## Giasone's Travels: Opera and Its Performance in the Seventeenth Century

## Citation

Lin, Thomas Wen Tsen. 2015. Giasone's Travels: Opera and Its Performance in the Seventeenth Century. Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, Graduate School of Arts \& Sciences.

## Permanent link

http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HUL.InstRepos:17467520

## Terms of Use

This article was downloaded from Harvard University's DASH repository, and is made available under the terms and conditions applicable to Other Posted Material, as set forth at http:// nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HUL.InstRepos:dash.current.terms-of-use\#LAA

## Share Your Story

The Harvard community has made this article openly available.
Please share how this access benefits you. Submit a story.

Accessibility

# Giasone's Travels 

# Opera and Its Performance in the Seventeenth Century 

A dissertation presented by<br>\section*{Thomas Wen Tsen Lin}

to

The Department of Music
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the subject of
Music

Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts
© 2015, Thomas Wen Tsen Lin All rights reserved.

## Giasone’s Travels: Opera and Its Performance in the Seventeenth Century


#### Abstract

This dissertation presents an in-depth examination of Giacinto Andrea Cicognini and Francesco Cavalli's Giasone (1649). Its premiere in Venice took the city by storm, generating such enthusiasm among opera audiences that the publisher Andrea Giuliani was forced to print two additional editions of the libretto that same year simply to meet widespread demand. In an industry that chewed up and spat out operas, one in which most productions had an effective shelf life of one year, Giasone would go on to be performed throughout Italy over the next forty years, ranging as far south as Palermo and as far west as Turin, until its final performance in Brescia, 1690. It was without a doubt the most performed stage work of the Seicento. The four decades between 1649 and 1690 saw many changes, both to a public opera economy and culture that were barely nascent in Venice when Giasone saw its first performance, and to the opera itself. Not only were words, verses, swaths of text, and even entire scenes cut, shifted, or added from city to city, Giasone was even revived under different titles from the 1670 s onward.

Part 1 of my dissertation untangles the forty-five librettos, twelve scores, two scenari, and four prose editions associated with the opera. I divide these sources into groups of librettos and families of scores based on a combination of publication city, historical data, and most importantly the similarity or variation of content. This philological work sets the stage for Part 2, a close analysis of Giasone employing textual and musical methods that accounts for and explicates the dramatic nucleus of the work, one focused around continuities-of location, character focus, interlocution, and harmony. I show how despite the revisionary pressures exerted on it


throughout its forty-year performance history, Giasone's identity as a sentimental, at times ribald love story, remained intact. In doing so, I provide insight into some of the creative and artistic processes behind the composition of the seventeenth century's most popular opera.

## CONTENTS

List of Figures, Tables, and Examples ..... viii
Abbreviations and Style Considerations ..... X1
Acknowledgments ..... xiv
Introduction. Giasone: An Overview ..... 1
Plot Summary ..... 8
Part 1. The Sources
Chapter One. The Librettos ..... 12
The Venice Sources ..... 18
A Tale of Two Editions ..... 19
Inconsistencies Within the Venice Group ..... 27
The Florence Sources ..... 31
The Milan Sources ..... 36
The Naples Sources ..... 38
Naples Group 1 ..... 38
Naples Group 2 ..... 44
The Rome Sources ..... 49
The "Satellite" Sources ..... 51
Chapter Two. The Scores ..... 58
The Venice Family ..... 60
The Contarini Score ..... 60
Other Members of the Venice Family ..... 71
The Rome Family ..... 87
The Naples Family ..... 92
Oxford: A Simplified Stemma ..... 98
Reconstructing Giasone ..... 102

## Part 2. "Dramma musicale"

Chapter Three. Cicognini: Playwright and Librettist ..... 108
From Florence to Venice ..... 110
Cicognini’s Legacy ..... 122
Playwright: A Student of Spanish Drama ..... 134
Il convitato di pietra ..... 139
Don Gastone di Moncada ..... 144
Librettist: A Florentine in Venice ..... 151
Celio ..... 151
Orontea ..... 155
Giasone ..... 160
Cicognini and Giovanni Faustini: A Case Study ..... 166
La virtù de' strali d'Amore ..... 168
Eritrea ..... 170
Chapter Four. Elucidating the Drama in Giasone ..... 176
A New Scenario ..... 177
Giasone's Dramatic Articulation ..... 186
Entabulating Giasone ..... 191
Interlocutionary Continuity ..... 199
Location Continuity ..... 204
Character Focus ..... 207
Shifting and Amending Scenes, 1649-1690 ..... 208
Shifted Scenes ..... 208
I.3: Rosmina Giardiniera ..... 209
-I.14: Isifile ..... 213
II.8: Giove, Eolo, Amore, Coro di Dei ..... 217
II.11: Giasone, Medea, Besso, Ercole con gl'Argonauti, Coro di Soldati, Coro di marinari sbarcano ..... 220
Amended Scenes ..... 223
Cut Scenes ..... 224
Substituted Scenes ..... 228
Conclusions: Giasone's Dramatic Integrity ..... 238
The Prose Version and its Relationship to the Libretto ..... 239
Bridging the Gap: Performing Giasone Today ..... 247
Chapter Five. Musical Diplomacy: Cavalli's Harmonic Language ..... 253
Francesco Cavalli ..... 254
Method and Analysis ..... 262
Hexachord Theory ..... 263
I.14: Isifile sola - An Analysis ..... 269
Musical Diplomacy Through Dialogue ..... 277
Prologue: Sole, Amore ..... 281
I.2: Giasone, Ercole ..... 287
III. 8: Oreste, Isifile ..... 295
The "Central Act Finale" ..... 294
II.13-14: Oreste, Giasone, Medea, Isifile. ..... 300
Conclusion. Giasone's Redemption: A Study in Continuity ..... 311
Appendix I. Critical Edition and Translation of Venice 1649A ..... 318
Appendix II. Giasone Sources and Textual Variants ..... 412
Appendix III. The Dramatic Works of Cicognini ..... 461
Appendix IV. Music Examples ..... 473
Appendix V. Giasone Title Pages: Librettos, Scenari and Prose Editions ..... 542
BIBLIOGRAPHY ..... 562

## List of Figures, Tables, And Examples

## Figures

2.1a: Contarini, f. 153v ..... 62
2.1b: Eliogabalo (I-Vnm, Ms.It.Cl.IV.358), f. 69v ..... 62
2.2a: Contarini, f. 74v ..... 63
2.2b: Contarini, f. 78 r ..... 63
2.3a: Contarini, f. 3 r ..... 64
2.3b: Contarini, f. 21v ..... 64
2.3c: Contarini, f. 55v ..... 64
2.3d: Eliogabalo (I-Vnm, Ms.It.Cl.IV.358), f. 75r. ..... 64
2.4a: Contarini, f. 1r (1 $1^{\text {st }}$ Violin) ..... 65
2.4b: Contarini, f. 1r (Cello) ..... 65
2.4c: Contarini, f. 1v (Cello) ..... 65
2.4d: Contarini, f. 2r (Viola) ..... 66
2.5: Contarini, f. 148 r ..... 66
2.6: Contarini, f. 22r ..... 66
2.7a: Contarini, f. 47v ..... 67
2.7b: Contarini, f. 122v ..... 67
2.7c: Contarini, f. 75v ..... 68
2.8a: Eliogabalo (I-Vnm, Ms.It.Cl.IV.358), f. 51v ..... 69
2.8b: Erismena (I-Vnm, Ms. It.Cl.IV.360), f. 39 r ..... 69
2.8c: Contarini, f. 63r ..... 70
2.9a: Contarini, f. 106v ..... 73
2.9b: Florence, p. 171 ..... 73
2.10a: Vatican, f. 62r. ..... 74
2.10b: Vatican, f. 101r. ..... 75
2.10c: Vatican, f. 166r ..... 75
2.11a: Contarini, f. 1r ..... 76
2.11b: Vatican, f. 1r ..... 77
2.11c: Florence, f. 1r ..... 77
2.11d: Vienna, f. 1v ..... 78
2.12a: Xerse (I-Vnm, MS.It.Cl.IV.374), f. 68v—Ornate Treble Clef ..... 79
2.12b: Xerse (I-Vnm, MS.It.Cl.IV.374), f. 73r—Simpler Treble Clef. ..... 79
2.12c: Vienna, f. 1v ..... 80
2.13a: Vienna, f. 167v ..... 82
2.13b: Contarini, f. 161r ..... 82
2.14a: Contarini, f. 161v ..... 83
2.14b: Vienna, f. 170v ..... 83
2.15a: Contarini, f. 3r ..... 84
2.15b: Vienna, f. 3 r ..... 84
2.16a: Contarini, f. 132r ..... 84
2.16b: Vienna, f. 134v ..... 84
2.17a: Contarini, f. 115v ..... 85
2.17b: Vienna, f. 115 v ..... 85
2.18a: Contarini, f. 2v ..... 88
2.18b: Siena, f. 5v ..... 89
2.19a: Contarini, f. 13r ..... 90
2.19b: Siena, f. 29v ..... 90
2.20a: Lisbon, f. 62r ..... 91
2.20b: Siena, f. 80v ..... 91
2.21: Naples C, ff. 33v-34r ..... 93
2.22a: Vatican, f. 44v ..... 94
2.22b: Naples A, f. 35v ..... 95
2.22c: Naples C, f. 34r ..... 95
2.23: Naples C, f. 31v ..... 96
2.24a: I-Rvat, Archivio Chigi - Receipt of payment to Francesco Antonio Sardo ..... 99
2.24b: Oxford, f. 17 r ..... 100
2.25: Giasone - A Stemma of the Score Families ..... 101
3.1: Cicognini Publications By Year ..... 124
5.1: Chafe's Hexachord Framework ..... 264
5.2: Burnett's Hexachord System ..... 266
TABLES
1.1A: Text-Based Sources for Giasone ..... 15
1.1B: The Giasone Scores ..... 16
1.2: Differences between Venice 1649A and Venice 1649B ..... 22
2.1: The Giasone Scores by Family ..... 58
2.2: Lacunae in Venice 1649B and the Venice Family Scores ..... 104
3.1: List of Works by Giacinto Andrea Cicognini ..... 123
3.2: Character Conversions from Burlador to Convitato ..... 140
3.3: Cast of Characters for Don Gastone di Moncada ..... 145
3.4: Don Gastone di Moncada, Act III Character Distribution ..... 149
3.5: Cast of Characters for Celio (Opera Proper) ..... 152
3.6: Celio, Act III Character Distribution and Scene Synopsis ..... 154
3.7: Cast of Characters for Orontea (Opera Proper) ..... 156
3.8: Orontea, Act III Character Distribution and Scene Synopsis ..... 158
3.9: Cast of Characters for Giasone (Opera Proper) ..... 161
3.10: Giasone, Act III Character Distribution and Scene Synopsis ..... 163
3.11: La virtù de' strali d'Amore, III.11-16 Character Distribution ..... 168
3.12: Eritrea, Partial Cast of Characters ..... 171
3.13: Eritrea, III.11-15 Character Distribution ..... 172
4.1: Giasone, Complete List of Characters ..... 191
4.2: Giasone, List of Locations (from Venice 1649A) ..... 192
4.3: Location, Character, and Interlocutionary Continuities in Giasone. ..... 194
4.4: Giasone Act I—Milanese Structure ..... 216
4.5: Giasone-Prose Edition vs. Venice 1649A ..... 240
5.1 - I.14: Isifile sola ..... 271
5.2 - Prologue: Sole, Amore ..... 279
5.3 - I.2: Giasone, Ercole ..... 286
5.4 - III.8: Oreste, Isifile ..... 291
5.5 - II.13-14: Oreste, Giasone, Medea, Isifile ..... 296
5.6 - II.21: Tutti. ..... 309
II.1A: Giasone-Text-Only Sources ..... 414
II.1B: Giasone-Scores ..... 422
II.2A: Structural Variants ..... 423
II.2B: Variants in I. 7 (Demo, Oreste) ..... 424
II.2C: Variants in I. 14 (Isifile sola) ..... 425
II.2D: Variants in II. 2 (Oreste, Isifile) ..... 425
II.2E: Variants in II. 4 (Giasone solo) ..... 426
II.2F: Variants in III. 8 (Oreste, Isifile) ..... 426
II.2G: Variants in III. 21 (Tutti) ..... 426
II.3: The Venice Source Variants ..... 428
II.4: The Florence Source Variants ..... 432
II.5: The Milan Source Variants ..... 435
II.6: The Naples Source Variants ..... 439
II.7: The Rome Source Variants ..... 448
II.8: The "Satellite" Source Variants ..... 453
Examples
IV.1: "Delizie, contenti" - Il novello Giasone (Alessandro Stradella) ..... 474
IV.2: I. 14 - Isifile sola ..... 477
IV.3: Prologo - Sole, Amore ..... 482
IV.4: I. 2 - Giasone, Ercole ..... 493
IV.5: III. 8 - Oreste, Isifile. ..... 505
IV.6: II.13-14 - Oreste, Giasone, Medea, Isifile ..... 509
IV.7: III. 21 — Tutti ..... 523

## Abbreviations and Style Considerations

## Abbreviations Used

| Country | Library Siglum |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| AUSTRIA | A-Wn | Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung |
| GERMANY | D-Mbs | Munich, Bayerisch Staatsbibliothek, Musikabteilung |
| SPAIN | E-SAu | Salamanca, Biblioteca de la Universidad de Salamanca |
| FRANCE | F-Pm | Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine |
|  | F-Po | Paris, Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra |
| UNITED KINGDOM | GB-Lbl | London, The British Library |
|  | GB-Ob | Oxford, Bodleian Library |
| ITALY | I-IBborromeo | Isola Bella, Borromeo (Private Collection) |
|  | I-Bc | Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale |
|  | I-Bu | Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria |
|  | I-FEc | Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea |
|  | I-Fas | Florence, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Biblioteca |
|  | I-Fm | Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana |
|  | I-Fn | Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale |
|  | I-IE | Jesi, Biblioteca Comunale |
|  | I-Lg | Lucca, Biblioteca Statale |
|  | I-Mb | Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense |
|  | I-Mc | Milan, Conservatorio di Musica Giuseppe Verdi, Biblioteca |
|  | I-MOe | Modena, Biblioteca Estense |
|  | I-MOs | Modena, Archivio di Stato |
|  | I-Nc | Naples, Conservatorio di Musica San Pietro a Majella, Biblioteca |
|  | I-PLpagano | Palermo, Roberto Pagano (Private Collection) |


|  | I-REm | Reggio Emilia, Biblioteca Municipale Antonio Panizzi |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | I-RVE | Rovereto, Biblioteca Civica Girolamo Tartarotti |
|  | I-RVI | Rovigo, Accademia dei Concordi, Biblioteca |
|  | I-Rc | Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense |
|  | I-Rn | Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II |
|  | I-Rsc | Rome, Conservatorio di Santa Cecilia, Biblioteca Musicale Governativa |
|  | I-Rvat | Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana |
|  | I-Rasv | Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano |
|  | I-Sc | Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati |
|  | I-Vnm | Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana |
| NETHERLANDS | NL-Lu | Leiden, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, Bibliotheek |
| PORTUGAL | P-La | Portugal, Lisbon, Biblioteca do Palacio Nacional da Ajuda |
| UNITED STATES | US-BAue | Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University, Milton S. Eisenhower Library |
|  | US-LAum | Los Angeles, UCLA Music Library |
|  | US-Wc | Washington, D.C., Albert Schatz Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress |
|  | US-Ws | Washington, D.C., Folger Shakespeare Library |

I wish to thank the above libraries for their kind permission to reproduce images of their holdings in Chapter 2 and in Appendix V.

## Text

Except where noted, translations in this dissertation are mine. I am grateful to Joeli Marrero Zouzias for her assistance with some of the Spanish text in Chapter 3, and to Carlo Lanfossi, Davide Ceriani, and Christine Jeanneret for their assistance with parts of the Italian text,
in particular some of the prefatory texts in the librettos that I quote in Chapter 3, as well as the ode to Cicognini penned by Aurelio Aureli and the text for Venice 1649A in Appendix I.

Text that is in Italian, Spanish or French in the main body of the dissertation has been italicized and enclosed in quotation marks, except when denoting aria or recitative titles (in which case the text is only enclosed in quotation marks and left unitalicized). The Italian text in Appendix I, as well as the lists of variants in Appendix II and the textual overlay in the examples in Appendix IV, have been left unitalicized.

To help distinguish between sources, all instances of Giasone scores in the main body of the dissertation and in Appendix II appear in bold.

## Music

Music examples have been drawn mostly from Vienna (the rationale for which see Chapter 2, "Reconstructing Giasone"), but I have resorted to the Contarini score at times to fill in some lacunae that appear in the text. This is particularly true of III.21, although I have otherwise left the unique structure of its denouement as it appears in the Vienna score and in the Ferrara 1659 libretto.

## Acknowledgements

My journey has been a long one, made possible only with the help of dozens of friends and colleagues along the way who've exhorted me to keep my eyes on the prize. At the very top of what will be a truly prodigious list, pride of place goes to my dissertation committee. To Tom Kelly, my advisor: you have guided my progress with a keen eye for detail and style, never fearing to puncture an idea that merely sounded good, and reminding me of the larger picture at every turn. You were the first professor I met at Harvard when I came to visit all those years ago, and I will never forget how welcome you made me feel from the outset. From our seminars together that ranged from Ambrosian chant to Paris in the 1830 s, I deeply appreciate the fact that you always made room for my interests during our conversations-and even more, that they often intersected with your own. I'll be forever grateful for the opportunity we had to work together when I head-TF'ed for First Nights, and will always remember fondly the occasions when you and Peggy opened your home to me.

Mauro Calcagno, mio relatore: thank you for having set me on this path so many years ago, and for having accompanied me the entire way. Our Monteverdi seminar during my first semester at Harvard contains some of my fondest memories as a graduate student. I shudder to think back on my attempts to translate Tasso, Rinuccini, and Marino with only a faint grasp of Italian at the time, and am eternally grateful that you nudged me in the direction of the Middlebury Language Program. Our conversations in your office, on Skype, at your home in Long Island, and most recently in Philadelphia, have been a mainstay of my development as an academic. Thank you for always seeing the best in even the dross that I have at times spilled. You, Jamuna, and

Mariacristina have provided me with emotional support beyond anything I could have hoped for, particularly during a difficult period in 2011, and I am fortunate to have you three in my life.

To Alex Rehding, I will always admire the effortless ease with which you've spouted profound ideas. Auditing your seminar on the Sublime, taking seminars on the history of theory with you, and eventually helping you to design a new Music 51 curriculum, were only a thin slice of the fun I had hanging out with you. At you and Bevil's magnificent house I had the opportunity to cook things like mole, Beef Wellington, pastitsio, and frozen dumplings brought up from New York, not to mention my first experience with the Eurovision Song Contest in 2007. From getting to house (and cat-) sit for you, to giggling at Amazon reviews for Penetrating Wagner's Ring that you innocently sent my way, you've been like a cool older cousin to me, one who's also frighteningly intelligent. Thank you for your role in my formation as a scholar and as a person.

And Kate van Orden, a late but exceedingly welcome addition to my committee: thank you for having invigorated my research with a breath of fresh air. Your timely expertise with print culture saved me from a potentially embarrassing episode, in which I'd have had to explain why I resorted simply to the transliteration of "impressione" to refer to an actual edition. Our short collaboration has given me a deep appreciation for the experience and savvy that you've directed at my chapters, always couched in nurturing and encouraging language-vital for this last, exhausting phase of the dissertation. It has truly been an honor and a pleasure.

This dissertation is the final product of hours upon hours spent in Isham library during the winter of 2009 digitizing its vast collection of microfilms of Giasone librettos, at the behest of Ellen Rosand. At the time, I was only acquainted with the opera by means of a rapid, and perforce shallow, study of seventeenth-century Venetian opera during the preceding summer for my general exams. When presented with the opportunity to attend a seminar at Yale University
on Cavalli's operas during the Spring 2009 semester, taught by Ellen Rosand, I readily accepted, not realizing that she would ask me to furnish the class with those same digitized librettos. It may have been due to an unfounded sense of possessiveness that I felt for those libretto PDFs, but halfway during one of the most intellectually stimulating seminars I've had the privilege of participating in, I realized that I wanted to do a dissertation on Giasone. What began as a philological puzzle quickly grew into a deep appreciation and love for the craftsmanship of the libretto and music. And so I thank you, Ellen, for having guided me in the direction of this opera, and for all of your invaluable feedback and assistance along the way to this finished product.

Of all the members of that Cavalli seminar, a truly all-star ensemble of Italian scholars and Yale graduate students, I am most grateful for my collaboration with Joseph Salem, co-author of our article on Giasone's sources. It was an honor to be given the opportunity to piggyback onto the proceedings for the conference that took place at the end of that seminar, a true highlight and capstone for the semester that showed us students the vast and myriad possibilities for Cavalli scholarship. Joe's work on the scores in particular was a virtuosic display of information management, and I hope to have done honor to our partnership in the first two chapters of this dissertation. This is not in the least meant to discount the visiting scholars who graced us with their knowledge and expertise that spring, and whose ongoing assistance and support have gone a long way in helping me to reach the finish line: Jennifer Williams Brown, Wendy Heller, Beth and Jonathan Glixon, Nicola Michelassi, Nicola Badolato, Álvaro Torrente, and Davide Daolmi. Many other Seicento scholars have lent their experience as well at various stages of my research, and I am deeply grateful for their feedback as well: Rebekah Ahrendt, Alessio Ruffatti, Louise Stein, Kelley Harness, Margaret Murata, Valeria De Lucca, Tim Carter, Barbara Nestola, and Hendrik Schulze.

I am especially thankful for advice and comments provided by Anna Tedesco, whose work on the prose version of Giasone has been such a valuable springboard for my own reflections on the relationship between it and the first two libretto editions. Lorenzo Bianconi, the man behind the man, I humbly thank you for having shared your vast erudition on this opera and the Seicento with me, in comments on my sources article, to filling in some vital missing pages among several of the digitized librettos at Isham Library, and finally to granting me access to the final frontier of the Giasone scores, that source ensconced behind a wall of Borromeos on Isola Bella: I cannot express how grateful I am to have learned something about this score because of you. Nicola Usula, my fellow Argonaut, your profound knowledge and love for Giasone have humbled and inspired me, and I can only hope that this dissertation does a modicum of justice to your already impressive body of scholarship on this work.

Christine Jeanneret, you've been a solid scholarly presence in my life since I first attempted to provide feedback on a Marenzio article you had drafted. Thank you for all of your intellectual and emotional support over the years, and for always humoring me by allowing us to correspond exclusively in Italian from the early days. Carlo Lanfossi, my Milanese brother, you will never know how much your advice and help have meant to me, from showing me neat tricks with OPAC when we first met in 2010, to your general knowledge about all things Italian and Seicento, to helping me with countless translations over the years, to acting as a sounding board for my conference papers, to discoursing on the right kind of tomato with which to make a proper ragù or the many culinary treats awaiting me when I finally travel to Italy; you have been a steadfast rock. Thank you for having my back.

The cornerstone of this dissertation-its philological section-would have been impossible to build without the stalwart aid of the Eda Kuhn Loeb Music Library staff. Many thanks to the Keeper of the Isham Memorial Library and now head of the music library, Sarah Adams, for all
those many months back in 2009 and 2010 wrangling with libraries all throughout Italy for access to their librettos. Huge thanks to Douglas Freundlich and to Joshua Kantor for cataloguing and organizing the sources once they began trickling in, as well as to the library staff at large, including Andrew Wilson, Sarah Barton, Robert Dennis, Peter Laurence, Liza Vick, and Kerry Masteller, for all of your help over the years.

I am deeply indebted to the professors I've had the privilege to work with over my years at Harvard: Christoph Wolff, Kofi Agawu, Sean Gallagher, Carolyn Abbate, Elliott Gyger, Anne Shreffler, Lewis Lockwood, Elvira G. Di Fabio, Jason Stanyek, and Paul McIntyre. My intellectual approach in this dissertation and as a scholar was forged and honed by your seminars and your mentorship. Special thanks to Maria Rose, who encouraged me to dive into music academia, to Carol Oja for always believing in me, to Kay Shelemay for your strong advocacy over the years, to Sindhu Revuluri for your support and kind words, and to Suzannah Clark for always listening and for offering incredibly timely advice and feedback on the writing process.

To the staff of the Harvard music department, you've made this a truly welcoming place, and keep the ship running smoothly day in and day out. Kaye Denny, Charles Stillman, Lesley Bannatyne, Jean Moncrieff, Eva Kim, Karen Rynne, Fernando Viesca, and Mary Gerbi: thank you all. Many thanks also to Bob LaPointe in the GSAS office for always being on my side, and for answering my countless questions. And most of all, to Nancy Shafman at the helm, I cannot begin to express my gratitude for all of the administrative rigor and expertise (and candies) you have brought to bear over my nine years here, that made my experience at Harvard so smooth and pleasant.

I have been blessed with financial support during my time here, and wish to acknowledge and thank those who endowed me with the Ferdinand Gordon and Elizabeth Hunter Morrill Graduate Fellowship as well as the Richard F. French grant at Harvard on multiple occasions, the

Mario G. and Katrina Tanner Vangeli Memorial Prize at Middlebury College, and the AMS committee that granted me the first ever William Holmes/Frank D'Accone Endowment for Travel and Research in the History of Opera.

My music professors from CUNY, whom I have known for over a decade now, helped set me on my current path, and continue to be pillars of support and inspiration in my academic career: Jennifer Oates, professor and music librarian extraordinaire; Edward Smaldone, department head and mentor; James John, my favorite choral conductor; Cindy Bell, who was so much more than a conductor and music educator; Jeff Nichols, composer, theorist-I will never forget our fugue composition class, or your beautiful meditation on the legacy that parents leave behind after the death of my mother. Anne Stone, who taught my first music history course, my first bibliography seminar, and my first Renaissance/Ars subtilior notation tutorial, your savvy and often ironic take on the profession has always provided me with valuable perspective. Richard Kramer, you helped me to truly experience the beauty of the written word, and to see what musicology can and should be. Barbara Hanning, la Professoressa, we had time for only one seminar together, but it was a monumental one (I still have the T-shirt); thank you for all of the meals, advice, and nurture and support. And finally, Henry Burnett, professor, mentor, chef, friend: I will be forever grateful for the chance to have worked with you, and to learn at your feet everything from music to movies to finance to cooking. You still have the best recipes for rugelach and kugel.

The Italian Language School at Middlebury College was a vital component for this dissertation project. I doubt I would have learned Italian any faster in two summers if I had gone to Italy. To Antonio Vitti, director of the program, bravo: a truly superb collection of teachers who consistently gave $110 \%$ to any student who asked. Thank you to all those who taught me: Peter Kairoff, who helped me to fall in love with opera all over again, this time in another language; Gloria DiFolco, for the hours spent tutoring me in diction and for helping me tap into
my inner istrione; Anna Carozza, everybody's favorite nonna and a slice of home in a strange land; Julian Gargiulo, whose musical about Middlebury was one of the best things about that summer in 2009; Antonello Borra, your enthusiasm and energy continue to inspire me; Lorenzo Borgotallo, I can't thank you enough for having pored through the entire Giasone libretto with me on your own time, helping me to truly understand its richness and nuance; Ernesto Livorni, cool and avuncular, thank you for all the conversations and for the bibliography on dramatic theory; and last but not least Alicia Vitti, my first Italian teacher, who made it look easy and in whom I truly heard for the first time la bellezza della lingua.

My classmates at Harvard have provided support and encouragement from day one, and I owe them a deep debt of gratitude for making it worth going into the department every day. While it is impossible to name every peer who has made a positive impact on my graduate career (especially in an already-lengthy Acknowledgements section), I wish to thank, in particular: Ryan Bañagale, Katherine Lee, Aaron Allen, Michael Cuthbert, Evan MacCarthy, Ellen Exner, John McKay, Dave Sullivan, Ana Paula Hirano, Edgar Barroso, and José-Luis Hurtado. To James Park, my Korean brother at Yale, I'm grateful to you and Cynthia for your friendship, for all the pizza at Pepe's, and most of all for the unalloyed glee with which you razz me. My various Music 309 colleagues, writing group partners, and Early Music Group friends, thank you for helping me to see this project to fruition: Hannah Lewis, Matthew Henseler, Micah Wittmer, Luci Mok, Jamie Blasina, Andy Friedman, Delia Casadei, Leon Chisholm, and Emerson Morgan. Huge thanks to Elizabeth Craft, honorary 2006 G-1: your friendship and support over the years have been truly a blessing. To Davide Ceriani, roommate, landlord, my Florentine brother, caro amico: you've been there with me through thick and thin, and I'm fortunate to call you my friend. And finally to the stupendous 2006 G-1 cohort: we did it! From running the department ragged through our sheer numbers, to Sunday teatimes, to studying en masse for generals that summer of 2008, I have never
been prouder to be part of such an extraordinary collection of people: Matthew Mugmon, Louis Epstein, Frank Lehman, Andrea Bohlman, Glenda Goodman, Michael Heller, Meredith Schweig, Rowland Moseley, Sofia Becerra-Licha, Danny Mekonnen, Toby Ottersen, Gabriele Vanoni, Sasha Siem, and Ulrich Kreppein.

To my many friends outside academia who have helped me along the way and kept my head screwed on the right way, I am grateful every day for your presence in my life, even as distant as I currently am in Seattle. To my oldest friends from high school, Jason Ollison, Van Phan, Shrenik Sanghvi, Thomas Sung, Alex Zouzias, and Mike Hyland, thank you for helping me stay grounded. You and your families will always be a part of my own. Your numbers have grown along the way, and I've been glad for the opportunity to get to know your spouses and significant others-Miki, Jen, Lisette, Rona, Joeli, and Michelle. Much love to Carolyn Tan, my first music teacher. A shout-out to Yeolim Nam, my first roommate in Cambridge and a fellow Queens College classmate: rock on. Brian and Didier: thanks for keeping the music going. Un grande abbraccio to my friends and classmates from Middlebury, summers of 2007 and 2009, including Jenn Corey, Andrew Ciccone, Camille Lina, Alani Hicks-Bartlett, Jim Dicenzo, Travis Boileau, Ali Rucker, Sarah Helland, Francie Alexandre, Julian Colilli, Andre Keiser, Thomas Wisniewski, Joe Tamagni, Antonino Riggio, Victoria Tillson-Thomas, and Carla Guglielmino. Capoeira was a welcome, even necessary distraction during my generals summer and beyond, and I am grateful to my capoeira family for teaching me about life inside and outside the roda: Mestre Chuvisco, Cigana; the Harvard Capoeira club: Lindinha, Foguinha, Tudo Bem, Bom Menino; my capoeira brothers who kept me sane throughout this entire process: Compasso, Urso Preto, Urso Pardo, Marreta, Bambu, Tutú, Lele; my former roommates Yoshi and Tubarão (my brother from another mother): thanks, fam.

I've had the fortune to meet some great people online through World of Warcraft, and more recently Final Fantasy XIV, and am thankful to them (and to the games) for helping to take the edge off when I needed it most. Lok'tar ogar to my Kinetic friends and raiding buddies in Azeroth: Hypheridrunk, Vaelstraza, Dimofodi, Suganem, Yuebe, Numbers, Fourmatixs, Vinum, Solobarix, Spaghettyohz, Nyssara, Smuglianka, and Zhorn. You are all part of the tapestry. Among my more recent friends in Eorzea, thank you to Kindred and its officers for your welcome: Rowyne Moonsong, Eluri Olde, Darksage Prime, Dice Silverberg, and Tiri Thon. Onward and heavenward! How fortuitous that there's a Vancouver contingency among you. And to Kathryn, a recent presence and truly positive force in my life, thank you for all of your support, for pushing me gently toward my dissertation when necessary, and for providing the most welcome sort of distraction, also when necessary.

Finally, to my family, who have always been there for me: I am grateful in more ways than I can express for your support and encouragement over the years. To my sisters Vitoria and Esther, who'd have thought we'd all end up with degrees from Ivy League institutions? I am so proud and thrilled to welcome to the family Mark and Ryan, and most of all little Simone, who has brightened every one of the many overcast days here in Seattle since I moved here last summer. To Lukasz, Judith, Fiona, my goddaughter Thea, and her grandparents Marika and Paul, thank you for helping me to become the person I am today. To Damon and my godson Malek, I'm honored and touched to be a part of your lives. And most importantly to my dear parents, without whom none of this would have been possible, I owe you an immeasurable debt of gratitude for the long, hard hours you worked throughout our youth to give me and my sisters the opportunity to follow our dreams, and for all of the tremendous love you've shown us along the way. I dedicate this dissertation in loving memory of my mother, who sadly did not live to see me complete it: I love and miss you, mom.

To my mother
陳美欣

## INTRODUCTION

## Giasone: An Overview

Giacinto Andrea Cicognini, around the middle of the century, with glad boldness, introduced dramas with his Giasone-which to tell the truth is the first, and most perfect drama that can be found-and with this he brought about the destruction of acting, and in consequence of true and good comic acting, and also of tragic acting. ${ }^{1}$
—Giovanni Maria Crescimbeni, La bellezza della volgar poesia [The Beauty of Common Poetry], 1700
 such intense interest among opera audiences that the publisher Andrea Giuliani was forced to make two additional printing runs of its libretto just to meet
widespread demand. The following year, yet another edition was distributed for the benefit of collectors. This flurry of publications represented an unprecedented triumph not only for Giuliani, but for the Teatro San Cassiano that hosted the performances, as well as for the authors of the opera-the neophyte librettist Giacinto Andrea Cicognini and the seasoned opera composer Francesco Cavalli. Most of all, though, it was a triumph for Giasone. Created in a burgeoning industry that chewed up and spat out operas, one in which most productions had an effective shelf life of one year, Giasone went on to appear on stages throughout Italy for the next four decades.

The earliest known performance of Giasone outside of Venice took place in Milan later the same year that it premiered, in 1649. From there, aided by the traveling troupe of performers known as the Febiarmonici, ${ }^{2}$ Giasone was presented on stages in Florence and Lucca in 1650, and then Milan, Genoa, Bologna, Naples, and again Florence in 1651. This first wave of performances helped to establish Giasone's popularity in those cities, and likely generated demand in other

[^0]neighboring cities. Palermo would see a performance in 1655, as would Livorno, Viterbo, Vicenza, and Ferrara later that decade. The 1660s saw revivals in many of these same cities, including Venice for the first time, while others witnessed their own Giasone premieres, including Velletri, Turin, Perugia, Trent, Ancona, Siena, Brescia, and Reggio-Emilia. In the 1670s the number of productions began to diminish, although Rome hosted a "novello" revival in 1671 to help celebrate the opening of its Teatro Tordinona. The 1680s saw the first production of Giasone under a new title, Il trionfo d'amor nelle vendette, although by then the opera's wave of popularity had already ebbed considerably. By the time Giasone appeared again in Brescia as Medea in Colco in 1690, it was clear that tastes had shifted toward more French sensibilities. Even the front matter of the Brescia libretto claimed to have adjusted this work to suit newer, French tastes. Nonetheless, this was a respectable run for an opera written in 1649, during a different era when the genre of public opera in its first bloom was still in the process of being defined and standardized by its participants, onstage and behind the scenes.

Certainly for the publishers in these cities, Giasone librettos proved to be a quick and easy source of additional income, even if the prints did not supplement any concurrent productions. Roughly one-third of the surviving librettos were printed in a year during which no local performance was taking place. Archival research also shows us that of all of the productions in these cities, only seven librettos are unaccounted for. That is, there is evidence to show that Giasone was performed in Siena in 1666, for example, but no libretto associated for that performance has ever been found. However, as a result of this popularity we are left today with forty-five surviving unique librettos, two scenari, four prose editions, and twelve scores associated with this opera, a legacy unmatched by any other staged work from the seventeenth century. Historiographically, it was such a significant work that it was singled out by early literary critics allied with the Arcadian reforms of the early eighteenth century, such as Giovanni Maria

Crescimbeni, whose two-faced critique of Giasone has become as well-known as any of the opera's more famous arias.

My dissertation provides a focused examination of Giasone, the first of its kind undertaken with unfettered access to the vast majority of the opera's sources. ${ }^{3}$ I begin with these librettos and scores in Part 1 ("The Sources"), in an attempt to reconcile the sheer number of variants among all of the sources with the fact that they all represent actual performances. Chapters 1 and 2, then, are a philological exercise in organizing the sources according to categorical criteria in a way that can make some sense of them and, if nothing else, divide them into more manageable portions for consumption. But because these sources are all linked to a performance, whether directly or indirectly (as in the case of literary reprints of librettos, or clean copies of the scores), these two chapters as just as much a performance history of Giasone.

In Chapter One ("The Librettos"), the forty-five librettos (extending as late as 1690) can be divided into seven (often neat) groups. Most of these groups ${ }^{4}$ are geographically based in major Italian cities like Florence, Milan, Naples, and Rome. The criteria for fitting a libretto into a certain group are based on a combination of publication city, historical data, and most importantly variant agreement. The historical data primarily involves a series of "tours" of Giasone undertaken during the 1650s by a traveling troupe named the Febiarmonici, led by Giovan Battista Balbi. In turn, the variants largely fall into three categories-cuts, additions, and substitutions-and range from single words to entire scenes (these being considered "structural" variants). One particular variant involving a recitative replaced by an aria in I.14, for example, separates the Venetian

[^1]production of 1649 from all "post-Venice" performances in other cities (including a Venetian revival in 1666). When determining whether two sources fit together, priority is always given to such positive evidence as additions or substitutions. The lack of textual material is never conclusive enough by itself to prove a correlation between two sources, although it can be useful in support of evidence already in existence.

Chapter Two ("The Scores") deals with the existing scores, placing them into similar categories with greater difficulty. This is because even the scores directly related to the same performance (as in the case of the two that chronicle the Roman Il novello Giasone revival of 1671) contain variants distinct from one another. Further complicating the organization of these scores are the facts that none of them are dated, only three can be linked to a specific performance or production ${ }^{5}$ of Giasone, and most importantly, there is no autograph score, much less a performance score from the premiere. This makes a chronology, not to mention a stemma, of these sources difficult. However, restricting my analytical lens to a limited number of very significant variants, I propose a stemma-not accounting for each individual score, but for the score families as they relate to one another. The lack of an autograph score also adds special interest to the recently launched endeavor at a critical edition of Giasone. ${ }^{6}$ What constitutes an "authoritative" version of Giasone, given the vast number of sources we have available, the majority of which are tied to a specific production? I summarize the issues surrounding this and propose, with results not dissimilar from the Giasone editorial board, a certain combination of scores that can be put together to recreate a hypothetical score reflecting performance conditions at the 1649 premiere in Venice.

[^2]The results of the first two chapters raise a potentially disturbing question: given all of the changes made to Giasone over the years, how are they all still the same work (the last two librettos, from 1681 and 1690, don't even bear the same title)? That is, how does a Milanese performance of Giasone, or a Neapolitan one, each with several shifted scenes and other variants, differ from the original Venetian Giasone? To address this question, Part 2 of my dissertation ("Dramma musicale," in reference to the genre ascribed to Giasone on the majority of its libretto title pages) delves deeper into the opera itself by way of three different points of entry: the librettist, the story, and the music.

Chapter Three ("Cicognini: Playwright and Librettist") presents the first extended English-language study of the librettist to Giasone, Giacinto Andrea Cicognini. A Florentine playwright for most of his career who was deeply influenced by the Spanish plays of Félix Lope de Vega, Pedro Calderón de la Barca, and others from the siglo de oro, Cicognini did not begin writing librettos until 1646, the same year that he moved to Venice. The last three years of his life (he died later the same year that Giasone premiered) saw four librettos written, one of which was completed posthumously. These four works in verse represent his only contribution to the rapidly-growing genre of librettistic writing, in comparison to his dozens of plays; and yet his Orontea and Giasone would go on to become the most-performed operas of the seventeenth century (with Orontea coming second to Giasone with twenty-three surviving librettos). ${ }^{7}$ I analyze the close relationship between several of his plays and his Spanish muses, and then turn the focus

[^3]to the three librettos he completed before his death (the third being Celio, written in Florence in 1646), examining their third acts with respect to the distinctive dramatic pacing that he developed as a playwright. Finally, I compare Cicognini's style as a neophyte librettist (but veteran dramatist) to that of a prolific Venetian librettist who was roughly contemporary with him: Giovanni Faustini, the first brazenly self-avowed professional librettist, in an era when most librettists were often lawyers or other tradesmen by day, and insecure about the legitimacy of their librettistic creations as literary objects.

Chapter Four ("Elucidating the Drama in Giasone") presents an in-depth analysis of the opera's story and dramatic structure: how the shifted, cut, and substituted scenes have an effect on the disposition of the story. To do this, I employ two complementary methodological frameworks: speech acts, and character continuities. Speech acts, the brainchild of John Langshaw Austin, ${ }^{8}$ operate at the level of character interactions from verse to verse, ${ }^{9}$ but I propose that by virtue of Giasone's tight narrative construction relying on blocks of continuous scenes, entire scenes can be construed as segments in a perpetual chain of illocution and perlocution. Part of my analysis, therefore, deals with disruptions to these chains when scenes are shifted, cut, or substituted in later productions of Giasone. Character continuities, an analytical lens I have developed, are predicated upon the existence of these blocks of continuous scenes; related to Corneille's liaison de scène developed later in the century, this analytic relies specifically on location and character focus as barometers for continuity within a scene block. Location is a key dramatic element in Giasone: the First Impression libretto boasts of eleven distinct sets. Two groups of characters are situated separately at the beginning of the opera, one on the isle of Colchis and the

[^4]other in Caucasian Iberia (modern-day Georgia). ${ }^{10}$ Through a series of events, the two strands are brought together in Caucasian Iberia in the middle of Act II, although Cicognini maintains dramatic tension partly through his employment of different locations throughout that country. Character focus simply refers to the object of discourse in a particular scene. So while Isifile may appear on Caucasian Iberia in I.14, sandwiched between two scenes that take place on Colchis, her focus is entirely on the lover who abandoned her, Giasone—also the focus of I. 13 and I.15. After a discussion of the prose version of Giasone and the integral role that it played in the creation of the libretto, particularly during rehearsals, I shift focus to modern-day productions of Giasone in my concluding section and the different modern-day priorities employed in making performance-based decisions.

Chapter Five ("Musical Diplomacy: Cavalli's Harmonic Language") provides the last piece of the puzzle: the music. Francesco Cavalli, a veteran opera composer already by the time of his first encounter with Cicognini's libretto, made Giasone a truly famous opera by writing gems like "Delizie, contenti," whose languid, undulating melody paired with the title character's sensuous paean to the joys of love to become Giasone's-both character's and opera's-calling card as the quintessence of Seicento effeminacy. And yet, Cavalli also succeeded in adding an entirely new dimension to interactions between characters, one coded in a complex harmonic language. My methodological framework in deciphering this language relies chiefly on the work of Henry Burnett and his system of hexachord-based transposition. ${ }^{11}$ Through it, the conflict between characters at odds with each other is magnified beyond a textual level, and into a deeper level of musical structure. Nowhere is this truer than the "Central Act Finale" of Giasone, where the two

[^5]disparate strands of the opera (Giasone and Medea on one side, and Isifile on the other) are finally brought together climactically. The heightened tension at the end of this finale-a result of the utter lack of resolution-is evoked in the music by an explicit disjunct between hexachord system (1b) and cantus (a a key signature). Cavalli, I argue, engaged with Cicognini's libretto not merely as a contractor-for-hire. Rather, he approached Giasone as a seasoned composer and provided a nuanced reading of an equally nuanced text. In a way, then, Cavalli's setting was itself a performance of Cicognini's text.

## Plot Summary

Giasone, who fathered twin sons with Isifile the queen of Lemnos, has subsequently abandoned her and traveled on to Colchis at the urging of his friend Ercole, to resume his quest for the Golden Fleece. There, our hero has enjoyed relations with an unidentified woman for a year, fathering another set of twin sons with her. This woman is the sorceress Medea, queen of Colchis. She is deeply enamored of Giasone, having rejected her former suitor Egeo, the king of Athens, when seeing our hero for the first time. After revealing herself to Giasone with the help of her old nurse Delfa, the two lovers declare their mutual adoration. Medea then conjures fell magics and obtains an ensorcelled ring to aid him in his quest for the Golden Fleece. Meanwhile, Isifile has been searching for her husband, and arrives with her children and retinue in Caucasian Iberia. Upon finding out from her servant Oreste that Giasone has fallen in love with another woman, she resolves to kill her rival.

Having successfully acquired the Golden Fleece, Giasone and the Argonauts decide to sail to Corinth with Medea in tow. In the meanwhile, the gods have taken notice: Giove, a progenitor of Isifile, is offended both at Giasone's treatment of his descendant, as well as his despoilment of the sacred fleece. Rather than sending a storm to drown the Argonauts, Amore
convinces him to keep the Argo at Caucasian Iberia; a scorned and betrayed wife is the greatest possible punishment for a wayward husband. On their way to Corinth, then, Giasone and Medea end up in same country as Isifile. During their climactic initial confrontation, Giasone debunks Isifile's claims that they were lovers by discrediting her as a copycat. His gambit is helped by the uncanny resemblance between Medea's and Isifile's backstories: both women fell in love with and slept with Giasone, both women had twin sons by him, and both women forsook throne and homeland to follow him. Having successfully shown that Isifile is a harmless madwoman, Giasone makes his escape with Medea (who remains none the wiser about his sordid past).

Later, Isifile happens upon the couple, sleeping in an open camp, and awakens Giasone, who promises to return to her if she will leave without disturbing Medea. Medea in fact overhears this, and becomes furious upon learning the extent of his history with Isifile; in a whispered aside to Giasone, Medea forces him to swear that he will have her rival killed. Giasone then instructs Isifile to meet Besso, captain of the Argonauts, at a nearby cliff during the night, to ask if Giasone's orders have been carried out, and then report the answer to Giasone. The question is in fact a signal for Besso to throw the speaker off the cliff into the sea. But because Isifile is delayed by Oreste, Medea, curious to confirm her rival's death, arrives at the location before the intended victim and asks Besso if Giasone's orders (to kill Isifile) have been carried out. After being thrown into the sea, she is rescued by none other than her rejected suitor Egeo, who has been following her with the aid of his stuttering servant, Demo. Pledging her love to her savior, Medea goads Egeo into a frenzy by deducing that Giasone must have intended her to be killed. Just as Egeo attempts to kill a sleeping Giasone, Isifile grabs the knife from him and is promptly arrested as a murderer. Giasone, upset at seeing her still alive, is told that Medea died instead, and is then further discomfited when Medea shows up claiming that she now owes her affection to Egeo. Initially protesting Medea's exhortation that he return to his own wife, Giasone is won over by

Isifile's emotional, guilt-inducing pleas. The opera ends with the proper pairs of lovers happily reunited.

## Part 1

## The Sources

## Chapter One

## The Librettos

The following two chapters provide an overview of Giasone's known and available sources, outlining their provenance (when known) and discussing their oftcomplicated relationships with each other. ${ }^{1}$ This chapter deals with text-based sources-forty-five known librettos and eleven scores (out of twelve surviving)—while Chapter 2 will deal with music and notation-based issues centered around organizing the scores available for study. The sheer number of sources and variants that exist from forty years' worth of performances have led me to focus particularly on overall structural changes (added, deleted, shifted, or otherwise modified scenes). My discussion of the differences between the pre- and post-premiere versions of Giasone (respectively, the first and second editions) in the following section will be more detailed and include a list of all of the content-based changes, as this was the point of origin for the "Seconda Impressione"-in actuality the second edition (and what I refer to as Venice 1649B in my discussion below) ${ }^{2}$ that would form the basis for all subsequent Giasone performances, and thus sources. for the next four decades.

For the other sources, I focus on the changes made over the years to six specific scenes: I. 7 (Demo and Oreste's comic scene), I. 14 (Isifile's introductory lament), II. 1 (Oreste's scene with

[^6]Isifile, his mistress), II. 4 (Giasone alone, ready to do battle to acquire the Golden Fleece), III. 8 (another scene between Oreste and Isifile, in which he appeals to her sense of duty to her own children, thus delaying her tryst with Giasone), and III. 21 (the opera's denouement). ${ }^{3}$ These six scenes, two from each act, involve a wide array of characters. While they do not provide a complete picture of the opera's diverse sources, their sum presents a useful number of variants across the sources that occur at all levels of the text, from individual words to entire groups of verses. These variants have allowed for the division of these sources into seven groups (I use the term "group" for text-based sources-which include both libretto and score texts) and three families (I use the term "family" for music-based sources-which I discuss in Chapter 2); several sub-groups showing particular uniformity in variants have also been identified. The majority of these groups are neatly organized, generally around a city such as Venice, Milan, or Naples, in which productions of Giasone spurred the publication of librettos. The printers often relied on earlier editions (sometimes their own) when setting up their presses for a new publication, and thus many of these sources can be grouped together according to a specific printing "tradition." The situation is not always clear, as in the case of several librettos that seem to represent a convergence of disparate traditions, or in the case of what I have termed "satellite" librettos that do not easily fit into any category and include one-time printings in isolated cities, as well as editions from late in the seventeenth century.

Giasone's scores, for the most part, do not fit neatly into any of the groups. Opera scores are often more fluid than printed librettos due to the numerous changes made during rehearsals until (and even after) opening night. ${ }^{4}$ These particular sources are even more problematic to

[^7]organize because they are fair copies, one step further removed from the performance scores used for a particular production. Only three of the scores can be tied with any certainty to a particular libretto, owing to bibliographical and other contextual information: one, found in Modena, is directly related to a libretto printed in 1668 in nearby Reggio; the other two, one in Siena and one in Lisbon, document the Novello Giasone revival that took place in Rome in 1671 and was accompanied by a libretto publication that same year, and another literary edition five years later.

To help distinguish between type of source, all scores appear in bold print.
Tables 1.1A and 1.1B below provide a list of all known surviving sources for Giasone. ${ }^{5}$ This includes librettos, scenari, and prose editions in Table 1A, and scores in Table 1B.

Information on city and year are provided when available in the "Text" column, indicating the shorthand by which I refer to each source in throughout this dissertation. Bracketed sourcesscenari and the prose editions-have not been included in the discussion. Scenari are brief scene-by-scene summaries written after performances and thus do not provide enough data beyond potential structural alterations (scene cuts, etc.); in Chapter 4, I discuss the role of the Palermo 1655 scenario in the transmission of Giasone to the southern regions of Italy, and its close relationship to a group of Neapolitan librettos. The prose version, in turn, was most likely drafted by Cicognini himself, and acted as a draft version to the libretto, playing a crucial role in the revisionary process that resulted in the definitive second edition. ${ }^{6}$ The final score listed, located at

[^8]Isola Bella and under the control of the Borromeo family, has not yet been made available for public study.

Table 1.1A: Text-Based Sources for Giasone

| TEXT | TYPE | PuBLISHER | NOTES |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Venice 1649A | Libretto | Andrea Giuliani |  |
| Venice 1649B | Libretto | Andrea Giuliani | "Seconda Impressione" |
| Venice 1649C | Libretto | Andrea Giuliani | "Terza Impressione" |
| Venice 1650 | Libretto | Andrea Giuliani | "Quarta Impressione" |
| Venice 1654 | Libretto | Andrea Giuliani | "Quinta Impressione" |
| Venice 1661 | Libretto | Nicolò Pezzana |  |
| Venice XX | Libretto | - | (1662?) ${ }^{8}$ |
| Venice 1664P | Libretto | Nicolò Pezzana |  |
| Venice 1666 | Libretto | Camillo Bortoli |  |
| Florence 1650 | Libretto | Giovanni Antonio Bonardi |  |
| Florence 1651 | Libretto | Francesco Onofri |  |
| Florence 1656 | Libretto | Francesco Onofri |  |
| Milan XXRa | Libretto | Michele Ramellati | (1651?) |
| Milan 1651 | Libretto | Giorgio Rolla's heirs | "Quarta Impressione" |
| Milan 1655 | Libretto | Giovanni Pietro Cardi |  |
| Milan 1658 | Libretto | Ambrogio Ramellati |  |
| Milan 1660 | Libretto | Ambrogio Ramellati | (1662?) |
| Milan XXA | Libretto | Ambrogio Ramellati |  |
| Milan 1662 | Libretto | Filippo Ghisolfi | (1663?) |
| Milan XXM | Libretto | Gioseffo Marelli | (1680?) |
| Milan XXRe | Libretto | Carlo Andrea Remenolfo | "Terza Edizione" |
| Naples 1651 | Libretto | Roberto Mollo |  |
| Naples 1661 | Libretto | Roberto Mollo's heirs |  |
| Naples 1667 | Libretto | Giacinto Passaro |  |
| Naples 1672 | Libretto | Francesco Mollo | Il novello Giasone |
| Bologna 1651 | Libretto | Evangelista Dozza's heirs | Il novello Giasone |
| Bologna 1673 | Libretto | Gioseffo Longhi |  |
| Rome 1671 | Libretto | Vitale Mascardi's successor |  |
| Rome 1676 | Libretto | Reverenda Camera Apostolica |  |
| Genoa 1651 | Libretto | Gio[vanni] Maria Farroni |  |
|  |  |  |  |

Nider (Trent: Università degli Studi di Trento; Dipartimento di Studi Letterari, Linguistici e Filologici, 2012), 31-60; and "Cicognini's Giasone: Between Music and Theater," in Readying Cavalli's Operas, 229-60.
${ }^{7}$ The title page to this and the subsequent four Venetian editions mention only Giacomo Batti, the bookseller. Giuliani's name does not appear until the fourth edition, Venice 1650.
${ }^{8}$ For rationales behind the approximated dates (when unknown), see notes for each libretto in Appendix II.

Table 1.1A (Continued)

| Genoa 1681 | Libretto | Antonio Giorgio Franchelli | Il trionfo d'Amore nelle <br> vendette |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Livorno 1656 | Libretto | Giovanni Vincenzo Bonfigli |  |
| Livorno 1669 | Libretto | Giovanni Vincenzo Bonfigli |  |
| Viterbo 1659 | Libretto | Girolamo Diotallevi |  |
| Viterbo 1665 | Libretto | Girolamo Diotallevi |  |
| Piacenza 1655 | Libretto | Giovanni Bazachi |  |
| Vicenza 1658 | Libretto | Giacomo Amadio | "Sesta Impressione" |
| Ferrara 1659 | Libretto | Giovanni Battista Maresti |  |
| Velletri 1660 | Libretto | Carlo Bilancioni |  |
| Perugia 1663 | Libretto | Sebastiano Zecchini |  |
| Ancona 1665 | Libretto | Francesco Serafini |  |
| Reggio 1668 | Libretto | Prospero Vedrotti |  |
| Turin XX | Libretto | Carlo Gianelli's heirs | (1662?) |
| Brescia 1690 | Libretto | Giovanni Maria Rizzardi | Medea in Colco |
| Manuscript | Libretto | - | Housed at I-Lg |
| [Palermo 1655] | Scenario | Nicolò Bua |  |
| [Trent 1664] | Scenario | Zanetti |  |
| [Venice 1664] | Prose | Camillo Bortoli |  |
| [Venice/Parma 1664] | Prose | Mario Vigra |  |
| [Bologna 1667] | Prose | Carlo Manolessi |  |
| [Bologna 1671] | Prose | Gioseffo Longhi |  |

Table 1.1B: The Giasone Scores

| SCORE | LOCATION/LiBRARY | CALL NUMBER |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Contarini | Venice / I-Vnm | Ms.It.Cl.IV.363 |
| Florence | Florence / I-Fn | MS.CLXIX.20 |
| Oxford | Oxford / GB-Ob | MS 210.1-3 |
| Vatican | Vatican / I-Rvat | Chigi Q.V.52 |
| Vienna | Vienna / A-Wn | Mus.Hs.16.657.MS 4348 |
| Modena | Modena / I-MOe | MS.E.23 |
| Naples A | Naples / I-Nc | 33.6 .15 |
| Naples B | Naples / I-Nc | 33.6 .16 |
| Naples C | Naples / I-Nc | 20.1 .6 |
| Lisbon | Lisbon / P-La | $47 . v .26$ |
| Siena | Siena / I-Sc | L.V.33 |
| [Borromeo] | Isola Bella / I-IBborromeo | MS.AU.068 |

The groups discussed below have been developed based on the amount of variants and other distinguishing traits (such as the cities the librettos were printed in) that they have in common with each other. In most cases, the correspondences are not absolute: even within a group, variants may appear in some sources and not in others. While this is unfortunate from a bookkeeping standpoint, it does speak at the same time to the widespread popularity of this work: each performance or printing was indeed a separate occasion, and should be considered thus when evaluating Giasone's forty-year legacy. The results of my examination here will show how extensive the modifications were, and yet how little of the core story between the four principal characters-Giasone, Isifile, Medea, and Egeo-actually changed. Many of the cuts and shifts were pragmatic in nature, driven by performance-based imperatives, and almost invariably involved secondary characters. ${ }^{9}$ Ultimately, these variants point to the richness of this oepra's narrative tapestry, and its ability to absorb change while still transmitting not only the same tale, but also in the same manner-at once ribald and sentimental.

My discussion of the groups begins with the early Venetian librettos, proceed through the more consistent and coherent groups, and end with the most unique "satellite" librettos. I will focus on the structural properties of each group by discussing their internal coherence, historical relevance, the presence of any subgroups, the existence of important score relationships, and any particularly idiosyncratic members or traits. For a complete list of the variants discussed, as well as a breakdown of variants by group (and family), see Appendix II of this dissertation, "Giasone Sources and Textual Variants."

[^9]
## The Venice Sources

```
Venice Group: Venice 1649A
    Venice 1649B
```

Venice Subgroup: Venice 1649A
Venice $1664 P$
Venice 1649C
Venice 1650
Venice 1654
Venice 1664P
Venice Family: Contarini
Vienna
Vatican
Florence
Oxford

The librettos of the Venice Group are largely uniform, both structurally and content-wise. This is because the 1649 Venetian prints were the first to bepublished during Giasone's premiere year, and successive Venice Group librettos from later years were copied from these early sources. However, none of the librettos in this group published after 1649 were associated with a Venetian revival, and instead seem to have been printed for non-production purposes-perhaps as commemorative or collector editions, simply literary reprints, or non-staged performances on a smaller scale (and budget) in private homes. Indeed, after 1649 La Serenissima saw only one other full-fledged production of Giasone, in $1666 .{ }^{10}$ This speaks both to the rich and flourishing opera industry in the city, one that churned out multiple operas per year in its various theaters, and also to the fame that Giasone-and more broadly its librettist, Giacinto Andrea Cicognini-was enjoying by way of the printing industry, which was responsible for a surge in publications of Cicognini's works after his death in 1649. ${ }^{11}$

That variants even exist in this "control" group owes to the fact that within this set of sources are found both the pre- and post-premiere versions, with the latter containing

[^10]amendments including new arias and text. I include the Venice Family within this group for the scores' textual content, as these particular music sources align very closely with this group. This family consists of five scores, all of which were likely copied out before Cavalli's death in 1676, and more importantly, all of which reflect to a large extent the premiere version of Giasone based on its text found in the librettos of the group. ${ }^{12}$ While I focus on the musical characteristics of the scores in the following chapter, the following sections of the current chapter include text-based discussions of these hybrid sources, which document specific performances to a similar extent that librettos do.

## A Tale of Two Editions

Much of the reason for the relative uniformity among the librettos of the Venice Group stems from the fact that they all follow one of two templates. The title page of Venice 1649A bears the specification that the opera contained within its pages was "da rappresentarsi" ("to be performed") at the Teatro San Cassiano-that is, it was printed in advance of the premiere of Giasone. Soon after, it was superseded by the post-premiere edition of the libretto, Venice 1649B. The title page of this "Seconda Impressione"-the second edition-refers to Giasone as having already been "rappresentato" ("performed"), and furthermore notes corrections and the addition of new songs. ${ }^{13}$ All evidence indicates that this post-premiere version of Giasone more accurately reflects what

[^11]actually took place on the stage of San Cassiano on 23 January 1649, the premiere date. Indeed, as Andrea Giuliani, the printer-publisher, explained in a note "To the Readers" ("Ai Lettori"), "Having run out of copies of Giasone, and due to increased requests for it, it was necessary for me to reprint it. Receive [therefore] my devotion in serving you well, and live happily." ${ }^{14}$

The differences between the pre-premiere and post-premiere editions are noticeable, from front matter material to the contents of the libretto itself. Following a dedication letter by Cicognini to the nobleman Abbot Vettor Grimani Calergi, ${ }^{15}$ found in both versions, the first edition (of which a critical edition can be found in Appendix I) presents two poems in praise of Cicognini's composition of Giasone: a sonnet by one "Bort. Castore," and a longer "applauso poetico" (a poetic encomium) by budding librettist Aurelio Aureli, whose first staged work would appear at the Teatro Santi Apostoli in 1652. In turn, the second edition contains only one poem in their place, by librettist Giulio Strozzi, who would eventually rework another of Cicognini's librettos, Celio, into Veremonda (see Chapter 3). Length may have been a determining factor in contributing to the substitution of the original two poems, as the Strozzi poem by itself is considerably shorter than Aureli's. ${ }^{16}$

[^12]The Argomento comes afterward in both editions, a summary of the story leading up to the events of the opera. Venice 1649A is unique, however, in including a summary of the events within Giasone itself, within the space of the Argomento's final two paragraphs. Venice 1649B does not include this, and nor does any other Giasone libretto with the exception of Venice 1664P, which I discuss below. Following this is a letter to the audience by Cicognini, in which he famously lays out his credo, of composing for mere caprice (see Chapter 3 for a discussion of the librettist's approach to drama). This is also included in the second edition, and in fact is reprinted in the vast majority of subsequent librettos for Giasone's many performances throughout Italy over the following four decades. Giuliani's letter to the readers is then inserted in the post-premiere edition. It is perhaps significant that he specifies "Readers" and not "spectators" ("spettatori") as Cicognini does in his note, on the same page. Perhaps Giuliani was aware that by this point the libretto had acquired some value as a literary object, and was not merely a pre-performance promotional tool. After this note from the publisher to the readers (seen only from Venice 1649B onward, of course) is the cast of characters. The first edition then lists all eleven locations that are depicted in the opera, a gambit that was probably useful before the premiere to inform potential audience members about set designs. Giuliani's decision to cut this for the second edition, as well as the other eliminations in the front matter (Venice 1649A's prefatory material spans fifteen pages, whereas Venice 1649B's spans only ten), bespeak a tendency toward brevity, one reflecting the already-established success of Giasone and the different priorities behind a reprint edition, compared to a pre-premiere version meant to drum up publicity.

The corrections and new songs specified by Giuliani on Venice 1649B's title page run the gamut of editorial adjustments, almost as if the first edition were a pre-release candidate or Beta version of a program and the second edition the more definitive version. As I discuss in Chapter 4, Venice 1649A was most likely an earlier draft that Cicognini sent to Giuliani and
simultaneously submitted piecemeal (by act) to Cavalli for textsetting. This version was then amended during rehearsals as Cavalli and the singers made adjustments to the text. Venice 1649B, then, reflects these changes, made too late to have been incorporated into the first edition which, after all, was intended to have been published earlier to generate interest in the opera. ${ }^{17}$ Table 1.2 below lists all of the differences between the two editions, ranging from simple corrections to new stanzas, as well as verses and arias that were outright replaced. All verse lines refer to the first edition, and can be tracked in Appendix I. ${ }^{18}$

## Table 1.2: Differences between Venice 1649A and Venice 1649B

| SCENE | Verse Number(s) | Original Text | Change Made |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I. 1 | 161-64 | "Per far acquisto..." | Four verses cut |
| I. 2 | 169-76 | "Amor tutto è pietà..." | Aria replaced by "Delizie, contenti" |
| I. 2 | 265 ff | - | Four verses added ("ma dell'ignoto nume...") |
| I. 3 | 288 | "Per sanar quest'appetito" | "Sanar" replaced by "saziar" |
| I. 4 | 334 ff | - | Third stanza added to "Se dardo pungente" ("O labbri vezzosi...") |
| I. 6 | 454-59 | "È la femina un cavallo..." | Stanza replaced by "Ben si scorge a ogni momento..." |
| I. 7 | 480 | "No 'l vedo a fé." | "No 'l" replaced by "Nol" |
| I. 7 | 492 | "la corte m'ammira" | Verse replaced by "s'io suono la lira" |
| I. 7 | 547 | "Siam ca- siam camerata" | Verse cut |
| II. 1 | 957 | "perché manchin li spirti" | "perché" replaced by "par che" |
| II. 4 | 1160 ff | - | Two verses added ("Qual ardir..." |
| II. 4 | 1164 | "e '1 senato di Colco" | "e 'l" replaced by "il" |
| II. 7 | 1271ff | - | Aria added ("Con arti e con lusinghe") |

[^13]Table 1.2 (CONTINUED)

| II. 8 | $1305 f f$ | "Scena Decimaterza" | Scene number corrected to "Scena <br> Ottava" |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| II. 8 | 1375 | "Nella foce d'Ibero" | "nella" replaced by "della" |
| II.10 | $1460-62$ | "Mi, sol, fa- ..." | "inzu- zu- zu- zu- zu- zu-" | | Solmizations curtailed |
| :--- |

Of particular interest here are the "new songs" advertised on the title page of Venice 1649B: "Delizie, contenti," Giasone's calling-card aria in I. 2 that replaces the more staid "Amor
tutto è pietà" in the first edition; and Demo's new aria in II.7, "Con arti e con lusinghe." There are also new stanzas written for existing arias in I. 4 and III.7, and replacement stanzas for arias in I. 6 and III.3. The placeholder designation of "Ballo di..." at the end of Act II has been filled in with a more concrete "Segue il ballo de' Marinari" ("The dance of the sailors follows"). Finally, there are verses and individual words that are cut, added, or replaced, as well as modified setting directions (in Act III) for clarification, and simple corrections. ${ }^{19}$ It is clear, however, that in some cases the changes are simply trivial, such as "vago è" replacing "vagh'è" in II.11, "è il mio" replacing "è mio" in II.14, or "Te ' 1 " replacing "Tel" in III.4.

Later in the same year in which Giasone premiered, Giuliani issued yet another edition of its libretto-Venice 1649C. It is unclear whether or not this edition reached the public before the end of Giasone's run at the Teatro San Cassiano on 14 February, although the publisher must have been encouraged by the success of the opera. ${ }^{20}$ The impresarios of San Cassiano, Bortolo Castoreo and Rocco Maestri, sought funding to mount a reprise of Giasone in May that same year, although no records survive to indicate whether or not this was a successful venture. Either way, the third edition may have been printed in response to a request from Castoreo or Maestri. ${ }^{21}$ In terms of content, its version is identical to Venice 1649B, including Cicognini's dedication,

[^14]Strozzi's sonnet, the Argomento, Cicognini's letter to the spectators, Giuliani's letter to the readers, and the cast of characters. However, a different typeface was used from what appears in the first two editions, one in a smaller font that packed the text into just 108 pages, rather than the original 120. The original, larger font seen in Venice 1649A and Venice 1649B made a return appearance in 1650, when Giuliani once again decided to print another run of this libretto, Venice 1650. A year removed from Giasone's success on the stage, there were no plans for another reprise of Giasone on the stage of San Cassiano. It is thus likely that this fourth edition served a different purpose, perhaps for collectors. Regardless, it references the definitive second edition on its title page: "with the new songs added in the second edition" ("con le nuove canzonette aggiuntevi nella seconda impressione"). The designation of "Quarta Impressione" is relatively diminished in prominence, appearing further down on this title page below the name of the dedicatee. Its contents too are identical to those of the second and third editions. A fifth printing run, the "Quinta Impressione" (Venice 1654), would appear four years later, this time published by Giacomo Batti (the bookseller named on the title pages of the previous editions published by Giuliani). The layout is remarkably similar to that of Venice 1650 , down to the casting off of type and resulting page breaks.

It should be noted that Cicognini did not catch all of the mistakes in the pre-premiere edition. For example, an exchange between Giasone and Besso at the beginning of III. 5 shows Giasone calling out his own name, and Besso responding by calling out his own name as well. Clearly, it should be Besso first addressing Giasone, and then Giasone responding by calling Besso's name. This printing error was not caught by Giuliani's editor until the fourth edition. This edition makes yet another correction in III.7: Isifile's line, originally appearing as "Ma è tempo, e ch'io precorra" in the first three editions, is finally corrected to "Ma è tempo ch'io precorra." An instance of progressive correction can be seen in III.18, when Giasone sounds an
alert for Besso and his soldiers. Originally in Venice 1649A, this line read "Besso, soldati, e la." It was subsequently modified in Venice 1649B to "Besso, soldati, e là" (grave accent added) but was not fully corrected until Venice 1650, the fourth edition, to "Besso, soldati, o là."

One particular mistake was not corrected in any of these Venice Group librettos. In III.4, Medea interrogates Giasone in an aside about the particulars of how he plans to have Isifile assassinated, with the latter standing mere feet away. One of Giasone's answers, "in the Valley of Orseno" ("Nella Valle d'Orseno"), is given to Isifile in these Venetian prints, suggesting a highly improbable turn of events in which Isifile aids and abets in a plot to murder herself. The earliest correction of this error can be seen in Florence 1650, a print associated with Giovan Battista Balbi's first tour of Giasone across Italy; the editor working with Giovanni Antonio Bonardi, the printer, gives the line back to Giasone.

Thus far, then, we have on the one hand Venice 1649A, the pre-premiere version of Giasone, that was quickly superseded by Venice 1649B and its subsequent clones. This latter subset of the Venice Group, consisting of four librettos, would serve as the template for all subsequent changes made to Giasone over the next four decades. The only seventeenth-century source for which Venice 1649A ever served as a template was printed in 1664 by Nicolò Pezzana in that same city (Venice 1664P). This edition is almost identical to the pre-premiere edition, down to the mistakes in III. 7 and III. 18 mentioned above. Interestingly, the reversed names in III. 5 have been corrected in this version. The front matter is much sparser as well, containing only the Argomento (the same expanded one as Venice 1649A), Cicognini's letter to the spectators, the cast of characters, and the list of set locations. The first edition had evidently been gone over cursorily by Pezzana before being prepared for the press. ${ }^{22}$ Venice 1649A and Venice 1664P (the Venice

[^15]Subgroup) are thus philological dead ends: museum curios that represent an earlier and discarded version of Giasone. And yet in a historical sense, the pre-premiere version was vital to the creation-and thus propagation-of the definitive post-premiere version of Giasone.

## Inconsistencies Within the Venice Group

The Venice Group librettos are extremely consistent, then, matching almost identically in terms of scene-by-scene structure. The sole exception is found in Venice 1649A and Venice 1664P, with II. 8 mislabeled as II.13. ${ }^{23}$ For content among the six scenes examined, the Venice Group as a whole-that is, both librettos and scores-is distinguished from the other groups by one major feature: they contain the original opening to I. 14 (I.14.1-see Appendix II), Isifile's solo scene ("Ferma, ferma crudele"-"Stop, stop, cruel one"). Soon after the 1649 Venetian performances, this opening was substituted by an aria, "Lassa, che far degg'io" (I.14.4-"Alas, what must I do"). This happened as early as the Florence production from 1650, and "Lassa" became the most common option across all sources-only Ancona 1665 and the librettos and scores of the Venice Group (except for Oxford) begin with "Ferma." Another variant that virtually all of the Venice Group librettos and scores lack (with the exception, again, of Oxford) is a single word in II.2. Originally "morti di questa razza" ("dead people of this kind"), "razza" was substituted in virtually all subsequent productions outside of Venice with "sorte" ("dead people in this condition"), perhaps as a better candidate to form a slant rhyme with "batte" two verses down (see Appendix I, v.983). The only non-Venice Group sources to retain "razza" are Naples C, and many members of the Satellite Group, including Ancona 1665. This last libretto contains an important variant that is vital to the grouping of the Venice Family, but like other members of the Satellite Group,

[^16]Ancona 1665 can be discounted from belonging fully to the Venice Group due to other variants that clearly point to its contamination by other branches of the Giasone family tree.

The Oxford score presents a unique case within the Venice Group, owing to the presence of both early and later variants. It, along with the members of the Rome Group (that is, the two librettos and two scores documenting the Roman Novello Giasone revival of 1671), is unique in retaining both the original and the new openings to I.14; these sources open with "Lassa," and immediately after that aria present the original "Ferma" recitative (1.14.5). ${ }^{24}$ Alongside other variants, found in the Rome Group, that set Oxford apart from the other members of the Venice Family-for example, a misspelled word (I.7.1) and six cut verses (III.8.8)—there is philological evidence to support the score's inclusion with the Novello sources. One simple fact prevents its inclusion in the Rome Group, however: it is not in fact a score for $I l$ Novello Giasone. ${ }^{25}$ It straddles both worlds-the original and the revival-and as such can be considered a hybrid source (I discuss it further in Chapter 2).

The relationship between the librettos and the scores within this group can be at times problematic. In contrast to the Venice Group librettos, the Venice Family of scores has a larger number of variants in its texts. This is because the Venice Family differs in subtle but important ways from the "constants" among the librettos. While it can be subdivided roughly into two pairs-Contarini and Vatican, and Vienna and Florence-several text-based variants divide the Venice Family differently, separating Vienna from the rest of the family. ${ }^{26}$ I. 10 (Giasone and

[^17]Medea) and I. 11 (Giasone alone) are combined in Vatican, Contarini, and Florence, as well as Lisbon in the Rome Family (see S.17). Similarly, III. 2 (Medea and Giasone) and III. 3 (plus Oreste) are combined in the same three scores (Lisbon is missing Act III; see S.46). A block of dialogue between Demo and Oreste, beginning with "forse l'esser spione leva l'honore?" ("Perhaps being a spy diminishes [your] honor?") appears only in Vatican, Contarini, and Florence, and Oxford, as well as Ancona 1665 (see I.7.8; I discuss this further in Chapter 2). A verse substitution in III.8, where Oreste's line "gl'indugi tormentosi" ("the torturous hesitations") is changed to "le dimore angosciose" ("the anguished delays") appears only in Vatican, Contarini, and Florence, as well as Milan 1651, Piacenza 1655, and Turin XX (see III.8.3).

The Vienna score preserves an earlier iteration of a verse sung by Oreste in II.2. Originally "che non sei larga nè stretta" ("[lips] that are neither too wide-open nor too closed"), it is changed to "che sei tutta vezzosetta" ("[lips] that are utterly charming") in the majority of the post1649 sources (II.2.3). The earlier, more visceral commentary on Isifile's lips and mouth appears only in the Venice Group librettos, Vicenza 1658, Venice 1666, and Naples C (perhaps supporting the possibility that Naples C is the earliest of the Naples-based sources). Vienna also preserves a conversation in III. 21 between the secondary characters of the opera (III.21.20, "Fortunati tormenti...") after the reconciliation between Giasone and Isifile, a block of text that appears only in the Venice Group librettos as well as Milan 1655, Vicenza 1658, Ferrara 1659, and Venice 1666.

All of this evidence seems to further suggest that Vienna reflects earlier sources than the other members of the Venice Family, and supports the notion that Vienna was likely copied earlier than the other scores of its family, in particular Contarini, a hypothesis for which I provide
further supporting evidence in Chapter 2. Several cuts do appear in Vienna and in no other scores in the Venice Family, however: two verses sung by Demo at the end of I. 7 are cut only in Vienna, the Rome Group, and Naples Group 1 with the exception of Milan 1655 (I.7.13; they are two repeated verses, part of the stuttering Demo's attempt at telling Oreste to meet him at a nearby tavern). Two verses sung by Isifile in II. 2 are cut in almost all sources, including Vienna, and appear only in the Venice Group librettos, Vatican, Contarini, Florence, and Oxford, as well as several members of the Satellite Group (see II.2.20). The fact that verses are cut in Vienna and yet not in its other sibling sources makes it clear that even within its own family, it is an outlier, an issue I explore further in Chapter 2.

In some cases, the line between the scores and librettos of the Venice Group is starkly drawn. There are instances of variants that appear across all of the Venice Family scores but in none of the early Venice Group librettos. A potentially risqué line, "sì, sì, gonfian le vele" (II.2.2, "Yes, yes, the sails are swelling"), uttered by Oreste to a sleep-talking Isifile, appears in Vienna, Vatican, Contarini, Florence, and Oxford, as well as the Rome Group, but appears in only one printed libretto: Livorno 1669. ${ }^{27}$ Another line by Oreste ${ }^{28}$ later on, "se non rivolgi il piè" (III.8.1, "if you do not turn your footsteps"), appears in no libretto, but only in the Venice Family, as well as the Rome Family. ${ }^{29}$

Taken as a whole, then, the relative uniformity of the Venice Group is considerably complicated by the addition of the Venice Family scores, sources that clearly hew to the same textual lineage, but that just as clearly introduce myriad variants that are likely the result of

[^18]performance-based imperatives. Perhaps the mythical autograph score to Giasone, lost to the vagaries of time, would help to explicate some of the more problematic inconsistencies between, for example, Vienna and Contarini, two leading candidates for proximity to Cavalli, even if indirectly. But because the variants discussed in this section appear so inconsistently throughout the members of the Venice Group and others, it is unlikely that any single source would provide conclusive answers concerning all of their origins and, more importantly, their transmission. This is a pattern that will be repeated in the other libretto groups. Indeed, the sheer number of sources, as well as the variants contained within them, make it difficult to place the sources into neatly defined categories; rather, the groups represent an attempt at categorization with broad strokes that often obscure the rich diversity of their constituent members.

## The Florence Sources

| Florence Group: | Manuscript | Florence Subgroup: Florence 1656 |
| ---: | :--- | ---: |
|  | Florence 1650 | Viterbo 1659 |
| Florence 1651 | Perugia 1663 |  |
| Bologna 1651 | Viterbo 1665 |  |
| Florence 1656 |  |  |
| Livorno 1656 |  |  |
| Viterbe 1659 |  |  |
| Perugia 1663 |  |  |
| Livorno 1669 |  |  |
| (Genoa 1651) |  |  |

The Florence Group is one of the most coherent libretto groups. While most of its variants are shared by a large number of other sources, this is not to say that the Florence Group lacks unique traits as a group structure; rather, it suggests that the Florence Group was part of an early and influential wave of sources, derived from the Febiarmonici's early tours of Giasone, which had
broad consequences for later libretto printings and revivals. ${ }^{30}$ As such, this group reflects the impact that early tours of the opera had on libretto printings and opera performances alike.

In a group of librettos with several inconsistencies, one particular source is worth pointing out: the only known manuscript libretto for Giasone is currently located at I-Lg (Lucca, Biblioteca Statale)—not far from Florence, the point of origin for most of these sources. While missing the latter half of Act III, this libretto still contains enough evidence to be conclusively placed within this group. Both manuscript and Florence 1650 contain a unique variant that plausibly places them within the same orbit: "morti di questa sorta," instead of the more common spelling "...sorte" in II.2.1, found among the rest of the Florence Group librettos. It is even possible that this handwritten copy served as the template given to Giovanni Antonio Bonardi, the printer of Florence 1650, by the manager for Febiarmonici, Giovan Battista Balbi. Interestingly, "sorta" ("kind") is much more synonymous with the original "razza" ("race") than "sorte" ("condition"), and so it is possible that the initial change was from "razza" to "sorta" (perhaps as a result of regional idiomatic taste), and that "sorte" turned out to be an exceptionally popular misreading.

Another source, Livorno 1669, contains enough similarities at a structural and textual level to be included within the Florence Group, and yet also displays some contamination from other groups of sources (perhaps attributable to its late publishing date), as well as completely some unique variants, that distinguish it from the rest of the group's relative uniformity. On one hand, the majority of its variants (see Appendix II) line up neatly with those of the rest of the Florence Group, with one typographical variant in particular (the substitution of "Più sostenermi" with "Più sostentarmi," I.14.16) suggesting at least minimal ties to the Florence Subgroup librettos (discussed below). On the other hand, in terms of these same variants, it shares little in

[^19]common with the logical candidate for its source libretto, Livorno 1656, asides from retaining three lines in III. 21 that are otherwise cut in the rest of the Florence Group sources (III.21.6). Indeed, the publisher Giovanni Vincenzo Bonfigli seems to have had access to a different set of sources (including a score, most likely, in the case of the "gonfian le vele" variant that I discuss below) when preparing his second Giasone libretto, thirteen years after his first.

Some unique variants can be found in Livorno 1669: Rosmina's scene in I.3, more often cut than not in post-Venice 1649 sources including the Florence Group, is missing from its usual place in this libretto. However, it has merely been shifted to the end of Act I, appearing after Delfa's solo scene (I.12) and before Isifile's first appearance (I.13). Furthermore, yet another scene for Rosmina has been written into the production for which Livorno 1669 was printed, appearing after Giasone and company's arrival at the port where Isifile is located (II.10). ${ }^{31}$ It forms a parallel of sorts with the girl-gardener's first scene in this source, with both appearing toward the end of each of the first two acts as part of a comic interlude; a deep breath before the pathos and drama of the final two scenes in each act (Isifile's and Medea's in Act I, and Oreste, Giasone, Medea, and Isifile's in Act II). While new scenes for existing characters are inserted in other sources (an additional scene for Alinda in Vicenza 1658, S.48; one for Amore in the Milan Group librettos, S.52; one for Delfa and a pageboy named Erino in the Siena score, S.53; or one for Demo in the Rome Group sources, S.54), this is the only production to have created new material for this tertiary character, ${ }^{32}$ material consisting of two stanzas in yet another aria yearning for a lover.

A word substitution in Livorno 1669 presents the earliest printed instance of a particular variant: in II.2, Oreste crows "sì, sì, parton le vele" ("yes, yes, the sails are departing") as he readies himself to kiss his sleeptalking mistress Isifile, who at that moment believes she is speaking to a

[^20]Giasone departing to sea. In this libretto, as well as Rome 1671 and Rome 1676 (the Novello Giasone librettos), the word "parton" has been substituted for "gonfian" ("the sails are swelling"), creating a distinctly ribald tone by evoking phallic imagery. This variant could be attributed to a late alteration in Giasone's performance history were it not for its appearance in the Vienna score, perhaps the earliest of the scores (and whose copying Cavalli may have overseen), created around 1660. This particular variant follows an interesting trail: assuming that it appeared first in that Vienna score, on one level it was copied into all of the other Contarini family scores, while on another level it was transmitted to the performance in Livorno nearly a decade later (and nowhere else before that, if the other librettos are any indication), and then two years later to Rome for the revival of Giasone to celebrate the opening of the Teatro Tordinona.

The Florence Subgroup, consisting of Florence 1656, Viterbo 1659, Perugia 1663, and Viterbo 1665, all share a number of exclusive typographical idiosyncrasies suggesting that these librettos have especially strong causal links. Specifically, two verses from Demo's introductory arietta, "son vago, grazioso, / lascivo, amoroso" ("I'm charming, graceful, wanton, amorous") are combined into one line (I.7.2), while in II. 4 several of Giasone's verses are similarly combined (II.4.3 and II.4.9). The alternate spelling mentioned above, "sostentarmi" instead of the original "sostenermi" (both meaning "to sustain me"), is also unique to this subgroup and Livorno 1669. It remains to be seen how, or even if, the publishers of the latter three librettos-Girolamo Diotallevi in Viterbo and Sebastiano Zecchini in Perugia—played an active role in accessing and copying Francesco Onofri's 1656 Florentine edition. Indeed, the story behind this Florence 1656 libretto is unclear, because Onofri's first edition from 1651 does not bear any of the subsequent typesetting decisions made by the publisher in 1656 . Nor does the latter edition bear any evidence of publishing continuity with the former, for example in the form of a "Seconda Impressione" designation. The new dedicatee of the 1656 edition-Sforza Maidalchini (it was Filippo

Franceschi for Florence 51)—supports the notion of a new production that year, which in turn may partly account for the broken continuity between Florence 1651 and Florence 1656. And while the case can be made that back in 1651 Onofri referred to Giovanni Antonio Bonardi's 1650 libretto, the variant shared only by Florence 1650 and the manuscript ("Morti di questa sorta" instead of "sorte," II.2.1, discussed above) mitigates any certainty about that relationship. While a full member of the Florence Group, Genoa 1651 is only parenthetically included due to two small but significant variants in Act II that create important correlations to other sources. In one case, Genoa 1651 shares two added lines (II.2.7) with a large number of scores (the Naples and Contariniy Families) as well as several members of the Satellite Group (Milan 1651, Piacenza 1655, Turin XX, Ferrara 59). In the second case, Genoa 1651 is missing two lines that appear in all other Florence Group sources (II.4.2). Here, Genoa 1651 corresponds exclusively with the Venice Group, Ancona 1665, Venice 1666, and the Rome Subgroup. These differences do not lead to any strong conclusions, nor do they definitively pair Genoa 1651 with any other source. What they do suggest, however, is that Genoa 1651 may have a more direct relationship to early (that is, Venetian) sources for Giasone than other Florence Group librettos. In the first case, Genoa 1651 may relate to the same primary sources that separate the "early" scores among the Venice Family scores, as well as Naples C, from the early librettos. In the second case, Genoa 1651 matches the Venice Group, Vicenza 1650, Ancona 1665, Venice 1666, and the Rome Subgroup, a pattern that confirms the special relationship between the Rome Subgroup, specific Satellite Group librettos, and early versions of the opera (though not including members of the Venice Family). While these may seem like contradictions, they confirm an important pattern among all of the Giasone sources: that is, a distinction between early performance sources, early libretto sources, and later sources that take selectively from each.

## The Milan Sources

Milan Group: Milan XXRa (1651)<br>Milan 1658<br>Milan 1660<br>Milan XXA (1662)<br>Milan 1662<br>Milan XXM (1663)<br>Milan XXRe (1680)<br>Bologna 1673

The Milan Group is by far the most coherent and internally consistent group, exhibiting several exclusive traits even while corresponding to other sources overall. These eight librettos all have identical layouts, down to the fonts and page breaks, and have minimal internal variants (although the ones that exist are significant, as I discuss below). The variants that are specific to this group consist of the addition of a "Coro delle ore" ("Choir of the hours," S.7) in the Prologue, several scene shifts in Acts I (S.21) and II (S.35), an added scene in the latter half of Act III featuring "Amore in una conchiglia in mare overo sopra un pesce con violino in mano" ("Love in a shell or on a fish in the sea, with a violin in hand," S.52), and an added aria for Amore at the end of the opera in place of the traditional "Scena Ultima" featuring Giove, Amore, Coro di Dei, and Zeffiro present in the Venice Group librettos (S.57). Two librettos printed in the same city present exceptions to the internal consistency of this group: Milan 1651 and Milan 1655. Neither forms a part of the Milan Group, not even as parenthetical members. These librettos, discussed further below in relation to the Naples and Satellite Groups, have unique scenes and structures that partially tie them to a number of different sources.

Evidence suggests that the Milan Group had its beginnings during the same Febiarmonici tour that led to the Florence Group. It is significant that only two of the Milanese librettos were printed in conjunction with an actual performance-Milan 1651 and Milan 1660-along with the Bolognese libretto of 1673. It is impossible to say whether the latter two performances actually
followed the 1651 production, as the internal associations of the group would suggest, or whether the printers simply referred to whichever libretto was closest at hand in order to meet a rapidlyapproaching deadline.

The fact that the librettos in question all have identical layouts-and are thus virtually clones—is mitigated by one particular association (II.2.6): Oreste's line originally reads "Giason non tiene audienza" ("Giasone does not take meetings") in the Venice Group librettos. All of the specifically Milanese librettos in this group develop a typographical error beginning in Milan XXRa (likely printed in 1651), "Giason uon tiene audienza," subsequently becoming "Giason ven tiene audienza" in Milan 1658, Milan 1660, Milan XXA (printed around 1662), and Milan 1662, ${ }^{33}$ and finally "Giaso [sic] ven tiene audienza" in Milan XXM (printed around 1663) and Milan XXRe (printed around 1680). However, Bologna 1673's printer, Gioseffo Longhi, addressed this error and attempted to correct it as "Giason ben tiene audienza" ("Giasone certainly takes meetings'), thus in fact compounding the error. This tells us that he likely only had access to a chronologically later Milan Group libretto (the correction would have been based on a "...ven tiene..." variant), and no access even to the one printed over two decades earlier in his own city, Bologna 1651 (without this error). Among the six scenes examined, this was the only instance within this group that suggested the potential existence of subgroups.

Despite the Milan Group's homogeneity, it does have two exclusive links to other sources. It shares a very small cut with Vicenza 1658 (II.2.5) and a misnumbered scene group with Naples A and Milan 1651 (S.34). Unfortunately, despite evidence relating the Milan Group and the Naples Family, these details can only confirm existing group relationships. In other words, while the Milan Group shares important features with a number of sources, including members of

[^21]the Naples Family, because these relationships are rarely exclusive to a limited number of sources, the Milan Group does not appear to be linked to the stemma including the other librettos or scores.

## The Naples Sources

| Naples Group 1: | Naples 1651 | Naples Subgroup 1: Venice XX (1662) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Velletri 1660 | Velletri 1660 |
|  | Naples 1661 | Naples 1667 |
|  | Venice 1661 |  |
|  | Venice XX (1662) |  |
|  | Naples 1672 |  |
|  | Naples 1667 [Als | of Naples Group 2] |
|  | Milan 1655 [Also | of Naples Group 2] |

The sheer number of variants in Naples Group 1 highlights the complexity of this group of librettos. In particular, the core librettos of this group, Naples 1651, Naples 1661, Venice 1661, and Naples 1672, share variants in every case but three: misattributing Ercole's part in II. 6 to Delfa (S.29), a cut stage direction in I. 7 (I.7.14), and a misspelled word in III. 8 (III.8.2). The Neapolitan librettos in this subset are mutually associated by virtue of their publishers, printed by the same family (Roberto Mollo, his heirs, and Francesco Mollo), whereas Venice 1661 was printed by Nicolò Pezzana but has a virtually identical layout as Naples 1661. Venice XX, Velletri 1660 , and Naples 1667 form a different, though related, subset of librettos that contains several unique variants. These are enough to constitute the three librettos as Naples Subgroup 1. Milan 1655 is an outlier that shares several variants with this group, but otherwise acts as a bridge to Naples Group 2, along with Naples 1667. Indeed the few internal inconsistencies in this group are almost exclusively related to these last two "crossover" librettos.

The four central librettos of this group show some significant publication-based anomalies, beginning with Naples 1651, printed by Roberto Mollo: according to Bianconi and Walker, it
was issued in conjunction with a performance at the Palazzo Reale on September 6, 1651, and was signed and dedicated four days earlier to Caterina de Guevara e Tassis, vice-queen of Sardinia (and daughter of the viceroy of Naples). ${ }^{34}$ Located in Rovigo at the Accademia dei Concordi, the libretto shows signs of tampering: the designations of "Terza Edizione" on the title page, as well as "In Ven[ezia]" on the cover and at the bottom of the dedication, are in a different font from the rest of the typeset, indicating a subsequent addition. ${ }^{35}$

An identical pair, from typeset down to the siglas on their title pages, Naples 1661 (printed by Roberto Mollo’s heirs) and Venice 1661 (printed by Nicolò Pezzana) are clearly two issues of the same edition. Furthermore, they provide a more concrete link between the Mollo family and Venice, although there is little hard evidence to tell us which was printed first. The copy of Venice 1661 residing at the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice ${ }^{36}$ is missing pages 2 through 5: that is, the pages are not included in the microfilm at Isham Library at Harvard University, resulting in the title page being followed directly by the cast of characters (page 6) and then the Prologue (page 7). However, the indication "A4" at the bottom of page 7 points to the existence of three preceding folios. It is likely that these (what would have been pages 3-5) were blank; this is in fact the case for the copy of Venice 1661 at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence. ${ }^{37}$ While printers at times produced incomplete copies, these were generally never circulated, with rare exceptions such as these two librettos, which were printed and distributed while missing most of

[^22]their front matter. ${ }^{38}$ This perhaps sheds some light on the causal relationship between Naples 1661 and Venice 1661: given the different font used in the dedication for Naples 1661, it is possible that the libretto was printed first in Venice (as Venice 1661) before an unbound copy of it was taken to Naples, where the dedication-to Raimondo Baldares, "Doctor of Law" ("Dottor delle Leggi")—was prepared and then printed onto the blank folios, along with specific publisher information at the bottom of the title page (see Appendix V, "Giasone Title Pages," for a comparison of both librettos).

The final member of this core group, Naples 1672, was published by Francesco Mollo, who specifically makes mention of Naples 1661 on the title page: "In Naples, 1661. And again [printed] by Francesco Mollo, 1672" ("In Napoli 1661. E di nuovo per Francesco Mollo 1672"). The syntax may imply that Francesco was one of the Mollo "eredi" originally responsible for Naples 1661. And yet, although "Ciccognini" [sic] is misspelled on the title pages to Naples 1672, as well as Naples 1661 (and thus also Venice 1661), the overall layout in 1672 differs considerably from 1661. One particular set of variants bears mention (see S. 27 through S.29): II. 7 is originally a scene between Medea, Giasone, Delfa, and Ercole; all of the Naples Group 1 librettos except Milan 1655 are missing Ercole in the list of characters below the scene number, although in Naples 1651, Venice 1661 and Naples 1661 he still appears within the scene and has his lines (S.27). Naples 1672 removes Ercole from the scene altogether, giving his lines to Delfa (S.29), while Velletri 1660, Venice XX, and Naples 1667 give the lines to Medea (S.28).

While Velletri 1660 and Venice XX for the most part match the variants in Naples Group 1 at large, there are two instances in which these sources match only Naples 1667 among the

[^23]librettos of this group; these are significant enough to warrant placing these three sources within their own subgroup, Naples Subgroup 1. The first, described above (S.28), strongly suggests a correspondence among these three sources. In the second instance another source, Naples B, also shares the variant (I.14.7) with Naples Subgroup 1. In the original version of I.14, Isifile expresses her fears that Oreste will not return with tidings about Giasone, and yet is just as worried that he will return ("S'ei non torna, mi moro; / S'ei torna, oimè, s'inhorridisce il cuore"-"If he does not return, I shall die; if he does, alas, my heart trembles in horror'"), a clear indication of her emotional confusion at that point in the story. These four sources, perhaps inadvertently, downplay Isifile's internal conflict-"S'ei non torna, mi moro; / S'ei non torna, oimè, s'inorridisce il core" (emphasis mine)—invoking a rhetorical device through the repetition, but eliminating Cicognini's subtle characterization of her tormented state. ${ }^{39}$

Although neither Velletri 1660 nor Venice XX were printed in Naples, they have notable links to the Neapolitan librettos-and more importantly, to each other. Velletri lies to the northwest of Naples, close to Rome. Venice XX, containing no publisher information, is certainly associated with Rome, given its dedicator-Bartolomeo Lupardi, the Roman publisher who would also sign the dedication to the 1671 and 1676 prints of Il novello Giasone-and his dedicatee, Loreto Vittori da Spoleto, a famous singer, librettist, and composer who spent much of his career in Rome. ${ }^{40}$

It is important to distinguish Naples 67 and Milan 1655 from the other members of Naples Group 1, at the same time that it is necessary to include the two librettos as part of both

[^24]Naples Groups 1 and 2. Clearly, Milan 1655 is the more peripheral member of Naples Group 1: it is missing seven variants common to the rest of the group, while Naples 1667 shares every variant seen in those librettos. ${ }^{41}$ Nonetheless, Milan 1655 does share important qualities with Naples Group 1, including eighteen variants. Finally, it is worth noting that Milan 1655 has only two variants that it does not share with the other members of this group. This suggests that while it lacks some of the distinguishing features of the group, most of its own features are part of the evidence supporting Naples Group 1. As such, Milan 1655 may reflect an earlier stage of Giasone's dissemination: while clearly not itself a source for Naples 1651 or Naples 1661, it may represent an intermediate stage between the Venice Group (several of whose features it shares, including I.7.14, II.4.7, III.8.9, and III.21.6) and the early librettos of Naples Group 1. In order to clearly differentiate the different roles of Milan 1655 and Naples 1667, the Neapolitan source will be discussed immediately below, while Milan 1655 will be discussed as part of Naples Group 2.

Naples 1667 has variants distinct from Naples Group 1 in only two instances, both in I. 7 (a missed punchline in I.7.4, and a cut in I.7.13). Nonetheless, it is worthy of note for a number of reasons, not least because it conflicts with the extreme consistency of Naples 1651, Naples 1661, and Naples 1672 (as well as Venice 1661), while being published in the same city and within the span of time covered by those libretto printings. How Naples 1667 became a different and unique source remains unknown, although the fact that its publisher was Giacinto Passaro, rather than a member of the Mollo family, may provide some circumstantial explanation. ${ }^{42}$ Still, this explanation would not account for its erratic association with other sources, nor would it help to unravel the convoluted exchange of material between Venice, Naples, and Milan, all of which

[^25]are important for clarifying the many variants disseminated by the Naples Family scores and their libretto counterparts.

What is clear is that Naples 1667, like Milan 1655, shares exclusive material with several other groups. In particular, it is strongly linked to the Naples Family in a variety of cases, sometimes without the other members of Naples Group 1. ${ }^{43}$ In particular, a few key differences between Naples 1667 and Naples Group 1 distinguish the former from the group. The broad ordering of scenes is nearly identical to that of Naples Group 1, although Naples 1667 does contain two misnumbered scenes not found anywhere else. ${ }^{44}$ Naples 1667 also contains a cut (I.7.13) that appears exclusively in a group of score-specific families: Vienna, the Naples Family, and the Rome Subgroup. A stage direction is missing (I.7.14) from only Naples Subgroup 1, the Naples Family, the Venice Family, and the Rome Subgroup, while I.14.7 (Isifile's "S'ei non torna," discussed above) is exclusive to Naples Subgroup 1 and Naples B. A minor text cut (I.7.4) also links Naples 1667 to Venice 1666, Ancona 1665, Naples A, Naples B, and Florence, although the link is tenuous. All of this evidence seems to suggest that Naples 1667 may represent a unique combination of early and later sources. Speculations about early and later sources increase in significance when variants are taken into account that are shared by Naples 1667, Milan 1655, the Naples Family, the Venice Family, and the Satellite Group (including S.37, a scene shift shared by Naples Group 1).

Finally, evidence indicates that Naples 1667 may have a somewhat exclusive relationship with Velletri 1660 and Venice XX. As mentioned above, the two links to Naples Subgroup 1 are

[^26]exclusive-shared by no other librettos-with the exception of Naples B in one of the cases. It does seem, however, that Naples 1667 is considerably more independent than both Velletri 1660 and Venice XX. Taking libretto dates into consideration, it is possible that Velletri 1660 and Venice XX (printed around 1662, see Appendix II) were likely direct or indirect parents to the more hybridized Naples 1667 . While such distinctions are admittedly subtle, Naples 1667, Velletri 1660 , and Venice XX are clearly not straightforward members of Naples Group 1, nor is Naples Subgroup 1 as internally coherent as the core members of the larger group, Naples 1651, Naples 1661, Venice 1661, and Naples 1672.

Naples Group 2: Milan 1655<br>Naples 1667<br>Reggio 1668<br>Naples Family: Naples A<br>Naples B<br>Naples C<br>Modena

Naples Subgroup 2: Reggio 1668
Modena

Naples Group 2 contains some broad correspondences across its sources, especially at the level of the verse, although the structural variants (such as cut, added, or substituted scenes) are less consistent. It also shares variants with other groups, evidence that this is possibly the most contaminated group of sources for Giasone. Of particular note is the presence of Milan 1655 and Naples 1667 here, librettos found in Naples Group 1; as I mentioned above, these two are "crossover" librettos that bridge the two groups.

A key to understanding this group is the complex relationship between Milan 1655, Naples 1667, and a number of Giasone sources. These two librettos seem to play a key role in deciphering the ties between the Naples, Contarini, and Rome Families, and the larger body of librettos. Evidence suggests that Milan 1655 provides some continuity between early sources (the

Venice Group librettos and scores) and two later libretto families (Naples Group 1 and the Milan Group), while also tying the Naples Family scores to all of these groups; Naples 1667, discussed above, provides additional links between Naples Group 1 and the Satellite Group, as well as evidence of a closed exchange between Venetian and Neapolitan sources.

Milan 1655 is one of only a few sources to include an additional scene with Erino Paggio ${ }^{45}$ (S.33) and to retain an early scene with Giove, Eolo, Amore, and Coro di venti (II.8) that was cut in the majority of post-Venice sources (S.34), as well as one at the end of Act III, a "Scena Ultima" with Giove, Amore, Coro di dei, and Zeffiro given similar treatment in later sources (S.56). The first of these variants appears only in Naples Group 1, Naples B, and Milan 1655. The sources that have II. 8 are the Venice Group (librettos and scores), Milan 1651, the Milan Group, Naples A, Naples B, and Milan 1655. And the final scene appears only in the Venice Group librettos, Vienna, Vatican, Turin XX, Vicenza 1658, and Milan 1655.

Because Milan 1655 contains the original distribution of scenes I.1-7 found in the Venice Group librettos, as well as a scene at the very start of Act III between Oreste and Delfa (S.45), its source was unlikely to have been Milan 1651 (the only earlier surviving Milanese source), which cut III. $1,{ }^{46}$ or a libretto from Naples Group 1 or the Milan Group, all of which are missing the scene and contain structural variants in Act I—S. 11 (Rosmina's scene shifted) and S. 20 (Isifile's first scene shifted from the end of Act I to Act II) for Naples Group 1, and S. 12 (Rosmina's scene eliminated) and S. 21 (Isifile's first scene shifted to an earlier spot in Act I) for the Milan Group.

[^27]And yet, Milan 1655 shifts Isifile's solo scene at the end of Act I to the beginning of Act II, an unusual structural trait that is seen only within Naples Group 1. This evidence suggests a common source for Milan 1655 and Naples 1651-the only Naples Group 1 libretto preceding Milan 55a missing link that would have had access to early sources (to provide the Act III scene between Oreste and Delfa in Milan 1655, but perhaps intentionally cut from Naples 1651 by Roberto Mollo), but one that would also maintain the idiosyncratic shift of Isifile's scene from I. 14 to the beginning of Act II. ${ }^{47}$ Finally, giving Ercole's part to Besso (II.6) is a feature entirely unique to Naples Group 2. All of this evidence seems to point to a non-linear genealogy, where Milan 1655 runs parallel to Naples Group 1 while providing a link between Venice and the Naples Family scores.

Regarding the relationship between the Naples Family and its "contemporary" librettos, most of the observed text-based features of this family of scores correspond to a large number of librettos (particularly those of Naples Group 1 and the Milan Group). However, in a few cases, the Naples Family is exclusively paired with Naples 1667, Genoa 1651, Milan 1655, or a somewhat random sampling of Satellite Group librettos and a number of other scores. As mentioned above, the Naples Family and Milan 1655 are the only sources that give Ercole's part in II. 6 to Besso (S.31). The verse cut at the end of I. 7 (I.7.13) links Naples 1667 and the Naples Family, while the missing stage indication at the end of the same scene (I.7.14) links Milan 1655, Naples 1667, the Naples Family, Naples 1651, and Naples Subgroup 1. Naples 1667, Naples B, and the other members of Naples Subgroup 1 share the Isifile "S'ei non torna" variant (I.14.7). Two added lines in II. 2 connect the Naples Family to the Venice Family, Genoa 1651, and six

[^28]members of the Satellite Group (II.2.9). Furthermore, an important cut associates the Naples Family with Piacenza 1655, Genoa 1681, and Brescia 1690 (III.21.21). It should be clear, then, that Naples 1667, Milan 1655, and a number of Satellite Group librettos play a key role in problematizing the relationship between the scores in the Naples Family (as well as those of the Venice Family) and the various libretto groups.

Within Naples Group 2 exists a rare libretto-score pairing, the only one to exist among Giasone sources other than the Novello Giasone librettos and scores in the Rome Group. A scant twenty-one miles from each other, the cities of Modena and modern-day Reggio Emilia would already have been strong candidates to have sources associated with each other. This is confirmed by the close relationship that Reggio 1668 and the Modena score bear to one another, enough to warrant being labeled as Naples Subgroup 2. Perhaps the strongest indication of their association lies in the Prologue to the score, an entirely rewritten scene featuring Febo (Phoebus Apollo, the same mythological figure as Sole in the original version by Cicognini), Cupido (Cupid, another name for Amore in the original), and Nettuno (Neptune, god of the seas). Although there is no Prologue in the libretto, these three characters are specifically listed in the cast of "Personaggi" in the front matter of Reggio 1668. ${ }^{48}$ The lack of a Prologue in the printed libretto may hint at a stratagem similar to that employed for the Novello libretto of 1671, printed in advance of the premiere and containing the old Prologue, only to spring upon the audience a new one partway through the performance of the original (see the Rome Group discussion below). ${ }^{49}$

[^29]Structurally, the two sources are virtually identical, with the sole difference found in the combination of II. 5 and II. 6 in the score (S.32), a common type of variant seen in many of the other scores as well. The only other difference between the sources worth noting is found in I.14, where Reggio 1668 is the only source in Naples Group 2 to retain a set of nine verses that are otherwise cut (I.14.10). This, coupled with the performance-specific variants listed above, strongly indicates that the publisher, Prospero Vedrotti, had access to another source containing the cut verses. Indeed, Reggio 1668's preservation of this section in I. 14 is all the more remarkable given that Modena purges chunks of verses from this scene, including the nine verses cut in the other Naples Group 2 sources (I.14.10), as well as six verses earlier ("sì, sì, stanca dal duolo... in braccio alle fantasme io mi condussi"-"yes, yes, exhausted from grief... I led myself into the arms of phantoms"), and most notably the final twelve verses of the scene, thus eliminating Isifile's self-conflicted "S'ei non torna" verses that were altered in Naples Group 1 (I.14.7). ${ }^{50}$

Most of the variants in Naples Group 2 involve either pre-1655 librettos or 1665-68 librettos that further segregate the Naples Family. While evidence is far from conclusive, it does allow for the following hypotheses concerning score dating: the pre-1655 librettos correspond to Vienna and Naples C; and Ancona 1665, Venice 1666 and Naples 1667 relate to Naples A and Naples B. Therefore, Naples C may have been the first of the Naples-based scores, Naples A and Naples B may represent an intermediate stage in Giasone's dissemination, and Modena probably represents a later stage of score copies (even while it features new use of primary source materials not found in the other Naples Family scores). Thus, text-based evidence continues to distinguish Naples A, Naples B, and Naples C from Modena. Notational and text-based evidence suggests that both Naples A and Naples B contain more variants than Naples C, and

[^30]that Modena demonstrates independence while maintaining its close association with Reggio 1668, as well as the Rome Group. Beyond these general statements, however, it is only possible to concretely establish the strength of these hypotheses based on purely notational correspondences between the Naples Family scores, as I discuss in Chapter 2.

## The Rome Sources

```
Rome Group: Rome 1671
    Rome }167
    Rome Family: Lisbon
        Siena
```

The Rome Group is a straightforward and coherent group, containing a large number of distinctive variants all centered around the Roman revival in 1671 of Cicognini and Cavalli's earlier work as Il novello Giasone, with new music composed by Alessandro Stradella. ${ }^{51}$ As documents of this production from 1671, there is no question that Rome 1671 and Rome 1676 (the latter being unconnected to any productions; see Appendix II) are directly connected to the Novello Giasone scores. Their content matches on all levels, from structural to the textual. For example, these four sources all feature an added scene between Alinda (Isifile's handmaiden) and Delfa (Medea's nurse) at the beginning immediately after the Prologue (S.10), an "Intermedio" between Acts II and III featuring Satiro (a satyr) and Amore (S.44), and a short scene featuring Demo standing over a sleeping Giasone in Act III (S.54). Furthermore, the opening to I. 14 now combines Isifile's aria "Lassa," added once Giasone went on tour after 1649, with her original recitative opening "Ferma crudele" (I.14.5). Cuts appear uniformly across these sources in all

[^31]scenes as well, although the fact that the Lisbon score is missing Act III renders this impossible to verify with certainty.

