

Introduction

1 Pasqualini, copyist or composer?

1.1 In his 1954 biography of Luigi Rossi, Alberto Ghislanzoni declared that a large number of anonymous scores in the library of the Barberini family were in Rossi's hand and were therefore compositions by him.¹ These same scores form the core of the present catalogue, for twenty years later, Gloria Rose matched the music hand instead to the handwriting of soprano castrato Marc'Antonio Pasqualini, relying in particular on the Cappella Sistina Diary he kept when he served as its *puntatore* in 1648.² Although Rose correctly maintained that Pasqualini had been the non-professional copyist of the Barberini scores, she continued to credit Luigi Rossi as the composer of the more than 200 cantatas.³ Nonetheless, of the 291 cantatas that Eleanor Caluori had attributed to Luigi in her 1965 index of Rossi's works for the Wellesley Cantata Index Series (WECIS),⁴ there is only one with a concordance among the Barberini scores in Pasqualini's hand. In comparison, there are fifty concordances for Rossi in other Barberini music manuscripts. That one Rossi work, moreover, exists with a conflicting attribution to Pasqualini. (The specific instances are discussed below.) For the forty-eight

¹ Alberto Ghislanzoni, *Luigi Rossi (Aloysius de Rubeis). Biografia e analisi delle composizioni* (Milan: Fratelli Bocca, 1954); hereafter GHISLANZONI. For the Barberini volumes, see pp. 216–19.

² BAV, Fondo Cappella Sistina, Diario 67, *Libro di punti dell'anno MDCXLVIII di Marcantonio Pasqualini*. ROSE 1974 offers two pages from this autograph record of singers' absences and penalties for all of 1648 (Rose's plates I and II). Other documents in his hand include autograph letters in the Barberini, Colonna, and Bentivoglio archives. For a facsimile of a letter, see Dinko Fabris, *Mecenati e musicisti: Documenti sul patronato artistico dei Bentivoglio di Ferrara nell'epoca di Monteverdi (1585–1645)*, (Lucca: LIM, 1999), Illus. 11, p. 162. For a concise biography see Margaret Murata, s.v. "Pasqualini, Marc'Antonio," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 81_online 2014 ([Rome]: Treccani, 2014): [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/marcantonio-pasqualini_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/marcantonio-pasqualini_(Dizionario-Biografico)/).

³ ROSE 1974 provides facsimiles of Barb. lat. 4203, fol. 87^{r-v} (plates III and IV) which illustrate Pasqualini's "fair" hand (*Reinschrift*), as well as his MAP monogram.

⁴ Eleanor Caluori, ed., *Luigi Rossi (ca. 1598–1653)*, Wellesley Edition Cantata Index Series, fascicles 3a-b (Wellesley, Mass.: Wellesley College, 1965). Volume 3b listed works that Caluori considered unreliably or incorrectly attributed to Rossi.

cantatas in copies that name Pasqualini as their composer, however,⁵ there are seventy-four concordances among the anonymous copies in Pasqualini's hand among the Barberini manuscripts. Statistics alone, then, point to Pasqualini and not Rossi as the composer of the remainder.⁶ This direction is strengthened by two other classes of sources among the Barberini volumes.

1.2 Pasqualini wrote his own monogram MAP prominently on individual cantatas in three of the volumes, Barb. lat. 4203, 4223, and 4222 (to give them in approximate chronological order). It consists of the letters M, A, and P with the A created by a horizontal bar within the letter M that is itself attached to the side of the letter P (see **Figure 1a**). Gloria Rose had interpreted its presence as a copyist's mark and not as a sign of authorship. The names, however, of more than a dozen professional Roman music copyists are known; none has signed or left evidence of his name on a score of vocal music. Rose rather should have taken into account the similar use of emblematic monograms on manuscript or engraved scores by Roman composers Hieronymus Kapsperger (HK) or Pier Francesco Valentini (PFV). Furthermore, at least eight cantatas with his initials—but not as a monogrammatic symbol—have concordances that bear Pasqualini's name. A volume of cantatas, Barb. lat. 4168, copied before 1656 for Cardinal Antonio Barberini, identifies its composers by their initials.⁷ These instances validate Pasqualini's monogram as a composer identification. The names of poets, too, can appear on these cantatas represented by their initials.

1.3 Sixty-nine pieces exist in at least one copy with the MAP monogram.⁸ In the Barberini volumes this monogram may even appear when the music copyist is not Pasqualini, as in **Figure 1b**, from a volume copied after 1653. Pasqualini seems to have begun applying his monogram only from ca. 1656, for a set of twenty cantatas he copied into Barb. lat. 4203. Twelve poems in it are attributed to Cardinal Antonio Barberini, his principal patron; nine of them were set to music by Marc'Antonio.⁹ Pasqualini's next collection of solo cantatas was Barb. lat. 4223, dated 1658; most of its cantatas are marked MAP.¹⁰ The remainder that bear monograms are in Barb. lat. 4222, dated 1676. This is a collection of forty-two ensemble arrangements, forty marked MAP, and all have been modeled on Pasqualini's earlier cantatas.

⁵ See note 1 in the Preface to this catalogue.

⁶ The few works with the most problematic conflicting attributions are discussed in §3 below.

⁷ For brief descriptions of this and others sources, see Appendix 3, part B (from p. 154).

⁸ In a strange use of this monogram, in the novel *Melodien* by Helmut Krausser (Hamburg: Rohwalt, 2002), which concludes with fictive memoirs by Pasqualini, the singer is known by the nickname "Map" throughout (pp. 629–829; Italian trans. by Giovanni Giri and Laura Bortot, et al., Siena: Barbera, 2006).

⁹ The twelve are studied in Maria Luisi, "Le poesie per musica del cardinale Antonio Barberini nel Cod. Vaticano Barb. lat. 4203," in *La Musique à Rome au XVII^e siècle*, ed. Caroline Giron-Panel and Anne-Madeleine Goulet (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2012), 291–319; hereafter LUISI. The cantatas also have concordances in the two Pasqualini volumes of solo cantatas dated 1654 (Barb. lat. 4220) and 1658 (Barb. lat. 4223); the former lacks monograms, but they are present in the latter.

¹⁰ Many of the cantatas in Barb. lat. 4223 appear in the facsimile edition of Pasqualini cantatas edited by Margaret Murata in volume 3 of the series *The Italian Cantata in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1985), hereafter GARLAND 1985.

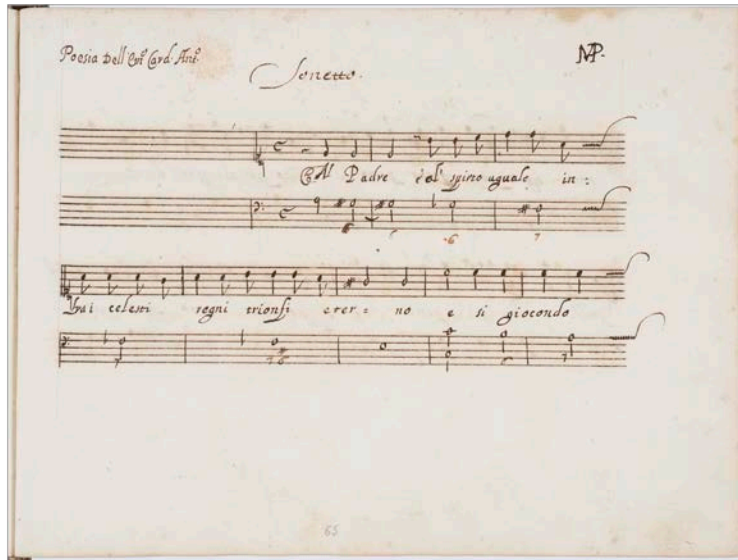


Figure 1a. BAV Barb. lat. 4203, fol. 65, *Al Padre e'l Spirto uguale in fra i celesti*, sonnet by Cardinal Antonio Barberini, jr, set to music by Pasqualini, copied in the composer's fair hand, with his monogram. ©Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; all rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

MP.

is la rota di For: tuna
gola lieta la mia fe
e contenta l'adormenta nel gottello di merca
e contenta l'ad: ormenta nel- gottello di merca

Figure 1b. Barb. lat. 4208, fol. 80^v. Opening of *Su la rota di Fortuna* in the hand of professional copyist Giovanni Antelli, with Pasqualini's autograph monogram. ©Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; all rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

Of all the cantatas marked MAP, furthermore, only two have conflicting attributions in external sources; and neither external source takes precedence.¹¹ Table 1 shows the proportion

**TABLE 1. CHAMBER CANTATAS IN ITALIAN a 1, a 2, a 3, AND a 4
ATTRIBUTABLE TO MARC'ANTONIO PASQUALINI**

Cantatas attributable to Pasqualini on the basis of	247 total
– his name on the musical source	48
– M. A. P. or MAP monogram <i>only</i>	69
– compositional drafts and fragments that have only anonymous concordances or none	83
<i>Probable other compositions by him, present in Pasqualini volumes only</i>	47

of cantatas attributed to Pasqualini that have his name to those sources marked “MAP” (48 to 69). It is not surprising that monogrammed fascicles preponderate, because Pasqualini wrote his own monogram on pieces he copied himself and collected (as mentioned, mostly in Barb. lat. 4203, 4223, and 4222), whereas attributions by name typically occur on external copies made by professional copyists that exist in widely scattered volumes.

