THE PASSION ORATORIOS OF ALESSANDRO SCARLATTI: A STUDY IN MUSIC AND DEVOTION

VOLUME I

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

At

Liverpool Hope University

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EST. 1844

2023

ABSTRACT

The oratorio is a highly flexible genre that functioned on a host of different levels in early modern Italy. Many oratorios of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries presented a blend of devotional and non-devotional influences, taking literary inspiration not only from biblical passages but also from liturgical texts, and musical inspiration from genres such as opera and serenata.

With this in mind, the focus of this research is on the Passion oratorios of Alessandro Scarlatti, an understudied composer with only a fraction of his music published in modern editions. His oratorios represent the multi-disciplinary and multi-faceted nature of the genre, as demonstrated in this dissertation through close examination and analysis of the music, libretti and performance history of Scarlatti's Oratorio per la Passione di nostro Signore Gesù Cristo *(1706), and* Il dolore di Maria Vergine *(1717), alongside a complete transcription of the former.*

Multiple performances of the Oratorio per la Passione *in the early years of the eighteenth century demonstrate a hybrid of sacred and secular elements. The manner in which liturgical references are woven into the poetry, musically interpreted by Scarlatti and performed on a dark stage illuminated only by candlelight created an immersive experience for the listener, incorporating devotional and theatrical elements and igniting divine and emotional affections.* Il dolore di Maria Vergine *unites biblical references, operatic tendencies and theatrical devices to produce an oratorio that is filled with moments of dramatic musical theatre as well as moments of prayerful devotion.*

I hope that this research will awaken interest in long-neglected works, and encourage others to look at the oratorio from a different perspective, acknowledging the complexities and highly unusual functionalities of an under-studied genre.

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

Libraries

A-Wn	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung
B-Bc	Brussels, Conservatoire Royal, Bibliothèque, Koninklijk Conservatorium, Bibliotheek
D-Mbs	Munich, Bayerische, Staatsbibliothek
D-Dl	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats – und Universitäts – Bibliothek, Musikabteilung
D-Mbn	Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Bibliothek
D-MÜd	Münster, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv
F-LYm	Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale
GB-Ckc	Cambridge, Rowe Music Library at Kings College
GB-Lwa	London, Westminster Abbey Library
GB-Lwcm	London, Westminster Central Music Library
I-Bl	Bologna, Conservatorio Statale di Musica G.B. Martini, Biblioteca
I-Fas	Florence, Archivio di Stato
I-MOe	Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria
I-Na	Naples, Archivio di Stato
I-Nc	Naples, Conservatorio di Muisca San Pietro a Majella, Biblioteca
I-PLa	Palermo, Archivio di Stato
I-PLpagano	Palermo, Roberto Pagano Private Collection
I-Ras	Rome, Archivio di Stato
I-Rc	Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense
I-Rsc	Rome, Conservatorio di Musica S. Cecilia
I-Rcsg	Rome, Congregazione dell'Oratorio di S. Girolamo della Carità (archivio)
I-Rf	Rome, Congregazione dell'Oratorio S. Filippo Neri
I-Rn	Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II
I-Rsc	Rome, Conservatorio di Musica S Cecilia

Journals

AcM	*Acta musicologica*
AMw	*Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*
AnMc	*Analecta musicologica*
JAMS	*Journal of the American Musicological Society*
JbISM	*Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz*
JMR	*Journal of Musciological Research*
JRBM	*Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music*
ML	*Music & Letters*

ABBREVIATIONS *(continued)*

MQ	*The Musical Quarterly*
MR	*The Music Review*
MT	*The Musical Times*
NA	*Note d'archivio per la storia musicale*
PRMA	*Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*
ReM	*La Revue Musicale*
RIM	*Rivista italiana musicologia*
RIMS	*Rivista internazionale di musica sacra*
RMI	*Rivista musicale italiana*
ZMw	*Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

Catholicism was woven into the fabric of everyday life in Rome during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, influencing not only society's religious practices, but actively governing the education system, healthcare and hospitals, charitable establishments and the economic structure of the Papal States. Music was no exception to the intense involvement of the Church in every aspect of society. Many events – both sacred and secular – featured some form of music, and Rome was home to some of the most famous composers in Europe at the time. Andrieux states that the greatest melodic composers of the century 'filled Italian music with the 'themes' that were to make opera-goers and worshippers in church alike stamp their feet for more', highlighting the fluidity between devotion and entertainment in musical performances in Rome.[1]

The oratorio – defined in the *Oxford Dictionary of Music* as 'a musical setting of a religious libretto for solo singers, choir and orchestra, in dramatic form but usually performed without scenery or costumes in concert-hall or church'[2] – has been described by some musicologists as the most important devotional genre of early modern music,[3] but is also a highly complicated and malleable genre.

The complex terminological nature of the oratorio has been explored and debated by many musicologists,[4] but a concept that remains largely unexplored is the idea that many of the oratorios composed and performed in the Papal States during the *seicento* found

[1] Maurice Andrieux, *Daily Life in Papal Rome in the Eighteenth Century* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1968), 179.
[2] Michael Kennedy, *The Oxford Dictionary of Music, 2nd ed.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 640.
[3] Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century* tr. David Bryant (Cambridge, New York, Victoria: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 123.
[4] See section entitled 'Oratorio: The State of Research' for discussions around terminology, 23–24.

themselves at an unusual point in the history of sacred music. More specifically, the interlinking of concert performances with the Church calendar, re-presenting liturgical themes through poetry to engage and inspire audiences and creating immersive experiences through multi-disciplinary events centred around the oratorio was certainly a unique concept largely incomparable to past genres. The oratorio is a flexible genre that functioned on a host of different levels in early modern Italy. With this in mind, every oratorio should be examined as an entity in and of itself – essentially as an individual cultural artefact – in order to understand its true function.

The present study is an exploration and analysis of some of the oratorios that manifest this flexibility. Using two oratorios composed by Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725) – the *Oratorio per la Passione di nostro Signore Gesù Cristo* (1706) and *Il dolore di Maria Vergine* (1717) – I examine the extent to which these works demonstrate the merging of devotion and entertainment in eighteenth-century Rome. I place the *Oratorio per la Passione* into historical context and examine its relationship to other works by Scarlatti and his librettist and patron, Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, both individually and collaboratively. *Il dolore di Maria Vergine* is examined through the lens of the lament tradition and its suitability for implementation in the Passion story, as well as the incorporation of theatrical techniques into the oratorio, to both enhance the music and heighten the meaning of the text.

The *Oratorio per la Passione* is a prime example of the flexibility of the early modern Italian oratorio, as its multiple performances in the early years of the eighteenth century demonstrate a hybrid of sacred and secular elements. Oratorio libretti were often based on Bible stories, hagiography, the lives of Saints or around spiritual and moral subjects. It was unusual to include extensive passages based entirely on the liturgy. Yet, in the *Oratorio per la Passione,* Ottoboni included large sections of libretto based entirely on the *Lamentations of Jeremiah* and liturgy from the Tenebrae service of Holy Thursday, whilst also featuring arias

that would not be out of place in an opera or a cantata. In many ways, oratorios such as this sit on the edge of the formal liturgy, forming part of the broader cultural life of the Church, of which Scarlatti, Ottoboni and their artistic contemporaries were very much a part. The manner in which liturgical references are woven into the poetry, musically interpreted by Scarlatti and performed on a darkened stage created an immersive experience for the listener, incorporating devotional and theatrical elements and igniting spiritual and emotional affections. This multi-disciplinary approach to performance created moving religious environments for audiences and congregations.

Il dolore di Maria Vergine is a similarly intriguing work. The prominent inclusion of the lament – a style frequently associated with lost romantic love in opera – highlights the position of these oratorios in music history: where the sacred and the secular merge, creating a melting pot of artistic influences that permeated the music, libretti and performance settings. The lament style is implemented not in the context of romantic love, but in the context of a mother mourning the loss of her only son. An intensely intimate atmosphere is created in the oratorio by the inclusion of such a broad range of musical and theatrical devices, encouraging the listener to connect with the characters on both spiritual and emotional levels.

By interrogating the hybrid between the sacred and the secular the idiosyncrasies of these understudied works can be revealed. The present study intends to demonstrate the flexibility of these oratorios that exist at a point of intersection between areas of devotion and less formal environments. The research is executed using a variety of methodologies including literary and musical analyses, the translation and examination of primary sources, a study of the culture and religious climate of the time and the position of Alessandro Scarlatti and Pietro Ottoboni in society. The case study of the *Oratorio per la Passione* is accompanied in the second volume of the thesis by a complete diplomatic transcription of the

oratorio, as there is currently no published edition of the work. Therefore, it is recommended that chapter five is read with the second volume of the thesis at hand.

Rhetoric plays a large part in the analysis of the works, mainly due to Scarlatti's affective setting of texts. Seventeenth-century interest in rhetorical devices can be seen in many early modern oratorios, particularly repetition, but also use of word-painting (*hypotyposis*) to denote direction, coloratura passages to evoke feelings or joy or elation, and techniques such as *stile concitato* to represent agitation, tension or anger.[5] In his famous *Musurgia universalis* (1650), German scholar and theorist Athanasius Kircher said that Giacomo Carissimi was capable of 'moving the minds of listeners to whatever affection he wishes', a comment made explicitly in reference to Carissimi's oratorios. Kircher believed that Carissimi employed rhetorical figures to incite certain emotions, such the melodic progression of minor second intervals (*pathopoeia*) to express pathos, figures that can also be seen in Scarlatti's oratorios to incite similar emotions, particularly those of intense desperation and sadness.[6]

Chapter two is a survey of the existing literature on the oratorio – including the sub-genre of the Passion oratorio – and devotional aspects of sacred music in early modern Italy, as well as a review of historical and contemporary research on Scarlatti and critical editions of his oratorios. There was a surge in interest in the oratorio at the beginning of the twentieth century, and the seminal, longform works published at this time are discussed, as well as more recent research on the subject. The survey acknowledges that much research has already been conducted on the oratorio in general, yet highlights the space for the present research on the unusual hybridity of sacred and secular influences that existed in early modern Italian oratorio, using Scarlatti's under-studied oratorios as a prime example.

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[5] Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio: The Oratorio in the Baroque Era: Italy, Vienna and Paris* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 232.
[6] Athanaius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis: sive Ars magna consoni et dissoni in X libros digesta.* Vol I (Rome: Haerides F. Corbelletti, 1650), 603, quoted in Smither, *Oratorio*, 229. See also; John Walter-Hill, *Music in Western Civilisation* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1963), 101.

Chapter three gives some historical context to the discussion that follows, including an outline of Scarlatti's career and patronage network, the social and religious climate of eighteenth-century Rome and the power of the Catholic Church. The terminological issues surrounding the oratorio are addressed and the various sub-genres defined, particularly the Passion oratorio and its position in the history of Italian sacred music. The chapter concludes with a brief analysis of Scarlatti's *Passio secundum Joannem,* composed in the early years of the composer's career. This Passion setting serves as a reference point for Scarlatti's later oratorios inspired by the Passion story, as it contains many musical elements that can also be seen in the *Oratorio per la Passione* and *Il dolore di Maria Vergine*.

The artistic collaborations – particularly the oratorios – between Alessandro Scarlatti and Pietro Ottoboni at the beginning of the eighteenth century and the social, political and religious influences upon their literary and musical compositions are explored in chapter four. There is a particular focus on the years 1700 and 1708, when the composer and his patron were heavily involved in the Lenten oratorio cycles taking place in Rome. It was in these early years of the eighteenth century that the merging of sacred and secular elements was apparent in oratorio production. Theatrical techniques were employed in the text, music and staging of the works, whose poetry held many liturgical – not just 'religious' – references. This poetry was often set to da capo arias that would not have been out of place in operas of the time yet sat alongside *recitativo accompagnato* that took its melodic basis from Gregorian chant. Scarlatti and Ottoboni collaborated to create religious events that were both entertaining and devotional by drawing upon a variety of disciplines including drama, poetry, music and art to create multi-sensory immersive experiences of redemption.

The promotion of repentance and redemption was heavily endorsed by the Catholic Church in post Counter-Reformation Rome. In order to prevent Catholics from abandoning their faith or converting to Protestantism, beautiful music was regularly used to entice people

into oratories and churches. There was a strong focus on moral instruction and the Church was keen to emphasise that the avoidance of vice or the pursuit of virtue would not suffice for the true Christian's moral progress or social identity.[7] One had to spiritually connect with God as well as live a moral existence. The performance of an oratorio was the perfect opportunity for the listener to be guided towards repentance. The *Oratorio per la Passione* displays an overwhelming focus on repentance and redemption that can be seen both in the prefaces to the libretti and the libretti itself.

Chapter five begins with an examination of the performance history of the *Oratorio per la Passione*, conducted using the primary source materials available, including some writings by Ottoboni himself, articles from the *Avvisi di Roma*, the *Gazzetta di Napoli* and entries in Valerio's *Diario di Roma*. The inclusion of paintings, sculpture, tapestries and lighting used to emphasise the overarching theme of redemption is explored, as well as the affect this had on the performances. This is followed by a survey of the existing libretti and manuscripts for the *Oratorio per la Passione*. Two original manuscripts of the oratorio remain: one at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden and the other in the private collection of Graf Schönborn in Wiesentheid. Germany. Due to issues of access caused by the global pandemic, only the Dresden manuscript was available for consultation when writing this dissertation. However, an aural analysis of the Wiesentheid version, based on a commercial recording, has been undertaken and variants discussed.

The last part of the chapter is a musical and literary analysis of the *Oratorio per la Passione.* Ottoboni's extensive paraphrasings from the *Lamentations of Jeremiah* in the first part of the oratorio are closely studied, comparing the original text of the bible passage to Ottoboni's poetical interpretation and then Scarlatti's musical response, and how he enhanced

[7] Andrew Dell'Antonio, *Listening as a Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy* (California: University of California Press, 2011), 68.

the meaning of the text through his music using instrumentation, rhetorical techniques and references to chant.

Chapter six focuses on the idea of theatrical devotion and Scarlatti's *Il dolore di Maria Vergine* (1717), an oratorio that is essentially one long lament and reflection on the impact the death of Christ had on his mother Mary. The chapter examines the use of the lament within oratorio, not in the context of romantic love, but from a devotional perspective, as *Il dolore* focuses on Mary's suffering as she laments not the loss of a lover, but the death of Jesus her son. The effect of Scarlatti's and Ottoboni's connection to the Arcadian Academy is also explored, particularly in terms of the frequent use of pastoral imagery that was favoured by the Arcadians in *Il dolore* and how natural imagery is used emotively to represent the turmoil felt by the characters witnessing the Passion.

The second volume of the thesis presents a complete diplomatic transcription of Scarlatti's *Oratorio per la Passione di nostro Signore Gesù Cristo.* The preface includes a plot summary, details of the editorial procedure, and a critical commentary. This is followed by a translation of the libretto by the author.

The following research intends to ignite interest in long-neglected works from a largely long-neglected genre. The review of the current state of research on Scarlatti, Ottoboni and the oratorio acknowledges the strength of scholarly literature surrounding the genre but seeks to focus on the hybridity of the devotional and theatrical, and the liturgical and poetical in an approach that has henceforth not been taken.

Chapter Two

LITERATURE REVIEW

Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725): Research and Critical Editions • Oratorio: The State of Research • Italian Passion Music • The devotional life of Rome in the early modern period

ALESSANDRO SCARLATTI (1660–1725): RESEARCH AND CRITICAL EDITIONS

Alessandro Scarlatti is widely acknowledged as one of the best musical minds of his generation. However, his restless career – mostly moving between Rome and Naples – led to the dispersal of sources, a factor that continues to make it somewhat difficult to fully assess his historical importance and artistic merits fully. Table 2.1 shows the various positions Scarlatti held at institutions all over Italy, which explains why his compositions are scattered across many libraries and archives. The main catalogues of his works currently count over 100 operas, 38 oratorios and between 400 and 600 cantatas.[1] Recent studies of his church pieces present a more nuanced view of his creative output, but many of his oratorios have not been offered the same level of detailed research and do not appear in modern critical editions.[2]

Table 2.1 Scarlatti's appointments at Roman and Neapolitan institutions

Dates	Position held
Dec 1678–Nov 1682	*Maestro di cappella* at S. Giacomo degli Incurabili, Rome
1679–1683	*Maestro di cappella* at court of Queen Christina of Sweden, Rome

[1] Apart from those appended to the respective entries in *The New Grove* and *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (MGG)*, the main catalogues are: 'Catalogue of the extant works', in Dent, *Scarlatti*, 206–232; Malcom Boyd and Alberto Basso, 'Catalogo delle opere', *La musica*, i: *Enciclopedia storica*, vol. 4, ed. Guido M. Gatti and Alberto Basso (Turin: UTET, 1966), 127–157; Giancarlo Rostirolla, 'Catalogo generale delle opere', in Pagano and Bianchi, *Scarlatti*, 327–595. A database of Scarlatti's oratorios can be found in the appendix containing, where known, the dates, performances and existing score details of the oratorios.

[2] Luca Della Libera, 'I concerti sacri opera seconda di Alessandro Scarlatti: osservazioni sullo stile e nuovi documenti sulla cronologia', *Ricercare*, 18 (2000), 5–32; *The Roman Sacred Music of Alessandro Scarlatti* (New York: Routledge, 2022).

Nov 1682–Oct 1683	*Maestro di cappella* at S. Girolamo della Carità, Rome
1684–1702	Master of the Royal Court, Naples
Mar–Apr 1689	One month as first teacher at the Conservatorio di S. Maria di Loreto, Naples
1702 – Unsuccessful trip to Florence in search of new appointments	
Jan 1703–May 1705	*Maestro coadiutore* at Santa Maria in Vallicella, Rome[3]
Dec 1703–May 1707	*Maestro coadiutore* at Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome
1706	*Maestro di cappella* to Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni[4]
May 1707–Dec 1708	*Maestro di cappella* at Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome
Dec 1711–death	Recalled to old position of Master of the Royal Court, Naples

Before the publication of Edward J. Dent's *Alessandro Scarlatti: His Life and Works* in 1905,[5] the only biographies of Scarlatti appeared in encyclopaedias and music companions. These extracts were brief and often littered with inaccuracies, due to the scarcity of information about Scarlatti, particularly his early life and education.[6] To this day, Dent's work remains the only biography of the composer in English and one of few in any language. Throughout the twentieth century, particularly in the 1920s and 30s, many original documents concerning Scarlatti's life were discovered in archives across Italy. This prompted the publication of several articles focusing on the composer's early life.[7] Despite these discoveries another full biography was not published until 1972, when Roberto Pagano, Lino Bianchi and Giancarlo Rostirolla collaborated on *Alessandro Scarlatti*.[8] Then in 1985 Pagano wrote *Alessandro e Domenico Scarlatti: due vita in una*, a dual biography on the father and

[3] Carlo Gasbarri, *L'oratorio filippino (1552–1952)* (Rome: Istituto di studi Romani, 1957), 65–67.
[4] Alessandro Scarlatti, *Primo e secondo libro di toccata* ed. Ruggero Gerlin with bio-bibliographical study by Claudi Sartori, (Milan: I classici musicale Italiani 13, 1943), 137.
[5] Edward J. Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti: His Life and Works* (London: Edward Arnold, 1905).
[6] See for ex. Gennaro Grossi, s.v. 'Alessandro Scarlatti', in Domenico Martuscelli, *Biografia degli uomini illustri del Regno di Napoli*, vol. 6 (Naples: N. Gervasi, 1813-22).
[7] Paolo Dotto, 'Gaspare Alessandro Scarlatti, il Palermitano', *Musica d'oggi*, 17 (1935), 383–386, Ulisse Prota-Giurleo, 'Alessandro Scarlatti "il palermitano" (la patria e la famiglia)' (Naples: privately printed, 1926); Pasquale Fienga, 'Le Véritable patrie et la famille d'Alessandro Scarlatti', *ReM*, 10/3 (1929), 227–236; Edward J. Dent 'Alessandro Scarlatti', *PRMA*, 30 (1903–1904), 75–90, Ottavio Tiby, 'La famiglia Scarlatti; nuove ricerche e documenti', *JRBM* (1947), 275–290.
[8] Roberto Pagano, Lino Bianchi and Giancarlo Rostirolla, *Alessandro Scarlatti* (Turin: ERI), 1972).

son that reads like a novel. Although the book is essentially a history of the complex relationship between Alessandro and Domenico – which heavily influenced both of their musical careers – it offers a unique insight into how Alessandro used his position as *maestro di cappella* at various institutions in Rome and Naples as stopgaps, always ready to leave at short notice for a higher salary or operatic opportunity.[9] Inevitably, due to Scarlatti's vast operatic output – and indeed the mass appeal of opera studies in general – biographical studies rarely pay much attention to the oratorios and instead focus on Scarlatti as an opera composer, which makes Arnaldo Morelli's article 'Alessandro Scarlatti maestro di cappella in Roma ed alcuni suoi oratori (nuovi documenti)' unique and relevant to the present research.[10] As well as examining Scarlatti's various positions at institutions, Morelli carefully explains the restrictions Scarlatti faced as an opera composer in Rome:

> In Rome, the only safe resort for musicians is represented by the activity of the musical chapel, since every 'secular' musical form, particularly opera theatre, is opposed and repressed by the ecclesiastical authorities lead by the Pontiff. Therefore, the only loophole is the oratorio, a genre structurally similar to music drama, which due to its biblical or hagiographical subject matter intended for religious instruction, evades the wrath of the harsh papal censorship.[11]

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[9] Roberto Pagano, *Alessandro e Domenico Scarlatti: due vita in una* (Milan: A. Mondadori, 1985). Frederick Hammond wrote a detailed review of the book, highly praising its unique presentation and expressing a desire to translate the work, not review it. Frederick Hammond, 'Reviewed Work(s): Scarlatti: Alessandro e Domenico: due vite in una by Roberto Pagano', *ML*, 69/4 (1988), 519–522. Over twenty years later Hammond did indeed produce an updated, restructured and translated edition of the book, published as *Alessandro and Domenico Scarlatti: Two lives in one* tr. Frederick Hammond (New York: Pendragon Press, 2006). Roberto Pagano is also responsible for the most up-to-date, accurate and detailed biography of Scarlatti, featured in the *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians.* Roberto Pagano et al., "Scarlatti", *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press).

[10] Arnaldo Morelli, 'Alessandro Scarlatti maestro di cappella in Rome ed alcuni suoi oratori (nuovi documenti)', *NA*, 2 (1984), 117–145. Morelli is also responsible for several other informative articles on the history of the oratorio and patronage in early modern Italy such as; 'Il mecenatismo musicale di Cristina di Svezia una riconsiderazione', *Cristina di Svezia e la musica. Atti del convegnio internazionale* (Rome: 5-6 Dec., 1996) (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1998), 321–346; 'The Chiesa Nuova in Rome around 1600: Music for the church, music for the oratory', in *Journal of Seventeenth Century Music*, 9/1 (2003), http://www.sscm-jscm.org/v9/no1/morelli.html; 'The Oratorio in Rome in the Seicento: Its Sites and Its Public', *Passaggio in Italia: Music on the Grand Tour in the Seventeenth Century* eds. Dinko Fabris and Margaret Murata (Utrecht: Brepols, 2015), 197–203.

[11] 'A Roma l'unica sicura risorsa per il musicista è rappresentata, come già detto, dall'attività delle cappelle musicali, dato che ogni forma musicale ‹‹profana››, in particolar modo il teatro d'opera, viene duramente osteggiata e repressa dalle autorità ecclesiastiche col Pontefice in testa. L'unica scappatoia per i compositori è dunque costituita dall'oratorio, un genere strutturalmente affine al melodrama, che per i suoi contenuti di

This extract demonstrates what oratorio composition meant to opera composers of the time and underlines how essential it was to conform to papal desires in order to secure patronage.

During his career Scarlatti enjoyed the protection of the most famous and influential patrons of music in Italy at the time. Queen Christina of Sweden was Scarlatti's first major patron in Rome, employing the young composer at her court after she heard his first opera, *Gli equivoci nel sembinate* (1679).[12] Scarlatti remained under the Queen's protection until he relocated to Naples to take up the post of Master of the Royal Court.

While visiting Florence in 1702, Scarlatti composed four operas for the theatre of the Grand Prince Ferdinando de' Medici of Tuscany but was unable to gain a permanent position with the Royal Prince. Thanks to the Italian musicologist Mario Fabbri, a wealth of correspondence between Scarlatti and Medici, is now readily available. The letters reveal a substantial amount of information about the relationship between Scarlatti, the prince, Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni and the society in which they lived, particularly in terms of the restrictions on music put in place by the papacy and the public perception of opera. This was a constant source of frustration for opera composers like Scarlatti, whose exasperation and constant feelings of artistic oppression are apparent in the letters to his patron.[13]

Scarlatti first collaborated with Pietro Ottoboni in 1690, when he set the Cardinal's opera, *La Statira* to music. This was the start of a long and fruitful professional relationship, and in 1706 Ottoboni appointed Scarlatti as his *maestro di cappella*. On 26 April in the same year, Scarlatti – along with his contemporaries Arcangelo Corelli (1653–

soggetto biblico o agiografico, con fini di ammaestramento religioso, sfugge alle ire delle severe censure papali', Morelli, 'Alessandro Scarlatti', 121–122.

[12] Alessandro Scarlatti, 'Gli equivoci nel sembiante', *The Operas of Alessandro Scarlatti VIII* ed. Frank D'Accone (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 3–6.

[13] Mario Fabbri, *Alessandro Scarlatti e il Principe Ferdinando de'Medici* (Florence: Olschki, 1961).

1713) and Bernardo Pasquini (1637–1710) – was accepted into the Academia degli Arcadia as a 'distinguished master of music'.

The Academy was founded in 1690 by Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni (1663–1728) and thirteen others in memory of Queen Christina of Sweden, who died the previous year. The principal intention of the Academy was to instigate the renewal of Italian poetry through purification of the poetic language, that is, the return to classical simplicity – seen in the works of Dante Aligheri and Giovanni Boccaccio – by regularising the structures, themes and affective content of poetry.[14] The founding members of the Academy believed that returning to simplicity was fundamental to addressing the corruption through what they saw as the extravagant, over-indulgent lyricism that was popular during the early modern period. They focused their poetry on pastoral subjects, drawing inspiration from Greek and Roman poets and intended to create beauty with simple measures and precise diction. This certainly would have affected the choices made by composers and librettists, particularly in terms of subject matter, characters and their personalities and the extent of drama, emotion and passion contained within the poetry.

Scarlatti, Corelli and Pasquini were the first three musicians to be accepted into the Academy, and Scarlatti was the first member who was also listed as a 'professor of poetry'.[15] As well as working with Ottoboni, Scarlatti worked in partnership with many other Arcadians who also provided libretti for a number of his operas, oratorios, serenatas and cantatas, including Cardinals Pamphilj, Giuseppe de Totis and Silvio Stampaglia.[16]

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[14] Norbert Dubowy, '*Al tavolino medesimo del Compositor della Musica'*: Notes on text and context in Alessandro Scarlatti's *cantate de camera*', in *Aspects of the Secular Cantata in Late Baroque Italy* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2009), 123. See also Tim Carter, 'Arcadian Academy', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001) and Stefanie Tcharos, *Opera's Orbit: Musical Drama and the Influence of Opera in Arcadian Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

[15] Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni, *L'Arcadia del Can. Cio. Mario Crescimbeni* (Rome: Antonio de'Rossi, 1708), indice.

[16] For more information on the Arcadian Academy see; Vernon Lee, *Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy* (London: T. F. Unwin, 1966), 7–64 ; Susan M. Dixon, *Between the Real and the Ideal: The Accademia degli Arcadi and Its Garden in Eighteenth-Century Rome* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2006); Franco Piperno, ''L'armoniose idee della sua mente': Corelli, The Arcadians, and the Primacy of Rome', *Passaggio in*

The influences of the Academy can be found in the oratorios examined in this research, particularly in the pastoral themes woven into the libretti.

Teresa Chirico published several articles on Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni and his substantial involvement with the Arcadian Academy and his influence on the artistic life of Rome during the eighteenth century, particularly highlighting the relationship between diplomacy and music, the socio-political climate in which Ottoboni and his protégées worked, and how music performances provided social occasions for meeting and exchanges between diplomats and religious and political figures.[17] Edward J. Olszewski also contributed to research on Ottoboni's patronage, particularly with an article published in 2002 in which he explores the various artistic disciplines the Cardinal favoured, highlighting how unusual it was for a patron to have both the means and interest to commission such a broad range of art forms ranging from paintings, buildings and sculptures to poetry, literature and a huge variety of musical genres.[18]

There are few scholarly publications that focus entirely on Scarlatti's oratorios. Lino Bianchi provides an analysis of some works in *Carissimi, Stradella, Scarlatti e l'oratorio musicale* (1969); these findings were also included in his contribution to Pagano's biography, published in 1972. Bianchi was also responsible for the series of Scarlatti oratorios published by De Santis between 1964 and 1969 Lino Bianchi edited five modern editions of Scarlatti oratorios, as shown in Table 2.2.

Italia: Music on the Grand Tour in the Seventeenth Century eds. Dinko Fabris and Margaret Murata (Utrecht: Brepols, 2015), 217–227; Ayana O. Smith, *Dreaming with Open Eyes: Opera, Aesthetics, and Perception in Arcadian Rome* (California: University of California Press, 2019).

[17] Teresa Chirico, 'Serenate alla corte romana del cardinale Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740) nell'epoca di Arcangelo Corelli: Storia e Proteizzazione di un genere' in *Serenata and Festa teatrale in eighteenth-century Europe* ed. Iskrena Yordanova and Paologiovanni Maione (Vienna: Hollitzer Verlag, 2018), 137–192; 'Il Cardinale Pietro Ottoboni, la diplomazia e la musica (1689–1721)' in *Diplomacy and the Aristocracy as Patrons of Music and Theatre in the Europe of the Ancien Régime* ed. Iskrena Yordanova and Francesco Cotticelli (Vienna: Hollitzer Verlag, 2019), 155–187.

[18] Edward J. Olszewski, 'The Enlightened Patronage of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1767–1740)', *Artibus and Historiae*, 23/45 (2002), 139–165; Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740) and the Vatican Tomb of Alexander VIII (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2004); *Dynamics of Architecture in Late Baroque Rome: Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni at the Cancelleria* (Warsaw and Berlin: De Gruyter Open, 2015).

Table 2.2 Lino Bianchi's *The Oratorios of Alessandro Scarlatti* Series

Vol.	Title	Year	Sources and Information
I	*La Giuditta* 'Naples' (1694)[19]	1964	• Prepared from a manuscript, at I-Nc. • Volume also contains a transcript of the libretto by Benedetto Pamphilj, obtained from the Carvelhaes Collection at I-Rsc.
II	*Agar et Ismaele esiliati* (1683)[20]	1965	• Prepared from seventeenth-century manuscript at A/Wn. • Libretto by Giuseppe de Totis printed in its entirety from an edition published in Florence in 1697 for performance of the oratorio commissioned by the Compagnia della Purificazione di Maria Vergine e di S. Zanobi della di S. Marco.
III	*La Giuditta* 'di Cambridge' (1697)[21]	1966	• Bianchi discovered this oratorio in 1961 at GB/Ckc. • Much of the preface to this edition is dedicated to clarifying attributional confusion regarding the librettist of both Scarlatti's 'Judith' oratorios.[22]
IV	*Il primo omicidio* (1707)[23]	1968	• A libretto for a Roman production of this oratorio in 1710 was initially discovered by Ulderico Rolandi in the 1930s.[24] • In the preface Bianchi states that it was not until 1964 that scholars learnt of the existence of the autograph score and that he was able to make this modern edition after obtaining a xerocopy from Frank V. de Bellis.
V	*Il David (Davdis pugna et Victoria)* (1700) [25]	1969	• Based on a manuscript copy at I-Rc.

Bianchi's commentaries are a balance of contextual findings on Scarlatti's life, literary analysis, and music analysis. For instance, when describing the melancholic atmosphere Scarlatti created in *Il primo omicidio*, Bianchi says 'the world of primitive nature is…imbued with genuine religious spirituality, sorrowful and spontaneous contact

[19] *The Oratorios of Alessandro Scarlatti I: La Giuditta* ed. Lino Bianchi (Rome: De Santis, 1964).
[20] *The Oratorios of Alessandro Scarlatti II: Agar et Ismaele esiliati* ed. Lino Bianchi (Rome: De Santis, 1965).
[21] *The Oratorios of Alessandro Scarlatti III: La Giuditta di Cambridge* ed. Lino Bianchi (Rome: De Santis, 1966).
[22] It is now known that Antonio Ottoboni, father of Pietro Ottoboni, provided the libretto for *La Giuditta di Cambridge*. However, much more uncertainty surrounded the identification of the librettist for the 'Naples' *La Giuditta*. Until the publication of this volume in 1966, every secondary source and catalogue had listed Pietro Ottoboni as the librettist of the 'Naples' *La Giuditta*, a fact that Lino Bianchi stated is incorrect. He provided ample evidence to confirm the libretto was in fact written by Cardinal Benedetto Pamphilj.
[23] *The Oratorios of Alessandro Scarlatti IV: Il Primo Omicidio* ed. Lino Bianchi (Rome: De Santis, 1968).
[24] The Venetian libretto is now held at I-Rn. Rolandi presented his findings in an article published in 1936 entitled 'Il "Cain" sconosciuto oratorio di Alessandro Scarlatti' *NA*, 13 (1936), 176–179. In the article Rolandi mentioned the Venetian edition of the libretto which predates the Roman libretto by four years.
[25] *The Oratorios of Alessandro Scarlatti V: Il David* ed. Lino Bianchi (Rome: De Santis, 1969).

with the supernatural, with which it once lived in open communion', hinting at the effect that Scarlatti's personal religious beliefs may have had on his compositions.[26]

In the preface to *Il David*, Bianchi discusses the libretto's 'exceptional cultural and poetical features' and states that it must be considered as one of the most successful works in the field of oratorio literature.[27] On a broader level, he also describes the fluid functionality of the Italian oratorio – a point that may have stemmed from the fact that *Il David* was first performed at SS. Crocifisso for the extravagant celebrations of the jubilee year of 1700 – as he says:

> The life-giving, motor nucleus of the Italian oratorio is…dramatic and representative even if narrated. It is for an audience not a community. People, in other words, who have gathered to hear a performance, spiritual as its content may be, the express purpose being one of aesthetics.[28]

Here Bianchi is acknowledging the hybridity of the genre and its ability to function on different levels. The 'spiritual' content of the libretti did not affect the drama and excitement of the performances.

Bianchi's realisation of the continuo part in his editions and his alterations to Scarlatti's counterpoint came under some criticism from fellow musicologists such as Malcom Boyd, who accuses Bianchi of tampering with and disfiguring Scarlatti's figured bass and counterpoint in *Il David*.[29] The fact that only five of the twenty commissioned editions were produced by Bianchi leaves space for new scholars to produce modern critical editions of previously unpublished works and continue Bianchi's contextual research and ongoing efforts to encourage more musicians to perform these oratorios.

David Poultney's unpublished 1968 dissertation and 1973 article are frequently referenced by musicologists who discuss Scarlatti's oratorio. In the first part of the original

[26] *Il primo omicidio* ed. Lino Binachi, v.
[27] *Il David* ed. Lino Bianchi, iv.
[28] Ibid, iv.
[29] *Il David* ed. Lino Bianchi, 93.

dissertation Poultney provides a history of the oratorio based on secondary literature and the second part contains three sections: *a*) an introduction to Scarlatti's oratorios, *b*) a section that deals exclusively with the arias and *c*) a section focuses on the recitatives, choruses and instrumental music. Poultney echoes the sentiments of Dent and Fabbri regarding Scarlatti's passion for his music, discussing the fact that he wept as he composed music for the opera *Il gran tamerlano* (1706).[30]

Poultney's thesis focuses mainly on musical analysis, but he examines several individual performances of oratorios. For instance, he highlights the extravagant decoration (*apparato*) involved at the 1705 of performance of *Santa Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi* at the Collegio Clementio, commissioned by Cardinal Benedetto Pamphilj.[31] Using examples such as this was Poultney's method of demonstrating what he believed was the secularisation of the genre of oratorio during Scarlatti's career. Thus, it appears that Poultney viewed the oratorio as a genre purely performed for entertainment purposes, as he says:

> Perhaps the most significant fact revealed by study of the nature of oratorio performances during the time of Scarlatti is that composers, patrons, singers, and listeners all regarded the genre as a form of entertainment and not as church music. Oratorio was based upon more or less religious texts, but its presentation was calculated to move the listeners' emotions, not to inspire reverence.[32]

He also believes that the role of the aria in the oratorio changed during Scarlatti's career and that this reflected both the maturing of the composer and the shifting attitudes towards the subservience of music to text. Poultney observes that at the beginning of Scarlatti's career the focus of vocal music in general was heavily in favour of the text. His argument is that in Scarlatti's oratorios can be seen 'a smooth transition from text reliant forms to

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[30] Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti*, 194; Fabbri, *Alessandro Scarlatti e Principe Ferdinando de'Medici*, 73.
[31] David G. Poultney, *The Oratorios of Alessandro Scarlatti: their language milieu and style* (PhD Thesis: University of Michigan, 1968). 92. Idem, 'Alessandro Scarlatti and the Transformation of the Oratorio', *MQ*, 59/4 (1973), 584–601.
[32] Poultney, *Oratorios*, 100.

those in which the text is subservient'.[33] Presumably this is in the context of the development of vocal forms from many short arias to the dominance of fewer but much longer da capo arias, where the text suffers at the expense of the music.

Poultney acknowledges Scarlatti's skill with recitative and stresses his reliance upon the style when other composers became more interested in the virtuosic aria. He explains that Scarlatti created intense expression in his recitative by way of textual repetition, melismatic writing, changes of vocal register, rests used for affective purposes, chromaticism, and by his bold and/or surprising modulation, exemplifying this with passages of recitative from *Il trionfo della grazia* (1685).[34]

As previously mentioned, extended scholarly literature on specific Scarlatti oratorios is scarce. However, there are several chapters and essays featured in larger monographs, modern editions with detailed prefaces and studies published as articles that shed some light on Scarlatti's *Passio secundum Joannem* and his later Passion oratorios.

In 1953 Edward Hanley wrote an article based on a performance of the *Passio secundum Joannem* that took place at Yale University, New Haven on 29 December 1952 at a joint meeting between the American Musicological Society and the Society for Music in the Liberal Arts College. In the article, Hanley notes the lack of research conducted on Italian Passion music, while abundant research exists on the German Passions and even earlier polyphonic settings of the passion text. He observes the uniqueness of Scarlatti's *Passio secundum Joannem* for its strict use of the Bible text and discusses various musical techniques the composer used to enhance the intensity of the text.[35]

[33] Poultney, *Oratorios*, 107. See also Colin Timms, 'Euterpe's Revenge, or: 'The Italian Opera Aria c.1600–1720' (forthcoming).
[34] Ibid, 193.
[35] Edwin Hanley, 'Current Chronicle', *MQ* 39/2 (1953), 246.

Two years after the publication of this article, Hanley released his edition of Scarlatti's *Passio D. N. Jesu Christi Secundum Johannem*.[36] He took the decision to transpose the entire work down a minor third from C minor to A minor. While this meant that the part of the *testo* (narrator) was within a comfortable range for a tenor, it also meant that all the chorus parts were placed relatively low in the register of the part, and forced the role of Christ into *basso profundo* range. Hanley also came under some criticism for what was deemed a poor realisation of the figured bass, as discussed by Edward J. Dent in his review of the edition.[37]

In 1985 Austrian musicologist Reinhold Kubik completed his own edition of Scarlatti's St. John Passion, keeping the original key of C minor. These are the only modern critical editions of Scarlatti's *Passio secundum Joannem*, but several other scholars including Benedikt Poensgen have discussed the *Passio* more recently.[38]

There is currently no published modern critical edition of Scarlatti's *Oratorio per la Passione di nostro Signore Gesù Cristo* and no articles specifically dealing with its music, poetry and history, save for Bianchi's analysis in Pagano's biography. However, several historians have referenced the work, mainly due to the libretto's long paraphrasings of the *Lamentations of Jeremiah* and allusions to the Reproaches of Good Friday. Robert L. Kendrick offers a short analysis of the sections of the libretto based on the *Lamentations* in *Singing Jeremiah: Music and Meaning in Holy Week*.[39] Michael Schneider presents an

[36] Alessandro Scarlatti, *Passio D. N. Jesu Christi secundum Johannem* (New Haven, Connecticut: Department of Music at Yale University, 1955).
[37] Edward J. Dent, 'Reviewed Work(s): *Passio D. N. Jesu Christi Secundum Johannem* by Alessandro Scarlatti and Edwin Hanley', *Notes*, 13/1 (1955), 129.
[38] In his doctoral thesis on Scarlatti's music for the Office, Poensgen presents watermark evidence to argue that the first 24 folios of the *Passio secundum Joannem* (MS 384.2) in the Biblioteca dei Girolamini, Rome are actually an autograph score of the *St John Passion*. Benedikt Poensgen, 'Die Offiziumkompositionen von Alessandro Scarlatti', Ph.D. Thesis (University of Hamburg, 2004), 98 & n. 323, 63 n. 291.
[39] Robert L. Kendrick, *Singing Jeremiah: Music and Meaning in Holy Week* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2014), 159–166. Kendrick is also an authoritative voice on early modern devotional music and meaning, important publications include; 'Devotion, piety and commemoration: sacred songs and oratoios', in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge

essay on the oratorio in the liner notes to a recording made in 1992 and alongside Schneider's essay is a translation of Ottoboni's libretto by Estevan Verlardi.[40]

In terms of Scarlatti's final Passion oratorio, *Il dolore di Maria Vergine,* scholarly literature examining its history, text and music is scarce. Danilo Costantini and Ausilia Magaudda co-authored an article in *Fonti d'archvio* in 2000 which includes a chronological list of the title pages of libretti and the scores and the quotations from the *Gazzetta di Napoli* relating to works commissioned by the Confraternità dei Sette Dolori between 1693 and 1745, Scarlatti's oratorio included.[41] The article demonstrates the magnitude of devotion and scale of celebrations to honour the sorrowful virgin. There is also a short but informative article by Virglio Fantuzzi that is a review of a performance of the oratorio that took place during opera season at the San Carlo Theatre, Naples in 2003, directed by Rinaldo Alessandrini.[42]

Gaetano Pitarresi produced the modern critical edition of *Il dolore,* under what is perhaps its better-known title, *La Vergine Addolorata,* published in 2016.[43] The edition contains an introduction with source information and contextual findings on the original performance conditions of the work.

The most in-depth study of Scarlatti's oratorios as a whole is David Poultney's aforementioned dissertation submitted to the University of Michigan in 1968 under the title 'The oratorios of Alessandro Scarlatti: their language, milieu and style'. However, it was

University Press, 2005), 324–377; 'What's so sacred about sacred opera? Reflections on the fate of a (sub) genre', *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music*, 9/1 (2003), http://www.sscm-jscm.org /v9/no1/kendrick.html.

[40] Michael Schneider [liner notes], *Alessandro Scarlatti, La Colpa, il Pentimento, la Grazia,* Capriccio C5126 (1992), 10.

[41] The list includes those with some theme of devotion to the sorrowful virgin and some performed in Salerno, Chieti, and Palermo, as Costantini and Magaudda state that they are likely replicas of Neapolitan oratorios. Danilo Costantini and Ausilia Magaudda, 'Attività musicali promosse dalle confratenite laiche nel Regno di Napoli (1677–1763)', *Fonti d'archivio per la storia della musica e dello spettacolo a Napoli tra XVI e XVIII secolo* ed. Paologiovanni Maione (Naples: Editorale Scientifica, 2000), 79–204.

[42] Virgilio Fantuzzi, ''La Vergine dei Dolori' di Alessandro Scarlatti: Un oratorio del 1717 rappresentato al Teatro di Napoli', *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 2/3670 (2003), 370–377.

[43] Alessandro Scarlatti, *La Vergine Addolorata: Oratorio in due parti (Napoli 1717)*, ed. Gaetano Pitarresi (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2016).

never published, and Poultney's findings were instead presented in a short article featured in *Musical Quarterly* in 1973.[44] The most recent publication on Scarlatti's oratorios is Ignace Bossuyt's *De oratoria van Alessandro Scarlatti (1660-1725): Meesterwerken uit de Italiaanse barok*, published in 2015. However, the title of this Dutch work is slightly deceiving as after a biographical overview of Scarlatti and short discussion about his oratorios, Bossuyt offers a detailed analysis of just one oratorio: *Cain ovvero il primo omicidio* (1707).[45]

At the beginning of the twenty-first century other strands of Scarlatti's sacred music began to receive long overdue attention. Modern editions and recordings of the composer's cantatas, masses and lamentations became readily available. The biggest contributor to this dissemination of Scarlatti's sacred music is Luca Della Libera who, as well as editing a large number of Scarlatti's works, has also written books and articles containing new contextual information in such matters as performance history and patronage networks.[46] In 2006 Della Libera presented an evaluation of the state of research on Scarlatti's sacred music in which he provides details of both the published and unpublished literature on the composer's motets, masses, lamentations and vespers. He also discusses the difficulties in creating an accurate chronology of Scarlatti's sacred

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[44] David G. Poultney, *The Oratorios of Alessandro Scarlatti: their language milieu and style* (PhD Thesis: University of Michigan, 1968); Idem, 'Alessandro Scarlatti and the Transformation of the Oratorio', *MQ*, 59/4 (1973), 584–601.

[45] Ignace Bossuyt, *De oratoria van Alessandro Scarlatti (1660-1725): Meesterwerken uit de Italiaanse barok* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2015).

[46] Luca Della Libera, 'I Concerti Sacri opera seconda Alessandro Scarlatti: Osservazioni sullo stile e nuovi documenti sulla cronologia', *Ricercare* XVIII (2006), 5–32; 'Nuovi documenti biografici su Alessandro Scarlatti e la sua famiglia', *Acta Musicologia*, 83 (2011), 205–222; 'Il cielo e la terra: pagine strumentali negli oratori di Alessandro Scarlatti', in *Dramma scolastico e oratorio nell'età barocca*, ed. Nicolò Maccavino (Reggio Calabria: Edizioni del Conservatorio di Musica "Francesco Ciela", 2012), 166–182; Luca Della Libera (ed.) Alessandro Scarlatti, *Selected Sacred Music* (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 2012); Alessandro Scarlatti and Francesco Gasparini, *Masses by Alessandro Scarlatti and Francesco Gasparini: Music from the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome* (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 2004); *Devozione e Passione: Alessandro Scarlatti nella Napoli e Roma barocca* eds. Luca Della Libera and Paologiovanni Maione (Naples: Fondazione Pietà de'Turchini, 2014); *La muscia sacra romana di Alessandro Scarlatti* (Berlin: Merseburger, 2018); "Il Cielo e la terra: pagine strumentali negli oratorii di Alessandro Scarlatti." Dramma scolastico e oratorio nell'età barocca, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Reggio Calabria, 5-6 ottobre 2012), ed. Nicolò Maccavino. Edizioni del Conservatorio di Musica "F. Cilea," 2019.

repertoire due to the omission of dates from the original manuscripts. He states:

> the possibility of confidently outlining the chronology of Scarlatti's sacred repertoire, in the current state of affairs, is very problematic, as dated sources make up a small part of this sector; for undated sources it is only possible to make hypotheses on a stylistic or biographical basis, in relation to the various positions held by Scarlatti.[47]

Additionally, Della Libera also produced a modern critical edition of Scarlatti's *La Santissima Annuntiata* in 2011, with an introduction by Roberto Pagano. In this preface Pagano highlights the lack of attention paid to Scarlatti's music and the chaotic state his current catalogue of works lies in, due to the consistent funding difficulties in the field and the 'random' approach to cataloguing that has been taken by historians to date. Pagano ends by stating that Della Libera's edition reflects the 'very special place deserved by Alessandro Scarlatti's production in the history of Western music.'[48] More recently, Della Libera published *The Roman Sacred Music of Alessandro Scarlatti*: an account of the sacred music written by Scarlatti in the Papal city between 1675 and 1725, paying particular attention to the institutions with which the composer had intrinsic connections: S. Girolamo degli Incurabili, the Sistine Chapel, the Chiesa Nuova and Santa Maria Maggiore.[49]

Taking advantage of this recent resurgence in interest in Scarlatti's sacred music, and with Pagano's words in mind, the present research is intended to fill a gap in the field of research on the oratorio. The time has most certainly come for a closer examination of Scarlatti's Passion oratorios: the *Oratorio per la Passione di nostro Signore Gesù Cristo* (1706) and *Il dolore di Maria Vergine* (1717).

