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Jean Jacques-Bouchard *The Holy Week in Naples*

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Born in Paris in 1606, Jean-Jacques Bouchard is rarely mentioned by scholars due to the scarcity of his literary output and the philological nature of most of his works. With the exception of classicist renditions of Greek and Latin texts, Bouchard's *Oeuvre* can be subsumed to his volume *Confessions* and a few travel journals. *Confessions* was reprinted a number of times under different titles, since it was considered a seminal work on European libertinism. Bouchard's journals, instead, were published only once in the 1970s by G. Giappichelli Editore – a specialized academic press –, but they were never translated or made available to the general public. The translated excerpt that follows is drawn from Bouchard's *Voyage to Naples*, as this is his most voluminous work, but also a veritable *unicum* for the sociological and cultural understanding of everyday life in seventeenth-century Naples. In the writings of *Voyage to Naples*, in fact, Bouchard identified a number of urban itineraries consisting of must-see venues, but also of alternative sites discovered through city-strolling. By depicting a fresco of Neapolitan ceremonies, trends, and ways of living that went well beyond the impressionist reports of his predecessors, Bouchard acted less like a philologist and more like a travel writer.

Details on Bouchard's life have been recorded by the many detractors, and notably by René Pintard. Expelled from the family because of a scandalous relationship with a servant (in fact, this episode represents the central theme in *Confessions*), Bouchard joined the prestigious Academy of the Dupuy brothers, quickly gaining entrance into Parisian cultural circles. In February 1631, however, Bouchard decided to set off for Rome by taking a long detour in Southern France where he met the famous savant and antiquary Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc. Bouchard's decision to arrive in Rome with Peiresc's support was based on the assumption that a clean slate, recommendation letters, and the possible acquisition of an ecclesiastic title could grant him full freedom of movement as a libertine. Besides, the Vatican constituted the best employer for linguists and philologists and, as evident in his studies, Bouchard's curiosity extended well beyond the sphere of sexuality. Emanuel Kanceff, for instance, has poignantly highlighted how Bouchard can be considered both an example and a protagonist of that shift from erudition *per se* to proto-journalism which occurred in the early Modern age.

At the time of his departure for Italy, Bouchard had planned to spend one year in Rome and then travel to Constantinople with Parisian libertines Gassendi and Lullier. However, when the trip to Constantinople fell apart, Bouchard decided to leave for Naples instead. Bouchard remained in the city between March and November of 1632, journaling his presence in town and the many events he witnessed. The excerpt below is a perfect example of his ideas on Neapolitan religious practices as at once gory, performative, and baroque. Upon his return to Rome, Bouchard was offered the position of Secretary for the Latin letters by Cardinal Francesco Barberini. Barberini was the nephew of Pope Urbano VIII. From that moment on, he was offered a series of commissions that made him various enemies in Vatican circles. He died an early death because of an ambush planned by his professional contenders.

Bouchard's testamentary provisions portrayed him as a perfectly religious man, though a slightly narcissistic one. Indeed, he financed one hundred masses for the day of his death and a perpetual mass on the day of his death. Bouchard also opted for an Italian burial at the Chiesa di Santa Maria degli Angeli and bequeathed all his journals and more personal writings to the

Roman erudite Cassiano del Pozzo. Yet, while Del Pozzo did attempt to censor his friend's most scandalous passages, Bouchard's writings soon became the object of rumors and speculations. For instance, shortly after his death, Christophe Dupuy wished "that everything went burnt", (Pintard 238) and characterized Bouchard's youth journal as shameful (later published as *Confessions*). In reality, Dupuy was not only dismayed by Bouchard's sexual experiments with the housemaid, but he also feared *Confessions*' numerous references to Bouchard's homosexual encounters during his college years; in fact, many college friends of Bouchard had turned out to be key figures of the French political establishment.

Rather fortuitously, following Del Pozzo's death, the section of his library containing Bouchard's travel journals was dispersed and, most likely, versed in the Albani library. It then resurfaced on the antiquary market as two separate volumes in the 1850s, that is around the time of the library's dismemberment. The first volume – that is the one that immediately garnered the interest of critics – was the one containing *Les Confessions* and *Du Voyage de Paris à Rome*. This volume was brought to the attention of Paulin Paris in 1840 upon request of a Parisian bookseller and attributed to Bouchard by the former (Talleyrand des Réaux 161). After that, the manuscript fell in the hands of Isidore Liseux, who would donate it to the National Library, after publishing its first commercial edition as *Les Confessions de Jean Jacques Bouchard, Parisien, suivies de son Voyage de Paris à Rome en 1630, publiées pour la première fois sur le manuscrit de l'auteur*. This edition, however, appeared in a limited edition and ran out of print. A second edition was then published by Gallimard in 1930 as *Confessions*, and the next-to-last edition, before the Skira edition of 2003, came out in 1960 with the Cercle du Livre Précieux, under the controversial title of *Les confessions d'un perversi*. In these late editions, however, the travel sections had been left out. On the other hand, Del Pozzo's second volume – the one titled *Voyage dans le royaume de Naples*, from which the translated excerpt is drawn – was bought by the Marquis de Chennevières; it was then bequeathed to the Library of the École des Beaux-Arts and only published in 1897 by Lucien Marcheix for the Éditions Léroux as a single, considerably abridged, and soon forgotten book titled *Un parisien à Rome et à Naples en 1632, d'après un manuscrit inédit de J.H. Bouchard*, Paris.

