The Pamphilj and the Arts
Patronage and Consumption in Baroque Rome
Edited by Stephanie C. Leone
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PAMPHILJ AS PHOENIX: THEMES OF RESURRECTION IN HANDEL’S ITALIAN WORKS
Ellen T. Harris

At the end of 1706, Benedetto Pamphilj had been a cardinal for twenty-five years and was distinguished as one of Rome’s great patrons of the arts. His art collection, including some works inherited from his father, is still highly esteemed today. His important musical establishment is less easy to evaluate, music being more ephemeral by nature than the visual arts. Records of the musicians Pamphilj employed and the music performed at his palazzo appear in his account books and conjure images of a constant stream of front-rank musicians and compositions. Pamphilj’s collection of musical scores, to which later generations of the Pamphilj family continued to add, is now considered “one of the finest private collections of music in Italy.” The picture (or soundscape) would, however, be incomplete without the awareness of Pamphilj’s personal participation in the creation of many of these works. Not just a patron, he was an author and wrote many oratorio and cantata texts set to music and performed under his auspices and elsewhere in Italy. Is it possible, given all this artistic activity, that in 1707 when Pamphilj was fifty-three, he had begun to slow down or to lose some of his earlier passion for or interest in cultural endeavors? Count Orazio d’Elci describes the Cardinal in 1700 as having given up the “lively Conversations” and “publick Actions” to which he had been committed formerly and devoting himself “wholly to the Spirit.” If so, the arrival of the twenty-one-year-old George Frideric Handel in Rome, seems to have given the cardinal a jolt of youthful energy. At least this is what is implied in the text of a cantata he wrote for Handel to set,  He and  non può mia musa.

Pamphilj describes Handel’s music in this cantata text as having led to the rebirth of his poetic talents. He states that Orpheus could stop birds in flight and beasts in their tracks and make trees and rocks move but was unable to make any of these things sing. Pamphilj therefore ranks Handel higher, saying that the composer had brought his muse back to life after it had fallen silent. We will need to come back to this poem and consider more than one reading of Pamphilj’s reawakening, but the central idea of rebirth and the possibility of new beginnings is essential to all the poetry Pamphilj wrote for Handel and points to the importance this theme had for the cardinal—not, of course, that any Catholic (or Christian for that matter) would consider the concept of resurrection unimportant but rather that for Pamphilj it appears to have held a special, and perhaps personal, resonance.

All members of the literary Arcadian Academy adopted fictional pastoral names. The one Pamphilj chose, Fenicio Larisseo, not only alludes to the phoenix (fenice) with its powers of rebirth but also specifically to Queen
Christina of Sweden, in whose honor the Academy had been founded, as “the symbolic phoenix under whose influence Pamphilj had spent his youth.” Queen Christina was, of course, a high-profile Protestant convert to Catholicism. Pamphilj’s choice of Arcadian name and its relationship to Queen Christina underscore his personal identification with the themes of conversion and rebirth. As I have already stated, all of the texts he gave Handel to set address this theme.

Handel arrived in Italy sometime between the middle of 1705 and the end of 1706 at the age of about twenty. He had begun his professional operatic career a few years earlier, when he moved from Halle (the city of his birth) to the cosmopolitan seaport of Hamburg. There, according eighteenth-century reports, he met a Medici prince (not specifically identified, but surely Gian Gastone) who invited him to Italy with the purpose of imbibing the modern Italian style at its font. Handel declined to travel as part of the prince’s entourage, however. Using his own resources he was able to make the journey a short time later “on his own bottom,” as it is phrased by John Mainwaring in a biography of Handel published only a year after the composer’s death.  

One imagines, given the princely invitation, that Handel first went to Florence, an assumption now supported by a letter from one official of the Florentine court to another, advising him in October 1707 of Handel’s “returning from Rome.” As no compositions by Handel can be placed securely in Italy during the year and a half between mid-1705 and the beginning of 1707, Handel may have spent this time absorbing the Italian style by studying, listening, and performing. The operas performed in Florence in successive autumn seasons during this period certainly comprise many that later served as sources for his London operas. It seems as if Handel must have made a collection of the libretti (little books) that were sold at performances and contained the words of the operas. His operas Radamisto, Irodinda, Scipione, Sosarme, Ariodante, and Berenice all derive from texts of operas performed in Florence between 1706 and 1710.