Despite the overall uniformity of this group, there are some minor disparities between the librettos and the scores. For example, in I. 7 the word "roverso" in the libretto is written as "rovescio" in the scores (I.7.1), ${ }^{52}$ a group of seven verses in II. 2 is cut in the scores (II.2.21), a verse is added in III. 8 in Siena (III.8.1), ${ }^{53}$ and the words "dalla tua man" ("from your hands") in III. 21 have been replaced by "da Isifile" ("from Isifile," III.21.1). One variant in particular, S.6, is a false positive: the librettos retain the original Prologue, whereas both Lisbon and Siena contain Stradella's newly-composed version, whose text does not appear elsewhere in any published libretto. ${ }^{54}$ This is because the intent of the impresario, Filippo Acciaiuoli, for the performance of Il novello Giasone was to deceive the audience into thinking that the original Prologue would be performed, by providing them with the librettos printed in advance. ${ }^{55}$ According to the score, the new Prologue begins in the same way as the original, until suddenly the entire stage collapses and new characters-La Poesia, La Musica, L'Architettura, and La Pittura-appear and deliver the new prologue.

This case notwithstanding, the other variants listed above do seem to indicate that there was some slippage between the Rome Family scores and the Rome Group librettos-whether copied directly from the scores, or perhaps from a lost source. Whatever this earlier source was, it is unlikely that it was a Venice Group libretto, as there are no instances in which the Rome Group shares any cuts with members of the Venice Group. Significantly, however, it does share

[^32]variants with members of the Venice Family (see for example II.2.2, II.2.3, II.2.8, III.8.1, and III.21.1), raising the question of what common text sources might have survived, or been recopied, that served as templates for these sources-and why none of them survive today.

## The "Satellite" Sources

| Satellite Group: | Milan 1651 | Satellite Subgroup: Vicenza 1658 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Piacenza 1655 | Ferrara 1659 |
|  | Vicenza 1658 |  |
|  | Ferrara 1659 |  |
|  | Turin XX (1662) |  |
|  | Ancona 1665 |  |
|  | Venice 1666 |  |
|  | Genoa 1681 |  |
|  | Brescia 1690 |  |

Based on the variants analyzed, it is difficult to determine a coherent genealogy relating all of the members of the Satellite Group, although it is possible to hypothesize from the shared variants that Vicenza 1658, Ferrara 1659, and Brescia 1690, comprising the Satellite Subgroup, do have a more intimate relationship to one another than to the other members of this group. When combined with the repeated entries that are unevenly distributed among the librettos, it becomes clear that the Satellite Group librettos share a number of features, but inconsistently. There are some inconsistencies in the relationship between Naples 1667, Naples 1651, and these librettos, although these relationships are explored in the other sections given the stronger relationship that these librettos hold to those groups. A clear illustration of this unique group structure can be found in I.14, where these librettos share a number of exclusive features with one another and with a number of score sources within the bounds of a single scene.

One characteristic example is Milan 1651, whose variants match a large body of both librettos and scores (in the Naples Family in particular). Beyond scene I.14, Milan 1651 strongly
corresponds with members of the Venice Family (II.2.7, III.8.3 ${ }^{56}$ ), but also has one idiosyncratic linguistic change that corresponds exclusively with Naples A and Naples B (II.2.8).

Furthermore, Milan 1651 is the only source to include a special added scene for Demo in Act I (S.13), and one of only a few sources that retains the scene with Giove, Eolo, Amore and the Coro di Venti in Act II (discussed above in association with Milan 1655). Given the relationships between Ancona 1665 and the Venice Family (see below), evidence suggests that Milan 1651 is more likely to relate to earlier performance sources than to later reproductions.

Similarly, Ancona 1665 strongly corresponds to a variety of scores and individual librettos:
Piacenza 1655 and Siena (S.50); Venice 1666, Naples 1667 and Naples A, Naples B, and Florence (I.7.4); Naples Group 1 (S.37); and members of the Venice Group librettos and scores (I.7.8, I.14.1). Ancona 1665 is especially significant because its date, and relationships suggest a potential chronological link between Ancona 1665, Venice 1666, Naples 1667, and the possible production of a number of the "central" scores, including Oxford, other members of the Venice Family, and Naples B. This is not to assert that these scores were newly copied out at this time, but rather, that some of these librettos may have been copied from these fresh "library" score copies or surviving early sources (rather than from previous librettos or touring scores). Such a hypothesis would confirm that some of Giasone's scores (such as Contarini, Naples A, and Naples B) were copied closer to 1665 than 1649.

Furthermore, Ancona 1665 seems to have a particular association with the Venice Group through its opening to I.14, "Ferma, ferma crudele"-the original recitative that was subsequently replaced when Giasone went on tour after 1649. This alone is not enough to suggest any kind of causal relationship, and the librettos are in no way identical. However, given that Ancona 1665

[^33]does not match the Venice Group completely, this relationship suggests that whatever primary sources might have been used to create new score copies were also leaked to, or newly associated with, some select librettos, including Ancona 1665.

The Satellite Subgroup (Vicenza 1658, Ferrara 1659) corresponds to aspects of both the Contarini and Rome Families. This subgroup features an added scene for Alinda in Act I (see S.24) that appears in no other source. Thus, as with Milan 1651, Piacenza 1655, Turin XX, and Genoa 1651, it is difficult to suggest that the relationship between these librettos is exclusive to any particular score or set of scores. More likely, all of these librettos have some form of link to a early source-potentially a score or an early manuscript libretto, given the lack of correspondence with the Venice Group-that shares exclusive qualities with later score sources. The Satellite Subgroup is particularly interesting because its librettos share specific features with both the Rome Group and with Naples Subgroup 2 (Reggio 1668 and Modena), the only two groups to contain definitive libretto associations with specific scores-in this case, the variants in questions are cuts to blocks of verses (II.4.8 and III.21.10). These relationships add weight to the hypothesis that certain Venice Family scores were produced independently of Modena, Siena, and Lisbon-at different times and in different places-even while these sources may be united by the presence of early and later variants.

This final group is perhaps the most important for clarifying the tenuous relationship between the scores and librettos of Giasone. In contrast to the clearer relationships found between Reggio 1668/Modena and the Rome Group, no clear relationships exist between the other surviving scores and librettos. Instead, this chapter suggests that it is only these "misfit" librettos that have a special relationship-based on individual variants-to most of the scores. Given the lack of comprehensive evidence from the other scenes thus far unexamined, this conclusion is tentative at best, but relevant for further research. Most libretto groups are related by text-based
evidence, with their groups clearly defined either by date or tour (as with the early librettos, from 1649-51), or by place or publisher (as with the Milan and Naples Groups). Most score families, however, are related by notational and structural evidence exclusive to the scores. The sole exceptions are Reggio 1668/Modena, the Rome Group, and the librettos of the Satellite Group. In light of this evidence, it is worth considering how the sources for these librettos are distinguished from the earlier tours of Giasone (1649-51). Such sources sometimes relate to secondary libretto sources, sometimes to Cavalli's personal library and the Venice Family, and sometimes to later reproductions (Modena, Lisbon, Siena). Along with evidence gleaned from other significant relationships (such as Naples B, Naples 1667, and notational evidence from the scores), these librettos clearly portray the complex and non-linear dissemination of libretto and score materials for four decades after the premiere of Giasone.

Special mention must be made of two late librettos in this group, Genoa 1681 and Brescia 1690, which hold the unique distinction of bearing completely different titles as well as of being the latest librettos of the seventeenth century for Giasone. Il trionfo d'amor nelle vendette (The Triumph of Love in the Face of Vengeance) was staged at the Teatro del Falcone in Genoa in 1681, sometime after the dedication by Paolo Ravara to one D. Massimiliana Dorotea de Tilly Coloma was signed on 13 November of that year and subsequently printed in the libretto. In this dedication, Ravara admits to having updated the original: "And I who, in order to adapt it [Giasone] to modern convention, did not refrain from contributing some small efforts, all the while keeping to its style, bestow it [this new work], along with my colleague's music, upon the incomparable merit of your Most Illustrious Ladyship..."57 The following letter "To He Who Reads," perhaps written by the same Ravara, goes into some more detail about these updates:

[^34]Here you are, o reader, again in the theater with Giasone; and even though along with its name several events have changed, you will find it to be the same in substance. We desire the satisfaction of everyone, and reflecting on the fact that variety is enjoyed by all, we have attempted to present it according to universal taste with the addition of several ariettas, reassuring you that none of us would flatter himself to go up against whoever was good enough to match its melody to such applause. All of us admire uniformly the excellence of the one who rendered it so pretty, and we know well that pretending otherwise would be putting one's mouth in the sky [creating great difficulty for oneself]. For this reason we hope that you will be thusly kind, and will not criticize what we have done to match your tastes, and that you will look gladly upon all of our efforts. Our duty is only to gratify you, just as yours is to be gratified. Furthermore, the names of deities, Fate, Destiny, and others, are poetic jests, and certainly not sentiments of anyone who professes to live as a Christian. Indulge us generously, and live happily. ${ }^{58}$

The new arias mentioned are marked with asterisks within the libretto, and there are certainly extensive replacements of Cicognini's original songs. More interesting are the structural changes: Genoa 1681 is one of the few sources to entirely eliminate I. 1 between Ercole and Besso (along wish Reggio 1668 and Modena), while adding an entirely new and unique scene for Egeo after Oreste and Isifile's scene in II.2. While many of its other textual alterations match up with many of the popular ones in the Satellite Group and other sources (particularly when it comes to cuts), it is clear that this production was attempting something entirely different from earlier Giasone productions, including the production associated with Genoa 1651, by capitalizing on a tried and true work from the middle of the century and dressing it up in a new coat.

Brescia 1690, the last known revival of Giasone in the seventeenth century, performs a similar feat in renaming its production Medea in Colco (Medea in Colchis), a reference to Giasone's sojourn in the island nation where Medea reigns. The choice of title is curious, because the characters remain on Colchis for only the first act and part of the second, before all converging in

[^35]Caucasian Iberia for the rest of the opera. The dedication to Brescia's chief magistrate, Lavora
Cornara, written by one Pavolo Torri, makes similar reference to Giasone as well as the desire for novelty, although with the added element of reluctance to simply rehash a forty-year-old work:
"Giasone returns onto this stage; but embarrassed to appear in its already-witnessed form, and chiefly [because] current times love novelty, it has been transformed into Medea." ${ }^{59}$ As in Il trionfo, this dedication is also followed by a letter to the "kind reader" ("benigno lettore"):


#### Abstract

This drama, which bears the name of Medea in Colco, is none other than Giasone. Know that it was much appreciated by you in its first appearance; and for this reason it returns in order to delight your curiosity. It has changed clothes, because between then and now men's tastes have become more subtle. Everybody's fashion tastes are [now] French, and they do not love superfluity; [this French sensibility] has also left behind two characters who were not of any use, and has been unburdened of certain digressions which delayed it from its most necessary tasks. However, its aim has been to delight, for which it has spiced the tedium of many speeches with the addition and replacement of canzonette. Therefore do not disapprove of it, for you would be wronging its fidelity [to the original], and to the desire it had to relieve you from the indolence of these times. Live happily. Nor do I hesitate to remind you that the use, or better put, the abuse of the names of idols, goddesses, deities, Fate, Destiny, and the such are mere poetic inventions. ${ }^{60}$


New songs are a calling card here, as they were in Il trionfo and as early as the second edition libretto of 1649 , although the artists responsible for this production took a heavier hand in eliminating not only more scenes, but entire characters. Rosmina, the poor garden girl with only one scene in the original Venetian performances, had been a victim of the chopping block as early 1650. But Alinda, Isifile's handmaiden, insouciant counterpoint to her mistress' amorous angst, and love interest to Besso, did not make it onto the stage of the Teatro di Brescia. While she did

[^36]not provide any vital plot advancement, she did have a role in bringing some levity to Isifile's woes at the beginning of Act II, in the depths of her despair. But because the French "do not love superfluity, ${ }^{, 61}$ her part did not survive. As a result, Besso never finds love (II.12, their first and only encounter, is cut), and a dialogue between Oreste and Alinda in II. 8 is cut short (only Oreste makes a brief appearance). Ultimately, of course, this has no impact on the story of Giasone beyond bringing its conclusion faster.

Perhaps as a result of Alinda's removal, Brescia 1690 also cuts I.14, Isifile's climactic first appearance in the opera. This is the only source for Giasone to take such a drastic step, and presents a much more significant loss. It removes much of the psychological depth that earlier productions were able to give to the opera's sentimental heroine: she is first portrayed as a woman hopelessly in love with a man who has abandoned her and their children, and only after Oreste returns with news of Giasone in II. 2 does she rouse herself to action. However, this cut was a necessary countermeasure after removing Isifile's emotional ballast, her handmaiden. Without Alinda to insert levity for balance, those responsible for the 1690 Medea likely felt I. 14 provided too much gravitas from a character already burdened with providing emotional and sentimental weight to the entire opera. This kind of consideration for the balance of a libretto is not too farremoved from the approach taken by Cicognini to Giasone forty years earlier, although in 1690 other different kinds of pressures, artistic and otherwise, were being exerted on the production of Medea in Colco. It is a testament to Cicognini's ability to storytell and to characterize that such drastic changes still left no doubt to audiences that underneath Medea's trappings was Giasone, none the worse for the wear.

[^37]
## Chapter Two <br> The Scores

In this chapter, I focus specifically on the distinct score families as I have categorized them, based on shared musical and textual material, as well as the individual members of each family. I pay special attention to the Contarini score, as it is the only source whose copying was verifiably overseen by Cavalli. The Vienna score has also been demonstrated to have been a strong candidate for having come into contact with Cavalli, although the evidence for this is more circumstantial than for the Contarini.

Table 2.1: The Giasone Scores by Family

| The Venice Family | Location / Library | Call Number |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Contarini | Venice / I-Vnm | Ms.It.Cl.IV.363 |
| Florence | Florence / I-Fn | MS.CLXIX.20 |
| Oxford | Oxford / GB-Ob | MS 210.1-3 |
| Vatican | Vatican / I-Rvat | Chigi Q.V.52 |
| Vienna | Vienna / A-Wn | Mus.Hs.16.657.MS 4348 |

The Naples Family

| Naples A | Naples / I-Nc | 33.6 .15 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Naples B | Naples / I-Nc | 33.6 .16 |
| Naples C | Naples / I-Nc | 20.1 .6 |
| Modena | Modena / I-MOe | MS.E.23 |
| [Borromeo] | Isola Bella / I-IBborromeo | MS.AU.068 |

## The Rome Family

| Lisbon | Lisbon / P-La | $47 . v .26$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Siena | Siena / I-Sc | L.V. 33 |

A comparison of the available existing scores in Table 2.1 suggests three primary score families: the Venice Family (Contarini, Vienna, Vatican, Florence, and Oxford), the Naples Family (Naples A, Naples B, Naples C, and Modena), and the Rome Family (Lisbon and Siena). While there exists abundant evidence for these specific groupings, the categories are rarely ironclad. Indeed, many of the scores share exclusive material across families, just as there are instances in which not all scores within a family share the same variant. Further below, I discuss the problematic Oxford score. Even though the majority of its structural traits align it with the Venice Family, it is in essence a hybrid source containing variants associated uniquely with each of the different families. By narrowing in on a limited number of these significant variants, I propose a limited stemma that attempts to chart the relationships between the three score families in broad strokes.

Finally, I address issues surrounding a potential reconstruction of an "ideal" score for Giasone. Because there is unfortunately no autograph in existence, we are left only with secondhand copies; at best, as in the case of the Contarini and possibly the Vienna score, their copying was overseen by Cavalli himself. In most cases, however, these scores are clean copies intended for archival collections, often decades and multiple degrees removed from the now-lost performance score for the 23 January 1649 premiere of Giasone.

To this end, I will focus on three scores in particular: the Contarini, Vienna, and Vatican. Members of the Venice Family, these scores contain complementary material that, placed together, yield a hypothetical and reconstructed "Urtext" for Cavalli's original Giasone, a potentially valuable tool for comparison against the subsequent scores. It is important to note that the most valuable benchmark for determining the structure of this reconstructed score would have to be the second impression (Venice 1649B). Printed relatively soon after the premiere, the publisher Andrea Giuliani touts its expanded and corrected contents, including "the addition of
the new songs" that had ostensibly appeared in the performance, but not in the original printing (Venice 1649A). ${ }^{1}$ Its text, then, provides a useful blueprint against which to compare the contents of the Giasone scores-after all, it was this version that was disseminated to the rest of Italy, and from which all subsequent modifications stemmed.

## The Venice Family

Members: Contarini
Vienna
Vatican
Florence
Oxford

## The Contarini Score

Housed within an extensive collection bequeathed by Girolamo Contarini after his death in 1843 to the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice, the Contarini score is unique among all of its siblings for having come into direct contact with Cavalli. This has been proposed by Peter Jeffery, who in his dissertation postulated its connection to the composer through a combination of evidence both forensic (corrections to the text as well as the paper used, although importantly, he did not provide examples of such within the score) and circumstantial (based on the copyist's sustained collaboration with Cavalli). ${ }^{2}$ The fact that this relic-esque source was in fact copied out by an anonymous scribe, albeit under the composer's supervision, in the late 1660 s-that is, almost twenty years removed from its original creation-bespeaks Giasone's complicated philological legacy, already discussed in Chapter 1. "Scribe D," as the copyist has come to be known through Jane Glover's work, was responsible for copying thirteen of Cavalli's operas, and

[^38]according to Glover Giasone may have been one of the last scores in the queue. ${ }^{3}$ As I show below, evidence of Cavalli's intervention is sparser than Jeffery had indicated, but it is nonetheless an important source for its proximity to the composer.

The Contarini score contains several lacunae, ranging from missing musical overlay in the bass to missing chunks of text (and music), to an entire missing scene-the "Scena ultima" depicting the gods' postmortem of the opera's events. To be fair, most of the other Giasone scores also omit this final scene, although it is passably strange that a score bearing Cavalli's own corrections, even years after the composer had originally set the libretto to music, would have passed muster without an entire scene, not to mention the swaths of measures missing musical underlay. Despite these deficiencies, a comparison of the text in the Contarini score to that of Venice 1649B yields a great deal of fidelity to the libretto, a common trait in all of the Venice Family scores (see Appendix II for a list of all of the variants per group and family).

Although Jeffery claims that "of all the manuscripts written by copyist D, the one with most corrections by Cavalli is Giasone, which is heavily marked in pencil with scene numbers, names of characters, and other corrections," many of these editorial interventions are in fact nowhere to be found within the body of the Contarini score. Certainly the scene designations are uniform in handwriting across the board, even in the case of scores for other Cavalli operas created by the same copyist. Figures 2.1 a and 2.1 b compare similar scene headings from Giasone and Eliogabalo, the latter also having copied by Scribe D (according to Glover's hypothesis, earlier than Giasone) and also present within the Contarini collection at the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. As such, there is no reason to believe that any of the scene numbers in Giasone were marked by Cavalli.

[^39]

Figure 2.1a: Contarini, f. 153v


Figure 2.1b: Eliogabalo (I-Vnm, Ms.It.Cl.IV.358), f. 69v

Indeed, the only suggestion that Cavalli's (or another's) hand may have been present in the character names under the scene headings appears in a variation on "Delfa" present in II. 5 (numbered II. 4 in the score). Figure 2.2a depicts "Delfa" in Scribe D's regular hand, whereas Figure 2.2 b is missing the characteristic slant.


Figure 2.2a: Contarini, f. 74v


Figure 2.2b: Contarini, f. 78r

One possible candidate for Cavalli's textual intervention outside of scene headings can be seen in his "Ritornello da capo" indications, often abbreviated as "Ritor:" da capo" (Figures 2.3a through 2.3c). When compared to an instance of Cavalli's hand in Eliogabalo verified by Jeffery (Figure $2.3 \mathrm{~d}),{ }^{4}$ however, it seems that these markings in Giasone more resemble the bottom "Ritor." in that example, written by Scribe D, than the top one scribbled in by Cavalli.

[^40]

Figure 2.3a: Contarini, f. 3r


Figure 2.3b: Contarini, f. 21v


Figure 2.3c: Contarini, f. 55v


Figure 2.3d: Eliogabalo (I-Vnm, Ms.It.Cl.IV.358), f. 75r

Jeffery goes on to observe that musical corrections also exist, particularly on the first two folios, and surmises that they were made by Cavalli (Figures 2.4a through 2.4d). However, he adds, this assertion would require further verification pending more samples of the composer's musical hand. Another correction can be seen on f. 61r: an erased sharp sign in the cellos on the bottom system.


Figure 2.4a: Contarini, f. 1r (1 $1^{\text {st }}$ Violin)


Figure 2.4b: Contarini, f. 1r (Cello)


Figure 2.4c: Contarini, f. 1v (Cello)


Figure 2.4d: Contarini, f. 2r (Viola)

Some interesting changes to the formatting and structure of Venice 1649B exist in the Contarini score. Three pairs of scenes are each combined into a single scene: I. 10 and I.11, II. 3 and II.4, and III. 2 and III.3. Even if Cavalli had no hand in the scene headings, it stands to reason that he would still have picked up on these changes when inspecting Scribe D's finished work. Most of the scene designations take up two staves, as in Figure 2.5, although occasionally both scene number and characters are restricted to one staff, as seen in Figure 2.6.


Figure 2.5: Contarini, f. 148r


Figure 2.6: Contarini, f. 22r

In the case of the Act I and Act III pairs, there would not have been enough space to include a new scene heading (Figures 2.7a and 2.7b).


Figure 2.7a: Contarini, f. 47v


Figure 2.7b: Contarini, f. 122v

However, in II. 3 and II. 4 the boundary between both scenes is demarcated in the score by a page break as well as an empty staff (Figure 2.7c), which would have been enough space to insert a
"Scena iiii. Giasone solo" heading.


Figure 2.7c: Contarini, f. 75v

The fact that there are no corrections to the scene headings, particularly in this last instance, seems to suggest that it was not a priority for Cavalli to demarcate the scenes exactly how Cicognini had arranged them in 1649. It is worth noting that most of the other members of the Venice Family share these specific scene mergers, a fact that I discuss further below. Furthermore, a misnumbering of scenes in Act III—III. 7 is followed in the Contarini by III.9-remained uncorrected, and none of the act beginnings are marked by act or scene headings (although the end of Act II is marked as such on f .116 r ), whereas the other scores copied by Scribe D bear such inscriptions (Figures 2.8a through 2.8b) prominently at the beginning of each act.


Figure 2.8a: Eliogabalo (I-Vnm, Ms.It.Cl.IV.358), f. 51v


Figure 2.8b: Erismena (I-Vnm, Ms. It.Cl.IV.360), f. 39r


Figure 2.8c: Contarini, f. 63r

Figure 2.8 c bears a faintly written label (incorrect) of "atto primo," in a clearly different color suggesting that of a pencil, although the script indicates a much more recent hand, perhaps from the twentieth century. ${ }^{5}$ Other examples can be seen on $\mathrm{f} .3,116 \mathrm{v}$, as well as two instances in which the word "qui" ("here") appear inexplicably over a staff, on f .35 r and 122 v . This seems to be the same graphite pencil that has written in folio numbers on the top right of each page. The score is also studded with X's above the staves, often over barlines, ${ }^{6}$ but it is difficult to ascertain from a digital copy whether it bears the same grey shade as that of the more recent interventions. Although these X's may have contributed to Jeffery's assessment of this score as bearing the most corrections among Scribe D's copying efforts, they do not seem to bear any musical significance

[^41]other than potentially calling for a different metrical grouping, in the case of some of the barlines (for example Demo's "Son gobbo" aria from f. 30v to 33r).

All of this evidence indicates that Cavalli did not in fact intervene as extensively in Scribe D's copy of Giasone as Jeffery has asserted. Indeed, going along with Glover's hypothesis that Giasone was one of the last scores that Scribe D copied out, it is possible that Cavalli had by then already shifted his attention from opera composition back to sacred music, especially if this score was copied out in the late $1660 \mathrm{~s} .{ }^{7}$ As I discuss in the final section of this chapter, the Contarini score's problematic status as a bearer of Cavalli's editorial intervention (although to a minimal, if disputed extent) necessitates the use of other earlier scores to fill in its gaps.

## Other Members of the Venice Family

With the exception of the Oxford score, the Venice Family is a remarkably consistent group of sources both at the level of its scene structure, as well as its textual variants. For example, it is the only group of scores that across the board maintains both I. 3 (Rosmina giardiniera) and II. 8 (Giove, Eolo, Amore, Coro di Venti). These two scenes were among the first casualties when Balbi and the Febiarmonici took Giasone on its first tour through Northern Italy in mid-1649; in the case of Rosmina, her scene is superfluous to the action and is merely an opportunity for a spare actress to sing an aria. As for the gods in the middle of Act II, their role in forcing the Argo to stay moored at Caucasian Iberia (by means of a tempest) could have been easily attributed to mere happenstance, and the removal of the scene would likewise not have made an impact on the overall story.

Two pairs of scores can be distinguished within this set of sources: Contarini and Florence, and Vienna and Vatican. Perhaps the most telltale indicator of this comes in the fact

[^42]that the first pair eliminate the final scene in Venice 1649B (Giove, Amore, Coro di Dei, Zeffiro), a postmortem by the gods of the preceding events, whereas Vienna and Vatican are the only Giasone scores that retain it. While the correspondences are by no means exact or neat (and, as I show below, there is an important counterexample featuring a passage found in the Ancona 1665 libretto), there are enough similarities elsewhere within each pair to suggest a nominal relationship. The Oxford score, from a philological standpoint, acts as a bridge between this family and the Rome Family that features the Roman Novello Giasone revival of 1671.

Long thought to have been an autograph, the Florence score has been demonstrated conclusively by Jeffery to have been at best a copy: none of the hands associated with it resemble Cavalli's handwriting, and it is one of only two surviving Giasone scores in upright format (the other being the Modena score, in the Naples Family); all of the scores associated with Cavalli are oblong quartos. ${ }^{8}$ The fact that the Florence score does not match any of the three Florence librettos $(1650,1651,1656)$ is in the first place an indication of the incredibly complicated and rich transmission history of Giasone. While those librettos are clear evidence of the performances that took place in Tuscany in the early 1650s, the score is a neat copy that must have been destined for a library collection.

One particularly distinguishing trait of the Florence score is that it combines even more scenes than the Contarini; indeed, it merges the most scenes of all of the scores. So beyond I. 10 and I.11, II. 3 and II.4, and III. 2 and III.3, this score also merges I. 12 (Medea, Giasone, Delfa) and I. 13 (Delfa sola), II. 12 (Besso, Alinda) and II. 13 (Oreste, Giasone, Medea). This last merger in particular makes no sense from a performance standpoint, as it deals with completely different sets of characters in different places. Furthermore, it displaces Giasone's response to Oreste's initial query—"Isifile, my Lord, she who in Lemnos..." "Uh oh" ("Isifile, signor, quella che in Lenno"

[^43]"Ohimé")—an exchange that in the libretto (and the other scores) initiates the first long-awaited confrontation between Isifile and her former lover, as seen in Figure 2.9a.


Figure 2.9a: Contarini, f. 106v

In the Florence score, Giasone's reply precedes, or at best overlaps with, Oreste's opening line, as seen in their stacked placement (Figure 2.9b):


Figure 2.9b: Florence, p. 171

The lack of consideration for the musical and temporal spacing of this exchange suggests that the copyist was not paying attention to the disposition of voices in the original, as there is no bracket
demarcating a single four-staff system or two double-staved systems. This, along with the
Florence score's five merged scene pairs, strongly supports the notion that this was never meant to be a performance score, but rather a document of a performance intended for a collection.

Another clean copy, the Vatican score is housed in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. While unfortunately little currently is known of its provenance, it seems to represent an early version of Giasone, even if it may not have been copied early. It is one of only two scores to preserve the "Scena Ultima" of Act III featuring Giove, Amore, the Coro di Dei, and Zeffiro. Like most of the other members of the Venice Family, it also preserves the original recitative opening to I.14, Isifile's "Ferma, ferma crudele." However, like Contarini, Florence, and Oxford,

Vatican also eliminates a sixteen-verse block from III. 21 that is present in all of the original Venice Group librettos. This variant, along with the fact that the score combines I. 10 and I.11, II. 3 and II.4, and III. 2 and III. 3 (the same scenes that are combined in the Contarini score), seems to suggest that it was copied from an early source, perhaps related to the one that Scribe D used to copy out the Contarini score. Certainly the lack of staff space, at the beginning of what would have been each new scene in these three instances, supports the association between these two scores:


Figure 2.10a: Vatican, f. 62r


Figure 2.10b: Vatican, f. 101r


Figure 2.10c: Vatican, f. 166r

There are holes in this argument, however: as mentioned above, Vatican is one of the only two scores to include III.Ultima, a distinction not shared by Contarini. And while

Contarini shares the scene misnumberings in Act III (S.49, discussed above) with Florence, neither Vatican, Vienna, nor Oxford contain that scribal error. Furthermore, the corrections in Contarini to the opening Sinfonia, possibly written in by Cavalli himself (see Figures 2.4a through 2.4d, and 2.11a), appear without any correction marks in Vatican (Figure 2.11b). This
may suggest that the scribe for the Vatican score was more careful than Scribe D, if they were referring to the same exemplar. Most importantly, however, the fact that Contarini and Vatican are the only sources to embellish the end of the first section of the Sinfonia clearly links these two sources together.


Figure 2.11a: Contarini, f. 1r


Figure 2.11b: Vatican, f. 1r

By comparison, the analogous parts of this opening section to the Sinfonia in Florence (Figure
2.11c) and Vienna (Figure 2.11d) lack the eighth-note figurations.


Figure 2.11c: Florence, f. 1r


Figure 2.11d: Vienna, f. 1v

It is also worth noting that the Florence score is the only source in the Venice Family to have only three string parts in the Sinfonia; Contarini, Vatican, Vienna, and Oxford all have five. Indeed, the Novello Giasone scores-Lisbon and Siena-also have five parts. Only the scores of the Naples Family-Naples A, Naples B, and Modena (Naples C is missing those pages)contain three parts for the Sinfonia. This represents a potential, if tenuous, link between Florence and the Naples Family scores, a link that I will strengthen further below with additional evidence of textual correspondence between these sources.

Although lacking those particular embellishments in the Sinfonia, the Vienna score is an important document reflecting one of the earliest versions of Giasone. It has been theorized quite plausibly that this score was copied under Cavalli's supervision sometime before 1660, when

Cavalli undertook a journey from Venice to Paris, having been invited to write an opera to celebrate King Louis XIV's marriage to Maria Theresa, the Spanish Infanta. Along the way, Cavalli stopped in Innsbruck, where he met the Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I, and is thought to have consigned to him the score for Giasone. ${ }^{9}$

Peter Jeffery has identified the scribe for this Vienna score as "X1," the same copyist responsible for Cavalli's Xerse, which X1 wrote out in 1655 and later revised in 1657. Going one step further, Jeffery asserts that Giasone was copied out later than Xerse, based on the presence of a simpler treble clef (Figure 2.12c, approximating its present form) throughout all of Giasone, one that had only begun to appear during the later revisions of Xerse (Figure 2.12b) in place of a more ornate, antiquated form that required multiple pen strokes (Figure 2.12a). If this is indeed the case, it would plausibly allow for a copying date before Cavalli's departure for Paris by way of Innsbruck.


Figure 2.12a: Xerse (I-Vnm, MS.It.Cl.IV.374), f. 68v—Ornate Treble Clef


Figure 2.12b: Xerse (I-Vnm, MS.It.Cl.IV.374), f. 73r—Simpler Treble Clef

[^44]Figure 2.12c: Vienna, f. 1v

While the proposed chronology of the Vienna score conveniently allows us to postulate it as an early source for Giasone, its contents are the more important deciding factor. Beyond having the only other transcription of the Act III Scena Ultima, along with the Vatican score, Vienna presents us with a largely untouched version of the opera. Only one pair of scenes is merged (II. 3 and II.4), in comparison to the three in Contarini and Vatican, and five in Florence. It is unique among the four other Venice Family members in lacking an added block of verses in I. 7 found only in the Ancona 1665 libretto (I.7.8). This lends particularly strong credence to the Vienna score having been copied before 1665, if also 1660. It also retains the original verse "che non sei larga nè stretta" instead of the more common switch to "che sei tutta vezzosetta" (II.2.3). ${ }^{10}$ Furthermore, it is unique among all scores in presenting a shift in its verse structure in III. 21 (see III. 21.2 in Appendix II), one that matches only one single libretto-Ferrara 1659, whose printing and performance timeline fit into the "before 1660 " scenario. If Cavalli was indeed responsible for directing this score's creation under the hands of Scribe X1, it is unclear how he would have obtained material from the Ferrara performance, although it is nonetheless possible that he might have done so, and subsequently furnished his copyist with that version of III. 21.

[^45]Of course, the Vienna score also contains cuts that contradict the notion that it preserves the 1649 version of the opera. Two cuts in particular, one at the end of II. 2 (nine verses in which Isifile rouses herself to action, II.2.20), and the other at the end of III. 8 (four verses that depict Isifile's contrition toward her neglected children, III.8.9), are all shared with the majority of postVenice 1649 sources for Giasone, and yet Vienna is the only member among the Venice Group librettos and scores with both variants. This supports the notion that Cavalli obtained access to performances outside of Venice during the intervening years between 1649 and when he had Giasone copied out by Scribe X1. Significantly, Ferrara 1659 contains the second of these variants (III.8.9), but not II.2.20. It is also one of only two sources to add an aria at the end of III. 8 for Isifile, "Satia son di penar cruda fortuna" ("I have had enough of suffering misfortune"), along with Vicenza 1658. It is reasonable to suppose that Cavalli would not have included this aria in what would become the Vienna score, assuming he had had access to at least the libretto, if not the score of the performance in Ferrara in 1659, as the music for "Satia" would not have been his own. ${ }^{11}$

As the Vienna and Contarini scores are the only two sources whose copying were plausibly overseen by Cavalli, it is worth pointing out some discrepancies in the music between both sources. Vienna is alone in having a full complement of string parts to accompany Isifile during her heartrending lament in III.21, "Regina, Egeo, amici" (Figure 2.13a) whereas the other scores, including Contarini, merely provide the bass for accompaniment (Figure 2.13b).

[^46]

Figure 2.13a: Vienna, f. 167v


Figure 2.13b: Contarini, f. 161r

The Contarini score contains lacunae and outright errors at some points, ranging from staves left blank (Figure 2.14a) to contrapuntally unsound fourths between the voice and bass (Figures 2.15a and 2.16a); the Vienna score provides a bassline in the first instance (Figure 2.14b), and more acceptable alternatives in the last two (Figures 2.15b and 2.16b). Even key signatures differ at times between the two sources: the end of II. 14 in the Contarini score is in cantus mollis (Figure
2.17a), whereas the Vienna score contains a switch from cantus mollis to cantus durus (Figure
2.17b). This proves to be an important divergence from an analytical standpoint, as I discuss in

Chapter 5 in my examination of this climactic confrontation between Isifile, Giasone and Medea.
And, as I discuss below in the final section, all of these corrections play an important role in determining which Giasone score to act as a base text for an edition.


Figure 2.14a: Contarini, f. 161v


Figure 2.14b: Vienna, f. 170v


Figure 2.15a: Contarini, f. 3r


Figure 2.15b: Vienna, f. 3r


Figure 2.16a: Contarini, f. 132r


Figure 2.16b: Vienna, f. 134v


Figure 2.17a: Contarini, f. 115v


Figure 2.17b: Vienna, f. 115v

One particular group of verses in I. 7 (Demo, Oreste) may help to chronologically situate several of the Venice Family scores, as it appears in only five sources: the Contarini, Florence, Vatican, and Oxford scores, and a single libretto dating from 1665 that was published for a performance in Ancona. Significantly, it does not appear in the Vienna score, the final member of the Contarini family. These lines are spoken by Demo and Oreste, an exchage nestled within a comic duet between a stuttering buffoon and Isifile's weary manservant in which Demo has just accused Oreste of being a spy, and now must backtrack for fear of the older servant's wrath:

DEMO: Forse l'esser spion leva l'onore? ORESTE: Sì che lo leva, sì.

Perhaps being a spy diminishes one's honor? Yes indeed, it does.

DEMO: Non t'alterar così. Don't bother yourself like this.

Pla- pla- placati un poco tu t'adiri da senno, io parlo in gioco.
ORESTE: Tengo il rispetto in queste regie mura se ciò non mi frenasse?
DEMO: E che faresti tu?
ORESTE: Così, così farei
DEMO: O bel pensiero
Dar de' schiaffi ad un soldato, ad un cavaliero.

Calm down a bit;
you're working up a lather, but I'm speaking in jest.
Do I maintain respect in these royal walls
if this does not hold me back?
And what would you do?
This, I would do this.
Oh how nice,
smacking around a soldier, a knight.

The Ancona 1665 libretto is a member of the Satellite Group of librettos with no real similarities to any other libretto or score. Indeed, it reflects its later date by having cut I. 3 (Rosmina giardiniera) and II. 8 (Giove, Eolo, Amore, Coro di Venti), both scenes that remain intact in the Venice Family of scores. It cuts the final scene with the gods, a variant it does not share with the Vatican score within this subset (one of only two scores, along with Vienna, that retains that scene).

Unfortunately, nothing conclusive can be drawn from the fact that these four scores contain a block of text that can be dated to a libretto printed in 1665. Because all of the Giasone scores are neat copies, created after-in some cases well after-a performance, it is unlikely that this additional exchange between Demo and Oreste would have originated in one of these scores without appearing in more librettos. The score associated with that 1665 production in Ancona is lost to us, but it would be a leading candidate for being the point of origin for this variant, and therefore an exemplar for the scores. However, the fact that this is only one shared trait amidst multiple variants across the four scores and one libretto complicates, likely even negates, the possibility that there was only one score (that is, the hypothetical one associated with Ancona 1665) that served as a source for these four copies. The fact that one of these scores, the Contarini, had come into contact with Cavalli himself (although, as my discussion above has shown, it was likely minimal contact), indicates the vast amount of contamination across sources that seems endemic to the Venice and Naples Families. What the presence of this variant may
suggest, however, is that these four scores were all roughly contemporary with the Ancona 1665 performance. This had already been assumed for the Contarini and Oxford scores, but it may help to explain why the Florence and Vatican scores have so many structural alterations (that is, scene mergers), even as it supports the notion that the Vienna score represented an early, relatively uncontaminated version of Giasone.

## The Rome Family

## Members: Siena

Lisbon

The Rome Family, consisting of the two surviving scores for Il novello Giasone, are an extremely uniform set of sources. This consistency extends to the two librettos associated with the performance as well, Rome 1671 and Rome 1676, the latter being a literary reprint. The performance in 1671, part of an inaugural season that also featured a revival of Nicolò Minato and Cavalli's Scipione affricano (1664), was underwritten by the Tordinona's impresario Filippo Acciaiuoli, and was the product of a collaboration between librettist Giovanni Filippo Apolloni and composer Alessandro Stradella.

The changes made to this revival, as well as the few internal variants existing within this family, have been extensively covered in Nicola Usula's authoritative work in the prefatory material for the modern facsimile edition of the Siena score, the only complete source for $I l$ novello Giasone (the Lisbon score is missing Act III). ${ }^{12}$ As such, this section will only provide a brief overview of some of the more significant differences between the original and Novello versions.

[^47]From a structural standpoint, one of the most drastic changes made by Apolloni and Stradella was to the Prologue. ${ }^{13}$ Whereas the Prologues in the Modena score as well as Vicenza 1658 and Venice 1666 are entirely rewritten, the Novello Prologue starts out innocuously enough as the original, featuring a triumphant Sole crowing about the presumed upcoming nuptials between Giasone and Medea. Rather abruptly, the stage collapses, and the allegorical figures of Musica, Pittura, Poesia, and Architettura emerge from the ruins to start the new Prologue (see Chapter 3 for a discussion of this and the other substituted Prologues). The libretto for the performance, Rome 1671, does not contain any of this new material, but instead reproduces the original version faithfully, with the presumed intent being to surprise and stupefy the audience.

Musically speaking, the material up until the collapse is virtually identical to Cavalli's original (Figure 2.18a), with the exception of a slight acceleration in the rhythmic subdivision in the moments leading up to the switch (Figure 2.18b).


Figure 2.18a: Contarini, f. 2v

[^48]

Figure 2.18b: Siena, f. 5v

Another change worth noting is Stradella's rewrite of Giasone's calling-card aria, "Delizie, contenti." He retains Cicognini's original text, and Cavalli's original harmonic framework, DDorian, and creates a derivative aria (a transcription of which is in Appendix IV) that closely mimics Cavalli's phrase structure, down to the fragmentation in the second stanza. The main distinguishing trait of this rewrite, beyond a new melody and register (Giasone is no longer an alto, but now a baritone--see Figures 2.19a and 2.19b), is a shift in harmonic goals, from A minor to G minor as an expanded secondary area in the Novello version.


Figure 2.19a: Contarini, f. 13r


Figure 2.19b: Siena, f. 29v

The two Novello scores are virtually identical in content, with minimal variation in the music. Of the few internal variants that do exist within this two-member family, it is worth mentioning that the Siena score is the only one with a title explicitly declaring "Il Novello Giasone," whereas the Lisbon score merely states "Il Giasone" above the opening Sinfonia.

Furthermore, I. 10 and I. 11 are combined in only the Portuguese manuscript (Figure 2.20a), while the Siena score maintains the scene division found in the libretto (Figure 2.20b).


Figure 2.20a: Lisbon, f. 62r


Figure 2.20b: Siena, f. 80v

The fact that these two variants are the exception rather than the rule demonstrates the extreme extent to which the Rome Family is internally consistent. It is true, after all, that Il novello Giasone received only one (documented) production, in Rome, 1671, whereas the Giasone scores as a whole present records of different productions in different cities. This larger set of sources is also burdened by the additional complexity of cross-contamination, of which there is plenty in all of the score families. Furthermore, the scores are all clean copies, and thus at least one step removed
from a performance score-and thus a closer approximation of what actually took place on stage.
At least in the case of the Rome Family, however, the distance between score and performance conditions is not too great.

## The Naples Family

Members: $\quad$ Naples $A$
Naples B
Naples C
Modena
[Borromeo]

The Naples Family is rife with inconsistencies and contradictions, despite the geographical proximity of three of its members. The three Neapolitan scores, all housed at the Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica San Pietro a Majella, are similar enough in content to be grouped together, yet display a surprising amount of diversity with respect to structural variants. The Modena score, while sharing a large number of variants with its three siblings, is distinguished from the outset by being an upright folio-the only such Giasone score other than Florence.

Even Naples C can be likewise separated from its other Naples Family members-indeed, from all of the Giasone scores-by having been written a libro aperto, that is, across the gutter (Figure 2.21). ${ }^{14}$ Indeed, as I argue below, it is likely that Naples C represents the earliest version of Giasone among all of the Naples Family scores.

[^49]

Figure 2.21: Naples C, ff. 33v-34r

The chief trait unifying these four sources is the fact that they represent Giasone as it was performed post-Venetian premiere. That is, these are the only scores that replace the original "Ferma, ferma crudele" recitative opening of I.14, with the "Lassa, che far degg'io" aria that appeared as early as 1650 in Florence. The presence of this variant alone, across all of the sources in this family, strongly indicates that these scores represent a later stage of Giasone productions than the Venice Family scores, all (except for Oxford) of which contain the recitative. It is even possible that some of these Naples Family scores might have been copied before some of the Venice Family scores, given that the Contarini score was likely copied during the late 1660s.

Despite the fact that these four sources are tied together as post-Venice scores, each score has at least one particular variant that separates it from the others. Naples B, for example, is unique among the Naples Family scores in preserving an additional scene for a pageboy named Erino ("Erino Paggio"), a variant that is found in all of the librettos of Naples Group 1. It is also the only score to contain the "S'ei non torna" variant discussed in Chapter 1 (I.14.7, present also in Velletri 1660, Venice XX, and Naples 1667). Naples A, in turn, contains a misnumbered scene (III.10, incorrectly labeled as II.11) that somehow appears in all of the Milan Group
librettos, as well as Ancona 1665. However, this can be attributed to a simple error on the part of Naples A, or a printing error on the part of the librettos; the score has no other uniquely shared variants with those librettos. I have already discussed the Modena score in the preceding chapter as being closely associated with the Reggio 1668 libretto, although it also shares some variants with a limited number of other sources (see for example I.7.5, a word substitution), including Naples A and Naples B.

Naples A and Naples B also share some unique variants among the Naples Family scores, excluding Naples C and Modena. For example, a variant in which a particularly scatological exchange between Demo and Oreste in I. 7 is somewhat mitigated (I.7.4) appears only in those two scores within the Naples Family, as well as Florence and Ancona 1665. In the original version (see Figure 2.22a), the stuttering Demo, full of bluster, exclaims in alternating rhyme (also in the translation):

DEMO: Sei troppo, troppo, troppo frettoloso, e se farai del mio parlar strapazzo, la mia forte bravura saprà spezzarti ${ }^{15}$ il ca-
ORESTE: Oibò.
DEMO: Il ca- po in queste mura.

Your judgment is too, too, too rushed,
and if my speech again you mock,
my strong brave thrust
will crack your c-
Oh my.
Your c- crown [head] against this wall.


Figure 2.22a: Vatican, f. 44v

[^50]Perhaps owing to the censors, the sources in question go straight to the punchline, by having Demo's fourth verse read "saprà sprezzarti il ca- ca - ca- po" and skipping Oreste's exclamation entirely (Figures 2.22b and 2.22c). ${ }^{16}$ It is clear in both these scores that Oreste's part was written in (Naples A even has the original basso continuo note, E, underneath), but the text underlay was never filled in for Oreste's exclamations.


Figure 2.22b: Naples A, f. 35v


Figure 2.22c: Naples C, f. 34r

As well, the "l'adorata pelle" variant (II.2.7) appears only in Milan 1651, Naples A, and Naples
B. Two cuts, one in II. 4 (II.4.10) and the other in III. 8 (III.8.6), are unique to these two scores in

[^51]the first instance, and shared by a wider array of sources in the second instance, that exclude both

## Modena and Naples C.

Indeed, Naples C is in many ways an outlier within this group, not the least because of its uniquely Neapolitan a libro aperto layout (one not shared, it should be noted, by its Naples Family siblings). For example, a structural oddity at the end of Act I renders this score unique among all of the sources. The end of Act I normally consists of Isifile's solo scene followed by Medea's incantation scene, but in Naples C the order is reversed. The librettos of Naples Group 1 shift Isifile's scene to II.1, a similar configuration to that of Naples C, but the score retains the original II. 1 featuring Isifle and her handmaiden Alinda. Furthermore, there is no scene designation after Medea's scene in the score: there is a space in the margin allowing for a scene label, but it has been left blank (Figure 2.23).


Figure 2.23: Naples C, f. 31v

It is possible that the scribe had originally intended for this scene to mark the beginning of Act II, given the amount of space to the left of the written-in "Isifile sola." If so, then this would be a significant point of evidence linking Naples C with Naples Group 1, even though Naples C lacks the scene for Erino Paggio found in all of those librettos, as well as a scene shift further along in Act II (S.37). As I discuss in Chapter 4, the performance space at the Royal Palace in Naples was too small to support any stage machinery, and so shifting Isifile's solo scene to be adjacent to another scene of her with Alinda would allow for a simpler location continuity.

Naples C is significant as much for the variants that it does not share with the rest of the Naples Family. Most significant is the common substitution within II. 2 of "Morti di questa razza" with "Morti di questa sorte" in the majority of post-Venice productions. Naples C is alone in Naples Group 2, much less the Naples Family, in retaining the original "razza," a trait that links it to the Venice Group sources. In that same scene, "Che non sei larga nè stretta" is substituted by "Che sei tutta vezzosetta" in the majority of post-Venice productions as well; indeed, even Vatican, Contarini, Florence, and Oxford contain the newer version. Only Vienna and Naples C among the scores retain the earlier verse. While this is only two points of data linking those two scores, it is enough to suggest that Naples C represented an earlier form of the postVenice Giasone than its Naples Family siblings. Perhaps it was even associated with the early Febiarmonici performances in Naples.

The Borromeo score, currently located at Isola Bella, ${ }^{17}$ is a relatively unknown source that has only recently been examined in detail. ${ }^{18}$ In oblong format, it bears the title of "Giasone" written in ink on its cover page, and consists of 144 unnumbered folios, each bearing ten staves. It

[^52]seems to bear the same hand throughout, both for the text (including scene designations) as well as the music. Details in the binding as well as the musical hand seem to suggest that it may have been copied in Milan sometime around the 1670s.

Although that 1670s date does not necessarily indicate that it reflects a post-Venetian performance, there are several pieces of evidence that were made available to me that lead me to support Borromeo's inclusion with the other members of the Naples Family, at least provisionally and pending a more thorough study of the score. ${ }^{19}$ To begin, it cuts III. 1 (Oreste and Delfa, S.45) and III. 10 (Delfa, S.51) entirely, and in III. 21 cuts a block of text forty-seven verses long (from "Ma se d'esser marito..." to "...figli, moglie, cor mio," III.21.11-17). These variants are present in the Naples and Rome Families (and many librettos as well), but not the Venice Family, and so suggest that Borromeo belongs to the class of sources that were produced for performances outside of Venice. The most important evidence tying it specifically to the Naples Family, and discounting it from inclusion in the Rome Family, is the presence of the aria "Lassa, che far degg'io" in place of Isifile's original recitative "Ferma, ferma, crudele" at the beginning of her first scene at the end of Act I. As I discuss in the following section, the other Naples Family scores are the only sources that contain only this aria, instead of only the recitative, or a combination of aria and recitative.

## Oxford: A Simplified Stemma

The last member of the Venice Family, the Oxford score occupies a unique position in straddling the gap between its Venice siblings on one side, the Naples Family on another side, and the Novello Giasone scores of the Rome Family at a chronologically later point. Relying on a

[^53]perforce limited number of distinct variants, in this section I propose a simplified stemma that organizes the scores in their constituent families. These families neatly fall into specific categories within Giasone's chronology of performances: the four central scores of the Venice Family most closely approximate Giasone as it had been performed at its 1649 premiere in Venice. The Naples Family, in turn, represents Giasone as it appeared after it left Venice in the hands of the traveling Febiarmonici. And the Rome Family represents the late, "Novello" Giasone that appeared in 1671. The Oxford score, as I show, seems to sit at the nexus between these three families, based on sparse but significant data culled from the variants.

Alessio Ruffatti has recently suggested that Oxford's scribe was Francesco Antonio Sardo, a Roman who copied an anthology of songs by Luigi Rossi and other seventeenth-century composers, and was paid by the Chigis in 1667, and about whom unfortunately little else is known. The receipt for this payment, which is conserved at I-Rvat, ${ }^{20}$ contains a sample of Sardo's handwriting (Figure 2.24a). Its looping "d" certainly approximates those contained within

Oxford (Figure 2.24b), although there is some variation in the " f " on the receipt (see "fatto" in both examples, and "fede" in Figure 2.24a).


Figure 2.24a: I-Rvat, Archivio Chigi - Receipt of payment to Francesco Antonio Sardo

[^54]

Figure 2.24b: Oxford, f. 17r

Scribal issues aside, Oxford contains only a few of the variants seen in the other scores of the Venice Family. Among these are an added block of verses discussed above ("Forse l'esser spione leva l'onore," I.7.8), a cut stage indication at the end of I.7 (I.7.14), the substitution of "gonfian le vele" for "parton le vele" (II.2.2), several other added verses (II.2.9, II.4.2), and replacing the verse "Dalla tua man" in III. 21 with "Da Isifile" (III.21.1). Oxford does, however, have variants that exclude it from the Venice Family, tying it instead to the Rome Family. For example, in I.7, the word "roverso," as it appears in most sources, is written as "roverscio" in Oxford, a misspelling of "rovescio," which instead appears in the Lisbon and Siena scores of the Rome Family. The opening to I. 14 in Oxford, Lisbon and Siena are unique among all of the scores in first presenting the aria "Lassa, che far degg'io," and then the recitative, "Ferma, ferma crudele." That aria, of course, had replaced the recitative once Giasone ventured forth from Venice after its 1649 premiere, and it subsequently became the standard opener for this scene once Giasone. Furthermore, the variant replacing "morti di questa razza" with "questa sorte" in II. 2 is unique to Oxford, the Rome Group, and three of the four Naples Family scores. Finally, a block of six verses is cut from III. 8 in only the Rome Group librettos and scores, although the Oxford score cuts three of the same verses as well (III.8.8).

Taken altogether, then, it is apparent that the Oxford score acts to some extent as a connector between the Contarini, Naples, and Rome Families, displaying variants unique to all three groups. If Sardo was indeed Oxford's scribe, this provides a Roman connection for the score before it ended up in the Bodleian Library. And if we suppose that Sardo copied it around the same time that he was commissioned to copy that anthology in 1667-that is, before the Novello Giasone premiere in 1671-it would stand to reason that an earlier score had ended up in Rome, one with perhaps the original recitative opening to I. 14 ("Ferma"), or one with the substituted aria "Lassa" (the Naples Family scores, which I discuss below, all contain this newer version).


Figure 2.25: Giasone - A Stemma of the Score Families

Whichever the case, it is likely that the alternative version would also have been available, either by way of another score or by a transcription in a similar anthology to the one Sardo copied. He would then have had both recitative and aria at his disposal when setting out to copy that scene. This means that Sardo would have had access to the "morti di questa sorte" variant, otherwise unique to the Naples Family sources (II.2.1). And on the other hand, he would have had access to the "gonfian le vele" variant, otherwise unique to the Venice Family scores (II.2.2).

Figure 2.25 above shows a simplified stemma, tracing a limited number of variants from their points of origin to the Novello Giasone scores. It is not clear whether Filippo Acciaiuoli, impresario of the Teatro di Tordinona in Rome, and his collaborators on the Novello Giasone production, had access to the same material as Sardo, or perhaps even to Sardo's score. But such a set of circumstances-admittedly all conjectural-that would allow for the transmission of data in this direction might thus provide some answers about how the Oxford score contains material so specific to the Novello sources, while still preserving aspects of the earlier Giasone performances, culled from the original Venetian 1649 production and its subsequent traveling versions.

## Reconstructing Giasone

What would an authoritative score for Giasone consist of? If the goal is to recreate a score that faithfully documents any specific performance from the seventeenth century, we have several candidates: the two Novello Giasone scores of the Rome Family document a very specific and important subset of Giasone productions within their four-decade heyday. The Modena score provides an alternate production, one that took place almost two decades after Giasone's premiere. But they, like all of the scores, are clean copies rather than performance scores-they have been sanitized by the quill of a professional scribe, and do not tell us the complete story, even if the three scores in question come the closest by virtue of being directly linked to a libretto. A powerful document that recounts the conditions of a performance with limited information, the libretto itself can also fall prey to contamination by other sources, or even simple errors. But simply by virtue of its limited capacity, able to transmit only the text of a performance, it is perhaps easier to trust as a source than a score copied an indeterminate amount of time after a performance. Furthermore, the Giasone librettos have been shown to cohere with greater
consistency, even if there are a larger number of them, than the scores; not a single one of the scores uniformly transmit the same information.

The fact that there is no autograph performance score of the Venice 1649 premiere makes the challenge of recreating it almost irresistibly attractive. However, all that we have from that specific period is a libretto, Venice 1649B, that comes as close to expressing what was seen on the stage of the San Cassiano on 23 January 1649 as any alternative text. Beyond that, we are left with an ill-fitting group of scores, a jigsaw puzzle with extraneous, redundant, even conflicting parts. We can immediately discount the Novello scores from consideration, just as we can also eliminate the post-Venice scores, that is, the Naples Family. We are then left with the five scores of the Venice Family, each with a different backstory and each providing a window to a different set of conditions under which it was copied. Of the five Venice Family scores, two were the most likely to have come into contact with Cavalli himself: the Vienna and the Contarini scores. Between these two scores, the Vienna is the most chronologically early-as well as closest to approximating the Venetian performances. And so while we have for the text a simple, clear-cut candidate (Venice 1649B), for the music we have a flawed candidate, one with lacunae and inconsistencies, that must be filled in by the other Venice Family scores.

There are several considerations to make at this point, then: using the text from the Second Impression as a template, we can fill in the musical underlay from a combination of the scores, giving precedence to the Vienna score when possible. In the cases where Vienna is missing the text, or provides a problematic setting (that is, contrapuntally unsound intervals like those in the Contarini score described above), the other scores can be consulted, with a priority system to be determined. In the cases where the Vienna score provides additional text, the material can be left in for the sake of musical fluency, although clearly the text at that point should be demarcated. The same applies in the case of text that is different from the libretto (that
is, word variations like the one in II. 2 discussed above, where "spezzarti" is substituted for "tirarti" in the Contarini and the Vienna scores). Below, Table 2.2 provides a preliminary (and incomplete) summary of the various lacunae and differences between Venice 1649B and the Venice Family scores. Verse numbers, where applicable, refer to Appendix I, the critical edition of Venice 1649A. Where there is no text available in the Appendix because it was newly added in the Second Impression, or appears only in the score, brackets indicate the verse number for the text immediately preceding the addition.

Table 2.2: Lacunae in Venice 1649B and the Venice Family Scores

|  | Venice 1649B | Vienna | Contarini | Vatican | Florence | Oxford |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I.2: "m'accoglie, mi vezzegia..." v.187-96 | X | - | X | X | X | X |
| I.7: "Forse l'esser spione leva l'onore?..." [v.554] | - | - | X | X | X | X |
| I.7: "spezzarti" v. 500 | X | "tirarti" | "tirarti" | X | "tirarti" | X |
| I.12: "errai" v. 786 | X | "peccai" | "peccai" | "peccai" | "peccai" | "peccai" |
| I.15: "Serpi alla fronte" v. 872 | X | X | - | - | - | X |
| II.2: "Fra gl'argonauti..." <br> [v.1052] | - | X | X | X | X | X |
| II.4: "Effetti singolari..." [v.1158] | - | X | X | X | X | X |
| II.7: Aria-"Con arti e con lusinghe" [v.1272] | X | X | - | - | - | X |
| II.13: "sire" v. 1664 | X | "Duce" | X | "Duce" | "Duce" | "Duce" |
| II.14: "dolcezze" v. 1726 | X | "delizie" | "delizie" | "delizie" | "delizie" | "delizie" |
| III.8: "Se non rivolgi il piè" [v.2181] | - | X | X | X | X | X |
| III.20: "Ch'io lassi i tuoi bei rai" vv.2541-46 | X | - | - | X | X | X |
| III.21: "Questa innocenza mia..." vv.2565-67 | X | - | X | X | X | X |
| III.21: "Ma se d'esser marito..." <br> vv.2596-2608 | X | - | X | X | X | X |

Table 2.2 (Continued)

| III.21: "Fortunati tormenti" <br> vv.2664-74 | X | X | - | - | - | - |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| III.Ultima | X | X | - | X | - | - |

The above table does not account for purely musical variants between the scores; a preliminary inspection of the Contarini score, for example, yields a significant number of scribal errors and omissions that can be accounted for by Vienna or the other scores. ${ }^{21}$ But simply from looking at the textual variants, it is clear that the scores have added text that did not appear in Venice 1649B, and that none of the scores provide a complete accounting of all of the libretto's text. Although the Oxford score comes closest in its "completeness," I have demonstrated its hybrid status as a source with roots in all of the families. Therefore it should be excluded from consideration.

Gaps that appear in Vienna, such as the blocks of text in III.21, can be found in other members of the Venice Family. By drawing from multiple sources, then, we can reconstruct a score that more closely approximates what took place at the premiere of Giasone in 1649. This is,

[^55]of course a complex process that must take into account the musical variants in all of the scores. Furthermore, the above table does not take into account one of the Vienna score's most unique traits: its rearrangement of the text at the end of III.21, shifting a triumphant duet between Isifile and Giasone to precede the entrance of the servant characters. A variant unique to this score and the Ferrara 1659 libretto, it would make sense to suppress it in favor of the more traditional arrangement as it appears in Venice 1649B (where the duet comes after the servant characters). However, Vienna is the only score that preserves the comic exchange between the servant characters. Therefore, the editor would need to make the choice of whether to preserve the musical integrity of the score at the cost of the original libretto's textual integrity, or to do the opposite. The ideal solution, of course, would be to provide both options and to allow the performers to choose. Given the sheer number of variants associated with this work, the most feasible solution in this case would likely be an online platform. Regardless, issues like this, as well as the fact that none of the columns in Table 2 match precisely, provide a clear demonstration of Giasone's complex transmission over the decades following its premiere, and the rich legacy it has enjoyed, both on the stage and in the sources left to us.

## Part 2

"DRAMMA MUSICALE"

## Chapter Three

## Cicognini: Playwright and Librettist

iacinto Andrea Cicognini (1606-49), librettist of Giasone, spent most of his life in
Florence as a playwright. He arrived in Venice in 1646, where he wrote two
liasone and Orontea-that would go on to become the most-performed operas of the seventeenth century after his untimely death in 1649. What little is known of his life can be drawn from archival documents that have been examined by Silvia Castelli, Nicola Michelassi, and others, and his legacy in both the printing and opera industry has been examined by Flavia Cancedda and Ellen Rosand. Cicognini was a man who wore many different hats throughout his life: the son of a famous playwright (Iacopo Cicognini), an actor in his youth, a lawyer throughout his adulthood, a playwright as well for most of that period, and a short-lived but wildly successful stint as a librettist near the end of his life.

Cicognini's posthumous fame as a librettist did not outstrip his fame as a playwright: his prose works, mostly written in Florence, also enjoyed popularity in print well beyond his death, and well beyond what other dramatists of his century achieved. As I will show, his prose works formed a foundation for compositional techniques that would prove helpful, if not essential, for his eventual forays into lyrical verse-based theater in Venice, and that no doubt contributed to the immense popularity of Giasone and Orontea. For this reason, I will discuss several of his plays, almost all of which were drawn from Spanish dramas written during the "golden century" (the siglo de oro), a period that extended past the sixteenth century into the first decades of the seventeenth. This will serve as a basis for understanding his impact on an already maturing

Venetian opera industry; a case in point is Giovanni Faustini, a professional librettist who by the mid-1640s had done much to establish the rules of this emerging genre.

At the time of Cicognini's arrival in 1646, the opera industry in Venice had already enjoyed almost an entire decade of economic growth. Opera had first been introduced to la Serenissima during its 1637 Carnival season at the hands of Benedetto Ferrari (originally from Reggio Emilia) and the Roman Francesco Manelli, who with a traveling group of musicians performed their L'Andromeda. After a successful season, this same group put on another opera the following year, La maga fulminata, by the same authors. ${ }^{1}$ By 1639 , other dramatists had also caught on and, hoping to ride the wave of this new genre's popularity among the Carnival-season public, threw their own hats into the ring. Just two years after L'Andromeda's premiere, the librettist Orazio Persiani (a friend of Cicognini, also from Florence, who had relocated to Venice in the 1630s) collaborated with Francesco Cavalli to create Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo, premiering at the same Teatro San Cassiano that ten years later would witness Giasone's initial triumph. ${ }^{2}$

The 1640s witnessed a remarkable growth of the opera industry ${ }^{3}$ in La Serenissima: as many as seven operas were performed among the four theaters operational at the time in Venice during the 1642 Carnival season (San Cassiano, Santi Giovanni e Paolo, San Moisè, and Novissimo). This trend continued well past Giasone's premiere at the end of the decade: while it was not until 1666 that Carnival-goers would again enjoy the number of options available in 1642 (that is, seven productions among four theaters), at least one new opera was premiered each year

[^56]during the 1650 s and beyond. ${ }^{4}$ It was this onto stage, then-a lively and thriving culture filled with dramatic and musical innovation-that a successful Florentine dramatist by the name of Giacinto Andrea Cicognini stepped in 1646.

## From Florence to Venice ${ }^{5}$

Born on November 13, 1606 in Florence, Cicognini developed an early familiarity and eventual love for the theater thanks to his father Iacopo, himself a low-level bureaucrat at the Medici court and a playwright. ${ }^{6}$ At seven years of age, Giacinto was introduced to court life, brought on as a pageboy to the Grand Duchess Cristina de' Medici, his godmother. This allowed him the opportunity for education in various cultural spheres, including the theater. Performances of spoken plays were frequent at the confraternities (the Compagnia di San Antonio da Padova, and the Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaello) ${ }^{7}$ and Academies (the Accademia degli Infiammati,

[^57]an offshoot of the Compagnia di S. Antonio da Padova; and the Accademia degli Instancabili) ${ }^{8}$ to which Iacopo and, by extension Giacinto, belonged, and thus played a large role in the formation of the younger Cicognini's early interest in the dramatic arts.

Accounts from documents such as the Libro di ricordi e partiti of the Compagnia di S.
Antonio indicate that Iacopo was closely involved in the production of several plays from the late 1610s onward. As the burden of education of the youths often fell on the author of the particular play being performed-covering stagecraft essentials such as direction and blocking, along with broader issues of drama-a great deal of Iacopo's interactions with his son were pedagogical in nature. The year 1622 saw not only a new play by the elder Cicognini, Sant'Agata (recounting the torture and martyrdom of the imprisoned virgin Agatha), but also the sixteen-year-old Giacinto's first appearance on the stage as an actor. His role was that of Laurinda, unrequited lover of Armidoro (himself the unrequited lover of Agatha). Since Laurinda's pursuit of Armidoro involved dressing up in panni virili (masculine clothing) and pretending to be her twin brother Laurindo, a document from the Libro di ricordi e partiti containing the distribution of parts with their respective actors' names listed the young actor thus: "Master Iacinto Cicognini played a double role: the twins Laurindo and Laurinda." 9

[^58]Iacopo's success with Sant'Agata and later La finta mora (1623) encouraged him to petition Grand Duke Ferdinand II to underwrite Giacinto's studies at the University of Pisa. Thus, while continuing to make sporadic trips back to Florence to take part in his father's productions, Giacinto obtained his law degree in 1627. The certification proved useful: his father immediately put him to work in his legal office. Indeed, it would continue to serve Giacinto even after his eventual move to Venice, where (in addition to his duties as a dramatist) he was employed as a secretary to Francesco Boldieri, chief administrator of the local branch of the Knights of Malta. ${ }^{10}$ Meanwhile, the elder Cicognini could not have been happier about his son's trajectory as a budding attorney, writing to Andrea Cioli (Secretary of State to Grand Duke Ferdinand II) that "Giacinto thus studies, and has studied, and will bring honor to all because he knows and has judgement, carries himself well, and I hope that this will uplift our family," and later "I thank our blessed Lord, that even though He has made me poor, he gives me some measure of happiness through other means." ${ }^{11}$

However, Giacinto continued to show a strong interest in drama, one that would result in the 1630 premiere of his first play, L'Archibusata a San Carlo-a "dramatic poem" with a sacred plot dealing with the activities of the Archbishop of Milan-amidst his daily duties working for his father. Three years later, Giacinto's Il convitato di pietra premiered to great success on 24 March 1633 in Florence, encouraging the budding playwright to take the production to Pisa soon thereafter. ${ }^{12}$ Upon Iacopo's precipitous death the following year (on 27 October 1633), ${ }^{13}$ his final

[^59]will and testament stipulated that his son have full and open access to the manuscripts of all his plays, which were to be deposited in the archives of the Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaello. Perhaps the father recognized his Giacinto's passion, and sought to support and stimulate it by making available his most prized and precious possessions: his own endeavors on and off the stage. ${ }^{14}$

Giacinto continued his day job in the field of law, taking on work as an official at the Medici court and in 1635 becoming an ufficiale dell'Onestà. ${ }^{15}$ It is likely that he held this post until August 1646, when he left Florence for Venice. His own document trail becomes sparser after his father's death, and what we know of his activities comes mostly from confraternity and academy diaries similar to the Libro di ricordi e partiti, as well as from accounts of official life at the court. In 1641, for example, there are records of a performance of his Don Gastone di Moncada, ${ }^{16}$ which

[^60]premiered that same year at the Teatro di Baldracca, while a manuscript of his Pazzia di Orlando can be dated to 1642. Two years later, in 1644, Cicognini's La caduta del gran capitan Belissario sotto la condanna di Giustiniano imperatore ${ }^{17}$ was performed at the Baldracca by a traveling theatrical troupe known as I comici Affezionati, ${ }^{18}$ though unfortunately to lesser acclaim than his earlier productions-an anonymous entry in the Miscellanea Medicea collection at the Archivio di Stato in Florence states: "Friday the $4^{\text {th }}$ of [November 1644]. In the great hall Belissario was performed, and when [the protagonist] fell into disgrace and was asked to 'return the baton [of command],' someone in the audience said 'return the money for our tickets!'" ${ }^{19}$ Don Gastone was revived three years after its original premiere, as noted in an entry in the Libro di ricordi of the Compagnia
$$
\text { dell'Arcangelo Raffaello from } 1645 .{ }^{20}
$$

[^61]${ }^{18}$ See Michelassi, "La finta pazza a Firenze," 324n35.
19 "Venerdì 4 detto [novembre 1644]. Al stanzone si recitò Belissario e quando cascò in disgrazia che disse 'rendi lo bastone,' uno del stanzone disse: 'rendi quel bulletto!"' Cited in Michelassi, Ibid., 325.
20 "During the current Carnival, the regular youths and brothers of our company attend our sessions, with the permission of our father correctors and guardians-as well as by their will and advice-they meet in order to be employed and to train the children, in order to distance themselves further from occasions that would ordinarily make them uselessly pass their time, straying from virtue and following the vices. They resolved to stage a comedy titled Don Gastone, a moral play and exemplary composition by Doctor Giacinto Cicognini, our brother; requiring the brothers who were most appropriate for the parts and the subject, they reduced it to perfection.. It was performed five times: the first, second and third for the ladies and relatives of the brothers and actors on the $12^{\text {th }}, 15^{\text {th }}$, and $19^{\text {th }}$, and on one of these days the Duke of Vandomo attended with all of his courtiers; and on the $22^{\text {nd }}$ and $24^{\text {th }}$ of the same month, the former for the ladies and their husbands, and the third-or rather, the second-for the men at the house where currently resides Doctor M. Giulio Guazzini, our guardian. It was a place very capable and apt for such an enterprise, and all those who labored and worked came together to pay for the expenses. The work was perfection, with the noblest and richest costumes, and with music done by the same brothers under the supervision of our Maestro di Cappella. It was executed to the universal satisfaction not only of those who performed [on stage], but by all of the others who attended and who were among the audience. This present record was made of this work in order to give an opportunity for [our future] successors to employ themselves with similar virtuous deeds."
("Nel presente carnovale li giovani e fratelli di nostra compagnia soliti frequentare le nostre tornate, con licenza delli nostri padri correttore e guardiano et di volere e consiglio de' medesimi si unirono per restar inpiegati et esercitar ancor li giovanetti et per allontanarsi ancora dall'occasioni che per un ordinario fanno passare inutilmente il tempo traviandosi bene spesso dalle virtù et seguitando i vitii, et risolverono di recitare una commedia intitolata D. Gastone opera morale et esemplare compositione del Dottore Giacinto Cicognini nostro confratello et impiegando li fratelli più atti alle parti et al suggetto quelli ridussero ad intera perfettione. Fu rappresentata 5 volte. La prima, seconda e terza alle gentildonne et parenti de’ fratelli et recitanti il dì 1215 et 19 stante et in uno di detti giorni fu spettatore il Duca di Vandomo con tutti li suoi cortigiani et il dì 22 et 24 del medesimo la prima alle gentildonne con il loro mariti et la terza anzi seconda alli huomini et seguì nella casa ove di presente abita il Dottore M. Giulio Guazzini nostro guardiano luogo molto capace et atto per simil impiego et alla spesa concorsero li medesimi che si affaticarono et impiegarono. Fu ridotta a somma perfettione con abiti nobilissimi et ricchissimi, con musiche fatte da' medesimi fratelli con la sopraintendenza del nostro maestro di cappella et seguì con satisfattione universale non solo di quelli che restarono impiegati, ma di

The year 1645 was important for another reason: Giulio Strozzi and Francesco Sacrati's La finta pazza, which had premiered in Venice in 1641, was brought to Florence by the Febiarmonici, the same theater troupe that would later circulate Cicognini's own Giasone throughout Italy. The Teatro di Baldracca, where it was performed, would become the central venue for opera "alla veneziana" in the coming years as Florence underwent its own theatrical paradigm shift, away from the prevalent prose comedy culture in which first Iacopo and then Giacinto partook, and toward the public commercialization of a courtly genre that had been established and elaborated several decades earlier by intellectual circles like the Florentine Camerata. ${ }^{21}$

The success of La finta pazza in Florence led Leopoldo de' Medici, the Grand Duke's younger brother, to promote the production of homegrown operas in imitation of Venice. To this end, he commissioned Cicognini to compose an opera libretto "alla veneziana." Celio was completed later that same year, with a manuscript dated 20 July 1645 and dedicated to Leopoldo, declaring that the libretto gathered "the first offerings of my impoverished intelligence in this genre of compositions." ${ }^{22}$ Cicognini's initial essay into a brief but vastly successful career as a writer of drammi per musica formed a continuity of sorts with one of his prose works: Celio is the

[^62]son of Don Gastone's eponymous character. ${ }^{23}$ Set to music by Nicolò Sapiti and Baccio Baglioni, ${ }^{24}$ the opera premiered the following year, 1646, to great acclaim and even greater posthumous popularity: in the hands of Giulio Strozzi (working under the anagrammatical pseudonym Luigi Zorzisto), the "great ship already built on the Arno by the eccentric Master [and] likewise navigated, with great boldness, on the seas of Tuscany" ${ }^{25}$ became Veremonda, l'amazzone di Aragona. Newly set to music by Francesco Cavalli, it premiered in Venice during the Carnival season at the beginning of 1652 , and then in December later that same year in Naples. ${ }^{26}$ It is significant that Celio's libretto ${ }^{27}$ was among the few of Cicognini's works published during his lifetime. Likely issued soon after the work's premiere, the libretto contains a note by the author to the reader indicating the differences found in the printed edition with respect to the version realized on stage:


#### Abstract

I present to you my Celio. If you enjoy it, I will count myself responsible for your delight. If you do not enjoy it, we will both consider ourselves even. Remember that I compose for mere caprice. However, I expect to delight and instruct you. I believe that you can delight in this subject's plot, which brings with it a continuous and new variety of unforeseen accidents-either serious or happy. I am sure [this work] will be beneficial to you, as it depicts a Moorish queen who becomes Christian. You will find several things in this print that will not be heard on the stage; it was better to do it this way, so that the opera's running time in performance might be adjusted, and so several things have been added by me, beyond the intentions that I had at the outset (that is, the first scene of Act II, as well as the first scene and the beginning of the second scene of Act III, and some others) to satisfy others, whereas it was agreed to move some things to other places in order to render it perfect. In short, I pray that you appreciate my Celio if for no other reason, at least because he is the son of my Don Gastone, which has been so universally appreciated. ${ }^{28}$


[^63]Of particular interest is the penultimate sentence: Cicognini indicates that cuts were made in some places ("several things in this print... will not be heard on the stage"), material was added in others ("several things have been added by me"), and his original vision for several scenes was changed at some point after he submitted a version of his libretto-perhaps the manuscript of 1645 (see Table 3.1) or a copy thereof-to the printers, Luca Franceschi and Alessandro Logi. ${ }^{29}$ It is entirely possible that many, if not all, of these changes were made during the rehearsal phase for Celio: a career playwright whose travels until then took him only as far as Pisa, with likely limited exposure to opera before 1645 , might be reasonably expected to have made several missteps with plot pacing and lyrical content working in what for him was a new genre. Unfortunately, we do not know exactly who might have prompted these adjustments to the text: what little is recorded of the two composers does not give any indication that they would have had any experience writing for a dramma musicale, as Baglioni was a theorbo player and Maestro di cappella at the Livorno Cathedral, and Sapiti the Maestro di cappella at the Florence Cathedral. ${ }^{30}$ However, this revisionary pattern would repeat itself, if less drastically, three years later in Venice with his masterpiece Giasone. ${ }^{31}$

[^64]In 1646 Cicognini left Florence for Venice. ${ }^{32}$ The exact cause of his departure is
unknown: Castelli, citing an account by Anton Francesco Marmi, suggests that it may have been due to a violent altercation at a horse race that thoroughly disgusted our dramatist into selfimposed exile, ${ }^{33}$ or perhaps it was simply a yearning for greater professional freedom that the burgeoning Venetian opera economy could offer him. Nicola Michelassi has pointed out his friendship with Orazio Persiani, another Florentine who had earlier moved to Venice and gone on to collaborate with Cavalli on Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo (1639) as well as other composers. Even if Persiani did not exert a direct influence on Cicognini's move, his depiction during the 1630 s of the miserable conditions under which Florentine dramatists had to work is suggestive: "If you do not give me a penny / may the court enjoy one hundred good years / for I will leave for the stage to become a clown. ${ }^{34}$ Whatever the cause, it was in Venice that Cicognini established his enduring legacy as a dramatist, penning Le gelosie fortunate del re di Valenza (a play) in 1647, Giasone and Orontea in 1649, and an incomplete draft of Gli amori di Alessandro Magno e di Rossane (completed by an unknown author, and staged in 1651).

Hit: In the Workshop of Cicognini/Cavalli's Giasone" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Milwaukee, WI, November 7, 2014).
${ }^{32}$ Specifically, he left in August, per an annotation written in small print found at the bottom of the left margin in the Informatione per il nuovo negotio per l'ufficio dell'onestà: "Cicognini leaves. August 1646" ("Il Cicognino si parte. Agosto 1646 "), Archivio di stato, Florence, "Miscellanea Medicea," 26/19, c. 2r; cited in Cancedda/Castelli, 54n92.
${ }^{33}$ The account is as follows: "Giacinto Andrea Cicognini, famous composer of comedies, having been in Florence his homeland at the public horse track, was assaulted by a certain famous Boccardino, a crony of Cardinal Giovan Carlo de' Medici and of other princes of Tuscany, for having found out that he [Cicognini] insulted him [Boccardino] for said profession. The following day, Cicognini left for Venice, and there composed the majority of his comedies, without any desire to ever return to his homeland." ("Diacinto [sic] Andrea Cicognini famoso compositore di commedie, essendo stato in Firenze sua patria in pubblico corso del palio bastonato da un certo famoso Boccardino ruffiano del Cardinale Giovan Carlo de' Medici e d'altri Principi di Toscana, per aver saputo che egli l'avesse vituperato per detto mestiero, il giorno appresso il Cicognini se ne passò a Venezia e quivi compose buona parte delle sue commedie senza volere mai più far ritorno alla patria.") Anton Francesco Marmi, Miscellanea di diverse notizie letterarie e storiche raccolte per lo più dagli eruditissimi discorsi del Signor Antonio Magliabechi tenuti col Cavaliere Anton Francesco Marmi, Vol. I, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale a Firenze, Magl., cl. VIII, 15; cited in Cancedda/Castelli, 63n128.
${ }^{34}$ "Se non mi date ormai qualche quattrino / stiasi la corte con cento buon anni / ch'io me ne vo su 'l palco a far da zanni," Persiani, Canzone al Gran Duca Ferdinando II (I-Fn, MS.II.II.285, c.113v), cited in Michelassi, "La finta pazza," 337. Little else is known about this librettist.

Some information about Cicognini's attitude toward his work can be gleaned from his
personal epistles contained in the frontmatter of his published material, particularly as they were addressed to different types of audience-in one case, a patron rather than a collective "reader."

Because so many of Cicognini's works were printed only after his death in 1649, the two letters
he wrote in Celio and Giasone present a rare glimpse into his own thought processes on these librettos, spun though they might have been for public consumption. ${ }^{35}$ It is significant, for example, that in Celio's "Al Lettore" Cicognini uses the same phrase, "io compongo per mero capriccio" (I compose for mere caprice), famously found in his Giasone written three years later. This was a sort of calling-card pointing to an abandonment of literary rules such as the Aristotelian unities (and almost certainly influenced by Spanish siglo de oro drama, as I discuss further below), as well as to accommodate his audiences' tastes. ${ }^{36}$ The language he uses in Giasone is in many ways similar to that in Celio:


#### Abstract

I compose for mere caprice; my caprice has no other purpose than to delight. To bring delight to myself is nothing other than meeting the fashions and tastes of those who listen or read. If I have accomplished this through the reading or performance of my Giasone, I will have achieved my intent. If I have not accomplished this, I will have wasted many days in composing it, and you a few hours in reading or listening to it, so that the greater damage will be on my part. I will not hesitate for all this to remind you that the use, or better said the abuse, of the terms "idol," "goddess," "deity," "Fate," "destiny," etc., are mere poetic inventions. Live happily." 37


[^65]While the same key words appear in both instances, "delight" (diletto) and "caprice" (capriccio), notably missing is the didactical dimension (giovare) present in Celio's "Al Lettore." After all, the audiences Cicognini was accustomed to writing for in Florence-members of his confraternities and academies-placed instruction at front and center when it came to artistic endeavors, but the Venetians seemed to prioritize delight, virtually to the exclusion of instruction. ${ }^{38}$ Of course, the carnival atmosphere surrounding each opera season may have contributed to this. Cicognini's statement about meeting the fashions and tastes of his Venetian audiences speaks to his awareness of their relative sophistication, if not jadedness, after twelve seasons of opera productions.

Having spent "many days" writing Giasone, one wonders if this may be why, in the dedicatory letter to Giovanni Grimani Calergi for his Orontea (that premiered the same year as Giasone in Venice's Teatro di Santi Apostoli), Cicognini states in turn that this particular libretto "was written by me during the past days in few strokes of my pen [and] across few turns of the sun. ${ }^{39}$ There is certainly no indication of the number of days he spent writing Giasone, whether

[^66]few or many, in Cicognini's dedication to the same Giovanni Grimani Calergi, dated fifteen days earlier on 5 January $1649 .{ }^{40}$ To be sure, there is a certain amount of gamesmanship involved in portraying one's efforts in different manners to different audiences: many and strenuous days for the benefit of a potentially jaded (if not hostile) audience, in the case of Giasone, or few and rushed days for the benefit of a patron who has already deigned to protect the fruits of one's labors under his name (and for whom the haste might serve as an excuse if for some reason Orontea did not perform well at the box office). Then again, it would not have done Cicognini any favors to baldly present inconsistencies within Giasone's libretto if he were to have similarly minimized the number of days he spent writing it in his dedication to Calergi while stating, several pages later, the exact opposite to the reader. If nothing else, the language of these personalized messages from Cicognini-again, a rare glimpse into the dramatist's subjectivity, even if couched in varying language according to each situation-provides us with some insight into his ability to handle his different audiences, doubtless honed by his dealings with the Medicis, confraternities, and academies of his life in Florence.

Other than his duties as secretary to Francesco Boldieri, and his continuing work as a dramatist in both prose and verse genres, little is known about the last three years of Cicognini's life in Venice. While his exact affiliation with the Accademia degli Incogniti is unknown, he certainly

[^67]associated with the librettists among their members, ${ }^{41}$ and furthermore was a member of the Accademia Delfica. ${ }^{42}$ As I discuss further below, his dramatic pacing made an impact on Giovanni Faustini, a fellow member of the Accademia Delfica, and a librettist who from 1642 until 1651 was instrumental in helping to solidify a genre that at the time was still in flux.

## Cicognini's Legacy

On November 21, 1649, the Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaello chanted the Office for the Dead on Cicognini's behalf. ${ }^{43}$ Even after his death, however, he continued to live on in print, his fame enduring well into the end of the century and beyond-longer than his nineteen-year career as an author of dramatic works while he was alive. This phenomenon did not go unremarked by the publishers of his plays, among whom Bartolomeo Lupardi, in a dedicatory letter dated April 1, 1664 contained in his edition of Cicognini's Il Principe Giardiniero, gushed that "Doctor Giacinto Andrea Cicognini's veins were so tumid with dramatic material that, even after his death, they continue to spew out no-longer seen plays almost in a torrent." ${ }^{44}$ Indeed, Cicognini's works for

[^68]the stage, listed in Table 3.1, were almost all invariably printed posthumously, with Celio the sole exception.

# Table 3.1: List of Works by Giacinto Andrea Cicognini 

(Premiere dates in parentheses when available)

| PLAYS | OPERAS |
| :--- | :--- |
| L'archibusata a San Carlo (1630) | Celio (1646) |
| Il convitato di pietra (1633) | L'Orontea (1649) |
| Il Don Gastone di Moncada (1641) | Giasone (1649) |
| L'amorose furie d'Orlando (1642) | Gli amori di Alessandro Magno |
| La caduta del gran capitan Belissario sotto | e di Rossane (1651) |
| la condanna di Giustiniano imperatore (1644) |  |
| Le gelosie fortunate del prencipe Rodrigo (1647) |  |
| L'Adamira |  |
| L'Amicizia riconosciuta |  |
| L'amor vuol suoi pari |  |
| Il Cipriano convertito |  |
| Il cornuto nella propria opinione |  |
| La disposizione e forza del destino |  |
| La donna più sagace fra l'altre |  |
| I due prodigi ammirati |  |
| La forza del fato |  |
| La forza dell'amicizia |  |
| La forza dell'innocenza ne' successi di Papirio |  |
| L'innocente giustificato |  |
| L'innocenza calunniata |  |
| L'innocenza difesa nel castigo dell'empio |  |
| La Mariene |  |
| Il maritarsi per vendetta |  |
| Il marito delle due moglie |  |
| La moglie di quattro mariti |  |
| Nella bugia si trova la verità |  |
| Il Pietro Celestino |  |
| Il principe giardiniero |  |
| Santa Maria Egizziaca | Il segreto in publico |
| La tragedia di Giuditta |  |
| La vita è un sogno |  |

PLAYS
L'archibusata a San Carlo (1630)
Il convitato di pietra (1633)
Il Don Gastone di Moncada (1641)
L'amorose furie d'Orlando (1642)
La caduta del gran capitan Belissario sotto
Le gelosie fortunate del prencipe Rodrigo (1647)
L'Adamira
L'Amicizia riconosciuta
L'amor vuol suoi pari
Il Cipriano convertito
Il cornuto nella propria opinione
La disposizione e forza del destino
La donna più sagace fra l'altre
I due prodigi ammirati
La forza del fato
La forza dell'amicizia
La forza dell'innocenza ne' successi di Papirio
L'innocente giustificato
L’innocenza calunniata
L'innocenza difesa nel castigo dell'empio
La Mariene
Il maritarsi per vendetta
Il marito delle due moglie
La moglie di quattro mariti
Nella bugia si trova la verità
Pietro Celestino
Il principe giardiniero
Santa Maria Egizziaca
Il segreto in publico
La vita è un sogno

OPERAS
Celio (1646)
L’Orontea (1649)
Giasone (1649)
e di Rossane (1651)

A more complete version of this table, containing information on the extensive publication
history of the majority of these works, can be found in Appendix III. But the sheer abundance of his prose plays, in comparison to the four librettos he wrote, is apparent in Table 3.1. A large
number of these plays survive as manuscripts; Castelli has suggested that many of these manuscripts were initially circulated only among those responsible for the particular play-that is, those in charge of staging, the actors, and enthusiasts among the elders of the academies that hosted the performances-and that later they were circulated further outward, perhaps to noblemen, as in the case of Don Gastone. ${ }^{45}$ More significantly, however, these manuscripts are outnumbered overwhelmingly by print editions of both plays and librettos, almost all published after Cicognini's death (Figure 3.1).


Figure 3.1: Cicognini Publications By Year

[^69]Testimony found in the frontmatter of these printed texts seems to indicate that the popularity of Cicognini's works-that is, their warm reception by audiences-spurred the publication of such editions. ${ }^{46}$ Certainly, Giasone's history in the press is proof that publishers sought to profit from its many performances, especially in the months immediately following its premiere. Indeed, Giasone's premiere proved to be so popular that Andrea Giuliani, publisher of the libretto's first edition, had to print two subsequent editions that year, and a fourth the following year, to meet the public's demand. Furthermore, a passage from the dedication letter of the Florence 1650 edition of Giasone seems to exaggerate its short-term popularity: "Doctor Giacinto Andrea Cicognini's Giasone [has been] performed many times in the most famous cities of Italy, always honored by the spectators with testimonies of applause and praise." ${ }^{47}$ The "many" cities mentioned by the author(s) of this dedication (signed as the Accademici Ineguali) were, at that point in 1650, only Venice, Milan, and Florence. Bologna, the other major publishing center, would not see a performance of Giasone until 1651. ${ }^{48}$

The phenomenon of Cicognini in the press seems to have steadily grown during the 1650s after the successes of Giasone, Orontea, and Gli amori on Venetian stages, creating a sort of feedback loop in which success on stage led to success in print, which in turn led to further success on the stage. From the chart below, we can see that publications of Cicognini's works were mostly limited to his operas during the early 1650s, as his verse works comprise the balance of his published output during that period. Increased demand for more literature by this librettist

[^70]likely led printers to find his prose works and provide them to the public in quantity, a trend that began in 1652 with the publication of La forza del fato (Florence, Onofri). The prose works began to quickly outpace Cicognini's librettos by the late 1650s-the disparity is apparent beginning in 1658, when one libretto—Giasone (Vicenza, Amadio)—and six plays were published.

Indeed, Cicognini's popularity as both librettist and playwright seems to have reached a critical mass in the 1660 s, peaking in 1664 with thirty-one publications. In Rome, for example, only one work by Cicognini was published in the 1650s (Don Gastone, printed by Angelo Bernabò in 1658), whereas eight plays appeared in the presses there the following decade. ${ }^{49}$ For the sake of clarity, the data in Table 3.1 omits Cicognini's manuscripts (of which 3 are dated), works erroneously attributed to Cicognini (of which there are forty editions), ${ }^{50}$ editions after the seventeenth century (of which there are nineteen), as well as undated publications (of which there are seventy-one). ${ }^{51}$ An important distinction between the verse and prose works is that while the majority of Cicognini's printed librettos contain information on the title page indicating a performance, whether upcoming or one already having taken place, the play texts do not bear similar information. To be sure, publications in prose are more readily consumable, a stage and accompanying music not being a part of the work's fabric in the same way that it would be for a libretto.

[^71]If the year 1663 represented the peak of Cicognini's publishing output (according to
Figure 3.1), the following year was no less important, as it saw the completion of an omnibus edition consisting of seven volumes of all of our dramatist's works. ${ }^{52}$ This was a collaborative enterprise headed by the Roman bookseller Bartolomeo Lupardi ${ }^{53}$ (author of several dedications in Cicognini's printed dramas) and consisting of collations of already-existing editions. During this decade, another phenomenon reared its head: printed works falsely attributed to Cicognini by unscrupulous publishers seeking a bump in sales. ${ }^{54}$ It reached such a point (Cancedda/Castelli identify ten plays, covering roughly forty unique prints) that a younger Florentine playwright, Mattias Maria Bartolommei (1640-95), felt the need to step in and set the record straight. In a printed version of his play Amore opera a caso, the Florentine dramatist pens an extensive letter to the "erudite readers" (eruditi lettori) containing a preliminary catalog of all works certifiably attributed to Cicognini:

If the comedies (which still come forth into the light of the world under the name of Dottore Iacinto Andrea Cicognini) multiply into the future at the same rate that they have been going for the past few years since they started here [Florence], I am of the opinion, erudite reader, that in a brief span of time they will reach such a number that whoever might then be desirous of reading them all (even in devouring the books), a new critic, scared of their sheer abundance, would have to deem the reading of them an entirely hopeless enterprise, so much so that he would never be able to do so-just as a single man occupied with many other things (as had been our Cicognini) and taken from us, it can be said, before his time, could never have been able to write so many works.

And so, in sending to the press the present comedy (of which it has already been many years from when, for my own entertainment, I wrote it, and in this city performed to no little applause by the gentlemen Academics of the Infocati on their stages), I have judged it a good idea, at the same time, to make known unto you the true comedies of the aforementioned Cicognini; yes, so that you all, being by chance desirous of this author's compositions, might with more certainty and thus with more gusto relish them; and yet again yes, so that if, by chance, among so many of the comedies falsely ascribed to him there were several that were not completely worthy of his name, he would not have to be censured for works that were not his fault.

[^72]Therefore, the comedies that are truly by Dottore Andrea Cicognini-although not all have been printed (or if so, who knows) -are mentioned below:

```
1. Archibusata a S. Carlo
2. S. Pietro Celestino
3. Santi Cipriano, e Giustina
4. [Santa] Maria Egiziaca
5. Il Don Gastone
6. La Iuditta [La tragedia di Giuditta]
7. La Mariene
8. [La forza dell'innocenza ne' successi de] Il Papirio
9. La pazzia d'Orlando
10. Il Celio dramma musicale
11.La forza del fato
12. La statua dell'onore [L'Adamira]
13. Il ruffiano onorato [La forza dell'amicizia]
14.Le fortunate gelosie del re di Valenza
15. Gl'amori d'Alessandro, e Rosane
16. The same Amori [as above] in dramma musicale
17. Il Giasone dramma
18. L'Orontea
```

The first ten of these he composed while he was in Florence, and the other remaining eight during the time in which he lived in Venice; more for satisfying the tastes and requests of friends than for having the idea that they should be brought to print, and more often declared as among the most well-known. And even though D. Gastone, La Iuditta, La Mariene, La forza del fato, La statua dell'onore, Il Ruffiano onorato, and Le fortunate gelosie del rè di Valenza, are taken from the Spanish, and La pazzia d'Orlando from the actors, they identify however as having acquired, by Cicognini's hand, so much charm in ornamentation, and splendor, that [they are] rather his own, and do not love being called the world's.

Thus I pray that you accept the above news, perhaps of no little use, and of satisfaction to many, while I present to you this work of mine, inferior to those many great ones; I assure you that with the words within among which I have scattered Fate, deities, and similar, I do not intend to contravene the Christian religion, but only to follow the customs of poetic compositions. Live happily. ${ }^{55}$ (Emphasis mine.)

55 "Se le commedie (le quali escono tuttavia alla luce del mondo sotto il nome del Dottor Iacinto Andrea Cicognini) moltiplicano per l'avvenire con la stessa proporzione, che hanno da poc' anni in quà cominciato, io son di parere, erudito lettore, che in breve corso di tempo elle abbino a giungere a tanto numero, che chiunque sarà poi vago di leggerle tutte, se bene nel divorare de libri nuovo catone spaventato con tutto ciò di sì gran copia, abbia a giudicare l'intera lettura di esse, opera affatto disperata; tanto più che non saprà mai restar capace, com'un sol'uomo in molt'altre cose occupato (com'era il nostro Cicognini) e toltoci si può dire innanzi tempo; abbia potuto comporre tant'opere.
"La onde nel mandar alle stampe la presente commedia (la quale ha già molt' anni, che per mio divertimento da me composta fu, e in questa città da signori Accademici Infocati su le loro scene con non piccolo applauso recitata) ho giudicato ben fatto di rendervi note nello stesso tempo le vere commedie del sudetto Cicognini; sì, perché essendo voi per avventura bramosi de’ componimenti di questo autore, gli possiate con più certezza, e perciò con più gusto assaporare; sì ancora, perché se a caso tra tante commedie a lui falsamente ascritte ve ne fosse alcuna, che non fosse in tutto degna del suo nome, non ne abbia egli a riportar biasimo senza sua colpa.
"Le commedie adunque che sono veramente del Dottor Andrea Cicognini quantunque (che è si sappia) non siano tutte alle stampe sono l'infrascritte:

1. Archibusata a S. Carlo
2. S. Pietro Celestino
3. Santi Cipriano, e Giustina
4. Maria Egiziaca
5. Il Don Gastone
6. La Iuditta
7. La Mariene

It is remarkable for an author to devote so much space, in his personal missive to the reader, to the works of another author. Certainly, this indicates to some extent the shadow that Cicognini cast in the first decades of the second half of the Seicento. But several links exist between the two dramatists that help to explain why Bartolommei would have taken the trouble to write this clarification, as well as perhaps how he obtained such a clear overview of Cicognini's body of work. Similar to Iacopo Cicognini, Bartolommei was the head of a "conversation of youths" ${ }^{56}$ (conversazione di giovani) that would often put on improvised performances, as well as a member of an academy, in his case the Accademici Infuocati. And like Giacinto, he had served as a youth alongside his father Girolamo Bartolommei Smeducci in the same confraternity of Arcangelo Raffaello that had witnessed the exploits of Cicogninis senior and junior (although it is unlikely that the two sons would have known each other given the age difference, as well as Cicognini's departure to Venice when Bartolommei was only six years of age).
8. Il Papirio
9. La pazzia d'Orlando
10. Il Celio dramma musicale
11. La forza del fato
12. La statua dell'onore
13. Il ruffiano onorato
14. Le fortunate gelosie del re di Valenza
15. Gl'amori d'Alessandro, e Rossane
16. Gli stessi amori in dramma musicale
17. Il Giasone dramma
18. L'Orontea
"delle quali le prime dieci egli compose, mentre fu a Firenze, e l'altre otto rimanenti nel tempo che visse a Venezia; più per soddisfare al genio, e richieste de gl'amici, che per aver concetto, che elle dovessero andare alle stampe come più, e più volte se ne dichiarò co' suoi più familiari. E se bene il D . Gastone, la Iuditta, la Mariene, la Forza del fato, la Statua dell'onore, il Ruffiano onorato, e le Fortunate gelosie del re di Valenza, sono tolte dallo spagnuolo, e la Pazzia d'Orlando da gl'istrioni, elle riconoscano però d'aver acquistato dal Cicognini tanto di vaghezza d'ornamento, e splendore, che, sue più tosto, anzi che non amano di esser chiamate dal mondo.
"Pregovi in tanto a gradire la sudetta notizia, forse di non poca utilità, e sodisfazzione di molti, mentre porgendovi quest'opera mia, a quelle gran lunghe inferiore, v'assicuro, che con le voci che per entro v'ho sparse di Fato, Deità, e simili io non intendo di derogar punto alla Cristiana religione, ma di seguitare solamente il costume de' poetici componimenti. Vivete felice." Mattias Maria Bartolommei, Amore opera a caso: Commedia (Florence: All'insegna della Stella, 1668; Florence and Bologna: Gioseffo Longhi, no year), 3-5.
${ }^{56}$ Lorenzo Lippi, Il Malmantile racquistato (Florence: G. T. Rossi, 1676), vol. 1 c. 60r.

Perhaps the most revealing link between Bartolommei and Cicognini can be found in his specific highlighting of several of Cicognini's works "taken from the Spanish" ("tolte dallo spagnuolo"). Bartolommei himself was also a proponent of Spanish plays, if filtered through Italian, as can be seen in the prefatory material to his Le gelose caute of 1668. In his letter to the "judicious reader" ("giudizioso lettore"), the younger dramatist boasts of having been "steeped in the reading of Spanish subjects" ("applicato nella lettura de' soggetti spagnuoli") and informs that the comedy, in its original language, was a work by D. Francesco de Roches (a transliteration of Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla, author of the play Donde hay agravios no hay celos, which specifically provided the source material for this play ${ }^{57}$ ), "a comic author among the most renowned of the Spanish" ("comico fra gli spagnuoli più rinomati"). ${ }^{58}$ Bartolommei thus reveals his literary allegiance not only to the Spanish playwright, but also to Cicognini, in dedicating Le gelose cautele to one of Cicognini's most important mentors and suppliers of Spanish literature, Nicolo Strozzi, whom I discuss in the following section.

