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MUSIC AND COMMUNICATION IN ENLIGHTENMENT ROME:
DOCTRINE, INSTRUCTION, SOCIALIZATION, AND STYLE
IN THE VOCAL WORKS OF THE COLLEGIO NAZARENO (1704-1784)

BY

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

This is a cultural and stylistic study of the main corpus of unpublished musical works currently preserved in the Archivio Generale Storico delle Scuole Pie (AGSP), in Rome. This corpus is primarily made up of forty-nine Italian-texted, religious cantatas, oratorios (or componimenti sacri), and pastorales, commissioned by and performed at the Collegio Nazareno, in Rome, as part of the accademie letterarie that took place annually there, at least, between 1681 and 1784. The Collegio Nazareno, a Piarist educational institution founded in 1622, became a prestigious school during the eighteenth century. A leading school, as far as the practice of letters and empirical sciences is concerned, it also hosted important Jansenist-influenced theologians. This cultural environment is commensurate with the intellectual, religious, and political aims of the so-called Catholic Enlightenment.

The highly elaborated librettos, musical compositions, and performances produced in this institution were an essential part of a series of specific practices and rituals embodying that cultural atmosphere. They were thus important communicational vehicles for doctrine, instruction, and socialization. In this regard, and with heavy reliance on rhetoric, semiotics, and social theory, special attention is paid to how theological, literary, and scientific elements were combined and presented in the musical compositions. Particularly, Niccolò Jommelli’s oratorio Giuseppe glorificato in Egitto (1749) and Rinaldo di Capua’s L’angelo di Tobia (1768) are analyzed as musical portrayals of St. Joseph Calasanz, in correspondence with Catholic-Enlightenment ideals of holiness. References to music-style features, based on period theory, principally Joseph Riepel’s theory of musical phrase, run across this study also in connection with broader cultural aspects.
To my beloved wife, María Gomis Coloma
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION .................................................................................................................. 1

CHAPTER 1: THE COLLEGIO NAZARENO AND ITS MUSIC: PRELIMINARY REMARKS  
WITH A NOTE ON RHETORIC AND GENRE ECOTYPES .............................................. 6

CHAPTER 2: THE COMMUNICATION OF (CATHOLIC) ENLIGHTENMENT  
IN THE VOCAL WORKS OF THE COLLEGIO NAZARENO ........................................ 62

CHAPTER 3: REPRESENTING SANCTITY IN ENLIGHTENMENT ROME I:  
NICCOLÒ JOMMELI’S GIUSEPPE GLORIFICATO IN EGITTO (1749) ............................ 161

CHAPTER 4: REPRESENTING SANCTITY IN ENLIGHTENMENT ROME II:  
RINALDO DI CAPUA’S L’ANGELO DI TOBIA (1768) ..................................................... 225

CHAPTER 5: MUSICAL STYLE AND COMMUNICATION  
AT THE COLLEGIO NAZARENO .................................................................................... 289

CONCLUSIONS .................................................................................................................. 360

BIBLIOGRAPHY ................................................................................................................ 364
INTRODUCTION

Chapter Overview

In Chapter 1: “The Collegio Nazareno and its music: Preliminary Remarks with a Note on Rhetoric and Genre Ecotypes,” the institution, as well as its musical tradition, and the approach adopted in this study are presented. The Piarist Collegio Nazareno in Rome, founded with the aim of providing education to the poor, began soon, toward the end of the seventeenth century, to accept fee-paying students from noble families, which fact brought about a reshaping of the Collegio social network. This reshaping included rituals in which music became a protagonist. This is the case of the annual accademia letteraria, in which a cantata, oratorio (or componimento sacro), or pastorale, was usually performed. While the core history of the Collegio Nazareno is fairly known, and the material aspects of its musical life have been reconstructed, as well as its musical corpus catalogued, this introductory chapter brings all that information together now within the cultural framework of the Enlightenment.

The Collegio is thus presented as an institution in the orbit of the Catholic Enlightenment, and as a node in its social and cultural network. It is in this context, that is, incorporating into the picture a broad cultural landscape as well as highlighting the social function musical performances had at the Collegio Nazareno, that the issue of musical genre is approached through the concept of ecotype. Besides, inasmuch as the librettos were written by rhetoric teachers, a reference to the role of this humanistic discipline in eighteenth-century Rome, as well as its value as a
modern research tool, is made. The chapter includes a review of the literature directly dealing with the music and/or composers of the Collegio Nazareno.

As a natural consequent of the previous chapter, the whole body of both librettos and extant scores is transversally examined under its original light, that of Catholic Enlightenment, in Chapter 2, “The communication of (Catholic) Enlightenment in the Vocal Works of the Collegio Nazareno.” For this purpose, a list of key terms is selected from secondary literature, so that they can guide the analysis. These key terms refer to the categories “doctrine” and “instruction.” The former includes a description of the numerous instances in which the librettos present references to the *ad hoc* topics of “reason and faith,” “the perfectibility of society,” “new paths through theology: biblical exegesis and patristic lore,” and the regulation of “Marian devotionalism.” The latter covers all those instances in which literary and scientific topics are used. In this regard, the presence of images taken from Newtonian physics, explicitly quoted in the librettos, is remarkable.

The reference to the categories “doctrine” and “instruction,” therefore, has to do with the mental structures (i.e., culture) embodied through the musical works under scrutiny, while socialization concerns the behavioral strategies (i.e., society) attached to the musical performances at the Collegio Nazareno. Musical speech (i.e., sound) is usually approached using the conceptual apparatus of formal rhetoric as an analytical tool, with particular emphasis on how the processes of control of the *declamatio*, *elocutio* and *inventio* are achieved in the music.
A detailed, case-oriented study relating to Chapter 2, Chapter 3, “Representing Sanctity in Enlightenment Rome I: Niccolò Jommelli’s Giuseppe glorificato in Egitto (1749),” deals with the representation of Joseph Calasanz, founder of the Piarists, during the span of time between his beatification (1748) and his canonization (1768). The musical work composed to celebrate the beatification, Niccolò Jommelli’s 1749 oratorio Giuseppe glorificato in Egitto, is taken as a central reference in the portrayal of Calasanz as a saint, around which other artistic expressions, including poetry and visual arts, arise. These extra-musical works are taken into account, as they inform the libretto of the musical work and also take part in the portrayal of Calasanz, and, arguably, in the fashioning of Enlightenment holiness. Thus, the analysis of musical dramaturgy illustrates how sanctity was conceived in Enlightenment Rome, more as a question of ethical heroism than it was directly in reference to mysticism, visions, and ecstasies. The aria di tempesta convention plays major roles in this connection. The whole chapter connects with recent scholarly writings on cultural history and sainthood.

In continuation with the previous one, Chapter 4, “Representing Sanctity in Enlightenment Rome II: Rinaldo di Capua’s L’angelo di Tobia (1768),” discusses Rinaldo’s work for the celebration of Calasanz’s canonization in the same fashion, that is, following an intertextual approach. For this reason paintings, biographical writings, and architecture, as well as Jommelli’s oratorio Giuseppe glorificato, are taken into account in order to seek out the ultimate meanings of the work. In Rinaldo’s oratorio it is the figure of a guardian angel in disguise that symbolically stands for Calasanz, who, in turn, is interpreted as a doctor parvulorum. In this connection, Calasanz is
presented as a possible model for enlightened holiness. A comparison between Jommelli’s and Di Capua’s works, developing the concept of “hyperplot,” closes this two-chapter series.

While the previous chapters’ points of departure are the librettos and the topics dealt with in them, Chapter 5, “Musical Style and Communication at the Collegio Nazareno,” immediately focuses on musical style. However, as in previous chapters, the reference to culture is essential here. This leads to the discussion of musical style from the viewpoint of syntax, which can be culturally framed in reference to language, formal rhetoric, and the aesthetic notion of taste, which is highly relevant in mid-eighteenth-century Arcadian Rome. The musical analysis at play in this chapter helps keep track of the gradual shift from Fortspinnung to Absatz syntax in the sinfonie of the cantatas, oratorios (or componimenti sacri), and pastorales of the Collegio Nazareno from 1704 through 1784. Historigraphical categories such as Rococo, Galant Style, and Classical are discussed in relation to this syntactical shift. For this purpose, a “cognate theory of music,” based on the theories of musical phrasing proposed by Joseph Riepel in his Anfangsgründe zur musicalischen Setzkunst, Part 2 (1755); and by Heinrich Koch’s Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition, published in three volumes (1782, 1787, 1793), will be carefully taken into account. The chapter closes by pointing out aspects of taste in connection with style and culture.
References to music

The musical staff below shows the system of pitch identification in use throughout this dissertation.
CHAPTER 1

THE COLLEGIO NAZARENO AND ITS MUSIC:
PRELIMINARY REMARKS WITH A NOTE ON RHETORIC AND GENRE ECOTYPES

Introducing the Collegio Nazareno: a Platform for Instruction and Socialization

_The Piarist order in the Eighteenth Century: Background Information_

In a recent manual about the history of the Piarist order, the chapter devoted to the eighteenth century includes the term “golden century” in its title.¹ The Order of Poor Clerics Regular of the Mother of God of the Pious Schools, founded by Joseph Calasanz² (1557-1648) with the goal of schooling poor boys, had reached the status of a religious order properly in 1617. According to the same source, during the three first quarters of the following century, the Piarists of Italy and Central Europe experienced “rapid growth,” reaching the number of 3000 members, and, “towards the end of the [eighteenth] century, the Italian Pious Schools had about 1000 friars, distributed over 7 Provinces of Rome, Liguria, Naples, Tuscany, Sicily, Sardinia, and Puglia.”³

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² In keeping with English-language literature about this founder saint and his order, and in spite of the fact that he used to sign up using his italicize name, Giuseppe Calasanzio, I will stick to the original Spanish-language version of his second name.

³ Antonio Lezaún, _History of the Order of the Pious Schools_, 68.
Among the relevant events taking place during the Settecento, there is one of particular importance for the advancement of the order and the Collegio Nazareno:

On May 1, 1731, Fr. General, Giuseppe Lalli, obtained the Bull Nobis quibus from Pope Clement xii, which solved the dispute [with Jesuits, who monopolized higher education at the time] and granted the Piarists freedom to teach. Despite various appeals by the Jesuits, the Piarists were soon recognized and supported by the civil authorities. With the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from Spain in 1767 and from Sicily in 1768, as indeed with the suppression of the Company decreed by Pope Clement xiv in 1773, in many places the Piarists were given the freedom to work and sometimes had to govern institutes abandoned by the Jesuits.

The Bull Nobis quibus declared that the Poor Regular Clerics of the Mother of God of the Pious Schools had to teach the early basics of letters and sums, the Catholic Faith and grammar. They were also allowed to teach the liberal disciplines of Latin and Greek, and also science and the 'Major Sciences' (Philosophy and Theology), as long as they observed the rules of their Constitutions regarding lower schools.⁴

Some years after the promulgation of this Bull, in 1748, Fr. General Agostino Delbecchi published a decree

for the good government of the Pious Schools, which introduced innovations for secondary schools. They remained organized in six classes over three two-year stages: 1) Grammar and lower and upper (1st and 2nd degrees); 2) Humanistic studies and Rhetoric (3rd and 4th); 3) Philosophy and Theology (5th and 6th). Included in the Philosophy course were Mathematics, Geometry, and experimental Physics.⁵

In fact, “during the 18th century, catechistic and religious formation of students followed previously established custom, even though humanistic and scientific training prevailed over the religious and moral. What contributed to this state of affairs was the search for social prestige caused by the problems with the Society of

⁴ Ibid., 73.
⁵ Ibid., 74.
Jesus.” However, the institutional tensions with the Jesuits were not the only factors modulating the intellectual history of the order. According to the Piarist author, “the ideas of the Enlightenment, of Liberalism or Jansenism, which were adopted by a certain number of Piarists, also contributed to the decline of the Order.” While this account presents today’s view of those years, as a matter of fact, during the second half of the eighteenth century, “Jansenist, Gallicanist, and enlightened doctrines” started to “trouble a large number of distinguished Piarists, especially in Rome and Italy, where some of them even joined the ranks of Jacobin revolutionaries, and one of them, Fr. Giuseppe Solari, even became a member of the government of the ‘Roman Republic,’ which was proclaimed in 1798.” Many of those “distinguished Piarists,” would be, in fact, teachers at the Collegio Nazareno, which by the mid-eighteenth century had acquired fame as a leading educational institution.

*The Collegio Nazareno and its Music*

The Collegio Nazareno had been founded in Rome by Joseph Calasanz in 1622 by the expressed will of Cardinal Tonti (1566-1622) and with the financial aid of Cardinal Tonti’s estate, having the original aim of providing the most talented among the local poor children with high-quality education. But it was not until 1689 that this

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6 Ibid., 76.
7 Ibid., 70.
8 Ibid., 86.
educational institution was settled in the Cardinal’s palace, next to the church of St. Andrea delle Frate (Figure 1.1), where it has been located and run by the Piarists until very recently, which is the most important reason why the musical and documentary sources from the Collegio Nazareno are still extant (Figure 1.2).\(^\text{10}\)

\[\text{Figure 1.1: Eighteenth-century engraving showing the main entrance of Cardinal Tonti’s palace (background), the definitive residence of the Collegio Nazareno. Work in the public domain; digitized by Google}\]

\(^{10}\) As noted in Enrico Careri, *Catalogo dei manoscritti musicali dell’Archivio Generale delle Scuole Pie a San Pantaleo* (Roma: Torre d’Orfeo Roma, 1987), 21, this is something exceptional, given the countless religious institutions—churches, oratories, colleges, etc.—that were active in Rome in the late seventeenth century, whose music is lost.
Before long, due to the quality and liberality of the education offered, the emphasis on scientific subjects, and financial difficulties, the Collegio opened its doors to fee-paying boarding students—convittori—from aristocratic families.\(^{11}\) Thus, as early as 1657 the

Nazareno was considered to be one of the best schools for noble children, surpassing, in this regard, the Jesuits’ Collegio Romano and the Collegio Clementino, according to some sources. In fact, the establishment of the Accademia degli Incolti within the Collegio Nazareno as early, at least, as 1658, must be seen in connection with the increasing prestige of the school and its ties to the Roman nobility.

The Accademia degli Incolti was primarily intended to provide a means for the aristocratic alumni of the Collegio Nazareno to continue improving their mastery of the belle lettere, while maintaining their pious devotions. The first of its regulations included in the Origine e regole dell’Accademia degli Incolti, stipulates the holidays that must be observed:

May the Virgin Mary, under the name Santa Maria Nazarena, be taken as the advocate of the Accademia. The academicians will observe three holidays in her honor: first, the 10th of December, the day when Her Holy House was taken to Loreto; second, the 8th of September, the Nativity of the Virgin; and third, the 25th of March, the day when the eternal Word became flesh in her virginal uterus. In the morning of these days, all of the academicians must gather in the chapel dedicated to the Virgin in order to sing the Office, and to do other spiritual exercises. [...] The following day, or else another day within the octave of each one of the aforementioned holidays, provided the Prince and his officials do not

Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1987), 301-311, offers also a brief worth-noting survey on the history of the institution in connection with its musical life.

12 See Vannucci, Il Collegio Nazareno, 135n33; also quoted in Lanfranchi and Careri, “Le Cantate,” 303.

13 Literally, accademia of the “uncultivated,” in reference to its educational purposes, it was recognized as a “colony” of the Roman Arcadia in a decree of 1741, which is preserved in the Archivio del Collegio Nazareno and transcribed in “Monumenta Academie Incultorum” a VI. Kal. Novemb. An 1719, 33 [1737], MS, Provincia Romana, Supplementum 34, n. 11, AGSP. On the history of the Accademia, see Bruno Bruni et al., Memorie storiche dell’Accademia degli Incolti, vol. 1 of Quaderni degli accademici Incoli (Roma: Tipografia della Pace, 1978); and Angela Negro, Il Ritratto segreto: Miti e simboli nella quadreria dell’Accademia degli Incolti al Collegio Nazareno; Una collezione sconosciuta del Sei e Settecento romano (Roma: Campisano Editore, 2004).
order otherwise, they will recite an Accademia composed by them in honor of the Virgin.\textsuperscript{14}

This is significant, for the most musically important event at the Collegio Nazareno was the Nativity of the Virgin Mary (September 8, according to the Roman Catholic calendar).\textsuperscript{15} A great part of the vocal works with orchestral accompaniment under scrutiny here were, in effect, cantatas composed and performed as the climatic part of the *accademie di belle lettere* that took place on the occasion of this holiday, hence the generic title—“Cantata per la Natività della B. V.”—that most of them bear on the first page of the extant manuscript sources.\textsuperscript{16} The events associated with these *accademie* were spread over a week and marked the end of the academic year, which took place in September, in eighteenth-century Rome.\textsuperscript{17} The performance of the annual cantata was, in the end, a ritual honoring the birth of the Virgin Mary, an indoctrinating practice, and a public display of the Collegio Nazareno’s cultural, social, and symbolic capital before the *convittori* and, particularly, the Roman nobility and prelates of the

\textsuperscript{14} See “Origine e Regole dell’Accademia degl’Incolti,” MS, fols. 196-7, Archivio del Collegio Nazareno; as quoted in Lanfranchi and Careri, “Le Cantate,” 304. “Che si tenghi per avocata dell’Academia la Verg.e Santiss.a con nome di Santa Maria Nazarena in honore della quale? si faranno degli Accademici tre feste la prima il di 10 Xbre giorno della translatione della Sua S. Casa in Loreto; la seconda il di 8 7bre giorno Natalizio di essa Vergine, et la terza il di 25 marzo giorno nel quale il Verbo eterno s’incarnò nel suo utero virginale, nelli quali giorni la matina debono tutti gli Accademici nella Cappella del Col.o dedicata ad essa Vergine comunicarsi, e dopo cantarvi il suo offitio, e farvi altri esercitj spirituali [...] , et il giorno d.o, o pure altri giorni nell’ottava de ciascuna di d.e tre feste, se il P.npe con li suoi offitiali non ordinasse altrim.te, recitarano una Academia da essi composta in honore dell’histessa Vergine.”

\textsuperscript{15} The other holiday in which music played a prominent role in the Collegio Nazareno was the carnival season, for which some dance music is still preserved as well.

\textsuperscript{16} Other titles of the cantatas devoted to this holiday include: “Cantata/A Tre Voci, sopra alla Nascita della/Beata Vergine”, or even “In Nativitate B.M.a Virginis.” The cantatas, along with other musical sources, are catalogued in Enrico Careri, *Catalogo dei manoscritti musicali dell’Archivio Generale delle Scuole Pie a San Pantaleo* (Roma: Edizioni Torre d’Orfeo, 1987), 31-80.

\textsuperscript{17} At the Collegio Nazareno, the academic year started in November 5 and ended in September 11 for high-grade courses (classes for little children continued until September 21); see Ottorino Calcagni et al., *I regolamenti*, 16.
These performances arguably served as a means of framing—or controlling—the processes of socialization\(^{18}\) for both fee-paying students and audience. In this connection, it is worth quoting a document found in the archive of the Collegio Nazareno, regarding the performance of the cantata and its addressees:

This *Accademia di Lettere* for which the rhetoric teacher has responsibility, consists of a brief recitation of a Latin-language prayer, an equally brief poem, an eclogue, and a short acknowledgement address. The *Cantata in Musica*, the words of which must be composed by the rhetoric teacher, or else another capable person with the Fr Rector’s approval, is performed. And special care must be taken about [the text of] this composition; all the more since it is to be printed.

Three days in advance, the invitation to this *Accademia*, intended for *Cardinals, Prelates, Ambassadors, and Princes*, is made by means of several *convittori* that usually undertake this duty.\(^{19}\)

This document contains three important indications of the social, cultural, and religious significance of the vocal works performed at the Collegio Nazareno, namely, the sort of audience that gathered at the institution for the annual September *accademia*, the fact that it was the rhetoric teacher who was in charge of providing the librettos for the cantatas, and the admonition that special care be taken over the texts of the cantatas, inasmuch as the libretto would be printed and distributed to an audience that included cardinals and prelates of the Church (Figure 1.3).


\(^{19}\) As quoted in Lanfranchi and Careri, “Le Cantate,” 316; my italics. “Consiste quest’Accademia di Lettere, che spetta al P. Mro di Rettorica, nella recita di una breve Orazione latina, di un altretanto breve Poema, di un Elogio, e di un piccolo ringraziamento. Vi si fà la Cantata in Musica, le parole della quale deve comporre il d.o.o P. di Rettorica, o altra Persona capace, coll’intelligenza del P. Rettore, e si deve molto badare in specie a questo componimento, tanto più che si stampa.

L’invito che si fa per quest’Accademia è di SS.ri Cardinali, Prelati, Ambasciatori, Principi, tre giorni prima da diversi Sig.ri Convittori, che soli han partì in questa funzione.”
The Roman Social (and Cultural) "field of play"

The question of the audience leads us inevitably to the phenomenon of socialization at the Collegio Nazareno, as the audience included several interrelated groups within

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20 By socialization is meant the series of practices that allowed the Piarists, their students’ families, and audiences to keep the network of social links and alliances, which contributed to their “social capital.” See Pierre Bourdieu, "Structures, Habitus, Power: Basis for a Theory of Symbolic Power," in
the Roman social and cultural landscape. In most respects, the annual performances of the vocal works at the Nazareno were similar to other elite Roman musical events and venues in terms of the audience’s social profiles. However, institutional affiliations and regulations, chronicles, diaries, and dedications concerning these works and the Collegio, itself, point to an ideologically coherent social networking. The first of the nodes in this social network that deserves commentary is that belonging to the convittori’s noble families, which would include, over the years, the Colonna, Albani, Ruspoli, and Orsini, from Rome; and, for instance, the Wandernat (‘Austria’), Redovitz (‘Germany’), Cesvestiscki (Poland), Palafox (Spain), De Silva (Portugal), among others, from across Europe. In effect, the reputation of the Collegio Nazareno had extended beyond Rome to the full extent of Western Europe, and this fact points out a remarkable aspect of the development of musical practice within the Collegio.

The acceptance of fee-paying boarding students from aristocratic families, so-called convittori, which amounted to a hundred around 1753, was not at the core of the spirit that had inspired the founder of the Piarists: that of teaching poor children gratis. But this was the price the order had to pay in order to keep teaching those children, called alunni, from whom they obtained no income. On the other hand, the inclusion of noble children would provide the social elite with a very suitable means—the high-quality education offered by the Piarists—of perpetuating its hegemonic

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21 These names are included in the “Elenco dei convittori e degli alunni del Collegio Nazareno,” a roster of fee-paying students found in the Archivio del Collegio Nazareno; see Lanfranchi and Careri, “Le Cantate,” 310.

22 See Leonetti, Memorie, 251-280.

23 Angela Negro, Il Ritratto Segreto, 26.
position, as well. It was within this paradoxical situation that music, in the form of such refined artefacts as the cantatas honoring the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, pastorales, and oratorios, among others, entered the Collegio Nazareno as an institution in which music was not included as a study subject within the core curriculum.

In effect, learned music—both performance and appreciation skills—was not a normal part of the class habitus of poor and illiterate children in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Western Europe, but it was for the aristocracy. Therefore, the incorporation of refined forms of music into the institutional scholarly rituals of the Collegio Nazareno can be interpreted as an outcome of the Roman nobility’s translocation of the Piarist institution into their own orbit, or, to speak with Bourdieu, into their “field of play:”

Cultural competence in its various forms cannot be constituted as cultural capital until it is inserted into the objective relations between the system of economic production and the system producing the producers (which is itself constituted by the relation between the school system and the family). 24

Providing an assessment of Bourdieu’s model’s validity for eighteenth century social history is neither an easy task nor a main research goal in this dissertation. It is nevertheless possible to approach the issue whether or not poor, illiterate, children were able to reach advantageous positions within the social field thanks to a sort of

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“social symbiosis,” at play in the Collegio Nazareno. And this is of particular interest because this was Calasanz’s original goal and, primarily in this study, because being such goal commensurate with the Enlightenment social agenda, it would be used in Calasanz’s portrayal as a Catholic-Enlightenment saint in two oratorios performed at the Nazareno in 1749 and 1768, as I suggest in chapters 3 and 4. Difficulties in approaching this issue have to do with the fact that most of the extant documentary traces regarding Nazareno graduates belong to the fee-paying *convittori*, not the *alunni*; documents regarding the latter ones’ social success is usually limited to notorious cases in Rome; and the only discrimination possible is that between students belonging to noble families, and those not belonging to noble families. Moreover, this discrimination is solely based on the treatment of family names (i.e., its being preceded or not by nobiliary titles), and provides no insight concerning the differences between the children of liberal professionals, artisans, and those living in actual misery.

Despite this, it is more than reasonable to state that, in effect, attendance at Piarist schools, even at those focused on the nobility, like the Collegio Nazareno in Rome, provided substantial help toward social improvement for individuals from non-noble families, obviously within the systemic limitations of the ancien régime. In this sense is significant, for example, that between the forty-six Nazareno graduates that reached the cardinalate, most of them during the eighteenth-century, at least, five of them received no nobiliary treatment in the handwritten documents preserved.25 The

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25 It is the case of Ludovico Merlini, “from Forlì” (*da Forlì*) admitted to the Nazareno as a *convittori* in 1706; Bernardo Onorati, “from Jesi, son of Joseph” (*da Jesi, figlio di Giuseppe*), admitted in 1735; Giulio
proportion of non-noble individuals increased in the case of bishops (seven out of twenty-one), including two alunni. Indeed it is the cases of alunni that are very significant here. For example, about a certain Giuseppe Battaglini, who may be regarded as a typical case, it is said that

In May 1, 1735, Mr. Giuseppe, age 11, son of Mr. Carlo Alessandro, from Rimini, came in at the Coll[egio Nazareno] as an alunno. After being examined, he was located in third grade at the school of grammatics. He studied theology and law with much profit and left for Rimini in July 25, 1744. His bearing was quite praiseworthy and, based on his behavior, he was considered as an angel. In 1753, he lives in Rome, devoted to law, and he is currently a secretary of the Sacra Rota [court], along with monsignor Mingazzi.26

Succesful (professional) craftsmen, visual artists, poets, musicians, normally not from noble families, can also be found among the former students of the Nazareno, as well as of other European Piarist institutions. Such is the case, for example, of the Nazareno ex-convittore Roman poet Silvio Stampiglia (1664-1725).27 He is author of the text for

and Lodovico Piazza, “from Forlì” (da Forlì), admitted in 1673 and 1686; and Sante Veronesi, “from Padova” (da Padova), admitted in 1699. See Armando Pucci and Alberto Manodori, Il Nazareno (1989), 87, 88, 89, 90. As seen, they were all convittori and thereby most likely able to pay tuition and fees.

26 Ibid., 151. “Il 1 magg. 1735 venne in Coll. per Alunno nel luogo di Rimini il Sig. Giuseppe, d’anni 11, figlio del Sig. Carlo Alessandro di Rimini. Esaminato fù posto alla Scuola della Grammatica nella terza Classe. Studiò Teologia e Legge con molto profitto e partì il dì 25 lug. 1744 per Rimini. I suoi portamenti furono assai lodevoli; e per lo costume fù stimato un Angel. 1753. Si trattiene tuttavia in Roma applicato alle leggi e presentemente è Secretario della S. Rota presso Mons. Mingazzi.”

the serenata a 3, *Venere, Amore, e Ragione*, by of Alessandro Scarlatti, who, in turn, became a member of the *Congregazione Lauretana* at the Collegio Nazareno and sent his children “Nicola and Carluccio” there between 1702-1704. If one turns the focus north of the Alps, one finds such names as W. A. Mozart, Joseph Haydn, or Franz Schubert, linked to Piarist institutions, as well. Again, here notorious cases are better known, and the extent to which their education at Piarist schools was determinant or not for his ulterior social success, difficult to assess.

Piarists, therefore, on the one hand, were providing poor children with a deposit of cultural capital that would enable them, to an extent, to reach advantageous positions within the social field. By potentially subverting their habitus, Piarists were making them think and wish what otherwise they could not. On the other hand, if noblemen could not prevent Piarists from teaching poor children, they wanted, at least, their own children to gain the benefits of the education they were offering. But they, too, had to “enhance” the institution’s educational profile so that it met the need for providing young aristocrats with the cultural capital—the series of instrumental skills essential to their class habitus—they needed in order to keep their advantageous position in the social field in which they were playing. The social involvement in, and attendance at, the performance of the vocal works, as part of the annual September *l’Animoso* within the Accademia degli Incolti at the Nazareno), painted by Abraham Brughel, illustrates the title page. This painting was brought to light by the exhibition catalogue and study Angela Negro, *Il Ritratto Segreto*, quoted in earlier pages.


29 Mozart sent his son Carl Thomas to a Piarist boarding-school in Vienna; Schubert attended the Convictus Caesareo Regius et Gymnasium Academicum in Vienna, as well; and Haydn attended a Piarist school in Vienna, too, most likely that of Maria Treu, the Piarist church in that city. See Pedro Sanz, *Exalumnos y otros temas escolapios* (Zaragoza: 2012), 285, 124; and also Giner et al., *Escuelas Pías: Ser e historia*, 264-265.
accademia, was to play an important role in this regard. By these means young noble convittori were incorporating “symbolic goods, especially those regarded as the attributes of excellence [as] the ideal weapon in strategies of distinction.”

The evidence that these social dynamics were at play comes principally from the Collegio Nazareno’s successive updating of its own constitutions and regulations, originally written by Joseph Calasanz, himself, in 1630. The founder had stipulated that boys between twelve and eighteen might be considered for acceptance at the Nazareno, provided that “they be of the best intelligence, the best habits, and the most poor that can be found [. . .], being those who possess these three features in a higher degree to be preferred over the rest, even if recommended by any eminent figure whatsoever.” Along this same line of thought, in turn, in a somewhat later letter sent to the Provincial in Naples (in 1638), Calasanz condemns those who “do not care about generating great debts” in the preparation of devotional practices and liturgies. These should not be undertaken “in competition with other accommodated churches.” And, most significantly, he recalls that “the chapter has resolved that music may not be played in our churches, especially when having to pay for musicians.”

30 Ibid.
31 Ottorino Calcagni et al., I regolamenti, 38. “Che siano delli migliori ingenii et di migliori costumi et di più poveri che si possano ritrovar, et quelli che haveranno queste tre qualità in maggior grado, [. . .] siano preferiti a tuttil li altri, ancorchè fussero mandati da qualsivoglia eminente personaggio.”
32 Calasanz to Giuseppe Fedele, Rome, February 13, 1638, MS, RC 6, 129, AGSP; as published in Epistolario di San Giuseppe Calasanzio, ed. Leodegario Picanyol Sch. P. (Roma: Editiones Calasanctianae, 1954), 6:298 (letter 2802); also available at http://scripta.scolopi.net; my italics. “ Alla lettera di V. R. deli sei del corrente rispondo, che non haveriei mai creduto tanta negligenza per non dire disobbedienza in mandare il P. Tomaso fuori di Napoli come io havevo ordinato, né è bastante scusa il dire, che non havevano denari per il viaggio. Per spendere le diecine di scudi in fare un Presepio, et in fare le 40 hore non si curano di fare debiti grandi dovendo fare le sopradette cose non a competenza d’altre chiese commode, ma come poveri con devotione e semplicità. Si è risoluto nel capitolo, che non si faccia
By 1693, Chapter I of the Regulations already states that “convittori [not alunni] must have plenty of funds in order to satisfy the tithe, or other expenses, agreed upon with the Fr. Rector of the Collegio before their acceptance.” Among these, there is an explicit mention of “expenses of the usual feasts, accademie, and comedies,” if including a warning against excessive expense.\textsuperscript{33} At this point, in fact, the Regulations of the Collegio Nazareno coincide with those of the Accademia degli Incolti proper. According to Number xiii therein, “expenses to be incurred on the occasion of feasts or Accademie will be charged to all the academicians.”\textsuperscript{34}

Finally, in 1750, the last number in the “Instructions for the acceptance of convittori gentlemen to the Collegio Nazareno,” printed as a flyer-like paper, states that “generous nobility by birth is the indispensable feature, required for the admission to this Convitto.”\textsuperscript{35} Moreover, the notice of the “public Accademia, which, along with the Cantata, takes place every year, with the participation of Cardinals, Prelates, and distinguished nobility,” is included in the paper, seemingly by way of a request. The social function of these performances is also clearly demonstrated here, as they are

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{33} Calcagni et al., \textit{I Regolamenti}, 79. “I Convittori poi devono essere facoltosi, per corrispondere alle Dozine, ò altre spese, che vengano di patto col P. Rettore del Collegio prima del loro ingresso. [...] Di poi ognuno anche concorre con le spese della Festa, Accademie, e comedie.”
\item \textsuperscript{34} See “Codice 12: Congregazione, accademia e cataloghi del Collegio Nazareno,” MS, fol. 206, Archivio del Collegio Nazareno; as published in Bruni et al., \textit{Memorie storiche}, 54.”[...] circa le spese da farsi, ò in occasioni di feste, ò in occasion d’Accademie dovranno esser fatte da tutti gli Academici.”
\item \textsuperscript{35} See “Istruzione per l’ingresso dei signori convittori nel Collegio Nazareno di Roma diretto dai PP. delle Scuole Pie,” MS without location number, Archivio del Collegio Nazareno; as published in Calcagni et al., \textit{I regolamenti}, 120.
\item \textsuperscript{36} Ibid., 121. “La qualità per esser ammesso a questo Convitto richiede indispensabilmente la generosa Nobiltà de la nascita.”
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
said to take place “in order to show the youngsters’ progress in the aforementioned studies not only to noble relatives, but also to the public.”

That social display and institutional competition conditioned musical practice at the Collegio Nazareno may be understood by reading the *Diario ordinario di Roma,* published by Chracas, which usually included, by paid commission, notices of all activites of the three main colleges in Rome, the Nazareno, the Clementino—run by the Somascan fathers and institutionally close to the Piarist Nazareno—and the Romano—led by the Jesuits. This was particularly true of the performances during carnival season, but, arguably, it also affected the more elaborated musical performances of the September cantatas, oratorios, and pastorales. What is more, this was probably one of the reasons for the termination of the tradition of performing a musical work in the September *accademie:*

Having become the Father General of the Piarists, [Stefano] Quadri presented, along with [Somascan] Fr. Nicolai, a petition to Pope Pious VI, in order to decrease the levels of luxury and the elevated expenses of the noble Collegios Nazareno and Clementino [...]. The two Generals proposed the prohibition of theatrical performances, private chamber performances.

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37 Ibid. “Acciochè si renda palese, non solo a’ Signori Parenti, ma anche al Pubblico il profitto, che annoto i Giovani negli studi sudetti.”

38 Henceforth, DO.

39 See, for example, the *DO*, February 1755, n. 5859, 9. As Careri, *Catalogo*, 23, notes, the “Avvisi Marescotti,” MS, I-Rn, vol. 790, fol. 14r, Fondo Vittorio Emanuele, also offer evidence for this sort of latent competition, for instance, when early in the century the comedies staged at the Nazareno for carnival are judged “the most beautiful” in comparison to those of other schools. In fact, and quite remarkably, the Piarists at the Nazareno regarded the staging of comedies as the “most thorny performance offered at the Collegio,” though “necessary, both because of the example of other schools,” and of tradition. See “Comedie,” MS, Archivio del Collegio Nazareno, without location number; as quoted in Careri, ibid. “Questa [performance of comedies] è la funzione più scabrosa che ha il Collegio, [...]. Pure essendo ella in certo qual modo necessaria, tanto per l’esempio di tutti gli altri Collegi, quanto ancor per l’antica introduzione.” On other grounds, the will for institutional distinction, even from other Piarist Roman schools, on the Collegio Nazareno’s part, led the Piarists at the Nazareno to ask Benedict XIV that the *convittori* of the Collegio Calasanzio be dressed in a uniform clearly distinct from the rest of Roman schools, including the Nazareno; see Vannucci, *Il Colegio Nazareno*, 135n31.
servants for the *convittori*; their use of valuable furniture, clocks, rings, buckles, and other objects of silver and gold; the practice of leaving single *convittori* with money in deposit; pinafore dresses and bracelets with embroidered laces; coaches for visits and outings; and also... chocolate and coffee.\(^40\)

The fact that two Fr. Generals of religious orders (or congregations) running schools for noblemen in Rome had to join in a petition to the pope, himself, in order to manage such practical matters as those mentioned, is illustrative of the degree of appropriation of the "school system" on the part of noble families. This is not say that Piarists did not benefit from the social, cultural, and monetary capital of their *convittori*'s noble families. It is to say that the rapport between aristocrats and Piarists, as illustrated in the case of the Collegio Nazareno, and in the midst of which art music practice took place in eighteenth-century Rome, was not free of tensions and interests; and that these tensions and interests affected musical practice. The pope, in fact, sanctioned the prohibition in September 1784. The last of the vocal works with orchestral accompaniment for the annual *accademia di belle lettere* at the Nazareno dates indeed from that month and year, which is hardly a coincidence. In 1786 the Collegio’s theater would be demolished.\(^41\)

Essential though they were, *convittori*'s noble families were not the only nodes in the Collegio Nazareno’s social network. The same aforementioned sources recording and

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\(^{40}\) Vannucci, *Il Collegio Nazareno*, 139n45. "Il p. Quadri essendo Generale delle S. P. presentò insieme col Generale dei Somaschi p. Nicolai una supplica al Papa Pio VI chiedendo provvedimenti per diminuire il lusso e le troppe spese dei Nobili Collegi Nazareno e Clementino [...]. Proponevano i due Generali che si se proibissero la rappresentazioni teatrali, i servitori o camerieri particolari per i convittori; l’uso che questi facevano di mobili preziosi, di orologi, anelli, filibbe e altri oggetti d’argento e d’oro; il deposito di somme di denaro presso i singoli convittori; le *scamiciate* al petto e i polsi di merletti ricamati; le carozze per visite e passeggio; e anche... la cioccolata e il caffè."

publishing noble family names are likewise full of references to the College of Cardinals. Many cardinals played major roles as protectors of the Collegio. By way of token, and because of their converging ideological profile, commensurate with that of the Collegio, four cardinals deserve mention here. Cardinal Ottoboni, an “enlightened patron” of the arts,\(^\text{42}\) was close to the Piarist Nazareno early in the century. There he attended performances, which included some of his own literary creations. He had previously sold the stage of his own palace to the recently built theatre of the Collegio in 1694. Later in the century, the figure of Cardinal Marcantonio Colonna, mentioned in sources as the “very beloved protector,” is noteworthy, too, as he was “attentive, in consonance with the spreading of the ‘spirito dei lumi,’ to Newton’s scientific theories.”\(^\text{43}\) He, too, at some point in the history of the Piarist institution, used to welcome his fellow cardinals as they arrived at the hall to attend the cantata.

Cardinal Alessandro Albani is particularly significant because of his close relation to the Piarists and his importance as a cultural agent in eighteenth-century Rome. In fact, his uncle Pope Clement xi had entrusted to Paolino Chelucci (Rector of the Collegio Nazareno in 1718-1724; and 1727-1733) his education. The nephew would later, as a cardinal, become a collector of antiquities, and, “protecting Winckelmann and Mengs, will play a key role in the birth of the neoclassical style.”\(^\text{44}\)

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\(^\text{44}\) Ibid., 26. “[. . .] Alessandro, il future cardinal e collezionista di antichità che proteggendo Winckelmann e Mengs avrà un ruolo chiave nella nascita del neoclassico.”
Albani’s household were sometimes paid a fee for their transportation of a chair to the Nazareno for the use of the pope.\textsuperscript{45}

The figure of Cardinal Albani, in turn, points to that of Cardinal Henry Benedict, Duke of York.\textsuperscript{46} He is another important figure in this context, for it was he who probably brought Niccolò Jommelli’s into the circle of the Collegio Nazareno,\textsuperscript{47} which, by then, had already been commissioning works for several years from Felice Doria, master harpsichordist in the service of Cardinal Henry Benedict. The rapport between Cardinal Benedict and the Collegio Nazareno was far from circumstantial. Cardinal Benedict’s request of Pope Benedict XIV for permission to attend the exhumation of Joseph Calasanz’s body bears witness to his esteem toward the Piarists, and it is included in one of the most comprehensive eighteenth-century biographies of its founder.\textsuperscript{48} Benedict’s closeness and involvement with the Piarists, permits one to consider the Collegio Nazareno as belonging to the series of “European courts, seminaries and universities that supported [English Catholics] in exile,” while their

\textsuperscript{45} See Lanfranchi and Careri, “Le cantate,” 299.


\textsuperscript{48} See Vincenzo Talenti, Vita del beato Giuseppe Calasanzio (Roma: Giovanni Zempel, 1753), 607.
“writings” and “arguments shaped the emergence of a ‘Catholic Enlightenment’ that outlasted the commitment to Jacobitism.”

Finally, and probably most importantly, as far as literary and musical creativity at the Collegio Nazareno is concerned, one must mention the very existence of the Accademia degli Incolti and its increasingly tight connections with the Roman Arcadia. I will not expand on this here, as this is a topic that runs throughout this study. Thus, I will only point out the declaration, in 1747, of the Accademia degli Incolti as a “colony” of the Accademia dell’Arcadia at the Collegio Nazareno. The relationship between the Incolti and the Arcadia, represented by this institutional link, but by no means limited to it, was an essential node, which involved reciprocal influences. Perhaps this convergence of interests and social ties, in the context of the Catholic Enlightenment, may be represented through the figure of the man of letters Luigi Godard, former Piarist, rhetoric teacher at the Collegio Nazareno, and author of one of its librettos: he, also, would become Custode Generale of the Arcadia in 1790.


50 See Bruni et al., *Memorie storiche*, 68-92.

The Vocal Works at the Collegio Nazareno: Overview

The Collegio Nazareno did not maintain a stable musical *cappella*. As was usual for many other Roman ecclesiastical institutions of the period, the institution’s staff temporarily hired both singers and instrumentalists in order to solemnize the most important festivities, which, in the case of the Collegio, were, as stated before, the Nativity of the Virgin Mary and the carnival season. These musicians were to perform a new work previously commissioned from a prominent composer active in Rome (Table 1.1). Although numbers varied over the years, the information that can be retrieved regarding the September cantata for the year 1745, for instance, can give one a general idea of the instrumental forces in play at the Nazareno for those occasions: ten violins, two violas, two cellos, two basses, two oboes, two horns, two trumpets, one bassoon, and harpsichord. This amounts to a substantial orchestra for an institution in which the music was scarcely taken into account in its official educational program.

Table 1.1: List of extant sources used in this study, including score (Reg. Mus. number), librettos (with genre indication in frontispieces), and available documents. Source: Enrico Careri, *Catalogo*.

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52 This information appears in the list of expenses for the so-called *accademia pubblica* of September, 1745. See “Esito Generale, sept. 1745,” MS, 43-44, Archivio del Collegio Nazareno; as transcribed in Careri, *Catalogo*, 319.
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<td>36</td>
<td>67</td>
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<td>28</td>
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<td>69</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>45</td>
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<td>94</td>
<td>VALENTINI, Giuseppe (1724)</td>
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<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>VALENTINI, Giuseppe (1747)</td>
<td>38</td>
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As to the external form and vocal scoring of the works, in general, they usually call for three singers; they include an introductory, brief, and uncomplicated instrumental sinfonia; and they are divided into two parts. Each part contains, in turn, three arias—one for each character—and a final chorus made up either by the soloists or by a choir, apart from the customary recitative sections. This breakdown of the external form matches that of the librettos, whose number of lines ranges from 350 to 450, and whose poetic meters, in turn, were arranged in preparation for the distinction between recitative and aria, as usual. The librettos, of course, are divided into two parts as well.  

As for the content of the librettos, they refer to the corpus of Catholic theology and doctrine, which was systematically inculcated into the students’ subjective experiences through everyday practices and institutional rituals. Thus, I suggest that an indoctrinating purpose—directed toward the convittori, as much as an apologetical

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intention, with respect to certain theological issues—directed more to the rest of the audience, influenced the processes of inventio whereby libretto topics were chosen as appropriate. Broadly considered, these topics mostly consist of either Old-Testament biblical stories or newly invented scenes in which roles personifying abstract notions, or decontextualized biblical figures, interact. At all events, at least in the case of the cantatas for the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, they all crossly refer to the birth of Mary, principally by means of typological symbolism. Some librettos, however, include pastoral scenarios and roles, which fact raises the question of poetical genres. I will deal with this question in the last section of this chapter.

As I demonstrate in Chapter 2, reliance on period theology is necessary for the purpose of locating literary and theological commonplaces that would otherwise be missed. In this sense, the theological sensibility of the Piarists will be presented in relation to broader trends in the history of Catholic thought, taken as part of Western literate culture. Only in this way, I believe, may the historical and cultural pertinence of the librettos written for the Collegio be properly valued.

Moreover, when dealing with the content of the printed librettos one has to refer to a very remarkable feature, perhaps unique among eighteenth-century cantata-

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54 Nearly all of the virtues, according with period (and current) Catholic doctrine, appear personified as roles—interlocutori—throughtout the librettos for the cantatas of the Collegio Nazareno. With respect to this, one should recall that nearly half these librettos bear no dramatic title and include explicit allegorical, moralizing roles. Thus, the allegorical personage named Giustizia (Justice) appears in the cantatas of 1741, 1742 (both of them musically set by Felice Doria), 1718 (Francesco Gasparini), and 1754 (Rinaldo di Capua). The virtue of temperance is represented by the roles of Innocenza (Felice Doria, 1741) and Verginità (Felice Doria, 1742); that of prudence by the role Umiltà (Felice Doria, 1742); and that of fortitude by Fortezza (Francesco Gasparini, 1718). The libretto musically set by Jommelli in 1752 stands out as entirely devoted to the cardinal virtues. Its roles are Amor Divino, Speranza, and Fede. Amor Divino appears also as a role in Giuseppe Amadori’s setting of 1709, and that of Nicolò Checconi of 1739; and Fede is one of the roles of the 1734 setting by Checconi as well.
oratorio-, or pastorale- librettos. This is the inclusion of printed, extended, numbered, marginal notes in Latin supporting theologically relevant assertions, metaphors, and descriptions contained in the libretto texts. The sources cited by the librettists include the Bible, and principally other writings ranging from homilies to treatises by early Church Fathers and later prominent theologians, including, but not limited to, Tertulian, St. Jeronim, St. Anselm, St. John Damascene, St. John Chrisostomus, St. Albert the Great, St. Bonaventure, St. Thomas Aquinas, and St. Agustine.55 This way of crafting the librettos is a sign of a new eighteenth-century trend within theological studies, which, in an attempt to avoid scholastic dilemmas, precisely sought to base the discipline more securely on both the Scriptures and the writings of the Church Fathers. This can be considered as a trace of influence of the Enlightenment on Catholic theology, and, thus, the vocal works of the Collegio Nazareno may be regarded as symbolic expressions of that new theological approach, as well.56 In a

55 In this regard, for example, Jommelli’s 1750 cantata—devoted to the cardinal virtues, as Amor Divino, Speranza, and Fede—is noteworthy in that its thirteen-page libretto is glossed with seventy-six printed marginal notes of the type described above; see Gian Luca Bandini, CANTATA/PER LA/NATIVITÀ/DELLA/BEATISSIMA VERGINE/IN OCCASIONE DELLA PUBBLICA ACCADEMIA/NEL/COLEGIO NAZARENO. (Rome: Giovanni Zempel, 1750), ii, Miscellanea Nazareno 11-1, 8, B. Scol. Furthermore, the patristic roots of the underlying theology of the Collegio Nazareno librettos is, in many cases, evidenced by explicit references, such as that included on the second page of Gian Luca Bandini’s libretto for the 1757 cantata (musically set by Rinaldo di Capua). In it, in a literal quote taken from one of St. John Damascene’s homilies on the Nativity of the Virgin Mary is interpolated between the list of interlocutori and the protesta, by way of argomento; see Gian Luca Bandini, CANTATA/PER LA/NATIVITÀ/DELLA/BEATA VERGINE/IN OCCASIONE DELLA PUBBLICA ACCADEMIA/NEL/COLEGIO NAZARENO. (Rome: Giovanni Zempel, 1757), ii, Miscellanea Nazareno 11-1, 14, and 14, 13, B. Scol.

56 This new trend would consist of a reaction against the “religious and spiritual insufficiency of theology, very far removed from biblical thought and from the word of the Scriptures, as well as from the great ideas of tradition. Such a theology had become out of touch with the vivid theology of the Fathers and that of the Early Middle Ages, and also with the political life of power and its cultural aspects (literature or philosophy).” See Joseph Lortz, Geschichte der Kirche in Ideengeschichtlicher Betrachtung (Münster: Aschendorff, 1965), 273-4. “[...] gegen die ungenügende geistige und religiöse Leistung der Theologie, die sich allzu sehr vom biblischen Denken und vom Wort der Schrift entfernt, sich auch von den grossen Gedanken der Tradition gelöst, den Zusammenhang sowohl mit der lebendigen kirchlichen Theologie der Väter un des Hochmittelalters wie mit dem kräftigen nationalen Leben un ddessen kulturellen Leistungen (Literatur und Philosophie) verloren hatte.”
similar way, the Collegio Nazareno, committed to inculcating students with Christian beliefs as it was, also became one of the leading Italian institutions in the development of empirical sciences and physics during the eighteenth century. This aspect of the Collegio’s faculty and curriculum is reflected in its librettos too and will be illustrated in detail.

**Research Objectives and Approach**

*Research Goals: a Comunicational-Based Approach*

The main questions driving this research inquiry are how the librettos of the vocal works with orchestral accompaniment for the Collegio Nazareno worked as a communicational means for religious indoctrination, instruction, and socialization; and whether and to what extent their musical features embodied relevant cultural values and amplified the content of the librettos through musical support of the rhetoric, affect, and characterization of their poetic texts. The examination of both librettos and scores has confirmed these as significant questions and permitted the formulation of my research goals in the following specific terms:

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57 Paolino Chelucci, rector of the Nazareno during the periods 1718-1724 and 1727-1733, for instance, strove to bring to the Collegio Nazareno faculty some of the best teachers in the fields of sciences and letters. He himself had become personal tutor of Alessandro Albani and had printed his works on mathematics several times in Rome, Naples, and Venice. Urbano Tosetti (1760-1763) introduced the custom of teaching physics by doing experiments, including public demonstrations. Gian Vicenzo Petrini (1775-1784), seriously devoted to sciences, founded a mineralogy museum, which was personally visited in 1769 by no less a figure than the Emperor Joseph II, who six years later sent from Vienna a rich collection of metals. Damaso Micheti (1784-1799), finally, established a special school of anatomic dissection (*anatomia sul vero*) and published a *Compendium on Celestial Globe and Old and New Geography*, which was reprinted in Rome, Naples, and Venice. The scientific tradition of the Piarist goes back to the times when Calasanz himself sent his friars to study with such a controversial figure as Galileo Galilei, up to the point that some commentators have referred to some of them as Galilean Piarists. On this, see Vannucci, *Il Collegio Nazareno*, 114-141.
• To study the content and form of the librettos, paying special attention to their rhetorical structure and poetic scansion, uncovering ties between the text and its social/cultural context, correlating their lessons with Church doctrine as communicated in theological writings of the time, and analyzing them as hegemonic expressions of class-specific social habitus, doxa, and orthodoxy.

• To study the musical settings of the vocal works so as to determine how and to what extent music functions as an effective amplification of the rhetorical form and content of the text, and how such musical means of amplification undergo stylistic changes with time.

My approach to the musical sources stems from a two-fold assumption: first, the consideration of music as language; second, the inclusion in the concept of “music” the Bourdian notion of “cultural practice,” and Alan Merriam’s classic three-part model, made up of conceptualization about music, behavior in relation to music, and analysis of music’s sounds. In sum, and in resonance with recent explorations of cultural history, I have approached music as communication.

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58 The Christian doctrine textbook by default in Piarist schools was Roberto Card. Belarmino, *Dottrina Christiana breve perche si possa imparare a memoria* (Roma: 1597), and his *Dichiarazione piu copiosa della dottrina cristiana per uso di quelli che insegnano ai fanciulli e alle altre persone semplici* (Roma: 1598). They were respectively intended for students and teachers, and both were composed following Clement VIII’s order and based on Tridentine guidelines. On the other hand, Giuseppe Calasanzio himself wrote a little treatise, *Alcuni misteri della vita e passione di Cristo, Signor nostro, da insegnarsi alli scolari dell’infime classi delle Scuole Pie*, which was published in Rome 1625, 1632, 1691, and 1695.

59 For a discussion of these concepts, well known contributions of the French scholar, see Pierre Bourdieu, “Structures, Habitus, Power,” 155-99.

In a significant volume dedicated to this approach, Danuta Mirka offers a systematization of the levels at which the study of eighteenth-century music as communication can be accomplished.\textsuperscript{61} Thus, she points out three possible communicational levels in music. The first one is the “semantic level,” which is equated to “the study of musical topics.”\textsuperscript{62} The second, “communicational level,” would correspond to the “level of musical form” and the “reference to literary theories.” This is presented as symptomatic of this approach.\textsuperscript{63} Particularly, she relies on some of the contributors to the volume to conclude that “in the late eighteenth century, questions of musical form belonged to the art of musical rhetoric \textit{in the proper sense of the word}.”\textsuperscript{64} In third place, Mirka points out the “level of grammar,” and declares that “in contradistinction to rhetoric, which deals with the organization of entire pieces or movements, musical grammar—like its linguistic counterpart—concerns internal organization of musical sentences (\textit{Sätze}).”\textsuperscript{65} In the end, she points out the “explicit listener-oriented approach and more or less explicit connections to various branches of communication sciences” as the common denominator of “those scholars of music who take the position of communication” and are “scattered over many different fields of musical studies ranging from historical musicology and music semiotics through modern and historical music theory to cognitive psychology of music.”\textsuperscript{66}


\textsuperscript{62} Ibid., 2.

\textsuperscript{63} Ibid., 3.

\textsuperscript{64} Ibid.; my italics.

\textsuperscript{65} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{66} Ibid., 4.
While all of these views have structured my approach across this study, in one or another way, as well, I suggest that all the three points summarized by Mirka can be integrated under the unifying principle of formal rhetoric. Thus, although not explicitly pointing to dispositio, she acknowledges that “questions of musical form belong to the area of musical rhetoric, in the proper sense of the word.” However, she seems to overlook the fact that “musical topics” (belonging to the first semantic level for her) are part of a “musicogenic” inventio, in the proper sense of the word, as well, and thus may also be related to a rhetorical system. In this connection, Galant- and Classical-style inventio would increasingly differ from that of the Baroque, which was based, by and large, on literary content, and thus, “logogenic.” On the other hand, like its “linguistic counterpart,” I argue that “musical grammar” cannot be separated from the realm of rhetoric; particularly, from that part of elocutio called compositio: in this sense, and contrary to what she states, “internal organization of musical sentences” is not “contradistinct” to rhetoric but part of it. Moreover, it is precisely because musical grammar belongs to the realm of compositio, within the elocutio in the classical secular tradition, that it is significant to music scholars, for discussions of syntactic styles are part of its lore. And much of the discussion of musical styles in eighteenth-century music has to do with syntax. The phenomenon of “syntactic expectation” is then closely related to this area of human knowledge, as well as to linguistics.

The unified ascription of all these poetico-musical phenomena to rhetorical lore has two valuable advantages. First, it allows the (re)attachment of those phenomena to their cultural matrix, that is, to eighteenth-century poets’ and composers’ mental patterns. In this sense, it is fundamental to recall that it was precisely the teacher of
rhetoric who was in charge for writing the librettos at the Collegio Nazareno. Second, it offers a conceptual aid to connect those phenomena to broader aspects of culture. For this purpose, I have relied on social theory and semiotics, as I will explain in the next section.

In effect, what is meant by the “semantic” level is, in reality, a secondary level of meaning, whereby a competent listener would recognize, in a given configuration of sounds, the topic of “tempest,” for example, in an aria ritornello, or that of “contredanse” in an instrumental final movement. To what effect? Actually, the musical topics, more often than not, channelled a further semantic level, which was culturally mediated. This is what Erwin Panofsky called the “intrinsic meaning” of a work in visual arts. Even music without a distinct topical content might be subject to this understanding, if one accepts that the syntactic foundations of musical phrases themselves might be taken as a symbolical form, very much like perspective in painting. In my view, only by exploring the intrinsic meaning of a musical topic, and by extension of a musical work, may one completely assess the communicational scope of music. In doing this, a bridge between historical musicology and cultural history is built up so that it can be transited in both directions. And this is a methodological goal of this dissertation, in which, building out from the content of the librettos, as amplified by the rhetoric of musical speech, I explore fundamental issues of its cultural roots, the Catholic Enlightenment; and enlarging on an assessment of musical syntax, I relate the shift from Fortspinnungstypus to Absatz syntax to changes in musical and literary taste. Finally, I suggest that communication also takes place at the level of genre conventions, by means of their manipulation, as it happens at the level
of form. I will devote the last section of this chapter to this aspect, as it is significant with respect to our repertoire.

Integrating Formal Rhetoric with Semiotics and Social Theory

The tradition of the annual musical performance within the September accademia was a practice in which both instructional/doctrinal and socializing functions were at play in an inextricably amalgamated fashion. With the purpose of accounting for that practice, I have applied modern social theory from a two-fold standpoint: first, considering the way music worked in the process of systematic inculcation of religious, social, and cultural structures into the subjective experience of young noble students, i.e., the study of musical practice as a means for communicating certain visions of doctrine and instruction; second, regarding the actual fact that music became an essential part of some ritual practices at the Collegio Nazareno as socially and culturally relevant per se, i.e., the study of musical practice as socialization.

Regarding the first point, I present here a cross account directed toward a better understanding of how music—its poetic and sonic content—mediated the individual’s process of mental incorporation of the objective social structures by affecting emotions through rhetorical means; and how, in doing so, it provided the aristocratic

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67 The two-fold perspective proposed here is by no means to be seen as the expression of an antinomy, since both sides of this view—the focus on musical practice within an educational institution, on the one hand, and the relation between music and subject, on the other hand—actually stand, so to speak, in a dynamic relationship. Indeed, by re-thinking of the concept of habitus, Pierre Bourdieu attempted to overcome a traditional dichotomy within sociological studies whereby one had to focus on either the “objective order” (i.e., social structures) or the “subjective principles of organization” (i.e., the maneuvering margin left to the subject by the social structures).
students in the audience with part of the cultural capital (i.e., among other things, literary skills and erudition, as well as reinforcement of collective belief) they were going to need in the future in order to maintain the privileged position their parents held in the social fields in which they were playing. As for the second point, musical practice, including musical works taken as a whole, can be understood as an index of high social, cultural, and economic status of both the external audience and the Collegio Nazareno as an institution, as pointed out earlier.

Thus, some concepts out of the field of modern social theory will be used to highlight the place that music occupied within the objective social structure and how it was used as a mechanism of controlling the processes of socialization that enabled the Piarists, as well as the audience, to maintain the network of alliances and social relations that, in turn, contributed to their social capital. In other words, musical performances at the Collegio Nazareno contributed to the formation of a class habitus in the young noble students by becoming a vehicle for the reinforcement of religious belief, erudition, and aesthetic judgment, and by setting a framework for socialization that included gatherings with the nobility.

Formal rhetoric and semiotics of music are two essential procedural tools that I will use to analyze the actual content of the vocal works for the Collegio Nazareno, placing it in relation to its social/cultural context within a framework taken from social theory. Rhetoric, the art of persuading, especially through words, still was, in effect, a cultural koine for learned people—cardinals, princes, courtiers, literati, etc.—during the period of time in which the vocal works with orchestral accompaniment for the
Collegio Nazareno were being performed. This is precisely the reason why there was a rhetoric teacher at the Collegio, where the children of the Roman and European nobility were sent to study. With respect to this, John Locke’s “later works on education,” for instance, refers to “training in speaking and writing used in the service of demonstrating class and social rank through exhibiting a standard of taste, another tie with belles-lettres.”

Indeed, the Jansenist Charles Rollin (1661-1741), for example, author of *De la manière d’enseigner et d’étudier les belles lettres* (Paris: 1726-28, 4 Vols.), was one of the early developers of Locke’s pedagogical ideas in France, and, in turn, one of the Piarists’ favorite authors.

The fact that it was the rhetoric teacher who, in principle, was to write the librettos at the Nazareno has an inevitable implication: those librettos were to be crafted according to the traditional rules and practices of formal rhetoric. To be more specific, I believe that the librettos of the Nazareno “bear the marks of a passage from older discursive practices to the new,” and “they show [a] continuing effort to integrate newer scientific practices with older values.” These librettos, then, had the potential to be musically set so that their rhetorical content—their systematic use of rhetorical figures (*elocutio*), their formal structure (*dispositio*), their arguments and prevailing literary themes or motives (*inventio*)—were amplified by the various musical

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parameters interwoven into the musical fabric of the work. These are very likely the exact terms in which one ought to interpret the aforementioned instruction that special care must be taken in the making of the cantata composition. This means, among other things, that both content and form were precisely calculated according to the theological, aesthetic, social and political conditioning of the Roman audience. And this is precisely the reason why rhetoric, too, is an adequate useful and relevant analytical approach.

My application of formal rhetoric as a tool for analysis consists, as a first step, in the recognition of rhythmico-poetic and rhetorical devices at the levels of inventio (selection of topics), elocutio (figures, tropes, and syntactic style), and dispositio (outer form), in literary texts. At a second step, I pursue the detection, first, of instances of either musical amplification of those figures already present in the text, or creation of rhetorical figures as a result of the composer’s musical manipulations of text; second, of the control of textual pronunciatio, that is, the control of delivery pace, accent, and pitch range; and third, of the turn to musical inventio properly, whereby certain terms are considered to encapsulate a prevailing affect, which, in turn, determines all compositional choices, in accord with period conventions.72

I am not, therefore, going to use the names of literary figures to designate purely musical features, which procedure is frequently the commonplace reason for the criticism against the use of rhetoric in musical analysis. In this sense, I am surprised at the confusion that still reigns in several recent essays on this topic, which make no

72 Regarding this analytical approach, I am indebted to John Walter Hill, Baroque Music: Music in Western Europe, 1580-1750 (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005), passim.
distinctions among the ways rhetoric analysis can be applied, or among the repertoires most aptly inviting rhetorical analysis. In a recent, insightful and erudite, contribution, for example, a rhetorical “paradigm” is dispensed with as of little use after dealing with Mozart’s Cherubino’s aria, as happily as with his Lacrimosa, or his Symphony in G minor K 550. The author concludes that “formal rhetoric may account for a Corelli concerto or Bach aria, but it offers dubious guide to Mozart’s symphony—by most accounts, a paragon of Classical style,” and proposes the substitution of the rhetorical paradigm for that of semiotics. However, and despite its bellettrist orientation during the eighteenth-century, I suggest formal rhetoric is an indispensable tool for understanding a repertoire like the Collegio Nazareno’s, explicitly made dependant on rhetorical craftsmanship, in connection with concerns of the Accademia degli Incolti and the Arcadia. Rhetoric helps, in my experience, to understand the structure of a literary text, while deploying a terminological precision that can also be used in the description of the musical dimension of a work, thereby

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73 See Stephen C. Rumph, Mozart and Enlightenment Semiotics (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 10. I leave aside here the discussion about applying rhetoric to such different genres of music as a concerto by Corelli and an aria by Bach, which, of course, would require different approaches. Other cases of criticism not taking into account differences in rhetorical approaches and repertoires include Brian Vickers, “Figures of Rhetoric/Figures of Music?” Rhetorica 2, no. 1 (Spring 1984): 1-44; and Jonathan Gibson, “A Kind of Eloquence Even in Music: Embracing Different Rhetorics in Late Seventeenth-Century France,” The Journal of Musicology 25, no. 4 (Fall 2008): 394-433. Gibson does not prove or support his first thesis, which is that French rhetorical theory rejected the use of figures. In fact, his sources show that French rhetorical theory maintained the importance of elocution, in its traditional place alongside disposition and delivery. By the same token, he does not show that music theorists rejected the importance of rhetorical figures in vocal texts or the need for composers to conform to them or to amplify or create them. He does show that French rhetorical theory in the seventeenth century did place a great deal of emphasis on emotional expression and appeal that was thought of as natural and authentic, rather than contrived. Some key critical works cited by Gibson questioning (criticizing Burmeister and “modern scholars who would model their methods on his”) common modes of musical-rhetorical analysis include Jasmin Cameron, “Rhetoric and Music: The Influence of a Linguistic Art,” in Words and Music, ed. John Williamson (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005), 28-72; and Patrick McCreless, “Music and Rhetoric,” in The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory, ed. Thomas Christensen (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 847-879.
putting both literary and sonic dimension on the same footing. Moreover, I would not see the “paradigms” of rhetoric and semiotics as mutually exclusive. Instead, I propose that their integration yields a powerful tool for musical hermeneutics.

