

# The Grand Theater of the World

Music and space in the early modern world shaped each other in profound ways and this is particularly apparent when considering Rome, a city that defined itself as the “grande teatro del mondo.” The aim of this book is to consider sound and space as fundamental elements in the performance of identity in early modern Rome. Rome’s unique milieu, as defined by spiritual and political power, as well as diplomacy and competition between aristocratic families, offers an exceptionally wide array of musical spaces and practices to be explored from an interdisciplinary perspective. The theatricality of Rome itself calls for a consideration of all aspects of “performance” by extending the study to sound and music in all the spaces of the city but also by including noise and silence. The voices of singers in a religious procession, a serenata commissioned by an aristocratic family, the sounds of street sellers, animals, and the crowds, all contributed to creating a metaphorical theater on which the identities of all the participants were staged and whose boundaries were defined by the impact of the aural phenomenon irradiating from the area. Focusing on the theatrical quality of space by including the aural dimension, this volume aims to place music, but also the aural phenomenon more generally, in the spatial and performative dimensions of early modern Rome.

**Valeria De Lucca** is Associate Professor of Music at the University of Southampton. Her interests include music patronage during the seventeenth century, early modern women, the circulation of music in early modern Europe, systems of opera production between court and public theaters, and the visual aspects of the operatic spectacle.

**Christine Jeanneret** is HM Queen Margrethe II’s Distinguished Fellow of the Carlsberg Foundation and works between the Museum of National History at Frederiksborg Castle and the Centre de Recherche du Château de Versailles. Her research focuses on early modern music, with a particular interest for performance and staging, the body on stage, cultural exchanges and gender studies.

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# **The Grand Theater of the World**

Music, Space, and the Performance of  
Identity in Early Modern Rome

**Edited by**

**Valeria De Lucca and Christine Jeanneret**

Taylor & Francis  
Not for distribution

First published 2020  
by Routledge  
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge  
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*

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*British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data*

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

A catalog record has been requested for this book

ISBN: 978-1-4724-8822-0 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-46589-0 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman  
by Taylor & Francis Books

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# Contributors

**Michela Berti** is researcher and scientific coordinator for the ERC PerformArt project (École française de Rome). She was a postdoctoral researcher and Marie Curie Fellow at the Université de Liège working on the project *Le modèle musical des églises nationales à Rome à l'époque baroque*. Her interests include music and diplomacy, music and cultural exchanges, music and identity processes.

**Eric Bianchi** is Associate Professor of Music at Fordham University in New York City. He received his Ph.D. from Yale University with a dissertation on Athanasius Kircher.

**Valeria De Lucca** is Associate Professor of Music at the University of Southampton. Her interests include music patronage during the seventeenth century, early modern women, the circulation of music in early modern Europe, systems of opera production between court and public theaters, and the visual aspects of the operatic spectacle.

**Tracy Ehrlich** received her B.A. from Princeton (1987) and Ph.D. from Columbia (1995). Her book, titled *Landscape and Identity in Early Modern Rome: Villa Culture at Frascati in the Borghese Era* (Cambridge University Press), was awarded the Salimbeni prize for best book on Italian art of 2002.

**Dinko Fabris** teaches musicology at the University of Basilicata and is external supervisor at Leiden University (DocArtes). His interests include instrumental music of the Renaissance, baroque opera, music in Naples and music and material culture. He is the past President of the International Musicological Society (2012–2017).

**Peter Gillgren** is Anders Zorn Professor of Art History at Stockholm University and a member of Academia Europaea, as well as The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities. His publications include books and articles on Renaissance and baroque art, as well as on the theories of Art History.

**Anne-Madeleine Goulet** is a CNRS researcher at the Centre d'Études supérieures de la Renaissance in Tours. Her work focuses on theater, music and dance within the Parisian and Roman aristocratic milieus of the seventeenth century, exploring notions of cultural transfer, the history of taste, and social interactions.

**Brice Gruet** is Lecturer in cultural and historical geography at the University of Paris Est Créteil (Upec) and at the École Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture de Paris-La Villette (ENSAPLV). He is researcher at the Laboratoire Architecture Ville Urbanisme et Environnement (LAVUE). His research focuses mostly on natural hazards (especially earthquakes and volcanoes), urban history and cultural heritage, and the geography of the sacred. He specializes on topics related to Italy and the Mediterranean world.

**Christine Jeanneret** is HM Queen Margrethe II's Distinguished Fellow of the Carlsberg Foundation and works between the Museum of National History at Frederiksborg Castle and the Centre de Recherche du Château de Versailles. Her research focuses on early modern music, with a particular interest for performance and staging, the body on stage, cultural exchanges and gender studies.

**Huib van der Linden** is a musicologist and cultural historian affiliated with University College Roosevelt in Middelburg, The Netherlands. He received his doctorate from the European University Institute in Florence for his dissertation on Italian oratorio around 1700. His research centers on Italian musical culture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as well as the history of the book.

**Barbara Nestola** is a researcher at the Centre de musique baroque de Versailles. Her work focuses on the reception of Italian genres in France between 1650 and 1750. She is currently working on opera at the Académie royale de musique during the Ancien Régime. She also collaborates with professional performers for promoting these repertoires.

**Colleen Reardon** is Professor of Music at the University of California, Irvine. Her research focuses on musical culture in Siennese sacred and secular institutions of the early modern period. Her most recent monograph—*A Sociable Moment: Opera and Festive Culture in Baroque Siena* (2016)—examines modes of operatic production in the city during the seventeenth century.

**Giulia Anna Romana Veneziano** is Professor of Music History at the Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella of Naples. Her research focuses on Italian baroque music and the relationship and exchanges between Italy and Spain, on the diaspora of Neapolitan musicians and on systems of opera production in Rome.

## 8 “Comprando la maraviglia con l'impossibilità”: The role of music in the space of a *torneo*

An unknown score of *I Furori di Venere*  
(Bologna 1639)<sup>1</sup>

*Dinko Fabris*

At the turn of the sixteenth century the chivalric spectacle was already a strange survival of its splendid past for the European nobility, now in full crisis of identity. Nevertheless, the taste for *tournois, joustes, carrousels et autres spectacles* (“tournaments, jousts, and other spectacles”)—to use the title of a successful treatise published in 1669 by the French Jesuit Claude-François Ménéstrier—remained strong and widely popular until the end of the baroque period.<sup>2</sup> But the space where a chivalric spectacle was situated during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries—within the city boundaries and frequently inside palaces and theaters—was totally different from the mediaeval tournament, which usually took place in the outskirts of a large city. Also the music, which once played at intervals to animate the combatants, changed its function structuring the jousting itself into the space. While iconographic evidence and documents associated with the multiple kinds of chivalric spectacles have been widely studied in the last four decades, the presence of music in the two basic types of baroque chivalric spectacles, *giostra* (a fight between two single mounted knights, or a single against a “saracino,” an inanimate target) and *torneo* (involving two teams of combatants), has been underestimated or reduced to short quotations from printed librettos and archival documents on the part of a few specialist historians of music.<sup>3</sup> This neglect might be explained by the fact that “few bits of music survive that might be connected with staged chivalric contests.”<sup>4</sup> Ménéstrier already had warned “harmony should not be lacking from carousels, which are celebrations with *appareil*, and public festivities [...] their harmony is of two types, one military, fierce, and belligerent, the other one sweet and pleasant.”<sup>5</sup> The second kind of music mentioned by Ménéstrier was typically used for the *torneo*. But, of course, the contests themselves were only one aspect of the complex chivalric spectacle, which included many other elements, including the opening *sfida* (challenge) and the central performance of spoken comedies and often of a *dramma per musica*, culminating in an equestrian ballet. Hammond correctly defined any attempt at reconstructing a complete chivalric combat as “a jigsaw puzzle.”<sup>6</sup>