Handel probably built his reputation in Italy at first on virtuoso keyboard playing rather than on his compositions. His biographer Mainwaring writes of a masquerade in Venice at which Handel, himself in a mask, was immediately recognized when he sat down to play the harpsichord as either “the famous Saxon [referring to Handel’s birthplace in Germanic Saxony] or the Devil.” Handel’s first public appearance in Rome was as a performer, and the sensation he created suggests that his reputation had preceded him. Pamphilj seems to have been one of Handel’s first hosts in Rome, and it may be that Cardinal Francesco Maria de’ Medici, a “grande amico” of Cardinal Benedetto Pamphilj, and someone with whom he shared musical interests, had corresponded about the young German.

Handel’s earliest public appearance in the Holy City—in January 1707, was a solo organ recital at Saint John Lateran, the ecclesiastical seat of the pope in his role as Bishop of Rome. Given Handel’s German-Protestant background, this was an event that surely could not have occurred without the direct intervention of Pamphilj, who had been archpriest of the Lateran since 1699 (a post he continued to hold until his death in 1730). Francesco Valesio mentions in a diary entry of January 14, 1707, a concert at which “un sassone eccellente sonatario di cembalo e compositore di musica” who had recently arrived in Rome and who had that day demonstrated his skill “in sonare l’organo nella chiesa di S. Giovanni [Laterano] con stupore di tutti.” In an undated travel memoir (published anonymously in 1737), Handel is specifically mentioned by name as having played a recital at Saint John Lateran and also, the day before, of playing the clavichord at a private musical gathering with such astonishing faculty that some members of the audience thought he had special magical powers hidden in his hat. This anecdote adds some weight to an identification of Handel as the sassone mentioned by Valesio. If so, then his dated diary entry offers the earliest documentary evidence of Handel’s presence in Rome—some short time before mid-January 1707.

Just as Handel’s first public appearance in Saint John Lateran points strongly to the influence of Pamphilj, the first documentary evidence of Handel’s musical compositions in Rome can be tied to him as well. An entry in the cardinal’s account books dated February 12, 1707, provides a detailed bill for copying “di musica nella Cantata intitolata Il delirio amoroso…Composta in musica dal S.re Giorgio Hendel.” It is the first in a succession of works Handel wrote for Pamphilj, all of which have texts by the
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cardinal. These include the oratorio *Il trionfo del Tempo e del Disinganno*, which appears in Pamphilj’s account books on May 14, 1707, and the cantatas *Tra le fiamme* (6 July 1707), *Sarei troppo felice* (billed for copying in the account books of the Marchese Francesco Maria Ruspoli on September 22, 1707), and *Handel, non può mia musa* (copied for Ruspoli on August 9, 1708, and almost certainly composed for Pamphilj in the spring of 1707).

All but one of the cantatas written by Pamphilj and set by Handel are in the pastoral mode (like the vast majority of cantatas in general), describing shepherds and shepherdesses in the throes of love. Viewing the texts solely in this superficial manner, however, overlooks a great deal. Not only is the poetic model for these texts, the pastoral poetry of Theocritus and Virgil, itself complex—with political, religious, and personal messages lying just beneath the surface—but also the cantata texts themselves and the surviving musical sources document contemporary allusions behind the pastoral façade. Pamphilj writes *Handel, non può mia musa* in first person and, of course, mentions Handel by name. Ruspoli is mentioned by his Arcadian Name, Olinto [Arsenio], in Handel’s cantata *Oh, come chiare*, which specifically comments on the War of the Spanish Succession and directly refers to the reigning pope, Clement XI, as an *astro clemente* (a goodly star). The association of these conventionally pastoral cantata texts with the lives of their authors and auditors is also indicated in watercolor miniatures (perhaps by Pier Leone Ghezzi) that appear in two cantata manuscripts compiled for the castrato Andrea Adami, a singer in residence at Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni’s palace from 1686 to 1740.18 Here, the shepherds are not situated in an imag-