In order to understand how various rhetorical figures—both poetic and musico-poetic—tropes, formal arrangements, literary and musical topics, and control of delivery, are decoded by an audience, and thereby how the sponsor’s and the audience’s expectations are realized or not, rhetoric finds in semiotics an inestimable aid. A semiotic approach, thus, will allow me accurately to pinpoint the way meanings were condensed in the vocal works with orchestral accompaniment performed at the Collegio Nazareno. This will also allow me to explore how those meanings were possibly perceived, as interpretants calling for further meanings. This view includes also a reliance on the insights coming from structure-mapping and conceptual theories of metaphor, as will be seen. Within this approach it will not be difficult to understand, for instance, why the biblical figures of Joseph and Raffaele became an image—a type of icon, according to Peircian semiotics—of the founder of the Piarists’ order, Giuseppe Calasanz, based on the similarities of their respective biographies or attributes. How does music model the affective response to a literary metaphor? How does music make some features of the poetry salient, and thereby relevant to the process of meaning making, while leaving others in the foreground of imagination?

74 I draw on the application of Charles Sanders Peirce’s semiotic principles to music, as proposed in Thomas Turino, “Signs of Imagination, Identity, and Experience: A Peircian Semiotic Theory for Music,” Ethnomusicology 43, no. 2 (Spring-Summer, 1999): 221-55. One of Peirce’s essential contributions to semiotics is his understanding of the meaning-making process as tripartite phenomenon, and not merely a binary one (i.e., based on the rapport sign/meaning). Thus he inserts the notion of interpretant in order to account for the linguistic-based references that a given sign calls for in the mind of the receptor, which thereby model the process and potentially extend it in what he calls a chain of semiosis.
These are questions the answer to which can be enriched by semiotics, even if used in an exploratory way.

Finally, when social theory, particularly theories of symbolic power, is incorporated into the study of libretto texts, an avenue is opened, as it were, toward their cultural and social environment, where we encounter motivations and expectations—although, admittedly, not all of them. Among these motivations and expectations, the display of symbolic capital and a persuasive presentation of doctrinal principles are probably the most important in the repertoire of the Nazareno. This will be seen, for example, in my discussion about the incorporation of Calasanz into the catalogue of blessed of the Catholic Church, as displayed through the musical portrayal—rhetorical characterization—of Joseph and Raffaele as images of Calasanz, and in the theological content of the librettos. The former fact meant an increase of the Collegio Nazareno's symbolic and social capital; the latter, a way of communicating certain theological principles representative of the period.

By unveiling the rhetorical crafting of a libretto, one is able to assess not only a good deal of the motivations leading an institution to commission a work, but also its audience's level of literacy and expectation. My main assumption, at this point, is that, to the “rational persuasion” typical of verbal arguments, and found in a mid-point between the extremes violent coercion/suggestion, literary elocutio adds a level of

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75 About “rational persuasion,” Lukes, Power, 33, states that “the question whether rational persuasion is a form of power and influence cannot be adequately treated here. For what it is worth, my inclination is to say both yes and no. Yes, because it is a form of significant affecting: A gets (causes) B to do or think what he would not otherwise do or think. Now, because B autonomously accepts A's reasons, so that one is inclined to say that it is not A but A's reasons, or B's acceptance of them, that is responsible for B's change of course.” Lukes does not uses the term “emotional persuasion” in his map of power.
“emotional persuasion,” which is even enhanced through the sonic dimension of music, to the extent that the composer is sensitive to the rhetorical content of the text. In order to apply this principle, I rely on period theory.

Thus, I hope to have illustrated, at least in a preliminary way, how the integration of formal rhetoric with the social theory of symbolic power opens a narrative channel that allows one to go back and forth from/to the text and its surrounding contexts. The effectiveness of this channel for cultural criticism depends, to a considerable degree, on the historiographic categories in use, and sensitivity to (con)texts—understanding here by “text” a literary one, a painting, or a practice. As for the former issue, the category “Catholic Enlightenment” proves to offer a very apt way of perceiving nuances at all levels of the poetico-musical phenomena in the vocal works of the Collegio Nazareno; regarding the latter, an “intertextual” view has proven fruitful. An approach including modern social theory, formal rhetoric, and semiotics of music is likely to broaden our understanding of the musical practice under scrutiny here.

**Literature review**

All or a selection of the vocal works with orchestral accompaniment written for the Collegio Nazareno in Rome have been discussed in six essays, from various standpoints and with various degrees of thoroughness and scholarly diffusion. The
two main contributions are an article by Ariella Lanfranchi and Enrico Careri,\textsuperscript{76} and the complete catalogue of the musical works preserved in the AGSP at S Pantaleo, by Careri.\textsuperscript{77} In addition, three dissertations discuss works by two of the most prominent composers who worked for the Collegio Nazareno, namely, Niccolò Jommelli and Rinaldo di Capua. The most recent of those dissertations is a 1994 \textit{laurea} thesis dealing with the activity and music of Rinaldo for the Collegio Nazareno, presented at the Università di Roma “La Sapienza” by Mario Santanché.\textsuperscript{78} The earliest one is Richard Lee Bostian’s 1961 PhD dissertation for the University of North Carolina, surveying the total output of Rinaldo. The third, from 1973, was presented at the University of Michigan. Its author, Robert Richard Pattengale, deals with all of Niccolo Jommelli’s cantatas, including those commissioned by the Collegio Nazareno.\textsuperscript{79} Finally, it will be worth noting an article by Joyce L. Johnson.\textsuperscript{80} After summarizing the main aspects of these contributions, I will explain how and where my dissertation fits into the scholarly picture, and I will point out some other works in the field that, if not directly related to the Collegio Nazareno, are relevant to it.

Lanfranchi and Careri’s extensive article—originally, a paper presented at a conference on the presence of Scarlatti and Handel in Rome—provides readers with essential documentation and new insights. The article covers the following topics: a

\begin{footnotesize}
\item[76] Lanfranchi and Careri, “Le cantate,” 297–347.
\item[77] Careri, \textit{Catalogo}, 122.
\item[78] See footnote 53.
\end{footnotesize}
period description (1740) of the main patrons of the arts in eighteenth-century Rome (including Cardinal Ottoboni, who was directly connected to the Collegio Nazareno); a historical description of the Collegio Nazareno, its related archival resources, the Accademia degli Incolti, and its relationship with the Accademia degli Arcadi; the main features of the musical life at the Collegio Nazareno about 1700; a brief account of dance-music intermezzi for the Roman carnival seasons during the eighteenth century; a thorough account of the organization of the September accademie, including documentary evidence; and an appendix consisting of a list of all the cantatas—whether still extant or not—that where performed in the Collegio between 1681-1784.

Lanfranchi and Careri identify the four libraries and archives in which both music and documents can be found and list fifteen specific documentary sources that are found in these libraries and archives, an identification of inestimable value, as nearly all the sources are contained in volumes without shelf number. The appendix to their article, in addition, can be seen as a first attempt at a complete catalogue, including dates of all of the known performances, names of librettists and composers, textual incipits, and number of roles for each cantata, along with documentary references to all or some of these aspects. This work was completed by Careri with his later publication of a complete catalogue of the musical collection of the Archivio Generale delle Scuole Pie.

Careri's Catalogo dei manoscritti musicali dell'Archivio Generale delle Scuole Pie a San Pantaleo is a systematic cataloguing of the musical works preserved in the AGSP,
including, of course, the September cantatas. Although it is not the first catalogue of the collection, Careri goes far beyond earlier attempts, both in method and content. The catalogue was supported by the Istituto di Bibliografia Musicale di Roma (IBIMUS) in collaboration with RISM, and it used the methodology developed for those international projects. The catalogue was also part of a broader research project on the oratorio, undertaken by the universities of Rome, Naples, and Perugia, the project that also supported the Lanfranchi and Careri’s article cited earlier.

After tracing the origins of the musical archive—which was originally preserved at the Collegio Nazareno, itself—Careri describes and analyzes each musical item, listed in chronological order. The essential virtue of this catalogue is that it includes not only all the prescribed information about every item but also every piece of information found in documentary sources and period literature about the musical items, composers, performances, etc. In addition, Careri himself relocated the musical items of the collection being catalogued so as to establish a topographical match between the catalogue and the collection—which I have had the chance to check. The catalogue section includes an appendix with transcribed documentation and diplomatic abbreviations. It is, in sum, an essential tool for anyone wishing to work on the music produced and performed in the Collegio Nazareno, and, along with

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81 The balli (dance music) for the intermezzi performed during the performance of different sort of plays, in the carnival season, are the most prominent type of composition after the cantatas for the Virgin Mary’s Nativity.


83 This includes, among other sources, accounts books preserved at the Archivio del Collegio Nazareno under such labels as “Giornale di Spese e Pagamenti or Introito ed Esito di Contribuzione,” where one can find even instrumentalists rosters and salaries; and the reports appeared in journals of that period, like the DO or the Diario di Roma about the performances at the Collegio Nazareno.
Lanfranchi and Careri’s article, provides up-to-date research on the factual reconstruction of musical life in the Collegio Nazareno with respect to documentary evidence and period literature. In fact, the most relevant contribution after Lanfranchi’s and Careri’s work, the laurea thesis by Mario Santanché, includes little or no new information in this area.

Santanché, instead, focuses on the composer Rinaldo di Capua (active at the Collegio Nazareno from 1753 to 1768), discussing nine of his cantatas for the Piarist institution. As expected, he draws upon Lanfranchi’s and Careri’s work for the historical background on the Collegio and its musical life. Likewise, he fully transcribes some of the documents excerpted by Lanfranchi and Careri. The fact that he deals with the content of the musical works is the most original aspect of his contribution.

Beyond the introductory section of his thesis—the state of biographical research on Rinaldo di Capua’s and a historical note about the Collegio Nazareno—Santanché builds the central portions of his study on topics such as “I libretti,” “La Sinfonia,” “L’orchestrazione,” “Il recitativo,” “L’aria,” and “I pezzi d’insieme.” His treatment of the librettos pays particular attention to topics (topoi) and, above all, to metrical and formal structure. This becomes a helpful starting point for the study of all of the librettos of the Collegio Nazareno, since the librettist—Gian Luca Bandini, rhetoric teacher at the Collegio, and also its Rector from 1754 through 176084—whose texts were set to music by di Capua, was also the author of other cantata librettos for the

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In addition, Santanché’s charts illustrating formal and harmonic analyses of all of the nine cantatas discussed provide the reader with a broad view of certain trends. Thus, for instance, the aria forms mostly used are *da capo* and *dal segno*, while the prevalent form for the introductory sinfonias is the so-called overture-binary or sonatina form. Santanché balances his synthetic overview with a more detailed analysis of the *Cantata a tre voci Per la Natività Della Beatissima Vergine* of 1775. In his conclusion, finally, he deals with how di Capua’s cantatas reflect compositional trends already present in his *opere serie*.

Richard Pattengale’s dissertation discusses all of Niccolò Jommelli’s cantatas, using this genre label as a category to include one- to three-voice cantatas, an oratorio, a serenata, and a *festa teatrale*. His work can be seen as a part of a Jommelli “revival” in musicological studies during the long decade from 1970 to the early 1980s, after a period of inattention that followed the early *Niccolo Jommelli als Opernkomponist*, published by Hermann Abert in 1908. Pattengale provides a thorough treatment of Jommelli’s cantata-like works, dealing with recitatives, arias, overtures, etc., by tracing their main stylistic features and classifying types within each category. In doing so, he successfully situates Jommelli’s compositional strategies within the broader historiographic category “mid-eighteenth-century musical style,” which is, however, unhappily conceptualized as a “transitional period” between 1740 and 1770.86

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85 For a complete listing of all those works, see McClymonds, et al., “Jommelli, Niccolò.” Along with Pattengale’s 1973 PhD diss., those by J. Calson (University of Illinois, 1974), A. L. Tolkoff (Yale, 1974), and M. McClymonds (Berkeley, 1978) are noteworthy. Apart from these dissertations, a series of scholarly articles followed and they are still necessary references on Jommelli, namely, those by McClymonds herself and Wolfgang Hochstein. There is remarkably no monograph exclusively devoted to Jommelli’s oratorios up to the present day.

Pattengale’s approach to musical analysis is, nevertheless, useful and informative, as it is, in many occasions, inspired by period writings (e.g., the *Letters upon the Poetry and Music of the Italian Opera* of 1789 by John Brown, in order to distinguish various types of recitative), while raising significant compositional issues like, for instance, the “modal shift” to the relative minor of a given key, when dealing with Jommelli’s recitative style, although unfortunately applying Jan La Rue’s flawed notion of “bifocal tonality.” Further, one misses deeper interpretations, from the point of view of dramaturgy, of all the accounted formal, harmonic, and melodic events. Finally, Pattengale’s account of sources and archives of origin omits the AGSP for the four works that Jommelli composed for the Collegio Nazareno. This leads him to believe that the only extant manuscript copy of *Giuseppe glorificato* is the one in the library of the Conservatorio di Musica San Pietro a Majella in Naples, thereby overlooking the other one preserved in the Piarist institution, which includes the parts arguably used for the first performance of the work.

The briefest and least thorough article directly and explicitly dealing with any musical aspect of the Collegio Nazareno is Joyce Johnson’s contribution to the Piarist journal

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87 This gesture (i.e., the turn to A major in a tonal context of C major, for example, with an expressive purpose) is illustrated with several examples by Pattengale, and can be considered as a feature of Jommelli’s harmonic style, which is, in any case, not a rarity in the period. In fact, Michael Talbot includes a related phenomenon, that is, what he calls “modal shift,” as one of the “Patterns and Strategies of Modulation in Cantata Recitatives.” Ibid., 266. What Jan La Rue meant by the term “bifocal tonality” is the tendency to resolve a dominant chord of a minor key in its relative major—that is, its mediant, thus understood as the “other” focus of a given tonality, along with its tonic. See Jan La Rue, *Guidelines for Style Analysis* (Warren MI: Harmonie Park Press, 1992), 53.

88 McClymonds, et al., “Jommelli, Niccolò,” still omits the copy at the AGSP, whose musical catalogue was published by Careri in 1984, and which is listed in the online Italian *Catalogo del Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale* of the ICCU (*Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico*), http://www.iccu.sbn.it/opencms/opencms/it/. For the archival identification number of both copies, see chap. 3 below.
Archivium Scholarum Piarum. The article, on the 1749 oratorio Giuseppe glorificato in Egitto, by Nicolò Jommelli—who was composing for the Collegio Nazareno from 1749 to 1752—is extremely brief and was obviously intended for a non-expert public (as the explanation of terms “castrato”, “da capo,” etc., indicates). The journal has very little diffusion among musicologists. Johnson does not go beyond making some general remarks about the topic—based on the biblical story of Joseph (Gen: 37-50), whom she describes as the figure of Joseph Calasanz without any further explanation—and noticing some instances of word-painting as hints of Jommelli’s mature style, in order to conclude that the oratorio deserves a detailed study. She seems, in any case, to overlook Pattengale’s doctoral dissertation, written almost twenty years earlier, in which he deals with Jommelli’s compositions for the Collegio Nazareno in the broader context of his discussion of the Neapolitan composer’s cantatas.

As can be seen, none of these contributions offers a cultural and social interpretation to fill in the gap between the documentary evidence, which allowed Lanfranchi and Careri to reconstruct the musical activity of the Collegio Nazareno, and the musical artefacts. This will require a thorough analysis of the librettos and the music of the cantatas. In other words, whereas Lanfranchi and Careri primarily deal with one aspect of an institution, namely, the Collegio Nazareno and its associated musical “behavior,” I intend to study the outcome of such behavior, that is, the main body of musical works—the “sound” itself—produced in the Collegio Nazareno.  

What is more, my ultimate goal is to reconstruct the cultural universe, the “ideas” that underly

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both musical behavior and musical objects at this Piarist institution, thereby taking a step further toward a cultural history of musical practice in eighteenth-century Rome. If Lanfranchi and Careri tried to present the facts of musical production at the Collegio Nazareno, I aim at determining the why and, mainly, the how of such facts. For this purpose, modern social theory and semiotics of music will be of particular help, as mentioned earlier. In addition, the methods and nomenclature of formal rhetoric in use at the time and of period musical theory will suggest fruitful ways to analyze both librettos and music of the cantatas. Of course, this was not the goal of Lanfranchi and Careri, who do not discuss the content of the cantatas at all.

Santanché, instead, does treat some of the cantatas—both music and text; his approach, however, has some limitations and, possibly, shortcomings. His analytical approach to the cantatas is conventional and purely descriptive, couched in terms of form and harmony. Furthermore, his commentaries betray a deterministic bias, when he deals, for instance, with the types of binary form of the introductory *sinfonie* of the cantatas as “embryonic sonata forms.”  

In addition, he provides no discussion of the musical syntax in use; and he does not attempt any sort of general stylistic analysis, perhaps because of the narrow span of time involved. My broader chronological scope—1704 through 1784—instead, allows me to assess stylistic changes in musical syntax, along with personal styles of composers.

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90 See Santanché, “Rinaldo di Capua,” 84. Other hints of this non-historical, or purely presentist, view include, for example, the reference to the lack of a “coherent organization of the modulations,” ibid., 100, (“[...] mancanza di una organizzazione coerente delle modulazioni”); or to the recitative not having reached a formal stability yet, ibid., 98, (“Nel corso del secolo XVII, il recitativo non aveva ancora raggiunto una propria stabilità formale.”); my italics in both cases.
Although Santanché’s considerations of the relationship between music and text are certainly valuable—he traces a correspondence between poetic scansion and musical genres, that is, recitativo and aria, and points out some word-painting within the arias\textsuperscript{91}—he does not see the music-text relationship within a broader theoretical and culturally conditioned system such as that of formal rhetoric. Thus, for example, there is no mention of delivery, elocution, or invention regarding either arias or recitatives. As stated before, this is exactly one of the essential approaches I have adopted in my study the cantatas of the Collegio Nazareno. Since Santáché also fails to analyze the texts of the cantatas as hegemonic expressions of the religious and social doxa, orthodoxy, and social values of the Roman Church hierarchy and the lay nobility, he misses the opportunity to integrate musical and textual analysis with broader issues of historical and cultural meaning, which is, of course, the main focus and goal of my dissertation.

There are many other contributions—articles, books, studies, and so forth—relevant to specific areas in covered by this dissertation, among which the first volume of Howard E. Smither’s three-volume history of the oratorio genre is a touchstone, given the geographical and time frameworks of the musical production at the Collegio Nazareno.\textsuperscript{92} Besides, there are some extremely significant collections of studies concerning various aspects of the Italian oratorio that help to fill out the whole picture of the current state of research in the field of Italian eighteenth-century oratorio:

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{91} E.g., melismas on words such as “rimembranza” or “nascerà.” See Santanché’s, “Rinaldo di Capua,” 126-7.
\end{flushleft}
The Question of Genre in the Musical Works of the Collegio Nazareno: *Ecotypes*

The certain degree of ambiguity or inconsistency observed in the sources dealing with the vocal works of the Collegio Nazareno, or other genre-related contemporary compositions in the opera's orbit, is noteworthy. In fact, there is a particularly relevant group of studies in which the disagreement about genre distinction is evident. Thus, while Lanfranchi and Careri do not refer to a genre designation, other than *cantata*, in conformity with the many manuscript title pages and printed librettos of the Nazareno, Careri uses the term *cantata-oratorio* in his later *Catalogo*.

Santanché, in turn, summons Howard Smither's authority in order to resolve the

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controversy.96 “The title page of the librettos for performances at the Collegio Nazareno usually identifies the works as cantatas, but many would seem to approach the oratorio in their two-part structure, dramatic text, and duration.”97

I mostly agree with Smither that many of the vocal works with orchestral accompaniment of the Collegio Nazareno can be fundamentally considered oratorios. However, they contain constituent features that would be overlooked under rough use of that label. For example, as will be extensively illustrated throughout this study, relations between roles are built, by librettists and composers, out of character portrayal. This feature is typical of the eighteenth-century oratorio dramaturgy with Metastasian roots.98 However, nearly all action in the vocal works of the Nazareno is reported in narrative speech, and even dialogues are mainly descriptive, resembling the sort of “explanatory soliloques” that Classic-opera librettists would avoid in favor of the “motion of action.”99 This type of monologue was needed in the Collegio Nazareno in order to communicate abstract theological concepts, which make our repertoire closer to the cantata, or even the serenata genre—our repertoire shares, in

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96 See respectively Lanfranchi and Careri, “Le cantate;” Careri, Catalogo, 7; and Santanché, “Rinaldo di Capua,” 75.


98 On this, see, for example, Andrea Bombi, “‘La justa plegaria de Dominguito’: García Fajer y la dramaturgia (musical) del oratorio,” in La ópera en el templo: Estudios sobre el compositor Francisco Javier García Fajer, ed. Miguel Ángel Marín (Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2010), 146-48. García Fajer was a prominent—if relatively neglected, thus far—Spanish composer, trained in Naples (at the Pietà dei Turchini), and active in Rome between 1752 and 1755. There, he premiered two oratorios for the Filippini, three intermezzi for the Teatro Valle, and one opera seria for the Teatro delle Dame. About García Fajer’s Roman sojourn and output, with special attention to his opera seria, see José Máximo Leza, “Dramaturgia musical en la ópera ‘Pompeo Magno in Armenia’ de Francisco J. García Fajer,” ibid., 61-65.

fact, the celebratory function, attached to an event or an important figure, of the serenata.

In sum, the occasions, venues, rituals, social/cultural function, and intellectual context of performances, put these works within an *accademia* atmosphere, properly. They were indeed the annual musical event of the Accademia degli Incolti. At this point, therefore, contributions like those of Carolyn Gianturco and Joachim Marx, among others, concerning the so-called *sacred cantatas* for Christmas stand out as important readings in order to clarify the genre to which the vocal works with orchestral accompaniment of the Collegio Nazareno belong. Another interesting contribution in this connection is Owen H. Jander’s study of what he refers to as cantatas in *accademia*. Howard Smither’s explicit study of the nomenclature problem remains, finally, an indispensable reference.100

Adding to potential confusion, works bearing designations such as *pastorale*, *componimento sacro*, *componimento poetico*, and *oratorio* appear side by side with those called *cantata* in the Collegio Nazareno collection (Table 1.1). Moreover, one finds evidence that genre demarcations were not completely clear for librettists,

composers, and copyists. With respect to this, the cases in which the title cantata is present on the title page of a composition score, aimed at honoring the Natività della B:ma Vergine, and featuring mythological and pastoral roles, is remarkable. In a similar way, instances of discrepancies between libretto frontispieces and title pages of manuscript scores are noteworthy. For example, Felice Doria’s compositions for 1743, 1744, and 1745, all feature pastoral roles, and their librettos include the term pastorale in their frontispieces. The title pages of their manuscript scores, instead, indistinctively designate them as cantatas. This, of course, suggests that the term pastorale was only significant on strictly poetical grounds.

In the presence of this panorama of entangled genre terms and concepts, it is desirable to find a sufficiently flexible theoretical framework in order to account for the eighteenth-century fluidity of genre terms and concepts, while responding to our modern taxonomical needs: the notion of ecotype is useful for this purpose. Borrowed from the biological sciences, it was first applied to folklore studies by Carl von Sydow. As applied in this field of social sciences, it can be defined as “a special version of a type of any folkloristic genre limited to a particular cultural area in which

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101 It is the case of Giuseppe Amadori’s “Cantata à due voci/canto e alto con strumenti/Diana, e Apollo/per la Natività della B:ma Vergine,” for 1710, MS, Reg. Mus. 3a, AGSP; and Amadori’s 1712 “Cantata/per la Natività della Beatissima Vergine/à due voci canto, e alto, con violini, e obué,” MS, Reg. Mus. 3b, AGSP, featuring the roles Dafni and Eliso.

102 Felice Doria’s composition for 1743, “Cantata/a due voci, con violini, oboe, trombe, e corni,” MS, Reg. Mus. 13, AGSP, includes the roles Tirsi and Nice; that of 1744, “Cantata/a due, canto, e alto/con violini, oboe, trombe, corni, e viola,” MS, Reg. Mus. 14, AGSP, (the title page of the manuscript score erroneously includes the year 1748 in a different hand from the original one; on this, see Careri, Catalogo, 90), features Tirsi and Dori; and that of 1745, “Cantata/per la Natività/della Beata Vergine Maria./Interlocutori/Medoro e Licori/con violini, viola, oboe, corni, e/basso,” MS, Reg. Mus. 15, AGSP, includes Medoro and Licori.

103 See David Hopkin, “The Ecotype, or a Modest Proposal to Reconnect Cultural and Social History,” in Exploring Cultural History: Essays in Honour of Peter Burke, ed. Melissa Calaresu, Filippo de Vivo and Joan-Pau Rubiés (Farnham, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 35.
it has developed differently from examples of the same type in other areas, because of national, political, geographical and historical conditions.”

Thus, The ecotype [. . . ] should be seen in relation to the entire cultural production of a particular group in order to discover ‘the group’s tropes, those elements toward which the creators and recreators of the group naturally (or culturally) are attracted.’ [. . . ] The process of ecotypification, the way that a cultural artefact becomes adapted to a specific milieu, not only reveals the cultural preferences of the group but also connects those preferences to particular experiences.

Two prominent and related features of a folklore ecotype are: first, it is significant to the audience “not only because it appears to describe some aspects of their shared experience, but because it proposes ways in which one might act within that reality.” Second, “it is the audience, not the narrator, that decides which narratives succeed and become replicated within a particular milieu; it is they who are responsible for the process of ecotypification.”

Despite the remarkable authorial competencies attributed to a composer in eighteenth-century Western art music, I believe that certain dynamics implied by the concept of ecotypification, with respect to oral traditions, are also observable in more learned forms of Western art. After all, composers, librettists, and patrons, might be considered privileged listeners in the process of “adapting” a given genre tradition “to a specific milieu,” namely, a city, an institution, or a religious order with its own

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106 Ibid., 43.

107 Ibid., 47.
purposes and audience’s expectations. In this sense, the concept of genre is understood
to suggest highly encoded forms of expression, open to variation and change, and as such guiding both creators and their audience in deciphering the new in terms of the old. These encoded forms gain their amazing resilience in the history of cultures by being inexhaustible vehicles for dealing with pertinent predicaments as well as diverse and shared imaginaries in their respective societies.\textsuperscript{108}

The defining features of those genres in the “opera’s orbit,”\textsuperscript{109} that is, oratorios—or \textit{componimenti sacri}—(religious) cantatas, and (secular) cantatas—pastorales, and \textit{componimenti poetici}—as produced by the Collegio Nazareno, may be explained as the result of their ecotypification for its social and cultural environment. This is particularly useful in the frequent cases of references to works as \textit{componimenti sacri} (oratorios), in the librettos, and as cantatas in the manuscript scores. Thus, I suggest these works are oratorio ecotypes, adapted for the specific purposes, needs, and limitations of the Collegio Nazareno as a cultural agent. These oratorio ecotypes consistently and repeatedly incorporate features of the cantata and certain poetic commonplaces of the pastoral, while paving the way for the emergence of specific characteristics. Among these, two are prominent, and will be illustrated throughout this study. The first is the unusual intellectual charge of the librettos, seen in the poetic texts and their hypertexts, that is, the hundreds of printed marginal notes referring to different fields of knowledge: patristics, exegesis, history, and even


\textsuperscript{109} Stefanie Tcharos, \textit{Opera’s Orbit: Musical Drama and the Influence of Opera in Arcadian Rome} (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), uses this expression precisely to refer to the oratorio, the cantata, and the pastoral, in eighteenth-century Rome.
modern science. This fact will be discussed in Chapter 2. The second involves the
narrative reframing of certain biblical stories for specific communicational purposes,
and the reliance on an inner plot. This will be explained in Chapters 3 and 4, which
present what can be considered librettologic ecotypes of the biblical stories of Joseph
and Tobiah, respectively, if compared to their immediate literary precedents. Thus,
finally, the notion of ecotype, provides a flexible and accurate framework in order to
deal with genre and narrative transformations and ambiguities, while attaching them
to social and cultural phenomena. In other words, in “reconnecting cultural and social
history,” as Hopkin notes, it helps in explicating and systematizing how diverse
factors, personal, and institutional, influence narrative reframings and genre
negotiations.
CHAPTER 2

THE COMMUNICATION OF (CATHOLIC) ENLIGHTENMENT
IN THE VOCAL WORKS OF THE COLLEGIO NAZARENO

Introduction: A Perspective for Eighteenth-Century Cultural History of Rome

“Revitalization” vs. “Entropy”

In his comprehensive monograph on eighteenth-century Rome, Hanns Gross coins the term “post-Tridentine syndrome” to refer to “the period when the spirit and zeal of the Counter Reformation” was on the wane.\(^1\) Despite the fact that he, admittedly, defines only “loosely” the terms “Counter Reformation” or “Tridentine spirit,” as the “ethos” of an epoch in history (supposedly beginning with the Council of Trent, 1545-1563, and starting to wane at the death of Urban VIII, in 1644), he understands “the decisions” and “the message of the Council of Trent,”\(^2\) as well as “the activities of the Society of Jesus,” as “its most visible symbols.”\(^3\) According to Gross, this “Tridentine spirit” would “gradually dissipate” and yield “a shift in the as yet largely inarticulated attitudes and sentiments.”\(^4\)

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\(^2\) For an extensive synthesis on the theological principles promulgated by the Council of Trent (1545-48, 1551-52, and 1561-63) see, for example, Robert Bireley, “Redefining Catholicism: Trent and beyond,” in *Reform and Expansion: 1500-1660*, ed. Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, vol. 6 of *The Cambridge History of Christianity* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 145-161. On a broad scale, the council “clarified Catholic teaching on most doctrines contested by the Protestants,” and “put forth a series of reforms that aimed not only at the elimination of abuses but a renewed pastoral programme that placed the bishop and the parish priest at the centre of the church’s mission.” Ibid., 148.

\(^3\) Ibid., 8-9. The Society of Jesus, to which all Jesuits belong, was founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1540.

\(^4\) Ibid.
process, he points to “the evident loss of power the papacy had suffered since the Peace of Westphalia,” a “drawn-out process of secularization,” and, eventually, the “suppression of the Jesuits.” These events were the result, according to Gross’s reading, of a “loss of energy,” and the lack of an “overall policy and goal” or “grand vision.” Within these historical hermeneutics, “efforts” or “attempts at reform”—for which he provides a good deal of evidence throughout his four-hundred-page volume—are characterized as “individual and isolated.” This is what he calls the “Post-Tridentine Syndrome,” whose main features would include

a slow and gradual loss of active energy, marked, among other features, by a perceptible, if not always overt, secularization and the loss of the associative mode of action inspired and inculcated at Trent, with intermittent efforts at reversing the trend.

As can be seen, Gross, with the praiseworthy goal of providing a long-term unifying principle for the history of eighteenth-century Rome, operates on certain unstated and vague assumptions about the “Counter-Reformation,” or the “Council of Trent.” Besides it is noticeable that his “entropy” model—the term he uses to describe the allegedly aimless cultural dynamics of eighteenth-century Rome—excessively focuses on its social and political surface, particularly, “the policies of the papal government.” The result is either the relative historiographic indistinction of certain phenomena, like, for example, the vivid, energetic, and institutionally articulated

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5 Ibid., 10.
6 Ibid., 11.
7 Ibid.
8 Gross, Rome in the Age of Enlightenment, 10-11.
9 Ibid.
theological debate in eighteenth-century Europe, and Rome, in particular, or a misunderstanding of it as a random event due to an impersonal “waning” of the “ethos” of a historical epoch. Such a dramatic event as the expulsion of the Jesuits from the major Catholic powers of ancient-régime Europe, for example, and its papal suppression, can be only very insufficiency explained within this overly organic a model of "gradual degradation of culture." For, from certain other perspectives, if something of the Council of Trent waned during the eighteenth century, in a sense, it certainly was not its “spirit.”

In fact, Gross's interpretation considerably contrasts with that recently formulated by Ulrich Lehner's—among other authors—according to whom some of the ideas formulated in Trent were fully materializing, at last, only during the eighteenth century. It was then, for example, when its new paths through theology were completely developed. This new theology would be based more on biblical exegesis and the Church Fathers’ teachings than on scholastic disputes, and it would aim at explaining the inner rationality of Catholic doctrine. In other words, for Lehner, some of the main tenets and reforms proposed by Trent were revitalized, precisely during the eighteenth century. This process of revitalization does not match, then, Gross's notion of cultural “entropy.”

This "revitalization" would go beyond the realm of theology and would be historically mediated by the transnational phenomenon of the Enlightenment in Europe. And this “revitalization” perspective on eighteenth-century Rome yields, in the end, a clearer

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10 Ulrich L. Lehner, "What is Catholic Enlightenment?" History Compass 8, no. 2 (2010), 169.
understanding of the series of vocal works produced in the Collegio Nazareno by shedding light on features of their content that would otherwise remain obscure. And vice versa, within the broader horizons of cultural history, this series (“unexpectedly”) becomes new evidence supporting the existence of a cultural stream that overflows the traditional historiographical channels of “post-Trydentine” perspectives, of which Gross’s view is an instance: an example of the type of methodological stance to be complemented by a cultural-history narrative aiming at discussing theological problems and religious belief beyond mere reliance on commonplaces and for the sake of (re)integrating, then, those theological problems and religious beliefs into broader social and political history. For that cultural stream, modern historical studies have re-coined the term “Catholic Enlightenment.”

Briefly: “What is ‘Catholic Enlightenment’?”

Until the mid-twentieth century, the Enlightenment has traditionally been considered by historians a phenomenon or cultural stream against ignorance, superstition, received authority, injustice, and oppression, and with the aim of favoring the practical application of moral virtues, with firm faith in the progress, especially material progress, of humankind based on the liberty and dignity of every

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11 Lehner points to Sebastian Mekle’s conference paper Die katholische Beurteilung des Aufklärung: Vortrag auf dem Internationalen Kongress für historische Wissenschaften zu Berlin am 12 (August 1908), as the coiner of the term “katholische Aufklärung.” Both the term and its concept have been subject to criticism. Karl Otmar von Aretin and Peter Hersche, for example, in the line of traditional views of Enlightenment, “thought that the Catholic Enlightenment project was doomed from the very beginning because Enlightenment and religion were irreconcilable.” See Ulrich Lehner, “Introduction: The Many Faces of the Catholic Enlightenment,” in A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe, ed. Ulrich Lehner and Michael O’Neill Printy (Leiden and Boston: BRILL, 2010), 6.
individual. From the perspective of the history of thought, in turn, the immediate philosophical precedents of the Enlightenment would be Cartesian rationalism and English empiricism. Empirical sciences are seen as its favorite children. It is considered to be a cosmopolitan phenomenon mainly manifested during the eighteenth century. And its emblematic authors would be seen to include Locke, Hume, Leibniz, Newton, Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and Kant. Its epistemological aspirations would be rooted in the enthronement of practical human reason as sovereign in the process of gaining empirical knowledge, which has traditionally been presented as necessarily leading to the negation of religion and the supernatural, and the rejection of revealed truth in any kind of thought worth bearing the name of Enlightenment.

However, this historiographical picture of the Enlightenment, monochromatic, as far as the cultural sphere of religion is concerned, has been giving way to a more nuanced one, in which religion is diversely considered. This is the case with the efforts directed toward accounting for the attempts “to renew and rearticulate faith using the new science and philosophy to promote a tolerant, irenic understanding of belief that could serve a shared morality and politics,” from the Act of Toleration (1689) in England, to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (1790), in France. This “religious Enlightenment” represented,

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12 To these fruits, usually not taken into account in “postmodern or conservative critiques of the Enlightenment,” one should add the “deterrence of violent religious outbursts, the ending of the Inquisition, the prohibition of witch hunts, and the move towards religious freedom, tolerance, and freedom of speech, all of which helped to truly civilize Europe.” See ibid., 10-11.

for Christians, a renunciation of Reformation and Counter-Reformation militance, and express alternative to two centuries of dogmatism and fanaticism, intolerance and religious warfare. For Jews, it represented an effort to overcome the uncharacteristic cultural isolation of the post-Reformation period through reappropriation of neglected elements of their own heritage and engagement with the larger culture.\textsuperscript{14}

Thus, it is now widely accepted that the Enlightenment can be discussed from multiple standpoints, according to such variables as nationality, ideology, chronology, society, and culture, and as a “multi-layered and multi-centered movement.”\textsuperscript{15} Moreover, historians have even questioned the usefulness of “writing of the Enlightenment as unified and universal intellectual movement,”\textsuperscript{16} thus opening the door to consider it “as a process of cultural and sociological diversity, a movement with cosmopolitan and nationalist, devout and skeptical, erudite and ignorant tendencies.”\textsuperscript{17}

During the 1970s, the possibility for “religious origins of the Enlightenment” began to be explored.\textsuperscript{18} But, as far as a the Catholic face of it is concerned,

\begin{quotation}
\begin{center}
it was not until the early 1980s that, due to emphasis on social history, research of religious phenomena like the Catholic Enlightenment was rehabilitated in the Anglophone world […] and that the peripheries of Enlightenment Europe became a focus of investigation.\textsuperscript{19}
\end{center}
\end{quotation}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[14] Ibid.
\item[17] Ibid., 9.
\item[19] Ibid., 10.
\end{footnotes}
A clear symptom of the assumption of such a plural vision on the Enlightenment is the adoption by secular historians of the expression “Catholic Enlightenment,” itself. This term had been originally coined as *katolische Aufklärung* by the German historian Sebastian Merkle, already in 1908, who believed that “the Enlightenment had an important and positive impact on ecclesiastical life and theology.”

Historians began to agree that the concept was worth studying, since, at least, the mid 1970s. The 1980s, in fact, witnessed the confirmation of the interest on the Catholic side of the Enlightenment, while the consistency of the “Catholic Enlightenment” as a historiographical category was put to the test in an international symposium devoted to the issue in 1988, where the validity of the term was discussed. The notion “Catholic Enlightenment,” besides, has been, if only very gradually, permeating subsidiary disciplines, including musicology, for the last three decades.

What can be, then, understood by “Catholic Enlightenment”?  

20 Ibid., 10.

21 The cited Companion, edited by Ulrich Lehner and Michael Printy, has recently contributed to a “multinational and comparative history that points out intellectual similarities and national differences,” aiming at demonstrating how “the conceptualization of a uniform Enlightenment has been transformed into a multitude of Enlightenments.” Ibid., 2.

22 References to “Catholic Enlightenment” as a historiographical category in musicological writings are relatively scant. Thus far, they have typically been either produced by and/or focused on the German-speaking areas in Europe and primarily devoted to liturgical music. Two volumes are representative: Franz Kohlschein and Kurt Küppers, eds., *Der Grosse Sänger David—euer Muster*: Studien zu den ersten diözesanen Gesang- und Gebetbüchern der katolischen Aufklärung (Münster: Aschendorff, 1993); and Giuliano Castellani, ed., *Musik aus Klöstern des Alpenraums: Bericht über den Internationalen Kongress an der Universität Freiburg (Schweiz), 23. bis 24. November 2007* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010). Beyond this scholarly tradition, only a few instances of explicit application of this category have been detected in order to account for specific aspects of the literary content of eighteenth-century vocal music, as well as certain formal features of those musical genres in use within ecclesiastical circles, either liturgical or not. Relatively recent attempts in this sense are, for example, José V. González Valle, “Liturgical Music with Orchestra, 1750-1800,” in *Music in Spain during the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Malcolm Boyd and Juan José Carreras (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 53-71; and Mark Berry, “Haydn’s *Creation* and Enlightenment Theology,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 39 (2008): 25-44.
As an ecclesiastical reform movement, the Catholic Enlightenment was an apologetic endeavor that was designed to defend the essential dogmas of Catholic Christianity by explaining their rationality in modern terminology and by reconciling Catholicism with modern culture, for example, by the acceptance of new theories of economy, science, but also of judicial thought.23

“Roots” of the Catholic Enlightenment

When identifying the main features of the Catholic Enlightenment, Lehner proposes, first, a double root for this movement: on the one hand, the full application of the Trent Reformation; on the other hand, new manners of conceiving spirituality and theology. These new manners were, to a great extent, influenced by Jansenism, of which a theological emphasis on grace and predestination, and the interest in restoring a patristic theology (with especial interest on Augustine of Hippo) were definitive hallmarks. Second, Lehner also pinpoints the constituent elements of the Catholic Enlightenment proper. Prominent among these is a pragmatic view of religion, in which reason and judgment are present. This means that doctrine must be presented in an understandable way, and devotional practices have to be dispossessed of any hint of idolatrous superstition. Besides, a new orientation of philosophical studies, and higher education in general, including new methods of exegesis, are pursued. In this context, two religious orders play a major role: the Benedictines and the Piarists, the latter being, of course, the one that founded the Collegio Nazareno.24 Thus, in the eighteenth-century Catholic milieu, “these

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peculiarities shaped the Enlightenment and turned it into a uniquely Catholic Enlightenment. As a consequence, one is not merely dealing with a Catholic Enlightenment philosophy or theology of the Enlightenment, but with a Catholic Enlightenment culture.”25 The vocal works produced for the annual accademia at the Nazareno, indeed, provide sound evidence of its existence.

*Catholic Enlightenment and the Vocal Works of the Collegio Nazareno: Working Method*

The main questions driving my research in this context concern how the librettos of the musical works under scrutiny originally worked as a means of religious and scholarly instruction; and whether and to what extent their musical features embodied cultural values and amplified the rhetoric, affect, and characterization of their poetic texts for the same purposes. Accordingly, I have approached the musical practice at the Collegio Nazareno, as embodied in its cantatas, oratorios, and other vocal works, by considering the way music worked in the process of systematic inculcation of religious, social, and cultural structures into the subjective experience of young noble students: this means the study of musical practice as a ritualized means of reaffirming a specific approach to doctrine and of performing instruction in terms of arts and sciences. These two aspects—doctrine and instruction—along with socialization, described in the previous chapter, were virtually inseparable from and within the musical practice.

25 Ibid., 7.
Librettos, taken in this chapter as primary sources, have been thoroughly scanned using a series of key terms referring to essential tenets of the Catholic Enlightenment as “heuristic and pragmatic tools.” In other words, I have incorporated into my analysis a close reading of all the extant librettos of the cantatas, oratorios, *componimenti sacri*, and pastorales of the Collegio Nazareno under the tuning pitch, so to speak, of Catholic Enlightenment culture, which thereby becomes a hermeneutical key to the poetic texts and music under consideration. No doubt, this series includes also a few principles that were shared with not-specifically Catholic Enlightenment cultures (e.g., that of the French *philosophes*).

On the other hand, it is not my duty here to assess the degree of success enjoyed by Catholic Enlightenment proposals or reform enterprises during the eighteenth century, which, in any case, were limited and not exempt from contradictions. In a similar way, I am not, at least directly, concerned here with a critique of the term as a historiographical category. Instead, I have adopted the Catholic Enlightenment perspective as methodological stance. First, this has, in turn, led me to enter, to a considerable extent, the terrain of eighteenth-century theology, with its ups and downs. Second, it has allowed me to problematize the content of the librettos and

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26 Lehner, “What is Catholic Enlightenment?” 168-72. The majority of these terms are taken out of the list of leitmotifs that Lehner selects and suggests for “further research” on the Catholic Enlightenment. Other ones have been made up based on Lehner’s text implications.

27 First, because, by and large, “neither” of the currents of the religious Enlightenment (i.e., Arminian and Collegiant Protestants, Jansenist Catholics, or Jewish Maskilim) “became the dominant version of their respective religion and gained state sponsorship—essential features of religious Enlightenment.” See Sorkin, *The Religious Enlightenment*, 8. Second, because, “For example, while Catholic Enlighteners tried to implement Locke’s empiricist philosophy, his rationalist theology, which did not leave much room for the Catholic dogma of ‘faith,’ was not well received.” See ibid. Lehner paraphrases here Mario Rosa, “Roman Catholicism,” in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, ed. Alan Charles Kors (Oxford: 2002), 3:468-472.
musical practice in general at the Collegio Nazareno, thereby going far beyond mere description and generalization.\textsuperscript{28} What follows next is, therefore, an account of certain specific aspects of Catholic Enlightenment culture insofar as they resonate in the musical works commissioned and performed for the Collegio Nazareno during the major part of the \textit{Settecento}.

\textbf{The Collegio Nazareno: An Institution at the Crossroads of (Catholic-Enlightenment) Theology}

\textit{Robert Bellarmine’s “Christian Doctrine”}

When writing to Fr. Melchior Alacchi, a Piarist working in Palermo, August 20, 1636, founder Joseph Calasanz made clear that

\begin{quote}

although there are intelligent theologians, holding doctorates, in our order, I have not nevertheless permitted them to go up onto the pulpit or the chair in order to preach. For I know well that, in God’s church, there are plenty of men who, by virtue of their institutional duties, have the right to preach, which they do with all excellence. We should keep ourselves from putting our sickles into other people’s cornfields. [...]

Therefore, while visiting our foundations, Your Reverence will order that, when teaching the Lord’s law, our people do not exceed the boundaries and limits of the Christian doctrine written by cardinal Bellarmine. And, if you find anyone mixing in theological difficulties, or speaking badly of other religious orders, you will punish him according to his guilt, or
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{28} As compared, for example, to Richard Lee Bostian, “The Works of Rinaldo Di Capua,” 160, when he states that Rinaldo di Capua’s cantata for the Nazareno in 1757 “is concerned with no single theme, but with: God’s power and the glory of His creations; the beauty and purity of Mary; the love and faithfulness to God of the three archangels represented; God’s gift of Christ to redeem the sin of Adam.”
otherwise, you will let me know about it, so that I, myself, perform the
punishment by way of example to others.  

In first place, this letter provides evidence for the Piarists’ dependence on Robert
Bellarmine’s (1542-1621) *Dottrina christiana breve, perché si possa imparare a
memoria* (Roma, 1597) and *Dichiarazione piú copiosa della dottrina christiana per uso
di quelli che insegnano ai fanciulli e alle altre persone semplici* (Roma, 1598) in their
doctrinal teachings. Cardinal Bellarmine’s catechism was commissioned by Pope
Clement VIII and may be considered, along with that by Peter Canisius, as *the*
catechism of the Council of Trent. It was extraordinarily disseminated, printed in
more than twenty Italian cities, including more than four hundred editions, and was
translated into sixty languages.  

Its abridged—*breve*—version was intended for
students to learn by heart. As to its formal arrangement, it

contains eleven chapters and ninety-five questions, and is arranged in the
following order: the Calling of the Christian and the Sign of the Cross; the
Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, and the Hail Mary; the Commandments of God,
the Commandments of the Church, and the Counsels; the Sacraments, the
Theological and Cardinal Virtues, the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, the Works of
Mercy, Sins, the Last Things, and the Rosary.  

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Dottore, nondimeno non ho permesso che salissero in pulpito o catedra per far prediche ben
conoscendo che non mancano nella chiesa di Dio huomini che per ufficio e istituto proprio hanno il jus
di predicare, come lo praticano con ogni eccellenza, et deve esser cosa lontana da noi il mettere la falce
nella messe aliena. […] Pertanto la R. V. nella visita che farà nelle case ordrerà che nell’insegnare la
legge del Signore li nostri non eccedano li termini et limiti della dottrina christiana composta dal
cardinale Bellarmino et se troverà che alcuno nel ciò fare andasse mescolando difficoltà teologiche o
dicesse male di altre religioni, lo mortifichi a ragione della colpa, oppure ne faccia me consapevole
perché l’eseguisca io per esempio dell’altri.”

30 See Nilo Calvini, *Il P. Martino Natali: Giansenista ligure dell’Università di Pavia* (Genova: Società Ligure
di Storia Patria, 1950), 98n1.

Regarding its contents, it really decanted, either explicitly or implicitly, the theological guidelines that emanated from the Council of Trent. In fact, Bellarmine's catechism, as well as Canisius’s, are crafted as a direct result of the council’s imposition “upon pastors the duty of teaching catechism to children regularly, at least on Sundays and feast days.” Thus, for example, the council’s emphasis that “divine revelation” exceeded the boundaries of “written books” and thus remained in “unwritten traditions,” underlies several sections of the catechism. The same may be said about the stress, on the one hand, on the “utter inability of the sinner to secure justification on his own and its complete gratuity as a gift of God, and attributing all initiative to God,” and, on the other hand, the affirmation “of the need for cooperation on the part of the individual and so an active role for free will.”

Bellarmine’s catechism is also commensurate with the council’s conclusion that “justification involved not only the remission of sin but an inner transformation and renewal that followed from the individual’s union with Christ and the infusion of the Holy Spirit, as opposed to a mere application of the merits of Christ or the benefit of divine favour.” And, of course, it reinforces “Catholic positions on the real presence of Christ in the eucharist,” and “laid out the nature of a sacrament and enumerated seven including penance […], holy orders, and matrimony.”

By and large, Bellarmine’s articulations of Catholic beliefs would become, in fact—along with several opuscules, written ad hoc by Calasanz, himself—the core doctrinal

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33 Ibid.
reference in the Piarist teachings,34 in Rome, and throughout Italy, as well as in their Central-European foundations, throughout the eighteenth century.35 Certainly, the instruction that “everybody will learn by memory Bellarmine’s Dottrina Christiana, and will recite a point out of it, every school day” is part of the 1693 official regulations of the Collegio Nazareno.36

The Theological Atmosphere in Eighteenth-Century Rome: A Note on Jansenism

At the same time, in the letter cited above, Calasanz, is categorical when it comes to the Piarist’s duties: no preaching from the pulpit is allowed without explicit permission, let alone treading on complicated theological ground. However, adhering to these regulations would be difficult for some Piarists a few decades later, particularly in Rome, whose theological environment had changed while the order was growing up there:

34 In a somewhat later letter, one among many dealing with this issue, Calasanz himself would conveniently indicate the principal tools to be used by the Piarists in their doctrinal teachings, adding to Bellarmine’s catechism two opuscules written by himself: “Regarding the boys, in addition to Cardinal Bellarmine’s Christian Doctrine, the Misteries of the Life and Passion of Christ and the Spiritual Exercises for the Children of the Pious Schools, printed in Rome, should be taught.” See Calasanz to Giaccomo Tocco, Rome, August 7, 1638, in Epistolario, ed. Picanoyl, 6:383, n. 2916; accesible on http://scripta.scolopi.net. “Et quanto alli giovinetti, inoltre la dottrina cristiana del Cardinal Berlaminio si doverà insegnare i misterii della vita e passione di Christo e li essercitii spirituali per li giovinetti delle Scuole Pie che sono stampati in Roma.” This letter is also quoted in Adolfo García-Durán de Lara, “Un catecismo infantil calasancio,” Analecta Calasanctiana 25, no. 50 (1983): 548.

35 See Sántha, San José de Calasanz: Obra pedagógica, 438; and Dottrina cristiana ad uso delle Scuole Pie disposta in nuova forma (Firenze: Tipografia Calasanzia, 1861). Bellarmine’s systematization was undoubtedly behind later Piarist editions of the Christian doctrine, such as those printed in Florence well into the nineteenth century.

36 Published in Ottorino Calcagni et al., I Regolamenti, 85."Impareranno tutti à mente la Dottrina Christiana del Bellarmino, et ogni giorno di scuola ne reciteranno un punto.”
[A] philo-Jansenist environment had formed toward the end of the seventeenth century, and it had developed and gained power during the first decades of the eighteenth century. [...] anti-Jesuitism was pushed forward, the bull *Unigenitus* condemning Jansen’s doctrine was analyzed, Portroyalists were praised, and the bad habits prevailing amongst a major portion of a weakened clergy were criticized. The center of these gatherings was the *Archetto*, that is, the Corsini palace, were monsignor Giovanni Gaetano Bottari lived.37

Although Jansenism is but one of the roots of the theological aspect of the Catholic Enlightenment, which, therefore, may not be reduced to it, an explanation of its own terms is needed in preparation for the analysis of the theological nuances at work in the repertoire under discussion here. Besides, a discussion on two main theological figures linked to Jansenism is offered, as they were Piarists, and taught, at a certain point in their careers, at the Collegio Nazareno: Martino Natali and Giambattista Molinelli. Moreover, not only some of their ideas were publicly exposed during the September *accademie*—thus sharing a performing context with the vocal works composed for Collegio, but they also were reflected in the librettos of these works. This is the reason why a reference to the relationship between the first of the aforementioned theologians, Natali, and Gian Luca Bandini, the main author of librettos for the Nazareno is included below, as well.

First of all, named after the Catholic Dutch bishop of Ypres, Cornelius Jansen (1585-1638), posthumous author of *Augustinus* (1640), Jansenism may be considered

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a movement of spiritual renewal [. . .] that had some similarities to the Protestant awakenings. Jansenism emerged largely as a reaction against the triumphalist ‘Baroque’ orthodoxy of the Catholic Reformation—especially as promoted by the Society of Jesus. Profoundly influenced by writings of St. Augustine, Jansenists sought to revive an emphasis on predestination and individual conversion through the grace of God, and to cultivate an emotional devotional life. They formed communities of the faithful, practised a rigorous morality, elevated the role of the laity, and engaged in acts of charity. [. . .] When the Catholic establishment and the Bourbon kings sought to repress the movement, Jansenists became increasingly politicized, intensifying both their anticlerical rhetoric and their opposition to the absolute monarchy. In the course of the eighteenth century, despite the condemnation of some aspects of Jansenism by the papacy, the movement spread among Catholics in the Netherlands, Germany, Spain, and the north of Italy.38

The referred “condemnations” took the form, among other things, of three papal Bulls between 1642 and 1713, directly related to Jansenism, and which were far from being motivated only by theological concerns. Urban VIII issued his Bull In eminenti (1642), in which the reading of the Augustinus was forbidden on the basis of a current prohibition for Catholics “to publish anything on the subject of grace without the authorization of the Holy See,” and “the reproduction of several of the errors of Baius.” This Bull was balanced with several interdictions against “other works directed against the Augustinus,” itself. Rome, then, “had not rejected a single well-determined thesis,”—and this is how the Sorbonne, for example, understood it. However, it was then when the syndic of this very institution “extracted five propositions” from Jansen’s Augustinus, and from Antoine Arnauld’s De la fréquente communion (Paris: A. Vitré, 1643), and “submitted them to the judgement of the faculty. This body, prevented by the Parlement from pursuing the examination it had

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begun, referred the affair to the general Assembly of the Clergy in 1650.” This process resulted in eighty-five bishops writing to Inocence x, and “transmitting to him the first five propositions,” and “eleven other bishops adressing to the sovereign pontiff a protest against the idea of bringing the matter to trial elsewhere than in France.”

Thus, after two years of examination in thirty-six sessions, by a commission “consisting of five cardinals and thirteen consultors, some of whom were know to favor acquittal,” the five propositions described below were condemned by the Bull Cum occasione (1653): 1) “Some of God’s commandments are impossible to just men who wish and strive (to keep them) considering the powers they actually have, the grace by which these precepts may become possible is also wanting.” 2) “In the state of fallen nature no one ever resists interior grace.” 3) “To merit, or demerit, in the state of fallen nature we must be free from all external constraint, but not from interior necessity.” 4) “The Semipelagians admitted the necessity of interior preventing grace for all acts, even for the beginning of faith; but they fell into heresy in pretending that this grace is such that man may either follow or resist it.” 5) “To say that Christ died or shed His blood for all men, is Semipelagianism.”

The third of the Bulls directly concerning Jansenist doctrine originated in later local condemnations against French Oratorian Pasquier Quesnel’s Nouveau testament en français avec des réflexions morales sur chaque verset (1693). Thus, Clement xi’s Unigenitus (1713) condemned 101 propositions therein, at the request of Louis xiv,

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who “strove to annihilate the Jansenists’ alternative form of opposition within Catholicism itself,” and “saw them [Jansenists] as ‘republicans.’”

As to the term “philo-Jansenist,” it may be understood as a historiographic device rather than a period-depending and unequivocal qualifier that refers to specific theological assumptions, geographical areas, or political stances. Instead, it tries to encompass all those individuals throughout Europe who, in one or another way, were sympathetic to Jansenist views on theological studies, doctrine, devotion, papal governance, etc. In this connection it is necessary to recall here that papal Bulls did not condemn individuals, but books or, most of all, ideas contained therein.

Although ambiguity cannot completely be avoided in defining this term, it is worth noting here that Natali, himself, would hold that the famous five Jansenist propositions—condemned by the Bull In eminenti (1653)—could not be found, explicitly, in Jansen’s work, to the point that both “pope Innocence XII and the French clergy have forbidden the definition of Jansenist for all those who do not effectively hold some of the five propositions.”

Personal commitment to papal authority and engagement with the tradition of the Catholic Church, might be understood to be, I suggest, two defining features of the numerous eighteenth-century philo-Jansenists, which would theoretically set them apart from the far less numerous “true” Jansenists. This explains why some Jansenists’ writings, like those by the Piarist Martino Natali


41 Ibid., 32; my italics. “[..] il papa Innocenzo XII ed il clero francese hanno proibito la definizione di giansenista a coloro che non sostengano effettivamente qualcuna delle cinque proposizioni.”
(1730-1792), discussed below in connection with the vocal works of the Collegio Nazareno, were accused of heresy, while their authors considered themselves to be Catholics.

_Natali vs. Bellarmine_

Awareness on the emergence of a new religious and theological environment—and the terminology involved in it—in eighteenth-century Rome is thus necessary in order to understand further developments both in the realms of theology, sacred arts, and music. For instance, the printers Porro e Bianchi asked the Piarist Martino Natali for permission to reprint Robert Bellarmine’s _Dottrina Cristiana_, in April 1775, but they did not obtain the expected permission instantly. Instead, Natali—former frequenter of the Archetto, professor of Theology at the University of Pavia, and recently appointed as a censor for Austrian Lombardy—declared that he first wanted to take “the many errors and _Loyalistich_ [i.e., Jesuitic] doctrines” out of it. In effect, Natali dared to add forty-one amendments to Bellarmine’s catechism. This fact was the object of great controversy, and even reached the imperial court in Vienna—Natali’s institutional supporter in Pavia, through Count Firmian’s mediation—and the Roman Inquisition. His daring also cost him excommunication as a “Jansenist, heretic, and Portroyalist,” by the bishop of Pavia, monsignor Bartolomeo Olivazzi, who blamed Natali for wanting to “change the Christian doctrine.”

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42 See Calvini, _Il P. Martino Natali_, 98.
43 Ibid., 99.
Natali’s amendments are listed in *Riflessioni teologico-critiche sopra molte censure fatte al Catechismo composto per ordine di Clemente VIII*, an anonymous letter published against him by a Pavian priest, after 1779.⁴⁴ A comprehensive analysis of these amendments exceeds the scope of this paragraph. However, some patterns that underlie Natali’s corrections are clearly noticeable and become very significant in relation to broader Catholic-Enlightenment concerns, including, of course, those with Jansenist roots. Therefore, they deserve attention.

Natali’s editorial work consists of cancellations (indicated here by crossed-out type), extensions, substitutions, and interpolations (indicated with brackets in references below) and comments aimed at suppressing references to facts, statements, or examples lacking historical, biblical, or explicitly magisterial support, as well as avoiding unclear writing as far as these issues are concerned. For example, references to the *limbo* are systematically deleted or designated as of popular origins, as in the following statements:

7. Those who die not having being baptized go to the *limbo*, and are deprived of the glory of Paradise.”
[. . .]
18. [. . .] regarding other saints, who died before Christ’s coming, although those holy souls had nothing to purge, by no means could they enter the bless Glory before Christ opened eternal life’s door with his death, and thus were they that highest region [popularly] known as *limbo* of the holy fathers, or Abraham’s womb…” (. . .), ibid., 160.⁴⁵

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⁴⁴ Reproduced ibid., 157-165.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 153; "Chi muore senza Battesimo va al Limbo, ed è privo de la Gloria del Paradiso"; and 160; "di altri santi, che erano morti prima della venuta di Cristo perché sebbene quelle anime Sante non avevano che purgare, non di meno, non potevano entrare nella Gloria Beata prima che Cristo con la sua morte, aprisse le porte della vita eterna per questo stavano in quella parte più alta chiamata Limbo dei Santi Padri, ovvero Seno di Abramo [. . .].” Only by way of example of the currency of some issues at debate in eighteenth-century theology, including Natali’s claims, it is worth mentioning here that, as recently as in 2007, the International Theological Commission, under Benedict XVI, not only has remarked that the *limbo* is nothing more than a “possible theological hypothesis,” but also it has
Matters of faith _sensu stricto_ are clearly set apart from statements relying on popular belief through a clear and accurate use of language—one of the seminal goals of the Enlightenment—as in the following declaration: “19. We believe [say] that the Divine person of Christ, with its Body, stood in the sepulcher, etc.” Amendments, in this sense, also include qualifications of statements addressing sensible issues, like obedience:

22. a) Church means Congregation... of people... under obedience [to legitimate pastors] and the Roman pontiff; b) it is necessary to be under obedience to [our Pastors] and the Roman pontiff, as a Vicary of Christ, that is, to recognize and have him as Superior; c) obedience to [our own Pastors] and the Vicary of Christ, as said;

and biblical interpretations of grace: “38. Fourth: those sacraments of the old law did not [most probably] give Grace as ours do, but they only prefigure it and promised it.” Finally, a rigorous approach to grace, morality, and devotional practices is also noticeable:

recalled that “this theory, elaborated by theologians beginning in the Middle Ages, never entered into the dogmatic definitions of the Magisterium, even if that same Magisterium did at times mention the theory in its ordinary teaching up until the Second Vatican Council,” thereby expressing “the theological desire to find a coherent and logical connection between the diverse affirmations of the Catholic faith: the universal salvific will of God; the unicity of the mediation of Christ; the necessity of baptism for salvation; the universal action of grace in relation to the sacraments; the link between original sin and the deprivation of the beatific vision; the creation of man ‘in Christ.’” See “The Hope of Salvation for Infants who Die Without Being Baptized,” accessible at http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/cti_documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_20070419_un-baptised-infants_en.html#_ftn41

46 Calvini, ibid., 161. “Crediamo [diciamo] che la persona Divina di Cristo con il Corpo, stette nel Sepolcro, etc.”

47 Ibid. “a) Chiesa vuol dire Congregazione. ... di uomini. ... sotto l'obbedienza [dei legittimi pastori e] del sommo Pontefice Romano; b) Bisogna stare all'obbedienze [dei nostri Pastori e] del Sommo Pontefice Romano, come Vicario di Cristo, cioè riconoscere e tenerlo per Superiorie; c) Obbedienza [ai propri Pastori e]al Vicario di Cristo, come si è detto.”

48 Ibid., 164. “Quarto: quelli Sacramenti della legge antica [probabilissimamente] non davano la Grazia come fanno i nostri ma solamente la prefiguravano e la promettevano.”
28. We are, at least, obliged not to murmur about the Providence.

35. Although the Holy Church does not oblige us to anything else, it is nonetheless very convenient, [necessary, I will say,] to spend the whole feast day, or most of it, praying.\footnote{Ibid. 162; “Siamo abbligati \textit{almeno} a non mormorare. . . della Provvidenza. [. . .] 35. E sebbene la Santa Chiesa non ci obbliga ad altro nondimeno è molto conveniente [e dirò necessario] che tutto il giorno di festa, o la maggior parte di esso si spenga in Orazioni, ecc.”}

The polemic about the amendments on Bellarmine’s catechism inevitably involved the Piarist order, whose Superior General, Fr. Gaetano Ramo, feared that the whole order would be “reduced to nothing.” He would even confess, in a letter addressed to Natali, his fear that the “disturbances that took place during his theological tenure at the Collegio Nazareno,” during 1763, were to return. Thus, Gaetano Ramo admitted that Natali’s works were “learned, witty, well-grounded, crafted with all the ability, wit, profundity, and accuracy, of which a great man is capable.” But, at the same time, he ended his letter by begging Natali to “rule himself with religious moderation.”\footnote{Ernesto Codignola, ed., \textit{Carteggi di giansenisti liguri} (Florence: Le Monnier, 1942), 3:84. “[. . .] sieno dotte, sieno ingegnose, sieno ottimamente fondate, e trattate con tutta l’abilità, ingegnosità, profondità ed esattezza, della quale è capace un uomo grande [. . .] pregandolo a regolarsi con moderazione religiosa.”} I suggest that this tension between the new theological sensibility represented by Natali’s and some of his colleagues’ scholarly habitus, reflecting some patterns of thought of the Enlightenment, and the need to avoid accusations of heterodoxy—i.e., attempting to change established religious doctrine, inextricably related, I hold, to social and cultural doxa—which would affect the prestige, and even the very institutional survival of the order, is fundamental for an enhanced understanding of the vocal works produced for the annual \textit{academia di belle lettere} at the Collegio Nazareno.
Martino Natali had started his career as a theologian, long before the Bellarminian issue, precisely at the Collegio Nazareno, the same institution that would host Piarist scholars and students like the theologian Giambattista Molinelli, the philosophers Paolino Saladini and Giuseppe Beccaria, and the letterati Francesco Fasce and Luigi Godard—the latter would later become *Custode Generale* of the Arcadia; both Fasce and Godard authored several librettos for the Collegio—.\(^{51}\) It was then, also, when Gian Luca Bandini (1711-1790), author of the majority of the librettos for the vocal works composed for and performed at the Nazareno, became rector of this institution, in 1754, until Urbano Tosetti succeeded him, in 1760.\(^ {52}\)

While in Rome, Natali, “as a student, knew and appreciated anti-Jesuit and philo-Jansenist ideas; as a professor, he frequented and supported them, […] and was attracted by the Oratorian circle of the Chiesa Nuova, and by that of Bottari’s *Archetto*, where he became well known and appreciated.”\(^{53}\) In this context, Natali began to spread his theological views, involving his students at the Collegio Nazareno in his undertaking, particularly in 1762 and 1763. The 1763 disturbances recalled by Gaetano Ramo in his aforementioned letter, in fact, refer to the consequences brought about by the public theological dispute staged on September 14, 1763, by Natali’s Polish student at the Nazareno, Giovanni Michele Lodzniski. This dispute belonged to

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51 Pasquale Vannucci, *Il Collegio Nazareno*, 120.