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[47] 'La possibilità di delineare con sicurezza la cronologia del repertorio sacro di Scarlatti, allo stato dei fatti, si presenta assai problematica, in quanto le fonti datate costituiscono una piccola parte di questo settore; per le fonti non datate è possible soltanto avanzare ipotesi su basi stilistiche o biografiche, in relazione ai vari incarichi tenuti da Scarlatti'. Della Libera, 'I Concerti Sacri', *Ricercare*, 18 (2006), 8.
[48] Roberto Pagano, 'Premessa', Alessandro Scarlatti, *La Santissima Annuntiata* ed. Luca Della Libera (Rome: Istituto Italiano per la Storia della Musica, 2011), viii.
[49] Luca Della Libera, *The Roman Sacred Music of Alessandro Scarlatti* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2022).

ORATORIO: THE STATE OF RESEARCH

A public debate via articles published in 1978 by distinguished musicologists corroborates the notion that the oratorio is a terminologically complex genre that has long been a source of debate for historians. In the first article, Malcom Boyd states that the word 'oratorio' had three distinct meanings in seventeenth-century Italy: *a)* the building (oratory), usually attached to a Church, *b)* the non-liturgical spiritual exercises that took place in said buildings or *c)* a musical composition based on a sacred text that may or may not be performed in an oratory. Boyd also states that 'not a single work designated an oratorio was ever staged (i.e. acted with scenery and costumes) in Italy during the Baroque period'.[50]

Winton Deam responded to Boyd's article by providing several examples of oratorios intended to be performed on the stage. Dean references both Alessandro Scarlatti's *Oratorio per la Passione* and George Frederick Handel's *La Resurrezione* and lessened the distinctions created by Boyd by discussing other terms associated with what we now regard as oratorio such as *dialogus* and *dramma sacro*.[51]

Victor Crowther later joined the debate, stating that Scarlatti's *Oratorio per la Passione* and Handel's *La Resurrezione* were clearly designed for a 'semi-staged' performance due to their specially constructed stages, elaborate lighting systems and painted backdrops. Could this concert-style potentially weaken the meaning of the many liturgical references in the texts and the intense spirit of devotion surrounding the 1708 performance of Scarlatti's *Oratorio per la Passione*?[52]

The Boyd/Dean/Crowther debate came some fifty years after the surge of interest in the Italian oratorio seen at the beginning of the twentieth century, an area of research that remained virtually untouched in nineteenth-century musicology. Three major publications

[50] Malcom Boyd, 'Baroque Oratorio: A Terminological Inexactitude?' *MT*, 119/1624 (1978), 507.
[51] Winton Dean, 'Oratorio', *MT*, 119/1626 (1978), 653, 668.
[52] Victor Crowther, 'Oratorio on the Stage?', *MT*, 119/1628 (1978), 821, 838.

appeared in 1906, 1908 and 1911, each offering a different yet significant contribution to the history of the oratorio. Guido Pasquetti's *L'oratorio musicale in Italia* and Domenico Alaleona's *Studi sulla storia dell'oratorio musicale in Italia* both focus entirely on the oratorio in Italy. In *Geschichte des Oratoriums*, Arnold Schering discusses the oratorio in much broader terms, making this book the standard work on the history of the genre until the publication of Howard E. Smither's pioneering monograph in the 1970s.[53] These publications offer a vast amount of historical information, yet their now outdated historical theories on the oratorio demonstrate the need for a more nuanced approach to what is a rich and complex genre.

Alaleona based his *Studi sulla storia dell'oratorio musicale in Italia* on an earlier dissertation he submitted while studying at the University of Rome.[54] In the study Alaleona analyses and transcribes many primary sources that had hitherto been overlooked or ignored, meaning it is still an invaluable resource today. An example of this is the section entitled 'From the Archive of the Archconfraternity of the Most Holy Crucifix at San Marcello in Rome'.[55] This is a transcription of all available passages referring to music and musicians in the surviving accounts of the oratory of the SS. Crocifisso between the years 1529 and 1725.

A potential issue with this work is Alaleona's assumption that there was a natural progression from the development of the sixteenth-century *laudae* to the seventeenth-century oratorio. He indicates this from the outset as he states his aim is to outline the development of *laudae* into oratorio from the time of the 'Reazione Cattolica' (Catholic-Reformation).[56] This

[53] Guido Pasquetti, *L'oratorio musicale in Italia* (Florence: Successori le Monnier, 1906); Domenico Alaleona, *Studi sulla storia dell'oratorio musicale in Italia* (Turin: Fratelli Bocca Editori, 1908), reprinted as: *Storia dell'oratorio musicale in Italia* (Milan: Fratelli Bocca Editori, 1945), all references from 1908 edn; Arnold Schering, *Geschichte des Oratoriums* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911).
[54] Howard E. Smither, 'Review of Domenico Alaleona's *Studi su la storia dell'oratorio musicale in Italia', Notes*, 31/4 (1975), 751.
[55] 'Dall'Archivio della Archiconfraternita del Crocifisso in San Marcello di Roma', Alaleona, *Studi*, 395–419.
[56] Alaleona, *Studi*, 7.

is a theory that later musicologists would also adopt and has henceforth influenced the historiographical narrative of the oratorio.

In *L'oratorio musicale in Italia* (1906) Guido Pasquetti divides the history of the oratorio between 1642 and 1905 into three sections. The first section deals with the Roman school of the seventeenth century, the second with the Neapolitan school and the third with the reinvention of the genre from Haydn onwards. Pasquetti firmly believes that Scarlatti was primarily a pioneer of the Neapolitan school, introducing elements of the Neapolitan compositional style to Rome.

Pasquetti discusses at length the liturgical use of German Passion oratorios by the likes of Schütz and Bach, but did not mention any Italian or Latin settings composed for a similar purpose.[57] Scarlatti's *Passio secundum Joannem* and *La Vergine Addolorata* had not been discovered at the time of writing, but Pasquetti mentions the *Oratorio per la Passione* in connection with settings of Pietro Metastasio's famous Passion libretto.[58]

In *Geschichte des Oratoriums* Schering deals with the history of the oratorio throughout Europe (unlike Alaleona and Pasquetti, who deal exclusively with Italy). He mentions several of Scarlatti's oratorios by name and looks in some detail at *La conversione di Maddalena* (1685), referencing Scarlatti's use of chromaticism to create tense, serious and pathetic arias. After the conversion takes place in the oratorio, there is a short instrumental movement, which Schering describes as 'a calm, gentle movement to move the minds of the listeners.'[59] This is significant, as it is the first time the author mentions the listener's engagement with Scarlatti's oratorios.

A key difference between the approaches of Pasquetti and Schering is that Pasquetti deals with the Passion oratorio as a genre in and of itself, allowing him to explore the sub-

[57] Pasquetti, *L'oratorio*, 284–288.
[58] Ibid, 299, 423–430.
[59] Schering, *Geschichte des Oratoriums*, 178–182.

genre in greater detail. Schering, on the other hand, did the opposite, stating his treatment of the sub-genre early in the introduction: 'the Passion is equal to the oratorio in the narrow sense and will not be separated from that in historical consideration'.[60]

It is crucial to read the textbooks of Pasquetti and Schering critically. For the most part, both authors view Scarlatti exclusively as a Neapolitan composer who happened to spend some time in Rome. However, Scarlatti composed over two thirds of his oratorios for Roman patrons and many other oratorios were Roman in conception. It was not until the late twentieth century that historians began to view Scarlatti as a leading composer of Roman music, as well as Neapolitan. This was a step in the right direction for Scarlatti scholarship, but a new narrative is certainly needed in order to provide an alternative, more accurate history of the composer's career. This narrative needs to observe the political, social, financial, and religious climates of the time and certain gaps need to be filled.

Howard E. Smither's monograph and subsequent publications

The Oratorio in the Baroque Era is the first volume of Howard E. Smither's pioneering monograph *The History of the Oratorio,* published in four volumes between 1977 and 2000.[61] Aside from Victor Crowther's two studies focusing exclusively on the oratorio in Modena and Bologna[62], Smither's is the only monograph in English on the oratorio and the most

[60] Schering, *Geschichte des Oratoriums*, 6.
[61] Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio: The Oratorio in the Baroque Era: Italy, Vienna and Paris* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977); *The Oratorio in the Baroque Era: Protestant Germany and England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977); *The Oratorio in the Classical Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987); *The Oratorio in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000). Smither is also the author of several pioneering articles on the oratorio; 'The Latin Dramatic Dialogue and the Nascent Oratorio', *JAMS*, 20/3 (1967), 403–433; 'Narrative and Dramatic Elements in the Laude Filippino, 1563–1600', *AcM*, 41/3–4 (1969), 186–199; 'The Baroque Oratorio. A report on Research since 1945', *AcM*, 48/1 (1976), 50–76; 'Oratorio and Sacred Opera 1700–1825: Terminology and Genre Distinction', *PRMA*, 106 (1979–1980), 88–104.
[62] Victor Crowther, *The Oratorio in Modena* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); *The Oratorio in Bologna 1650–1730* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

comprehensive in any language.[63] In *The Oratorio in the Baroque Era* Scarlatti is first mentioned alongside Stradella in a discussion regarding the composers active at the SS. Crocifisso in the late seventeenth century.[64] Later, in a short section dedicated to Scarlatti, Smither discusses Scarlatti's network of patrons that included royalty, nobility and clergymen.[65] In contrast to the early twentieth-century musicologists previously discussed, Smither demonstrates that Scarlatti was actually more Roman than Neapolitan in his compositional style, particularly in terms of his oratorios.

Smither states that Scarlatti's early oratorios are characteristic of the late seventeenth century, and the later oratorios display more modern tendencies such as the growing importance of the da capo aria and increasing use of orchestrally accompanied arias. He uses *Il primo omicidio* (1707) as a representative example of Scarlatti's mature oratorios. Smither notes Scarlatti's use of chromatic progressions to create pathetic affects and melancholic atmospheres, and his sparing use of accompanied recitative, all four instances of which are sung by the Voice of God, with strings playing sustained chords, not unlike Christ's lines in the *Passio secundum Joannem*.[66]

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[63] However, there has been several studies based on oratorio history, tradition, and performance in a number of Italian cities and localities. For research on the oratorio in other Italian cities see the following monographs; Carlo Gasbarri, *L'oratorio filippino (1552–1952)* (Rome: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1957); Saverio Franchi, *Drammaturgia romana: Repertorio bibliografico cronologico dei testi drammatici pubblicati a Roma e nel Lazio* (Rome: Ediciaci di Storia e Letteratura, 1988); Arnaldo Morelli, *Il tempio armonico: musica nell'oratorio dei Filippini in Roma (1575–1705)* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1991); Denis and Elise Arnold, *The Oratorio in Venice* (London: Royal Music Association, 1986); Stefanie Tcharos, *Opera's Orbit: Musical Drama and the Influence of Opera in Arcadian Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 46–97. Also, the following articles and chapters; Andreas Leiss, 'Materialien zur römischen Musikgeschichte des Seicento. Musikerlisten des Oratorio San Marcello 1664–1725', *AcM*, 29/4 (1957), 137–171; Idem, 'Die Sammlung der Oratorien libretti (1679–1725) und der restliche Musikbestand des Fondo San Marcello der Biblioteca Vaticana in Rom', *AcM*, 31/2 (1959), 63–80; John Walter Hill, 'Oratory Music in Florence, I: "Recitar Cantando", 1583–1655', *AcM*, 51/1 (1979), 108–136; Idem, 'Oratory Music in Florence II: At San Firenze in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *AcM*, 51/2 (1979), 246–267; Idem, 'Oratory Music in Florence III: The Confraternities from 1655 to 1785', *AcM*, 58/1 (1986), 129–179; '"Un bell'oratorio all'uso di Roma": Patronage and Secular Context of the Oratorio in Baroque Rome', tr. Marella Feltrin-Morris, *Studies in memory of William C. Holmes* ed. Colleen Reardon and Susan Parisi (Michigan: Harmione Park Press, 1992), 332–335; Luciano Buono, 'Sviluppo e diffusione dell'oratorio in Sicilia tra sei e settecento', in *Dramma scolastico e oratorio nell'età barocca* (Reggio Calabria: Edizioni del Conservatorio di Musica "F. Cilea", 2019), 330–357.
[64] Smither, *Oratorio*, 215.
[65] Ibid, 337. For Scarlatti's relationship with Prince Ferdinando de'Medici see 285 and Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni see 267, 274.
[66] Smither, *Oratorio*, 240–242.

Although Smither's monograph provides the most accurate history of the oratorio, in the first volume he appears to confuse Scarlatti's *Passio secundum Joannem* (1679) and the later *Oratorio per la Passione di nostro signore Gesù Cristo*. In the index of *The Oratorio in the Baroque Era*, the reference 'Passio D.n. Jesu Christi secundum Johannem' takes the reader to a discussion of the Holy Week performances of 1708, sponsored by Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni. It was Scarlatti's *Oratorio per la Passione di nostro signore Gesù Cristo* which was performed on the Wednesday of Holy Week, in a series that also included Handel's *Resurrezione*, performed four days later.[67] Nevertheless, minute errors such as this are a small price to pay for the biggest contribution to oratorio research to date.

The most outstanding contribution to research on the history of the oratorio since the publication of Smither's monograph is Arnaldo Morelli's *Il tempio armonico: musica nell'oratorio dei Filippini in Roma (1575–1705)*, published in 1991. It is a detailed study of the musical tradition in the oratory of Santa Maria in Vallicella, the home of the *oratorio volgare*. Morelli discusses Scarlatti's employment at the oratory of Santa Maria in Vallicella as *maestro coadiutore* to Giovanni Bicilli (1623–1705), a position he held from 1703 to 1705. He pays particular attention to a Palm Sunday performance of Scarlatti's *Oratorio per la SS. Annuntiata* that took place in the oratory in 1703.[68]

ITALIAN PASSION MUSIC

There are few scholarly works devoted entirely to the subject of Passion music, making Basil Smallman's *The Background of Passion Music: J. S. Bach and his Predecessors* a seminal text, particularly for its appendix on letter symbols in Passion music and the

[67] Ibid, index reference can be found at 476 and discussions of Holy Week performances found at 267–271.
[68] Morelli highlights that in the past musicologists assumed this was the same oratorio as *L'Assunzione della Beatissima Vergine* (1703) but provides ample evidence to suggest that this may not be the case and that the two are, in fact, distinct works. Morelli, *Il tempio armonico*, 54–55.

earliest settings of polyphonic Passions and dramatic and motet Passions.[69] Articles by Karl Nef and fellow German scholar Kurt von Fischer also offer contributions to literature on Passion music. Nef presents a detailed list of Italian Passion oratorios, many of which had never been discussed in previous musicological research while von Fischer provides a summary of Passion music in Italian in the sixteenth century and details of the performance of liturgical Passion settings.[70] Antonio Dell'Onio presents new findings on the Passion settings of Matthew and John by Neapolitan composers Gaetano Veneziano, Alessandro Speranza and Pietro Antonio Gallo in an article with historical context and musical examples published in 2016.[71] The articles by Nef, von Fischer and Dell'Onio all present an understanding of the complex nature of these oratorios, i.e. the merging of religious inspiration and entertainment value.[72]

In the early 2000s Richard Viladesau authored a trio of books on the Passion of Christ in theology and the arts.[73] The final book of the trilogy was *The Pathos of the Cross: The Passion of Christ in Theology and the Arts – The Baroque Era* (2014). This contains a survey of the Passion in Catholic music in which Viladesau examines a cross-section of Passion music in Italy, largely in the form of textual analysis, including Scarlatti's *Passio*

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[69] Basil Smallman, *The Background of Passion Music: J. S. Bach and his Predecessors* (London: SCM Press, 1957), 123–135. See also, H.M. Adams, 'Passion music before 1724', *ML*, 7/3 (1926), 258–264.
[70] Karl Nef, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Passion in Italien', *ZMw* (Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von Breitkopf & Härtel, 1935), 208–376; Kurt von Fischer, 'Zur Gerschichte der Passionkomposition des 16. Jahrhunderts in Italien', *AMw*, 11/3 (1954), 189–205; Idem, 'The "*Theologia Crucis*" and the performance of the early liturgical Passion', *Israel Studies in Musicology* ed. Shai Burstyn, 3 (1983), 38–43.
[71] Antonio Dell'Onio, 'Passioni Napoletane al paragone: Gaetano Veneziano, Pietro Antonio Gallo e Alessandro Speranza e la musica sacra a Napoli nel settecento (Atti del Convegno nazionale di studi Avellino, 20–21 Nov., 2015) (Avellino: Cimarosa, 2016), 21–53.
[72] A number of other articles that echo similar sentiments to Nef, von Fischer and Dell'Onio are; George J. Buelow, 'Music, Rhetoric, and the Concept of the Affections: A Selective Bibliography', *Notes*, 30/3 (1973), 250–259; Mark S. Weil, 'The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtald Institutes*, 37 (1974), 218–248; Graham Dixon, 'Lenten Devotions. Some memoriae of Baroque Rome', *MT*, 125/1681 (1983), 157–161.
[73] Richard Viladesau, *The Beauty of the Cross: The Passion of Christ in Theology and the Arts. From the Catacombs to the Eve of the Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); *The Triumph of the Cross: The Passion of Christ in Theology and the Arts, from the Renaissance to the Counter-Reformation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); *The Pathos of the Cross: The Passion of Christ in Theology and the Arts. The Baroque Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

secundum Joannem. He describes the style of the *Passio* as 'expressive, not in the sense of imitation or exciting emotions, but by using the conventional musical language of the time'.[74]

THE DEVOTIONAL LIFE OF ROME IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

The power of the Catholic Church

In *Daily Life in Papal Rome,* Maurice Andrieux provides insight into the unshakable power of the Catholic Church in early modern Italy. Andrieux states that there were somewhere between 300 and 400 churches in Rome in the eighteenth century, erected and funded by the papacy and the pontifical families, who were gathering wealth at an astonishing rate. Around 30 families – including the Colonna, Orsini, Savalli, Pamphilj and Conti families – made rich by previous popes, now formed the 'elite' of society. Under their funding almost every church was shrouded in marble, filled with gilded figures and ornate frescos. They also built mansions and palaces surrounded by expansive gardens and elaborate fountains all over Rome.[75]

Andreiux also highlights the rigorous rules enforced by the church which permeated through every part of society. Within the Papal States the authority and power of the Pope was limitless: he was the absolute sovereign. At this time the Pope had between 60 and 70 Cardinals and together they controlled every aspect of society. The currency of the time even bore images of the Church, Our Lady, apostles and quotes from the scripture.[76] The Pope controlled the entire economic infrastructure of the cities, with taxes paid directly to the Vatican. He monitored food retail prices, healthcare organisations

[74] For the general survey of early modern Passion music see Viladesau, *The Pathos of the Cross*, 123–154 and for the analysis of Scarlatti's *Passio secundum Joannem* see 129–131.
[75] Andrieux, *Daily Life*, 19.
[76] Andrieux, *Daily Life*, 70.

and the civil and criminal justice systems. The Church even controlled time – as discussed by Pierre Jounel in *The Church at Prayer* – as clocks were set by the Ave Maria bell, which sounded half an hour after sunset, a Roman tradition that went as far back as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. At the sounding of the bell – which indicated the transition from day to night – Catholics were urged to say three Hail Marys.[77]

At the beginning of the eighteenth century there were also no fewer than 150 religious festivals – including Sundays – throughout the liturgical year, that all were expected to observe. No expense was spared in the decoration of the churches for Holy Days. As Andreiux states:

> The theatrical element was seen in the feast day decoration of a church's internal architecture, in the velvet hangings and tapestries stretched along the walls and pillars, in the massy gold ornament of choir and altar. The floor would be strewn with flowers and often servants waited at the door with posies for the women as they came in.[78]

In a short section on music, Andrieux says that 'the taste for and knowledge of music was very widespread, and concerts were held almost everywhere in the city' and continues on by saying that 'every church was itself a concert hall', highlighting the interchangeability between music for devotion and music for entertainment.[79]

With the Church so heavily involved in all aspects of society, it comes as no surprise that the arts did not evade its control. Much of the art produced in Rome was influenced by the Accademia di San Luca, an academy of artists founded in 1577 with a papal charter and

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[77] Pierre Jounel, 'The Year' in *The Church at Prayer IV: The Liturgy and Time* ed. Aimé Georges Mortimont, Irénée Henri Dalmais and Pierre Jounel (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1985), 143.
[78] Andrieux, *Daily Life,* 125.
[79] Ibid, 179. For other monographs on early modern Italy see Henri Daniel-Rops, *The Church in the Seventeenth Century* tr. J. J. Buckingham (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1963); Vernon Lee, *Studies of the Eighteenth Century* (London: W. Satchell and Co., 1880); Christopher M. S. Johns, *Papal Art and Cultural Polices: Rome at the Age of Clement XI* (Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press, 1993); Domenico Sella, *Italy in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Christopher F. Black, *Early Modern Italy: A Social History* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001); Pamela M. Jones, Barbara Wisch and Simon Ditchfield, *A Companion to Early Modern Rome (1492–1672),* (London and Boston: Brill, 2019). The diaries of Francesco Valerio also offer an excellent general overview of life in Rome and religion at the time. Francesco Valerio, *Diario di Roma*, ed. Gaetana Scano and Giuseppe Graglia, 6 vols. (Milan: Longanesi, 1978).

protected by a Cardinal. In documents outlining the objectives and intentions of the Academy, artists were instructed to produce 'meaningful' paintings that would 'inspire piety and devotion'.[80] The influence of the Academy was widespread throughout the city, and by the late seventeenth century not only painters and sculptors were admitted, but architects as well, including some of the most famous at the time, such as Carlo Fontana, Giovanni Battista Contini and Gian Lorenzo Bernini.

There were abundant opportunities for musicians and composers in Rome, but largely in the context of sacred music. In 1705 Scarlatti famously wrote in a letter to Prince Ferdinando de' Medici that 'Rome has no roof to shelter music, which lives here like a beggar', referenced by Malcom Boyd in his article 'Rome: The Power of Patronage'.[81] As an opera composer, Scarlatti was often restricted due to the Church's bans on both public and private performances of opera.[82] However, many Roman events of the time included the performance of a serenata, cantata or oratorio, which Karl Marx describes as employing 'new effects to transport audiences to a hitherto unknown state of sensual excitement'. The contrasting perceptions are an apt summary of the situations musicians in Rome faced at the time: as opera composers struggled to make a living, and were forced to take positions at religious institutions, there were ample musical opportunities – in a sacred setting – elsewhere.[83]

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[80] Peter Lukehart, *The History of the Accademia di San Luca, c.1590–1635* (2020), https://www.nga.gov/accademia/en/intro.html#book [accessed 2 February 2023]. See also; *The Accademia Seminars: the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, c.1590–1635* ed. Peter M. Lukehart (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009) and Hanns Gross, *Rome in the Age of Enlightenment: The Post-Tridentine Syndrome and the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 331–365.

[81] 'Roma non ha tetto per accoglier la Musica, che ci vive mendica', Malcom Boyd, 'Rome: The Power of Patronage' in *The Late Baroque Era: From the 1680s to 1740* ed. George J. Buelow (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1993), 39.

[82] From the 1680s until the latter years of the eighteenth century, opera performance and theatre productions in Rome were only permitted according to the whims of papal taste. See William Holmes, *Opera Observed: Views of a Florentine Impresario in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 11.

[83] Boyd, 'Rome: The Power of Patronage', 39.

Music and devotion in early modern Italy

In *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, Lorenzo Bianconi documents the development of music in Italy throughout the century, demonstrating an understanding of the literary aspects of many works, particularly in terms of rhetoric and poetics within seventeenth-century vocal repertoire and focusing on the social and political climates of the time. He provides an insight to the role that music played in devotion in early modern Italy, stating that the oratorio was the most important of all seventeenth-century devotional genres and acknowledges the complexities surrounding the terminology.[84] Unlike Alaleona and his contemporaries, Bianconi attempts to dispel the idea that the oratorio was a descendent of the *lauda*, instead he claims that it derived 'from the devotional practices of which the *laude*, at most, represented a favourite ingredient'.[85] Bianconi also discusses the ever-increasing similarities between oratorio and opera performances in Rome and refers to both genres as both musical *and* literary.

The most relevant text in terms of music and affection is perhaps Andrew Dell'Antonio's *Listening as Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy*, published in 2011, in which the author outlines the link between sonic and spiritual transcendence in early modern Italy. He states that leaders of the post-Tridentine Catholic Reformation 'set about positing musical experience, and most crucially the listener's appropriate parsing of that experience, as a privileged path to union with the divine'.[86] He examines the idea that congregations listen to music in a devotional context in order to engage more deeply with their spirituality and argues that early modern people were 'active' rather than 'passive' listeners. He bases

[84] Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century* tr. David Bryant (Cambridge, New York, Victoria: Cambridge University Press, 1987), vii, 123.
[85] Ibid, 125.
[86] Dell'Antonio, *Listening,*11.

this argument on writings of individuals from the time and states that listening was 'designed to establish a privileged connection with the transcendent experience of the divine'.[87]

Listening to Early Modern Catholicism is a collection of essays in which contributors were each given key words such as 'catechism', 'spirituality' and 'confraternities' in order to produce multidisciplinary approach to the interpretation and dissemination of music between the years of 1450 and 1750. Chapters by Robert L. Kendrick and Marco Gozzi offer insight into how music was used and received by Catholics, and how music – particularly Gregorian Chant – impacted both the delivery of the liturgy itself and the liturgical experience of congregations in seventeenth-century Italy. For instance, Gozzi states that 'Gregorian chant is in its essence not music at all; its primary essence is prayer rather than music'.[88] This raises an interesting point when considering the inclusion of the chant references in Scarlatti's *Oratorio per la Passione,* which most audience members would most certainly have recognised from their attendance at regular services.

Chiara Bertoglio's *Reforming Music: Music and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century* contains extensive references to primary literature by early modern theologians such as Martin Luther and Jean Calvin on how music of the time aided divine worship, incited joy and drove away demons – a demonstration of the multi-functionality of music on a macro-scale, echoed in this thesis within the context of the early-eighteenth-century oratorio.[89]

Holly J. Roberts' 2020 thesis is based on the role of mysticism in early modern devotional practices, particularly in the way it heightened emotion and instigated empathic

[87] Dell'Antonio, *Listening,*17.
[88] Marco Gozzi, 'Liturgical Music and Liturgical Experience in Early Modern Italy' in *Listening to Early Modern Catholicism: Perspectives from Musicology* ed. Daniele Filippi and Michael J. Noone (Leiden: Brill, 2017).
[89] Chiara Bertoglio, *Reforming Music: Music and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017).

responses from the consumer.[90] Chapter five, 'Mystic devotion and the early modern era: Saintly Rapture in seventeenth-century oratorios', is of particular relevance to the present research, as Roberts explores how divine love and mysticism became inseparable from the Old Testament stories on which the libretti were based.[91] The final sub-section of the chapter focuses on Scarlatti's *Il martirio di Santa Teodosia* (1685) and *Il martirio di Santa Orsola* (1695–1700), two oratorios based on the lives of Christian martyrs.

CONCLUSION

The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries mark an unusual period in the history of sacred music in Italy: a point of multiple intersection for the oratorio, heavily immersed in, and influenced by the socio-cultural climate of baroque Rome. As highlighted in this chapter, there is much research exploring the porous boundaries between religion and entertainment, but often only on a broad scale. The present thesis seeks to focus on the oratorios by Alessandro Scarlatti that are based on the Passion story, on which little research exists. There is space to explore the relationship between Alessandro Scarlatti and Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni and the multiple performances of the *Oratorio per la Passione di nostro Signore Gesù Cristo* on which the pair collaborated, providing an example of this hybrid of devotion and entertainment, particularly in the context of the large sections of liturgical paraphrasings set amongst da capo arias and accompanied by dramatic brass.

Similarly, a study of *Il dolore di Maria Vergine* can offer insight into the use of the lament – a style commonly found in opera – within the oratorio, again demonstrating a merging of sacred and secular elements. In *Il dolore*, Scarlatti makes use of many theatrical

[90] Holly J. Roberts, *Ecstatic Devotion: Musical Rapture and Erotic Death in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Iconography, Operas, and Oratorios* (PhD Thesis: University of Oregon, 2020).
[91] Roberts, *Ecstatic Devotion*, 136.

techniques favoured by the Arcadians – also seen in the *Passio secundum Joannem* and the *Oratorio per la Passione* – to enhance the emotions portrayed in the text and add drama to passages based on scenes from the Bible.

Chapter Three

CONTEXTUALISING THE ORATORIO AND PASSION ORATORIO

The Early Modern Oratorio • *Italian Passion Music and the Passion Oratorio* • *Scarlatti's* Passio secundum Joannem

THE EARLY MODERN ORATORIO

In seventeenth-century Europe the oratorio took many forms. The genre was essentially a melting pot of styles with multiple sub-genres and offshoots, a feature of the genre that contributed to the many terminological complexities surrounding it, highlighted by the Boyd-Crowther debate of 1978.[1] For instance, the 'oratorio erotico' – a sub-genre largely focused on the sensuality of biblical female characters such as Susanna, Judith and Esther – emphasised romantic love scenes in a similar way to opera.[2] For the purposes of this research, I refer back to the earlier years of the genre in Italy, using the specifications of early modern theorist Arcangelo Spagna (1633–1726) to define the term 'oratorio'. That is, five hundred lines of Italian or Latin poetry split into two halves with a theme on the life of a saint, Christian virtues, Old or New Testament stories or the Passion, featuring between three and five characters. 'Passion oratorio' is used to describe any oratorio based on or around the Passion story, and the term *Passio* is used when discussing verbatim Latin settings of the Passion gospels. The term 'liturgical' refers to the standardised order of events observed during a Roman Catholic mass or service, 'extra-liturgical' is defined as religious acts or

[1] See p.23.
[2] Smither, *Oratorio*, 302-303. Guido Pasquetti analyses *oratorio erotico* libretti examples in *L'oratorio musicale in Italia* (Florence: Successori le Monnier, 1906), 25–271.

ceremonies that are not within the scope of the traditional liturgy and 'devotion' refers to religious worship or observance, either liturgical or non-liturgical.

When a musical event is referred to in this thesis as 'entertainment', it means the performance was executed solely for the listener's enjoyment. By contrast, a 'devotional' performance was one with prayerful connotations, or the intention to encourage those present towards worship.

Oratorio volgare and oratorio latino

Around the middle of the seventeenth century, two forms of oratorio simultaneously flourished in Rome. These were the *oratorio latino* and the *oratorio volgare,* using texts in Latin and Italian, respectively. Table 3.1 displays the similarities and differences between the standard format of each form from around 1660 until the mid-eighteenth century.

Table 3.1 Characteristics of the typical *oratorio volgare* and *oratorio latino*

	Oratorio volgare	***Oratorio latino***
Length	• One part (between twenty and thirty minutes) *or* two parts (between forty-five and sixty minutes in total, separated by sermon).	• Usually in one part. • Varying lengths, usually between ten and thirty minutes.[3]
Subjects	• Reflective or dramatic text based on Old Testament, New Testament, hagiography, lives of Saints or spiritual/moral subjects. • Direct biblical quotation is rare.	• Narrative and dramatic texts virtually always based on biblical stories of the Old Testament. • Exact biblical quotations are brief, poetical paraphrasings more

[3] For instance, of the extant oratorios by Giacomo Carissimi, the longest is thirty minutes and the shortest is nine minutes. It is worth noting that due to terminological issues it is difficult to establish exactly how many Latin oratorios Carissimi composed. The composer did not refer to his works as 'oratorios' as all his works predate the term itself, instead he labelled them *historie, historia, dialogue motet* or *cantata.* Günther Massenkeil lists fourteen Carissimi oratorios in 'Die Wiederholungsfiguren in den Oratorien Giacomo Carissimis', *AMw,* 13/1 (1956), 42–60, while Arnold Schering lists 13 in *Geschichte des Oratoriums* (Leipzig, 1991), 71, as does Smither in 'Carissimi's Latin Oratorios: Their Terminology, Functions and Position in Oratorio History', *AnMc,* 17 (1976), 54–78. Smither also includes a table indicating discrepancies in what musicologists' class as Carissimi's 'oratorios'. For more information on Carissimi's oratorios, particularly in connection with devotion and spirituality see; Robert L. Kendrick, 'Devotion, piety and commemoration: sacred songs and oratorios', *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth Century Music* ed. Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 364; Alice V. Clark, 'Carissimi's *Jepthe* and Jesuit spirituality', *College Music Symposium,* 59/1 (2019), 1–33.

		common, i.e. passages of original text inserted into Bible story to create drama or reflection.
Narrative	• If a narrator (*testo* or *historica*) is required, it will be voiced by one part.	• Narrative often shared between voice parts.
Voicing	• One voice per character (usually between 3 and 5 characters).	• Between 3 and 5 characters.
Chorus	• Represents crowds/groups. • Most oratorios end with a moralising chorus.	• Narrative, reflective, and descriptive choruses.
Structure	• Standard recitative and aria structure. • Arias can be through-composed, strophic, or ground bass. • The da capo became common in the late seventeenth century.	• Mostly *rectiativo secco* and arioso style recitative with occasional arias.[4]
Instrumentation	• Standard would be two basso continuo and two violins. • More instruments may join for sinfonia, supporting passages, during choruses and ensembles, would rarely accompany a solo voice.	• Basso continuo. • Other instruments may be employed but instrument specification is rare.

The roots of the *oratorio volgare* – that is, oratorio in the vernacular – can be found in the devotional setting of the oratory of St. Philip Neri (1515–1595), a deeply religious man who founded the Congregation of the Oratory with the intention of providing a place to pray outside the walls of the church.[5] Meetings began as early as 1552 at San Girolamo della Carità, Rome.[6] As Neri's following grew, the congregation required larger premises. Pope Gregory XIII granted the Congregation the church of Santa Maria in Vallicella in 1575, but

[4] As Smither noted, there are no arias at all in the *oratorii latini* of Domenico Mazzocchi (1592–1665) and Marco Marazzoli (*c.*1602–1662). Smither, *Oratorio,* 257.
[5] During his lifetime, Neri was famous for his intense emotional reactions to various works of art. For example: he fainted before Federico Barocci's *Visitation of the Virgin,* physically tremored at a painting of John the Baptist and wept before a crucifix that he found particularly moving. Full details reporting the experiences and reactions of Neri can be found in Constanza Barbieri, '"To be in heaven" St. Philip Neri between aesthetic emotion and mystical ecstasy', in *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church* ed. Marcia B. Hall and Tracey E. Cooper (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 206–209.
[6] Smither, *Oratorio,* 42.

Neri had the old church demolished and a new church built on the same site. It became known as the 'Chiesa Nuova'.

In his *Ritratto di Roma moderna* (1645), Filippo De'Rossi described the musical performances at the Chiesa Nuova and its adjoining oratory:

> And there is devout and excellent music. On every weekday, except for Saturday, there are four sermons lasting half an hour apiece, at the end of which some spiritual motets are sung; on holidays after vespers there is a single sermon…From the beginning of November until Easter in the evening they put on religious oratorios with good sermons and music for an hour and a half.[7]

De'Rossi described the busy schedule of musical activities that took place at the Chiesa Nuova, and in the last sentence referred to the full-length oratorios that took place there from November, throughout Lent until the Holy Week celebrations.

Meanwhile, the roots of the *oratorio latino* are more closely related to the narrative and dramatic motets of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[8] The Oratorio del Santissimo Crocifisso (henceforth, SS. Crocifisso) was the home of the *oratorio latino* and one of the finest spaces for worship in Rome. An oratorio series took place there on the five Fridays of Lent, and famous Roman preachers delivered sermons between the two parts of the oratorio.[9] These performances were extravagant events commemorating the Passion of Christ. De'Rossi described the SS. Crocifisso as 'a beautiful church, decorated with lovely

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[7] 'E v'è devota, e buonissima musica. In ciaschedun giorno feriale. Eccetto il sabbato, si fanno quattro sermoni di mez'hora l'uno; alla fine dei quali sic anta qualche mottetto spirituale; e ne'giorni festivi doppo il vespro si fà un solo sermone…Dal principio di novembre sin'a Pasqua la sera fanno devote oratorij con buoni sermoni, e musica per lo spatio d'un'hora, e meza', Filippo De'Rossi, *Rittratto di Roma moderna* ed. Maurizio Marini (Rome: Rossi, 1652), 227–228. *Unless stated otherwise, all translations are the author's own.*

[8] Smither, *Oratorio*, 210 and 218. For research on the origins of the oratorio see; Howard E. Smither 'The Latin Dramatic Dialogue and the Nascent Oratorio', *JAMS*, 20/3 (1967), 403–433; 'Narrative and Dramatic Elements in the Laude Filippino, 1563–1600', *AcM*, 41/3–4 (1969), 186–199; *Oratorio*, 19–140; Arnaldo Morelli, *Il tempio armonico: musica nell'oratorio dei Filippini in Roma (1575–1705)* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1991); Frits Noske, *Saints and Sinners: The Latin Musical Dialogue in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); Arnaldo Morelli, 'The Chiesa Nuova in Rome around 1600: Music for the church, music for the oratory', in *Journal of Seventeenth Century Music*, 9/1 (2003), http://www.sscm-jscm.org/v9/no1/morelli.html; Christian Speck, *Das italienische Oratorium 1625–1665: Musik und Dichtung* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003).

[9] Malcom Boyd suggests that Scarlatti's *Il David* (1700) may have been a revival of one of the lost oratorios. Malcom Boyd (C.M.B.) 'Review: Oratori V: *Il David (Davidis pugna et Victoria)* by Alessandro Scarlatti; Lino Bianchi', in *ML*, 52/1 (1971), 92–94.

images, where on Fridays in Lent the brothers ensure that one of the most worthy preachers in the pulpits of Rome delivers a sermon, accompanied by exquisite sounds and beautiful music'.[10] Lorenzo Bianconi insists that these exclusive Lenten performances served to counterbalance the operatic season of Carnival.[11] The idea of counterbalancing opera by providing devotional music for listeners and worshippers was certainly apparent in the themes of suffering, penitence and redemption in the Latin oratorios of Giacomo Carissimi (1605–1674) and his contemporaries.[12] For instance, Carissimi's *Jonah* tells the story of Jonah, who is caught in a storm at sea, eaten by a whale and then regurgitated and sent to redeem the Ninevites. In the final chorus of the work, the Ninevites sing of their repentance and desire for redemption:

Peccavimus, Domine, et in viis tuis non ambulavimus; sed convertere Domine, et convertemur, illumina vultuum tuum super nos et salvi erimus	*We have sinned, O Lord, and we have walked not in thy ways; but return, O Lord, and we shall return; make thy face shine upon us, and we shall be safe.*[13]

While most other institutions favoured oratorios in the vernacular, the performance of Latin oratorio was largely restricted to the SS. Crocifisso. As few people spoke Latin, performances were exclusively for the upper class of society, i.e., the canons, prelates, masters of the Collegio Romano and the Jesuit College, readers of theology, those familiar with the literature of Virgil and Cicero as well as artists, composers, and musicians.[14] In *oratorio*

[10] 'Una bella chiesa, di bellissime figure ornata, dove i venerdì della Quaresima la sera i fratelli procurano, che uno d'più valenti Predicatori, che vada sù i pulpiti di Roma, ci faccia un sermone, accompagnato da esquisiti suoni, & eccellenti musiche', De'Rossi, *Ritratto,* 294. French viol player André Maugars also described the Lenten oratorio series at SS. Crocifisso in his, 'Response faite à un curieux sur le sentiment de la musique d'Italie, escrit à Rome le premier Octobre 1639' tr. Carol MacClintock in *Readings in the History of Music in Performance* ed. Carol MacClintock (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1979), 116–126.
[11] Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, tr. David Bryant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 128.
[12] Contemporaries of Carissimi include Domenico and Virgilio Mazzocchi, Marco Marazzoli, Francesco Foggia and Bonifazio Graziani. For more information on their Latin oratorios and performances at SS. Crocifisso see Smither, *Oratorio,* 221–257.
[13] Extract and translation taken from Francesco Selverano [liner notes], *Giacomo Carissimi: The Complete Oratorios, revised and edited by Flavio Colusso*, Brilliant Classics 94491 (2013), 2.
[14] Pasquetti, *L'oratorio musicale*, 230–231. See also Anthony Pagden, 'Europe: Contextualizing a Continent', in *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union* ed. Anthony Pagden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 43–44.

latino, the language of the Latin vulgate is either directly quoted or, more frequently, paraphrased and expanded, especially in Carissimi's oratorios. This expansion often meant that the text became emotionally intensified and dramatic, potentially creating a more spiritually moving experience for the listener or creating a greater opportunity for listeners to feel an emotional connection with the characters.

Arcangelo Spagna (1633–1726)

Roman priest, librettist, and theorist Arcangelo Spagna encouraged eighteenth-century librettists to reform to the simplicity of the Greek and Roman poets.[15] Spagna's career spanned over fifty years, during which he served three cardinals: Francesco Barberini, Carlo Ciceri and Pietro Ottoboni, and he was Ottoboni's *maestro di casa* at the Palazzo della Cancelleria from 1689. In 1706 Buagni published two volumes of Spagna's oratorios entitled *Oratorii overo melodrama sacri*. Each volume contains twelve works in Italian, revised versions of oratorios performed at churches all over Rome, including Santa Maria in Vallicella and S. Girolamo della Carità. Discourses on Italian and Latin oratorios respectively prefaced each volume. In these essays Spagna gave advice to librettists and specified the requirements for creating 'the perfect spiritual melodrama' rather than a standard narrative dramatic work.[16] For this reason, it is largely impossible to discuss the oratorio without acknowledging the writings of Spagna, especially since this is the longest and most detailed treatise on the oratorio in early modern Italy.[17]

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[15] Spagna never condemned the Arcadia, but he never joined either, even though he was a leading figure of the Accademia degli Infecondi, the group that helped found the Arcadian Academy. This is discussed in Tcharos, *Opera's Orbit,* 54–55.

[16] Spagna, 'Discorso intorno à gl'oratorii' in *Oratorii overo melodrammi sacri con un discorso dogmatico intorno l'istessa materia* (Rome: Francesco Buagni, 1706), 8.

[17] There are several other treatises from the late seventeenth century that do not discuss the oratorio specifically but were major contributions to musical thought of the time. These include Marco Scacchi's *Breve discorso sopra la musica moderna*, a discourse that separates music into three styles: church, chamber and theatre. Another notable treatise is Lelio Guidiccioni's essay 'Della Musica' in which the author describes the important role that music plays in the listener's path to transcendence. Finally, Grazioso Uberti's dialogue *Contrasto Musico* discusses the connection between music and personal prayer. Marco Scacchi, *Breve discorso sopra la*

Arnold Schering viewed Spagna as 'the father of the sacred oratorio in the Italian language'.[18] This might have been true, had Spagna written the treatise fifty years earlier, but the majority of Spagna's specifications simply conform to the common practice of oratorio composition of the time.[19] The 'discorso' preceding the first volume of libretti focuses on the *oratorio volgare* and in it Spagna – observing the narrative of norms developed over the previous decade – stated that: *a*) an oratorio would normally contain five hundred lines of rhymed poetry (with a line length of either seven or eleven syllables),[20] *b*) be in two halves, each half around sixty minutes in length and *c*) feature between three and five characters. He also promoted the use of real – as opposed to allegorical – characters and applauded the adherence to the unities of time, action and space, that is, one story line over a twenty-four hour period set in one place.[21] Spagna also commended casting the work in three phases, as introduced by Ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle: *protasis* (the introductory section where action begins), *epitasis* (further plot development, action continues and new difficulties develop) and *catastrophe* (resolution or conclusion to preceding problems).[22]

Despite writing a libretto based on the story of Judith – which was included in the *Libro primo* – Spagna attempted to steer librettists away from erotic heroines in order to avoid expression of romantic, passionate and profane love that became popular in the form of *oratorio erotico*, and instead focus on repentance, penitence and virtue.[23] He turned to the

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musica moderna (Warsaw: Pietro Elert, 1649) trans. Claude A. Palisca 'Marco Scacchi's defence of modern music (1649)', in *Words and Music: The Scholar's View. A Medley of Problems and Solutions Compiled in Honor of Tillman Merritt by Sundry Hands*, ed. Laurence Berman (Cambridge: Harvard University, Department of Music, 1972), 189-235; Andrew Dell'Antonio, 'Lelio Guidiccioni, "Della Musica": Transcription and Translation', *Listening*, 135-155; Grazioso Uberti, *Contrasto Musico* (Rome: Ludovico Grignani, 1630).

[18] Arnold Schering, *Geschichte des Oratoriums* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911), 95.

[19] Spagna stated that one of his oratorios was performed in 1656: if this is true then he genuinely did reform the genre of oratorio between 1656 and 1706. Smither disccuses Spagna's claim in; Smither, *Oratorio*, 294–295.

[20] Spagna heavily criticised poets who did not take the time to rhyme, but during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the use of rhymed recitative had already started to decline. Spagna, 'Discorso', 10–13.

[21] Kendrick, 'Devotion', 363; Smither, *Oratorio*, 297.

[22] Joseph Trapp, *Lectures on Poetry* (London: C. Hitch & C. Davis in Paternoster Row, 1742), 217–221; Spagna, 'Discorso', 8.

[23] Ibid, 18.

ancients for guidance, considering the tragedies of Seneca to be ideal models because of their vigorous expression, brevity and number of characters. However, this had little effect on the poetical decisions of his contemporaries, and there is scant evidence of the influence of antiquity on the oratorio – except for the use of the commenting chorus – until the eighteenth-century libretti of Apostolo Zeno (1659–1750) and Pietro Metastasio (1698–1782), who observed the unities of time, action and space.[24]

Spagna felt that it was no longer necessary to include four-part choruses in oratorios, as upon hearing a chorus the audience would assume the action was finished and depart. He also believed that not all composers had the musical ability to write for choruses, so it was best to avoid them entirely.[25] He actively discouraged the use of the *testo* due to the amount of time dedicated to said role. In fact, he rather amusingly described the *testo* as 'una gran testa in piccolo corpo' ('a large head on a small body') in the treatise, stating that the constant repetition of concluding words and phrases such as 'thus he said' and 'they exclaimed' were nothing more than an annoyance.[26]

Some early modern librettists – such as Francesco Balducci – disagreed with Spagna's abolishment of the *testo* as they believed that the role played a significant part in distinguishing the oratorio from the opera.[27] However, Spagna argued that it was the subject matter that distanced the oratorio from the opera.[28] From the mid-seventeenth century onwards oratorio subject matters were mainly derived from the Bible, either Old Testament prophets or New Testament Passions without a *testo*. Hagiographical subjects and allegorical characters discussing Christian virtues were also popular, as well as biographical accounts of the lives of saints.[29]

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[24] Smither, *Oratorio*, 297.
[25] Spagna, 'Discorso', 16.
[26] Ibid, 5.
[27] Arnold Schering, 'Beitege', 51–52.
[28] Smither, *Oratorio*, 296–297.
[29] Ibid, 300–301.

