prezzo di n. 14 spade diverse con suoi foderi e puntali servite in occasione della commedia […].'[93] Therefore, even if there are no *intermedi* in the score of this opera, apparently the audience perceived this section as a sort of *intermedio*.

As noted above, the first letter by Ottaviano Castelli relates that, maybe due to Sacchi's inexperience, the machinery worked very badly. This is confirmed by an *avviso* copied in Paris, dated 1 March 1642, which reports that Cardinal Antonio himself had to go the Quattro Fontane to improve the machines that had not

[90] See Prunière, (p. 223).
[91] This can be argued because the manuscript contains notes placed at the lower right corner of numerous recto folios which write 'volta subito'(turn immediately), which means that this was a copy used for the staging.
[92] Vatican City, BAV, Barb. lat. 4388, fol. 210r and Vatican City, BAV, Barb. lat. 4389, fol. 168v.
[93] '[…] to pay for 14 swords of different types with their scabbards and tips that were used in occasion of the comedy […]'. See Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Comp. 233, fol. 188r

operated perfectly.[94] This means that most of the visual impact of the opera relied on the painted *lontananze*. Nevertheless, there were at least four scenographic effects: Astolfo entering on stage riding a hippogryph, Angelica disappearing thanks to a magic ring, Atlante transformed first into a giant and then into a fake Ruggiero, and finally the Palace vanishing at the end of the opera.

Among the effects mentioned above, the first was possibly obtained with a machine similar to that used in *Erminia sul Giordano* when Armida entered on a flying chariot pulled by dragons (see fig. 2.8). Similarly, Angelica's disappearance is reminiscent of Cleopatra's vanishing in the prologue of *I Santi Didimo e Teodora*, which may have been achieved with a similar device. Atlante's transformations echoes the multiple transformations of the devil in *Il Sant'Alessio.* Finally, the Palace's vanishing at the end of the opera suggests the use of a machine similar to that employed for Egisto's tower in *Chi soffre, speri* and for the collapse of Cleopatra's tomb in *I Santi Didimo e Teodora* (fig. 3.5). In spite of the lack of originality and in spite of the negative opinions on the overall effect of the performance mentioned above, most spectators must have appreciated the spectacle. This can be argued based on the *avviso*, dated March 1642, cited at the beginning of this section, which praised the performance's music, costumes and perspectives. The *avviso* also mentions *intermedi* and ballets, suggesting that these sections were added after the performance had been criticized. This may also be the reason why they are not reported in the score.

In conclusion, in considering the above sections, it is soon clear that the reconstruction of the visual aspect of the performances analysed in this chapter is by no means complete. Nevertheless, it represents a step forward because it offers new hypotheses based on the evidence available. However, the total lack of images makes some assumptions highly conjectural, even though the hypotheses are supported by reliable documents. Some of the conclusions confirm those of other scholars. Others offer new pieces of information that might lead to a more accurate description of the performances. The individuation of a walkable piece of scenography in *Il palazzo incantato*, for instance, lends support to the Daolmi's hypothesis about the use of walkable structures in the staging of some operas

[94] The *avviso* is transcribed and translated in Virginia Christy Lamothe, 'The Theater of Piety', p.107.

performed in the Teatro Barberini.[95] Although his hypothesis refers to later operas, this detail supports his intuition. Moreover, it confirms that the use of walkable scenes was not confined to *commedia dell'arte* spectacles.

[95] See Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, p. 7.

Chapter 5
Performances for the Queen's Carnival of 1656

After Carnival 1642, the Barberini were unable to stage any operas in their properties for a period of twelve years during which they faced the most difficult political period they had experienced since establishing their residence in Rome. These circumstances were partly the consequences of the troubles generated by the first phase of the war of Castro (discussed above), which developed to involve all the main Italian courts and European powers.[1] The death of Urban VIII in July 1644 and the delay in fulfilling the conditions of the peace treaty (signed that same year) only served to worsen their position, eventually leading to their exile from Rome.

On 1 May 1644, Urban VIII, under pressure from Louis XIII, had signed a peace treaty with Odoardo Farnese, duke of Parma, and his supporters. At the same time, he had withdrawn the duke's excommunication.[2] However, the peace soon became unstable because of the pope's slowness in satisfying the conditions agreed in the treaty.[3] When a few months later, on 28 July 1644, the pope died, he was succeeded by Cardinal Giovanni Battista Pamphili (1574-1655), who took the name of Innocent X (1644-1655). The newly elected pope embarked on a pro-Spanish political positioning that was to become treacherous for the Barberini; he then took advantage of the discontent against his predecessor's relatives to force them to leave Rome. At the end of September 1645, Antonio Barberini left Rome for Paris. Meanwhile, the pope asked all the Barberini, including Antonio, to meet him and report the expenses incurred during the war of Castro. Antonio did not return to Rome and the position of Taddeo and Francesco worsened. On 16 January 1646, the two brothers, with Taddeo's four children, left Rome to reach Antonio in France. Anna Colonna joined them in April. As a result, the Apostolic Chamber confiscated

[1] At the beginning of September 1642, all the main European and Italian rulers, including Emperor Ferdinand III, the king of France, the king of Spain, the grand duke of Tuscany, the duke of Modena and the Venetian Doge put pressure on the pope to make peace with the duke of Parma. Unfortunately, the duke had already started his counteroffensive. The following months Pope Urban VIII and his nephews had to face an increasingly complex political situation, leading to the most difficult phase of the first war of Castro. See the bibliography cited above, Chapter 4, footnote 81.
[2] Gigli in his *Diario Romano*, pp. 247-50, reports all the details of the peace treaty.
[3] On 24 May, the Venetians broke the peace. Early in June, Cardinal Antonio decided to go back to Rome. He was probably responsible for a further lag in the implementation of the treaty. The Florentines threatened to break the peace as well because of the delay in giving them back what had been agreed.

all the Barberini properties with the exception of Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane. This palazzo could not be taken because the Barberini requested, and obtained, French protection for it before leaving for Paris – the French coat of arms rose on the palazzo's façade to prevent anyone from daring to claim the property.[4]

The early period of papacy of Innocent X, during which the Barberini were not able to sponsor spectacles in their properties, proved to be favourable for one of the most ambitious woman then living in Rome – Donna Olimpia Maidalchini (1592-1657).[5] Thanks to her relationship with the pope, who was her brother-in-law, she became one of the most powerful women ever to have lived in the Papal State. Her passion for the stage led her to assume a prominent role in the theatrical life of the city. From 1645 to 1653, she supported and organized celebrations and spectacles during the Carnival season, taking a similar role to that played by the Barberini before Urban VIII's death.[6]

The Barberini were not allowed to return from France until 1653 – the year of their reconciliation with the pope. The marriage of Maffeo Barberini (1631-1685) and Olimpia Giustiniani (1641-1729), a relative of the new pope, sealed this reconciliation on 15 June of the same year. Indeed the first performance to be staged at Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane following the family's return to Rome was an opera entitled *Dal male il bene* (Carnival 1654), dedicated to the young couple.

During Carnival 1656, with the performances organized in honour of Christina of Sweden, the Barberini regained their prominence. Their residence in France, and their desire to be again among the most influential families in Rome,

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[4] See Craig H. Monson, *Habitual Offenders: a Tale of Nuns, Prostitutes and Murderers in Seventeenth Century Italy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2016), pp. 202-17.

[5] See George L. Williams, *Papal Genealogy. The Families and Descendants of the Popes* (North Carolina and London: McFarland&Company, 2004), pp. 109-10, and Claudio Rendina, *Cardinali e Cortigiane* (Rome: Newton Compton, 2012), pp. 50-55.

[6] Donna Olimpia Maidalchini liked to attend, sponsor and organize theatrical performances, both to entertain her guests and to strengthen political ties. Often she did this in her own house with the help of Gian Lorenzo Bernini; sometimes she also involved members of the aristocracy, asking them to recite in the spectacles that she staged. Her central position was acknowledged early in 1645, when she was elected queen of the Carnival. For this reason, she was the dedicatee of the performance entitled *Il ratto di Proserpina* or *Proserpina rapita* (*The Rape of Proserpina*) by Pompeo Colonna (*c.* 1600-1658), which was premièred in his palazzo on 5 January. She was also invited to attend numerous performances, among which was Theodor Amayden's *La dama spiritosa* (*The Witty Lady*), which contained an evident reference to Donna Olimpia. The comedy, premièred in its author's palazzo, was given several times in the most important Roman palazzos. Olimpia attended some of these performances, among which one that was staged at Palazzo d'Este on the Quirinal, where her guests organized a joust in her honour. See Ademollo, p. 42 and pp. 54-55.

together with Giulio Rospigliosi's theatrical experience during his papal nunciature in Spain (1644-1653), resulted in a completely new type of performance staged by the powerful family.[7] Due to the importance of these spectacles for the development of scenography in Rome, this chapter will focus on an analysis of two out of the four performances sponsored by the Barberini for Carnival 1656: the opera *La vita humana* or *La pietà con valore* and the joust *La giostra dei caroselli.* The aim of the analysis is to reveal the underlying messages embedded in these performances and the significant role played by scenography, machinery and costumes in supporting and strengthening their meaning.

The Patronage of the Barberini after 1642, including their exile in France

It is important to understand the patronage of the Barberini as they sponsored performances during the period 1643-1655, including the period of their exile in France, as this helps to explain the reasons behind the new type of scenography employed in the performances analysed in this chapter.

The political events that occurred after the performance of *Il palazzo incantato d'Atlante* (Carnival 1642), examined in the previous chapter, had strong repercussions for the organization of spectacles by the noble family. As discussed above, the situation generated by the first phase of the first war of Castro worsened.[8] This is the main reason why the Barberini were not able to organize performances in their palazzo during Carnival 1643.[9] In spite of this, Theodor Amayden (1586-1656), an eclectic jurist, lawyer, and one of the most prolific authors of operas and comedies of this period, reported that Cardinal Barberini (presumably Antonio) attended his latest performance.[10] During the same Carnival, Cardinal Francesco

[7] About Giulio Rospigliosi's experience in Spain during his nunciature (1644-1653), and the influence of this experience on the libretti written for the operas sponsored by the Barberini in 1656, see Profeti, 'Rospigliosi e la Spagna', pp.133-51.

[8] Soon after his excommunication, the duke of Parma tried to explain the reasons for his fight against the papacy. These reasons were published in an anonymous pamphlet entitled *Vera e sincera relazione delle ragioni del duca di Parma contra la presente occupazione del ducato di Castro* (Rome, Printer not specified, 1642). The reaction of the papal court was immediate and consisted in a series of defensive writings. The most important was Felice Contelori's *Lettera scritta ad un Signore in risposta del libro stampato sopra le ragioni del Serenissimo Duca di Parma* (Rome: printer not specified, 1642).

[9] See Gigli, pp. 225-26.

[10] Theodor Amayden (also known as Amaiden or Maiden) was born in Hertogenbosch, in the Spanish Netherlands in 1586. In 1600, he went to Rome for the first time and the following year he

sponsored the opera *Il Sant'Eustachio* that was staged in the palazzo of the Campeggi Family (now Palazzo Rusticucci) in Borgo, the area surrounding St Peter's Basilica. The opera, with a libretto by Giulio Rospigliosi and music by Virgilio Mazzocchi, was the last performance funded by the Barberini before the death of Urban VIII.[11]

For Carnival 1644, the Barberini did not organize any performance in their palazzos. Nevertheless, Cardinal Francesco was the dedicatee of a tragedy entitled *S. Ermenegildo* performed at the Seminario Romano – he saw the performance on 3 February 1644.[12] The following year, perhaps unbeknown to each other, both Antonio and Odoardo Farnese, duke of Parma, supported Giacomo Torelli's engagement in staging *La finta pazza* by Francesco Sacrati in Paris.[13] The fact that passion for the theatre was able to bring virtually close two people that had long fought on other fronts deserves some attention. The opera premièred in December 1645 at the Petit Bourbon with great success. Torelli's set design marked an

decided to settle there. He attended the Jesuit Collegio Romano for five years. In 1607, he obtained the title of doctor in Civil and Canon Law in Macerata. He liked participating in public life, organising numerous celebrations and attending the most important events of the papal and civic court. His reports, relations and descriptions concerning the city of Rome, the life of popes and cardinals, the Romans and their habits, and the noble Roman families, are rich sources of information. However, his most valued work is his *Diario*, originally a series of *avvisi* (daily news), from 1640 to 1650. These *avvisi*, together with his reports, are a reliable source of information about the events that occurred in Rome during this period, including information about spectacles organized for the Carnival seasons and the people attending these performances, as well as precious information regarding the Barberini. About Carnival 1643, on 24 January Amayden wrote: 'Li miei giovani di casa che tutto l'anno mi sollevano le fatiche dello scrivere, da tempo in qua ne' caldi estivi mi pregano per la traduzione di qualche comedia spagnuola in lingua toscana, cangiando però gli costumi e parlari proprii de' paesi. Quest'anno l'ho dato Los melindres de Belisa, intitolata da me la Dama frullosa come dall'argomento. Il martedì sera di questa settimana, il maestro di camera del signor Cardinal Barberino mi scrisse un viglietto avvisandomi che il Cardinal suo Padrone desiderava la sera seguente di venire alla commedia, come venne, e mostrò grandissimo gusto venendo in effetto recitata bene' ('The young boys in my house that during the whole year relieve me from the efforts of writing, long in the hot summer days ask me for the translation of some Spanish comedies in Tuscan idiom, changing the habits and dialogues typical of village people. This year I have given Los Melindres de Belisa, which I entitled La Dama frullosa, because of the subject. Last Tuesday night, the maestro di camera of Cardinal Barberini wrote me a note informing me that his master the cardinal wished to attend the comedy the following night. In fact, he came and showed a great pleasure because it was actually recited well'). Translated from Amayden as transcribed in Ademollo, p. 41. For further information about Amayden, see Alexandro Bastiaanse, 'Ameyden, Teodoro', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, II (1960), 772-74 and *Teodoro Ameyden (1586–1656). Un neerlandese alla corte di Roma* (The Hague: Staatsdrukkerij, 1968).

[11] See Murata, pp. 45-47 and pp. 342-47.

[12] See APUG, ms. 2801, II, 1056-1057, also cited in Filippi, p.183. Sforza Pallavicino, then professor of philosophy and theology at the Collegio Romano wrote the Italian *scenario* for this spectacle, which was printed by Cobelletti. It was soon followed by the publication of the full text, by the same Corbelletti with an afterword by its author related to the staging of the performance.

[13] As already seen in Chapter 3, Cardinal Mazarin wished to introduce the Italian opera to France and the presence of Antonio, who had been in France since September 1645, was a good occasion to realize his wishes.

important step forward in the staging of performances in France. Thanks to his improvement of the device used to change the side wings, he was able to make scene-changes in the middle of an act before the astonished eyes of the audience. He had already used the device several times in Venice and it is possible that Inigo Jones (1573-1652) in England, and Giovan Battista Aleotti and Francesco Guitti in Italy, had used a similar device before him.[14] What Torelli accomplished was to improve the previous system (see picture 4.14), allowing two sets of side wings to slide in groves simultaneously. This new system, exemplified in the picture below, allowed the entire set design to change at the same time.

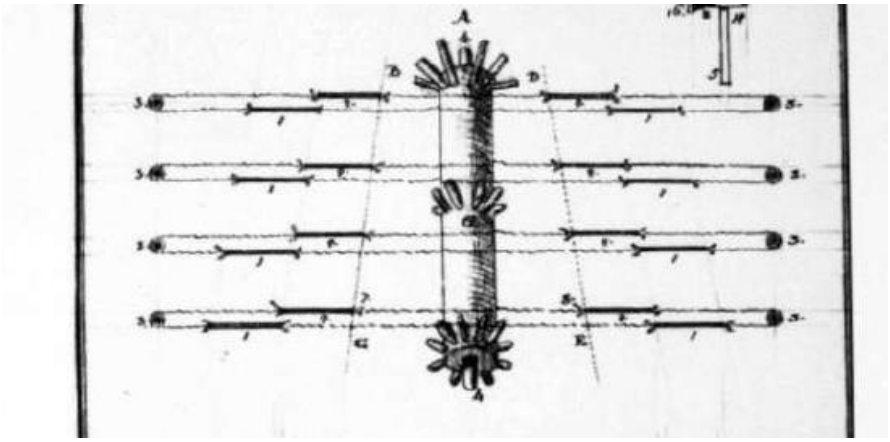


Fig. 5.1 Fabrizio Carini Motta, *Degli ordinamenti per le mutazioni delle scene* in *Costruzione de' teatri e macchine teatrali*, Modena, Bibl. Estense, ms N. G. 3.16, Campori 978, detail of Tav. 3 (1688).

Five engravings by Noël Cochin (1622-1695) placed at the end of a booklet by Giulio Strozzi (1583-1652), *Feste theatrali per la finta pazza, dramma del signor Giulio Strozzi, rappresentate nel Piccolo Borbone in Parigi quest'anno 1645*, illustrate the set design of the opera (see fig. 5.2). They demonstrate the variety of scenes that Torelli was able to create thanks to the device shown in fig. 5.1.

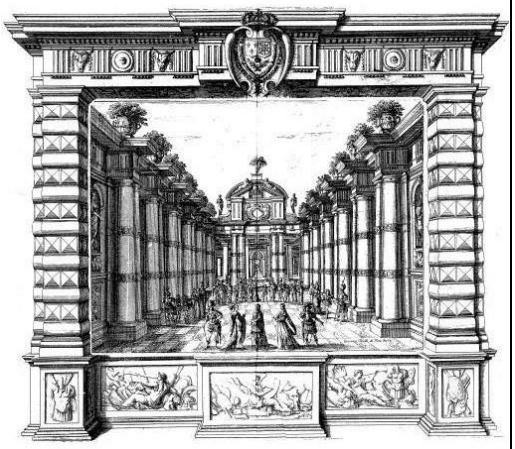
[14] See Adami, p. 36 and Per Bjurström, *Giacomo Torelli and Baroque Stage Design* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1962), p. 44.



First engraving



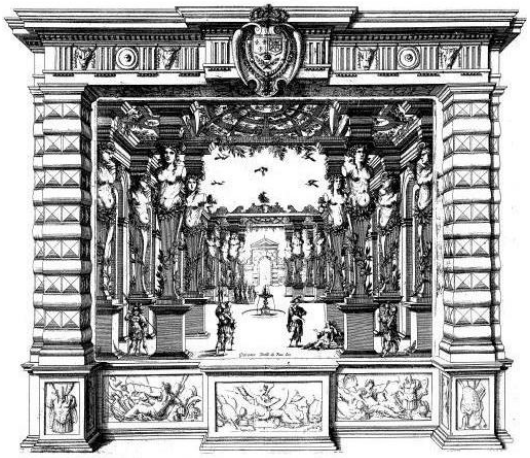
Second engraving



Third engraving



Fourth engraving



Fifth engraving

Fig. 5.2 Noël Cochin (1622-1695), set of the five engravings embellishing Giulio Strozzi's *Feste theatrali per la Finta pazza, drama del sigr Giulio Strozzi, rappresentate nel Piccolo Borbone in Parigi quest anno 1645* (Paris: printer not specified, 1645).

Differently from the engravings analysed in Chapter 3 for the operas *Il Sant'Alessio* and *Erminia sul Giordano*, these illustrations do not display common elements. Side wings and backdrops clearly form a different setting each time, which means that Torelli did not use a fixed scene and movable shutters, but only movable side wings and backdrops sliding in grooves. As for the other devices, such as clouds and chariots, they are very similar to the devices used in the operas analysed so far.

During the following years the Barberini presence in France continued to be influential on the organization of theatrical performances there. In 1647, Antonio, supported by Cardinal Mazarin, sponsored an opera entitled *Orfeo*, based on a libretto by Francesco Buti (1604-1682). Luigi Rossi, the composer of the music for *Il palazzo incantato d'Atlante* analysed in Chapter 4, wrote the score. The opera premièred at the theatre of the Palais-Royal in Paris on 2 March 1647. Some of the favourite singers from the entourage of the Barberini were hired for the performance. Among them were the faithful castrato Marc'Antonio Pasqualini and some skilled women (notable because, in Rome, women were not allowed to perform in public performances). Once more, Giacomo Torelli designed machines and settings.

In June 1647, Anna Colonna returned to Rome where, on 14 December, she received the news from France of the death of her husband Taddeo Barberini.[15] A few months later, on 27 February 1648, Cardinal Francesco arrived in Rome, sent by the king of France to meet the pope. The reason for the king's choice was likely because of the unstable situation generated by the discontent of the French populace against Mazarin and the other Italians, including the Barberini, which eventually forced Louis XIII to flee from Paris with his wife and Cardinal Mazarin (February 1649).[16]

In Rome, the Carnival seasons 1649-1653 were more muted. In 1649, the sober tone was due to the unpleasant weather and to a terrible famine, while in the next Carnival, which took place during the Holy Year, the pope forbade the organizing of public masquerades or palios, as they were considered too frivolous. A few comedies were staged in private palazzos, since no one could forbid domestic performances.

[15] See Gigli, p. 300 and p. 309.
[16] See Gigli, p. 312 and p. 331.

In June 1653 the pope, almost certainly under pressure from Donna Olimpia Maidalchini (his influential sister-in-law) decided to reconcile with the Barberini. It was agreed that Carlo Barberini, the eldest son of Taddeo, would become cardinal after renouncing his birth right and his claims to the Principality of Palestrina in favour of his brother Maffeo. On the other hand, Maffeo would marry Olimpia Giustiniani, daughter of the pope's niece, Maria Pamphili. Maffeo and Olimpia, who was only twelve years old, married on 15 June. The pope himself celebrated the Mass, which was followed by a banquet meant to strengthen the ties among the Colonna, Pamphili and Barberini families.[17]

The following Carnival the Barberini regained their position among the organizers of celebrations. In particular, Maffeo provided the money to build the apparatuses for the Feast of the Forty Hours inside the Jesuit Chiesa del Gesù and for a magnificent chariot meant to celebrate the Barberini family.[18] During the same Carnival, the Barberini, under pressure from Donna Olimpia, sponsored an opera entitled *Dal male il bene*, based on the Spanish play *No hay bien sin agendo daño* (Madrid, 1652) by Antonio Sigler de Huerta, which was staged at Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane. This performance, given in honour of Maffeo Barberini and Olimpia Giustiniani, had a libretto by Giulio Rospigliosi and by his nephew Giacomo (1628-1684) and a musical setting by Antonio Maria Abatini and Marco Marazzoli. Differently from the earlier operas sponsored by the Barberini, this one represents the first of a series of performances based on Spanish models, reflecting the new taste developed by Cardinal Rospigliosi during his nunciature in Spain.[19]

On 7 April Cardinal Fabio Chigi (1599-1667), was elected to the papal see, becoming Pope Alexander VII, following the death of Innocent X that January. Due to the mourning for Innocent's death, during Carnival 1655 there were religious processions and prayers, but no masquerades or palios were permitted. However, later that year, Christina of Sweden's decision to settle in Rome offered an important occasion for celebrating. Since Innocent X could not organize any event for her conversion to the Catholic faith (24 December 1654) because of his poor

[17] See Gigli, p. 420.
[18] See Gigli, p. 430-31.
[19] According to an *avviso di Roma* dated 28 February 1668, Rospigliosi had already written a libretto based on a Spanish play when he was still in Spain. This was *La comica del cielo*, which was only performed during Carnival 1668 with music by Antonio Maria Abbatini. The *avviso* is transcribed in Ademollo, p. 102.

health, his successor decided to celebrate her arrival in a grand manner. Both Christina's conversion and her decision to settle in Rome represented important victories for the papacy. The festivities surrounding her coming to Rome, in particular those sponsored by the Barberini, deserve great attention here as, although they have been discussed by other scholars, they have never been examined in light of the impulse they provided to the development of scenography in Rome during the second half of the seventeenth century.[20]

On 23 December, Christina entered into the capital of the Papal State through a Porta del Popolo just refurbished for the occasion by Gian Lorenzo Bernini.[21] To welcome this special guest the surrounding streets were wonderfully adorned.[22] All the most influential Roman families organized spectacles in honour of the ex-queen of Sweden during the Carnival.[23] Among them were the Barberini, who commissioned several performances, the most important of which were three operas staged in their Teatro adjacent to the Palazzo alle Quattro Fontane and a joust *La giostra dei Caroselli* played in the *cortile della cavallerizza* of this palazzo. The Barberini sponsored two other performances that were staged at Palazzo della Cancelleria and at Palazzo Farnese, then the residence provided for Christina. The joust, performed on 28 February, concluded the celebrations. The three operas staged by the Barberini in their Teatro were *La vita humana ovvero Il trionfo della pietà* (*Human Life or The Triumph of Piety*), *L'armi e gli amori* (*Of Arms and Loves*) and *Dal male il bene*. *L'armi e gli amori* had been composed the previous year, but had not been staged because of the death of Innocent X.[24] *Dal male il bene*

[20] Christina's life was soon the subject of relations and accounts. One of the first accounts in English is a translation from a French source entitled *A Relation of the Life of Christina Queen of Sweden* attributed to Urban Chevreau, James Howel and Saint-Maurice (London: J.C. for Henry Fletcher, 1656). The most detailed description of Christina's life, including her travel through Europe to reach Rome, is the already mentioned account in seven books by Priorato and the anonymous *Epilogo del viaje*. There are then numerous modern studies about Christina of Sweden, among them Georgina Masson, *Queen Christina* (London: Martin Secker &Warburg Ltd, 1968), which paved the way for several other studies. Among the more recent books Veronica Buckley's *Christina of Sweden: The Restless Life of a European Eccentric* (London: HarperCollins UK, 2011) offers a complete overview of Christina's life.

[21] Above the entrance, on the inner façade, an inscription with the words 'felici faustoq(ue) ingressui anno dom MDCLV' memorializes the event.

[22] The choice of Porta del Popolo for the occasion was not casual since this entrance had been regularly used to welcome ambassadors or important foreign authorities. Pope Sixtus V was the first to start this long-lasting tradition when, in 1585, he established the use of this entrance to receive the Japanese ambassadors, coming to celebrate his coronation.

[23] See Fagiolo Dell'Arco, *La festa barocca*, pp. 384-86.

[24] For a detailed analysis of *L'armi e gli amori* and for a hypothesis about its scenoghraphy, see Daolmi, *La drammaturgia*, pp. 1-19.

was a new version of the opera with the same title dedicated to Maffeo Barberini and Olimpia Giustiniani and staged at Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane for the Carnival 1654.

The following two sections of this chapter will concentrate on the two performances newly-organized by the Barberini specifically for the Carnival 1656: *La vita humana* and the joust. Together they reveal details of significant theatrical achievements and developments as well as adding to our understanding of the provision made for spectators.

La vita humana ovvero Il trionfo della pietà

La vita humana, sponsored by Francesco Barberini, had its première on 31 January 1656. The subject was different from the subject of the previous operas patronized by the Barberini, because it was not based on the hagiography of the saints nor on a chivalric romance. There is evidence that the author of the libretto was Giacomo Rospigliosi (1628-1684), nephew of Giulio, as Gualdo Priorato in his *Historia* wrote that Christina wished to see the performance twice:

> […] lodando grandemente il soggetto e la composizione, parto del finissimo ingegno del Sig. Abbate Rospigliosi, soggetto altrettanto cospicuo nelle scienze, quanto riguardevole per le sue nobili conditioni, bastando il dire, che egli sia ben degno nipote di Monsignor Rospigliosi Segretario di Stato di Sua Santità […].[25]

In writing the libretto for the opera, the young Rospigliosi conceived *La vita humana* as an allegory with two main objectives. On the one hand, since Human Life was meant to symbolise Christina of Sweden, it had to exalt her personal path towards the true faith. On the other, in considering Christina as a representative of humankind, it suggested that every person is able to reach salvation through deference to Rome, as the centre of the Catholic faith. At the beginning of the performance, Human Life stands for the young Christina, who, in her childhood,

[25] '[…] praising greatly the subject and the composition, fruit of the subtle intelligence of Abbot Rospiliosi, a person as talented in science as noted for his noble condition. It is enough to say that he is the worthy nephew of Mosignor Rospigliosi, Secretary of State to His Holiness'. See Priorato, p. 89. As Giulio Rospigliosi had been secretary of state since 1655 and Giacomo was still abbot of Nonantola when *La vita humana* was performed, it is evident that they were the two Rospigliosi mentioned by Priorato.

was full of doubts and confusion. Tempted by both Innocence and Guilt, Life/Christina is at first seduced by Guilt, who has allied with Pleasure. Later, Innocence and Understanding help her escape Guilt and Pleasure's temptations. The happy ending of the opera, with a view of St Peter's Basilica and Castel Sant'Angelo in the background, clearly states that salvation is only possible through Rome. The intention of the Barberini was evidently to amaze the audience, while teaching virtue. Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato in his *Historia della Sacra Real Maestà di Christina Alessandra Regina di Svezia* describes the subject of the opera in the following words:

> La sera dunque dell'ultimo giorno di Gennaro, si recitò primieramente un'opera in musica intitolata il Trionfo della pietà, o sia La vita humana. La materia era tutta morale, e molto degna per l'apparato delle scene, che furono vaghe al maggior segno, per la dottrina, e bellezza della compositione, come anche per la soavità della musica, che fu isquisitissima. Rappresentava questo componimento le arti, e gli inganni, con i quali il piacere, e la colpa cercano ogni ora di sbattere l'innocenza, e l'intendimento. Il rimorso della Vita nel secondarli, la costanza nel rigettarli, e la fragilità nel compiacerli.[26]

Marco Marazzoli, who had already composed the music for *L'armi e gli amori* in 1654, was responsible for writing the score for the opera. This was also the last opera he composed for the Barberini but there is no news of a printed score dated 1656, even if a *Registro dei mandati* held in the Vatican Library reports some expenses made to pay the publishers Balmonti to print the opera.[27] Since the first recording of these expenses is dated 12 September 1656, it is probable that it does not refer to the printed version of the score published by Mascardi in 1658.[28] Nevertheless, so far there is no indication of another printed score of the opera.

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[26] 'Hence, the last day of January, they mainly performed an opera in music entitled *The Triumph of Piety*, or *Human Life*. The subject was totally moral and very worthy for the apparatuses of the scenes, which were very impressive, for the doctrine, and for the beauty of the composition, as well as for the suavity of its music, which was wonderful. This composition represented the arts and tricks continuously used by pleasure and guilt to defeat innocence and understanding. The regret of Life in following them, her constancy in rejecting them, and her fragility in pleasing them.' See Priorato, p. 302.

[27] See Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Comp. 85, Registro dei mandati, anni 1655-1659, fols 77v, 86v e 103v.

[28] There is evidence of a collaboration between the publisher Mascardi and the publisher Balmonti in Rome from 1650. This can partly explain why the payments referred to in the *mandati* were authorized to the Balmonti. However, while the collaboration can justify the fact that the printed score of 1658 only reports the name of the published Mascardi, it cannot explain why Balmonti was paid to print the opera in September 1656. For the relation between the publishers Balmonti and Mascardi, see Saverio Franchi, 'Mascardi, Giacomo', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, LXXI (2008), 234-36 and Maria Luisa Doglio, 'Mascardi, Agostino', in *Dizionario critico della letteratura italiana*, ed. by Vittore Branca, 4 vols (Turin: UTET, 1973), II, 547-49.

Scenes and costumes were by Giovan Francesco Grimaldi (*c.* 1605-1680) and Giovanni Battista Galestuzzi or Galestrucci (1615-1669). According to a request for payment in his own hand, Grimaldi worked uninterruptedly, sometimes also at night, from the end of November to 2 February, with the only exceptions being Christmas and St Stephen's.[29] He started working on the scenes of the opera towards the end of November 1655 following the suggestions of both Rospigliosi and Marazzoli. From 1 December, he started preparing the scenes for *La vita humana*, drawing and painting the canvases.