2 Compositional drafts

2.1 The present thematic catalogue offers 117 cantatas that have attributions to Pasqualini or bear his monogram. These do not, however, constitute all the works in the Pasqualini volumes, because his compositional drafts naturally do not bear any kind of identification.

¹¹ In BAV Barb. lat. 4150, *Ahi, dolci glorie* has an attribution to Alessandro Leardini, but it is not in the hand of the music copyist. The other conflict is for *Dove vai, pensier volante*, which is marked MAP in Barb. lat. 4203, amid other cantatas marked the same way. *Dove vai* also occurs in the 1654 Pasqualini volume and was later arranged by him as a soprano/bass duet (in Barb. lat. 4222). Thus the attribution to “Sportonio” in the concordance in *GB-Och* 946 can be dismissed as a confusion with the younger Roman singer Marc'Antonio Sportonio. Both Marcantonios had sung in Paris in the 1647 production of *L'Orfeo* by Luigi Rossi.

These drafts are scores in a rapid, less deliberate hand; often they bear corrections or additions and have added freehand staves. Since they often set complete poems, the term “sketch” does not really fit; rather they often resemble the “foul originals” about which Rebecca Herissone has written.¹² They range from messy to fairly clean, as shown in **Figures 2a** and **2b**.



Figure 2a. Barb. lat. 4201, fol. 117v: An internal page from Pasqualini’s compositional draft for *Vuoi ch’io peni in sempiterno*, SSB-[bc]. Notes on the 4th staff correct the rhythmic notation of the embellishments added to the soprano line on the staff below. ©Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; all rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

In addition to the appearance of rapid writing, they often show a more finely cut nib and dilute, or a light load of ink. Gloria Rose recognized these fascicles as parts of “composing books,” although she thought that they were in Luigi Rossi’s hand (from which Pasqualini could have made the fair copies).¹³

2.2 “Composition,” nonetheless, does not appear to have entailed the kind of labor or revision we associate with post-Mozartean repertoires. Every Cappella Sistina singer, like Pasqualini, could improvise *supra librum*; professional chamber singers were adept at improvising stro-

¹² See for example Rebecca Herissone, “‘Fowle Originalls’ and ‘Fayre Writeing’: Reconsidering Purcell’s Compositional Process,” *Journal of Musicology* 23, no. 4 (Fall 2006): 569–619.

¹³ ROSE 1974, p. 173: “Barb. lat. 4201, 4204, and 4205 ... These three volumes are, I believe, mainly in the hand of Luigi Rossi.... I think that they represent actual composing books of Luigi Rossi, with some pieces in the hand of Pasqualini.”

phic variations. Occasionally Pasqualini worked on the very opening figure of a vocal line, perhaps setting its key and general tone or point of imitation, as shown in **Figure 3a**. But most



Figure 2b. Barb. lat. 4204, fol. 73^r: Draft of the end of the arietta *Pupillucce mi belle, quanto v'adorerei*, in Pasqualini's "rapid," composing hand, with rather few interventions. ©Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; all rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

often one sees the draft of a complete melody line for the first strophe or musical section, without any bass; see **Figures 3b** and **3c**. A minimal continuo part came next, and then Pasqualini went on to the second strophe or next section of the vocal line—sometimes this would take him back to add embellishments or make adjustments to the refrain or first strophe; see **Figures 4a** and **4b**. Often he would not write out the bass part again, as in **Figure 4c**. Intervening ritornellos might later be squeezed in, though one sees this more as additions to fair copies than to drafts; in other words, insertions to the continuo line were probably made for, during, or after a performance from a legible score. Pasquale Ricciardelli, who in 1988 published a catalogue of what he thought was Luigi Rossi's music, accurately described the leaves of Barb. lat. 4204: "Indeed the writing of the parts, tidy only in patches, is rather hasty, and corrections abound, as if we were before very approximate drafts, with all the asso-

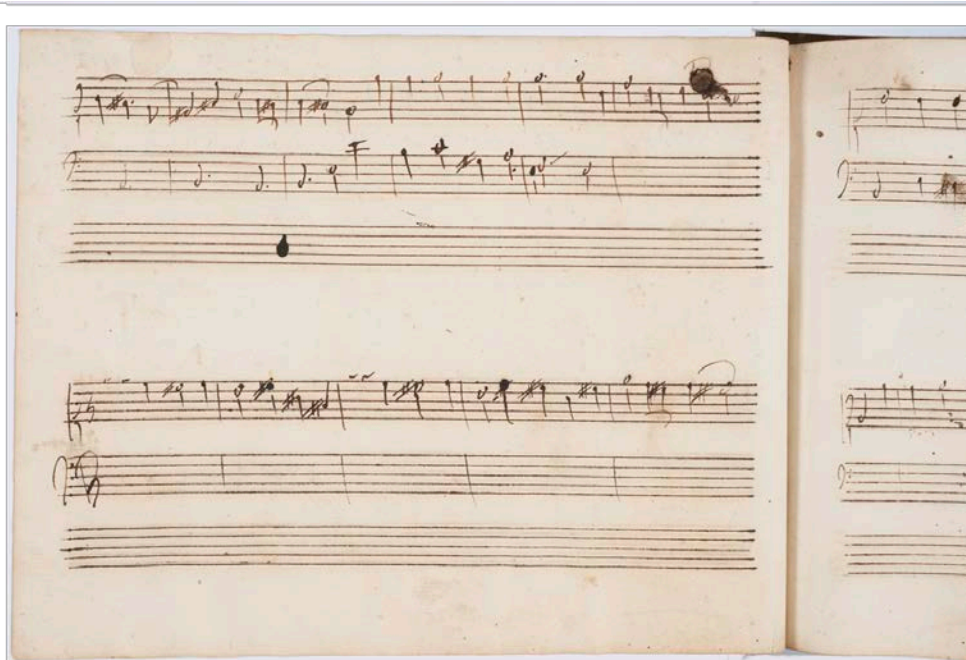


Figure 3a. Barb. lat. 4205, fol. 138^{r-v}. End of the compositional draft for *Sentite quel che dice Amor* and an unrelated sketch with a vocal opening and imitation in the continuo line on the *recto* leaf. This is followed on the *verso* by the beginning of a second statement of this version of the vocal line. ©Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; all rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.



Figure 3b. (Barb. lat. 4201, fol. 113^v: An abandoned melodic draft in Pasqualini's hand, laid out for *Lascio il core e senza te*. ©Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; all rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

Handwritten musical score on two staves. The lyrics are: "Dite no' e dite no' no no' no' o dite no' no' no' e dite no' e dite no' no no no' e dite no' dite no' e dite no' e dite no' no' no' e dite no'". The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 3/4 time signature. The handwriting is in brown ink on aged paper. The number "127" is written in the top right corner.

Figure 3c. Barb. lat. 4205, fol. 127^r: Internal section of Pasqualini's compositional draft for *Che ne dite pensier durar si può*, SSB-bc. ©Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; all rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.



Figure 4a. Barb. lat. 4205, fol. 185r: Opening of Pasqualini’s compositional draft for *Un infelice cor amò, serui, penò*; in the last two measures, see the embellishment at “ma vilipesa” for the cadence to B minor. ©Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; all rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

[§2.2 continued] -ciated inconveniences of unintelligibility and incompleteness.”¹⁴ The bulk of Pasqualini’s compositional drafts are bound in three undated volumes of drafts and duplicates—Barb. lat. 4205, 4203, and 4201.¹⁵ Of the three, Barb. lat. 4204 and 4201 gathered and bound “fair copies,” whereas Barb. lat. 4205 appears to have been begun as a pre-ruled anthology of fair copies that Pasqualini turned into a kind of “workbook.”¹⁶ Some of Pasqualini’s drafts are of complete pieces; some are partial vocal lines without basso continuo,

¹⁴ RICCIARDELLI, p. 74: “Difatti, la stesura delle parti, solo a sprazzi nitida, è piuttosto frettolosa e vi abbondano le correzioni, come se ci trovassimo di fronte a delle bozze molto approssimate, con tutti gli inconvenienti ad esse connessi della non chiara intelligibilità e dell’incompletezze.”

¹⁵ Two of the three volumes with drafts are titled: *Stracciafoglio d’un amante che non ama* (*Scrap paper of a lover who does not love*), whereas the five dated volumes of fair copies are titled *Straccia foglio. Perdimento di tempo per sfuggir l’ozio* (*Scrap paper. Wasting time to avoid idleness*), a characterization that in part must refer to the duplicating task of making “fair” copies from “foul” originals.