52 Ibid., 117-18.

the series of academic events following the performance of that year’s cantata, *L’arca del testamento*, by Gian Luca Bandini, with music by Rinaldo di Capua, which will be mentioned often throughout this chapter. This series of academic events also included public experiments in physics, thereby displaying an intentional connection between disciplines at the Collegio as an institution, a connection that is reflected in the librettos for the annual *accademia*.\(^5^4\) In this public dispute, eighty theses by Natali were discussed and analyzed. Moreover, these theological propositions would be later published in Paris (1768), along with the 104 theses discussed and published by Zempel already in 1762 (Figure 2.1), the previous year.

Both the rector, Urbano Tosetti, and Martino Natali were sharply accused for staging Natali’s thesis. For example,

> Tommaso Maria Mamachi, Dominican, held that those thesis contained 14 heresies; he accused the entire Piarist order, and particularly Natali, of having taken those theses from ‘Luther, […]’ and from those contesting the *Unigenitus* constitution.  

>[…] Protests and invectives against the supporter of the new theories did not cease until the Holy Father became aware of the issue. The Jesuits also reported Natali to the pope, accusing him of supporting these, ‘containing many and very serious errors in matter of faith.’”\(^5^5\)

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\(^5^4\) The *DO*, September 1763, n. 7209, accounts for all of these events. Regarding the theological discussion, one reads: “The following Wednesday, at the same Collegio, Convittore Mr. Michele Count Lodzinski, Polishman, held a theological dispute, for which he was greatly praised. This dispute was dedicated to cardinal Giovanni Francesco Albani, protector of the Polish Crown, who deigned to be present.” (Il Mercoledì seguente nel medesimo Collegio il Convittore Sig. Michele Conte Lodzinscki Polacco sostenne con grande sua lode una disputa di Teologia dedicate all’Effe Gio: Francesco Albani, Protettore della Corona di Polonia, che degnossi onorarla colla sua presenza).

The hostilities between Jesuits and Jansenists “began as a Reformation-vintage doctrinal controversy that dates in some sense to the Council of Trent, especially to its attempt to define the Catholic doctrine of justification in response to the challenges of the Protestant Reformation.”\textsuperscript{56} Besides, they would be—particularly during the

eighteenth-century and up to the suppression of the Society of Jesus by Clement XIV, in 1768—inseparable from broader issues, including politics, the former not rarely accusing the latter of being Lutherans or Calvinists:

[...]. Although Saint Augustine's doctrines of divine predestination and efficacious grace did not entail Martin Luther's doctrine of justification by grace through faith alone, that doctrine did indeed entail the doctrines of efficacious grace and predestination. For if not even faith could be regarded as an independent human contribution to the work of salvation, it seemed to follow that it was pure 'grace' or gift of God, predestined by him for some but not for others. Luther himself spelled out these implications in a polemical Exchange with Erasmus on the subject of free will in 1524, well before the doctrine of predestination acquired greater prominence in the theology of Jean Calvin. The legacy of Augustine's vindication of divine grace against Pelagius thus fell under suspicion by association with Protestant 'heresy.'

For an even sharper picture of the confessional nuances involved here, and the Jesuits' linking of the Jansenists to Protestant theological positions, is useful to take into account that, in effect, “Luther rejected much of scholastic theology” and the “theology that undergirded his reforms” included to an essential extent “Augustine, [and] medieval Augustinian theologians”; as well as the fact that “anti-Pelagian themes like the primacy of grace gave Luther's thought an Augustinian cast.” The central issue of grace was also fundamental, in turn, in his reasserting “the main positions that distinguished Lutherans from other Protestants: the presence of Christ in the Lord’s Supper, the legitimacy of magisterial reform and of infant baptism, and the remission of sin in both sacraments and in absolution.”

Leaving aside, now, extra-theological

57 Ibid.
58 Scott Hendrix, “Martin Luther, reformer,” in Reform and Expansion: 1500-1660, 7.
59 Ibid. “Luther's refusal to compromise these points during the 1530's and 1540's did not, however, prevent confessional strife among Lutherans after his death.”
reasons, it was precisely, and mostly, the centrality of grace, understood, from an alleged Augustinian perspective, as inevitably efficacious, as present in Jansenists’ writings, that the Jesuits rejected, for it opposed their predominant molinistic stance.\textsuperscript{60} Apparently, if one takes into account period Jansenist claims, Jesuits would use this Augustinian cast, shared with Lutheran theology and Calvin’s further emphasis on predestination, to attack them. In addition, some Jansenist ideas regarding papal rule were presented as linked to Luther’s rejection of “the claim of the papacy to rule by divine right,” with the same objective.\textsuperscript{61}

Martino Natali, if significantly considered by his supporters an \textit{uomo illuminato ed un profondo teologo},\textsuperscript{62} would, at a later moment, express his unease that the theological polemic had been detrimental to the Collegio Nazareno:

Letters reporting that heretic doctrines were being taught to the noble youth at the Collegio Nazareno circulated across Italy. Those letters also said that the Holy Father had been bound to adopt severe measures in order to stop those friars spreading such doctrines. This tale was even inserted in several gazette so that Italian nobles withdrew their children from that Collegio.\textsuperscript{63}

\textsuperscript{60} Molinism, named after Luis de Molina, attempts to reconcile grace and free will “departing from the concept of freedom,” and it “was adopted in its essential points by the Society of Jesus.” See Joseph Pohle, “Molinism,” in \textit{The Catholic Encyclopedia}, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10437a.htm (accessed April 10, 2015).

\textsuperscript{61} Ibid. Gross, \textit{Rome in the Age of Enlightenment}, 281, states that Benedict XIV was “reputed to have said that the Jansenist sect was an invention of the Jesuits and that they had extorted the bull \textit{Unigenitus.”}

\textsuperscript{62} Calvini, ibid., 16.

\textsuperscript{63} Ibid. “Corsero lettere per tutta l’Italia, con le quali si dava ragguaglio che nel Collegio Nazareno si insegnavano dottrine eretiche alla nobile gioventù, e che il Santo Padre era stato costretto a prendere delle forti misure per raffrenare quei Religiosi seminatori di tali dottrine: né si mancò di fare inserire in varie gazette questa novella che impegnar dovea la nobiltà d’Italia a ritirare da quel Collegio i suoi figli.”
It seems clear that having one’s writings condemned as not in accord with the secular faith of the Catholic Church was not only troublesome in terms of doctrinal faithfulness; it definitely affected the individual’s and institutional’s earthly endeavors, including the management of their social and symbolic capital, as well. Actually, even though Natali’s theses were, in the end, found free of “any point contrary to faith” by various theologians, including the Commissary of the Holy Office, the Piarist was prevented from returning to his theology chair at the Nazareno and was sent to Urbino for one year. He would never teach at the Collegio again.

Gian Luca Bandini: Rector of the Collegio Nazareno, Librettist, and “Persecutor”

Upon his arrival to Urbino Natali wrote a letter, which is noteworthy here, first because it illustrates the problematics of being associated to certain Roman circles and Natali’s own self-awareness of it, and second, as it reveals a conflict between him and Bandini, as mentioned earlier, one of the principal authors of the librettos for the Collegio Nazareno. Regarding the first point, in that letter, probably addressed either to monsignor Giovanni Gaetano Bottari or to monsignor Pier Francesco Foggini, leaders of the Jansenist movement in Rome, Natali remembers that, “in fact our superiors had many times urged me not to attend the Archetto, not even the

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64 Enrico Dammig, *Il movimento giansenista a Roma nella seconda metà del secolo XVIII* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1945), pt. 2, refers to both of them, along with Card. Domenico Passionei as the leaders of the movement (*capi del movimento*) in Rome.
discussions, nor to frequent the Augustinians, for thus, they say, I would make myself notorious as a Jansenist, and enemy of the court, in Rome.”

As to Natali’s rapport with Bandini, in the same letter, the latter is referred to as “one of my principal persecutors” (*mio principale persecutore*), and Natali accuses Bandini of using “Machiavellian politics” (*la politica di Macchiavello usata da lui*). Natali proceeds to narrate how Bandini would have calumniated him before the pope, himself. Thus Natali confesses to his correspondent that, on the eve of September 27 (1763), back at the Nazareno for a public reading of his deposition as *lettore* of theology, and right before suppertime, he was unwillingly late in refectory. As he was walking into the room, “those youngsters, who, by and large, love me, and were informed of everything,” tells Natali, “gave a cheer when they saw me.” Natali explains that he was disgusted by the applause, and let Bandini know about his feelings in this regard. Even more, he asked Bandini to give a “corrective speech” (*parlata correttiva*) on the spot. And the latter agreed. However, according to Natali’s account,

then, at the Castle, through the mediation of marquess Patrizi, [Bandini] has let the pope know that I arrived *at the refectory table at an improper time in order to raise a cheer by the convittori, which was interrupted by him right away*. These are the very words that the pope told the General at the Castle, as he has let me know, and for this [he] has removed me from the Nazareno, and from Rome, and has made Gio. Lucca into a Rector. Thus [he] thinks to have satisfied His Holiness’s expectations. Ah,

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65 Natali to Bottari (?), Urbino, November 20, 1763, in *Carteggi di giansenisti liguri*, vol. 1, ed. Ernesto Codignola (Florence: Felice le Monnier, 1941), 7-9. “In fatti più volte i nostri Sup.i mi avevano esortato a non venire ne all’Archetto, ne alla conversazione, ne ad andare dalla Agost.ni, perche, dicevano, cosi mi faceva notare per Roma come Gianenista, e nemico sfacciato della Corte.”

66 Ibid. “[. . .] e quei ragazzi, che generalmente mi amano, e gia erano informati di tutto, al vedermi fecero un grande evviva.”
if only you could attest before the pope my modesty and prudence, not my temerity, as he believes!\(^67\)

This letter suggests that Bandini and Natali’s mutual enmity was probably not a question of theological perspectives alone, which is very significant regarding the underlying theology of Bandini’s librettos. If there were strong theological differences between them, we would expect them to be found in those librettos. But, in fact, as I will demonstrate below, this is not the case. This suggests the theological approach of the oratorios, cantatas, and pastorales, composed for the Collegio Nazareno is due to the theological atmosphere at the Nazareno, and exceeds the figure of Natali. The figure of Giambattista Molinelli (1730-1799) is key in order to understand this.

Born, like Natali, in 1730, and having professed as a Piarist in 1745, Molinelli had a different, more cautious, profile.\(^68\) Molinelli had most likely been a fellow student with Natali of the Piarist professor of theology Paolo Battista Curlo\(^69\) and would succeed Natali himself in the cattedra of theology at the Nazreno. However, Molinelli’s writings, containing theses “clearly Augustinian and antimolinistic” would not only be

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\(^{67}\) Ibid. “Ma poi in Castello ha fatto per mezzo del March. Patrizj sapere al Pape, che io andai in ora impropria a tavola per riscuotere gli evviva dai convittori, ma che egli vi rimediò prontamente. Somo queste le parole, che il Papa disse al Gen.\(^c\) in Castello, como egli ha detto a me, e per questo mi ha rimosso dal Nazareno, e da Roma, ed ha fatto Rett.\(^c\) Gio. Lucca perche cosi crede d’aver incontrata la mente di Sua Santità. Oh se si potesse far constare al Papa la mia modestia prudenza intal fatto, e non già temerità, come Egli crede!”


\(^{69}\) Active in Rome from 1748, and appointed to the Accademia di Liturgia by Benedict XIV, Curlo’s (1712-1776) intellectual biography is very little known. However, fragmentary evidences suggest his adscription to Augustinism as a theologian. See Codignola, ibid., xvii, and vol. 2, 278-79n2.
unquestioned, as opposed to Natali’s, but also would gain prestige across Europe,70 as the review of his *De fide et Symbolo* (Roma: Zempel, 1771) in the *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques* witnesses. This weekly newspaper, founded in 1728 in order to help resist the implementation of the anti-Jansenistic Bull *Unigenitus* (1713), published an encomiastic critique of Molinelli’s work, including the following terms:

The thesis by the Piarists is of a completely different taste [from that current at the Sorbonne]: it is a body of doctrine dynamic and full of substance, which, in abreviated form, and through a well arranged speech, discusses the most important truths of religion, by providing concise and decisive evidences, as well as peremptory responses to the principal difficulties. In one word, it resembles a dogmatic, polemic, and critic treatise on religion.71

His ideas were most likely poured into his courses in Genoa (1758-1769) and Rome (since 1770), which included one on *De praedestinatione et gratia. De peccatis, de peccatorum meritis et remissione*, and *De revelatione, de revelationis desito, de scriptura et traditione*, taught at the Collegio Nazareno during the academic years 1770-71, and 1771-72, respectively. He is considered as “the more influent master and patriarch of the reform movement in Liguria,” and “the leading figure during the first period of the Ligurian Jansenism up to the first revolutionary symptoms.”72

70 Ibid., vol. 1, xx-xxiii.
72 Codignola, ibid.
Voicing the Catholic Enlightenment: Doctrine and Instruction in the Vocal Works of the Collegio Nazareno

Reasoning Faith, Pondering Reason

One of the main goals of those Catholic intellectuals attempting to come to terms with contemporaneous secular thought during the eighteenth century was that of accounting for the “inner rationality” of the essential dogmas of Catholic Christianity, as Lehner acknowledges in the aforementioned definition of the Catholic Enlightenment. This fact might seem self-evident or inevitable, as “reason” was one of the core categories of Enlightenment philosophy. It may be recalled here that Descartes, whose rationalism is considered to be one of the fundamental pillars of the Enlightenment, had considered it as the ontological basis of the human being with his *cogito ergo sum*. However,

> it would be a complete misunderstanding to believe that Enlightenment thinkers were naïve optimists about their mental faculties. [. . .] Most of the Enlighteners and also such prominent figures as Kant worked for the clear and careful establishment of a realm of possible human knowledge versus one beyond the limits of understanding, and thus shared the Catholic idea that unlimited reason leads to anarchy.\(^73\)

Thus, Catholic-Enlightenment culture’s own momentum carried it, in some significant cases, to question the epistemological status of reason, the same point reached by the

\(^{73}\) See Giorgio Tonelli, “The Weakness of Reason in the Age of the Enlightenment,” *Diderot Studies* 14 (1971): 218; also quoted in Ulrich Lehner, "Introduction: The Many Faces of the Catholic Enlightenment," 13. This counterbalancing of reason arguably constitutes a mental habit of important aesthetical implications, which, in turn, can be fruitfully applied in the assessment of musical style, as I explain in Chapter 5.
most illustrious authors of Enlightenment, if through different paths and for diverse motivations.

This dialectical approach to human cognition, brought about in Enlightenment thinking, would leave its particular stamp on certain aspects of eighteenth-century Catholic theology. On the one hand, most Catholic-Enlightenment theologians, of course, kept conceiving of faith as a theological virtue, that is, as a virtue arising through supernatural grace, which, obviously, did not mean a rupture with traditional orthodoxy. This conception would be, however, subject to discussion with respect to the role usually attributed to grace, as it will be illustrated; particularly in the case of Jansenist-influenced Catholic-Enlightenment theologians, like the former teacher at the Collegio Nazareno, Martino Natali. But, in any case, it was not the supernatural origins of faith what was under discussion.

On the other hand, theologians would strive to dissect and separate subjects of faith proper from those belonging to debatable doctrinal issues, susceptible of historical criticism, traditional devotions or alleged superstitions, and “natural religion.” In a similar way, the doctrinal and moral system arising from the phenomenon of Christian faith was seen as susceptible of being historically reasoned and intellectually exposed and learned. Natali’s work, some of whose theological principles are reflected in the librettos of vocal works for the Collegio Nazareno, illustrates to a great extent this dialectical approach.

The proclivity toward pondering reason, and reasoning faith, defining traits of Catholic Enlightenment thinking, invites an intertextual account, which is traceable
through the series of librettos written for the Collegio Nazareno. Most of the extant librettos offer evidence of it, for example, by dwelling, in one or another way, on the semantic field of the “mind”: either by reference to the interlocutors’ mental processes, involving their actions and reactions, or even by reference to God as “mind.” The oratorio-genre ecotype at work in the Nazareno, based on the construction of inner plots, rather than external actions—which, at all events, almost always unfold as reported narrations rather than in directly portrayed action/dialogue—offers a very apt dramaturgical framework for this purpose. In many cases, as I will illustrate, the librettist’s play with key words in the semantic field of “mind” is communicated through elaborated rhetorical figures, which are, more often than not, amplified by the composer.

*Faith Through “Victorious Grace”*

The supernatural origins of faith, and thereby the recognition that “God cannot be intuitively seen by any created being solely by the natural illumination of the intellect,”\(^\text{74}\) to use Natali’s words, is acknowledged again and again in our librettos: a few examples may stand for many, here. Such is the case, for instance, with the prophet Geremia’s aria “Chi del ciel le vie nascose,” in Marcello di Capua’s 1769

componimento poetico, L’apparizione di Onia, with libretto by Gian Luca Bandini.\textsuperscript{75} In this libretto, the inner action develops out of a vision in dreams through which both the prophet Geremia and the Holy Priest Onnia III (an image of Clement XIV) encourage General Giuda Maccabeo to fight against the Syrians. As a token of support, a golden sword is given to Giuda by the prophet himself. Giuda voices his astonishment (\textit{stupor}) several times, up to the point of mistrusting himself: “Lost in myself,/I do not know who I am./In this surprising/ecstatic astonishment, I cannot keep silent,/and I do not know how to speak: thousand things/I would like to understand instantly.”\textsuperscript{76} He later confesses that such an overwhelming vision “exceeds the confines of human senses”;\textsuperscript{77} even more, that before such “changing semblances, to so many objects/my mind surrenders, already defeated;/and in the beautiful labyrinth/in which I am wandering around, and in the new world,/I know nothing, I seek everything, and I get confused.”\textsuperscript{78}

Both the Holy Priest Onnia and the prophet Geremia respond to Giuda’s disorientation. The former states: “[…] your mind is not/capable of penetrating/\textsuperscript{79}

\textsuperscript{75} See libretto by Gian Luca Bandini, \textit{L’APPARIZIONE DI ONIA/COMPOIMENTO POETICO/DA CANTARSI/NEL COLLEGIO NAZARENO/IN OCCASIONE DELLA PUBBLICA ACCADEMIA/Per la felice esaltazione/DI NOSTRO SIGNORE/PAPA/CLEMENTE XIV/IN ROMA MDCCLXIX,/NELLA STAMPERIA DI GIOVANNI ZEMPEL. CON LICENZA DE’ SUPERIORI, 14-12 [formerly E-VIII-13], Bibl. Scol.

\textsuperscript{76} Ibid., ix; “In me stesso smarrito,/Qual io mi sia non so. Nella sorpresa/d’estatico stupor tacer non posso,/e non so favellar: mille vorrei/intender cose in un momento […]”

\textsuperscript{77} Ibid., x; “Tanto il confin dell’uman senso eccede.”

\textsuperscript{78} Ibid., x-xi; “Io sento/che a sembianze sì varie, a tanti oggetti/cede il pensier già vinto;/e nel bel laberinto, in cui m’aggio, e nel novello mondo,/nulla so, tutto cerco, e mi confondo.”
everything you are wondering about.” The latter confirms this with his aria, in the second part, after hearing Giuda say: “The more I try to know, the less I understand.”

In this cantabile aria (Example 2.1), Allegretto $\frac{3}{4}$, with a written-out da Capo, the musically controlled delivery of key expressions in the context of Catholic-Enlightenment theology is especially effective. Thus, the words “senza lume,” “Bella Fede,” and, in a particular way, the last line of the aria, referring to human’s “indocile pensier,” are all syllabically sung to dotted half notes, which slows down the pace of diction. The effect is amplified through coinciding changes in texture, as in those instances where the bass shifts to an eighth-note accompaniment in alternating octaves, under the sixteenth-note tremolos of the violins, which only interrupt the flow in order to adorn the word “lume” with an arpeggio in connection with the only instance of reverse dotting in the aria. Moreover, the antithesis formed by the

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79 Ibid., “[...] ma tutto insieme/a penetrar capace/la tua mente non è.”

80 Ibid., XIII. “Più di saper procuro,/Men intender io so.”
expressions “senza lume” and “Bella Fede,” not prominent in the text, is underscored because they are sung to the very same motive, in a gesture qualifying as a musical paronomasias, which actually makes the antithesis audible.

Example 2.1: Marcello di Capua, *L'Apparizione di Onia* (1769), Part II, Geremia's aria "Chi del ciel le vie nascose" (excerpts)
Other remarkable instances that underscore the primacy of grace in the origination of faith and access to heavenly mysteries are found in several other works. Giuseppe Valentini’s 1747 cantata, for instance, contains a series of dialogues in which Grazia Divina limits Natura Umana’s scope of knowledge: “You are not allowed to know more, I am not granted to manifest, either.” Gian Luca Bandini’s librettos for 1751 and 1752 abound in this aspect. In the latter one, for example, the opening recitative includes a very eloquent dialogue about Virgin Mary’s birth between Padre Eterno—one of the Holy-Trinity roles, along with FiglioIncreato, Spirito d’Amore, and a Coro di Angeli—and Figlio Increato (or Verbum):

PADRE
Natura il gran natale
attonita previene,
ossequiosa adora,
e nol conosce, e non l’intende ancora.\(^{[d]}\)


FATHER
Nature, astonished,
anticipates the great Nativity;
respectfully adores it,
and yet does not know it, and yet does not [understands it. \(^{(d)}\)

VER.
Nè intenderlo potrà: ne più segreti
eterni penetrati,
quando di un sol voler la creatrice

VER.
Neither will she be able to understand it: nor
penetrate its eternal secrets
when, just by wishing it, the creative

\(^{(d)}\) See (anonymous) libretto, CANTATA/PER/LA NATIVITÀ/DELLA/BEATISSIMA VERGINE/In occasione della pubblica Accademia/NEL COLLEGIO NAZARENO,/IN ROMA MDCCXLVII./Nella Stamperia di Giovanni Zempel presso Monte Giordano,/CON LICENZA DE’ SUPERIORI, vi, Misc. Nazareno 11-1, Bibl. Scol. “A te più di saper non è permesso, A me non è di palesar concesso.”
virtù sovrana ad avvivar s’accinse
l’alma degna di noi;\(^{(a)}\) la Grazia sola
l’arcane soglie auguste
meritò penetrare;\(^{(b)}\) sola la mano
stender all’opra; e non ardi natura
nell’immortal lavoro
dell’eterno consiglio
avventurare, benchè rimoto, il ciglio.\(^{(c)}\)

and sovereign power prepares to give life to
that soul worthy of us;\(^{(a)}\) only Grace
deserved to cross\(^{(b)}\) the august thresholds:
only her hand [deserved]
to extend over the work; and nature did not dare,
to venture to the edge,
although remote,
of the immortal work.\(^{(c)}\)

(a) Quomodo digna Deo intelligatur Maria, explicat Richard. a S. Laur. lib. 5. de laud. Virg. exponens vers. 3. cap. 4. Cantic.
(b) S. Jo. Damasc. orat. 1. de Nat. B. M. Virg.
(c) Natura gratiam antevertere ausa, non est, sed tantisper expectavit, dum gratia fructum suum produxisset. S. Jo. Damasc. Orat. 1. de Nativ. B. M. Virg.\(^{82}\)

This excerpt includes a considerable degree of semantic elusiveness, except for those in the audience familiar with its co-text, formed by all the works cited in the marginal notes, which exceed in length the poetic passage they refer to. This recitative passage serves to illustrate not only the current point—i.e., the primacy given to faith over reason as access to the mystery of God, according to secular Catholic theology—but also the links between faith, grace, and freedom in the specific context of Catholic Enlightenment theology. And this is a nuclear point in the theological debate between Jansenist-oriented theologians, like the Piarist Natali, and those more indebted to Jesuitic molinism, and Thomism, in the midst of which currents the confection of the librettos for the Collegio Nazareno arguably took place.

In several works by Natali, one can read passages that recall, in form and content, not just a few ideas about the role of grace as woven into the librettos written for the Collegio Nazareno. For instance, when dealing with the issue of predestination, he declares in his Sentimenti di un cattolico sulla predestinazione dei santi, illustrati con note e pubblicati a commune vantaggio dei fedeli dal P. Martino Natali (Pavia: 1782), that it consists of "the arcane profundity of Wisdom's treasures, and of God's Science. Because we can penetrate neither his secret judgements nor his incomprehensible ways—i.e., his designs and the Highest's counsels, we cannot point out the true cause whereby God predestines to Salvation one and not the other among men [. . .]." Here, Natali's wording is clearly indebted to Pauline and Augustinian texts, which, in turn, resonate also in many fragments of Bandini's librettos, as well, including that for the 1752 cantata, cited above: it is all about the impossibility, for human understanding, of "penetrating," the "arcane" "designs," or "immortal works," of the "creative and sovereign power" and his "counsels." Indeed, references to Paul's epistles and Augustine's works are very frequent in Natali's essays and Bandini's librettos. Precisely, in the same 1752 cantata under consideration here, soon after the aforementioned dialogue between Padre Eterno and Figlio Increato (Ver.), the role giving voice to the third person of the Trinity, Spirito d'Amore, significantly makes a statement supported by references to both Augustine of Hippo and Paul:

E nel garrulo mondo anno i prodigi
la lor favella ancor.(a) Sovente in quelli
l’eterna man, che gli formò, l’eterna
Sapienza motrice,
l’invvisibil potenza in parte al mondo
manifesta si rende.
Favellan l’opre, e il gran Fattor s’intende.(b)

(a) Habent (miracula) si intelligantur
linguam suam. S. Aug. tract. 24. in Joan.
(b) Invisibilia ipsius... per ea, quae facta sunt
intellecta conspiciuntur. S. Paul. ad Rom. cap.
1. v. 20. Vide etiam S. Aug. sup. psal. 148.84

AMORE

Even in this garrulous world, miracles still
have their speech.(c) Often in them
the eternal hand that formed them,
the eternal driving Wisdom,
the invisible power is manifested, in part,
to the world. The works speak
and the great Creator is understood.(b)

(a) There are (miracles) if one understands their
(b) His invisible nature... has been clearly perceived
in the things that have been made. Rom 1:20. See
also St. Augustine, Expositions on the Psalms, 148.

Amore’s conclusion, besides, leads us to the *quid* of the question of faith and grace,
while introducing the role of intellect—which I will explore in the next section. The
highlighted term *grazia vincitrice*, used by Bandini in his libretto, finds special echoes
in Jansenist-influenced reflections on grace. In fact, it was already significantly used by
Cornelius Jansen (1585-1638) himself, in the third part of his *Augustinus* (Louvain:
1640), where it appears printed in upper-case letters several times. There, he
maintained that there is no possibility for post-lapsarian (i.e., after the original sin)
predestined humanity to resist true grace, which is *always* victorious over
concupiscence, an idea that forms the core concept of one of the five Jansenist
propositions condemned by the bull *Cum occasione*, decreed in 1653 by Pope Innocence

84 See libretto by Gian Luca Bandini, CANTATA/PER/LA NATIVITÀ/DELLA/BEATA VERGINE/In occasione
della publica Accademia/NEL/COLLEGIO NAZARENO/IN ROMA. MDCLII., v; my italics. Misc. Nazareno
11-1, Bibl. Scol.
Thus, allegedly inspired by the bishop of Hippo’s writings, Jansen spoke of the “efficacious grace” as a “victrice delectatione,” a pleasure that seizes the individual and necessarily drives him to do good.\textsuperscript{85} Both the concept and the term are present in Natali’s works. For example, as early as in the theological propositions defended at the Collegio Nazareno in 1762, he explains that “actual grace […] does not distinguish itself from actual love, and consists of a victorious delight”;\textsuperscript{86} and, in \textit{Sentimenti di un cattolico}, he refers to the “victorious Grace over temptations.”\textsuperscript{87} In turn, in \textit{Della Grazia e del libero arbitrio} (Pavia: 1783), a translation of Nicola Petit-Pied’s \textit{De l’ingiusté accusation de Jansenism: plaient à M. Habert} (1712), by the Arcadian shepherdess Angela Salomoni (Lisene Tersilia, in the Accademia), one can read, in the notes included in it, and authored by Martino Natali, that

the grace given by God to someone, so that he has the gift of faith, provides such [an individual] with the gift of faith. The grace given by God to a faithful, so that he wants the good, operates in him a good will towards good. The grace given by God to us, in order that we do that which is good, produces that good action itself, in us. The grace, finally, which God gives to his elected, so that they persevere and be saved, confers perseverance and salvation upon them. In a word, every grace of Jesus Christ, \textit{always} produces that effect for which God gives it to us.\textsuperscript{88}

\textsuperscript{85} See Cornelius Jansen, \textit{Augustinus: seu doctrina S. Augustini de humanae naturae sanitate, aegritudine, medicina adversus pelagianos & massilienses} (Louvain: iacobi Zegeri, 1640), 3:818-19.

\textsuperscript{86} See Natali, \textit{Propositiones}, 66. It is the thesis one-hundred and one: “[…] Gratiam actualem […] ab actuali charitate non distingu, & in delectatione victrici consistere.”

\textsuperscript{87} See Natali, \textit{Sentimenti}, 136.

\textsuperscript{88} See Angela Salomoni and Martino Natali, \textit{Della grazia e del libero arbitrio: Dissertazione in forma di doglianza contro il signore Lodovico Habert}, tradotta nell’Italiana favella da Lisene Tersilia pastorella arcade, ed illustrata con varie note dal P. Martino Natali (Pavia: Galeazzi, 1783); as quoted in Calvini, \textit{Il P. Martino Natali}, 46-7; my italics.”La grazia che dà l’ddio a qualcuno, acciò abbia il dono della fede, comparte a quel tale il dono della fede. La grazia che dà l’ddio ad un fedele perché voglia il bene, opera in costui la buona volontà al bene. La grazia che ci dà l’ddio, affinché operiamo il bene, produce i noi la stessa buona operazione. La grazi infine, che da lddio ai suoi eletti acciò perseverino e si salvino, conferisce ai medesimi la perseveranza e la salute. In una parola, ogni grazia di Gesù Cristo produce sempre quell’effetto, per cui da Dio ci si confersice.”
This excerpt contains a relatively detailed explanation of the role of grace in the awakening to faith and moral behavior, according to Enlightenment Catholic theology of Jansenist roots, in whose orbit the librettos of the Collegio Nazareno can be placed, as illustrated.

Several other works deserve further exploration in this context. Bandini’s libretto for the 1761 cantata (music by Rinaldo di Capua), in which prophet’s words are presented as a source for enlightenment; Francesco Fasce’s libretto for 1772 (Marcello di Capua), which includes an aria explicitly discoursing on the limitations of reason, and a recitative dialogue in which the role Sapienza Divina, self-introduced as “Firstborn Daughter” of the “Eternal Mind,” asks Filosofia to “remove/from human knowledge the hesitating/confused ideas and obstinate pride;” and Stanislao Stefanini’s libretto for 1780 (Marcello di Capua), in which the prophet Ezechiel, in his aria of the first part, “In Dio t’affida, e spera,” wonders, “God’s secrets are dressed/in a mysterious veil:/if heaven does not explain it/who will ever know how to explain it?” Our librettos, nevertheless, also represent the preoccupation with reasoning faith, a mental habit typical of Catholic Enlightenment thinkers.

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89 See libretto by Gian Luca Bandini, ELIA AL CARMELO/CANTATA/PER/LA NATIVITÀ/DELLA/BEATISSIMA VERGINE/IN OCCASIONE/DELLA PUBBLICA ACCADEMIA/NEL COLLEGIO NAZARENO/IN ROMA MDCCCLXI./NELLA STAMPERIA DI GIOVANNI ZEMPEL./CON LICENZA DE’ SUPERIORI., 14-12 (formerly E-VIII-13), Bibl. Scol.


91 See libretto by Stanislao Stefanini, CANTATA/PER/LA NATIVITÀ/DELLA/BEATISSIMA VERGINE/IN OCCASIONE/DELLA PUBBLICA ACCADEMIA/NEL COLLEGIO NAZARENO/IN ROMA MDCCCLXXX./NELLA STAMPERIA DI GIOVANNI ZEMPEL./CON LICENZA DE’ SUPERIORI, viii, 14-12 (formerly E-VIII-13), Bibl. Scol. “Veste di Dio gli arcani/un tenebroso velo:/se non gli spiega il Cielo,/chi mai spiegar gli sa?”
In the last of the recitatives quoted above, the key term “victorious grace” is mentioned as a manifestation of God’s invisible power. In the same vein, Spirito d’Amore acknowledges, in what constitutes a paraphrasis of the epistle to the Romans, that “works speak, and the great Creator is understood.” In effect, the librettos of the Collegio Nazareno, no matter what genre they are explicitly ascribed to (i.e., cantata, oratorio—or *componimento sacro*, or pastorale) or for what occasion they were written (e.g., the annual *accademia*, a new pope’s enthronement, or Calasanz’s beatification and canonization), consistently describe the cognitive processes involved in many of the roles’ responses to “heaven’s reasons” (*caelorum rationem*), in various dramaturgical contexts. Moreover, in this series of librettos, even terms referring to God aim at presenting him as the infinite, eternal mind behind the order—the *ratio*—that underlies both natural and supernatural phenomena, thereby paving the way for “reasoning faith,” within the cultural coordinates of the Catholic Enlightenment. Thus, God is repeatedly referred to as “mind” (*mente*), “infinite mind” (*Infinita mente*), “eternal thought” (*eterno pensiero*), “eternal driving Wisdom” (*eterno propevvente Vigilante*), or even “eternal power” (*eterno vincitore potente*).92

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92 This expression is used in a passage from the book of Job (38: 37), in the Latin Vulgate. This biblical passage, along with corresponding comments by Augustine of Hippo, and a much-cited author in the librettos of the Nazareno, that is, the Benedictine exegete and historian Augustine Calmet (1672-1757), is quoted in Bandini’s libretto for the *accademia* of the year 1757 (with music by Rinaldo di Capua), in connection with the aforementioned Pauline idea. And it is all encapsulated in (archangel) Michele’s aria “Son loquaci i Cieli ancora.” See libretto *CANTATA/PER/LA NATIVITÀ DELLA BEATA VERGINE/IN OCCASIONE DELLA PUBBLICA ACCADEMIA/DI/REL/COLLEGIO NAZARENO/IN ROMA MDCCCLVII./NELLA STAMPERIA DE GIOVANNI ZEMPPEL PRESSO MONTE GIORDANO./CON LICENZA DE’ SUPERIORI., IV, I4.* Bibl. Scol.


94 See 1747 anonymous libretto, *CANTATA/PER/LA NATIVITÀ/BEATISSIMA VERGINE/In occasione della pubblica Accademia/NEL COLLEGIO NAZARENO./IN ROMA MDCCXLVII./Nella Stamperia...*
(eterna Sapienza motrice), 95 “divine knowledge” (Divino saper), 96 “immortal thought” (immortal pensier), “eternal secret mind” (eterna mente arcana), “Father of lights” (Padre de’lumi), 97 or “creating mind” (mente creatrice), 98 among other significant vocatives. Were some of the passages containing these terms taken out of context, one might ascribe them to a deist vision of God and nature, identifiable with various non-specifically Catholic Enlightenment cultures (e.g., that of the French philosophes and Freemasonry). In any case, the librettos’ authors’ undeniable preference for identifying “God as reason” or mind, betrays the traces of a natural theology, according to which “this reason manifested itself historically in the wisdom of the ancients […] and the
harmonious order of the natural universe.” This fact is significant, for “the idea of a natural religion [had] begun to gain acceptance among theologians and even found its way into Catholic textbooks” during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which may be regarded as an instance of non-Catholic “Enlightenment influences on the Catholic Enlightenment.”

As to the aforementioned cognitive processes involved in many of the roles’ responses to “heaven’s reasons,” in the Argomento of Bandini’s libretto for the 1763 cantata L’arca del Testamento, the instructive purpose of its performance is acknowledged to be “introducing us to the knowledge of Maria, born for the dignity of a purpose that surprises reason.” In the presence of the reasonably unexpected phenomenon to which the Argomento refers, the impulse toward “harmonizing faith and reason” and propagating “an enlightened and rational obedience and faith (obsequium rationabile; Rm 12, 1),” one of the core leitmotifs of the Catholic Enlightenment, includes, as communicated through the series of librettos under consideration here, the acceptance of reasonable doubts; the legitimacy of asking for explanations of natural and supernatural phenomena; and, particularly, a “style of philosophizing and

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100 See Lehner, “Introduction: The Many Faces of the Catholic Enlightenment,” 12-13. This influence found fertile grounds in Catholic anthropology, which “already maintained a belief in the natural light of reason (lumen naturale), affirming that creation is intelligible, because it was brought into existence by truth and wisdom personified, i.e. God.” Ibid., 18.

theologizing” removed from dogmatism, understood as “the uncritical presupposition that knowledge of things is possible and reliable.”

A series of representative examples of this impulse, underlying the librettos of the Nazareno and its musical amplification, follows.

The role of Gedeone, the first male soprano of the cast in the 1771 *componimento sacro*, *Il vello di Gedeone*, with music by Marcello di Capua, offers an illustration of the aforementioned leitmotifs of the Catholic Enlightenment. In Luigi Godard’s libretto, an angel, while seeing Israel besieged by a pagan people, appears to both Gedeone and his father, Gioas, and encourages the former to command Israel’s battle to victory, assuring him of God’s favor. In spite of this, Gedeone hesitates and asks the angel for further evidence of God’s support. It is then when the well-known episode involving the watering and burning of Gideon’s fleece takes place—but only reported in narrative speech. The final turn and foremost sign of God’s favor toward humankind is the envisioning of a Virgin conceiving the Savior, which is understood to be symbolized by the surprising event surrounding the fleece, following the medieval theologian St. Anselm. It is the episode of Gedeone’s doubts that is significant in this context.

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GEDEONE
No: di tanta promessa
no lice dubitar. Ma pur se fede
a' tuoi detti acquistar brami maggiore,
candido Messaggier, mostrami un segno,
che dal Ciel tu scendesti.(1)

(1) Non peccavit Gedeon petendo signum,
quia nesciebat an is qui secum loquebatur
esset homo propheta, an Angelus Dei, vel
Diaboli. Satanas enim se transformat in
Angelum lucis.

ANGELO
Amato Gedeon che mai dicesti?
Chiedermi un segno puoi? Dunque cominci
a dubitar così? L’avrai. Ma intanto
chiedilo a i lieti, e spessi
palpiti del tuo cor, chiedilo a quella,
che dolce il sien t’inonda amabil pace:
ad esser fido in si bel giorno impara,
e a un portento maggior l’alma prepara.

GEDEON
Ah, quanti in un istante,
sento moti nel sen! Gioia, speranza,
Fede, auguri, valor, voti, costanza!
Chi parlò, che ascoltai? Fuor di me stesso
chi mi rapisce oh Dio? Rischieri il Cielo
con un raggio di luce
il vero al pensier mio.
[...]
Il Cielo amico
Più chiaro ancor parlò. Dal Cielo io chiesi
al condottier fedele
un portento maggior.(2)

GEDEONE
No: such a great promise
is not to be doubted. But if you,
purest Messenger, wish to earn
more faith in your words, show me a sign
that you descended from Heaven.(1)

(1) Gideon did not commit a sin by asking for a sign,
because he did not know whether he who was
talking to him was a prophet, an Angel of God, or the
Devil. In fact, Satan is capable of transforming
himself into an Angel of Light.

ANGELO
What did you say, dear Gedeon?
Can you ask for a sign? So are you thus beginning
to doubt? You will have it. But, in the meantime
ask for it with the happy, frequent
time.

GEDEON
Ah, how many emotions, in one moment,
do I feel in my bosom! Joy, hope,
Faith, good wishes, valor, vows, constancy!
Who spoke up, what did I hear? Out of myself,
who enraptured me, oh God? May Heaven,
with a light beam,
iluminate the truth for my mind.
[...]
Friendly Heaven
spoke again more clearly, then. From Heaven, I
the faithful messenger
[asked

for a greater miracle.(2)
I find two aspects that resonate with Catholic Enlightenment overtones here. First, while Gedeone overtly shows his hesitance, the librettist, as an interpretively distant voice, makes sure that Gedeone’s attitude is properly understood through the use of marginal notes with authoritative references to such Early Church Fathers as Origen, St. Ambrose, and St. Isidore. Admittedly, the first of these marginal notes suggests that Gedeone’s hesitancy is more a question of distrusting the sacred origins of his angelical vision than the expression of a reasonable challenge to the supernatural. But, after his doubts in this respect are cleared up, he asks again for a further sign. And, once again, the librettist warns, in the corresponding marginal note, that Gedeone’s petitions, implying a doubt, are not incompatible with faith (“Gideon did not commit a sin”).

Second, to judge from Gedeone’s speech, Heaven seems to have instilled in his heart (“ask for it to the happy, frequent/palpitations of your heart […]”), that sort of “victorious delight” (“Ah, how many emotions, in a moment,/do I feel in my bosom! Joy, hope,/Faith, good wishes, valor, vows, constancy!”), so dear to Jansenist-inspired reflections on grace, referred to in the previous section. It is precisely with Gedeon’s

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104 Ibid., VIII-XI.
words referring to those “many emotions,” when the secco recitative shifts to accompagno—in a gesture first seen, among the vocal works for the Collegio Nazareno, in those by Niccolò Jommelli. In this accompanied recitative (Example 2.2), marked Andante ma non molto, the key idea dominating musical inventio in the first instrumental introduction is Gedeone’s feeling of that inner “emotion,” communicated through repeated sixteenth notes and a pervasive contrast of rapidly alternating dynamics. The asyndetic enumeration formed by the words “Gioia, speranza, fede, auguri, valor, voti, costanza!” is delivered at a moderate pace, in which outstanding pitch accents emphasize the terms speranza, fede, valor, voti, and costanza. In addition, textual commas are expanded by means orchestral interjections. Those interjections containing the musical hypotomyposis, depicting, through ascending thirty-second runs, the expression “un raggio di luce,” stand out. This is how Marcello di Capua musically captures, as it were, that “victorious grace.”

Example 2.2: Marcello di Capua, Il vello di Gedeone (1771), Part I, Gedeone’s accompagnato
Example 2.2: Cont.
Here, Gedeon's response to these “emotions” of the grace are not less important. He asks that Heaven “illuminate his mind.” If, in the cantata of 1769, Giuda responded to Geremia and the Holy Priest Onnia, “The more I try to know, the less I understand,” now, in the 1771 *componimento*, the nearly last words interchanged between Gedeone and Angelo, are, quite significantly: “Ang. […] Gedeon, did you understand?/Ged. I understand, I understand.” After these words are pronounced, Gedeon’s father, Gioas, repeats, almost literally, his son’s words in the first part of the composition: “May a light beam descend from the stars,/so it illuminates our mind.”\(^{105}\)

If Martino Natali, Giambattista Molinelli, Urbano Tosetti, or cardinals Passionei and Marefoschi, frequenters of the Archetto circle, and attendees at the annual *accademia* at the Collegio Nazareno, had listened to Gedeone’s and Gioas’ words, they would have probably agreed on the need to understand the “inner rationality” of their faith, as

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suggested by the text of the cantata. Some other roles, other than Gedeone, in the librettos of the Nazareno, are worth mentioning here, in this respect, as well.

Regarding the participation of reason in the embracing of faith, for example, the cantata *L’arca del Testamento* (1763), once more, offers an illustration through the inner process of the role La Regina Saba. In the libretto, her visit to the Kingdom of Salomon coincides with a procession of the Temple priests with the Ark of the Covenant. While engaged in dialogue with Salomone, Re di Giuda, and Natan Profeta, she converts to the faith of Israel, not without having initially hesitated. Two points are significant here. The first has to do with Natan’s reference to Saba’s original pagan religion; the second, with the account of her conversion. Here, it follows Regina Saba’s reluctant response to the suggestion that she adores the God of Israel, and Natan’s reaction, expressed through his aria, along with substantial marginal notes.

**REGINA SABA**

[...]

Ah più mai non mi dite
che del mio culto è degno: al delicato
genio Sabeo mal si conviene il sempre
tremare e palpitar: nò, non sia mai
ch’io l’unisca a’mei Dei; tutto per lui,
tutto mancar mi sento;
il senso de contento,
il moto dell’amore,
la forza di ragion, la mente, il core.
[...]
I feel sorry for the blind habits of a soul who talks about gods, and has no God.

[A soul] who lives as a devotee of the sun, who sees, and does not believe in the sun, which makes her live. (d)

Although the ancient Sabean people worshipped visible heavenly bodies as animate entities mediating between the invisible supreme being and humankind; having, however, later [Sabean people] forgotten them, so little as they considered them, they turned every form of worship to the Sun, and other heavenly visible lights. See, in this regard, Deslandes, Histoire critique de la philosophie, vol. 1, book 1, chapter [3], “10. Des Arabes.”

This excerpt is worth commenting for several reasons. In first place, when expressing her reluctance to add the God of Israel to the list of her native gods, Regina Saba states that she has neither happy feelings nor love, and neither her reason nor her mind push her forward to adore God, thereby acknowledging that reason and mind should play an important role in the process. This factor will be relevant when, in the second part, she explains her conversion. Second, Natan’s aria text and, so to speak, its hypertext, readily available to the audience in the marginal note, illustrate an approach to non-Christian religions commensurate with that of Catholic-Enlightenment theologians. And now it is essential to recall that it was in the days

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immediately following the performance of the cantata to which this aria belongs (i.e., *L’arca del Testamento*), in the *accademia* celebrated in September 1763, when Martino Natali’s student Lodzniski recited the *disputa teologica* in which eighty theses by his teacher were defended: most of these theses would be aimed at stating “the insufficiency of natural religion [i.e., like that of the Regina Saba, from a Christian perspective] in order to obtain justification and eternal salvation; and the necessity of faith in a Mediator to redeem us from the original sin.”

It is likely that the audience attending the scholarly events of the *accademia* that week of September 1763 connected Natali’s thesis with Regina Saba’s conversion, as narrated in the cantata, performed just three or four days before.

In the third and last place, a reasoned philosophical vision, rather than a morally condemnatory tone, predominates in the assessment of Regina Saba’s “natural” or pagan beliefs. This is evidenced not only within the plot but also at the hypertextual level, in which the librettist turns to André-François Boureau-Deslandes’ *Histoire critique de la philosophie* (Amsterdam: 1737), “the first example of a history of philosophy which reflects typical enlightenment concerns” in the French-speaking area.

As an author, Deslandes shared ideas with Diderot, Maupertuis, and, indirectly, with Voltaire. Besides,

> his name figures in the *Discours préliminaire* of the *Encyclopédie* (1751), among those who, ‘without having provided entire articles, have made

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important contributions to the *Encyclopédie,* to be precise, in the technical and scientific field; here d’Alembert does not mention the *Histoire critique de la philosophie,* which nevertheless appears to have been used (without any bibliographical reference) in several articles of the *Encyclopédie.*

This attempt to critically approach the history of religions, suggested in librettos like that being discussed here, both in its textual and hypertextual levels, connotes a conviction about “the apologetic validity of erudition” typical of Catholic reformists.

This conviction was shared, for example, by such a central figure in the Roman reformist social-networking field as Giovanni Cristofano Amaduzzi and was expressed by him, for example, in a lecture given in 1778 at the Accademia dell’Arcadia. The lecture was later published with the significant title *La filosofia alleata della religione* and “with the eloquent subtitle ‘philosophical, political lecture.’”

This cantata concludes with Regina Saba’s conversion to the God of Israel, as she witnesses the reactions that the procession with the Ark of the Covenant stirs in Natan and Salomone. If, in the first part, she adduced both affective and rational motives to

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109 Ibid., 179. The availability of forbidden books by authors like Rousseau, Voltaire, or Elvetius, at the Collegio Nazareno, is borne witness to by former convivtori like the scientist Piarist Gregorio Fontana, the literati Pietro Verri, or Count Fantuzzi. On this aspect, see also Vittorio Emanuele Giuntella, *Roma nel Settecento,* vol. 15 (Bologna: Cappelli, 1971), 121; also quoted in Maria Pia Donato, “Cultura dell’antico e cultura dei lumi a Roma nel Settecento: La politicizzazione dello scambio culturale durante il pontificato di Pio VI,” *Mélanges de l’école française de Rome: Italie et méditerranée* 104, no. 2 (1992): 509n26; and Giulia Cantarutti, “Illuminismo, protestantesimo e transfer culturale fra Italia e ‘Germania’: Tre assi di rilevazione,” in *Illuminismo e protestantesimo,* ed. Giulia Cantarutti and Stefano Ferrari (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2010), 117. Moreover, as Negro, *Il ritratto segreto,* 23-4, points out, beginning in 1725, “works by Corneille, Molière, Voltaire, Crebillon, Racine” among others, would be staged by the convivtori for the carnival season. The reception of encyclopedist authors in the Roman Piarist institutions may also be traced by examining the eighteenth-century collections in their archives and libraries. For example, at the AGSP, is significantly preserved, with the original binding, one of the few extant copies of the first Italian edition of the *Encyclopédie.*

110 See Cantarutti, “Illuminismo, protestantesimo e transfer culturale,” 114.

reject Israel’s faith, in the second part, again, key terms referring to the mind and light predominate in the recitative through which she expresses her conversion.

REGINA SABA

Oh qual diversa in tal momento io stessa[3]

già mi sento da me! Ne’ vostri detti

più che mortale un suono

m’avviso d’asciolto; talché gli accenti

mentre l’orecchio intende,

si rischiara la mente, e il cor s’accende.

Gran Dio, che d’Israello

prendi le parti a sostener, fra tuoi

io mi rendo fin d’or: al tuo gran lume

provo nel sen già sciolta

go ni nebbia d’erro r: già di tua gran legge

e’ suddito il mio cor; ma se fedele

(a) Quod Regina Saba ad Salomonem, veniens, saptientiam eius aditura, instructa fuerit ab eodem de agnitione Verbi Dei, & superstitiosum abjecerit cultum auctor est Origenes lib. 2. in Cantic.

REGINA SABA

Ah, how different from myself, in this moment,[3]

I am already feeling! In your sayings,

I realize that I am hearing

something more than mortal sounds; as my ears understand your words,

my mind becomes illuminated, and my heart takes

fire. To Great God, who stands on Israel’s

side, among your [people],

I now surrender: [before] your great light

I feel, in my bosom, already liberated

from the fog of error: already my heart becomes

subject to your great law;

questo giorno mi fa; se trasformata

per prodigio d’amor nell’alma io sono,

di tua clemenza, ah lo compendo, è dono.[4]

but if this day makes me faithful; if my soul,

by a miracle of love, becomes transformed,

out of your clemency, oh, I understand, it is a gift.[4]

(a) Apropos of the fact that the queen of Sheba, having come to visit Solomon, and to see his wisdom, was instructed by him in knowledge of the Word of God, and rejected superstitious worship, the author [of reference] is Origene, The Song of Songs, book II.

(a) Per eum, qui sapientiae donum accepit, laudavit REGINA SABA Datorem Sapientiae. Theodoret. quaest. 33. in lib. 3. Reg.112

(a) The QUEEN OF SHEBA would praise the Giver of Wisdom through him who received the gift of wisdom. Theodoret of Cyrus, Ad quaestiones magorum, 33, Book III.

112 See Bandini, L’ARCA DEL TESTAMENTO, XI-XII.
As can be seen, here, again, both the dramatic text and its marginal notes agree in emphasizing the “inner rationality” of faith, in this case, in “the God of Israel.” And again, key terms of particular resonance with Enlightenment culture are used: it is before God’s “light” that Regina Saba’s “mind” becomes “illuminated.” Thus, she concludes by acknowledging her new belief as a gift of grace (God’s “clemency”); a gift, nevertheless, “understandable.” And this passage is framed, once more, by authoritative comments by early Church Fathers, in this case, Theodoret of Cyrus and Origene, which the librettist uses to support the view of Re Salomone as the personification of wisdom, as well as Regina Saba’s alleged rejection of her “natural religion,” now implicitly condemned as a superstition. This has major implications for another major tenet, or leitmotif, of the Catholic Enlightenment, shared with secular Enlighteners, namely, the battle against superstition and subjectivism, allegedly implicated in certain Catholic devotional practices, which is also reflected in other librettos written for the Collegio Nazareno, as will be illustrated in the next section. This will follow just after a last point regarding the understanding of “heaven’s reasons” by many of the personages in the series of vocal works under consideration.

The participation of reason in the process of acquiring and developing virtues, including theological ones, which fact would arguably account for their “inner

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113 Other vocal works explicitly addressing the issue of pagan beliefs and prophecies, as well as the rejection of superstition, both through the plot and its hypertext, include those for the years 1755, 1760, 1761 (specifically entitled Elia al Carmelo), with libretto by Bandini and music by Rinaldo di Capua, and that for 1771 (Il vello di Gedeone), with libretto by Luigi Godard and music by Marcello di Capua. On the facts and documentary evidences regarding these works, see Careri, Catalogo, 19-20, 99, 110-11.

rationality,” is unequivocally addressed throughout our librettos. Those written during Jommelli’s tenure at the Collegio are particularly relevant in this sense. For example, Giacobbe’s and Beniamino’s response to the speech of Giuseppe, the son and brother, toward the end of the second part of Bandini’s libretto for the oratorio

Giuseppe glorificato in Egitto, set to music by Niccolò Jommelli in 1749, is explanatory.

GIACOBBE
Sieguì non arrestar, amabil figlio,
nel suo corso miglior di questi accenti
il soave tenor; nell’alma mia
cosi giocondi risonar gli sento,
che al ciel m’inalzo col pensier, e in loro
rispettoso del ciel i detti adoro.

BENIAMINO
Ah non tradisca mai
questo silenzio ingrato
le brame di virtù: ne’ detti tuoi
sento l’ignota forza,
onde in noi di pietade,
di santo amor i più sinceri affetti
anima il ciel. Conosco
che Dio favella in te[15] comprendo a lui
a qual segno sei caro,
e mille di virtù dottrine imparo.

(a) Gen. c. 41. v. 39.115

GIACOBBE
Continue, do not stop, kind son,
in the better direction of the soft tenor
of these words; in my soul,
I feel them resonate so happily,
that to heaven I am rising up with my mind, and,
through them, I respectfully adore heaven’s sayings.

BENIAMINO
Ah, may this ungrateful silence
never betray
the craving for virtue: in your sayings,
I feel the unknown strength,
whereby heaven inspires in us
the most sincere feelings of piety,
of holy love. I know
that God speaks in you; I understand by that sign
that you are dear to him,
and I learn a thousand doctrines of virtue.

115 See Gian Luca Bandini’s 1749 libretto, GIUSEPPE GLORIFICATO IN EGITTO/ORATORIO/Da cantarsi nell Colletio Nazareno/PERS ADOMBRARE LE GLORIE/DEL BEATO GIUSEPPE/CALASANZIO/Fontatore de’ Cherici Regolari delle Scuole Pie/GLORIFICATO IN TERRA/NELLA SOLENE SUA BEATIFICAZIONE,/IN ROMA MDCCLXIX./Nella Stamperia di Giovanni Zempel presso Monte Giordano./CON LICENZA DE’ SUPERIORI., x, Misc. Nazareno 11-1, Bibl. Scol. A detailed account of this oratorio, in the context of the
Once more, key terms belonging to the semantic field of “mind” are prominent in this recitative dialogue. In first place, Giacobbe’s expression “to heaven I am rising up with my mind” is eloquent with reference to the Catholic Enlightenment goal of explaining the rational approach to faith, and it is consistent with Giacobbe’s further statements: “heaven is speaking through you” (*In te ragiona il cielo*), as he declares in the final ensemble in the first part. This vision is confirmed in Beniamino’s address to his brother, quoted above. As can be seen, in the last four *versi sciolti*, three verbs expressing a cognitive action (“I know,” “I understand,” and “I learn”) round out his speech as cornerstones. In fact, their salience at the end of the line is caused, in the two first cases, by a remarkable enjambment. Jommelli’s treatment of those lines in the recitative betrays his intention to musically enhance their impact on the listener by controlling delivery, or rhetorical *pronunciatio* (Example 2.3). Particularly, Jommelli slows the pace at the word *conosco* (“I know”). From this moment until the end, pitch repetition in the vocal line yields a more varied melodic profile, including a subtle patterning that creates a musical paronomasia in order to highlight the relation between the expressions *conosco* and *comprendo* (“I understand”). This is paralleled by harmonic activity, including a move along the circle of fifths (C Major: \( V^6/vi \rightarrow vi \rightarrow V^6/V \rightarrow V^6 \rightarrow I^6 \)), with which this recitative fragment ends, having, thus, musically amplified the content of the libretto.

representation of Calasanz’s holiness, as a means of projecting certain values of the Catholic Enlightenment, is given in Chapter 3.
Arguably, as the youngest of Giacobbe’s children, according to the biblical account, Beniamino’s attitude of “knowing,” “understanding,” and “learning” virtue ideally mirrored what was expected from the young convittori attending the Collegio Nazareno, if one is to take into account the Collegio’s official Regulations. Chapter Ⅸ therein, indeed, is entirely devoted to the “Practice of Christian virtues” (Pratica di virtù christiane), and encourages students to “moderate” their “passions” and the
“tyranny of senses” with their “mind and will, by means of devotion,” thus showing the same type of imbrication between mental capacities and spiritual disposition enacted through the roles in the Bandini-Jommelli 1749 oratorio, and reflecting Catholic-Enlightenment principles.\textsuperscript{116}

In a similar way, in the end, it is relevant how Fede (Faith), a theological virtue (of supernatural origins, according to Catholic theology), is embodied in a role with intellectual capacities, able to affect one’s mind, in the Bandini-Jommelli cantata for 1750. The ongoing dialogue, in the cantata, in which the three theological virtues discuss which of them will lead in raising the Virgin Mary, after her birth, leaves us with significant passages like this:

\begin{center}
\text{SPERANZA} \\
Se mi seconda il Ciel, \\
\text{SPERANZA} \\
If Heaven supports me
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\text{FEDE} \\
Benigno il Cielo \\
se al mio pensier consente, \\
\text{FEDE} \\
Heaven would be kind \\
if it permits my thinking,
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\text{SPERANZA} \\
io nutrirò quel cor, \\
\text{SPERANZA} \\
i will nurture that heart,
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\text{FEDE} \\
io quella mente. \\
Quella mente per me del lume eterno \\
lo offriranno i pensieri \\
\text{FEDE} \\
I [will nurture] that mind. \\
That mind will mirror, through myself, \\
the brightness of the eternal light;\textsuperscript{b} and, even while my mysteries, dressed in light, \\
[dreaming,
\end{center}

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{116} See “Regolamenti,” MS, Reg. Prov. 36, 15, AGSP; as published in Calcagni et al., \textit{I Regolamenti}, 92.
investiti da luce i miei misteri. will provide it with thoughts.

(b) S. Aug. Serm. De nat. Dom.\textsuperscript{117} (b) Saint Augustine, On the Lord’s Nativity.

As can be seen, from the point of view of Catholic Enlightenment thought, this dialogue, rendered musically as an ensemble number, appears to portray reason, thinking, the mind—whose term is highlighted by means of an anadiplosis here—and, arguably, by extension, philosophy, as allies of faith, to paraphrase Amaduzzi’s previously mentioned lecture before the Arcadian shepherds. Even the act of faith par excellence in the history of Christianity, namely Mary’s \textit{fiat}, whereby God became incarnate, according to Catholic theology, is reported in terms of the “mind,” in this cantata, through Amore Divino’s voice: \textit{“Fede. The Word of a God passes to the mind/of the new-born babe,/from the mind, it directly passes to that bosom./Thus, by the unknown work of the higher ineffable Spirit/the eternal Word takes human form.”}\textsuperscript{118} And the issue of grace’s action in Mary, and the devotionalism attached to her figure, indeed, leads us to another recurrent topic in reformist Catholicism, in connection with Enlightenment, which is the topic of the next section.


\textsuperscript{118} Ibid., xv. “La Parola di un Dio passa alla mente/dell’alma Pargoletta,/dalla mente a quel sen passa ristretta,/Quindi per opra ignota/dello Spirto ineffabile superno,/prende sembianze d’Uomo il Verbo eterno.”
That the consideration, within the intellectual assumptions of the Catholic Enlightenment, of a given devotion as superstitious would depend, to a considerable extent, on the reasonability of the doctrine on which it was based, is suggested, in the librettos of the Collegio Nazareno, by excerpts like the following one. In it, the roles standing for the persons of the Trinity, i.e., Padre Eterno, Figlio Increato, and Spirito d’Amore, after attributing to the Virgin Mary many spiritual graces, issue a significant warning.

PADRE
Ma tanti pregi accolti
se in un’alma rimira, e in una spoglia
bugiardo il mondo in giudicar,(c) potria
a scorno nostro idolatrar MARIA.(d)
Tanto ardir si prevenga.

PADRE
But if the world should admire
so many welcomed merits in one soul,
and, in judging(c) in a deceitful way,
should, to our shame, come to idolize MARY,(d)
such boldness is to be prevented.

AMORE
Onta sì rea
non s’alzi a provocar de’ nostri sdegni
la temuta ragion.

AMORE
May such guilty shame
not arise to induce
the dreaded reason of our indignation.

(c) Mendaces Filii hominum in stateris. Psal. 61. v. 10.
(d) S. Epiph. haeres. 79. de Collyridianis loquitur, qui Mariam tanquam Deum colebant.

(c) The children of man [are] liars in the balance. Ps. 62: 9.
(d) Epiphanius of Salamis, Adversus Haereses, 79. It is said of the Collyridians, that they worshipped Mary as a Goddess.
As can be read, the warning in Bandini’s libretto is explicit, as far as Marian devotionalism is concerned. It is nothing less—from the viewpoint of Christian theology—than the role Padre Eterno who admonishes against possible excesses in venerating the Virgin Mary. And, again, early Church Fathers, through marginal notes, provide a historical perspective on doctrinal truths, including the evidence, for example, based on Epiphanius’s *Panarion* (or *Adversus Haereses, ca. 375*, as it is quoted in the libretto), for an old heresy, namely, Collyridianism, whose followers were supposed to have adored the Virgin Mary as a divinity.

The endorsement of a “regulated” and, in this sense, “enlightened” devotion, rather than an allegedly idolatrous one, and the historical consciousness underlying the references to old heresies, as acknowledged through references to early Church Fathers, constitutes another of the leitmotifs of Enlightenment, and has in Ludovico Antonio Muratori (1672-1750) one of its leading proponents, through works like his *De ingeniorum moderatione in religionis negotio* (Paris, 1714), *De superstitione vitanda* (Milan, 1742), and *Della regolata devozione de’ Cristiani* (Venice, 1747). In the first of these, for example, Muratori declares: “I call excessive religion excessive zeal without sufficient reason, a zeal, as the Apostle says, in disagreement with science, a zeal closely related to superstition.” Particularly, he declares that “not only zeal and piety are to be considered, but also science, exact logic, and the criticism and erudition of Antiquity, as well as the maximum prudence in everything.”\(^\text{119}\) In the end, for

\(^{119}\) See Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *De ingeniorum moderatione in religionis negotio* (Paris: Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1714), 99 and 252; also quoted in Mario Rosa, *Settecento religioso: Politica della ragione e religione del cuore* (Venezia: Marsilio, 1999), 249. “Nimiam religionem, appello zelum sine ratione exuberantem, zelum, ut Apostolus ait, non secundum scientiam, zelum superstitioni affinem.” “[…] non
Muratori, “excesses” occur because piety is either “out of measure” or “wrongly oriented.” The tendency to endorse this perspective on piety is unequivocal in some of the librettos written for the Collegio Nazareno, like that quoted above. I suggest that, in this rhetorical endorsement, aimed at controlling the boundaries of doxic (Enlightenment) religiosity, the turn to empirical sciences in the search for modern categories and appropriate metaphors played a major persuasive role at the Nazareno.