The years that followed 1663 saw a gradual dropoff in publications of dramas by
Cicognini, with numbers dwindling to one per year by the 1680s (and a few more than that after several years). At least until 1690, many of these prints were librettos centered around a new production of Giasone or Orontea. With the sea change in the opera industry brought about by the Arcadian reforms around this time, interest in Cicognini, when it occurred, became limited mainly to literary criticism. It was in 1700 when Giovanni Maria Crescimbeni, discussing the depths to which opera as an artistic genre had sunk over the course of the century, laid much of its downfall at Cicognini's—and specifically Giasone's—feet:

[^73]...Giacinto Andrea Cicognini, around the middle of the century, with glad boldness, introduced dramas with his Giasone - which to tell the truth is the first, and most perfect drama that can be found-and with this he brought about the destruction of acting, and in consequence of true and good comic acting, and also of tragic acting. In order to more greatly entice with novelty the listless tastes of the audiences (nauseated equally by the vileness of comic things and the gravity of the tragic) the inventor of dramas united one and the other in them [dramas], putting into practice unheard-of monstrosities such as kings, heroes, and other illustrious characters alongside buffoons, servants, and the vilest of men. This tangle of characters was the cause for the total ruination of poetic rules, which went so far into disuse that [they] no longer took into account even locution, which, compelled to serve music, lost its purity, and became full of idiocies. ${ }^{59}$

Interestingly enough, there is no mention of the Spanish model of drama that Cicognini drew from, and that served as the point of origin for most of these sins for which he apparently paved the way. Eight decades later, Stefano Arteaga would continue the assault on Seicento opera, now shifting the blame more squarely onto Cicognini's shoulders; by this point his work had long disappeared from stages, and the Spanish plays of the siglo de oro were an even more distant memory. Arteaga's analysis of several representative excerpts from Giasone is worth citing in its entirety:

In the meantime, poetry was least regarded by composers. Evenness, sentiment, character, plotting, passion, dramatization, good sense, interest in theater, were counted for nothing. Fantastical characters, loving or indecent, heroic or ridiculous or affected, but always introduced as the principal constituent of the dramas; gods and heroes mixed among buffoons, meaningless chatter among men, a mixture of tragic and comic that had neither the brilliance of this, nor the sublime of that; all were made at that time into the most conspicuous ornament. The reader can, without much effort, deduce the consequences of the general tastes of the century from the following passage in a monologue taken from a drama, that was with supreme applause performed in nearly every theater in Italy, which became the most esteemed work of a renowned poet. He [the character] is Ercole, who addresses a discourse toward women in this fashion:

> Women, with your charms, what can you not achieve?
> You fabricate within your tresses
> labyrinths for heroes;

[^74]```
one mere tearlet
escaping from those magical stars
creates a vexing Aegean
that drowns all ardor, spirit and valor;
and the breeze of a sigh
exhaled from beguiling lips
upon the field of honor
uproots the palm and withers the laurel. [I.1, vv.99-110]
```

If such was the kind of language reserved for a demigod, everyone can foresee in what style the men must have spoken. Not only were Pantalone, Zanne, and Brighella [commedia dell'arte characters] heard singing in their crude dialects, but (if such is to be believed) also the ungainly and coarse character of Tartaglia [in commedia dell'arte, a farsighted stutterer] had a place alongside heroes and demigods in heroic dramas. How beautiful to hear, set to music, this following little dialogue between Egeo and Demo in the much-extolled Giasone by the Florentine Giacinto Andrea Cicognini!

| Egeo, king | And where are they going? |
| :---: | :---: |
| Demo, stutterer | They are embarking for Co- |
|  | Co- Co- for $\mathrm{Co}-\mathrm{Co}$ - $\mathrm{Co}-$ |
| Egeo | For Coimbra? |
| Demo | For $\mathrm{Co}-\mathrm{Co}-\mathrm{Co}^{-60}$ |
| Egeo | For Coraltro? |
| Demo | Oh for the love of-! for Co- Co- Co- |
| Egeo | For Cosandro? |
| Demo | Not at all, |
|  | for $\mathrm{Co}-\mathrm{Co}-\mathrm{Co}-$ |
| Egeo | For Corinth? |
| Demo | Ah! ah! well done, well done, |

The above-mentioned Cicognini, toward the middle of the century, transferring into melodrama the usual defects that were at the time being committed in other dramatic poems, joining together events and characters that were serious and ridiculous, interrupting prose scenes with strophic poems (that are called arias), and mixing passages in prose into scenes in verse, confounded all of the rules of poetry, and wretchedly contaminated Italian melodrama. He was nonetheless, in his time, held as the restorative for theater: his dramas were reprinted not a few times, as things worthy of being held in great esteem; the literary types proposed him as a model for imitation, and even the Greek muses, the virgin muses congregated in contest in order to honor with hymns of praise the man who, more than any other, bore their shame and outrage. ${ }^{61}$

[^75]Donne, co 'i vostri vezzi
che non potete voi?
Fabricate ne i crini
laberinti a gl'eroi;
solo una lacrimetta,
che da magiche stelle esca di fuore,

## Not all eighteenth-century assessments of Cicognini, however, were negative. Carlo

## Goldoni provided a rare instance of textual-dramatic criticism centered around Cicognini's work

itself, rather than its impact on successive dramatists of the seventeenth century:

It seems to me that of the comic authors that I have read and reread many times, Cicognini was the one I preferred most. That Florentine author, too little known by the Republic of letters, had written several comedies of intrigue, mixtures of the touching and moving with the comic and trivial; nevertheless here can be found much of interest, and he had the art of maintaining suspense, and of delighting through his denouements. I have become infinitely attached to him. ${ }^{62}$