¹⁶ Barb. lat. 4205 has twenty-two gatherings of four bifolios and two of three bifolios (folios 25–30 and 39–44). A single gathering of two bifolios, fols. 139–142, marks the end of the first, 6-stave section of the volume. Between folios 103 and 142 lie most of the compositional sketches and drafts whose titles do not appear in the final table of contents. Folios 143 to 190 then bear eight staves; all but one piece in this last section of the volume are compositional drafts.



Figure 4b. Barb. lat. 4205, fol. 130^r. Internal section of Pasqualini's compositional draft for *Delle sfere al moto instabile*. ©Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; all rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

with or without complete text underlay. Each of the first four dated volumes of solo arias and cantatas has a chunk of corresponding compositional drafts in the three undated volumes.

2.3 Dealing with music writing and copying is fraught with pitfalls. In Pasqualini's case, several arias were written out in his rapid, drafting hand with few or no second thoughts. Exemplars of this hand are melodic passages that are incomplete sketches. In other cases, copies made in his more deliberate, thicker, rounder "fair" hand (which looks more like a child's than his "composing" hand) may present local erasures, "write-overs," or squeezed-in graces. Since he was copying for himself and did not hesitate to work on blank ruled pages in otherwise professionally copied volumes, the assignation of some fascicles to "drafts" or to the group "probably composed by Pasqualini" is a distribution between two categories that are distinct at the extremes but have an uncertain boundary in the middle zone. The grey middle area is not so vexing, however, since pieces there do not have conflicting attributions.

2.4 In addition to compositional drafts in the undated volumes of drafts and duplicates, several drafts also appear scattered in three other Barberini volumes that were at one time intended to be professionally copied anthologies, but, as just mentioned, were put to use by Pasqualini more or less as copy- or workbooks. Nineteen compositional drafts, for example, litter the earliest Barberini volume of Baroque vocal music, Barb. lat. 4151.¹⁷ It was begun in

¹⁷ See Appendix 3, part A Principal Sources, in this catalogue.

the 1630s with music by Orazio Michi, but filled up sometime around 1640. Started as an anthology of vocal variations, it became a species of lesson and exercise book. Fifteen of the drafts are by Pasqualini. (Other composers who wrote in it are Marazzoli and Kapsperger.)¹⁸

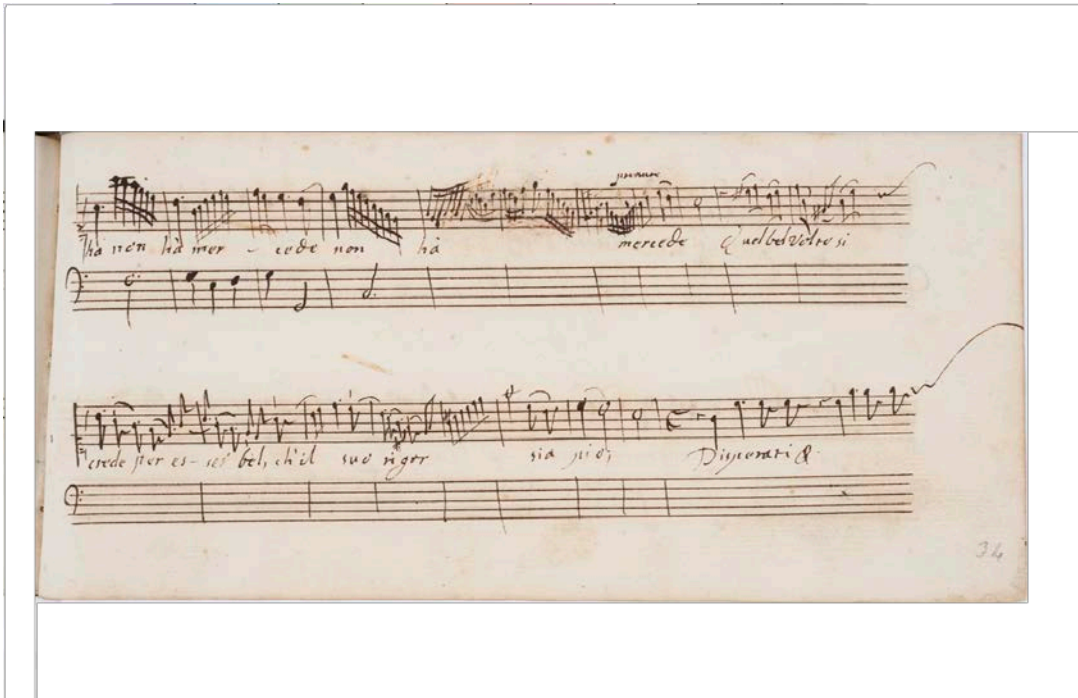
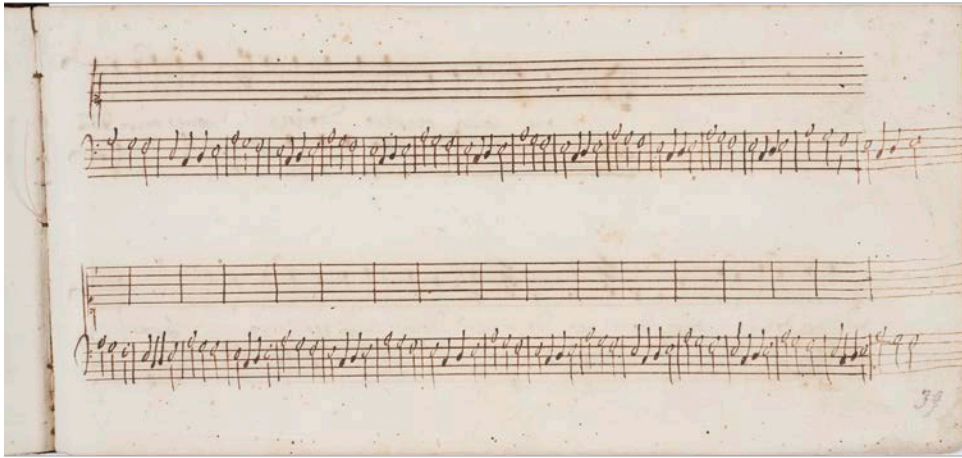


Figure 4c. Barb. lat. 4175, fol. 34^v. From *Disperati cor mio*, an example of a Pasqualini composing draft. It already includes performance indications such as “premute” (with urgency) and *virgole* strokes on weak notes values in the first measures of the second system. ©Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; all rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

2.5 Begun around 1635, Barb. lat. 4175 likewise was intended to be a luxury, professionally produced anthology. In its present state, however, seven different music hands can be distinguished. On the pages between items 5 and 8 in this volume, which are both anonymous and written by the same professional copyist, Pasqualini worked on drafts of two pieces (now listed as items 6 and 7). **Figure 5** offers the incomplete end of one of his drafts (item 7 in the volume) and the beginning of the “next” piece (item 8), which had been entered before Pasqualini began his compositional draft. **Table 2** shows that one of the two draft items, no. 7 in Barb. lat. 4175, ended up in his 1638 volume (Barb. lat. 4221), the other (no. 6) went into his 1654 volume. Their order in Barb. lat. 4175 makes any discussion of their order of composition—as opposed to when the fair copies were made or bound—sheer speculation. Items 26 and 27 within Barb. lat. 4175 are also Pasqualini drafts; and no. 34 is a vocal line for which a finished cantata has not surfaced. The compositional draft at the end of Barb. lat. 4175

¹⁸ See Margaret Murata, “More Observations on Italian Florid Song,” *Analecta musicologica* 36 (2005): 343–72.



A photograph of a handwritten musical score on aged paper, featuring two staves of music with lyrics written below. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics under the top staff are "me miri pensiero dove come miri do-". The bottom staff has a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics under the bottom staff are "ue due miri do - ue do - ue! dove miri pensiero ferma". The handwriting is in a cursive style, and the paper shows signs of age.

