

THE PERFORMANCE SPACE AT THE PALAZZO DELLA CANCELLERIA IN ROME (1640–1690)

Teresa Chirico

Conservatorio S. Cecilia in Roma
e-mail: techiri@libero.it
ORCID: 0000-0001-9070-1334

ABSTRACT

The Roman Cancelleria palace was inhabited by cardinals and vice chancellors Francesco Barberini Senior (1632–1679) and Pietro Ottoboni (1689–1740), both important patrons of the arts; new documents in the Vatican Apostolic Library provide information about the spaces in the palace that were transformed by the two prelates to host musical performances. At the end of 1640 Francesco Barberini ordered the restructuring of a carriage house in the Cancelleria to present *La Genoinda ovvero L'innocenza difesa* (1641), libretto by Giulio Rospigliosi and music by Virgilio Mazzocchi; ten years after the cardinal's death, Pietro Ottoboni used the same space to set up his first theatre. It would seem that in the time of the Barberini, some musical events were hosted on the first floor of the Cancelleria in a room later used by Ottoboni for oratories, scenographically set up with the use of stage machinery. Several interpreters of the music in the service of the two cardinals resided in the same building. This study, through the observation of how spaces for music were transformed, focuses on some pieces of music commissioned by Barberini and on the influence he wielded over Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni in the context of the transformation of musical theatre in Rome over the course of fifty years (1640–1690).

KEYWORDS

theatre; opera; Rome; Cancelleria palace; Francesco Barberini Senior; Pietro Ottoboni; Giulio Rospigliosi; Virgilio Mazzocchi; Alessandro Scarlatti; Urban VIII; Alexander VIII

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The Palazzo della Cancelleria Apostolica, built for Cardinal Raffaele Riario, had stood in the centre of Rome since 1517. Cardinals who held the high office of vice-chancellor of the Holy Roman Church, with the title of San Lorenzo in Damaso (from the homonymous church housed in the same building), such as the famous patrons of the arts and music Francesco Barberini Senior (1597–1679)¹ and Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740), lived in this huge edifice.²

Pietro Ottoboni, born into a noble Venetian family, was also a playwright. At the Palazzo della Cancelleria and in other places, he sponsored many musical dramas and oratorios—based mainly on his own texts—which were set to music by composers such as Flavio Lanciani, Alessandro Scarlatti, Giovanni Bononcini, or Bernardo Pasquini.³ Both cardinals were elevated to their positions by their relatives: Francesco Barberini Senior in 1632 by his uncle Urban VIII (pontiff between 1623 and 1644), and Pietro Ottoboni in 1689 by his great-uncle Alexander VIII, the last nepotist pope.

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- ¹ Alberto Merola, "Barberini, Francesco," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani (DBI)*, vol. 6 (Rome, 1964), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-barberini_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ (for all the items mentioned the last access is 14 May 2021); Frederick Hammond, "Girolamo Frescobaldi and a Decade of Music in Casa Barberini: 1634–1643," *Analecta Musicologica* 19 (1979): 94–124; Margaret Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court, 1631–1668* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1981); Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, "Production, Consumption and Political Function of Seventeenth-century Opera," *Early Music History* 4 (1984): 209–96; Margaret Murata, "Barberini," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (NG)*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, vol. 2 (London, 2001), <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000001998?rskey=gms6S&result=1>; Luigi Cacciaglia, *Le Giustificazioni dell'Archivio Barberini. Inventario*, vol. 1: *Le giustificazioni dei cardinali* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2014), 59–142. I am very grateful to Francesco Cotticelli for the English translation of this study.
- ² Hans Joachim Marx, "Die Musik am Hofe Pietro Kardinal Ottobonis unter Arcangelo Corelli," in *Studien zur italienisch-deutschen Musikgeschichte*, ed. Fredrich Lippmann (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1968), 104–77; Maria Letizia Volpicelli, "Il Teatro del cardinale Ottoboni al Palazzo della Cancelleria," in *Il teatro a Roma nel Settecento*, ed. Gianni Eugenio Viola (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1989), 2:681–781; Stefano La Via, "Il cardinale Ottoboni e la musica: nuovi documenti (1700–1740)," in *Intorno a Locatelli. Studi in occasione del tricentenario della nascita di Pietro Antonio Locatelli (1695–1764)*, ed. Albert Dunning (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 1995), 1:319–526; Flavia Matitti, "Ottoboni, Pietro," in *DBI*, vol. 79 (Rome, 2013), https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pietro-ottoboni_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/; Teresa Chirico, *L'aquila bicipite e la musica. Pietro Ottoboni nell'epoca di Alessandro VIII (1688–1691) da documenti della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, PhD diss. (Università degli Studi di Roma "Tor Vergata," 2018), 477; Teresa Chirico, "Serenate alla corte romana del cardinale Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740) nell'epoca di Arcangelo Corelli: storia e protezzazione di un genere," in *Serenata and festa teatrale in 18th Century Europe*, ed. Iskra Yordanova and Paologiovanni Maione (Vienna: Hollitzer Verlag, 2018), 137–92; Teresa Chirico, "Il cardinale Pietro Ottoboni, la diplomazia e la musica (1689–1721)," in *Diplomacy and Aristocracy as Patrons for Music and Theatre in Europe of the Ancien Régime*, ed. Iskra Yordanova and Paologiovanni Maione (Vienna: Hollitzer Wissenschaftsverlag, 2019), 155–87.
- ³ Gloria Staffieri, "I drammi per musica di Pietro Ottoboni: il Grand Siècle del cardinale," *Studi musicali* 35 (2006): 129–92; Gloria Staffieri, "Pietro Ottoboni, il mecenate-drammaturgo: strategie della committenza e scelte compositive," in *Arcangelo Corelli fra mito e realtà storica*, ed. Gregory Barnett, Antonella D'Ovidio, and Stefano La Via (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2007), 139–64; Teresa Chirico, "L'inedita serenata alla regina Maria Casimira di Polonia: Pietro Ottoboni committente di cantate e serenate (1689–1709)," in *La serenata tra Seicento e Settecento. Musica, poesia, scenotecnica*, ed. Nicolò Maccavino (Reggio Calabria: Laruffa, 2007), 397–449; Nicola Badolato, *'All'occhio, all'udito ed al pensiero': gli allestimenti operistici romani di Filippo Juvarra per Pietro Ottoboni e Maria Casimira di Polonia* (Turin: Fondazione 1563 per l'Arte e la Cultura della Compagnia di San Paolo, 2016).