While several Italian courts in the late Renaissance practiced both *giostra* and *torneo*, at the beginnings of the new century Ferrara gained the best reputation for the invention of a special kind of tourney mixed with music, called in modern literature *opera-torneo*, in which operatic scenes performed by professional singers and instrumentalists on a stage alternated with combats of mounted knights in the open space near the stage. This kind of complex spectacle “alla Ferrarese” was the fruit of a team of specialists: the author of the *invenzione* (the theme of the combat and also of the opera performed), the librettist, the composer of the music, the architect, the *maestri di campo* and the *mantenitore* (the champion), all coordinated by the *corago*, a sort of artistic and stage director.<sup>7</sup> As Frederick Hammond has observed, scores related to the genre of Italian *opera-torneo* of the seventeenth century almost never preserve the music employed for the combat itself, as in the case of Marazzoli’s *Le pretensioni del Tebro e del Po* (Ferrara, 1642) or *La Fiera di Farfa*, the “intermezzo” for Mazzocchi and Marazzoli’s *Chi soffre spera* (Rome, 1639). The few traces we have are quotations of “battaglie” in opera scores by Monteverdi and Cavalli, the “Ballo di cavalieri liberati” ending Francesca Caccini’s *La liberazione di Ruggero dall’isola di Alcina* (Florence, 1625), and many fragments in the vast repertory of intabulations for lute, guitar, and other instruments in early seventeenth-century Italian sources.<sup>8</sup> To this short list Hammond has added a new source, important but incomplete: five loose sheets in the Archivio privato Compagnoni Floriani in Macerata containing three manuscript pieces of instrumental music for a *torneo* held in Ferrara in 1631 entitled *La Contesa*, “invention” of Francesco Guitti, a Ferrarese architect who was the successor of Giovanni Battista Aleotti and a close collaborator of Marchese Enzo Bentivoglio, the most celebrated contemporary organizer of musical spectacles.<sup>9</sup> The pieces, a sort of instrumental suite, are listed in the Floriani manuscript as part of the “baletto fatto della barriera a Ferrara per le nozze del Signor Francesco Sacchetti.”<sup>10</sup> The festivities were planned to celebrate, in the presence of Cardinal Giulio Sacchetti, Legate of Ferrara, the marriage of a young member of the Florentine Sacchetti family, the cardinal’s nephew Francesco, to Beatrice Estense Tassoni, who descended from an eminent Ferrarese family. We can now add to this picture a new source, never before mentioned in musicological literature: the complete score of the opera performed as part of another *torneo* held in Bologna a few years after *La Contesa*, *I Furori di Venere*, produced in 1639, also in honor of Cardinal Sacchetti.

The Sacchetti were a Florentine family settled in Rome since the end of the sixteenth century after Giovanni Battista Sacchetti was exiled from Florence. Pope Urban VIII Barberini, himself of Tuscan origin, named Giulio Sacchetti Legate of the papal state of Ferrara, then of Bologna, while the Cardinal’s brother Marcello was appointed *tesoriere segreto e depositario* of the Papal States, the powerful banker of the papacy. In later years, Giulio was twice a candidate for the papacy.<sup>11</sup> The Sacchetti were eventually rich and powerful enough to purchase from the Acquaviva family the palace in Via Giulia still

known as Palazzo Sacchetti, where they assembled a prestigious collection of paintings and archaeological objects (the first inventory of the palace, made in 1639, lists some 700 pieces).<sup>12</sup> The appointment of Giulio Sacchetti as Cardinal Legate of Bologna (at the beginning of Urban's reign in 1623), Ferrara (1627), and again Bologna (1637), gave him considerable prestige.<sup>13</sup> This is evident if we think that at the beginning of his term in Ferrara he received the dedication of a tragedy and a medical book, among others.<sup>14</sup> In 1631 the afore-mentioned tourney *La Contesa* was organized in Ferrara along with other festivals celebrating the wedding of a member of the Sacchetti family.<sup>15</sup> But this period in Ferrara was not without troubles for the Legate Sacchetti, as recorded in the *memoriale* published after the plague, which afflicted the city in 1629–1631.<sup>16</sup> Indeed, in 1640 Giulio Sacchetti left his post as Legate in Bologna and returned to Rome, carrying with him many items to add to the family art collection in Via Giulia, including a *Cleopatra and Ottaviano* by Guercino.

Although the *torneo* held in Bologna in 1639 is recorded as “that most celebrated *torneo* [...] which indeed marked a decisive turning-point in the history of the Bolognese theater,” on the basis of the libretto, descriptions and other sources, the musical component of the event has not been studied.<sup>17</sup> No score was known, and even the name of the composer was a mystery.

But a recent discovery allows us now to add new elements to the reconstruction of this event: a complete score, where we find also an important and previously unknown piece of information, the name of the composer of the music, Giovanni Battista Mazza. The manuscript (an elegant copy with its original binding) is today housed in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Naples under the title: *Il torneo festeggiato da cavalieri bolognesi il dì 26 maggio MDCXXXIX sotto la legazione e protezione dell'Eminentissimo e Reverendissimo Signor Cardinale Giulio Sacchetti*. On f. 2r we find a letter by the composer, Giovanni Battista Mazza, dedicating the score to a member of the Neapolitan Brancaccio family, from whose archive the manuscript was transferred to the National Library of Naples.<sup>18</sup>

The *torneo* was planned to fall within the first two months of 1639, corresponding with the term of office of Cornelio Malvasia as “Gonfaloniere of Justice” (*Gonfaloniere di Giustizia*) in the Bolognese government, but it was delayed several times and finally performed on May 26 of the same year. The *torneo* held in May 1639 was not the only feast organized during that year in Bologna for the Legate Sacchetti. Already on January 11 the cardinal had been the guest of honor, together with other illustrious gentlemen, of “Signor Cavaliere Astorre Orsi,” who organized a very special dinner filled with spectacle and music under the academic title of *Apollo in Apolline*.<sup>19</sup> From the beginning of the evening the music appears to have been the most important element of the entertainment, in a room “transformed into a heaven.”<sup>20</sup> Around half of the 52 pages of the printed description of the “favola in musica” *Apollo in Apolline* are occupied by the full text sung by several mythological allegories, choruses, and accompanied by complex theatrical

machines. The description, unfortunately, does not indicate the authors of the music and texts.