Figure 5. Barb. lat. 4175, fols. 39^r and 39^v. The last portion of Pasqualini's compositional draft for *Ch'Amor sia foco*, showing the laid-out basso ostinato for the second strophe and, on the *verso*, the beginning of the anonymous *Dove miri, pensiero? Ferma, troppo alto* in the hand of a professional Roman copyist active in the 1630s and 40s. ©Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; all rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

TABLE 2. BARB. LAT. 4175
Compositional drafts and fair copies in Pasqualini's hand

ITEM ORDER IN 4175	FOLIOS	INCIPIIT	HAND	PASQUALINI VOLS. (ALL FAIR COPIES)	EXTERNAL ATTRIBUTIONS
6	33 ^v –35 ^r	<i>Disperati cor mio</i>	MAP <i>draft</i>	Barb. lat. 4220 (1654)	<i>I-IBborromeo</i> Misc. 4, anonymous
7	37 ^r –39 ^r	<i>Ch' Amor sia foco</i> (incomplete)	MAP <i>draft</i>	Barb. lat. 4221 (1638)	--
25	102 ^v – 105 ^r	<i>Trafiggemi pensiero</i>	LR+MAP	Barb. lat. 4220	--
26	105 ^v – 109 ^r	<i>Che più dar poss'</i> <i>Amor</i>	MAP <i>draft</i>	Barb. lat. 4221	--
27	109 ^v –10 ^v	<i>Non temo di morte</i>	MAP <i>draft</i>	Barb. lat. 4220	Barb. lat. 4168 M.A.P. <i>I-Rc</i> 2467 "Pasqualini" <i>B-Br</i> II.3947 "Pasqualini"
28	111 ^{r-v}	<i>Occhi belli a me</i> <i>crudeli</i>	MAP fair?	Barb. lat. 4221	<i>B-Br</i> II.3947 "Pasqualini"
29	113 ^v –14 ^r	<i>Adora mio core</i>	MAP fair	Barb. lat. 4220	--
30	115 ^v –20 ^r	<i>Occhi lingue d' Amore</i>	MAP fair	Barb. lat. 4220	Barb. lat. 4203 MAP
34	140 ^r –43 ^r	<i>Il duol giunto</i> <i>all'eccesso</i> (S only)	MAP <i>draft</i>	--	--
35	143 ^v –45 ^r	<i>Bel volto m'ancidi</i>	MAP <i>draft</i>	Barb. lat. 4220	Barb. lat. 4168 M.A.P. <i>I-Rc</i> 2467 "Pasqualini" <i>I-MOe</i> Mus. G.157 "Pasqualini"

[§2.5 *continued*] that is, no. 35, exists as an anonymous finished work in the composer's 1654 collection and, luckily, it also appears in three external concordances that name Pasqualini (see no. 27 in this catalogue, *Bel volto m'ancidi*). Pasqualini also copied part of the text of item 25 (in Barb. lat. 4175), left unfinished by its copyist, Luigi Rossi.¹⁹ In the present catalogue all these works from Barb. lat. 4175 in Pasqualini's hand have been attributed to him, as summarized in **Table 2**.

2.6 The third Barberini volume in which Pasqualini started a composition is Barb. lat. 4200. While or after he was copying or working out *Lo sai tu chi ti costringe*, he continued to make corrections and revisions (see Barb. lat. 4204, no. 28). A final, fair copy ended up in Barb. lat. 4219.

¹⁹ Catalogue no. 236 "Trafiggemi pensiero" is discussed in §3.2 of this Introduction.

2.7 Pasqualini's use of preexisting complete or incomplete manuscript volumes as "workbooks" provides a lesson in paleography, which may or may not be unique to his habits. That is, it is easy to imagine a book of music in which entries are written serially across a span of time, whether in two weeks or over twelve years, by one hand or several. Pasqualini, however, may have taken a bound volume already five or fifteen years old and written on its empty ruled pages, wherever they happened to occur.²⁰ Such an object has a different history than a miscellany volume comprised of fascicles written at different times and eventually bound together in either a planned or unorganized way.

2.8 The fact that concordant fair holographs of many of these drafts exist in the Pasqualini volumes strengthens their relation to him as their composer. If the fair copies were of someone else's music—Luigi Rossi's—what would explain copying them twice, once as a "draft" and then again more carefully? Furthermore, an external concordance with a conflicting attribution has turned up for only one of the Pasqualini compositional drafts. That cantata is *Al bel lume d'un bel volto* for three sopranos and basso continuo, attributed to Luigi Rossi in *I-Bc* Q.44, an attribution accepted by Eleanor Caluori in her thematic catalogue for Rossi (CALUORI no. 266).²¹ Drafts for it are in Barb. lat. 4204 (see **Figure 6**). Conceivably, there could have been a solo version by Luigi, from which Pasqualini made the trio arrangement, but lacking that, the existence of clearly compositional material outweighs the attribution to Rossi in the Bologna source.

3 Conflicting attributions between Rossi and Pasqualini

3.1 Besides the case of the trio *Al bel lume* mentioned in §2.8 above, a handful of further conflicting attributions between Rossi and Pasqualini still exist. The four other cases are discussed in the paragraphs that follow. They arise from the presence of both Rossi's and Pasqualini's hands in Barb. lat. 4175. Eleanor Caluori noted one Rossi-like hand in it and the inconsistency of this hand with the hand of the Pasqualini volumes.²² At the International Baroque Biennial Conference in Leeds 2008, I demonstrated that the single, distinctive hand of Barb. lat. 4374 resembles Luigi Rossi's, and it has now also been identified in some non-Barberini cantata an-

²⁰ A perfect example of such a pre-bound volume of pre-ruled pages is Barb. lat. 4375, which has 90 folios in gatherings of five nested bifolios, save one quaternion that ends the first section. Folios 1^r–38^v bear ten staves per page (five systems of two staves) for solo voice and basso continuo scoring; fols. 39^r–68^v have four systems of three staves for vocal duet and basso continuo scoring; fols. 69^r–90^v have three systems of four staves for vocal trio and continuo scoring. Folio-sized and bound in parchment embossed in gold with bees and the arms of Cardinal Antonio Barberini, jr on front and back covers, however, this codex contains only six entries (possibly in the hand of Marco Marazzoli); folios 3^r–38^v, 46^r–68^v, and 81^r–90^v have still-blank staves.

²¹ CALUORI 1981, p. 8. *Al bel lume* may be found at fols. 40^r–42^v. A digitized image of *I-Bc* Q.44 is available online: <http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/Q/Q044/>.

²² CALUORI 1981, 2:5. On p. 6, Caluori wrote "As for Luigi's hand, if it does appear in Barb. lat. 4175, then Barb. lat. 4208, 4201, 4219, 4220, 4221, 4203, 4223, and 4374 are the 'autografi' of other people." Six of these manuscripts are Pasqualini's. As stated above, Barb. lat. 4374 appears rather to be indeed a Ros-



Figure 6. Barb. lat. 4204, fols. 162^v and 163^r: Pasqualini's early sketch of a setting for soprano and basso continuo of *Al bel lume d'un bel volto*. (The original is quite faint.) On fol. 163^r, he works the theme into a point of imitation for a cantata for three sopranos and basso continuo. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; all rights reserved. Reproduced with permission.

[§3.1 *continued*] -thologies in the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome, in the Conservatory Library in Naples, and in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Handwriting alone, however, does not categorically determine authorship. As stated above, a compositional draft usually differs from a fair holograph, and the biblio-paleographic context can add weight to an attribution made on the basis of writing. Of the twelve compositions in Luigi Rossi's hand in Barb. lat. 4175, six can be corroborated as by Rossi from concordant sources.²³ Three of those twelve have only anonymous concordances or none.²⁴ The remaining three of the twelve *in Rossi's hand*, each discussed below, are connected to Pasqualini sources.

3.2 The sonnet setting, *Il celeste arator, se mira a pena* (no. 110 in this catalogue) was copied by Luigi Rossi into Barb. lat. 4175, without attribution, and some twenty years later Pasqualini copied it for his anthology Barb. lat. 4223, where he marked it MAP. The copying of *Traffiggemi pensiero, ho perduto un thesoro* into Barb. lat. 4175 was also begun by Rossi; but Pasqualini finished the copying and underlaid the text to the second strophe. The singer later made a fair copy of it—without attribution, as is the case for all the cantatas in the volume Barb. lat. 4220. Eleanor Caluori considered both of them questionable attributions to Rossi (CALUORI nos. 339 and 397). The present catalogue lists the first as by Pasqualini, because of its monogrammed copy, and the second as probably by Pasqualini.

3.3 The paleographic evidence in the fourth case at first seems to lean toward attributing a cantata to Rossi. The chamber aria *Chiuda quest'occhi il sonno* (no. 49 in this catalogue) bears an attribution to Rossi in *I-Rc* MS 2467; furthermore, it exists anonymously with a tenor/basso continuo scoring in Rossi's hand in a volume entirely in his hand, Barb. lat. 4374. The copy in Rossi's hand in Barb. lat. 4175 is, however, marked with an MAP; it was also copied by Pasqualini and—like *Traffiggemi pensiero* in the paragraph above—was collected in his volume Barb. lat. 4220. The latter two conditions apparently prompted Eleanor Caluori to change her listing of this cantata from among those reliably attributable to Rossi in the WECIS volume of 1965 to those unreliably assigned to Rossi in volume 2 of her 1981 catalogue (CALUORI no. 312). In the present catalogue it remains included as by Pasqualini, although the evidence remains ambivalent and resistant to a solution with the evidence at hand.