Today, the erudition and potential contribution of Bouchard's work to the studies are hardly acknowledged. Mauriès, as one of his early biographers, depicted him as a dandy ante-litteram, by also claiming he consciously made his life as art (Bouchard, *Confessions* III-XIX). Unsurprisingly, in fact, it was among the homosexual circles of the European intelligentsia that the name of Bouchard kept some of his original resonance. For instance, there is an unforeseen reference to Bouchard and his *Voyage to Naples* in Roger Peyrefitte's biographical novel on Jacques d'Adelswärd-Fersen, published as *L'Exilé De Capri*. This is certainly because Bouchard wrote the first modern journal on Capri and his inhabitants, all the while hinting to their sexual practices and "perversions". One can therefore assume that Adelswärd-Fersen and Peyrefitte were among the very few readers of Lucien Marcheix's abridged version titled *Un parisien à Rome et à Naples en 1632*. Indeed, it seems unlikely, though not impossible, they read the original handwritten manuscript at the Library of the École des Beaux-Arts. While the *Confessions* was certainly the work that brought Bouchard back from oblivion and gave him some infamous notoriety in the first half of the twentieth century, it is my opinion that his travel journals represent his most significant legacy for scholars and readers alike. Most importantly, for having been dismembered, lost, and displaced, Bouchard's *Voyages to Naples* deserve the attention it never received.

The following excerpt from *Voyage to Naples* focuses on the Holy week that Bouchard spent in Naples during April 1632. In the left column, readers will find the French text, transcribed in its original spelling and accentuation. In the right column, they will find my annotated translation into English. In this respect, a number of observations might be in order.

First, it is important to state that the translation from early modern French to contemporary English, and most importantly the translational shift towards a different epistemic context could only be achieved here through an imperfect compromise. Indeed, on the one hand, there was an attempt to remain as close as possible to the source text by creating a calque of Bouchard's seventeenth-century idiolect (that is, the cursive language of a French scholar with a penchant for old languages and seventeenth-century Italian dialects); on the other hand, it seemed crucial not to sacrifice the intelligibility of the text and the pleasure of reading. Secondly, should one situate this translation on the scale evoked by Hervey and Higging in *Thinking French Translation* (i.e. literal, faithful, balanced, idiomizing, free), one could opt for "balanced", but it would also be possible to recognize a sense of "faithful" for what relates to lexicon, and a rather idiomizing approach in regard to syntax and matrix. Furthermore, in spite of my quest for historical exotism, annotations were used any time a pedantic translation might have marred the reader's experience. Overall, one can claim the translation was written for the contemporary reader, but it was a translation that tried to conjure up the same curiosity and sporadic estrangement a seventeenth-century reader would have felt when learning about the vice-kingdom of Naples. In other words, the translation incorporated the principle by which "the relationship between receptor and message should be substantially the same as the one which existed between the original receptors and the message" (Nida 159). What is more, in selecting such an approach, a new sensibility towards translation – that is the one that had emerged in Bouchard's century – was involuntarily captured and echoed. And as Munday reiterated after Flora Ross Amos, this approach did not aim to emulate; rather, this was the method that permitted the 'spirit' of the ST to be best reproduced. Finally, my hope is that the wealth of ethnographic, historical and cultural details unlocked by this exceptional text will stir a novel scholarly interest towards Bouchard, inasmuch as he was a very unique protagonist in seventeenth-century culture.

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Semaine Sainte à Naples
Jean-Jacques Bouchard

The Holy Week in Naples
Jean-Jacques Bouchard

Translated by Alessandro Giardino

Le mercredi saint septième Avril.

Holy Wednesday, April 7h.

Le plus belle musique que l'on fasse est au vieux palais, à la chapelle du viceroy, mais pour ce que la vicereine voulut ce jour là assister aus tenebres, les dames y entrerent seulement, et n'ouvrit on à aucun home. Le soir, à une heure de nuit, se dirent tenebres à l'oratoire de St Jan des Florentins, où la plus part des musiciens du palais se treuverent. La musique fut assez bone, mais courte, car ils ne chanterent que les respons et antienes et une seule leçon.

The most beautiful music which is out there is performed in the old palace, in the chapel of the viceroy, but since on this day the vicereine wished to attend *le tenebre*, only the ladies had access, and no man was let in. At one o'clock at night, there was a celebration of the *tenebre* in the oratory of St. John of the Florentines,¹ and the great majority of palace musicians attended. The music was quite good, but short, because they sang only responsories, antiphons, and a single lesson.

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Le jeudi l'on dit qu'il se fait une grande solennité à l'archevesché, et l'on feste ce jour là, toutes les boutiques estans serrées, qui ne s'ouvrent que le vendredi matin et samedi ; *Orestes* fut au palais où, la messe dite, toute la famille du viceroie communia, puis le viceroy et sa femme furent en procession derriere le St. Sacrement, lequel estant posé dans une cassette faite en forme de sepulcre, le prestre ferma la cassette à clef et pendit cette clef au col du viceroy avec un ruban de soye blanche ; lequel en doit respondre et la remettre ès main du prestre le lendemain à la messe, lors que l'on va tirer Iesus Crist du sepulcre. Et pendant tout ce temps là, du midi du jeudi jusques au midi

On Thursday, it is said that a solemn ceremony takes place at the archbishopric, so there are celebrations on this day, with all stores being closed, and only reopening on Friday morning and Saturday. *Orestes*² was in the palace where, once the mass said, all the family members of the viceroy took communion. Then the viceroy and his wife followed the procession, standing behind the Holy Sacrament, which was put in a box shaped as a sepulcher, locked by the priest with a key that he then attached to the neck of the viceroy with a ribbon of white silk. The viceroy, in fact, must answer for it and hand it back to the priest the following day during the mass, that is when one is going

¹ The Church of St. John of Florentines was originally located on the Via Toledo, as the regional church of the many Florentine merchants and bankers who had started to flow into the city under the reign of Frederick II. Having been established by Viceroy Pedro di Toledo in the sixteenth century (Vice-Kingdom: 1532-52) in order to replace a smaller church founded by Isabella Chiaromonte, wife of Ferdinand I of Aragon, King of Naples (Kingdom: 1458-1494), the church hosted the works of the best Naples-based Tuscan artists, such as Balducci and Naccherino, as well as the tombs of Artemisia Gentileschi and Bernardo Tannucci, tombs irremediably lost after the demolition of the church in the 1950s. For a complete study of the church, see: Francesco Strazzullo, *La chiesa di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini a Napoli*, Arte tipografica, Napoli, 1984. For the original sixteenth-century artistic program by Giovan Battista Dosio, see P. Leone Castris, *Dosio e la chiesa di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini a Napoli*, in "Napoli Nobilissima", serie 6, III (2012), 5/6 pp. 225-236.

