

The Reception of the Italic-Venetian Repertoire at the Court of Leopold I. Characters of a Repertoire on the Edge.

Giorgia BRUNO¹

Abstract. *Two political and cultural realities on the edge of the nascent Europe at the end of the 17th century, Venice and Vienna: heterogeneous nevertheless linked by the struggle against the destabilizing Turkish empire. Vienna looks to the Italian peninsula as the cradle of Catholic Counter-Reformation, it seeks in it the elements in common with the Catholic Habsburg context, its strict moral standards but it finds the charm of a courtly music that would not allow itself to be pigeonholed into the narrow alleys of Jesuit culture: fluid boundaries, unprepared dissonances, en-travesti characters, musical and scenic asymmetries that allow a feminine dimension to emerge, opening up an anti-patriarchal vision. From the reinterpretation of Il ballo delle Ingrate to the construction of Il Pomo d'Oro the fascinated and troubled Habsburg is forced to rethink the excessive baroque by moving towards the rationalizing 18th century, defining the coherent, structured, self-assertive identity of the Western Europe as the winner in the face of the Turkish empire.*

Keywords: *Baroque singing; boundary repertoire; cultural identity; European identity; Claudio Monteverdi; Leopoldo I;*

Introduction

The work proposed here intends to examine a certain borderline musical production of the mid of 17th century Baroque that manages to place us in a margin through which we can unearth the irreducibly elusive essence of Europe². Reflection on Europe is currently necessary, at a time of conscious construction of a still young political subject going through an identity crisis aggravated by the reshuffling of ideals and principles established between the 20th and 21st centuries. Europe, non-power, non-Western, Europe with still undefined geographical and political borders is that same Europe of the myth that possessed by Zeus, abducted by the East, always and again sets us on a journey towards its eternal and circular quest, in a movement that is not linear and westernizing as much as it is always and again re-orienting. Adhering throughout history to the typical identity process that teleologically aims at self-affirmation by placing itself in conflict with the Other than itself, the different, the foreigner, the alienating a-topos that intimidates and frightens, Europe has sought to define itself through repeated and vain sacralizations. Since the middle Ages of the Franco-Teutonic Holy Roman Empire, the struggle against the Turkish enemy is the most explicit route to European self-assertion. However,

¹ Stylistics of music performance PhD, Gheorghe Dima National Music Academy of Cluj-Napoca (Ro) giorgiabruno1989@gmail.com.

² For in-depth investigation about the processes of the cultural construction of European identity see: Giuseppe Albertoni. 2003. *Europa in costruzione. La forza delle identità, la ricerca di unità (secoli IX-XIII)*. Trento: ITCisig; Franco Cardini. 1997. *Le radici cristiane dell'Europa. Mito, storia, prospettive*. Rimini: Il Cerchio; Corrado Claverini. 2015. „La ‘differenza’ europea. Riflessioni sull’essenza ‘agonica’ dell’Europa a partire da Niccolò Machiavelli”. *Phenomenology and Mind*, 8: 192-199; Pietro Costa. 2017. „L’identità europea fra memoria e progetto”. *Atti del Convegno „Cultura giuridica e letteratura nella costruzione dell’Europa”*: 45-88; François Jullien. 2018. *L’identità culturale non esiste: ma noi difendiamo le risorse di una cultura* [E-book version]. Einaudi; Jacques Le Goff. 2015. *L’Europa raccontata da --* [E-book version]. Editori Laterza; Francesco Remotti. 2013. *Contro l’identità* [E-book version]. Laterza; Marcello Verga. 2020. *Storie d’Europa. Secoli XVIII-XXI*. Roma: Carocci editore.

medieval Christianity, in itself never truly western and unitary, is weakly effective in elevating itself to a permanent identity category. The modern age proves this in particular through the internal fragmentation within Europe, triggered by the Protestant Reformation and confirmed by the Thirty Years' War. European musical production is an example of this process of difficult identity research.

1. Contacts between early 17th Century Vienna and the Musical Culture of the Italic Courts.

During the 17th century Vienna, the imperial residence since 1612, became not only the center of political power in Central Europe³, but also a first-rate European cultural center, where Baroque of Italian origin could fully develop⁴. For several generations, the Habsburgs had shown a remarkable sense of art and exchanges between the German-Austrian environment and the Italian peninsula were strong⁵. The Italian courts had had several occasions to organize festivities in honour of foreign guests. Already in the 16th century, there had been numerous triumphal entrances of Charles V during expeditions to the Italian peninsula; in the 17th century, it was the descent of Christina of Sweden that was the most famous example⁶; Ladislaus IV of Poland and personalities from the Hapsburg court were other examples. There were therefore many foreign princes who came to Italy even incognito as simple travellers, almost on an itinerary of training and updating, from court to court welcomed and conquered by the magnificence organized in their honour⁷. A cultural experience that allowed these same figures to bring more or less influential artistic and cultural factors back to their courts, creating the opportunity to call artists of a certain importance from the Italian peninsula to court. Real cultural exchanges⁸ between Italian and foreign courts allowed the irradiation of models of art and life⁹. This was the case with the Habsburg court, which between the 16th and 17th centuries had taken on board Italian cultural circles, primarily from Mantua, and then developed an artistic environment at court, which under the reign of Leopold I saw artists from Ferrara¹⁰ and Venice in particular. Ferdinand II's marriage to Eleonora Gonzaga (1622) had already provided crucial contacts for the orientation of local taste and Viennese music, with the founder of modern Venetian music:

³ Marko Deisinger. 2010. „Tra Sollazzo e Morigeratezza, Studi Sulla Cultura Delle Feste Alla Residenza Dei Legati Papali a Ferrara e Presso La Corte Imperiale Di Vienna Nel Seicento”. *Studien Zur Musikwissenschaft* 56: 91–102, p. 91.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵ Silvia Carandini. 1999. *Teatro e spettacolo nel Seicento*. Roma-Bari: Editori Laterza, p. 31 «I forestieri che dal nord dell'Europa valicano le Alpi nel corso del XVII secolo, registrano in genere nei loro scritti una doppia contrastante emozione: una profonda attrazione per lo straordinario paradiso turistico, culla della civiltà europea e ancora vivace fucina di cultura, e allo stesso tempo un sospettoso, intrigato interesse per il centro motore della cattolicità» (Foreigners who crossed the Alps from northern Europe during the 17th century generally recorded in their writings a dual conflicting emotion: a deep attraction for the extraordinary tourist paradise, the cradle of European civilisation and still a vibrant hothouse of culture, and at the same time a suspicious, intrigued interest in the driving centre of Catholicism). Within this article, all quotations from the Italian texts are translated by me.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 37.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 38.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 35.

⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰ Contact with the artists of the Estense court, very close to the Catholic Counter-Reformation world, contributed to the spread of the oratorio genre at the Viennese court. «Giuseppe Tricarico fu chiamato a Vienna nel 1657 da Eleonora II, per assumere la direzione della nuova cappella di corte da lei fondata. Non sarà stato per puro caso che l'imperatrice abbia deciso di assumere proprio questo compositore, che aveva già fatto esperienza nella composizione di oratori», (Marko Deisinger. 2010, p. 98). (Giuseppe Tricarico was called to Vienna in 1657 by Eleanor II to take over the direction of the new court chapel she had founded. It was not by pure chance that the empress decided to hire this composer, who had already gained experience in composing oratorios).

Monteverdi¹¹. This is how the Austrian environment came into contact with the theatre of Italic origin.

2. A Europe of Liquid Identity. Theatre in the Feast: *Seconda Prattica* and Sung Dancing at Italian Courts in the Mid-17th Century

The great weddings between the princes of the great courts were occasions to insert theatre into the feast. The dimension of the Italic theatre found its place and was perfected in what came to be known as the “order of the feast”: the pretext for inserting the extraordinary into the ordinary; the moment in which one could legitimately «amuse oneself, and let oneself be carried away by gaiety towards further pleasures of the senses. (...) The feast was transformed into a collective orgy that transgressed the established order, overcoming social norms in the intoxication of ecstasy»¹². In Mantua, in 1608, the wedding of Francesco Gonzaga and Margherita of Savoy was celebrated. Theatre is included in the festivities for the occasion. Giovanni Battista Guarini's *Idropica* was performed with interludes written by Gabriello Chiabrera and Giovan Battista Marino, with music by Claudio Monteverdi. But that's not all. The Gonzaga-Savoia wedding « unfolded over several days a complex and varied series of attractions» that included other operas set to music (*L' Arianna* to a libretto by Rinuccini and music by Monteverdi, *Dafne* by Marco da Gagliano), ballets (*Il ballo delle Ingrate*, once again by the Rinuccini-Monteverdi couple; as well as *Il sacrificio di Ifigenia* by Gagliano-Struggio jr) and tournaments (*Il trionfo dell'amore*), flanked by pyrotechnics, naval battles, pastimes and banquets. The Ungrateful Ball was later chosen for a great Austrian celebration: of very mixed, ancient-modern taste, it had sealed the coronation of Ferdinand III in 1637¹³. *Il Ballo* was originally part of the tradition of *mascherate* and *intermedi*, which, in line with the fluid character of Baroque theatre, mixed the musical strand with that of the *Commedia dell'Arte*, which nevertheless sought to be revalued through professional companies serving the court. Although the purely theatrical element was revalorised, it was the music that made the performance worthwhile. A music that, in accordance with the *seconda prattica*, gave the word the opportunity to emerge and render the intelligibility of the text. «The experimentation of Monteverdi's *seconda prattica* could be implemented in the *commedia in musica* and the *balletto teatrale*. Both shared a modest staging and a simplification of the plot that favoured the enhancement of the text, music and gesture above all other dramaturgical elements»¹⁴. The sung

¹¹ Giovanni Morelli. 1983. „Un Pomo d'oro sull'unverzehrung Tisch, il lungo momento della connessione musicale di Venezia e Vienna”. In *Venezia Vienna: il mito della cultura veneziana nell'Europa asburgica*, ed. by Giandomenico Romanelli, 89-104. Milano: Banca Cattolica del Veneto, p. 89. Similarly, a second Eleonora Gonzaga married Ferdinand III (1637), creating a renewed confrontation between the two foreign courts. «L'influenza italiana si era affermata a Vienna con Eleonora Gonzaga, andata in sposa nel 1622 a Ferdinando II, e con l'altra Eleonora (sua parente) che, sposato nel 1651 Ferdinando III, si circondò di una corte di italiani che iniziò a diffondere lo splendore e la ricercatezza che la stessa Mantova aveva avuto», (Maria Giraldi. 1984. „Al sepolcro di Cristo: una poetica consuetudinaria”. In *Il tranquillo Seren del secol d'oro, Musica e spettacolo musicale a Venezia e a Vienna fra Seicento e Settecento*, 127-144. Milano: Ricordi, p. 131). (The Italian influence had established itself in Vienna with Eleonora Gonzaga, who married Ferdinand II in 1622, and with the other Eleonora (her relative) who, having married Ferdinand III in 1651, surrounded herself with a court of Italians who began to spread the splendour and refinement that Mantua itself had had). See also Anna Amalie Abert & Giulio Cogni. 1967. „Monteverdi e lo sviluppo dell'opera” [Electronic version]. *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 2 (2): 207-16; Lorenzo Bianconi. 1982 (1991). *Il Seicento*. Torino: EDTsrl; Giovanni Bietti. 2018. *Lo spartito del mondo* [E-book version]. Laterza.

¹² Marko Deisinger. 2010, p. 97: «ci si sollazzava, e ci si lasciava trasportare dall'allegria verso ulteriori piaceri dei sensi. (...) La festa si trasformava in un'orgia collettiva che trasgrediva l'ordine costituito superando le norme sociali nell'ebbrezza dell'estasi».

¹³ Giovanni Morelli. 1983, p. 89.

¹⁴ Cecilia Nocilli. 2018. „Ballo delle Ingrate 1608/1638: La musica per il balletto teatrale tra tradizione e innovazione monteverdiana”. *Philomusica on-line. Rivista del dipartimento di Musicologia e Beni Culturali*, 17 (1), 345-382, from

dance made it possible to go beyond the static categories of solely instrumental or vocal music or exclusively prose recitation. The sung dance is in itself the expression that allows one to cross a boundary consistent with the fluid context manifested in the moment of celebration¹⁵. Emblematic of this unclassified essence of *Il Ballo* are: the presence of a 'non-symphony' at the beginning of the opera; the asymmetry created by the arrangement of the instruments corresponding to a scenic asymmetry in the final moment during the lament of *una delle ingrato*; the use on stage of women and men *en-travesti* to emphasize the female component of the *ingrato*. In 1608, the opera is introduced by a din produced by some percussion instruments placed under the stage, to dispose the audience to a dramatic scenic action from the beginning. Out-of-tune drums create unprepared dissonances. The most suitable scenic and choreographic asymmetry to cross the threshold of the theatrical and social order¹⁶ was implemented. The ensemble, consisting of numerous string and wind instruments, will be distributed partly on stage and partly behind the scenes. Thus «between apparent and non-apparent music, it created a sound effect of distance and proximity, of loud and soft, of earth and hell»¹⁷. The final action of one of *una delle ingrato*, involves an asymmetrical scenic distribution: the souls, from 16, become odd, having to leave one on stage for the lament *Ahi troppo, è dura!*. A lament that, symbolizing the descent into the underworld, should not only have enough strength to move the audience to tears¹⁸ but also opens up an anti-patriarchal vision¹⁹. The rest of the ungrateful women, in odd