The walls of the theatre were decorated with a striped cloth, above which there was a cornice made of painted canvas that ran all around the hall and joined with the cornice of the frontispiece of the proscenium arch. Along the walls, there were false columns covered by painted canvas, which held the lights to illuminate the hall. Along the walls, there were also the boxes to accommodate the audience.[30]

Priorato reports that Christina watched the first performance of the opera under a canopy, protected by a gate, placed in the middle of the theatre. He notes that the ex-queen of Sweden accessed the theatre through a secret staircase after visiting Palazzo Barberini. This means that the stage was built on the short side of the theatre opposite the Palazzo, otherwise Christina would have reached the canopy passing through the stage area. Priorato also reports that the ex-queen greatly appreciated the performance.[31] Indeed, she decided to watch the opera another twice.[32] However, the following excerpt from an *avviso* dated 5 February partly contradicts Priorato's account:

> […] La funzione riuscì lunga, e come molti dicono tediosa per essere tutta grave, e degna piuttosto di Chiesa che di Teatro. La Regina mostrò qualche atto di impazienza di starvi sino al fine, talmente che si distrae in ragionamenti con i cardinali che erano nella stessa bussola, nondimeno dissimulando disse infine che era stata bella. […].[33]

[29] See *Georgina Masson*, 'Papal Gifts and Roman Entertainments in Honour of Queen Christina's Arrival', in *Queen Christina of Sweden: Documents and Studies*, ed. by Magnus von Platen (Stockolm: Norstedt, 1966), pp. 244-61 and Danuta Batorska, 'Grimaldi's Designs for the Sets of "Il Trionfo della pietà ovvero La vita humana"', *Master Drawings*, 32. 1 (1994), 40-49.

[30] For the document including the description of the interior of the theatre, see G.B. Muzzarelli in Modena, Archivio di Stato, Cancelleria Ducale, Amb, Roma 263, transcribed and translated into English by Hammond, *The Ruined Bridge*, p. 222 also transcribed in Alice Jarrad, *Architecture as Performance in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 224.

[31] See Priorato, p. 286.

[32] See the two *avvisi* dated 5 February and 12 February transcribed in Murata, p. 387, note 2.

[33] '[…] the performance was long, and as many people say boring, since it was very grave, and more appropriate to church than to the theatre. The queen showed some signs of impatience and was reluctant to stay until the end, so much so that she distracted herself by conversing with the cardinals who were in the same box. However, at the end, dissimulating, she said that it had been nice. […].'

The excerpt above provides two additional pieces of information: it suggests that the acts of *La vita humana* did not include comic scenes or *intermedi*, although there is evidence that there were some dances (see below), and it reports that Christina shared her box with some cardinals. This detail is confirmed by another source, which notes that the ex-queen shared her box with Cardinal Barberini (very likely Francesco).[34] It is of particular interest for appreciating the respect in which Christina was held in Rome, since numerous *avvisi di Roma* attest that, when admitted to watch performances, women had to be accompanied by their husbands.[35] Even then, they usually sat in separate boxes or places reserved for a female audience only. This is well exemplified by the painting representing the joust analysed in the following section, which shows women sharing boxes only with other women.[36] Similarly, there is some evidence that the women who attended *La Vita Human* were separated from the men, since Giovanni Battista Muzzarelli wrote that women were on the floor-level in front of the stage. [37] Christina received different treatment because of the political and cultural significance of her presence in Rome.[38] Her conversion and her decision to settle in Rome symbolized for Catholics the victory of their religion over Protestantism and were used by the pope as an affirmation of the spiritual power of the Papacy. Christina was also greatly appreciated for her culture and for the fame of virginity that preceded her arrival in

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Translated form an *avviso* di Roma dated 5 February 1656, held in Vatican City, BAV, Barb. lat. 6367, fols 741r-742v and transcribed in Murata, p. 387.

[34]See Muzzarelli in Modena, Archivio di Stato, Cancelleria Ducale, Amb, Roma 263, transcribed and translated into English by Frederick Hammond, *The Ruined Bridge*, p. 217 also transcribed in Jarrad, p. 224.

[35] An *avviso di Roma* dated 8 February 1634, for instance, refers that a performance of *Il Sant'Alessio* (see Chapter 2, above) was given only for the most illustrious ladies, who were accompanied by their husbands. The *avviso* is transcribed in Ademollo, p. 19. Similarly, a performance of *I Santi Didimo e Teodora* staged in 1636 (see Chapter 3, above) was perfomed for the most illustrious ladies, once more accompanied by their husbands. See Ademollo, p. 22.

[36] Christina later became one of the most influential supporters of performances and her patronage, together with the patronage of other noble ladies, allowed women to gain their role in the theatrical life of Rome. See for instance Valeria De Lucca, 'Strategies of women patrons of music and theatre in Rome: Maria Mancini Colonna, Queen Christina of Sweden, and women of their circles', *Renaissance Studies*, 25 (2011), III, 374–92 (p. 390).

[37] About the places made to accommodate the spectators Muzzarelli, after saying that the ladies were on the floor before the stage, notes that they were opposite the stage: '[…] si alzava una gran scalinata, che dalla medesima, come due braccie porgevano due palchi sin alla scena, in uno dei quale stava la Regina poco più fuori […]' ('[…] there arose a large flight of steps, from where two boxes extended to the stage like a pair of arms. In one of them, which was a little bit protruding, was the Queen. […]). See G.B. Muzzarelli, Modena, Archivio di Stato, Cancelleria Ducale, Amb, Roma 263, transcribed in Hammond, *The Ruined Bridge*, p. 217 and in Jarrad, p. 224.

[38] See Muzzarelli in Hammond, *The Ruined Bridge*, p. 217, also transcribed in Jarrad, p. 224.

Rome. In the eyes of many of her contemporaries, she embodied the stereotype of the virile woman, free from the conventional restrictions and expectations of her sex and worthy of being honoured and celebrated in the same way as emperors and heroes. Her horse-riding skills and rebellious nature earned her the nickname *amazzone del nord* (Northern Amazon), a clear reference to the mythological women warriors. All this explains the different treatment she was always afforded in Rome and the numerous new rules introduced to adapt the strictly codified procedures of the papal court to welcome and celebrate its prestigious guest.[39]

The following analysis of the set design of the performance of *La vita humana* draws information, not only from Priorato's account, but also from the Vatican Library's 'Giustificazioni I' and from the printed score of the opera. The latter is of particular importance because it includes five engravings by Giovanni Battista Galestrucci illustrating the scenes. These engravings, together with the analysis of the libretto and of the other documents mentioned above, help to explain the type of scenery created by Grimaldi to stage this opera.

The first engraving, (see fig. 4.6) shows paired Corinthian columns on either side of the stage and a front-stage adorned by spurts of water alternating with globes decorated with bees, the symbol of the Barberini sponsors. The Corinthian columns look very similar to the ones used for *Il Sant'Alessio* in 1634. Since it was very common at the time to reuse old pieces of scenery, it is plausible that the columns embellishing the proscenium of *La vita humana* were the columns used in 1634 for the first time and restored for Carnival 1639 on occasion of the staging of *Chi soffre, speri*, as already observed in Chapter 4. However, differently from the proscenium made for the 1634 performance of *Il Sant'Alessio*, which had a flight of stairs in front of it, *La vita humana* had a fountain before the proscenium, which poured real water. Some payment records attest this. They report numerous expenses made to fulfil the requests made by the plumber Giovanni Battista Bolla for his work to prepare conduits for the water and to make different types of fountains and basins to collect water.[40] The presence of the fountain suggests that the musicians did not play in front of the stage. This detail marks a departure from the opera *Chi soffre*

[39] For an overview of the development of the new procedures introduced to celebrate and welcome Christina of Sweden in Rome, see Marina Caffiero, 'Roma, 23 dicembre 1655. Un'amazzone tra i prelati', in *Atlante della letteratura italiana*, ed. by S. Luzzatto e G. Pedullà, 3 vols (Torino: Einaudi, 2011), II, pp. 514-21.

[40] See Hammond, 'The Creation of a Roman Festival', p. 69, notes 33 and 34.

speri, where there is evidence that the musicians had a dedicated space in front of the stage.

On the proscenium arch, in honour of the occasion, Christina's coat of arms is surmounted by a crown and flanked by two angels – a demonstrative homage to the illustrious guest (see fig. 5.3).



Fig. 5.3 Giovanni Battista Galestruzzi, first out of five engravings embellishing the score of *La vita humana*, detail (Rome: Mascardi, 1658).

The same coat of arms appears in a drawing – evidently a preparatory sketch for the second engraving of the score held in the Vatican Library – which shows two female figures instead of the angels chosen for the final stage design.[41] This drawing, which includes an outline of the proscenium framing the plate, helps to understand the exact position on stage of the scenographic elements shown in engravings 2-5 of the score. Thanks to this sketch, we can assume that all the plates included in the score, with the exception of the first, portray the entire stage with its scenographic elements.

According to Priorato's account, at the beginning of the performance the curtain was not raised but lowered.[42] This means that, unlike the method used for the staging of *Chi soffre, speri*, the curtain was removed according to the first method described by Nicola Sabbatini and already analysed in Chapter 2, because it was the method used for *Il Sant'Alessio* (see fig. 2.17 its description). The choice of this method seems inappropriate to an opera staged with the aim of creating a great impression on the public – Sabbatini describes it as more simple and economic

[41] For the sketch, see Batorska, 'Grimaldi's Designs', (p. 42).
[42] This is attested by the following words: 'Abbassata una tenda apparve in ombrosa scena figurata la notte.' ('When the curtain was lowered, the night appeared in a shadowy scene.'). See Priorato, p. 286.

but more risky, since it required perfect synchronization in releasing the two ropes to drop the curtain. Once the curtain was lowered, the public saw the scene corresponding to the second engraving of the printed score of the opera. The two castles on either side of the stage represent the two internal places housing the contrasting rulers of the human soul – Understanding and Innocence on the left, and Pleasure and Guilt on the right.

According to the scholar Elena Povoledo, the first section of the stage, where the actors recited, was the only practical section that could be used by the performers. The rest of the scenography was devised using linear perspective, which created the illusion of a realistic space. In Povoldeo's opinion, the scenography used for this opera had two main contrasting characteristics. On the one hand, it consisted of elegant, well-designed scenes that seemed to be modelled on, and surpassed, Serlian scenes. On the other, it presented a completely new iconography aimed at representing real landscapes that did not have any correspondence to traditional iconographic models. The impression of reality, reinforced thanks to the realistic landscapes painted on the backdrops and to the three-dimensional elements placed in the backstage, was amplified thanks to stage effects, machinery and live animals – among them horses, camels, elephants and bulls.[43] The use of live animals (also a characteristic of the opera *Chi soffre, speri*) was possible thanks to the position of the Teatro Barberini, which allowed animals to get in and out of the stage, unseen by the audience. A particularly awe-inspiring element of the set design was the *lontananza* by Galestruzzi in the final act of the opera, where the artist used impressive pyrotechnical devices, reproducing in a realistic way the traditional pinwheel of fireworks of Castel Sant'Angelo.[44]

The following analysis focuses on the intention of the artists who staged the opera to create an impression of reality, revealing the theatrical techniques and machinery that they used to reach their goal, and the way in which the Barberini, in turn, used this to convey the message of the opera.

A comparison between the preparatory sketch and the second engraving of the score shows several slight differences. The most evident difference is the absence, in the sketch, of the two different mottos written on each flag, which will be analysed below. The common elements, on the other hand, are very useful to

[43] See Hammond, *The Ruined Bridge*, p. 219.
[44] See Povoledo, pp. 169-215.

understand the type of settings and machines used for the Prologue and for the first act of this opera. Dawn, for instance, introduces the plot saying that she is on a chariot of rays.[45] Priorato, who describes the entrance of this character with the following words, confirms this:

> Cominciò a sorger l'Aurora, dopo a poco a poco il Sole, che illustrò poi con mirabil artificio tutto il teatro. L'Aurora spargendo dall'argentato suo carro quantità di fiori odoriferi, e risvegliati i pastori all'opere, servì di prologo graziosissimo.[46]

Priorato describes Dawn appearing on a chariot. Since the term chariot (*carro*) was a term often used by architects and scenographers to mean a theatrical machine, it is not surprising that this term was used by Priorato for the cloud machine sketched in the second engraving of the score of the opera (see fig. 5.5). The machine may have been similar to the one described by Nicola Sabbatini in his manual as illustrated in the figure below.

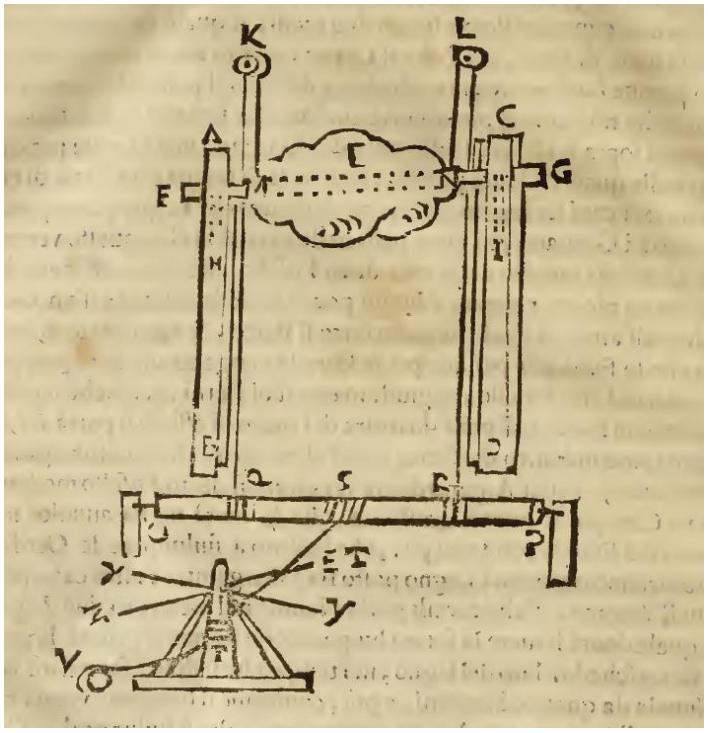

Fig. 5.4 Nicola Sabbatini, *Pratica di fabricar scene e machine ne' teatri* (Ravenna: Stampatori Camerali, 1638), p. 140.

[45] The two libretti of *La vita humana* analysed for this study are in Vatican City, BAV, Barb. lat. 3821 and Vat. lat. 13539.

[46] 'Dawn started to rise, then, little by little, the Sun, which lit up with a wondrous trick all the stage. Dawn threw numerous scented flowers from her silver chariot and after waking up the shepherds to their work, acted as a most gracious prologue'. See Priorato, p. 286.

Priorato's description adds some more information to the details found in the libretti, that is, that the chariot of rays was silver and that Dawn spread flowers while descending from the sky. The last details confirm that the character portrayed in the engraving is actually Dawn since she holds flowers in her right hand (see fig. below).

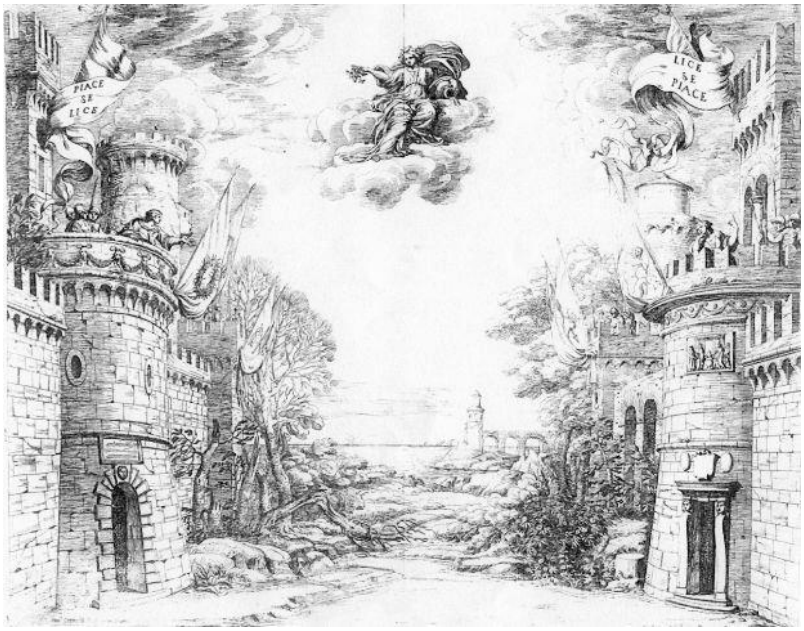

Fig. 5.5 Giovanni Battista Galestruzzi, second out of five engravings embellishing the score of *La vita humana* (Rome: Mascardi, 1658).

The chorus intervenes describing the arrival of Aurora and the sun rising.[47] The landscape described suits the background section of the above image, which shows the sun rising. It is possible that, to create the effect of a rising sun, Grimaldi used a machine similar to that used by Gian Lorenzo Bernini in 1639 for the *intermedio* entitled *La fiera di Farfa*, if not the same machine restored for the occasion.[48] Muzzarelli in his account seems to confirm this since he writes:

> […] appariva una bella marina su caretto […] principiò a spuntare il sole, nel cui principio diede grande aspettazione, ma non corrispose a pieno, maggiori essendo i riflessi che faceva nel mare, et facevano veramente meraviglia fine […] e nel crescere del sole approporzione si andava più illuminando la scena […].[49]

[47] '[…] Il sol, cui specchio in mare son l'acque chiare, splende più dell'usato.' See Vatican City, BAV, Barb. lat. 3821, fol. 10r.
[48] See Chapter 4, 'The second *intermedio*: *La fiera di Farfa*', above.
[49] '[…] there appeared a fine seashore on a machine […]' and then '[…] the sun began to shine. At first this raised great expectations, which went unmet, since the reflections that it made on the sea were greater <than the reflections in the sky>, and they truly made a fine marvel, […] and in the increasing of the sun in proportion the scene was being more illuminated […]'. Transcribed and translated in English by Hammond, *The Ruined Bridge*, p. 223.

Despite the negative opinion expressed by Muzzarelli, maybe due to the difficulty in operating the machine, the above description mentions all the elements contained in Albani's sketch of Bernini's machine of the rising sun and fits the notes that describe its operation.[50] It must be remembered that Bernini was greatly praised for the illusionistic impression of a true sunrise obtained thanks to his machine. It is therefore not surprising that the artists who designed the scenography for *La vita humana* with the intention of creating realistic landscapes tried to reproduce the same effect created by Bernini in 1639.

The most interesting aspect of this scenography is the side wings. Although the score of *Il palazzo incantato* hinted at some characters singing on *logge*, in *La vita humana* there is evidence of characters acting on a piece of scenery.[51] This means that the side wings were not flats, but three-dimensional settings on which the performers could walk and from which they could perform. The two female characters leaning from the top of the opposite castles on either side of the first scene are Innocence, on the left of the picture, and Guilt, on the right. On Innocence's castle, a flag displays the words 'piace se lice' ('it pleases if it is allowed'), which convey the message that pleasure depends on its legitimacy. The opposite message is conveyed by the words 'lice se piace', inscribed on the flag waving on Guilt's castle, which mean that whatever pleases is allowed. This play of words refers to the new double concept of love introduced by Giovan Battista Guarini in *Il pastor fido* (1590). The first, exemplified by the motto 'piace se lice', represents the purest type of love allowed by honest men and approved by god, while the second type, exemplified by the motto 'lice se piace', is only allowed by nature. According to the essential message conveyed in *La vita humana*, the first is the only type of love that should be pursued by human beings, as they strive to save their soul.

During the second scene of the first act, Life and Understanding enter on stage and pass between the two opposite castles. The third scene of the first act confirms the three-dimensional structure of the wings, because the libretto writes that a

[50] See Albani's sketch (fig. 4.13) and its description in Chapter 4, above.
[51] For the term *logge* and for the analysis of *Il palazzo incantato*, see Chapter 4, last section. The use of walkable side wings is also attested in the other two operas, *L'armi e gli amori* and *Dal male il bene*, staged that same Carnival 1656 by the Barberini in their theatre. Possibly, these fixed side wings were the same in all three operas.

sentinel on top of each castle sings to Life, while Innocence and Guilt sing from inside their castles.

During the fourth scene of the first act, Innocence enters on stage descending from the sky on another theatrical machine.[52] Life does not pay great attention to her, due to the temptation of Guilt. For this scene, the manuscript libretto Vat. lat. 13539 reports two of the few indications of stage direction for the opera, noting that Life stumbled and then found a spot on her dress.[53] These indications are clear evidence of how every detail in the performance was used to convey allegorical meanings. Human Life, representing Christina, who had almost decided to follow the rule 'lice se piace,' stumbled on her way, staining her soul. Nevertheless, she had still time to recognize her mistakes and obtain forgiveness. Another observation about the scenography for this scene is that the extensive use of clouds machines in all the performances analysed so far is evidence that they were greatly appreciated by seventeenth-century audiences.

At the end of the first act the already cited manuscript libretto Barb. lat. 3821 notes that the scene changes. This is the only manuscript libretto investigated for this study that reports all the scene-changes in the opera and so helps our understanding of where exactly the scenes engraved in the score appeared before the audience's eyes. Thanks to the libretto, we can state that the third engraving of the score corresponds to the setting for the second act (see fig. 5.6).



Fig. 5.6 Giovanni Battista Galestruzzi, third out of five engravings embellishing the score of *La vita humana* (Rome: Mascardi, 1658).

[52] This is attested by the libretto, where she says: 'a' tuoi cenni disposta io qui discendo' ('at your sign I descend here'). See Vatican City, BAV, Barb. lat. 3821 fol. 10r.
[53] '[…] qui inciampa' and '[…] qui si trova la veste macchiata'. See Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 13539, Act I scene IV.

The scene changed thanks to movable flats, representing trees, sliding in grooves – a technique already used for other operas commissioned by the Barberini including *Il Sant'Alessio*, analysed in Chapter 2, and *I Santi Didimo e Teodora*, analysed in Chapter 3.[54] The main difference, between the movable side wings used in the previous operas and those made for *La vita humana* is that Grimaldi, instead of using painted canvases, and coherent with the idea of creating a sense of reality, prepared the wings by carving wooden panels to make them look like true trees.[55] When they slid out, they almost completely covered the fixed side wings representing the set design for the first act, although fig. 5.6 shows that part of the fixed scenery is still visible behind the treetops. Meanwhile, in the background, a new perspective view covered the perspective used for the first act, and a different landscape appeared. The symbolic meaning of the scene is evident. The wood belongs to the enduring tradition of the *locus horridus* dating to the Greco-Latin tradition. In this opera, its meaning is influenced by the Christian interpretation given by Dante in his *Divina Commedia* (1304-1321) where the wild forest represents the darker side of the human soul wandering in confusion for having lost the right path.

The figures in the third engraving are likely to represent Human Life and Understanding, on the left, and Pleasure in the centre. This interpretation has been well argued by Hammond in *The Ruined Bridge*, noting that it fits with the message that Alexander VII, through Rospigliosi, wanted to address to Christina. Since the ex-queen's libertine way of living was causing several problems to the pope and spoiling her reputation, it was important to show Christina the right path. Life/Christina represented in the opera as a frail young woman, needs Understanding to protect her against the seductive delights of Pleasure. The task of Understanding is not easy, since the manuscript libretto Vat. lat. 13539 reports that during the fifth scene of the second act, Understanding and Human Life look for each other on the stage without meeting. The same manuscript also writes that later during the same scene, they pass close to each other, but they do not see each other.

[54] For the technique used to make this scene-change, see Chapter 2, fig. 2.26.

[55] An order of payment from Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Comp. 85, Registro dei mandati anni 1655-1659, n. 1176, fol. 109v, <5 June 1657>, notes that Grimaldi was paid 5.40 *scudi* '[…] for the price of three tree branches, that is two big and a small one, which he took to carve the scenes of *Il trionfo della pietà* […]. Translated from the following excerpt: '[…] per il prezzo di tre rami, cioè due grandi et uno piccolo presi da lui per intagliarci le scene del trionfo della pietà […]'.

Apart from the symbolic meaning of these actions, they were also intended to involve the audience emotionally. The effect was amplified by heavenly voices heard offstage.

At the end of the act, the scene changed once more. Priorato describes the new setting with the following words:

> […] si cambiò la scena la seconda volta, che con mirabilissima vaghezza, rappresentò un delitioso, e ben compartito giardino, ornato di figure, e di compartimenti tali, che aggiontovi le fontane, & una cascata d'acqua maravigliosa, si rese una delle più vaghe prospettive, che si possan figurar gli occhi […].[56]



Fig. 5.7 Giovanni Battista Galestruzzi, fourth out of five engravings embellishing the score of *La vita humana* (Rome: Mascardi, 1658).

The wonderful garden, decorated with statues, fountains and a waterfall, symbolizes the *locus amoenus* opposed to the *locus horridus* of the previous act. Here, Life, guided by Understanding, finally joins Innocence. The fourth engraving shows Understanding, on the left, a more relaxed Life and Innocence wearing a Roman armour on the right. Her aspect recalls the allegorical apparition of triumphal Rome in the Prologue of *Il Sant'Alessio*, in all likelihood an intentional allusion. In the background, the *lontananza* shows the same landscape portrayed in the first

[56] '[…] the scene changed for the second time, and with marvelous enchantment, it represented a delightful and well-designed garden, decorated with statues. It had so many sections that, considering also the fountains and a wonderful waterfall, was one of the most astonishing perspectives that the eyes can imagine […].' See Priorato, p. 90.

engraving: the façade of a wealthy palazzo with its garden and a fountain that spurts real water.

For the fourth act, the scene changed for the third time. Priorato wrote:

> […] finalmente nella terza scena, in cui si vedeva un amenissimo prato ripieno di alberi, frutti, e fiori, & una lontananza, dove apparivano il Palazzo Vaticano, la Facciata, e cupola di S. Pietro, Borgo nuovo, e Castel Sant'Angelo, la colpa, & il piacere mascheratisi da intendimento, & innocenza, procurano d'ingannare la vita, con gli stimoli, & artifizii più propri della malitia; […].[57]



Fig. 5.8 Giovanni Battista Galestruzzi, fifth out of five engravings embellishing the score of *La vita humana* (Rome: Mascardi, 1658).

Here, the allegory of the *locus amoenus* represented by the garden full of fruit, flowers and trees, overlaps with a view of Rome. The meaning conveyed by this scene is soon clear in observing the landscape. On the one hand, St Peter's Basilica, rising above the sacred burial place of SS Peter and Paul, founders of the apostolic Roman church, represents the true Christian faith. On the other, Castel Sant'Angelo with a pinwheel of fireworks on top represents the triumph of the Catholic Church throughout the centuries.

As hinted above, the background of this scene was the work of Giovanni Battista Galestruzzi, the artist who also produced the engravings for the printed score. This information is recorded in some payment orders assembled in the Barberini collection of documents named 'Computisteria' (accounting) and held in the Vatican Library. These witness that Grimaldi was not the sole artist responsible for designing of all the sets:

[57] '[...] Finally, in the third scene, which displayed a wonderful garden full of trees, fruits, and flowers, and a background view with the Vatican Palace, the facade and the dome of St Peter's, the new Borgo, and Castel Sant'Angelo, Guilt and Pleasure disguised as Understanding, and Innocence, try to deceive Life, with the temptations and tricks proper of their malice [...]'. See Priorato, p. 287.

> […] scudi 12 moneta che vi facciamo pagare per vostro rimborso di altrettanti pagati a Giovanni Batta Galestrucci per mano del sig. Carlo Moroni a buon conto dell'intaglio in Roma che fa del Trionfo della pietà, conforme alla sottoscritta ricevuta […] li 10 di Giugno 1657[58]

> […] scudi sedici e 91 moneta che vi facciamo per vostro rimborso di altrettanti pagati a Giovanni Batta Galestrucci cioè scudi 12 per una delle scene figurate e girandola di Castello S. Angelo per il libro del Trionfo della pietà e gli altri scudi 4.91 per due rami da intagliarvi la detta scena et un'altra che segue conforme le sopraddette ricevute. […] li 24 novembre 1657[59]

> A voi medesimo scudi dodici moneta per vostro rimborso di altrettanti pagati per mano del sig. Carlo Moroni a Giovanni Batta Galestrucci per una delle scene che fa per mio servizio conforme la suddetta ricevuta. […] li 12 giugno 1658

> A voi medesimo scudi dodici moneta per vostro rimborso di altrettanti pagati a Giovanni Battista Galestrucci per mano del sig. Carlo Moroni a conto dell'intaglio che fa di una scena per vostro servizio conforme la suddetta ricevuta. […] li 12 giugno 1658 [60]

A further confirmation of the involvement of Galestuzzi in helping prepare the sets for the opera comes from the following order of payment:

> […] scudi quattro moneta che vi facciamo pagare per vostro rimborso d'altrettanti dati per mano del signor Carlo Moroni a Giovanni Battista Galestrucci; sono per l'intaglio fatto nel vano della scena stabile, conforme la ricevuta, questo dì 22 ottobre 1658.[61]

Moreover, the words 'l'intaglio fatto nella scena stabile' in this last order suggest a scene-setting consisting of a hybrid scene with fixed pieces of scenery and sliding flats.

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[58] '[…] we authorize a payment to you of 12 *scudi* for reimbursement of the same amount of money you paid to Giovanni Battista Galestrucci at the hands of Mr Carlo Moroni for the carving he makes in Rome of *Il Trionfo della pietà*, according to the receipt below […] 10 June 1657.' See Vatican City, Arch. Barb. Comp. 85, fol. 109v.

[59] '[…] we authorize to pay to you 16.91 *scudi* for reimbursement of the same amount of money you paid to Giovanni Battista Galestrucci. That is 12 *scudi* for one of the figurative scenes and for the pinwheel of fireworks of Castel S. Angelo for the book of *Il Trionfo della pietà*, and the other 4.91 *scudi* for two tree branches to prepare the above mentioned scene and another that follows, according to the above mentioned receipts. […] 24 November 1657.' See Vatican City, Arch. Barb. Comp. 85, fol. 139v.

[60] 'Again <we give> you 12 scudi for reimbursement of the same amount of money you paid at the hands of signor Carlo Moroni to Giovanni Battista Galestrucci for one of the scenes he makes at my service, according to the above receipt. […] 12 June 1658.' 'To the same <we give> 12 scudi for reimbursement of the same amount of money you paid to Giovanni Battista Galestrucci at the hands of signor Carlo Moroni for the carving he makes of a scene at your service, in accordance with the receipt below. […] 12 June 1658.' See Vatican City, Arch. Barb. Comp. 85, fol. 174v.

[61] '[…] we authorize to pay you four *scudi* for reimbursement of the same amount of money given by signor Carlo Moroni to Giovanni Battista Galestrucci. They are for the carving made in the space of the fixed scene, according to the receipt, today 22 October 1658.' See Vatican City, Arch. Barb. Comp. 85, fol. 191r.