Based mainly on archival documents from the Vatican Apostolic Library,⁴ this study considers the transformations of the performance spaces at the Palazzo della Cancelleria ordered by the two vice-chancellors so that the edifice could host musical events and, in particular, theatrical productions. This reconstruction is the premise for the development of a topic that is poorly studied: the imprinting of Cardinal Barberini's patronage on Ottoboni's patronal activities and artistic choices.⁵ In fact, some common elements can be identified in the theatre productions sponsored by the two cardinals at the Palazzo della Cancelleria; at the same time, the various declinations of the Ottobonian theatrical subjects are analysed in an era during which hagiographic dramas—produced under the patronage of Barberini—were gradually abandoned, the audience having a preference for the historical ones.⁶

The 'contiguity' of the two patronages is very interesting, especially if observed in the light of the tradition of Roman patronage, which was not centered at a single court as in other European cities (for example Paris), but was articulated in a polycentric way at the courts of various nobles; in fact, even the papal court was not stable, being linked to an atypical, elective, and non-dynastic monarchy.⁷ Furthermore, as is well known, some popes opposed theatre for moral reasons.⁸ For this reason, the musical and theatrical activities of various Roman courts were sometimes of a greater importance than their equivalents at the European courts.

THE THEATRE OF CARDINAL FRANCESCO BARBERINI SENIOR

The musical and theatrical productions commissioned by Francesco Barberini Senior and his brother Cardinal Antonio Barberini Junior (1607–1671) are well known.⁹ Margaret Murata and other scholars have documented the musical and theatrical activities at the Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro Fontane,¹⁰ which hosted the famous stagings based on the texts of Giulio Rospigliosi

⁴ All the documents cited in this study are kept at the Vatican City (CV), Vatican Apostolic Library (BAV); such indications are omitted in the relative documentary citations.

⁵ On Ottoboni's *Il martirio di Sant'Eustachio*: "The memory of *S. Alessio* and other hagiographic melodramas of the Barberini age is inevitable." Saverio Franchi, *Drammaturgia romana II (1701–1750)* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1997), xxiv–xxv.

⁶ Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*; Bianconi and Walker, "Production, Consumption."

⁷ Franchi, *Drammaturgia romana II*; Arnaldo Morelli, "Il pellegrino nella patria: *S. Alessio* fra politica e 'patronage' in Roma barocca," in Stefano Landi, *Il Sant'Alessio. Dramma musicale* (Bologna: Forni, 2003), 6–7.

⁸ In 1697 Pope Innocent XII had the Tordinona Theatre destroyed. Alberto Cametti, *Il Teatro di Tordinona poi di Apollo* (Tivoli: Aldo Chicca, 1938), 2:342–67.

⁹ Hammond, "Girolamo Frescobaldi"; Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*; Murata, "Barberini"; Cacciaglia, *Le Giustificazioni*, also for the bills of Francesco Senior, Antonio Junior, Maffeo, Carlo, and Benedetto Barberini. On Francesco Senior, see Merola, "Barberini, Francesco." On Antonio Junior, see Alberto Merola, "Barberini, Antonio," in *DBI*, vol. 6 (Rome, 1964), https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/antonio-barberini_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/.

¹⁰ Hammond, "Girolamo Frescobaldi"; Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*; Murata, "Barberini"; Frederick Hammond, *Music & Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 224–26; Davide Daolmi, "La drammaturgia al servizio della scenotecnica. Le 'volubili scene' dell'opera barberiniana," *Il Saggiatore musicale* 13 (2006): 5–62; Frederick Hammond, *The Ruined Bridge: Studies in Barberini Patronage of Music and Spectacle 1631–1679* (Sterling Heights, Mich.: Harmonie Park Press, 2010); Maria Anne Purciello, *And Dionysus Laughed: Opera, Comedy and Carnival in Seventeenth-Century Venice and*

(who became pope in 1667 under the name Clement IX),¹¹ such as *Sant'Alessio* with music by Stefano Landi (1632)¹² and *Chi soffre speri* or *L'Egisto* (1637), sponsored by Antonio Barberini, with music by Virgilio Mazzocchi and Marco Marazzoli (in 1639 staged alongside *La Fiera di Farfa* with music by Marco Marazzoli).¹³

Cardinal Francesco Barberini Senior hosted several musicians at the Palazzo della Cancelleria.¹⁴ Moreover, he commissioned the staging of two dramas based on the libretto by Rospigliosi and music by Virgilio Mazzocchi: *San Bonifatio* and *L'innocenza difesa*. The musical setting for *San Bonifatio* has survived; the play was staged on 7 February 1638 by a company of young students of Virgilio Mazzocchi in the largest room of the building (overlooking the Piazza della Cancelleria), later called Riaria, and restaged at the Quattro Fontane.¹⁵

According to a letter from the librettist Ottaviano Castelli addressed to Giulio Mazzarino, for the staging of *L'innocenza difesa*,¹⁶ between December 1640 and January 1641 Francesco

Rome, PhD diss. (Princeton University, 2005); Virginia Christy Lamothe, *The Theater of Piety: Sacred Operas for the Barberini Family (Rome, 1632–1643)*, PhD diss. (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2009); Ignazio Castiglia, *I teatri del Paradiso: Giulio Rospigliosi e il melodramma romano barocco* (Palermo: Kalós, 2010); Leila Zammarr, *Scenography at the Barberini Court in Rome: 1628–1656*, PhD diss. (University of Warwick, 2017).

