Staging the Operas of Francesco Cavalli:

Dramaturgy in Performance, 1651–1652

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation examines four operas created by the composer Franceso Cavalli and the librettist Giovanni Faustini at the Teatro Sant'Apollinare in Venice in 1651–1652 with regard to the relationship between musical dramaturgy and stage performance. All four operas—*L'Oristeo*, *La Rosinda*, *La Calisto*, and *L'Eritrea*—are preserved in manuscript scores that are part of the Contarini Collection in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Annotations in these sources document the complex process of rehearsing at the Sant'Apollinare and the ways that multiple considerations of production (including vocal casting, staging, and scenography) interacted with the evolving musico-dramatic structure. Several of these operas were revived later in the seventeenth century in new theatrical circumstances: *L'Oristeo* was revived as *L'Oristeo travestito* in Bologna in 1656; La *Rosinda* was reworked and presented under the title *Le magie amorose* in Naples in 1653; and *L'Eritrea* received multiple productions (including a Venetian revival at the Teatro San Salvatore in 1661). These case studies provide a fuller view of the relationship between Venetian opera aesthetics and the exigencies of performance on the seventeenth-century stage. Modifications to the original dramaturgy—such as inserted arias and *sinfonie*, added secondary comic characters, and cuts to recitative—were made with careful regard to the scenography of each production. This analysis demonstrates the critical importance of stagecraft in the interpretation of this repertoire both historically and in modern edition and performance.

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INTRODUCTION

Del magico concilio
chi vela li spettacoli?

Of the magical realm
who conceals the spectacle?

— Prologue to *La Rosinda* (1651)[1]

The first two lines of the prologue to the opera *La Rosinda* by the composer Francesco Cavalli and librettist Giovanni Faustini are declared by a chorus of Furies at a moment before the drama with the curtain not yet raised. This prologue text, sung "Con la scena della tenda velata," or "with the stage concealed by the curtain,"[2] refers to the critical importance of spectacle in opera performed in Venice in 1651. The illusion created by lavish sets, costumes, dance, and staging had been a major factor in the rapid rise and success of the commercial venture since the first opera had been performed on a public opera stage in 1637.[3] The English traveler John Evelyn was especially taken by the spectacular effects achieved in the presentation of Venetian opera, which he described in his memoirs. Evelyn referred to many aspects of operatic spectacle that were appreciated together in the following commentary:

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[1] First two lines of the prologue of Furies to the opera *La Rosinda*, composed by Francesco Cavalli to a libretto by Giovanni Faustini. Libretto published in Venice by Giovanni Pietro Pinelli, 1651.

[2] *Ibid*., reprinted in Nicola Badolato, *I drammi musicali di Giovanni Faustini per Francesco Cavalli* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2012), 392–429.

[3] The first opera performed in Venice was *Andromeda* by Benedetto Ferrari, presented at the Teatro San Cassiano in 1637. Libretto published in Venice by Antonio Bariletti, 1637.

> . . . [W]e went to the Opera where comedies and other plays are represented in recitative music by the most excellent musicians vocal and instrumental, with a variety of scenes painted and contrived with no less art of perspective, and machines for flying in the aire, and other wonderful motions; taken together it is one of the most magnificent and expensive diversions the wit of men can invent . . . [4]

The impact of this "most magnificent and expensive diversion" was made through the combined effects of all aspects of performance, including the poetry, music, and stage production. Visitors to Venice during carnival each year found a growing number of opera companies presenting new works to public audiences throughout the 1640s.[5] By 1651, the year of the premiere of *La Rosinda*, conventions in both the composition and performance of opera had been established. The stage representation of the *dramma per musica* was becoming an established industry, and the many considerations related to casting, rehearsing, designing, and

[4] *Memoirs of John Evelyn*, ed. William Bray (London, 1819), Vol. 1: 191. Evelyn is describing a performance of the opera *Ercole in Lidia* in 1645. Reprinted in Ellen Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 9. Evelyn's commentary, with its emphasis on the cumulative effect of all layers of Venetian opera production, suggests that audiences appreciated these early operas as theatrical presentations, perhaps even more than as musical performances.

[5] Several sources document the increase in the number of opera houses in Venice in the first century of opera production. Cristoforo Ivanovich published the earliest chronology in the seventeenth century: *Minerva al tavolino* (Venice: Pezzana, 1681; Second Edition, 1688, reprinted Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 1993). Numerous errors in this history have been corrected by more recent chronologies, including Thomas Walker, "Gli errori di *Minerva al tavolino*: osservazioni sulla cronologia delle prime opere veneziane," in *Venezia e il melodramma nel Seicento*, ed. M. T. Muraro (Florence: Olschki, 1976), 7–20; and Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *A New Chronology of Venetian Opera and Related Genres, 1660–1760* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007). For the history of the first decades of production and the earliest opera houses, see Rosand (1991), Chapter 3, "*Da rappresentare in musica:* The Rise of Commercial Opera," 67–110.

performing opera were crucial in determining the musical and poetic content of new works.[6]

This dissertation examines the issue of opera staging in its historical and theoretical contexts by studying a series of four operas that had their premiere productions in two seasons in the early 1650s: *L'Oristeo*, *La Rosinda*, *La Calisto*, and *L'Eritrea*. All four operas were collaborations of the long-established team of composer Francesco Cavalli and librettist Giovanni Faustini.[7] They were all presented in the same theater, the Teatro Sant'Apollinare in Venice, which had just been converted into a venue for the presentation of opera beginning in 1651.[8] They are the last four collaborations by Cavalli with his regular librettist Faustini, for the

[6] Beth L. Glixon and Jonathan E. Glixon present the idea of early opera as an emerging commercial industry in their examination of the account books and other documents that record the types of financial transactions that formed the foundation for all operatic activity during this period. See Glixon and Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera: The Impresario and His World in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[7] Cavalli and Faustini first collaborated at the Teatro San Cassiano in 1642 for the creation of the opera *La virtù dei strali d'Amore*. Other operas included *L'Egisto* (1643), *L'Ormindo* (1644), *La Doriclea* and *Il Titone* (1645), *L'Euripo* (1649), and *L'Orimonte* (1650). By the early 1650s, the pair had a long-established rapport and common musico-dramatic aesthetic. One can view the pair of Cavalli-Faustini as an early example of the type of ongoing creative collaboration between composer and dramatist that characterizes the familiar pairings of Mozart-Da Ponte and Strauss-Hofmannsthal in later centuries.

[8] The Teatro Sant'Apollinare (also referred to as Teatro San Aponal in Venetian dialect) was a small theater owned by Francesco Ceroni and Zanetta Diamante that was rented by Giovanni Faustini in 1651. For the details of this rental arrangement and the conversion of the theater for the presentation of opera, see Glixon and Glixon (2006), 37. For complete history of the venue, see Jane Glover, "The Teatro Sant'Apollinare and the Development of Seventeenth-Century Opera" (D.Phil. Dissertation, University of Oxford, 1975) and Franco Mancini, Maria Teresa Muraro, and Elena Povoledo, *I teatri del Veneto: Venezia e il suo territorio,* Part 1: *Teatri effimeri e nobili imprenditori* (Venice: Corbo e Fiore, with the collaboration of the Regione del Veneto, 1995–96).

latter died in 1652 in the weeks leading up to the first performances of *L'Eritrea*.[9] By looking closely at four works created by the same artists for the same stage in Venice, this study highlights recurring issues of the aesthetics of opera presentation on the seventeenth-century stage, including vocal casting, cuts and transpositions, scenography, costume transformations, and stage movement. An examination of these issues of stagecraft in the original productions of these operas also casts new light on the types of subjects invented for opera plots and their significance to contemporary audiences.[10] By thinking about the staging of opera, we gain a fuller understanding of the historical sources (including scores and libretti) and the place of these works within their own theatrical culture.[11] Furthermore, as the revival of interest in Baroque opera (and Cavalli's works in particular) continues to gain momentum in the twenty-first century, opera producers and performers today will benefit from an understanding of the importance of these aspects of theatrical

[9] The untimely death of Giovanni Faustini, at the peak of preparations for the second opera of the season, is recorded in the preface to the printed libretto of *L'Eritrea*, 1652.

[10] Giovanni Faustini's libretto subjects were drawn from a variety of sources, including *commedia dell'arte*, Spanish drama, and epic poetry, but were assembled in such a way as to give the impression of being freely invented plots. Badolato has outlined many of these contemporary literary influences in the structure and content of the libretti in his recent study (2012). However, stage design was another important factor in these more freely assembled plot structures, which allowed Faustini the opportunity to introduce additional spectacular elements, involving scenery and machines, costumes, and movement.

[11] The following chapters will explore how these scores and libretti record multiple layers of stage production, including adjustments made during rehearsals for the original performances in 1651–52, as well as further changes required when operas were revived with different casts, scenery, costumes, and in different venues in subsequent seasons.

presentation when the operas were created and first viewed by the public in the seventeenth century.[12]

I. Historical and Biographical Context

Francesco Cavalli (14 February 1602 – 14 January 1676) is chief among the Baroque composers of opera in widespread revival on the stages of opera companies today.[13] Born in Crema with the name Pietro Francesco Caletti-Bruni, he took the surname of his patron, the Venetian nobleman Federico Cavalli.[14] Throughout his 60-year career in Venice, which spanned from 1616 when he became a singer in the cappella of San Marco through his death in 1676, Cavalli maintained a multi-faceted musical life, holding various sacred musical posts in the

[12] A new critical edition of many of Cavalli's operas (Ellen Rosand, General Editor) is currently in publication with Bärenreiter Verlag. This new edition will provide scholars and performers with access to this important repertory.

[13] For the general biography of Francesco Cavalli, see Thomas Walker and Irene Alm, "Cavalli [Caletti, Caletto, Bruni, Caletti-Bruni, Caletto Bruni], (Pietro) [Pier] Francesco" in *Grove Music Online*, as well as Lorenzo Bianconi, "Caletti, Pietro Francesco, detto Cavalli," in *Dizionario biographico degli italiani* [DBI] (Rome, 1960-) and Jane Glover, *Cavalli* (London: Batsford, 1978). An overview of the early musicological literature on Cavalli and his contemporaries is summarized by Ellen Rosand in "*Una carta del navegar:* Charting the Progress of Venetian-Opera Studies," *17th-Century Music*, Volume 11, No. 2 (Spring 2002). Seminal studies include Hermann Kretzschmar, "Die venetianische Oper und die Werke Cavallis und Cestis" *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft, viii* (1892), 1–76; Egon Wellesz, "Cavalli und der Stil der venetianischen Oper von 1640–1660)," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, i* (1913), 1–103; Henry Prunières, *Cavalli et l'opéra vénitien au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Rieder, 1931); and Simon Towneley Worsthorne, *Venetian Opera in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954).

[14] Noble patronage was crucial to the success of opera as a commercial venture in Venice. At the personal level, the support of Federico Cavalli enabled Caletti to relocate and develop a musical career. At the level of company organization, it was again the support of Venetian patricians that provided the funding for the business of opera production beginning in 1637.

Basilica di San Marco (ultimately achieving the role of maestro di cappella in 1668), while composing operas almost annually after his first work for a Venetian stage, *Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo* in 1639.[15] A student of the composer Claudio Monteverdi, Cavalli's musical style and theatrical aesthetics developed out of the works that Monteverdi composed for Venice in the early 1640s, described by Ellen Rosand as a Venetian trilogy (1640–43).[16] The growing interest in reviving the stage works of Monteverdi in the early twentieth century led performers and scholars to mount productions of Cavalli's operas as well.[17]

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[15] The mythological libretto was written by Orazio Persiani, and the work was designated an *opera scenica* or *festa teatrale*, indicating the importance of elaborate scenographic effects for its performance. It was performed at the Teatro San Cassiano. The score is the earliest surviving music of an opera performed in Venice. See Ellen Rosand, "*Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo"* in *Grove Music Online.*

[16] Ellen Rosand, *Monteverdi's Last Operas: A Venetian Trilogy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007). Rosand's methodology of score and libretto analysis of Monteverdi's three operas written for Venice has informed this study of a "tetralogy" of Cavalli's operas.

[17] Of the four operas in this study, three of them have received performances in recent decades. The performances of *La Calisto* conducted by Raymond Leppard at Glyndebourne Opera in 1970 (also recorded and published [London: Faber Music, 1975]) brought Cavalli to the attention of the wider opera public. Leppard's edition (or "realization") freely modified Cavalli's musical language to suit the tastes of audiences familiar with the operas of later composers. Since that production, conductors and opera companies have presented other works with closer adherence to the original musical text. Critical editions of *La Calisto* have since been published by Jennifer Williams-Brown (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2007) and as part of the new Bärenreiter series: *La Calisto* edited by Álvaro Torrente and Nicola Badolato (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 2012). Jane Glover conducted two of the operas in this study in her own unpublished editions: *L'Eritrea* and *La Rosinda*. For further details on these productions, see Jane Glover, "Cavalli and 'Rosinda,'" *The Musical Times*, Vol. 114, No. 1560 (February 1973), 133–35 and Jane Glover, "Cavalli and *L'Eritrea*" *The Musical Times*, Vol. 123, No. 1668 (February 1982), 103–6. Another production of *La Rosinda* was recently recorded and released in a three-CD set on the label Ludi Musici (featuring *La sfera armoniosa* conducted by Mike Fentross, 2011). The CD set includes liner notes by Dinko Fabris.

Cavalli achieved theatrical renown in his own era, with usually at least one if not two new operas premiering every year during the height of the Venetian carnival season, when the population of the city seeking theatrical entertainment swelled.[18] His reputation for opera led to commissions outside the city of Venice, including *L'Orione* for Milan in 1653, and culminating in 1662 with *Ercole amante* for the royal court of Paris (in collaboration with Jean-Baptiste Lully, who provided the ballet music).[19] Although *Ercole amante* did not enjoy success abroad,[20] Cavalli commanded respect for his first decades of opera composition in the operatic capital of Venice. He received large fees for his work for the stage, which consistently amounted to the majority of his annual salary.[21] Scores for many of

[18] Carnival season in Venice brought an influx of visitors to the lagoon, and in turn a diversity of theatrical presentations. As opera developed against this culture, the genre took on aspects of other theatrical genres, including spoken theater and comic servant characters from improvised *commedia dell'arte* scenarios. For an overview of the genre, see Roberto Tessari, *Commedia dell'arte: la maschera e l'ombra* (Milano: Mursia, 1981); Cesare Molinari, *La commedia dell'arte* (Milano: A. Mondadori, 1985); and Kenneth Richards, *The commedia dell'arte: A Documentary History* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1990). Venetian carnival culture and *commedia* both featured the use of masks, disguise, and role reversal, all of which became essential elements of the dramaturgy of Venetian opera.

[19] On the production of *L'Orione* in Milan in 1653 with a libretto by Francesco Melosio, see Davide Daolmi, "*Orione* in Milan: A Cavalli Premiere," in *Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage*, ed. Ellen Rosand (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2013), 321–32. The production of *Ercole Amante* in Paris in 1662 was a large-scale presentation that was the culmination of Cavalli's career. See Martha Novak Clinkscale, "Ercole Amante" in *Grove Music Online*; and Barbara Coeyman, "Opera and Ballet in Seventeenth-Century French Theaters: Case Studies of the Salle des Machines and the Palais Royal Theater," in *Opera in Context: Essays on Historical Staging from the Late Renaissance to the Time of Puccini,* ed. Mark A. Radice (Hong Kong: Amadeus Press, 1998), 37–72.

[20] See Michael Klaper, "'*Ercole amante* sconosciuto': Reconstructing the Revised Version of Cavalli's Parisian Opera," 333–52 and Barbara Nestola, "*Ercole amante*: the First *tragédie en musique*," 353–74. Additional essays on *Ercole amante* are included in *Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage*, ed. Ellen Rosand (2013).

[21] See Glixon and Glixon (2006), 146 for an overview of Cavalli's salary as a musician in the Cappella di San Marco, which gradually rose from 80 ducats in 1616 to a maximum of 400

Cavalli's operas survive due to the composer's own interest in musical preservation near the end of his life. These manuscripts preserve Cavalli's operas in a variety of states. Many of the scores contain the hands of multiple copyists, including Maria Cavalli, the composer's wife; some are autograph scores; some are fair copies; and some are performance scores that show multiple hands and corrections or rubrics that document stage productions.[22] These scores comprise a large body of work spanning decades and show a single composer collaborating in a variety of theatrical circumstances.[23]

The operas at the center of this study were all created in the span of less than two years, at the time when Cavalli was most prolific and just prior to the first commissions that would take him to musical centers outside Venice. The theatrical

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ducats when he became maestro di cappella in 1668. By comparison, Cavalli's salary for the composition of an opera was 400 ducats in the contract he signed by Marco Faustini in 1658, which at that time was twice his annual salary as organist. See Glixon and Glixon (2006), 151–52.

[22] For an overview of these sources, see Peter Jeffery, "The Autograph Manuscripts of Francesco Cavalli" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1980). Jeffrey employs handwriting analysis to trace the multiple layers of composition in these manuscripts. See also Taddeo Wiel, *I codici musicali contariniani del secolo XVII nella R. Biblioteca di San Marco in Venezia* (Venice, 1888); Jennifer Williams Brown, "Inside Cavalli's Workshop: Copies and Copyists" in *Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage* (2013), 57–94; Jennifer Williams Brown, "Maria Cavalli, Copyist and Teacher" in *Word, Image, and Song*, Vol. 1: Essays on Early Modern Italy, ed. Rebecca Cypess, Beth L. Glixon, and Nathan Link. (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2013); and Hendrik Schulze in "Editing the Performance Score: Toward a New Understanding of Seventeenth-Century Work Concepts" in *Readying Cavalli's Operas* (2013), 119–36.

[23] The Contarini Collection of musical scores, which includes so many operas by Cavalli among its total of 112 works, has been widely accessible since it was added to the catalogue of the Marciana in 1843. It was brought together by the patron of opera Marco Contarini near the end of the seventeenth century. For further information on the provenance of the collection, see Rosand (1991), 29 and for a complete listing of items in the collection, see Thomas Walker, "'Ubi Lucius': Thoughts on Reading *Medoro*," in Aurelio Aureli and Francesco Lucio, *Il Medoro: Partitura dell'opera in facsimile, edizione del libretto, saggio introduttivo*, ed. Giovanni Morelli and Thomas Walker (Milan: Ricordi, 1984), CXLI–CXLIII.

seasons in 1651 and 1652 both brought two opera commissions each from the librettist that was Cavalli's chief collaborator at the time, Giovanni Faustini (1615 – December 19, 1651).[24] They created operas together for a decade, beginning with *La virtù de' strali d'Amore* in 1642 at the Teatro San Cassiano and concluding with the four operas examined here.[25] Faustini was the first "professional" opera librettist in Venice, and during the decade of collaboration with Cavalli, work in opera was his chief occupation.[26] Other librettists working in Venetian theaters, such as Monteverdi's collaborators Giacomo Badoaro and Giovanni Francesco Busenello, were amateur poets and members of Venice's influential intellectual academy, the Accademia degli Incogniti.[27] At the time of his death, Faustini left some libretti that had not been set to music that would eventually be brought to the stage by his brother Marco Faustini, who took over as impresario at the Teatro Sant'Apollinare

[24] For the general biography of Giovanni Faustini, see Thomas Walker, Beth L. Glixon, and Jonathan E. Glixon, "Giovanni Faustini" in *Grove Music Online*. See also Christopher J. Mossey, "Human After All: Character and Self-Understanding in Operas by Giovanni Faustini and Francesco Cavalli, 1644–1652" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Brandeis University, 1999); Paolo Fabbri, *Il secolo cantante: per una storia del libretto d'opera nel Seicento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1990; revised edition Rome: Bulzoni, 2003); and Badolato (2012).

[25] *La virtù dei strali d'Amore* is another one of Cavalli's operas that was revived in the seventeenth century: it was performed in Bologna in 1648.

[26] Faustini set himself apart from his contemporaries as a professional librettist in the preface to *L'Oristeo*. He writes, "I am not one of those . . . who write to satisfy their whims. I strain my pen, I confess my ambition, to see if it can raise me above the ordinary and common achievements of dull and plebian talents." For the libretto preface translation cited here and a full discussion of Faustini's career as the first professional librettist, see Rosand (1991), 170–76.

[27] Both Giacomo Badoaro (who wrote the libretto for *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria*) and Giovanni Francesco Busenello (who wrote the libretto of *L'incoronazione di Poppea*) were members of the influential Accademia degli Incogniti. Busenello was also a lawyer. On the influence of their academic membership on the aesthetics of Venetian opera, see Mauro Calcagno, "Signifying Nothing: On the Aesthetics of Pure Voice in Early Venetian Opera," *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (Fall 2003): 461–97.

when his brother died.[28] The fact that Giovanni Faustsini and Cavalli collaborated so regularly over the decade 1642–52 fostered the development of a series of musical and theatrical conventions in their works. Unlike other librettists of the time who typically drew upon mythic or historical subjects for their libretti, Faustini was known for creating operas that had original plots, invented for operatic treatment.[29] In fact, Faustini was greatly influenced by other forms of literature, and he blended together aspects of many types of traditional seventeenth-century dramaturgy, including epic narrative, contemporary Spanish drama, and *commedia dell'arte*. Faustini freely invented character names, locations, and increasingly intricate plot structures because he needed to mold his narratives specifically to the exigencies of mounting opera on the Venetian stage. For the works created with Cavalli in 1651–52, none of which has a single source text but brought together aspects of many

[28] Marco Faustini's career as impresario began in 1651 the Teatro Sant'Apollinare. After Giovanni's death, Marco became one of the preeminent figures in the Venetian opera world, working as an impresario until 1668. He produced several of his brother's libretti that had been unset at the time of his death, including *L'Eupatra* (1655), *L'Elena* (1659), *Il Meraspe* and *L'Alciade* (both 1667). See Beth L. Glixon and Jonathan E. Glixon, "Marco Faustini and Venetian Opera Production in the 1650s: Recent Archival Discoveries," *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (Winter 1992), 48–73; and Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, "Production, Consumption and Political Function of Seventeenth-Century Opera," *Early Music History* 4 (1984), 209–96.

[29] The notion that Faustini's libretto subjects were freely invented has been challenged recently in Badolato (2012). But, unlike subjects that adhered closely to historical narratives, Faustini's plot formulas were original in the combination of elements he chose, even if these aspects of the libretto were borrowed from earlier comedic genres (such as Roman comedy), Spanish drama, and epic poetry.

narrative models, Faustini shaped the new dramas to suit the needs of operatic spectacle at the Teatro Sant'Apollinare.[30]

II. The Teatro Sant'Apollinare as New Venue for Opera Production

Beginning in 1642, Cavalli and Faustini collaborated regularly on new works at the Teatro San Cassiano.[31] In 1649, Cavalli and the librettist Giacinto Andrea Cicognini created *Il Giasone* for San Cassiano,[32] but due to problems with payments from the theater's new impresarios Bortolo Castoreo and Rocco Maestri, Cavalli became reluctant to continue composing works for the theater.[33] During this same period, two of Faustini's operas were presented at the Teatro San Moisè: *Ersilla* (1648) and *Euripo* (1649).[34] In 1651, Faustini embarked on a new venture at the

[30] Of the four operas considered here, only *La Calisto* features characters familiar from Greco-Roman myth, but even that libretto was original in its recombination of two Ovidian myths to create the two pairs of lovers essential for Venetian tragicomic dramaturgy.

[31] The Teatro San Cassiano was the first public opera house in Venice when it opened in 1637 and the first productions were *L'Andromeda* and *La maga fulminata*. It operated under the management of Marco Faustini from 1657–60.

[32] *Il Giasone*, one of the last works Cavalli created in this period at the Teatro San Cassiano, became the most widely performed opera of the seventeenth century. For an overview of the production history, see Thomas Lin and Joseph Salem, "Giasone: A Source Overview," *Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage: Manuscript, Edition, Production*, edited by Ellen Rosand (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2013), 277–306.

[33] See Glixon and Glixon (2006), 71–72 for the history of Cavalli's departure from the Teatro San Cassiano. However, it would not be the last time that the composer worked in that venue, for he later returned when the theater was under the management of Marco Faustini in 1659 for *L'Antioco* and *L'Elena* (both libretti finished by Nicolò Minato, the latter a completion of the libretto by Giovanni Faustini).

[34] See Rosand (1991), 170.

Teatro Sant'Apollinare, which he rented at the relatively low cost of 60 ducats.[35] Prior to that season, the theater had been used for the presentation of comedies, and it was Faustini's agreement that prompted the conversion of the space for the presentation of opera. Due to Cavalli's long-standing association with Faustini and his dissatisfaction in his working circumstances under the new management at the San Cassiano, he committed to a series of new projects with Faustini in the new company created at the Teatro Sant'Apollinare.

The Sant'Apollinare joined the growing number of theaters being operated for the presentation of opera. Since the first commercial productions at the end of the 1630s, an increasing number of venues had been used for opera, and with the addition of the Sant'Apollinare the number had reached an all-time high of seven for the 1651 season.[36] In spite of the growing competition, Faustini hoped that the new theater would allow him to turn a profit because of its relatively low costs of operations. The space was significantly smaller than the other theaters that had been previously used for the presentation of opera. Faustini may have signed the contract with the theater owners in order to escape the high overhead involved at

[35] *Ibid*., 90. At an annual rental cost of only 60 ducats, the Teatro Sant'Apollinare was by far the lowest cost venue being used to stage opera productions in 1651. Glixon and Glixon also cite a document from 1635 that describes the theater as "the place where they performed comedy" in that year.

[36] The seven theaters in operation at this time were the Teatro San Cassiano, Teatro San Salvatore, Teatro Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Teatro Novissimo, Teatro San Moisè, Teatro Santi Apostoli, and the Teatro Sant'Apollinare. See Nicola Mangini, *I teatri di Venezia* (Milan: Mursia, 1974).

other theaters.[37] Glixon and Glixon report that the annual rental cost of a theater was usually 600 to 1000 ducats.[38] It is not known whether Faustini approached the owners, Francesco Ceroni and Zanetta Diamante, or whether they sought out his participation.[39]

In planning the 1651 season, Giovanni Faustini acted as both the impresario of the new company and the librettist for the new operas that were planned. The new venue imposed certain limitations.[40] The smaller size of the stage and proximity of the view from the boxes (*palchi*) required a reduction in the scale of the spectacle compared with the Teatro San Cassiano.[41] Nevertheless, Faustini was ambitious in his first two seasons, not in the scale of the theatrical space available to him but in the presentation of repertoire. He commissioned not one but two new

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[37] Compared with the 60 ducat annual rental for the Teatro Sant'Apollinare, Glixon and Glixon report that the Teatro San Cassiano contract with the aristocratic Tron family under the management of Maestri and Castoreo included a rental payment of 25 ducats per performance, which represented a reduction from the usual annual rent of 800 ducats. Effectively, the Teatro Sant'Apollinare rental costs were approximately one-tenth the costs of the Teatro San Cassiano. See Glixon and Glixon (2006), 71–72.

[38] *Ibid*., 37.

[39] *Ibid*., 90–91.

[40] Faustini mentions the aesthetic challenges of the Teatro Sant'Apollinare in the preface of the first libretto written for the new venue, *L'Oristeo*. He explains that he felt "closed . . . in the confines of a theater where, if nothing else, the eye accustomed to the vastness of regal scenes is disappointed by the proximity of the scenery [apparenze]." See Chapter 1 for the complete preface.

[41] Theatrical boxes were the major source of income to the impresario or theater owner. The Sant'Apollinare was by far the smallest venue, with only 48 total boxes arranges in three rings of 16 boxes each. Thus, although the new space lowered the operating costs significantly, the size also set limitations on the potential income that could be earned. For a complete overview of all Venetian theaters operating at the time and the importance of the *palchi* for generating income, see Glixon and Glixon (2006), 22.

operas for 1651 from Cavalli to his own libretti, which meant additional cost-savings across an entire season that included *L'Oristeo* and *La Rosinda*. Rather than a single large-scale production, the financial model of Faustini's new, smaller venue would be to plan a season of operatic production involving a pair of pieces, thus hoping to draw a larger total audience.[42] The budgets could thus be spread across two productions, and the planning of a season reduced expenses in the presentation of each new work.

Far more detailed information regarding the financial operations of the company at the Teatro Sant'Apollinare is available for the second season of operation, in which Cavalli and Faustini collaborated on the creation of *La Calisto* and *L'Eritrea*. By 1652, following Giovanni's death, Marco Faustini had become the impresario of the company, and his acount book survives, which includes records of all the payments for elements of production including members of the cast, costs associated with scenic backdrops, machinery, and costumes.[43] As impresario, Marco Faustini was loyal to his late brother's reputation as librettist, and continued to commission new operas from his libretti in the following decade.[44]

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[42] The idea of presenting more than one opera in the same season was common by 1651, but the Teatro Sant'Apollinare is the unique case of a single composer-librettist team mounting a pair of works. The practice of mounting two operas in the same season was begun at the Teatro SS. Giovanni e Paolo in 1639. See Rosand (1991), 78.

[43] The account book is analyzed in "Chapter Three: Marco Faustini and His Companies," in Glixon and Glixon (2006), 38–41. The source can be viewed in Venice under ASV, SGSM, b. 112, account book 1651/52.

[44] For a full overview of Marco Faustini's career, see Glixon and Glixon, "Marco Faustini and Venetian Opera Production in the 1650s: Recent Archival Discoveries," *The Journal of Musicology* (1992), 48–73.

The operas composed by the Cavalli-Faustini team in 1651–52 all conform to the scale of operatic work that was possible on a stage the size of the Teatro Sant'Apollinare. While operas in larger theaters sometimes required up to fifteen total painted backdrops by the 1670s, the libretti for these two seasons call for only two distinct backdrops for each act, for a total of six overall locations per opera, in addition to the prologue.[45] The effects of stage depth and machinery were employed to vary the appearance of the scenic design. Since the audience expected lavish new scenery for each opera, the scenery was not reused across the season, but rather new elements were commissioned from the painter and machine builder for each opera.[46]

While scenery was not reused across the season at the Sant'Apollinare, the cast certainly was. Records show that the casting was planned in such a way that the same members of the cast played roles in both operas each season.[47] This practice allowed for the creation of what effectively functioned as a resident company of singers. Most of the names of the cast are known from the account books of the

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[45] See Table 9.1 in Glixon and Glixon (2006), 243, which shows the number of sets required for operas production in Venice from 1637 to 1677. Six sets per opera was the smallest number required of any work produced during the 1650s, which is further evidence that Faustini and Cavalli set out to economize during the inaugural seasons.

[46] The technology of *lontani*—theatrical flats that were used to create both shallow and deep stage spaces—was another way of getting more visual variety out of a limited number of painted backdrops. See "Chapter Nine: Scenery and Machines" in Glixon and Glixon (2006), 227–76.

[47] This had been the case in earlier productions at other theaters, such as *L'incoronazione di Poppea* and *La finta savia* at the Teatro Santi Giovanni e Paolo in 1643. See Magnus Tessing Schneider, "Seeing the Empress Again: On Doubling in *L'incoronazione di Poppea*," *Cambridge Opera Journal*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (November 2012), 249–91.

1651/52 season that included *La Calisto* and *L'Eritrea*. Although similar records do not survive for the inaugural season, an understanding of the practice of casting across a typical season gives further insight to the allocation of roles in *L'Oristeo* and *La Rosinda*. Doublings were made in individual operas, where small roles such as those in the prologue would be performed by one of the principal singers.[48]

III. Three Methodologies: Source Studies, Performance Studies, and Comparative Dramaturgy

The following discussion of the operas written by Cavalli and Faustini in the two seasons of 1651 and 1652 applies a number of methodologies. While no direct iconographic evidence records the staging, scenery, costumes, or machinery used in the performance of these operas, it is possible to glean a great deal of information about staging and design through several indirect approaches. The combination of insights culled from these approaches allows for consideration of the history of the stage productions. By bringing together source studies, performance studies, and comparative dramaturgy, it is possible (even without historical renderings) to reconstruct a sense of the stage presentation, which in turn gives us not only a fuller view of the musical and poetic content of the scores and libretti, but their meaning for their contemporary audiences.[49] The staging influenced the selection of libretto

[48] Casting information has been obtained from Marco Faustini's account book from the 1651/52 season as well. See Schneider (2012), 249–91.

[49] The lack of iconographic evidence for the costumes, scenery, and machines was initially a limitation in understanding the original staging of these operas.

subjects and had a significant impact on the way that audiences understood the drama in performance. This study aims to restore a sense of the original staging in both its practical execution and interpretation.

The first methodology to be considered is source studies,[50] in which the primary sources of the operas are reexamined for information related to stage production. For Cavalli's operas of this period, there are several types of primary textual sources. The music of each of the four operas is preserved in a single manuscript score that is housed in the Contarini Collection of the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice.[51] These four scores are part of the collection put together by Cavalli near the end of his life, and each represents a unique musical source (unlike some other Cavalli operas that survive in multiple scores, these four operas have one musical source each). These scores have all recently been digitized and can be viewed online.[52] Although they all document works of the same period, the scores

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[50] The direct engagement with historical sources—scores and libretti—was the necessary foundation for the type of dramaturgical analysis and performance studies required by the project. The importance of reconsidering opera sources was emphasized by Philip Gossett, "Source Studies and Opera History," *Cambridge Opera Journal*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (2009), 112: "Understanding and controlling sources does not preclude serious intellectual engagement with operatic material. But failing to understand and control sources *does*. Not every subject one studies requires a complete understanding of musical sources, but far too many scholars publishing in the pages of our major periodicals courting contributions about opera, such as *Cambridge Opera Journal*, *19th Century Music*, or the *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, or doing research in the field are content to allow approximation to take the place of hard work."

[51] The MS scores can be found in the Contarini Collection in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice under the following call numbers. *L'Oristeo*: MSS (=09891) It. IV, 367. *La Rosinda*: MSS (=09894) It. IV, 370. *La Calisto*: MSS (=09877) It. IV, 353. *L'Eritrea*: MSS (=09885) It. IV, 361.

[52] See marciana.venezia.sbn.it/opac-polo/

display very different characteristics, since they were gathered together from a variety of musical sources and represent different stages of the production process. The score of the first opera from this period, *L'Oristeo*, is a composing score and shows the hand of Cavalli throughout. In addition to revealing details of Cavalli's compositional process, it includes many layers of corrections, some of which can be understood as alterations made in the process of mounting the opera on the stage. At the other end of the spectrum, the score of *L'Eritrea* is a clean copy by a copyist, and therefore does not contain the same type of information regarding the composition process. The multiple layers of markings in these scores, as well as inserted marginal rubrics that suggest additional aspects of the musical and stage performance, will be analyzed for the information they provide about the stage aesthetics of all four operas.[53]

The printed libretti that were distributed to audiences around the time of the performances offer additional details about the staging. A comparison of discrepancies between the published libretti and the manuscript scores yields further insights regarding the modifications made for the stage.[54] For *La Calisto*,

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[53] Recent work by Ellen Rosand has served as a model for the philological work undertaken in the examination of Cavalli's scores as primary sources. Rosand describes the manuscript scores of two of Monteverdi's Venetian operas in extensive detail in Chapters 3 and 4 of *Monteverdi's Last Operas* (2007).

[54] In a review of Rosand (2007), Wendy Heller summarizes the types of insights that can be found from this study of scores and libretti: "The intricate story that Rosand teases out of the surviving scores and librettos – expanding upon, clarifying, and at times correcting the observations of previous scholars – is by no means simple, as even the most determined reader will soon discover. Nonetheless, it is well worth the effort. We learn a good deal about the differing status of the various types of these idiosyncratic sources (for instance, the difference between a literary version of a libretto and one that is copied from the score

there is only a single edition of the printed libretto.[55] However, for *L'Oristeo*, *La Rosinda*, and *L'Eritrea*, there are editions of the libretti that were printed for subsequent performances given in other theaters outside of Venice and, in the case of *L'Eritrea*, in a second production in Venice in 1661. *L'Oristeo* was revived under the title *L'Oristeo travestito* in Bologna in 1656.[56] In the case of *La Rosinda*, the libretto printed for the production in Naples in 1653 shows the extent to which an opera could be adapted to new performing circumstances, so much so that it was presented under a completely different title (*Le magie amorose*) and serves as an example of the manner in which Cavalli's own contemporaries would modify operas for new performing circumstances.[57] A similar production history emerges for *L'Eritrea*, which was performed in Bologna in 1654,[58] two years after its Venetian premiere. The printed libretto for that production shows the adaptations made for the new stage. Almost a decade after the premiere, in 1661, *L'Eritrea* was performed

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and thus shows the details of the musical design), the significance of many of the enigmatic markings and cross-outs in the scores, and how to account for the numerous discrepancies between the scores and librettos. The reader soon realizes that no single narrative can explain the complex relationships between the randomly surviving sources and the early performances of both these operas." Book review published in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 63, No. 2 (Summer 2010), 370.

[55] The printed libretti in the Marciana can be found under the following call numbers. *L'Oristeo* (1651): DRAMM.917.5. *La Rosinda* (1651): DRAMM.918.4. *La Calisto* (1651): DRAMM.918.5. *L'Eritrea* (1652): DRAMM.919.3.

[56] See L'Oristeo travestito: favola dramatica per musica / di Giovanni Faustini; dedicate all'altezza serenissima di Alfonso d'Este, il prencipe di Modena. In Bologna: Per Giacomo Monti, 1656.

[57] I would like to thank Álvaro Torrente for his help in providing photographic images of the 1654 edition of the libretto of *Le magie amorose*.

[58] A printed copy of the 1654 libretto of *L'Eritrea* is held in Venice in the library of the Fondazione Giorgio Cini under call number ROL.0210.09.

a second time in Venice in a new version.[59] The libretto for that production documents the adoption of some of the changes that had been made for Bologna. Thus, the circulation of performance materials and the migrations of traveling companies of singers could lead to a situation in which the opera evolved from venue to venue.[60] Even with only a single musical source, the fair copy score from 1652, a sense of the distinctiveness of the multiple stagings of *L'Eritrea* can be reassembled from these three libretti.

In examining these primary sources, and tracking the modifications to the operas that are recorded in them, the methodology of comparative dramaturgy yields information that no single source could provide.[61] The field of dramaturgy has been expanding in opera studies in recent years, both in academic and professional circles.[62] Although the dramaturg[63] as a profession and intellectual concept was

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[59] The 1661 libretto was printed for a production at the Teatro San Salvatore.

[60] The concept of the "circulation" of Venetian opera has drawn the attention of scholars interested in the reception history of this repertoire, which usually migrated from Venice to new performances in other cities, but only in rare circumstances moved in the other direction. A conference on this topic was held in Naples in 2002 and the proceedings were published as Dinko Fabris, ed., *Francesco Cavalli: la circolazione dell'opera veneziana nel Seicento* (Naples: Turchini, 2005).

[61] Comparative Dramaturgy applies in all four of these case studies, because no single definitive source text survives, but a minimum of two sources (manuscript score and printed libretto) must be compared side-by-side for these operas.

[62] There is a vast literature on the concept of dramaturgy and its relationship to musicology. Reinhard Strohm has written specifically about "musical dramaturgy" and its relevance in historical analysis. In an essay on Handel, he explains, "To avoid any misunderstanding, 'dramaturgy' is taken here to mean quite simply and traditionally 'the art, or instruction in the art, of creating and performing a drama'. The expression 'musical dramaturgy', however, does more than simply extend this definition to mean 'the art, or instruction in the art, of creating and performing a musical drama'. Rather, the term would suggest that the music may in itself be a constituent of the drama." See "Chapter 11: *Arianna in Creta:* Musical

formulated well after the era of Cavalli and Faustini, its emphasis in an analysis of the structure of the drama as realized on the stage pertains to the operas of this period.[64] Through comparison of multiple texts, the opera can be understood as an ever-changing collection of materials that the creators found ways of reshaping as expressions of an underlying drama on the stage. Comparative dramaturgy is also useful in that many of the musical structures and theatrical conventions sought to exploit the possibilities of the venue and the taste of the local audience of each subsequent presentation. Even among sources that pertain to a single staging of the opera, distinctive characteristics identified through comparison yield important information about the contributions of the multiple layers of the *dramma per musica*.[65]

The third methodology employed in this dissertation alongside source studies and comparative dramaturgy is performance studies.[66] The work of

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Dramaturgy," in Reinhard Strohm*, Dramma per Musica: Italian Opera Seria of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 220.

[63] The origin of dramaturgy and the idea of the dramaturg as profession can be traced back to the ideas of German playwright and essayist Gotthold Ephraim Lessing in *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, which was published serially in 101 essays between 1767–69. See G. E. Lessing, *Hamburg Dramaturgy*, ed. Victor Lang (New York: Dover, 1962).

[64] Musicologist Carl Dahlhaus has applied the concept of dramaturgy in "What is a Musical Drama?," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 1, No. 2 (1989): 95–111; and to Italian opera of the nineteenth century in particular in "Drammaturgia dell'opera italiana," in *Storia dell'opera italiana*, ed. Lorenzo Bianconi and G. Pestelli (Turin: EDT/Musica, 1988).

[65] Joseph Kerman has argued that the "*dramma per musica* [is] drama through music, by means of music" in *Opera as Drama* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958), 8. In this influential formulation, the music is an expression of an underlying dramaturgical structure, not merely a setting of the libretto.

[66] Performance Studies has emerged in recent decades as an interdisciplinary field that considers both the aesthetics of performance in the arts, and larger social, cultural, and

performance theorists from various disciplines has helped to shape a fuller appreciation of aspects of opera traditionally not accounted for in the written sources. In opera studies, the writings of Carolyn Abbate call for greater critical attention to the experience of listening, watching, and performing opera. The influential essay "Music—Drastic or Gnostic?" suggests that musicologists might benefit from shifting attention away from the abstract work and towards the live event of opera as performed in the theater.[67] This critical turn is related to the emphasis on the ephemerality of performance in the critical writings of performance theorists. In *Liveness: Performance in a Mediatized Culture*, Philip Auslander reconfigures the notion of the live event against a cultural landscape that is experienced through mediation.[68] Other scholars of performance have turned

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anthropological issues of the performance of identity. For further readings on the discipline and Performance Studies bibliographies, see Richard Schechner, *Performance Studies: An Introduction*, 3rd Edition (London and New York: Routledge, 2013) and Tracy C. Davis, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Performance Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[67] Abbate asks, "What does it mean to write about performed music? About an opera live and unfolding in time and not an operatic work? Shouldn't this be what we do, since we love music for its reality, for voice and sounds that linger long after they are no longer there? Love is not based on great works as unperformed abstractions or even as subtended by an imagined or hypothetical performance." See "Music—Drastic or Gnostic?," *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (2004), 505. In her appeal to incorporate Performance Studies into this formulation of "drastic musicology," Abbate has drawn from the philosophical writing of Vladimir Jankélévitch. See *Music and the Ineffable*, trans. Carolyn Abbate (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 77.

[68] Philip Auslander, *Liveness: Performance in a Mediatized Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999).

attention to the materiality of performers' bodies and voices as a means of reconnecting with the live event.[69]

In the book *Unsettling Opera*, David J. Levin applies these methodologies of performance studies to academic inquiry regarding the theory and practice of opera stage production (or the *mise-en-scène*).[70] Levin applies his theories to productions of operas in the standard canon of works regularly performed on the stages of international opera houses today. However, these theories of performance can be applied to operas of the seventeenth century as well, and to the equally "unsettled" status of opera productions in the 1650s. Levin writes:

> In the wake of this wholesale reconceptualization [in musicology since the mid-1980s], opera has undergone a series of signal transformations – first, from "work" to "text," and more recently from text to performance . . . Reconceived as a text (and, as I will argue here, as a text *in performance*), opera has emerged as an agitated or unsettled site of signification, one that encompasses multiple modes of expression and necessitates new modes of reading. Of course, opera's musical text, the score, had long been conceived in terms of such mobility and furtiveness. But until quite recently, the intellectual nimbleness with which musicologists conceptualized the instability of opera's musical text had only rarely extended to its performance text.[71]

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[69] In a contribution to a special issue of the *Cambridge Opera Journal* devoted to performance studies and opera, Michelle Duncan writes about "The operatic scandal of the singing body: Voice, presence, performativity," Vol. 16, No. 3 (2004): 283–306. The issue also features contributions from David J. Levin and Mary Ann Smart that investigate other issues related to performance and opera.

[70] David J. Levin, *Unsettling Opera: Staging Mozart, Verdi, Wagner, and Zemlinsky* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007). See book review by Andrew Eggert, *Music and Letters*, Vol 92, No. 4 (2011): 652–56.

[71] Levin (2007), 3.

Levin's idea of the "performance text" is a useful way to conceptualize the role of the *mise-en-scène* in the stage execution of Cavalli's operas. This approach is open to the instability of opera staging itself and to the status of performance as an event. Ultimately, the study of staging in this dissertation is aimed to increase understanding of opera's *performance text in history*.[72]

Like musical performance, the ephemerality of staging, choreography, machine movements, and other production elements add further challenges for writing about the history of live events such as opera performance. Yet the growing musicological interest in performance studies outlined above provides a foundation to reconsider early opera as a staged event, as a performance text. Outside pressures, such as changes in casting or local audience taste can be related to other recorded changes in the musical and poetic texts. A consideration of the stage space itself in which the performance is given yields important insights about how the opera was blocked and choreographed, and how the cast interacted with other production elements including scenery, machinery, and costumes. Aspects of the musical structure of the operas, such as the placement of arias at certain moments in the dramaturgical flow, or the insertion of *ritornelli* and other musical material can be understood in terms of the layers of action on the stage and their necessity for the execution of the fully staged drama.

[72] The aim is to understand opera's *performance text in history*, not to develop a prescriptive guide to the way that Cavalli's operas should be staged today. The historically informed performance movement and the debates on authenticity constitute a separate field of inquiry. For this discussion, see the essays in Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). See also John Butt, *Playing With History: The Historical Approach to Musical Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

IV. Synopses of the Sant'Apollinare Operas: *L'Oristeo*, *La Rosinda*, *La Calisto*, and *L'Eritrea*

Each of the seasons produced by Giovanni Faustini at the Teatro Sant'Apollinare featured two operas. All of the works presented display the characteristic plot structures that had become conventional in Venetian opera of this period: two central pairs of lovers, secondary figures functioning as servants to the main characters and providing comic relief, and an allegorical prologue that introduces the opera's central themes.[73] All four works were informed by Faustini's experience in fashioning libretti after nearly a decade long collaboration with Cavalli. All four narrative structures are to some extent original, or in the words of Faustini himself, "puro romanzo."[74] *L'Oristeo* and *L'Eritrea* contain invented character names, derived from stock types from the Venetian stage. The characters of *La Rosinda* owe a debt to epic-chivalric literature and those of *La Calisto* are derived from Ovidian mythology; yet even in these cases the recombination of dramatic plot lines and the working out of the dramaturgical resolution of the plot was Faustini's original creation structured with the staging considerations of opera at the Teatro Sant'Apollinare as the guiding dramatic principles.[75]

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[73] For an overview of these conventions, see "*Le convenienze teatrali:* The Conventions of Dramma Per Musica" in Rosand (1991), 323–61.

[74] Giovanni Faustini, Preface to *La Rosinda*, 1651.

[75] Badolato (2012) traces the many influences on the dramaturgical content of these operas.

The first opera to premiere in the 1651 season was *L'Oristeo*, which follows two pairs of lovers whose affections are tested through separation and disguise, and who are ultimately reunited in the final act.[76] The opera revolves around Oristeo (King of Epiro, bass) who is reciprocally in love with Diomeda (Princess of Caonia, soprano). After a clash of their armies, Diomeda renounced her love for Oristeo believing that he is responsible for the death of her father. In the meantime, she has met and fallen in love with Trasimede (Prince of Acaia, tenor). Trasimede's former beloved Corinta (Princess of Locri, soprano) has traveled to find him in Caonia, where she appears under the disguise of a gardener named Albinda. Oristeo has also assumed the disguise of a gardener under the name Rosmino.[77] Ultimately, the true identity of both spurned lovers is revealed and the original configuration of lovers is restored. The narrative structure charts a progression from the pastoral world of gardens in the first act to the formal architecture of royal palaces, fortresses, and fields of battle in the final act. The opera is characterized by relatively few secondary comic servant characters, and in their place Faustini and Cavalli have built an extensive allegorical frame that extends from the prologue throughout the entire opera. Allegories of Love, Interest, Graces, Virtue, Beauty, and the gods Pluto and Penia appear at the end of sections of the opera to comment on the action.

[76] For additional synopsis, see Martha Novak Clinkscale, "L'Oristeo," in *Grove Music Online*.

[77] This connection to the idealized world of the pastoral (setting the action in a garden with pastoral character names) is a reminder of an indebtedness of Cavalli and Faustini's opera dramaturgy to the pastoral play. Giovanni Battista Guarini's *Il pastor fido* was published in Venice in 1590.

The central pairs of royal lovers in the second opera of the inaugural season, *La Rosinda*,[78] are separated not merely by happenstance and disguise, but through the effects of a magical potion of forgetfulness. The warrior Rosinda (soprano, Princess of Corinto) has drunk of the potion and no longer loves Tisandro (bass, Prince of Argo), falling instead for Clitofonte (tenor, Prince of Creta). The sorceress Nerea (soprano, Queen of Corcira), spurned by Clitofonte, travels to the Underworld to plead her case, and draws upon the assistance of the sorcerer Meandro (bass) for a second love potion that reverses the effects of forgetfulness and restores the couples to the correct pairings. The opera centers onthe staging of magic, exploring how enchantment can both confuse and correct human affections.[79] The subject of the libretto provides ample opportunity for the depiction of magical effects and theatrical illusions that are appropriate to the theme of the drama. Where *L'Oristeo* employed an allegorical frame throughout the action, Faustini introduces an assortment of secondary comic figures in *La Rosinda*. The concept of magic was explored further in the earliest revival of the opera, in Naples in 1653, under the title *Le magie amorose*. This dramaturgical refashioning expanded even further upon the subject of theatrical illusion and introduced more opportunities for spectacular realization of the opera's central themes.

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[78] For further synopsis, libretto translation, and historical background, see the liner notes to the 2011 recording of the opera, released on CD by Mike Fentross and *La Sfera armoniosa*. The booklet includes an essay by Dinko Fabris.

[79] Magic is a familiar topic in opera libretti of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and it was the basis of the conventional incantation scene. A recent study of historical performance has used enchantment as the framework for musical revival today. See Nick Wilson, *The Art of Re-enchantment: Making Early Music in the Modern Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

For the second season at the Teatro Sant'Apollinare, Faustini and Cavalli planned a pair of operas that Faustini referred to as "twin princesses."[80] The first of these works, *La Calisto*, is the only opera from this period that features central characters borrowed from familiar mythological material.[81] Faustini combined two distinct Ovidian tales: the relationship between Giove (bass) and the nymph Calisto (soprano), with the interventions of the jealous Giunone (soprano), and the love between the goddess Diana (soprano) and the shepherd Endimione (alto). While using familiar narratives and characters, Faustini transformed the two Ovidian tales dramaturgically to make them conform to the conventions of staging Venetian opera.[82] No previous version of the myths had integrated the two plot lines so completely as was the practice in the storytelling on the opera stage. Borrowing figures already widely associated with metamorphosis, such as Giove for his capacity to disguise himself as Diana in order to seduce Calisto, or the latter's transformation into a bear and eventual apotheosis into a constellation of stars, Faustini's new drama became the perfect vehicle for the display of transformative scenography and costumes.

L'Eritrea, the second opera of the 1651/52 season, would prove to be the final collaboration between Faustini and Cavalli, and due to Faustini's death as well

[80] Giovanni Faustini, Libretto Preface to *La Calisto*, 1651.

[81] In addition to the published editions of *La Calisto* mentioned above, see the synopsis in Martha Novak Clinkscale, *"La Calisto*" in *Grove Music Online.*

[82] On the importance of Ovidian myth for early opera and the staging of desire, see Wendy Heller, "Daphne's Dilemma: Desire as Metamorphosis in Early Modern Opera" in *Structures of Feeling in Seventeenth-Century Cultural Expression*, ed. Susan McClary (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013).

as the loss of one of the singers of the company, the production was fraught with transformations of a different nature: those required behind the scenes. The libretto returns to Faustini's practice of liberal invention, with character names and geographies evoking an exotic and distant world appropriate for the elaborate design of the stage production.[83] The central pairs of lovers are entwined in long-standing jealousies at the opening of the drama. Eritrea (soprano, Princess of Assyria), loved by Theramene (alto, Prince of Assyria), has adopted a disguise as her dead brother Periandro, in order to retain command of her country, which forbids leadership to women. She had been betrothed to Eurimedonte (tenor, Prince of Egypt), but he betrayed her by falling in love with Laodicea (soprano, Queen of Phoenicia), so in revenge, Eritrea (still in disguise as a man) married Laodicea. Theramene has gone insane because he believes Eritrea to be dead. Over the course of the drama, the identity of these couples is revealed and ultimately Eritrea and Theramene, as well as Laodicea and Eurimedonte are reunited as pairs. Unlike the scenic and technological complexity required by *La Calisto*, the fabric of the drama of *L'Eritrea* is centered on these mortal characters, and there is less intervention of specular effects. The convention of the mad scene is employed for the insane Theramene, whose restoration to sanity precedes the *lieto fine* of the dramaturgy. *L'Eritrea* proved more popular that *La Calisto* in the seventeenth century, and revivals outside of Venice preceded a Venetian revival (rare for a work of this

[83] Synopses and the historical background of *La Calisto* are published in the two recent editions of the opera cited above.

period) at another theater in 1661.[84] A dramaturgical comparison of these versions shows how an opera in circulation could accrue influence from multiple stages over the course of successive performances.

V. Summary of Dramaturgical Considerations in Performance

These two seasons of opera from the Teatro Sant'Apollinare demonstrate the many factors that influenced the process of bringing an opera to the stage in 1651–52. The primary sources, including both the manuscript scores and printed libretti, serve as documents of these performances, in the genesis of the operas and over the course of revivals as well, when the theatrical circumstances and audience expectations were different.

Vocal casting had an impact on both the planning and execution of the musical score.[85] Cavalli and Faustini approached these works as pairs of operas conceived for the same season, which allowed them to cast the same company of singers in two works. As a means of economizing, the libretto structure worked out

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[84] Presented at the Teatro San Salvatore with extensive revisions by an unknown author. See the printed libretto of 1661.

[85] There is an extensive musicological literature on Baroque voice and the concept of vocality as it related to early opera performance. For the aesthetics of pure voice, see Mauro Calcagno (2003). On the castrato as symbol of heroic masculinity to seventeenth-century audiences (with an emphasis on the voice and body of the performer), see Roger Freitas, "The Eroticism of Emasculation: Confronting the Baroque Body of the Castrato," *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (Spring 2003), 196–249. On the role vocality on the Venetian stage and its relationship to the performance of gender in early opera, see Wendy Heller, *Emblems of Eloquence: Opera and Women's Voices in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004).

ways for singers to double roles in the same production, such as when principal singers would also perform a role in the prologue. Thus, in the planning of an entire season, the engagement of one singer could provide an opportunity for up to four roles (a primary and secondary role in each of two operas). Cavalli and Faustini balanced the season so that the performing ensemble they engaged would be efficiently deployed for the full range of musical effects desired. This explains a consistency in the dramaturgy and the number of performers required across works of the same season. When an opera required allegorical characters to appear throughout the action, as was the case in *L'Oristeo*, fewer singers in the company were available to play secondary servant characters because continuous costume changes would not have been feasible. Thus, as Faustini and Cavalli composed their works, they understood the opportunities and limitations of the ensemble and conceived their works with the maximum musical and dramatic variety. No performer was engaged to sing in a single scene of a single opera, and many of the choices in the storytelling were derived from an experienced knowledge of the possibilies offered by each performer and to display them both vocally and visually for the course of a full evening's entertainment.[86]

However, when the availability of singers changed in the process of rehearsal, the creators responded with immediate alterations to the music in the form of cuts and transpositions. Some of these modifications are found in the

[86] For the financial details and further insight to the economic considerations facing the Venetian impresario regarding casting and doubling, see Glixon and Glixon, "Chatper Seven: Singers," in *Inventing the Business of Opera* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 173–214; and Schneider (2012).

manuscript scores in the form of rubrics that record the response of the creative team to disruptions to their original conception of the stage production. A key example of this process occurred in the second season at the Teatro Sant'Apollinare, when the death of one of the key members of the troupe, the castrato Bonifazio Ceretti (engaged to play *primo uomo* roles in both *La Calisto* and *L'Eritrea*) forced changes in the range of the two roles initially conceived for him.[87] The modifications were not limited to his roles, however, but involved other modifications as well, for both operas. Since the initial production of the season had been planned with such thorough efficiency, the loss of one essential piece of the casting, and the inability to replace such a famous singer with someone of equal stature on short notice, left the company in a situation where improvisation in recasting was required throughout the entire work. This process shows how much the musical presentation could be altered at the last minute due to the available personnel. The history of these adjustments is essential to understanding the eventual form of the score, and presents challenges to both editors and performers today who must decide which version of the casting to present when the manuscript records both the initial conception of the work and the eventual departures from the dramaturgical and musical plan that the creators made under circumstantial pressures.[88]

[87] Glixon and Glixon (2006), 195.

[88] For a complete reconstruction of the *La Calisto* cast, both before and after the death of Ceretti, see the most recent edition of the opera, Francesco Cavalli, *La Calisto: Dramma per musica by Giovanni Faustini*, Edited by Álvaro Torrente and Nicola Badolato (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 2012), XIX–XXII.

Another layer of modification revealed in an analysis of the libretti and their musical settings is the many ways that the scenography of the opera could influence the flow of the musical action.[89] The operas of both seasons were conceived with a diptych model for each of the three acts in the structure of the drama, plus the obligatory prologue affixed to the beginning of the action. Functioning as impresario for the first season, and working in collaboration with his brother Marco in the second season, Giovanni Faustini had to work out these scene changes in the dramaturgy of the opera. The use of both deep and shallow sets, created through the use of backdrops and distant elements known as *lontani*, allowed for further alteration between scenes played close to the audience and those played at a greater distance. Dramaturgically, the insertion of an aria played directly to the audience, referred to as *ad spectatores*,[90] provided a musical diversion over the span of time during which, especially in the smaller confines of the Teatro Sant'Apollinare, the upstage scenery could be adjusted. The deployment of more elaborate flying machines and other mechanical effects similarly required adaptation in the dramatic flow, and musical material was sometimes inserted in the margin of the manuscript for those moments when these mechanisms were introduced. In the regular flow of

[89] For an introduction to the technologies of seventeenth-century Venetian scenography, see Jonathan Glixon, "*Maravigliose mutationi:* la produzione di scene e machine a Venezia nell'epoca di Cavalli," in *Francesco Cavalli: La circolazione dell'opera veneziana nel Seicento*, ed. Dinko Fabris, 101–17. See also Chapter 9 of Glixon and Glixon (2006), 227–76 for additional information on *lontani* and painted backdrops.

[90] Text performed *ad spectatores* is material presented directly to the audience, not to another character in the drama. A common term for this in spoken theater is an "aside." In Cavalli's operas, comic material at the end of a scene (usually a short aria or duet) is sometimes presented *ad spectatores*.

the action, the primary figures of the drama would enter and exit the stage along the horizontal axis and the depth of the stage was used to provide visual variety and opportunity for scenic transformation. The height of the stage was reserved for flying machines and special effects that were dramaturgically related to the allegorical or divine characters.

In revival, both outside the theaters of Venice and, in rare instances, on the Venetian stage, this process of modification would continue to adapt the opera to the new company of singers and the new performance venue. In the case of the *Eritrea* revivals, the dramaturgy was altered throughout to shift the balance in the work toward a greater emphasis on the secondary, comic characters. Furthermore, as the public's musical taste had evolved significantly in the decade after Giovanni Faustini's death, it was necessary to insert more arias within the original dramaturgical fabric composed of recitative. The availability of a new member of the cast prompted the addition of secondary comic characters, and extended passages of comic diversion were inserted at moments in the dramaturgy when time was required for scene changes. When *La Rosinda* was revived in Naples in 1653, largely reworked under the title *Le magie amorose*, the participation of a new choreographer prompted an expansion of the narrative role of dance at the conclusion of each act.[91] Thus, through a combination of the local casting and the

[91] The choreographer was Giovanni Battista Balbi. For the role of dance in Venetian opera, see two articles included in the special issue of *Cambridge Opera Journal*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (November 2003). Irene Alm, Wendy Heller, and Rebecca Harris-Warrick, "Winged Feet and Mute Eloquence: Dance in Seventeenth Century Venetian Opera," 216–80 and Wendy Heller, "Dancing Desire on the Venetian Stage," 281–95.

requirements of the stage transformations in each venue, the opera was continually reworked, always with the aim of fully employing the skills of the members of the company under contract for the stage performance. This flexibility toward the performance circumstances and local audiences was not viewed as a concession to commercialism in the theatrical culture of the seventeenth-century, where the model of itinerant troupes of comedians (*commedia dell'arte*) and musicians led composers and musicians to function in a semi-improvised mindset. The historical sources show evidence of this ability to adapt and improvise at all layers of the musico-dramatic presentation.

VI. Implications for Opera Studies and Contemporary Stage Production

A thorough examination of these traces of the stage production and how they interact with the libretto and score has implications for our understanding of the aesthetics of opera in Venice in the seventeenth century. The systems of scenery, machines, and costumes, as well as the blocking and choreography of the production, have a reciprocal relationship with the words and music. As the performing circumstances changed through casting, venue, and audience, the work was modified to conform to the shifting exigencies of the staging. The spectacle was therefore not a secondary concern merely added on after the fact, but a defining element from the earliest conception, and the libretto and score were often altered to conform to the realization. Since Faustini and Cavalli had much experience collaborating for the stage, they incorporated many dramatic conventions in the

operas at the Teatro Sant'Apollinare in the original form of the libretto and score. However, as new stage challenges or opportunities were presented in the revivals of *La Rosinda* and *L'Eritrea*, those involved readily adapted the opera's dramaturgy in performance.