As soon as the fourth act ended, Priorato reports that there were numerous *intermedi* consisting of dances and instrumental pieces concluded by a great amount of fireworks.[62] It is not clear whether there were other danced interludes during the performance. Both the *giustificazioni* and the *mandati* of payment in the Barberini archives detail the same amount of money, 18 *scudi*, spent to pay Luca Cherubino for the dance 'per il balletto fatto nella commedia.'[63] However, they do not specify what type of ballet it was and where it was performed. Other contemporary sources are contradictory in this regard. Priorato, for instance, refers to danced numbers performed only at the end of the opera, while Marazzoli's manuscript score reports two danced interludes, one at the end of the first act, the other at the end of the second. Finally, Muzzarelli writes that a dance was played before the opera's final scene. The discrepancies in the sources might be explained by the flexibility used to place danced numbers, musical interludes and *intermedi* during the seventeenth century. Since they were meant to bring relief to the audience, they were evidently moved or newly inserted in the performance to provide entertainment. This is why the first performance and its replicas could have had dance numbers and interludes placed differently which, in turn, may explain the contradiction in the sources.[64]

In comparing the sets used for *La vita humana* with those used for *Il Sant'Alessio*, it is evident that they have some elements in common. Both of them, for instance, have a fixed scene and movable side wings sliding in grooves. The main difference between the two operas is that the fixed scene of *Il Sant'Alessio* was made with pairs of *telari* nailed on the stage ground, while in *La vita humana* at least the first pair of side-wings consisted of three-dimensional pieces of scenery made of wood and capable of supporting the weight of performers who walked on them and sang from there. Another difference is that for Carnival 1656 the Barberini engaged painters who were able to create illusionistic landscapes, which tricked the audience's eyes better than the painted *lontananze* of *Il Sant'Alessio*. A similar observation relates to the three-dimensional background, which was much more accurate and elaborate in *La vita humana* than it was in either *Il Sant'Alessio* or

[62] See Priorato, p. 289.
[63] See Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Comp. 85, fol. 52r, Arch. Barb. Comp. 54, fol. 149v and Arch. Barb., Giust. I, vol. 115, fol. 78r <25 February 1656>.
[64] This might be the reason for the inconsistencies found in *avvisi* and reports related to other seventeenth-century operas, including *Il Sant'Alessio* performed in 1632 (see Chapter 1, above). See Kathleen Kumick Hansell, 'Il ballo teatrale e l'opera italiana', in *Storia dell'opera italiana* ed. by Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli, 6 vols (Turin: EDT, 1988), V, 175-82 (p.179).

Erminia sul Giordano. In the 1656 opera, the realistic portrayal of Castel Sant'Angelo for instance was designed by juxtaposing pieces of scenography. The section showing people looking at the castle was created with a cardboard 6 palms (about 1.24 m) high and 12 palms (about 2.50 m) long, carved by a painter named Clemente Maggiolini.[65] Behind this, there was a section of the stage, probably filled with real water, which portrayed the Tiber River with model boats. In the background, the wooden models of Castel Sant'Angelo and St Peter's Basilica completed the view of Rome, made more realistic by the use of pyrotechnical devices simulating the pinwheel of fireworks usually fired from the top of the castle on special occasions or religious celebrations.

What is clear from this analysis is the ongoing developments in scenography under the patronage of the Barberini following their return to Rome.

La giostra dei caroselli

The last of the series of performances that the Barberini organized to celebrate Christina of Sweden, *La giostra dei caroselli*, is also the last spectacle to be analysed in this study. This joust, an example of a genre still very popular during the seventeenth century, offers the opportunity to analyse some of its scenographic effects and machinery and to speak about the rigid protocol followed in both attending and participating in this form of spectacle. It marks, too, a further significant development in the staging of spectacles by the Barberini in Rome.

The Renaissance joust had its roots in the bloody primitive combats of the ancient Roman times known as *ludi gladiatori*. After the tenth ecumenical (second Lateran) Council banned them in 1139, they developed into jousts and carousels. Later, chivalric poems influenced these spectacles, creating a less violent genre, which reached great popularity during the fifteenth century.[66] In the seventeenth

[65] This is attested by Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb. Comp. 85, n.1322, fol. 122r <31 July 1657>, which reports: 'Francesco Santini, you will pay 8 *scudi* to the painter Clemente Maggiolini; we pay this for his manufacture of a cardboard 6 palms high and 12 palms long with several figures […]. Translated from the following excerpt: 'Francesco Santini pagarete a Clemente Maggiolini pittore scudi otto moneta, che gli facciamo pagare per la fattura di un cartone alto palmi 6 e longo palmi 12 con figure diverse […].

[66] For the development of jousts and tournaments in Rome, see Mario Verdone, *Feste e spettacoli a Roma* (Rome: Newton Compton, 1993), pp. 42-61. For the development of jousts and tournaments

century, the Ferrarese Enzo Bentivoglio (1575-1639) gave this type of performance a more defined form, which also involved professional singers, sometimes borrowed from other patrons, who only performed some scenes of the entertainment.[67] The Barberini, always interested in being up-to-date in the staging of spectacles, soon asked Bentivoglio to organize a joust of this new type in Rome on the occasion of the visit of Prince Alexander Charles Wasa of Poland in 1634. This joust, known as the *Giostra del Saracino*, was staged in Piazza Navona on 25 February.[68] *La giostra dei Caroselli* also belongs to this new type of spectacle, which mainly consisted of two teams facing and challenging each other in combat. The contenders were not usually professional actors, but noblemen who wished to prove their courage and reaffirm their family status. A joust was therefore also an occasion for the organizers to reinforce and create political ties by involving numerous illustrious members of the most important noble families, who usually paid for their costumes and arms, and sometimes also offered to contribute to the expenses for sets, machines and verses.[69] In the case of *La giostra dei caroselli*, although both Maffeo Barberini (1631-1685) and Cardinal Francesco, sponsors of the event, sustained the major costs for organizing the performance, there is evidence that the twenty-four knights participating in the joust contributed to the costs with 500 *scudi* each.[70] The responsibility for the staging of the performance and for inventing the machines and designing the costumes for the participants fell to Giovanni Battista Grimaldi, who had already designed scenes and costumes for the opera *La vita humana*.

Although they belonged to the same type of spectacle, *La giostra del Saracino* and *La giostra dei caroselli* show substantial differences, starting with the choice of the place for staging them. While in 1634 the Barberini chose one of the most popular squares of Rome, Piazza Navona, to stage the joust, adhering to the model

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in Europe, see Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650* (Woodbridge*:* Boydell and Brewer, 1984), pp. 11-19.

[67] For the transformation of jousts during the seventeenth century, see Gregory Hanlon, *The Twilight of a Military Tradition: Italian Aristocrats and European Conflicts, 1560-1800* (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 339-41 and Strong, pp. 50-57. About the Bentivoglio family, see Maria Luisa Doglio, 'Bentivoglio, Guido', in *Dizionario critico della letteratura italiana*, I, 276-78.

[68] About the joust, see the section entitled *Il Sant'Alessio (1634)* in Chapter 2, above.

[69] See Frederick Hammond, 'La Contesa and the Sacchetti/Estenze-Tassoni Wedding', in *Barocke Inszenierung: Akten des Internationalen Forschungscolloquiums an der Technischen Universitat Berlin* (June, 1999), 146-57.

[70] See Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Comp. 356, fol. 307r, transcribed and translated into English by Hammond, *The Ruined Bridge*, p. 235.

of the Renaissance *tournois à thème*, in 1656 they preferred the courtyard of their Palazzo alle Quattro Fontane, the *cortile della cavallerizza*, as they turned towards the Baroque style of tournament. In considering the recent vicissitudes of the Barberini, this choice seems to have had a double aim. On the one hand, it was intended to demonstrate to the audience that the noble family had regained their position in the papal court and was still able to stage the most up-dated types of spectacles. On the other, it revived the atmosphere of the princely court performances of the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries.[71]

La giostra dei caroselli took place on 28 February 1656. The Barberini ordered the adaptation of the courtyard to create a suitable space to stage the joust and to build a structure large enough to host all the spectators.

For this analysis of the structure and of the joust, the three main sources of information are the recordings of expenses sustained to stage the performance, Priorato's account, and the huge painting by Filippo Lauri and Filippo Gagliardi dating 1658 (see fig. 5.9, below). Since the painting is the only surviving image referring to the joust, it will be analysed in depth, section by section, to find evidence of what is reported in the other sources investigated for this chapter. As anticipated in the Introduction to this thesis, the decision to rely on this painting for a description of the joust, is based on the evidence that during the late Renaissance and early Baroque period visual recordings were commissioned by the sponsors of a spectacle to preserve memory of the event.[72] In particular, the painting illustrating *La giostra dei caroselli* belongs to the type of visual documents that report simultaneously all the various stages of the event, helping to visualize what is described by Gualdo Priorato in his detailed account.

To make significant space for the spectacle, some houses were pulled down and Grimaldi constructed a rectangular wooden scaffold running along three sides of the courtyard (the *cortile della cavallerizza*) to accommodate guests and musicians. The lower section of the structure consisted in a loggia, which ran along two sides of the courtyard (along the theatre side and along the palazzo side) and in sloping steps along the side opposite the palazzo.

[71] The most popular examples of these type of performances were the spectacles staged by the Medici in their Palazzo Pitti in Florence during the sixteenth-century. See Strong, pp. 126-27.
[72] See Introduction, footnote 43.



Fig. 5.9 Filippo Lauri and Filippo Gagliardi, *Carosello a Palazzo Barberini in onore di Cristina di Svezia, nel Carnevale del 1656*, dated 1656-1658, oil on canvas, 2,31 x 3,40 m.

The loggia was surmounted by two rows of balconies, which, on the palazzo side, covered the first two stories of the building. The lower row on this side hosted the clergymen of the court, while the higher hosted 'principesse e dame tutte vagamente abbigliate e risplendenti, per accrescere co' splendori delle loro bellezze e ornamenti il lustro e le gioie di sì bel spettacolo'.[73] Some of them were allowed to enter with their dogs (see fig. 5.10).

[73] 'princesses and dames all glittering in beautiful dresses, to increase with the splendour of their beauties and of their accessories the prestige and delight of such a wonderful spectacle.' See Priorato, p. 304.



Fig. 5.10 Detail of fig. 5.9, showing a section of the balconies on the palazzo side.

Figure 5.10 helps to understand how the joust was illuminated since it shows some of the wonderful wooden herms that decorated the balconies. They had the double function of embellishing the wooden structure and keeping huge braziers on top of it. At each herm (under the base and under the head), there were two huge candle-holder-shells with a long white candle in each. To complete the illumination and create a more suggestive set design, Grimaldi and his collaborators made sixteen shining stars, which were suspended over the whole courtyard. These stars are not reproduced in the painting, but there is evidence of their use in the payment records and in Priorato's account, which reports:

> Per dar lume al campo, oltre alle spalliere di grosse torce di cera bianca e di materiali di artificio che ardevano sopra diversi colonnati finti sopra le scalinate a dai capi dello steccato, erano sedici gran stelle artificiosamente composte di filo di ferro, ogn'una delle quali alzata e librata in aria con moderna e non più veduta invenzione, nel mezzo del campo, conteneva sedici gran torce, sì che a buon calcolo questa sola illuminazione costava più d'un migliaio di scudi.[74]

[74] 'To illuminate the field, apart from the espaliers of huge white wax torches and the artificial fires that burnt above several fake colonnades placed high above the stairs and on the extremities of the fence, there were sixteen huge stars artfully made of iron wire. Each of them was raised and suspended in the air in the middle of the field with a modern and never-seen-before invention and contained sixteen large torches, so that, all told, this illumination alone must have cost more than a thousand *scudi*.' See Priorato, p. 303.

At the centre of the two rows of balconies was a box made to host Christina, her *gentiluomini*, and four cardinals – Retz (born Jean-François Paul de Gondi (1613-1679), Imperiale (1612-16739), Borromeo (1615-1671) and Azzolino (1623-1689). Other distinguished people, referred to as *eminentissimi* in Priorato's account, were either in the box above Christina's or leaning from the windows of the Palazzo Barberini.[75] The painting shows that precious tapestries with red and golden vertical stripes and embroidering adorned these windows.



Fig. 5.11 Detail of fig. 5.9, showing Christina's box.

As already discussed in Chapter 4, the wooden structure did not cover the entrance to the Teatro Barberini. A detail from the painting shown in fig. 5.12 below, brings evidence that Cortona's portal was decorated with golden paint to harmonize it with the rest of the structure. The image below, which I have digitally enhanced, also reveals that the theatre was not empty but was used to host other male guests, who sat close to each other on sloping benches. These were very likely the same benches used inside the theatre to accommodate the guests who watched the operas performed during the previous days of Carnival: instead of being dismantled, they were simply moved near to the doorway.

[75] The source of information about the cardinals sharing Christina's box and about the position of the other distinguished people is Priorato, p. 303.



Fig. 5.12 Detail of fig. 5.9, showing Cortona's portal, digitally enhanched using Microsoft Office Picture Manager.

The people who sat on these benches could have been some of the 'persone civili' (civilians) mentioned in Priorato's account, which reports that Francesco Barberini was able to accommodate them and allow them to see the performance. This gathering of men, tightly-packed on the benches, provides evidence that the news of the joust had raised the curiosity of a considerable number of people. They came both from Rome and from the surrounding villages and most of them assembled around the walls of *the cortile della cavallerizza* and at the courtyard's gates. There were so many that it was impossible to accommodate all of them inside the Barberini property. Apart from the civilians who were admitted thanks to Francesco's intercession, many remained outside the walls. Among these people, some decided to climb the walls to enjoy the spectacle anyway. Others tried to force their way passed the security guards at the entrance of the courtyard (see fig. 5.13).



Fig. 5.13 Detail of fig. 5.9, showing the security guards tying to keep people outside the courtyard.

On the side opposite to the palazzo, on the sloping steps built under the two rows of balconies, a detail of the painting shows that some guests wore Carnival masks. This detail adds new information to our analysis of performances since it demonstrates that people attending spectacles in Rome during the seventeenth century were allowed to wear masks.



Fig. 5.14 Detail of fig. 5.9, showing the sloping steps opposite to the Palazzo Barberini.

Musicians played from the top of the triumphal arch facing Christina's box, where Grimaldi had built a platform covered by a canopy to accommodate them (see fig. 5.15). The arch was 50 palms (about 11 m) long and 35 palms (about 8 m) high and was embellished by bas-reliefs representing the labours of Hercules.



Fig. 5.15 Detail of fig. 5.9, showing the triumphal arch.

At about three o'clock in the morning, Christina entered her box. Eight trumpeters announced the start of the show and the performance began.[76] Two squads of contenders were each preceeded by one hundred and twenty grooms, holding long, lit candles of white wax.[77] The first group of knights wore Roman costumes but with colours clearly paying homage to Christina since they were turquois and silver, her heraldic colours. They were:

> […] il Signor Lorenzo Roberti, il Marchese Tarquinio Santa Croce, il Capitan Giuseppe Marino Rasponi, il Baron Agostino del Nero, il Signor Fabio Massimi, il Colonnello Lodovico Casale, il Signor Carlo Rapaccioli, il Marchese Giovanni Pietro del Drago, il Signor Guido Rasponi, il Commendatore Fra Marc'Antonio Verospi, Fra Ferdinando Vecchiarelli, pur Cavalier di Malta, e il Signor Paolo Francesco Falconieri.[78]

According to Filippo Clementi the above participants were brave knights belonging to noble families. Most of them were relatives of the cardinals forming the Sacro Collegio.[79]

The second group of knights, in tribute to Christina's reputation, wore Amazon costumes, coloured golden and red (the colours of the pope). They were:

> Don Maffeo Barberini Principe di Palestrina, il Signor Urbano Rocci, il Marchese Ferdinando Torres, il Signor Gasparo Alveri, Ferrante Conte della Massa in luogo del Marchese Patrizi, che s'ammalò, il Signor Stefano Pignatelli, il Marchese Fabritio Nari, il Marchese Cinzio Silvestri, il Signor Giovanni Battista Costaguti, il conte Marc'Antonio Monte Marte della Corbara, il Signor Paolo Mignanelli, e il Signor Angelo Leonini.[80]

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[76] Vatican City, BAV, Urb. lat. 1681, *Racconto Historico Del Trionfo In Vaticano di Christina Regina di Svezia*, fol. 215r.

[77] 'Precedevano otto trombettieri, e cento e venti palafrenieri tutti vestiti con divisa ricamate di argento sopra il turchino e con alte pennacchiere in testa pur turchine e bianche portando ciascun di loro una gran torcia accesa in mano […]'. See Priorato, p. 305.

[78] '[…] Signor Lorenzo Roberti, the Marquis Tarquinio Santa Croce, Captain Giuseppe Marino Rasponi, Baron Agostino del Nero, Signor Fabio Massimi, Colonel Lodovico Casale, Signor Carlo Rapaccioli, the Marquis Giovanni Pietro del Drago, Signor Guido Rasponi, Fra Marc'Antonio Verospi, Commander Fra Ferdinando Vecchiarelli, ex-knight of Malta, and Signor Paolo Francesco Falconieri.' See Priorato, p. 304.

[79] See Clementi, I, footnote 1, p. 527.

[80] 'Don Maffeo Barberini, Prince of Palestrina, Signor Urbano Rocci, the Marquis Ferdinando Torres, Signor Gasparo Alveri, Ferrante, Count of Massa instead of the Marquis Patrizi, who fell sick, Signor Stefano Pignatelli, the Marquis Fabrizio Nari, the Marquis Cinzio Silvestri, Signor Giovanni Battista Costaguti, the Count Marc'Antonio Monte Marte of Corbara, Signor Paolo Mignanelli, and Signor Angelo Leonini'. See Priorato, p. 306. For further information about these chevaliers, see Clementi, I, footnote 1, p. 529.

The presence of Don Maffeo among them is extremely interesting since it proves that, similar to other jousts organized in other Italian cities, in Rome the noblemen patronizing these types of spectacles enjoyed participating in the competition themselves. It also means that Maffeo was making every effort to regain the prestige that his family had enjoyed before the troubles generated by the War of Castro.

Both groups of contenders processed, divided in three rows on horseback, wearing huge headgear adorned by long feathers resembling huge fans waving in the air, riding wonderful steeds whose crests were also adorned by feathers (see fig. 5.9). The payment records, transcribed in the Appendix, report the exact number and colour of feathers purchased for this purpose.[81] They also give some information about the manufacturing of these crests, because besides the feathers they attest the purchasing of forty decks of white and turquoise gauze and sixty-eight silver-plated copper rosettes embellished by glittering spangles. Corn-ears made of silvered glass adorned five of them and coloured strings completed the decoration.

The entrance of each group of knights was followed by a chariot. The first, which was painted with the same colours of the first squad, was pulled by three singers, representing the three Graces, singing melodious songs in praise of the ex-queen. On top of it, sat the personification of '[…] Roma festiva, la quale bramosa di palesare la sua gioia per la venuta di sì gran principessa, mostrò di avere assunto le sembianze di Amore […]'. (See fig. 5.16).[82]



Fig. 5.16 Detail of fig. 5.9, showing Amore's chariot.

[81] See Appendix, item [11].
[82] '[…] a festive Rome, who, willing to show her happiness for the arrival of a so great princess, showed that she had acquired Amore's appearance […]'. See Priorato, p. 305.

The second, which was golden and red, was also pulled by three musicians, but in this case they represented the three Furies. At the top of the chariot sat an actor in frightening posture, symbolizing Disdain, alluding to the pope's disdain for Christina's behaviour before her conversion to the Catholic faith (see fig. 5.17, below).



Fig. 5.17 Detail of fig. 5.9, showing Disdain's chariot.

Both chariots stopped in front of Christina's box and the two teams of contenders settled behind them. The challenge could then be launched. This consisted of two dialogues in music, one between the Graces and the Furies, the other between Love and Disdain, which had the function of introducing the first battle. The chariots were moved apart to leave space to the combats, while the Amazons went to the garden side of the courtyard and their contenders (from now on the chevaliers) went to the opposite side. Once there, both groups took off their voluminous headgear and their mantles and wore light helmets and armour that covered their breasts and backs, to start the first competition.[83] This consisted of a battle with pistols, which offered a wonderful spectacle of skilled fighters facing each other among the smoke, the fire and the clamour of the weapons.

Suddenly, a curtain that covered the huge fornix of the arch was dropped and an enormous machine representing a monstrous dragon emerged breathing out burning flames. On top of the dragon's back there was a singer disguised as

[83] See Priorato, p. 307.

Hercules, who started singing, bringing the battle to an end. Instead of dangerous guns, he offered a couple of golden apples that he had stolen from the garden of the Hesperides. At his singing, three Hesperides came out bringing other golden apples that they distributed to the chevaliers and to the Amazons.



Fig. 5.18 Detail of fig. 5.9, showing the Dragon wagon.

After the apples were distributed, the Dragon went back to its former place and a new fight started. Two chevaliers left their squad and galloped towards the Amazons keeping their shields in their left hands and the golden apples in their right hands. Once in front of the opposing squad, they threw their apples quickly before turning back to reach their companions. The action was repeated, each time with one more opponent for each party, until all the contenders were involved in the battle to the great enjoyment of the public.

When the battle ended, all the participants paraded in front of Christina raising their swords. Meanwhile, another chariot, pulled by four horses, wonderfully adorned with golden harnesses, came out from the left side. It was a golden cart with bas-reliefs and decorations symbolizing the sun. A singer disguised as Apollo sat at its top wearing a shining golden costume. Four other singers, representing the four seasons, sat at a lower level while twenty-four maidens, who surrounded the chariot, played the twenty-four hours.



Fig. 5.19 Detail of fig. 5.9, showing Apollo's chariot.

This last chariot stopped in front of the ex-queen's box, while Apollo claimed all the contenders for peace. The chevaliers and the Amazons retired, concluding the joust.[84]

The last phase of the joust with the chariot of the sun allows us to draw some conclusions. The Barberini, in depicting their heraldic deeds, had always used the image of the sun as a symbol of Pope Urban VIII (that is Maffeo Barberini), who appeared as the centre of a constellation made up of the other members of the family.[85] The sun was at the time also a symbol of the papacy. In the joust, Apollo as a personification of the pope-sun is the only character able to bring back the broken harmony symbolised by the four seasons and the twenty-four hours, stop the battles and reconcile the two groups of contenders representing the two opposite tendencies of Christina's – as well as every human being's – soul. The message of the joust is therefore the same as the message of the opera – that every human being is able to reach salvation by fighting against all kind of temptation, but complete salvation of the soul is only possible through the Roman Catholic Church. When the singer-Apollo declaimed his verses and expressed the sentiments of Rome towards Christina, the very last tile of the puzzle was set. This meant that Christina's previous fallacious behaviour had been forgiven and, thanks to her conversion, she had deserved praise and forgiveness.

[84] After the joust Maffeo offered a delicious breakfast to all the ladies. See Priorato, p. 310.
[85] See Chapter 1, above, footnote 35.

The analysis of the two performances examined in this chapter allows us to understand the reasons for the importance of these entertainments for the development of new models in the art of staging spectacles in Rome. The scenography designed for *La vita humana* demonstrates how the Barberini were able to create a spectacle in which traditional settings recalling Serlian scenes could be modernized thanks to the use of new theatrical techniques supported by illusionistic painted backdrops and side-wings. The Barberini's theatrical experience in France encouraged the noble family to rethink their previous way of staging spectacles. Torelli's system must have impressed them deeply. However, they did not introduce in Rome a type of scenography whose scene-changes were entirely based on flat side-wings sliding in grooves. What they accomplished was a revision of their past-experience of staging through the integration of new and old theatrical techniques. The fixed Serlian scene, for instance, was used in the foreground, but became walkable, allowing actors to play on top of pieces of scenography, similarly to the comic actors in the *commedia dell'arte* plays. This way, they were able to produce a more creative model of spectacle in which architecture, painting, costumes, acting, music, and dancing contributed equally to the staging of the performance.

As for *La giostra dei caroselli*, it belonged to the new phase of tournaments, which saw the transition from the Renaissance *tournois à thème* performed on the city square to the Baroque joust performed in the courtyards of private palazzos. The first example of this new type of tournament in Italy was *Mercurio e Marte* by Claudio Achillini with music by Claudio Monteverdi performed in the newly built Teatro Farnese in Parma in 1628.[86] The *Giostra del Saracino* sponsored by the Barberini on 25 February 1639, was a type of spectacle still belonging to the Renaissance phase of tournaments. The choice of staging *La giostra dei caroselli* following the new trend was, for the noble family, a way to show their guests that despite the period of exile in France, they were still riding high. The lasting impression that the performances staged by the Barberini for Carnival 1656 had on their contemporaries attests that they had reached their goal.

[86] See Strong, p. 55.

Conclusion

The aim of this dissertation has been to shed new light on the staging of spectacles at the court of the Barberini family in Rome during the period 1628-1656. The reason for choosing these spectacles is that in spite of their importance and of the numerous studies concerning their various aspects – mainly related to their musical features – no one has analysed a substantial number of them to outline the development of scenography at the Barberini court.[1]

The most important sources for first-hand information have been the little investigated 'Giustificazioni I' of the Barberini Archives in the Vatican Library at Vatican City. Based on the numerous books and original documents considered, the chapters above provide likely hypotheses concerning the development of the staging techniques and machinery employed by the artists and artisans who contributed to produce performances at Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane since 1628 and in the adjacent Teatro Barberini since 1639. In light of this, it is now possible to return to the research questions raised in the Introduction to see if the analysis has provided adequate answers.

Artists and artisans

The first research question concerned the artists and artisans who had the task of staging the spectacles sponsored by the Barberini by building the stage, creating scenography and making the necessary theatrical devices and machinery. The documents investigated have brought to light evidence that among these artists were Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Andrea Sacchi, Pietro da Cortona, Giovanni Francesco Romanelli, Giovanni Francione (or Fiammingo), Giovanni Battista Soria, Niccolò Menghini, Francesco Buonamici, and Filippo Gagliardi, all of whom participated, in different periods, to design set designs and machinery for the spectacles discussed above. Artisans and servants in the service of the Barberini helped them.

[1] Among the musicologists, who have analysed several aspects of the spectacles subject of my discussion are Margaret Murata, Frederick Hammond and Davide Daolmi (see Introduction, footnote 2). On the other hand, Tamburini's *Gian Lorenzo Bernini* has been very useful especially for the analysis of the opera *Chi soffre, speri* (1639). See Chapter 4, second and third sections, above.

Some of the artists mentioned above usually worked in other courts; the Barberini hired them either because of their theatrical experience, or because of their skill in painting realistic landscapes for backdrops and side-wings. Among those brought from other courts was Francesco Guitti, who had already worked in Parma and in Ferrara before designing the scenography for the two operas staged by the Barberini for the Carnival seasons of 1633 and of 1634. Giovanni Maria Mariani, who helped to stage *Chi soffre, speri* in 1639 in Rome, ended his career in France, at the invitation of Cardinal Richelieu.[2]

Besides the artists mentioned above, whose names appear in the payment records held in the Barberini Archives of the Vatican Library, the staging of spectacles was also achieved thanks to the collaboration of numerous artisans and of the skilled masons working at St Peter's Basilica – at least until the death of Urban VIII (Maffeo Barberini) in July 1644. This very interesting aspect, which came to light during the investigation of the documents, is evidence that the Barberini involved all the artists and artisans of their entourage both in the construction and decoration of buildings, and in the design and fabrication of ephemeral structures and apparatuses. The payment records provide useful information about the money paid to each of them, sometimes specifying the number of working days. This allows us to affirm that the average salary of the artisans of the Barberini entourage was between 34 and 40 *baiocchi* per day.[3] Gian Lorenzo Bernini had a major role both in coordinating the work of the artists and in supervising the staging of the performances sponsored by the powerful family.

Performance spaces

This dissertation has also cast light on the spaces chosen to stage the spectacles and the type of scenography, theatrical devices and machinery constructed by the artists and artisans as well as their development during the period 1628-1656.

The documents examined do not report the exact place where the very first spectacle analysed, *Il contrasto di Apollo con Marsia*, was staged in August 1628, although they suggest that it was performed in a room inside Palazzo Barberini alle

[2] For futher information about Mariani, see Chapter 4, footnote 44.
[3] A very good example is provided by Appendix, item [8], fol. 172r. For the Roman seventeenth-century monetary system, see Appendix, introductory section.

Quattro Fontane. As for the other performances, the documents attest that the Barberini staged all the operas performed at Palazzo Barberini before 1639 in the *sala dei marmi* (see fig. 1.2), while after 1639 they used the Teatro Barberini. Finally, there is evidence that the opera *San Bonifacio* performed in 1638 was staged in a *salone* on the *piano nobile* of the Palazzo della Cancelleria (see fig. 3.19). All the spectacles analysed had ephemeral apparatuses, thus the stage as well as all the other pieces of scenery were dismantled at the end of the Carnival season. Nevertheless, since the payments report numerous expenses for restoring old pieces of scenery, it is possible that some of these pieces were stored and reused for later performances.

The documents reveal that before staging a performance the Barberini asked specialized artisans (*festaroli*) to furnish the room with cloth. This practice is attested for several of the spectacles investigated; very likely it was relevant to all the performances staged indoors. The cloth in question covered the ceiling and, in some cases, part of the walls. An exception is *Il contrasto di Apollo con Marsia*, whose documents do not report any information about fabric purchased to furnish the room. The reason is that *Il contrasto* belongs to that type of performances that were offered as part of a banquet, which was the main attraction for the guests and required a different type of furbishing. This consisted of golden columns, baskets, ice sculptures, and fresh flowers.[4] For the other performances, covering the ceiling with some type of fabric was a common element, with some variations. For *Il Sant'Alessio* performed in the *sala dei marmi* for the Carnival 1632, the whole ceiling was covered with red, blue, and yellow satin. In the case of *La pazzia d'Orlando*, staged for the Carnival of 1638, the ceiling of la *sala dei marmi* was divided into two sections. The first, which corresponded to the portion above the stage, was decorated with a deep-blue cloth, representing the sky; it was part of the set-design. The other portion was covered by a *festarolo* with a thicker cloth, probably blue, which had only a decorative aim. The following year, which corresponded to the year of the inauguration of the Teatro Barberini, on occasion of the staging of the opera *Chi soffre, speri*, the entire ceiling of the hall was lined with a double cloth. In this case, in addition to decorating the ceiling, the cloth had the function of creating a better acoustics.[5] Much more elaborate was the decoration

[4] For a detailed description of *Il contrasto di Apollo con Marsia*, see Chapter 1, above.
[5] This is attested by Michelangelo Lualdi in his 'Galleria Sacra', passim. See Chapter 3, footnote 28, above.

of the theatre on occasion of the staging of *La vita humana* for the Carnival 1656. A striped cloth decorated the walls of the theatre along which false columns covered by painted canvas held the lights to illuminate the hall. At the top of the walls, a cornice made of painted canvas ran all around the hall and joined with the cornice of the frontispiece of the proscenium arch.

The spectacles analysed indicate that there was not a single fixed position for the orchestra. For the 1634 performance of *Il Sant'Alessio* it is evident that the musicians did not play in front of the stage because the engravings illustrating the scenes show a flight of steps in that position. In later operas, placing the orchestra before the stage became increasingly common, and the artists responsible for the staging of the spectacles did their best to conceal the musicians from the audience. For the 1638 performance of *San Bonifacio* at Palazzo della Cancelleria, for instance, the artist Giovanni Maria Colombo decorated a frieze of canvas about 5 m long and 2 m high, which hid the players from the spectators. For the opera *Chi soffre, speri*, performed in the Teatro Barberini for the Carnival of 1639, the orchestra was invisible to the audience. The architect Giovanni Battista Soria, who was responsible for building the stage, built a wooden pit for the musicians, which was about 11 m long and 2.30 m wide and covered by a wooden grid.[6] For *La vita humana* (1656), the documents available so far do not provide a precise idea of the position of the orchestra. The engravings embellishing the score show a fountain before the stage. This might suggest that the musicians played somewhere else.

The analysis of the spectacles investigated has evidenced the use of various methods to remove the curtain and reveal the stage setting. Apart from *Il contrasto*, whose documents do not give sufficient information to make a hypothesis, for the following performances the sources investigated attest the following. For both performances of *Il Sant'Alessio*, in 1632 and two years later, the documents report that the curtain was lowered according to the first method described by Nicola Sabbatini, which consisted in a simple device consisting of two pulleys and two ropes (see fig. 2.17). Its operation required the simultaneous release of two ropes tied to the upper side of the curtain, whose free ends were in the hands of two people. These people had to release the ropes at the same time – a very risky action because it required perfect timing. Perhaps in order to avoid human error, in 1633,

[6] See Chapter 4, '*L'Egisto ovvero Chi soffre, speri:* the contribution of Giovanni Battista Soria and Niccolò Menghini',above.

for the staging of *L'Erminia sul Giordano*, Francesco Guitti designed a mechanical device able to raise the curtain simply by releasing a counter-weight. This device consisted of a rope winding on a pivot moved by releasing the counter-weight (see the similar device shown in fig. 2.2), an action that eliminated the possibility of any human mistake. Furthermore, Guitti's system allowed both the raising and lowering of the curtain, which represented a more sophisticated system compared to the methods used in the previous spectacles, which only allowed removing the curtain.