² Bouchard alternates between Greek and Latin letters for the handwritten rendition of his pseudonym *Orestes*. There is no apparent logic in the choice of one or the other.

du vendredi, il est deffendu à toute sorte de personnes, de quelque qualité qu'ils puissent estre, horsmis les soldats, de porter espée, sur peine de prison, perte de l'espée, et 2 écus d'amende ; comme aussi d'aler en carosse : et en tout ce temps là *Orestes* ne rencontra par Naples que le seul carosse de la Princesse de Stiliano, tout le reste de la noblesse allant ou à pied ou dans une chaise.

“to draw Jesus Christ out of the sepulcher”. And throughout this time, that is from noon on Thursday till noon on Friday, it is forbidden for everyone except soldiers, and regardless of their status, to carry sword, on penalty of prison, loss of the sword and two *scudi* of fine; similarly it is forbidden to ride in a carriage and, in fact, in those days Oreste did not encounter any carriage, with the exception of the Princess of Stigliano's coach,³ the whole nobility going either on foot or by sedan chair.

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Le Viceroi estant descendu du sepulcre, qui estoit come un dome assez eminent derriere le grand autel, et tout revestu par le dehors de luminaires, lava les pieds à douze pauvres dans la salle qui tient à la chapelle, et leur dona à manger ; puis leur fit distribuer à chascun six escus, outre l'habit. À la sortie du palais, *Orestes* rencontra quantité de gens qui aloint nuds en chemise et deschaus, se fouetans jusques à grande effusion de sang, aus sepulcres et par les rues, et d'autres portans de grandes et lourdes croix de bois sur l'espaule, et ne vit on autre chose par les eglises et les rues de Naples tout ce jour là, et le vendredi suivant. L'après disnée il fut ouïr tenebres à la congregation que les cavaliers napolitains font *al Gesù nuovo* dans une salle particulière, où les Jesuites ont attiré tant de noblesse que les six dernieres leçons furent

[Later on] after having descended from the “sepulcher,” which had the appearance of a rather impressive dome behind the great altar and which was covered in lights, the viceroy washed the feet of twelve poor men who gathered in the room outside the chapel and he then served them food. He then demanded six scudi and some clothes be distributed to each one of them. Outside the palace, Orestes met a large quantity of people who went around shirtless and barefoot, flogging themselves with great effusion of blood in front of the sepulchers⁴ in the streets, while others were carrying big and heavy crosses of wood on their shoulders. Indeed, on that day and throughout Friday, it was the only spectacle one could see, not only in the proximity of churches but pretty much on every street of Naples. In the afternoon, he attended the

³ Anna Carafa della Stadera, Princess of Stigliano, was one of the richest women of early seventeenth-century Naples, and the first vicereine actually born in Naples. As the only surviving daughter to Antonio Carafa della Stadera and Elena Aldobrandini, she became the only heir of a large estate and an immense fortune. She would be remembered for the entitlement, capriciousness, and privilege her position allowed. For instance, as recounted by Onofrio Melvetti, in the year 1632, at the time of Bouchard's presence in Naples, she ordered the execution of several Spanish soldiers, due to the annoyance and fear generated by some shots accidentally fired at the windows of the Palazzo Cellamare at Chiaia, where she was currently residing. Similarly, in 1639, in spite of the extreme poverty experienced by the Kingdom of Naples she threw lavish parties, and in particular a masquerade ball in which she decided to dress as an Amazon, together with twenty-four ladies at her court, thus defying the current standard of female modesty (14). See Onorio Melvetti, Anna Carafa. *Una viceregina napoletana*. Torre del Greco, 2018. Her presence remains visible in Naples through the Palazzo Donn'Anna she had built during her regency as vicereine.

⁴ It was common to call the altars of repositories for the ciborium as “sepulchers”. Therefore, the processions were often planned by using the altars of churches as stations. From Thursday to Easter, in fact, those altars would be decorated as sepulchers and no holy wafer would be dispensed. The tradition as well as the denomination of “sepulchers” is still used in several areas of the Christian world.

chantées par six princes. La musique fut fort bone. Les tenebres finies, l'on apporta sur l'autel quelque deus ou trois cents disciplines, et lors les confreres, qui sont tous cavaliers *di seggio*, s'enfermerent.

tenebre at the congregation that the Neapolitan chevaliers formed at the *Gesù Nuovo* in a special room, wherein the Jesuits attracted so much nobility that the last six lessons were sung by six princes.⁵ The music was really good and when the *tenebre* were over, two or three hundred disciplines⁶ were brought to the altar; at that point, then, the confreres, who are all chevaliers of *Seggio*, locked themselves in.

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Le vendredi neufviesme, il fut visiter les sepulcres, dont il avoit ouï faire tant de cas autrefois, qu'il treuva neantmoins assez simples et ordinaires, n'estant composez que d'une façade de portiques et colonnes peintes en prospective sur la toile, sans aucune statue ni autres representations, fors que quelque deus ou trois petites poupées d'enfans. Ce qui estoit de plus beau estoit la quantité et bel arrangement des lampes et cierges qui estoient allumées par dedans, autour du St. Sacrement, qui presque partout estoit enfermé dans des vases faits en forme de sepulcre, sans qu'on le peust voir ; come aussi le grand nombre d'agenterie, entre autres à St. Claire, il Gesù Nuovo, San Paulo, Monte Oliveto, etc., mais par sus tous *alla Concettione d'i Spagnoli a strada Toledo*, où il y avait une quantité inestimable de pierreries, entr'autres un ange qui tenoit un dragon enchainé, aussi hault presque que le naturel, tout de diamants et de perles ; l'on dit aussi que les dames de la Trinité *delle Monacelle* en avoient fait un fort riche, mais *Orestes* ne le put voir pource qu'à Naples l'on deffait les sepulcres à l'heure mesme que l'on en a auté le St. Sacrement, le vendredi à la Messe.