<http://riviste.paviauniversitypress.it/index.php/phi/issue/view/165>, p. 356. «La sperimentazione della seconda pratica monteverdiana poteva attuarsi nella commedia in musica e nel balletto teatrale, entrambi condividevano una modesta messa in scena e una semplificazione dell'intreccio che favoriva la valorizzazione del testo, della musica e del gesto sopra ogni altro elemento drammaturgico». The presence at the Mantuan court of Virginia Ramponi, wife of Giovan Battista Andreini of the company of the Comici Fedeli, called to court by the Gonzaga, embellished the performance. «*Il Ballo delle Ingrate* può costituire l'esempio di una gestualità professionale insolita per gli interpreti di corte che può aver avvertito l'influenza di Virginia Andreini e della sua esperienza attoriale nella compagnia di Giovan Battista Andreini», (*Ibidem*, p. 356). «Le qualità attoriali straordinarie di Virginia Andreini probabilmente confluivano verso un nuovo modo di cantare femminile e professionista molto diverso da quello di corte eppure tanto efficace alla mozione degli affetti della *seconda pratica* di Monteverdi», (*Ibidem*, p. 357). (*Il Ballo delle Ingrate* may be an example of a professional gesture unusual for court performers who may have felt the influence of Virginia Andreini and her acting experience in the company of Giovan Battista Andreini (...) Virginia Andreini's extraordinary acting qualities probably flowed into a new female and professional way of singing that was very different from that of the court and yet so effective at the motion of the affections of Monteverdi's second practice).

¹⁵ «Just as the sung *ballo* could transgress numerous generic and other boundaries, so did such entertainments blur the dividing line between courtly life and courtly art in ways that were essential to the definition of the courtier and the court. The movement of dancers from stage to auditorium and back, and the participation of members of the court in the formal dance, reinforced the notion that one could move in and out of formal entertainments in a seamless flow; a banquet could contain a musico-dramatic interlude; a ball could precede, include or conclude a theatrical ballet; and even an opera could end with social dancing». (Tim Carter. 1999. „New light on Monteverdi's 'Ballo delle ingrato' (Mantua, 1608)". *Il Saggiatore Musicale*, 6 (1/2): 63-90, p. 88)

¹⁶ Cecilia Nocilli. 2018, p. 364. The break in symmetry is also noticeable at the level of the bass construction: «Il secondo basso ostinato, oltre ad avere i tipici cromatismi affettivi, riscontrati anche nella prima sezione, presenta un salto discendente di sesta minore ed, essendo in levare, rompe la simmetria del basso precedente. Probabilmente, tale caratteristica poteva determinare anche una conseguente simmetria e asimmetria coreografica durante il primo e il secondo basso ostinato legati a loro volta dal numero dispari delle ingrato», (*Ibidem*, pp. 369-370). (The second ostinato bass, in addition to having the typical affective chromaticism also found in the first section, presents a descending leap of minor sixth and, being in upbeat, breaks the symmetry of the preceding bass. Probably, this characteristic could also determine a consequent symmetry and choreographic asymmetry during the first and second ostinato bass linked in turn by the odd number of ingrato).

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 369. «(...) tra musica apparente e non apparente, creava un effetto sonoro di lontananza e vicinanza, di forte e piano, di terra e inferno».

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 366.

¹⁹ There are many interpretations of the female point of view that Monteverdi-Rinuccini wanted to emphasise through this intervention. Despite the fact that it is a male-dominated composition, it opens up a not inconsiderable space for the female dimension that tries to resist the punitive and moralistic patriarchal constraint: «Considering this piece in conjunction with literary, medical and social understandings of the female body circulating in early modern Italy suggests that even works created by men sometimes opened up a space for the female voice to resist patriarchal constraints». (Bonnie Gordon. 1999. „Talking Back: The Female Voice in 'Il Ballo Delle Ingrate' ". *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 11 (1): 1-30, p. 1) «Through the power of sung

numbers, set off towards hell remaining silent «as Follino's account suggests, to powerful cathartic effect»²⁰, descending two by two from the stage «accompanying their steps with the sound of a great number of instruments which played a melancholic and plaintive dance tune»²¹. The dance is extraordinarily physical and corporeal: «the embrace (“tal’or abbracciandosi”) and the percussion (“tal’or percotendosi gonfie di rabbia e di furore”) presuppose an exceptional physicality and a breaking away from the norm»²². Perturbation is assured, as opposed to the reassuring inclination of the moralizing Counter-Reformation viewpoint.

3. The Transformation of the Italic Repertoire at the Viennese Court. The Political-cultural Alliance between Venice and Vienna against the Turkish Empire.

It is no coincidence that the above-mentioned elements will be modified to conform to the Viennese context. In the 1638 publication, after the adaptations for the Viennese court, *Il Ballo* will begin with a “*sinfonia a beneplacito*”, the souls will be eight instead of sixteen, the personnel will be reduced and everything will be staged. From the second half of the seventeenth century, a long and strong political and cultural Venetian-Viennese alliance was created, most likely a tool for creating the identity that needed to assert itself against the foreign enemy from the East. «Towards the end of the 1650s, spiralling towards the column of the century, the hyper-productive enterprise of Venetian-Hapsburg music and musical theatre was launched, on the multiple levels of festivals, oratorios (...), musical dramas, comic and heroic operas, and caricatured musical comedies 'in key', in a scheme of great routine, periodised on the times of an enigmatic allegorical cyclicity and applied to the long musical reign of Leopold I»²³. The Turkish invasion was a reason for the eastern European front (Venice and Vienna) to implement a more aggressive and self-asserting policy. The most exposed front was certainly the eastern front of 'Europe', which included two very different realities: Venice on the eastern border of the Italian peninsula²⁴; Vienna on the eastern border of Habsburg Austrian rule. Despite the obvious heterogeneity in different parts of modern Europe, the struggle against the Turk continued to be the founding element of a theoretically united Europe-West²⁵. The Turkish Empire fully justified

performance, women continually asserted the unsettling force of their voices, despite discursive and social pressures for them to mime passive, closed-mouth reflections of patriarchal ideals». (*Ibidem*, p. 2)

²⁰ Tim Carter. 1999. *op. cit.*, p. 82.