The system used to remove the curtain for the staging of *I Santi Didimo e Teodora* for the Carnivals of 1635 and 1636, must have been similar to the one still used in most Italian theatres today, where the curtain is opened at the beginning of the performance and closed at the end. This hypothesis is suggested by the documents investigated, which report that at the end of the performance, the curtain was pulled and the stage was hidden from the audience's eyes. This method is also attested for both *La pazzia d'Orlando* and *San Bonifacio* performed for the Carnival 1638, whose documents report that the curtain was opened and closed by two men at the beginning at the end of each performance.

The system conceived for the opera *Chi soffre, speri* staged in the newly built Teatro Barberini in 1639, was more complex and required six people to operate it – the documents attest that they were skilled masons from St Peter's Basilica. This was another system conceived to allow both raising and lowering the curtain – very likely thanks to a system of counterweights and pulleys. For the 1656 production of *La vita humana* the documents report that at the beginning of the performance the curtain was lowered.[7] This was the risky method already used for both performances of *Il Sant'Alessio*, which is in contrast to the intentions of creating a memorable production.

In spite of the ephemerality of the spectacles analysed, the sources investigated suggest informed hypotheses about the development of the type of stage built for each of them. For *Il contrasto di Apollo con Marsia*, for instance, the stage must have been very simple, without any decoration on the proscenium. Later performances had more and more elaborate stages. This is proved by the engravings embellishing the score of the 1634 production of *Il Sant'Alessio*, which show a bare front stage but adorned by two pairs of Corinthian columns (see fig. 2.21). They also show four steps before the stage, which means that, differently from other later

[7] See Chapter 5, footnote 42, above,.

performances, the musicians did not play in front of the stage. The payment records attest a more elaborate decoration of the front-stage from 1638, when they report expenses for a fountain and four vases, made anew for the staging of *La pazzia d'Orlando* performed in *the sala dei marmi* of Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane. In this case, the vases were not only decorative elements, but were also used to place the torches to illuminate the proscenium.[8] For the 1638 production of *San Bonifacio* staged at Palazzo della Cancelleria it is likely that Giovanni Francesco Romanelli designed an elaborate proscenium arch with the crest of the Barberini above and a statue – instead of the pairs of Corinthian columns – on either side of the stage (see fig. 3.20). The following Carnival, which saw the inauguration of the Teatro Barberini, the stage was made up of three sections – a main section where the actors performed; a second and a third section to place the backdrops to create illusionistic landscapes (see fig. 4.16). The decoration of the front-stage was more complex than it had been the previous years – it consisted in eight silver vases with floral decorations (almost certainly still used to place the torches), water jets between them and two fountains placed inside two tanks.[9] A similar arrangement of the proscenium was conceived for the staging of the opera *La vita humana* performed for the Carnival of 1656 as shown in the first engraving embellishing the printed score displaying six vases adorned with the Barberini bees alternating with jets of water and a fountain (see fig. 4.6).

Common to most spectacles examined was the use of trap doors, which were functional to the numerous scenographic effects invented by the artists involved in staging the performances sponsored by the Barberini.

Scenography and spectacle

A development parallel to that of the stage, from simple to elaborate, is attested in the type of scenes designed for the spectacles analysed. It is very likely, for instance, that the artists responsible for staging *Il contrasto* created a fixed satiric Serlian scene representing a landscape with a wood and a river.[10] The simplicity of the

[8] See Chapter 3, '*La pazzia d'Orlando* and *San Bonifacio*', above.
[9] See Chapter 4, '*L'Egisto ovvero Chi soffre, speri:* the contribution of Giovanni Battista Soria and Niccolò Menghini', above.
[10] For this hypothesis, see Chapter 1, '*Il contrasto di Apollo con Marsia*: August 1628' above.

scenography of this early performance is partly justified by its being staged as part of a banquet, which was conceived as a spectacle in itself with its own rules. The setting for the version of *Il Sant'Alessio* performed in the *sala dei marmi* of Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane for the Carnival season of 1634 was a little more elaborate. It displayed four scenes obtained by using a fixed scene and movable shutters sliding in grooves that created four different sets – a view of the city of Rome, Hell, the tomb of St Alexis, and the glory of Paradise. More complex was the setting created by Francesco Guitti for the opera *Erminia sul Giordano* (Carnival 1633) and for the revised version of *Il Sant'Alessio* (Carnival 1634), both staged in the *sala dei marmi*. Guitti designed the scenography for these operas, using a system similar to the one used for *Il Sant'Alessio* in 1632, consisting of fixed side-wings and movable shutters sliding on tracks. The main novelty introduced by the Ferrarese architect in the staging of these performances in Rome consists in his breaking with the traditional Serlian set design of a city. This is particularly evident in *Erminia sul Giordano* where the fixed side-wings do not create the conventional background of palaces, but represent trees, an unusual setting for the early seventeenth century.

The scenography of *I Santi Didimo e Teodora* performed for the Carnivals of 1635 and 1636 shows a further development. The artists responsible for its staging created a complex set design consisting in a set of *periaktoi* and a double set of flats on either side of the stage, with a series of backdrops and perspectives in the background.

The set design for *La pazzia d'Orlando* performed for the Carnival of 1638 was created with canvases nailed onto frames and screwed in pairs on the stage to form sets of fixed side wings. The reason for using canvases instead of wooden boards is related to the role of the Flemish artist Giovanni Francione, or Giovanni Fiammingo, to paint them. Since Francione was a skillful painter of landscapes, it is evident that his task was to create an illusionistic scene. The central perspective of *San Bonifacio* represented a temple, which was built using four *telai*, placed on a board and fixed on the stage. The scene-change was obtained thanks to eight treetops made by the carpenter Santi Battaglini, which were moved up and down, sliding on tracks, to hide the fixed side wings and, thanks to movable backdrops that covered the fixed central perspective – there is evidence that a man was paid just for changing the backdrops. Compared to the previous operas, *San Bonifacio*

gives the impression of a performance staged without a great display of machinery and scenographic effects; however, it demonstrates a greater attention in the creation of a more realistic setting, which became a characteristic of the later spectacles.

For the inauguration of their Teatro for the Carnival of 1639, the Barberini asked for the collaboration of numerous artists and artisans. The complexity of the spectacle is clear from the creation of its set design and in the methods used to change the scenes. These were moved in three different ways: by using a single mechanism under the stage, which changed the set completely and smoothly; by pushing in and out clouds, skies and ceilings placed on rails; by sliding in and out entire pieces of scenery placed on rails.

For the 1642 performance of *Il palazzo incantato d'Atlante*, the documents investigated have revealed the use of practicable side-wings, which was also a characteristic of the scenes designed for *La vita humana*. These were a synthesis of all the previous scenographic experiences at the court of the Barberini, now further developed to obtain a more realistic setting. On the one hand, the artists created fixed scenery and movable shutters, which was the set design used to stage the spectacles in the early 1630s; on the other, the fixed scenery was made practicable, which means that the action could take place on top of them. Similarly, the scene-change was obtained thanks to shutters, sliding in grooves, consisting of canvases skilfully painted by artists specializing in landscapes, who were able to create realistic settings.

Due to the bright lighting of the hall, one of the main challenges in staging a performance during the seventeenth century was how to place candles and torches so that they would illuminate in a suitable way the settings and the actors on stage. The torches placed within the vases on the proscenium of several operas staged by the Barberini, for instance, were a very good way of lighting the actors reciting on the front part of the stage, but the spectators were hardly able to see what happened when the action took place in an inner section of the stage. This is the reason for the great amount of candles and torches purchased for each performance. Candles, torches, lunettes and oil lamps were arranged skilfully in the most appropriate places to exalt the hard work of all the artists and artisans. The following paragraphs provide some examples.

For *La pazzia d'Orlando* the payments attest that the illumination of the stage was a combination of a torch, placed in the middle of the stage, and two-hundred-and-twenty lunettes, combined to one hundred candleholders, placed among the scenes.[11] For the contemporary performance of *San Bonifacio* at Palazzo della Cancelleria, the type of lighting must have been very similar since the payments report around one hundred candleholders purchased to be placed among the scenes. Other lights were placed behind the three-dimensional backdrop representing a temple (see fig. 3.15).

The following Carnival, for the illumination of the scenes of *Chi soffre, speri* staged at the Teatro Barberini, the documents attest that the number of lights and their dimension increased. They report the purchase of numerous candles and torches, among which one-hundred-and-seventy-two tin candleholders. They also note that the candles were one third larger than the previous year. For this spectacle, the lighting system must have been very sophisticated – besides candles and torches, the payments report expenses for some kind of lighting-powder and devices to obscure the lights to simulate the darkening of the sky before a storm.[12] A skillful use of lighting was also an important element for the correct operation of Bernini's machine of the rising sun used during the second *intermedio* of the opera.[13]

For the joust organized at night in the *cortile della cavallerizza* for the Carnival of 1656, lighting was still more important than for all the other performances previously organized by the Barberini, because the space where the spectacle took place was outdoors and considerably bigger than the previous sites. Grimaldi, who was responsible for the staging of the spectacle, placed huge candle-holders and artificial fires all around the courtyard. He also made sixteen shining stars with iron wires containing sixteen torches each. These were suspended over the whole courtyard, providing light for the performance. This was considered a very original way of illuminating a joust.[14] Lights were also used to produce several stage effects, as will be pointed out below.

The use of some theatrical devices and machinery is recorded from the very early performance staged by the Barberini. In spite of the simplicity of its set design,

[11] See Appendix, item [8], fol. 182v.
[12] For the complete list, see Appendix, item [9], fol. 40r.
[13] See fig. 4.13.
[14] See Chapter 5, footnote 69, above.

Il contrasto had its stage effects simulating lightning and thunder and displayed theatrical machines representing clouds to enable the characters Apollo and Pallas to descend from the sky. The use of cloud machines was one of the most common elements in all the spectacles analyzed and it followed the same development already observed for the development of stages and settings: that is, from simple to increasingly complex. In the version of *Il Sant'Alessio* staged in 1632, there were two different types of cloud-machines. The first type, used for instance for the entrance of the allegorical character of Religion, allowed the descent of only one person and it was very likely similar to the machine described by Sabbatini (see fig. 5.4).[15] The other type, used for the final scene of the opera, allowed the simultaneous appearance of several actors and consisted of a multi-layered cloud have been achieved by using a device similar to the one shown in fig. 2.31. Guitti employed this last type of cloud-machine for the same scene of his staging of *Il Sant'Alessio* performed in 1634. However, the Ferrarese architect introduced other types of cloud-machines during the two years of collaboration with the Barberini. In *Il Sant'Alessio*, for instance, he used a cloud-machine that allowed characters to move diagonally from one side of the sky to the other. The manufacture of this type of cloud-machines was very complicated, even more complicated than multi-layered clouds, because the transversal movement required great care in the operation of the devices and counterweights, thus allowing it to work properly.[16]

Guitti's teachings were brought to the development of new devices created by the artists who staged the operas sponsored by the Barberini after 1634. The Prologue of *I Santi Didimo e Teodora*, staged in 1635 and in 1636, for instance, opened with three separate cloud-machines, which took inspiration from similar devices already created by Guitti for the joust entitled *La contesa* in 1632 (see fig. 3.3). The same observation can be made for the machine used during the seventh scene of Act I of the same opera. This appeared in the form of clouds, which, once opened, showed a chariot concealed beneath them. Once more, the sources of inspiration for this machine were devices already designed by Guitti – in this case, the cloud-machines that he had employed in Parma in 1628.[17] The use of machines similar to the ones described above is documented also for the later operas

[15] See Sabbatini, p. 111.
[16] See, for instance, Sabbatini's description of the operation of this type of cloud-machines in footnote 69 of Chapter 2, above.
[17] See fig. 3.10a/3.10b.

sponsored by the Barberini. Besides the cloud-machines made to support the weight of the actors, the artists created other types of clouds made with panels carved in wood or cardboard. These were moved thanks to iron wires or ropes.

As mentioned above, trap doors were used to create some of the most striking stage effects. For the prologue of *Erminia sul Giordano* (1633), Guitti used a trap door to make a huge rock appear before the audience's eyes. The following year, for the performance of the revised version of *Il Sant'Alessio*, the Ferrarese artist used a trap door during the first scene of Act III to create the illusion that the earth had opened and to make the devil fall into the pit. The artists responsible for the staging of the later operas sponsored by the Barberini continued using trap doors, following Guitti's example. This is the case in *I Santi Didimo e Teodora*, where, in the Prologue, a trap door allowed the pieces of Cleopatra's tomb to disappear under the stage and Cleopatra herself to vanish as the spectators looked on.

Other devices allowed the simulation of crumbling buildings or other pieces of scenery. This was achieved for Cleopatra's tomb in *L'Erminia sul Giordano* (1633), the temple in *I Santi Didimo e Teodora* (1635 and 1636) and Egisto's tower in *Chi soffre, speri* (1639). In spite of their different shapes, these buildings probably collapsed thanks to the same theatrical machine created by Guitti for *L'Erminia* (see fig. 2.4).

Other theatrical effects, common to several operas staged by the Barberini, were designed to simulate storms with lightning, thunder and darkening of the stage. These effects are documented in *Il contrasto di Apollo con Marsia* (1628), *Erminia sul Giordano* (1633), *I Santi Didimo e Teodora* (1635 and 1636), and *Chi soffre, speri* (1639). They were obtained through a combination of devices each producing a single effect. The darkening of the stage, for instance, was obtained either by extinguishing the lights, as documented in *I Santi Didimo e Teodora*, or by concealing them with cloth as documented for *Chi soffre, speri*.[18] To produce the effect of lightning, the artists employed a mixture of combustible dust.[19]

One of the most celebrated stage effects was the rising sun, designed by Gian Lorenzo Bernini for the second *intermedio* of the opera *Chi soffre, speri*. To obtain the impression of a realistic natural phenomenon Berinini built a machine that consisted of two parallel backdrops: one painted with light colours to give a true

[18] For this aspect in *I Santi Didimo e Teodora*, see Chapter 3, footnote 61, above. For *Chi soffre, speri*, see Chapter 4, footnote 69.
[19] See Chapter 4, footnote 46.

impression of a sky, was transparent and placed in the foreground, the other, coloured with saffron, was placed behind the first on a board sliding in grooves. This last backdrop must have been transparent as well and it was illuminated by eight torches that could be raised or lowered thanks to a mechanical device.[20] The difficulty in operating it, and the effectiveness of the results obtained, make of this machine one of the most important devices created for the operas subject of this study.

The Barberini performances in the wider European performance context

When *Il Sant'Alessio* was staged for the Carnival of 1629, the Tuscan scholar Lelio Guidiccioni had the chance to attend one of the performances. Once back in Lucca, he sent a letter to Cardinal Francesco Barberini praising the machinery designed by the artists.[21] A few years later, on occasion of the Carnival of 1632, the Florentine resident in Rome, who attended one of the performances of a later version of *Il Sant'Alessio*, complained about the poorness of scenography and machinery. This means that in the few years between the two performances the staging techniques had developed more in Florentine spectacles than in the spectacles staged by the Barberini in Rome. This is seemingly the reason why, for the following two Carnivals, the noble family engaged the Ferrarese architect Francesco Guitti to stage the performances they sponsored. The innovative techniques and machinery designed by Guitti for *L'Erminia sul Giordano* (1633) and for his new staging of *Il Sant'Alessio* (1634), made these spectacles compete with the performances staged in other Italian courts. In particular, both operas staged by Guitti in Rome used techniques and machinery very similar to the ones used in some spectacles staged by the Ferrarese architect in Ferrara and Parma before going to Rome.[22]

Other similarities between some operas staged at the Barberini court and operas staged in other courts emerged thanks to the analysis of the methods used to change the scenes. The device that allowed moving the flats simultaneously, very likely introduced for the first time in Ferrara by Giovanni Battista Aleotti in 1618, became one of the most distinguished traits in Guitti's staging. He used this device

[20] For the position of the backdrops, see fig. 4.16. For the position of the lights, see fig. 4.13.
[21] See Chapter 1, footnote 50.
[22] For an analysis of the operas staged by Guitti in Rome, see Chapter 2, above.

in Rome since 1633, allowing the Barberini court to compete with the courts of Florence, Ferrara and Parma. Later, the artists staging operas for the Barberini in 1635 and 1636 created a type of scenography, which combined a system of *periaktoi* and movable shutters. The use of *periaktoi*, already evidenced in the spectacles staged by Guitti in Parma in 1625, is another indication of the influence of the Ferrarese artist in Rome also after his departure.[23] The last type of scenography analysed in this dissertation was that employed in the opera *La vita humana* (1656). It attests a great originality in the use of previous models combined together to create unexpected new solutions.

It has proved to be important, too, to consider the influence of other types of theatrical spectacles on the performances analysed here. As outlined above, scenography and machinery at the Barberini court developed from the early experiments of the late 1620s and early 1630s to the more elaborate set designs of the 1650s. On the one hand, this was due to the work of the artists and artisans who designed them. On the other, this was the result of the ability of the noble family and their entourage of artists to draw inspiration from other contemporary performances to create new forms of spectacles. *Commedia dell'arte* plays, tournaments, jousts, Spanish plays and Jesuit dramas did in various ways influence the performances subject of this investigation.

The influence of the plays of the *commedia dell'arte* can be inferred from two elements that can be found in some performances staged by the Barberini.[24] The first is the borrowing of characters belonging to comedic spectacles. The second is the use of practical, three-dimensional elements within the scenic structures, able to support the weight of performers. Examples of comedic characters are the two servants in *Il Sant'Alessio*, Captain Dragonivampasparaparapiglia and his servant Fagotto in *San Bonifacio*, and Egisto's servants, Coviello and Zanni, in *Chi soffre, speri.* The introduction of comedic characters gave the chance to bring light relief to the audience thanks to the introduction of exhilarating dialogues sometimes including dialect. Strong practical scenic pieces, similar to the ones used in *commedia dell'arte* plays, were used in the spectacles analysed since 1642, when the manuscript documents testify that for the performance of *Il palazzo incantato* some characters played on a piece of scenography.[25] A visual evidence of the

[23] See Adami, p. 136.
[24] About the more recent books concerning the *commedia dell'arte*, see Introduction, footnote 7.
[25] See Chapter 4, '*Il palazzo incantato d'Atlante*', above.

employment of practicable side-wings in the later operas staged by the Barberini is offered by the second engraving of the score of the opera *La vita humana* (see fig. 5.5).

Another influence that can be seen in numerous performances staged by the Barberini is that of tournaments and jousts. Several spectacles examined contain scenes of sword-fights. In *I Santi Didimo e Teodora* (1635 and 1636), for instance, the first *intermedio* consisted in a joust organized to win Theodora's hand. *La pazzia d'Orlando* (1638) as well, in spite of being mainly a danced performance, included a sword-fight during the second movement, corresponding to Orlando's madness and to his fight to have his sword Durindana back. Other sword-fights were staged during the second *intermedio* of both the operas *Chi soffre, speri* (1639) and *Il palazzo incantato d'Atlante* (1642). A characteristic common to all the combats mentioned above is that they were played using real weapons and that they were mainly performed during the *intermedi.* This leads to the following considerations. On the one hand, these sword-fights were placed during *intermedi* because these were considered extraneous to the main plot. On the other, this collocation gave them a great relevance – the main action was suspended and the spectators could enjoy these exhibitions of skill without any other distraction. The overall impression is that by placing these sword-fights within the new genre of opera, the Barberini were trying to create a sort of continuity with the most celebrated medieval spectacles of the joust and the tournament. This was also a way to win the hearts of an audience much more accustomed to such performances than to the new sung representations.

Two major influences are important to a full understanding of the spectacles staged by the Barberini: the Spanish theatre and Jesuit drama. The influence of the Spanish theatre is more related to the content of the *libretti* than to the scenography of the operas analysed. The reason for this is that Giulio Rospigliosi, who was the librettist of most of the performances staged by the Barberini, was influenced by his experience in Spain where he was sent for the first time as *legato a latere* of Francesco Barberini (1626) and then as papal nuncio (1644-1653).[26] During his residence in Spain, he attended performances by Lope de Vega, including *autos sacramentales*. The influence of these sources is evident in the *libretti* written by Rospigliosi, in particular in his choice to write subjects based on the lives of saints

[26] See Chapter 1, '*Il Sant'Alessio*: Carnival 1632', above.

placed in the context of the crusades in the tradition of Torquato Tasso and Ludovico Ariosto. This is documented by his *libretti* for *L'Erminia sul Giordano* (1633), based on two passages from Tasso's epic poem *La Gerusalemme liberata*, and *Il palazzo incantato d'Atlante* (1642), based on an episode from cantos XI and XII of Ariosto's *L'Orlando furioso*.[27]

The influence of Jesuit drama is apparent both in the libretti and in the scenography of the operas staged by the Barberini. The determination of the Barberini to teach Christian virtues and values though performance, for instance, was probably inspired by Jesuit school theatre since both pope Urban VIII and his nephews had studied at the Collegio Romano and had the opportunity to attend numerous performances staged there. They continued attending Jesuit performances regularly, after finishing their course of studies. Some documents held in the archives of the Gregorian University in Rome, for instance, report that Francesco Barberini attended several spectacles, among which *Teoberto* (1634), *Ermenegildo* (1644) and *Crispo* (1644).[28] He was almost certainly impressed by the great variety of forms performed in the Collegio Romano and above all by the elaborate set designs and scenic effects. These included trap doors, flying machines, and theatrical devices apt to create lightning and thunder, which became a more and more fundamental aspect of the Jesuit performances and were a source of inspiration for the spectacles sponsored by Francesco. A brief summary of the numerous scene-changings and stage effects displayed in *Teodoberto* attests to the similarity between this spectacle and some performances staged by the Barberini and investigated in this dissertation. The first scene, used for the prologue, for instance, showed Austrasia entering on a triumphal chariot followed by four provinces. The stage effects used in this first scene were a comet, which abruptly appeared in the sky followed by a frightening thunderbolt and then by an earthquake. The second scene, used for the first *intermedio*, showed a garden, at whose entrance there was a terrifying dragon. In act 2, the set became a city where

[27] For an analysis of *L'Erminia sul Giordano*, see Chapter 2, first section. For *Il palazzo incantato*, see Chapter 4, last section.

[28] See APUG, ms. 2801: Girolamo Nappi, *Annali del Seminario* (1640-1647), 3 vols, II, 906 and 1056-58. Moreover, Francesco Barberini was the dedicatee of the following printed scenarios. *Scenario del Teodoberto tragedia latina da recitarsi nel Seminario Romano nelle correnti vacanze del Carnevale presentato all'Eminentiss[imo] et Reverendiss[imo] Sig[nore] CardinaleFrancesco Barberini vicecancelliero di S. Chiesa* by Stefano Maria Lomellini (Rome: Francesco Corbelletti, 1634) and *Prologo e cori del S. Ermenegildo tragedia da rappresentarsi in Seminario Romano nel Carnevale del presente anno 1644 dedicati all'Eminenti.mo e Rever.mo Signor Card. Francesco Barberino vicecancelliero di Santa Chiesa* by Giulio Saluzzo (Rome: Corbelletti, 1644).

some knightly games took place. The second *intermedio* was set in a sea scene with Neptune entering on stage on a chariot followed by six tritons. During the third act, there was a knightly joust. The third *intermedio* was set in the country of the pygmies, while during the fourth act there was a sword fight. The fourth *intermedio* was finally set in a wood while act 4 showed a triumphal march with Teodoberto riding a horse, surrounded by numerous troupes of soldiers celebrating him.[29] Another common element between the performances staged by the Barberini and Jesuit dramas is the use of *intermedi*, which were the occasion to insert swordfights or comic characters. Some *intermedi* in the Christian tragedies, for instance, displayed a few buffo characters modelled on the *zanni* of the *commedia dell'arte.* This must have been a model for the *zanni* of the *intermedio La fiera di Farfa* (Carnival 1639).

In spite of the evidence of the relation between Jesuit school theatre and the contemporary staging of secular performances, this aspect still requires further investigation.

The analysis of the spectacles staged by the Barberini between 1628 and 1656 has shed new light on most of the theatrical techniques developed by the artists and artisans hired by the noble family in Rome. This has been possible thanks to the analysis of many documents, newly available. In particular, the payment records have provided the most important information about measures and materials employed for the staging, providing evidence and insights. In some cases, however, the lack of images or detailed records concerning the operation of theatrical devices have made it impossible to demonstrate all the hypotheses proposed. This is the case for some assumptions concerning the disposition of the audience and the detailed processes by which some scene-changes were achieved or the extent to which innovatory techniques were employed by the artists and artisans hired by the Barberini. For example, documents have provided evidence that Guitti introduced the system of movable shutters in Rome during the years 1633 and 1634. This system, erroneously attributed to Giacomo Torelli, consisted in a single pair of side wings, whereas Torelli's system was an improved version consisting in two pairs of side wings sliding in and out simultaneously making a complete scene-change

[29] See *Teodoberto*'s *scenario* in Filippi, pp.150-58.

before the audience's eyes. The documents investigated so far have provided no evidence of the use of Torelli's system in the staging of the performances subject of this study. This despite the fact that the Barberini had the chance to attend the Pesarese architect's production of *La finta pazza* staged during their residence in France, in December 1645 in the hall of the Petit Bourbon in Paris and the last performances included in this dissertation were produced after the Barberini returned to Rome.

Given the ability of the artists working for the noble family and the elaborate scenography they devised and constructed, it is evident that the decision to ignore that system was not due to lack of skill. The most likely reason is that the Barberini asked them to create something different – an innovative scenography that represented a synthesis of the advances in staging achieved in almost thirty years of theatrical activity across Italy and the other European court theatres.

Appendix

Transcriptions from Vatican City, BAV, Archivio Barberini, Giustificazioni I

'Giustificazioni I' is a collection of 617 volumes in the Archivio Barberini of the Vatican Libray inventoried by the Library's archivist, Luigi Cacciaglia; his inventory was published in 2014.[1] A *giustificazione* (justification) was a written declaration intended to justify an action, a behaviour or expenses.[2] As well illustrated by Cacciaglia, the term *giustificazione* has been used since the sixteenth century to indicate either the commissioning (*mandato*) of a work by a master or the bill (*conto*) of an artisan and its receipt (*ricevuta*). This Vatican Library collection contains accounts, payment requests or payment receipts, produced by the artisans, artists, or servants who worked for the following members of the Barberini family: Francesco *seniore* (the Elder, 1597-1679), Antonio *iuniore* (the Younger 1608-1671), Carlo (1562-1630), Francesco *iuniore* (the Younger, 1597-1679), and Benedetto (1788-1863). Besides the 'Giustificazioni I', the archivist Cacciaglia is completing the inventory of two other collections, the 'Giustificazioni II' and the 'Giustificazioni III', pertaining to other members of the Barberini family, to the central administration of Rome, and to feuds and other properties of the family. These have not been examined, since they are less relevant to this study. The entire 'Giustificazioni I' collection covers the dates 1607-1863, while the documents investigated for the analysis of the spectacles discussed in this dissertation cover the period 1626-1656. These sources are particularly important and relevant, since they offer information that is not present in other Barberini accounts (*Giornali*, *Registri dei mandati* and *Libri Mastri*) or available in the sources usually used to study scenography in seventeenth-century Rome. Since they have not been thoroughly exploited in other studies of Roman culture and are not easily accessible to all scholars, both because of their location and because of the difficulty in deciphering them, this Appendix offers a transcription of the most relevant sources.

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[1] See Cacciaglia.

[2] See Salvatore Battaglia, ed., *Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana*, 21 vols (Turin: Utet, 1964), VI, p. 900.

The information contained in the 'Giustificazioni I' requires a basic understanding of the Barberini's administrative structures. Their households or *famiglie* were divided into two separate domains, the *casa*, or public establishment, and the *camera*, which was the private service of the *padrone* (master). A *maggiordomo* was given the task to supervise the work of a *maestro di casa*, who was responsible for the public household including the supervision of the *cuoco segreto* (secret cook) with the exception of articles such as linens or musical instruments which were under the responsibility of a *guardaroba* (wardrobe-keeper) and whose expenses were recorded in a wardrobe book.[3] A *maestro di camera* (chamberlain) was then responsible for all the private establishment, including that of supervising *paggi* (pages), *palafrenieri* (grooms), *aiutanti di camera* (vice-chamberlains/chamberlain's assistants) and *gentiluomini*. The documents transcribed below report the names of two *maestri di casa* in the service of Francesco Barberini, Bartolomeo Passerini, or Passarini, and Angelo Parracciani, and a *guardaroba*, Servio Servi.

Each of the nephews also had a secretary, an *auditore* or legal consultant, a chaplain, and a doctor. Antonio and Francesco, like all prelates, also had a trainbearer. Moreover, Cardinal Francesco, who owned the second-largest library in Rome after the Vatican Library, hired Lucas Holstenius to be his professional librarian. There were also *scopatori* (sweepers), who were also given the task to supervise lighting candles and lamps, a *foriero maggiore*, responsible for organizing his master's travels, a *cavallerizzo maggiore* (master of the horses), who was responsible for horses and carriages and supervised a *maestro di stalla* (master of the stable), the coachman, and the grooms. The *maestro di stalla* had charge of carpenters, saddlers, and other artisans working for the household. To the previous list one should add outdoor servants, such as gardeners and farmers, working in their masters' properties, and a *computista* (accountant), who was given the task to check the bills and pay them, usually by bank draft.[4]

The documents transcribed in this Appendix are grouped according to the performance they pertain to, which is indicated in square brackets and is not an element indicated by the original documents. The following transcription also

[3] The payments transcribed in this appendix attest that the *guardaroba* of Cardinal Francesco was Servio Servi, whose name appears numerous times.
[4] The main source of information for this paragraph is Hammond, *Music and Spectacle,* pp. 3-6.

provides the name of the member of the Barberini family who ordered the payment for the work in question as well as the precise source of the entry. Each *giustificazione* is first written in bold, followed, when known, by its serial number as reported in the original collection, and preceded by an Arabic number in square brackets. The latter will be used before all the folio numbers belonging to the same volume of a particular *giustificazione*. The following is an example of what is explained above:

[*Il Contrasto di Apollo con Marsia* (August 1628)]

Giustificazioni I, vol. 46, Francesco Barberini seniore. Giustificazioni 926-1012, years 1626-1628.

[1] Giustificazione n. 957

[1], fol. 112r

The numbers in square brackets, followed by the folio number, are also used in the footnotes of this dissertation in order to provide an easier reference to the documents collected in this Appendix.

As discussed in the section concerning the sources in the Introduction to this dissertation, which reports all the criteria adopted in the transcriptions, I have followed the current practice of modern (not diplomatic) editions. A glossary explaining the most difficult and obsolete terms that occur several times follows the transcription. Obsolete terms that occur only once are explained in footnotes. Sometimes the documents report terms not attested in the dictionaries that I have consulted. In a few cases, I have not been able to supply a translation (this is the case of *tergiera* and *scocca*, for instance); in other cases, I have been able to offer a likely translation, which I have included it in the glossary. In some instances, I have provided footnotes in the transcription in order to explain sentences whose meaning may otherwise be obscure.

The documents report expenses based on the silver *scudo*, which corresponded to 10 silver *giuli*, and to 100 copper *baiocchi*.[5] Since the money amounts reported in the 'Giustificazioni I' are very inconsistent in terms of format, using either full stops, commas, colons, or dashes after the amount given in *scudi*,

[5] *Prospetto delle operazioni fatte in Roma per lo stabilimento del nuovo sistema metrico negli stati romani dalla commissione dé pesi, e misure* ed. by Feliciano Scarpellini, (Roma: Mariano de Romanis e Figli, 1811), p. 289-90.