Spagna resented the inclusion of lengthy recitatives, instead favouring the aria. The da capo aria became prominent in the last decades of the seventeenth century, with strophic arias previously dominating. When using da capo arias, Spagna instructed poets to construct the text so that the first stanza would make sense when repeated at the end. This comment reflects common practice at the time Spagna's treaty was published, as the da capo aria did not frequently appear in oratorios until the latter years of the century.[30]

Spagna also searched for poetical ways to reconcile opera's influence on the oratorio and enhance the spiritual meaning of a text.[31] This advice for drawing in listeners with spiritual drama and igniting their faith is naturally a more nuanced task than simply using a set number of lines or eliminating the *testo*. Stefanie Tcharos concisely describes Spagna's attitude towards opera, saying:

> Spagna confronts the opera-oratorio intersection by first addressing it historically. In fact, he freely admits the influence opera had upon the history and development of the oratorio, noting that "theatricalizing" devotional activity through poetry and music dates from the time of San Filippo Neri…Adopting certain theater practices and aesthetics was an effective means to an important religious end: to move the faithful, to use the powers of persuasion of theater to direct attention to spiritual matters. By acknowledging this process, Spagna suggests the necessary compromises the Oratorians made in their adoption of non-devotional music and theater practices in order to compete with the encroaching allure of secular culture.[32]

The 'theatrical practices' mentioned by Tcharos meant the inclusion of the aria as a tool to sustain the complete attention of the audience and provide moralistic content within the text,

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[30] Smither, *Oratorio*, 299.
[31] See Smither, *Oratorio*, 294–300; Arnaldo Morelli, 'Oratorii ovvero sacre musicali tragedie?' in *Mozart, Padova e la Betulia liberate: committenza, interpretazione, e fortuna delle azioni sacre metastasiane nel 700*, ed. Paolo Pinamonti (Florence: Olschki, 1991), 275–287; Johann Herczog, 'Introduction' in *Oratorii, ovvero Melodrammi sacri bu Arcangelo Spagna* (Lucca: Liberia Musicale Italiana, 1993), ix–xxviii; Mauro Sarnelli, 'Percorsi dell'oratorio per musica come genere letterario' and Oscar Mischiati, 'La cantata secondo Erdmann Neumeister e l'oratorio secondo Arcangelo Spagna: una possible analogia?' both in *Percorsi dell'oratorio Romano. Da "historia sacra" a melodramma spirituale. Atti della giornata di studi (Viterbo, 11 Settembre 1999)*, ed. Saverio Franchi (Rome: Istituto di Bibliografia Musicale, 2002), 137–197, 95–98; Tcharos 'The oratorio and the opera: revisiting Arcangelo Spagna's "Discorso"', in *Opera's Orbit*, 51–59.
[32] Tcharos, *Opera's Orbit*, 54. Tcharos refers to comments on the potential benefit of opera's influence on the oratorio in Spagna, 'Discorso', 3.

to simultaneously entertain and dogmatise.[33] Throughout the 'Discorso', Spagna maintains that the priority when constructing oratorio libretti is that the music serves the text, not the opposite. He largely blames the singers for enabling music to surpass text due to their fame and virtuosic singing styles.

THE BACKGROUND OF PASSION MUSIC

In the fifth century Pope Leo the Great established the tradition of reciting the Passions of the Evangelists on various days of Holy Week.[34] The St Matthew Passion was used on Palm Sunday and Holy Wednesday and the St John Passion on Good Friday. By the tenth century St Matthew's was used on Palm Sunday, St Mark's on Tuesday, St Luke's on Wednesday, and St John's on Good Friday. The church retained this Holy Week tradition throughout the centuries, and it is still observed in many places, especially the recitation of the St John Passion on Good Friday.[35]

The liturgical manuals or 'Ordines romani' of the eighth century indicate that originally a single cantor chanted the Passion texts. There is little evidence to suggest that multiple singers were used until around the thirteenth century. The gradual introduction of the *turbae* (chorus) and the division of the parts among the characters greatly increased the dramatic impact and replaced the older, simpler recitation of the Passion. By the fifteenth century polyphony was introduced in the parts sung by the *turbae* and this practice served as a model for Passion settings throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Polyphonic Passions are normally of two kinds: through-composed or responsorial. The through-composed or 'motet Passion' is a complete text set entirely in polyphony. There are three

[33] Spagna, 'Discorso', 12.
[34] Mattias Augue, 'The Liturgical Year in the Roman Rite,' in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies V: Liturgical Time and Space* ed. Anscar J. Chupungco (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 2000), 181.
[35] Smallman, *The Background of Passion Music*, 22.

different types of through-composed Passions: *a*) the setting of a complete gospel text according to one Evangelist, *b*) the *summa passionis*, made up of sections from all four gospels and *c*) the setting of a shortened version of the text from one gospel, found only in Protestant Germany.[36]

In the responsorial settings the narrative is chanted but the *turbae* movements and occasionally Christ's words are set polyphonically. Responsorial settings of the gospel Passions of Matthew and John were relatively common in sixteenth-century Italy, while Mark and Luke were set less frequently and tended to be less elaborate, due to the simpler nature of the Gospel text. The earliest known settings are by Francesco Corteccia (1502–1571). Corteccia composed a St John Passion in 1527 (based on a lost setting by his teacher at the Florentine Baptistery of S. Giovanni, Bernardo Pisano) and a St Matthew Passion in 1532.[37] Both Passions have the exordium, evangelium and turbae sections set in polyphony. Other examples include settings of the Passions of Matthew and Luke by Vincenzo Ruffo written between 1574 and 1579, and settings of Mark's and Luke's by Paulus Ferrarensis from 1565. In later years the leading composers of this sub-genre were Francisco Guerrero (1528–1599), Orlando di Lasso (1532–1594) and Tomás Luis de Victoria (1548–1611).[38] The introduction of more elaborate settings of the Passion coincided with the growth in popularity of secular polyphonic music in Italy, particularly the madrigal.

The Council of Trent (1545–1563) changed this scenario and marked out the path of development for church music by its spiritual foundation for church reform.[39] The Council

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[36] Kurt von Fischer and Werner Braun, 'Passion', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001).
[37] Frank A. D'Accone, 'Corteccia, (Pier) Francesco', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001); Jessie Ann Owens, *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450–1600* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 208.
[38] Both Guerrero and Victoria completed settings of the gospel Passions of Matthew and John published in 1585; Lasso composed settings of all four gospel Passions between 1575 and 1582. See, Richard Viladesau, *The Triumph of the Cross: The Passion of Christ in Theology and the Arts, from the Renaissance to the Counter-Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 272–279.
[39] K. G. Fellerer, 'Church Music and the Council of Trent', tr. Moses Hadas, *MQ*, 39/4 (1953), 594. See also Hugo Leichtentritt, 'The Reform of Trent and Its Effect on Music', *MQ*, 30/3 (1944), 319–328; *Dictionary of*

was less a reaction to the Protestant Reformation and more a desire to reform from within. The decrees of the Council were drawn up to create discipline; music, along with many other elements of the liturgy, was something that some cardinals felt needed to be monitored and regulated. Music was discussed in the session of the committee which took place on 10 September 1562, chaired by Ludovico Beccadelli, under the section 'Abuses in the Sacrifice of the Mass'. A lengthy proposal was drawn up in Canon 8 that read as follows:

> In case of those Masses that are celebrated with singing and with organ, let nothing profane be intermingled but only hymns and divine praises. If anything is to be sung with the organ from the sacred services while they are in progress, let it be recited in a simple clear voice beforehand so that no one will miss any part of the eternal reading of the sacred writings. The whole plan of singing in musical modes should be constituted not to give empty pleasure to the ears, but in such a way that the words may be clearly understood by all, and thus the hearts of the listeners be drawn to the desire of heavenly harmonies, in the contemplation of the joys of the blessed.[40]

However, amongst the decrees of the 22nd session released on 17 September 1562 only a single decree related directly to music: 'Let them keep away from the churches compositions in which there is intermingling of the lascivious or impure, whether by instrument or voice'.[41] In spite of this vague statement, previous proposals and further discussion after the Council of Trent confirm a general distaste for polyphony amongst many leaders of the Church, including Gabriele Paleotti, who voiced concerns over depictions of sin and frivolity in

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the Council, ed. J. Dertetz and A. Nocent (London: Geoffrey Chapman Ltd, 1968), 290; Robert F. Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1987); Jan Michael Joncas, 'Liturgy and Music', in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies II: Fundamental Liturgy*, ed. Anscar J. Chupungco (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1997), 281–321; Craig A. Monson, 'The Council of Trent Revisited', *JAMS*, 55/1 (2002), 1–37; James J. Boyce 'Singing a New Song unto the Lord: Catholic Church Music' in *From Trent to Vatican II: Historical and Theological Investigations*, ed. Raymond F. Bulman and Frederick J. Parrella (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 137–160.

[40] Florentius Romita, *Jus musicae litugicae: Dissertatio historico-iuridica* (Rome: Edizione Litugiche, 1947), 59 quoted in Hayburn, *Papal Legislation,* 27.

[41] 'Ab ecclesiis vero musicas eas, ubi sive organo sive cantu lascivum aut impurum aliquid miscetur', *Concilium Tridentinum: Diariorum, actorum, epistularum, tractatuum, nova collection, edidit Societas Goerresiana,* 13 vols. (Freiburg: Herder, 1901), 8: 963, cited in Monson, 'The Council of Trent Revisited', 11.

religious art.[42] The importance of intelligibility instigated a reform of Gregorian chant. It was left to composers such as Giovanni Animuccia (1520–1571), Giovanni Pierluigi di Palestrina (1525–1594) and Orlando di Lasso (*c.*1530–1594) to demonstrate that polyphony was not incompatible with the demands of church music.

THE PASSION ORATORIO

When considering the Passion oratorio, one often recalls the famous St. Matthew and St. John Passions composed by Johann Sebastian Bach for Good Friday services while serving as Thomaskantor in Leipzig, or perhaps the multiple Passion settings of other Lutheran composers such as Georg Philipp Telemann and Heinrich Schütz. It is doubtful that the work of an Italian composer would come to mind, and although there are indeed fewer Passion settings by Italian composers, there is no sound reason they should be overlooked.

In 1953, Edward Hanley observed that historians knew 'next to nothing' of the Italian Passion compared to the abundance of knowledge and research on the famous German Passions.[43] With recent publications such as Antonio Dell'Onio's study of Gaetano Veneziano, Pietro Antonio Gallo and Alessandro Speranza's Neapolitan Passion settings, Victor Crowther's monograph on the oratorio in Bologna and Richard Viladesau's studies on the Passion and the arts, this is no longer strictly true, but there is still much to be researched and discovered on such an unusual sub-genre of works.[44]

In a collaborative article on Passion music alongside Kurt Von Fischer, Werner Braun identified four different types of Passion settings in eighteenth-century Europe: the traditional

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[42] Clive Walkley, *Juan Esquivel: A Master of Sacred Music During the Spanish Golden Age* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 25–27.
[43] Edwin Hanley, 'Current Chronicle', *MQ,* 39/2 (1953), 241.
[44] Antonio Dell'Onio, 'Passioni Napoletane al paragone: Gaetano Veneziano, Pietro Antonio Gallo e Alessandro Speranza' *Alessandro Speranza e la musica scare a Napoli nel settecento* (Atti del Convegno nazionale di studi Avellino, 20-21 Nov., 2015) (Avellino: Cimarosa, 2016), 21–53; Victor Crowther, *The Oratorio in Bologna* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)'; Richard Viladesau, *The Pathos of the Cross* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 131–152.

chanted Passion, which by the early 1800s was commonly embellished with hymns; the oratorio Passion, a more artistic interpretation of the former while still adhering to the biblical text (this model was heavily favoured in Lutheran countries); the Passion oratorio, which Braun describes as being 'operatic in style with completely original text', and finally, the 'lyrical meditation' on the Passion without direct dialogue.[45] Braun acknowledges that the Passion oratorio in Italian is one of the 'most important phenomena' in the history of the oratorio, particularly in Vienna, where the *sepolcro* was cultivated. The *sepolcro* was a single section composition with a text based on a description or interpretation of the Passion and performed on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday in the churches of Vienna. The key difference between Italian oratorio and the *sepolcro* is that the *sepolcro* was staged, i.e., performed with costumes and scenery. The scenery was often constructed entirely around the holy sepulchre of Christ, with large, ornately painted backdrops, and characters were instructed to perform actions when portraying the drama, such as weeping, carrying a cross or kneeling.[46]

The first known Italian Passion oratorio is *Oratorio per la Settimana Santa*, often attributed to Luigi Rossi, with a libretto by Giulio Cesare Raggioli and performed in Rome in the early 1640s. It dramatised the events of Holy Week, focusing on the release of Barabbas, the crucifixion – celebrated by a chorus of demons – and the lament of the Virgin Mary at the death of her son.[47] Later notable examples of Italian Passion oratorios include Giacomo Antonio Perti's *Oratorio della Passione* (1685), Antonio Dragi's *La vita nella morte* (1688) and Antonio Caldara's *La Passione di Gesù Cristo* (1730). Caldara's oratorio was a setting of Pietro Metastasios's libretto, which gained huge popularity as a meditation for Passion week

[45] Braun, 'Passion', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001)
[46] The tradition of erecting sepulchres in the churches of Vienna to commemorate the Passion and death of Christ from Maundy Thursday to Holy Saturday can be documented as early as the beginning of the 15th century. For more on the *sepolcro* see: Robert L. Kendrick. *Fruits of the Cross: Passiontide Music Theater in Habsburg Vienna* (California: University of California Press, 2018).
[47] Crowther, *The Oratorio in Bologna*, 87.

and numerous other eighteenth-century Italian composer's set to music, including Giovanni Lorenzo Gregori, Niccolò Jommelli and Niccolo Conti.[48]

SCARLATTI'S *PASSIO SECUNDUM JOANNEM*

At the beginning of his long career as a musician, Scarlatti produced a setting of the St. John Passion, musical elements of which could later be seen woven into the recitatives and arias of his oratorios inspired by the Passion story. The *Passio secundum Joannem* is often considered unusual in the context of early modern Italian sacred music due to it being a verbatim setting of John 18:1-19:37, but it is not entirely unique. Table 3.2 lists the musical settings of the Latin Passion found in early modern Italy. From the mid-seventeenth century through to the late eighteenth century the settings became more instrumentally and harmonically adventurous whilst still employing the Gospel text verbatim, thus remaining suitable for use in a liturgical context. Karl Nef states that Scarlatti's *Passio* 'carries ecclesiastical character from the first to the last tone.'[49]

Table 3.2 Latin Passion Oratorios by Italian Composers (*c*.1650–1790)

Composer	City	Year	Gospel
Vincenzo Amato (1629–1670)	Palermo	*c*.1652	St John/St Matthew
Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725)	Rome or Naples	*c*.1679 or 1685	St John
Gaetano Veneziano (1656–1716)	Naples	1685	St John
Francesco Feo (1691–1761)	Naples	1744	St John
Pietro Antonio Gallo (1702–1777)	Naples	*c*.1750	St John
Gaspare Gabellone (1727–1796)	Naples	1756	St John
Bernardino Corbellini (1748–1797)	Naples	*c*.1783	St John/St Matthew
Alessandro Speranza (1724–1797)	Naples	1787	St Matthew

[48] Robert Ignatius Letellier, *The Bible in Music* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), 79–80.
[49] Karl Nef, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Passion in Italien', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* (Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von Breitkopf & Härtel, 1935), 211.

The inclusion of Vincenzo Amato's setting in the table serves as an indication that Scarlatti's *Passio* did not emerge from a vacuum. Amato was a prominent figure in the musical life of Palermo in the seventeenth century and had strong connections to the Scarlatti family.[50] There are many similarities between the two works, most obviously in the extensive use of *recitativo secco*. Emilio Carapazza claims that the 'root' of Scarlatti's recitative writing can be found in Amato's works, particularly the St John Passion.[51]

In Scarlatti's *Passio*, the Evangelist (*testo*) is an alto; except for the few instances noted below, he tells the story consistently in *recitativo secco* supported by the basso continuo. Christ (*Christus*) is a bass who sings throughout with a four-part string ensemble (first violin, second violin, viola and continuo) in *recitativo accompagnato*. The two main characters that enact the fulfilment of his fate are Pontius Pilate (*Pilatus*), also an alto who sings in *recitativo secco*, and the Crowd (*Turba*), represented by an SATB vocal ensemble and an SSTB instrumental ensemble (where, however, the instrumental bass is *colla parte*, so that the texture is effectively in seven rather than eight parts). Three further incidental characters are Peter (Petrus), a Jew (*Judaeus*) and a Maid (*Ancilla*): the first two are tenors who sing short recitatives; the latter is a soprano and sings the only triple-time, aria-like passage of the piece.

Seventeenth-century Roman theorists such as Marco Scacchi and Giuseppe Ottavio Pitoni considered recitative to be a style belonging to the theatre. The theatrical *stile recitativo semplice rappresentativo* (simple representative recitative) in which singers accompanied their sung-speech with gestures is essentially a heightened version of the *recitativo secco* or *recitativo semplice* heard in churches and oratories at the time.[52] The use

[50] Roberto Pagano, Lino Bianchi and Giancarlo Rostirolla, *Alessandro Scarlatti* (Turin: ERI, 1972), 20–21.
[51] Paolo Emilio Carapezza and Giuseppe Collisani, 'Amato [D'Amato, De Amato, Di Amato], (Epifanio) Vincenzo', Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online (Oxford University Press, 2001).
[52] Alberto Sanna, 'Learning from "The Most Fam'd Italian Masters" – Sonata Composition in the Seventeenth Century', in *Reappraising the Seicento: Composition, Dissemination, Assimilation* eds. Andrew J. Cheetham, Joseph Knowles and Johnathan P. Wainwright (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 49.

of *recitativo secco* in Scarlatti's *Passio* setting (and many of the settings in Table 3.2) allows the focus to be entirely on the gospel text. Edwin Hanley views the almost exclusive use of simple recitative as an obvious indication that Scarlatti, 'continued to believe in its power as a vehicle of dramatic expressiveness'.[53] This statement is reinforced by Scarlatti's extensive use of *recitativo secco* in long sections of poetry heavily inspired by the *Lamentations* in the later composed *Oratorio per la Passione.*

In his *Brief Discourse on Modern Music* (1649) Marco Scacchi stated that early modern composers considered 'the demands of the occasion, the place and also the text' when using recitative in the church.[54] Clearly Scarlatti felt that the circumstances for which his *Passio* was written was one better suited to an almost exclusive use of dry recitative, as the work contains none of the virtuosic operatic arias that appear in the composer's later oratorios. The use of accompanied recitative makes Christ's lines even more sombre and intense, as well as differentiating Christ from the other (mortal) characters, a technique that Scarlatti went on to make use of again in the *Oratorio per la Passione* and *Il dolore di Maria Vergine*.

As systemised in Table 3.3, the libretto consists of sixteen sections (A to P in the table) which Scarlatti takes great care to differentiate by means of scoring and other compositional strategies. Sections A and P frame the main story, in literary as well as in musical terms. Section A (bb. 1-28) comprises a brief yet poignant *sinfonia* (bb. 1-11) and the customary announcement to the congregation that the Passion rite of the Good Friday liturgy is to begin (bb. 12-28), sung by the Evangelist to full string accompaniment. Section P (bb. 825-859) comprises the Evangelist's peroration of his own authorial voice – most appropriately delivered in plain recitative (bb. 825-838) – and one last reminder of the

[53] Edwin Hanley, 'Current Chronicle', *MQ*, 39/2 (1953), 246.
[54] Claude V. Palisca, 'Marco Scacchi's Defense of Modern Music (1949)' in *Words and Music: The Scholars View. A Medley of the Problems and Solutions Compiled in Honor of A. Tillman Merritt* ed. Laurence Berman (Department of Music: Harvard University, 1972), 202.

fulfilment of the Scriptures, with the direct quotation put into relief – as if literally 'set in stone' – through five-part polyphony involving the Evangelist and the strings (bb. 839-859).

Two transitional sections, B (bb. 29-138) and O (bb. 792-825) – one rather long and elaborate, the other rather short and unassuming – effect a smooth connection to and from the core of the narration. Section B puts the spotlight on the three main interpreters of plainsong settings of the Passion: the Evangelist (*cantor*), Christ (Christus) and the Crowd (*synagoga*);[55] it also immediately catches the attention of the audience through a compelling bipartite design: a passage reminiscent of *stile concitato* by the Evangelist and the strings (bb. 29-56) followed by Christ's first encounter with the Crowd (bb. 57-138).

The story of Christ's Passion and death on the cross unfolds through Sections C to N. The St John gospel symmetrically arranges two blocks of text – C to E (bb. 139-299) and L to N (bb. 687-791) – on either side of a central block F to K (bb. 300-686). The first one introduces the auxiliary characters (the Maid, Peter, a Jew); the second one plays out the confrontation between Christ, Pilate and the Crowd in what amounts to the longest stretch of music in the whole piece; the third one puts Christ back centre stage for his final moments.

Table 3.3 Structure of Scarlatti's *Passio secundum Joannem*

Section	Verses	Bars	Incipit	Scoring
A		1-28	- Passio Domini Nostri	1-11: Strings 12-28: Evangelist/Strings
B	18:1-11	29-138	In illo tempore	29-56: Evangelist/Strings 57-138: Evangelist, Christ/Strings, Crowd/Strings
C	18:12-18	138-209^{2}	Cohors ergo, et tribunus	Evangelist, Maid, Peter
D	18:19-24	209^{3}-265^{2}	Pontifex ergo interrogavit	Evangelist, Christ/Strings, a Jew
E	18:25-27	265^{3}-299	Erat autem Simon Petrus	Evangelist, Crowd/Strings, Petrus, a Jew

[55] As seen in Giovanni Guidetti's *Cantus ecclesiasticus Passionis D. N. Jesu Christi secundum Matthaeum, Marcum, Lucam & Ioannem* (Rome, 1615), which was still current during Scarlatti's lifetime.

F	18:28-32	300-355	Adducunt ergo Jesum	Evangelist, Pilate, Crowd/Strings
G	18:33-40	356-456^{2}	Introivit ergo iterum	Evangelist, Pilate, Christ/Strings, Crowd/Strings
H	19:1-7	456^{3}-534	Tunc ergo apprehendit	Evangelist, Crowd/Strings, Pilate
I	19:8-11	535-575	Cum ergo audisset Pilatus	Evangelist, Pilate, Christ/Strings
J	19:12-16	576-633^{2}	Et exinde quærebat Pilatus	Evangelist, Crowd/Strings, Pilate
K	19:17-22	633^{4}-686	Et baiulans sibi crucem	Evangelist, Crowd/Strings, Pilate
L	19:23-24	687-722	Milites ergo	Evangelist, Crowd/Strings
M	19:25-27	723-752^{2}	Stabant autem juxta crucem	Evangelist, Christ/Strings
N	19:28-30	752^{3}-791	Postea sciens Jesus	Evangelist, Christ/Strings, Evangelist/Strings
O	19:31-34	792-825^{2}	Judæi ergo	Evangelist
P	19:35-37	825^{3}-859	Et qui vidit	825^{3}-842: Evangelist 843-859: Evangelist/Strings

The climax of the work comes in section O, (bb. 792-825) when the Evangelist announces Christ's death: 'and bowing his head, he surrendered the spirit' (*et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum*).[56] This is one of just three points in Scarlatti's *Passio* in which the Evangelist sings arioso.[57] At this point in the manuscript, the direction 'pause for a moment' (*si ferma un poco*) is written (Figure 3.1). Traditionally in the Catholic Church's rites during the recitation of the Passion there is a pause at this moment, and the congregation kneel, maintain silence and meditate before continuing, an indication of the *Passio*'s liturgical use.

[56] Ioannes 19:30 taken from *Biblia Sacra Vulgata* ed. A. Colunga and L. Turrado (Madrid: La Editorial Cattólica, 1946).
[56] Lamentations 1:1-10 taken from *The Holy Bible: Douay Rheims Version* tr. Richard Challoner (Illinois: Saint Benedict Press & Tan Books, 2009).
[57] The other two points are the exordium and at the final sentence 'they shall look on him whom they have pierced' (*viderunt qui transfixerunt*), Ioannes 19:37, *Vulgata*.

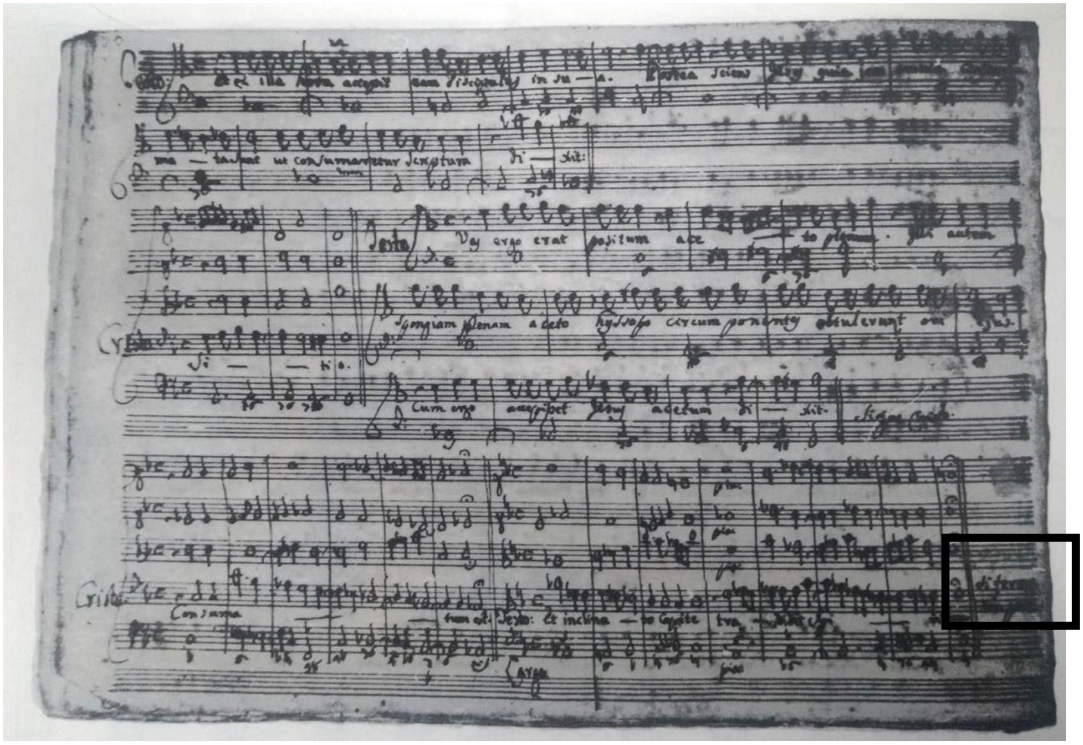

Figure 3.1 Alessandro Scarlatti, *Passio secundum Joannem*, sheet 9^{v} of the manuscript held at the Conservatorio di Musica, Naples. At the bottom right can be seen the direction *si ferma un poco.*

Although Scarlatti's Passion oratorios move away from the formal liturgy towards allegorical and observational interpretations of the Passion story, the *Passio secundum Joannem* can still be used as a point of reference for the *Oratorio per la Passione* and *Il dolore di Maria Vergine.* Many of the compositional techniques that Scarlatti employs in the *Passio* can be seen in these later works, such as *stile concitato* at points of high tension and agitation and highlighting important passages of text through use of textural variation and contrasting tempi. The musical techniques used in all three works are examined in the subsequent chapters of this thesis. The differences are also noted, as the oratorios offer a blend of devotional and theatrical elements that are not seen in the verbatim setting of the St. John Passion.

Chapter Four

PIETRO OTTOBONI AND ALESSANDRO SCARLATTI

Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740) ♦ La Santissima Annuntiata, San Filippo Neri *and* Il trionfo della Vergine SS. Assunta in cielo ♦ *The Jubilee Year 1700 and Beyond*

CARDINAL PIETRO OTTOBONI (1667–1740)

Pietro Ottoboni held the official position of Cardinal-nephew in the curial office of his great-uncle and namesake Pope Alexander VIII (Pietro Vito Ottoboni) between 1689 and 1692. The Ottoboni family essentially paid their way into the nobility and gained high ranking positions in Rome through extravagant displays of generosity and superlative artistic productions with lavish receptions. Alexander VIII only held the papal office for two years, but he ruined the good financial order created by his predecessor (Innocent XI) both through large scale charitable donations and a return to nepotism, which previous popes had strived to abolish. Gaining this elevated position marked the beginning of almost fifty years of outstanding and unrivalled patronage of the arts from Pietro Ottoboni, particularly in terms of sculpture, painting, literature and music.

The opinions and tastes of the pope in office affected the opportunities for patronage and subsequently the artistic life of the papal city. Christopher Johns observes that any discussion or analysis of papal art in the early eighteenth century 'must be informed by an understanding of the political postures assumed by the Holy See'.[1] Popes of the post-Catholic

[1] Christopher M. S. Johns, *Papal Art and Cultural Policies: Rome at the age of Clement XI* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 3; see also Malcom Boyd, 'Rome: The Power of Patronage' in *The Late Baroque Era: From the 1680s to 1740* ed. George J. Buelow (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1993), 39–40; Renata Ago, 'Hegemony over the social scene and zealous popes (1676–1700),' in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492–1700* eds. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 229–246.

Reformation era implemented the Tridentine decrees and recommendations of the Council of Trent to varying degrees. For instance, while some strictly forbade use of any texts listed in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (Venice), others were more flexible with the established 'rules'.[2]

Figure 4.1 *Portrait of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740)* by Francesco Trevisani at The Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, inv./cat.nr B.M.70

Cardinal Ottoboni resided at the Palazzo della Cancelleria, the palace adjacent to the basilica of San Lorenzo in Damaso on the Via Papale, now the Corso Vittorio Emmanuele, the main processional route through central Rome. The palace housed two theatres, large concert halls and vast gardens, all of which were the location for the performance of operas, oratorios, and chamber music. The Cancelleria quickly became a major centre of musical life in the city. As Sven Hansell states, 'there was a hardly a type of musical performance in which the Cardinal was not at some time involved in one way or another'.[3] But his interest was not limited just to music: he was an avid art collector, philanthropist, Arcadian, diplomat, composer and poet, and he founded a literary academy that sometimes served as a framework

[2] The *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* listed publications deemed heretical or promoted anticlericalism and were forbidden by the Catholic Church, so Catholics had to receive special permission to access them. It was first published in 1559 but was constantly updated. See Paul F. Grendler, 'Printing and Censorship' in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* ed. Charles B. Schmitt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 45–46.
[3] Sven Hostrup Hansell, 'Orchestral Practice at the Court of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni', *JAMS*, 19 (1966), 399.

for the various theatrical and musical activities he sought to commission and promote.[4] Many of Ottoboni's large scale musical performances, grand commissioned paintings and sculptures from the greatest artists in Rome and collaborations with famed architects served as opportunities for self-promotion and self-aggrandisement.

Very few patrons in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had the financial means or lasting interest in such a broad range of artistic disciplines to establish themselves as a general patron of the arts. Ottoboni took over the role as the leading arts patron in Rome upon the death of Queen Christina of Sweden. He wasted no time in employing at his court the late queen's resident composer and violinist Arcangelo Corelli as his concertmaster.[5] He also employed the Queen's keyboardist, Bernardo Pasquini, and immediately commissioned Alessandro Scarlatti, the Queen's former *maestro di cappella* to compose the music to his opera libretto *La Statira.* This opera was the earliest known collaboration between Scarlatti and Ottoboni and – perhaps as a compliment to the new Pope – the plot revolves around Alexander the Great, who renounced his empire for love of a woman.[6] Alexander VIII

[4] Details on Ottoboni's Academy can be found in; Susan M. Dixon, *Between the Real and the Ideal: The Accademia degli Arcadi and Its Garden in Eighteenth-Century Rome* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2006); Tcharos, *Opera's Orbit* (2011); Franco Piperno, ''L'armoniose idee della sua mente': Corelli, The Arcadians, and the Primacy of Rome', *Passaggio in Italia: Music on the Grand Tour in the Seventeenth Century* eds. Dinko Fabris and Maragret Murata (Utrecht: Brepols, 2015), 217–227; Ayana O. Smith, *Dreaming with Open Eyes: Opera, Aesthetics, and Perception in Arcadian Rome* (California: University of California Press, 2019).

[5] Alberto Sanna, 'Arcangelo Corelli and friends: kinships and networks in the Papal State', *Early Music*, 41/4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 649.

[6] *La Statira* was the first of five opera libretti written by Ottoboni in a five-year period – part of his determination to establish himself as theatrical entrepreneur. The cardinal was known for his love of women and even had several failed engagement attempts before he took his Holy Orders. He dedicated *La Statira* to the ladies of Rome. For information on Ottoboni's patronage and libretti see; Karl Marx, 'Die musik am Hofe Pietro Kardinal Ottobonis unter Arcangelo Corelli', *AnMc*, 5 (1968), 104–177; William Holmes, *La Statira by Pietro Ottoboni and Alessandro Scarlatti: The Textual Sources with a Documentary Postscript* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1983), 9–10; Maria Letizia Volpicelli, 'Il teatro del Cardinale Ottoboni al Palazzo della Cancelleria' in *Il teatro a Roma nel settecento*, 2 vols. (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1989), ii: 681–782; Flavia Matitti, 'Il cardinal Pietro Ottobini mecenate delle arti: Cronache e documenti (1689–1740)', *Storia dell'arte*, 184 (1995), 156–243; Stefano La Via, 'Il cardinale Ottoboni e la musica: nuovi documenti (1700–1740)', Albert Dunning, *Intorno a Locatelli: Studi in occasione del tricentenario della nascita di Pietro Antonio Locatelli (1693–1764)*, Vol. I (Lucca: LIM, 1995), 319–526; Edward J. Olszewski, 'The enlightened patronage of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740)' in *Artibus et Historiae*, 23/45 (2002), 139; Malcom Boyd, "La Statira", *MT*, 111/1527 (1970), 495–497; 'Il Cardinale Pietro Ottoboni, la diplomazia e la musica (1689–1721)' in *Diplomacy and the Aristocracy as Patrons of Music and Theatre in the Europe of the Ancien Régime* ed. Iskrena Yordanova and Francesco Cotticelli (Vienna: Hollitzer Verlag, 2019), 155–187.

relaxed the rules regarding theatrical performances put in place by his predecessor, Innocent XI. This new leniency permitted the reopening of one of the city's largest and most important theatres – the Tordinona – which Innocent XI closed in 1674. The grand reopening was on 5 January 1690 and the inaugural performance was *La Statira*.[7]

Despite the constant displays of extravagance and self-promotion, Ottoboni maintained an appreciation for and devotion to certain liturgical feasts and saints. In 1714, as part of the celebrations for his silver anniversary as cardinal, Ottoboni added to his already vast collection of paintings with four large canvases: Francesco Trevisani's *Rest on the Flight to Egypt*, Giuseppe Chiari's *Adoration of the Magi*, and later Sebastiano Conca's *Adoration of the Shepherds* and *King Herod and the Magi.* Edward Olszewski states that these large-scale works confirmed Ottoboni's enduring devotion to the Corpus Christi in their emphasis on the themes of incarnation and redemption.[8]

These distinctive themes also pervade later artistic commissions by Ottoboni, particularly in the *Qurant'ore* devotions, which essentially contained all the makings of a theatrical performance brought into the church. The *Quarant'ore* was a devotion in which worshippers prayed continuously for forty hours before the exposed Blessed Sacrament, which moved via processions to different churches in the city. The ending of the liturgical year and immediate beginning of the new year was marked by the arrival of the Blessed Sacrament at St. Peter's Basilica. The *Quarant'ore* played an integral role in devotion both during and outside of the Lenten season, providing abundant musical opportunities for composers.[9] These celebrations created devotionally-inspired entertainment: not strictly devotional worship but certainly intended to stir the spirit of listeners.

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[7] Olszewski, 'Enlightened Patronage', 140. For a detailed history of the Tordinona theatre see Alberto Cametti, *Il Teatro Tordinona poi di Apollo,* Vols. I-II (Tivoli: Chicca, 1938).
[8] Olszewski, 'Enlightened Patronage', 153.
[9] Louis Ponnelle and Louis Bordet, *San Filippo Neri e la società romana del suo tempo 1515–1595* tr. Tito Casini (Florence: Edizioni Cardinal Ferrari; Libera Editrice Fiorentina, 1931), 59–60; Mark S. Weil, 'The

In 1727 and 1728 Ottoboni collaborated with the architect Alessandro Mauri to produce large scale *macchine* for *Corpus Domini* commemorations that look place during the *Quarant'ore.*[10] These elaborate and costly structures filled the nave of the basilica of San Lorenzo in Damaso during Carnival week.[11] Edward J. Olszewski describes the aesthetics and meaning of the *macchine* in detail in his 2015 monograph:

> The religious machina was a grand architectural apparatus often the size of a large building. It could be overwhelming as it filled the nave of a church, especially when combined with a manipulation of directed lighting, veiled in intensity for theatrical effect, sometimes in combination with rays of light in gilded stucco, and clouds with glories of clustered cherubs. Its purpose was to inform and educate the faithful, to reinforce belief, to persuade doubters, to enhance piety and devotion, to convey by splendor the Truth of the Church, and finally to rival the distractions of the pre-Lenten carnival. The apparatus often assumed a tabernacle enframement with a large painting at its center honoring a particular saint, biblical account, or important event in Church history.[12]

The extravagance of the *macchine* seem to reflect Ottoboni's personal extravagance. However, they were not constructed with the intention to *distract* worshippers, but to *enhance* their devotional experience via a multitude of medias.

LA SANTISSIMA ANNUNTIATA, SAN FILIPPO NERI AND *IL TRIONFO DELLA VERGINE SS. ASSUNTA IN CIELO*

Ottoboni composed the libretti for no less than 20 musical works, 11 of which were oratorios set to music by some of the greatest composers in Rome at the time, including Carlo Cesarini, Francesco Gasparini, Bernado Pasquini and Giovanni Lorenzo Lulier. After the Cardinal's

Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 37 (1974), 222, 241–243.

[10] *Macchine* were large-scale constructions placed in churches for religious feasts. They could be in the form of thrones, arches, sculptures, or stages with decorative scenery.

[11] Olszewski, 'Enlightened Patronage', 156.

[12] Edward J. Olszewski, *Dynamics of Architecture in Late Baroque Rome: Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni at the Cancelleria* (Warsaw and Berlin: De Gruyter Open, 2015), 102.

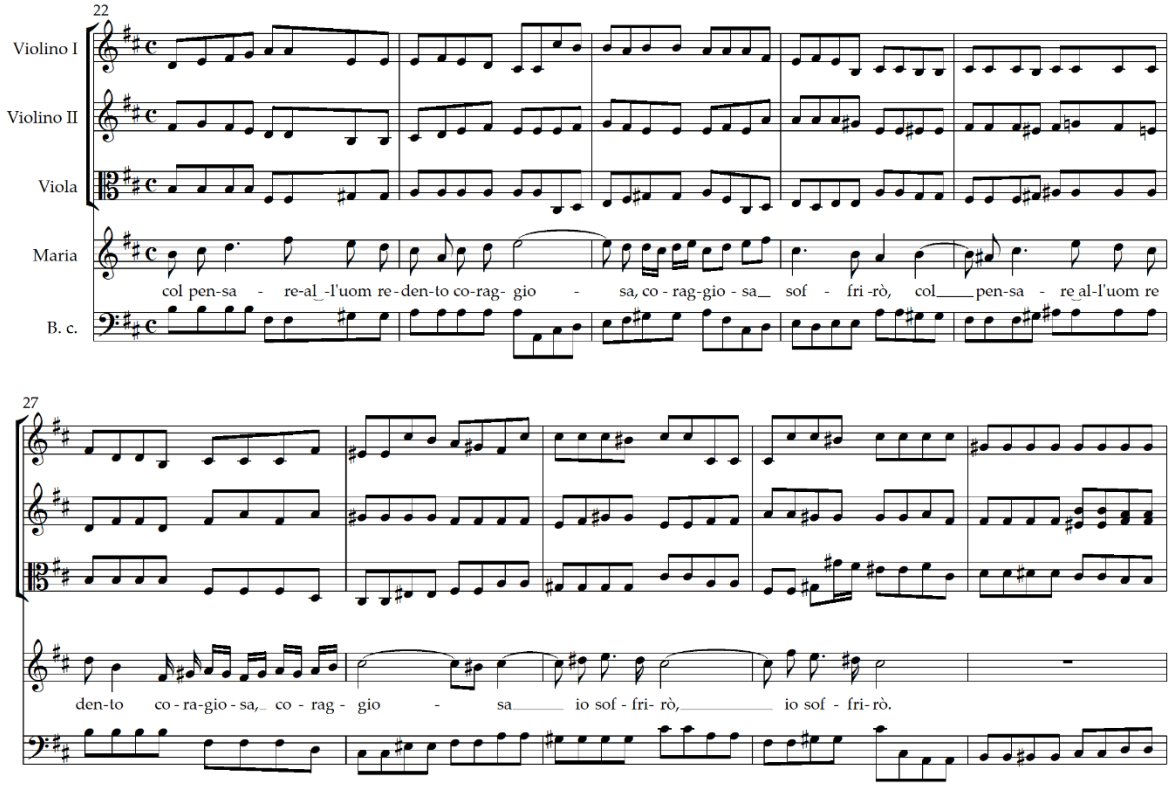
initial collaboration with Scarlatti on *La Statira*, the pair went on to produce four oratorios together: *La Santissima Annuntiata* (1700–1703), *San Filippo Neri* (1705), *Il trionfo della Vergine SS. Assunta in cielo* (1706) and the *Oratorio per la Passione di nostro Signore Gesù Cristo* (1706). While the present research focuses particularly on the *Oratorio per la Passione*, it is important to note other instances of liturguical referencing, and similar poetical decisions – especially the influences of the Arcadian Academy – executed in his other libretti, and Scarlatti's musical interpretations as a fellow Arcadian.

The first performance of *La Santissima Annuntiata* was on Palm Sunday (23 March) 1703. There was another performance in Florence in 1704 and a 1708 revival took place on the feast on the Annunciation (25 March), organised and financed by Prince Ruspoli.[13] The libretto is a dialogue between the biblical characters of the Virgin Mary and the Angel Gabriel and the three allegorical characters Suspicion (*Pensiero di Sospetto*), Virginity (*Pensiero di Verginità*) and Humility (*Pensiero di Umilità*). Although the theme of the oratorio is the Annunciation – the visitation of the Archangel Gabriel to the Virgin Mary to inform her she would be the mother of the Son of God – the libretto contains explicit references to the Passion, in an abrupt turning point in the second part, when the Angel Gabriel describes, in recitative, the fatal betrayal of Jesus by Judas Iscariot. Mary then foreshadows her own grief, and the oratorio ends with her weeping at the foot of the cross, accepting her destiny before finding salvation.[14] In the aria 'Siesa a'pie' del tronco amaro' ('I lay at the foot of the bitter trunk'), Mary slowly laments her suffering as she sings 'by thinking of the redeemed man, I will suffer bravely'. There is frequent repetition for emphasis

[13] For research on the sequential nature of these performances see 78.
[14] Luca Della Libera, 'La Santissima Annunziata di Alessandro Scarlatti, prima esecuzione italiana in tempi moderni', *Settimane Musicalo Senese* (2009), Accademia Musicali Chigiana, Siena, 227–258; *La Santissima Annuntiata: Oratorio in due parti* ed. Luca Della Libera (Rome: Istituto italiano per la storia della musica, 2011).

in the text, which Scarlatti accompanies with chromaticism in the strings (Example 4.1[15]), akin to Mary's many lament arias that feature in the later *Il dolore di Maria Vergine*.

Example 4.1 Alessandro Scarlatti, *La Santissima Annuntiata*, Aria 'Siesa a'pie' del tronco amaro' bb. 22-31



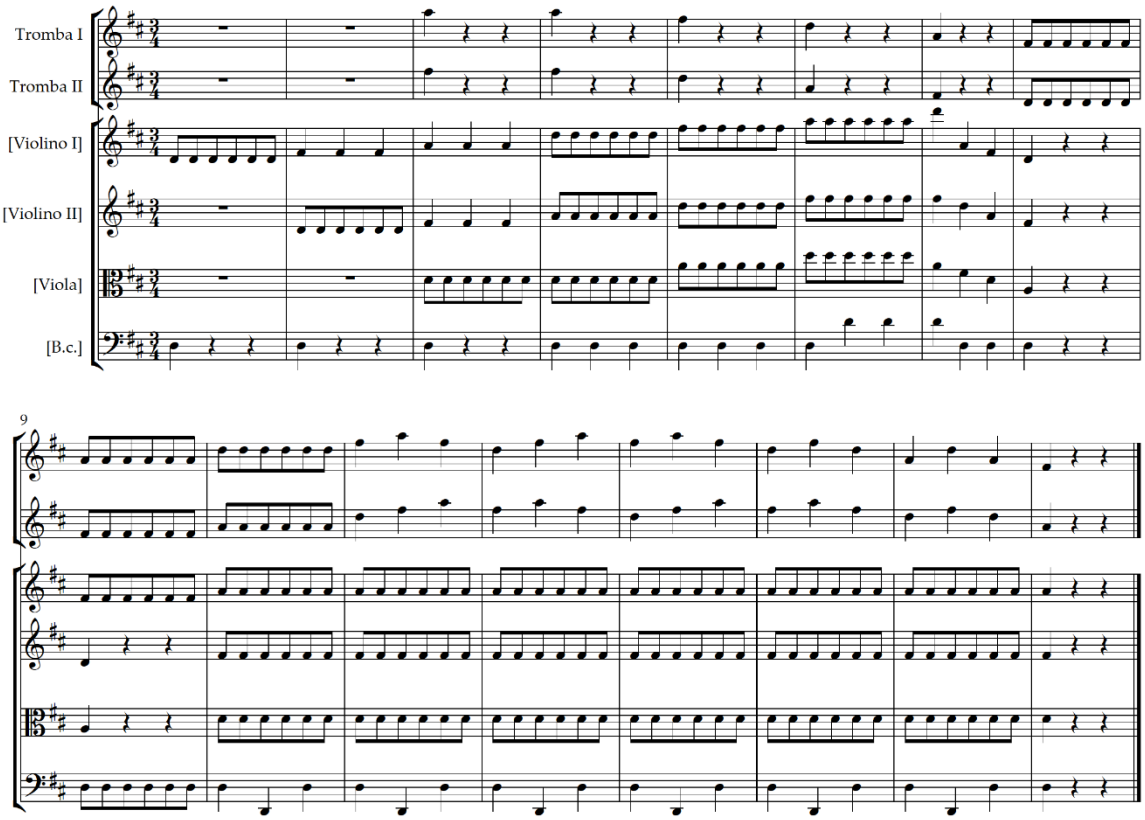
The oratorio *Il trionfo della Vergine SS. Assunta in cielo* has long been a source of great confusion for musicologists, due to its many different titles and revivals.[16] The narrative is conveyed via a bride and her spouse, and the allegorical characters of Love and Eternity. This oratorio clearly had strong connections to the Passion story as well, as it tells the story of the mother of Christ, who, spared from the corruption of original sin, triumphed in heaven like the Son of God. There are many references to an impending war and calls for peace in the poetry, which many believe alludes to the War of the Spanish Succession, a conflict

[15] Example taken from, Della Libera, 'La Santissima Annunziata'.
[16] Della Libera, 'La Santissima Annunziata', vi–vii. See also Pasquetti, *L'oratorio musicale*, 330–331.

which began in 1701 and involved most of Europe, North and South America as well as parts of Asia and Africa.[17]

As will be seen in his later Passion oratorios, Scarlatti uses trumpets at moments of great tension and conflict. In second part of *Il trionfo,* after the duet 'Caro sposo/cara sposa', there is an accompanied rectitiative – the only one in the oratorio – that has militaristic style opening (Example 4.2[18]) similar to the aria 'Trombe, che d'ogni intorno' (mvt. 31, pp. 111–125) in Scarlatti's later *Oratorio per la Passione*. Both movements feature trumpets, are in the military key of D Major and use repetitive rhythms in all instruments. Also, the texture is built very gradually in both movements, starting with just one instrument and others joining in each bar, allowing the tension to build slowly.

Example 4.2 Alessandro Scarlatti, *Il trionfo della Vergine SS. Assunta in cielo*, 'Marcia' bb. 1-16



[17] Nicolò Maccavino, 'Il cielo e la terra: pagine strumentali negli oratori di Alessandro Scarlatti', in *Dramma scolastico e oratorio nell'età barocca*, ed. Nicolò Maccavino (Reggio Calabria: Edizioni del Conservatorio di Musica "Francesco Ciela", 2012), 206–207.
[18] Example taken from Maccavino, 'Il cielo e la terra', 215–216.