```
fassi un Egeo cruccioso,
che sommerge l'ardir, l'alma e 'l valore, e 'l vento d'un sospiro,
esalato da labbri ingannatori,
da i campi della gloria
spiantò le palme e diseccò gl'allori.
```

"Se tal era il linguaggio riserbato ad un semideo, ognun prevede in quale stile si doveva far parlare gli uomini. Non solo s'udirono cantar Pantalone, Zanne, e Brighella ne' rozzi loro dialetti, ma (ciò, che appena si crederebbe) anche il goffo, e sguaiato personaggio di Tartaglia ebbe luogo insiem cogli eroi, e i semidei ne' drammi eroici. Che bel sentire in musica codesto dialoghetto fra Egeo, e Demo nel tanto decantato Giasone di Giacinto Andrea Ciccognini [sic] Fiorentino!

| Egeo, re | E verso dove andranno? |
| :--- | :--- |
| Demo balbuziente | S'imbarcano per Co- <br> Co- Co- per Co-Co-Co- <br> Egeo <br> Demo <br> Egeo <br> Demo <br> Egeo <br> Demo |
| Per Coimbra? |  |
| Egeo | Per Coraltro? Cer Co-Co- |
| Demo | Per Cosandro? |

"Il mentovato Ciccognini [sic] verso la metà del secolo trasferendo al melodramma $i$ difetti soliti allora a commettersi nelle altre poesie drammatiche, accoppiando in uno avvenimenti, e personaggi seri coi ridicoli, interrompendo le scene in prosa colle poetiche strofi, che arie s'appellano, e mischiando squarci di prosa alle scene in verso, confuse tutti gli ordini della poesia, e il melodramma Italiano miseramente contaminò. Fu nondimeno tenuto a' suoi tempi per ristorator del teatro; i suoi drammi furono ristampati non poche volte come cose degne di tenersi in gran pregio: i letterati sel proponevano per modello d'imitazione, e le muse anche elleno, le vergini muse concorsero a gara per onorar con inni di laude chi più d'ogni altro recava loro vergogna ed oltraggio." Stefano Arteaga, Le rivoluzioni del teatro musicale italiano, vol. 1 (Bologna: Carlo Trenti, 1783), 254-56.
62 "Parmi les Auteurs comiques que je lisois et que je relisois très souvent, Cicognini étoit celui que je préferois. Cet Auteur Florentin, très-peu connu dans la République des lettres, avoit fait plusieurs Comédies d'intrigue, mêlées de pathétique larmoyant et de comique trivial; on y trouvoit cependant beaucoup d'intéret, et il avoit l'art de ménager la suspension, et de plaire par le dénouement. Je m'y attachai infiniment." Carlo Goldoni, Memoires pour servir a l'histoire de sa vie et a celle de son théatre (Paris: Chez la Veuve Duchesne, 1787), vol. 1, 11. Cited in Laura Dolfi, "Il 'convitato di pietra' di G. A. Cicognini e la sua fonte spagnola," Studi secenteschi 37 (1996), 135-55; 145.

As Fausta Antonucci has pointed out, ${ }^{63}$ this trend continued into the nineteenth century, with scholars like Julius Leopold Klein and Alberto Lisoni, who also wrote positively of Cicognini, ${ }^{64}$ drowned out by a chorus of dismissive voices who found Cicognini's translations (the Spanish sources having once again been brought out from obscurity) merely "derivative," his imitations never at the level of the originals. Antonucci also cites general negative sentiments against the Baroque period within a post-Risorgimento culture that held Spanish theater of the siglo de oro as superficial and artificial with respect to Elizabethan theater.

The past twenty years have been kinder to Cicognini. A resurgence of interest in Cavalli's operas dating back to the middle of the twentieth century has picked up the Florentine dramatist in its wake, along with a larger body of research independent of his brief sojourn in the world of lyrical verse; this latter has focused on his intensely profitable relationship with Spanish plays of the late sixteenth century, and has accorded him a place in history as not merely a translator, but an adaptor and synthesizer of Spanish drama.

## Playwright: A Student of Spanish Drama

A discussion of Cicognini's style as a dramatist must begin with his father Iacopo, himself a playwright and an immense influence on his son's formation as a man of the theater, at first on stage as an actor and eventually behind the scenes as a playwright and eventual librettist. Like other playwrights in the early seventeenth century, Iacopo adhered in his plays to the Aristotelian unities, outlined originally in the Greek philosopher's Poetics ${ }^{65}$ : the unity of action dictated that

[^76]there be one main plotline, the unity of place dictated that the story be limited to one geographical area, and the unity of time dictated that the story not cover more than twenty-four hours in time. Occasionally Iacopo broke the unity of action in his comedies by presenting two sets of lovers, but in his serious dramas he preserved a single central plot strand. For example, his letter from "the author to the courteous readers" ("l'autore a cortesi lettori") in his La finta mora (1625) states that


#### Abstract

This comedy of mine, like so many others composed by me, and performed, has all of the unities of the story, even though in several of them, other than the dramas, one can see the weaving of two sets of lovers, from which is borne the multiplicity (or variety) of parts. Thus I imitate Terence, ${ }^{66}$ who in [his] art surpassed all other poets of his genre... Now, as long as these other good, but exceedingly strict rules, are observed, and only one action is produced, a perfect comedy will be formed. But in tragedies, dramas, and even more in those that are composed to be performed musically, I have found that multiple sets of lovers, instead of embellishing the tale, would bring confusion to me, and tedium and disgust to the audience. ${ }^{67}$


Worth noting is his preference for a unity of action within what for him would be a "perfect," idealized comedy-his occasional reliance on a second pair of lovers in several of his plays seems to suggest either the acknowledgement of some flaw in plotting, or external pressures of some kind. Whatever the case, by 1628 he seems to have changed his mind, after a brief correspondence with the Spanish dramatist per eccellenza, Lope de Vega. Iacopo’s Trionfo di David, which premiered that year, ignores both the unity of time and that of action, in a serious drama, no less. When the play's text was published in 1633 (the year of his death), the editor Antonio del

[^77]Soldato, who wrote the foreword to the "courteous readers" ("cortesi lettori"), explained the reasoning behind Iacopo's shift in style:

The author wished to end this performance with David's victory against Goliath without going against history, and including the second victory against the Philistines, even with the elapsed time (which should not exceed a day, [something] to which Doctor Cicognini gave the greatest consideration in all of his plays, so as not to stray from verisimilitude). But omitting the second triumph necessitated also leaving out David's marriage to Michal, which was the final accomplishment of the play. It suited the author's intention (in order to attain his goal) to represent both victories, imitating the Spanish performances, and those of the kind by D. Lopes [sic] de Vega, who even with letters had advised and begged the author, known to Vega because of his fame, to become accustomed to exceeding the span of 24 hours, and to demonstrate the delight which brings with it the representation of actions that exceed the passage of not only one day, but also many months and years, to the effect that the events of history can be enjoyed not with the writing down of the prior events leading up to the play [antefatto], but with the demonstration of those very same actions from various times in succession.

The author followed Vega's advice, and did not allow himself to be swayed by fashion to end the play with David's wedding, and thus divided all of these actions into segments from one act to another, and thus successfully wove together the serious with the ridiculous, the delightful with the useful, history with invention, and in such a way engaged, or rather stimulated the choruses themselves, that the intelligent audiences confessed to have felt from it an extraordinary taste. Thus it can finally be seen that the modern taste, founded upon the pleasure of those who listen, has broadened the restricted and severe laws of Poetry, of which the author spoke abundantly in his treatise printed at the beginning of his Finta mora, a famous comedy, which suffices as an excuse for the same author, and as general advice. ${ }^{68}$

Such techniques found in Iacopo's play-the extension of the plot's timeline well past a single day, as well as the mixture of serious and ridiculous-had already been standard operating procedure for Lope de Vega. In a discourse directed toward the Academy of Madrid, he

[^78]established his philosophies on drama in his Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo, ${ }^{69}$ published in 1609. The comedia nueva genre as outlined by him consists of a play in three acts, in blocks of verse consisting of various meters. Most important is the ability for comedy to "hold the mirror up to nature [that is, the life of man]"70 -that is, for a play to mix both the tragic and comic and to thus portray the human condition as completely as possible. Of necessity, then, this also involves freedom from Aristotle's unities, although Lope de Vega is careful to state that some restraint is still in order when breaking those ancient rules. ${ }^{71}$

Although Giacinto was already in Pisa by the time Trionfo di David was performed in 1628, we know that he traveled back and forth between Pisa and Florence, where he would still have opportunities to learn firsthand of his father's changing outlook brought about by Vega. ${ }^{72}$ We know less about the particulars of the younger Cicognini's relationship to Niccolò Strozzi, but Bartolommei's words in the prefatory material for his Le gelose caute indicate a concrete connection, ${ }^{73}$ and thus another channel through which Cicognini would have acquired knowledge about Spanish drama. Abbot Niccolò Strozzi was a learned man as well as a poet who

[^79]spent a significant amount of time in Spain, living in Madrid at the Palazzo della Nunziatura there from 1623-26, where he came into contact with poets and playwrights including Lope de Vega; the friendship between the two was significant enough that Vega dedicated an undated sonnet to Strozzi. ${ }^{74}$ Castelli has proposed that Strozzi would have certainly had the means during this period to furnish Cicognini with Spanish comedies and dramas (as a result of his interactions with playwrights in Madrid, the center of stage culture) straight from the source. ${ }^{75}$

The following two analyses ${ }^{76}$-of Cicognini's Convitato di pietra (1632) and his Don
Gastone di Moncada (1641)—provide insight into the dramatist's process of assimilating and adapting a pre-existing work, in both cases Spanish plays in verse, into prose works that better suited his Florentine audiences, and that carried his own imprint in terms of pacing. Both works have been closely studied and compared to each original, the first by Laura Dolfi, ${ }^{77}$ and the second by Fausta Antonucci, ${ }^{78}$ and my discussion of these plays relies heavily upon their work.

[^80]
## Il convitato di pietra

One of his earliest successes, Cicognini's Convitato di pietra (1632) ${ }^{79}$ was based on Tirso de Molina's Burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra (1625). ${ }^{80}$ The story is that of Don Juan, which would go on to enjoy further retellings in operatic form through settings by Giovanni Bertati and Giuseppe Gazzaniga (Don Giovanni Tenorio, o sia Il convitato di pietra, 1787) and by Lorenzo Da Ponte and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (Don Giovanni, later that same year in 1787). At its core, the story remains the same between Tirso's and Cicognini's version: Don Juan (Don Giovanni), an inveterate womanizer, enjoys several escapades including killing Don Gonzalo, Comendador de Ulloa (the Commendatore) and father to Doña Ana (Donna Anna), before being brought to justice and eventual perdition at the hand of a statue depicting the dead

Comendador/Commendatore.
The differences between both versions occur at all levels: Convitato is rife with elements of commedia dell'arte, for example, the insertion of Dottore and Pantalone in place of two comic characters in Burlador; the alternate usage of standard Italian and dialect; the use of the descriptor "Zanni" (buffoon) for Don Giovanni's servant; the constant use of the stage direction "via" to indicate character exits; the insertion of comic breaks during the action (as in I.12); as well as the reduction of a scene into mere stage directions, with the suppression of all dialogue (III.16).

Character names have been altered as well, although it is worth noting that the noble characters' names have been merely Italianized, whereas the lower-echelon characters' names have undergone more drastic changes (Table 3.2):

[^81]Table 3.2: Character Conversions from Burlador to Convitato

| Don Juan | $\rightarrow$ | Don Giovanni |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Catalinón, Don Juan's servant | $\rightarrow$ | Passarino |
| Don Pedro Tenorio, Don Juan's uncle | $\rightarrow$ | Don Pietro |
| Doña Isabela, seductee | $\rightarrow$ | Donna Isabella |
| Don Octavio | $\rightarrow$ | Don Ottavio |
| Ripio, servant | $\rightarrow$ | Fichetto |
| Comendador de Ulloa, father to Doña Ana | Commendatore Oliola |  |
| Tisbea (fisherwoman), seductee | $\rightarrow$ | Rosalba (shepherdess) |
| Doña Ana, seductee | $\rightarrow$ | Donna Anna |
| Aminta (farmer), seductee | $\rightarrow$ | Brunetta (peasant) |
| Batricio, Aminta's betrothed | $\rightarrow$ | Pantalone |
| Gaseneo, Aminta's father | $\rightarrow$ | Dottore |

Several characters have also been cut: the fisher Anfriso, in love with Tisbea; Don Juan's father Don Diego Tenorio; and the role of the Marqués de Mota, an old friend of Don Juan's who in the original had been instrumental in unwittingly providing the protagonist with a means to seduce Doña Ana, has instead been folded into the role of Don Ottavio, now Donna Isabella's betrothed and later Donna Anna's lover.

These changes are all accompanied by a rather severe contraction of the plot: whereas Burlador contains sixty-seven scenes (nineteen in Act I, twenty-two in Act II, and twenty-six in Act III), Convitato contains only forty (thirteen in Act I, sixteen in Act II, and eleven in Act III). Extensive cuts are made to several of the surviving scenes, reducing them drastically in scope, including several dialogues between Don Juan and Catalinón, as well as the King of Spain (who remains unaltered in Cicognini's version, at least in title) and Don Diego. Restructuring occurs as well: Doña Isabela’s seduction, which becomes an oft-repeated topic throughout Burlador (returning as the central focus of II.1-5 and II. 11 in conversations between the King, Don Ottavio, and Diego), is instead abandoned and never again mentioned in Convitato after I.9. Similarly, Aminta's seduction (Don Juan's final one) takes place over the course of several scenes,
spanning the last two scenes of Act II (II.20-22) until III.8; in Convitato, instead, her seduction is synthesized into two scenes at the end of Act II (II.15-16)—in fact, II. 16 is the scene containing only stage directions-leaving all of Act III open for the last phase of the comedy, that is, the encounter with the statue and Don Giovanni's judgment. ${ }^{81}$

The result of this compression of Burlador's action-and, perhaps more importantly, dialogue-is that Convitato lacks the depth of psychological characterization for which Tirso and his Spanish colleagues were so famous. The characters surrounding Cicognini's Don Giovanni are not given the space to develop complexity as they were in Tirso's original. Doña Isabela at first accepts Don Juan with open arms, thinking him to be Don Octavio, and later spurns her betrothed, accusing him of assaulting her; this dimension is missing in Convitato, as Donna Isabella is "assaulted with vivid force" ("assalita a viva forza") and outright violated. Don Pedro, Don Juan's uncle and ambassador to Naples, worries for his own fate-"I'm lost if the king finds out about this—what is there to do?" ("Perdido soy si el Rey sabe / este caso, ¿Qué he de hacer?")—even as he rebukes his nephew after he learns of Don Juan's violation of Doña Isabella; in turn, Pietro thinks only of Don Giovanni's own fate, selflessly exhorting him to flee Naples. Don Ottavio, taking on the duties of both Don Octavio and the Marqués de la Mota in Convitato, is in fact simplified in his character's trajectory by the redoubling of affronts against him: Don Giovanni violates both Donna Isabella, Don Ottavio's betrothed, and later Donna Anna, who had been promised to Don Ottavio by the king after Donna Isabella's despoilment has rendered her unfit for marriage.

The lower-register characters fare no better. Rosalba the shepherdess is not regaled with Don Giovanni's gallantry and amorous declarations in Convitato as her analog, Tisbea the fisherwoman, had been; rather her seduction is hastily accomplished by means of a vow of

[^82]marriage by the womanizer. Aminta, the farmer girl in Burlador, is leery at the prospect of her impending marriage to Batricio, and she and the charming (and noble) Don Juan develop a ruse in which he had long ago deflowered her already, as a means to nullify her commitment to her fiancé. Brunetta, in turn is rendered entirely unidimensional, accompanied as she is by commedia dell'arte stock characters of Pantalone (her betrothed) and Dottore (her father) and stripped of almost all of her dialogue. ${ }^{82}$ Finally, Passarino represents almost an antithesis to Catalinón in their relationships to their respective masters, Don Giovanni and Don Juan. Where Catalinón, longtime servant to Don Juan, is always disposed to follow along with his master in his escapades (and eventual escapes), Passarino constantly rebels, ${ }^{83}$ complains, weeps, sighs for "maccheroni" and good wine, and ultimately resigns himself to obey his master only for fear of being beaten.

At the center of this all is Don Giovanni, essentially a cipher for amorality in Cicognini's play. Where Don Juan is consistently offered the opportunity to repent throughout Burlador, and in turn defers the possibility of coming to terms with his sins, insisting always that there will be plenty of time to repent later, Don Giovanni draws the line clearly in Convitato: he outright denies the Commendatore's offer of salvation, given thrice, and throughout Cicognini's play insists obstinately on mockery and insult to all others, especially toward any figures of authority of principle (going so far as drawing his sword against the king after being discovered in Donna Isabella's chamber). Don Juan's agitation in the face of his supernatural encounter with the statue is replaced in Convitato with Don Giovanni's absolute sanguinity; the original acknowledgement of the need for repentance (if only eventual) becomes now almost an explicit desire for

[^83]punishment. And when it finally comes, Don Juan simply disappears at the end of Burlador; Cicognini instead takes pains to explicitly depict Don Giovanni's perdition in the flames of hell. It would seem from all of this that Convitato di pietra is a mere shadow of Burlador de Sevilla. This would not, however, explain Cicognini's success with this play in Florence, such that it encouraged him to take the production on the road to Pisa. Indeed, Dolfi asserts that his streamlining of Tirso's action and dialogue tightens the overall play, creating a dramatic coherence that evokes Carlo Goldoni’s assessment of Cicognini's ability to "maintain suspense" (ménager la suspension $)^{84}$ in all of his theatrical works. Dolfi also points out Cicognini's sophisticated prose, calling to attention the presence of intentional parallelisms in the dialogue, of judicious use of rhetorical figures, and of rhythmic cadences reminiscent of precise metric scansion. ${ }^{85}$ Cicognini was nothing if not aware of his initial audience: the premiere was staged for the Accademia degli Instancabili, a gathering formed by the young men of the Compagnia di San Giovanni Evangelista in 1633, the year of the play's premiere. ${ }^{86}$ Given the propensity for didactic programs in theatrical performances among (and for) Florence's youths under the auspices of confraternities and academies like the Instancabili, it is not hard to hypothesize that Cicognini deliberately toned down some of the character-based ambiguities of Tirso's original, presenting figures that were more clearly delineated in black and white.

[^84]
## Don Gastone di Moncada ${ }^{87}$

Cicognini's Don Gastone di Moncada (1641) presents a more synthetic approach to Spanish source plays that reflects his growing maturity as a playwright, as well as his broadened experience with that country's theatrical repertoire a decade after having written Convitato di pietra. Fausta Antonucci's analysis of this work identifies no fewer than three Spanish plays from whose elements Cicognini drew in creating his story of falsified betrayal: Lope de Vega’s La corona merecida (1603), Tirso de Molina's Cómo han de ser los amigos (1612), and Calderón de la Barca's Gustos $y$ disgustos son no más que imaginación (1638). A plot synopsis of Don Gastone follows:

King Pietro d'Aragona, a tyrannical monarch, has fallen in love with Donna Violante, the wife of Don Gastone di Moncada. He invites the couple to court, naming Donna Violante the queen's first lady-in-waiting. This love triangle is augmented by the queen, Leonora-neglected and no longer loved by the king-and by Don Merichex (Mericchej in the manuscript's dedication, dated 1642) di Buccoi-a valiant knight who in the past was aided and saved from disgrace by Don Gastone. King Pietro decides to use Don Merichex for his own ends: he invests the knight with Don Gastone's title, and orders him to exile his friend, and to convince Don Gastone's wife, using any means possible, to cede to his desires. Don Merichex appears to obey all of his king's orders: he arrives to kidnap Donna Violante's son Celio, and then presents to her and her husband the blood of their murdered child as punishment for Donna Violante's unbending fidelity to her husband. He reveals to King Pietro that he has engineered all of this as a hoax so that the monarch might have an intimate encounter with Donna Violante. In truth, however, Merichex (a traitor only in appearance) had arranged things so that the woman who lay with the king was in fact the queen and not Violante. Discovering the deception, the king is reformed, the

[^85]two couples are reconciled, it is discovered that young Celio was not in fact killed, and all praise
Merichex's skillful and wise comportment, the "faithful traitor-friend" (amico traditor fedele). Below
in Table 3.3 is a list of the cast for Don Gastone:

Table 3.3: Cast of Characters for Don Gastone di Moncada

Don Pietro, King of Aragon<br>Leonora, Queen, wife of Don Pietro<br>Odoardo, advisor to the king<br>Tiberio, advisor to the king<br>Parasacco, servant and fool<br>Four king's hunters<br>Four queen's ladies-in-waiting<br>Don Gastone di Moncada, Duke of Villa Reale<br>Donna Violante di Moncada, wife of Don Gastone<br>Celio, their son, five years of age<br>Scappino, Don Gastone's servant<br>Rosetta, Donna Violante's handmaiden<br>Four of Don Gastone's hunters<br>Don Merichex di Buccoi, Spanish knight

"The setting in the First Act represents the countryside of the Duchy of Villa Reale; in the Second and Third Act, the City and Palace of Aragon." ${ }^{88}$

The principal characters' names are all Italianizations of Spanish names ${ }^{89}$ (similar to
Convitato di pietra, the servants have been given Italian names like Scappino, Rosetta, and
Parasacco), and share commonalities with many of the characters in the play's three Spanish

[^86]models. Of these models, Calderón's Gustos $y$ disgustos son no más que imaginación ${ }^{90}$ bears the closest resemblance in terms of characters and plot conceit (that of deception). As in Don Gastone, the king here is completely uninterested in his wife, and instead has eyes only for Doña Violante, who rebuffs his amorous advances as she remains faithful to her husband, Don Vicente. Furthermore, the central deceit in the plot results in the king believing that he has been courting Doña Violante by her window, where instead it has been his neglected queen consort the entire time.

One significant difference between the two versions is that Don Merichex does not appear in Calderón's version, so that the king's tyranny lacks the bite that it would have in Don Gastone. Rather, the king sends Don Vicente off to war, a devious maneuver meant to allow the monarch unimpeded access to Violante-like Convitato, then, the villain in Don Gastone is more direct and forceful in his actions, in comparison to the relatively respectful king in Gustos $y$ disgustos (that is, maintaining a façade of honor in sending his knight off to battle). Similarly, Doña Violante in Gustos $y$ disgustos is a young and insecure woman whose constancy wavers-the primary reason, in fact, that that king sees an opening for his own advances-although in the end she proves true to her husband. In Don Gastone, instead, Donna Violante is a mature mother, free from her father's influence (who exists only in Calderón's version and unwittingly plays to her insecurities), and utterly devoted to Don Gastone. Indeed, she is a woman completely secure in her love, whose unwavering fidelity is the sole reason Don Merichex felt safe in attempting his subterfuge, as he himself admits toward the end of Cicognini's play. Furthermore, the bait-and-switch seduction of the king's own wife by window over the course of many evenings (now orchestrated by Doña Violante) is certainly a chaster and more virtuous treatment of love than the sexual intercourse,

[^87]even if only implied after the fact by the king's report, between the king and Leonora in Don Gastone.

Lope de Vega's La corona merecida ${ }^{91}$ provides another link between Don Gastone and its Spanish heritage. In this play, King Alfonso VIII of Castille, recently married to Doña Leonor of England, has fallen in love with Doña Sol, the wife of Don Alvaro Laín. As in Don Gastone, the king invites the couple to his court, conferring upon Don Alvaro an honorary position. From here, the plot veers off: the king falsely accuses Alvaro of espionage and has him arrested; Doña Sol pretends to cede to the king, but then burns a part of her body under the pretense of being disease-stricken. The king becomes disgusted by this and no longer desires her. Doña Sol then reveals her deception, earning the friendship of the queen (who had felt threatened by Doña Sol's beauty) and the admiration and regard of the king. The deception achieved here by Don Alvaro's wife removes the need for the presence of a Merichex-like character (as well as the theme of friendship so central to Don Gastone). In addition, Doña Sol's temper, as well as her loyalty and steadfastness to her husband, bears more similarity to Cicognini's Donna Violante than Calderón's Doña Violante. We also find in Lope's play the gambit of a "ruse for a good end" "inganno a fin di bene"), although the form and execution are quite distinct from the other two stories.

The final piece of the puzzle, that of Don Merichex, is found in Tirso de Molina's Cómo han de ser los amigos, ${ }^{92}$ a comedy centered on the theme of friendship between Don Gastón conde de Fox (note the connection to the eponymous character of Don Gastone) and Don Manrique de Lara. The plot itself bears little resemblance to Cicognini's Don Gastone: both friends are in love with the same woman, Doña Armesinda (who is in love with Don Manrique), the daughter of the Duke of Narbonne and sister of Doña Violante (who is in love with Don Gastón). The duke

[^88]has Don Gastón imprisoned because he opposes the duke's plan to marry Doña Armesinda to the Count of Toulouse; Don Manrique requests military aid from the king of Aragon (of whom he is a vassal) to move against Doña Armesinda's father and rescue his friend. The king wishes Don Gastón's county of Fox for himself, and offers Don Manrique aid on the condition that the latter take the county from his friend and give it to his liege. Don Manrique is therefore faced with a dilemma: fail his king, or betray his friend. He decides to obey the king, but only in order to preserve the county for his friend. When he finds out that Don Manrique has taken Fox, Don Gastón accuses him of betrayal, but in order to prove his loyalty Don Manrique cedes to him not only the county, but Armesinda's hand in marriage as well. To reciprocate his friend's generosity, Don Gastón refuses Don Manrique's offer of Armesinda and instead takes Violante as his wife. Along with friendship, the theme of apparent betrayal in Tirso's play is very similar to Don Gastone, although it is diluted here within a plot complicated by romantic misunderstandings and political intrigue. In turn, the king who forces the dilemma onto Don Manrique is only a secondary character in Cómo han de ser los amigos, an avaricious figure largely whitewashed of the tyrannical characteristics that Cicognini placed in relief in his Don Gastone.

As in the case of Convitato di pietra, the linearity and straightforwardness of Don Gastone's plot, and above all its pacing, set it apart from its Spanish models. Tirso reveals Don Manrique's decision to preserve the county for Don Gastón-the pivotal plot point upon which their friendship hinged-almost immediately after he was presented with the choice by the king. In turn, the decision by Don Gastone's Merichex is not revealed until the very end; after an anguished and tortuous monologue in the middle of Act II, the audience does not yet know if he has chosen to obey his king (by exiling Don Gastone and blackmailing Donna Violante) or to remain loyal to his friend. Cicognini maintains the suspense throughout the rest of the act, and into Act III, by portraying his actions in such a way to lead the other characters-if not the
audience as well-to believe that he has sided with the king (the king's talkative servant, Parasacco, perpetuates this belief). It is only within the final three scenes that the suspense begins to unravel, and Don Merichex reveals his deceit for the greater good: to preserve Don Gastone and Donna Violante's honor, to not openly disobey the king, and to reconcile his king and his estranged wife.

Cicognini's ability to "maintain suspense" in Don Gastone is aided by a structural device that would appear in his librettos as well. This technique, which I call the "Cicognini crescendo, ${ }^{93}$ involves the gradual accumulation of characters on stage toward the end of Act III in preparation of the final denouement. The "Cicognini crescendo" occurs on a large scale over the course of a succession of scenes, and in some ways it anticipates Corneille's liaisons des scènes later in the century.

Table 3.4: Don Gastone di Moncada, Act III Character Distribution
(Characters are listed in speaking order; [bracketed characters] do not speak in the scene)

| III. 1 | Scappino, Rosetta |
| :--- | :--- |
| III. 2 | Don Gastone, Scappino |
| III. 3 | Don Merichex, Don Gastone, [Scappino] |
| III. 4 | Pages, Don Merichex, Don Gastone, [Scappino] |
| III. 5 | Donna Violante, Don Gastone, Don Merichex, Rosetta, <br> Scappino |
| III. 6 | Don Gastone, Don Merichex, [Scappino] |
| II. 7 | Parasacco, Don Merichex, [Soldiers, Pages] |
| III. 8 | Parasacco, Don Merichex |
| III. 9 | King, Parasacco, Don Merichex |
| III.10 | Don Merichex |
| III.11 | Don Gastone, Scappino |
| III.12 | Parasacco, Scappino, Don Gastone |

[^89]Table 3.4 (Continued)

| III. 13 | Don Merichex, Parasacco |
| :--- | :--- |
| III. 14 | King, Don Merichex, Parasacco |
| III. 15 | King, Don Merichex |
| III. 16 | Parasacco, King, Don Merichex |
| III. 17 | Donna Violante, Parasacco, King, Don Merichex, [Rosetta] |
| III. 18 | King, Rosetta, Don Merichex, Donna Violante |
| III. 19 | Parasacco, King, Queen, Don Merichex, Donna Violante, <br> [Rosetta] |
| III.20 | Scappino, Don Gastone, Donna Violante, Don Merichex, <br> Queen, King, Parasacco, [Rosetta] |
| III.21 | Don Merichex, King, Don Gastone, Donna Violante, [Queen, <br> Rosetta] |
| III.22 | Scappino, Parasacco, Don Merichex, Don Gastone, King, <br> Queen, Donna Violante, [Celio, Rosetta] |

Excluding the servant roles (Parasacco, Rosetta, Scappino) when they leave the stage temporarily, we can see in Table 3.4 that the Cicognini crescendo begins around III.13, a scene featuring Don Merichex and Parasacco. The king enters for the following scene (remaining on stage until the end of the play), and begins to describe his night-time tryst with the woman he thinks was Donna Violante. In the following scenes the king's euphoria gradually diminishes, as it is brought to light that Donna Violante was not in fact the woman with whom he enjoyed sexual relations. The final turn toward the denouement begins in III. 19 with the queen's entrance and the king's resulting displeasure, culminating at the end of the scene with Don Merichex's revelation, finally, of his complex ruse. The following scenes, III. 20 and III.21, feature the king's reversal and reconciliation with his wife and then Don Gastone, and in the final scene Celio, who had been missing (and presumed dead since the end of Act II), is brought back onstage by Scappino and Parasacco, at Don Merichex's request. It is significant that this revelation occurs several scenes before the very end, as some successive dramatic space was of necessity devoted to the processing the events, and the king's eventual reconciliation and reformation. As I show in the
following section, the third acts of Celio, Orontea, and Giasone all follow a similar dramatic formula. ${ }^{94}$

## Librettist: A Florentine in Venice

This section provides a brief overview of Cicognini's three complete librettos-Celio, Orontea, and Giasone-with a focus on their character-based structure in Act III. Celio, of course, was written while Cicognini was still in Florence, while the latter two were written after he had arrived in Venice. The Cicognini crescendo is not as explicit in his first libretto as it is in his last two, but there seemed to have been external pressures-to such an extent that they were mentioned in the note to reader ("Al lettore") of the published libretto-that may have partially accounted for revisions and a restructuring of the drama. Giovanni Faustini, one of Venice's most prolific librettists during the 1640s (as well as Cavalli's chief collaborator during this period), provides us with a means of contextualizing Cicognini within the world of Venetian opera upon his arrival there in 1646. As it turns out, Faustini had also employed a similar "crescendo" technique in many of his librettos even before Cicognini had arrived, although he was unique in doing so among other Venetian librettists of his time.

## Celio

Discussions of Celio have invariably revolved around its relationship to Giulio Strozzi's revision of the opera under the new name of Veremonda. ${ }^{95}$ My focus on it centers on Cicognini's

[^90]construction of Act III, specifically in its gradual accumulation of characters on stage. As we have seen, the playwright's first attempt at a work entirely in verse was extremely well received upon its premiere. Given that Cicognini's Venetian librettos are each amalgams of multiple Spanish plays in the same way that Don Gastone is, it would not be surprising if Cicognini had followed a similar procedure in creating the various plot points for Celio. However, no source works have yet been identified. Nonetheless, it should be noted that Don Gastone serves as an antefatto for Celio; as Bianconi and Walker have pointed out, a knowledge of the earlier prose work would have been almost necessary to understand the themes at play in Celio, which grapples with the same issues of noble and matrimonial honor. ${ }^{96}$ Indeed, King Pietro's past attempt to seduce Donna Violante serves as a central plot point in the libretto, driving the young Celio to attempt a similar seduction of the wife of Pietro's son, King Iacomo. Table 3.5 below lists the characters:

## Table 3.5: Cast of Characters for Celio (Opera Proper)

Iacomo VIII, King of Aragon
Isabella, queen, his wife
Don Gastone de Moncada, his war advisor
Celio, his son, a general
Alarco, soldier (under Celio)
Ormino, page
Despina, village girl
Zoraida, Moorish queen
Idrena, nurse
Dragut, Moorish captain
Zelì, dwarf
Chorus of Aragonese soldiers
Chorus of Aragonese ladies
Chorus of Moorish soldiers

Celio opens with a Prologue that features Revenge, Rage, Rebellion, and Love (Vendetta, Furore, Rebellione, and Amore) discussing precisely King Pietro's actions in Don Gastone, and

[^91]seeking to drive Celio to avenge those misdeeds. Then the opera proper begins: the Moorish queen Zoraida and Celio have been in love for some time; this illicit relationship is already known to Zoraida's nurse, but Celio urges his soldier Alarco to keep quiet about it once Alarco discovers its existence. In the meantime, Isabella announces to her husband the king and Don Gastone that she and her band of woman-warriors will join in his war effort against the Moorish queen. When she presents herself to Celio, the young general is struck by her beauty as well as his desire for vengeance. Celio declares his love for her, but Isabella suspects that he is only seeking revenge against her father-in-law's past actions, and pretends to give in to him, professing her love for him with Alarco observing the proceedings. Celio asks Isabella to follow his lead so that they might be able to consummate their passion. He presents himself, and Isabella (disguised as a gentleman) as his male friend, to Zoraida at her camp, and sends Alarco back to his camp. Upon discovering his wife's and Celio's apparent duplicity, the king swears revenge, while Don Gastone disowns Celio and vows to find his son in order to administer punishment for his betrayal. Zoraida later finds out that Isabella is in fact a woman, confirmed by Don Gastone when he arrives to request a hostage exchange: Isabella for himself. Full of doubt and jealousy, Zoraida eavesdrops on a conversation between Celio and Isabella; Celio sees her and shifts the conversation to allay her worries, mollifying the Moorish queen. But once Don Gastone shows up and confronts the two, Isabella reveals her ruse: she had only pretended to love Celio. She and Don Gastone depart on good terms, while Celio plots revenge on them all and wishes to return to Zoraida's embrace. Zoraida, however, has overheard all of this, and is horrified that her beloved is a traitor. Although expressing ambivalence toward Celio, as she still is attracted to him, she ultimately rejects him. After they are both captured by the king (who has learned of his wife's innocence), Zoraida pleads for Celio's life, moved by his plight in seeking justice for a deed not committed, and offers to convert to Christianity and to take Celio as her husband and king to
absolve him of his crimes. All are equally moved by this gesture and by her wisdom and generosity.

Table 3.6: Celio, Act III Character Distribution and Scene Synopsis ${ }^{97}$ ([Bracketed characters] do not speak in the scene)
$\left.\left.\begin{array}{|l|l|l|}\hline \text { III.1 } & \begin{array}{l}\text { King, [Chorus of Aragonese } \\ \text { soldiers] }\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { The king vows vengeance upon his apparently } \\ \text { unfaithful wife. }\end{array} \\ \hline \text { III.2 } & \text { Idrena, Zelì, Zoraida sleeping } & \begin{array}{l}\text { Zoraida dreams that she converts to } \\ \text { Christianity; Idrena reveals that Isabella is a } \\ \text { woman and not a man; Zoraida vows } \\ \text { vengeance. }\end{array} \\ \hline \text { III.3 } & \begin{array}{l}\text { Dragut, Zoraida, [Idrena, Moorish } \\ \text { soldiers, Zeli] }\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { Dragut announces the arrival of Don Gastone. } \\ \text { [Idrena, Moorish Soldiers] }\end{array} \\ \hline \text { III.5 } & \begin{array}{l}\text { Celio, Queen, (Zoraida and Idrena } \\ \text { show up later in the scene) }\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { Don Gastone explains to the queen his son } \\ \text { and Isabella's betrayal, and offers to exchange } \\ \text { himself as a hostage for her. Zoraida is left } \\ \text { deeply unsettled by the doubts he has planted } \\ \text { in her mind. }\end{array} \\ \hline \text { III.6 } & \text { Don Gastone, Celio, Queen } & \begin{array}{l}\text { Celio and Isabella profess their love for each } \\ \text { other; when he espies Zoraida eavesdropping, } \\ \text { he shifts the conversation to her benefit and } \\ \text { allays her doubts; after Zoraida leaves he } \\ \text { continues his seduction of Isabella. }\end{array} \\ \hline \text { III.7 } & \text { Celio [solo] } & \begin{array}{l}\text { Don Gastone interrupts, accusing his son of } \\ \text { treason, and the two argue of past events } \\ \text { concerning Celio's mother. Isabella eventually } \\ \text { disavows her feelings for Celio as a ruse, and } \\ \text { she and Don Gastone depart. }\end{array} \\ \hline \text { III.8 } & \text { Zoraida, Idrena } & \begin{array}{l}\text { Celio is left alone, seeking vengeance against } \\ \text { all who have wronged him, and plans to } \\ \text { return to Zoraida's arms. }\end{array} \\ \hline \text { Zoraida and her nurse have in the meantime } \\ \text { heard everything, and realize that Celio is a }\end{array}\right\} \begin{array}{l}\text { traitor. Despite Idrena's and her own } \\ \text { reservations, she remains in place upon seeing } \\ \text { Celio approach. }\end{array}\right\}$

[^92]Table 3.6 (Continued)

| III.9 | Celio, Zoraida, Idrena | Celio attempts to win Zoraida back, and <br> although she still has feelings for him, she <br> ultimately rejects him. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| III.10 | Celio solo | Celio is again left alone, now dreading <br> punishment by his king and by God. |
| III.11 | King, Don Gastone, Queen, <br> [Chorus of Aragonese soldiers] | The king learns of Isabella's innocence, and <br> proceeds to have Celio and Zoraida seized. |
| III.12 | Zoraida, Celio, King, Queen, Don <br> Gastone, [Aragonese soldiers, <br> Moorish soldiers] | Zoraida begs for clemency, converting to <br> Christianity and offering to take Celio as her <br> husband and king; moved by this, the king and <br> Don Gastone relent. |

As can be seen in Table 3.6, Zoraida's reversal, from having rejected Celio in III. 9 to suddently pleading for his life in the final scene (III.12; she does not appear in III. 10 or III.11), is abrupt. It is possible, as I have said above, that the changes made during rehearsals for Celio might have involved some cuts to Act III (although cuts to this act are not among the alterations listed in Cicognini's letter to the reader). Worth noting, though, is the fact that Zoraida and Celio both appear on stage for the final scene, while the Aragonese soldiers are exchanged for Moorish soldiers-a "crescendo" effect to be sure, even if a short one consisting of only two scenes.

## Orontea

The Cicognini crescendo is much more apparent in Orontea, where by the final scene of the opera all of the characters of the plot proper are on stage, even if some are present only silently.

Cicognini's second-most famous libretto behind Giasone had a considerable number of productions and revivals throughout Italy in the seventeenth century. It has received surprisingly little direct attention amidst the revival of interest in Cicognini that has taken place among
scholars in the past twenty years. ${ }^{98}$ Based on a pre-existing play by Cicognini titled Adamira overo la statua dell'honore, written sometime after 1646 (itself, like Don Gastone, based on elements from several Spanish plays: Lope de Vega's El perro del hortelano and his El mármol de Felisardo, as well as Calderón de la Barca's Darlo todo y no dar nar nada and El pintor de su deshonra), ${ }^{99}$ Orontea was apparently written hastily, after Giasone's libretto had been completed, and set to music by Francesco Lucio for its 1649 premiere. It was a setting by another composer, Antonio Cesti, that saw a large number of performances outside of Venice. ${ }^{100}$

## Table 3.7: Cast of Characters for Orontea (OPERA Proper)

Orontea, Queen of Egypt
Creonte, philosopher, tutor to queen
Silandra, lady of the court
Corindo, gentleman of the court
Gelone, buffoon
Tibrino, valet
Aristea, old woman
Alidoro, believed to be Aristea's son, and discovered to be Floridano, son of King Sidonio of Phoenicia
Giacinta, slave girl in man's clothing under the name of Ismero
Soldiers of the royal guard

Among the cast (Table 3.7) is Orontea who, despite her strong objections to love, has fallen in love with the painter Alidoro, who reciprocates her affections (he first appeared at the palace with his mother Aristea after having been waylaid by a mysterious assassin). Silandra, up

[^93]until now head over heels in love with Corindo, sees Alidoro and immediately abandons Corindo for the painter, who blithely encourages her attentions. Orontea, now threatened by Silandra's beauty, feels herself falling helplessly in love with Alidoro, and begins to experience jealousy. In the meantime, the assassin Ismero, who is in fact Orontea's diguised former servant Giacinta, recently escaped from slavery in a neighboring kingdom, is now being courted by Aristea (who is attracted to the person she thinks is Ismero) while at the same time is beginning herself to fall for Alidoro. Orontea, continuing to feel jealousy at Silandra's pursuit of Alidoro, rages at the painter so forcefully that he faints. The queen, remorseful now, relents and leaves him a letter telling him she has decided to marry him. But upon consultation with her advisor Creonte, she realizes that she must marry a nobleman for the sake of the realm. Alidoro is disappointed, but immediately returns to Silandra, who now keeps him at arm's length and wishes to be reunited with Corindo (remember him?). Giacinta, still trying to escape Aristea's attentions, gives Alidoro a medallion that Aristea had given to Ismero. When the pendant turns out to be in fact a royal medallion, Alidoro is at first accused of theft, but upon Aristea's explanation that she had found him as a baby with the medallion around his neck after he had been kidnapped by a band of pirates led by her husband, it is revealed that Alidoro is in fact Floridano, the long-lost son of the King of Phoenicia. Orontea is then free to marry him, and Silandra and Corindo are reconciled.

As seen in Table 3.8 illustrating Act III, the progression of the Cicognini crescendo toward the end, beginning from III.24, is purely plot-driven in a way that Zoraida's abrupt change of heart at the end of Celio's Act III did not support. The revelations in this case come piecemeal, as each character who joins the rest on stage has something to contribute to the unfolding narrative. Like Giasone's terminus, in fact, the scenes in this crescendo that lead up to the final scene are short, often consisting of rapid exchanges between two characters-question and answer-before the full revelation and final denouement occurs in the extensive final scene.

Table 3.8: Orontea, Act III Character Distribution and Scene Synopsis
([Bracketed characters] do not speak in the scene)

| III. 1 | Silandra | Silandra pines after Alidoro. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| III. 2 | Alidoro, Silandra | Alidoro, sure that he will marry Orontea and become king, lords it over Silandra and rejects her. |
| III. 3 | Tibrino, Gelone | The court's valet and jester comment on the kingdom's disarray and the queen's loveinduced madness. |
| III. 4 | Creonte, Orontea | Creonte convinces his queen that she must not marry a commoner; she agrees to forsake Alidoro. |
| III. 5 | Orontea | Alone, Orontea rages at the politics that have barred her from marrying Alidoro. |
| III. 6 | Alidoro, Orontea, [Silandra aside, observing] | Orontea takes the letter that she has written to Alidoro and rips it in his presence, thereby rejecting him. |
| III. 7 | Alidoro | In shock, Alidoro consoles himself with the fact that Silandra must still love him. |
| III. 8 | Alidoro, Silandra | She doesn't. |
| III. 9 | Alidoro | Miserable, he sings about the fallibility of a woman's constancy. |
| III. 10 | Gelone | Now that Silandra is over Alidoro, she sends Gelone to give Corindo a letter she has drafted. |
| III. 11 | Corindo, Gelone | Corindo reads the letter, in which she begs for his forgiveness. |
| III. 12 | Tibrino, Gelone, Corindo | Unmoved, Corindo seeks only vengeance against Alidoro for having stolen Silandra's heart. |
| III. 13 | Gelone, Tibrino | The two servants share a comic interlude wondering about the repercussions of vengeance against Alidoro. |
| III. 14 | Aristea | Aristea pines for Ismero. |
| III. 15 | Giacinta | Giacinta/Ismero pines for Alidoro. |
| III. 16 | Aristea, Giacinta | Pursuing Ismero, Aristea gifts him with a pretty medallion despite his gentle rejection of her advances, and succeeds in stealing a kiss in return for the medallion. |
| III. 17 | Aristea | Aristea exults in the kiss. |
| III. 18 | Corindo | Corindo continues to rage about Alidoro. |
| III. 19 | Tibrino, Corindo | Tibrino brings Corindo a letter from Alidoro. |

Table 3.8 (Continued)
$\left.\left.\begin{array}{|l|l|l|}\hline \text { III.20 } & \text { Corindo } & \begin{array}{l}\text { In the letter, Alidoro mocks Corindo and } \\ \text { challenges him to a duel, driving the courtier } \\ \text { to even greater rage at the painter's } \\ \text { presumption. }\end{array} \\ \hline \text { III.21 } & \text { Alidoro, Giacinta } & \begin{array}{l}\text { Giacinta, revealing herself as a woman to } \\ \text { Alidoro, passes onto him the medallion that } \\ \text { his mother had given her. }\end{array} \\ \hline \text { III.22 } & \text { Alidoro, [Gelone aside, observing] } & \begin{array}{l}\text { Alidoro wonders at the follies of an older } \\ \text { woman in love. }\end{array} \\ \hline \text { III.23 } & \text { Gelone } & \begin{array}{l}\text { Gelone recognizes the medallion and } \\ \text { concludes that Alidoro has stolen it. }\end{array} \\ \hline \text { III.24 } & \text { Orontea, Corindo } & \begin{array}{l}\text { Corindo complains about Alidoro's challenge } \\ \text { to Orontea, who exasperatedly proclaims } \\ \text { Alidoro a knight so that the two can duel. }\end{array} \\ \hline \text { III.25 } & \text { Creonte, Orontea, [Corindo] } & \begin{array}{l}\text { Creonte interrupts with a dispute: Alidoro is } \\ \text { a thief, not worthy to be a knight. }\end{array} \\ \hline \text { III.26 } & \text { Silandra, Orontea, [Creonte, Corindo] } & \begin{array}{l}\text { Silandra explains that Alidoro is in possession } \\ \text { of Orontea's royal medallion. }\end{array} \\ \hline \text { III.27 } & \begin{array}{l}\text { Gelone, Orontea, [Silandra, Creonte, } \\ \text { Corindo] }\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { Gelone explains that he espied the painter } \\ \text { with the medallion in hand. }\end{array} \\ \hline \text { III.28 } & \begin{array}{l}\text { Tibrino, [Gelone, Silandra, Creonte, } \\ \text { Orontea, Corindo] }\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { Tibrino announces that Alidoro has been } \\ \text { arrested and is being brought to her. }\end{array} \\ \hline \text { III.29 } & \begin{array}{l}\text { Alidoro, Orontea, Creonte, [Tibrino, } \\ \text { Gelone, Silandra, Corindo, Soldiers] }\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { Alidoro demands to know what crime he has } \\ \text { committed; Creonte points out the } \\ \text { similarities between Alidoro's "stolen" } \\ \text { medallion and his own, given to him by } \\ \text { Orontea's father; Alidoro explains that Ismero } \\ \text { gave him the medallion in his possession. }\end{array} \\ \hline \text { III.31 } & \begin{array}{l}\text { Aristea, Orontea, Tibrino, Creonte, } \\ \text { Silandra, [Giacinta, Gelone, Corindo, } \\ \text { Alidoro, Soldiers] }\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { Giacinta, Orontea, Gelone, [Alidoro, } \\ \text { Creonte, Tibrino, Corindo, Silandra, } \\ \text { Soldiers] }\end{array} \\ \begin{array}{l}\text { Giacinta affirms that she gave Alidoro that } \\ \text { medallion, and explains that Aristea had } \\ \text { previously given it to her. }\end{array} \\ \hline \text { that this last copy had been given to the King } \\ \text { of Phoenicia, and that Alidoro must be } \\ \text { Florindo, his long-lost son. He and Orontea } \\ \text { can now marry, and Corindo relinquishes his } \\ \text { anger and is reconciled with Silandra. }\end{array} \right\rvert\, \begin{array}{l}\text { Aristea explains the story: a kidnapped baby } \\ \text { with medallion in hand was raised as her own } \\ \text { son; Orontea learns that her own copy of the }\end{array}\right\}$

Unlike Celio and Giasone, or even Don Gastone, Orontea's final scene lacks an emotional plea by a character (Zoraida, Isifile, and Don Merichex respectively) that brings about the final reconciliation. Rather, in this case the plot device-admittedly well-worn throughout the history of prose and lyrical theater-of a long-lost child in possession of a royal emblem serves to bring about the resolution of the story. Indeed, William Holmes' discussion of the plot, if affectionate, incorporates a winking eye at the reader with comments like "[s]cenes rush by in Act III to bring the plot to its happy and somewhat forced conclusion," or "by one of the oldest dramatic ploys," and "in an improbable act of noblesse oblige...." ${ }^{101}$ It is worth reiterating, however, that Orontea was the second most performed opera during the seventeenth century, behind Cicognini's own Giasone. The erstwhile playwright must have been doing something right to have achieved sustained interest in a libretto like Orontea; perhaps part of the caprice and delight which he publicly admitted in composing for his Seicento-Venetian-audiences derived from the mixture of classic plot devices with a judicious maintenance of suspense, unmatched by other librettists of his time.

## Giasone

As in Orontea, the suspense in Act III of Giasone is built and perpetuated by a misunderstanding that occurs halfway through the act; in the former case, the misunderstanding centers around Alidoro's possession of a royal medallion that members of Orontea's court think belongs to her. In the latter, the misunderstanding centers on a case of mistaken identity, brought about as the result of a late arrival. Giasone as well, then, relies on a well-worn plot device to spin out its drama.

[^94]Cicognini's most often performed and published libretto is a rarity within his dramatic output, in that it is based on a Greek myth - that of Jason and the Argonauts. ${ }^{102}$ The use of such source material for librettos was common in Venice at the time, ${ }^{103}$ and must have encouraged Cicognini to do the same. He continued to draw from Spanish plays, however, extracting plot elements from works such as Lope de Vega's La viuda valenciana, El vellocino de oro, La fuerza lastimosa, this last of which also contains a case of mistaken identity (and, like Giasone, also leads to an erroneous murder attempt). ${ }^{104}$ Table 3.9 below lists the characters:

## Table 3.9: Cast of Characters for Giasone (Opera Proper)

Giasone, leader of the Argonauts
Ercole, one of the Argonauts
Besso, captain of Giasone's guard
Isifile, Queen of Lemnos
Oreste, her confidante
Alinda, [her] handmaiden
Medea, Queen of Colchis
Delfa, [her] nurse
Rosmina, garden girl
Egeo, King of Athens
Demo, servant ${ }^{105}$
Chorus of Argonauts
Chorus of Soldiers
Chorus of Sailors

[^95]Giasone, who fathered twin sons with Isifile the queen of Lemnos, has subsequently abandoned her and traveled on to Colchis in his ongoing quest for the Godlen Fleece. There, he has enjoyed relations with an unidentified woman for a year now, fathering another set of twin sons with her. This woman is the sorceress Medea, queen of Colchis. She is deeply enamored of Giasone, having rejected her former suitor Egeo, the king of Athens, when seeing our hero for the first time. After revealing herself to Giasone and declaring their mutual adoration, she conjures fell magics and obtains an ensorcelled ring to aid him in his quest for the Golden Fleece.

Meanwhile, Isifile has been searching for her husband, and arrives with her children and retinue in Caucasian Iberia. Upon finding out from her servant Oreste that Giasone has fallen in love with another woman, she resolves to kill her rival.

Having successfully acquired the Golden Fleece, Giasone and the Argonauts decide to sail to Corinth with Medea in tow. In the meanwhile, the gods have taken notice: Giove, a progenitor of Isifile, is offended both at Giasone's treatment of his descendant, as well as his despoilment of the sacred fleece. Rather than sending a storm to drown the Argonauts, Amore convinces him to keep the Argo at Caucasian Iberia; a scorned and betrayed wife is the greatest possible punishment for a wayward husband. On their way to Corinth, then, Giasone and Medea end up in same country as Isifile. During their climactic initial confrontation, Giasone debunks Isifile's claims that they were lovers by claiming in turn that she is a madwoman.

Later, Isifile happens upon the couple, sleeping in an open camp, and awakens Giasone, who promises to return to her if she will leave without disturbing Medea. Medea in fact overhears this, and in a whispered aside to Giasone, forces him to swear that he will have Isifile killed. Giasone then instructs Isifile to meet his henchman Besso at a nearby cliff during the night, to ask if Giasone's orders have been carried out, and then report the answer to Giasone. The question is in fact a signal for Besso to throw the speaker off the cliff into the sea. But because Isifile is
delayed by Oreste, Medea, curious to confirm her rival's death, arrives at the location before the intended victim and asks Besso if Giasone's orders (to kill Isifile) have been carried out. After being thrown into the sea, she is rescued by none other than her rejected suitor Egeo, who has been following her. Pledging her love to her savior, Medea goads Egeo into a frenzy by deducing that Giasone must have intended her to be killed. Just as Egeo attempts to kill a sleeping Giasone, Isifile grabs the knife from him and is promptly arrested as a murderer. Giasone, upset at seeing her still alive, is told that Medea died instead, and is then further discomfited when Medea shows up claiming that she now owes her affection to Egeo. Initially protesting Medea's exhortation that he return to his own wife, Giasone is won over by Isifile's emotional, guilt-inducing pleas. The opera ends with the proper pairs of lovers happily reunited.

As Table 3.10 below shows, the Cicognini crescendo at the end of Act III of Giasone, beginning in III.16, is somewhat shorter than that in Orontea, comprising six scenes instead of eight. This is partly because by this point, Medea and Egeo have already reconciled, thus removing one pair of lovers from the knot and leaving only Giasone to reconcile with Isifile. Moreover, in the final grand sweet toward the denouement of Orontea the servants join the action, with Gelone and Tibrino each given a scene that contributes to the unfolding drama. In Giasone, only Besso contributes to the developing suspense at the end of Act III, as he had been instrumental in causing it in the first place by throwing the wrong queen off a cliff, and must therefore explain himself to his boss.

Table 3.10: Giasone, Act III Character Distribution and Scene Synopsis
([Bracketed characters] do not speak in the scene)

| III.1 | Oreste, Delfa | Isifile's and Medea's servants compare notes on their <br> mistresses. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| III.2 | Medea, Giasone | Medea and Giasone sing each other to sleep in a glade. |

Table 3.10 (CONTINUED)

| III.3 | Medea, Giasone, Oreste | While the two lovers are asleep, Oreste comes upon them <br> and envies their bliss. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| III.4 | Isifile, Giasone, Medea | Confronted by Isifile, Giasone promises her his love; then <br> vows to Medea to have her killed. |
| III.5 | Besso, Giasone | Giasone orders Besso to kill the first woman (intending <br> Isifile) to ask about his orders. |
| III.6 | Egeo, Demo | Demo encounters Egeo, who has survived an earlier storm <br> in Act II. |
| III.7 | Isifile | Isifile rejoices at her coming reunion with Giasone, who <br> she is convinced loves her. |
| III.8 | Oreste, Isifile | Oreste asks his mistress to feed her children first; she agrees <br> (and is therefore delayed). |
| III.9 | Medea | Medea rages about Isifile, chafes with impatience at her <br> death at the hands of Besso. |
| III.10 | Delfa | Delfa tries to calm her mistress. <br> III.11 Medea, Besso, Soldiers | | Medea asks if Giasone's orders were carried out; Besso |
| :--- |
| obediently has her captured to be thrown off a cliff. |$|$| III.12 | Isifile, Besso | Isifile arrives and asks the same question; Besso storms off, <br> saying that he only kills one queen a day. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| III.13 | Egeo, Medea (offstage) | Egeo hears Medea nearby curse Giasone as she is thrown <br> off a cliff. |
| III.14 | Besso, Giasone | Besso reports he has killed a queen; thinking it to be Isifile, <br> Giasone is nonetheless wracked with guilt. |
| III.15 | Medea, Egeo | Medea is rescued by Egeo; she pledges him her loyalty and <br> love; he pledges to kill Giasone. |
| III.16 | Giasone | A grief-stricken Giasone faints, overcome by remorse. |
| III.17 | Egeo, Giasone | Egeo approaches a sleeping Giasone, and readies his dagger <br> to kill him. |
| III.18 | Isifile, Egeo, Giasone | Isifile appears and seizes the dagger; Egeo flees as Giasone <br> is awakened by the commotion. |
| III.19 | Besso, Giasone, Isifile, Soldiers] | Giasone is confused and not a little unhappy to see Isifile <br> alive; Besso explains that he killed Medea. |
| III.20 | Medea, Besso, Giasone, <br> Isifile, [Soldiers] | Medea appears, and the confusion of mistaken identities is <br> made clear. |
| III.21 | Egeo, Medea, Besso, <br> Giasone, Isifile, [Soldiers,] <br> (later the servants) | Egeo returns and reveals his identity as would-be assassin; <br> Giasone yearns for Medea, but is moved by Isifile's <br> impassioned pleas, and is reconciled with her. |

All of the characters participate in this crescendo-there are no silent bystanders among the named cast as there are in Don Gastone, Celio, and Orontea-with the exception of Ercole (that
is, Hercules). He is the only character to remain off-stage throughout this final push, if not the entire act, even when the servants (Alinda, Delfa, Oreste, and Demo) appear after the final reconciliation between Giasone and Isifile to add their levity to the proceedings. It is curious that Cicognini would have forgotten about Ercole, in effect writing him off the show. There is, however, a brief reference to him by Besso in III.5, advising Giasone that Ercole was awaiting him, along with the other Argonauts, by the same palace ruins that would serve as the backdrop for the opera's denouement. The "Soldiers" (Soldati) indicated in III.21, then, must have included Ercole among their silent numbers; an unworthy destiny for the grizzled veteran of his own mythological story arc.

Ercole, though, essentially functions as the opera's curmudgeon, begrudging Giasone's amorous relationships throughout the opera (I.1, I.2, II.11), and even before the curtain rises: the Argomento, providing the antefatto material, states that it was Ercole who originally advised Giasone to leave Isifile's loving embrace and forge ahead to Colchis and the Golden Fleece. In such a role, there would have been nothing positive for him to add, even as a straight man (to Besso, for example, as Ercole essentially was in I.1), in counterpoint to what was meant to be a jubilant celebration at the end of an opera in the midst of a raucous Carnival season. Ultimately, it may have been beyond the purview of even Cicognini, bringer of delight to his audiences, to win over Ercole, as Giasone had been, by Isifile's moving appeal to the eponymous hero's compassion.

## Cicognini and Giovanni Faustini: A Case Study

How were other librettists in Venice constructing their dramas? How did Cicognini, originally a playwright from Florence with an obsession for Spanish plays, achieve such widespread circulation and performance of his works when the average opera in Venice saw the stage for only one season and rarely was brought to other cities? To answer these questions, this
section takes a closer look at one of Venice's most prolific librettists during the 1640s, Giovanni Faustini (1615-51). In an era during which libretto authors were still establishing the rules of this new public genre, and shied away from regarding themselves strictly as librettists (instead referring to themselves by their primary profession, often in the law field), he was a singular figure who avowed his career to the theater-going public: professional librettist. ${ }^{106}$

Faustini's collaboration with Francesco Cavalli resulted in ten librettos over the decade spanning 1642 to 1652, a crucial period in which plot structures in Venetian opera-until this point quite varied-were codified and standardized under Faustini's pen. Taking pre-existing material from literary and theatrical genres such as the pastoral and romance, as well as commedia dell'arte and even other librettos, ${ }^{107}$ Faustini fashioned plots based on devices that would not have been unfamiliar to Cicognini: two pairs of lovers initially separated who are reunited after numerous obstacles, the "effeminate" hero, mistaken identities, misunderstandings, scenes of recognition, sleep, and madness, and many others. Owing to pressures from impresarios (Faustini himself would assume that function later in life) driven by a seasonal market, librettos had to be quickly produced and then subjected to the practical demands of singers and composers, in addition to those of the impresarios themselves. As a result, one can imagine a large board filled with individual cards containing premises and plot devices that the librettist would then choose at random in constructing a new and almost certainly unique story.

Having established the skeleton of the libretto, the next step would be to flesh it out with characters. Beyond the central figures forming the two pairs of lovers, there had to be ancillary ones as well, such as servants, nurses, tutors, philosophers, and advisors. Relationships had to be

[^96]planned out between many, if not all of these figures, which would then be complicated in some fashion in order to create dramatic "grease" to oil the central plot's gears. The story, taking an initial imbalance as its starting point, would then further entangle the plot by means of ambiguities and thus sustain the suspense throughout the three acts until balance was finally restored at the end; in the meantime, though, these twists and turns had to be clearly conveyed to the audience so as to allow them to follow along.

Given the multiple plots (and plot twists), as well as the two or three set changes that often took place within each act, it is clear that to Venetians like Faustini, the Aristotelian unities so valued in the Renaissance had fallen by the wayside, just as they had for the Spanish dramatists of the late sixteenth century as well as Florentine playwrights like Cicognini (both father and son). This gives the lie to the Arcadian Crescimbeni's accusation that Giasone was at the root of the improprieties of Seicento Venetian opera: the Venetians had been mixing high and low characters well before Cicognini arrived on the scene. Of course, from Crescimbeni's perspective, Giasone had been the most high-profile work of the century, and thus presented an easy target for him and his fellow Arcadians.

In any case, Faustini, working independently of Cicognini even after the erstwhile playwright arrived in Venice, ${ }^{108}$ seems to have already established a format for his libretto plots: motivated by an initial imbalance (usually separation), driven by a succession of misunderstandings and ambiguities, smoothed out by adroit character placement in prototypical liaisons de scènes, and

[^97]ultimately resolved into a happy ending in keeping with the libertine atmosphere of the Venetian carnival season.

La virtù de' strali d'Amore
Faustini's first libretto was titled La virtù de' strali d'Amore (1642), ${ }^{109}$ set to music by Cavalli and premiered the same year at the Teatro San Cassiano. Based on figures from Greek mythology, its cast of characters is truly extensive, including seven gods, two "allegories" (Caprice and Pleasure) that appear in the Prologue, fourteen humans (who themselves are divided into eight nobles and their six servants), and five "choruses" representing different factions. True to the formula described above, the plot involves two pairs of lovers, Pallante and Cleria, and Meonte and Erabena, who are initially estranged from one another. The plot's twists and turns run the gamut: disguise, abduction, and recognition all serve to move the story along, with the central plot device being, as suggested by the title, Amore's (Cupid's) arrows. Unlike Giasone, where the gods ultimately have no impact on the story's events, here they are involved in the plot, often interacting directly with the mortals. The final seven scenes of Act III are particularly noteworthy, as they seem to form a crescendo pattern similar to Cicognini's Venetian librettos (Table 3.11).

## Table 3.11: LA VIRTÙ DE' STRALI D'AMORE, III.11-16 CHARACTER DISTRIBUTION

| III. 11 | Pallante |
| :--- | :--- |
| III. 12 | Darete, Pallante |
| III. 13 | Meonte, Eumete, Pallante, Darete |
| III.14 | Cleandra, Meonte, Pallante, Eumete, Darete |
| III. 15 | Evagora, Darete, Pallante, Meonte, Cleandra, Eumete |
| III.16 | Amore, Venere, Psiche |

[^98]In this seven-scene arc, Pallante rescues Darete (brother of Cleria, who now loves Pallante because she was pricked with one of Amore's arrows) from the thrall of the sorceress Ericlea. Meonte, erstwhile lover of Cleria, arrives on the scene seeking revenge against Pallante for having taken Cleria away from him, and is accompanied by Eumete, who in reality is Erabena the daughter of the King of Athens and who is in love with Meonte. As Pallante and Meonte prepare to duel for Cleria's hand, Cleandra, another sorceress (and a friend of Meonte), appears on stage and reveals that Pallante and Meonte are in fact long-lost brothers. Evagora, father of Cleria and Darete and King of Cyprus, then appears, is reunited with Darete (who, again, had up until this scene arc been under the thrall of the sorceress Ericlea), and accepts the now-chastened Meonte's fealty. All seems well, as now Pallante is free to love Cleria (whom Meonte has ceded to his brother), and Meonte and Eumete/Erabena are now available for each other. The final scene features Cupid, Venus, and Psyche (Cupid's wife), the three gods rejoicing that all is well once again.

Several issues seem to remain unresolved, or at least unaddressed: for example, where is Cleria in the midst of all of the rejoicing in the final denouement? Unlike Ercole in Giasone, a secondary character whose presence on stage is at least implied, Cleria, a primary character, is nowhere to be found. She was last seen in III.6, begging her restored loved Pallante to remain with her. Perhaps it is fitting, then, that Meonte and Eumete/Erabena do not have a "moment" together after it is discovered that he and Pallante are brothers. Indeed, III.14, the scene of this revelation, centers on the brothers' reunion, and the following scene centers on another reunion-that of Evagora and Darete, capped by Meonte's offer of fealty to the king. ${ }^{110}$ While it

[^99]is implied that Pallante will return home to Cleria, and that Meonte and Eumete/Erabena will get together, there is no rapprochement between the second pair as there is between both pairs of lovers in either Giasone or Orontea. I would thus argue that the crescendo effect seen here does not tie up all loose ends quite as neatly as do Cicognini's two Venetian librettos. It is worth remembering that La virtù was Faustini's first libretto: all the plot elements that would eventually become standard operating procedure are present here, even if they are not executed to perfection.

## Eritrea

To this end, it is worth examining Faustini's last libretto, Eritrea (1652), ${ }^{111}$ written after Cicognini had arrived in Venice (and subsequently died), and credited with being the product of Cicognini's influence (despite Faustini's potential dig at Cicognini, discussed earlier). ${ }^{112}$ This work also

| Euag. | Darete? amato figlio? | Darete? Beloved son? |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Dar. | Genitor riverito? | Revered parent? |
| Eu. | Io pur t'abbraccio, io pur t'unisco al seno ad onta di colei, che fece scaturir, come da un fonte, da' tuoi martivi indegni, i pianti miei. | I truly embrace you, I truly join you to my bosom in spite of her, who caused to gush forth, like a fountain, from your undeserving torments, my tears. |
| Dar. | Ch'io respiri, Signore, libero dagl'incanti | The fact that I breathe, my Lord, free from those enchantments |
| Eu. | è qui del trace prencipe valore. <br> Oh quanto devo a la tua destra invitta, invittissimo eroe, per te sen cade ogni mia doglia lacera, e trafitta... | is due to the valor of this Thracian prince. Oh how I am indebted to your dextrous might, you indomitable hero; you have caused to fall away all my lacerating and tearing pain... |

From this excerpt, one might imagine that "Eu." was in fact Evagora, first rejoicing at his reunion with his son, and then praising the hero Pallante for his role in rescuing Darete. Badolato's edition, however, gives all lines of dialogue assigned to "Eu." in the libretto to Eumete. The scene reads quite differently if it is Eumete/Erabena, daughter of the King of Athens and thus of no direct relation to Darete, speaking to Evagora's son (indeed, the Athenian princess and the Cypriate prince never share a scene in this opera before III.15). Perhaps Meonte's subsequent offer of fealty might be interpreted differently if directed at Eumete rather than Evagora, but there is no romantic language contained within this scene until Eumete's (that is, "Eum.") final aria, "Breath, my heart, rejoice!" (Mio core respira, gioisci sù, sù).
${ }^{111}$ For a more thorough discussion of this libretto, see Christopher John Mossey, "'Human after all': Character and Self-Understanding in Operas by Giovanni Faustini and Francesco Cavalli, 1644-52" (Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University, 1999), 371-515 (scene-by-scene plot synopsis from 380-86).
${ }^{112}$ Grove Music Online, s.v. "Faustini, Giovanni" (by Thomas Walker, Beth L. Glixon and Jonathan E. Glixon), http://www.oxfordmusic online/ (accessed December 16, 2013). Of the bibliographical references listed in the
involves a complex plot, although the number of characters has been pared down significantly from that of La virtù: only twelve human characters (four of them noble), and no gods except for the two that appear in the Prologue (Boreas and Iris), and eight choruses with no speaking part. Plot devices in this opera include recognition, falsely declared love, false identities (including transvestism), and a siege. Predictably, the four noble characters form the two pairs of lovers: Theramene and Eritrea, and Eurimedonte and Laodicea. Their descriptions in the list of characters is worth reproducing here in Table 3.12 for their completeness:

## Table 3.12: Eritrea, Partial Cast of Characters

Eurimedonte: Prince of Egypt, who having secretely given Eritrea a promise of marriage, has subsequently fallen in love with Laodicea.
Laodicea: Queen of Phoenicia, in love with and betrothed to Eritrea, who is widely believed to be Periandro.
Eritrea: Assyrian Princess, disguised as Periandro (the dead king and her brother). Having been promised earlier to be the wife of Theramene, she is in love with Eurimedonte. In her guise as King Periandro, Eritrea is betrothed to Laodicea in order to draw closer to her beloved Egyptian Eurimedonte who, having forgotten her, is now in love with the Phoenician queen (Laodicea).
Theramene: Assyrian Prince who believes Eritrea (whose hand in marriage had been promised to him by the dead Periandro) to be dead. He still loves her, however, and from this becomes mad. ${ }^{113}$

In this particular libretto, the crescendo effect begins in III.11, and as seen in Table 3.13 extends until III. 15 (there is no Epilogue featuring the gods):

[^100]Table 3.13: ERITREA, III.11-15 Character Distribution

| III. 11 | Theramene |
| :--- | :--- |
| III. 12 | Eritrea, Theramene |
| III. 13 | Laodicea, Eritrea, Theramene |
| III. 14 | Eurimedonte, Laodicea, Eritrea, Theramene |
| III.[15] (Ultima) | Dione, Niconida, Misena, Eritrea, Eurimedonte, Theramene, Laodicea |

The final sweep to the opera's denouement begins with Theramene alone, mourning the presumed death of Eritrea in the earlier Assyrian siege. Eritrea, in hiding after having faked the death of "Periandro," reveals herself to Theramene, her husband, who rejoices upon their reunion as husband and wife. Laodicea enters, still in mourning over the death of "Periandro," and seeing Eritrea (and believing her to be Periandro), approaches; Eritrea denies knowing Laodicea, much to the Phoenician queen's consternation. Upon Eurimedonte's arrival in the following scene, he accuses "Periandro" of faking his own death, and pretending to be Eritrea, in order to take Laodicea for himself. When Eritrea attempts to explain the situation, Eurimedonte raises his sword to her, but is interrupted by the entrance of Dione (the Phoenician captain), who drags in Nicomida (the defeated Assyrian captain). Nicomida, under questioning by Eritrea, explains all: that Periandro in fact died, and that Eritrea pretended to be Periandro in order to conserve the kingdom of Assyria (which had strict laws against female rulers). Eritrea asks Eurimedonte, Theramene, and Laodicea to forgive her deception, which they readily do. Laodicea agrees to accept Eurimedonte as her consort, and the two pairs of lovers rejoice.

It is apparent from this example that after a decade spent writing librettos, Faustini exerts much stronger control over the disparate threads of the plot, and (for the purposes of this discussion) is particularly conscious not only of (re)uniting the two pairs of lovers, but having them all appear on stage together. Although not all of the ancillary characters appear on stage, the important ones are present: the four nobles, as well as the two captains who are instrumental in
unraveling the confusion caused by Eritrea's reappearance (Dione in interrupting Eurimedonte's attempted attack against Eritrea, and Nicomida in clarifying the backstory).

Although the scenes leading up to the denouement are not made up of short rapidfire exchanges in the style of Cicognini, a great deal in this six-scene arc is still reminiscent of the Florentine dramatist's work, particularly Giasone. Dione's line in III.15, "You will die, traitor" ("Morrai tu, traditore") evokes Isifile's line to Egeo in III. 18 of Giasone, "You will die, villain!" ("Tu morrai, scelerato!"), a parallel that would not have gone unnoticed among audience members who had seen Cicognini's opera. There is also the matter of the death under false pretenses in Eritrea and its impact on the other characters, a plot device not exactly identical to the circumstances underlying Medea's attempted murder, but evocative of it nonetheless. While the impassioned plea by Isifile has no exact analogue here (Eurimedonte, who until now has loved Laodicea in vain, and is therefore the closest in affect to Isifile, does not have a similarly emotional monologue), Eritrea's eloquent words move the nobles to forgiveness, just as Giasone is moved to reconcile with Isifile (and King Pietro in Don Gastone is moved to reform his tyrannical ways).

Most important is the mechanism of the crescendo, handled more adroitly by Faustini here, in which, one at a time, a character is added in each successive scene until the final scene in which come on stage. This may be partly attributed to the mechanism of the plot: Eritrea's denouement is catalyzed by the big revelation in the final scene, whereas the dramatic burden in Giasone's final scene is placed squarely on Isifile's shoulders. That is, Faustini prioritizes his characters' emotions over the course of the Act III crescendo in Eritrea, portraying first Theramene's reaction upon seeing Eritrea (III.12), then Laodicea's upon seeing "Periandro" (III.13), and finally Eurimedonte upon seeing "Periandro" dressed as Eritrea, reserving the final explication for the final scene. Cicognini, in contrast, emphasizes a piecemeal sequence of revelations: first that Isifile still lives (III.16-18), then why she still lives (III.20), and finally who
made the attempt on Giasone's life (III.21), reserving the emotional outpouring and reaction for that final scene.

Given Faustini's use of a crescendo technique ten years earlier in La virtù, even if to more limited efficacy from a structural and a dramatic standpoint, it is safe to say that Cicognini was not the first one to have used it. ${ }^{114}$ I would argue, however, that the Florentine dramatist's distinctive execution, especially in his two Venetian librettos, provisionally justifies (pending further research on other librettists, as well as a more exhaustive examination of Cicognini's and Faustini's dramatic output) the term "Cicognini crescendo." As for the matter of Cicognini's possible influence on Faustini in spite of the latter's reservations against the Florentine's irreverent and capricious attitude toward librettistic composition, I believe I have made a compelling argument that Faustini, in Eritrea, was aware of, and influenced by, Giasone and its author.

Ultimately, Cicognini was not solely responsible for the abuses directed toward drama and acting of which Crescimbeni and his colleagues accused him, nor was he entirely responsible for Faustini's development and growth as a librettist in the late 1640s. However, he did leave another legacy that remained long after his death. Rosand attributes to the Florentine dramatist the first clear distinction between recitative (versi sciolti) and aria (versi misurati) in his Giasone. ${ }^{115}$ Perhaps a playwright, working methodically in translating prose to verse as he seems to have done for his Venetian librettos, would have used such a distinction as a compositional aid. And perhaps other librettists (and composers) saw the value in this and adopted it for their own works. In turn, his

[^101]recognition of the power of music to augment his text's emotional value gave us figures like Isifile, the heroine and emotional linchpin of Giasone, and more complex in her characterization than any of his prose-based characters. ${ }^{116}$ If nothing else, Cicognini injected a breath of fresh air to an industry that, while not stagnant, was already becoming ossified in its procedures.
${ }^{116}$ I discuss Cavalli's musical treatment of Isifile and Giasone's other characters in Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

## CHAPTER FOUR

## Elucidating the Drama in Giasone

The aim of this chapter is to investigate Giasone's dramatic structure, using its plot as a starting point and then taking into account the effects of changes made to its scene order. With alterations over the course of four decades of performances during the seventeenth century that included cut, substituted, and shifted scenes, the structural changes over the course of Giasone's performance history were almost certainly made for specific reasonswhether due to patronage and censorship considerations, space limitations, or audience taste. I wish to focus particularly on the inevitable effects that these changes had on the way that Giasone's plot was perceived by its audiences, while showing that the grain of the story-one of love and reconciliation between two couples-remained unchanged. To this end, I focus on modern criteria such as plot logic and scene syntax, in order to bridge the hermeneutical gap with more contemporary modes of thinking about drama.

In its original version, Giasone boasted a cast of sixteen characters in addition to various choruses. Of the sixteen, four are principals-Giasone, Isifile, Medea, and Egeo-while the rest are secondary characters, including the comic relief as well as deities, who comment upon the principal characters' deeds and, to some extent, help to shape and influence the outcome of the events of the opera. ${ }^{1}$ The sheer size of the cast produces a large number of distinct points of view throughout the opera: most center on the principals, but there are also soliloquies and dialogues for the comic characters. Furthermore, the action for most of the first two acts is split into two

[^102]different countries, reflecting the geographical separation between Giasone, Medea and Egeo on the island of Colchis, and Isifile in Caucasian Iberia (modern-day Georgia). ${ }^{2}$

Over the course of the latter half of the seventeenth century, performances of Giasone in different cities made changes that in some cases helped to tighten and consolidate the disparate plot points, as will be seen below. But even the latest production, from 1690, still features a cast of eleven characters. True to its distinction as the century's most performed opera on Italian stages, then, Giasone remains a work with multiple strands and perspectives that elegantly-and coherently—presents a retelling of the classic Greek tragedy that is at times heartbreaking, and at times uproariously bawdy.

## A New Scenario

In order to discuss changes to the scene structure of Giasone in the following sections, I provide here a detailed, scene-by-scene synopsis of Giasone's plot in the spirit of the scenari from that period (if slightly inflated in scope). ${ }^{3}$ The Argomento, part of the libretto's frontmatter, first recounts Giasone's journey with Ercole and the Argonauts to Colchis in search of the Golden Fleece. ${ }^{4}$ Passing through the island of Lemnos, Giasone seduced Isifile, promising to marry her; but on Ercole's advice, abandoned the now-pregnant queen of Lemnos and resumed his journey to Colchis. Isifile, after giving birth to twin sons, fled Lemnos with her children and retainers, and arrived at the mouth of the Ibero river (in Caucasian Iberia, modern-day Georgia). Giasone, in

[^103]the meantime, arrived in Colchis and immediately drew the attention of Medea. The queen of Colchis ended her courtship with Egeo, king of Athens, and disguised herself so that she could enjoy Giasone's amorous attentions without his knowing her true identity. Giasone, enthralled with this mysterious woman, has remained in Colchis for an entire year, putting off his quest for the Golden Fleece, until finally convinced by Ercole to set a date for the acquisition of the Golden Fleece. During this time, Medea has also given birth to twin sons. Back in Caucasian Iberia, Isifile has dispatched her servant Oreste to Colchis, only a few miles away (according to the Argomento), in order to find out what Giasone has been doing. The main plot of the opera begins at dawn on the day set by Giasone and Ercole to acquire the Golden Fleece.
(Prologue) Sole exults that Medea, the queen of Colchis as well as one of his own descendants, has Giasone's love and will marry him this day. Amore refutes this, claiming that Isifile (queen of Lemnos) is Giasone's rightful wife, and that no nuptuals are legitimate without his approval. The two gods agree to champion their respective queens, and to see who will emerge victorious.

ACT I: (I.1) In a royal garden outside a small palace, Ercole, Giasone's friend, and Besso, Giasone's captain, bicker over their leader's nighttime trysts with an unknown woman-he has been at it for a year now. Ercole fears that Giasone's martial prowess has been diminished, while Besso defends Giasone's right to "follow Love" ("d'Amor seguace").
(I.2) As Giasone emerges from the small palace, Ercole confronts him: today is the appointed day for Giasone to fight the horrible monsters of this land in order to obtain the Golden Fleece, and yet he has done nothing but display his "womanish" ("effemminato") will by becoming lover to yet another woman-he must either lay down his weapons and put on a dress, or, if he wishes to be a warrior, grow wiser. Giasone rebuts that he left his previous woman,

Isifile, on Ercole's advice, as love was just a game to him then. Now that he is fully in love's thrall, all other glories are worthless to him.
(I.3) After the three men have left, a young gardener, Rosmina, wonders what they were doing there at this hour. At the same time, the sight of men arouses amorous feelings in her and she resolves to find love for herself.
(I.4) Medea waxes romantic about Giasone her love, before seeing an approaching Egeo, king of Athens and a former suitor whom she had rejected in favor of Giasone. She resolves to withdraw, to flee from "the persistent nuisance" ("l'usato impaccio").
(I.5) Medea spurns Egeo and, despairing, he begs her to kill him with his dagger. She pretends to acquiesce, promising to kill him, but as he closes his eyes in preparation, she calls him mad, throws his dagger on the ground, and leaves. Egeo mourns her faithlessness.
(I.6) Oreste has arrived in Colchis at his mistress Isifile's behest to look for signs of Giasone, and laments being servant to a lovesick mistress.
(I.7) After a series of comic misunderstandings, Oreste is finally able to convey to the stuttering hunchback Demo that he is in search of any news concerning Giasone. Demo promises to tell him all at a nearby inn.
(I.8) Delfa, Medea's old nurse, sings of her resolve to find love; her advanced age will give her an edge. Spying Giasone entering the royal chamber, she calls out for Medea to come quickly so that she may talk to him.
(I.9) Medea, excited to see Giasone, rushes Delfa off with the order not to let anyone see or hear Medea. Delfa exhorts her mistress to be cunning, and "conclude everything" ("concludi il tutto").
(I.10) Giasone, having resolved to fight the monsters guarding the Golden Fleece, has come to commend himself to Medea, queen of the land. Medea accuses him of having despoiled
one of her country's noble maidens, threatening him with death unless he agrees to marry her. Giasone asks if she is of equal birth to him, and fair; Medea bids him wait while she brings the maiden.
(I.11) Alone, Giasone wonders who this unseen beauty is, commanding his eyes not to be dazzled by her radiance. He then sees Medea returning, with Delfa in tow.
(I.12) Medea claims that the old nurse Delfa is the woman with whom Giasone has been sharing a bed for this past year. Giasone laughs, seeing through the ruse: he knows what young flesh feels and smells like. Medea reveals herself to Giasone as his lover, and mother of his twins, and the two express their love for each other.
(I.13) Delfa comments tartly upon the current trend of becoming a mother and raising children before becoming a wife.
(I.14) The setting switches to the mouth of the Ibero river in Caucasian Ibera, where Isifile finds herself. She has been searching for Giasone, and has sent her servant Oreste to nearby Colchis for news of her estranged lover. She anxiously awaits Oreste's return, fearing that he will not come back-yet also fearing that he will, with bad news.
(I.15) Back in Colchis, Medea in her chamber of incantations conjures spirits from the underworld to aid Giasone in his quest for the Golden Fleece. Volano, a demon, provides her with a golden ring that will arm Giasone with valor. Medea ends the scene in triumph, exulting that Giasone will conquer his adversaries.

ACT II: (II.1) Isifile, having heard no news from Oreste, bids her maid Alinda to go to the nearby port to ask for news of him. As her mistress lies down to rest, Alinda sings blithely of her own imperviousness to love's woes, and of the wisdom in having multiple lovers as recourse. She departs, and Isifile chastises her servant for seeking her insane desires ("voglia insana") in vain. She then feels herself falling asleep.
(II.2) Oreste has finally returned to Caucasian Iberia, and finds his mistress asleep and dreaming of Giasone. Seeking to take advantage of the situation, Oreste plays along, working up the courage to kiss her. At the last moment she awakens, and demands to know his news of Giasone. He tells her that Giasone is now in the arms of another woman, and will obtain the Golden Fleece that very day, after which he should pass by their current location on his way back to Corinth. After Oreste leaves, Isifile alternates between anger, despair, and desperate hope. Anger and resolve eventually win out, and she rouses her retinue to ready for departure.
(II.3) Giasone, Medea, and Delfa stand at the entrance to the keep in Colchis where the Golden Fleece is held. Medea gives Giasone the magic ring that will aid him, and charges him to return triumphantly.
(II.4) Giasone marvels at the strength that Medea's ring gives him. He challenges the monsters guarding the Golden Fleece to come out and battle him.
(II.5) Medea frets for Giasone's safety, while her nurse reassures her. Delfa notes that the Argonauts are observing Medea's every move, and wishes to leave, while Medea doesn't care. As they argue about this, Medea notes that Giasone is returning, adorned with the Golden Fleece.
(II.6) After a quick celebration, the Ercole observes the populace, angry at Giasone's acquisition of their artifact, and the Argonauts prepare to leave for Corinth immediately. Medea decides to go with them, forsaking her land and even her own children.
(II.7) Demo, having appeared during the previous scene and quietly observing in the background, reveals to Egeo that Medea has left with Giasone for Corinth, and the two set sail in pursuit, Egeo still resolute in winning his former paramour back.
(II.8) The scene shifts to Eolo's grotto, where Giove and Amore have joined the Master of Winds. Giove is furious that Giasone has despoiled his altar in Colchis and absconded with a sacred object, and moreover has dishonored his granddaughter Isifile. He commands Eolo to
rouse his winds to capsize the Argo and drown the Argonauts. Amore convinces them that it would be an even greater punishment to give Giasone a wife—Isifile specifically—and urges Eolo instead to divert the Argo to the mouth of the Ibero river, where Isifile currently is.
(II.9) At the Ibero river, Oreste and Alinda discuss Isifile's plan to set sail for Colchis to find Giasone, and commiserate over their mistress' lovesickness. They declare their mutual affection, but reassure each other that neither is insane about their love.
(II.10) Eolo's storm has arrived, and Oreste sees Demo floundering in the open sea and being washed ashore. Demo, having been tossed from Egeo's skiff, believes the King of Athens to be drowned (and himself to be a corpse). He tells Oreste that the Argo has set sail, and just then Oreste espies Giasone's ship being driven toward a nearby harbor by the winds. He rushes off to alert Isifile.
(II.11) The Argonauts and Medea, none the worse for the storm, disembark. Leaving Giasone and Medea to their mutual adoration, Ercole goes off to find lodgings.
(II.12) Besso, Giasone's captain, encounters Alinda, Isifile's maid, and the two strike up an amorous flirtation.
(II.13) Oreste approaches Giasone and Medea, and requests an audience with him on Isifile's behalf. Initially reluctant, Giasone acquiesces with a push from Medea. To allay her curiosity about Isifile's identity, the hero concocts a story portraying Isifile as a madwoman who researches the past of every woman who comes to these shores and then pretends that their histories are her own.
(II.14) Isifile confronts Giasone, begging him to return to her. In turn, Medea questions her about her past with him. The two women's histories match perfectly: both are queens, both fell in love with Giasone, both bedded him, both produced twins by him, and both left their countries to follow him. Dismissing Isifile's impassioned pleas, Medea is now convinced that she is
indeed mad, and she and Giasone leave her. Prevented from following by Giasone's soldiers, Isifile rages at her former lover and Medea.

ACT III: (III.1) Oreste and Delfa compare notes about their respective mistresses, marking the similarities in both of their backgrounds, as well as the differences in their current standing with Giasone.
(III.2) Medea and Giasone find themselves in a forested glade, where they share intimate thoughts and fall asleep in each other's arms.
(III.3) Oreste sees the two sleeping lovers, and envies their dreamful bliss.
(III.4) Isifile arrives in the glade, and wakes Giasone up, ready to unleash her rage upon him. Giasone attempts to mollify her, lying that he wishes for nothing more than to return to her arms now that he has acquired the Golden Fleece. He seals this lie with a "chaste conjugal embrace" ("un casto abbracciamento maritale"), and Isifile is convinced of his sincerity. Medea, feigning sleep this entire time, interjects and wishes the couple every possible nuptial bliss, while whispering to Giasone that he had better kill Isifile off after he has married her. Giasone cannot stomach the thought of killing her, and promises Medea that he will have Besso kill her that night. After Medea leaves, mollified, Giasone tells an ecstatic Isifile that he wishes to take her on a secret journey, and urges her to meet Besso at the nearby valley of the Orseno later that night and to ask him, on Giasone's behalf, if what he commanded has been carried out.
(III.5) Alone with Besso, Giasone commands his captain to wait at the valley of the Orseno for a messenger, who will ask him if Giasone's orders have been carried out. Besso is to throw that messenger into the sea without pity or remorse.
(III.6) Egeo, who has survived the storm's wrath, encounters Demo again, and convinces him that he is truly alive and not a ghost.
(III.7) Night has fallen, and Isifile is alone, thrilled in anticipation of being reunited with Giasone. She prepares to leave for the valley of the Orseno.
(III.8) Oreste pleads with his mistress to feed her two babies before leaving. Initially reluctant to take the time to do so, Isifile finally accedes out of pity for her children.
(III.9) At the valley of the Orseno, Medea seethes-with anger and jealousy at Isifile, and impatience at Besso-wondering when Giasone's captain will appear with news that he has killed her rival.
(III.10) Delfa attempts to allay her mistress' jealousy, advising that if her lover enjoys two ladies in a day, Medea should take three lovers in less than an hour.
(III.11) Hearing Besso and his guards approach, and not wishing to let him know that she was complicit in Giasone's plot to kill Isifile, Medea innocently asks him if Giasone's command has been carried out-this, of course, was Giasone's key phrase for Besso. Shocked, the captain orders his men to seize her.
(III.12) Isifile, delayed by feeding her children, arrives to find Besso alone, and repeats Giasone's key phrase dutifully. Besso storms off, praising her good fortune that someone had come before her with the same question, and bids her return to Giasone to tell him that he only kills one queen a day.
(III.13) Egeo hears Medea (offstage) hurling imprecations at Giasone as she is thrown into the sea, and rushes off to rescue her.
(III.14) Giasone, wracked with guilt at sending an innocent woman to her death, has his fears confirmed by Besso. The captain reports that he has killed a queen, and Giasone assumes that it was Isifile.
(III.15) After Egeo has revealed himself as her rescuer, Medea is overcome with gratitude and passion for him, declaring her heart and loyalty to her erstwhile suitor. She insists, however, that he avenge Giasone's betrayal, and Egeo vows to kill him.
(III.16) Giasone continues to be tormented, by an outraged Medea on the one hand, and by the specter of a murdered Isifile. He sinks into sleep, wracked with guilt.
(III.17) Egeo approaches Giasone, readying his dagger.
(III.18) Isifile, nearby, wrests the dagger from Egeo's hand, shouting that he will die.

Giasone awakens as Egeo flees.
(III.19) Giasone's soldiers seize Isifile, presuming her to be the assassin. Isifile reveals herself, and Giasone furiously accuses Besso of having lied. Besso rebuts that he did indeed throw a queen-Medea-into the sea, and that she is now dead.
(III.20) Medea appears and refutes Besso's claim. The captain explains to Giasone that Medea first approached him, asking him if his command had been carried out. He then had her taken captive and thrown into the sea; Medea confirms that all of this happened. Besso continues, describing Isifile's arrival asking the same question, and his refusal to kill more than one queen a day. Giasone is heartbroken that Medea has promised herself to another man, Egeo. Medea nudges him back toward Isifile, and when he demurs at the prospect of reconciling with his presumed assassin, Isifile explains that she was the one who took the dagger from the man who was about to kill him.
(III.21) Egeo returns, answering Giasone's question of who that man was. Hearing that Medea was the one who ordered him to kill her former lover, Giasone bemoans his misfortune at having lost his love. Hearing this, Isifile launches into a heartwrenching monologue detailing her suffering and misadventures for his sake, begging him to kill her slowly, but to remember that he is a father as well, and therefore to permit his children (and hers) one final meal. Turning to

Medea, Egeo, and the rest of those on stage, she asks them to plead with Giasone on her behalf to leave her breasts intact when killing her, so that his children might feed on the cold milk of their dead mother. Isifile closes her lament with the simple statement that although Giasone is her murderer, she loves him. Giasone, overcome, yields to Isifile and begs for a reconciliation with her; Isifile wishes for nothing more. As their servants arrive on stage for their final comic denouement, the two couples bless each other's nuptial bliss. ${ }^{5}$
(III.22) Giove, Amore, and the other gods have congregated: Giove applauds Amore's triumph for his descendant Isifile. Amore exults, bidding Zeffiro to bless the royal weddings, and to honor his triumph.

## Giasone's Dramatic Articulation

In order to discuss Giasone's dramatic structure, I employ a methodological framework that focuses on the concepts of speech acts applied to entire scenes, and of character and location continuities. The concept of speech acts was devised originally by John Langshaw Austin to account for the performative dimension in language. ${ }^{6}$ It employs the key concepts of locution, illocution, and perlocution to break down an utterance's constituent functions. Simply put (and elaborated further below), a locutionary act consists of the utterance itself and its surface meaning, an illocutionary act refers to the utterance's actual intention, and a perlocutionary act is the

[^104]utterance's effect. Austin's model has been subsequently refined by John R. Searle, whose contributions include the classification of five types of illocutionary speech acts: assertives, directives, commissives, expressives, and declaratives, all of which characterize different types of actions that the speaker potentially undertakes by saying something. Searle is also a proponent of the indirect speech act-more specifically, the indirect "illocutionary" act-as another layer to an utterance that separates true intention from apparent intention. ${ }^{7}$

To Marina Sbisà, Searle's complication of Austin is essentially a "one-place model," inherently limited because he prioritizes only the speaker's intention. Instead, Sbisà builds on Austin's speech act theory in a different direction, proposing a "two-place model" that splits the burden of signification between speaker and recipient, rendering the latter an active participant who has the power not only to "select an acceptable interpretation... [but to] either accept the speech act, or... completely or partly reject it"; to Sbisà, then, it takes two to have a conversation. ${ }^{8}$ This model resonates with Austin's concept of felicity conditions that must be met to validate a speech act, although it more explicitly involves the recipient in the equation. Indeed, the most significant aspect of Sbisà's approach, with regard to my chapter, is the equal involvement of two bodies-speaker and recipient--within the formulation of a speech act; below I explore the potential that such an approach has for dramatic situations on stage involving two or more characters.

[^105]Sbisà's overall approach to speech acts has been to expand laterally, ${ }^{9}$ incorporating other theoretical approaches. She is perhaps most successful in having drawn from narrative semioticsa methodology developed by Algirdas Julien Greimas for analyzing action as an agent's bringing about a state of affairs-to formulate a robust model for examining speech acts in broader contexts, for example simply in sequence with each other. ${ }^{10}$ Although it is impossible to distill the breadth of Greimassian narratology within a confined space, one particularly pertinent aspect is his "narrative scheme," a structure that appends to any action a preceding initiative move (what Greimas terms "manipulation") and a following reactive move ("sanction"). This tripartite sequence, consisting of manipulation, action, and sanction, can be mapped onto speech acts: after all, speaking is doing. For Sbisà, the interest seems to lie not in the central action of this narrative scheme-which would be equivalent to Austin's "locution"-so much as in the outer two points of the structure: acts of manipulation, equivalent to illocution ("the Destinator assigns or cancels rights and obligations to or from its Destinees in view of some future action on the part of at least one of the latter"); and acts of sanction, equivalent to perlocution ("they share an orientation towards what has already been done or what is already the case, and react to, or comment upon $i t ") .{ }^{11}$

Other important contributions have solidified the link between speech act theory and opera studies. In particular, Teun van Dijk's notion that a speech act can extend to levels above a single utterance suggests that a single statement may consist of an entire sequence of actions. For

[^106]example, the statement "I'm going to Paris" serves as a "macro-action" that contains myriad component actions (obligatory or optionsl), ranging from reserving seats to buying tickets to traveling to the airport or train station, and so on. ${ }^{12}$ This concept of a "macro-speech act" has in turn been influential in the work of a number of dramatic theorists; among them, Keir Elam has applied this approach to analyses of large speech units in theatrical works consisting of entire exchanges between two characters. ${ }^{13}$ And more recently, Philip Rupprecht ${ }^{14}$ and Mauro Calcagno ${ }^{15}$ have independently employed this methodology on entire opera scenes. Scenes, after all, can act like macro-speech acts in their ability to be summed up by a single, dominant event/utterance on the part of one of the characters on stage-indeed, this is in essence what the printed scenari of the seventeenth century did, providing readers a scene-by-scene summary of the plot.

My discussion of Giasone in this chapter is heavily predicated on this idea that scenes can be summed up as single speech acts, and combined with my newly developed methodologies of character focus and location continuity (defined below), provide a different approach to analyzing an opera's dramatic structure. This opera is particularly compelling because the numerous changes made to scenes as a whole over its first four decades of performance wreak considerable changes

[^107]on the original story's narrative sequence. As a result, determining the progression of scenic speech acts in Giasone allows us to establish a syntactic structure for the opera based on the flow of manipulation and sanction-that is, illocution and perlocution-from scene to scene. This syntax is then altered when existing scenes are shifted or cut, or when new scenes are added.

The concepts of character focus, as well as location continuity, arise from observations about Giasone's structure, and center on who is on stage at any particular point, who is being addressed or talked about, and where they are located within the story's geography-the Venice 1649A libretto published before Giasone's premiere lists eleven distinct set locations, including three separate realms and five different areas within the country (Caucasian Iberia) where the final action takes place. The changes to Giasone over the decades affect these parameters in compelling ways, as I will demonstrate below. These methods of analyzing a theatrical/operatic text are new, although the concept of continuities is certainly not alien to seventeenth-century drama.

Developed by French playwright Pierre Corneille during the middle of the century as an aesthetic device to reinforce the Aristotelian unities (time, place, and action), liaisons des scènes provided a means to maintain an unbroken flow of people onto and off the stage by retaining at least one of the previous scene's character in each following scene. ${ }^{16}$ Indeed, this is yet another type of continuity-one of presentation of character. Liaisons des scènes began to appear in Italian opera over the course of the second half of the seventeenth century; Giasone was not impervious to this French influence by the century's last decade. ${ }^{17}$ While this continuity-based method of analysis

[^108]will be specific to Giasone in this chapter, it also bears potentially fruitful application to other operas from the Baroque and beyond.

## Entabulating Giasone

The following pages provide a tabular summary of Giasone. Table 4.1 enumerates its expansive cast of characters and their roles in the story (Anglicized names are provided where applicable), as well as character type. Table 4.2 lists the eleven locations for which there were distinct sets created at the Teatro San Cassiano in 1649. Finally, Table 4.3 is a scene-by-scene analysis of Giasone's plot, employing the methodologies described above (and elaborated further below) to offer varying perspectives on how Cicognini conceptualized this drama. I have chosen the First Impression of the libretto (Venice 1649A), the pre-premiere version (see Chapter 1), in order to provide a baseline for subsequent study of the structural changes to Giasone across Italy.

## Table 4.1: Giasone, Complete List of Characters



Chorus of Gods
Chorus of WINDS

[^109]TABLE 4.1 (CONTINUED)
Chorus of SPIRITS
Chorus of ARGONAUTS
Chorus of SOLDIERS
Chorus of SAILORS

## TABLE 4.2: GIASONE, LIST OF LOCATIONS (FROM VENICE 1649A)

| La favola si rappresenta parte nell'isola di Colco e parte nelle campagne d'Ibero: | The story is performed partly on the island of Colchis and partly in the countrysides of Caucasian Iberia: |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1. Marina con veduta dell'isola di Colco. | 1. Seashore with a view of the Island of Colchis. |
| 2. Giardino delizioso, con palazzetto contiguo alla reggia. | 2. Delightful garden, with a small palace contiguous to the palace. |
| 3. Sala reale di Colco. | 3. Colchis' royal hall. |
| 4. Campagna con capanne su la foce d'Ibero, con veduta del mare Caspio. | 4. Countryside with huts at the mouth of the Ibero, with a view of the Caspian sea. |
| 5. Appartamenti de gl'incanti di Medea. | 5. Medea's chamber of incantations. |
| 6. Recinto del castello nel quale è custodito il vello d'oro. | 6. Keep of the castle in which the Golden Fleece is guarded. |
| 7. Grotte d'Eolo. | 7. Aeolus' grotto. |
| 8. Porto diroccato su la foce d'Ibero con veduta del mare. | 8. Seaport in ruins at the mouth of the Ibero with a view of the sea. |
| 9. Bosco fiorito su la foce d'Ibero. | 9. Flowery glade at the mouth of the Ibero. |
| 10. Valle deserta nella foce d'Ibero, con veduta del mare. | 10. Deserted valley by the mouth of the Ibero, with a view of the sea. |
| 11. Palazzo disabitato con rovine. | 11. Uninhabited palace with ruins. |

La favola si rappresenta parte nell'isola di Colco
e parte nelle campagne d'Ibero:

1. Marina con veduta dell'isola di Colco.
2. Giardino delizioso, con palazzetto contiguo alla reggia.
3. Sala reale di Colco.
4. Campagna con capanne su la foce d'Ibero, con veduta del mare Caspio.
5. Appartamenti de gl'incanti di Medea.
6. Recinto del castello nel quale è custodito il vello d'oro.
7. Grotte d'Eolo.
8. Porto diroccato su la foce d'Ibero con veduta del mare.
9. Bosco fiorito su la foce d'Ibero.
10. Valle deserta nella foce d'Ibero, con veduta del mare.
11. Palazzo disabitato con rovine.

The story is performed partly on the island of Colchis and partly in the countrysides of Caucasian Iberia:

1. Seashore with a view of the Island of Colchis.
2. Delightful garden, with a small palace contiguous to the palace.
3. Colchis' royal hall.
4. Countryside with huts at the mouth of the Ibero, with a view of the Caspian sea.
5. Medea's chamber of incantations.
6. Keep of the castle in which the Golden Fleece is guarded.
7. Aeolus' grotto.
8. Seaport in ruins at the mouth of the Ibero with a view of the sea.
9. Flowery glade at the mouth of the Ibero.
10. Deserted valley by the mouth of the Ibero, with a view of the sea.
11. Uninhabited palace with ruins.

The three rightmost columns in Table 4.3 below provide the metrics with which I have analyzed Giasone: location continuity, character focus, and interlocutionary continuity. In all three of these columns, continuous sections are delineated by solid lines in bold type. The column labeled "Location" is based on scene sets named in the libretto, with numbers indicating the corresponding location in Table 4.2. Annotations are provided where necessary to indicate in which country (Colchis or Caucasian Iberia) the action takes place. "Character Focus" indicates which of the principal characters is being discussed: it is important to note that the focus of a scene does not have to be present on stage. The final column is labeled "Interlocutionary continuity," a term based on speech act theory (introduced above) that I discuss at length in the
following subsection. In this column I provide a brief summary of each scene in order to demonstrate when a scene forms a response to the one immediately preceding it. In order for the conditions of interlocutionary continuity to be met, at least one character on stage must be held over from the previous scene, the action must take place in the same region, or the character focus must be consistent. However, simply because one of these latter three conditions are met does not mean that interlocutionary continuity exists between two adjacent scenes; there must be an actual narrative scheme present as defined by Sbisà. Following Table 4.3, my discussion below deals first with interlocutionary continuity, and then with location continuity and character focus together.
Table 4.3: LOCATION, CHARACTER, AND INTERLOCUTIONARY CONTINUITIES IN GIASONE

| Scene | Characters | LOCATION | Character Focus | Interlocutionary Continuity |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Prologo | Sole, Amore | 1. Seashore with a view of the island of Colchis | Giasone, Isifile, Medea | The two gods wager whether Isifile or Medea will marry Giasone |
| I. 1 | Ercole, Besso | 2. Garden with a small palace (Colchis) | Giasone, Medea | Ercole complains that Giasone seeks only a woman's comforts, not the Golden Fleece. |
| I. 2 | Giasone, Ercole | 2. Garden with a small palace (Colchis) | Giasone, Medea | Giasone is enamored of Medea, and only reluctantly accepts Ercole's exhortations to acquire the Golden Fleece that day. |
| I. 3 | Rosmina | 2. Garden with a small palace (Colchis) | Giasone | A young girl wonders why men are in the royal garden, and resolves to find a man for herself. |
| I. 4 | Medea | 3. Royal Hall (Colchis) | Giasone, Medea | Waxing romantic about Giasone, Medea sees Egeo approaching and resolves to flee. |
| I. 5 | Egeo, Medea | 3. Royal Hall (Colchis) | Egeo, Medea | Egeo begs Medea to return to him; when denied, he begs her to kill him. She refuses. |
| I. 6 | Oreste | 3. Royal Hall (Colchis) | Isifile | Oreste laments being a servant to a lovesick mistress. |
| I. 7 | Demo, Oreste | 3. Royal Hall (Colchis) | Isifile | Oreste tells Demo that he is searching for news of Giasone; Demo agrees to help him. |
| I. 8 | Delfa | 3. Royal Hall (Colchis) | Giasone, Medea | The aged Delfa sees Giasone coming and calls for Medea. |
| I. 9 | Medea, Delfa | 3. Royal Hall (Colchis) | Giasone, Medea | Medea rushes Delfa off; the nurse cautions Medea to be cunning. |
| I. 10 | Giasone, Medea | 3. Royal Hall (Colchis) | Giasone, Medea | Medea bids Giasone wait while she brings the maiden whom he has despoiled. |
| I. 11 | Giasone | 3. Royal Hall (Colchis) | Giasone, Medea | Giasone wonders how beautiful this maiden is, then announces Medea and Delfa's return. |

TABLE 4.3 (CONTINUED)

| I. 12 I. 13 | Medea, Giasone, Delfa Delfa | 3. Royal Hall (Colchis) <br> 3. Royal Hall (Colchis) | Giasone, Medea Giasone, Medea | Giasone sees through Medea's ruse of Delfa as the maiden; Medea then reveals herself. <br> Delfa comments tartly on Giasone and Medea's newfound love. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I. 14 | Isifile | 4. Countryside with huts at the mouth of the Ibero (Caucasian Iberia) | Giasone, Isifile | Isifile is anxious for Oreste's return with news of Giasone. |
| I. 15 | Medea, Coro di Spiriti | 5. Medea's chamber of incantations (Colchis) | Giasone, Medea | Medea conjures spirits to aid Giasone in his quest for the Golden Fleece. |
| II. 1 II. 2 | Isifile, Alinda Oreste, Isifile | 4. Countryside with huts (Caucasian Iberia) <br> 4. Countryside with huts (Caucasian Iberia) | Giasone, Isifile Giasone, Isifile | Isifile sends Alinda to the nearby port for news of Oreste's arrival. <br> Oreste arrives with news of Giasone. Isifile rouses herself from despair. |
| II. 3 II. 4 | Medea, Giasone, Delfa <br> Giasone | 6. Keep of the castle of the Golden Fleece (Colchis) <br> 6. Keep of the castle of the Golden Fleece (Colchis) | Giasone, Medea Giasone | Medea charges Giasone to return triumphantly with the Golden Fleece. <br> Giasone, emboldened by Medea's magic ring, calls out monsters to do battle with him. |
| II. 5 | Medea, Delfa | 6. Keep of the castle of the Golden Fleece (Colchis) | Giasone, Medea | Awaiting Giasone, the two women see he has emerged victorious. |
| II. 6 | Medea, Giasone, Delfa, Ercole | 6. Keep of the castle of the Golden Fleece (Colchis) | Giasone, Medea | Medea decides to leave Colchis with Giasone. |
| II. 7 | Demo, Egeo | 6. Keep of the castle of the Golden Fleece (Colchis) | Medea | Demo, hearing their plans, alerts Egeo-the two set sail in pursuit. |
| II. 8 | Giove, Eolo, Amore, Coro di Venti | 7. Aeolus' grotto | Giasone, Isifile, Medea | Giove calls upon Eolo to divert Giasone's ship to Caucasian Iberia. |

Table 4.3 (Continued)

| II. 9 | Oreste, Alinda | 8. Seaport in ruins; Tempest at sea (Caucasian Iberia) | Isifile | Isifile's two servants marvel at their mistress' misery over Giasone. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| II. 10 | Demo, Oreste | 8. Seaport in ruins; Tempest at sea (Caucasian Iberia) | Medea | Oreste assists a waterlogged Demo on the beach; Egeo and his boat were lost at sea. |
| II. 11 | Giasone, Medea, Besso, Ercole | 8. Seaport in ruins (Caucasian Iberia) | Giasone, Medea | Giasone and company, none the worse for the storm, disembark at a port in Iberia. |
| II. 12 | Besso, Alinda | 8. Seaport in ruins (Caucasian Iberia) | [Giasone] | Giasone's captain and Isifile's maid encounter each other and flirt. |
| II. 13 | Oreste, Giasone, Medea, Besso | 8. Seaport in ruins (Caucasian Iberia) | Isifile | Oreste requests an audience with Giasone on behalf of Isifile. |
| II. 14 | Isifile, Medea, Giasone | 8. Seaport in ruins (Caucasian Iberia) | Isifile | By means of a ruse, Giasone convinces Medea that Isifile is mad, and they dismiss her. |
| III. 1 | Oreste, Delfa | 9. Flowery glade (Caucasian Iberia) | Isifile, Medea | The two servants of Isifile and Medea compare notes on their own mistresses. |
| III. 2 | Medea, Giasone | 9. Flowery glade (Caucasian Iberia) | Giasone, Medea | Medea and Giasone sing each other to sleep in a glade. |
| III. 3 | Medea, Giasone, Oreste | 9. Flowery glade (Caucasian Iberia) | Giasone, Medea | While the two lovers are asleep, Oreste comes upon them and envies their bliss. |
| III. 4 | Isifile, Giasone, Medea | 9. Flowery glade (Caucasian Iberia) | Isifile | Confronted by Isifile, Giasone promises her his love; then vows to Medea to have her killed. |
| III. 5 | Besso, Giasone | 9. Flowery glade (Caucasian Iberia) | Isifile | Giasone orders Besso to kill the first woman (intending Isifile) to ask about his orders. |

TABLE 4.3 (CONTINUED)

| III. 6 | Egeo, Demo | 4. Night; Countryside with huts (Caucasian Iberia) ${ }^{19}$ | Medea | Demo encounters Egeo, who has survived the storm as well. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| III. 7 | Isifile | 4. Moonlit night; Countryside with huts (Caucasian Iberia) | Giasone, Isifile | Isifile rejoices at her coming reunion with Giasone, who she is convinced loves her. |
| III. 8 | Oreste, Isifile | 4. Moonlit night; Countryside with huts (Caucasian Iberia) | Giasone, Isifile | Oreste asks his mistress to feed her children first; she agrees (and is therefore delayed). |
| III. 9 | Medea | 10. Valley of the Orseno (Caucasian Iberia) | Giasone, Isifile | Medea rages about Isifile, chafes with impatience at her death at the hands of Besso. |
| III. 10 | Delfa | 10. Valley of the Orseno (Caucasian Iberia) | Giasone, Isifile | Delfa tries to calm her mistress. |
| III. 11 | Medea, Besso, Soldiers | 10. Valley of the Orseno (Caucasian Iberia) | Giasone, Isifile | Medea asks if Giasone's orders were carried out; Besso obediently has her captured. |
| III. 12 | Isifile, Besso | 10. Valley of the Orseno (Caucasian Iberia) | Giasone, Isifile | Isifile arrives and asks the same; Besso storms off, saying that he only kills one queen a day. |
| III. 13 | Egeo, Medea (offstage) | 10. Valley of the Orseno (Caucasian Iberia) | Medea | Egeo hears Medea nearby curse Giasone as she is thrown off a cliff. |
| III. 14 | Besso, Giasone | 10. Valley of the Orseno (Caucasian Iberia) | Giasone, Isifile | Besso reports he has killed a queen; not knowing which, Giasone is still wracked with guilt. |
| III. 15 | Medea, Egeo | 10. Valley of the Orseno (Caucasian Iberia) | Medea | Medea is rescued by Egeo; she pledges him her loyalty and love, he pledges to kill Giasone. |
| III. 16 | Giasone | 11. Uninhabited palace with ruins (Caucasian Iberia) | Giasone, Isifile | A grief-stricken Giasone faints, overcome by remorse. |

[^110]
## Interlocutionary Continuity

When first outlined in 1962, the most revolutionary aspect of Austin's speech act theory was his notion that saying something was tantamount to doing something, and not simply a declaration of truth or falsity. While this can be easily seen in examples of "performatives" such as "I do" in a marriage ceremony, "I declare war," or "I bet you $\$ 10 \mathrm{it}$ 'll rain tomorrow," speech is action even in the case of true/false statements, or what Austin originally referred to as "constatives" in opposition to performatives, before doing away with the distinction over the course of his lectures: an assertion that "the cat is on the mat" is never delivered without context, whether it be to reassure an anxious cat owner, or to complain that one's shoes cannot be wiped of mud given current conditions. In either, and any case, a statement is delivered with the intent to elicit a response or reaction. All utterances, then, have a performative dimension. In drama, this is in fact a requirement, since the action on stage is generated and propagated largely through discourse.

Austin went on to divide the speech act into three distinct components: locution (the literal act of speaking), illocution (the act that is actually performed in the speaking of the sentence), and perlocution (the result of the utterance). Locution consists of the formation of phonemes into syntactically structured morphemes, that is, a sentence. On the stage, the main responsibility for locution falls upon the actor through the use of tools such as intonation, word stress, gestures, and facial expressions, each helping to clarify their characters' intent. The illocutionary force of any statement-whether it be a promise, apology, threat, etc.-originates in the character whom the actor is playing. ${ }^{20}$ This is the most important component of the speech act, as intent is translated into action by means of illocution. The statement's perlocutionary effect

[^111]is the result that the illocution has on the addressee-reassurance from a promise, allayed anger from an apology, or defiance from a threat.

Illocutionary acts feature prominently in discussions of pragmatics, the study of meaning mediated through context, as they are centered around the speaker who is "doing." Richard Ohmann famously stated that "in a play, the action rides on a train of illocutions." ${ }^{21}$ It seems to me, however, that perlocutionary acts-or rather, acts arising from perlocutionary effects-come into play as well. Where locution and illocution are embodied in the addresser, perlocutiontraditionally ascribed to the addresser as well—can be thought of as at least partially embodied in the addressee. Austin's distinction between illocution and perlocution is a question of preposition as well as verb tense: to him, "In saying I would shoot him I was threatening him," whereas "By saying I would shoot him I alarmed him." ${ }^{22}$ The former sentence consists of the illocutionary act of threatening, and the latter consists of the perlocutionary result, that is, the listener being alarmed. This state of alarm might then be sublimated in a subsequent illocution by that listener, which would then have a perlocutionary effect on the original speaker, and so on. While it is true that in a dialogue, each character's utterance is considered an illocution, I argue that successive illocutionary acts cannot exist without perlocution.

This constant exchange of illocution and perlocution can be referred to as interlocution, ${ }^{23}$ a term suggesting recursion and reciprocity that supersedes its two intertwined speech act components. And because Giasone, like so many theatrical works, is constructed in blocks of continuous scenes, the idea of a "chain of interlocution" can also be applied to entire sequences of

[^112]scenes. Each scene can be construed as having been motivated by a preceding scene-a perlocutionary response to a previous illocution. Even Act I Scene 1, which features Ercole complaining to Besso of Giasone's amorous adventures at the cost of more valorous deeds, is anchored within a pre-existing story: the Argomento, part of the libretto's prefatory material, outlines the events that have led up to I.1. In a larger sense, then, the entire plot of Giasone can be considered a post-perlocutionary utterance, motivated by Giasone's quest for the Golden Fleece, his abandonment of Isifile, and his nightly trysts with Medea.

Giasone, however, is not a single uninterrupted chain of interlocution. Some location changes shift the focus to another group of characters-at times these occur in rapid succession, from scene to scene, especially in Acts II and III. Other scenes featuring the gods or the opera's many comic characters that disrupt continuity. While the gods respond to events within the main plot (or even alter the course of events, as happens in II. 8 when Giove calls for a storm to divert Giasone's ship), there is no direct communication between them and mortals. On the other hand, comic characters vary in terms of their interactions with the main characters: Rosmina the garden-girl's scene (I.3) is a response to the presence of men in the royal garden, yet it produces no subsequent response by any other character. In fact, her presence in the opera is superfluous compared to that of the other servants: her role was possibly added for an extra singer who happened to be available, or more likely was an expansion for an existing singer. ${ }^{24}$ As the servants' roles are generally advisorial (when in the presence of a serious character) or commentarial, few solo scenes featuring servants generate a perlocutionary effect upon a serious character that is carried on immediately into the following scene. ${ }^{25}$

[^113]Based on Table 4.3, the original version of Giasone is largely fragmented from an interlocutionary standpoint, with pockets-some substantial—of sequentially corresponding scenes. A significant reason for this is the sheer size of the cast and the groups in which they have been arranged-according to geography in Acts I and II, and then by affiliation in Act III.

Giasone and his henchmen open Act I; Medea and Egeo follow; Demo and Oreste encounter each other; and the rest of the act is dominated by Giasone, Medea and Delfa, with a brief appearance by Isifile. At the beginning of Act II the geographical focus shifts to Caucasian Iberia, where Isifile and Alinda (and soon Oreste) are located. The action then returns to Colchis, where Giasone, accompanied by his retinue, prepares to acquire the Golden Fleece. Even the Argonauts' arrival in Caucasian Iberia does not precipitate an uninterrupted chain of scenes, as individual vignettes featuring Demo and Oreste, and later Besso and Alinda, break up what would have otherwise been a continuous flow, likely to provide some varietà in the pacing of the action. The scene distribution in the first half of Act III is largely similar in its fragmentation, as different configurations of characters are given stage time until all of them are gradually brought together for the Cicognini crescendo (see Chapter 3) beginning in III.16, featuring Giasone alone, for the eventual denouement.

Further observations can be made concerning Giasone's interlocutionary structure at its premiere: the existing blocks of continuous interlocution vary in size, from two scenes in length to six scenes toward the end of Acts I and III. More importantly, there are frequent breaks in continuity, whether due to location or character changes-this is typical of early Venetian opera written by members of the Incogniti who did not concern themselves with the classic Aristotelian unities. ${ }^{26}$ As I will show further below, two scenes that were shifted in later productions-I. 14

[^114]and II.11-create an interlocutionary continuity with their respective following scenes that was absent in the original Venetian version.

It is clear from Table 4.3 that character configurations must shift-that is, one leaves, or another arrives-in order to cause a scene change (location, of course, is the other determining factor, but that will be discussed in the following section). Scenes I.8-13 demonstrate this relationship between character configuration and scene change: after Demo and Oreste have departed and closed out their scene-block (I.6-7), Delfa begins alone, is joined by Medea, then leaves when Giasone arrives; Medea then leaves Giasone, returns with Delfa in tow, and finally Delfa is left alone as Giasone and Medea depart together. More important than the disposition of these characters on stage, however, is what ties all of these scenes together. There is a clear and unbroken chain of interlocution, each scene precipitated by the previous scene: Medea arrives (I.9) in response to Delfa's announcement in the previous scene that Giasone is coming. The queen then tells Giasone that she will reveal his mysterious paramour (I.10), all the while keeping in mind Delfa's advice to be cunning. Giasone, now alone (I.11), eagerly awaits the appearance of this woman, and sees Medea and Delfa return. The following scene, I.12, in which Medea at first pretends that Delfa is Giasone's lover, can be construed as a perlocutionary response to Medea's own promise (that is, illocution), earlier in I.10, that she would return with his bride. And yet on another level, the main illocutionary act of this scene (and one that generates Delfa's tart commentary on unmarried couples in the following scene) is Medea and Giasone's "recognition" of each other as year-long lovers: from Giasone's perspective, then, Medea's ultimate revelation of herself is a response to his own anticipation in I.10.