I have standardized the format according to the following illustrative table (unless otherwise indicated, all sums provided in the transcriptions are in *scudi*):

Sums as written in the 'Giustificazioni I'	My transcription
2:00	2
1.--	1
1.60	1.60
5,80	5.80
1:80	1.80
2-10	2.10
2.7	2.70
_.67	0.67
.20	0.20
:15	0.15
-10	0.10
0.40	0.40
33-34	33.34

Some documents report double calculations for the requests for payments, reporting two different sums. These must be interpreted as follows: on the right, the sum of the money requested by the artisans; on the left, the sum actually paid by the member of the Barberini family who gave the order to fulfill the requests. The documents do not specify the reason why the payments were not always made in full. I suggest the following possibilities: the artisans' work did not satisfy the expectations of the Barberini; the sum asked did not correspond to the price agreed; the sum asked was considered too high in comparison with the average sum paid for equivalent works. Sometimes payments are followed by the symbol ½ that does not seem to correspond to the actual mathematical meaning. Very likely, it indicates that the sum it refers to had been diminished.

A last concern relates to weights and measurements. Since the system used during the seventeenth century was not the metrical system used today, to help the reader to interpret the documents below, the following table provides the equivalence between the units used during the seventeenth century and those used today.

Tables used for the conversion of measurements

The tables are based on the rules established by the following document: *Prospetto delle operazioni fatte in Roma per lo stabilimento del nuovo sistema metrico negli stati romani dalla commissione dé pesi, e misure*, ed. by Feliciano Scarpellini, (Roma: Mariano de Romanis e Figli, 1811)

Table for the conversion of Architectural Measures[6]		
1 architectural *canna*	=	2.234 meters
	=	10 palms
1 Roman palm	=	2.2234 meters
	=	0.1 architectural cannas

Table for the conversion of Commercial Measures (for canvas and fabric)[7]		
1 Roman commercial *canna*	=	1.992 meters
	=	8 Roman palms
1 Roman palm (palmo)	=	0.25 meters
	=	0.125 Roman commerial *cannas*

Table for the conversion of Measures of Weight[8]		
1 Roman pound (libbra, abbreviated lib.)	=	0.339071849678 kilograms
1 ounce (oncia)	=	0.028255987473 kilograms

I have expanded the abbreviation for *canna*, which is *ca* in the original documents, to avoid confusion with the same abbreviation used for *carta* (paper), followed by a number. The latter refers to the numbered documents attesting the actual payment of the money requested by the artisans in their *giustificazioni.* These documents are collected in the *Libri Mastri* of the Archivio Barberini and their reference in the footnotes of this dissertation is given as follows: Vatican City, BAV, Arch. Barb., Comp., followed by the number of the volume and folio(s).

[6] See *Prospetto*, pp. 100 and 102.
[7] See *Prospetto*, pp. 98, 112 and 115.
[8] See *Prospetto*, p. 279.

[*Il Contrasto di Apollo con Marsia* (August 1628)]

Giustificazioni I, vol. 46, Francesco Barberini seniore. Giustificazioni 926-1012, years 1626-1628.

[1] Giustificazione n. 957

[1], fol. 112r:
<February 1628>
Sommario della spesa fatta dal Signor Bartolomeo Passerini maestro di casa dell'Illustrissimo Sig.re Cardinale Barberini Padrone nel mese di febraro 1628.
[…]
imprestati di habiti et arazzi per la commedia sc. 5.80
[…]

[2] Giustificazione n. 979

[2], fol. 194r:
<10 March 1628>
guardaroba, diversi posti et altro.
Adì 10 marzo 1628. Per due migliara di bollette di zoccoli[1] sc. 0.80
per portare e riportare due statue per farle accomodare al Babuino cioè alli scultori[2] sc. 0.30
per trasportare dieci statue nella stanza de [***] sc. 0.20
per portare e riportare a Casa di lì al Palazzo numero 22 sedie di

[1] I.e., 'for two thousands nails for pedestals'.
[2] The term 'babuino' refers to via del Babuino, the street connecting Piazza del Popolo to Piazza di Spagna in Campo Marzio in Rome.

velluto e la brasciera e tre matirazzi in 18, dicidotto, facchini[3] sc. 1.80
resi a Giuseppe per portare e riportare una spinetta alla Longara sc. 0.15
per portare e riportare da S. Pietro et il Palazzo l'organo sc. 1.20
per portare e riportare dodici sedie et uno sgabellone sc. 1.05
per portare e riportare e doppo riportarlo al Palazzo il cimbalo di [***]
Illustrissima sc. 0.45
per <aver> dati a tre facchini per fare diversi servizi cioè trasportare
l'organo et gravicembalo et altre cose di casa sc. 0.30

sc. 6.25

Io Luciano Fabiani ho ricevuto dal Signor Passarini li suddetti scudi sei e giuli 25

Giustificazioni I, vol. 48, Francesco Barberini seniore. Giustificazioni 1096-1179, July-December 1628

[3] Giustificazione n. 1135

[3], fol. 129r:
Spese per il contrasto d'Apollo con Marsia.
al sartore per robe e fatture sc. 87.29
al pellicciaro per pelli incarnatine ecc. sc. 1.40
al berrettaro per para 4 calzette incarnatine, due turchine et un paro
piccolo da donna sc. 22
al berrettaro, per le cappelliere, robe, fatture, <e> gioielli fatti,
compresovi sc. 8.60 spesi dal sig. Tronsarelli per li stivaletti
<per la loro> doratura et alcuni instrumenti ecc. sc. 77.60

sc. 188.29

[3] I.e., 'for eighteen porters to bring in and back from home to the Palazzo 22 velvet chairs, the brazier and three mattresses.' *Brasciera* n. is the regional variant of the Italian *braciere*, brazier. See Battaglia, II, p. 349.

[3], fol. 130r:

<19 August 1628>

adì 19 d'agosto 1628

Io Alessandro Bandiera sarto ho ricevuto dal sig. Bartolomeo Passarini suddetto scudi ottanta otto e baiocchi ventinove con scudi quaranta da illustrissimo messer maiordomo e scudi quaranta sette baiocchi ventinove dal sopraddetto sig. Bartolomeo quali sono per nostro scrito conto et spese per saldo d'acordo et in fede questo dì stesso et anco dico scudi 87 baiocchi 29 Alessandro Bandiera mano propria

Io sopraddetto Alessandro fo fede come messer Claudio [***] pilicciaro a San Luigi ha ricevuto dal sopraddetto sig. Bartolomeo scudi 1 <e> baiocchi quaranta, <i> quali sono per tutte <le> pelli che sono per la pelliccia di Marsia e doi soi compagni, et in fede, per non saper lui scrivere, per sua comissione ho fatto la presente di mia propria mano

Adì 19 di agosto 1628 dico scudi 1.40 Alessandro Bandiera mano propria

[3], fol. 131r:

Conto di vestiti di lana <che> servirono al Palazzo del Cardinal Barberini a Quattro Fontane

spese in seta once 4 sc. 1.60

fibia colorata per calzoni palmi 30 sc. 0.30

stringhe longhe per laciare Apollo et doi ninfe sc. 0.15

fitucia di argento per orlare li manti di Apollo, le maniche del puto et <per i> lacci a maniche, canne 4 sc. 1.44

tafitano di camerino basso a sc. 1.40, <che> sono in tutto, con il vestito di amorino nudo e il suo vestito il vestito di Palide di Apollo, le doi ninfe, 3 pastori, in tutto canne 17 sc. 23.80

lana per tutti li sopraddetti abiti con latuchina et gonfiati soliti latuchi a collo et a manica, importa canne 74 a giuli 6 sc. 44.40

tela per mettere sotto a molte cose come manica del puto, doi teli sotto la faldiglia et cascate del amorino, in tutto canne 3[4] sc. 1.50

[4] *Faldiglia* is an obsolete term, which refers to a type of rigid underskirt, reinforced with rattan sticks, to wear under a dress. See Battaglia, V, p. 586.

dato un giulio al facino di ordine di signor Passarino _____sc. 0.10

73.29

manifattura di amorini_____ 1.50
manifattura di quello del putto_____ 2.50
manifattura de li 3 pastori et accomodati li putti_____ 3
manifattura delle doi ninfe_____ 5
manifattura d'Apollo_____ 3
manifattura di Palide_____ 6

94.29

sc.73.29 la spesa come sopra
sc.16 la [***] d'accordo

sc. 89.29

[3], fol. 132r:
<19 August 1628>
Noi Giuseppe Divezzani e Francesco Giannini abbiamo ricevuto dal signor Bartolomeo Passarini scudi ventidoi <in> moneta, <che> sono per il prezzo di para sette calze di seta, cioè, para quattro incarnatine e para due torchine, e para uno bianche, <che> disse servire per la tragedia fatta a Palazzo delle 4 Fontane.
Contanti a me Francesco Giannini questo dì 19 agosto 1628
Francesco Giannini mano propria

[3], fol. 133r:
a Pietro Paolo in piazza Navona per quattro gioielli grandi_____sc. 1.80
al calzolaro per quattro para di orecchini d'argento, uno d'oro e due para di scarpe_____sc. 4.80
a Giulio indoratore per inargentare violino, arco e un piffero_____sc. 0.70
per due [***] da far' i dardi prese in Campo di Fiori_____sc. 0.10
per inargentarle_____sc. 0.60
per colorire a olio il petto e la schiena dell'armatura di Pallade_____sc. 0.20

Nota del berrettaro sc. 8.60

<per> gioielli, coralli e perle comprati da Fabio <ho> speso sc. 5.20
<per> gioielli comprati dal Bizozzi in Trastevere <ho> speso sc. 2.10
<per> gioielli comprati dal Bizzozi <ho> speso sc. 3.50
<per> numero 2 gioielli comprati a S. Agostino <ho> speso sc. 0.30
<per i> gioielli che portò il sig. Bartolomeo Passerini sc. 1.60
<per le> perle che mancorno <ho> speso sc. 0.40
<per> numero 9 gioielli tondi grandi per le cappelliere da donna sc. 2.70

15.80

<per> tocca canne numero trenta di giuli 6 la canna sc. 18

[…]

per merletto d'argento con tremolanti, once 11, compro
a giuli 4 l'oncia sc. 4.40

sc. 22.40

Le suddette spese importano scudi 46.80 <in> moneta

[3], fol. 133v:

palmi 4 per taffetà incarnatino per la legatura de rosoni da
gamba [***] 25 sc. 1.18
palmi 2 4/1 taffetà turchino messo a para 2 di rosoni da
gamba giuli 6 sc. 0.60
numero 2 cappelliere da ninfe, tutte arricciate e guarnite di loro gioielli
e perle, con 2 pennacchini bianchi di due penne fine l'uno sc. 8
numero 3 cappelliere per pastori, tutte arricciate sc. 7
un berrettone di taffetà turchino, tutto intagliato la falda e guarnito di
passamano d'argento, lavorato tutto di canutiglia sc. 5
un pennacchino di penne fine bianche di numero 20 penne, con
un mazzo di garze lunghe di numero 100, messa al detto
berrettone sc. 7.50
una cappelliera per Apollo, tutta lavorata di capelli aricciati, tutta canuta

d'oro, col sole in testa[5] sc. 5

per aver rifatto una cascata di dietro di capelli, messa ad un morione sc. 0.30

per una pennacchiera di numero 10 penne fini e un mazzo di garze lunghe per detto morione sc. 2.50

sc. 37.08

[3], fol. 134r:

per fattura d'aver guarnito numero 3 para di maniche di 3 camicie, tutte piene di rosette di tocca e gioielli e coralli e collare e manichetti con le lattughe guarnite di merletto d'argento sc. 4.50

e per aver guarnito numero 5 para di borzacchini di rosette di tocca <con> coralli <e> perle tutti infettucciati per legature di nostra fettuccia[6] sc. 3

e fettuccie e mascheroni argentati messi ad un putto sc. 0.80

e per fettuccie date al sartore per il detto, <ho> avuti sc. 0.30

e più, per fattura di numero 6 para di rosoni di tocca da gamba, tutti guarniti di merletto con tremolanti, e para duo di rosette da scarpe, guarnite simile[7] sc. 3.50

e più, fattura d'un par di rosoni di tocca d'argento, guarniti di merletto d'oro,e messovi un palmo di taffeta per legatura sc. 0.75

sc. 12.85

[3], fol. 134v:

<21 August 1628>

sc. 46.80

sc. 37.08

sc. 12.85

e più, per fattura di numero 4 cinte di tocca, con rose e sue cascate,

[5] I.e., 'for a hat for Apollo made of curly golden hair, with the sun on top'.

[6] *Borzacchin*o, plural *borzacchini*, is an obsolete term for the Italian *stivaletto* (buskin). See Battaglia, II, p. 321.

[7] I.e., 'to make six pairs of silk and golden ribbons for the legs, all decorated with flickering laces and two rosettes for shoes similarly decorated'. The term *infettucciati* is from the obsolete adjective *infettucciat*o that means garnished with ribbons (*fettucce*) and bows. See Battaglia, VII, p. 975.

e fettuccie per legare sotto sc. 1

in tutto somma sc. 97.73

si defalcano scudi [***] per le fatture e scudi [***] sc. 20.13

al berrettaro e scudi 2 al pennacchiere reseli

fattoli bono scudi 7 per queste robe resta netto sc. 77.60

Denari tutti

hanne dati scudi venti[8] sc. 20

hanne dati scudi cinque sc. 5

hanne dati scudi otto sc. 8.60

hanne dati iscudi venti cinque sc. 25

ho ricevuto questo dì 21 d'agosto 1628 iscudi dicanove per resto e saldo del sopradetto conto sc. 19

sc. 77.60

Giustificazioni I, vol. 49, Francesco Barberini seniore. Giustificazioni 1217-1291, year 1628

[4] Giustificazione 1226

[4], fols 31-34:

<sheet folded in four dated 15 August 1628>

<outside> Liste del banchetto fatto martedì 15 agosto 1628

<inside> Banchetto fatto Martedì adì 15 d'Agosto 1628 al Palazzo di <Sua> Signoria Illustrissima alle 4 Fontane alli eccellentissimi Signori Colonessi

[…]

mazzi di fiori regalati

[***] canestra di diversi fiori [***]

[***] fare coprire tre canestrelli a navicelli di diversi fiori et verdura per i rifredi

[***] e 18 mazzi di fiori slegati per detti canestri.

al Credenziero secreto per fare 4 insalate realle

[8] *Hanne* is a morphological variant of *hanno*.

agli sportarolli per portare le sopradette robbe

a [***] per fare portare le confetture da l'ospitallo al palazzo alle 4 Fontane sc. 0.45

per fare portare e riportare le scalinate della credenza da San Pietro alle 4 Fontane e rimetterle insieme sc. 1

per la pelatura di nove teste di vitello sc. 0.67

per 24 coltelli per il tinello sc. 1.20

al tornitore per nove colonne, tornite per indorare, per mettere gli rifredi sc. 1.50

per due canestre grandi da credenza a due manici per il tinello delli gentiluomini sc. 2.40

per tre altri canestrelli, fatti a navicelli, per mettere i rifredi sc. 0.90

a Monto Rotondo, palafreniero per fare portare e riportare 4 presenti a presentare [***], a Gasparo parafreniero per far portare 4 presenti a presentare sc. 0.20

spese fatte dal dispensiere, cioè, per quattro viaggi di tavole et altri 4 viaggi di mangiativi et portare farina e pane straordinarie et portare sale e oglio, candele e fare aggiustare le stadere, e fare portare un rubio di sale per li ghiacci, e fare due coperture ai mastelli della farina[9] sc. [***]

al detto per un facchino e un aiutante per due giorni sc. 2

spese del credensiero segreto cioè

per due credenzieri per dui giorni sc. 2

a due aiutanti per dui giorni sc. 1.20

a due facchini per dui giorni sc. 1.20

[…]

Giovanni Piccionni credenziero della furasteria[10]

per tre agiutanti per tre giorni sc. 1.80

a un garzone per tre giorni sc. 0.30

a un fachino per dui giorni sc. 0.60

per tre viaggi, da fare per portare tavole et panche da San Pietro alle 4 Fontane sc. 0.35

[9] *Rubio* is a variant of *rubbio*, an arcaic measurement for fodder.

[10] *Furasteria* is an obsolete and regional form for *foresteria* (guesthouse). See Battaglia, VI, p. 160.

Botigliero secreto

per 16 viaggi, cioè d'argenteria et tavole e riportare in diversi viaggi sc. 1.30

per una caretta per portare diverse robe sc. 0.20

a 4 agiutanti per un giorno e mezo sc. 1.80

al detto per fare acomodare una tinozza sc. 0.80

Botigliero comune

per due agiutanti per un giorno sc. 0.60

Cocina secreta

per un pasticciero e tre cuochi per tre giorni [***]

[***] per un aiutante per tre giorni [***]

[***] per due garzoni per tre giorni [***]

per fare portare e riportare tavole e diversi finimenti al Palazzo alle 4 Fontane [***][11]

[***] per una caretta per portare due passi di legna a 4 Fontane [***]

all'indoratore per diversi indoramenti di rifredi, lavorato il dì e la notte sc. 3

cocina comune di M.o Gabriello

per tre cuochi e un pasticciero per tre sc. 5.40

giorni a un aiutante per tre giorni sc. 1.50

a tre garzoni per tre giorni sc. 0.90

per fare portare due passi di legna alle 4 Fontane sc. 0.40

per fare portare una carrettata di robe da San Pietro alle 4 Fontane e fare aprire una porta e fare portare carbone[12] sc. 0.50

caldararo [***]

a Giovanni Battista Paulucci, spetiallo alla fontana di Treveri, per fare piramide, colonne, conche et 12 tazze e 20 canelli di ghiacci con diversi frutti sc. 2

[…]

bicchieraro per il nollo delle robe resse, cioè per 53 fiaschi di paglia, 44 sugari con boccie et 102 bicchieri e caraffini di cristallo, e 408

[11] *Finimento*, plural *finimenti*, is a term used for the last course of a meal, consisting mainly of cheese, cakes and fruit. ultima portata nei pasti e nei conviti, ed è costituita per lo più da formaggio, dolce e frutta). See Battaglia, V, p. 1040.

[12] *Carrettata* refers to what can be carried by a cart (cart load). See Battaglia, II, p. 799.

piatti tra grandi e piccoli, 6 caraffoni, 4 boccioni, 12 sottocoppe,
12 boccaloni, 10 saliere: importa tutto[13] sc. 4.50

robe rotte e perse cioè

82 bicchieri di cristallo sc. 6.15
4 giarri sc. 0.60
97 fiasce di paglia sc. 3.88
20 turaccie sc. 0.30
2 boccioni grandi sc. 0.50
6 bocce da sugari sc. 0.90
6 stampigne sc. 0.20
4 scopetinne sc. [***]
41 piatti grandi di maiolica sc. 5.12
42 tondi di maiolica sc. 2.16
3 piati grandi di rutta sc. 0.24
6 piatti mezzani di rutta sc. 0.24
6 sugari con boccie sc. 2.10
2 saliere di maiolica sc. 0.15
1 sottocoppa di maiolica sc. 0.25
per il porto e riporto di dette robe sc. 2.40
56 caraffoni di cristallo sc. 4.20
5 bicchieri bassi sc. 0.05
[…]

[5] Giustificazione 1268

[5], fol. 152r:

<January 1628>

L'illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Signor Cardinale Barberino deve dare adì [***]
Gennaio 1628 [***]

per aver dipinta una scena da comedia, cioè le bande di qua, et di là finte
le case in prospettiva sc. 18

[13] *Boccalon*e , plural *boccaloni*, from *boccale* (mug or jug), means a jug made of glass or clay with a handle. See Battaglia, II, p. 279).

[5], fol. 152v:

<18 May 1628>

e adì 18 maggio 1628 per aver dipinte tre [***] da aprire e serrare
in tela, grandi, da una banda fatti paesi, et dall'altra fogliami
d'argento macinato, monta almeno sc. 100

[*Il Sant'Alessio* (Carnival 1634)]

Giustificazioni I, vol. 56, Francesco Barberini seniore. Giustificazioni 1887-1975, years 1633-1634.

[6] Giustificazione 1907

[6], fol. 82r:

<9 January 1634>

L'Eminentissimo Illustrissimo Signor Cardinale Barberini padrone
deve per li appresso conti di spese e robe servite per la
rappresentazione del S. Alessio alla quale il soprinteso
per comandamento dell'Eminentissimo

al P.re Valerio, come per conto e ricevuta	sc.	52.64
al signor Stefano Landi per copie di musiche et come per conto	sc.	66.82
al signor Servio guardaroba per spese diverse, come <per>conto e ricevuta	sc.	41.34
al signor Bartoloni per spese diverse, come <per> conto e ricevuta	sc.	50.15
al detto per fatture e giornate pagate a sartori, <per> conto e ricevuta	sc.	0.05
al cartolaro per carte di musica <che> servirono per gli argomenti	sc.	31
al stampatore con oro, come per conto e ricevuta	sc.	20
all'indoratore, <come> per conto e ricevuta	sc.	13.50
al calzolaro, come per conto e ricevuta	sc.	18
al guantaro a [***] e guanti per quattro volte	sc.	10.60
a due altri guantari per le altre due volte	sc.	6
al coramaro a S. Pantaleo, <come per> conto e ricevuta	sc.	16
al tagliatore e stampatore del corame, <come per> conto e ricevuta	sc.	4.50
al berrettaro, <come per> conto e ricevuta	sc.	6.20
al mascheraro, come per conto e ricevuta	sc.	4.80
al pellicciaro, come per conto e ricevuta	sc.	8.50

al ogliaro, come per conto e ricevuta[14] sc. 13

al candelottaro, come per conto e ricevuta sc. 11.90

al trenta capelli mercante di legnami, <come> per conto e ricevuta sc. 218.70

al Cansi altro mercante di tavole, <come> per conto e ricevuta sc. 31.10

al canestraro, come <per> conto e ricevuta sc. 8.80

al setarolo per tocche e veli, come per conto e ricevuta sc. 137

al droghiere per cera e confetti, <come per> conto e ricevuta sc. 243

sc. [***]

[6], fol. 82v:

<9 January 1634>

[…]

al fioraro per fiori falsi sc. 84.4[***]

[…]

ad un pittore per rabusciare di turi gli stivaletti di cori e per altri lavori minuti sc. [***][15]

[…]

al Buonamici pittore per riconoscimento delle sue fatiche

al Signor Guitti per un donativo in un taglio di vestiti

al signor Cherubino di Parracciani in due para di calzette di seta

a quel <che> ha suonato il liuto per insegnare i balli ai paggi avendogli preso [***] il maestro di ballo [***]

<total expenses sc. 1841.50>

[14] *Ogliaro* is an obsolete term for the artisan who makes and sells olive oil.

[15] '[…] per rabusciare di turi gli stivaletti' means 'to mend the holes in the buskins'. *Rabusciare* is an obsolete form for to mend, to patch up.

[*La pazzia d'Orlando* and *San Bonifacio* (Carnival 1638)]

Giustificazioni I, vol. 71, Francesco Barberini seniore. Giustificazioni 2951-2993, year 1638.

[7] Giustificazione n. 2970

[7], fol. 53r:

<27 January and 6 February 1638>

Conto delli ferramenti fatti alle scene per servitio dell'Eminentissimo Signore Cardinale Barberino da maestro Cencio Corradi, ferraro.

	Adì 27 gennaro 1638, per numero 12 maschietti per li telari		
1.20	delle scene	sc.	1.80
	e più, per una serratura doppia che serve per una cassetta dove si tiene li colori per dipingere le scene, come		
0.25	per poliza di M. Niccolò Menghini	sc.	0.35
	adì 6 febbraro per numero 3 fili di ferro lunghi palmi 20 l'uno di peso [***] 29 ½ e per le bandelle che vanno		
2.90	alle suddette bacchette, come per poliza detto	sc.	4
	e più, per numero 3 maschietti per la [***] del palco, e numero tre centole, date al detto, per la porticella		
0.34	della scena	sc.	0.60
4.69		sc.	6.75

[8] Giustificazione n. 2992[16]

[8], fol. 166r:

Lista di tutte le spese pagate da me infrascritto alli sotto scritti conti con ricevute saldate

[16] For fols 216r-2017v of this Giustificazione, see Bruno, 'Arte e teatro', pp. 77-79.

dal signor Angelo Parraciani, Maestro di Casa, et giustificazioni date in computisteria per la rappresentazione di San Bonifatio quest'anno 1638

Antonio chiavaro, carta 15	sc.	13.12
Antonio cannelottaro, carta 66	sc.	7.80
Antonio canestraro, carta 35	sc.	7.30
Bastiano Morosini, carta 76	sc.	46.80
Bernardino storaro, carta 89	sc.	4.50
Cintio banderaro, carta 100[17]	sc.	14.70
Conte Ubaldino, carta 94	sc.	4.40
Curtio Falcione, carta 103	sc.	2
Domenico Bella, stagnaro, carta 35	sc.	36
Francesco Conti, battiloro, carta 15	sc.	15
Francesco Passarini, carta 68	sc.	9.89
Francesco Ricardi, carta 70	sc.	45
Facchini, carta 702	sc.	25.85
Flaminio Pelliccioni, colloraro, carta 79	sc.	31
Felice Sellori, carta 87	sc.	21
Giovanni Battista Soria, falegname, carta 102	sc.	66.30
Gioseppe Bugatti, carta 9	sc.	50.89
Gioseppe Gandolini, carta 21	sc.	11
Gioseppe Guiccillani, carta 23	sc.	22.60
Giovanni Lanciaro, carta 27	sc	2.40
Giovanni Simone, colloraro, carta 33	sc.	3
	sc.	440.55

[8], fol. 166v:

Somma di là	sc.	440.55
Giovanni Bassano, carta 43	sc.	6.66
Girolamo Grippa, carta 45	sc.	25
Greco cioè Vincenzo, carta 55	sc.	92
Girolamo Politi, carta 54	sc.	2.90
Giuliano Doni, carta 93	sc.	10

[17] *Banderaro* is the regional variant of the Italian *bandieraio*, meaning the artisan who makes or sells *bandiere* (flags). See Battaglia, II, p. 40.

Giovanni Batta Ceroni et Rapaccioli, carta 99 sc. 18.45
Giovanni profumiero, carta 61 sc. 41.60
Gioseppe Aloch, carta 63 sc. 2
Giovanni Domenico Girardi, carta 64 sc. 5.40
Giovanni Giacomo Pieralli, carta 81 sc. 19.20
Giovanni Giacomo suddetto, carta 81 sc. 9
Giovanni Santi, carta 92 sc. 3.22
Gioseppe Galeoni, carta 95 sc. 14.60
Giacomo intagliatore, carta 41 sc. 5
Lorenzo Bartolone, carta 108 sc. 30
Lorenzo indoratore, carta 19 sc. 9
Michel'Angelo Oliveri, carta 39 sc. 16
Mascheraro, carta 52 sc. 23.44
detto mascheraro, carta 59 sc. 2.10
Marco Marazzoli, carta 78 sc. 18.70
Nicolò e Giovanni Gavallini, carta 31 sc. 47.70
Nicolò Colombati, pellicciaro, carta 85 sc. 4.40
Niccolò Menghini, carta 96, in tutto sono 760.90 sc. 38.90
Ottavio profumiero carta 83 sc. 12
Prospero Ricci, carta 29 sc. 63.71
Piero Paolo, intagliatore, carta 90 sc. 8.80
Recitanti, carte [***] 93/ 103 /103 sc. 69

sc. 1039.33

[8], fol. 167r:

Somma di conto sc. 1039.33
Rinaldo coramaro, carta 45 sc. 30
Servio Servi, carta 2 sc. 49.70
a detto Servio, carta 4 sc. 35.75
Santi, carte 5, 6, 7, 8, sc. 81.55
Salvatore Amadio, carta 25 sc. 58
Santi Battaglini, carta 48 <e> 49 sc. 134
Salamone ebreo, carta 55 sc. 41.40
Virgilio Mazzocchi, carta 12 sc. 68.90

Simone Caggi, carta 106 sc. 15

somma tutta la spesa sc. 1553.63

se ne levano scudi 1300, avuti in dui mandati affianco sc. 1300

somma la spesa fatta come sopra, devono avere in tutto sc. 1553.63-

<le> spese sono pagate a detto Servio sc. 1300

Angelo Parracciani, maestro di casa

resta creditore detto Servio sc. 253.63

[8], fol. 168r:

Nota di cere consumate per la Rappresentazione di San Bonifatio, fatta sei volte, et La pazzia d'Orlando, fatta quattro volte.

torcie romanesche numero novanta otto di libbre cinque l'una, tutte pesano libbre quattrocento sessant'una lib 461

torcie d'Ancona numero quindici di libbre 6 l'una, tutte pesano libbre ottanta nove lib 89

e più, candele di due oncie l'una, et di tre oncie per far moccoli, lib. tutte pesano libbre cento venti tre lib 123

e più, candele da tavola, mazzi numero sei, pesano tutte lib cinquanta lib 50

e più, candele da tavola, ch'erano in guardaroba dell'anno passato, pesano libbre ottanta tre lib 83

lib 806

nota d'olio consumato per le dette, boccali numero venti tre 23 et boccali [***] di dispensa

[8], fol. 169r:

Nota di denaro dato alli pittori ch'hanno dipinte le scene per la rappresentazione con saputa del signor Giovanni Francesco <Romanelli> per le mani di detto Servio al signor Giovanni Francesco Bolognese scudi quattordici <in> moneta per resto e pagamento di tutte <le> sue giornate sc. 14

dato a Giovanni Maria <Mariani>, pittore, scudi sedici <in> moneta come sopra sc. 16

dato al signor Galeazzo, pittore, scudi sette <in> moneta come sopra sc. 7
dato a Vita Andrea scudi quattro <in> moneta come sopra sc. 4
dato a Bastiano, macinatore di colori, scudi due e cinquanta <in>
moneta come sopra sc. 2.50
dato a Giovanni tiratele scudi sei et venti <in> moneta sc. 6.20

dico sc. 49.70

[8], fol. 170r:

Nota di denari spesi per diverse robbe per servitio della Rappresentazione di San Bonifatio per le mani di Servio

per bollette per imbollettare le tele delle sciene sc. 0.80
dato a Michel Angelo pupazzaro per far la testa di un cavallo,
cioè per giesso [***] tre[18] sc. 0.24
per carta fiorettoni, quiterni numero otto, per la detta testa sc. 0.20
a detto per la farina, libbre due e meze sc. 0.10
dato al servitore del signor Giovanni Francesco Romanelli
pittore per brocche, cuccioli grandi et piccoli et ova sc. 0.60
per cartoni grandi e fini, da metter in soprescia li panni,
numero venti sc. 1.50
per venti cartoni grossi <che> pesano lib. 24 a baiocchi 3
la lib. sc. 0.72½
dato a Pasquale servitore del signor Giovanni Francesco
pittore per ova per li pittori sc. 0.60
per panno righerino, canne due et meze, per il celitio di
San Bonifatio[19] sc. 1
per far portare in Cancelleria una [***] per far detto celitio sc. 0.20
e più, per bollette per le scene sc. 0.40
per tre oncie di canutiglia, fatta per li cimieri delli cavalieri
numero otto sc. 0.30

sc. 6.49

[18] *Pupazzaro* is a dialectal term for puppet maker.
[19] The *celitio* must be the part of the ceiling above the stage, set up to simulate a sky. *Righerino* is an adjective meaning striped.