On Friday the 9th, he visited the sepulchers, which he had heard so much about in the past, but which he found to be quite simple and ordinary, consisting of nothing else but a facade of porticos and columns painted in perspective on a canvas, without any statue or other representation, except for two or three small dolls. Instead, what was the most beautiful thing about them was the quantity of lamps and candles lit inside them, as well as their nice arrangements around the Sacred Host, which almost everywhere was enclosed in vases in the shape of sepulchers, so that it was not possible to see inside them. What was also worthy of attention was the great quantity of paraphernalia in silver one could see in churches such as Santa Chiara, the Gesù Nuovo, San Paulo, Monte Oliveto, but above all in the *Concezione dei Spagnoli* in Toledo, where it was accompanied by an inestimable quantity of gems and, among other things, the statue of an angel holding a chained dragon, almost as tall as the original one and entirely made of diamonds and pearls. He also heard that the ladies of the Trinity of the *Monacelle* had built a very rich sepulcher, but *Orestes* could not see it because in Naples the sepulchers are undone at the same

⁵ It was only in the early 1620s, a decade before Bouchard's trip, that the church had become the meeting site of a number of congregations. Moreover, at the time of Bouchard's visit the church was probably under partial renovation due the earthquake of 1631 that had damaged a section of the dome. See Luigi Catalani, *Le chiese di Napoli*, Naples : Tipografia fu Migliaccio, 1845: p. 71; and p. 81.

⁶ In absence of context, it is not possible to determine whether Bouchard wished to refer to volumes of study or to instruments for flagellation, instead. The term discipline had a plurality of meanings by the time it was used by the author.

hour that the Blessed Sacrament is placed away, that is on Friday during the mass.

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L'après disnée, il fut ouïr les tenebres du viceroi; la musique fut assez mediocre, horsmis à la fin, qu'il y eut un echo repetant trois et quatre fois, qui fut excellent. La chapelle où le viceroi estoit, et où il vient toutes les fois qu'il oit la Messe en public, est dans les vieus chasteau, au bout de la salle; cette chapelle est mediocrement grande, toute incrustée de marbre blanc, avec sept ou huit grandes statues de mesme fort bien faites. Elle estoit tendue de damas incarnat à franges d'or. Aus deus costez il y a come deus chapelles vis à vis l'une de l'autre: dans celle de main gauche est l'orgue et le lieu des musiciens; elle estoit ce jour là toute pleine de cavaliers; dans l'autre est le lieu du viceroi, divisé en deus estages; celui d'en hault est tout bouché de treillis de bois, et d'ordinaire la vicereine s'y met avec ses femmes pour n'estre pas vue, et celui d'en bas a deus grandes fenetres qui regardent sur l'autel. Ce soir le viceroi, sa femme et une siene cousine estoit en celui d'en bas, et tout le reste de la chapelle estoit pleine de dames napolitaines; pour ce à la porte de la chapelle l'on avoit fait un retranchement avec des bancs au milieu du passage, et y avoit des *portieri* de son Excellence qui faisoient passer les femmes d'un costé et les homes de l'autre, lesquels se devoit tous tenir sous le portail, n'estant par permis de passer jusques au large de la chapelle sinon aus moines, pour lesquels l'on avoit fait un petit parquet de bancs. La vicereine se fit aporter une ou deus fois à boire, come aussi la plus part des dames, ausquelles l'un des portiers portoit simplement un grand verre d'eau sous le manteau. L'office fini, environ les deus heures de nuit, se comencea la procession; ce sont les Espagnols de la confrairie de la Solitaire qui la font faire, où ils font porter *li*

In the afternoon, he attended the *tenebre* performed for the viceroy; the music was rather mediocre, except at the end, when there was a refrain which was repeated three or four times and which was excellent. The chapel where the viceroy was and where he comes every time he listens to the mass in public is located at the end of the hall of the old castle; this chapel is relatively large, all inlaid with white marble, and with seven or eight large and very well-made statues. For the rest, the chapel is covered by crimson damask curtains with golden tassels, and is flanked by two smaller chapels facing each other: in the chapel of the left hand, there is the organ and the area for the musicians; on that day, however, it was full of knights. The other chapel, instead, is destined for the viceroy and it appears divided in two floors; the top floor is covered by a trellis of wood, and it normally hosts the vicereine and her ladies, as it allows them not be seen; the lower floor has two large and open windows which look onto the altar. That evening the viceroy, his wife and a cousin of hers were all in the lower level, while the rest of that side chapel was occupied by Neapolitan ladies. For this, at the door of the main chapel, benches had been added as an entrenchment in the middle of the passageway to the main chapel's portal, and there were doorkeepers of his Excellency who let the women pass on one side and the men on the other side. All of them, however, had to stand under the portal and nobody was allowed to get to the central chapel with the exception of the monks, for whom benches had been set close together. The vicereine had a drink brought to her once or twice, as so did most of the ladies, to whom one of the porters simply carried a large glass of water under his coat. The office finished around

