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The Musical Characteristics of Wordly Temptations  
in Alessandro Scarlatti's *S. Casimiro, re di Polonia:  
Regio Fasto* (Royal Splendour) as the Main  
Protagonist, and the Possible Origins  
of the Oratorio

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The late 17th-century Italian opera and oratorio tradition abounded in works devoted to Catholic saints, some of them hailing from distant countries which, from an Italian viewpoint, must have seemed quite exotic. A Polish saint, Prince Casimir Jagiellon, whose feast is celebrated on 4 March, occupied an important position in this kind of repertoire. Following St. Casimir's second beatification in the 17th century, which took place in 1604 under the influence of his royal relative King Sigismund III Vasa, his cult began to develop. On his voyage to Italy, King Sigismund III's son, Prince Ladislaus Vasa, who was to succeed his father as Ladislaus IV (Władysław IV), endeavoured to propagate the cult of St. Casimir. The cult flourished mainly in three areas: Florence (where the Medicis themselves sought to obtain and protect the saint's relics), Rome (where there were numerous Polish pilgrims, diplomats and clergymen), and southern Italy and Sicily (particularly Naples and Palermo).

It was in Florence that the first known performance of *S. Casimiro, re di Polonia*, with an anonymous text set to the music by Alessandro Scarlatti, was recorded. The event was organized by the 'Congregazione, ed Ospizio di Gesù, Maria e Giuseppe e della Santissima Trinità posta nella Compagnia della Purificazione della Gloriosa Vergine Maria, e di San Zenobi, detta di San Marco' on 2 February 1706.<sup>1</sup> In Rome, two oratorios were performed in the 1670s: *S. Casimiro, precinpe reale di Polonia* by Sebastiano Lazzarini,

probably on 23 April 1675 with music by Francesco Beretta at the church of San Spirito in Sassia<sup>2</sup> (libretto published in *Sacra melodia d'oratorii musicali*, Rome 1678), and *San Casimiro, prencipe reale di Polonia* by Ottavio Santacroce, probably set to the music by Giovanni Bicilli, at the oratory of the Philippine Fathers at the Chiesa di Santa Maria in Vallicella on 1 March 1678 (libretto in MS copy in *I-Rv*).<sup>3</sup> These events do not, however, prove any genuine cult of the saint in Rome, rather they reflect the political atmosphere of the time. The libretto by Lazzarini was connected with a series of oratorios whose texts were brought together in the volume *Sacra melodia d'oratorii musicali*, and indicate the author's intention to celebrate various saints. The libretto by Santacroce was prepared to celebrate the visit in Rome of Hetman (Marshall) Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł and his wife, Katarzyna née Sobieski, the beloved sister of King John III (Jan III Sobieski). Thus, allusions to St. Casimir's special role as the patron of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the holy guarantor of its military triumphs are prominent in both works. Sadly, not much seems to have been composed in the way of celebration following the actual triumphs, such as that following the Siege of Vienna in 1683 – if there were any thanksgiving oratorios dedicated to St. Casimir written in Rome, we know nothing about them. In this context, it is worth mentioning the oratorio *La fede trionfante* by Donato Ricchezza, which appeared at the oratory of the Philippine Fathers in Naples in 1683. Its characters comprise the Holy Virgin, Faith, Saint Casimir, the Austrian emperor Leopold I, John III Sobieski of Poland and his son, Alexander.<sup>4</sup> As far as I know, this work seems to be the only thanksgiving oratorio in which Saint Casimir is mentioned.

Some years earlier, a kind of spoken *dramma sacro* was played at the Seminario in Naples, *Chi trionfa morendo overo S. Casimiro* by Ettore Calcolona (real name: Carlo Celano; performances in 1675, published in 1676). The musical parts in the text were marked in italics and limited almost exclusively to the relatively numerous allegorical and divine characters (the entire prologue involving *Riso*, *Pianto* and *Premio*, *Purità* and *Penitenza* in Act One, the Angels and the voice of Virgin Mary in Act Two, *Potenza* and *Purità* and the soul of St. Casimir in Act Three).