[8], fol. 170v:

somma et segue sc. 6.49
per due forme di legno per informare le cavigliere sc. 0.40
per un calamaro d'osso sc. 0.07
dato a Tullio Simonetti per libbre tre d'orbello, tagliato per far le francie delli vestiti[20] sc. 3.60
per reticella di filo larga due dita, palmi 36 a baiocchi sei il braccio, numero undici braccia[21] sc. 0.65
per bollette per le sciene, migliare numero uno sc. 0.30
per maccaroni per 17 persone, libbre dieci sc. 0.30
per [***] provature et candella sc. 0.10
per gobbi, numero quattro sc. 0.06
per pane sc. 0.20
per dar da mangiare a cinque pittori et due aiutanti sc. 2
per tre pezze negre per far due rocchetti da pellegrino et una borscia per l'angelo sc. 0.60
pane per li sarti sc. 0.30
dato a Pasquale, servitore del signor Romanelli, per cuccioli sc. 0.20
al detto per ova per li pittori sc. 0.60
per dar da maggiare a sette pittori, quindici sarti, falegnami, muratori, et festaroli sc. 4

sc. 19.87

[8], fol. 171r:

somma et segue sc. 19.87 ½
dato a bon conto per il talco per li petti sc. 0.60
per dar da maggiare a cinque pittori, due aiutanti, sei falegnami, due festaroli, due muratori, et un pennacchiero <il> quale lavorò con il Bartolone la notte sc. 2.40
pane per li detti sc. 0.30

[20] *Orbello* is a tool used to smooth or level out leather. It consists in a rectangular blade, made of metal or glass, fixed to a cylindrical handle longer than the blade. See Battaglia, XII, p. 10.
[21] *Braccio*, plural *braccia*, is an obsolete unit of measurement for length, corresponding to a little bit more than half a meter.

per una dozzina di stringhe di due palmi l'una di filo sc. 0.10
per 22 cochiglie per li due rocchetti da pellegrino sc. 0.17 ½
dato a Giovanni tiratele per chiodi e bollette sc. 0.30
per una rocca fuso et quel coso che va nella rocca et stoppa sc. 0.15
per un canestrino da civetta sc. 0.10
per oncinelli sc. 0.30
per spille sc. 0.05
per dar da maggiare a festaroli, falegnami et muratori sc. 1
per sei orinali et veste sc. 0.30
per bambace[22] sc. 0.05
dato a Giovanni tiratele, d'ordine del Signor Romanelli, per
cartoncini fini per le novole sc. 1.20
al detto per bollette sc. 0.30
per spille sc. 0.10

sc. 27.60

[8], fol. 171v:
<13 February 1638>
somma et segue sc. 27.60
per tre dozzine di stringhe per li stivaletti sc. 0.30
per la comedia alle 4 Fontane, candele di sego libbre 14 et ½[23] sc. 0.90
per spille sc. 0.05
dato al fioraro ad Imperione per una girlanda <che> servì per
l'ovoturlo [24] sc. 0.90
reso al signor Luciano per averli dati a quello che tirava il carro alle
4 Fontane sc. 0.60
per dar da mangiare al Bartolone giorni quindici, mancano giorni quattro
et mancano tre volte sc. 4.40

adì 13 febraro 1638 sc. 34.75

[22] *Bambace* is an obsolete and dialectal term for the Italian *bambagia* (cottonwool). See Battaglia, II, p. 27.
[23] *Sego* stands for tallow, i.e. a fatty animal substance, used in making candles and soap.
[24] *Ovoturlo* stands for *tuorlo d'uovo* (egg yolk).

e più, dato a mastro Santi scudi uno per dar da mangiare alli suoi lavoranti sc. 1

in tutto sc. 35.75

[8], fol. 172r:

<25 January 1638>

Nota di giornate de lavori ch'hanno lavorato tanto per la rappresentazione della comedia intitolata la pazzia d'Orlando, cominciati li detti lavori li 25 gennaro 1638

Franesco Ciciliano ha lavorato giornate dodeci et dieci di rappresentazione et comedia, che su tutte sono giornate vintidue, montano scudi 8.80

Giovanni Romagnolo lavorò giornate numero dodeci et dieci di rappresentazione et comedia, che in tutto sono giornate vintidue montano scudi 8.80

Egidio Paselli ha lavorato giornate undici et dieci di rappresentazione e comedia, che in tutte sono giornate vintidue, montano scudi 7.65

Rocco Rannesi ha lavorato giornate otto et dieci di rappresentazione et comedia, che in tutto sono giornate dieci dotto, montano scudi 7.20

Alessandro Conti ha lavorato giornate otto et dieci di rappresentazione et comedia, che in tutto sono giornate diecidotto, montano scudi 7.20

Domenico Bacci ha lavorato giornate sette et dieci di rappresentazione et comedia, che in tutto sono giornate diecisette, montano scudi 6.45

Pietro Bracciolini ha lavorato giornate otto et dieci di rappresentazione et comedia, che in tutto sono giornate dieci dotto, montano scudi 6.80

Lattanzio Franceschini ha lavorato giornate otto et dieci di rappresentazione et comedia, che in tutto sono giornate dieci dotto, montano scudi 6.80

sc. 59.70

[8], fol. 172v:

Pietro Antrocchi ha lavorato giornate quattro et dieci di rappresentazione et comedia, che in tutto sono giornate quattordici, somano scudi 5.40

Paolo Ricci ha lavorato giornate cinque et dieci di rappresentazione et comedia, che in tutto sono giornate quindieci, montano scudi 5.75

Cazzaro Melchiorre ha lavorato giornate quattro et dieci di rappresentazione et comedia, che in tutto sono giornate quattordici, somano scudi 5.40

Berardino Bartolini ha lavorato giornate cinque et dieci di rappresentazione et comedia, che in tutto sono giornate quindici, somano scudi 5.40

Pietro Roscio ha lavorato giornate quattro et dieci di rappresentazione et comedia, che in tutto sono giornate quattordici, somano scudi 5.40

Cipriano ha lavorato giornate dodeci et dieci di rappresentazione et comedia, che in tutto sono giornate vintidue, somano scudi 7.75

sc. 94.80

[8], fol. 173r:

dui donne del Signor Girolamo Botero hanno lavorato le perle per li detti lavori et vestiti giornate dodeci e notti dodeci per ciascheduna però le notte sono a quattro hore, ch' in tutte sono giorni ventiquattro, et notte vintiquattro montano tra tutte <e> due scudi 6.00

sc. 100.80

[8], fol. 176r:

<10 or 20 March 1638>

Nota di diverse spese fatte da Giuseppe Bugatti per la rappresentazione di San Bonifatio, fatta alla Cancelleria, e per la Pazzia d'Orlando, fatta alle Quattro Fontane, nell'anno 1638

in primis, per sette para di scarpe per il prologo delle viole, cioè per sei soprani e un basso di San Pietro, sei para a giuli sei sc. 3.60

e più, per fettuccie per dette scarpe, canne quattro a baiocchi sei la canna sc. 0.24

e più, per due leggini di legno per tenere le opere per gli stromenti della suddetta rappresentazione sc. 1.10

e più, per undici aste per detta rappresentazione a baiocchi 7 l'uno sc. 0.77

e più, per nove canne di fettuccia di diversi colori a baiocchi 6 la canna sc. 0.54

e più, per oli d'amandole dolce, baiocchi 54 sc. 0.54

e più, per tre armacolli di marocchino per cingere le spade di diversi recitanti et li suoi centurini sc. 2.40

e più, per una frusta per il carrettiere, baiocchi 35 sc. 0.35

e più, per un paro di speroni per detto arciere sc. 0.45

e più, una cornetta di latta baiocchi 25 sc. 0.25

e più, per zuccheri candidi e manuscristi e [***][25] sc. 1.35

sc. 11.59

[8], fol. 176v:

<10 or 20 March 1638>

e più, per carta per scrivere diverse cose sc. 0.24

e più, per fazzoletti per li recitanti della tragedia di San Bonifazio, per tutte le volte che hanno recitato, numero dieci dotto a baiocchi 20 l'uno, piegati sc. 3.60

e più, per una lanterna per fagotto sc. 0.70

e più, per assettatura d'una chitarra[26] sc. 0.15

e più, per diverse colazioni e merende in diversi luoghi per li musici, e ballerini, e altri recitanti per mentre si sono provate le suddette tragedie sc. 18.74

e più, per un canestro per il prologo della pazzia d'Orlando sc. 0.35

e più, per ottantasette libretti a mezzo grosso l'uno che si sono consumate in tutte le volte che si sono fatte le tragedie sc. 2.27

e più, per portatura e reportatura alla Cancelleria <di> viole, violini, violoni e cimali e altri istrumenti come alle Quattro Fontane e sedie e altre cose per le suddette tragedie, scudi 2 e baiocchi 85 sc. 2.85

e più, per tre torce avendo a giuli diecinove sc. 1.90

e più, per candele di cera giuli sei sc. 0.60

e più, per la provisione per il pranzo per andare alle sette chiese sc. 3.45

qual provesione la mandai a casa sua per essere che non andorno per poter la sera recitare la rappresentazione <totale> sc. 46.44

[8], fol. 177r:

<10 or 20 March 1638>

sc. 46.44

e più, per rinfrescamento dei cocchieri e cavalli e mule in diverse

[25] *Manuscristi* is an obsolete term for candies. See Battaglia, IX, p. 757.

[26] *Assettatura* nmeans accommodation, adjustment. See Battaglia, I, p. 762. For musical instruments it means tuning (up).

volte sc. 2.85

e più, per conocchie, fasi e stoppa[27] sc. 0.15

e più, per un paio di scarpe e un paio di calzette per Fagotto sc. 0.90

e più, per portatura e reportatura di cimboli e viole, violine et altri stromenti alle stanze di Nostro Signore sc. 0.55

sc. 50.89

io Giuseppe Bregutti <or Bugatti> ho ricevuto da signor Servio li sopraddetti denari, cioè, scudi cinquanta e baiocchi 89, <che> sono per intiero pagamento, questo dì 10 <or 20> marzo 1638

Io Giuseppe Bregutti <or Bugatti> mano propria sc. 50.89

[8], fol. 178r:

Nota di tutti quelli che hanno recitato nella Tragedia del San Bonifatio alla Cancelleria et alle Quattro Fontane per la Pazzia di Orlando

Mazzocchi ___	quattro soldati
Recanati	Filippo alli cazzarari
Mecuzzo	nipote di Camillo bottigliere[28]
Celestrina	Lorenzo Moglia
Lodovico	fratello del gobetto della Chiesa Nova
Fornaciaro	
Alle Quattro Fontane	
Ponzano	Marco Marazzoli
Polacco	Angelo Ferotti
Francesco Fabiani	Pavolaccio [***]
Francesco Campanelli	Don Cristofaro da Subiaco
Francesco di S.ta Maria Magiore	Odoardo
Francesco di Costantino	Carpano
Giovan Pavolo di Carpano	Marcantonio
	Gioseppe del Prefetto

[27] *Conocchi*a n., plural *conocchie,* obsolete term that refers to the amount of wool, linen, hemp, or other textile fibres, which is wound to the bobbin for spinning. See Battaglia, III, p. 573)

[28] *Bottigliere* (also in the regional variant *bottigliero*) was the person responsible for purchasing and keeping wines in aristocratic houses. See Battaglia, II, p. 333.

Istromenti

Giuliano della tiorba	signori Paggi	li medesimi strumenti
Francesco Araceli	Capponi	della Cancelleria servivano
Pelegrino di S.Girolamo	Pilio	alle Quattro Fontane
Giacinto violone	Amiani	di più si pigliavano
Antonello violone	Meocci	li sotto scritti
Don Antonio delli incurabili Violino	Pazzi	Senese tiorba
_____	Cavaliere	Arcangelo tiorba
Cinque Ballarini	Conte della <Massa>	Roberto violino
Carlo Urbano corista	Maffeo Cappone	D. Giovanni della morte
Lelio corista	Malatesta	
Filippo Ponza	Carlo [***]	
Bartolomeo Noia	Conte Fabba	
nipote del Ciliami	2 nipoti di Monsignor Paulucci	
e il maestro del ballo	Tomasi	
	nepote di Monsignor Fausto <Poli>	
	nepote di Monsignor Mastro di camera	
	Il conte Sorbellone	
	[***] sono in tutti numero_____	59

[8], fol. 179r:

per libri 4 di musica, di carte 170 l'uno, a baiocchi 4 per facciata,

soma ciascheduno libro sc. 13.60 e tutti quattro somano_____ sc. 54.40

per tre libri di parole senza musica, a giuli 25 per libro, somano_____ sc. 7.50

per carta rigata per la musica et per la carta bianca per le parole,

et per legatura di quattro libri et coperte di carta pecora_____ sc. 7

Soma in tutto_____ sc. 68.90

<signed> Virgilio Mazzocchi

[8], fol. 182r:

<10 February 1638>

adì 10 di febraro 1638

Lavori fatti per servitio della rapresentatione

In prima, fatte nove girelle grosse un palmo et mezzo l'una, conche,
con doi casse et doi girelle piegate a squadra, servivano per
tirare il fil di ferro et il taffetano et il cielo sc. 10
et più, fatte altre quattro girelle ordinarie <che> servivano per detto
loco per tenere le lumi sc. 1.20
et più, fatti sette pezzi di vite con le sue matreviti, attaccateli alli fili
di ferro che tengono il cielo et li taffettani sc. 1.50
e più, fatti doi cancani et doi bandelle ordinarie a detto loco sc. 0.32
e più, fatti otto rampini <che> servono per le scene sc. 0.25
e più, fatti tre altri rampini grossi sc. 0.16
e più, fatte doi bacchette tonne conche, <dui> tre palmi l'una, fatti
doi occhielli per tenere una catenella <che> servono per dove
si mettono li lumi sc. 0.30
e più, fatte otto staffe <che> servono per le scene et fatto un paletto
con la sua molla <che> serve a detto loco sc. 0.45
e più, fatti quattro cancani grossi <che> servono per una porta a detto
loco sc. 0.35
e più, fatte quattro bandelle grosse <che> servono <per> detta porta sc. 0.50

[8], fol. 182v:
e più, fatte ducento venti lunette <che sono> servite per le Quattro
Fontane et quaranta <che sono> servite per il Palazzo della
Cancelleria sc. 4.40
e più, fatto un occhio grande straordinario, datolo al falegname sc. 0.12
e più, fatte doi chiave per doi casse dove sta la cera, le quali ha
ordinate Tullio sc. 0.25
somma in tutto sc. 19.80[29]

[8], fol. 184r:
<13 August1638>
Io, Lorenzo Bartolini indoratore, ho ricevuto da ms. Francesco Conti
battiloro libretti quindici di orofino <che è> servito per la

[29] The receipt at the bottom of the page attests that the artisan was paid 13.12 scudi.

tragedia fatta in Cancelleria, <i> quali importano sc. 3

Io, Lorenzo Bartolini, ho ricevuto da ms. Francesco Conti migliara due di oro di metà a giuli 35 il migliaro, così restano d'accordo sc. 7

Io, Lorenzo Bartolini, ho ricevuto da ms. Francesco Conti migliara due di argento sc. 2

Io, Lorenzo Bartolini, ho ricevuto da ms. Francesco Conti migliara uno di argento sc. 1

in tutto sc. 13

[8], fol. 186r:

Conto

Per avere messo di argento e di oro una cassa scorniciata con zampe di legno indorate di oro fino et nella cornice della cassa c'è andato dodici libbretti di oro et un migliaro di argento di mia fattura, domando scudi quattro sc. 4

e più, per otto scimitarre di legno, <per aver> indorate le guardie et li puntali d'oro di metà et il resto di negro imbronito di mia fattura, domando scudi due sc. 2

e più, per due canne di tela torchina, tutta listellata di argento et oro di metà di mia fattura, domando scudi due sc. 2

e più, per lo scudo di legno <che ho> indorato et imbronito con una figura che significa Roma, dipinta di mia fattura, domando scudi uno e baiocchi venti sc. 1.20

e più, per un altro scudo di legno <che ho> inargentato et imbronito et dipinto di mia fattura, domando giuli 5 sc. 0.50

e più, per un paio di ale di cartoncino <che ho> inargentate e profilate di mia fattura, domando giuli tre sc. 0.30

e più, per una forcina di legno <che ho> inargentata, et il bastone di negro <che ho> imbronito et un bordone da pellegrino con i bottoni di oro fino e la palla di cima di mia fattura, domando scudi uno sc. 1

e più, per una bandiera di taffetà che ce se fece due crocette, una per banda, e profilate di oro et il bastone <che ho> indorato et listellato di lacca di mia fattura, domando scudi uno sc. 1

e più, per otto busti di corame di argento a scaglia <che ho> profilati
di mia fattura, domando scudo uno sc. 1
e più, per avere profilati di lacca le fiamme di corame d'oro e due [***]
da pellegrino di corame d'oro di lacca con vernice di mia fattura,
domando scudi uno sc. 1

sc. 14[30]

[8] fol. 186v:
<10 March 1638>
e più, per un arco et carcasso con frezze di argento et di
oro <che ho> dipinti et lavorati di mia fattura, domando
0.60 scudi uno[31] sc. 1
et in tutti i sopraddetti lavori si è messo migliara tre di
0.60 argento et due di oro fino sc. 1
Io, Bastiano Morosino, a richiesta di Lorenzo Bartolino, indoratore,
fo fede come lui ha ricevuto dal signore don Servio scudi
nove di moneta per saldo et intero pagamento del suddetto
8 suo conto questo dì 10 di marzo 1638, dico sc. 9
io Bastiano Morosino mano propria

[8] fol. 190r:
<1, 4, 6, 7 and 9 February 1638>
adì primo febraro 1638
All'Eminentissimo e Reverendissimo Signore Cardinale Francesco Barberini deve
dare per le appresso robbe servite per la rappresentazione di San Bonifazio
sc. 2.40 para tre calzette di stamo, para due gialle e para uno rosse sc. 3.60
adì 4 detto
sc. 1.60 para due simile nere sc. 2.40
adì 6 detto
sc. 0.80 para uno simile gialle sc. 1.20
adì 7 detto

[30] The receipt at the bottom of the page attests that the artisan was paid only 8 scudi.
[31] *Carcasso* is an obsolete term, meaning quiver. See Battaglia, II, p. 748.

sc. 1.50	numero 2 cornetti da caccia, d'ottone, con sui boccaglie	sc.	2
	para uno calzette di stamo incarnatine, grande, longhe da		
sc. 1	attaccare di maglia all'Inglese	sc.	1.60
sc. 4.80	para 5 di stamo ordinario da homo	sc.	6
	un berrettino alla scocca di ermellino rosso cremisino, alto più del solito, con la tregiera alta assai e contra fodera di tela, foderata di ermellino nero e foderata di ermellino rosso la tregiera con fiocchi di sua lana, e tutto guarnito di suo		
sc. 1.20	passamano[32]	sc.	2
sc. 0.30	per fattura di detto berettino	sc.	0.50
sc. 3.20	para uno calzette di seta da homo incarnatine grande	sc.	4
	adì 9 detto		
sc. 1.60	para 2 calzette di stamo da homo	sc.	2.40
sc. 2	numero 8 penne colorate longhe di Venetia	sc.	4
sc. 1.20	numero 8 pennacchini bianchi di Venetia, grandi	sc.	1.60
sc. 1	numero 8 penne nere doppie	sc.	2
sc. 22.60		sc.	33.30

[8], fol. 204r:

<1, 4, and 6 February 1638>

Adì primo di febraro 1638

Io, Domenico Bolla stagnaro ho d'avere dal Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Signor Cardinale Barberino per avere fatto un bordone da pellegrino di latta, longo palmi 9, <che è> servito per la rappresentazione alla Cancelleria <e che ho> consegnato al Bartoloni sc. 0.90

e più, ho foderate due [***] foderate di latta dove andavano i lumi per alluminare le sciene e gli è andati numero 20 fogli, che costano sc. 2

e più, ho speso in bollette per la detta, grosse et da impanata sc. 0.20

e più, per nostra fattura sc. 0.60

[32] *Cremisino* is an adjective meaning.with a crimson colour. See Battaglia, III, p. 950.

e più, ho dato numero100 boccaglietti per li moccoli di cera per attaccare tramezzo alle scene, <che ho> consegnati al signor Don Servio sc. 0.60

e, adi 4 detto, ho accomodata una corona di latta, fatte le stelle e saldate,<che ho> consegnata al Bartoloni sc. 0.40

e più, ho rifatte numero 24 lustriere vecchie e fattogli di nuovo due padellettecon li pedigozzi a ognuna, che so padellette numero 48 per le candele e <ho> fatti li anelli di nuovo per attaccarle in tutto ed <ho> adrizzate sc. 2.50

e più, ho fatto numero 9 lance di latta doppie con li soi bottoni e <con le>fascette per inchiodarle sc. 1.35

e più, ho fatto sei vasi, dentro ali vasi di cartone, per le [***], <li ho> saldati et imbollettati tutti et gli è andato numero14 fogli e fatti tre [***] a chiascheduno con la nostra fattura sc. 3

e più, si sono chiodati e legati con li vasi di cartone sc. 0.90

e, adi 6 detto, ho fatto quattro palle di piombo per fare calare [***] corde con li anelli di ferro pesati [***] 18 sc. 1.20

e più, ho fatto li attaccagli a numero 10 lustriere per attaccarle al muro sc. 0.50

sc. 14.15

[8], fol. 204v:

<8 and 10 February 1638>

1638

e più, deve per la retroscritta facciata sc. 14.15

e, adi 8 di febraro, ho dato due [***] grandi per l'olio, che tengano sei fogliette l'uno, <che sono> serviti alle Quattro Fontane, consegnati al sig. Nicola sc. 1

e più, ho rifatte numero 47 lustriere e gli ho fatte due padellette e due pedigozi l'uno et risaldate, adrizzate e rifatte tutte et messi li anelli per attaccarle, in tutto (alle 4 Fontane) sc. 4.50

e più, ho dato condotti per fare la fontana [***] 102 et se ne riavuto[***] 94 [***] 8 restato nella tinozza et il riavuto del detto si è riavuto tutto rotto in pezzi, se n'è dato

un'altra canna che mancava di [***] 32 ½ di piombo___sc. 1.37 ½

e più, per la fattura <della> stagnatura di due chiavi et [***]
3 ½ di saldatura et pegioramento di canne di piombo,
<in> tutto_____sc. 4

e, adi 10 detto, ho fatto due bussole di latta con [***] attorno per
mettere in due [***] per tenere il foco et imbollettate___ sc. 0.30

e più, ho dato numero 12 lustriere nove, per attaccare al muro,
con due padellette e piedi gozi per una, <che ho>
consegnate al signor Nicola,_____sc. 4.20

e più, ho raccomodato li vasi che riparano le torce del palco e
<li ho> rilegati con li vasi di cartone con ferro filato___sc. 0.80

e più, si è finito di foderare li vasi di cartone, foderati di latta,
et li piedistalli [***] li busi per le torce per il palco
della Cancelleria e gli è andato fogli 8 con la nostra
fattura e bollette_____sc. 1.80

e più, ho fatto quattro altri vasi di latta novi grandi per le torce
per il palco alle Quattro Fontane e con attorno ferro
filato per la mortella e fondo, e gli è andati 12 fogli con
la fattura e ferro filato per i detti attaccato_____sc. 2.20

e più, ho fatte sei lustriere grandi con il riparo per le torce
<che ho>consegnate al signor Nicola_____sc. 4.20

sc. 38.52½

[8], fol 205r:

<10 and 13 February 1638>

1638

e più, deve per la retroscritta facciata_____sc. 38.52½

(alle Quattro Fontane)

e più, ho fatte numero 6 altre lustriere nove ordinarie con due
padellette e piedigozzi_____sc. 2

e più, ho fatto una lustriera nova grande per la torcia messa in
mezzo al palco di ordine del signor Nicola_____sc. 0.70

e più, si è fatto quattro volte che si è fatta la commedia alle 4
Fontane arimettere e levare le canne della fontana e

stubarla sino finito la commedia sc. 3.20

(Cancelleria)

e, adi 13 detto, ho fatto quattro lampade di latta traforate con li fili di ferro a uso di catenella e stopinetti per li lumi per il tempio, in tutto sc. 1

e più, ho dato [***] una di talco sfogliato per accomodare le armature <che ho> consegnato al signor Don Servio sc. 2

sc. 47.42½[33]

[8], fol. 206r:

per avere modellato et fatta la forma del vaso e fattoci sei vasi di cartoncino et inargentati tutti per le torce al palco sc. 6

e più, per aver fatto il modello d'una testa di cavallo con il suo collo e fatta la forma, fatta di cartoncino collorito, e messoci li crini sc. 4

e più, fatto il modello delle zampe dell'orso, fatte di cartoncino e dipinto sc. 2

e più, fatto una maschera d'orso e dipinta sc. 0.60

e più, per aver fatto doi piedi di cavallo di legno e dipinti sc. 0.60

e più, per aver restaurato un carro dipinto, et inargentato sc. 6

e più, <per aver> inargentate e dipinte dodici mazze ferrate di legno sc. 6

e più, per aver fatto doi [***], et inargentate e depinte sc. 1

e più, per aver fatto et inargentato e depinta una una lamia sc. 0.60

e più, per aver fatto e inargentato una bacchetta sc. 0.50

e più, per aver servito al drago alla Cancelleria sc. 3

e più, per aver servito all'orso alle 4 Fontane sc. 3

sc. 33.30

[33] The receipt at the bottom of the page, dated 10 March 1638, attests that the artisan was paid only 36 scudi.

[8], fol. 212r:

Conto del lavoro fatto per la Dorlindana di Orlando alle Quattro Fontane di Sua Eminenza[34]

In prima, per aver montato quattro spade, <per aver> bollite le spighe, <per aver> accomodato li manichi <e> addrizzate le lame che servirono per provare alli Signori paggi, importa baiocchi 80 sc. 0.80

e più, per aver montato cinque spade, <per averne> indorate diverse, bollite, et aggiunto il ferro nelle spighe arrostate, et imbronite le lame, <per aver> messo due fodri, e tre manichi, importano scudi uno baiocchi settanta, sc. 1.70

e più, per aver dato tre spade, una indorata, una inargentata, e l'altra oro enegra con le sue lame bresciane, manichi, fodri, e pontali con guardie francese dritte, e mancine grande con coccole strafforate, importano scudi nove sc. 9

e più, per aver dato una guardia oro e negra francese dritta, e mancina con il pomo et manico, importa scudi uno baiocchi cinquanta sc. 1.50

e più, per aver fatto tre brocchieri, doi compagni agli altri e uno più grande, due negri et uno bianco con due cerchi indorati, et uno bianco con sei accarini, et 18 chiodi indorati per inchiodare li detti accarini, tagliate et incollate le tele di dentro, importano scudi sette baiocchi cinquanta sc. 7.50

e più, per aver accomodato sei brocchieri, cioè fatto sei cerchi bianchi con dodici accarini con 36 chiodi grandi, bianchi, per inchiodare i detti accarini, e <per aver> rincoppati li brocchieri, et incollate le fodre derieto, importano scudi tre baiocchi sessanta sc. 3.60

e più, per aver dato una lama che se roppe con fodro, et puntale, et un altro fodro, et puntale ad un'altra spada, importano baiocchi novanta sc. 0.90

e più, per aver fatto otto armacolli di corame, quattro d'oro, e

[34] 'La Dorlindana d'Orlando' refers to *La pazzia d'Orlando.*

quattro d'argento con quattro centorini, importano scudi
doi baiocchi cinquanta sc. 2.50

e più, per esser stato quattro giorni al servizio per refilare le
spade, et armare i cavaglieri, importano scudi uno e
baiocchi sessanta sc. 1.60

sc. 29.10

[8], fol. 212v:

Lavoro fatto alla tragedia di S. Bonifatio fatta alla Cancelleria

In prima, per aver dato una spada indorata francese con guardia,
con un mascarone in mezzo, con lama stretta bresciana
con il fodro et il pontale dorato, importa sc. 3

e più, per aver dato una spada inargentata con guardia lavorata
all'antica, con lama bresciana, fodro e pontale inargentati,
importa scudi 2 e baiocchi 50 sc. 2.50

e più, per aver dato una spadina indorata alla francese, con
guardia a un punto, con la coccoletta in mezzo sigillata
e fatta azzurro, con manico d'oro e seta torchina con lama
bresciana, fodro e pontale indorato, importano scudi tre
e baiocchi sessanta sc. 3.60

e più, per aver dato un fodro alla spada inargentata.[35]

<the receipt, at fol 213r, was signed on 10 March 1638>

[8], fol. 220r:

Conto dell'Eminentissimo Cardinale Barberino alle 4 Fontane

Prima, 50 dozzine di sonali di ottone grossi con [***]
per fare 10 para di sonaliere a 60 sonali per
12.50 paro a baiocchi 35 la dozzina sc. 17.50

2 pelli grosse per fare le sonaliere e fare altre 10
0. [***] para con le nespole sc. 1.80

canne 30 di fettuccia di seta bianca per mettere alle
suddette 20 para di sonaliere e nespole e 12

[35] The receipt attests that the amout of money actually paid was 25 scudi.

0.95	di fettuccia per paro	sc.	2.25
	per [***] e cordoni da liuto per infilare le dette		
-----	sonaliere	sc.	0.25
0.25	e più, un altro paro <di> sonaliere con 60 sonali	sc.	1.75
	e fatto 4 altre para di nespole	sc.	[***]
	e più, fatto un paro <di> sonaliere per amorino <con>		
	tutti i sonaldi casa	sc.	[***]
0.25	per corame per queste 6 para	sc.	0.50
0.12	per fettucce di seta per queste 6 para	sc.	0.67
	per fattura di tutto il sopraddetto lavoro	sc.	3
	e più, rifatto 6 paia di nespole [***] fettucce con [***]		
1.60	con nespolo in tutto	sc.	1
Saldato a parte			
		sc.	28.72

<signed at fol. 221v by Angelo Presalli mascheraro>

[8], fol. 225r:

S'è avuto in gardarobba, per servitio della rappresentazione di San Bonifatio, dal Greco tessitore di taffettano, canne 40 di taffettano torchino […]

[8], fol. 227r:

Conto del [***] Barberino in Cancelleria

0.50	Prima, <per> due testiere da putto canute	sc.	1
0.30	due monetine fine di renso	sc.	0.50
0.20	2 zanetini fini per puti	sc.	0.30
	2 diavoli accomodati per cantare, taliati e fattone		
0.20	uno	sc.	0.40
0.15	1 barba posticcia fina con le sue [***] per il Bugati	sc.	0.30
0.15	e più, un'altra monetina di renso	sc.	0.25
	e più, 4 maschere di renso da omo [***] del		
0.70	naturale	sc.	1.70
		sc.	4.45

si <è> fatto una testiera da donna e si <è> messo
0.25 una intrecciatura di argento del mio sc. 0.40

sc. 4.85

[8], fol. 238r:

per legatura di 1500 argomenti della rappresentazione di S. Bonifacio, a ragione di tre giuli il paro coperti di carta colorita sc. 22.50

e più, <per> legatura di un argomento in carta pecora con filetti d'oro <che> servì per il signor Cardinale di Savoia fatto di ordine dell' Illustrissimo Monsignor Scannarola sc. 0.30

e più, <per> legatura di 2350 argomenti come sopra, per la rappresentazione fatta alle Quattro Fontane sc. 33.25

e più, per venti argomenti in carta pecora con filetti d'oro sc. 6

e più, per venti altri, ricoperti sopra di carta d'India a baiocchi 7 ½ l'uno sc. 1.50

sc. 63.55

<c'è> d'avvertire che li suddetti argomenti sono sempre venuti dalla stampa bagnati e <che> bisognava fare dei foconi di foco et tener gente per asciugarli con grande scomodità e fatica.