Further evidence and ponderation of the presence of the sort of admonitions against superstition and idolatry typical of eighteenth-century reformist Catholicism, in the musical works of the Nazareno, is provided in what follows. But, in this context, this task cannot be aptly undertaken without taking into account, on the one hand, the strong commitment of the Piarist order to Marian devotion, and, on the other hand, the specific importance of the Collegio Nazareno as a leading institution in the teaching of empirical sciences.

It is worth noting, first, that science and piety were actually intended to go hand in hand in Piarist schools and, with particular emphasis, at the Collegio Nazareno, where they took the form of cultural practices. The enactment of this binomial, already explicitly displayed in the order’s motto “Piety and Letters,” is remarkably dramatized in the libretto for Giovanni Niccola Rinieri Redi’s 1749 work, L’unione della pietà colle lettere, a componimento performed in Florence on the occasion of Calasanz’s

solus zelus, non sola pietas consulenda est, sed scientia quoque, et logica perfecta, et critica et eruditio antiquitatis, et omnium maxime prudentia.”

120 Ibid.
Figure 2.2: Frontispiece of the libretto for Giovanni Niccola Rinieri Redi’s componimento, to be performed in Florence, 1749. Photograph by Ignacio Prats Arolas

Dell’ego Mondo a illuminar la gente
dopo il primo errore, il sò, restammo

In order to enlighten this sick world’s people,
after the first error, I know, we both stay
entrambe in terra. Io dall’umano ingegno
la nebbia a disgombrare, i moti, i voli
a regolare; e la Pietà nel cuore
belle fiamme a destar d’un santo Amore;
onde per Noi congiunte
reso l’umone e pio, godesse in Terra
la sua felicità; ma de’ mortali
l’indole tralignante
si bell’uso corruppe. Ognor disgiunta
dalla Pietà, divenni un ombra, un nome
senza corpo e soggetto: alle contese,
al fasto, ed al piacere,
non al pubblico ben, non alle vere
virtù io servo: [...] Alme incaute che tanto sudate
per le vie d’un falso sapere,
voi dal fonte più lonti ne andate
perché guida non è la Pietà.
Son fra loro Scienza, e Pietade,
come faci, che un lume le accende,
come Rivi, che han vita da un fonte,
language questa, se quella non splende,
Né uno ha l’onda, se l’altro non l’ha.

PIETÀ
Ed io frattanto, o Nume,
priva della Compagna
quell’immagine ho mai! Ruvida al tratto,
melancolica al genio, aspra al costume,
disperazzabile al fin sembro ad ognuno.
Quindi gelide, e sole
son l’are mie; [...]¹²¹

PIETY
And, meanwhile, oh God,
deprived of my partner,
what an image do I have!
melancholic in character, rough in custom,
in the end, I seem to be contemptible to everyone.
And thus, frozen and solitary,
are my altars; [...]
beatification (Figure 2.2), based on a three-part dialogue between Amor Divino, Pietà, and Scienza, of which the following excerpt is representative. In it, Scienza’s recitative and aria might stand, by themselves, as representative of the cooperation between science—the privileged daughter of enlightened reason and devotion—as the expression of faith, longed for by Catholic reformists like Muratori.

In the portion excerpted, there is hardly a line that does not refer to a key term or image relevant to Catholic Enlightenment devotionalism, as understood in Muratori’s mentioned works, to which I will return. Thus, if science “separated” from piety is no longer useful to the “public welfare,” humankind’s “happiness,” or the cultivation of “true virtues,” thereby becoming a “shadow,” a means to enter into “disputes,” and to display “pomp,” science without piety becomes “despicable to everyone.” On the contrary, together, both of them would illuminate people, like the “torches” lighted by a “lamp.”

The metaphor of the “two torches” would probably call for Enlightenment-related interpretants in the minds of the listeners. Antoine-Adrien Lamourette, for example, in his Pensées sur la philosophie de la foi (Paris: 1789), would rely on it for the sake of explaining “reasonable belief” as “the coordination of reason and revelation,” in the sense that “they did not contradict because by definition, as the two God-given ‘lights,’ they could not.”122 For the French priest and politician, thus, “Reason and revelation get along infinitely better than their interpreters. […] These two torches

122 Sorkin, The Religious Enlightenment, 12.
are taken from […] the same light; they never spoil each other and conflict except in the hands of man.”

Regarding specific Marian piety, to begin with, it may be recalled here that, as one fervently devoted to the Virgin Mary, founder Joseph Calasanz’s lifetime work was dedicated to the Virgin, as the full name of the order expresses: Order of the Poor Clerics Regular of the Mother of God of the Pious Schools (Ordo Clericorum Regularium pauperum Matris Dei Scholarum Piarum). Accordingly, Marian devotion pervaded many aspects of daily life in the Piarist institutions, including the instruction of novices and students. Just a glance at the yearly calendar of celebrated feasts at the Collegio Nazareno suffices to assess the importance of Marian devotionalism in the life of the convivitori. In fact, the majority of the vocal works composed for the Collegio Nazareno were commissioned, as stated elsewhere, for the celebration of the Nativity of the Virgin, on September 8. Moreover, the performance of the cantata, entrusted to the Accademia degli Incolti in cooperation with the Marian Congregazione Lauretana, in residence at the Collegio, used to serve as the closure of the accademia de belle lettere, which, in turn, marked the end of the school year.

The daily schedule provides even more relevant information in this regard. Thus, the 1693 “Regulations” of the Collegio Nazareno, Chapter iv, relative to the “[spiritual]


124 Reproduced in Calcagni et al., I Regolamenti, 122-130. The calendar, printed, and preserved in the archive of the Collegio Nazareno (without location number), dates back from 1755, and includes, among all of the official festivities of the Catholic calendar at that time, all of the Marian feasts, for which particular prayers are sometimes recommended.
exercises of the youngsters” (*Esecitii quotidiani dei giovani*), establish that “the
important devotions of the Blessed Virgin, under whose patronage our Collegio is
situated, may not fail to be recited every day.” Particularly, a handwritten summary
of the “Regulations,” probably dating from the 1730s, expanding on this point,
declares that

the Convittori of this Collegio Nazareno will have always to keep in mind
the reason why they were brought to the Collegio by their parents, i.e., in
order to be educated in the Holy fear of God, and trained in the Sciences.
Regarding the first [aspect], they will start the working day invoking
divine help through the intercession of the most Blessed Virgin, by
reciting the rosary […].
Likewise, in addition to the recitation of the third part of the rosary while
kneeling down, they will recite the little Crown in honor of the most Holy
Name of Mary […].
Besides, everyone will have a special devotion to the most Blessed Virgin
Mary, […] honoring her every day by privately reciting her Office, in
addition to the corresponding common feasts of the day.  

The “little Crown” is a prayer composed by Calasanz himself, and based on the image
of a “woman clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet, and on her head a
crown of twelve stars” (Rev: 12, 1); an image constituting an iconographic type of the
Virgin in visual arts since medieval times, which would potentially acquire particular
connotations in the context of Enlightenment culture due to its connection to the

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125 See the “Regolamenti,” MS, Reg. Prov. 36, 15, AGSP; as published in Calcagni et al., ibid., 77. “[…] purche non lasci di recitare ogni giorno la devotione così importante della B.ma Vergine; sotto il di cui patrocinio il Collegio nostro si ritrova.”

126 As published ibid., 108. “I convittori di questo Collegio Nazareno dovranno sempre tener fisso nella memoria il fine per cui sono stati posti da Loro Genitori in Collegio, cioè, per esser educati nel santo timor di Dio, e istruiti nelle Scienze. Che però riguardo al primo cominceranno la giornata con invocare l’aiuto Divino mediante l’intercessione della B.ma Vergine, recitando il Rosario […]. Reciteranno parimente ogni giorno, oltre la terza parte del Rosario in ginocchio, anche la Coroncina in onore del SS.mo Nome di Maria […]. In oltre avranno tutti una special divizione verso la SS.ma Vergine Maria sotto la cui particular protezione è fondato questo Collegio, onorandola ogni giorno colla recita privata del suo Offizio, oltre la Comune nelle Feste destinate.” The handwritten document is preserved at the Collegio Nazareno without date or location number.
semantic field of “light.” This iconographic type was omnipresent in the hallways of Piarist buildings, in the form of sculptures and paintings, and is frequently referred to in the cantatas specifically composed for the Nativity of the Virgin at the Collegio Nazareno, as well. There can be no doubt that, in this sense, the performance of these cantatas contributed to the inculcation of Marian devotion in the young convivitori.

The excerpt from the Regulations just quoted, includes, on the other hand, a reference to knowledge of the sciences as the other goal of their educational program, along with piety or devotion (“the Holy Fear of God”). This fact is relevant as far as the regulation of devotion, and the rejection of superstition, is concerned, as I will illustrate below. Regarding the practice of empirical sciences at the Collegio Nazareno, as stipulated in its Regulations, looking back to September, 1763, for one last time, will be instructive. A few days after the performance of Rinaldo di Capua’s L’Arca del testamento, in which the liberation of Regina Saba from “superstition” and her conversion to the “God of Israel” is portrayed, and one day prior to the public debate about Martino Natali’s theological thesis—in which “natural religion” was regarded as insufficient for salvation and discussed in earlier pages—a scientific demonstration took place at the Collegio Nazareno:

At the aforementioned Collegio Nazareno, particularly in the great hall, richly and pompously adorned, the usual virtuous accademia of experiments in physics, performed and presented by those noble

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127 See, for example, the cantatas for the years 1747, 1750, 1751, 1752, 1753 (including an aria based on this image), 1754, 1757 (including an aria based on this image, as well), 1762, or 1765. In all instances, the biblical source of the image is referred to through marginal notes, which sometimes include glosses by a Church Father on the topic. For the titles, librettists, composers, and other documentary evidences referring to those compositions, see Careri, Catalogo, 17-20.
convittori, took place on Tuesday. The convitore Duke Serbelloni gave the introduction. Then, five dissertations were presented: the first one, about light and colors, by Mr Giuseppe Casati de Marchesi of Pastina; the second one, about the contraction of muscles, by Mr Antonio Crivelli Visconti; the third one, on the proportions that must be given to the front wheels of a coach, by Mr Costanzo Trombetti; the fourth one, about the propagation of sound independently from the air, by Mr Flamicio Zappi; and the fifth one, about the cause of the aurora borealis, according to Mr Mairan, by Antonio Morone; these dissertations were interspersed with a dialogue on the quantity of invisible transpiration, in which the gentle convittori Fabio de Vecchi, Alessandro Belloni, and Zanobi Banchieri, partook. His Excellency the Ambassador of Venice was among the numerous noblemen attending the event, and everyone praised very much the skills of those young noblemen, because of their explanations, as well as their preparation and performance of their most beautiful experiments. 128

In effect, stemming from the formation of a “true Galileian school within the order, between the years 1640 and 1670,”129 the Collegio Nazareno was one of the leading Italian institutions in the practice and teaching of empirical sciences, which “distinguished itself for the space given to the study of mathematics (arithmetic, algebra, and geometry) and physics, as well as civil and military architecture and

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128 See DO, September 1763, n. 7209. “Nel disopranominato Collegio Nazareno, e propriamente nella sud. gran sala ricamente , e pomposamente ornata, vi fu tenuta Martedì la solita virtuosa Accademia di Fisiche sperienze fatte e spiegate da quei Cavalieri Convittori, de quali fece la Prefazione il Sig. Con: D. Gio: de Duchi Serbelloni. Vi furono poi cinque Dissertazioni, la prima sopra la luce, e colori del Sig. Giuseppe Casati de Marchesi di Pastina; la seconda sopra la contrazione de’ muscoli del Sign. D. Antonio Crivelli Visconti; la terza sopra la proporzione, che deve assegnarse alle ruote anteriori in una carozza del Sig. D. Costanzo Trombetti; la quarta sopra la propagazione del suono indipendentemente dall’aria del Sig. Cor: Flamicio Zappi; e la quinta sopra la causa dell’Aurora Boreale assegnata dal Sig. Mairan del Sig. Antonio Morone; inframezzate dette Dissertazione da un dialogo sulla quantità dell’insensibile traspirazione nel quale interloquirono il Signori Con: Fabio de Vecchi, Alessandro Belloni, e Zanobi Banchieri. Vi fu un numeroso intervento di Nobilità, tra la quale Sua Eccellenza il Signor Ambasciatore Veneto, avendo tutti applauditò sommamente l’abilità di quei giovani Cavalieri, si nello spiegare, che nel preparare, ed eseguire le loro bellissime sperienze.”

geography, which were included in the course on Philosophy.”\textsuperscript{130} This approach to modern science continued well into the eighteenth century. Indeed, it was then, under the governance of Urbano Tosetti, for example, when the experimental approach to the teaching of physics, including public demonstrations like that of 1763, was introduced in the Collegio; when a mineralogical museum was founded, by Vicenzo Petrini; and when a school of human anatomy sul vero was created by Damaso Michetti.\textsuperscript{131}

However, not only Piarists teaching at the Collegio Nazareno gained fame in various disciplines. One of the most popular contributions to the spreading of modern science in eighteenth-century continental Europe was authored by a former convittore at the Collegio Nazareno, Francesco Algarotti (1712-1764). His essay \textit{Il Newtonianismo per le dame ovvero dialoghi sopra la luce e i colori} (Naples, 1737), which became a best-seller, aimed at explaining some of Newton’s experiments on the phenomenon of light and color. Newtonianism, in fact, was part of the scientific culture of the Nazareno, which explains the participation of the convittore Giuseppe Casati in the aforementioned accademia of physics of 1763, among others, precisely covering the topic of “light and colors.” Moreover, this Newtonian orientation, was one of the clear divergences of the Piarists, in the consideration of empirical sciences, from the Jesuits, who were, at least initially, “reluctant to accept Newton’s theories.”\textsuperscript{132}

\textsuperscript{130} Ibid., 188.

\textsuperscript{131} See Vannucci, \textit{Il Collegio Nazareno}, 118-122.

After considering religious and scientific culture and its associated practices at the Collegio Nazareno, one can better understand how the admonitions against idolatry and superstition, with particular emphasis on Marian devotionalism—deeply rooted at Piarist institutions, as illustrated—were effectively encapsulated in several of the librettos, through metaphors involving references to natural phenomena in the same experimental terms as those used in public scientific demonstrations. This is a fundamental fact, for it means that the young *convittori*, professors, noblemen, theologians, and churchmen, who customarily attended the scholarly *accademie* at the Collegio Nazareno, possessed—or would be able to develop—in their “long-term memory” a “set of mappings” between the domains of Marian devotion and natural sciences, in terms of conceptual-metaphor theory. Particularly, references to the topic of light and color, reflection and refraction, including direct quotations from Isaac Newton’s *Opticks* (London, 1704), as marginal notes, significantly appear, with a specific intention, I contend, in several of the vocal works composed for the Collegio Nazareno. Among these, Niccolò Jommelli’s composition for 1752, with libretto by Gian Luca Bandini, and Marcello di Capua’s *L’Iride o sia l’arco di pace*, performed in 1777, with libretto by the Piarist literati Francesco Fasce, stand out.

The first of the two cases, Jommelli’s 1752 cantata, is actually the one discussed at the beginning of this subchapter. It is significant because, immediately after warning against the tendency to “idolize Mary,” either by excess of worship or by an incorrect doctrine, to speak with Muratori, the Trinitarian role of Padre, turns to the physical phenomenon of light reflection in order to explain why the Virgin Mary should not be

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worshipped “as a Godess”: her “silvering,” like the moon’s, is only caused by the “divine light,” i.e., the sun, meaning God. This allegory had several advantages from the point of view of Catholic Enlightenment culture: first, it could be understood in terms of modern-day science, through Newtonian categories; second, it connected to early patristic literature, as the librettist carefully indicates through the marginal notes referring to Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, Ignatius of Antioch, and Ephrem the Syrian; third, it implied a simple logic, based on the understandable—and unstated—

PADRE
Io di tal pregio
le virtù vestirò della sublime
privilegiata Figlia,
che alzando a Lei le ciglia
il mondo ammiratore, lume divino
in Lei rasserà; ma sol quel lume,
che inargenta la luna,
che gli astri erranti indora: ardenti, e belli
fin che il Sol li rimira;
Morti, se il Sole i guardi suoi ritira.

PADRE
I will clothe
the virtues of the sublime,
privileged daughter,
in such honor that, in looking up to her,
the admiring world will recognize
divine light in her; but only that light
which silvers the moon,
which gilds the wandering stars: glowing and beautiful as long as the sun looks on.
They die if the sun withdraws its gaze.


(e) Regarding this, see [Pseudo-] Dionysius the Areopagite, [Pseudo-] Ignatius of Antioch, First Epistle to St. John, Ephrem the Syrian, Oratio in praise of the Virgin, and others.

premise that a body that is not a true source of light does not deserve adoration. All three aspects were part of the intellectual agenda of the Catholic Enlightenment. In fact, Muratori uses exactly this allegory when addressing the possible excesses in
Marian worshiping in his *Della regolata devozione de’ cristiani*: “Is Mary, perhaps, greater than God? […] On the contrary, in comparison with God, this most happy creature has no splendor, and if she does shine, everything acknowledges that her light comes from God, himself.” 134

Padre’s ideas, uttered through recitative, are then condensed in the aria “Come girar lo sguardo,” based on the aforementioned allegory, but now explicitly referring to the phenomenon of light refraction. In it, it is tempting to see Jommelli’s use of a reverse-dotting motive as an auditory cue to the concept of “turning” (*girar*) explicitly present in the text, and implicit in the concept of refraction, which involves a turn in the direction of light beams. Although this type of motive is typical of the Galant style, which is also noticeable in the graceful and overdecorated vocal line, the presence of regular dotted rhythms in different places makes the match between the reverse-dotting motive in the ritornello (m. 1) and the expression “girar lo sguardo” (m. 13) stand out.

PADRE

*Come girar lo sguardo*

How to turn one’s gaze

del vivo Sole al volto,

whether captured through the lens,

benchè nel vetro accolto,
or refracted through the Sea?

benchè rifiatto in Mar?

E il raggio suo gagliardo

And, if its strong beam

se bianca nube assale,

attacks a white cloud,

come pupilla frale

like a frail pupil,

lo sguardo a lei girar?

[how] does one’s gaze turn to her [the cloud]?

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134 See Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Della regolata devozione de’ cristiani* (Venezia: Giambatista Albrizi, 1747), 327. “È forse Maria da più di Dio? […] Anzi messa in confronto con Dio questa felicissima Creatura, per se non ha splendore, e se splende, tutto riconosce il suo lume da Dio stesso.”
Example 2.4: Niccolò Jommelli, *Cantata per la Natività della Beata Vergine* (1752), Part II, Padre Eterno’s aria “Come girar lo sguardo” (initial ritornello and first rendition of the text in VP 1)
This image of a light beam going through a cloud as it strikes a pupil constitutes a powerful picture, which would be retaken years later by Francesco Fasce for his libretto *L’Iride*, the second of the aforementioned cases, in which, significantly, it is used to refer to the Virgin Mary, as well. Thus, the last of the arias in the *componimento sacro*, sung by the role Angelo:
ANGELO

Nuvoletta al Sole opposta
l’aureo lume in seno accoglie;
e le tremole faville
ne tramanda alle pupille
dell’attenuto osservator.
Nè si turba o scioglie intanto
di sue parti il nodo amico;
ma le adorna il bruno ammanto
leggiadissimo color. (3)

A little cloud before the Sun
receives the golden light in her breast;
and passes on its trembling sparks
to the pupils
of the attentive observer.
Neither does she worry nor does she loosen
from her members the friendly ties;
but a most graceful color
adorns, meanwhile, her dark clothing. (3)

(3) Maurit. de Vilaprob. serm. 8.
coronae novae B. M. V. Nubes, quia sicut
radius nubens penetrans & exiens non
eam scindit, nec ipsa nubes dividitur; sic
Domina nostra Filium in se recepti, &
carne vestivit, & sine sui corruptione
peperit. 135

(3) Maurice de Villepreux, Nova Corona Mariae
(1512), Sermo VIII [p. 23]. Just as clouds marry
light beams, which penetrate them without
dividing them, thus Our Lady received the Son
in herself, overlaid [him] with flesh, and gave
birth without corruption.

The complementarity with the Bandini-Jommelli aria of 1752 is inescapable. However,
in this case, the aria synthesizes, as it were, previous references to the phenomenon of
refraction and color perception in the libretto. This includes explicit references to
Newton’s treatise, as well as references to biblical, patristic, and exegetic instances of
metaphoric uses of the concept “cloud” as referring to the Virgin Mary, among other
topics, through no fewer than forty-six marginal notes (in thirteen pages). It is
because of cases like this that it is not an exaggeration to consider many of librettos
written for the Collegio Nazareno as true theological exponents of the Catholic
Enlightenment, if in poetic forms, exceeding the purpose of merely serving as a series
of lyrics to be set to music. Just a look at any page in this libretto suffices to

135 See the 1777 libretto by Francesco Fasce, L’IRIDE/O SIA L’ARCO DI PACE/COMPONIMENTO SACRO/
PER LA NATIVITÀ/DELLA/BEATISSIMA VERGINE/IN OCCASIONE/DELLA PUBBLICA ACCADEMIA/NE
COLLEGIO NAZARENO/IN ROMA MDCCXXVII./NELLA STAMPERIA DI GIOVANNI ZEMPEL./CON LICENZA
DE’ SUPERIORI., xiii, 14-12 (formerly E-VIII-13), Bibl. Scol.
demonstrate this unique feature found in many of the librettos written for the Collegio (Figure 2.3).

Only the vocal line with the basso have survived from this aria (Example 2.4).

However, it suffices to determine Marcello di Capua’s musical inventio, which clearly
Example 2.5: Marcello di Capua, *L’iride è sia l’arco di pace* (1777), Part II, Angelo’s aria "Nuvoleta al sole opposta (a. Opening measures of the initial ritornello; and b. Vocal line of VP 1)
Example 2.5: Cont.

Ang.

Bs.

Ang.

Bs.

Ang.

Bs.

Ang.

Bs.

Ang.

Bs.

Ang.

Bs.

Ang.
Example 2.5: Cont.

draws on the affect-laden concept of “trembling sparks” (tremole faville) and which governs both vocal periods. Quite interestingly, Marcello di Capua does not amplify this concept through coloratura passagework, but through intense fluctuation in dynamics (mm. 18-21) and with trills (mm. 47-49), through which the idea of the irisdencent nature of the light is proposed to the audience’s imagination.

Thus, at three points of the componimento’s development Newton is cited. The topic of the libretto, in fact, appears to be apt for this type of commentary, as it is based on the episode of the formation of the rainbow, from Noah’s story, which, of course, depends on light refraction. The first instance coincides with Angelo’s announcement, in a recitative passage, that “in the dense air/the fortunate sign(7) will be seen flaring,(6)” which receives a comment by the librettist in the following terms:

(6) In the Book of Sirach 43: 12, one reads: The rainbow is very beautiful in its brightness. This expression is commensurate with the theory of the
rainbow colors, established, after Descartes and Newton, by the most celebrated philosophers; by virtue of which, they, according to their nature, are made dependent on the attributes and property of light.\footnote{Ibid., v. “Nel capo 43. dell’ Ecclesiastico v. 12. si legge: Valde speciosus est (arcus) in splendore suo. La cual espressione conviene colla teoria de’ colori dell’Iride, stabilita, dopo il Cartesio, ed il Newton da’ più celebri moderni Filosofi; a tenor della quale si affanno a’ medesimi, secondo la stessa loro natura, gli attributi e le proprietà della luce.”}

Once the rainbow has appeared in heaven, Sem, Noè’s son, expresses his astonishment and wonders about an oddly shaped cloud (which represents the Virgin Mary, in association with the rainbow). To him, Angelo responds: “Do you know that the only reason for all the colors, which the Universe boasts about, is the biggest planet\footnote{Ibid., XI. “Isaac Newt. ep. de nova Theor. lucis & color. data Cantabrigia 1671. prop. 1. Colores non sunt lucis qualificaciones ortae ex naturalium corporum refractionibus, aut reflexionibus, ut vulgo creditor; sed primigeniae & congenitae proprietates in diversis radiis diversae. Vedi Newt. opusc. tom. 2. & eiusd. opticae par. 2. sect. 1. ivl.” English version directly taken from Newton’s draft of the work presented to the Royal Society in 1672, MS Add. 3970.3, ff. 460-466, Cambridge University Library, Cambridge, UK; available online at http://www.newtonproject.sussex.ac.uk/view/texts/normalized/NATP00003.}?”

The corresponding marginal note adds this:

\footnote{Ibid., v. “Nel capo 43. dell’ Ecclesiastico v. 12. si legge: Valde speciosus est (arcus) in splendore suo. La cual espressione conviene colla teoria de’ colori dell’Iride, stabilita, dopo il Cartesio, ed il Newton da’ più celebri moderni Filosofi; a tenor della quale si affano a’ medesimi, secondo la stessa loro natura, gli attributi e le proprietà della luce.”}

(3) Isaac Newton, *New Theory of Light and Colors*, given at Cambridge, 1671, Proposition I. “Colours are not qualifications of light derived from refractions or reflections of naturall bodies as ’tis generally believed, but originall & connate properties, which in diverse rayes are divers.” See Newton’s opuscule, vol. 2, concerning optics, Part. 2, section 1, ibid.\footnote{Ibid., XI. “Isaac Newt. ep. de nova Theor. lucis & color. data Cantabrigia 1671. prop. 1. Colores non sunt lucis qualificaciones ortae ex naturalium corporum refractionibus, aut reflexionibus, ut vulgo creditor; sed primigeniae & congenitae proprietates in diversis radiis diversae. Vedi Newt. opusc. tom. 2. & eiusd. opticae par. 2. sect. 1. ivl.” English version directly taken from Newton’s draft of the work presented to the Royal Society in 1672, MS Add. 3970.3, ff. 460-466, Cambridge University Library, Cambridge, UK; available online at http://www.newtonproject.sussex.ac.uk/view/texts/normalized/NATP00003.}

Finally, toward the end of the second part, Angelo explains to Sem and Noè the phenomenon of the cloud, which, when crossed by a light beam, brings forth many colors. This is based, again, on Newton’s essay:

\begin{quote}
ANGELO
Or si diversi e tanti
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
ANGELO
Now, all those varied and numerous
\end{quote}
vivi color, che in cento corpi e cento
di lieve umida mole
tutti ne adombra in strana forma il Sole.
Che penetrando in quelle
l’argentea luce si ripiega e frange
in molti rai distinti.
Altro di questi meno,
ed altro più con successiva legge
de’ liquidi globetti appressa al centro, (1)
Talchè riflessi poi al fosco velo
degli oposti vapori, in varie guise
urta ciascun della pupilla i nervi;
e l’orma vaga, e il brio
ciascun v’imprime del color natio.
Così nel seno dell’augusta Donna
sia che tutte diffonda il Sole eterno
le pure inestinguibile scintille,
che ammirerà divise
l’età futura in mille cuori e mille. (2)


First of all, for a moment, in this fragment, Angelo seems to be reporting Newton’s definitions and experiments through his recitativo, in which the phenomenon of refraction is explained. This is particularly evident in the use of the key verbs “to bend” (ripiegare) and “to break” (frangersi), as they appear together also in the
fragments of Newton’s *Opticks* referred to in the marginal notes. Thus, this excerpt can be considered as a token of Newtonian poetry, in the tradition of scientific poetry in Enlightenment Rome. In fact, this was one of the major forms of instructional or didactic poetry in eighteenth-century Arcadia, of which the “Nazarene” Accademia degli Incolti was a colony, and was usually practiced at the Jesuit Collegio Romano. What is more, the phenomenon of color was considered an apt theme for scientific poetry by a contemporary Jesuit, Giambattista Roberti, in his letter “On the use of science in poetry,” divulged through the three-volume treatise by the ex-jesuit Juan Andrés, *Dell’origine, progressi e stato attuale d’ogni letteratura* (Parma: 1785-1822). Andrés, in turn, praises both the beauty and difficulty of a poem by Carlo Noceti, professor at the Collegio Romano, “explaining why the rainbow and the Northern Lights are beautiful.” These topics, if the reader remembers, had been already covered in the 1763 accademia at the Nazareno. What makes Francesco Fasce’s turn to scientific poetry distinct is the very fact that he is actually writing a libretto to be set to music and his use of the scientific explanation of a meteorological phenomenon as an allegory with persuasive goals.

That phenomenon, as explicitly mentioned by Angelo, accounts, therefore, for the natural formation of the rainbow and functions as a the imaginary term of an allegory, whose meaning is revealed in the last five lines of Angelo’s speech and supported by a biblical and theological gloss. According to it, light beams refracting through water

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drops and thereby bringing about the phenomenon of color perception, would stand for divine grace passing through Mary’s bosom, to bring about all her virtues. Here, two aspects are relevant regarding the turn to a natural phenomenon and the Catholic-Enlightenment goal of fighting against superstition.

First, while Angelo’s explicit account, in scientific terms, of the formation of the rainbow as a natural phenomenon excludes any other superstitious explanation for its origins, it does not preclude the believer’s interpretation of it as a divine sign. And for this purpose, the authority of the Benedictine exegete and historian Augustine Calmet (1672-1757) is called upon, as can be read in the marginal note accompanying this portion of the dialogue.  

SEM
Ma dimmi, o di Colui, che in Cielo impera
nunzio fedel: non è quell'Iri istessa,
che tante volte e tante
fù vista colorar d'umide nubi
il cavo seno?

SEM
But, tell me, faithful messenger of Him,
who rules Heaven: is not that rainbow the same
as those seen so many times
coloring the hollow breast
of the humid clouds?

140 The relatively frequent quotations, in the librettos of the Collegio Nazareno, of Calmet’s *Commentaire littéral sur tous les livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau testament* (1707) is one more indicator of the theological and intellectual atmosphere in the Piarist institution. As a token of Calmet’s profile, it is worth mentioning that he “became friend of Jean Mabillon,” and “was no doubt a quiet and genuine supporter of Jansenism.” As for his work, it “demonstrates a synthesis between monastic erudition and receptiveness to the Enlightenment, a progressive evolution toward the secularization of fields of study that was found among the Maurists of the same period.” See Daniel-Odon Hurel and Betsy Wing, “Calmet, Augustin,” in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, ed. Alan Charles Kors (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press: 2005), http://www.oxford-enlightenment.com/entry?entry=t173.e100, accessed 20 August 2012. He, in the end, is considered “one of the best Catholic exegetes of the 18th century. He endeavored to adhere to the literal sense at a time when the influence of J. B. Bossuet had made spiritual and mystical interpretation of Scripture supreme.” See M. Strange, “Calmet, Augustin (Antoine),” *New Catholic Encyclopedia*. 
Within the intellectual trends of Catholic Enlightenment, the basic effect of this type of account appears to point to the reconciliation between the understanding of the natural causes of natural phenomena, facilitated by modern science, with their interpretation, by virtue of one’s faith, as divine signs. This trend is indeed related to the turning away from “Baroque piety,” with its proclivity toward considering mystic raptures, visions, and miracles of allegedly supernatural origins as the hallmark of sanctity.141

In the second and last place, it is necessary to note that referring to phenomena like reflection and refraction as the imaginary terms of tropologic accounts for the ways supernatural grace acts in the Virgin Mary, according to Catholic doctrine, was an intelligent approach, on the librettists’ part, to persuasion in the context of “regulated” Marian devotion and the “inner rationality” of faith. And it provides

141 For a complete development of this idea, see Rosa, Settecento religioso, 47-74, 244-262.
evidence to see “narrative, metaphor, metonymy, and a host of rhetorical figures not as ‘devices’ for structuring or decorating extraordinary texts but instead as fundamental social and cognitive tools.”

It can be generally accepted that, in the context of an institution like the Collegio Nazareno, intensely devoted to the practice of empirical sciences, the efforts directed towards accounting for natural phenomena in scientific terms were well considered. Actually, that is what the accademie of experimental physics, regularly celebrated at the Collegio, were all about. This is central, for “metaphors are both cognitive and affective in their intended meaning, and the full import of a metaphorical expression is satisfactorily resolved only with the aid of the affective meaning.” And this would happen at the Collegio Nazareno, upon reading a libretto and listening to the singer’s Angelo voice, by virtue of an affective “valence transfer” from the imaginary term (i.e., “moon light,” “rainbow,” and “cloud,” as instances of light reflection and refraction, susceptible of scientific explanation) to the real term (i.e., “Mary,” in which divine grace operates) of the allegory. This means that the cognitive prestige, so to speak, of empirical sciences could be attributed to the domain of theology. After all, both disciplines shared prominence in the scholarly accademie hosted by the institution, like that of 1763, mentioned in earlier pages.

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143 See Sopory, “Metaphor and Affect”: 435.

144 On the idea of “valence transfer,” see ibid., 439n7.
Moreover, structure-mapping theory defines metaphor as “an assertion that a relational structure that normally applies in one domain can be applied in another domain.”¹⁴⁵ This suggests that audiences attending the annual performances at the Collegio Nazareno would, more or less unconsciously, establish a “relational mapping,”¹⁴⁶ according to which the way supernatural grace they believed to act in “Mary” would be understandable in reasonable terms, terms analogous to those by means of which the phenomena “moon-light,” “rainbow,” and “cloud” actually were explained through Newtonian physics.

Based on this cognitive and affective process, one is entitled to state that the use of this sort of analogy, simile, and metaphor, which abound in the librettos written for the Collegio Nazareno, played a major role in pursuing one of the main goals of Catholic Enlightenment. Particularly, they helped to communicate the “inner rationality” of faith, and to conjure the shadows of superstition and idolatry away from Marian devotion. With this purpose, in the vocal works of the Nazareno, matters of faith and devotion were presented as based on Scriptures, subject to historical criticism, and understandable through analogies dwelling on modern scientific language.


¹⁴⁶ “This view posits that metaphors convey a system of connected knowledge, not a mere collection of independent facts. In interpreting a metaphor, people attempt to obtain a maximum structural match between target [real term, A] and base [imaginary term, B] by seeking a relational mapping.” See Sopory, *Metaphor and Affect*, 444.
Recapitulation (with a Comment on Theology, Sciences and Power)

The historiographic category “Catholic Enlightenment” provides a theoretical framework in which certain aspects and practices of eighteenth-century Catholicism are better understood. This framework overcomes a “post-Tridentine” approach, under which those aspects and practices would be interpreted as vestiges of past times. The Catholic-Enlightenment paradigm, in fact, allows us to place the content of the vocal works composed for the Collegio Nazareno during the major part of the Settecento within broader aspects of contemporary culture. Thus the main leitmotifs of a Catholic-Enlightenment culture are intertextually readable in the vocal works under examination: a new theology, with Jansenist roots, based on biblical exegesis and patristics, the attempt to explain the “inner rationality” of faith, or the fight against superstition and idolatry are prominent in this sense. Different means were used by librettists and composers in order to emphasize these features, among which the creation of a hypertext level through the body of marginal notes and the turn to rhetorical maneuverings stand out. The creation of a hypertext level makes the librettos published by the editor Giovanni Zempel for the Collegio Nazareno into unique pieces of poetic theology. The turn to rhetorical maneuverings makes tropes play a remarkable role in the projection of Catholic Enlightenment patterns of thought, particularly those tropes involving terms of modern science. Composers, of course, were usually sensitive to these literary features so as to amplify them through musical means.
The theological tensions between pro- and anti-Jansenists in eighteenth-century Rome, in the midst of which the Collegio Nazareno seemed to be situated—and epitomized here by Natali’s amendments to Bellarmine’s *Dottrina*—were a part and an expression of a broader social field of play. This deserves one or two words, by way of conclusion.

Certainly, those pro- and anti-Jansenist tensions did not wane during the eighteenth century. Still toward the end of the century, for example, one could read, in an anti-Jansenist pamphlet, a harsh criticism of the Jansenist man, who

revives and supports the errors of Calvinism […], abuses the name of the Church […], destroys the Hierarchy, and turns the primacy of the pope into a phantom and a servile specter. He who does not respect God, the Virgin, or the Saints, he who disrupts, pulls down, the Power of the Keys [. . .], this man, accepts the Bulls and vomits them, appeals to a future Council, and retracts; declares himself of the Party, and retires. […] spoils the meaning of Scriptures […] and prefers the alleged doctrine of St. Agustine to the Gospels. In sum, being a Jansenist means being a man proud, scandalous, sacrilegious, impostor, hypocrite, slanderous, defamatory, with no law, no faith, an enemy of God and of all men not belonging to the Party […].

This invective illustrates how matters were entangled and the unequivocal suspicion of disobedience under which Jansenists and, what is more significant in this context, philo-Jansenists, usually stood until the end of the eighteenth century. If the Piarist order, as an institution, did not want to be considered a group of “shameless enemies

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of the Court” of Rome, which they obviously could not afford, from the perspective of symbolic and social capital, some signs had to be given. I have already mentioned, in this sense, that Martino Natali was removed from this chair of theology at the Nazareno upon papal request. But this acquiescence was not the only maneuver by which the Piarists, through their flagship Roman institution, preserved their faithfulness to—and social network with—the Holy See. In fact, I suggest that the series of vocal works composed for the Collegio Nazareno, their performances themselves, and the rituals attached to them, were effective means of communication for this purpose, as well. And this was not only because numerous cardinals attended, year after year, and because the pontiffs themselves, on several occasions did, as well: in addition to this, almost every papal enthronement during the eighteenth-century was celebrated with that year’s September cantata or *componimento sacro* at the Collegio Nazareno.\(^{148}\)

In these works, the popes were portrayed as heroes through biblical images and through actual history, which would thus be communicated “as allegory” suggesting the possibility of certain knowledge, as much as the scientific metaphors previously mentioned.\(^{149}\) This is the case with Rinaldo di Capua’s 1758 *componimento, Il Pontefice*.

\(^{148}\) This is, at least, the case of the years 1730 (honoring Clement xii), 1740 (Benedict xiv), 1758 (Clement xiii), 1769 and 1774 (Clement xiv), 1775 (Pious vi). See Careri, *Catalogo*, 16-20.

\(^{149}\) I rely on Peter Burke, “History as Allegory,” *Inti* 45 (1997): 337-51. Burke deals “with a recurrent phenomenon in the history of historical writing which does not seem to have received the attention it surely deserves; the perception and representation of one past event or individual [real, and not mythological] in terms of another.” While “the main concern of the study is with works of history,” he acknowledges that “it proves impossible to isolate these productions from narratives of the past, or indeed from visual representations.” Moreover, he concedes that “the most direct way into the subject may be well be to comment on a few images.” The first issue of his concern is, in fact, “the series of frescoes in the Vatican painted by Raphael and his assistants, representing popes Leo iii and Leo iv.” His point is that “the painted stories of Charlemagne and the Saracens are allegories of Leo x’s relations with emperor Charles v and Ottoman Empire.” Ibid., 337. Of course, this view is particularly applicable.
Jaddo, on a libretto by Gian Luca Bandini, for the glorification of Clement XIII. It is based on Flavius Josephus's *Antiquitates Judaicae* (ca. AD 94), in which the king of Macedon, Alexander the Great, ends up by kneeling before the high priest Jaddo. This metaphorical endorsement of papal rule was very significant in a moment when philo-Jansenists, including the Piarist Martino Natali, were accused of undermining papal authority not only in spiritual matters but also in terms of temporal power, through their purported Gallicanist positions, as the libel quoted above illustrates.

As for the incorporation of modern science, this facet of culture was not exempt from theological and political implications, either. “Notwithstanding his literary smoothness, Algarotti’s *Newtonianismo per le dame*, for example, was considered to be the result of a Masonic plot, and it was put on the Index in May 1738, with the formula *donec corrigatur* (‘until it be corrected’).”¹⁵⁰ This situation, however, would change with Benedict XIV, elected in 1740, “a lifelong friend of Galiani, Bianchini, and other Newtonians,” who had attended their optical experiments in Rome. Under pope Benedict “a sudden flowering of Newtonian studies took place” in several ecclesiastical centers including the University of Rome, where a Newtonian professor of physics and astronomy was appointed, and at the University of Bologna, whose Mathematics and Natural Philosophy chair was as assigned to Gaetana Agnesi by the pope, himself. The Collegio Romano, and, of course, the Collegio Nazareno should be

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added to the list.\textsuperscript{151} In addition to this, Benedict XIV, had a close connection with the Collegio, because of the fact that he played a major role in the beatification process of Joseph Calasanz. This process is relevant regarding the agenda of Catholic Enlightenment, as it would reveal the desire to cast new forms of sanctity. But this story belongs to the next two chapters.

\textsuperscript{151} Ibid.
CHAPTER 3

REPRESENTING SANCTITY IN ENLIGHTENMENT ROME I: NICCOLÒ JOMMELLI’S *GIUSEPPE GLORIFICATO IN EGITTO* (1749)

Music, Arts, and Ritual for Joseph Calasanz’s Beatification and Canonization

*A Note on Saints and Cultural History*

The whole body of saints may be regarded as a system of signs (a system which was, and is, neither static nor closed). In other words, the saints may be studied as a kind of litmus paper sensitive to the changing relationship between the church and the rest of society.¹

With these words, Peter Burke brings to a close a chapter entitled “How to be a Counter-Reformation saint,” from his collection of essays, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*. This chapter opens with a better-known paragraph:

Saints are well worth the attention of cultural historians not only because many of them are interesting as individuals, but also because, like other *heroes*, they reflect the values of the culture in which they are perceived in a *heroic light*.²

Burke’s essay sketches a useful standard profile of the Counter-Reformation saint (for him, all those candidates elevated to altars between 1588 and 1767), giving a “cultural turn” to a series of contributions to what might be considered the prolog to a cultural history of sainthood. His work also contributed to the “reunion of the religious and the


secular, a major desideratum in the writing of eighteenth-century history, which applies not only to historians of religion, but also, *a fortiori*, to political, social, and cultural historians."³

Moreover, Burke’s view fostered a further development in scholarship on this same topic. Recent writings by Thomas Worcester, Simon Ditchfield, Mindy Nancarrow, and Helen Hills are examples of this development.⁴ Of particular interest is the work of Nancarrow and Hills, in which the issue of sainthood is connected to the production of images, to the city as a symbolic space, and to the body, thereby highlighting an aspect that is already present in Burke’s approach: that of mediation and communication. In this sense, if Burke proposes that “the imputation of sanctity, like its converse, the imputation of heresy […], should be seen, like other forms of labeling, as a process of interaction or ‘negotiation’ between centre and periphery,”⁵ Hills goes on to assume that “visual depictions of saints did not simply give form to pre-existing ideas about sanctity; they were a vital part of its production, altering its course,” thereby questioning those approaches that


⁵ Burke, “How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint,” 59.
treat visual representations of saints and place not so much as catalysts for or agents of change in conceptions of the city and/or sanctity, but as passive depositories of ideas formulated elsewhere—in political, social and religious conditions conceived as lying outside the visual.⁶

Adopting this dynamic perspective as a point of departure and moving the center of attention from visual arts to music, yet still within the borders of cultural history, I will discuss, in this and the following chapter, the case of the founder of the Piarists—and of the Collegio Nazareno itself—Joseph Calasanz (1557-1648), primarily by examining the works commissioned by this institution with the purpose of celebrating Calasanz’s beatification and canonization. I refer to the 1749 oratorio Giuseppe glorificato in Egitto, by Niccolò Jommelli (1714-1774), and the componimento sacro, L’Angelo di Tobia, composed in 1768 by Rinaldo di Capua (c. 1714-c. 1780). In order to seek out the meanings these musical works would have originally conveyed regarding Calasanz’s officially proclaimed holiness, they will be considered in an intertextual narrative, that is, in connection with various contemporary artistic manifestations that were part of their immediate symbolic context, as well as various social practices to which they were attached.

There will be two focal points of this report: first, a discussion of cultural products explicitly referring to, that is, mediating in the representation of a figure subjected to a one-hundred-year-long canonization process, not concluded until 1767; second, and based on the analysis of these cultural products, a reference to the consolidating canonization culture in the eighteenth century, which escapes—or, at least, overlaps

⁶ Helen Hills, “How to Look Like a Counter-Reformation Saint,” in Exploring Cultural History: Essays in Honour of Peter Burke, ed. Peter Burke et al. (Farnham, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 209.
with—the covering category “Counter-Reformation,” and which may be considered as an indication of the emerging cultural environment in Rome, namely, that of the Catholic Enlightenment.

*Perceiving Sanctity in Rome: Poetry, Visual Arts, Music*

In a sense, “one is never a saint except for other people.” If one assumes this as a methodological insight, then it is not difficult “to see the problem of the saints as a problem in the history of perception, or, to use the Durkheimian phrase, ‘collective representations,’” as Burke puts it quoting, in turn, the Belgian sociologist Pierre Delooz.7 This holds true especially when sanctioned holiness depended, as it did—beginning with Gregory IX in the thirteenth century and increasingly over generations—on the interaction of witnesses, judges, and a counsel of prosecution, in the context of a trial.

There is still one more ingredient to add to the cultural history of saint-making: the dichotomy between center and periphery: for it was the center, Rome, particularly the Congregation of Sacred Rites and Ceremonies, and ultimately the Pope himself, who retained the authority to bestow the title of saint upon an individual. In other words, it was, in the end, the perception at the center that mattered. Hence, admittedly, “anyone interested in the history of perception has to treat them [officially proclaimed saints]

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as witnesses above all to the age in which they were canonized.”

This viewpoint has proven revealing in the integrated perspective of literary, visual, and sonic experiences that I offer here, in order to interpret the role visual arts, poetry, and, particularly, music played as mediators in the creation/perception of Calasanz’s sanctity. This mediated experience emerged precisely at the very heart of the center, Rome and its cardinals, who were counted among the attendants at the annual cantata performance at the Collegio Nazareno, as they were the principal addressees of this event.

In the absence of living witnesses, the (re)presentation of a would-be-saint in trials rested on a continuum of sources ranging from archival documents, containing factual data, through the types of discourse, with different degrees of historical reliability, originality, and symbolic thickness, found in more elaborated cultural artifacts, which might typically include, provided that the non cultu rule were not contravened, would-be-saints’ own writings, hagiographic biographies, and portraits. These usually took the form of so-called Lives and engraved frontispieces included in them, which were not uncommon in Italy by the mid-seventeenth century, when Calasanz died. By that time, Urban VIII had already issued a decree prohibiting the representation of would-be saints with explicit references to their purported holiness. In fact, “their representation (whether pictorial or textual) was overseen by the Congregation of the

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8 Ibid.; my italics. Worcester, “Saints as Cultural History”: 191, remembers how “the interest of Catholic saints to cultural historians is not limited to the history of perceptions at the time of a canonization. There may be a very long run-up to a canonization, lasting decades or centuries, and it may reveal much about a culture or several cultures.”

9 See Nancarrow, “The 17th-Century Spanish ‘Vida’”: 34.
Index and even more by that of the Holy Office."\textsuperscript{10} Therefore, only after candidates to sainthood had gained official recognition through beatification could they be represented with the iconographic attributes of holiness. This milestone in their posthumous careers for public veneration usually involved their appearance in major artistic genres, including musical productions like those under consideration here. This explains the accumulation of artistic manifestations referring to, honoring, and representing Joseph Calasanz after 1748, when he was beatified.

\textit{The Face of Holiness in Enlightenment Rome: the Case of Joseph Calasanz}

Many artistic manifestations explicitly celebrated Calasanz’s elevation to the altars, but undoubtedly they also carried out some other implicit functions beyond outward salutation. By displaying, before a select public or audience, the founder’s attributes of sanctity, the Piarists and their Roman institutions also modulated their demand for spiritual authority, which can be considered a species of symbolic capital. The means of gaining and keeping such authority and its attached symbolic capital included the contents of the printed librettos of Jommelli’s and Di Capua’s works, along with those belonging to vocal works produced in Piarist foundations outside of Rome. It involved their musical projection and their mobilization, that is, the distribution of the texts, as well as the disseminated accounts of the performances in \textit{avvisi} and the \textit{DO}. Performances themselves, visual representations of Calasanz (e.g., in a sculpture based on his death mask and in several engravings), the recitation and printed

\textsuperscript{10} See Hills, “‘The Face is a Mirror of the Soul’: 573.
publication of poems by Arcadian poets, and the presentation of bodily relics also contributed to that purpose. This authority and symbolic capital, in turn, would help in forging new forms—faces—of imitable holiness, based now on ethical heroism; they would alter the holy city’s “spiritual network”;

and they would convey Calasanz towards canonization. It is no surprise, then, that, for example, Vincenzo Talenti, author of the most comprehensive eighteenth-century biography of Calasanz, would dare to ask for Calasanz’s prompt canonization, when directly addressing the Roman pontiff in the prologue to an earlier, shorter account of the founder’s life, published in 1748.

Accepting Burke’s point that the complex phenomenon of saint-making may be seen as mirroring cultural ideals about heroism at the time of official sanction—through both beatification and canonization—I propose that while Calasanz’s case may signal a final stage in Counter-Reformation canonization trends, it unmistakably reflects certain aspects of Enlightenment ideals, as well. But a reference to this cultural movement is virtually absent in discussions by Burke and his followers, even when they deal with very late “Counter-Reformation” cases. However, saint-making is one of the practices through which one can follow the Catholic Church’s attempts to appropriate certain tenets of the Enlightenment thought during the eighteenth

11 This is a parallel claim to that of Hills for the case of Counter-Reformation saints in Naples; see ibid., and Hills, “How to Look Like a Counter-Reformation Saint,” 218. Significantly, some of the most important—among the many—nodes of Rome’s spiritual network, like the Jesuits’ Collegio Romano or the Oratorians’ Chiesa Nuova—belonging to orders whose founders had already been canonized—were also the major centers of oratorio production. Whether, or to what extent, musical practice mediated in the interaction of those urban institutions thereby determining their relevance in Rome’s “holy map,” is something that demands further research.

12 Vincenzo Talenti, *Compendio istorico della vita e miracoli del B. Giuseppe Calasanzio* (Roma and Napoli: Ottavio Puccinelli, 1749).
century. The observation of those practices reveals a consolidation of new criteria for proclaiming saints, who, in turn, would exemplify new forms of thinking and behavior, and not only religious thinking and behavior, which would be encouraged through their representations. And there was no better way to do this than with the communicational apparatus provided by literature, visual, and performing arts. For, certainly,

the Catholic Enlightenment was [...] eager to build up new structures of communication, to understand and to be understood. Even its efforts to combine tradition and innovation and its use of new forms of self-expression (liturgy, architecture, theater, etc.) can be seen as integral parts of this communication process.13

Regarding the consolidation of new criteria for saint-making and its connection to the Enlightenment, it is useful to recall here that

the trend in canonization processes towards an emphasis on heroic virtues accessible to all, instead of mystical union, visions, and extraordinary gifts [... ] had begun with the case of St. Charles Borromeo in 1610. [... ] This theological shift increased over the next 150 years until it became institutionalized in academic theology when Prospero Lambertini’s standard work on the canonization of saints, De servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione (1734), was published. When Lambertini became Pope Benedict XIV in 1740, this view began to shape the whole Catholic Church.14

On the one hand, this means that one of the “routes to [Counter-Reformation] sanctity,” out of the five delineated by Peter Burke, namely, that of “the mystic or ecstatic,” became less and less privileged, in favor of the other four, which, in turn,

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13 Lehner, “Introduction: The Many Faces of the Catholic Enlightenment,” 40. Of course, musical performances, often neglected in the accounts of cultural historians, ought to be counted among those “structures of communication.”

14 Ibid., 25; my italics.
progressively moved beyond Baroque spirituality while increasingly resonating with Enlightenment theology: 15 “that of the founder of a religious order,” the “missionary,” the “pastor, good shepherd,” and that of “charitable activity.” 16 This is, indeed, a fitting portrait of Joseph Calasanz, commensurate with that projected in the works by Jommelli and Di Capua. On the other hand, what “emphasis on heroic virtues” exactly means, as far as processes of beatification and canonization is concerned, is specified in Cardinal Lambertini’s treatise, particularly, in Book II (Chapter 32), and Book III (Chapters 46-47 and 50-52): allegedly supernatural acts (visions, revelations, miraculous behavior, etc.) were of no value at all, that is, could not constitute a ratio for official holiness, unless the heroic—uncommon 17—virtues of the candidate were demonstrated first, through the process of the so-called probatio. 18 Accordingly, the heroic-virtue aspect of sainthood, 19 increasingly important since Urban VIII’s times was to become essential in the portrayal of saints. And so it was in the case of the founder of the Piarists, as characterized through the musical works under examination here.

15 The summoning, for example, of a medical doctor, instead of an exorcist, by the bishop of Cremona, in order to determine the nature of a series of purportedly inexplicable phenomena happened to a young lady from the same Italian city, in 1746, is also symptomatic of this “theological shift” beyond Baroque spirituality and towards an Enlightenment view of holiness. See Elena Brambilla, “La fine dell’esorcismo: possessione, santità, isteria dall’età barroca all’illuminismo,” Quaderni Storici 112, no. 1 (aprilie, 2003): 117; and Fernando Vidal, “Miracles, Science, and Testimony in Post-Tridentine Saint-Making,” Science in Context 20, no. 3 (2007): 481-508.

16 See Burke, “How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint,” 55.

17 On the interpretation of a “heroic degree” of virtue as an “uncommon” (“non-comune”) or unique manifestation of virtues (in the Aristotelian sense of the term) in an individual, beyond his or her Christian fellows’ achievements, see Pierluigi Giovannucci, “Genesi e significato di un concetto agiologico: La virtò eroica nell’età moderna,” Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia 2 (2004): 435.

18 See Mario Rosa, Settecento religioso, 49-50.

19 Vidal, “Miracles, Science, and Testimony in Post-Tridentine Saint-Making”: 484, suggests that the emphasis on this aspect of sainthood might be partially explained as a means of reaffirmation before the Lutheran doctrine of salvation, which, by and large, was perceived, by contemporary Catholics, as downplaying the importance of works.
At all events, the importance of Benedict XIV for Joseph Calasanz’s beatification was not limited to authoring the definitive work on the canonization of saints.\textsuperscript{20} He was the pontiff who beatified him, and he also participated, as a cardinal, in the earlier process both as promotor fidei—the promoter of the faith, popularly known as Devil’s advocate—and postulator, namely, promoter of the would-be saint’s cause.\textsuperscript{21} He therefore became an expert on Calasanz’s biography and lifelong work, the Piarist order. This means that he also learned about his intellectual profile, as much as about the conflicitive circumstances, that is principally, the canonical reduction of the Piarist order, in which he died; circumstances that would be used to delay his beatification process for over one hundred year and, in the end, would contribute to the shaping of Calasanz’s saintly heroic image, particularly during the years following his elevation.

\textsuperscript{20} According to Mario Rosa, “Benedict XIV (1740-1758): The Ambivalent Enlightener,” in Enlightenment and Catholicism in Europe, 41, “the biographical profile of Benedict XIV allows us to understand many aspects of the Catholic Enlightenment and its history.” On the one hand, pope Lambertini showed political and diplomatic concerns, while promoting “numerous religious reforms, issued as encyclicals between 1740 and 1750,” which, “reflecting an Enlightened Catholicism [. . .], would consolidate Benedict’s fame,” who would be called by the Enlightenment press as a “philosophic” pope. It is very significant in this context, for example, the fact that, “driven by the erudite historical criticism of the Benedictines of Saint-Maur, as well as Muratori (1672-1750) and the biblical patristic preferences of the rigoirst culture, further studies by Benedict stimulated the development of hagiography and ecclesiastic history.” Ibid., 48. Likewise, “the reform of the Congregation of the Index through the constitution Solicita ac provida in 1753” paved the way for the “cancellation of the ban on writings in defense of the Copernican system,” and “the translation of the Scriptures into vernacular languages [. . .], albeit only with the approval of the Holy See, [. . .] particularly affected the field of culture and Italian religious life.” At the same time, however, “Benedict’s general administration of the universal church after 1750 seems to have become more rigorous,” including “restrictive directives,” with regard, for example, to the “Jewish communities located within the Papal States,” or broader Enlightenment culture, including, for instance, the “renewed condemnation on Freemasonry, already formulated by Clement XII in 1738”; or “the ban of Montesquieu’s Spirit of the Laws,” in 1752, and “Voltaire’s works,” between 1753 and 1757. Benedict’s ambivalence is perhaps well represented just by his “much-discussed” relationship with Voltaire, who had dedicated him the tragedy Le phanatisme ou Mahomet le prophète, receiving, in turn, “words of praise” on the pope’s side. Ibid., 53-54.

\textsuperscript{21} Actually, he had been holding the position of promotor fidei since Clement IX decided, in 1708, to separate its duties from those of the fiscal advocate. Thus, the promoter of faith’s tasks included “opposing the claims of the patrons of the cause and those of the ‘saint’s advocate,’” in order to “safeguard the rights of the faith and the observances of the ecclesiastical laws in processes of beatification and canonization of saints.” See New Catholic Encyclopedia, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Gale, 2003), s.v. “Devil’s Advocate.”
What follows is an account of this shaping process, as far as music and other arts are concerned.

**Shaping Sanctity: Immediate Context of Giuseppe Glorificato**

*The Work, its Composer, and its Performance*

On 18 August 1748, a century after his death, and following a tortuous and difficult ecclesiastical trial, Joseph Calasanz’s solemn beatification took place in Saint Peter’s Basilica. The holiness of the founder of the Piarists’ order was thus officially declared, and his honor rehabilitated. Beginning on the 25th of that month, a sumptuous *triduo* was celebrated in the church of Saint Pantaleo, the annex to the Piarists’ headquarters in Rome—former home of Calasanz—also in commemoration of the centennial of his death. Pope Benedict XIV and the College of Cardinals attended the sung mass, in which the Capella Pontificia participated. For this occasion, the architect Tommaso de Marquis, a member of the Accademia di San Luca, had devised the interior and exterior decoration of the church, including damask fabrics, candelabras, decorative ribbons, and a wall-hanging canvas representing architectural perspectives and simulated marble statues.22

Celebrations posthumously honoring the founder and perpetuating the memory of his inclusion in the catalogue of the blessed of the Church continued in various ways over the following six years. Among those, the *academia letteraria* organized by the Arcadia

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on 19 December 1749 was remarkable, as was the installation of a statue by Innocenzo Spinazzi representing Calasanz, modeled on his death mask, in one of the few remaining empty niches in the nave of the Vatican basilica, at the end of September 1755.

This celebrative and symbolic context, in which the commission and performance of an oratorio in honor of the recently beatified founder took place, is described by Vicenzo Talenti, author of one of the most celebrated eighteenth-century biographies of Calasanz. In it, he declares that, in order to celebrate the beatification of the founder of the Piarists—and also the very first Rector of the Collegio Nazareno—“a solemn academia, with a very-much-applauded cantata a tre voci, was added to the feast at the Collegio Nazareno’s oratorio lauretano, with the attendance of sixteen cardinals, many prelates, princes, and principal noblemen.”23 The commission was given to Niccolò Jommelli (1714-1774), and the oratorio was to be the first of the four works24 that he consecutively composed for the Collegio Nazareno from 1749 through 1752, during most of which time he stayed in Rome.

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23 See Talenti, *Vita*, 600; quoted also in Vannucci, *Il Collegio Nazareno*, 116; and Enrico Careri, *Catalogo*, 93. The remarkable piece of information regarding attendants is nevertheless not mentioned here. The “cantata” to which Talenti refers is, in all probability, Jommelli’s oratorio.

24 These include, leaving aside the oratorio under scrutiny here: the “Cantata/Fatta Nel Collegio Nazareno/L’Anno 1750/Musica/Del Sig.r Nicolò Jommelli,” with the roles of Amor Divino, Speranza, and Fede; the 1751 “Cantata/A Tre Voci/Per la Natività/Della Beata Vergine/Musica/Del Sig.r Nicolò Jommelli,” with the roles of Anna, Angelo, and Eli; and the 1752 “Cantata a Tre Voci/Per la Natività della Beata Vergine/Musica/Del Sig.r Niccolò Jommelli,” with the roles Figlio Increato, Spirito di Amore, and Padre eterno. All the librettos were written by the Piarist Gian Luca Bandini. A copy of both the librettos and manuscript scores and parts are preserved at the AGSP. See ibid., 19, 52-56. See archival references in Table 5.1.
Beginning in November 1749, Jommelli would begin to serve as *maestro coadiutore*, along with *maestro* Pietro Paolo Bencini, at the congregation of the German church in the city, Santa Maria dell’Anima.” In this appointment he was expected to provide liturgical music for both the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin—the same religious feast in whose context the cantatas at the Collegio Nazareno were to be performed—and the Forty Hours devotion. Early that same year, Jommelli worked for the Argentina theater—on a new *Artaserse*—while writing the oratorio *La passion di Gesù Cristo* at the request of the Cardinal Duke of York, Henry Stuart, who would also encourage him to compose music for the Church of Santa Maria in Campitelli.25

Precisely during the winter and spring of 1749,26 or perhaps somewhat earlier, Jommelli must have begun working on the musical setting of the oratorio *Giuseppe glorificato in Egitto* (Figure 3.1), whose performance took place at the Collegio Nazareno on 13 April, 1749, in substitution for the forthcoming and customary September cantata:

The feast of the founder of the Piarists and the Collegio Nazareno was celebrated at the *lauretano* oratory, hence the *Academia publica*, which used to take place customarily in honor of the Blessed Virgin, was instead this year [1749] dedicated in honor of our Blessed founder.27

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26 For a detailed account on the year of 1749 in Rome, as far as the compositional work of Jommelli, in comparison to that of Davide Perez, is concerned, see Maurizio Dottori, *The Church Music of Davide Perez and Niccolo Jommelli, with Special Emphasis on their Funeral Music* (Curitiba: DeArtes-UFPR, 2008), 27-36. Dottori includes significant evidences on Jommelli’s vicissitudes regarding his position at Saint Peter, as well as noteworthy comments on his church-music style. He nevertheless mentions the oratorio *Giuseppe glorificato* as composed for the “feast of the Holy Name Name of Mary, 12 September, at the Collegio Nazareno [sic].” But, despite the fact that the performance day might sometimes coincide with this feast, Jommelli did not composed either this oratorio, or his subsequent cantatas, for such holiday, but for the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (8th of September).

27 See “Monumenta Academiae Incultorum,” MS, Reg. Prov., Provincia Romana, Suplementum 34, fol. 59r, AGSP; as transcribed in Careri, *Catalogo*, 93; and also in Lanfranchi and Careri, “Le cantate,” 336n43. “[Il 13 aprile 1749] festivitas B. Joseph Calasanctij a Mre Dei, S. Piar. et Colli Naz. i Fundatoris,
Events like the performance of this oratorio, in substitution for the usual September cantata, or that of the Arcadian accademia, amounted to an elevated means of socialization, if one is to take into account the attendance of numerous cardinals, ambassadors, and other noblemen, to whom printed copies of the libretto were

Figure 3.1: Cover of the handwritten copy of Niccolò Jommelli’s Giuseppe glorificato preserved at the AGSP (Reg M n17b). Photograph by Ignacio Prats Arolas

in Sacello Lauretano facta fuit; hinc etiam Academia publica, quae fieri in honore B. Virginis de more solebat, in honorem B. Fundatoris hoc anno habita est [. . .]."
distributed at the Collegio Nazareno. For the performance of *Giuseppe glorificato*, in particular, s. 17:42½ were paid for to the Roman publisher Giovanni Zempel for 400 copies (Cantate stampate) of the libretto. Of those, 60 copies had to be printed on gilt-edged paper (carta dorata) “in order that they be distributed among the cardinals.”

This means, given the substantial investment that was made—nearly 13% of the total cost of the production—that the Piarists of the Collegio Nazareno were well aware of the symbolic potential, both in quantity and quality, that hundreds of printed librettos might have in the hands of their noble guests. Regarding their attendance at the oratorio in honor of Calasanz, his biographer Talenti puts the number of cardinals at sixteen, which indicates that the Piarists wished that the printed libretto reached even the hands of those cardinals unable to attend, and that those librettos had the status of an autonomous literary work whose text exceeded that which was actually sung. In fact, for the purpose of disseminating copies of the libretto, the custom for the *accademie* was that some of the convittori distributed invitations and printed librettos some three of days in advance of the performance.

In the libretto, the founder was now rightfully displayed as a blessed, as he would in Spinazzi’s sculpture at Saint Peter’s Basilica and in Vincenzo Talenti’s extensive

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28 By way of reference: Jommelli was paid s. 20:50, while the famous castrato Gioacchino Conti “Egiziello,” who sang the role of Giuseppe, earned s. 30; see “Esito Generale,” MS without location number, fol. 210-11 (“maggio 1749”), Archivio del Collegio Nazareno; and “Introito ed Esito delle Contribuzioni,” MS without location number, fol. 159-60 (“aprile 1749”), Archivio del Collegio Nazareno. Both documents are partially published in Careri, *Catalogo*, 94. The currency used in eighteenth-century Rome (Papal States) was the scudo (s); 100 baiocchi (b) were equivalent to s. 1.