Giasone obtains the Golden Fleece presumably sometime in the afternoon in Act II, and Act III closes at night. For more on this, see Lorenzo Bianconi and Fausta Antonucci, "Plotting the Myth of Giasone," 203.

The final scene-block of the opera, III.16-21, is even more tightly constructed from a dramatic and interlocutionary standpoint. Here, Giasone is joined gradually by one character each scene, with each new character producing an action or an announcement that motivates the following scene, until the full complement is at hand in III. 21 to witness the reconciliation between Giasone and Isifile. The final scene featuring the gods represents the results of the final perlocutionary effect of the opera, in the form of an exultant aria by Amore. This scene is in fact one of several rare instances when interlocution between scenes can occur even when all of the characters on stage are replaced by another set of characters: it happens when Rosmina appears after Giasone and his henchmen's departure (I.3), as well as when Demo alerts Egeo to the Argonauts' plans after they have set sail for Corinth (II.7). Of course, in all of these cases, the new set of characters had to be aware of the events of their respective preceding scenes by dint of their presence, whether overt or not: Rosmina the gardener could hardly fail to have been present in the same garden that Giasone, Ercole and Besso had occupied moments before; Demo's presence onstage during II. 6 is indicated midway through the scene in the libretto; and the gods are given an omniscience in this work that presupposes their knowledge of all occurrences in the mortal realm.

## Location Continuity

Corneille's liaison de scène was developed in the mid-seventeenth century as a means to maintain continuity by leaving at least one character on stage at the end of a scene and into the next one, and would form a touchstone for the Arcadian opera reforms of the early eighteenth century. I wish to extend the thinking behind this idea to include two other barometers for continuity issues over the course of Giasone: location, and character focus. Location as a metric-and by extension scenery and set design-is important particularly here because of the complex choreography of
machinery involved in facilitating any sort of set change in a seventeenth-century theater, and because no less than twelve different locations are listed in Venice 1649A, ranging from Colchis to Caucasian Iberia to the realm of the gods. Such a large number of set backgrounds would become an issue when Giasone was performed in a space unequipped with any sort of stage machinery, as will be seen below in the Naples performances.

When comparing this column to the one showing interlocutionary breaks, it is
immediately apparent that there are fewer discontinuities within the scene structure in terms of location. Act I takes place almost entirely in Colchis, with the exception of Isifile's introductory scene toward its end. Even the two back-to-back comic scenes featuring Oreste and Demo (I. 6 and I.7), the improbability of their presence in the royal palace notwithstanding, could be staged without a set change (or at most a minimal one) from the preceding or following scenes. ${ }^{27}$ Likewise, the presumed shift from the garden exterior of the royal palace, in which the first three scenes are situated, to the palace interior where the majority of the rest of Act I occurs, is understood as taking place all on the island of Colchis through the use of deictics. Ercole refers to Giasone and Medea (still incognito) inside the palace in I.1, so that when he emerges in I. 2 and she appears later in I.4, we understand them to be in the same location (as well as the fact that the little palace the couple slept in adjoins the royal palace). Rosmina refers to the men in the garden in I.3, so we understand her to be within the same space recently inhabited by Giasone, Ercole, and Besso. Oreste speaks of having come to "this palace" ("questa reggia") as a spy in I.5, and then names Colchis explicitly in the following scene. Thus, there is a sense of "placeness" that is

[^115]conferred by the characters and their speech that supplements the background scenery as a marker of location, and helps the audience to understand that the action through most of Act I is taking place solely on Colchis.

In scene 14, on the heels of a comic aria by Delfa following Giasone and Medea's joyful recognition scene, Isifile makes her first appearance in a dream-like state. The introduction of a character who has only been alluded to by Oreste, as well as earlier in the Argomento, is accompanied by a new setting, designated as a "Countryside with huts at the mouth of the Ibero" ("Campagna con capanne sulla foce d'Ibero"). Isifile herself announces where she is as well, mid-scene, during a moment of lucidity. By providing their geographical locations through their speech, the characters introduced up to this point are able to fix person to place; thus, when Medea appears in her famous invocation scene that follows, we know immediately that she is in Colchis, and that the action has therefore switched back to the island.

This fixity of character and geography becomes significant especially in Act III, once all of the characters in Colchis have already made their way to Caucasian Iberia. Before the final sequence of scenes that bring them all together (starting with III.16), the characters are still separate, each plotting their own intrigues that will lead to the eventual denouement. For this reason, it is vital that they be clearly understood as separate-Isifile and Oreste are back at Gimena's hut (their location at the end of Act I and the beginning of Act II), ostensibly close to the Valley of the Orseno where Medea anxiously awaits word of her rival's demise in the company of Delfa. Giasone is at yet another location in the valley, as he cannot know that Besso threw the wrong queen off the cliff until Medea has revealed herself to him in III.20. Finally, the hapless Egeo must be somewhere within earshot of Medea's point of impact in the sea in order to rescue her, but must not be close enough to have heard the object of his affections be rudely seized by Besso's guards in the first place. It is worth noting as well that Venice 1649A does not
specify the location of his first appearance in Act III, although the Second Impression, Venice 1649B, states explicitly that he and Demo have at that point ended up in the vicinity of the same huts near Oreste, Isifile, and her children. ${ }^{28}$

## Character Focus

An onstage character can serve as a marker for more than just location, however. Particularly in the case of the servants or the gods, the discourse surrounding their speech often points to one of the principal characters-Giasone, Isifile, Medea, or Egeo. I use the term "character focus" to denote this. Each scene highlights one or more of them, either directly by means of their presence on stage, or indirectly by means of conversation or thinking about them if they themselves are absent. Analyzing Giasone in this way, we can see that the opera is structured largely around blocks of specific foci, with Act I dominated by Giasone and Medea, Act II by Isifile, and Act III by all three characters in differing configurations once they have ended up in Caucasian Iberia together. Several scenes disrupt these large blocks in the first two Acts; they become particularly significant once they are moved around in subsequent productions.

We can see from Table 4.3 that there is a significant shift in character focus from Act I to Act III: from an emphasis on Medea in the former, to an emphasis on Isifile in the latter. Giasone and Medea are clearly paired in most of the first act, since it revolves around their year-long affair, and on Medea's desire to help Giasone obtain the Golden Fleece. Once the Golden Fleece has been won in Act II, though, Medea's relationship with Giasone effectively begins a declinethere is nothing more for her to accomplish in this opera on behalf of the titular character. At the same time, Isifile is a source of dramatic tension, separate from Giasone throughout Act I and

[^116]much of Act II, but nonetheless still exerting a gravitational pull on him through her absence: Oreste's two scenes in Act I that focus on Isifile neatly bisect an otherwise Medea-filled act, and Isifile's own appearance provides a poignant contrast to Delfa's cutting wit in the preceding scene and Medea's fearsome power in the following one. Although Giasone and Medea remain together well into Act III, it becomes increasingly clear during the final scene-complex of Act II, culminating in Isifile's confrontation with Giasone, that the tension between these two must be somehow resolved into the happy ending that was paradigmatic of Venetian opera during the Carnival season. And so, once Isifile finally comes face to face with Giasone at the end of Act II, the dramatic focus shifts clearly from Medea and Giasone to Isifile and Giasone.

Egeo, though a principal character, does not figure very heavily into the machinations of the characters until Act III. What little face-time he receives in the first two acts is spent pining after, and then chasing, Medea. Only when he has rescued his love from the sea and won her broken heart does he begin to exert his own agency on events surrounding him, going after Giasone with the intent to murder him in vengeance. In the final analysis, Egeo is nothing more than a dramatic foil-a counterbalance to Giasone for Medea's love after the hero's presumed treachery, and the driving force that leads Giasone back into Isifile's arms.

## Shifting and Amending Scenes, 1649-1690

## Shifted Scenes

Within Giasone's forty-year performance history throughout Italy, four out of a total fifty-two scenes (in the original Venetian performances) are switched around in various sources. These sources are largely consistent: three scenes-I.3, I.14, and II. $11^{29}$ —are shifted in a subset of

[^117]sources comprising the Naples Group, whereas two scenes-I. 14 (also appearing in the previous group, but here moved to a different location) and II.8-are shifted in a subset of sources comprising the Milan Group.

These shifts all seem to have occurred for specific reasons: the performance in Naples at the Viceroy's Palace during the summer of 1651 was constrained by the lack of machinery in the small chamber where Giasone was presented, and thus whatever scene backdrops might have been originally used in Venice to indicate the location of the action could not form a part of the stage set in Naples. In Milan, the traveling Febiarmonici who staged Giasone were dealing with an audience already steeped in its own comic stage tradition-of which Cicognini's works were a popular component-and thus scenes involving the gods needed to be framed perhaps a bit more deliberately than had been done in Venice. ${ }^{30}$

Shifted scenes are clear instances of alterations to the syntactic flow of the original plot, and as such present the most fertile grounds for examining the resulting shifts in the large-scale structure of this opera using the methods outlined above.

## I.3: Rosmina Giardiniera

The earliest example in the plot of a shifted scene is one for an extraneous character named Rosmina the garden-girl, originally Act I scene 3. In eight Neapolitan sources it has been moved to Act I scene $7 \cdot{ }^{31}$ Of these, all but the last two are sources associated with actual performances (rather than literary reprints by publishers seeking to profit from Giasone's

[^118]continuing fame). Originally, Rosmina appears in the royal garden on the heels of Giasone and his two henchmen, who have just departed from Medea's palace. Hearing so many men speaking, the young garden-girl wonders why there are men in the royal garden, and what their intentions might be:

Rosmina, I.3, vv. 276-87

| Uomini in su quest'ora | Men who are up at this hour |
| :--- | :--- |
| scappan fuor del giardino? | leaving from the garden? |
| Quanto, quanto sospetto | I am very suspicious |
| che le dame di corte | that the women of the court |
| non faccin di quest'orti un bordelletto. | make a bordello of this garden; |
| Io vorrei non vedere, | I wish I didn't see it, |
| né posso far di meno, | but I can't help it, |
| ch'al fin queste notizie | for in the end these happenings |
| mi sveglian le malizie, | awaken my vices, |
| e sento amor che mi serpeggia in seno. | and I feel love undulating in my breast. |
| So ben quell ch'io farò, | I know now what I'll do, |
| vorrò gioir anch'io, o lo dirò. | I wish to experience joy as well. |

She then proceeds to express her desire to find lovers for herself. After this, the action shifts to Medea as she is introduced in the following scene.

In its new position in the Neapolitan sources, I.7, Rosmina the gardener is now in the royal palace. Her scene follows a comic duet between Oreste, a servant of Isifile, and Demo, a stuttering hunchback. Then, after her scene, the action simply remains in Medea's palace, where the old nurse Delfa expresses her own hopes of finding love despite-or indeed because of-her advanced age and experience.

| Venice 1649A | Neapolitan Sources (see footnote 29) |
| :--- | :--- |
| _.. | ... |
| I.2: Giasone, Ercole | I.4: Egeo, Medea |
| I.3: Rosmina Giardinera |  |
| I.4: Medea | I.5: Oreste |
| I.5: Egeo, Medea | I.6: Demo, Oreste |
| I.6: Oreste | I.7: Rosmina Giardinera |
| .. | I.8: Delfa |
|  | ... |

However, Rosmina's text remains unchanged, to problematic effect: even if she were realistically allowed free rein to wander in the royal palace as a simple gardener, and somehow secured access to a window from which she might look down onto the royal garden, she now wonders about a very different group of men in the garden than Giasone and Ercole. It is unlikely that Oreste, newly arrived in Colchis on a scouting mission for his mistress, and Demo, a vagabond character, would have been allowed anywhere near private royal grounds. ${ }^{32}$ Like other scenari from the seventeenth century, the one printed in Palermo, 1655, provides a summary of each scene in the opera, presented tersely and dispassionately. Yet even the author of this précis-clearly referring to a performance that used this new structure-is at a loss for how to contextualize this scene: "Rosmina, her suspicions aroused by the departure of I don't know what men from the royal garden, begins to feel the stirrings of love, and thus resolves to procure lovers for herself, ${ }^{33}$ (emphasis mine).

There are no easy answers for why the Febiarmonici, the traveling performance troupe that brought Giasone to Naples and many other cities during the years following its Venetian premiere, would have decided to make this change specifically for their Neapolitan audiences. The situation becomes more confusing when we take into account productions in northern Italian cities, in which this scene was not shifted: roughly half simply cut Rosmina's scene. ${ }^{34}$ After all, the young gardener and her aria are not essential to the plot. She was written in for comic effect, likely for a young singer who was available at the theater for the Venetian premiere.

[^119]Certainly, the removal of her scene does not affect the dramatic continuity of the original configuration. It would stand to reason that after a scene in which Giasone stands outside Medea's chamber and sings admiringly to his men about his new lover, the action would shift to focus on the object of Giasone's adoration. Rosmina's scene in its original position-particularly her ariawould at best have served as an added morsel for the audience. From this standpoint, then, the dramatic inexplicability of its placement in I. 7 would be mitigated by the fact that it forms a continuous block of comic relief scenes, preceded by Demo and Oreste's duet filled with verbal pratfalls, and followed by Delfa's comic aria.

At its core, though, Rosmina's scene is a reaction to men who have just left the royal garden. In the Venetian production, Giasone and Ercole have just exited the stage when Rosmina makes her appearance. At the Viceroy's palace, where Giasone was performed in Naples, ${ }^{35}$ Demo and Oreste are instead the two men who have just exited the stage when Rosmina makes her appearance. The performance space in this southern city was by all accounts small, and unequipped with any of the complex stage machinery present in the Venetian Teatro San Cassiano that would have been able to quickly convey-perhaps by means of an added gate rolled in between I. 5 and I.6-a separation between the royal palace grounds where Egeo and Medea have just concluded their scene, and the location on Colchis where Oreste is to encounter Demo in the iconic scene introducing the stuttering hunchback. Without such subtle distinctions in location available at the Viceroy's palace, all of the action in Act I—excluding Isifile's lone scene, which was shifted to Act II in these productions-could ostensibly take place with Medea's royal palace serving as an immediate backdrop. Thus, the reaction of a young gardener that so confused the Sicilian scenario writer could be construed as easily plausible to the Neapolitan audience.

[^120]Demo and Oreste conclude their comic duet within the purview of the royal palace, and Rosmina subsequently emerges to comment on their departure. After all, her own comic scene merely uses the presence of men in the royal garden as a pretext for what she really wants to do: to find a man for herself.

## I.14: Isifile

By the time the audience first sees Isifile, all of the other principal characters have already appeared on stage. Her introduction so late in Act I carries a certain emotional gravitas that is only compounded by its two surrounding scenes-a comic aria by Delfa commenting ironically on young love, and Medea's hair-raising incantation scene that serves as a rousing finale for the act. The placement of Isifile's meditation on her own fears within this context is deliberate: it highlights her vulnerability and isolation. However, two groups of sources-largely Neapolitan and Milanese-each alter the scene's placement to very different effect.

Among the Neapolitan sources, ${ }^{36}$ Isifile's scene is lifted and placed relatively close by, in fact only one scene away, at the very beginning of the following Act. But the difference is discernible: whereas originally her scene was followed by Medea's incantation, now it continues directly into a dialogue with her maid Alinda, and then further into scene 3 when Oreste returns to find Isifile asleep, overwhelmed by her own sorrow.

| Venice 1649A | Neapolitan Sources (see footnote 34) |
| :--- | :--- |
| _.. | ... |
| I.12: Medea, Giasone, Delfa | I.12: Medea, Giasone, Delfa |
| I.13: Delfa sola | I.13: Delfa sola |
| I.14: Isifile vien sognando | I.14: Medea, Coro di Spiriti, e Volano |
| I.15: Medea, Coro di Spiriti, Volano | II.1: Isifile sola |
| II.1: Isifile, Alinda | II.2: Isifile, Alinda |
| ... | ... |

[^121]This structural revision concentrates Giasone, Medea, and Delfa's scenes in the Royal Palace in Colchis. When compared to the original Venetian productions (see above, Table 4.3), then, the first two acts of the Neapolitan performances display more continuous scene blocks. Indeed, the tendency in this group of sources toward thematic coherence seems consistent with the decision to sandwich Rosmina's comic scene between two other light scenes.

There are further implications to moving Isifile's scene to Act II. While interlocution is most readily understood in terms of a dialogue between two characters, the new II. 2 can be construed as a response to Isifile's soliloquy. By placing this solo scene right before Alinda's appearance, in which the queen's handmaiden gently chides her mistress for wasting her youth on one man, the interlocutionary chain that had originally featured two scenes in V49 (that is, Isifile and Alinda, then Isifile and Oreste) is extended. Isifile ends her solo scene wracked with doubt, agonizing over the return of Oreste with news-whether good or bad-of Giasone. In the Neapolitan configuration, she then turns to her handmaiden in the following scene and dispatches her to the nearby port for news of her servant's arrival, before sinking to the ground in a delirious stupor and being joined by Oreste.

Does interlocution occur with less than two bodies present? Isifile's soliloquy contains several different modes of address: she begins by imploring Giasone (her "crudele") and the ships bearing him away, to return to her. Then, regaining her senses, she reminds herself of her current plight, switching to a narrative voice to describe her own thoughts and fears. This particular mode of illocution, termed by Marina Sbisà as "behabitive" (including "various kinds of reaction to various kinds of actions and events"), fits well with the overarching theme of lament that characterizes this scene. ${ }^{37}$ And so, while she does not directly address anybody specific, ${ }^{38}$ her

[^122]words still exert an illocutionary force (if only on herself)-one that generates the perlocutionary effect in the following scene of asking Alinda to find out where Oreste is.

If the Neapolitan sources seem to prioritize continuity of location (as well as register) in their scene shifts, then the Milanese sources that move Isifile's scene clearly prioritize character focus. ${ }^{39}$ In these sources, it occupies the same position as that of Rosmina's aria in the Neapolitan performances-that is, between Demo and Oreste's comic scene, and Delfa's comic aria.
Venice 1649A
...
I.12: Medea, Giasone, Delfa
I.13: Delfa sola
I.14: Isifile vien sognando
I.15: Medea, Coro di Spiriti, Volano
II.1: Isifile, Alinda
...
Milanese Sources (see footnote 37)
‥
I.5: Oreste
I.6: Demo, Oreste
I.7: Isifile sola
I.8: Delfa
I.9: Medea, Delfa

Where that three-scene progression is uniformly light and ironic, though, here Isifile's lament creates something of a sinkhole, dissipating the energy of the preceding duet between Demo and Oreste. The only connection between these two scenes, in fact, is that Oreste has come to Colchis at Isifile's behest in search for information about Giasone. Placing Isifile's scene afterwards brings her onto the stage immediately after her own servant has mentioned her. In this sense, then, the Milanese sources seem to prioritize character focus with this change.

By grouping the character foci this way (see Table 4.4), greater emphasis is placed on
Isifile as a dramatic foil to Giasone and Medea's happiness. More importantly, the shift eases the inherent tension of delaying the entrance of a central character until the end of an act. In an

[^123]analog from the twentieth century, it would be as if Turandot had sung her introductory aria (which does not happen until the middle of Act II) immediately after her first appearance denying the Prince of Persia his pardon with a single gesture. The presence of a character-overtly on stage in Puccini's Turandot, and merely by narration in Giasone-to whom the drama does not yet give space to sing, places a tremendous psychological burden on that character. Allowing Isifile's voice an immediate outlet in the Milanese productions, then, reconfigures the balance among the characters in the opera. While no less sympathetic a figure, Isifile appears less isolated here than in the other versions, where her initial appearance is sandwiched between scenes that focus on her rival's fertility and magical powers.

## Table 4.4: Giasone Act I-Milanese Structure

| SCENE | CHARACTERS | CHARACTER FOCUS |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Prologo | Sole, Amore | Giasone, Isifile, Medea |
| I. 1 | Ercole, Besso | Giasone, Medea |
| I. 2 | Giasone, Ercole | Giasone, Medea |
| I. 3 | Rosmina | Giasone |
| I. 4 | Medea | Giasone, Medea |
| I. 5 | Egeo, Medea | Egeo, Medea |
| I. 6 | Oreste | Isifile |
| I. 7 | Demo, Oreste | Isifile |
| I. 8 | Isifile | Isifile |
| I. 9 | Delfa | Giasone, Medea |
| I. 10 | Medea, Delfa | Giasone, Medea |
| I. 11 | Giasone, Medea | Giasone, Medea |
| I. 12 | Giasone | Giasone, Medea |
| I. 13 | Medea, Giasone, Delfa | Giasone, Medea |
| I. 14 | Delfa | Giasone, Medea |
| I. 15 | Medea, Coro di Spiriti | Giasone, Medea |

One final source in particular is worth mentioning: a score currently located in Naples ${ }^{40}$ is the only one of the musical sources that shifts Isifile's scene, although it does so in a different fashion. Rather than being moved into the beginning of Act II, in this score the scene looks as if it has been incorporated into the scene that follows-Medea's incantation-and placed at its end.

[^124]But it is exceedingly rare, if not virtually unheard of, for a single scene to contain two separate locations-in this case Medea's Incantation Chamber, and a Countryside in Iberia. In fact, based on the indentation in the score before the words "Isifile sola," it is more likely that this was intended to be a different scene altogether, as nowhere else in the score is there such a pronounced gap between margin and text. It is even possible that the wide gap had originally been a placeholder for the indication of "Second Act" that was subsequently and mistakenly placed atop the following scene. However, there are enough structural differences elsewhere between this score and the Neapolitan sources mentioned above that this is not an absolute certainty (see Chapters 1 and 2). Indeed the only certainty here is that the scribe for this score was copying from a source that had already shifted Isifile's scene away from its original position.

## II.8: Giove, Eolo, Amore, Coro di Dei

Amore's scene with Giove and Eolo creates some dramatic confusion when shifted. Originally, Giasone tells Medea earlier, in I.6, that now that he has captured the Golden Fleece, they are to leave Colchis and set sail for Corinth. Having overheard that conversation, Demo then alerts Egeo in I.7, Medea's former lover, and both hurry after Giasone and company. Then the gods make their appearance: Giove is enraged at Giasone's betrayal of his progeny Isifile's love, and charges Eolo to rouse his winds to sink their ship. Amore, wishing Giasone to be reconciled with Isifile, intervenes. Yes, Giasone is indeed worthy of punishment, but Isifile herself should be the one to dole out retribution in a storm of anguish, rage, and pestering. This, Amore argues, would be a punishment far worse than drowning. He thus convinces Giove and Eolo to drive Giasone's ship to Isifile's location in nearby Iberia, in order to facilitate their reunion. The action then shifts to a port in Iberia, where Isifile's two servants marvel at her misery over Giasone.

| Venice 1649A | Milanese Sources (see footnote 37) |
| :--- | :--- |
| ... | ... |
| II.6: Medea, Giasone | II.12: Oreste, Giasone, Medea |
| II.7: Demo, Egeo | II.13: Isifile, Medea, Giasone |
| II.8: Giove, Eolo, et. al. | II.14: Giove, Eolo, et. al. |
| II.9: Oreste, Alinda | III.1: Medea, Giasone |
| II.10: Demo, Oreste | III.2: Medea, Giasone, Oreste |
| .. | ... |

When placed at the end of Act II, as happens in a group of mostly Milanese librettos, the audience has already seen that although Giasone intended to sail with Medea to Corinth, he has in fact ended up elsewhere-in Iberia. A storm that capsizes Egeo and Demo's ship washes the hunchback up onto a shore where Oreste, Isifile's servant, finds him in scene 9. Oreste and Demo then see Giasone's ship being driven by the same storm to the nearby port, where Giasone, Medea and their companions disembark in scene 10. Thus when Oreste eventually shows up to beg on his mistress' behalf for an audience with Giasone in scene 12 , nobody in the audience is surprised about where they have ended up. It is then, following a fraught encounter between Giasone and his two lovers, old and new, that Amore's scene with Giove and Eolo takes place. Its position here is anticlimactic, dispelling the built-up tension from the previous confrontation that in other versions would have ended Act II. From a dramatic perspective, the audience has already seen that Giasone and company have run into Isifile in this new port, misdirected there by the same storm that sank Egeo and Demo's ship. And so Amore's scene, in its new position, comes along only after the audience has already found out that Giasone's ship was diverted. The retrospective nature of this scene in its new position makes it at best extraneous, and at worst detrimental, in a medium that relies on forward dramatic momentum to drive the plot to its eventual denouement.

While not completely external to the plot in the way that Rosmina the gardener is, the divine beings in this scene certainly do not operate within the same sphere as the humans and
their actions depicted in this story. Amore, specifically, had made a bet with Sole, in the Prologue to this work, that Giasone would be reconciled with Isifile. Hence Amore's appearance here in Act II. He has a vested interest in ensuring that Giasone live long enough to at least encounter his first wife again. And so the storm that was originally meant to drown Giasone, instead now keeps his ship from sailing away from Caucasian Iberia. It would also be entirely plausible, however, for Giasone and company to simply be moored there by a storm without there being a staged intervention among divine beings to explain its cause. Indeed, over twenty sources-including the Neapolitan ones-simply cut the scene entirely, while retaining the Prologue. This alternative structure allows for one possible reading, particularly pertinent in the case of the Milanese and their idiosyncracies concerning intermedi (see discussion above): the gods express their desire in the Prologue for a specific outcome of events, but subsequently have no agency in bringing about this outcome.

And so, like the removal of Rosmina's scene, the removal of scene 8 here does not greatly affect the overall dramatic flow of the Act. In fact, it involves one less set change. How, then, do we account for the decisions made in the Milanese productions to retain that scene, and yet to deprive it of its dramatic punch by placing it at the end of a series of events that it caused? It is possible that the impresario was not overly concerned with such fine details, but was mindful of the relative convenience of a set change at the end of an Act rather than two in rapid succession in the middle. It is even more likely that he was interested in the potential for spectacle that such a scene would create, featuring the gods in an exotic locale-Eolo's grotto. This can be confirmed by the presence-only in these Milanese librettors-of the additional scene already mentioned for Amore, with a violin in hand standing in a shell on the sea. Inserted in Act III, this comes on the heels of Egeo's reconciliation with Medea, who thereby removes herself from the love triangle with Giasone and Isifile. These Milanese sources are also unique in ending the opera with another
scene featuring Amore in a solo aria, triumphant now that Giasone and Isifile are once again happily married, which I will discuss further below.

## II.11: Giasone, Medea, Besso, Ercole con gl'Argonauti, Coro di Soldati, Coro di marinari sbarcano

The storm that diverts the Argonauts' ship to Caucasian Iberia is accompanied by a series of vignettes featuring several of the secondary characters: first, Oreste and Alinda, Isifile's longtime servants, banter affectionately with each other in view of the approaching tempest at sea (II.9). Seeing Egeo's ship floundering, Oreste pulls Demo ashore in the following scene, creating the opportunity for another comic duet. After a short scene featuring Giasone and his companions disembarking at a port (II.11), none the worse for the wear, Giasone's captain, Besso, encounters Alinda in a dialogue ripe with suggestiveness and flirtation (II.12). The act cumulates in the following final two scenes, as Oreste begs the newly-arrived Giasone for an audience with Isifile, and we see the complicated ruse Giasone sets up for Medea's benefit that leads the two new lovers to discredit Isifile's claims on her erstwhile lover.
Venice 1649A
II. $9:$ Oreste, Alinda
II.10: Demo, Oreste
II.11: Giasone, Medea, Besso, Ercole, et. al.
II.12: Besso, Alinda
II.13: Demo, Oreste
II.14: Isifile, Medea, Giasone
Neapolitan Sources (see footnote 40) ${ }^{41}$
II.9: Oreste, Alinda
II.10: Demo, Oreste
II.11: Besso, Alinda
II.12: Giasone, Medea, Besso, Ercole, et. al.
II.13: Medea, Giasone, Oreste
II.14: Isifile, Medea, Giasone

In the same Neapolitan sources that shift Rosmina's scene, as well as the only libretto from Ancona, ${ }^{42}$ the three dialogues-Oreste and Alinda, Demo and Oreste, and Besso and Alinda—are

[^125]moved together, while, more importantly, Giasone and company's scene is shifted to form a contiguous trio with Oreste's and then Isifile's arrival. This change allows us to easily see Oreste and Alinda juxtaposed in varying situations. The two characters understand the depths of their mistress' despair, while at the same time they are mystified at the extent to which she has allowed her love of Giasone to influence her thoughts and actions. Commiserating with his partner in II.9, Oreste offers a contrasting view on love: "Sai ch'io t'amo, Alinda, affé, I ma non ti creder già / ch'io deliri per te" ("You know that I love you, Alinda, in faith, but don't believe that I am delirious because of you"). Alinda expresses a similar sentiment: "Sai ch'io t'amo e t'amerò, / ma se mi lasci un di, / io non m'impazziror" ("You know that I love you and always will, but if you leave me one day, I won't go crazy"). The scene is a lighthearted antidote to earlier ones featuring Isifile's pathos-tellingly, it comes directly after a scene in which even the gods agree that saddling Giasone with Isifile would be a fitting punishment for his desecration of the Golden Fleece-but it also spotlights these two longtime servants of Isifile and their easy affection for one another.

Oreste dons a different hat in the following scene with Demo: that of the straight man to Demo's buffoonery, in a reprise of their first encounter in Act I. While it acts as a purely comic interlude, it also allows Oreste to narrate the arrival of Giasone's ship at the harbor-an arrival much smoother than Demo's. In turn, Alinda and Besso's mutual courtship in their own scene provides us with an example of Alinda's flippant attitude toward love at play. It is a scene rife with outrageous flirtation and playful insults, ending with the two new lovers rushing off and disappearing until well into the following act. Of course, it would be highly unlikely, if not impossible, for comic servants to display the same level of love as the primary characterswhether the profound tenderness between Giasone and Medea seen late in Act I once Medea's

[^126]ruse is revealed, or Isifile's searing intensity, unreciprocated, toward Giasone. However, this is an opera full of contrasts, achieved through juxtaposition of high and lower registers in adjacent scenes as well as through their commixture at the same time on stage. It is logical that the topic of love would be covered-not only by second-hand moralizing on the part of the servants, but in fact by the actual process of courting a new-found lover.

The placement of Alinda and Besso's scene before Giasone's arrival in Caucasian Iberia does create a singular continuity error: how do these two characters encounter each other on shore when Besso is still on the same ship as Giasone until the following scene? Those responsible for the Ancona production of Giasone address this issue in the simplest way possible: they remove Besso's name from the list of characters on the ship with Giasone. In Naples, however, the Febiarmonici arrived at another solution. While Besso's name still appears on the list of characters for both scenes, the description attached to the original Venetian version, "sbarcano dalla nave d'Argo" ("[they] disembark from the Argo"), is removed. Conceivably, then, Besso could have come ashore first, in the preceding scene in which he encounters Alinda (who remarks on all of the soldiers-presumably the Argonauts—milling around the harbor); Giasone and Medea would then leave their ship in the following scene, as suggested by Giasone's first lines: "Scendi, o bella, / vieni al porto!" ("come down, fair one, come to the port!").

Because of the lack of machinery to suggest separation, or differentiation, of space from scene to scene, it likely made sense here to group characters in contiguous scenes as closely as possible-they had arrived at the same solution for Isifle's first scene, originally sandwiched between two scenes featuring different sets of characters on an entirely different island. The resulting change creates a thematic continuity among the three preceding scenes featuring the pairs of servant characters. More importantly, though, by shifting Giasone and Medea's arrival to directly precede first Oreste's, and then Isifile's climactic arrival, the Febiarmonici achieve a
tightly-knit dramatic continuity in the final three scenes of the act that surpasses that of the original version.

## Amended Scenes

This section provides an overview of scenes that were cut or substituted in later productions of Giasone. While there are a large number of examples of cut and substituted scenes among all sources for this opera, virtually none of them feature any of the four central characters-that is, Giasone, Medea, Isifile, or Egeo. This is significant: these four carry the principal burden of the plot through their interactions with each other as well as the secondary characters. Removing such a scene entirely from the fabric of the story, rather than merely shifting it as in the case of Isifile in I. 13 or Giasone and his companions in II.11, would be excessively disruptive. Indeed, a similar logic applies to the added scenes, all of which feature only servant-type characterswhether existing or newly created. Additional expository material for the principal characters would only serve to bloat an already tightly constructed plot. Furthermore, perhaps illustrating a trend toward shorter operas as the century progressed, fewer scenes are added than cut. Even fewer are substituted; only three, in fact. One is the Prologue, reworked completely in four different productions for reasons that will be discussed below.

A significant number of scenes were also added over the course of this opera's performance history-twelve in total-dating back as early as 1651 for a performance in Milan. Although their presence seems to provide an argument against tighter plot constructions and shorter operas, it is significant that these added scenes invariably involve only secondary characters in a commentarial mode most likely inserted to give their interpreters additional arias and stage time. Indeed, these scenes are perlocutionary dead ends that do not ramify into the main plot.

## Cut Scenes

Among all scenes that were removed in post-1649 productions throughout Italy, perhaps the one that makes the most sense is I.3, featuring Rosmina. A minor character who interacts directly with neither the protagonists or the servants, her role was most likely a write-in for an additional available singer at the Teatro San Cassiano in Venice. But the superfluity of her role was obviously enough motivation for dozens of subsequent productions to simply cut the sceneand thus her role-entirely.

In a significant number of productions, the gods are rendered equally superfluous: over half of the available sources simply remove the Act II scene in which Eolo is called upon to divert Giasone's ship from Corinth to Caucasian Iberia. I have already discussed the dramatic problems that arise when this scene is shifted to the end of the act, disrupting causality in the chain of events that culminate in a reunion between Giasone and Isifile. Removing the scene wholesale from the fabric of the plot renders the storm that redirects the Argo unmotivated, but ultimately for the sake of the storyline, it is more important that Giasone reach Caucasian Iberia, than that the cause behind the storm be revealed.

Many of the same productions that remove II. 8 also remove the final scene of the opera, in which the gods gather to congratulate Amore on his victory (in having induced Isifile to reconcile with Giasone). In effect, this allows the spotlight to be placed squarely on the principal cast of mortals, as the final scene of the opera becomes the one containing the ultimate denouement of the plot, and the resulting celebration between the two couples (Giasone and Isifile, and Medea and Egeo) and their servants. It is worth noting, however, that a few sourcesonly the Oxford, Contarini, and Florence scores-retain II. 8 yet cut that final scene featuring the gods. While little is known of the provenance of Oxford and Florence, Contarini is known
to have been copied out late in Cavalli's life, under his supervision. ${ }^{43}$ It may well be that Cavalli deliberately omitted this epilogue, but other structural similarities between Contarini and Florence ${ }^{44}$ in particular suggest the existence of a common exemplar from an earlier time in Giasone's history, one from which the final scene may have simply gone missing. Whatever the reason for its absence in these three scores, there was clearly a prevalent trend in post-1649 productions toward this scene's removal.

Other casualties in these later productions involved less ancillary characters. A scene featuring Oreste and Delfa at the beginning of Act III is removed in a large majority of sources. ${ }^{45}$ In the original Venetian versions, it presents a short vignette of Isifile's faithful retainer and Medea's aged nurse, in which they compare notes about the women they serve. Giasone and Medea have left Isifile behind in the abandoned port town at the end of Act II, and are seen directly in the following scene within a quiet wooded glade some distance outside that town.

Beyond the implausibility of a chance encounter between the two servants-how and why would they have found each other? Why are they not with their respective mistresses?-it is no more than a fluff piece, one that provides them with an opportunity for witty repartee about the follies of love, and does little to provide any real insight into the principal characters. Almost all of the above sources that cut III. 1 also remove III.10, in which Delfa attempts to mollify an enraged

[^127]Naples C, Modena, Siena, and the Palermo 1655 scenario.

Medea. ${ }^{46}$ Like the previous example, this scene does not contribute to the plot in any way; rather, it provides Delfa with another opportunity to moralize about love and jealousy, and her interpreter with an additional aria to perform. ${ }^{47}$

A small number of sources also remove the preceding scene (III.9) entirely, the one featuring Medea's rage aria. ${ }^{48}$ This is the single example among all of Giasone's sources of a principal character's scene being cut, rather than shifted or substituted, and merits further discussion. The Medea we see here is in a markedly different state of mind from that of the powerful enchantress at the end of Act I. In the intervening hours of the day during which this story takes place, she has seen her lover overcome the guardians of the Golden Fleece through her aid, has forsaken her home and throne (and presumably her newborn twins as well) to follow him, and most recently has caught him in an embrace with his former lover and her rival for his affections. Small surprise, then, that at the outset of this scene she would yet again invoke spirits to her aid, this time to rid herself of "she who pollutes my happiness" ("chi le mie gioie infetta"), in another aria in versi sdruccioli. It is perhaps significant that no spirits come to her aid this timewhether because she is no longer on her home island of Colchis, or because she is emotionally unbalanced this time around, or simply because she is merely giving vent to her frustrations and not intentionally summoning vengeful Furies. Whatever the case, the parallel imagery derived

[^128]from the verse construction presents a stark contrast to her powerful incantation scene earlier in the opera.

Medea's rage also serves as a perlocutionary response to her jealousy expressed to Giasone in III.4. Witnessing Isifile's tearful attempts to win Giasone back, Medea feigns wholehearted approval of their love, meanwhile drawing Giasone aside and forcing him to promise to have Isifile killed. The only clue we are given of any underlying anger on Medea's part is her initial reaction to Giasone and Isifile's embrace: she refers to her lover as a traitor, and to her own jealousy, while coldly plotting her rival's death. Five scenes later, then, working herself into a lather, she storms up the steep slopes of the Valley of the Orseno at the end of her rant, in order to confirm with Besso that Giasone's orders for him to throw Isifile off the cliff have been carried out. And indeed, the following scene depicts that very action, with disastrous results for Medea. In the intervening minutes between the end of III. 9 and the beginning of III.10, though, she seems to have calmed considerably, reverting to her state of mind in III.4. Several lines in, she schemes quite lucidly to ask Besso if Isifile is out of the picture without implicating herself in the scheme:

Medea, III.9, vv.2290-96

> Vorrei, senza apparire partecipe di fatto, del seguito fin qui piena contezza. Or come potrò far? Fingerò sì, fingerò che Giason... saggio pensiero; così potrò senz'apportar sospetto de l'ordin dato penetrare il vero.

I would like, without seeming to take part in the affair know everything that has happened. Now how shall I do this? I shall pretend, yes, I shall pretend that Jason... a good idea; thus I will discover the results of his command without arousing suspicion.

Venting her spleen seems to have afforded Medea the presence of mind to approach Besso with some caution. In a sense, though, she has returned to exactly the same emotional state in which she left off at the end of III.4. Her rage scene, then, is a perlocutionary dead end: it may have accelerated her steps up the slopes of the Valley of the Orseno, but in the end she would still
have asked Besso for an update no matter her state of mind. By removing III. 9 entirely, Medea loses her angry edge, and maintains a calculating dimension more in line with the control she has exhibited up until this point.

## Substituted Scenes

Among all sources for Giasone, only three scenes were replaced, in isolated instances, for analogous scenes: the Prologue, III.16, and the Epilogue. On the surface, the rarity of this type of alteration is incongruous with what we know of the relatively frequent phenomenon of suitcase arias during the second half of the Seicento: singers would often substitute existing set pieces with ones they (or perhaps audiences) preferred from different operas. ${ }^{49}$ Arias from this period, however, contained no expository material. At their most serious, they would express an emtional response to the unfolding drama, and at their most lighthearted, they would express a pithy sentiment. To substitute an entire scene would require either that the new material cover the same plot points as the scene being replaced, or that the existing material have no direct bearing on the plot. In the case of Giasone, each substituted scene in fact presents one of these these possibilities.

Rewritten for the Roman revival of 1671 (billed as Il novello Giasone, which I discuss below), the original III. 16 features Giasone alone with his thoughts, having been apprised of (he is led to believe) Isifile's death at the hands of Besso. Wracked with torment-beset by the specter of a jealous Medea on one hand, and by the guilt of having assassinated an innocent Isifile on the other-Giasone faints. The Roman production not only extends Giasone's torment, giving him a

[^129]new aria ${ }^{50}$ in this scene ("Dormite occhi dormite"-_"Sleep, eyes, sleep"), but also inserts Demo, Egeo's stuttering servant, to provide color commentary as Giasone falls asleep. Under the rather thin pretense of having been sent by Egeo to kill the protagonist, Demo accomplishes nothing beyond providing a comic antithesis to Giasone and Medea's tender lullabies to each other earlier in this act. ${ }^{51}$ In fact, in none of the sources for this production does Demo's customary stutter surface in this scene, usually composed into the musical overlay. It is likely that this scene was expanded in order to provide the singer interpreting Giasone with additional material—Demo may have been added to provide registral balance, as Giasone's new text more than doubles his original content here. What is important, though, is that nothing changes in this new production: Giasone is still overwhelmed by his emotions, and thus still falls unconscious at the end of the scene, allowing Egeo to sneak up on him with dagger in hand.

In the original Prologue, Amore and Sole each lay claim to one of the female principals:
Amore champions Isifile as Giasone's rightful wife, whereas Sole champions Medea. By convincing Giove to unleash a storm at sea in II.8, Amore successfully contrives to bring Giasone and Isifile together-a crucial first step in their eventual reconciliation. The original version, then, imbues the gods with a certain amount of agency, as I have discussed above. This agency is removed, however, in the five sources that substitute Cicognini's Prologue with a new one featuring different characters: II. 8 is entirely cut from Vicenza 1658, Venice 1666, the Novello Giasone revival in Rome, and Reggio 1668/Modena.

[^130]The libretto printed in Vicenza in 1658 contains an entirely different Prologue featuring Musica (music), Poesia (poetry), Pittura (art), and Architettura (architecture). In this short scene, the four Arts bicker among themselves, exhorting each other to hurry with their work-"the theater is already full of curious people, and with such long delay, the scenes still remain to be finished" ("Già ripieno è il teatro / di curiose genti / e con lunga dimora / restan le scene da finirsi ancora")-all the while defending their own delay in finishing preparations: Pittura has had numerous brushtrokes to complete, Musica notes to compose, and Architettura machines to build.

This Prologue is in fact taken almost word-for-word from that of an earlier opera performed in Venice in 1654: Giulio Cesare Sorrentino and Francesco Provenzale's Il Ciro. ${ }^{52}$ Beyond an oblique reference to Amore (also present in Il Ciro's Prologue)—albeit as an archetype rather than a deity invested in the fortunes of Isifile-nothing indicates that the story to follow concerns Giasone until the last lines of the scene, an a quattro declaration that all is now ready ("The music/scenery/machinery/text to Giasone is all finished now. Let the performance begin."). ${ }^{53}$

Like the other substituted prologues I will discuss below, the presence of these allegorical figures evokes a convention, popular at the time and reaching back to the sixteenth century, of framing a theatrical work with such artistic archetypes. In a recent article, Andrea Garavaglia has explored specific seventeenth-century operas that have featured such prologues. ${ }^{54} \mathrm{He}$ argues that the typical contests portrayed by figures such as Musica and Poesia (at times presided over by deities such as Giove or Apollo) involving the primacy of one Art over the others, generate a

[^131]"metatheater" that refers directly to the collaboration between music, language, art, and stagecraft that constitutes opera-a genre still in its infancy at the time, and one for which its creators and performers were still seeking legitimation at the artistic level. This type of prologue, then, which always ended in a spirit of reconciliation and cooperation among the Arts, was a means for librettists to give voice to their own concerns and hopes for their creations. They also became less and less prevalent among new operas as the century progressed, peaking at eight in number during the 1660 s, to three in the following decade, then two each in the 1680 s and 1690 s.

While several of these artistic-themed prologues appeared in Venice, the large balance of them premiered in cities outside the immediate purview of the Veneto, reaching as far south as Naples and as far north as Vienna. The Vicenza performance of Giasone in 1658 was the only opera to feature such a prologue in that city. Less than fifty miles from Venice, Vicenza did not experience the overwhelming opera boom that la Serenissima did: the Teatro delle Garzerie that staged Giasone did not mount its first opera until 1655, having opened some twenty-five years earlier for the purpose of spoken comedies. ${ }^{55}$ In presenting a work that was already well-known throughout Italy by that point, the author of the libretto's letter to the Reader (possibly Pier Paolo Bissari, a librettist and perhaps impresario of the theater ${ }^{56}$ ) remarks upon Giasone's fame, all the while noting the careful removal of as much material as possible for the sake of shortening the performance ("necessitated by the circumstances of these days"), ${ }^{57}$ and the addition of new ariettas written to delight the audience. And yet no mention is made of the recycled Prologue from Il Ciro, even though some members of the audience might well have seen Il Ciro's Venetian

[^132]premiere several years earlier, if not Giasone as well (or at least had access to a libretto of the latter work). Furthermore, for those who had not seen either work previously, Vicenza 1658 is unique among the sources that replace the Prologue, in that it retains the final scene in which Giove congratulates Amore for having won-now inexplicable without the backdrop of a struggle between Amore and Sole. ${ }^{58}$ There is no logical explanation for this: the replacement of the original Prologue featuring Amore and Sole, as well as the wholesale cut of II.8, removes all supernatural agency from the story, rendering this final scene nothing more than a coda featuring previously unseen characters. Why would Bissari have bastardized the original structure of Giasone in such a way?

The answer may be found in the nature of these prologues. We know that the ones featuring the Arts lie outside the scope of the proper plot, referring as they do to larger issues about the genre of opera as a whole. But in a sense, this extra-dramatic dimension can also be applied to prologues such as Giasone's original; I have argued earlier that the gods inhabit a sphere outside that of the human protagonists. No direct interaction transpires between beings human and divine: even the storm that keeps the Argo moored at Caucasian Iberia can be attributed-as it is in the majority of Giasone's sources that simply cut the scene in which Giove calls for that storm (II.8)—to mere happenstance. The Prologue and Epilogue in Vic58, lying outside the main plot of Giasone, may have been perfectly acceptable to Vicentino audience members. Given how widespread knowledge of Greek and Roman mythology was at this time, ${ }^{59}$ and that therefore the knowledge that Apollo was Medea's ancestor and Giove Isifile's, it is even possible that spectators

[^133]may have immediately understood the reason behind the appearance of an exultant Giove in that final scene.

The Prologue rewritten for the Ventian revival of Giasone in 1666 also features Poesia and Musica, although it substitutes Pittura and Architettura for Nobiltà (nobility), Capriccio (caprice), and Compatimento (sympathy). While similarly allegorical in nature, this scene is aimed more at patronage than metatheater. Capriccio, beset by his own inconstant nature, begs his companions for succor. Poesia and Musica respond with the refrain "ask for mercy from this royal Tron" ("a questo regio Tron, chiedi mercé")—an overt reference to Carlo Andrea Tron, member of one of Venice's ruling families, proprietor of the Teatro San Cassiano where Giasone was performed, and one of the dedicatees of the printed libretto for the new production. ${ }^{60}$ Nobiltà, if not a direct personification of Tron, can be considered an allusion to the theater owner's munificence, while Compatimento's appearance at the end of this short scene confirms that none who ask for mercy will be turned away by one who wears a crown ("non disperi la mercede / da chi dona le corone").

For Giasone's reappearance on a Venetian stage seventeen years after its premiere, San Cassiano's impresario likely wished to provide his audiences with a version filtered by nearly two decades of external performance practice. This included changing the opening of Isifile's first scene (I.13), replacing her original recitative ("Ferma, ferma, crudele") with an entirely new aria ("Adorata rimembranza"). ${ }^{61}$ The Venetian revival also featured scene cuts that by this time had become somewhat standard for Giasone: I. 3 (Rosmina giardiniera), III. 1 (Oreste and Delfa), and III. 10 (Delfa), as well as both subsequent scenes featuring the gods (II. 8 and III.Ultima). Delfa was given short shrift in this production: beyond the cuts already mentioned, her first solo scene in the

[^134]first act (I.8) was also removed. Along with an entirely new Prologue featuring well-known allegorical characters, though subverted in this case to essentially shill for the theater's proprietor, those responsible for this revival sought to provide their audiences with a Giasone that acknowledged its already remarkable fortunes throughout Europe (according to the Notice to the Reader), ${ }^{62}$ but that bore its own distinct stamp.

Nowhere did this desire to produce a unique Giasone manifest itself as strongly as in Rome in 1671. Billed as a "novello" Giasone, and a marquee attraction of the Teatro Tordinona's inaugural season, ${ }^{63}$ this revival made significant changes to the original work under Filippo Acciaiuoli's direction, replacing the Prologue and adding new arias and scenes, with new music composed by Alessandro Stradella. As with most operas by this period, part of the publicity campaign for this production involved a printed libretto that was almost certainly made available to audience members in advance of the performance. ${ }^{64}$ Contrary to the libretto for Scipione affricano, performed that same season, which exhaustively listed all of the stage machinery involved in that production, the libretto for Il novello Giasone contains no such indications. Furthermore, the Prologue is largely a copy of the original (although with several verses cut) featuring Sole and Amore at loggerheads over which woman will marry Giasone. Aside from the title page, then, the opening pages of the libretto give no indication that this performance is, in fact, "novello."

[^135]It is only when studying the scores preserving the music from this production (located in Siena and in Lisbon) that we begin to see Acciaiuoli's plans to stupefy his audience. In the middle of Sole's fifth line, with no warning, the Sun god is interrupted by the destruction of all of the stage's scenery—marked in the score by the rubric "Qui segue la rovina" ("here follows the collapse"). Following this, Musica, Pittura, and Poesia rush on stage, clamoring for Architettura's help. He finally appears, and chastises them for their superficiality ("O come stolte siete / s'all'apparenza sol belle credete"-"O how unwise you are, if you only believe in the beauty of appearances"). After restoring the scenery to order, he announces that the opera is ready to commence. Poesia first wishes to practice an aria-specifically one of those added to this opera ${ }^{65}$ —to which Musica acquiesces, singing "Chi non prova lo stral dell'amoroso Arcier" ("He who cannot feel the amorous Archer's arrow"), ${ }^{66}$ perhaps in tribute to the original interlocutors, who by now have disappeared from the stage. With the words "Viva, Giasone!" sung in unison, the Prologue then ends. Such a collapse of stage scenery was not a new stratagem: as early as 1639 , the Prologue to Orazio Persiani and Cavalli's Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo ends with the direction "qui cade a terra il teatro" ("here the theater crashes to the ground"). ${ }^{67}$ The intent, however, remains: at first, surprise and dismay among the audience in the face of apparent disaster on the

[^136]stage, and then, as the Arts intervene and play out their traditional rivalry, the gradual understanding that the entire event had been planned.

A similar gambit seems to have taken place in a performance of Giasone in Reggio Emilia three years earlier, although with no pyrotechnics involving the collapse of stage sets. While the printed libretto (Reggio 1668) does not include a Prologue, it lists among its stage machinery, in order of appearance, Sole's chariot ("Carro del Sole"), Nettuno (Neptune) in the sea on a seashell carried by two seahorses ("Nettuno in mare, sopra d'una conchiglia, portata da due cavalli marini"), and Amore with various flying apparatus ("Amore con vari e diversi voli"). ${ }^{68}$ The mystery of Nettuno's presence here is revealed from an inspection of the score for Giasone located in Modena, a scant twenty miles from Reggio Emilia. ${ }^{69}$ In the Prologue to this score, Sole and Amore are given different names-Febo (in reference to Phoebus Apollo) and Cupido-although the content plays out the same way: Febo exults in Giasone's impending triumph later that day, and Medea's marriage to him, while Cupido begs to differ. Before Cupido can get a word in, however, Nettuno makes an appearance, taking umbrage at Febo's presumption that Giasone will easily escape with the Golden Fleece on seas under the deity's dominion. The rest of the Prologue proceeds as the original, with Nettuno joining Cupido in defying Febo's plans. While none of these gods appear again in the libretto or the score, it might be easy to conceive of Nettuno working behind the scenes in Act II to push the Argo to Caucasian Iberia, in the same manner as in the vast majority of performances that cut II.8.

[^137]The misdirection involved here between libretto and performance (as recorded in the score) may have been inadvertent. It is possible that Prospero Vedrotti, the libretto's publisher, would not have had access to the Prologue in time for printing if those responsible for writing and setting it to music had been delayed in completing their task. However, he must have known of their plans for the Prologue, since the gods' vehicles are listed among the libretto's stage machinery, and the three of them are listed by name in the Cast of Characters: Febo, Nettuno, and Amore (rather than Cupido). Whatever the case, the new Prologue, with its strong echoes of the original, would have certainly delighted audiences in Reggio Emilia in a manner similar to Acciaiuoli's Novello Giasone—though perhaps without inducing the initial stupefaction.

The last substituted scene, originally the Epilogue featuring a triumphant Amore receiving his due from Giove, appears in the same group of Milanese librettos that shift II. 8 to the end of the act, discussed previously. This new Epilogue consists of merely an aria for Amore, and is not even given its own scene designation; rather, it comes directly on the heels of Isifile, Giasone, Medea, and Egeo's final exultant utterance in the preceding scene, accompanied by the rubric "Amore per aria in fine dell'opera" ("Amore in the air at the end of the opera"). It accomplishes the same function as the original, providing a coda to the ancillary plot line that pitted Amore against Sole in the Prologue. Combined with the shifted scene in Act II, and the insertion of the Coro delle Hore at both ends of the Prologue, ${ }^{70}$ the overall effect is a diminishing agency of the gods that resonates with the general trend toward prologues that were easily separated from the main drama. ${ }^{71}$

[^138]
## Conclusions: Giasone's Dramatic Integrity

The discussion in this section has established that none of the altered scenes-whether added, cut, or substituted-had an impact on Giasone's overarching plot. Furthermore, the decisions that were made in each case reflected more the prerogative of the impresario (or perhaps the singer), than any concerns about the quality of Cicognini's original plot structure. Certainly, the fact that so many scenes could be removed, while still maintaining the integrity of the story, speaks to the amount of variety with which the librettist imbued the skeleton of his plot. Cicognini achieved this by tapping into already-popular tropes present at the time in Venetian opera and running wild with them: character types such as the stuttering hunchback, the coquettish handmaiden, or the horny old nurse; scene types such as a hair-raising incantation scene, heartrending laments, or a tender lullaby scene; and on a larger scale, the commixture of the high-brow and the low-brow. This last was perhaps the singular defining trait of Venetian opera, and the precipitating factor for the Arcadian reforms of the early eighteenth century. And yet at the heart of all of this is a love story shared by the four main characters, overlaid with happenstance and coincidence, that remained untouched over the course of more than thirty productions and four decades.

This respect among subsequent performers for the integrity of the main plot is especially apparent at the points of contact between altered scenes and principal characters. Only two such scenes exist, one featuring Medea, the other Giasone. In these two cases, both Medea and Giasone are reacting (separately) to events-Medea in a fit of jealousy at the possibility that Isifile might win back Giasone's affections, and Giasone stricken with guilt that he is responsible for Isifile's death. Medea's rage scene (as we have seen) is a perlocutionary dead end-her anger fizzles at the start of the following scene once she has reached the cliff where Besso awaits, as she coldly calculates how best to approach him to obtain the information she seeks-and once removed, does not affect the rest of the story. Giasone, instead, falls senseless at the end of his
original III.16; this allows a vengeful Egeo to approach him unimpeded in the following scene. The Roman productions that tampered with this scene substituted it with one featuring Giasone and, in the distance, Demo, but ending in the same outcome: Giasone faints, but now he does so with Demo's color commentary attached. The fact that both of these are solo scenes perhaps suggests a hierarchy of material at the chopping block, ranging from untouchable ensemble scenes (featuring only principal characters, or principal and secondary characters) in which the plot is clearly driven forward through dialogue, to solo scenes featuring the principal characters in which the plot may or may not move forward, and finally scenes featuring servants that are purely commentarial.

## The Prose Version and its Relationship to the Libretto

Four of Giasone's sources bear the unique distinction of having been set in prose rather than in verse. Published in Venice (1664, Camillo Bortoli, with another edition distributed both there and in Parma by Mario Vigra) and Bologna (1667, Carlo Manolessi and 1671, Gioseffo Longhi) well after Cicognini's death in 1649 , they are all virtually identical in content, with some minor regional variations in spelling. This prose version has generated some debate among scholars as to whether it was written by Cicognini himself, or was adapted from verse after the librettist's death at the behest of an enterprising publisher seeking to further capitalize on Giasone's popularity. The general consensus, however, seems to be that it was never intended to be staged, having come so late in Giasone's performance history-and during the full bloom of Venetian opera throughout Italy. In her dissertation, published in 1954, Anna Amalie Abert proposed that the prose version was simply a publisher's gimmick, having studied the 1667 Bologna publication
in conjunction with a copy of the Venice 1664 libretto. ${ }^{72}$ More recently, Nicola Michelassi has observed that the language and idioms contained in the prose version point to Tuscany, and that thus it was possible that Cicognini-a Florentine-might have prepared it himself. ${ }^{73}$ Anna Tedesco has independently proposed Cicognini's authorship, going on to suggest in convincing fashion that the prose version may indeed have preceded the libretto as a working draft by an author more accustomed to writing plays than operas. ${ }^{74}$ As I will show below, a pair of scenes at the beginning of Act III provide even further evidence supporting the attribution to Cicognini himself.

Table 4.5 below shows a virtual one-to-one correspondence in scenes between the two versions, although the prose edition is more rigorous in delineating new scenes upon the arrival or departure of a character (shown in boxes).

## Table 4.5: Giasone-Prose Edition vs. Venice 1649A

| PROSE EDITION | VENICE 1649A <br> Prologue |
| :--- | :--- |
| I.1: Ercole, Besso | I.1: Ercole, Besso |
| I.2: Ercole |  |
| I.3: Giasone, Ercole | I.2: Giasone, Ercole |
| - | I.3: Rosmina Giardiniera |
| I.4: Medea | I.4: Medea |
| I.5: Egeo, Medea | I.5: Egeo, Medea |
| I.6: Piccariglio | I.6: Oreste |
| I.7: Truffaldino, Piccariglio | I.7: Demo, Oreste |
| I.8: Delfa | I.8: Delfa |
| I.9: Medea, Delfa | I.9: Medea, Delfa |
| I.10: Giasone, Medea | I.10: Giasone, Medea |
| I.11: Giasone | I.11: Giasone |
| I.12: Medea, Giasone, Delfa | I.12: Medea, Giasone, Delfa |
| I.13: Delfa | I.13: Delfa |

[^139]TABLE 4.5 (CONTINUED)

| I.14: Isifile | I.14: Isifile |
| :--- | :--- |
| $\left[\right.$ I.15 $\left.{ }^{75}\right]$ : Medea | I.15: Medea, Choro di Spiriti |
| II.1: Isifile | II.1: Isifile, Alinda |
| II.2: Piccariglio, Isifile II.2: Oreste, Isifile <br> II.3: Isifile II.3: Medea, Giasone, Delfa <br> II.4: Medea, Giasone, Delfa II.4: Giasone <br> II.5: Giasone II.5: Medea, Delfa <br> II.6: Medea, Delfa II.6: Medea, Giasone, Ercole, Delfa <br> II.7: Medea, Giasone, Ercole, Delfa II.7: Demo, Egeo <br> II.8: Truffaldino  <br> II.9: Egeo, Truffaldino II.8: Giove, Eolo, Amore, Coro di Venti <br> - II.9: Oreste, Alinda <br> II.10: Piccariglio II.10: Demo, Oreste <br> II.11: Truffaldino, Piccariglio  |  |


| II.12: Giasone, Medea, Ercole, etc. | II.11: Giasone, Medea, Ercole, etc. |
| :--- | :--- |
| II.13: Giasone, Medea |  |
| - | II.12: Besso, Alinda |
| II.14 Piccariglio, Giasone, Medea | II.13: Oreste, Giasone, Medea |
| II.15: Isifile, Giasone, Medea | II.14: Isifile, Medea, Giasone |
| II.16: Isifile |  |


| III.1: Delfa, Piccariglio | III.1: Oreste, Delfa |
| :--- | :--- |
| III.2: Delfa, Ercole | - |
| III.3: Medea, Giasone | III.2: Medea, Giasone |
| III.4: Piccariglio, Medea, Giasone | III.3: Oreste, Medea, Giasone |
| III.5: Isifile, Giasone, Medea | III.4: Isifile, Giasone, Medea |


| III.6: Giasone | - |
| :--- | :--- |
| III.7: Giasone, Besso | III.5: Besso, Giasone |
| III.8: Egeo | III.6: Egeo, Demo |
| III.9: Truffaldino, Egeo | III.7: Isifile |
| - | III.8: Oreste, Isifile |
| III.10: Isifile, Piccariglio | III.9: Medea |
| III.11: Medea | III.10: Delfa |
| III.12: Delfa | III.11: Medea, Besso |
| III.13: Medea, Besso | III.12: Isifile, Besso |
| III.14: Isifile | III.13: Egeo, Medea |
| III.15: Egeo, Medea | III.14: Besso, Giasone |
| III.16: Besso, Giasone | III.15: Medea, Egeo |
| III.17: Medea, Egeo | III.16: Giasone |
| III.18: Giasone | III.17: Egeo, Giasone |
| III.19: Egeo, Giasone | III.18: Isifile, Egeo, Giasone |
| [Unnumbered7 ${ }^{76}$ ]: Isifile, Egeo, Giasone | III.19: Besso, Giasone, Isifile |
| III.20: Ercole, Besso, Giasone, Isifile | III.20: Medea + above |
| III.21: Medea + above |  |

[^140]TABLE 4.5 (CONTINUED)

| III.22: Egeo + above | III.21: Egeo + above |
| :--- | :--- |
| III.Ultima: Delfa, Piccariglio + above |  |
| - | III.22:Giove, Amore, Coro di Dei, Zeffiro |

Notably, there are no gods-the Prologue, as well as II. 8 and the Epilogue, do not appear in the prose version. If this were indeed a working sketch for the libretto, it would make sense that Cicognini primarily focused on fleshing out the human characters; the Prologue and other scenes would not have been a priority until everything had been properly versified. ${ }^{77}$ Furthermore, Demo and Oreste are called Truffaldino and Piccariglio respectively-these names refer to stock characters from the commedia dell'arte. ${ }^{78}$ Finally, neither Rosmina nor Alinda exist in this version. Rosmina's part, of course, was removed from many subsequent performances. Alinda, Isifile's flirtatious handmaiden, plays no vital part in the plot beyond acting as a more love-savvy foil to her mistress on one level, and on another, a youthful foil to Delfa's aged flirtatiousness. She does, however, exist in all later productions of Giasone except for the latest one in Brescia, from 1690. It is likelier that Cicognini would have written Alinda's part in for the libretto after having prepared this prose version (perhaps for an additional singer), than that one of its publishers in the latter half of the century would have been responsible for removing all mention of her while contemporary libretto prints still included her.

Overall, the prose version closely matches the libretto in terms of content, scene by scene:
both principal and secondary characters' plotlines move virtually in step between both versions.
One of the main differences, however, is that the prose version contains very little superfluous

[^141]content. Alinda, for example, engages in a brief dalliance with Besso in the opera-a rare, if not wholly unique scene that has nothing to do with the principal characters-whereas in the prose version, as I have noted, she is nowhere to be found. Indeed, without Alinda in the picture, the character focus in almost every scene centers squarely on Giasone, Isifile, Medea, or Egeo. The single moment of slippage revolves around a scene that never made it to the libretto: III.2.prose, featuring a previously unseen combination of characters in Delfa and Ercole that never makes it into the libretto.
III.1.prose does appear in the libretto, in terms of its configuration of characters: in the opera, Delfa encounters Oreste and the two exchange notes about their respective mistresses, Medea and Isifile. Here, though, Delfa and Piccariglio engage in a very different type of conversation. Medea's old nurse and Isifile's faithful old retainer apparently shared a sordid past, as Delfa recounts fondly: "Remember, oh thief of hearts, that you made off with mine in the flower of my youth, and that you have always been the soul within this breast, the heart within this bosom, the nectar on these lips, and the daddy of loving Delfa." ${ }^{" 79}$ She is to remain frustrated in her perpetual search for someone to warm her blankets, however, as Piccariglio coldly rebuffs her. No sooner does he leave then Ercole appears, in the following scene. Admiring Giasone's faithful companion, though making no reference to his own heroic deeds that were likely well-known to audiences, Delfa plies him in turn with her charms and experience-with greater success. Ercole proves receptive to her advances, and furthermore agrees to punish Piccariglio's impertinence.

These two scenes, apropos of absolutely nothing else within the plot of Giasone, are a dramatic and perlocutionary cul-de-sac. Delfa finds the promise of eventual romantic fulfilment, but like Alinda and Besso's flirtation, nothing comes of it down the road; nor does Ercole's pledge

[^142]to Delfa to bring Piccariglio to justice (he appears several times later in the act none the worse for the wear). There is, of course, a resonance of sorts between the scenes in the prose and verse editions. Alinda, a younger woman, becomes the successful seductress, although in the opera she entices Besso, Giasone's gruff captain, rather than Ercole. Delfa, in turn, remains sexually frustrated through the entire opera, reminiscing fondly on past loves (though with no mention of Oreste: that connection is absent) and wishing for another chance at romance. Perhaps Cicognini wanted to retain an ancillary love story-using the term in its very loosest definition here-to act as a foil against the more pathos-laden relationship between Isifile and Giasone, as I have suggested earlier. If so, Delfa's two-scene episode in the prose version would have been too heavy, filled with old regrets and promises of vengeance, to provide much of an anodyne. Alinda, the bubbly coquette, proved to be the perfect solution, and so Delfa could remain the horny old nurse, a character type that had already become so popular in Venetian operatic convention at the time. ${ }^{80}$ With all of this in mind, it is supremely difficult to imagine a publisher in the 1660 s adapting an opera as well-known as Giasone from verse to prose, closely maintaining the interlocutionary intent-and in some cases even the pure locution ${ }^{81}$ —of the vast majority of the scenes, and yet not only fashioning out of thin air an erstwhile relationship between two secondary characters that geographically would likely have never come into contact with each other before the events of Giasone, but also milking this episode for two scenes' worth of entirely new material. ${ }^{82}$

[^143]One final difference between the prose and verse editions bears mentioning: the prolixity
of the prose in comparison to the libretto, usually at moments of high emotion that become arias in the opera. Medea's introductory aria, for example, is expanded in the prose version to riff on similar topics of captive love-and yet there is a clear correlation between the two texts, as seen below.

I.4, Medea (vv.315-34)<br>I<br>Se dardo pungente<br>d'un guardo lucente<br>il sen mi feri,<br>se in gioia d'amore<br>si strugge il mio core<br>la notte ed il di,<br>se un volto divino<br>quest'alma rubò,<br>se amar è destino, resista chi può.<br>II<br>Se allor ch'io vi vidi<br>begl'occhi omicidi<br>io persi il vigor,<br>se v'amo, e v'adoro,<br>s'io manco, s'io moro<br>per nobil ardor,<br>se Amor il mio bene<br>in ciel stabili,<br>amar mi conviene<br>è forza così. ${ }^{83}$

## I.4.prose, Medea

Se da strale scoccato
da guardo feritore
resto piagato il cuor mio,
se tra gioie rose
quest'anima amante si disface,
se da un volto divino
fu signoreggiato il mio arbitrio,
come posso non amare
essendo soggetta?
Oh Dio, facci di meno chi può.
Se in quel punto, che vi mirai
occhi cari, vi amirai, e arsi,
se ardendo felicemente mi consumo, se dal mio destino fu stabilito, ch'amor dovessi chi merita adorazioni, come posso restar di non amare?

Se un volto miracolo della natura, se due labbra tesoriere de' bacci, se un individuo in fine compendio della grazia, mi ha resa schiava, come posso
dimeno di non amarlo?
per te, per te o mio riverito Giasone,
l'anima mia si ritrova nell'auge delle felicità.
Non hanno i favi d'Ibla dolcezza,
yearn and sigh for me"), Venice 1649B replaces that first line with "s'io suono la lira" ("if I play the lyre"). Later in that same scene, though, Piccariglio asks Truffaldino if he knows Giasone, to which the hunchback replies full of bluster: "non vuoi ch'io lo conosca, se siamo camerate; che $v[\mathrm{u}]$ oi da lui?" ("you don't want me to know him, if we're comrades; what do you want from him?"). In Venice 1649A, his response is virtually identical-"Siam ca- siam camerata, / che pretendi da... lui?" ("we're comrades; what do you want from him?")-whereas in Venice 1649B onward, that first verse is cut. A closer examination of other such changes between Venice 1649A and Venice 1649B will be required in order to come to a full accounting of the prose version's relationship to these two sources.

83 "If the sharp dart / of a radiant look / wounded my breast, / if in love's joy / my heart melted / by night and by day, / if a divine visage / stole my soul, / if to love is one's destiny, / resist it who may. / If from the moment I saw you, / beautiful, murderous eyes, / I lost all my strength, / if I love and adore you, / if I ail, if I die / from noble ardor, / if Love decreed my love / in heaven, / then love I must; / such power it has!"
che possi pareggiar il dolce de tuoi bacci.
Dove sei, o mio bene? ${ }^{84}$

The relationship between prose and verse that this example highlights is mediated by Cavalli's musical setting: whittling down the text to two strophes of versi senari, Cicognini perhaps felt that no more needed to be said if what existed was to be sung as a strophic aria. ${ }^{85}$

Another scene, featuring Isifile (III.7), consists simply of a two-strophe aria, ${ }^{86}$ and does not appear at all in the prose version. In it, Isifile rejoices at her impending reunion with Giasone after having been tricked by him into a tryst-unbeknownst to her, Besso instead awaits, ready to kill her. While a perlocutionary response to Giasone's promise earlier in the act, one that itself motivates Oreste's plea to her in the following scene to first nurse her starving children, this scene contains no actual exposition: there is no change, either in Isifile's mood or in her knowledge of events. Within the medium of a spoken play-even if never staged, to our knowledge-such a static episode would never have existed as a self-contained scene. Even Medea's I.4, as similarly static as her aria is, ends with her reaction to seeing her former lover Egeo approaching.

As a counterexample, Isifile's introduction, I.14-set entirely as recitative in only the original Venetian librettos and their subsequent reprints-is matched perfectly by the prose version, almost line by line. A scene bearing tremendous psychological weight, it is perhaps

[^144]surprising that even minimal adjustments were made between prose and verse versions, and even more so that Cicognini did not write in any strophic texts into his libretto when preparing this scene. It is, after all, our first glimpse into the mind of Giasone's emotional linchpin. Recitative was, of course, a different medium in the mid-seventeenth century from what it would become in eighteenth-century opera seria. Cavalli himself resisted writing arias in his operas as much as he could, well into the 1660 s, preferring instead to believe in the power of recitative to adorn the texts that he set, and to move his audiences. ${ }^{87}$ Certainly, the rhetorical force of the recitative proper—rivaling that of Ariadne's lament made famous by Claudio Monteverdi—is enhanced by the musical overlay, as I demonstrate in my analysis of I. 14 in Chapter 5. It remains to be seen, then, how the prose version might have played a role during the collaborative process of writing Giasone that took place between Cicognini and Cavalli. ${ }^{88}$

## Bridging the Gap: Performing Giasone Today

In many ways, the most important change to Giasone's structure was one that did not take place during the seventeenth century. III. 8 is a short scene upon which the events of the rest of the opera hinge closely. As Isifile is readying for her nighttime assignation with Giasone in the middle of Act III, she is approached by Oreste. Her children have not been nursed, and are by now starving. Can she not take a moment to tend to her offspring before departing? Isifile initially brushes her servant off, telling him to comfort them in their hut; she will return before daybreak.

[^145]But she is gradually worn down by Oreste's appeals to her pity as a mother, and finally bids Oreste quickly bring them to her. Because she waited to feed her children, Isifile is delayed in arriving at the cliffside where Besso awaits. And because Medea needed to know if Giasone's orders for Besso to kill Isifile were carried out, she instead arrived at the cliffside before Isifile did, and was thrown off and presumed dead as a consequence. Arriving immediately afterward, Isifile is spared the fate Giasone and Medea had intended for her, and eventually reaches Giasone's camp in time to save him from an attack by a vengeful Egeo, now reconciled with Medea after having rescued her from drowning in the sea below that cliff.

It is remarkable that none of the sources for Giasone from the seventeenth century remove this scene, although perhaps not entirely surprising: Isifile is, after all, a principal character, and III. 8 is a key moment in the plot, bearing directly on the unfolding events leading to the opera's final denouement. Throughout my discussion of the changes made to Giasone over the course of the seventeenth century, I have shown that despite all of the cuts, substitutions, and shifts, there remained an abiding respect for the opera's central plot that shielded scenes featuring principal characters, in which drama invariably moved the story along, from undue alteration. Venetian opera in its first flowering mid-Seicento was literally stage drama performed through musicdramma per musica. Although newer works later in the century began to lose that hard focus on the integrity of a plot, and although Giasone itself fell prey to new audience-driven exigencies that demanded more arias, at its core it retained a plot steeped in logic.

One need only look at performances of Giasone within the past two decades to see how priorities seem to have shifted. Riding a fortuitous wave of renewed interest in Cavalli's operas, Giasone has been performed in no less than four different productions between 2009 and 2011: at Yale University under the auspices of the Yale Baroque Opera Project in 2009, at the Chicago

Opera Theater in 2010, at Vlaamse Opera in Ghent that same year (released on DVD in 2012 ${ }^{89}$ ), and at New York's Le Poisson Rouge under the auspices of Opera Omnia in 2011. A mere decade earlier, René Jacobs led a memorable performance of this opera in Innsbruck in 1998 that was recorded and published on CD by Harmonia Mundi in 2000. ${ }^{90}$ All of these superb performances featuring singers with strong acting abilities cut III.8.

Two of these productions, by YBOP in 2009 and Opera Omnia in 2011, removed the scene in its entirety. Ellen Rosand, YBOP's director, explained in private correspondence that time constraints necessitated the scene's removal, along with several sections that eventually curtailed Giasone to a two-act performance. Ultimately, she continued, there was no real need to elaborate on Isifile's tardiness-Medea simply happened to arrive at the cliffside before she did. In a sense, this explanation resonates with the events leading to the Argo making landfall in Caucasian Iberia rather than Giasone's original intended destination of Corinth in Act II: many seventeenth-century sources removed the scene featuring Giove and Amore that explained just how the storm came about that forced the ship to remain moored at the port. Without the gods' agency, the storm was simply an act of chance, perhaps in the same way that Medea's arrival ahead of Isifile was also simply an act of chance. The Opera Omnia production also made no reference to this scene: their performance had a distinct tinta suffused with the secondary characters' scatology, and as such the focus was not on dramatic logic so much as on the pure spectacle that Giasone could provide.

[^146]Both recorded productions-the Jacobs-directed vehicle of 1998 and the Vlaamse Opera performance from 2010-instead provide an excerpt from the beginning of III.8: Oreste's plea that Isifile think of her children, and the queen's initial dismissal:

Oreste and Isifile, III.8, vv. 2178-87

| ORESTE: | Fra i notturni perigli, signora, ove vai tu? Così de i propri figli non ti ricordi più? L'un e l'altro languisce per fame che atterrisce anco ifigli de i re. Ah volgi indietro il piè! | Milady, where into the night's perils do you go? <br> Do you no longer think of your own children? <br> Both of them grow faint from hunger that undoes even the children of kings. Ah, turn your feet back! |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ISIFILE: | Deh gli consola; <br> farò presto ritorno prima che spunti il giorno. | You go and comfort them; I will be back soon, before the light of day. |

In both productions Isifile's response is given offstage; she has already left to meet Giasone, and thus gives Oreste no chance to convince her to stay. Effectively, then, there is no difference between providing this excerpt and the wholesale removal of the scene. Certainly the time elapsed between Oreste's plea and Isifile's final word would not have equaled the amount of time that Medea's subsequent rage scene provided (the Innsbruck production retained her aria in its entirety, whereas the Ghent production retained only her recitative; both productions kept Delfa's scene that followed). Even without this brief dialogue, Isifile would not have reached Besso first. The liner notes to the CD recording of the Innsbruck production provide a brief explanation of their cut:

For reasons of running time, we have had to abbreviate this scene. Orestes asks Hypsipyle to come back and nourish her hungry twins. She accedes to his request and, having done her duty as a mother, is late for her meeting with Besso. ${ }^{91}$

[^147]Time constraints are a common explanation for this cut, as well as many others made in Giasone and other operas from the seventeenth century and beyond. Certainly by the late nineteenth century, performance time was an important factor simply due to practical considerations: Giuseppe Verdi, for example, had to authorize extensive cuts to Don Carlos during the period leading up to its 1867 premiere in order to allow his audience members time to catch the last trains before midnight to the Paris suburbs. ${ }^{92}$ To be sure, Giasone in its original, uncut form would have probably taken easily four hours to perform. It is a lengthy work, consisting of a total of fifty-one scenes across three acts. It is possible that even subsequent productions in the seventeenth century made cuts to less integral parts of the opera due to issues of time.

These modern-day performances of Giasone have all been successful, garnering positive reviews and bringing new prominence to a composer who in the early part of the twentieth century had been all but forgotten in opera house circles. In bridging the gap between the seventeenth and twenty-first century, directors have shifted priorities to a more modern sensibility, seeking a rapprochement between all-too-real issues like running time (performance spaces do cost rent, after all, and patrons need to get home at a reasonable time) and more aesthetic considerations such as the exoticization of seventeenth-century spectacle. Combined with the fact that early Baroque opera has not yet completely reached mainstream status in the way that "canonic" works by Verdi, Wagner, or Puccini have, it is a small wonder that some modern directors have sought to emphasize the easily titillating aspects of this genre, though perhaps at the cost of acknowledging the types of choices in alteration that Seicento impresarios had available to them when grappling with as widely-performed a work as Giasone, and one as subjected to the vagaries of independent performances that modified its structure over the course

[^148]of four decades. It is true that Giasone stands almost alone in its sheer number of sources. In this chapter I have sought to distill and systematize the types of changes that were made across all of these sources, in order to provide a potential blueprint for understanding what sorts of structural changes might be made in future productions of Giasone, which might further engage with and reflect some of the decisions made during its initial burst of popularity.

## Chapter Five

## MUSICAL DIPLOMACY: CAVALLI's HARMONIC LANGUAGE

Opera is largely a game of persuasion. Interactions in Giasone invariably revolve around the act of convincing: at its most fundamental level, Isifile seeks to win Giasone back from Medea, and Egeo seeks to win Medea back from Giasone, while Giasone and Medea are perfectly content to remain together. In order to accomplish this, these characters persuade through diplomacy. Indeed, every interaction in this opera can be viewed through a relational lens, in which character A wants one thing, and character B wants another, and they attempt to bring the other around to their point of view. This chapter investigates, through this same lens, how Cavalli brought Cicognini's text and characters to life musically, and conveyed their conflicts and resolutions by means of his harmonic palette.

A brief overview of the composer's life and works precedes the methodological framework that I employ to discuss the music of Giasone, one heavily indebted to Henry Burnett's recent work on hexachordal theory. My main analytical focus will be on what I term musical diplomacy-that is, how harmonic areas between characters, or between consecutive units of thought, are related via the characters' attempts to impose their wills on one another. As such, the musical material found in scenes involving two or more characters is rife with analytical potential. Drawing on Burnett's hexachordal model, which I discuss further below, I present several scenes from each of Giasone's three acts in which some sort of dramatic conflict is played out on the musical as well as the textual level. This shows one way in which Cavalli's music enhanced Cicognini's libretto.

## Francesco Cavalli

Much of our knowledge of Francesco Cavalli's life, gleaned mostly from archival documents and letters, was compiled more than thirty years ago in Jane Glover's monograph on the composer. ${ }^{1}$ Subsequent research has amended some details, but the overall trajectory of his career has not been drastically altered. What follows is a brief biography and overview of Cavalli's compositional output.

Born Pier Francesco Caletti in the town of Crema on 14 February 1602, the future composer gained fame early on with his singing voice, drawing the attention of Federico Cavalli, the Venetian rettore-essentially a governor-of Crema at the time. He convinced Francesco's father (composer and organist Giovanni Battista Caletti) to allow his son to accompany him to Venice, where he would receive more thorough musical training. As a result, Francesco departed at the end of the rettore's tenure in 1616, and later that same year joined the ranks of the choir at San Marco, whose maestro di cappella at the time was Claudio Monteverdi. While the extent of Francesco's tutelage at the hands of the senior composer is unknown, it is inevitable that some communication occurred between them. Francesco's first essays into composition were sacred in nature. He also developed a reputation at the keyboard, and was appointed as a part-time organist at the church of SS Giovanni e Paolo on 18 May 1620.

Over the following two decades, Francesco's activities centered largely on his singing and his duties as an organist (often freelance) in various venues throughout Venice; this facet of his career culminated in his winning, by unanimous vote (including Monteverdi's), the post of

[^149]second organist at San Marco in 1639. ${ }^{2}$ Several other noteworthy events took place earlier during that decade: on 7 January 1630, he married Maria Sosomeno, a wealthy widow (of Alvise Schiavina) and niece to Claudio Sosomeno, the Bishop of Pola; she later acted as an amanuensis for several of her younger husband's opera manuscripts, ${ }^{3}$ and her considerable estate helped to provide Francesco with financial security for the remainder of his life. It was also likely during the first half of this decade that he took on the family name of his first patron, Federico Cavalli: a gesture of recognition and gratitude on Francesco's part toward the erstwhile rettore's faith in his musical ability and generosity in supporting him through a particularly rough stretch riddled with gambling debts during the 1620 s. ${ }^{4}$ This change in surname had certainly taken place by 1634, when he contributed "Son ancora pargoletta" to a published collection of arias; this composition seems to be the earliest document bearing his new name, in the form "Francesco Bruni detto il Cavalli."

The year 1639 saw Cavalli's entrée into the nascent opera industry in Venice, a mere two years after Benedetto Ferrari and Francesco Manelli's L'Andromeda had introduced the genre to Venetian audiences. His first composition for the stage at the Teatro San Cassiano was a collaboration with Orazio Persiani (a friend of Cicognini's) on Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo. The following years saw two more operas, Gli amori d'Apollo e di Dafne (1640) and La Didone (1641), both with librettos by Giovanni Francesco Busenello (famous also for having provided the text for

[^150]Monteverdi's L'incoronazione di Poppea). Cavalli began to hit his stride as an opera composer over the next ten years, working almost exclusively with Giovanni Faustini at the Teatro San Cassiano. This was a fertile partnership that would last an entire decade until Faustini's untimely death in 1651; it produced a total of ten operas, from La virtù de' strali d'Amore (1642) to Eritrea (1652).

More importantly, this extended collaboration-and the collaborative routines it must have encouraged between composer and librettist-was instrumental in establishing operatic conventions during the 1640s, thus helping to define Venetian opera as a genre during that century. ${ }^{5}$

As groundbreaking as Cavalli and Faustini's partnership was for the genre as a whole, the single most performed opera throughout the seventeenth century-Giasone-was the fruit of Cavalli's only collaboration with another librettist, Giacinto Andrea Cicognini, in 1649 (he died later that year). ${ }^{6}$ That same year, the composer's setting of another Faustini libretto, Euripo, premiered in the Teatro di San Moisè and was then never performed again during the seventeenth century. While it would be unfair to draw conclusions about the quality of these two librettos from these fact, it should be noted that by the time Cavalli saw Cicognini's text for the first time (likely around the same time that the publisher Andrea Giuliani received the manuscript that would become Venice 1649A, printed on 5 January 1649), he was already a seasoned opera

[^151]composer with nine works under his belt. Combined with Cicognini's own particular brand of Spanish-by-way-of-Florence dramaturgy (resulting as well in Orontea that same year, which would go on to become yet another lasting success), ${ }^{7}$ Giasone would prove to be an all-star collaboration.

Faustini's death on 19 December 1651 abruptly ended the most stable partnership of Cavalli's career, and disrupted the virtual stranglehold the two collaborators had exerted over opera production, first at the Teatro San Cassiano (until 1650, and to a lesser extent at the Teatro San Moisè), and then at the San Apollinare (in 1651). By that point, a shift had begun to take place in Cavalli's career, characterized by an expansion of his sphere of influence to other librettists (such as Cicognini in 1649 and Nicolò Minato in 1650) and venues, even cities. Already a known quantity as an opera composer within Venice, Cavalli began to work alongside Giovan Battista Balbi (whose perfoming troupe, the Febiarmonici, were instrumental in Giasone's early travels throughout Italy) in establishing an opera industry in Naples, resulting in the staging of Didone, Giasone, and Egisto there in 1650 and 1651. Cavalli's Veremonda (an adaptation by Giulio Strozzi of Cicognini's Celio of 1646) actually received its premiere there in 1652 before being brought to Venice. ${ }^{8}$ Indeed, Cavalli's operas were gaining traction-and performances-in other cities by the early 1650 s, a trend that had begun as early as 1645 with a performance of Egisto in Genoa produced by none other than Benedetto Ferrari, ${ }^{9}$ who eight years earlier had been so instrumental in introducing opera to Venice.

[^152]After 1651, Cavalli went on to collaborate with librettists such as Minato, Giovanni Andrea Moniglia, Aurelio Aureli, and Francesco Melosio, resulting in eight more operas by the end of the decade. These brought him to various theaters in Venice, including back to San Cassiano and San Apollinare, as well as to the popular Santi Giovanni \& Paolo. As he had done with Veremonda, Cavalli wrote operas for other cities: Milan in 1653 (Orione, with Melosio) and then Florence the following year (Ipermestra, with Moniglia).

In the spring of 1660 Cavalli undertook a trip to Paris at the behest of Cardinal Mazarin (né Mazzarino), King Louis XIV's prime minister and a devout advocate of Italian opera and culture at the French court. As perhaps Europe's most famous opera composer, Cavalli had been invited to write an opera to celebrate Louis XIV's marriage to Maria Theresa, the Spanish Infanta. Traveling by way of Innsbruck (and perhaps Munich), he and his entourage reached their destination in July, only to find that the new theater in the Tuileries Palace (in which the commissioned opera was to be performed) was not yet ready. Indeed, it would not be until February 1662, after Mazarin's death and the resultant waning of Italian popularity at the court, that the premiere of Ercole amante (libretto by Francesco Buti) took place. Due to the general indifference toward Cavalli's music (and conversely, the enthusiasm for Lully's inserted ballets) shown by the audience, it fell on deaf ears-almost literally so, owing to flawed acoustics in the recently-completed Théâtre des Tuileries.

Cavalli's two-year sojourn in Paris was a demoralizing episode, judging by his statement in a letter from 8 August of the same year: "I've returned from France with the most firm commitment to never again toil on theatrical works." ${ }^{10}$ This resolution lasted an entire two years before he was persuaded by Marco Faustini (Giovanni's brother and a lawyer-turned-impresario

[^153]who had established a strong working relationship with Cavalli not long after Giovanni's death) to collaborate with Minato again, which led to Scipione Affricano in 1664 at the Teatro Santi Giovanni e Paolo, followed, in the next two years, by Muzio Scevola and Pompeo Magno at San Salvatore.

Giasone was revived at the Teatro San Cassiano in 1666, although it is uncertain what role Cavalli played, if any, in a production that incorporated substantial alterations-mostly cuts-from the version that had toured throughout Italy during the previous decade. ${ }^{11}$ It is worth mentioning that Cavalli's last opera written for the San Cassiano was Elena, six years before. The last record of any interaction with the theater's impresario, or with the Tron family (owners of the theater), was a three-year contract that Cavalli signed on 24 July 1658 that committed him to the San Cassiano for three years and three operas at a rate of 400 ducats a year-a princely sum and an indication of Cavalli's prestige as a composer by the late 1650s. Cavalli produced only two of the three operas specified in this contract: Antioco in 1659 (libretto by Minato) and Elena in 1660 (libretto partially written by Giovanni Faustini, completed by Minato). He was already in Paris the following year, so it is unclear how that final year played out within the terms of his contract. It did include what was essentially a non-competitive clause stipulating that Cavalli only write for the San Cassiano, with the important exception that he was allowed to accept commissions outside of Venice. There is no record of a third opera written for the Trons, so it is possible that this may have led to the termination of any professional association between the composer and the Teatro San Cassiano.

[^154]By this time, evolving tastes in Venetian opera had begun to shift toward more showy arias, and less dramatic exposition through recitative. Certainly by the mid-1660s these changes had become dominant, and Cavalli's staunch refusal to write in this newer style ultimately contributed to his waning popularity toward the end of the decade. Indeed, two of his last operas, Eliogabalo (libretto by Aureli) ${ }^{12}$ in 1667 and Massenzio (libretto by Giacomo Francesco Bussani) in 1673, never saw the light of day. Instead they were replaced with music by younger composers: Giovanni Antonio Boretti for the former (with virtually rewritten text by Aureli) and Antonio Sartorio for the latter. A third opera, Coriolano, did receive a performance in 1669, but in Piacenza (commissioned by the Duke of Mantua), not Venice. It was his last opera to be premiered.

Cavalli continued his duties at San Marco-becoming maestro di cappella on 20 November 1668-and devoted himself to the composition of sacred music, as well as to his responsibilities to the estate bequeathed to him by Maria upon her death in 1652 . Toward the end of the 1660 s he also oversaw the copying of several of his most recently composed operas (the latest being Eliogabalo) as well as several earlier ones, including Giasone, by "Scribe D," as Glover termed the composer's copyist. ${ }^{13}$

On 14 January 1676 Cavalli died, and was buried in the church of San Lorenzo alongside his wife and two sisters. His musical legacy in the years immediately following his death was inflated artificially at the hands of Cristoforo Ivanovich, ${ }^{14}$ his librettist for Coriolano, who

[^155]erroneously attributed to him many anonymous operas from the 1640s (these misattributions were not clarified until the early 1970s by Thomas Walker). ${ }^{15}$ Cavalli underwent a period of relative obscurity during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as reflected in academic writing from that period, with only a few references-including an uncomplimentary review of Erismena by Charles Burney, as well as a rather curious complaint by the English historian concerning the accessibility of musical examples from Giasone, given the abundance of its surviving scores: "the music of Giasone, if it is any where preserved, is so difficult to find, that it has escaped all my researches." ${ }^{16}$ Critical interest in Cavalli began in the second half of the nineteenth century, with Francesco Caffi's 1854 study of Cavalli's sacred music at San Marco, ${ }^{17}$ August Wilhelm Ambros' research into his operatic influence a decade and a half later, ${ }^{18}$ and then Taddeo Wiel's seminal catalogue of Cavalli's scores preserved in the Contarini collection at the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice. ${ }^{19}$ Performances of Cavalli operas were few and sporadic until the mid twentieth century, with Raymond Leppard's productions at Glyndebourne, which began in 1967 with Ormindo and continued into the 1970s. Combined with a surge in scholarship that same decade from Walker, Lorenzo Bianconi, Glover, and Ellen Rosand, the renewal of interest in Cavalli has been strong enough to propel both study and performance of the composer's operas into the twenty-first century.

[^156]
## Method and Analysis

My investigation into the music of Giasone and its relation to Cicognini's dramaturgy centers mainly on Cavalli's sophisticated harmonic language and its effectiveness in reflecting emotional states in characters and interactions between characters on stage. While Cavalli's use of melodic and rhythmic gestures in recitative, as well as his employment of closed forms in arias have been studied, ${ }^{20}$ no deep harmonic analysis of any of Cavalli's operas has yet been undertaken, though Monteverdi's works have been investigated from this point of view. To this end, I rely heavily throughout this chapter on a theoretical construct based on hexachord systems. In essence, this theory establishes a rigorous analytical language in order to account for harmonic phenomena in the music of this period-most often vocal-and their relationship with the texts that they overlay. The main developers of hexachordal theory, working independently, have been Eric Chafe ${ }^{21}$ and Henry Burnett, ${ }^{22}$ and their results are derived from their own empirical analyses of countless works from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While Chafe's observations and resulting method centered on the madrigals and operas of Monteverdi, Burnett has found a broader application, developing a system that employs hexachordal theory for analyzing both modal and tonal music (with a differing mechanism for each type of music). I will be drawing chiefly from his work in my subsequent discussions of specific scenes from Giasone.

[^157]
## Hexachord Theory

For Eric Chafe, Monteverdi's tonal language-despite a title that incorporates the composer's oeuvre into the teleology of an ineluctable progression toward tonality-is nonetheless deeply embedded in modality. ${ }^{23}$ The strong tendencies for harmonic progression in Monteverdi's secular oeuvre are the main marker for what Chafe considers to be a proto-tonal approach to music. As such, his theory seeks to establish a rapprochement between the often complex modal language of the late Renaissance and tonality's relatively limited palette of modes, using Monteverdi's music as a bridge of sorts between modality and tonality.

Drawing from treatises by seventeenth-century theorists including Athanasius Kircher, Adriano Banchieri, and Johann David Heinichen, Chafe establishes a list of modes that were recognized by those and other theorists of the mid- to late seventeenth century, and determines how they operate within the two available "key" signatures-cantus durus ( a ) and cantus mollis (1b). ${ }^{24}$ One of the principal mechanics of Chafe's theory was derived from the then recent work of Carl Dahlhaus: a system represents an ordered arrangement of all pitches that exist within a signature, and is composed of three adjacent hexachords separated by fifths-for example F (mollis), C (naturalis), and G (durum)—whose pitches can each serve as the root of a triad. In essence, the hexachord, originally a melodic construct employed to organize the Guidonian gamut, can thus be thought of as a harmonic entity as well.

In its totality, Chafe's theory proposes that any single composition from the late Renaissance is governed by one of two systems, which to him is the equivalent of the two

[^158]signatures available at the time: the $\ddagger$ system (cantus durus) or the 1 b system (cantus mollis). Each of these systems theoretically encompasses three hexachords, with cantus durus composed of the F (subdominant), C (central to cantus durus), and G (dominant) hexachords, and cantus mollis the B, (subdominant), F (central to cantus mollis), and C (dominant) hexachords. ${ }^{25}$ The notes of these hexachords, including their theoretical products of harmonization, represent all the possible pitches that can occur within that specific system/signature.


Figure 5.1: Chafe's Hexachord Framework

In the Figure 5.1 above, the underlined pitches indicate the hexachord's identity, reordered in ascending fifths. Each pitch listed denotes the chord it generates as well; lower-case letters indicate minor harmony and capital letters indicate major harmony. From this, it can be seen that each chord within a hexachord is by default in its "natural" position with respect to the hexachord's signature (so for example the quality of the C chord in the 2 b hexachord would by default be minor): the first three chords built on the first note of each hexachord are major, while the final three chords are minor, and it is these final three that are allowed major inflections as well, to account for the local tonicizations of the harmony to the chord's immediate left that occurs at internal cadences within the piece. It should be noted that any single hexachord,

[^159]including its theoretical harmonizations, accounts for eleven of the twelve existing pitches of the chromatic scale (an important aspect of Burnett's theoretical framework that I will come back to later), and so all three hexachords of a given system, taken in aggregate, allow for every possible pitch to be expressed.

While a system is defined by its three hexachords, at any given point only one of these is "in play," according to Chafe; this is determined by the harmonies being expressed within a single phrase or sequence pattern, or by the presence of a Phrygian cadence, whose bassline acts as a shorthand indicator of its particular hexachord's outer limits (for example, an F-E motion in the bass would indicate that the current hexachord being expressed was the $\ddagger$ hexachord, as those are respectively the leftmost and rightmost pitches in that hexachord). As a result, it is possible for a composition to be comprised of "up to three hexachords (very often two, sometimes three, very rarely fewer than two or more than three). ${ }^{,{ }^{26}}$ For Chafe, then, hexachords are a means of harmonic bookkeeping within a composition from this period. The key signature of any particular piece initially indicates the three theoretical hexachords in play (again, it is possible that only two of those hexachords are ever expressed within the piece, depending on its harmonic ambitus); the appearance of a phrase outlining the 2 b hexachord in a piece beginning in cantus durus, for example, would signify a shift into cantus mollis (even if not overtly indicated in the music with a signature change), and such a drastic gesture would likely mirror a similarly extreme gesture within the text at that point.

Without a doubt, Chafe's most seminal contribution to the analysis of Monteverdi's music, if not of late Renaissance and early Baroque music as a whole, has been his affective distinction between cantus durus (hard) as harsh and anguished versus cantus mollis (soft) as tender and pleasant. Moreover, his exploration of the development of the stile concitato at Monteverdi's

[^160]hands has provided some empirical insight into how this dichotomy might have evolved into our more modern understanding of major (durus) and minor (mollis) mode as-respectively, and broadly-happy and sad. In a book filled with compelling analyses, this relationship between affect and signature is a central mechanism for understanding many of them, and is one that I employ in my discussion of Cavalli as well.

One notable detail of Chafe's theory is that each system, consisting of three hexachords, has a central hexachord (the 1 b hexachord for cantus mollis and the $a$ hexachord for cantus durus) to which the other two serve as secondary harmonic areas-dominant and subdominant-in which cadences can occur. The chief difference in Burnett's theory, one with extensive ramifications, is that for him the central hexachord provides the only harmonic palette for its system. ${ }^{27}$ That is, the harmonic areas denoted by the pitches of the central hexachord of a system are the only allowable goals of cadential motion.


Figure 5.2: Burnett's Hexachord System

Because the subdominant and dominant hexachords are only melodic and not harmonic, each cantus is defined by only the central hexachord as a harmonic construct. As such, hexachord and system become essentially synonymous, and are determined at the outset of a piece by the cantus indicated in the signature. The individual hexachords in Figure 5.2 are largely similar to the ones listed in Figure 5.1, with the important addition of the flat seventh scale degree of each system's tonic: B b as an allowable pitch in the C system, and $\mathrm{E} b$ in the F system. This is reflected in the

[^161]bolded presence of the minor dominant (whose minor third is the flat seventh scale degree- C minor in cantus mollis and G minor in cantus durus) as a possible cadential gesture, distinct from Chafe's theory in which the flat seventh scale degree was allowed as a harmonic goal and positioned at the left of the subdominant hexachord.

And so, rather than causing a shift to another hexachord in Chafe's theory, the presence of harmonies beyond those of each central system here indicates that a transposition, or modulation, into another system—a "system shift," in Burnett's parlance—has taken place. Indeed, the concept of a system's transposability is central to his theory, and is the single crucial factor differentiating his from Chafe's analytical model.

The driving mechanism of this system shift is centered on a pitch that is missing from each system. Each individual hexachord in Figure 5.2, taken in its totality with possible harmonizations, accounts for only eleven pitches. The one "missing pitch" from each system is the minor third or augmented second of the hexachord's tonic note-in the C hexachord it is $E b / D \#$, whereas in the $F$ hexachord it is $A b / G \#$. The introduction of each system's missing pitch is the fulcrum that shifts each system either down or up a fifth to the next central hexachord along the circle of fifths. If spelled as the minor third, the background harmonic palette shifts from (for example) the C hexachord to the F hexachord, as Eb exists only in the latter of the two systems. If spelled as an augmented second, it almost invariably indicates a cadence on the third scale degree-the rightmost point of each hexachord. In the case of a C system, then, the appearance of $D \#$ as part of a $B$ major chord-the dominant of $E$-would shift the system up to a $G$ hexachord due to the existence of B major only in the latter of the two systems.

It is worth noting that system and cantus, while inextricably linked from the beginning of a piece when the latter defines the former, can at times operate independently: particularly in recitatives, Cavalli will often change the signature-and thus cantus-while the system remains
unchanged until it too shifts into the same new cantus. Conversely, sometimes the missing pitch is introduced (thus shifting the system) without there being an explicit change in the cantus. The delay before a corrective swerve takes place-the missing pitch is introduced and corrects the system to match the cantus, or (less frequently) the cantus will change in order to match the system—can vary from several beats to several measures. It is within these disjunctive spaces where cantus and system do not match that some form of conflict within the text is most readily perceived. Only in the most extreme circumstances does a disjunction between cantus and system persist all the way to the end of the piece. Indeed, this happens rarely enough that its occurrence almost invariably reflects a severe disruption within the (sub)text.

Burnett's theory of system transposition, centered as it is on a single pitch whose enharmonic spelling determines the direction of the transposition, effectively raises the stakes of emotional signification on the highly gestural music of late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century madrigals as well as of early opera. ${ }^{28}$ Shifts in the palette of available harmonies become more drastic seen through this method; to the extent that a particular system-initially defined by the cantus-indicates a certain mood or state of being at the beginning of a composition, a shift away from that system introduces a disruption on a deep level of structure that may or may not be eventually resolved, depending on the emotional vector of the text that the music supports. Moreover, by attaching such importance to a single pitch, Burnett introduces another level of interpretive-and performative-potential when the minor third or the augmented second appears in a composition.

[^162]By analyzing the music of Giasone using this method, I seek to track harmonic change as a reflection of the drama unfolding on stage. Indeed, I focus mainly on harmony in my discussions below, operating with the understanding that Cavalli's operatic music harmonically. As such, I have adopted the analytical convention of defining the overarching harmony of a musical phrase or period by its final cadence. In the frequent case (especially with recitative) that phrases are harmonically open-ended-that is, that they begin on one harmony and end in another-this convention becomes an important means of giving directionality to the music framing the characters' utterances.

Several aspects of this analytical method are worth emphasizing. Neither system nor cantus carry over between scenes in an opera: each new scene presents a blank harmonic slate on which the composer paints a different tableau, even if often related to the previous scene (as in the cast of the last two scenes in Act II, discussed below). Another particular trait of hexachordal analysis is that the members of each hexachord are harmonized only by their root. That is, the major and minor inflections of each hexachord note (not counting the subdominant or tonic) are simply two sides of the same coin. E minor, as a result, is not a rotation of G major; rather, its appearance as a harmony in a cantus durus scene would be harmonically equivalent to the appearance of E major in its place, pointing to the rightmost point of the C hexachord (and not merely its dominant G ). Finally, given the modal nature of Cavalli's music, there is no background tonic providing a framework against which a scene's constituent harmonies might be analyzed; all harmonic progressions are purely local events in Giasone.

## I.14: Isifile sola - An Analysis

To provide an example of how Burnett's theory can be applied to Cavalli's music interpretively, I analyze one of the most emotionally fraught scenes of Giasone, Isifile's first appearance at the end
of Act I. Cicognini's text in this scene conveys her heartbreak, her desperation to hear word of Giasone from her servant Oreste, and at the same time her fear of the news he will bring, as seen in her closing lines:
I.14: Excerpt (vv. 835-846)
S'ei non torna, mi moro;
s'ei torna, ohimè, s'inorridisce il core,
che d'infauste novelle
lo teme apportatore.
Così ad un tempo istesso
voglio, non voglio,
bramo, pavento,
e sempre accoglio
maggior tormento,
pena più ria...
e sol intendo al fine
ch'è l'istesso martir l'anima mia.

If he [Oreste] does not return, I shall die;
if he does, alas, my heart trembles in horror at the ill tidings
that he might fearfully bear.
Thus at the the same time
I want, and do not want, I yearn, I fear, and am overwhelmed by increasing torment, most dreadful suffering...
and only in the end do I understand that my soul is agony itself.

Cavalli's musical treatment of the text (for music transcriptions of this scene and the ones I analyze below, see Appendix IV) reflects her compromised mental and emotional state through a variety of techniques, including inverted harmonies, delayed cadences, and system shifts.

Table 5.1 below provides a map to the scene, showing the harmonic progression from phrase to phrase, and system changes when they occur. Areas with grey background indicate that the specific region is in cantus mollis, whereas a white background specifies cantus durus. Text in quotations indicates triple meter in the setting, signifying the presence of an aria or a smaller arietta. Harmonies in upper case are major, and in lower case are minor. Finally, parentheses around specific harmonies denote cadential phrases ending on a $V$ - I (or i) progression that firmly establish that harmony as a localized tonic.
TABLE 5.1 - I.14: ISIFILE SOLA


[^163]From the outset, the first "ferma" ("stop") is set to D major harmony, though it becomes immediately apparent that this is acting as the dominant of G minor. And yet there is no immediate cadence-and thus establishment-of G minor as a tonic harmony within this opening musical period. Indeed, Cavalli maintains a D pedal for seven measures before moving the bass to $\mathrm{B}\{$ as part of a first-inversion G major; this, after two measures, is shown to be part of a brief tonicization of C minor (weakened by the dominant not being in root position). Isifile's first invocation of Giasone's name in the following measure (m. 11) is accompanied by a brief brightening in the harmony, as B b major makes a quick appearance in its first inversion. At the end of this phrase the arrival of the first strong, root-position cadence on the tonic established at its beginning, G minor, occurs. It is exceedingly rare for Cavalli to delay a cadence for so longin fact, this is the only such example in Giasone and speaks to Isifile's fragile state of mind, as if "dreaming" ("Isifile vien sognando") according to the libretto's directions.

Even if only implied until the end, the tonic G minor of the opening phrase, as well as the implied harmonic areas en route to the actual cadence- C minor and $\mathrm{B} b$, major-all lie squarely within the molle hexachord/system, which is outlined by the F harmonic hexachord. Indeed, the opening signature of 1 b dictates that it is the mollis system at play:

$$
\text { 1b (Molle) Hexachord: } \quad \mathrm{B} b-\underline{\mathrm{F}}-\mathrm{c} / \mathrm{C}-\mathrm{g} / \mathrm{G}-\mathrm{d} / \mathrm{D}-\mathrm{a} / \mathrm{A}
$$

This system is maintained for the first twenty-nine measures of this scene, and the subsquent harmonic goals within this section-F major and D minor-both conform to the available harmonies of this 1 , hexachord. Immediately after the first strong cadence on $G$ minor, Cavalli shifts to F major, as Isifile shifts from her dreamlike trance into wakefulness and (relative) lucidity. The disjunction between these two harmonic areas-in this case still relatively close both
contrapuntally and along the circle of fifths-is a recurring technique that Cavalli employs in his recitatives to indicate the closure of one unit of thought and the start of the next one; in this case, Isifile's delirium (reliving Giasone's original departure from Lemnos, before the start of the opera proper) is followed by her gradually regaining her senses and bearings, finding herself upon the shores of Caucasian Iberia with her twin infants sleeping close by.

It is precisely when she brings up her children with Giasone, and thus by extension their father, that, now fully aware of her desperate situation, an A , is introduced (m. 32). This is the missing pitch of the 1 b hexachord, and spelled as the minor third of the hexachord's tonic F , it shifts the system down to a 2 b hexachord:

$$
\text { 2b Hexachord: } \quad E b-\underline{B} b-f / F-c / C-g / G-d / D
$$

This system shift now introduces the possibility of Eb major as a harmonic goal, as well as A , as a pitch, within its harmonic palette. Simultaneously, it removes the possibility of a cadence on D (major or minor)-or more specifically, the appearance of a $C \sharp$ as a leading tone, since $A$ does not exist as a harmonic construct within the B , harmonic hexachord (but rather only as a possible tone).

In this particular instance, the system shift does not last very long-only for two measures, until a cadence on F (m. 34). Isifile then begins a new unit of thought, if related to the previous one, by continuing her narration of how she came to find herself alone on this shore, freshly awakened. This new musical period begins on a first-inversion dominant of D minor (which cadential goal arrives after two measures), that is, with a $C \#$ squarely in the bass. This $C \#$, of course, is the 2 b system's missing pitch, spelled as the augmented second of the system tonic $\mathrm{B} b$, and specifically as a tonicization of that hexachord's rightmost harmony, D. The introduction of
this pitch, then, shifts the system back to the 1 b hexachord in which this scene began. The twomeasure shift into a $2 b$ system might thus be interpreted as a momentary dip in Isifile's mood, calling her children and thus Giasone to mind, before resuming her original train of thought. It is also significant that this musical period (mm. 35-47) begins with a soft approach into D minor (an imperfect cadence) and ends with a more forceful V-i cadence (a perfect cadence with the dominant in root position), with pre-dominant harmony in the middle being prolonged through upper and lower contrapuntal neighbors; Isifile is continuing to piece together the puzzle of how she arrived at her current state, and thus her reaching full awareness of her current plight is reinforced in the music.

At this point Isifile switches modes of expression from self-narration to self-pity. In a fourteen-measure period demarcated by A minor harmony, she describes the ways in which she has been wronged by, or because of, Giasone: exiled from her throne in Lemnos (at her own hand), mother of illegitimate children, wife without a husband, unrequited lover of Giasone, and still enamored of him in spite of herself. Perhaps most significant, musically, is the overt switch into cantus durus in the signature. Although this occurs in the score, the system remains molle until it has been shifted by means of a $G \#$, the leading tone of the rightmost harmony along the 1 b hexachord. And in fact, the A-minor harmonic area in this period generates an abundance of its leading tones, the first being found two measures after the cantus has shifted (m. 46).

It is worth noting at this point that such corrective system shifts after a change in cantus occur almost invariably; indeed, cantus and system will generally match each other throughout a composition. ${ }^{29}$ Only rarely do they not match at the end of a piece, or at the end of a scene (in

[^164]the case of an opera) -these are all noteworthy and require further discussion, as will be seen below in the case of the Prologue, and the finale to Act II. In the case of I.14, by the end of the scene both cantus and system are molle, although there is a prolonged stretch after the A minor period where cantus and system do not match. Immediately after the last cadence in A minor (m. 63 ), the cantus reverts back to 1 b as Isifile once again shifts her train of thought, this time from self-pity back to exposition: thinking of Giasone, she realizes, addles her mind. The systemcorrective $\mathrm{E} b$ in this final stretch does not appear for over thirty measures, with the brief exception of an eight-measure interlude in cantus naturalis (mm. 77-84), in which she impatiently wishes for her servant Oreste's expedient return with news of Giasone-clearly a shift in her train of thought, even if momentary. The immediate return of cantus mollis resumes the conflict between a 1 b cantus and a system that remains naturalis. It is a conflict that on some level might reflect Isifile's own conflicted state of mind, as seen in the text excerpted above: "If he does not return, I shall die; if he does, alas, my heart trembles in horror... Thus at the same time I want, and do not want..." It is not until the last two verses of the scene that system shifts back to molle. The music for Isifile's final declarative statement-that "only in the end do I understand / that my soul is agony itself"-packs a harmonic wallop, containing three system shifts within the span of nine measures. First, Eb corrects the system/cantus disjunction, shifting the former into 1 b; virtually that entire first verse is set on repeated Eb's in Isifile's melodic line. The system then shifts even further down a fifth to 2 b, with the introduction of an $A$,—in a Neapolitan chord forming part of a tortuously chromatic cadential figure in the bass, supporting a jagged melody sung by Isifilethree measures from the end (m. 115) on the word "anima" ("soul"). Then, on the very last two measures (mm. 117-118), in a chromatically inflected stepwise ascent in the bass from iv/G to V/G, C\# shifts the system back to molle, ending the scene in the same harmonic register as the cantus.