[8], fol. 245r:

Conto di lavori di festarolo fatti da Bastiano Morosini festarolo in diversi luoghi per l'Illustrissimo e R.mo Signore Cardinale Barberino

[…]

Lavori fatti per la rappresentazione di San Bonifacio

Per aver sparato e parato di taffettani per la rappresentazione di San Bonifatio et essere stato assiduo giorno e notte per appicciare le lampade e tirare li taffettani ogni volta che si faceva la rappresentazione, con 2 huomini, et avere attaccato e staccato tutti li quadri della galleria e tornatoli a riattaccare e fatto tutto quello che veniva comandato, et per avere attaccato e staccato li taffettani alle Quattro Fontane

da aprire e serrare et essere stato assiduo ogni volta che si faceva la tragedia con un altro uomo, come si è visto, importa il tutto sc. 10[36]

[8], fol. 249r:

Stivaletti e scarpe per l'attione delle 4 Fontane

per <il> conte della Massa, numero uno stivaletti d'oro 50 sc. 0.70
per Capponi, paro uno stivaletti simili 50 sc. 0.70
per Pili, paro uno stivaletti simili 50 sc. 0.70
per Amiani, paro uno stivaletti simili 50 sc. 0.70
per Meocci, paro uno stivaletti simili 50 sc. 0.70
per Pazzi, paro uno stivaletti simili 50 sc. 0.70
per Sisinio Poli, paro uno stivaletti simili 50 sc. 0.70
per <il> Cavalier Ranieri, uno stivaletti simili 50 sc. 0.70
para quattro stivaletti d'argento per le ninfe [***]
per Carlo Galanti 50 sc. 0.70
per <il> Cavalier Sorbelloni 50 sc. 0.70
per Tomasi 50 sc. 0.70
per <il> Cavalier Ranieri 50 sc. 0.70
per Castellani 50 sc. 0.70
per Giovanni Paolucci 50 sc. 0.70
per Girolamo Paolucci 50 sc. 0.70
per Maffeo Capponi 50 sc. 0.70
per Malatesta, paro uno detti di oro 50 sc. 0.70
per <il> Conte d'Alba, paro uno detti d'argento 50 sc. 0.70
per pezzi di oro 50 sc. 0.70

per li signori musici

<per> Angelo [***], paro uno <di> stivaletti d'oro 50 sc. 0.70
per Marcantonio <Pasqualini>, paro uno <di> stivaletti d'argento con calcagnini alla francese 60 sc. 0.80
per Gioseppe, paro uno <di> stivaletti d'oro con il sugaro e legno 60 sc. 0.80
per Carpano paro uno <di> scarpe d'argento 50 sc. 0.70

[36] The verb *appicciare* means to light up

per D. Cristofano, paro uno <di> stivaletti d'oro 50 sc. 0.70
<per l'> accomodatura di un paro di scarpe e
messoci le sola per il S. Odoardo 30 sc. 0.40
per <l'> accomodatura di un paro di stivaletti rossi e
messoci le sola per il Signor Paolo 25 sc. 0.30
per aver servito quattro volte a tre uomini per volta a
quattro giuli il giorno per uno 3.60 sc. 4.20
16.25 sc. 22.44
somma la retroscritta facciata sc. 20.40
in tutto somma sc. 42.80[37]

[8], fol. 250r:
<23 January and 5 February 1638>
nota di colori et altro dato per servizio della stanza della
rappresentazione fatta in Cancelleria con ordine del
detto Servio et per Francesco Romanelli e [***]

23 gennaro 1638, gesso grosso pesto libre 50	sc.	0.60
5 febraro, con ordine del detto Servio, libre 50 gesso	sc.	0.60
oro stridente tritofino, libra una	sc.	1.20
e detto, con ordine del medesimo, libre 2 d'oro	sc.	2.40
e più, con ordine del signor [***] biacca libre 10	sc.	0.80
terra d'ombra libre 2 <e> terra rossa libre 8	sc.	0.12 ½
terra verde bella macinata <e> capata, libre 4[***]	sc.	0.60
terra nera libre 2 <e> terra gialla libre 2	sc.	0.20
giallo santo, libre 1	sc.	0.70
verdetto bello fino di Fiandra [***] 6	sc.	0.60
indaco fino bagatello [***] 6	sc.	0.90
lacca di verzino [***] 6	sc.	0.25
pennelli di setole grosso, numero 2	sc.	0.15
detti mezzanotti, numero 4	sc.	0.10
detti mezzani in asta, numero 12	sc.	0.20
detti di varo in penna grossa, numero 3	sc.	0.09 ½

[37] The receipt attests that the amout of money actually paid was 31 scudi.

e più, con ordine, giallo santo, libre 2 sc. 1.40
verdetti di Fiandra scuro e chiaro, libre due sc. 2.40
biacca, libre 10 sc. 0.80
e più, con ordine, pennelli di setole bianchi in asta, numero 12 sc. 0.20
e più, con ordine, indaco bagatello fino, libre 2 sc. 3.60
e più, con ordine, giallo santo, libbre 1 ½ sc. 1.05
nero di feccia di stampa, libre 2 a baiocchi 12 sc. 0.24
più, con ordine, smaltino di Fiandra bello, libre 4 a baiocchi 30 sc. 1.20
terra d'ombra, libre 2 sc. 0.10
verdetto di fiandra bello, libre una sc. 1.20
e più, con ordine, biacca libre 10 sc. 0.80
e più, con ordine, pavonazzo di sale, libre 1 sc. 0.10
pennelli di setole mezzani, numero 12 in asta sc. 0.20
indaco fino, libre una sc. 1.80

sc. 24.60

[8], fol. 251v:

somma la facciata a terga e segue sc. 24.60
e più, terra gialla scura, libre 3 sc. 0.15
terra rossa, libre una sc. 0.05
giallo santo, libre una sc. 0.70
verdetto di Fiandra fino, libre una sc. 1.20
terra nera, libre tre sc. 0.15
e più, giallo lino fino, [***] 3 sc. 0.15
e più, con ordine del detto Servi, libre 50 <di> giallo pisto sc. 0.60

sc. 27.60

tarato 8.40

netto sc. 19.20

[8], fol. 252r:

<12, 27 and 29 January 1638>

adì 12 genaro 1638

<il> Signor Nicolò Menghini deve dare per le appresso robbe date con ordine suo e disse

servire per le scenne alle Quattro Fontanne e prima

gesso grosso libre cento a giuli 10 sc. 0.80 sc. 1

e più, per un pennello grosso assai di pelo bianco di

[***] 6 per dar il gesso sc. 0.15 sc. 0.20

27 detto, con ordine suo, gesso grosso libre 100 sc. 0.80 sc. 1

terra verde bella libre 10 a baiocchi 15 libra sc. 1.20 sc. 1.50

terra gialla scura libre 5 a baiocchi 4 la libra sc. 0.16 sc. 0.20

terra d'ombra libre 5 a baiocchi 4 la libra sc. 0.16 sc. 0.20

terra nera libre 5 a baiocchi 4 la libra sc. 0.16 sc. 0.20

terra rossa libre 2 a baiocchi 5 la libra sc. 0.08 sc. 0.10

biacca libre 10 a baiocchi 8 la libra sc. 0.70 sc. 0.80

indaco fino libre 6 a baiocchi 15 la libra sc. 0.70 sc. 0.90

lacca di verzino libre 6 a baiocchi 60 la libra sc. 0.24 sc. 0.36

<adì> 29 detto, con ordine suo

verdetto di Fiandra fino, libre una a giuli 12 la libra sc. 0.80 sc. 1.20

pennelli di setole grossi, numero due sc. 0.10 sc. 0.20

detti mezzanotti, numero 6 [***]

detti mezzanotti in asta n° 12 [***]

[…]

[8], fol. 256r:

<2 February 1638>:

adi 2 febbraio 1638

L'Eminentissimo et Reverendissimo Signore Cardinale Don

Francesco Barberino deve dare per servitio de la tragedia numero

due pelle macellate bianche et grande lavorate consegnate a

messere Pietro perugino sartore a [***] 30 l'una sc. 2.10

più deve scudi due per numero [***] pelle macellate grande

[***] servirono parte per supplimento al vestito di uno vestito

da orso et per guarnire et rempire le quattro zampe di detto
orso a [***] sc. 2
più deve scudi tre tanto per [***] di detta pelle quanto per essere
stata tagliata detta pelle in più luoghi come si può vedere sc. 3
più deve scudi uno et baiocchi 50 per tre giornate servite per
vestire detto orso a baiocchi 50 il giorno sc. 1.50

sc. 8.60[38]

[8], fol. 265r:

Dodici baiocchi dati al cocchiero dei Cavalli di Santo Spirito a buon conto.

Dodici baiocchi al Politi che fa le gioie false per il [***] che si fece fare per Angelica nel ballo.

Tre baiocchi dati a due facchini per portare quattro [***] alle 4 Fontane.

Quindici baiocchi dati in Piazza Navona a una donna che intagliò in legno l'impresa dell'azione che si pose nel frontespizio degli argomenti […]

<signed Giuseppe Bugatti, who declares he received scudi 4.20>

[8], fol. 266r:

<27, 28 January, 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8 February 1638>

adì 27 di gennaio 1638

Il signor Niccolò Menghini deve dare per l'appresso robbe, <che> levò lui medesimo <e> disse servire per la tragedia.

Prima una pezza di seta pagliara di canne 12 a baiocchi
4.50 40 (35)la canna sc. 4.80
0.80 doi migliara di bollette da zoccoli sc. 1
0.35 [***] 11 ½ di cartoni sc. 0.40
A <dì> 28 detto una pezza di tela pagliara di canne
4.50 12 a baiocchi 40 la canna sc. 4.80
a <dì> primo di febbraio, un migliaro di bollette da
0.40 zoccoli sc. 0.50
0.54 libre 58 di cartoni sc. 0.63
a <dì> 3 detto numero due migliara di bollette da

[38] The receipt attests that the amout of money actually paid was 4.40 scudi.

0.40	zoccoli	sc.	1
0.56	libre 7 ½ di chiodi a rampini	sc.	0.62
0.50	a <dì> 4 detto libre 16 ½ di cartoni	sc.	0.58
0.40	a <dì> 6 detto libre 13 ½ di cartoni	sc.	0.48
	a <dì> 7 detto numero due migliara di bollette da		
0.80	zoccoli	sc.	1
0.33	a <dì> 8 detto numero 5 cartoni fini	sc.	0.50
0.05	e più, un quinterno di carta da scrivere	sc.	0.06
0.10	e più, numero 200 bollette da zoccoli	sc.	0.50
14.60		sc.	16.87

[8], fol. 267r: <a digitized copy of this folio is shown in fig. A.1, below>

Conti delle spese fatte per la sciena dal Menghini

in prima per colla giuli sc. 0.80

cinquanta cociolli per dipingere che costano l'uno un baiocco sc. 0.40

e più, quattro pignatte grandi che son servite per far colla sc. 0.40

e più, sei pignatte mezzane che serviveno alli pittori sc. 0.20

e più, giuli due di cannele tra giorno e notte che quasi tutti lavoravano con il lume, per il numero di giorni 12[39] sc. 3.40

e più, una torcia che <di> continuo stava accesa in su il palco

e più, per portatura di diverse robe che bisognava sc. 1.30

e più, per giornate quattro e tre vigilie che ha fatto uno che ha tirato la tela sopra i telari e poi datoli di gesso importa sc. 2.80

e più, giornate dicidotto a uno che ha macinato li colori e ha servito alli pittori che hanno dipinto le scene e anco ha fatto sette vigilie [***] due notti ha dormito sopra il palco delle scene per avere cura siglie dato a ragione di tre giuli il giorno et con la notte importa scudi sc. 7.50

e più, per cositura della tela turchina che è serviva per il palco, in turno due sarti gli devi giuli otto dico sc. 0.80

e più, per aver dato giuli quattro al festarolo che comprò quattro sforzini che servirono per tirare li taffetani innanzi alla

[39] *Cannel*a, plural *cannele*, is the dialectal regional variant of *candela*, candle.

sciena, dico sc. 0.40

e più, un giulio di vernice e nero di fumo e due pennelli che servirono per dipingere le lettere di Angelica e Medoro[40] sc. 0.10

e più, per il calzolaro che intagliò le lettere tre volte, giuli sc. 0.60

e più, giuli due al ferraro che sta in su la piazza per avere taglia<to> molte volte li ferri che tenevano la nuvola, dico sc. 0.20

e più, per una foreta, cioè sega da contornare le nuvole dico sc. 0.40

[8], fol. 267v:

e più, per giornate quattordici che ha fatto il Sigor Giovanni Francioni pittore, importa scudi dodici, dico sc. 12

e più, <per> giornate otto che ha fatto il signor Pietro Ferreri importa scudi sei, dico sc. 6

e più, <per> giornate quattro che ha fatto un giovane che si chiama Michelangelo importa scudi due dico sc. 2

[…]

e più, per avere dato da pranzo una mattina al sigor Pietro Ferreri e al signor Giovanni Francioni, il quale si spese giuli nove, dico sc. 0.90

e più, per avere dato alli falegnami in più volte giuli nove aciò andassero a bevere sc. 0.90

[…]

Conto delle vigilie che hanno fatto li falegnami

In tutto sono vigilie nove, cioè quattro sono per le commedie e cinque per lavorare la sera, tra questi vi è Momfrino che [***] dentro al carro e lo guidò tre sere. Lui prende qualche poca mancia. E più, per giornate otto e sette vigilie che ha fatto Giorgio todesco e l'ultima sera Giorgio investito da orso.

Li falegnami sono stati in cinque a far le vigilie.

Conti delle scene fatte alle Quattro Fontane

[40] *Nero di fumo* means charcoal.

[8], fol. 272r:

L'Eminentissimo Signor Cardinal Barberini deve dare per
fattura di avere messo insieme un paramento di taffetano turchino e fattone un cielo per la rappresentazione e fatto di nostra fattura sc. 3

[***] 2 di seta per cosire[41] sc. 0.40

e più, per aver messo assieme molti altri pezzi di paramento e fattone due pezzi [***], <che> stavano dalle bande e fatto un altro per dentro puro di taffetano giallo sc. 3

[***] 2 di seta per cosire sc. 0.80

e più, <per> fattura di un paramento di taffetano torchino alto palmi 16 di telino fatto in quattro pezzi armato da capo di fettuccia e messoci li doi anelli di ferro sc. 5

per seta per cosire sc. 0.80

per numero 300 anelli di ferro grandi messi alli pendenti et a tutto il paramento a [***] 60 il cento sc. 1.80

sc. 14.80

[8], fol. 274 r:

<16 March 1638>

Nota della spesa fatta per servizio della comedia fatta al Palazzo delle 4 Fontane fatta fare dall'Eminentissimo Cardinale Francesco Barberino fatta da me Giovanni Battista Soria ordinò il Signor Nicola Meneghino

per numero15 travicelli di ontano delli grossi, lunghi l'uno palmi 18, per fare li regoli per li telari a giuli 6 l'uno sc. 9

per numero 4 tavoloni grossi [***] di ontano, segati <in> tavole sottile sc. 3.20

per numero 28 tavole di castagno capate per il palco [***] sc. 4.76

per numero 6 travicelli di castagno sc. 1.50

per un legnotto per il palco, segato in mezzo, di palmi 30 di castagno sc. 3

[41] *Cosire* stands for *cucire*, to sew.

per numero 5 tavole di albuccio segate di palmi 12 l'una____sc. 1.50
per chiodi da 70 e da 80 et delli grossi di più sorte_____sc. 4.40
per capociare chiodi da 50 chiodetti_____sc. 1.25
pagati al carrettiere per portatura di detta robba in più volte__sc. 1.20
pagati alli faccini in numero 7 viaggi_____sc. 0.70
alli segatori per segare tavole <e> travicelli in regoli per li telari
e tavole sottile. Per detti lavori giornate 4_____sc. 4
giornate di mastro Lorenzotto numero 14_____sc. 7
giornate di [***] Francesco Momfrino numero 19_____sc. 7.60
giornate di [***] Jacomo [***] numero 15_____sc. 6
giornate di Flaminio Raimondi numero16_____sc. 6.40
giornate di Silvestro Pavoli numero10_____sc. 4
per la disfattura delle sciene dopo <aver> finito_____sc. 5.30

spesa sc. 66.31

[8], fol. 277r:

Lavori fatti per servizio dell'Eminentissimo e Reverendissimo Signore Cardinale Barberino per la comedia, overo rapresentazione, al Palazzo della Cancelleria e [***]
per aver fatti restringere otto morioni e <per averli> ridipinti
[***]_____sc. 3
per aver formato, indorato e dipinto numero tre armature, cioè
schiene e petti <e per> aver rifatto la forma a posta____sc. 9
per aver toccato d'oro e d'argento un'armatura di ferro e fattone
un'altra simile di cartone_____sc. 2
per l'inargentatura d'una canestra piana grande assai di 4 [***]
incirca, sotto e sopra, di costo_____sc. 1
e più, per aver formati e sfondati il fondo e messoci il talco a
due armature, cioè petti e schiena, e sopra, cioè uno di
rosso e l'altro di turchino velato _____sc. 6
per aver formato un altro morione più, bello_____sc. 1
sommano assieme scudi vintidue <in> moneta_____sc. 22

[*Chi soffre, speri* and *La fiera di Farfa* (Carnival 1639)]

Giustificazioni I, vol. 76, Francesco Barberini seniore. Giustificazioni 3315-3374, year 1639.

[9] Giustificazione n. 3315

[9], fol. 2r: [42]

Sommario della spesa della commedia

A Niccolò Menghini a ca. 13	sc.	530.35
Fra Valerio Poggi a ca. 15	sc.	17
Francesco Leonelli a ca. 18	sc.	172
Signor Cavalier Bernini a ca. 21	sc.	248
Giovanni Battista Soria a ca. 25	sc.	530.75
Giovanni Giacomo Peri a ca. 27	sc.	72.18
Cencio Corrado a ca. 29	sc.	24.71
Cencio Corrado sopraddetto a ca. 30	sc.	6.26
Giovanni Battista Bella a ca. 31	sc.	82
Giuseppe Galeoni a ca. 34	sc.	62.67
Flaminio [***] a ca. 35	sc.	22.28
[…]		
Francesco Rinardi a ca. 37	sc.	45.62
[…]		
Giovanni Gasparo Decametti a ca. 41	sc.	22
Bartolomeo Marchese a ca. 43	sc.	71.50
Pietro Corsi a ca. 44	sc.	611.64
Carlo e compagni facchini a ca. 51	sc.	26.[***]
A detti facchinia a ca. 52	sc.	1.[***]
Salvatore Amadio a ca. 55	sc.	106.[***]
Sarti e donne a ca. 57	sc.	79.50
Prospero Ricci a ca. 58	sc.	117

[42] Tamburini published fols 6r-15r of this Giustificazione in her *Gian Lorenzo Bernini* (see Tamburini, pp. 94-104). My transcription intends to provide an integration to hers, therefore, I did not transcribe the payment she has already published.

Girolamo Politi a ca. 60	sc.	[***]
	sc.	2853.67

[9], fol. 2v:

	sc.	2853.67
Belardino Storaro a ca. 62	sc.	12.90
Giovanni Giacomo Peri a ca. 64	sc.	2.15
Christoforo Bucatti per le monache a ca. 65	sc.	3.75
Vincenzo fioraro a ca. 67	sc.	18.60
Antonio canestraro a ca. 71	sc.	2.87
Michelangelo Olivieri a ca. 73	sc.	3
Niccolò e Giovanni Battista Gavazzini a ca. 75	sc.	13.50
Francesco Montesini falegname a ca. 77	sc.	19.10
Giuseppe Galeoni a ca. 79	sc.	2.86
Giovanni della Valle a ca. 81	sc.	20.50
Virgilio Mazzocchi a ca. 83	sc.	112
Suonatori a ca. 84, 85	sc.	123
Giovanni Poggioli a ca. 87	sc.	6.58
Christoforo Bugatti a ca. 88 et 94	sc.	72.50
Giacomo Antonio Montoris a ca. 90	sc.	74.10
Felice Sellori a ca. 97	sc.	9.20
Giovanni Simone coloraro a ca. 98	sc.	3.70
Giuseppe Gandolino a ca. 101	sc.	22.90
Giovanni Alponte a ca. 105	sc.	60.70
Angelo Peralli a ca. 106	sc.	1.90
Giuseppe Ghinizzari a ca. 109	sc.	23[43]
	sc.	3462.48 ca.

[43] The total of this count is followed by the abbreviation ca., which is not clear. I guess it hints to the *carte* attesting the payments.

[9], fol. 3r:

	sc.	3462.48 ca.
Rinallo Alfonso a ca.[***]	sc.	3.10
Lorenzo Bartolini a ca. 112	sc.	7.10
Detto a ca. 113	sc.	1.17
Bastiano Morosini a ca. 116	sc.	16
Paolo Ciampoli a ca 118	sc.	3
Giovanni Battista Fatio a ca. 120	sc.	6.20
Girolamo Gneppi a ca. 122	sc.	24
Francesco Passarini a ca. 123	sc.	8.90
Giacomo fioraio a ca. 123	sc.	2.60
Detto Servio a ca. 127	sc.	46.90
Antonio Storri chiavaro a ca. 129	sc.	2.30
Giovanni Domenico coloraro a ca. 135	sc.	4
Christofaro Leofonti a ca. 137	sc.	13.64
Tobbia d'Arigo a ca. 141	sc.	3.50
Antonio candelottaro a ca. 142	sc.	4.90
	sc.	3633.85
A Francesco Torroni a ca. 69	sc.	4.47
Belardino Terenzi a ca. 86	sc.	30
	sc.	3668.32

[9], fol. 16r:

<signed by Niccolò Menghini on 8 April 1639>

lista delle giornate del Caporal Giulio, e suoi huomini

Giulio giornate	12	sc.	6
Pietro Graltriccia	12	sc.	4.80
Michelangelo	12	sc.	4.80
Pietro Toso	12	sc.	4.80
Bartolomeo	9	sc.	2.70
Chiavarino falegname	7	sc.	3.50
		sc.	26.60

nottate delli detti

Giulio	20	sc.	8
Pietro Graltriccia	20	sc.	5
Michelangelo	20	sc.	5
Pietro Toso	20	sc.	5
Bartolomeo	9	sc.	1.20
Andrea Nelli scarpellino	4	sc.	2.40
il detto Chiavarino	20	sc.	8
		sc.	34.60

sc. 26.60

sc. 34.60

---

sc. 61.20

Io Niccolò Meneghini scudi sessanta uno e venti quali sono per saldo et integro pagamento del sovrascritto conto et in fede e [***] dì 8 di Aprile 1639 [***]

[9], fol. 17r:

<signed by Niccolò Menghini on 8 April 1638>

Questo che si deve alli Pittori e [***]

il Sig. Giovanni Maria d'Orbino resta havere	sc.	17
e più, il Sig. Giovanni Francesco Bolognese	sc.	8
Il Sig. Giovanni Fiorentino resta	sc.	6
Il Sig. Giovanni Fiamengo resta	sc.	10
Il Sig. Giovanni Battista Speranza resta	sc.	11.50
Il Sig. Girolamo	sc.	4.50
Io Niccolò Meneghini ho ricevuto	sc.	57

li scudi cinquanta sette e per integro pagamento del sodetto conto et in fede [***] questo 8 di Aprile 1639 Io Niccolò Meneghini mano propria

[9], fol. 18r:

<signed by Niccolò Menghini on 8 April 1638>

Resto che si deve alli falegnami per le veglie

Mastro Lorenzo, a viglie dieci	sc.	4

Mastro Domenico, viglie sei sc. 2.40
Momfrino, veglie sei sc. 2.40
Iacomo Bergamasco, viglie sei sc. 2.40
Mastro Antonio Falegname sc. 2.40
Gabriello, veglie sei sc. 2.40
Spagnolo, veglie sei sc. 2.40
Il sartore, veglie sei sc. 2.40
Iacomo, veglie sei sc. 2.40
Giovannino, veglie sei sc. 2.40
Pietr'Angelo, veglie venti sc. 6
[***] veglie sei sc. 2.40

sc. 34.00

Io Niccolò Meneghini ho ricevuto scudi trenta quattro scudi per
Integro pagamento del sodetto conto et in fede [***]
questo dì 8 di Aprile 1639 Niccolò Meneghini mano propria

18.30
34
57
61.20
359.85

sc. 530.35

[9], fol. 22r:
<2 and 7 March 1639>
adì 2 Marzo 1639
Opere delli muratori che hanno lavorato alla Commedia dal 22 febraro insino al dì sudetto[44]
[…]
Giò Paolo adì 2 marzo, mercoledì a scopare e rassettare li banchi [***]
[…]

[44] *Insino* is an adverb, which means 'untill'. See Accademici della Crusca (1729-1738), vol. 2, p. 863.

l'adì 7 marzo, Antonio muratore con li compagni sono stati in 3 a mantenere l'aqua per le fontane, la note et il giorno, <e per> diversi servizi per la comedia, 3 giorni e 3 note sc. 5.40
Giovanni Paolo aquilano una giornata et una sera sc. 0.50
<signed Valerio Poggi>

[9], fol. 27r: < a digitized copy of this folio is shown in fig. A.2, below>
denari spesi dal Signor Cavaliere Giovannni Lorenzo Bernini per far
fare la prospettiva della fiera. Diversi sorti di legname, cioè tavoloni, tavole d'ontano, travicelli et filagne di castagno, et tavole d'abeto, et chiodi, in tutto sc. 30 e 44 alcuni altri legnami ha messo il Soria sc. 30.44
e più, diverse robbe, come tele di più sorte, cartoni di più sorti, latte, spaghi, filo di ferro, corde di cetera, colla cervona, bollette di più sorte, [***] et filo in tutto sc. 61.62
al Sig. Giulio per dipingere tutta la detta prospettiva sc. 50
ad un homo, che dava di gesso, et colla, et macinava li colori [***] sc. 12.60
per colla, gessi et colori, et un poco di oro et argento sc. 31.40
per carbone et legna per far le colle, et gessi sc. 3.50
per portatura di detta scena da S. Pietro alle Quattro Fontane sc. 3
per due viaggi al carrettiero sc. 0.60
per numero otto maschietti ordinarij sc. 1
per giornate numero dieci di due segatori di legnami sc. 8
a Erasimo Camilli falegname per giornate venti ch'ha lavorato per detto servizio che un altro homo l'ha pagato il Soria sc. 6
in tutto si è speso scudi duicento otto e 16 baiocchi <in> moneta sc. 208.16

[9], fol. 28r:
<Signed by Gian Lorenzo Bernini on 9 April 1639>
[…]
ogni volta che si faceva la commedia, c'è andato di spesa scudi 8.20
per pagare numero 24 hommini sc. 8.10
detta commedia si è fatta cinque volte, che in tutto si è speso scudi quaranta e baiocchi 50 sc. 40.50

somma il retroscritto conto sc. 208.16
che insieme importa scudi duecentoquarantotto e baiocchi 66 sc. 248.66

[9], fol. 29r:
<the receipt of this giustificazione, dated 18 June 1639, is signed by Giovanni Battista Soria at fol. 34r>
Lavori fatti da M. Giovanni Battista Soria per servizio della pastorale che fa fare l'Eminentissimo e Reverendissimo Signor Cardinale Francesco Barberino al Palazzo alle 4 Fontane come qui sotto si vede
per il tramezzo di tavole di castagno con sua armatura, <che> sono
palmi 50 <e> altri palmi 6 ¾ [***] da una banda, fa canne 3.37
che a giuli 25 la canna fa sc. 10
per una tavola sopra che camina e una tavola a smezzo che copre il
condotto [***] 50 [***] 2 sc. 3
per il solaro di castagno con tavole adrizate con la piana e sua armatura
sotto al pian terreno, <cioè> sotto dove stanno li sonatori lungo
50 largo 10 ¼ fa canne 5.12 sc. 15
per numero undici traverse di flagne e tavole che reggano fa [***] di
[***]10 l'una, che a giuli 2 <sono> sc. 2.20
per numero 8 canali a uso di cassetta per tenere le torcie di tavole,
<fatti> di ontano in altezza di palmi 7 l'una [***] ½ [***] <e>
fatti numero 7 incastri per cassette per alzare le torcie [***] sc. 3
per una tavola che fa piano e attacca con la ramata accanto il palco,
lungo palmi 50 largo palmi 1 ¾, inchiodata e <per> aver dato
numero 4 gabelli sotto alla detta tavola sc. 2.20

[9], fol. 30v:
per numero 2 scalette con numero 4 scalini l'una, una alla frateschia
l'altra con ascadoni di palmi 3 l'uno sc. 2.60
per il solaro del piano a capo <di> detta scala, lungo palmi 5 largo
palmi 3, con due traverse, una in piedi, e quattro regoli per
parapetto di palmi 6 l'uno, che insieme monta sc. 1
per il solaro di castagno che reggono le colonne dell'ornamento [***]
per 2 bande [***], 22 [***] 4 ½, fa canna -99 sc. 3

per il solaro del palco dall'altra parte del serraglio, lungo 11 ½
largo 7 ½,seguita un altro pezzo lungo 9, largo 2 ½, fa canne
1.8 che monta sc. 3.20

per il zoccolo sotto alle quattro colonne di tavola d'albuccio, l'una
con larghezza 11 altezza 2, il piano di suddetta largo 4 con
due tramezzi in mezzo per zoccolo [***] in faccia, fa insieme
[***] 90 sc. 3.20

per numero due tavole per passare sopra la ramata di castagno sc. 0.60

per il tramezzo di tavole di castagno [***] che servono per la stanza
dove si serra la scena del signor Nicola, largo 18 alto 23 con
sua armatura con tre travicelli, che fa canne 4.31 sc. 13

per la porta d'ontano a detto tramezzo, largo 6 alto 13 sc. 3.30

29.90

[9], fol. 31r:

per un arcareccio in piedi di palmi 20 sc. 2

per il costo d'una filagna dove posa il condotto di piombo largo 20 sc. 0.50

per il solaro di castagno fatto per servizio del trono, largo 34 lungo 10,
li travicelli di lunghezza l'uno di palmi 12, fanno canne 3.40 sc. 10

per numero 13 tavole d'albuccio per detto trono di [***] 13 l'uno
[***] 1 e [***] 1 ¼ sc. 4.80

per numero due palchetti per tenere le robbe dalle bande della scena,
lungo 9 e largo 3, con due modelli sotto e fatti li busci nel
muro[45] sc. 3.20

per il palchetto incontro simile, con numero 6 tavole e numero 4
modelli sc. 3.20

ponte che va alle stanze dietro alla detta scena

per il tramezzo per tre faccie a detto ponte rustico di tavole di castagno
con suoi regoli nelli [***] 82 alto [***] 10 con sua armatura fa
canne 8.20 a giuli 25 sc. 24

[45] *Busci*o, plural *busci*, is the regional variant of *buco* (hole).

per il tavolato sopra detto di tavole, adrizato di castagno con regoli nelli [***] simili lungo [***] 45 largo [***] 9 fa canne 4.05 sc. 14

61.70

[9], fol. 31v:

per la fattura e chiodi del tavolato del ponte sotto, lungo palmi 38 largo palmi 9, fa canne 3.15 [***] sc. 1.50

per il tavolato del ponte dove sagliono le bestie di tavole di castagno grosse, lunghe palmi 43, larghe plami 9, fa canne 3.87 sc. 10

per numero 3 pontelli sotto al detto ponte in piedi uno alto [***] 20 e 2 di [***] 10 l'uno [***] sc. 2

per aver fatto numero 6 cavalletti quasi […] l'uno palmi 6 ½, alti l'uno [***] 18 con 4 piedi l'uno armati per 4 faccie con flagne. Li altri due son largo [***] 6 alto [***] 9 sc. 11.80

per numero 6 tavole con li regoli [***] per quattro faccie longa l'una palmi 4 larga palmi 2 ½ servono per le robbe della fiera sc. 4.20

per haver fatto 3 altre tavole per tenere li coccioli <per> li pittori con suoi regoli[46] sc. 2

per numero 3 altre simili sono una di [***] 4 larga [***] 1 ½ sc. 1.40

per numero 6 banchi d'albuccio largo l'uno palmi 8 con le fodere dalle bande e due piedi l'uno, <che> servono per li balli nella scena sc. 6

per un altro simile per il Zanni e il Coviello largo palmi 6 sc. 1

39.90

[9], fol. 32r:

per una tavola, lunga palmi 12 larga palmi 6, <fatta> in due pezzi centinata con trespiti, monta scudi sc. 3.80

per un fusto d'albero lungo palmi 4 largo palmi 3 ½ con una tavola sotto per la ventura da stendere le gioie e tirar fora la sorte con le traverse sotto sc. 0.60

per un porta mondezza per nettare il palco grande sc. 0.50

[46] *Cocciol*o, plural *coccioli*, is a small container used by painters during the seventeenth century for mixing colours and pigments.