L'Oristeo, *La Rosinda*, *La Calisto*, and *L'Eritrea* are all libretto structures that Faustini (in collaboration with Cavalli) created to support the staging requirements of Venetian opera. The subjects themselves, while invented or reconstituted from different strands of mythology in the case of *La Calisto*, also display characteristics that exploit particular aspects of stagecraft of the stages of Venice. The topics of the pastoral, enchantment, metamorphosis, and madness are all worked into the narrative plots of these operas. Since Faustini planned to use specular machinery to depict magic on stage (as in *La Rosinda)*, or commission costumes that suggest metamorphosis through extended moments of disguise in the dramaturgy (like *Giove* in the form of *Diana* in *La Calisto*), he wrote these ideas into his dramas self-referentially. The metatheatricality of these moments, where the stage technologies being used to depict the story are being referenced in the actual narrative itself—for example, using mechanized magical effects for a moment in the narrative depicting enchantment, or costume disguise for a moment of character metamorphosis—means that to fully understand the meaning of these stories to their contemporary audiences, we have to restore a sense of the original staging. With a fuller view of the elements of stage production then, the meaning of the subjects of the operas themselves comes into focus. The process of mounting the opera and the

simultaneous re-conception of the score and the stage production meant that many of the keys to the meaning of the opera were to be found in its own realization.

Furthermore, as the following detailed case studies will demonstrate, a number of factors in the staging of these operas can be used to inform the preparation of new editions of Cavalli's operas and their presentation on the stages of opera houses today. A fuller understanding of the many layers of revisions in manuscript scores takes into account these extra-musical factors. In his practice of composition, Cavalli did not revise his scores in the abstract, but in direct response to collaboration with the other artistic disciplines represented on the opera stage. An informed edition of the score will consider the scenography, costume design, casting (as originally conceived and when altered in revival), and movement in the form of blocking and choreography in accounting for these musical layers. Many of the historical sources can be read to record an evolving work in the process of coming into existence on the stage. An edition can reflect the multiplicity of possibilities in the treatment of any single moment, for there are layers of production in the score that capture several different seventeenth-century realizations. The epilogue of this study reflects on the similarities between today's dynamic operatic performance culture, and that of Cavalli and Faustini in its development of new theatrical technologies, and the ways in which contemporary realization of these scores can provide new opportunity for theatrical reinterpretation.

CHAPTER ONE

L'Oristeo and Cavalli's Autograph Score as Record of Stage Performance

I. The New Model of Presenting Opera at the Teatro Sant'Apollinare

In the preface to the 1651 printed libretto of *L'Oristeo*, the first collaboration between Cavalli and librettist Giovanni Faustini for the Teatro Sant'Apollinare, the author of the *favola* provides a revealing description of the limitations of the stage at the theater that would present opera for the first time that season:

> I wrote Oristeo and Rosinda, however, without my usual impetus, devoting little time to their creation, in order to free myself from the debts that inadvertently enclosed me within the confines of a theater where, if nothing else, the eye accustomed to the spaciousness of royal scenes [*sceni reali*] became disillusioned by the proximity of the set [*apparenze*]. It is true that the abovementioned theater, in which Ersilla and Euripo appeared,[1] and in which these twins were supposed to be presented, is not dissimilar to the one I myself have built in order to cut short the sloth of my institution of my financial independence. But it is also very true that from them, as from corpses, I do not expect to gain applause, and I am reserving for happier times and more majestic theaters Eupatra, Alciade, and Meraspe, heroes who have left their embryo stage, and are almost finished.[2]

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[1] At the Teatro San Moisè, Faustini produced *Ersilla* in 1648, with music by several composers, and *Euripo* in 1649, with music by Cavalli. See Beth L. Glixon and Jonathan E. Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera: The Impresario and His World in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 37.

[2] Giovanni Faustini, *L'Oristeo*, 1651 libretto, printed by Giovanni Pietro Pinelli. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana DRAMM.917.5. Reprinted in Nicola Badolato, *I Dramma Musical di Giovanni Faustini per Francesco Cavalli* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2012), 352–91. Translation from Ellen Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 170–71. The original Italian text of the this section of the preface reads, "Composi però, senza l'impulso dell'ambito fine l'Oristeo, e la Rosinda, gettato poco tempo nella loro creazione, per sgravarmi dalle obligationi, che inavertito mi havevano racchiuso trà le angustezze d'un Teatro dove, se non altro, l'occhio avezzato alla vastezza di Scene Reali s'inviliva, nella vicinanza dell'apparenze. È vero, che non dissimile dall'Orchestra sudetta, nella quale comparsero Ersilla, & et Euripo, e dove di poi dovevano farsi vedere questi gemelli, è il Palco da me eretto, per decapitare l'otio della institutione del mio viver libero, ma è anco verissimo che da loro, come da

Here, Faustini is concerned about the artistic compromises that would be necessary in the stage productions of both *L'Orsiteo* and *La Rosinda* during the inaugural season at the Teatro Sant'Apollinare. One important consideration is the short span of time in which he was forced to complete both libretti, for he admits that he was working under the burdens of a debt that he hoped the new theatrical enterprise would help him to discharge. Faustini expresses his obligation to acknowledge any inadequacies of the new works as a result of the working constraints of time imposed by the undertaking of a new theatrical venture. As a professional opera librettist, Faustini seems uncomfortable writing merely for financial gain, and he hopes that his readers will understand that he was forced to work quickly in the process of preparing these particular works.[3]

In addition to compromises brought about by the rapidity of the composition of the libretti, Faustini also gives serious consideration to the type of artistic restrictions imposed on him by the size of the new theatrical space. The Teatro Sant'Apollinare possessed a relatively small stage for a Venetian theater, and a public that had grown accustomed to opulent spectacle needed preparation for a theatrical experience in which the scenery would close to the spectator.[4] The

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Cadaveri, non pretendo di trarre voci d'applauso, riserbando à tempi più lieti, &et à Teatri più maestosi l'Eupatra, l'Alciade, &et il Meraspe, Heroi usciti d'Embrioni, e quasi perfettionati."

[3] For additional information on the financial pressures and aesthetic direction of Faustini's career at this time, see Rosand (1991), 170–75.

[4] While Faustini suggests that the stages of the two venues were approximately the same size, the auditorium of the Teatro Sant'Apollinare was significantly smaller, accommodating only 48 boxes [palchi], while the Teatro San Moisè was larger, with 106 boxes. See Glixon and Glixon (2006), 21–23.

libretto preface suggests, then, that in the creation of the libretti of these works, *L'Oristeo* and *La Rosinda*, Faustini was forced to compromise in two ways: in both the time devoted to the projects and the physical space allocated for the staging. This *apologia* is important in both reading and staging Faustini's works, in that it helps us to understand the ways in which the theatrical space available was a factor in their creation and presentation before the public. Other libretti by Faustini mentioned here—including *L'Eupatra*, *L'Alciade,* and *Il Meraspe*—would be reserved for more adequate theatrical circumstances.[5]

The economics of opera production played a fundamental role in the planning and staging of these operas. Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker have described the financial model of operation in the new theater, which possessed a total of only forty-eight boxes yet generated box rental income that far exceeded the cost of the theater rental to Faustini. If each box could bring a return of 20 ducats, Faustini would realize a hefty profit of approximately 900 ducats.[6] This excess of income was applied to the costs of construction and production, but Faustini's admitted goal was also to yield a personal profit such that he could pay back some of his debts. This financial arrangement led to a situation in which the business model of opera staging was a primary consideration in the initial artistic decisions.

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[5] Giovanni Faustini would not live long enough to see these libretti staged, but it was his brother Marco Faustini who, as impresario, saw these works set to music and brought to the stage in the decades after Giovanni's death. *L'Eupatra* was staged in 1655 and *L'Alciade* in 1667, both with music by Pietro Andrea Ziani. *Il Meraspe* was produced in 1667, with music by Carlo Pallavicino.

[6] Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, "Production, Consumption, and Political Function of Seventeenth-Century Opera," *Early Music History* 4 (1984): 223.

In their study of the business of Venetian opera and the career of the opera impresario, Beth L. Glixon and Jonathan E. Glixon have also analyzed the fiscal model of the Sant'Apollinare in great detail, in particular for the following seasons under the leadership of Marco Faustini, Giovanni's brother. They point out that few financial documents survive from the first season when the theater was under the control of Giovanni Faustini, apart from the rental agreement for 60 ducats described above.[7] However, they do demonstrate that Giovanni Faustini had started work on the libretti for both *L'Oristeo* and *La Rosinda* for the Teatro San Moisè, prior to his decision to relocate operations to the Sant'Apollinare. The size of the stage of the San Moisè was similar to that of the new theater, as indicated by Faustini himself in the libretto preface when he mentions the productions of *L'Ersilla* and *L'Euripo*, which suggests that some of the compromises in the scale of the production had been made by Faustini even before he knew about the final production circumstances of the newly acquired space. Glixon and Glixon argue that the dedication of the printed libretto of *L'Oristeo* to the nobleman Alvise Duodo (*La Rosinda* bears no dedication) may have been an effort to create noble associations within the new venue.[8] Duodo was also the dedicatee of Faustini's libretto *Il Titone*, an earlier collaboration with Cavalli performed in 1645 at the Teatro San Cassiano, but one for which the music is now lost.[9]

[7] Glixon and Glixon (2006), 37–38.

[8] *Ibid*., 131 n. 108.

[9] Printed copies of the 1645 libretto of *Il Titone* can be consulted in the Biblioteca Marciana (DRAMM.914.5) and the Casa Goldoni in Venice.

The reasons for Faustini to leave the San Moisè are documented in the contracts and other business agreements that have been analyzed in the study by Glixon and Glixon. As Faustini prepared both *L'Oristeo* and *La Rosinda* for what would have been his third season at the old theater, the owner Almorò Zane decided that he wished to present spoken comedies that season, and Faustini agreed to terminate their contract.[10] When Faustini signed the new rental agreement for the Sant'Apollinare with the owners Francesco Ceroni and Zanetta Diamante,[11] the theater was in poor condition, but the owners agreed to make repairs and offered the much lower rent that promised higher profits. This situation allowed Faustini to move ahead with his libretti for production in the new theater, and he was able to realize his original plan to mount two operas in a single season (after both of his previous seasons at the San Moisè in which he mounted only one opera per season). Thus, the business practice of presenting two operas in one season was established in the 1650/51 season with the twin operas *L'Oristeo* and *La Rosinda*, and would be carried into the final season of Faustini's life (when the business operations passed to his brother, Marco, as impresario) in the creation and performance of *La Calisto* and *L'Eritrea* in 1651/52.

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[10] Glixon and Glixon (2006), 37.

[11] *Ibid*.

II. The Dramaturgical Sources and Libretto Structure

The libretto of *L'Oristeo* was typical of Faustini's practice of inventing highly intricate and complex plots that were without direct literary model. As a librettist, Faustini had established his own practice of inventing material for the core structural narrative of his works, rather than relying too heavily upon historical or mythological subject matter. The narrative of *L'Oristeo* follows the well-established formula of two central pairs of lovers typical of the Venetian *dramma per musica* of this period, which had been derived from earlier theatrical forms including Spanish drama, pastoral plays, and ancient Roman comedy.[12] The libretto is divided into three acts, preceded by a prologue, and the work totals 1498 lines of poetry, making it relatively concise for a Faustini libretto. By comparison, the libretto of *L'Euripo*, produced at the Teatro San Moisè in the previous season, contained a total of 1988 lines.[13] The brevity of the *Oristeo* libretto may be one of the factors that led Faustini to apologize for the relatively short period of its genesis in his libretto preface.

The primary source of the libretto is the printed booklet from 1651, published by Giovanni Pietro Pinelli.[14] As Faustini's original plots had become

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[12] Faustini's dramaturgy has a characteristic tragicomic structure that was developed specifically for the Venetian stage. In "Giovanni Faustini," in *Grove Music Online*, Ellen Rosand writes, "Many of the devices that help to propel the drama and contribute to the confusion—such as disguise, overheard conversations, misdelivered letters and sleeping potions—were standard comic routines going to through Spanish drama and the pastoral to Roman comedy."

[13] For the 1649 printed libretto of *L'Euripo* (published by Francesco Miloco), see Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, DRAMM.916.2.

[14] Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, DRAMM.917.5.

increasingly complex in his collaborations with Cavalli throughout the 1640s, he expanded the prose description of the events prior to the action of the drama in an introductory section labeled the *delucidazione della favola*.[15] In the case of *L'Oristeo*, this introduction provides background on the multiple plots contained in the narrative, and lays out the origins and conflicts of the two pairs of lovers: Oristeo (bass), the King of Epiro, disguised as a gardener (under the name Rosmino), works in the royal gardens of Caonia. From the background provided by the *delucidazione*, the audience learns that Oristeo's army had been involved in an accidental battle with the army of Diomeda (soprano), the Princess of Caonia who was Oristeo's betrothed, in which Diomeda's father had been killed, leading her to a vow of celibacy. Despite this, Diomeda has fallen in love with Trasimede (tenor), whose former betrothed Corinta (soprano), now also works under a disguise (under the name Albinda) in the royal gardens. The structure of the libretto gradually resolves the strands of the plot such that the two pairs of lovers are reunited as originally betrothed—Oristeo with Diomeda, and Trasimede with Corinta.

Although Faustini invented the characters and plot complications central to the *romanzo*[16] that is the libretto of *L'Oristeo*, he intertwines the primary plot

[15] The *delucidazione* became a standard part of libretto prefaces by the 1650s. Faustini's earliest libretti had not included this backstory of the plot. There is no *delucidazione* in the printed libretti of *La virtù dei strali d'Amore* (1642), *L'Egisto* (1643), and *Il Titone* (1645). There is a short narrative background provided in *L'Ormindo* (1644) and *La Doriclea* (1645). The libretto of *L'Euripo* (1649) has an extensive *delucidazione*, as do *L'Oristeo* (1651), *La Rosinda* (1651), and L'Eritrea (1652).

[16] In labeling the opera as "romanzo," Faustini is referencing the literary genre of the chivalric romance. According to Nicola Badolato: "Definendo la *Rosinda* un 'puro romanzo' ci sembra dunque che Faustini rivendichi immediatamente una più o meno diretto filiazione del suo dramma dal genere epico-cavalleresco, sulla linea Boiardo-Ariosto-Tasso." See "Le

structure with a secondary narrative element drawn from the figures and tropes of ancient mythology. At the scenic transitions in the primary action, Faustini introduces a framing narrative that features the mythological character of Amore, or allegorical Love, placed in the context of the figures including the gods Pluto [god of the underworld] and Penia [goddess of poverty], *Le Grazie* [the graces], *La Bellezza* [beauty], *La Virtù* [virtue], and *L'Interesse* [interest]. This mythico-allegorical aspect to the libretto structure draws loosely upon literary sources, which Faustini acknowledges in the second half of the libretto preface:

> That Love was the child of Poros and of Penury, which is to say of the Council and of Poverty, is stated in the *Convito* [Symposium] of Plato; and that Pluto was the giver of riches, is told in the *Timone* of Lucian. I explain it here for all to understand, such that the novelty of the genealogy of this blind one [Amore] should not render confusing the meaning of the episode.[17]

Nicola Badolato has examined the relationship between Faustini's libretti and the sources of ancient mythology from which he drew these secondary yet important framing narrative scenes. He has suggested that Faustini did indeed consult the works of ancient writers, although most likely in Italian translations that were published during the Renaissance. For Plato's *Symposium*, Faustini may have consulted the *Commento di Marsilio Ficino sopra il Convito di Platone, et esso Convito tradotti in lingua toscana per Hercole Barbarosa di Terni*, published in 1544. For the references to the *Timone* of Luciano di Samosata*,* Faustini may have referred to a

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fonti di Faustini" in Badolato, "I drammi musicali di Giovanni Faustini per Francesco Cavalli," (Dissertation, Università di Bologna, 2007), 31.

[17] DRAMM.917.5, *Delucidazione della favola*. Original text: "Che Amore sia figlio di Poro e di Penia, cioè del Consiglio e della Povertà, lo espone nel *Convito* Platone, e che Pluto sia il datore delle ricchezze lo narra in *Timone* Luciano. Mi dichiaro per i semplici, accioché la novità della Genealogia di questo Cieco non gli rendesse confusa l'intelligenza dell'episodio."

translation by Nicolò da Lonigo (*I dilettevoli dialogi, le vere narrationi, le facete espistole di Luciano philosopho di greco in volgare nuovamente tradotte et historiate*) that was published in Venice by Nicolò di Aristotele detto lo Zoppino in 1525. Badolato also argues that Faustini may have had access to *Pluto* by Aristophanes, which had been published in translation in Venice in 1545 by Bartolomeo e Pietro Rostini.[18]

The inclusion of this secondary narrative plot allows Faustini to frame the themes of the central action from a philosophical perspective, thereby casting the original narrative of Oristeo and Diomeda in the broader context of literary precedent. References to learned literature, the geography of the ancient world, and the cosmology of ancient mythology were part of a conscious narrative strategy employed by Faustini to place his libretti in the conceptual framework of earlier dramas. This secondary plot frame is woven throughout the entire dramaturgical fabric, and the contrast between scenes of the mortal characters and the divine mythological figures provides an ongoing variety and visual interest. Additionally, this intricate juxtaposition of the two layers of the drama—both the original romance centered on two pairs of crossed lovers and the mythological frame—provides the reader/viewer with a lens through which to perceive the primary narrative. The allegorical characters reflect philosophically on the themes of the opera, in particular the pains experienced in the loss of love, and their debate functions as an ongoing commentary on the central narrative. The full realization of

[18] For further information on these sources of the allegorical frame, see Badolato (2012), 28.

these contrasting levels of the Venetian opera libretto is a hallmark of Faustini's mature style in his final four collaborations with Cavalli.

Faustini's dramaturgical structure also deploys dramatic devices that allow for further plot developments and complications beyond those introduced in the initial *delucidazione*. In the plot structure of *L'Oristeo*, the disguises worn by the two protagonists working as royal gardeners (Oristeo under the name of Rosmino and Corinta under the name as Albinda), as well as the device of the exchanges of the portrait of Corinta, give further complexity to the plot.[19] In addition, the narrative juxtapositions between layers of the drama have further implications for the scenographic structure of the opera as a whole. In the first act, the mortal characters are seen against the *Giardino* set [Act I, Scenes 1-11], while the mythological figures appear in the new scenery of the *Bosco tugurio di Penia* in the final scenes [Act I, Scenes 12-15]. In the second act, the mythological figures return when the scenery is described as a *Cortile* [Act II, Scenes 7-12] and again for their own scenographic division at the end of the action [Act II, Scenes 15-18], in the set for *La Reggia di Pluto*. The third and final act is dominated by the mortal characters in both of the scenographic sections described in the libretto: *La piazza della fortezza* [Act III, Scenes 1-5] and *Il campo degl'Epiroti, attendato su le spiaggie dell'Ionio* [Act III, Scenes 6-8]. Thus, in each of the structures of the first two acts, there is a return to the mythological frame for the change of scenery; ultimately, after the intervention of *Amore* on behalf of the protagonist Oristeo, the two narrative layers come

[19] Giovanni Battista Guarini's *Il pastor fido* had first been published in Venice in 1590, and "remained the chief model for pastorals in the 17th century." See Owen Jander and Geoffrey Chew, "Pastoral. 3. Secular Vocal Forms (i) Up to 1700" in *Grove Music Online.*

together such that the final act remains in the realm of the mortal characters for the resolution of the central plot.

An additional instance of the juxtaposition of the two dramatic layers in the structure of the libretto is the prologue, which introduces the mythological element through the appearance of *Il Genio Cattivo* [the evil genius] and *Il Genio Buono* [the good genius] of Oristeo. Once again, the lens of the allegorical figures is employed as a means through which to view the principal characters. Faustini structured the narrative layers of his libretto of *L'Oristeo* such that the complexities of the *delucidazione della favola*, the allegorical prologue, the two layers of the main action, and the resolution of all the elements would line up with the scenographic presentation of the work, even in the confined circumstances of the small stage of the Sant'Apollinare. Although he may have wished to apologize for any inadequacies of the presentation, due to the financial and scheduling pressures of establishing a new opera theater and the repayment of his personal debts, Faustini crafted a firm foundation for the opera through the dramaturgy of its libretto.

III. Cavalli's Autograph Score as Primary Source of Stage Production

In planning both the 1650/51 and 1651/52 seasons at the Sant'Apollinare, Faustini, working as both librettist and impresario, had the opportunity to mount two new productions each year. After almost a decade of collaboration with

Francesco Cavalli, beginning with *La virtù dei strali d'amore* in 1642,[20] the composer-librettist team had a well-established musico-dramatic aesthetic and set of operatic conventions from which to draw for what would become their final four collaborations, all written for the Sant' Apollinare. By 1650, Cavalli was the pre-eminent opera composer in Venice, and his participation in the inaugural season of the new theater gave Faustini the assurance of working with his regular creative partner. Cavalli had been a musician at San Marco for twenty-five years under the leadership of Claudio Monteverdi and had held the post of second organist since his teacher's death in 1643.[21] He pursued an extensive freelance career throughout Venice, and in the year 1650, he was most likely the editor of Monteverdi's posthumously published *Messa a 4 voci e salmi*, which includes his own six-voice setting of the *Magnificat*.[22] Cavalli's ongoing collaborations with Faustini were therefore conducted in the context of his larger musical life and reputation in Venice.

L'Oristeo is one of the scores in the Contarini Collection that is written mostly in Cavalli's hand.[23] This score is the only source for the music of the opera, and

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[20] See the 1642 libretto printed by Pietro Miloco: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, DRAMM.909.6.

[21] See Introduction for additional details of Cavalli's biography.

[22] See Thomas Walker and Irene Alm, "Francesco Cavalli. 1. Life" in *Grove Music Online.*

[23] Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 367 (=09891). In addition, a facsimile edition of the score was published. See Pier Francesco Cavalli, *L'Oristeo*, Introduction by Howard Mayer Brown (New York: Garland Publications, 1982)

L'Oristeo in its original form was not revived in the seventeenth-century,[24] nor has it yet been issued in a critical edition. Both the binding structure of the manuscript and the attribution of the primary hand to Cavalli are described in detail in a study of all of Cavalli's autographs by Peter Jeffery.[25] He asserts that the same hand had made corrections in earlier scores (*Giasone*, *Didone,* and *Orimonte*), and that it is consistent with the characteristics of Cavalli's hand from other known documents, including his will, contracts, and receipts. In particular, Jeffery claims that Cavalli's habit of connecting characters between words, the slant of his handwriting, and his practice of hyphenating words between lines of text, all indicate that the primary hand of this score is Cavalli's own.[26]

Several passages in the manuscript score of *L'Oristeo* bear evidence of Cavalli's usual procedure of composition. Jeffery claims that unlike later composers who wrote out the text prior to composing the melody, Cavalli worked in a vertical progression from top to bottom, first writing out the melody, then the text of the libretto, and finally adding the bass.[27] Evidence of this compositional procedure can be found in sections of the manuscript where Cavalli began with one setting of the

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[24] A libretto printed in Bologna in 1656 indicates the opera was produced in an extensively reworked form and under a different title several years later in Bologna. However, no score exists for this adaptation. See L'Oristeo travestito: favola dramatica per musica / di Giovanni Faustini; dedicate all'altezza serenissima di Alfonso d'Este, il prencipe di Modena. In Bologna: Per Giacomo Monti, 1656.

[25] See Peter Jeffery, "The Autograph Manuscripts of Francesco Cavalli," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1980), 138–52.

[26] *Ibid.*, 138–44.

[27] *Ibid.*, 144–46.

text and changed his mind, crossing out the melody and recomposing the vocal line before writing in the text. Jeffery cites the example of the final speech of Act I, for the character Penia, with the text "È stolto quel pensiero," which can be seen on folio 35r of the manuscript (Example 2.9). Here, Cavalli crossed out his first setting of this text as recitative, in order to reset the passage as an arioso, and eventually inserted an aria to conclude the act. This process of composition of the music that moves from top to bottom is the same as Cavalli's procedure when copying. The composing and copying procedure capture Cavalli's active engagement with the libretto and his working-out through repetition and revision what would be the final version of the music to be staged at Teatro Sant'Apollinare.

The excavation of these layers of a manuscript score is discussed at some length in Hendrik Schulze's study of Cavalli's manuscripts for the period 1654–61, notably *Xerses* and *Artemisia*.[28] In these later works, Schulze argues that the multiple layers of corrections and adjustments correspond to multiple productions of the opera in different cities.[29] In the case of *L'Oristeo*, however, comparison with the text of the libretto printed in 1651 indicates that the autograph corresponds directly to the production at the Sant'Apollinare.

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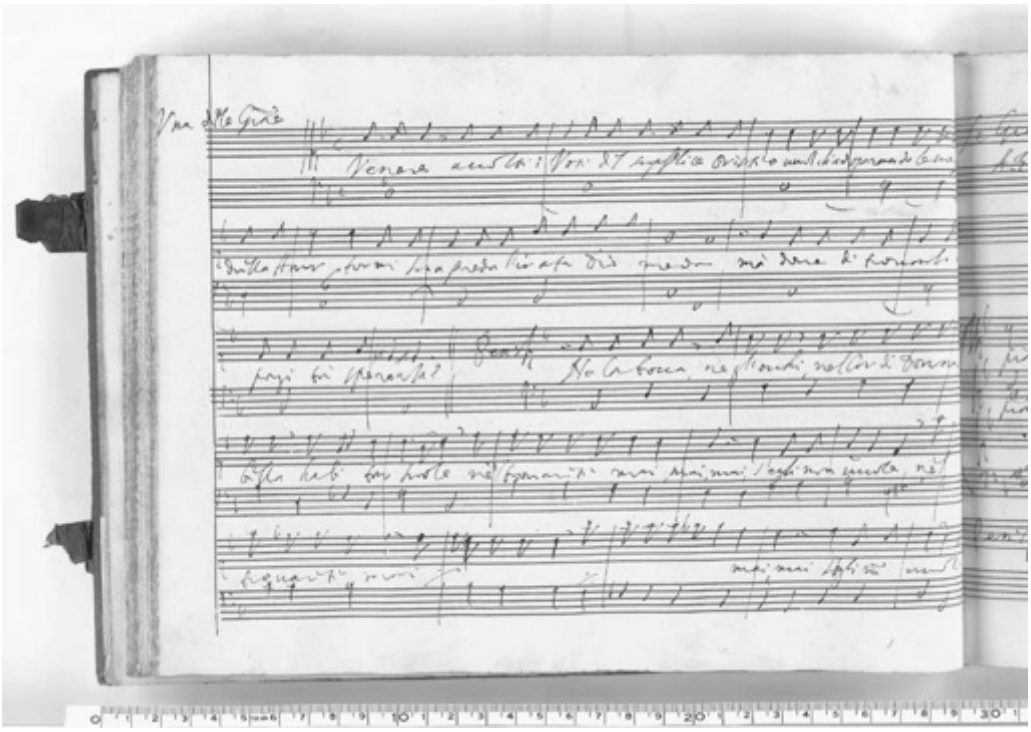
[28] Hendrik Schulze, "The Manuscript Score as a Document of Performance Practice in Cavalli's Opera 1654-1661," *Philomusica on-line: Rivista del Dipartimento di Musicologia e Beni Culturali*. Università degli Studi di Pavia. Vol. 5, No. 2 (2006).

[29] Schulze reports that *Xerse* was performed in Venice (1655), Genoa (1656), Bologna (1657), Napes (1657), Palermo (1658), Paris (1660), Milan (1665), Verona (1667), and Cortona (1682). He reports that *Artemisia* was performed in Venice (1657), Palermo (1659), Naples (1659), Milan (1663), and Genoa (1665).

IV. Structural Adjustments at the Ends of the Acts

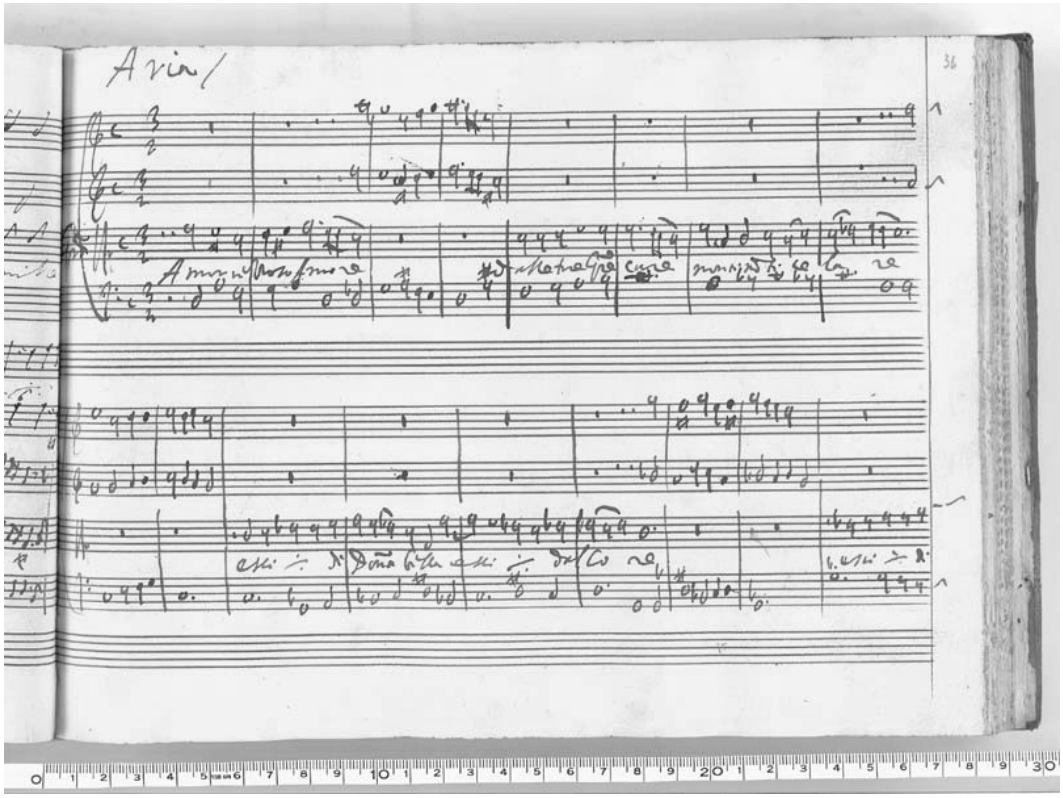
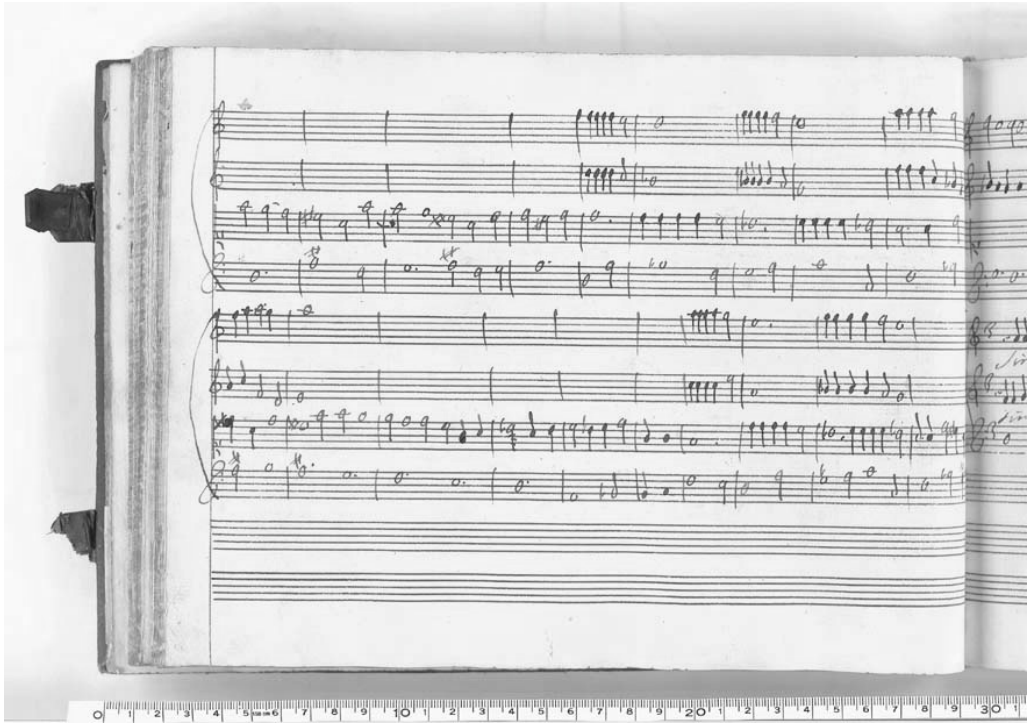
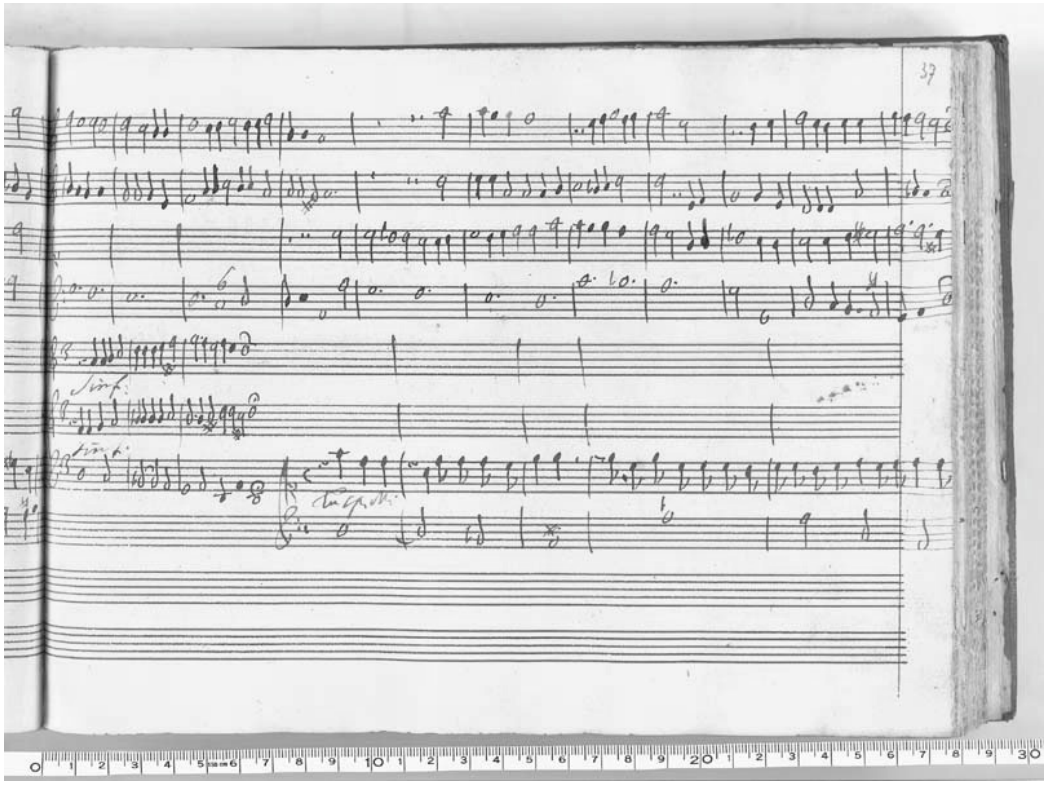
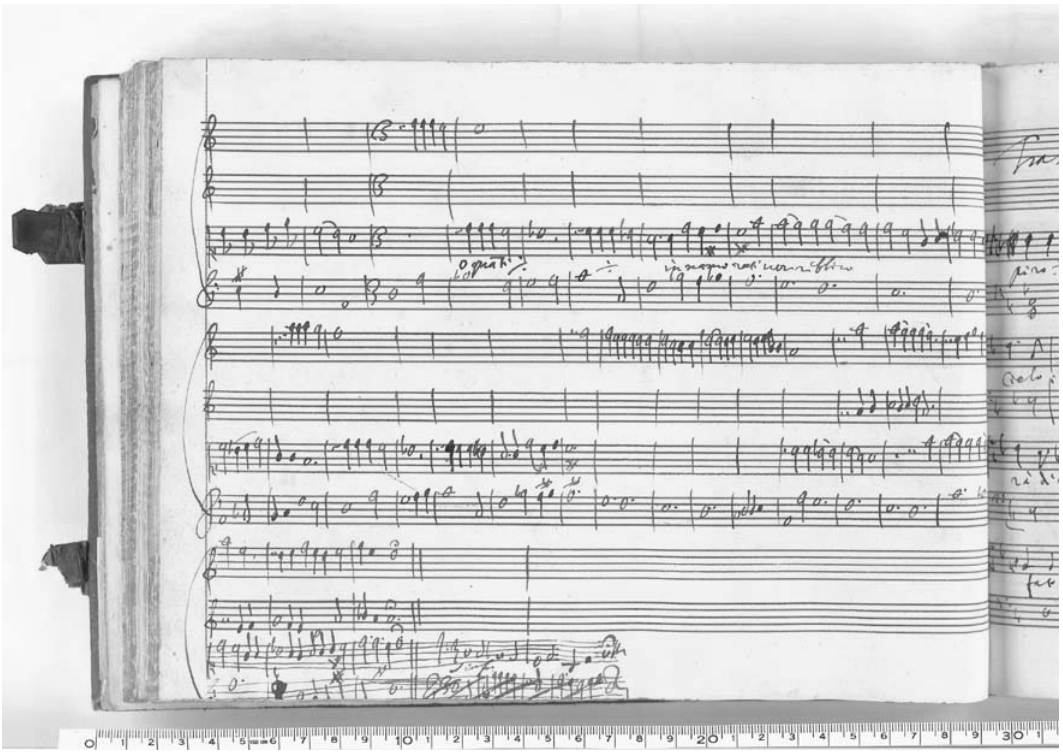
A close examination of the manuscript reveals that some modifications were made to the opera after the publication of the libretto but prior to the performances at the Teatro Sant'Apollinare. The most significant alteration to the structure of the first act involved its ending, which Cavalli changed to close with an aria that had not been part of Faustini's original design. The presence of this new aria is consistent with the general trend toward the increasing number of closed forms in the 1650s. Jeffery claims that folia were added, such that measures crossed out and rewritten can be explained by the addition of new sheets to the gathering.[30]

The insert at the end of the first act is on two folia (ff. 36–37) and follows the final speech of Penia. In the scene between Penia and the Three Graces that leads up to this final speech, Cavalli sets the music for the Graces as an imitative three-part texture. The text "Venere, accolti i voti / del supplice Oristeo [Venus, receive the vows / of the supplicant Oristeo]," originally assigned to the Three Graces in Faustini's libretto, was reassigned to "Una delle grazie," by Cavalli on f. 34v (Example 1.1). He modified that part of the scene as a dialogue for the recitative exchange with Penia.

[30] Jeffery (1980), 147–49.

Example 1.1: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 367 (=09891), f. 34v.

Cavalli makes the same change on f. 48r, when the Graces appear in Act II, once again giving a passage to "Una delle grazie," written in soprano clef, indicating that his own conception of how to stage the three Graces included several moments for a solo character not originally devised by Faustini. Jeffery points out that the first recto of the new aria is written in Cavalli's hand, while the following three sides are in the hand of a copyist and unfortunately do not include the text of the aria (Examples 1.2-1.5).[31] The few passages of text that are included, even those on the leaves of music written out by the copyist, are all in Cavalli's hand, an indication that he oversaw the copying and completion of the act in this expanded form. A short

[31] *Ibid*., 149.

instrumental *sinfonia* in the lower margin of f. 37v has been crossed out and corrected.

Example 1.2: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 367 (=09891), f. 36r.

Example 1.3: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 367 (=09891), f. 36v.

Example 1.4: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 367 (=09891), f. 37r.

Example 1.5: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 367 (=09891), f. 37v.

Cavalli reworked the ending of the second act in a similar fashion, and once again a folio was inserted into the binding of the manuscript (Examples 1.6–1.8). This time, the inserted paper shows traces of its previous use, as seen on the verso of folio 61. According to Jeffery, this sheet had originally been used to draft the cadence of a six-part sacred vocal work, now lost.[32] Not mentioned by Jeffery is the fact that this aria, unlike the aria at the conclusion of Act I, was included in Faustini's printed libretto, which would suggest that it was added to the manuscript somewhat earlier in the process of composition. The entire aria is written out in Cavalli's hand, and he also wrote out a *ritornello* for the aria twice, on the previous leaf (f. 60v) and again below the crossed-out cadence on the back of the inserted sheet (f. 61v). Only

[32] *Ibid*., 150.

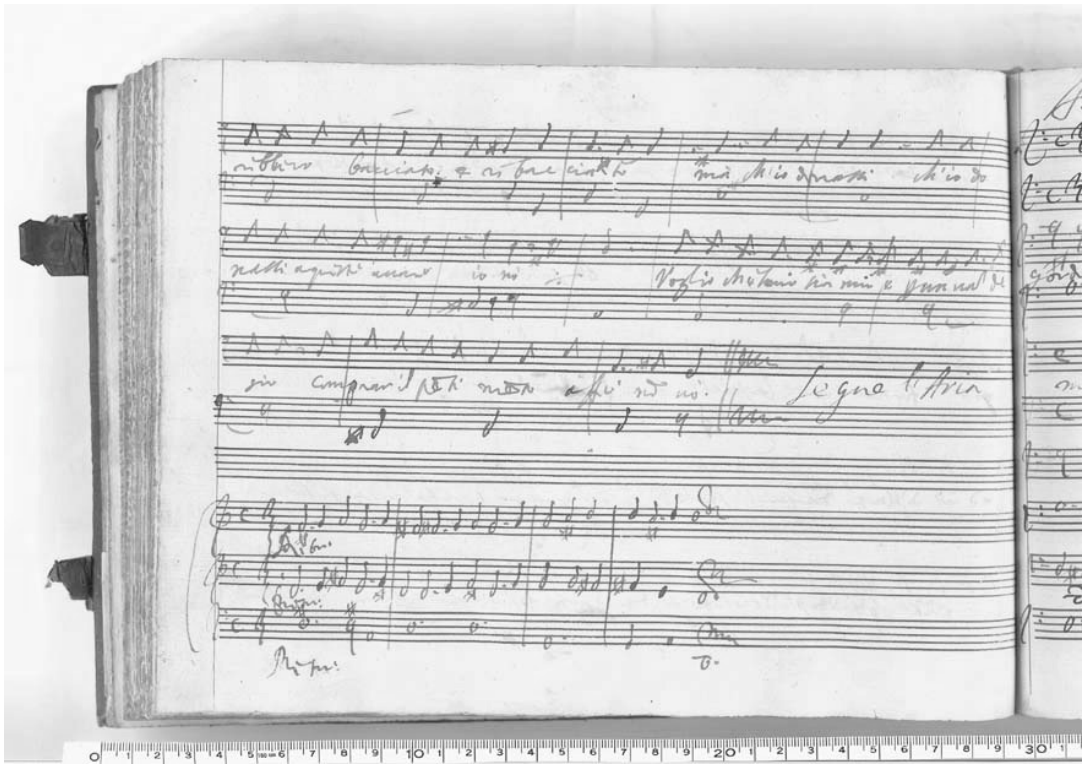
one stanza of Faustini's text in written into the score. The aria is for the character L'Interesse, or Interest, one part of the mythological frame that Faustini cleverly wove throughout the narrative:

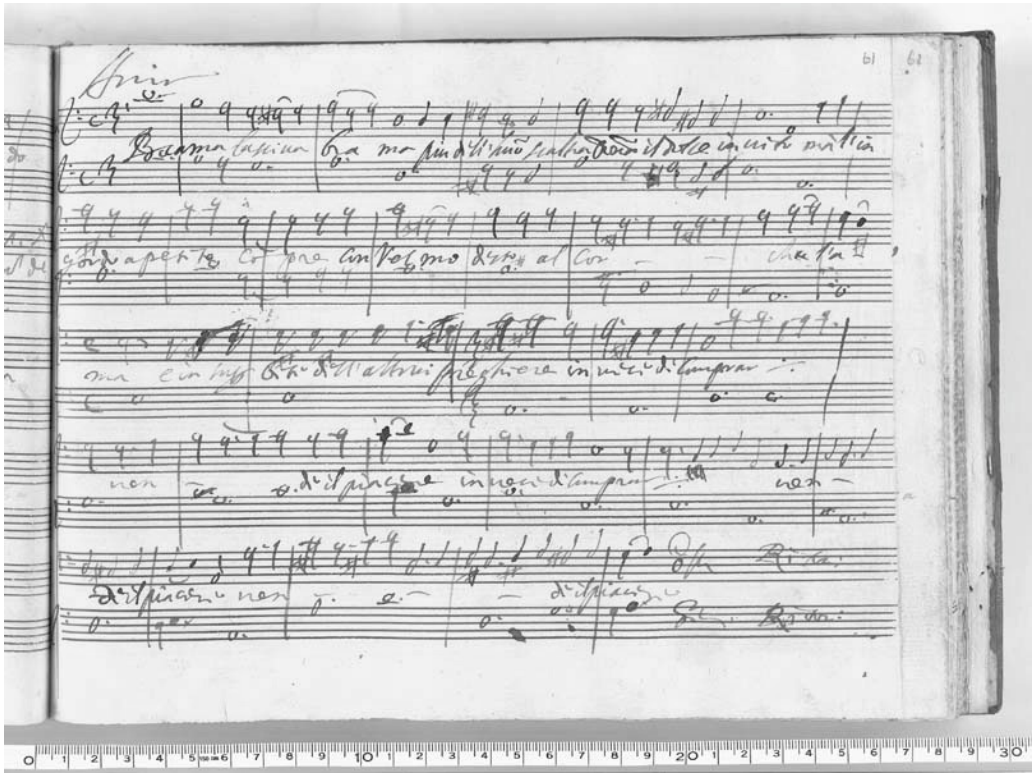
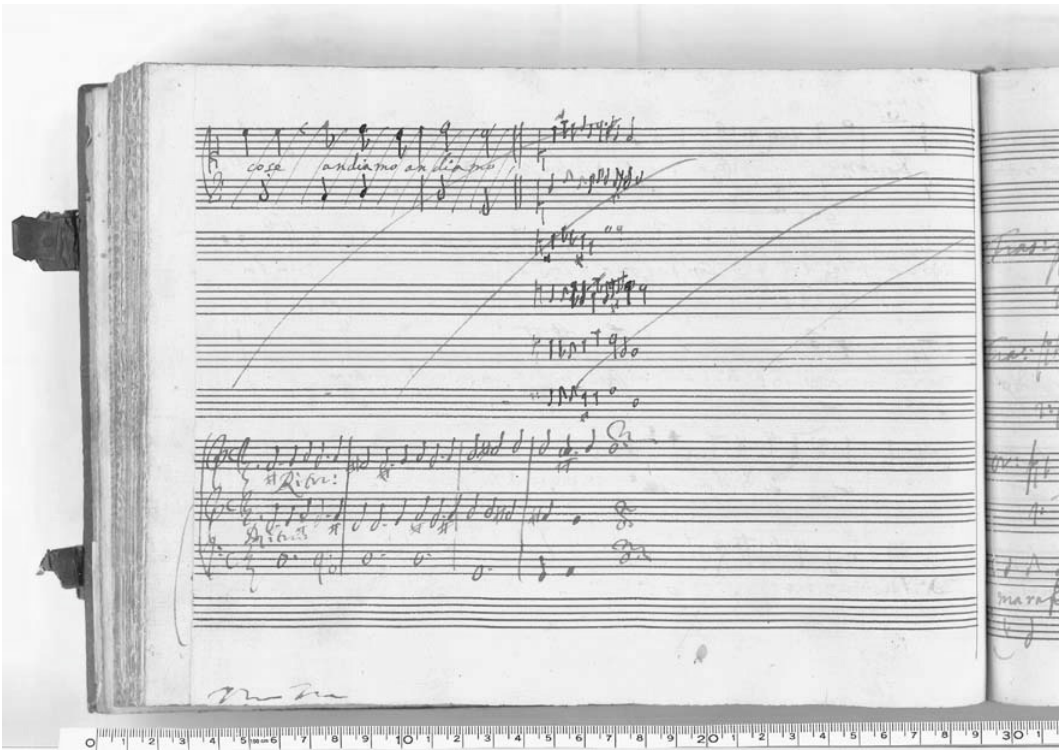
L'INTERESSE:

Brama lasciva, brama
più de l'uom scaltra donna il dolce invito,
ma l'ingordo appetito
copre con vel modesto al cor che l'ama,
e, insuperbita da l'altrui preghiere,
invece di comprar vende il piacere.

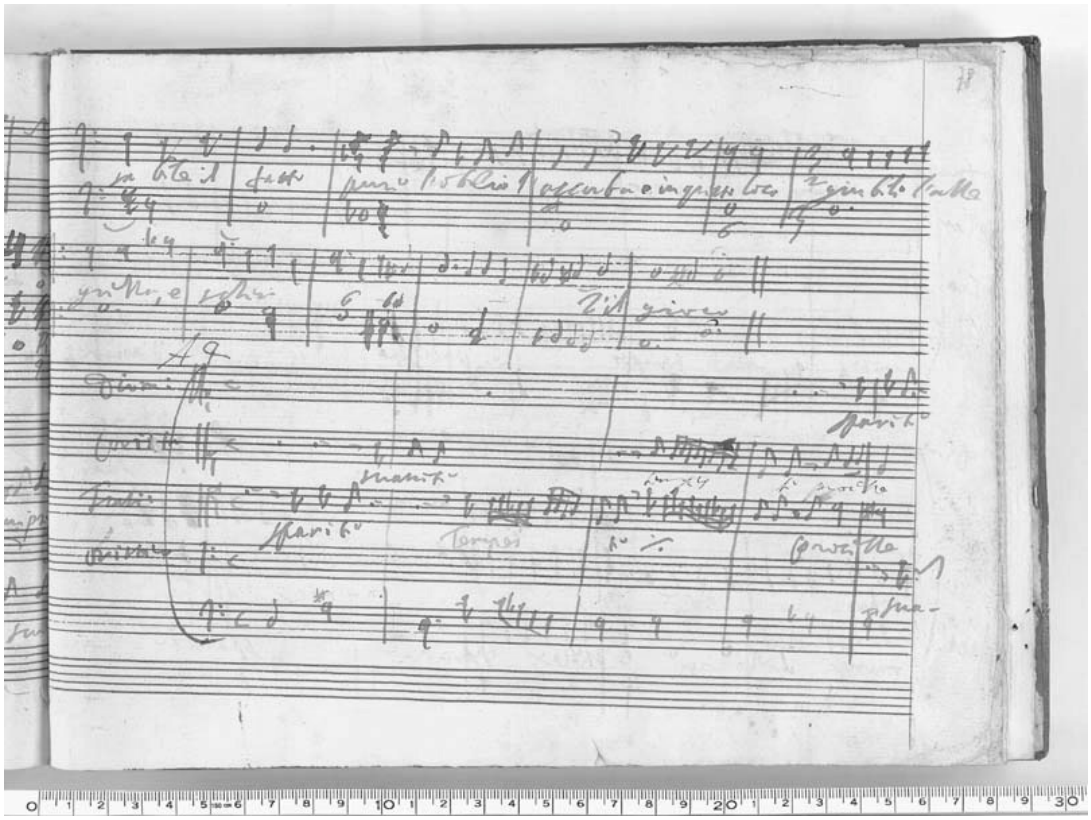
Siam troppo incontinenti,
troppo tenero senso è il vostro, amanti,
vendereste a contanti,
più virili in Amor, grazie e contenti,
vi verrebbero dietro in modo strano
le donne per le vie con l'oro in mano.[33]

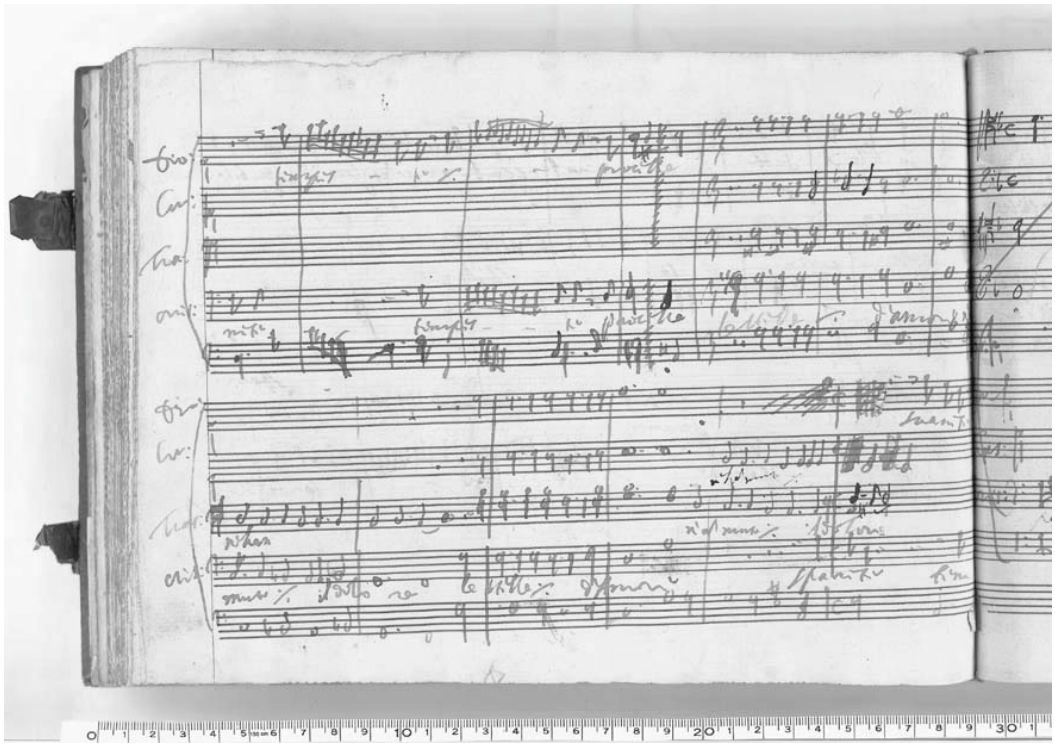
[33] The text of this aria is addressed *ad spectatores* and includes lascivious references to the trade of prostitution. This sexual innuendo, typical of popular Venetian comedy, is incorporated into the mythological frame of the opera, such that the philosophical commentary on Love is blended with comedy: "Lust lasivious, lust / more than man shrewd woman the sweet invitation, / but the greedy appetite / covers with a modest veil the heart that loves it, / and, overproud from the prayers of others, / instead of purchasing sells pleasure. // We are too incontinent, / too tender is your sense, lovers, / you sell yourselves for money, / more virile in Love, graces and contentments, / you would be back in a strange way / women in the streets with gold in hand."

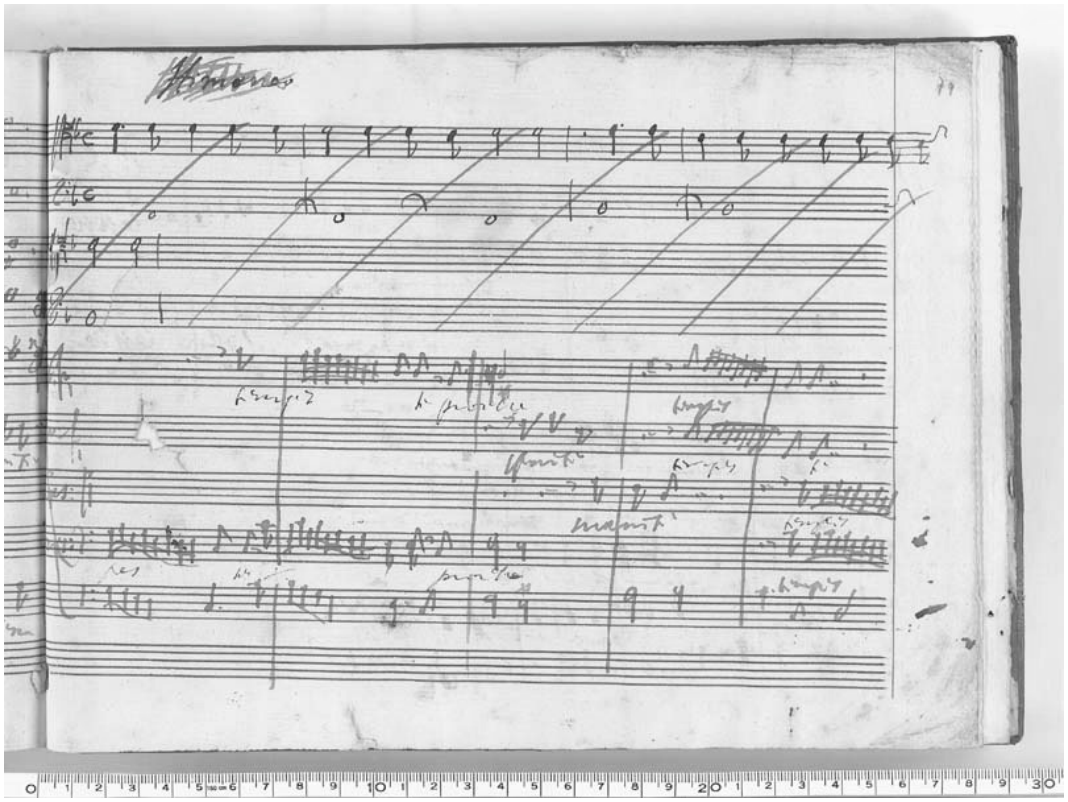
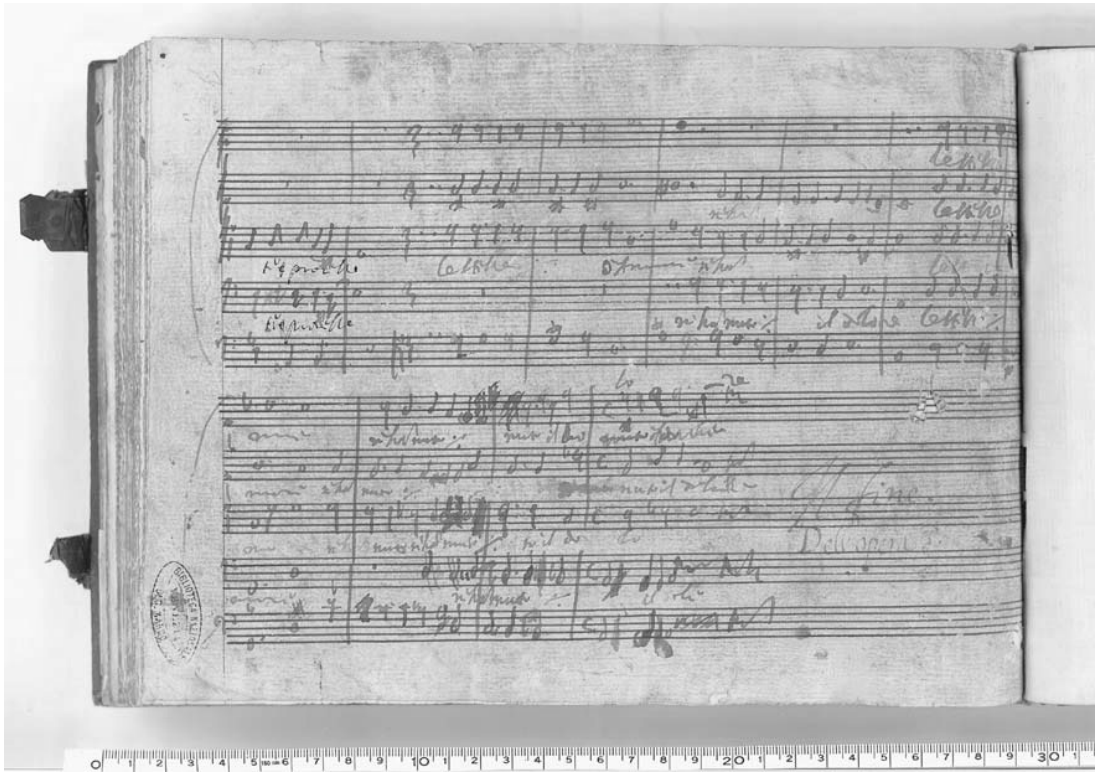


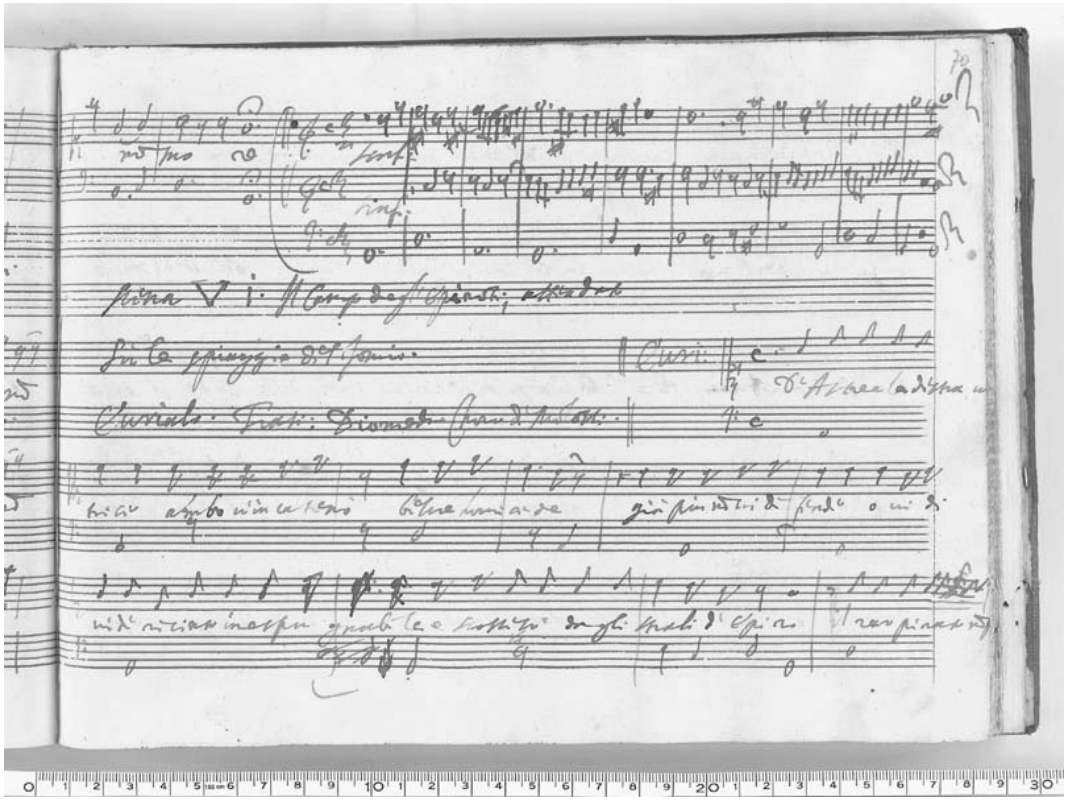
Example 1.6: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 367 (=09891), f 60v.