This series of works would also have included the Italian oratorio *Il transito di San Casimiro*, with text by Giovanni Battista Lampugnani and music possibly composed by Viviano Agostini, which was dedicated on the libretto's title page 'alla Real Maestà di Maria Casimira' and performed in the chapel of the royal palace in Wilanów near Warsaw on the feast of the queen's patron, 4 March 1695.<sup>5</sup>

Unquestionably, the most interesting work of those listed above was *S. Casimiro* by Scarlatti, if only because we can identify the composer of the oratorio's music<sup>6</sup> (only the texts and some isolated historical accounts of performances of the other works have survived). Similarly, the libretto of Scarlatti's piece is constructed in a highly original way, as if the anonymous librettist was already familiar with earlier texts devoted to St. Casimir (particularly those by Lazzarini or Calcolona) and wished to portray the main hero in a different context to that of his artistic predecessors. In all the other texts, St. Casimir's chastity is portrayed as his main virtue, personified by allegorical characters such as *Purità* (Lazzarini, Calcolona), *Verginità* (Santacroce) or *Castità* (Lampugnani). The most dramatic method of illuminating this virtue was by introducing the theme of an unconsummated marriage (although the Crown Prince had actually never been married), as devised by Lazzarini, or of a planned but ultimately rejected marriage (Santacroce, Calcolona). Marriage in general was an important dynastic and political element in the life of all rulers and therefore the Crown Prince's determination to live a chaste life automatically set him apart from such worldly matters as royal splendour. St. Casimir's virginity was also connected with his devout love of the Virgin Mary, whom he considered his divine spouse (Lazzarini, Calcolona). But in the libretto used by Scarlatti, the struggle between *Amor Profano* and *Castità* is prominent only in the first part of the work. In Part Two, these allegorical characters disappear and the eponymous hero finally joins *Regio Fasto* (Royal Splendour) and *Umiltà* (Humility) who are struggling for his soul. The final *Coro* of all soloists and *basso ripieno* speaks of the splendid victory of the latter virtue: 'L'Umiltà di Casimiro / Già trionfa dell'Inferno: / E di gloria in sull'Empiro / Se gl'intreccia un serto eterno.'<sup>7</sup>

Dramaturgically and musically, *Umiltà*'s adversary, *Regio Fasto* (soprano), is the libretto's most important character. The anonymous librettist furnished it with the most lines of all the characters, and Scarlatti provided the most spectacular music. *Regio Fasto* sings three arias, participates in one strophic *aria à due* (first stanza) and in two duets – more than the eponymous hero (tenor), with his three arias and the second stanza in a strophic *aria à due*, but no duets. The part of *Amor Profano* (soprano or tenor) comprises four solos (two of which, however, are merely abbreviated repetitions of the first) and one duet. *Castità* (soprano) sings only one aria, and *Umiltà* (contralto) has two arias and a duet. *Regio Fasto* takes part in the following:<sup>8</sup>

### Part 1

Aria 'Malsicuro è un regio soglio'

Allegro, C, G major, acc. by b.c., rit.: vni 1, 2, vla, b.c., ABA, preceded by an arioso;

Aria 'È viltade e non è gloria'

Allegro, 3/4, D major, vni 1, 2, b.c., ABA

Duet (with *Amor Profano*) 'Al serto le rose'

Adagio, 12/8, B flat major, vni 1, 2, b.c., ABA

### Part 2

Aria 'Che ti giova'

[...], 3/4, C minor, vni 1, 2, vla, b.c., a kind of strophic aria:

A [1<sup>ma</sup> strofa] B [refrain] A [2<sup>nda</sup> strofa] B [refrain]

Aria *à due* (with *S. Casimiro*) 'De sensi all'incanto / De sensi alla guerra'

[...] C, D major, vni 1, 2, vla, b.c., ABA and strophic

Duet (with *Umiltà*) 'Mira pur gl'antichi allori'

Adagio, C, G major, acc. by b.c., rit.: vni 1, 2, vla, b.c., AA<sub>1</sub>

Coro with *Regio Fasto*, *Amor Profano*, *Castità*, *Umiltà*, *S. Casimiro*, *basso ripieno* [SSSATB], 'L'Umiltà di Casimiro'

[...], C-3/4, C major, vni 1, 2, vla, b.c., AB

*Regio Fasto*'s blandishments and actions are the most cunning and the hardest to resist. *Regio Fasto* here stands for pride and glory, but also for the hardships of rulership and war, and responsibility to tradition and history.