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Fig. 12.1: Pier Leone Ghezzi (1674–1755). Caricature illustrating Alessandro Scarlatti’s cantata *Luci vaghe* (Rome, 1693). Gilmore Music Library (Misc. Ms. 166, fol. 63r), Yale University (photograph provided by the Gilmore Music Library, Yale University)
A level of specificity appears in the seeming self-description and in the apparent insertion of Handel into the story as un leggiadro giovinetto (a graceful young man) in Piacere’s palace who has della destra l’alti (wings on his hand) and awakens bel diletto (sweet delight) with alluring sounds. This anonymous youth then plays a brilliant organ concerto (called a sonata in the score) of his own composition. The personification of Handel is sufficiently clear from the textual narrative and the role he would have played in the performance as composer directing from the keyboard. One could also assume the identification from the specific reputation Handel had achieved in Italy as a virtuoso on the organ. Mainwaring, for example, writes of a competition on keyboard instruments between Handel and Domenico Scarlatti arranged under the auspices of Cardinal Ottoboni. The result of this musical duel was that some accorded Scarlatti the winner on the harpsichord. But “when they came to the Organ there was not the least pretence for doubting to which of them it belonged. Scarlatti himself declared the superiority of his antagonist, and owned ingenuously, that till he had heard him upon this instrument, he had no conception of its powers.” As it was Pamphilj who surely had been the driving force behind the organ recital given by Handel in Saint John Lateran, which stunned the aristocratic audience and seems to have served as Handel’s public introduction to Rome, Handel’s reputation in Rome as a virtuoso was closely tied to the cardinal. That both Pamphilj and Handel recognized, if not intended, the association of the composer with the organism in Pleasure’s palace can be evidenced through alterations made for later performances of the oratorio. The scene was cut from the libretto, when Pamphilj’s maestro di cappella, Carlo Francesco Cesarini, set the text in 1725. When Handel first revived his setting in London in 1737 and 1739, he recomposed the scene by changing the instrument to violin then to carillon (diverting attention from himself); then, in the final revival of 1757, he too eliminated it.

Given the role Handel played in the original narrative it would seem that in 1707 Pamphilj saw the composer and his music as a temptation, was drawn to Handel’s compositions, and perhaps physically attracted to the young man. This possibility becomes clearer in the cantata Handel, non pio mia musa, in which Pamphilj relates...
in first person how Handel’s music has led to the rebirth of his poetic talents. What he writes specifically is that Handel “forced my muse into song, just when it had hung my motionless plectrum on a dry tree.” The analogy of the plectrum hanging on a dry tree to describe his sleeping muse barely conceals a sexual reading. Although it may be, as d’Ecli states, that Pamphilj had given up public diversions, he continued writing oratorios and cantatas throughout his life without any discernible hiatus before 1707. That is, his poetic imagination, based on the texts that survive, did not need reawakening.

Speculation on Pamphilj’s sexual proclivities does not lead far, and it is not especially fruitful. Michael Ranft, in his late eighteenth-century collection of biographies of the cardinals of the Roman Catholic Church, writes of Pamphilj:

As to his character, he was a very learned, diplomatic and generous man who had many good attributes, which made him worthy enough to ascend the papal throne; what hindered him we cannot say given the lack of information. In his youth he was full of vanity, but, whenever possible, he always avoided injuring his good name with unpleasant excesses.

Eugène Michaud claims that Pamphilj was described in a pasquinade as “a Ganymede” after he was named cardinal, but I have been unable to trace his reference, and I doubt it would be possible. More substantive are Michaud’s allegations concerning Pamphilj’s relationships with women.

Handel, too, was the subject of rumors concerning a relationship in Italy with the prima donna Vittoria Tarquini, who was married to a composer and the mistress of prince Ferdinando de’ Medici. It is obvious, given the prince’s importance as a patron, such a liaison could—and probably would—have had a negative impact on both musicians. Mainwaring claims that Tarquini was willing to ignore the risk, stating that the singer was “so little sensible...of her exalted situation, that she conceived a design of transferring her affections” to Handel. Writing in 1799, William Coxe states that “Handel was too prudent to encourage an attachment, which might have occasioned the ruin of both.” Again, speculation does not lead us far, but if Coxe is correct about Handel’s prudence, then Pamphilj may have played a role in leading Handel to this decision by asking him to set the text Il consiglio (Advice).