30 See MS without date or location number, Archivio del Collegio Nazareno; as transcribed in Careri and Lanfranchi, “Le Cantate,” 316.
biography, only a few years later (Figure 3.2). This official display of holiness was explicitly allowed by the beatification brief, through its provision that “the images [of Calasanz] be adorned with the rays of his splendor.” This provision resonates, in effect, in the libretto text under scrutiny, as well, when one of the interlocutors wonders, “But who will gird the hero’s forehead with rays?”

Figure 3.2: Engraving included in Talenti’s biography showing Calasanz’s portrait, based on his death mask. Work in the public domain; digitized by Google

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In keeping with this iconographic display, present in musical performances even at other Piarist centers throughout Italy (Figure 3.3), a specific image of sainthood was shaped in the libretto and musical score of the oratorio by rhetorical means. As it was

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32 In fact, Calasanz’s effigy, frequently modelled on his death mask and with its halo, appeared, for example, even on the first page of the cantata L’unione della pietà colle lettere, composed by Niccola Rinieri in Florence, 1749, for his beatification. It is significant that the title of this piece bears the piarist motto “Piety & Letters”: L’UNIONE/DELLA PIETÀ COLLE LETTERE/COMPONIMENTO DA CANTARSI/ NELLA SOLENE ACCADEMIA/DEGLI SCOLARI DELLA RETTORICA/NELLE FESTE CELEBRATE IN FIRENZE/DA’ CHERICI REG. DELLE SCUOLE PIE/ PER LA BEATIFICAZIONE/DEL/B. GIUSEPPE CALASANZ/LORO FONDATORE,/IN FIRENZE L’ANNO MDCCIL/NELLA STAMPERIA DI GIOVAN PAOLO GIOVANNELLI/CON LICENZA DE SUPERIORI., Misc. I4-2, Bibl. Scol.
already customary, it was the Piarist Gian Luca Bandini, “an insightful man, erudite in diverse matters, good teacher, and easy versifier” who set, in all probability, the words of *Giuseppe glorificato in Egitto.*

The biblical story of Joseph was meaningfully chosen for the occasion. The book of Genesis relates that Joseph, the son of Jacob, was betrayed by his own brothers, who dropped him into a dry cistern and, out of envy, sold him to some Midianite traders. The traders, in turn, took him to Egypt, where Joseph was sold to Potiphar, a courtier and chief steward of Pharaoh. Over the years, and after overcoming the lusts of the flesh and an unjust imprisonment, Joseph gained Pharaoh’s favor to such an extent that he was put in charge of the Egyptian administration. The biblical account says, in this regard, that “Pharaoh took off his signet ring and put it on Joseph’s finger. He had him dressed in robes of fine linen and put a gold chain about his neck. He then had him ride in the chariot of his vizier, and they shouted ‘Abrek!’ before him.” In other words, the biblical source recounts Joseph’s *glorification* ritual at the Egyptian court.

Afterward, famine drove Joseph’s brothers into Egypt. There, after testing his brothers’ loyalty, Joseph unveiled his identity to them. Finally, even his father and the rest of his descendants were brought to Egypt, where Jacob, who thought his son dead, would recognize, embrace, and prophetically bless him. The evidence for the aptness of the symbolical match between Joseph and Calasanz—who shared his first name

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33 Gian Luca Bandini, who would became rector of the Collegio Nazareno for several years, appears also and is referred to as *Lettore di Geografia* of the Collegio, in the *DO* (n. 5175), regarding the 1750 cantata.

34 Gen. 37: 12-36.

35 Gen. 41: 42-3.
with the biblical figure—can be traced back, at least, to the beatification process, which can, in turn, be followed up through its proceedings.36

Several consultants and cardinals in the Congregazione Generale “Coram SSmo” of 7 September 1728, established by the protocol of the process, explicitly referred, in writing, through his suffragia (votes), to various biblical figures in order to support the gradu heroico of the candidate’s cardinal and theological virtues. This biblical imagery must have been effective, to judge from Benedict XIII’s decree stating the heroic degree of Calasanz’s virtues, issued just five days later.37 Thus, some of the attendants at that general congregation would point to the figure of Jacob’s son, Joseph. Cardinal Fini and two of the Carmelite theologian consultants found in the biography of this biblical figure certain parallels with Calasanz’s.38

To the Piarists, especially, Calasanz’s story matched that of the biblical Joseph, inasmuch as, according to almost all of the biographical accounts, their founder had

36 Most of the documents referring to the process, unpublished manuscripts in its major part, are preserved in the AGSP, within the section Regestum Calasanctianum (Reg. Cal.). Giner, El proceso de beatificación de San José de Calasanz, remains the only comprehensive scholarly treatment of the subject.

37 Through the formally prescribed Brief Constare de virtutibus in gradu heroico. See Benedict XIV, Doctrina de servorum dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizacione (Brussels: Typis Societatis Belgicae, 1811), 1-16, nn. 4-7.

38 See MS, Reg. Cal. 41, fols. 7, 50 and 52, AGSP; cited in Giner, El Proceso de beatificación de San José de Calasanz, 343. Another prominent biblical type invoked by the consultants of the congregation in his votes was that of Job. Cardinal Lambertini, for instance, stated that Calasanz, like Job, “was probed until the end.” Another consultant, in turn, drawing on the virtue of patience evoked by this biblical personage, declared that by “imitating Job’s invincible patience, he attracted the eyes of everyone to his admiration”; see MS, Reg. Cal. 41, fol. 5, AGSP, “Uti Job usque ad finem probati.” Regarding Carmelite Leo of S Felice, see MS, Reg. Cal. 41, fol. 50, AGSP. “[. . .] ut omnium oculos in sui admirationem traheret [. . .] invictissimam patientiam Job imitandam.” Both votes are quoted in Giner, ibid., 265 and 340, respectively. Lambertini’s vote was already quoted by Talenti in his 1753 Vita, 531. This, in fact, has been one of the most replicated biblical comparisons of Calasanz over time. Marco Rutini’s 1780 oratorio Il Giobbe, composed for the Florentine confraternity of Saint Sebastian, and performed at the church of the Piarists in that city, illustrates this even some decades later. The last paragraph of its lengthy argomento still refers to Lambertini’s cited comparison between Calasanz and Job.
been “betrayed,” principally by some of his friars who, through allegedly false accusations and with the support of some monsignori, obtained from the Congregation of the Holy Office the arrest, if only for hours, of Calasanz at age 86, in 1642. Calasanz was suspended as Superior General in 1643, with Urbano viii’s approval. And, by means of a 1646 brief of Innocence x, the Piarists’ canonical status was reduced from that of a religious order proper to that of a mere congregation—like that of the Oratorians—which meant the virtual suppression of the order. Calasanz would die two years later without seeing any sort of restoration.39

Particularly, it was the exile decreted by the Grand Duke of Tuscany (Ferdinando ii de’ Medici) against Piarist Mario Sozzi, in 1642, that triggered the escalation in the power conflict that would lead to Calasanz’s deposition and the Order’s (temporary) reduction. On the one hand Sozzi was considered to be a problematic member by his fellow Piarists in Tuscany, some of whom had been denounced by him because of their closeness—both social and intellectual—to Galileo Galilei. As a result, a lifetime mutual aversion between Sozzi and the Piarist mathematician Francesco Michelini, protegé and preceptor of Leopold de’ Medici (Grand Duke’s brother), would remain. On the other hand, Sozzi had become a friend of the Inquisitor General of Florence, Giovanni Muzzarelli, thanks to his reporting a case of sexual abuse in a Florentine conservatorio for poor girls founded by a certain “mother Faustina” and Pandolfo Ricasoli (a canon of the Cathedral). With time, Sozzi’s contacts in the Holy Office

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39 For a detailed account of these circumstances, see Giner, San José de Calasanz: Maestro y fundador, 902-1115. See Giner, ibid.
would include the assessor of the Holy Office in Rome, Francesco Albizzi, who would become a key figure in the process, and whose intellectual biography is significant.

Albizzi, not only exercised canonical authority on behalf of the pope, as a member of the Holy Office, but would also theorize about it in his writings (e.g., his *De inconstantia in judiciis tractatus*, Rome, 1698). Moreover, he almost entirely authored the two Papal Bulls (*In eminenti*, in 1642, and *Cum occasione*, 1653) whereby the five Jansenist propositions were condemned, as explained elsewhere. He was probably, then, very sensitive to obedicence issues, involving both churchmen and temporal rulers.

Thus, when Sozzi was sent into exile by the Grand Duke of Tuscany (under probable influence of his brother’s preceptor, the Piarist Michelini), after a long series of conflicts and disagreements, which were felt as challenges to the Holy Office by Albizzi, among others, the latter did not hesitate in expressing to Francesco Niccolini (Ambassador of the Grand Duke of Tuscany to the the Holy See) that this would imply “the total ruin of the the Order,” and that the Holy Office was “now committed to his [Mario Sozzi’s] defense for the sake of its own honor and reputation,” which “will be achieved through the total destruction of the Order, itself.” In fact, Calasanz's arrest was a direct consequence of one episode in that series of conflicts, namely, the inspection of Sozzi’s room by order of Card. Cesarini. Of course, Calasanz's arrest, his deposition, and the reduction of the Order, were not directly caused by Albizzi alone, as the list of names in this process is long and entangled, but he was probably one of
the main antagonists in it, beyond Urban VIII’s papacy— for it was his successor, Innocence X, who would decree the Order’s reduction, as mentioned in earlier pages.

Finally, and in order properly to assess the symbolic charge of the libretto, particularly with respect to the portrayal of Calasanz as a pilot facing stormy waters, it is worth mentioning here one of the most humiliating events for the founder, that is, the Holy Office commission’s decision to appoint Stefano Cherubini, with strong supporters at the Holy See, as Superior General. This decision provoked much contestation in the Order and in its founder and former Superior, for Cherubini had been implicated in a case of child molestation in Naples some fifteen years before the process of reduction described here. Thus, dozens of letters, including Calasanz’s, were sent to the Holy Office demanding Cherubini’s removal. In fact, one of the main obstacles in Calasanz’s beatification process would be the accusation of having defamed Cherubini.

Most likely, then, Cardinal Fini and the Carmelite attendants to the Coram SSmo congregation bore in mind this parallelism between the Spanish saint’s biography and that of his biblical namesake when they cast their votes. It is understandable that the founder’s beatification was assimilated to Joseph’s glorification in Egypt. This

40 Ibid., 932-65.

41 Ibid., 986-1048. While Karen Liebreich, Fallen Order: Intrigue, Heresy, and Scandal in the Rome of Galileo and Caravaggio (New York: Atlantic Books, 2004), 158-174, elaborating on Giner’s book, acknowledges this, as well as Albizzi’s leading role in the process, she seems to believe that Piarist Stefano Cherubini’s case of child molestation was one of the factors causing the process against the Order. This belief is not in accord to facts, as known by extant documentary evidence (i.e., principally the proceedings of the apostolic visits and the five meetings of the Holy Office cardinals commission held between 1643 and 1645) extensively researched and published decades before the publication of Liebreich’s book. Were that the case, probably, Cherubini would not have been named as Superior General by the Holy Office intervening commission.
constitutes an essential key and helps explain the departure of Bandini’s libretto text, beginning with its very title, from Metastasio’s work on the same biblical figure, which can be considered its main librettistic antecedent.

The title of Bandini’s libretto (Giuseppe glorificato in Egitto) declares the parallelism between Calasanz and the biblical personage, which is already evident on the frontispiece of the printed text (Figure 3.4): just as the biblical Joseph was glorified in Egypt, Joseph Calasanz received the glory in Rome. However, this is a bit oversimplified, for while Metastasio’s 1733 libretto for Vienna focuses on the act of Giuseppe’s recognition, hence its title, Giuseppe riconosciuto, Bandini’s libretto dwells on his ascent to Egypt’s prime-ministership, which would ultimately be explicitly read as Calasanz’s own glorification. Thus, the change in the title implies a statement of purpose by itself, and it entails a subtler albeit deep revision of the narrative’s perspective, involving further symbolic overtones.
The dramatic *colpo di scena*, the unveiling of Joseph’s identity before his brothers, which works as the plot denouement at the end of the Metastasian setting, actually precedes the events that Bandini portrays. Indeed, he begins the opening dialogue of his text after Giuseppe has been recognized, thereby displacing the climax to Giacobbe’s prophetic blessing upon his children, a late episode\(^\text{42}\) of Joseph’s biblical story and, for this reason, always excluded from the narrative frame in Bandini’s

\(^{42}\) See Gen.: 49.
libretto’s predecessors: James Miller’s sacred drama Joseph and his Brethren (1744), Pietro Metastasio’s Giuseppe riconosciuto (1733), Apostolo Zeno’s azione sacra Giuseppe (1722), and even Abbé Genest’s Joseph (1711), tragédie in five acts.\textsuperscript{43} Simply put, Bandini’s text begins where all its literary predecessors end, and it incorporates biblical material beyond Joseph’s recognition.

Here is a commented synopsis of Bandini’s libretto:

\textbf{PART I}

Giacobbe (T) remembers and summarizes the painful events that led him to lose his son, Giuseppe, whom he is now addressing. After his joyfully victorious aria, Giuseppe (S) and his father are moved to tears. Beniamino (S), Giuseppe’s younger brother, does not quite understand their emotional reaction—he embodies immaturity and affective vulnerability. Thus, after wondering about the reason for their tears, he introduces a vivid and rather long description of Egypt’s suffering, a true motive for tears, he thinks. Giuseppe responds to this description with his aria “Fui pastor, e ancor mi sento” (“I was a shepherd, and I still feel myself to be one”). Immediately after this aria the dramatic rhythm increases: Giacobbe and Beniamino respond to Giuseppe’s declaration; Giuseppe expresses gratitude ("To you, almighty God, is due/a pleasing hymn of praise");\textsuperscript{44} and the first part concludes with the final a tutti in which all three interlocutors declare that Giuseppe is the prefiguration of a future saint, i.e., Calasanz.


\textsuperscript{44} See Bandini’s libretto, GIUSEPPE/GLORIFICATO IN EGITTO/ORATORIO/ Da Cantarsi Nel Collegio Nazareno/PER ADOMBRARE LE GLORIE/DEL/BEATO GIUSEPPE/CALASANZIO/Fondatore de Cherici Regolari Delle Scuole Pie/GLORIFICATO IN TERRA/NELLA SOLENNE SUA BEATIFICAZIONE,/IN ROMA MDCCXLIX./Nella Stamperia Di Giovanni Zempel Presso Monte Giordano,/CON LICENZA DE’ SUPERIORI,x. Misc. Nazareno I1-1, Bibl. Scol. “A te, gran Dio, si debe.”
PART II

The seconda parte opens with Giacobbe’s blessing ("My soul, aroused by an unknown flame/is determined to bless you").\textsuperscript{45} Beniamino shows himself, again, to be disconcerted ("I do not know whether I enjoy, or sadden myself")\textsuperscript{46} because of the wonders—a ray of light surrounding his father’s face—that accompany his father’s vision, while Giuseppe recognizes that “the great God of Israel hides” behind that face. Moreover, Giuseppe joins his father in a sort of prophesying rapture ("Heaven is talking through me, father, forgive me;/ a sacred impetus inclines me to speak")\textsuperscript{47} that leads him finally to declare: “Ah, how similar/we are, CALASANZ and I:/ I read his destiny in my own.”\textsuperscript{48} He then continues interpreting Calasanz’s life in the light of his own, focusing on his feeding the hungry Egyptians, which charitable action is attributed to Calasanz, as well, and on his overcoming difficulties, which is likewise applied to Calasanz’s image, now through the emblematic aria “Se increspa l’onda.” After this aria, Calasanz is explicitly designated as a “hero,” and a reference is made to those who will honor him as such in the future: the Vatican and Benedict xiv, the “royal Priest,” and “great” and “holy Shepherd.”\textsuperscript{49} The final chorus closes the oratorio by celebrating “the pair of heroes,” Calasanz and Benedict xiv.

The literary space generated by reframing the story effectively establishes the parallel between Calasanz’s beatification and Joseph’s glorification, a parallel identification that is, in turn, essential to the role this oratorio plays in the modeling of the image of holiness in Enlightenment Rome. Bandini takes advantage of the biblical account of Jacob’s visionary blessing, to which his oratorio text devotes its entire second part, in order to interpret Giuseppe as a type of Calasanz, rather than directly as a typus Christi, which would be the expected, simple reading—indeed, the one suggested by

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{45} Ibid. “L’anima mia da ignota fiamma accesa /e’a benedirty intesa.”
\item \textsuperscript{46} Ibid., XVII. “Non so s’io godo, o peno.”
\item \textsuperscript{47} Ibid., XVIII. “Parla in me pure il ciel, Padre, perdona;/ impeto sacro a favellar mi sprona.”
\item \textsuperscript{48} Ibid., XIX. “(…) Oh quanto eguali/siam CALASANZ, ed io;/ io tutto il suo destin leggo nel mio.”
\item \textsuperscript{49} Ibid., XXII. “real Sacerdote”; “gran Pastore”; and “santo Pastore.”
\end{itemize}
Metastasio in his libretto.\textsuperscript{50} That interpretation is really the denouement in Bandini’s libretto—in any case, Christ and Calasanz are not, of course, mutually excluded as \textit{antitypes} of Giuseppe, but quite the opposite. Giacobbe’s premonition justifies, in addition, Bandini’s rupture of the unities of space, time, and action toward the end of the \textit{seconda parte}, when even the Vatican and Benedict \textsc{xiv} are specifically mentioned by the interlocutors in the libretto. Therefore, whereas Giuseppe is supposed to have unveiled his identity to his relatives as both a son and a brother in the biblical account, Bandini’s Giuseppe unveils himself to the audience of the Collegio Nazareno as a prefiguration of Calasanz.

Compared to Metastasio’s, Bandini’s literary style is somewhat more convoluted, heavily relying on narrative ellipsis, frequent and strong hyperbaton, and other figures of syntax. The omission of extended portions of the story is an imperative of Bandini’s dramatic standpoint, which entails the reduction of roles, and \textit{a posteriori} point of departure within the story line. Thus, any action whatsoever in Giuseppe’s story is provided through narrative speech and not necessarily in chronological order; in other words, it is remembered or evoked. A short portion of Giacobbe’s opening speech, in which Joseph’s biographical landmarks are synthesized in a few verses,\textsuperscript{51} suffices to illustrate these features, as well as to prepare for an analysis of Jommelli’s fine responsive to the rhetorical dimension of the text through his recitative.

\textsuperscript{50} Metastasio refers in footnotes to five authorities among the Church Fathers. For his use of biblical and patristic quotations, see Pietro Metastasio, \textit{Oratori Sacri}, 1st ed. (Venezia: Marsilio, 1996), 49-51, 151.

\textsuperscript{51} See the libretto by Bandini, \textit{GIUSEPPE/GLORIFICATO IN EGITTO, V-VI.} Original footnotes with biblical references, as well as their original literal ciphering have been retained.
GIACOBBE

Non più per te non mi ragiona in petto
l’atroce rimembranza
della bugiarda insanguinata spoglia
che i miei sguardi insultò. Dolce lavoro
di giocondi pensieri
or mi formano al sen, la trama ordita
la libertà tradita,
l’indomito livore,
l’empia impudica,
i duri ceppi, e la cisterna antica.

(e) Gen.c.37.v.31.32.
(a) Gen.c.37.v.18.
(b) Ibid.v.28.
(c) Gen.c.37.v.4.
(d) Ibid.v.19.
(e) Gen.c.39.v.7.12
(f) Ibid.v.20
(g) Gen.c.37.v.24.

GIACOBBE

No longer, for you, do I rehearse, in my heart,
the atrocity memory
of the deceitful, bloodstained remains
that insulted my eyes. The hatched plot,
the betrayed freedom,
the indomitable hatred,
the derided virtue, the indecent heathen,
the cruel traps, and the old cistern
now form in my bosom, the sweet play
of joyful thoughts.

(e) Gen: 37, 31-32.
(a) Gen: 37, 18.
(b) Ibid, 28.
(c) Gen: 37, 4.
(d) Ibid., 19.
(e) Gen: 39, 7.12
(f) Ibid., 20.
(g) Gen: 37, 24.

The last portion of Giacobbe’s first recitative, immediately preceding his first aria, is
dominated by the rhetorical figure of syntax called mezozeugma (“placing in the
middle of a construction the common verb on which two or more words or clauses
depend”), signaled by the italics here; a figure usually related to the ellipsis, which
leads, in this fragment, to a high degree of narrative compression: each of the seven
two-term consecutive clauses, starting with la trama ordita (“the hatched plot”),
summarizes a specific portion of the biblical account of Joseph’s story, as made evident through the abundant original footnote references in the printed libretto.\textsuperscript{52}

In Giacobbe’s first recitative, the figure of mezozeugma overlaps with the hyperbaton (“departure from ordinary word order”)—pervasive throughout Bandini’s libretto—as the final link in the chain of grammatical subjects demonstrates. As a consequence, the epithets \textit{dolce} and \textit{giocondi}, which convey Giacobbe’s present state of mind, gain emphasis through their initial position in the sentence. The salience of this key utterance (\textit{Dolce lavoro/di giocondi pensieri}) is also reinforced by the enjambment that covers the break at the end of the \textit{endecasillabo}. At the semantic level, a double paradox is proposed: the remembrance of terrible events provokes mild feelings, which then serve to amplify the pain implied by Giacobbe’s summary of his son’s lifelong suffering, while, at the same time, giving expression to Giacobbe’s fatherly temperance.

Jommelli, himself an accomplished poet,\textsuperscript{53} consistently offers an effective reaction to the rhetorical features of the poetry, as it can be seen in this particular case (Example 3.1). Thus, the grammatical dynamics, so to speak, of the mezozeugma, according to which the implication of the verbal form \textit{formano} (“they form”) is only fully realized once the chain of grammatical subjects is completed, is paralleled by the tension generated by the unusually extended bass note $F^\flat$ ($V^6$), whose implication as a

\textsuperscript{52} See Bice Mortara Garavelli, \textit{Manuale di retorica}, 4a ed. (Milano: Bompiani, 1989), 225. This fact, alone, tells us much about the audience, namely, that included educated students and, above all, church men and theologians or, at least, Bible connoisseurs; in other words, individuals with a high level of religious literacy, surpassing mere devotionalism. And this, in turn, indicates that the function of this work was not didactic, for the biblical facts are taken for granted in order to build and re-enact through music a detailed image of holiness.

\textsuperscript{53} See McClymonds et al., “Jommelli, Niccolò.”
Io per-do-no a miei fi-gli il lor de-lit-to no più per te non mi ra-gio-na in pet-to l'a

tro-ce ri-mem-bran-za del-la bu-giar-da in san-gui-na-ta spo-glia che i miei sguar-di in-sul
tò. Dol-ce la-vo-ro di-jon-di pen-sie-ri or mi for-ma-noal sen la tra maor-di-ta

la li-ber-tà tra-di-ta, l'in-doi-to li-vo-re, la de-ri-sa vir-

tù, l'em-piaim-pu-di-ca i du-ri cep-pi e la cis-ter-naan-ti-ca.
temporary leading tone is realized only after five measures, with a tonicized G (i). Significantly, Jommelli makes the start of the leading tone coincide with the verb, while the resolving G is withheld until the last of the grammatical subjects.

As for the treatment of the vocal line, it inevitably undoes the enjambment, and tends to blur the prosodic demarcations between settenari and endecasillabi. However, Jommelli, like his models Hasse and Graun, reflects the punctuation and sense of the text of his recitatives in a detailed fashion. The first three two-term consecutive clauses, separated by commas in the libretto, are set apart by rests in the score. These clauses, which enumerate the injuries inflicted on Giuseppe, mount by degrees in Jommelli’s setting, which, in this way, realizes the gradatio figure that is latent in the poetry.

Jommelli’s control of declamation in this example, particularly accentuation, pacing, and pitch range, stands out. Considered from the perspective of modern theory, Jommelli’s recitative departs from merely mirroring “phonological tunes” in order to create intonational profiles “beyond isomorphism,” that is, in order to create “paralinguistic cues to attitude and affect,”54 in this case, with the purpose of shaping a facet of Giacobbe’s character. In this connection, it is remarkable how the overall accentuation pattern increases from a major second in “trama ordīta” to a perfect fourth in “derisa virtū,” and finally to a rising accent of a major sixth in “ceppi e la cisterna.” At the same time, the composer also increases the declamatory pace: not only the duration of silences decreases (from the quarter-rest after “ordīta” to the

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sixteenth-rest after “impudica”) but also the last four two-term clauses are linked two by two. This feature, already suggested by the poet (Bandini renders those four last clauses in two endecasillabi, rather than in four settenari), along with the introduction of thirty-second notes, obliges the singer to an increasingly restless delivery. The pitch range climaxes after covering an eleventh in little more than four measures. If one adds to this the final appearance of disjunct intervals, including a diminished fifth (“e la cisterna [...”), after a prevalence of pitch repetition—a typical feature of Jommelli’s recitative, when he aims at fluidity\(^55\)—everything seems to match Marpurg’s categories of pathetisches Recitative and rhetorisches Accent\(^56\)—“pitch accent,” in terms of modern intonational phonology.\(^57\) This turns out to be fitting, as Marpurg, himself, associates this type of recitative—opposed to the historisches type—with “amorous sentiments and with paternal and filial tenderness,” which are exactly the affects characterizing Giacobbe at the outset of Jommelli’s oratorio.\(^58\) Giacobbe’s words (“I forgive my children their crime. [...] I will sleep quietly; I saw my son.”),\(^59\) respectively framing the previously analyzed passage, are unequivocal in this regard. One is tempted to hear, in Giacobbe’s utterances—present neither in the biblical story


\(^{57}\) Hill, “Beyond Isomorphism Toward a Better Theory of Recitative,” under “The Autosegmental-Metrical Theory of Intonational and Metric Phonology.” The state of the art within the field of intonational phonology calls for a not-yet-attempted “cognate theory” of recitative, in which period theory might be framed for the sake of thoroughness, accuracy, and consistency.

\(^{58}\) See Monelle, “Recitative and Dramaturgy,” 248.

\(^{59}\) See libretto by Bandini, GIUSEPPE/GLORIFICATO IN EGITTO, v-vi. “Io perdono a’miei figli il lor delitto. [...] Tranquillo dormirò; Vidi mio figlio.”
nor in any precedent libretto—the Piarist order’s own voice granting forgiveness to those friars, its “children,” who betrayed the founder of their order.

Therefore, returning now to the libretto’s overall form and style, the narration primarily consists of long speeches by the interlocutors of the type just illustrated, rather than a truly dramatic interplay among roles, which only emerges toward the end of each of the two parts. In this way of proceeding, Bandini’s dramaturgy arguably incorporates the Metastasian technique of sfaccettamento (“faceting”) and has its effect on Jommelli’s musical dramaturgy.60

Aria texts in operas and oratorios of this time usually convey or allude to momentarily fixed or alternating/conflicting states of mind either directly or through description or metaphor. However Bandini’s arias are not always distinct from recitatives in their dramatic function. There are even instances (e.g., Giacobbe’s aria “Là con ardente ciglio,” the first of the second part) in which the aria text is actually a continuation of the character’s preceding recitative; and, vice versa, there are places in which the interlocutors convey static emotions through recitatives, as occurs, again, with the recitative fragment immediately preceding Giaccobe’s first aria (“Della gentil sembianza”), shown in Example 3.1. It is as if Bandini had left aside the “external plot” of the story in favor of the “internal plot of sentiments and their poetic expression,” which would explain the relatively interchangeable function of arias and recitatives,

60 See Claudio Varese, Saggio sul Metastasio, vol. 22 of Studi di lettere, storia e filosofia (Firenze: Nuova Italia, 1950), 77; Monelle, ”Recitative and Dramaturgy,” 253, points to Act III of Artaserse as an instance of this technique.
as far as dramaturgy is concerned.\textsuperscript{61} Many of these features, along with the moderate length of Bandini’s text (411 lines) make this oratorio resemble the traditional cantatas of the Collegio Nazareno.

\textit{Calasanz as a Shepherd/Pastor}

On a broad scale, in Jommelli's \textit{Giuseppe glorificato in Egitto}, musical dramaturgy projects a determinate image of Calasanz's holiness, which, in turn, can be taken as a model of Enlightenment sanctity. Among the five stereotyped "saintly roles, or routes to holiness" typical of the period between 1588 and 1767, as distinguished by Burke, that of the “shepherd or pastor” occupies the third place.\textsuperscript{62} This is precisely the prevailing image in Bandini’s portrayal of Calasanz as Giuseppe, the son of Giacobbe, the patriarch of a clan of shepherds. This aspect of Calasanz’s character and holiness is made explicit in Giuseppe’s first aria in the Bandini-Jommelli oratorio, “Fui pastor e ancor mi sento,” which projects the strength of self-affirmation while conveying a “sweet affection” toward his flock. Set in da capo form, based on rhymed and homorhythmic \textit{ottonari}, the two strophes of this aria reflect two different affective nuances, thus resembling an operatic \textit{mezzo carattere} or “double affect” aria, while responding to different modes of speech, the first one constituting the final appeal of the previous recitative, the second one dwelling on an imaginary address.

\textsuperscript{61} The terms are taken from Walter Binni, \textit{L’Arcadia e il Metastasio} (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1963), 350; quoted in Monelle, “Recitative and Dramaturgy,” 251.

\textsuperscript{62} Burke, “How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint,” 56.
GIUSEPPE
Fui pastor, e ancor mi sento:

di pastor le cure in petto:
sento ancor quel dolce affetto,
che mi lega il gregge al cor.
Care agnelle, ah non piangete
nel mirarmi al trono appresso;
son per voi quel padre istesso,
son quel tenero pastor.

(a) Gen. c. 37, v. 2.

GIUSEPPE
I was a shepherd, and I still feel
a shepherd's concerns in my breast:
I still feel that sweet affection
which ties my flock to my heart.
My dear sheep, alas, do not cry
when you see me on my throne;
I am that same father for you,
I am that tender shepherd.

(a) Gen: 37, 2.

The first strophe arguably forms an epiphonema, that is, a concluding statement of the previous recitative, in which Giuseppe reacts to his brother Beniamino's vivid description of an Egypt devastated by starvation. On the one hand, that description, a poetic gloss based only loosely on Gen. 41, justifies Giuseppe's subsequent reaction; on the other hand, it includes a reference to the book of Lamentations, which is essential to the construction of symbolic ties between Calasanz and his biblical type and, in turn, to the implicit analogy between eighteenth-century Rome and the biblical Egyptian city of Memphis throughout the libretto. A brief summary of this recitative and a short description of the eighteenth-century social landscape of Rome to which it symbolically refers are needed in order to grasp the characterizing image cast by the aria "Fui pastor, e ancor mi sento."

After mentioning the "sterile and desolated provinces" of Egypt, Bandini conjures, through Beniamino's speech, a tableau depicting the effects of seven years of scarcity

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on fields, animals, and humans ("[. . .] the eager herd grazes on dry sticks./Abandoned and sad/with a deadly pallor lie/on the squalid furrows,/the miserable mule drivers crying for mercy"). Jommelli sets this to a brisk and modulatory recitative. Within this imagined scene, and immediately preceding Beniamino’s aria “Ma parla quel cuore,” the image of an “afflicted spouse” watching how her trembling children “ask for bread but no one gives them any,” completes the panorama. These phrases are, as the corresponding marginal note in the libretto makes clear, taken from the book of Lamentations 4: 4, the very verse invoked by Calasanz in Rome when he was deciding to engage himself in teaching the poor, according to Talenti’s biography. These verses encourage the audience to understand the description of Giuseppe’s actions in a devastated Egypt as a reference to Calasanz’s mission in Rome.

To judge from mid-eighteenth-century testimonies, the Roman social landscape had not improved very much since the time Calasanz started gathering indigent children in order to school them. As late as in 1767, on his way to attend Calasanz’s canonization, the Italian traveler and writer Alessandro Verri would still confess, “I find Rome once again full of extreme grandeur and extreme miseries. Princes, palaces, opulence, luxury, poor, holy poverty instead of money.” What is more, he would go

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64 See libretto by Bandini, GIUSEPPE/GLORIFICATO IN Egitto, vii. “[. . .] sterili provincie desolate [. . .] ignudi sterpi/pasce l’avidio armento./Abbandonati, e mesti/con pallore mortal giacciono stessi/per gli squallidi solchi./Pietà gridando i miserì bifolchi.” Regarding the tableau as “staging and enlivened figuration of events, actions, passions, physical and moral phenomena,” see Pierre Fontanier, Les figures du discours (Paris: Flammarion, 1977), 431; as quoted in Mortara Garavelli, Manuale di Retorica, 238.

65 Talenti, Vita, 56. “Parvuli petierunt panem, et non era qui frangeret eis.”

as far as to refer to the city as being “in constant dread of dying from hunger.” In Rome, indeed, “there had been famines in 1718, when hungry people crowded into the city from outside,” and under Benedict XIV, in 1747. Against this social and historical backdrop, the voice of Giuseppe resolutely declares, “The terror of famine, by which, languishing, the world lies, oppressed, under a death threat, is not to this breast an unknown pain […] from this throne/pity has already descended: I am Joseph.” This must have had a particular effect on a mid-eighteenth-century Roman audience, which was not unfamiliar with famine, and would still have to see the cancellation of the cantata performances for the years 1766 and 1767 due to a “shortage of grain.”

Giuseppe’s resoluteness, thus, guides the musical invention in the first strophe of Jommelli’s aria “Fui pastor e ancor mi sento.” The steady quarter-note drum bass in a G-major tonal context, frequent patterns of repeated eighth notes in the violins, and an alla breve common-time metrical framework recall the solemnity of a march, through which the composer incorporates a heroic feature into Giuseppe’s characterization for the first time in the oratorio. Johann Matteson, for example, attributes “heroism and

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68 See libretto, GIUSEPPE/GLORIFICATO IN EGITTO, ex. “Il terror della fame, / onde giace languente / da minaccie di morte il mondo astretto, non è per questo petto / un’ignoto dolor […] da questo trono già scesa è la pietà: Giuseppe io sono.”

69 Significantly, this information comes from a handwritten note found on the last page of Bandini’s libretto for EVA RIPARATA/COMPONIMENTO SACRO/PER LA NATIVITÀ/DELLA/BEATISSIMA VERGINE/IN OCCASIONE/DELLA PUBBLICA ACCADEMIA/NEL COLLEGIO NAZARENO,/IN ROMA MDCCCLXV,/NELLA STAMPERIA DI GIOVANNI ZEMPEL,/CON LICENZA DE’SUPERIORI, xvi, 14 and Misc. Nazareno I1-1, Bibl., performed in 1765. “Nell’anno 1766 non fu fatta la Cantata in nessun Coll.o, e ne meno le solite Tragedie per la gran Carestia di Grano. E ne meno nel 1767.” Careri, Catalogo, 20n51, transcribes this handwritten note, as well.
fearlessness” to the march in *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* of 1739. This heroic trait will become essential to the portrayal of both Giuseppe's and Calasanz's holiness in the second part of the oratorio, as will be shown. Jommelli, therefore, draws the musical invention of this first strophe from the implied depiction of Giuseppe's character contained in the previously cited recitative—a compositional strategy recommended by Johann David Heinichen, as early as in his 1711 treatise on the thorough bass. Resoluteness is also reinforced by Jommelli’s reliance on pyrrhico-anapest patterns (UUU —) in the surface rhythm of the opening ritornello (Example 3.2), and by a vocal line that includes ample leaps and rhythmic emphasis, with space for vocal display at the end of the first delivery of the first strophe.

Example 3.2: Niccolò Jommelli, *Giuseppe glorificato* (1749); Part I, opening measures of Giuseppe’s aria “Fui pastor e ancor mi sento”

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71 See Johann David Heinichen, *Neu erfundene und gründliche Anweisung wie ein Musik-liebender auf gewisse vortheilhafte Art könne zu vollkommener Erlernung des General-Basses* (Hamburg, 1711); for a comment on Heinichen’s treatment of commonplaces for the sake of musical invention, see Hill, ibid., 395.
But Jommelli establishes Giuseppe’s “heroic resoluteness” while also musically underlining the utterance “dolce affetto,” commensurate with the semantic field of “shepherd.” Repetitions of the text in the first vocal period (VP 1) and VP 2 result in four iterations, involving an ever-more expansive phrase structure (Example 3.3). Thus, while the first occurrence (a) of the expression is rendered with a rather simple melismatic accentuation on “dolce” followed by an appoggiatura on “affetto,” in the second one (b), “dolce” is set to a two-measure arpeggio. For the third occurrence (c), Jommelli creates a subtle change in texture involving a chain of suspensions and an elongated melodic descent in whole notes from e” down to a,’ in the violins, over a pedal on d, rhythmically activated through quarter notes, which combination provokes mild dissonances. This is the only instance in the aria, not to say in the oratorio, in which Jommelli turns to strict counterpoint, in an unquestionably rhetorical gesture. Immediately after this passage, the utterance repeats for the last time (d), now incorporating a seven-measure melisma on the accented syllable of “affetto,” with extreme, disjunct intervals, based on an amphibrach pattern (U — U, if partially hidden under the surface rhythm). This is a musical foot considered to be “soft” and “tender” by Isaac Vossius, due to its “broken and effeminate pace,” which is fitting for Giuseppe’s sweet feelings as a shepherd.72 Clearly enough, in this case, text repetition goes beyond the “purpose of providing more vowels for melismas” to be sung by a castrato, since it is an important part of the musical characterization.73

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73 This is Pattengale’s claim regarding “rhetorical reiterations of words and phrases” when describing Jommelli’s cantata aria’s main features in “The Cantatas of Jommelli,” 105.
Example 3.3: Niccolò Jommelli, *Giuseppe glorificato* (1749); Part I, Giuseppe’s aria “Fui pastor e anch mi sento” (excerpts)
The middle section, setting the second strophe of the text, involves changes in meter, tempo, harmony, dynamics, and vocal style: a 3/8 meter, a turn to the relative minor, a piano marking, and a syllabic style with little text repetition. The contrasting character of this section, resembling, in style, a cavatina, a contrast relatively common in Jommelli’s cantatas for the Collegio Nazareno,\textsuperscript{74} conveys the tenderness of a shepherd toward his flock. The musical detachment of the middle from the outer sections of the

\textsuperscript{74} See ibid., 106, 115.
aria ultimately makes sense from a dramatic viewpoint, inasmuch as Giuseppe addresses an imaginary flock in what constitutes an apostrophe that situates the second strophe at a different speech level from the first one.

Therefore, this aria contributes to the affective profile of Giuseppe as a “shepherd,” which is not only one of the typical features of the Counter-Reformation saint, according to Peter Burke’s account, but also one “promoted” over the role of the “preacher” by an Arcadian and “a representative thinker of the Settecento” like Ludovico Antonio Muratori. For him, the “ideal parish priest—the pastor—lived more nearly a life of otium than did his seventeenth-century counterpart—the preacher. His was not a life of idleness but of otium negotiosum [...], the condition, the mood, the topos and trope of Arcadianism and the Arcadian garden in Rome.”

Resoluteness and tenderness are the key concepts projected by Jommelli to characterize the shepherd Giuseppe, and, in him, Calasanz. However, this is not the only facet of holiness depicted in the oratorio, as that of “charitable action” plays an important role, as well.

*Calasanz and Benedict xiv as Models of Charitable Activity*

Of course, Giuseppe claims to be still a shepherd, even though he holds the position of a Prime Minister, in order to demonstrate his sincere commitment “to help the oppressed populace,” “to relieve the afflicted,” “to give the food of life/to the unhappy

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76 Ibid., 164.
abject/wandering children;” this is “the only purpose of his wishes.” In other words, his is a commitment to improve society, to put it in terms of one of the major tenets of the Enlightenment. His is a charitable action motivated by a vision that reflects new ways of understanding spirituality and theology typical of the Catholic Enlightenment, which led to a practical application of moral virtues, thereby revealing their social dimension. Indeed, “charitable activity” is one of the prominent ways to holiness described by Burke, as stated earlier. This was directly connected to the idea that religion should contribute to the public welfare, a major concern of the Catholic thought in this period, as expressed by Ludovico Antonio Muratori, one of the leading figures of the Italian Catholic Enlightenment; the same Muratori who, as opera critic, promoted strong musical expression—like Jommelli’s—and librettos emphasizing virtue rather than sensual love.

In Della pubblica felicità oggetto de’ buoni principi (1749), “a complete manual for moderate reformism,” Muratori observes that “it is in times of scarcity when the fatherly zeal of Princes and the care of Magistrates must be demonstrated in order to

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77 See libretto, GIUSEPPE/GLORIFICATO IN EGITTO, ix. “[...] Unico oggetto/e’demiei voti il sollevar gli oppressi./ [...] Onde godo in giovar l’oppressa plebe,/ in sollevar gli afflitti,/ in dar cibo di vita/Agl’infelici abjetti /errante fanciulleti.”


79 Ibid., 169.

80 In Della perfetta poesia italiana (Modena: Soliani, 1706), Ludovico Antonio Muratori, was also the author of some strong criticism of conventional Metastasian opera, which he considered to be effeminizing. He can be read as an operatic reformer who would have approved of Jommelli’s stronger approach to musical expression and characterization. Regarding Muratori’s criticism see also Martha Feldman, Opera and Sovereignty: Transforming Myths in Eighteenth-Century Italy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 100.

81 See Rosa, Settecento religioso, 132.
administer to the needs of the people.” Muratori recommends following the example of those learned people, who

have thought to protect themselves against the serious damages caused by the possible and unfortunately common periods of scarcity by building granaries; that is, by keeping always in reserve such large an amount of public wheat, that it may suffice to supply the people for one or two more years, in case the crop fails, thereby avoiding the great expense of begging the necessary food elsewhere.

Thus, Bandini’s Giuseppe would act in accordance with Muratori’s prescriptions, which is not surprising as both Bandini and Muratori arguably draw their inspiration from the biblical account of Joseph’s story. What is more, so would an actual ruler and pastor of the period, Pope Benedict XIV, who, aware of the recurring problems affecting food availability and distribution, and addressing the issue of economic reform, tried to introduce “the free trade of agricultural products within his dominions” through the 1748 bull Quo die. Muratori, in fact, with a degree of influence on the pontiff, would recommend generous and charitable measures in order to provide people with food during famines:

Nor in such cases should the good Prince or the Public Official behave like a Merchant, that is, he must not think about making profit. It suffices that he covers the expense, so that his household does not turn out to lose.

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82 Ludovico Antonio Muratori, Della pubblica felicità oggetto de’ buoni principi (Lucca: 1749), 251. “Ne’ tempi di carestia allora principalmente ha da farsi conscere il paterno zelo de’ Prinzipi, e l’attenzione de’ Magistrati a fin di soccorrere al bisogno del Popolo.”

83 Ibid., 255. “Hanno i savi di più città e terre pensato a premunirsi contra i gravissimi danni delle possibili e pur troppo facili carestie, e con formar delle frumentarie, cioè con tener sempre una massa tale di pubblico frumento in reserve, che possa servier al bisogno d’uno, o due altri anni, talmente che se falla il raccolto dell’uno, s’abbia con che mantenere il popolo nell’altro, senza mendicare altronde con grosse spese il necessario alimento.”

84 See Gross, Rome in the Age of Enlightenment, 182 and 105.
Since when must a Father (for such is the Prince or the Government with respect to the people) seek for commerce and profit from his children?85 

This impulse toward social improvement in the form of feeding the hungry, encouraged by Muratori, inspiring Papal rule, and guiding Giuseppe’s—and thus Calasanz’s—action in Bandini’s libretto, was indeed one of the leitmotifs of the Enlightenment, which would became also a recurrent topic in the visual arts, as seen in a plaster relief by plaster relief by the Neoclassical sculptor Antonio Canova (Figure 3.5).

Figure 3.5: Antonio Canova, Feed the Hungry (1795-96); plaster. Museo Correr, Venice. Photograph: Cameraphoto Arte, Venice / Art Resource, NY; used by permission

85 See Muratori, Della pubblica felicita oggetto de’ buoni principi, 257. “Nè in casi tali il buon Principe o il Pubblico dee farla da Mercatante, cioè non dee pensare a farvi guadagno, dovendo bastare, che gli sieno bonificate tutte le spese, e che nulla vi perda la cassa sua. Da quando in qua un Padre (tale è il Principe e il Governo del Pubblico rispetto al popolo) dee pretendere di mercatare e guadagnare sopra i Figli suoi?”
Significantly, Benedict XIV is explicitly referred to as a “royal Priest” and precisely as a “great,” and “holy” “Shepherd,” toward the end of the second part of Bandini’s oratorio libretto. Thus, immediately after Giuseppe’s aria “Se increspa l’onda,” Beniamino asks, “But who will gird the hero’s head with rays of light?”—a rhetorical question that may be understood in literal sense, as noted before. Giuseppe responds with another rhetorical question, asking about the pontiff, “Can you not see that royal Priest there, yet?” Therefore, the pope enters the scene through Giaccobe’s and Giuseppe’s vision, in which Benedict XIV is described in a way that may be considered a symbolic tribute to the very pontiff who, after a painstaking process lasting decades, elevated Calasanz to altars. In fact, Benedict XIV, himself, appears adorned with an “expanding light,” is mentioned as a “hero,” and is put nearly on the same footing as Calasanz.

After Giuseppe’s rhetorical question, Jommelli adds momentum to the speech by turning to an *accompagnato* recitative that stands out because of the role the violins play, punctuating Giuseppe’s speech through a descending pattern of staccato sixteenth notes in thirds and sustaining whole notes throughout most of the vocal phrases, possibly suggesting that “most beautiful light, which expands from him [Benedict XIV].” The tempo shifts to *Larghetto*, and the *piano* and *tenuto* markings for the sustained chords of the violins seem to evoke this effect, which goes beyond mere coloristic purposes and is not, in any case, very common in Jommelli’s early cantatas.86

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86 Another instance of this use of the violins in *accompagnato* recitatives can be found in the cantata “Perdono, amata Nice;” see Pattengale, “The Cantatas of Niccolo Jommelli,” 83, 86.
Facing a “trembling sea:” Calasanz as a Hero

In the last portion of the recitative that precedes Giuseppe’s second aria, in the second part, Calasanz’s identity and mission are uniquely described. As can be seen, the reference to Calasanz’s mission is endorsed in the poetic text by a direct quote from his biography, and so are the obstacles (dismay, envy, outrage) to be overcome. At this point, in a dramaturgical move difficult to imagine in opera seria, Giuseppe, in his recitative, explicitly refers to the historical figure he symbolizes, as he dives into the last aria of the oratorio, which, by means of a metaphor or comparison aria, constitutes a powerful characterization of Calasanz as a figure heroically facing daunting challenges.

GIUSEPPE
Al Tebro dall’Ibero
celeste voce il guida, e dove fame
mistica fame, oh Dio, l’alme d’afflitto,
offre cibo di vita, e d’intelletto
al mendico negletto,
all’orfano languente,
e va pascendo in mille guise, e mille
in quel suo gregge afflitto
un più cadente, e desolato Egitto.
A sì bella pietà dispregi, ed onte,
sdegno, invidia, livore
fan mercede d’Affano;
ma quell’affanno istesso
alla grand’alma è scuola, onde più forte,
ne’ rischi della sorte,
a regolar apprenda,

GIUSEPPE
To the Tiber from the Ebro
a heavenly voice guides him, and where hunger,
spiritual hunger, oh God, deforms souls,
he offers vital and intellectual food
to the neglected beggar,
to the languishing orphan,
in a thousand, thousand ways he gives
nourishment to his afflicted flock,
a more declining, and devastated Egypt.
In the face of such beautiful piety, scorn, outrages,
disdain, envy, and rancor
are the recompense for his trouble;
but that trouble, itself,
provides the great soul with a teaching, whereby
amidst the hazards of fate, [ever stronger,
he learns how to govern
e a preservar dalla fatal ruina
la giovanile libertà latina. \(^{87}\)
and to preserve from fatal ruin
youthful Latin liberty.

(b) *Eccl. c. 15. v. 3.*
(a) *S. Paul. ep. 2. ad. Cor. c. 12. v. 9.*

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GIUSEPPE

Se increspa l’onda
Fiatto leggero,
Ogni nocchiero
Sa navigar.
L’arte si ammira,
Se il ciel s’adira,
Se stride il vento,
Se freme il mar.

GIUSEPPE

When waves are ruffled by
a light wind,
every pilot
knows how to navigate.

His skill is admired
if the heavens grow angry,
if the wind howls,
if the sea trembles.

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The literary topic chosen for this aria had its own tradition in Calasanz’s hagiography. In fact, Calasanz’s principal eighteenth-century biographer, Talenti, mentions “the anguish of tempests, which he [Calasanz] had to face as a General, in order to keep the little boat of his Order from being wrecked; thus steering it by means of prayers, by putting into practice his virtues and, particularly, by loving and favoring his adversaries.”\(^{88}\) Talenti was, in reality, quoting a much older text, that is, Calasanz’s own words, written in a letter to a fellow Piarist, in December 1642: “The good sailor becomes recognizable when it comes the time for a tempest, and this is how His Reverence should behave, given the present state of events, thus overcoming through

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\(^{87}\) See libretto by Bandini, *GIUSEPPE/GLORIFICATO IN EGITTO*, XIX.

\(^{88}\) Talenti, *Vita*, 330. “[...] gli affanni delle tempeste, alle quali nel suo generalato dovea far petto per sostener dal naufragio la navicella dell’Ordin suo; reggendola con l’orazione, e con esecizi di sue virtù, e singolarmente con amare, e beneficar gli avversari.”
good words and better deeds, those who show themselves as adversaries.” In this letter, he turns to the image of a sailor facing a heavy sea during storm in order to symbolically encapsulate his moral recommendation. Most likely, the Piarist founder would be thinking of himself, for those were his “time for a tempest,” too.\footnote{Calasanz to Ciriaco Beretta, December 13, 1642, in *Epistolario di San Giuseppe Calasanzio*, ed. Leodegario Picanyol (Rome: Editiones Calasanctianae, 1955), 8:175-76, n. 4073; accessible on http://scripta.scolopi.net/html/Escritos/carta.asp?id=4073&CadenaPalabras=tempesta&Fuente=EGC&MiSesion=190553154 “Il buon marinaro si conosce nel tempo della tempesta et così ha da fare V. R. nella presente occorrenza che ha da sapere portarsi di tal maniera con quelli che se li mostrano avversarii che li superi con buone parole e migliori opere.” Calasanz writes in Latin the expression referring to the bad times for the order and for himself (“quoniam dies mali sunt”), in a direct quotation of Ephesians 5: 16.}

What is more, the topic of navigating through tempest, standing for difficulties in life, would also be used by Vincenzo Berro, the very first postulator of the beatification cause, immediately after Calasanz’s death, in a letter of 26 September 1648. This time, the despondent Piarist regretted the state in which the Order had been left, like a “sunken little boat without a pilot, without sails, without rigging, and, I would say, without a crew, most of it having been absorbed by waves.”\footnote{As quoted in Giner, *El proceso de beatificación de San José De Calasanz*, 35. “[…] ormai sommersa navicella senza piloto, senza vele, senza sarte e sto per dire, senza marinaria essendo la maggior parte dall’onde restata absorita.”} This sort of early writing would play a major role in shaping Calasanz’s sanctity, for as with hagiographies, “historical narratives were considered testimonies and were weighted according to the writer’s relation to the events.”\footnote{Fernando Vidal, “Miracles, Science, and Testimony in Post-Tridentine Saint-Making,” 486.} This might well have been the reason for Bandini to include the literary archetype of the tempest in his libretto.

This topic, crystallized in ancient Greco-Latin poetry as far as Western culture is concerned, and incorporating a Christian perspective to its possible interpretants
since early Christianity,\textsuperscript{92} was probably a communicational commonplace even in daily language, at least for people with some degree of literacy, in the mid-seventeenth century as it would be more than one hundred years later, at the time of Calasanz’s beatification.\textsuperscript{93} What matters here is that, within the several possible realizations of the literary locus “tempest,” the one rendered by Bandini in his libretto dwells precisely on the specific image of “waves,” and the assumption that a “good sailor becomes recognizable when it comes the time for a tempest.” In synthesis, Bandini approaches the nautical analogy as a commonplace of person (\textit{locus a persona}), based on the unstated assumption “human life is like navigating,” and which constitutes the general argument of his aria text “Se increspa l’onda.”

As expected, Jommelli sets the text as an \textit{aria di tempest}, a convention absent in the Metastasio-Persille setting of the story for Vienna. In this kind of comparison aria,\textsuperscript{94} belonging to the \textit{bravura} type from a vocal viewpoint, the idea of a storm, as condensed in certain key terms, such as “wind” and “waves,” typically gives the


\textsuperscript{93} As a token of the use of the saling metaphor in common language one can cite, for example, the aforementioned Alessandro Verri telling to his brother: “[..] you are afraid of me, as of a ship without rudder” (\textit{una nave senza timone}); see Verri, \textit{Carteggio}, 11; and Robert Hughes, \textit{Rome} (London: Phoenix, 2012), Ch. 9.

composer his cue for musical invention. This would conventionally involve certain compositional choices, including fast tempos, rapid runs, wide intervals, string tremolando, common-time signatures, major modes, and motives based on short note values or syncopated rhythms.

Almost all of these features are present in Jommelli’s music and prominent from the outset of its opening ritornello (Example 3.4; mm. 1-13). This aria, in this respect, resembles the dozens of tempest arias included in Italian cantatas and opere serie composed during the first half of the eighteenth century. “Se increspa l’onda,” however, is noteworthy because of the way Jommelli creatively moves within the limits of the convention, adding expressive value to Calasanz’s character’s portrayal.

Outstanding among the features of Jommelli’s setting are the working out of musical elocutio, encompassing both figures and compositio, that is, the syntactic style, relative formal flexibility, and the resort to written-out dynamics.

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95 On the process of displacement of interest by composers from actio, through elocutio and, finally, inventio as rhetorical compositional strategies during the Baroque period, see Hill, Baroque Music, 19.

96 See Fertonani, “‘Vo solcando un mar crudele’”: 75-77.

97 See Cabrini, “Breaking Form through Sound”: 335n21.

98 The term compositio is used here sensu stricto to refer to phrase-structure style, in connection to the rhetorical tradition. It should be recalled here that the use of figures and tropes is only one of the means to achieve the literary and/or musical ornatus (adornment) described as the goal of rhetorical elocutio, the other one being compositio. On this issue, for example, see Antonio Azaustre and Juan Casa, Manual de retórica española (Barcelona: Ariel, 1997), 142-5. One of the defining features of the Classical style is the ever more important role musical syntax—that is, again, compositio—would play in compositional thought, thus subverting the subsidiary role it played in the Baroque period, when the amplification and/or creation of rhetorical figures—the other part of the elocutio—and the musical inventio, dominated by the Affektenlehre, primarily determined musical speech.
Example 3.4: Niccolò Jommelli, *Giuseppe glorificato* (1749): Part II, opening measures of Giuseppe's aria "Se increspa l'onda," showing some musical features of the tempest-aria stereotype and the opening phrase of VP 1. Numbers added on the vocal line indicate metrical units.
Example 3.4: Cont.
It is remarkable how applying the features typical of the musical inventio of an aria di tempesta does not preclude elaboration of musical speech at the level of elocutio (use of figures and expressive manipulation of syntax). In this sense, it is noteworthy that the musical-grammatical subject of the first musical phrase of VP 1 in the first section (Example 3.5; mm. 19-24), through which Giuseppe renders the utterance “Se increspa l’onda,” also initiates the first phrase of VP 3 in the middle section (Example 3.5; mm. 88-89), to which the words “L’arte si ammira” are sung, in a sort of musical anaphora at the strophic level. This figure of repetition performs the function of realizing the implied semantic unity of the two stanzas of the aria, for these respectively form two enthymemes with a shared and unstated major premise (“navigating in good weather conditions is easy”).

99 The terms “subject” and “predicate” are to be understood here as “antecedent” and “consequent” as the constituents of a musical phrase; in this example “metrical units” are constituted by whole measures. Regarding the analysis of musical syntax, I apply here some terms and concepts developed in Heinrich Christoph Koch, Versuch Einer Anleitung Zur Composiion, 1782, 1787, 1793; partially translated in Heinrich Christoph Koch Introductory Essay on Composition: The Mechanical Rules of Melody, Sections 3 and 4, trans. Nancy Kovaleff Baker (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983); and John Walter Hill, Joseph Riepel’s Theory of Metric and Tonal Order, Phrase and Form: A Translation of His Anfangsgründe zur musicalischen Setzkunst, Chapters 1 and 2 (1752/54, 1755) with Commentary (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2014). A fuller account, with specialized commentary, of Riepel’s and Koch’s concepts is given here in Chapter 5.
Example 3.5: Niccolò Jommelli, *Giuseppe glorificato* (1749); Part II, Giuseppe’s aria "Se increspa l’onda" (excerpt including the opening measures of VP 3). Numbers added on the vocal line indicate metrical units.
The musical anaphora contributes to the understanding of the semantic and logical congruency between the two stanzas all the more effectively because some notable features combine to bestow a high level of pregnancy to the phrase antecedent (Example 3.5; mm. 19-20): the C-major triadic contour and the octave leap that form the phrase consequent, against the background of a mild—only light winds blow in the first stanza—*tempesta* accompaniment, with the eighth-note motor rhythms of the violins, plus a simple musical syntax. This makes the phrase antecedent easily recognizable at its reappearance as the beginning of VP 3 (Example 3.5; mm. 87-88), but now in the relative minor and in a different soundscape, commensurate with the severe conditions for navigation described by the librettist in the second

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100 The predicate of this musical phrase appears in Rinaldo di Capua's 1768 cantata, composed on the occasion of Calasanz's canonization, as noted in Chapter 4.
stanza. Jommelli’s music, here, includes an increased level of rhythmic activity through the perpetual motion of sixteenth notes in the violins, constant, thoroughly notated, dynamic contrasts p/f, and the expanded vocal range with frequent disjunct intervals. But his resort to a musical anaphora and a careful dosage of the musical features of a standard tempest music, are not Jommelli’s only means of amplifying the gradatio inherent to the poetic text. Or rather, Jommelli not only operates at at a deep level of the structure, not only at the surface level, in order to give shape to the poetic-musical archetype of the *tempesta*.

The musical *compositio*, or syntax, plays a major role with regard to the musical *inventio* of the tempest that the pilot in this aria—symbol of Calasanz—must face. Specifically, Jommelli approaches the two stanzas of the aria with different styles of musical phrasing. Thus, VP 1 in the first section, containing two musical phrases, displays a simple syntax, based on strategies of phrase *extension*—the addition of “explanations or appendices” following the four basic metric units of the musical phrase—whereas the second stanza, set to only one phrase, relies on an *expanded* phrase scheme—characterized by the insertion of segments, and elaboration of motives, between metric units 2 and 3 (between subject and predicate). A comparison between the first phrase of VP 1, within the first section of the aria, and that of VP 3, which constitutes by itself the middle section, illustrates this stylistic feature.

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The first phrase of VP 1—whose predicate is repeated as a musical anaphora, as observed earlier—has four metric units, being both the subject and the predicate finely tailored to the dactylic-trochaic accentuation pattern (— UU | — U) of the quinario verse by the composer. This phrase terminates with an “explanation or appendix,” that is, an addition consisting of a two-measure ending formula (C major: IV-Ⅰ₄-V-Ⅰ). This phrase structure might be outlined as follows: 1-2-3-4 + 3'-4’—the second phrase in VP 2 is equally simple, but includes new, much longer, ending formulas for the sake of vocal virtuosity. This rhythmic coherence, metrical simplicity, and harmonic stability contrasts with the more complex and harmonically unstable syntax used by Jommelli in VP 3, in which the text describes a severe storm through such affect-laden actions as “growing angry,” “howling,” and “trembling.” In it, the subject of the first phrase (metrical units 1-2) of VP 1 is retained as the subject of a cadential phrase in the relative minor. But instead of proceeding directly to the predicate, Jommelli inserts four metrical units (Example 3.5; mm. 89-92). This happens only after an abrupt silence (all parts, as well as the voice, detained by a fermata on the rest), which creates an aposiopesis (Example 3.5; second half of m. 88). The inserted phrase takes the form of a melodic/harmonic sequence with a harmonic inflection on ii, which would be called a fonte—within the overall C major context—in period-theory terms.¹⁰² Then, the predicate ends with a forceful rhythmic and melodic gesture, which involves the elongation of metrical unit 4 and its elision with the

¹⁰² This harmonic scheme, frequently used in Classical music after medial cadences (e.g., at the outset of the second section in a binary form) can be represented like this: (I) – V/ii – ii – V₇– I. This pattern might be considered a sort of residual of the Fortspinnungstypus period, typical of the late Baroque music, which adapted into Absatz-like phrases as an insertion between predicate and subject. See John Walter Hill, Joseph Riepel’s Theory of Metric and Tonal Order, 378-381.
following phrase. In those two measures, the culminating point of the aria, the voice melodically unfolds a diminished triad (vii°), rendered in an ascending move of half notes that ends with a melodic tritone in the upper register of the vocal range. The motor rhythms and the forte dynamic marking bring this passage close to the musical sublime, a topic on the margins of the aria di tempesta, as the singer delivers the text “if the sea trembles.” The elided phrase that follows is, in turn, extended by the addition of a new ending formula consisting of a full cadence on i. The corresponding scheme would look like this: [1-2-(fonte: 1-2-3-4)-3-4=1-2-3-4=2-3-4]. The parenthesis, brackets, and the equal signs indicating elisions, graphically illustrate a more complex syntax, hierarchically organized, due to the processes of compounding and expansion described.

Other local rhetorical devices worth mentioning include the use of the oboes and horns, in slurred whole-note figures, over the words “fiato leggero” (light wind), in the first section and the musical imitation of sea waves, which are mentioned in the first line of the aria, through eighth-note arpeggiated figures in the violins (Example 3.5; mm. 14-17). Both of these sounding descriptions of natural phenomena are instances of musical hypotiposis, or even, in the latter case, specifically musical hydrographia, also remarkable because it affects the overall form of the aria and serves a dramatic function. Thus, immediately after the opening ritornello and before the first phrase of VP 1, the voice sings the words of the first line of the stanza in

103 On the features of Jommelli’s sublime style see Clive McClelland, “Ombra Music in the Eighteenth Century: Context, Style and Signification” (Ph.D. diss., The University of Leeds, 2012), 48. Of particular interest is his mention that Jommelli used to turn to vii° chord in order to “color words with horrifying associations.” Likewise interesting, regarding the mediating function of this oratorio as far as the perception of the concept of holiness is concerned, is the suggested relationship between the sublime and the eliciting of devotion; see ibid., 19.
whole notes on the same pitch, against the aforementioned violin figures, after which fragment a vocal fermata introduces VP 1 proper. This musical hydrography, bearing the *segno* of the da capo, has a function of preparing the audience, that is, it works also as musical procatescene.

It is, however, the intelligent use of an aria convention as a symbol that is remarkable here. Thus, the *tempesta* locus plays a decisive role in the characterization of Calasanz as a hero, thereby emphasizing the *gradu heroico* of his virtues while defining an image of holiness congruent with the ideals of Enlightenment theology. The iconic image of the pilot steering a vessel through a heavy sea, as conveyed by the corresponding aria convention, might easily be understood, within the Western literary tradition, as a sign standing for the hero. The high level of literacy among the audiences of the performances at the Collegio Nazareno allows one to take for granted that, when listening—and reading—how Giuseppe referred to Calasanz in terms of a pilot facing the storm, the figure of one of those legendary sailors of antiquity would emerge in their imagination. It is even reasonable to assume that the image of Ulysses or Aeneas, would be part of the sign-interpretant, that is, “the linguistc-based effect created by the sign-object relation,” of the Piarist founder as a pilot;\(^{104}\) and that the *aria di tempesta* “Se increspa l’onda” would cast the character of a hero on the mental representation of Calasanz.

That this chain of semiosis was at play in the original performing context of Jommelli’s oratorio is evidenced, for example, by the sonnet “For the disembarkation in Italy of

the B. Joseph Calasanz” that the poet Pasquale Fantauzzi—among the Arcadians, Fibreno Mellissiaco—composed for the accademia held by the Arcadia in December 1749, in order to honor Calasanz as a new blessed (Figure 3.6). 105 Besides, the poems recited in this accademia, amongst which there is an epigram by Filippo Azzon (alias Pandaro), advocate for the Beatification Cause, and a sonnet by the Piarist Arcadian Emmanuelle Manfredi (Eretteo Sotterio) consistently refers to Calasanz as a hero, including references to Heracles, as well.106 As can be seen, most of the pieces of the symbolic puzzle about Calasanz are brought together in this poem, where the founder is explicitly compared to Aeneas, the Trojan hero who ended his voyage by founding Rome.107 Moreover, the image of a pilot guiding “the Roman youth,” suggested by this sonnet, helps understand another aria di tempesta, “Nave in feral tempesta” by Rinaldo di Capua in his L’Angelo di Tobia for Calasanz’s canonization, as will be illustrated in the next chapter. Here is Fantauzzi’s Arcadian sonnet of 1749:

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106 See Giner, El proceso de beatificación de San José de Calasanz, 380.