Example 1.7: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 367 (=09891), f. 61r.

Example 1.8: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 367 (=09891), f. 61v.

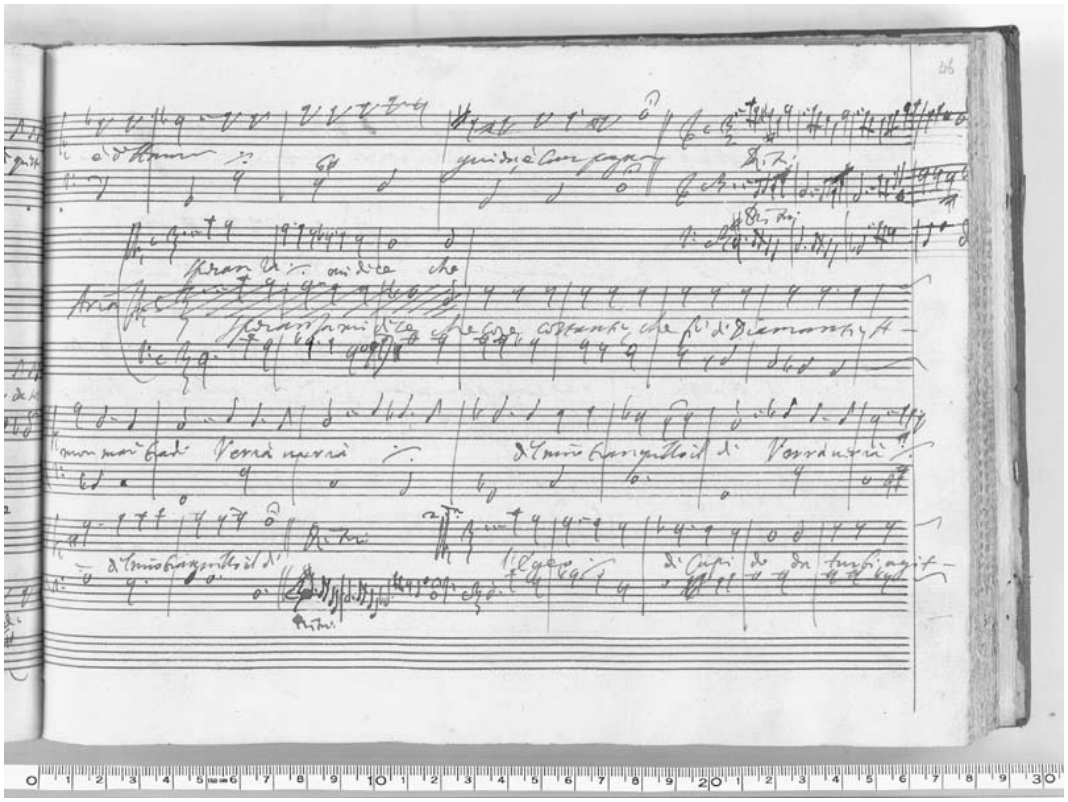
The concluding quartet of Act III is also written out on manuscript paper that had been used for another purpose and was added to the binding (Examples 1.9–1.12). A sketch of music in a copyist's hand along with the rubric "Himeneo" is crossed out at the top of f. 79r and the final leaf of the quartet is written at the bottom of the recto and finished on the verso. Glover and Jeffery have commented on the possible origins of this fragment of music, which appears to have been discarded because the copyist accidentally transcribed the passage in the wrong clef.[34] The text of this final quartet for the two pairs of lovers (Oristeo, Diomeda, Trasimede, and Corinta) is included in the published 1651 libretto.

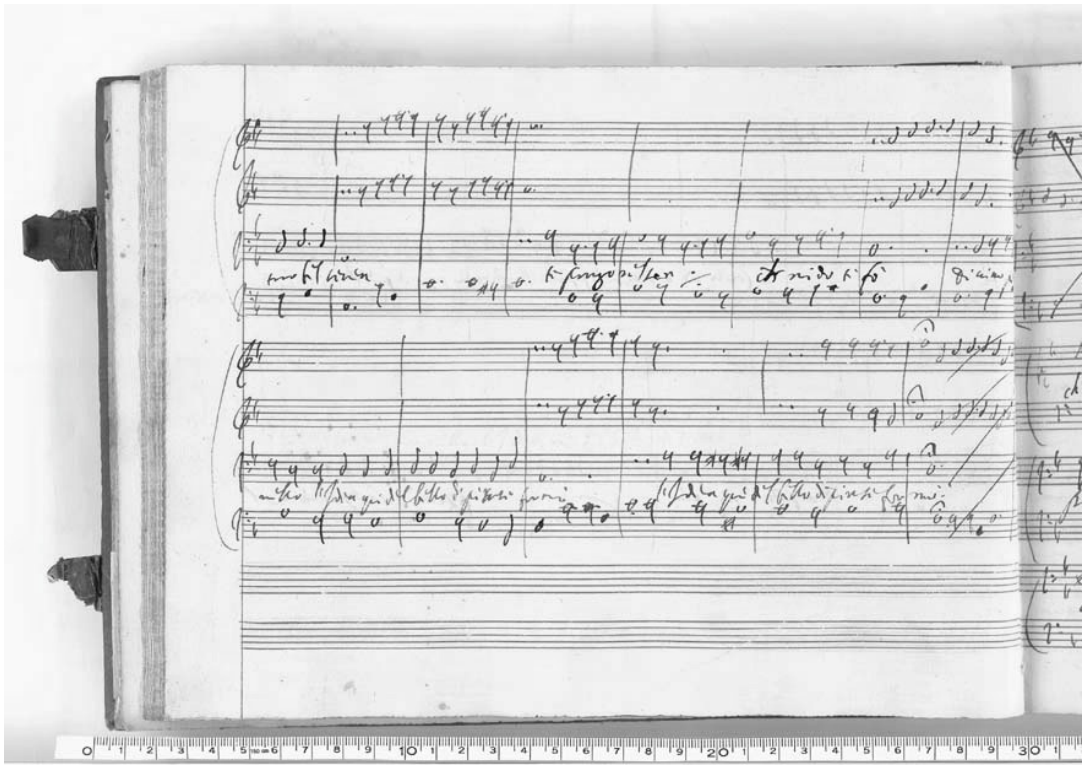
[34] See Jeffery (1980), 151 and Glover (1975), 167.

Example 1.9: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 367 (=09891), f. 78r.

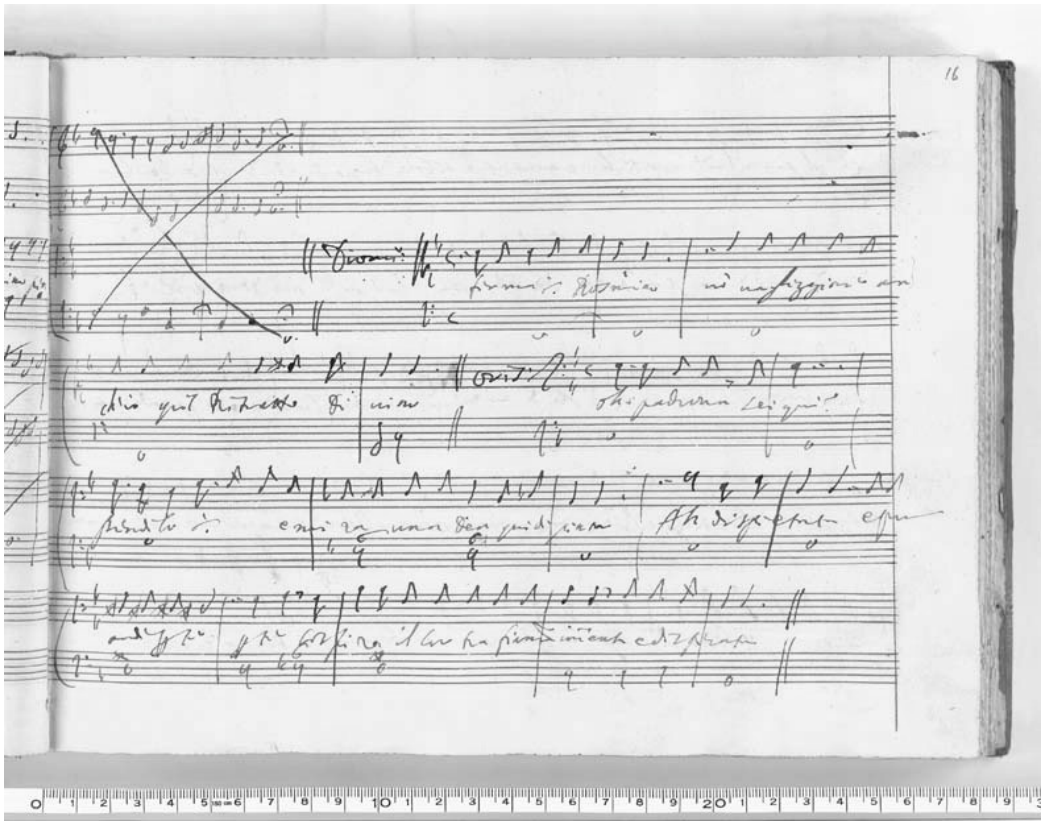


Example 1.10: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 367 (=09891), f. 78v.

Example 1.11: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 367 (=09891), f. 79r.

Example 1.12: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 367 (=09891), f. 79v.

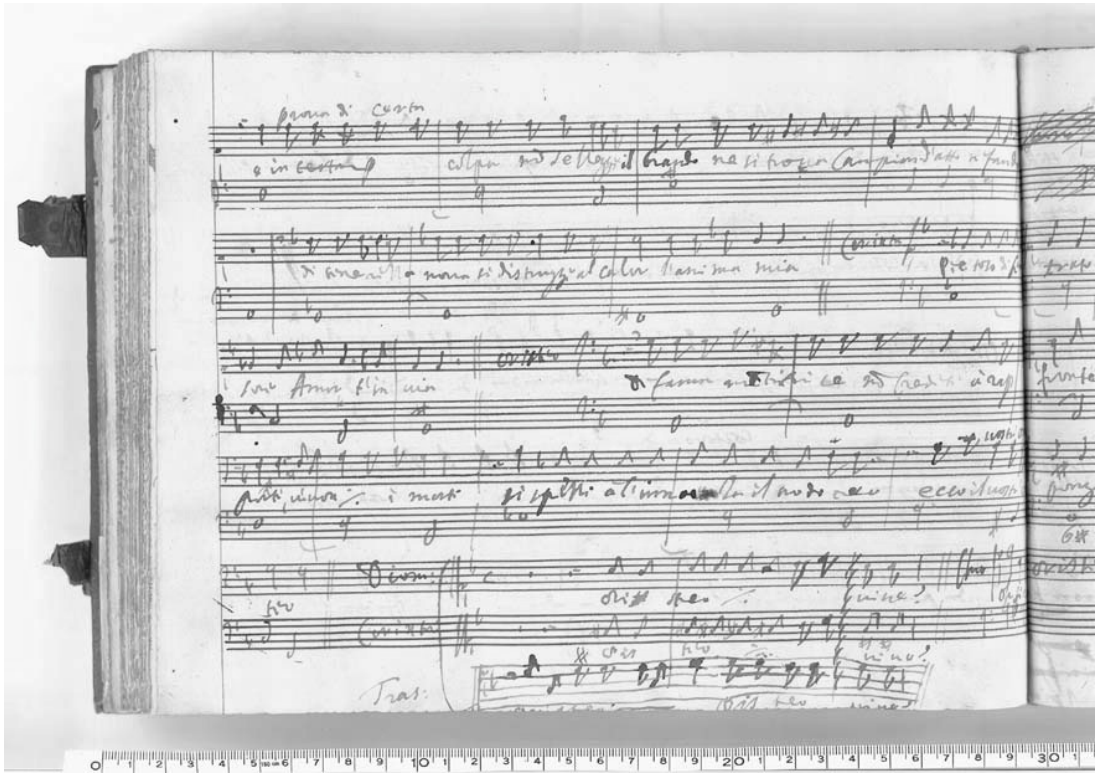
In addition to reworking the endings of the acts, the autograph contains evidence of other moments where Cavalli modified the musico-dramatic flow. In Act I, on f. 30r, Cavalli indicates the scene change to Scene 12, "Tugurio di Penia," but does not include any music for this transition. In Act II, on f. 55r, once again Cavalli indicates the change of scenery with the rubric "La Reggia di Pluto," but does not include any instrumental music for the scene change. In the dramaturgical structure of the third act, however, Cavalli includes an added *sinfonia* for the transition to Scene 6, "Il campo degl'Epiroti," on f. 70r and then describes the stage setting in a rubric (Example 1.13). The added music may have been required for the transition of scenery at this moment in the production.

Example 1.13: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 367 (=09891), f. 70r.

Similarly, from the autograph score, it appears that Cavalli inserted a *ritornello* on folio 46r, in Act II, Scene 6, as a late addition to the aria "Speranza mi dice," for the character Clorinda (Example 1.14). The *ritornello* is written in Cavalli's hand but here he has compressed the music in order to make it fit within a small amount of space remaining in the score. As further evidence that this *ritornello* was added after the initial composition of the aria, Cavalli has crossed out the setting of the first line of text and reset the melody in order to attach this aria to the added *ritornello*. One can tell that Cavalli did not make this change in the composition of the original aria, because the bass line (the last layer of the original pass of composition) has not been adjusted. To complete the flow of the aria, Cavalli has again squeezed the bass line of the *ritornello* into the space between the two verses of the aria in the little manuscript space that remained near the bottom of the page.

Example 1.14: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 367 (=09891), f. 46r.

The autograph also includes several passages where Cavalli apparently changed his mind and crossed out new instrumental material, either in the process of composition or from the considerations of staging, where he felt that the musico-dramatic pacing needed to accelerate. For example, in Act I, Scene 5 for Oristeo and Diomeda, Cavalli included and then crossed out a *ritornello* at the conclusion of Oristeo's aria, "Divino pennello," as can be seen on ff. 15v-16r (Examples 1.15-1.16). This change was made to render Diomeda's reply, the assertive recitative "Ferma, ferma," more as an interruption of the aria, and in this way the musical flow crafted by Cavalli would help direct the action of the staging.

Example 1.15: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 367 (=09891), f. 15v.



Example 1.16: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 367 (=09891), f. 16r.

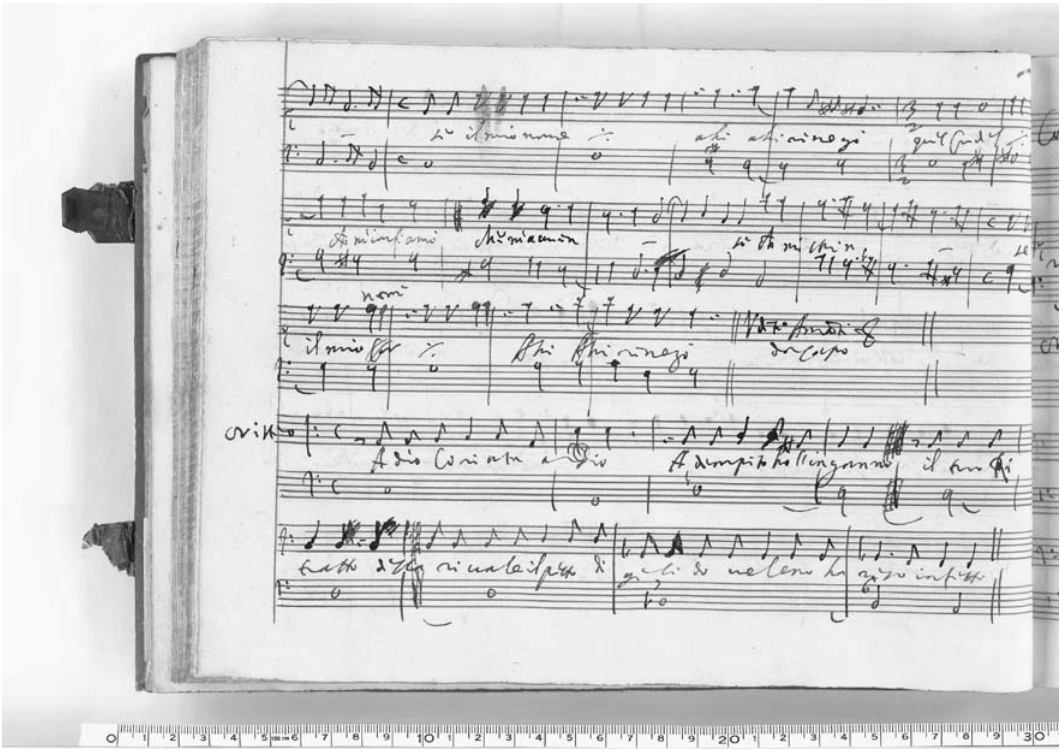
Another moment where Cavalli may have modified the musical fabric for a dramatic effect is the trio of surprise on f. 74v, in Act III, Scena Ultima (Example 1.17). Corinta and Diomeda exclaim, "Oristeo vive?" and then Cavalli has added an extra staff for the addition of Trasimede for this moment. In the process of composition, Cavalli either realized that he had not left enough space in the score for all three characters, or upon reflection and the experience of seeing the moment on stage, he decided that all three of the central characters should be included in this outburst. Here, as in so many places in the score, one can see Cavalli staging the opera through the process of musical setting, working out the dramatic flow and the transitions.

Example 1.17: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 367 (=09891), f. 74v.

The problem of how to end an act, and the gradual shift in the balance from recitative to aria (and eventually to larger ensembles) for act conclusions is an issue that will be discussed further in the connection with the dramaturgical modifications to *La Rosinda* and *L'Eritrea* in the following chapters. *L'Oristeo* is an important example in the development of the placement of arias to conclude acts, part of the larger trend towards increased closed forms in the middle of the seventeenth century. The decision to modify the musico-dramatic fabric to privilege the aria in this way was no doubt to give a stronger conclusion to each act. However, these new endings had implications not only for the musico-dramatic content, but also for the performance of the opera and the relationship between the singer and the audience, with added material performed *ad spectatores*.

V. Casting the Title Role and Musical Transpositions

L'Oristeo contains one of the earliest examples of the "da capo" aria in "Udite, amante," for Corinta in Act I, Scene 7. At this moment in the autograph, on f. 20v, one can find the rubric "Udite amanti, Da capo" in the composer's hand (Example 1.18). Rosand has presented this as a key early example in the evolution of the aria in Cavalli's operas.[35] Francesco Dalla Vecchia has described this piece as a rounded monostrophic aria in order to distinguish this emerging form from the later *da capo* tradition.[36] The emergence of the da capo aria and its development as a convention

[35] Rosand (1991), 284.

in the 1650s affected not only the musical flow of the opera but also the overall structure of the stage action, since these repetitions added a moment of stasis to the staging. These ternary closed aria forms give definition to the principal characters but they also slow down the action. From the perspective of Cavalli's collaboration with singers, these da capo forms provided the cast with opportunity to demonstrate their vocal prowess.

Example 1.18: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 367 (=09891), f. 20v.

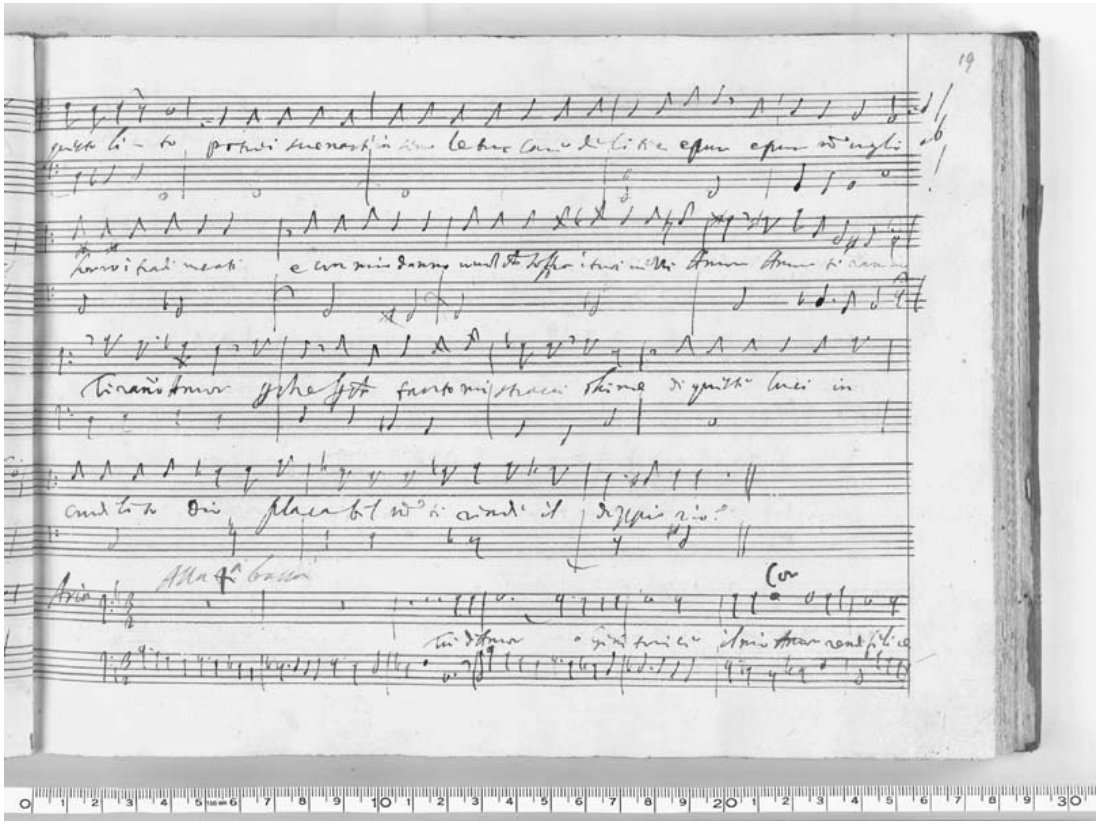
However, in order to counterbalance the type of dramatic stasis created by these closed aria forms in the stage performance, Cavalli introduced several new structural principles to add variety in the staging of the work. For example, several of the arias in *L'Oristeo* are shared strophic arias with *ritornelli*, such that although

[36] Francesco Dalla Vecchia, "Key Symbolism in Francesco Cavalli's Arias" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Iowa, 2011), 16.

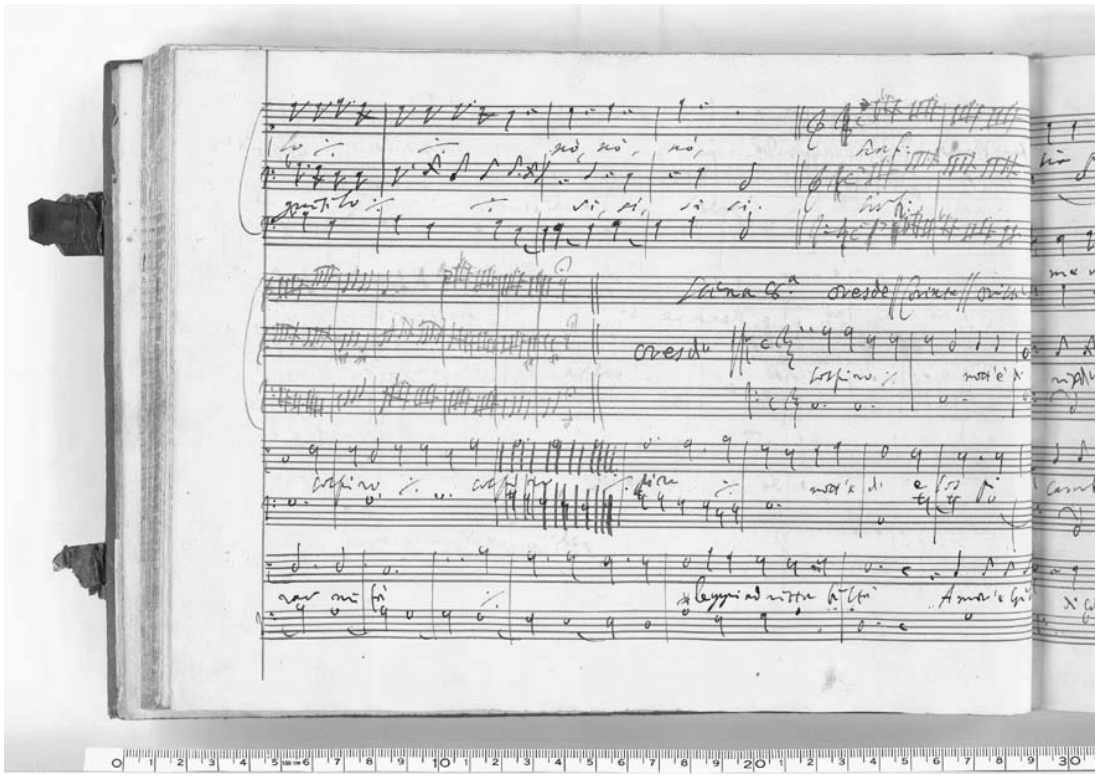
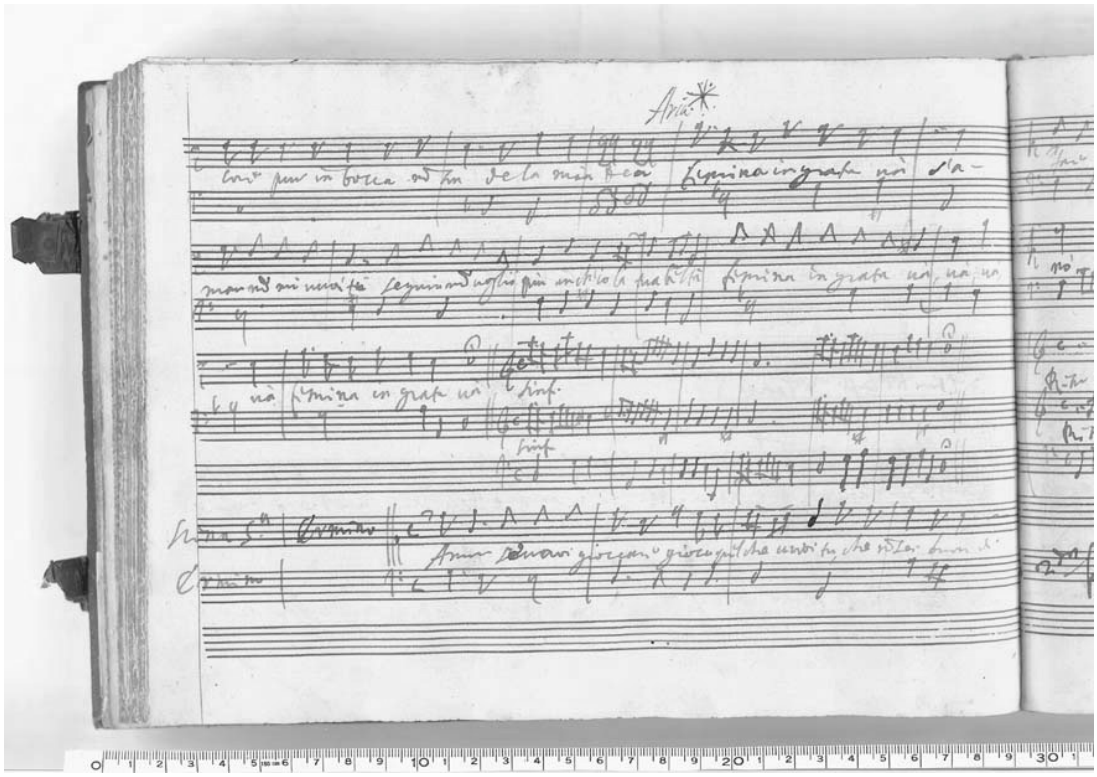
musically unified into a multi-strophic aria, the form can be staged as a duet/dialogue between characters.[37] For example, immediately after the prologue, the first scene of the opera (Act I, Scene 1) between Diomeda and Trasimede opens with a shared strophic aria, "Non vibrate, non scoccate," on ff. 5r-5v. This aria is thus structured as a duet on stage and allows for exposition of the characters' mutual feelings of love for one another, which then builds through the second scene leading to their culminating duet "Sperando men vo / Sperando si va," which concludes the following scene.

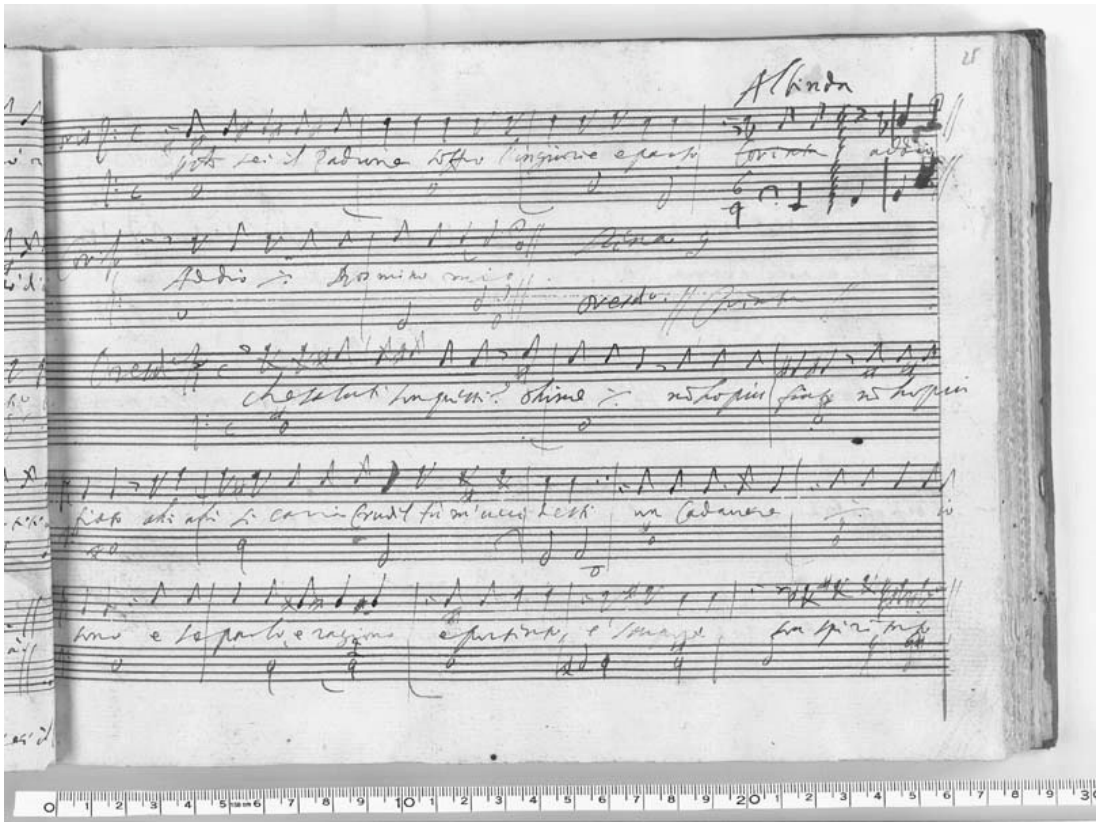
A rubric attached to one of the arias in the opera conveys information about a possible change in casting of the title character during the process of composition and staging. For most of the first two acts, the role of Oristeo is written as a baritone, including both of his arias in Act I, Scenes 5 and 6, "Divino pennello" and "Tu d'amor." The second of these arias, "Tu d'amor" includes the transposition rubric "Alla 4.a bassa" (folio 19r) in the composer's hand, indicating that the aria should be transposed down a fourth, making it more appropriate for a bass (Example 1.19). Indeed, Oristeo's next aria, in Act II, Scene 13, "Colei che rea tu credi" is composed in the range of a bass, and the entire role in the third act is written out for a bass as well. Sometime after the composition of the first act, the original singer of the role was replaced. In the following chapters, further examples of the phenomenon of

[37] This technique works well for characters that share a point of view, such as in the love scene described here. It is more problematic for characters with different perspectives, such as the dialogue between Poppea and Ottone in *L'incoronazione di Poppea*, an example pointed out to me by Ellen Rosand.

recasting roles will be discussed in conjunction with Rudione (in *La Rosinda*) and Endimione (in *La Calisto*).

Example 1.19: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 367 (=09891), f. 19r.

As described above, analysis of binding structure indicates that the concluding arias of both Act I and Act II were added at a later stage in the composition process, After adding these arias to the manuscript, Cavalli eventually went on to compose a *ritornello* for each of them, but he writes them out in the space available at the bottom of the verso of the previous leaf, which suggests that he wrote the new aria independently and then upon adding it to the full score, he composed the connective material that would attach that aria to the the fabric of the act. These *ritornelli* can be seen in the autograph score on f. 35v and f. 60v.

There are also moments where Cavalli added instrumental *sinfonie* for scenic transitions, and their appearance in the manuscript indicates that these passages were added at a later point, after the initial structuring of the act had been completed. The *sinfonia* on f. 23v that appears in the middle of Act I (at the transition from Scene 7 to Scene 8) is written in a much smaller scale in Cavalli's hand and is forced to fit within an amount of space across two systems at the top of the sheet, where space was available between the two scenes that had already been composed (Example 1.20). This *sinfonia* is also written in different ink and seems to have been squeezed into the available space in the manuscript at a later time. Similarly, Cavalli inserts a *sinfonia* between Act III, Scene 4 and Act III, Scene 5 on folio 67v, where little space had been reserved for this type of addition (Example 1.21). In the latter case, it does not appear that Cavalli added the *sinfonia* after the fact, since he reserved a clef for the bass line of the *sinfonia* and it is written into the score in the same ink. Nevertheless, one must wonder about the reason for an instrumental passage at this moment in the dramaturgy. It seems possible that there may have been a scenic transformation at these moments in the acts, or some other reason that the entrance of a character required the extra amount of time provided in an instrumental passage. In the section below, I will address the scenography of the opera and the possibility that this evidence in the manuscript indicates that Cavalli and Faustini altered these moments of scenic transformation in the rehearsal period.

Example 1.20: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 367 (=09891), f. 23v.

Example 1.21: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 367 (=09891), f. 67v

As a final layer of evidence of the development of the staging in the manuscript, Cavalli often made slight adjustments to the text that serve as a record of the process of working out the stage presentation. For example, the manuscript contains moments when the composer momentarily forgot (or overlooked) the costume change or disguise for a character. Either Cavalli was not working directly from Faustini's libretto, or the moment was an oversight that was only corrected in the rehearsal process. On f. 25r, Cavalli writes a passage of recitative for Oristeo, who refers to Corinta directly by her name (Example 1.22). However, in the staging of this moment, Corinta appears in disguise as Albinda. When Cavalli realized which costume the soprano would wear at this moment in the staging, at some point after initially composing this scene, he crossed out the name Corinta in the text and wrote in Albinda above the staff.

Example 1.22: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 367 (=09891), f. 25r.

At certain moments, Cavalli corrected passages where he mistakenly left out a line of text, such as on f. 45v, where he inadvertently missed the line "con amorosi detti" for Corinta, and crossed out the text and added the missing line to the manuscript. In the final act of the opera, Cavalli twice has corrected a single word that describes the geographic origin of the character Corinta. On f. 73r and 73v, Cavalli has crossed out words (not legible in the score) and replaced them with “Locro” and “Locri,” respectively. These corrected geographical names are the ones that appear in the printed libretto of 1651. Faustini’s use of quasi-ancient city names in both the *delucidazione della favola* and in the libretto itself added a tone of learning to his otherwise invented plots. Badolato has examined how Faustini drew consciously upon the geographical names in certain ancient texts cited above, and

here we see in the autograph a correction in the name of the place of origin that the creators associated with the character.[38]

VI. Manuscript Records of Scenography in the Physical Production

Beth Glixon and Jonathan Glixon have studied the physical production of Cavalli and Faustini's collaborations for the 1651/52 Season at the Teatro Sant'Apollinare in great detail through the impresario Marco Faustini's account book that documents the financial history of both *La Calisto* and *L'Eritrea*.[39] Marco Faustini's account books indicate that he commissioned entirely new scenery for the second season (1651/52), and Glixon and Glixon conclude from their examination of the contracts that the Sant'Apollinare must not have maintained a *dotazione* (or theatrical stock) of scenery that was reused from opera to opera.[40] Since the contract between Marco Faustini and the scenic painter Simon Guglielmi that is analyzed by Glixon and Glixon for the 1651/52 season includes entirely new backdrops and flats (and there is no indication of scenery missing from the stock that was ordered for the new season), it appears that Giovanni Faustini had used a separate set of scenic materials for the previous year.[41]

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[38] Badolato (2012), 28.

[39] ASV, SGSM, b. 112, account book 1651/52. Analyzed in Glixon and Glixon (2006) 38–41.

[40] Glixon and Glixon (2006), 273–76.

[41] *Ibid*., 260.

The scenery ordered for *L'Eritrea* and *La Calisto* corresponds to the scenic rubrics indicated in the libretti for these two works, so an examination of the descriptions published by Giovanni Faustini for *L'Oristeo* in 1651 and transferred into the autograph by Cavalli provides reliable information about the creation of the scenic dramaturgy of the opera. The scenery described in the libretto of *L'Oristeo* is listed in the table below.

Table 1.1: The Scenography of *L'Oristeo* in the printed libretto of 1651
Act I, Scenes 1-11: Giardino [Garden]
Act I, Scenes 12-15: Bosco tugurio di Penia [Woodland Hovel of Penury]

Act II, Scenes 1-14: Cortile [Courtyard]
Act II, Scenes 15-18: La reggia di Pluto [The Kingdom of Pluto]

Act III, Scenes 1-5: La piazza della fortezza [The Piazza of the Fortress]
Act III, Scenes 6-8: Il campo degli Epiroti, attendato su le spiaggie dell'Ionio [The Camp of the Epirots, Situated on the Banks of the Ionian Sea]

In the scenery ordered for the 1651/52 Season, Marco Faustini requested a number of sets both *con prospetto* and *senza prospetto*, which is to say both with and without a backdrop.[42] When used without a backdrop, these same sets of flats would employ *lontani*, or small distant sets of wings that would be used to extend the action into the distance.[43] The employment of these *lontani* in the 1651/52 season is indicated in the scenic contracts that were analyzed by Glixon and Glixon. *Lontani* allowed the set to be employed in two different configurations, for both shallow and deeper scenes.

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[42] *Ibid*., 260–61.

[43] *Ibid*., 233.

In the case of *L'Oristeo*, it is possible that transformations within the scenographic structure outlined above necessitated the insertion of the *sinfonie* found in the autograph score and described above. The added *sinfonia* in Act I, between scenes 7 and 8, may have allowed for a transformation in the scenery of the garden, perhaps revealing or concealing the *lontani*. Similarly, the added *sinfonia* in Act III between scenes 4 and 5, may have allowed for a change in the perspective on the Piazza of the Fortress. This moment in the dramaturgy of the opera invited a stage transformation such as the raising of the gate of the fortress that could have been achieved with the addition of music if it was an open backdrop (*prospetto forato*).

The dramaturgical placements of *sinfonie* may have implications for the execution of the scenographic transformations in the middle of the first two acts. The instrumental music added to the manuscript in the middle of Act I functions as an interlude between the scene-concluding duet between Oristeo and Corinta (disguised as Albinda the gardener) and the entrance of Oresde. The extra music at this moment in the action served to give shape to the drama by punctuating the action at the end of the duet. It also may have allowed for an important scenic effect, since it was common practice for the scenery to have been viewed both with and without backdrop. The addition of music for this moment may have provided an opportunity for the transformation of the stage from a pastoral set without *lontani* for the first more intimate scenes to a deeper stage with *lontani* for the remaining action. At the moment between Act I, Scenes 11 and 12, which is indicated in both the printed libretto and the score as the transformation from the Garden set to the

Woodland Hovel of Penury (for the mythological frame), there is no instrumental music for the transition. In this case, a larger scene change must have been accomplished in the background, suggesting that the first portion of the allegorical Scene 12 was played far downstage, providing the opportunity for the scenery to be adjusted in the background. The dramaturgy of the opera would make this staging possible, because the scene begins with extensive solo material that could easily have been performed on the apron of the stage.

The transformations suggested in the scenography of Act II correspond with the practice observed in the first act. The libretto and score state that the first fourteen scenes are performed in a Courtyard set, but in the middle of this section, in Scenes 7-12, Faustini introduces the mythological characters. The previous scene, number 6, concludes with an aria for Corinta that includes *ritornelli* added into the margins of the score on f. 46r and repeated at the aria's conclusion at the join between Scene 6 and Scene 7 on f. 46v (and indicated only by the rubric "*Rit.*"). This aria again features a text addressed to the audience, and again would have provided an opportunity for a scenic transformation from a shallow stage to a deep stage in the background of the action. This would allow for the sudden entrance of the Three Graces at the beginning of Scene 7 (without any extensive instrumental material) after a portion of the set had been revealed at some point during Corinta's aria. Later, the transition in the scenery indicated in the libretto and score between Scenes 14 and 15 to the Kingdom of Pluto begins with a solo scene for Amore (with inserted *ritornelli*), which would have provided the time for a scene change in the background without additional instrumental material.

Finally, the dramaturgy in Act III features added instrumental material that corresponds to the scenography at two key moments in the action. The added *sinfonia* on f. 67v at the join between Scenes 4 and 5 suggests that an extensive scene change may have been started at this moment in the action. Again, Scene 5 is an extensive solo section (an aria for the character Euralio) that provided even more time for the change to occur in the background. The actual rubric for transformation from the Piazza of the Fortress to the final scene of the Camp of the Epirots appears in both the libretto and the score between Scenes 5 and 6, and at this moment in the manuscript, on f. 70r, there is an added *sinfonia* for the scenic transformation. With the possibility of a scene change beginning earlier, in Scene 5, it may be that Cavalli crafted the material in such a way to accommodate the most elaborate scene change of the entire opera. Considering the nature of the final set, with its maritime element (described as a military camp "Situated on the banks of the Ionian Sea"), it may be that more time was needed to prepare and reveal this elaborate final location with the sea depicted through *lontani* in the background. In terms of the depth of the stage performance, Scene 5 could have been played in a shallow space, addressed directly to the audience, while Scene 6 would have required the depth of the stage.

VII. Conclusion

This analysis of the autograph score of *L'Oristeo* reveals that a number of the changes in the manuscript were made in the process of staging the opera. Certainly, some of these adjustments intended simply to correct errors in the score. Other

changes may have been motivated by factors in the performance of the opera; the change of a character name to reflect a disguise is a correction to the text that could have been made in order to accurately reflect the costuming choice for that moment.

Act endings allowed a moment of direct communication between the singer and the audience, and a solo piece such as an aria provided this chance to break the fourth wall. This type of staging, addressed to the spectators and removed from the dramatic action, became typical of act conclusions. The changes that will be seen to the operas *La Rosinda* and *L'Eritrea* for stages in Naples and Bologna also show that act conclusions were often reworked to heighten the performance, either in the form of comedy or virtuosic singing that would engage the audience directly.

Many of the other musical changes in the score, such as the insertion of *ritornelli* and *sinfonie*, were the result of Cavalli's usual practice of working out the instrumental sections of the opera after composing the vocal lines. Still, a closer examination of the moments when the score includes or omits these instrumental interludes implies how these moments were staged. The decision to leave out a *ritornello* where one would be expected (in a place where one had been composed but was later crossed out in the manuscript) suggests that Cavalli wanted an acceleration of the dramaturgical flow. The fact that the manuscript includes a *ritornello* that was later crossed out suggested that Cavalli may have tried the moment both ways, either in his mind while composing or after seeing the moment in a rehearsal and coming to the conclusion that the drama would be sharper without the extra musical beat of the *ritornello*.

In all three acts, at key scenic transformations in the middle of the action, the performance could be staged close to the audience, providing an engrossing diversion while the more technical aspects of the scene change were executed in the background. This alternation of the depth of the space is consistent with the stage technology available at the time, and suggests that the execution of arias at the conclusion of internal scenes may have been motivated not merely by a rise in the virtuoso and a shift in taste toward numerous closed forms, but that this practice simultaneously provided the essential time required for the completion of scenic effects, particularly in a small theater. The fact that the strong act conclusions worked out in the manuscript were also addressed *ad spectatores*, and that the moments of transition mid-act also feature solo material inviting more direct communication to the audience, is further confirmation that such material was used to cover the time required for changes in scenery.

For Cavalli, the art of composition was bound up with the act of mounting a production on the stage. This practice is confirmed in the scores of the three other operas written with Faustini for the Teatro Sant'Apollinare, and in the types of changes made for the presentation of Cavalli's operas in other venues, as will be analyzed in the following chapters. Annotations in the autograph of an opera like *L'Oristeo* should be viewed in light of all of the aspects of performance. For Cavalli's operas, the autograph scores are a valuable record of a composer in the mode of working out the musical material to heighten the impact of the drama on the stage.

CHAPTER TWO

Magic and Theatrical Illusion in the Staging of *La Rosinda*, 1651 and 1653

I. *La Rosinda* at the Teatro Sant'Apollinare and in Adaptation

La Rosinda was the second opera that Giovanni Faustini and Francesco Cavalli presented at the Teatro Sant'Apollinare, in the second half of the 1650/51 Season that opened with *L'Oristeo*. Like their previous collaboration, *La Rosinda* was an opera with a libretto that had initially been planned for production in another theater, the San Moisè, and the premiere at the Sant'Apollinare meant that significant changes were required to bring the opera to the stage. The sources for the premiere of *La Rosinda* are the libretto printed in 1651 by Giovanni Pietro Pinelli[1] and a manuscript score housed in the Contarini Collection of the Biblioteca Marciana.[2] Numerous cuts, transpositions, and insertions were made to the fabric of the drama, and, as in the autograph score of *L'Oristeo,* many of these dramaturgical alterations responded directly to the needs of staging in 1651.

Yet the process of stage adaptation of *La Rosinda* did not cease with the premiere production at the Teatro Sant'Apollinare, for the opera was soon to travel to another theater in another city. Only two seasons later, in 1653, the opera was presented in Naples in a new adaptation, which included significant modifications

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[1] Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana DRAMM.918.4. The title page reads, "LA / ROSINDA / Drama / PER MUSICA / DI / GIOVANNI FAUSTINI / Favola Nona. / IN VENETIA, M DC LI. / Per Gio: Pietro Pinelli. / Con licenza de' Sup. E Privilegio." Also available online at Internet Culturale: Cataloghi e Collezioni Digitali delle Biblioteche Italiane.

[2] Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana MSS It. IV, 370 (=09894).

undertaken by two new collaborators, the poet Giulio Cesare Sorrentino and the ballerino and choreographer Giovan Battista Balbi.[3] These alterations were so important, in fact, that the opera was presented and published under a different title*, Le magie amorose*. The score for the 1653 revival does not survive, but a printed libretto records the modifications made in Naples.[4] By comparing the libretti for these two productions it will be possible to trace the differences in the stage presentations, and how the scenography of an opera created in Venice could be modified when it circulated outside the lagoon. In its second production, even greater emphasis was placed on spectacle in the form of machine effects.

II. The 1651 Production and the Challenge to Verisimilitude

Faustini's preface to the printed libretto of *La Rosinda* in 1651 is much shorter than that of *L'Oristeo*, where he had laid out the financial and aesthetic considerations that had led him to move operations to the newly converted Teatro Sant'Apollinare. Nevertheless, his comments provide important facts about the

[3] Balbi was impresario of the "Febiarmonici," a term for a traveling company of singers, musicians, and designers that toured and presented Venetian opera in various Italian cities and eventually settled in Naples in 1650 on the invitation of the viceroy, Count d'Oñate. See Tim Carter, "Febiarmonici," in *Grove Music Online*. For the repertory of the group, see Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, "Dalla *Finta pazza* alla *Veremonda*: storie di Febiarmonici," *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, x (1975), 379–87.

[4] Libretto published in Naples in 1653 by Roberto Mollo. The title page refers to the types of dramaturgical modifications made for the new venue, the Teatro San Bartolomeo: "Le magie amorose. Drama [sic] ridotto in questa forma da Giulio Cesare Sorrentino arricchito di prospettive, machine e balli da Gio. Battista Balbi. All'eccellentiss. signore D. Innico di Guevara, et Tassis conte d'Ognate e Villamediana, vicerè, luogotenente e capitan generale del Regno di Napoli. – Nap.: Roberto Mollo, 1653." I am grateful to Dinko Fabris for providing images of the libretto cited above.

background of *La Rosinda* and the process of staging the opera at the Sant'Apollinare. The financial advantages of the new theater are once again emphasized:

> *La Rosinda* is a pure romance. Her wanderings and her actions, far from the natural and the verisimilar, are the daughters of two rods [verghe] and from two sources [fonti].[5] As I declared in the previous opera *L'Oristeo* these two dramas were composed by me for the discharge of debts, not in the desire for applause.[6]

The preface also emphasizes that the subject of *La Rosinda* was "puro romanzo" and that the actions of the opera are far from the expectations of what he calls the "natural" and the "verisimilar." As with *L'Oristeo*, the action of *La Rosinda* did not have a direct narrative model, although it is indebted to literary precedent. In his short preface, Faustini prepares the audience for a narrative that will eschew naturalism, replacing it with a type of musical narrative and stage presentation built on concepts of staged enchantment and fantasy. This aesthetic plays out in the action of the drama itself, through the magical effects and transformations in the

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[5] Faustini introduces the concept of enchantment in an allusion to the narrative through the mention of "two rods" and "two sources." Nicola Badolato has explained these literary references in a footnote to his recent edition of the libretto: "Le 'due fonti' rimandano probabilmente all'*Orlando innamorato* del Boiardo, o all'Ariosto che lo imita, dove due fontane (dell'amore e del disamore) provocano un innamoramento 'incrociato' molto simile a quello che si vedrà nel dramma. Le 'due verghe' anticiperebbero invece il duplice incantesimo di Nerea: per recuperare l'amore dell'amato Clitofonte e per deviare da questi l'affetto di Rosinda." See Badolato, *I dramma musicali di Giovanni Faustini per Francesco Cavalli* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2012), 392 n. 105. See also Badolato, "Sulle fonte dei dramma per musica di Giovanni Faustini: alcuni esempi di 'ars combinatoria,'" *Musica e Storia,* XVI, 2, 2008 (2011), 341–84.

[6] "*La Rosinda* è un puro romanzo. Le sue peripezie, le sue azioni, lontane dal natural, e del verosimile sono di due verghe, e di due fonti. Mi dichiarai nell'antecedente *Oristeo*, che questi due drammi furono da me composti per disobbligazione di debito, non per avidità d'applauso. Attendi alla favola." In DRAMM.918.4.

plot of the opera. The Naples production went even further into the development of these magical effects.

There is an extensive literature on the concept of verisimilitude in early opera that contextualizes Faustini's aesthetic position in the libretto. Nino Pirrotta has argued that from the earliest experiments in writing opera at the end of the sixteenth century, composers and librettists selected narratives that would justify the depiction of action through song rather than speech. Early Florentine and Mantuan composers chose libretto subjects from ancient mythology, most commonly the myth of Orpheus, in order to justify the new aesthetic of sung drama and the heightening of speech into musical setting.[7] Ellen Rosand and Wendy Heller have discussed verisimilitude within the intellectual context of Venice, where audiences for commercial opera were less prepared for music as a natural means of expression by characters in a drama. Rosand has cited Venetian librettists' constant aesthetic justifications in their libretto prefaces as evidence of an anxiety surrounding the problems of verisimilitude in operas of the 1630s and 1640s.[8] Heller has shown how the context of early modern historiography helps to define the different notions of verisimilitude as perceived by Venetian audiences at the time. She distinguishes between the idea of "true verisimilitude," which is the

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[7] On the early history of opera and the concept of verisimilitude, see Nino Pirrotta and Elena Povoledo, *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi*, trans. Karen Eales (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 263–72 and Gary Tomlinson, "Pastoral and Musical Magic in the Birth of Opera," in *Opera and the Enlightenment*, ed. Thomas Bauman and Marita Petzoldt McClymonds (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 7–20.

[8] Ellen Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Invention of a Genre* (Berekely and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 44.

responsibility of the historian, and "false verisimilitude," which encompasses the work of poets.[9] Opera would fall under the latter category, "false verisimilitude," because it requires its audience to accept a modified version of the natural world.

In the preface to *La Rosinda*, however, Faustini rejects any attempt at verisimilitude. Unlike earlier operas, *La Rosinda* was the product of an established theatrical culture that embraced the special potential of opera to express fantasy and magic rather than reality. The selection of narrative models that emphasized singing and vocal expression lent an aesthetic credibility to the fledgling genre. For *La Rosinda*, Faustini and Cavalli must have felt that the new conventions of the *dramma per musica* could be used to give expression to a narrative built upon magical effects. Aesthetically, the staging was fashioned in a way that would challenge the conventions of verisimilitude as well. The depiction of magic on the opera stage gave the creators even greater license for invention in all aspects of the narrative. After its initial birth pangs and aesthetic concerns about verisimilitude, the genre had now newly embraced its potential to express magic through music and stagecraft. This special potential of opera staging and the expression of enchantment would become a standard part of the stage presentation of opera in the following centuries.[10]

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[9] Wendy Heller, "Truth and Verisimilitude in Venetian Opera," in *Opera and Society in Italy and France from Monteverdi to Bourdieu*, ed. Victoria Johnson, Jane F. Fulcher, and Thomas Ertman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). Heller discusses examples from Agostino Mascardi's treatise *Dell'arte istorica* (1636).

[10] The literature on enchantment in opera is extensive, and magical effects are familiar from numerous examples in the eighteenth century, including *opera seria* and perhaps

III. Literary and Theatrical Models for the Depiction of Enchantment

Although Faustini invented the plot of *La Rosinda*, he did draw upon several important literary models, and the role of magic in these sources provided important precedent for the effects that were rendered in the opera. Nicola Badolato has described the narrative of *La Rosinda* as falling into the libretto genre of the *epico-cavalleristico*, or the chivalric epic, with literary roots in the writings of Renaissance epics that contain strong doses of enchantment, such as Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* and Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*.[11] The model of Renaissance enchantment in these epic poems gave ample inspiration to a form of opera that would not aspire to verisimilitude in its music, text, and staging, but would rather offer magical effects and spectacular opportunities to both librettist and composer. The works of Ariosto and Tasso were the basis of invention in the visual arts, and Renaissance composers drew extensively from the stories of Orlando and Armida, as well as many of the sub-plots in these epics.[12] The potential for stage invention through these narratives based on enchantment would continue to develop in the

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quintessentially in Mozart's Königin der Nacht in *Die Zauberflöte* (1791). For a recent study of the depiction of magic on the opera stage (and the central role of the sorceress in its depiction), see Jean Starobinski, *Enchantment: The Seductress in Opera*, translated by C. Jon Delogu (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).

[11] Badolato (2012), 392 n. 104.

[12] There is ample secondary literature on the adaptation of Tasso and Ariosto in the visual arts and music. On the importance of the chivalric epic in Italian Renaissance culture, see Valeria Finucci, ed., *Renaissance Transactions: Ariosto and Tasso* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999). For an overview of these poems' influence on music, especially the madrigal and opera, see *L'Ariosto, la musica, i musicisti: quattro studi e sette madrigali ariosteschi*, ed. Maria Antonella Balsano (Florence: Olschki, 1981).

latter part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as composers and librettists returned again and again to the epic-chivalric poems as inspiration for the expression of magic on the stage.[13] Arisoto and Tasso were read as models for the "warrior-lover," such as the title character of *La Rosinda*.[14]

Another source for the magic depicted in *La Rosinda* was the improvised theater of Venice at the time.[15] The scenarios of the *commedia dell'arte* suggest theatrical illusion that may have influenced Cavalli and Faustini's collaboration.[16] The Teatro Sant'Apollinare had been converted from a space once used for the performance of *commedia dell'arte*, thus making it a fitting atmosphere for the

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[13] On the history of operas based on Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso,* see David Littlejohn, "Ariosto and His Children," in *The Ultimate Art: Essays Around and About Opera* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992): 107–19. For a discussion of Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* and Monteverdi's *Il combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda*, see Mauro Calcagno, "Monteverdi, Narrator," in *From Madrigal to Opera: Monteverdi's Staging of the Self* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012): 191–237.

[14] Wendy Heller has examined the relationship between other heroines in Cavalli and models in ancient and Renaissance literature in *Emblems of Eloquence: Opera and Women's Voices in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003).

[15] For an overview of theaters in Venice and the relationship between musical repertories, architecture, and the Italian theatrical tradition, see Franco Mancini, Maria Teresa Muraro, and Elena Povoledo, *Venezia e il suo territorio*, *I teatri del Veneto*, Pt. 1: *Teatri effimeri e nobili imprenditori* and Pt. 2: *Imprese private e teatri sociali*. (Venice: Corbo e Fiore, with the collaboration of the Regione del Veneto, 1995–96).

[16] Many *commedia* scenarios are collected and published with period engravings in Pierre Louis Duchartre, *The Italian Comedy: The Improvisation Scenarios, Lives, Attributes, Portraits, and Masks of the Illustrious Characters of the Commedia dell'Arte*, trans. Randolph T. Weaver (New York: Dover Publications, 1966). For further background on *commedia dell'arte*, see Roberto Tessari, *Commedia dell'arte: la maschera e l'ombra* (Milano: Mursia, 1981); Cesare Molinari, *La commedia dell'arte* (Milano: A. Mondadori, 1985); and Kenneth Richards, *The commedia dell'arte: A Documentary History* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1990).

magical characters and effects required by the new libretto.[17] The opera combines the literary topic of magic from the Renaissance epic with traditions of stage illusion that would have been familiar to Venetian audiences from the popular and improvised theater.

The plot of *La Rosinda* was intended to be a vehicle for spectacular magical effects.[18] The narrative revolves around the typical two pairs of lovers in Venetian opera who become separated and ultimately reunited over the course of the drama. In the action of *La Rosinda*, these two pairs of lovers are reunited because of a magical potion. Two of the principal characters have magical powers, and the entire premise of the opera is based upon lovers that are separated because they have drunk from the waters of an enchanted spring. Faustini lays out the premise of the narrative in an elaborate *delucidazione della favola*.[19] After drinking from the waters of the enchanted spring, the warrior princess Rosinda has fallen in love with Clitofonte and forgotten her beloved Tisandro, the prince of Argos. The sorceress Nerea has been rejected by Clitofonte (who has also drunk from the waters of the spring) and has lost her magical powers because the sorcerer Meandro has deprived her of them after she rejected his advances. The power of sorcery and the magical waters of the spring are the engine for all of the action of *La Rosinda*. Magical effects also bring about the opera's *dénouement*, when the powers of a love potion

[17] On the history of the conversion, see Glixon and Glixon (2006), 37.

[18] In the narrative crafted for *La Rosinda*, Faustini juxtaposed the theatrical magic of the sorceress Nerea with the supernatural powers attributed to gods from the Greco-Roman tradition in the Underworld sequence, Act I, Scenes 6–9.

[19] DRAMM.918.4.

presented by the sorcerer Meandro reverse the effects of the magic spring in preparation for the obligatory *lieto fine* and the reuniting of the long-separated couples.

The remainder of the cast includes the typical secondary comic and mythological characters of a Faustini-Cavalli collaboration of this period. In addition to the two central pairs of lovers, Rosinda (soprano) and Tisandro (bass), and Nerea (soprano) and Clitofonte (tenor), there are four servants: Aurilla (soprano), Cillena (soprano), Vafrillo (soprano castrato), and Rudione (bass). The cast is rounded out with the old sorcerer Meandro (bass), as well as the mythological characters Plutone (bass) and Proserpina (soprano). The prologue is performed by a group of three Furies (soprano, soprano, and bass), and there is a three-part chorus (soprano, tenor, and bass) in Act I, Scene 1. The score also suggests the presence of a group of six extras, little spirits and dwarves, who perform the *balli* at the ends of the first two acts. The principal singers most likely performed secondary roles throughout the stage presentation.[20] Doublings were also likely for the mythological characters of Plutone and Proserpina, since they only appear in a single scene at the end of Act I. Jane Glover has pointed out that the low bass range of Plutone and Meandro indicates the same singer may have performed both roles.[21] The account book for the 1651/52 Season at the Sant'Apollinare shows that Faustini and Cavalli

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[20] On the topic of doublings in the casting of Venetian opera, see Magnus Tessing Schneider, "Seeing the Empress Again: On Doubling in *L'incoronazione di Poppea*," *Cambridge Opera Journal*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (November 2012), 249–91.

[21] Jane Glover, "Cavalli and 'Rosinda'," *The Musical Times*, Vol. 114, No. 1560 (Feb., 1973), 134.

used role doublings in the casting of *La Calisto* and *L'Eritrea* to lower the overall costs of the stage presentation.[22] This was undoubtedly true in every operatic production, starting with *Andromeda* (1637).