Better known by its incipit, Tra le fiamme, the cantata is a cautionary tale. Its little-used actual title, Il Consiglio, brings us back to Il trionfo and the character of Disinganno, who is at times referred to as Consiglio. Further, the warning in the cantata’s first aria against a “charming beauty who deceives” reminds one perhaps of Bellezza’s escape from Piacere. The text compares the singer’s attraction to that charming beauty to “a thousand moths” drawn into a flame, from which only the phoenix can rise again if it goes to its death. In the second aria, “Pien di nuovo e bel diletto,” the singer changes metaphors and contemplates the story of Daedalus and his son Icarus. Daedalus fashion’s wings from feathers and wax for both of them; when Icarus flies too near the sun, the wax melts, plummeting the youth to his death in the sea. The third aria, “Voli per l’aria,” sets up the moral by providing, in contrast to the indiscriminate moths in the first aria and Icarus in the second, the example of “the man born to ascend to heaven” (l’uomo che nacque per salire al cielo) who allows himself only imaginary flights. The cantata concludes unusually, with a grand da capo, repeating once again the A section of the opening aria and returning the story to the phoenix and the personal situation of the singer: “Among the flames you flutter playfully, oh my heart.”

Judith Peraino identifies a number of verbal similarities between the depiction of the organist in Il trionfo (understood as Handel) and of Icarus in Tra le fiamme: both of the youths (giovinetti) have “wings” (voli—in Il trionfo they are on his hands) and both are associated with new and sweet delights (nuoro e bel diletto). This would seem to associate Handel with Icarus, but Peraino makes the surprising suggestion that Handel is the figure of Daedalus, whose art enables him to fly but who, with the possible exception of Pamphilj the phoenix, attracts others to their ruin. I think rather that Pamphilj is the older Daedalus who can take flight and return safely (just as he is the phoenix who can fly into the flame and rise again
from the ashes). If so, then the cantata may be advising Handel against trying the same and, perhaps, warning him specifically against an intimate relationship with Victoria Tarquini. Given her position as mistress of Prince Ferdinando de’ Medici, she certainly would have been a dangerous flame to chase.

In contrast to the promise of second chances in the other texts by Pamphilj that were set by Handel—Clori’s dream of carrying her lover out of Hades into the Elysium Fields in the cantata *Il delirio amoroso*, rebirth after a life of pleasure in *Il trionfo*, or revival of poetic (or sexual) facility after a dry period in *Hendel, non può mia musa*—*Tra le fiamme* strikes a more somber tone in the example of Icarus, whose desires and ambitions lead to his downfall without, it would seem, any hint of redemption. I wonder whether Pamphilj’s choice of this story for the cautionary tale he writes relates to the painting of *Dedalo e Icaro* by Ludovico Lana (1597–1646) that had been part of the Pamphilj family’s collection from 1652.33 The visual depiction is touching (plate 14).

Daedalus holds a single feather in his left hand and with his right seems to be choosing from among feathers held up by Icarus. His eyes are drawn to the ground where three feathers have already fallen, presumably because Icarus has not been holding them carefully. Icarus pays no attention and impatiently gestures upward. Pamphilj seems to describe this very scene in the cantata: “Daedalus was already weaving the lucky (specially chosen?) feathers with a bold hand, joining pinion to pinion with soft wax, but Icarus, the boy, often muddled the ingenious work.”34 It may be that Pamphilj chose this story as he had already seen himself and Handel in Lana’s painting: the fifty-four-year-old author and patron (whose identity as a writer could be represented by Daedalus holding aloft a single feather or pen) trying carefully to advance (or feather?) the career of the twenty-two-year-old musician (like Icarus), whose impatient ambition is threatening to bring him ruin.

If Pamphilj was thinking of Handel in writing his text, Handel also may have been thinking of Pamphilj in his setting. *Tra le fiamme* contains an unusually rich orchestration: in addition to two recorders, oboe, violins, and bass, it includes a virtuoso part for viola da gamba. In Germany, the gamba was frequently connected with the theme of death and resurrection: examples range from Heinrich Schütz’s *Historia der Auferstehung* in the seventeenth century to Johann Sebastian Bach’s passions. Handel’s only other use of the gamba in his Italian works occurs in the oratorio *La resurrezione*,35 written in 1708 for Ruspoli. In *Tra le fiamme*, the instrument appears to have a similar significance as in the sacred works but is associated now with the image of the phoenix. The use of the gamba may have been, therefore, a special musical tribute to Pamphilj’s belief in the possibility of rebirth and to the phoenix himself, who during Handel’s first six months in Rome had been his patron and his artistic collaborator.