In 1705 Ottoboni provided the libretto for Scarlatti's *San Filippo Neri*. which premiered at the Palazzo della Cancelleria on 26 March. The canonisation of St. Philip Neri on 12 March 1622 meant that throughout the century countless compositions and literary publications were dedicated to him.[19] The Saint was an object of special devotion for Cardinal Ottoboni, who celebrated the second mass after his ordination at the altar of St. Philip in the Chiesa Nuova.[20] The importance of Neri as a figure in Ottoboni's life is apparent in the libretto of *San Filippo Neri*, which emphasises the virtues of the Saint throughout. This idea is perhaps most evident in St Philip's dying recitative and aria 'Mio Gesù', a desperate plea to be in the presence of God, which comes late in the second part of the oratorio. The anguish is portrayed through the words and enhanced by Scarlatti's music:

Mio Gesù, sento tua voce,	My Jesus, I hear your voice,
che mi chiama, e mi desia.	calling me, bidding me to come.
Se languida, e stanca	As fainting and tired
la vita già manca,	I feel my life ebbing,
nel tuo seno aperto in Croce	in your breast that was wounded on
tu ricevi l'alma mia.	the cross, receive my soul.[21]

As well as employing repetition in the text, there are constant repeated notes both in the melody and string parts as well as suspensions and descending chromatic movement, particularly the melodic progression of minor second intervals, also known as *pathopoeia* (Example 4.3[22]). This was a technique used by many early modern composers to incite intense feelings of desperation and sadness, thus fitting for inclusion in oratorios based on the Passion story as well as expressing anguish in *San Filippo Neri*.

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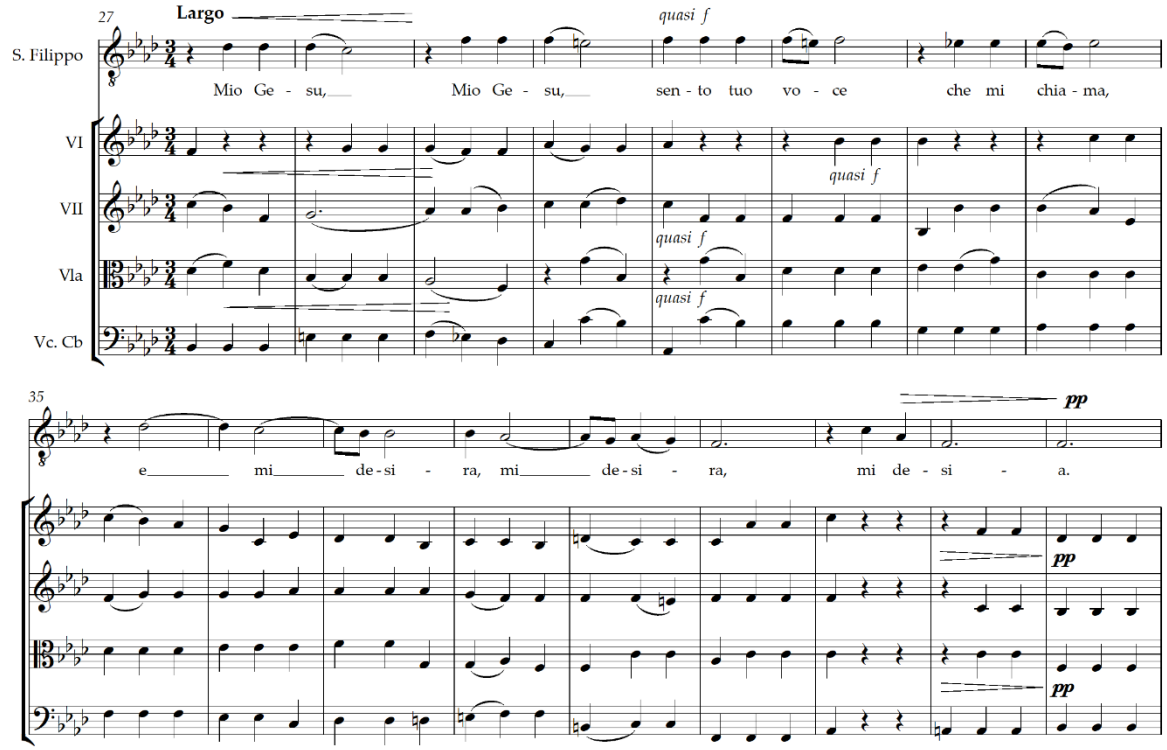
[19] Foreword to, Alessandro Scarlatti, *San Filippo Neri Oratorio per soli, coro e orchestra* ed. Remo Giazotto and Giuseppe Piccoli (Milan: Edizioni Curci, 1960). The earliest composition devoted to St. Philip Neri is likely to be Alessandro Stradella's motet *Care Jesu suavissime*, written for Queen Christina in 1644. Giovanni Belli composed the first full scale oratorio dedicated to the saint in 1678, but Scarlatti's *San Filippo Neri* became the most famous work devoted to Neri.

[20] Edward J. Olszewski, *Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740) and the Vatican Tomb of Pope Alexander VIII* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2004), 89. Kendrick refers to Neri as Ottoboni's 'favourite saint' in *Singing Jeremiah*, 161.

[21] Poetical edition ed. Estervan Verlardi tr. Edward Smith (Brilliant Classics, 2009), 6.

[22] Example taken from *San Filippo Neri* ed. Remo Giazotto and Giuseppe Piccoli.

Example 4.3 Alessandro Scarlatti, *San Filippo Neri*, Aria 'Mio Gesu', bb. 27-43



Ottoboni maintained a close attachment to St. Philip Neri throughout his life. It is therefore unsurprising that he eventually dedicated one of his own libretti to the saint in 1706: the *Oratorio per la Passione di nostro Signore Gesù Cristo*.

THE JUBILEE YEAR 1700 AND BEYOND

Pope Innocent XII opened the jubilee year of 1700 with the intention of instilling a greater spirit of devotion in Catholics. He strived for a stronger focus on prayer and sought to weaken the idea of public worship being an extravagant act and more an act of quiet and personal devotion.[23] Thousands of pilgrims flooded Rome and many churches and basilicas

[23] Pope Innocent XII is famously remembered for the papal bull *Romanum Decet Pontificem* released on 23 June 1692 prohibiting nepotism in the Catholic Church (details of the papal bull and its affects can be found in George L. Williams, *Papal Genealogy: the families and descendants of the popes* (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland & Company, 2004), 123. This was the new pope's strategy to eliminate the consistent

continuously offered Mass and ensured priests were available to hear confessions throughout the day. The most notable pilgrims were Queen Maria Casimira Sobieska of Poland and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo III, both of whom were solemnly received by the Pope.[24] Celebrations included a cycle of the 'most noble musical oratorios, intermingled with holy sermons by the most famous orators, organised by Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni on the five Thursdays of Lent, one of which was dedicated to Queen Casimira.[25]

On Tuesday of Holy Week in 1700 – thus, not part of the liturgical office – in the presence of a large audience including the Queen Maira Sobieska of Poland, Ottoboni organised a performance of musical Lamentations. A description of the event in the *Avvisi di Roma* read*:*

> On Tuesday at his palace the Most Reverend Ottoboni produced a magnificent performance with exquisite music for the Lamentations, many cardinals attended […] the queen of Poland and many foreigners.[26]

The Lamentations are readings (technically, 'lessons') for Tenebrae services on the last three days of Holy Week (Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday). These services were actually observed in anticipation on the preceding evenings (Wednesday, Thursday and Friday). Each service is divided into three nocturns, and in turn each nocturn divided into three lessons. Verses from the *Lamentations of Jeremiah* are reserved for the first nocturn of each of the three services. Early Christian commentators recognised the exegetical link between the Book of Lamentations and the Passion story as early as the second century. The

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financial problems that nepotism had caused for many centuries. Pietro Ottoboni was the last *cardinal nipote* before the role was abolished. Innocent XII is also remembered for his dedication to helping the ill and impoverished – most notably the establishment of the Hospice of St. Michele a Ripa.

[24] Edmund O'Gorman, *Towards the Great Millennium Jubilee* (Wiltshire: Cromwell Press, 1988), 77.

[25] Francesco Posterla, *Memoriae istoriche del presente anno del Giubileo MDCC* (Rome: Buagni, 1700–1701) quoted in Morelli, '"Un bell'oratorio all'uso di Roma"', 346–347.

[26] "L'em.mo Ottoboni fece martedì nel suo palazzo magnificamente apparato cantare da più esquisiti musici le lamentationi, ove oltre diversi cardinali intervenne la regina di Polonia, e molti forestieri..." This must be a reference to Queen Maria Kazimiera Sobieska, then resident in Rome. *Avvisi di Roma al cardinale Marescotti*, 10 April 1700. This is also cited in Gloria Staffieri, *Collegit Fragmenta: La vita musicale romana negli 'Avvisi Marescotti' (1683–1707)* (Lucca: LIM, 1990), 143.

destruction of Jerusalem and the plight of the Jews described in the Lamentations were seen to be punishment for the crucifixion of Christ.[27]

Due to the prolonged services during Passiontide, usually at least one of the Lessons would be chanted in the traditional psalmody, so composers were not usually required to compose full settings of all three lessons of any one nocturne. They often tried to keep the original Gregorian dimensions of the Lamentations in their musical settings and bring a level of an intense expression into an already emotional text. Thus, musical settings of the Tenebrae are famously often very emotive, such as those composed by Tomàs Luis de Victoria in 1585 and Carlo Gesualdo in 1611.[28]

In 1702 Ottoboni commissioned Scarlatti to set the first two verses of the Lamentations in the vernacular – the first Italian evidence of this since Francesco Corteccia's lost experiments in the 1550s – and had them performed at his palace along with a composition by Corelli.[29] An entry from the *Avvisi di Roma* stated that the performance included:

> Two of the first Lamentations of the week translated into the vernacular, the words of his eminence, the music of Scarlatti with a superb concerto for basses, contrabasses, violas and violins by Arcangelo [Corelli].[30]

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[27] Philip S. Alexander, *The Targum of Lamentations* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 2008), 68.
[28] For more information on the *Tenebrae* settings of Victoria and Gesualdo see; Kendrick, *Singing Jeremiah*, 87 and Glenn Watkins, *Gesualdo: The Man and his Music* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1991), 261, 267.
[29] Robert L. Kendrick, *Singing Jeremiah: Music and Meaning in Holy Week* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2014), 160; Thomas Griffin, *The Late Baroque Serenata in Rome and Naples: A Documentary Study with Emphasis on Alessandro Scarlatti* (Ph.D. Dissertation: University of California, 1983), 500, 503; Luca Della Libera, *Selected Sacred Music*, viii; The *Lamentazioni per la settimana santa* by Francesco Corteccia (1502–1571) are lost, but recorded in archives and written about by the composer himself. Jessie Ann Owens, *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450–1600* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 208; David A. Sutherland, 'A second Corteccia manuscript in the archives of Santa Maria del Fiore', *JAMS*, 25 (1972), 85.
[30] "Due delle primmi Lamentazioni dell settimana tradotte in volgare, le parole di S. Em.za, la musica di Scarlatti con superbiss.mo concerto di Bassi, contrabasso, violini e violini compositione di Arcangelo [Corelli]". D-Mbs. Cod. Italian 196, from 11 April 1702, quoted in, Benedikt Poensgen, *Die Offiziumkompositionen von Alessandro Scarlatti* (Ph. D Thesis: University of Hamburg, 2004), 24 n. 134; Thomas Griffin, *The Late Baroque Serenata*, 359–360. It was common practice to play sinfonias before an oratorio performance. For more information see Spitzer, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650–1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 123.

Robert Kendrick originally suggested that Scarlatti's *Lamentazioni per la settimana santa* were the nucleus of the *Oratorio per la Passione di nostro Signore Gesù Cristo* written four years later.[31] This is mainly because Scarlatti treats the melodic lines similarly to those in the *Oratorio per la Passione*, generally favouring simple, madrigal-style melodies over virtuosic, operatic style writing. However, upon closer inspection of the two works, Kendrick observes that Scarlatti's approach to both settings was significantly different, particularly from a textural and rhetorical point of view.[32] Scarlatti set two lessons of each of the three days: one and three for Maundy Thursday and one and two for Good Friday and Holy Saturday. They are all for soprano, three-part strings and continuo. Frequently the instruments create interest while the voice intones the text on a single note, as in Gregorian psalmody. This is a technique Scarlatti would later use in paraphrases of the *Lamentations of Jeremiah* that Ottoboni included in the *Oratorio per la Passione*, but that is where the similarities between the two works end.[33] In the oratorio, Scarlatti favours the use of psalm tones in the sections of the *Lamentations*, oscillating between minor and major modes, while the *Lamentazioni* themselves contain only fleeting moments of recitation, with more flowing melodies in minor modes.

In 1703 Clement XI issued an edict that prohibited any carnival activities, including opera, for five years. The pope strictly enforced this edict – unlike other policies put in place by previous popes – as it was seen as a thanksgiving to God that Rome lay unharmed during the 1703 Apennine earthquakes that killed 10,000 people in surrounding areas over a period of nineteen days.[34] Clement XI actively encouraged oratorio performance in order to fill the

[31] Kendrick, *Singing Jeremiah*, 140.
[32] Ibid, 169.
[33] Jean Lionnet [liner notes tr. John Sidgwick], *Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725), Lamentatzioni per la Settimana Santa*, Le Parlement de Musique, POS 30-66 (1992). See the movements of the *Oratorio per la Passione* based on the Lamenations in Volume 2: 5 'Come sola rimane', 7 'Le strade de Sion', 13 'La figlia di Sion', 15 'Passeggia per sentier sordido' and 20 'Vide Sion ripirsi'.
[34] Joseph Addison, *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy in the years 1701–1703* (London: J. and R. Tonson, 1761).

void left by opera, suggesting that the Oratorians promote oratorio performances during the carnival season to replace the operas that other patrons would usually have commissioned at that time.[35] He offered to pay for this alternative carnival arrangement, which may explain his presence at a performance of Scarlatti's *Il regno di Maria Assunta in cielo* at the courtyard of the Palazzo della Cancelleria in August 1705.[36] A report from the time described the event:

> The most illustrious personages of Rome and the surrounding areas attended the performances. Prior to the beginning of the oratorio on the first evening, a bell was rung, after which Pope Clement XI led the audience in devotions that included the *Ave Maria,* the *Gloria Patri,* and a prayer by the pontiff. At the end of the first part of the oratorio and throughout the second part, sumptuous refreshments were served.[37]

We thus have an account of this event. The devotional aspect still played an important role, as demonstrated by the inclusion of prayers. However, the 'sumptuous refreshments' were a pointed display of wealth to the nobility and other clergy. The oratorio also had specific political messages as large sections of the poetry hinted at the wars occurring in Europe and the second part included urgent calls for peace among conflicting powers in the war of the Spanish Succession.[38] The event as a whole is a demonstration of how the oratorio could function on multiple different levels and present a blend of devotional and political performance with a high level of entertainment value. This type of event was not an uncommon occurrence in the early decades of the eighteenth century, as the following chapter explores the rich and complex performance history of the *Oratorio per la Passione*.

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[35] Carlo Gasbarri, *L'oratorio filippino (1552–1952)* (Rome: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1957), 65.
[36] Nicolò Maccavino, 'Il Regno di Maria Vergine Assunta in Cielo (Roma, 1705) ossia Il Trionfo della Vergine SS. Assunta in Cielo (Firenze, 1706) di Alessandro Scarlatti', in *Dramma scolastico e oratorio nell'età barocca*, ed. Nicolò Maccavino (Reggio Calabria: Edizioni del Conservatorio di Musica "Francesco Ciela", 2012), 183–227.
[37] "Oratorio eposto al public e fatto rappresentare nel cortile della Cancelleria…" a MS in I/Rvat: Urb. Lat. 1706, fols. I-4v quoted in Smither, *Oratorio,* 274.
[38] Arnaldo Morelli 'Alessandro Scarlatti maestro di cappella in Rome ed alcuni suoi oratori: nuovi documenti', *NA*, 2 (Venice: Edizioni Fondazione Levi, 1984), 144; Morelli also discusses the political connotations in Scarlatti's *La Giuditta*, concluding that the subject matter and the portrayal of certain characters eluded to political events of the period, particularly the wars waged by the Turkish Empire against Christianity. See; '"Un bell'oratorio all'uso di Roma"', 338–339. Saverio Franchi also deals with the political messages embedded within oratorios in; 'Il principe Livio Odescalchi e l'oratorio "politico"', *L'oratorio musicali italiano e suoi contesti* 17–18 ed. P. Bessuti (Florence: Olschki, 2002), 141–258.

Chapter Five

THE *ORATORIO PER LA PASSIONE DI NOSTRO SIGNORE GESÙ CRISTO* (1706)

Performance History: Setting the Scene ♦ The Sources ♦ Ottoboni's Liturgically Inspired Libretto and Scarlatti's Musical Response ♦ Conclusion

PERFORMANCE HISTORY: SETTING THE SCENE

Cardinal Ottoboni wrote the libretto for Scarlatti's *Oratorio per la Passione di nostro Signore Gesù Cristo* in 1706 and dedicated the work to St. Philip Neri. There was an open rehearsal on Monday 29 March (the day after Palm Sunday) and then the oratorio premiered on 31 March (Holy Wednesday). Both the rehearsal and the performance took place in the theatre of the Palazzo della Cancelleria. A detailed account in the *Avvisi di Roma* describes the effect the lighting and scenery had on the solemnity of this oratorio. It is important to note that the writer attended the rehearsal and not the actual performance, but still appears spiritually moved by his experience. There is a particular emphasis on darkness both within the libretto and in the atmosphere created by selected decoration and minimal lighting.

> On Monday evening in his well-furnished, dark theatre, completely illuminated with beautifully worked lamps of Volterra alabaster, Cardinal Ottoboni had the rehearsal of an oratorio sung, which consisted of his translation of the Lamentations of the prophet Jeremiah in such a way that Scarlatti, the composer of the music, rendered them even more admirable by setting them to such melancholy material that they evoked devout happiness, infinite praise, and great applause in the noble audience; and the said oratorio is to be sung in the evening of Holy Wednesday.[1]

[1] 'Lunedì sera [29 marzo] dal Sig. Card. Ottoboni in bene accomodato lugubre Teatro, tutto illuminato con ben lavorati fanali di Alabastro di Volterra fece cantare cioe la prova di un'Oratorio un haver tradotte di sua composit. le Lamentazioni di Geremia Profeta à modo tale, che lo Scarlati compositore della musica si fece rendere sempre più ammirabile, in materiaal si malinconia, ridatta in devote allegria, con infinitissima lode, e gran'applausi de'nobile Uditorio ed (etto) oratorio lo fà cantare mercoledi santo è sera', *Avvisi di Roma*, D-Mbs Cod. Ital. 197 fol. 366r.

The idea of Scarlatti's melancholic setting of the *Lamentations* evoking devout happiness is, in a broader sense, harking back to the two principal functions that the Greeks assigned to music – and the Arcadians took on as part of their own philosophy – *mimesis* (the transformation or imitation of an external reality) and *catharsis* (the purification of the soul through affective experience).[2] It also reflects the layered, multi-functionality of the whole oratorio. The text inspires reflection on mortality and the concept of being alone and the music elevates the text in such a way that it inspires emotions of happiness.

Another entry in the *Diario di Roma* describes how the room was draped in black velvet, illuminated only by pseudo-porphyry vases with candles inside. Music stands were covered in cloths that depicted scenes from the Passion and arranged around a large and central crucifix which hung above an image of St. Philip Neri in meditation, the same image featured on the frontispiece of the libretto, shown in Figure 5.1.[3] It is important to understand that crucifixes were everywhere in the Roman Catholic establishments, and drapery was not uncommon at the time, so theatrical artifice certainly had a place within the life of the Church.[4]

In the following entry from the *Avvisi di Roma* the author states that the audience for this oratorio consisted of high-ranking nobility and clergymen:

On Wednesday evening Cardinal Ottoboni had his oratorio, a rendition of the Lamentations of

[2] Nicholas Cook and Nicola Dibben, 'Emotions in culture and history: perspectives from musicology' in, *Handbook of Music and Emotion: Theory, Research, Applications* ed. Patrick N. Juslin and John A. Sloboda (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 46–47.
[3] Robert L. Kendrick, *Singing Jeremiah: Music and Meaning in Holy Week* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2014), 160; Roberto Pagano, Lino Bianchi and Giancarlo Rostirolla, *Alessandro Scarlatti* (Turin: ERI), 1972), 304–305; Benedikt Poensgen also provided details of the 1706 performance of *Oratorio per la Passione* in 'Zu Alessandro Scarlattis: Oratorium per la Passione' in *Händels Italianità: Göttinger Händel-Festspiele 1997* (Göttingen: Gottinger Handel-Gesellschaft, 1997), 82.
[4] For instance, in 1735, before the state funeral of Queen Clementine at the Basilica di San Pietro, her body lay in the Basilica Dodici dei Santi XII Apostoli. The entire church was draped in rich velvet and five sculptures of cherubs surrounded the body. The decoration in the church can be seen in an engraving by Balthazar Gabrucciani entitled *Queen Clementina lying in state* published in *Parentalia Mariae Clementinae Magn, Brit. Franc. et Hibern. Regin.* (Rome: Giovanni Maria Salvioni, 1736), reproduced in *Fine Printed Books and Manuscripts from the Library of the 17th Earl of Perth* (London: Christie's 2003), 96; descriptions of the decoration can be found in issues 2727 (22 Jan. 1735) and 2729 (29 Jan. 1735) of the *Diario di Roma* (Rome: Cracas).

> the prophet Jeremiah in the vernacular, sung for the second time. There was a most noble audience, and Donna Maria Bernardina, the Pope's sister-in-law, was again there.[5]

The fact that the attendees at this performance were well-educated, religious men and women meant that they would have been able to recognise the many liturgical references within the text.

Figure 5.1 The image of St. Philip Neri kneeling at the foot of the cross, as shown in the libretto of *Oratorio per la Passione di nostro Signore Gesù Cristo* (Rome: Antonio de'Rossi, 1706).

The *Oratorio per la Passione* formed part of Ottoboni's broader fascination with Jeremiah that occupied the cardinal for many years, including Scarlatti's setting of the *Lamentazioni di settimana santa* commissioned in 1700.[6] The week before the premiere of

[5] 'Mercoledì sera dal Sig. Card. Ottoboni fù fatto cantare per la seconda volta il suo Oratorio delle lamentazioni di Geremia Profeta ridotte in lingua volgare, vi hebbe nobilissimo Uditorio, e vi fu ancora la S. Donna Maria Bernardina cognata del Papa', *Avvisi di Roma* D-Mbs Cod. Ital. 197 fol. 367r.

[6] Kendrick, *Singing Jeremiah*, 160. In 1709 Ottoboni commissioned yet another oratorio textually inspired by the Lamentations, but this time on a historical level. The libretto for *Il trionfo di Tito per la Distruzione di Gerusalemme espresso nelle Lamentazioni del Profeta Geremia* was written by the cardinal's protégé A. D.

Oratorio per la Passione in 1706, the Seminario Romano staged a repeat performance of the oratorio *Il Sedecia Re di Gerusalemme* with music by Scarlatti and libretto by Filippo Ortensio Fabbri and dedicated it to Cardinal Ottoboni. The story is loosely based on the Old Testament story of Zedekiah and his wars against the Babylonian Kings, essentially a commentary on the years before the fall of Jerusalem described in the Lamentations of Jeremiah. A further entry in the *Diario di Roma* also acknowledges Ottoboni's use of the Lamentations in the *Oratorio per la Passione*:

> Cardinal Ottoboni wrote…a beautiful oratorio for music, dedicated to St. Philip Neri, and the literary material was the Lamentations of Jeremiah, translated by his eminence into the vernacular, sung by the best musicians accompanied by many instruments, including six muted trumpets.[7]

The oratorio received repeat performances in 1707 and in 1708, and for both of these productions Pietro Paolo Bencini's *Introduzione all'Oratorio per la Passione per la Feria Quinta*, with a text again provided by Ottoboni, prefaced the oratorio.[8] Unfortunately the music for Bencini's *Introduzione* is lost, but from the libretto we can see that New Testament characters personalise Christian grief at the Passion.[9] Ottoboni included a short preface to the *Introduzione*, referring to the performance of *Oratorio per la Passione di nostro Signore Gesù Cristo* that would take place after Bencini's *Introduzione*. The preface demonstrates that this was not an event purely for entertainment but one of devotion, an offering to St. Philip Neri during Holy Week. He incites and encourages the audience to lead lives of Christian piety and hopes they will find inspiration in the musical performance. He

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Nocia with music (now lost) by the famous cellist Filippo Amadei and Ottoboni himself, possibly his only known composition. See Saverio Franchi, *Drammaturgia romana: Repertorio bibliografico cronologico dei testi drammatica pubblicati a Roma e nel Lazio* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1988), 67.

[7] 'Un bellissimo oratorio in musica didicato a San Filippo Neri et era la composizione li Treni di Geremia, tradotti in volgare da S, Eminenza cantata da'migliori musici con l'accompagnamento di più instromenti, fra quali sei tombe sordine', Valerio, *Diario di Roma*, 3:577.

[8] Pietro Paolo Bencini (*c*1670–1755) was *maestro coaditore* at the Chiesa Nuova from 1705 to 1743 (taking over from Scarlatti who held the position from 9 January 1703 to 18 May 1705). The death of Bicilli in October 1705 left Bencini in the position of *maestro di cappella*. For more information see Jean Lionnet, 'Bencini, Pietro Paolo', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001).

[9] Franchi, *Drammaturgia romana*, 48–50.

emphasises that the combination of music and poetry in the performance will ignite an intense devotion in the listener:

> To the courteous reader,
> The present sacred composition is nothing but a prelude to the great mystery of our redemption, which will soon present itself between these walls. The event of the death of God for the benefit of mankind is so great and prestigious that it well deserves to be remembered in the minds of the faithful with these tender expressions, to awaken the souls of those who listen and lead a life of Christian piety. Guilt and Repentance will be outlined before your eyes as main personalities in the tragic scene of the crucifixion, through the painful harmonies of these notes may they obtain forgiveness. I hope that repentance will be near you in brief moments of this work, kind reader, and enhance the purity and beauty of poetry all the more. My thought is to warm devotion and kindle affection, not to receive applause or to delight the intellect. Live happily.[10]

At first Ottoboni expresses the notion that the oratorio is intended to encourage Christian piety and repent from their sins, but the final sentence exemplifies the truly multi-faceted nature of this oratorio: to encourage devotion to God, arouse emotion and inspire the intellect of the listener.

Ottoboni also wrote a short preface to the libretto for the *Oratorio per la Passione di nostro Signore Gesù Cristo*:

> Here you are, O Holy One, and Most Glorious Philip, from a sinful hand, as a prodigious book of the crucified one, from whom you have learned so much, that you have made yourself the Oracle not only of Rome, but of the whole Christian world. Therefore, dealing with the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ in this short composition, to none other but to you it has to be dedicated. While from Heaven you echo love and applause to that mystery, of whom

[10] 'Al cortese lettore. Il presente Sagro Componimento altro non è che un preludio al gran Mistero della nostra Redenzione, che dovrà in breve fra queste stesse pareti rappresentarsi. È così grande, e prodigioso l'avvenimento della morte d'un Dio in benefizio del genere umano, che ben meritava d'esser preparato nella mente di ciaschedun fedele con questi teneri accenti, per risvegliare nell'animo di chi gli ascolta più vivi i sentimenti di Cristiana pietà. La Colpa, e il Pentimento, che saranno avanti gli occhi tuoi delineati, come principali Personaggi nella tragica Scena d'un Dio Crocifisso, potranno dall'armonia di queste note ritrarre maggiore impulso di dolore per meritare il perdono. Spero, che i brevi momenti, ne'quali è stata concepita, e data alla luce quest'Opera, saranno apresso di te, Cortese Lettore, di sufficiente scusa per quello, che manca di purità, e di bellezza alla Poesia: tanto maggiormente, che il mio pensiero fu di riscaldare la divozione, e accendere gli affetti, non di riscuotere applausi, o dilettare l'intelletto. Vivi felice.' As printed in Pietro Ottoboni, *Introduzione all'oratorio della Passione di nostro Signore Gesù Cristo* (Rome: Antonio De'Rossi, 1708).

> in this life you had so filled the heart, which out of itself showed beyond its nature in markings. So let not the great imperfections of the author make you refuse to receive this work under your protection, but let the sacred subject, which makes it worthy of your patronage, and the same defects of those who dedicate it to you, give motivation to your charity, so that they will not be underserving of the title of your devotion.[11]

The preface reads the same in the libretti from 1706, 1707, 1708 and 1739. The cardinal directly addresses the oratorio's dedicatee, St. Philip Neri, and highlights the goodness and piety of Neri, exhibiting his own personal devotion to the saint.

Lent 1708 was a particularly busy period for oratorio performance, as displayed in Table 5.1. This was mainly due to the number of competitive patrons active in Rome seeking favour and approval from Pope Clement XI. These wealthy patrons sought to demonstrate their faith through commissions of sacred music during the penitential period of Lent. The oratorio season began on the first Sunday of Lent with Scarlatti's *Il giardino di rose* at the Palazzo Borelli, the residence of the Marchese Francesco Maria Ruspoli, at the south side of the Piazza de' Santi Apostoli.[12] Marchese Ruspoli provided Handel with patronage as soon as the young composer arrived in Rome in early 1707. Handel immediately began moving in the same circles as Scarlatti and a friendly rivalry evolved between the composers and their patrons, Ruspoli and Ottoboni.

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[11] 'Eccovi aperto, o Santo, e Gloriosissimo Filippo, da una mano peccatrice qual libro prodigioso del Crocifisso, dal quale Voi tanto avete appreso, che vi siete renduto l'Oracolo non solo di Roma, ma di tutto il Mondo Cristiano. Trattandosi dunque della Passione del nostro Signore Gesù Cristo in questa breve Composizione, non ad altri, che a Voi consecrar si dovea, mentre ancora dal Cielo sarete Eco d'Amore, e d'applauso a quel Misterio, del quale in questa vita avevate così ripieno il cuore, che fuor di se stesso ne dimostrò oltre natura in contrassegni. Non sieno dunque le grandi imorefeziono dell'Autore, che vi facciano ricusare di ricever quest'Opera sotto la Vostra Protezione, ma sia il Sacro argomento, che la renda degna del Vostro Patrocinio, e gli stesso difetti di chi ve lo dedica diano impulso alla Vostra Carità, acciò da loro disciolto non sia affatto immeritevole del titolo di Vostro divoto.' As printed in Pietro Ottoboni, *Per la Passione di nostro Signore Gesù Cristo* (Rome: Antonio de'Rossi, 1708).

[12] On 24 April 1707 (Easter Sunday) Scarlatti's oratorio *Il giardino di rose* premiered at the palace, See Ursula Kirkendale, 'The Ruspoli documents on Handel', *JAMS*, 20/2 (1967) 229, 231, 255; Ellen T. Harris, 'The Italian in Handel', *JAMS*, 33/3 (1980), 493 n. 3.

Table 5.1 Lenten oratorio season 1708

Title	Composer	Librettist	Patron	Location	Date (where known)
Il giardino di rose	Scarlatti	Anon.	Ruspoli	Palazzo Bonelli	Sunday 26 Feb
Il martirio di S. Caterina	Caldara	Accolti	Ottoboni	Cancelleria	
Il sacrificio di Abramo	Bencini	Buonaccorsi	Ottoboni	Cancelleria	22 Feb
Il David penitente	Magini	Buonaccorsi	Ottoboni	Cancelleria	
Il convito di Baldasar	Pollarolli	Ginori	Ottoboni	Cancelleria	
L'Abelle	Amadei	Ottoboni	Ottoboni	Cancelleria	
Il martirio di S. Cecilia	Scarlatti	Ottoboni	Ottoboni	Cancelleria	
Oratorio di San Clemente	Anon.	Anon.	Ruspoli	Palazzo Bonelli	18 March
Oratorio per la Santissima Annunziata	Scarlatti	Posterla	Ruspoli	Palazzo Bonelli	25 March (Feast of the Annunciation)
Figlio prodigo	Cesarini	Bendetto Pamphilj	Antonio Pamphilj	Chiesa Nuova [13]	1 April
Oratorio per la Passione de Nostro Signor Gesù Cristo	Scarlatti	Pietro Ottoboni	Ottoboni	Cancelleria	Holy Wednesday 1708 (4 April)
La Resurrezione	Handel	Carlo Sigismondo Capece	Ruspoli	Palazzo Bonelli	1,2,7,8,9 April 1708 (8 was Easter Sunday)

On 25 March (Feast of the Annunciation) a performance of Scarlatti's *Oratorio per la Santissima Annunziata* took place with the tenor Vittorio Chiccheri, the composer Filippo Amadei, also known as 'Pippo' singing soprano, and a large ensemble including violas and bass viols.[14] This was closely followed by a performance of *Oratorio per la Passione di*

[13] *Figlio prodigo* was also performed in San Marcello and Collegio Clementino, see Francesco Valeio, *Diario di Roma*, ed. Gaetana Scano and Giuseppe Graglia, 6 vols. (Milan: Longanesi, 1978), 4:53.
[14] This oratorio originally premiered at the Palazzo della Cancelleria on 3 April 1700 and was revived again on 1 April 1703 before the 1708 performance commissioned by Ruspoli. See Kirkendale, 'Ruspoli documents', 232,

nostro Signore Gesù Cristo on Wednesday 4 April (Holy Wednesday) at the Palazzo della Cancelleria. Ursula Kirkendale was the first scholar to indicate that the performances of *SS. Annunziata* at Palazzo Borelli followed by *Oratorio per la Passione* on Holy Wednesday and then Handel's *La Resurrezione* on Easter Sunday and Monday was a sequential event.[15] This would be the only record of oratorios performed in sequence, yet it seems an unlikely coincidence that oratorios on the themes of the Passion and Resurrections would be performed in such close proximity within the correct time span.

If this were a sequential event, it is not dissimilar to the *sacra rappresentazione* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. *Sacra rappresentazione* were religious plays in Italian with *laude*, *frottoli*, madrigals, psalms and occasionally other types of sung text interspersed throughout, essentially popularised forms of liturgical texts. The plays took place on large stages and featured sets, costumes and sometimes even machinery. These productions were most common in Tuscany, but from as early as 1456 the Confraternità del Gonfalone staged passion plays on Good Friday at the Colosseum followed by Resurrection plays on Easter Sunday at S. Giovanni in Laterano.[16]

Ellen Rosand states that *Oratorio per la Passione* and *La Resurrezione* offered Roman society a unique opportunity to participate in Christ's final drama, experiencing the events in their proper three-day span, just as the *sacra rappresentazione* of earlier centuries

259, doc. 12. For more on Filippo Amadei and his 'Pippo' alias see Kirkendale, 'Ruspoli documents', 236 and 252.

[15] Kirkendale, 'Ruspoli documents', 238; Idem, *Antonio Caldara: Sein Leben und seine venezianisch-römischen Oratorien* (Graz: Boglau, 1966), 150.

[16] Kirkendale, 'Ruspoli documents', 238. See also; Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis, *Laude Drammatiche e Rappresentazione Sacrae*, vol. II (Florence: La Monnier, 1943), 117–20; B. Becherini, 'La musica nelle "sacre rappresentazioni fiorentine"', RMI 53 (1951), 143–241; Arnaldo Morelli, *Il tempio armonico: musica nell'Oratorio dei Filippini in Roma (1575–1705)*, *AnMc*, 27 (1991), 82–87; Boyd, 'Rome: The Power of Patronage', 59. For the connections between the Confraternità del Gonfalone and Santa Maria Maggiore see; Luigi Ruggeri, *L'arciconfraternita del Gonfalone: Memoriae del sacerdote Luigi Ruggeri* (Rome: Bernardo Morini, 1866), 202–219; Noel O'Regan, 'Church reform and devotional music in sixteenth-century Rome: the influence of lay confraternities', in *Forms of Faith in Sixteenth-Italy* eds. Abigal Brundin and Matthew Treherne (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2009), 217–220.

permitted.[17] The 'popularisation' of liturgical texts within the *sacra rappresentazione* is also similar to the use of the Tenebrae in the libretto of *Oratorio per la Passione*. In his contemporary writings on the solemn liturgy of the hours for the Easter Tridium, Fr. Robert Repenning says:

> The liturgy prayed during Tenebrae was stark and brutal, and it didn't do what Church is expected to do. Too often, the expectation is that meaningful religious expression in Church should make one feel good. Tenebrae did nothing of the sort. In fact, this particular liturgy is so spare and anguished one may be tempted to ask what is it supposed to do. To me, however, the purpose of Tenebrae is the liturgy of liberation. In Tenebrae, our faith is liberated from the shallow, saccharine, sentimental and emotional concepts that we'd prefer to cling to, and it directs us to attach ourselves instead to our Savior who shares in profound solidarity with us in his Passion, Death and Resurrection.[18]

As Repenning states, the liturgy prayed during Tenebrae is stark, and Ottoboni's poetry for *Oratorio per la Passione* is essentially an elaboration of the liturgy. This can be seen especially in Ottoboni's expansion of and variation on The Reproaches, which will be explored in due course.

The 1708 performance of *Oratorio per la Passione* was originally intended to take place in the large chamber (*anticamera*) on the first floor of the Palazzo della Cancelleria. The chamber adjoined Ottoboni's own private apartments, and he mainly used it for the performance of oratorios.[19] Architect, stage designer and engraver Filippo Juvarra (1676–1736) designed the theatre for the performance of the *Oratorio per la Passione*. He had the walls adorned with luxurious tapestries featuring huge Ottoboni crests at the centre (Figure 5.2). The crests can also be seen on the frontispiece of the libretti (Figures 5.3 and 5.4). However, once rehearsals began, Scarlatti and Ottoboni realised that they required more space for the many musicians involved, so they moved the entire performance to the *sala*

[17] Ellen Rosand, 'Handel Paints the Resurrection', *Festa Musicologia: Essays in Honor of George J. Buelow* eds. Thomas J. Mathieson and Benito V. Rivera (New York: Pendragon Press, 1995), 9.
[18] Robert Repenning, *Tenebrae* (USA: self-pub., 2011).
[19] Susan M. Dixon, *Between the Real and the Ideal*, 34–36.

grande. This room was ten metres wide with high ceilings and boxes hung above the entrance to the hall to allow more seating for the audience. The stage itself was richly decorated and stood six metres high and seven and a half metres wide. A large, illuminated wooden crucifix stood in the centre of the back wall and the performance took place in front of it.[20] Lino Bianchi suggests that the singers portraying Colpa, Grazia and Pentimento probably gestured toward the large cross during the performance, an echo of the simple actions characters were required to make when performing the *sepolcro* in the churches of Vienna.[21]

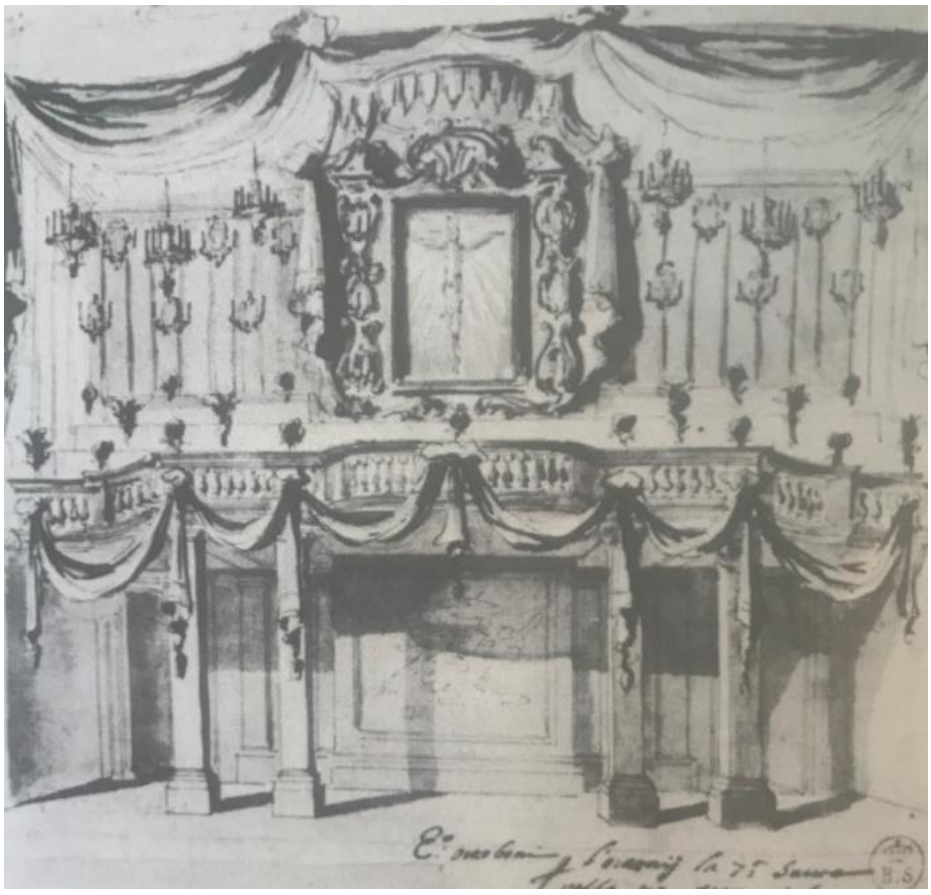

Figure 5.2 A stage design by Filippo Juvarra for an oratorio in the *sala riara* in the Palazzo della Cancelleria. It is likely the design used for the 1708 performance of *Oratorio per la* Passione, RIS. 59. 4f. 81 (1)

[20] Lino Bianchi provides a detailed description of this performance and a short analysis of the work in *Alessandro Scarlatti*, 305–312. See also Howard E. Smither's discussion about collaborations between Ottoboni and Juvarra and for other stage design sketchers from around a similar time. Smither, *Oratorio*, 269–273.
[21] Bianchi et al., *Alessandro Scarlatti*, 308.

The Orchestra in the 1708 performance

Although there are no known receipts or lists of performers for the Ottoboni and Scarlatti productions of the *Oratorio per la Passione*, there is a wealth of information on the orchestra used in Handel's *La Resurrezione*, the oratorio with which the *Oratorio per la Passione* may have been performed in sequence with in 1708. Handel's oratorio had the largest orchestra assembled for a Ruspoli production. Directed by Arcangelo Corelli, the instruments included twenty-two violins, four violas, six cellos, six double-basses, two trumpets, one trombone, four oboes, two recorders and continuo of harpsichord, theorbo and bassoon.[22] Working on the basis that Scarlatti's oratorio featured four trumpets, we can assume that his orchestra was similarly substantial.

The Ruspoli production of Handel's *La Resurrezione* featured a four-tier stage and a large canvas back drop painted by Michelangelo Cerruti depicting the resurrection with a 'gloria' of putti and cherubim.[23] The walls were adorned with velvet, damask and taffeta and a painted screen displaying the title of the oratorio hung above the stage, illuminated from behind. Roman diarist Francesco Valesio (1670–1742) wrote of the event:

> This evening Marchese Ruspoli sponsored a beautiful musical oratorio at the Bonelli palace at Santi Apostoli, and the reception room was turned into a well-decorated theatre for the audience, including many nobles and cardinals.[24]

Kirkendale claims that Ruspoli commissioned *La Resurrezione* to bring the Lenten festivities of 1708 to a 'rousing climax'.[25] However, Benedikt Poensgen believes that Scarlatti's *Oratorio per la Passione* was the highlight of the 1708 Holy Week festivities.[26]

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[22] Ursula Kirkendale, 'The Ruspoli documents on Handel' in *JAMS*, 20/2 (1967), 238.
[23] Kirkendale gives a detailed description of the decoration in the 'Ruspoli documents', 234, 260–261 see also Morelli, '"Un bell'oratorio all'uso di Roma", 348–349.
[24] 'Dom. 8 Pasqua di Resurrezione [1708] / Questa sera il marchese Ruspoli fece nel palazzo Bonelli a' SS. Apostoli un belliss. Oratorio in musica havendo fatto nel salone un ben'ornato teatro per l'Uditorio, si intervene molta nobilità et alcuni porporati.' Francesco Valeio, *Diario di Roma*, ed. Gaetana Scano and Giuseppe Graglia, 6 vols. (Milan: Longanesi, 1978), 3: 57–58.
[25] Kirkendale, 'Ruspoli documents', 238.
[26] Poensgen, *Die Offiziumkompositionen*, 58, 244.

It is difficult to establish the instruments that would have formed the continuo for the performance, but as the choice is dependent on location, the acoustic, the size of the performance space and the number of singers being accompanied we can attempt to make an assumption. During the seventeenth century common chordal instruments employed were the organ, harpsichord and lute, while popular sustaining instruments included the cello, viol, bassoon and trombone. Plucked instruments were generally favoured for most of the *seicento*, but sustained instruments were used in large churches and halls for acoustic reasons, particularly in Roman oratories, as a strong bassline was required. [27]

In the manuscript held at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden, the *cembalo* (harpsichord) has its own stave in the *sinfonia*, but for the rest of the work it can be assumed that it plays the continuo, except where 'senza cembalo' is marked. One of the harpsichord's many traditional uses was its inclusion in the continuo for moments of turbulence and martial music as well as to accompany rhythmic passages of recitative.[28]

The question of whether the bass line would have been doubled is a complex one, but the general consensus is that in large performance spaces, such as churches and concert halls – like the *sala grande* – doubling was avoided as it resulted in loss of clarity when a strong bass line was needed. However, because the ensemble was so large, it is likely a combination of bass instruments was used in the performances.[29]

As the arias 'Trombe, che d'ogni intorno' and 'Io vorrei che in me discesa' are the only movements that feature the trombone, it is likely that the trombone also participated in the continuo in some form or another. The trombone started to join the continuo from

[27] Jack Ashworth and Paul O'Dette, 'Basso continuo', in *Performer's Guide to Seventeenth-Century Music*, 2nd edition, ed. Stewart Carter (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2012), 320.
[28] Ibid, 335
[29] For analysis of the orchestra in Italian oratorio see Eleanor Selfridge Field, 'Italian Oratorio and the Baroque Orchestra', *Early Music*, 16/4 (1988), 506–513 and John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650–1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 154–160.

the beginning of the seventeenth century, sometimes doubling the part exactly, simplifying it or occasionally adding embellishments.

Subsequent performances

The *Oratorio per la Passione* received three further Roman performances in the eighteenth century. The first was in 1721 at the Seminario Romano and the second in the jubilee year of 1725 at the oratory of SS. Crocifisso.[30] The oratorio received its final performance in Rome in 1739, fourteen years after Scarlatti's death. This was Ottoboni's final Lent before his own death in 1740. Travelling Polish Prince Fredrick Christian and many other Roman cardinals attended the performance.[31] The repeated performance of this Lenten work suggests that it was well received by audiences and, as the historical accounts above confirm, all its performances were attended by high-ranking individuals.

THE SOURCES

Libretti

There are available libretti for every known performance of the *Oratorio per la Passione*, as shown in Table 5.2 and Figures 5.3 to 5.8.

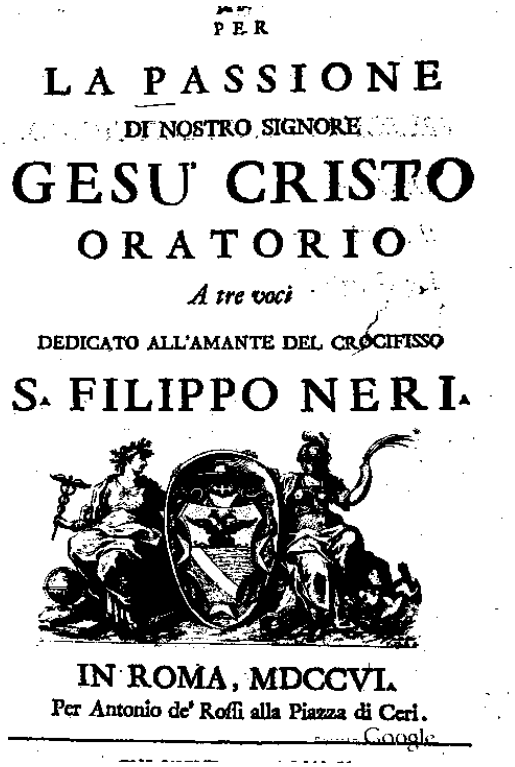
Table 5.2 Existing libretti for the *Oratorio per la Passione*

Year	Title	Publisher	Location
1706	PER LA PASSIONE DI NOSTRO SIGNORE GESÙ CRISTO ORATORIO *A tre voci*	Antonio de' Rossi nella strada alla Piazza di Ceri	D-Mbs I-Rc Vol. Misc. 1245.17; Vol. Misc. 1245.22
1707	As above	Antonio de' Rossi nella strada alla Piazza di Ceri	I-Rn

[30] Stefano La Via noted the lack of records and payments for the 1706–1708 performances but provided information on the payments made for the 1725 revival, La Via, 'Il cardinale Ottoboni, 435, 481. The libretto for the performance at SS. Crocifisso includes a Latin translation. It is undated but bound with another libretto written in 1725. Libretto preserved at I-Rc, Vol. Misc. 740/6.