IV. Vocal Casting and Scenography Across the 1650/51 season

Cavalli and Faustini may have cast *La Rosinda* at the same time as *L'Oristeo*. The two operas require the same number of principal singers, nine if both the roles of Plutone and Proserpina were doublings. This distribution of four sopranos, one soprano castrato, one tenor, and three basses meant that the same group could have taken roles in *L'Oristeo*. In both operas, two sopranos, one tenor, and one bass performed the four central lovers. It seems likely that the singer who performed Clitofonte had been Trasimede earlier in the season; that Tisandro had played the part of Oristeo; and that Rosinda and Nerea had performed the princesses Corinta and Diomede. Since *La Rosinda* was performed in the second half of the season, Cavalli had the experience of writing for the company and could create the new work with knowledge of the performing strengths of the singers in mind.

[22] ASV, SGSM, b. 112, account book 1651/52.

Table 2.1: Possible Casting across the 1650/51 Season, *L'Oristeo* and *La Rosinda*

Voice	**Role in *L'Oristeo***	**Role in *La Rosinda***
Soprano	Corinta	Rosinda
	Diomeda	Nerea
Tenor	Trasimede	Clitofonte
Bass	Oristeo	Tisandro

Unlike the casting, which was standardized with the same company members across a season in order to increase efficiency and lower costs, the stage scenery was entirely new for the presentation of *La Rosinda.*[23] The list of scenic mutations confirms that the visual worlds of magic and enchantment were influential in the stage design of the production. The central character of Nerea regains some of her magical powers by descending to the underworld at the end of Act I and then uses them to conjure up a magical palace through an invocation in the center of Act II. There are a total of six sets employed (plus the prologue), but while they were distributed with two sets per act in *L'Oristeo*, there is an uneven distribution in *La Rosinda*: three sets in Act I, two in Act II, and only one set in Act III.

[23] Beth Glixon and Jonathan Glixon report that the scenery for *La Rosinda* was not reused the following year. On the 1651/52 season: "It should be noted that Faustini requested that all the sets be newly made, even though several of those for the operas of the previous year were of the same topoi: *Oristeo* and *Rosinda* both employed a courtyard, and *Rosinda* had both a seashore and a wood." See Glixon and Glixon (2006), 260–61.

Table 2.2: The Scenography of *La Rosinda* in the Printed Libretto of 1651
(See Table 1.1 for comparison with *L'Oristeo*)

Prologue	Con la scena della tenda velata
[With the stage concealed by the curtain]	
Act I, 1	Selva sul deserto d'un scoglio a Corcira vicino
[Forest on a deserted cliff close to Corcira]	
Act I, 2-5	La spiaggia d'una delle Strofadi
[The beach of one of the Strofades islands]	
Act I, 6-9	La reggia di Dite
[The palace of Dis, or the Underworld]	
Act II, 1-6	Bosco [A wood]
Act II, 7-16	Palagio incantato [An enchanted palace]
Act III, 1	[No Scenic Indication]
Act III, 9-16	Cortile del sopradetto palagio
[Courtyard of the above-mentioned palace]	

V. Analysis of the Autograph Manuscript

The only surviving score of *La Rosinda* is an autograph housed in the Contarini Collection of the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice.[24] This score is physically similar to the manuscript of *L'Oristeo*, discussed in the last chapter. It contains passages that have been crossed out, transposed, corrected, and inserted. Peter Jeffery provides an overview of these changes and analyzes the binding of the manuscript and notes the appearance of at least one other musical hand than the composer's in the score.[25] As with *L'Oristeo*, consideration of the textual layers of the manuscript yields information about the production of the opera at the Teatro

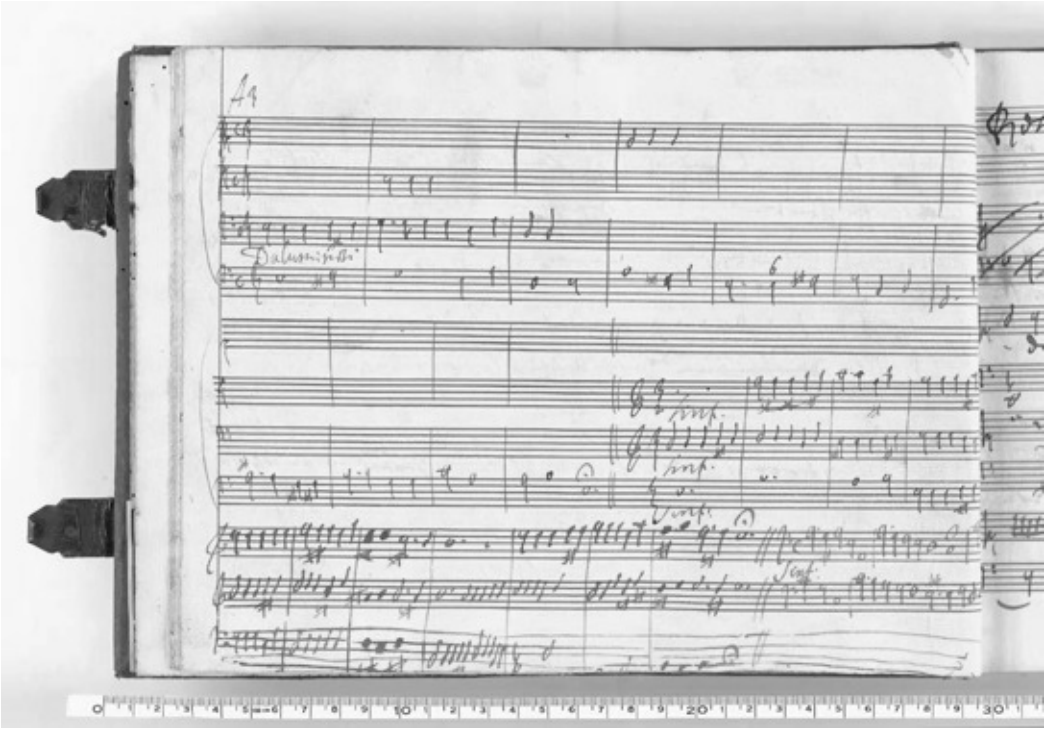
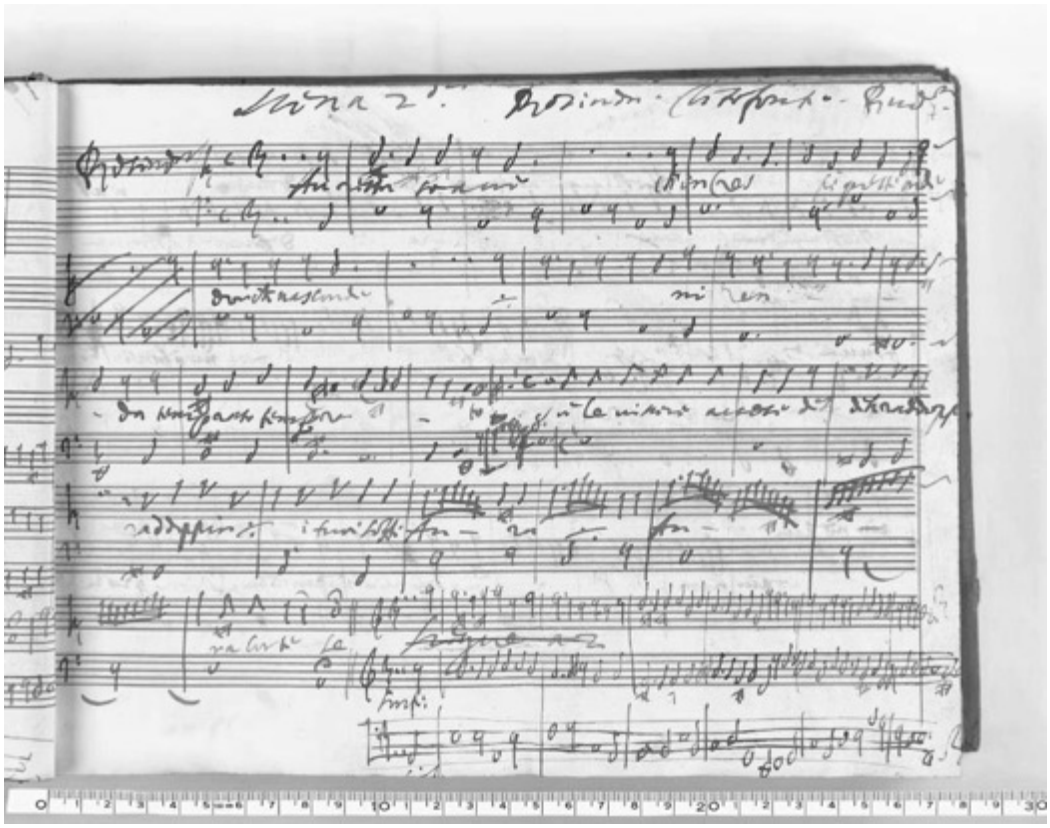
[24] Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana MSS It. IV, 370 (=09894).

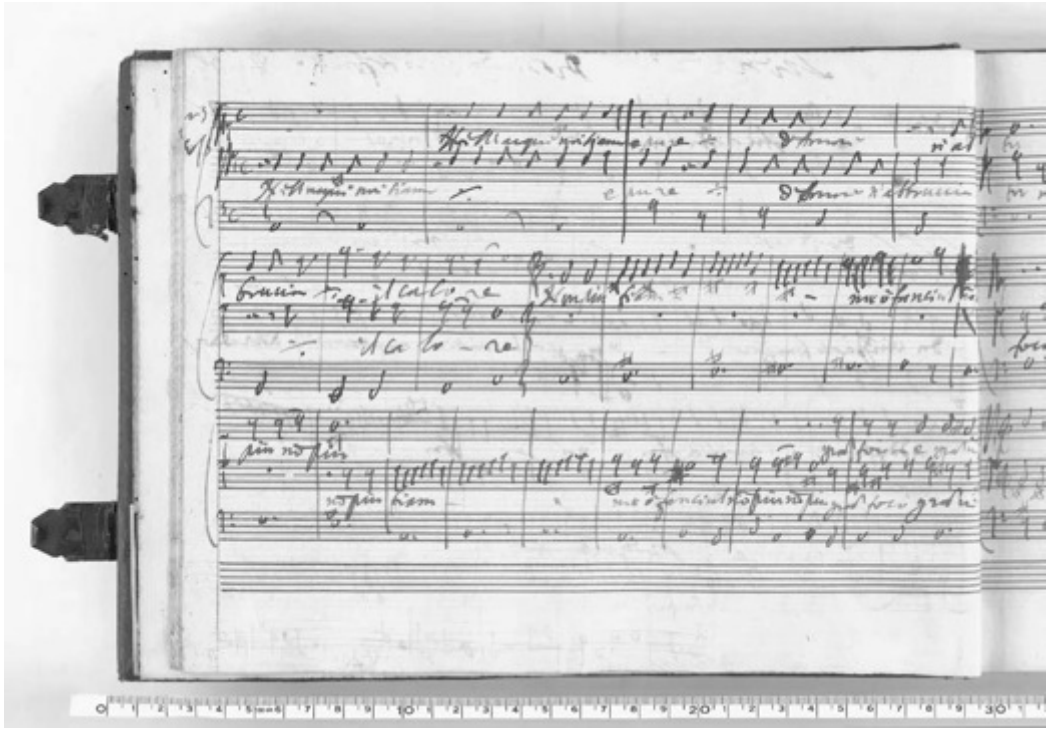
[25] Peter Jeffery, "The Autograph manuscripts of Francesco Cavalli" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1980), 153–58.

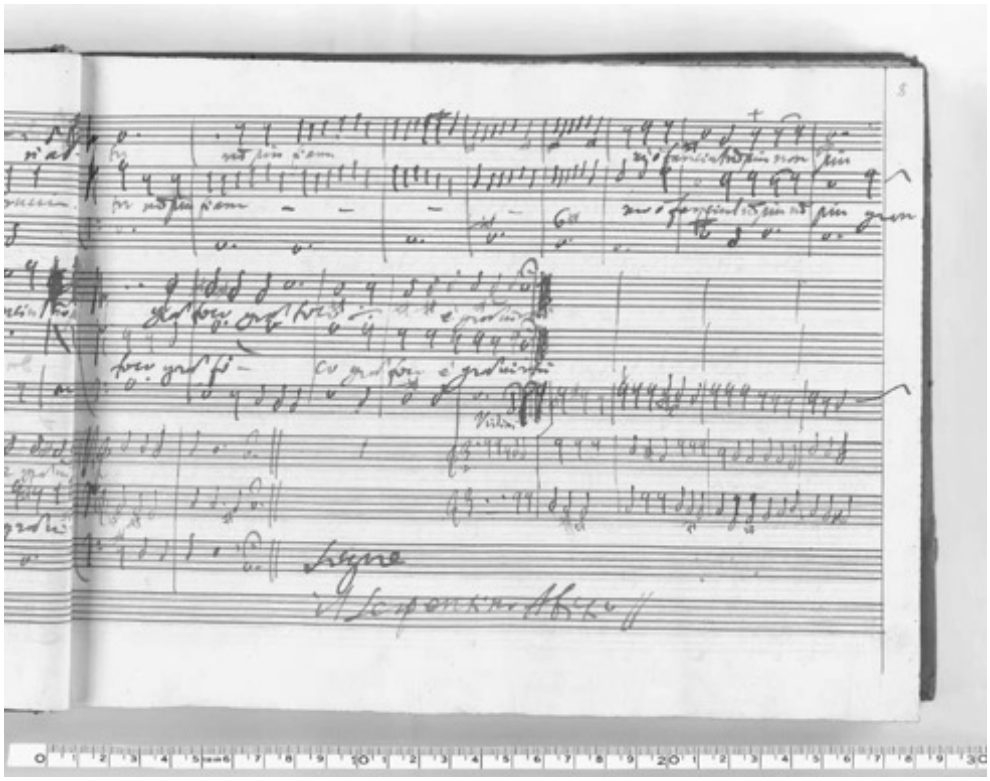
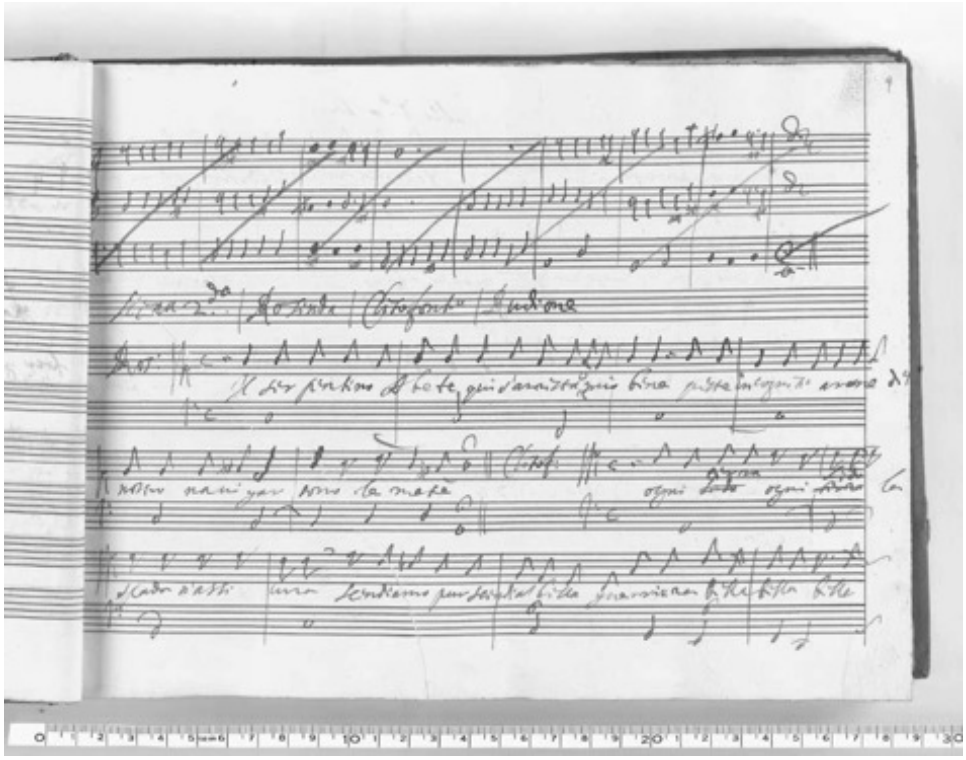
Sant'Apollinare. Furthermore, this source captures the dynamic relationship between Cavalli's musical setting of the libretto and the realization of the scenic transformations and magical effects that are so central to the subject matter of the opera.

The following analysis will consider the alterations in the manuscript that had a direct impact on the staging of the opera in the first production. First, Cavalli made an important addition to the score that cannot be found in the printed libretto of 1651. He adds an entrance aria at the beginning of Scene 2 for the title character, Rosinda, which may have been intended to appease the singer and to balance out the roles of Nerea and Rosinda. Jane Glover has written about the imbalance between these two roles.[26] Nerea is the much larger role of the two, at least based on this score. The new aria appears in the manuscript on ff. 7–8, and these folia are an insertion to the binding (Examples 2.1–2.5). A *sinfonia* that had originally been written at the top of f. 9r (leading to the recit in Act I, Scene 2) has been crossed out there and inserted into the margin at the bottom of f. 6v. The rubric for the beginning of "Scena Seconda" and the listing of the characters Rosinda, Clitofonte, and Rudione appear twice: at the top of the inserted entrance aria and again (where it had originally been set down) in the middle of f. 9r (the original f. 7r). It was an

[26] Glover writes, "The two leading female roles of Rosinda and Nerea are dramatically equal, but as the score stands they are musically unbalanced." Jane Glover, "Cavalli and 'Rosinda,'" *The Musical Times*, Vol. 114, No. 1560 (Feb., 1973), 134. In her production of the opera, Glover inserted yet another aria for Rosinda at the beginning of Act II, borrowed from *L'Oristeo*.

oversight by the editor not to cross out the first version of the rubric when the pages were inserted with the new version.

Example 2.1: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 370 (=09894), f. 6v.

Example 2.2: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 370 (=09894), f. 7r.



Example 2.3: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 370 (=09894), f. 7v.

Example 2.4: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 370 (=09894), f. 8r

Example 2.5: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 370 (=09894), f. 9r (8v is blank).

Even considering that this new aria may have been added to provide more vocally virtuosic material for the title character, its placement at this moment in the drama may also have responded to a need for the movement of the scenery in the production at the Teatro Sant'Apollinare. A scene change is called for in the libretto after Act I, Scene 1. This is an early moment for a scene change, but not if one considers that the prologue of Furies was performed in front of the curtain so that the stage was already set for Act I, Scene 1. Thus, the opera has a sort of double prologue, one in front of the curtain and one as an opening tableau in Scene 1, with Scene 2 moving the action to the first main location of the drama.

In the discussion of the scenography of *L'Oristeo* in the previous chapter, several instances emerged where the placement of new solo material occurred at the scenographic transition between two scenes. The selection of this moment in the action allowed the scene change to occur during the *sinfonia*. The new aria serves an expository function and its placement outside the main action allows for less interruption of the drama. The fact that the text does not appear in the 1651 libretto and that the music appears on two tipped-in leaves suggests that the need for extra music at this particular moment in the action was discovered at some point after the initial composition of the scene during staging rehearsals. At precisely the moment when the scenery needed to be changed, the manuscript shows a significant adjustment to the dramaturgy.

Other moments in the score indicate that they too were added after the original draft of the composition. The paper for the trio of Furies in the prologue

differs from the rest of the manuscript, therefore confirming Cavalli's usual practice of composing the prologue after the remainder of the opera.[27] This curtain-raising prologue is indicated both in the 1651 libretto and in the manuscript score as taking place "con la scena della tenda velata," or "with the stage concealed by the curtain." The decision to perform the prologue in this manner was directly related to the choice of scenery that would be deployed.[28]

Details in the autograph score indicate that Cavalli transposed music to accommodate an important change in casting that was made after he began work on the opera. The score contains passages for the comic servant Rudione that appear in two different vocal ranges in the first few scenes of the opera. Cavalli began writing the role in alto clef and changed to bass clef beginning in Act I, Scene 5.[29] Fragments of recitative for the character in the first half of Act I remain in alto clef in the manuscript, with rubrics indicating that the role should be transposed ("alla quinta alta" on f. 14v, "alla 4a alta" on f. 18r). These rubrics are entered near the bass line. In the setting of Act I, Scene 3, a soliloquy for Rudione, a transposition into bass clef of a large section of the music in another hand has been inserted on ff. 15r–16v, its text copied by Cavalli. The original material in alto clef appears on ff. 14v and 17r–17v, but is not crossed out. The scene has been written out in full, perhaps for ease

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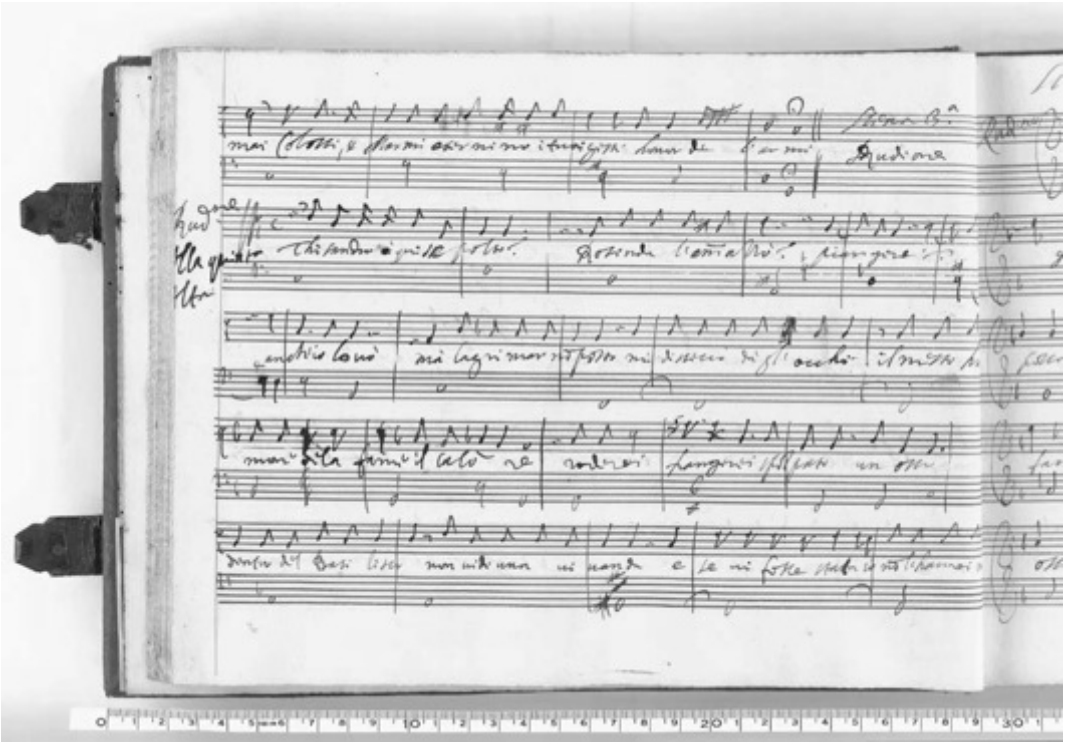
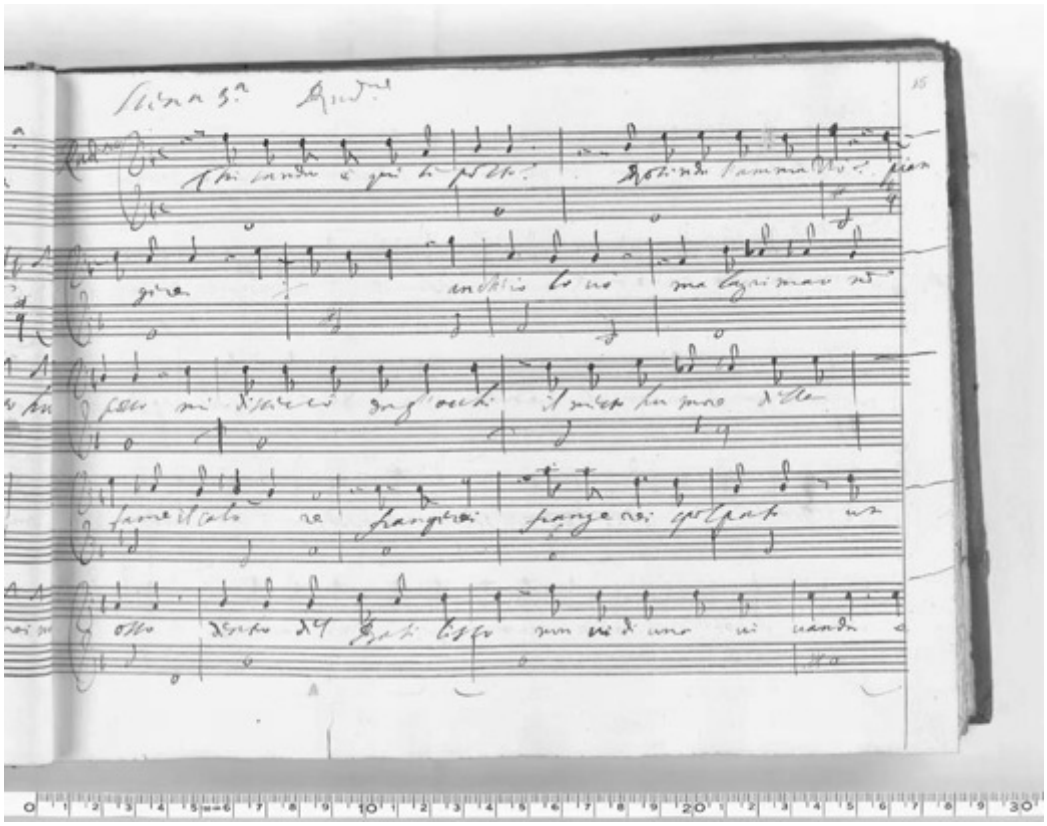
[27] The prologues to *L'Oristeo* and *La Calisto* were also written on different paper than the rest of the score. See Jeffery (1980), 153 and 160.

[28] Since the manuscript of *L'Eritrea* is a fair copy not associated with a production (and therefore in a single paper type), it is unclear whether that more spectacular prologue was composed separately, as was Cavalli's practice for *L'Oristeo* and *La Rosinda.*

[29] The role is composed in bass clef starting on f. 19v, from the beginning of Act I, Scene 5.

of execution and rendering the transposition indications obsolete. A comparison of f. 14v and f. 15r shows the material first in Cavalli's hand as composed in alto clef and then in a copyist's hand after it has been transposed (Examples 2.6–2.7).[30]

Example 2.6: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 370 (=09894), f. 14v.

[30] Even in later scenes, when composed for a bass, the range of the role does not appear to have been exactly correct, for several more rubrics indicate that a slight transposition was necessary. In the margin at the bottom of f. 19v, and again on f. 21r, at the beginning of the aria "Quanto è soave," the rubric "un tuon più alto" appears. The same adjustment in range was required even in material already rewritten for bass in Act III: the rubric "un tuon più alto" appears on f. 82r, in the top margin at the beginning of Rudione's "Senso mio, torna, torna," which is accompanied by string parts, making for a more complex transposition.

Example 2.7: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 370 (=09894), f. 15r.

The presence of this second extended solo for Rudione in Act I, Scene 5, which concludes with his aria "Quanto è soave," (already written in bass clef, added after the role was reassigned to bass) suggests that it may have been performed directly to the audience while the scenery was being changed to the Underworld sequence in the background. Here, Rudione's broad humor about the pleasures of drinking wine could have been staged as a diversion. The first strophe of this comedic aria states:

> Quanto è soave, quanto
> lagrimar per dolcezza
> di dolce Bacco tracanando il pianto.
> Gusto maggior non ho

Quando formo bevendo il clò clò clò.[31]

At the end of Act I, Cavalli needed to work out how a larger ensemble would function in staging for the unison chorus of Spiritelli. There are two conclusions to this scene in the manuscript on f. 33r (Example 2.8), and Cavalli has crossed out the first in order to set down a second version that would provide a better set-up for the *ballo* that was meant to be danced by the spirits: the rubric in the libretto at this moment is "Sei spiritelli formano il ballo." Here, Cavalli seems to have been searching for the strongest ending for the act, and he decided to improve on his initial setting of the final lines by adding extra repetitions of the text to prepare the element of dance in the staging.[32] Even the text of the libretto refers to dance in this jubilant moment, as the chorus sings:

Noi, noi festevoli
fendendo l'aria
carole al giubilo
tessiamo, e l'ozio
codardo e misero
si batti e maceri."[33]

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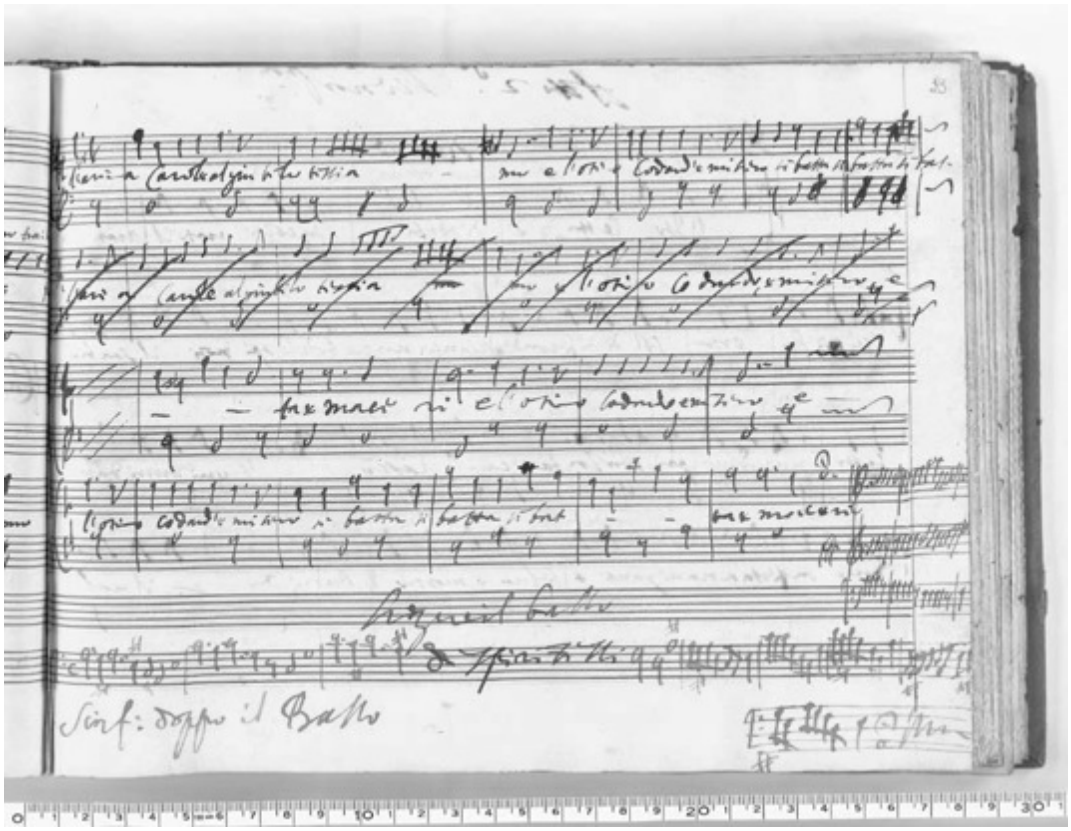
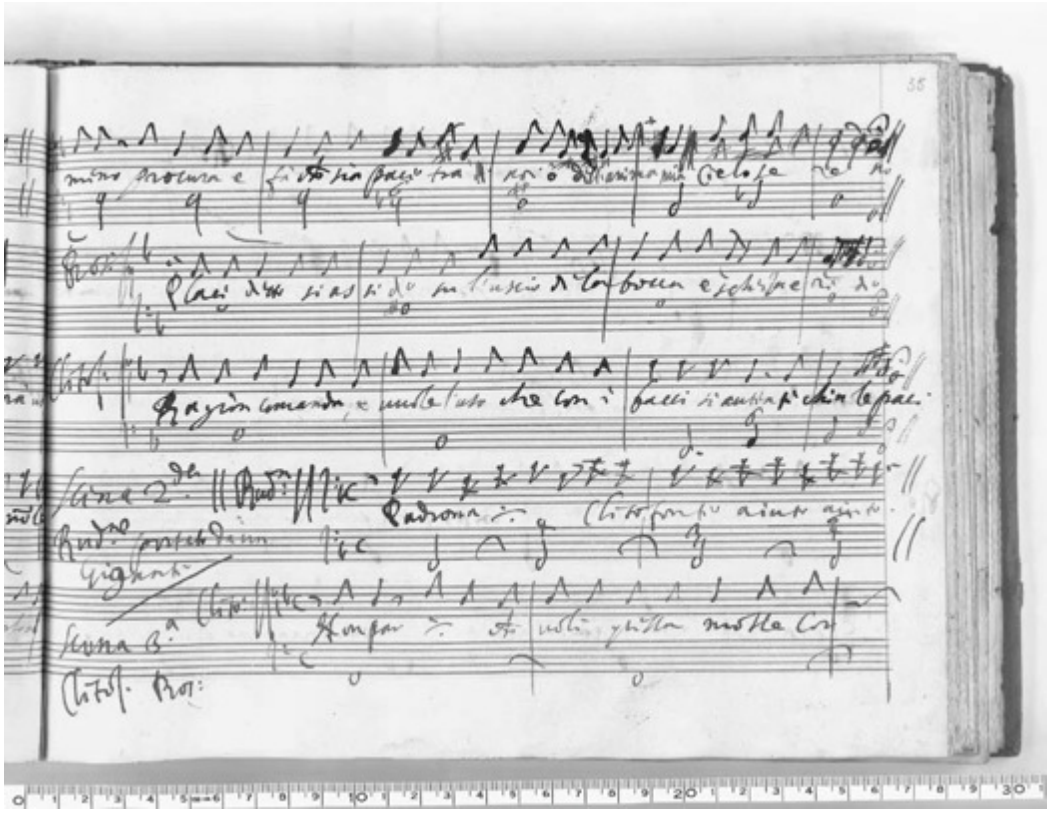
[31] "How it is smooth, how / to cry from such sweetness / of sweet Bacchus guzzling down the liquor [tear]. / Better taste I do not have / than when I am drinking the clò clò clò."

[32] As in the act endings of *L'Oristeo*, this section required extensive revision. Jeffery believes that Cavalli may have composed a *third* ending as well that was cut out of the manuscript. He writes "Such a correction also occurs in a unison chorus of 'Spiritelli' on the leaves now numbered 32 and 33. A leaf has been cut out between these two, the conjugate of the present folio 30, which must have contained a rejected ending to the chorus. Another ending survives on folio 33, where it was written on the third and fourth staves of the page, and continued on the seventh and eighth (the remaining staves were left empty for string parts). This setting repeated one and a half lines that are not repeated in the libretto. The portion in the third and fourth staves was later crossed out and replaced by an even more repetitious passage, written in the empty staves that had been set aside for string parts but never used." See Jeffery (1980), 157–58.

Example 2.8: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 370 (=09894), f. 33r.

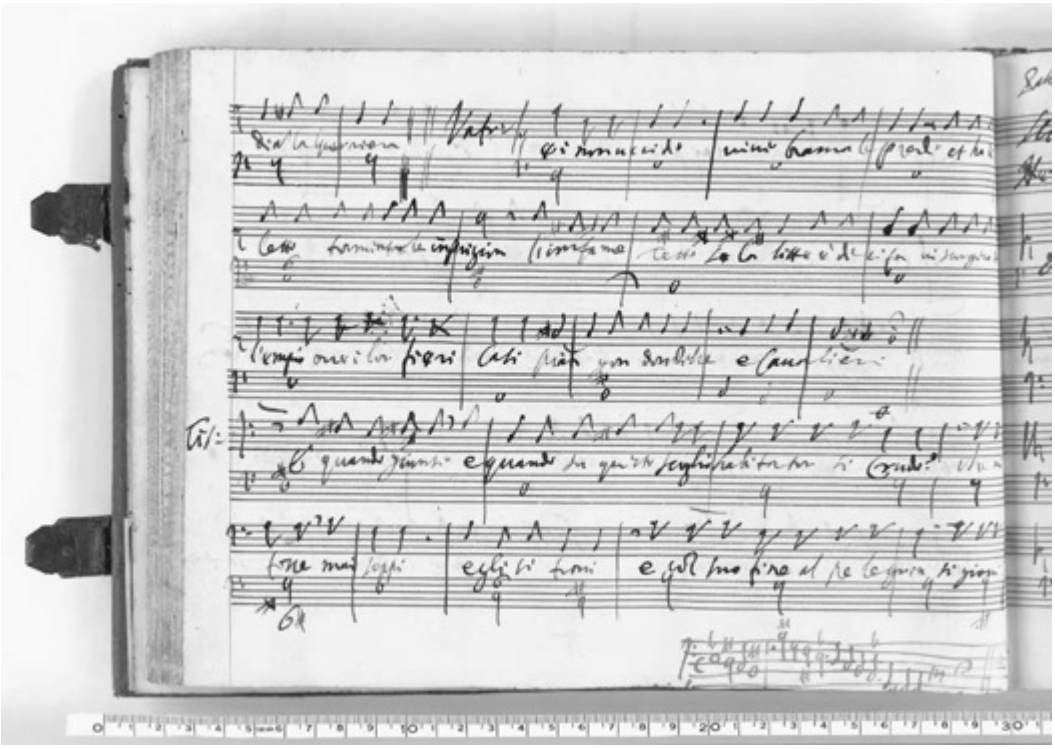
The libretto calls for two special effects during the staging of Act II, and the manuscript suggests how these moments may have been staged at the premiere. The first is the appearance of a supernumerary: at the beginning of Act II, Scene 2, the comic servant Rudione is taken prisoner by a giant in the forest, This moment is described in the 1651 libretto as "Rudione prigioniero d'un gigante," and in the score by the rubric "Rud.ne portato da un Gigante." on f. 35r (Example 2.9). Cavalli sought to tighten the pace of the action for this moment in his musical setting. The text of the libretto reads "Padrona, Clitofonte / questo diavolo irsuto / a l'inferno mi

[33] "We, we cheerfully / slicing through the air / songs of jubilation / shall weave, and idleness / cowardly and miserable / will be fought and destroyed."

porta, aiuto, aiuto."[34] However, Cavalli chose to set a reduced version of the text: "Padrona, padrona [added repetition] Clitofonte aiuto aiuto." There is no evidence that this setting was ever corrected to restore the original line of text, and Cavalli may have made this cut so that the mute giant could carry Rudione off the stage more quickly.

Example 2.9: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 370 (=09894), f. 35r.

The central scenographic transition of Act II, where the sets needed to be changed from the Wood (Bosco) to the Enchanted Palace (Palagio Incantato), is another moment in the score where an insertion was required. In the lower margin of f. 40v, a short step-wise descending bass line has been added in Cavalli's hand in a different type of ink than the rest of the manuscript (Example 2.10). This incomplete

[34] "My lady, Clitofonte / this hairy devil / is dragging me to hell, help, help."

musical fragment (which has been slightly cut off at the base during the binding of the score) appears at exactly the moment of the scene change. At the top of f. 41r, Cavalli writes "Pallagio incantato," a rubric indicating that the scene change was complete by the time Nerea sings the recitative that begins the new scene. With this extra music, Cavalli may have not only provided the time needed for the shift in scenery, but also established the atmosphere of the magical palace. The stepwise descent of this musical fragment creates the sensation of sinking into a new realm. Its presence in the margin of the manuscript in different ink suggests that it was added at some point after the initial composition of the score.

Example 2.10: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 370 (=09894), f. 40v.

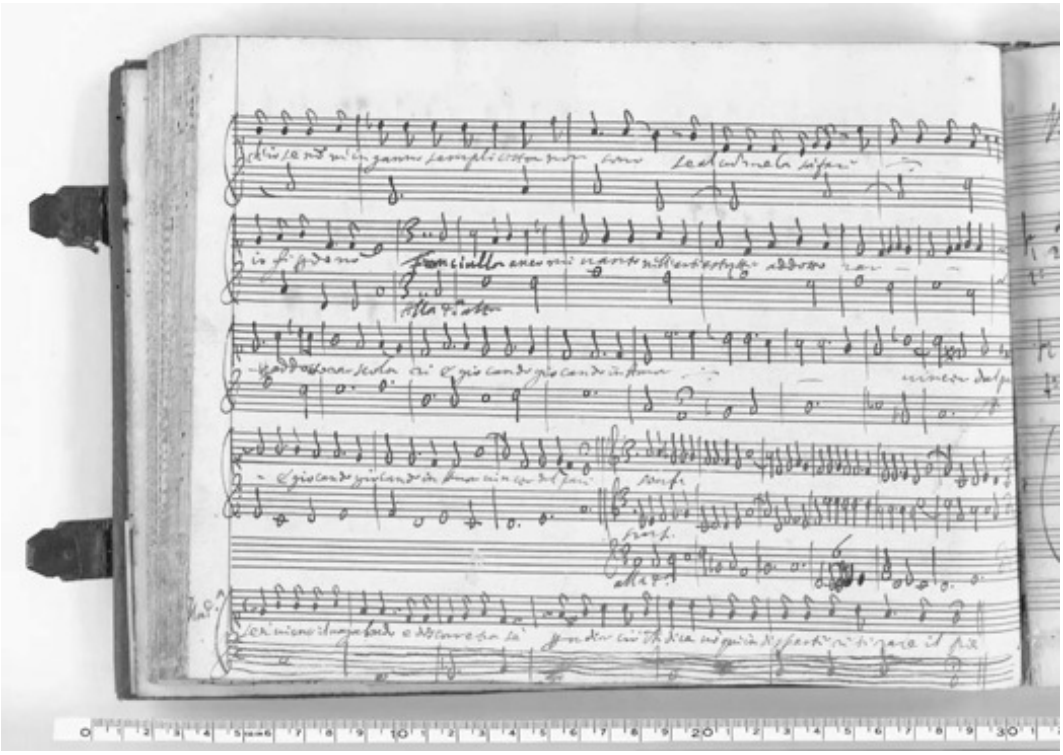
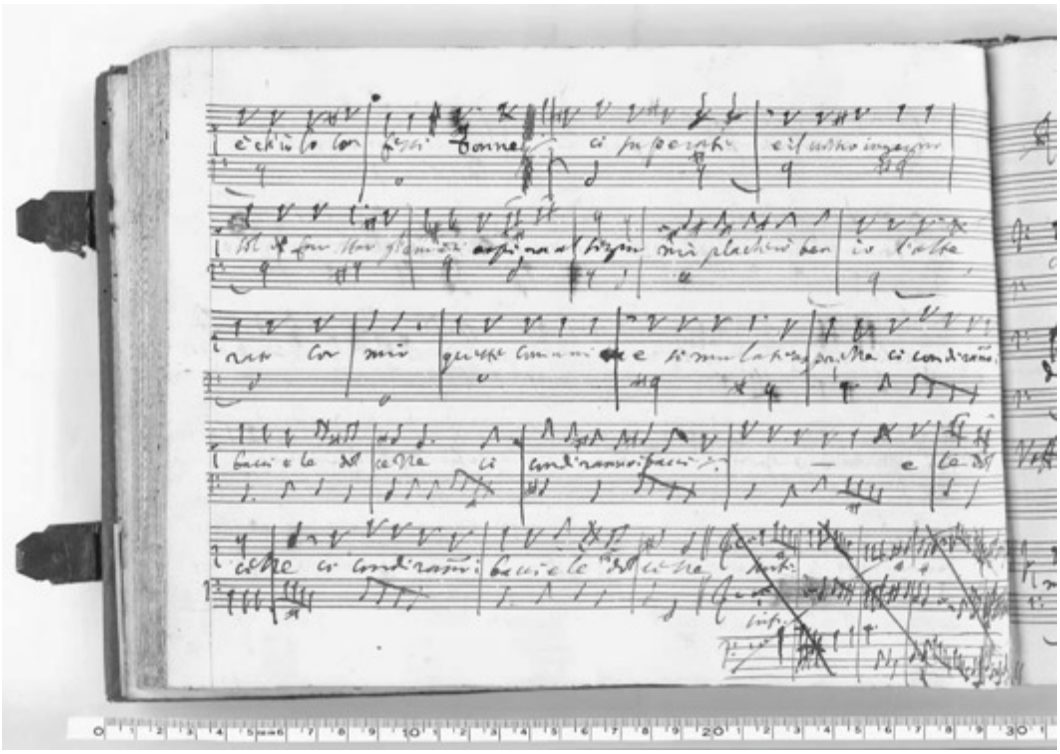
Act II, Scene 14 was initially left out of the manuscript and had to be inserted later on ff. 53-58. This cut may have been made because scene calls for a difficult

type of staging, in which the two characters are required to appear in separate locations. These comic characters are meant to play the scene as an extended "aside" in which they both address the audience directly. The rubric indicates that the scene is for Vafrillo with Aurilla "in disparte," and for the majority of the scene the two characters do not have any direct interaction but rather Aurilla observes Vafrillo from a distance. Evidence that Cavalli originally planned to cut this passage can be seen in his first setting of the final lines of the previous scene. On f. 52v, Cavalli omitted the final four lines for Aurilla, which were restored on the single remaining staff (requiring the addition of a hand-drawn staff in the lower margin for the bass line). These lines of text refer to Aurilla remaining "in disparte," in a location on stage where it would possible to hide yet still be seen and heard by the audience:

> Sen viene il vagabondo,
> e discorre tra sé.
> Per udir ciò che dice
> vo' qui in disparte ritirare il piè.[35]

When the following scene was reinstated, it was necessary also to restore these four lines. Folio 52v also includes a *sinfonia*, which appears at exactly the moment when Vafrillo enters (Example 2.11). The last leaf of the inserted scene, f. 58v, shows that a *sinfonia* composed for the insert was found to be unnecessary between Scenes 14 and 15 when the cut was restored, for it is struck out in the manuscript (Example 2.12). Put back in context, Vafrillo does not exit at the end of the scene and

[35] "Here comes the vagabond / talking to himself. / In order to hear what he says / I will conceal myself here."

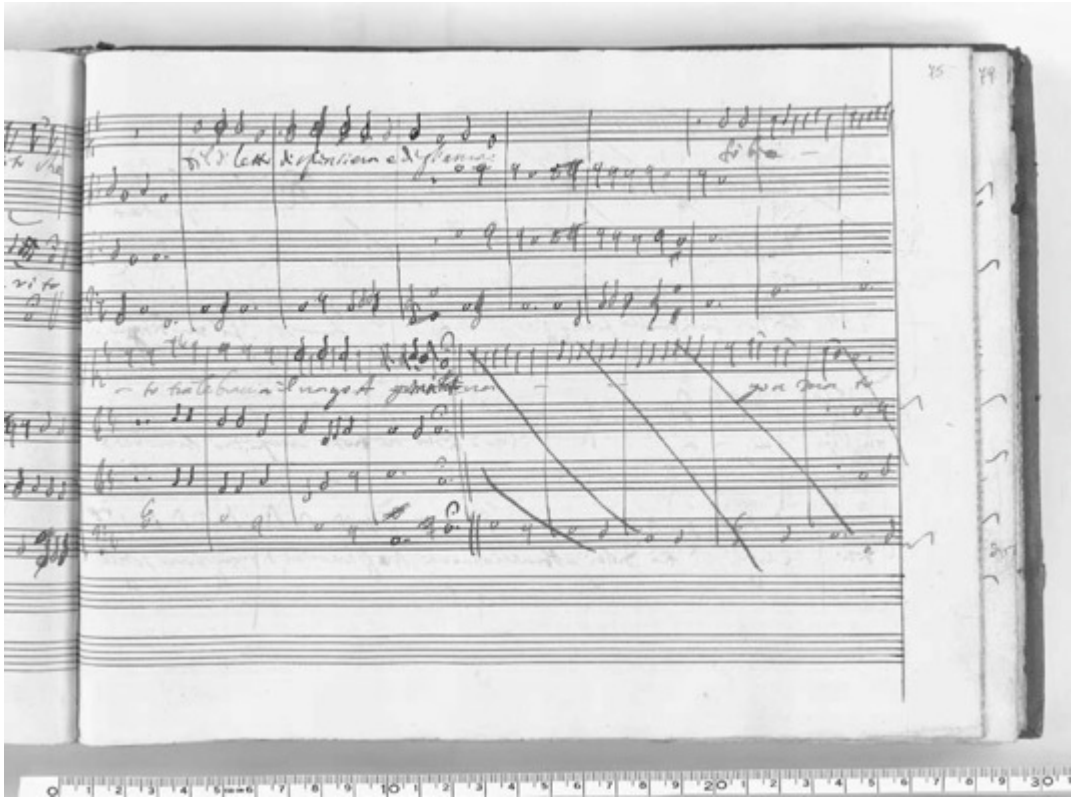
Rudione's line that begins Scene 15, "Ohimè non ho più scampo" works more effectively as an interruption without the *ritornello*.

Example 2.11: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 370 (=09894), f. 52v

Example 2.12: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 370 (=09894), f. 58v

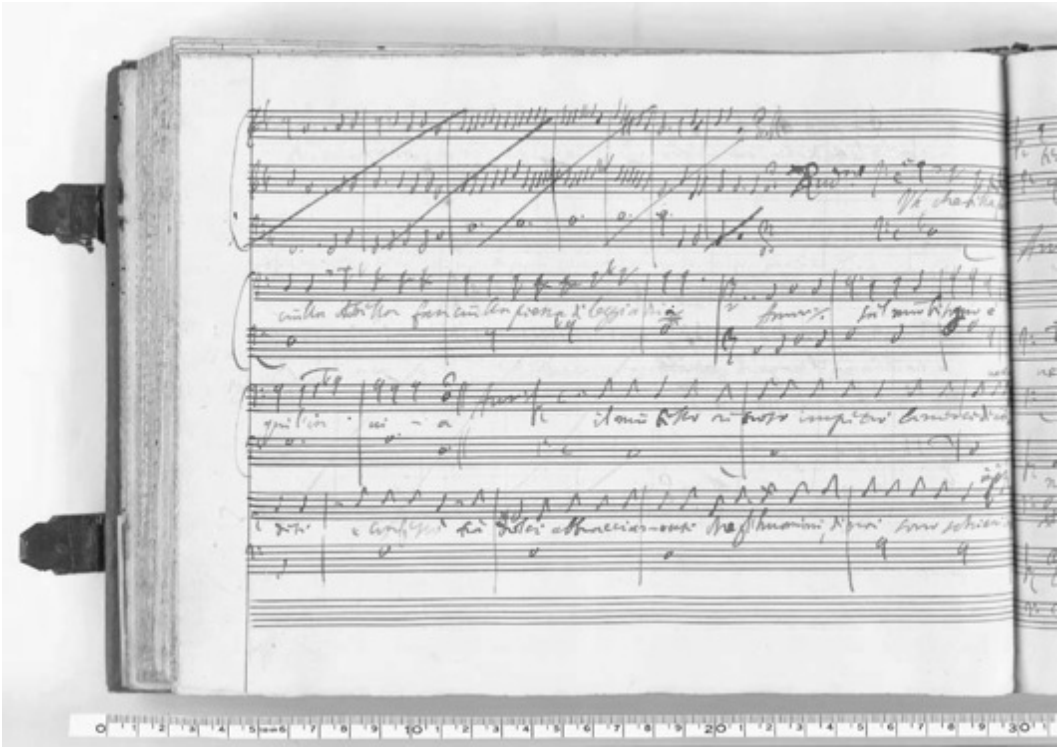
There is no indication in either the libretto or the manuscript of a change of scenery from the Enchanted Palace for the beginning of Act III. The first rubric referring to scenery does not appear until the beginning of Scene 9, where it indicates that the action moves to the "Cortile del sopradetto palagio," or "Courtyard of the above-mentioned Palace." In the score, Cavalli simply indicates "Cortile" on f. 74r. At the moment when the scenery changes, once again, the aria performed by Cillena in the previous scene could divert the attention of the audience, and the *ritornello* for the aria meant that there was no need for a separate *sinfonia* for this moment.

One of the cuts indicated in the Courtyard scene was related to another moment of separation between two characters on the stage. On ff. 75r-v, Cavalli

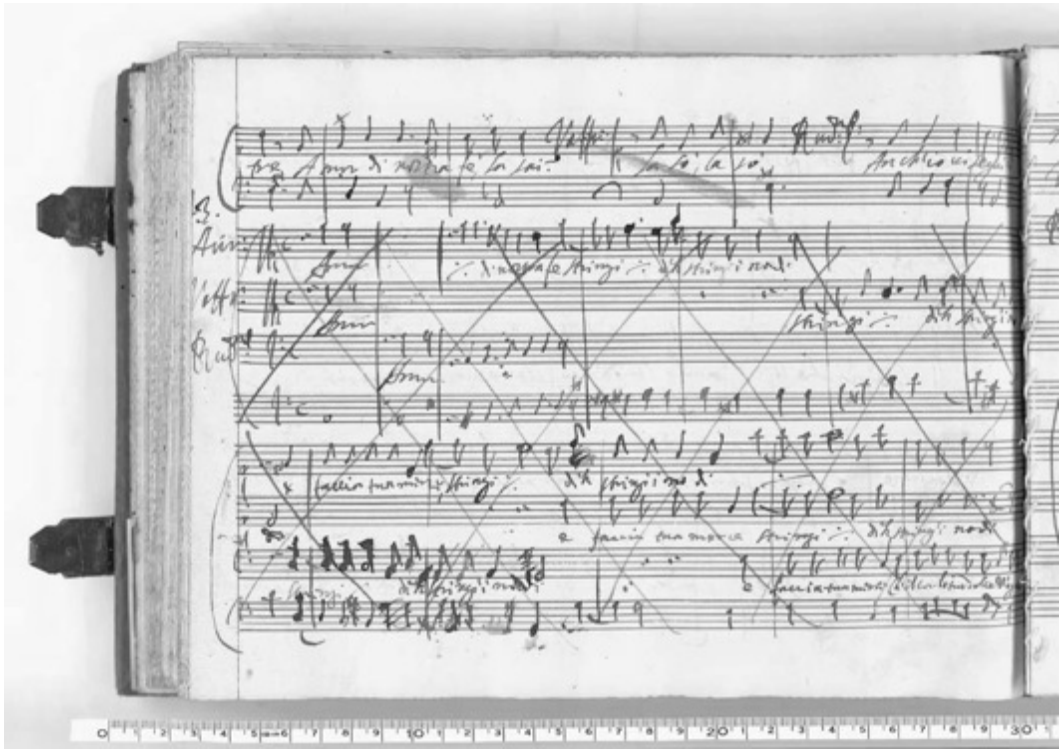
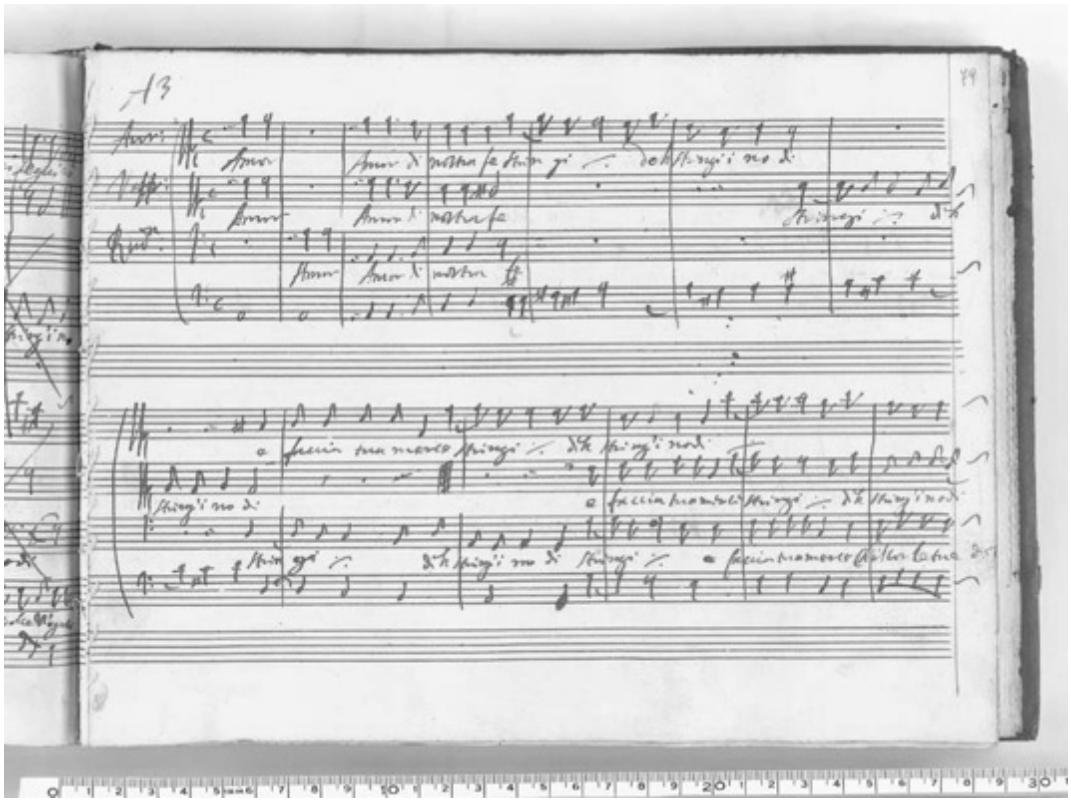
shortened the ending of Aurilla's aria, "Del mio petto," striking through a melisma on the word "vago" near the end of the text and also cutting an extensive instrumental section originally composed on the top staves of the verso (Examples 2.13-2.14). It seems that this cut was made to accelerate the dramatic pacing in this section, where Rudione is staged to respond with an aside to the audience:

> (Uh, che bella fanciulla
> piena di leggiadria.
> Amor sa 'l mio bisogno e qui l'invia.)[36]

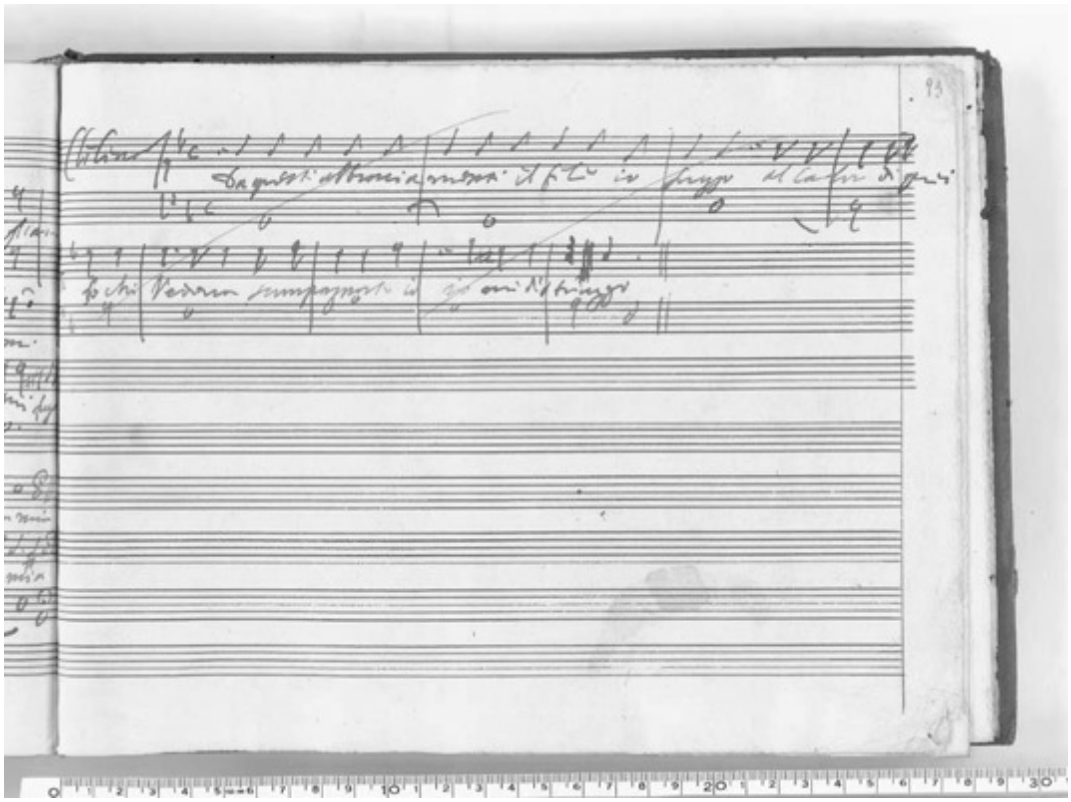
Again, Cavalli has made a significant dramaturgical adjustment to the flow of the stage action at precisely a moment when these two comic characters are staged to be apart from one another, *in disparte*.

Example 2.13: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 370 (=09894), f. 75r.

[36] "Oh, what a beautiful girl / full of loveliness, / Love knows my needs and sends her here."

Example 2.14: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 370 (=09894), f. 75v.

Act III, Scene 11 contains a comic trio that Cavalli reworked extensively. The first draft of the trio, "Amor, di nostra fé" begins on f. 78r and then continues on f. 83r, and the material has been scratched out in both places. Tipped into the manuscript at this point and comprising folios 79 through 82 is a gathering of four leaves with loose stitching, obviously a later addition to the score. In this added gathering, Cavalli made a clean copy of music he had already drafted and then crossed out the original material. A comparison between the two versions can be seen on ff. 78v and 79r, below (Examples 2.15–2.16). Dramaturgically, this section shows Cavalli again reworking an important moment of punctuation in the drama: although it is not the ending of Act III, this extensive scene does tie up the action of the secondary comic characters. The scene that follows (Act III, Scene 12 featuring

Rosinda and Clitofonte) is dramaturgically distinct, for no character from the trio remains on stage.

Example 2.15: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 370 (=09894), f. 78v.

Example 2.16: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 370 (=09894), f. 79r.

An intriguing fragment of recitative for the comic character Cillena appears on the final page of the manuscript, f. 93r (Example 2.17). This short passage of only nine measures of music is in Cavalli's hand, but the text ("Da questi abbracciamenti…") has no basis in the printed libretto of 1651. The fragment appears alone on f. 93r, following the final duet of the opera and the rubric "Il fine" on 92v, and may be a discarded idea that was ultimately cut from the performance.[37]

[37] Since it was bound into the ms as a separate sheet, it most likely came from one of the scenes in which Cillena appeared.