For this reason, *Regio Fasto* dismisses *Umiltà* as a coward when *Umiltà* implores St. Casimir to renounce all things (arioso before the aria 'Malsicuro': 'Di Sarmazia lo Scettro / Saprò regger superbo, e questa destra / Ben trionfar saprà / D'un imbelle umiltà'). *Regio Fasto* wants a good, clean fight for Casimir's soul, and loathes treachery because it robs one of the taste of true victory (aria 'È viltade, e non è gloria'). It rebukes Casimir for wasting his many good qualities of body and spirit, which could give him undying glory, should he choose a worldly life (aria 'Che ti giova'). It often mentions the Crown Prince's illustrious forbearers, who expect Casimir to continue the royal tradition with dignity, and who must be deeply disappointed with his humility (among others, duet 'Mira pur').

The music of *Regio Fasto's* parts is dominated by major keys and fast tempi, with bold rhythmical patterns and vocal bravura, not unlike the methods of characterization used by Scarlatti for his evil characters in other more widely known oratorios (e.g. *Cain, overo Il primo omicidio*). One of *Regio Fasto's* most distinctive numbers is the aria 'Che ti giova, o prence invito', which gives the fullest expression to the character's purpose by boldly stating the rebuke that a man destined for greatness, unmatched heroism and all-conquering victory should purposely reject his kingly lot (possibly because of sloth or cowardice, some might add). For the librettist and composer alike, this aria and the duet 'Mira pur' form the climactic point of both Part Two and the work as a whole. The aria is one of the longest in the oratorio, made up of two analogous five-line stanzas (2+3) divided by a shorter stanza which is treated by Scarlatti as a refrain to achieve a general formal layout of A (1<sup>ma</sup> Strofa) B (refrain) A (2<sup>nda</sup> Strofa) B (refrain). The internal form of the stanzas is also untypical compared to the three-section schemas that dominate the other numbers: A = aa<sub>1</sub>b, B = cdd<sub>1</sub> (here lower case letters represent repetitions of text). For this aria, Scarlatti chooses the key of C minor. This is the only minor key aria in the oratorio in which the antagonists challenge the saintly intentions of the Crown Prince Casimir – elsewhere, minor keys are used consistently for the arias of the Good (*Castità, Umiltà* and *Casimiro*). Perhaps this choice was meant to be symbolic: rulership, royal glory and heroism are in themselves irreproachable and, as *Regio Fasto* points out, it

would be sinful to deny these God-given rights. Perhaps Scarlatti uses the minor key to highlight the insidiousness of the temptation faced by Casimir's soul. The aria is highly spectacular in terms of vocal effect, with magnificent coloraturas woven into the ending of part B (refrain), where the voice competes with solo violin, followed by sustained notes in fragments d and d<sub>1</sub>, which serve to focus the audience's attention on Casimir's alleged destiny of glorious victories ('alte vittorie'). The insistence of *Regio Fasto's* temptation is emphasised by the aria's regular rhythmical motifs. One of the most frequently occurring motifs in the triple metre aria consists of a quaver, two semiquavers, two quavers and a crotchet or, two quavers instead of the last crotchet, a variation of the polonaise rhythm (see Figure 6.1). It cannot be confirmed if Scarlatti was making a direct reference with this rhythmical pattern to the Polish national courtly dance, but it is an idea that offers exciting potential for interpretation. *Regio Fasto* makes numerous references to Sarmatia (Poland), of which Casimir was to become proud king, which adds further weight to the hypothesis that Scarlatti intentionally used the polonaise rhythm. The 'martial overtones'<sup>9</sup> of the polonaise could here correspond with the image of Casimir's kingly heart and victorious sword.<sup>10</sup> It is, however, entirely possible that the polonaise-like rhythms may have been purely accidental, especially as not all the qualities that we consider typical of the polonaise had been fully developed at the time (such as the polonaise cadence), and it is beyond the scope of this study to offer a fully assured interpretation. It is also unknown whether or not Scarlatti was acquainted with the polonaise. Despite Stephen Downes's claim that the polonaise was a fashionable dance at European courts at the end of the 17th century,<sup>11</sup> I have been unable to find any traces of it in contemporary Italy. The main European sources containing 'polonaises' from the late 17th and early 18th centuries come principally from the regions located 'around Poland'. The rhythmical motif in consideration (the variant with four quavers at its end) was called by Karol Hławiczka the 'instrumental-polonaise'-type measure. In the Szirmay-Keczer collection (ca. 1700), its appearance is quite frequent.<sup>12</sup> However, the mazurka and polonaise rhythmic motifs are still mixed together, showing that at this time the mature polonaise was still in the pro-