- ¹¹ Giulio Rospigliosi, *Melodrammi profani*, ed. Danilo Romei (Florence: Studio Ed. Fiorentino, 1998) and Giulio Rospigliosi, *Melodrammi sacri*, ed. Danilo Romei (Florence: Studio Ed. Fiorentino, 1999). Cf. Davide Daolmi, review of Giulio Rospigliosi, *Melodrammi sacri, Il Saggiatore musicale* 9 (2002): 230–49; Chiara D'Afflitto and Danilo Romei, eds., *I teatri del Paradiso: la personalità, l'opera, il mecenatismo di Giulio Rospigliosi (Papa Clemente IX)* (Pistoia: Maschietto & Musolino, 2000); Danilo Romei, ed., *Lo spettacolo del sacro, la morale del profano. Su Giulio Rospigliosi (Papa Clemente IX)* (Florence: Polistampa, 2005); Silvia Carandini, "Innestando le rose più odorifere del Parnaso in sù le spine del calvario. L'audacia devota di Giulio Rospigliosi," in *Studi di Storia dello spettacolo. Omaggio a Siro Ferrone*, ed. Stefano Mazzoni (Florence: Le Lettere, 2011), 205–19.
- ¹² Landi, *Il Sant'Alessio*; Arnaldo Morelli, "'Alexius Romanorum nobilissimus' dagli altari alle scene. Il Sant'Alessio di Rospigliosi/Landi: contesto, drammaturgia e ricezione di una 'historia sacra'," in *Fidéicommiss. Procédés juridiques et pratiques sociales (Italie–Europe, Bas Moyen Âge–XVIIIe siècle)–Saint Alexis à l'époque moderne* (Rome: Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, 2012), 679–89.
- ¹³ Virgilio Mazzocchi and Marco Marazzoli, *L'Egisto, ovvero Chi soffre speri*, introd. Howard Mayer Brown (New York: Garland, 1982); Bianconi and Walker, "Production, Consumption," 221–27; Arnaldo Morelli, "Marazzoli, Marco," in *DBI*, vol. 69 (Rome 2007), [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/marco-marazzoli_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/marco-marazzoli_(Dizionario-Biografico)/).
- ¹⁴ Barberiniani Latini (Barb. Lat.) 4400, fol. 1r, *Appartamento sotto tetto*, nos. 8, 9, 18, undated. A memorable theatrical event was given in the Palazzo della Cancelleria, *L'Amor pudico* (words by Jacopo Cicognini, music by several composers), a "festino da ballo" produced in February 1614 on behalf of Alessandro Peretti Damasceni, cardinal Montalto, then vice-chancellor of the Church state. John Walter Hill, *Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera from the Circles around Cardinal Montalto* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 12–16.
- ¹⁵ Score (the prologue and three acts) in Ottoboniani Latini (Ott. Lat.) 3394; Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 34–39, 450; Bernhard Schrammek, *Zwischen Kirche und Karneval. Biographie, soziales Umfeld und Werk des römischen Kapellmeister Virgilio Mazzocchi (1597–1646)* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2001); Wolfgang Witzemann, "Mazzocchi, Virgilio," in *NG*, vol. 16 (London, 2001), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/search?q=mazzocchi+virgilio&searchBtn=Search&isQuickSearch=true>; Saverio Franchi, "Mazzocchi, Virgilio," in *DBI*, vol. 72 (Rome, 2008), 628–32, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/virgilio-mazzocchi_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/virgilio-mazzocchi_(Dizionario-Biografico)); Elena Tamburini, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini e il teatro dell'Arte* (Florence: Le Lettere, 2012); Aldo Roma, *San Bonifazio di Giulio Rospigliosi (1638). Un melodramma nella Roma barberiniana* (Rome: Bulzoni editore, 2020). About bills of cardinal Francesco Senior for the staging of opera, see Archivio Barberini (Arch. Barb.), *Giustificazioni*, I, 71, no. 2992, fol. 165r, *Conti diversi per la rappresentazione del S. Bonifatio*, 1638; Cacciaglia, *Le Giustificazioni*, 75n71, 404 table 15.
- ¹⁶ Giulio Rospigliosi, *Argomento dell'opera musicale intitolata L'innocenza difesa . . .* (Rome: Stamp. della Rev. Cam. Apost., 1641); Giulio Rospigliosi, *La Genoinda ovvero L'innocenza difesa*, ed. Danilo Romei ([n.p.]: Lulu, 2013).

Barberini Senior ordered the transformation into a theatre of the so-called *rimessa di carrozze* (a place where carriages were kept).¹⁷ *L'innocenza difesa* was first performed on 29 January 1641; only three arias have survived.¹⁸ Giulio Rospigliosi wrote in a letter to his brother Camillo that the “commedia” had been performed in a room not set up as a theatrical hall but where, suddenly, a stage appeared thanks to a theatrical device.¹⁹ Castelli’s use of the expression “rimessa di carrozze” and some documents from the Barberini Archives indicate that the theatre had to be located on the street level because they mention an independent entrance: “il portone dove si fa la commedia” (the entrance door [to] where the comedy takes place).²⁰ Furthermore, the rubble produced by the renovation of the hall was not transported from an upper floor to the ground floor of the building: this is a further proof of the location of the theatre at the street level.²¹

A question arises: Which venues, in particular, hosted the comedy by Rospigliosi-Mazzocchi? A plan from the Barberini period, drawn up, probably, around 1640 (Fig. 1),²² shows some rooms to the north-west of the large courtyard of the palace (*tinello, cucina comune, cucina segreta, pasticceria, stanza del cocho, dispensa*); due to their overall size, they would have conformed to a theatrical hall. These rooms still have lunettes and capitals which were present in the theatre of Francesco Barberini in the vault.²³

The audience would have entered the building through the main entrance on the Piazza della Cancelleria (*stantione per entrata*), which, in that period, opened onto the Via dei Leutari;²⁴

¹⁷ “The first [opera] of Mr. Cardinal Barberino in music by Mazzocchi, and poem by Monsignor Rospigliosi . . . recited in a garage for coaches [*rimessa di carrozze*], entitled *l'Innocenza difesa*, already recited three times so far, the first on 28 [29 January 1641] of the past [January] and on the 30th of the same [month] and today which is the first Saturday of February.” Missive of Ottaviano Castelli (2 February 1641), quoted in Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 298n6. On *rimessa di carrozze*: “A puzzling phrase from Castelli’s letter may refer to this; a ‘rimessa di carrozze’ which would normally suggest ‘carriage house’ might mean a stage on wheels that was pushed in, or perhaps parts of the stage on wheeled platforms that then met and locked together (*pegmata?*).”

¹⁸ Rospigliosi, *Argomento dell’opera musicale*; Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 39–41, 296–300, 436, 450; Schrammek, *Zwischen Kirche*; Witzemann, “Mazzocchi, Virgilio”; Franchi, “Mazzocchi, Virgilio.”

¹⁹ Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 297–98n5 (the same theatrical device as in *San Bonifatio*); Margaret Murata, “Rospigliosiana ovvero gli Equivoci innocenti,” *Studi Musicali* 4 (1975): 131–43.