A month later, on February 21, Sacchetti was invited to a similar event organized this time by the members of the Bolognese Accademia dei Riaccesi<sup>21</sup> in the palace of Filippo Guastavillani, who “invited prelates, ladies, and knights to a sumptuous *cena* [...] accompanied by princely decorations and by music sung and danced on mythological and allegorical themes.”<sup>22</sup> In the following months other spectacles were organized in Bologna, although they did not officially involve the Legate Sacchetti. Thanks to their printed libretti we know at least the following: *Ismenia* “a royal and pastoral work” was performed in March, and the Christmas entertainment *Vezzi al Bambino* was performed by the nuns of San Pietro Martire.<sup>23</sup>

The *Allegoria del pomposissimo torneo fatto in Bologna* published by Pier Francesco Minozzi in 1639 is not really helpful for the reconstruction of the text of the *torneo* since its four pages contain only a poetic *oda* dedicated to Cardinal Sacchetti by the writer, who was a specialist in similar homages.<sup>24</sup> The other booklet, however, gives us a sense of the spectacle the Bolognese audience enjoyed in 1639:

There issued forth from signor Marchese Pio Enea Obizzi this construction worthy of a genius, which to prove itself heavenly, must begin with the creation of a chaos, in whose vastness one was to enjoy a confusion of hells, and of heavens, of sailing through the air, and riding on the sea, transportation of kingdoms, and of rivers; juxtaposition of times and persons not coetaneous, and a hundred other rarities, which, purchasing the wonderful with the impossible, gave the most refined eyes to divide, that when one has to reverence a merit that has something of the divine, they [eyes] smooth out and render the same impossibilities helpful to true devotion, not another.<sup>25</sup>

The title of this spectacle is confirmed by the other sources cited: the three manuscripts *Furori di Venere* and the *Allegoria* published by Minozzi, which indicates that “In the *Furori di Venere* are spread out for your acclaim the favors of Apollo, [depicted] in poetry and redoubled in music.”<sup>26</sup>

But what is most interesting about the preface to Manzini’s description is the lavish homage paid to the Barberini pope Urban VIII as the main dedicatee of the Bologna tournament, which was organized to celebrate the international peace imposed by the Catholic Church in the last phase of the Thirty Years’ War (p. 2):

Let this city live while enjoying the fruits of that peace, which having been chased away by the swords of almost all the princes of Europe, who were enraged among themselves by the fatal calamity of this age, have found refuge under the singular and most holy shadow of Urban the Great [...] to the eminence of whose virtues is not found a balance

sufficiently appropriate neither to the greatness of his order, since it has no equal, except among great kings, nor to that of his nobility, which many of the greatest crowns still count as recent and of upstart birth [...]. Therefore what must this most noble city do in gratitude for such favors? for so many benefits? [...] This is the origin of the *torneo*, which I am undertaking to describe.<sup>27</sup>

The *torneo* was first planned by the Gonfaloniere Cornelio Malvasia, who asked a well-known specialist from Padua to provide “the theme and the elaboration” (“il soggetto e l’invenzione”): Pio Enea II delli Obizzi.<sup>28</sup>

When the *invenzione* had been received, two local poets were commissioned the libretto and the famous Ferrarese architect Alfonso Rivarola, called “Il Chenda,” was employed to design the scenes:

Signor Bernardino Marescotti, a knight of the pen, who boasts a nobility equal to that of his House, [and] the signor Canon Possenti, a youth of tender age [...] took on the burden of spreading out to the glory of the stage so vast a conceit of so noble an invention. The ever-fiery forge of the genius of the great engineer Alfonso Chenda was brought from Ferrara [...]. Many of the most skillful voices of the most masterful choirs of Italy were selected and brought here [...] and under the untiring supervision of signor Cornelio [Malvasia] at the end of a few months Chenda was ready [...] to open the theater.<sup>29</sup>

We are lucky enough to have at least one image of the “Prospettiva del teatro provvisorio” (“Perspective of the temporary theater”) for the 1639 *torneo* designed by Alfonso Rivarola “Il Chenda.”<sup>30</sup> (See Plate 10)

The mythical story on which the plot is based is mentioned in four historical sources: Herodotus, *The Histories*, 5.32, Virgil, *Aeneid*, 5, 401ff., Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 5.196, and Martial, *Epigrams*, 2.84. Eryx (Erice), son of Venus and Neptune (in alternative versions Butes), was killed by Hercules (Ercole) and buried on the mountain later bearing his name, where a town was founded.<sup>31</sup> The killing arouses the fury of Venus, who is helped by the gods of the sea (headed by Neptune) and of the Underworld (Vulcan, Pluto, Proserpina). This team is described in the *Torneo* as “Sicilia.” Opposing “Sicilia” is the group of gods headed by Jupiter, father of Hercules, including Juno, Diana, and all the gods of the air: the team is described as “Laurento.” Laurento was the fortress of the Latini fighting against the Trojan Aeneas and can be seen as an allegory of the Papal State contending with the Spanish vice-realm of Sicily.<sup>32</sup> Significantly, one of the most astonishing machines created by Chenda for the 1639 *torneo* was a representation of the city of Rome, which was described by Manzini (pp. 51ff) as follows:

behold a machine descend, not from the heavens, but with all the heavens [...]. It was the city of Rome, which, occupying all the width of so large a hall from one wall to the other, unfolded to offer to the eye an infinity of the most renowned edifices, proud and towering [...] There was no discourse that should exclude Rome from this Rome, except the one of seeing it in the process (one may say) of falling, and ruinous, dangers so far from the foundations, and from the sureties, with which Rome was stabilized by prudent and most wise counsels of Urban the Great.<sup>33</sup>

The choice of a closed space, the Teatro in the Sala del Podestà, in spite of the outdoor typical space used for a *torneo*, is an indication of the attention that was given to music in this spectacle. But the score reveals that *I Furori di Venere* was more similar to a real opera than was previously thought: in fact, it is one of the few surviving examples of an “*opera-torneo*.”<sup>34</sup>

Giovanni Battista Mazza, the composer who set the *Torneo* to music in 1639, is unknown to music dictionaries such as the *New Grove*: for most of his life, from 1605 to 1656, he was just a singer in the Cappella di San Petronio in Bologna. This chapel was the most important institution for religious music in the city, and of course Mazza came into contact with successive legates including Cardinal Sacchetti, to whom he dedicated his *Torneo*.<sup>35</sup> The only additional information on Mazza concerns his post as *maestro del canto* at the Oratorian house in Bologna.<sup>36</sup> Other than the Neapolitan score of the *torneo* no other music by Mazza survives.