Among Roman patrons of music at this time, it is Ottoboni, not Pamphilj, who stands out as the most extravagant and, arguably, the most important. In the biography of Handel by Mainwaring, Ottoboni is the only Roman patron mentioned by name; yet no works by Handel can be associated definitely with his patronage. The vast majority of Handel’s Roman works can be connected to the patronage of the Marchese Ruspoli, who may have housed Handel throughout his two Roman sojourns, despite the patronage of Pamphilj and others; but Mainwaring does not mention Ruspoli. The diary of Anton Ulrich, Prince of Sachsen-Meiningen, written during his sojourn in Rome from April to October 1707 mentions many musical gatherings at Ruspoli’s residence at which Handel performed and Ottoboni was in attendance. He does not mention Pamphilj.36 Ottoboni’s lavish spending ultimately led to financial ruin. Already in 1717, George Berkeley wrote from Rome to John Percival, later first Earl of Egmont, that “Cardinal Ottoboni has let off his entertainments, and Prince Ruspoli is the man who now gives music every week to Strangers.”37 Pamphilj’s absence from these various records, given his continued musical patronage, points not to a lack of influence in musical patronage, but, it would seem, to a less public persona.

In the case of Handel’s arrival in Rome, Pamphilj appears to govern Handel’s introduction to the city, even if from behind the scenes. He must have sponsored his first public concert at Saint John Lateran; he provided texts for significant instrumentally accompanied cantatas and wrote the libretto that gave Handel an opportunity to write his first major composition in Italy, the oratorio
Il trionfo del Tempo e del Disinganno. If this work was first performed in the Palazzo della Cancelleria under Ottoboni’s auspices, as has been suggested, then it was probably Pamphilj who arranged it. And it may well be that he arranged for Ruspí, at the beginning of his significant patronage of music, to house Handel from the time of his arrival; yet, years later, Handel referred to Pamphilj as “an old Fool” for excessively flattering him.\(^{30}\) If Handel refused Pamphilj’s interest and advice while he was in Rome in favor of the greater extravagance of Ottoboni and the rising star of Ruspí, Pamphilj, given Count d’Elci’s characterization of him as having largely withdrawn from society, may not have minded. Nevertheless, wordsmith that he was, he may have inserted a rather scathing commentary about the relative importance of his patronage and musicians in general into the moral of Tra le fiamme: “Although there is many an Icarus, there is only one Daedalus.”

1. See the paper by Alexandra Nigo in this volume.
3. [Count Orazio d’Elci], The Present State of the Court of Rome: Or, The Lives of the Present Pope Clement XI and of the Present College of Cardinals. Written Originally in Italian, by a Gentleman Belonging to the Court of Rome, and Newly Translated into English from the Italian Manuscript, Never as Yet Made Publick, With a Preface by the Publisher, Containing Some Few Remarks on the Rise and Nature of the College of Cardinals, on the Maxims of Their Government, and a Short Account of the Present Pope’s Elevation to the Papacy; and of the Most remarkable Occurrences in His Pontificate (London: Printed and Sold by the Booksellers, 1706), 328. I am indebted to Professor James Weiss for this reference. The original Italian manuscript has been published in Sabrina M. Seidler, Il teatro del mondo: Diplomatische und journalistische Relationen vom römischen Hof aus dem 17. Jahrhundert. Beiträge zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte, ed. Christoph Weber (Frankfurt: Lang, 1996), 3:460-62.
4. The Italian text and an English translation of Handel, non puó mia musa can be found in Ellen T. Harris, Handel as Orpheus: Voice and Desire in the Chamber Cantata (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 317-18; see below, note 24.
8. Mainwaring, 52.
9. Lina Montalto, 232, describes the Medici cardinal as a “grande amico” of Pamphilj.
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12 Werner Braun, “Händel und der ‘römische Zauberhut’ (1707),” Göttinger Händel Beiträge 3 (1989): 71–46. Braun identifies the author of this travel memoir as Denis Nollac based on an article by Jean-Daniel Candaux then in press. I have not been able to trace that publication, but Candaux later published a correction (the reference he gives to his earlier publication is “Un anonyme identifié. Les souvenirs de voyage de Denis Nollac, réfugié, marchand et manufacturier huguenot,” Revue française d’histoire du lièvre, no. 85: 691–709) after having determined that the author was not Nollac but Jacques Aumont (“Communications,” Bulletin de la Société d’histoire et d’archéologie de Genève 18 (1986): 359). It is not clear how this new attribution affects the possible dating of the anecdote.