Misterij della Passione qu'ils appellent : ce sont des representations des principales actions de la Passion, faites de statues à hauteur du naturel, de bois, peintes et vestues d'habits, qui sont posées sur des grands eschaffauts quarrez portez sur le col de sept ou huit homes. Or, à chasquun de ces Mystères les Espagnols invitent quelque persone eminente et chef de quelque principale famille à Naples, à ce qu'il aie à le vouloir accompagner à la procession et à ceste heure ceus qui sont invitez invitent tous de leur famille, clients, dependents, etc. , et font à l'envi à qui amenera plus des personnes : lesquelles aportent toutes un grand cierge de cire blanche, et accompagnent le chef qui les a invitez, lequel va immediatement après le mystere auquel il a esté invité, de sorte que par ce moyen la plus grand part de la noblesse et de tous les corps des arts se treuvent à cette procession. De plus les Espagnols louent quantité de gents à deus *tari'* ou trois carlin par teste, qui doivent se foueter jusques au sang. La procession part de la Solitaria, chappelle sise au dela de Santa Croce in Palazzo, descent par l'escalier de Santa Croce, passe par devant le palais au milieu de deus barrieres que le viceroi fait faire en cet endroit avec des hauts pieus sur lesquels sont alumez de grandes lampes ; puis entrant *nella Strada di Toledo*, tourne vers *il Lago del Castello*. L'ordre qu'elle tient en marchant est tel : premierement vien un vestu en perlerin, la face couverte, qui sont une trompette fort

two o' clock at night when the procession began. It was the Spaniards of the Brotherhood of Solitaire who had the task of organizing it and who carried *Li Misteri della Passione* as they call them; these mysteries are reenactments of the principal scenes of the Passion with life-sized statues in wood,⁷ which are painted and clothed, and then placed on big square scaffolds and so carried on shoulders by seven or eight men. Now, for each one of these Mysteries, the Spaniards invite one eminent figure who is at the head of one of Naples' most prominent families, so that he can accompany the mystery throughout the procession. And at this time those who are invited can in turn invite their family, customers, dependents, and therefore compete as to who will bring more people. All guests, in exchange, bring a large white wax candle and accompany the head of the family who has invited them, while he stands immediately below the mystery to which he had been invited. As a result, the majority of people hailing from the nobility or the liberal arts participate in this procession. In addition, the Spaniards hire a lot of people at two or three *carlini* per head, who must whip themselves to the point of drawing blood. The procession leaves from the Chapel of Solitaire (that is situated beyond Santa Croce in the Palazzo), walks down the staircase of Santa Croce,⁸ then in front of the palace, between two fences got made out of tall poles on which big lamps are lit; then, having exited into the Strada Toledo, it veers towards il Largo di Castello.

⁷ The chapel, then Church of Santa Maria della Solitaria, was situated on the east side of Via Solitaria. It must have given the name to the Via (of Vicolo) perpendicular to what just below is the current Via Santa Lucia, previously called Via Guzman and built between 1599-1620, that is during the last years of Enrique de Guzman, Count of Olivares's vice-kingdom. For information about the Cappella, also mentioned in Celano, see: www.lascuolaadottaunmonumento.it.

⁸ The Church of Santa Croce in Palazzo was one of the many ancient churches located in the area surrounding the current Piazza del Plebiscito. Like many others, it would disappear after having been encapsulated in other buildings and progressively dismantled, to then be replaced by the current Church of San Francesco di Paola during the restoration of the Bourbon family. In its heyday, Santa Croce in Palazzo was part of a larger complex made up of church and monastery, and located in the corner of the square now leading to Via Cesario Console. The complex had been built over the nucleus of an ancient church under the auspices of Sancia of Majorca, wife of Robert I of Anjou, as a space for the Clarisse nuns who would be relocated to Santa Chiara shortly after. For a detailed history of the religious institutions on site and the construction of the Church of San Francesco di Paola, see Fernanda Capopianco and Katia Fiorentino. *Il tempio dei Borbone. La Chiesa di San Francesco di Paola in Piazza Plebiscito*. Napoli: Altrastampa: 1999.

lugubrement sur le mesme ton qu'ils sonent
lors qu'ils menent pendre quelqu'un ;

The order of the procession is the following:
first comes a man dressed as a pilgrim, with
his face covered; he plays the trumpet very
mournfully and in the same tone they play
when they hang someone. ****

*

*

Puis suivent *li battenti*, qui vont vestus
d'une longue aulbe de toile, avec un certain
accoustrement de teste haut de deus pieds,
tout rond, et qui va tousjours en apointissant
vers la pointe come une mitre à la persiene;
cela est couvert d'un long capuchon de toile
blanche, qui leur couvrant toute la face,
hormis qu'à l'endroit des yeus il a deus petits
trous, leur descend jusques sur l'estomach,
de sorte qu'ils en tiennent le bout de la main
gauche et avec la droite se fouettent vers le
milieu du dos, où leur aube est trouée tout
exprez, sur la chair nue, avec des grosses
poignées de petites cordelettes qui ont au
bout certaines petites pointes de fer qui
entrent dans la chair, et en font couler le
sang, de sorte que tous leurs habits en estoient
couverts, jusques mêmes au pavé. Ils font à
l'envi à qui se fouetra plus fort et de
meilleure grâce, y aiant un certain art
particulier pour le pouvoir bien faire, et
passants devant quelque dame favorite, ou
quelque ami, ausquels ils ont doné certaines
marques pour estre recognus, ils redoublent
les coups; chose estrange que pour l'interest
de 20 ou 15 sols, ou par simple vanité, ils
puissent exercer sur eus une telle cruauté
qu'elle fait horreur aus regardants, et qui ne
cede en rien à celles que nous detestons si
fort dans les religions anciennes du
paganisme. Il y en avoit mesme à cette
procession qui avec certains moreceaus de
liege pleins de piquants se battoient les
mamelles jusqu'à en faire pisser le sang. Ce
n'est pas qu'il y en aie quelques uns parmi
cette troupe qui se fouettent par simple
devotion, et y voyoit on mesme quelques
femmes. D'autre portoint de grosses croix de
bois sur le dos, mais ceux ci n'avoient de paye
qu'un *tari*