107 On the theme of heroism regarding the figure of Aenea, and his pilot Palinurus, see Michael C. J. Putnam, “Unity and Design in Aeneid V,” Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 66 (1962): 206. The author states that “One theme lies just beneath the surface throughout: the necessity of sacrifice through suffering, sometimes even self-sacrifice, to reach for and on occasion to achieve the goals of heroism.”
Qual nave io veggio, sopra cui Nocchiero lieto guida fra i venti il suo cammino?
E ad onta del crudel fluoto marino al lido Italian volge il sentiero?

What vessel do I see, in which a pilot is guiding its happy journey through the wind?
And is he turning its course toward Italy because of the cruel sea currents?

E’ questo forse quel bel Legno altero, augusto avanzo del Trojan destino?
E in riva al Tebro sopra il Suol Latino Enea ritorna, a fondar novo Impero?

Is this, perhaps, that proud boat, that majestic remnant of Trojan destiny? Is Aeneas returning to the banks of the Tiber in order to found a new empire on Latin soil?

Enea non già: ma altro Guerrier più forte, che l’antico Avversario d’ogni bene lo stral Giuseppe avvenerà di morte, e alla Romana Gioventù già viene, chi di bella Pietà le virtù assorte Trarrà de’ vizj dalle rie catene.

No longer Aeneas but a stronger warrior, for the mainstay Giuseppe will defeat death, the old adversary of all good, and he is already coming to Roman youth: he who drew his virtues from beautiful piety will drag out their vices in arduous chains.

However, the heroic character that the aria “Se increspa l’onda” adds to Calasanz’s image of holiness is not restricted to the literary overtones that Bandini’s text certainly has: one should not forget that the role of Giuseppe, image of Calasanz, was tailored to the high-pitched treble voice of Gioacchino Conti alias Egiziello, a castrato of great renown, who was paid s. 30, s. 9:50 more than Jommelli, per sua “Ricognizione per aver cantato” at the Collegio Nazareno performance of Giuseppe glorificato.108 No doubt, castrati indexed the idea of heroism in the minds of an audience well versed in the eighteenth-century dramma per musica, and partly because of the seemingly

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108 According to Philipp Spitta, “Rinaldo Di Capua,” Vierteljahrsschrift Für Musikwissenschaft 3 (1887): 97, Giziello even worked under Handel’s direction in London between 1736 and 1737. Regarding his performing for the Collegio Nazareno, see “Introito ed esito delle contribuzioni,” MS without location number, Aprile 1749, fols. 159-160, Archivio del Collegio Nazareno; as published in Careri, Catalogo, 94.
impossible vocal passagework they were able to perform, partly because of the nature of the roles they usually played on stage. I suggest that the heroic aura that castrati bore on stage would inevitably be transferred to other genres like the oratorio where, 

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109 For the association between castrati and heroic roles, see Roger Freitas, “The Eroticism of Emasculation: Confronting the Baroque Body of the Castrato,” *The Journal of Musicology* 20, no. 2 (Spring, 2003): 196-249; Fertonani, “Vo solcando un mar crudele”; 76, in turn, points out the link between castrati and the composition/performance of *arie di tempesta*. This association between castrati voices and the figure of the hero has not only resisted the passing of centuries, but also proven successful as a marketing strategy, as commercial recordings like that of 1999 by the counter-tenor Andreas Scholl for Decca, entitled “Heroes,” illustrates. Although not explicitly turning to the concept of the hero, “Sacrificium,” Cecilia Bartoli’s 2009 recording for Decca, offers a selection of castrati arias of the first half of the eighteenth century and opens with Porpora’s “Come nave in mezzo all’onde” (*Siface*, Act i). Three more *arie di tempesta* are included, namely, Porpora’s “Nobil onda” (*Adelaide*), “Son qual nave” (*Artaserse*—Pasticcio, Act iii), and Vinci’s “Chi temea Gioveregnante” (*Farnace*), in which special sound effects are included.
in the absence of a simultaneous visual context, the musical dramaturgy would be mainly embodied in the voice. In the case of the Bandini-Jommelli Giuseppe, sung by Egiziello, this would mean a very powerful means to highlight the *gradu-heroico* component of Calasanz’s sanctity and, by implication, also that of Enlightenment saints.
Sanctity Achieved: Performing (Con)text and Ritual

*A “Thick Description”*

“Some salami slices and a piece of cake” were served for breakfast at the Collegio Nazareno, early in the morning of 16 July 1767.¹ And, to judge from the bitterness with which Pietro Verri remembers the green beans he was given for meals while he was there, this would amount to a generous improvement over the usual diet of the Collegio, an indication that the Piarists took care of even small details in order to symbolically signal that date.² For on that day Clement XIII was going to canonize Joseph Calasanz, along with five other beati, at the Basilica di San Pietro, where torches and lanterns had been set out during the previous evening.

Despite the numerous favors attributed to Calasanz’s intercession during the years following his beatification—as hundreds of votive offerings accumulated on his sepulcher would testify—it had taken the promoter of the cause seventeen years to have two miracles approved by the Congregation of the Rites, and the day had finally

¹ See “Giornale del Collegio Nazareno,” MS without location number, 1766-1797, Archivio del Collegio Nazareno; as quoted in Vannucci, *Il Collegio Nazareno*, 139n44.

come. Significantly, some days after the canonization ceremony, the proud Piarists made Innocenzo Spinazzi remove the capital “B” (Beato) from the pedestal where he had installed, in 1755, Calasanz’s statue in the central nave at S Peter, in order to replace it with a glamorous “S” (Sancto). A long and complicated process, by no means reducible to its legal or even liturgical facet, was thus coming to an end.

Piarists were well aware that, along with the canonical process, they would need to “prepare hearts, both inside and outside their corporation, in order to promote more and more Calasanz’s worshipping.” In other words, they had to finish building the public face of Calasanz as a saint, a task started during the years following his beatification in 1748 with Jommelli’s oratorio, Arcadian poets compositions, and Spinazzi’s sculpture, among other means. And they put great effort into it, as the more than s. 16,000 invested in the whole process and the diverse media brought into play demonstrate.

The symbolic construction of the forthcoming saint would involve, for example, the publication of several new biographies of Calasanz. Among those, the first was by Urbano Tosetti, rector of the Collegio Nazareno between 1760-1763. In addition, the Compendio storico della vita di San Giuseppe Calasanzio della Madre di Dio delle Scuole Pie, published by Giovanni Zempel the same year of the canonization,

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3 See DO, July 1767, n. 7809; quoted in Giner, El proceso de beatificación de San José De Calasanz, 388n55. After the beatification, for which the gradu heroico of the candidate’s virtues had to be determined, the approbation of two miracles was needed to fulfill the process toward canonization. On the canonization process of Calasanz, culminated in Clement xiii’s Breve Admirabilis sane, see Gyorgy Sántha, “Canonizatio beati Iosephi Calasanctii,” Ephemerides Calasanctianae 7-8 (1967): 321-336.
4 Ibid., 336.
5 Ibid., 331.
6 Ibid., 337. This amount included not only the expense of the canonical process, but also subsequent celebrations honoring the saint, which took place over the following year. In any case, these expenses added to those of the beatification process (from 1683 through 1749), amounting some s. 30,000.
1767, stands out. This biography, which retains the heroic rhetoric of the previous ones, was presented to the pontiff and the main prelates of the Curia, thereby fulfilling a clear representational function. It contains references to Calasanz as a “guardian angel” (Angelo custode) as well as the biblical figure of Tobia. These are, as will be seen, two out of the three roles of the componimento sacro, L’angelo di Tobia, under discussion in this chapter.

The biography commissioned from the Piarist Francesco Bonada by the 1754 General Chapter, carefully written in Latin, and also published in 1764 by Giovanni Zempel, Vita B. Josephi Calasanctii a Matre Dei, is also worth mentioning. It includes an engraved reproduction of the painting that the Father General Giuseppe Giuria had commissioned from an aged Sebastiano Conca (1679-1764). In the painting, most likely popularized by its inclusion in Bonada’s book as an engraving, Calasanz appears as a saint, surrounded by children holding books, and standing before a typically Baroque opening of heaven, presided over by the assumed Virgin Mary (Figure 4.1). This theme, in fact, is composed according to one of the main iconographic types of Calasanz. One, in fact, might even think of the children holding a book and surrounding him as an iconographic attribute—of course, also visible in Spinazzi’s sculpture—identifying the saint. As will be shown, it is on this image of a fatherly figure guiding a child that Bandini based his portrait of Calasanz—and metonymically,

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7 Urbano Tosetti, Compendio storico della vita di S. Giuseppe Calasanzio (Roma: Giovanni Zempel, 1767), 1, begins stating the difficulty of an endeavor such as “summarizing the life of a great hero” (“scrivere in compendio la vita d’un grand’eroe”).

8 Tosetti, Compendio, 10. “Non gli mancava soavità di facondia, dolcezza di tratto, discernimento de’geni, e possesso di stima, che sono i fonti dell’efficacia in chi parla per altrui correzione. Il nobil giovane Matteo Garzia chiamava Giuseppe Angelo suo custode.”

9 For a complete account of Calasanz’s biographies, see Giner et al., Escuelas Pías: Ser e historia, 25-34.
of Piarists in general, too—as Azaria, the guardian angel of Tobia in his 1768 componimento.

Figure 4.1: Engraving of Sebastiano Conca’s 1763 oil on canvas *Saint Joseph Calasanz shows the Virgin to the children*, included in Francesco Bonada’s biography of Calasanz. Work in the public domain; digitized by Google
Conca’s canvas, finished in 1764, was, in turn, intended for the high altar at the church of St. Pantaleo, annexed to the Piarist headquarters and residence of Calasanz in Rome. This altar was being renovated according to the design of Luigi Vanvitelli (1700-1773), the famous architect of Pope Clement XII and King Charles VII of Naples, in preparation for the translation of Calasanz’s body at the time of his canonization. Finished in 1767 and still dependent on a Baroque architectonic style, it created an impressive scenario intended to host Calasanz’s image and body.

Many other paintings were commissioned by the Father General to be presented to certain prelates, benefactors, Cardinal Marco Antonio Colonna, and Pope Clement XIII. These included, for example, canvases by the Roman painter Gaetano Lapis (1706-1776) and the Arcadian Domenico Corvi (1721-1803). The determination of the Piarists on the public display of their founder was very remarkable and covered a full range of artistic media as well as social and religious practices and rituals, inextricably related to each other, and whose impact reached across the city of Rome, beyond the walls of the Collegio Nazareno and St. Pantaleo’s church. The Piarists were thus in position to strengthen the ties between the memory of the would-be saint-founder and “specific institutions and places, thereby re-drawing the geographies of holiness” within the city, which fact would potentially bring symbolic gains, as—it goes without saying—holiness and power were connected categories in eighteenth-century Rome.

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10 Sántha, “Canonizatio beati Iosephi Calasanctii”: 335.

This is seen even better in the celebrations that took place during and after the canonization.12

Of course, Calasanz having been its founder and first rector, the Collegio Nazareno would celebrate his canonization without much concern for cost:

Because it was the Saint who wrote its Rules and was its first Rector, the [Piarist fathers at the] Collegio Nazareno wanted to celebrate a solemn and sumptuous Triduo on Sunday, Monday and Thursday, 17th, 18th, and 19th of this month [April]. To this effect, they had the ground-floor gallery adorned with fine-gold lacy velvets, damasks, and crimson fabrics, and with candelabras and crystals. The galleria was thus turned into an Oratory, where an altar, with a portrait and a relic of the Saint, was set. There, many distinguished prelates and churchmen celebrated mass during the three days. The upper-floor hall was even more magnificently prepared, since it was there that the public Accademie di Belle Lettere, interspersed with a three-voice cantata, were to take place. Likewise, it was observed that the galleria leading to the aforementioned hall was also very aptly ornamented.13

This paragraph, published in the periodical newsletter of the city, DO, makes clear that the performance of Rinaldo di Capua’s componimento sacro was but one element, admittedly a principal element, in the triduo celebrative complex, a three-day

12 They included, for example, Clement XIII’s extraordinary declaration of the canonization day as preceptive and with plenary indulgence for attendants; the illumination of all the Piarist buildings with torches during the days 16-18 of July, as well as those of the Roman confraternities to which Calasanz had belonged to; and the pompous parade in which the banner with Calasanz’s image was taken from S Peter’s Basilica to S Pantalaeno’s convent following exactly the same path the founder followed when arrested by the Holy Office at age 86. See Sántha, “Canonizatio beati Iosephi Calasanctii”: 337.

13 See DO, Aprile 1768, n. 7929; quoted in Enrico Careri, Catalogo, 111. “Ancora il Collegio Nazareno diretto da medesimi Padri, per essere ivi stato il Santo Legislatore, e primo Rettore, nelle giorni di Domenica, Lunedi e Martedì 17 18 e 19 del corrente mese, ne vollero solenizzare suntuoso Triduo, al quale effetto fecero primieramente apparare la Galleria del pian terreno di velluti, e damaschi, cremisi, con vaghi lavori di trine d’oro per fino nella volta, con nobili lampadari, e placche di cristallo, e ridotta questa a guisa di Oratorio, vi fu eretto l’Altare con il Quadro, e Reliquia del Santo, dove in tutti li tre giorni vi si portarono a celebrare Messa diversi prelati, e molti ragguardevoli Ecclesiastici. Di più apparato magnificamente il gran Salone superiore, per tenervi in detti tre giorni pubbliche Accademie di Belle Lettere, quali vennero inframmezzate da una Cantata a tre scelte voci, essendosi ancora osservata l’altra Galleria, che al detto Salone introduce, ancor questa ornata con molta proprietà.” The DO devotes nearly 7 full pages to the April triduo at the Collegio Nazareno.
commemoration in which devotional practices around the saintly body itself, official liturgies, crafts, poetry, painting, architecture, and music converged again in a well-planned event. In light of this, and even from a musicological perspective, it would be a mistake to consider all of the non-musical phenomena as mere accidents surrounding the musical performance, since they represented, I believe, specific manifestations of the “stratified hierarchy of meaningful structures” in terms of which Di Capua’s *componimento* was to be “produced, perceived and interpreted.”

Were those not taken into account, today’s listener would miss most of the semantic links embedded in this musical work, for the meaning of the musical performance depended to a great extent on an ongoing reciprocation between text and context.

It is, in this sense, of special significance, for example, that the *DO* referred to the transformation of the ground-floor gallery into an oratory in which even religious services could take place. This transformation was mainly accomplished by the theatrical preparation of the space in this *galleria* (with “fine-gold lacy velvets, damasks,” etc.), but more importantly, thanks to the installation of an altar in which a portrait and a relic of the new saint were placed. This is all the more important if one assumes that “visual representation of saints,” as well as their relics, worked “as catalysts or agents of change in conceptions of the city and/or sanctity.”

Or even more, that relics occupied an ambiguous position at the crossroads of the mundane and the divine. The saint’s relic was at once historical, bearing the *gesta* of the saint; but it was also celestial, representing someone invisible,

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15 See Hills, “How to Like a Counter-Reformation Saint,” 209.
omnipresent and eternally alive. It was this ability to occupy both directions simultaneously forward and back, heaven and earth, and [...] to be still unequivocably embodied that gave saints' relics their authority and power.
It was not simply that saints made places sacred; in the visualization of sanctity place was reshaped—made ganz anders.\textsuperscript{16}

Undoubtedly, the proximate physical presence of the body of sanctity would also dramatically change the dimensions of the notion and experience of “verisimilitude in the representation of the hero[-saint]”—so vehemently defended by early promoters of opera reform like Giovanni Maria Crescimbeni or Ludovico Antonio Muratori—in the performance of the Bandini/Di Capua \textit{componimento}.\textsuperscript{17} While Calasanz’s images approximated the heroic ideals of the Enlightenment through poetic and musical characterization, his actual body (or parts of it), unlike the mythical heroes’ in \textit{opera seria}, was still visible and touchable—inasmuch as the rituals of presentation of relics usually involved their being kissed—beyond musical performance.

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid. Calasanz’s relics were also object of artistic elaboration, as some of the sonnets written by Arcadian poets already in 1749, referred to in the previous chapter, evidence.

Besides, the “reshaping of space” at the ground-floor *galleria* was literally feasible in the case of the great hall (*gran Salone*), located on the *piano nobile*, in which the performance of the annual cantatas used to take place at the Collegio Nazareno (Figure 4.2). This hall, a product of the partial remodeling driven by the architect Sebastiano Cipriani (c.1660-c.1740) in the early Settecento, communicated with the annex, the so-called chapel of St. Philip Neri, through a large door in the front wall (not workable today). Thus, when this door was open, the whole *salone* was actually
“turned into an ample church.” It can be said, therefore, that the venue in which the Bandini/Di Capua *componimento* was to be performed was an ambiguous, fluid space.

Yet not only space was metamorphosed, since “the essence of ritual,” is “to abolish time, at least temporarily,” as commonly suggested by cultural antropologists. As noted before, during the days of April 17, 18, and 19, a series of religious services and rituals were interspersed with three performances of *L’angelo di Tobia*. The schedule of the first day suffices to illustrate the intense accumulation of events well into late night:

April 17, 1768, Sunday. First day of the solemn *Triduo* in honor of Saint Joseph Calasanz, founder of the religious order and the Collegio. *Convittori* woke up at the tenth hour [after the previous sunset]. [...] The cantata [sic] in honor of the Saint started at the fifteenth hour, with the attendance of 13 Most Eminent Cardinals, [...] 32 prelates, and many noblemen. [...] His Holiness came to honor the Collegio at the twenty-third hour, and, after a brief prayer at the Chapel, he admitted the whole Collegio to the kissing of his feet. 62 Torches in the windows of the *Appartamento nobile*, four candelabras facing the medallion of the Saint, and 14 tarred torches were lighted from the first hour through the third hour.

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18 See Andrea Leonetti, *Memorie del Collegio Nazareno* (Bologna: Tipografia Pont. Mareggiani, 1882), 51. “[... ] d’incontro, di faccia a chi entra, gran porta che rinchiude altare e cappella, e che aperta cangia l’aula in vasta chiesa.” On architectural style of the Piarists, see Nicolò de Mari, Marco Rosario Nobile and Simonetta Pascucci, eds. “L’architettura delle Scuole Pie nei disegni dell’archivio della casa generalizia,” special issue, *Archivium Scholarum Piarum* 23, no. 45-46 (1999): 174. The vault of the hall, as it can be partially appreciated in Figure 4.2, was adorned between 1731 and 1739 with a fresco by Gaspare Serenari (1707-1759) representing *God’s glory and the triumph of the fine arts and sciences*, a theme commensurate with the theological, scientific, and educational goals of an institution in the orbit of the Catholic Enlightenment, as the Collegio Nazaren was.

19 Peter Burke, “Sacred rulers, royal priests: rituals of the early modern popes,” in *The Historical Anthropology*, 176, 183. That is to say, based on “Becker, Geertz, and Soebardi’s discussions,” that “the temporal significance of ritual goes beyond the punctuation of meaningless durations into significant periods.” See Roy A. Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 180. For a discussion on the “human mind” as the “critical locus of temporal process” and how “memory, hope, and expectation” affect its perception, in connection with religious rituals (liturgies), see ibid., 175-180.

To this schedule one has to add, on the one hand, the ritualized welcoming of the Cardinals, which took place well before the beginning of the event, Cardinal Colonna, protector of the Collegio, in charge. In addition, after the performance abundant refreshments were served.²¹

The sublimation of the experience of time and space, possibly suggested to believers by the presence of bodily relics, images, the setting of liturgical scenery, the spatial ambiguity of the Salone—both sacred and secular—and, principally, the succession of ritualized events, from liturgy through social salutations and musical performance, seemed thus to favor, it is my suggestion, a fluidity between the religious and the secular.²² And this is significant to the construction of Calasanz’s holiness through the *componimento L’angelo di Tobia*. In this composition, in fact, this fluidity between heaven and earth is embodied in a figure whose very nature is ambiguous: the archangel—a heavenly creature—Raphael, in disguise as the human being—an

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²¹ See DO, April 1768, n. 7929, 5, 8.

²² I follow here the aforementioned idea by Helen Hills on the “visualization of sanctity” as embodied in relics, who, in order to support her intuition that it “reshaped place,” turns to Rudolf Otto, *Das Heilige: über des Irrationale in der Idee des Göttlichen und sein Verhältnis zum Rationalen* (Munich: Trewendt & Granier, 1917). This author “sees the numinous itself as induced by the revelation of divine power, such as religious fear before fascinating mistery (*mysterium fascinans*), terror before the awe-inspiring mystery (*mysterium tremendum*) and majesty (*majestas.*)” See Hills, “How to Look Like a Counter-Reformation Saint,” 209n12. This idea, it is my suggestion, may be easily connected to the concept of the religious sublime and, in turn, the sublime as a musical topic.
earthly creature—Azaria, who acts as a guide, guardian, and preceptor of the young Tobia and symbolically stands for Calasanz in Bandini’s libretto.

The DO, besides, tells us what the pope did at the Collegio that night, which demonstrates the importance of the componimento as part of the symbolic capital that the Piarists were investing:

His Holiness wanted to honor the Triduo by venerating our saint in the aforementioned oratory. The Holy Father was welcomed by The Most Reverend Fr. General Giuseppe Maria Giuria, the superiors of the order, and the rector of the Collegio. After having prayed, he was led into an annex room, which was nobly set. Having taken a seat in a beautiful chair elevated on a platform, he very kindly admitted the fathers, the gentlemen convittori, and all of the students of the Collegio, to kiss his most holy feet. Just before the pope left, the most Reverend Fr. General presented him with an image of the saint, printed on silk fabric and adorned with golden lace, the [printed text of the] cantata [sic] elegantly bound, and a beautiful bouquet of artificial flowers. At the same time, the Fr. General most humbly thanked the pope on behalf of the entire Collegio for the honor bestowed on it.23

The proximity in time and space of the presentation of the cantata to that of the presentation of an image of the saint, as well as the kissing of the papal feet, first indicates the extent to which this musical work, either performed or reified in the printed libretto, was part of a complex of signs aiming to communicate Calasanz’s holiness. Second, it shows that canonizations, extraordinary though they were, can also be taken as part of the “ritual system used to present the pope to the public, to

23 See DO, April 1768, n. 7929, 7; my italics. “[. . .] La Santità di N. Sig., [. . .] volle onorare detto Triduo, con portarsi a venerare il Santo nell’Oratorio già detto di sopra; fu ricevuto il S. Padre dai Rmo. P. Giuseppe Maria Giuria Preposito Generale, con li PP. Superiori della Religione, e Rettore del Collegio, de doppo di avere alquanto orato, si trasferì in una sala ivi contigua nobilmente apparata, e sedutasi Sua Santità in una ricca sedia elevata da pradella, ammise con somma clemenza al baggio de suoi SSmi. piedi i Padri, i Cavalieri Convittori, e gli Alunni tutti del Collegio, e nell’atto di partire, il Rmo. P. Generale li presentò l’Immagine del Santo stampata in seta, e guarnita di merletto d’oro, la Cantata nobilmente legata, ed una vaga mappa di fiori finti, rendendogli nel tempo stesso le umilissime grazie, a nome di tutto il Collegio, per l’onore compartitogli.”
represent him or to ‘construct’ him,” a ritual system that aimed to enact papal majesty through recursive “ceroniemes” such as the kissing of his feet or the preparation of a ceremonial chair. In order to illustrate this point, as far as the evidence provided by the librettos written for the Collegio Nazareno is concerned, it suffices to recall the references to Benedict XIV as a crowned hero or royal priest, within the plot of Jommelli’s 1749 Giuseppe glorificato, or the expressions of appreciation toward Benedict XIV and Clement XIII contained in the argomento of Bandini’s librettos of 1749 and 1768, respectively.

Rinaldo di Capua’s componimento was also performed at the third hour after the previous sunset on the second and third days of the Triduo. While the first day’s performance had been intended for the College of Cardinals, who occupied the chairs in the front row, prelates dressed in habit, and some lay princely attendants occupying the remaining chairs, for the performance on Monday, April 18, “all Roman nobility” had been “previously invited.” On this occasion the front row of the hall was occupied by a “good number of princesses and ladies.” Refreshments would be served this day, too. Finally, the convittori of the Collegio and many churchmen from various religious orders, also formally invited in advance, attended the performance on Thursday, the third day of the festivity. On all three days the performance of the componimento sacro was framed by recitations of various Latin poems before and during the intermission, as well as after the performance, with the active participation

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24 See Peter Burke, “Sacred rulers, royal priests: rituals of the early modern popes,” 169, 171.

25 See DO, April 1768, n. 7929, 8. “Il seguente Lunedì, secondo giorno del Triduo, con preventivo invito di tutta la Nobiltà Romana, si replicò all’istess’ora della Domenica la Cantata, occupando il primo circolo di sedie un buon numero di Principesse, e Dame.”
of noblemen, princes, and the *convittori* themselves, and under the direction of the rhetoric teacher. In sum, a very representative sample of the entire Roman ecclesiastical and civil society was reached or directly engaged during the Triduo at the Collegio Nazareno.²⁶

*The Composer, the Libretto, and the Musical Composition: an Overview*

*L’angelo di Tobia* was the last of the twelve cantatas and *componimenti sacri* that Rinaldo di Capua composed for the Collegio Nazareno beginning in 1753, when he succeeded Jommelli as the composer of the annual cantatas at the Collegio, through 1768. It was the work, therefore, of a mature composer, living a precarious life in Rome—according to Charles Burney’s testimony—after having achieved considerable success, mostly as an opera composer, throughout Italy (particularly, in Rome) and Europe, in the central decades of the century.²⁷

The story selected for the *componimento* honoring Calasanz’s canonization was the biblical episode of Tobiah, which offered remarkable symbolic potential. On the one hand, Tobiah’s pious childhood could represent that of Calasanz, as Archbishop

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²⁶ See *DO*, April 1768, n. 7929, 6.

²⁷ The most complete overview of Rinaldo’s biography is that published by Ariella Lanfranchi in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, which include references to all previous contributions on the composer. Among these ones, stand out the following: Philipp Spitta, “Rinaldo Di Capua”: 92-121; Bostian, “The Works of Rinaldo di Capua”; and Mario Santanché, “Rinaldo di Capua.” Spitta restricts itself to the operatic production; Bostian offers a general approach to the composer’s entire output; and Santanché includes references to the composer collected in five different archives, and constitutes a first approach to Rinaldo’s works for the Collegio Nazareno, with special emphasis on the 1755 cantata.
Accorambonus had noted in his vote at the beatification coram Ssmo congregation. On the other hand, the biography of Tobiah’s father, Tobit, contains elements for iconicity with Calasanz, too, as he burdened himself with pious and charitable labors while in exile. Indeed, decades later, Urbano Tosetti would compare the saint’s works with those of Tobiah (meaning Tobit), as noted before. However, it was neither Tobiah nor Tobit who would function as the symbolic type of Calasanz in this componimento sacro. Instead, this time, Bandini chose to construct the founder’s saintly image upon the figure of Azaria, Tobiah’s mysterious guide during his journey to Rhages in Media. The personage of Azaria (Archangel Raphael in disguise), guiding an adolescent who turns into a young adult in the process of the journey, matched very well that of Calasanz, as projected by one of his main iconographic types, as observed above. Even Tosetti would mention a testimony in his aforementioned 1767 biography, according to which one of Calasanz’s childhood friends would call him his “guardian angel.”

For the purpose of making the plot turn around the figure of Azaria, Bandini had to recenter the biblical narration, as he did in the 1749 Giuseppe glorificato. Thus, the libretto for L’angelo di Tobia departs from its main eighteenth-century antecedents and consequents, as it will be illustrated after this synopsis:

**PART I**

About to reach home in Nineveh, after a long sojourn in Rhages in Media, Azaria/Raffaele (S) expresses to Tobia (S) his confidence in the recovery of Tobit’s eyesight. Seemingly deaf to Azaria/Raffaele’s statement, Tobia questions him about his true identity (“Tell me, Azaria, is it therefore true that the heavenly messenger who was elected to take care of me went unrecognized

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28 See Giner, *El proceso de beatificación de San José De Calasanz*, 344.
by my side?”), and about the possibility for an earthly creature to see God. Azaria/Raffaele responds that the human intellect can foresee God through natural phenomena. For this purpose, he teaches the young Tobia about the natural phenomenon of color perception. Then, Azaria/Raffaele suddenly turns Tobia’s attention to his father, who has just recovered his eyesight. Tobit (T) thanks God, not for his recovered eyesight, nor because of his son’s return to home, but for Tobia having acquired virtue and knowledge. He also expresses his doubts about Azaria/Raffaele’s identity (“Oh, you are not entirely that which is displayed to my eyes”). Then, Tobit asks his son Tobia to recount the dangerous events that threatened his life during the journey. Tobia proceeds, in a very vivid manner, to tell the story of crossing the Tigris river, where he was attacked by a ferocious fish, and how the bile and viscera he took out of the animal, following Azaria/Raffaele’s advice, helped him to frighten off his future wife’s demon and to cure his father’s blindness. Just as Tobit and Tobia begin discussing the reward Azaria/Raffaele deserves, the archangel declares his determination to leave, at which statement, both the father and the son express their dispair.

PART II

Azaria/Raffaele says goodbye and undergoes a transfiguration (“Is that Azaria’s face?”). Seeing Tobit’s and Tobia’s dispair, Azaria/Raffaele reveals his true identity and name and tells them that heaven is preparing a guide. Azaria, now openly as Archangel Raffaele, goes on to tell Tobia that he is the figure of the children to come. Then Tobit, not yet consoled, concludes that youngsters without a preceptor are like “birds out of the nest,” “passengers with no guide,” “sheep without a shepherd.” Raffaele, therefore, finds himself forced to completely unveil the future to his interlocutors: if Tobia is the figure of future children, the hazards overcome on his way to Rage are an image of the preoccupations and dangers of human life in its early stages. Moreover, from a new Azaria (i.e., Joseph Calasanz), “Calasanzian heroes” will germinate, when the signs of his “true Glory” and “perfect virtue” will be seen. Then Raffaele


30 For the philosophical and theological implications, in the context of the Catholic Enlightenment, of this statement, framed by two arias and supported by marginal notes referring to the Bible, the Church Fathers and even Isaac Newton, see Chapter 2.

31 Ibid., vi. “Ah tu non sei/ Quel, che tutto ti mostri agli occhi miei.”

32 Ibid., xi. “E’ d’Azaria quel volto?”

240
vanishes, as Tobit declares that the image of the hero (Joseph Calasanz), whom the archangel prefigures, remains in him.

It is remarkable that Bandini completely omits the moment in which Tobia is made out in the distance by his mother, that is, the climax of his returning home, and includes a non-biblical episode, namely, Azaria/Raffaele’s apparently pointless teaching about the natural phenomenon of color, to which I will return later. The reunion of mother and child would indeed be the basis for the “unity of plot achieved by centering on the return of the young Tobias” in Giovanni Gastone Boccherini’s libretto for Joseph Haydn’s 1775 *Il ritorno di Tobia*, which, in this aspect, does not add much to Apostolo Zeno’s earlier libretto for Antonio Caldara’s 1720 *azione sacra, Tobia*. \(^{33}\) Likewise, Antonio Lotti’s libretto for Giovanni Melani’s 1723 *Il ritorno di Tobia*, which is possibly based on Zeno’s, offers no novelty regarding the plot, either. Admittedly, Bandini could not include the vision of Tobia’s mother and her reunion with her son, for he had dispensed with the mother’s role in his libretto. What is more, he reduced the cast from the seven roles used by Zeno to just three *interlocutori*: Tobia, Tobite, and Azaria/Raffaele. But this reduction, typical of the cantatas, oratorios, pastorales, and *componimenti* for the Collegio Nazareno (leaving aside the practical economics of a smaller ensemble of singers), fits very well with Bandini’s intention to turn the story around the figure of Azaria/Raffaele, and displacing again the denouement from the reunion with Tobia to the visionary description of a future

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saint, Calasanz. This was, in fact, to be reflected in the title of the libretto (Figure 4.3), *L'angelo di Tobia*, which differs from most of the eighteenth-century librettos based on the same story.

The manuscript score, written by at least two hands and bearing the term *cantata* on the cover (Figure 4.4), includes rich instrumentation. The roster of singers and
instrumentalists, included in accounting books of the Collegio, tells us that three singers and twenty-six instrumentalists were hired for the occasion. For this genre and venue this was an unusually large number of musicians. In the DO, for example, one reads: “after the elegant oration, with a large number of musical instruments, the cantata for three select voices entitled L’angelo di Tobia, began.” Rinaldo di Capua employs careful scoring, principally in the arias, where his choices entirely depend on his interpretation of the text through the broader process of musical *inventio*. Particularly noteworthy is his unusual use of flutes in the first aria of the work, “Quell’ augellin,” in which a pastoral scenario is described.

34 See “Esito Generale,” aprile 1768, fol. 448; published in Careri, *Catalogo*, 112. Among the singers (*musici*) appears distinctively mentioned one such “Mr. Cristofari Soprano […] for having sang in the aforementioned three afternoons” (“S. Cristofari […] per aver cantato nelle sudd.e tre matine”), who most likely is Carlo de Cristofari (or Cristofori), a male soprano active in Rome at that time. The instrumentalists (*suonatori*) are distributed as follows: 12 violins, 4 violas, 2 cellos, 2 double basses, 2 oboes, 2 trumpets, and 2 *da caccia* horns.

35 See DO, April 1768, n. 7929, 6. “[…] doppo la quale, con gran quantità di strumenti musicali si principiò la Cantata a tre scelte voci intitolata L’Angelo di Tobia […]”

36 Flutes are not included in the list of instruments used for this work in Careri, *Catalogo*, 69. From the point of view of performance practice habits the absence of flute instrumentalists in the aforementioned roster is significant. This, and the fact that flute lines occupy the staves devoted to the oboes in other arias, point out the possibility that oboists switched instruments for that aria.
Calasanz’s Faces

Azaria/Raffalele’s character, and thereby Calasanz’s, is mostly constructed through Tobia’s and Tobite’s appreciative utterances. The first series of these statements occurs in Tobite’s first recitative, in the form of a series of rhetorical questions addressed to Azaria/Raffaele. Tobite asks about the doubtful possibility of finding a “faithful fellow, guardian, friend, conductor, teacher” like Azaria/Raffaele. In a few verses, half of the epithets used in the entire libretto to characterize Azaria/Raffaele are strung together. The remaining epithets, namely, “faithful leader” (Duce fedel),
“guide” (guida), “astute tutor” (precettor sagace), “shepherd” (pastore), and “wise guardian” (saggio Custode), are spread throughout the rest of the componimento in Tobia’s or Tobite’s speeches. These utterances abound with references to certain aspects of Calasanz’s constructed profile, a profile in which guidance, teaching, protection, and wisdom stand out. These traits not only match Giuseppe’s—and Calasanz’s—heroic characterization as a shepherd and a pilot in the Bandini-Jommelli 1749 Giuseppe, but are also pervasive in the literary and visual arts already mentioned here.

**TOBITE**

[... ] E dove, a regolar de’ giovanetti erranti le difficili vie,\(^b\)
dove in terra trovar fedel compagno, custode, amico, condottier, maestro,
Che rassomigli te? Chi mai lo vide? Chi l’udi tra i mortali? Ah tu non sei quel, che tutto ti mostri agli occhi miei.

(b) *Ipsi etiam Salomoni difficilis & ignota erat via viri in adolescentia. Prov. cap. 30. v. 19.*

**TOBITE**

[... ] And where, for the sake of regulating the errant youngsters difficult paths,\(^b\)
where on earth [can one] find a faithful companion, guardian, friend, leader, teacher, like you? Who ever saw one?
Who heard of one among mortals? Oh, you are not entirely that which is displayed to my eyes.

(b) Likewise, Solomon’s path to manhood was difficult and unknown during adolescence. *Prov. ch. 30, v. 19.*

Both Bandini and Rinaldo di Capua rhetorically signal the delivery of those words, important as they are for the construction of Calasanz’s profile of sanctity. The verse in which most of them are delivered (“custode, amico...”) is metrically ambiguous, as set by Rinaldo di Capua: only through a syneresis, which would reduce the three phonemic syllables of *ma-es-tro* to just two metrical ones (*maes-tro*), can this verse be
considered as an *endecasillabo*, of course, the sort of verse typical, along with the *settenario*, of versi sciolti for recitatives. But this syneresis is obliterated by the composer, for in the recitative, the word is syllabically set to three eighth notes. Accordingly, this verse is effectively heard as a *dodecasillabo* (twelve-syllable verse).

In fact, in the libretto, this verse shows a rhythmic segmentation ([3+3] + [3+3]) very unusual for an *endecasillabo*, and almost exactly like that typical of the *dodecasillabo* verse, understood as a *doppio senario*—that is, as containing a duplication of the binary amphibrach scheme (U — U | U — U). Only the presence of the word *condottier* breaks this amphibrach pattern. This metrical feature rhythmically distinguishes this verse from the seventeen *endecasillabi* (only four *settenari* are present) in the sequence of versi sciolti forming Tobite’s first recitative.

The musical delivery of this key verse in the recitative is remarkable because it breaks the syneresis, it isomorphically reflects its poetic rhythmic scansion, and also because the composer takes advantage of its unusual rhythmic pattern to musically realize a latent gradatio on the series custode< amico< condottier (Example 4.1). This melodic ascent by degrees, based on the A- and D-chord arpeggios, includes the peak of Tobite’s melodic profile in this recitative (f♯) and is harmonically reinforced through a cadence (D: V6 — I6) resolved on amico, the most explicitly affective appellative of the series. The result is, therefore, that the chain of terms directly aimed at characterizing a possible future Azaria, that is, the new saint Joseph Calasanz, gains a distinct

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37 The hendecasyllabic verse often presents a caesura, whose position depends on its metrical structure as an *endecasillabo a minore* (5+7), or *a maiore* (7+5), and includes an amphibrach pattern in final position only in the case of so-called cataleptic metrical feet. See Stefano La Via, *Poesia Per Musica E Musica Per Poesia: Dai Trovatori a Paolo Conte* (Roma: Carocci, 2006), 59-62.
rhythmo-poetic and intonational profile, which stands out from the rather formulaic recitative (see, for example, the repetition of the same rhythmic formula in mm. 42, 43, 48 and 50) used by di Capua here, if compared to Jommelli’s.\(^{38}\)

The last portion of Tobite’s first recitative, however, is not only significant for the accumulation of predicates attributable to Calasanz. It is equally fundamental to the inner plot of the *componimento* as a whole, since the chain of questions involved in it, namely, one “where” question including a conduplicatio of the interrogative (*dove*), plus two “who” questions, all three arguably constituting the figure *dubitatio*, is not resolved until Azaria/Raffaele’s aria in the *seconda parte*. Only then are these expectations fulfilled by his identification of Calasanz as the “new Azaria” (*novello Azaria*). In fact, di Capua underscores the two “who” questions by having them delivered, remarkably, with rising-pitch endings, the first of which, in addition, forms a melodic augmented fifth with an undeniable expressive charge.\(^{39}\) Thus, a conflict in the form of a fundamental question (“Where [can one] find a faithful companion,/guardian, friend, leader, teacher,/like you?”) arises, the expectation for whose—inevitably delayed—response will drive the inner plot of the work all the way to the end. Moreover, this question turns out to be essential because of its literary and biblical resonances within the cultural environment of the Catholic Enlightenment, as it will be explained later.


\(^{39}\) According to Bostian, “The Works of Rinaldo Di Capua,” 67, “the emotional content of the text is seldom reflected in [Di Capua’s] recitative. Occasionally when anger or some other strong emotion is felt there is an appropriate rise in pitch.”
At the outset of the second part, Azaria/Raffaele tells Tobite about heavenly plans to provide humankind with a new “guide” comparable to himself. This is made explicit in his aria, but only after he has revealed his true angelic identity, which increases
Tobite’s and Tobia’s desperation, in view of his imminent farewell. It is through this aria, whose content is but a continuation of the recitative dialogue, that a reference to Calasanz is made for the first time, although still in abstract terms (as a “guide” or “dearest great soul”) in the part B of the aria.

RAFFAELE
Non temer; al ciel io torno:
   tu raffrena il pianto imbelle;
dal soggiorno—delle stelle
   consolarti ognor saprò.<c
Per tua guida, or la più cara
   alma grande il ciel prepara.
A quell’alma il ciel ti affida,
e la guida—io guiderò.

(c) Coniectant aliqui auctores, septem Angelos ante Deum astantes, inter quos Raphael, eos esse, per quos tanquam per principes ministros mundus hic inferior gubernatur. Quod sane eruit ex Apoc. 1. 3. & 8. ubi septem Spiritus Dei missi dicuntur in omnem terram.

RAFFAELE
Do not be afraid; I am going back to heaven:
   restrain your cowardly weeping;
d from my home among the stars
   I will always know how to console you.<c
For your guidance, heaven is now
   preparing the dearest great soul.
To that soul heaven is entrusting you,
   and I will guide this guide.

(c) Some authors speculate that this inferior world is governed by seven angels, who stand before God—amongst whom Raphael must be, as much as by princely ministers. This can certainly be seen in Rev. 1; 3; and 8, where seven spirits of God are said to be sent to the entire earth.

In this dal segno aria, dramaturgically assimilable to an operatic aria di mezzo carattere, the strength of the literary text alone probably sufficed as a triggering factor of the inner-plot’s final denouement—the response to Tobite’s dubitatio—and as an affective driving force.40 The triple meter (¾) and the Allegretto marking, not the most usual of di Capua’s metrical frameworks, reasonably calls for a tempo di minuetto

40 A common procedure in Rinaldo di Capua’s arias written for the Collegio Nazareno, the dal segno marking usually meant the writing out of an abridged version of the opening ritornello at the end of the B section and the retake of A section in its second subsection. On this, see Santanché, “Rinaldo Di Capua,” 107.
reading, a dance rhythm said to evoke “moderate cheerfulness” by period authors.\textsuperscript{41} This would be apt in order to convey the consolation brought to Tobite and Tobit by Azaria/Raffaele. The composer places nearly all of the extended melismas sung by Azaria/Raffaele precisely in reference to that concept ("consolarti ognor saprò"). In addition, there are abundant (3) fermatas on rests on the last part of the measure, other than those (2) at cadential points—clearly intended for the singer’s vocal display. This is remarkable if an aria with three ornamented cadenzas was still the norm at the time of \textit{L’angelo de Tobia} in Rome, as observed by Pierfrancesco Tosi in 1723, in which case they might be taken as instances of aposiopesis.\textsuperscript{42} This, along with the continuous dynamic changes in the violins and the abundance of text repetition dwelling on the vehement imperative “raffrena il pianto” likely evoke Tobite’s choking sobs, which Azaria is trying to soothe.

In section B, very much briefer, in the relative minor (d) and with an Allegretto common time signature, Azaria/Raffaele’s premonitory words are set to a simpler singing style with only a conventional repetition of the final verse.\textsuperscript{43} The contrast involved, therefore, helps the audience focus on the key utterances, that is, the beginning of the resolution to Tobite’s mentioned dubitatio. The following recitative

\textsuperscript{41} See Johann Mattheson, \textit{Der Vollkommene Capellmeister} (Hamburg: 1739); as quoted in Hill, \textit{Baroque Music}, 394. For an overview of the compositional traits in di Capua’s operatic vocal numbers, see Bostian, “The Works of Rinaldo di Capua,” 137-158.

\textsuperscript{42} See Pier Francesco Tosi, \textit{Opinioni de’cantori antichi e moderni o sieno osservazioni sopra il canto figurato} (Bologna: Lelio della Volpe, 1723), 81; also quoted in Santanché, “Rinaldo di Capua,” 111.

\textsuperscript{43} The brevity and simplicity of middle sections is a typical feature of Rinaldo di Capua’s arias, according to Bostian, “The Works of Rinaldo Di Capua,” 162-172. In this sense Rinaldo moves away from Jommelli’s tendency to expand and extend musical phrases in the middle sections of his arias, as illustrated with the case of “Se increspa l’onda,” in his 1749 \textit{Giuseppe glorificato}. 250
and aria constitute a development of this resolution; they become even more salient to the musical characterization.

Another aria di tempesta: Dramatizing the Need for Instruction

As expected, Azaria/Raffaele’s somewhat hermetic words in his aria elicit a reaction of wondering from both Tobite and Tobia, who ask “when” and “how” that “dearest great soul” whom heavens is preparing as a guide for future ages will appear; and, once again, “who” will he be? Before long, Azaria/Raffaele intercedes, “Yet that gift, still immature and hidden from you, may be unveiled, at least partially.”44 At his point, the symbolic function of the roles begins to unfold in a three-part dialogue ending with Tobite’s aria. The excerpt, including its very significant marginal notes printed in the libretto, is worth quoting.

RAFFAELE

[...] Tu per te solo
non nascesti, o Tobia; nè tutto sei
quel, che d’esser rassembri: inoltra, e stendi:
su l’avvenir le idee; pensa di quanti
teneri giovanetti
capace è la rimota età futura;
e intendi, che di lor tu sei figura.

RAFFAELE

[...] You were not born for yourself,
onh Tobia; nor are you entirely
what you seem to be: think ahead
about the ideas of the future; think about how many
tender youngsters
the remote future age will hold;
and understand, that you are the prefiguration of
[them.

44 See libretto by Bandini, L’ANGELO DI TOBIA, XII-XIII. “[...] Pure quel dono/che immaturo per anca è a voi nascoso,/si sveli in part almen.”
TOBIA
Ma il condottier in quell'età chi sia,
che novello Azaria, de'flutti infidi,
e de'mostriomicidi, e del sentiero
le minaccie, gli assalti, i rei periglj
attento additi ai pellegrini figlj?

TOBITE
Misero, oh Dio! Chi senza guida al fianco,
nel primo fior degli anni,
dalla ragion già mal difeso, e privo
di precettor sagace,
va del mondo fallace il gran sentiero
solitario a tentar. Di qual salutea
si può mai lusingar fragil naviglio,
preda dell'euro infido?
Augellin senza penne, fuor di nido?
Passeggi senza guida in cieco orrore?
E timido agnellin senza pastore?
Nave in feral tempesta, [a]
tra scoglj al ciglio ascosi, [b]
tra venti procellosi [b]
e' tratta a naufragar. [c]
L'umana vita è questa. [a] [b]
Son scoglj i rei diletli, [d]
son venti i pravi affetti, [d]
e'mare il cieco mondo. [e]
Dal vortice profondo [e]
chi la potrà salvar? [c]

TOBIA
But who is the guide in that age,
the new Azaria, on alert for the treacherous waves,
the homicidal monsters, and the hazards of the
pathway, the assaults, the offending dangers,
that await the pilgrim children?

TOBITE
Miserable, oh God! He who, with no guide at his side,
at the first blooming of his years,
still poorly defended by reason, and lacking
intelligent tutors,
is going to set out on the wide pathway of the
fallacious world on his own? What salvationa
can a fragile ship hope for,
seized by the treacherous Eurus?
A featherless little bird, out of its nest?
A guideless passenger in blind terror?
A shy little lamb with no shepherd?
A ship in a fierce tempest,
through reefs hidden from one's eyes,
through stormy winds
is destined to be wrecked.
Such is human life. [b]
the reefs are guilty delights,
the winds are depraved affections,
the sea is the blind world.
From the deep whirlpool,
who will be able to rescue it?

(a) Sensus enim & cogitatio humani cordis in
malum prona sunt ab adolescentia sua. Gen.
cap. 8. v. 11.
(b) Tanquam navis, quae pertransit
fluctuantem aquam. Sap. cap. 8. v. 10 quae
verba de humana vita interpretatur S. Greg.
Mag. lib. 9. Mor. 24.
The first significant aspect visible in this excerpt is the fact that Azaria/Raffael is not the only interlocutor in this *componimento* bearing an unequivocal symbolic function affecting the characterization of Calasanz. The role of Tobia is also involved in that symbolic sphere, as well. This is important in terms of performance reception: if Tobia represented future-age children, then all of the *convittori* attending the performance on Thursday, April 19, 1768, at the Collegio Nazareno, would be bound to identify themselves with him. Upon listening to Tobite’s recitative, they—like the children depicted in Sebastiano Conca’s canvas, or those sculptured in Spinazzi’s statue—would consider themselves lucky to have a guide, a new Azaria by their side. Thanks to his teachings, their lives would not be a dangerous journey through the “fallacious world” or a “fragile ship” taken hold by “treacherous” winds. And this is how the image of the tempest smoothly leads into Tobite’s recitative, which ends with his aria “Nave in feral tempesta.”

This is the only comparison aria in Bandini’s libretto *L’angelo di Tobia*. And still, its topic is explicitly introduced by Tobite’s recitative, and it might be also motivated by the plot itself, considering Tobia’s account of his attempt to cross the Tigris river, in the first part of the libretto. This aria is, in addition, the most rhetorically elaborated in the libretto and score. First of all, the topic of tempest, is reflected by the vivid and recurrent rhythm of the iambic-cataleptic (U — | U — | U — U) metrical foot of the *settenari* (except for the first verse), which form the two strophes. These include, in turn, a patterned scheme of rhyme, and they symmetrically close with a *tronco* verse. This poetic rhythm and rhyme provide an apt basis for the musical projection of the affect-laden concept “fierce tempest” and they also highlight the correlation between
the two strophes, which build up a true allegory, rather than a simple metaphor. The first strophe presents the imaginary terms of the framing metaphor, namely, a “ship in a fierce tempest”; the second one provides its real term, “human life.” In this imaginary scenario, based on the same locus as Jommelli’s aria “Se increspa l’onda,” for his 1749 oratorio, a system of metaphors develops (“reefs” are “guilty delights;” “winds” are “depraved affects;” and “the sea” is “the blind world”), in the second strophe, in parallel correlation with the first one.45

The key words of the aria text, as well as Bandini’s rhetorical working, left Rinaldo di Capua virtually with no option but to set the text to tempest music. Accordingly, the musical inventio relies on most of the compositional commonplaces typical of this convention, which have been enumerated elsewhere. In this particular case, the listener is confronted with pervasive sixteenth-note motor rhythms in the violins, the presence of woodwinds (horns and oboes, omitted in the previous aria), a common-time signature, an Allegro marking, and C major, a tonality ascribed to active, expansive, and agitated affects by several period authors.46 To this, one has to add the nearly continuous and percussive eighth-note pulse of the bass, the predominance of disjunct melodic motives, octave leaps, sixteenth-note runs, frequent dynamic contrasts, staccato articulation (notated with dots and strokes), and even features resembling, as in Jommelli’s “Se increspa l’onda,” certain aspects of the sublime style:

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45 On this sort of correlating parallelism, see Mortara Garavelli, Manuale di Retorica, 238; also Azaustre and Casa, Manual de Retórca Española, 103.

46 Rubén López Cano, Música y Retórica en el Barroco (Barcelona: Amalgama, 2012), 64; see also Hill, Baroque Music, 392.
pitch repetition over half-note values in the vocal line against frenetic sixteenth notes in the violin and a pedal note in the horns.

As mentioned with respect to Jommelli’s arias on earlier pages, the application of the tempesta topic, at the level of musical inventio invites the composer to amplify, by underscoring or even creating certain rhetorical figures. A remarkable instance of this is the extended hypotiposis on the utterance “tra venti procellosi/è tratta a naufragar” (“through stormy winds/[it] is destined to be wrecked”), whereby the tenor line renders the word procellosi with an undulating C-major arpeggio in eighth notes, in unison with the bass and violins, then proceeds to a melodic descent in quarter notes from g’ down to a (in coincidence with the harmonic progression, in C major: $V_5^6/IV – IV$) on è tratta a naufragar (b). Taking into account sections A and A’ in this dal segno aria, these verses are heard four times, three of which partake in this rhetorical device (Example 4.2-a, -b, and -c) while adding some melodic variations in the form of extended melismas. VP 2 ends with a vehement iteratio of the words a naufragar.

Thus, Rinaldo di Capua creates certain rhetorical figures in the musical rendition of speech, increasing the affective charge of the allegory, which definitely enhances one’s comprehension of its symbolic elements.47

The contrast between the climatic end of part A’ with the B section is salient, for the middle section turns to a triple meter and the parallel minor, in a tonal/rhythmic

47 For a survey of the main theories of metaphor, and how they may incorporate the way emotions affect its cognitive comprehension—according to modern linguistics, psychology, and neurosciences—into their frameworks, see Pradeep Sopory, “Metaphor and Affect,” *Poetics Today* 26, no. 3 (2005): 433-458.
gesture very uncommon in Rinaldo’s arias. This effectively conveys the text’s tone of resignation. And it also underlines the shift from the description of the imaginary terms of the allegory, in the first strophe, to the overt explanatory reflection of its real terms, in the second one, an explanatory reflection supported by an authoritative comment by St. Gregory, included in a marginal note.

In section B, Rinaldo sets the second strophe in a more controlled fashion through three short musical phrases pairing off the verses two by two. Melodic phrasing is tailored to the iambic-cataleptic accentuation pattern by means of anacruses and rhyming “feminine” cadences, which amplify the parallel construction of the three central verses. The phrases end with harmonic punctuations on VI, v, and V/v, respectively. This last cadence reinforces the open-ended question—dwelling on the aforementioned recurring figure *dubitatio*—with which the B section ends (“From the deep whirlwind,/who will be able to rescue it?”).

Consequently, Tobite’s aria constitutes a dramaturgical statement with a substantial rhetorical charge, on the basis of an allegory. But what is the aim of this statement? Who is being characterized through it? These questions may be more clearly elucidated by comparing the dramaturgical function of the aria under discussion here with Jommelli’s “Se increspa l’onda” for the 1749 oratorio *Giuseppe glorificato*, a meaningful comparison, inasmuch as both of them employ the same topical convention—the *tempesta* aria—and, of course, aim to build up Calasanz’s image of holiness.

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Example 4.2: Rinaldo di Capua, *L’angelo di Tobia* (1768), Part II, Tobit’s aria "Nave in feral tempesta"
Example 4.2: Cont.
In first place, whereas “Se increspa l’onda” is sung by Giuseppe, the icon for Calasanz in the Bandini-Jommelli oratorio, “Nave in feral tempesta” is sung by Tobite in the Bandini-di Capua *componimento*, where the role symbolically representing Calasanz is Azaria/Raffael. Thus, the identification of the heroic pilot who steers a ship, in the Bandini-Jomelli aria text, with the role of Giuseppe, and thereby also with Calasanz himself, was likely to arise in the minds of audience members. The Bandini-di Capua aria text, instead, presents a disembodied allegory applicable to those *uncultured* “tender youngsters,” referred to in the previous recitative, who have not undergone intellectual instruction or religious indoctrination.

However, both aria texts rely on the same traditional rhetorical *locus a persona*, namely, the already mentioned nautical analogy. Or, to speak in terms of modern cognitive linguistics, they are specific instances of literary tropes sharing a common underlying “conceptual metaphor,” which might read something like (EARTHLY) LIFE IS A (SEA) JOURNEY. This conceptual framing is indeed made explicit almost literally in Tobite’s aria. If one unites the first verses of the two strophes, the statement of the framing metaphor arises: “human life is a ship in a fierce tempest.” The aria texts in question here belong then to the “set of mappings that exist in long-term memory” between knowledge about the domains of human life and navigation.49 These mappings include the ideas that human life on earth corresponds to the ship; that human will and determinacy corresponds to the expert steering; and that difficulties in life correspond to waves, storms, winds, and reefs. What is more, the religious reading of that conceptual metaphor, imposed by the performing context at the

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Figure 4.5: Diagram showing chains of semiosis involved in the conceptual metaphor underlying Jommelli’s and Rinaldo’s tempest arias in their oratorios.

Conceptual metaphor:

**EARTHLY LIFE IS A SEA JOURNEY**

**Imaginary terms (b)**

- “sailing”
- “rough waves”
- “artful and worth admiring pilot”
- “trembling sea”
- “ship in a fierce tempest”
- “stormy winds”
- “tests”
- “wrecking”

**Real terms (a)**

- [difficulties in life]
- [to conduct oneself in life]
- “conductor,” “tutor,” “guide”
- “blind world”
- “human life”
- “depraved affects”
- “guilty delights”
- [failure in life due to a lack of instructors]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plot</th>
<th>Reality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Giuseppe (1749) Azaria (1768)</td>
<td>Calasanz, Benedict xiv, and the Piarists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uneducated and hungry children</td>
<td>Convivitori and students</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Scope of action of the musical *inventio* (tempest cliché) in “Se increspa l’onda” (Jommelli, 1749)
- Scope of action of the musical *inventio* (tempest cliché) in “Nave in feral tempesta” (Di Capua, 1768)
- Major concepts subjected to musical *elocutio* (figure of hypotiposis)
- Chain of semiosis within the literary metaphor (absence indicates a pure metaphor)
- Chains of semiosis linking together literary metaphor, plot, and real refer
Collegio Nazareno, yields the inclusion of the correspondence between sin and waves, storms, winds, etc., in that set of mappings (Figure 4.5), and allowed one to read the heroic steering of a vessel against a tempest, in Calasanz’s own terms, as the “overcoming through good words and better deeds, those who show themselves as adversaries,” that is, through heroic virtue.50

Example 4.3: Vocal gambits of Giuseppe’s and Tobite’s respective tempest arias in comparison

"Se increspa l’onda," Niccolò Jommelli (1749)

"Nave in feral tempesta," Rinaldo di Capua (1768)

The conceptual kinship of the two aria texts also entails a musical correlation, for both arias employ compositional commonplaces typical of the *aria di tempesta* convention, as illustrated in detail. Beyond this fact, the use of the same melodic motive in the first musical phrase of the singer in both arias, separated by nineteen years, is striking (Example 4.3). Be it Rinaldo di Capua’s conscious musical quotation of Jommelli’s

50 On the concept of “religious reading” as a distinct “form of agency and meaning making,” from the perspective of cognitive poetics, and how “background knowledge is stored, recalled, and used to create context in any given situation,” see Liberty Lee Kohn, “Religious Literacy: Hermeneutics, Experience, and Cognitive Worlds in Catholic Narrative and Metaphor” (Ph.D. diss., University of Louisiana at Lafayette, 2009), 23-4. On Calasanz’s words, see p. 210-11 in this dissertation.
opening measures for Giuseppe’s VP 1 in the aria “Se increspa l’onda,” of 1749, or a coincidence due to the stereotyping features of the melodic and rhythmic gambit involved, responding to the tempest topic, this coincidence can be read as a sign of the complementarity of these two arias in terms of the construction of Calasanz’s holiness: while Jommelli’s 1749 aria, in the celebratory context of his beatification, metaphorically presents him as an expert pilot with heroic associations, Rinaldo di Capua’s 1768 aria, in the celebratory context of his canonization, allegorically sets the scenario of the life of those youngsters, the “Roman youth” in the words the Arcadian sonnet, whose aimlessly wandering life is a *nave in feral tempesta* because of their lack of a guide, a pilot, like that described in Jommelli’s aria. Or, to speak again from the viewpoint of “conceptual metaphor” theory, the *aria di tempesta* vehicles, in each case, the affective comprehension of different mappings of the set implicated in the conceptual framing metaphor that both aria texts share. As a consequence, the response to the persistent question about the new Azaria will seem self-evident. In any case, Azaria/Raffaele himself will take care to clear up any possible doubt in the recitative after Tobite’s aria “Nave in feral tempesta.”

The allusion to the Piarists toward the end of the *componimento*, and even before Azaria/Raffaele’s revelation of Calasanz’s first name, is unambiguous, since “in the imputation of sanctity, contiguity was important as well as similarity.”

51 Thus, if in the Bandini-Jommelli 1749 oratorio the figure of Benedict XIV was explicitly mentioned within the dialogue and thereby possibly impregnated with Calasanz’s holiness, the

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51 Burke, “How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint,” 57, elaborates here on Durkheim’s idea that “The sacred seems to be contagious.”
Bandini-di Capua 1768 *componimento* would bring to the forefront of the holiness narrative the Piarists, themselves, as “Calasanz’s heroes.” Actually, the image of the guardian angel, introduced in the work by the role of Azaria/Raffaele, as in the main iconographical type used in most of Calasanz’s visual representations, had been employed, much earlier, by Calasanz himself to refer to the friars, when he asked them to walk the children home after class, as an early chronicler reports: “The founding father gave a talk to all fathers and brothers, so that they would be willing to embrace the charity of accompanying those poor little children, thus fulfilling the function of guardian angels.”\(^{52}\) This practice corresponded to the Piarists’ concern that children would go missing, both in the real and moral senses, on their way back home. And this concern would have a social impact, for it would be customary, for decades, to see the Piarists, followed by hundreds of children walking in line, and organized into five or six squadrons, parading through the streets of Rome. It is in this specific context that the image of a guardian angel gains its maximum semantic realization: Calasanz, as iconized by Azaria/Raffaele, and Piarists, as indexed by Calasanz, preventing children from being shipwrecked on the sea of life, as vividly suggested by the musical topic of the tempest in di Capua’s score.

The proposed association of ideas would not stop with the evocation of Piarists in the audience’s imagination when listening to the aria “Nave in feral tempest,” or reading the expression “Calasanctian heroes” in the libretto, while it was being sung by

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\(^{52}\) See Giancarlo Caputi, “Notizie Historiche,” MS, Reg. Cal. 82, AGSP; published in Sántha, *San José de Calasanz obra pedagógica*, 363-64 n.5. “Il P. Fondatore fece una conferenza a tutti i padri e fratelli che abbraccissero volentieri a far la carità ad accompagnar a quei poverelli et avessero l’ufficio d’Angeli Custodi.”
Azaria/Raffaele. No doubt, for audiences attending the Collegio Nazareno, Piarists indexed this prestigious institution itself and vice versa. And this includes all of the institutions contained within the concept “Collegio Nazareno,” principally the Accademia degli Incolti, which was in charge of organizing the accademie letterarie and to which virtually all of the convittori reciting an oration belonged: even the Incoli emblem (Figure 1.3) used the image of a tempest and an unkempt garden (right field), to express the devastation that ignorance entails. In opposition to this, the mild weather in which the bright sun illuminates a beautiful garden (left) refers to those who cultivate themselves and prosper, which idea is also contained in the motto of the Accademia, Inculti prosperabantur (“The uncultivated prospering”). I propose that the awakening of awareness of this goal was not, indeed, among the least important effects that the attendance and participation—thorugh the reading of poems—in the performance would produce in the convittori. This self-awareness is probably what marked the difference, by configuring a different habitus, between the noble students at the Collegio Nazareno and the poor ones, who were not invited to attend performances like those under discussion here.53

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53 This self-awareness is what differentiates heterodoxy and orthodoxy from a doxic state of a social class in which a given cosmovision and social structures are “taken for granted.” See Pierre Bourdieu, “Structures, Habitus, Power,” 160-65.
How to Be an Enlightenment Saint:

Calasanz as Doctor parvulorum and scienziato letterato

Azaria/Raffaele certainly invokes heaven with the command, “Ah, may all mysteries now cease and may the reverenced veil that hides the great work be entirely lifted,” 54 so as to reveal the name of the “chosen leader, the new Azaria” (eletto Duce,/Il novello Azaria). But this only happens once he, himself, has echoed his interlocutors’ restlessness: “But who will be/the one who helps/with the work and with advise lovingly given before the great ordeals?” 55 Here, Bandini inserts an important marginal note: “The future preceptor of these boys was prophesied long ago by Isaiah in these words: Where is the learned teacher of the children?” 56 Thus, immediately before Azaria/Raffaele pronounces the name of “Calasanz,” the librettist discloses what most likely constitutes the biblical source for the dubitatio that pervades the entire libretto, that is, Isaiah’s rhetorical question as rendered by the Latin Vulgate: “Ubi est Doctor parvulorum?”

This question, which certainly echoes the classical ubi sunt topic, is central to the construction of Calasanz’s holiness at the time of his beatification and canonization, for it epitomizes, I suggest, the challenging rapport between Catholicism and certain Enlightenment tenets regarding the primacy of reason and science, as well as its social and educational consequences. Isaiah’s challenge produced a well-known resonance

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54 See libretto by Bandini, L’ANGELO DI TOBIA, xiv. “[. . .] Ah tutti omai/cessin oggi gli arcani, e s’apra intero/Il riverito velo,/che la grand’opra asconde.”

55 Ibid. “Ma chi sarà, che aita/coll’opra, e col consiglio ai gran cimenti/Presti amoroso?.”

56 Ibid. “De futuro aliqui puerorum preceptore vaticinatus fuisse molto ante visus est Isaias illis verbis: Ubi est Doctor parvulorum? Isa. cap. 32. v. 18.”
in the New Testament, in Paul's words: “Where is the wise man? Where is the scribe? Where is the debater of this age? Has not God made foolish the wisdom of the world? [...] ‘Knowledge’ puff s up, but love builds up.”  

The apostle’s words would arguably give voice to a challenge for those Catholic intellectuals involved in reformism and engaged in the practice of science like, for example, Gaetana Agnesi. This challenge had arisen in the Counter-Reformation and was revived with Enlightenment culture. And this culture included such problems as the literacy of the laity, for example, which actually became a theme—iconographically related to the representations of Calasanz—in the visual arts of the late eighteenth-century, as can be appreciated in another plaster relief by Antonio Canova (Figure 4.6), and which was central for a religious order like that of the Piarists.  