3.4 The fifth and last conflicting attribution does not involve competing holographs, but a scene sung by Pasqualini in the role of Ariosto's female warrior Bradamante, in the opera set to music by Luigi Rossi, *Il palazzo incantato*, produced by Cardinal Antonio Barberini in 1642. The scene exists in both Barberini scores to the complete opera (Barb. lat. 4388 and 4389).²⁵ In Barb. lat. 4389, the scene includes a pasted-in passage in Pasqualini's hand. The scene by itself also appears in Pasqualini's hand as "*Bradamante infuriata contra Ruggiero*," marked with the

si holograph. A facsimile of one folio in Rossi's hand (Barb. lat. 4175, fol. 61^v) is in RUFFATTI 2006, p. 202.

²³ These six are Rossi's *Amor s'io mi querelo*; *Degg'io dunque in amore*; *Difenditi Amore*; *Già finita è per me*; *Non mio bene non lo dite*; and *Son divenuto amante*.

²⁴ These are *E pur mi lusingate*; *Non mi negar ch'io spero*; and *Non ti doler*. Caluori listed them as unreliably attributed to Rossi (as nos. 324, 356, and 361), since she rigorously recognized only documented attributions in 1981.

²⁵ CALUORI 1981, pp. 6–7, discusses this attribution.

monogram MAP in Barb. lat. 4223 and inscribed “Poesia N. N. A. B.” (This copy may have been one of the reasons that led Gloria Rose to the assumption that the Barberini volumes contained music by Rossi that had been sung and copied by Marc’Antonio.) “Nihil nomen/Nomen nescio A. B.,” however, clearly points to Cardinal Antonio as author of the poem, not to Giulio Rospigliosi, the librettist of the opera. Once again, the earlier manuscripts Barb. lat. 4175 and Casanatense 2467 provide evidence for Pasqualini’s authorship. Both contain the opening aria of the scene “Dove mi spingi, Amor” as a strophic chamber arietta with basically the same poem; however, it mentions a generic shepherdess “Filli.”²⁶ Given the worries that Rossi, who had been ill at the end of 1641, might not complete the opera in time, the adoption of one of Pasqualini’s chamber airs for his own solo scene falls within known operatic practice. The inclusion sixteen years later, however, of the subsequent recitative soliloquy in Barb. lat. 4223, indicates that Pasqualini considered the entire scene as his work.

3.5 With respect to the catalogues for Luigi Rossi and Pasqualini, the details of each of the five conflicting cases summarized here are less important than the fact that the actual number of such cases is small (2% of the 247 cantatas). Furthermore, except for *Al bel lume* discussed in §2.8, they are all connected to the volume Barb. lat. 4175. Set aside, these few conflicts leave the bulk of the Pasqualini holographs without competing attributions.

4 The Thematic Catalogue

4.1 A maximally reliable attribution to Pasqualini, then, would involve a compositional draft or drafts, a fair copy in a dated Pasqualini anthology with or without the MAP mark, and an external concordance with Pasqualini’s name on it. An example is the trio *Begl’occhi morrà di duolo* (catalogue no. 24). The composing draft is in Barb. lat. 4204, the holograph fair copy is in Barb. lat. 4219, and two contemporary copies name Pasqualini (Barb. lat. 4163 and *I-Bc* Q.50). Furthermore, Pasqualini’s first biographer Alberto Cametti, published a modern edition of it in 1921.²⁷ Fifty-four of the eighty-three compositional drafts categorized in Table 1 above do have corresponding anonymous fair copies. Pasqualini may have simply abandoned the remaining drafts and never recopied them; for others, fair copies may not have survived. A few concordances may yet turn up for others.²⁸ The present thematic catalogue includes them all: chamber cantatas for from one to four voices with basso continuo in sources that 1) attribute the work to Pasqualini, or 2) bear his MAP monogram, or 3) exist as compositional drafts. Sketches or drafts without music for the basso continuo are noted as “S only.”

4.2 As stated earlier, this catalogue also includes forty-seven anonymous pieces contained in the Pasqualini volumes that do not correspond to the above three categories of attribution. Most are Pasqualini holographs. At times, a rapidly written draft in the undated volumes bears no evidence of compositional thought or revisions and so is on the same footing as a

²⁶ Discussed in MURATA 2003, pp. 661–62.

²⁷ See CAMETTI 1921 in the Bibliography.

²⁸ For example, it is not known what cantatas by Pasqualini are in the seventeenth-century manuscript volume sold as Lot 130 at Sotheby’s, New York on May 15, 1997.

copy in the singer's "fair" hand in a dated volume, with respect to lack of evidence on which to base an attribution. A few are professionally written copies that presumably were part of his library and were bound in with his pieces; some have annotations and additions the singer made on the score. These forty-seven compositions, whose incipits are given in italic font, are in all probability by Pasqualini, but they lack verifying traits, beyond their survival in his anthologies and the lack of conflicting external concordances.

5 Pasqualini, composer

5.1 Pasqualini's life was spent almost entirely in Rome (see **Table 3**). At the age of fourteen, he sang in Parma for the spectacles mounted for a ducal marriage. At a mature thirty-three, he sang his last operatic role at the French court, where his Barberini patron was in exile. For Marc'Antonio the male role of the shepherd Aristeo was unusual. He and the Florentine castrato Atto Melani as Orpheus were cast in Luigi Rossi's *L'Orfeo* as rivals for the love of Euridice. In Paris, women singers performed female roles, whereas in Rome, where women could not appear on the public stage and papal singers could not appear with women, he had filled women's roles.²⁹ During his first ten or so years in the Cappella Sistina, he often left Rome for its suburban hills and environs to serve the Barberini, taking special leaves with one or two other singers. For the most part, we lack descriptions of such private occasions.³⁰ Some would have been performances for Barberini and invited guests—for example, post-prandial solos and ensembles, some purely for the "family," whomever that might have included. Unlike his older brother, Cardinal Francesco, Pasqualini's Cardinal Antonio seems not to have been involved in any regular academies, although in the 1640s Antonio's circle of friends acted in their own plays, in which his musicians might have taken part.

5.2 We do not know what prompted Pasqualini to create or assemble the first volume of his cantatas. Cardinal Antonio ceased his frequent diplomatic travels in 1638, having been appointed Cardinal Chamberlain of the Apostolic Camera at the end of July, which demanded and afforded him a richer public presence. He must have started plans for remodeling sections of the Palazzo Barberini alle Quattro fontane at this time. Construction of a theater began in

²⁹ For a summary of his singing and operatic career, see MURATA 1979; *New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, s.v. "Pasqualini"; and *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, s.v. "[Pasqualini, Marcantonio](#)" (cf. note 1 above).

³⁰ Bianca Maria Antolini, "La carriera di cantante e compositore di Loreto Vittori," *Studi musicali* 7 (1978): 141–88, esp. p. 151, gives a few instances of sopranos Loreto Vittori and Pasqualini, tenor Filippo Vitali, and bass Girolamo Navarra singing in Bagnaia for Cardinal Antonio and guests, ca. 1633–36. Not all occasions were secular in repertory. In *Aedes barberinae* (Rome: V. Mascardi, 1642), p. 108, Girolamo Tezi published a letter to Giulio Bigazzini that describes Pasqualini singing in honor of the thirteenth-century Blessed Paulino Bigazzini, though the date and place of this performance is not clear. (Available online at <http://aedesbarberinae.sns.it/cgi/blrCGI?cmd=1&w=1&u=+A+Giulio+Bigazzini&pg=107>, "[A Giulio Bigazzini](#)," last accessed 18 Nov. 2016). See also the Italian translation by Lucia Faedo and Thomas Frangenberg (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2005).

Table 3 **Marc'Antonio Pasqualini**

1614	baptized in Rome, April 25
1623–28	studies voice, music, grammar under Vincenzo Ugolini
1624–25	sings at S. Luigi dei francesi under Anselmo Anselmi
1627	sings at S. Luigi dei francesi under Romano Micheli
1628	sings for Monteverdi in Parma for Farnese wedding festivities
1629	contract of apprenticeship bought out by Cardinal Antonio Barberini, jr
1631	supernumerary soprano in the Cappella Sistina
1631–41	receives first benefices and pensions
1632–42	sings principal roles in six Barberini operas and one at the French embassy
1634 July	membership in the Cappella Sistina
1638	Cardinal Antonio becomes Camerlengo, is more often in Rome. Pasqualini's presumed banishment from Rome (after July; not enforced?) Pasqualini's first collection of solo arias and cantatas (Barb. lat. 4221)
1640	Brother Pietro Paolo becomes an <i>aiutante di camera</i> of Card. Antonio.
1641	Luigi Rossi enters the Barberini household.
1645	Cappella Sistina passes to the Pamphili pope; Barberini men leave Rome. sings in <i>Il ratto di Prosperina</i> for Pompeo Colonna, in Rome buys a house for his family (mother and siblings) Marcantonio Colonna negotiates for him to sing in Naples.
1646	or earlier: joins the Archconfraternity of the Angelo Custode
1647	sings in Rossi's <i>L'Orfeo</i> in Paris, returns to Rome in June
1648	<i>puntatore</i> for Cappella Sistina (a rotating office)
1653	death of Luigi Rossi (Feb.) Card. Antonio returns to Rome from exile in France (July).
1654–58	MAP compiles three more volumes of his solo cantatas (Barb. lat. 4220, Barb. lat. 4223) and ensemble cantatas (Barb. lat. 4219).
1655	<i>maestro di cappella</i> of the Sistina; chapel passes to the Chigi pope
1659	retires from the Cappella Sistina
1668	with brother Giovanni Antonio, establishes chaplaincies in S.ta Maria Maggiore, Rome and S.ta Rosalia in Palestrina
1671	death of Card. Antonio Barberini
1675	receives document of absolution from the <i>Penitenziere maggiore</i>
1676	MAP compiles his last volume, of ensemble arrangements of his own cantatas (Barb. lat. 4222).
1691	July 4, dies intestate in Rome; effects inherited by his sole surviving brother Giovanni Antonio July 5, Giovanni Antonio cedes Marc'Antonio's house and goods to Prince Urbano Barberini (legalities continue to 1697). July 6, funeral at Sant'Angelo Custode