[31] Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, 'Federico Cristiano in Italia: esperienze musicali di un principe reale polacco', *Musica e storia* 4 (1996), 304.

1708	As above	Antonio de' Rossi nella strada alla Piazza di Ceri	I-Rn, MAG 2028351 (?)
1721	As above	Antontio de'Rossi nella strada del Seminario Romano	I-Rn, MAG 203840
1725	DE PASSIONE DOMINI NOSTRI JESU CHRISTI DRAMA SACRUM	Antonii de Rubeis in via è foro Rotundæ ad Seminarium Romanum	D-Mbs 'Rome, Deutsches Historisches Institut—Rar. Libr. Orat. 18. Jh. 304. (79:613 70) I-Rc Vol. Misc. 740.6; Mus. 720.1
1739	PER LA PASSIONE DI NOSTRO SIGNORE GESÙ CRISTO ORATORIO *A tre voci*	Antonio de' Rossi, vicino alla Rotonda	D-Mbs 36637204420015


PER
LA PASSIONE
DI NOSTRO SIGNORE
GESU' CRISTO
ORATORIO
A tre voci
DEDICATO ALL'AMANTE DEL CROCIFISSO
S. FILIPPO NERI.
IN ROMA, MDCCVI.
Per Antonio de' Rossi alla Piazza di Ceri.

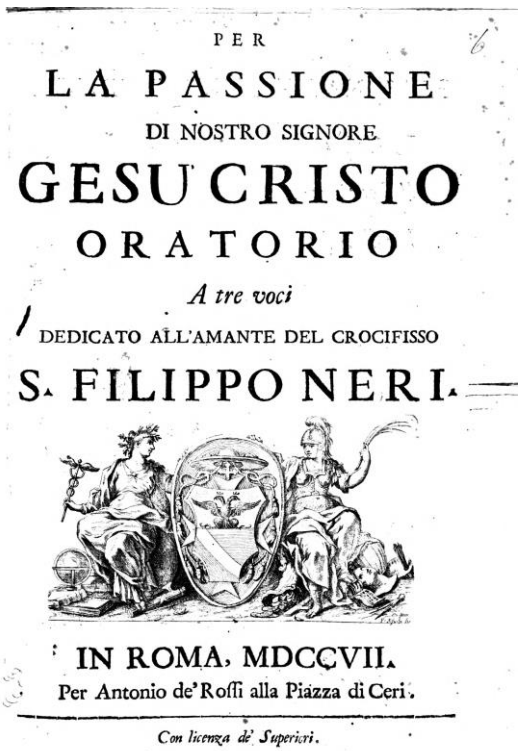

PER
LA PASSIONE
DI NOSTRO SIGNORE
GESU CRISTO
ORATORIO
A tre voci
DEDICATO ALL'AMANTE DEL CROCIFISSO
S. FILIPPO NERI.
IN ROMA, MDCCVII.
Per Antonio de'Rossi alla Piazza di Ceri.
Con licenza de' Superiori.

Figure 5.3 (left) Frontispiece of the libretto for the 1706 performance of *Oratorio per la Passione* at the Cancelleria, the Ottoboni crest can be seen flanked by figures representing the sciences (left) and the arts (right)

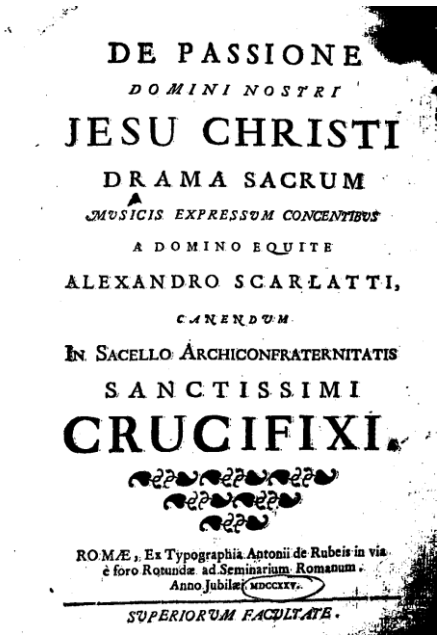
Figure 5.4 (right) Frontispiece of the libretto for the 1707 performance of *Oratorio per la Passione* at the Cancelleria

PER LA PASSIONE
DI NOSTRO SIGNOR
GESU' CRISTO
Oratorio a tre voci
Posto in Muſica dal Signor
ALESSANDRO SCARLATTI
Maeſtro di Cappella della Sacroſanta
Baſilica di S. MARIA MAGGIORE,
DEDICATO ALL'AMANTE DEL CROCIFISSO
S. FILIPPO NERI,
E dall' Eminentiſſimo, e Reverendiſſimo Signor Cardinale
PIETRO OTTHOBONI
VICECANCELLIERE DI S. CHIESA
Fatto Cantare nel Palazzo della Cancelleria
nella Settimana Santa dell' Anno 1708.
IN ROMA, Nella Stamperia di Antonio de' Roſſi
alla Piazza di Ceri. 1708.

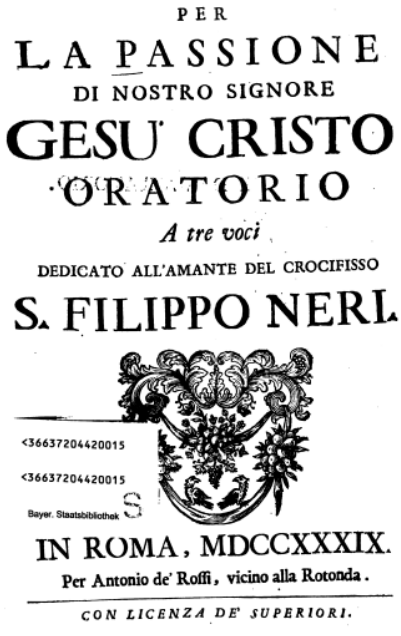
PER
LA PASSIONE
DI NOSTRO SIGNORE
GESU' CRISTO
ORATORIO
A tre voci.
MUSICA DEL SIGNOR CAVALIERE
ALESSANDRO SCARLATTI.
IN ROMA, MDCCXXI.
Per Antonio de' Roſſi nella ſtrada del
Seminario Romano.
Con licenza de' Superiori.

Figure 5.5 (left) Frontispiece of the libretto for the 1708 performance of *Oratorio per la Passione* at the Cancelleria

Figure 5.6 (right) Frontispiece of the libretto for the 1721 performance of *Oratorio per la Passione* at the Seminario Romano. The image on the left is the crest of the Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele II and the image on the right shows a cherub carrying the crucifix



DE PASSIONE
DOMINI NOSTRI
JESU CHRISTI
DRAMA SACRUM
MUSICIS EXPRESSUM CONCENTIBUS
A DOMINO EQUITE
ALEXANDRO SCARLATTI,
CANENDUM
IN SACELLO ARCHICONFRATERNITATIS
SANCTISSIMI
CRUCIFIXI.
ROMÆ, Ex Typographia Antonii de Rubeis in via
è foro Rotundæ ad Seminarium Romanum.
Anno Jubilæi MDCCXXV.
SUPERIORUM FACULTATE.



PER
LA PASSIONE
DI NOSTRO SIGNORE
GESU' CRISTO
ORATORIO
A tre voci
DEDICATO ALL'AMANTE DEL CROCIFISSO
S. FILIPPO NERI.
IN ROMA, MDCCXXXIX.
Per Antonio de' Roſſi, vicino alla Rotonda.
CON LICENZA DE' SUPERIORI.

Figure 5.7 (left) Frontispiece of the libretto for the 1725 performance of *Oratorio per la Passione* at SS. Crocifisso

Figure 5.8 (right) Frontispiece of the libretto for the 1739 performance of *Oratorio per la Passione* at the Palazzo della Cancelleria

The libretti from 1706 and 1707 are identical except for the date on the frontispiece. The 1721 version also features the exact same libretto but does not include the forward by Pietro Ottoboni as in all the other libretti. The 1708 edition is largely the same, but separates some words that are conjoined in most of the other sources, such as 'sulla' becoming 'sù la'. The 1725 does the same but is unique from all the other versions as it contains a full Latin translation of the libretto that is presented alongside the original Italian. It is likely this translation was included because the 1725 performance of the work took place at the SS. Crocifisso, the 'home' of Latin oratorio. Lastly, the 1739 edition is identical to that of the 1706 and 1707 versions except for the absence of two short sections of text in part two of the oratorio.[32] Therefore it is likely that the Dresden manuscript and the 1739 libretto were produced for the same performance, as the same sections of text are absent in both. In all versions of the libretti, the *Lamentations* are differentiated from the freely composed sections using quotation marks.

Scores

It was originally thought that three complete autograph manuscripts of Alessandro Scarlatti's *Oratorio per la Passione di nostro Signore Gesù Cristo* existed. There is a manuscript listed in the archives of the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, but Edward Dent states in his 1905 biography of Scarlatti that, though the work is listed in the library catalogue, it is mysteriously absent from the archives. However, it appears that the manuscript Dent is referring to (MUS 720.1) is actually an edition of the libretto from the 1725 performance of the work, as indicated on the filing card for the item, shown in Figure 5.9, which states there is a libretto only: 'testo latino a fronte risulta soltanto il libretto'.

[32] The libretto and translation in Volume II of this thesis includes the missing excerpts of text from the 1739 libretto and Dresden score but they are bracketed to indicate there is no musical setting. A brief aural analysis of the two movements as they appear in the Wiesentheid score can be found in Table 5.3.

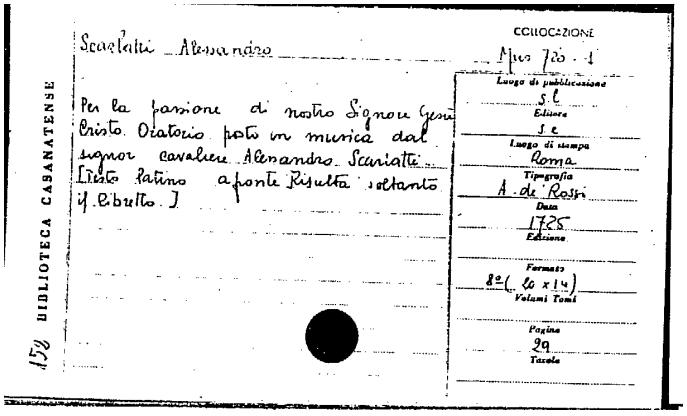


Figure 5.9 I-Rc filing card for the 1725 libretto of the *Oratorio per la Passione*

There is a complete manuscript held in Graf Schönborn's private collection in Wiesentheid. Germany, and there is also a manuscript held at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden (2122-D-5) under the title *Oratorio a 3 voci con stromenti. La Colpa, Il pentimento, La Grazia del sig. Cav. Alessandro Scarlatti.*

The lasting effects of COVID-19 rendered accessing the manuscript at Wiesentheid impossible due to the long-term closures of many libraries and institutions across Europe. Even acquiring digital copies and facsimiles proved extremely difficult as many libraries remain unstaffed. Fortunately, for the purposes of this research I obtained a copy of the 'Dresden' manuscript, which was actually produced in Rome. The source contains 294 20.5cm x 27.5cm pages of music[33] and the original binding has been replaced with an olive-green cover, with the original endpaper partially preserved, as shown in Figure 5.11. The score is undated but due to the paper, markings and notation, the Sächsische Landesbibliothek lists it as being from between 1735 and 1740. If this estimation is correct then the score was made over ten years after Scarlatti's death, possibly for the final

[33] Pagination has been added at the bottom centre of every page of the Dresden score by a later hand and the top left and top right of some pages feature numbering to indicate *recto* and *verso* pages during production.

performance of the oratorio endorsed by Ottoboni, Lent 1739, the year before the Cardinal's death.

Dent believed that the manuscript may have been altered by Ottoboni's protégé and Scarlatti's former pupil, Johann Adolf Hasse (1699–1783). On the titlepage of the Dresden score is a faded note in Dent's handwriting stating 'NB. Not everything has come from Scarlatti. It has been shortened by Hasse. See the inserted notes. Yours, Mr Dent'.[34] Sadly, as Dent's 'notes' are no longer inside the manuscript, but we know that Hasse had previously reworked arias from Scarlatti's opera *La Griselda* (1721) in what Sven Hansell believed was an exercise in composition. Since it is only some arias that appear different in the Dresden manuscript, and all recitatives remain exactly the same, it may be that Hasse reworked certain movements from the second part of the oratorio as personal exercises. Hasse's marriage certificate indicated that during the early 1730s the composer spent several months in Venice, Bologna, Florence and Rome before settling in Naples for seven years, where he converted to Catholicism. Thus, it may be that Hasse completed his edits of the *Oratorio per la Passione* during his months in Rome.[35]

In an article published in 2013, Claudio Bacciagaluppi and Janice B. Stockigt provide a wealth of information about Neapolitan manuscripts in Dresden libraries.[36] From their work it is possible to deduce something of the history of the Dresden manuscript of Scarlatti's *Oratorio per la Passione*. It seems to have belonged to Maria Antonia Walpurgis, Kurfürstin

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[34] 'Nicht alles dürfte von Scarlatti stammen. Von Hasse verkürzt. Vgl. Die Zetteleinlagen.' Unfortunately, Dent's notes are now no longer inside the manuscript. Dent incorrectly stated the year of composition as 1708. See Edward J. Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti: His Life and Works* (London: Edward Arnold, 1905), 114–115, 211. Pasquetti referenced Dent but stated the year as 1707, Guido Pasquetti, *L'oratorio musicale in Italia* (Florence: Successori le Monnier, 1906), 298; as did Bianchi, Roberto Pagano, Lino Bianchi and Giancarlo Rostirolla in, *Alessandro Scarlatti* (Turin: ERI, 1972), 305.

[35] Sven Hansell, 'Johann Adolf [Adolph] Hasse', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001).

[36] Claudio Bacciagaluppi and Janice B. Stockigt 'Italian Manuscripts of Sacred Music in Dresden: The Neapolitan Collection of 1738–1740', *Fonti Musicali Italiane*, 141 (2013). For more information on the acquisition of the Roman score by Dresden library see Claudio Bacciagaluppi, *Rom, Prag, Dresden – Pergolesi und die neapolitanische Messe in Europa* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2010), 163, 170.

von Sachsen (1724–1780), a harpsichordist, singer, painter, composer, and patron active in Munich and Dresden during the eighteenth century. Her collection of sacred works by Italian composers – the Königliche Privat – Musikaliensammlung – is now housed in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek.[37]

A table referring to Neapolitan music in Dresden between 1738 and 1740 lists the copyist of the *Oratorio per la Passione* as Durante A and shows the watermark as No. 7. Durante, according to Bacciagaluppi and Stockigt, is the only recurring Roman hand in the Dresden collection.[38] Figure 5.10 shows the *fleur-de-lys* watermark – the flower in a double circle above the letter 'V' – that appears twice in the Dresden manuscript and is analysed in Bacciagaluppi's and Stockigt's article and proven to be a Roman watermark, almost identical to the Roman watermark shown in Edward Heawood's 1952 study on watermarks of the seventeenth and eighteen centuries.[39] In short, the manuscript of the *Oratorio per la Passione* now held at the Sächsische Landesbibliothek.was inherited from the private collection of Maria Antonia Walpurgis. It is on Roman paper, with a Roman watermark and written by a Roman hand, suggesting that the manuscript was produced in Rome.

Figure 5.10: Watermark as shown in the Dresden score of the *Oratorio per la Passione*

[37] Listed in D/Dl Arch III Hb 787g (Catalogue of Maria Antonia), cabinet 3, shelf 1, 160.
[38] Bacciagaluppi, 'Italian Manuscripts', 165.
[39] Heawood's No. 1592 (Rome, 1739). Edward Heawood, *Watermarks: Mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries* (Hilversum: Paper Publications Society, 1950, 1986).

There are several arias that quite drastically differ in the Dresden manuscript and the Wiesentheid manuscript, particularly in the second part of the oratorio, where almost every one is different. Although access to the Wiesentheid manuscript was not possible for the presentation of this research, Michael Schneider directed a recording of the oratorio in 1992 using the Wiesentheid score, so a close aural analysis was completed to highlight the differing movements in both versions of the oratorio, the results of which can be seen in Table 5.3. For the most part, the musical analysis in the present study focuses only on movements that appear identical in both manuscripts (unless indicated). However, for movements such as the final trio of the oratorio ('O Croce, unica speme'), both the recording of the Wiesentheid and transcription of the Dresden have been taken into account when analysing the music.

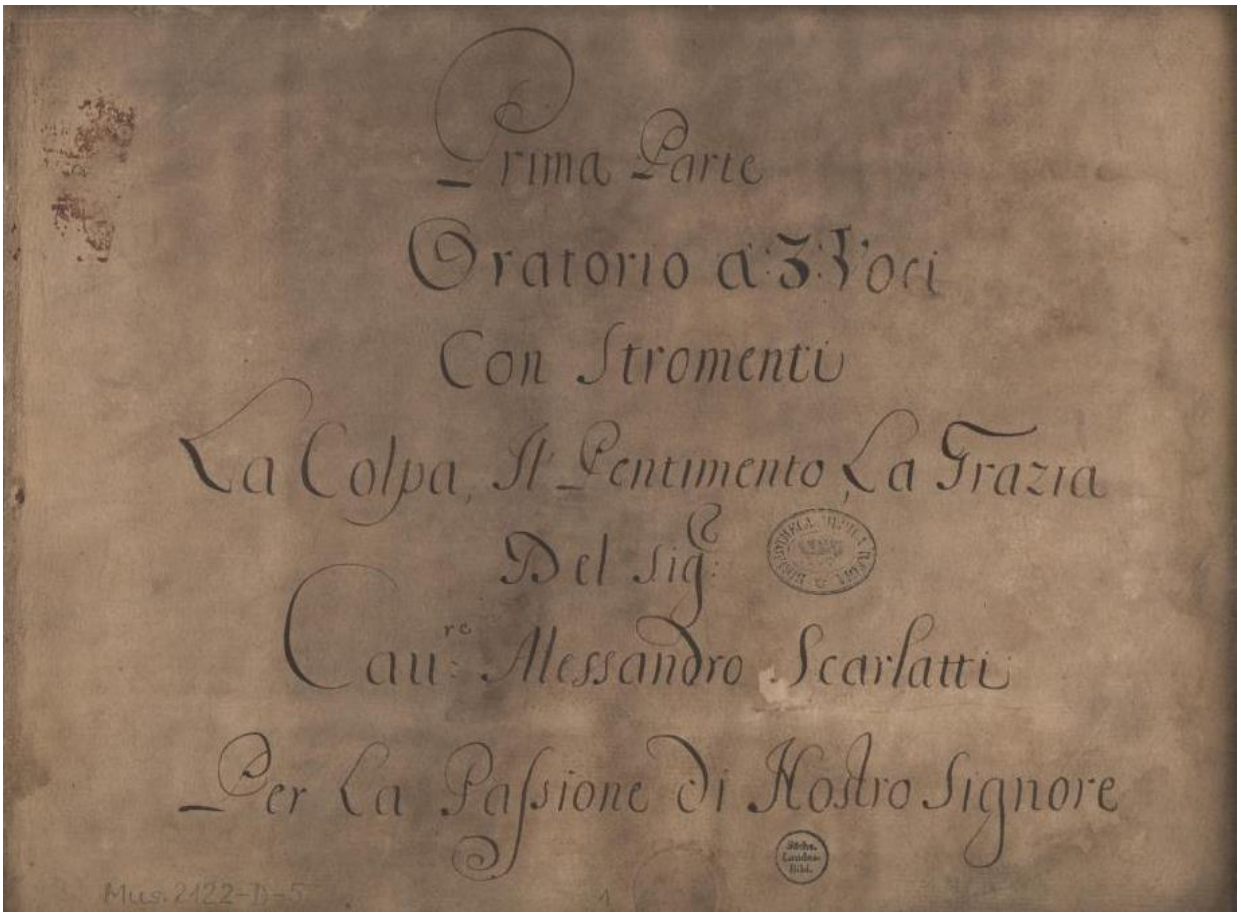

Figure 5.11 Endpaper of the Dresden manuscript of the *Oratorio per la Passione*

Table 5.3 Differing movements in the Dresden and Wiesentheid manuscripts of the *Oratorio per la Passione*

Recording used is Michael Schneider conducting La Stagione Orchestra with singers from La Stagione Vocal Ensemble (La Colpa, Il Pentimento, La Grazia, Capriccio C5126 (2012). *The recording is made at A=415. Bar number totals for da capo arias include the repeat.*

Movement	Text	Dresden (Manuscript)	Wiesentheid (Recording)	Comments
8, *aria*, 'Gerusalem pentita' (Colpa)	Penitent Jerusalem, beg your God for pity. Weep for your sin, and hope that at the end your peace will descend from the realm above.	1. 86 bars, da capo 2. B flat Major 3. 3/4 4. Mvt. 7 ends with rests (silence) 5. Melody is mostly doubled by violins 6. More sombre by comparison due to time signature, rhythms and dynamics	1. 49 bars 2. B flat Major 3. 12/8 4. No stop between mvts. 7 and 8 – a bar of accompaniment bridges the two movements together 5. Voice is its own line, weaving counterpoint against the strings, very decorated 6. Jolly and jaunty feel focuses more on the positive aspects of the text	• Both are scored for the same instruments.
11, d*uetto*, 'Piangerò/Piangi, pur' (Grazia and Pentimento)	I will weep! Weep then, for I can bring solace only by your weeping. I will weep, for I hope to gain solace only by my weeping. Through you, welcome tears, I will heal those wounds that cause you/me such cruel torment.	1. 109 bars 2. E minor 3. 3/4 4. Opening 'Piangerò' not repeated, different ending to opening phrase 5. Generally more homophonic and less embellished than the Wiesentheid, (this could be down to the artistic choices of performers) 6. Stop start into B section 7. B section mostly in simple homophony, with frequent movement in thirds and sixths	1. 144 bars 2. E minor 3. 3/4 4. Opening motif is followed by additional instrumental sectional. Slightly abridged opening phrase in vocal line 5. Greater use of embellishment in melody line 6. B section tied into A section 7. Continued use of call and response and canons in B section	• Same opening motif is used in both versions with a I-VII-I chord progression • Both contain similar cannon entries into the second phrase (but dotted rhythms used in Wiesentheid and straight rhythms used in Dresden). Both phrases end with the voices in homophony
14, *Aria*, 'Gerusalem non ha dove posare' (Colpa)	Jerusalem has nowhere to set her feet if she sinned against heaven. The glory and beauty that she treacherously lost are changed to lamentation.	1. 41 bars, no da capo 2. G minor 3. 3/8 4. Short and simple movement 5. Violin duet with no cello	1. 73 bars 2. G Minor 3. 12/8 4. Longer and more elaborate movement, frequent repetition of text	

			5. Cello and voice only, until closing *ritornello* when the violins join	
16, *Aria*, 'Mira signor'	O Lord, see my pain. In mercy/pity turn your gaze To the extreme peril in which I lie.	1. 25 bars, no da capo 2. F minor 3. 4/4 4. Solo voice serving melodic function, passages in between sung sections mostly fugal, with slightly unstable tonal centre in the middle of the movement 5. Through composed without repeats	1. 77 bars 2. A Minor (different key) 3. 6/8 4. Duet with a solo violin, other instrumentation mainly serving harmonic function. Equal voices, shifting and changing which is the upper part 5. Da capo aria	
19, *Aria*, 'Io vorrei, che in me discesa'	I would like a flame of holy love to descend to me and melt the ice of my heart, and I would like the memory of all sins to be lost, Then my sorrow would take on a joyful approach.	1. 92 bars 2. D Major 3. 3/4 4. Both violins in unison throughout. When singer is performing, violins double the melody, then break away between singer's phrases to provide melody in the accompaniment 5. Lower voiced trombone duet, mostly in instrumental sections	1. 108 bars 2. D major 3. 2/4 4. Duet between viola Pentimento. Viola occasionally moves as its own independent 'bass' part, with upper strings moving in thirds whilst interacting with the singer.	
10 bar instrumental movement between mvts. 19 and 20 in the Wiesentheid manuscript (shifts the atmosphere). *Mvt. 21 has no da capo in the Wiesentheid manuscript*				
24, *Aria*, 'Penso al tuo Dio trasitto'	Think of your tortured God, and think of your offenses, that condemned him to death. Condemn your will, which has the power to be free and yet freely sins.	1. 62 bars 2. D Major 3. 4/4 4. Violins mostly joining together in instrumental interludes. Variety of rhythms used: straight, triplets and dotted semiquavers. Violins have a dual function of doubling melody and fleshing out chords in accompaniment	1. 66 bars 2. B minor 3. 4/4 (2 2/4 bars) 4. Accompanying instruments are in unison for the most part, providing countermelody to the vocal part. Unison makes way for fuller accompaniment in the closing ritornello 5. Repetitive use of ♩♬ rhythm throughout, contrasting to the varied rhythms in Dresden score	• Relative minor key used • Both versions use the descending fifth figure on opening word 'Pensa', which is then repeated.

Embellished melisma at the end of mvt. 25 in the Wiesentheid edition				
26, *Aria*, 'Figli miei, spietati figli'	My sons, pitiless sons, what has your God done to you? Why do you arm yourselves with scorn? Answer! Ah, be not guided By your false heart which deprives you of homeland and reign.	1. 183 bars 2. F Minor 3. 2/4 4. Much more frantic due to the constant semiquavers 5. Prominent use of the descending arpeggio figure from 'Fosco orrore'	1. 120 bars 2. D Minor 3. 4/4 4. Descending arpeggio motif in the tonic key appears fleetingly in the strings	
Missing movements in the Dresden edition are set either side of 'Ingrato core' (Mvt. 28) in the Wiesentheid edition, in accordance with the libretti.				
N/A	You are the cause of my lamentation. I prize your grief. Too little do I grieve You grieve too much When I think of my heavy sin. That you disarm all severity.	*Not set in the Dresden score*	1. 140 bars 2. Bb major 3. 2/4, instrumental quick triplets give it the feeling of compound time 4. Duet between soprano and alto, conversion between 2 voices. Rarely homophonic 5. Soprano feature of scaling ascent up to A5 at the very end of the movement	
N/A	No, O redeemed heart, I will not let you be ungrateful to you wounded Lord. Abandon Sin, guide your hope to the shore, with the breath of Repentance's sighs.	*Not set in the Dresden score*	1. 111 bars 2. A major 3. 2/4 4. String duets moving in 6ths for accompaniment. Seems to mostly be in conversation with the countertenor, rarely sounding together	
33, *Aria*, 'Qual rugiada, che il prato seconda'	Like the serene and joyous dew that fertilises the field, I will descend into you; and I shall be able to change the thorns you now feel pricking into sweet pleasures.	1. 200 bars 2. C Major (brief, striking shift to the minor tonality in the introduction) 3. 2/4 4. Strings mostly in unison with the soprano melody but during melismatic semiquaver runs they serve more of a harmonic function	1. 196 bars 2. C Major 3. 4/4. Regular triplets often give the movement the feeling of being in a compound time 4. Strings serving melodic function in instrumental sections	• Lots of long, stepwise, melismatic passages • Minor B section in both settings

		5. Prominent feature is sequence of descending thirds in the melody.		
35, *Aria*, 'Io ti sento nel mio seno'	I feel you in my heart, O divine eternal love. But if you, rendered perfect, make a loving soul blessed, what enduring prize can my heart have, if from my breast you at one sooth every sorrow?	1. 90 bars 2. G major 3. 3/4 4. Melody doubled by the violins, serving melodic function to bridge gaps between vocalists phrases	1. 191 bars 2. G major 3. 4/4 (with 3 2/4 bars) 4. Minor tonality for B section 5. Viola sometimes supporting the vocalist, moving parallel with the melody. 6. Violins play exclusively in between sung sections	
37, *Aria*, 'Ma se l'uman potere'	But if human power is barely equal to such ferocious pain; then strengthen your heart's desire in love and faith.	1. 60 bars 2. A Major, jubilant feel, playing on the second stanza of the text 3. 4/4 4. Violins serving mostly a harmonic function alongside harpsichord, apart from in sections without singer 5. Use of diminished tonality in the middle section	1. 79 bars 2. F# minor, gives the effect that this version focuses on the darker, more painful aspects of the text 3. 6/8 4. Sparse accompaniment, no use of harpsichord, violin echo / counter-melody in conversation with vocalist	• Elements of diminished tonality / tonal ambiguity in both settings
Embellishment at the end of mvt. 38 in the Wiesentheid edition				
40, *Trio*, 'O Croce unica speme'	O Cross, sole hope of mortals who groan in their chains, if your precious fruit gave freedom to the world, guide the souls of all believers to God on high.	1. 48 bars 2. D Major 3. 3/4 4. Trio of vocalists used 5. Much fuller accompaniment than in previous movements. Strings regularly also provide melodic function	1. 71 bars 2. D major 3. 2/2 4. Quartet of vocalists (SATB) used 5. Very slow tempo and harmonic rhythm. Sustained periods where just one chord is used 6. Use of percussion, very grand and regal feeling	

OTTOBONI'S LITURGICALLY INSPIRED LIBRETTO AND SCARLATTI'S MUSICAL RESPONSE

In the *Oratorio per la Passione* Cardinal Ottoboni weaves the liturgies of Holy Wednesday and Good Friday into a penitential dialogue between the three characters: Colpa (Sin), Grazia (Grace) and Pentimento (Penitence). These personifications discuss aspects of original sin through allegory, and their discourse is interspersed with quotations and paraphrasings from the gospel text; rather than adopting the standard conversational recitative followed by reflective aria structure that was popular in other oratorios of the period. The text of the six sections of accompanied recitative in the first part is a poetical paraphrasing of the first fourteen verses of the *Lamentations of Jeremiah*. Despite oratorios of the period mostly focusing on biographical accounts of saints, Old and New Testament stories or ideas around Christian virtues, it is highly unusual for a libretto to contain such extensive passages of explicit references to the Bible.

Alongside these unique sections are the usual arias one would expect to find in opera and oratorio of the time. There are fifteen arias and ariosos in total, eight of which are sung by Colpa, four by Pentimento and three by Grazia. The first part of the work also includes two duets, and both parts conclude with trios. This blend of long passages of *recitativo accompagnato* dispersed between reflective, yet often highly dramatic arias demonstrate the uniqueness of this work. Most of the arias feature a da capo which, by the end of the seventeenth century became the standard form – particularly in the cantata and *opera seria* – due to the perfect balance it achieved in terms of time, drama, poetry and music.[40]

Arcangelo Spagna stated that use of the da capo aria in oratorios was acceptable as long as the text still made sense with the repeat, which in the case of the *Oratorio per la*

[40] Don Michael Randel (ed.), *The Harvard Dictionary of Music* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2003), 54.

Passione is true.[41] It could even be argued that the messages of some of the arias in the work are enhanced by the da capo, particularly in movements such as 'Fosco orrore' where the poetry of the first stanza is so heavily laden with references to darkness that the repetition serves to further enrich its meaning.

The soloists in the *Oratorio per la Passione* are accompanied mostly by strings and continuo, with select movements also including trumpet, trombone and timpani. The inclusion of brass, particularly the trumpet, is immediately associated with majesty and heroism, thanks to the trumpet's highly practical use as a signal instrument in a military context.[42] The use of the timpani in the seventeenth-century was not restricted to military performance, but was introduced to church music with the emergence of pitched percussion. As John Michael Cooper states: 'the timpani could be used wherever trumpets were present; and trumpets could be added wherever a piece was performed to suggest a courtly or festive occasion'.[43]

The oratorio begins with a three-part sinfonia, (mvt.1, p. 33–36) (*allegro – grave – presto*), with the opening *allegro* – featuring trumpet fanfares and the timpani – never deviating from the key of D Major. Such a jubilant opening is a demonstration of Scarlatti's gift for setting the scene as the *sinfonia* is almost a microcosm of the drama to follow, and a pre-emption of Christ's ultimate victory over death.

The Old Testament contains no less than 129 references to trumpets, used in widely varying contexts such as announcements, summons, festivities as well as signals of public safety and military strategy. Thus, it is relatively unsurprising that the trumpet was generally

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[41] Arcangelo Spagna, 'Discorso intorno à gl'oratorii' in *Oratorii overo melodrammi sacri con un discorso dogmatico intorno l'istessa materia* (Rome: Francesco Buagni, 1706), 16.
[42] For a retrospective account of traditional early modern trumpet performance practices see; Johann Ernst Altenberg, *Versuch einer Antleitung zur heroisch-musikalischen Trompeter – und Pauker-Kunst* (Halle, 1700/1795), trans. Edward H. Tarr as *Essay on an Introduction to the Heroic and Musical Trumpeters' and Kettledrummers' Art* (Nashville: Brass Press, 1974).
[43] John Michael Cooper, 'Percussion Instruments and their Usage' in *Performer's Guide to Seventeenth-Century Music*, 2nd edition, ed. Stewart Carter (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2012), 164

accepted as the representation of a military, war-like atmosphere in the context of European seventeenth-century music.[44] The trumpet is also referenced figuratively in the Bible, such as in Isaiah 58:1, 'Cry, cease not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet' and eschatologically, as in Isaiah 27: 12-13:

> And it shall come to pass, that in that day the Lord will strike from the channel of the river even to the torrent of Egypt, and you shall be gathered together one by one, O ye children of Israel. And it shall come to pass, that in that day a noise shall be made with a great trumpet, and they that were lost, shall come from the land of the Assyrians, and they that were outcasts in the land of Egypt, and they shall adore the Lord in the holy mount in Jerusalem. A great trumpet…the preaching of the gospel for the conversation of the Jews.'[45]

When considering the extensive references to trumpets in the Old Testament, it is of no shock that the instrument became an omnipresent emblem of grandeur as well as a symbol of divine right and majesty at the hands of early modern composers.[46] The use of both trumpets and the militaristic key of D Major in the opening movement of the *Oratorio per la Passione* is representative of Sin's unwavering confidence in his own power.

The second section of the sinfonia – the *grave* – seems a more suiting precursor to the crucifixion. The opening bar of this section begins with three consecutive chords in D Major, before abruptly shifting to G Major 7. The dissonance between the G and F# of the first and second violins in this chord creates a striking change in mood after the previously harmonically-static section (mvt.1, b. 16^1, p. 35). Unlike in the *allegro*, there is no obvious

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[44] During the Thirty Years War the trumpet was used to give troop signals and – as discussed by multiple historians – military engagements during the *Seicento* were often won or lost depending on how quickly cavalries to respond to orders communicated via trumpet calls. For a retrospective account of traditional early modern trumpet performance practices see; Johann Ernst Altenberg, *Versuch einer Antleitung zur heroisch-musikalischen Trompeter – und Pauker-Kunst* (Halle, 1700/1795), trans. Edward H. Tarr as *Essay on an Introduction to the Heroic and Musical Trumpeters' and Kettledrummers' Art* (Nashville: Brass Press, 1974).
[45] James A. Bowland, 'The Meaning and Identification of God's Eschatological Trumpets', *SOR Faculty Publications and Presentations,* https://digitalcommons.liberty.edu/sor_fac_pubs/78, [accessed 10 December 2022], 66–67. See also Eric Werner, 'Musical Instruments', *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* ed. George A. Buttrick (Nashville, Tennessee: Abingdon Press, 1962), 3:472. Isiah 58:1 and 27:12-13 taken from *The Holy Bible: Douay Rheims Version* tr. Richard Challoner (Illinois: Saint Benedict Press & Tan Books, 2009).
[46] Don L. Smithers, 'The Baroque Trumpet after 1721: some preliminary observations. Part Two: function and use', *Early Music*, 6/3 (1978), 359.

melody, but three successive four beat phrases, each finishing on an unresolved chord (Major 7, Minor 7 and Diminished 7 respectively), as through the movement is being constantly interrupted. This is amplified by the two beat rests between the phrases, giving these bars a stagnated and laboured feeling of instability before moving into bb. 22-30 which contain wide leaps in dotted rhythms and harmony that moves from D Major to F# minor, reflecting the idea that the *sinfonia* takes the listener from a jubilant opening into a darker space anticipating the trauma of the crucifixion.

This sombre section moves briskly into the brief, yet highly energetic *presto* section that ends with the dominant chord of A major in preparation to continuously flow into the first aria. The contrast of the gut-wrenching dissonances of the *grave* in between the jubilant opening *allegro* and final *presto* lends itself well to the painful reality of the crucifixion followed by Christ's ultimate redemption and salvation.

Part One

The language used by Ottoboni in the opening aria establishes the ground for the later Tenebrae references in the libretto. 'Tenebrae' is a Latin word signifying darkness and shadows and the name of office of Tenebrae is taken from the opening words of the fifth responsory: 'Tenebrae facta sunt' ('darkness came over the whole land'). Sung on the last three days of holy week, each Tenebrae service has its own theme – Thursday: betrayal, Friday: judgement, crucifixion and death and Saturday: hope and salvation – all of which can be found in Ottoboni's libretto for the *Oratorio per la Passione*.[47]

The Tenebrae on Holy Thursday focuses on the world descending from light into darkness.[48] This idea is reflected in both the 1706 and 1708 performances, at which the stages

[47] Frederick C. Elwood 'Introduction', *In the Shadows of Holy Week* ed. John L. Hooker (New York: Church Publishing, 1996), v.
[48] Ibid, iv.

were adorned in black velvet and the halls were in darkness, illuminated only by candlelight, as stated in an entry from Francesco Valesio's *Diario di Roma*:

> Wednesday [April] 4…and this evening Cardinal Ottoboni had performed in his palace of the Cancelleria a most beautiful oratorio with music on the Passion of the Redeemer; the large room where it was sung was adorned with golden laced damask, and when a place opened where there was a crucifix, some black devices fell immediately to cover he walls.[49]

The text – which Lino Bianchi describes as 'evoking pain from the depths of the abyss' – concentrates on the agonising grief and suffering of the Passion story, providing an opportunity for Scarlatti to compose with intense expression.[50] As Colpa proudly describes the darkness surrounding the earth, Christ hangs lifeless on the cross:

Fosco orrore il tutto ingombra:	Dark horror shrouds all the world:
Ecco il Sol cangiato in ombra,	Behold the sun changed to darkness,
Ecco il Suolo, ecco le Sfere	Behold the earth, behold the spheres
Scosse al fin dal mio potere,	Shaken to the limit by my power,
Che maggior esser non può.	Of which nothing can be greater.
Sassi durissimi, che vi frangete,	Hard rocks that you break,
Monti saldissimi, che vi scuotete,	Steadfast mountains that you shake,
Freddi cadaveri, che vi destate,	Cold corpses that you revive,
La cagion ben dimostrate,	You well show the cause
Che sì forte v'agitò. ***Da capo***	That wrought such might. ***Da capo***

In the first stanza, the arpeggiated melody and constant movement in thirds and fourths harks back to the fanfare opening of the *sinfonia*. However, instead of pre-empting God's victory over death after the Passion, we are lauding the unshakeable and ever-present force of Sin. The continued use of the jubilant D Major, often associated with battle music, reinforces the confidence exuded by Sin as the world is physically shaken by his power.

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[49] 'Mercordi 4:…e questa sera il Card.le Ottoboni fece recitare nel suo palazzo della Cancelleria un beliss.o Oratorio in Musica sopra la passione del Redentore, era la gran stanza in cui si canto apparata du damaschi trinati d'oro et all'apriari [sic] un luogo nel quale era un Crocofisso. Calarono subitem.te à ricoprire le mura alcuni apparati nergi', Francesco Valesio, *Diario di Roma* ed. Gaetana Scano (Milan: Longansesi, 1977–1979) [*AC* 1966 provides the original numbers of volumes and pages quotes], IV, 55 tr. in Ursula Kirkendale, *Antonio Caldara: Life and Venetian Oratorios* trns. Warren Kirkendale, (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1977), 50.
[50] Bianchi et al., *Alessandro Scarlatti*, 306–308.

Scarlatti interprets Ottoboni's striking rhetorical repetition of the word 'ecco' ('behold') with a rising sequence leading to the word 'shaken'. Employing *hypotyposis,* Scarlatti is quite literally interprets the word 'scosse' ('shaken'), using a dotted rhythm alternating between the given note and the note above (mvt. 2, bb. 7-21, p. 37).

The prevalent use of dotted rhythms in the strings in the opening few bars of the second semi-strophe creates an agitated, almost unnerving sense of the chaos wreaked by Sin on the earth. This is exacerbated further by the ascending scale in the melody as Colpa sings of reviving cold corpses and again by Ottobni's repetition of 'che vi' ('that you'), emphasising the powerful descriptions of Sin's supremacy and strength, The movement then returns to the opening stanza for the *da capo* – which is fully written out in the Dresden score – before closing with a grand, arpeggiated *codetta* from the strings. This regal ending creates a stark contrast to the description of Jesus' lifeless body hanging from the tree sung by Colpa in the opening recitative, which creates an almost eerie quietness and calm compared to the grandeur that precedes it.

Many of the remaining movements in the first part are largely derived from the first fourteen verses of the *Lamentations of Jeremiah*, translated from the original Latin into the vernacular, paraphrased and expanded by Ottoboni to form poetic strophes.[51] Table 5.4 shows Ottoboni's libretto and the translation alongside the Latin vulgate and the translation. Even from the first verse (Adelph) it is obvious that Ottoboni is using much more descriptive language, enhancing the intensity of the text. For instance, simple phrases such as 'tears are on her cheeks' from the second verse (Beth) of the original Lamentations becomes 'sad tears that flow bathe her face like a torrent' and 'all her gates are broken down' from verse four (Daleth) becomes 'the towers and the high walls lie shattered in ruins in the grass and sand'.

[51] Following the Hebrew text, each Lamentation is prefaced by a successive letter of the Hebrew alphabet (Aleph, Beth, Ghimel, Daleth, He, Vau, Zain, Heth, Teth, Jod, Caph, Lamed, Mem, Nun). In the translation of the libretto in Volume II, I have marked the verses from the *Lamentations of Jeremiah* according to said Hebrew letters in the column stating which character is speaking.

This creates more vivid imagery and opportunities for Scarlatti to word paint and compose an evocative musical setting. In this instance, as Colpa ends the phrase, the strings echo each other with descending arpeggiated semi-quavers, conjuring the image of the walls tumbling down (mvt.7, bb.15-16, p.54).

Table 5.4 Ottoboni's poetical interpretation of the *Lamentations of Jeremiah*

Verse	Ottoboni's Libretto[52]	English Translation[53]	Vulgate[54]	English Translation[55]
	***Mvt. 5 – Recitativo accompagnato* (Pentimento)**			
Adelph	Come sola rimane l'infelice Sion, non d'altro piena, che di popolo infido, empio, e crudele? Quasi vedova resa e'la re[g]ina delle genti, e geme benchè sovrana di provincie, e regni, serva, e soggetta sotto vil tributo.	*How solitary remains* *unhappy Zion, filled with none but faithless, ungodly, and cruel people?* *The queen of the nations is become like a surrendered widow, once ruler of the Gentiles, she groans; once sovereign of provinces and kingdoms, now a servant and subjected to vile condemnation.*	Quomodo sedet sola civitas plena populo! Facta est quasi vidua domina gentium; princeps provinciarum facta est sub tributo.	*How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people! How is the mistress of the Gentiles become as a widow: the princes of provinces made tributary!*
	***Mvt. 6 – Aria* (Pentimento)**			
Ghimel	Spinta dal duolo, fra le catene Guida mestissima ram[m]inga andò. Tra folte schiere pace non trova, Anzi alle piaghe, piaghe rinnova, Allor, che cerca tregua à sue pene Da quegl'ingrati, che tanto amò.	*Driven by grief, disconsolate Judah* *set forth on its wanderings in chains.* *Among dense crowds it finds no peace* *rather its wounds, its wounds are renewed,* *for it seeks respite from its pains* *from those ungrateful ones, whom it loved so much.*	Migravit Judas propter afflictionem, et multitudinem servitutis; habitavit inter gentes, nec invenit requiem: omnes persecutores ejus apprehenderunt eam inter angustias.	*Juda hath removed her dwelling place, because of her affliction, and the greatness of her bondage; she hath found no rest; all her persecutors have taken her in the midst of straits.*
	***Mvt. 7 – Recitativo accompagnato* (Colpa)**			
Daleth	Le strade di Sion neglette sono da chi solea con sacro rito, e pio portare al velte ricchi doni, e i voti. Le torri, e l'alte mura fra l'erba, e fra l'arena caddero infrante; i sacerdoti mesti, le vergini smarrite, ed ella stessa nel suo interno martire oppressa giace	*The streets of Zion are deserted by those who, with sacred and pious rites, once brought rich gifts and prayers to the temple.* *The towers and the high walls lie shattered in ruins in the grass and sand:* *the sorrowful priests,* *the lost virgins and Zion herself lie oppressed by their inner grief*	Viae Sion lugent, eo quod non sint qui veniant ad solemnitatem: omnes portae ejus destructae, sacerdotes ejus gementes; 1velte1 ejus squalidae, et ipsa oppressa amaritudine.	*The ways of Sion mourn, because there are none that come to the solemn feast: all her gates are broken down; her priests sigh; her virgins are in affliction; and she is oppressed with bitterness.*
He	l'inimico rapace fatto signor di lei, con le sue spoglie s'adorna, e sazia, poiche il cielo offeso parlò così sù la [sulla] città infelice, per tanti falli resa al ciel molesta. E dal materno seno i pargoletti figli velte dal vincitor, passan fra ceppi con nuovo, e acerbo duolo della misera madre, a cui non giova preghiera, o pianto, e morte sol desia.	*The ravenous enemy, now becomes* *her lord, he adorns himself with her spoils b ecause the offended heaven spoke to the sorrowful city, made wearisome to heaven by so many faults and torments.* *From the mother's breast* *the little children were torn by the conqueror they pass with new, bitter woe in chains before their wretched mother, to whom prayers and tears are of no avail and who longs only for death.*	Facti sunt hostes ejus in capite; inimici ejus locupletati sunt: quia Dominus locutus est super eam propter multitudinem iniquitatum ejus. Parvuli ejus ducti sunt in captivitatem ante faciem tribulantis	*Her adversaries are become her lords; her enemies are enriched; because the Lord hath spoken against her for the multitude of her iniquities her children are led into captivity, before the face of the oppressor.*

[52] Pietro Ottoboni, *Per la Passione di nostro Signore Gesù Cristo* (Rome: Antonio de'Rossi, 1706).

[53] For the full translation of the libretto see Volume II. Lionel Salter provided a translation of the libretto in the liner notes of Michael Schneider's 1991 recording of the *Oratorio per la Passione*, however, due to the number of inaccuracies a new translation is provided by the editor in Volume II, in the hope of providing a more truthful reflection of Ottoboni's poetry. See Salter's translation in [liner notes], Alessandro Scarlatti, La Colpa, il Pentimento, la Grazia, Capriccio C5126 (1992), 14–43.

[54] Lamentationes 1:1-10 taken from *Biblia Sacra Vulgata* ed. A. Colunga and L. Turrado (Madrid: La Editorial Cattólica, 1946).

[55] Lamentations 1:1-10 taken from *The Holy Bible: Douay Rheims Version* tr. Richard Challoner (Illinois: Saint Benedict Press & Tan Books, 2009).