²¹ *Ibidem*.

²² Cecilia Nocilli. 2018, p. 365. «L'abbraccio (“tal’or abbracciandosi”) e il percotimento (“tal’or percotendosi gonfie di rabbia e di furore”) presuppongono una fisicità eccezionale e un allontanamento dalla norma».

²³ Giovanni Morelli. 1983, p. 89. «Sul finire degli anni cinquanta, scatta, avvicinandosi a spirale alla colonna del secolo, l'impresa iperproduttiva della musica e del teatro musicale veneto-asburgico, sui molteplici piani della festa, dell'oratorio (...), dei drammi musicali, delle opere eroiche comiche ed eroicomiche, delle commedie musicali caricaturali “a chiave”, in uno schema di grande routine, periodizzata sui tempi di una enigmatica ciclicità allegorica e che si applica al lungo regno musicale di Leopoldo I».

²⁴ «Il fatto è che la penisola italiana, per l'estensione delle sue coste, la sua posizione che ne faceva quasi uno spartiacque tra bacino occidentale e bacino orientale del mediterraneo e la sua prossimità ai Balcani e all'Africa settentrionale, era stata per secoli, tra XI e XIV, un molo proteso verso l'Oriente: ma ora, di fronte ai pericoli turco e barbaresco, si trova costretta ad accettare il ruolo di baluardo dell'Occidente», (Franco Cardini. 2015. *Il Turco a Vienna: storia del grande assedio del 1683* [E-book version]. Laterza, location, 471). (The fact is that the Italic peninsula, by virtue of the extent of its coastline, its position that made it almost a watershed between the western and eastern basins of the Mediterranean and its proximity to the Balkans and North Africa, had for centuries, between the 11th and 14th centuries, been a pier reaching out towards the East: but now, faced with the Turkish and Barbarian dangers, it finds itself forced to accept the role of bulwark of the West).

²⁵ The Turk continues to be a «Great Fear». The «potenti turchi dotati di capacità e volontà espansiva» (powerful Turks endowed with expansive capacities and wills) became topos of the antichrist, cited by Erasmus of Rotterdam and even Martin Luther, who considered them «il castigo di Dio e gli esecutori della profezia di Ezechiele secondo la quale Satana sarebbe stato liberato dalla

the 'western' military defence of all subjects of the so-called 'Great Turk', not only the Turko-Tartars who arrived in Anatolia in the 14th century, but also the Arabs, Armenians, Greeks or Balkans, and Jews²⁶. Imperialist aggression is associated with an attitude of 'political' and diplomatic encryption of all opera subjects treated in all theatres, starting with the Venetian and expanding to the Habsburg ones.²⁷ The Ottoman sea campaigns were often directed mainly against Venetian possessions, and land exploits were aimed at striking the Habsburg-imperial establishment²⁸. Leopold I («electus Romanorum imperator semper Augustus»²⁹), who found himself ruling in the period of enormous European fragmentation following the Thirty Years' War, and at the same time of the Turkish threat³⁰, felt the need to emphasize his closeness to the Italian peninsula not only as the seat of the Church of Rome but as the cradle of Latin art and culture³¹. Following the tradition started by his predecessors, he led Vienna to be compared in

sua prigione». (God's punishment and the executors of Ezekiel's prophecy that Satan would be released from his prison). As attacking and diabolical element (*Ibidem*, p. 163).

²⁶ Franco Cardini continues: «Dal canto loro tali popoli amavano definirsi “ottomani”, o “osmanli”, e si sentivano offesi dal fatto di esser collettivamente indicati con un termine, “turco” appunto, che nell'impero era sinonimo di rozzo, di barbaro, di ignorante, d'incivile», (*Ibidem*). (For their part, these peoples liked to call themselves 'Ottomans', or 'Osmanlians', and felt offended by being collectively referred to by a term, 'Turkish', which in the empire was synonymous with coarse, barbarian, ignorant, uncivilised).

²⁷ Giovanni Morelli writes: «A Venezia (...), a partire dal 1683 (...), se osserviamo l'immagine generica di sovranità che ispira le tantissime produzioni teatrali delle signorie vetero-feudali o neo-assolutistiche (...) potremo diagnosticare, dal tipo di distorsione del rispecchiamento, i sintomi di reazione agli stati di vantaggio o di depressione, in uno schema di organiche menzogne allegoriche affisse ai quadri delle imprevedibili congiunture politico-dinastiche», (Giovanni Morelli. 1983, p. 90). (In Venice (...), from 1683 onwards (...), if we observe the generic image of sovereignty that inspires the many theatrical productions of the vetero-feudal or neo-absolutist lordships (...) we can diagnose, from the type of distortion of mirroring, the symptoms of reaction to states of advantage or depression, in a scheme of organic allegorical lies affixed to the pictures of the unpredictable political-dynastic conjunctures).

²⁸ And before the occurrence of a Viennese-Venetian 'alliance' in the late 17th century «le prime venivano regolarmente accolte con sollievo a Vienna e con preoccupazione a Venezia, le seconde sortivano l'effetto contrario», (Franco Cardini. 2015, § “Impium Foedus” o “impia foedera”). (The former was regularly greeted with relief in Vienna and concern in Venice, the latter had the opposite effect).

²⁹ Maria Giraldi. 1984. *op. cit.*, p. 131.

³⁰ «Ricalcando la caratteristica della tradizione imperiale, anche dopo la Guerra dei Trent'anni e la pace di Westfalia l'imperatore d'Asburgo si concentrava per la ricostruzione della stabilità interna e per ricucire le ferite di quella grande autorità superiore e imponente nel complessivo quadro europeo. Dopo Ferdinando III la corona imperiale passò al secondogenito Leopoldo (1658) contemporaneamente Re di Ungheria e di Boemia. L'Austria era doppiamente oppressa: a occidente dalla Francia, a oriente dal grande nemico ottomano. Eppure, lavorò duramente per una resurrezione politica e spirituale uscendo così dal caos generato dalla Guerra dei Trent'anni. Come l'Austria anche la Germania, frammentata e colpita dalla guerra, era «unita in un'unica convinzione: nella volontà di pace», (Ekkehard Eickhoff. 1997. *Venezia, Vienna e i turchi, 1645 -1700: bufera nel sud-est europeo*. Milano: Rusconi, p. 193). (In keeping with the imperial tradition, even after the Thirty Years' War and the Peace of Westphalia the Habsburg emperor concentrated on rebuilding internal stability and mending the wounds of that great superior and imposing authority in the overall European picture. After Ferdinand III, the imperial crown passed to his second son Leopold (1658) at the same time King of Hungary and Bohemia. Austria was doubly oppressed: to the west by France, to the east by the great Ottoman enemy. Yet it worked hard for a political and spiritual resurrection out of the chaos generated by the Thirty Years' War. Like Austria, Germany, fragmented and affected by the war, was 'united in a single conviction: in the will for peace). A hunger for peace that the young Leopold involved in the War of the North could not appease, also because he was soon dragged into the « great conflict against the Sublime Porte», (*Ibidem*, p. 197) due to the great instability of the border territories between Hungary and Transylvania. When the Turks found themselves with a clear path to Vienna, «l'Austria si sentiva investita della missione di “bastione della cristianità contro i Turchi”», (*Ibidem*, p. 211). (Austria felt invested with the mission of 'bastion of Christendom against the Turks'). When the Turk arrived at the gates of Vienna «le diplomazie imperiale e pontificia andavano a gara per guadagnare Venezia all'alleanza austriaco-polacca», (*Ibidem*, p. 434). (Imperial and papal diplomacy competed to win Venice over to the Austrian-Polish alliance). But Venice was not determined to intervene. Caught up in the dream of restoring its maritime empire in the Aegean, the risks were enormous. Nevertheless, the Pope's negotiations convinced her to take part in the war.