The score displays an extraordinary large number of characters and allows us to understand the distribution of vocal ranges. Thanks to the Modena manuscript It. 170, containing a list of 20 singers participating in the performance (“*nomi de musici*”), we can reconstruct the cast (see Table 8.1).<sup>37</sup>

This impressive number of vocal interpreters includes 32 distinct characters (11 sopranos, one mezzo, three altos, nine tenors, one baritone, seven basses) plus several choruses (three to five voices in multiple combinations). Even though seven singers doubled several roles, this is still a large ensemble composed only of professional singers, as reported in the description:

Many of the most skillful voices of the most masterful choirs of Italy were selected and brought here, to give with the perfection of their talents a competition to the delight, that the noble machines that were created were to bring to the eyes.<sup>40</sup>

In fact, most of the singers were simply indicated by their provenance, in general not far from Bologna (Ferrara, Modena, Finale (Emilia), Fano and Pesaro), others were borrowed from “*famiglie cardinalizie*” (Colonna, Rocci) and only a few were indicated by their names, testifying to a higher professional status: Camillo, Cassetti, Ganascia, Gobbo, Orazio, Di La Romana (Della Romana?), Remondini (Raimondini?) and Venanzio (Leopardi?).

Table 8.1 Characters, vocal range and names of singers in order of appearance in Giovanni Battista Mazza, *I Furori di Venere* (Bologna 1639)

Astrea S	“Castrato di Colonna”
Arno T}	“Cassetti del Finale”
Tebro B} “a 3” (Rivers)	“Basso di Ferrara”
Reno B}	“Il Ganascia”
Erice T	“Camillo”
Leucaspi [priest] B	“Basso da Pesaro”
Chorus of Peasants (“à 4,” SATB)	
[Giunone A]*	“Contralto di Bologna”
Ercole T	“Il Gobbo” (the Hunchback)
Entello T	“Orazio”
Chorus of Citizens SATB	
Giove B	“Basso di Modena”
Venere S	“Castrato del Rocci”
Canto (Song) S, Riso (Mirth) S, Gioco (Play) A	
Chorus of the Graces SSA	
Amore S	“Soprano di Pesaro”
Vulcano B	“Basso di Ferrara”
Chorus of Cyclops TTB	
Diana S	“Di La Romana”
Chorus of Satyrs TTB	
Cerere S	“Castrato di Colonna”
Nettuno B	“Basso di Bologna”
Tritone T	“Il Gobbo”
Galatea S	“Soprano di Pesaro” <sup>38</sup>
and Chorus of Nereids (S MS A)	
Marte (Bar)	“Il Ganascia”
Judges of the Underworld (“a 3”: A T B)	
Plutone B	“Basso di Fano”
Proserpina A	“Contralto di Colonna”
Aletto T	“Camillo” <sup>39</sup>
Imeneo S	“Soprano di Bologna”
[Furia T]*	
Circe S	“Remondini [Raimondini?] del Finale”
Tiffi S	
Chorus of the Gods on the side of Laurento	
Chorus of the Gods on the side of Sicily	
Mercurio T	“Tenore di Fano”
Iride T	“Venanzio [Leopardi?] di Colonna”

\*not in the original list but deducible from the score

The number of instrumental players was also very high according to the description: the spectacle opened “to the sound of a most numerous instrumental group.”<sup>41</sup> The instruments are not specified in the score, but in the Modena manuscript of *I Furori di Venere*, there is a reference to the following wind instruments: “Ritornello di flauti” and “Ritornello di cornetti,” in addition to several *sinfonias*.<sup>42</sup> A rubric immediately following the *Introduzione* indicates that space was a central concern when thinking about the way in which sounds would have spread across the theater: it reads “Music from all corners” (“Sinfonia da ogni parte”), suggesting that sounds would have come from both sides of the stage.

### Space and sound of an *opera-torneo*

Cross-referencing the information provided by the rubrics both in the score and in the three surviving manuscript librettos, we can reconstruct the ways in which the confined space of the theater was used for the opera and the horse combat.<sup>43</sup> The spectacle designed by Chenda, the architect who conceived the *torneo* in Bologna, was particularly grand and complex. The stage was divided into two *scene* (90 feet to the top of the ceiling) opening on a “beautiful prospective of a woodland scene” (“bellissima prospettiva di sito boscareccio”) located in Sicily. The audience occupied five “rows of boxes one on top of the other [...] and painted” (“ordini di palchi, l’un l’altro sovrapposti [...] e dipinti”). The proscenium was made in the Corinthian style, while the foundation was Doric and Ionian. On the top a marvelous machine reproduced the Zodiac in the sky (20 feet in diameter): “it was all richly painted, and shining with gold.”<sup>44</sup> The homage to the cardinal legate was delayed until the character of Astraea had begun her *introduzione*, when a fissure appeared in the sky:

which disclosing to the eyes of the suppliants a distant and flaming part of the most intimate sanctuaries of heaven, showed figured in the Muses’ temples of eternity the arms of Casa Sacchetti, prophesying that from this, which was to be the famous emblem of one of the most glorious families of the earth, was about to originate to the praise of its age, and of their countries, a hero, who, crowned by the Tiber [=Rome], was to be the crown of the Tiber.<sup>45</sup>

The music itself is meant to accompany this extravagant spectacle and is specifically tailored for the occasion. Yet, the obscure singer from San Petronio achieved his goal if we consider that the main function of the music in a *torneo* of this kind is in fact to provide specific music and sonority for each component of the whole spectacle (arias and recitatives for the soloists, duets, trios and ensembles “in concerto,” choruses, instrumental pieces and combat scenes).

The plot, briefly summarized above, is a mere excuse for the creative work of the architect Chenda. The two groups of fighters are at the center of the spectacle, each side including a number of gods: on the side of Sicily, around Venus we find Ceres, Volcano, Neptune, Pluto, Proserpine and their helpers (Cyclops, Aletto, etc.); on the side of Laurento, we find Hercules supported by Jove, Juno, Artemis, Mars, Pallas, Apollo and, among the helpers, the Satyrs. At the end, Cupid and Hymen reestablish peace and harmony among the two armies and Iris can sing the final air of reconciliation.

The quick scene changes must have made use of the latest technology: after the *Introduzione* in the sky (Astrea and the Zodiac signs), the scene changes from a woodland or “boscareccia” (Sicily) to a seascape or “marittima” (in between Sicily and Laurento), then to woodland again, which turns into an infernal scene dominated by Pluto and Proserpine, and near the conclusion the woodland and the seascape scenes are closely intertwined when the boat of Argonauts arrives on the shore.