Example 2.17: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 370 (=09894), f. 93r.

VI. The Musical Realization of Enchantment in Cavalli's Setting

The music of *La Rosinda* enriches the themes of magic and sorcery that are the basis of the narrative. One example occurs near the beginning of the opera, at the connection between the prologue and Act I, Scene 1, which reveals Nerea with three choruses of sorcerers who are her attendants. The text of the prologue establishes the connection between magic and spectacle in the opera, beginning "Del magico concilio / chi vela li spettacoli?" or "Of the magical realm / who conceals the spectacle?" As the Furies prepare to raise the curtain to reveal this realm of magic, their action refers meta-theatrically to the illusion of opening a curtain onto a

theatrical performance. At the conclusion of the prologue, Cavalli has written a special musical effect, a *chiamata*, or summons, a short fanfare in triple time that most likely played as the scenery for the Forest with Nerea and the sorcerers was revealed behind the curtain.

Like all of Cavalli's orchestras, the groups assembled for the first seasons at the Sant'Apollinare were small in scale, as can be attested through the account book for the 1651/52.[38] That season, two harpsichords, one archlute, and three-part strings took part in the performances. Since the scores for the 1650/51 season also feature a three-part string texture appropriate to the same venue, this special musical effect was most likely created as an allusion to a "magica tromba" by the continuo group and strings, rather than an actual brass instrument.

At the place where the added prologue is joined to the remainder of the manuscript on f. 2v, two systems of a *sinfonia* are crossed out, and the bass line of the *chiamata* appears on f. 2r is written in different ink than the rest of the prologue (Example 2.18). These adjustments suggest that Cavalli worked out how much music was needed to bridge the connection between the prologue and the first scene. The music of the *chiamata* is a three-part chordal fanfare in triple meter. Ellen Rosand has written about the characteristic use of this type of musical setting to create "trumpet arias," which were reserved for magical scenes and invocations.[39] This special musical effect of the magic trumpet is deployed during an important

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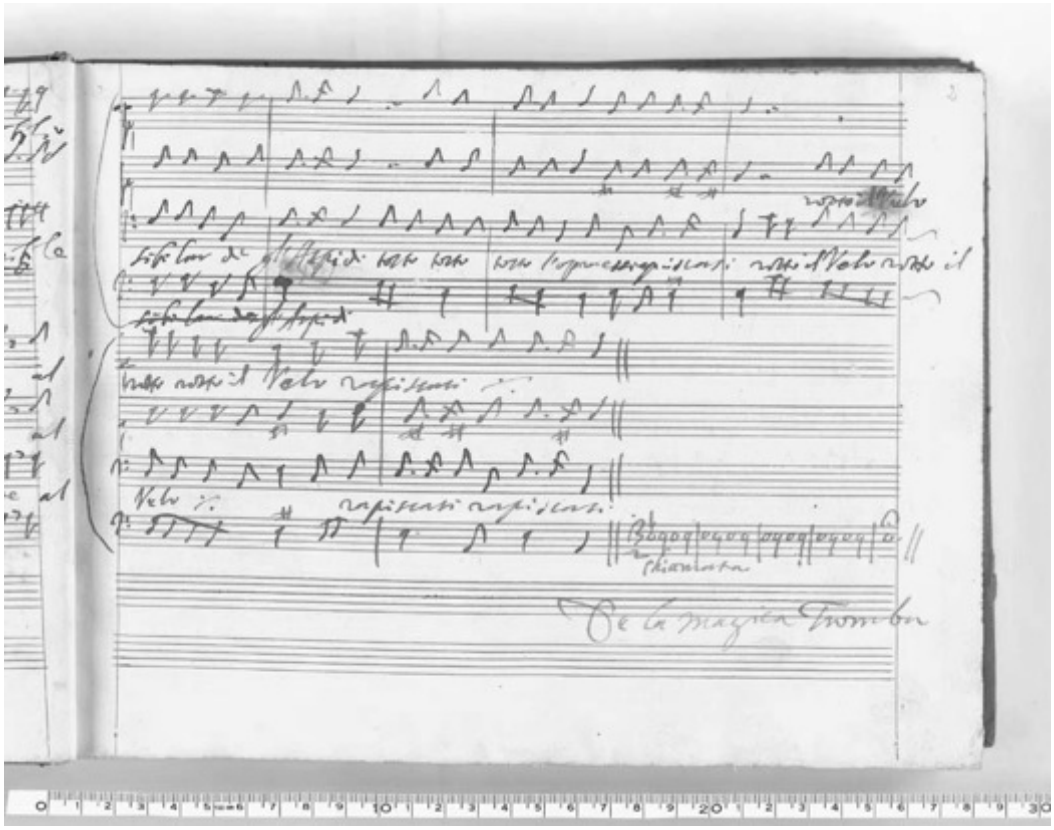
[38] Glixon and Glixon (2006), 223–25.

[39] Rosand (1991), 329–33

early transition as the audience is drawn into the first scene of an opera built upon themes of invocation and incantation.

Example 2.18: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 370 (=09894), f. 2r.

Another marker of the invocation and supernatural in the musico-poetic texture of the opera is the use of *versi sdruccioli* for the dialogue of the sorceress Nerea.[40] Like the *chiamata*, the characteristic emphasis of the verse, so often associated with magical characters and situations, beats a series of three-syllable patterns with strong antipenultimate accents. The Furies of the prologue speak in the *settenario sdrucciolo*, and the meter of the fanfare follows the *sdrucciolo* accentuation pattern. Incantation returns at the conclusion of Act I, in the sequence

[40] On the invocation aria convention, see Rosand (1991), 342–46.

preparing the chorus of Spiritelli and the *ballo* described above. Nerea performs a final invocation in *versi sdruccioli* in Act III, Scene 7 ("Letizia e giubilo") just before the scenic transition from the Enchanted Palace to the Courtyard.

As in all of Cavalli's operas, the violins are used sparingly, only at key moments in the drama, particularly ariosos and arias. However at the end of Act II the violins play much more regularly, even during recitative, to paint the atmosphere of the Underworld.[41] In the manuscript, the clef for the violins is lowered from treble to soprano in that scene when accompanying Pluto and Nerea, suggesting that Cavalli conceived portions of this music in a lower range on the strings appropriate to the sound world of the subterranean realm.[42] This is the only occasion in the four operas composed for the 1650/51 and 1651/52 seasons at the Sant'Apollinare when the violin parts change to soprano clef.

At three places in the manuscript, Cavalli indicates that the violins should accompany through a rubric. For example, in the 1651 libretto, the opera ends with an aria for Clitofonte. Cavalli sets the same text as a duet for Nerea and Clitofonte, and indicates in the margin of f. 91v that it should be played "con violini," even

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[41] Glover makes this claim in her study of Cavalli's orchestration: "Thus the prolonged scene in the underworld which closes Act I has almost constant string accompaniment, even through the recitative passages. This gives a certain air of subterranean unreality to the whole scene, which is of sheer joy musically and almost total irrelevance dramatically." See Glover (1973), 134.

[42] I not aware of any other moments in Cavalli's theatrical output where the violin parts change clef in one scene. I plan to investigate other operas with scenes in the Underworld to confirm whether this effect may have further dramaturgical significance. It may simply have to do with the fact that Pluto is written for a bass with a low range and Cavalli wished to write particularly low string parts to accompany his voice.

though he did not write out the string parts. By manufacturing a love duet for Nerea and Clitofonte accompanied by violins out of an aria text, Cavalli emphasized this couple over Rosinda and Tisandro, who remain silent on stage after their final lines in the *scena ultima*.

VII. *Le magie amorose* and the Scenography of a Neapolitan revival

After its premiere performances at the Teatro Sant'Apollinare, *La Rosinda* was revived two years later in Naples in 1653 under the title *Le magie amorose*. Since the earliest opera productions in Venice, itinerant companies of performers helped to disseminate this new repertoire, first to other Italian musical centers and later to locations throughout Europe.[43] The model of this circulation of repertoire was similar to the traveling companies that presented improvised theater in the traditions of the *commedia dell'arte*. This culture that fostered the circulation of performers and repertoire meant that local performance traditions were incorporated into the presentations of theatrical material. The model of the *commedia* scenario applies to the performance of early opera, where the musical score and libretto were readily adjusted to meet the needs and expectations of local audiences. The result was a type of performance halfway between the presentation of an established text and a semi-improvisatory stage culture that invited further additions, deletions, and transpositions of textual material.

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[43] On the subject of itinerant companies and the circulation of Venetian repertoire, see various essays in Dinko Fabris, ed., *Francesco Cavalli: la circolazione dell'opera veneziana nel Seicento* (Naples: Turchini, 2005).

Venetian opera had arrived in Naples two seasons before the revised version of *La Rosinda*.[44] The first opera reworked for Naples was *La Didone*, one of Cavalli's earliest works, set to a libretto by Giovanni Francesco Busenello (first performances at the Teatro San Cassiano, 1641).[45] *La Didone* was revived in Naples in 1650, and its success led to the presentation of additional Venetian operas in the following seasons.[46] Opera was presented in Naples with a special cultural significance: Viceroy Oñate imported the Venetian repertoire with the intention of political propaganda. The viceroy presented opera soon after the Masaniello uprising of 1647-48 as a means of celebrating the victory with a type of theatrical entertainment that was new to Naples.[47]

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[44] On the history of opera in Naples in the seventeenth century, see Michael F. Robinson, *Naples and Neapolitan Opera* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); Francesco Degrada, "L'opera napoletana fra Seicento e Settecento," in *Storia dell'opera*, ed. Guglielmo Barblan and Alberto Basso, i/1: *L'opera in Italia* (Turin: UTET, 1977), 237–332; Ulisse Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli nel secolo XVII*, ed. Ermanno Bellocci and Giorgio Macini (Naples: Il Quartiere, 2002); and Franco Mancini, *Scenografia napoletana dell'eà barocca* (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1964).

[45] *Argomento e scenario della Didone* published in Venice in 1641 by Pietro Miloco. See Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana DRAMM.908.4.

[46] On the relationship between the Venetian and Neapolitan productions of *La Didone*, in 1641 and 1650 respectively, see Dinko Fabris, "*Didone* by Cavalli and Busenello: From the Sources to Modern Productions," *De musica disserenda*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (2007), 135–55.

[47] On the history of the first performances of opera in Naples, beginning in 1650, see Dinko Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples: Francesco Provenzale (1624-1704)* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007), 154–55. Fabris writes, "Viceroy Oñate's real intention of introducing musical performances by the Armonici [Febiarmonici], whom he had met in Rome when he was there as the Spanish ambassador, was one of propaganda, in particular to celebrate the victory over Masaniello, with a kind of spectacle as yet unknown in Naples," 154. See also Tim Carter, *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 244.

Like all of Cavalli's operas that circulated in the seventeenth century, *La Rosinda* had to be modified for the local performing circumstances. The adaptation provided new material for members of the cast and expanded the role of spectacle in the performance. The venue in Naples was the new theater in the Palazzo Reale that had opened in December 1652.[48] The adjustments were so significant that the performance was given under a different title, *Le magie amorose*, announcing the theme of magic in the work. Two new collaborators are identified in the printed libretto for the 1653 performances in Naples, and their contribution altered the dramaturgical shape of the production. The collaborators were poet Giulio Cesare Sorrentino and the dancer turned impresario of the Febiarmonici, Giovan Battista Balbi.[49]

The careers of both of these figures played a decisive role in the relationship between opera in Naples and Venice during the 1650s. As a poet-librettist, Sorrentino was involved in the creation and modification of libretti that originated in both cities. In the same season that he worked on the modifications to *La Rosinda*, he authored the libretto *Il Ciro*, first set to music by Francesco Provenzale for the royal theater in Naples in 1653.[50] The following year, 1654, Aurelio Aureli revised the text of *Il Ciro* for performances in Venice, featuring a new prologue by

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[48] Fabris reports that the new theater opened with the premiere of Cavalli's *Veremonda*, which was also staged by Giovan Battista Balbi with "Apparenze di Scene, Machine, e Balli." See Fabris (2007), 155. Whether or not the venue was physically larger than the Sant'Apollinare or the preceding Neapolitan theater is not clear, but the libretti for early productions indicate an elaborate use of machines and dance was typical of Balbi's work.

[49] Libretto published in Naples in 1653 by Roberto Mollo.

[50] Fabris (2007), 155–56.

Cavalli.[51]Thus, in the career of one poet in the same season, the opportunity to create a new libretto that would travel to Venice intersected with his participation in the adaptation of a work that traveled in the other direction, having originated on the Venetian stage.

The choreographer and impresario Giovan Battista Balbi (also known as "Il Tasquino") had been involved in Venetian opera from its origins, having participated in the production of Francesco Manelli's *L'Andromeda* in 1637.[52] He had been traveling with the Febiarmonici since 1645, and in his role as impresario he brought works by Sacrati and Cavalli to Florence and Naples. In the 1653 season, Balbi participated in both of Sorrentino's projects in Naples, the new opera *Il Ciro* and *Le magie amorose*. The career path that Balbi followed from dancer to impresario in Venetian opera make him a key figure in the understanding of the aesthetics of dance in these works, particularly in the *balli* that complete each of the first two acts. Renderings of Balbi's work as a choreographer for *La finta pazza* can be seen in the commemorative volume *Balletti d'invenzione nella Finta Pazza di Giovan. Batta. Balbi.*[53]

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[51] Libretto published in Venice in 1654 by Giovanni Pietro Pinello. See Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana DRAMM.920.3 and DRAMM.920.7.

[52] On the career of Balbi, see Irene Alm, "Giovan Battista Balbi," in *Grove Music Online,* as well as Alm's other studies of dance in Venetian opera: "Winged Feet and Mute Eloquence: Dance in Seventeenth-Century Venetian Opera," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 15 (2003), 216–280 and "Theatrical Dance in Seventeenth-Century Venetian Opera" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1993).

[53] Valerio Spada published this collection of eighteen engravings in 1645.

The libretto of *Le magie amorose* documents some of the changes made in the presentation. The title page reads: *Le magie Amorose. Drama ridotto in questa forma da Giulio Cesare Sorrentino. Arrichita di prospettive, machine, e balli da Gio. Battista Balbi*.[54] Included at the back of the libretto is a note to the reader, in which Balbi sought to explain the differences between the original *La Rosinda* and *Le magie amorose*:

> Reader. Once at the heart of this opera was *La Rosinda*, but by adding the characters Lindoro and Cillena, to fill out the number of these celebrated Academics, only a few scenes of *Rosinda* remain [...]. This drama, being reformed in plot, being no longer what it was, therefore had to lose that name. I call it *Le magie Amorose* to demonstrate to you that this drama, rather than being part of a Royal Theatre, is a victim consecrated by its amorous whims to be worthy of you [...].[55]

The comments to the reader specify that extra roles were created or expanded for the number of performers in the Febiarmonici. Lindoro is a completely new role, and Cillena has been significantly expanded from the 1651 version and changed from a servant to Nerea's sister and Lindoro's lover. The majority of the new text for Cillena occurs in two extensive love scenes with Lindoro: Act I, Scene 5 and Act II, Scene 11. In this way, the revival expands the dramaturgy to feature not the standard two, but three couples of noble lovers: Rosinda/Tisandro, Nerea/Clitofonte, and Cillena/Lindoro. In addition, the character of the sorcerer

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[54] "Le magie amorose. Drama reduced in this form by Giulio Cesare Sorrentino. Enriched with scenery, machines, and dances by Gio. Battista Balbi."

[55] "LETTORE / Era un tempo l'anima di questo Drama / LA ROSINDA, / Ma amplificato del Personaggio di / Lindoro, e Cillena, per adempire il nu- / mero di questi celebrati Academici, non / gli è rimasto della Rosinda, che poche / scene [...] / questo Drama riforma- / to nella traccia, non havendo più quell- / l'essere, dovea perdere quel nome. Lo / chiamo le MAGIE AMOROSE, per / dimostrarti, che questo Drama più che / parto d'un Regio Theatro, è una vitti-/ ma consecrate dalla mie voglie amo- / rose al tuo merito [...]"

Meandro has been retained but the name changed to Poliastro, a change that Balbi failed to mention in his note to the reader. Also left unstated are the added elements of magic in the staging.

In the production of *Le magie amorose*, the theme of magic was emphasized through new scenery, machines, and dances. Stage directions in the new libretto record when these effects were used to enrich the performances of the opera. The entire prologue was newly composed, and in the place of the Furies that introduced the opera in Venice, a single allegory of *La Magia*, the goddess of magic, greets the spectators:

> Dal Regio Tetto mio,
> Che di Regio non ha, che l'apparenza
> Ritraggo il piè;
> Per dimostrar quanto è
> Degli meriti miei la Monarchia:
> Chi vincer mi potrà? son la Magia.
> Scompigliar gl'Elementi,
> Confonder le Stagioni
> Potrei sol con accenti,
> E con mia lode immensa
> Di riformar costumi anco ho licenza.[56]

By commencing with an allegory of Magic, the prologue of the revival introduces the central theme of the opera directly to the audience. Magic is both the subject of the opera, *Le magie amorose*, and simultaneously the aim of the theatrical presentation itself. As the goddess addresses the spectators with her commentary on the powers of magic within the narrative, she underscores the powers of stage illusion over the

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[56] "From my royal summit, / which has naught of royalty, but the appearance / I drag my feet; / In order to demonstrate how much is / Under the Monarchy of my merits: / Who can defeat me? I am Magic. / To mix up the elements / To confound the seasons / I can through words alone, / And with my immense praise / I also have the license to reform customs."

spectator. Magic has the power "To mix up the elements / To confound the seasons" and the words of the goddess have the power to achieve vast transformations.

Even with no surviving score for the performance in Naples, the printed libretto of 1653 yields further information about modifications made to the stage presentation of the opera. The scenery rubrics in the 1653 libretto are listed below (scenery without equivalent in 1651—four sets in all—is indicated with *):

Table 2.3 Scenography of *Le magie amorose* (1653)

Prologue	La Magia [Magic]*
Act I, 1	Boscareccia con lingua di Mare [Woodland with band of the Sea]*
Act I, 2	In una barca in forma di Drago [In a boat in the shape of a Dragon]*
Act I, 8	La Regia di Dite [The Palace of the Underworld]
Act II, 1	Ritorna la prima prospettiva [The first set is restored – Woodland with band of the Sea]
Act II, 9	Palaggio incantato [Enchanted palace]
Act III, 1	Giardino* [Garden]
Act III, 13	Prospetiva di Cena Reale* [Set of a Regal Dinner]

Although the scenography includes backdrops not present in the 1651 Venetian structure of the opera, the acts still follow the same fundamental progression, moving to the Underworld [La Regia di Dite] for the conclusion of Act I and to the Enchanted Palace [Palaggio incantato] for the concluding scenes of Act II.

The libretto also documents the use of theatrical machinery in the presentation in Naples. Machines are introduced in Act I, Scene 1, when Nerea

appears with a chorus of sorceresses [Coro di Maghe in Macchina]. A more elaborate sequence of special effects is created through the machines to advance the narrative in Act II, scene 8. These effects were so complex as to merit description in the printed libretto. With a gesture, Nerea has the power to remove two characters from the stage. The illusion of special flying machines (typically reserved for gods and goddesses) demonstrates the magical powers of the sorceress over mortal characters. The stage direction states:

> Nerea performs a spell ["dimostra far un incanto"], and two clouds descend and fly away with Clitofonte and Lindoro ["vengono due Nubbe, involano Clitofonte, e Lindoro"].

The magical effects of the clouds continue later in the scene, creating the apparition of two dwarves riding on the back of two donkeys ["A mezz'aria si dilegua la Nubbe e si vedono due Nani, che giostrano su due Asini"]. In the third act, once again the flying machines are used for a character with magical powers, when Poliastro (the renamed sorcerer Meandro) appears in a machine.

Balbi staged the dances at the conclusions of the acts as well. The *balli* have been reworked and expanded in scope according to the stage directions in the 1653 libretto. The Act I *ballo* in 1651 featuring the Chorus of Spiritelli [little spirits] has been replaced by a "Ballo D'Arpie e Demonij" [Dance of the Harpies and Demons]. The conclusion of Act II features a "Ballo di Sturzi [sic], e Nani [Dance of the Sturzi[57]

[57] The original dance of Dwarves was expanded with new extras performing as "Sturzi." This term may have had local significance, since I have not been able to locate another reference to "Sturzi" or its meaning in another seventeenth-century opera.

and Dwarves]," while the original 1651 score only mentions Nani [Dwarves]. Balbi also staged the movement called for in Act II, 8, where not only are machines employed for magical effects, but there was a choreographed fight sequence as well.

VIII. Conclusion

The subject of magic that lies at the core of *La Rosinda* is key to understanding the meaning of the opera for its audience. The theatrical illusions in the narrative are presented in ways that exploit the spectacular possibilities of the Venetian opera stage, through its complete combination of music, poetry, scenery, machines, and dance. Illusion is a part of the story of Rosinda, Nerea, Clitofonte, and Tisandro; illusion is also essential to the medium in which their story is being told. As sorcerers and magicians conjuring magic and fantastic transformations, the characters of *La Rosinda* become self-reflexive stand-ins for the creators of opera, the magicians behind the scenes who drew upon the effects of stage illusion to conjure up the *dramma per musica*.

Part of the task of creating the illusion of opera was working out smooth transitions in the dramaturgy and scenography. The autograph score shows Cavalli's process of composition, in which he painstakingly worked through transition passages to make them more effective for the stage. At a fundamental level, this task was required for a variety of logistical reasons: a change in casting, the need to divert audience attention from a scene change, or the restoration of a scene originally cut from the libretto. However, Cavalli's goal was also much loftier, for in

working out these and many other kinds of dramaturgical adjustments, he ensured that theatrical illusion would be preserved at every moment and that the audience would remain under the spell of the performance.

This emphasis on stage illusion in both the subject and the execution of *La Rosinda* also tells us something about an important shift in the aesthetics of opera by the early 1650s. Rather than striving for verisimilitude, as earlier opera creators had done, Faustini and Cavalli eschewed naturalism on multiple levels, crafting both their libretti and scores to evoke more magical realms, more elaborate spectacle, and more fantastical visions. When *La Rosinda* traveled to Naples in adaptation, the aesthetic of illusion that had become so central to Venetian stagecraft was emphasized even further in the local performance. In both Venetian and Neapolitan productions, the lavish sets, costumes, machines, and dances combined to create an uninterrupted illusion, working together with the flow of the music and the poetry.

The meta-theatricality of this aesthetic explains why the text of the libretto so self-consciously refers to the types of effects generated on the opera stage, through mentions of magic, spectacle, and dance. When characters break the fourth wall and sing *ad spectatores* at the ending of a scene, with a transformation of the scenery occurring in the background, the aria provides diversion as well as commentary. Ultimately, the multiple dramaturgical layers of music, text, and spectacle of opera created for Venice were held together in a self-aware aesthetic of maintaining unified theatrical illusion. The magic depicted through the stage performance of *La Rosinda* is the magic of opera itself.

CHAPTER THREE

Dramaturgical Metamorphoses in the Staging of *La Calisto*, 1651

I. Twin Princesses for the Opera Stage: *La Calisto* and *L'Eritrea*

In the preface to the printed libretto of *La Calisto*, Faustini introduces the opera not as an individual work but as part of a theatrical season:

> These twin princesses, my most illustrious sir, conceived and delivered this year under the auspices of your protection, cannot but fare happily, like those children who, prospering under a favorable Fate, find Jove in first place in their horoscope. According to an astronomical aphorism of Schöner and Sterck van Ringelberg, having in the above-mentioned house this Jove-inspired intelligence renders the new-born great, and greater than his brothers; thus do Callisto and Eritrea hope to become more famous than their royal relatives, watched over by such a noble mind, triply distinguished by birth, fortune, and spirit. Callisto is more confident of being immortalized under the auspices of Your Illustrious Lordship than through the omnipotence of her Jove; and Eritrea puts greater trust in your favor than in that of the guardian gods of Assiria. I, father of these queens, making public their joint obligation, unable to do more, kiss your Illustrious Lordship's hands.[1]

For the second year of opera production at the Teatro Sant'Apollinare, Faustini and Cavalli prepared two new works: *La Calisto* and *L'Eritrea*. Faustini refers to the two

[1] Libretto published by Giacomo Batti in Venice in 1651. See Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, DRAMM.918.5. The preface states: "Queste due principesse gemelle, illustrissimo mio signore, generate e partorite quest'anno sotto gl'auspici della sua protezione, non potranno se non vivere felicissime, a guise di quei nati che, prosperati da un Fato parziale, trovano nelle loro geniture Giove nella casa primiera. È aforismo astronomico di Sconero e di Ringelbergio che nella casa antedetta questa giovevale intelligenza rende il genito grande e de' fratelli maggiore; perciò sperano Calisto ed Eritrea di divenire più illustri de' loro reali germani, custodite da mente sì nobile treplicatamente conspicua per nascita, per fortuna e per spirit. Si confida più Calisto di restar eternata sotto la direzione di V. S. Illustrissima che dalle onnipotenze del suo Giove, ed Eritrea più si promette dal suo favore che dalla custodia degl'assiri dèi tutelari. Io, padre di queste reine, publicando le communi obligazioni e facendo di loro depositarie le nostre memorie, più non potendo, bacio a V. S. Illustrissima le mani." English translation published in Álvaro Torrente and Nicola Badolato, ed., *La Calisto: Dramma per musica* (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 2012), XXVII.

operas as “principesse gemelle,” or “twin princesses,” which he states were both “generate e partorite quest'anno” or “conceived and born this year.” The preface heaps praise upon the patron Marc’Antonio Corraro as a modern Jove whose status is appropriate to the mythological subject of the libretto.[2] Unlike the first season at the Teatro Sant'Apollinare, in which the circumstances of moving into a new theater had required more last-minute logistical coordination, the second year of the enterprise allowed for a greater degree of planning and coordination of the season in advance.

At the time of the printing of the libretto, neither creator could have imagined the extraordinary difficulties that would befall the season, including the illness and death during rehearsals of one of the leading singers of the company, the castrato Bonifazio Ceretti,[3] and the untimely death of Giovanni Faustini himself in the middle of the run of performances of *La Calisto*.[4] Furthermore, perhaps for these reasons, the opera would not prove to be a great success at the box office, running

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[2] Corraro was also the dedicatee of the printed libretto of *L’Eritrea*, DRAMM.919.2. He was one of Faustini’s management associates, along with Alvise Duodo. See Ellen Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 147 n. 44.

[3] The death of Bonifazio Ceretti is recorded in the preface to the libretto of *L’Eritrea*, “Hà pur anco smarrita in dietro la compagnia del virtuoso Bonifatio, che nel principio del camino fermò col passo la vita.” See Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, DRAMM.919.2, p. 5. Ceretti died on 5 December 1651, shortly after the premiere of *La Calisto* on 28 November 1651. See Torrente and Badolato, Eds. (2012), XX.

[4] Faustini’s death is also reported in the preface to *L’Eritrea*: “Mentre una finta morte d'Eritrea lusingherà a V.S. Illustriss. dolcemente l'orecchio, la pur troppo vera del Sig. Giovanni Faustini le commoverà dolorosamente l'anima.” Faustini died only two weeks after Ceretti, on 19 December 1651. See Torrente (2012), IX.

for only eleven performances with low attendance figures.[5] These events had a significant impact on the venture and help to explain some of the alterations that were made to both of the operas in the course of the performances in the 1651/52 Season.

Faustini and Cavalli conceived these works with the specific requirements of the space in mind, drawing upon their experience presenting *L'Oristeo* and *La Rosinda*. Unlike the operas of the previous year, however, in which the only surviving sources are the manuscript scores and printed libretti, the operas of the 1651/52 Season are also documented in the account book of Marco Faustini, who continued to work as impresario after his brother Giovanni's death.[6] Marco Faustini kept diligent records of all of the season's expenses, including the costs related to scenery, machinery, costumes, singers, and orchestra, as well as the day-to-day expenses of managing the company. Beth Glixon and Jonathan Glixon have analyzed this documentary material in *Inventing the Business of Opera*.[7]

Giovanni Faustini had expressed his concern about the size of the theater in the preface to *L'Oristeo*, apologizing to his audience in advance for the reduced scale

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[5] Beth L. Glixon and Jonathan E. Glixon have reconstructed attendance figures of operas produced in the 1650s and 1660s in *Inventing the Business of Opera: The Impresario and His World in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 353–57.

[6] The account book is preserved in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia (ASV), Scuola Grande di San Marco (SGSM), *busta* 112.

[7] The account book was analyzed for the first time in Beth Glixon and Jonathan Glixon, "Marco Faustini and Venetian Opera Production in the 1650s: Recent Archival Discoveries," *Journal of Musicology* 10 (1992): 48–73; and more exhaustively in Glixon and Glixon (2006).

of the new theater.[8] Now, with *La Calisto* and *L'Eritrea*, Faustini set out to write, design, cast, and rehearse two new works already familiar with the venue. He sought to customize the works to the theater, whereas in the previous season he had been in the situation of having to adapt to a new stage.

II. Mechanized Theatrical Technologies as the Basis of an Operatic Subject

Giovanni Faustini's familiarity with the stage of the Teatro Sant'Apollinare may have been a factor in the selection of the subject of *La Calisto*. The mythological basis for the narrative was a significant departure from Faustini's usual approach to construct original plots, as was his custom in the collaborations with Cavalli throughout the 1640s. The dramaturgy of *La Calisto* was adapted from mythology, and the characters were based upon familiar precedents from ancient literature instead of the cast of newly invented figures in *L'Oristeo* and *La Rosinda*. However, Faustini does not devote space in the opera's preface to a discussion of his specific literary sources,[9] nor does he acknowledge the reasons for his departure from his usual practice of inventing narrative material. In *L'Eritrea* later in the same season, Faustini displays his erudition in the form of deliberate references to figures and

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[8] See discussion in Chapter 1. Faustini discusses the scale of the Teatro Sant'Apollinare in the preface to the 1651 libretto of *L'Oristeo*, DRAMM.917.5.

[9] In lieu of ancient authors, the preface only cites two sixteenth-century German astronomer-mathematicians, Johannes Schöner (1477-1547), author of *De iudiciis nativitatum libri tres* (Nuremberg: Montanus and Neuber, 1545), and Joachim Sterck van Ringelberg (1499-1531), editor of *Institutiones astronomicae* (Venice: Nicolini, 1535). See Torrente (2012), XXVII.

locations of the ancient world, even for an opera that was a freely invented narrative built upon the conventions of other popular works of the time.[10]

Faustini may have chosen an explicitly mythological subject like *La Calisto* as a means of taking advantage of the stage technology at the Teatro Sant'Apollinare. Mythology offered the possibility of spectacle to an impresario seeking to find a narrative frame on which to build a more elaborate stage production in a modestly scaled theater.[11] By going back to characters drawn from the ancient world, paradoxically, Faustini was able to make a more complex presentation in terms of contemporary stage technology. Even in *L'Eritrea*, later in the season, which had its premiere after Faustini's death yet had been conceived and planned by him, some of the most significant design alternations made for the production were in the staging of the prologue, a section of that opera that included mythological characters. The spectacle of the prologue was important in the budgeting of the scenery for the season, with an extra sum of money being reserved for the machinery in that scene between Borea and Iride, gods of the winds and rainbow.[12] The fact that these

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[10] *La Calisto* has a short *delucidazione della favola* at the beginning of the libretto, because the background of these familiar myths required less explanation. On the other hand, *L'Ertirea* has one of the longest background introductions because of the complexity and novelty of the invented narrative.

[11] For Faustini's dramaturgy, ancient mythology was something of an old-fashioned libretto subject by the 1650s, yet the clever combination of several narrative threads is typical of his originality.

[12] Glixon and Glixon report that "At some point after the original contract [for the scenery], Faustini decided to increase the splendor (or complexity) of the opening set of *Eritrea*: to the original fee of 17 ducats for the 'set of the horrid clouds,' was added 34 ducats for further work, for a total of 51 ducats, making it the most expensive of the season. See Glixon and Glixon (2006), 262–63.

allegorical figures borrowed from the world of myth required the most elaborate stage machinery lent a dramaturgical basis for the mechanized spectacle of that part of the production.

The narrative of *La Calisto* is built around the interactions of gods, humans, and satyrs. Rather than limiting himself to any particular telling of ancient mythology, Faustini shaped the drama by combining various narrative threads. In order to achieve a level of complexity to match the taste of Venetian audiences at the time, he interwove several different mythic plots into a single work. In particular, he focused upon the relationship between Giove (Jove) and the nymph Calisto (Callisto) but cleverly interlaced the story with separate episodes from the myth of Diana and Endimione (Endymion) and the jealousy of Giunone (Juno). The narrative depicts a series of seductions and romantic relationships, both requited and unrequited, and Faustini found ways to interrelate the two leading couples according to his needs as a librettist. When the god Giove is unsuccessful in seducing the nymph Calisto, his servant/page Mercurio (Mercury) advises him to disguise himself in the form of Diana. This leads to the consummation of his relationship with Calisto, but creates further confusion when the real Diana (in love with the shepherd Endimione) is later approached by Calisto and of course has no memory of their affair.

To further complicate the structure, Faustini added two secondary lovers to create dramatic love triangles on both levels of the narrative: Giunone, jealous of the love between Giove and Calisto, and Pane (Pan), jealous of the love between Diana and Endimione. With this combination of six familiar characters, Faustini succeeded

in reassembling ancient plots into an original drama that provided fodder for the central leading couples, comic servants, and jealous lovers that were conventional for opera in Venetian theaters. *La Calisto* shows that Faustini was capable of transforming ancient narrative material into a highly original libretto while remaining close to literary precedents.

These mythological stories are familiar through the tellings in *The Metamorphoses* of Ovid, which Faustini may have encountered in Latin or contemporary Italian translation, particularly the widely circulating version by Anguillara (1561).[13] Several other, more recent literary adaptations of these myths may have been known to Faustini and his audiences, as identified by Torrente and Badolato in the introduction to the new critical edition of the score. These contemporary versions included Luigi Groto's *La Calisto* (1583), Almerico Passarelli's *Calisto ingannata* (1651), and Giovanni Argoli's *Endimione* (1626).[14]

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[13] Torrente and Badolato summarize these sources in "Mythological and Literary Background," (2012), XI–XII. The most widely circulating Italian adaptation of Ovid in Faustini's time was *Le Metamorfosi di Ovidio ridotte da Gio. Andrea dell'Anguillara* (Venice: Francesco de' Franceschi, 1561), which "translated Ovid's work into *ottave rime* and went through more than thirty editions between the 1550s (the first book only) and at least 1677, which commentaries by Giuseppe Orologio from 1563 and brief annotations by Francesco Turchi from 1575." See also the English translation by A. D. Melville (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). The passage relevant to the story of *La Calisto* is II, 409–530.

[14] Nicola Badolato describes the influence of these ancient texts and contemporary adaptations on Faustini's libretto in "I drammi musicali di Giovanni Faustini per Francesco Cavalli" (Dissertation, Università di Bologna, 2007), 18–19; the relationship between literary sources and the opera is also summarized in Torrente and Badolato, ed. (2012), XII–XIV and Heller (2004).

The subject of *La Calisto* provided Faustini and Cavalli the opportunity to exploit the stage technology of the Sant'Apollinare, not merely in certain allegorical scenes, but throughout the entire drama. The integrated myths all depend upon acts of metamorphosis, with the action hinging upon the power of gods to change form. Similarly, the dramatic action of *La Calisto* is based upon the disguise and the transformation of the principal characters. The seduction of Calisto is successful because Giove is able to assume the form of Diana, and the outcome of the drama is itself yet another level of transformation, when Calisto is transformed into a bear by jealous Giunone, and ultimately ends with her astronomical metamorphosis into a heavenly constellation.

The subject of mythic transformation made *La Calisto* an opera well suited to the transformative potential of new staging technologies. This application of the concept of metamorphosis can be found in multiple levels of the dramaturgy, from the use of disguise in the costumes, to the types of vocal transformations enacted by characters, and most importantly in the scenic and mechanical transitions of the scenery. The narrative strategy of the opera, therefore, lies not in the direct representation of an ancient myth, but in a retelling of mythology through the technologies of the opera stage.

III. Background of Scenic Technology and Torelli's Impact on Venetian Dramaturgy

By the 1650s, scenic transformation was well established as a convention of presenting opera in Venice.[15] The libretti of new works were designed with structural principles that would allow for scenic metamorphosis to be enacted *a vista*, before the eyes of the audience and in the middle of the action. Part of the aesthetic expectation of audiences was to encounter numerous sets in every opera production. In the dramaturgical structure of libretti, moments needed to be built into each act for the scenery to be changed. This is true of all of Cavalli and Faustini's collaborations, in which the action moves through multiple locales in each of the three acts. In the case of *La Calisto*, the scenography includes two primary locations to be presented in each of the three main acts, plus the setting for the prologue.[16] The following table lists the different scenic locations in the libretto.

Table 3.1: Scenography of *La Calisto* in 1651 Libretto and Score

Prologue	The Grotto of Eternity [L'antro dell'Eternità]
Act 1	Arid Wilderness [Selva arida]
	Forest [Foresta]
Act 2	The Peaks of Mount Lycaeus [Le cime del Monte Liceo]
	The Plain of the Erymanthus [La pianura dell'Erimanto]
Act 3	The Fountains of Ladon [Le fonti del Ladone]
	The Empyrean [L'Empireo]

[15] Glixon and Glixon (2006), 230–33, summarize the mechanics of scenery on the Venetian opera stage, which included a minimum of two sets per act plus the prologue. The presence of multiple sets per act meant that scenic transformation was a requirement of the presentation of these works, as opposed to spoken plays that could be performed on a single unit set.

[16] All four of the operas created by Faustini and Cavalli for the Teatro Sant'Apollinare call for two sets per act, the minimum number employed in a Venetian opera of this time.

In their analysis of Marco Faustini's account book for the 1651/52 season, Glixon and Glixon note payments made to the scenic painter Simon Guglielmi and the machine builder Anastasio for both *La Calisto* and *L'Eritrea*.[17] The scenery was commissioned both with and without "*prospetto*," which is to say that scenes could be performed with or without the smaller distant elements known as *lontani*, which added yet further transformative potential to the depth of the stage presentation.[18] The machines commissioned from the carpenter Anastasio for spectacular effects allowed for the descent and ascent of characters from the stage. The mythological subject of *La Calisto* offered an exceptional number of opportunities for such effects in the interaction between humans and gods that is the basis of the dramaturgy. The dramatic separation of the leading couples (through the combination of gods and mortals) presented more chances that usual to employ machinery. By comparison, in *L'Eritrea*, machinery was used exclusively for the mythological characters in the prologue, and may not have been employed in the rest of the drama.

Therefore, in *La Calisto*, stage effects were not confined to specular events, but were chosen to frame essential aspects of the myth itself: in the descent of Giove

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[17] *Ibid.*, 260–67. Glixon and Glixon identify Simon Guglielmi and Anastasio Marango (Anastasio Marchiori) through the account records in ASV, SGSM, b. 112. Little is known of their biography before their participation in the 1651/52 season. Gugliemi would become an investor in the 1655/56 season produced by Marco Faustini at the Teatro Sant'Apollinare, in which they presented Cavalli's *Erismena* with a libretto by Aurelio Aureli. See Glixon and Glixon (2006), 40.

[18] On the mechanics of scenery at the Teatro Sant'Apollinare, see Glixon and Glixon (2006), 229–39. They point out the distinction between the *scena corta* and the *scena lunga*, or shallow and deep scenery. The main flats [*tellari*] could be changed quickly, and mechanically, but smaller flats in the distance [*lontani*] had to be changed manually by stagehands, which accounts for the time necessary for changes between shallow and deep sets.

and Mercurio for the seduction of Calisto, for the jealous Giunone coming down in her chariot to avenge betrayal by her husband, and for the chariot of Diana to ascend and descend from Mount Liceo in Act 2 in her intimate encounter with her lover Endimione. The scenery was conceived to emphasize the separation between earth and sky and between the pairs of lovers who are mortals and gods. This feature of the opera is emphasized in the conclusion as well, when Calisto herself is transformed first into a bear (by the jealous Giunone) and then elevated to become a constellation of stars in the final scene of the production, which represented the Empyrean.[19] In these aspects of the narrative, Faustini found ways to use transformation itself as the subject of the opera and thereby to draw attention to the scenic and mechanical capacities of his new theater, however small its overall scale may have been compared with the other Venetian stages.

From the earliest years of opera production in Venice, the ability of stage designers to achieve rapid transformations was an integral part of opera staging. The potential for this type of scenic metamorphosis was credited to the technological inventions of a key figure in the history of Venetian stagecraft, the designer Giacomo Torelli.[20] Although Torelli never worked directly with Giovanni

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[19] This also accounts for Faustini's oblique reference to an astronomical aphorism of Schöner and Sterck van Ringelberg in the libretto preface cited above.

[20] For biography of Torelli (1608–78), see Manfred Boetzkes, "Giacomo Torelli," in *Grove Music Online*. For other sources of information on his career, in both Italian and French opera productions, see Per Bjurström, *Giacomo Torelli and Baroque Stage Design* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1961); Raimondo Guarino, "Torelli a Venezia: L'ingegniere teatrale tra scena e apparato," *Teatro e Storia* 7 (1992), 35–72; Eugene J. Johnson, "Jacopo Sansovino, Giacomo Torelli, and the Theatricality of the Piazzetta in Venice," *Journey of the Society of Architectural Historians* 59 (2000), 436–53; Orville K. Larson, "Giacomo Torelli, Sir

Faustini, his contribution to the development of opera in the first years of production in Venice made possible the types of scenic transformations in *La Calisto.* With a background in both architecture and engineering, Torelli invented the elaborate system of ropes and pulleys that was essential for the transformation of scenery at the Teatro Novissimo (which opened for opera production in Venice in 1641).[21] Torelli's inventions allowed an entire set of receding scenic flats to be changed instantly, giving audiences the opportunity to view movement between locales within the acts.[22] This technology eliminated extensive breaks between scenes and allowed for greater visual variety and an acceleration of the dramatic action. Torelli was called away from Venice in 1645 to pursue a number of projects, mainly in Paris,[23] but his inventions had an impact on the work of Faustini and Cavalli for the Teatro Sant'Apollinare. The scenery and machines that were commissioned from Guglielmi and Anastasio made use of this aesthetic of

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Philip Skippon, and Stage Machinery for the Venetian Opera," *Theatre Journal* 32 (1980), 448–59; Barbara Coeyman, "Opera and Ballet in Seventeenth-Century French Theaters: Case Studies of the Salle des Machines and the Palais Royal Theater," in *Opera in Context: Essays on Historical Staging from the Late Renaissance to the Time of Puccini,* ed. Mark A. Radice (Hong Kong: Amadeus Press, 1998), 37–72; and Francesco Milesi, ed., *Giacomo Torelli: L'invenzione scenica nell'Europa barocca*, Fano: Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Fano, 2000.

[21] The Teatro Novissimo was the fourth public opera house to open in Venice. On its history of operations (from 1641–45), see Rosand (1991), 89–110.

[22] The use of multiple sets within each act allowed for more elaborate plot constructions and greater visual variety than the presentation of a unit set.

[23] Called to Paris on a commission from Mazarin, Torelli was responsible for bringing the new complex scenography of Venetian opera to France, where he designed presentations of Italian opera, Pierre Corneille's machine-play *Andromède* (1650) and court ballets. See Arnold Aronson and Donald Roy, "Giacomo Torelli," in in *The Cambridge Guide to the Theatre*, ed. Martin Banham. Second Edition. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1116–17.

transformation in the realization of an opera that is fundamentally about metamorphosis.

Before leaving Venice in 1645, Torelli collaborated extensively with the Teatro Novissmio in the presentation of opera, where he was given repeated opportunities to employ his new mechanical effects of scenic transformation. The first opera he designed was *La finta pazza*, with a score by Francesco Sacrati, performed at the Teatro Novissimo in 1641.[24] The success of the venture led to two more productions at the Teatro Novissimo with Sacrati in the following seasons: *Bellerofonte* in 1642 and *Venere gelosa* in 1643.[25] He possibly collaborated on *Deidamia* in 1644, with a score by Cavalli, now lost, and a libretto by Scipione Herrico, and again worked with Sacrati at the Teatro Santi Giovanni e Paolo for *Ulisse errante* in 1644.[26] Torelli's achievements as a stage architect and machine designer both in Venice and in Paris made his staging innovations influential on libretto structure for the decades to follow. The sense of depth and perspective created by the receding series of flats allowed scenes to be played in both shallow

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[24] A record of the stage production of *La finta pazza* was published shorted after the premiere, the *Cannocchiale* (telescope) *per la finta pazza* by Maiolino Bisaccioni. See Rosand (1991), 97. An edition of the complete *Cannocchiale* can be consulted in Alessandra Chiarelli and Angelo Pompilio, "'Or vaghi or fieri': Cenni di poetica nei libretti veneziani (circa 1640–1740), con l'edizione de *Il cannocchiale per la 'Finta pazza' di Maiolino Bisaccioni*," ed. Cesarino Ruini (Bologna: Cooperativa Libraria Universitaria Editore, 2004).

[25] Stage designs of *Bellerofonte* (1642) are described in Vincenzo Nolfi*, Bellerofonte. Descrittione de gli apparati del Bellerofonte di Giulio del Colle* (Venice, 1642). Engravings of the designs of *Bellerofonte* by Giovanni Giorgi and engravings of the designs of *Venere gelosa* from *Apparati scenici per lo teatro novissimo di Venezia*. Nell'anno 1644 d'inventione e cura di Iacomo Torelli da Fano (In Venetia: presso Gio. Vecello, e Matteo Leni, 1644) are reproduced in Rosand (1991), 135–36 and 161–63.

[26] See Richard John, "Giacomo Torelli," in *Grove Art Online*.

and deep spaces, either with or without *lontani*, which gave a sense of vanishing perspective to the scenery. Most of the sets newly commissioned by Faustini for *La Calisto* had the potential to be presented both with and without *lontani*, thereby allowing each one to transform from a shallow playing space to a deeper one.

In addition to Torelli's exploration of variety in stage depth, his impact on the stage aesthetic was in the development of the mechanism that allowed entire sets to be transformed by a single stagehand working beneath the scenery. From his development of this technology, Torelli earned the reputation of being the "grande stregone,"[27] or great magician of the stage. It is interesting to note yet another reference to sorcery in the aesthetics of illusion on the Venetian stage. Here, again, we see in stage spectacle a reference to magic that had been the topic of Faustini and Cavalli's collaboration on *La Rosinda*.[28] As a publicly recognized stage magician, Torelli was a central figure whose new mechanism was the required technological foundation upon which Faustini and Cavalli could now build an opera that took the concept of metamorphosis as its subject.

The success of Torelli's inventions was recorded in the 1644 volume *Apparati scenici* that commented on the novelty (first at the Teatro Novissimo) of technology that could so quickly transform the entire stage.[29] This "marvelous"

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[27] Aronson and Roy (1995), 1116.

[28] See Chapter 2, "Magic and Theatrical Illusion in the Staging of *La Rosinda*, 1651 and 1653."

[29] *Apparati scenici (*1644) reports the effect of the scenic transformations on the spectators of *Venere gelosa*: "At the birth of this scene the whole theater, not just the stage or the

technology was deployed for explicitly dramatic ends in *La Calisto.* The scenery that was commissioned provided opportunities for the variety of shallow and deep stage spaces, scenic transformations in front of the audience, and mechanical display appropriate for the interaction of human and divine characters. This special emphasis on stage technology is perhaps most visible in the final scene, for which Guglielmi was not asked to paint a standard backdrop, but for which Anastasio's machinery was the focus.[30] Thus, the creators drew upon a visual vocabulary that utilized the transformative potential of the stage, even building the climax of the drama (the moment of Calisto's ascent into her new form as a constellation in the Empyrean) into the mechanics of new stage technology.

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buildings, was supposed to rise, and it rose indeed, for with the movement of those great back-drops and the disappearance of the sky, and upon seeing all the parts of that great machine turn and mix in great confusion, not one of the spectators sat still: they stood up and turned around and did not know what they were seeing or what to expect, if not a great novelty; but soon the eye was satisfied, because it saw the scene transformed into a lovely and delightful garden, which was far different from any that have been depicted, either on stage or in print." Translated in Rosand (1991), 106.

[30] "The final set of the opera, 'The Empyrean,' was built entire by [the carpenter] Anastasio; that is, it is not included in [scenic painter] Guglielmi's scenery contract, presumably because it was more machine than traditional set, as it was composed entirely of clouds with, perhaps, all the action taking place on the machine itself." See Glixon and Glixon (2006), 265.

IV. The Sources and Their Relationship to Staging

The surviving record of the libretto and music of *La Calisto* are considerably more straightforward than those for the productions of *L'Oristeo* and *La Rosinda* (as well as the Neapolitan revival of *Le magie amorose*) of the previous season. For *La Calisto*, only the printed libretto and a single manuscript score survive.[31] There are several reasons why the opera exists only in the first version as performed at the Sant'Apollinare. First of all, as already noted, the opera did not prove to be popular with audiences (and closed after only eleven performances), which meant that no troupe of performers risked a venture with the material outside of Venice. Faustini's interest in using ancient mythology as narrative space in which to explore the fullest scenic and mechanical potential of the Venetian stage (and to reference the transformative power of spectacle in the very content of their work), led to a relatively complex production. It may have been that the stage machinery requirements of the subject led other producers to believe that the opera would not travel well.

Secondly, Faustini's own death in the middle of the run of performances may have curtailed any immediate interest in planning for a revival of the opera (although, as will be discussed in the next chapter, *L'Eritrea* would be revived both outside of Venice and a decade later in another Venetian theater, the San Salvatore in 1661). The circumstances of performance and reception of *La Calisto* meant that

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[31] A copy of the 1651 libretto can be consulted at the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana under DRAMM.918.5. The manuscript score is in the Contarini Collection, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 353 (=09877).

only a single set of sources document the one version of the opera that was performed in the seventeenth century.

The score of *La Calisto* is not an autograph and does not contain the same types of revisions that were identified in Cavalli's composing scores. The manuscript does feature Cavalli's hand for certain corrections and rubrics, but the majority of the score is written out by two copyists, who are identified by Peter Jeffery as Maria Cavalli and an unknown collaborator (labeled 03 in Jeffery's study of the manuscripts).[32] The score is related to the manuscript of *La Rosinda* in that the paper used for the prologue of *La Calisto* is of the same type as that used for the inserted material in *La Rosinda*.[33] The score contains indications of transpositions of the music that were required in performance.[34] Throughout, the manuscript shows extensive cuts (indicated as a separate layer in red crayon) that document passages that may have been eliminated.[35] These cuts and transpositions will be discussed below, for they indicate changes that were made for the performance circumstances and to accommodate the type of elaborate scenic spectacle that Faustini and Cavalli had conceived for the presentation of the opera.

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[32] Peter Grant Jeffery, "The Autograph Manuscripts of Francesco Cavalli" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1980), 159–63.

[33] Jeffery notes that "the watermarks of this pair depict the letters 'G B 3' surmounted by a trefoil, with the herald's trumpet symbol used as a countermark on the other side of the sheet. See Jeffery (1980), 160.

[34] Transpositions are indicated throughout the entire manuscript and are summarized by Jeffery (1980), 162–63.

[35] These cuts are discussed below and many of the affected folia are reproduced here.

According to Jeffery, there is one significant passage in the score where Cavalli made last-minute alterations to the music, having decided that an altogether different setting was required.[36] This passage is on f. 103, where Cavalli rewrote an entire section of music to give greater emphasis to the meaning of the words rather than strictly following the poetic form as he had done in the original setting. One can imagine that Cavalli heard the setting in rehearsals, or received a suggestion from one of the singers or instrumental collaborators and decided to make this type of change in a score that was already near the version used for performances. Other adjustments in the score (unlike the multiple layers of editing in the *Oristeo* and *Rosinda* manuscripts) reveal more about the staging.

The death of the castrato Bonifazio Ceretti (originally cast in the role of Endimione) and his replacement with another singer accounts for a majority of the musical transpositions.[37] The libretto may have been published before Ceretti's death, for the preface does not contain any reference to the difficult circumstances created by the loss of one of the leading players of the company. However, the libretto does include two scenes that were added at the last minute (to provide opportunity for the addition of another comic character to the drama, the Bifolco, or

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[36] See Jeffery (1980), 161.

[37] Torrente suggests that after the death of Ceretti, the role of Endimione may have been performed by Christoforo Caresana, a boy who may originally have been engaged to sing Linfea and Furia 2, which would account for the change in the range of the part. As discussed below, this recasting would also explain for the elimination of the chorus of furies (which were replaced by a solo fury) and the reassignment of the role of Linfea to a singer identified only as "Putella." For an overview of the initial casting and the changes made due to the death of Ceretti, see "Table 1: Tentative reconstruction of the cast" in Torrente and Badolato (2012), XIX–XX.

ploughman), published as a separate appendix, which may have been inserted due to the loss of a leading singer. The libretto contains a note to the reader: "You will read some of the scenes inserted in the story to delight you at the end of the drama."[38] This note indicates that Faustini intended these additions to delight and divert, but that even at the time of their publication Faustini did not see them as integral to the drama. This perspective is also emphasized by the fact that the music of these scenes must have been written at a later point, since it didn't make it into the manuscript score. The places where the two scenes were to be performed, however, are indicated by rubrics in Cavalli's hand ("Qui va la scena del bifolco").[39]

V. The Concept of Metamorphosis in the Musico-Dramatic Action

The concept of metamorphosis can be traced through the dramaturgy of *La Calisto* on numerous levels, and a close examination of both the score and the libretto reveal the ways that Faustini and Cavalli sought to relate the transformations of the characters within the drama to the transformations of scenery, machines, costumes, and the vocal casting of singers for the opera's stage production. The central dramatic arc of the opera is the metamorphosis of the nymph Calisto into the form of constellation in the final scene. In the printed libretto

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[38] "Alcune scene inestate nella favola per dilettare fuori della sua tessitura, le leggerai nel fine del drama [sic]." This note to the reader appears in the front of the libretto after the mythological background. See DRAMM.918.5. English translation published in Torrente and Badolato (2012), XXVIII.

[39] Both of these folia are reproduced in the analysis below: f. 60r and 102v.

of 1651, Faustini sets up the action with a relatively short *delucidazione della favola* (mythological background), At the end of this description, Faustini emphasizes the destiny of the title character, who will ultimately be raised up to the heavens:

> The tender, simple maiden, renouncing royal luxury, repaired to the wilderness and offered Cynthia (Diana) her vow of chastity, almost as if Fate had driven her into the woods, now the abode of her metamorphosed father, later to elevate her among the stars.[40]

The libretto establishes a separation between the realms of the characters: the gods including Giove, Diana, and Giunone are associated with the heavens (and more specifically the realm of the stars) throughout the entire opera. Their appearances in the main action of the drama are facilitated through the use of the machinery that would allow them to descend to the earth. The nymph Calisto and the shepherd Endimione represent mortals. The third level of the plot revolves around the rustic creatures native to the wilderness, characters that are half-human and half-animal: the satyrs Pane, Satirino, and Silvano. Throughout the libretto, Faustini assigns these characters text that relies on *versi sdruccioli*, imparting to their language a heavy rustic character that separates them from both their more divine and more human counterparts.[41]

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[40] "Questa fanciulla tenera e semplice, abbandonati i lussi reali e datasi alle selve, votò la verginità a Cinzia; quasi che 'l Fato la spingesse ne' boschi fatti nidi del padre trasmigrato per inalzarla alle stelle." English translation in Torrente and Badolato (2012), XXVIII.

[41] Giuseppe Gerbino discusses this special use of the *verso sdrucciolo* to evoke the realm of Arcadia in the late Cinquecento madrigal in "The Madrigal and its Outcasts: Marenzio, Giovannelli, and the Revival of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*," *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Winter 2004), 3–45.

The three strata of characters are separated by their associations with the celestial realm (gods) versus the native creatures of the earth (nymphs, shepherds, and satyrs). The majority of the action is set in the pastoral environments of the earth, but in specific locales that allow for direct interaction between the human and divine characters. This pastoral realm is a type of stage representation of Arcadia, as indicated by Faustini in the rubric for the setting of the opera at the beginning of the printed libretto:

> Si rappresenta la favola ne' contorni di Pelasgia, regione del Peloponneso che fu poscia detta Arcadia da Arcade figliolo di Giove e di Calisto.[42]

The final scene of Act III is set in the Empyrean, and it represents an inversion of the dramatic circumstances that have been established in the previous acts. For the majority of the opera, it is the well-known Greco-Roman gods who come down to earth and transform into human guise, while in the final scene it is Calisto who assumes an eternal divine form when she ascends to become a constellation in the heavens.

The principal action is preceded by an allegorical prologue that foreshadows the action of Calisto's ascent to divinity in a debate between Nature, Destiny, and Eternity. The separation between earth and sky is established through the description of Calisto's metamorphosis. Nature and her son Destiny join their voices with Eternity to proclaim a prophesy of Calisto's elevation in the final scene. Their music is written in a homophonic choral texture that serves as joint prophesy of

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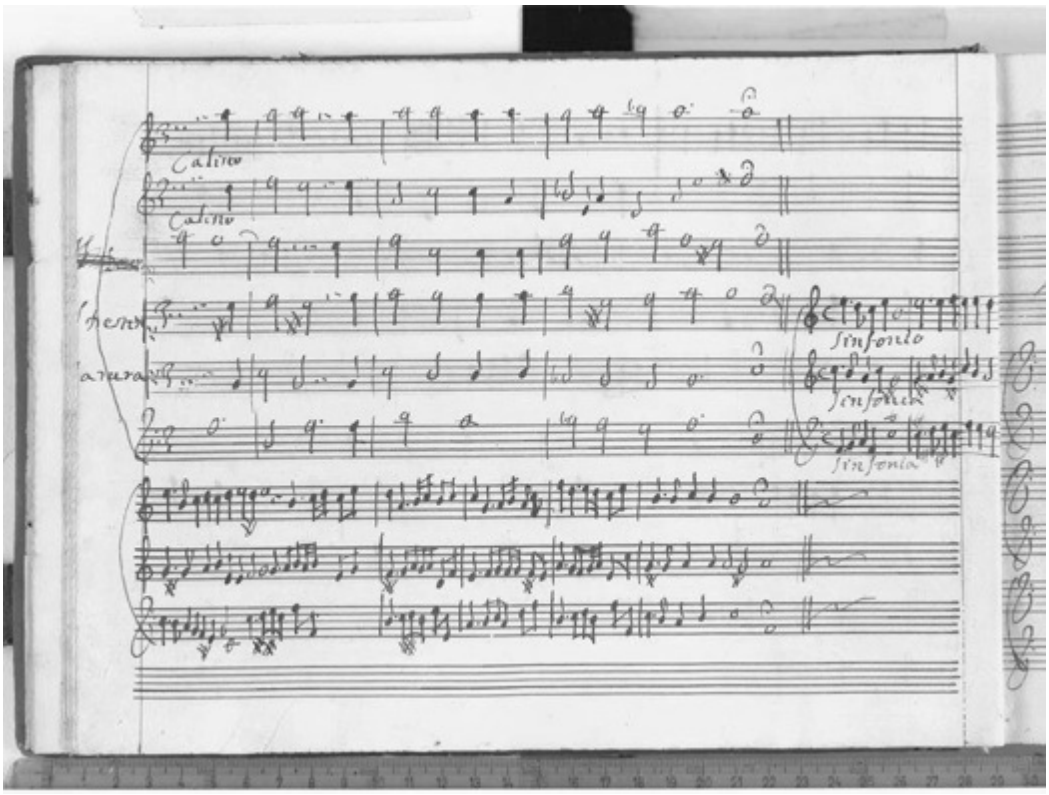
[42] "The story is represented in the surroundings of Pelasgia, a region of the Peloponnese, which later was called Arcadia." English translation in Torrente and Badolato (2012), XXVIII.

Calisto's eventual transformation. Faustini's text (which was not completely written into the manuscript score by copyists but is preserved in the printed libretto) again emphasizes a movement from the earth to the heavens:

> Calisto a le stelle. / Di rai scintillanti / i vaghi sembianti / s'adornino eterni. / Ai poli superni / s'accreschin fiammelle. / Calisto a le stelle.[43]

Example 3.1: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 353 (=09877), f. 6v.

After the prologue, Cavalli has inserted a *sinfonia* on f. 6v into the margin and remaining staves of the folio, which provides an opportunity for transition from the allegorical prologue into the scenery for the following scenes (Example 3.1). The choral texture of the prophecy that concludes the prologue returns in the musical

[43] "Let Callisto join the stars. / Let the wandering bodies / adorn themselves with scintillating / and eternal rays. / Let the celestial poles / thus increase in brilliance. / Let Callisto join the stars." English translation in Torrente and Badolato (2012), XXIX.

setting of the *Coro di Menti celesti* that opens the final scene of Act 3 in the Empyrean. Here, again, the text emphasizes the divine realm of the stars:

> Le stelle / più belle / sfavillino / e brillino. / L'alto motore / novo splendore / al ciel prepara. / A Giove cara / quassù goderai / vestita di rai. / Le stelle / più belle / sfavillino / e brillino.[44]

Cavalli's setting of this text in the final scene echoes the conclusion of the prologue with its homophonic choral texture, just as the poetic content so closely parallels the conclusion of the prologue. These two passages frame the entire action, serving as a prophecy and its fulfillment in the transformation of Calisto from the human realm and into the realm of the divine.