³¹ Leopold I, head of the Holy Roman Empire, «era responsabile della divulgazione della cultura del popolo latino», (*Ibidem*, p. 132). (It was responsible for spreading the culture of the Latin people).

every way to an Italian court, greedy for Italian culture³². The Thirty Years' War had in a sense confirmed the religious and political power of the Habsburg dynasty, which wanted to safeguard the purity of the faith together with the purity of royal blood³³. Leopold I became the spokesman for an entire cultural system that sought to underline the Catholic heritage of the now dissolved Holy Roman Empire. One of the instruments used to pursue this act of confirmation of Catholic and Counter-Reformation identity is patronage: a strong policy based on the production and dissemination of a certain culture, especially music. There was a large-scale Italian-Swiss dramatic-oratorical musical production³⁴. Certainly the house of Austria shared victory with the cradle of the now Counter-Reformation Catholic Church and felt inextricably linked to it. This strong closeness was evident in the musical culture that Leopold proposed at court, a culture inseparable from the monarch's strong Jesuitical training, which would have strongly formalizing and moralizing repercussions on the repertoire and the way it was proposed at court. After the Peace of Westphalia, Vienna was a place of protection and work for many Italian artists. From the middle of the 17th century there was a veritable exodus of Italian artists, so much so that «it seems that during the last years of his reign Leopold I had almost a hundred musicians in his service whom he took with him to his various residences»³⁵. Among them, Leopold I borrowed Venetian musical officials³⁶ such as Priuli and Valentini; he surrounded himself with set designers such as Giacomo Torelli and Ludovico Burnacini and artists such as Monteverdi, Draghi, Minato, Sances.³⁷ Many of Monteverdi's Venetian successes were imported to Vienna, including *L'Egisto* and *Giasone*. Moreover, the Caesarean library already possessed an illustrious codex of Monteverdi's newest work (*Il Ritorno di Ulisse*)³⁸. In the need for absolutist self-representation³⁹ and to exhibit grandeur and power, the emperor promoted traditional festive forms of representation mixed with the new element of baroque. A Baroque nevertheless tempered with Viennese symmetry. All the artists the emperor surrounds himself with must set aside a certain fluidity and artistic relativity (typically Venetian⁴⁰) in the service of more linear

³² *Ibidem*, p. 131 «Leopoldo riempie la sua solitudine di regnante con una turba popolarissima di poeti, librettisti, musicisti, cantanti, maestri di musica, suonatori, scenografi», (*Ibidem*). (Leopold filled his loneliness as a ruler with a crowd of poets, librettists, musicians, singers, music masters, musicians, set designers).

³³ Maria Giraldi. 1984. *op. cit.*, p. 130.

³⁴ *Ibidem*.

³⁵ Ekkehard Eickhoff. 1997. *op. cit.*, p. 131. «pare che durante gli ultimi anni di regno Leopoldo I avesse al suo servizio quasi un centinaio di musicisti che portava appresso nelle sue varie residenze».

³⁶ «(...) con l'intensificazione enfatica della nozione di *professione musicale = Venezia*», (Giovanni Morelli. 1983, p. 90). (...with the emphatic intensification of the notion of the music profession = Venice).

³⁷ Artists who nevertheless had to adapt to Habsburg demands, demands in line with that typically moralizing and Counter-Reformation eagerness to appoint. «Più interessante per ora può essere interrogarsi, come detto, sulla particolarità della posizione di Antonio Draghi, giunto a Vienna da un ambiente italiano assai restio, l'abbiamo già visto, ad accettare questo tipo di lettura retorica. (...) Nondimeno, Draghi a Vienna si adegua benissimo a queste esigenze», (Luca Zoppelli. 1984. „Il pensiero conservato dagli affetti”. In *Il tranquillo Seren del secol d'oro, Musica e spettacolo musicale a Venezia e a Vienna fra Seicento e Settecento*, 9 – 39. Milano: Ricordi, p. 16). (More interesting for now may be to question, as mentioned, the particularity of Antonio Draghi's position, who came to Vienna from an Italian environment that was very reluctant, as we have already seen, to accept this kind of rhetorical reading. (...) Nevertheless, Draghi in Vienna adapts himself very well to these demands).

³⁸ Giovanni Morelli. 1983, *op. cit.*, p. 89. *Il Ritorno di Ulisse*: an opera on a libretto by Badoaro (academic Incognito). The libretto is full of twists and turns, narrating the adventurous epic of Ulysses, which conforms to Monteverdi's style in the wide range of emotional registers, from the lament of Penelope similar to the famous lament of Ariadne, to the caricature and buffoonish part of the parasite that is very popular with audiences, (see Silvia Carandini. 1999, pp. 141-142). See also Henry Prunières & Theodore Baker. 1924. „Monteverdi's Venetian Operas (*Il Ritorno d'Ulisse, L'Incoronazione Di Poppea*)” [Electronic version]. *The Musical Quarterly*, 10 (2): 178–92.

³⁹ Alex Ross. 2011. *Senti questo*. Milano: Bompiani, p. 91.