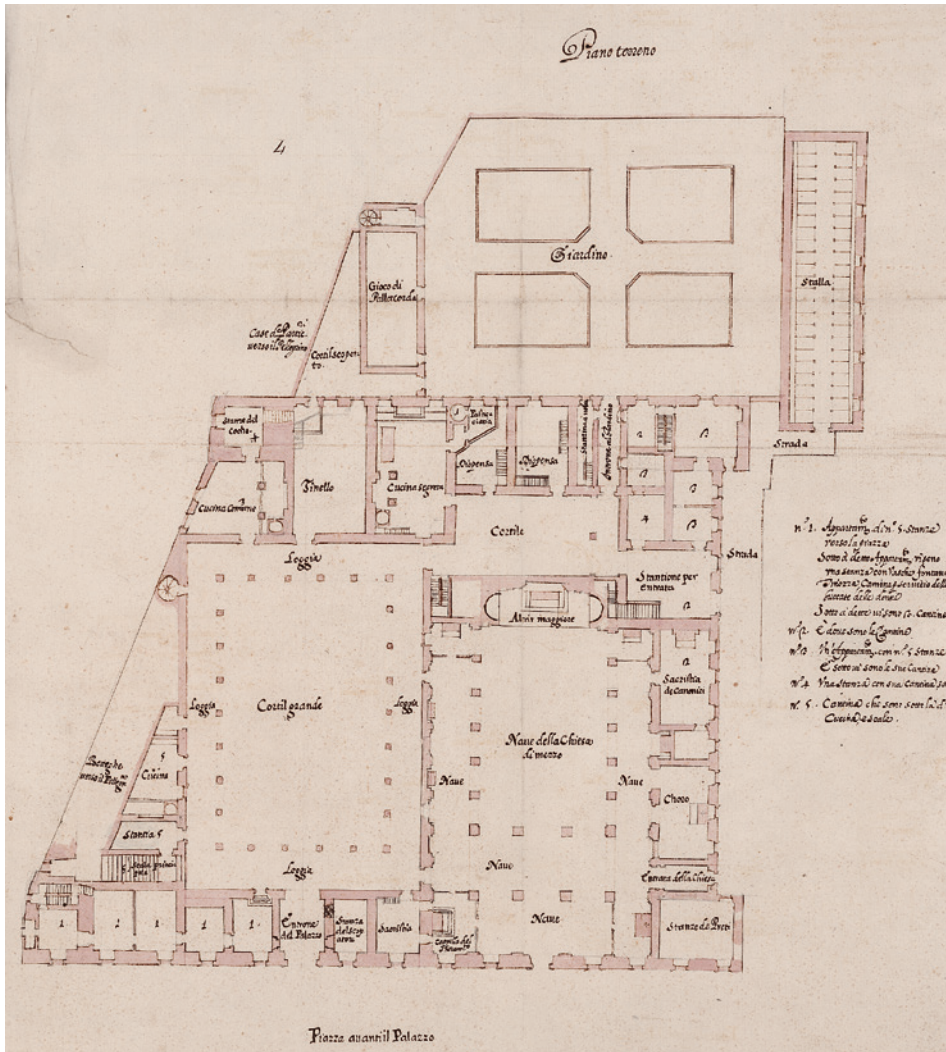
²⁰ *Note di tutta la spesa . . . nel far la Commedia . . . alla Canc[elle]ria cominciato a di ult[im]o dec[emb]re 1640 . . . , Lavori . . . per servizio della comedia nel Palazzo della Cancelleria*, Arch. Barb., *Giustificazioni*, I, 80, no. 3824, fols. 108r, 111r.

²¹ See the accounts between December 1640 and February 1641: “We began to clear out the *stantione* where the comedy is to be staged. . . . And six other boys who were taken to the square to get the pargeting.” Arch. Barb., *Giustificazioni*, I, 80, no. 3824, fol. 102r; Cacciaglia, *Le Giustificazioni*, 76n80.

²² Barb. Lat. 4400, fol. 4r.

²³ “On 27 of January 1641. Account of His Eminence Cardinal Barberino in the palace at the Chancellery for having whitened the *stantione* where the comedy was made, that is having whitened half of the vault and the lunettes to the capitals and having built bridges. . . . Domenico Francone whitener.” Arch. Barb., *Giustificazioni*, I, 80, n. 3824, fol. 116r.

²⁴ Barb. Lat. 4400, fol. 4r. The entrance which opened onto Via dei Leutari (now Vittorio Emanuele II) no longer exists. Cf. Maria Mari and Paola Brunori, “Le ricerche propedeutiche al progetto di restauro,” in *Palazzo della Cancelleria: ricerche e indagini propedeutiche al progetto di restauro* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2015), 19–30 and Costanza Pulitani, “Le trasformazioni del Palazzo della Cancelleria dal Cardinale Riario alla Corte Napoleonica,” in *Palazzo della Cancelleria*, 85.



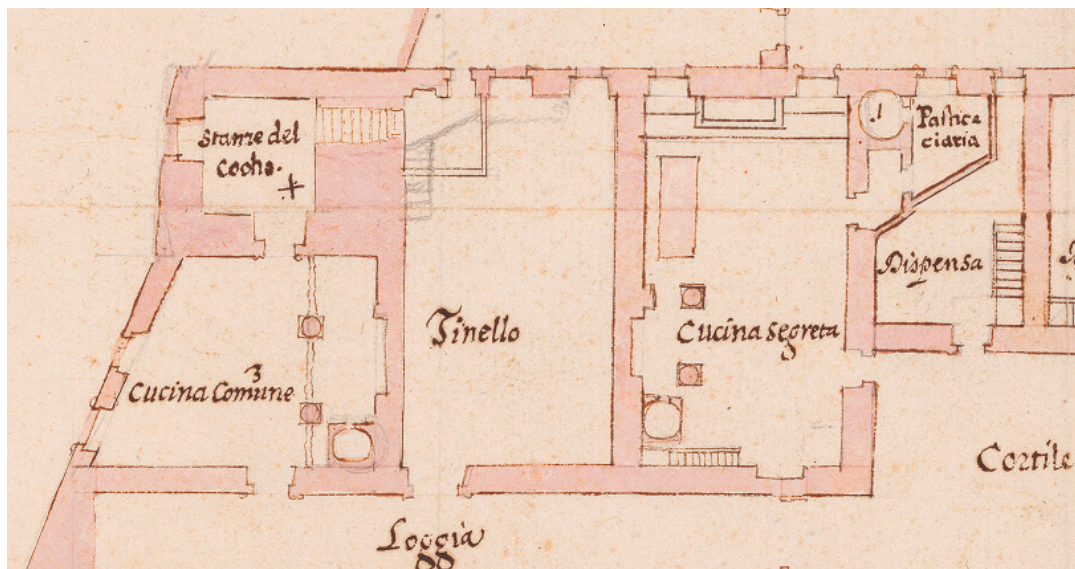
1. Plan of the Cancelleria Palace in Rome, around 1640, sign. Barb. Lat. 4400, fol. 4r, © 2022 Vatican Apostolic Library. Reproduced by permission of the Vatican Apostolic Library, all rights reserved.