13 That Handel inscribed “Roma 1706” on a set of duets by Agostino Steffani (1654–1728) does not suggest a significantly earlier arrival, since he was most likely using the calendar then customary in Florence (where he had likely been earlier), in which city the new year began on March 25. Compelling evidence in favor of this resides in the Roman autograph of Dixit Dominus, which Handel dated April 1707, but first wrote 1706 before changing it to 1707. As Anthony Hicks pointed out, “one is unlikely to make a mistake writing the year in a date unless it has just changed” [Anthony Hicks, “Handel’s Early Musical Development,” Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association 103 (1976–77): 83]. There is, however, unanimous agreement on this point. Ursula Kirkendale argues that “contrary to Ellen T. Harris…it is extremely unlikely that the German Handel used here the stile fiorentino” (“Handel with Ruspoli: New Documents from the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, December 1706 to December 1708,” Studi musicali 32, no. 2 (2003): 363n15).

14 Sections of this paper are informed by my prior publications and extensive research on Handel’s cantatas. Specific instances are individually cited. Publications of mine that provide background to the following discussion include, “Silence as Sound: Handel’s Sublime Pauses,” Journal of Musicology 22, no. 4 (2005): 521–58; and Handel as Orpheus.

15 ADP Sc. 3.9, as qtd, in Hans Joachim Marx, “Die Giusificazioni della casa Pamphilj’ als Musikgeschichtliche Quelle,” Studi Musicali 12, no. 1 (1983): 177. This document, of course, does not prove that Il delirio amoroso was the first cantata Handel wrote in Italy or in Rome, only that it is the first cantata for which we have documentary evidence.

16 Reinhard Strolm, “Searlattiana at Yale,” in Händel e gli Searlatti a Roma, ed. Nino Pirrotta and Agostino Zino (Florence: Olschki, 1987), 113–52; see also Harris, Handel as Orpheus, 86–87. Zach Victor, a PhD candidate at Yale University, is currently undertaking further research into the meaning of these miniatures, and I am grateful to him for sharing with me his unpublished paper “The Ink Miniature and the Cantata in Handel’s Italy” (paper presented at the American Handel Society Festival, Santa Fe, 2005).


18 D’Elci, 328.


20 Hub van der Linden, “Benedetto Pamphilj as Librettist: Mary Magdalen and the Harmony of the Spheres in Handel’s Il trionfo del Tempo e del Disinganno,” Recercare 16 (2004): 133–61. Pamphilj wrote other oratorios specifically on the subject of Mary Magdalen: Il trionfo della gratia, overo La conversione di Madalena (composed by Alessandro Scarlatti, 1685); performed under the title Santa Maria Maddalena de’ Pazzi (composed by Giovanni Lorenzo Luller, 1687; Carlo Francesco Cesarini, 1705). Another example of a conversion, or second chance, oratorio by Pamphilj is Il figliuol prodigo (composed by Cesarini, 1707). See Saverio Franchi, Drammaturgia romana, vol. 1 of Repertorio bibliografico cronologico dei testi drammatici pubblicati a Roma e nel Lazio, Secolo XVII (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1988); vol. 2, with Orietta Sartori, Annali dei testi drammatici e libretti per musica pubblicati a Roma e nel Lazio dal 1701 al 1750… (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1997).

21 Ruth Smith first moved the discussion of Il trionfo away from a general consensus that it depicted a “moment of conversion” to an understanding of the work as a psychological study of choice: “[Mary Ann] Parker…refers to Bellezza experiencing a ‘moment of conversion’, but that seems to me to be exactly what does not happen: rather, her conversion is a process that occupies the whole work, and that process is the subject of this paper” (“Psychological realism in Il trionfo del tempo e del disinganno,” Händel-Jahrbuch 54 (2003): 220n6).