cess of crystallization.<sup>13</sup> The stay of the court of Marie Casimire in Rome,<sup>14</sup> may have spread the dance to Italy but this issue has not been thoroughly researched, possibly because a large proportion of the relevant musical source material is missing.<sup>15</sup>

Interestingly, the rhythmical patterns of the aria 'Che ti giova' have an important analogy in the oratorio works of Scarlatti, specifically in the aria of the Voice of Lucifer (*Voce di Lucifero*) 'Nel potere il Nume imita' in Part Two of the oratorio *Cain, ovvero Il primo omicidio* (libretto probably by Antonio Ottoboni, first performed in Venice, Lent 1707). Here, the recurrent rhythmical motif is typical of the polonaise, made up as it is of a quaver, two semiquavers and four quavers. Its resemblance to the polonaise was first recognized by Roberto Zanetti,<sup>16</sup> who believed that this insistent polonaise rhythm was an echo of earthly temptation ('una lusinga mondana'). Significantly, in this analogy earthly temptation similarly refers to a twisted and warped concept of power. In this aria, Lucifer advises Cain – lost and confused after the murder he has committed – to imitate God's power, and to bravely fight the Heavens: for if God gave Cain the right to live, Cain could lead his life as he so desired (see Figure 6.2).

A broader sampling of Scarlatti's operas and oratorios should enable us to verify if the connection of these specific rhythmic motifs in the triple metre coupled with the themes of temptation of power is accidental or intentional. Whether or not Scarlatti is making direct reference to the polonaise is a more difficult problem to resolve.

Considering the course of Scarlatti's career as an oratorio composer, there are two probable cities outside Florence, where the oratorio's first known performance took place, where he may have been commissioned to compose a work dedicated to St. Casimir: Naples and Rome.<sup>17</sup> The failure of *Regio Fasto* and the victory of *Umiltà*, which is the real theme of *S. Casimiro*, throw new light on the potential origins of the work. The absence from the libretto of any references to the current or future political situation or of any mention of the special tutelary role of St. Casimir with regard to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth would, at least superficially, favour the theory of a Neapolitan origin of the oratorio. In the second half of the 17th century



The image displays a musical score for the beginning of the aria 'Che ti giova' from Alessandro Scarlatti's oratorio *S. Casimiro, re di Polonia*. The score is arranged in four systems, each with a vocal line and a basso continuo line. The key signature is B-flat major (two flats), and the time signature is 3/4. The first system (measures 14-18) shows the vocal line starting with a rest, followed by the lyrics 'che, che ti gio - va o Prence in - vit - to, For - za, ar - dir;'. The basso continuo line has a whole rest in the first measure and then provides a rhythmic accompaniment. The second system (measures 19-23) continues the vocal line with the lyrics 'sen - no, e va - lor?'. The basso continuo line continues with a rhythmic accompaniment, including a double bar line and a repeat sign in the final measure.