The machines conceived by Chenda are suitable for all those sudden changes and the formidable flights of the gods. Soon after the opening, Jove appears on his flying eagle and, “from the other side,” Juno enters “in the air on her Chariot” (although she is not in the list of characters in the score). Near the end, in an unusual conjunction, “Juno in the air joins Jove.” Other characters must have made use of machines that allowed them to “fly” in the sky: Cupid “in the air, flees from Venus,” Artemis appears in the sky, while Alecto “mounts on her Chariot” to sing her aria. Also on the Venus side, “Fury finds Circe on a monster” and during Circe’s song “the machine is running” (“corre la machina”). The most impressive machines are reserved of course to Venus, the title role of the *opera-torneo*: her entrance is on “a machine with seven people” (“machina delle sette persone”) acting as a choir; in the following maritime scene, Venus is flying “on a cloud which is transformed into a shell” when she falls into the sea. In the final scene, Jove asks Mercury to invite Iris the goddess of peace, and “Mercury, flying through the air, exits to find Iris.”

But the machines that allowed gods and goddesses to fly were not the only impressive attraction that gives us a sense of the way in which space was used while music and singing were filling the air. Mount Etna, symbol of Sicily in the first scene, breaks at Venus’ words “burst open, ye rocks” (“spalancatevi, o rupi”) and soon Vulcan appears in his grotto, at work. The final scene is introduced by Ceres and Venus asking Circe to unleash her fury and at this point “the backstage opens up” (“s’apre la retroscena”) and the forest appears again.

A special place in any *opera-torneo* is devoted to the combats of mounted knights: in the case of *Furori di Venere* there are two groups of knights, fighting on the sides of the opposing gods, on stage at the same time. Their first entry is during the combat of the Cyclops against Satyrs (“si fa la battaglia”) accompanied by the evocative sound of wind instruments. Also at the sound of a *sinfonia* appear the two groups of knights from the sea, when opposing the trio of Venus, Neptune and Triton; Mars the God of war

intervenes. Chenda's stroke of genius is the already mentioned scene where the city of Rome appears from the flies ("The city of Rome descends from the Heavens with six knights, and they fight on an open field"), described by Mars as founded by his warrior descendants (the Trojans): also on this occasion the mounted knights parade up and down the stage. The skyline of Rome offered on stage in Bologna refers of course to the presence of the Papal Legate, Cardinal Sacchetti. A new occasion is offered when the forest is broken, and again the knights are parading on stage. The final combat of the two complete alignments of singing gods is prepared by the descent of the knights from the ship of Argonauts ("scendono i cavaglieri, e combattono").

Another peculiar characteristic of the *opera-torneo* is the relevant role of dances on stage. In both the score and librettos of *Furori di Venere* there are striking descriptions. At the end of the first scene of Hercules, "Jove strikes the mountain with lightning, returns to Heaven, and the mountain crumbles": at this point "the mountain opens, and there come forth knights" and Hercules invites the knights to dance ("let each of you happily flee in dance and weave your rounds to the song of the others"). This part of the spectacle is indeed dominated by dances: "The knights exit dancing toward Laurento, and the dance is accompanied by singing." The two dances performed with voices and instruments are intended as a suite, each including several strophes:

First dance:

*Ballo grave* (four instrumental lines SATB with three strophes, f. 27): "While the Knights [are] dancing, in the midst of the dance Juno is discovered in the air on a cloud in the scene of Laurento and speaks to them."<sup>46</sup>

Second dance:

*Corrente* (four instrumental lines SATB with eight strophes, f. 30)

The second dance requires a change of scene: "In Sicilia, Venus in the air, grieving for the death of her son Erice" (lament).

The same atmosphere of mourning is shared by the typical symbols of joy: "There follow Song, Mirth, and Play ("Canto", "Riso", and "Gioco") in the air à 3." The three voices are joined by a similar chorus of three Graces forming a sextet (SS SS AA), an unusual ensemble: "Song, Mirth, Play, and the three Graces together à 6," but the scene suddenly changes: "Amor in the air, and he flees from Venus" ("Amore in aria, e fugge da Venere"), a brilliant *arioso* which is then transformed into a canzonetta.

The new combat involves new warriors: "Tiffi leads the Argonauts through the air in a ship which descends into the sea with Knights opposing those of the forest." As always, the Knights execute their combat in the form of a dance, here the *barriera*, or battle scene: "The Knights descend to the field, and fight in the form of a *barriera*." In the final part of the *opera-torneo*, two groups of gods exchange challenges in the following two pages of the score. From one side a "chorus of the Gods from the side of Laurento, or Jove, Diana, Mars, Juno, Amore, Pallas, Apollo,

Imeneo. All in the air.” The chorus is set in five parts, one soprano, three tenors and a bass, to the words: “Pugnando guerrieri vincete.” (“By fighting you will conquer, warriors.”)

The end of the combat is decided “In the theater of Laurento” by Jove, who makes an unexpectedly kind comment on the beauty of his adversary Venus. The goddess answers in the opposing “theater of Sicily”: “Therefore Jove, you still oppose my just scorn without cause.” At this point Jove asks Mercury to invite Iris the goddess of peace, and “Mercury flying through the air exits to find Iris.” The finale is now prepared. “The knights dance a folia” at the appearance of Iris; “In the midst of the two theaters Iris divides the crowd.”<sup>47</sup>

The text set to music in the final part is the most important one since it gives the political meaning of the entire spectacle.

In the final scene there “Follows the entire chorus of the deities of each theater singing together.”<sup>48</sup>

The final chorus of all the gods begins with the words: “Let contented heaven rejoice / and banish evil discord / [...] Let Latina die and let Rome be born!”<sup>49</sup>

The conclusion of the spectacle is left to a single character, Iris, who sings an aria in triple meter full of references both to the joy of love and to the political peace between Bologna and the Vatican: “O what rejoicing the heart feels / if rage has no more strength / [...] Peace, peace and freedom!”<sup>50</sup>

The score and librettos of *Furori di Venere* present all the elements typical of an *opera-torneo* in the well-established Ferrarese style. The rarity of the fragments of instrumental music found in the dances and battles of *La Contesa*, the Ferrarese *torneo* of 1631, makes the importance of the complete sets of “balli de’ cavalieri” in the score for the Bolognese *torneo* of 1639 even more striking. In the description there is a poetic description of these dances (ballo grave and corrente) in the exaggerated poetic style of G. B. Marino:

The Knights go off dancing towards Laurento, and the dance is accompanied by Song [...] there was heard with the greatest delight the leaping of the voices of the Chorus, which, singing a certain brilliant arietta, accompanied, indeed rivalled the harmony of the dance, afterwards competing as well as concerting with the rhythm of the dance, the voices sometimes serious, and composed; sometimes fleeting and tuneful; now running, and now falling, now among imitations, now scurrying among passage-work, now among ritornelli, circling about, and disporting themselves, they profess so faithfully to make a dance visible to the ear, just as if a musician had taken on at the same time the task of making the eyes see a harmony. All felicitously.<sup>51</sup>