per aver fatto una tavola per l'Ottavia lunga palmi 8 larga palmi 1 ½
con li piedi a modo di buffetto sc. 1
per aver fatto le due casse per le due fontane che stavano nel palco.
Una lunga palmi 6 larga palmi 4 e alta attorno la sponda palmi
1 ¼. L'altra [***] lunga palmi 6 larga palmi 3 ½, con la sponda
attorno alta palmi 1 ¾, che monta scudi sc. 4.80
per numero 15 travicelli di castagno per fare il ponte sopra le scene,
dove si calava et alzava la tenda, lunghi palmi 20 l' uno
monta sc. 11
per numero 18 tavole di castagno, adrizate e inchiodate sopra a due
travicelli,con altre tavole d'olmo date dal P. Valerio l'altre
del [***] monta sc. 4.80

sc. 26.50

[9], fol. 32v:
per numero 8 girelle tornite, fatte le fascie d'ischio <di> palmi 1 ½ l'una
serve per tirare in su e in giù la tenda, messe in opera, monta[47] sc. 1.50
per numero 10 rastelli per attaccare l'habiti della comedia [***],
l'uno palmi 10 con numero 8 cavicchi lavorati, di palmi 1
l'uno, monta sc. 10
per la cassa per tenere l'acqua dietro alle colonne per li zampilli,
lunga palmi 5 alta palmi 5 e palmi 1 2/4[48] sc. 3
per aver inchiodato e raccomodato tre volte li banchi da sederci con
regoli ogni volta che si è fatta la commedia con numero 80
regoli [***] castagno sc. 5.40
per numero 8 picche di palmi 20 l'una comprate in Campo di Fiore
e pagate sc. 3
per canne 10 di tela messa a dette picche, <che> servono per oscurare
li lumi per far oscurare la Commedia, pagato sc. 3.50
per bollette, pagate sc. 0.30
per tre paia di trespiti per li cimbali sc. 1.50

[47] *Ischio* is an obsolete dialectal term for a type of oak (quercus sessilis or quercus pedunculata). See Battaglia, VIII, p. 304.
[48] *Cavicchi*o, plural *cavicchi*, is a small piece of wood used as a nail. See Accademici della Crusca (1612), p. 167.

per 4 leggini, per tenere l'intavolature, con il piede di travicello con tre zampe acciò stia alto palmi 3 sc. 3
per numero 4 altri leggini senza piede, monta sc. 1.50
<total expenses sc. 32.7>

[9], fol. 33r:
per la cornice tra una colonna e l'altra nel vano della scena con sua armatura e squadri dietro lunga palmi 53 alta palmi 3 monta sc. 28
per li telari fatti per le scene fatte per la detta comedia, che [***] sono palmi 2565, se ne defalca per li telari perché ch'erano già palmi 758, che restano quelli fatti di novo palmi 1808 sc. 60
per li telari fatti per il cielo, che sono in tutto palmi 1219 sc. 38
per le tavole contornate per le nuvole e paesi e la loggia del ballo d'Ottavia et altri. In tutto con le catene che regano li detti telari e le catene che regano li canali di suddetta e le catene che regano la cornice sc. 48
per palmi 840 di canali fatti su il palco parte e parte di [***] sotto al cielo dove corrano le scene, larghezza palmi ¼ e palmi ½, monta sc. 42

seguono le due scene della loggia

per le due scene della loggia, che li telari delle dette loggie e cielo delle nuvole e catene che regono che stendano in tutto palmi 837 di larghezza palmi 1/3 sc. 28

244

[9], fol. 33v:
per il pavimentato fatto tra una loggia e l'altra, con sua armatura sotto, lungo palmi 25 largo palmi 5 ½, fa canne 1.37, monta sc. 6.50
per palmi 228 di tavole che sono in detta scena che sono servite per li lumi e le colonne [***]
per palmi 160 di canali alla predetta loggia [***]

Il giardino fatto dal signor Nicola <Menghini>

per fusti di legnami fatti per la scena, in tutto sc. 40
per opere numero 74 in diversi prezzi, monta sc. 39

per chiodi per detto giardino sc. 15

per il Signor Cavalier Bernino

per giornate numero 43 pagate sc. 19.30

pagati alli segatori opere numero 10 sc. 9

per travicelli e tavoloni e 4 arcarecci, in tutto sc. 12

per aver messo e levato più volte e accomodato le scene e nuvole e messele in opera per il spreco di legnami e chiodi, in tutto sc. 30

sc. 207.80[49]

[9], fol. 40r:

<11, 14, 19, 24, 27 February 1639>

adì 11 febraro 1639

Io Domenico Bolla stagnaro ho d'avere dal eminentissimo e reverendissimo sigor Cardinale Barberino per numero 172 bochagli et il reparo adietro fatti di latta per mettere le candele et alluminare le sciene della comedia grandi due terzi più degli altri anni fatti di ordine del sigor Nicola

e adì 14 detto ho messe le canne di piombo a la fontana [***] e gli ho fatti numero 13 [***] sopra alle dette canne e fatte ancora 13 saldature per saldarli sopra le dette canne

e più, ho dato al facchino per la portatura delle dette canne [***]

e più, ho date 50 lustriere di latta delle ordinarie per dette candele per le sciene

e più, ho date numero 10 lustriere grandi da torce [***]

e più, numero 160 altri bocagli come li suddetti per candele da tavola

e più, ho dato saldatura per saldare tutti li condotti chiave e zampilli e giochi

[…]

e più, gli ho dato numero 40 zampilli per il [***] inanzi al palco [***] e fattogli 40 saldature in tutto

adì 19 detto ho dati numero 34 vasi di piombo per il ciarlatano per la fiera, cioè dieci per sorte e quattro per mostra

e più, gli ho dato 10 lustriere ordinarie da due candele

adì 24 ho dato 24 lustriere grandi per le torce

e adì 27 ho dato altre 15 lustriere grandi per le torce

[49] The receipt attests that the sum actually paid was 161.15 scudi.

e più, ho dato 6 vasi grandi con li fondi tutti armati di ferro filato per tenere le torce a piedi al palco

e più, ho fatti 34 smorzatori per le torce quando si oscurisce per la tempesta

e più, ho messi numero 9 zampilli attorno alla fontana tonda e fatte nove saldature

e più, ho date tre [***] di latta [***] e li stoppini per alluminare certi cantoni della prospettiva

e più, si è accomodate numero 20 lustriere grandi vecchie in tre volte che erano tutte guaste e rotte

e più, si è portato in più volte condotti grossi e sottili [***]

[9], fol. 87r:

<19 February 1639>

[…]

adì 19 febbraio

per aver fatto una ramata di filo di ferro grosso innanzi alla scena dove stavano li musici a sonare, alta palmi 8 2/3 larga 49 fanno palmi quadrati numero 410 a 6 baiocchi il palmo [***]_____sc. 24.60

[9], fol. 129:

Conto di Bastiano Morosino festarolo di lavori fatti per la tragedia fatta alle Quattro Fontane per Carnevale

prima per avere attachato le stoffe alle finestre et sopra il tetto dove si vestivano li recitanti, <per> avere attaccato e staccato le tenne doppie, cioè una sopra l'altra, per tutto il salone con gran fatiga essere stato a [***] a fare quello che ce bisognava e che c'era comandato, che il tutto importa[50]_sc. 20

Io, Bastiano Morosino festarolo, ho ricevuto scudi sedici di moneta, <i> quali sono per saldo del sudetto conto, per le mani del Signore Don Servio Servio, questo dì 9 aprile 1639 dico_____sc. 16

Io Bastiano Morosino mano propria

[50] *Tenne* is a variant of *tende.*

[9], fol. 131r:

Conto dell'oro di metà et argento e oro fino che è servito per la comedia alle 4 Fontane per ordine del signor Don Servio

per avere dato dui migliara d'argento a giuli dodici il migliaro,

importa sc. 2.40

e più, per avere dato sei libretti d'oro di metà sc. 0.60

e più, per avere dato dui libretti d'oro fino sc. 0.40

saldato in scudi monta sc. 3.40

Io Pauolo Cianpo ho ricevuto li sopradetti scudi tre e mi chiamo contento e sodisfatto del presente incontro [***][51]

[9], fol. 135r:

<11, 23 and 27 January 1639>

Conto del lavoro fatto alla commedia questo Carnovale alle Quattro Fontane dell'Eminentissimo Signore Cardinale Barberino

adì undici gennaro 1639

In prima, per aver dato doi spade di scrima con guardie e coperte manichi di spago e fattoli li bottoni che servirono per li paggi del Sigor Principe Prefetto de ordine del Signore Malatesta, importano scudi doi sc. 2

e più, per aver dato doi guardie nelle spade di combattere per provare con doi manichi, e doi altre bollette le [***] e fermate le guardie e messo un manico de ordine come sopra, importa scudi uno baiocchi 30 sc. 1.30

adì 23 detto

e più, per aver fatto una spada per Pasquarello piccolo fattoli il pomo che giri, et per un armacollo de ordine come sopra, importa scudi uno sc. 1

e più, per aver accomodato una spada di Pasquarello grande e cioè fattoli doi giretti di argento al pomo et inargentatali li bottoni della guardia e bolletta d'[***] de ordine come sopra, importa baiocchi 40 sc. 0.40

[51] The amount of money actually paid was 3 scudi, as documented by the count written on the left of this giustificazione, where the request for 2.40 scudi is lowered to 2 scudi.

adì 27 detto

e più, per aver arrotato e polite sei lame e fatto sei fodri e sei pontali, compagni alle guardie, e a doi altre levato il filo de ordine del Signore Malatesta importano scudi doi baiocchi 20 sc. 2.20

e più, per aver dato doi lame compagnie con fodri e pontali de ordine come di sopra, importano scudi doi sc. 2

e più, per aver dato sette guardie di spada diverse, cioè doi argenti e negre, una liscia e l'altra lavorata, e tre altre, tutte

sc. 8.90

[9], fol. 135v:

<27 January, 1, 2, 5 and 7 March 1639>

importa di là sc. 8.90

inargentate una a tre ponti liscia, e una mezza lavorata e l'altra con le cocciole grandi de ordine del Signore Malatesta, a scudi doi l'una importano sc. 14

e più, per aver dato doi pugnali novi, inargentati de ordine come sopra, importano scudi doi sc. 2

e più, per aver arrotato e polito le lame dei sette pugnali e fattoli una boccaglia indorata che mancava, importa baiocchi 40 sc. 0.40

e più, per aver accomodato nove centorini, fattoli sei fibbie con li sui ardiglioni, e doi [***] slongati, importa baiocchi 30 sc. 0.30

adì primo di marzo detto

e più, per aver refilato tutte le spade e fermate le guardie per la seconda volta, importano baiocchi 50 sc. 0.50

e più, per aver dato due lame che si spezzorno, la prima volta de ordine come sopra, importa scudi doi sc. 2

e più, per una segreta alla venetiana de ordine di sua Eminenza, <ho> speso di borsa scudi uno baiocchi 50 sc. 1.50

adì 5 detto

e più, per aver refilate tutte le detta spade e fermate per la terza volta, importano baiocchi sc. 0.50

adì 6 detto

e più, per aver dato una spada fornita con guardia a doi parti con le

cocciole dritta e mancina, di ordine come sopra, importa scudi
doi sc. 2

e più, per aver dato una guardia che la sua si era spezzata e messa in
asse sua lama, baiocchi 90 sc. 0.90

e più, per aver dato un pugnale che si spezzò alla terza volta, di ordine
come sopra, importano baiocchi 80 sc. 0.80

adì 7 detto

e più, per aver refilato tutte dette spade per l'ultima sera e fermate le
guardie, importano baiocchi 50 sc. 0.50

sc. 34.30

[9], fol. 136r:
<7, 19 March and 8 April 1639>

importa di là sc. 34.30

e più, per avere dato una lama che si spezzò alla quarta volta, con
fodro e pontale, importano scudi uno sc. 1

e più, per avere dato una guardia in una sua lama, che la sua si spezzò,
che servì per l'ultima sera, de ordine del signore Malatesta,
importa baiocchi 80 sc. 0.80

importa in tutto sc. 36.10

Io faccio fede <di> avere ordinato tutte le sopraddette robbe, e queste essere servite per l'eminentissimo Padrone. questo dì 19 marzo 1639
Malatesta Albani mano propria

mi ponerebbe scudi 20

pure mi rimetto alla prudenza d'altri

Saldato il suddetto conto in scudi vintiquattro <in> moneta <24>

Io Francesco Ricchari fo fede, per non sapere [***] Gironimo Grippa scrivere, per sua commissione, che esso ha ricevuto scudi ventiquattro <in> moneta per saldo et intero pagamento del suddetto conto et in fede per questo dì 8 d'Aprile 1639 sc. 24

[9], fol. 141r:

Nota di spese di Servio per la comedia Chi soffre, spera

per fittuccia torchina sfioccata per compimento di un busto sc. 0.35

per chiodi sc. 0.16

per quattro berrettini di marrocchino sc. 0.40

per [***] usato ad una veste negra sc. 1

per stoppa per far ricci [***] sc. 0.90

per archetti numero 60 per metter li vestiti sc. 0.60

per merletti con lustrini d'oro falzo per guarnire il vestito di Marc' Antonio <Pasqualini> sc. 3.80

per una carretta per portare dalla Cancelleria piena di diverse robbe e [***] per tirare le tende sc. 0.25

per numero quattro dardi di latta allo stagnaro al Paradiso sc. 0.60

per un facchino che portò una cassa di cera sc. 0.10

per portatura di diversi banchi, numero cinque carrette e facchini sc. 1.70

dato al fittucciaro della fiera per diverse fittuccie pigliate per cavalieri e dame, per scarpe et testa sc. 2.20

per moneta falsa per la prima sera che fu fatta la commedia sc. 0.60

per capelli per le testiere di dame sc. 3.20

per sei altre carrette e facchini per portare altri banchi sc. 2.10

per confetti per la prima sera sc. 1.50

per quattro capigliere fatte fare apposta per le dame e altri capelli veri sc. 5

per altri confetti, oltre a quelli dati per ordine di Monsignore Rospigliosi, fatti comprare sc. 1.20

<sc.> 25.66

[9], fol.141v:

somma e segue [***]

per fettuccia per la seconda volta per li paggi et dame come sopra sc. 2

dato per fare collazione alli sarti per fare rassettare li vestiti sc. 0.60

per moneta falza sc. 0.30

per fittuccie di filo sc. 0.60

per fittuccie di seta sc. 0.80
per fiori da testa, <ho> dato al fittucciaro sc. 1.50
per moneta falza per la terza sera sc. 0.30
per confetti come sopra sc. 1.20
per diverse fittuccie al fittucciaro come sopra per li paggi sc. 1.10
per ciambellette sc. 0.30
per moneta falza per la quarta sera sc. 0.30
per confetti di più oltre a quelli dati dal dispensiero sc. 1.20
per fittuccie al fettucciaro della fiera per paggi et dame sc. 0.90
per spille in più volte sc. 0.60
per ciambellette sc. 0.30
alli moratori di San Lorenzo et a quelli di [***] Pietro, numero sei
per volta, per tirare et abbassare la tenda sc. 3
dato a tre pittori, ch'hanno aiutato al signor Giovanni Francesco per
dipingere una sciena in due telari alti palmi 30 longhi palmi 34,
<che> servì per la rappresentazione di S. Bonifatio sc. 6
per tintura di [***] sei di stoppia a messer Giacomo all'Olmo tintore sc. 0.30

Io Servio Servij fo fatte le suddette spese sc. 21.30

[9], fol. 145r:
<24 January 1638>
adì 24 gennaro 1639
[…]
quattro padelle di ferro nove mezzane senza manico [***] serveno per metterci la mestura per far luce per la commedia alle 4 Fontane [***]
[…]

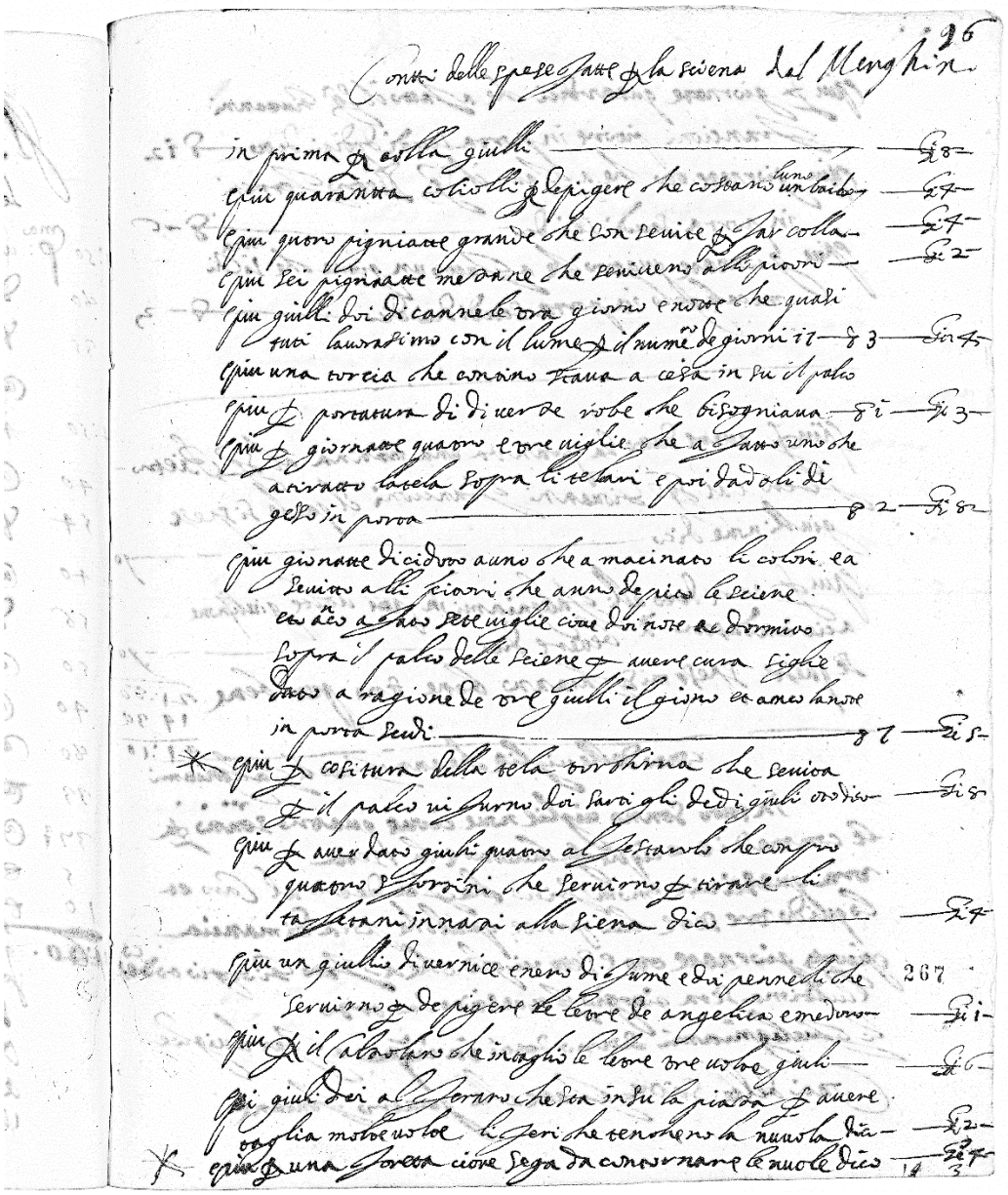

Fig. A.1 BAV, Arch. Barb., Giust. I, vol. 71, fol. 267 (for a transcription of this document, see item [8] fol. 267r, above).

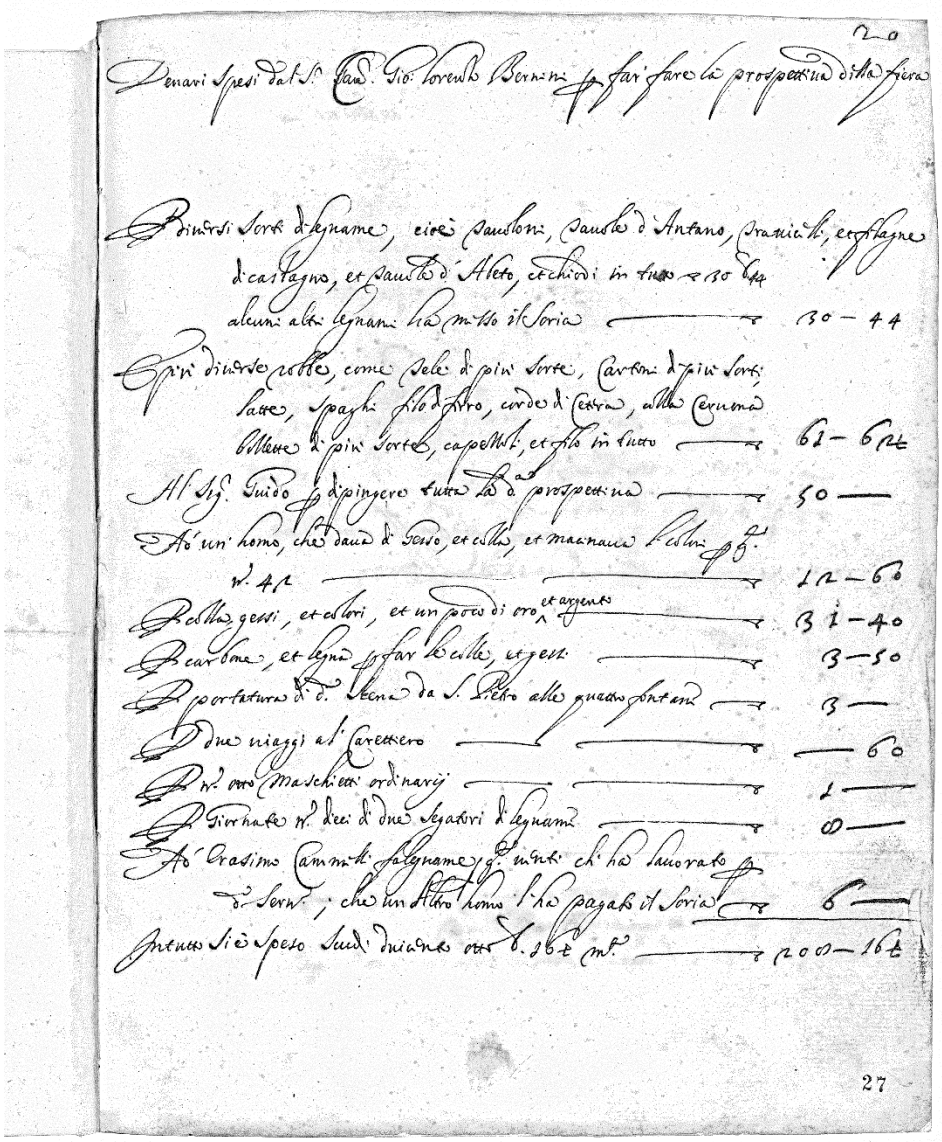

Fig. A.2 BAV, Arch. Barb., Giust. I, vol. 76, fol. 27r (for a transcription of this document, see item [9], fol. 27r, above).

[*La vita humana* and *La giostra dei caroselli* (Carnival 1656)]

Giustificazioni I, vol. 114, Francesco Barberini seniore. Giustificazioni 7467-7538, years 1655-1656.

[10] Giustificazione n. 7493

[10], fol.125v:
<March 1656>
Spese per la comedia
Al medesimo Santini per suo rimborso d'altrettanti dati d'ordine di Sua Eccellenza, cioè scudi 18 a Luca Cherubini, maestro di ballo, per il balletto fatto nella Commedia intitolata La vita humana, e scudi 6.20 a Carlo, che servì in detto balletto a sonare il violino_____sc. 24.20

Giustificazioni I, vol. 116, Francesco Barberini seniore. Giustificazioni 7538-7615, years 1656-1657

[11] Giustificazione n. 7542

[11], fol. 11r:
<July 1656>
Nota delle penne, garze e altre robbe poste nel cimiero, grande, piccolo e per il cimiero da cavallo per servizio del [***]
numero 38 penne turchine,
numero 191 penne turchine,
numero 144 pennacchi tra bianchi e turchini,
numero 229 penne bianche,
numero 40 mazzi di garze diverse, tra bianche e turchine,
numero 50 rosette di rame inargentato battute a lustrini con specchietto poste nel detto cimiero,
numero 18 più grandi assai e più, ricche,

tocca d'argento posta per coprire li ferri,
numero 5 spighe fatte fare di vetro e inargentate,
numero 5 splendore di vetro tirato messo sotto a detto,
canne 3 di fettuccia di capicciola larga per legare detto,
per ferro, filo e carta per l'armatura di detti,
per fattura del cimiero grande e delli due piccoli,
In tutto <sono> sc. 148.65, <che ho> pagato in data [***] luglio 1656.

[12] Giustificazione n. 7545

[12], fol 17r:
<2 February 1656>
adì 2 febraro 1656
Nota delle penne consegnate al Signor Iacomo de Vecchi berrettaro
disse per servitio della Giostra dell'Ecc.mo Principe di Palestrina
come per sua ricevuta 1700 penne sotto scatola color di fuoco
giuli 3 l'una sc. 510
1700 dette <penne> color d'oro <a> giuli 2 l'una sc. 340
700 dette <penne> nere <a> giuli 2 l'una sc. 140
300 pennacchini color di fuoco a baiocchi 14 l'uno sc. 42
300 detti <pennacchini> color d'oro a baiocchi10 l'uno sc. 30
costano tutte senza la dogana sc. 1062
<i> quali, spartiti per otto, tocca per ciascuno sc. 132.75 <in> moneta
fuori che la dogana, <la> quale, dovendola io pagare, sono
obbligati,ciascuno per la sua porzione, di rimborsarmela la rata
del signor Conte della Mana sc. 132.75
per la rata del signor Angelo Leoncini sc. 132.75
e più, <ho> consegnato al signor Baron del Neri 426 penne, sotto
scatola, turchine e bianche <a> giuli 2, fa sc. 85.20
148 pennacchini a giuli 10 l'uno sc. 14.80

sc. 365.50

Si deve fare il mandato di scudi trecentosessantacinque e baiocchi 50 <in> moneta
a [***] Decio Marconi questo dì 4 luglio 1656 <signed by Francesco Cerioli>

Glossary

A

armacollo n. — plural *armacolli*, is a ruff or strap worn over one shoulder and passing under the other, crossing the chest. See Battaglia, I, p. 664.

B

*bandell*a n. — plural *bandelle*, is a metal strip with a hole at one of the endings to secure it on a pivot. See Battaglia, II, p. 40.

battiloro n. — obsolete term for the artisan who strikes precious metals to reduce them to thin foils. See Battaglia, II, p. 120.

biacca n. — white substance used as a colour by painters, obtained by treating lead with vinegar. See Accademici della Crusca (1612), p. 122.

*bollett*a n. — plural *bollette*, also spelled *bulletta*, refers to short nails with large roundish heads. See Battaglia, II, p. 439.

C

*cancan*o n. — plural *cancani*, is a technical term referring to L type screws.

candelottaro n. — also in the dialectal variant *cannelottaro*, refers to the craftsman who makes candles.

canestra n. — plural *canestre*, is a large wicker basket with two handles. See Battaglia, II, p. 630.

cannelottaro n. — *s*ee *candelottaro.*

canutiglia n. — is a fringe made with a twisted metal wire, usually of gold or silver. See Battaglia, II, p. 667.

chiavaro n. — is an obsolete regional variant of the Italian *chiavaio,* key maker. See Battaglia, III, p. 61.

*cocciol*a n. — plural *cocciole*, obsolete for the sword hilt.

coloraro n. — was the artisan who prepared and sold colours.

coramaro n. is an obsolete regional form for the artisan who tans and transforms pieces of leather (*corame*) into manufacts (leather tanner).

corame n. is a type of leather, adorned or printed, used to furnish rooms and halls, to coat chairs and armchairs, or for bookbinding. See Battaglia, III, p. 762.

credenziero n. plural *credenzieri*, was the person responsible for purchasing and keeping food. Maybe, he had also the task to taste the food before serving it to his master. See Battaglia, III, pp. 942-43.

D

dispensiere n. also in the regional variant *dispensiero*, was the person responsible for the administration of food and for managing the kitchen and the dining hall. See Battaglia, IV, p. 721.

dispensiero n. see *dispensiere.*

F

ferraro n. is the regional variant of *ferraio*, i.e. the artisan who works metals, ironsmith.

festarolo n. plural *festaroli*, means party maker/draper. A *festarolo* was the person responsible for furnishing a place with cloths and other ornaments (sometimes including flowers and garlands) for special occasions, such as banquets, performances, religious celebrations etc.

fettuccia n. plural *fettucce or fettuccie,* found also in the variant *fittuccia*, means ribbon.

fittuccia n. see *fettuccia.*

fittucciaro n. is the artisan who makes *fittuccie.*

G

*girell*a n. plural g*irelle*, is a term, which refers to the wheel of a pulley or to a pulley. See Battaglia, VI, p. 846.

I

imbollettare v. means to nail or garnish with *bollette.* See Battaglia, VII, p. 328.

incarnatino adj. with a fleshy pink colour. See Battaglia, VII, p. 626.

L

lattuga n. plural *lattughe*, also in the variant *latuco*, was a shirt garnish made of lace, linen or silk, placed around the wristles or on the breast. It was very common during the fifteenth, sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. See Battaglia, VIII, p. 833.

*latuc*o n. plural *latuchi*, see *lattuga.*

*leggin*o n. plural *leggini*, means *leggio*, music stand.

lustriera n. plural *lustriere* is a term not attested either in Battaglia or in other vocabularies. The meaning is inferred by the way it is used in the documents above and corresponds to the term *torciera* as used by Sabbatini in his manual, i.e. candleholder. See Sabbatini, pp. 62-63.

M

*maschiett*o n. plural *maschietti*, is the part of the hinge, which has to be inserted into the other part. See Battaglia, IX, p. 876.

*moccol*o n. plural *moccoli*, is a generic term for candle. See Battaglia, X, p. 635.

morione n. plural *morioni*, is the headpiece used in the iconography of the goddess Minerva, consisting in a helmet similar to the one shown in Chapter 1, fig. 1.8. See also Battaglia, X, p. 907.

O

ontano n. adler.

oro di metà a metal alloy of 23 carats, containing either the half (metà) or 23 parts out of 24 of fine gold. See Battaglia, XII, p. 136.

P

Palide — stands for *Pallade* (Pallas, Minerva).

*pass*o (*di legna*) n. — plural *passi*, was a unit of measurement ued for wood befor the introduction of the metric system. In Rome one passo was equal to 149 cm. See Battaglia, XII, p. 774.

pellicciaro n. — is the regional variant of the Italian *pellicciaio* (furrier), meaning either the person who tans leathers and sews and mends fur cloths, or the owner of a fur shop. See Battaglia, XII, p. 967.

R

*rampin*o n. — plural *rampini*, means hook.

*rifred*o n. — plural *rifredi*, is used in the documents above with the meaning of iced meals or iced sculpute. See *rifreddare* in Accademici della Crusca (1612), p. 708.

*rocchett*o n. — plural *rocchetti* is used in the documents above with the meaning of pilgrim's bag.

rosone n. — plural *rosoni.* In the documents above this term refers to the elaborate bows used to fix the ribbons that tied up the stockings.

S

solaro n. — a variant of *solaio*, i.e. floor, wooden-beam floor.

stamo n. — a variant of *stame*, i.e. the softer part of wool. See *Vocabolario degli Accademici*, ed. by Accademici della Crusca (1612), p. 843.

T

tiorba n. — a plucked string instrument (theorbo) similar to a big lute, which was used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

tocca n. — plural *tocche*, is an obsolete term meaning silk and golden ribbon. See Accademici della Crusca (1612), p. 888.

V

*vegli*a n.	plural *veglie*, means a night spent without sleeping. See Accademici della Crusca (1612), p. 937.
*vigili*a n.	plural *vigilie* is a synonim for *veglie* (see above)

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