This final flurry of system shifts in the space of one utterance bespeaks Cavalli's tendency to employ such techniques in the service of affect. This technique, of course, is often the result of modern analyses: Chafe chooses similarly to illustrate the dichotomy between molle and durusthat is, pleasure versus anguish. However, in a period after Monteverdi's stile concitato had effectively reversed this affective relationship as it existed in the late sixteenth century madrigal repertory, it is still possible to detect vestiges of Chafe's old paradigm: the $B$ in the bass (m. 116), within the context of a 1 b system in Chafe's terms, is an exceedingly strong signifier of Isifile's emotional pain and torment. Burnett's theory does away with any such confusion, based as it is on a purely musical mechanism that shifts the burden of affect away from potentially fallible absolutes like molle/durus, and onto the strength of the text and its interaction with the music.

Although this analytical method does not specifically address the possibility that Cavalli's audiences might not have perceived the musical processes I have discussed (a change in cantus, for example, would be near-impossible to discern for a listener without a score handy), my goal in employing hexachordal theory here is as a potential lens into the compositional process. Specifically, I am interested in the notion of text-setting as a performance of the text. The above analysis, and my discussion of the scenes below, provide strong evidence that asserts Cavalli's engagement with Cicognini's libretto as more than just a mercenary composer hired by the Teatro San Cassiano's management. Rather-bearing in mind the fact that he was already in the midst of an almost decade-long collaboration with Giovanni Faustini at the same establishmentCavalli's treatment of Giasone was that of a seasoned opera composer who provided a nuanced reading-that is, a setting-of an equally nuanced and rich text.

## Musical Diplomacy Through Dialogue

The interaction between two or more characters on stage is the central mechanism through which the plot is advanced in Venetian opera. In Giasone, for example, only eleven scenes-out of a total fifty-one in the 1649 librettos-are soliloquies. The rest are composed of ensembles ranging in size from two characters to virtually the entire cast for the finale, with the majority of scenes consisting of two-person dialogues. This section focuses on several of these dialogues, with particular emphasis on what is being done from a dramatic standpoint, and how Cavalli mirrors character-that is, textual-interactions in his music.

Persuasion seems to form the central technique through which the plot is advanced in this opera. In I.2, Ercole must lure Giasone away from Medea's nocturnal embraces and toward the mission for which they came to Colchis in the first place-that is, to acquire the Golden Fleece. Several scenes later, Egeo attempts unsuccessfully to woo Medea back. Giasone then petitions Medea for her blessing in his quest; she turns around and playfully tries to foist the aged Delfa onto him as his secret paramour and lawful bride. In Act II, Alinda seeks to raise her mistress Isifile's spirits. Later, Amore must convince Giove not to drown Giasone and his Argonauts, but rather to divert them to Caucasian Iberia. Once Giasone, Medea, and Isifile are on stage together for the first time, Giasone must fend off Isifile's impassioned pleas to reconcile with him while frantically attempting to discredit his former paramour to his current lover. This particular scenario plays itself out once again in Act III, with the added mechanism that now Medea convinces Giasone that he must kill Isifile, or have her killed. Oreste subsequently cajoles Isifile into nursing her own children before running off to meet Giasone, thus delaying her arrival at the cliffside where the potential murderer Besso lies in wait, and setting off the chain of events culminating in Isifile's final, and finally successful, appeal to Giasone's pity toward herself and their children.

These interactions are reflected in Cavalli's musical setting: an analysis of harmonic profiles in the duets reveals a relational dynamic between each speaker's cantus and harmonic area. Depending on the state of agreement between the characters on stage, Cavalli at times juxtaposes different harmonic areas, for example ending one character's statement on a full cadence in G minor and then switching to V/A minor for the other character's response-the harmonies are contrapuntal neighbors, but are a distant series of fifths apart. The cantus-as well as system—in which each character sings plays into this as well, although these latter parameters are more often employed to affective ends, denoting particularly fraught or intense periods within a character's utterance.
Table 5.2 - Prologue: Sole, Amore



$$
138 \quad 139-153
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 194-195 } \\
& \text { AMORE } \\
& \text { Apollo... } \\
& \text { e - C }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { 102-111 } & \text { 112-118 } \\
\text { SOLE } & \text { AMORE } \\
\text { Anzi tutto vorrei... } & \text { Imenei senza me...? } \\
\mathrm{F}-(\mathrm{B},) \\
\mathrm{E},(\mathrm{~m} .107)=>1, & \mathrm{~B},-\mathrm{V} / \mathrm{B} b-\mathrm{c}-\mathrm{V} / \mathrm{c} \\
\hline \hline
\end{array}
$$

Odi...

$$
\begin{aligned}
& 139-153 \\
& \text { SOLE } \\
& \text { Odi... }
\end{aligned}
$$

(F) - (C) - (g)

$$
158163
$$

158-163

$$
\begin{aligned}
& 195-196 \\
& \text { SOLE } \\
& \text { Chi col destin... } \\
& \text { C }
\end{aligned}
$$

196-197
AMORE
Chi con Amore...

$$
154-155
$$

SOLE

$$
\mathrm{g}-\mathrm{v} / \mathrm{g}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Termina qui... } \\
& \mathrm{g}-\mathrm{v} / \mathrm{g}
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 190-191 } \\
& \text { SOLE } \\
& \text { Non può il Fato... } \\
& \mathrm{G}-\mathrm{V} / \mathrm{e} \\
& \mathrm{D} \#(\mathrm{~m} .191)=>1 \ddagger \\
& \hline
\end{aligned}
$$

| mm. $1-94$ |
| :--- |
| SOLE |
| Questo è il giorno |
| (C) - (G) - (C) |

Questo è il giorno prefisso... (C) - (G) - (C) - (d) - (a)
$\xlongequal{(\mathrm{C})-(\mathrm{G})-(\mathrm{C})-(\mathrm{d})-(\mathrm{a})-(\mathrm{C})}$

| 128-130 | 131-137 |
| :--- | :--- |
| AMORE | SOLE |
| E tu...? | L'istesso Fato... |
| E, $-\mathrm{V} / \mathrm{E}$, | (B $\rangle$ ) |
| 11,$]$ |  |


| 155-156 | 156 |
| :--- | :--- |
| AMORE | SOLE |
| $\begin{array}{ll}\text { Assai vi manca. } \\ \text { d-V/d } & E \text { che? } \\ \text { I } 1, \mathrm{l}\end{array}$ | D6 |

193
SOLE
Fanciullo
e

## Prologue: Sole, Amore

Conflict and persuasion play a prominent role in the Prologue (see Table 5.2), a battle of wills and wit between Apollo (Sole) and Cupid (Amore) that sets the stage for the opera proper. In essence, the story begins in medias res: Giasone has already fathered twins with Isifile in Lemnos, abandoned her, and—now in Colchis for already a year-has fathered yet another set of twins with Medea, the "unknown goddess" of whom he sings so adoringly in his entrance aria in I.2. Apollo, then, is reacting to these past events-he exults in Giasone's pending nuptials with Medea, a familial victory (Medea being his descendant) that the sun god assumes as a foregone conclusion.

In a lengthy multi-section period beginning and ending in C, Sole first lays out what the day has in store for the opera's protagonists ("Questo è il giorno prefisso"), including Giasone's acquisition of the Golden Fleece and his marriage to Medea, culminating in a lengthy fioritura passage on the word "fortunato." Coming after a stretch of measured declamation on distinct groups of repeated notes, the appearance of a melisma seems to be a marker for the end of a unit of thought, a pattern that Cavalli repeats in the subsequent sections of Sole's triumphant soliloquy. The melisma's arrival is not wholly unprepared: after the first phrase, "Questo è il giorno prefisso," the subsequent phrases (each beginning with "Oggi...") introduce a larger number of rhythmic subdivisions-a subtle accelerando effect to match Sole's rhetoric and growing excitement. It should be noted that within each of Sole's periods, a melisma culminates toward its end on the highest note of that section; here, for example, a high A marks the articulation of the final syllable of "fortunato" (the highest note before that is a high G, on "vello," in the slower declamatory exposition).

After a ritornello that recalls the opening Sinfonia, Sole proceeds, in a tone that can only be termed gloating, to call for his chariot to descend to earth in order to illuminate these deeds. Here as well, the melisma (on the word "raggi") climaxes on a high G, the highest pitch of this
section-although the note immediately precedes the final syllable rather than directly underlaying it. A chain of dotted eighths and sixteenths, first ascending on "illuminar" and then descending on "immortalar," presages the following Sinfonia (again, an indirect echo of the opening Sinfonia), which incorporates a similar dotted rhythmic pattern. Cavalli does not miss an opportunity to reflect the text in the following period: "crescete" is set to an ascending arpeggio, whereas "abissi" is accompanied by a descending string of sixteenth notes. This section-indeed Sole's entire soliloquy-culminates in a brief triple-meter passage in which the phrase "E le nozze illustrate di regia semidea" ("and illuminate the nuptials of the royal demigoddess") is repeated before a final florid melisma on the last two words, with thirty-second notes introduced on the first syllable of "semidea." This is the last melisma in this Prologue until its very end; once Sole must engage verbally with Amore, there is no time for fioritura.

Worth noting is the fact that these three periods, as well as the two instrumental passages they sandwich, encompass the entire naturalis system, centering around (and frequently returning to) C Major while dipping into F Major (in the ritornello) and going as far as E Major (in a tonicization of A minor toward the end of the opening period), the system's outermost harmonic limit. There is little at stake here thus far: Sole believes he has already won, and so perhaps this soliloquy is the equivalent of a harmonic-and melodic—victory lap within the bounds of the naturalis system.

Amore's arrival ("Affrena pur") changes things swiftly and irrevocably. The cantus switches to 1 ,—cantus mollis-as the younger god interjects in F Major: Sole's efforts are in vain. The harmonic opposition here-and in the rest of the opera when two characters are at loggerheadsis expressed specifically in the use of different harmonic areas, rather than in the shift of cantus or system; these latter are tools of affect, as well as structural frameworks for Cavalli to shift around in the circle of fifths. Sole's response ("Anzi tutto vorrei") begins on the same F Major harmony with
which Amore ended his preceding phrase, but promptly moves further downward (flatward) into a cadence on B , Major. The pitch E b in the middle of his statement is significant: it shifts the naturalis system into a 1 b system, thus introducing a new harmonic palette with which to paint (ranging along the circle of fifths from B, Major to A Major). That B, Major cadence, then-that is, a fully articulated chord on that particular pitch-would not have been possible had the system remained in naturalis.

Amore's following lines ("Imenei senza me") introduce another mechanism that appears throughout Giasone: questions are invariably set to dominant harmony-half cadences-that are then "answered" by the resolving tonic when the answer is provided in the text. Further below I will discuss rhetorical questions that go unanswered, which do not follow this trend. However, in this case, the question that Amore asks-"Who is this god... wishing to wage war with the great god of Love?" ("Qual è... quel dio ch'al gran nume d'Amor vuol muover guerra?")—shifts the harmony from B $b$, Major to C minor, ending on a V/C minor. Sole's response, "Fate," begins on that same dominant harmony and resolves on a cadence on C at the end of his statement that "Fate, o Love... has recorded [this happy bond] in the immortal volumes" ("Il Fato... nei volumi immortali ha registrato [così felice nodo]").

Sole does not end there, however: his following statement is no longer in direct response to Amore's question but an exhortation, if not an outright threat-"you had best abide by it this time, Love" ("soffrir convien per questa volta, Amore")—and it shifts the harmony away from C minor into G minor. Here and elsewhere in Giasone, Cavalli varies the harmonies underlying discrete utterances and ideas by characters; periods in the text, then, also act as signposts for separate musical periods. Conversely, from the perspective of the audience, the perception of distinct periods demarcated by cadences-whether authentic, half, or more rarely 7-8 (as in the case of Sole, m. 64)—serves to reinforce the boundaries between units of thought.

The exchange that follows between Amore and Sole continues as a series of questions and answers, with the former pressing the latter for more details concerning Fate's alleged decree that Giasone marry Medea. Amore is, in effect, giving Sole more rope with which to hang himself. At the end of Sole's pompous sermon, the other god simply declares the one missing element preventing any of Sole's plans from coming to fruition: Amore's permission. This entire period is enclosed musically within cantus mollis, with cadences on F Major, Bb, Major, C minor, D minor, and G minor, the last of which underlies Amore's final statement.

With the information-gathering at an end, the blustering begins. Accompanying a sudden switch back to cantus naturalis, Sole sarcastically proclaims in G Major, "Make way for Love, who of Fate's decrees has been made the corrector!" ("Fate largo ad Amore, che dei fatal decreti è fatto il correttore"). Amore then raises the stakes, declaring Giasone and Isifile to be the preordained match and staking his identity as "king of the universe" ("dell'universo il re") on this outcome. Indeed, he mockingly imitates Sole's melody (mm. 158-163 versus mm. 164-167), extending it to cadence in A minor. That cadential figure contains a $G \#$ as part of the dominant chord, one that shifts the system back to naturalis - a reinforcement of the cantus' shift back to naturalis (if twelve measures later) Sole's terse reply, that Fate can never be given the lie, introduces a $\mathrm{D} \#$ as part of a halfcadence on V/E minor; this triggers yet another system shift, this time up to a 1\# system, remaining there for the rest of the Prologue. Tensions have escalated between the two deitieslong gone is the relatively bland opening sequence that Sole sang, flitting from harmony to harmony along the C hexachord.

Sole and Amore have cast their lots, the former with Medea and the latter with Isifile. They depart at the end of the Prologue, Sole to traverse the sky ("Io scorro il ciel," underlaid with an ascending melisma), Amore to descend to earth to set himself to work ("Io scendo a terra e mi preparo all'opra," underlaid with a descending melisma). This scene has set the stage for the opera
proper in more than just a dramaturgical sense, however. On a harmonic level, Cavalli may have closed this scene on the same harmony, C Major, with which he opened it as well as the preceding Sinfonia. But it is clear that between that opening Sinfonia and its abbreviated reprise following the Prologue, something has happened: the shift to a $1 \#$ system in the last third of this opening scene is never resolved back to a naturalis system. In a symbolic sense, this harmonic disturbance-a lack of resolution on a systems level-opens up the way for the rest of the opera. In a sense, the conflict between the two gods is never resolved, as Sole never makes another appearance in Giasone. But the very last scene, found in only two of the surviving scores (Vienna and Vatican), features a now-triumphant Amore in the presence of Giove and a "chorus of gods" ("Coro di Dei"). While there is no reason to suppose that Cavalli was attempting to establish any long-range (pre-)tonal architecture in his setting of Giasone, it is worth noting that this entire epilogue is predominantly in the same C Major harmony as the opening of the Prologue, and that moreover it remains in a single cantus and system-naturalis-throughout.
Table 5.3 - I.2: Giasone, Ercole


## I.2: Giasone, Ercole

Our first glimpse of Giasone, the opera's eponymous hero, is accompanied by a beautiful cavatina that encapsulates his effeminate sensuousness: "Delizie, contenti" opens the scene with an
undulating melody that conveys the same sensuous torpor that Giasone himself feels after yet another night of amorous bliss with Medea ${ }^{30}$ (see Table 5.3 for an analytical chart to this entire scene). Indeed, each phrase can be reduced to a stepwise descending or ascending line, one that is ornamented by neighboring tones that snake around its simple melodic skeleton. This is all couched within a deceptively simple bipartite framework (AA'B): both A (mm. 1-4) and A' (mm. 5-8) motives firmly establish the tonic harmony of D minor (or Dorian, owing to the lack of a signature), whereas B (mm. 9-14) expands the harmonic palette, moving to F and then cadencing on A minor, before motives A and A' return (mm. 15-19) to reestablish D minor. The second iteration of B moves to C before cadencing on F major. This is then followed by a final iteration of AB (mm. 25-30) that ends in a cadence in D minor before the instrumental coda (mm. 31-37), an expansion of motive A' (marked "Ritornello" in the score). Throughout this short aria, Cavalli sets up an antiphonal relationship between voice and instruments, seen clearly in motive A where its phrase components, a1 and a2, are first sung and then repeated in the instruments (a1a2 | a'1a'2). The echo technique contributes to the fragmentation of the aria's phrase structure at the

[^165]end of the stanza (mm. 25-28), when the instrumental repetitions encroach upon the original phrase, becoming a1a'1 | a2a'2. This fragmentation effect mirrors Giasone's own state of mind within this aria: our hero is so overcome by the delights and joys of love(-making) that he begs, in halting paroxysms as if to catch his breath in between phrases, for them to ease up. Cavalli's setting of "Delizie," then, enacts-performs-Giasone's own languor.

The aria's lazy exploration of D Dorian and its associated harmonies lacks only cadences on $G$ and $E$ to fully express the harmonic ambitus of the $\ddagger$ hexachord governing "Delizie."

$$
\text { (Naturalis) Hexachord: } \quad \mathrm{F}-\underline{\mathrm{C}}-\mathrm{g} / \mathrm{G}-\mathrm{d} / \mathrm{D}-\mathrm{a} / \mathrm{A}-\mathrm{e} / \mathrm{E}
$$

These lacunae are remedied in the following recitative, first with a G major chord at its start. Witnessing his old friend's wanton display of decadence, Ercole chides Giasone for being in the completely wrong frame of mind for the battles to come that same day. The question at the end of his utterance-"Do you not fear the transition from amorous to martial struggle?"-is punctuated harmonically by a Phrygian motion to E major (as V/A), the rightmost point of the naturalis hexachord and its final harmonic area to be expressed thus far in this scene.

Giasone's response to Ercole's call to arms represents a microcosm of their power dynamic within the first half of this scene. He begins on D minor, a harmony within the same hexachord but not related contrapuntally to the preceding V/A harmony with which Ercole ended his entreaty. In his monologue, an ode to the power of love to invigorate his martial prowess (and a variant of that old platitude that love conquers all), Giasone meanders flatward into the molle system, with the missing pitch, Eb, appearing in m. 75 on the words "soave incanto" ("sweet enchantment"), as he waxes poetic about love's "enchantment that bolsters in strength and resolve my spirit" ("incanto che avvalora di forze e di consiglio l'anima"). He ends this response in a 1 b system
at odds with the cantus durus signature; this dip is a momentary digression. Ercole responds in the same new system, attempting to re-engage Giasone, but it is Giasone's part that introduces the corrective $\mathrm{G} \#$ in reply. At the outset of this conversation, then, Giasone is the one calling the shots harmonically, weaving in and out of the naturalis system, while Ercole only follows, exercising a sort of harmonic diplomacy in confining himself to his friend's harmonic ambitus.

A series of exchanges follows in which Ercole questions Giasone's ability to love without being able to see (Medea at this point has not yet revealed herself, or even her face), and Giasone in turn avers that sight is not necessary to "take joy in recognizing, in darkness, the beloved body..." ("gioire riconoscer tra l'ombre il corpo amato"). Ercole now becomes exasperated and abandons diplomacy altogether, as well as his previous tack. He aims low, calling to question Giasone's integrity in abandoning Isifile after having fathered twins with her, and above all suggesting that his "all too weak, effeminate will" ("troppo molle effemminato ingegno") would be unequal to the task of defeating the monsters guarding the Golden Fleece. Not only does the cantus shift at the beginning of this diatribe (m. 138, with the confirming Eb arriving in m. 143), but the sheer momentum of Ercole's rhetoric drives the system even further down into 2b, with the appearance of an A , in m .151 on the word "lover" ("amante"). Given Ercole's pronounced bias against all things amorous, at least with respect to martial pursuits, it is clear that Cavalli's decision to introduce the pitch at this point-and on that word-would have the maximum impact on the harmony underpinning Cicognini's text.

Giasone maintains his equanimity, using love as a shield in much the same way that Ercole uses it as a weapon: "he who intends to change my mind must talk to Love, and not to Giasone" ("chi presume alterare il mio pensiero discorra con Amor, non con Giasone"). Fitting, then, that the system-corrective $C \#$ (m. 196) that restores the 1 b system, now back in line with the cantus, falls on the word "Amor" in that statement, blunting the impact of Ercole's previous use of the word
"amante" to shift to a $2 b$ system. The leader of the Argonauts resolves to acquire the Golden Fleece, not in spite of his love, but because of it. Somewhat mollified, Ercole continues to urge haste, as the cantus changes back to durus (m. 217). Giasone is given the last word, as well as the G\# (m. 230) to match system (naturalis) once again with cantus. He ends the scene on a rather discordant note, however, dreading the inevitable separation from his lover once he obtains the Golden Fleece and must flee Colchis, leaving her behind. The music at this point has been corrected from a cantus and systems standpoint; indeed the D minor cadence that ends the scene matches the overall harmonic area of the entire opening aria. This final episode in the scene, then, is in essence a reaffirmation of Giasone's love, now expressed through the hero's separation anxiety.
Table 5.4 - III. $8:$ Oreste, ISIFILE

|  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |

## III.8: Oreste, Isifile

Toward the midpoint of Act III, a dialogue occurs that indirectly causes the case of mistaken identities leading to the final denouement and reconciliation between Isifile and Giasone, and Medea and Egeo. As a lovesick Isifile is readying for her nighttime assignation with Giasone, she is approached by her longtime servant Oreste. Her children have not been breastfed, and are by now starving. Can she not take a moment to tend to her offspring before departing? Isifile initially brushes her servant off, telling him to comfort them in their hut; she will return before daybreak. But she is gradually worn down by Oreste's appeals to her pity as a mother, and finally bids Oreste quickly bring them to her. Because she waited to feed her children, Isifile is delayed in arriving at the cliffside where Besso awaits (instead of Giasone). And because Medea needed to assure herself that Giasone's orders for Besso to kill Isifile were carried out, she arrived at the cliffside before Isifile did, and was thrown off and presumed dead as a consequence. Arriving immediately afterward, Isifile is spared the fate Giasone and Medea had intended for her, and eventually reaches Giasone's camp in time to save him from an attack by a vengeful Egeo, now reconciled with Medea after having rescued her from drowning in the sea below that cliff. None of this would have taken place had Oreste not been bold enough, and persistent enough, to convince his mistress to take a few extra minutes to feed her twins. Cavalli's setting of this persuasion scene reveals a rather different interpretation by the composer of the dynamic between Isifile and Oreste, compared to that between Giasone and Ercole. This is reflected in the type of "harmonic" diplomacy employed by Oreste.

Already from the outset, as can be seen in Table 5.4 above, Oreste deviates from Ercole's more careful initial approach by introducing an E ( m .8 ), and thus a system change, on the word "languish" ("languisce"). Imploring Isifile to remember her babies ("Do you no longer think of your own children?"—"Così de i propri figli / non ti ricordi più?"), his initial salvo follows a
downward harmonic trajectory to accompany the system shift, moving from C major to D minor, then hovering around F major before cadencing on G minor. Isifile's response leaps sharpward, beyond the current hexachord, introducing a $G \#$ as part of a V/A minor that brings the system back to naturalis. This firmly establishes the gulf between mistress and servant: Isifile's terse reply overlaying this motion to a full cadence on A minor-"You go and comfort them; I will be back soon, before the light of day" ("Deh gli consola; / farò presto ritorno, / prima che spunti il giorno")—is dismissive of both Oreste and her own offspring.

Perhaps at this point Oreste saw that he had to honey his words; this was after all a critical juncture in which the lives of his mistress' children hung in the balance, and the blunt force of his rhetorical question had no effect on Isifile. Attempting a more tactful approach, he remains this time within the naturalis system and the general orbit of Isifile's harmony (hovering around A and D minor, with a final cadence on C major), provides a verbal description of what starving children sound like. This tack seems to have worked: Isifile begins to vacillate ("Love goads me on and pity holds me back"-_"L'amor mi sprona e la pietà m'arresta"). At this point (m. 38), Cavalli switches the actual cantus to $1 b$, with the system shift occurring a measure later through an $\mathrm{E} b$ written into the figured bass. She decides: bring them to her, and quickly. This is not sufficient for Oreste, however. Having become so weakened, it would be risky to expose them to the nighttime air. His reply (m. 43) is accompanied by another shift in cantus, this time back to durus as he maintains his same previous harmonic palette-and role as advocate for Isifile's childrenalthough the corrective system shift back to naturalis, to match the cantus durus, does not take place until a $G \#$ appears in m .52 , as Oreste pinpoints his mistress' breasts and the milk within as what the twins really need.

Curiously, Isifile's following statement is in essence the same as her previous one: she again tells Oreste to return to the hut and to bring her children to her, and again requests that he
do so with dispatch. The main difference this time around is that her heart seems to be more in it now-she begins her reply by begging her offspring for their forbearance: "O my children, my hearts, please forgive my tormented hesitation to return to the rigors of parenting" ("O figli, anime mie, del mio ritorno / gl'indugi tormentosi / a i paterni rigori / condonate pietosi"). Rather than her initial terse, even begrudging acquiescence to Oreste's intercession on her children's behalf, she has now been moved by pity and thus there is a greater sincerity behind her second request. Cavalli seems to have interpreted this scene accordingly—it is certainly suggestive that he framed each of Isifile's commands differently. Her first, relatively shorter statement (two verses and five measures) is set in cantus mollis, and occupies the middle of her tessitura, ranging a diminished fifth from E to B , above middle C. Her second, more committed reply, covers much more ground both in the text (nine verses) and in the music (eighteen measures). More importantly, it is delivered in the same cantus durus in which Oreste began his reply to the first iteration of her command, in the same naturalis system in which her servant ended his entreaty, and even matches his cadence on A minor by beginning in A minor as well. Furthermore, this time around Isifile is given a larger vocal range, filling out an entire octave from middle to high E—indeed, this is the pitch on which she begins her plea for her children's forgiveness, and is a clear indication that her emotions have been ratcheted up several notches. All of this provides a strong indication that Cavalli considered Isifile as having made her turn at this particular point-that is, with her second command to Oreste-from a complete obsession over reuniting with her former husband to a momentary, and crucial, reengagement with her own children.

## The "Central Act Finale"

What happens when more than two characters are brought together on stage? The following section examines how Cavalli handles a larger ensemble, at a crucial dramatic juncture
(the central finale, to borrow a term from nineteenth-century Italian opera studies), from a harmonic perspective. With more characters come more agendas, and more shifts in overall mood as characters on stage are forced to react and adjust to new revelations. And yet, as I show below, at the basis of these muti-tiered interactions still lies the simple mechanism of persuasion. While other scenes in Giasone feature more than two characters on stage, the Act II finale carries perhaps the greatest amount of dramatic tension, at last bringing together disparate plot elements (Giasone and Medea on one side, and Isifile on the other) after two acts' worth of exposition, with explosive results.
Table 5.5 - II.13-14: Oreste, Giasone, Medea, Isifile

| II.13: Oreste, Giasone, Medea |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| mm. 1-3 <br> ORESTE <br> Isifile.. <br> F <br> 1, | 3-4 <br> GIASONE <br> Ohimè. <br> F | $4-10$ <br> ORESTE <br> Tu ben m'intendi... $\mathrm{B},-(\mathrm{F})$ | $11-15$ <br> GIASONE <br> Ho inteso... $\mathrm{F}-(\mathrm{C})-(\mathrm{d})$ | $16-17$ <br> MEDEA <br> Altro... $\mathrm{B},-\mathrm{V} / \mathrm{d}$ | 17-19 <br> GIASONE <br> Che strano... $\mathrm{V} / \mathrm{d}-\mathrm{V} 6 / \mathrm{g}-\mathrm{g}$ |
| $19-21$ <br> ORESTE <br> Ah, Sire... <br> $\mathrm{g}-\mathrm{V} / \mathrm{g}$ <br> [1,] | $21-22$ <br> GIASONE <br> Si... $\mathrm{V} / \mathrm{g}-(\mathrm{C})$ | 23-31 <br> MEDEA <br> Gelosia... $\mathrm{V} 6 / \mathrm{d}-\mathrm{d}-(\mathrm{F})-\mathrm{d}$ |  | 31-32 <br> GIASONE <br> Non rileva. <br> a | 32-38 39 <br> MEDEA ORESTE <br> Almen... Vado... <br> $\mathrm{a}-(\mathrm{d})$ $\mathrm{d}-\mathrm{V} / \mathrm{d}$ <br> $\mathrm{G} \ddagger \mathrm{m} .33)=>$  |
| 40 <br> GIASONE <br> Obedisci. <br> (d) <br> [ 6 | 41 <br> ORESTE <br> Volo. <br> d | $41-42$ <br> GIASONE <br> Come sei curiosa? $\mathrm{B},-\mathrm{F}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & 42-43 \\ & \text { MEDEA } \\ & \text { O Dio... } \\ & \text { F - C } \end{aligned}$ | 43-44 44 <br> GIASONE MEDEA <br> Chi t'uccide? Gelosia. <br> V6/a V6/a |
| 44-45 <br> GIASONE <br> Gelosia?... <br> V6/a - a <br> [ | 46-49 <br> MEDEA <br> Deh, dimmi... $a-V / a$ | 49-61 <br> GIASONE <br> Convien.... <br> (a) $-(\mathrm{F})$ | 62-64 <br> MEDEA <br> Qual sorte... $\mathrm{F}-\mathrm{V} / \mathrm{d}$ | 65-67 <br> GIASONE <br> Ascolta... <br> (d) | $68-72$ <br> Vigilante... <br> (C) |

Table 5.5 （CONTINUED）

| \＃ l ＜$=(9 \mathrm{~L} \cdot \mathrm{Uu})=\mathrm{d}$ |  |  |  | $\begin{array}{lr} \hline \hline & \lfloor \# z] \\ \mathrm{G} & \mathrm{e} \end{array}$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| p－ 0 | （口） | D－e | ／9 ${ }^{\text {¢ }}$ |  |  |
|  | $\cdots$ …刀口 1 H | ¿＊ıии ${ }^{\text {¢ }}$ | วฉрри дчว |  | ¿asodsumo ？L |
| GNOSVI | GTIHISI | ＊GG日W | anOSVI | gTİISI | VAGEW |
| 9L－¢ | ¢L－†L | $\dagger \angle-\varepsilon L$ | \＆L－乙L | ZL | IL |
|  |  |  |  |  | ［\＃］ |
| （丁） | 9／$\Lambda$－ 9 | ว／ム－Э－Э－С | （C） | （C） | （C）－－ |
| $\cdots$ |  | $\cdots \mathrm{l}$－ |  |  | $\cdots$－оит！риоза |
| ETIEISI |  | VGG日W |  | GTIHISI | aNOSVIЭ |
| 0L－69 | 89－ 29 | 99－19 | 09－9¢ | ¢¢－0¢ | $6 t^{-0 t}$ |
| \＃$\quad<=(\angle \varepsilon \cdot \mathrm{ur})$ \＃ V |  | ว／$\Lambda$－［［repəd］${ }^{\text {a }}$ | （C） | C | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \hline \# \mathrm{I}<=(\mathrm{c} \cdot \mathrm{u}) \# \mathrm{CI} \\ & (\partial)-[\text { [rpəd] }) \end{aligned}$ |
| （q）－ә | （ә）$-\mathrm{q} / 9 \Lambda$ |  |  |  |  |
| $\cdots \stackrel{\text {－}}{\text { ¢иду }}$ | $\cdots$ ofup！d ozsznb uI | $\cdots \mathrm{bH}$ 2S |  | $\cdots 2 \mathrm{H}$ | $\cdots 0!\square$ O |
|  |  | HTIHISI | GNOSVI | vaça | GTIHISI |
| $6 \varepsilon-2 \varepsilon$ | IE－IZ | Lて－¢ | てL－II | OL | 6－I＇um |
|  |  |  |  | әuоse！$¢$ | ‘еәрəW ：$\dagger$ I＇II |

Table 5.5 (Continued)

| 77-78 | 78-79 | 80 | 81 | 81-82 | 83-87 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| MEDEA | ISIFILE | MEDEA | GIASONE | ISIFILE | GIASONE |
| Al fin...? | Giason che'l sa... | Che rispondi...? | Ciò... | Forse... | Ciò che tu narri... |
| $\mathrm{d}-\mathrm{V} / \mathrm{d}$ | C6-V/C | C - V/C | G-d | $\mathrm{d}-\mathrm{V} / \mathrm{d}$ | (D) - V/D |
| [1\#] |  |  |  |  |  |
| 87-90 | 91-92 | 92-93 | 93 | 93-94 | 94-97 |
| ISIFILE | GIASONE | MEDEA | ISIFILE | MEDEA | ISIFILE |
| E tra... | Sentirai... | E partoristi? | Equasi. | Come dire? | Maschia... |
| V/D-g-d-V/d | (D) | G | C6 | F | B , - (d) |
| B,$(\mathrm{m} .88)=>4$ |  |  |  |  |  |
| 98-99 | 99 | 100-101 | 101-103 | 104-105 | 105-106 |
| MEDEA | ISIFILE | MEDEA | ISIFILE | MEDEA | ISIFILE |
| Ed or...? | Seguir Giasone. | Elascerai....? | Quant'è... | Dunque...? | Odi novelle. |
| B,-F | F-C | C - V/d | $\mathrm{V} / \mathrm{d}-\mathrm{a}-\mathrm{V} / \mathrm{a}$ | C - V/C | V/C |
| [ 6 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 106-107 | 108-111 | 112-113 | 114-116 | 116-127 | 128-136 |
| MEDEA | GIASONE | MEDEA |  | ISIFILE |  |
| Più che pazza... | Io già... | Mi perdoni... | Venga... | Se per scherno... | Giason... |
| V/C - (e) | e - (G) | $\mathrm{d}-\mathrm{V} / \mathrm{d}$ | (a) | $\mathrm{a}-\mathrm{d}$ - C6-F- (C) | (g) |
| $\mathrm{D} \#(\mathrm{~m} .107)=>1$ \# |  | B, (m. 113) $=>$ b |  |  | Eb (m. 133) |



## II.13-14: Oreste, Giasone, Medea

The final two scenes in Act II of Giasone consist of a single sweep in terms of action and plot development. II. 13 and II. 14 form a single structural unit, distinct in character continuity from the previous scene (featuring a flirtatious duet between Besso and Alinda elsewhere in Caucasian Iberia), as can be seen above in Table 5.5. Here, Giasone and Medea are alone in their amorous revelry when they are interrupted by Oreste, come to announce the arrival of his mistress Isifile. There is a convenient gap between Oreste's departure and Isifile's entrance onstage at the start of the next scene (II.14) that allows Giasone to devise a ruse explaining to Medea (who does not know of his past marriage and begotten children) how and why Isifile would be seeking him out for reconciliation. In a fit of inspiration, he claims that Isifile is a gossipy and arrogant woman ("linguacciuta, arrogante") who somehow is able to gather intelligence on any woman visiting these shores, and imprints their experiences onto her own mind, allowing them to become her own life story. Such an implausible quirk is, of course, validated by the uncanny similarity between the two queens' lives up until this point, as is revealed when Isifile confronts the couple: a shared love of Giasone, resulting pregnancy, twin male children, and expatriation of their homelands. Medea's suspicions are allayed, and Isifile's potentially dangerous accusations of abandonment are trivialized, as a result.
II. 13 begins in cantus mollis and remains there until Oreste's departure halfway through the scene. This first interlude, the calm before the storm precipitated by Isifile's arrival, displays much of the diplomacy discussed in previous sections-written both into the music and within the three characters' interactions. As the servant of a queen enamored of Giasone, Oreste must be diffident yet persistent in ensuring that Giasone stay to meet with Isifile. Giasone, of course, immediately intends to flee upon hearing of her impending arrival, but must somehow mollify Oreste, and by extension Isifile, enough to convince them that he is going to stick around. In a manner comically
akin to that of a yes-man, Giasone's replies to Oreste all begin on the same harmony in which the servant ends his statements: F major in m. 3 (the first shocked "Uh oh" - "Ohime"") and m. 11 ("I understand; yes, yes I will see you later, Orestes, farewell" - "Ho inteso; / sì, sì, ci rivedremo, Oreste, addio"), V/G minor in m. 21 ("Yes, yes, I will hear her out; let us go, my queen [Medea]" - "Si, sì, la sentirò; partiam, regina"), and D minor in m. 40 (a defeated "Obey [Medea's wishes to bring Isifile]" - "Obedisci").

Medea is at first curious, then suspicious, of her lover's increasingly transparent efforts to avoid running into this mysterious woman. Her interactions with Giasone are more jagged from a harmonic standpoint. Her first question in reply to Giasone's dismissive "I understand; yes, yes..." begins in B , major (m. 16), on the heels of Giasone's cadence on D minor: "You have nothing else to say to him [Oreste]?" ("Altro non rispondi a costui?"). Giasone first attempts to placate her as well, taking up her V/D minor harmony as the opening to his reply (m. 17): "(What a strange encounter!) That will do; let us go, I beg you." Medea now takes on a scolding tone, cautioning her lover that ignoring a lady who has petitioned him is grounds for an accusation of discourtesy. Again, her statement (m. 23) is harmonically disjunct from Giasone's previous cadence on C major, instead beginning on V/D minor. Giasone attempts to dismiss this risk-"It is of no consequence" ("Non rileva")—with his own harmonically disjunct entrance of A minor versus Medea's D minor, before Medea finally overrides his wishes entirely by ordering Oreste to bring his mistress (m. 32). The system shift that she effects at this point (m. 33), introducing a $G \#$ to move to a naturalis system, stays in place for the rest of this scene and into II.14, although the cantus itself does not change to durus to match it until Oreste departs (with a defeated Giasone's acquiescence) in m. 41. In effect, then, the upcoming encounter between Isifile and the two lovers is made possible only through Medea's intervention, both textually and musically.

In this three-person scene, the inter-character dynamics still boil down to interactions between specific pairs of characters: Oreste responds exclusively to Giasone, even after Medea's direct order to him (he asks Giasone at that point if he should go get Isifile), and Medea in turn is intent on riding roughshod over her lover once she ascertains that this Isifile is a person of interest. The rest of II. 13 maintains the harmonic disjunction between the two lovers, as Medea gives vent to her jealousy and eventually pronounces her skepticism, adopting a wait-and-see attitude toward Giasone's dubious depiction of Isifile.

The final scene in Act II brings together for the first time Giasone, Medea, and Isifile, who has up until this point been desperately searching for the father of her children. Like the previous scene, II. 14 is a trio composed of intertwining duets. As Isifile arrives and gives vent to her considerable emotion at seeing Giasone for the first time in over a year, Giasone warns Medea to be on her guard. He then pretends to greet Isifile lovingly, creating an emotional opening for Medea to interrogate his former paramour about her life events. Over the course of this deposition, Giasone spouts some witty asides to Medea, but does not directly participate except when prompted by her to confirm the veracity of Isifile's claims. The speakers at times switch addressees mid-speech; this, combined with asides that are either meant for one (not both) of the others, or for no one but the audience, creates a level of complexity in terms of dialogic interaction that exceeds that of the previous scene.

Isifile begins the scene already in a heightened emotional state, pushing up against the boundaries of the naturalis system (and cantus durus) with an exclamation to herself at Giasone's "well-remembered beauty" ("beltà gradita") in E minor, over an E pedal. Imploring her senses not to take leave of her, she leaps into a 1 \# system with the introduction of a $\mathrm{D} \#$ in the bass on m .5 , a brief tonicization of E minor. Like the delayed cadence on G minor at the beginning of I.14—at our first glimpse of the opera's sentimental heroine-the pedal and the postponement of a V-I
cadence on E minor until m . 9 seem to be signposts for her instability, a fragile mind that belies her exhortation to herself to remain in control. Giasone and Medea respond to her approach in their own harmonic area, staying in D major, even as Isifile then maintains the same E minor into her opening statement to her former lover. It is a mixture of pathos and self-pity, an exhortation to him to return to her "chaste embraces" ("gl'amplessi casti") and to "put an end to my grief and my torment" ("e da' fine al mio pianto e al mio martire"). She ratchets up the intensity on that last phrase, the closing argument of her plea, and cadences fully on B minor (m. 39), moving yet another fifth up from E minor and thus pushing outward even further, now into a $2 \sharp$ system:

$$
\text { 2\# Hexachord: } \quad G-\underline{D}-a / A-e / E-b / B-f \# / F \#
$$

As seen in her descent flatward in I. 14 into a 2 b hexachord, it is clear that Isifile's emotional state lends itself readily to harmonic extremes-hopelessness in the case of her earlier appearance, and now a more shrill tone as she attempts-and fails-to rein in her emotions.

In reply, Giasone first suggests in an aside to Medea to humor Isifile, parroting the earlier E minor pedal in a mockery of Isifile's emotions. Then turning to the mother of his first set of twins, he speaks the words she has longed to hear: "restrain this woe, and into my bosom return to enjoy your longed-for love" ("frena questi dolori, e nel mio seno / torna a goder i sospirati amore"). He does this in a lower harmonic register, centering around D major-the "tonic" of the 2 \# hexachord. So convincing is this gesture that Isifile, now mollified, takes up this same harmony in her reply, breaking out briefly into an arietta (mm. 50-55) on the words "Oh rapture, oh bliss" ("O dolcezze, o tesori" ${ }^{331}$ ). Her following demand that Giasone leave "this woman" ("costei") is a pointed dig at Medea, and a perfect opportunity for the mother of Giasone's second set of twins

[^166]to begin her line of inquiry. Beginning with her own aside to Giasone-"what lecherous madness" ("lussuriosa pazzia")—in the same D major as Isifile's previous statement, it is evident that these snarky side comments are meant to musically ape the object of Giasone and Medea's derision, even if Isifile herself is not meant to hear them.

The interrogation is remarkable mainly for the correspondence in harmony between Medea's questions and Isifile's responses. The questions almost all end on a dominant chord, while those that end on non-dominant harmonies (as defined by the immediately preceding progression) nonetheless lack any strictly defining characteristic establishing their tonicity; that is, they are often indeterminate chords given context only by their neighboring harmonies. For instance, the initial exchanges from mm. 67-72 sketch out several ascending fifths, from $G$ to $E$; the last two statements ("Did he return your love?" / "He adored me.") are too short by themselves to contain a progression establishing their respective harmonies (A minor and E major). Given the rapid-fire nature of some of these questions and answers, it is logical for these brief statements to be harmonically integrated into a larger progression. Giasone's brief interjections here consist of two asides to Medea, both of whose harmonies mimic Isifile's preceding statements: the first ("how risible") turns the E major of Isifile's preceding statement, "He adored me," into a first inversion dominant $7^{\text {th }}$. The second ("Surely you rave about your love life") starts on the G major tonicized by Isifile's statement "He came to my bed," and veers downward into D minor, bringing about a system shift from $2 \#$ to $1 \#$, perhaps a reflection of his earlier shift from E minor (m. 40, in mimicry of Isifile) to D major (m. 42). His third interjection, "Whatever pleases you," in reply to Medea's direct query, "And how do you respond, Giasone?" is yet another variant of the harmonic mimicry he has employed, transforming Medea's V/C major into part of a motion to D minor.

At this point the conversation switches back, briefly, to a dialogue between Giasone and Isifile, where now the former queen of Lemnos seeks affirmation from him of the truth of their shared pleasure. Giasone again responds glibly-"Whatever you narrate is true: I felt, in our charming affections, mutual delight"-responding to Isifile's $\mathrm{V} / \mathrm{D}$ with an entire period in D major. A slip at the end, however, seems to reveal a slight crack in his flippant façade: an aside clearly meant only for himself (and the audience) in which sincerity slips through, perhaps even to his own surprise-"Oh sweet memory" ("O bel pensiero"). This is treated by Cavalli almost as a throwaway line, by a slight change in trajectory to V/D and a downward arpeggiation of a D major chord. The first part of his response, meant for Isifile's and Medea's ears, does its work, as Isifile seems even more mollified at this point-literally so, in fact, as a $\mathrm{B} b$ in m. 88 shifts the system back down to naturalis.

Medea and Isifile continue to exchange questions and answers, with Isifile maintaining a harmonic correspondence to the queen of Colchis to match the correspondence in their life events, until Isifile's sarcastic "Pay attention to the news" ("Odi novelle") in response to Medea's inquiry about her being an actual queen changes the tenor of their interaction. Losing her own benign patience with a perceived madwoman, Medea declares to Giasone in confirmation of his ruse-"She is more than just crazy" ("Più che pazza è costei")—lending an acidic touch to her tone with a system-shifting $\mathrm{D} \#$ (to a $1 \#$ system), before turning back to Isifile and mocking her with pomp and circumstance ("I beg your pardon, Your Majesty: come, Milady, come this way"), accompanied by a $B$ b and a resulting switch back down to $a$ a system.

From Isifile's perspective, this entire scene so far has consisted of a successful attempt to win back her former lover (based on his responses full of feigned affection), while answering a series of questions posed by someone who could only be the mysterious lover of whom Oreste
had spoken earlier in Act II. ${ }^{32}$ With the subservient tone of this questioner having suddenly vanished, Isifile feels no need to continue confirming her connection to Giasone, now that (in her mind) he is back on her side. Accompanied by a flatward trajectory from A minor to a cadence in C major (mm. 116-127), Isifile calls her rival out: "I will show you, to your everlasting shame, that I am a queen and wife to Giasone." To prove her point, she demands to Giasone that he come with her right this moment. Cavalli accompanies this command with a switch to cantus mollis for the following nine measures (mm. 128-136); the flatward motion seems to represent more icy confidence, in the opposite direction of the shrill climb sharpward that had characterized Isifile's initial tentative demeanor at the start of this scene.

It is unclear from the text when exactly it begins to dawn on Isifile that her former lover wishes to remain her former lover, but Cavalli seems to employ the flat/sharp distinction specifically to indicate her wavering confidence: the moment Giasone suggests that Isifile go on ahead and that he will catch up, she switches back to $\mathrm{a} q$ system ( $\mathrm{G} \# \mathrm{in} \mathrm{m}$. 147, again matching the return to cantus durus that had taken place in m. 137) on the words "Let us go from here, let us go from here" ("Di qua, di qua"-perhaps the repetitions, written in by Cicognini, are an indication of mounting worry) as she insists that they leave together. It is then Medea's turn to switch the system to mollis in m. 157 as she presumes to educate Isifile on manners: "Ah Milady, ah, Madame, your humor is pleasant, your jesting pretty, but not at someone else's expense" ("Ah signora, ah madonna, / gentil è 'l vostro umor, vago lo scherzo, / ma non convien pregiudicare al terzo").

There follows some vicious name-calling from Isifile, and then a final turn to cantus mollis with all three characters present, as Isifile now overtly threatens Medea with death if she continues to stand between her and Giasone. The fact that Isifile performs her bluster so deep within the 1 b hexachord, on $\mathrm{B} b$ major harmony, perhaps represents a final attempt at re-centering herself, in the

[^167]face of growing despair that Giasone will indeed leave with the other woman. Certainly, the fact that this scene ends in a 1 b system and cantus durus (the switch back to cantus durus takes place immediately after Giasone and Medea depart, leaving Isifile to hurl imprecations at both of them as well as the captors restraining her), so at odds with each other, is a strong indicator of Isifile's disrupted mental state. She is furious at having been deceived and rejected, but her confidence in Giasone's love has been replaced by a different type of confidence: she is now firmly resolved to kill them. And so in another way, the disjunction between system and cantus at the end of Act II can be explained by the fact that Isifile's story is not yet over.

My analyses have shown that there was a clear engagement on Cavalli's part with Cicognini's text, one that extends to the entire opera. Indeed, by carefully distinguishing between addressees, it becomes evident that the interactions throughout this opera can be reduced to a contest of wills between two characters at a time. This same applies to the finale of Act III (see Table 5.6 below), which I discuss in the Conclusion that follows. It remains to be seen how Cavalli responded to the texts of other librettists with whom he collaborated over the decades, as well as how this concept of musical diplomacy was taken into account and executed, if at all, by other composers reading other texts in the Venetian Seicento. At a time when librettos were still a relatively new genre, still closely tied to the theatrical genre from which they originated (almost literally so, in the case of Cicognini), it is logical to suppose that interactions would not take on the layered, simultaneous quality that ensemble scenes in particular would take on later in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A pezzo concertato like Lucia's mad scene in the central act finale to Donizetti's Lucia di Lammermoor would never have been possible on the stage of the Teatro San Cassiano in mid-seventeenth-century Venice, simply because librettists and composers did not yet conceptualize the medium in the same way. And yet rather than depicting differing agendas and emotions simultaneously, the magic in a scene like Giasone's central act finale comes
in the dramatic mileage that Cicognini is able to extract from depicting only three people on stage having a conversation, one rife with double-meaning and deception, as well as Cavalli's ability to capture the sophistication of the discourse within his music.
Table 5.6 - II. 21 : TUTTI


[^168]Table 5.6 (Continued)

## CONCLUSION

## Giasone’s Redemption: A Study in Continuity

When Giasone is brought face to face with the full force of Isifile's rhetoric during the final scene of the opera proper, he crumbles. At first, the reconciliation between the leader of the Argonauts and the queen of Lemnos does not seem to be a positive gesture reflecting a change of heart on the part of the opera's womanizing hero, but instead apparently the gesture of a defeated man-"vinto son io" ("I am conquered"), ${ }^{1}$ he repeats. And yet this climactic reversal, the final key to the opera's lieto fine, represents the summation of a chain of interlocution reaching back to Act II. Indeed, the moment of Giasone and Isifile's reconciliation encompasses a nexus of the opera's continuities that I have discussed in the preceding three chapters: the Cicognini crescendo, location, character focus, interlocution, and musical diplomacy. The first three of these are easily accounted for: III. 21 is the final scene of the opera proper, and as I have discussed in Chapter 3, is the endpoint of the gradual accumulation of characters that began in III. 16 with Giasone alone onstage. As such, this represents the first time that all four principal characters inhabit the same location. Finally, although the discourse is largely centered on Giasone and Isifile, the presence of Medea and Egeo splits the focus; indeed, the earlier reconciliation between the queen of Colchis and the king of Athens is the sole reason for which Giasone and Isifile come to a rapprochement.

Isifile's plea is the longest monologue of Giasone, coming in at a prodigious sixty-seven verses, and nearly two hundred measures in the Vienna score. Indeed, it is a lament, and not simply a plea; Isifile amplifies the emotional impact of her words by acting as if there were no

[^169]hope of reconciliation between her and her former husband, and as if her death at Giasone's hands were already a foregone conclusion. Her invoked imagery is vivid, just as her inclusion of Medea and Egeo in the proceedings in order to publicize his cruelty is savvy:

Isifile, III.21, vv. 2609-14

| Regina, Egeo, amici, | Queen [Medea], Egeo, friends, |
| :--- | :--- |
| supplicate per me questo crudele, | supplicate this cruel man for me, |
| che nel ferirmi ei lassi | that in wounding me he leave |
| queste mammelle da' suoi colpi intatte, | my breasts intact from his blows, |
| acciò nutrisca almeno i figli miei | so that my sons might at least feed |
| del morto sen materno un freddo latte. | on the cold milk of their dead mother. |

Giasone is effectively backed into a corner. Medea, the woman whom he has loved for a year, plus for the majority of the opera's three acts, has given herself back to her former suitor and is no longer his. Isifile, mother of his first set of twin sons, earlier bent on revenge and then subsequently turned mad with hope at the possibility of reconciliation, is now his only option. A cynical interpretation of Giasone's capitulation would suggest that he retreated into her embrace as a matter of convenience, or perhaps peer pressure, given the presence of the other royal couple at that point. Isifile might be said to have capitalized on Giasone's vulnerable emotional state at that point; after all, he had just recently bounced from guilt at her presumed death, to rage upon finding out that Besso had failed to carry out his instructions, to frustration that Medea no longer was his. Certainly, as Amore had argued earlier, Giasone and Isifile's reconciliation would be sufficient punishment for the wayward hero: "A wife betrayed, / a queen scorned / in her honor, in her faith... is a pestilence on a husband...., ${ }^{2}$

And yet, there have been signs along the way to indicate that Giasone had not entirely put Isifile out of his mind. A quick aside in II. 14 from him registers pleasure at the sweetness of the

[^170]memory of their shared affection-"I felt, in our charming affections, / mutual delight. (Oh sweet memory.) ${ }^{33}$ Later, after Isifile has caught Giasone and Medea sleeping, the two former lovers share a chaste conjugal embrace (III.4). While there is no explicit text depicting Giasone's reaction to this embrace, it has provided a potential space for an actor to capitalize on the physicality of the gesture: the Ghent production of 2012, ${ }^{4}$ for example, focused on Giasone's pleasantly surprised expression following a kiss between the two former lovers at this point, as if he had just realized that there was still a spark present. Finally, and most important, is the hero's guilty reaction upon learning of his former wife's supposed death in III.14-"an impassioned judge has never passed a just sentence; I have become the butcher of innocence" ${ }^{5}$ —and his resulting soliloquy in III.16: Giasone fixates on the fact that Isifile was innocent and wrongly drowned, and then, in a neat parallel to Isifile's grief-induced stupor at the end of II.1, he himself sinks to the ground, senseless, at the end of that scene.

It can be argued, then, that Giasone's eventual reversal-from Medea's arms back into Isifile's-is the perlocutionary culmination of all of these preceding events. The embrace at the beginning of Act III held greater significance because of pleasures suddenly remembered during Act II, and his overwhelming guilt at Isifile's presumed death is compounded because of the memories evoked by that embrace. Whatever relief he feels at seeing Isifile alive and well, however, is negated by his rage at Besso's failure to execute his command, and then Medea's implicit rejection of him by returning to Egeo's side. It is only Isifile's piteous lament, a final attempt at an appeal to Giasone's sense of guilt and pity, that breaks through to him. Giasone is reminded of his love, still present, for the queen of Lemnos. Her victory was not over him, so

3 "...[P]rovai, tra cari affetti / scambievoli diletti. (O bel pensiero.)" Giasone, II.14, vv. 1743-44.
${ }^{4}$ Il Giasone, DVD, conducted by Federico Maria Sardelli, directed by Mariame Clément (2010; Austria: Dynamic, 2012).

5 "Giudice appassionato / non proferi già mai giusta sentenza, / il carnefice io fui dell'innocenza," Giasone, III.14, 2369-71.
much as over his rage and jealousy. In the end, for Giasone, there would be life after Medea after all.

From a musical standpoint, the story is not quite over yet once Giasone concedes defeat. If Isifile's plea was prodigious in length from a textual and musical standpoint, its harmonic breadth is no less astounding (see Table 5.6 in Chapter 5 for a chart, and Appendix IV for a music transcription). Ranging from a $2 \#$ system (as she entreats Giasone to rejoice that she yet lives so that he might stirke her down repeatedly) down to a 3 b system (her final moribund address to her sons), Isifile runs the entire emotional gamut—and effectively the entire harmonic gamut, if enharmonic equivalencies are to be taken into account-in an attempt to win her former husband back. She ends on a simply stated "adoro" ("I adore you") that packs a musical wallop, spanning two system shifts in the space of three beats: a $\mathrm{D} b$ in the melody (an upper neighbor to C ) motivates a descent from a 2 b into a 3 b system, while almost immediately an $\mathrm{F} \#$ in the bass (as part of a chromatically inflected cadential motion) brings the system back to 2 b. Harmonically, it is a zero-sum progression that ends on C major, and yet it is nonetheless a musically eloquent gesture whose futility encapsulates Isifile's hopelessness, as expressed in her preceding monologue.

Giasone's reply begins in D minor, on the other end of the $2 b$ hexachord, as far to the right from Isifile's C major as possible while remaining within the same system. He cannot start in Isifile's same harmonic area because he is now back in the same world of guilt that drove him senseless at the end of III.16. The two former lovers are not yet on the same wavelength: Isifile has not yet forgiven him, and Giasone has not yet forgiven himself. Indeed, Giasone is so distraught by her plea and lament that his own harmonic language begins to approximate glossolalia: approaching a cadence on F major to end a musical period, there appears in the bass a D , to bring the system down to 3 b. Immediately thereafter, Giasone shifts to D minor and cantus durus as he too addresses Medea and Egeo, invoking a "sea of kind oblivion" ("mar d'amico oblio")
to drown out his past misadventures. While the shift from F major to D minor is contrapuntally sound, D minor lies completely outside of the 3 b hexachord in which Giasone is now operating. The only possible explanation for such an extreme, even unorthodox gesture (not to mention the huge clash between a $\ddagger$ signature and a $3 b$ system), is Giasone's own fragmented state of mind, one even more fragile than Isifile's when she was originally introduced at the end of Act I. Perhaps Giasone's music setting at this point reflects and actualizes his desire for a blank slate with which to start over.

Certainly Isifile is willing to oblige, as she now acknowledges her former husband's own torment and grants him absolution: she too begins in the same D minor, still starkly at odds with the 3 b system, but at least harmonically in accord with Giasone. As she finishes her statement with a cadence on A major, Giasone finally matches her harmonically. For it is only after he has received her forgiveness that he can now join in with Isifile, singing a due in joy as they now move up systems in tandem, from 3, to 1 \#, and truly wash from memory the unsettling disjunction between a 3 b system and D minor harmony.

At this point, philology comes into play. The members of the Naples and Rome Families truncate this reconciliation to a large extent, cutting most of Giasone's reply, and thus almost all of the harmonic richness present in this scene among the members of the Venice Family. Most notably, they seem to almost whitewash the chromaticism in this section, removing the $\mathrm{D} b$ from Isifile's and Giasone's monologues, and thus the presence of a 3 b system entirely. ${ }^{6}$ As records of performances and productions that clearly came after the Venetian premiere, it perhaps makes sense that some text and music would wind up on the cutting room floor, although this certainly hobbles the full emotional extent of Isifile's and Giasone's speeches.

[^171]Of the Venice Family scores, only Vienna preserves text for the comic characters, who in the Venice 1649B libretto appear immediately after Isifile has forgiven Giasone, but before the two have begun their harmonic climb upwards to a 1 \# system. The presence of the servants, rejoicing at the happy ending, serve to perpetuate the notion of a sea of kind oblivion covering up Giasone's past errors, as they hover around and then cadence in A minor harmony before Isifile and Giasone begin to sing together. That Contarini, Florence, Vatican, and Oxford all cut the brief comic episode perhaps confirms the relative lateness of their copying in relation to Vienna. But within the context of this ending, the most significant issue is that absolutely none of the surviving scores replicates the structure of Venice 1649B. Vienna (as well as the Ferrara 1659 libretto), although it includes this interjection, places the comic characters after Isifile and Giasone have already mended the musical discontinuity between harmony and system. That is, their sole purpose is to let off some musical steam and to provide a coda, even though that coda is immediately supplanted by the final refrain from the four principals (in which the system is also corrected to $\sharp$, matching the cantus). It seems to me that the appearance of the comic characters would serve a more useful purpose in a hypothetical score whose III. 21 structure matches that of Venice 1649B: from a dramatic standpoint their comic energy helps to diffuse the last strands of tension between Giasone and Isifile after she has forgiven him, creating a bridge to the duet between the two-their true reconciliation. And paradoxically, from a musical standpoint this interjection prolongs the tension between system and harmony, rendering the arrival of Giasone and Isifile's final duet, and the system-corrective harmonies and conciliatory text that it brings, even more welcome.

My approaches to Giasone in this dissertation have relied heavily on the intimate relationship between text and music. Indeed, the above analysis of Giasone's redemption as

Isifile's husband has shown that this work is built on interlocking layers of different continuities at the textual and musical levels-the Cicognini crescendo, location, character focus, interlocution, and musical diplomacy. In the end, these analytical tools are simply extensions of the concept of continuity, a vital tool to understanding opera, if not storytelling, from any period.

The fact that I have cut across Giasone along so many planes, while producing meaningful results, speaks to its strength as a work, one whose dramatic integrity and identity withstood the numerous changes made to it during that period, even as fashions drove impresarios to reframe it under different titles. And yet it is for the same reason that it was able to absorb those changes that Giasone might also be viewed as the sum of all of those productions. Above all, Giasone represents a time when storytelling and musical expression held equal weight. One of its authors happened to be a talented storyteller who cut his teeth writing dozens of plays that were modeled after those of the masters of the siglo de oro. This helped Cicognini to develop not only a keen sense of dramatic pacing, but also of maintaining a balance between gravitas and levity. And the other of Giasone's authors had already hit his stride as an opera composer by having collaborated on ten librettos already before setting eyes on Cicognini's creation. Cavalli was also a composer who deeply respected the power of recitative to not only tell a story, but to also show emotion. Furthermore, he was able to write powerful melodies when the text called for it. Taken together, these factors made Giasone the greatest operatic collaboration of the Seicento, all the more precious for having been a one-time occurrence.

## Appendix I

Critical Edition and Translation of Giasone (Venice 1649A)

## Editorial Policy ${ }^{1}$

The libretto has been edited according to the following criteria:

- the use of $h$ as well as of $u$ and $v$ have been modernized;
$-j$, $i i$, and $y$ have been changed to $i$ (except in cases when $i i$ is diacritically significant);
$-e t$ and \& have been changed to $e$ before consonants, and to ed before vowels;
- -ti-, -tti-, and -ci-nexuses plus vowels have been changed to -zi-;
- $i$ after palatal consonant in scie, cie, gie combinations has been omitted, except for cases in which modern usage requires it;
- separated preposition plus article compounds have been reconnected, except for those cases
where a double consonant is required (e.g. a $i \rightarrow$ ai, de $i \rightarrow$ dei, su $i \rightarrow$ sui, co ${ }^{\prime} l \rightarrow$ col etc., while $a$ $l e$, de le, ne le etc. have been retained); where separated, prepositional prefixes have been joined to their adverbs, according to modern use (e.g. Al fin $\rightarrow$ Alfin, in vano $\rightarrow$ invano, in vero $\rightarrow$ invero);
- the use of capitalization, diacritical marks and accents has been modernized (metrical accents are indicated only in cases of ambiguous prosody: e.g. férmati v.2561);
- the irregular use of simple and double consonants has been normalized, except for readings attested in literary texts of the seventeenth century (e.g. labra for labbra, essempi for esempi have been retained, while baccio has been tacitly normalized into bacio);
- when the prosodic value of diphthongs is not self-evident (e.g. Curiosa impazienza in a sevensyllable verse), a diæresis has been introduced;
- elision of the final vowel sound $-a$ has been regularized to reflect modern rules of spelling and pronunciation;
- use of punctuation has been modernized;
- poetic verses are numbered continuously, from prologue to last act;
- set pieces are indented and separated from the preceding and ensuing versi sciolti by an extra halfspace;
- chevrons $<>$ have been used to show editorial interventions, for both dramatic text and stage directions.

Most illustrious and revered
Lord, my
Lord and most distinguished patron Of my Giasone, that has now been brought to light by print, I present to
Your Most Illustrious Lordship only the print, because you did not disdain from receiving it into your most clement patronage, from the time months past when I consecrated it to your greatness by pen. I, who with reason feared, even dreaded its failure, placed it upon the foundation of the protection of Your Most Illustrious Lordship and consigned the frailty of my verses to the immortality of your name.
It will appear soon on stage, and if it was born under the benign
ascendant of such a fortunate rulership, I must fervently hope that, favored by your propitious stars, it might be endowed with the same fortune, to which it could not possibly, unless only with great temerity, aspire, and with nothing further for Your Most Illustrious Lordship, most humbly I kneel.
From Venice, 5 January 1649.
Of Your Most Illustrious and Revered Lordship -
Your most humble, devoted,
and eternally obligated servant,
Giacinto Andrea Cicognini
 Del mio Giasone, che ora se ne viene alla luce delle stampe, non non si sdegnò di riceverlo sotto la sua clementissima padronanza sin quando alli mesi passati io consacrai alla sua grandezza caratterizzato con la penna. Io, che a ragione temevo, anzi prevedevo i suoi precipizi, lo collocai sopra la base della protezione di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima e consegnai la caducità de' miei versi all'immortalità del suo nome. Comparirà in breve su le scene, e s'egli nacque sotto l'ascendente benigno di così felice predominio, ben devo io sperare, che favoreggiato da stella si propizia, egli sia per sortire quelle fortune, alle quali per se stesso non poteva, se non temerariamente, aspirare, e senza più a Vostra Signoria Illustrissima, umilissimo m'inchino.
Di Venezia li 5. gennaio 1648 . $^{2}$
Di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima e Reverendissima Umilissimo, devotissimo,
ed in eterno obligatissimo servo, Giacinto Andrea Cicognini
FOR GIASONE, | DRAMA | By the Most Excellent Lord | GIACINT' ANDREA | CICOGNINI; | To be performed to music at the San Cassiano Theater.
SONNET
Behold, gladly acquiring the golden burden,
Behold, gladly acquiring the golden burden,
Jason, by him who is worthy of glory,

fame sings eternal praises to the world.
Disdainful envy can easily cast down the proud marble to Saturn's cruel depths, but it will never take from you the virtue of the dream
by which Giacinto's fertile pen raised you.
Therefore proceed, Jason, proceed in all splendor - and jettison the fear that rends your sails -
to immortalize your famous name.
While I live in ardent zeal,
may I illustrate your generous passion,
so that high above us the heavens may admire you.
so that high above us the heavens may admire you.
-Bortolo Castoreo
POETIC | APPLAUSE, | To the Most Illustrious and Excellent Lord GIACINTO ANDREA | CICOGNINI. | For the composition of his Giasone.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ODE } \\
& \text { By Aurelio Aureli, Indefatigable Academic } \\
& \text { What sweet, powerful sound } \\
& \text { of cannons is heard in the Adriatic } \\
& \text { that can create light from glory and other merit? } \\
& \text { Who among the Venetian people, } \\
& \text { all basking in an unknown gladness, } \\
& \text { can render internal pleasure plain and open. } \\
& \text { Even the sea, that can sense }
\end{aligned}
$$

PER IL GIASONE, | DRAMA, | Dell'Eccellentissimo Signor | GIACINT' ANDREA | CICOGNINI; | Da rappresentarsi in musica nel Tea- | tro di San Cassiano.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Ecco lieto acquistar l'aurato pondo, } \\
& \text { Giasone di colui, di gloria degno. } \\
& \text { Del cui felice, e singolar ingegno } \\
& \text { canta la fama, eterne lodi al mondo. }
\end{aligned}
$$

Ben può gettar gli alteri marmi al fondo
di Saturno crudel l'invido sdegno.
Ma non già trarti di virtù dal sogno
che t'ergè, di Giacinto lo stil facondo.
Va pur dunque Giason, vanne fastoso - e getta del timor squarciato il velo -
a immortalar il nome tuo famoso.
Che mentre viverò d'ardente zelo,
sicché eccelso fra noi t'ammiri il cielo.

## -Bortolo Castoreo

APPLAUSO | POETICO, | Al Molt' 'lllustre \& Eccellentiss. Sig[nore] GIACINTO ANDREA | CICOGNINI. | Nella Composition del suo Giasone.
Di Aurelio Aureli, Ac[cademico] Ins[tancabile] Qual dolce suon possente di concavo metal in Adria s'ode formar d'occhi di gloria, ed altro merto? Qual di Veneta gente incognita allegrezza ad ogn'uno gode far l'interno piacer palese, e aperto. Anco il mare che sente
the grottos quickening to the grave sound,
turns away and leaves its course in abandon. turns away and leaves its course in abandon.
But the cause for this is known. Your virtue, Cicognini, has itself become, through fame, the material of a sonorous trumpet, hanging motionless at the hip, when a deserved longing for your honors gave it breath, so that all the Adriatic echoes, and from secluded idleness comes every mind, and only your name is heard, its fame having been given flight.

Nowhere else do both snow-white feathers and sweet breaths have the grasp to animate the trumpet - and feathering the wings by blowing, it becomes clear
to slothful and cooled spirits, that by your sublime immortal merits,
covered in glorious deeds,
it promotes you, and the deserved accolade that by your sublime immortal merits,
covered in glorious deeds,
it promotes you, and the deserved accolade
to your virtue spread eternally. The inhabitants of the Pindus and Helicon,
where speaking is done in gentle meter,
cede to you their esteem,
and the golden crown.
Polyhymnia turns her virtuous temples toward you,
the most graceful woman to adorn you.
After the prize, the Muses' song resounds
in the Hippocrene,
and praise of your glories can be heard.

[^172]animarsi le grotte al grave suono, s'aretra e lascia il corso in abandono. Ma la cagione è nota. Tua virtù, Cicognin, s'è della fama fatta materia ella sonora tromba,
pendea dal fianco immota, quando agli onorie fiato, onde tutta Adria rimbomba, e dall ozio remota
vien ogni mente, e s'ode al nome solo di te la fama essersi data al volo.

[^173]ove in metro soave il dir si volge l'abitatrici a te cedono il pregio,
e l'aureal corona le degne tempie intorno a te rivolge Polinia, la più vaga a darti il fregio.
Dopo il premio risuona In Hipocrene delle Muse il canto e delle glorie tue s'ascolta il vanto.
Di cinto il biondo Dio, Di cinto il biondo Dio,
castigator di temerario contro Marsia sfogo giusto lo sdegno Ma quando poscia udio decantar tua virtù, deposte lire, venne in Parnasso, e de tuoi merti in sogno

- così cantava Clio. -così cantava Clio.
Non mai piu rivolar volea su l'etra
s'a te pria non cedea l'aurata cetra.

Others sing of the dangerous path of virtue,
harsh and steep,
every hour with disturbed eyes.
Oh only with naked desire
to be thought of upon the steep summits,
may others consume their time in vain;
the labyrinth does not close,
nor does your mislaid courage allow it to fall,
for to you all roughness is a paved road.
With music Amphion managed
to erect the walls of Thebes up to the heavens,
guiding stones and marble;
but for good reason,
each rock, stupefied, pledges its honor to you-
to be capable of much more than Amphion's song,
For when your lyre happens to sound,
if it does not convert rocks into motion
it is because your glory immobilizes man.
Others sing of the dangerous path of virtue,
harsh and steep,
every hour with disturbed eyes.
Oh only with naked desire
to be thought of upon the steep summits,
may others consume their time in vain;
the labyrinth does not close,
nor does your mislaid courage allow it to fall,
for to you all roughness is a paved road.
With music Amphion managed
to erect the walls of Thebes up to the heavens,
guiding stones and marble;
but for good reason,
each rock, stupefied, pledges its honor to you-
to be capable of much more than Amphion's song
For when your lyre happens to sound,
if it does not convert rocks into motion
it is because your glory immobilizes man.

## Ulysses and Hercules struggled,

 Ulysses and Hercules struggled,Bent Atlas to sustain his burden; and to acquire Phrixus' Golden Fleece, in perilous combat
did Jason exert before clearing the way; their memories have conquered time, yet we see each of them struggling
merely to trade in their glory-but you, greater,
make eternal Jasons in few hours. make eternal Jasons in few hours.

[^174]

Col suon trasse Anfione
al cielo ad erger le Tebane mura riverenti a se stesso e pietre, e marmi, Ma bensì a ragione
stupido ogn'un ne' grandi onor te giura assai poter più d'Anfion ne carmi, Poiché s'avvien che suone
tua lira, se non volge i sassi al moto
stava per gloria tua fa l'uomo immoto.

## Faticò Ulisse, e Alcide,

curvossi Atlante al sostenuto incarco.
E per aver l'aurato vello in Frisso
in perigliose sfide
Sudò Giason pria che giungesse al varco, e lor memorie il tempo hanno conquisto, stentar ogn'un si vide
sol per gloria mercar, ma tu maggiore
formi Giasoni eterni in picciol ore.

[^175]
## ARGOMENTO

Giasone, figlio d'Esone, fratello di Pelia re di Tessaglia, fu dal medesimo
Pelia mandato a Colco all'acquisto del vello d'oro, che da Frisso era stato consecrato a Giove in quell'isola.
Imbarcò su la nave di Argo con Ercole ed altri cavallieri, che poi furono detti Argonauti.
Passò per l'isola di Lenno, ed ivi godé Isifile regina di quell'isola con promessa di sposarla, ma per consiglio d'Ercole la lassò gravida e se ne andò a Colco.
Isifile partorì due gemelli, Toante ed Euneo, dopo che gl'era convenuto fuggirsene di Lenno per aver salvato il vecchio Toante suo padre dalla commune uccisione di tutti gl'uomini di quell'isola, decretata dalle
pellegrinando, giunse al fine nelle campane su la foce d'Ibero, dove stava alletando i figli suoi e di Giasone.
Giasone, sendo arrivato a Colco, fu veduto da Medea regina di quell'isola la quale di lui ardentemente s'innamorò e, renunziando a gl'affetti passati fra lei ed Egeo re d'Atene, trovò modo d'esser goduta da Giasone, senza che esso sapesse con qual dama si giaceva.
Restò gravida e partorì a suo tempo due gemelli, Filomelo e Pluto. Giasone, distratto dal nuovo amore verso la dama a lui incognita, dimorò in Colco un anno intiero, senza tentar l'impresa per la quale s'era in quell'isola transferito, ma al fine, stimolato da gl'Argonauti ed in specie da Ercole, diede il giuramento di farlo per un giorno determinato.
Isifile intanto, avendo inteso che Giasone si ritrovava nell'isola di Colco, poche miglia distante della foce d'Ibero, ove essa dimorava, mandò Oreste suo confidente per accertarsene ed intendere le sue azioni.
Sendo venuto il giorno nel quale Giasone tentar l'acquisto del vello, volse la notte antecedente ritrovarsi con la dama da lui sino a quel tempo non conosciuta, ed Ercole, attendendo su lo spuntar dell'alba ch'egli, lasciati i piaceri amorosi, s'accingesse a quell'impresa, dà principio all'opera.
Medea was the daughter of Aeëtes, the king of Colchis and a grandson of the Sun, the same one appearing in the Prologue who approves of the nuptials between her and Jason, and who in vain believes that this was ordained by Fate; but this wedding is opposed by Love, who much earlier had wounded Jason and Hypsipyle, appointing her his spouse.
 great deal of honor from Hypsipyle, who was the daughter of Thoas, a grandson of Bacchus, and a great-grandson of the same Jove, but Jason had also then seized the golden fleece, sacred to his deity, from Phrixus
son of Athamas, grandson of Aeolus, and consequently great-grandson of Jove, who for this turned to protect Hypsipyle, and avenge his son through Aeolus, grandfather of Phrixus, kinsman of Hypsipyle, and consequently also interested in the offenses done to him by Jason; and so Love, united with Jove, and with Aeolus, worked so that the Argo, that was bringing Jason to Corinth on the Caspian sea, driven by the force of the winds, thus commanded by Aeolus on Love's advice, docked at the mouth of the Ibero, where Hypsipyle was to be found, and gave her the opportunity to see Jason once again, and after various mishaps, to make him her husband, removing him from the loving embraces of Medea, been loved by her, and was subsequently scorned and had just saved her from death), took him back into her graces, and married him, and in these festivities applauded by Jove and by the other gods, the work ends.
Medea fu figlia d'Oeta, re di Colco, e nipote del Sole, che perciò il medesimo Sole nel Prologo, applaude alle nozze di lei con Giasone, le quali credeva vanamente esser stabilite dal Fato, ma a questi applausi s'oppone Amore, che molto prima aveva ferito Giasone e Isifile, e
Giove fu doppiamente offeso da Giasone, perché non solo aveva egli tolto l'onore a Isifile, che era figlia di Toante, nipote a Bacco, e pronipote all'istesso Giove, ma aveva di poi rapito il vello d'oro, sacrato alla sua deità, da Frisso figlio d'Atamante, nipote d'Eolo, ed in conseguenza pronipote anch'esso a Giove, che per ciò volse proteggere Isifile, e vendicare con il mezzo d'Eolo suo figlio, e avo di Frisso, e con conduceva Giasone a Corinto per il mare Caspio, spinta dalla forza dei venti, così comandati da Eolo per consiglio dell'istesso Amore, approdasse alla foce d'Ibero, dove si ritrovava Isifile, e diede campo a lei di riveder Giasone, e dopo vari accidenti farlo suo sposo, distogliendolo de gl'amori di Medea, la quali, compassionando lo stato infelice di Egeo, da lei già amato, e poi disprezzato, e che poch'anzi l'aveva liberata dalla morte, lo ritorna in sua grazia, ed a lui si sposa, ed in queste allegrezze applaudite da Giove, e dagli altri Dei,
termina l'Opera.
TO THE READERS AND SPECTATORS OF THE DRAMA
I compose for mere caprice; my caprice has no other purpose than to delight. To bring delight to myself is nothing more than meeting the fashions and tastes of those who listen or read. If I have accomplished nhed many days in composing it, and you a few hours in reading or listening
 all this to remind you that the use, or better said the abuse, of the terms "idol," "goddess," "deity," "Fate," "destiny," and similar, are mere

ALLI LETTORI E SPETTATORI DEL DRAMA ${ }^{6}$
Io compongo per mero capriccio; il mio capriccio non ha altra fine che dilettare. L'apportare diletto appresso di me non è altro che l'incontrare il genio e il gusto di chi ascolta o legge. Se ciò mi sortirà ${ }^{7}$ con la lettura o recita del mio Giasone, avero conseguito il mio intento. Se non mi sortirà, 10 avero gettato via molti giorni in comporlo e voi poche ore danno maggiore sara il mio. Non nomi idolo, dea, deità, Fato, destino e simili, son mere invenzioni poetiche. Vivete felici.

5


The story is performed partly on the island of Colchis and partly in the 1. Seashore with a view of the Island of Colchis.
2. Delightful garden, with a small mansion contiguous to the palace.
3. The royal hall of Colchis.
4. Countryside with huts at the mouth of the Ibero, with a view of the Caspian
sea.
5. Medea's apartments of incantation.
6. Keep of the castle in which the Golden Fleece is guarded.
8. Seaport in ruins at the mouth of the Ibero with a view of the sea. 9. Flowery glade at the mouth of the Ibero.
10. Deserted valley by the mouth of the Ibero, with a view of the sea. 11. Uninhabited palace with ruins.
La favola si rappresenta parte nell'isola di Colco e parte nelle campagne d'Ibero:
 5. Appartamenti de gl'incanti di Medea.
6. Recinto del castello nel quale è custodito il vello d'oro.
7. Gotte dirocto. su la foce d'thero con veduta del mare.
8. Porto diroccato su la foce d'Ibero con veduta del mare.
10. Valle deserta nella foce d'Ibero, con veduta del mare. 11. Palazzo disabitato con rovine.

## PROLOGUE

Seashore with a view of the Island of Colchis.
The Sun, LOVE.

> This is the ordained day for my grandeur;
today the Thessalian hero, Jason the great, will seize the fleece of Helles and Phrixus; today, of the most beautiful Medea, descendant of my eminent divinity,
this triumphant man, this triumphant man,
this glorious man,
shall no longer be the furtive lover,
but the fortunate spouse. Therefore, from my chariot
of clearest splendor, let rays shine and upon the terrestrial expanse descend to illuminate and immortalize.
Shine, yes, shine Shine, yes, shine
upon these fiery wheels, you radiant abysses.
Resound across all of Colchis in Phoebus' great light, and illuminate the nuptials of the royal demigoddess.
Curb, please curb this budding splendor,
bright blond archer;
you toil too hard, in vain,
to bless the world in new liglt
Above all I wish
today for the power of the celestial seats to be transported to the kingdom of Colchis
by the exalted gods, by the exalted gods,
in order to honor my
in order to honor my royal descendant's
most sublime nuptuals.
Without me a wedding
has been decreed on earth?
Who, who is this god,
so foolish and impudent,


## $Z$ $\sim$



出
0
0


if I am, and have ever been, king of the universe. Fate can never be given the lie.
Nor will my arrow be scorned. Young man, you rave. Apollo, you prowl in vain. He who clashes with destiny He who opposes Love -

- will fall.

Give over, give over, do not struggle.

You will not win, no, no.
I will win, yes, yes.
And if not?
I shall traverse the sky; assemble your forces.
I shall descend to earth and set myself to work.




O

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ATTO PRIMO } \\
& \text { SCENA I } \\
& \text { Giardino con palazzeto. } \\
& \text { ERCOLE, BESSO. } \\
& \text { Dall'oriente porge } \\
& \text { l'alba a i mortali il suo dorato lume, } \\
& \text { e tra lascivie piume } \\
& \text { avvilito Giasone ancor non sorge? } \\
& \text { Come potrà costui, } \\
& \text { disanimato dai notturni amplessi, } \\
& \text { animarsi a gl'assalti, alle battaglie? } \\
& \text { Donne, co 'i vostri vezzi } \\
& \text { che non potete voi? } \\
& \text { Fabricate ne i crini } \\
& \text { laberinti a gl'eroi; } \\
& \text { solo una lacrimetta, } \\
& \text { che da magiche stelle esca di fuore, } \\
& \text { fassi un Egeo cruccioso, } \\
& \text { che sommerge l'ardir, l'alma e 'l valore, }
\end{aligned}
$$

and the wind from a sigh,
exhaled from beguiling lips,
has uprooted palms and withered laurel trees
on the fields of glory.
Under different ascendants
are mortal men born,
and thus among humans
have walked the mad, the wise,
the prodigal, the miserly, and the generous:
to some, wine delights;
to others, games entice;
some desire war, others peace;
some follow Mars, others Venus.
If an amorous ascendant
reigned over Jason's exalted birth,
what fault can be laid at his feet,
if he is driven with irresistible force
toward the bosom of a beautiful woman
by the amorous tenor of his star?
The man who walks by the light
of the loftiest sphere
brings with him a foreign spirit:
this spirit, roaming
through unknown roads of the lowly earth
through uncertain, dark paths,
can be advised of naught but his destiny.
The wise man can rule over the stars.
Yes, if the star of knowledge helps him.
The use of reasoning is common to all.
Everyone presumes that they act with reason.
Those who follow the senses banish reason.
Senses are reason enough for those who follow them.
Senses have always been the enemy of reason.
Yet he who conquers both triumphs.
The arbiter of this battle is our will.
Jason is beautiful, his cheeks are smooth,
he is spirited and strong,
he never tires of giving;
so in order to possess him
every woman opens her doors wide.
Beauty, youth, gold, opportunity?
Ber

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \begin{array}{l}
0 \\
\text { 嵒 } \\
0
\end{array} \\
& \text { e 'l vento d'un sospiro, } \\
& \begin{array}{l}
\text { esalato da labbri ingann } \\
\text { da i campi della gloria }
\end{array} \\
& \text { spiantò le palme e diseccò gl’allori. } \\
& \text { Sotto vario ascendente } \\
& \text { nasce l'uomo mortale, } \\
& \text { e perciò tra gl'umani } \\
& \text { il prodigo, l'avaro, e 'l liberale: } \\
& \text { ad altri il vin diletta, } \\
& \text { un altro il gioco alletta, } \\
& \text { altri brama la guerra, altri la pace, } \\
& \text { altri è di Marte, altri d'Amor seguace. } \\
& \text { Se ascendente amoroso } \\
& \text { dominò di Giason l'alto natale, } \\
& \text { qual colpa a lui s'ascrive, } \\
& \text { se in grembo a donna bella } \\
& \begin{array}{l}
\text { a gran forza lo spinge } \\
\text { l'amoroso tenor della sua stella? }
\end{array} \\
& \text { L'uom che viene alla luce } \\
& \text { dalla superna sfera } \\
& \text { seco ne porta un'alma forestiera: } \\
& \text { questa, pellegrinando } \\
& \text { per l'incognite vie del basso mondo } \\
& \text { nell'incerto oscurissimo cammino } \\
& \text { non si può consigliar che col destino. } \\
& \text { Il saggio puote dominar le stelle. } \\
& \text { L'uso della ragion comune è a tutti. } \\
& \text { Ciascun d'oprar con la ragion presume. } \\
& \text { Chi segue il senso alla ragion diè bando. } \\
& \text { Il senso è la ragion di chi lo segue. } \\
& \text { Fu sempre il senso alla ragion nemico. }
\end{aligned}
$$

> Arbitro in questa pugna è 'l voler nostro. Giason è bello, ha senza pel la guancia, è bizzaro e robusto, di donar non si stanca; onde per possederlo
> ogni dama le porte apre e spalanca.

$\stackrel{n}{\sim}$ $\ddagger$

who rules over us mortals as well as the gods; if only you knew, oh god, of the treasures with which my beloved has enriched my soul, you would say that love
opens the way to glory;
she welcomes and caresses me, you would say that love
opens the way to glory;
she welcomes and caresses me, does my earthly sun,
she rejoices upon my arrival and tearfully weeps at my departure; and tearfully weeps at my departure;
that rejoicing, and that weeping, that rejoicing, and that weeping,
are a sweet enchantment upon my are a sweet enchantment upon my heart;
an enchantment that bolsters the spirit in strength and resolve,
in strength and resolve,
so that confronting a monster
 I do not yet know who she is;
it is enough that she is all mine.
If you have not seen her yet,
and love strikes through the eyes,
tell me: what kind of love is this?
How have you managed to love without seeing?
Unfortunately I was struck upon arriving, exactly a year ago,
among the nocturnal horrors of these shores; unfortunately at the flashing of the agitated sky, I saw those luminous rays
of her beautiful visage that night, and in only one flash I saw and I loved.
and in only one flash I saw and I loved.
And you never sought
And you never sought
her name from her?
I swore to her to ask no more of her. And so, without seeing
the beauty you have touched,
it suits you to enjoy
spending your time groping at her features?
Hercules, believe me, lovers
have no need for eyes;
it is enough to take joy in
recognizing, in the shadows, the beloved body,
and to him who enjoys this

10
0
0
0
$y$
$y$
M
Z
O
Su
0
0
0
$\underset{\sim}{u}$
un
Giasone
Ercole
M
0
0
S
$\stackrel{\curvearrowleft}{\sim}$
$\%$
$\stackrel{18}{2}$
$\stackrel{8}{8}$
$\stackrel{n}{\wedge}$
$\stackrel{\circ}{2}$
$\stackrel{\text { n }}{2}$
추

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Z } \\
& 0 \\
& \text { B } \\
& \vdots
\end{aligned}
$$

un vantaggioso patto
toccar con gl'occhi e rimirar col tatto. O Giasone, o Giasone,
o gran figlio d'Esone, alto nipote a Pelia, al re che la Tessaglia affrena, non ti bastava in Lenno di Toante la figlia, alta regina, Isifile donzella,
di te gravida e madre
aver già resa di gemella prole,
se ancora in Colco, divenuto amante di beltà non veduta,
non davi un nuovo segno
di troppo molle effemminato ingegno? Quest'è il giorno prefisso, oggi tu dèi affrontar, assalir gl'orridi mostri, e, per rapire il custodito vello,
sbarrar le porte e penetrar i chiostri. Dimmi, come t'affidi,
snervato da i piaceri,
pensieroso di donna,
di poter adoprar l'armi e 'l coraggio? Posa l'armi, Giasone, vesti la gonna,
o per far da guerrier divien più saggio.
Ercole, da prudente
tu fai, ne ti sovviene
che consigliar amanti è gran follia;
un genio innamorato
che consigliar amanti è gran follia;
un genio innamorato precipita incapace
a seguir ciò che piace
e adora la cagion di sua pazzia.
Se Isifile lasciai, tuo fu 'l consiglio;
all'or che amai da scherzo,
libera l'alma al consiglier s'apprese,
or che Amor del mio cor regge l'impero, non son più mio, vivo d'Amore prigione; chi presume alterare il mio pensiero discorra con Amor, non con Giasone. discorra con Amor, non con Giasone.
Nel temuto recinto entrerò, pugnerò;

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { it seems a favorable arrangement } \\
& \text { to touch with the eyes, and to gaze with touch. } \\
& \text { O Jason, o Jason, } \\
& \text { o great son of Aeson, noble nephew } \\
& \text { of Pelias, the king who rules over Thessaly, } \\
& \text { was it not enough for you on Lemnos } \\
& \text { to make Thoas' daughter, the noble queen, } \\
& \text { Hypsipyle the maiden, } \\
& \text { pregnant by you, and make her } \\
& \text { the mother of twin sons; } \\
& \text { if again on Colchis you have become the lover } \\
& \text { of an unseen beauty, } \\
& \text { is this not a new sign you have provided } \\
& \text { of your all too weak, effeminate will? } \\
& \text { This is the ordained day, today you must } \\
& \text { confront, assail the horrid monsters, } \\
& \text { and, to seize the guarded fleece, } \\
& \text { break through the gates and penetrate } \\
& \text { the keep of the fortified castle. } \\
& \text { Tell me, how will you rely on yourself, } \\
& \text { enervated by your pleasures, } \\
& \text { and filled with thoughts of a woman, } \\
& \text { to be able to take up arms and courage? } \\
& \text { Lay down those arms, Jason, wear a dress, } \\
& \text { or, if you will be a warrior, become wiser. } \\
& \text { Hercules, you are prudent, } \\
& \text { but do not realize } \\
& \text { that giving advice to lovers is great folly; } \\
& \text { the smartest man, if in love, } \\
& \text { rushes headlong, incapable } \\
& \text { of following that which pleases, } \\
& \text { and worships the cause of his madness. } \\
& \text { If I left Hypsipyle, it was on your advice; } \\
& \text { at the time, love was a game, } \\
& \text { my heart open to receive advice; } \\
& \text { now that Love rules over my heart, } \\
& \text { I am no longer myself, but a prisoner of Love; } \\
& \text { he who intends to change my mind } \\
& \text { must talk to Love, and not to Jason. } \\
& \text { Into the dreaded threshold } \\
& \text { I will enter, and fight; }
\end{aligned}
$$

ERCOLE
M
0
0
U
$\stackrel{\text { ®̃ }}{\text { N }}$
$\stackrel{\sim}{\mathrm{N}}$
ヘึ
$\stackrel{9}{\sim}$
$\stackrel{\text { ? }}{\text { a }}$
$\stackrel{i}{i}$
$\stackrel{\text { in }}{\text { in }}$
$\stackrel{\circ}{i}$

| e, vincitor o vinto, sempre Giason sarò. ${ }^{12}$ $\mathrm{Ma}{ }^{13}$ ti sovvenga, amico, che se acquisto tu fai dell'aureo vello, forz'è partire e dar le vele al vento, acciò quanto acquistò saggio valore non t'involi rapina o tradimento. | Hercules | and, conqueror or conquered, I will always be Jason. But remember, friend, if you intend to acquire the golden fleece, you must needs depart with full sails, so that what wily valor has won is not stolen by theft or treachery. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Dolor, ahi non m'uccidere; così l'alma dal seno, oh dio, dovrò dividere? Non so, non so per me se meglio sia o la vittoria o la caduta mia. | JASON | Ah, pain, do not kill me; must I thus separate, oh god, my spirit from my breast? I truly know not whether for me my victory or my defeat would be better. |
| SCENA III <br> Rosmina giardiniera. |  | SCENE III <br> Rosmina the gardener. |
| Uomini in su quest'ora scappan fuor del giardino? <br> Quanto, quanto sospetto che le dame di corte non faccin di quest'orti un bordelletto. Io vorrei non vedere, né posso far di meno, ch'al fin queste notizie mi sveglian le malizie, e sento amor che mi serpeggia in seno. So ben quell ch'io farò, vorrò gioir anch'io, o lo dirò. | Rosmina | Men who are up at this hour leaving from the garden? <br> I am very suspicious that the women of the court make a bordello of this garden; I wish I hadn't seen it, but I can't help it, for in the end these happenings awaken my vices, and I feel love undulating in my breast. I know now what I'll do, I wish to experience joy as well. |
| Per sanar quest'appetito Che nel sen mi sento già, un amante ed un marito chi mi trova per pietà? Tra queste fronde nessun risponde? Che crudeltà! Ma se indarno altrui lo chiedo, e che sì, e che sì, ch'io mi provedo. Or ch'io so che cosa è gioia, |  | To cure this appetite that I now feel in my breast, a lover and a husband who will find me, for pity's sake? Among these fronds nobody responds? What cruelty! But if I ask of others in vain, yes, yes, I will provide for myself. Now that I know what joy is, |


M
0
0
S
$\sum_{n}^{4}$
0
0
0
$\stackrel{\circ}{8}$
$\stackrel{8}{4}$
$\stackrel{n}{4}$
$\stackrel{8}{8}$
$\stackrel{\text { a }}{1}$
\&



amar mi conviene，
è forza così．${ }^{14}$ <br> \section*{\section*{SCENA V <br> \section*{\section*{SCENA V <br> <br> <br> EGEO，MEDEA． <br> <br> <br> EGEO，MEDEA． <br> <br> Ferma，Medea，deh ferma <br> <br> Ferma，Medea，deh ferma le fuggitive piante， le fuggitive piante， <br> <br> d＇un disperato e moribondo amante．
Se per l＇ultima volta
dovrò sentirti，Egeo， <br> <br> d＇un disperato e moribondo amante．
Se per l＇ultima volta
dovrò sentirti，Egeo， <br> <br> d＇un disperato e moribondo amante．
Se per l＇ultima volta
dovrò sentirti，Egeo， <br> <br> d＇un disperato e moribondo amante．
Se per l＇ultima volta
dovrò sentirti，Egeo， <br> <br>  <br> <br>  O dio，così consoli O dio，così consoli <br> <br> un ch＇adorasti gia， <br> <br> un ch＇adorasti gia， <br> <br> così l＇alma m＇involi， <br> <br> così l＇alma m＇involi， <br> <br> dimmi almen per pietà， <br> <br> dimmi almen per pietà， <br> <br> o bell＇idolo mio， <br> <br> o bell＇idolo mio， <br> <br> in che t＇offesi mai，che t＇ho fatt＇io． <br> <br> in che t＇offesi mai，che t＇ho fatt＇io． Egeo，sei re，sei grande， Egeo，sei re，sei grande， sei vezzoso，sei vago， sei vezzoso，sei vago， hai bellezze ammirande， hai bellezze ammirande， <br> <br> adorato，adorante <br> <br> adorato，adorante <br> <br> mi amasti，io pur t＇amai， <br> <br> mi amasti，io pur t＇amai， <br> <br> fido，saldo e costante <br> <br> fido，saldo e costante <br> <br> mi chiamasti tuo bene， <br> <br> mi chiamasti tuo bene， per me ti vedo in pene， per me ti vedo in pene， né m＇offendesti col pensier gia mais né m＇offendesti col pensier gia mais <br> <br> tutt＇è ver，tutt＇è così， <br> <br> tutt＇è ver，tutt＇è così， <br> <br>  <br> <br>  <br> <br> so non posso amarti piu， <br> <br> so non posso amarti piu， <br> <br> Vedi，se sei crudele： <br> <br> Vedi，se sei crudele： <br> <br> } <br> <br> }

S
H
U
世

4
$\stackrel{y}{4}$
$\stackrel{\text { m }}{2}$
adoring
ever offended you，what I have done to you． Aegeus，you are a king，you are wonderful， you are comely，you are pleasing；
you have good looks that are admirable，
adored；adoring
you loved me，and I loved you；
faithfully，steadfastly and with constancy
you called me your love；
for my sake I see you suffer，
and you never offended me even in thought：
all this is true，all is thus，
but if love has disappeared from me，
if I can no longer love you，
what can I do，what would
what can I do，what would you do about it？
See how cruel you are：


Sのヨ૭コV

Egeo
$q$

Medea

융

0
出
H
in order to escape from hearing my complaints. in order to escape from hearing my complaints.
Now hear, my life

- truly you are my life, even though I die now that my hopes are buried by your harshness, now that the peak of your affections I dare not aspire to, as a despised slave, now that the fidelity now that the fidelity
that you swore to me, o cruel one, has been
 at least to an unhappy, tearful, languishing victim of your mockery, who without the shadow of guilt or crime gathers in his breast a multitude of torment, generously grant
this humble request.
Ask, but on the condition
if you wish to ask for my love,

That I would try to win your love,
o lovely one, your cruelty need not fear;
to salve my bitter pain
I do not seek your beauty;
to escape from the influence
of my cruel, dire star,
I only beg of you, o beauty,
that you end my life by your hand.

that the old love
I cast aside from my breast still shines faintly, here I am, ready to fully console you.
 Do you desire to die by sword or by poison?
With this sharp dagger
that I, prostrate at your feet,

W
W
H
4
 Vuoi ch'io ti uccida?
Sì.
che de gl'antichi amori serbo nel seno ancor qualche scintilla, eccomi pronta a consolarti a pieno. Brami morir di ferro o di veleno? Con questo acuto stile 0
0
0
0
0
0
0
0
0
0
0
0
0
0

W
WH
U
H
per sottrarti a sentir le mie querele.
Orsù senti, mia vita

- che pur mia vita sei, bench'io sia morto -
già ch'alle mie speranze già ch'alle mie speranze
prepara il tuo rigor pompa funebre, già ch'all'Empireo de gl'affetti tuoi
non mi lice aspirar, servo aborrito,
non mi lice aspirar, servo aborrito,
già che di quella fede ch'a me giurasti, o cruda,
altri più fortunato è fatto erede, almen d'un infelice,
lacrimoso, languente,
bersaglio de' tuoi scherni,
che senz'ombra di colpa o di delitto accoglie in sen multiplicati inferni, generosa concedi
alle suppliche pie grato rescritto.
Chiedi, ma con tal legge,
che non tenti d'amor l'affetto mio,
se vuoi chiedermi amore,
tel nego, non t'ascolto, io parto, a dio

0
岂
I

0
0
U
H
®
$\stackrel{\circ}{-}$
$\stackrel{\infty}{\infty}$
$\stackrel{\otimes}{\infty}$
present to you boldly, humbly;
come, merciful beauty: open my breast,
that I, dying by your hand,
might still adore my death's visage.
You are truly resolved?
I await the blow.
Be prepared, do not be afraid. A king does not fear.
Aegeus, here it is.
And when?
Here is the dagger -
- ready to strike. is my heart -
- ready to die.
And now my hand readies for the harsh blow;
Aegeus, I kill you.
$\quad$ I die.
Medea throws the dagger to the floor and exits.
She leaves, she derides me?
She leaves and does not kill me?
Where, oh where have you fled,
where, alas, have you vanished, heartless liar?
Thus the vow you made
to pierce my heart, ah, is neglected?
Oh broken promises,
o cruel, heartless, evil one,
give me my wounds,
give me my death.
And yet you do not hear, o treacherous one?
And yet you do not return? And I
live, inhale and exhale
the breath of my torment and torture?
To invent my toils,
o stars, what do you plot?
Becrowned heads
practice falsehood, fraud and deception!
Sacrilegious and unfaithful
even in keeping me alive,
are queens nowadays murderers?
In their royal hands, ah fate, ah destiny,
A

a te presento baldanzoso, umile,
vieni, bella pietosa: aprimi ’l petto,
ch'io, di tua man svenato,
di morte ancora adorerò l'aspetto.
Sei pur ben risoluto?
Il colpo attendo.
Guarda non t'atterrire. Un re non teme.
Egeo, a te. $\quad$ E quando?
Ecco il ferro -
Ecco il core -
- pronto a ferir.
- pronto a morir.
E già la destra a l'inclemenza adatto;
Egeo ti sveno.
$\quad$ Io moro.
Medea getta il ferro in terra e parte.
Si parte, mi deride?
Si parte e non m'uccide?
Dove, dove fuggisti,
dove, lasso, sparisti, empia spergiura?
Così la data fé
di trafiggermi il cor, ahi, si trascura?
O promesse tradite,
o fera, o empia, o ria,
dammi le mie ferite,
dammi la morte mia.
Perfida, ancor non senti?
Ancor non torni? Ed io
vivo, spiro e respiro
l'aure del mio tormento e del martiro?
Per fabbricarmi affanni,
stelle, che machinate?
Le teste coronate
pratican falsità, frodi ed inganni!
Sacrileghe ed infide
sin col serbarmi in vita,
le regine oggidì sono omicide?
E nelle regie mani, ahi fato, ahi sorte,

$\stackrel{8}{4}$
$\stackrel{\circ}{7}$
$\stackrel{10}{7}$
$\stackrel{9}{子}$
> even death was not guaranteed for me.
O broken promises,
o cruel, heartless, evil one,
give me my wounds,
give me my death;
in order to end my bitterest sorrow you
promised me death, and death is what I want;
I sigh for and desire death,
and loudly I call out for death, o death.


[^176]

SCENA VI
ORESTE.


[^177]H
H
Un
On

尔
\&
$\stackrel{i}{8}$
$\stackrel{8}{f}$
SCENE VII Demo, Orestes. Here I am, wha- wha- what do you want? Here I am, wha- wha- what do you want?
I have never been to Colchis, I don't know anybody here.
No reply? Ah, you don't un- un- unWho, me? Un- un-
What strange sounds, Ah, you don't understand me? What strange sounds,
I thought you were call I thought you were calling a dog.
But you're the one who called me. I you?

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { I can tell you're a hunchback. } \\
& \text { And a hunchback I am. }
\end{aligned}
$$


Oh what curious language.


 | Demo |
| :--- |
| Oreste |
| Demo |
| Oreste |
| Demo |
| Oreste |
| Demo |
| Oreste |
| Demo |
| Oreste |
| Demo |
| Oreste |
| Demo |
| Oreste |
| Demo |
|  |
| Oreste |
| Demo |
| Oreste |
| Demo |
| A due |
| Oreste | SCENA VII

DEMO, ORESTE.
Son qui, che, che, che chiedi?
In Colco io più non fui.
Alcun qui non conosco.
Non mi risponde? Ah non m'inte- te- te-
A me?
Te- te- Te- te. Ah non m'intendi?
Oh dissonanze strane,
io mi credea che tu chiamassi un cane.
Anzi tu me chiamasti.
Io te?
Tu me.
E chi sei tu?
No 'l ${ }^{16}$ vedo a fé. $\quad$ Se bedi? mi guarderai
da roverso e da dritto,
su le mie spalle il nome mio sta scritto.
$\begin{aligned} & \text { Or mi conosci tu? } \\ & \text { Per gobbo io ti conosco. }\end{aligned}$
So gobbo io sono.
Son gobbo, son Demo,
son bello, son bravo,
il mondo m'è schiavo,
del diavol non temo,
son vago, grazioso,
lascivo, amoroso;
s'io ballo, s'io canto,
la corte m'ammira, ${ }^{17}$
ogni dama per me arde, e so- so-
so- so- arde, e so- so- so-
So- sospira. SCENA VII
DEMO, ORESTE.
Son qui, che, che, che chiedi?
In Colco io più non fui.
Alcun qui non conosco.
Non mi risponde? Ah non m'inte- te- te-
A me?
Te- te- Te- te. Ah non m'intendi?
Oh dissonanze strane,
io mi credea che tu chiamassi un cane.
Anzi tu me chiamasti.
Io te?
Tu me.
E chi sei tu?
No 'l ${ }^{16}$ vedo a fé. $\quad$ Se bedi? mi guarderai
da roverso e da dritto,
su le mie spalle il nome mio sta scritto.
$\begin{aligned} & \text { Or mi conosci tu? } \\ & \text { Per gobbo io ti conosco. }\end{aligned}$
So gobbo io sono.
Son gobbo, son Demo,
son bello, son bravo,
il mondo m'è schiavo,
del diavol non temo,
son vago, grazioso,
lascivo, amoroso;
s'io ballo, s'io canto,
la corte m'ammira, ${ }^{17}$
ogni dama per me arde, e so- so-
so- so- arde, e so- so- so-
So- sospira. SCENA VII
DEMO, ORESTE.
Son qui, che, che, che chiedi?
In Colco io più non fui.
Alcun qui non conosco.
Non mi risponde? Ah non m'inte- te- te-
A me?
Te- te- Te- te. Ah non m'intendi?
Oh dissonanze strane,
io mi credea che tu chiamassi un cane.
Anzi tu me chiamasti.
Io te?
Tu me.
E chi sei tu?
No 'l ${ }^{16}$ vedo a fé. $\quad$ Se bedi? mi guarderai
da roverso e da dritto,
su le mie spalle il nome mio sta scritto.
$\begin{aligned} & \text { Or mi conosci tu? } \\ & \text { Per gobbo io ti conosco. }\end{aligned}$
So gobbo io sono.
Son gobbo, son Demo,
son bello, son bravo,
il mondo m'è schiavo,
del diavol non temo,
son vago, grazioso,
lascivo, amoroso;
s'io ballo, s'io canto,
la corte m'ammira, ${ }^{17}$
ogni dama per me arde, e so- so-
so- so- arde, e so- so- so-
So- sospira.


 SCENA VII
DEMO, ORESTE.
Son qui, che, che, che chiedi?
In Colco io più non fui.
Alcun qui non conosco.
Non mi risponde? Ah non m'inte- te- te-
A me?
Te- te- Te- te. Ah non m'intendi?
Oh dissonanze strane,
io mi credea che tu chiamassi un cane.
Anzi tu me chiamasti.
Io te?
Tu me.
E chi sei tu?
No 'l ${ }^{16}$ vedo a fé. $\quad$ Se bedi? mi guarderai
da roverso e da dritto,
su le mie spalle il nome mio sta scritto.
$\begin{aligned} & \text { Or mi conosci tu? } \\ & \text { Per gobbo io ti conosco. }\end{aligned}$
So gobbo io sono.
Son gobbo, son Demo,
son bello, son bravo,
il mondo m'è schiavo,
del diavol non temo,
son vago, grazioso,
lascivo, amoroso;
s'io ballo, s'io canto,
la corte m'ammira, ${ }^{17}$
ogni dama per me arde, e so- so-
so- so- arde, e so- so- so-
So- sospira.
 SCENA VII
DEMO, ORESTE.
Son qui, che, che, che chiedi?
In Colco io più non fui.
Alcun qui non conosco.
Non mi risponde? Ah non m'inte- te- te-
A me?
Te- te- Te- te. Ah non m'intendi?
Oh dissonanze strane,
io mi credea che tu chiamassi un cane.
Anzi tu me chiamasti.
Io te?
Tu me.
E chi sei tu?
No 'l ${ }^{16}$ vedo a fé. $\quad$ Se bedi? mi guarderai
da roverso e da dritto,
su le mie spalle il nome mio sta scritto.
$\begin{aligned} & \text { Or mi conosci tu? } \\ & \text { Per gobbo io ti conosco. }\end{aligned}$
So gobbo io sono.
Son gobbo, son Demo,
son bello, son bravo,
il mondo m'è schiavo,
del diavol non temo,
son vago, grazioso,
lascivo, amoroso;
s'io ballo, s'io canto,
la corte m'ammira, ${ }^{17}$
ogni dama per me arde, e so- so-
so- so- arde, e so- so- so-
So- sospira. SCENA VII
DEMO, ORESTE.
Son qui, che, che, che chiedi?
In Colco io più non fui.
Alcun qui non conosco.
Non mi risponde? Ah non m'inte- te- te-
A me?
Te- te- Te- te. Ah non m'intendi?
Oh dissonanze strane,
io mi credea che tu chiamassi un cane.
Anzi tu me chiamasti.
Io te?
Tu me.
E chi sei tu?
No 'l ${ }^{16}$ vedo a fé. $\quad$ Se bedi? mi guarderai
da roverso e da dritto,
su le mie spalle il nome mio sta scritto.
$\begin{aligned} & \text { Or mi conosci tu? } \\ & \text { Per gobbo io ti conosco. }\end{aligned}$
So gobbo io sono.
Son gobbo, son Demo,
son bello, son bravo,
il mondo m'è schiavo,
del diavol non temo,
son vago, grazioso,
lascivo, amoroso;
s'io ballo, s'io canto,
la corte m'ammira, ${ }^{17}$
ogni dama per me arde, e so- so-
so- so- arde, e so- so- so-
So- sospira. SCENA VII
DEMO, ORESTE.
Son qui, che, che, che chiedi?
In Colco io più non fui.
Alcun qui non conosco.
Non mi risponde? Ah non m'inte- te- te-
A me?
Te- te- Te- te. Ah non m'intendi?
Oh dissonanze strane,
io mi credea che tu chiamassi un cane.
Anzi tu me chiamasti.
Io te?
Tu me.
E chi sei tu?
No 'l ${ }^{16}$ vedo a fé. $\quad$ Se bedi? mi guarderai
da roverso e da dritto,
su le mie spalle il nome mio sta scritto.
$\begin{aligned} & \text { Or mi conosci tu? } \\ & \text { Per gobbo io ti conosco. }\end{aligned}$
So gobbo io sono.
Son gobbo, son Demo,
son bello, son bravo,
il mondo m'è schiavo,
del diavol non temo,
son vago, grazioso,
lascivo, amoroso;
s'io ballo, s'io canto,
la corte m'ammira, ${ }^{17}$
ogni dama per me arde, e so- so-
so- so- arde, e so- so- so-
So- sospira. SCENA VII
DEMO, ORESTE.
Son qui, che, che, che chiedi?
In Colco io più non fui.
Alcun qui non conosco.
Non mi risponde? Ah non m'inte- te- te-
A me?
Te- te- Te- te. Ah non m'intendi?
Oh dissonanze strane,
io mi credea che tu chiamassi un cane.
Anzi tu me chiamasti.
Io te?
Tu me.
E chi sei tu?
No 'l ${ }^{16}$ vedo a fé. $\quad$ Se bedi? mi guarderai
da roverso e da dritto,
su le mie spalle il nome mio sta scritto.
$\begin{aligned} & \text { Or mi conosci tu? } \\ & \text { Per gobbo io ti conosco. }\end{aligned}$
So gobbo io sono.
Son gobbo, son Demo,
son bello, son bravo,
il mondo m'è schiavo,
del diavol non temo,
son vago, grazioso,
lascivo, amoroso;
s'io ballo, s'io canto,
la corte m'ammira, ${ }^{17}$
ogni dama per me arde, e so- so-
so- so- arde, e so- so- so-
So- sospira. SCENA VII
DEMO, ORESTE.
Son qui, che, che, che chiedi?
In Colco io più non fui.
Alcun qui non conosco.
Non mi risponde? Ah non m'inte- te- te-
A me?
Te- te- Te- te. Ah non m'intendi?
Oh dissonanze strane,
io mi credea che tu chiamassi un cane.
Anzi tu me chiamasti.
Io te?
Tu me.
E chi sei tu?
No 'l ${ }^{16}$ vedo a fé. $\quad$ Se bedi? mi guarderai
da roverso e da dritto,
su le mie spalle il nome mio sta scritto.
$\begin{aligned} & \text { Or mi conosci tu? } \\ & \text { Per gobbo io ti conosco. }\end{aligned}$
So gobbo io sono.
Son gobbo, son Demo,
son bello, son bravo,
il mondo m'è schiavo,
del diavol non temo,
son vago, grazioso,
lascivo, amoroso;
s'io ballo, s'io canto,
la corte m'ammira, ${ }^{17}$
ogni dama per me arde, e so- so-
so- so- arde, e so- so- so-
So- sospira. SCENA VII
DEMO, ORESTE.
Son qui, che, che, che chiedi?
In Colco io più non fui.
Alcun qui non conosco.
Non mi risponde? Ah non m'inte- te- te-
A me?
Te- te- Te- te. Ah non m'intendi?
Oh dissonanze strane,
io mi credea che tu chiamassi un cane.
Anzi tu me chiamasti.
Io te?
Tu me.
E chi sei tu?
No 'l ${ }^{16}$ vedo a fé. $\quad$ Se bedi? mi guarderai
da roverso e da dritto,
su le mie spalle il nome mio sta scritto.
$\begin{aligned} & \text { Or mi conosci tu? } \\ & \text { Per gobbo io ti conosco. }\end{aligned}$
So gobbo io sono.
Son gobbo, son Demo,
son bello, son bravo,
il mondo m'è schiavo,
del diavol non temo,
son vago, grazioso,
lascivo, amoroso;
s'io ballo, s'io canto,
la corte m'ammira, ${ }^{17}$
ogni dama per me arde, e so- so-
so- so- arde, e so- so- so-
So- sospira. SCENA VII
DEMO, ORESTE.
Son qui, che, che, che chiedi?
In Colco io più non fui.
Alcun qui non conosco.
Non mi risponde? Ah non m'inte- te- te-
A me?
Te- te- Te- te. Ah non m'intendi?
Oh dissonanze strane,
io mi credea che tu chiamassi un cane.
Anzi tu me chiamasti.
Io te?
Tu me.
E chi sei tu?
No 'l ${ }^{16}$ vedo a fé. $\quad$ Se bedi? mi guarderai
da roverso e da dritto,
su le mie spalle il nome mio sta scritto.
$\begin{aligned} & \text { Or mi conosci tu? } \\ & \text { Per gobbo io ti conosco. }\end{aligned}$
So gobbo io sono.
Son gobbo, son Demo,
son bello, son bravo,
il mondo m'è schiavo,
del diavol non temo,
son vago, grazioso,
lascivo, amoroso;
s'io ballo, s'io canto,
la corte m'ammira, ${ }^{17}$
ogni dama per me arde, e so- so-
so- so- arde, e so- so- so-
So- sospira.
$\stackrel{10}{4}$
$\stackrel{\text { Ba }}{4}$
多
$\stackrel{\%}{子}$
ঞ
Your judgment is too, too, too rushed,
and if my speech again you mock,
my strong brave thrust
will break your c-
Oh my.
Your c- crown against this wall.
This is how foreigners in Colchis are treated?
What fo- fo- foreigner?
I said, and quite clearly: what's it to you?
I challenge you: draw your sword.
<Aside> This guy's a buffoon. - Calm down,
my friend, not at the court...
What friend, what court?
Draw, I say;
now that I'm in a fury
I want to duel, and carve out your heart.
I beg your pardon, dear friend,
and cede to you the victory,
I give myself over to you
and, if I said too much, it was my fault.
Lo, what valor can accomplish...
Mercy, o Lord, mercy.
So that you may see
how strong and generous I am,
go, go, for I pardon you.
Great? If you were to witness me act of a great man.
confronting the enemy,
adopting a warlike pose,
casting fire from my eyes,
making my appearance ferocious;
and with sword and lance
dealing thrusts and lightning-like punches,
you would see me rise to my feet
atop a pile of dead and wounded,
and from my savage blows
that cleave sinew, flesh and bone,
you would come to admit
that Mars is my humble disciple.
I believe you, but put up your sword.
There, I'll put it up and declare you a friend.
The
DEMO
Orestes
DEMO
Orestes
DEMO
Orestes
DEMO

Orestes

DEMO
Orestes
DEMO
Orestes
DEMO
Orestes
DEMO
O
Sei troppo, troppo, troppo frettoloso,
e se farai del mio parlar strapazzo,
la mia forte bravura
saprà spezzarti il ca-
Oibò.
Il ca- po in queste mura.
Cosi si tratta un forastiero in Colco?
Che fo- fo- forastiero?
Io dissi, e dissi bene: a che si bada?
Ti sfido, metti man per quella spada.
<A parte> Un buffone è costui. T'acquieta, amico,
e non voler in corte...
Che amico, che corte?
Metti mano, dich'io;
or ch'io sono in furore
vo' duellar, e vo' cavarti il core.
Perdon ti chieggio, o caro,
la vittoria ti cedo,
mi ti dono per vinto
e, se troppo parlai, fu mia sciagura.
Quel che fa la bravura...
Pietà, signor, pietà.
che quanto forte, generoso tu veda sono,
va', va', ch'io ti perdono.
Grande? Se mi vedessi
con l'inimico a fronte da grande.
pormi in guardia guerriera,
buttar foco dagl'occhi,
inferocir la cera,
e col brando e con l'asta
vibrar stoccate e fulminar roversi,
vedresti alzarmi a piedi
di morti e di feriti una ca- tasta,
e da' miei colpi fieri,
che snervano, dispolpano e disossano,
verresti a confessare
che Marte è mio umilissimo scolare.
Così cred'io, ma il ferro omai riponi.
Ecco il ripongo e ti dichiaro amico.
la


Orestes
Demo
Orestes
Demo

Orestes
Demo
Orestes
Demo

Orestes
Demo

Orestes
Demo
Orestes
Demo
Orestes
Demo
Orestes
Demo
Orestes
Demo
Orestes
Demo
Orestes
Demo
Orestes
Demo
Orestes
Demo
Orestes
Demo

De


Oreste

Demo
Oreste
Demo

Oreste
DEmo
Oreste
Demo

Oreste
Demo

Oreste
DEmo
Oreste
Demo
Oreste
Demo
Oreste
Demo
Oreste
Demo
Oreste
Demo
Oreste
Demo
Oreste
Demo
Oreste
Demo
Oreste
Demo
in
$\stackrel{i n}{i n}$
and I'll wait to make peace at the ta- at the ta-ta- ta- at the ta- at the taAlas, I don't understand you, I'm coming; you go now, get moving. Exit Demo.
I'll follow him,




At the tavern. SCENE VIII
DELFA.
May time fly as it does,
may the passing years roll by on their course,
may old age rob me
of my cheek's bloom and my hair's gold,
may my beauty sink
into a sea of eternal oblivion,
but to give up love -
this I won't do, in faith,
no, in faith, I will not, not I, not I.
Youthful love
is a budding itch without strength,
but from forty onward it takes root
in the heart and pierces the marrow;
at any moment, avaricious time
can diminish my energy and vitality,
but to deny love -
may they say what they want,
say what they want, but not I, not I.



XI ヨNGつS
SGLSECO
Demo
DELFA

Ma nelle regie stanze
già comparve Giason. Volo a Medea;
vieni, vieni signora,
vieni figlia diletta:
qui parlar le potrai, il passo affretta
SCENA IX
DELFA
$\stackrel{n}{i n}$
$\stackrel{\circ}{8}$
$\stackrel{8}{8}$
웅


Where have you lain at night? In the abode near
my royal garden,
which idol did you adore?
Whose honor have you taken? What children have you begotten?
 is this how the royal pillows are to be respected? You, a warrior?

A knight?
It is not true.
Ah, if I were not to set a punishment, now that the crime is evident, for such brazen impudence
under my roof,
and on my virginal bed
and on my virginal bed
attempt to bring shame and scorn: your crimes,
impious one, you cannot deny; impious one, you cannot deny;
the offended lady lives under my protection as does the minister of your mutual delights. I possess the twins whom the unhappy lady bore you, who, reproaching herself as the mother of illegitimate children,
will accuse and condemn you as their father. Tell me, perfidious one, tell me, is this how the royal seat is respected?

You, a warrior?
prepare to die,
or take my words as law:
I command, here and now,
I command, here and now,
Nella notte trascorsa ove giacesti? Nell'albergo vicino al mio real giardino, qual idolo adorasti? onor già rapisti?
Quai figli generasti? di, i reali origlieri si rispettan così?



Ah che s'io non punissi,
or ch'il fallo è palese, così sfrontato ardire, sotto questo mio tetto, verresti ancora un giorno
tenteresti apportar vergogna e scorno: questi delitti tuoi,
empio, negar non puoi; vivono in mio poter l'offesa donna e la ministra del comun diletto.
Io possiedo i gemelli
Io possiedo i gemelli che di te partorì la sventurata
che, incolpandosi madre
d'illegittima prole,
t'accuserà, ti dannerà per padre. Dimmi, perfido, di', i reali origlieri, si rispettan così? Tu guerriero?
Cavaliero? Non è vero.

# Taci, <br>  

a morir ti disponi
o, quant'io parlerò, legge ti fia:
voglio che in questo loco ed in quest'ora Medea.
?
そ
ت̈
0
0
0
0
0




GIASONE
MEDEA
GIASONE
$\stackrel{8}{\wedge}$
in

DELFA
MEDEA
$\stackrel{i}{\gtrless}$
$\stackrel{10}{i}$
$\stackrel{1}{1}$
$\stackrel{\text { ® }}{i}$
$\stackrel{\circ}{i}$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Jason, my soul, my hope, my idol, } \\
& \text { your wife, your love, I am she. } \\
& \text { Oh longed-for news } \\
& \text { of adored favors! } \\
& \text { Now I see and know you, } \\
& \text { once a dark mystery; } \\
& \text { now I gaze upon and admire you, } \\
& \text { o eyes, o eyes, my uncovered treasures } \\
& \text { - yes, yes, you are those } \\
& \text { most serene stars - } \\
& \text { I did imagine you thus } \\
& \text { in the vivid splendor } \\
& \text { with which you pierced me amidst the shadows. } \\
& \text { O my beautiful one, o Medea, } \\
& \text { my delight, my bride, } \\
& \text { my queen, my goddess, } \\
& \text { drunk with such joy, } \\
& \text { immortalized lover, } \\
& \text { I consecrate to your great deity - } \\
& \text { ready to obey you - } \\
& \text { my faith, my hand, my heart, my soul, and my spirit. } \\
& \text { O my heart. } \\
& \text { Do you burn? } \\
& \text { O my love. } \\
& \text { Anurn, o my love, for I I also burn. } \\
& \text { More fortunate joys - } \\
& \text { More longed-for delights - } \\
& \text { - than mine even the gods above do not have. } \\
& \text { - no more sweetness, Love, no more, no more. }
\end{aligned}
$$


$z$
0
$\vdots$
$\vdots$


consacro al tuo gran nume,
pronto per obedirti,
la fé, la destra, il cor, l'alma e




SCENA XIII
DELFA sola.
‘!роя ‘!poŋ




$\stackrel{1 n}{n}$
솟

出

안


岂

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { che mi condusse al pagliereccio albergo } \\
& \text { della vecchia Gimena, } \\
& \text { che me pietosa e i figli miei raccolse? } \\
& \text { Sì, sì, stanca dal duolo - or mi sovviene - } \\
& \text { poc'anzi entro 'l tugurio } \\
& \text { mi diedi al sonno in preda, e qua sospinta } \\
& \text { dalla perfidia de i sognati influssi, } \\
& \text { atterrita, anelante, } \\
& \text { in braccio alle fantasme io mi condussi. } \\
& \text { Isifile infelice, } \\
& \text { del bel trono di Lenno } \\
& \text { esule sventurata, } \\
& \text { regina senza regno, } \\
& \text { d'illegitima prole } \\
& \text { madre prima che sposa, } \\
& \text { sposa solo di nome, } \\
& \text { moglie senza marito, } \\
& \text { martire di fortuna, } \\
& \text { sconsolata vagante, } \\
& \text { priva d'ogni ristoro, } \\
& \text { serva, seguace e amante } \\
& \text { di quel Giason, ch'a mio dispetto adoro: } \\
& \text { o dio, ecco i pensieri } \\
& \text { che scompiglion la mente, } \\
& \text { tiranneggian li spirti, } \\
& \text { martirizzano i sensi, } \\
& \text { alteran le potenze, } \\
& \text { aggirano i discorsi, } \\
& \text { e in un caos profondo } \\
& \text { confondon gl'elementi } \\
& \text { di questo regio innamorato mondo. } \\
& \text { Non può tardar il mio fedel Oreste } \\
& \text { a ritornar di Colco } \\
& \text { per darmi, o dio, del mio tiranno amato } \\
& \text { o funesti rapporti o avviso grato. } \\
& \text { S'ei non torna, mi moro; } \\
& \text { s'ei torna, ohimè, s'inorridisce il core, } \\
& \text { che d'infauste novelle } \\
& \text { lo teme apportatore. } \\
& \text { Così ad un tempo istesso } \\
& \text { voglio, non voglio, } \\
& \text { and }
\end{aligned}
$$


VEGAZN


Lo, I shake this wand,
lo, I strike
the ground with my feet;
fearful
demons,
spirits
of Erebus,
fly to me.
Do I call you in vain?
What din,
what hissing
prevents my dreadful voice from
penetrating the blind chasm?
From the sands
of Cocytus,
all the Furies
I invite,
to my throne
here I order you.
Why do you still delay?
Tartarean deities, come, come, come, come.
May the walls be torn asunder,
may the rocks be broken,
may the foundations be crushed,
wobble, and fall;
soon we enter
Medea's chambers.
The great Tartarean leader is bound
by your prayers to serve you, o Medea,
and the infernal deities bend
to your commands. Pluto has heard
your words; this golden ring
holds within it the valor
that will bolster
Jason's heart this day.
Yes, yes, yes,
my king
will win,
Ma
Già questa verga io scoto,
già percoto
il suol col piè;
orridi
demoni,
spiriti
d'Erebo,
volate a me.
Così indarno vi chiamo?
Quai strepiti,
quai sibili
non lascian penetrar nel cieco baratro
le mie voci terribili?
Dalla sabbia
di Cocito
tutta rabbia
qua v'invito,
al mio soglio
qua vi voglio.
A che si tarda più?
Numi tartarei, su, su, su, su.
Le mura si squarcino,
le pietre si spezzino,
le moli si franghino,
vacillino, cadano,
e tosto si penetri
ove Medea si sta.
Del gran duce tartareo
le tue preci, o Medea, gl'arbitrii legano,
e i numi inferni a i cenni tuoi si piegano;
Pluto tue voci udì;
in questo cerchio d'or
si racchiude valor
che di Giasone il cor
armerà questo dì.
Sì, sì, sì,
vincerà
il mio re,
Nat


greatly, enjoys nothing, and always wants. greatly, enjoys nothing, and always wants.
If a woman wishes to enjoy
the fruits of a sweet and benign love,
she must have
a heart of soft wax, not of stone;
that heart will be among the first
to have its wax imprinted by a sigil. to have its wax imprinted by a sigil.
I fly to the port:
May my faithful reasoning May my faithful reasoning
administer to you peace and administer to you peace and comfort;
hair quickly turns white, the seasons fly past, and in the end you will have wasted
the years of your youth, and not the Jasons. Exits.
Too vainly Alinda
follows her moods follows her moods and insane fancies.
Alas, I can no longer stand it; Alas, I can no longer stand it;
my spirits seem to be failing,

my feet stagger, and from sheer weariness
I fall to the ground.
Hypsipyle



$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { pena assai, nulla gode e sempre stenta. } \\
& \text { Se vuol goder } \\
& \text { i frutti d'un amor dolce e benigno, } \\
& \text { deve la donna aver } \\
& \text { di molle cera il cor, non di macigno; } \\
& \text { e quella è fra le prime } \\
& \text { che nella cera ogni sigillo imprime. }
\end{aligned}
$$


SCENA II
ORESTE, ISIFILE
岂

용
in
\&
Ma temp'è ch'ad Isifile ritorni
ne la capanna al certo. Ohimè che vedo? Distesa su quei mirti
l'infelice mi sembra priva di moto e spirti. Morta o viva che sia, m'accosto alla sicura, non mi fanno paura; sento il core che batte, affannata respira, e tra l'amore e lira fantastica combatte.




丞 \&
$\%_{8}^{2}$
응
응
$\stackrel{\circ}{\circ}$合

You've enticed me, I was not immune;
now I yearn and languish for you,
if I kiss you, I dare too much,
if I do not, I'd be a fool.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { I have decided, I'll kiss her. } \\
& \text { W/ho could sav I did? }
\end{aligned}
$$

A kiss leaves no trace, it dies between the lips and dissipates into nothing and I already know she's no virgin; her honor will not be corrupted;
since it was already taken from her it's proof that she no longer has it; and if it is ever discovered,
so gallant a theft,
I shall excuse myself by saying Therefore be sneaky, Orestes, Therefore be sneaky, Orestes,
careful not to wake her;
o beloved, divine visage.
 Good night, and happy new year. Well, the kiss has gone up in smoke. Do you not see me, Milady? do you no longer know me? Orestes, there you are,
why did you not wake me?
And why did you wake just now?
Tell me - how is Jason, is he alive or dead, does he wish for me to wait for him or to go to him? Does he answer in person or in writing? Has he been faithful to me? Or has he forgotten about me? Does he despise or adore me?

Does he want me to live or to die? So many questions?
To answer all of them
would require droves of scholars.
4
0
0
0
0
$\vdots$
0
0
0
3
0
$\vdots$
0
0
0
0
0
0 Be at ease, Milady:
Hypsipyle
Orestes
Hypsipyle
Orestes

Hypsipyle
Orestes
Hypsipyle

| $n$ |
| :--- |
| 0 |
|  |
|  |
| 0 |

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \quad \text { M'allettasti, io non fui sordo, } \\
& \text { or per te manco e languisco, } \\
& \text { s'io ti bacio, troppo ardisco, } \\
& \text { se nol fo, son un balordo. } \\
& \text { Son risoluto al fin, baciar la voglio. } \\
& \text { Chi lo potrà ridire? } \\
& \text { Il bacio orma non lassa, } \\
& \text { muor tra le labbra e si risolve in nulla, } \\
& \text { e già so che costei non è fanciulla; } \\
& \text { l'onor non scemerà, } \\
& \text { ché se dianzi il chiedea } \\
& \text { è segno che non l'ha; } \\
& \text { e se mai si risà } \\
& \text { furto così leggiadro, } \\
& \text { mi scuserò con dire } \\
& \text { che la comodità mi fece un ladro. } \\
& \text { Or va' ben destro, Oreste, } \\
& \text { guarda non la svegliare; } \\
& \text { caro volto divino... } \\
& \text { <Si alza>22 Dove parti, o tiranno? } \\
& \text { Buona notte e buon anno. } \\
& \text { Sai pur ch'io mi consumo. } \\
& \text { Il bacio è andato in fumo. } \\
& \text { Non mi vedi, o signora, } \\
& \text { non mi conosci più? } \\
& \text { Oreste sei pur tu, } \\
& \text { perché non mi svegliasti? } \\
& \text { Tu perché ti destasti? } \\
& \text { Dimmi che fa Giason, è vivo o morto, } \\
& \text { vuol ch'io l'attenda o parta? } \\
& \text { Risponde a bocca o in carta? } \\
& \text { Mi conserva la fé? } \\
& \text { O si scordò di me? } \\
& \text { Mi disprezza o mi adora? } \\
& \text { Vuol ch'io viva o ch'io mora? } \\
& \text { Tanti interrogatorii? } \\
& \text { Per risponder a tutti } \\
& \text { ci vorrebbe una mandra di dottori. } \\
& \text { Poche parole, e buone. } \\
& \text { Datti pace, o signora: }
\end{aligned}
$$

| 1010 |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1015 |  |
| 1020 |  |
| 1025 |  |
| 1030 | ISIFILE <br> Oreste <br> ISIFILE <br> Oreste |
| 1035 | IsIfile |
|  | Oreste <br> ISIFILE |
| 1040 |  |
| 1045 | Oreste |

Jason no longer loves you. Jason does not take meetings; I spoke to one Demo, and then with Besso,
Jason's confidant and my cousin,
who, moved to pity by your difficult state I spoke to one Demo, and then with Besso,
Jason's confidant and my cousin,
who, moved to pity by your difficult state told me straightforwardly: told me straightforwardly:
"Barely after he arrived in
"Barely after he arrived in Colchis,
Jason became the lover
of a beauty unseen,
whom he enjoyed only in the dark; made a warrior of love,
he abandoned himself to pleasures, and cares nothing for his own honor;
 Have you nothing else to tell me? You don't think that's enough? Listen, then: by the proud Argonauts

Jason has been spurred
to appoint this very day
for mortal combat,
and if he should capture the golden fleece, in order to reach Corinth
he will need to pass by this river mouth in a few hours' time on his ship the Argo;
you will then be able to speak to him,
 be able to unburden yourself to him - who knows? Hope, Milady, hope.
 And what can I hope for,
if within this bosom
my soul, oh god, fades away,
if from so many wounds
my spirit has been cut down,
and my strength has fled? Hopes that have fled, vanished from me;
‘реәр Креәдр ‘ұлгәч Киш

Hypsipyle
Orestes



[^178] son li spirti abbattuti,
le potenze smarrite? l'anima, o dio, vien meno, se per tante ferite
$\stackrel{8}{\circ}$


ISIFILE
$\stackrel{\otimes}{\circ}$

1085

But, o miserable one, what am I raving about? What hopes, what death? What comfort, what heart? What torments, what anguish threaten this royal mind
with ruin?
I despair, yes, but I am a queen
So I am filled with despair?
Do not flag, courage,

we will tear his flesh asunder,
we will rend his heart,


Medea
$Z$
0
Z

- quest'alma
SCENA IV
GIASONE.
Per qual nuovo vigore
sembra al cor questo petto
troppo angusto ricetto?
Queste nuove potenze ${ }^{23}$
da Medea riconosco. All'armi, all'armi.
Gl'Argonauti guerrieri,
e 'l senato ${ }^{24}$ di Colco
a queste mura intorno
della fiera tenzon gl'esiti attende.
All'impresa m'accingo
e il nome di Medea per nume invoco.
O dell'orrido cerchio
del fatal laberinto
mostri, belve e custodi,
del tessalo Giason le voci udite:
queste ferrate porte
al mio passaggio obedienti aprite,
o ch'io le sbarro e vi disfido a morte.
Fuori, fuori,
S'apre la porta e comparisce il Toro.
Ma già s'apre e spalanca
il rugginoso ostello,
già sbuffa e su le soglie
orgoglioso cornuto
percuote il piè ferrato
e mi sfida a duello.
Stiasi la spada al fianco,
temp'è d'oprar ardir, forza e destrezza.
Mi contende l'ingresso?
al cimento,
vostri orrori
non pavento.
a

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { - my soul } \\
& \text { SCENE IV } \\
& \text { JASON. } \\
& \text { What new vigor is this } \\
& \text { that seems to make my chest } \\
& \text { too tight for my heart? } \\