	***Mvt. 13 – Recitativo accompagnato* (Colpa)**			
Vau	La Figlia di Sion non ha piu in volto. L'usata maestà; privi di scorta muovono i duci suo i (suoi) l'errante passo, come smarrito gregge, che l'ovile più non ritrovi, e timidi, e confuse si rendon preda all'altrui voglie ingorde.	*The daughter of Zion has no beauty left in her face.* *The used majesty; without escort* *her princes make their way like a* *confused flock that cannot find their pen,* *and timidly and in bewilderment fall* *prey to other greedy longings.*	Et egressus est a filia Sion omnis decor ejus; facti sunt principes ejus velut arietes non invenientes pascua, et abierunt absque fortitudine ante faciem subsequentis.	*And from the daughters of Sion, all her beauty is departed; her princes are become like rams that find no pastures; and they are gone away without strength before the face of the pursuer.*
Zain	Gerusalem rivolge il pensiero a quei giorni per lei di tanto affanno, giorni di tant'orrore [tanti orrori]i, e tanto scorno, quando il popolo suo cadde in mano al nemico, senza trovar, chi a lui porgesse aita. Allor, che il vincitore fissò in lei con disprezzo il guardo, e prese il dì piu sacro, e piu solenne a gioco.	*Jerusalem recalls,* *and thinks of those days of such* *affliction for her,* *days of such horror and such shame,* *when her people fell into the* *hand of the enemy,* *without finding anyone* *who could give her aid, when the defender* *fixed his gaze on her with contempt and* *made mock of her most sacred and solemn day.*	Recordata est Jerusalem dierum afflictionis suae, et praevaricationis, omnium desiderabilium suorum, quae habuerat a diebus antiquis, cum caderet populus ejus in manu hostili, et non esset auxiliator: viderunt eam hostes, et deriserunt sabbata ejus.	*Jerusalem hath remembered the days of her affliction, and prevarication of all ger desirable things which she had from the days of old, when her people fell in the enemy's hand, and there was no helper; the enemies have seen her, and have mocked her sabbaths.*
	***Mvt. 14 – Aria* (Colpa)**			
Heth	Gerusalem non ha dove posare il piè, se contro il ciel peccò. La gloria, e la beltà, che infida già perdè, In gemiti cangiò. ***Da capo***	*Jerusalem has nowhere* *to set her feet* *if she sinned against heaven.* *The glory and beauty* *that she treacherously lost* *are changed to lamentation.* ***Da capo***	Peccatum peccavit Jerusalem, propterea instabilis facta est; omnes qui glorificabant eam spreverunt illam, quia viderunt ignominiam ejus: ipsa autem gemens conversa est retrorsum.	*Jerusalem hath grievously sinned, therefore is she become unstable; all that honoured her, have despised her, because they have seen her shame; but she sighed, and turned backward.*
	***Mvts. 15 – Recitativo accompagnato and 16 – Aria* (Colpa)**			
Teth	Passeggia per sentier sordido, e impuro ne fugge la caduta, e dal profondo chiede soccorso, ma lo chiede in vano; e rivolta al suo Dio così ragiona. Mira, Signor, deh mira Il dolor mio. Volgi pietoso il ciglio All'estremo periglio, In cui son'io.	*She walks on dirty and impure paths,* *fleeing from the depths, and seeks help from the deep* *but in vain,* *and addresses her God, saying:* *Behold, O Lord,* *Behold my pain.* *In pity turn your gaze* *to the extreme peril* *in which I lie.*	Sordes ejus in pedibus ejus, nec recordata est finis sui; deposita est vehementer, non habens consolatorem. Vide, Domine, afflictionem meam, quoniam erectus est inimicus.	*Her filthiness is on her feet, and she hath not remembered her end, she is wonderfully cast down, not having a comforter: behold, O Lord my affliction, because the enemy is lifted up.*
	***Mvt. 20 – Recitativo accompagnato* (Colpa)**			
Jod	Vide Sion rapirsi dalla nemica destra i suoi tesori, e le sacrate soglie esposte all'onte di sacrilego piè, che nulla teme il gran divieto, e'l giusto [sacro] onor del tempio.	*Zion sees her treasures stolen* *by her right enemy,* *and by her foes her holy places are defiled by* *sacrilegious feet which fear nothing, even the great* *interdiction of the just [sacred] honour of the temple.*	Manum suam misit hostis ad omnia desiderabilia ejus, quia vidit gentes ingressas sanctuarium suum, de quibus praeceperas ne intrarent in ecclesiam tuam.	*The enemy hath put out his hand to all her desirable things: for she hath seen the Gentiles enter into her sanctuary of whom thou gavest commandment that they should not enter into thy church*
Caph	Tutto il popolo suo languido chiede qualche alimento, e preziosi doni offre per poco cibo; ah quanto ~~io~~ sono fatta vile, mio Dio, dal mio fallire!	*All her defenceless people request* *some sustenance and offer precious gifts* *for a little food; O lord,* *how vile I am, my God, because of my faults!*	Omnis populus ejus gemens, et quaerens panem; dederunt pretiosa quaeque pro cibo ad refocillandam animam. Vide, Domine, et considera quoniam facta sum vilis!	*All her people sigh, they seek bread: they have given all their precious things for food to relieve the soul: see, O Lord, and consider, for I am become vile.*

Lamed	O voi, che quì d'intorno volgete il passo, il passo ancor fermate. E dite, se v'è duol pari al mio duolo; poichè tutto di stragi seminato è il terren, che mi circonda, come già minacciò l'irato Nume nel giorno destinato al suo furore.	*O you who pass by here,* *turn your step, even stop your step* *and say if there has bene any pain like mine, for all* *that surrounds me is massacred, strewn across the* *ground in carnage like the irate God threatened in* *the day of his wrath.*	O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite, et videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus! quoniam vindemiavit me, ut locutus est Dominus, in die irae furoris sui.	*O all ye that pass by the way, attend,* *and see if there be any sorrow like to* *my sorrow: for he hath made a vintage* *of me, as the Lord spoke in the day of* *his fierce anger.*
Mem	Dall'alto fulminò strali di fuoco nelle viscere mie per mio castigo: i lacci tese alle mie piante, e a forza mi spinse in dietro, e vuota mi lasciò di me stessa; onde la luce mirai del giorno in lacrimoso ciglio.	*From above he hurled flumes of fire* *at my body as punishment:* *He laid traps for my pain and pushed me* *away from him,* *leaving me empty; only seeing the light of* *day through eyes filled with tears.*	De excelso misit ignem in ossibus meis, et erudivit me: expandit rete pedibus meis, convertit me retrorsum; posuit me desolatam, tota die moerore confectam.	*From above he hath sent fire into my* *bones, and hath chastised me: he hath* *spread a net for my feet, he hath turned* *me back: he hath made me desolate,* *wasted with sorrow all the day long.*
Nun	Il duro giogo degli errori miei non mi diè mai riposo. Un forte laccio formò di loro, e al collo mio l'impose quella man, che a punir mia voglia inferma, mi diè in poter d'altrui; ficchè non spero di goder mai la libertà perduta.	*The heavy yoke of my sins* *has deprived me of all rest. His hand formed shackles* *and set them upon my neck to punish my weak desire,* *will he deliver me to another's power; so I have no* *hope of ever enjoying my lost freedom again.*	Vigilavit jugum iniquitatum mearum; in manu ejus convolutae sunt, et impositae collo meo. Infirmata est virtus mea: dedit me Dominus in manu de qua non potero surgere.	*The yoke of my iniquities hath* *watched: they are folded together in* *his hand, and put upon my neck: my* *strength is weakened, the Lord hath* *delivered me into a hand, out of which* *I am not able to rise.*

In Jeremiah's *Lamentations* the humiliation and abandonment of Jerusalem are represented by the figure of a widow mourning the loss of her children, a vanitas theme popular with composers, artists and poets at the time.[56] In her grief, the widow bitterly laments her pain and apprehension as she contemplates how far she has fallen; she was once a queen and sovereign and is now a humble servant. The notion of 'the widow' was often employed in the Bible to depict the power of human sorrow, loneliness, and despair.[57] The streets of Jerusalem that once bustled with crowds now lie deserted in the city's hour of need. Many people not only abandoned Jerusalem but also contributed to its downfall by helping the Babylonians raise the city to the ground on *Tisha B'Av* (the Ninth of Av), destroying the entire city and demolishing Solomon's temple.[58] This can often be seen as a parallel to the way the Jews betrayed Jesus as he stood before Pontius Pilate.[59]

The musical writing in the sections of accompanied recitative based on the *Lamentations* (mvts. 5, 7, 13, 15 and 20) bears little resemblance to other oratorio music of the period: the text is chanted in the manner of a psalm and is underpinned by flowing orchestral movement with adventurous harmonies adding greater depth to the powerful desperation of the poetry. In using this compositional technique, Scarlatti appeared to counterbalance the textual decoration Ottoboni added to the *Lamentations* by setting the libretto to a simple, chant-like recitative, enabling the text to take centre-stage. When discussing this technique, Lino Bianchi states:

> Scarlatti captures the most hidden strength of this melopea [slow melody] of the Gregorian liturgy: the sense of infinite melody. In fact, it is only in these melopeas, in all the musical art of all times – melopeas common to the liturgies of many religions – that this ancient need of the human musical soul, the sense of the infinite melody, is satisfied. The soul would never

[56] Eric S. Christianson, *Ecclesiastes Through the Centuries* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2012), 121.
[57] J. Gordon Harris, *Biblical Perspectives on Aging: God and the Elderly* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008); Susan E. Hylen, *Women in the New Testament World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 65–92.
[58] David J. Zucker, *The Bible's Writings: An Introduction for Christians and Jews* (Oregon: Wipf and Stock, 2013), 83.
[59] R. K. Harrison, *Jeremiah and the Lamentations: an introduction and commentary* (Rochester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1973), 207–208.

> cease to listen to them, as it remains enveloped in that indistinct fluctuation that never seems to outline tonal exhaustion.[60]

Indeed, the recurring melodic pattern featured in each of the long, *recitativo accompagnato* movements is a citation of the sixth psalm tone (Figure 5.12). The first occurrence of this citation is shown in isolation in Example 5.1 – Pentimento's opening phrase – and becomes an indication to the listener that we are once again returning to the *Lamentations.*[61] It is almost as though this ascending melodic figure at the start of each section is the inverted commas surrounding the sections of the *Lamentations* in the original libretto.

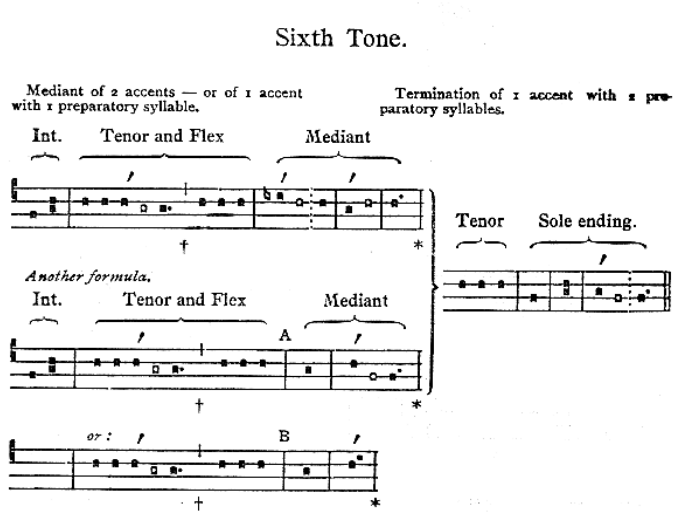
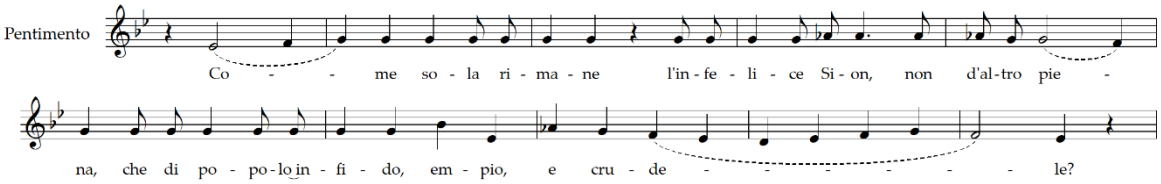


Figure 5.12 Sixth Tone, taken from *The Liber Usualis* (Tournai: Desclée & Co., 1952), 116.

Example 5.1 Mvt. 5, *recitativo accompagnato* 'Come sola rimane' bb.1-10.



[60] 'Scarlatti coglie di questa melopea della liturgia gregoriana la piu nascosta forza: il senso di melodia infinita. Infatti solo in queste melopee, in tutta l'arte musciale d'ogni tempo - melopee comuni alle liturgie di molte religioni - questo antico bisogno dell'anima musicale umana, il senso della melodia infinita, si soddisfa. L'animo non cesserebbe mai di ascoltarle, poiche rimane avvolto entro quell'indistinto fluttare che mai sembra delineare esaurimenti tonali.' Bianchi et al., *Alessandro Scarlatti*, 310.

[61] Robert Kendrick provides a detailed and insightful analysis of Scarlatti's use of psalm tones in these Jeremiah inspired sections compared to those used in his *Lamentazioni per la settimana santa* in, *Singing Jeremiah*, 161–169.

The strings – also citing the sixth psalm tone – move homophonically, but occasionally pre-empt Pentimento's entries, creating an echo effect which contributes to the grief and sorrow of the text, as in bar 7 of movement 5 (p.46), where Pentimento echoes the second violins.

The psalm tones follow the natural rhythm of speech, conforming to the pattern of language rather than imposing their own rhythms on the text.[62] This permits a more natural movement and allows both the performer and listener to focus almost entirely on the words. Although not strictly intoned like a psalm, it is significant that Scarlatti based such large sections of the *Oratorio per la Passione* on this textually focussed manner of composition.

The resulting musical setting is unusual; it does not correspond to the usual *recitativo accompagnato* common at the time. Employing *recitativo accompagnato* – rather than the usual *recitativo secco* – for most of the sections inspired by the *Lamentations* produces an even more intense form of music that amalgamates a range of different styles: *a)* the primacy of the text found in recitative, *b)* the influence of the psalm tones that would have had liturgical associations for the majority of the audiences and congregations, thereby reminding them of the biblical origins of the text and *c)* the more flexible approach to rhythm, frequently found in operatic ariosos of the time. In short, this unusual musical hybridity employed by Scarlatti incorporates operatic tendencies with sacred influences.

Instrumentation

Scarlatti often uses instrumentation to reflect the atmosphere of the text. The third verse of the *Lamentations* (Ghimel) is set to a slow, lilting aria sung by Pentimento and accompanied by strings (mvt.6, p.48) before moving straight into verses three and four (Daleth and He), sung by Colpa in accompanied recitative (mvt.7, p.53). Unlike in 'Come sola rimane' (mvt.5,

[62] Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990), 210–212, David Hiley, *Gregorian Chant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 47–48.

p.46), the strings do not simply provide choral accompaniment, but create an opening call and response with the vocal line and then the violins split into a canon that moves around the melody. In the Dresden manuscript, the composer indicates that the first and second violins, violoncello and the contrabass parts are all to be played one to a part and without any accompaniment from the harpsichord. This creates a much thinner, more exposed texture, in high contrast to the dense, fleshed out homophonic chords of the fifth movement, despite the stagnant melody being very similar. This reduction in the orchestration is an apt response to the text, as Colpa sings of the deserted streets of Zion in the first half of the movement, based on the fourth verse of the *Lamentations* (Daleth):

Le strade di Sion neglette sono	*The streets of Zion are deserted by those*
da chi solea con sacro rito, e pio	*with sacred and pious rites, who once*
portare al tempio ricchi doni, e i voti.	*brought rich gifts and prayers to the temple.*
Le torri, e l'alte mura	*The towers and the high walls lie shattered in*
fra l'erba, e fra l'arena	*ruins in the grass and sand:*
caddero infrante; i sacerdoti mesti,	*the sorrowful priests,*
le vergini smarrite, ed ella stessa	*the lost virgins and Zion herself lie*
nel suo interno martire oppressa giace	*oppressed by their inner grief*

The orchestration is varied again in 'La figlia di Sion' (mvt.13, p.65), for verses six and seven of the *Lamentations* (Vau and Zain) as the continuo instruments are omitted entirely and the second violin and viola play in unison, acting as the bass line. The lack of depth and support usually offered by the continuo means that the movement sounds stripped-down and sparse, a clever representation the abandonment of the daughter of Zion and her loss of beauty:

La Figlia di Sion non ha piu in volto.	*The daughter of Zion has no beauty left in*
L'usata maestà; privi di scorta	*her face. The used majesty; without escort*
muovono i duci suo i (suoi) l'errante passo,	*her princes make their way like a*
come smarrito gregge, che l'ovile	*confused flock that cannot find their pen,*
più non ritrovi, e timidi, e confuse	*and timidly and in bewilderment fall*
si rendon preda all'altrui voglie ingorde.	*prey to other greedy longings.*

The movement is essentially written in three-part harmony, with the first violin and soloist completing the trio. In general, one of the main features of writing in three-part counterpoint is that two of the parts tend to move in thirds, with the other part moving independently. With three parts it is more difficult to create suspensions and dominant chords because the pull is not as strong to resolve, so all parts move around major and minor chords with fluidity, giving the movement no real drive and emphasising the uncertainty and loneliness expressed in the text.[63] In this movement – again referencing the sixth psalm tone – when the melody is completely stagnant for bars at a time, the strings embellish – almost dance – around the recitation note. The true sparsity of this texture is exemplified when we reach the first cadence at bar 9, when all parts resolve onto a B♭ (mvt.13, bb.1-10, p.65–66).

There are three instances where Ottoboni concludes sections of the *Lamentations* with a phrase from the book of Hosea (14:1), 'Jerusalem convertere ad Dominum Deum' ('Jerusalem, return unto the Lord your God'), as seen in Table 5.5.[64] This was a common feature in the *Lamentations* musical tradition, perhaps most famously used by Thomas Tallis in his setting of the text, composed between 1560 and 1569. The result of including this refrain was often that it emphasised the melancholic atmosphere of the *Lamentations*.[65] Robert Kendrick noted that the use of this concluding refrain in the *Oratorio per la Passione* points to the liturgical function of the *Lamentations* in the context of Holy Week, and not the biblical book.[66]

[63] Edward C. Baristow, *Counterpoint and Harmony* (Read Books Ltd., 2011), 90–93.
[64] Siobhán Dowling Long and John F. A. Sawyer, *The Bible in Music: A Dictionary of Songs, Works, and More* (Maryland and London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 140. Melanie Wald presents a table of sections based on the Lessons and a discussion of some of the verse structures in 'Verführung zur Konversion: Scarlatti, Händel, und das italienische Oratorium um 1700', *JbISM* (2010), 99–122.
[65] Paul M. Joyce and Diana Lipton, *Lamentations Through the Centuries* (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2013), 34, 42.
[66] Kendrick, *Singing Jeremiah*, 235.

Table 5.5 Paraphrasings of the 'Jerusalem convertere ad Dominum Deum' refrain in the *Oratorio per la Passione*

Movement	Libretto	Translation
8 (Aria)	Gerusalem pentita Chiedi al tuo Dio pietà, Piangi il tuo fallo, e spera, Che al sin dall'alta sfera, Tua pace scenderà.	*Penitent Jerusalem,* *beg your God for pity.* *beg your God for pity.* *that at the end your peace* *will descend from the realm above.*
17 (Arioso)	Gerusalem, Gerusalem, ritorna a quel, che tu lasciatsi offeso Nume.	*Jerusalem, return to him you forsook,* *to him who you abandoned, the God you offended!*
21 (Trio)	Gerusalemme ingrata figlia riedi al tuo Padre, a Signor, che ti richiama.	*Jerusalem, ungrateful daughter, return* *to your Father and Lord, who rebuke you."*

Scarlatti set these three concluding refrains in varying formats: an aria, an arioso and a trio. The aria 'Gerusalem pentita' is set differently in the Dresden and Wiesentheid manuscripts. The Wiesentheid score focuses more on positive elements of the text, and the idea of God's peace descending from above, with a lively compound time and decorated counterpoint. Meanwhile, the Dresden setting is reserved and reflective by comparison, as the strings mostly play in unison with the voice or provide simple homophonic accompaniment (mvt.8, p.57).

The music of 'Gerusalem ritorna' is identical in both the Dresden and Wiesentheid manuscripts. It is short and joyous sounding – perhaps surprising, considering the dark text about Jerusalem abandoning God – and contains none of the chromaticism of the previous movements based on the *Lamentations*. In the closing ritornello, the rising semiquavers in the violins seem to pre-empt the text of following line of recitative 'Guided by your light, grace supernal and beautiful' (mvt.17, bb.12-13, p.75). The Dresden manuscript does indicate to move straight into this recitative from the arioso as it states 'Segue il Pentimento'.

'Gerusalem ingrata' is slower paced, and more dissonant, with awkward intervals and a disjunct melody. The first section (text shown in Table 5.5) is sung only by Grazia as the other characters then join for the middle section:

Col.	Se tra ceppi giace avvinta come spinta esser può da un bel desire a lasciare il suo martire?	*If she lies captive in chains,* *how can she be spurred* *by the desire for good* *to leave her torment behind?*
Pent.	Lasci il fallo, e la sua pena non sarà più sua catena; anzi i nodi, che tu vedi, daran l'ali alla sua brama.	*Let her abandon error, and her pain* *will no longer hold her,* *and the shackles you see* *will give wings to her longing.*

In the Dresden score, this movement is a da capo aria, and the first part of the oratorio ends with Grazia's rephrasing of Hosea. As the text finishes, the countermelody from the strings continues before trailing off, leaving the audience in a tense state of unease (mvt.21, bb.44-50, p.89). However, in the Wiesentheid manuscript, this movement contains no da capo, and the first part ends with Pentimento singing of Jerusalem being freed from her pain, giving the ending of the first part greater sense of hope than in the Dresden manuscript.

Part Two

Ottoboni used the Reproaches of Good Friday as the liturgical foundation of the opening few movements of the second part. The Reproaches – also known as the *Improperia* – are a series of antiphons and responses expressing the protests of Jesus Christ to his people and are sung in Catholic liturgy as part of the observance of the Passion. They are not taken directly from the Bible but are developed from the words of psalms and the prophets. The first half is based on the scripture passages of Micah 6:3-4, Deuteronomy 8:2,3, Isaiah 5:4, Jeremiah 2:21 and Psalm 68:22. The second half is inspired by passages such as Judith 2 and 5, Esdras 9, Acts

13 and Corinthians 10: 1-13.[67] After the final improperium and its refrain the hymns *Crux fidelis* and *Pange lingua* are sung, which Ottoboni reflects in the *Oratorio per la Passione*, as the oratorio ends with a poetical interpretation of the *Crux Fidelis* in the vernacular.

The first lines of The Reproaches, as in the Roman Missal are as follows:

> My People, what have I done to you?
> Or how have I grieved you?
> Answer me!
> Because I led you out of the land of Egypt,
> You have prepared a cross for your Saviour.
> Because I led you out through the desert for forty years
> And fed you with manna and brought you to the land of plenty,
> You have prepared a cross for your saviour.[68]

Ottoboni's poetical interpretation in the oratorio reads:

Figli miei, spietati figli,	*My sons, pitiless sons,*
Che vi fece il vostro Nume,	*what has your God done to you?*
Qual ragion v'arma di sdegno?	*Why do you arm yourselves with scorn?*
Rispondete? Ah non consigli	*Answer? Ah, be not guided*
Vostro cor mentito lume,	*By your false heart which deprives*
Che vi tolga, e Patria, e Regno.	*you of both homeland and reign.*

This text occurs after Colpa and Grazia converse at the opening of the second part, when Grazia interjects with poetical paraphrasings of The Reproaches, which can be seen first in the recitative 'Sì, pensa infido' (mvt. 25, bb.5-23, p.97) and then in Grazia's aria 'Figli miei, spietati figli' (mvt. 26, p.98–103).

This aria is set differently in the Dresden and Wiesentheid manuscipts, but both are fast-paced with constant semiquaver movement from the strings, creating an agitated, frantic atmosphere. In the Dresden setting the 'arm yourself' imagery prompts the composer to use a *stile concitato* inspired style. This is a technique also used at other points in the oratorio, not

[67] Paul Turner, *The Glory in the Cross: Holy Week in the Third Edition of the Roman Missal* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 2011), 101. See also Hermanus A. P. Schmidt, *Hebdomada Sancta* (Rome: Herder, 1957), 490, 546–547, 591, 794, 943 and James Monti, *The Week of Salvation: History and Traditions of Holy Week* (Huntington: Our Sunday Visitor Publishing Division, 1993), 232.
[68] 'The Reproaches' verses 1 and 2 as in: *The Roman Missal Study Edition: English Translation according to the third typical edition* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2011), 331.

always at overt references to battle, but in order to create an atmosphere of tension and panic. Streams of unanswered questions and subsequent repetition is something that we will see in the later oratorio *Il dolore di Maria Vergine* to represent Mary's pain and St. John's anxiety, but in this instance the fast-paced agitation in both the music and the text appears to counterbalance the relatively light-hearted 'Pensa al tuo Dio' that precedes it. In the Wiesentheid setting, the 'arm yourself' imagery is enhanced by long messages of melisma followed by descending semiquavers in the strings and we also see frequent textural repetition, as in the Dresden setting.

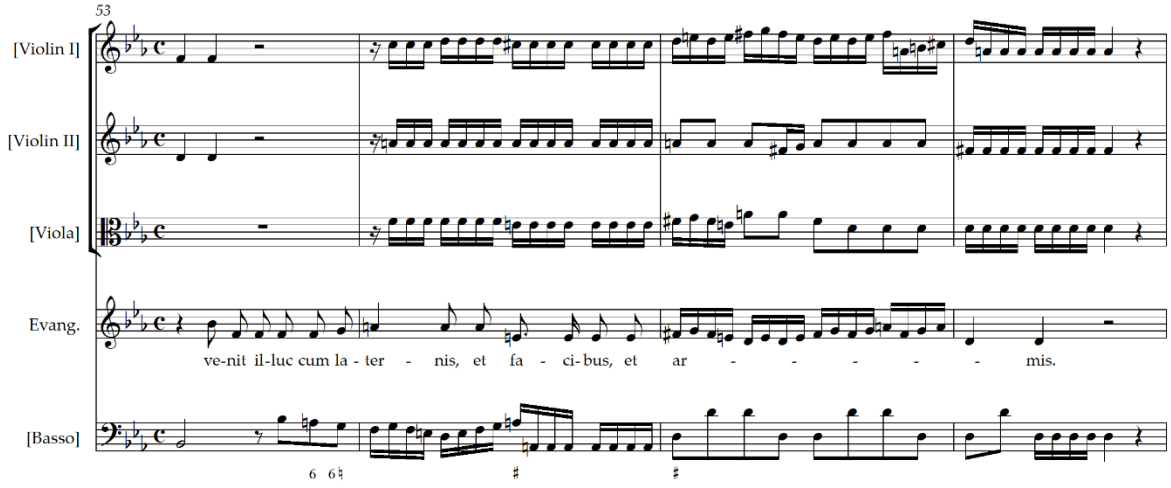
The *stile concitato*- inspired technique in the strings can also be found briefly in the earlier accompanied recitative, 'Ingrato core', (mvt.28, b.12, p.105) as Pentimento sings:

Ingrato cor'non odi I colpi de'flagelli, L'ingiuire, e'lempio grido Delle Turbe sacrileghe, e feroci?	*Ungrateful heart, do you not hear* *the lashes of the whips,* *the injustice and the wicked cries* *of the ferocious and sacrilegious crowds?*

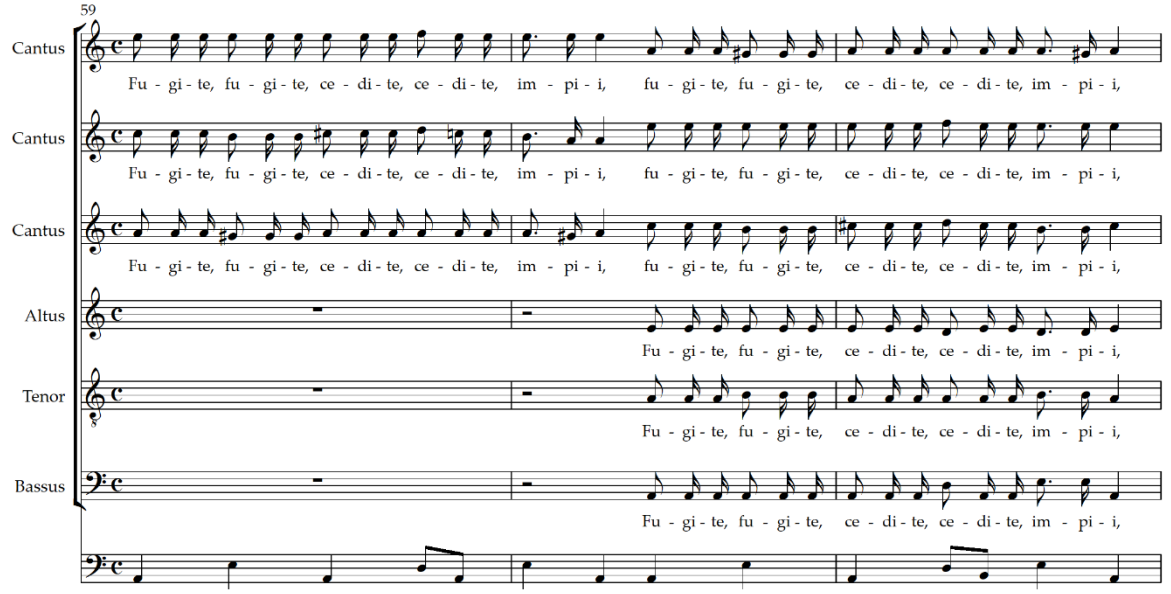
Scarlatti's use of a *stile concitato*-style in this recitative occurs on the word 'feroci' ('ferocious') and is fleeting, almost abrupt, not unlike his use of the same technique in the *Passio secundum Joannem* at the moment the soldiers come to arrest Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane carrying 'lanterns and torches and weapons' (see Example 5.2). The language in both passages describes violence, aggression and implements designed to cause physical harm, making the use of *stile concitato* – specifically developed by Claudio Monteverdi to represent the human emotion of agitation for his war-like style – perfectly apt. Giacomo Carissimi used a similar style when setting text referencing weapons and describing anger (Example 5.3) in his Latin oratorio, *Jepthe*. Scarlatti used the same technique as his predecessor when setting the same type of language, and after Scarlatti, Feo followed suit

when composing his own *Passio secundum* in 1744.[69] The technique almost became common shorthand amongst composers setting text evoking violence and unrest in the seventeenth century and Scarlatti was very much a part of that tradition.

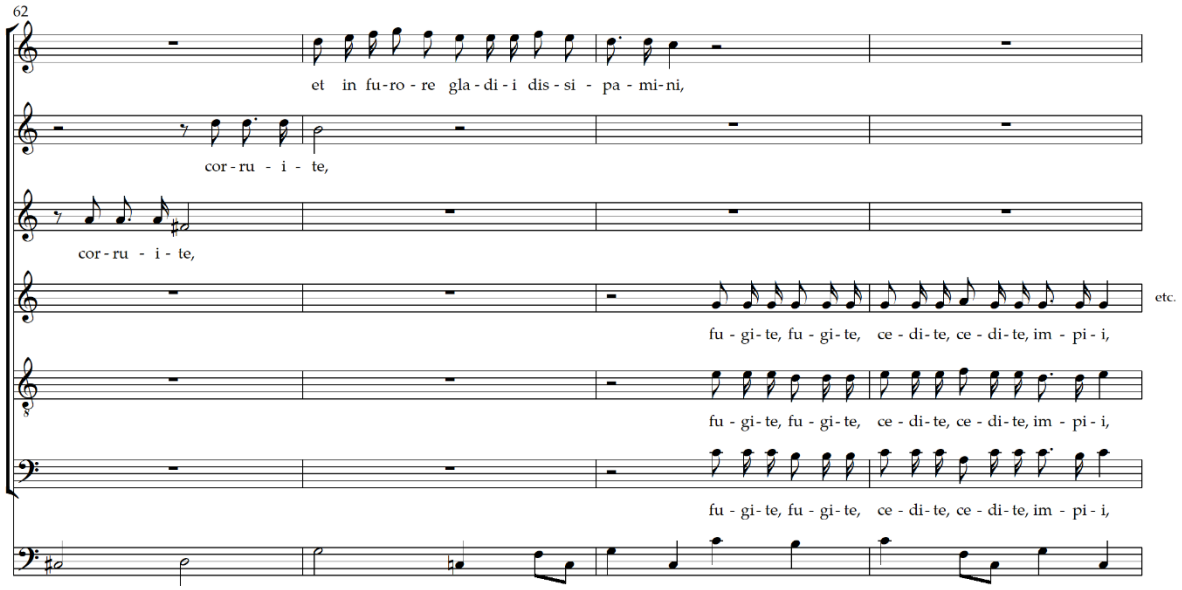
Example 5.2 Alessandro Scarlatti, *Passio secundum Joannem*, bb.53-56



Example 5.3 Giacomo Carissimi, *Jepthe*, bb.59-65



[69] Richard Viladesau, *The Pathos of the Cross* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 131.



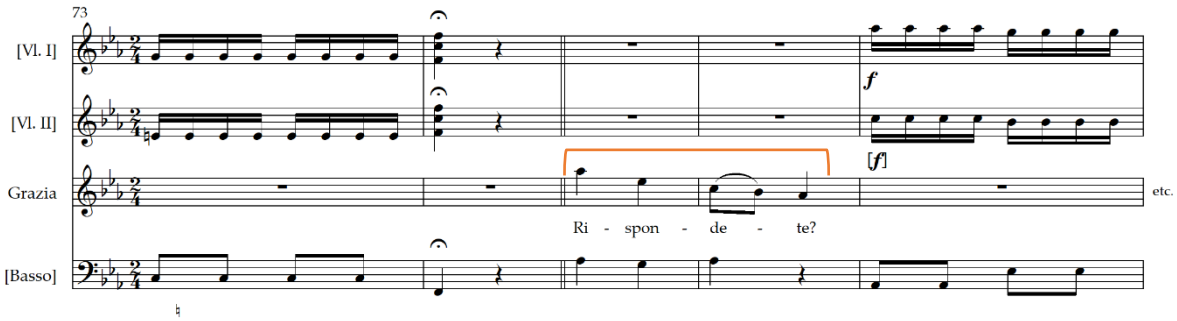
Whilst the use of *stile concitato*-style passages is a relatively conventional technique in the Italian oratorio of the period, one aspect that is less common is Scarlatti's use of a recurring melodic figure that reappears at various points throughout the oratorio. The descending arpeggio was a commonly used melodic figure, but the prominence and exposure of the recapitulation in this particular oratorio is striking. Scarlatti may have used the simple melodic figure to provide a thread that created coherence throughout the work and connected the first and second parts of the oratorio not just through text but through this repeated musical figure, a highly unusual occurrence in Italian opera and oratorio, particularly at a time when the insertion or 'suitcase' aria thrived.[70]

In the aria 'Figli miei, speitati figli', Grazia questions why the Israelites arm themselves with scorn. In the Dresden setting, the only time the frantic strings rest in this aria is when Grazia dramatically asks 'Rispondete?' (Example 5.4). This short, exposed melodic phrase recontextualises the descending arpeggio melody from the first aria of the oratorio, 'Fosco

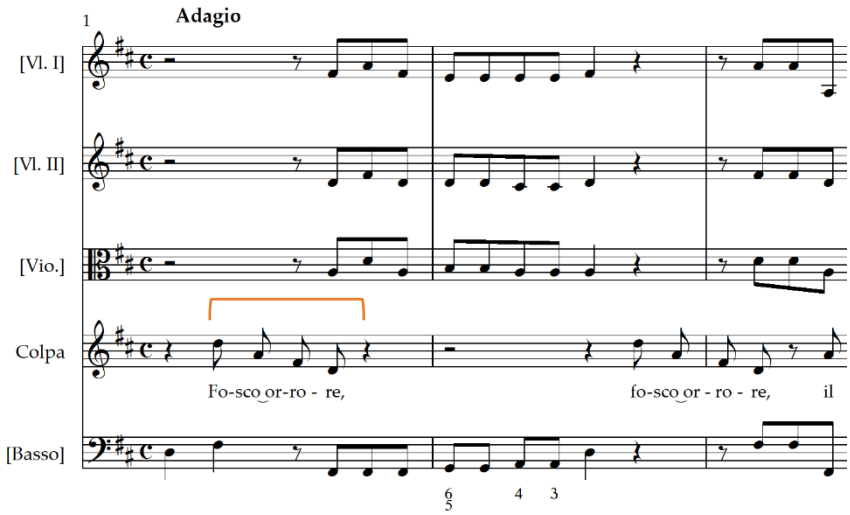
[70] Jennifer Brown, 'On the Road with the "Suitcase Aria": The Transmission of Borrowed Arias in Late Seventeenth-Century Italian Opera', *JMR* 15 (1995), 4–33.

orrore' (Example 5.5). This is the first reference back to this melodic theme, which subsequently reappears in all instruments in the aria 'Trombe, che d'ogni intorno' later in part two, as shown in Example 5.6. In the Wiesentheid setting, the descending melodic theme is referenced by the violins after Grazia sings long, sustained notes on 'Respondete'.

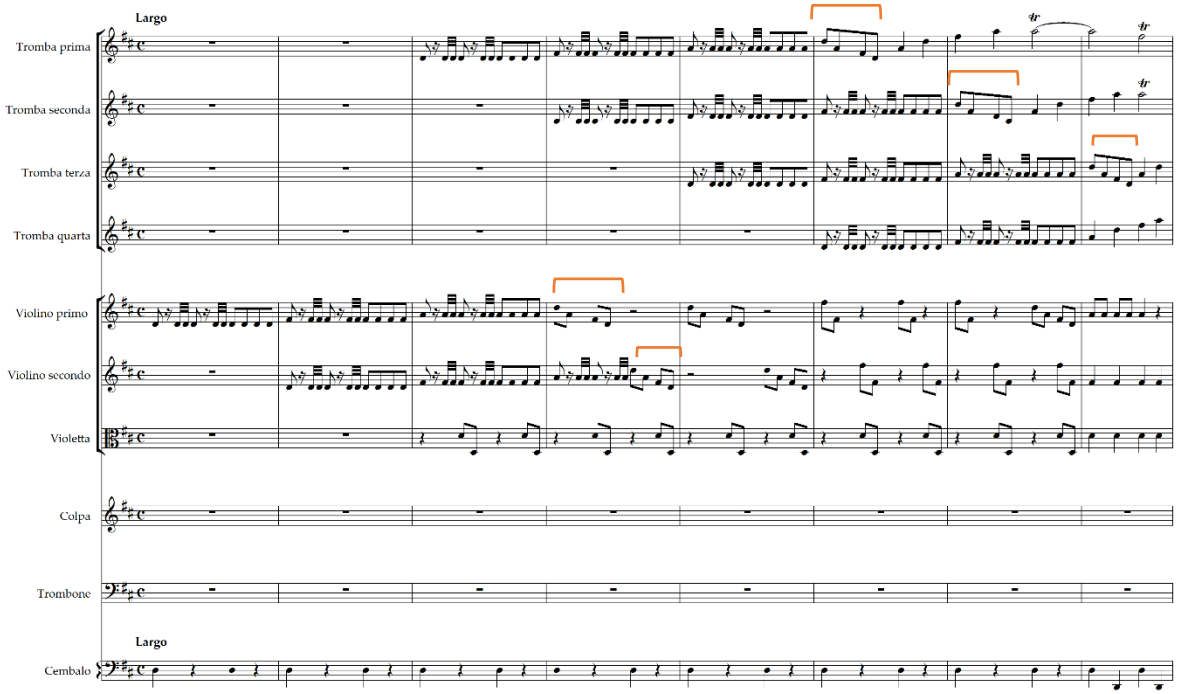
Example 5.4 Mvt. 26, *aria* 'Figli miei' bb.73-77



Example 5.5 Mvt. 2, *aria* 'Fosco orrore' bb.1-3



Example 5.6 Mvt. 31, aria ‘Trombe, che d’ogni intorno’, bb.1-8



When the descending melodic phrase first appears in the opening aria, it decorates a text praising the unshakeable power and everlasting darkness that Sin casts upon the earth. A similar sentiment is echoed in the text when this melody reappears in the instrumental parts of Colpa’s ‘Trombe, che d’ogni intorno’, as he describes the thunder and lightning at the moment of Christ’s death. The melody is layered within the parts, and dramatically built up, but still a clear reference back to the darkness Colpa proudly observed and described in the opening aria of the oratorio.

When this melodic fragment appears in Grazia’s aria ‘Figli miei, speitati figli’ – in both the Dresden and Wiesentheid manuscripts – it is not, like Colpa, a declaration of power, but a moment of abandonment and desperation as Grazia begs Pentimento for answers and seeks an escape from the violence of the crucifixion, as she references the Reproaches. This shows Scarlatti’s acute attention to the macrostructure of the work, at a time when operas were often a patchwork of arias that could be swapped in and out at the demands of singers.

The clear thematic coherence within the libretto – particularly the themes pertaining to darkness that we see in the liturgy – is mirrored in Scarlatti's musical setting and the physical performance setting of the work, i.e., taking place on a dimly lit stage in front of a crucifix.

Pentimento continues in *recitativo secco* with further liturgical references, describing the scene from Exodus 14:26-28. After Moses parts the Red Sea and the Israelites pass safely through, Moses brings the waters back, drowning the entire Egyptian army and their horses:

> And the Lord said to Moses: Stretch forth thy hand over the sea, that the waters may come again upon the Egyptians, upon their chariots and horsemen. And when Moses has stretched forth his hand towards the sea, it returned at the first break of day to the former place: and as the Egyptians were fleeing away, the waters came upon them, and the Lord shut them up in the middle of the waves. And the waters returned, and covered the chariots and the horsemen of all the army of Pharao, who had come into the sea after them, neither did there so much as one of them remain.[71]

In *recitativo secco* Pentimento sings:

Purtroppo io so, che al Popolo diletto	*I know only too well that a wide path*
Ampio sentiero asperse	*was opened to the chosen*
Quella destra superna,	*people by the right hand*
Che immobile sostenne	*which held back the waves of the sea*
Del Mare il flutto, e scatenò poi l'onda	*and then unleashed the waters to their*
Al natural suo moto; onde sepolta	*natural state; drowning the hosts of Egypt and*
L'Oste d'Egitto, e il fiero Re superbo,	*its proud and arrogant king: helmets and*
Sovra l'acque nuotaro elmi, e bandiere.	*flags floated on the waters.*

These explict references to the liturgy are interwoven with constant references to nature and pastoral scenes, references that are likely influenced by both Ottoboni's and Scarlatti's connection to the Arcadian Academy. The Arcadians often used literacy to serve music, thus allowing the application of word painting or of specific musical techniques and figures.[72] An

[71] Exodus 14:26-28, taken from *The Holy Bible: Douay Rheims Version* tr. Richard Challoner (Illinois: Saint Benedict Press & Tan Books, 2009).
[72] Norbert Dubowy, ''Al tavolino medesimop del Compositor della Musica': Notes on Text and Context in Alessandro Scarlatti's *cantate da camera*' in *Aspects of the Secular Cantata in Late Baroque Italy* ed. Michael Talbot (New York: Routledge, 2019), 122–123.

example of this is in ‘D’orror, di doglia pieno’ when Colpa sings of the stars falling from the sky and the strings play repeated descending scales (mvt.30, bb.5-7, p.109).

Pastoral references can be found elsewhere in the second part, such as ‘che il bel fiore del campo, la delizia del Cielo, l’autor dell’universo’ (‘that lovely flower of the field, the delight of heaven, the creator of the universe’) in ‘Ingrato core’ when the quavers cease and are replaced with slow, diatonic chords (mvt.28, b.13-16, p.106), creating a moment of calm before resuming the increasing build-up of tension. Another instance is in the aria ‘Qual rugiada, che il prato seconda’, when Grazia sings of the ‘serene and joyous dew that fertilises the field’, (mvt.33, b.19-35, p.127–128). Both the Dresden and Wiesentheid manuscripts contain long, joyful and uplifting introductions by the strings, a feature that was firmly within the pastoral tradition of the time.[73]

The most dramatic aria of the oratorio is sung by Colpa. ‘Trombe, che d’ogni intorno’, which sees the return of not just the two trumpets from the sinfonia, but an additional two trumpets and a trombone (mvt.31, p.81–95). The vision of the last judgement is impressively conjured, as the four trumpets and trombone appear from opposite sides of the hall and join the strings and Colpa, creating a thick, dark texture and a different sonic effect to the rest of the piece in the context of performativity.

The aria begins with a somewhat menacing sinfonia that gradually builds by fragmenting the melodic theme from the first aria of the oratorio this can be seen in violins I and II at bar 4 and in the trumpets from bar 6, (mvt.31, p.111) until Colpa’s entry at bar 15 (p.115), when all the instruments instantly pause and leave the voice unaccompanied for two and a half bars as she sings ‘Trombe, che d’ogni intorno in quell gran giorno spargerete il suono’ (‘Trumpets sound all around on that great day, you will all spread the sound’. Here, as

[73] The introduction is 18 bars long in the Dresden manuscript and 13 bars long in the Wiesentheid manuscript. A similarly elating introduction in this pastoral tradition can be found in Alessandro Stradella’s ‘Zefiretti che spiegate’ from the oratorio *Susanna* (1681).

Colpa sings that the trumpets ‘sound all around’, the arpeggio figure is inverted, which may suggest that as the descending arpeggio is menacing and threatening, the ascending arpeggio is triumphant. As Colpa reaches ‘suono’ the instruments once again join, as though following her instruction (b.18, p.116).

The inclusion of trumpets in this movement is prompted by references in the text: Colpa sings ‘trumpets sound all around’ and later ‘thunder and lightning erupt together’. The aria continues with Colpa’s melody and frequent, grand interjections from the trumpets and strings until bar 25. From bar 26 the trumpets pass repeated semiquavers between each other above Colpa, who sings of the ‘terrible invitation’ to Christ’s death on the cross.

Scarlatti’s use of the descending arpeggio motif has not previously been noted in relation to this work. It is not merely the reappearance of the theme that is significant, but also the connections between the texts. Both the first aria in which this theme appears – ‘Fosco Orrore’ – and ‘Trombe, che d’ogni intorno’ are sung by Colpa. In the former, Colpa sings of the unshakable power of sin, and in the latter she sings of the trumpets sounding on the day of Christ’s resurrection, the ultimate victory over sin and death, creating the musical ‘illusion’ that we have come full circle. Returning to this theme at the climax of the work is a hybridity of theatrical drama, a way of connecting with the listener by providing them with a point of reference, and a way of demonstrating Christ’s victory over death.

The cross is a central theme of the work, demonstrated by the fact that the oratorio opens with a vivid description of Christ’s lifeless body hanging on the cross, and concludes with Colpa, Pentimento and Grazia forming a chorus to sing a paraphrase of the *Crux fidélis* in a chorale style hymn with incidental moments for the trumpets – now performing in unison – and the strings.

The *Crux fidélis* (Figure 5.13) is the eighth verse of the hymn *Pange lingua, gloriosi proelium certaminis* and is commonly sung during the Adoration of the Cross on Good

Friday.[74] Table 5.6 shows the original Latin *Crux fidelis* and the English translation, above Ottoboni's poetical interpretation and the English translation.

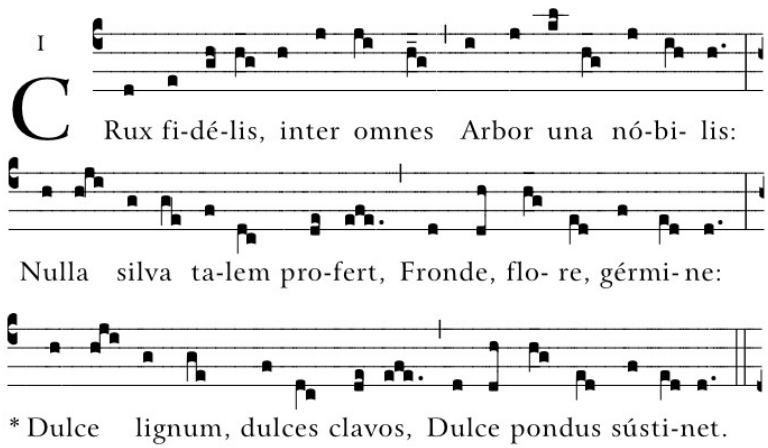


Figure 5.13 *Crux fidélis* as seen in *The Liber Usulis* ed. The Benedictines of Solesmes (Tournai: Desclée & Co., 1952), 709.