The *battenti* follow; they go dressed in a
long cloth alb and have a hairdo which is two
feet high, goes around the head and is
pointed towards the top like a Persian miter.
This hairdo is then concealed by a long hood
of white cloth which covers the whole face
(except for two small holes at eye-level) and
reaches the belly, so that they hold one end
of it with the left hand, and use the other
hand to whip the middle of their backs,
where their alb has an opening for that
purpose and they can whip the naked back
with a bunch of small strings with pointed
ends in iron which penetrate the flesh and
make the blood flow; indeed their clothes are
drenched in blood down to the ground. In
doing so, the *battenti* compete to see who can
whip himself the hardest and with the most
grace, having a certain technique to do it
well; also, when passing in front of a favorite
lady of theirs or some friend who will
recognize them by some special signs they
intensify the whipping. It is strange that for
the price of 20 or 15 coins or out of mere
vanity, someone can exercise on himself a
cruelty such as to make the onlookers
horrified; that is a cruelty that is no way
inferior to the one we hate so much in the
ancient religions of Paganism. Indeed, at this
procession, there are some who go as far as
beating their breasts with pieces of cork full
of thorns until they piss blood. Of course,
there are also those who whip themselves out
of simple devotion, and among them even a
few women. Some others wear large wooden
crosses on their backs, but these latter only
had one *tari* as payment. ****

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Après ces battans, suivent quantité de faquins tous vestus de longues aulbes de toile et la face couverte, qui portent les uns au bout de longues perches de grans chaudrons pleins de poix, graisse et huile alumez, les autres des cierges de cire blanches au bout de certains cannes fendus en quatre, en entourant tout le mystère, au devant duquel marche un chœur de musique, et au derrière le cavalier *il quale conduce il misterio*, avec tous ceus qu'il a invitez, ayant tous un cierge allumé en main. En ce mesme ordre suivent tous les autres mysteres, qui ont aussi chasqu'un leur troupe de *battenti* marchant au devant d'eus, dont il y eut sept ou huit : le premier fut Jesus Crist priant au Jardin des Oliviers, et le dernier, estant dans le tombeau.

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Le samedi matin, la Messe, outre le gros cierge paschal, ils en alument un autre petit, qui est divisé en trois branches en l'honneur de la Trinité, et le mettent au haut d'un chandelier de bois fait en pyramide, assez eslevé et tout couvert de feuillages et verdure ; et conservent dans une lampe le nouveau feu qu'ils ont alumé avec le fusil pour le cierge paschal, et à cette lampe le peuple vient alumer la siene, portants au logis ce feu saint d'une main, et l'eau beniste de l'autre. Alors, s'ouvrent les boucheries, où l'on voit une quantité incroyable d'agneaus, chevreaus, *vitelle aniccie* qu'ils appellent, c'est à dire d'un an, et de vaccina, le mouton et le vrai veau, qu'ils appellent *vitella di Sorrento*, laquelle ne cede rien en delicatessen à la *vitella mongana* de Rome, estant assez rares en cette saison. Ils prenent plaisir à orner la viande de quantité de

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Follow many *faquins* dressed in long albs and with their face covered, who carry either long poles holding cauldrons full of pitch, grease, and lighted oil or white wax candles at the top of canes split in four. These *faquins* surround the whole mystery, whereas at the front of the mystery march the chorus and at the back the cavalier – *il quale conduce il misterio* – together with all the people he has invited holding a lighted candle. And this was the order for the following mysteries – as they were seven or eight of them – each of them having their own troop of *battenti* at the front, the first one representing Jesus Christ praying in the garden of Gethsemane, the last one his entombment.

End of page 16

*Note: The passage between **** is at page 17. The compiler notes it has to be inserted in the middle of the text, as I did.*

On Saturday morning, at Mass, in addition to a larger Easter candle, they light another small candle which was divided into three branches in honor of the Trinity; they then put this latter candle on the top of a wooden candlestick that had the shape of a pyramid and was placed quite high and covered with foliage and greenery. They also kept rekindling the fire of another lamp; in fact, they had lit this lamp with the same starter used for the Passover candle,⁹ and people came to this lamp to light their candles, thus bringing home the holy fire on one hand, and the holy water on the other. It was around this time that butcher shops open, putting out an incredible quantity of lambs, lambkins, *vitelle anniccie* – they are so named to highlight the fact they are one year old calves – *vaccina*, sheep and the true calf, which they call *vitella di Sorrento* and

⁹ The word used by Bouchard is the Italian “fucile”, whose currently meaning is rifle but which was anciently used to refer to any steel instrument used to light a fire, often through striking against a flintstone (See *Grande Dizionario*).

bouquets de fleurs, et la dorent mesme, entre autres les agneaus et chevreaus, comme aussi les vendeurs de salures dorent leurs jambons, saucisses, lard etc ; dont il y a de fort belles boutiques, come aussi de fromages, provatures, etc. Il faut acheter tout ce dont l'on a besoing ce jour là, car le lendemain, quand ce seroit pour mourir, l'on ne treuveroit ni pain ni vin ni la moindre chose à vendre.

is no way inferior for tenderness to its Roman counterpart, that is *vitella mongana*,¹⁰ and just as rare during this season. They also take pleasure in decorating the meat with a lot of flowers, and they even gilded it (for instance, they often gild lambs and goats among others). Similarly, the sellers of salted meats gild their hams, sausages, bacon etc. and there are very beautiful stores selling those products, as well as cheeses, *provatura*, etc.¹¹ And yet, it is necessary to buy all one needs on that day, because on the following day, one would not even find bread, wine or the last thing on sale, were one even on the verge of dying.

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Le soir se fait *la processione della Resurrezione*, qui est beaucoup plus belle que celle du vendredi ; car premierement elle fait beaucoup plus de chemin, car se partant de Monte Calvario et traversant quasi toute la longueur de la Strada Toledo vient tourner tout autour de cette grande place qui est au devant du palais. Cette grande longueur de chemin par où elle passe, qui dure plus d'un grand mille.

The *processione della Resurrezione* takes place on that evening, and it is much more beautiful than the one on Friday, first, because it takes a longer tour – since it starts from Monte Calvario –, crosses almost the whole length of the Strada Toledo and turns all around the large square which is in front of the royal palace. This great length of road through which it passes is longer than a mile.