& \text { These new powers } \\
& \text { I recognize as Medea's. To arms, to arms. } \\
& \text { The Argonaut warriors, } \\
& \text { and the senate of Colchis } \\
& \text { surround these walls } \\
& \text { and await the outcome of my fierce battle. } \\
& \text { I gird myself for combat } \\
& \text { and invoke Medea's name as my guardian angel. } \\
& \text { O monsters, beasts and guardians } \\
& \text { of the awful circle } \\
& \text { of the deadly labyrinth, } \\
& \text { hear the words of Jason the Thessalian: } \\
& \text { open these iron gates obediently } \\
& \text { for my passage through, or I shall } \\
& \text { tear them down and challenge you to the death. } \\
& \text { Out, out, } \\
& \text { to battle, } \\
& \text { your horrors } \\
& \text { do not frighten me. } \\
& \text { The gate is opened and the bull appears. } \\
& \text { But now they open wide } \\
& \text { upon the rusty dwelling; } \\
& \text { now huffing at the threshold, } \\
& \text { the proud horned beast } \\
& \text { strikes the ground with its iron hooves } \\
& \text { and challenges me to a duel. } \\
& \text { Stay at my side, sword, } \\
& \text { for it is time for daring, strength, and skill. } \\
& \text { You challenge my entrance? } \\
& \text { Yo }
\end{aligned}
$$

M
0
0
S
0

You come out, and upon that sharp horn rests your hope for victory? As I fight with frenzy, so I deliberate. Yes: I now grasp it out
of its hard head,
now I uproot it, now I eradicate it.
But what now appears inside the
gloomy courtyard - dragon or monster?
gloomy courtyard - dragon or monster?
In your name, o Medea,
In your name, o Medea,
I charge the enemy's posit
I arm my right hand with my sword, and into fiercer battles

in the dark menagerie
I now hurl and cast myself.
SCENE V
MEDEA, DELFA.
Jason, oh god, Jason,
where have you gone, my husband?
I fear for his life and his honor. Do you still worry? Do you not know what virtue is contained within that magical circle of yours?
My daughter, clear your worrying: My daughter, clear your worrying:
if you gave him the ring, his honor is safe Infinite is the worth of my arts,
and yet in my breast
I feel infinite ardor, and jealousy.
Jealousy, and of whom? Perhaps somewhere in there lives a pretty lady?

But of course you know of the horrible squadron that guards this circle both inside and out.

A man does not love the company of monsters, but obliges, with great effort,
the many requests of a beatiful woman - if only it weren't so - who misses him. But see how the Argonaut warriors
observe your every movement.


[^179]䍃 岃 | ® |
| :--- |
|  |

## $\stackrel{\circ}{\mathrm{I}}$

$\stackrel{n}{2}$
̈ㅡ﹎



- Medea...
Go on. Medea
wi- with-
Oh god, with whom?
- has fled with Jason.
And in sweet escape alas.
they went yelling, arm in arm:
"To the ship, to the ship."
And where do they go?
They are embarking for Co-
Co- Co- for Co- Co- Co-
For Coimbra?
For Coraltro? for Co- Co- Co- Co-
Oh for the love of-, for Co- Co- Co- Co-
For Cosandro?
Not at all,
for Co- Co-
For Corinth?
Ah, ah, well done, well done,
you've saved me some suffering.
So this is the reason
that Medea hates me: she loves Jason.
Oh god, I'm dead. You - follow my steps
and in a little canoe
we shall go after the fugitives;
a divine eternal decree
demands that I follow Medea, even to hell. Demo
AEgeus
Demo
Aegeus
Demo
Aegeus
Demo

Aegeus
Demo
Aegeus
Demo
Aegeus
Demo
Aegeus
Demo
Aegeus
Demo
Aegeus
$\sum_{i=1}^{0}$

O revered ruler
of the Aeolian caves,
hear the words of your thundering father.
O my Lord and father,
here, ready for your words,
are kingdom, king, and legions of subjects.
The queen of Lemnos,
my noble great-granddaughter,
has been dishonored and betrayed today
by Jason of Thessaly;
by the same Jason who rashly, boldly,
with the power of hell,
invaded the shrines of Colchis
to steal the offerings consecrated to my exalted deity,
and to despoil my altars.
He now ploughs the Caspian sea's waves,
and adorned and girded with the golden fleece,
hopes to sail triumphantly to Corinth.
Now you, therefore, from the caverns,
tremendous and dreadful,
command the South Winds
with all dispatch
to the waves of the Caspian,
driving whirlwinds
that blow and rage
this very day,
so that he is hurled,
so that he is drowned,
he who dared so much.
Are thus the pure offerings of Phrixus,
by the noble offspring of Athamas,
my own progeny,
no longer safe from human sacrilege?
Hie, hie, out of these caverns,
flare, rage,
cast off your chains, o winds,
and until this sacrilegious hero
has been sunk to the depths,
turn the sea, the clouds, the world upside down.
the

|  | 0 |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 3 |  |
| 2 | 0 | 3 |
| 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 0 | 0 | 0 |

N
3
0
O
W

$\begin{array}{lll}\Perp & 0 & 5 \\ 0 & 0 & 0 \\ 0 & 0 & 0\end{array}$

$\stackrel{\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{\sim}}{\sim}$

$\stackrel{3}{2}$
ले
$\stackrel{\text { n }}{2}$
$\stackrel{9}{9}$








## $A$ due

Oreste

DEMO
ORESTE
Demo

$\stackrel{8}{\sim}$
$\stackrel{1}{i n}$
$\stackrel{1 n}{2}$

The purest ardor
of sincere affection
by a worthy gentleman
does not diminish his merit;
far more unbecoming than being a lover,
is for a warrior to be pedantic.
Within the warring god
love has already been born;
all manner of weapons are boasted of
for their womanly beauty;
the goddess Bellona is a warrior,
and in her warlike name resounds "bella."


[^180]ALINDA

D'affetto sincero
purissimo ardor
di buon cavaliero
non scema il valor,
vie più ch'esser amante,
si disdice a un guerrier far da pedante.
Del dio che guerreggia
amor nacque già;
fra l'armi pompeggia
donnesca beltà;
è guerriera Bellona,
e nel nome guerrier, bella risuona.
Quanti soldati, o quanti;
allegrezza, allegrezza, o donne amanti.
Gradite tempeste,
procelle adorate,
che qua ne spingeste
le merci più grate,
per vostra pietate
mia gioia s'avanza,
al vostro tempestar vien l'abbondanza.
Quanti soldati, o quanti;
allegrezza, allegrezza, o donne amanti.
Per fare in terra un picciol paradiso
ti diè natura, o bella,
oro al crin, stelle a gl'occhi e rose al viso.
Per far un uom tutto robusto e fiero
ti diè natura in sorte
duro il pel, fosco il fronte e 'l guardo nero.
Dimmi, dimmi chi sei,
tu che sì bella sembri a gl'occhi miei?
Io sono un'infelice
mal provista d'amante,
che con affanno inusitato e nuovo
a

bramo assai, sempre cerco e nulla trovo.
Vedimi, e qual io sono,
pur che tu non mi sdegni,
la mia fede, il mio amor tutto ti dono.
Lascia ch'io ben ti squadri.
Tu non mi spiaci a fé, gl'occhi son ladri.
Ma i lumi tuoi divini,
se chiami ladri i miei, son assassini.
Esser amante mio dunque vuoi tu?
Rispondo un sì senza pensarci su.
Intendiamoci bene:
io con modeste voglie
per marito ti bramo.
Il tuo mestier qual è?
Tu per moglie.
Tu soldato? Ah, ah;
ohimè questo tuo dir rider mi fa.
Perché ridi così?
Tu soldato?
Dov'è il volto sì!
Dovegiato?
Dovai manco un orecchio?
Dovè fianco stroppiato?
Dov'è una man recisa?
Ohimè non lo dir più, scoppio di risa.
Dunque non ti rassembra
soldato uno che intere abbia le membra?
Il buon soldato deve
portar qualche notabil contrasegno:
almen un braccio in pezzi,
un occhio di cristallo, o un piè di legno.
Ma dove, dove vai?
Già che così non pare
ch'io sia stato alla guerra,
vado a farmi stroppiare.
No, già che tutto sei, tutto ti voglio:
ma quanto più ti gradirebbe il core
se tu fussi buon musico cantore.
Musico? L'arte mia
è 'l canto e l'armonia.

| 1585 | Besso |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | Alinda |
| 1590 | Besso |
|  | Alinda |
|  | Besso |
|  | Alinda |
| 1595 |  |
|  | Besso |
|  | Alinda |
|  | Besso |
|  | Alinda |
| 1600 | Besso |
|  | Alinda |
|  | Besso |
|  | Alinda |
| 1605 |  |
|  | Besso |
|  | Alinda |
| 1610 |  |
|  | Besso |
| 1615 |  |
|  | Alinda |
| 1620 | Besso |

But what voice part do you sing, and in what range?
You can't tell from my voice? I'm a soprano.
Soprano?
$\quad$ Yes, why?
You're not a castrato, are you? No more war, no more, no more rage:
two lovers' loving hearts
through charm, through song
pass the hours.
No more war, no more: may love triumph.
No more trumpets or drums, or noise.
In loving peace
to the sound of kisses
may the heart rejoice.
No more trumpets or drums; love, love.

No more trumpets or drums; love, love.
But what do you carry in your lap? Of aromatic herbs I have stripped the gardens above a simple table.

I'm preparing to make a delicate meal, a tender salad.

Take some if you'd like.
I accept your gift,
but would be enriched even further
but would be enriched even furthe
by your favor, if instead of herbs,

Yes, if it please you.
I'm going to refuse you. Are you that indignant about this?
My kisses don't go well with salad. My kisses don't go well with salad.
My little love elf,
your loveliness has bound my heart.
My robust husband,
your quaintness gives me such pleasure.
Oh how, oh how I love you.



| Alinda |
| :--- |
| Besso |
| Alinda |
| Besso |
| Alinda |
| Besso |
| Alinda |
|  |
| Together |
| Besso |
|  |
| Together |
| Besso |
| Alinda |
|  |
| Besso |
| Alinda |
| Together |
| Besso |
| Alinda |
| Together |
| Alinda |
| Besso |
| Alinda |
| Besso |
| Besso |

Alinda



$\stackrel{+}{9}$

Alinda
Besso
Alinda
Besso
Alinda
Besso
Alinda
$A$ due
Besso
Alinda
n m'appresta una vivanda delicata.
Prendine pur se vuoi.
Accetto i doni tuoi,
ma di grazie maggiori
m'arrichiresti, se dell'erbe invece,
delle tue guancie m'offerissi i fiori.
Chiedi insalata, e in un mi chiedi i baci?
Sì, se tu ti compiaci.
E sei te gli nego. Spiritello d'amore,
con la tua leggiadria mi leghi il core.
Caro sposo robusto,
con la tua bizzarria mi dai gran gusto. Spiritello d'amore,
con la tua leggiadria mi leghi il core.
Caro sposo robusto,
con la tua bizzarria mi dai gran gusto. O quanto, o quanto io t'amo.
Non è più da tardar,
Non è più da pensar,
A goder, a gioir, andiamo, andiamo. O quanto, o quanto io t'amo.
Non è più da tardar,
Non è più da pensar,
A goder, a gioir, andiamo, andiamo. O quanto, o quanto io t'amo.
Non è più da tardar,
Non è più da pensar,
A goder, a gioir, andiamo, andiamo. Ma nel grembo che porti?
D'erbe odorose ho dispogliati gl'orti D'erbe odorose ho dispogliati gl'orti
sopra povera mensa.
Non piu tromba o tambur, non piu romore.
In amorose paci
al suono de' baci
rallegrisi il core.
Non più tromba o tamburo; amore, amore. ${ }^{43}$ sopra povera mensa.
Tenerella insalata
mera m'appresta una vivanda delicata.
Prendine pur se vuoi.
Accetto i doni tuoi,
ma di grazie maggiori
m'arrichiresti, se dell'erbe invece,
delle tue guancie m'offerissi i fiori.
Chiedi insalata, e in un mi chiedi i baci?
Sì, se tu ti compiaci.
Io te gli nego. m'appresta una vivanda delicata.
Prendine pur se vuoi.
Accetto i doni tuoi,
ma di grazie maggiori
m'arrichiresti, se dell'erbe invece,
delle tue guancie m'offerissi i fiori.
Chiedi insalata, e in un mi chiedi i baci?
Sì, se tu ti compiaci.
Io te gli nego. m'appresta una vivanda delicata.
Prendine pur se vuoi.
Accetto i doni tuoi,
ma di grazie maggiori
m'arrichiresti, se dell'erbe invece,
delle tue guancie m'offerissi i fiori.
Chiedi insalata, e in un mi chiedi i baci?
Sì, se tu ti compiaci.
Io te gli nego. m'appresta una vivanda delicata.
Prendine pur se vuoi.
Accetto i doni tuoi,
ma di grazie maggiori
m'arrichiresti, se dell'erbe invece,
delle tue guancie m'offerissi i fiori.
Chiedi insalata, e in un mi chiedi i baci?
Sì, se tu ti compiaci.
E sei te gli nego. m'appresta una vivanda delicata.
Prendine pur se vuoi.
Accetto i doni tuoi,
ma di grazie maggiori
m'arrichiresti, se dell'erbe invece,
delle tue guancie m'offerissi i fiori.
Chiedi insalata, e in un mi chiedi i baci?
Sì, se tu ti compiaci.
E sei così gli nego.

E sei così sdegnata? Io te gli nego.
I baci miei non van con l'insalata. I baci miei non van con l'insalata.
Spiritello d'amore,
con la tua leggiadria mi leghi il core.
Caro sposo robusto,
con la tua bizzarria mi dai gran gusto. tra vezzi, tra canti
dispensino l'ore
Non più guerra, non più, non più furore: due cori amati amanti

Non più guerra,
Non piu tromba o tambur, non piu romore.
In amorose paci
al suono de' baci
rallegrisi il core.
Non più tromba o tamburo; amore, amore. ${ }^{43}$
Non piu tromba o tambur, non piu romore.
In amorose paci
al suono de' baci
rallegrisi il core.
Non più tromba o tamburo; amore, amore. ${ }^{43}$
Non piu tromba o tambur, non piu romore.
In amorose paci
al suono de' baci
rallegrisi il core.
Non più tromba o tamburo; amore, amore. ${ }^{43}$
Ma nel gremo che porti? -
$A$ due $\quad$ A goder, a gioir, andiamo, andiamo.

in order to satisfy her sinful appetites.
What kind of folly
does this savant weave for them?
Lhe vigilen and laugh.
every woman who arrives on these shores,
learning their customs and life stories;
she fixes her mind on them,
schemes, and in the end believes
that their life events, whether good or bad,
in fact have happened to herself,
and imprints with such force
their vicissitudes on her own mind
that at times she is happy, sad, she laughs, cries,
she humiliates herself, becomes enraged,
all corresponding to the biography she has chosen.
What benign folly: well, we shall see the truth of it.




Medea
Giasone


MEDEA

1700

岂

MEDEA
GIASONE
ISIFILE
del funesto sembiante, simulacro di morte,
non riconosci a pieno
la tua diletta amante,
l'adorata consorte,
in questo pianto almeno simulacro di morte,
non riconosci a pieno
la tua diletta amante,
l'adorata consorte,
in questo pianto almeno simulacro di morte,
non riconosci a pieno
la tua diletta amante,
l'adorata consorte,
in questo pianto almeno
in questo pianto almeno
che versan gl'occhi in due dolenti fiumi,
che versan glocchi in due dolenti fium
d'Isifile infelice,
che abbandonata langue,
riconosci, o Giason, l'anima e 'l sangue. Rendi, rendi al mio core
quel ben che li donasti,

## SCENA XIV ISIFILE, MEDEA, GIASONE.


 Se tra i mesti pallori Rendi, rendi al mio core $\stackrel{\text { ® }}{\stackrel{n}{2}}$

|  | and into my chaste embraces <br> return and revel with me, <br> and put an end to my grief and my torment. <br> $<$ To Medea $>$ Let us humor her. <br> $<$ To Hypsipyle $>$ Restrain, o languishing beauty, <br> restrain this woe, and into my bosom <br> return to enjoy your longed-for love. <br> Oh sweetness, oh treasures; <br> leave then this woman <br> and give yourself over to me wholly, my soul. <br> (What lecherous madness.) |
| :--- | :--- |
| HASON |  |

e tra gl'amplessi casti
meco torna a gioire,
e da' fine al mio pianto e al mio martire.
e da' fine al mio pianto e al mio martire.
$<A$ Medea $>$ Secondiamo l'umore. $<A$ Medea $>$ Secondiamo l'umore.
$<$ Ad Isifile $>$ Frena, bella languente, frena questi dolori, e nel mio seno frena questi dolori, e nel mio sen
torna a goder i sospirati amore. O dolcezze, ${ }^{45}$ o tesori; lassa dunque costei e tutto a me ti rendi, anima mia. (Lussuriosa pazzia.)
Ah giovane gentil, non ti sia grave, narrarmi del tuo duol l'alta cagione: narrarmi, amasti Giasone? Più dell'anima istessa. Ti corrispose?
11 corrispose? , M'adoro.
 Al letto ei giunse.
(Sopra gl'amori tuoi certo vaneggia.) (Sopra glamori tuoi cert
 Che rispondi, Giason? Forse vero non fu? Ciò che gl'aggrada Forse vero non fu?
 scambievoli diletti. (O bel pensiero.) (ah non si può celar fallo sì grave) gravida mi lasciasti. < $A$ Medea $>$ Sentirai di piu bello.
E partoristi? E partoristi? E quasi.
Come dire?
Maschia gemella prole
in un sol parto alla luce io diedi.
Ed or, che pensi far?
Seguir Giasone.
E lascerai il tuo natio terreno?

| 1720 |  |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | Giasone |
| 1725 |  |
|  | IsIfile |
| 1730 | Medea |
|  | ISIFILE |
| 1735 | Medea |
|  | Isifile |
|  | Giasone |
|  | Medea |
|  | Isifile |
|  | Giasone |
|  | Medea |
|  | Isifile |
| 1740 | Medea |
|  | Giasone |
|  | ISIFILE |
|  | Giasone |
| 1745 | ISIFILE |
| 1750 | Giasone |
|  | Medea |
|  | Isifile |
|  | Medea |
|  | Isifile |
|  | Medea |
|  | Isifile |
|  | Medea |

I have already forsaken my kingdom and throne!
So you are a queen?

$$
\text { Pay attention to the news. }
$$ $<$ To Hypsipyle> I beg your pardon, Your Majesty: come, Milady, come this way.

If your deference is a jest,
woman whose status or name I do not know,
though I am clad in these humble rags
I will show you, to your everlasting shame,
that I am a queen and wife to Jason. Jason: I am yours, you are mine; leave this vagrant woman,
leave this vagrant woman,
return to this bosom, husband and beloved.
Do not worry about my steadfastness;
go on ahead down that path, and soon,
where my heart has gone, my feet will follow
That I would ever leave you again is sheer vainness: my love, let us go from here, let us go from here.


To Hypsipie rogue in man's flesh. Madame, your humor is pleasant, your jokes pretty, but not at the expense of someone else. What jokes have you dreamed up, you importunate, indiscreet, dishonest, insolent, impertinent, brazen,
insolent, madwoman?
Well that was clearly spoken.
Jason is my consort;
Jason is my consort;
whoever denies him to me or contests me
and I will challenge them to the death. So extravagant? I accept the challenge,
we shall meet here with weapons;
$<$ To Jason> let us go (oh my what a joke), o my love. Leaving without me, you treacherous couple?
 leave, my dear.

Hypsipyle
Medea
Hypsipyle
MEdEA
Hypsipyle

VgatiN
gTAdISdAH
NOSV
Hypsipyle

MEdEA
Hypsipyle

Medea
Hypsipyle
Medea
Hypsipyle


Quant'è ch'abbandonai la patria e 'l regno!
Dunque regina sei?
Odi novelle.
<A Giasone> Più che pazza e costei.
$<$ Ad Isifile> Mi perdoni la Vostra Maestà: ${ }^{46}$
venga, signora mia, passi di qua.
Se per scherzo m'onori,
donna di cui non so lo stato o 'l nome, benché racchiusa in queste umili spoglie ti mostrerò, con tua vergogna eterna,
 Giason: son tua, sei mio; lassa questa vagante,
ritorna a questo sen marito e amante.
Non temer di mia fede;
prendi il camin, che tosto,
ritorna a questo sen marito e amante.
Non temer di mia fede;
prendi il camin, che tosto,
ov'è tirato il cor, verranne il piede. Ch'io ti lasci mai più è vanità: mio ben, di qua, di qua. $<A$ Giasone $>$ Che complita regina, della carne dell'uom ladra assassina. $<A d$ Isifile> Ah signora, ah madonna, gentil è 'l vostro umor, vago lo scherzo, ma non convien pregiudicare al terzo. Quai scherzi vai sognando, importuna, indiscreta, disonesta, arrogante,
impertinente, ardita,
insolente, impazzita?
Così va detta appunto. Giason è mio consorte; ${ }^{47}$
nell'anima m'offende
chi mel nega o contende,
Così bizzarra? Io la disfida accetto,
qua ci vedrem con l'armi;
qua ci vedrem Partir senza di me, coppia nemica?
Indietro, traditor; torna, impudica. Indietro, traditor; torna, impudica.

$<A$ Giasone $>$ partiam (ohi $<$ Ai Soldati> Raffrenate costei. $<A$ Medea $>$ Partiamo,

|  | ISIFILE |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1755 | Medea |
|  | Isifile |
|  | Medea |
|  | ISIFILE |
| 1760 |  |
| 1765 |  |
|  | Giasone |
| 1770 | ISIFILE |
|  | Medea |
| 1775 |  |
|  | ISIFILE |
| 1780 |  |
|  | Medea ISIFILE |
| 1785 |  |
|  | Medea |
| 1790 | ISIFILE |
|  | GIASONE |



Medea
ISIfiLE

1785


Hypsipyle

| $\begin{aligned} & \text { u } \\ & H \\ & \text { H } \\ & \tilde{0} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 崫 } \\ & \stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{4} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 畨 } \\ & \text { 第 } \end{aligned}$ | 硇 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |



岂

Oreste



$\stackrel{\curvearrowleft}{\infty}$
$\stackrel{\circ}{\infty}$


Sleep, weary Jason,
and to my heart, which your eyes have stolen away,
may your eyelids be a sweet prison.
Sleep as I sleep, o beauty,
and while I give over my senses to sleep,
today because of you Jason can boast of having his
soul amidst the shadows and the sun in his arms.
My love, what will you dream of?
Your heavenly eyes; and you, my dear?
Your infinite beauty.
Most placid sleep
that sends us to heaven in the bosom of a shade;
Let us adore each other in our dreams, my soul.

MEDEA
JASON
MEDEA
JASON
MEDEA
Together

<ORESTES>
ORESTES



$\stackrel{n}{\infty}$
$\circ$
$\stackrel{\circ}{\circ}$
$\stackrel{-}{\circ}$
<ORESTE>
ORESTE
1860

A thief sleeps only briefly and lightly：
wake up，up，Jason，Jason．
Who，who awakens me？Who？
Wake up，it is my wish．
So arrogant？And who，who are you？
You no longer know me？
Hypsipyle！
Jason！
Oh，quiet，dear one．
I，dear？And to whom？To me．
（If Medea awakens，I am dead．）
She is not dear，perjurer
she whose honor you took，
whom the spirits rend，
whose heart is tormented．
（Jason with the madwoman？）
What do you really want from me？
The honor that you stole from me．
I will return it to you．
Soon you will have real proof from me；
return to the inn，wait for me there silently．
I shall neither leave nor be quiet，perfidious one；
tell me：are you not he－
（O how I fear！）
－who in Lemnos adored me，
who enticed me to love，
and with disguised faith
as a spouse and husband
made me pregnant；
and then with a shameful escape，
you damned barbarian，
betrayed that faith
that has been recorded in heaven in spite of you？
And now you wish me，
a scorned queen，
to trust your tyrannical ways，
your murderous words？
You fool only yourself，wretch，only yourself．
Yo
JASON
HYPSIPYLE
JASON
HYPSIPYLE
JASON
HYPSIPYLE
JASON
HYPSIPYLE
JASON
HYPSIPYLE
JASON
HYPSIPYLE

MEDEA
JASON
HYPSIPYLE
JASON
HYPSIPYLE
JASON
HYPSIPYLE
JASON
HYPSIPYLE

# Brevi sonni e leggier dorme un ladrone： risvegliati su，su，Giason，Giasone． Chi，chi mi sveglia？Chi？ Svegliati，io così voglio． 荡 <br> Giason! <br> Deh taci，o cara． Lo cara？E a chi？它 （Se si sveglia Medea，morto son 1o．） Non è cara colei cui si toglie l＇onore， si laceran gli spirti，${ }_{53}$ si martirizza il core． （Con la matta Giasone？） Al fin che vuoi da me？ Tel ${ }^{54}$ renderò． －che in Lenno mi adorasti， ch＇a gl＇amor m＇allettasti， e con fé mascherata di sposo e di marito gravida mi rendesti； poi con indegna fuga， barbaro maledetto， tradisti quella fede che in cielo è registrata a tuo dispetto？ che in cielo è registrata a tuo dispetto？ Ed or vuoi ch＇io m＇affidi， vilipesa regina， <br> ＇tuoi sensi tiranni， <br> a＇tuoi detti omicidi？ <br> T＇inganni，empio，t＇inganni． 

GIASONE
Isifile
GIASONE
Isifile
GIASONE
ISIFILE
GIASONE
ISIFILE
GIASONE
ISIFILE
GIASONE
ISIFILE
Medea
Giasone GIASONE装 ISIFILE GIASONE
Isifile

JASON

MEDEA
HYPSIPYLE

JASON
HYPSIPYLE
JASON
HYPSIPYLE
JASON
HYPSIPYLE
JASON
HYPSIPYLE
JASON
HYPSIPYLE
JASON
HYPSIPYLE
JASON
HYPSIPYLE
JASON
HYPSIPYLE
JASON

| 1955 | Giasone |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Isifile, un regnante, (simular mi convien per minor male) |
|  |  | nasce guerriero, e poi diviene amante. |
|  |  | Il desio della gloria, il pregar de ol'amici, |
|  |  | fur stimoli sì fieri e sì pungenti |
| 1960 |  | che, penetrando il core innamorato, |
|  |  | ebbero ancor possanza |
|  |  | di ferir, o mio ben, la mia costanza; |
|  |  | ma per breve puntura |
| 1965 |  | restò ferita sì, ma non estinta. |
|  |  | Or che del vello d'oro |
|  |  | superata ho l'impresa, |
|  |  | dopo breve ristoro a te sua sfera |
|  |  | volerà 'l foco di quest'alma accesa, |
| 1970 |  | e dal core e dal petto, |
|  |  | ti giuro, o mia gradita, |
|  |  | di licenziare ogni straniero affetto. |
|  | Medea | (Epur non sogno?) |
|  | ISIFILE | E pur di nuovo tenti |
|  |  | d'incantarmi, o crudele, |
| 1975 |  | con magie di promesse e giuramenti? |
|  | Giasone | Così incredula sei. |
|  | ISIFILE | Dammi gl'affetti miei. |
|  | Giasone | Tosto gl'avrai. |
|  | Isifile | Devo però partire. |
|  | Giasone | Sì, se brami gioire. |
| 1980 | IsIfile | Partirò se mi dai... |
|  | Giasone | E che? <e che? $>$ |
|  | IsIfile | D'amor un pegno. |
|  | Giasone | E quale? |
|  | Isifile | Un casto abbracciamento maritale. |
|  | Giasone | Giusta richiesta, or prendi. |
|  | ISIFILE | O caro, o caro, o mio. |
|  | Giasone | Ormai t'acquieta. |
| 1985 | IsIfile | E pur ti stringo, o dio. |
|  | Giasone | Il pianto affrena. |
|  | Isifile | Mia gioia sospirata. |
|  | GIASONE | Mia bellez- |
|  |  | Vede Medea risvegliata. |

oh, you have awoken?
Do not let me disturb you, happy couple. Abandon yourselves to delight in the bosom of grace and love, and to your secret affections.
So delightful a tryst
I would never wish to disturb:
if you wish me to go back to sleep, I shall.
Medea?
No more jokes;
I know too much, and hav
I know too much, and have seen too much.
Listen, traitor: my queen, hearken.
Hypsipyle and Jason's fidelity and burning love are known to the gods,



 the bond ordained in heaven is tied on earth.

Oh celestial favor, divine grace!

was more than sufficient to crown your head.
Shall I do it then, Medea?
Do you still resist?
I too am cruel and severe on myself; I too am cruel and severe on myself;
let justice be done though the world $p$
let justice be done though the world perish.
Aside to Jason.
Listen, and take my every word
as law, beloved traitor:
take care that this wedding
is soon followed by the death of this woman,
before you share her bed.
(Surely she speaks on my behalf; how I owe her!) $<$ To Medea> So you wish me to be husband and murderer?
<To Jason> Thus commands me my jealousy,

Hypsipyle
JASON
MEDEA

HypsipYLE
JASON
MEDEA

Hypsipyle
JASON
MEDEA

HYPSIPYLE
JASON
MEDEA
MEDEA

JASON
MEDEA

There is no more to discuss: you will kill her? That would never be possible; I will have another kill her.

$\dot{8}$
$\stackrel{0}{0}$
But when?

In the valley of Orseno.
Now I am fully satisfied.
My queen, here is your hus
who, relieved of his duties,
happily returns to your ple
I implored him so much
happily returns to your pleasant love.

If your compassionate zeal
has rendered to me my first love,
to you, goddess come to me from heaven,

这 But why are you so pensive?
So sad?
Not at all, rather I am overjoyed,
and laughing;
I declare you to be my wife,
and to protect you from the yoke
of tyrannical jealousy,
the true reason for my wicked errors,
into the nocturnal gloom

of the night that already covers the sky has passed,
go silently to the valley of Orseno;
there Besso, my faithful attendant, will await you,

on my behalf
on has commanded has yet been executed


## 


$Z$
0
3
K

岂
$\amalg$
0
0
Z
U
$\stackrel{\substack{+\multirow{2}{*}{\hline}\\ \hline}}{ }$
$\stackrel{1}{\text { ® }}$
$\stackrel{8}{8}$
$\stackrel{i n}{i}$
your steps to return to me with the information.
Oh happy torment,
at last Love is placated,
and on the field of sorrow blooms joy.


> SCENE VI

Hypsipyle

$Z$
0
Z
¿

Aegeus






Sกヲ૭コン


OWAC
S
3
W
4
$\sum_{i}^{0}$
Hypsipyle

## SCENA VII <br> ISIfILE sola．

Gioite，gioite，溒
miei spirti amorosi；

transport this soul
to heaven in bliss,
chase away, banish
the dark clouds and gloom
of pain and torment.
Upon my heart
let all the infinite sweetness
of the kingdom of love
rain down;
my loving spirits,
rejoice, rejoice.
But it is time for me to anticipate
the hour that my idol assigned to me,
and to seek out the worn path
through the steep valley of Orseno.
Running Love's errands,
haste is as beneficial as delay is detrimental:
yes, yes, I leave straightaway.
Purest innocence,
who forms the soul of all of my thoughts,
help me, in your kindness, to discern my steps.
SCENE VIII
ORESTES, HYPSIPYLE.
Milady, where into the night's
perils do you go?
Do you no longer remember
your own children?
Both of them grow faint
from hunger that lays low
even the children of kings.
Ah, turn your feet back!
I will be back soon,
before the light of day.
With song and with charm
I tried to console them for a while,
but every attempt was in vain;



品 宸
$\stackrel{8}{4}$
$\stackrel{\stackrel{1}{2}}{\stackrel{1}{2}}$
$\stackrel{\stackrel{1}{2}}{~}$
$\stackrel{\text { in }}{\stackrel{1}{2}}$
$\stackrel{\circ}{\stackrel{\infty}{N}}$
$\stackrel{L^{\infty}}{\sim}$
$\stackrel{8}{\text { a }}$







宸 㟶
岂

| $\stackrel{1}{0}$ |
| :--- |
|  |

$\stackrel{\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{N}}{\text { N }}$
$\stackrel{1}{\text { ה }}$
Medea


畄
邑

> SCENA X DELFA. Perché sospiri, Medea elosa, perché t'adiri, bella amorosa? Che importa a te se il tuo diletto ad altro oggetto serbò già fé? Ch'importa a te? Qualor su queste guance


Delfa
．
算
$\underset{\text { a }}{\text { d }}$
$\stackrel{\text { ？}}{\substack{\text { a }}}$
苻
roses and verve still blossomed,
I too tasted the liqueur of love;
and from the brim at which I sipped
it never bothered me
if my companions drank everything;
it was enough if my lips never went dry.
It is madness
to sow jealousy
among lovers,
only to reap rage and rancor at the end.
Only the lover at our bosoms
can comfort us;
joy that has passed
goes up in smoke, shadow, and into nothing;
whoever seeks to banish woe from his heart,
let all love, love all, and enjoy beauty.
Don't believe
that a lover
can quench his thirst for love
with a just one beauty, one countenance;
but if in just one day he
enjoys two lovers,
then do this, o ladies:
enjoy three within an hour. Whoever
seeks to enjoy the sweet fruits of love,
pluck one, wait for another, try them all.
I
fiorir le rose e 'l brio,
gl'amorosi liquor gusta e a gl'orli ch'io succhiai non importò già mai
se le compagne mie bevvero tutte; È follia
fra gl'amori
seminar la gelosia,
per raccoglier al fin rabbie e rancori.
Consolar sol ne può
quel ben che in sen ci sta,
la gioia che passò
in fumo, in ombra, in nulla sen va;
chi vol sbandir dal cor doglia e martello
lasci amar, ami ogn'un, goda 'l più bello.
Non credete,
ch'a un amante
possa trar d'amor la sete
una sola bellezza, un sol sembiante;
ma s'egli in un sol dì
da doppio amor godé,
fate, o donne, così:
in men d'un'ora gioite con tre.
Chi vuol goder d'amor suavi i frutti,
un n'accolga, un n'aspetti, aspiri a tutti.

[^181]
## 荘 $\stackrel{y}{0}$ $\sum$

$\circ$
N
N
in
N
N
$\stackrel{i n}{\stackrel{i n}{N}}$
$\stackrel{\circ}{\stackrel{\infty}{N}}$
ते

|  | I will discover the results of his orders this way without arousing suspicion. |
| :---: | :---: |
| Besso | Someone comes; quietly listen to what he says, and be ready to execute my every order. |
| Medea | Besso, is that you? |
| Besso | It is I. |
| Medea | Jason has dispatched me to you to learn whether what he commanded has been executed. |
| Besso | Medea? |
| Medea | Besso. |
| Besso | Jason sent you? |
| Medea | And in great haste. |
| Besso | To learn? |
| Medea | If what <br> he recently ordered you to do has been executed. Do you still not answer me? |
| Besso | And you want an answer so quickly? |
| Medea | And you give it to me so slowly? |
| Besso | There is nothing else to deliberate. Soldiers, attention: arrest her. |
| Medea | Treachery agaisnt Medea? <br> Who ordered you to such rashness? |
| Besso | Someone else's command. |
| Medea | Who was it who commanded it? |
| Besso | He who can command me. |
| Medea | So it was Jason? |
| Besso | No more words. |
|  | Lead her away. |
| Medea | O Jason, you traitor. <br> Let me go, villains; but where, and when? |
|  | SCENE XII <br> Hypsipyle, Besso. |
| Hypsipyle | Besso, Besso. |
| Besso | Who calls? |
| Hypsipyle | Jason has sent me to you so that I can inform him if what he commanded you to do has been executed. |


| 2295 | Besso | così potrò senz'apportar sospetto de l'ordin dato penetrare il vero. Gente di qua ne vien; taciti udite quant'ei favella, ed ogni cenno mio prontissimi esequite. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2300 | Medea | Besso, sei tu? |
|  | Besso | Son io. |
|  | Medea | Per intender Giasone, se quanto ei comandò resti esequito, in fretta a te m'invia. |
|  | Besso | Medea? |
|  | Medea | Besso. |
|  | Besso | Giasone a me ti manda? |
|  | Medea | E con gran fretta. |
| 2305 | Besso | Per intender? |
|  | Medea | , Se quanto |
|  |  | poc'anzi impose a te resti esequito. Ancor non mi rispondi? |
|  | Besso | E tu sì tosto la risposta chiedi? |
|  | Medea | E tu nel darla a me sei così lento? |
| 2310 | Besso | Non è più da pensar. Soldati, a voi: arrestate costei. |
|  | Medea | Tradimento a Medea? |
|  |  | Chi ti diè tanto ardir? |
|  | Besso | L'altrui comando. |
|  | Medea | Chi fu che 'l comandò? |
| 2315 | Besso | Chi comandar mi può. |
|  | Medea | Dunque Giason? |
|  | Besso | Non più. |
|  |  | Conducetela altrove. |
|  | Medea | O Giason traditore. <br> Lassatemi, felloni; e dove e quando? ${ }^{64}$ |
|  |  | SCENA XII |
|  |  | Isifile, Besso. |
| 2320 | Isifile | Besso, Besso. |
|  | Besso | Chi chiama? |
|  | Isifile | Giason a te mi manda acciò gl'avvisi se fu esequito ancor quant'ei t'impose. |


a una crudel che mi negò la morte.
Si getta in mare.
SCENA XIV
BESSO $e$ SOLDATI da una parte, GIASONE dall'altra.

$\stackrel{\stackrel{n}{0}}{\substack{0}}$
GIASONE

0
$\cdots$
$\cdots$

inorridito cor ahi mi predice.

| Z |  |
| :--- | :---: |
| 0 |  |
| 2 |  |
|  |  |








$$
\begin{aligned}
& \qquad \begin{array}{l}
\text { SCENE XV } \\
\text { MEDEA, AEGEUS. }
\end{array} \\
& \text { Do not torture me thus, } \\
& \text { reveal yourself, } \\
& \text { I want to know to whom } \\
& \text { I owe the remaining days of my life. } \\
& \text { Oh god, when you find out, }
\end{aligned}
$$

Si getta in mare.

my sweet tyrant, you will flee from me.
Why would you, to rescue me from death, risk your life in the waters,
only to offend me
with your contrarian doubts?
She who lives because of you is a queen. Medea, my darling,
he who pulled you from the waves is the despised Aegeus. Aegeus I am,
and if kind fate has allowed me the fortune
of giving you your life by my hands,
I ask for no other mercy
than to die by your hand per you promise.
have made me obliged to you for my life, You should not, Aegeus,
have made me obliged to
if you wished to fall
If you deny death to someone who begs for death, then I despair of any reward.
Do not despair, my dear.
So I call you.
He who gives me life is my life; Why such kindness? He who gives me life is my life;
and that I will love you, most constant Aegeus, as servant and consort, was prophesied just now by having denied death my bosom.
My heart, my heart, what do you hear? I do not envy you your happiness, o gods. But if you were born a king, how can you suffer to remain that cruel tyrant and perjurer that cruel tyrant and perjurer
who had me thrown into the sea and betrayed me? who had me thrown into the sea and betrayed me?
Aegeus, my king, my husband, Aegeus, my king, my husband,
of you, yes of you it is expected
of you, yes of you it is expected
to avenge your insulted wife.
Reveal the traitor, kill him, and may
the bright star of our proud joy

No more, my beauty, no more;
Medea
AEGEUS

W
总
Y

Aegeus

Aegeus

| 2380 | Medea | dolce tiranna mia, mi fuggirai. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Se per sottrarmi a morte tua vita avventurasti alla marina, perché da te diverso col dubitar m'offendi? |
| 2385 |  | Colei che per te vive è una regina. |
|  | EgEO | Medea, tesoro mio, chi ti ritolse all'onde è il disprezzato Egeo. Egeo son io, e se fato benigno, |
| 2390 |  | che tu viva per me mi diede in sorte, altra mercé non chiedo che di tua man la pattuita morte. |
|  | Medea | Non bisognava, Egeo, obligarmi di vita, se cader tu volevi |
| 2395 |  | vittima di mia destra inferocita. |
|  | Egeo | Se neghi morte a chi la morte chiede, disperata è per me ogni mercede. |
|  | Medea | Non disperar, mia vita. |
| 2400 | EGEO | Mia vita a me? |
|  | Medea | A te. |
|  | Egeo | Come sì pia? |
|  | Medea | Chi la vita mi diede è vita mia; e ch'io devo adorarti, costantissimo Egeo, serva e consorte, profetizò poc'anzi |
| 2405 |  | nel licenziarsi dal mio sen la morte. |
|  | EGEO | Mio cor, mio cor, che senti? |
|  |  | Io non invidio, o dei, vostri contenti. |
|  | Medea | Ma se re tu nascesti, come potrai soffrir che resti in vita |
| 2410 |  | quel tiranno spergiuro che mi fe' trar all'onde e m'ha tradita? |
|  |  | Egeo, mio re, mio sposo, a te, a te s'aspetta |
| 2415 |  | Tradisci il traditor, l'uccidi e sia del chiaro sol di nostra gioia altera la morte d'un crudele alba furiera. ${ }^{67}$ |
|  | EGEO | Non più, bella, non più; |

tell me who betrayed you, tell me who it was.
Jason commanded my death.
Either Jason will die, or I am not a king.
You will kill him?
Employ cruelty.
Kill him, yes, yes.
This night to you.
the Thessall be



[^182]

| Z |  |
| :--- | :---: |
| 0 |  |
| z |  |
|  |  |

S
U
0
H

| 2420 | Medea | dimmi chi ti tradì, dimmi chi fu. Giason morte mi diè. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Egeo | O morirà Giasone, o non son re. |
|  | Medea | L'ucciderai? |
|  | Egeo | Tel giuro. |
|  | Medea | Usa la crudeltà. |
|  |  | Uccidilo sì, sì. |
| 2425 | EgEO | Questa notte sarà del tessalo fellon l'ultimo dì. |
|  |  | SCENA XVI <br> Palazzo disabitato con rovine. GIASONE. |
|  | GIASONE | Ovunque il piè rivolgo si spalanca un abisso; |
|  |  | là dove il guardo io fisso, in sembianze terribili |
| 2430 |  | vedo due spettri orribili: |
|  |  | una Medea sdegnata, un'ombra assassinata. |
|  |  | L'una tutta gelosa, |
| 2435 |  | l'altra a torto sommersa; |
|  |  | martirizzano a gara |
|  |  | quest'anima languente, |
|  |  | quella tutta rigor, questa innocente. <br> Ma, lasso, il mal dell'alma |
|  |  | Ma, lasso, il mal dell alma |
| 2440 |  | contamina il vigor del viver mio, mortifica le membra, |
|  |  | e nell'abisso di mortal cordoglio in estasi di duol l'anima scioglio. |
|  |  | SCENA XVII |
|  |  | Egeo, Giasone che dorme. |
|  | EGEO | Giason qui parla. Dell'aurora il lume mi scopre il traditor che dorme o langue. |
| 2445 |  | È solo? Sì! e qual miglior fortuna per farli vomitar l'anima e 'l sangue? |

Die, perfidious wretch.
Takes hold of the dagger and readies to kill him.


Do you still think you did?
I did not do so, nor did I say so, nor dream of it.
What?
I only said, and said truthfully,
that I threw a queen into the sea.
And so, what have you to say for yourself?
Nothing more:
only that this was not the one thrown into the sea.
Who then did you throw into the sea?
The one you ordered me to.
Do you continue to conceal her name from me?
She who came to me,
she who spoke to me,
she whom I captured,
she whom I threw into the waves,
was Medea, your wife!
So Medea is dead?
Medea died.


|  |  | Ancor pensando stai? |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Besso | Non lo fei, non lo dissi, nol sognai. |
|  | Giasone | Come? |
|  | Besso | Ti dissi solo, e dissi il vero, ch'una regina in mar precipitai. |
| 2475 | GiAsone | E ben, che vorrai dir? |
|  | Besso | Nulla di più: sol che costei nel mar tratta non fu. |
|  | Giasone | Chi dunque in mar traesti? |
|  | Besso | Colei che m'imponesti. |
|  | Giasone | Il nome ancor mi celi? |
| 2480 | Besso | Quella ch'a me sen venne, quella che a me parlò, quella che imprigionai, quella ch'io trassi entro la sfera ondosa, fu Medea, la tua sposa! |
| 2485 | Giasone Besso | Dunque è morta Medea? <br> Medea morì. |
|  |  | SCENA XX <br> Giasone, Besso, Soldati, Isifile. |
|  | Medea | Tu menti, traditor! Viva son qui! |
|  | Giasone | L'inganno è duplicato? |
|  |  | Non viverai più no, o Besso scelerato. |
| 2490 | Besso | Eccomi a' piedi tuoi: concedimi ch'io parli e, s'io son reo, fa' di me ciò che vuoi. |
|  | Giasone | Parla, e di' tosto. |
|  | Besso | Dimmi, non m'imponesti ch'io traessi nell'onde |
| 2495 |  | quelli che per tua parte |
|  |  | - uomo o donna che fusse - in questa notte nella valle d'Orseno |
|  |  | mi domandasse se gl'imperi tuoi furon da me esequiti? |
| 2500 | Giasone | Così t'imposi. |
|  | ISIFILE | Io per qual fine intendo. |
|  | Besso | $<A$ Medea $>\mathrm{E}$ tu, real signora, |

 $<$ To Hypsipyle $>$ And did you not as well come
with the same question as I was about to leave?
I did come. And what did I reply?
"Return to Jason and tell him "Return to Jason and tell him
that I only kill one person a day."
There, all is revealed.
Now you, impartial and wise man, "Return to Jason and tell him
that I only kill one person a day."
There, all is revealed.
Now you, impartial and wise man, judge whether I am guilty or innocent. But how is Medea alive, if you gave her to the sea?
 of my royal spouse returned me to life. And who is this spouse?
Aegeus, king of Athens.
You have others beside myself?
Jason, cease your indignation.
I, who earlier in a fit of jealousy,
betrayed by Hypsipyle,
wove a deadly net around her innocence; in the horrific events
through occult destiny, betrayal was wrought upon the betraying soul. Curiousity and impatience
led me to the grave,
but the loving Aegeus,
who was this heart's first flame,
throwing himself into the water





MEDEA
BESSO
MEDEA
BESSO
MEDEA
BESSO
MEDEA
BESSO
ISIFILE
BESSO
ISIFILE
BESSO
GIASONE
BESSO
MEDEA
GIASONE
MEDEA
GIASONE
MEDEA
$\stackrel{i n}{\stackrel{1}{N}}$
$\stackrel{0}{i n}$
$\stackrel{10}{i n}$
$\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{N}$
N
$\stackrel{i}{\mathrm{~N}}$
N
ñ
$\stackrel{n}{n}$

for if my life
was, as I well understand,
a failure through errors
that cause you this suffering,
I sacrifice it to your fury.
If I had perished in the waters,
such a quick death
perhaps would not have satisfied your rigor;
perhaps would not have satisfied your rigor;
now that I am still alive, now that I am still alive,
rejoice, o cruel one,
for now with repeated deaths you may give vent to your violent heart's pitiless desires. Yes, yes, my tyrant, these abhorred limbs,
tear into pieces this unhappy flesh,
vivisect my breast, rend me at your pleasure,
torture my senses,
and may my slow death
prolong my torment and your joy.
But if you have already lost
the loving memory of being a husband, the loving memory of being a husband,
allow the title of father to
remain unspoiled by your cruelties; do not forget, Jason, that you are a father and that my offspring are a part of you;
obliges even wild beasts to be nourished, allow a merciful hand to administer them at least a beggar's nourishment, and do not permit your sceptered sons, while languishing from hunger,
 Queen, Aegeus, friends,

that in wounding me he leave
'smotq s!̣ wory poezuị sqseaq Kuu



$\stackrel{10}{\stackrel{10}{2}}$
$\stackrel{\circ}{\infty}$
$\stackrel{10}{\stackrel{0}{0}}$
$\circ$
$\stackrel{3}{1}$
$\stackrel{10}{\stackrel{10}{3}}$
8
$\stackrel{8}{N}$
in
$\stackrel{\circ}{0}$
Piously beg him
that these angelic infants
might witness the martyrdom
of their betrayed mother,
and that upon every wound
marking my humble breast,
they might drink my oozing blood,
so that by crossing into their pure veins
it might be incorporated in their flesh,
and that their bosoms might become in some way
the innocent tomb of my innocence.
Farewell earth, farewell sun,
farewell my friend queen, friends farewell, farewell
scepters, farewell homeland, farewell my progeny:
your mother, released
from this terrestrial veil,
will wait to see you again in heaven.
Come now, come,
my sons, dear tokens,
the time has come for me to consign you
to the beloved monster
who is my executioner and your father.
My children, I await you and I die;
and you, Jason though you kill me, I adore you.
I no longer have a heart in my chest,
my soul separates from my bosom:
quiet, Hypsipyle, oh quiet,
confound me no more, for I am conquered.
My children, my wife, my heart,
laid low from these blows,
protected by your hand,
I do not dare ask for mercy,
inhuman father and traitorous husband that I am.
Ah, my tears, my pain, my embraces, my kisses,
beseech forgiveness and peace for me
from you, whom I betrayed.
Aegeus, Medea, rejoice
in your happy passion,
and while joy abounds in every heart,
may a sudden happiness
enclose and intermingle in a sea of kind oblivion
and

in mar d'amico oblio chiuda e confonda. Vinto, vinto son io,
figli, moglie, cor mio.
Mio smarrito tesoro, s'io ti racquisto, o dio,
non ho più che bramare,
e son le mie dolcezze,
quanto stentate più, tan Viene Alinda.
Fortunati tormenti. Impensate allegrezze. Vien Delfa.
Cari amorosi frutti. Vien Demo,
Acquietatevi tutti; io di queste venture
fui la prima cagione,
io spinsi Egeo a seguitar Gia- GiaGiasone.
Giasone. ${ }^{\text {Gia- Gia- Gia- }}$ Giasone. GiaDelfa
Demo
Alinda
Demo
Besso
Demo Demo ORESTES


| MEDEA | Rejoice, | Hypsipyle, <br> Medea, | rejoice, |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :--- |
| Hypsipyle | may Love tie | Jason <br> Aegeus | with sweet bonds - |
| Together |  |  |  |
| HYPSIPYLE/JASON/MEDEA/AEGEUS |  |  |  |

- and in these close bonds may these


$\stackrel{\oplus}{\stackrel{1}{0}}$
SCENA XXII ${ }^{70}$
Giove, Amore, Coro di Dei, Zeffiro.
Hai vinto, Amor, hai vinto,
e dalle tue vittorie
di mia prole gradita
prende vita l'onor, nascon le glorie.
Per coronar d'applausi
la possanza immortal di tua faretra,
vedi come festeggia
il senato purissimo dell'etra.
Io de' tuoi fasti glorioso, altero,
al sen ti stringo, o trionfante arciero.
G
GIove

Amore
$\stackrel{8}{0}$
Giove
$\stackrel{8}{\infty}$
$\stackrel{i}{\circ}$

岂
0
0
Love
$\circ$
稻
N

ZEPHYR


-
Through the azure skies
flies the beloved Zephyr,
and with a fragrant cloud
he honors the royal weddi
breeze tranquil and these s

that gently
guided me to Love,
toward the poles
spread your flight,
and leave me here in freedom.
wings
I glide along these shores,
with my fragrant with my fragrant

 Qui d'acanti,
d'amaranti
spargerò nembo gentil;
qui di rose
rugiadose
fiorirà un nuovo april.
Amor, io de' tuoi cenni
volante esecutor rapido venni;
or di Giason, che gode
con Isifile sua fervidi amori,
con gl'aneliti miei
io scendo a terra a temperar gl'ardori.

## Endnotes

${ }^{1}$ Taken from Pier Francesco Cavalli, La Calisto: dramma per musica, ed. Álvaro Torrente and Nicola Badolato (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2012), 141-42; and Cavalli, Il novello Giasone, ed. Nicola Usula (Milan: Ricordi, 2013), 98. This latter facsimile edition contains a synoptic edition of Venice 1649A and Rome 1671 (the Novello Giasone libretto).
${ }^{2}$ Although the year on the title page reads 1649, Cicognini's dedication is dated 1648 in keeping with more veneto. For more on the Venetian dating system in place at the time, see Ellen Rosand, Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 27-28.
${ }^{3}$ See Fausta Antonucci and Lorenzo Bianconi, "Plotting the Myth of Giasone," in Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage: Manuscript, Edition, Production (London: Ashgate, 2013): 201-28, 210n32, for a discussion of these names. The name Euneus appears in most classical and mythological concordances, but Thoas has been variously called Nebrophonus, Deipylus, and Philomelus.
${ }^{4}$ These are the names of the offspring of Demeter and Iasion, chronicled in Hyginus' De Astronomia. Jason and Medea's twins were Mermerus and Pheres, according to most sources (including Natale Conti, Mythologiae, [1581] ed. John Mulryan and Steven Brown [Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006]). See Antonucci and Bianconi, "Plotting the Myth," 210.
${ }^{5}$ At this point, the Argomento finishes for all Giasone librettos subsequent to the First Impression; Venice 1649A (and its reprint, Venice 1664) are the only sources to continue with the final two paragraphs that summarize the events of the opera itself.
${ }^{6}$ The Second Impression print of Giasone, Venice 1649B, reads: "L'autore a i lettori..."
${ }^{7}$ Venice 1649B: "sarà sortito."
${ }^{8}$ Venice 1649B: "sarà sortito."
${ }^{9}$ Venice 1649B: "sarà stato."
${ }^{10}$ Venice 1649B: cuts "Per far acquisto... to "perse il discorso" (4 verses)
${ }^{11}$ Venice 1649B: replaces with "Delizie contenti."
${ }^{12}$ Venice 1649B: adds three more verses.
${ }^{13}$ Venice 1649B: adds a verse before this for Ercole.
${ }^{14}$ Venice 1649B: adds third stanza
${ }^{15}$ Venice 1649B: replaces this second stanza.
${ }^{16}$ Venice 1649B: replaces "no 'l" with "nol"
${ }^{17}$ Venice 1649B: "s'io suono la lira."
${ }^{18}$ Venice 1649B: cuts this verse
${ }^{19}$ The Contarini Family scores replace this word with "peccai."
${ }^{20}$ The prose version contains an additional stage direction: "Medea con manto nero, e verga in mano" ("Medea with a black cloak, and wand in hand").
${ }^{21}$ Venice 1649 A contains "Perché manchin li spirti," creating a conflict between mood (subjunctive, "manchino") and the conjunction (the subjunctive form of "perché," "so that," makes no sense in this context).
${ }^{22}$ The prose version contains the stage direction: "Qui vuol baciarla, Isifile si alza" ("Here he intends to kiss her; Hypsipyle gets up").
${ }^{23}$ Venice 1649B: inserts two lines here.
${ }^{24}$ Venice 1649B: "il senato"
${ }^{25}$ Venice 1649B: inserts aria ("Con arti e con lusinghe").
${ }^{26}$ Venice 1649B: "della."
${ }^{27}$ The prose version contains the following stage direction: "Truffaldino [Demo] grida di dentro in mare" ("Demo yells from the sea").
${ }^{28}$ The prose version contains the following stage direction: "Truffaldino [Demo] esce dal mare, gettando acqua dalla bocca" ("Demo emerges from the sea, spitting water out from his mouth").
${ }^{29}$ Venice 1649B: "Fa, re."
${ }^{30}$ Venice 1649B: "ORESTE: Fa, re, mi, fa."
${ }^{31}$ Venice 1649B: "DEMO: Mi, sol, mi, sol." These two verses (vv. 1461-62) have been restructured to create two settenari tronchi verses; the original in Venice 1649A reads: "Mi, sol, fa, re, mi, sol, fa, do, / fa, re, mi, fa."
${ }^{32}$ Venice 1649B: verse cut.
${ }^{33}$ Venice 1649B: verse cut.
${ }^{34}$ Venice 1649B: verse cut.
${ }^{35}$ Venice 1649B: verse given to Oreste only
${ }^{36}$ Venice 1649B: this and next two verses ( 3 total) given to Demo only
${ }^{37}$ Venice 1649B: verse given to Oreste only
38 "Delfino" is a homonym for "dolphin" as well.
${ }^{39}$ Besso listed among characters in Venice 1649A, although he does not appear in this scene.
${ }^{40}$ Venice 1649B: Giasone and Medea each given two more lines.
${ }^{41}$ Venice 1649B: "vago è 'l suol..."
${ }^{42}$ Venice 1649B: "quai voci."
${ }^{43}$ Venice 1649B: this is the final verse of the scene.
${ }^{44}$ Besso is listed among the characters in Venice 1649A, but does not appear in this scene. The prose version contains an additional stage direction: "Piccariglio [Oreste] tira Giasone in disparte Medea" ("Orestes takes Jason apart from Medea").
${ }^{45}$ The Contarini Family scores substitute this word with "delizie."
${ }^{46}$ Venice 1649B: inserts two and a half verses for Giasone.
${ }^{47}$ Venice 1649B: "Giason è il mio consorte."
${ }^{48}$ The prose version contains a stage direction before Isifile's next line: "Soldati vogliano tener Isifile" ("Soldiers intend to detain Hypsipyle").
${ }^{49}$ The prose version contains the stage direction: "Soldati partono" ("Soldiers depart").
${ }^{50}$ Venice 1649B: "Segue il ballo de' Marinari" ("The Dance of the Sailors follows").
${ }^{51}$ Venice 1649A: line spoken (erroneously) by Medea/Giasone.
${ }^{52}$ Venice 1649B: replaces second and third stanzas with a new stanza.
${ }^{53}$ The prose version contains the following stage direction: "Qui si sveglia Medea, e vede" ("Here Medea wakes up, and watches").
${ }^{54}$ Venice 1649B: changes to "Te 'l."
${ }^{55}$ Venice 1649B: inserts line for Medea ("Fingerò il sonno, ascolterò chi mi veglia.").
${ }^{56}$ Both Venice 1649A and Venice 1649B erroneously give this line to Isifile.
${ }^{57}$ Venice 1649A and Venice 1659B switch speakers (i.e. "GIASONE: Giason").
${ }^{58}$ Venice 1649A and Venice 1659B switch speakers (i.e. "BESSO: Besso").
${ }^{59}$ Venice 1649B: adds "Notte: Campagna con capanne" ("Night: Countryside with huts").
${ }^{60}$ Venice 1649B: "Segue notte con luna."
${ }^{61}$ Venice 1649B: adds second stanza.
${ }^{62}$ Venice 1659A and Venice 1649B: "Ma è tempo, e ch'io..."
${ }^{63}$ The prose version contains the following stage direction: "Medea da una parte, Besso dall'altra" ("Medea on one side, Besso on the other').
${ }^{64}$ The prose version combines the first section of the following scene into this one (until Besso leaves), with the following stage direction: "La [Medea] conducono via, resta Besso, e mentre vuol partire gli giunge Isifile" ("They lead her away; Besso remains, and as he intends to leave Hypsipyle arrives").
${ }^{65}$ Rome 1671 changes "persona" to "regina" as does Genoa 1681.
${ }^{66}$ The prose version says: "Medea di dentro, Egeo fuori" ("Medea inside [backstage], Aegeus outside [onstage]").
${ }^{67}$ Venice 1649A: "turiera" (changed in Venice 1649B to "furiera").
${ }^{68}$ Venice 1649 A and Venice 1649B: "e la."
${ }^{69}$ Venice 1649B: adds several more verses for Isifile and Giasone.
${ }^{70}$ Venice 1649B: changes scene name to "Scena Ultima."

## Appendix II

Giasone Sources and Textual Variants

Tables II.1A and II.1B ${ }^{1}$ below list all known sources for Giasone; "Text" names refer to the source designations used in the dissertation, whereas the "Code" names refer to the source designations used in the charts in this Appendix. Toward the bottom of Table II.1A is a group of sources enclosed in a box; these represent librettos that are cited in various bibliographical sources, but that are lost and thus not to be found in any library-or that in many cases likely never existed. The last six sources in this table are the two scenari (short scene-by-scene summaries of specific performances, one in Palermo 1655 and the other in Rovereto 1664) and the four prose editions. Table II.1B contains bibliographical information for the twelve surviving scores for Giasone, of which all but one were available for this study.

Further below, Tables II.2A through II.2G list all of the variants found across these sources through an examination of scene order ("Structure") and six specific scenes: I.7, I.14, II.2, II.4, III.8, and III.21. These variants have then been entabulated and divided according to libretto groups (discussed in Chapter 1) in Tables II. 3 through II.8. Variants that are present in a particular source are marked with an "X." For the sake of comparison, the rightmost column in these tables includes other sources (listed only by abbreviated group name) that also contain a specific variant, where applicable. A dash ("-") indicates that the corresponding pages in the consulted source are missing. This latter occurs only in several limited instances: the Lisbon score (L) is missing Act III, Naples C (NC) is missing several pages, and the manuscript libretto cuts off in the middle of III.9. Brescia $1690(\operatorname{Br} 90)$ is unique among all sources in cutting I. 14 (Isifile sola) entirely, and so its column in the analysis of this scene (Table II.8) is also marked by dashes. Verse numbers, when provided, refer to Venice 1649A, a critical edition of which can be found in Appendix I of this dissertation.

[^183](Unless otherwise designated in the "MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION" column, all listed sources are librettos)

| TEXT | Code | CITY | Year | PUBLISHER | STAGED? | SARTORI/CANCEDDA ${ }^{2}$ | MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Venice 1649A | V49a | Venice | 1649 | Andrea Giuliani ${ }^{3}$ | Y | 11787 / 177 | [1st Impression]; "Da rappresentarsi..."; <br> Dedication: 5 January; First <br> Performance: 24 January ${ }^{4}$ |
| Venice 1649B | V49b | Venice | 1649 | Andrea Giuliani | [Y] | 11788 / 178 | 2nd Impression; "Rappresentato..." ${ }^{5}$ |
| Venice 1649C | V49c | Venice | 1649 | Andrea Giuliani | [Y] | 11789 / 179 | 3rd Impression; "Rappresentato..." |
| Venice 1650 | V50 | Venice | 1650 | Andrea Giuliani | - | 11790 / 181 | 4th Impression; "Rappresentato..." |
| Venice 1654 | V54 | Venice | 1654 | Andrea Giuliani | - | 11801 / 189 | 5th Impression; "Rappresentato..." |
| Venice 1661 | V61 | Venice | 1661 | Nicolò Pezzana | - | 11811 / 200 | - |
| Venice XX | Vxx | Venice | $(1662 \text { ? })^{6}$ | - | - | 11800 / 176 | Dedication by Bartolomeo Lupardi | ${ }^{2}$ The catalogue numbers in this column are found in Claudio Sartori, I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800 (Cuneo: Bertola \& Locatelli, 1990-94); and in Flavia Cancedda and Silvia Castelli, Per una bibliografia di Giacinto Andrea Cicognini: Successo teatrale e fortuna editoriale di un drammaturgo del Seicento (Florence: Alinea,

${ }^{3}$ Andrea Giuliani's name is not mentioned as the printer until the 4th impression (1650). According to OPAC SBN (On Line Public Access Catalogue, Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale, http://opac.sbn.it/opacsbn/opac/iccu/antico.jsp [accessed 5 August 2010]), Andrea Giuliani appears only after 1651; from the 1640s into the early 1650s there are records of a printer known as "Gio. Antonio Giuliani." It is possible that Andrea Giuliani began printing (under the auspices of Giacomo Batti) only in 1650-as Lorenzo Bianconi has conjectured (private correspondence), this would be one explanation for why there is no mention of his name in the 1649 prints.
${ }^{4}$ Date found 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), 12. When indicated, dates are taken from the libretto's dedication page, where available, and are likely to coincide with the first performance date.
${ }^{5}$ There is a published edition of the Giasone libretto based on this impression in Giovanna Gronda and Paolo Fabbri, eds., Libretti d'opera italiani: dal Seicento al Novecento (Milan: A Mondadori, 1997), 107-208, 1816-17. The libretto referred to as a "seconda impressione... 1649" in the catalog at I-Bc (volume V, p. 99), cited by Sartori (No. 11788), is actually the fifth impression from 1654.
${ }^{6}$ The libretto itself bears no year of publication, but has been dated to 1662 by Saverio Franchi, Le impressioni sceniche: Dizionario bio-bibliografico degli editori e stampatori Romani e Laziali di testi drammatici e libretti per musica dal 1579 al 1800 (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1994), 456. Worth noting is its association

## TABLE II.1A (CONTINUED)

| Venice 1664P | V64P | Venice | 1664 | Nicolò Pezzana | $Y^{7}$ | $11815 / 204$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Venice 1666 | V66 | Venice | 1666 | Camillo Bortoli | Y | $11818 / 208$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Florence 1650 | F50 | Florence | $1650^{9}$ | Giovanni Antonio Bonardi | Y | $11791 / 180$ |

with Roman circles by means of the dedicator-Bartolomeo Lupardi, the Roman publisher who would also sign the dedication to the 1671 and 1676 prints of $I l$ novello Giasone - and his dedicatee, Loreto Vittori da Spoleto, a famous singer, librettist, and composer who spent much of his career in Rome.
${ }^{7}$ There is only literary evidence that V64P might have been linked to a performance at the Teatro ai Saloni that year, transmitted through Antonio Groppo (Catalogo di tutti i drammi per musica recitati ne' teatri di Venezia: dall'anno 1637 in cui ebbero principio le pubbliche rappresentazioni de' medesimi sin all'anno presente 1745 [Venice: Antonio Groppo, 1745; Bologna: A. Forni, 1977], 36) and later by Giovanni Salvioli (I teatri musicali di Venezia nel secolo XVII (1637-1700): Memorie storiche e bibliografiche raccolte ed ordinate da Livio Niso Galvani [an anagram of the author's name] [Milan: 1879; Bologna: Forni, 1969], 164). The latter entry refers possibly to Groppo, describing the libretto as a "reprint verified not by the occasion of a performance, although [it was] by certain people who claim that it had been performed at the [Teatro] ai Saloni in the aforementioned year" ("Ristampa verificata non per incontro di recita, quantunque da taluno siasi preteso che venisse
rappresentata ai Saloni nel ridetto anno"). This performance has been referenced also recently, in Irene Alm (Catalog of Venetian Librettos at the University of California, Los Angeles [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993], 86-7, Index Number 130) and Eleanor Selfridge-Field (A New Chronology of Venetian Opera and Related Genres, 1660-1760 [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007], 634).
${ }^{8}$ V66 has a somewhat complicated printing history that is still in the process of being sorted out. There were as many as four different impressions among two editions, as evinced by differing misprints among the three copies of the libretto inspected so far. Thanks to Nicola Usula for pointing this out (private
correspondence). Two of the three to which we have current access are from the collection of Venetian opera librettos at the University of California, Los Angeles (US-LAum: UCLA 142 and UCLA 143), while the other is located in Milan's Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense (I-Mb: RACC.DRAM.0523). There are ten other copies in European libraries (I-Rn [40.9.B.19.3], I-Fm [Melodrammi 2118.2], I-Rsc [3G1.7305.5073], four at I-Vnm [Dramm.340.4, Dramm.932.2, Dram.932.3, Dramm.1150.3], I-MOe [LXXXIII.D.17], I-Bc [Lo.6522], and D-Mbs [L.eleg.m.2075]).
${ }^{9}$ There was also a performance in Lucca this same year, although no libretto for it has yet been found. Permission to perform Giasone in September 1650 along
 Febiarmonici) in July-see Lucca, Archivio di Stato, Anziani al tempo della libertà, Deliberazioni, 256 (1650), 33v (4 July) and 89r (1 September), and Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, "Dalla Finta pazza alla Veremonda: Storie di Febiarmonici," RIM 10 (1975): 405. Confirmation that the performance took place can be seen in a letter written by Antonio Cesti-who had taken part in this staging alongside the Febiarmonici, as well as the one in Florence earlier that year-to Cardinal Gian Carlo de' Medici, requesting his intercession in the matter of a prosecution being brought against him by the Father General of the Franciscan order of Friars Minor (the "Minori Conventuali") for Cesti's participation "cum histrionibus" in a "commedia da recitarsi in musica," even though he was a Franciscan monk: "Most Serene Prince, news has come to me from Lucca that my Father General has caused the Provincial to bring me to trial-both my life and character-within that same city; I have found nothing [in the lawsuit] other than [the accusation] that I performed in the opera Giasone..." (Serenissimo Principe, mi viene scritto di Lucca che il mio Padre Generale ha fatto fabbricare da cotesto Padre Provinciale un processo contro della mia persona, de vita et moribus, nella medesima città, dove non ho trovato se non che io abbia recitato nell'opera del Giasone...). See I-Fas, Mediceo, file 5354, 36r-v; for more context concerning this episode in Cesti's career, Anna
TABLE II.1A (CONTINUED)

| Florence 1651 | F51 | Florence | 1651 | Francesco Onofri |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Florence 1656 | F56 | Florence | 1656 | Francesco Onofri |
| Milan XXRa | MxxRa | Milan | $(1651 ?)^{11}$ | Michele Ramellati |
| Milan 1651 | M51 | Milan | 1651 | Giorgio Rolla's heirs |
| Milan 1655 | M55 | Milan | 1655 | Giovanni Pietro Cardi |
| Milan 1658 | M58 | Milan | 1658 | Ambrogio Ramellati |
| Milan 1660 | M60 | Milan | 1660 | Ambrogio Ramellati |
| Milan XXA | MxxA | Milan | $(1662 \text { ?) })^{14}$ | Ambrogio Ramellati |

Milan XXA
See Michelassi ${ }^{10}$; Dedication: 11 February
$\quad$ -
See Michelassi
4th Impression ${ }^{12}$
$\quad-$
Dedication: 19 September ${ }^{13}$
Dedication: 6 February

[^184]3rd Edition; Dedication: 2 September; Sold
$\quad$ in Venice too? ${ }^{17}$
See Rosand ${ }^{18}$; Dedication: 1 October
See Rosand; Dedication: 25 April
Dedication: 20 February
Dedication: 30 May; Bianconi ${ }^{19}:$ December

TABLE II.1A (CONTINUED)

| Milan 1662 | M62 | Milan | 1662 | Filippo Ghisolfi | - | $-/ 201$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Milan XXM | MxxM | Milan | $(1663 ?)^{15}$ | Gioseffo Marelli | - | $11793 / 171$ |
| Milan XXRe | MxxRe Milan | $(1680 \text { ? })^{16}$ | Carlo Andrea Remenolfo | - | $11808 / 174$ |  |
| Naples 1651 | N51 | Naples | 1651 | Roberto Mollo | Y | $11799 / 186$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Naples 1661 | N61 | Naples | 1661 | Roberto Mollo's heirs | Y | $11810 / 199$ |
| Naples 1667 | N67 | Naples | 1667 | Giacinto Passaro | Y | $11819 / 211$ |
| Naples 1672 | N72 | Naples | 1672 | Francesco Mollo | Y | $11821 / 215$ |
| Bologna 1651 | B51 | Bologna | 1651 | Evangelista Dozza's heirs | Y | $11795 / 182$ |

${ }^{14}$ Another undated libretto; Davide Daolmi (private correspondence) has linked the hostile encroachment of the French army in 1662, and the ensuing response
by the forces of the dedicatee (general Adrian von Enkevort [sometimes spelled Enckevort]) to an annotation reading " 1662 " in a copy of the libretto located in Silvestri's collection at F-Po (see above, n13).
${ }^{15}$ The printer Gioseffo Marelli began his career in collaboration with Giovanni Pietro Cardi in 1658, but from 1663 began to print only his own name on publications. Given the death of the dedicatee, Adrian von Enkevort (see previous note), in that same year, it is logical to assume that this libretto was also published that year (Davide Daolmi, private correspondence). Two different exemplars seem to exist, with slightly different cover pages and very different internal layouts (i.e. page breaks): one, the microfilm of which was obtained from the Library of Congress, bears an Imprimatur (Commiss. S. Officij. Mediol. / Io. Paulus Mazuchellus pro Illustriss. / D. Archiep, / Arbona pro Excellentiss. Senatu Me-/diol.); while the other, located in I-Mb (RACC.DRAM.6077 005), bears a
Reimprimatur (Comiss. S. Officj. Mediol. / Carolus Ghioldus Th. S. Nazarij / pro Emin., \& Reverendiss. D. D. / Card. Litta Archiep. / Franciscus Arbona pro Excellent. / Senatu.). This suggests that there were two distinct print runs.
${ }^{16}$ The proposed date of 1680 for this libretto comes from Silvestri's annotation of his own personal copy of the libretto, and is plausible given Carlo Andrea Remenolfo's active dates: 1670s and 1680s (Davide Daolmi, private correspondence; see also Caterina Santoro, "Tipografi milanesi nel secolo XVII," La Bibliofilia 67 [1965]: 303-349).
${ }^{17}$ The copy of N51 at Rome's Biblioteca Vallicelliana ( $I-R v$ ) contains two items on the cover page that seem to have been added after the initial printing-"Terza Edizione" and "In Ven."-indicating the possibility that copies of this libretto were also sold in Venice (Davide Daolmi, private correspondence). On the dates for the performances and librettos in Naples, see Lorenzo Bianconi, "Funktionen des Operntheaters in Neapel bis 1700 und die Rolle Alessandro Scarlattis," in Colloquium Alessandro Scarlatti: Würzburg 1975, ed. Wolfgang Osthoff and J. Ruile-Dronke (Tutzing: L. Schneider, 1979), 13-116, and Domenico Antonio D'Alessandro, "L'opera in musica a Napoli dal 1650 al 1670," in Seicento Napoletano: Arte, costume e ambiente, ed. Roberto Pane (Milan: Edizioni di Comunità, 1984), 409-30. August 2010).
TABLE II.1A (CONTINUED)

| Bologna 1673 | B73 | Bologna 1673 | Gioseffo Longhi | Y | $11822 / 216$ | See Bianconi (no date) |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Rome 1671 | R71 | Rome | 1671 | Vitale Mascardi's successor | Y | $16664 / 214$ | Il novello Giasone; "Recitato..."; Dedication: |
| 17 January; Bianconi: 24 January |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Rome 1676 | R76 | Rome | 1676 | Reverenda Camera Apostolica - | $16665 / 217$ | "Recitato... l'Anno 1671"; See Rosand ${ }^{20}$ |  |
| Genoa 1651 | G51 | Genoa | 1651 | Gio[vanni] Maria Farroni | Y | $11797 / 184$ | See Michelassi (no date) |
| Genoa 1681 | G81 | Genoa | 1681 | Antonio Giorgio Franchelli | $Y$ | $23649 /-$ | Il trionfo d'Amore nelle vendette; Dedication: 13 |
| November |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Table II.1A (Continued)
"Rappresentato..."; Dedication: 20 February
${ }^{21}$ The substitution of Sole and Amore for Poesia, Musica, Architettura, and Pittura seems inspired by Giulio Cesare Sorrentino's Ciro (1654, Venice), although the Prologo to this earlier work opens with a monologue by Curiosità before the other four take over (see Il Ciro: Drama per musica [Venice: Giovanni Pietro Pinelli, 1654], 14-16; copy consulted: I-Mb Racc.Dram.1951). Thanks to Ellen Rosand (private correspondence) for this piece of information. On these and other such prologues dealing with a competition among the Arts (Veremonda, for example), see Andrea Garavaglia's article, "Der Paragone der Opernkünste in den italienischen Prologen des 17. Jahrhunderts: Sorgen um die Oper als Gesamtkunstwerk?" Musica e storia 17 (2009), 253-91. See also Chapter 4 of this dissertation. ${ }^{22}$ The publication date of this libretto falls within the 1660 s, but it has not been possible to pinpoint an actual year. The publishers' abbreviation on the cover, "hh di Gianelli" (Gianelli's heirs - Giovanni Antonio and Giuseppe Antonio, according to Maurizio Marocco, Cenni sull'origine e progresso dell'arte tipografica in Torino dal 1476 al 1861 [Turin: Botta's heirs, 1861], 68), appears only within that decade in other prints of theirs; from the 1670 s until 1686, different designations are used such as "gl'eredi del Gianelli" (data collected from OPAC). The dedication, addressed to the "Signori sindici, e consiglieri" of Turin, is signed by Giovanni Battista Abbatoni, about whom little is known. The World Biographical Information System Online contains a brief entry listing one Giovan Batista Abatoni as a castrato working in Loreto from 1628 to 1629 (http://db.saur.de/WBIS [accessed 5 August 2010]-thanks to Carlo Lanfossi for this bibliographical entry), although Glixon tangentially refers to Abbatoni: as a performer (Egeo in L'incostanza trionfante overo il Theseo at the S Cassiano theater in 1657-58) and then as an impresario in Tuin, having produced Aurelio Aurelı and Pietro Andrea Ziani's Le fortune di Rodope e Damira (Sartori hists an undated libretto, printed in Milan, of a uggests a post-1660 publication date) as well as Cicognini and Antonio Cesti's L'Orontea, Regina d'Egitto in 1662 , likely during the same period that he produced Giasone ("Private Lives of Public Women: Prima Donnas in Mid-Seventeenth-Century Venice," Music \& Letters 76 [November 1995]: 509-531; 522; see also Mercedes Viale Ferrero, Storia del Teatro Regio di Torino, vol. 3, "La scenografia dalle origini al 1936" [Turin: Cassa di risparmio di Torino, 1980], 12-13). The only known copy of this libretto (located at US-BAue, see below) is bound together with several other works, coming after A gran danno, gran rimedio (translated from Spanish by Francesco Manzani, Turin: Bartolomeo Zavatta, 1661) and followed by Caligula delirante (translated from Spanish by Domenico Gisberti, Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1672), Gl'impegni per disgratia (translated from Spanish by Ippolito Bentivoglio, Modona [sic]: The Solianis, 1687), and Lazaro Pareto's Le false accuse dell'amante geloso (Genoa: Antonio Casamara, 1690). Given the chronological ordering of these other works, as well as what seems to be Abbatoni's only year of activity in Turin, it is likely-as Bianconi has suggested (private correspondence)-that the libretto for the Turin performance of Giasone was published sometime in 1662. Cancedda and Castelli state that this libretto is located at Goucher College in Baltimore, US-BAg (Per una bibliografia, 236), but it is actually located at Johns Hopkins University, US-BAue (Call number PG1619.C3 G4 1661).
Table II.1A (CONTINUED)

| Brescia 1690 | Br90 | Brescia | 1690 | Giovanni Maria Rizzardi | Y | $15310 /-$ | Medea in Colco; "Da rappresentarsi..."; <br> Dedication: 2 January |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Manuscript | MS | - | - | - | - | $-/ 164$ | INCOMPLETE: III.9 to end is cut off |

${ }^{23}$ Cited in Sandro Piantanida, Lamberto Diotallevi, and Giancarlo Livraghi, eds., Autori italiani del '600: Catalogo Bibliografico, vol. 4, Il teatro, la musica, l'arte e la religione (Mansfield Centre, CT: Martino Publishing, 1999), 90, no. 4233.
${ }^{24}$ This performance was mentioned in a report sent to Modena dated 16 July 1652, located now at I-MOs, Fondo Cancelleria Ducale, Avvisi e notizie dall'estero, b. 44, 1652, Naples. It reads: "... before leaving, his Excellency the duke of Montalto wanted to see the opera titled Giassone [sic], to be performed tonight at the Palace..." (... questa Eccellenza [il signor duca di Montalto] [ha] voluto far vedere prima di partire l'opera in musica intitolata Giassone [sic] che si rappresenta questa sera in Palazzo...). A similar report from the same date was also sent to Florence, where it resides at I-Fas, Archivio Mediceo del Principato, fol. 4116. Text quoted in D’Alessandro, "L'opera in musica a Napoli," 415.
${ }^{25}$ Cited in Leone Allacci, Drammaturgia di Leone Allacci (Rome: Mascardi, 1666), 156, and mentioned in reports sent to the Vatican (I-Rasv, Nunziatura di Napoli, n. 49, 1653, c. 590) on 11 October, and to Modena (I-MOs, Avvisi, b. 46, 1653) and Florence (I-Fas, Archivio, f.4116) on 14 October 1653: "On Wednesday the evening of the 8th of October, the Febiarmonici performed at the Palace the oft-staged opera titled Giasone..." (Mercoledi sera [8 ottobre] si rappresentò in Palazzo dalla compagnia de' Febi Armonici l'opera in musica stata recitata molte altre volte intitolata Giasone...). Text quoted in D'Alessandro, "L'opera in musica a Napoli," 417.
${ }^{26}$ Remo Giazotto, La musica a Genova nella vita pubblica e privata dal XIII al XVIII secolo (Genoa: Società industrie grafiche e lavorazioni affini, 1951), 209, 215, 322, 324. Giazotto also mentions a libretto for Trionfo d'Amore nelle vendette (see note r) reprinted in 1685, but there is no evidence that this source ever existed (Lorenzo Bianconi, private correspondence).

$$
{ }^{27} \text { Described in Annals of Opera as "altered." }
$$

${ }^{28}$ Cited in Annals of Opera. See also Autori, 90, no. 4233.
Table II.1A (Continued)

| - | Bergamo | "before" 1676 - |  | Y | - / - | LOST $^{29}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| - | Rome | 1678 | - | Y | - / - | Performance with puppets (burattini) ${ }^{30}$ |
| - | Genoa | 1685 | - | Y | - / - | LOST; Trionfo d'Amore nelle vendette; See Bianconi and Giazotto |
| [Pa55] | Palermo | 1655 | Nicolò Bua | Y | - / 190 | SCENARIO; "Da rappresentarsi..." |
| [TR64] | Trent | 1664 | Zanetti | Y | - / - | SCENARIO; "Rappresentata in Rovereto" ${ }^{31}$ |
| [V64B] | Venice | 1664 | Camillo Bortoli | - | 11814 / 203 | PROSE VERSION |

Bologna: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1974), 44-5: "1654: ... in subsequent years other operas of the same kind were performed, which until the current year have

> il Giasone, il Seleuco etc. Dal Diar. Mio). Thanks to Bianconi for pointing this out (private correspondence).
> ${ }^{30}$ From Alessandro Ademollo's chronicle on theatrical life in seicento Rome (I teatri di Roma nel secolo decimosettimo [Rome, 1888; Bologna: Forni, 1969], 156): "9 February: In order to spite the Baroness Del Nero, or for some other reason, Sir Giovanbatista Ricciardi arranged a performance of Giasone with his puppets in the house of the Baroness of Sonnino" (9 febbraio [1678] - Il signor Cav. [Giovanbatista] Ricciardi per qualche picca con la Baronessa [Del Nero] et altro prepara fare il Giasone
ones in the literature to do so. Subsequent clarification of the 1678 imbroglio leading to the performance of Giasone by burattini can be found in Filippo Clementi,
Il carnevale romano nelle cronache contemporanee, vol. 1 (Città di Castello: Edizioni R.O.R.E.-Niruf, 1938-39), 602-603, 603n1, who attributes the episode more
plausibly to Acciaiuoli than to Ricciardi, a Florentine librettist (thanks to Nicola Michelassi for the information on Ricciardi-private correspondence): "After a
Nero, such a spectacle provoked some spite between the Baroness and Sir Acciaiuoli, the latter of whom
hus decided to stage Giasone with his puppets in the house of the Lady Princess of Sonnino, which was attended by many ladies and the Ambas
ballo d'ubriachi composto da S. Barone Carlo Ventura Del Nero[,] ... tale spettacolo provocò qualche picca fra la baronessa e il Cav. Aviaroli [Filippo Acciaiuoli], ... [il quale percio
si decidava] a fare il Giasone con i suoi burattini in casa della Sig. a Principessa di Sonnino, [dove si ebbe l']intervento di molte dame et dell'Ambasciatore). A footnote goes on to
explain that "Ademollo, contrary to what we see in the letters from E. de Vecchi to Marucelli on 9 and 16 February 1678, attributes this performance to Sir
Ricciardi" ("l'Ademollo, contrariamente a quanto risulta dalle lettere di E. de Vecchi al Marucelli del 9 e 6 febbraio 1678, attribuisce tale lavoro al Cav. Ricciardi"). Thanks to
Nicola Usula (private correspondence) for this latter citation.

[^185]Table II.1A (Continued)

$\begin{array}{llll}\text { [VP64] } & \begin{array}{l}\text { Venice } \\ \text { and Parma }\end{array} & 1664 & \text { Mario Vigra } \\ \text { [B67] } & \text { Bologna } & 1667 & \text { Carlo Manolessi } \\ \text { [B71] } & \text { Bologna } & 1671 & \text { Gioseffo Longhi }\end{array}$

|  |  | [Bracketed items indicate the source's previous call number.] |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |  |
| SCore | CoDE | LocATION/LIBRARY | CALL NUMBER |

 has ever existed at that location. See Fausta Antonucci, Lorenzo Bianconi, and Nicola Usula, eds., Il novello Giasone, facsimile of the score, vol. 3 of Drammaturgia musicale veneta (Milan: Ricordi, 2013).
${ }^{33}$ For a bibliographic entry see Enrico Boggio, Il fondo musiche dell'Archivio Borromeo dell'Isola Bella (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2004 ), 17.

## Table II.2A: Structural Variants

S. 1 "Original"
S. 2 "Il Novello Giasone"
S. 3 Unique Prologo: La Nobiltà, Il Capriccio, La Poesia, etc...
S. $4 \quad$ Unique Prologo: Febo, Nettuno, Cupido
S. 5 Unique Prologo: Musica, Poesia, Pittura, Architettura
S. 6 Unique Prologo: Sole, Musica, Poesia, Pittura, Architettura
S. 7 Prologo: Additional of "Choro delle hore"
S. $8 \quad$ I. 1 (Ercole, Besso) cut



S. 14







S. 39 Added scene: Rosmina (II.12)


Alinda (character) cut
Added Scene: Alinda, Delfa (I.1a)
I. 3 (Rosmina Giardiniera) cut

Added Scene: Demo (I.5a)
I. 8 (Delfa [sola]) cut
I. 13 (Delfa sola) cut
I. 14 (Isifile sola) moved to beginning of Act II
I. 14 (Isifile sola) cut

Added scene: Alinda (I.14a)
Added scene: Egeo (II.3)
II. 6 Character list: Medea, Giasone, Besso
II. 6 incorporated into II. 5 (Medea, Delfa)

Added scene: Erino Paggio (II.6a)
II. 8 (Giove, Eolo, Amore, Coro di Venti) cut
II. 10 misnumbered (as II. 11 following II.9)

Added scene: Rosmina (II.12)
II. 12 (Besso, Alinda) cut
I. 3 (Rosmina Giardiniera) moved to after I. 7 (Demo, Oreste)

Layout: I.10-15 misnumbered (V66: I.7, I. 9 [sic], I. 10 [sic], etc.)
Layout: I.9-1.12 misnumbered (Br90: I.8, I.8 [sic], I.9, [sic], etc.)
I. 10 (Giasone, Medea) and I. 11 (Giasone [solo]) combined
I. 12 (Medea, Giasone, Delfa) and I. 13 (Delfa sola) combined
I. 14 (Isifile sola) moved to after I. 7 (Demo, Oreste)
I. 14 (Isifile sola) incorporated into I. 15 (Medea, Choro di Spiriti)
II. 4 (Giasone [solo]) incorporated into II. 3 (Medea, Giasone[, Delfa])
II. 6 (Medea, Giasone, Delfa, Ercole) Character list omits Ercole
II. 6 (Medea, Giasone, Delfa, Ercole) Ercole part given to Medea
II. 6 (Medea, Giasone, Delfa, Ercole) Ercole part given to Delfa
II. 6 Character List: Medea, Giasone, Delfa, Besso (Ercole part given to Besso)
II. 8 moved to after II. 14 (Isifile, Medea, Giasone)
II. 9 (Oreste, Alinda) misnumbered (as II. 9 following II.7)
II. 10 (Giasone, Medea, ... [et. al.]) moved to after II. 12 (Besso, Alinda)
II. 13 (Oreste, Giasone, ... [et. al.]) incorporated into II. 12 (Besso, Alinda)

## Table II.2A (Continued)

S. 42
S. 43
S. 44
S. 45
S. 46
S. 47
S. 48
S. 49
S. 50
S. 51
S. 52
S. 53
S. 54
S. 55
S. 56
S. 57
S. 58
17.2
I.7.2
I.7.3
I.7.4
I.7.5
I.7.6
I.7.7 v.548: "Che pretendi da-da lui?" (stutter shortened)
I.7.8 ADD: vv.554a-k: "Forse l'esser spione leva l'honore?"
I.7.9 CUT: vv.475-76: "A me? / te te te te te te"
I.7.10 CUT: vv.521-33: "Grande? se mi vedessi..."
I.7.11 CUT: vv.536-45: "Or dimmi... / Parla, ch'io son placato"
I.7.12 CUT: v.559: Oreste's "Na na na na na na"
I.7.13 CUT: v.563-64: "Lo lo lo lo lo... et aspetto a far pace all'o..."
I.7.14 CUT: (Stage indication): "Demo parte"

## Table II.2C: VARIANTS IN I. 14 (IsIfile SOLA)

| I.14.1 | Original Opening ("Ferma, ferma crudele...") |
| :--- | :--- |
| I.14.2 | New Opening: "Adorata rimembranza..." |
| I.14.3 | New Opening: "Dolenti pensieri..." |
| I.14.4 | New Opening: "Lassa, che far deggio?" |
| I.14.5 | New Opening ("Lassa..."), inserts original opening ("Ferma") after v.788o |
| I.14.6 | v.788d: "Più sostenermi" $\rightarrow$ "Più sostentarmi" |
| I.14.7 | v.835: "S'ei non torna" (instead of "s'ei torna") |
| I.14.8 | ADD: v.846ff: "Da speranza..." (2-strophe aria at end) |
| I.14.9 | ADD: v.846ff: "Non so, s'io speri..." (refrain aria at end) |
| I.14.10 | CUT: vv.822-30: "O dio..." (Type: "Lassa...") |

Table II.2D: Variants in II. 2 (ORESTE, ISIFILE)
II.2.1 v.981: "Morti di questa sorte" (instead of "questa razza")
II.2.2 v.997: "gonfian le vele" (instead of "parton le vele")
II.2.3 v.1008: "Che sei tutta vezzosetta" (instead of "Che non sei larga...")
II.2.4 v.1038: "Dimmi, Giasone,..." (cut "che fa")
II.2.5 v.1044: "Vuol ch'io mora?" (cut "...ch'io viva, o...")
II.2.6 v.1052: "Giason ven [sic] tiene" (orig: "Giason non tiene")
II.2.7 v.1071: "La dorata" $\rightarrow$ "L’adorata"
II.2.8 vv.1090a-c: "Speranze fuggite" (Refrain repeat written out)
II.2.9 ADD: vv.1052a-b: "Fra gl'argonauti..."
II.2.10 ADD: v.1052a: "A te, nume di Colco"
II.2.11 ADD: v.1130: "Miei pensieri cangiati..." (replaces "Su miei fidi seguaci")
II.2.12 ADD: v.1119a: "Con le rapide vostr'ali..."
II.2.13 CUT: vv.1001-5: "O che gentil discorsi"
II.2.14 CUT: vv.1015-21: "Chi lo potrà ridire"
II.2.15 CUT: vv.1052-58: "Giason non tiene audienza"
II.2.16 CUT: vv.1067-70: "Dagl'Argonauti fieri"
II.2.17 CUT: vv.1085-90, 1108-13: "Speranze fuggite..."
II.2.18 CUT: vv.1099-1113: "O speranze infelici"
II.2.19 CUT: vv.1120-end: "Son disperata sì..."
II.2.20 CUT: vv.1121-29: "Disperation stà meco?"
II.2.21 CUT: vv.1114-20: "Ma che vaneggio.."
II.2.22 CUT: vv.1130-44: "Su miei fidi seguaci"

## Table II.2E: Variants in II. 4 (GIASONE SOLO)

II.4.1 Elided from II. 3
II.4.2 v.1158ff: "Effetti singolari" (2 lines added)
II.4.3 vv.1176-79: 4 lines $\rightarrow 2$ lines
II.4.9 vv.1192-93: "Sì: già l'afferro..." $\rightarrow 1$ line
II.4.4 CUT: vv.1158-60: "Per qual nuovo..."
II.4.5 CUT: vv.1163-68: "Gl'Argonauti guerrieri..."
II.4.6 CUT: vv.1176-79: "Fuori, fuori..."
II.4.7 CUT: (Stage indication): "S'apre la porta"
II.4.8 CUT: vv.1180-1203: "Ma già s'apre, e spalanca..."
II.4.10 CUT: vv.1186-88: "Stiasi la spada..."

Table II. 2F: Variants in III. 8 (Oreste, Isifile)
III.8.1 v.2181a: "Se non rivolgi il piè"
III.8.2 v.2197: "pietà" $\rightarrow$ "pierà [sic]"
III.8.3 v.2208: "Gl'indugi tormentosi" $\rightarrow$ "Le dimore angosciose"
III.8.4 vv.2221a-1: "Satia son di penar..." (added aria)
III.8.5 ADD: vv.2196a-g: "Per non lasciarli soli..."
III.8.6 CUT: vv.2192-95: "E dai labri innocenti"
III.8.7 CUT: vv.2197-end: "L’amor mi sprona..."
III.8.8 CUT: vv.2201-2206: "Questi non han' bisogno..."
III.8.9 CUT: vv.2207-2210: "O figli, anime mie..."

## TABLE II.2G: VARIANTS IN III. 21 (TUTTI)

III. 21.1
III. 21.2
III. 21.3
III.21.4
III. 21.5
III.21.6
III. 21.7
III.21.8
III.21.9
III. 21.10
III. 21.11
III. 21.12
III. 21.13
III.21.14 CUT: vv.2626-28: "Addio terra, addio sole..."
III.21.15 CUT: vv.2629-36: "Sciolta la madre..."
III.21.16 CUT: vv.2637-38: "Figli v'attendo, e moro..."

## Table II.2G (CONTINUED)

III.21.17 CUT: vv.2639-43: "Non ho più core..."
III.21.18 CUT: vv.2648-56: "Ah da te mia tradita..."
III.21.19 CUT: vv.2648-end: "Ah da te mia tradita..."
III.21.20 CUT: vv.2664-79: "Fortunati tormenti..."
III.21.21 CUT: vv.2674a-g: "Quante son le mie gioie..."
Table II. 3: The Venice Source Variants
Venice Group (VG): V49a, V49b, V49c, V50, V54, V64P, W, Vat, C, F -Venice Subgroup (VSG): V49a, V64P
-Venice Family (CF): W, Vat, C, F

|  | Overall Structure | $\stackrel{\square}{8}$ | ¢ $>$ $>$ | $\frac{2}{8}$ | $\stackrel{\cup}{\text { ¢ }}$ | $\stackrel{\circ}{\circ}$ | $\stackrel{+}{1}$ | 8 | $\stackrel{\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{\sigma}}{\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{\nabla}}$ | U | 山 | $\bigcirc$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| S. 1 | "Original" | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\mathrm{X}^{\star}$ | $\mathrm{X}^{\star}$ | $\mathrm{X}^{\star}$ | $\mathrm{X}^{\star}$ | X | RG (x1), SG (x1) |
| S. 17 | I. 10 (Giasone, Medea) and I. 11 (Giasone [solo]) combined |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | X | X | X |  | RG (x1) |
| S. 18 | I. 12 (Medea, Giasone, Delfa) and I. 13 (Delfa sola) combined |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | X |  |  |
| S. 26 | II. 4 (Giasone [solo]) incorporated into II. 3 (Medea, Giasone[, Delfa]) |  |  |  |  |  |  | X | X | X | X |  |  |
| S. 40 | II. 13 (Oreste, Giasone, ... [et. al.]) incorporated into II. 12 (Besso, Alinda) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | X |  |  |
| S. 46 | III. 3 (Medea, Giasone, Oreste) incorporated into III. 2 (Medea, Giasone) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | X | X | X |  |  |
| S. 49 | III.9-21 misnumbered (III. 7 followed by III.9, III.10, etc.) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | X | X |  |  |
| S. 56 | III.Ultima (Giove, Amore, Coro di Dei, Zeffiro) cut |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | X | X | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (x10), MG (all), } \\ \text { NG1 (x7), NG2 (x6), } \\ \text { RG (x4), SG (x8) } \end{gathered}$ |


|  | I.7 (Demo/Oreste) | $\stackrel{\circ}{\circ}$ | $\stackrel{\circ}{f}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

TABLE II. 3 (CONTINUED)


|  | I. 14 (Isifile) |  | ¢ $>$ $>$ | $\stackrel{0}{2}$ | $\stackrel{\cup}{\sim}$ | $\stackrel{\circ}{1}$ | $\stackrel{+}{1}$ | $\geqslant$ | $\stackrel{\star}{*}$ | U | 山 | $\bigcirc$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I.14.1 | Original Opening ("Ferma, ferma crudele...") | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |  | SG (x1) |
| I.14.5 | New Opening ("Lassa..."), inserts original opening ("Ferma") afterward |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | X | RG (all) |


| II. 2 (Oreste, Isifile) | $\stackrel{¢}{\square}$ | 7 8 $>$ | $\frac{2}{8}$ | $\stackrel{u}{\sim}$ | $\stackrel{\circ}{8}$ | $\stackrel{4}{5}$ | \# | $\stackrel{\text { \# }}{\sim}$ | U | 山 | 0 | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

TABLE II． 3 （CONTINUED）

| II．2．1 | v．981：＂Morti di questa sorte＂（instead of ＂questa razza＂） |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (all), MG (all), NG1 } \\ \text { (all), NG2 (x6), RG } \\ \text { (all), SG (x2) } \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| II． 2.2 | v．997：＂gonfian le vele＂（instead of ＂parton le vele＂） |  |  |  |  |  |  | X | X | X | X | X | FG（x1），RG（all） |
| II．2．3 | v．1008：＂Che sei tutta vezzosetta＂（instead of＂Che non sei larga．．．＂） |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | X | X | X | X＊ | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { FG (all), MG (all), NG1 } \\ \text { (all), NG2 (x6), RG } \\ \text { (all), SG (x6) } \end{gathered}$ |
| II．2．8 | vv．1090a－c：＂Speranze fuggite＂（Refrain repeat written out） |  |  |  |  |  |  | X | X | X | X | X | NG2（x5），RG（x3） |
| II．2．9 | ADD：vv．1052a－b：＂Fra gl＇argonauti．．．＂ |  |  |  |  |  |  | X | X | X | $\mathrm{X}^{\circ}$ | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (x1), NG2 (x5), RG } \\ \text { (x1), SG (x6) } \end{gathered}$ |
| II． 2.20 | CUT：vv．1121－29：＂Disperation sta meco？＂ |  |  |  |  |  |  | X |  |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { FG (all), MG (all), NG1 } \\ \text { (all), NG2 (all), RG } \\ (x 4), \text { SG (x4) } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |

＊＂troppo vezzosetta．＂
－＂Da lungi io vidi＂（instead of＂Da lungi vidi．．＂）．

|  | II． 4 （Giasone solo） | $\stackrel{\stackrel{\circ}{8}}{\substack{8}}$ | \％ $\substack{\text { b }}$ | $\frac{2}{9}$ | $\sim$ $\stackrel{\sim}{+}$ $>$ | $\stackrel{\circ}{8}$ | $\stackrel{+}{1}$ | $\geqslant$ | $\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{\pi}$ | $\cup$ | 山 | $\bigcirc$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| II．4．1 | Elided from II． 3 |  |  |  |  |  |  | X | X | X | X |  |  |
| II．4．2 | v1158ff：＂Effetti singolari＂（2 lines added） |  |  |  |  |  |  | X | X | X | $\mathrm{X}^{\star}$ | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (x10), MG (all), } \\ \text { NG1 (all), NG2 (all), } \\ \text { RG (x1), SG (x6) } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| II．4．7 | CUT：（Stage indication）：＂S＇apre la porta＂ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | X | $\begin{aligned} & \text { NG1 (all), NG2 (all), } \\ & \text { RG (all), SG (x2) } \end{aligned}$ |


| III． 8 （Oreste，Isifile） | 尔 | f $\substack{\text { ¢ }}$ | $\stackrel{0}{\square}$ | $\stackrel{\cup}{\sim}$ | $\stackrel{\circ}{1}$ | $\stackrel{4}{\square}$ | 8 | $\stackrel{\square}{*}$ | $\cup$ | 山 | $\bigcirc$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |


${ }^{34}$ V49a (and V64P) did not have this block of dialogue between Isifile and Giasone - it was added beginning with V49b, and became the rule more than the exception. Because V49b had a greater influence on subsequent sources than V49a, virtually all instances where this text is missing are treated as cuts.
Table II.4: The Florence Source Variants
Florence Group (FG): MS, F50, F51, B51, F56, L56, L69, Vit59, Pe63, (G51)
-Florence Subgroup (FSG): F56, Vit59, Pe63

|  | Overall Structure | $\sum$ | 는 | 江 | ค | $\stackrel{\circ}{1}$ | in | $\underline{0}$ | $\stackrel{\circ}{\bullet}$ | $\stackrel{\text { a }}{\stackrel{n}{4}}$ | ê | $\xrightarrow{\substack{0 \\ 0}}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| S. 12 | I. 3 (Rosmina Giardiniera) cut | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\mathrm{X}^{\star}$ | X | X | X | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { MG (all), NG2 (x2), RG (x4), } \\ \text { SG (x5) } \end{gathered}$ |
| S. 34 | II. 8 (Giove, Eolo, Amore, Coro di Venti) cut | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{aligned} & \text { NG1 (x7), NG2 (x3), RG (x4), } \\ & \text { SG (x8) } \end{aligned}$ |
| S. 39 | Added scene: Rosmina (II.12) |  |  |  |  |  |  | X |  |  |  |  |  |
| S. 45 | III. 1 (Oreste, Delfa) cut | X | X | X | X | X | X |  | X | X | X | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { MG (all), NG1 (x7), NG2 (x6), } \\ \text { RG (x3), SG (all) } \end{gathered}$ |
| S. 51 | III. 10 (Delfa[, Medea]) cut | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { MG (all), NG1 (all), NG2 (all), } \\ \text { RG (x3), SG (all) } \end{gathered}$ |
| S. 56 | III.Ultima (Giove, Amore, Coro di Dei, Zeffiro) cut | - | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | VG (x2), MG (all), NG1 (x7), NG2 (x6), RG (x4), SG (x8) |

$\star$ Rosmina's scene is added back in this edition toward the end of Act I, after Delfa's solo scene (I.12).

|  | I. 7 (Demo/Oreste) | $\sum^{n}$ | 次 | $\stackrel{7}{2}$ | $\stackrel{\square}{10}$ | $\stackrel{\bullet}{\bullet}$ | 10 $\stackrel{0}{7}$ $>$ | of | $\stackrel{\circ}{1}$ | $\stackrel{0}{3}$ | ñ | $\stackrel{\square}{0}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I.7.2 | v.489-90: "Son vago, grazioso, lascivo, amoroso" (on ONE line) |  |  |  |  |  | X |  | X | X | X |  |  |
| I.7.10 | CUT: vv.521-33: "Grande se mi vedessi..." | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { MG (all), NG1 (all), NG2 (all), } \\ \text { RG (x4), SG (all) } \end{gathered}$ |

Table II． 4 （Continued）

|  | I． 14 （Isifile） | $\sum^{n}$ | 苔 | 鿖 | in | $\stackrel{\circ}{\Omega}$ | 20 | ồ | 咂 | $\begin{aligned} & 0 \\ & \stackrel{n}{5} \end{aligned}$ | $$ | $\overline{0}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I．14．4 | New Opening：＂Lassa，che far deggio？＂ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | MG（all），NG1（all），NG2（all）， SG（x4） |
| I．14．6 | v．788d：＂Più sostenermi＂$\rightarrow$＂Più sostentarmi＂ |  |  |  |  |  | X | X | X | X | X |  |  |
| I．14．10 | CUT：vv．822－30：＂O dio．．．＂（Type： ＂Lassa．．．＂） | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{aligned} & \text { MG (all), NG1 (all), NG2 (x6), } \\ & \text { SG (x2) } \end{aligned}$ |


|  | II． 2 （Oreste，Isifile） | $\sum^{n}$ | 各 | 豆 | 苚 | $\stackrel{\sim}{n}$ | $\stackrel{10}{3}$ | $\underset{\sim}{\hat{0}}$ | 号 | $\stackrel{0}{5}$ | $$ | $\bar{\sim}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| II．2．1 | v．981：＂Morti di questa sorte＂（instead of＂questa razza＂） | X ${ }^{\star}$ | X ${ }^{\star}$ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | MG（all），NG1（all），NG2（x6）， RG（all），SG（x2） |
| II．2．2 | v．997：＂gonfian le vele＂（instead of ＂parton le vele＂） |  |  |  |  |  |  | X |  |  |  |  | VG（x5），RG（all） |
| II．2．3 | v．1008：＂Che sei tutta vezzosetta＂ （instead of＂Che non sei larga．．．＂） | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | VG（x3），MG（all），NG1（all）， NG2（x6），RG（all），SG（x6） |
| II．2．9 | ADD：vv．1052a－b：＂Fra gl＇argonauti．．．＂ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | X | $\begin{aligned} & \text { VG (x4), NG2 (x5), RG (x1), } \\ & \text { SG (x6) } \end{aligned}$ |
| II．2．20 | CUT：vv．1121－29：＂Disperation sta meco？＂ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | VG（x1），MG（all），NG1（all）， NG2（all），RG（x4），SG（x4） |


|  | II． 4 （Giasone solo） | $\sum^{n}$ | ip | 莒 | $\stackrel{\text { in }}{\sim}$ | ٌㅠㄱ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { in } \\ & i=2 \end{aligned}$ | $\hat{\theta}$ | 兑 | $\begin{aligned} & 0 \hat{2} \\ & \stackrel{n}{2} \end{aligned}$ | $$ | $\overline{0}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| II．4．2 | v1158ff：＂Effetti singolari＂（2 lines added） | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |  | VG（x4），MG（all），NG1（all）， NG2（all），RG（x1），SG（x6） |

Table II． 4 （CONTINUED）

| II．4．3 | vv．1176－79： 4 lines $\rightarrow 2$ lines |  |  |  |  |  | X |  | X | X | X |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| II．4．9 | vv．1192－93：＂Sì già l＇afferro．．．＂$\rightarrow$ 1 <br> line |  |  |  |  |  | X |  | X | X | X |  |  |


|  | III． 8 （Oreste，Isifile） | $\sum$ | 운 | 岩 | 증 | $\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 10 \\ & 0 \\ & i=0 \end{aligned}$ | $\hat{a}$ | 号 | $\begin{aligned} & 0 \hat{0} \\ & \stackrel{n}{5} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { O} \\ & 0 \\ & \sim \end{aligned}$ | $\stackrel{7}{6}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| III．8．6 | CUT：vv．2192－95：＂E dai labri innocenti＂ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { MG (all), NG1 (all), NG2 (x4), } \\ \text { RG (x3), SG (x2) } \end{gathered}$ |
| III．8．9 | CUT：vv．2207－2210：＂O figli，anime mie．．．＂ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | VG（x1），MG（all），NG1（all）， NG2（all），RG（x3），SG（x4） |


|  | III． 21 （Tutti） | $\sum$ | 운 | 岩 | 命 | $\stackrel{\sim}{3}$ | ！ | $\hat{0}$ | 号 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { in } \\ & \stackrel{n}{5} \end{aligned}$ | ？ | $\stackrel{\square}{3}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| III． 21.6 | CUT：vv．2565－67：＂Questa innocenza．．．＂ | － | X | X | X |  | X |  | X | X | X | X | VG（x1），MG（all），NG1（all）， NG2（all），RG（x3），SG（x6） |
| III． 21.11 | CUT：vv．2596－2608：＂Ma se d＇esser marito．．．＂ | － | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | VG（x1），MG（all），NG1（x7）， NG2（x6），RG（x3），SG（x8） |
| III． 21.12 | CUT：vv．2069－14：＂Regina，Egeo， amici．．．＂ | － | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{aligned} & \text { MG (all), NG1 (x7), NG2 (x6), } \\ & \text { SG (x7) } \end{aligned}$ |
| III． 21.13 | CUT：vv．2615－25：＂Pregatelo pietosi．．．＂ | － | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { MG (all), NG1 (x7), NG2 (x6), } \\ \text { RG (x3), SG (x8) } \end{gathered}$ |
| III． 21.14 | CUT：vv．2626－28：＂Addio terra，addio sole．．．＂ | － | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{aligned} & \text { MG (all), NG1 (x7), NG2 (x6), } \\ & \text { SG (x7) } \end{aligned}$ |
| III． 21.15 | CUT：vv．2629－36：＂Sciolta la madre．．．＂ | － | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { MG (all), NG1 (x7), NG2 (x6), } \\ \text { RG (x3), SG (x8) } \end{gathered}$ |
| III． 21.16 | CUT：vv．2637－38：＂Figli v’attendo，e moro．．．＂ | － | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{aligned} & \text { MG (all), NG1 (x7), NG2 (x6), } \\ & \text { SG (x7) } \end{aligned}$ |

Table II. 4 (CONTINUED)

| III.21.17 | CUT: vv.2639-43: "Non ho più <br> core..." | - | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | MG (all), NG1 (x7), NG2 (x6), <br> RG (x3), SG (x6) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| III.21.20 | CUT: vv.2664-79: "Fortunati <br> tormenti..." | - | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | VG (x3), MG (all), NG1 (x7), <br> NG2 ( x 6$), \mathrm{RG}(\mathrm{x} 4)$, SG (x6) |

Table II.5: The Milan Source Variants

|  | Overall Structure | \% | $\sum_{\sum}^{\infty}$ | ${ }_{i}^{\circ}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \mathbb{X} \\ & \sum_{2}^{x} \end{aligned}$ | $\stackrel{\text { Nob}}{2}$ | $\sum_{\substack{X}}^{\substack{x}}$ | \% | $\underset{\sim}{\cong}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| S. 7 | Prologo: Additional of "Choro delle hore" | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |  |
| S. 12 | I. 3 (Rosmina Giardiniera) cut | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{aligned} & \text { FG (all), NG2 (x2), RG (x4), SG } \\ & \text { (x5) } \end{aligned}$ |
| S. 21 | I. 14 (Isifile sola) moved to after I. 7 (Demo, Oreste) | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |  |
| S. 35 | II. 8 moved to after II. 14 (Isifile, Medea, Giasone) | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |  |
| S. 38 | II. 10 misnumbered (as II. 11 following II.9) | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | NG2 (x1), SG (x1) |
| S. 45 | III. 1 (Oreste, Delfa) cut | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (x10), NG1 (x7), NG2 (x6), } \\ \text { RG (x3), SG (all) } \end{gathered}$ |
| S. 51 | III. 10 (Delfa[, Medea]) cut | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (all), NG1 (all), NG2 (all), } \\ \text { RG (x3), SG (all) } \end{gathered}$ |

TABLE II. 5 (CONTINUED)

| S.52 | Added scene: "Amore in una conchiglia in Mare <br> overo sopra un Pesce con violino in mano"35 (III.15a) | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| S.56 | III.Ultima (Giove, Amore, Coro di Dei, Zeffiro) cut | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | VG (x2), FG (x10), NG1 (x7), <br> NG2 (x6), RG (x4), SG (x8) |
| S.57 | III.Ultima: Addition of "Amore per aria in fine <br> dell'opera" ${ }^{36}$ at end | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |  |


|  | I. 7 (Demo/Oreste) | $\begin{gathered} 2 \\ 2 \\ 2 \\ 2 \\ 2 \end{gathered}$ | $\sum_{i}^{\infty}$ | $\sum_{i}^{e}$ | K K k | $\sum_{i}^{N}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \sum_{k}^{x} \\ & \sum \\ & \sum \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 00 \\ & u_{x} \\ & 2 \\ & 2 \end{aligned}$ | $\stackrel{\infty}{\infty}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I.7.10 | CUT: vv.521-33: "Grande? se mi vedessi..." | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (all), NG1 (all), NG2 (all), } \\ \text { RG (x4), SG (all) } \end{gathered}$ |


|  | I. 14 (Isifile) | $\begin{gathered} \tilde{2} \\ 2 \\ 2 \\ 2 \end{gathered}$ | $\sum^{\infty}$ | ${ }_{2}^{\circ}$ | 4 K K | ${ }_{\Sigma}^{N}$ | $\sum_{\substack{\text { c }}}^{\text {N }}$ | 号 | $\underset{\sim}{n}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I.14.4 | New Opening: "Lassa, che far deggio?" | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{aligned} & \text { FG (all), NG1 (all), NG2 (all), SG } \\ & \text { (x3) } \end{aligned}$ |
| I.14.10 | CUT: vv.822-30: "O dio..." (Type: "Lassa...") | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{aligned} & \text { FG (all), NG1 (all), NG2 (x6), SG } \\ & \text { (x2) } \end{aligned}$ |


|  | II. 2 (Oreste, Isifile) | $\begin{aligned} & \tilde{2} \\ & \frac{2}{x} \\ & 2 \end{aligned}$ | $\sum_{i}^{\infty}$ | $\sum_{i}^{0}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \$ \\ & \sum \\ & \sum \end{aligned}$ | $\sum_{i}^{N}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \sum_{k}^{\infty} \\ & \sum \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0 \\ & u_{0} \\ & \text { n } \\ & 2 \end{aligned}$ | $\underset{\sim}{\infty}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| II.2.1 | v.981: "Morti di questa sorte" (instead of "questa razza") | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (all), NG1 (all), NG2 (x6), } \\ \text { RG (all), SG (x2) } \end{gathered}$ |

TABLE II. 5 (CONTINUED)

| II.2.3 | v.1008: "Che sei tutta vezzosetta" (instead of "Che <br> non sei larga.."") | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | VG (x3), FG (all), NG1 (all), <br> $\mathrm{NG} 2(\mathrm{x} 6), \mathrm{RG}(\mathrm{all}), \mathrm{SG}(\mathrm{x} 6)$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| II.2.4 | v.1038: "Dimmi, Giasone,.." (cut "che fa") | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |  |
| II.2.5 | v.1044: "Vuol ch'io mora?" (cut"...ch'io viva, o...") | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |  |
| II.2.6 | v.1052: "Giason ven [sic] tiene" (orig: "Giason non <br> tiene") | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\mathrm{X} \star$ |  |
| II.2.20 | CUT: vv.1121-29: "Disperation sta meco?" | $\mathrm{X} 1)$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

[^186]\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline \& II. 4 (Giasone solo) \& $$
\begin{aligned}
& \frac{\pi}{x} \\
& \sum \\
& 2
\end{aligned}
$$ \& $$
\sum^{\infty}
$$ \& $\sum^{\circ}$ \& K

K \& $$
{ }^{\mathrm{N}}
$$ \& \[

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \sum \\
& \sum \\
& \sum
\end{aligned}
$$

\] \& \[

$$
\begin{aligned}
& 0 \stackrel{0}{x} \\
& \frac{1}{x} \\
& 2
\end{aligned}
$$

\] \& \[

\underset{n}{n}
\] \& Other Groups with this Variant <br>

\hline II.4.2 \& v1158ff: "Effetti singolari" (2 lines added) \& X \& X \& X \& X \& X \& X \& X \& X \& VG (x4), FG (x10), NG1 (all), NG2 (all), RG (x1), SG (x6) <br>
\hline
\end{tabular}

|  | III. 8 (Oreste, Isifile) | $\begin{aligned} & \frac{\pi}{x} \\ & 2 \\ & 2 \end{aligned}$ | $\sum_{i}^{\infty}$ | $\sum^{8}$ | K K K | ${\underset{N}{N}}^{N}$ | $\sum$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0 \\ & \frac{u}{x} \\ & \vdots \\ & 2 \end{aligned}$ | $\stackrel{\sim}{\infty}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| III.8.6 | CUT: vv.2192-95: "E dai labri innocenti" | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (all), NG1 (all), NG2 (x4), } \\ \text { RG (x3), SG (x2) } \end{gathered}$ |
| III.8.9 | CUT: vv.2207-2210: "O figli, anime mie..." | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | VG (x1), FG (all), NG1 (all), NG2 (all), RG (x3), SG (x4) |


Table II. 5 (CONTINUED)

| III. 21.6 | CUT: vv.2565-67: "Questa innocenza..." | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | VG (x1), FG (x8), NG1 (all), NG2 (all), RG (x3), SG (x6) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| III. 21.11 | CUT: vv.2596-2608: "Ma se d'esser marito..." | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{aligned} & \text { VG (x1), FG (x10), NG1 (x7), } \\ & \text { NG2 (x6), RG (x3), SG (x8) } \end{aligned}$ |
| III. 21.12 | CUT: vv.2609-14: "Regina, Egeo, amici..." | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{aligned} & \text { FG (x10), NG1 (x7), NG2 (x6), } \\ & \text { SG (x7) } \end{aligned}$ |
| III. 21.13 | CUT: vv.2615-25: "Pregatelo pietosi..." | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (x10), NG1 (x7), NG2 (x6), } \\ \text { RG (x3), SG (x8) } \end{gathered}$ |
| III. 21.14 | CUT: vv.2626-28: "Addio terra, addio sole..." | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{aligned} & \text { FG (x10), NG1 (x7), NG2 (x6), } \\ & \text { SG (x7) } \end{aligned}$ |
| III. 21.15 | CUT: vv.2629-36: "Sciolta la madre..." | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (x10), NG1 (x7), NG2 (x6), } \\ \text { RG (x3), SG (x8) } \end{gathered}$ |
| III. 21.16 | CUT: vv.2637-38: "Figli v'attendo, e moro..." | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { FG (x10), NG1 (x7), NG2 (x6), } \\ \text { SG (x7) } \end{gathered}$ |
| III. 21.17 | CUT: vv.2639-43: "Non ho più core..." | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (x10), NG1 (x7), NG2 (x6), } \\ \text { RG (x3), SG (x6) } \end{gathered}$ |
| III. 21.20 | CUT: vv.2664-79: "Fortunati tormenti..." | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{aligned} & \text { VG (x3), FG (x10), NG1 (x7), } \\ & \text { NG2 (x6), RG (x4), SG (x6) } \end{aligned}$ |

Table II.6: The Naples Source Variants
Naples Group 1 (NG1): N51, N61, N72, V61, Vxx[62], Ve160, N67, ${ }^{37}$ M55 ${ }^{38}$

|  | Overall Structure | $\stackrel{\square}{7}$ | $\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{\square}$ | $\stackrel{N}{\text { N }}$ | $\stackrel{\square}{8}$ | $\stackrel{y}{x}$ | 8 8 7 | $\hat{C}$ | $\stackrel{\text { n }}{10}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| S. 11 | I. 3 (Rosmina Giardiniera) moved to after I. 7 (Demo, Oreste) | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |  |  |
| S. 20 | I. 14 (Isifile sola) moved to beginning of Act II | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | NG2 (x1) |
| S. 27 | II. 6 (Medea, Giasone, Delfa, Ercole) Character list omits Ercole | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |  | NG2 (x1) |
| S. 28 | II. 6 (Medea, Giasone, Delfa, Ercole) Ercole part given to Medea |  |  |  |  | X | X | X |  | NG2 (x1) |
| S. 29 | II. 6 (Medea, Giasone, Delfa, Ercole) Ercole part given to Delfa |  |  | X |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| S. 30 | II. 6 Character list: Medea, Giasone, Besso |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | X | NG2 (x1) |
| S. 31 | II. 6 Character List: Medea, Giasone, Delfa, Besso (Ercole part given to Besso) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | X | NG2 (x6) |
| S. 33 | Added scene: Erino Paggio (II.6a) | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | NG2 (x3) |
| S. 34 | II. 8 (Giove, Eolo, Amore, Coro di Venti) cut | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (all), NG2 (x3), RG } \\ (\mathrm{x} 4), \mathrm{SG}(\mathrm{x} 8) \end{gathered}$ |
| S. 37 | II. 10 (Giasone, Medea, ... [et. al.]) moved to after II. 12 (Besso, Alinda) | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | NG2 (x1), SG (x1) |

Table II． 6 （CONTINUED）

| S． 45 | III．1（Oreste，Delfa）cut | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |  | FG（x10），MG（all），NG2 <br> （x7），RG（x3），SG（all） |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| S．51 | III．10（Delfa［，Medea］）cut | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | FG（all），MG（all），NG2 <br> （all），RG（x3），SG（all） |
| S．56 | III．Ultima（Giove，Amore，Coro di Dei， <br> Zeffiro）cut | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | VG（x2），FG（x10），MG <br> （all），NG2（x6），RG（x4）， <br> SG（x8） |  |


|  | I． 7 （Demo／Oreste） | 江 | $\begin{aligned} & \overline{0} \\ & \mathbf{Z} \end{aligned}$ | $\stackrel{N}{\mathrm{Z}}$ | $\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{8}$ | $\underset{\sim}{x}$ | － | $\begin{aligned} & \text { N } \\ & \stackrel{y}{2} \end{aligned}$ | $\hat{a}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I．7．4 | v．500：＂Saprà spezzarti il capo＂－＂Oibò＂－＂．．．capo in queste mura＂ |  |  |  |  |  |  | X |  | VG（x1），NG2（x3），SG（x2） |
| I．7．10 | CUT：vv．521－33：＂Grande se mi vedessi．．．＂ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{aligned} & \text { FG (all), MG (all), NG2 (all), RG } \\ & \text { (x4), SG (all) } \end{aligned}$ |
| I．7．13 | CUT：v．563－64：＂Lo lo lo lo lo．．．et aspetto a far pace all＇o．．．＂ |  |  |  |  |  |  | X |  | VG（x1），NG2（x6），RG（x4） |
| I．7．14 | CUT：（Stage indication）：＂Demo parte＂ | X |  |  |  | X | X | X | X | VG（x4），NG2（all），RG（all） |


| $\begin{aligned} & \text { Other Groups with this } \\ & \text { Variant } \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \widetilde{\mathrm{x}} \\ & \text { 介ै } \\ & \text { Z } \end{aligned}$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ¢S $N$ | $x$ |  | $x$ |
| L9N | $x$ | $x$ | $x$ |
| $09{ }^{\circ} \Lambda$ | $x$ | $x$ | $x$ |
| $\mathrm{xx}_{\Lambda}$ | $x$ | $x$ | $x$ |
| $19 \wedge$ | $x$ |  | $x$ |
| ZLN | x |  | $x$ |
| I9N | $x$ |  | $x$ |
| ISN | $x$ |  | $x$ |
|  |  |  |  |
|  | $\stackrel{+}{ \pm}$ | $\stackrel{\text { N }}{\substack{\text { ¢ }}}$ | $\stackrel{\bigcirc}{\stackrel{+}{+}}$ |

Table II． 6 （CONTINUED）

|  | II． 2 （Oreste，Isifile） | $\stackrel{\square}{7}$ | $\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{\square}$ | $\stackrel{\text { N }}{\text { Z }}$ | $\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{6}$ | 楀 | 8 3 $>$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hat{6} \\ & \mathbf{Z} \end{aligned}$ | $\sum_{2}^{n}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| II． 2.1 | v．981：＂Morti di questa sorte＂（instead of＂questa razza＂） | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{aligned} & \text { FG (all), MG (all), NG2 (x6), RG } \\ & \text { (all), SG (x2) } \end{aligned}$ |
| II．2．3 | v．1008：＂Che sei tutta vezzosetta＂（instead of＂Che non sei larga．．．＂） | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | VG（x3），FG（all），MG（all），NG2 （x6），RG（all），SG（x6） |
| II． 2.10 | ADD：v．1052a：＂A te，nume di Colco＂ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | NG2（x2） |
| II． 2.20 | CUT：vv．1121－29：＂Disperation sta meco？＂ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | VG（x1），FG（all），MG（all），NG2 <br> （all），RG（x4），SG（x4） |


|  | II． 4 （Giasone solo） | 乭 | $\stackrel{\square}{Z}$ | $\stackrel{N}{\text { N }}$ | $\stackrel{\square}{8}$ | － | 8 2 $>$ | $\stackrel{\text { ® }}{\text { Z }}$ | $\stackrel{1}{1}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| II．4．2 | v．1158ff：＂Effetti singolari＂（2 lines added） | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | VG（x4），FG（x10），MG（all）， NG2（all），RG（x1），SG（x6） |
| II．4．7 | CUT：（Stage indication）：＂S＇apre la porta＂ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | NG2（all），RG（all），SG（x2） |


|  | III． 8 （Oreste，Isifile） | 言 | $\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{\square}$ | $\stackrel{N}{\text { Z }}$ | $\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{8}$ | 令 | 8 8 8 | $\stackrel{\text { V }}{ }$ | $\stackrel{n}{n}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| III．8．2 | v．2197：＂pietà＂$\rightarrow$＂pierà［sic］＂ |  | X |  | X |  |  |  |  |  |
| III．8．6 | CUT：vv．2192－95：＂E dai labri innocenti＂ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{FG}(\text { all }), \mathrm{MG}(\text { all }), \mathrm{NG} 2(\mathrm{x} 4), \mathrm{RG} \\ & \text { (x3), SG (x2) } \end{aligned}$ |
| III．8．9 | CUT：vv．2207－2210：＂O figli，anime mie．．．＂ | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | VG（x1），FG（all），MG（all），NG2 <br> （all），RG（x3），SG（x4） |

Table II. 6 (CONTINUED)

|  | III. 21 (Tutti) | $\bar{n}$ | Z | Ñ | $\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{8}$ | $\stackrel{\text { r }}{ }$ | $\stackrel{8}{8}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{o} \\ & \mathrm{Z} \end{aligned}$ | $\stackrel{i n}{i}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| III. 21.3 | v.2674g: "Alma" $\rightarrow$ "Anima" | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |  | NG2 (x1), RG (x2) |
| III. 21.6 | CUT: vv.2565-67: "Questa innocenza..." | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | VG (x1), FG (x8), MG (all), NG2 (all), RG (x3), SG (x6) |
| III. 21.11 | CUT: vv.2596-2608: "Ma se d'esser marito..." | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |  | VG (x1), FG (x10), MG (all), NG2 (x6), RG (x3), SG (x8) |
| III. 21.12 | CUT: vv.2609-14: "Regina, Egeo, amici..." | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { FG (x10), MG (all), NG (x6), SG } \\ & (\mathrm{x} 7) \end{aligned}$ |
| III. 21.13 | CUT: vv.2615-25: "Pregatelo pietosi..." | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (x10), MG (all), NG2 (x6), } \\ \text { RG (x3), SG (x8) } \end{gathered}$ |
| III. 21.14 | CUT: vv.2626-28: "Addio terra, addio sole..." | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { FG (x10), MG (all), NG2 (x6), } \\ & \text { SG (x7) } \end{aligned}$ |
| III. 21.15 | CUT: vv.2629-36: "Sciolta la madre..." | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (x10), MG (all), NG2 (x6), } \\ \text { RG (x3), SG (x8) } \end{gathered}$ |
| III. 21.16 | CUT: vv.2637-38: "Figli v'attendo, e moro..." | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { FG (x10), MG (all), NG2 (x6), } \\ & \text { SG (x7) } \end{aligned}$ |
| III. 21.17 | CUT: vv.2639-43: "Non ho più core..." | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (x10), MG (all), NG2 (x6), } \\ \text { RG (x3), SG (x7) } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| III. 21.20 | CUT: vv.2664-79: "Fortunati tormenti..." | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |  | VG (x3), FG (x10), MG (all), NG2 (x6), RG (x4), SG (x6) |


| TABLE II.6 (CONTINUED) |
| :--- |
| Naples Group 2 (NG2): NA, NB, NC, Mo, Re68, M55, N67 <br> -Naples Family (NF): NA, NB, NC, Mo, Re68 <br> -Naples Subfamily (SF): NA, NB |
| Other Groups with this <br> Variant |
| S.4 |
| Overall Structure |
| Unique Prologo: Febo, Nettuno, Cupido |
| S.8 |
| I.1 (Ercole, Besso) cut |

Table II. 6 (CONTINUED)

| S. 37 | II. 10 (Giasone, Medea, ... [et. al.]) moved to after II. 12 (Besso, Alinda) |  |  |  |  |  | X |  | NG1 (all), SG (x1) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| S. 38 | II. 10 misnumbered (as II. 11 following II.9) | X |  |  |  |  |  |  | MG (all), SG (x1) |
| S. 45 | III. 1 (Oreste, Delfa) cut | X | X | X | X | X |  | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (x10), MG (all), NG1 (x7), } \\ \text { RG (x3), SG (all) } \end{gathered}$ |
| S. 51 | III. 10 (Delfa[, Medea]) cut | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{aligned} & \text { FG (all), MG (all), NG1 (all), RG } \\ & \text { (x3), SG (all) } \end{aligned}$ |
| S. 57 | III.Ultima (Giove, Amore, Coro di Dei, Zeffiro) cut | X | X | X | X | X |  | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { VG (x2), FG (x10), MG (all), NG } \\ \text { (x7), RG (x4), SG (x8) } \end{gathered}$ |


|  | I. 7 (Demo/Oreste) | $\mathbb{Z}$ | $\frac{0}{\mathbf{Z}}$ | $\begin{aligned} & U \\ & \mathbf{Z} \end{aligned}$ | $\sum^{0}$ | + | $\stackrel{n}{n}$ | $\stackrel{N}{2}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I.7.4 | v.500: "Saprà spezzarti il capo"- "Oibò"- "...capo in queste mura" | X ${ }^{\star}$ | X ${ }^{\star}$ |  |  |  |  | X | VG (x1), NG1 (x1), SG (x2) |
| I.7.5 | v.517: "Quel che fa la bravura" $\rightarrow$ "...può la bravura" | X | X |  | X | X |  |  | VG (x4) |
| I.7.7 | v.548: "Che pretendi da-da lui?" (stutter shortened) | X | X |  |  | X |  |  | VG (x4), RG (x3) |
| I.7.9 | CUT: vv.475-76: "A me? / te te te te te te" |  |  |  | X | X |  |  |  |
| I.7.10 | CUT: vv.521-33: "Grande se mi vedessi..." | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (all), MG (all), NG1 (all), RG } \\ \text { (x4), SG (all) } \end{gathered}$ |
| I.7.12 | CUT: v.559: Oreste's "Na na na na na na" |  |  |  | X | X |  |  | RG (x2) |
| I.7.13 | CUT: v.563-64: "Lo lo lo lo lo... et aspetto a far pace all'o..." | X | X | X | X | X |  | X | VG (x1), NG1 (x1), RG (x4) |

TABLE II. 6 (CONTINUED)

| I.7.14 | CUT: (Stage indication): "Demo parte" | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | VG (x4), NG1 (x5), RG (all) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| *Sources cut Oreste's "Oibò" before real punchline ("...strapazzo/...spezzarti il ca[zzo]"). |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | I. 14 (Isifile) | $\mathbb{Z}$ | $\stackrel{0}{\mathbf{Z}}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \cup \\ & Z \end{aligned}$ | $\sum_{i}^{0}$ | + | $\sum_{2}^{12}$ | $\hat{6}$ 2 | Other Groups with this Variant |
| I.14.4 | New Opening: "Lassa, che far deggio?" | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{aligned} & \text { FG (all), MG (all), NG1 (all), SG } \\ & (\mathrm{x} 4) \end{aligned}$ |
| I.14.7 | v.835: "S'ei non torna" (instead of "s'ei torna") |  | X |  |  |  |  | X | NG1 (x3) |
| I.14.10 | CUT: vv.822-30: "O dio..." (Type: "Lassa...") | X | X | X | X ${ }^{\star}$ |  | X | X | $\begin{aligned} & \text { FG (all), MG (all), NG1 (all), SG } \\ & (\mathrm{x} 2) \end{aligned}$ |


|  | II. 2 (Oreste, Isifile) | $\mathbb{Z}$ | $\hat{Z}$ | $\begin{aligned} & U \\ & \mathbf{Z} \end{aligned}$ | $\sum_{i}^{0}$ | + | $\stackrel{n}{2}$ | $\stackrel{N}{6}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| II. 2.1 | v.981: "Morti di questa sorte" (instead of "questa razza") | X | X |  | X | X | X | X | FG (all), MG (all), NG1 (all), RG (all), SG (x2) |
| II. 2.3 | v.1008: "Che sei tutta vezzosetta" (instead of "Che non sei larga...") | X | X |  | X | X | X | X | VG (x3), FG (all), MG (all), NG1 <br> (all), RG (all), SG (x6) |
| II.2.7 | v.1071: "La dorata" $\rightarrow$ "L'adorata" | X | X |  |  |  |  |  | SG (x1) |
| II. 2.8 | vv.1090a-c: "Speranze fuggite" (Refrain repeat written out) | X | X | X | X | X |  |  | VG (x4), RG (x3) |
| II. 2.9 | ADD: vv.1052a-b: "Fra gl'argonauti..." | X | X | X | X* | X |  |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { VG (x4), FG (x1), RG (x1), SG } \\ (\mathrm{x} 6) \end{gathered}$ |
| II.2.10 | ADD: v.1052a: "A te, nume di Colco" |  |  |  |  |  | X | X | NG1 (all) |

Table II. 6 (Continued)

| II. 2.18 | CUT: vv.1099-1113: "O speranze infelici" |  |  |  | X | X |  |  | SG (x1) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| II. 2.20 | CUT: vv.1121-29: "Disperation sta meco?" | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | VG (x1), FG (all), MG (all), NG1 <br> (all), RG (x4), SG (x4) |
| II. 2.22 | CUT: vv.1130-44: "Su miei fidi seguaci" |  |  |  | X | X |  |  | RG (x4) |


|  | II. 4 (Giasone solo) | $\mathbb{Z}$ | $\stackrel{\ominus}{\mathbf{Z}}$ | U | $\sum_{i}^{0}$ | - | $\stackrel{i n}{2}$ | $\hat{6}$ $\chi$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| II.4.2 | v.1158ff: "Effetti singolari" (2 lines added) | X | X | X | X | X ${ }^{\star}$ | X | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { VG (x4), FG (x10), MG (all), } \\ \text { NG1 (all), SG (x6) } \end{gathered}$ |
| II.4.7 | CUT: (Stage indication): "S'apre la porta" | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | NG1 (all), RG (all), SG (x2) |
| II.4.10 | CUT: vv.1186-88: "Stiasi la spada..." | X | X |  |  |  |  |  |  |


|  | III. 8 (Oreste, Isifile) | $\mathbb{Z}$ | 冒 | $\begin{aligned} & \cup \\ & \mathbf{Z} \end{aligned}$ | $\sum^{0}$ | - | $\stackrel{n}{n}$ | $\stackrel{N}{6}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| III.8.6 | CUT: vv.2192-95: "E dai labri innocenti" | X | X |  |  |  | X | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (all), MG (all), NG1 (all), RG } \\ \text { (x3), SG (x2) } \end{gathered}$ |
| III.8.9 | CUT: vv.2207-2210: "O figli, anime mie..." | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | VG (x1), FG (all), MG (all), NG1 <br> (all), RG (x3), SG (x4) |


|  | III. 21 (Tutti) | $\stackrel{4}{\mathbf{Z}}$ | 吕 | U | $\sum_{i}^{0}$ | $\infty$ 0 $\sim$ $\sim$ $\sim$ | $\sum_{2}^{n}$ | $\stackrel{N}{6}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| III. 21.3 | v. 2674 g : "Alma" $\rightarrow$ "Anima" |  |  |  |  |  |  | X | NG1 (x7), RG (x2) |

Table II. 6 (Continued)

| III. 21.6 | CUT: vv.2565-67: "Questa innocenza..." | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | VG (x1), FG (x8), MG (all), NG1 <br> (all), RG (x3), SG (x6) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| III. 21.10 | CUT: vv.2586-95: "Sì, sì, tiranno mio..." |  |  |  | X | X |  |  | RG (x3), SG (x4) |
| III. 21.11 | CUT: vv.2596-2608: "Ma se d'esser marito..." | X | X | X | X | X |  | X | VG (x1), FG (x10), MG (all), NG1 (x7), RG (x3), SG (x8) |
| III. 21.12 | CUT: vv.2609-14: "Regina, Egeo, amici..." | X | X | X | X | X |  | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (x10), MG (all), NG1 (x7), } \\ \text { SG (x7) } \end{gathered}$ |
| III. 21.13 | CUT: vv.2615-25: "Pregatelo pietosi..." | X | X | X | X | X |  | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (x10), MG (all), NG1 (x7), } \\ \text { RG (x3), SG (x8) } \end{gathered}$ |
| III. 21.14 | CUT: vv.2626-28: "Addio terra, addio sole..." | X | X | X | X | X |  | X | $\begin{aligned} & \text { FG (x10), MG (all), NG1 (x7), } \\ & \text { SG (x7) } \end{aligned}$ |
| III. 21.15 | CUT: vv.2629-36: "Sciolta la madre..." | X | X | X | X | X |  | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (x10), MG (all), NG1 (x7), } \\ \text { RG (x3), SG (x8) } \end{gathered}$ |
| III. 21.16 | CUT: vv.2637-38: "Figli v'attendo, e moro..." | X | X | X | X | X |  | X | $\begin{aligned} & \text { FG (x10), MG (all), NG1 (x7), } \\ & \text { SG (x7) } \end{aligned}$ |
| III. 21.17 | CUT: vv.2639-43: "Non ho più core..." | X | X | X | X | X |  | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (x10), MG (all), NG1 (x7), } \\ \text { RG (x3), SG (x6) } \end{gathered}$ |
| III. 21.20 | CUT: vv.2664-79: "Fortunati tormenti..." | X | X | X | X | X |  | X | VG (x3), FG (x10), MG (all), NG1 (x7), RG (x4), SG (x6) |
| III. 21.21 | CUT: vv.2674a-g: "Quante son le mie gioie..." | X | X | X | X | X |  |  | SG (x3) |

Table II.7: The Rome Source Variants
Rome Group (RG): R71, R76, L, S
$\quad$-Rome Subgroup (RSG): R71, R76, L, S

|  | Overall Structure | त | 는 | - | $n$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| S. 1 | "Original" |  |  |  |  | VG (all), SG (x1) |
| S. 2 | "Il Novello Giasone" | X | X | X | X |  |
| S. 6 | Unique Prologo: Sole, Musica, Poesia, Pittura, Architettura |  |  | X | X |  |
| S. 10 | Added Scene: Alinda, Delfa (I.1a) | X | X | X | X |  |
| S. 12 | I. 3 (Rosmina Giardiniera) cut | X | X | X | X | $\underset{(\mathrm{x} 5)}{\mathrm{FG}(\text { all }), \mathrm{MG}(\mathrm{all}), \mathrm{NG} 2(\mathrm{x} 2), \mathrm{SG}}$ |
| S. 17 | I. 10 (Giasone, Medea) and I. 11 (Giasone [solo]) combined |  |  | X |  | VG (x3) |
| S. 34 | II. 8 (Giove, Eolo, Amore, Coro di Venti) cut | X | X | X | X | $\begin{aligned} & \text { FG (all), NG1 (x7), NG2 (x3), SG } \\ & (\mathrm{x} 8) \end{aligned}$ |
| S. 42 | II. 13 misnumbered (as II. 13 following II.11) | X | X |  |  |  |
| S. 43 | Added scene: "La scena rappresenta il Giardino della Palazzina di Medea. Delfa introduce il Ballo di Giardiniere, Orsi, e Scimmiotti" ${ }^{39}$ (II.14a) |  |  |  |  | SG (x1) |
| S. 44 | Added scene: Intermedio (Satiro, Amore) (between Acts II and III) | X | X | X | X |  |
| S. 45 | III. 1 (Oreste, Delfa) cut | X | X | - | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (x10), MG (all), NG1 (x7), } \\ \text { NG2 (x6), SG (all) } \end{gathered}$ |

Table II. 7 (CONTINUED)

| S.50 | III.9 (Medea sola) cut |  |  | - | X | SG (x2) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| S.51 | III.10 (Delfa[, Medea]) cut | X | X | - | X | FG (all), MG (all), NG1 (all), NG2 <br> (all), SG (all) |
| S.53 | Added scene: Delfa, Erino (III.15b) |  | - | X |  |  |
| S.54 | III.16 Addition of Demo (standing over sleeping Giasone) | X | X | - | X |  |
| S.55 | III.19 (Besso, Soldati, Giasone, Isifile) incorporated into III.18 <br> (Isifile, Egeo, Giasone) |  |  | - | X |  |
| S.56 | III.Ultima (Giove, Amore, Coro di Dei, Zeffiro) cut | X | X | - | X | VG (x2), FG (x10), MG (all), NG1 <br> $(\mathrm{x} 7), \mathrm{NG} 2(\mathrm{x} 6), \mathrm{SG}(\mathrm{x} 8)$ |


|  | I. 7 (Demo/Oreste) | 측 | ® | $\cdots$ | n | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I.7.1 | v.482: "roverso" $\rightarrow$ "rove[r] scio" |  |  | X ${ }^{\text {* }}$ | X ${ }^{\text {* }}$ | VG (x1) |
| I.7.7 | v.548: "Che pretendi da-da lui?" (stutter shortened) |  |  | X | X | VG (x4), NG2 (x3) |
| I.7.8 | ADD: vv.554a-k: "Forse l'esser spione leva l'honore?" |  |  |  |  | VG (x3), SG (x1) |
| I.7.10 | CUT: vv.521-33: "Grande? se mi vedessi..." | X | X | X | X | $\begin{aligned} & \text { FG (all), MG (all), NG1 (all), NG2 } \\ & \text { (all), SG (all) } \end{aligned}$ |
| I.7.12 | CUT: v.559: Oreste's "Na na na na na na" | X | X |  |  | NG2 (x2) |
| I.7.13 | CUT: v.563-64: "Lo lo lo lo lo... et aspetto a far pace all'o..." | X | X | X | X | VG (x1), NG1 (x1), NG2 (x6) |


| Table II. 7 (Continued) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I.7.14 | CUT: (Stage indication): "Demo parte" | X | X | X | X | VG (x4), NG1 (x5), NG2 (all) |
| * $\mathbf{S}$ \& L: "rovescio"; O: "roverscio." |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | I. 14 (Isifile) | $\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{\sim}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { o } \\ & \hat{\sim} \end{aligned}$ | $\xrightarrow{-1}$ | $n$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| I.14.1 | Original Opening ("Ferma, ferma crudele...") | X | X | X | X | VG (all), SG (x1) |
| I.14.5 | New Opening ("Lassa..."), inserts original opening ("Ferma") afterward. | X* | X ${ }^{\star}$ | X* | X* |  |
| *Sources cut vv.803-30. |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | II. 2 (Oreste, Isifile) | $\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{\mathrm{z}}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { on } \\ & \text { 合 } \end{aligned}$ | $\xrightarrow{-1}$ | n | Other Groups with this Variant |
| II.2.1 | v.981: "Morti di questa sorte" (instead of "questa razza") | X | X | X | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (all), MG (all), NG1 (all), } \\ \text { NG2 (x6), SG (x2) } \end{gathered}$ |
| II.2.2 | v.997: "gonfian le vele" (instead of "parton le vele") | X | X | X | X | VG (x5), FG (x1) |
| II.2.3 | v.1008: "Che sei tutta vezzosetta" (instead of "Che non sei larga...") | X | X | X | X | VG (x3), FG (all), MG (all), NG1 <br> (all), NG2 (x6), SG (x6) |
| II.2.8 | vv.1090a-c: "Speranze fuggite" (Refrain repeat written out) |  |  | X | X | VG (x4), NG2 (x5) |
| II.2.9 | ADD: vv.1052a-b: "Fra gl'argonauti..." |  |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { VG (x4), FG (x1), NG2 (x5), SG } \\ & (x 6) \end{aligned}$ |
| II.2.13 | CUT: vv.1001-5: "O che gentil discorsi" | X | X | X | X |  |
| II.2.14 | CUT: vv.1015-21: "Chi lo potrà ridire" | X | X | X | X |  |

TABLE II. 7 (CONTINUED)

| II.2.15 | CUT: vv.1052-58: "Giason non tiene audienza" | X | X | X | X |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| II.2.16 | CUT: vv.1067-70: "Dagl'Argonauti fieri" | X | X | X | X |  |
| II.2.20 | CUT: vv.1121-29: "Disperation sta meco?" | X | X | X | X | VG (x1), FG (all), MG (all), NG1 <br> (all), NG2 (all), SG (x4) |
| II.2.21 | CUT: vv.1114-20: "Ma che vaneggio.." |  |  | X | X |  |
| II.2.22 | CUT: vv.1130-44: "Su miei fidi seguaci" | X | $\mathrm{X} \star$ | X | X |  | $\star$ Sources only cut vv.1130-37.


|  | II. 4 (Giasone solo) | $\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{\sim}$ | ¢ | - | $\sim$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| II.4.2 | v.1158ff: "Effetti singolari" (2 lines added) |  |  |  |  | VG (x4), FG (x10), MG (all), NG1 (all), NG2 (all), SG (x6) |
| II. 4.4 | CUT: vv.1158-60: "Per qual nuovo..." | X | X | X | X |  |
| II.4.5 | CUT: vv.1163-68: "Gl'Argonauti guerrieri..." | X | X | X | X |  |
| II.4.6 | CUT: vv.1176-79: "Fuori, fuori..." | X | X | X | X |  |
| II.4.7 | CUT: (Stage indication): "S'apre la porta" | X | X | X | X | NG1 (all), NG2 (all), SG (x2) |
| II.4.8 | CUT: vv.1180-1203: "Ma già s'apre, e spalanca..." | X ${ }^{\star}$ | X ${ }^{\star}$ | X ${ }^{\star}$ | X ${ }^{\star}$ | SG (x3) |

$\star$ Sources cut vv.1180-1194, 1198-1201.
TABLE II. 7 (CONTINUED)

|  | III. 8 (Oreste, Isifile) | $\stackrel{\text { ® }}{\sim}$ | ~ | $\xrightarrow{+}$ | $\sim$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| III.8.1 | v.2181a: "Se non rivolgi il piè" |  |  | - | X | VG (x4) |
| III.8.6 | CUT: vv.2192-95: "E dai labri innocenti" | X | X | - | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (all), MG (all), NG1 (all), NG2 } \\ \text { (x4), SG (x2) } \end{gathered}$ |
| III. 8.8 | CUT: vv.2201-2206: "Questi non han' bisogno..." | X | X | - | X |  |
| III.8.9 | CUT: vv.2207-2210: "O figli, anime mie..." | X | X | - | X | VG (x1), FG (all), MG (all), NG1 <br> (all), NG2 (all), SG (x4) |


|  | III. 21 (Tutti) | ત | ำ | н | $n$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| III. 21.1 | v.2645: "Dalla tua man" $\rightarrow$ "Da Isifile" |  |  | - | X | VG (x4), SG (x1) |
| III. 21.3 | v. $2674 \mathrm{~g}:$ "Alma" $\rightarrow$ "Anima" | X | X | - |  | NG1 (x7), NG2 (x1) |
| III.21.6 | CUT: vv.2565-67: "Questa innocenza..." | X | X | - | X | VG (x1), FG (x8), MG (all), NG1 <br> (all), NG2 (all), SG (x6) |
| III. 21.7 | CUT: vv.2568-69: "A te sempre soggette..." | X | X | - | X |  |
| III. 21.8 | CUT: vv.2579-85: "S'io perivo tra l'acque..." | X | X | - | X | SG (x5) |
| III. 21.10 | CUT: vv.2586-95: "Sì, sì, tiranno mio..." | X | X | - | X | NG2 (x2), SG (x4) |
| III. 21.11 | CUT: vv.2596-2608: "Ma se d'esser marito..." | X | X | - | X | VG (x1), FG (x10), MG (all), NG1 (x7), NG2 (x6), SG (x8) |

Table II. 7 (Continued)

| III.21.13 | CUT: vv.2615-25: "Pregatelo pietosi..." | X | X | - | X | FG (x10), MG (all), NG1 (x7), <br> NG2 (x6), SG (x8) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| III.21.15 | CUT: vv.2629-36: "Sciolta la madre..." | X | X | - | X | FG (x10), MG (all), NG1 (x7), <br> NG2 (x6), SG (x8) |
| III.21.17 | CUT: vv.2639-43: "Non ho più core..." | X | X | - | X | FG (x10), MG (all), NG1 (x7), <br> NG2 (x6), SG (x6) |
| III.21.18 | CUT: vv.2648-56: "Ah da te mia tradita.."" | X | X | - | X | SG (x1) |
| III.21.20 | CUT: vv.2664-79: "Fortunati tormenti..." | X | X | - | X | VG (x3), FG (x10), MG (all), <br> NG1 (x7), NG2 (x6), SG (x6) |

Table II.8: The "SATEllite" Source Variants

|  | Overall Structure | $\sum_{i}^{i n}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { in } \\ & \end{aligned}$ | $\underset{\sim}{x}$ | $$ | $\stackrel{\circ}{\circ}$ | $\bar{S}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \infty \\ & \stackrel{0}{0} \\ & \stackrel{y}{3} \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{0} \\ & \text { in } \end{aligned}$ | $\stackrel{\circ}{\dot{\oplus}}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| S. 1 | "Original" | X ${ }^{\text {* }}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | VG (all), RG (x1) |
| S. 3 | Unique Prologo: La Nobiltà, Il Capriccio, La Poesia, etc... |  |  |  |  | X |  |  |  |  |  |
| S. 5 | Unique Prologo: Musica, Poesia, Pittura, Architettura |  |  |  |  |  |  | X |  |  |  |
| S. 8 | I. 1 (Ercole, Besso) cut |  |  |  |  |  | X |  |  |  | NG2 (x2) |
| S. 9 | Alinda (character) cut |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | X |  |


| TABLE II. 8 (CONTINUED) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| S. 12 | I. 3 (Rosmina Giardiniera) cut |  |  | X | X | X | X |  |  | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (all), MG (all), NG2 (x2), } \\ \text { RG (x4) } \end{gathered}$ |
| S. 13 | Added Scene: Demo (I.5a) | X |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| S. 14 | I. 8 (Delfa [sola]) cut |  |  |  |  | X |  |  |  |  |  |
| S. 15 | Layout: I.10-15 misnumbered (V66: I.7, I. 9 [sic], I. 10 [sic], etc.) |  |  |  |  | X |  |  |  |  |  |
| S. 16 | Layout: I.9-1.12 misnumbered (Br90: I.8, I. 8 [sic], I.9, [sic], etc.) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | X |  |
| S. 19 | I. 13 (Delfa sola) cut |  |  |  | X |  |  | X |  |  |  |
| S. 23 | I. 14 (Isifile sola) cut |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | X |  |
| S. 24 | Added scene: Alinda (I.14a) |  |  |  |  |  |  | X | X |  |  |
| S. 25 | Added scene: Egeo (II.3) |  |  |  |  |  | X |  |  |  |  |
| S. 34 | II. 8 (Giove, Eolo, Amore, Coro di Venti) cut |  | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{aligned} & \text { FG (all), NG1 (x7), NG2 (x3), } \\ & \text { RG (x4) } \end{aligned}$ |
| S. 35 | II. 8 moved to after II. 14 (Isifile, Medea, Giasone) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | MG (all) |
| S. 36 | II. 9 (Oreste, Alinda) misnumbered (as II. 9 following II.7) |  |  | X |  | X |  |  | X |  |  |
| S. 37 | II. 10 (Giasone, Medea, ... [et. al.]) moved to after II. 12 (Besso, Alinda) |  |  |  | X |  |  |  |  |  | NG1 (all), NG2 (x1) |
| S. 38 | II. 10 misnumbered (as II. 11 following II.9) |  |  |  | X |  |  |  |  |  | MG (all), NG2 (x1) |

Table II. 8 (CONTINUED)