it would have had access to the theatre room through one or two doors that opened onto the loggias of the courtyard (Fig. 1).²⁵ Access to the gallery was by a wooden staircase.²⁶

After the staging of *L'innocenza difesa*, the theatre was not used for a long time. On 23 July 1644, Urban VIII died and the power of the Barberinis dwindled significantly. Due to a famous inquiry about his family, Cardinal Francesco Senior fled to France in January 1646 and returned

²⁵ Barb. Lat. 4400, fol. 4r. The door of the *tinello* (dining room) was walled up at the time of Ottoboni (1690). Computisteria Ottoboni (henceforth referred to as Comp. Ott.), 15, no. 694, fol. 798r.

²⁶ “[A] door that is in the gallery that corresponds to the newly made wooden staircase”; “works done for the tragedy. . . . For the wooden staircase that comes from the gallery below, [for] having it adorned with tapestries and for removing them.” Arch. Barb., *Giustificazioni*, I, 80, n. 3824, fols. 111r, 101r.



2. Plan of the Cancellaria Palace in Rome, around 1640, sign. Barb. Lat. 4400, fol. 4r, a detail, © 2022 Vatican Apostolic Library. Reproduced by permission of the Vatican Apostolic Library, all rights reserved.

to Rome in February 1648. After the death of the cardinal in 1679, the office of vice-chancellor remained vacant for ten years until the election of Pietro Ottoboni: there is no mention of the theatre at the Palazzo della Cancellaria in this period.

THE THEATRE ON THE GROUND FLOOR UPON THE ARRIVAL OF PIETRO OTTOBONI

The young Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni went to live at the Palazzo della Cancellaria on 16 November 1689, settling in the apartment that had belonged to Francesco Barberini Senior on the *piano nobile* of the building.²⁷ A document from the accounts of Cardinal Ottoboni dated 18 December 1689 indicates the existence of a theatre on the ground floor of the building, ready to host performances;²⁸ it would have been the same as the one used by the Barberinis for *L'innocenza difesa*. This space bordered on the north with the garden, to the west with a room adjacent to the Via del Pellegrino,²⁹ to the south with the loggias of the courtyard, to the east (for the back) with the little courtyard.³⁰ *Il martirio di Sant'Eustachio* (26 February 1690) premiered in that theatre, with text by Pietro Ottoboni, music by Flavio Lanciani, and parts by Alessandro

²⁷ Barb. Lat. 4400, fol. 3r, *Pian nobile*, no. 10; Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 206–207n67. Ott. Lat. 3356, fols. 27r; 29r; Flavia Matitti, “Il cardinale Pietro Ottoboni mecenate delle arti: cronache e documenti (1689–1740),” *Storia dell’Arte* 84 (1995): 193n53 and 193n55.

²⁸ “On 18 December 1689. . . theatre in Cancellaria.” *Conto delli lavori* . . . , Comp. Ott. 13, no. 81, fols. 145r, 148r.

²⁹ On 3 October 1690 a room adjacent to the theatre and bordering via del Pellegrino was whitewashed. Comp. Ott. 15, no. 620, fols. 163r–v.

³⁰ *Conto . . . di diversi lavori . . . nel Palazzo della Cancellaria* (1690). Comp. Ott. 15, no. 639, fols. 263r–v.

Scarlatti.³¹ This oratorio recalled *Il Sant'Eustachio* by Giulio Rospigliosi with music by Virgilio Mazzocchi, commissioned by Francesco Barberini Senior and staged in the carnival season of 1643 (13 February) by the seminarians of San Pietro, perhaps in the same seminary.³²

The two works on St. Eustace are based on different events from his life, and Ottoboni never declared that he was inspired by Rospigliosi's work.³³ However, the Venetian cardinal did not randomly choose that subject, because he wanted to present himself to the aristocratic audience of his oratorio both as the continuator of the great dramaturgical work of Clement IX and as the heir to the patronage of Francesco Barberini Senior.³⁴ Ottoboni also implemented his own self-congratulatory project in *Il martirio di Sant'Eustachio*, paying homage to his mother (Princess Maria Moretti Ottoboni) in the prologue and putting the Ottoboni family (father, mother, only child) in the family of saints.³⁵

As at the time of Francesco Barberini Senior (and in line with the activities of other Roman noble families), Ottoboni hosted in his palace musicians such as Arcangelo Corelli and Matteo Fornari, who went into his service in April 1690.³⁶ In the same month, after the staging of *Il martirio di Sant'Eustachio*, Giovanni Battista Mancini wrote curiously in one of his letters that Ottoboni planned to transform the "stalle" of the building into a theatre.³⁷ This detail recalls the aforementioned letter from Castelli, with his definition as a "rimessa di carrozze" of Barberini's theatrical hall at the Palazzo della Cancelleria.³⁸ Evidently, this was the impression that some spectators received of the performing spaces located on the ground floor of the buildings, especially if they had recently been remodelled or were to be remodelled.³⁹

³¹ For information on this work and the music by Alessandro Scarlatti, see Chirico, "L'aquila bicipite," 155–76. On Lanciani, see Lowell Lindgren, "Lanciani, Flavio Carlo," in *NG*, vol. 14 (London, 2001), 206–7, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/search?q=lanciani+flavio+carlo&searchBtn=Search&isQuickSearch=true>.

³² *Il Sant'Eustachio* of Giulio Rospigliosi (*intermedio* to a Latin play on the biblical story of Susanna). Raffaele Casimiri, "Disciplina musicale e maestri di cappella dopo il Concilio di Trento nei maggiori istituti ecclesiastici di Roma. Seminario Romano, Collegio Germanico, Collegio Inglese (sec. XVI–XVII)," *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale* 15 (1938): 246–47; Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 45–47, 451; Franchi, "Mazzocchi, Virgilio." There is no text of *Il Sant'Eustachio* but only a summary of the stage action. [Giulio Rospigliosi], *Argomento del Santo Eustachio*. . . (Rome: Reverenda Camera Apostolica, 1643); Witzemann, "Mazzocchi, Virgilio." On the Seminario di San Pietro in Vaticano, see Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 207n71.