Table 5.6 Comparison of the Latin and Italian *Crux fidelis*

Hymn: *Crux fidelis*	**English translation**
Crux fidélis, inter omnes arbor una nobilis, *Nulla talem silva profert flore, fronde, germine,* *Dulce lignum dulce clavo dulce pondus sustinens.*	Faithful cross the Saints rely on, noble tree beyond compare! Never was there such a scion. Never leaf or flower we rare, sweet the timber, sweet the iron, sweet the burden that they bear![75]
Ottoboni's libretto	English translation
O croce unica speme Del mortale, che geme Fra catene, Se il tuo frutto secondo Diè libertade al mondo, Tu guida ogn'alma fida al Sommo Bene.	O cross, sole hope of mortals who groan in their chains, if your precious fruit gave freedom to the world, guide the souls of all believers to God on high.

Unlike in the *Lamentations of Jeremiah*, Ottoboni does not descriptively enhance the Latin poetry, largely because the original text is quite lyrical and expressive already. The decision to end the oratorio with this hymn is a clear statement that the cross is the main focus of this

[74] Louis van Tangeren, *Exaltation of the Cross* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 242–243
[75] *The Roman Missal* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2011), 333–335.

oratorio, from beginning to end. In the opening aria and recitative, Colpa triumphantly observes Christ hanging lifeless on the cross, celebrating his own victory and power. Now, in the final moments of the oratorio, Colpa is joined by Pentimento and Grazia to exalt Christ's redemption and praise the glory of God. The cross has transformed from a symbol of pain, agony, and terror into one of hope and salvation. It is also pertinent to recall that the 1708 performance took place in front of a large sculpted cross, in a room draped in black velvet and illuminated by candlelight.

In the Dresden manuscript, the ostinato semiquavers in the strings during the final movement, 'O Croce', are akin to those found in the opening *Sinfonia* and we are also firmly back in the key of D major. The soprano parts are written in the highest the tessitura has been for the entire work, which seems an intentional decision by Scarlatti to enhance the sense of the 'glory of God', especially as the oratorio ends with the instruments and Pentimento dropping out and Colpa and Grazia alone echoing 'to God on high' in a stark, unaccompanied setting (mvt.40, bb.46-48, p.148).

CONCLUSION

Throughout the entire oratorio Scarlatti creates musical variety – and as a result, emotional variety – through his careful choice of instrumentation for specific movements, rhythms and textures employed at moments of tension, and modality at moments of triumph and joy. He enhances Ottoboni's already powerful text and emphasises the focus on the cross through his musical interpretation. In the first part, his repeated references to Gregorian chant in the sections based on the *Lamentations of Jeremiah* is both striking and unusual.

The intentional repetition of the descending melodic figure from the first aria, 'Fosco orrore' at various points throughout the second part creates the illusion that the oratorio has

shifted from the triumph of Sin at its opening, to the triumph of Christ at its end, enhanced by the use of trumpet fanfares in both instances. Though the descending arpeggio was commonly found in melodies of the time, the exposed and recurring use of the figure by the composer creates a coherence in the work that was uncommon in other works from the period.

The blend of liturgical and secular influences demonstrates the truly multi-faceted nature of the *Oratorio per la Passione*. The use of pastoral and natural imagery and the subsequent word painting employed by Scarlatti harks to the composer's and librettist's association with the Arcadian Academy. The use of the da capo aria commonly found in *opera seria* of the period is balanced by references to multiple Bible passages and glorification of God through poetry, music, and performance setting, all of which creates an exciting, immersive and spiritual experience for the listener.

Chapter Six

THEATRICAL DEVOTION:

ORATORIO PER IL DOLORE DI MARIA VERGINE (1717)

Venerdì di dolori *and Initial Performance • Lamenting the Passion • San Giovanni and Maria Vergine • Theatrical Characters: The High Priests • Conclusion*

VENERDÌ DI DOLORI AND INITIAL PERFORMANCE

A further example of the complexities of the oratorio and the multi-faceted nature of the genre is one of Scarlatti's final extant oratorios: *Il dolore di Maria Vergine,* written for the feast of the Friday of Sorrows in 1717.[1] The libretto, attributed to Andrea di Luna d'Aragona, is an intensely emotional reflection on the Passion of Jesus by his mother Mary, St. John and the high priests Nicodemus and Onia. [2] In this oratorio Scarlatti makes use of many of the theatrical techniques favoured by the Arcadians – also seen in the *Passio secundum Joannem* and the *Oratorio per la Passione* – to enhance the emotions portrayed in the text, and add drama to passages based on scenes from the Bible. These include rhetorical devices such as

[1] The official title of the oratorio is slightly problematic as on the full score held at San Girolamo della Carità, a mark obscures the title so that only 'Orat…di Maria Virgine' can be deciphered. The oratorio is now widely known as *La Vergine Addolorata*, thanks to nineteenth-century musicologist Françoise Auguste Gevaert, or sometimes called *La Vergine dei dolori*. A more accurate assumption is Estervan Verladi's suggested title of *Il dolore di Maria Vergine*, as due to the legible text on the frontispiece of the Roman manuscript, it is likely that the original full title was *Oratorio per il dolore di Maria Vergine.* For many years it was believed that *Oratorio per il dolori di Maria Vergine* was Scarlatti's final oratorio. However, his final oratorio was in fact *La gloriosa gara tra la Santità e la Sapienza* (1720), the music for which is unfortunately lost. Additionally, it has since been argued that the latter oratorio is actually a serenata, so facts remain decidedly unclear. See Marie-Louise Catsalis, 'A Moveable Feast: Alessandro Scarlatti and the Serenata', in *Music Research: New Directions for a New Century*, eds. Michael Ewans, Rosalind Halton, John A. Phillips (London: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2004), 19.

[2] This attribution is based on the fact that di Luna wrote a libretto for an oratorio dedicated to Our Lady of Sorrows in 1712, also performed at the palace of his brother-in-law, Carlo Carmignano, see A. Magaudda and D. Costantini, *Musica e spettacolo nel Regno di Napoli* cit., *Appendix* (CD-Rom), 211: 3 May 1712 (2) 'In the home of the royal counselor D. Carlo Carmignano an oratorio of the Madonna of the Seven Sorrows was performed, written by D. Andrea di Luna, his brother-in-law, most noble in words and music, with a beautiful illuminated canopy, a feast for ladies and gentlemen…' quoted in Alessandro Scarlatti, *La Vergine Addolorata* ed. Gaetano Pitarresi (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2016), XI fn. 11/XVI fn. 11.

chromatic melodic movement to denote despair and sadness (*pathopoeia*) and word-painting (*hypotyposis*) to represent nature and animals. Also akin to the two earlier works, Scarlatti uses accompanied recitative to highlight important passages of text, despite the fact that *recitativo obbligato* was not commonly used in oratorios of the time.

One facet of this chapter explores the role of the lament – commonly considered to be the most intense and powerful operatic aria style in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century opera – in *Il dolore di Maria Vergine*. The laments suitability for implementation in the Passion story is explored, i.e., how the genre's connotations with lost romantic love can be transferred to the sorrow Mary feels upon losing her only son. The insertion of theatrical devices to enhance drama is also investigated, as well as the prominent use of pastoral imagery in the oratorio.

The feast of Our Lady of Sorrows is celebrated on 15 September and some Catholic countries also observe the feast of the Friday of Sorrows, which takes place on the Friday before Palm Sunday. These feasts are a celebration of the spiritual martyrdom of Mary, the mother of God, and draw comparisons with her sufferings and those of her son. Table 6.1 lists the seven sorrows and how they are interpreted in Scarlatti's *Il dolore di Maria Vergine.*[3]

Table 6.1 The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin Mary as represented in *Il dolore di Maria Vergine*

Sorrows	Interpretation
The prophecy of Simeon	Mary's accompanied recitative 'Ecco l'acciaro acuto' (mvt. 9) *Mary reveals her immense pain and desperation as she realises Simeon's prophecy is coming true*
The family's flight to Egypt	Accompanied recitative 'Figlio, mio caro figlio' (mvt. 14) *Mary recalls the suffering she faced during Jesus' infancy and how she was able to save him from Herod but cannot save him now*
The loss of the child Jesus in the temple	Recitative and Aria con echo 'Inutili miei sforzi!' and 'Ti perderò' (mvts. 23 & 24)

[3] F. Holweck, 'Feasts of the Seven Sorrows of the Blessed Virgin Mary', *The Catholic Encyclopaedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Co, retrieved 2 August 2019 from *New Advent*: http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14151b.html.

	Mary says that the sorrows are growing increasingly more difficult to deal with. She compares the pain she feels now to the pain she felt when she lost Jesus in the temple
Mary encounters Jesus carrying his cross on the Via Dolorosa	Recitative 'Da un discepolo infido' (mvt. 8) *In the oratorio there is no explicit reference to Mary witnessing Jesus carrying his cross, but John describe Jesus' journey from being taken prisoner to appearing before Caiaphas and Annas*
The crucifixion	Aria, 'Figlio, a morte tu ten vai' (mvt. 40) *A harrowing lament in which Mary heartbreakingly describes the crucifixion*
Jesus' body is removed from the cross/piercing of the side	Recitative, 'A penare, e soffrir' (mvt. 33) *Nicodemus describes all the horrors Jesus is forced to endure before being pierced in the side*
The burial of the body by Joseph of Arimathea	Recitative 'Ma dal legno penoso' (mvt. 50) *In conversation with Mary and John, Nicodemus states that the body must be found a worthy place for burial*

Each year the Arciconfraternità della Vergine dei Sette Dolori, based at San Luigi in Palazzo, Naples, commissioned the composition of an oratorio for the Friday of Sorrows, or the week immediately following the feasr. These oratorios centred around the sorrows of the Virgin Mary (as prophesised by Simeon) through emotional exchanges between allegorical characters and gospel figures. For instance, Nicola Porpora composed *Il trionfo della divina giustizia nei tormenti e morte di Gesù Cristo* for the archconfraternity in 1716, an expressive work featuring the characters Giustizia Divina (Divine Justice), Maddalena (Mary Magdalene), Maria Vergine (Virgin Mary) and Giovanni Apostolo (St. John the Apostle).[4]

The devotion to the Sorrowful Virgin was of great importance to the noble families of Naples and the circulation of oratorios devoted to this feast between Naples and Salerno was thanks to the patronage of the Del Pezzo and Luna families. A report from the *Gazzetta di Napoli*, printed on 30 March 1717 states:

[4] Danilo Costantini and Ausilia Magaudda, 'Attività musicali promosse dalle confraterni laiche nel Regno di Napoli (1677–1763)', *Fonti d'archivio per la storia della musica e dello spettacolo a Napoli tra XVI e XVIII secolo*, ed. Paologiovanni Maione (Naples: Editorale Scientifica, 2000), 162. See also Danilo Costantini and Ausilia Magaudda, 'L'arciconfraternita Napolitana dei sette dolori (1602–1778): notizie musicale inedite da un archive inesplorato', *Musica e Storia*, 11/1, (2003), 51–137.

> Since the twelfth century in the city of Salerno, at the Cathedral of S. Matteo, the solemnity of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Sorrows has been celebrated with a magnificent and rich apparatus, as various virtuosos from Naples come to the city for this feast, including the Marquis D. Matteo Sassano, called by the supreme piety of D. Lucrezia di Luna, of Aragon, wife of D. Ottavio del Pezzo, who every year demonstrated his devotion to the solemn feast, and delights in a harmonious and scholarly oratorio on the day.[5]

It is therefore possible that *Il dolore di Maria Vergine* was one of the oratorios referred to in this account. However, the first documented performance took place on 23 March 1717, commissioned by Carlo Carmignano.[6] It was originally thought that the oratorio was written for Rome, owing to the fact that the only manuscript containing the full score of the work is held in the archives of San Girolamo della Carità.[7] Yet research conducted by Danilo Costantini and Ausilia Magaudda on the musical activities of the Confraternità dei Sette Dolori, based at S. Luigi in Palazzo, proved that it premiered in Naples, according to a libretto recently discovered in the Conservatorio Luigi Cherubini, Florence and a short report printed in the *Gazzetta di Napoli* on 23 March 1717[8]:

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[5] 'Sin dalli 12 del corrente nella città di Salerno alla cattedrale di S. Matteo, con magnifico, e ricco apparato si celebrò la solennità della Beatissima Vergine Maria Addolorata, essendosi per detta festa portati in detta città vari virtuosi da Napoli, e fra gli altri il marchese D. Matteo Sassano, chiamati dalla somma pietà di D. Lucrezia di Luna, di Aragona, moglie di D. Ottavio del Pezzo, quale ogn'anno per sua devozione fa solennizare detta festa, e si godé nel giorno un armonioso ed erudito oratorio.' Griffin, 84, Costantini and Magaudda, 162. Claudio Sartori also makes reference to an *Oratorio in onore della Vergine Addolorata* ('da cantarsi nella casa del regio consigliero signor D. Carlo Carmignano per divozione nel medesimo e della signora D. Anna di Luna d'Aragona in onore della Vergine Addolorata. Dedicato alla stessa') in *I libretti italiani a stampa dale origini al 1800*, 7 vols, (Cuneo: Bertola X Locatelli, 1990–1994), n. 17233 and 17159.

[6] Here we have another connection with Johann Adolf Hasse (see Vol. II, 72–72), a student of Scarlatti. By 1725 Hasse was a resident in Naples, where, as a protégé of Carlo Carmignano, he had his first major work: *Marc Antonio e Cleopatra* performed. See Bertil van Baer, *Historical Dictionary of Music from the Classical Period* (Lanham, Toronto and Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, 2012), 264. For more on the Carmignano family see Giuseppe Fiengo, *L'Acquedotto di Carmignano e la sviluppo di Napoli in età barocca* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1990), 88–95.

[7] There are five remaining scores, or fragments, of the *Oratorio per il dolore di Maria Vergine* located in I-Rcsg (MS. 115), I-Nf and B-Bc. Fragments of the work are held at GB-Lwa and I-Rsc. Such widespread remaining autographs are certainly an indication of how well-received the work was from the outset.

[8] Costantini and Magaudda also provided a wealth of information on other confraternities in Palermo such as the Congregatione di Nostra Signora della Soledad and the oratorios performed in Naples, Palermo, Salerno, Bari and other Italian cities in honour of the sorrowful virgin – including compositions by Nicola Fago, Domenico Natale Sarro and Francesco Mancini in; Danilo Costantini and Ausilia Magaudda, 'Attività musicali', 152 fn. 220; *Musica e teatro nel Regno di Napoli attraverso lo spoglio della "Gazzetta" (1675–1768)* (Rome: ISMEZ, 2009). For details about the character of oratorios and sacred dramas promoted by the Confraternità dei Sette Dolori see; Pietro Del Pezzo, *Specilazioni ne' Sette Dolori della Vergine esposte in lezioni con altrettante*

> On Monday evening the Royal Counsellor D. Carlo Carmignano staged an oratorio in his residence, in praise of the Sorrowful Virgin, with the most famed virtuosi the marquis Matteo Sassano, Francesco Vitale, Floriano Flori and Giovanni Francesco Constanzi, accompanied by a great number of the best instrumentalists in this capital, with music composed by the Cavaliere Alessandro Scarlatti, having the cembalo played by Mrs Anna de Luna d'Aragona, wife of the said Counsellor; a good number of ladies attended the event, as well as knights, as many as the room could hold, at the front of which stood a statue of the Blessed Virgin.[9]

Carlo Carmignano was counsellor at the Royal Court in Naples, and his name appeared many times in the *Gazzetta di Napoli* from May 1694 onwards in reference to his musical patronage. As the entry states, Carmignano's second wife, Donna Anna di Luna d'Aragona, played the harpsichord at the premier of *Il dolore di Maria Vergine*.[10] Carmignano and his wife both came from families that were heavily involved in the musical life of Naples. Donna Anna's brother, Nicola Gaetoni dell'Aquila d'Aragona, commissioned Handel's cantata *Aci, Galatea e Polifermo* and Scarlatti's serenata *La Gloria di primavera* in 1708 with his wife, Aurora Sanseverino.[11] Famed soloist Matteo Sassano (1667–1737) performed in the Scarlatti serenata and – as mentioned in the report – also played the part of the Virgin Mary in the premiere of *Il dolore di Maria Vergine.*

reflessioni sullo straboccante spasimo del duolo (Naples: Felice Mosca, 1722). Del Pezzo's lessons and meditations of the pain and sufferings of Jesus intended to stimulate compassion, tenderness, and emotion from Catholics.

[9] 'Lunedì [22 marzo] la sera il regio consigliero D. Carlo Carmignano fece nella sala del palazzo ove habita, cantare un oratorio in lode della Vergine SS. Addolorata, dalli famosissimi virtuosi marchese D. Matteo Sassano, Francesco Vitale, Floriano Flori, e Giovanni Francesco Costanzi, con l'accompagnamento di gran numero de'migliori istromenti, che vi sono in questa capitale, essendo stato il componimento della musica del cavalier Alessandro Scarlati, [sic.] avendoci per sua singolar divozione sonato il primo cimbalo la signora D. Anna de Luna d'Aragona, moglie del detto regio consigliero; nella qual funzione intervennero un buon numero così di dame, come di cavalieri, che ne fu capace la detta sala, nella quale sopra una sontuosissima macchina si vide la statua della detta SS. Vergine' As printed in Costantini and Magaudda, 'Attività musicali', 163. Also printed, with some slight differences in; Thomas Griffin, *Musical References in the* Gazzetta di Napoli *1681–1725* (Berkeley: Fallen Leaf, 1993), 84.

[10] Carlo Carmignano's first wife was Antonia Sanfelice, daughter of the Duke of Bagnoli. See Donna Anna di Luna d'Aragona was also the sister of librettist and composer Andrea di Luna see Costantini and Magaudda, 'Attività musicali', 156 fn. 223.

[11] Costantini and Magaudda, 'Attività musicali', 144–145.

Sassano – also known as 'Matteuccio' and 'il rosignuolo di Napoli' – was the most famous castrato in Naples during the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. He is frequently mentioned in the *Gazzetta di Napoli* between 1709 and 1724 and can also be found in the payment records of the Neapolitan Royal Court at the time Scarlatti was *maestro*.[12] He officially retired from theatre singing in 1708, but still regularly performed at the Royal Court.[13] However, Grazia Carbonella points out that around 1716 and 1717 Sassano's appearances at the Royal Court became sporadic, as he favoured performing in religious events commissioned by noblemen, particularly devotions to the Sorrowful Virgin. Indeed, he was even said to dedicate every Saturday to his own devotion in the later years of his life, despite his libertine lifestyle as a young man.[14]

As in Rome, Neapolitan oratorios were not staged, but scenes were still 'set' as the works were performed in front of richly draped curtains, tapestries and large holy images or paintings in keeping with the theme of the libretto. In the Friday of Sorrows celebrations, a statue of Our Lady of Sorrows was often displayed where the performance of the oratorio took place.[15] In the Roman Catholic Church, Our Lady of Sorrows is depicted with a sword, or several swords, piercing her breast, enrobed in black garments and often with a golden crown, as seen in Figure 6.1. The final sentence of the article in the *Gazzetta* states that the performance took place in front of an impressive backdrop with a large, illuminated statue of Mary.[16] This is not unlike the dark, sombre atmosphere created by the candle-lit crucifix at the 1706 performance of the *Oratorio per la Passione di nostro Signore Gesù Cristo*: using a

[12] Grazia Carbonella, 'Matteo Sassano, il rosignolo di Napoli', *La Capitana: Rivista quadrimestrale della Biblioteca Provinciale dei Foggia*, 21 (2007), 235.
[13] I-Na, Scriviana di Razione e Ruota de'conti, 3–4/II: *Musicos y Cantores de la R. Capilla de Palacio* (f. 82) printed in Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples*, 223.
[14] 'Il ritratto di Matteo Sassano che scaturisce dalla lettura delle cronache del tempo è quello di un grande cantate, 'musico di re e regine', puittosto che personaggio di teatro'. Carbonella, 'Matteo Sassano', 248.
[15] Pitarresi, 'Introduction', xiv.
[16] It is not specified whether the statue of Mary represented Our Lady of Sorrows.

mixture of visual imagery, light and sculpture to set a sombre, dramatic scene for the events of the Passion about to portrayed.

Figure 6.1 Late seventeenth-century wooden sculpture by an unknown artist, a typical depiction of S. Maria dei Sette Dolori (Our Lady of Sorrows) with seven daggers piercing her heart (at San Nicola alla Carità, Naples).

The oratorio features four solo voices: Mary (soprano), St. John (soprano), the pharisee Nicodemus (alto) and the high priest Onia (tenor). These characters are accompanied by strings, flute, oboe, trumpet and continuo. The libretto spans the capture of Jesus in Gethsemane, his trial before the Sanhedrin and Pontius Pilate, the scourging and crowning of thorns, Pilate sentencing Jesus to death, the walk with the cross to Calvary and finally the crucifixion and death. The narrative is presented in a combination of recitative, accompanied recitative, 19 arias, one duet, two trios and a quartet. Scarlatti creates great contrast between the range of emotional reactions to the story of the Crucifixion, by offsetting Mary's frequent

long and sorrowful laments with furious interjections in the form of Onia's rage arias and John's intense spiritual devotion.

LAMENTING THE PASSION

Songs of lamentation based on the Passion stretch as far back as the Middle Ages and the singing of the 'Planctus', a dirge for the dead performed in Latin or the vernacular. From the twelfth century onwards emerged a sub-genre of the Planctus known as the 'Planctus Mariae': dramatic and semi-dramatic laments of the Virgin Mary. Karl Young states that these performances – which usually took place on Holy Thursday and Good Friday – indicated the first steps taken towards the dramatisation of the Passion.[17]

When discussing the delivery of sermons during Passiontide and the singing of the 'Planctus Mariae' in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Donna Spivey Ellington describes the preachers as so fully entering into the sombre and sorrowful mood of the time that they expected Mary, now reigning as Queen of Heaven, also to participate with them in the reliving of Christ's Passion.[18] This understanding of the level of pain experienced by Mary is echoed in the libretti of the oratorios written for the Friday of Sorrows. In *Il dolore di Maria Vergine* Mary's pain is demonstrated through her desperate lament arias. Table 6.2 shows that out of Mary's eight arias in the oratorio, only one is not *lento* or *adagio*.

[17] Neil C. Brooks, 'The Lamentations of Mary in the Frankfurt Group of Passion Plays', *Journal of Germanic Philology* 3 (1900–1901), 416; Sandro Sticca, 'The *Planctus Mariae* and the Passion Plays', *Symposium: A Quarterly Journal in Modern Literatures*, 15/1 (1961), 41–48.
[18] Donna Spivey Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul: Understanding Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2001), 84.

Table 6.2 Mary's arias in *Il dolore di Maria Vergine*

Part	Title	Style/Position in Storyline
1	*Il mio figlio ov'è fa?*	*Lento*, lament style aria accompanied by strings in which Mary desperately pleads to know where her son is.
	Non è nuova quest'alma ai tormenti	*Lento*, lament style aria accompanied by strings in which Mary states she has become accustomed to living in intense pain and she knows more is to come.
	Ecco suona la tromba ferale	Faster paced aria accompanied by trumpet and strings. Mary states that the sound of the 'feral' trumpet signifies the point of her son's death and that she will not escape the cruel pain.
	Col suo flebil mormorio	*Lento*, lament style aria accompanied by strings. Mary uses images of nature to express her sorrow.
	Ti perderò	*Adagio*, lament style aria accompanied by strings, with an echo of some of Mary's words that serves as confirmation she will lose her son, and never hold him in her arms again.
	Aura lieve di speranza	*Lento* aria in which Mary expresses a glimmer of hope after Nicodemus informs her that her son will return, she takes comfort from this as characters start to reference the resurrection.
2	*Saziati col suo sangue*	This *lento*, lament style movement is Mary's final aria before Jesus' death, and she states that she wishes she could die with him.
	Figlio, a morte tu ten vai	Mary's final aria, again *lento*, in a lament style she vividly describes the crucifixion.

In a chapter on Degli Antonii's Passion oratorio *L'Innocenza Depressa* (1686) in his 1999 monograph, Victor Crowther suggests that the Italian Passion oratorio developed from the Marian lament and that librettists created depth and variety by 'simply enlarging the circle of mourners to include the male disciples and, perhaps, the centurion guarding the cross'. The laments of the Virgin Mary had long been central components for the Catholic Church's Passiontide devotions, so inserting the lament into Passion oratorios was somewhat of an inevitable and organic progression.[19] For instance, Richard Viladesau describes Mary's

[19] Victor Crowther, *The Oratorio in Bologna* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 87.

lament in the earliest known Italian Passion oratorio from 1640 as the 'centrepiece' of the work, that is similar in style to many dramatic operatic laments of the period.[20]

Lino Bianchi describes *Il dolore di Maria Vergine* as a lament with no sense of beginning or end.[21] Such a description is apt due to the insistent stream of questions asked by St. John and the drawn-out suffering of Mary as she witnesses her son's death. Additionally, in his preface to the recently published modern critical edition of the work, Gaetano Pitarresi describes Mary's arias 'Saziati col suo sangue' and 'Figlio, a morte tu ten voi', as the two great laments of the work.[22]

In *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, Lorenzo Bianconi analyses the profound and enduring effect that Claudio Monteverdi's *Lamento d'Arianna* had on the lament genre. The piece was originally the operatic climax to the composer's Mantuan opera from 1608, *Arianna,* with text by Ottavio Rinuccini. The music of the opera is lost, and the *Lamento* only survives due to Monteverdi's decision to publish it independently from the opera on no less than three occasions. It first appeared as a five-part madrigal in 1614 and then as a monody in 1623. It was also reworked and rearranged as a sacred work under the name *Lamento della Madonna* in 1641 for use in a Holy Week performance, and in the same year it appeared as a sacred Latin paraphrase (the *Pianto della Madonna sopra il lamento d'Arianna*) in the composer's *Selva morale e spirituale*, a short collection of sacred music.[23]

[20] Richard Viladesau, *The Pathos of the Cross* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 135.
[21] Lino Bianchi/Estévan Verlardi [liner notes], *A. Scarlatti, Il Dolore di Maria Vergine*, Brilliant Classics 95534 (2017), 6.
[22] Pitarresi draws comparisons between these two lament arias and the arias that Scarlatti would write for Leonora in *Trionfo dell'onore* the following year. See 'Alessandro Scarlatti tra devozione e passione: dalla "Vergine addolorata" al "Trionfo dell'onore" (1717–1718), in *Devozione e passione. Alessandro Scarlatti nel 350° anniversario della nascita*, Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi (Reggio Calabria, 8-9 October 2010) ed. Nicolò Maccavino, Soveria Mannelli (Rubbettino, 2013), 267–302.
[23] Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century* tr. David Bryant (Cambridge, New York, Victoria: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 211.

Bianconi describes the *Lamento d'Arianna* as the 'original model' that provided the literary and compositional material for subsequent laments. This 'model' consists of several distinct sections, outlined by Bianconi as:

> Mortal desperation, self-pity, supplication of the unfaithful lover, nostalgic evocation of past joys, reproach for unmaintained promises, oath of vendetta in respect of the fugitive and…shocked consternation for the wickedness of her words.[24]

Many of these 'sections' can be seen in Mary's arias in *Il dolore di Maria Vergine.* Her pleading and repetitive questions in her first aria 'Il mio figlio ov'è, che fa?' reflect her mortal desperation, while her second aria begins with her describing how she has become accustomed to the constant pain she feels, paralleling the 'self-pity' of a lament. The nostalgia for past joys can be seen in her longing pleas to hold her son, whom she loved, in her arms again and the oath of vendetta realised in her shocked reaction to the news of Judas Iscariot's wickedness and betrayal of Jesus as she sings in recitative, 'Ah tigre! Ah mostro ingrato! Mostro di ferità, mostro d'inferno!' ('ah tiger, ah, ungrateful monster, monster all feral, monster of hell').

Laments became ubiquitous in music of the seventeenth century, usually in moments of intense emotional climax, to denote sorrow and/or heartbreak. In this early modern context, the 'lament' was a vocal work often built upon a descending ostinato bass (frequently a descending tetrachord) with long, chromatic melody lines. The length of these passages was deliberately designed to force the singer to gasp for breath, thereby creating the impression that they were in an impassioned state. Having long vocal phases not in sync with the ostinato bass often created a feeling of tension and discomfort. Composers took advantage of this approach so frequently that the sound of the lament bass automatically evoked feelings

[24] Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, 213.

of sombre affection and oppressiveness due to the pull of its descending pattern.[25] In the article 'The Descending Tetrachord: An Emblem of Lament', Ellen Rosand discusses how librettists acknowledged the 'special position' of the lament through the use of more strongly metered and rhymed texts where affective phrases became refrains. In interpreting these texts, composers repeated or enhanced the most affective words of a lament through melodic sequences, dissonances, or textural conflicts.[26]

The lament had already appeared in both sacred and secular contexts, as exemplified by the Monteverdi contrafactum, but also featured in countless other operas and cantatas, and the oratorio was no exception. One of the most famous examples of the lament in an oratorio is in Carissimi's *Jephte*. The daughter's lament comes at the end of the work; a monody in three strophes that makes expressive use of the Neapolitan sixth and the cadences are intensified throughout by anguished echoes from two sopranos. The final chorus creates a similar effect, with emotive suspensions on the final word of the oratorio 'lamentamini' ('songs of sorrow'), and a drawn-out final cadence built on single, then double and triple suspensions, emphasising the hopeless desperation of the characters.

The lament was not simply sacred music appropriating what works in a secular context; there was a theological basis for including laments in sacred vocal compositions. Cornelius à Lapide (1567-1637), a Flemish Jesuit who taught at the *Collegio Romano* (the first university founded by the Society of Jesus), was the leading Catholic Biblical exegete of the century. When referring to the biblical story of Jepthah, he compared the weeping of the daughters of Israel after Jepthah's daughter's death with the 'collective grieving of the church'.[27] As noted in the previous chapter, this grief was normally expressed by the singing

[25] Bella Brover-Lubovsky, *Tonal Space in the Music of Antonio Vivaldi* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2008), 153. See also Stefano La Via, 'Il passacaglio tetracordale come *tòpos* poetico-musicale transculturale. Usi antichi e moderni a confronto (secc. XVI−XVII e XX−XXI)', *Rivista di Analisi e Teoria Musicale*, 20 (2014), 27−95.
[26] Ellen Rosand, 'The Descending Tetrachord: An Emblem of Lament', *MQ*, 65/3 (1979), 347.
[27] Kendrick, *Sacred Songs and Oratorios*, 365.

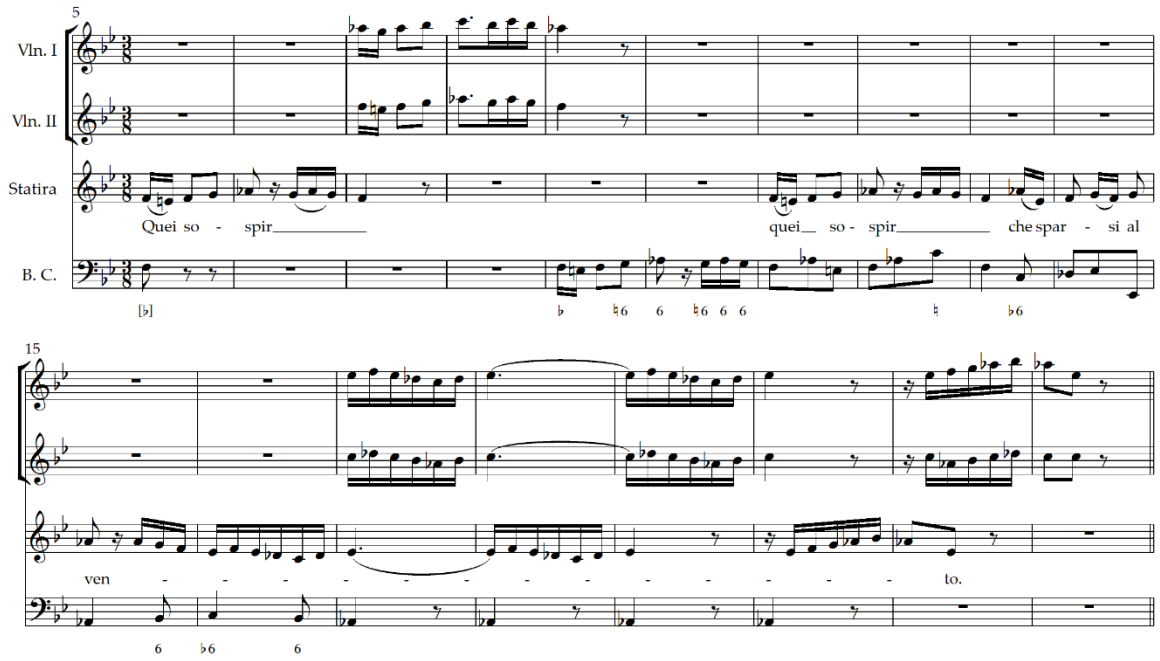
of the *Lamentations of Jeremiah* during Lent, hence Ottoboni's deliberate inclusion of large sections of the *Lamentations* in the *Oratorio per la Passione*.

During the mid-seventeenth century the 'lament aria' became the expressive climax of many operas. This was mainly due to emotions being the focus of a lament, rather than anything specifically to do with the narrative action of the work, which was normally expressed mainly through recitatives and standard arias. An example can be found in Scarlatti's own *La Statira* (1690) in the aria 'Quei sospir che sparsi al vento' ('Those sighs that scattered in the wind'). The aria contains sorrowful echoes of the voice by the violins and a ritornello laced with the suspensions and dissonances associated with the lament aria (Example 6.1). It also features long, melismatic phrases broken by rests that mimic the wind and echoes of the vocal line by the strings, representative of Statira's sighs. Ayana O. Smith argued that the aria was the moment of Statira's 'most intense plight and greatest vulnerability' and suggests that the long melismas and echoing repetition of the violins are representations of the relentless winds that will no longer carry her sorrowful lament.[28]

The lament was clearly such a passionate display of loss and grief that it is transferrable for use in Passion oratorios, and musical features similar to those seen in oratorios such as Carissimi's *Jepthe* and many of Scarlatti's operas can be found in abundance in *Il dolore di Maria Vergine*.

[28] Ayana O. Smith, *Dreaming with Open Eyes: Opera, Aesthetics, and Perception in Arcadian Rome* (California: University of California Press, 2019), 132–134. Example 6.1 was taken from D-Mbs Mus. MS.144, pp. 204–205. For a modern edition of the opera see William C. Holmes, *La Statira by Pietro Ottoboni and Alessandro Scarlatti: The Textual Sources with a Documentary Postscript* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1983). Dent also discusses the emotional outburst of Laodice in Scarlatti's *Mitridate Eupatore* as she laments the supposed death of her beloved brother. Edward J. Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti: His Life and Works* (London: Edward Arnold, 1905), 108–110.

Example 6.1 Alessandro Scarlatti, *La Statira*, 'Quei sospir che sparsi al vento', bb.5-22.



SAN GIOVANNI AND MARIA VERGINE

The manuscript of *Il Dolore*[29] instructs the performers that, after the oratorio's dramatic instrumental *introduzzione*, should 'siegue subito il Rec[itati]vo con V[ioli]ni'. The result is that the work swiftly launches into John's frantic opening *recitativo accompagnato* in which he expresses his grief and sadness at the betrayal of Jesus and the pain Mary is experiencing:[30]

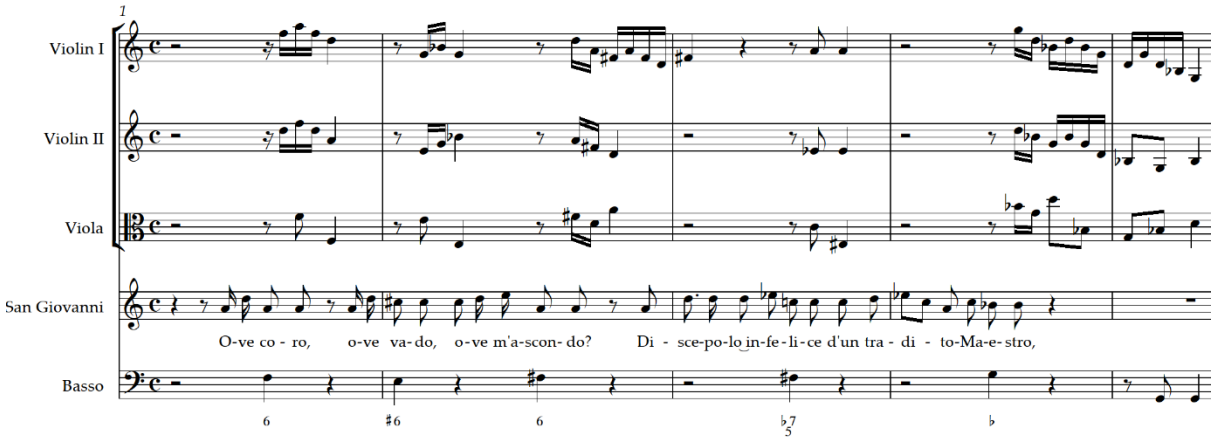
Ove corro, ove vado, ove m'ascondo?	*Where to run, where to go, where to hide?*
Discepolo infelice	*Unhappy disciple*
d'un tradito maestro.	*Of a master betrayed*
Qual speco ermo e silvestro	*What is that thicket woody and wild*
mi celerà nel tenebroso grembo	*That shall hide me in its darkness*
per non mirar spettacolo	*So as not to make a spectacle*
della morte crudel d'un uomo Dio.	*Of the cruel death of God by man.*

[29] From the archives at S. Girolamo della Carità, held at the Archivio di Stato, Rome.
[30] All libretto extracts are taken from Estervan Verladi's reconstruction; Scarlatti Il Dolore die Maria Vergine 95534, https://www.brilliantclassics.com/articles/s/scarlatti-il-dolore-di-maria-vergine/.

John's urgent, repeated questioning as the opening text of the oratorio interspersed with flurries of semiquavers in the strings – outlining diminished chords and building tension in bars 2 and 3, before a descending arpeggiated G Minor chord at bars 4 to 5 (see Example 6.2) – set a scene of uncertainty and distress. John sings of the thicket hiding him, amongst its branches, and referenced to dark pastoral imagery continue throughout the rest of the oratorio.[31]

It is noteworthy that Scarlatti set these opening lines as accompanied recitative, as throughout the oratorio accompanied recitatives highlight particularly intense moments and create counterpoint by supporting the voices with powerful chromatic harmony.[32] Although this use of *recitativo obbligato* was relatively unusual in the context of early eighteenth-century oratorio, it is akin to the sections of accompanied recitative Scarlatti used to distinguish Christ's lines from the other parts and highlight the moment the Evangelist announces Christ's death in the *Passio secundum Joannem* and is used to set sections of the *Lamentations of Jeremiah* inspired passages where the characters sing of the abandonment and despair of Jerusalem in the *Oratorio per la Passione*.

Example 6.2 *Recitativo obbligato* 'Ove corro', bb.1-5[2]

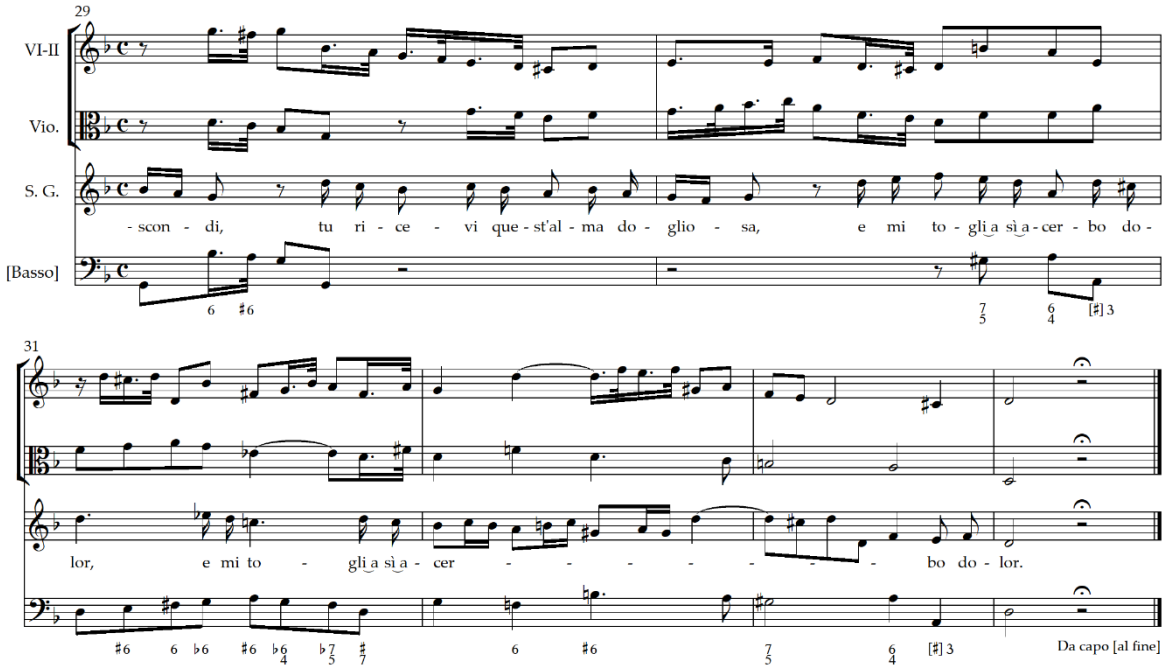


[31] Use of pastoral imagery in the oratorio is discussed 143–144.
[32] All examples are taken from Gaetano Pitarresi's modern critical edition entitled *La Vergine Addolorata*, published in 2016 (see fn. 2, 125).

In comparison with the other characters John displays the biggest character transformation throughout the oratorio. Mary is sorrowful throughout, Nicodemus is a diplomat, and Onia remains fervent in his hatred towards Jesus until a sudden change of heart towards the end of the second part when he realises the consequences of his actions and swiftly departs.

Before becoming a source of comfort and strength for Mary, John spends the majority of the first part in a state of bewilderment, displaying an uncontrollable, youthful fury and lack of understanding through countless unanswered questions. He is presented as a despairing character, unable to comprehend the tragic events unfolding. The intensity of his anxious ramblings is heightened by the moments of awkward and disjointed melody lines in his only aria in the first part, 'Fra dirupi' ('Among rocks'), particularly as he sings the final line before the da capo 'tu recevi quest'alma dogliosa e mi togli a sì acerbo dolor' ('Receive thou this soul that is sorrowful, take from me such bitter sorrow'), as seen in Example 6.3.

Example 6.3 *Aria* 'Fra dirupi', bb.29-34



John persistently expresses his confusion and deep sorrow, as well as a desire to find a solitary place to mourn the death of Jesus and his powerlessness to comfort Mary in her suffering. This is demonstrated as Mary questions who she should turn to, and John responds by stating he can be of no help, he is in such disbelief himself:

Mary:	Misera e che far deggio?	*What shall I, a wretch do?*
	Chi aita mi darà? Chi mi consiglia?	*Who will aid me? Who'll counsel?*
St. John:	Ahi ch'in tanto crudo affanno	*Ah, in such cruel affliction*
	stupida stassi e attonita la mente;	*The mind in astonishment stupefied stands*
	Nè trova a tanto mal schermo	*And finds 'gainst such evil*
	o consiglio.	*No counsel nor shield.*

In contrast, Mary's overwhelming grief and firm belief in the true goodness of her son is expressed though six lento arias, with the use of allegro a rare occurrence in any of her solo movements. Four of Mary's six arias in the first part run one after the other. It is an unusual feature to have so many of the same character's arias run consecutively in an oratorio, but this literary decision, which expresses Mary's desperation, is enhanced by Scarlatti's musical decision to set most of her arias as laments, using long note lengths, chromatic melodic movement, affective text repetition, melodic and rhythmic dissonances created by suspensions, syncopation and overlapping phrases between the voices and instruments, all of which are common characteristics of the early modern lament.[33]

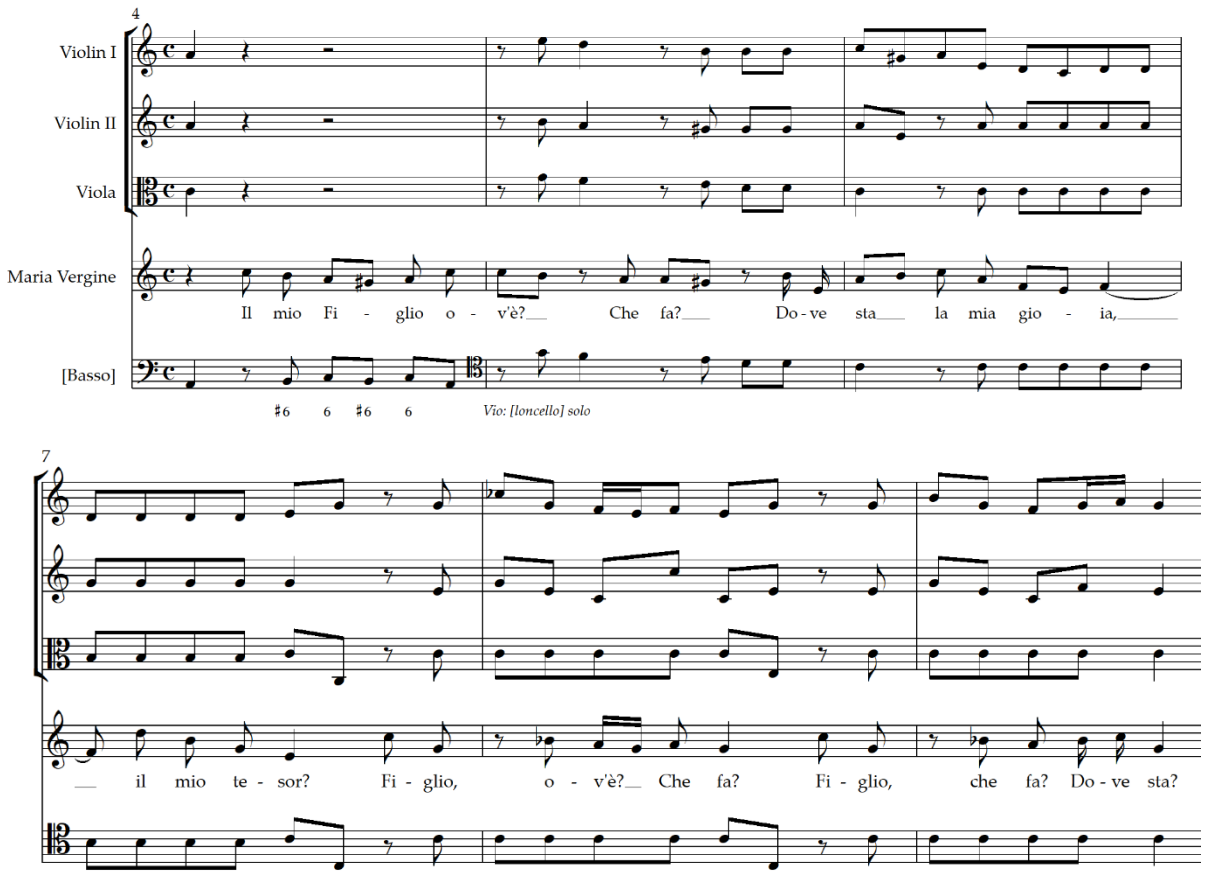
In her first aria she questions the whereabouts of her beloved son:

Il mio figlio ov'è, che fa?	*Where is my son? What has he done?*
Dove sta la mia gioia, il mio tesor?	*Where is my joy? My treasured one.*
Ah'che mostri ingordi e fieri	*For monsters of pride do now in their greed*
e con l'opre e coi pensieri	*Turn all their thoughts and deeds*
di svenarlo lacerarlo	*To bleed and cut him,*
solo pensano ad'ognor	*This is their sole thought.*
Il mio figlio	*Where is my son?*

[33] Ellen Rosand, 'Lament', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2001).