Figure 6.1 Alessandro Scarlatti, *S. Casimiro, re di Polonia*, part 2, the beginning of the aria of *Regio Fasto*, 'Che ti giova'

the cult of St. Casimir was developing in the south of Italy and on Sicily, independently of any specifically Polish context (such as visits of celebrated Polish guests). References in the Italian hagiographies of St. Casimir<sup>18</sup> and the fact that Neapolitan musicians of the fraternity of S. Giorgio Maggiore appointed 4 March (St. Casimir's Day) as their annual feast provides strong evidence for this.<sup>19</sup> However, one must also admit that in the context of *Regio Fasto*'s struggle with *Umiltà*, the possible connection between this oratorio

**Aria** **And[an]te spiritoso**

Vni unis. [§]

[VOCE DI LUCIFERO]

b.c. **And[an]te sciolto**

6

6

5

11

*p*

[VOCE DI LUCIFERO]

Nel po - te - - - - -

56 6 5

15

[VOCE DI LUCIFERO]

- - - - re il Nu - me i - mi - ta,

#6 6

Figure 6.2 Alessandro Scarlatti, *Cain, ovvero Il primo omicidio*, part 2, the beginning of the aria of *Voce di Lucifero*, 'Nel potere il Nume imita'

and the person of Marie Casimire, the Polish Dowager Queen residing in Rome, re-emerges with new force. Hypotheses about this kind of connection have appeared as a matter of course in the literature of the subject<sup>20</sup> and have gained recognized currency.<sup>21</sup> In earlier publications I have argued (and continue to believe) that *S. Casimiro* actually contains very few elements which might indicate that the piece was commissioned by Marie Casimire to celebrate the anniversary of the siege of Vienna, brought to a victorious close by her late husband King John III.<sup>22</sup> However, I have also argued that the message of the work is too generically Christian to be interpreted as some kind of specific homage to the Dowager Queen. After reconsidering this question, I feel bound to change my position. For all the splendour of her court – which Marie Casimire never economized upon – the Queen in the early stages of her stay in Rome sought to cultivate her image as a pious ruler devoted to matters divine, and deferred to the Pope's authority: she was a woman who had distanced herself from political life, and who had consciously given up secular power. While the Queen's religiosity has never been in doubt (accounts from the later stages of the royal couple's reign in Poland abound in references to the Queen's participation in masses and devotions, sometimes twice a day), the other components of her public image were clearly constructed with a view to curry the Pope's favour. In actual fact, it was not Marie Casimire who renounced power of her own accord – it was the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth that rejected her and her sons as its rulers, and the Queen would continue to enthusiastically throw herself into political schemes whenever possible. As a Dowager Queen in a foreign country, her political leverage was very limited. Her sons were also thinking of the Polish crown, which at some point in the Northern War was actually offered to Aleksander Sobieski (who rejected the honour for a variety of pretexts, some of which were quite dubious) – as commemorated in the opera *Tolomeo et Alessandro* by Carlo Sigismondo Capece and Domenico Scarlatti (1711).<sup>23</sup> So perhaps, at the court of Marie Casimire it was a matter of convenience and dignity to demonstrate a disdain for political power ('disprezzar la corona'), which could have gone some way to mitigate the sense that great European politics had become oblivious to the once proud saviours of Christendom,

the Sobieskis. So perhaps on 4 March 1700, St. Casimir's Day (which fell on a Thursday, a day of Lent oratorio concerts given in the Holy Year by Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni at the Palazzo della Cancelleria),<sup>24</sup> *S. Casimiro, re di Polonia* was performed specifically to emphasize the Dowager Queen's image and the failure of *Regio Fasto*, possibly symbolic of what Marie Casimire considered the unthankful Sarmatia? If that was indeed so, the oratorio would have been one of the many collaborations between Scarlatti and Ottoboni, the possible author of the libretto.<sup>25</sup>