³³ See the texts: [Rospigliosi], *Argomento del Santo Eustachio*; Pietro Ottoboni, *Il martirio di S. Eustachio*. . . (Rome: G.G. Komarek all'Angelo Custode, 1690), and Pietro Ottoboni, *Il martirio di S. Eustachio*. . . (Rome: Gio. Francesco Buagni, 1690).

³⁴ Franchi, *Drammaturgia romana II*, cvii; Arnaldo Morelli, "Il *Theatro spirituale* ed altre raccolte di testi per oratorio romani del Seicento," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 21 (1986): 52, 251, 296.

³⁵ The parental structure father–mother–son is also present in the unfortunate Ottobonian work *Il Colombo overo L'India scoperta*, music of Bernardo Pasquini (Teatro Tordinona, 1691). Staffieri, "I drammi per musica," 142.

³⁶ The first time Corelli and Fornari appeared on the *Rollo* (list of employees) in the service of Ottoboni. Comp. Ott. 15, no. 690, fol. 738r and no. 658, fols. 408r, 409r–v ("In the rooms of Mr Arcangelo [Corelli] of the violin"; "In the rooms of Mr Matteo [Fornari] towards the garden").

³⁷ "Lord Cardinal Ottobono has raised the stables of his palace of the Chancellery and makes a very superb comedy theatre there." Missive of abbot Giovanni Battista Mancini, 29 April 1690, Florence, Archivio di Stato, Mediceo 3956 and 3408; Alessandro Scarlatti, *The Operas of Alessandro Scarlatti IX: La Statira*, ed. William C. Holmes (London: Harvard University Press, 1985), 92.

³⁸ Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 298n6.

³⁹ For the relationship between music and architecture, see Arnaldo Morelli, *Teatro della vista e dell'udito: la musica e i suoi luoghi nell'età moderna* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2017), vii–xi.

Ottoboni's theatre was renovated between June and September 1690. The door corresponding to the door of the Barberini *tinello* (dinette) was walled up; it was opened *verso il portico*, that is, onto the large courtyard of the palace.⁴⁰ In the Barberini plan, the spectators would have entered the theatre through the room called *cucina comune* (Fig. 2), a few steps further west.⁴¹ The theatre had only two tiers of boxes: the first of them was at the same height as the stage.⁴² The height of the room, as can also be verified in the current state, did not allow the presence of further orders. There were probably eight boxes on the second tier⁴³ plus a central stage placed above the entrance door to the theatre room.⁴⁴ Many stagecraft works were done in order to find the space for the scenes and the structures for the installation of the theatrical machines; the stage was enlarged in the courtyard of the building.⁴⁵

The new theatre was inaugurated in September 1690 with *Amore e gratitudine*, based on a text by Pietro Ottoboni and with music by Flavio Lanciani. It was a pastoral fable in honour of the double marriage of the pope's nephews: Cornelia Zeno married the prince of Palestrina Urbano Barberini, and Marco Ottoboni (uncle of Cardinal Pietro) married Tarquinia Altieri.⁴⁶ Unofficially, *Amore e gratitudine* also celebrated the dignity of cardinal conferred on 13 November 1690 by Alexander VIII on Francesco Barberini Junior (1662–1738, brother of Urbano) and on Lorenzo Altieri: alluding to the two new cardinals, Cardinal Ottoboni included in the work the motif of the fishing of two special fishes (*porpore*).⁴⁷ Urbano and Francesco Junior were the great grandnephews of Cardinal Francesco Barberini Senior; the bonds that the Ottoboni forged with them were part of the strategy of the Venetian family which aimed

⁴⁰ Barb. Lat. 4400, fol. 4r. "The door of the said theatre towards the loggias [of the large courtyard]"; "For having walled up the doorway towards the portico." Comp. Ott. 15, no. 639, fols. 263r–v and no. 694, fols. 782r, 798r.

⁴¹ The *cucina comune* (common kitchen) became the atrium of the theatre; a door was opened in the wall to give access to the theatre room (former *tinello* and the following rooms). Comp. Ott. 15, no. 694, fols. 782r, 792 ("Teatro nel Palazzo"), fol. 796r ("For making a break in the wall and for opening the doorway to the room").

⁴² "22 wooden steps of the stairs [of the boxes]"; "the boxes on the second floor." *Ibid.*, fols. 796r, 798r.

⁴³ Sixteen wooden pillars were installed, two for each *palchetto* ("placement of sixteen standing wooden beams. . . in the walls of the *armatura* of the boxes"; *ibid.*, fol. 797v). Sixteen hinges (two for each door) were mounted on the doors of the *palchetti*. Comp. Ott. 15, no. 694, fols. 782r, 797v.

⁴⁴ The doorway leading to the theatre under a *palco* was enlarged upwards: "For having cut the wall to raise the doorway that goes above the stage of the aforementioned room [of the theatre]." *Ibid.*, fol. 796r.

⁴⁵ "For having cut the wall in the corbels of the vault [stones embedded in the walls] and made the joint for the return of the scenes." *Ibid.*, fol. 793v. For theatrical machines ("the wood that lifts the machine"), see *ibid.*, fol. 793v. For the extension of the stage in the courtyard of the building ("stage raised outside in the little courtyard"), see *ibid.*, fol. 794r.

⁴⁶ Sven H. Hansell, "Orchestral Practice at the Court of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 19 (1966): 401–2; Hans J. Marx, "Ein neuer Fund zur römischen Operngeschichte des ausgehenden Seicento," *Analecta musicologica* 3 (1966): 43–48; Lindgren, "Lanciani;" Arnaldo Morelli, "Lanciani, Flavio Carlo," in *DBI*, vol. 63 (Rome, 2004), 350–53, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/flavio-carlo-lanciani_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/; Chirico, "L'aquila bicipite," 209–58. Cornelia Zeno was a cousin of Pietro Ottoboni; Urbano Barberini (1664–1722) was Maffeo's son. Franchi, *Drammaturgia romana*, 601, 618, 633, 725, 802; *Avisi italiani ordinarii, e straordinarii dell'anno 1690* (Vienna: G. van Ghelen, 1690), *Il Corriere ordinario* no. 100, 14 December 1690, 25 November 1690.