According to Marco Faustini's account book of the 1651/52 season, the scenery commissioned from the painter Simon Guglielmi (who completed the backdrops) and the carpenter Anastasio (who constructed the machinery) corresponds directly with the scenic rubrics that appear in the libretto.[45] An examination of the score suggests various ways that the deployment of these scenic effects needed to be worked out in rehearsal and performance. There are few major revisions in the manuscript, which suggests that it was copied after Cavalli had completed his usual process of working out the musico-dramatic setting (that was seen in the autograph scores of the operas of the previous season). The changes

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[44] "May the most beautiful / stars / twinkle and / shine. / The all powerful God / in Heaven prepares / new splendors. / Clothed in light, / beloved of Jove, / you will shine up above. / May the most beautiful / stars / twinkle and / shine." English translation in Torrente and Badolato (2012), LXII.

[45] ASV, SGSM, b. 112. The materials that relate to the scenography of *La Calisto* are examined in Glixon and Glixon (2006), 261–68.

indicated in the score are therefore from sometime after the initial process of composition and likely relate to the staging of the opera. The adjustments to the score involving transposition of vocal parts can be largely explained through the two already-mentioned changes to the casting, which will be discussed further below. The few places where instrumental music was added or further cuts were made are also indicative of adjustments for the staging of the opera, as the creators sought to allow for the transformations between sets and the tightening of the musico-dramatic flow.

In his reconstruction of the cast in the critical edition of the score, Torrente claims that Don Giulio Cesare Donati performed the roles of Giove and Giove when disguised as Diana.[46] He points out that Donati was able to sing as both a baritone and a sopranist. This vocal range was known earlier in the seventeenth century as the *basso alla bastarda*, and Torrente suggests that Donati's specialty allowed for a special treatment of the problem of vocal ranges for the character in disguise.[47] Further evidence that Donati played both roles (and that the same performer was

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[46] Torrente and Badolato (2012), XX–XXI.

[47] Torrente has discussed the special vocal range of the *basso alla bastarda* in more detail in "The Twenty Two Steps: Clef Anomalies or 'Basso alla Bastarda' in Mid Seventeenth-Century Italian Opera," in *Word, Image, and Song*, Vol. 1: Essays on Early Modern Italy, edited by Rebecca Cypess, Beth L. Glixon, and Nathan Link. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2013; also presented in the Study Day "*Calisto alle stelle*: Cavalli and the Staging of Venetian Opera, organized by the Institute of Musical Research and Gresham College in London on 22 September 2008. A recording of the paper is available at www.gresham.ac.uk. Torrente claims that Donati was a singer who was able to perform both in the falsetto and bass ranges, which accounts for the change from male to female characters in *La Calisto* and the change from madness to sanity for the character Theramene in the final act of *L'Eritrea*. He notes that in both cases the change of clef coincides with a significant place in the drama, which he refers to as the moment of agnition.

able to sing in both baritone and falsettist ranges) can be found in the scenography of the libretto. Faustini cleverly builds in the time required for a costume change for Donati through the placement of Calisto's first solo scene and aria, "Non è maggior piacere," Act I, Scene 4. Given the time for the costume change and Mercurio's reaction upon Giove's return in his new garb:

> Chi non ti crederebbe
> a gl'arnesi, a la forma, al portamento
> la dea del ciel d'argento?[48]

It seems credible that Donati could have played both roles himself, though it is also possible for the singer playing Diana to appear as Giove-in-Diana. Donati's unusual vocal range may also have been also used for special dramatic effect in *L'Eritrea* later in the season, to be discussed in the following chapter.

After the transition out of the prologue (The Grotto of Eternity) and into the first set of Act 1 (The Arid Wilderness), for which Cavalli added the *sinfonia* in the score on f. 6v, the musico-dramatic fabric continues without significant adjustment until the change of scenery required for the introduction of the shepherd Endimione in Scene 7. At first glance, it would seem that the action flows directly from the end of Mercurio's aria "Se non giovano," for on f. 25r of the manuscript there is no indication of any change of location, nor is there any extra instrumental music to allow for the execution of the scene change. For these reasons, it seems that Faustini and Cavalli decided to execute the scenic transformation one scene earlier than indicated in the printed libretto.

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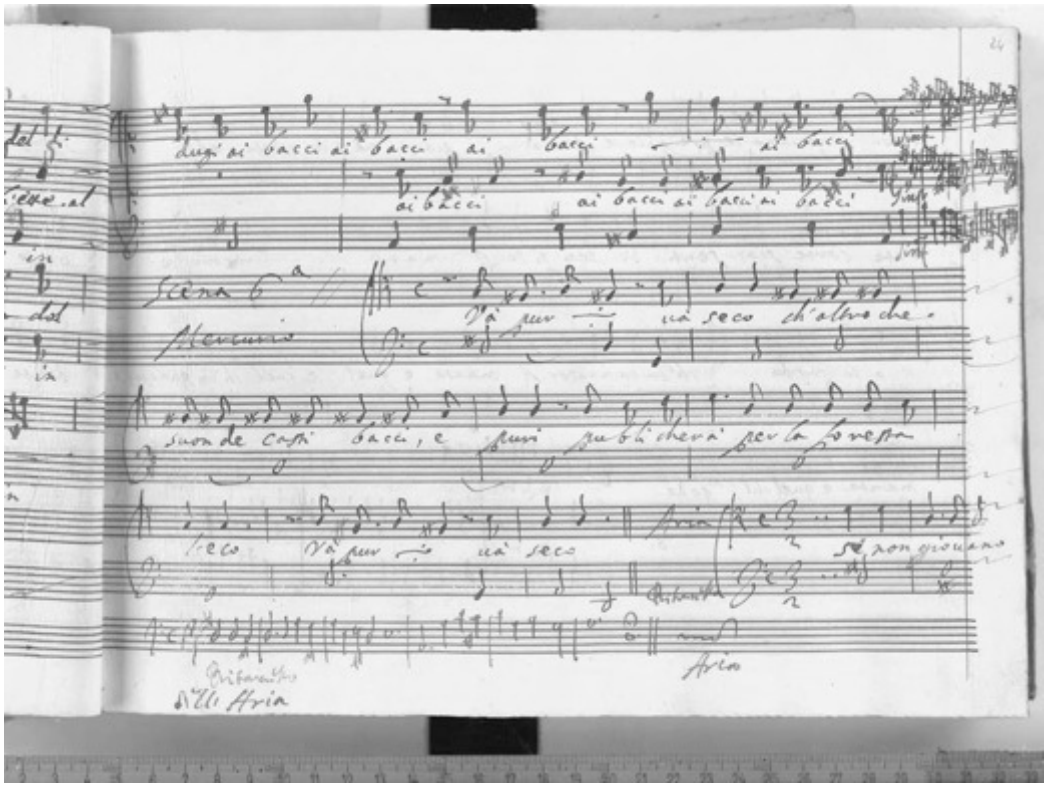
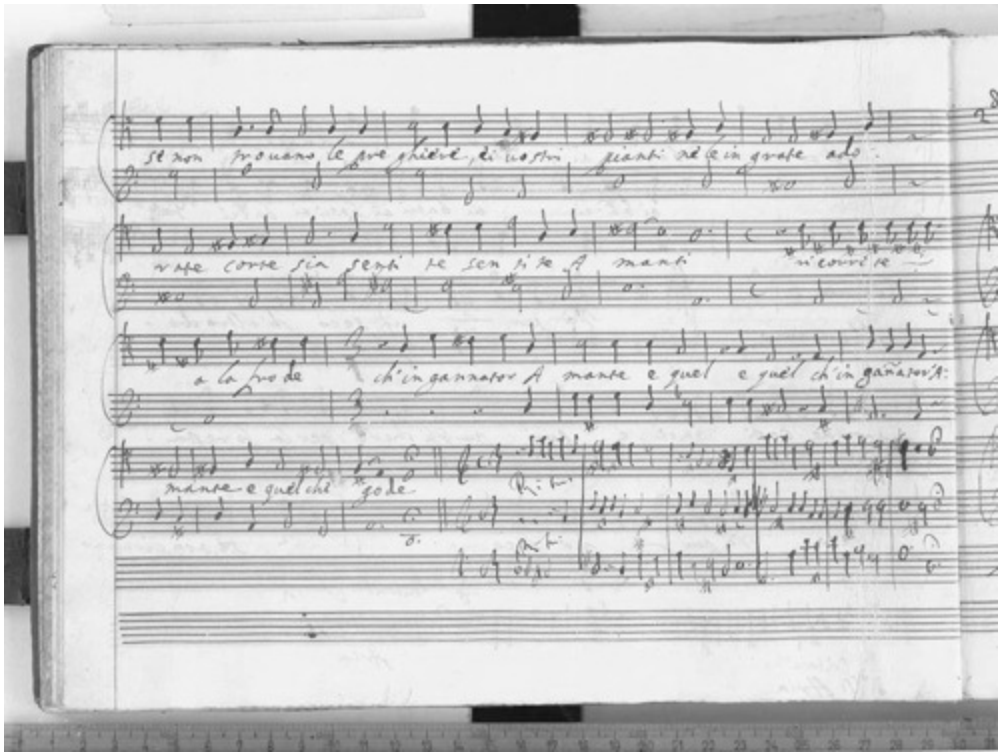
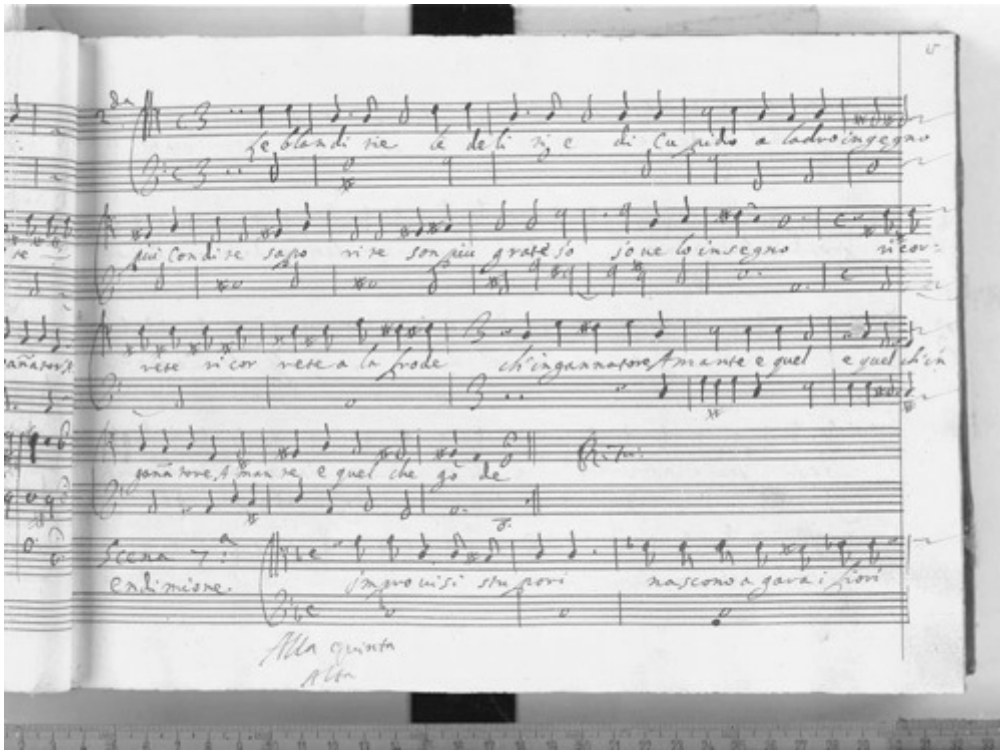
[48] "Who would not take you, / clothed like that, in that form, with that bearing, / for the Goddess of the silver heaven?" English translation in Torrente and Badolato (2012), XXXIII.

At the end of Scene 5, when Calisto and Giove (disguised as Diana) leave the stage after Giove's successful seduction of the nymph, there is evidence in the manuscript that the scenery was cued to change at this point in the action (Examples 3.2-3.4). Right at the moment when the two lovers leave the stage after their short duet, "A baciarsi andiam, sì sì," Cavalli has added a *sinfonia* to the manuscript. It was common practice for Cavalli to write in the instrumental music, including *ritornelli* and violin parts, after the copying of the vocal setting, but in this case the addition seems to have been a very late one because no space at all was left in the manuscript. At the end of the first system on f. 24r, an entire *sinfonia* has been copied into the narrowest margin. This new instrumental passage leads into the solo scene and aria for Mercurio, and its presence here, squeezed into the manuscript and emphasizing the moment in the drama, suggests that the scene transformation actually started at the end of the duet between Calisto and Giove-in-Diana.



Example 3.2: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 353 (=09877), f. 24r.

Example 3.3: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 353 (=09877), f. 24v.



Example 3.4: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 353 (=09877), f. 25r.

This interpretation seems plausible for several reasons: the conclusion of the lovers' duet makes for a stronger ending of the scene (and corresponds to the action of the lovers traveling to another location to consummate their affair) while the Mercurio scene and aria, as a solo performance, could be performed downstage while the scenic transformation was occurring in the background. This adjustment in the manuscript score suggests that in the stage production starting the scene change earlier allowed enough time to complete the transition while the solo scene and aria for the secondary character Mercurio continued the dramatic action without any interruption. If the scene change had been executed at the moment indicated in the libretto, the audience may have been forced to wait. Furthermore, the text of Mercurio's aria, "Se non giovano," is addressed directly to the audience.

This suggests that the aria was performed far downstage, close to the public, which would allow for a much shallower scene that yielded the upstage area of the playing space for the more elaborate transformation required to change the set from the Arid Wilderness to the Forest. The text of the solo scene even introduces the new setting of the Forest in the recitative addressed to Calisto, and the first strophe of the aria pauses the action by breaking the fourth wall so that the upstage scenic transition could be completed:

> Recitativo to Calisto: "Va' pur, va' pur, va' seco, / ch'altro che suon de' casti baci e puri / publicherà per la foresta l'Eco. / Va' pur, va' pur, va' seco."
>
> Aria *ad spectatores*: "Se non giovano, / se non trovano / le preghiere e i vostri pianti / ne le ingrate / adorate / cortesia, sentite amanti: / ricorrete a la frode, / ch'ingannatore amante è quell che gode."[49]

Another example of modification to the dramaturgical fabric of Act I serves as a reminder of the opposite decision being made in stage presentation: when solo material might be cut if it was no longer needed to cover the transition between two sets. After the introduction of Endimione and Diana in the Forest (Scenes 7-8), the focus of the narrative shifts to the secondary, comic characters. Diana is accompanied by one of her followers, the maiden Linfea, who fills the conventional role of her servant/handmaiden. After a subsequent scene in which the passionate Calisto pursues Diana (believing that it was she, not Giove in disguise, who had seduced her in the previous scene), Linfea is left alone in the Forest and is

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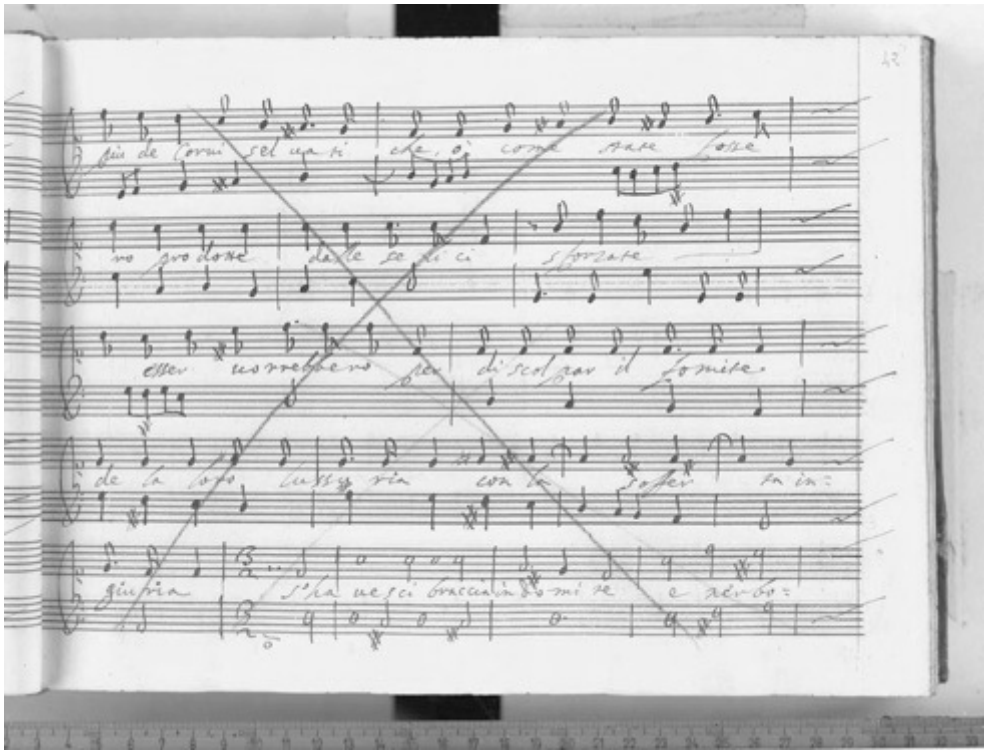
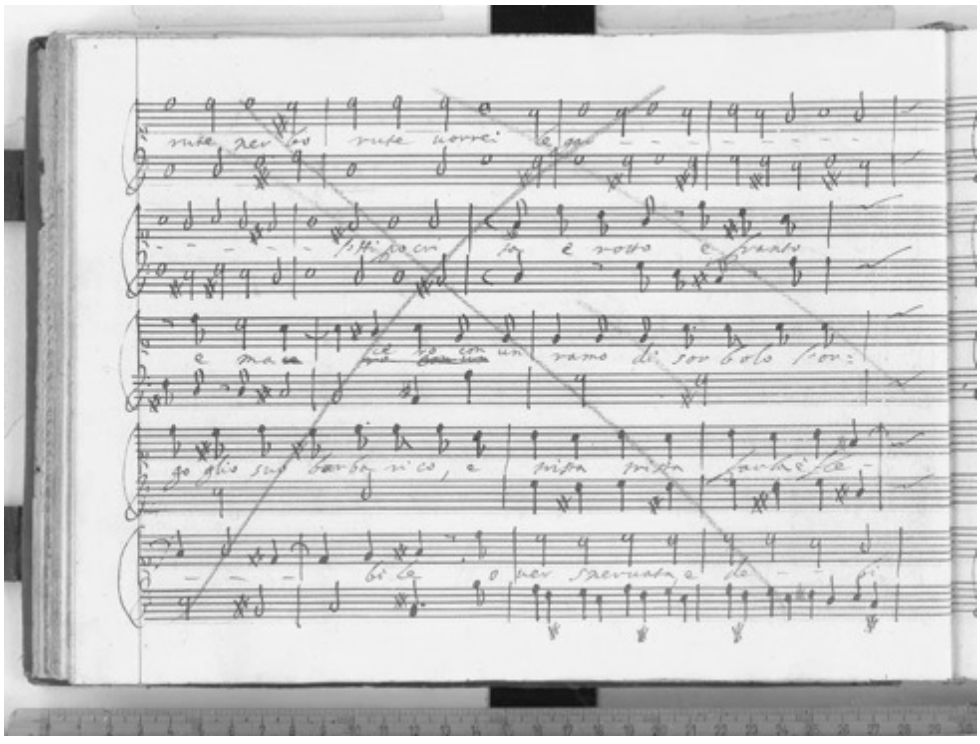
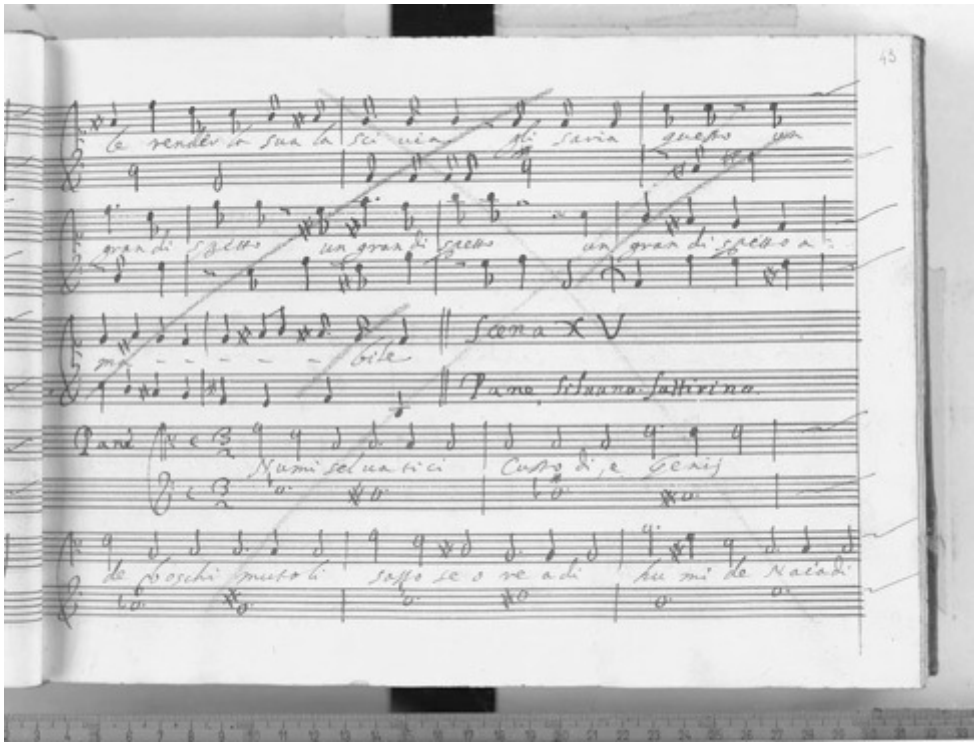
[49] Recitative to Calisto: "Go, go with him! A very different sound / from that of chaste, pure kisses / will resound in the forest. / Go, go with him!" Aria addressed to the spectators: "If your prayers and your tears / do not help, / if they do not find / kindness in your ungrateful, / adored ones, / listen to me, you lovers: / make use of deceit, / for the deceiving lover is the one who delights." Translation in Torrente and Badolato (2012), XXIV.

approached amorously by the rustic Satirino. After rejecting his advances, Linfea departs and Satirino is given a solo scene in the printed libretto “Son pur superbe e rigide / queste ninfe di Trivia (They are very proud and strict / these nymphs of Trivia).” This scene is set in the score (see ff. 41v-43r), but these folia have been struck out in red crayon, as though to indicate that this material was cut from the performance (Examples 3.5-3.7). Whereas in the previous example the solo scene was required for the scene change, in the case of Satirino's scene, it may have proved unnecessary because no scenic elements had to be moved at that time. The following scenes are still played in the scenery for the Forest, with the character Satirino appearing alongside Silvano to console the rustic forest god, Pane. These satyrs speak in the rough *sdrucciolo* meter establishing the new atmosphere of this secondary comic plot, which does not seem to have been introduced with any mechanical or scenic effects as would have been required by divine characters.



Example 3.5: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 353 (=09877), f. 42r.

Example 3.6: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 353 (=09877), f. 42v.

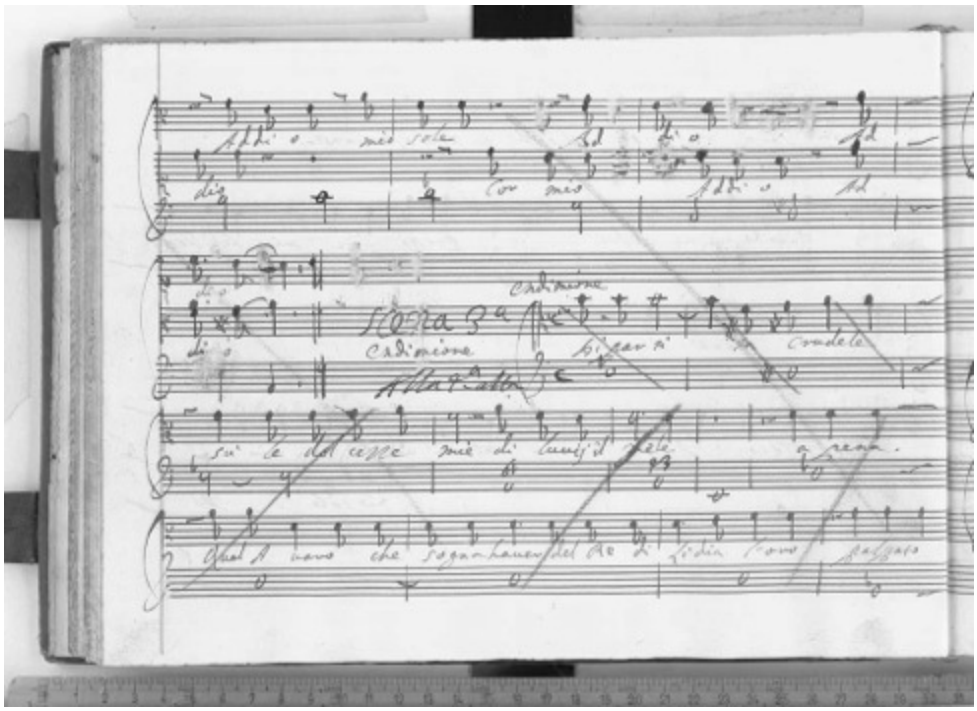
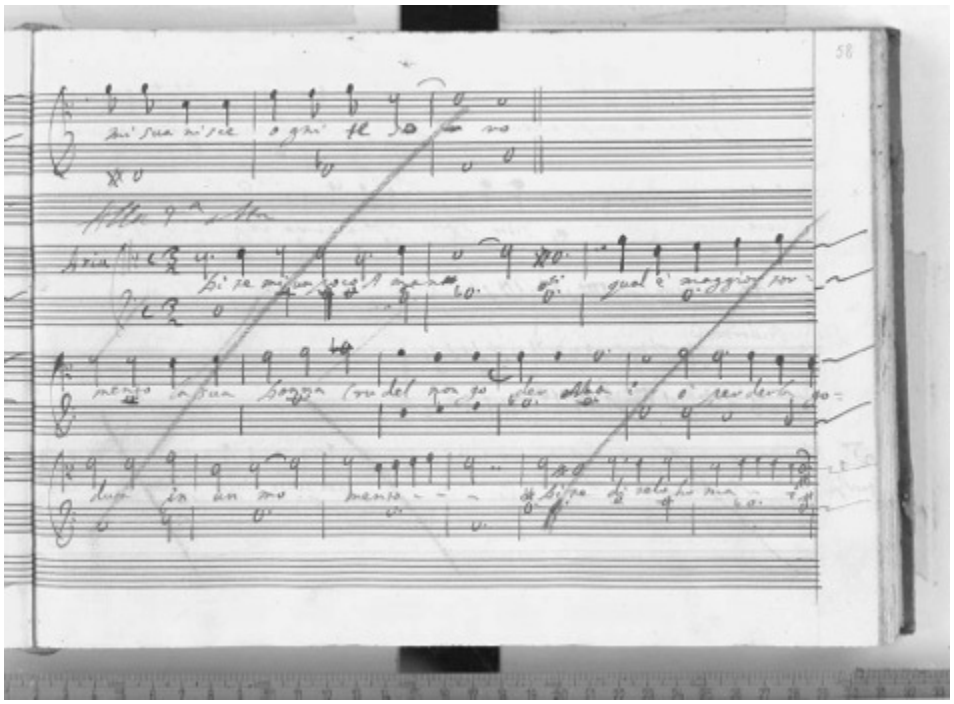
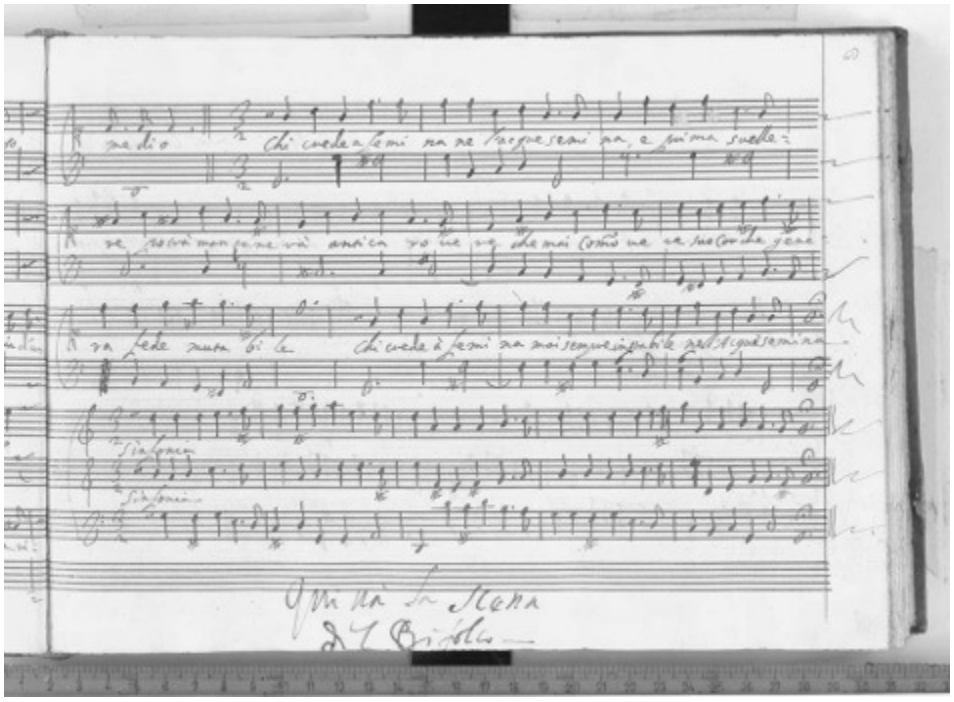


Example 3.7: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 353 (=09877), f. 43r.

The first set of Act 2 represents "Le cime del monte Liceo," or "The Peak of Mount Liceo," where Faustini sets the encounter between the goddess Diana and the shepherd Endimione. The other primary location of Act 2 is "La pianura dell'Erimanto," or "The plain of Erimanto." Continuing the concept of separation in the drama between gods of the heavens and mortals/semi-mortals of the pastoral world, Faustini builds an act that moves from a set that emphasizes the peaks of mountains in the sky (an ideal dramatic representation of the space in which Diana descends in her chariot to meet Endimione) to the open expanse of fields that returns the drama to the domain of the mortal characters. While Act I moves from an arid environment (where Calisto yearns to find a source of water) to its opposite

in the setting of a lush forest, the scenic flow in Act 2 is one from proximity to the sky down to the earth.

Several adjustments were made in the flow of the dramaturgy leading up to the transition between these two sets, and once again it suggests that Faustini and Cavalli made these changes for the staging. The first indication of significant alteration comes near the end of the Endimione/Diana duet, “Mio sole / Cor mio / Addio (My sun / My heart / Farewell).” In the libretto and score, this is followed by a solo scene and aria for Endimione, “Disparita crudele.” As seen with the solo material for Satirino near the end of Act I, this entire passage on ff. 57v-59r has been struck out with red crayon indicating that it was cut from the performance (Examples 3.8-3.9). This scene might have been necessary to allow for the transition between the set for the Peaks of Mount Lycaeus and that for the Plain of the Erymanthus were it not for further changes at the same dramatic juncture. Rather than keeping the action focused on Endimione, Cavalli and Faustini ultimately decided to move more quickly to the comic subplot. Without Endimione's solo scene, the action moves directly to Satirino's solo scene and aria, "Chi crede a femina," after which the score indicates on f. 60r that the first of the two new comic scenes was inserted (Example 3.10). This "Scena del Bifolco d'Ermione [sic]," or "Scene of the Plowman [of Endimione]" is a comic exchange between the added Bifolco character and Diana's comic servant Linfea. Both Satirino's aria and the Bifolco scene could be played far downstage and addressed directly to the audience, allowing the time necessary for the transformation of the scenery upstage.

The decision to cut the material of Act 2, Scene 3 for Endimione was probably made late in the production process, for there are indications of transpositions to Endimione's part, which suggests that this material had been rehearsed or performed at some point. However, after the decision to add the broadly comic Bifolco scene, the material for Endimione no longer needed to provide the opportunity for scenic transition. It is possible that Endimione's scene was cut before the Bifolco scene was even conceived, perhaps because the singer who replaced Ceretti was not as strong. The addition of the comic scene would have been an attempt to cover up this casting deficiency in one of the principal roles. Thus, in working out the final version of an important juncture between scenes, the creators found an occasion to increase the amount of comedy, reduce the role of Endimione (reduce the mythological plot), and still achieve the scenic transformation from the top of Mount Liceo to the Plain of Erimanto that was required by the libretto structure. As in Act I, this transition was woven into the action across several scenes, allowing it to continue without interruption.

Example 3.8: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 353 (=09877), f. 57v.

Example 3.9: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 353 (=09877), f. 58r.

Example 3.10: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 353 (=09877), f. 60r.

The musical setting of the following scenes that played in front of the backdrop of the Plain of Erimanto contain evidence of how the scenery may have been used to achieve the dramatic actions described. After the descent of Juno in a rage of jealously (for which Cavalli provided *sinfonie* between the strophes of her entrance aria, "Da le gelose mie cure incessanti [By my incessant jealous woes]," to heighten her entrance from above on her chariot) to confront the nymph Calisto about the affair with Giove, the god himself appears, once again disguised as Diana, and accompanied by Mercurio, his page. After Giunone departs, Giove and Mercurio deliver a duet *ad spectatores*, or directly to the audience by stepping downstage. Once again, this moment suggests a comic mode of delivery, and the text indicates

that it was addressed to the spectators as a comic aphorism about jealous husbands and wives:

> È spedito
> quel marito
> che regolar le voglie
> si lascia de la moglie[50]

Giove continues to sing in the soprano register of Giove-in-Diana, even though neither Giunone nor Calisto is on stage, for which he would need to keep up his disguise. This fact suggests that it was the soprano playing Diana who took the role of Giove-in-Diana. If Giove is performed by a falsettist like Donati, however, capable of singing this upper range, the decision to remain in the upper register may have been made to extend the grotesque comedy of this moment of a god disguised as a goddess now theorizing with his comic servant about husbands and wives. For the dramaturgical flow of this transition, the characters step out of the action and address the audience, which may have given another opportunity for scenic adjustment upstage.

Even though the libretto does not indicate a new location, Cavalli inserted a *sinfonia* at the bottom of f. 74v, directly at the end of this comic duet and before the entrance of Endimione for Act 2, Scene 10 (Example 3.11). For a regular entrance, the instrumental music would not have been necessary, but it would seem that Endimione was revealed in a different part of the set, which also makes sense of why Giove-in-Diana and Mercurio stepped out of the action, as was common practice

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[50] "The husband / is lost / who lets himself be ruled / by his wife." English translation in Torrente and Badolato (2012), LI.

when scenery shifted upstage. Endimione's aria "Cor mio, che vuoi tu? [My heart, what do you wish?]" is in an entirely different sound world from the brash comic duet of Giove-in-Diana and Mercurio. For Endimione's aria, Cavalli has written out violin parts that are employed to cast a halo of beauty around the character, appropriate to his legendary appearance. For the remainder of Act 2, Scene 10, Giove-in-Diana and Mercurio remain apart from Endimione; the action requires two separate spaces, for the gods to interact in their comic mode of asides while Endimione inhabits the lush world of longing that is associated with his character and his love for Diana. This moment epitomizes the combination of narrative threads from the grotesque to the sublime that Faustini and Cavalli were uniting in the opera. By using separate stage space they were able to weave action of the plots of both central pairs of lovers into the same moment while clearly maintaining both musical and spatial distance between comic and serious modes. The entrance of Endimione may have involved an adjustment to the upstage portion of the scenery, for example by transforming it to perform with *lontani*, after a relatively shallow scene in the same set without them.[51]

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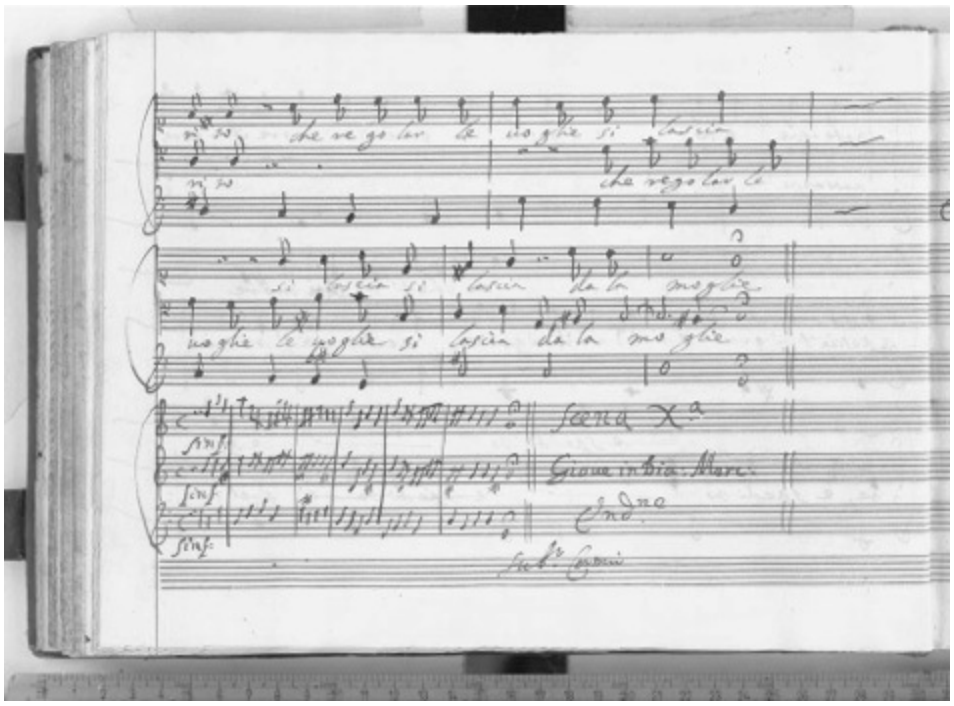
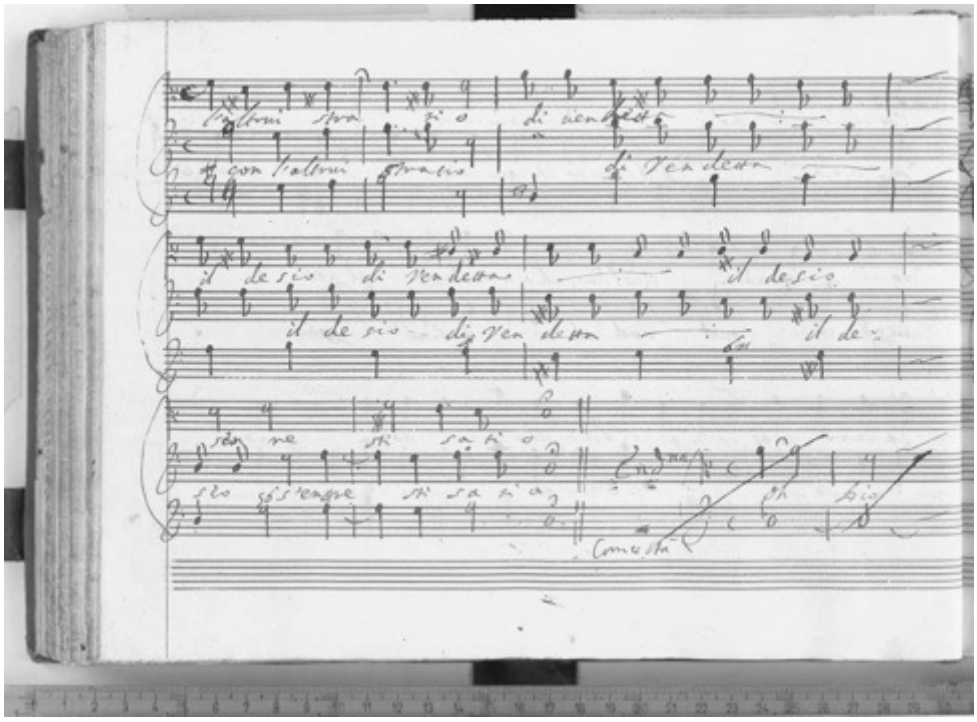
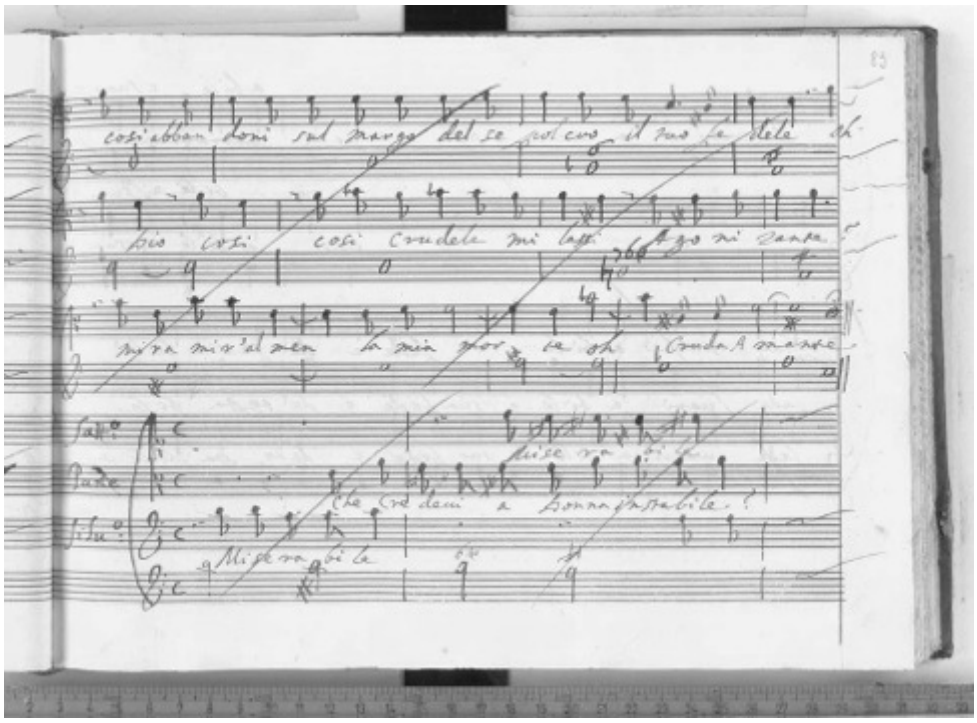
[51] In the commission for the scenery to be painted by Guglielmi, the scenery for Act II, Scenes 5–14 (The plain of the River Erymanthus) was indicated as "without backdrop," which means that a deep space could be employed, also known as a *scena lungha*. On Torelli's use of *lontani* operated by stagehands to create the depth of the *scena lungha*, see Glixon and Glixon (2006), 237–38. For the list of materials constructed by Anastasio and Guglielmi for this scene, see Table 3 in Torrente and Badolato (2012), XXIV.

Example 3.11: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 353 (=09877), f. 74v.

The merging of comic and semi-tragic modes is achieved in the next scene, Act 2, Scene 12, in which Endimione confronts the three characters of the satyr subplot, Pane, Silvano, and Satirino. They counsel the young lover with a concluding trio, "Pazzi quei ch'in Amor credono [Those who believe in Love are mad]," which is addressed to Endimione. A cut in the manuscript from ff. 82v-84r is indicated in the same ink as the manuscript copy (Example. 3.12-3.13). The cuts described above and marked into the manuscript in red crayon appear to be a later layer of changes that have direct impact on the staging of the opera, while this simple—probably earlier— internal cut, which has no influence on the changing of scenery, appears to have been made to tighten the dramatic pacing within the scene by removing repeated material. Once again, the act ends with solo material for the comic

characters Satirino and Linfea that leads into the Act II concluding *ballo*, for nymphs and satyrs.



Example 3.12: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 353 (=09877), f. 82v.

Example 3.13: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 353 (=09877), f. 83r.

The final act of *La Calisto* contains several of the most important metamorphoses in the opera, when the heroine is changed first into a bear and ultimately into a constellation of stars in the firmament. The manuscript score contains evidence of the importance of stagecraft in the presentation of both of these key moments in the drama. This act was also conceived with several elements of scenery and machinery that were out of the ordinary and were intended to heighten the role of technological spectacle appropriate to the outcome of the narrative. First, according to the account book of Marco Faustini,[52] for the scenery for the first five scenes of the act that are set at the Springs of the River Ladon, Guglielmi was asked to paint an open backdrop (*prospetto forato*) with a second

[52] ASV, SGSM, b. 112.

backdrop in relief to depict the central fountain of the scene.[53] This was the only double backdrop called for in the opera, an appropriate location for Calisto's opening solo scene and aria. The recitative concludes:

> E formaremo melodie soave
> qui dove con più voci Eco risponde,
> uniti il suon de' baci al suon de l'onde.[54]

Glixon and Glixon claim that the representation of the fountain was realistic, in that an actual fountain was commissioned rather than a second painted backdrop.[55] In this way, stage technology is being utilized to give greater specificity to the locale of the action and greater variety to the visual landscape.

Within the staging of the scene at the fountain, the manuscript score indicates important vocal adjustments that were required in the presentation of the Furies who accompany Giunone's display of jealousy in Act III, scene 2. This moment in the opera is another instance when complications caused by the death of the *primo uomo*, the castrato Bonifazio Ceretti, had immediate repercussions throughout the casting of the entire ensemble. On ff. 95v-96v, Cavalli had originally composed a duo for the two soprano members of the cast originally slated to perform the roles. These systems of music are crossed out in ink and in the bottom

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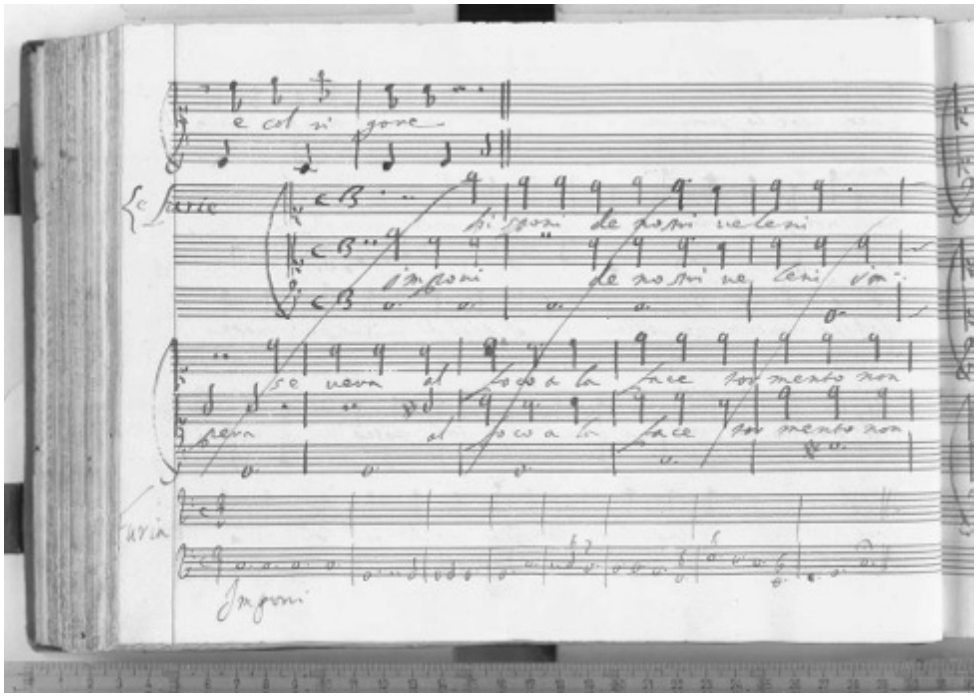
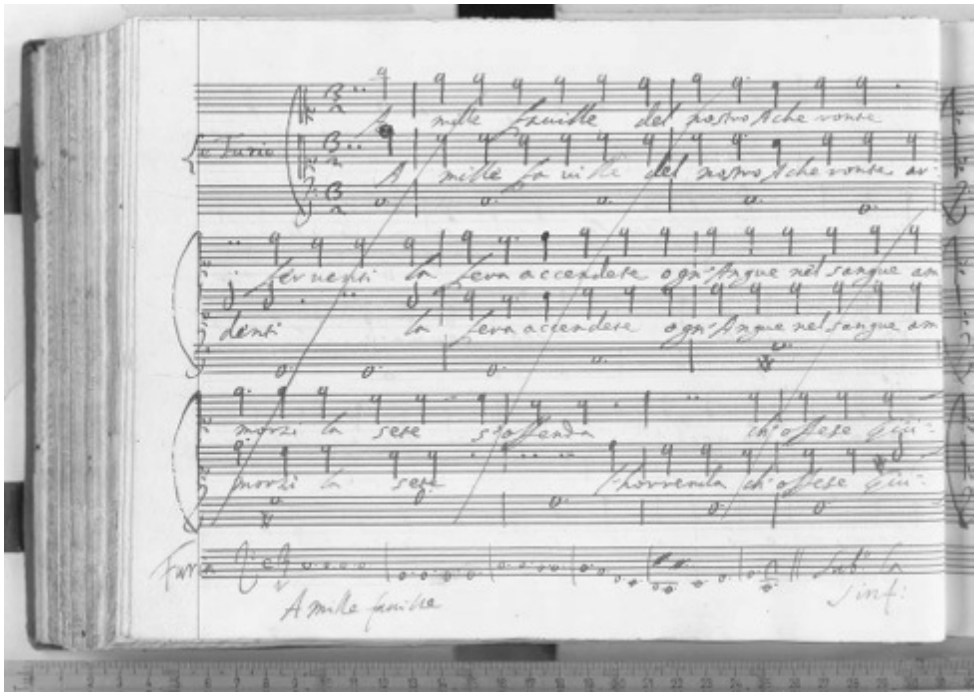
[53] See Torrente and Badolato (2012), XXIV and Glixon and Glixon (2006), 265.

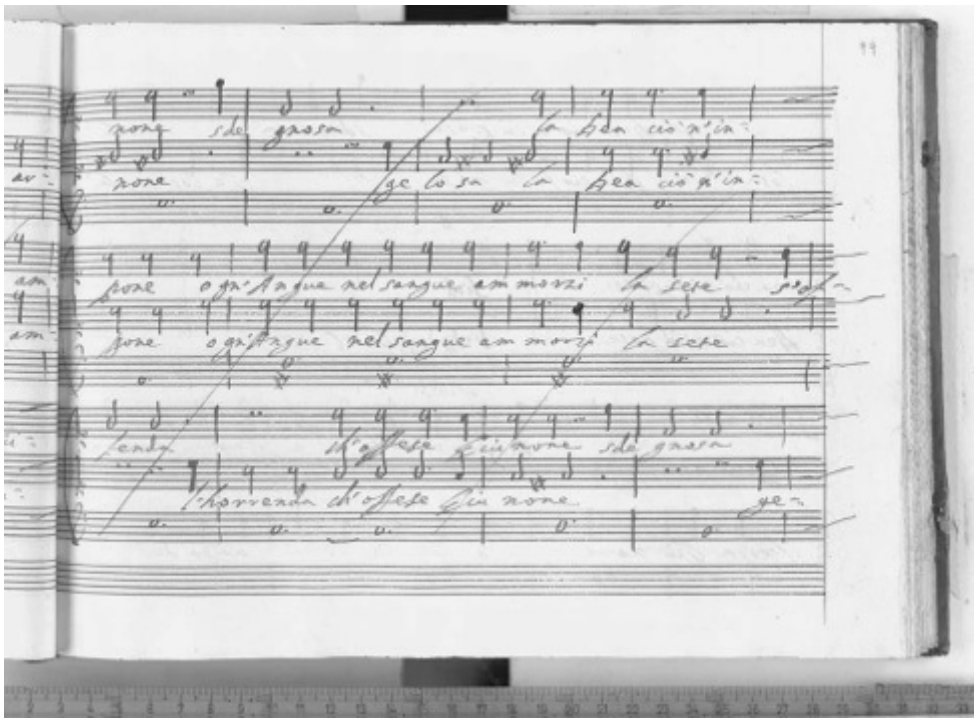
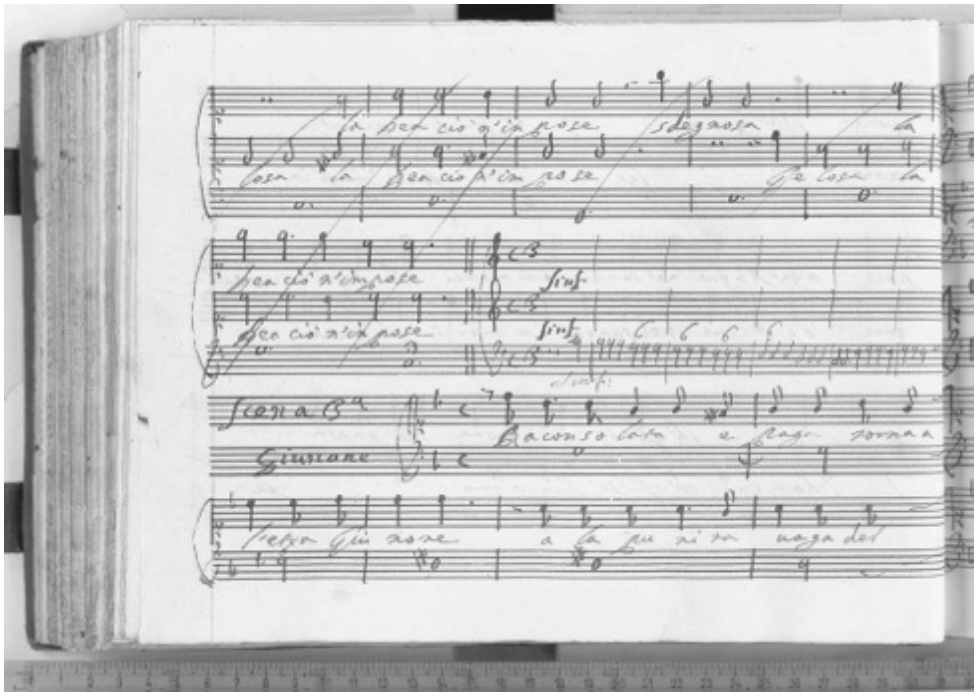
[54] "And our dulcet songs, / amplified by Echo, / shall mingle with the murmurs of the water." English translation in Torrente and Badolato (2012), LV.

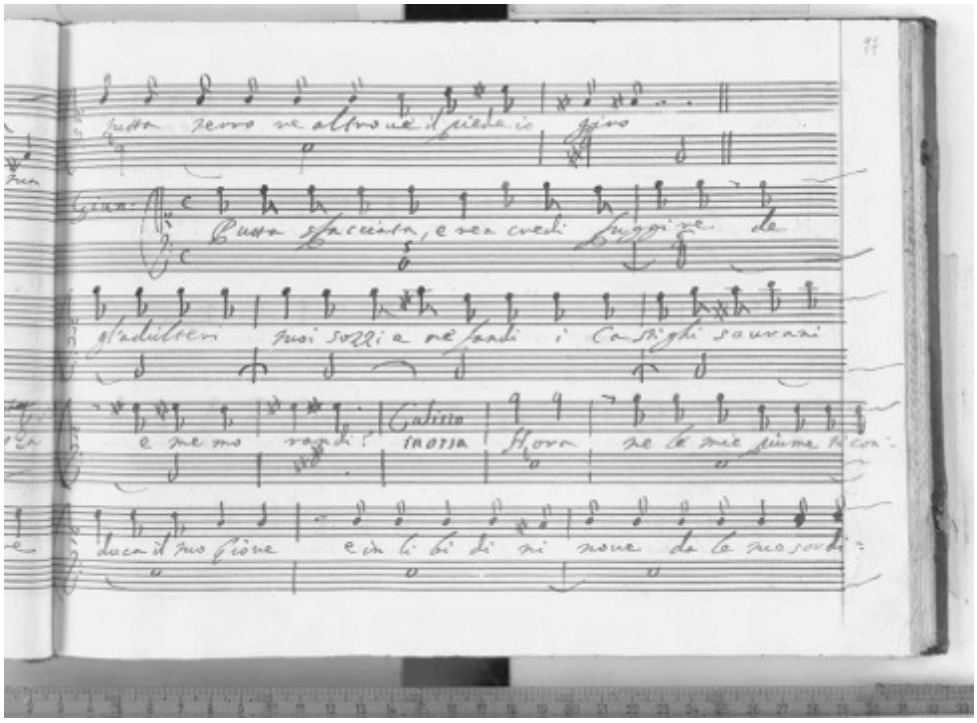
[55] Glixon and Glixon (2006), 265.

staves of f. 95v, the incipit of the text, “Imponi (Command)” is written alongside the bass line and a blank vocal staff in bass clef, simply labeled Furia (Example 3.14).

Example 3.14: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 353 (=09877), f. 95v.

Later in the same scene, on ff. 98v-99v, a similar transformation to the material in the score has occurred, where the music of the Furies is crossed out and a single staff containing the bass line without a vocal part for the new Furia has been added at the bottom of f. 98v, with the beginning of the text “A mille faville [With a thousand sparks]” in the lower margin (Examples 3.15-3.17). The reason behind these vocal reductions must have been the limited number of high voices available in the company after the loss of Ceretti. If a soprano originally assigned to play one of the Furies was reassigned to the part of Endimione (who would appear later in the same set during Act III, Scene 5), Cavalli might have opted to rework the music to feature a solo bass Fury. Torrente suggests that the same bass that played the

relatively small role of Silvano could have taken up this role as well.[56] Perhaps the opportunity presented by the necessity for recasting the part was the chance to assign the music to a lower voice range that would be entirely appropriate to a Fury from the Underworld.

Example 3.15: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 353 (=09877), f. 98v.

[56] For Torrente's complete reconstruction of the cast and the changes caused by the death of Ceretti, see Torrente and Badolato (2012), XIX–XXII.

Example 3.16: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 353 (=09877), f. 99r.

Example 3.17: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 353 (=09877), f. 99v.

The confrontation of Giunone, the solo Fury (recast from the original duo), and Calisto beside the fountain leads to the first of the two dramatic transformations of the heroine, when she assumes the form of a bear. It is unclear from the sources exactly how this magical transformation was achieved, although both Brown and Torrente in their critical editions suggest that a trap in the stage floor may have been employed.[57] The moment of metamorphosis is described by a rubric in the center of f. 97r, which reads simply "Calisto in orsa" (Example 3.18).

Example 3.18: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 353 (=09877), f. 97r.

This indication is folded into the musical score, in a space between two measures of music in the fourth system. This suggests an interruption of the musical flow for the singer playing Calisto either to have been replaced by a supernumerary

[57] See Torrente and Badolato (2012), XXV and Brown, "Introduction," xxxi.

in a bear costume (perhaps a second use of one of the bear costumes from the *ballo* at the end of the first act), or for a costume change for Caterina Giani, the soprano playing Calisto.[58] The transformation of Calisto into a bear is also a moment of vocally silencing the character, meaning that a dancer or extra could easily have appeared in the bear costume. The *sinfonia* added in the available space of the manuscript at the end of the scene with the Fury on f. 99v provides ample opportunity for Calisto-as-bear to be taken off the stage before the extended solo scene and aria for Giunone, Scene 3. Eventually, after the second inserted comic scene for the Bifolco, Calisto is restored to her human appearance, which is also a moment of vocal restoration, for in this moment she regains her voice as well as her physical self.

The placement of the added *Scena del bifolco*, Act III, Scene 3 bis, has been indicated in the manuscript with a rubric in the space between Scenes 3 and 4 on f. 102v (Example 3.19). This broadly comic scene features the ploughman searching for a glass of wine to slake his thirst and has been folded into the center of the scene featuring the scenery of the fountain. Other comic additions, like the first Bifolco scene and the added comic exchanges in revivals of *L'Eritrea* that will be described in the next chapter,[59] tended to be placed at the end of scenic segments of operas, in order to entertain the audience during scene transitions. The unique structure of the last act of *La Calisto*, with only one fully realized set for *Le fonti di Ladone* and a final

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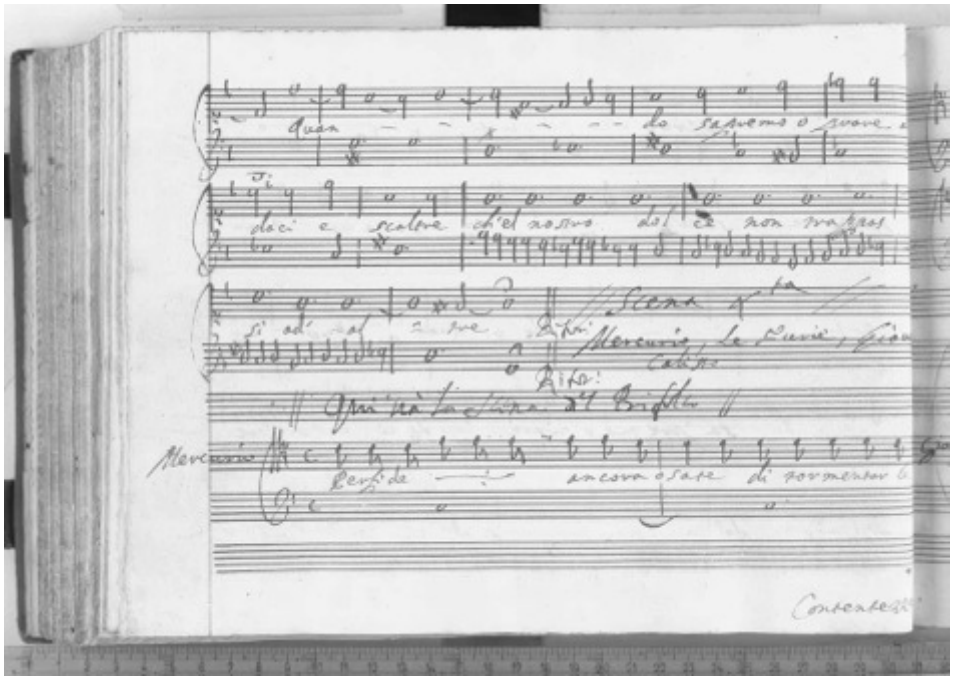
[58] See Torrente and Badolato (2012), XX.

[59] See Chapter 4, "*L'Eritrea* 1652, 1654, 1661" for a comparison of three versions of the opera.

scene that was essentially a visual coda in terms of the scenography (featuring no backdrops and only machinery by Anastasio for the ascent to the Empyrean)[60] provided an occasion for the interpolation of this scene within the action in this way. It may also have been added at this time to dramatically heighten the impact of Calisto's transformation and silencing in the form of a bear.