[§5.2 *continued*] 1637, a heated bathing room was finished in 1641, and a clock tower built in 1643–44.³¹ The cardinal may have thought about building or expanding his library around this time. The earliest volume of Marco Marazzoli's cantatas, BAV Chigi Q.VI.80, appears to have been begun around 1637.³² One undated volume of Pasqualini's cantatas, Barb. lat. 4205, bears Cardinal Antonio's coat-of-arms on its parchment binding and Barberini bees on its spine. Twenty-two of its sixty-two items have concordances in the 1638 anthology. This volume was planned to have solo cantatas followed by ensemble cantatas from folio 101 on. It is clear, however, that like several other musical volumes in the Barberini-Pasqualini library, as a formal anthology, the manuscript was never brought to completion. The pieces at the beginning of the volume are fairly clean copies written by Pasqualini. Folios 125 to the end contain very messy compositional drafts, and Pasqualini used empty pre-ruled staves earlier in the book to work out other compositions through the 1650s (as we saw him do with Barb. lat. 4175 discussed above). In some instances, he revised and emended earlier fair copies. A second speculation on the impetus behind the creation of Barb. lat. 4221 in 1638 stems from a news item sent from Rome to Venice in August of 1638. It reported that Pasqualini had been banished for having been implicated in the murder of a man in the entourage of the imperial ambassador (the date of the presumed homicide has not been ascertained).³³ Neither this sentence nor any revocation has yet been confirmed in any other source, legal or anecdotal. But in an imaginary scenario, even a partial, temporary house arrest might have encouraged Pasqualini to sit at a writing desk in 1638. The Sistine Chapel *Diario* for 1638 also does not note any such sentence, only reporting that the singer missed more than ten (non-consecutive) days of service in August of 1638. On some of those days, however, he was singing elsewhere by order of Card. Antonio, for example, at Santa Maria Maggiore, whose major feast falls in August. Pasqualini returned to regular papal service on September 2.³⁴

5.3 We do not know how often or in what venues the young Marc'Antonio performed privately prior to 1638, the year of the first volume of cantatas. His principal composing colleague in these years was Marco Marazzoli, a harpist and tenor.³⁵ Music in both their hands exists side by side in one of the earliest Barberini volumes of music, Barb. lat. 4151. It contains samples by Marazzoli of strophic variation technique, which may have served as models from

³¹ See Patricia Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1990), 244–50.

³² Dated "ca. 1637–45" by Wolfgang Witzemann, *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Marazzoli, Marco" (accessed August 20, 2013); this revises his published dating of "ca. 1642?–1645" in WITZENMANN, p. 203.

³³ In a set of *Avvisi di Roma* located by Frederick HAMMOND, 1985, p. 239, n. 12. The report has not yet found confirmation in any Roman sources, neither in several sets of *avvisi* in Rome, nor in the archives of the Criminal Tribunal of the Governor of Rome for the years 1637–39.

³⁴ BAV, Fondo Cappella Sistina, *Diario* vol. 58: *Libro di Puntatore "registrato da me Francesco Bianchi l'anno 1638,"* fols. 30^v–33^v.

³⁵ Marazzoli appears as an *aiutante di camera* of Cardinal Antonio as early as January 1636, with a monthly stipend of 3.50 *scudi* (BAV Archivio Barberini, Giustificazioni I.170, int. 1, *Antico contromandato del S.r card. Ant. Barberini ... nel 1636*, fol. 17^r). He joined the Cappella Sistina as a tenor only in 1637, initially as a supernumerary. The most recent biography for him is Arnaldo Morelli, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* s.v. "[Marazzoli, Marco](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ricerca/Marazzoli,Marco/Dizionario_Biografico/)" (http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ricerca/Marazzoli,Marco/Dizionario_Biografico/).

which Pasqualini was to learn to do the same, though most of the tunes he copied into that volume remain unworked.³⁶ It is not a musical form Pasqualini later cultivated. At any rate, the genre soon went out of favor, except for settings of sonnets. Nor do highly melismatic lines characterize the bulk of his cantatas, even those with strophes in variation (see **Example 1**). We know little of what secular music Pasqualini may have performed in the 1630s other than presumably his own modest works and his operatic roles by Angelo Cecchini, Stefano Landi, Marazzoli and Michelangelo Rossi. Of these, only Marazzoli as well as Don Filippo Vitali were members of cardinal Antonio's household in the 30s.³⁷ Pasqualini's compositions do not seem to have mimicked Marazzoli, although specific comparisons are not possible, since we have no chronology of Marazzoli's chamber music from the 1630s. Within Cardinal Antonio's household, Marc'Antonio was part of a full vocal complement that included soprano Vittori, Lorenzo Sances (an alto falsettist), and Girolamo Navarra (bass), all of them older than he.³⁸

5.4 The poems in Pasqualini's first, 1638 collection (Barb. lat. 4221)³⁹ are largely strophic canzonettas by writers in the Roman Barberini orbit: Sebastiano Baldini, Andrea Barbazza, Luigi Ficeni, Nicolao Foresta,⁴⁰ Francesco Balducci, Giovanni Lotti, cav. Marcantonio Meniconi, Prince Flavio Orsini and his brother Lelio; as well as "A. B." (Card. Antonio?) and "Gio. P. C." (John Patrick Carey), all contemporary "gentlemen." Only the two Orsini brothers are of high noble birth.⁴¹ There is no trace of the great Renaissance madrigal poets, the poets set by the earlier monodists, or the popular, anonymous songbook canzonettas in circulation. The music and the poems are by and for dilettantes, in a literal and appreciative sense. We have no clues about how the singer would have obtained any of these poems, whether via his patron, or directly from the authors, through other composers, or at his own request. In the 1640s, Pasqualini was reputed among the best trebles of the city, but it cannot have been just his singerly reputation that prompted his cantatas to be re-copied, circulated, and collected by others, along with those of Luigi Rossi, Marazzoli, Mario Savioni, and Carissimi. They are graceful and rhythmic, melodious and muscular, and deft in their use of momentary, unorthodox dissonances. At times a generally drooping lyricism smoothes over his quirky touches within conventional expressions of amorous setbacks and suffering. At other times, a

³⁶ See Appendix 3 (Sources) to this catalogue; also Murata, "More Observations on Italian Florid Song."

³⁷ Vitali, a priest, Sistine tenor and composer of the 1620 opera *Aretusa*, concentrated on sacred and devotional music for the Barberini. He left Rome before or in 1642.

³⁸ Other Barberini singers in Cardinal Francesco's household were Angelo Ferrotti (d. 1663) and Paolo Cipriani. Tenor Francesco Bianchi appears in Cardinal Antonio's rolls from late 1639 to at least 1667, but he was in one of the other Barberini households much earlier. Soprano castrato Loreto Vittori was in Card. Antonio's household, possibly from 1632, then continuously from 1637 to 1670.

³⁹ For details on the chronology of the volumes and changes in their musical styles, see MURATA 1979. Appendix 2 to this catalogue is an alphabetical index of Pasqualini's poets, although not every one has been securely identified.

⁴⁰ Foresta's Christian name is found in contemporary documents as Nicola, Nicolao, and Nicolò.

⁴¹ Among the Italians, Lotti and Ficeni were Barberini familiars. See the Prospographie in Markus Völkel, *Römische Kardinalshaushalte des 17. Jahrhunderts. Borghese – Barberini – Chigi* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1993), 418–70. The Meniconi were a family from Perugia knighted by the papacy for military achievements.

hemiolic sense of rhythm foregrounds melody over text and, perhaps, the sardonic over the sincere. This is especially evident in the dance style called the *corrente* (as in **Example 1**, the stanzas, or coplas of an *estriviglio* form), which belies the influence of Spanish and not French music. Pasqualini's cantatas from the mid-1630s appear years later in substantial volumes of mid-century cantatas, among works by other Roman musicians. All the non-Barberini concordances with pieces in Barb. lat. 4221, save three, bear Pasqualini's name. The Modenese fascicles dated 1662 and the anomalous "Rosa" source, purchased by Charles Burney in Rome,⁴² are the latest known copies of pieces from his earliest collection.