Translated by Piotr Szymczak

### Notes

- 1 The exact date and year have been established by John Walter Hill, 'Oratory Music in Florence, III: The Confraternities from 1655 to 1785,' *Acta Musicologica* 58 (1986/1), p. 162.
- 2 As supposed by: Arnaldo Morelli, [Introduction to] Sebastiano Lazzarini, *Sacra melodia d'oratorii musicali*, Rome 1678 (= Musurgiana 18), ed. in facs. by A. Morelli (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1993), p. IX.
- 3 Performance described in: A. Morelli, 'Il tempio armonico'. *Musica nell'Oratorio dei Filippini in Roma (1575-1705)* (= *Analecta Musicologica* 27) (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1991), pp. 62, 185.
- 4 See Rosa Cafiero, Marina Marino, 'Materiali per una definizione di 'oratorio' a Napoli nel Seicento: primi accertamenti,' in: *La musica a Napoli durante il Seicento*, eds. Domenico Antonio D'Alessandro and Agostino Ziino (Rome: Edizioni Torre d'Orfeo, 1987), p. 509.
- 5 More details on this work can be found in: Anna Ryszka-Komarnicka, 'Maria Kazimiera i oratorium włoskie: epizod warszawski,' (Marie Casimire and the Italian Oratorio: a Warsaw Episode) *Przegląd muzykologiczny* 5 (2005), pp. 45-55.
- 6 MS scores in *E-Mn* and *A-Wn*, the latter is probably connected with the performance at Viennese court in 1713. World premiere recording on CD under the direction of Jerzy Żak by Jan A. Jarnicki and *Acte Préalable* Sp. z o.o. 2000 (AP0025).
- 7 All citations are taken from the libretto printed in Florence by Vincenzo Vangelisti, exemplar held at *I-Ristituto*.
- 8 More information on the music of Scarlatti's oratorio can be found in: Anna Ryszka-Komarnicka, 'Alessandro Scarlatti's "S. Casimiro, Re di Polonia",' in: *Two Thousand Years of Christian Tradition in Music* (= *Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis*. *Acta Musicologica* 12), eds. Irena Poniatowska and Cezary Nelkowski (Bydgoszcz: Filharmonia Pomorska w Bydgoszczy, 2003), pp. 177-9.
- 9 Stephen Downes, *Polonaise* [entry], in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd Edition, eds. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (vol. 20, London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 2001), p. 45.

- 10 Thanks to the research conducted by Szymon Paczkowski we know more about royal and divine connotations of the use of polonaise in German music in the times of Telemann and Johann Sebastian Bach. Cf. Szymon Paczkowski, 'Über die Funktionen der Polonaise und des polnischen Stils am Beispiel der Arie "Glück und Segen sind bereit" aus der Kantate "Erwünschtes Freudenlicht" BWV 184 von Johann Sebastian Bach,' in: *Johann Adolf Hasse in seiner Epoche und in der Gegenwart. Studien zur Stil- und Quellenproblematik* (= *Studia et Dissertationes Instituti Musicologiae Universitatis Varsoviensis* 12), eds. Szymon Paczkowski and Alina Żórawska-Witkowska (Warsaw: Instytut Muzykologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2002), pp. 207–24.
- 11 Downes, *Polonaise*, p. 45.
- 12 Cf. Ewa Dahlig-Turek, *Rytmy polskie w muzyce XVI-XIX wieku* (Polish Rhythms in 16th-19th Century Music), (Warsaw: Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2006), p. 163.
- 13 *ibid.*, p. 153.
- 14 Marie Casimire stayed in Rome from 1699 until 1714. Her decision to settle there was forced by the death of her husband, King John III, and no prospects of any of their sons to obtain the Polish crown (in 1697 Friedrich August I, Elector of Saxony, was elected king of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and ruled as August II the Strong).
- 15 The only scores related to Marie Casimire's Roman court which survive in their original versions are Domenico Scarlatti's *drammi per musica, Tolomeo et Alessandro, ovvero la corona disprezzata* and *Tetide in Sciro*. In these operas, the arias in a 3/4 metre reveal no traces of polonaise-like rhythmic motifs. For the most recent research on *Tolomeo et Alessandro* see: Aneta Kamińska, 'Z repertuaru prywatnego teatru królowej Marysieńki w rzymskim Palazzo Zuccari: dramma per musica "Tolomeo et Alessandro" Domenica Scarlattiego,' (From the repertoire of queen Marie Casimire's private theatre in the Palazzo Zuccari in Rome: dramma per musica "Tolomeo et Alessandro" by Domenico Scarlatti) *Muzyka* 50 (2005/3), pp. 29–55.
- 16 Roberto Zanetti, *La musica italiana nel Settecento* (vol. 2, Busto Arsizio: Bramante Editrice, 1978), p. 691.
- 17 The possibility of Neapolitan and, above all, Roman origins of the manuscripts of the arias and cantatas collected in a series of volumes at the *E-Mn* (including volume M 2244 containing *S. Casimiro* by Scarlatti) is confirmed by a paper by José María Domínguez of Madrid, 'Revisiting Italian Cantata Manuscripts at the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid', delivered at the 12th Biennial Conference on Baroque Music, Warsaw University 26–30 July 2006. Domínguez lists the following persons who may have contributed to the manufacture of those manuscripts: the 9th Duke of Medinaceli, a Spanish patron of Scarlatti in Rome as well as in Naples, and Mariane of Neuburg and Isabel Farnese, Spanish queens whose courts had both direct and indirect contacts with the courts of Roman cardinals, particularly of Ottoboni and Pamphili. I wish to express my gratitude to the author for his kind permission to consult the unpublished paper.
- 18 *Breve compendio della vita di S. Casimiro confessore, figliuolo de Re di Polonia, cavata da diversi autori* (Rome: Dom. Ant. Ercola, 1687), p. 10.
- 19 Renato Di Benedetto, Dinko Fabris, *Naples § 3: The Spanish Era (1503–1734), (v): The confraternities* [entry], in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musician*, 2nd Edition,