⁴⁰ In the period between the 16th and 17th centuries, the lifestyle of ease and luxury, which had characterised the previous century, had been the very causes of a heavy economic decline. However, crisis for Venice means transformation, an opportunity to once again bring out its richly potential and connective essence in history. Moreover, the «particolare tessuto urbanistico, che

constructions and the firm repetition of a very rigid ceremonial protocol⁴¹. Venice had risen from the crisis starting with the enterprise designed for a varied, less cultured public; it had risen together with and thanks to a new musical genre that had to adapt to this social substratum and could do so by drawing on the tradition of Art, of improvisational taste, of the ephemeral creative fantasy that unites music with drama and the art of stagecraft. In the new musical drama, wonder is generated by the flow between the poles of magic and science, past and present, real and fantastic. The boundaries are blurred, the games of simulation and dissimulation continuous⁴². It is disintegration that does not bore, hardly stereotypes, hardly can be grasped once and for all by the rationalizing logos. So Venice exalts it and the Baroque understood in this fluid form becomes its cultural and political essence: it is a Venice flexible and prone to tolerance⁴³. Leopold's Vienna will always have to submit itself in a certain sense to the will of those morose Jesuits who call for order to ensure that the strong Catholic character is always confirmed in the face of the risk of transience. This underscores that attitude of identity strength that the figure of Leopold I, Austrian emperor, personifies in the historical climax of the affair that brought Europe into conflict with the Turkish enemy. Leopold I, who has to accept the Jesuitical Counter-Reformation conduct, places himself in the path of what in the Metastasian era will be actualized as the absolute denationalization of dramatic art⁴⁴. That is, with him, the promotion of a culture that through a nationalist allegory, but beyond mere nationalism, goes to emphasize the supranational characteristics of an identity in opposition to a common enemy to be kept under control⁴⁵. «Venetian traits of fat harmonies, expressive dissonances, vivid chromaticism, are tempered with a taste for symmetrical phrasing and construction that in Vienna (...) prophesies the glories of Austrian metropolitan classicism»⁴⁶. The feast remains pretextual for the musical occasion. But the Habsburg court proposed a solid routine consisting of a precise calendar that systematized the periodic occasionalities⁴⁷, to make music: genetliacs, the name days of all

pone gli abitanti a ridosso gli uni dagli altri, quasi costringendoli al contatto fisico», (Particular urban fabric, which places the inhabitants close to one another, almost forcing them into physical contact), facilitates dialogue, the interchange that brings with it a «piacere dello spettacolo di se stessi e del proprio mimarsi» (pleasure of the spectacle of oneself and one's own mimicry), a sort of «epicizzazione collettiva» (collective epicisation) and makes theatricality an almost innate characteristic of the culture of La Serenissima. With drama for music brought into the theatres, it is the wide and diversified audience involved that becomes the criterion for the construction of the spectacle, the new economic engine of the Republic. (Ludovico Zorzi. 1977. „Venezia: la Repubblica a teatro”. *Il teatro e la città. Saggi sulla scena italiana*, 237-283. Torino: Einaudi, p. 245).

⁴¹ Giovanni Morelli. 1983. *op. cit.*, p. 102.

⁴² Venice takes this game to the nth degree because of the need to adapt to a first-time paying audience. The audience is composed of «dotti e di indotti, di uomini e di donne, di nobili e plebei, intendenti e non intendenti» (learned and inducted, men and women, nobles and plebeians, connoisseurs and non-connoisseurs), it is an audience «facilmente preda della fatale noia» (easily prey to fatal boredom). (Silvia Carandini. 1999. *op. cit.*, p. 224.

⁴³ Ludovico Zorzi. 1977. *op. cit.*, p. 248. A character is emerging that as a hybrid can give an «una impressione di debolezza» (impression of weakness) (*Ibidem*). It is actually the strength of a city that claims its autonomy in the name of an anachronistic fluid elasticity, which also carries with it the secular character proper to the Republic. High and low are reunited without rigid boundaries. It is an act of desecralisation peculiar to the Venetian opera house, which sets it apart from the Italian peninsula itself and the whole of Europe. (Marzio Pieri. 1984. „Dal Poema uni-verso all'universo a spicchi”. In *Il tranquillo Seren del secol d'oro. Musica e spettacolo musicale a Venezia e a Vienna fra Seicento e Settecento*, 41 – 59. Milano: Ricordi, p. 53).

⁴⁴ Giovanni Morelli. 1983. *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁴⁵ For this very reason, precisely after the Turkish siege of 1683, Vienna had emphasized an aggressive imperialist policy both geopolitically (the orientalist aims expressed through the Balkan dominations of Hungary, Transylvania, Serbia, Romania) and culturally, through a whole series of re-sacralisations that included: the figure of the emperor and (towards the Enlightenment) the new science.

⁴⁶ Giovanni Morelli. 1983. *op. cit.*, p. 102. «Tratti veneziani di grasse armonie, dissonanze espressive, acceso cromatismo, vengono temperati con il gusto per la simmetria dei fraseggi e della costruzione che in Vienna (...) profetizza i fasti del classicismo metropolitano austriaco». The Venetian-Viennese alliance was to lead to the enormous international success of Mozart's classicism with the Mozart-Da Ponte duo. (Ludovico Zorzi. 1977. *op. cit.*, p. 266).

⁴⁷ Giovanni Morelli. 1983, p. 89. A 'realistic' ceremonial routine probably to be contrasted with Louis XIV's coeval French one, which was considered 'fictitious': «In diametrale opposizione, infatti, alla “partecipazione” vivente del sovrano sulla scena

royals, wedding feasts, actual or presumed pregnancies. These are all real occasions to propose high-profile artistic events, with real motivation and participation on the part of the monarch himself. Every year, Leopold I and Eleanor request, for the devotions of Holy Week, real spiritual exercises in music⁴⁸. And although most of Leopold's repertoire is largely oratorio, there is no lack of chamber or dramatic compositions.⁴⁹ On the feast day of the Emperor's name day in 1690, for example, the chamber composition *Il Teatro delle Passioni Humane*, by Minato-Draghi, was performed by Minato-Draghi, two Venetian artists called to the Viennese court to compose a work whose title alone recalls the allegorical and didactic productions that were customary in Vienna dominated by a battling and spectacular Jesuit culture⁵⁰. The typically Jesuitical classificatory and formalizing tendency is clear, i.e. a typical moralizing anxiety for legitimization, a «mania for naming»⁵¹ that very often makes use of art, understood in the sense of artifice, of excessively formalizing rhetoric. Not only that, in line with the character of the great absolutisms of the time, the process of assimilation of the Italic repertoire at the Habsburg court led the original artistic product to be emptied of the ephemeral and allegorical element as an end in itself, to re-enter an allegorical plane that brings the listener (nobleman) back to the plane of historical truth, to a plane of current reality that leads to the exaltation of the sovereign, the only true allegory of stability and permanence⁵². The ephemeral allegory is annihilated in order to make room for a new and updated allegory that brings us back to a here and now that is true, historical, real but anything but realist insofar as this real is made to coincide simply with the reassuring royal stability. In the Viennese opera, or rather, in the Viennese transformation of the Venetian opera, we witness a clear reversal of this structure. The foreground is prejudicially attributed to the fixation of allegorical thought, the operation is facilitated by the fact that fixity (the inconsumability, the praise of the *status quo*) is the subject and object of allegorical fixation⁵³. This is what happens in the work *Il Pomo d'oro*⁵⁴, which succeeds, in a colossal emblem, the complex of poetic, tasteful, professional and strange allegorical interpretations that correspond to Viennese artistic 'protocol'⁵⁵. The exceptional event is the celebration of the first