⁴⁷ Daliso sings: "If just two *porpore* are necessary to manufacture the mantle of Francesco and Lorenzo." [Pietro Ottoboni], *Amore, e gratitudine* . . . (Rome: G. F. Buagni, 1690), 3:1, 51. For the cardinal appointment of Francesco Barberini and Lorenzo Altieri, 18 November 1690, see Ott. Lat. 3356, fol. 19r; for bills of Francesco Barberini, see Cacciaglia, *Le Giustificazioni*, 270–333.

to consolidate its social and political position in Rome. And theatre was certainly a part of this strategy.

Another way in which Ottoboni alluded to Barberini's patronage was by means of musical production at the Palazzo della Cancelleria. By December 1690, the Venetian cardinal had set up an elegant room on the first floor of the building for the performance of oratorios (even with a scenographic structure) in an antechamber of his apartment. Many oratorios were performed in that room during the more than fifty years of Ottoboni's life at the Palazzo della Cancelleria; for example: *La Giuditta* (21 March 1694), based on a libretto by Ottoboni and with music by Scarlatti,⁴⁸ the *Introduzione all'oratorio della Passione* by Pier Paolo Bencini, and *Per la Passione di Nostro Signore Gesù Cristo* by Alessandro Scarlatti (the last two for Holy Week in 1707).⁴⁹ The room may have already been used in the time of the Barberinis for theatre productions and musical performances, as evidenced by the existence of a stage with *gelosie* (shutters, or rather jealousies) that Ottoboni renovated and enlarged. In the Barberini era, the stage may have been occupied by the ladies, who would have attended shows in privacy; the *gelosie* were eliminated in 1690, during the restructuring ordered by the Venetian cardinal.⁵⁰

In 1692, Cardinal Ottoboni was forced to dismantle his theatre on the ground floor of the Palazzo della Cancelleria, following a warning from Pope Innocent XII.⁵¹ However, later, he would build a theatre of *popazzi* (puppets) on the second floor of the building, which hosted several performances between 1694 and January 1712.⁵² The inaugural work was *La Santa Genuinda* (1694) based on an anonymous text which was actually written by Cardinal Ottoboni, perhaps with the contribution of Giuseppe Domenico De Totis, with music by Giovanni Lorenzo Lulier, Alessandro Scarlatti, and Carlo Francesco Pollarolo.⁵³ Also in this case—as in *Il martirio di*

⁴⁸ Autograph text of 1693, *La Giuditta oratorio a 5 voci*, Ott. Lat. 2360, fols. 142r–153v. For the printed texts of *La Giuditta*, see Franchi, *Drammaturgia romana*, 664–65 and 693–94. For documents of 1694, see Marx, "Die Musik am Hofe," 141, nos. 66k–h. The handwritten score of the oratorio in I-Nc, 15.7.23.

⁴⁹ Texts of oratorios: [Pietro Ottoboni], *Introduzione all'Oratorio della Passione* . . . (Rome: Antonio de' Rossi, 1707); *Per la passione di nostro Signore Gesù Cristo* . . . S. Filippo Neri (Rome: Antonio de' Rossi, 1707). A score of Scarlatti's oratorio *Per la passione di nostro Signore* in D-Dl, Mus.2122-D-5.

⁵⁰ "Moreover, on 21 November [1690] . . . the ladies' box." Comp. Ott. 15, no. 656, fols. 381r, 387r, *A dì 10 giugno 1690. Conto*. . . "Room of the oratory. . . Box in the front of the choir. . . For having cut off the old jealousies." Teresa Chirico, "Balconi dorati per i musici". La prassi rappresentativa dell'oratorio in ambito ottoboniano (1690–1713)," in *Spectacles et performances artistiques à Rome (1644–1740). Une analyse historique à partir des archives familiales*, ed. Anne-Madeleine Goulet, José María Domínguez, and Élodie Oriol (Rome: École française de Rome, 2021), 151–65.

⁵¹ Avviso of Rome, 12 March 1692, Ott. Lat. 3279, fols. 218r and 221v: "There are many who believe that the pope made him [Ottoboni] say that theatres are not for ecclesiastics. . . . The aforementioned Cardinal Ottoboni has just begun to have his Chancellery theatre dismantled. . . ." Volpicelli, *Il Teatro*, 699.

⁵² Volpicelli (*Il Teatro*, 684) erroneously assumes the new puppet theatre ("novo teatro dei burattini") existed since 1690. Teresa Chirico, "Magnificence in Miniature: Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni's Exquisite 'piccol teatrino ad uso di popazzi' (Small Theatre for Puppets) in the Palazzo della Cancelleria (1694–c. 1712)," in *Noble Magnificence: Cultures of the Performing Arts in Rome, 1644–1740* (Turnhout: Brepols 2022), forthcoming.

⁵³ [Pietro Ottoboni], *La Santa Genuinda overo L'innocenza difesa dall'inganno. Dramma sacro* . . . (Rome: Komarek, 1694). Flavia Matitti, "La *Santa Genuinda* e il cardinale Pietro Ottoboni," in *Il Baciccio illustratore–Baciccia*, ed. Flavia Matitti (Rome: Antonio Pettini, 1994), 39–60. Scores of the opera in GB-Lbl, Add. 16123, 16124, 16125. An unpublished bound account indicates that De Totis took the paper for the text of *La Santa Genuinda, A dì 9 gennaio 1694*. . . . Comp. Ott. 31, no. 74, fol. 242r.

Sant'Eustachio—the cardinal chose a subject already used by Giulio Rospigliosi in *L'innocenza difesa* (the inaugural work for the theatre of Francesco Barberini Senior at the Palazzo della Cancelleria), but used a different plot.⁵⁴

We have little information on Ottoboni's puppet theatre during the first decade of the eighteenth century, when Clement XI forbade public performances for a long time due to various events: the celebration of the Holy Year 1700, the earthquake in 1703, the crisis between the Holy See and Joseph I of Habsburg, and the flood of the Tiber.⁵⁵ After the papal prohibitions, Ottoboni commissioned Filippo Juvarra to design a new theatre at the Palazzo della Cancelleria: it was built between the second and third floors (in rooms other than those of the puppet theatre);⁵⁶ it was inaugurated on 21 January 1710 with *Il Costantino Pio*, with Ottoboni's libretto and music by Carlo Francesco Pollarolo.⁵⁷ The stagings of other libretti by Ottoboni followed: *Teodosio il Giovane* with music by Filippo Amadei (1711), and *Il Ciro* (1712) with music by Alessandro Scarlatti.⁵⁸ In those libretti, the cardinal merged traditional Barberini opera with modern historical and musical drama in the manner of Apostolo Zeno, which was practised twenty years earlier in his first historical dramas *La Statira* (1690) and *Il Colombo* (1691): they were staged at the Tordinona public theatre, according to Venetian fashion, which at the time was not very popular in Rome.⁵⁹

A look at the dramaturgical production of the cardinal for the Palazzo della Cancelleria highlights how that place—as the seat of the Apostolic Chancellery—conditioned the choice of subjects of plays to be performed in both the Barberini and the Ottoboni periods (in the latter case, in addition to the sacred dramas, it was used for the staging of some uplifting

⁵⁴ [Giulio Rospigliosi], *Argomento dell'opera musicale intitolata L'innocenza difesa [La Genoinda]* . . . (Rome: Rev. Cam. Apost., 1641).