Example 3.19: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 353 (=09877), f. 102v.

Furthermore, Faustini and Cavalli may have realized the unique comic potential of turning a fountain (which had represented the mirror for Calisto at the beginning of the act) into a source of humor for the thirsty ploughman. The addition of this comic scene, in fact, may have influenced the choice to invest in a real

[60] Both Torrente and Badolato and Glixon and Glixon indicate that no scenery was commissioned from Gugliemi for the final location and that the carpenter Anastasio provided all of the machinery for this moment. See Torrente and Badolato (2012), XXIV and Glixon and Glixon (2006), 265.

fountain with actual water. The Bifolco's aria in this scene builds to a final moment when he believes that he is going to enjoy a tasty drink of wine from the fountain. He joyously calls out: "Entra, entra: ti ricevo. / Fiasco mio, gorgoglia, io bevo."[61] Unfortunately, the music for this scene is lost, but it is possible that in the staging, the "bottaccio (wicked barrel)" that the Bifolco spies and hopes may be full of wine was in fact the central fountain of the scenery. After taking a drink from his newly filled flask, his hopes are dashed when he confirms that it contains nothing but clear water:

> Qual insipido è questo? / Io sono assassinato, / son morto avelenato. / Ah meschinaccio me: / acqua, acqua quest'è.[62]

The addition of the comic scene directly into the middle of a scene was rare (it has been shown that usually comic inserts occurred when scenery was being changed in the background), and the capacity for real water on stage was also out of the ordinary for stage production, making it possible that the two adjustments were related and that Faustini found a clever way to reuse a costly set element for a short bit of inserted comedy that emphasized the novelty of the effect.

In the next scene, Giove restores Calisto to her human form (she acknowledges both the physical and the vocal transformations when she sings

> O re de l'universo / ricreata mi sento / al tuo divino accento. / Degl'aspidi nocenti, / più le rabbie non provo, / de le facelle ardenti / mi s'ha l'incendio

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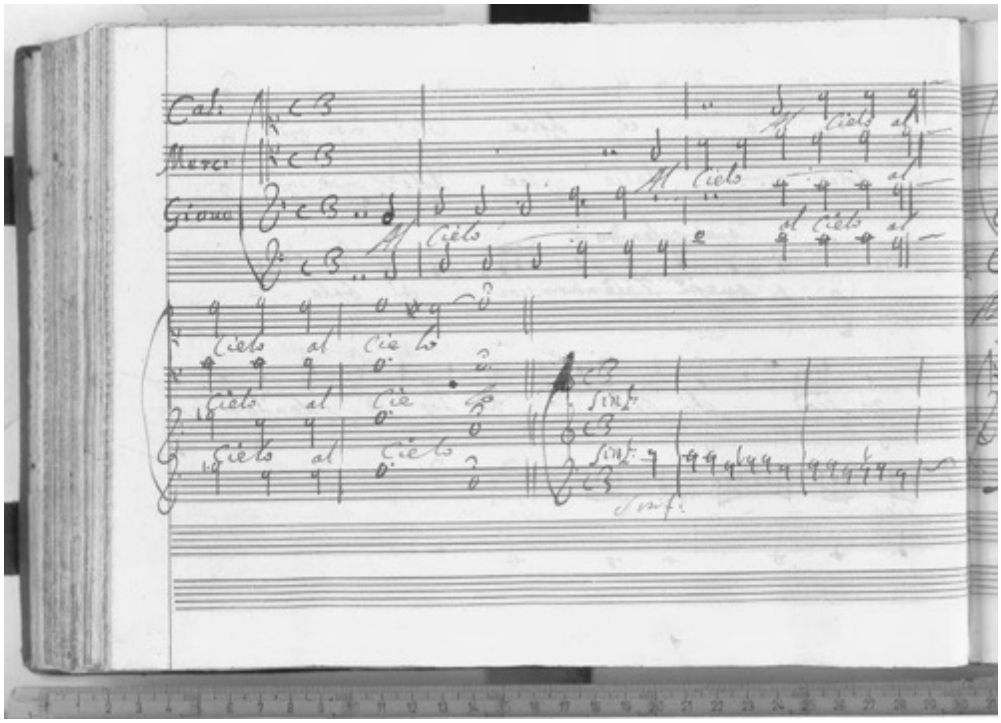
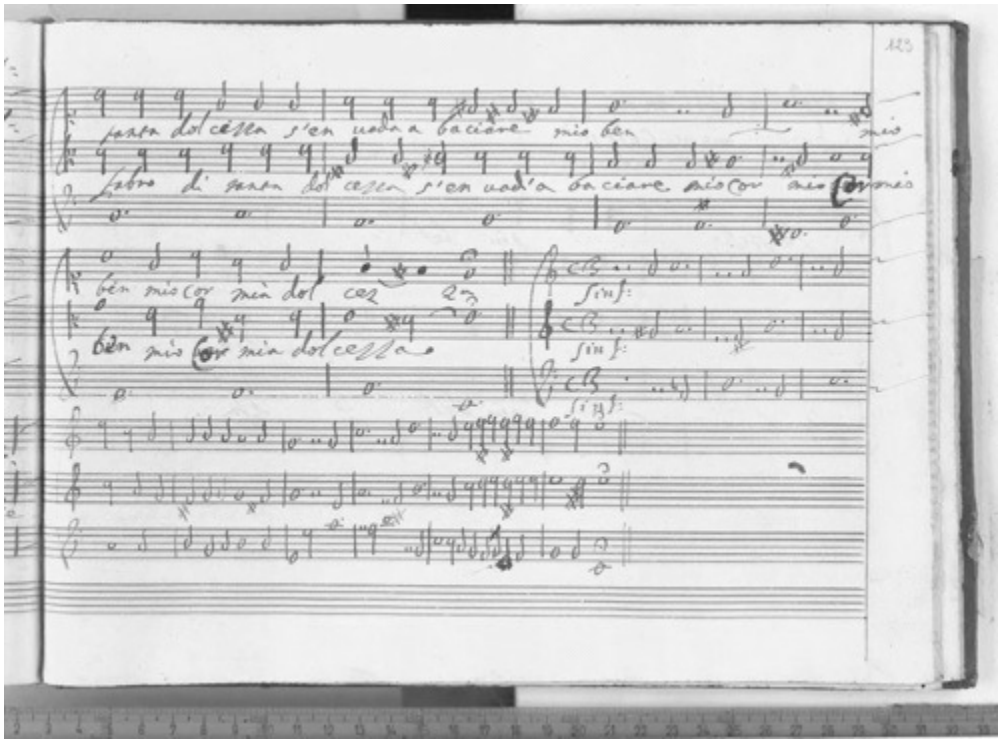
[61] "Come in, come in: I welcome you. / Gurgle, my flask: I drink." English translation in Torrente and Badolato (2012), LVII.

[62] "What is this tastless thing? / I am murdered, / I am dead, poisoned. / Ah pitiable me: / water, this is water." English translation in Torrente and Badolato (2012), LVII.

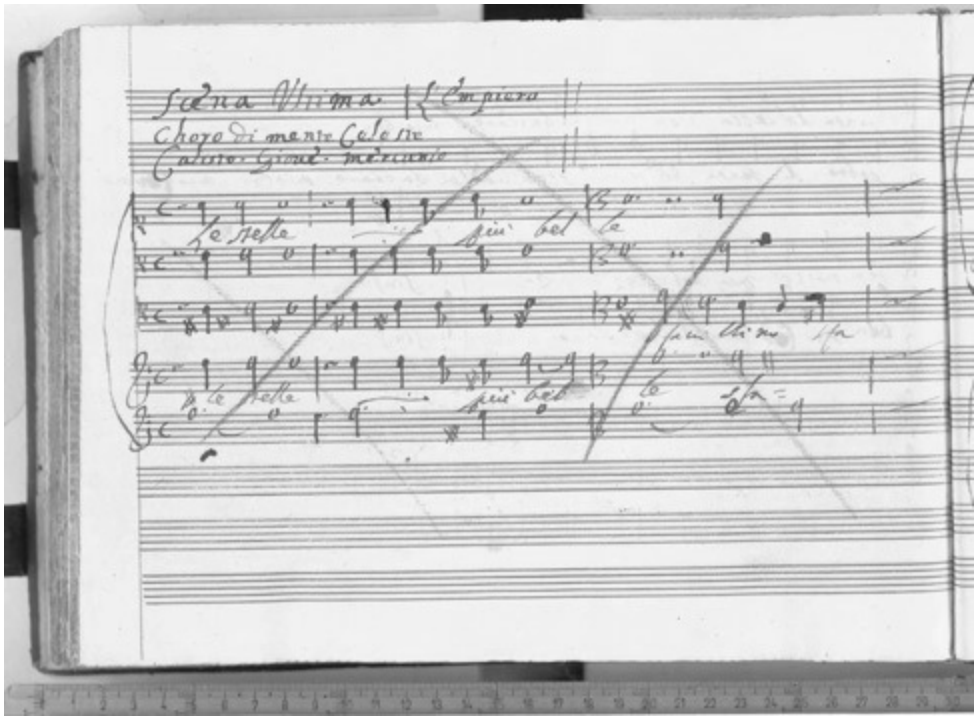
> estinto: io mi rinovo / formo voci e parole / riumanata e miro / ne la prima figura il cielo, il Sole.[63]

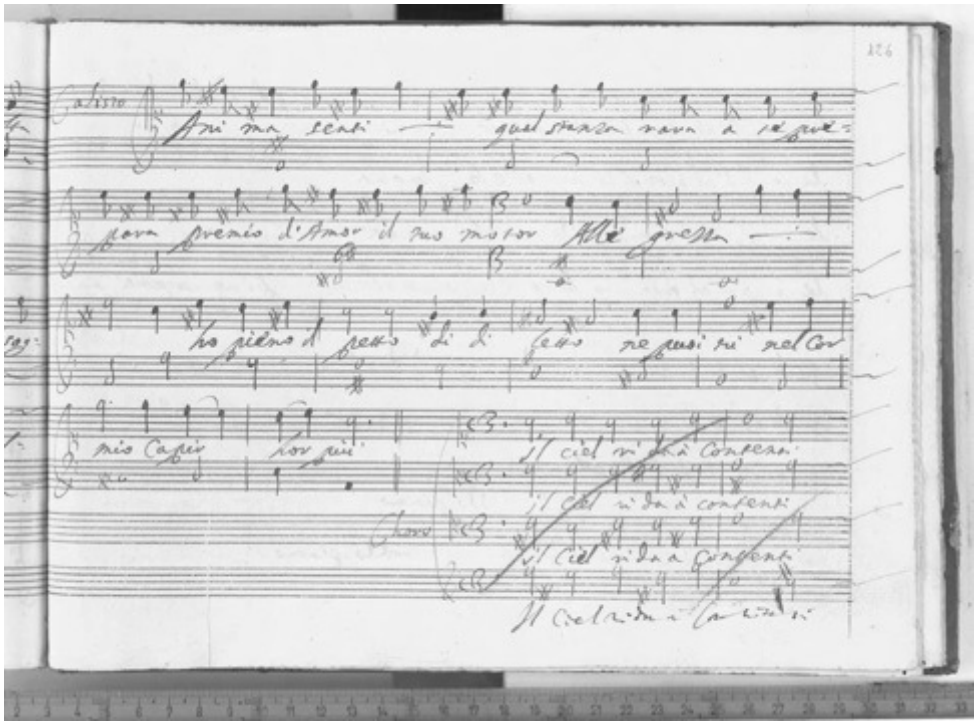
This sequence concludes with a trio for Calisto, Mercurio, and Giove, marked on both f. 108v and f. 109r "Un tuon più basso." In terms of the scenography, this trio builds to a conclusion in a climactic setting of "Al cielo" rising from the lowest voice (Giove) to the highest (Calisto) on f. 110v, which is followed by a *sinfonia* to cap Calisto's moment of departure from earth to the heavens (Example 3.20). This moment allows time for the mechanized exit of these three characters, perhaps through the use of Anastasio's machinery. This *sinfonia* provides an opportunity for departure toward the skies as indicated in the text. After the resolution of the Diana/Endimione plot in their duet "Dolcissimi baci" (Sweetest kisses), once again the manuscript includes a *sinfonia* on f. 123r, for the final transformation of the stage to the arrival in the Empyrean for the *scena ultima* (Example 3.21).

[63] "Oh king of the universe, / at your divine words / I feel myself revive. / I no longer feel the furies / of the baleful serpents, / the burning flames / have been extinguished; I live again, / I speak, / I have again taken on my human form, and I / behold / before me the Heavens and the Sun." English translation in Torrente and Badolato (2012), LVII.

Example 3.20: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 353 (=09877), f. 110v.



Example 3.21: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 353 (=09877), f. 123r.

The beginning and ending of the *scena ultima* were modified from their original conception. Cavalli composed music for the Coro di Menti Celesti on ff. 123v-124v, but all of this has been crossed out in red crayon and the scene begins instead with Calisto's first line following immediately after the transitional *sinfonia* (Example 3.22). The central chorus "Il ciel rida (The Heavens smile)" has also been crossed out on ff. 126r-127r (Example 3.23). Ultimately, Cavalli never composed the final chorus indicated in the printed libretto, "Va', Va', beata," opting instead to conclude the opera with the love duet/trio for Calisto and Giove (with added interjections from Mercurio). The reworking of the entire scene to function without a chorus was perhaps due to the fact that the company had to recast the principal roles after the death of Ceretti, leaving fewer soloists available to double in chorus roles. More likely, the machinery of the final scene with its unusual lack of painted scenery may not have given visual opportunity for the presence of a chorus on stage.

Example 3.22: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 353 (=09877), f. 123v.



Example 3.23: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 353 (=09877), f. 126r.

VI. Conclusion

The elevation of Calisto to the Empyrean in the last scene represents the culmination of an opera that takes the concept of stage metamorphosis as its central theme. The changes in costume and scenery in the opera were worked out by Cavalli and Faustini in rehearsal and they often found solutions to overlap action between scenery called for in the libretto by using backdrops both with and without *lontani*, or by the performance of an aria or comic scene *ad spectatores* between sets or during a required costume change or mechanical effect. These features of the musico-dramatic fabric record how the overall illusion of dramatic transformation was preserved on stage. The rehearsal period required other sorts of unanticipated transformations as well, such as when the role of Endimione had to be transposed into the soprano range for a replacement cast member, or when cuts had to be made to several of the larger ensembles.

The opera was not successful in its only run in the seventeenth century, according to the record of performances and ticket sales.[64] Later in the same season, *L'Eritrea* would fare much better. However, *La Calisto* has enjoyed lasting appeal among Baroque operas revived in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The unifying concept of metamorphosis and the frequent use of elaborate machinery to represent the ascension of mortal characters to divinity—in addition to the mythological characters so familiar from ancient literature, clever libretto, and

[64] See Glixon and Glixon (2006), 353–57.

extraordinary music—have made the opera one of the most popular of all of Cavalli's operas today. The legacy of Torelli's celebrated contributions to stage technology (which were reproduced over a century later in Diderot's *Encyclopédie* under the heading "Machines du Théâtre" in 1772)[65] are employed in the opera not merely as a decorative element but are integral to the realization of the musical narrative. Ultimately, the opera's celebration of the capacity of music and stage technology to depict transformations continues to make *La Calisto* fascinating to audiences of the Baroque revival.

[65] See Aronson and Roy (1995), 1116.

CHAPTER FOUR

L'Eritrea 1652, 1654, 1661: Comparative Dramaturgy of Cavalli in Performance[1]

I. The Genesis and Reception of *L'Eritrea* in Venice

In the preface to the 1661 libretto for the Venetian revival of Cavalli and Faustini's final collaboration, *L'Eritrea*, the dedication begins:

> Here, in spite of time (and she has the glory of defeating it), Eritrea once again sees the light of day. The merit of him who wrote it served as a shield to protect it from the blows of oblivion. Time may have triumphed over the life of the author, but it labored in vain to eclipse the name of one who is restored to life.[2]

Originally presented as the second opera of the second season of Faustini and Cavalli's operatic activity at the Teatro Sant'Apollinare (1652), *L'Eritrea* was also performed in the initial season of operation at the newly opened Teatro San Salvatore (1661).[3] Venetian revivals were relatively uncommon in the seventeenth century; audiences were rather accustomed to new works during the theatrical

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[1] An earlier version of this research was presented at the 2012 annual conference of the Society for Seventeenth-Century Music hosted at the Department of Musical Instruments of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, New York on April 19–22, 2012.

[2] "Ecco, che ad onta del tempo (e pur ha per gloria di strugerlo) di nuovo si fa vedere alla luce l'Eritrea. La virtù di chi la compose servì di scudo per riparo ai colpi dell'oblivione. Puote ben il tempo trionfar della vita dell'Auttore: ma in vano s'affaticò d'ecclissar il nome d'un che tuattavia risorge al mondo." Libretto published by Giacomo Batti in 1661, on the occasion of the Venetian revival. See two examples at Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, DRAMM.927.1 and DRAMM.928.2. English translation of the preface published in Ellen Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 190–91.

[3] The Teatro San Salvatore (also known as Teatro San Luca and Teatro Vendramin) presented its first opera in 1661, *Pasife*. The inaugural production was a failure, but the revival of *L'Eritrea* was more successful. See Rosand (1991), 185.

season each year.[4] The case of *L'Eritrea* is the only Cavalli-Faustini collaboration that was revived in another theater in Venice in the seventeenth century. Accordingly, the opera offers the rare chance to compare two substantially different versions of the same work as performed on different stages in the Serenissima. However, the path to the Venetian revival of *L'Eritrea* was not direct, for before its return to the Venetian stage, it was also performed outside the lagoon (in a revival documented in Bologna in 1654),[5] and a close analysis of the three extant versions of the opera yields important insight on the ways that a Cavalli-Faustini collaboration could be transformed over the course of several stage productions in different venues. By closely comparing the dramaturgical structure of these three productions, we gain a fuller perspective on the work and the types of changes made to the performance of the opera over the course of a decade.

The 1661 libretto preface publically acknowledges that significant changes had been made to the text of the opera for the revival. The title page indicates that there are "nuove aggiunte d'incerto autore [new additions by an unknown author],"[6]

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[4] Of all of Cavalli's operas, only three were revived in Venice in the seventeenth century: *Eritrea* (1661), *Giasone* (1666), and *Erismena* (1670). For a complete list of revivals of operas previously performed in Venice, see Table 6.2 in Beth L. Glixon and Jonathan E. Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera: The Impresario and His World in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 170.

[5] The Bologna production is documented by a printed libretto, "Dedicata all'eminentiss[imo] & reverendiss[imo] sig[nor] Card[inale] Gio[vanni] Girolamo Lomellini legato dignissimo di Bologna, in Bologna: presso gli h[eredi] del Dozza, 1654." A copy is preserved in Venice in the collection of the Fondazaione Giorgio Cini, ROLANDI ROL.0210.09.

[6] Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, DRAMM.927.1.

and the dedication further elaborates on the kinds of alterations that the audience could expect to encounter in the revival:

> But because a thousand things have been added and deleted, it was proper to reprint it first in the same form in which it was performed, with great splendor, in this city, and in the form in which the author created it; and afterwards you will have, in the same libretto, the version being performed now, it having pleased the one who was responsible for it to do it this way, in order to satisfy his most kind masters, to whom he feels greatly indebted; so that the original author will not be deprived of his credit, and those who are presenting it now will be satisfied.[7]

The author of the dedication (the printer Giacomo Batti) is careful to acknowledge the distinction between the work in its original form and the new version for San Salvatore in 1661. In order to appease both those readers interested in the original text and those audience members interested in the revival performance text, the printer's solution was to distribute both versions in the same booklet. Although some of these changes may have been introduced to modify the opera for the circumstances of the San Salvatore, the new venue alone cannot account for all of the alterations, as will be shown in this comparative analysis of the three versions of 1652, 1654, and 1661.

Over the course of the 1640s and 1650s, composers and librettists in Venice became adept at utilizing conventional musico-dramatic structures in ways that would increase the efficiency of the process of stage production. As a result, the

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[7] "Ma perché vi sono state aggionte, et levate mille cose sì è stato proprio il ristamparla prima nella forma stessa, che fu già con molto splendore rapprentata in questa città, & nella guisa appunto, che dall'Auttore fu fabricata; poi seguente havrai nel medesimo libretto quella, che al presente si recita; essendone così compiaciuto, chi n'era padrone per incontrare nelle sodissfationi de suoi amorevolissimi padroni a quali si tiene molto obligato, onde così no rimarà deffraudato il merito di chi la compose, & rimarano consolati quelli che al presente la fanno rappresentare." English translation published in Rosand (1991), 190–91.

distinction between revival and new work is sometimes difficult to distinguish in some operas created during this period. Many new works were modeled upon the dramaturgical structure of previously successful operas, but in these cases, the creators took steps to conceal the source or introduce new elements in order to update the work. Ellen Rosand has written about the relationship between Aurelio Aureli's libretto for *Erismena* (1655) and its model, Faustini's *Ormindo* (1644).[8] Other operas represented *rifacimenti* of existing works or even other composers' works, as was the case with the Venetian production of *Il Ciro* (1653), which involved musical modifications by Cavalli to a score by Francesco Provenzale that had been performed in Naples.[9] Already in the case of the original production of *L'Eritrea*, the libretto preface mentions a scene that was cut in production, ostensibly because it had been seen previously:

> The scene of the elephants, which your Lordship will note is mentioned in many parts of the opera; and which was an invention of the poet, is left aside, it not being suitable to the decorum of a queen to wear clothing that was destined for her but previously worn by others.[10]

The authors were concerned that if they merely presented a work in its original

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[8] Ellen Rosand, "'Ormindo travestito' in 'Erismena,'" *The Journal of the American Muiscological Society* 28 (1975): 268–91.

[9] See Rosand (1991), 157. The relationship between opera in Naples (where *Ciro* had its premiere) and Venice is described in Chapter 2, "Magic and Theatrical Illusion in the Staging of *La Rosinda*, 1651 and 1653." The Neapolitan production of *La Rosinda* was also performed in the 1653 season.

[10] "La Scena degli Elefanti, ch'in molte parti dell'opera osserverà V.S. Illustriss[ima] chiamata; e che fu inventione del Poeta, si lascia da parte, non convenendo al decoro di Regina vestir un'habito, che destinato per lei habbia prima servitor ad'altri." DRAMM.927.1,6. This may merely have been an excuse for cutting a scene from the libretto that was too difficult to stage.

form, or modeled an opera too closely on a well-known predecessor they would not achieve success with a public interested in novelty. Whether as a *pasticcio*, *rifacimento*, or a fully acknowledged revival, by the middle of the seventeenth century, it was common theatrical practice to update works to new performance circumstances.

However, the case of *Eritrea* is further complicated by intervening performances (in Bologna in 1654), which started the process of dramaturgical modification well before the Venetian revival.[11] A comparison of the three libretti for these performances (Venice 1652, Bologna 1654, and Venice 1661) shows that many of the changes first introduced in Bologna in 1654 were maintained or further altered for the Venetian staging. What emerges through the comparison of these performing versions is a dynamic view of an opera in the process of rehearsal and performance, illustrating the types of changes that Cavalli and his contemporaries made when mounting an opera production. The evidence in the libretti provides a view of three separate moments in what can be understood as a continually evolving performance text. The extent of the alterations indicates a theatrical culture in which the exigencies of stage presentation exerted a steady pressure on musico-dramatic structure, and accordingly the work itself gradually changed over the course of successive stage iterations.

The methodology of this study is built upon a dramaturgical analysis of the structure of the three different libretti and a comparative reading of these texts for

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[11] The 1654 libretto, ROLANDI ROL.0210.09, is the only source for this revival. However, the common aspects of the 1654 and 1661 versions suggest that some performance materials (perhaps including a score) were common to these two productions and are now lost.

the ways in which they capture aspects of stage performance. Several studies of the dramaturgy of the Seicento libretto have focused on the *dramma per musica* as a distinct literary genre.[12] The relationship between literary structure and the evolving musico-poetic conventions yields new insights on opera in mid-century, particularly for works in which the musical score (or variant musical scores) do not survive. A close reading of the structural principles of the original *Eritrea* libretti show the intersection of dramaturgy and scenography, even in the absence of scores for the revival productions.

II. Documentary Sources of the First Performances

In the case of *L'Eritrea*, the complex process of revision for performance began even before the first version reached the stage of the Teatro Sant'Apollinare in 1652. Some alterations prior to performance were caused by a series of unexpected setbacks to the creative team during the season leading up to the première, most significantly the death of librettist Giovanni Faustini. As already mentioned, the 1652 libretto preface begins with the announcement of this untimely loss:

> While a feigned death of Eritrea will delight Your Lordship's ear, the all-too-real one of Signor Giovanni Faustini will dolefully move your soul. This celebrated man of letters died a few days ago, and after having created eleven operas, he left in press that of his beloved Eritrea.[13]

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[12] Paolo Fabbri, *Il secolo cantante: per una storia del libretto d'opera nel Seicento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1990; revised edition Roma: Bulzoni Editore, 2003.). The dissertation of Nicola Badolato includes a dramaturgical analysis of the 1652 libretto of *Eritrea*. See Nicola Badolato, "I drammi musicali di Giovanni Faustini per Francesco Cavalli" (Dissertation, Università di Bologna, 2007), also published (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2012), 476–530.

The death of the castrato Bonifazio Ceretti (originally cast to play Endimione in *La Calisto*) is also recorded in the same preface: "And she has lost as well the company of the virtuoso Bonifatio, who at the beginning of her journey halted both her step and her life."[14] The impact of the loss of these two company members in the production of *La Calisto* is discussed in the previous chapter.[15]

There are several primary sources of the 1652 production of *L'Eritrea*: a manuscript in the Contarini Collection in the Biblioteca Marciana,[16] the printed libretto of 1652 (which was also reprinted in its original form as the first half of the edition in 1661),[17] and a printed scenario of 1652.[18] According to Peter Jeffery's study of the Contarini Collection, the manuscript of *L'Eritrea* belongs to a group of fair copies and has no direct relationship to the three manuscripts for the other

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[13] "Mentre una finta morte d'Eritrea lusingherà a V.S. Illustriss[ima] dolcemente l'orecchio, la pur troppo vera del Sig[nor] Giovanni Faustini le commoverà dolorosamente l'anima. Morì pochi giorni sono questo celebre Litterato, & doppò la tessitura di undici Opere, ha lasciato sotto il Torchio quella della sua cara Eritrea." DRAMM.927.1.5. English translation published in Rosand (1991), 174.

[14] "Ha pur anco smarrita in dietro la compagnia del virtuoso Bonifatio, che nel principio del camino fermò col passo la vita." DRAMM.927.1, 5. English translation published in Rosand (1991), 175.

[15] See Chapter 3, "Dramaturgical Metamorphoses in the Staging of *La Calisto*, 1651."

[16] Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It. IV, 361 = (9885).

[17] Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, DRAMM.927.1 and DRAMM.928.2. An edition of this libretto is published in Badolato (2012), 467-522.

[18] Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, DRAMM.919.1. An edition of this scenario is published in Badolato (2012), 523-30. On the opera scenario as a source of information related to stage production, see Ellen Rosand, "The Opera Scenario, 1638-1655: A Preliminary Survey." In *In cantu et in sermone: For Nino Pirrotta on His 80th Birthday*, ed. Fabrizio della Seta and Franco Piperno (Florence: Olschki/University of Western Australia Press, 1989), 335–46.

Cavalli-Faustini operas producted at the Teatro Sant'Apollinare.[19] This score is a late copy, and, according to Glover, it was copied along with a group of operas presented in Venice after 1660:

> I suggest as a working hypothesis that, towards the end of his life (probably around 1670), Cavalli employed a scribe to make fair copies of all of his opera manuscripts. The scribe began with the most recent scores: that is, the five composed since his return [from Paris] together with *Eritrea* (revived in 1661) and *Erismena* (revived after 1670).[20]

Indeed, this manuscript score may have been copied in conjunction with Cavalli's operas performed after his return from France (where he composed *Ercole Amante*) in 1662.[21] In his analysis of the paper types of the manuscripts, Jeffery notes that the score of *L'Eritrea* uses exclusively paper with a watermark pair featuring the three initials "B O V."[22]

This score corresponds almost exactly with the text of the 1652 libretto and the action of the synopsis provided by the 1652 scenario. There are only slight differences in orthography, but none of these changes alter the musical structure or scenography of the work. The prologue is written on the same type of paper and is in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript. The score does not appear to have been used for performance (it lacks the performance indications, transpositions, rubrics, and other information provided in Cavalli's hand in the manuscripts for the

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[19] See Peter Jeffrey, "The Autograph Manuscripts of Francesco Cavalli" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1980).

[20] Jane Glover, *Cavalli* (London: Batsford, 1978), 70.

[21] See Martha Novak Clinkscale, "Ercole Amante" in *Grove Music Online.*

[22] Jeffery (1980), 112.

other three Teatro Sant'Apollinare operas described in the previous chapters).

The score of *L'Eritrea* provides no information about the casting of the opera for its first performances, but information can be inferred from the vocal range of one of the roles. After singing more than two acts of the opera in alto clef, Theramene suddenly changes to baritone clef in Act III, Scene 12. Rosand has commented upon the general problem of characters that suddenly change vocal range in connection with *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria,* and Jane Glover has considered such changes specifically for the operas that Cavalli composed at the Teatro Sant'Apollinare.[23] In the case of *L'Eritrea*, Álvaro Torrente has argued that the singer Giulio Cesare Donati performed the role of Theramene, and that he had an exceptionally large vocal range.[24] Known as the "basso alla bastarda," this type of singer would have been capable of performing both the role of Giove and Giove-in-Diana in *Calisto* earlier in the same season. Torrente argues that the sudden clef change for Theramene corresponds to the moment when the character changes from dementia to sanity:

> It is exactly there, when Theramene sings the lines of acknowledgement, that his voice changes abruptly from alto to bass, a change which is stressed harmonically with the transition from a half-cadence in the dominant of e minor to a chord of f# major as dominant of the new tonality of b minor. From this point till the closing chorus, where the two happy couples sing together, Theramene will continue singing with the baritone register,

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[23] Ellen Rosand, *Monteverdi's Last Operas: A Venetian Trilogy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), 72–73 and Glover (1978), 70.

[24] Álvaro Torrente, "The Twenty Two Steps: Clef Anomalies or 'Basso alla Bastarda' in Mid Seventeenth-Century Italian Opera," in *Word, Image, and Song,* Vol. 1: Essays on Early Modern Italy, ed. Rebecca Cypess, Beth L. Glixon, and Nathan Link (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2013).

exhibiting through the voice change his return from dementia to sanity.[25] Alternatively, if Ceretti had originally been cast to play Theramene, his death may have meant that the entire role was reworked from alto to bass in order to suit his replacement. In this case, the copyist of the manuscript neglected to transfer all of the transpositions marked in the score. It was highly unusual for a lover to be played by a bass, but last-minute changes required by the death of a singer may have led the troupe to reassign a cast member to this role. Cavalli may have composed the final scenes of the opera for a bass and added rubrics to transpose the earlier scenes, which were never transferred into the fair copy of the manuscript.

III. The Circulation of *L'Eritrea* from Venice to Bologna and Back

From the earliest years of commercial opera production, there was a reciprocal relationship between Venetian productions and those in other in other Italian cities.[26] Composers and singers originally came to Venice as part of an itinerant troupe from Rome operating under the financial and artistic model of *commedia dell'arte* troupes.[27] The first group to arrive was led by Benedetto Ferarri and Francesco Manelli in 1637.[28] Due to the restriction of opera production to the

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[25] *Ibid.*

[26] See the collection of essays *La circolazione dell'opera veneziana del seicento nel IV centenario della nascita di Francesco Cavalli*, ed. Dinko Fabris (Naples: Turchini Edizioni, 2005).

[27] The Febiarmonici troupe was discussed in relation to the Neapolitan revival of *La Rosinda* (as *Le magie amorose*) in Chapter 2. On the Febiarmonici, see Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, "Dalla *Finta pazza* alla *Veremonda*: Storie di Febiarmonici," in *Rivista italiana di musicologia* X (1975), 379–454.

Carnival season, these itinerant companies found less than half a year's work in Venice, and accordingly sought employment in other theaters for the remainder of the year.[29] It is for this reason that many of the earliest Venetian public operas were exported to other cities.

Bologna was among the most important of the centers that revived Venetian operas in the first few decades of commercial opera production.[30] As early as 1640, Monteverdi's *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria* was performed in Bologna shortly after its premiere in Venice.[31] During the next decade, a network of performances was established between the two cities that involved the migration of performers, musical scores, and stage productions.

Dinko Fabris has demonstrated that Venetian repertory circulated through complex channels involving multiple companies and multiple venues, such that it is difficult to assign priority to any single version of an opera recorded in the sources.[32] For *L'Eritrea*, Fabris reports several additional productions between the

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[28] On the history of Ferrari and Manelli's troupe, which had already appeared in Padua the previous season, see Rosand (1991), 14. Nino Pirrotta provides background on the development of opera from troupes of *comici* in "*Commedia dell'arte* and Opera," *The Musical Quarterly,* Vol. 41, No. 3 (1955), 305–24.

[29] Often the troupes were not the same. Other companies were familiar with local circumstances and made further alterations to customize Venetian opera to the membership of the troupe.

[30] On the history of early opera productions in Bologna, see Corrado Ricci, *I teatri di Bologna nei secoli XVII and XVIII* (Bologna: Monti, 1888; reprint, Bologna: Forni, 1965).

[31] Rosand records four Venetian operas presented in Bologna in the first years of opera production: *Delia* and *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria* in 1640, and *La maga fulminata* and *Il pastor regio* in 1641. See Rosand (1991), 81.

revival in Bologna and the second Venetian production, as well as two further revivals of the opera in the 1660s.[33] This prolific performance history again points to the exceptional popularity of the work at the time. As we have noted, *La Calisto* did not enjoy revivals in the seventeenth century and *La Rosinda* was only revived once in Naples as *Le magie amorose*.[34]

Like the Teatro Sant'Apollinare, the venue for the performance of the return of *L'Eritrea* to Venice in 1661 was a theater in the process of converting from straight theatrical presentations to opera. The theater was known as both San Salvatore and San Luca because of its geographical location in the parish of S. Luca, but near the important Augustinian church of San Salvatore.[35] The revival of *L'Eritrea* was the second of two operas produced during its initial season of operation as an opera theater. The nobleman Antonio Boldù signed a contract for a four-year commitment to present opera in the theater, which he rented from the owner Andrea Vendramin.[36] Although the agreement was not signed until 13 November 1660 (only six weeks before the start of carnival), and the contract

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[32] See "After the Premiere: The Use of Alternative Sources in Revivals of Cavalli's Operas," in *Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage: Manuscript, Edition, Production*, ed. Ellen Rosand, Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing), 33–54.

[33] After the Bolognese production in 1654, the opera was produced in Genoa in 1655 (with additional music by E. Biffi), in Naples in 1659, in Venice in 1661, in Brescia in 1665, and in Milan in 1669. See Table 3.1 in Fabris (2013), 37–39.

[34] On the recent discovery of a possible *Rosinda* libretto in Hannover, see Alan Curtis, "Il ritorno di Poppea: A new German Source Provokes Some New Thoughts," in *Word, Image, and Song,* Vol. 1: Essays on Early Modern Italy, ed. Rebecca Cypess, Beth L. Glixon, and Nathan Link (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2013).

[35] Rosand (1991), 94.

[36] See Franco Mancini, Maria Teresa Muraro, and Elena Povoledo, *I Teatri del Veneto*, Pt. 1 (Venice: Corbo e Fiore, 1995–96), 263–64.

acknowledges the limited amount of time available to prepare an operatic season, the company managed to present its first production, of *Pasife* by Giuseppe Artale and Daniele da Castrovillari, a mere two months after signing the rental contract.[37] But the production was a disaster, closing after only a single performance.[38] The premature closure of *Pasife* must have created the necessity of producing another work as quickly as possible: hence, the idea of mounting an already existing work, *L'Eritrea*. By the 1660s, audience taste had shifted in a number of ways: toward a greater appreciation of comic characters derived from the traditions of *commedia dell'arte*, and toward an increased number of arias in more complex forms. Rosand summarizes the changes made for the 1661 revival of *Eritrea*:

> A few added arias and scenes would not suffice. Besides a new prologue, there were changes among the comic characters—a new one was added (Trinano), another was transformed from a young lady to an old nurse (Misena), and a third underwent a name-change (from Lesbo to Florindo)—and a number of comic scenes were inserted. Several arias were added at the ends of scenes, some second strophes of arias were cut, and some strophic arias were replaced by more complex forms. Perhaps more revealing than the additions, however, were the deletions. These involved an enormous amount of recitative, several duets, and two soliloquies for one of the main characters.[39]

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[37] Glixon and Glixon (2006), 96–97.

[38] An account of the first performance is found in a letter of 20 February 1661 from Giovanni da Mosto to Ottavio Labia: "Fu curiosa quella di S. Luca, che non pottendosi più tollerare proruppe l'auditorio in una insolenza la prima sera, che anco fu l'ultima, gettando in scena tutto quelo veniva alle mani, abbrugiando tutti l'opera et con gridi e batterelle fussimo sino le 8 della notte con il maggior solazzo, che mai habbi hautto. Il teatro pieno di dame fu causa che ovviò maggior male, perché in una parola meritavano di peggio. Ghe la mando [i.e., the opera's libretto] insieme con un'altra, che questa sera devesi reccitare nel teatro medemo, et stimo con simile aplauso." Quoted in Mangini, *I teatri di Venezia* (Milan, 1974), 52–53 n. 26. Reprinted in Rosand (1991), 185.

[39] Rosand (1991), 190.

Through careful analysis of textual layers through the Bologna revival in 1654 and the Teatro S. Salvatore revival of 1661, it is possible to view these changes in the active process of rehearsal and performance, as a genealogy that connects the two Venetian productions of this same work and informs our knowledge of the working laboratory of opera in stage production.

All three versions of *Eritrea* contain evidence of changes made in the stage presentation. Although the only surviving score corresponds almost exactly with the original libretto, the significant differences found in the 1654 and 1661 libretti reflect changes in the staging of these productions. These include:

1. A completely new prologue, which over time led to additional changes made to the content of the opening scene of the first act.

2. A reduction in the role of the singing chorus in the opening sequence, its narrative function replaced by a new solo character.

3. A marked increase in the role of comic characters derived from *commedia dell'arte*, while extensive cuts were made to both the recitative and strophic arias of the principal characters.

4. Further transformation of the scenography of the work to accommodate different scenery used in subsequent productions.

The above changes led to significant reworking of the scenography of the opera as presented in the three venues. The following three tables provide an overview of the scenery that was used in each production.

Table 4.1: The Scenography of *L'Eritrea* (1652 Venice)

Prologue: Scene of Terrifying Clouds [Scena orridamente nubilosa]
Act I, Scenes 1-5: The Sidonian shores [Le spiagge sidonie]
Act I, Scenes 6-14: The Palace of Sidonia [La reggia di Sidone]
Act II, Scenes 1-4: Courtyard of the Palace, in which Eurimedonte is held captive [Cortile del palagio, dentro del quale veniva custodito Eurimedonte]
Act II, Scenes 5-15: Atrium of the Palace [L'atrio della reggia]
Act III, Scenes 1-7: Royal Room [Sala reale]
Act III, Scenes 8-15: The Egyptian Camp with the Spoils of the Sacked City [L'essercito egizio con le spoglie della città saccheggiata]

Table 4.2: The Scenography of *L'Ertirea* (1654 Bologna)

Prologue: Juno descends in the air on a chariot pulled by twopeacocks, and the chariot having departed, is carried in the sky by two Zephyrs. MARITIME SCENE, Storm, thunder, lightning, flashes. [Giunone in Aria sopra un Carro tirato da duoi Pavoni, scende, & partito il Carro, è portata in Cielo dal Volo di duoi Zeffiri. SCENA MARITIMA, Tempesta, tuoni, lampi, saette.]
Act I, Scenes 1-4: The Sidonian shores [Le spiaggie Sidonie]
Act I, Scenes 5-13: The Palace of Sidonia [La Reggia di Sidone]
Act II, Scenes 1-5: Arcade in which Eurimedonte is held captive [Galeria alla quale va custodito Eurimedonte]
Act II, Scenes 6-16: Regal Courtyard [Cortile regio]
Act III, Scenes 1-8: Regal Apartment [Appartamento regio]
Act III, Scenes 9-15: The Egyptian Camp with the Spoils of the Sacked City [L'essercito egizio con le spoglie della città saccheggiata]

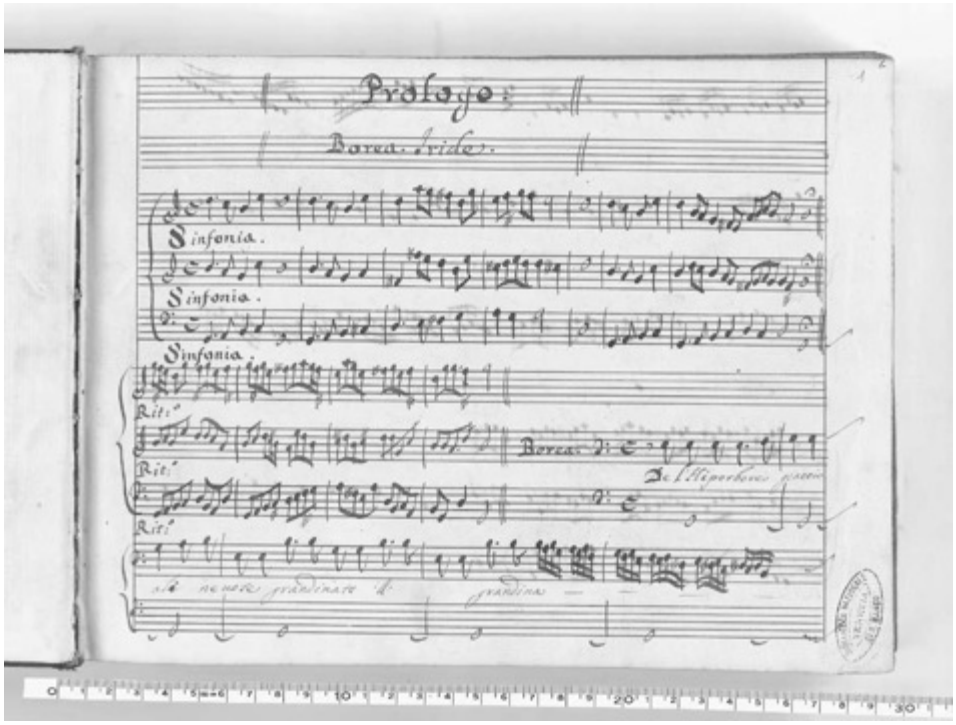
Table 4.3: The Scenography of *L'Ertirea* (1661 Venice)

Prologue: Forest with terrifying sea, with lightning and thunder
[Bosco con Marina orrida con lampi, e Tuoni]
Act I, Scenes 1-4: Seaport with Shore of Sidonia [Porto di mare con spiaggia di Sidone]
Act I, Scene 5: Courtyard of the royal palace [Cortile del palaggio reale]
Act I, Scenes 6-14: Garden [Giardino] Rubrics in Scenes 6 and 12
Act II, Scenes 1-9: The Palace of Sidonia, in which Eurimedonte is held prisoner
[Reggia di Sidone, dove vien custodito prigione Eurimedonte]
Act II, Scenes 10-15: Royal rooms [Stanze reali]
Act III, Scenes 1-4: Royal Room [Sala reale]
Act III, Scenes 5-10: Regal Courtyard [Cortile reggio]
Act III, Scenes 11-17: Army Camp of Eurimedonte. With Pavilion
[Campo della armata di Eurimedonte. Con Padiglione]

IV. The Transformation of a Prologue

In order to emphasize the nautical themes of the opera, the prologue was modified across the three stage presentations to increase the specificity of the setting of the first scene of Act I, which in turn was altered later with regard to this evolving prologue text. In the 1652 original, the prologue depicts the gods Borea and Iride reporting on the presence of a storm at sea, which causes the near-fatal shipwreck that sets the narrative in motion by bringing the prince Eurimedonte to the shores of Sidonia. The Prologue is structured as a pair of monologues for the two gods, moving from the turbulence of Borea (the god of the North wind who brings winter) to the serenity of Iride (the rainbow goddess who calms the sea and sky). The 1652 prologue begins with a pronouncement from Borea (Example 4.1).

BOREA (1652):

From the Hyperborean ice to the snowy,
Hailing storms,
My tempestuous clouds,
Triumph over the golden rays of the sun.[40]

Example 4.1: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 361 = (9885), f. 1.

The new prologue performed in Bologna in 1654 dispensed with these characters with their control over the winds, clouds, sun, and sky, becoming instead a solo for the goddess Juno in her chariot, accompanied by two peacocks and two Zephyrs (all silent, but referenced visually in the stage directions). Juno calls for the calming of the waters in order to spare the life of Eurimedonte and bring him safely to shore. The 1654 prologue begins:

[40] "De l'iperboreo giaccio, ali nevose, / grandinate procelle, / nubi mie tempestose, / trionfate del sol l'auree fiammelle."

JUNO: Tyrants of the furious air,
Creators of slaughters and of storms,
Cease now, oh cease
From acts of devastation
Horrible winds that stir up the sea.
Cease,
Flee,
Fly Away,
Disappear,
And no longer dare on this day
To return to the shore of Phoenicia.[41]

The 1661 Venetian production retained the Bologna prologue but expanded its scope and dramatic effect with the addition of the sea god Neptune, as well as a new vocal duo for the pair of (no longer silent) Zeffiretti. Opening with the exact same monologue for Juno, the 1661 prologue then moves into a dialogue between her and Neptune, in which the goddess supplicates for the calming of the sea. While the first scene of Act I is identical in the 1652 and 1654 versions, it was modified in 1661, to place greater emphasis on the newly introduced calming of the sea. All three opening scenes, however, end with the duet for Nisa and Alcione, “Mentre peschiamo.”

Correspondingly, the scenographic indications are identical in the first two versions, placing the action on "Le spiagge Sidonie," or the Sidonian shores, while the 1661 version now adds the specificity of a "Porto di Mare con spiaggia di Sidone," or Seaport with Shore of Sidonia. While the Bologna production did not modify the first scene in any way to correspond with the prologue's new content,

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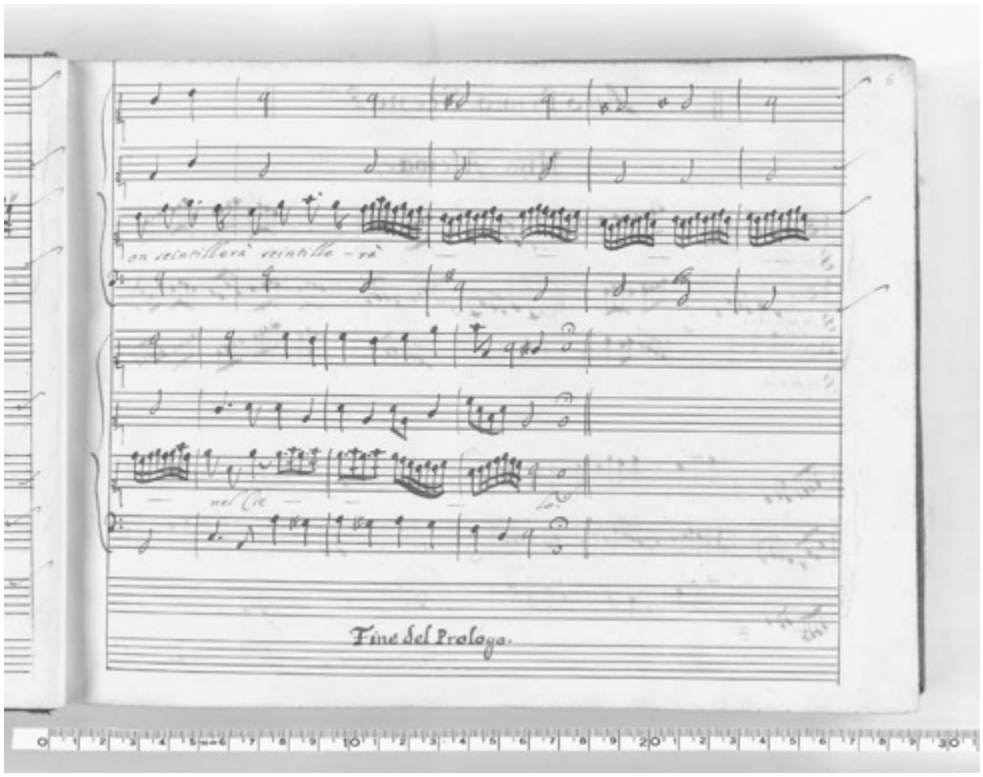
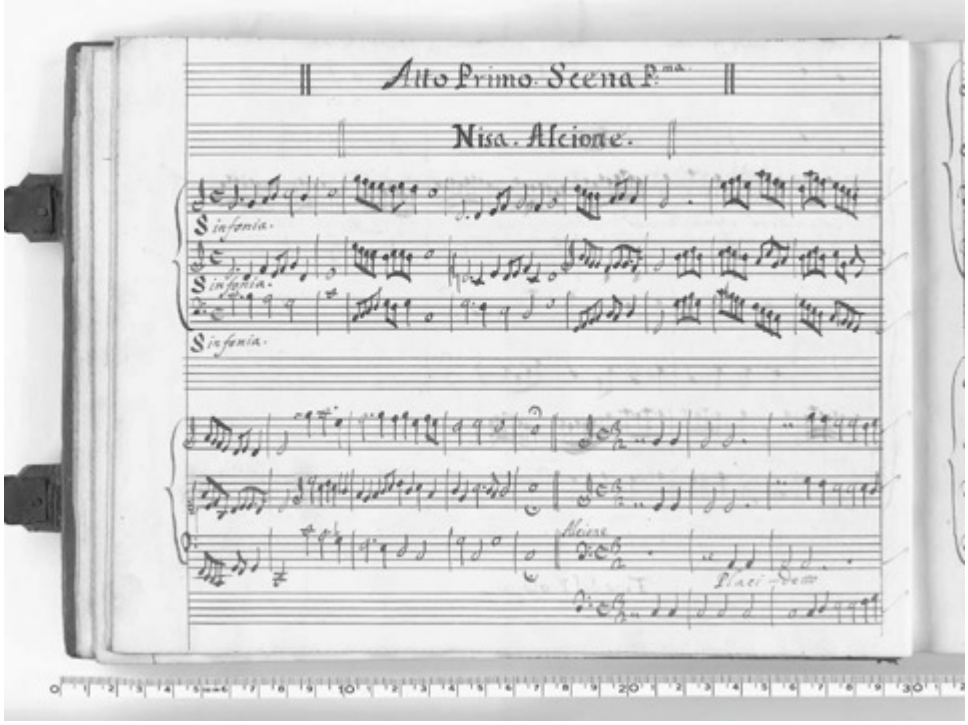
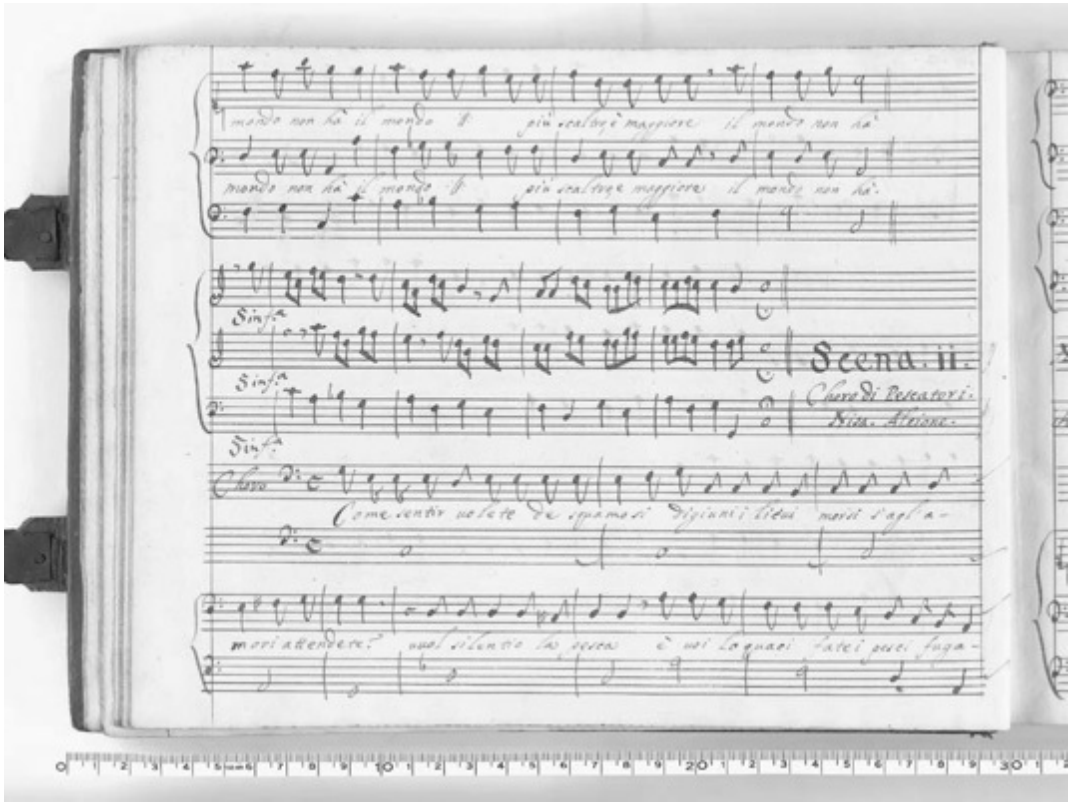
[41] “Tiranni dell'aria Austri furenti / Genitori di stragge, e di tempeste, / Cessate omai cessate / Dall'opere moleste / Turbatori del Mare orridi venti. / Cessate / Fuggite / Volate / Sparite / E non sia più ch'ardisca in questo giorno / Su la spiaggia Fenicia haver ritorno” in ROLANDI ROL.0210.09.

the 1661 revival offered an occasion to reshape the first scene of the first act as well. In the manuscript score corresponding to the 1652 version, a *sinfonia* on f. 6v is placed at the transition between the prologue and the first scene, at the moment when the set was changed from the "Scene of Terrifying Clouds" of the Prologue to the "Shores of Sidonia" for Act I, Scene 1 (Examples 4.2-4.3). Unlike the previous examples from the autograph scores, where it was possible to discern when *sinfonie* had been added in the margins of the manuscript, the fair copy of *L'Eritrea* only shows the music in its final form, after the scene change had been worked out in rehearsal.

Example 4.2: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 361 = (9885), f. 6r.

Example 4.3: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 361 = (9885), f. 6v.

V. The Reduction in Prominence of the Chorus from 1652 to 1661

Another significant difference between the first scene of the 1652 original production and the two revivals involved the cut of the chorus of fishermen, originally the only occasion in the opera when the chorus performed a musical function. Much of the structure of the first half of Act I in Faustini's original 1652 libretto, however, depends upon interaction between the principal characters and this chorus of fishermen. In the 1654 and 1661 revivals, the narrative function of the chorus of fishermen was maintained through the introduction of a third solo fisherman character, Itidio, to whom choral musical and textual material was reassigned. By displacing the dramatic role of the chorus onto a new solo character, much of the original structure could be maintained while perhaps reducing the

complexity and costs of mounting the revivals of the opera.

For example, the chorus of fishermen originally performed the first speeches of both Scenes 2 and 3 in the 1652 version. Scene 2 begins with a short *sinfonia* providing a transition from the duet for Nisa and Alcione that had concluded the previous scene, "Mentre peschiamo," perhaps to allow time for the chorus to enter. This music can be seen on f. 9v (Example 4.4). In the 1654 and 1661 versions, the text of the first speech of the chorus, "Come sentir volete" is reassigned to the new fisherman character, Itidio.

Example 4.4: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 361 = (9885), f. 9v.

Act I, Scene 3 opens with another speech that was reassigned from the chorus of fishermen in 1652 to Itidio in 1654 and 1661. In this moment of the

drama, the lifeless body of Eurimedonte is brought to the shore:

> CORO (1652) or ITIDIO (1654/1661):
>
> I bring to you a knight to the shore
> Clothed in regal purples,
> Armed with magnificent weapons,
> Either dead or seemingly dead.[42]
> Friends, get your feet wet;
> Let's bring this lifeless man ashore
> And with careful attention
> Either give him life or burial.[43]

The text of the speech appears without any changes in the 1654 libretto and in a shortened version in 1661, in both cases reassigned to Itidio.

The fifth scene of the first act, which had featured the chorus with Alcione and Nisa, was omitted entirely in 1654. The cut of this scene was uncomplicated, because it is the last scene in the first set of Act I. Once again, the most significant dramaturgical alteration to the act structure comes at the moment of transition between scenic backdrops. In the 1652 manuscript, a *sinfonia* appears across ff. 18v-19r for the scene change from the Sidonian shores to the interior of the palace (Examples 4.5-4.6). With the elimination of the chorus of fishermen, this scene became extraneous and easy to omit in the 1654 and 1661 revivals.

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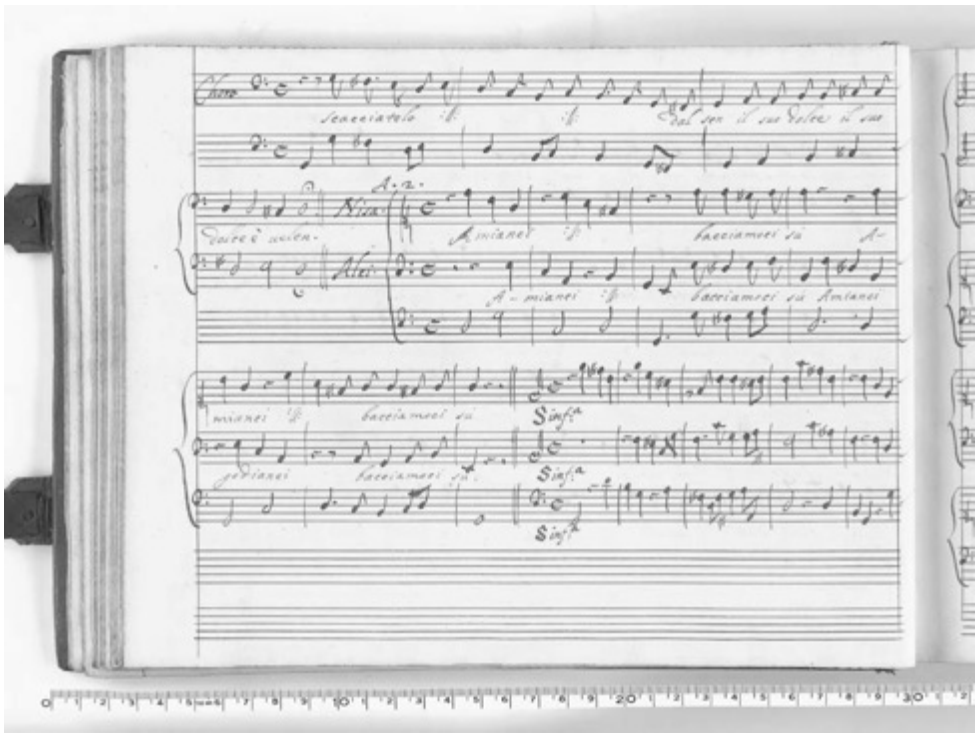
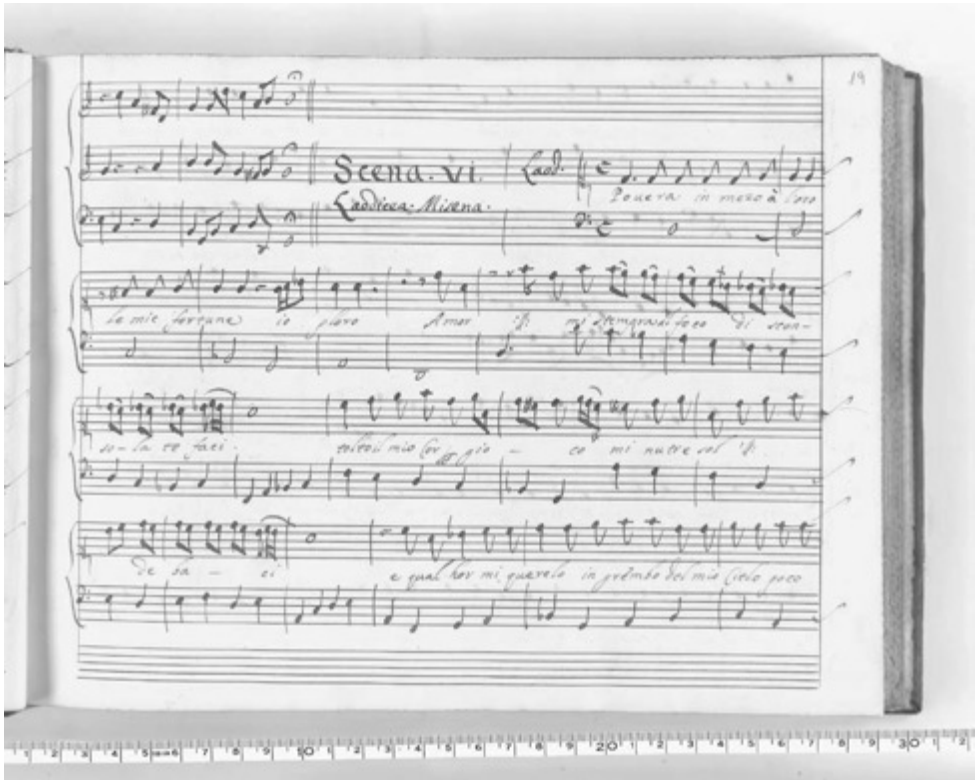
[42] The text ends here in 1661.

[43] "Cinto d'ostri reali, / carco d'armi pompose, / o morto o tramortito / io vi conduco / un cavaliero al lito. / Bagnate, amici, il piede; in su l'arene / sbarchiam l'essanimato, / sia da noi disarmato / e con pietosa cura / arrechiamoli o vita o sepoltura."