allegorica; in opposizione alla finzione di *eccezionalità storica* di tutte le rappresentazioni che informava lo stile della pompa continua della cerimonialità di corte francese, la "partecipazione" autorevole (e di retroscena) della Maestà cesarea sembrava voler trasformare in routine (...) tutte le situazioni *veramente eccezionali*», (*Ibidem*, p. 92). (In diametrical opposition, in fact, to the living 'participation' of the sovereign on the allegorical stage; in opposition to the fiction of historical exceptionality of all representations that informed the style of the continuous pomp of French court ceremonial, the authoritative (and behind-the-scenes) 'participation' of the Caesarean Majesty seemed to want to turn all truly exceptional situations into routine).

⁴⁸ Massimo Zane. 1984. „Oratorii al SS. Sepolcro e Immaginario barocco”. In *Il tranquillo Seren del secol d'oro, Musica e spettacolo musicale a Venezia e a Vienna fra Seicento e Settecento*, 197 – 208. Milano: Ricordi, p. 198.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 202. The repertoires most popular at the Leopold court were those of the Counter-Reformation matrix of the Oratorio and the Sepolcri. In a form similar to that of melodrama, it differs from it in the absence of the scenic apparatus, gesture, and the context of the theatre (the scene is constructed in the hall of a palace or in a church): a melodrama deprived of the naturally expressive element of gesture, extremely formalized and organized in structure and text, in allegories and captions, and characterized by a strongly Catholic and moralizing theme. Alongside the oratorio production, the Sepolcri, another remake of melodrama in the sacred field, reminds us that morally art cannot be ephemeral, an end in itself. The Sepolcri, in its tableaux vivant setting, stages the Passion and allows reflection on the soul imprisoned in the corruptible body. In the Sepolcri, the melody becomes «sillabica, priva di coloriture scritte, mentre l'accompagnamento privilegia sonorità più gravi» (syllabic, devoid of written colouring, while the accompaniment favours more serious sonorities).

⁵⁰ Luca Zoppelli. 1984. *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 13.

⁵² Seventeenth-century German cliché of the sovereign holding the historical phenomenon in his hands as if it were a sceptre.

⁵³ Giovanni Morelli. 1983, p. 98. «Nell'opera viennese, o a dir meglio, nella trasformazione viennese dell'opera veneziana, assistiamo a una inversione netta di questo impianto. Il primo piano è pregiudizialmente attribuito alla fissazione del pensiero allegorico, , l'operazione è facilitata dal fatto che la fissità (l'inconsumabilità, la lode dello status quo) è il soggetto e l'oggetto della fissazione allegorica».

⁵⁴ Opera with Sbarra-Cesti-Burnacini-Leopold I-Ventura-Schmelzer as authors, probably from 1666 but staged in 1668.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 89.

wedding of Emperor Leopold I to his Spanish niece, the infanta of Spain Maria Theresa. The opera was staged on 12th and 14th of July 1668 in the theatre specially erected on the Cortina⁵⁶. It included five acts, twenty-two scene changes and the use of particularly complex theatrical machinery⁵⁷. As a Venetian super-opera, the *Pomo d'oro* which becomes an emblem of a typical imperial leisure time, brings together typically Venetian elements such as the large decorative frame of the stage and the allegorical political prologue. Proserpina's initial lament from hell is a clear reference «to the aesthetic insemination of the Ferdinandine court (at the time of the *Ballo delle Ingrate* with its climax at the point of lament of an infernal resident) »⁵⁸. In Leopold's Vienna, unlike in the Italian context, Venetian art is refined and modified to be strategically instrumentalised for a political-cultural end of international supremacy⁵⁹. This is why the work carries out an anti-heroic and demythologizing process, already typically Enlightenment⁶⁰. The myth of the Judgement of Paris is interrupted by a sleepy, non-political, tired Jupiter who decides that the apple of discord is to be given to the bride of the emperor of Austria. The myth loses consistency in the face of the real and historical *status quo*. A process of deification of sovereignty took place in a parallel and totally different way to that of France. No gods are needed, the opera tells its tale but then awakens us and takes us back to a narcissistic here and now⁶¹. What is taking place is the exchange between stage and room, between divinity and real-Habsburg character, between mythical unconscious and knowledge of almost physical participation in the play⁶². And it is no coincidence that Leopold participates not only on stage, in the auditorium, but behind the scenes, being himself among the authors of the play in question. It is the sovereign who holds the reins of the story, outside and inside. And even more: *the emperor holds the reins to represent the suspension of history*⁶³, which will end with the peace of Troy.... «miraculous result!»⁶⁴

4. Conclusions

In conclusion, the Viennese musical production of the mid-seventeenth century shows how, on one hand, contact with the reality of the Italian courts, specifically Mantuan and Venetian, was indispensable for building the wall of opposition to the Turkish Empire. On the other hand the oppositional identity force against the foreign enemy had to abandon the most

⁵⁶ Marko Deisinger. 2010, p. 92.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁸ Giovanni Morelli. 1983. *op. cit.*, p. 93. «(...) alla inseminazione estetica della corte ferdinandina (ai tempi del *Ballo delle Ingrate* con il suo climax sul punto di lamento di una residente infernale)».

⁵⁹ «*Il Pomo d'Oro* è un caso clamoroso di *eccezionalità* denaturata. Vuol essere la dimostrazione di come la eccezionale occasione "storica" viene messa al servizio di un piano di mantenimento strategico del gusto monarchico», (*Ibidem*, p. 92). (*Il Pomo d'Oro* is a glaring case of denatured exceptionalism. It is a demonstration of how the exceptional 'historical' occasion is put at the service of a plan to strategically maintain monarchical taste).

⁶⁰ «Con un procedimento che sarà anche, o poi, quello della demitizzazione critica degli illuministi, la favola si rappresenta *intermedia* tra oblio oscuro e chiara nozione delle *cose che si fanno in toto*», (*Ibidem*, p. 98). (In a process that will also, or later, be that of the Enlightenment's critical demythologizing, the fable represents itself as intermediate between obscure oblivion and a clear notion of things that are known in their entirety).