The Neapolitan score of *I Furori di Venere* sheds new light on the genre of *opera-torneo* and allows us to re-evaluate Bianconi and Walker’s considerations on the structure of spectacle in Bologna in 1639, that is that it follows

the style of courtly pastoral comedy and is far from displaying the features of an opera.<sup>52</sup> Perhaps the musical structure of this score by the almost unknown Giovanni Battista Mazza has nothing to do with the genre of public opera that had begun to develop in Venice in 1637, but without doubt the chain of arias (including canzonette or ariette), recitatives, duets, and ensembles for several kinds of voices, choruses, instrumental ritornello, etc., gives the impression that the *opera-torneo* was a third type of operatic spectacle, different from both Florentine and Venetian opera and largely following the line traced by the Mantuan/Ferrarese experiments in an entirely sung musical performance within a tournament: different, but still a kind of opera, possibly more acceptable in the papal territories during the reign of the Barberini pope. A few years later, in March 1642, another *opera-torneo* was performed in Ferrara celebrating the arrival of Taddeo Barberini: *Le pretensioni del Tebro e del Po*, produced by the expert Ferrarese group around Bentivoglio with music by Marco Marazzoli.<sup>53</sup> This was until now considered the unique surviving score of an *opera-torneo* at the time of the Barberini pope. The newly found score of *I Furori di Venere* adds a new enticing page in our understanding of this hitherto neglected repertoire.

## Notes

- 1 I wish to thank Frederick Hammond for his invaluable help in the English translation of this article and his many suggestions.
- 2 Claude-François Méneestrier, *Traité des tournois, joustes, carrousels et autres spectacles publics* (Lyon: Muguet, 1669), see Dinko Fabris, "Giochi, spettacoli e società in un trattato del gesuita Claude-François Méneestrier del 1682," *Ludica: Annali di storia e civiltà del gioco* 1 (1995): 37–49.
- 3 Maurizio Fagiolo Dell'Arco and Silvia Carandini, *L'effimero barocco: Strutture della festa nella Roma del '600*, (Rome: Bulzoni, 1977–1978); Alois M. Nagler, *Theatre Festivals of the Medici 1539–1637* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1964); Cesare Molinari, *Le Nozze degli Dei: Un saggio sul grande spettacolo italiano del Seicento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1968); Ludovico Zorzi, *Il teatro e la città: Saggi sulla scena italiana* (Turin: Einaudi, 1977); Sara Mamone, *Il teatro nella Firenze medicea* (Milan: Mursia, 1981); Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450–1650* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984); Simonetta Tozzi, *Incisioni barocche di feste e avvenimenti: Giorni d'allegrezza. Catalogo del Museo di Roma* (Rome: Cangemi, 2001); Kelley Harness, "Habsburgs, Heretics, and Horses: Equestrian Ballets and Other Staged Battles in Florence during the First Decade of the Thirty Years War," in *L'arme e gli amori: Ariosto, Tasso and Guarini in Late Renaissance Florence*, ed. Massimiliano Rossi and Fiorella Gioffredi Superbi (Florence: Olschki, 2004), vol. 2: 255–283; Harness, "Paegentry," in *The Routledge Companion to Music and Visual Culture*, ed. Tim Shephard and Anne Leonard (New York: Routledge, 2014), 313–320; Paolo Fabbri, ed., *Musica in torneo nell'Italia del Seicento* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1999); Franco Mancini, Maria Teresa Muraro and Elena Povoledo, eds., *Illusione e pratica teatrale* (Venice: Neri Pozza, 1975); Margaret Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court 1631–1668* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1981); Frederick Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); Elena Tamburrini, *Due teatri per il principe: Studi sulla committenza*

- teatrale di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna (1659–1689)* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1991); Giovanni Maria Sperandini, *Feste, spettacoli e tornei cavallereschi nella Modena di Cesare d'Este (1598–1628)* (Modena: Artestampa, 2008).
- 4 Hammond, *The Ruined Bridge: Studies in Barberini Patronage of Music and Spectacle, 1631–1679* (Sterling Heights MI: Harmony Park Press, 2010), 47.
  - 5 Ménestrier, *Traité des tournois*, 168–169: “L’harmonie ne devoit pas donc manquer aux carrousels, qui sont des festes d’appareil et de réjouissance publiques [...] leur harmonie est de deux sortes, l’une militaire, fière et guerrière, l’autre douce et agréable.”
  - 6 Hammond, *The Ruined Bridge*, 36.
  - 7 Janet Southorn, *Power and Display in the Seventeenth Century: The Arts and Their Patrons in Modena and Ferrara* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 81; Dinko Fabris, *Mecenati e musicisti: Documenti sul patronato artistico dei Bentivoglio di Ferrara nell’epoca di Monteverdi (1585–1645)* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1999), 64–83; Fabris, “Bentivoglio Goretta Monteverdi e gli altri: ancora sulle feste di Parma del 1628,” in *Claudio Monteverdi: Studi e prospettive*, ed. Paola Besutti, Teresa M. Gialdroni and Rodolfo Baroncini (Florence: Olschki, 1998), 391–414; Hammond, *The Ruined Bridge*, 12–19.
  - 8 Hammond, *The Ruined Bridge*, 47.
  - 9 Hammond, *The Ruined Bridge*, 7–53; Giuseppe Adami, “L’ingegnere-scenografo e l’ingegnere-venturiero: Le macchine e le scene di Francesco Guitti ideate per il *torneo de La Contesa*, Ferrara 1631,” in *Barocke Inszenierung*, ed. Joseph Imorde, Fritz Neumeyer and Tristan Weddigen (Zürich: Imorde, 1999), 159–187.
  - 10 I-MAC, *Archivio Compagnoni Floriani*, ms. β (five separate leaves with music notation); see Hammond, *The Ruined Bridge*, 26, 39, 42–45.
  - 11 See Giuseppe Ceccarelli, *I Sacchetti*, *Le grandi famiglie romane*, 5 (Rome: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1946).
  - 12 Communication from Accademia di San Luca, “Gli Illustrissimi Signori Sacchetti Padroni: Il mecenatismo della famiglia Sacchetti e Pietro da Cortona,” <http://www.accademiasanluca.eu/it/news/id/2672/-gli-illustrissimi-signori-sacchetti-padroni-br-il-mecenatismo-della-famiglia-sacchetti-br-e-pietro-da-cortona>, accessed March 19, 2018.
  - 13 Christoph Weber, ed., *Legati e Governatori dello Stato Pontificio* (Rome: Ministero per i Beni Culturali-Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, 1994), 884; Irene Fosi and Andrea Gardi, eds., *La legazione di Ferrara del Cardinale Giulio Sacchetti, 1627–1631*, *Collectanea Archivi Vaticani*, 28, 2 vols. (Rome: Archivio segreto vaticano, 2006).
  - 14 Silvestro Branchi, *Il Guiscardo tragedia* (Bologna: Clemente Ferroni, 1627); Tommaso Grosso, *Sypontini in Accademia Ferrariensi [...] lectiones de morbis capitis, et thoracis* (Ferrara: Francesco Suzzi, 1628).
  - 15 Francesco Berni, *Tebro epitalamio* (Ferrara: Francesco Suzzi, 1631).
  - 16 *Memorie di quanto s’è fatto per preservazione dalla peste a Ferrara* (Ferrara: Francesco Suzzi, 1632).
  - 17 Sergio Monaldini, “La montagna fulminata: Giostre e tornei a Bologna nel Seicento,” in Fabbri, ed., *Musica in torneo*, 103–133: 126–ff; Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, “Dalla Finta pazza alla Veremonda: storie di febiarmonici,” *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 10 (1975): 427; Claudia Di Luca, “Tra ‘sperimentazione’ e ‘professionismo’ teatrale: Pio Enea II degli Obizzi e lo spettacolo nel Seicento,” *Teatro e storia* 6, no. 2 (1991), 271–275 and 298–302. Several sources survive. A printed description: Giovanni Battista Manzini, *Del torneo ultimamente fatto in Bologna* (Bologna: Monti and Zenero, 1639); a short description of the event: Pier Francesco Minozzi, *Allegoria del pomposissimo torneo fatto in Bologna*. (Bologna: Monti and Zenero, 1639); a manuscript libretto: Pio Enea Obizzi, *Furori di Venere: Favola* (copies in I-Bca, Ms. A 2175, cc. 213–254v; I-MOe, Ms. Campori γ.G.5.6