Prima [stanza] 30

Non ac - cre - sce_ la spe - ran - za quel ar -

2.da 56

Col dol - or che_ pro - vo in - ter - no_ va - gheg -

[2.da]

32

dor ch'in - fiam - ma il_ pet - to, né pie-gar la mia co-stan -

- gian - do il suo_ bel_ vi - so, se'l mio co - re è nel-l'In-fer - no,

Example 1. M.A. Pasqualini, *Amo Filli e nulla temo*, opening of the 1st and 2d stanzas in variation. Barlines have been redrawn to appear congruent (Barb. lat. 4221, no. 57).

⁴² Pasqualini's *Deh, fermati Amore* (catalogue no. 63) appears there in a section datable after 1673. See a summary description of *F-Pn Rés. Vmc 78* in Appendix 3 (Sources) of this catalogue.

5.5 Sixteen years separate Pasqualini's first from his second dated collection of solo cantatas in 1654. Third and fourth volumes followed quickly: ensemble cantatas in 1656 and a final solo volume in 1658. Again, we can only guess what may have prompted the assembling of the three 1654–58 volumes: the death of Luigi Rossi in February 1653? Cardinal Antonio's return to Rome from his French exile in July of 1653? A response to Pasqualini's standing as *maestro di cappella* of the Sistine in 1655? At any rate, the cantatas collected in the 1650s are longer and in more varied formal configurations; they include more melismatic writing and have more patterned harmonic stretches as well as more ambiguous ones. Pasqualini repeats phrases in transposition more often, a type of melodic expansion possibly related to his work in more imitative textures in the 1650s. Shifting vocal styles complicate the perception of both poetic and musical formal shapes.⁴³ The notated vocal range, C4 to Bb5, remains effectively the same, but he traverses it more widely and energetically, as in **Example 2**.⁴⁴ Compared to the terser phrases of the first volume, the vocal demands become downright expansive. **Example 3** excerpts part of a descending tetrachord aria within a longer cantata, a bass repeatedly harmonized by an augmented-sixth chord.

Example 2. A melisma for “the arrow in my heart” that covers the vocal range, from an arioso passage in Pasqualini, *Deh non più mi ferite, occhi severi* (Barb. lat. 4223, fol. 134r).

5.6 Many of the cantatas continue to be conventionally doleful, and Pasqualini consistently varies the mix of recitation and the lyrical. Notable, however, is the increased attention in these later scores to vocal detail: tempo changes such as *presto* and *adagio*; a melismatic effect designated *ondeggiato* (wave-like, **Example 4**).⁴⁵ Certain “petite reprises” are marked *piano*, a type of cadential echo we know later from Corelli. In particular, Pasqualini's 1654 volume employs a vertical dash above noteheads that was known as a *virgola*.⁴⁶ The composer tends to

⁴³ These changes are illustrated in MURATA 1979.

⁴⁴ The central vocal range in Pasqualini's cantatas is a notated Eb4/E4 up a tenth to G5, with extensions a third below and above that. The passage from Example 2 may be seen in facsimile in GARLAND 1985, p. 165.

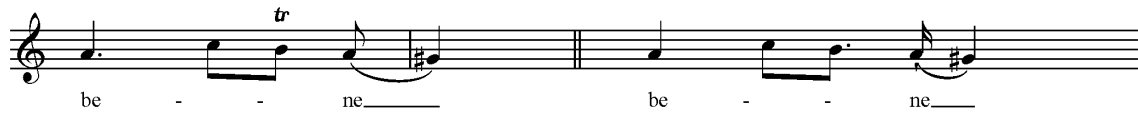
⁴⁵ CALUORI 1981 cites another, undatable instance within a compositional draft by Pasqualini for a Latin motet in Barb. lat. 4204, which is marked “ondeggiato, piano e forte” (CALUORI, vol. 1, Ex. 98 and 2:88, no. 191).

⁴⁶ It is described in the Preface to Francesco Severi, *Salmi passaggiati per tutte le voci* (Rome: Nicolò Borboni, 1615), [iii], as the second part of rule 7: “Sett[im]o. ... quando si troveranno segnate le note con q[ue]sta virgola [vertical stroke] in quella nota si piglierà la parola.” The Severi print is available online through the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Gallica* (accessed August 20, 2013): <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9059755v/f5.image>

Example 3. The beginning of the second half of the aria “*Sì pensieri, sì fuggite*” from Pasqualini, *Lasciatemi, o pensieri, tanto ch’io mi consoli*. Arrows point out dissonances against the basso continuo line that emphasize the words “Hope, who betrayed me with false promises, just flee” (Barb. lat. 4223, fol. 100^r).

Example 4. Pasqualini, *Corre il mondo dietro un nulla* (Barb. lat. 4220, fol. 10^r). Slurs over semiminims (quarter-notes) represent the original beamed white “eighth-notes” to be sung “*ondeggiato*,” like waves, in the middle of the phrase “with one flashing look reveals you yourself.”

[§5.6 *continued*] use *virgole* to mark note values off the beat, where syllables would not have automatically been placed. While not syncopations *per se*, they can create irregular stresses that alter the contour and expression of the melodic line. Placements on single-syllable slurred groups that begin on weak beats can be seen in **Figure 4c** above and in **Examples 5a-b-c-d**. While these effects are not “mannered” in a mid-sixteenth-century sense, Pasqualini’s mid-seventeenth-century cantatas deform his received conventions under the pressure of expression, by means that cannot be termed either decorative or pictorial. The unexpected irregularities and plasticity of his musical chiaroscuro seem to arise from some subsurface intensity. Fred Hammond wrote that the *affetti* of Pasqualini’s cantatas “sometimes threaten to



Example 5a. Parallel passages from two copies of Pasqualini, *Per un guardo del mio bene*, from the compositional draft Barb. lat. 4204, fol. 75^r and in the fair copy, Barb. lat. 4220, fol. 29^r. In the 4220 version, the rhythmic position of the phrase been shifted and a *virgola* emphasizes the shortened penultimate tone A. The second version may simply reflect in notation one of the ways in which this half-cadence formula could have been performed.

Example 5b. A half cadence with a *virgola* on the penultimate tone, similar to the second version in Example 5a, from *La reggia d'Amore è piena d'avvinti* (Barb. lat. 4220, fol. 77^v).

Arietta

Example 5c. The first half of an internal arietta from Pasqualini's *Compatitemi perché lo merito* (Barb. lat. 4223, fol. 104^v). Syllables in bold with acute accents represent stressed syllables in speech. The *virgole* in m. 3 fall on weak syllables on weak parts of the beat. Translation: *I had no luck in love, nor did I find any joy; it was just a game of Fortune and the leavings of Death.*

burst their formal containers."⁴⁷ an effect one can perceive in **Examples 3** and **6**. Pasqualini's later, longer cantatas seem to exploit madrigalian changeability as both resistance and resignation in the face of the commonplace exaggerations of mid-century verse. In this regard,

⁴⁷ Frederick Hammond, *Music & Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 113.

they are true representatives of the middle third of the seventeenth century, differing from the more regular and stable phrasing and forms that characterize the cantatas of Stradella and Pasquini to come.

98

sa-rà lin-gue per me le mie fe-ri-te,

Example 5d. “And my wounds will be my tongues” (that is, will speak for me) from the closing aria “Nel centro dell’alma” in Pasqualini, *Occhi lingue d’amore, non mi chiedete* (Barb. lat. 4220, fol. 55^r). The aria shifts between duple and triple divisions of the bar; the *virgole* in m. 99 create a duple cross-rhythm against the hemiola division in the continuo part; both lines then coordinate in a triple rhythm for the cadential figure.

Cor che bra-ma gio-ir non a-mi mol-to; non a-mi mol-to; non a-mi, non a-mi, non a-mi mol-to.