- eds. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (vol. 17, London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 2001), p. 619.
- 20 Lowell Lindgren, 'Il dramma musicale a Roma durante la carriera di Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725),' in: *Le muse galanti. La musica a Roma nel Settecento*, ed. Bruno Cagli (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1985), p. 50 and Saverio Franchi, *Drammaturgia romana II (1701-1750)* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1997), p. 22.
- 21 See Norbert Dubovy, *Scarlatti Alessandro* [entry], in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, zweite, neubearbeitete Ausgabe*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (vol. 14, Personenteil, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2005), col. 1079 and Roberto Pagano, Malcolm Boyd and Edwin Hanley, *Scarlatti Alessandro* [entry], in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musician*, 2nd Edition, eds. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (vol. 22, London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 2001), p. 389 (as S. *Casimiro*, *Re di Ponia* [sic!]).
- 22 Lindgren ('Il dramma musicale', p. 50) believes that Marie Casimire may have commissioned this oratorio for anniversary celebrations of the victory at Vienna which took place on 12 September 1704. Such a context for the performance has provoked doubts from myself (Ryszka-Komarnicka, 'Alessandro Scarlatti's', p. 179) as well as from Saverio Franchi (*Drammaturgia romana*, p. 22), who nevertheless believes that 1704 as the date of origin and a Roman context of the oratorio are certain.
- 23 Cf. Anna Ryszka-Komarnicka, 'Polish History as the Source of Plot in the Italian *Dramma per Musica*: Three Case Studies,' in: *Italian Opera in Central Europe 1614-1780*, vol. 3: *Opera Subjects and European Relationships*, eds. Norbert Dubovy, Corinna Herr and Alina Żórawska-Witkowska (Berlin: BWV Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2007), pp. 121–2; more on Alexander's role as opera patron in Rome – see Wanda Roszkowska, 'Mecenat królewicza Aleksandra – teatr Armonte Calidio (1709–1714),' (The Patronage of Prince Alexander – the Theatre of Armonte Calidio (1709–1714)) *Sobótka* 35 (1980/2), pp. 311–21.
- 24 The presence of the Queen and of her sons at the concert on 4 March 1700 is mentioned by: Montserrat Moli Frigola, 'Carnevale e il teatro,' in: *Roma sancta. La città delle basiliche*, eds. Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna (Rome and Reggio di Calabria: Gangemi, 1985), p. 186. However, she does not mention the source on which she based this information.
- 25 If not by Ottoboni, the text must at least have been authored by a person who understood the Polish Dowager Queen's attitude and intentions at the time.