⁵⁵ Franchi, *Drammaturgia romana II*, 14–18; Laura Cairo, "Rappresentazioni sceniche nei palazzi della Roma settecentesca," in Viola, *Il teatro a Roma nel Settecento*, 2:783–91; Franco Piperno, "'Su le sponde del Tebro': eventi, mecenati e istituzioni musicali a Roma negli anni di Locatelli. Saggio di cronologia," in Dunning, *Intorno a Locatelli*, 2:793–877.

⁵⁶ Armando Schiavo, *Il palazzo della Cancelleria* (Rome: Staderini, 1964), figs. 131–32; Mercedes Viale Ferrero, *Filippo Juvarra scenografo e architetto teatrale* (Turin: Edizioni d'arte Fratelli Pozzo, 1970), 302, figs. 184, 185, 303; Pulitani, *Le trasformazioni*, 85, 87, 88, fig. 17. See a model reconstruction of the Juvarra/Ottoboni theatre: Lorenzo Bianconi and Maria Teresa Muraro, eds., *Domenico Scarlatti, I grandi centenari dell'anno europeo della musica* (Locarno: Pedrazzini, 1985).

⁵⁷ [Pietro Ottoboni], *Il Costantino Pio* . . . (Rome: Antonio de' Rossi, 1710); Tommaso Manfredi, *Filippo Juvarra: gli anni giovanili* (Rome: Argos, 2010).

⁵⁸ [Pietro Ottoboni], *Teodosio il giovane* . . . (Rome: Antonio de' Rossi, 1711) and *Il Ciro* . . . (Rome: Antonio de' Rossi, 1712). Alessandro Scarlatti, *Il Ciro (Roma 1712). Dramma di Pietro Ottoboni, scene di Filippo Juvarra*, ed. Nicola Badolato (Rome: IISM, 2017); Nicola Badolato, "Il Ciro (1712) di Pietro Ottoboni e Alessandro Scarlatti e gli allestimenti operistici romani di Filippo Juvarra," in *Settecento romano. Reti del classicismo arcadico*, ed. Beatrice Alfonzetti (Rome: Viella, 2017), 199–219. After the death of Cardinal Ottoboni (28 February 1740), his theatre was dismantled and sold at auction. Volpicelli, *Il Teatro*, 686, 777–78.

⁵⁹ Franchi, *Drammaturgia romana II*, 70n82, 74, 77; Staffieri, "I drammi per musica." The last text of the cardinal—as "protector of the affairs of the crown" of France, written for the birth of the dauphin—was the theatrical feast *Carlo Magno* (1729), set to music by Giovanni Battista Costanzi. Pietro Ottoboni, *Carlo Magno, festa teatrale* . . . (Rome: Antonio de' Rossi, 1729). On the Tordinona, see Cametti, *Il Teatro di Tordinona*; Sergio Rotondi, *Il Teatro Tordinona: storia, progetti, architettura* (Rome: Kappa, 1987); William C. Holmes, *La Statira by Pietro Ottoboni and Alessandro Scarlatti: The Textual Sources with a Documentary Postscript* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1983).

pastoral fables).⁶⁰ Another relevant point is Ottoboni's lack of interest in subjects belonging to the Spanish-style cloak-and-dagger genre that characterized the last plays of Clement IX, staged between the 1650s and 1660s (after his stay in Spain as apostolic nuncio).⁶¹ It was not just taste that determined Ottoboni's negative choice, but a clear intention to continue in the wake of Rospigliosi's production in the time of Urban VIII. The Venetian cardinal considered himself the continuer of the magnificent patronage of a nepotistic kingdom of the golden age, which entrusted the artistic guidance to great and undisputed patrons.

⁶⁰ Ottoboni sponsored another *favola pastorale*, *L'Amor eroico fra pastori* (Teatrino di pupazzi, 1696), dedicating it to the members of the Arcadian Academy. Teresa Chirico, "'Che nel cielo d'Arcadia spunti il mio sol'. Giovanni Bononcini e *L'Amor eroico fra pastori*," in *I Bononcini da Modena all'Europa (1666–1747)*, ed. Marc Vanscheeuwijck (Lucca: LIM, 2020), 127–66.

⁶¹ *Dal male il bene* (1654, Palazzo Barberini), music by Marco Marazzoli and Antonio Maria Abbatini (Antonio Sigler de Huerta, *No ay biens in ageno daño*); *Le armi e gli amori* (1656), music by Marco Marazzoli (Juan Pérez de Montalbán, *Los empeños de un acaso*); *La comica del Cielo o La Baltasara* (1668), music by Abbatini (Luis Vélez de Guevara, Antonio Coello y Ochoa, and Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla, *La Baltasara*). Almudena García González, "Un suceso real como argumento de comedia: la conversión de *La Baltasara*," *Revista de Literatura* 76.151 (2014): 101–21; Roma, San Bonifazio, 112.

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Teresa Chirico is a tenured professor in Music History and Historiography at Santa Cecilia Conservatory in Rome. She took a degree in Letters, and majored in Musicology at “La Sapienza” University in Rome; she obtained conservatory diplomas in both piano and voice. She received a PhD in Musicology from the Università di Roma “Tor Vergata.” She is a member of the Research Team of the PerformArt project; she has collaborated with the PhD programme of the Universiteit of Leiden–Academy of Creative and Performing Arts. She has written two research monographs; her articles have been published in prestigious international musicological journals. She contributed to RAI–Third Channel, to the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, and to *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. She has also edited musical publications for Ut Orpheus (Bologna) and FIMA (Rome).