- and Ms. α.J.6.22=It.170); a manuscript “bollettino” (invitation card) giving access to the theater (I-Bc, Archivio di Stato, *Insigna*), see Monaldini, “La montagna fulminata,” 126; a correspondence among nobles invited to the *torneo*: I-Bas, *Diari del Senato*, IV, see Bianconi and Walker, “Dalla *Finta pazza* alla *Veremonda*,” 428 and Monaldini, “La montagna fulminata,” 130.
- 18 I-Nc, *Rari e Manoscritti* Branc. 7.B.4 [hereafter I-Nc 7.B.4], previously in the “Biblioteca Brancacciana,” Scansia 5.F.4 (*olim* Scan.4.lit. C.n.50). Parchment cover probably from the eighteenth century, with the more recent title in ink on the spine “Mazza Torneo in Bologna”; format: 337 × 233 mm.; 90 unnumbered folios. Copyist: one single hand, elegant, few mistakes.
  - 19 Giacinto Ceraldi, *Apollo in Apolline: Cena del signore conte Astorre Orsi* (Bologna: Tebaldini, 1639). Music by Costanzo Varini. Booklet published in February, one month after the *Cena* in the Orsi Palace.
  - 20 Ceraldi, *Apollo in Apolline*, 4: “trasformata in un cielo.”
  - 21 The same Academic dei Riaccesi also organized the production of *Il Clorindo* in 1640 in Bologna, while another Bolognese Academy, I Rattivati, produced in 1638 *Per la Gierusalemme liberata*.
  - 22 Giovanni Melzi, *Dizionario di opere anonime e pseudonime di scrittori italiani*, vol. 3 (Milan: Luigi di Giacomo Pirola, 1863), 138. Description in Nicolò Turchi the Younger, *La tavola rotonda: Cena dell'illustrissimo signor Filippo Guastavillani* (Bologna: Tebaldini, 1639).
  - 23 Giovanni Battista Andreini, *Ismenia: Opera reale e pastorale* (Bologna: Tebaldini, 1639); *Vezi al Bambino: con presenti, con offerte, con bacci d'amore, con bacci d'onore, e con canzonette* (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1639).
  - 24 Pier Francesco Minozzi, *La Biblioteca Medicea, ingrandita ed illustrata dal Gran Duca Serenissimo di Toscana Cosimo terzo* (Lyon: Mathieu Liberal, 1673), contains a list of 37 similar works: the *Allegoria* at p. 37, no.19.
  - 25 Manzini, *Del torneo*, 11–12: “Dal Signor Marchese Pio Enea Obizzi uscì questa macchina degna di un ingegno, che per testificarsi divino, dovea cominciar dalla creazione di un caos, nella vastità del quale s'avesse a goder una confusione d'inferni e di cieli, di navigazioni d'aria e cavalcate di mare, traportazioni di regni e di fiumi; accozzamenti di tempi e di persone non coetanee, e cento altre pellegrinità che, comprando la maraviglia con l'impossibilità, davano a dividere agli occhi più fini, che quando si ha da riverire un merito, ch'ha del divino, s'appianano e rendono agevoli ad una vera divozione, non ch'altro, i medesimi impossibili.”
  - 26 Minozzi, *Allegoria*, 3: “Ne' Furori di Venere si sono sparsi al vostro grido i favori d'Apolline, in poesia ed in musica raddoppiati.”
  - 27 Manzini, *Del torneo*, 9–10: “Vivevasene questa città godendo i frutti di quella pace, che cacciata dalle spade di quasi tutti i principi d'Europa, per sciagura fatale di questo secolo fra di loro accaniti, alle sole e sacratissime ombre d'Urbano il Grande avea trovato ricovero [...] all'eminenza della cui virtù non fanno equilibrio bastevolmente aggiustato, né l'eminenza del suo ordine, ancorché non abbia eguale, che fra i re grandi, né quella della sua nobiltà, che molte ancora delle corone maggiori conta per postume, e sopranasciute [...]. Che dunque si dovrà da questa nobilissima città per gratitudine a tanti favori? a tanti benefici? [...] Ecco donde si originasse il torneo, che imprendo a descrivere.” There is a note on the margin explaining the “more than 700 years of nobility of the Barberini Family” (“Questa famiglia conta più di 700 anni di nobiltà”).
  - 28 Cornelio Malvasia Marquis of Bismantova, military, writer and astronomer, was *sindaco* then *Gonfaloniere di Giustizia* in Bologna in the period of the legate Sacchetti, see Bianconi and Walker, “Dalla *Finta pazza* alla *Veremonda*,” 426–428. In 1635, the Marquis Pio Enea II degli Obizzi directed a *giostra in campo aperto* in Modena with lyrics by Fulvio Testi and scenes by Alfonso Rivarola and in 1636 he produced in Padoa *L'Ermiona*, opera set to music by Giovanni Felice Sances, “Per