22 Mainwaring, 61.

23 Although Handel himself played the carillon in the performances of 1739, he was not associated with that instrument in the same way as he was specifically identified as an organ virtuoso in Rome; indeed, the attraction of the carillon clearly was not in the performer but rather in the magical sound of the instrument.
Pamphilj as Phoenix: Themes of Resurrection in Handel’s Italian Works

24 “Dunque maggior d’Orfeo / Tu sforzi al canto / La mia musica all’ora / Che il pietto appeso avea / A un tronco ammesso, e immobile giacea”: the Italian text and an English translation of Handel, non può mia musica given in Harris, Handel as Orpheus, 317-18.

25 Michael M. Ranft, Bernhardus Pamphilj, ein Römer, vol. 2 of Merkwürdige Lebensgeschichte aller Cardinale der Rom. Cathol. Kirche... (Regensburg: Montag, 1769), 109. “Seinem Character nach war er ein sehr gelehrt, staatskluger und geneuere Herr, der viele gute Eigenschaften hatte, so ihn würdig machten, den Papißl Stuhl zu besteigen; was ihm aber damen verhinden, könnent wir in Ermangelung genauer Nachricht nicht sagen. In der Jugend war er der Eitelkeit sehr ergeben, doch hat er sich, wo möglich, allerzeit gehütet, durch ärgerliche Ausschweifungen seinen guten Namen zu verletzen.”


27 In detailing a country trip Pamphilj made with Cardinal Chigi and “two notable coquettes from Rome” (deux coquettes considérables de Rome). Michaud (1:215-16) writes that after Pamphilj was made cardinal at the age of twenty-eight, he sought to provide for his future; “However, there were two considerations, political and moral; and if Pamphilj looked out for the one, he somewhat neglected the other” (Toutefois il y avait menagements politiques et menagements moraux; s’il gardait ceux-là, il négligeait quelque peu ceux-ci); see also Michaud, 1:205, 210. See the paper by James Weiss in this volume.

28 In 1710, the electress of Hanover, Sophie, writes to her granddaugther of Handel’s arrival in that city: “He is quite a handsome man and gossip says that he has been in love with Victoria” (Merseburg, Zentrales Staatsarchiv, HA Rep 46 T18, Vol. 1, ff. 156-57, as qtd. in Donald Burrows, “Handel and Hanover,” in Bach, Handel, Scarlatti: Tercentenary Essays, ed. Peter Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 39, his translation from the French).

29 Mainwaring, 50-51.

30 William Coxe, Anecdotes of George Frederick Handel and John Christopher Smith (Richmond, Surrey: Tiger of the Stripe, 2009), 12.

31 Smith, “Psychological realism,” 221n10, emphasizes that whereas Bellezza is a young woman, Piacere, Tempo and Disinganno are all male. Although the original libretto makes these gender identifica-


33 The work is first mentioned in 1652 in an inventory of the collection of Camillo Pamphilj, Benedetto’s father. At the time of his death in 1666, it was listed among the paintings at the Villa di Belrespiro (now known as the Villa Doria Pamphilj); it is currently in the Galleria Doria Pamphilj (in the Palazzo Pamphilj al Corso). See Ludovico Lana, L’amorevole maniera e la pittura emiliana del primo Settecento, ed. Daniele Benati and Lucia Peruzzi (Milan: Silvano, 2003), 90. A painting in the Galleria Doria Pamphilj by Andrea Sacchi also portraying Dardalus and Icarus does not relate to the cantata as the fashioning of the feathers is not depicted; indeed, the Lana painting is unusual in this regard. The most common visual depiction of Icarus shows him falling.

34 Benedetto Pamphilj, Tra le fiamme, ed. and trans. Terence Best, in Georg Friedrich Händel, Kantaten mit Instrumenten, ed. by Hans Joachim Marx (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), 3xxv-xxvi; the translation here by the author: “Dedalo già le fortunate penne / tesse con mano ardita, / e con tenera cera / piúna a piúna aggiugnet. / Icaro, il fanciulletto, / sovente confondea / l’ingegnoso lavoro.”


37 British Library Add. MS 47025, 364. George Berkeley was an Anglican priest; later bishop of Cloyne in the Church of Ireland; and a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin.

14. Ludovico Lana (1597–1646), Daedalus and Icarus, n.d. Oil on canvas, 120 x 166 cm. Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome (fc 188) (photograph provided by Arti Doria Pamphilj srl)