In this sense, Peter Burke suggests that from the church’s point of view, illiteracy encouraged superstition. On the other hand, the literate laity were also a problem in the eyes of the church [...]: there was anxiety lest the laity fall into heresy as a result of reading the wrong books. [...] The church was thus caught in a classic double bind, with a problem if it encouraged the spread of literacy and another problem if it did not.  

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57 1 Cor. 1: 20; 8: 1. “[…] ubi sapiens ubi scriba ubi conqueritor huius saeculi nonne stultam fecit Deus sapientiam huius mundi [...] scientia inflat caritas vero aedificat.”  

58 This can be taken as a revival, in the context of Neoclassicism of scenes depicting the act of teaching children, already present as early as in Ancient Greek vessels.  

59 See Peter Burke, “The Uses of Literacy in Early Modern Italy,” in The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy, 123.
And, indeed, Talenti’s 1753 biography presents Calasanz himself having to face the
social facet of this problematic, as

the principal motive used by adversaries with the aim of abolishing the
[Pious] Schools was blaming them for being harmful to the republic
because, if the poor and plebeian devoted themselves to letters, artisans
would then be absent in workshops and waiters [would be absent] from
cafes. Also, when Grand Duke Ferdinando II asked, not long ago, whether
or not the Pious Schools should be introduced in Tuscany, his father
Theologian objected based on the aforementioned motive. ⁶⁰

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era, il dirle nocivoli alla repubblica, perché applicandosi alle lettere i poveri, ed i plebei, sarebbero
mancati artisti alle officine, e serventi alle café. Anche non molti anni prima facendo il Granduca
All the same, by the eighteenth century, the Church had opted, by and large, for the encouragement of literacy, which option required, in its view, control mechanisms like the Index. Nonetheless, “illiteracy was undoubtedly rife” in the lower classes still in eighteenth-century Rome, which would be seen as a problem from the point of view of Catholic reformers fighting against superstition and in favor of reasonable forms of devotion.

Therefore, on the one hand, the pursuit and divulgation of rational and empirical knowledge, inherent to Enlightenment culture in general terms, provided a favorable environment for the promotion of literacy among the lower classes. Most of the educational endeavors in Europe, in fact, had already been initiated by newly created religious orders during the previous century. Still, exclusive reliance on scientific knowledge and philosophy might be considered to harm one’s soul: it might “puff it up,” in Saint Paul’s words. The spread of literacy, in turn, might open the door for people to question orthodoxy, both in doctrinal and social terms. In this last sense, parts of both the urban middle class and the aristocracy joined some courtier churchmen’s disdain, as the previous quote illustrates. Considering this panorama, there is good reason for the suggestion that, on his way to the altars, the figure of Calasanz was perceived as the personification of the resolution of this complicated dichotomy. This perception was reflected in, and thereby amplified through, the embodiment of Calasanz as Azzaria/Raffael in the Bandini-di Capua componimento. In

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61 See Burke, “The Uses of Literacy in Early Modern Italy,” 123.
62 See Gross, Rome in the Age of Enlightenment, 233.
order to illustrate this, we must return to the aforementioned collection of poems by Arcadian poets honoring Calasanz, published early in 1749, one year after his beatification, since Giuseppe Morei, *Custode General d’Arcadia*, devotes entire paragraphs to this dilemma in the initial *Ragionamento* (argument) of the work. Despite the flattering tone of the text, typical of an encomiastic literary genre, Morei’s characterization of Calasanz is so significant as to merit quotation at length:

Certainly, everybody but a few of us has frequented those [Piarists’] schools in our adolescence, and we have sucked the early milk of Piety, Letters and Sciences in them. And, of all these benefits, which we, as well as our assembly, have achieved, whom, if not Calasanz, must be acknowledged as the author? To him—both a distinguished man of letters and a perfect churchman, always pursuing the progress of others—it was too important that piety be always accompanied by knowledge, and that knowledge be not separated from piety. Oh, true man of letters, in the end you knew that only in God true science is to be found! Oh, truly pious man, you made such good use of your knowledge, you employed it to the advantage of others! […] *Science makes one arrogant*, the Holy Spirit left it written through the mouth of the apostle of the Gentiles: *Science makes one arrogant, but charity edifies*. Oh, in a certain sense, it seems that these divine words, recorded in the sacred text for the sake of the entire humankind’s education, were uttered particularly for our Giuseppe. […] For me it is a greater wonder to see how a man of letters, who perfectly mastered the most abstruse sciences, the most recondite erudition, the most approved letters, the strongest reasoning, and the most refined eloquence, lowers himself down to lowest level in order to conceal his doctrine, to spend his knowledge. For what? To educate poor and simple children. […] As soon as we feel provided with a part of the knowledge that arises in those who indefatigably attend to sciences and letters, we think we are above other individuals […]. But Giuseppe did not understand it like this, philosopher, theologian, canonist, orator, poet, and man of letters, not only potentially but in fact […]. Oh, unequalled humility! Oh, science, which has not made such a man of letters arrogant! Oh, charity, which truly serves to edify! Whenever I turn to consider such a great man’s heroic and admirable deeds, he seems to me, in a certain way of perceiving him, in his early youth, both at peace with and in a struggle between his knowledge and his humility.63

63 See *COMPONIMENTI/DEGLI ARCADI/AD ONORE DEL/BEATO GIUSEPPE/CALASANZIO/Fondatore dell’Ordine de’PP. Cherici Regolari/delle Scuole Pie/OFFERTI/All’Illustissimo, e Reverendissimo Signore Monsignor/LUDOVICO VALENTI/PROMOTORE DELLA FEDE/DA FAUSTO MARONE/Religioso del
This speech is of interest to us because it touches a core theme of the Catholic Enlightenment in its own eighteenth-century protagonists’ terms. The acknowledgement of the Arcadian’s indebtedness to Piarist education is itself fascinating, and shows that the order’s motto “Piety and Letters” had possibly a vivid reading in mid-eighteenth-century Rome. As to the dilemma previously exposed, clearly, Morei understands Paul’s maxim as fitting for Calasanz. For Morei, Calasanz’s escape from the learned man’s arrogance lies in not boasting (dissimulare), as well as teaching “poor and simple children.” This is exactly what Azaria/Raffaele does in Bandini’s libretto by guiding the young Tobia while concealing his true identity, namely, that of a wise archangel, whose teachings lead to bodily and spiritual healing, and to enlightenment.\textsuperscript{64} In this light, the initial—and apparently pointless—episode in

\textit{medesimo Ordine, e Postulatore/della Causa del Beato./IN ROMA MDCCXLIX./Nella Stamperia di Giovanni Zempel presso Monte Giordano / CON LICENZA D’SUPERIORI, x-xii, Misc. poetica 11-2, Bibl. Scol. “Certo, che poco meno, che tutti nella nostra Adolescenza quelle Scuole abbiam frequentato, e il primo latte della Pietà, delle Lettere, e delle Scienze abbiamo in ese succhiato. E di tutti questi vantaggi, che o la nostra Adunanza, o noi abbiam conseguito, chi mai, se non il Calasanzio se ne dee conoscere autore? A lui, che Letterato ragguardevole insieme, ed insieme perfetto Ecclesiastico ebbe sempre in mir l’altrui progresso, troppo importava, che la Pietà fosse accompagnata dal sapere, e chi il sapere non fosse disgiunto dalla Pietà. Oh Uomo veramente Letterato, che arrivasti a concere, che solo in Dio si trova la vera scienza! Oh Uomo veramente Pio, che del tuo sapere facesti così buon uso, che tutto l’impegnasti all’altrui profitto! […] La scienza fa insuperbire, lasciò scritto lo Spirito Santo per bocca dell’Apostolo delle Genti; \textit{La scienza fa insuperbire; ma la Carità è quella, che edifica}. Ah che queste Divine parole, che all’ammestramento di tutto l’Uman Genere nel Sacro Testo furono registrate; pare, che in un certo modo per il nostro Giuseppe fussero distintamente proferite. […] Meraviglia maggiore a me sembra veder un letterato, che le scienze più astruse, l’Erudizione più recondita, le Lettere più approvate, il Raziocinio più forte, la più forta eloquenza perfettamente possiede, si abbassi al più infimo grado di dissimulare la sua Dottrina, di spendere il suo sapere; In che? In ammaestra poveri, a semplici Fanciulletti […]. Appena ci sentiamo forniti in parte di quelle cognizioni, che le Scienze, e le Lettere influiscono a chi indefessamente vi attende, che ci crediamo al di sopra degli altri Uomini […]. Ma non così l’intese GIUSEPPE; Filosofo, Teologo, Canonista, Oratore, Poeta, Letterato in somma non solo di espettazione, ma ancor di grido […]. O’umiltà senza parì! Ò scienza, che non fa fatto un tal Letterato insuperbire! Ò Carità, che veramente serve di edificazione! Ogni qualvolta l’eroiche, e veramente ammirabili Gesta di si grand’Uomo io torno a considerare, egli mi sembra in un certo modo di vederlo nella sua prima gioventù dal suo sapere, e dall’umiltà sua invitato insieme, e combattuto.”

\textsuperscript{64} Tobia’s story, the episode of Tobite’s regaining his eyesight in particular, lent itself to significant symbolic interpretations within the ideologic realm of Enlightenment. For a reading, in this connection, of Haydn’s setting for this biblical story, see Michel, “Die Tobias-Dramen”: 147-68.
L’angelo di Tobia acquires heightened significance for the construction of Calasanz’s enlightened-holiness profile.

Just before arriving home from Rhages in Media, Tobia asks Azaria/Raffaele how one can see God as angels see him. Azaria/Raffaele responds, “Mortal eyes always see him within their own limits.” At this point a significant dialogue takes place, which includes the first aria of the componimento.

RAFFAELE
Odi: mercè del Sole
Veste un vario color l’erbette, e i fiori;
le viole vestir, brillar le rose
degli ostri lor fastose, e vercondi
i gigli biancheggia: ma quel, che in tanti
fiori vario colore il Sol produce,
sembra vario color, ma tutto è luce.
Così, Tobia, perché di Dio son opra
il rio, la valle, il colle; allor, che miri
la valle, il colle, il rio;
sotto un velo sottìl tu mirì Iddio.

RAFFAELE
Listen: thanks to the sun,
grass and flowers are dressed in colors;
and in the morning dawn, in the darkness you see
the violets getting dressed, the roses shining,
the lilies whitening their magnificent and pure
oysters on their native stems: but that which the sun
produces in so many
flowers of various colors
seems various colors, but everything is light.
Thus, Tobia, because
the river, the valley, the hill are God’s works, when
you look at the valley, the hill, the river
under a thin veil, you are looking at God.

[...]  

TOBIA
Tu di natura i più gelosi arcani
favellando rivelì: io da tuo detti
pendo immobile e muto, e mentre ascolto,
e mille di saper misteri intendo,
mille ancor di pietà dottrine apprendo.

[...]  

TOBIA
You reveal the most jealously guarded mysteries of
nature by speaking: I am struck speechless by what
you say, and while I am listening,
I understand a thousand mysteries of knowledge,
and I learn a thousand more doctrines of piety.

(c) Colorum ea, quam videmus varietas,
(c) The variety of colors that we see entirely depends

(d) Invisibilia Dei per ea quae facta sunt intelecta conspiciuntur. *Ad Rom. 1. v. 20.

As already specified, this seventy-two-verse episode is unnecessary to the central plot formed by recounting past deeds in dialogue. Unless one is aware of the (con)texts it refers to, one might judge this sort of passage to be superficial or trivial, exactly resembling the type in which the poet turns to hackneyed rhetorical resources, which irritated opera reformers, only spiced with a religious turn for obvious reasons.\(^65\)

However, if only in miniature, Azaria/Raffaele’s speech alone suffices to represent an essential facet of the intellectual undertaking of the Catholic Enlightenment. The mere juxtaposition of a marginal note referring to Newton’s *Opticks* (c), broadly disseminated during the eighteenth century, with Paul’s Epistle to Romans (d), that is, the mere attempt to generate a speech combining scientific and biblical sources, speaks for itself. These marginal notes, working as true para-texts, reinforce the implications of Azaria/Raffaele’s instruction, as far as the intellectual agenda of the Catholic Enlightenment is concerned: if the invisible God is made visible as natural phenomena such as color perception, then scientific knowledge would be needed to the extent that it helps the human intellect to understand things created, and thus, to discover the “invisible things of God” (*Invisibilia Dei*) in them, even if “under a thin veil.”\(^66\) In this sense, Tobia’s response is equally important, as he neatly acknowledges

the intellectual, and not the emotional, effects his mentor’s words are having on him:

“[... ] I learn, [... ] I understand,” he says referring to knowledge and piety, in recitative lines framed by patterned harmonic progressions.

Certainly, a person who had frequented Galileo Galilei’s circles after his condemnation by the Inquisition and even sent his friars to him as disciples, a person whose foundation’s mission was to educate illiterate children and whose motto was “Piety and Letters” could embody the eighteenth-century Catholic Church’s enlightened initiatives, especially when he became a saint. This was Calasanz, the figure typified by Azaria/Raffaele in Bandini’s 1768 libretto. This would be then the right path so that the intellectual’s “buon gusto and the republic of letters serve Christian theology, and moral philosophy, and therefore pave the road that leads us to an image of Truth. Any sort of erudition that does not serve these ends is so much hot air, sterile pomposity (sterile pompa),” in Muratori’s own words.\(^7\) And Calasanz, as much as Piarists, would embody this image of the Christian enlightened hero, a true doctor parvulorum, who, like a guardian angel—that is, like Bandini’s Azaria/Raffaele—guides poor, defenseless children through the stormy seas of life.

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\(^6\) This is a recurrent topic in the series of the vocal works with orchestral accompaniment at the Collegio Nazareno. See, for example, a remarkably elaborated instance of it in Bandini’s 1752 libretto CANTATA/PER/LA NATIVITÀ/DELLA/BEATA VERGINE/In occasione della publica Accademia/ NEL COLLEGIO NAZARENO./IN ROMA. MDCCCLII./Nella Stamperia Zempel presso Monte Giordano./CON LICENZA DE SUPERIORI., v, Misc. Nazareno 11-1, and 14-12 (formerly E-VIII-13), Bibl. Scol. In the passage in question, the same excerpt of Paul’s Epistle to the Romans (1: 20) quoted here is referred to in a marginal note.

The Last Vocal Numbers: Choreographing Calasanz’s Canonization

Once everything has been clarified regarding the future doctor parvulorum, the componimento sacro ends with Azaria/Raffaele’s visionary reference to Calasanz’s canonization “pomp,” in recitative, to which Tobia’s last aria, “Il ciel propizio” directly responds in similar terms. Although, in this aria, as in the closing chorus, the singers directly prompt heaven to send “il gran GIUSEPPE” to the earth without delay, various affects are conveyed through them because of a selective musical inventio, guided, in each case, by a specific rhythmic gesture.

TOBIA
Ah se di tanto bene
Io non indegno sono,
accelerate, o stelle, il vostro dono.
Il Ciel propizio [a]
quel giorno affretti, [b]
che al Padre amabile [c]
de’ Pargoletti [b]
la pompa regia [d]
appresterà. [e]
Quel dì, che in varie [f]
forme leggiadre [g]
l’età più tenera [h]
al caro Padre [g]
fra lieti cantici [i]
voti farà. [e]

TOBIA
Ah, if I am not unworthy
of such good,
expedite, oh stars, your gift.
May favorable heaven
hasten that day,
which will bestow
royal pomp
on the beloved father
of the little children.
That day, in which, in several
graceful forms,
[children of] the most tender age
will make vows
to the dear father
amidst happy canticles.

[...]
Quella, che in me più resta, e viva, e grande
e’ dell’Eroe l’idea, che Raffaello
qui prese a figurar. Qual sarà mai
nel suo lume natìo GIUSEPPE espresso,
e cinto un di del suo vero ammanto,
se tal n’è l’ombra, e figuratto, è tanto?

GIUSEPPE
De’ suoi doni se geloso
non fu mai col mondo il ciel,
Presto il dono ancor nascoso
vegga il popolo fedel.

GIUSEPPE
That which remains in me, vividly and greatly is
the idea of the hero, which Raphael
prefigures here. What will
GIUSEPPE be, exposed in his native light
and enclosed in his true guise one day,
if he is so much in shadows and prefigured?

GIUSEPPE
If heaven were never
jealous of its gifts to the world,
the faithful people may see
the still-hidden gift soon.

GIUSEPPE
Vere dicere hoc poterat Tobias senior qui
vates fuisse perhibetur, & de futura Christi
Ecclesia praecclare vaticinatus est. Tob. cap.
13. & alibi.

GIUSEPPE
It could be truly said that Tobias the elder, who
was said to be a prophet, might have prophesied here
about the future Church of Christ. Tob: 13, and
elsewhere.

The unity in Tobia’s last aria text, the first and only explicit allusion to Calasanz’s
 canonization, is remarkable. First, both strophes are constituted by a series of six
 quinari with a prevalent dactylic-trochaic foot, including a sdrucciolo and a tronco
 verse in the same position (verses 3 and 6). The pattern of rhymes of the first stanza,
in turn, is mirrored in and entangled with the second one, for both final (quinario
 tronco) verses close the stanzas with a shared rhyme, as shown in the rhyme outline.
This link and mirroring effect, in fact, is commensurate with the syntactic structure of
the aria text, as it depends on a mezozeugma: one verb (“to hasten”) governs both
stanzas, which, in addition, display a syntactic parallelism (direct object—“that day”—
plus relative clause). Second, this parallel symmetry at the levels of prosody and
syntax is also seen at the semantic level: not only do both strophes refer to the same fact, that is, the splendor of the canonization celebration, but they do so in parallel fashion, as well, by virtue of the correspondence (slightly broken in the English-language translation for the sake of clarity) between lines 3, 4, and 5 of the two strophes. Thus, “beloved father,” in the first stanza, corresponds to “dear father,” in the second one; likewise, “little children” to “the most tender age;” and “royal pomp” to “happy canticles.” These are, of course, major references in the representation of Calasanz as a saint doctor parvulorum. Of these three emblematic references, it is the “royal pomp,” the canonization ritual itself, that prevails in the musical setting of the aria.

Rinaldo di Capua understood the multi-level unity of this aria text, as he unambiguously projected it musically. First, he by no means sets the second strophe apart from the first one, with which it shares key, meter, tempo, and motivic material. He therefore subsumes the two strophes under a single process of musical inventio. This process clearly focuses on the affect-laden reference to pomp and royalty, present in the aria text and its preceding recitative, which primarily depends on the rhythmic gesture of a quasi-bourrée march. Thus, the Allegro $\frac{4}{4}$, typical of a march, provides the natural framework for a tireless two-measure dactylic motive (— UU), which is more often than not rendered with an upbeat, hence the bourrée-like feeling it bears at times (Example 4.4-a). This rhythmic motive permeates the whole aria, including the vocal line, and particularly drives the instrumental ritornellos. This happens in D major, in which trumpets, used for the first time in the componimento (since the opening sinfonia), brightly punctuate the instrumental accompaniment with
fanfare-like calls (Example 4.4-b). Frequent dotted rhythms in the vocal line, pyrrhico-
dactyllyc rhythmic cells, and the relentless eighth-note move of the Alberti bass
complete the picture of what can be meaningfully called an “ecclesiastical entrée,” a
very suitable choreography for Calasanz’s canonization ceremony at the Vatican,
which is the celebration evoked by the aria. 68

Example 4.4: Rinaldo di Capua, L’angelo di Tobia (1768), Part II, excerpts of Tobia’s aria “Il Ciel propizio”

68 This term is used by Wye Jamison Allanbrook, Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart: Le Nozze Di Figaro and Don Giovanni (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 47-8, precisely to refer to the music that accompanies Mozart’s “march of the priests” in his opera Idomeneo; a music featuring the same dactyllic pattern used by Rinaldo in his aria “Il Ciel propizio,” if in alla breve style.
Example 4.4: Cont.
The musical topic exploited by Rinaldo in the aria could readily bring back the memory of a solemn procession through Bernini’s colonnade to the listener’s mind, the type of scenic move that made a canonization ceremony at the Vatican into an appealing spectacle.69 This remembrance would supposedly be accompanied by a “certain higher, more noble joy” elicited in the Collegio’s audience, which are the affects attributed to the march by period writers, along with the “heroism, fearlessness, nobility, and majesty,” associated with the entrée; and the “contentment and pleasantness” allegedly communicated by the bourrée.70 Arguably, these affects, significantly connected to the wording of the aria and encapsulated in a complex musical locus, would have been elicited from the audience, which was thus predisposed to perceive Calasanz, once again, as noble hero worthy of honor. In this way, Calasanz’s character would then be forged indirectly. In fact, this is seen in Tobite’s last recitative, immediately preceding the last chorus, in which he refers to Calasanz as a “hero” and efficiently summarizes the whole purpose of the componimento, that is, the communication of the “idea of the hero” that “Raffaele represents,” in addition to that of a guardian angel and an enlightened doctor parvulorum.

If Rinaldo di Capua’s treatment of the last aria of L’angelo di Tobia, transports the audience to the majestic, noble, and ecclesiastical aspects of Calasanz’s canonization,

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69 This is true particularly for travelers; see, for example, Alessandro Verri to Count Regent (Gabriele Verri), Rome, May 20, 1767, in Carteggio, 407, writing about his plan to attend “the canonization of six beati, a worth seeing solemnity” (Faccio conto di portarmi a Napoli per pochi giorni per quindi restituirme a questa città verso la festa di S. Pietro, a cui verà dietro la canonizzazione di sei beati, tutte solennità degne da vedersi).

70 See Allanbrook, Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart, 46; and Hill, Baroque Music, 394. Both authors refer, in this case, to the writings of Johann Mattheson and Carlo Gervasoni.
the last chorus of the *componimento* is an homage to the mundane choreographic side of the event; to the “faithful people” referred to in its text, which precisely plays with the conceptual binomy heaven/people. For this purpose, the composer deploys a rhythmic gesture based on a quick (Allegro) $\frac{3}{8}$ meter, through which a gay contredanse brings the work to a close (Example 4.5). Particularly the rhythmic fluency of the “simple and repetitious” trochaic/iambic figurations (— U | — U), the “emphasis on the downbeat,” and a “very simple harmony,” make this music resemble a “true German allemande.” To these features the composer adds a peasant flavor to the music by insistently percussing on pedal notes, thereby constructing the country sound of the musette through a full scoring: in some cases it is the bass line that provides the drone, while in other instances the tenor voice is in charge of this.

Trumpets also collaborate here. However, it is violins that provide the bucolic feeling most of the time, through bariolage fiddling.

The composer, therefore, evokes a popular, down-to-earth, perhaps childish soundscape, which drifts apart from the elevated canticles and fanfares of a ceremony in St. Peter’s Square, remembered in the previous aria. Thus, in these two last vocal

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71. For this interpretation I rely on Allanbrook’s insight about the “polarization of duple and triple meters—a topical confrontation between the two metrical types which could be characterized as an opposition of divine and mundane subject matters. Not only did meter bear the stamp of human character: the various affects themselves were classified by two special types of human activity—the ecclesiastical and the choreographic.” See Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart*, 17-8.

72. This is a significant gesture, for only three (including this one) out of the nine extant final choruses written by Rinaldo for his compositions at the Collegio Nazareno, from 1753 through 1768, bear this quick three time signature. In all three cases, besides, there is a cue for the pastoral or the gaiety in the text of the chorus.

73. For a description, in these terms, of the "true German allemande," see Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart*, ibid.
Example 4.5: Rinaldo di Capua, L’angelo di Tobia (1768), Part II, opening measures of the closing chorus

Rinaldo di Capua (1768)
numbers the original soundscapes of the poor students and the noble fee-paying *convittori*, respectively, who were attending the Collegio Nazareno, are latent. In a sense, in the end, Rinaldo di Capua was bound to pay tribute to the children of the “faithful people” to create a musically inclusive portrayal of Calasanz as a *doctor parvulorum* of the Enlightenment.

**A Comparative Recapitulation**

The history of saint-making offers an opportunity to explore the relations between the Catholic Church and culture surrounding it at a given moment in history. Moreover, in certain eras, it was precisely saint-making that provided a way for the Church to communicate certain concepts. This was the case during the Enlightenment era. In fact, during the first half of the eighteenth century, a particular image of holiness, commensurate with Enlightenment principles, was being forged. The publication, in 1734-38, of Cardinal Lambertini’s (future pope Benedict XIV) treatise, *De servorum Dei beatificatione*, on the beatification and canonization of saints, was a milestone in this process. By virtue of it, the *gradu heroico* of would-be saints’ virtues—rather than their supernatural visions or ecstasies—would be increasingly emphasized. Thus, it was their heroic role as pastors or shepherds as well as their contribution to the public welfare through “charitable action” that was to be primarily valued.

Niccolò Jommelli’s musical characterization and amplification of the rhetorical contents of Bandini’s libretto *Giuseppe glorificato*, in 1749, provided a basis for the enactment of these features of Enlightenment holiness. Moreover, his use of
dramaturgical conventions like the *aria di tempesta* to convey a heroic character is outstanding. By enacting these features of Enlightenment holiness, as attributed to Joseph Calasanz through the biblical personage of Joseph, the Bandini-Jommelli oratorio, along with visual arts and poetry, played a major symbolic role. Thus, on the one hand, it was a means of displaying Calasanz as a *beato*, which would, in turn, contribute to the Piarist claims for spiritual authority in Rome and in the Catholic world at large. On the other hand, performances like that of *Giuseppe glorificato* would help shape a new doxic idea of Enlightenment sanctity.

Rinaldo di Capua’s *L’angelo di Tobia*, composed to celebrate Calasanz’s canonization in 1768, likewise reflected the heroic aura already present in Jommelli’s oratorio, biographies, poetry, and visual representations, while it added a particular additional facet to the founder’s characterization, which can be considered distinctive of Catholic-Enlightenment holiness. I have referred to this facet, supported by period writings and crucial marginal notes in the libretto itself, with the term *doctor parvulorum*, which reflects a desire to conciliate sciences, letters, and piety while using them for the sake of social improvement. This is embodied in the role of Azaria/Raphael, who symbolically stands for Calasanz, and on whom the story is centered. This being said, the close examination of both works, Jommelli’s oratorio and di Capua’s *componimento*, illustrates the level of detail and craftsmanship that was put into these musical works in order to portray Joseph Calasanz’s sanctity.

The comparison between Bandini’s libretto for *L’angelo di Tobia* and his text for Jommelli’s 1749 *Giuseppe glorificato* is significant as regards the construction of
Calasanz’s holiness. In fact, this comparison, regardless of the fact that two different biblical stories are involved, reveals a narrative and dramaturgical pattern, a common process of inventio. As shown in the diagram below (Figure 4.7), both librettos are based on a triangulation of roles including a father, a son, and a third distinct mediating figure that somehow influences the son, thereby transforming, in turn, the relationship father-son.

Second, there is a commonplace regarding that third distinct figure. On the one hand, in both librettos it is this figure that symbolically stands as an icon of Calasanz. On the other hand, in both cases, Calasanz’s icon heroically feeds the hungry in a physical, intellectual, and spiritual sense, and also stands out for its chastity: while the biblical figure of Joseph (Giuseppe in the 1749 oratorio) epitomizes sexual self-control, sexual desire is not even possible in Raphael, an archangel (Raffaele in the 1768 *componimento*). The sexual component, in any case, remains only latent in Bandini’s librettos.

In addition, in both librettos, too, Calasanz’s icons are figures whose identity is concealed and who reveal their identity through a two-fold process. A first revelation occurs within the story, whereby, on the one hand, Giacobbe and Beniamino have recognized Giuseppe in the Bandini-Jommelli *Giuseppe glorificato*, while Tobia and his father Tobite recognize the archangel Raphael in the Bandini-Di Capua *L’angelo di Tobia*. A second revelation, always taking the form of a prophecy by one of the roles, mediates in the audience’s process of recognition of both the Prime Minister/Giuseppe and Azaria/Raffaele as Joseph Calasanz. In other words, it makes
audiences aware of the iconicity of the roles symbolizing Calasanz, thereby actually performing what is already announced in the *Argomento* in both of the librettos. This ultimate disclosing is made explicit through dialogue in the second part of the librettos, which is a distinguishing feature of Bandini’s librettos for the Collegio Nazareno. It is rare to find this sort of rupture of the dramaturgical unity of time and space in contemporary oratorios or *opere serie*. I suggest that in the process of awakening audiences’ awareness, the multimedia and ritualized context of the performance would surely model the formation of the sign-interpretant for Calasanz in the audience’s imagination, which formation would only, nevertheless, be fully realized during the musical performance.

Finally, both librettos present a literary reframing of a biblical story that departs from the usual version found in other eighteenth-century librettos based on the same episodes. Thus, in the 1749 case, the literary starting point of the libretto is where all its predecessors end. In the case of the 1768 *componimento*, Bandini displaces the focus from the young Tobia, on whose return home eighteenth-century librettos tend to dwell, to the figure of his spiritual guide and mentor, Azaria/Raffaele. This is done for the sake of highlighting the iconic relationship between the figure standing for

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74 In this sense, a term for comparison might be, for example, the *Oratorio per S. Girolamo*, by Pietro Crispi, performed at the Collegio Clementino in 1768, as well. This composition shows remarkable coincidences with the Bandini-di Capua composition, for it is also a composition honoring a founder of a religious order, the Somascan Fathers, who devoted himself to take care of poor children and orphans and is, very much like Calasanz in Bandini’s *componimento* compared to a guardian angel. The fact that a copy of the libretto for Crispi’s *Oratorio* is preserved at the Bibl. Scol., I4-12 (formerly E-VIII-13), bound along with the cantatas for the Collegio Nazareno, suggests that a relation between the two works, if only by way of inspiration or “response,” is probable. Apart from this fact, the comparison is significant, for, in the libretto for the Clementino, neither dramaturgical unity is broken, nor are learned marginal notes included—as they abundantly are in Bandini’s libretto for the Nazareno.
Calasanz, made central in both plots, and Calasanz himself. And this is reflected in the distinctive titles of Bandini’s librettos.

Figure 4.7: Diagram showing the literary hyperplot underlying Gian Luca Bandini’s librettos for *Giuseppe glorificato* (1749), and *L’angelo di Tobia* (1768); and relevant practices mediating in the audience’s process of meaning making
This literary "hyperplot," to which the librettos under discussion respond, illustrates an interest in implicating certain features in Calasanz's saintly image, which arguably contributed to the construction of Enlightenment holiness, as well. Thus, it symbolically stresses Calasanz's achievement of holiness through an ongoing vital process that transforms, as in the cases of Joseph and Azaria, the individual so as to make it unrecognizable, a concept that is expressed through the device of concealment or disguise.\(^7^5\) In fact, the play between identity concealment/revelation—whether elided or realized within the plot—of the roles standing for Calasanz in Bandini's librettos, and their charitable and intellectual action, approach Calasanz's biblical icons to the model of a Christian cultivated hero suggested by Muratori. Moreover, both librettos seem to actualize Giovanni Maria Crescimbeni’s early instruction that “in order to learn truth and at the same time to awaken marvel, it is necessary to express natural and real virtue, with which the population of heroes ruled over humanity; the Greeks with words, the Romans with their deeds, and the Christians with divine authority.”\(^7^6\) In a sense, then, Christian saints had the potential to match certain Enlightenment heroic ideals. Or, at least, one may say that the roles of *historia sacra* characters like Joseph and Azariah/Raphael, as well as the saintly figure they

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\(^7^5\) The term “hyperplot” has been coined by Pierpaolo Polzonetti, “Opera as Process,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Eighteenth-Century Opera*, ed. Anthony R. DelDonna and Pierpaolo Polzonetti (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 17. He, in any case, applies it to those “points of intersection” that can be mapped on the basis of “two related dramatic contexts sharing the same music.”

\(^7^6\) See Gianvincenzo Gravina, *Scritti critici e teorici*, ed. Amedeo Quondam (Rome: G. Laterza, 1973), 21-22. See also Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni, *L’istoria della volgar poesia* (Roma: Chracas, 1698), 264, on the rapport between Crescimbeni and the Collegio Nazareno. He himself, for example, obtained for the Accademia degli Inculti—dependent on the Collegio—the right to have official representation before the Accademia dell’Arcadia in 1718.
symbolize in the musical works for the Collegio Nazareno, “reclaim” the eighteenth-century oratorio/cantata for the “newly enlightened hero.”

This is particularly significant, in view of “Rome's lack of a stable public opera theater” during the eighteenth century; see Hill, Baroque Music, 386. Regarding the profile of the Enlightenment hero, see Heller, “Reforming Achilles”: 571, 575-77. An example of the merging of identity concealment and the minimizing of sexual energy into a heroic role in eighteenth-century opera seria is Pietro Metastasio's Achilles, in his libretto Achille in Sciro for Antonio Caldara's 1736 setting.
CHAPTER 5

MUSICAL STYLE AND COMMUNICATION AT THE COLLEGIO NAZARENO

Introduction: Musical Style and (or As) Culture

The history of style has some degree of autonomy, admittedly. However, considering stylistic features of musical speech as entirely isolated from other contemporary cultural phenomena removes the opportunity for an enhanced understanding of the musical object itself, including its form and style. Further, if rather than an object, one considers music to be a communicational practice, it follows that the discussion of musical style broadens beyond purely—if necessary—formal criticism, since as part of such communicational and symbolical practice, musical works cannot escape cultural interpretation. I suggest that the resulting rapport between musical analysis and cultural hermeneutics, or better yet, embedding the former into the latter, has the potential to provide practical musicians and musicologists with conceptual and imaginary guidelines for performance and research, while turning musical practice, to a great extent, into a source for cultural history. This will be my overall approach in assessing the musical style of the instrumental introductions to the vocal works of the Collegio Nazareno.

It has often been difficult to show connections between cultural phenomena of the past and the music that we hear in the present. With respect to this, Carl Dahlhaus, for example, questioned the mere accumulation—in form of tables—of dates and
prominent events in history along with facts of music history, without any further explanation of their implicitly suggested relationship, as an expression of a “historicism that treats works of art as manifestations of a stable, determinate context”:¹

It is unclear exactly what the reader is meant to conclude. Is there a subtle analogy between Wagner’s opera and Kirkegaard’s book [The Flying Dutchman and Fear and Trembling, respectively, both of them supposedly representative of the year 1843]? Or on the contrary, might it be that events which are extrinsically contemporaneous are, intrinsically, anything but contemporaneous, a conclusion made grotesquely and abundantly clear precisely when we use chronological tables in an attempt to illustrate the Zeitgeist that supposedly pervades all spheres of life at a given time? Does music mirror the reality surrounding a composer, or does it propose an alternative reality? Does it have common roots with political events and philosophical ideas; or is music written simply because music has always been written and not, or only incidentally, because a composer is seeking to respond with music to the world he lives in?²

Dahlhaus’s critique—only indirectly uttered through the last two, somewhat cumbersome rhetorical questions—of the Hegelian notion of Zeitgeist as a category with which bridges connecting various realms of culture, including music, can be built for a given era, matches the questioning of that same category by cultural historians, as well.³ However, the German musicologist might be taken as representative of a “formalism that treats works of art as self-sufficient, trans-historical wholes,” which

³ See Burke, What is Cultural History? (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004), 23, and his reference to Ernst Gombrich’s “In Search of Cultural History,” in Ideals and Ideols (Oxford: Phaidon, 1979), 24-59, as a “critique of Burkhardt, Huizinga and also of Marxists, notably Hauser, for building their cultural history on ‘Hegelian foundations’, in other words the idea of the Zeitgeist.”
operate on the basis of an almost surgical detachment of musical works from their native cultural environment.\(^4\) Neither of these views—immanent historicism and unhistorical formalism—can avoid shortcomings. The former easily gives way to facile, aprioristic readings, which lead, in the worst cases, either to overlooking specific aspects of works, particularly those involving contradictions or ambiguities, or to anachronistic, arbitrary, and potentially biased, present-day transference between philosophy and other realms of culture, a risk particularly tempting in Enlightenment historiography, in which, more often than not, it takes the form of simplistic and stale formulations.\(^5\) The latter too easily removes from works a deep stratum of meaning understood by the modern listener, while leaving those same works unusable for understanding past cultural practices.

I believe that political, social, and religious events and philosophical ideas are linked to musical works, and that these works are obviously inseparable from their own, actual, stylistic features. This is to say, by virtue of a commutative property, that “style [...] refers to cultural attitudes and states of consciousness which encompass intellectual and aesthetic, political and scientific, assumptions and thoughts.”\(^6\) But instead of using the problematic notion of Zeitgeist to account for this fact, I will dwell on the concept of “mental habit” in order to point out the propagation of certain patterns of behavior through the various fields of culture, including, of course,


\(^5\) On the drawbacks of a partisan confusion of the “Enlightenment of historians” with that “of philosophers,” see Vincenzo Ferrone, Lezioni Illuministiche (Roma: Laterza, 2010), 5-10.

\(^6\) See Miekel Bal, Quoting Caravaggio: Contemporary Art, Preposterous History (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 16; also quoted in Minor, The Death of the Baroque, 6.
creativity in music and the arts. The question, thus, arises: how can musical style be accounted for in such a way that it becomes part of the whole picture of culture? Particularly, how can this be achieved for eighteenth-century music? My account of the emergence of certain stylistic features, as reflected in the musical repertoire of the Collegio Nazareno, sheds light on this issue by focusing on musical syntax, a concept derived, itself, from the phenomenon of verbal language and rhetoric, which, in turn, forms the core of eighteenth-century rejections of the Baroque and the emergent emphasis on “good taste”: a taste that includes aesthetic and social components and modulates style.

**Theoretical Framework: Joseph Riepel’s Theory**

An attempt to embed musical style analysis into the broader context of contemporaneous culture may find conceptual aids in the revival, understanding, and appropriation of period theory of music: the more modern listeners’ mind are tuned to contemporaneous conceptualization of eighteenth-century music, the better they will be able to hear eighteenth-century cultural overtones resonating in it. This

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7 In doing so, I am actually returning the term *habitus* to its original context; the one from which Pierre Bourdieu took it and developed its concept. Pierre Bourdieu took this celebrated term from Erwin Panofsy’s 1951 paper “Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism,” which was “exemplary in its explicit and self-conscious focus on possible connections between different cultural domains.” This paper, translated by Bourdieu, himself, is relevant because “the point of the lecture was not simply to trace a parallel between architecture and philosophy,” but to claim “that there was a connection between the two movements.” See Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?*, 13. Even so, Panofsky was criticized because of an alleged excess of speculation, which he perhaps could not avoid despite his notion of “mental habit,” as Peter Burke suggests. It is my proposition that the application of this concept, retaining Bourdieu’s pragmatic and social update of it, in order to integrate description of musical style with culture, is particularly useful in avoiding excessive speculation and over-interpretation in the process.
postulate operates on the assumption that musical conceptualization is always
dependent, to an important extent, on extramusical categories, which, of course, are
culture based.

The analytical approach I will propose is substantially based, as far as musical speech
is concerned, on Joseph Riepel's theory of metric and tonal order, phrase and form, as
presented in his *Anfangsgründe zur musicalischen Setzkunst*, Chapters 1 and 2
(1752/54, 1755). Riepel's theory and treatise has been lately the object of useful
scholarly commentary and analytical application, I will therefore restrict myself here
to a very succinct, necessarily curtailed, presentation of the main concepts of his
theory of musical phrase, if highlighting some aspects not yet discussed by Riepel's
scholarly commentators, and significant in this context.

*The Notions of Caesura (Einschnitt), Comma (Absatz), and Cadence (Cadenz)*

In Chapter 2 of his treatise, Riepel, in a dialogical narrative, describes, explains, and—
above all—exemplifies the materials for composing a musical speech by presenting
them in a hierarchical system, which encompasses minimal meaningful musical units
through major structural levels, including finished movements of a musical work. He
does so emphasizing how those materials articulate in order to build upper structural

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8 In my own reading of Riepel's treatise, I am indebted to Hill, *Joseph Riepel's Theory of Metric and Tonal Order*. 
First, within the grammatical domains of syntax, Riepel situates the first level of complete musical meaning at the *Absatz*, or comma and comma-defined segment. As seen in Riepel’s example (Example 5.1), to which I have added numbers, the basic form of a phrase has four metrical units, not necessarily equating to measures, as occurs here; or, in Riepel’s terms, it is a “foursome” (*Vierer*). A comma-defined phrase like this may end with a V-I progression, thus forming a tonic comma (*Grundsatz*), abbreviated: “■-comma,” as in the example; or with a half-cadence (reached through a I-V, ii₆-V, or V/V-V), forming, in this case, a changing comma (*Änderungsabsatz*), abbreviated: “□-comma.”

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10 Ibid., 52.
The example is also illustrative of the smaller constituents of a comma-defined phrase, namely, the “twosome” (Zweyer), formed by twometrical units. In this case, the first twosome is called an Einschnitt, or “incise,” a caesura-defined segment with a lower degree of closure than the Absatz that punctuates the second twosome, while defining the whole four-bar segment in the present example. Riepel attributes to caesura-defined segments the same possible harmonic punctuations as to comma-defined phrases. That is why one can see the mark “□-Einsch.” under the harmonic punctuation in V of the first twosome in the example.

The highest degree of closure of a foursome is provided by the Cadenz, “normally reserved for the conclusion of middle- and large-dimension segments, such as each of the two repeated halves of a binary-form piece or movement,” as shown in the following example (Example 5.2), to which I have added numbers indicatingmetrical units, as well.

Example 5.2: Cadenz-defined segment (Absatz) in Joseph Riepel, Anfangsgründe Zur Musikalischen Setzkunst, 53. Work in the public domain; digitized by Google

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According to Riepel, a cadence-defined segment may be constituted by an *Absatz*, ending with a formal cadence. In such a case, “the most conclusive or complete cadence ends on a downbeat at the conclusion of descending melodic motion through local scale degrees 3–2–1 harmonized by $I_4^6$–$V^{(7)}$–I.” This is exactly the type of cadence that closes the example above. Although this punctuation may occur in any local key, including that of the fifth degree, Riepel devises a special name for a cadence-defined segment on the fifth, as can also be seen in the previous example, which presents the mark “□-cadence” at the end of the second foursome, in a place where one might expect a repeat sign. Of course, the “■-cadence” mark indicating the punctuation of the fourth foursome refers to the home key.\(^{12}\)

Second, the intrinsic degree of closure of all of the aforementioned segments and punctuations, that is, caesura-, comma-, and cadence-segments, is mediated by their rhythmic and melodic terminations. Depending on the type of their rhythmic termination, segment punctuations are considered to be either complete (*vollkommen*), or incomplete (*unvollkommen*); depending on the type of their melodic terminations, segment punctuations are considered to be either conclusive (*endlich*), or inconclusive (*unendlich*). According to this classification, both ■-comma segments

\(^{12}\) Riepel probably presents the term □-cadence in order to pair that of ■-cadence, thereby replicating the binomial ■-coma/□-comma at a higher level of structure and closure; in other words, for the sake of consistency. However, this leads to a partial theoretical overlapping of the concepts “■-cadence in the fifth” and “□-cadence,” since Riepel never states that these are different names of the same thing. On the other hand, he uses very few times the mark “□-cadence.” In particular, he does so, for example, in examples 482, 486, 489, 509, and 518, as numbered in Hill’s *Joseph Riepel’s Theory of Metric and Tonal Order*, Riepel, Anfangsgründe Zur Musikalischen Setzkunst, ch. 2, 43, 44, 45, and 53. In these examples, the □-cadence is consistently preceded by a raised fourth degree; it closes the first half of a small binary form; nearly always, it is followed by a *Fonte, Monte*, or *Ponte* segment (segments usually involving a foursome, be it comma defined or not, and based on harmonic and melodic sequencing); and it is usually responded by a rhyming ■-cadence in the second half. Therefore, I will restrict the application of this category to these cases in my analysis, treating the rest of cadential punctuations in V as “■-cadences in the fifth.”
in the previous example are to be considered incomplete, because their final notes do not come on strong beats, but conclusive, because both of them end with the root of the final chord in the melody. Based on the same logic, both cadences in the example, in turn, are complete and conclusive. At this point it is necessary to recall that punctuations may occur in any of the first six degrees of the tonic major scale, hierarchically configured by Riepel. For this reason, the □-cadence, being complete and conclusive, provides a lower degree of closure if compared to the final ■-cadence. And this leads us to the description of an important phenomenon, on which all levels of musical syntax in Riepel’s theory are based, on which I will expand next.

Recursion and Discourse Deixis in Riepel’s Theory

Third, the relationship between twosomes, comma-defined segments, and cadence-defined segments is based on the dynamics of implication/realization.13 Very significantly, Riepel finds in verbal syntax an apt analogy to deal with the fulfillment or frustration of the listener’s aural expectations at all levels of musical structure. Thus, he begins one of the essential explanations in his treatise, as far as phrase structure is concerned, by stating through his Disciple’s voice: “a good composition must speak without, nevertheless, pronouncing one word.”14 I will later return to Riepel’s Preceptor’s skeptical response to this statement. For now it suffices to say that, indeed, Riepel’s Preceptor proceeds, mostly through exemplification, rather than

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13 On the Leonad Meyer’s concepts of implication and realization, as applied to Riepel’s theory of musical phrase, see Hill, “The Logic of Phrase Structure,” 476.

14 See Hill, Joseph Riepel’s Theory of Metric and Tonal Order, Phrase and Form, 231.
through explicit conceptualization, to develop an analogy between verbal language and music, whereby various linguistic phenomena involving implication and realization are implicitly invoked in order to illustrate the same type of coherent relationship between segments in musical speech. I offer here a brief systematization of Riepel’s mapping, based on some modern scholarly commentary, while adding some insights from modern linguistics, which will be used to generically point out some syntactic maneuverings described by Riepel and visible in our repertoire.

Lexical morphology underlies the conceptualization of caesura-defined segments, which are assimilated to “mere nouns,” united by copulative conjunctions. Thus, Riepel compares a simple twosome with the phrase “compass and numbers.” Verb transitivity, already in the realm of syntax, applies when considering the sentence “Compass and numbers help, perhaps (□-caesura), the ear to tune the keyboard [■-comma].” Here, the implication of a direct object by a transitive verb, heightened by an adverb of probability, is only fully realized when a specific direct object appears. This sentence is used by Riepel in order to illustrate how caesura-defined segments form comma-defined segments, or Absätze: the placement of the □-caesura, in the previous example, right after “perhaps,” implicates, by virtue of its rhythmic and harmonic incompleteness, the realization brought about by the final ■-comma punctuation of the foursome. Note that the function of direct object in the previous sentence is fulfilled through syntactic subordination (by a dependent infinitive clause).¹⁵ This

¹⁵ Verb transitivity, also realized by means of syntactic subordination, is used, as well, in order to explain the inner implication/realization dynamics of a ■-comma phrase whose first twosome forms □-caesura. See example 515 in Hill, Joseph Riepel’s Theory of Metric and Tonal Order, 234; Riepel, Anfangsgründe Zur Musikalischen Setzkunst, 52.
constitutes an important aspect of Riepel’s mapping, for subordination is an instance of recursion, one of the defining features of human language and communication.¹-sixteen

At a still higher level of structure, the articulation of comma-defined musical phrases in order to obtain larger, cadence-punctuated segments, is explained again through subordination. But, whereas in the previous cases the modeling on linguistic subordination of a two-twosome scheme forming a comma musical segment involved a dependent infinitive clause fulfilling the function of direct object of an independent clause, now the two clauses of a conditional sentence stand for two foursomes, respectively. Specifically, a comma corresponds to the implicative dependent if-clause, while the realizing independent then-clause corresponds to a cadence. The conditional sentence proposed is: “If measurement has become practice these days (comma), then one can certainly not call it theory [cadence].”¹-seven

Thus, the German theorist presents all the concepts needed to make the punctuations of a whole musical speech match the syntactic and semantic logic of a completely

¹-sixteen Recursion is “the determination of a succession of elements (as numbers or functions) by operation on one or more preceding elements according to a rule or formula involving a finite number of steps;” see Merriam-Webster Dictionary Online, s.v. “Recursion,” http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/recursion (accesed October 26, 2014). According to Stephen Pinker and Raymond Jakendoff, “The faculty of language: What’s special about it? Cognition 95, no. 2 (March 2005): 201-236, a recursive structure is characterized as “a constituent that contains a constituent of the same kind;” as quoted in Marianne Mithun, “The fluidity of recursion and its implications,” in Recursion and Human Language, ed. Harry van der Hulst, (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), 17. These structures are “pervasive cross-linguistically” and most commonly involve “noun phrases embedded inside of other noun phrases (the neighbor’s cat’s habits) and clauses embedded inside of other noun phrases” like that fulfilling the direct-object function in Riepel’s mapping; ibid. Marc Hauser, Noam Chomsky, and W. Tecumesh Fitch, “The faculty of language: What is it, who has it, and how did it evolve?” Science 298 (November 22, 2002): 1569-1579, proposed recursion as the distinctive feature of human natural language.

¹-seven See Riepel, Anfangsgründe Zur Musikalischen Setzkunst, 53.
unfolded syllogism. Indeed, the previous extended musical example taken from his treatise (Example 5.2), corresponds to the following conclusion in Riepel’s treatise:

Any [Diejenige] sort of usage is unnecessary to composition (■–comma) if one cannot know how to give any rule for it [der] (□–cadence). Now, one cannot know how to give any rule for compass usage (■–comma). Therefore compass usage is certainly quite unnecessary to composition (■–cadence).\(^{18}\)

This hypothetical syllogism has been acutely analyzed elsewhere.\(^{19}\) I only want to point out that the syntactic and semantic coherence of its linguistic rendition is primarily based on the phenomenon of discourse deixis, another differential feature of human language and communication.\(^{20}\)

The German-language demonstrative pronouns “diejenige” and “der” in the major premise of the syllogism (“Any sort of usage is unnecessary to composition if one cannot know how to give any rule for it.”) function here as discourse deictic elements thereby implicating the necessity for realizing concretion, and thus the possibility of generating a consequential conclusion in a particular case.\(^{21}\) Moreover, I argue that the only principal linguistic event that justifies Riepel’s suggested correspondence between the major premise, closed and complete, and a harmonically incomplete □-

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\(^{19}\) Ibid., 363–364.


\(^{21}\) Demonstratives and neutral pronouns are the principal deictic elements (both in spatio-temporal and discourse deixis). The idiomatic English-language translation of Riepel’s syllogism (*Diejenige Practick ist zur Composition unnöthig, (■–Abs.) vermöge der man hierzu keine Regel zu geben weiß. (□–Cad.) Nun vermöge der Zirkel-Practick weiß man hierzu keine Regel zu geben; (■–Abs.) Also is die Zirkel-Practick zur Composition freylich wohl unnöthig (■–Cad.)*), used here, renders the German-language demonstrative as the indefinite pronoun “any sort of,” which retains the deictic function of the original particle, if with a tempered pregnancy.
cadence, is the lack of realization of the aforementioned deictic elements. The realization of these is only fulfilled in the minor premise ("Now, one cannot know how to give any rule for compass usage."), in which the word "compass" reduces the semantic extension of the terms "any" (diejenige) and "it" (der) in the major premise. In fact, this is exactly the function of a minor premise in a hypothetical syllogism. And this explains its pairing with a ■-comma punctuation, which, nevertheless, leaves a residual implication without realization because of its sequenced melodic and harmonic pattern, its feminine, incomplete ending, and its melodic register. This residual implication parallels, of course, that generated by the minor premise at the level of semantics, and is neutralized through the last punctuation, a ■-cadence, rhythmically complete and melodically conclusive, which Riepel makes to coincide with the conclusion of the syllogism.

Therefore, Riepel's mapping between melodic and linguistic segments and degrees of closure yields a theoretical framework in which the dynamics of implication/realization in the musical discourse are explained in terms of lexical morphology (caesura-punctuation of twosomes), verb transitivity and subordination (comma-punctuation of foursomes), and discourse deixis (cadence-punctuation of foursomes). In the two last cases, linguistic recursion and discourse deixis, defining features of human language, arise as the underlying essential linguistic properties on
which Riepel's mapping is based.\textsuperscript{22} This conclusion tends to confirm that, in effect, while the
grammatical rules of music, described in eighteenth-century composition handbooks [...] give rise to expectations, analysis of such expectations must necessarily come closer to linguistics than to literary theory. [...] Incidentally, the alliance of cognitive and historical approaches [...] seems particularly promising due to the strong cognitive component of music theory in the late eighteenth-century. In theoretical treatises of the time the ‘ears’ (Ohren) or ‘hearing’ (Gehör) of the listener are regularly referred to in order to substantiate rules formulated by their authors.\textsuperscript{23}

Of course, “the earliest remarks devoted to this theme come from Joseph Riepel, Johann Philipp Kirnberger, and Heinrich Koch.”\textsuperscript{24} This framework, in turn, provides a basis suggesting that music, perhaps eighteenth-century Western art music in a particular manner, shares these essential features with verbal language.\textsuperscript{25} On these grounds, “the notion that music and language are different but related aspects of a

\textsuperscript{22} On the connection between these two features of language, see Bonnie Lynn Webber, "Structure and Ostension in the Interpretation of Discourse Deixis," \textit{Language and Cognitive Processes} 6, no. 2 (1991): 117.

\textsuperscript{23} Mirka, introduction to \textit{Communication in Eighteenth-Century Music}, 4.

\textsuperscript{24} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{25} An extended discussion on this issue goes beyond the scope of this chapter. Some research has been conducted in this direction, in the field of music theory, thus far, particularly with regard to recursion, and with contradictory conclusions. From the area of linguistics and language evolution, Anna Kinsella, “Was recursion the key step in the evolution of the human language faculty?” in \textit{Recursion and Human Language}, ed. Harry van der Hulst (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), 186, for example, suggests that music “exhibits” recursion and is “necessarily analysed as recursive.” In fact, Fred Lerdahl and Ray Jackendoff, \textit{A Generative Theory of Tonal Music} (Boston: MIT Press, 1985), 112-3, may be taken as evidence of it. In this book their authors indeed “borrow from linguistics the notion of a ‘tree’ notation,” typical in order account for recursive structures, if warning that “a mere transference of linguistic trees into their musical counterpart would be misguided from the start.” In fact, Raymond Jackendoff, “Music and Language,” in \textit{The Routledge Companion to Philosophy and Music}, ed. Theodore Gracyk and Andrew Kania (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 107-8, not only highlights differences between music and language, but also explicitly holds that music has no true linguistic syntax.
single unified system of communication flows naturally.”26 As it will be seen, in addition, the notion of recursion turns out to be significant with respect to musical style, from the viewpoint of syntax, and its development in eighteenth-century, as evidenced by the instrumental introductions to the vocal commissioned by and performed at the Collegio Nazareno.

Fourth, and most importantly, the basic foursome that constitutes a comma-defined segment, the Absatz, is subject to various techniques of prolongation—most of which are also examples of recursion. Among these, repetition, either literal or varied, of small segments, as well as the “elaboration or insertion of derived or unrelated material” are frequent within comma-defined segments and usually lead to the avoidance of symmetric and square phrasing. All the prolongation techniques described by Riepel under these categories can be considered instances of internal expansion. The most common means of internal expansion are “internal repetition with or without variation or elision” and “internal elaboration by means of ‘pitch alteration.’” On the other hand, prolongation between comma-defined segments, or external extension, occurs by means either of “insertion” (Einschiebesel) between phrases or the “doubling of cadences.” These two are “the most important and often-used” of the insertion/extension techniques described in Riepel’s treatise, among which “strict melodic-harmonic sequences and sequential harmonic progressions,” typically in the form of a fonte or a monte, and “repetition clauses varied by means of pitch alteration” stand out.

Aspects of Musical compositio: the Shift from Fortspinnung- to Absatz Syntax in the Instrumental Sinfonias of the Vocal Works of the Collegio Nazareno

Materials: the Instrumental Introductions of the Vocal Works at the Collegio Nazareno

Why should one consider a German theorist and composer as a significant informant in order to understand Italian music? I believe that the pertinence of the application of period theory to a contemporary musical corpus does not fundamentally depend on cultural or geographic contiguity. Less so when it concerns eighteenth-century music, relying more and more with time, on a Pan-European style with Italian roots. Nevertheless, it turns out that a connection between Central Europe and the repertoire performed at the Collegio Nazareno during the eighteenth century may be traced through the biography of some of the composers who received annual commissions from the Collegio. This is the case of Niccolò Jommelli and Rinaldo di Capua, both of whom worked in Rome at different moments in their careers, were trained in Naples under the influence of German masters, and worked or performed their works in major opera theaters throughout Europe.

Riepel’s expectation that composition students would develop their skills as orchestral-suite writers into those necessary to compose a sinfonia, is enlightening regarding eighteenth-century musical pedagogy. Indeed,

Joseph Riepel’s fundamental purpose in publishing the first two parts of his introduction to musical composition in 1752 and 1755 was to show young composers who were already capable of writing orchestral dance
suites how to translate that ability into the capacity to compose symphonies and concertos in the latest Italian manner.²⁷

But it also sheds light on seminal aspects of style change, particularly those referring to phrase structure and its impact on outer musical form. Under this viewpoint, it is predictable that the shift from *Fortspinnung* to *Absatz* syntax in the instrumental pieces of the Collegio Nazareno will involve formal developments, as well. Keeping track of these formal changes is also one of my goals.

For this purpose, my analysis centers on the first movement of the instrumental introductions or *sinfonie* of thirty-two of the cantatas, oratorios (or *componimenti sacri*), and pastorals composed for the Collegio from 1704 through 1784, as shown below (Table 5.1). This ample span of time, along with the fact that institution, function of the musical works, and—to a great extent—musical genres, remain the same, make style a salient phenomenon as a major variable depending on time and, of course, composers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGSP Catalog number</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Title/year</th>
<th>Number of measures</th>
<th>Tempo, meter, and key</th>
<th>Overall form</th>
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<tr>
<th>AGSP Catalog number</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Title/year</th>
<th>Number of measures</th>
<th>Tempo, meter, and key</th>
<th>Overall form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Mus. 36m</td>
<td>Giuseppe Valentini (attributed)</td>
<td>Sinfonia p il Ss.mo Natale/Anno 1716</td>
<td>(181)</td>
<td>[Allegro] C C major</td>
<td>Small binary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Mus. 16c</td>
<td>Francesco Gasparini</td>
<td>Cantata a due/con VV, et Oboè/Soprano - Contralto./Fede e Giustizia / Fortezza / Del Sig. Francesco Gasparini / 1718</td>
<td>(193)</td>
<td>Vivace Presto 3</td>
<td>Small binary and ritornello form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Mus. 8b, 9</td>
<td>Niccolò Checconi</td>
<td>Originale / Prima Parte / a 6 7bre 1739 // Sinfonia</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>Allº C C Major</td>
<td>Binary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Mus. 12</td>
<td>Felice Doria</td>
<td>1742/Cantata/Per la Nativit[à]/Del Sig: Felice Doria//Sinfonia</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>Allº C D Major</td>
<td>Binary (with thematic recap.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Mus. 13</td>
<td>Felice Doria</td>
<td>1743/Cantata/A due Voci, con Violini, Oboè, Trombe e Corni/Parte Prima/Del sig:re Felice Doria</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>Allegro C D Major</td>
<td>Binary (with thematic recap.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Mus. 14</td>
<td>Felice Doria</td>
<td>1748 [sic]/Cantata/A Due Canto, e Alto/Con Violini, Oboè, Trombe, Corni, e Viola/Del Sig:re Felice Doria</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>Allegro C D Major</td>
<td>Binary (with thematic recap.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Mus. 15</td>
<td>Felice Doria</td>
<td>Parte Prima/Cantata/Per la Natività/Della Beata Vergine Maria/Interlocutori/ Medoro, e Licori/Con Violini, Viola, Oboe, Corni e/Basso/Del Sig:e Felice Doria//Introduzione</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>[Allegro] C F Major</td>
<td>Binary (with thematic recap.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGSP Catalog number</td>
<td>Composer</td>
<td>Title/year</td>
<td>Number of measures</td>
<td>Tempo, meter, and key</td>
<td>Overall form</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reg. Mus. 38</td>
<td>Giuseppe Valentini</td>
<td>SINFONIA/Con Violini, Oboè Corni/Viola, e Basso/Del Sig./Giuseppe Valentini</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Allegriissimo C D Major</td>
<td>Binary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Mus. 17b</td>
<td>Niccolò Jommelli</td>
<td>Giuseppe Riconsciuto/Oratorio/Cantato nel Collegio Nazareno/L’Anno 1749/Musica/Del Sig: r Niccolò Jommelli</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Allegro con molto Spirito C F Major</td>
<td>Overture binary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Mus. 18</td>
<td>Niccolò Jommelli</td>
<td>Cantata/Fatta Nel Collegio Nazareno/L’Anno1750/Musica/Del Sig: r Niccolò Jommelli</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>Allegro con molto Spirito C D Major</td>
<td>Overture binary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Mus. 20b</td>
<td>Niccolò Jommelli</td>
<td>1750/Overture/Con Violini, Croni, Oboè, e/Basso/ Del Sig: r Niccolò Jommella</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>Allegro C D Major</td>
<td>Binary (with thematic recap.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Mus. 19</td>
<td>Niccolò Jommelli</td>
<td>1751/Cantata/A Tre Voci/ Per la Nativita/Della Beatissima Verine/Musica/Del Sig: r Niccolò Jommelli</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Allegro C D Major</td>
<td>Overture binary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Mus. 20a</td>
<td>Niccolò Jommelli</td>
<td>1752/Cantata a Tre Voci/Per la Natività della Beata Vergine/Musica/Del Sig: r Niccolò Jommelli</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>Allegro C D Major</td>
<td>Overture binary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Mus. 27e</td>
<td>Rinaldo di Capua</td>
<td>1753/Cantata/Per la Natività della Beatissima Vergine/Musica/Del Sig: r Rinaldo di Capua</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>Allegro C D Major</td>
<td>Overture binary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGSP Reg. Mus. 28</td>
<td>Rinaldo di Capua</td>
<td>Cantata/A Tre Voci/ Rappresentata Nel Collegio Nazareno/Nel Mese di Settembre 1754/Con Violini, Oboe, Corni, Viola e Basso/ Musica/Del Sig: r Rinaldo di Capua</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>Allegro C D Major</td>
<td>Rounded binary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Mus. 29</td>
<td>Rinaldo di Capua</td>
<td>Cantata a tre/Voci/Per la Nativita Della/Beatissima Vergine/Musica/Del Sig: r Rinaldo di Capua [1755]</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>Allegro C D Major</td>
<td>Rounded binary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.1: Cont.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGSP Catalog number</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Title/year</th>
<th>Number of measures</th>
<th>Tempo, meter, and key</th>
<th>Overall form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Mus. 30</td>
<td>Rinaldo di Capua</td>
<td>1756/Cantata/A Tre voci/Per la Natività Della Beatissima Vergine/Nel Collegio Nazareno/Musica/Del Sig. Rinaldo di Capua</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>Allegro assai C D Major</td>
<td>Overture binary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Mus. 31a</td>
<td>Rinaldo di Capua</td>
<td>1757/Cantata à Tre Voci/ Rappresentata nel Collegio nazzareno/Musica/Del Sig. Rinaldo di Capua</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>Allegro C D Major</td>
<td>Overture binary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Mus. 31b</td>
<td>Rinaldo di Capua</td>
<td>1758/Cantata a Quattro Voci/ Rappresentata Nel Collegio Nazareno/Musica/Del Sig. Rinaldo di Capua</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>Allegro C D Major</td>
<td>Rounded binary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Mus. 32a</td>
<td>Rinaldo di Capua</td>
<td>1761/Elia Al Carmelo/Cantata/Per la Natività Della Beatissima Vergine/Musica/Del Sig. Rinaldo di Capua</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>Allegro C D Major</td>
<td>Overture binary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Mus. 32b</td>
<td>Rinaldo di Capua</td>
<td>1762/Il Roveto Ardente/ Cantata/Per la Natività Della Beatissima Vergine/Musica/ Del Sig. Rinaldo di Capua</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>Allegro assai C D Major</td>
<td>Overture binary (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Mus. 33a</td>
<td>Rinaldo di Capua</td>
<td>1768/Cantata a Trè Voci/Rappresentata Nel Colleggio Nazzareno/Per il Triduo/Di S. Giuseppe Calasanzio/Musica/Del Sig. Rinaldo di Capua</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>Allegro C D Major</td>
<td>Rhyming binary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Mus. 21b</td>
<td>Marcello di Capua</td>
<td>1769/L’Apparizione Di Onia/ Cantata a Tre Voci/ Rappresentata Nel Collegio Nazzareno/Musica/Del Sig. Marcello di Capua</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>Allegro assai C D Major</td>
<td>Rounded binary (only the Principal Motive returns)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Mus. 22</td>
<td>Marcello di Capua</td>
<td>Parte Prima/Il Vello di Gedeone/Cantata a tre Voci/ Musica/Del Sigr/Marcello di Capua/Dell’Anno 1771</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>Allegro assai C D Major</td>
<td>Rounded binary (only the Principal Motive returns)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.1: Cont.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGSP Catalog number</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Title/year</th>
<th>Number of measures</th>
<th>Tempo, meter, and key</th>
<th>Overall form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Mus. 23a</td>
<td>Marcello di Capua</td>
<td>La Stella di Giacobbe/Cantata à Tre Voci/Per la Natività/della/Beatissima Vergine/1772/Musica Del Sig:r Marcello di Capua</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>Allegro Spiritoso C D Major</td>
<td>Overture binary (only the Principal Motive returns)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Mus. 23b</td>
<td>Marcello di Capua</td>
<td>Parte Prima / Cantata à Tre Voce / 1773 / Musica / Del Sig: Marcello di Capua</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>All:o Vivace C D Major</td>
<td>Rounded binary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Mus. 25</td>
<td>Giovanni Masi</td>
<td>Cantata a tre Voci/Musica/Del Sig:r Giovanni Masi / 1775</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>Allegro C D Major</td>
<td>Rounded binary (only the Principal Motive returns)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Mus. 24a</td>
<td>Marcello di Capua</td>
<td>L'Iride, ò sia L'arco di Pace/Cantata A Tre Voci/Musica/Del Sig:r Marcello di Capua/Parte Prima</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>Allegro Vivace C D Major</td>
<td>Rounded binary (sonata form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Mus. 24c</td>
<td>Marcello di Capua</td>
<td>1784/Cantata/A Due Voci/Fatta ad istanza dell' Sigi Convittori/Del Collegio Nazareno/Del Sig:r Marcello di Capua</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>All:o C D Major</td>
<td>Overture binary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen at a glance, a considerable number of the composers working for the Collegio Nazareno at some point during the eighteenth-century would be considered, with some degree of resignation, "lesser" composers, based on the standards of a traditional historiographical canon. I believe that this fact, however, turns out to be an advantage in this study: first, because the fewer "personal" traces of musical wit are left on a series of works, the more commonplace style resources composers at the Collegio Nazareno may be supposed to have relied on; second, because, in such a case, ties between musical style and culture are more easily identifiable.
Analytical Approach

The analytical undertaking proposed here is, then, very much analogous to that of the historically informed performer, who ideally faces musical performance resting on the tripod of *Urtext* scores, period techniques as retrievable from period treatises, and period instruments. Of course, in the case of analysis, by “instruments” one should understand conceptual tools, including terminology. And the incorporation of these conceptual tools and terminology can only happen by assimilating period theory, again, as retrievable from period treatises. To an extent, this process of incorporation or assimilation of eighteenth-century music theory is, in turn, analogous to that through which the cultural anthropologist assumes the other’s inside perspective when doing fieldwork. In the process of incorporating period theory, the present-day assumed requirement of thoroughness and coherence from any theoretical framework might make necessary some adjustments or corrections, possibly including modern terminology. Like historically informed performance, historically informed musical analysis ends necessarily as a compromise between past deeds, ideas, knowledge, and present-day audiences.\(^{28}\)

In addition, I propose here, very much as in Chapter 2, a qualitative and heuristic approach to the repertoire listed in the previous section. This means that I have

\(^{28}\) The result is what John Walter Hill has coined as a “cognate theory of music”: one that would be understandable to period theorists and composers—insiders of a past culture—while satisfying modern standards; see John Walter Hill, “Cognate Theory of Music,” in *Music in the Mirror: Reflections on the History of Music Theory and Literature for the 21st Century*, ed. Andreas Giger and Thomas J. Matthiessen (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2002). This sort of approach allows us to speak, to the possible degree, the language of our informants, eighteenth-century musicians, which fact constitutes a warrant of our historically informed understanding of eighteenth-century music. In addition, and as previously stated, I believe that it also allows us to incorporate culture and communication in our assessment of musical style, inasmuch as the language used by eighteenth-century musicians to explain their music inevitably reflects, like ours, cultural values.
considered general patterns of style change, as well as turning points where those patterns of change accumulate. And, for this purpose, I have centered on the musical parameter of syntax, assuming that “analytical tools based on Riepel’s theory work quite well for analyzing music of all three [“late-Baroque,” “Galant,” and “Classical”] style categories.”\(^{29}\) Therefore my analytical method consists largely of reducing musical phrases “to a core of four metrical units through a deconstructive process of mentally bracketing off all forms of expansion, extension, and insertion,”\(^{30}\) according to Joseph Riepel’s theory, briefly exposed with commentary above. This is pertinent, since these techniques of extension give raise to “major portions of the complete symphonic movements represented by Riepel’s extended examples and in the actual repertoire to which he refers,”\(^{31}\) which fact can also be, to a great extent, expected in the introductory sinfonias of the vocal works of the Collegio Nazareno, whose relation to Riepel’s repertoire has already been pointed out.