End of Page 17

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[Cette grande longueur de chemin est] bordée des deux costez de deux ou trois rancs de carrosses où sont les dames, qui, pour mieux voir et estre mieus vues, font tenir aus pages cinq ou six grans flambeaus de cire blanche allumez autour de la portiere ; et deux heures durant avant la procession c'est un perpetuel cours de cavaliers qui passent et repassent, quelques uns à cheval, mais la plupart à pied, saluant les dames, leur disant le mot en passant et leur jettant de confitures. *Orestes* passa par deux fois d'un bout à

[This great length of the road is] lined by two or three rows of carriages in which the ladies are seated. Now, those same ladies in order to both see better and be better seen ask their pages to light five or six big torches of white wax and hold them around the carriages' doors, so that starting two hours before the procession it is a perpetual coming and going of chevaliers who – some on horseback, but most on foot – greet the ladies, saying a word to them and offering them sweets.¹² *Orestes* passed between them

¹⁰ Though it technically meant “unweaned”.

¹¹ The word *provatura* was formerly used in reference to fresh cheese prepared with freshly curdled buffalo milk; the pasta was shredded after salting and packaged in round shapes, especially in Central and Southern Italy (See *Grande Dizionario*).

¹² The precise translation from French would be “jams”, but the word would be restrictive today.

l'autre, et ne se ressouviens point d'avoir rien vu de si beau ni de si magnifique, premierement pour la grande quantité de dames, dont la plus part sont parfaitement belles, toutes vestues de riches estofes d'ou ou de soye et parées d'une infinité de pierreries, et ce qui paroissoit entre autre extremement estoit certains petis voiles de tafetas incarnat, avec de la grande dentelle d'or alentour, que la plus part s'estoient mise sur la teste, de peur du serein. Outre celles qui estoient dans les carosses, toutes les fenestres estoient pleines encore d'autres femmes, come aussi quantité d'eschafauts qui estoient dressez en divers endroit. Les portes, les boutiques et la rue, estoit toute bordée de peuple rengé en haye; et ce qui faisoit encore plus paroistre tout cela, estoit la grande quantité de luminaires dont estoient bordez non seulement les carosses, mais encore toutes les fenestres et portes et sur tout les boutiques, dont certaines, entre autres celles des epiciers, estoient remplies par dedans de lampes depuis le haut jusques au bas. Outre ce, d'espace en espace il y avoit sur des eschafauts des chœurs de musique d'instruments et de voix. *Orestes*, pour voir plus commodement, fut en la place du palais, vis à vis de la fenestre d'où regardoit le viceroy, lequel fit un tour ou deus en carosse par la place tout au travers des carosses des dames.

twice from one end of the road to the other and does not remember having seen anything so beautiful or magnificent, especially for the great quantity of ladies, who, for the most part, were perfectly beautiful and all dressed in rich cloths of gold or silk and adorned with an infinity of jewels, as well as small yet flashy veils of crimson taffetas with large gold laces that were particularly distinctive, the majority of them having covered their head with such veils in fear of *sereno*.¹³ In addition to the women in the carriages, all the street windows overflowed with women, and so did the scaffolds which were set up in various places. The doors, the stores and the entire street were all lined with people organized in rows, and what made all this even more striking was the great quantity of lights that appeared not only on the side of carriages, but also on all windows, doors and stores, of which some, and among others the grocery stores in particular, were filled with lamps from top to bottom. Finally, at each corner, one could appreciate scaffolds with musical choirs of both instruments and voices. In order to watch the procession more comfortably, *Orestes* moved to that area of the palace which stands opposite to the viewing window of viceroy; the viceroy who, early on, made one or two tours of the square meandering through the ladies' carriages.

End of page 18

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Devant le palais il n'y avoit des carosses que d'un costé, le long de la barrière faite de pieus, sur lesquels il y avoit des lampes alumées, et de l'autre costé, le long des murailles du palais, estoient rengées les compagnies de la garde du viceroy. Enfin, sur

In front of the palace, there were carriages only on one side, that is along a barrier made of poles crowned by lighted lamps, while on the other side, that is along the walls of the palace, the viceroy's guards were lined up. Finally, at two o'clock at night, the

¹³ This quite idyllic description is in more in line with the tradition of *Descrittione* for travelers generally written by local writers, and thus magnifying the beauty of the city. Among those, almost simultaneous to Bouchard's journal is Enrico Bacco, *Nuova descrittione del Regno di Napoli diviso in dodici province*. (Naples, 1629). Clearly the word "sereno" is used here for a slight alteration of weather tending towards cooler temperatures or light rain.

les deus heures de nuit, la procession partit de Monte Calvario et, après avoir passé la rue de Toledo et fait un grand tour dans la place, tout le long des maisons qui sont à l'opposite de la facade du palais, vint, par la haut de la place, passer sous les fenestres du palais en cet ordre ci : le regent Battaglino, qui est le chef de la congregation, et qui fait les frais principiaux de cette procession, qui luy montent à deus ou trois mille escus, en cierges, faquins, musiciens, et pour les mysteres, ausquels il invite les cavaliers, come nous avons dit que fasoint les Espagnols en la procession precendente, mais avec bien plus de choix, la pemiere estant meslée de toutes sortes de gents, et en celle ci n'y ayant presque autres que cavaliers ; ce regent, dis je, venoit à la teste, vestu d'une soutane et d'un roquet bleu, avec un chapeau de tafetas blanc, porté *in sedia*, laquelle il fit arrester sous la fenestre du viceroi, affin de voir passer devant soy toute la procession. Auprès de luy s'arrêsterent aussi trois ou quatre cavaliers vestus de belles aulbes, avec quantité de dentelles et mesmes quelques pierreries, et un roquet de tabis bleu, tenants une espece de bourdon doré en main, dont il rengooint et faisoint garder les rangs aus processionants. Les premiers qui passerent furent une troupe de petis garçons des plus beaux que l'on avoit pu trouver, vestus en anges avec ailes au dos et cierges aus mains, lesquels dancierent devant le viceroi; puis vint le premier mystere accompagné de son chœur de musique et de ses luminaires. Ce premier come aussi les cinq ou six autres suivants estoit la representations des epithetes que l'on done à la Vierge dans les litanies par exemple *Speculum Justitiae*, *Hortus Conclusus*, etc. Les autres suivants, qui