In the aria rests occur between Mary's repeated questions, a device commonly associated with weeping, and frequently found in laments of the time due to its pathetic connotations.[34] (Example 6.4).

Example 6.4 *Aria* 'Il mio Figlio o'vè?', bb.4-9



Pastoral Imagery

In *Il dolore di Maria Vergine* use of pastoral imagery and references to nature are even more frequent than in the *Oratorio per la Passione*, particularly in Mary's recitatives and lament arias. Before the introduction of the High Priests, she describes the all-encompassing terror she feels in recitative that references the landscape:

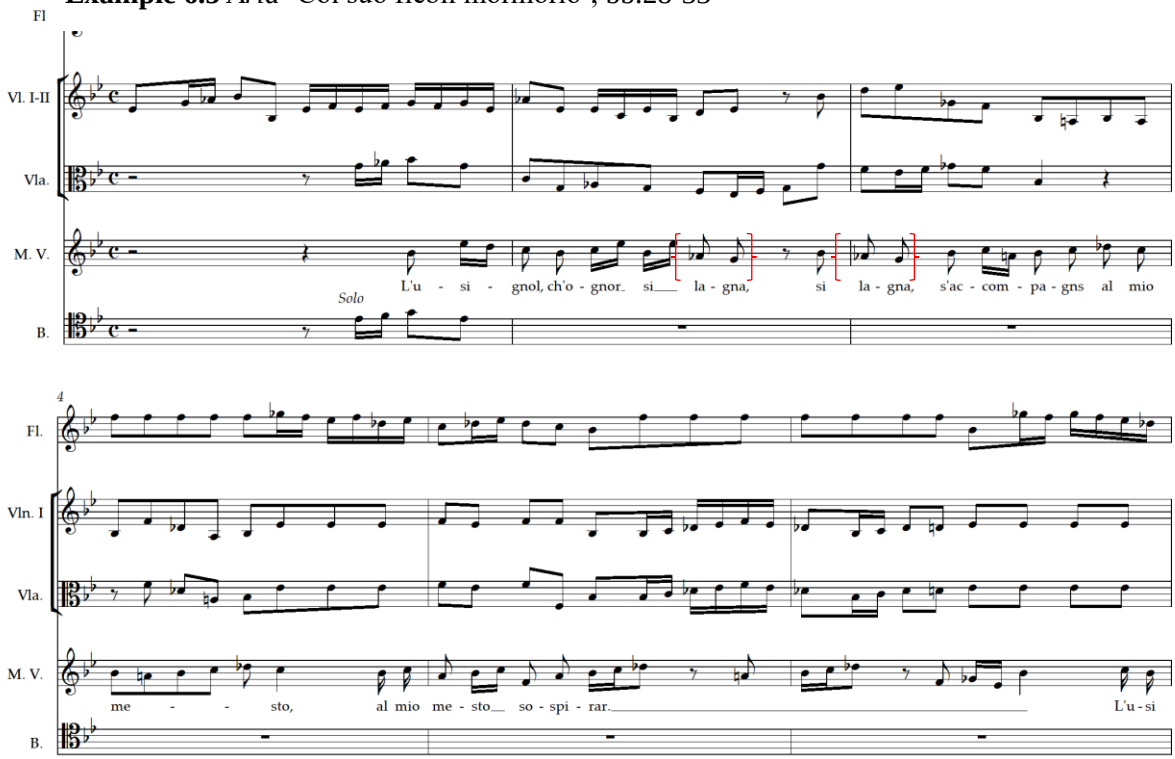
Ovunque il guardo giro	*Everywhere I turn my gaze*
tutto pena m'appar, doglia e martito.	*pain, sorrow and martyrdom appear.*
La valle, il piano, il monte	*Valleys, plains, mountains*

[34] Joan Grimalt, *Mapping Musical Signification* (Springer: Cham, 2021), 33–34.

il cielo e gl'elementi	*Skies and the elements*
par che oggetti sian de miei lamenti.	*all seem to be objects of my laments.*

The beginning of the aria following this recitative is shown in Example 6.5. In the second stanza Mary describes a nightingale accompanying her in her sorrow, 'L'usignol ch'ognor si lagna, s'accompagna al mio mesto sospirar', ('The nightingale there that ever complains accompanies me in my downcast sigh'). The song of the nightingale can be seen in the flute, an instrument commonly associated with pastoral themes, particularly in Handel's oratorios.[35] The flute's melody floats above Mary's *pianto* sighs, which are represented by the descending semi-tone (bracketed), a common technique of the time and particularly associated with laments.[36]

Example 6.5 *Aria* 'Col suo flebil mormorio', bb.28-33



[35] Ellen Rosand, 'Handel Paints the Resurrection' in *Festa Musicologica: Essays in Honor of George J. Buelow* ed. Thomas J. Mathiesen and Benito V. Rivera (New York: Pendragon Press, 1995), 20.
[36] Danuta Mirka, *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory* ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 36.

When this oratorio premiered Scarlatti had been a member of the Academia degli Arcadia for over ten years. The pastoral themes and references to nature and animals echo the sentiments of the Academy. When discussing the Academy and its affiliation with pastoral opera in the late seventeenth century, Stefanie Tcharos wrote:

> The main character of this hybrid style of drama was required to rise to heroic action and overcome obstacles by means of rational thought and moral action. Characters strove to be virtuous and not yield to instinct. They might find pleasure in the innocence of beauty, but love was not limited to mere romance; rather, it was equated with loyalty and was a symbol of God's perfection, not just the visceral passions of the mortal world.[37]

Examples of the 'obstacles' mentioned by Tcharos can certainly be found within *Il dolore di Maria Vergine,* as John eventually overcomes his irrational thoughts in order to care for Mary. Tcharos also highlights that love in pastoral operas was not tied only to romance, which is perfectly exemplified in this oratorio, both with Mary's love for her son and John's love for Mary.

Duets

In the closing movements of the first part John and Mary hark back to the opening of the oratorio, with a desperate exchange in which Mary says she wishes weeping would ease her pain. However, during the emotional lento duet 'Tu piangi/Io piango', John starts to react a little differently to Mary's grief. He is less frantic and bewildered than before, and more comforting and reassuring to her, as well as his increasing confidence in his own faith:

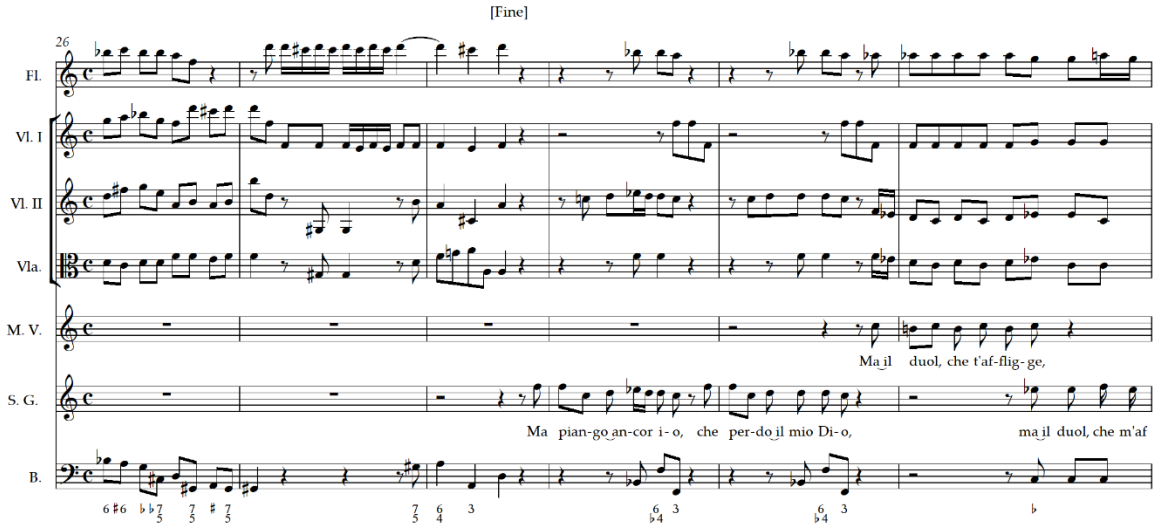
San Gio.	Tu piangi ed è giusto o Vergine il pianto;	*Thou weepest, thou weepest and* *just is thy weeping;*
Maria	Io piango, ed angusto a duolo cotanto già sembrami il cor;	*I weep and yet my heart seems* *already full of such sorrow;*
San Gio.	È giusto il dolor. Ma piango ancor io	*Just is your sorrow,* *But I will weep also,*

[37] Tcharos, *Opera's Orbit,* 41.

	che perdo il mio Dio,	*For I have lost my God,*
	ma il duol che m'affligge	*but the pain that afflicts me*
	e il cor mi trafigge	*and my heart is transfixed*
	lo provo maggior.	*Is in me yet more.*
Maria Ver.	Ma il duol che t'affligge	*But pain that afflicts me*
	e il cor mi trafigge	*and pierces my heart*
	lo provo maggior.	*I feel it greater.*
	Ma piango.	*But I weep.*

Scarlatti's setting perfectly mirrors the change in John that occurs throughout this section of the text. The first stanza of the duet, where John and Mary weep together, pivots around D minor, ending on the tonic chord in bar 28. John then begins in the second stanza in Bb major, interjecting the endless lamenting with expressions of solidarity with Mary, marking a change in his attitude towards the situation in the final movement of the first part (Example 6.6).

Example 6.6 *Duetto* 'Tu piangi/Io piango' bb.26-31



This duet has a remarkably similar text to the duet between Pentimento and Grazia in the *Oratorio per la Passione*, which features in the first part, amongst the long paraphrasings of the *Lamentations*:

Pen.	Piangerò	I will weep!
Gra.	Piangi, pur, che nel tuo pianto io saprò darti ristoro.	Weep then, for I can bring solace only by your weeping.
Pen.	Che dal mio pianto spero solo haver [aver] ristoro.	I will weep, for I hope to gain solace only by my weeping.
à 2	Per voi lacrime gradite sanerò quelle ferrite, che mi/a te dan sì rio martoro.	Through you, welcome tears, I will heal those wounds that cause you/me such cruel torment.

Both texts feature one character attempting to comfort the other, while the only source of actual comfort seems to be the physical act of weeping. The act of weeping was deemed crucial to the work and theological teachings of the Catholic Church at the time, particularly to the Jesuits, whose priests were often measured on their ability to make congregations weep during sermons.[38]

The settings of this duet in the Dresden and Wiesentheid manuscripts of the *Oratorio per la Passione* are slightly different, but both contain canonic entries similar to the one we see in 'Tu piangi/Io piango' in *Il dolore di Maria Vergine* (see vl. II, mvt.11, p.32). The canonic entries and call and response sections between the voices in both duets give the effect that the characters are mirroring each other in their sense of loss, almost moving around in circles of hopelessness.

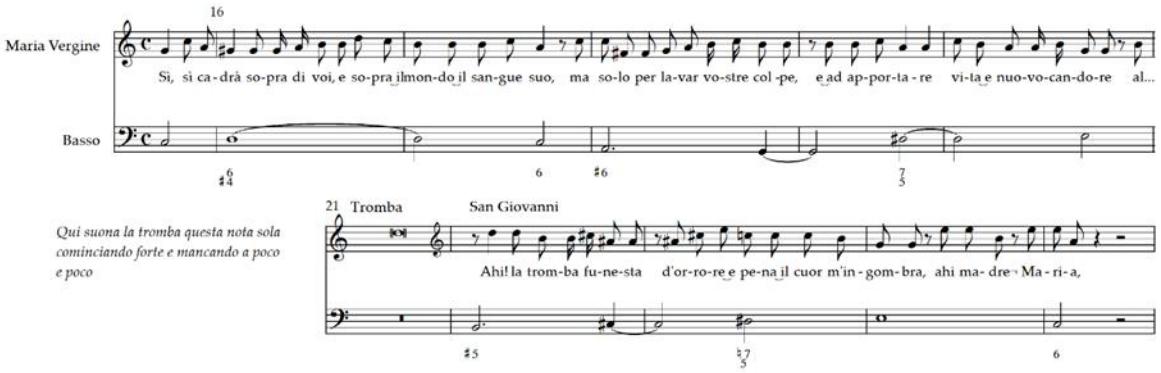
Another poignant moment between John and Mary comes at the point Jesus is sentenced to death, when a harrowingly lonely note emerges from the trumpet, breaking off Mary mid-sentence, as shown in Example 6.7. Bianchi describes this as a 'brilliantly devised piece of theatre'.[39]

Maria	Si, cadrà sopra di voi e sopra il mondo il sangue suo ma solo per lavar vostre colpe ed'apportare vita e nuovo candore al…	*Yes, upon you shall fall* *and upon the world his blood but* *only to wash clean your sins and to* *Bring life and new purity to…*

[38] William A. Christian Jr., 'Provoked religious weeping in early modern Spain', *Religion and Emotion: Approaches and Interpretations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 37.
[39] Bianchi/Verlardi, [Liner notes], 7.

	(Qui sona la Tromba questa nota sola cominciando Forte e mancando a poco a poco)	(Here the trumpet sounds this single note beginning loud and falling away little by little)
S. Gio	Ahi! La tromba funesta d'orrore, e pena il cor m'ingombra; ahi madre, Maria, mira il tuo figlio qual sotto il grave incaro geme affannoso; ahi duolo, ahi pena ria.	*Ah, the trumpet of doom* *with horror and pain my heart* *overshadows; ah mother,* *Mary, behold now thy son* *that under such grave burden moans* *and struggles; ah such evil pain.*

Example 6.7 *Recitativo* 'Donna, qual sii, t'inganni', bb.15[3]-25[2]



This interruption is powerful and shocking, yet a momentary exemplification of how this oratorio blends the sacred and the secular: a theatrical feature cleverly enhancing both the drama and religious significance of a moment in the Passion of Christ. Here Scarlatti makes use of the trumpet in a different way, not in the usual military fanfare as in the *Oratorio per la Passione*, to display Onia's confidence and aggression, or to evoke an apocalyptic atmosphere, but to convey complete hopelessness, abandon and despair. These are not the typical themes and emotions the trumpet was associated with in eighteenth-century music, but more closely emulate the use of the trumpet in the Book of Revelation (Apocalypse), when seven trumpets sound individually to cue apocalyptic events witnessed by John of Patmos (Revelation 1:9).[40]

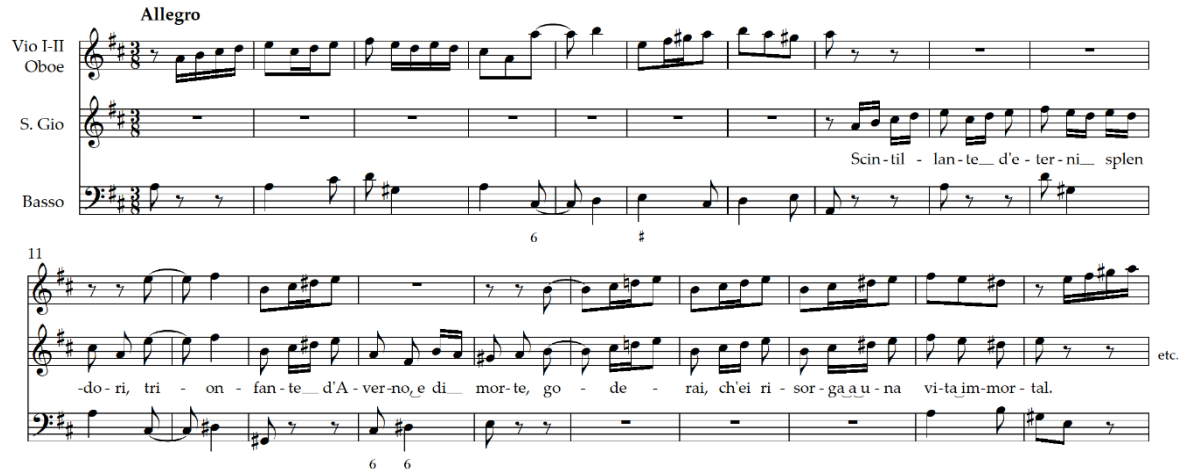
[40] For the use of the trumpet in the book of Revelation see Thomas Allen Seel, *A Theology of Music for Worship Derived from the Book of Revelation* (Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 1995), 61–65.

When Mary declares that she cannot endure any more pain, John becomes more positive and optimistic in the jubilantly rhythmic aria ‘Scintillante d’eterni splendori’, displaying the transformation the character has gone through since the beginning of the narrative. Instead of adolescent panic and helplessness, he is now the brave witness of Jesus’ goodness and a loving son to Mary:

Scintillante d’eterni speldori	*All shining with eternal splendour,*
trionfondo d’averno e di morte	*triumphing over hell and death*
goderi “che risorga” a una vita	*you shall enjoy “that he riseth” to*
immortal.	*immortal life*
E cessati gl’affanni e dolori	*and thy trouble and sorrow will cease*
lo vedrai disserrare del cielo le porte	*you shall see the gates of heaven open*
ch’eran chiuse all’afflitto mortal.	*that were once closed to the afflictions of mortals.*

The aria is fast paced, and in the joyous key of A major, commonly associated with youthful cheerfulness and trust in God in the eighteenth century.[41] The strings echo John’s exultation, now moving in upwards scalic motions, in contrast to the descending minor arpeggios seen in the character’s opening aria (Example 6.8).

Example 6.8 *Aria* ‘Scintillante d’eterni splendori’, bb.1-20



[41] Rita Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2002), 123.

THEATRICAL CHARACTERS: THE HIGH PRIESTS

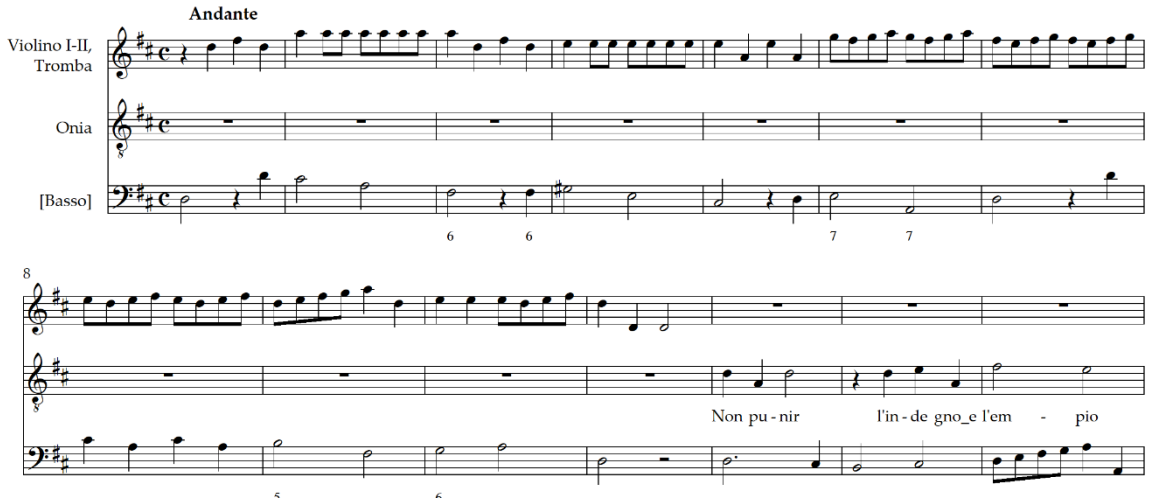
In the first part John and Mary desperately search for answers, try unsuccessfully to comfort one another and make sense of the grim situation before we are introduced to the high priests: Nicodemus and Onia. Nicodemus is the 'good' high priest, a Pharisee and member of the Sanhedrin.[42] His character in the oratorio is tender and diplomatic as he searches for compromise and solution, not unlike Pentimento in the *Oratorio per la Passione*. Nicodemus first questions why the Jews are determined to punish a just and innocent man, as he sings in recitative:

Di qual misfatto è reo un uom sì giusto?	*What is a man so just guilty of?*
Che son voglie sì ardenti	*That with such ardent wishes*
la sua morte chiedete?	*you ask for his death?*
Dunque con tanta sete	*Do you have such a thirst*
d'un sangue così puro, ed innocente	*for such pure and innocent blood*
arde ne vostri petti?	*burn in your breasts?*

In theatrical contrast, Onia is the antagonistic high priest. Onia is not mentioned in the Bible, but in this oratorio he appears to typify Pontius Pilate – indicated by the text referencing the mocking of Jesus – or at the very least he is a representation of the might of imperial Rome and the military opposition of the spiritual might of the other characters. This idea is reinforced by the military key of D in which he sings in his first aria, 'Non punir l'indegno', accompanied by the militaristic sound of the trumpets (Example 6.9). In this aria Onia states that not punishing Jesus would be a criminal act, and that even if he were in a position to help Jesus, he would refuse.

[42] There is no mention of Nicodemus outside the Gospel of John, so there is a possibility he was a representative figure. He appears in John's Gospel three times. Firstly, John describes a Pharisee named Nicodemus, who visited Jesus to discuss the Kingdom of God (John 3: 1-21). His second and third appearances relate to his role in *Il dolore di Maria Vergine*: Nicodemus reminding his fellow High Priests in the Sanhedrin that the law requires a person receive a trial before a judge before being sentenced to death (John 7: 50-51) and after the crucifixion he provides herbs and embalming spices and helps Joseph of Arimathea prepare Jesus' body for burial (John 19: 39-42).

Example 6.9 *Aria* 'Non punir l'indegno', bb.1-14.



Onia is a representation of all the torment Jesus faced during the Passion; it is not surprising that he references the words of the chief priests and elders as they mock Jesus on the cross saying, 'He saved others; himself he cannot save. If he be the King of Israel, let him now come down from the cross, and we will believe him' (Matthew 27:42)[43] before Nicodemus witnesses Jesus tell John he is to be Mary's son (John 19: 26-27).[44]

After Nicodemus' first recitative, Onia immediately responds, describing Jesus an evil liar he is determined to sentence to death:

Deh' frena, a Nicodem l'insani detti.	*Now wait, Nicodemus, lest thou sayest yet worse*
Se incauto or lo difendi	*If incautious thou dost him defend*
tu compagno ti fai del suo delitto,	*you will be a companion to his crime*
anzi ingannato ancora	*and be deceived once again*
da un vile seduttor di nostra gente	*by a vile seducer of our people,*
vuoi far creder un reo per innocente.	*an offender who you would believe is innocent.*

Despite Onia's dramatic intervention, the true meaning of the oratorio is not lost to theatrics. Nicodemus, in an attempt to save Jesus, recalls his many miracles including the feeding of

[43] This incident does not appear in St. John's Gospel.
[44] 'When Jesus therefore saw his mother, and the disciple standing by, whom he loved, he saith to his mother, Woman, behold thy son. After that, he saith to the disciple: Behold thy mother. And from that hour the disciple took her to his own'. John 19:26-27 taken from *The Holy Bible: Douay Rheims Version* tr. Richard Challoner (Illinois: Saint Benedict Press & Tan Books, 2009).

the five thousand (John 6: 1-15), bringing Lazarus back from the dead (John 11:1-46) and healing the sick (John 5:1-18):

E seduttor tu chiami	*And thou seducer callest*
chi con opre ammirande	*Who with workings of wonder*
Pasce turbe affamte?	*Freed crowds of their great hunger?*
Chi ravviva gl'estinti,	*Who revives the dying,*
chi fuga i spirti rei, e cura e sana	*Casts out evil spirits, nurses and restores all*
da tutti i mali lor gl'egri viventi?	*Who are living from sickness to health?*
Quel che frena ed impera agl'elementi?	*Who the elements state govern and hold?*

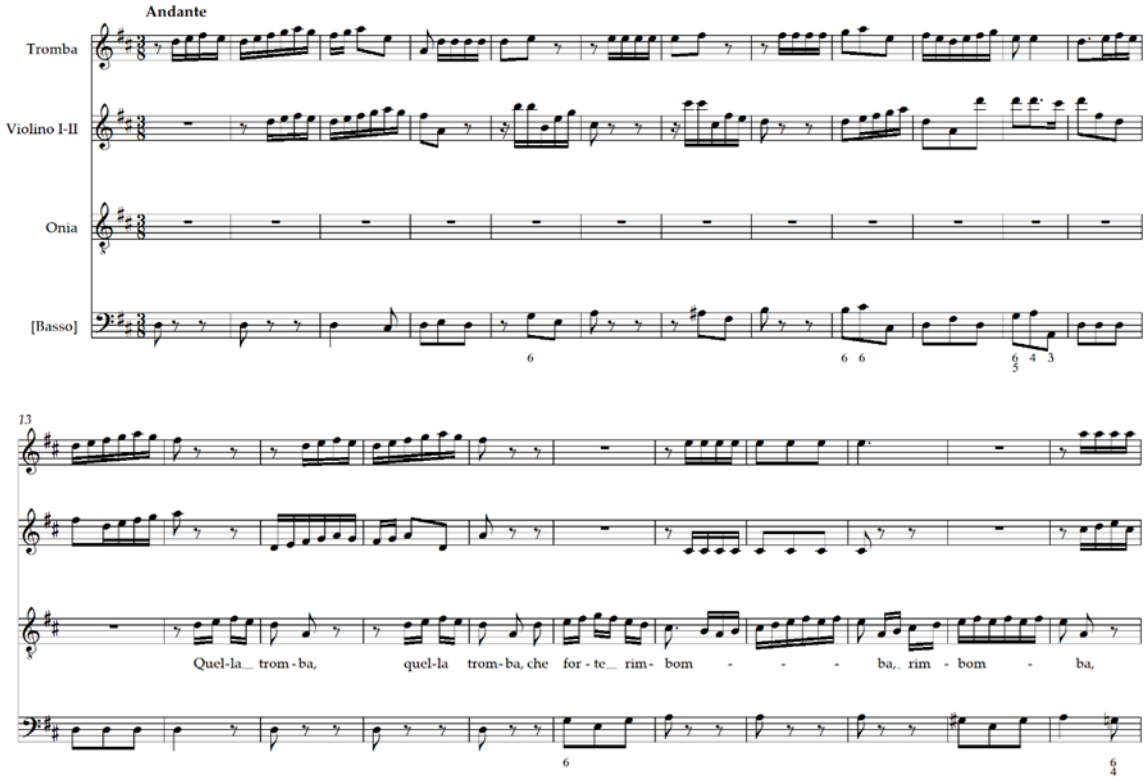
Scarlatti uses Onia's fierce and anger-fuelled arias to create contrast; instead of the drawn-out pleas of the other characters, his music employs fast rhythms, reflecting his ruthlessness and confidence in his own opinions. Onia fervently believes Jesus has deceived everyone, using dramatic language such as 'cruelty', 'wrath', 'fury' and 'hate' when describing Jesus. This interrupts the flow of what is otherwise Mary's endless lament with occasional similarly sorrowful interjections from John and Nicodemus.

A climax of the oratorio is a momentous recitative and aria from a victorious Onia as the trumpet sounds, marking the moment Jesus is sentenced to death. First, he addresses Jerusalem and then begins the loud, triumphant aria:

Quella tromba, che forte rimbomba	*That is the trumpet that loudly resounds*
chiami tutte le tube più fiere	*It calls forth to the ferocious rabble*
il trionfo a veder del suo re!	*a triumph to see their precious king*
Abbattuto già infine è caduto,	*torn down, at last he has fallen,*
chi sognava poggiar sù le sfere	*Who dreamt of ruling over all the spheres*
chi distrugger tentò nostra fè.	*Who attempted to destroy our faith.*

As previously discussed, the use of trumpets signified war-like events in early modern Italian melodrama and theatre and the fanfare introduction gives Onia's words authority and conviction. Example 6.10 shows the first 23 bars, but the aria is repetitive throughout, giving the listener a sense that Onia is very set in his ways, tenacious and certain of his own thoughts and ideas.

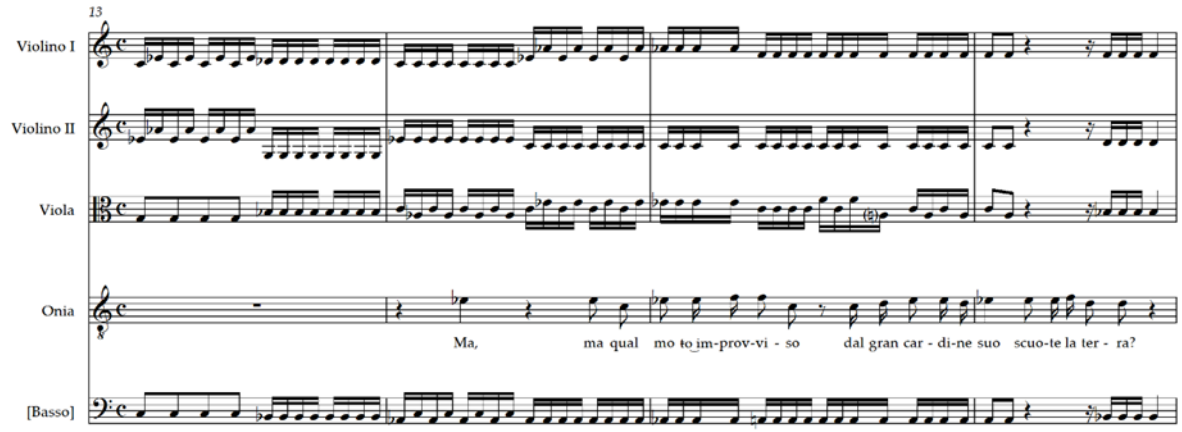
Example 6.10 *Aria* 'Quella tromba', bb.1-23



Onia makes his final appearance in the oratorio with a dramatic accompanied recitative in which he describes the storm that descends upon the earth at the moment of Jesus' death. It takes him up until this point to realise that Jesus is innocent. His panic and disbelief can be heard in the fast semiquaver movement in the strings in the accompanied recitative (Example 6.11), not unlike the *stile concitato* section heard in the *Passio secundum Joannem* at the point Jesus is arrested in the Garden of Gethsemane.[45] It appears that Scarlatti strategically uses *stile concitato* at moments of intense angst and stress, exaggerating stressful emotions with the fast, aggressive movement of the strings.

[45] See Example 5.2, 114 for the *stile concitato* section of the *Passio secundum Joannem*.

Example 6.11 *Aria* 'Sotto il piè trabalza il suol', bb.13-16



The oratorio ends with the trio 'Io t'adoro/io t'abbraccio', a final praising of Jesus where the three characters lament his death in rocking, ternary rhythms. The tension grows towards the end of the movement – which, unlike many others in the oratorio, does not a have a da capo – with a dominant pedal building to a dramatic diminished seventh chord at bar 108.

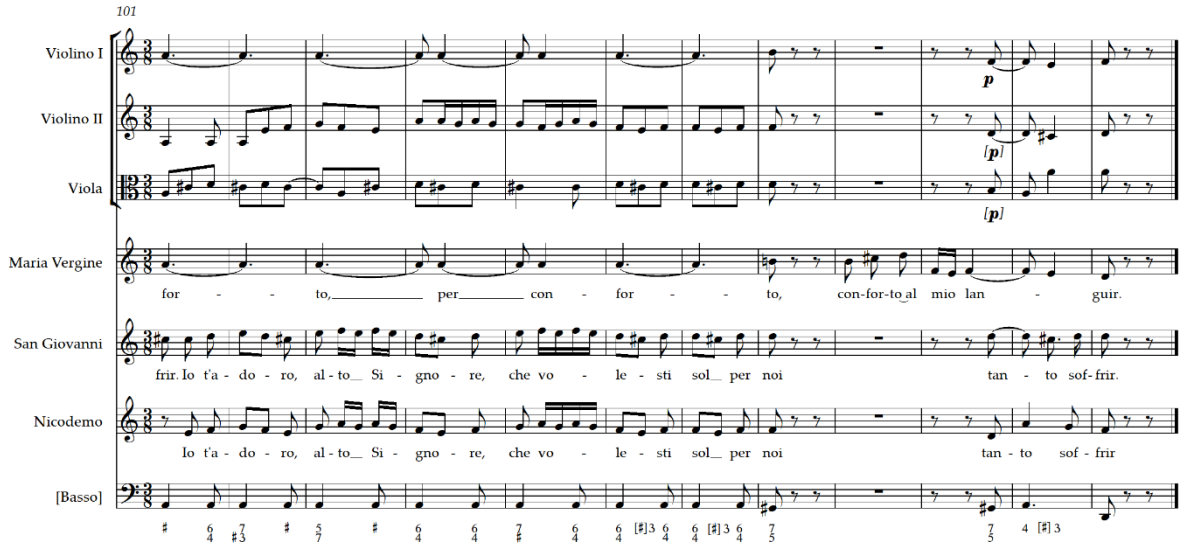
A highly unusual feature of this trio is the fact that Mary presents a line entirely by herself:

Io t'abbraccio o figlio amato;	*I embrace thee, son beloved*
ah potessi sempre almeno	*ah, could I at least so much*
così stringerti al mio seno	*as to my breast thee clutch*
per conforto al mio languir.	*to give comfort to my swooning.*

She is accompanied only by the upper strings, as she sings the first line, creating a sense of exposure and vulnerability due to the lack of support from the continuo. Nicodemus and John sing homophonically, and mostly in thirds, while Mary's line is completely independent of theirs, enhancing her sense of loneliness and loss.

Scarlatti demonstrates his contrapuntal skill towards the end of the movement, as Mary's voice can be heard echoing on the word 'languishing' as St. John and Nicodemus sing 'to suffer' in the final four bars (Example 6.12).

Example 6.12 *Terzetto* 'Io ti bacio, amato volto' bb.101-112



CONCLUSION

Though there has been very little research conducted on this oratorio, the few musicologists who have paid it due attention have commented on its intensity and drama. Virgilio Fantuzzi says that 'Scarlatti meditates on the Passion of Christ and on the Sorrows of the Virgin as if there were real events taking place before his eyes'[46] while Estevan Verlardi states that Scarlatti intended 'to plunge the listener into a kind of surreal atmosphere in which the dramatic and moving events of Christ's Passion unfold'.[47] Indeed, Lino Bianchi believes that it 'towers over anything else Scarlatti ever achieved.'[48] The intimate atmosphere created by such a broad range of musical and theatrical devices result in the listener connecting with the characters on both a spiritual and emotional level. As well as the theatrical characters representative of protagonists and antagonists, there is the persistent use of the lament throughout the entire oratorio. The dramatic moment of the piercing trumpet cutting off Mary

[46] Virgilio Fantuzzi, ''La Vergine dei Dolori' di Alessandro Scarlatti: Un oratorio del 1717 rappresentato al Teatro di Napoli', *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 2/3670 (2003), 376.
[47] Bianchi/Verlardi, [liner notes], 11.
[48] Bianchi/Verlardi, [liner notes], 9.

mid-sentence at the point that Jesus is sentenced the death is perhaps the most obvious theatrical device used but offers such intensity and devastation as the note slowly fades away to nothing, with a pause afterwards in which the audience can reflect on the events taking place and the implications this single moment has on humanity.

The variety of biblical references must also be noted in this oratorio, and not just of those based on the Passion of St. John, but the multiple references to Jesus' miracles – raising Lazarus from the dead, healing the sick and feeding the five thousand – as well as mentions of incidents that occur in the Passion of St. Matthew. These references do not necessarily add to the drama of the oratorio, but are carefully and consciously woven into the libretto, serving as a reminder to the listener of Jesus' spiritual power, and how he ultimately overcame the physical and military power of the High Priests and Jews.

Although *Il dolore di Maria Vergine* does not contain long, recognisable paraphrasings of the liturgy, as in the *Oratorio per la Passione,* it does allow the listener to feel a level of emotional connection and identification with the sorrowful virgin throughout her many lament arias. The listener can relate to the characters on a human, realistic level and it arouses feelings of such intense empathy, loss and grief alongside a journey of devotion to God and desire to live a moral existence. The oratorio is an example of the point of multiple intersection in which these oratorios sit. Theatrical techniques are employed to heighten drama while simultaneously enhancing the powerful spiritual and religious events taking place both in the text of the libretto and in the liturgical calendar.

Chapter Seven

CONCLUSION

The present study seeks to demonstrate the truly multi-faceted nature of a complex and under-researched genre. Performances of Scarlatti's oratorios inspired by the Passion story demonstrate a point in the history of Italian sacred music where there was fluidity between music for the purposes of entertainment and liturgical events featuring music. A number of oratorio performances commissioned by Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni demonstrate this blending of devotional and non-devotional influences, particularly his collaborations with Scarlatti for *La Santissima Annuntiata, Oratorio per la Passione* and *Il Trionfo della Vergine SS. Assunta in Cielo.*

The themes of redemption and repentance promoted by the Church in the eighteenth century are apparent in Ottoboni's libretto for the *Oratorio per la Passione*. Performances of the work allow spiritual engagement through music via prayerful accompanied recitative based on the *Lamentations of Jeremiah*, a crucial text in the Holy Week celebrations of the Catholic Church. Various art forms incorporated into performances of the oratorio facilitated interdisciplinary and immersive events. Listening to such dramatic exchanges between the allegorical characters of Grace, Guilt and Repentance while in a darkened room where the focal points are an illuminated wooden cross and a large tapestry displaying Philip Neri kneeling at the feet of Christ offered an opportunity for reflection and devotion. Whilst these sacred aspects dominate the oratorio, the inclusion of pastoral references favoured by the Arcadian Academy and the prominence of the da capo aria throughout demonstrate the blending of sacred and secular influences that contributed to the composition and production of these oratorios.

Chapter six explores the idea of theatrical devotion, particularly the adaptation of the lament – in its secular form – into the genre of the oratorio. Whilst this is not new to Scarlatti – laments in a sacred context were common throughout the seventeenth century – in the composer's hands it is an effective and engaging method to transform the theme of romantic love into one of devotion and love for God. In *Il dolore di Maria Vergine* the lament is that of Mary, who mourns the loss of her son. The feelings of loss, pain, grief and despair explored within the oratorio allow the listener to empathise and perhaps gain a deeper connection with the distraught Mary while also developing an understanding of John's confusion and dismay. *Il dolore di Maria Vergine* is a proclamation of endless devotion to God in spite of intense suffering, displayed through the seven sorrows of the Virgin Mary.

Aside from the incorporation of the lament style into the oratorio, *Il dolore* features – though not as numerous as the *Oratorio per la Passione* – many biblical references that do not offer a significant contribution to the drama of the work, but rather serve as an aide-mémoires of Jesus' power that is then enhanced by Scarlatti's musical interpretation, often through word-painting and instrumentation. It also includes a plethora of pastoral references that contribute to the emotional intensity and facilitate word-painting within the music.

Whilst the focus of the present thesis is on Scarlatti's Passion oratorios, there exists a much larger repertory of Passion oratorios by other early modern composers that have yet to receive critical attention, as well as oratorios laced with liturgical references and devotionally inspired poetry. For instance, there is a lack of critical engagement with the Passion oratorios of Antonio Perti and both the Passion oratorios and *sepolcri* of Antonio Draghi.

Research on the sequential nature of oratorio performances in 1708 demonstrates how imperative it is to look at the context surrounding performances, at the music and poetry of the works, as well as the timing of the event, the staging, lighting, tapestries, art, sculpture, the intentions of the patron, what they hoped to achieve through the performance and the

reactions of those present at such events. Taking this approach when examining other oratorios will develop a deeper understanding of the porous boundaries and nuances of the genre that have previously remained uninterrogated. It is hoped that this thesis and the accompanying diplomatic transcription may provide a model for how oratorios might be approached from a wider perspective, keeping the devotional origins of the genre at the forefront, but acknowledging the point of intersection at which these works sit.

Of course, study of the genre is facilitated by the availability of scholarly critical editions. Whilst issues in accessing manuscripts have prevented the production of a full critical edition in the present dissertation, the included diplomatic transcription will form the basis of such a volume in the future. It is hoped that the eventual publication of a critical edition of the *Oratorio per la Passione* will facilitate modern performances of this work. Other areas for future research include the production of editions of the *Passioni* of Pietro Antonio Gallo and Gaetano Veneziano and in turn further exploration into the tradition of the verbatim setting of Passion gospels in early modern Italy.

The Passion oratorio – a broad and complex sub-genre of the equally complex oratorio – may be an ideal vehicle to promote pioneering and experimental fields of research intent on breaking down narrow definitions and exploring early sacred music more holistically in the future.

APPENDIX: LIST OF SCARLATTI ORATORIOS

	Title	Date	Premiere/ Performance Location	Librettist	Source location
1	***Primo Latino oratorio***	24 Feb 1679	SS. Crocifisso	Unknown	Lost
2	***Passio secundum Joannem***	*c.*1679	S. Giacomo degli Incurabili (?)	Vulgate	I-Nc
3	***Secondo Latino oratorio***	12 Apr 1680	SS. Crocifisso	Unknown	Lost
4	***Terzo Latino oratorio***	20 Feb 1682	SS. Crocifisso	Unknown	Lost
5	***Agar et Ismaele esiliati***	1683	Palazzo Pamphilj (?)	Giuseppe Domenico de Totis	A-Wn
	L'Abramo	1691	Compagnia del SS. Rosario di Santa Zita, Palermo	ed. Giacomo Epiro	
	Ismaele soccorso dall'angelo	1695	Collegio Clementino, Rome		
		1695	Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaele detta la Scala, Florence	ed. Vincenzo Vangelisti	
		1697	Compagnia della Purificazione di Maria Vergine e di D. Zanobi detta di San Marco, Florence	ed. Vincenzo Vangelisti	
	Il sacrificio di Abramo	1703	Oratorio di S. Filippo Neri alla Chiesa di S. Maria in Vallicella, Rome		
6	***Santa Maria Maddalena***	1684	Rome	Benedetto Pamphilj	Music: D-Dl (full), I-Rc Vol. Misc. 1003.9; Vol.Misc. 1117.3; Vol.Misc. 1554.40 (fragments) Libretto: I-MOe, B-Bc
	Il Trionfo della gratia overo la conversione di Maddalena	18 March 1685	Seminario Romano, Rome		
		1686	Modena		
	La Maddalena pentita	1693	Congregazione dell'Oratorio di S. Filippo Neri, Florence	ed. Vincenzo Vangelisti	
	La Conversione di S. Maria Maddalena	1693	Vienna (repeated in 1701, 1703 and 1707)		
		1695	Mantua		
	La Maddalena pentita	1696	Bologna (repeated in 1699 and 1704)		

7	***Il Martirio di Santa Teodosia*** *Santa Teodosia vergine e martire*	1685 1693	Modena Congregazione dell'Oratorio di S. Filippo Neri, Florence	Anon. ed. Vincenzo Vangelisti	I-Rc Misc. Dram. A.27.17
8	***I dolori di Maria sempre Vergine*** *La Concettione della Beata Vergine*	1693 1703	San Luigi di Palazzo, Naples Rome	Anon.	F-Pn
9	***La Giuditta***	21 March 1694 1695 1695 1696 1700	Palazzo della Cancelleria, Rome Congregazione dei Mercadanti, Naples Vienna Collegio Clementino, Rome Compagnia della Purificazione di Maria Vergine e di D. Zanobi detta di San Marco	Benedetto Pamphilj	I-Nc
10	***Samson vindicatus***	1695 1696	Arciconfraternità del Santissimo Crocifisso Palazzo Apostolico, Rome	Benedetto Pamphilj ed. Rev. Camera Apostolica	I-Rc Mus. 719. 27
11	***La Giuditta di Cambridge***	1697		Antonio Ottoboni	GB-Ckc,
12	***Oratorio del martirio di Sant'Orsola***	Somewhere between 1695 and 1700			F-LYm
13	***L'Oratorio per le Santissima Annunziata***	25 March & 1 April 1700 Reprised 1703 for feast of the Annunciation 25 March 1708	Palazzo della Cancelleria, Rome Compagnia della Purificazione di Maria Vergine, Florence Palazzo Ruspoli	Francesco Posterla	B-Bc
14	***Davidis Pugna et Victoria***	6 Mar 1700	Arciconfraternità del Santissimo Crocifisso, Rome	Anon. ed. Giovanni Francesco Buagni	I-Bl (libretto only)
15	***L'Assunzione della Beatissima Vergine*** ***La concettione della Beata Vergine*** *La sposa dei Sacri Cantici* (revised edition)	1703 1710	Oratorio di San Filippo Neri at Santa Maria in Vallicella and Collegio Clementino Naples	Pietro Ottoboni	A-Wn, D-MÜs, F-Pc BRUS.

16	***Humanita e Lucifero*** (attribution issues)	September 1704	Collegio Nazzerno, Rome, during Festival for Birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary (8 September)	Anon.	Müster in Westphalia, Santini's Collection
17	***Il regno di Maria Vergine*** *Il trionfo della Vergine SS. Assunta in cielo*	23–25 August 1705 1706	Courtyard of the Palazzo della Cancelleria, Rome S. Zanobi detta di S. Marco, Florence	Pietro Ottoboni	I-Rc Vol. Misc. 1245.20
18	***San Filippo Neri***	1705 1707 14 May 1713	Collegio Clementino, Rome Compagnia della Purificazione di Maria Vergine e di D. Zanobi detta di San Marco, Florence Foligno	Pietro Ottoboni	B-Bc
19	***Santa Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi***	1705	Collegio Clementino, Rome	Benedetto Pamphilj	I-Rc Vol. Misc. 825.2; Vol. Misc. 1638.33; Mus. 719.37
20	***Abram il tuo sembiante*** (also known as *Cinque Profeti* and *Cantata per la Notte di Natale*)	24 Dec 1705	Apostolic Palace of the Vatican	Silvio Stampiglia	Müster in Westphalia, Santini's Collection
21	***La Santissimia Vergine del Rosario***	c. 1705	-	Anon.	-
22	***Tirsi e Fileno***	c. 1705	-	Anon.	Lost
23	***San Casimiro, Re di Polonia***	1705 1713	Compagnia di Maria Vergine della Purificazione e di D. Zanobi detta di San Marco, Florence Vienna		A-Wn
24	***Il Sedecia Re di Gerusalemme***	1705 1706 1706 1708	Urbino Seminario Romano (?), Rome Vienna (repeated in 1711) Compagnia di S. Sebastiano da S. Jacopo sopr'Arno, Florence	Filippo Fabbri Ortensio ed. Vincenzo Vangelisti	B-Bc, I-Rc, D-Dl, D-Mbn, A-Wn I-Rc Vol. Misc. 320.6
25	***Oratorio per la Passione di Nostro Signore Gesù Cristo*** *Culpa, Poenitentia et Gratia* (Rome, 1725)- in Latin	31 March 1706 , 1707, 4 April 1708 1721 1725 1739	Palazzo della Cancelleria, Rome Rome Arciconfraternità del Santissimo Crocifisso, Rome	Pietro Ottoboni	W-D, D-Dl

26	***Il martirio di Santa Susanna***	1706	Chiesa dei Filippini, Florence	Silvio Stampaglia	-
27	***Il giardino di rose*** *La Santissima Vergine del Rosario*	24 April 1707 26 February 1708	Ruspoli Palace, Rome Courtyard of the Palazzo della Cancelleria, Rome		D-MÜd (Sant. Hs. 3861)
28	***Cain ovvero il primo omicidio***	1707 1710	Venice Rome	Antonio Ottoboni	Us-SFsc: M2.1 MS. 472
29	***Il martirio di Santa Cecilia***	1708	Rome	Pietro Ottoboni	-
30	***La vittoria della Fede***	12 September 1708	Palazzo Zuccari, Rome	Carlo Sigismondo Capeci	Lost
31	***Il Trionfo del Valore***	19 Mar 1709	Palazzo Reale, Naples		Lost
32	***La Santissima Trinità***	May 1715	Naples	Unknown	I-Nc
33	***Il dolore di Maria Vergine*** (also known as *La Vergine Addolorata*)	Naples and Salerno, 1717	Palace of Carmigano, 23 March	Andrea di Luna d'Aragona (attrib.)	B-Bc (full), GB-Lwa
34	***La gloriosa gara fra la Santità e la Sapienza***	13 Jun 1720	Teatro Capranica, Rome		Lost

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