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 96. «La favola, nella filosofia teatrale di Leopoldo e degli uomini del suo teatro, è un sogno che perde tempo ombreggiando lunghi passaggi attraverso miti/storie/codici/linguaggi/corpi figurati, fino a un risveglio protocollare su un caso regolare di inconsumata incontrovertibilità: il giorno del compleanno, o il giorno del nome, o la precettazione deliziosa del riposo stagionale». (The fable, in the theatrical philosophy of Leopold and the men of his theatre, is a dream that loses time by shading long passages through myths/stories/codes/languages/figural bodies, until a protocollar awakening on a regular case of uncontroversial incontrovertibility: the day of the birthday, or the day of the name, or the delightful precept of seasonal rest).

⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 94.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 96.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*.

typical character of the European Baroque, that of a liquid, fluid repertoire as can be seen in the different characteristics of Monteverdi's original *Ballo delle ingrato* by virtue of forms and structures that will be evident in the re-proposition of the *Ballo* at the Viennese court, but also in the composition of *Il Pomo d'Oro*. It is at this point of space-time boundary that a new and vain form of sacralization is created with respect to a tonal and well-structured music, in order to affirm a European identity that will be only one of the many faces that Europe will show within its own secular political-cultural history.

5. References

- Albertoni, Giuseppe. 2003. *Europa in costruzione. La forza delle identità, la ricerca di unità (secoli IX-XIII)*. Trento: ITCisig.
- Abert, Anna Amalie & Cogni, Giulio. 1967. „Monteverdi e lo sviluppo dell'opera” [Electronic version]. *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 2, (2): 207–16.
- Bianconi, Lorenzo. 1982 (1991). *Il Seicento*, Torino: EDTsrl.
- Bietti, Giovanni. 2018. *Lo spartito del mondo* [E-book version], Editori Laterza.
- Carandini, Silvia. 1999. *Teatro e spettacolo nel Seicento*. Roma-Bari: Editori Laterza.
- Cardini, Franco. 1997. *Le radici Cristiane dell'Europa. Mito, storia, prospettive*. Rimini: Il Cerchio.
- Cardini, Franco. 2015. *Il Turco a Vienna: storia del grande assedio del 1683* [E-book version], Editori Laterza.
- Carter, Tim. 1999. „New Light On Monteverdi's 'Ballo delle Ingrate (Mantua, 1608)'” [Electronic version]. *Il Saggiatore Musicale, Rivista semestrale di Musicologia*, 6, (1/2): 63–90.
- Claverini, Corrado. 2015. „La “differenza” europea. Riflessioni sull'essenza “agonica” dell'Europa a partire da Niccolò Machiavelli”. *Phenomenology and Mind*, 8: 192–199.
- Costa, Pietro. 2017. „L'identità europea fra memoria e progetto”. *Atti del convegno „Cultura giuridica e letteratura nella costruzione dell'Europa”*: 45–88.
- Deisinger, Marko. 2010. „Tra Sollazzo e Morigeratezza: Studi Sulla Cultura Delle Feste Alla Residenza Dei Legati Papali a Ferrara e Presso La Corte Imperiale Di Vienna Nel Seicento” [Electronic version]. *Studien Zur Musikwissenschaft*, 56: 91–102.
- Eickhoff, Ekkehard. 1997. *Venezia, Vienna e i turchi. 1645–1700: bufera nel sud-est europeo*. Milano: Rusconi.
- Giraldi, Maria. 1984. „Al sepolcro di Cristo: una poetica consuetudinaria”. In *Il tranquillo Seren del secol d'oro. Musica e spettacolo musicale a Venezia e a Vienna fra Seicento e Settecento*, 127–144. Milano: Ricordi.
- Gordon, Bonnie. 1999. „Talking Back: The Female Voice in 'Il Ballo Delle Ingrate, in Cambridge Opera Journal” [Electronic version], 11 (1), 1–30.
- Jullien, François. 2018. *L'identità culturale non esiste: ma noi difendiamo le risorse di una cultura* [E-book version], Einaudi.
- Le Goff, Jacques. 2015. *L'Europa raccontata da --* [E-book version], Editori Laterza.
- Morelli, Giovanni. 1983. „Un Pomo d'oro sull'unverzehring Tisch: il lungo momento della connessione musicale di Venezia e Vienna”. In *Venezia Vienna: il mito della cultura Veneziana nell'Europa asburgica*, ed. by Giandomenico Romanelli, 89-104. Milano: Banca Cattolica del Veneto.
- Nocilli, Cecilia. 2018. „Ballo delle Ingrate 1608/1638: La musica per il balletto teatrale tra tradizione e innovazione monteverdiana”. *Philomusica on-line. Rivista del dipartimento di*

Musicologia e Beni Culturali, 17 (1), 345–382. Retrieved March 28, 2024, from <http://riviste.paviauniversitypress.it/index.php/phi/issue/view/165>.

- Pieri, Marzio. 1984. „Dal poema uni-verso all’universo a spicchi”. In *Il tranquillo Seren del secol d’oro. Musica e spettacolo musicale a Venezia e a Vienna fra Seicento e Settecento*, 41 – 59. Milano: Ricordi.
- Prunières, Henry & Baker, Theodore. 1924. „Monteverdi’s Venetian Operas (Il Ritorno d’Ulisse, L’Incoronazione Di Poppea)” [Electronic version]. *The Musical Quarterly*, 10 (2), 178–92.
- Remotti, Francesco. 2013. *Contro l’identità* [E-book version], Laterza.
- Ross, Alex. 2011. *Senti questo*. Milano: Bompiani.
- Verga, Marcello. 2020. *Storie d’Europa. Secoli XVIII-XXI*. Roma: Carocci editore.
- Zane, Massimo. 1984. „Oratorii al SS. Sepolcro e Immaginario barocco”. In *Il tranquillo Seren del secol d’oro. Musica e spettacolo musicale a Venezia e a Vienna fra Seicento e Settecento*, 197 – 208. Milano: Ricordi.
- Zoppelli, Luca. 1984. „Il pensiero conservato dagli affetti”. In *Il tranquillo Seren del secol d’oro. Musica e spettacolo musicale a Venezia e a Vienna fra Seicento e Settecento*, 9–39. Milano: Ricordi.
- Zorzi, Ludovico. 1977. „Venezia: la Repubblica a teatro”. In *Il teatro e la città. Saggi sulla scena italiana*, 237-283. Torino: Einaudi.