- introduzione d'un torneo a piedi e a cavallo e d'un balletto," considered the most relevant predecessor to the Venetian opera initiated in 1637 with *Andromeda*. See: Barbara Volponi, "Pio Enea II degli Obizzi, 'corago' di tornei: *Ermiona* (1636), *Furori di Venere* (1639) e *Amor pudico* (1643)," (PhD diss., University of Padua, 2014); Di Luca, "Tra 'sperimentazione' e 'professionismo' teatrale"; Nicola Badolato, "Obizzi, Pio Enea II," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, [www.treccani.it/biografie/](http://www.treccani.it/biografie/), accessed March 17, 2018.
- 29 Bernardino Marescotti had been charged with composing the text of the previous *torneo*: Cristoforo Bonvalori, *La montagna fulminata torneo fatto da alcuni cavalieri bolognesi l'ultimo di febbraio 1628* (Bologna: Clemente Ferroni, 1628) with music set by Gerolamo Giacobbi, see Monaldini, "La montagna fulminata," 122–123. For the canonico Carlo Possenti this was a literary debut. Source: Manzini, *Il torneo*, 13–14: "Il signor Bernardino Marescotti, cavalier di penna, che vanta nobiltà uguale alla sua Casa, il signor canonico Possenti, giovane d'età tenera [...] si addossarono il carico di stendere a gloria delle scene il vastissimo concetto di sì nobile invenzione. Fu condotto di Ferrara la sempre ferace fucina d'ingegni e d'ingegneri grandi, Alfonso Chenda. [...] Furono scelti e condotti da' più maestrevoli cori d'Italia molte delle voci più sapute [...] e' l Chenda sotto le vigilanze infaticabili del signor Cornelio [Malvasia], in capo di pochi mesi si stabili [...] di aprire il teatro."
- 30 I-Bc, *Archivio di Stato, Insigna VII*, f. 15.
- 31 In the same place there was an ancient temple devoted to Venus, goddess of fertility, where temple prostitution was practiced. See Martial, *Epigrams*, ed. Craig A. Williams (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), Bk 2, 257.
- 32 The reference to the peace made by Pope Barberini Urban VIII can be referred only to the treaty signed in Cherasco 1631, as an effect of the Diet of Regensburg. But in 1635 Spanish and French armies broke the fragile peace and restarted the wars of Italy, which ended only in 1642 (after the *Torneo* of 1639).
- 33 Manzini, *Del torneo*, 51: "ecco scendere una macchina, non dal cielo, ma con tutto il cielo [...]. Era costei la città di Roma, che occupando da un muro all'altro tutto il largo di sì gran sala, smontava a riferire agli occhi superba e torreggiante un'infinità di fabbriche delle più rinomate [...]. Non vi era argomento ch'escludesse Roma da questa Roma, trattone l'unico di vederla in atto (si può dir) cadente e ruinoso, pericola sì lontani ai fondamenti e alle sicurezze con che Roma è stata stabilita da i consigli providi e sapientissimi d'Urbano il Grande."
- 34 First quoted in Bianconi and Walker, "Dalla *Finta pazza* alla *Veremonda*," 428.
- 35 See Osvaldo Gambassi, *La cappella musicale di San Petronio* (Florence: Olschki, 1987), *sub voce*.
- 36 I-Bas, *Corp. Rel. Ib*, b.112/5995, m.6, cit. in Victor Crowther, *The Oratorio in Bologna, 1650–1730* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 22.
- 37 The singers' names are listed in Barbara Volponi, "Pio Enea," and also quoted in Bianconi and Walker, "Dalla *Finta pazza* alla *Veremonda*," 428.
- 38 In the Modena libretto, f. 37, the first appearance of Galatea was indicated "La Ferrarese," crossed out and replaced with "Soprano di Pesaro."
- 39 Ivi, f. 41 the first appearance of Aletto has the rubric: "Camillino va sulla machina."
- 40 Manzini, *Del torneo*, 14: "Furono scelti, e condotti da' più maestrevoli cori d'Italia molte delle voci più sapute, perché dassero con la perfezione de' lor talenti concorrenza al diletto ch'erano per recare agli occhi le nobilissime macchine." On doubling in Venetian operas only a few years after the *torneo* in Bologna, see: Magnus Tesson Schneider, "Seeing the Empress again. On doubling in *L'Incoronazione di Poppea*," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 24 (2012): 249–291.
- 41 Manzini, *Del torneo*, 16: "al suono di numerosissima sinfonia."
- 42 I-MOe It.170: f. 34v and 41v.

- 43 One of the three manuscript librettos (I-MOe, Ms. Campori  $\gamma$  G.5.6) is edited in Volponi, "Pio Enea," 388–426.
- 44 Manzini, *Del torneo*, 15–17: "riccamente era tutto dipinto e lumeggiato d'oro."
- 45 Manzini, *Del torneo*, 19–20: "propalando agli occhi de' supplicanti una lontana, e fiammeggiante parte de' più intimi penestrati del cielo, fe' loro veder figurata ne' musei dell'eternità, l'arme di Casa Sacchetti, predicendo che da questa, ch'esser doveva famosissima insegna di una delle più gloriose famiglie della terra, era per originarsi a vanto del suo secolo e de' loro paesi un eroe che, coronato dal Tebro, la corona del Tebro."
- 46 The following rubric explains the subject of the dance (f. 28): "There follows the dance in the midst of the theaters with the abducted maidens" ("Siegue il ballo nel mezo dei teatri con le donzelle rapite"). This rubric is quite interesting in establishing the exact location of the dancers.
- 47 The rubric indicates: "Iride sul arco." In the seventeenth-century "teatri all'italiana," the "arco scenico" is a large arch on the upper part of the stage creating a separation from the audience, see Monaldini, "La montagna fulminata," 126.
- 48 I-Nc 7.B.4, f. 86: "Segue tutto il coro delle deità di ciascun teatro insieme cantino." It is interesting to note the use of the prescriptive verb "cantino" ("let them sing") instead of the descriptive "cantano" ("they sing").
- 49 I-Nc 7.B.4, ff. 89v-90r: "Contento il ciel gioisca / e bandisca discordia rea / [...] Latina dunque mora e nasca Roma!" In the last scene, the Modena libretto It.170 (probably written before the performance) is not following the score, which ends after the Iride song, with a repeat of the last chorus. The score follows the manuscript libretto in Bologna, Archiginnasio, which seems indeed a faithful transcription of the parts sung in the performance.
- 50 I-Nc 7.B.4, ff. 88v-89: "O che giubilo sente il core / s'il furore più forza non ha / [...] Pace, pace e libertà!" Again Modena It.170 has a different text.
- 51 Source: Manzini, *Del torneo*, 34: "Partono i cavalieri danzando verso Laurento, e il ballo è accompagnato dal canto. [...] Con supremo diletto fu ascoltato il saltellante delle voci del coro, che cantando certa arietta brillante, accompagnò anzi rivaleggio l'armonia del ballo, posciaché concorrendo, nonché concertando col numero della danza le voci talora gravi e composte, talora fugaci ed ariose, quando correnti, e quando cadenti, or tra le fughe or fra i passaggi or fra i ritornelli scorrendo, volteggiando, e diportandosi, professaron così fedelmente di far veder all'orecchio un ballo, come musico il piede si era addossato il carico di far ascoltar nell'istesso tempo agli occhi un'armonia. Tutto felicemente."
- 52 Bianconi and Walker, "Dalla *Finta pazza* alla *Veremonda*," 428.
- 53 V-CVbav, Chigi Q.VIII.191, see Frederick Hammond, *The Ruined Bridge*, 103–139.