4

5

6

6

(a - mi)

Example 6. The end of the closing aria “Un cor prigioniero” in Pasqualini’s *Lasciatemi, o pensieri, tanto ch’io mi consoli*. Translation: *A heart that wants to rejoice should not love much.*

5.7 Although most of Pasqualini’s chamber cantatas treat amorous poems, he also set several devotional texts. Indeed, there is a notice that around 1639 Pasqualini composed a mass in

honor of the Virgin, performed in a chapel on Monte Mario, in which he and Vittori sang.⁴⁸ Begun as a professionally copied anthology for Card. Antonio, the volume Barb. lat. 4203 contains Pasqualini's settings of spiritual poems by the cardinal (see **Figure 1a** above).⁴⁹ At least two texts that Pasqualini set to music were or became associated with Roman Oratorian devotions.⁵⁰ In the middle decades of the century, Pasqualini also appears to have composed devotional cantatas for one or the other of Rome's oratories. But although one would like to imagine his penitential music serving for devotions during Lent for the Archconfraternity of the Guardian Angel of which he was a member, no documentary evidence for his musical participation there has surfaced.⁵¹ Vocal and instrumental parts that exist among the Barberini manuscripts, however, are proof that they were performed. With these pieces, Pasqualini's work moves out of the palace chamber and into a more public sphere. As mentioned in the Preface to this catalogue, these cantatas for the oratorio are not included in this catalogue of chamber music.

5.8 After he sang in Pompeo Colonna's opera *Il ratto di Proserpina* in 1645, and given the absence of his cardinal patron in Paris, Marc'Antonio appears to have cultivated a connection with the Colonna family.⁵² Valeria De Lucca uncovered a letter from the singer to the head of the Colonna family, dated the autumn of 1645, that is, after Antonio had left Rome. It asks for help in releasing his brother Colonel Carlo Pasqualini, imprisoned by the Duke of Pastrana.⁵³ There is the suggestion that in exchange, Pasqualini should go to Naples to sing, though this appears not to have happened. De Lucca also uncovered unspecified payments from the Colonna to Pasqualini as late as 1665 and a letter of condolence on the death of Cardinal Girolamo Colonna in September 1666; he remained connected to them long after Cardinal Antonio's death in 1671. It now seems thinkable that Pasqualini's later compositions may not have been heard exclusively in Barberini performances. Since the singer's music library was

⁴⁸ Antolini, "La carriera ... di Loreto Vittori," p. 156. The music is lost.

⁴⁹ See also LUISI 2012.

⁵⁰ The text "Voi per ultima aita" (cf. Pasqualini no. 244) opens a work "Per la settimana santa" in *I-Rv* ms. P. 5, *Aggiunta al Teatro spirituale ... Tomo 5^o. 1679*, given in Arnaldo Morelli, "Il *Theatro spirituale* ed altre raccolte di testi per oratorio romani del Seicento," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 21, no. 1 (1986): 93. Another poetic incipit "Reo d'infiniti eccessi" from the same manuscript collection of "poesie sacre e morali" echoes Pasqualini's *Reo d'impuniti eccessi* (present catalogue no. 200).

⁵¹ GRAMPP 2001 combed its surviving archives (the oratory is no longer on its original site); see also Saverio Franchi, "Le attività musicali di un sodalizio silvestrino a Roma: L'Arciconfraternita degli Angeli Custodi dalla fondazione (1614) alla metà del Settecento," in *Laeta dies. Musiche per S. Benedetto e attività musicali nei centri benedettini in età moderna*, ed. S. Franchi and B. Brumana (Rome: Ibimus, 2004), 259–97. See also BASSANI 2010.

⁵² Apart from the fact that Prince Taddeo Barberini was married to a Colonna (Anna). (The Barberini children born in Rome, Cardinal Carlo, Prince Maffeo, and later Cardinal Francesco, jr, to name only the boys, were thus Barberini-Colonna.) Pasqualini's collaborator Lotti became tutor to the Colonna children in the 1660s; see Elena Tamburini, *Due teatri per il principe. Studi sulla committenza teatrale di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna (1659–1689)*, (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1997), 184n12.

⁵³ Valeria De Lucca, "'Dalle sponde del Tebro alle rive dell'Adria': Maria Mancini and Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna's Patronage of Music and Theater between Rome and Venice (1659–1675)," unpublished Ph.D. diss., 2 vols (Princeton University, 2009), 1:78–79.

clearly in his own possession for over five decades and entered the Barberini library only after his death in 1691, the unhappy lovers in some cantatas might have been heard by a different set of listeners—a thriving family of a venerable princely clan, and one of the main promoters of opera in Rome in the 1670s and 80s.⁵⁴

5.9 Nothing external seems to have compelled Pasqualini to write music; nothing from his hand was ever published. His chamber oeuvre approaches Luigi Rossi's in number and, like Rossi's, circulated in manuscript not only within central Italy, but also from Sweden to Germany, England and France, though in numbers fewer than Rossi's. John Hill's study of Cardinal Montalto's chamber music manuscripts raised questions about the patron's control of his singers' performances and ownership of their compositions in notation, as well as control over their distribution.⁵⁵ In Pasqualini's case, it was more likely the social habits of *musica riservata*, rather than possessiveness on the part of Cardinal Antonio, that limited Marc'Antonio's performances. His patron exercised no obvious control over the original scores themselves, which is typical. Having fled Rome in 1645, Cardinal Antonio wrote to Pasqualini from Lambesc, France in April of 1646, telling him to bring "tutti i libri di arie che si ritrovano, massime di quelle delli quali io ho fatte le parole."⁵⁶ Indeed, some of Pasqualini scores were copied when he was in Paris, a clear point of origin for most of the cantatas by him in northern sources—including an *unicum* that made it to the Swedish court.⁵⁷ In a letter of 1663, his brother Carlo requested "un paro di motetti e cansone bella per un personaggio di consideratione."⁵⁸ As mentioned, Pasqualini only began to add his MAP monogram to his scores after 1656; he did not go back and write it on his earlier music. No evidence has come to light showing that he ever received direct compensation for any of his chamber music—which is also typical; nor any evidence that he ever sang his own secular music in public, except the once in Rossi's opera *Il palazzo incantato*.⁵⁹ We have no idea if other singers may have performed his solo cantatas; among them, however, are a few idiomatic settings for bass, as

⁵⁴ Poets in the 1658 volume are Sebastiano Baldini, Antonio Barberini, jr, Domenico Bongiovanni, Nicolao Foresta (with six cantatas), Lelio Guidiccioni, Giovanni Lotti, Lelio Orsini, Martio Orsini, Francesco Petrarca, and Carlo Theodoli. As mentioned in reference 51 above, Lotti tutored the Colonna children. Foresta appears in the Colonna records as early as 1656 and became their *maestro di casa* (De Lucca, "Dalle sponde del Tebro," 284).

⁵⁵ John Walter Hill, *Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera from the Circles around Cardinal Montalto*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

⁵⁶ Card. Antonio Barberini, jr to Marc'Antonio Pasqualini, Lambesc, April 30, 1646: "All the books of arias that can be found, especially those for which I wrote the words," in BAV Archivio Barberini, (hereafter ArchBarb) Indice II.1563 (loose, unfoliated items).

⁵⁷ Number 167 in this catalogue, *Si, bel volto ch'io voglio morire*, which has been recorded by countertenor Yves-Michael Kiffner and Peter Söderberg, theorbist on *Gustavus Rex & Christina Regina*, Musica Sveciae MSCD 305 (1994), and by Suzanne Rydén on *Christina's Journey*, Caprice CAP 21734 (2004). Beginning with his 2006 doctoral dissertation (RUFFATTI 2006), Alessio Ruffatti has studied the dissemination of Luigi Rossi's cantatas in France and beyond, a dissemination that also begins with Antonio Barberini's exile there.

⁵⁸ Carlo Pasqualini to [Marc'Antonio Pasqualini], n.p., July 29, 16[63]: "A few motets and [a] beautiful song for an important person," in BAV ArchBarb Indice II.1563 (loose, unfoliated items).

⁵⁹ Discussed above, in §3.4. See no. 75b in the present catalogue.

early as the 1638 volume. At the least, the preservation of his scores—like the Marazzoli *Nachlass* in the Chigi collection—enables us to see Pasqualini’s self-awareness as a composer, his productivity, and the assiduousness with which he saved his work—retaining working copies and making his own fair copies, even if he disdained them as, in his own words, a “*perdimento di tempo*,” the disclaimer of a gentleman and man of leisure.

5.10 For Pasqualini continued to be interested in his own compositions. His last anthology, also titled 1676. *Perdimento di tempo per sfuggir l’otio. Straccia foglio*, contains forty-two arrangements of his earlier solo cantatas as soprano-bass, soprano-tenor duets, and one duet for two sopranos; as well as soprano-soprano-bass trios and one soprano-soprano-alto-bass quartet. Their solo models are present in both the dated and the undated volumes. Though Pasqualini deemed these “scrap paper,” the arrangements are more than scraps of his past performances and more than recycled just on paper. They would have been heard again in their new guises, in the richer textures more in vogue in the 1660s and 70s, as were instrumental ensemble sonatas. One imagines them sung by the Colonna’s singers, Antonia and Nicola Coresi, and maybe some were even heard by Cesti, when he came south to Rome at the Colonna’s bidding in 1659. At age sixty-two, Pasqualini could be indifferent to fame, given his financial stability, his secure place in the affections of two powerful families, and the possibility of still hearing his melodies and harmonies sounding in the private chambers of the Roman elite.