Example 4.5: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 361 = (9885), f. 18v.

Example 4.6: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 361 = (9885), f. 19r.

For the 1661 production in Venice, the new character of Itidio was maintained in lieu of reverting to the original Venetian dramaturgy featuring the chorus of fishermen. In fact, further cuts were made to the text assigned to Itidio in Scenes 2 and 3. Also cut from the production in 1661 was the silent chorus of Phoenician soldiers, indicated in a rubric at the beginning of Act I, Scene 4 in the 1652 and 1654 libretti. By performing the reduced version without the singing chorus of *pescatori* or the silent chorus of *soldati*, the new company at the Teatro San Salvatore continued a general trend towards the decreased role of the chorus in Venetian productions of the 1660s.[44]

VI. The Increased Role of *Commedia dell'Arte* Characters

Perhaps the most striking difference among the three versions of *Eritrea* is the increasing prominence of the comic characters derived from *commedia dell'arte*. Building upon the narrative structure of Faustini's original libretto of 1652, both revivals added comic characters not present in the original. The comic servant Vaffrino (washed up on the shore with Eurimedonte) is first introduced in 1654. In the role of the lamenting servant, he interjects comedic asides in response to the main action. These lines were additions to the recitative fabric of the drama; they are particularly notable in light of the fact that substantial passages of expository

[44] The use of chorus was uncommon in Venetian operas of the 1640s and 1650s. On the use of the chorus in early Venetian opera, see Rosand (1991), 54–55 and Donald J. Grout, "The Chorus in Early Opera," in *Festschrift Friedrich Blume*, ed. Anna Amalie Abert and Wilhelm Pfannkuch (Basel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1963), 151–61.

recitative for primary characters were eliminated. For the Venetian revival in 1661, this comic servant was maintained but given a completely new identity and name, Trinano. The moments of comic asides and interjection that had been inserted were modified for this new character.

For example, in Act I, Scene 3, Eurimedonte wakes up on the shore with his first speech, "Ove son io." In 1652, no comic servant accompanies him. In 1654 and 1661, Vaffrino and Trinano appear alongside Eurimedonte, and they interrupt his speech halfway with the following interjections:

VAFFRINO (1654):

From the sea that angrily wanted
To swallow us up among the waves,
The merciful pity of these friends
Brought us to the shore and saved us from death.
You will know everything, breathe.[45]

TRINANO (1661):
Just this very moment
The terrible wave had swallowed me up
Friendly fishermen, I prefer to be caught in the net.
You will know everything, breathe.[46]

These comic commentaries occur at exactly the same moment in the drama and serve the same function. Vaffrino in 1654 and Trinano in 1661 are cousins: Trinano has a series of comic asides that function in the same manner as Vaffrino's, yet the text itself is new. These interjections may be related to performance from a

[45] "Dal Mar, che irato volle / Sommergerci fra l'onde / La pietosa Pietà di questi Amici / Ne trasse al lido, e ne rapì a la Morte. / Tutto saprai; respira."

[46] "In quel istesso punto / Che già mi somergea l'onde indiscrete / Amici pescatori, mi presero alla rete / Tutto saprai, respira."

commedia dell'arte scenario. These added comic figures serve an important expanded role in the central scenic transformations of the opera, as will be described below.

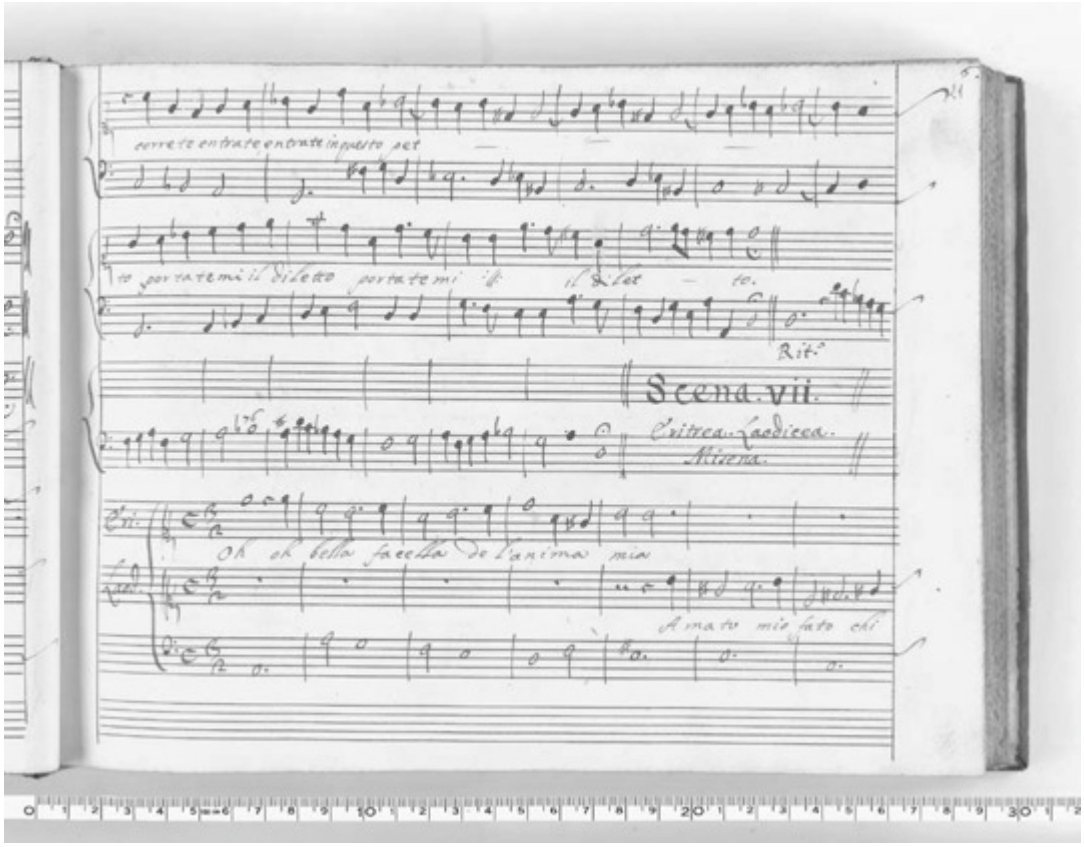
VII. Altering the Balance of Scenographic Transformations

The indications of scenic transformations in the libretti from 1652, 1654, and 1661 capture substantial differences in the staging in each venue. The three productions used different scenery for the presentation of the opera. All employed significantly different scenery for the prologue, ranging from indications of a "Scene of Terrifying Clouds" in 1652, to a "Maritime Scene" in 1654, to a "Grove with a Turbulent Sea" in 1661. Even when the new prologue from Bologna in 1654 was performed with changes for the 1661 Venetian revival, new scenery had to be obtained. Although performance text could easily be transported between sites of stage production, the construction and use of scenery was a local matter for the presenting theater.

Further modifications were made to the scenographic structure for the Venetian revival in 1661. There are two libretto references to the scenery for a Garden in Act 1, which have no equivalents in either 1652 or 1654. Of further importance is the way that this new garden scenery relates to the insertion of new dramatic material: In Act 1, Scene 6, the garden set is introduced for a new exchange between Eritrea and Laodicea, and again in Act 1, Scene 12 for a new scene for the comic page Florindo, in which he complains about the superficiality of life at court. In the latter case, the pastoral setting has significance for the topicality of the

inserted scene and may have been introduced to help cover a larger-scale, more difficult scene change in the background.[47]

In the first of these examples, the transition from Act I, Scene 5 to Scene 6 in the numbering of the 1661 libretto, the scenery changes from the "Courtyard of the Royal Palace" to a "Garden," with a rubric that says "Giardino" in the libretto. In this version, Act I, Scene 5 ends with Laodicea's strophic aria "Dolcezze, e quando al core." Both stanzas of this aria are included in the 1652 and 1654 libretti; in 1661, the aria was shortened to the first stanza only. The presence of an aria at this moment, at the conclusion of this scene, allows for the introduction of the new garden scenery in 1661, when the second stanza of the aria was replaced by a new recitative exchange for Eritrea and Laodicea (to open the garden scene) before their duet, "O bella facella." The 1652 and 1654 productions had included this duet at the beginning of the Scene without added recitative or scenic transition (Act I, Scene 7 in the 1652 libretto). This important transition can be seen in the 1652 score on f. 21r (Example 4.7).

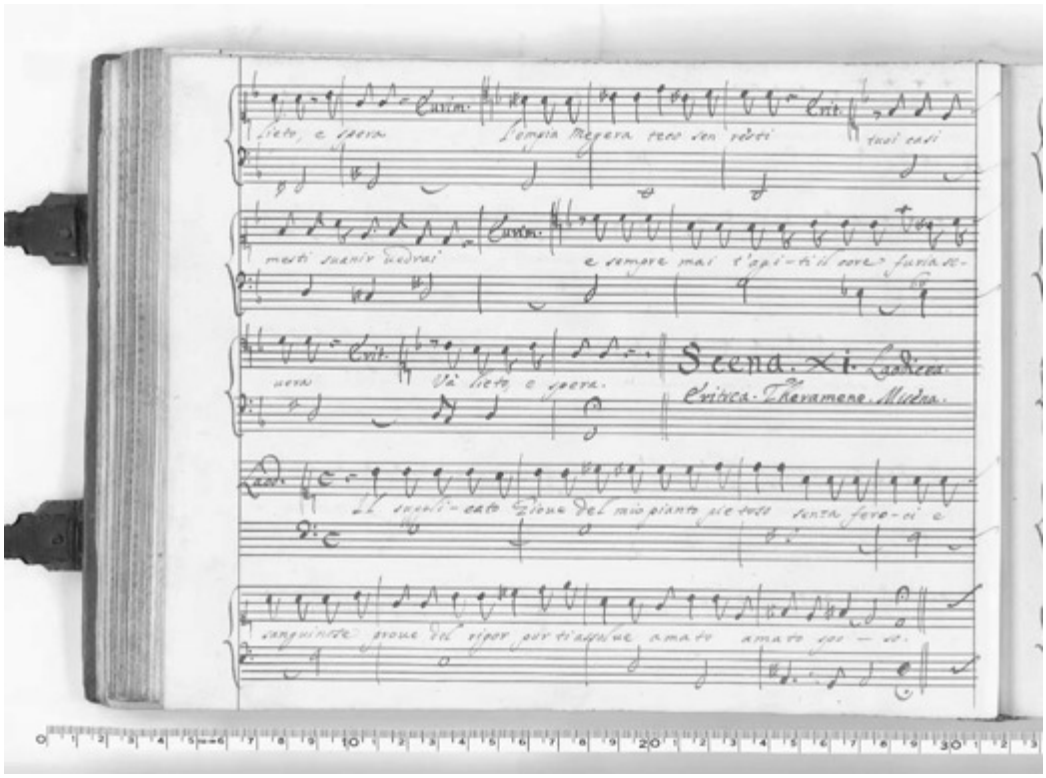
[47] See Chapter 3, "Dramaturgical Metamorphoses in the Staging of *La Calisto*," for other examples of a comic aria for Mercurio ("Se non giovano") and a duet for Mercurio and Giove ("È spedito / quel marito"), both performed *ad spectatores* and serving to cover scene changes in the background.

Example 4.7: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 361 = (9885), f. 21r.

Act I, Scene 10 in the 1661 version is a new comic exchange for Trinano and Florindo (the latter renamed from Lesbo in the 1652 version) that has no equivalent in the earlier versions. In order to accommodate the new scene, the ending of the previous one had to be altered. In 1652, the transition from Act I, Scene 10 to Scene 11 progresses without significant interruption. Eritrea's final line of recitative, "Va' lieto, e spera" appears in the center of f. 34v in the 1652 manuscript (Example 4.8). In the 1661 libretto, this single line of text is expanded with the addition of a new aria for Eritrea that brings the scene to a conclusion after the exit of Eurimedonte (to whom the first line is addressed):

ERITREA (1661):

Go happily, and hope.
I say to you that you hope
But with the heart I say that you enjoy.
If you were to see my thoughts,
You would praise my deceptions.
It is the custom of all women
To feed only on hope;
Honesty wills it thus.
Crazy is he who waits for a yes.[48]

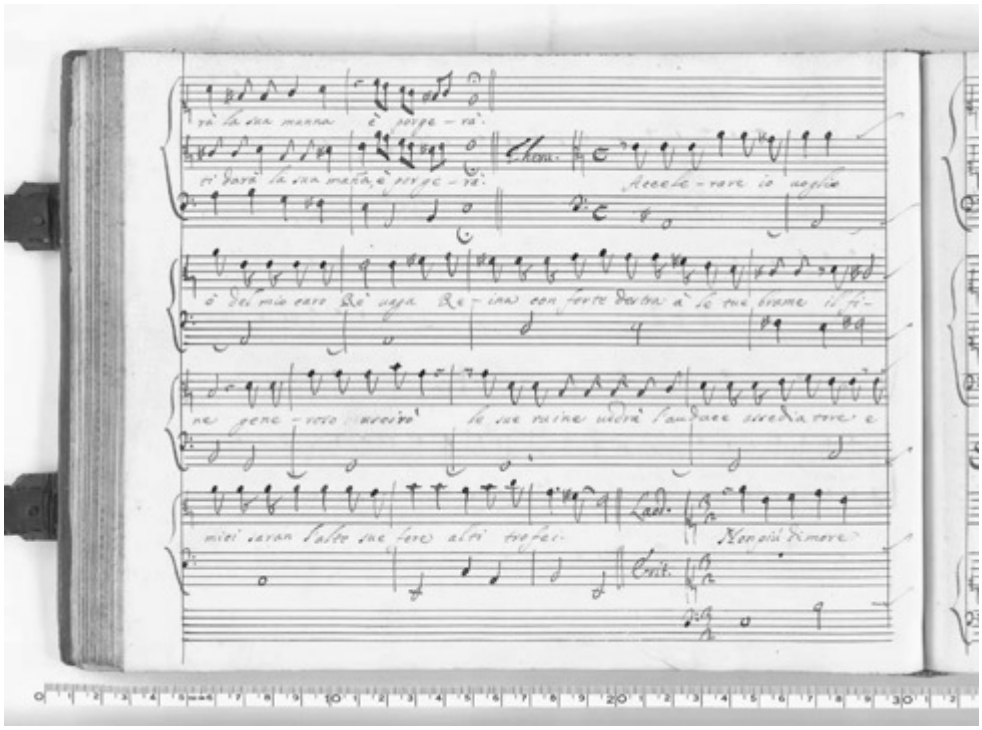
This inserted aria interrupts the dramaturgical flow, making possible the addition of the inserted comic scene that would follow and perhaps another scenic adjustment as well. The first act of the 1661 version contains multiple references to the "Garden" set, suggesting either that the scenery changed more frequently in this version, or that sections of Act I alternated between shallow and deep spaces.

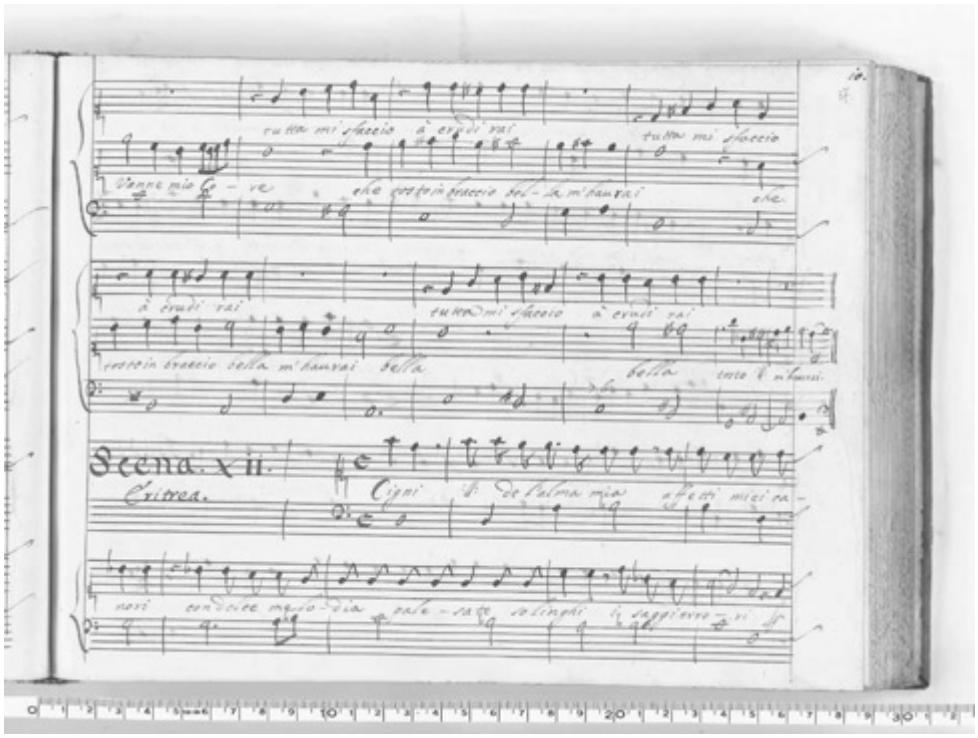
[48] "Va lieto, e spera. / Io ti dico che tu speri / Ma col cor ti dico godi / Se vedessi i miei pensieri / Loderesti le mie frodi / Han le donne per usanza / Pascer solo di speranza / L'honestade vuoi così / Pazzo è ben chi attende un sì."

Example 4.8: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 361 = (9885), f. 34v.

Another dramaturgical transition of Act I was modified in 1661 to allow for the addition of comic material—now an expanded comic scene for Florindo. In the 1652 version, Act I, Scene 11 ends with the duet "Non più dimore / Vanne mio cor" for Laodica and Eritrea, which appears on ff. 36v-37r of the manuscript (Examples 4.9-4.10). This duet was retained in 1654 according to the Bologna libretto, but it was replaced in 1661 by a new aria for Laodicea, "O del ben che si desia," in which she muses on the pains of a waiting to consummate her love.

LAODICEA (1661):

Oh, of the good that is desired,
How long is the delay?
To wait to have a delight
That is near, yet does not come,

Is a pain just as great
As the same at a distance.
Oh, of the good that is desired,
How long is the delay?
To a heart that is in love
How difficult it is to wait:
To delight always with desire
Is a pleasure that makes martyrdom;
I know well what a pain it is
To live only with hope.
Oh, of the good that is desired,
How long is the delay?[49]

Example 4.9: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 361 = (9885), f. 36v.

[49] "O del ben che si desia / Quanto è dura la tradanza? / Aspettar d'haver un bene / Ch'è vicino, e pur non viene / È una pena assai più ria / Che la stessa lontananza / O del ben, che si desia / Quanto è dura la tardanza; / Ad un Cor innamorato / Quanto è grave l'aspettare: / Gioir sempre col desire / È un piacer, che da martire; / So ben io qual pena sia / Viver solo di speranza / O del ben, che si desia / Quanto è dura la tardanza."

Example 4.10: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 361 = (9885), f. 37r.

Addressed to the audience, this new aria also provided opportunity to pause the dramaturgical flow for the insertion of Florindo's solo scene, Act I, Scene 12 in the 1661 version. In this scene, Florindo comments on life at court, lamenting its superficiality compared to the simple life of the countryside. This new comic scene is performed as a response and commentary on Laodicea's inserted aria. Conversely, the new aria had made it possible for a transition back to the garden environment (indicated by another scenic rubric that reads "Giardino" at the beginning of Scene 12 in the 1661 libretto) that was an appropriate setting for Florindo's commentary, which begins:

FLORINDO (1661):

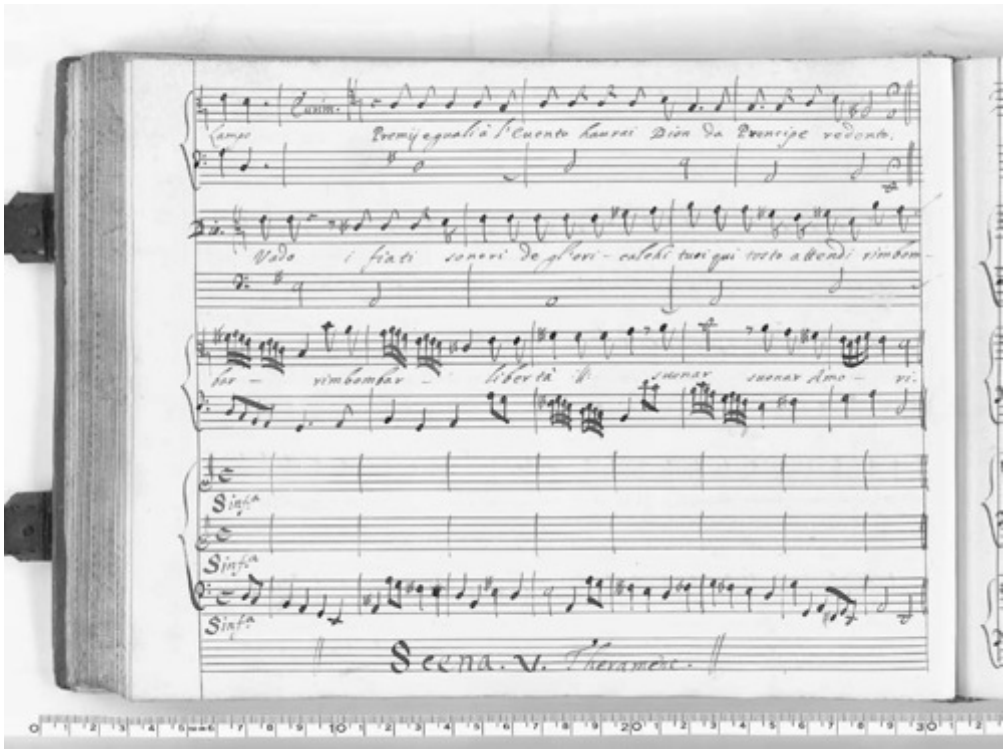
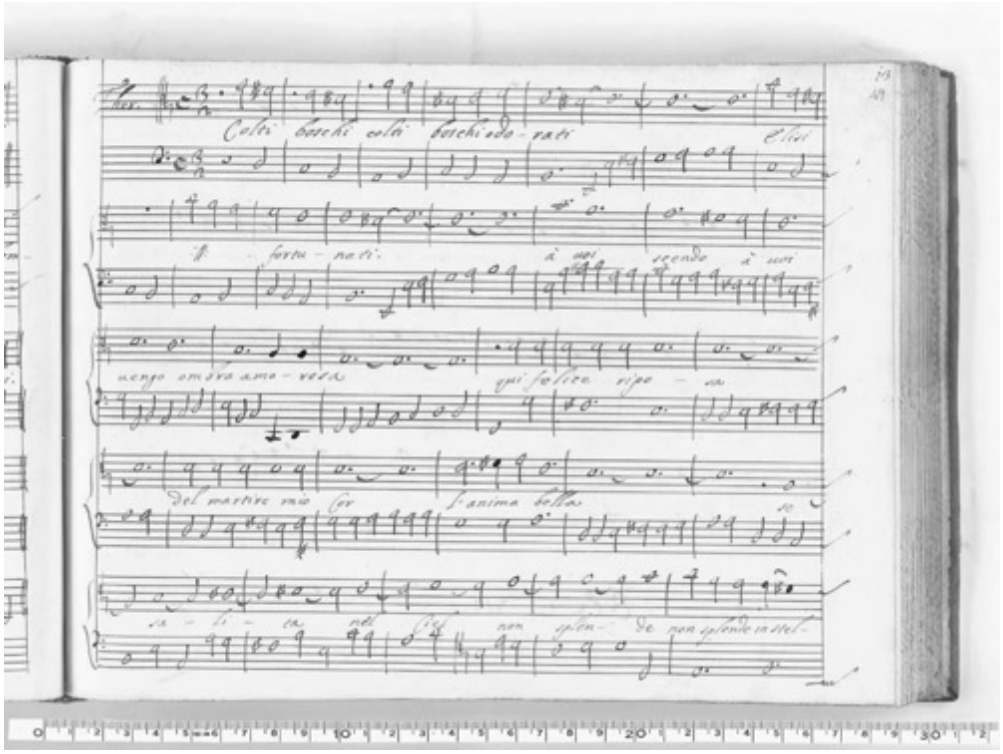
[At] The court, both below and above,
One hears a great whispering.
The city is in confusion.
Everyone is bewildered.
His Lordship is crazy,
And only for you, o beautiful and dear women,
Do they see these bitter extravagances.[50]

After this inserted sequence of Laodicea's aria and Florindo's comic commentary, the 1661 version resumes with a shortened version of Eritrea's 1652 aria "Cigni de l'alma mia" that appears on f. 37r.

The comic servant Vaffrino (in Bologna in 1654) has three entirely new solo scenes in Acts II and III: one with a deck of cards, a drinking scene, and a scene with stolen goods. Two of these scenes are placed at moments of a set change—the transition from a "Passageway" to a "Royal Courtyard" in Act II and from a "Royal Apartment" to a "Field of the Egyptian Army" in Act III—so as not to interrupt the flow of action for the principal characters and perhaps to divert the attention of the audience from the scene changes. In these instances, adjustments had to be made to the surrounding scenes to allow for the new comic material.

In the 1652 libretto, the main transition in the scenography of Act II occurs between Scenes 4 and 5. In the manuscript score, the moment is marked by a *sinfonia*, which provides the time required to change the scenery from the first location ("Courtyard of the Palace," in which Eurimedonte is held captive) to the

[50] "La corte, e sotto sopra / Si sente un gran bisbiglio / La Cittade è in scompiglio / Ogn'un s'è smarrito / Il Padrone è impazzito / E sol per voi, o belle Donne, e care / Si vedan queste stravaganze amare."

second ("Atrium of the Palace"). This transition can be seen on ff. 48v-49r in the 1652 manuscript score (Examples 4.11-4.12). The bass line of the *sinfonia* appears on f. 48v with blank staves left for the uncompleted string parts.

Example 4.11: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 361 = (9885), f. 48v.

Example 4.12: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 361 = (9885), f. 49r.

At this moment in the dramaturgy, in both 1654 and 1661, the scenographic flow was modified. In Bologna in 1654, the scenery changed at this same place in the action, although with a different combination of sets, from an arcade in which Eurimedonte is held captive ("Galeria alla quale va custodito Eurimedonte") to a "Regal Courtyard." The 1654 production used this moment of changing scenery as an opportunity for inserted comedy: an added scene for Vaffrino "With a deck of cards in his hand, shuffling them [Con un mazzo di carte in mano rimischiandole]." This inserted scene is played directly to the audience, and may have been needed as a diversion to change scenery. The fact that comedy was used in this way during the most complicated scene-change of two acts suggests that the theater in Bologna may have been technologically less well-equipped and that scene changes may have taken longer. Vaffrino begins his long tirade to the audience:

VAFFRINO (1654):

> Obstinate rigor of unjust fate!
> Do I always have to lose?
> Arrogant and mighty destiny,
> Do you not know how to change temperament?[51]

The 1661 libretto does not indicate a scene change at this moment in the action, so that the scenery for the The Palace of Sidonia, in which Eurimedonte is held prisoner [Reggia di Sidone, dove vien custodito prigione Eurimedonte] would have been maintained until much later in the act, not changing until Scene 10. According to the libretto, a new aria for Eurimedonte was inserted at the end of Scene 4 ("E pur cara la speranza"), and the first part of Scene 5 was modified. In place of the scene for Theramene "Colli, boschi odorati," in 1652 and 1654 (f. 49r in the manuscript), there is an extensive comedic exchange between Theramene and Trinano, including new arias for both. This new comedic material serves the same dramaturgical function of comic relief as the added scene for Vaffrino, but the diversion has been worked into the action of the primary characters by 1661.

Since there is no scene-change in the 1661 version between Act II, Scenes 4 and 5, further dramaturgical modifications had to be made somewhat later in the act when a scenic rubric finally indicates a new transition after Scene 9. At this same juncture (indicated in the libretti after Scene 9 in 1652 and after Scene 10 in 1654), again a modification in the secondary comic characters coincides with the scenic

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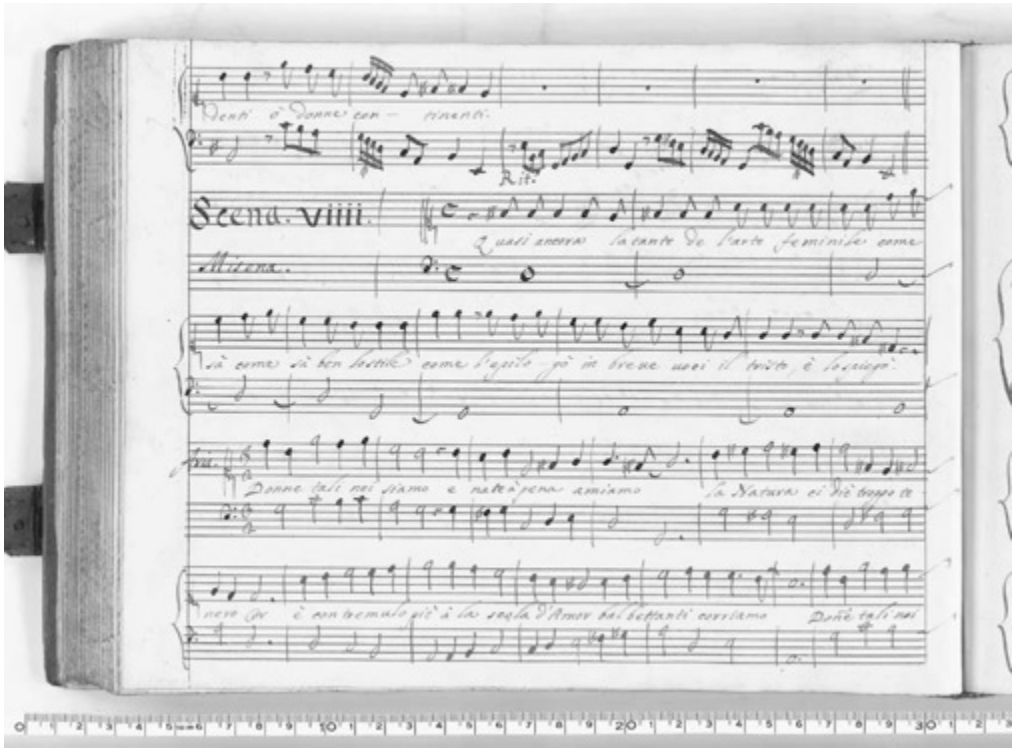
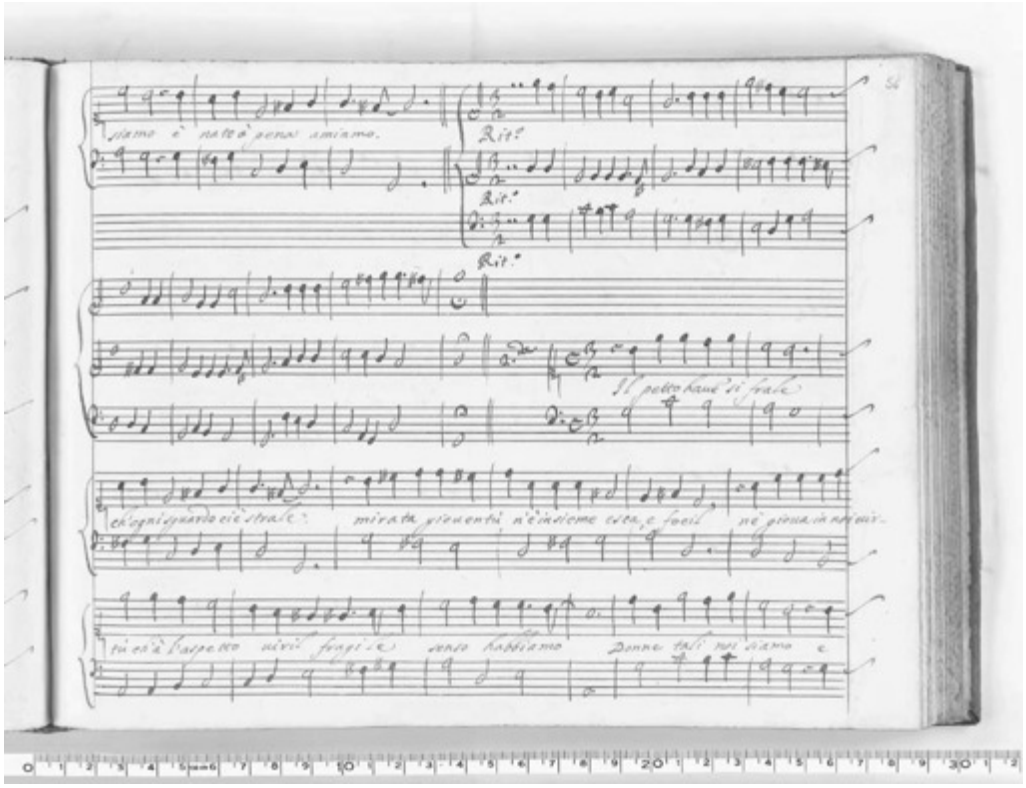
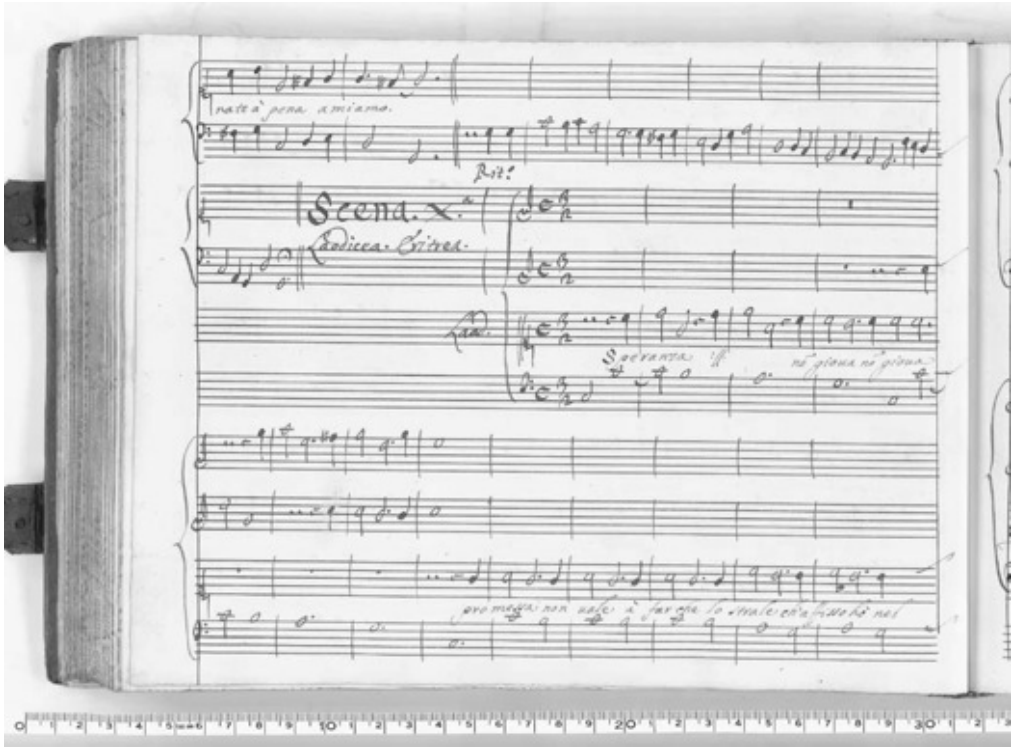
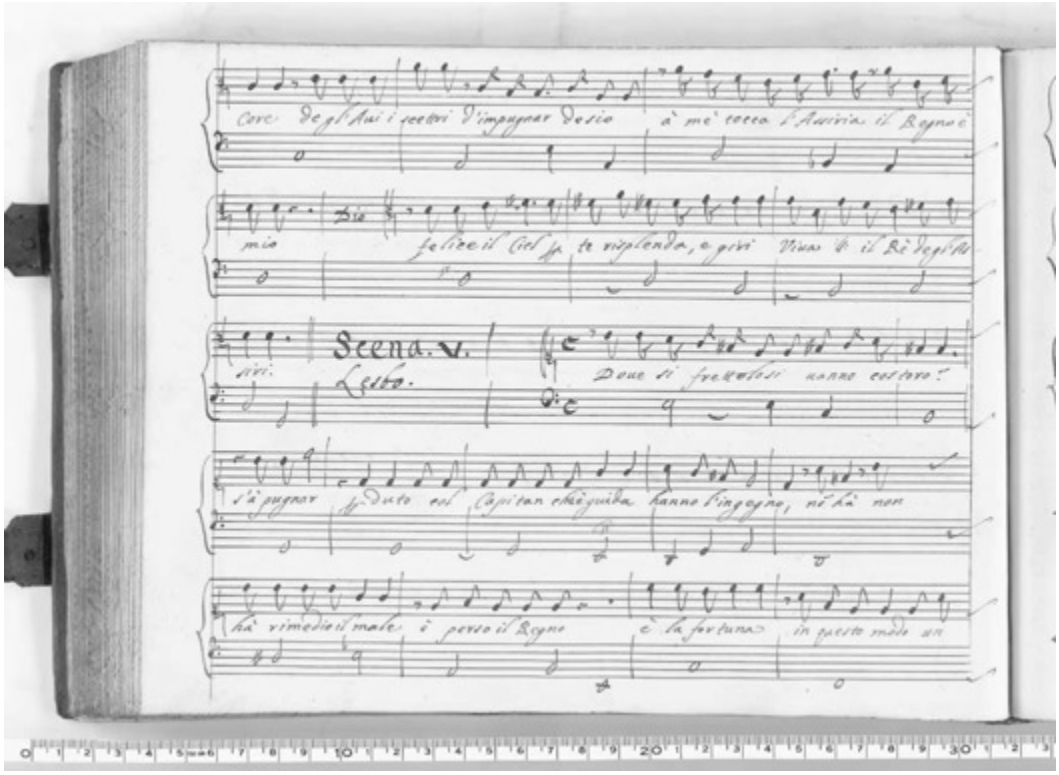
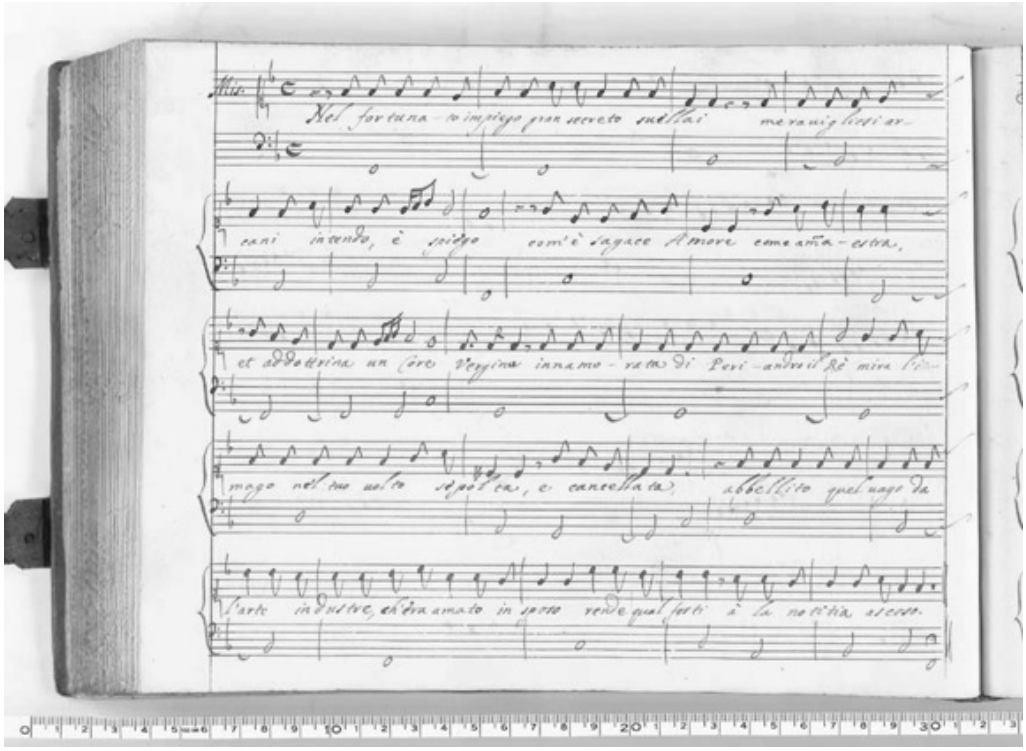
[51] "Ostinato rigor d'iniqua sorte! / Devrò perder mai sempre? / Destin protervo, e forte, / Non sai cangiar le tempre?"

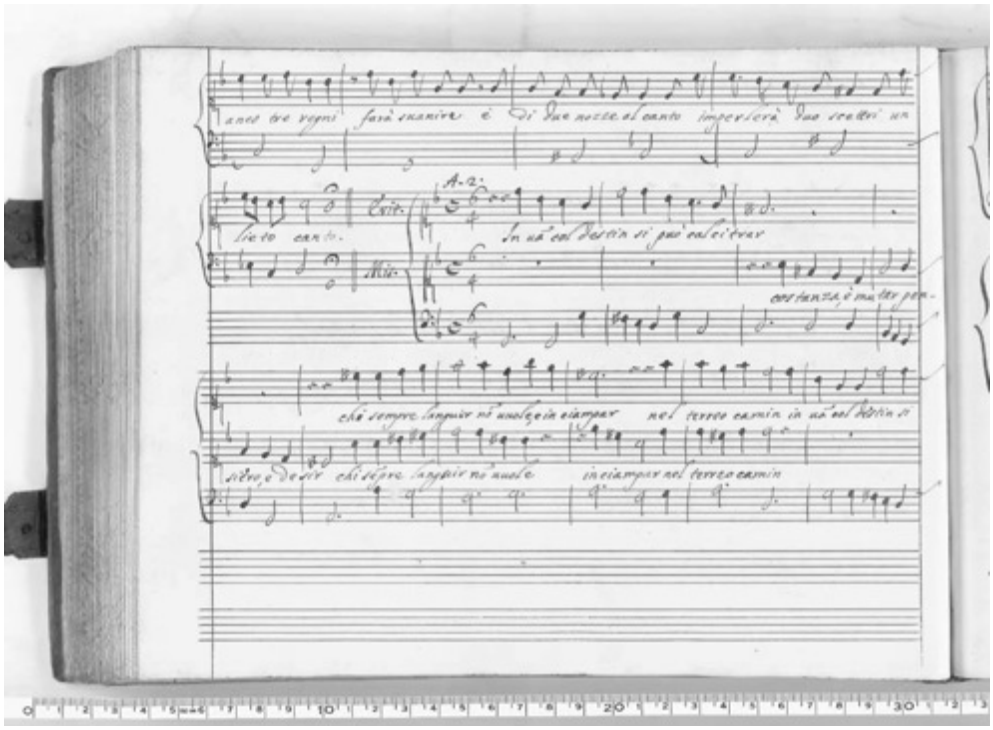
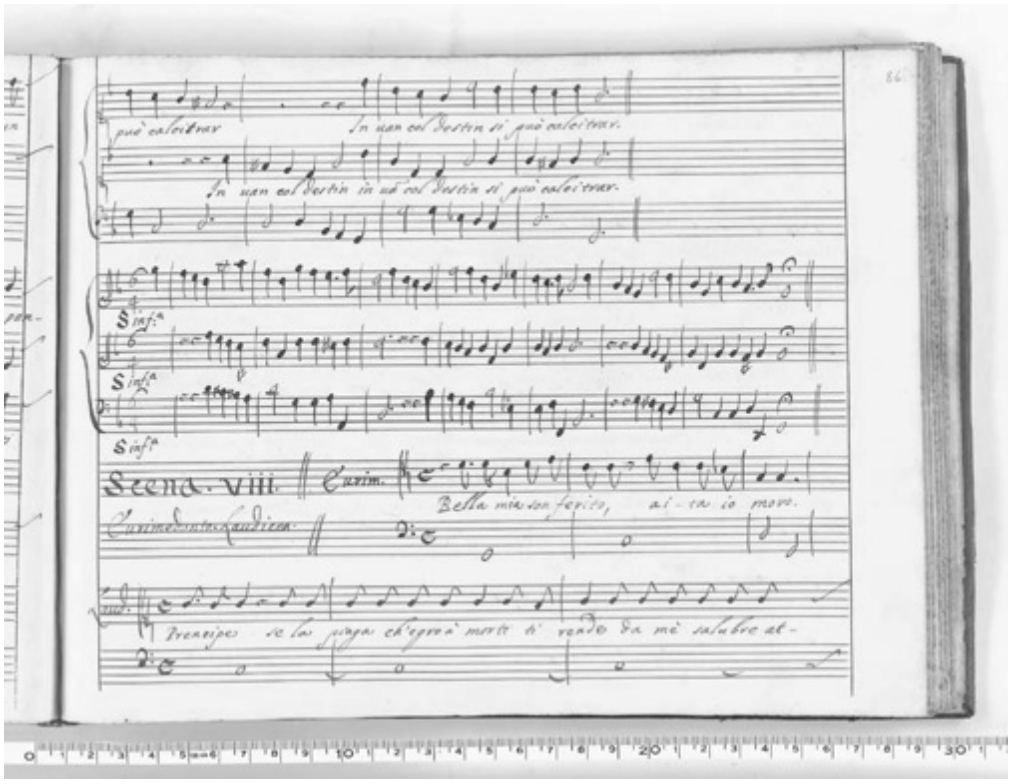
transformation. Both the 1652 and 1654 versions include a solo scene for Missena at this moment, after her preceding exchange with Lesbo, on ff. 55v-56v (Examples 4.13-4.15).

Example 4.13: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 361 = (9885), f. 55v.

Example 4.14: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 361 = (9885), f. 56r.

Example 4.15: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 361 = (9885), f. 56v.

This solo scene includes Missena's strophic aria, "Donne tali noi siamo." In the 1661 version, this entire scene is cut, and Missena's aria is instead reworked in the conclusion of the previous scene with Florindo (renamed from Lesbo in the 1652 and 1654 versions). This new aria is "Son femina." Here, the scenography has been modified to accommodate the presence of a new aria at the end of a scene, while also bridging across an important cut in solo material previously performed at the very same narrative connection. Such reworking of solo material, whether in the form of new arias or expanded solo comic scenes, both updated the opera to suit the local performers and introduced new opportunities for modified stage transitions.

The final act of the opera again shows significant reworking of the dramaturgy based on the new scenography. The 1661 production was more complex than either of the previous versions. While the first two productions employed only two sets for Act III, the rubrics in the 1661 libretto call for three. After Act III, Scene 4, there is a change from a "Royal Room" to a "Regal Courtyard." In 1652 and 1654, the scenery did not change at this moment, and the manuscript score of 1652 shows that no *sinfonia* was inserted and the action continued directly into the recitative of Scene 5, for Lesbo alone on f. 78v (Example 4.16).

Example 4.16: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 361 = (9885), f. 78v.

At this moment in 1661, however, several changes were made to the dramaturgy to accommodate the new scene change. Once again, the comic characters are featured at this transition, providing the possibility of audience diversion to cover its technical requirements. In the 1661 libretto, Act III, Scenes 5-8 introduce an elaborate new sequence for Florindo, Trinano, and Missena, including comic arias and a duet in Scene 7 ("La Gobba diffetto"), all of which serve as a subplot to the main action. The material of Act III, Scene 9 reconnects the stage action with the original dramaturgy from 1652, after the elimination of recitative for Missena that opens Scene 6 in 1652 and 1654. This speech, "Nel fortunato impiego" is no longer necessary, since new material for Missena has been reworked in the

comic sequence that was used during the preceding change of scenery. The original speech appears in the manuscript of the 1652 version on f. 81v (Example 4.17).

Example 4.17: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 361 = (9885), f. 81v.

All three productions show a different dramaturgical structure in the execution of the transition to the final set of the act: The Egyptian Camp with the Spoils of the Sacked City in 1652 and 1654 and The Army Camp of Eurimedonte With Pavilion in 1661 (Campo della armata di Eurimedonte. Con Padiglione). In the 1652 original, a duet for Eritrea and Missena, "In van col destin" brings Scene 7 to a conclusion. A *sinfonia* on f. 86r is placed at the moment when the scenery was changed (Examples 4.18-4.19).

Example 4.18: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 361 = (9885), f. 85v.

Example 4.19: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 361 = (9885), f. 86r

In the 1654 version, Scene 7 ends with the same duet for Eritrea and Missena, which is then followed by Scene 8 for Vaffrino alone, with a stage direction that indicates he enters with stolen goods ["arnesi rubbati"].

The 1661 scenic transformation at this juncture underwent further changes. First, the duet for Eritrea and Missena, "In van col destin" was cut and replaced with a new aria for Eritrea, "Non ci pensate più." The first part of the scene was further modified with a change to the opening speech for Eurimedonte (which had already been abbreviated in the 1652 manuscript score), which is transformed into a new recitative and aria, "Tu in tanto." Throughout the remainder of the 1661 version, many additional internal cuts are made in the final scenes of the principal characters, speeding up the action and balancing out the long passages of newly inserted comic material at the center of the act. These cuts even extend to the final quartet, which is abbreviated in the 1661 version.

VIII. Conclusion

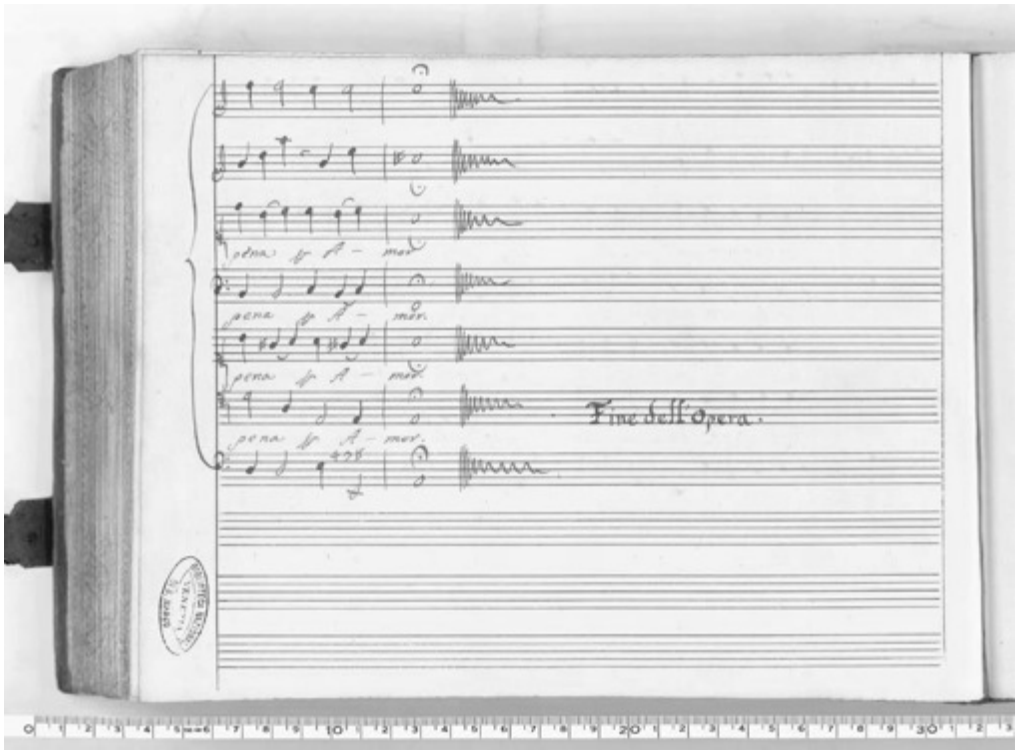
The three productions of *L'Eritrea* analyzed in this study demonstrate that the opera underwent significant changes when presented in different theaters between 1652 and 1661. In these three stage performances, the libretto of *L'Eritrea* was transformed in the following ways: the chorus became less prominent, being replaced by soloists in both the prologue and the main acts of the opera; more comedy derived from the traditions of *commedia dell'arte* was inserted; new arias were added at the conclusion of scenes, especially at scene changes; and cuts were made throughout the recitative. These modifications brought the opera up-to-date

in each of the subsequent productions, so that the revival of an opera composed in 1652 would conform to audience taste in Bologna in 1654 and in another theater in Venice in 1661.

Close analysis of the three versions of *L'Eritrea* demonstrates how and when these changes were incorporated into the performance of the opera. All of these dramaturgical adjustments were in some way dependent on the scenography of the productions; the most significant reworking of the libretto occurred at crucial moments in the staging. With respect to the addition of extensive new comic material, for example, it was most often inserted at a transition between two sets. Scenic transitions offered a convenient moment for comic subplots and virtuosic arias to be added without disrupting the overall musico-dramatic fabric. More importantly, however, the added material appears to have provided audience diversion during new scene changes. In this regard, the revivals of *L'Eritrea* are similar to the original stagings of *La Calisto* and *La Rosinda*, where there is also evidence that inserted material was used for the diversion of the audience during transitions.

More generally, this study demonstrates that the dramaturgy of Venetian opera was closely bound to its scenography. In fact, the scenography appears to have been just as important as the music and text (if not more important) in determining the version of the opera to be performed. In moments of transition between sets, the music and text yielded to the exigencies of the scenery. Once constructed for the local venue, the scenery could not be as easily modified in

rehearsal as the material performed on stage by the singers. The local troupe could add or remove solo comedy, aria, recitative, or instrumental passages at the last minute, even between performances in the run of the opera; but the dramaturgical structures dictated by the movements of the scenery could not be changed as quickly or as cost effectively.

Unlike revivals of canonic operas today, in which the scenography and performance are usually worked out to conform to a pre-existing version of the music and text, the operatic culture of seventeenth-century Venice was one in which the theatrical spectacle was as important as the other elements of opera. Music and text were open to renegotiation for each new theater, for the available cast, for the local audience, and for the scenic design. The case of *L'Eritrea* shows an opera in a performance culture where the staging exerted pressure on the other layers of the operatic collaboration. This fact accounts for the multiple versions of the opera that are documented in the sources and explains how to use these sources for editions and revivals of the opera today.

Example 4.20: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana It. IV, 361 = (9885), f. 105v.

EPILOGUE

I. Summary of Conclusions: The Interaction of Dramaturgy and Scenography

The case studies of *L'Oristeo*, *La Rosinda*, *La Calisto*, and *L'Eritrea* examined in this dissertation are indicative of the central role of stage production in the genesis and reception of seventeenth-century Venetian opera repertoire. Staging was not a secondary consideration but rather a primary force in shaping the musico-dramatic structure of works by Cavalli and Faustini in this period. Every rehearsal and new production offered an opportunity to rework the score and libretto to local venues, casts, scenery, and audiences. When these operas circulated to other theaters in other cities, once again the dramaturgical shape was open to renegotiation. The types of modifications made to these operas illustrate the changing aesthetic priorities of Italian opera at mid-century: the shifting musico-dramatic balance toward more arias in complex forms instead of recitative and the emphasis of new secondary comic characters and subplots. Brief instrumental *sinfonie* are inserted to accommodate the movement of scenery in different productions. The multiple productions of these operas show exactly how and when these adjustments were worked into the musico-dramatic flow of the staging. Dramaturgy and scenography are fundamentally interrelated: the moments of transition in the scenic structure of these operas are the key moments in which other dramaturgical modifications are made. It is clear that most of the cuts and additions identified in these case studies were made to accommodate the staging of the opera.

These conclusions confirm that the commercial opera culture of Venice (and Venetian opera in circulation in other cities) was a business climate in which practicalities like the overall budget, available personnel, logistical coordination of production elements, and similar factors were at least as important as aesthetic concerns in determining the form in which an opera was presented. This somewhat utilitarian view of opera production does not diminish the importance of the composer, librettist, or performer, but rather reflects the complexity of the financial, logistical, and artistic context in which they were required to operate. The local needs of staging of one of Cavalli's operas were more important than fidelity to any single preexisting musical or dramatic version, which readily yielded—sometimes drastically—to new production circumstances. For both creators and early audiences, staging was conceptualized as fundamental to opera, just as much if not more so than the musico-dramatic texts from which it was derived.

The evidence that music and poetry were in some instances modified to accommodate the visual design of the performance reflects a balance of aesthetic systems, not a hierarchy in the conceptualization of opera where music and text dominate. For the seventeenth-century performers and audiences of this repertoire, the *mise-en-scène* was given as much weight as the drama and the music. The fact that the visual aspect of the performance was so important at the time can be easily overlooked because so little evidence of the actual stage performances has survived. Scores and libretti extensively document Cavalli's and Faustini's operas, but very few visual records remain, due to their ephemeral nature. Nevertheless, by looking closely at moments of intersection of dramaturgy and scenography in the sources, it

is possible to restore a sense of the visual priorities of the seventeenth-century Venetian repertoire and how staging influenced the shaping of the musical and dramatic performance.

II. Application of Comparative Dramaturgy to Repertoire Beyond Venice

The methodology of this study can be applied to operas written by other seventeenth-century composers in Venice and those working in operatic centers outside the lagoon. Based on the conclusions presented here, the scenography of seventeenth-century Venetian opera by other composers should be analyzed against the dramaturgy of all available scores and variant libretti. The history of the repertoire analyzed here is bound closely to the multiple productions in which it was presented; this multiplicity of stage performances should be fully documented and compared in future studies and editions of the music and libretti.

Further examination of other repertoire is warranted to determine whether operas composed outside Venice display the same characteristics of stage production in the sources. The cities to which the Venetian repertoire circulated may have absorbed some of the aspects of this stage performance culture. The migration of scores, libretti, and performers functioned across a wide network of production sites, of which Venice was a central hub in the middle of the seventeenth century. Research into the performance cultures of cities like Bologna and Naples,

analyzed in the chapters of this study, as well as larger centers like Rome, may yield insight on local variations to the approach of mounting stage productions from dramaturgical sources. Still, operas that originated in Venice hold a position of priority in this regard because far more works traveled away from Venice than returned. The Venetian model of commercial production—with the central role of the impresario in coordinating the budget, venue, cast, and scenery—combined with the culture of the itinerant troupe of performers derived from *commedia dell'arte* was particularly well suited to fostering the dynamic interaction of dramaturgy and performance that is demonstrated throughout this study.

III. Implications for Contemporary Stage Production

There are several implications of this study for contemporary stage productions of Cavalli's operas. First, performers who are preparing versions of these operas can apply this information about dramaturgy and scenography in the creation of new productions. As more of Cavalli's operas become available, opera companies and scholars will benefit from an understanding of the complex process of staging these works in the seventeenth century. Information about the multiple versions recorded in libretti and manuscript scores can help in the determination of cuts and inserted material to be performed today. Rather than moving toward a single, definitive version, these sources were mutable to the performing circumstances. The scores that have survived stipulate which version or versions of

a Cavalli opera can be performed today, but interpreters and designers of this material may readily make cuts, insertions, and transpositions of the kind observed in the performance of these operas. The placement or even addition of certain *sinfonie* and the inclusion or addition of arias *ad spectatores* may be determined by the scenery that is constructed for the new production.

The expansion of the repertoire of many opera companies to include more early opera has brought contemporary audiences in contact with a historical theatrical culture that emphasized performance over textuality. The mutability of the score and libretto according to the performing circumstances and the multiplicity of versions of these operas challenge the notion that any single source captures the true "work" of an opera. Cavalli's operas are particularly relevant to scholars and performers who seek to explore the performativity of opera as a genre. The historical conceptualization of the stage production as a primary experience of the opera itself makes this repertoire particularly relevant to new approaches in opera scholarship emphasizing performance over text. Understanding the theatrical complexity of Cavalli's operas makes them particularly appealing for study, performance, and production.

The willingness of Cavalli and his contemporaries to rework the score and libretto, sometimes quite drastically, offers a model for similar production approaches today. The concept of the *pasticcio* or the *rifacimento* can be applied in the development of newly designed performances. Many opera producers have commissioned new works from stage directors and conductors that are

reassembled from fragments of multiple operas, or merely a collection of Baroque arias combined by an entirely new libretto. The historical background of the performance culture of Cavalli's works in the seventeenth century can provide models for these types of reworking, and the concept of the *pasticcio* can be applied to music of any era, although its origin in early Italian repertoire has meant that it has been most often applied to early music.

The indications in the scores and libretti of Cavalli's operas record moments when the performance incorporated new theatrical technologies in the form of mechanized movements of scenery and flying machines. Today, producers continue to make strides in the inclusion of new technologies in the opera house, from the use of video projections in place of traditional scenery, to new types of stage automation and video simulcast technology to larger audiences in remote sites. Both in the creation of new operas and in productions of early operas, stage directors continue to grapple with these new technologies, just as Cavalli and his contemporaries labored to integrate the theatrical machines of their own time. This historical model can provide a context for artistic experimentation with stage technology today, both for the revival of Cavalli's works and in the development of new operas by contemporary composers seeking to expand theatrical technology.

The mutability of the opera performance in response to the local venue is another way in which this historical model can provide the required background for artistic exploration in contemporary opera culture. As opera companies continue to explore alternative venues for opera staging—from smaller black box theaters to

chapels to galleries and public spaces—today opera stage directors face new challenges in the preparation of the performing version and the determination of the stage design. The model of Cavalli's operas in circulation provides an important example of a musico-dramatic repertoire under the pressure of adaptation in multiple performance contexts. Furthermore, Cavalli's operas offer contemporary stage directors with an interest in these types of alterative spaces a repertoire that is particularly well suited to peripatetic artistic presentation. The material of Cavalli's operas can be easily reworked to suit the cast and the venue, and the small scale of the orchestra makes the balance between voices and instrumentalists ideal in small chamber venues of many varieties.

Today, Cavalli's operas are in the process of becoming part of the standard repertoire of opera companies, conservatories, and universities. Forthcoming editions will only make these operas more widely studied and performed on opera stages throughout the world. The history of the staging of these operas should inform our scholarly and theatrical approaches to this important body of work. Understanding the staging of the operas of Cavalli helps us gain a fuller appreciation of the complex interaction of music, drama, and spectacle that makes opera of all time periods so endlessly fascinating.

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