In addition, in keeping with the need for satisfying modern standards of consistency and thoroughness in my exposition, some analytical categories, either from period theory or incorporating modern insights, will also be employed when needed. Among the latter, some concepts and terms taken from Heinrich Koch’s *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition* (1782–1793) are worth mentioning. In Hill’s words, “Koch’s entire conceptual framework as regards form and phrase structure is based on Riepel’s.”\(^{32}\) This means that most of the former’s labeling terms for certain musical


\(^{30}\) Ibid., 417-18.

\(^{31}\) Ibid., 381.

\(^{32}\) Ibid., 441-42.
events, even if not fully accounted for by the Riepel’s terminology, can be smoothly embedded into the latter’s theoretical matrix. In this sense, the concepts of “explanation or appendix” (Überhang) are useful to cover the cases of Riepel’s “doubling of cadence,” when they conclude in a key or on a harmony different from that of the previous harmonic punctuation; and also the cases of prolongation of the cadence-punctuation tonic harmony beyond the rhythmic boundaries of metrical unit

4. Among modern theorists’ concepts, it is, however, Wilhem Fischer’s *Fortspinnungstypus* that needs some comment here, in preparation for my analysis of the instrumental sections in the musical body of the Collegio Nazareno under Riepel’s theory perspective.

Fischer coined the term *Fortspinnung*, defining it as “a motivically related or foreign modulatory ‘spinning-out’ consisting of one or more successive sequences.”33 The utility of this concept is not in question here. But Fischer’s is originally a morphology-oriented concept, not a syntactic-oriented one, whereby the analytical application of its term, as it was originally envisaged, cannot avoid a certain degree of ambiguity. Even when put in context, through the notion of *Fortspinnungstypus* period, the concept offers certain problems having to do with a weak “demarcation between the end of a *Fortspinnung* and the beginning of an *Epilog*,” due to the lack of a clear integration with consistent period and phrase theory.34 This is precisely the point where a turn to eighteenth-century music theory is determinant. In fact, Riepel

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34 This is Kaneko’s main point; ibid., 71.
supplies his own terms for distinct types of what later would be lumped together under the name *Fortspinnung* by Fischer. Specifically, “according to Riepel’s theory, an exact sequence is normally to be considered an insertion *[Einschiebsel]* between comma-defined phrases, and this generality has been used very fruitfully to refine the twentieth-century concept of the *Fortspinnungstypus* phrase and movement construction.”\(^{35}\)

The integration of the twentieth-century concept of *Fortspinnungstypus* period with Joseph Riepel’s theory is relevant to my analysis because it offers a full range of categorical labels with sufficient perspective to handle a body of instrumental music that spans the eighty years from 1704 through 1784. In this regard, Hill concludes that the predominance of “insertions of repetition clauses varied by means of pitch alteration” over “strict melodic-harmonic sequences,” in Riepel’s treatise’s extended examples, places these “within a mid-eighteenth-century Galant style category that stands between the late-Baroque, with its *Fortspinnungstypus* movements in which sequences are inserted between comma- or cadence-defined phrases, and the Classical style in which nearly all expansion takes places within, and not between, such phrases.”\(^{36}\) Whether and to what extent this assessment can be extrapolated to the sample of eighteenth-century Italian orchestral music under study here constitutes a major question in describing the shift from *Fortspinnungstypus* to *Absatz* syntax in the aforementioned musical body. An affirmative answer to this question would provide empirical evidence to demonstrate that these musical works were

\(^{35}\) See, respectively, Hill, *Joseph Riepel’s Theory of Metric and Tonal Order*, 380; and Kaneko, “Fortspinnungstypus: A New Definition,” 76.

competent, up-to-date examples of genres, styles, and procedures that flowed out of Italy and came to define the mid-eighteenth century music of all European nations.

Discussion: the Shift from Fortspinnung to Absatz Syntax in the Music of the Collegio Nazareno

A pattern of stylistic change emerges from the comparison of the thirty-two extant instrumental introductions to most of the vocal works with orchestral accompaniment of the Collegio Nazareno. With the aim of illustrating this, in what follows, I offer a detailed analysis of the extreme poles of a stylistic continuum, stretching from Pietro Scarlatti’s cantata of 1704 through Marcello di Capua’s analogous work of 1784, the last one of those preserved at the AGSP. Between these two stylistic poles, which I will call late Baroque and Classical, the medium region will tentatively be referred to as Galant style, while turning points of style change will be signaled.

Harmonic and melodic sequences, embedded in Fortspinnungstypus periods, abound in the syntactic style of the instrumental introductions in the earlier cantatas of the Collegio Nazareno. A typical, if remarkably long, example of this sort of period, which conforms to most of the musical discourse in the works between 1704 and 1753, is that which opens the Sinfonia p[er] il Ss.mo Natale, of 1716, attributed to Giuseppe Valentini (1681-1753) in the first page of the manuscript score (Example 5.3). As can be seen, the Vordersatz (shadowed in blue) is formed by two complete Sätze, or phrases, namely, a □-comma and a ■-comma, resembling the entries of a fugal
subject. The purely sequential segment, the *Fortspinnung* proper (shadowed in red), is strikingly long here, as it descends over an interval of a minor tenth, involving nine complete recurrences of the model in five measures. From the viewpoint of Joseph Riepel’s theory, it can be analyzed as an insertion (*Einschiebel*) between comma segments. The *Epilog* (shadowed in blue) here arises from the *Fortspinnung* segment, of which it is inseparable (signaled by color degradation), and brings the period to a close with a □-cadence.

The full-range melodic and harmonic descent outlined by the *Fortspinnung* section recalls the type of “combination of modally structured melodic descent[s] accompanied by harmonic sequences” found, for example, in the sonatas of the Op. 6 by Giovanni Maria Bononcini (1642-1678), the very teacher of Valentini.\(^3^7\) Besides, from a syntactic standpoint, this excerpt is also representative of most of the instrumental music written by composers from the generation of Arcangelo Corelli (1653-1713) to that of J. S. Bach (1685-1750), except for its unusually long sequential segment, possibly due to compositional incompetence. All this, arguably, situates the work to which it belongs in the orbit of a late-Baroque style.

One of the driving features of this style is the implantation of a normalized harmonic style, of which Valentini’s excerpt is also representative. In fact, the bass line in the whole *Fortspinnung* segment might be figured using the 6 at a half-note rhythmic frequency, “the most common descending sequence in the normalized harmonic style” of those typified by Francesco Gasparini—another of the composers working for the

Collegio Nazareno in the early eighteenth-century—in his *L’Armonico pratico al cimbalo* (1708).\(^{38}\)

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**Example 5.3**

*Sinfonia p[er] il Ss.mo Natale*

*Musica del S. Gios.e Valentini*

Giuseppe Valentini (1716)

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Valentini’s 1716 composition is also significant regarding its overall form and genre. Termed *sinfonia*, as stated earlier, it actually adopts the texture of a trio sonata for mandola, lute, and basso continuo and is based on a succession of small binary-form dance-like movements ([Allegro]-Adagio, in common time; Allegro $^{6}_8$; Pastorale-canto-Adagio-canto), with repetition signs, following the initial fugal movement.

Next, I am offering the complete instrumental introduction to the *Cantata a due* of 1718 (Example 5.4) Francesco Gasparini (1661-1727), first, in order that the proportion of *Fortspinnungstypus*-period measures may be better assessed; second, in order to illustrate how sequential segments can be accounted for according to Joseph Riepel’s theory, other than as insertions between phrases. For this reason, numbers identifying metrical units of comma- or cadence segments have been added to the score, as well as indications of the principal means of extension and expansion used by the composer.

The superimposition of numbers on the reduced score, indicating metrical units and the labeling of expansion- and extension techniques, according to the Riepel/Koch theory, allows one to keep track of the syntactical function both of the tutti versus the solos (their respective entries are highlighted by red squares), and of the parts in *Fortspinnungstypus* periods, which amount to thirty measures out of the total fifty-five forming the Allegro. Concerning this last aspect, it is likewise important to note that in all those periods (mm. 43-53, 60-66, and 72-81) the *Fortspinnung* sections proper occur in form of insertions (*Einschiebels*) of *fonte* or *monte* progressions between comma-defined segments. To these insertions one has to add those taking place in the
Example 5.4

Cantata à due
Del Sig.re Franc:co Gasparini
Francesco Gasparini (1718)

AGSP, Reg. Mus. 16c

Vivace
Presto
Adagio
Allegro

Vnd. Violino Violino

"-comma in the fifth

repetition of a comma-defined segment, varied

"-comma

repetition of a comma-defined segment, varied

"-comma

repetition of a comma-defined segment, varied

"-comma

Adagio

Vnd. Basso Basso

"-comma

"-comma

"-comma

Vnd. Basso Basso

"-comma

"-comma

"-comma

Vnd. Basso Basso

"-comma

"-comma

"-comma

Vnd. Basso Basso

"-comma

"-comma

"-comma

Vnd. Basso Basso
Example 5.4: Cont.

Insertion of a *monte*

Doubling the cadence (comma)

Repetition of a compound comma-defined segment, varied (oboe solo)

Insertion of a *monte*

*Vordersatz*

*Fortspinnung*

*Epilog*
last portion of the movement (mm. 82-86), constituting repetition clauses. The result is that only 36 measures out of the 55 of the Allegro belong to a comma- or cadence-defined segment.

This proportion (65%), typical of the Galant-style syntax, indicates a notable degree of compatibility with Joseph Riepel’s extended examples in his treatise (an average of 62%) in spite of their chronological (an geographic) distance. It is noteworthy, that Riepel’s examples date from 1755, while Gasparini’s Allegro is dated 1718.

On the other hand, the driving rhythms of this concerto grosso Allegro, in connection with the aural expectations of comma- or cadence punctuations, generated by sequences, give this musical discourse its typical late-Baroque Italian flavor, at least for the modern listener. If one includes the violin figurations in this work, Vivaldian overtones may likewise be heard, except for one important factor: the shorter length

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of sequential segments, and the more numerous and frequent cadences (punctuations) in Gasparini’s works. The presence of frequent cadences is indeed a persistent feature in the general characterizations of Galant style, one whose “most famous” composers was considered to be, by Johann Mattheson, precisely Francesco Gasparini.⁴⁰

For the purpose of illustrating a decrease in the use of Fortspinnungstypus periods, and an increase of the proportion of metrical unis contained within comma- or cadence-defined segments in the repertoire of the Collegio Nazareno, the opening measures of Giuseppe Valentini’s Sinfonia of 1747 (Example 5.5) are useful, all the more if compared to the previous examples. In this example, only three measures (mm. 5-7, and 10) out of the twenty that constitute the initial compound cadence segment, form a sequence. In effect, mm. 5-7 make up a fonte. Although this type of sequence is, by and large, not considered to give raise to comma-defined segments in the Riepel/Koch theoretical framework, Joseph Riepel provides, in fact, examples in which they are considered to be comma-defined.⁴¹ The passage under consideration here can be interpreted in this way, given the directionality provided by the bass line and the clear harmonic and rhythmic punctuation, involving a I-V progression, all of which compensates for the lack of melodic implication and

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⁴¹ Moreover, Kaneko, “Fortspinnungstypus: A New Definition,” 77, offers an example where all three normative segments in a Fortspinnungstypus period (i.e., the Vordersatz, the Fortspinnung, and the Epilog) are comma- or cadence-defined segments.
Example 5.5

Sinfonia con Violini, Oboè, Corni Viola e Basso
AGSP, Reg. Mus. 36n

Giuseppe Valentini (1747)

Clause, three times

Insertion of a comma

Insertion of a repetition clause

Insertion of a monte

Insertion of a repetition clause
realization between the two twosomes. In this excerpt the insertion of repetition clauses is also remarkable. Still, the proportion of measures within comma- or cadence-defined segments is significantly high (75%).

Finally, Valentini’s *sinfonia* is symptomatic of a general tendency observed in the repertoire under discussion, that is, the gradual predominance of external extension techniques, in terms of the Riepel/Koch theory, over those that include internal expansion. Or, in other words, horizontal or “tail” recursion tends to occur in the form of adjacent replications of metrical units 3 and 4, rather than in the form of internal varied repetition. This is illustrated by the multiple doubling of cadences including elisions, in the present example.

When compared to the 1716 and 1718 *sinfonie*, the present example is also remarkable for the differentiated treatment of the bass line. While, in the former examples, the bass frequently partook of motivic play, employing a treble-bass polarity sometimes called “continuo homophony,” in the latter one it is mainly restricted to harmonic and rhythmic accompaniment, in a more purely homophonic style. This sort of homophony, in reality, is present in the introductory symphonies of the Collegio Nazareno starting with Niccolò Checconi’s works. His composition for the year 1739, for example, whose opening measures are shown below (Example 5.6), as well as Felice Doria’s for the years 1741 through 1745, are consistent in this sense.

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42 According to Kinsella, “Was Recursion the Key Step in the Evolution of the Human Language Faculty?” 180, “phrasal embedding occurring at the beginning or end of the sentence/phrase” is “tail recursion”; if the embedding occurs “in the center, such that material exists on both sides of the embedded component,” then it forms “nested recursion.”
and actually go beyond Valentini’s 1747 composition in the dilatation of the harmonic rhythm and the use of a true drum bass.

Example 5.6

![Score](image)

Sinfonia

AGSP Reg. Mus. 8b, 9

Niccolò Checconi (1739)

The function attributed to the bass is significant regarding syntactic style change.

Francesco Maria Veracini (1690-1768), in his 1758 treatise *Il trionfo della pratica musicale*, in fact, wrote ironically about it, as a regrettable modernity:

It appears to the good professors [..] that there is a very close relationship between *free counterpoint and the new counterpoint*, commonly called *strung-together* notes. [..] It is to be observed [in the new counterpoint] that the bass, being the most important of all the parts that accompanies the voice, never desists from striking and restriking more and more eighth notes on the same pitch in such a way that one could write a single note at the beginning of the page and then write, above this, the violins and the *muta* (called viola) accompanying the [solo] part (which enjoys singing), pounding and repounding the water in
the mortar, following the rhythm of the bass, which is the guide in the pounding and repounding.\(^43\)

Charles Burney, with less disapproval, often mentions this type of texture, “with a base in iterated quavers, very much in the style of Hasse and Vinci,” and remarked that a “clear and quiet accompaniment in iterated notes was that which Hasse and Vinci rendered fashionable, and which subsequent masters carried to excess.\(^44\)

Niccolò Jommelli (1714-1774), directly influenced by Hasse during his training years in Naples,\(^45\) indeed makes plentiful use of this resource in his compositions for the Collegio between 1749 and 1752. In his Overtura of 1750, for example, 53 out of 86 measures are filled with a drum bass mainly “pounding” on the tonic and dominant pitches. The association between the use of drum bass and alla breve style of phrasing, as it appears also in the previous example, is consistent in Joseph Riepel’s treatise.\(^46\)

The 1750 Overtura, as all of Jommelli’s output for the Piarist institution in general, is also notable for the use of dynamic contrasts. In fact, this is the first instrumental introduction of those composed for the Collegio Nazareno to bear a crescendo marking (Example 5.7), a feature that Jommelli popularized or, perhaps, even originated.\(^47\) It is

\(^{43}\) See Francesco Veracini, *Il trionfo della pratica musicale osia il maestro dell'arte scientifica dal quale imparasi non solo il contrapunto ma (qual que piu importa) insegna ancora con nuovo e facile metodo l'ordine vero di comporre in musica studio di Francesco F.ª Veracino Opera III* (Florence: 1758-60), 170; as transalted in Hill, “The Anti-Galant Attitude of F. M. Veracini,” 170.


\(^{45}\) See McClymonds et al., “Jommelli, Niccolò.”

\(^{46}\) See, for example, Hill, *Joseph Riepel's Theory of Metric and Tonal Order*, 285-87.

used in connection with a quadruple repetition of “common measures in succession” in the bass line, under a tonic pedal of sixteenth notes in the violins, or a “boisterous” passage in Joseph Riepel’s terms.\textsuperscript{48} In this local context, the $f$ marks are to be understood as indications of accents.\textsuperscript{49}

Example 5.7

Clearly, this is the type of dynamic effect that would later be called a Mannheim crescendo.\textsuperscript{50} No doubt, the elongation of metrical units, the slowing of harmonic rhythm, and the increasing reliance on repetition rather than sequencing yielded longer movements in which dynamics would play an increasingly important role, not


\textsuperscript{50} This technique, along with other ones like the accompanied recitative, were developed by Jommelli before his sojourn in Stuttgart, as his cantatas for the Collegio Nazareno partially demonstrate. Further—and earlier—evidence of this is noted, regarding opera, by Marita Petzoldt McClymonds, “The Evolution of Jommelli’s Operatic Style,” \textit{Journal of the American Musicological Society} 33, no. 2 (Summer, 1980): 327.
only in the overall formal process of growth, in Jan La Rue’s terms,\textsuperscript{51} as in Jommelli’s crescendos, but also in helping the listener to discern various levels of syntactical nested recursion, as will be illustrated below. This example also illustrates a relatively frequent resource, found in this musical collection and elsewhere, recurring, for example, in Felice Doria’s works, which is “to give each of the four voices, from time to time, a different animation.” This is “really not counterpoint, but merely gives a lively effect here and there.”\textsuperscript{52} These words come from Joseph Riepel’s treatise at a point where he is illustrating the case when a “melody,” an “imitation,” or a “clause” is given to the bass “for a while.”\textsuperscript{53} This type of musical trick became an easy convenience for mainstream composers in the Galant style,\textsuperscript{54} including those who compsed for the Collegio Nazareno. In effect, Doria’s 1743 symphony, for instance, uses an expedient very much like what is shown in our Jommelli example.

Then-currently fashionable features can also be found on the surface of these instrumental introductions. Reverse dotting, especially concentrated in repetition clauses, may be taken as a motivic marker of style change, too. This rhythmic motive, called a Galanterie by Johann Adolph Scheibe (1680-1748) in his Compendium musices theoretico-practicum (ca. 1730),\textsuperscript{55} in the context of a discussion of the treatment of passing tones and dissonances as ornaments, is first detected, in our repertoire, in

\textsuperscript{51}See Jan La Rue, Guidelines for Style Analysis (Warren MI: Harmonie Park Press, 1992), 115-17.
\textsuperscript{52}See Hill, Joseph Riepel’s Theory of Metric and Tonal Order, 286.
\textsuperscript{53}Ibid.
Felice Doria’s introductory symphony of 1741. After this, it is profusely used, even exploited, in the works of Jommelli, Rinaldo di Capua, and Marcello di Capua, until 1771 (Example 5.8), after which it disappears. In this connection, Scheibe informs us
that “in the Italian style ‘Invention, Gout, Galanterie, and Methode are always present,’
but that ‘only in Galanterie and Methode does it often go to excess.”

The relatively formulaic nature of musical Galant speech, not far from the concept of
centonization as far as melodic construction is concerned, allows one to ponder the
degree of originality in compositional craftsmanship. This aspect of musical creativity
in the Galant style did not escape to the notice of period composers and theorists.
Veracini, again, was well aware of it, when telling us that composers

laugh at whomever discovers that the compositions they produce are
[composed] by others, even though they sometimes falsely write their
names above them. Likewise they are not offended, but rather ignore it
and do not consider it an injury, if someone says that this bass, or that
motive, or all of that passage is stolen, and that the accompaniments of
the bass and the other parts are copied \textit{ad unguem} from the writings of

Nearly all types of quasi-plagiarism mentioned by Veracini can be spotted in the
works of the Collegio Nazareno. In fact, I have already referred to melodic borrowings,
or idiomatic coincidences, in the previous chapter, when comparing the melodic
gambit of VP 1 in Niccolò Jommelli’s and Rinaldo di Capua’s tempest arias; or, in the
previous Example 5.7, showing a repetition clause in the bass part seen in Felice
Doria’s and Niccolò Jommelli’s works. And, even if this happened between composers,
the amount of overt self-borrowing was sometimes surprising. There is no need to
rummage through our repertoire too much: Marcello di Capua’s 1784 symphony

\footnote{See Veracini, \textit{Il trionfo della pratica musicale}, 101-2; as quoted and translated in Hill, “The Anti-Galant Attitude of F. M. Veracini,” 170.}
Example 5.9: Cont.

2

| 2 | 3 | 4=1 extended appendix with change of harmony |

Vln.

Bso.

change of harmony (boisterous passage)

2

| 2 | 3 |

Vln.

Bso.

4
doubling of the cadence

appendix with change of harmony

1 | 2 | 3

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4=2 | 3 | 4=3 | 4 |

Vln.

Bso.

appendix with change of harmony, twice

| 4=2 | 3 | 4=3 | 4 |

Vln.

Bso.

repetition of a comma segment, varied appendix with change of harmony

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4=2 | 3 |

Vln.

Bso.

| -comma | -comma in the fifth | p -comma in the fifth | p -comma |

332
Example 5.9: Cont.

beginning of the second half

Example 5.9: Cont.

extended “leader”

insertion

by multiple parenthetical insertions in sequence

separation (Zertheilung) of the second twosome
Example 5.9: Cont.

clause

insertion of a *Ponte*, twice

repetition of the previous internal-expansion segment

repetition clause

varied through pitch alteration

insertion of a *Ponte*, twice

multiple doubling of the cadence

extended
Example 5.9: Cont.

4=1 extended

Vln.

Bso.

- comma

3

4=2

3

4=2

3

4=2

3

Vln.

Bso.

- comma

- comma

- comma

- comma

4=2

3

4=2

3

4=2

3

Vln.

Bso.

- comma

- comma

- comma

4=2

3

4=2

3

4=2

3

Vln.

Bso.

- comma

- cadence

- comma

Vln.

Bso.

- comma

- comma

- comma

- comma

- comma

- cadence

lengthened by alla breve style

4=2

3

repetition of the

previous appendix segment

4=2

3

4=2

3

335
(Example 5.9) is almost a composite work made out of those of 1771 and 1772 by the same author.

Most of the aforementioned stylistic features, namely, the progressive abandonment of pervasive and extended *Fortspinnungstypus* periods, the increasing proportion of metrical units adscribed to a comma- or cadence-defined segments, the high frequency of comma- or cadence punctuations, the increasing predominance of external extension techniques and of repetition clauses as a means for internal expansion, the elongation of metrical units due to *alla breve* style, the slowing of harmonic rhythm, the homophonic texture based on the steady repercussion of the bass, the new importance of progressive dynamics, and the construction of the musical phrase by a sort of motivic centonization, with a proclivity to repetition of small rhythmic units, as in the case of reverse dotting, are all found in Marcello di
Capua’s introductory sinfonia of 1784. Besides, this work is particularly useful as an illustration of how the shift, in general terms, from Fortspinnungstypus to Absatz syntax would give rise to a relatively elevated degree of syntactic complexity, in terms of horizontal and vertical recursion. And this will constitute the core of my commentary about it. In any case, the score annotation, given in full below, recapitulates, in historical terms, the features of the instrumental introductions composed for the vocal works of the Collegio Nazareno, since Marcello di Capua’s cantata for 1784 is the last one of the series.

The “Principal Motive” (Motivo Principale), Francesco Galeazzi’s term for the first theme or key area, in this AA’ overture-binary form, is comprised of two -commas and a -cadence, which is, in turn, extended by doubling the cadence with further appendices that introduce a change of harmony (mm. 1-23). It is precisely on the cadence segment that I wish to expand, in order to illustrate, along with many of the just-mentioned features, the increased proportion (80%) of comma- or cadence-defined segments in which the typical relation of implication/realization is accomplished and salient.

The liaison between the two twosomes of a phrase, considered now more properly subject and predicate, as illustrated by Joseph Riepel throughout his treatise, feature a coherence analogous to that involved in verbal discourse deixis. In addition to this, a trend, in the second half of the composition, toward ulterior expansion/extension of

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58 Francesco Galeazzi’s Elementi teorico-pratici di musica con un saggio sopra l’arte di suonare il violino (Rome, 1791-96), offers a thematic-oriented account of musical form, which fact is reflected in his labels. On the significance of this view in late eighteenth-century music theory, see Bathia Churgin, “Francesco Galeazzi’s Description (1796) of Sonata Form,” Journal of the American Musicological Society 21 (1968): 181-199.
comma- or cadence segments already expanded/extended in the first half, or, what is the same, the increase of recursion patterns in the second half, is also remarkable.

Since the “Characteristic Passage” (*Passaggio Caratteristico*), or second theme or key area (mm. 37-49), is not restated in the second half, we have only the principal motive left in order to check the syntactic maneuverings of the composer throughout the work.

The ■-cadence segment (mm. 18-23) constitutes what can be taken as a prototypical Galant-style musical phrase in its motivic invention, distinct articulation through a caesura punctuation, subtle rupture of symmetry by a decoration “with many small figures and rapid notes,” and overall lightness. As can be appreciated, it is both internally expanded and externally extended. Regarding expansion, it includes an insertion of a parenthesis between subject and predicate (i.e., metrical units 2 and 3) in the form of an ascending run—Quartz’s galant-melody “rapid notes”—that momentarily delays the beginning of the descent \( \hat{5} - \hat{1} \) implicated by the subject. Indeed, the subject (i.e., metrical units 1 and 2) can be understood, in this connection, as an embellishment of \( \hat{5} \) by a descending linear progression from \( \hat{8} \), plus an upper neighbor tone. The predicate, then, responds in a contrasting character, close to

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59 Regarding the decoration with “rapid notes,” see, for example, Johann Joachim Quantz, “Herrn Johann Joachim Quantzens Lebenslauf Von Ihm Selbstat Entworfen,” in *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge Zur Aufnahme Der Musik*, ed. Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, vol. I, part 3 (Berlin: 1755), 216-17; as translated in Hill, “The Anti-Galant Attitude of F. M. Veracini,” 164n34. As to “lightness” as a feature of Galant-style music, due to its usage of passing tones and emptier textures, is a constant from Bacilly to Kirnberger, as noted ibid., 160-62.

60 This ascending run may be interpreted as a written-out *volata*, on of the seven types of ornaments described in Galeazzi, *Elementi teorico-pratici di musica*, 195, as “a little scale of one or two octaves, which is generally made precede the beginning of a clause, or meaningful musical idea; they ascend because they are usually applied to high notes” (*La volata è una scaletta intiera di una, o due ottave, la quale si fa però più precedere il principio di una clausula, o senso musicale*).
Riepel’s concept of a “singing” passage, in its use of syncopated slurs, with the mentioned melodic descent down to 1, which is also decorated: the final step 2 – 1 is interrupted as the melody reaches over 5 again (m. 22). Right after this gesture, the expected descent is realized on the downbeat of metrical unit 4 (m. 23). Considering texture, the harmonic implications of the subject, stable and uttered in strict unison, are realized by the actual bass progression IV-V-I, whose fundamental notes in quarter notes are heard in the predicate. As to extension, it takes the form of a doubling of the cadence and an appendix with change of harmony, which actually forms Galeazzi’s “Departure from the Key” (mm. 23-36). In short, internal expansion occurs by means of a parenthesis; external expansion happens by means of the doubling of the cadence and the addition of appendices with change of harmony, which form instances of tail recursion.

The second half (mm. 53-125) begins in the tonic and is actually a varied repetition of the first, with the omission of the “Characteristic Passage.” In spite of this, the second half exceeds the first in length, by far, because of further processes of internal and external prolongation undergone by the -cadence segment in the second half. Specifically, this segment incorporates new doublings of the cadence and appendices replicating the closure in the tonic key by way of external extension, and a remarkably articulated and extended internal expanding technique, namely, what Joseph Riepel calls the division of the twosome (Zertheilung), intended to “deceive the ears a little.”

As indicated on the score, the fully realized closure of the foursome in question, expected on the downbeat of m. 75, does not happen until m. 93. In other words,

between metrical units 3 and 4, the composer has inserted “unrelated material” that dramatically expands the predicate of the phrase. True, m. 75 provides a certain degree of closure, but it fails to complete the fundamental descent $\tilde{5} - \tilde{1}$ that forms the melodic essence of this cadence segment in its obligatory register, thereby provoking aural deception. Only in m. 93 the true metrical unit 4 provides the implicated closure, in the proper register, over a conclusive fully unfolded cadence, involving the $I_4^6-V(7)-I$ progression. In connection with this harmonic closure, the fortissimo dynamic marking and its continuation into a doubling of the cadence through a boisterous passage, paralleling the closure of the cadence segment in the first half, give the listener the aural cue to understand the previous passages as belonging to a higher level of the structure. This instance of nested recursion delays the true cadence, by means of foreground melodic embellishments of $\tilde{5}$, over a tonal excursion, which is what takes place between metrical units 3 and 4. This retroactive, or anaphoric, emphasis on and redefinition of a segment just heard, completely dependent on aural memory, can be interpreted as another instance of musical discourse deixis.
The tonal excursion (mm. 75-93) mentioned is, on a broad scale, in reality, a *fonte* racheting the bass downward (*B-e-A-d*; marked with red squares on the score), with the progression $V^{(7)}/ii-ii^5-I^5-V^{(7)}-I$. This type of harmonic scheme, either in foursomes or as insertions between comma-defined segments, as well as its location at the outset of the second half, recurs in the later instrumental introductions of the Collegio Nazareno.\(^{62}\) What is outstanding here is, first, how the prolongation of the dominant harmony by means of a twofold *ponte* articulates with a repetition clause, and then the model is repeated, thereby giving rise, again, to different hierarchical levels of structure, this time by means of horizontal recursion in connection with register coupling (marked with red arrows on the score). The diagram above (Example 5.10) shows the ■-cadence segment reduced to its basic hypothetical foursome (a), and a comparison between its occurrence in the first half (b) and in the second half (c). Quite remarkably, the ■-cadence segment does not present, in its 1772 early version, the internal expansion it bears in the second half of the 1784 work, analyzed in detail above.

In the example, metrical-unit numbers have been added to identify the hypothetical basic foursome, against which real phrasings of it (staves b and c) are confronted in order to visualize the instances of internal expansion. After the ■-cadence punctuation, on the other hand, the segment is externally extended by means of doubling the cadence and appendices, some of which are subject, in turn, to internal

\(^{62}\) Instances of *fonte* sequences surrounding the juncture between the first and the second half of a binary form, either to reach the home key or to cause a tonal excursion, are found in Rinaldo di Capua’s sinfonias for the cantatas of 1756, 1758, 1761 (*a monte sequence*), 1768; Marcello di Capua’s works of 1769, 1773, and 1777; and Giovanni Masi’s of 1775. See Table 5.1 in this chapter for archival information regarding these items.
expansion in the form of separation of twosomes through repetition clauses, as can be seen in Example 5.

Therefore, the last of the instrumental introductions for the vocal works of the Collegio Nazareno shows a considerable degree of syntactical complexity, including nested or vertical recursion, only possible within a clear Absatz-syntax framework, and very different from that of early-eighteenth-century cantatas and oratorios, pervasively based on Fortspinnungstypus periods, where horizontal or tail recursion predominates. In the presence of this piece of evidence, one may say that, in general terms, the style of the instrumental music attached to the vocal works of the Collegio Nazareno adheres to the notion that “Overall, symphonic composition and theory from about 1740 to about 1790 reflects the last stages of a style change in which the comma- or cadence-defined segment grows from a position of weak representation, through a position of statistical predominance, to a position of complete dominance.”

Recapitulation

By way of recapitulation and synthesis, the pattern of style change in the complete extant instrumental introductions to the vocal works of the Collegio Nazareno in Rome can be summarized as follows. Regarding musical syntax, as observed, early sinfonie rely on chains of extended Fortspinnungstypus periods with frequent and extended insertions between comma-defined segments or ongoing variations through

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pitch alteration of metrical units 1, 2 or 3. This increasingly gives way to movements consistently based on foursomes in which sequences do not entirely disappear but are normally reduced to a basic foursome and specialized in function: they either serve the return to the main key, or a tonal excursion after its restatement, at the juncture of the two halves of a binary form.

Beginning with Jommelli’s cantatas, oratorio, and overture, this consistent syntax yields foursomes that display increasingly an implication/realization dynamic between subject and predicate. This causes caesura-defined segments to become more prominent, increases tail or horizontal recursion of metrical units 3 and 4 in the form of doubling the cadence or appendices with change of harmony, in Riepel/Koch’s terms, and opens the door to more complex forms of internal expansion, or nested recursion, in the form of comma-defined segments embedded between subject and predicate, or even between metrical units 1 and 2, or 3 and 4, as shown in the last example.

Another important trends include the abandonment of formal traces linked to the suite of dances, trio sonatas, and concertos, the progressive slowing down of harmonic rhythm, leading to extended portions of music written in alla breve style, often with drum bass, and the reliance on motivic commonplaces, among which reverse dotting stands out, in order to build melodies. Put it in chronological and style-label terms, a turning point between late-Baroque and Galant style might be located in the 1730’s with Niccolò Checconi’s works; the rest of the instrumental music at the Collegio Nazareno until Marcello di Capua’s 1784 might be considered Galant,
acknowledging further hints of style change in the late 1770’s, having to do with a more complex syntax, involving functional specialization of comma- or cadence-defined segments, and even sequential insertions, a clearer melodic implication/realization dynamic between subject and predicate, and the circumscription of expansion and extension techniques to the boundaries of comma- or cadence-defined segments.\textsuperscript{64} Some of these early traces of Classical style are seen in Marcello di Capua’s 1784 cantata, previously analyzed. Of course, the presence of a rounded binary sonata form in the introduction to his 1777 cantata is also to be taken into account in this respect.

\textbf{Corollary: Bridging to Musical Style Appreciation, Taste, and Distinction}

I hope to have demonstrated that the musical works we are concerned with were mostly competent, up-to-date examples of genres, styles, and procedures that flowed out of Italy and came to define the mid-eighteenth century music of all European nations. This means that the young \textit{convittori} were exposed, in the Collegio Nazareno, to the same musical language they would need to understand as future members of a social elite; and that they were expected to incorporate the syntactic schemas of art music into their minds so as to become competent listeners. This aural competency was, of course, taste, which was a faculty, an “inner sense,” not only attached to

\textsuperscript{64} This is consistent with the already cited observation that in the Classical style “nearly all expansion takes place within, and not between, such phrases,” and that “analytical tools based on Riepel’s theory work quite well for analyzing music of all three style categories.” Ibid., 401.
creators but also to listeners and spectators, as precisely a former *convittore* of the Colletio Nazareno explains.

Count Agostino Paradisi must have attended the performances of Jommelli’s oratorio and cantatas at the Collegio Nazareno, for he was admitted to the institution in 1747, and remained there, where he became a member of the Accademia degli Incolti, through 1752. Later, he would become an influential poet and economist at the newly founded University of Modena (1772). In fact, he is considered, as a poet, “the most prominent representative of the Oratian school in the duchy of Este, dealing with religious, philosophical, and social subjects in relation to Arcadian poetry.”65 In short, he arguably embodied the achievement of the educational goals of the Collegio Nazareno and the Accademia degli Incolti.

Presented, as “a man of wit, exquisite taste, and multiple and various talents,” in a collection of essays posthumously published, he contributed an essay entitled *Saggio metafisico sopra l’entusiasmo delle belle arti*, which was published in Milan, 1769. In this essay—virtually neglected by scholars—moving within the orbit of major theorists of taste,66 he explains that “*the extraordinary state of the soul, in which it finds itself, whenever it produces or enjoys masterworks*, that is, in one word, enthusiasm, is nothing but an extraordinary inner pleasure, in which the soul finds itself because of

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66 His debt to Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury (1671–1713) and his *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, first published in 1711, anonymously, seems inescapable to me, as far as the consideration of taste as an innate “inner sense” susceptible to improvement through practice, and, of course, the concept of “enthusiasm,” is concerned.
the idea of the beautiful and perfect.”⁶⁷ Accordingly, “based on common experience, we see that masterworks are only produced by those who feel enthusiasm.”⁶⁸ From an esthetic point of view, this was exactly the point of organizing and making the young noble convittori attend the annual accademie di belle lettere: developing the ability to feel “enthusiasm,” or a taste, for literary and musical works; the ability for “judging, for the making of distinctions, and for the public discernment and taste.”⁶⁹

That composers were aware of public’s taste is something deducible from eighteenth-century treatises. It goes without saying that it is not the aim of this chapter to provide the reader with a full account of them, but I have already referred to the intention of Riepel’s Discantist to “deceive ears.” Even more explicit in the consideration of listeners is the following series of his Preceptor’s admonitions, when—yet again—discussing repetition in minuets with the Discantist. Those include recommendations of tasteful social behavior, while abounding in the idea of protecting oneself against a blind and mechanical adherence to compositional rules:

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⁶⁸ Ibid., 91; “[...] per comune esperienza noi veggiamo che i capolavori non si producono se non da coloro, i quali sentono l’entusiasmo.”

Prec. You should never boast.* The rules alone do not suffice. For if someone else composes a minuet with a less orderly arrangement but with a livelier songlike melody** such a minuet would perhaps find more success with connoisseurs than yours, with all its assembled rules and calculations.

*Praising oneself smells bad, speaking in Latin. A little bit of conceit and arrogance will harm the discantist just as little as it does all the honest people in the world.

**Cantabile

Disc. I know well that one must always and chiefly search for a good melody. But is its suitability to be found solely in the rising and falling?

Prec. Yes indeed. For such rising minuets [. . . ] are the most apt of all to move the emotions of the listener and even occasionally to move his very legs. I will also try to achieve that with one or another lively Allegro of a symphony in the future. By means of such a consideration, namely whether I should begin in the high range, the middle, or the low range, a theme or beginning will at least come to mind more quickly.

[. . . ]

I cannot digest your “delicacies.” Too much [repetition] is unhealthy. My opinion is that, if nothing is repeated in the first part, the repetition in the second part can therefore become more impressive. One must never be extravagant even with good things, but always try to win listeners with good taste.70

The most significant aspect of this sort of statements is its attachment of such specific compositional choices as those regarding melodic profile (“rising” or “falling”), register (“high range, the middle, or the low range”), tempo (“lively Allegro”), and syntax (“too much repetition is unhealthy”), to listeners’ aural expectancy, shaped by taste. This has three major implications. The first one has straightforwardly to do with composers’ taste underlying mental habit; the second is about listener’s appreciation skills; the third one involves the previous two by pointing out that they contribute to

70 Riepel, Anfangsgründe Zur Musikalischen Setzkunst, chap. 1, 8-9; as translated in Hill, Joseph Riepel’s Theory of Metric and Tonal Order, 18-19.
the individual’s social and symbolic capital and to the emergence and development of style as a negotiation of tastes.

*Winning Listeners with Good Taste*

By focusing our attention on syntax in order to consider style change of eighteenth-century music, we are actually hitting right on the mark, for a good deal of eighteenth-century aesthetic debate had to do with *compositio*, which along with *tropes* and *figures* constituted the ambitus of *elocutio* in classical rhetoric. And here, “the phenomenon and discourse of Arcadianism” and “the Italian version of *buon gusto*—which anticipates much of the Anglo-German debates on taste—provide fertile soil out of which change could grow and cultural conflicts flourish.”

To be more specific, on Arcadian grounds, “discursive Italian largely gave up Latinate phrasing and, like the pastoral, substituted paratactic as opposed to hypotactic constructions, preferring relatively straightforward declarative sentences.” In Aristotelian terms, “turned-down” or “periodic style” (*katestrammenē*) was preferred to “strung-on” style (*eiromenē*). This seeking for formal clarity through a syntax based on periods “having a beginning and end in itself and a magnitude easily taken in at a glance […], complete in thought and not cut off,” became ever more part of the

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71 Minor, *The Death of the Baroque*, 3.
72 Ibid., 35.
74 Ibid., 240.
mental habit of Italian erudites’ *buon gusto*, in a process where the literary and social practices of the Roman Arcadia arguably worked as catalysts. Among these *eruditi*, Ludovico Antonio Muratori (1672-1750) stands out as the major Italian theorist of taste, through his *Riflessioni di Lamido Pritania Sopra alcuni punti del Buon Gusto nello studio delle Scienze, e dell’Arti, per servigio della Repubblica Letteraria d’Italia*, written in 1705.\(^75\)

Considering taste as an “inner sense,” as British thinkers would do a little later,\(^76\) as far as literary creation is concerned, he
disdained luxuriant styles, the excessive caprices typical of the literature of the mid-seicento [...] and the horrid, graceless manner of the Scholastics. All things should be expressed in a style that is neither too rustic, sordid, and deformed, nor adorned with inappropriate rhetorical flourishes. One should observe decorum and dignity; [...] Do not blame rhetoric; condemn its abusers.\(^77\)

I contend that composers were not mere reflectors, but they partook of this mental habit—the seeking for clarity—as an important constituent of *good taste*. This is seen in the Roman milieu, the epicenter of the Arcadia, and in the case of the Collegio Nazareno. Not only were Piarists and *convittori* institutionally linked, as explained in Chapter 1, with regard to the Parrhasian Grove—directly or through the Accademia degli Incolti—but also composers were, in one or another way. The most significant case with respect to the Nazareno is that of Niccolò Jommelli, who became a member

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\(^76\) One of the earlier and most most influential authors in this respect was Lord Shafesbury, as commented previously. His notion of taste as an innate “inner sense” improvable through practice, and subject to the rule of experts’ judgment, was influenced Joseph Addison’s comments on the same topic, in *The Spectator* (1711-12), and such representative works and authors of the Scottish Enlightenment, as Francis Hutcheson’s *An Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* (London: 1726), or David Hume’s “Of the Standard of Taste,” in *Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary*, Essay XXIII (London: 1777).

\(^77\) Minor, *The Death of the Baroque*, 47.
of the Arcadia during his Roman sojourn—no later than 1753, during the years when he was working for the Collegio Nazareno—with the arcadian name of Anfione Eteoclide. It is difficult to imagine that the ideas and practices—mental habits—of Roman high-culture atmosphere did not affect musical creativity and, by the same token, syntax. Indeed, Aristotle’s description of periodic style, the one encouraged by eighteenth-century good taste, fits strikingly well with Joseph Riepel’s account of musical syntax by means of basic metrical units, when Aristotle says that “utterance in periods has number, which is the most easily retained thing. Thus, all people remember verses better than prose; for it has number by which it is measured.” It is clear then, I believe, that one of the aspects of composers’, poets’—and, I would dare say, architects’, sculptors’, and painters’—buon gusto was a mental habit rationally oriented. But relating buon gusto to Enlightenment exclusively on the basis of a compositio rationally rooted in number and symmetry, like, in principle, that of Riepel’s basic foursome, would be a mistake—and a misreading of the aesthetic implications of Riepel’s treatise.

Empirism and emotivism, also substantial ingredients of Enlightened philosophy, shaped the notion, and above all the practice, of good taste, too. Riepel’s treatise offers numerous instances in which a perceptive approach toward composition arises in the dialogue between the Discantist and his Preceptor. This is particularly notable when they are discussing repetition and variation as means of phrase extension or expansion. Thus, for example, Riepel explains that any given metrical unit can be

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78 McClymonds, et al. “Jommelli, Niccolò.”

immediately repeated, but such repetition must proceed “within the limits of taste and judgment.”80

Moreover, in Riepel’s treatise, “partial or elided repetition of segments notably contributes to avoidance of four square phrasing and can involve complexity,” like that seen in the later examples of the instrumental works of the Collegio Nazareno.81 This is vividly regretted by Riepel’s disciple when, naively, he confesses to his teacher that he has “made the comma segment two measures shorter than the caesura [segment]” that is, he has written an asymmetrical musical phrase. Riepel’s preceptor responds: “Just let it be! One often sees, even in good compositions, that the comma is longer than the caesura [segment]. They sometimes flow as smoothly into the ear as if they were both of the same length.”82 This statement is relevant in regard to another essential constituent of eighteenth-century good taste, namely, the mental habit of letting one’s sensations correct one’s intellect, or, simply put, to go beyond rules, provided that one’s ears are pleased. Riepel’s approach, in this sense, is unmistakable, as the following statements, originally printed in bold face, demonstrate, even if decontextualized:

81 Ibid.
Prec. However, since taste* always maintains priority in music, one finds occasional opportunities to depart slightly from this very strict rule. I want to write out here, among other things, only the repetition clause of the previous minuet. You will hear that it does not sound bad.

*Gustus.83

[...]

Prec. Yet it is no mistake. Whether or not it pleases me overall does not concern you. You should never imagine that one must set it in exactly one way and in no other.*

*No rule is without exception.84

[...]

Prec. Stop it! Once you understand something about harmony and taste, as regards metric and tonal order, then you can always vary freely upon this.85

[...]

Prec. [...] Notice, now, how offensive and insulting it sounds! However, I have already noticed that the pitiful Urbsstädter is merely a rule composer. Thus he writes nothing more than vain ABCs. He doesn't even know that the rules themselves are invented in the course of composition and furthermore are continuously revised. I know other similar upstart heros who want to force and obligate people to their bad taste, that is, to their ABC rules.86

[...]

Therefore, music is nothing else but variation. It encompasses taste and expression, etc. We have sufficient models today of the proportion of a whole, so that we no longer need anything from mathematics, except for the arts of permutation and fugue.87

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83 Riepel, ibid., 17; as translated in Hill, ibid., 33.
84 Riepel, ibid., 22; as translated in Hill, ibid., 40.
85 Riepel, ibid., 49; as translated in Hill, ibid., 227.
86 Riepel, ibid., 89; as translated in Hill, ibid., 289.
87 Riepel, ibid., 48n; as translated in Hill, ibid., 227. Galeazzi, Elementi teorico-pratici di musica, articles xv and xvi, includes the consideration that “il genio del arte,” also known as “style,” can be divided into ornament (ornamento) and expression (espressione), and ornament depends on taste.
These statements, which help his reader contextually consider Riepel’s apparent Cartesian rigor in applying the logic of a syllogism to composition, make clear that it is ears, or the inner sense of taste, that must govern musical composition after the basics have been learned. In other words, good taste, from a poetic view, relies on a mental habit that consisted of a synthesis between setting a syntax based on metrically defined segments, for the sake of clarity, thereby avoiding a “strung-on” and inappropriately adorned speech, while seeking for asymmetries based on one’s sensations, for the sake of aural pleasure, including the unexpected, or “elements that contradict predictions based on musical expectancy formation,” thus making musical utterances more natural.

The outcome of this synthesis between a rational and an empirical approach to musical phrase, typical of late Enlightenment thought, represented for this purpose by Immanuel Kant’s own synthesis of rationalist and empiricist thesis, is what I would call a melodic contrapposto, and its appearance is one of the principal syntactic markers,

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89 This Italian term is used, in the visual arts, to refer to a calculated asymmetry achieved by fifth-century BC Attic sculptors, who knew the proportions and measures of external anatomical symmetry of the human body, but learned, through essay and error, how to break that bodily symmetry in their search for naturalness. This point is made by E. H. Gombrich. “In his *Art and Illusion* (1960), Gombrich’s central theme was the relation between what he variously calls ‘truth and the stereotype’, ‘formula and experience’ or ‘schema and correction’. Thus he described the rise of naturalism in ancient Greek art as ‘the gradual accumulation of corrections due to the observation of reality’.” This summary is made in Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?*, 12. This mental habit was shared by architects of the same era and geographic area, whose goal was to construct forms to be perceived as if they were built on the right proportions and measures, even if they were not, actually, due to optical corrections. This mental disposition is what set apart the artists of the originally labelled Classical period from those who preceded them. This balance between number and feeling, science and art, object and subject, is also what let us, modern spectators, with an “Olympic view” on the past, differentiate between medieval musical thought, soundly based on numbers, as well as Renaissance and Baroque musical aesthetics, deeply rooted on affections, from that of Classical composers and theorists like Joseph Riepel, who, indeed, did not even once refer to the affective charge of language in his treatise. This does not mean that he removes emotions from aural experience, but the fact that he restricts the ambitus of musical
I suggest, of Galant style, its normalization becoming a feature of Classical style. In fact, as John Walter Hill suggests, the thesis that Riepel's ideas and approach were at play in the training of the young W. A. Mozart is supported by “the early and pervasive appearance, in young Wolfgang's exercises, of exactly those asymmetrical means of phrase expansion whose exaggerated use is suggestive of the link between the Dresden/Berlin composers' works and Riepel's extended musical examples.”

Therefore, Riepel's theory and the music compatible with it can be linked to Enlightenment ideals not only on the basis of “concerns with reason and clarity,” thereby understanding the Absatz as a symbolic form, but also, and likewise importantly, on their underlying mental habit. This mental habit was channeled through rhetoric as it was taught and learned by mid-eighteenth-century composers and theorists like Riepel.

The Listener's “Enthusiasm”

In one or another way, listeners were therefore expected to have developed a considerable degree of musical appreciation skills. In my estimation, and departing from the case of the Collegio Nazareno, elite colleges played a major role in the aural training of young noblemen across Europe. Of course, I imagine that the point was not
taste to a reaction to syntax and proportion. Baroque pathos was thus freeing the way to Galant and Classical ethos.

90 Hill, Joseph Riepel's Theory of Metric and Tonal Order, 421.
92 The first to thoroughly propose to understand a system of representation as a symbolic translation of a given cosmovision was, in the field of visual arts, Erwin Panofsky, specially in his classic essay Perspective as symbolic form, which first appeared in 1927.
making students able to name and conceptualize “foursomes,” “doubling of cadences with change of harmony,” or labeling cadences. On the other hand, their active participation in the accademie, in which musical performances were central, indicates that they were expected to go beyond mere “recognition” and to acquire a considerable degree of “knowledge,” including, at least, a capacity for engaged listening, that is, what Paradisi and Shaftesbury called “enthusiasm,” and becoming familiar with the perceptive effects of musical speech in order to form “musical expectancy,” for which “auditory working memory” was needed. In short, listeners were expected to find “windows of meaning” on the “signifying surface” of music.

There can be little doubt, in a similar view, that these auditory skills, were essential in order for a convittore at the Collegio Nazareno, like count Paradisi, to engage with musical signs of the soundscape in their social field of play. Inasmuch as musical and literary appreciation contributed to his display of the social self, to his “distinction” as a man of taste, as the galantuomo to whom Johann Mattheson addressed one of his treatises, as well as to keep his position of advantage in the social field, it is not an

93 For Bourdieu, Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste, 319. “the considerable gap between knowledge and recognition” is one of the markers of difference between the “petit bourgeoisie” and aristocracy.

94 On the way human brain comprehends musical syntax, including references to empirical research, see Koelsch, Brain and Music, 106.


exaggeration to affirm that musical (listening) practice was part of the individual’s resources for the accumulation of symbolic and social capital. This is the other side of taste as an “inner sense.” That is, taste as a social practice, in Bourdian terms.

**Negotiating Taste and Style**

The third major implication in Riepel’s quoted words is related to the previous two, both in social and aesthetic terms. From his words, it may be inferred that not only did composers take for granted a certain degree of listening aptitude in their audiences but also that composers’ prevision of those aptitudes modeled, to a measure not to be underestimated, compositional choices (i.e., the aforementioned musical parameters), and, thereby, also personal style, and even genre demarcations. 97 For, in theoretical terms,

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*Eighteenth-century Aesthetics* (Yale University Press: 1986), 38-41. It remains to be explored, in specific terms, the question about the extent to which Matheson’s empirical approach in his aforementioned treatise, according to which one’s ear must prevail in musical judgements of taste, is indebted to Addison’s and other British author’s writings. This is a relevant question, since Joseph Riepel’s own “hearing” approach, and his rejection to a blind and mechanical application of numbers and rules, is, in turn, indebted, to a great extent, to Mathesson’s treatise. For an explicit relationship between Galant style and social manners of interaction see Alexander Datz, “Galanterie als Kommunikationsideal und Medium der Kommunikation: Zum Verhältnis des galanten Stils in der Musik und der Galanterie als Umgangsform bei Hofe und im Salon des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts,” in *Musik zwischen ästhetischer Interpretation und soziologischem Verständnis*, ed. Tatjana Böhme-Mehner and Motje Wolf (Die blaue Eule: 2006).

97 Listeners’ aural expectancy and musical knowledge were not the only factors more or less conditioning composer’s creativity and style. For example, it is true that, as I mentioned earlier, the slowing down of harmonic rhythm and the turn to shortcuts like extended drum-bass passages and the use of repetition clauses yielded longer movements. But it is necessary not to exclude from a general assessment of musical-style development more mundane motivations, such as the will to self-distinction of a soloist, for instance, who demands longer passages for displaying his musical taste. In fact, Riepel introduces one of the more important portions in his treatise—that dealing with the formation of twosomes, comma- and cadence-defined segments—making the Discantist wonder: “What if, however, a hornist just wants to have one or another piece longer than all the foregoing examples
the tastes actually realized depend on the state of the system of goods offered; every change in the system of goods induces a change in tastes. But conversely, every change in tastes resulting from a transformation of the conditions of existence and of the corresponding dispositions will tend to induce, directly or indirectly, a transformation of the field of production, by favoring the success, within the struggle constituting the field of the producers best able to produce the needs corresponding to the new dispositions. There is therefore no need to resort to the hypothesis of a sovereign taste compelling the adjustment of production to needs, or the opposite hypothesis, in which taste is itself a product of production, in order to account for the quasi-miraculous correspondence prevailing at every moment between the products offered by a field of production and the field of socially produced tastes.98

From this view, it follows that the process of emergence and development of a musical style, such as that accounted here for the case of Galant style at the Collegio Nazareno of Rome, was, to an important extent, the outcome of a negotiation between tastes of composers, “scholars, gentlemen, ladies, Church officials, lawyers, teachers, reformers, librarian, poets, in short, intellectuals who were trying to organize and make sense of various strata of culture.”99 For the case of Rome, and Italy by extension, the Arcadia—and its colonies, like the Accademia degli Incolti in residence at the Nazareno—played a major role as mediators in that negotiation. This dynamic relationship between tastes in the “field of production”—i.e., theorists like Joseph Riepel, and composers and librettists working for the Collegio Nazareno, like, for instance, Niccolò Jommelli—and “socially produced tastes”—i.e., that developed by convittori like Agostino Paradisi—necessarily leads to a semiotic correspondence, since judgments are?” See Riepel, Anfangsgründe Zur Musikalischen Setzkunst, chap. 2, 51; as translated in Hill, Joseph Riepel’s Theory of Metric and Tonal Order, 231.


99 Minor, The Death of the Baroque, 34.
of taste depend on, or involve, the understanding of a work or a practice while shaping style at all levels.\textsuperscript{100} Modern semiology accounts for this process by considering that

“(a) a symbolic form (a poem, a film, a symphony) is not some ‘intermediary’ in a process of ‘communication’ that transmits the meaning intended by the author to an audience;
(b) it is instead the result of a complex \textit{process} of creation (the poietic process) that has to do with the form as well as the content of the work;
(c) it is also the point of departure for a complex process of reception (the esthetic process) that \textit{reconstructs} a ‘message.’\textsuperscript{101}

For Nattiez, the \textit{reconstruction} of a message includes listeners’ projections of

“configurations upon the work that do not always coincide with the poietic process,”

but he admits, in paraphrasing Umberto Eco, that “there can be codes and subcodes for the same individual, or within the same group.”\textsuperscript{102} This is relevant to the case of the Collegio Nazareno, where composers kept a stable rapport with the Collegio, as well as librettists, teachers, guests, and \textit{convittori}; and also because all of them remained under the influence of such cultural catalysts as the Arcadia. What is more, in a sense, musical performances at the Collegio Nazareno were a means of constructing an ongoing communicational rapport between the producers of cultural goods and, in the case of the \textit{convittori}, its future consumers, by exposing them to a given musical code.

\textsuperscript{100} That is, from personal style through national or even period style. The fundamentals of this conceptualization of the notion of style were set in 1932 by Heinrich Wölfflin in “The Double Root of Style.” See his \textit{Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art} (Mineola, NY: Courier Dover Publications, 2012), 1-8.


\textsuperscript{102} Ibid., 21.
CONCLUSIONS

1. The content and form of the librettos of the vocal works written for the Collegio Nazareno during the eighteenth century show evident ties with a somewhat localized Church doctrine as communicated in theological writings of the time but specific, to at least some extent, to the Piarist order. This local connection is particularly relevant in the case of Jansenist-influenced theology, relying more on scriptures and early Church Fathers, with inclinations toward a regulation of devotionalism, a heightening of the role attributed to grace, and the understanding of the “inner rationality” of faith.

2. This evidence suggests that the doctrine communicated in the musical works of the Collegio Nazareno belongs, to a great extent, to the so-called and newly studied Catholic Enlightenment, for which the musical practice at the Nazareno constitutes a piece of evidence. The ascription of these works to the Catholic Enlightenment in Rome is commensurate with the social and cultural context in which the Nazareno was positioned. The librettists Gian Luca Bandini and Francesco Fasce, as well as the theologian Martino Natali, stand out as important authors with respect to this. The turn to “Catholic Enlightenment” as a historiographic category in musicological studies involves an active engagement with it leading to its refinement and, indirectly, its critique.

3. Metaphors involving topics from the Ancient Classical literary tradition, and, more significantly, belonging to the realm of modern empirical sciences, and
even to history, were used as effective communicational devices. Reliance on
semiotics, metaphor theory, and rhetoric, has proven particularly useful in
order to verify this fact, with respect to metaphors involving the topics of
tempest and the Newtonian concepts of light refraction and reflection.

4. Niccolò Jommelli’s oratorio *Giuseppe glorificato* (1749), and Rinaldo di Capua’s
*L’angelo di Tobia* (1768), not only reflected but also helped cast an image of
holiness connected to Enlightenment ideals, including some specifically
Catholic. Among these, and by contrast with the profile of the “Counter-
Reformation” saint, the following features are particularly significant: the
reliance on heroic virtue, rather than the mystical; the stressing of the pastoral,
i.e., socially charitable, functions over those of the preacher; the necessity for
submitting knowledge and science to the improvement of society and the
other. This profile, as encapsulated in the roles of Giuseppe (1749), and
Raffaele (1768), is better understood in connection with other means of
communication like visual arts, poetry, sculpture, architecture, liturgy, and
ritual.

5. The musical settings of the vocal works with orchestral accompaniment of the
Collegio Nazareno functioned as effective amplification of the rhetorical form
and content of the text. Regarding this, the scope of action of the composers,
particularly in aria settings, was centered on musical *inventio*, and,
increasingly, on *compositio* (i.e., syntactic style, within the realm of *elocutio*). In
any case, composers did not cease to operate, at the same time, in the ambit of *actio* (delivery) and *elocutio* figures.

6. The *sinfonie*, or instrumental introductions, of the cantatas, oratorios, and pastorals of the Collegio feature stylistic changes with time. These changes are particularly evident at the level of musical syntax. The pattern of change observed consists of, first, a decrease, in quantity and length, of *Fortspinnungstypus* periods in favor of a musical syntax based on discrete *Absätze*; second, an increase in the percentage of metrical units belonging to a musical phrase, *per se*. The proportion, with respect to these patterns, is commensurate with those observed in contemporary instrumental symphonies and Joseph Riepel’s extended examples.

7. Joseph’s Riepel theory of phrase can be understood in modern linguistic terms, including the notions of recursion and discourse deixis, which fact supports the understanding of music as language. This, in turn, can lead to potential contributions in the field of cognitive musicology.

8. The assessment of style change from the point of view of syntax, that is, of rhetoric, allows the connection of this phenomenon with the culture-based notion of taste, considered both as an “inner sense” and as a social practice.

9. These findings and conclusions open the door, in turn, to further research. On the one hand, some aspects of the musical repertoire of the Collegio Nazareno deserve attention. Such is the case, for example, with all those vocal works devoted to the exaltation of Roman pontiffs during the eighteenth century. The
mere fact of its production is already significant for an institution in the orbit of Catholic-Enlightenment currents of thought, including Jansenism, in which papal temporal authority was subject to challenge. Further research might also be conducted, for example, regarding the communicational function of the *aria di tempesta* in church-music genres. On the other hand, the case of the Collegio Nazareno and its vocal works suggests that the theological views and orientations prevailing in and, to some extent, differing among the various orders, congregations, institutions, and factions within the Catholic Church in the eighteenth century might be reflected in the texts of ecclesiastical vocal works in ways that could also be amplified in musical settings. This statement forms, by itself, a hypothesis to be tested in different geographical areas, chronological ambitus, and generic scopes.
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