procession took off from Monte Calvario and, after passing through Via Toledo, made a great turn around the square – that is all along the houses that stand opposite to the facade of the palace –,¹⁴ finally coming to the forefront of the square and passing under the windows of the palace, in the following order: at its head the regent Battaglino, who is the leader of the congregation and who covers the main costs of the procession, with these costs amounting to two or three thousand *scudi* in candles, *faquins*,¹⁵ musicians, and mysteries; mysteries to which, not unlike the Spaniards in the previously mentioned procession, the Regent invites his chevaliers, yet with more selectiveness, since the former [i.e. the Spaniards] mix all kinds of people while the latter only invites knights; this regent, I was saying, was at the head of the procession, and he was dressed in a cassock, a blue *roquet*¹⁶ and a hat of white taffeta. Furthermore, he was carried in a *sedia*, to be halted under the window of the viceroy, in order to see the whole procession going in front of him. Next to him stood three or four knights dressed in beautiful vestment with abundant lace and even some jewels. They also wore a little blue tabis *roquet* and held a golden *bourdon*¹⁷ in hand, with which they kept in check the rows of the procession's participants. The first order to pass by was a group of the most beautiful boys they were able to find, and they danced in front of the Viceroy dressed as angels with wings on their backs and candles in their hands. Then, came the first mystery accompanied by its choir of music and lights. This mystery, like the five or six others that followed, represented the epithets that are normally assigned to the Virgin in the litanies, as for

¹⁴ It has to be noted that the façade of the new Royal Palace had been completed only in 1616, while the Palace and its decoration, with the exclusion of the chapel, were completed in 1631, that is just one year before the arrival of Bouchard. See Franco Strazzullo, *Architetti e ingegneri napoletani dal Cinquecento al Settecento* (Naples, 1968): 279-81

¹⁵ Porters.

¹⁶ The word *roquet* referred to a small cloak reaching to the elbow and with no collar. Over time, this type of little cloak would be passed down from the masters to the lackey, and was finally taken over by the buffoon of the *Commedia dell'Arte*. See: <https://www.lerobert.com>.

¹⁷ Normally a long staff, adorned with a boule on top, and associated with the image pilgrims.

furent environ au nombre de 10 ou 12, representoient les principales actions de la vie de la Vierge, le premier estant l'Annonciation et le dernier son Assumption au ciel. Les personages estoient petits et tenoient de la poupée ; la magnificence estoit en la quantité de cierges en la quantité de cierges et de musiciens et joueurs de toute sorte d'instruments, dont il y avoit au moins 15 ou 16 gros chœurs. Mais ce qui estoit le plus digne d'admiration estoit la grande quantité de chevaliers, leur port majestueux, et leur bone mine, en quoi ils surpassent toutes les nations d'Italie, et ne le cedent à aucune de delà les monts ; et se faisoient tellement discerner d'avec ceus du peuple, dont il y avoit quelques uns à cette procession, qu'il sembloit qu'ils fussent de quelque differente espece. La jeunesse entre autres est divinement belle, et *Orestes* n'a jamais rien vu si ravissant come une troupe de ces petits cavaliers qui passerent en de cette procession, tous vestus de soutanes blanches et roquets bleus, avec le baston de confrairie en main. Les derniers qui passerent furent les capitaines, alfiers et sergents des compagnies nouvellement faites, tous gens encore de bone mine et fort lestement vestus de couleur avec or, portant chascun en main la marque de sa charge ; les capitaines leur *regimento* ou *ginetta* ou canne d'Inde, les alfiers leur *scettro* ou petit espieu et les sergents leurs hallebardes. Tout cela demeura plus d'une heure à passer. En somme, tant pour la quantité et beauté des dames et autres regardants comme aussi des processionants, que pour cette grande multitude de luminaires et musiques qui fait dans les tenebres de la nuit un effet mille fois plus admirable que l'on ne sçauroit s'imaginer, l'on peut dire que cette procession ci merite d'estre mise au nombre des choses (les) plus remarquables et singulieres de l'Europe. Aussi lorsque l'Infante passa il y a deus ans par Naples en allant en Hongrie, encore que ce fust en esté, les cavaliers la firent hors de temps, affin de

instance *Speculum Justitiae*, *Hortus Conclusus* etc. The others following, which were about ten or twelve, represented main scenes from the Virgin's life, the first one being the Annunciation and the last one her Assumption to heaven. The figures were small and doll-like, and the magnificence came through a quantity of candles, musicians, and players of all kinds of instruments, and organized in at least fifteen or sixteen large choirs. But what was most worthy of admiration was the great quantity of chevaliers, as well as their majestic posture and good complexion, since it surpassed that of all nations of Italy, and had nothing to envy to the one of those on the other side of the Alps. Indeed, it was so different from that of the commoners (commoners were present at this procession in droves), that it seemed as they belonged to a different species. Among other things, the youth was divinely beautiful, and Orestes never saw anything so delightful as the troop of little knights who passed in this procession, all dressed in white cassocks and blue roquets and with the rod of their brotherhood in hand. The last groups to pass were the captains, the standard-bearers, and the sergeants of the newly formed companies, all of them also of good appearance and very elegantly dressed in colours and gold, with each one carrying in his hand the mark of his office: the captains their *regimento* or *ginesta* or cane of India, the standard-bearer their *scettro* or *venablo*,¹⁸ and the sergeants their halberds. The whole thing took more than one hour. In brief, for the quantity and beauty of the ladies and other spectators, as well as of the procession members, as for this great multitude of lights and music which makes in the darkness of the night, an effect thousand times more admirable than one could imagine one can say that this procession deserves to be listed as one of the most remarkable and singular of Europe. Indeed, when two years ago the Infanta

¹⁸ Small sword

la luy voir come l'une des choses les plus remarquable(s) de leur ville.

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passed by Naples on her way to Hungary, the chevaliers recreated the same procession in spite of the fact that it was Summer, and therefore out of season, in order to show it to her as one of the most remarkable attractions of their city.

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