| S. 41 | II. 12 (Besso, Alinda) cut |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | X |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| S. 43 | Added scene: "La scena rappresenta il Giardino della Palazzina di Medea. Delfa introduce il Ballo di Giardiniere, Orsi, e Scimiotti" (II.14a) |  |  |  | X |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| S. 45 | III. 1 (Oreste, Delfa) cut | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (x10), MG (all), NG1 (x7), } \\ \text { NG2 (x6), RG (x3) } \end{gathered}$ |
| S. 47 | III. 3 (Medea, Giasone, Oreste) cut |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | X |  |
| S. 48 | Added scene: Alinda sola (III.5a) |  |  |  |  |  |  | X |  |  |  |
| S. 50 | III. 9 (Medea sola) cut |  | X |  | X |  |  |  |  |  | RG (x1) |
| S. 51 | III. 10 (Delfa[, Medea]) cut | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (all), MG (all), NG1 (all), } \\ \text { NG2 (all), RG (x3) } \end{gathered}$ |
| S. 56 | III.Ultima (Giove, Amore, Coro di Dei, Zeffiro) cut | X | X | X | X | X | X |  | X | X | VG (x2), FG (x10), MG (all), NG1 (x7), NG2 (x6), RG (x4) |
| S. 58 | Alternate III.Ultima: Giove, Venere, Amore |  |  | X |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

$\star$ M51 contains an extra scene for Demo in Act I.

|  | I. 7 (Demo/Oreste) | $\sum_{i}^{5}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 10 \\ & ! \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | 关 | $\begin{aligned} & 0 \\ & 4 \\ & \hline 1 \end{aligned}$ | $\stackrel{\circ}{\circ}$ | $\stackrel{\square}{0}$ | ¢ $\stackrel{0}{7}$ $>$ | 0 0 1 4 | $\stackrel{\circ}{\dot{\nu}}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I.7.4 | v.500: "Saprà spezzarti il capo"- "Oibò""...capo in queste mura" |  |  |  | $\mathrm{X}^{\circ}$ | X |  |  |  |  | VG (x1), NG1 (x1), NG2 (x3) |
| I.7.8 | ADD: vv.554a-k: "Forse l'esser spione leva l'honore?" |  |  |  | X |  |  |  |  |  | VG (x3), RG (x1) |
| I.7.10 | CUT: vv.521-33: "Grande se mi vedessi..." | X | X | X | $\mathrm{X}^{\star}$ | X | X | X | X | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (all), MG (all), NG1 (all), } \\ \text { NG2 (all), RG (x4) } \end{gathered}$ |

Table II. 8 (CONTINUED)

| I.7.11 | CUT: vv.536-45: "Or dimmi... / Parla, ch'io <br> son placato" |  |  |  |  |  | X |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

${ }^{\circ}$ Sources cut Oreste's "Oibò" before real punchline ("...strapazzo/...spezzarti il ca[zzo]"); A65 cuts stutter (just one line) *A65 also cuts preceding line (v.62)

|  | I. 14 (Isifile) | $\sum_{i}^{i n}$ | 合 | $\underset{H}{x}$ | 姿 | $\stackrel{\circ}{8}$ | $\stackrel{\square}{0}$ | + | $\begin{aligned} & \text { ion } \\ & \text { ND } \end{aligned}$ | $\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{\square}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I.14.1 | Original Opening ("Ferma, ferma crudele...") |  |  |  | X |  |  |  |  | - | VG (all), RG (all) |
| I.14.2 | New Opening: "Adorata rimembranza..." |  |  |  |  | X |  |  |  | - |  |
| I.14.3 | New Opening: "Dolenti pensieri..." |  |  |  |  |  |  | X | X | - |  |
| I.14.4 | New Opening: "Lassa, che far deggio?" | X* | X* | X* |  |  | X |  |  | - | $\begin{aligned} & \text { FG (all), MG (all), NG1 (all), } \\ & \text { NG2 (all) } \end{aligned}$ |
| I.14.8 | ADD: v.846ff: "Da speranza..." (2-strophe aria at end) |  |  | X |  |  |  | X |  | - |  |
| I.14.9 | ADD: v.846ff: "Non so, s'io speri..." (refrain aria at end) |  |  |  |  |  | X |  |  | - |  |
| I.14.10 | CUT: vv.822-30: "O dio..." (Type: "Lassa...") |  |  | X |  |  | X |  |  | - | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (all), MG (all), NG1 (all), } \\ \text { NG2 (x6) } \end{gathered}$ |


|  | II. 2 (Oreste, Isifile) | $i_{i}^{i n}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { in } \\ & \end{aligned}$ | $\underset{\sim}{x}$ | $\stackrel{i n}{8}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 8 \\ & \stackrel{8}{8} \end{aligned}$ | $\stackrel{\infty_{0}}{6}$ | - | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { on } \\ & \text { in } \end{aligned}$ | $\stackrel{Q}{\dot{\omega}}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| II.2.1 | v.981: "Morti di questa sorte" (instead of "questa razza") |  |  |  | X |  | X |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { FG (all), MG (all), NG1 (all), } \\ \text { NG2 (x6), RG (all) } \end{gathered}$ |
| II.2.3 | v.1008: "Che sei tutta vezzosetta" (instead of "Che non sei larga...") | X | X | X | X |  | X |  | X |  | VG (x3), FG (all), MG (all), NG1 (all), NG2 (x6), RG (all) |

TABLE II. 8 (CONTINUED)

| II.2.5 | v.1044: "Vuol ch'io mora?" (cut "..ch'io viva, <br> o...") |  |  |  |  |  |  | X |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| II.2.7 | v.1071: "La dorata" $\rightarrow$ "L'adorata" |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| II.2.9 | ADD: vv.1052a-b: "Fra gl'argonauti.."" (all) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

$\star$ G81 only cuts from vv.1108-1113

|  | II. 4 (Giasone solo) | $\sum^{5}$ | 10 | H | 通 | $\stackrel{\circ}{\bullet}$ | $\stackrel{\infty}{\infty}$ | ¢ $\stackrel{0}{0}$ $>$ | a 1 4 | $\stackrel{\circ}{\dot{\dagger}}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| II.4.2 | v.1158ff: "Effetti singolari" (2 lines added) | $\mathrm{X}^{\star \wedge}$ | $X^{\star \wedge}$ | $X^{\star \wedge}$ |  |  | X |  | $X^{\star \wedge}$ | $X^{\star \wedge}$ | VG (x4), FG (x10), MG (all), NG1 (all), NG2 (all), RG (x1) |
| II.4.7 | CUT: (Stage indication): "S'apre la porta" |  | X |  |  |  |  |  | X |  | NG1 (all), NG2 (all), RG (all) |
| II.4.8 | CUT: vv.1180-1203: "Ma già s'apre, e spalanca..." |  |  |  |  |  |  | X | X | X | RG (x4) | «"Affetti singolari..."

$\wedge 2$ lines $\rightarrow 1$ line
Table II. 8 (CONTINUED)

|  | III. 8 (Oreste, Isifile) | $\sum_{i}^{i n}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { n } \\ & \end{aligned}$ | $\stackrel{x}{x}$ | $\stackrel{10}{4}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \stackrel{8}{8} \end{aligned}$ | $\bar{\infty}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \infty \\ & i \\ & i \\ & j \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Ô} \\ & \text { in } \end{aligned}$ | $\stackrel{\circ}{\ddot{\omega}}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| III.8.3 | v.2208: "Gl'indugi tormentosi" $\rightarrow$ "Le dimore angosciose" | X | X | $\mathrm{X}^{\circ}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  | VG (x3) |
| III.8.4 | vv.2221a-1: "Satia son di penar..." (added aria) |  |  |  |  |  |  | X | X ${ }^{\text {}}$ |  |  |
| III.8.5 | ADD: vv.2196a-g: "Per non lasciarli soli..." |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | X |  |
| III.8.6 | CUT: vv.2192-95: "E dai labri innocenti" |  |  |  |  | X | X |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { FG (all), MG (all), NG1 (all), } \\ & \text { NG2 (x4), RG (x3) } \end{aligned}$ |
| III.8.7 | CUT: vv.2197-end: "L'amor mi sprona..." |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | X |  |
| III.8.9 | CUT: vv.2207-2210: "O figli, anime mie..." |  |  |  |  | X | X | X | X |  | VG (x1), FG (all), MG (all), NG1 (all), NG2 (all), RG (x3) |

*Contains only first strophe, and no refrain repeat (i.e. "Satia son..."), i.e. only vv.2221a-e.

|  | III. 21 (Tutti) | $\stackrel{i n}{\Sigma}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { in } \\ & \stackrel{2}{2} \end{aligned}$ | $\underset{\sim}{x}$ | 荣 | $\stackrel{8}{8}$ | $\bar{\circ}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \infty \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \\ & \vdots \end{aligned}$ |  | $\stackrel{\circ}{\dot{\omega}}$ | Other Groups with this Variant |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| III. 21.1 | v.2645: "Dalla tua man" $\rightarrow$ "Da Isifile" |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | X |  | VG (x4), RG (x2) |
| III. 21.2 | vv.2674a-g Shifted to right before v. 110 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | X |  | VG (x1) |
| III. 21.4 | ADD: v.2664ff: "Festeggiate miei spirti amorosi" - replaces "Fortunati tormenti" |  |  |  |  |  | X |  |  |  |  |
| III. 21.5 | ADD: v.2674a-f: "Pace mio ben..." - replaces "Quante son le mie gioie" |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | X |  |

Table II. 8 (Continued)

| III. 21.6 | CUT: vv.2565-67: "Questa innocenza..." | X | X | X |  | X | X |  |  | X | VG (x1), FG (x8), MG (all), NG1 (all), NG2 (all), RG (x3) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| III. 21.8 | CUT: vv.2579-85: "S'io perivo tra l'acque..." |  |  |  |  | X | X | X | X | X | RG (x3) |
| III. 21.9 | CUT: vv.2579-2638: "S'io perivo tra l'acque..." |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | X |  |
| III. 21.10 | CUT: vv.2586-95: "Sì, sì, tiranno mio..." |  |  |  |  |  | $\mathrm{X}^{\wedge}$ | $\mathrm{X}^{\circ}$ | X* | X | NG2 (x2), RG (x3) |
| III. 21.11 | CUT: vv.2596-2608: "Ma se d'esser marito..." | X | X | X |  | X | X | X 1 | X | X | VG (x1), FG (x10), MG (all), NG1 (x7), NG2 (x6), RG (x3) |
| III. 21.12 | CUT: vv.2609-14: "Regina, Egeo, amici..." | X | X | X |  | X | X |  | X | X | $\begin{gathered} \text { FG (x10), MG (all), NG1 (x7), } \\ \text { NG2 (x6) } \end{gathered}$ |
| III. 21.13 | CUT: vv.2615-25: "Pregatelo pietosi..." | X | X | X |  | X | X | X | X | X | VG (x1), FG (x10), MG (all), NG1 (x7), NG2 (x6), RG (x3) |
| III. 21.14 | CUT: vv.2626-28: "Addio terra, addio sole..." | X | X | X |  | X | X |  | X | X | $\begin{aligned} & \text { FG (x10), MG (all), NG1 (x7), } \\ & \text { NG2 (x6) } \end{aligned}$ |
| III. 21.15 | CUT: vv.2629-36: "Sciolta la madre..." | X | X | X |  | X | X | X | X | X | VG (x1), FG (x10), MG (all), NG1 (x7), NG2 (x6), RG (x3) |
| III. 21.16 | CUT: vv.2637-38: "Figli v'attendo, e moro..." | X | X | X |  | X | X |  | X | X | $\begin{aligned} & \text { FG (x10), MG (all), NG1 (x7), } \\ & \text { NG2 (x6) } \end{aligned}$ |
| III. 21.17 | CUT: vv.2639-43: "Non ho più core..." | X | X | X |  | X | X |  |  | X | VG (x1), FG (x10), MG (all), NG1 (x7), NG2 (x6), RG (x3) |
| III. 21.18 | CUT: vv.2648-56: "Ah da te mia tradita..." |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | X | RG (x3) |
| III. 21.19 | CUT: vv.2648-end: "Ah da te mia tradita..." |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | X |  |
| III. 21.20 | CUT: vv.2664-79: "Fortunati tormenti..." | X | X | X | XS |  | X |  |  | X | VG (x3), FG (x10), MG (all), NG1 (x7), NG2 (x6), RG (x4) |

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { TABLE II.8 (CONTINUED) } \\
& \begin{array}{|l|l|l|l|l|l|l|l|l|l|l|}
\hline \text { III.21.21 } & \text { CUT: vv.2674a-g: "Quante son le mie gioie..." } & & \mathrm{X} & & & & \mathrm{X} & & & \mathrm{X} \\
\hline
\end{array} \\
& \begin{array}{l}
\text { *Only cuts vv.2589-92. } \\
\text { Only cuts vv.2587-88. } \\
\text { ^Only cuts 2589-91. } \\
\text { §Only cuts vv.2596-2599, 2602-2608. } \\
\text { §Extends cut to v.2674a-b }
\end{array}
\end{aligned}
$$

## Appendix III

The Dramatic Works of Cicognini

| Title (Premiere Year) | CITY | Publisher | DATE |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| L'Adamira ${ }^{1}$ | (Manuscript) | - | - |
|  | (Manuscript) | - | - |
|  | Bologna | Giacomo Monti |  |
|  | Milan | Giovanni Pietro Cardi and Gioseffo Marelli | Before 1660 |
|  | Perugia | Sebastiano Zecchini | 1657 |
|  | Venice | Giacomo Batti | 1657 |
|  | Perugia | Sebastiano Zecchini | 1659 |
|  | Venice | Giacomo Batti | 1660 |
|  | Venice | Nicolò Pezzana | 1660 |
|  | Bologna | Giacomo Monti | 1662 |
|  | Venice | Nicolò Pezzana | 1662 |
|  | Venice | Nicolò Pezzana | 1663 |
|  | Paris | - | 1718 |
|  | Paris | - | 1723 |
|  | Paris | - | 1729 |
|  | Paris | - | 1733 |
| L'Amicizia riconosciuta ${ }^{2}$ | Bologna | - | - |
|  | Venice | Camillo Bortoli | 1665 |
|  | Bologna | Antonio Pisarri | 1665 |
|  | Venice/Bologna | Giovanni Battista Ferroni | 1666 |
|  | Bologna | Antonio Pisarri | 1670 |
| L'amor vuol suoi pari | Bologna | Sarti | - |
|  | Bologna | Sarti | 1665 |
| Gli amori di Alessandro | Bologna | - | - |
| Magno e di Rossane (1651) ${ }^{3}$ | Venice | Giovanni Pietro Pinelli | 1651 |

[^187]|  | Genoa | Pietro Giovanni Calenzani | 1652 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Modena (Scenario) | Andrea Cassiani | 1654 |
|  | Naples | Roberto Mollo | 1654 |
|  | Bologna | Giacomo Monti | 1656 |
|  | Macerata | Heirs to Agostino Grisei and Giuseppe Piccini | 1661 |
|  | Venice | Nicolò Pezzana | 1661 |
|  | Milan | Giulio Cesare Malatesta | 1662 |
|  | Bologna | Bartolomeo Lupardi | 1663 |
|  | Bologna | Heirs to Domenico Barbieri | 1663 |
|  | Venice | Bartolomeo Lupardi | 1663 |
|  | Venice | Francesco Nicolini and Stefano Curti | 1667 |
|  | Bologna | Gioseffo Longhi | 1678 |
| L'amorose furie d'Orlando | (Manuscript) | - | 1642 |
| $(1642)^{4}$ | Bologna | Giacomo Monti | - |
|  | Bologna | Giacomo Monti and Gioseffo Longhi | - |
|  | Venice | Francesco Lupardi | before 1666 |
|  | Bologna | Giacomo Monti | 1663 |
|  | Rome | Gaetano Zenobi | 1717 |
| L'archibusata a San Carlo | (Manuscript) | - | - |
| (1630) | (Manuscript) | - | 1630 |
| La caduta del gran capitan | Bologna | Heirs to Antonio Pisarri | - |
| Belissario sotto la condanna | Bologna | Antonio Pisarri | 1661 |
| di Giustiniano imperatore | Rome | Francesco Moneta | 1663 |
| $(1644)^{5}$ | Bologna | Antonio Pisarri | 1666 |
|  | Venice | Sebastiano Menegatti | 1669 |
|  | Venice | Vettor Romagnio | 1691 |

veneziani," in Il prisma di Proteo: Riscritture, ricodificazioni, traduzioni fra Italia e Spagna (sec. XVI-XVIII), ed. Valentina Nider (Trent: Università degli studi di Trento, Dipartimento di studi letterari, linguistici e filologici, 2012): 31-60.
${ }^{4}$ Also Pazzia d'Orlando and L'Orlando furioso. This work was later printed as L'amorose furie d'Orlando (Bologna: Monti, no date; Bologna: Monti-Longhi, no date; Venice: Francesco Lupardi, before 1666; Bologna: Monti, 1663), and later still as L'Orlando furioso (Rome: G. Zenobi, 1717). Guelfo Gobbi ("Le fonti spagnuole del teatro drammatico di G. A. Cicognini," Biblioteca delle scuole italiane XI/3/18 [30/11/1905], 218-222; 19 [15/12/1905], 229-31; 229-30) has linked this work with several plays by Lope de Vega that served as models: Angelica en el Catay, Un pastoral albergue, and Los celos de Rodamonte.
${ }^{5}$ Bottacchiari ("Recensione," 357) has proposed El ejemplo mayor de la desdicha y Capitan Belisario as a model for this work, confirmed by Maria Grazia Profeti (Per una bibliografia di J. Pérez de Montalbán [Verona: University of Padova, 1976], 397) to have been written by Antonio Mira de Amescua. Mariarosa Scaramuzza Vidoni (Relazioni letterarie italo-ispaniche: il "Belisario" di A. Mira de Amescua [Rome: Bulzoni, 1989], 48-50) has further clarified the status of this Spanish work, written in 1632, as an early exemplar for La caduta, although she has cast doubt on Cicognini's authorship, and proposed an intermediate work-Onofrio degli Onofri's Il Bilissario (Naples: G. N. Vitale, 1645)—as the La caduta's author's immediate model.

|  | Venice | Secondino Roncagliolo (?) ${ }^{6}$ | 1691 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Venice | Appollonio Zamboni | 1691 |
| Celio (1646) | (Manuscript) | - | - |
|  | (Manuscript) | - | $1645{ }^{7}$ |
|  | Florence | Luca Franceschini and Alessandro Logi | 1646 |
|  | Rome | Giacomo Dragondelli | 1664 |
| Il Cipriano convertito ${ }^{8}$ | (Manuscript) | - | - |
|  | Bologna | Giacomo Monti | - |
|  | Bologna | Giacomo Monti | 1663 |
|  | Bracciano | Giacomo Fei | 1664 |
| Il convitato di pietra (1633) ${ }^{9}$ | Bologna | Gioseffo Longhi | - |
|  | Bologna | Gioseffo Longhi | - |
|  | Bologna | Antonio Pisarri | - |
|  | Venice | Francesco Lupardi | before 1666 |
|  | Ronciglione | Francesco Lupardi | 1671 |
|  | Venice | Appollonio Zamboni | 1691 |
|  | Bologna | Costantino Pisarri | 1732 |
| Il cornuto nella propria opinione ${ }^{10}$ | (Manuscript) | - | - |
| La disposizione e forza | Bologna | Carlo Antonio Peri | 1663 |
| del destino ${ }^{11}$ | Bologna | Carlo Antonio Peri | 1665 |

[^188]|  | Rome | Paolo Moneta | 1667 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Bologna | Carlo Antonio Peri | 1669 |
| Il Don Gastone di Moncada $(1641)^{12}$ | (Manuscript) | - | - |
|  | (Manuscript) | - | 1642 |
|  | Bologna | Heirs to Domenico Barbieri | - |
|  | Bologna | Gioseffo Longhi | - |
|  | Milan | Giovanni Pietro Cardi and Gioseffo Marelli | - |
|  | Todi | Crispolto Ciccolini | - |
|  | Perugia | Sebastiano Zecchini | 1658 |
|  | Rome | Angelo Bernabò | 1658 |
|  | Venice | Giacomo Batti | 1658 |
|  | Venice | Nicolò Pezzana | 1658 |
|  | Perugia | Sebastiano Zecchini | 1659 |
|  | Perugia | Sebastiano Zecchini | 1659 |
|  | Venice | - | 1659 |
|  | Bologna | Domenico Barbieri | 1660 |
|  | Venice | Nicolò Pezzana | 1661 |
|  | Bologna | Heirs to Domenico Barbieri | 1664 |
|  | Rome | Francesco Moneta | 1664 |
|  | Venice | Francesco Brigna | 1674 |
|  | Venice | Francesco Busetto | 1674 |
|  | Venice | Dodini | 1674 |
|  | Rome | Giuseppe Corvo and Bartolomeo Lupardi | 1675 |
|  | Naples | Giacinto Passaro | 1680 |
|  | Bologna | Gioseffo Longhi | 1682 |
| La donna più sagace fra l'altre | Bologna | Gioseffo Longhi | - |
|  | Venice | Nicolò Pezzana | 1660 |
|  | Milan | - | 1661 |
|  | Venice | Nicolò Pezzana | 1662 |
|  | Bologna | Heirs to Domenico Barbieri | 1664 |

[^189]| I due prodigi ammirati ${ }^{13}$ | Bologna | Gioseffo Longhi | - |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Perugia | Sebastiano Zecchini | 1663 |
|  | Viterbo | Insegna della Pace libreria | 1663 |
|  | Bologna | Heirs to Domenico Barbieri | 1664 |
|  | Macerata | Agostino Grisei and Giuseppe Piccini | 1664 |
| La forza del fato ${ }^{14}$ | (Manuscript) | - | - |
|  | Bologna | Gioseffo Longhi | - |
|  | Venice | - | - |
|  | Florence | Francesco Onofri | 1652 |
|  | Florence | Francesco Onofri | 1653 |
|  | Venice | Andrea Giuliani | 1655 |
|  | Perugia | Sebastiano Zecchini | 1659 |
|  | Macerata | Agostino Grisei (heirs) and Giuseppe Piccini | 1660 |
|  | Venice | Giacomo Batti | 1660 |
|  | Venice | Nicolò Pezzana | 1662 |
|  | Bologna | Heirs to Domenico Barbieri | 1663 |
|  | Bologna | Giacomo Monti | 1668 |
|  | Venice | Zaccaria Conzatti | 1668 |
|  | Bologna | Gioseffo Longhi | 1688 |
| La forza dell'amicizia ${ }^{15}$ | (Manuscript) | - |  |
|  | Venice | Nicolò Pezzana | 1658 |
|  | Viterbo | Gregorio and Giovanni Andreoli | 1659 |
|  | Milan | Giovanni Pietro Cardi and Gioseffo Marelli | 1660 |
|  | Venice | Nicolò Pezzana | 1661 |
|  | Bracciano | Giacomo Fei | 1663 |
|  | Rome | Giacomo Fei | 1663 |
|  | Bologna | Giacomo Monti | 1664 |
|  | Bracciano | Giacomo Fei | 1668 |
|  | Bologna | - | 1673 |
|  | Venice | Nicolò Pezzana | 1675 |
|  | Venice | Bartolomeo Tramontino | 1675 |

[^190]| La forza dell'innocenza ne’ successi di Papirio | Bologna | Gioseffo Longhi | - |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Perugia | Sebastiano Zecchini | - |
|  | Venice | Christofolo Ambrosini | - |
|  | Perugia | Sebastiano Zecchini | 1660 |
|  | Bologna | Heirs to Domenico Barbieri | 1661 |
|  | Venice | Nicolò Pezzana | 1661 |
|  | Venice | - | 1663 |
|  | Bologna | Heirs to Domenico Barbieri | 1664 |
|  | Venice | Christofolo Ambrosini | 1672 |
|  | Bologna | Gioseffo Longhi | 1688 |
| Le gelosie fortunate del prencipe Rodrigo (1647) ${ }^{16}$ | (Manuscript) | - | - |
|  | (Manuscript) | - | 1647 |
|  | Milan | Giovanni Pietro Cardi and Gioseffo Marelli | - |
|  | Perugia | Sebastiano Zecchini | 1654 |
|  | Venice | Nicolò Pezzana | 1658 |
|  | Bologna | Domenico Barbieri | 1660 |
|  | Venice | Nicolò Pezzana | 1661 |
|  | Venice | - | 1663 |
|  | Bologna | Giacomo Monti | 1666 |
|  | Venice | Christofolo Ambrosini | 1672 |
|  | Ronciglione | - | 1673 |
|  | Bologna | Gioseffo Longhi | 1685 |
|  | Bologna | Gioseffo Longhi | 1701 |
|  | Venice | Nicolò Pezzana | 1708 |
|  | [Paris] | - | $1717{ }^{17}$ |
|  | Paris | - | 1729 |
|  | Paris | Antoine-Claude Briasson | 1733 |
|  | Paris | Lefêvre-Furne | 1845 |
| Giasone (1649) | See Appendix II |  |  |
| L'innocente giustificato ${ }^{18}$ | Bracciano | Giacomo Fei | 1664 |

[^191]| L'innocenza calunniata ${ }^{19}$ | (Print with no publishing information) ${ }^{20}$ |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Bologna | Gioseffo Longhi | - |
|  | Bologna | Giacomo Monti | after 1665 |
|  | Viterbo | - | 1662 |
|  | Macerata | Agostinio Grisei and Giuseppe Piccini | 1663 |
|  | Viterbo | Insegna della Pace libreria | 1663 |
|  | Bologna | Giacomo Monti | 1665 |
| L'innocenza difesa nel castigo dell'empio ${ }^{21}$ | Bologna | Antonio Pisarri | 1668; |
|  | Bologna | Heirs to Antonio Pisarri | after 1670 |
|  | Bologna | Heirs to Antonio Pisarri | 1694 |
| La Mariene ${ }^{22}$ | (Manuscript) | - | - |
|  | Bologna | Domenico Barbieri | - |
|  | Bologna | Domenico Barbieri | - |
|  | Perugia | Sebastiano Zecchini | 1656 |
|  | Venice | Giacomo Batti | 1659 |
|  | Venice | Nicolò Pezzana | 1659 |
|  | Venice | Nicolò Pezzana | 1659 |
|  | Macerata | Antonio Grisei (heirs) and Giuseppe Piccini | 1660 |
|  | Milan | Giovanni Pietro Cardi and Gioseffo Marelli | 1661 |
|  | Venice | Nicolò Pezzana | 1662 |
|  | Bologna | Giacomo Monti | 1663 |
|  | Venice | Zaccaria Conzatti | 1668 |
|  | Bologna | Antonio Pisarri | 1670 |
| Il maritarsi per vendetta ${ }^{23}$ | Bologna | Gioseffo Longhi | - |
|  | Venice |  | - |
|  | Venice | Giacomo Batti | 1662 |
|  | Bologna | Carlo Antonio Peri | 1663 |
|  | Milan | Gioseffo Marelli | 1664 |
|  | Bologna | Carlo Antonio Peri | 1665 |
|  | Venice | Zaccaria Conzatti | 1668 |

[^192]|  | Venice | Christofolo Ambrosini | 1672 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Rome | Reverenda Camera Apostolica | 1675 |
|  | Ancona | Serafino | 1678 |
| Il marito delle due moglie | Venice | Giacomo Batti | 1660 |
|  | Venice | Nicolò Pezzana | 1660 |
|  | Milan | Giovanni Pietro Cardi and Gioseffo Marelli | 1661 |
|  | Venice | Nicolò Pezzana | 1662 |
|  | Bologna | Giacomo Monti | 1663 |
|  | Venice | - | 1663 |
|  | Venice | Zaccaria Conzatti | 1668 |
|  | Bologna | Gioseffo Longhi | 1695 |
|  | Bologna | Gioseffo Longhi | 1696 |
| La moglie di quattro mariti ${ }^{24}$ | (Manuscript) | - | - |
|  | Perugia | Sebastiano Zecchini | 1656 |
|  | Macerata | Antonio Grisei (heirs) and Giuseppe Piccini | 1659 |
|  | Perugia | Sebastiano Zecchini | 1659 |
|  | Venice | Giacomo Batti | 1659 |
|  | Macerata | Antonio Grisei (heirs) and Giuseppe Piccini | 1660 |
|  | Venice | Nicolò Pezzana | 1661 |
|  | Rome | Giacomo Dragondelli | 1663 |
|  | Bologna | Heirs to Domenico Barbieri | 1664 |
|  | Macerata | Antonio Grisei and Giuseppe Piccini | 1670 |
|  | Rome | Giuseppe Corvo and Bartolomeo Lupardi | 1677 |
|  | Venice | Angelo Bodio | 1677 |
|  | Venice | Giacomo Zini | 1677 |
|  | Bologna | Stamperia del Gioseffo Longhi | 1701 |
| Nella bugia si trova la verita ${ }^{25}$ | Bologna | Antonio Pisarri | - |
|  | Bracciano | Giacomo Fei | 1664 |
| L'Orontea (1649) ${ }^{26}$ | (Manuscript) | - | - |
|  | Venice | - | after |

[^193]$\left.\begin{array}{lll} & \text { Venice } & \text { Giacomo Batti } \\ \text { Naples } & \text { Roberto Mollo } & 1649 \\ & \text { Innsbruck } & \text { Michael Wagner }\end{array}\right] 1654$

[^194]| Il principe giardiniero ${ }^{28}$ | Bologna | Gioseffo Longhi | - |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Bologna | Gioseffo Longhi | - |
|  | Bologna | Giacomo Monti | - |
|  | Bologna | Giacomo Monti | 1664 |
|  | Bracciano | Giacomo Fei | 1664 |
|  | Genoa | Pietro Giovanni Calenzani | 1665 |
|  | Venice | Christofolo Ambrosini | 1672 |
|  | Bologna | Gioseffo Longhi | 1684 |
| Santa Maria Egizziaca ${ }^{29}$ | (Manuscript) | - | - |
|  | Bologna | Stamperia Longhi | - |
|  | Bologna | Giacomo Monti | - |
|  | Todi | Crispolto Ciccolini | 1659 |
|  | Macerata | Antonio Grisei and Giuseppe Piccini | 1660 |
|  | Venice | Giacomo Batti | 1660 |
|  | Venice | Nicolò Pezzana | 1660 |
|  | Milan | Giovanni Pietro Cardi and Gioseffo Marelli | 1661 |
|  | Bologna | Giacomo Monti | 1663 |
|  | Venice | Bartolomeo Lupardi libraio | 1663 |
|  | Venice | Nicolò Pezzana | 1663 |
|  | Venice | Zaccaria Conzatti | 1668 |
|  | Macerata | Antonio Grisei and Giuseppe Piccini | 1670 |
|  | Bologna | Gioseffo Longhi | 1687 |
|  | Milan | Gaetano Motta and Marsilio Carrara | $19^{\text {th }}$ Century |
| Il segreto in publico ${ }^{30}$ | (Manuscript) | - | - |
|  | Bologna | Antonio Pisarri | - |
|  | Rome | Paolo Moneta | 1669 |

[^195]| La tragedia di Giuditta | (Manuscript) | - | - |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| La vita è un sogno ${ }^{31}$ | Bologna | Gioseffo Longhi | - |
|  | Milan | Gioseffo Marelli | - |
|  | Venice | - | - |
|  | Bologna | Carlo Antonio Peri | 1663 |
|  | Macerata | Antonio Grisei (heirs) | 1663 |
|  |  | and Giuseppe Piccini |  |
|  | Venice | Nicolò Pezzana | 1664 |
|  | Bologna | Heirs to Carlo Antonio Peri | 1669 |
|  | Macerata | Antonio Grisei | 1669 |
|  | Bologna | Gioseffo Longhi | 1685 |
|  | Paris | - | $1718^{32}$ |
|  | Paris | - | 1723 |
|  | Paris | Antoine-Claude Briasson | 1738 |

[^196]
## Appendix IV

Music Examples

Example IV.1: "Delizie, contenti" - Il novello Giasone (Alessandro Stradella)


De - li-zie con - ten-ti che l'al-ma be - a - te

su que - sto mio co - re, su que - sto mio co - re deh più, deh più non stil - la - te le


## Example IV. 1 (Continued)



De - li - zie mie ca - re fer - ma - te-vi qui.


Example IV. 1 (Continued)


Example IV.2: I. 14 - Isifile sola


## Example IV. 2 (Continued)



## Example IV. 2 (Continued)



## Example IV. 2 (Continued)



## Example IV. 2 (Continued)



## Example IV.3: Prologo - Sole, Amore

Sinfonia avanti il Prologo


Example IV. 3 (Continued)


## Example IV. 3 (Continued)



## Example IV. 3 (Continued)



Prologo


Example IV. 3 (Continued)


Example IV. 3 (Continued)


## Example IV. 3 (Continued)





## Example IV. 3 (Continued)



## Example IV. 3 (Continued)



## Example IV. 3 (Continued)



Example IV. 3 (Continued)


Example IV.4: I. 2 - Giasone, Ercole


## Example IV. 4 (Continued)



## Example IV. 4 (Continued)



## Example IV. 4 (Continued)



## Example IV. 4 (Continued)



## Example IV. 4 (Continued)



## Example IV. 4 (Continued)


ba-sta per ben gio-i - re ri-co - no-scer tra l'om-bre il cor-po a-ma - to, e ras-sem-bra a chi go-de un van-ta-gio-so


## Example IV. 4 (Continued)



## Example IV. 4 (Continued)



## Example IV. 4 (Continued)



## Example IV. 4 (Continued)



Example IV. 4 (Continued)


Example IV.5: III. 8 - Oreste, Isifile


## Example IV. 5 (Continued)



30


## Example IV. 5 (Continued)



## Example IV. 5 (Continued)



Example IV.6: II.13-14 - Oreste, Giasone, Medea, Isifile
II. 13


## Example IV. 6 (Continued)



## Example IV. 6 (Continued)



## Example IV. 6 (Continued)



Example IV. 6 (Continued)

II. 14


## Example IV. 6 (Continued)



Example IV. 6 (Continued)


## Example IV. 6 (Continued)



## Example IV. 6 (Continued)



## Example IV. 6 (Continued)



## Example IV. 6 (Continued)



## Example IV. 6 (Continued)



## Example IV. 6 (Continued)



## Example IV. 6 (Continued)



## Example IV.7: III. 21 - Tutti



## Example IV. 7 (Continued)



## Example IV. 7 (Continued)



## Example IV. 7 (Continued)



## Example IV. 7 (Continued)



## Example IV. 7 (Continued)



## Example IV. 7 (Continued)



## Example IV. 7 (Continued)



## Example IV. 7 (Continued)



## Example IV. 7 (Continued)



## Example IV. 7 (Continued)



## Example IV. 7 (Continued)



## Example IV. 7 (Continued)



## Example IV. 7 (Continued)



## Example IV. 7 (Continued)



## Example IV. 7 (Continued)



## Example IV. 7 (Continued)



## Example IV. 7 (Continued)



Example IV. 7 (Continued)


## Appendix V

Giasone Title Pages: Librettos, Scenari and Prose Editions


Source, Library Siglum
(Call Number)
Venice Group Librettos




Florence 1656, I-Fn
(Magl.3.E.7.168)



Genoa 1651, F-Pm
© Bibliothèque Mazarine
Reproduit avec l'aimable autorisation de la Bibliothèque Mazarine.






Naples 1661, I-Bu
(Aul.V Tab.I.F. III Vol. 43.1)




"SATELLITE" LibRETTOS



Ferrara 1659, I-FEc (MF. 387.46)



[^197]INFERRARA;
Brescia $1690, \mathrm{I}-\mathrm{Mb}$
(Racc.dramm.2379/002)


Palermo 1655, I-Rc



Prose Versions

Venice 1664, I-Mb
(Racc.dramm.1929)
 Appreffo Camillo Bortoli.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abert, Anna Amalie. Claudio Monteverdi und das musikalische Drama. Lippstadt: Kistner \& Siegel, 1954.

Ademollo, Alessandro. I teatri di Roma nel secolo decimosettimo: memorie sincrone, inedite o non conosciute, di fatti ed artisti teatrali, librettisti, commediografi e musicisti, cronologicamente ordinate per servire alla storia del teatro italiano. Rome, 1888. Reprint, Bologna: Forni, 1969.

Allacci, Leone. Drammaturgia di Leone Allacci. Rome: Mascardi, 1666. Reprint, Turin: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1966.

Alm, Irene. Catalog of Venetian Librettos at the University of California, Los Angeles. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Ambros, August Wilhelm. "Francesco Cavalli." Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 65 (1869): 161, 321-24.
Antonucci, Fausta. "Spunti tematici e rielaborazione di modelli spagnoli nel Don Gastone di Moncada di Giacinto Andrea Cicognini." In Tradurre, riscrivere, mettere in scena, edited by Maria Grazia Profeti, 65-84. Florence: Alinea, 1996.

Antonucci, Fausta, and Lorenzo Bianconi. "Plotting the Myth of Giasone." In Rosand, Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage, 201-28.

Arteaga, Stefano. Le rivoluzioni del teatro musicale italiano. Bologna: Carlo Trenti, 1783.
Austin, John Langshaw. How to Do Things With Words. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962.

Badolato, Nicola. "Ecco reciso alfine il groppo de l'inganno': Giovanni Faustini’s Euripo from the Sources to the Plot." In Rosand, Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage, 261-73.
——. I drammi musicali di Giovanni Faustini per Francesco Cavalli. Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2012.
__ "Sulle fonti dei drammi per musica di Giovanni Faustini per Francesco Cavalli: Alcuni esempi di 'ars combinatoria.'" Musica e Storia 16 (2008): 341-84.

Badolato, Nicola, Lorenzo Bianconi, Silvia Urbani, and Nicola Usula. "L'edizione critica del 'Giasone': Prolegomeni e primi carotaggi." Paper presented at Attorno a Cavalli/ Giasone, Bologna, May 13-14, 2014.

Barnwell, Henry Thomas. "'They Have Their Exists and Their Entrances': Stage and Speech in Corneille's Drama." The Modern Language Review 81 (1986): 51-63.

Bartolommei, Mattias Maria. Amore opera a caso. Florence: All'insegna della Stella, 1668.
——. Le gelose caute. Florence: S. A. S., 1668.
Benzoni, Gino. "Grimani Calergi, Vettor." In Dizionario biografico degli italiani, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/vettor-grimani-calergi_\(DizionarioBiografico\)/.

Bianconi, Lorenzo. "Caletti, Pietro Fancesco, detto Cavalli." In Dizionario biografico degli italiani, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/caletti-pietro-francesco-detto-cavalli_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/.
——. "Funktionen des Operntheaters in Neapel bis 1700 und die Rolle Alessandro Scarlattis." In Colloquium Alessandro Scarlatti: Würzburg 1975, edited by Wolfgang Osthoff and J. Ruile-Dronke, 13-116. Tutzing: L. Schneider, 1979.
—_. Il seicento. Turin: Edizioni di Torino, 1982. Translated by David Bryant as Music in the Seventeenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

Bianconi, Lorenzo, and Thomas Walker. "Dalla Finta pazza alla Veremonda." Rivista italiana di musicologia 10 (1975): 379-454.

Boggio, Enrico. Il fondo musiche dell'Archivio Borromeo dell'Isola Bella. Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2004.

Boorman, Stanley. "Glossary." In Music Printing and Publishing, edited by D. W. Krummel and Stanley Sadie, 489-550. New York: W. W. Norton \& Company, 1990.

Brown, Jennifer Williams. "Inside Cavalli's Workshop: Copies and Copyists." In Rosand, Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage, 57-94.
__. "Out of the 'Dark Ages': Editing Cavalli's Operas in the Postmodern World." In Francesco Cavalli: La circolazione dell'opera veneziana nel Seicento, edited by Dinko Fabris, 1937. Naples: Turchini, 2005.
—_. "On the Road with the 'Suitcase Aria': The Transmission of Borrowed Arias in Late Seventeenth-Century Italian Opera." Journal of Musicological Research 15 (1995): 4-23.

Budden, Julian. The Operas of Verdi. Vol. 3, From Don Carlos to Falstaff. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Burnett, Henry. "A New Theory of Hexachord Modulation in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries." International Journal of Musicology 8 (1999): 115-75.

Burnett, Henry, and Roy Nitzberg. Composition, Chromaticism, and the Developmental Process: A New Theory of Tonality. London: Ashgate, 2007.

Burney, Charles. A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period. London: Payne and Son, et. al., 1789. Reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1957.

Caffi, Francesco. "Cavalli Francesco ossia Caletti Bruni Pier-Francesco, Maestro." Chap. 32 in Storia della musica sacra nella già cappella ducale di San Marco in Venezia dal 1318 al 1797. Venice: Antonelli, 1854. Reprint, Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1987.

Calcagno, Mauro. "Censoring Eliogabalo in Seventeenth-Century Venice." Journal of Interdisciplinary History 36 (Winter, 2006): 355-377.
——. "Dramatizing Discourse in Seventeenth-Century Opera: Music as Illocutionary Force in Francesco Cavalli's Giasone (1649)." In Word, Image, and Song: Essays on Early Modern Italy, edited by Rebecca Cypess, Beth Lise Glixon, and Nathan Link, 318-43. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2013.
——. "Fonti, ricezione e ruolo della committenza nell'Eliogabalo musicato da F. Cavalli, G. A. Boretti e T. Orginai (1667-1687)." In La circolazione dell'opera veneziana nel Seicento, edited by Dinko Fabris, 77-100. Naples: Turchini, 2005.
__. "Staging Musical Discourses in Seventeenth-Century Venice: Francesco Cavalli's Eliogabalo (1667)." PhD diss., Yale University, 2000.

Calvi, Donato. Effemeride sagro profana di quanto di memorabile sia successo in Bergamo: Sua diocese et territorio. Milan: Francesco Vigone, 1676. Reprint, Bologna: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1974.

Cancedda, Flavia, and Silvia Castelli, Per una bibliografia di Giacinto Andrea Cicognini: Successo teatrale e fortuna editoriale di un drammaturgo del Seicento. Florence: Alinea, 2001.

Carpani, Roberta. "Comici, Febiarmonici e Gesuiti a Milano: Intrecci e contaminazioni; Problemi della circolazione delle opere di Francesco Cavalli." Musica e Storia 16 (2008): 5-40.
__. "'La drammaturgia milanese' di Lodovico Silvestri alla Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra di Parigi: Catalogo dei testi stampati fino al 1714." Comunicazioni sociali 15 (1993): 241-61, 296-99.

Carter, Tim. Review of Monteverdi's Tonal Language, by Eric Chafe. Early Music 21 (1993): 277, 279.

Cavalli, Francesco. La Calisto: Dramma per musica. Edited by Álvaro Torrente and Nicola Badolato. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2012.
——. Giasone. René Jacobs. With Michael Chance, Gloria Banditelli, Catherine Dubosc, and Concerto Vocale. Harmonia Mundi France, HMC 901282.84 (3 compact discs).
—_. Il Giasone. DVD. Vlaamse Opera. Conducted by Federico Maria Sardelli, directed by Mariame Clément. Austria: Dynamic, 2012.
—_. Il novello Giasone: Partitura in facsimile ed edizione dei libretti. Edited by Nicola Usula. Milan: Ricordi, 2013.

Cesti, Antonio. Orontea. Edited by William Holmes. Wellesley: Wellesley College, 1973.
Chafe, Eric. Monteverdi's Tonal Language. New York: Schirmer Books, 1992.

Chiarelli, Alessandra. "L'incoronazione di Poppea o Il Nerone: Problemi di filologia testuale." Rivista Italiana di Musicologia 9 (1974): 117-151.

Chiarelli, Alessandra, and Angelo Pompilio, "Or vaghi or fieri": Cenni di poetica nei libretti veneziani (circa 1640-1740). Bologna: Cooperativa Libraria Universitaria Editrice Bologna, 2004.

Ciancarelli, Roberto. "Rielaborazioni italiane di El secreto a voces di Calderón de la Barca." In Chiarezza e verosimiglianza: La fine del dramma barocco, edited by Silvia Carandini, 75-95. Rome: Bulzoni, 1997.

Cicognini, Iacopo. La finta mora. Florence: I Giunti, 1625.
——. Il trionfo di David. Florence: Zanobi Pignoni, 1633.
Clementi, Filippo. Il carnevale romano nelle cronache contemporanee. Città di Castello: Edizioni R.O.R.E., 1938-39.

Crescimbeni, Giovanni Maria. La bellezza della volgar poesia. Rome: Giovanni Francesco Buagni, 1700.

Crinò, Anna. "Documenti inediti sulla vita e l'opera di Jacopo e di Giacinto Andrea Cicognini." Studi secenteschi 2 (1961): 255-86.
—_. "Lope de Vega's Exertions for the Abolition of the Unities in Dramatic Practice." Modern Language Notes 76 (1961): 259-61.

D'Alessandro, Domenico Antonio. "L'opera in musica a Napoli dal 1650 al 1670." In Seicento Napoletano: Arte, costume e ambiente, edited by Roberto Pane, 409-30. Milan: Edizioni di Comunità, 1984.

Dahlhaus, Carl. Untersuchungen über die Entstehung der harmonischen Tonalität. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1968. Translated by Robert Gjerdingen as Studies on the Origin of Harmonic Tonality (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

De Marinis, Marco. Semiotica del teatro: L'analisi testuale dello spettacolo. Milan: Bompiani, 1982. Translated by Áine O'Healy as The Semiotics of Performance (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993).

Dolfi, Laura. "Il 'convitato di pietra' di G. A. Cicognini e la sua fonte spagnola." Studi secenteschi 37 (1996): 135-55.
——. "Tirso e Cicognini: Due don Giovanni a confronto." In La festa teatrale ispanica: Atti del Convegno di studi, Napoli, 1-3 dicembre 1994, edited by Giovanni Battista de Cesare, 12962. Naples: Istituto universitario orientale, 1995.

Eisenbichler, Konrad. The Boys of the Archangel Raphael: A Youth Confraternity in Florence, 14111785. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.

Elam, Keir. The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama. London: Methuen, 1980.
Fabbri, Paolo. Il secolo cantante: Per una storia del libretto d'opera in Italia nel Seicento. Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 2003.

Faustini, Giovanni. Ericlea. Venice: Andrea Giuliani, 1652.
-_. La virtù de' strali d'amore. Venice: Pietro Miloco, 1642.

Franchi, Saverio. Le impressioni sceniche: Dizionario bio-bibliografico degli editori e stampatori Romani e Laziali di testi drammatici e libretti per musica dal 1579 al 1800. Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1994.

Ferrero, Mercedes Viale. Storia del Teatro Regio di Torino. Vol. 3, La scenografia dalle origini al 1936. Turin: Cassa di risparmio di Torino, 1980.

Freeman, Robert. Opera Without Drama: Currents of Change in Italian Opera, 1675-1725. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981.

Garavaglia, Andrea. "Der Paragone der Opernkünste in den italienischen Prologen des 17. Jahrhunderts: Sorgen um die Oper als Gesamtkunstwerk?" Musica e Storia 17 (2009): 253291.

Gianturco, Carolyn, ed. Opera Omnia: Alessandro Stradella. Critical edition. Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2002.

Gianturco, Carolyn and Eleanor McCrickard, eds. Alessandro Stradella (1639-1682): A Thematic Catalogue of His Compositions. Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1991.

Giazotto, Remo. La musica a Genova nella vita pubblica e privata dal XIII al XVIII secolo. Genoa: Società industrie grafiche e lavorazioni affini, 1951.

Glixon, Beth Lise. "Behind the Scenes of Cavalli’s Giasone of 1649." In Rosand, Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage, 137-52.
—_. "Private Lives of Public Women: Prima Donnas in Mid-Seventeenth-Century Venice." Music $\mathcal{E}$ Letters 76 (1995): 509-531.
—_. "Recitative in Seventeenth-Century Venetian Opera: Its Dramatic Function and Musical Language." PhD diss., Rutgers University, 1985.

Glixon, Beth Lise and Jonathan Emmanuel. Inventing the Business of Opera: The Impresario and His World in Seventeenth-Century Venice. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Glover, Jane. Cavalli. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1978.
——. Review of Orontea, edited by William C. Holmes. Music \& Letters 55 (1974): 355-57.

Goldoni, Carlo. Memoires pour servir a l'histoire de sa vie et a celle de son théatre. Paris: Chez la Veuve Duchesne, 1787. Reprinted, Paris: Mercure de France, 1965.

Gossett, Philip. "The Overtures of Rossini." $19^{\text {th }}$-Century Music 3 (1979): 3-31.
Greimas, Algirdas Julien. Du sens: Essais semiotiques. Paris: Seuil, 1970.
Greimas, Algirdas Julien, and Joseph Courtés. Sémiotique: Dictionnaire raisonné de la théorie du langage. Paris: Hachette, 1979. Translated by Larri Crist as Semiotics and Language: An Analytical Dictionary (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982).

Gronda, Giovanna, and Paolo Fabbri, eds., Libretti d'opera italiani: dal Seicento al Novecento. Milan: Arnaldo Mondadori, 1997.

Groppo, Antonio. Catalogo di tutti i drammi per musica recitati ne’ teatri di Venezia: dall'anno 1637 in cui ebbero principio le pubbliche rappresentazioni de' medesimi sin all'anno presente 1745. Venice: Antonio Groppo, 1745. Reprint, Bologna: A. Forni, 1977.

Hadlock, Heather. "Opera and Gender Studies." In The Cambridge Companion to Opera Studies, edited by Nicholas Till, 257-75. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Heller, Wendy Beth. "Amazons, Astrology, and the House of Aragon: Veremonda tra Venezia e Napoli." In Francesco Cavalli: La circolazione dell'opera veneziana nel Seicento, edited by Dinko Fabris, 147-64. Naples: Turchini Edizioni, 2005.
__. "Chastity, Heroism, and Allure: Women in the Opera of Seventeenth-Century Venice." PhD diss., Brandeis University, 1995.
——. Emblems of Eloquence: Opera and Women's Voices in Seventeenth-Century Venice. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
__. "Hypsipyle, Medea, and the Ovidian Imagination: Taming the Epic Hero in Cavalli's Giasone." In Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage, 167-86.

Holmes, William. "Giacinto Andrea Cicognini’s and Antonio Cesti's Orontea (1649)." In New Looks at Italian Opera: Essays in Honor of Donald J. Grout, edited by William W. Austin, 108-32. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968.

Ivanovich, Cristoforo. Memorie teatrali di Venezia: contengono diversi trattenimenti piacevoli della città, l'introduzione de' teatri, il titolo di tutti i drami rappresentati, col nome degli autori di poesia, e di musica sino a uqesto anno 1687. Edited by Norbert Dubowy. Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 1993.
——. Minerva al tavolino: Lettere diverse di proposta, e risposta a varii personaggi, sparse d'alcuni componimenti in prosa \& in verso; nel fine le memorie teatrali di Venezia. Venice: Nicolò Pezzana, 1688.

Jacques, Francis. Dialogiques. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1979.

Jander, Owen. "The Prologues and Intermezzos of Alessandro Stradella." Analecta musicologica 7 (1969): 87-111.

Jeanneret, Christine. "Maria Cavalli: In the Shadow of Francesco." In Rosand, Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage, 95-118.

Jeffery, Peter. "The Autograph Manuscripts of Francesco Cavalli." PhD diss., Princeton University, 1980.

Klein, Julius Leopold. Geschichte des Dramas. Vol. 5, Geschichte des Italienischen Dramas. Leipzig: Weigel, 1867.

Lin, Thomas. "Creating a Hit: In the Workshop of Cicognini/Cavalli’s Giasone." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Milwaukee, WI, November 6-9, 2014.

Lin, Thomas and Joseph Salem. "Giasone: A Source Overview." In Rosand, Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage, 277-306.

Lisoni, Alberto. La drammatica italiana nel XVII secolo. Parma: Pellegrini, 1898.

Lippi, Lorenzo. Il Malmantile racquistato. Florence: G. T. Rossi, 1676.
Loewenberg, Alfred. Annals of Opera: 1597-1940. Geneva: Societas Bibliographica, 1955. Reprint, Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1978.

Mancini, Franco, Maria Teresa Muraro, and Elena Povoledo, eds. I teatri del Veneto. Vol. 2, Verona, Vicenza, Belluno e il loro territorio. Venice: Corbo e Fiore, 1985-2000.

Marocco, Maurizio. Cenni sull'origine e progresso dell'arte tipografica in Torino dal 1476 al 1861. Turin: Botta's heirs, 1861.

Maylender, Michele. Storia delle accademie d’Italia. 3 vols. Bologna: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1976.
Mazzardo, Stefano. "La fortuna italiana di El secreto a voces: Collage, gemmazione, riscrittura." In Percorsi europei, edited by Maria Grazia Profeti, 63-127. Florence: Alinea, 1997.

McClary, Susan. Desire and Pleasure in Seventeenth-Century Music. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.
——. Review of Monteverdi's Tonal Language, by Eric Chafe. Music Theory Spectrum 16 (1994): 261-66.

Michelassi, Nicola. "Balbi's Febiarmonici and the First 'Road Shows' of Giasone (1649-1653)." In Rosand, Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage, 307-20.
—__. "La finta pazza a Firenze: Commedie 'spagnole' e 'veneziane' nel Teatro di Baldracca (1641-1665)." Studi secenteschi 41 (2000): 313-53.

Michelassi, Nicola, and Salomé Vuelta-García, "Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla nella Firenze del Seicento: Due traduzioni di Mattias Maria Bartolommei." In Commedia e musica tra Spagna e Italia, edited by Maria Grazia Profeti, 119-89. Florence: Alinea, 2009.
___ "Il teatro spagnolo sulla scena fiorentina del Seicento." Studi secenteschi 45 (2004): 67137.

Miller, Robin Annette. "The Prologue in the Seventeenth-Century Venetian Operatic Libretto: Its Dramatic Purpose and the Function of its Characters." PhD diss., University of North Texas, 1998.

Moniglia, Giovanni Andrea. All'Amico non si fida né la Donna né la Spada. Rome: Dragondelli, 1668.

Mossey, Christopher John. "'Human after all': Character and Self-Understanding in Operas by Giovanni Faustini and Francesco Cavalli, 1644-52." PhD diss., Brandeis University, 1999.

Ohmann, Richard. "Literature as Act." In Approaches to Poetics. Edited by Seymour Chatman, 81107. New York: Columbia University Press, 1973.

Ossi, Massimo. Review of Monteverdi's Tonal Language, by Eric Chafe. Journal of the American Musicological Society 48 (1995): 490-507.

Pfister, Manfred. Das Drama: Theorie und Analyse. Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1977. Translated by John Halliday as The Theory and Analysis of Drama (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

Piantanida, Sandro, Lamberto Diotallevi, and Giancarlo Livraghi, eds. Autori italiani del '600: Catalogo Bibliografico. Vol. 4, Il teatro, la musica, l'arte e la religione. Mansfield Centre: Martino Publishing, 1999.

Powers, Harold Stone. "Il Serse Trasformato." The Musical Quarterly 47 (1961): 481-92 and (1962): 73-92.

Pratt, Mary Louise. Toward a Speech Act Theory of Literary Discourse. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977.

Privitera, Massimo. Review of Monteverdi's Tonal Language, by Eric Chafe. Il saggiatore musicale 4 (1997): 423-24.

Profeti, Maria Grazia. Materiali, variazioni, invenzioni. Florence: Alinea, 1996.
__. "Teatro spagnolo a Milano: Un 'Vello d'oro' dimenticato." In Carlo Donato Cossoni nella Milano spagnola: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi; Conservatorio di Como, 11-13 giugno 2004, edited by Davide Daolmi, 349-68. Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2007.

Ricci, Vittorio. "Un melodramma ignoto della prima metà del ' 600 ." Rivista musicale Italiana 32 (1925): 51-79.

Rosand, Ellen. "Giasone." In Grove Music Online, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriher/article/grove/music/O003539.
-. Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
——, ed. Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage: Manuscript, Edition, Production. London: Ashgate, 2013.

Ruffatti, Alessio. "'Curiosi e bramosi l'oltramontani cercano con grande diligenza in tutti i luoghi': La cantata romana del Seicento in Europa," Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music 13 (2007), http://www.sscm-jscm.org/v13/no1/ruffatti.html (accessed 5 August 2010).

Rupprecht, Philip Ernst. "Peter Grimes: The force of operatic utterance." In Britten's Musical Language, edited by Philip Ernst Rupprecht, 32-74. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Salvioli, Giovanni. I teatri musicali di Venezia nel secolo XVII (1637-1700): Memorie storiche e bibliografiche raccolte ed ordinate da Livio Niso Galvani. Milan: 1879. Reprint, Bologna: Forni, 1969.

Santoro, Caterina. "Tipografi milanesi nel secolo XVII." La Bibliofilia 67 (1965): 303-349.
Sartori, Claudio. I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800: Catalogo analitico con 16 indici. Cuneo: Bertola \& Locatelli, 1990-94.

Sbisà, Marina. "Azione linguistica e status dei partecipanti." In Di Pietro e il giudice: l'interrogatorio al tribunale di Brescia, edited by Renata Galatolo and Gabriele Pallotti, 61-67. Bologna: Pitagora, 1998.
——. Linguaggio, Ragione, Interazione. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1989.
__. "On Illocutionary Types." Journal of Pragmatics 8 (1984): 93-112.
Sbisà, Marina, and Paolo Fabbri. "Models (?) For a Pragmatic Analysis," Journal of Pragmatics 4 (1980): 301-19.

Searle, John Rogers. "A Taxonomy of Illocutionary Acts." In Language, Mind, and Knowledge, edited by Keith Günderson, 344-69. Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1975.
——. Expression and Meaning. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
Selfridge-Field, Eleanor. A New Chronology of Venetian Opera and Related Genres, 1660-1760. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007.

Serpieri, Alessandro. "Ipotesi teorica di segmentazione del testo teatrale." In Come comunica il teatro: Dal testo alla scena, edited by Alfonso Canziani, 11-54. Milan: Il Formichiere, 1978.

Símini, Diego. "Casarse por vengarse di Rojas Zorrilla nella traduzione di Giacinto Andrea Cicognini: Maritarsi per vendetta." In Tradurre, riscrivere, mettere in scena, edited by Maria Grazia Profeti, 95-116. Florence: Alinea, 1996.

Smith, Ayana. "Opera in Arcadia: Rome, Florence and Venice in the Primo Settecento." PhD diss., Yale University, 2001.

Sorrentino, Giulio Cesare. Il Ciro: Drama per musica. Venice: Giovanni Pietro Pinelli, 1654.
Stein, Louise. Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods: Music and Theatre in Seventeenth-Century Spain. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.

Strohm, Reinhard. Dramma per musica: Italian Opera Seria of the Eighteenth Century. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.

Tedesco, Anna. "Cicognini's Giasone: Between Music and Theater." In Rosand, Readying Cavalli's Operas, 229-60.
___. "Il metodo compositivo di Giacinto Andrea Cicognini nei suoi drammi per musica veneziani." In Il prisma di Proteo: Riscritture, ricodificazioni, traduzioni fra Italia e Spagna (sec. XVI-XVIII), edited by Valentina Nider, 31-60. Trent: Università degli Studi di Trento; Dipartimento di Studi Letterari, Linguistici e Filologici, 2012.

Testaverde, Anna Maria. "Palcoscenici fiorentini per Antonio Cesti (1661)." In La figura e l'opera di Antonio Cesti nel Seicento europe: Convegno internazionale di studio; Arezzo, 26-27 aprile 2002, edited by Mariateresa Dellaborra, 63-78. Florence: Olschki, 2003.

Todorov, Tzvetan. Les genres du discours. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1978. Translated by Catherine Porter as Genres in Discourse. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Usula, Nicola. "Dal Giasone al Novello Giasone: Francesco Cavalli e Alessandro Stradella." Tesi di laurea, University of Bologna, 2010.

Valvasense, Francesco, ed. Le Glorie degli Incogniti Overo Gli Huomini Illustri dell’Accademia de' Signori Incogniti di Venezia. Venice: Valvasense, 1647.

Van Dijk, Teun. Text and Context: Explorations in the Semantics and Pragmatics of Discourse. London: Longman, 1976.

Vanderveken, Daniel. Meaning and Speech Acts: Principles of Language Use. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Vega, Lope de. Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo. Edited by Felipe Pedraza. With translations into Italian (Maria Grazia Profeti), Portuguese (Maria Salete Bento Cicaroni, French (Frédéric Serralta, English (Victor Dixon), German (Kurt Spang), and Polish (Urzula Aszyk). Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Commemoraciones Culturales, 2009.
—. El vellocino de oro. Edited Maria Grazia Profeti. Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2007.

Verde, Rosario. Studi sull'imitazione spagnuola nel teatro italiano del Seicento. Vol. 1, G. A. Cicognini. Catania: N. Giannotta, 1912.

Vigilante, Magda. "Cicognini, Iacopo." In Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, http://www.trec-cani.it/enciclopedia/iacopo-cicognini_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/.

Vuelta García, Salomè. "Pietro Susini e il teatro spagnuolo a Firenze nel XVII secolo." PhD diss., Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, 1999.

Walker, Paul. Review of Monteverdi's Tonal Language, by Eric Chafe. Journal of Music Theory 40 (1996): 160-70.

Walker, Thomas. "Gli errori di 'Minerva al tavolino': Osservazioni sulla cronologia delle prime opere veneziane." In Venezia e il melodramma nel Seicento, edited by Maria Teresa Muraro, 7-20. Florence: Olschki, 1976.

Walker, Thomas, Beth Lise Glixon, and Jonathan Emmanuel Glixon. "Faustini, Giovanni." In Grove Music Online, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriher/article/grove/music/09370.

Wiel, Taddeo. I codici musicali Contariniani del secolo XVII nella R. Biblioteca di San Marco. Venice: Ongania, 1888.

Wyszynski, Matthew A. "'Cupido atropellado': The Dominance of Friendship in Tirso de Molina's Cómo han de ser los amigos." Bulletin of the Comediantes 63 (2011): 59-73.


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ "Giacinto Andrea Cicognini intorno alla metà del secolo con più felice ardimento introdusse i drammi col suo Giasone, il quale per vero dire è il primo, e il più perfetto dramma, che si trovi, e con esso portò l'esterminio dell'istrionica, e per conseguenza della vera, e buona comica, e della tragica stessa." Giovanni Maria Crescimbeni, La bellezza della volgar poesia, Dialogue VI (Rome: Giovanni Francesco Buagni, 1700), 140.
    ${ }^{2}$ Nicola Michelassi provides a comprehensive overview of the Febiarmonici's role in bringing Giasone to other Italian cities, in "Balbi's Febiarmonici and the First 'Road Shows' of Giasone (1649-1653)," in Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage: Manuscript, Edition, Production, ed. Ellen Rosand (London: Ashgate, 2013), 307-20.

[^1]:    ${ }^{3}$ This project has been made possible by the digitization of all of these sources, scattered throughout Italy and as far as Lisbon and Oxford. On a personal level, I was unable to journey to these locations to physically inspect these objects, and thus would not have been capable of writing this dissertation without the kind aid provided by the holding libraries in photographing all of the scores and librettos, as well as the generosity of the Isham Memorial Library at the Eda Kuhn Loeb Music Library of Harvard University in funding the collection of these digitized sources.
    ${ }^{4}$ In this dissertation I make the distinction between "groups" and "families," with the former referring to related librettos, and the latter referring to related scores. Because scores transmit textual material in addition to music, they-that is, families-are also placed into groups.

[^2]:    ${ }^{5}$ I use the term "performance" and "production" interchangeably within the scope of this dissertation, although in general the latter term refers to multiple performances under the same direction and with the same scene structure.
    ${ }^{6}$ This project will be helmed by Ellen Rosand, Lorenzo Bianconi, Nicola Usula, and others, and is forthcoming (Berlin: Bärenreiter Verlag, 2017).

[^3]:    ${ }^{7}$ See Antonio Cesti, Orontea, ed. William Holmes (Wellesley: Wellesley College, 1973), and Holmes, "Giacinto Andrea Cicognini's and Antonio Cesti's Orontea (1649)," in New Looks at Italian Opera: Essays in Honor of Donald J. Grout, ed. William W. Austin (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968). The average number of surviving librettos from this century per opera hovers at slightly over two, according to Jane Glover, Cavalli (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), 158-59, as well as Claudio Sartori, I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800: Catalogo analitico con 16 indici (Cuneo: Bertola \& Locatelli, 1990-94).

    In general, there are even fewer scores; the average hovers between one and two (if any survive at all). The second largest number of scores for an opera belong to Filippo Acciaiuoli and Jacopo Melani's Il Girello (1668), at six scores, followed by Giovanni Andrea Moniglia and Melani's Ercole in Tebe (1661), Nicolò Minato and Cavalli's Scipione affricano (1664), and Cicognini and Antonio Cesti's Orontea (1649) at four scores apiece, several of which are incomplete. Thanks to Nicola Usula (private correspondence) for information on the first three of these operas.

[^4]:    ${ }^{8}$ John Langshaw Austin, How to Do Things With Words (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962).
    ${ }^{9}$ I use the poetic term "verse" to mean a "line" throughout this dissertation.

[^5]:    ${ }^{10}$ Present-day locations obtained from Fausta Antonucci and Lorenzo Bianconi, "Plotting the Myth of Giasone," in Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage: Manuscript, Edition, Production, ed. Ellen Rosand (London: Ashgate, 2013), 20128: 204.
    ${ }^{11}$ Henry Burnett and Roy Nitzberg, Composition, Chromaticism, and the Developmental Process: A New Theory of Tonality (London: Ashgate, 2007).

[^6]:    ${ }^{1}$ These two chapters are an extension of an earlier article, co-authored with Joseph Salem, providing an overview of Giasone's sources (Thomas Lin and Joseph Salem, "Giasone: A Source Overview," in Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage: Manuscript, Edition, Production, ed. Ellen Rosand [Burlington: Ashgate, 2013], 277-306). Since its writing, several additional text sources have been found or made available through their digitization; this chapter reflects these updates.
    ${ }^{2}$ Although the designation of "Seconda Impressione" appears on the title page of this libretto, it is clear from the contents within (which I discuss below) that we are dealing with an edition distinct from the preceding version of the libretto (Venice 1649A), judging from the different content and typeset. See Stanley Boorman, "Glossary," in Music Printing and Publishing, ed. D. W. Krummel and Stanley Sadie (New York: W. W. Norton \& Company, 1990), 489550.

[^7]:    ${ }^{3}$ A complete list of all variants can be found in Appendix II. For convenience and continuity, these scenes have been numbered according to the first edition of Giasone, Venice 1649A, as many of the subsequent sources alter the largescale scene structure, and thus the scene numbers.
    ${ }^{4}$ For more on the relationship between seventeenth-century scores and librettos, see Jennifer Williams Brown, "Out of the 'Dark Ages': Editing Cavalli's Operas in the Postmodern World," in Francesco Cavalli: La circolazione dell'opera

[^8]:    veneziana nel Seicento, ed. Dinko Fabris (Naples: Turchini, 2005): 19-37; and more recently "Inside Cavalli's Workshop: Copies and Copyists," in Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage: Manuscript, Edition, Production, ed. Ellen Rosand (London: Ashgate, 2013): 57-94.
    ${ }^{5}$ For a more detailed list, see Appendix II.
    ${ }^{6}$ I have explored the relationship between Giasone's libretto and prose edition elsewhere, in Thomas Lin, "Creating a Hit: In the Workshop of Cicognini/Cavalli's Giasone" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Milwaukee, WI, November 7, 2014). For more on Cicognini's career as an author of prose plays, see Chapter 3 of this dissertation. For more on the relationship between Cicognini's librettos and prose antecedents, see Anna Tedesco, "Il metodo compositivo di Giacinto Andrea Cicognini nei suoi drammi per musica veneziani," in Il prisma di Proteo: Riscritture, ricodificazioni, traduzioni fra Italia e Spagna (sec. XVI-XVIII), ed. Valentina

[^9]:    ${ }^{9}$ I examine these considerations more closely in Chapter 4, a discussion of the opera's dramatic structure.

[^10]:    ${ }^{10}$ The libretto for that production, Venice 1666, belongs in the "Satellite" Group (see discussion below), as it contains a large number of changes reflecting the performance history of Giasone on the road during the seventeen years that had elapsed since its premiere.
    ${ }^{11}$ For more on this phenomenon see Chapter 3.

[^11]:    ${ }^{12}$ In an earlier article (Lin and Salem, "Giasone: A Source Overview"), I included the Oxford score in the Rome Family, as philological evidence (scene structure and details within the text) seemed to argue in favor of its categorization alongside the other Novello Giasone scores (Lisbon and Siena), even though it is clearly not a record of any performance of the 1671 Roman revival. I have decided to include the Oxford score in the Venice Family (and thus also the Venice Group) in this dissertation, as its lack of a clear connection to the Novello scores argues a against its inclusion with the scores and librettos (Rome 1671 and Rome 1676) that were specifically associated with that 1671 performance. I discuss the reasons for placing it in the Venice Family (and the problems with this decision) below in this section.

    13 "Rappresentato in Venezia nel Teatro di S[an] Cassiano, nell'anno 1649, in questa seconda impressione corretto, con l'aggiunta delle nuove canzonette" ("Performed in Venice at the San Cassiano Theater in the year 1649, [and] corrected in this second edition, with the addition of the new songs'").

[^12]:    ${ }^{14}$ "L'essermi mancate le copie del Giasone, ed essendomi cresciute le richieste di esso, mi ha necessitato a ristamparlo. Ricevete la mia devozione in ben servirvi, e vivete felici." Giacinto Andrea Cicognini, Giasone: Drama musicale, Letter to the Readers (Venice: Andrea Giuliani, 1649), 9.
    ${ }^{15}$ For more on this figure, see Gino Benzoni, "Grimani Calergi, Vettor," Dizionario biografico degli italiani, 16: 686-96 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1973), now also online at [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/vettor-grimani-calergi_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/vettor-grimani-calergi_%5C%28Dizionario-Biografico%5C%29/) (accessed 3/20/15); see also Beth L. and Jonathan E. Glixon, Inventing the Business of Opera: The Impresario and His World in Seventeenth-Century Venice (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 33, 58-59, 99-101, 210-13; and Beth L. Glixon, "Behind the Scenes of Cavalli's Giasone of 1649," in Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage: Manuscript, Edition, Production (London: Ashgate, 2013), 137-52: 143.
    ${ }^{16}$ Venice 1649A contains a total of six signatures that indicate gatherings in duodecimo format (the prevalent format for all of the Giasone librettos); the final gathering consists of only a half sheet, thus consisting of six folios instead of the full twelve. It is possible that for Venice 1649 B , the decision was made to truncate the paratext as described, in order to save more space; this edition consists of five full signatures with no half sheets used. Venice 1649C may have then represented yet another step in this compression of space-as I describe below, it uses a smaller font, one that results in the use of only four and a half signatures (thus four full sheets and one half sheet). Venice 1650 and Venice 1654 reverse this trend and instead are printed, like Venice 1649B, with five full gatherings.

[^13]:    ${ }^{17}$ See Rosand, Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 81-88; and Beth L. Glixon and Jonathan E. Glixon, Inventing the Business of Opera, 109-39, especially 130-31.
    ${ }^{18}$ For a critical edition of Venice 1649B, see Giovanna Gronda and Paolo Fabbri, eds., "Giacinto Andrea Cicognini: Giasone; Dramma musicale in tre atti," in Libretti d'opera italiani: dal Seicento al Novecento (Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori, 1997): 107-207, 1816-17.

[^14]:    ${ }^{19}$ For this last item, see my discussion of location continuity in Chapter 4.
    ${ }^{20}$ While there are no surviving testaments from that year explicitly remarking on the popularity of this new work, there are some oblique indications from archival documents, brought to light by Beth Glixon. Most prominent is a petition signed by Cavalli on 20 March suing for the money owed to him for the eighteen performances of Giasone that had recently taken place at the Teatro San Cassiano (over the course of its twenty three-day run). Cavalli's receipt records also seem to suggest that Giasone had been performed three times already by 25 January, that is, three days after its premiere. Perhaps the most sordid hint of the popularity of Giasone comes from a dispatch to the Medicis dated 13 February 1649 , recounting a shooting incident at one of the boxes in the theater in which nobody was gravely injured, and a few days before that, an argument among twenty-five to thirty noblemen that resulted in their drawing arms, briefly interrupting the performance while order was restored. For more on the circumstances surrounding the premiere of Giasone, see Beth Glixon, "Behind the Scenes of Cavalli's Giasone of 1649," in Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage, 137-52, especially 142-46. The Glixons have also uncovered a great deal of information about the Teatro San Cassiano, although unfortunately little of it directly pertains to Giasone. We know, for example, thanks to their archival work, that the theater could easily accommodate upwards of 650 patrons in both its parterre section and its many boxes (153 before 1657); see Inventing the Business of Opera, 17-23, 307-11.
    ${ }^{21}$ Glixon, "Behind the Scenes," 147.

[^15]:    ${ }^{22}$ Another of this publisher's Giasone prints (Venice 1661), prepared three years earlier, bears a different configuration of corrections, with III. 5 and III. 7 bearing the correct versions, but III. 18 maintaining the half-corrected "e là."

[^16]:    However, for reasons I discuss below in the Naples Group section, this particular libretto belongs with that set of sources.
    ${ }^{23}$ Despite this error, the content and placement of all of the scenes match those of the other Venice Group sources.

[^17]:    ${ }^{24}$ However, Oxford retains text (found in the earlier sources) after the two openings that is cut in the Roman sources.
    ${ }^{25}$ Some instances of Oxford's unique affiliations with the Venice Family scores (and not shared by the Rome Family scores) can be seen in I.7.8, II.2.7, and II.4.2. Such cases support the "distance" between Oxford and the Rome Group overall (if not chronological, then at least relative to additional source influences).
    ${ }^{26}$ There is a scribal error that appears only in Contarini and Florence that bears mentioning: III. 7 (Oreste, Isifile) is followed by a mislabeled III. 9 (Medea alone), an error that is carried over until the end of the opera (S.49). In turn, Vienna and Vatican are some of the few sources that conserve the very final scene appearing in all Venice Group

[^18]:    ${ }^{27}$ For more on this source, see below in "The Florence Sources."
    ${ }^{28}$ It is perhaps significant that these particular variants feature Oreste, a character responsible for a significant number of variants among other scores as well: see in particular (in the following chapter) the wholesale transposition of his parts in III. 8 among all Naples Family scores.
    ${ }^{29}$ Since Lisbon is missing Act III, it is impossible to state with certainty that this line appears there; but, given the virtually identical content shared between Lisbon and Siena, the correspondence is very likely.

[^19]:    ${ }^{30}$ This point is particularly true given that the earliest librettos for several other groups, including the Milan Group and Naples Group 1, share specific variants with the Florence Group and not with the Venice Group, and that the variants all date from 1650-51.

[^20]:    ${ }^{31}$ Rosmina's additional scene is misnumbered as II. 12 when in reality it should be II.11; the following scene, between Besso and Alinda, is also labeled "Scena Duodecima" in this libretto.
    ${ }^{32}$ Unfortunately, no records have been found regarding the identity of the singer of this role.

[^21]:    ${ }^{33}$ Notably, Milan 1662 and Milan XXA (likely printed around 1662 as well) are missing an indication ("Or.") to the left of this verse, present in all other sources, that would have signaled that Oreste was speaking at that point.

[^22]:    ${ }^{34}$ Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, "Dalla Finta pazza alla Veremonda," Rivista italiana di musicologia 10 (1975): 379-454; 381.
    ${ }^{35}$ Alessandra Chiarelli has suggested that this was added by Silvestri (see above), to whom the libretto copy had previously belonged, as a way of rounding out his collection of Venetian operas ("L'incoronazione di Poppea o Il Nerone: Problemi di filologia testuale," Rivista Italiana di Musicologia 9 [1974]: 117-151; 140n34).
    ${ }^{36}$ Call number at I-Vnm: Dramm. 1890/2.
    ${ }^{37}$ Call number at I-Fn: Palat. 12.3.0.1/XCVIIc. See Flavia Cancedda and Silvia Castelli, Per una bibliografia di Giacinto Andrea Cicognini: Successo teatrale e fortuna editoriale di un drammaturgo del Seicento (Florence: Alinea, 2001), 255. From this it is quite likely that those responsible for photographing the I-Vnm copy deliberately omitted the blank pages.

[^23]:    ${ }^{38}$ Thanks to Davide Daolmi (private correspondence) for clarification on this issue. The presence of a dedicatee in Naples 1661 seems to corroborate Ellen Rosand's assertion that this printing accompanied a production of Giasone (see Appendix II, n18), although Bianconi and Walker have also suggested that this print was not associated with any particular production ("Dalla Finta pazza alla Veremonda," 381n10).

[^24]:    ${ }^{39}$ The presence of the extra word in Naples B seems deliberate, as the underlay is spaced evenly, and does not change the musical overlay (identical at this point among the other Naples Family sources except for a shifted barline in Naples A). Given the prevalent scribal practice of writing in the text after having copied out the music, it is just as likely that the scribe for Naples $\mathbf{B}$ was referring to a source common to Naples Subgroup 1 (or perhaps even from this particular subgroup), as that he was making his own correction independently of his source.
    ${ }^{40}$ See Saverio Franchi, Le impressioni sceniche: Dizionario bio-bibliografico degli editori e stampatori Romani e Laziali di testi drammatici e libretti per musica dal 1579 al 1800 (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1994), 456.

[^25]:    ${ }^{41}$ As will be seen below, the situation is somewhat reversed in Naples Group 2.
    ${ }^{42}$ Using language similar to what Francesco Mollo would write in 1672, Passaro cites Roberto Mollo's heirs and their earlier edition on the title page ("By Roberto Mollo's heirs, and again by Giacinto Passaro, 1667"-"Per gl'eredi di Roberto Mollo, e di nuovo per Giacinto Passaro, 1667’).

[^26]:    ${ }^{43}$ Cases where most Naples Group 1 librettos relate to at least one member of the Naples Family: S.33, S.34, S.45, S.51, S.56, I.7.10, I.7.14, I.14.4, I.14.7, I.14.10, II.2.1, II.2.3, II.2.20, II.4.2, II.4.7, III.8.6, III.8.9, III.21.6, III.21.11-17, III.21.20. Cases where Naples 1667 relates to at least one member of the Naples Family: S33, S.34, S.45, S.51, S.56, I.7.4, I.7.10, I.7.13, I.7.14, I.14.4, I.14.7, I.14.10, II.2.3, II.2.10, II.2.20, II.4.2, II.4.7, III.8.6, III.8.9, III.21.6, III.21.11-17, III.21.20. There are only two instances in the second set (in bold print) that do not match the first. Naples 1667 does not share variants with any other score families.
    ${ }^{44}$ There are two consecutive scenes labeled "Scena Decima" (for II. 9 and II.10), as well as "Scena Decimaquarta" (for II. 13 and II.14).

[^27]:    ${ }^{45}$ The character of Erino has appeared elsewhere as well-a squire to Prince Pallante in Giovanni Faustini and Francesco Cavalli's La virtù de' strali d'Amore. See Nicola Badolato, I drammi musicali di Giovanni Faustini per Francesco Cavalli (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2012), 65.
    ${ }^{46}$ Milan 1651, a member of the Satellite Group (discussed further below) is a rather unique libretto, with an additional scene for Demo in Act I found in no other source (S.13), and a structure that fails to convincingly correspond to the idiosyncrasies of Naples Group 1, Naples Group 2, or the Milan Group. For this reason, it is unlikely that Milan 1651 is a parent to Milan 1655. It is worth mentioning, however, that Milan 1651 contains a unique typographical/linguistic change-"la dorata pelle" ("the golden fleece") becomes "l'adorata pelle" ("the beloved fleece")—a variant seen only in Naples A and Naples B (see II.2.7).

[^28]:    ${ }^{47}$ It is worth noting that Milan 1655 also has a unique and direct link to Naples 1651, without the intervention of Naples 1661 or Venice 1661: a missing stage indication for Demo to exit the stage at the end of I. 7 (I.7.14). This is, however, a rather small piece of evidence, further mitigated by the fact that it is seen in other sources as well, including the Venice Family, Venice XX, Velletri 1660, Naples 1667, Milan 1655, the other members of Naples Group 2, and the Rome Group.

[^29]:    ${ }^{48}$ Curiously, the list of "Macchine" in the preceding page indicates "Carro del Sole" ("the sun's chariot") instead of "Phoebus' chariot." Amore (instead of Cupido) is given "varii e diversi voli" ("various and diverse flying machines apparati"). Only Nettuno's name is consistent with the list of characters in the Prologue on the following page (as well as Modena), and he is described as riding "on a shell, pulled by two seahorses" ("sopra d'una conchiglia, portata da due cavalli marini"). Il Giasone: Dramma per musica (Reggio: Prospero Vedrotti, 1668), 11.
    ${ }^{49}$ It should be noted that on the title pages of both Reggio 1668 and Rome 1671, the text indicates the opera as having been already performed ("rappresentato"), strongly suggesting that these librettos were published after the performances similarly to the second edition (Venice 1649B). However, the decision in both of these cases to mislead the audience about the Prologue certainly seems to suggest that they might have been printed and distributed preperformance.

[^30]:    ${ }^{50}$ The only other librettos to make similar cuts are Turin XX and Vicenza 1658, although in both cases these librettos make different cuts elsewhere in I.14.

[^31]:    ${ }^{51}$ For a comprehensive comparison between the original and Novello versions of Giasone, see Nicola Usula, "Giasone a quattro mani: Cavalli messo a nuovo da Stradella," in Il novello Giasone: Partitura in facsimile ed edizione dei libretti, ed. Nicola Usula (Milan: Ricordi, 2013): XLV-XCIII.

[^32]:    ${ }^{52}$ Oxford also contains this variant, although in that score the word is spelled "roverscio."
    ${ }^{53}$ These last two variants appear in the Venice Family scores as well.
    ${ }^{54}$ However, it should be recalled that an earlier Prologue (featuring Musica, Poesia, Pittura, and Architettura) made an appearance in Vicenza 1658, although with entirely different material drawn from Sorrentino's Ciro (see Appendix II).
    ${ }^{55}$ As I mentioned above, the printed libretto declares that the opera was "rappresentato," that is, "performed," suggesting that this may have been printed after the premiere of Novello Giasone.

[^33]:    ${ }^{56}$ Printed by Giorgio Rolla's heirs, Milan 1651 seems to be the earliest printed source of this particular variant, discussed above. This variant is unique to Milan 1651, Piacenza 1655, Turin XX, Vatican, Contarini, and Florence (in these last four sources the line appears as "Le dimore angoscie").

[^34]:    57 "Ed io, che per vestirlo all'uso moderno, non ho mancato di contribuirvi qualche picciole fatiche, secondando il di lui genio, vengo a tributarle, insieme con musici miei collega, al merito impareggiabile di V[ostra] S[ignoria] Illustrissima..." Il trionfo d'amor nelle vendette (Genoa: Antonio Giorgio Franchelli, 1681), 4-5.

[^35]:    58 "Eccoti, o lettore di nuovo in teatro il Giasone; e se bene cangiò col nome qualche accidente, lo troverai però il medesimo nella sostanza. Desideriamo le soddisfazioni d'ogn'uno, e rifflettendo, che si gode del variare, abbiamo studiato di farlo comparire di genio universale con l'aggiunta di qualche ariette, assicurandoti, che non vi è alcun di noi, che si sia lusingato di andare a gara con chi ha saputo così bene accoppiar in esso la melodia con gli applausi. Ammiriamo tutti unitamente l'eccellenza di chi lo fè così vago, e sappiam' molto bene, ch'il pretendere diversamente, sarebbe un voler porre la bocca in cielo. Speriamo perciò, che sarai così benigno, che non vorrai criticar quel che abbiamo operato a fine d'incontrare il tuo gusto, e che rimirerai volentieri tutte le nostre fatiche. Il nostro ufficio è solo di compiacerti, sia il tuo quello, di essere compiaciuto. I nomi poi di deità, Fato, Destino, ed altri, sono scherzi poetici, e non già sentimenti di chi professa vivere da Cristiano. Compatisci generoso, e vivi felice." Ibid., 6-7.

[^36]:    59 "Ritorna su queste scene il Giasone; ma vergognandosi di comparire qual già fu veduto, massime in questi tempi dove piace la novità, si è trasformato in Medea." Medea in Colco (Brescia: Giovanni Maria Rizzardi, 1690), 3.
    ${ }^{60}$ "Questo dramma, che porta il nome di Medea in Colco, altro non è, che il Giasone. Sà che da te fu molto aggradito nella sua prima comparsa; e perciò ritorna per dilettare la tua curiosità; Si è mutato d'abiti, perche da l'ora in quà si sono assotigliati i gusti de gl'uomini. Il genio del vestire per tutti è Francese, che non ama la superfluità; la onde anch'egli ha lasciato a dietro due personaggi che non li erano d'alcun utile, e si è sgravato da certe digressioni, che lo ritardavano da suoi più necessari impieghi. Ha però avuto mira al diletto, per lo che ha condito il tedio di molte espressioni con l'aggiunta, e cambio delle canzonette. Tu in tanto non lo disprezzare, che faresti torto alla sua fiducia, ed alla volontà che ebbe mira a sollevarti dalla oziosità de tempi. Vivi felice. Non resto anche di ricordarti che l'uso, o per meglio dire abuso de i nomi idolo, dea, deità, fato, destino, e simili son mere inventioni poetiche." Ibid., 5.

[^37]:    ${ }^{61}$ By 1690 the Arcadian reforms were beginning to take root, and thus so too was the shift toward the French dramatic aesthetic promoted by Pierre Corneille and Jean Racine. For more on this, see Robert Freeman, Opera Without Drama: Currents of Change in Italian Opera, 1675-1725 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), and Ayana Smith, "Opera in Arcadia: Rome, Florence and Venice in the Primo Settecento" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 2001).

[^38]:    ${ }^{1}$ See Chapter 1 for a discussion of the differences between pre- and post-premiere versions of the Giasone libretto.
    ${ }^{2}$ Peter Jeffery, "The Autograph Manuscripts of Francesco Cavalli" (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1980), 111-26. Unfortunately, according to Jeffery, these corrections are limited to scene numbers, character names, and the text; musical corrections have not been confirmed to have been made by the composer.

[^39]:    ${ }^{3}$ Jane Glover, Cavalli (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), 69-72. Glover has hypothesized that Scribe D first began with the more recent opera scores (that is, those composed during the 1660s) before then moving on to Cavalli's earlier works.

[^40]:    ${ }^{4}$ Jeffery, 119n299.

[^41]:    ${ }^{5}$ Thanks to Christine Jeanneret for confirming this suspicion (private correspondence). She adds that pencils were not commonly used during the seventeenth century, and that the added barlines likely bear the imprint of a more modern sensibility, given that measures in the seventeenth century were generally longer (owing to the more immediate mensural legacy that music of this period bore).
    ${ }^{6}$ They also appear over notes or even between notes at times (f. 32v).

[^42]:    ${ }^{7}$ For more on Cavalli's late career, see Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

[^43]:    ${ }^{8}$ Jeffery, 319-23.

[^44]:    ${ }^{9}$ This opinion has been shared most recently at a conference in Bologna in 2014, by Nicola Badolato, Lorenzo Bianconi, Silvia Urbani, and Nicola Usula, "L'edizione critica del 'Giasone': prolegomeni e primi carotaggi" (paper presented at Attorno a Cavalli/ Giasone, Bologna, May 13-14, 2014).

[^45]:    ${ }^{10}$ The earlier version, "che non sei larga nè stretta," appears only in the Venice Group librettos, Vicenza 1658, Venice 1666, and the Naples C score (perhaps supporting the possibility that Naples C is the earliest of the Naplesbased sources).

[^46]:    ${ }^{11}$ Other variants not shared between Ferrara 1659 and the Vienna score create more distance between the two sources: the libretto contains cuts to III. 1 (Oreste, Delfa), III. 10 (Delfa), and III.Ultima (Giove, Amore, Coro di Dei, Zeffiro), as well as variants missing in the Vienna score (I.7.10, II.2.3, II.4.7, II.4.8, and III.21.12-16).

[^47]:    ${ }^{12}$ See Nicola Usula, "Dal Giasone al Novello Giasone: Francesco Cavalli e Alessandro Stradella" (Tesi di laurea, University of Bologna, 2010), as well as his essay in the facsimile edition, "Giasone a quattro mani: Cavalli messo a nuovo da Stradella," in Il novello Giasone: Partitura in facsimile ed edizione dei libretti, ed. Nicola Usula (Milan: Ricordi, 2013): XLV-XCIII.

[^48]:    ${ }^{13}$ I discuss this and other structural changes in the preceeding chapter. See also Carolyn Gianturco and Eleanor McCrickard, eds., Alessandro Stradella (1639-1682): A Thematic Catalogue of His Compositions (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1991), 143-4, for a list of other sources containing copies of this Prologue that appear to be in Stradella's own hand. For different settings of other arias, see pp. 171, 174, and 175. Of particular interest is his rewrite of Giasone's "Delizie, contenti" (p. 174).

[^49]:    ${ }^{14}$ This is a common feature among scores of Neapolitan provenance, and is also seen in Act II of the score for L'incoronazione di Poppea housed in Venice's Biblioteca Marciana (see Christine Jeanneret, "Maria Cavalli: In the Shadow of Francesco," in Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage: Manuscript, Edition, Production, ed. Ellen Rosand [London: Ashgate, 2013]: 95-118; 106).

[^50]:    ${ }^{15}$ Both Contarini and Vienna substitute the word "spezzarti" with one having a similar meaning: "tirarti."

[^51]:    ${ }^{16}$ Ancona 1665 does away entirely with the stutter, removing any immediate implication of the word "cazzo"

[^52]:    ${ }^{17}$ See Enrico Boggio, Il fondo musiche dell'Archivio Borromeo dell'Isola Bella (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2004), 17.
    ${ }^{18}$ I wish to express my deepest gratitude to Lorenzo Bianconi for having gone well above and beyond what could have reasonably been expected, first in obtaining access from the Borromeo family to study this score, and then in generously granting me access to some of its details.

[^53]:    ${ }^{19}$ Nicola Usula will provide a closer examination of Borromeo in Francesco Cavalli, Giasone, ed. Nicola Usula (Kassel: Bärenreiter, forthcoming).

[^54]:    ${ }^{20}$ See Alessio Ruffatti, "'Curiosi e bramosi l'oltramontani cercano con grande diligenza in tutti i luoghi': La cantata romana del Seicento in Europa," Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music 13, no. 1 (2007): 5.12-13, Image 32, http://sscm-jscm.press.illinois.edu/v13/no1/ruffatti.html\#edn15 (accessed 5 August 2010), for an image of the full receipt. Thanks to Alessio Ruffatti (private correspondence) for suggesting the link between Sardo and the Oxford score.

[^55]:    ${ }^{21}$ Some of the errors in the Contarini score include, for example, missing music overlay:
    II.2: f. 71v, bottom system, bass
    III.18: f. 153v, bottom system, bass
    III.21: f. 161v, second and third systems, bass

    There are also some contrapuntally problematic sonorities that may be attributed to scribal error:
    I.2: f. 20r, third system: A-E-D\#-A eighth notes in the bass
    II.5: f. 80 v , third system: Flat sign above A (suggesting A minor, when it should be an $\mathrm{A}_{\text {b }}$ )
    II.6: f. 84r, top system: G in bass, C in top voice
    II.9: f. 94r, top system: Oreste's text, second "la fa" set to F-D (first "la fa" set to A-F)
    II.13: f. 109v, third system: D in bass (should be D\#)
    II.13: f. 115r, bottom system: $\mathrm{E},-\mathrm{A}$ tritone in bass
    II.13: f. 115v, third system: C-G in bass creates dissonances with Isifile's top line
    III.1: f. 117v, third system: D-C $\ddagger-\mathrm{C}$ in bass problematic with Oreste's line

[^56]:    ${ }^{1}$ While the majority of these performers were not Venetian by birth, many were at the time already employed in Venice. For a more thorough history of early opera in Venice, see Lorenzo Bianconi, Il seicento, trans. David Bryant as Music in the Seventeenth Century (Turin: Edizioni di Torino, 1982; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 161-204; as well as Ellen Rosand, Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), especially Chapter 3, 66-88.
    ${ }^{2}$ That same year, a newly-opened theater, the Teatro Santi Giovanni e Paolo, premiered Delia and Armida at the hands of Ferrari and Manelli's troupe of performers. Like Le nozze, Delia's librettos was written by a VenetianGiulio Strozzi-although it was still set to music by Manelli (Armida's text and music were both written by Ferrari).
    ${ }^{3}$ For more information on the rise of opera as industry, see Beth L. and Jonathan E. Glixon, Inventing the Business of Opera: The Impresario and His World in Seventeenth-Century Venice (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[^57]:    ${ }^{4}$ Figures taken from Cristoforo Ivanovich's Minerva al tavolino (originally published in Venice, 1681 by Nicolò Pezzana, with a second volume added in 1688, and more recently appearing in facsimile-see Norbert Dubowy, ed. Memorie teatrali di Venezia: contengono diversi trattenimenti piacevoli della città, introduzione de' teatri, il titolo di tutti i drami rappresentati, col nome degli autori di poesia, e di musica sino a questo anno 1687 [Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 1993]), with Thomas Walker's corrections in mind ("Gli errori di 'Minerva al tavolino': osservazioni sulla cronologia delle prime opere veneziane," in Venezia e il melodramma nel Seicento, ed. Maria Teresa Muraro [Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1976], 7-20). Beth and Jonathan Glixon, Inventing the Business of Opera, 325-337, provide an updated chronology of opera performances in Venice from 1651-68 (Appendix 1: "A Brief Chronicle of Opera Productions in Venice from 1651 to $1658^{\prime \prime}$ ), while Eleanor Selfridge-Field provides a nearly complementary chronology of the rest of the century and beyond in A New Chronology of Venetian Opera and Related Genres, 1660-1760 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007).
    ${ }^{5}$ What little is known of Cicognini's life has been brought to light most recently by Silvia Castelli, "Giacinto Andrea Cicognini: un figlio d'arte nella Firenze secentesca," in Flavia Cancedda and Silvia Castelli, Per una bibliografia di Giacinto Andrea Cicognini: Successo teatrale e fortuna editoriale di un drammaturgo del Seicento (Florence: Alinea, 2001), 2578, a monograph on the playwright and librettist's works. This section draws from Castelli's work (available only in Italian) to provide some background regarding Cicognini's upbringing and formation as a dramatist in his early years in Florence and his eventual arrival in Venice in the late 1640s, as well as from Anna Crinò, "Documenti inediti sulla vita e l'opera di Jacopo e di Giacinto Andrea Cicognini," Studi secenteschi 2 (1961): 255-86, and Nicola Michelassi, "La finta pazza a Firenze: commedie 'spagnole' e 'veneziane' nel Teatro di Baldracca (1641-1665)," Studi secenteschi 41 (2000), 313-53.
    ${ }^{6}$ For more on Iacopo's illustrious career (beyond Crinò's and Castelli's work, cited above), see the Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, s.v. "Cicognini, Iacopo" (by Magda Vigilante), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/iacopo-cicognini_\%28Dizionario-Biografico\%29/ (accessed 6 December 2013).
    ${ }^{7}$ Broadly speaking, confraternities-"brotherhoods"-were religious societies that provided an organized social structure for laypeople that often revolved around charity-based work. The two confraternities to which the elder

[^58]:    and younger Cicognini belonged, both with illustrious histories extending back several centuries, were aimed at educating and socializing the youth of Florence. For more on confraternities, particularly the Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaello, see Konrad Eisenbichler, The Boys of the Archangel Raphael: A Youth Confraternity in Florence, 1411-1785 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), especially Chapters 16 ("Theatre in the Confraternity") and 17 ("Theatre in the Seventeenth Century").
    ${ }^{8}$ In turn, Academies were largely secular organizations that began to appear as early as the late fifteenth century, geared toward any number of intellectual, artistic, or scientific pursuits, and numbered among them the famous Accademia della Crusca (founded in Florence, 1583) as well as, within the context of this dissertation, the Accademia degli Incogniti (founded in Venice, 1630), with whose members Cicognini enjoyed stimulating intellectual exchanges. For more on the two Florentine academies of which Cicognini was a member, see Michele Maylender, Storia delle accademie d'Italia, vol. 3 (Bologna: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1976), 265, 317-18.

    9 "Messere Iacinto Cicognini fece parte doppia," Archivio di stato, Florence, "Compagnie Religiose Soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo," n.134, Libro di Ricordi e Partiti, c. 25r; cited in Cancedda/Castelli, 34n30.

[^59]:    ${ }^{10}$ Glixon, Inventing the Business of Opera, 111-12.
    ${ }^{11}$ "Jacinto poi studia, et ha dello studiato et farà onore a tutti perché sa et ha giudizio, et si porta benissimo e questo spero che solleverà la casa," from a letter dated 14 September 1626 (Crinò, "Documenti inediti," 269-70), and later that same year "[r]ingrazio Dio benedetto, che se bene mi ha fatto povero mi da qualche contento per altro verso," from a letter dated 26 October 1626 (Ibid., 270-71).
    ${ }^{12}$ For more on the circumstances surrounding this play, as well as Iacopo's reservations about his son's continuing interest in the theater (and resulting letter to Cioli pleading for an intervention in Pisa), see Nicola Michelassi and Salomé Vuelta García, "Il teatro spagnolo sulla scena fiorentina del Seicento," Studi secenteschi 45 (2004), 67-137: 92; Cancedda/Castelli, 50-52; and Crinò, "Documenti inediti," 281-82.

[^60]:    ${ }^{13}$ This unhappy event came about as a result of incipient symptoms of a plague that was raging at the time in Florence; awareness of this drove him to jump from his window to his death. See Cancedda/Castelli, 47.
    ${ }^{14}$ Indeed, these manuscripts, along with a portrait of him, were the only belongings mentioned in the same document that outlined the final disposition of his body: "Honorable fathers and brothers of the Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaello... I bestow upon you all of my comedies, performances, and other manuscripts written by me at various times so that they may remain with you for the service of the Compagnia, also so that Giacinto my son may always have copies of them at hand, and may also bring some plays home, so long as the Compagnia can rest secure that he must return them to the house or the archives to which they are bound..." "Onorandi padri e fratelli della Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaello... Io vi dono tutte le mie commedie, le rappresentazioni ed altre cose scritte a mano composte da me in diversi tempi perché restino appresso di voi per servizio della compagnia pur che Giacinto mio figliuolo ne possa sempre avere vista e copia ed anco portare a casa qualche opera purché la compagnia resti sicura che deva ritornare nella casa o vero armdio da destinarsi..."). Archivio di stato, Florence, "Compagnie Religiose Soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo," n. 162, Libro di Ricordi e Partiti, cc. 63v-64r; cited in Cancedda/Castelli, 49n79.
    ${ }^{15}$ The ufficiali dell'Onestà were employed as overseers of the night life in Florence, specifically of prostitutes and their proper taxation. See Cancedda/Castelli, 53n91.
    ${ }^{16}$ Of this performance we have a letter from Leopoldo de' Medici to Mattias de' Medici communicating its success, albeit without mentioning its author (who by then would already have been a well-known figure at the Medicean court): "I was detained in the evening with playing dice in my room, and with a comedy; tonight with a great crowd including women, once more was performed-for the third time-a comedy called Don Gastone di Moncada, a play truly beautiful and performed well, and from [the fact that] there were more people there this third time than the first, Your Highness, one can imagine that it went well. The comedy's running time ended early because on Saturday the comic actors are leaving. Your Highness' humble servant. From Florence, 10 December 1641." ("Mi son trattenuto la sera a giocare a dadi nella mia stanza e alla commedia, e stasera con gran concorso e di dame ancora si è recitata per la terza volta una commedia nominata Don Gastone di Moncada, opera veramente bella e recitata bene, e dall'esserci più gente questa terza volta che la prima Vostra Altezza si può immaginare che sia riuscita bene. Il passatempo della commedia finisce presto perché sabato vanno via i commedianti. Di Vostra Altezza. Di Firenze 10 decembre 1641’). Leopoldo de’ Medici to Mattias de' Medici, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, MdP 4560, c.40r; cited in Michelassi, "La finta pazza a Firenze," 318.

[^61]:    ${ }^{17}$ For more on this play, see its entry below in Table 3.1.

[^62]:    tutti li altri che vi intervennero et ne furono spettatori. Di che se n'è fatto la presente memoria per dar occasione a', successori d'impiegarsi in simili azzioni virtudiose.") Archivio di stato, Florence, "Compagnie Religiose Soppresse da Pietro Leopoldo," n. 164, Libro di Ricordi e Partiti, cc. 43v-44r; cited in Cancedda/Castelli, 58n106.
    ${ }^{21}$ The Medicis had been interested in Venice's "commedie in musica" as a new medium for entertainment for several years at this point; Prince Mattias de' Medici attended the carnival season of 1641 in Venice, when La finta pazza premiered. Alfonso Antinori, a courtier in his retinue tasked with reporting the events of this season to Mattias' brother Giovan Carlo, wrote of the opera's great success: "A comedy was performed most beautifully, well sung and with several beautiful [stage] machines... we ought to have attended this comedy twice, but truly it is beautiful." ("Si è fatto una com $[m]$ edia bellissima, ben cantata e qualche macchina bella... ci convenne sentire due volte questa commedia, ma veramente è bella.") For more on this, La finta pazza's tour through Italy that culminated in its 1645 performance in Florence, and the commercialization process of opera in that city, as well as the central role that the repertory at the Teatro di Balracca played in it, see Michelassi, "La finta pazza a Firenze," op. cit.

    22 "...[P]rimizie del mio povero ingegno in questo genere di composizioni." Cicognini, Celio di Don Gastone: Dramma musicale di Hiacint'Andrea Cicognini al Serenissimo Signore Principe Leopoldo di Toscana, located in I-Vnm (MS.It.IX.55), cited in Michelassi, "La finta pazza a Firenze," 335n74.

[^63]:    ${ }^{23}$ See Cancedda/Castelli, 56.
    ${ }^{24}$ The score manuscript is located at I-Fn (MS.II.I.292).
    25 " $[U] n$ gran naviglio fabbricato già su l'Arno da bizzarro Maestro, che navigò similmente con molta arditezza ne' mari di Toscana," dedication letter by Giovan Battista Balbi to Jacques Bretel de Grémonville, French ambassador to Venice, dated 28 January 1653 (1652 in more veneto), Luigi Zorzisto, Veremonda (Venice: Andrea Giuliani, 1653), 5-6.
    ${ }^{26}$ For more on the relationship between Celio and Veremonda, see Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, "Dalla finta pazza alla Veremonda: Storie di Febiarmonici," Rivista Italiana di musicologia 10 (1975), 379-454: 394; and Wendy Heller, "Amazons, Astrology, and the House of Aragon: Veremonda tra Venezia e Napoli," in Francesco Cavalli: La circolazione dell’opera veneziana nel Seicento, ed. Dinko Fabris (Naples: Turchini Edizioni, 2005): 147-64.
    ${ }^{27}$ Giacinto Andrea Cicognini, Il Celio: Dramma musicale del Dottor Iacinto Andrea Cicognini; Rappresentato in Firenza l'anno 1646 (Florence: Luca Franceschi and Alessandro Logi, 1646).

    28 "T'appresento il mio Celio. Se ti aggrada metterò in mio avanzo il tuo diletto. Se non ti aggrada staremo ambidue in capitale. Ricordati, che io compongo per mero capriccio. Ho però preteso di dilettarti e di giovarti insieme. Ho creduto che ti possa dilettare l'intrecciatura di questo soggetto che porta seco una continua e nuova varietà di impensati accidenti or serii or allegri. Ho confidato di giovarti, rappresentandoti una regina mora che divien cristiana. Troverai alcuna cosa nella stampa, che non si sentirà sulla scena; così

[^64]:    è convenuto fare, perché l'opera nel rappresentarsi si renda aggiustata di tempo, già che alcune cose vi sono state da me aggiunte, oltre l'intenzione che ebbi a principio (come sarebbe la prima scena del II atto, la prima scena ed il principio della seconda del III atto et alcun'altra) per compiacere ad altri, ond'è convenuto levare qualche cosa in altri luoghi per ridurla al giusto segno. Insomma ti prego a gradire Celio mio se non per altro, almeno perché è figlio del mio Don Gastone, che è stato all'universale così gradito. Vivi felice," cited in Cancedda/Castelli, 146.
    ${ }^{29}$ A full accounting of these changes would require a thorough examination of both manuscript and print versions of the libretto as well as the manuscript score, although depending on when the score was created, the investigation might still be impeded by the lack of any records indicating what exactly had been changed for the performance-we have no "seconda impressione" reflecting a "rappresentata" version like we do with Giasone; the only subsequent printing occurred almost two decades later (Rome: Iacomo Dragondello, 1664), and its relationship to the Florence sources currently remains unclear.
    ${ }^{30}$ See Vittorio Ricci, "Un melodramma ignoto della prima metà del '600," Rivista musicale Italiana 32 (1925), 51-79; 56 ff .
    ${ }^{31}$ Elsewhere I have speculated on the creative process between Cicognini and Cavalli; the prose version of Giasone served as a continuing source of ideas for the librettist, but I suggest that Cavalli, who was by 1649 a veteran opera composer, was influential in driving many of the changes that occurred between the First Impression (the early prepremiere release of the libretto) and the Second Impression (the more definitive version of the libretto): "Creating a

[^65]:    ${ }^{35}$ Gl'amori di Alessandro magno e di Rossane, completed after his death, contains an "Al Lettore" not written by Cicognini, whereas the play that he wrote in Venice, Le gelosie fortunate del prencipe Rodrigo, remained in manuscript form until after his death. The unknown author of Gl'amori's "Al Lettore," perhaps the impresario of the Teatro di Santi Apostoli where it premiered on 26 January 1651, uses similar language to Cicognini's: "I boast of drawing some glory, if not from the actual [work] then at least from my exertions... You, reader, enjoy here a body with two souls, and in my theater a soul with two bodies desirous of satisfying you, and arduous to please you." ("Mi vanto di trar qualche gloria, se non dal vero almeno dall'ardire.... Tu lettore qui godi un corpo di due anime, e nel mio teatro un'anima di due corpi desiderio di sodisfarti, ed ardire per compiacerti.") Gl'amori di Alessandro Magno e di Rossane: Dramma musicale posthumo del Dottore Hiacint' Andrea Cicognini, accademico instancabile (Venice: Giovanni Pietro Pinelli, 1651), 8.
    ${ }^{36}$ Cicognini was not alone in evoking caprice: perhaps the first librettist to use a similar phrase in his Sidonio e Dorisbe (Venice, 1642) was Francesco Melosio. See Rosand, Opera, 168-69.
    ${ }^{37}$ "Io compongo per mero capriccio; il mio capricio non ha altra fine che dilettare. L'apportar diletto appresso di me non è altro che l'incontrare il genio ed il gusto di chi ascolta o legge. Se ciò mi sortirà, con la lettura o recita del mio Giasone, avrò conseguito il mio intento. Se non mi sortirà, io avrò gettato via molti giorni in comporlo, e voi poche ore in leggerlo, o ascoltarlo, sicché il danno maggiore sarà il mio. Non resterò per questo di ricordarvi che l'uso, o per meglio dire abuso dei nomi 'idolo,' 'dea,' 'deità,' 'fato,' 'destino' e simili, son mere invenzioni poetiche. Vivete felici." Venice 1649A, 13.

[^66]:    ${ }^{38}$ Alessandra Chiarelli and Angelo Pompilio, in their survey of frontmatter material in Venetian librettos ("Or vaghi or fieri": Cenni di poetica nei libretti veneziani (circa 1640-1740) [Bologna: Cooperativa Libraria Universitaria Editrice Bologna, 2004]), have deduced that only rarely did librettists explicitly speak of "elevation of the spirit by means of art as a universal end for poetry," ("elevazione dello spirito attraverso l'arte in quanto fine universale della poesia," 23) but that more often than not they focused on delighting and pleasing the public. Discussion of loftier goals was reserved for academic circles.
    ${ }^{39}$ The dedication letter in full reads as follows: "Most Illustrious Lord, my Lord and most distinguished patron: With my heart's most reverent spirit I present to Your Most Illustrious Lordship my Orontea. If ever an effort [of mine] has had need of being protected by a guardian deity, this one has painstaking need of it, because (other than being born of my sterile and weary mind), it was written by me during the past days in few strokes of my pen [and] across few turns of the sun. Well do I know that to venture forth one's own compositions in this manner is not the act of a prudent man, but whoever sees this, my drama, appear in the light of day, and that upon it shines the name of Your Most Illustrious Lordship, who himself will see if I was ill-advised in subjecting myself to the narrow window of time in composing it, [will see that] I was however anything but [ill-advised], and rather shrewd in consecrating it to Your greatness, to immortalize the weakness of the work with Your protection. I beg of Your Most Illustrious Lordship to not disdain this, my most humble gift. The gods appreciate the purest of sacrifices, so long as they are accompanied by an adoring and devoted soul. To you I commend my immortal and most grateful servitude, and to Your Most Illustrious Lordship most humbly I bow. Venice, 20 January 1649."
    "Illustriss[imo] Signore, mio Signore e patron colendissimo: Con i più reverenti spiriti del mio core presento a Vostra] S[ignoria] Illustrissima la mia Orontea. Se mai alcuna fatica ebbe bisogno di esser protetta da Nume tutelare questa ne tiene precisa necessità, perché (oltre l'esser parto del mio sterile, e affaticato ingegno) fu da me composta alli giorni passati in pochi scorsi di penna in pochi corsi di sole. Ben so, che l'avventurare le proprie composizioni in questa guisa non è atto da prudente, ma chi vedrà comparive alla luce questo mio dramma, e che gli risplende in front il nome di Vostra] S[ignoria] Illustrissima, che conoscerà se fui mal avvisato in soggettarmi alla strettezza del tempo in comporlo, fui però altro, e tanto accorto in consacrarlo alla grandezza di Lei,

[^67]:    per eternare la debolezza dell'opera con la sua protezzione. Supplico V[ostra] S[ignoria] Illustrissima a non sdegnare questo mio umilissimo dono. Le Deità gradiscono i sacrifizi più puri, purché siano accompagnati da un'anima adorante, e devota. Le rassegno intanto la mia immortale, ed obbligatissima servitù, ed a V[ostra] S[ignoria] Illustrissima umillissimo m'inchino. Venezia li 20 gennaio 1649." Orontea: Dramma musicale (Venice, 1649), 5-6.

    Anna Tedesco has taken Cicognini's statement about the short number of days spent writing Orontea at face value, likely during rehearsals for Giasone. She argues that Cicognini drew from an existing play of his, L'Adamira ovvero La statua dell'onore, to create Orontea, a hypothesis consistent with Cicognini's likely reliance on prose drafts of Giasone and Gl'amori in the process of creating each libretto (and which might also explain the longer amount of time needed to work on Giasone, if he first drafted out a prose version). For more on Cicognini's compositional process, see Tedesco, "Cicognini's Giasone: Between Music and Theater," in Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage: Manuscript, Edition, Production (London: Ashgate, 2013): 229-260; 246.
    ${ }^{40}$ See Appendix I, an edition of the First Impression (Venice 1649A), for the text and translation of the dedication letter for Giasone.

[^68]:    ${ }^{41}$ Castelli $(54,60)$ suggests that Cicognini was indeed a member of the Incogniti (although not one of the fortunate ones memorialized in Le Glorie degli Incogniti Overo Gli Huomini Illustri dell'Accademia de’ Signori Incogniti di Venezia, ed. Francesco Valvasense [Venice: Valvasense, 1647], which included Giulio Strozzi), although Bianconi does not go as far (Il Seicento [Turin: EDT, 1982], 189).
    ${ }^{42}$ See Nicola Badolato, "'Ecco reciso alfine il groppo de l'inganno': Giovanni Faustini's Euripo from the Sources to the Plot," in Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage, 261-73, 271. For more on the Accademia Delfica see Michele Maylender, Storia delle Accademie d’Italia, vol. 2 (Bologna: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1976), 156-57; and Mauro Calcagno, "Staging Musical Discourses in Seventeenth-Century Venice: Francesco Cavalli's Eliogabalo (1667)" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 2000), 14-18.
    ${ }^{43}$ "On the $21^{\text {st }}$ in the morning, after the [litany?] of the saints, the Office for the Dead was uttered in prayer for the soul of Sir Giacinto Andrea Cicognini, our brother who has passed onto a better life." (A di 21 detto la mattina dopo le tanie de' Santi si disse l'offitio de' morti per suffragio dell'animo di Messer Iacinto Andrea Cicognini nostro fratello passato a migliore vita). Archivio di stato, Florence, "Compagnie e Conventi Religiosi Soppresi da Pietro Leopoldo," n. 163, Libro di Ricordi e Partiti, c. 98r; cited in Cancedda/Castelli 64n129.
    ${ }^{44}$ "Fu così copiosa nelle materie sceniche la vena del Dottor Giacinto Andrea Cicognini, che anco dopo la sua morte manda fuori, quasi a torrenti, opere non più vedute." Bartolomeo Lupardi, Dedicatory Letter to Filippo Raspone, for Giacinto Andrea Cicognini, Il Principe Giardiniero (Bracciano: Bartolomeo Lupardi, 1664).

[^69]:    ${ }^{45}$ A dedication on the manuscript for Don Gastone (I-Fl, Fondo Antinori n. 33) was penned by Cicognini himself and addressed to Vincenzo Giraldi, a nobleman: "Here is my Don Gastone: I pray that you receive it under your protection, and that in Donna Violante's constancy and Don Mericchej's loyalty you might consider it-among so many others-a model of the devotion that I owe and profess to your Most Illustrious Lordship, to whom I bend my knee most humbly. On the $2^{\text {nd }}$ of September, 1642. Of your Most Illustrious Lordship, your most obliged and devoted servant, Giacinto Andrea Cicognini" ("Eccovi il mio Don Gastone: La supplico a riceverlo sotto la Sua protezione e nella costanza di Donna Violante e nella lealtà di Don Merichej potrà considerare fra tanto un modello della devozione che io devo e professo a V[ostra] S[ignoria] Ill[ustrissi]ma alla quale umilis[silme]nte mi inchino. Di casa li 2 di $7 m b r e$ 1642. Di V[ostra] S[ignoria] Ill[ustrissi]ma Oblig[atissi]mo e Dev[otissi]mo Serv[itore] Hiacinto Andrea Cicognini"). Donna Violante and Don Mericchej are characters in this work.

[^70]:    ${ }^{46}$ Among the many examples: "The compositions of Cicognini, worthily praised by the Virtuosi, were first made known more through public acclaim than through the light of the printing press." ("Li componimenti del Cicognini, degnamente celebrati dal numero de' Virtuosi, sono prima comparsi a dar saggio di se stessi col commun grido che con la luce delle stampe.") Cicognini, La forza dell'Amicizia: Opera Tragica di Giacinto Andrea Cicognini Fiorentino (Viterbo: Gregorio e Giovanni Andreoli, 1659).
    47 "...Il Giasone del Signor D. Iacinto Andrea Cicognini [fu] rappresentato molte volte nelle più celebri Città d’Italia, e sempre onorato dagli spettatori, con testimoni d'applausi e di lode," dedication letter in Florence 1650, Giasone: Dramma musicale (Florence: Giovanni Antonio Bonardi, 1650), 3.
    ${ }^{48}$ See Michelassi, "Balbi’s Febiarmonici," 314.

[^71]:    ${ }^{49}$ In 1661, Abbot Antonio Ducci Guicciardini boasted to his friend Giovan Battista Ricciardi of having been the first to introduce the dramatic works of Tuscan authors to Rome-not through publication, but through performances held in his "accademietta" at the Trinità dei Monti. He went on to specify that "the first that I put on were the plays of Cicognini, of immortal memory, which were relished and applauded to a great extent" (le prime che feci vedere furono le opere di Cicognini, d'immortal memoria [le quali] furono gradite e applaudite al maggior segno). Salomè Vuelta García,
    "Pietro Susini e il teatro spagnuolo a Firenze nel XVII secolo" (Ph.D. dissertation, Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, 1999-2000), 60.
    ${ }^{50}$ While several of these might have been honest mistakes, it is just as likely that some of these works' publishers had profits in mind more than authorial integrity (see Cancedda/Castelli, 79, 365-403).
    ${ }^{51}$ While this last number is quite significant in comparison to the figures that are present, only actual knowledge of those dates-unfortunately unavailable to us-would furnish us with usable information (that could admittedly skew the balance of the data points).

[^72]:    ${ }^{52}$ Commedie del Cicognini. See Cancedda/Castelli, $91-95$ for a discussion and a list of the contents of these seven volumes. Each work within this set has been accounted for in the preceding table and graph.
    ${ }^{53}$ On separate occasions, Lupardi also printed a catalog of Cicognini's printed works, first in 1664 at the end of a reprint of Celio (Rome: Dragondelli), and later in 1668 at the end of an edition of Giovanni Andrea Moniglia's comedy All’Amico non si fida né la Donna né la Spada (Rome: Dragondelli). See Cancedda/Castelli, 67-68.
    ${ }^{54}$ Cancedda/Castelli (365-403) provide a list of known individual prints of these works.

[^73]:    ${ }^{57}$ For more on this adaptation by Bartolommei, as well as his comedy Gli offesi obbligati, see Nicola Michelassi and Salomé Vuelta-García, "Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla nella Firenze del Seicento: Due traduzioni di Mattias Maria Bartolommei," in Commedia e musica tra Spagna e Italia, ed. Maria Grazia Profeti (Florence: Alinea, 2009): 119-89.
    ${ }^{58}$ Mattias Maria Bartolommei, Le gelose caute (Florence: nella stampa di S. A. S., 1668), 5. Castelli (71) makes the point that Bartolommei's open declaration of his original source material was something that Cicognini never did, although of course this might be explained by the fact that the vast majority of his publications were posthumous.

[^74]:    59 "... Giacinto Andrea Cicognini intorno alla metà del secolo con più felice ardimento introdusse i drammi col suo Giasone, il quale per vero dire è il primo, e il più perfetto dramma, che si trovi, e con esso portò l'esterminio dell'istrionica, e per conseguenza della vera, e buona comica, e della tragica stessa; imperciocchè per maggiormente lusingare con la novità lo svogliato gusto degli spettatori, nauseati egualmente la viltà delle cose comiche, e la gravità delle tragiche l'inventor de' drammi unì l'una, e l'altra in essi, mettendo pratica con mostruosità non più udita tra re, ed eroi, ed altri illustri personaggi, e buffoni, e servi, e vilissimi uomini. Questo guazzabuglio di personaggi fu cagione del total guastamento delle regole poetiche, le quali andarono di tal maniera in disuso, che ne meno si riguardò più alla locuzione, la quale, costretta a servire alla musica, perdè la sua purità, e si riempì d'idiotismi." Giovanni Maria Crescimbeni, La bellezza della volgar poesia, Dialogue VI (Rome: Giovanni Francesco Buagni, 1700), 140.

[^75]:    ${ }^{60}$ Venice 1649A: "No, for Co- Co-..." (No, per Co- Co-...)
    ${ }^{61}$ "Intanto la poesia era quello, cui meno si badava dai compositori. Regolarità, sentimenti, caratteri, orditura, passioni, sceneggiare, buon senso, interesse teatrale erano contati per nulla. Personaggi fantastici, amori o indecenti, o romanzeschi, o ridicoli, o ricercati, ma sempre introdotti come principale costitutivo dei drammi, numi ed eroi mischiati tra buffoni, ciarle insignificanti fra gli uomini, un miscuglio di tragico e di comico, che non aveva né la vivacità di questo, né il sublime di quello, ne facevano allora il più cospicuo ornamento. Il lettore può senza scrupolo cavare una conseguenza circa il gusto generale del secolo dal seguente squarcio di un monologo tratto da un dramma, che fu con sommo applauso rappresentato in pressoché tutti i teatri d'Italia, il quale divenne lavoro pregiatissimo di un rinomato poeta. Egli è Ercole, che indirizza in questa guisa il discorso alle donne:

[^76]:    ${ }^{63}$ Fausta Antonucci, "Spunti tematici e rielaborazione di modelli spagnoli nel Don Gastone di Moncada di Giacinto Andrea Cicognini," in Tradurre, riscrevere, mettere in scena, ed. Maria Grazia Profeti (Florence: Alinea, 1996): 65-84, especially 65-66.
    ${ }^{64}$ Julius Leopold Klein, Geschichte des Dramas, vol. 5, "Geschichte des Italienischen Dramas" (Leipzig: Weigel, 1867), 666-719, and Alberto Lisoni, La drammatica italiana nel XVII secolo (Parma: Pellegrini, 1898), 61.
    ${ }^{65}$ See Anna Crinò, "Lope de Vega's Exertions for the Abolition of the Unities in Dramatic Practice," Modern Language Notes 76 (March 1961), 259-61.

[^77]:    ${ }^{66}$ Publius Terentius Afer, a Berber writer of comedies who was active in Rome from 166 B.C. to 160 B. C.
    67 "....Questa mia Commedia, come tante altre da me composte, e rappresentate, hanno tutte l'unità della favola ancor che in alcune di esse, fuori delle drammatiche, vi si scorga l'intrecciamento di due amori, del che nasce la multiplicità, o varietà delle parti, imitando in ciò Terenzio, che nell'arte ha avanzato tutti gli altri poeti del suo genere... Or mentre si osservino queste altre buone, ma strettisime regole, e che una sola azzione venga determinata, si verrà a formare una perfetta commedia.... Ma nelle tragedie, nelle drammatiche, e più in quelle che si compongono per rappresentarsi musicalmente, ho trovato che la duplicità degl'innamoramenti invece di abbellire la favola avrebbe apportato a me confusione, e tedio e disgusto alli spettatori." La finta mora (Florence: I Giunti, 1625), 5.

[^78]:    68 "Avrebbe volsuto l'autore terminare questa rappresentazione nella vittoria di David contro Golia sensa prosequire l'istoria, E abbracciare la seconda vittoria contro $i$ Filistei, attesa la distanza del tempo, che non dovrebbe eccedere un giro di Sole, al che in tutte le sue opere ha hauto il Dottor Cicognini grandissima avvertenza, per non uscire del verisimile, ma ommettendosi il secondo trionfo, bisognava anco tralasciare le nozze di David con Micol, che era tutto il complimento dell'opera, e l'intenzione dell'autore, al quale (per conseguire il suo fine) convenne rappresentare l'una e l'altra vittoria, imitando le rappresentazioni spagnuole, e quelle in specie del D. Lopes de Vega, il quale fin con lettere aveva consigliato, e pregato l'autore per fama da lui conosciuto, ad avvezzarsi a passare il giro delle 24. ore, e far prova del diletto, che porta seco il rappresentare azzioni, che passino lo spazio non solo di un giorno, ma anco di molti mesi, Eanni, acciò si goda de gli accidenti dell'Istoria, non con la narrativa dell'antefatto, ma con il dimostrare l'istesse azzioni in vari tempi seguite.
    "Si attenne l'autore al consiglio del Vega, nè si lasciò trasportare dal gusto di terminare l'opra con le nozze di David, e così bene divise queste azzioni con l'intervallo da un atto al'altro, e così bene intrecciò il grave con il ridicolo, il diletto con l'utile, l'istoria con l'invenzione, e così a proposito vi innestò, anzi interessò gli stessi cori, che li spettatori intelligenti confessorno averne sentito gusto non ordinario, e finalmente si vede che l'uso de'moderni, fondato nella compiacenza di chi ascolta, ha dilatato l'anguste e severe leggi della poetica, del che l'autore ne discorre diffusamente nel suo trattato stampato nel principio della sua Finta mora, commedia famosa, e tanto basti per scusa del medesimo autore, e per avvertimento ancora." Il trionfo di David (Florence: Zanobi Pignoni, 1633), 5.

[^79]:    ${ }^{69}$ For a multilingual edition of this work (containing translations into Italian, Portuguese, French, English, German, and Polish, see Lope de Vega: Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Commemoraciones Culturales, 2009).
    ${ }^{70}$ Translation by Victor Dixon, Ibid., 186. The original phrase, presented rhetorically by Lope in Latin, reads: "Humanae cur sit speculum comedia vitae..." (Ibid., 91).
    ${ }^{71}$ For example: "The events should happen in as short a time as possible, unless, that is, the plot is based on history, and some years must pass, or if a character must make a journey..." ("Pase en el menos tiempo que ser pueda, si no es cuando el poeta escriba historia en que hayan de pasar algunos años... o si fuere fuerza hacer algún camino una figura"), Ibid., 180; 81. For more on Lope de Vega and his successors, as well as theater (including operas and zarzuelas) in Spain in the seventeenth century, see Louise Stein, Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods: Music and Theatre in SeventeenthCentury Spain (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).
    ${ }^{72}$ Cancedda/Castelli, 35.
    ${ }^{73}$ The relevant excerpt from Bartolommei's dedicatory letter to Niccolò Strozzi reads as follows: "...for the advancement of this ['the exquisite and delicate taste and the perfect intelligence which You possess of such a noble and delightful poetry'] You have well often made clear the extraordinary effects of your liberal magnanimity, the fruits of which were harvested, more than anyone else, by Doctor Diacinto [sic] Andrea Cicognini, who, because he lived with the efficacious protection of Your Most Illustrious Lordship, was able to sneer at the biting teeth of others' envy..." ("...per l'avanzamento di questa ['lo squisito e delicato gusto e la perfetta intelligenza ch'Ella tiene di così nobile e dilettevole poesia'] Ella ha bene spesso fatti riconoscere effetti non ordinari della sua liberal magnificenza, ifrutti di cui colse più d'ogn'altro il dottor Diacinto [sic] Andrea Cicognini, il quale, siccome vivendo con la protezione efficace di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima, poté schernirsi dal dente mordace dell'altrui invidia...") Le gelose cautele, 5.

[^80]:    ${ }^{74}$ Al Señor Nicolo Strozzi / Lope de Vega Carpio. Its autograph is located in the Archivio di Stato in Florence (ASF, Carte Strozziane, III, Cod. 222, c. 3r), and was published by Luigi Fassò, "Dal carteggio di un ignoto lirico fiorentino," in Scritti varii di erudizione e critica in onore di Rodolfo Renier (Turin: Bocca, 1912), 401-18.
    ${ }^{75}$ Cancedda/Castelli, 72-73. Castelli has also proposed that itinerant Spanish actors in Italy might have introduced their country's plays to the populace-another means of access for Cicognini to Spanish source material. Michelassi/García, however, argue that their role was minimal in the dissemination of these plays, instead placing the burden of distribution more squarely on the shoulders of traveling companies originating in Italy, such as the Febiarmonici ("Il teatro spagnolo," 69). Indeed, their article provides a vast amount of context for the spread of Spanish theater in Florence during the early decades of the Seicento, in which Cicognini was merely a cog, albeit a pivotal and influential one.
    ${ }^{76}$ For another comparison between a Cicognini play and its Spanish model, see Diego Símini, "Casarse por vengarse di Rojas Zorrilla nella traduzione di Giacinto Andrea Cicognini: Maritarsi per vendetta," in Tradurre, riscrivere, mettere in scena, ed. Maria Grazia Profeti (Florence: Alinea, 1996): 95-116.
    ${ }^{77}$ Laura Dolfi, "Tirso e Cicognini: Due don Giovanni a confronto" in La festa teatrale ispanica: Atti del Convegno di studi, Napoli, 1-3 dicembre 1994, ed. Giovanni Battista De Cesare (Naples: Istituto universitario orientale, 1995), 12962, provides a close textual analysis of both works, while Laura Dolfi, "Il 'convitato di pietra' di G. A. Cicognini e la sua fonte spagnola," Studi secenteschi 37 (1996), 135-55, discusses larger thematic differences between the two plays.
    ${ }^{78}$ Fausta Antonucci, "Spunti tematici e rielaborazione di modelli spagnoli nel Don Gastone di Moncada di Giacinto Andrea Cicognini," in Tradurre, riscrivere, mettere in scena, ed. Maria Grazia Profeti (Florence: Alinea, 1996): 65-84.

[^81]:    ${ }^{79}$ The earliest surviving version of Convitato is from 1671 (Rome: Lupardi), as no manuscript or performance materials survive from its earlier incarnations in Florence or Pisa. As such, there is an element of uncertainty as to how much this version differs from what Cicognini had originally planned. Furthermore, I was unable to procure a copy of either text (Cicognini's or Tirso's) in time for this study.
    ${ }^{80}$ Not much is known of Burlador's performance history in Italy, beyond that it premiered in Naples in 1625 at the hands of Pietro Osorio to great acclaim, and then again in the same city in 1636 by Roque de Figueroa, who had been responsible for its earlier performances in Spain. There is no doubt, however, that Cicognini had obtained access to this work, although how remains uncertain.

[^82]:    ${ }^{81}$ The settings remain largely the same, as the action begins in Naples and then shifts to Castille.

[^83]:    ${ }^{82}$ It is worth noting as well that the male servant-type characters all use dialect at times, as they do in commedia dell'arte: Pantalone in Venetian, Dottore in Bolognese, Passarino in Bergamasque, and Fichetto in Lombardian.
    ${ }^{83}$ In her discussion, Dolfi postulates that Passarino was a recent local (Neapolitan) acquisition by Don Giovanni, probably in keeping with a custom prevalent at the time for Spanish nobles residing at the Neapolitan court (Dolfi, 154-55).

[^84]:    ${ }^{84}$ Carlo Goldoni, Memoires, see n62.
    ${ }^{85}$ See Dolfi, 145-49, for her discussion of the frequent allusions to ottonari and other scansions in Cicognini's text.
    ${ }^{86}$ Maylender, Storia delle accademie d'Italia, vol. 3, 317. For more on the circumstances (known to us) surrounding Convitato's premiere, see Michelassi/García, 90-91.

[^85]:    ${ }^{87}$ The earliest publication date for this play is 1658 , a year that saw publishers in three cities-Rome, Perugia, and Venice-independently issue prints of this work. For more on this, see Table 3.1, as well as Fausta Antonucci, "Spunti tematici," 67-70.

[^86]:    88 "La scena nel Primo Atto rappresenta la Campagna della Ducea di Villa Reale. Nel Secondo, e Terzo Atto città, e Palazzo di Aragona." Giacinto Andrea Cicognini, Don Gastone di Moncada (Rome: Giuseppe Corvo and Bartolomeo Lupardi, 1675), 5. The Prologue features Love, Vulcan, Betrayal, and Death (Amore, Vulcano, Tradimento, Morte), and the final scene ends with a dialogue between Hymen (Imeneo) and Love; these appeared in the original manuscript of 1642 as well (Cancedda/Castelli, 164-66), although they are immaterial to the plot proper.
    ${ }^{89}$ The sole exception is "Merichex" (which appears this way in the Perugia 1658 print, although as "Meriches" in the Rome 1658 and 1675 prints), a name whose origin is unclear; Antonucci has postulated that it is derived from "Meríquez" or perhaps "Manríquez," a variant of Manrique, the analogous character in Tirso's Cómo han de ser los amigos (discussed further below). See Antonucci, 72. Manríquez, it should be noted, might have been Italianized into "Manrico," although perhaps Cicognini wished to retain an exotic flavor for the central character of this play.

[^87]:    ${ }^{90}$ Although Gustos $y$ disgustos premiered only three years before Don Gastone was completed, Antonucci argues convincingly, based on the plot similarities, that Cicognini must have had access to a manuscript or perhaps a lost print of the play (the first surviving Italian publication of Gustos $y$ disgustos is from 1657, although its edition license, dated 21 October 1656, indicates that it was given for this "printing a second time" ["imprimirlas segunda vez"]); Ibid., 74.

[^88]:    ${ }^{91}$ For more on this work, see Antonucci, 78.
    ${ }^{92}$ For a more in-depth discussion of this play, see Matthew A. Wyszynski, "'Cupido atropellado': The Dominance of Friendship in Tirso de Molina's Cómo han de ser los amigos," Bulletin of the Comediantes 63 (2011), 59-73.

[^89]:    ${ }^{93}$ In using this term I reference the "Rossini crescendo," a technique involving added instruments and repeated phrases employed by the nineteenth-century opera composer in many of his overtures and first act finales (see Philip Gossett's discussion of the crescendo in the Overture to Maometto II in "The Overtures of Rossini," 19"-Century Music 3 [1979]: 3-31; 10-11) Of course, the Cicognini crescendo does not rely on music, but on the addition of and interaction between a growing number of characters on stage, mirroring the forward drive of the plot.

[^90]:    ${ }^{94}$ As does Le gelosie fortunate del Principe Rodrigo (III.18-III.21), written in 1647; La moglie di quattro mariti (III.8-12); Il marito delle due mogli (III.14-18); and Il pietro celestino (III.5-9), of the plays I have had access to. It should be noted that others of his works do not follow this scheme (La forza dell'amicizia, or Il maritarsi per vendetta).
    ${ }^{95}$ See, for example, Bianconi/Walker, "Dalla finta pazza alla Veremonda," op. cit.; Wendy Heller's discussion of both operas in her dissertation, "Chastity, Heroism, and Allure: Women in the Opera of Seventeenth-Century Venice" (Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University, 1995), 303-62; and Heller, "Amazons, Astrology and the House of Aragon," op. cit.

[^91]:    ${ }^{96}$ Bianconi/Walker, 450.

[^92]:    ${ }^{97}$ See Heller, "Chastity, Heroism and Allure," 316-23, for a more detailed scene-by-scene synopsis of the entire opera.

[^93]:    ${ }^{98}$ The most recent study of Orontea, now nearly half a century old, was by William Holmes, with an essay and an edition of its libretto and then score by Antonio Cesti both published in 1968: "Giacinto Andrea Cicognini's and Antonio Cesti's Orontea (1649)," in New Looks at Italian Opera: Esssays in Honor of Donald J. Grout, ed. William W. Austin (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968): 108-32; Orontea, regina d'Egitto: An Opera in Three Acts, ed. and trans. William Holmes (Ithaca: Cornell University Theatre, 1968); and Orontea, ed. William Holmes (Wellesley: Wellesley College, 1973).
    ${ }^{99}$ See Anna Tedesco, "Cicognini’s Giasone: Between Music and Theater," especially 241-49, for a more detailed discussion of these sources as well as Cicognini's working method in adapting the prose Adamira into the libretto for Orontea.
    ${ }^{100}$ See Jane Glover, review of Orontea, ed. William C. Holmes, Music \& Letters 55/3 (1974), 355-57. Glover dates the earliest known performance of Cesti's setting of Orontea to 1656.

[^94]:    ${ }^{101}$ Holmes, "Cicognini's and Cesti's Orontea," 121-23.

[^95]:    ${ }^{102}$ Fausta Antonucci and Lorenzo Bianconi ("Plotting the Myth of Giasone," in Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage, 201-27) have identified many, if not all, of the sources of Greek mythology that would have been available to a librettist in the 1640s, which would have included Remigio Nannini's version of Ovid's Heroides (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari and Brothers, 1555), Giovanni Andrea dell'Anguillara's version of Ovid's Metamorphoses (Venice: Griffio, 1561), and Natale Conti's Mythologiae (Venice: Comin da Trino, 1568).
    ${ }^{103}$ For more on this topic see Rosand, Opera, 59-65, 125-43.
    ${ }^{104}$ See Antonucci/Bianconi, 213-22.
    ${ }^{105}$ It is worth noting that Demo the stuttering hunchback, one of Giasone's most famous figures (and a character whose scenes were rarely touched in successive productions-see Chapter 1), was not in fact an original idea by Cicognini: Nicolò Fontei and Francesco Melosio's Sidonio e Dorisbe (1642) features a hunchback named Grimora (see Paolo Fabbri, Il secolo cantante: Per una storia del libretto d'opera in Italia nel Seicento (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 2003 ), 92. Indeed, making Demo a hunchback may not even have been Cicognini's own idea, but Cavalli's or that of someone else present during the revision/rehearsal stage; Demo's original incarnation in the prose version (likely a preliminary draft for the libretto-see Chapter 4, also Anna Tedesco, "Cicognini's Giasone," and "Il metodo compositivo di Giacinto Andrea Cicognini") was simply Truffaldino, a commedia dell'arte stock character.

[^96]:    ${ }^{106}$ For more on Faustini's life and career, as well as his turn to impresarial duties in 1650, see Rosand, Opera, 169-75. Nicola Badolato, I drammi musicali di Giovanni Faustini per Francesco Cavalli (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2012), presents editions of his ten librettos set to music by Cavalli from 1642-52, as well as a closer analysis of Faustini's writing procedures that I largely draw from in this section.
    ${ }^{107}$ See Nicola Badolato, "Sulle fonti dei drammi per musica di Giovanni Faustini per Francesco Cavalli: alcuni esempi di 'ars combinatoria,"" Musica e Storia 16 (2008), 341-84.

[^97]:    ${ }^{108}$ Rosand (Opera, 169) plausibly suggests that Faustini's statement (made in 1651 in the prefatory material to his Oristeo) that "I am not one of those... who write to please their own caprices" (Io non son di quelli... che scrivono per dilettare il proprio capricio) is a dig aimed directly at Cicognini, invoking the Florentine playwright's own choice of words used in the "al lettore" of his Giasone. Faustini, as a self-professed librettist, took himself and his work too seriously to partake of the whimsical culture of libretto composition that his Venetian peers were a part of. This would seem to indicate that perhaps the two librettists did not often meet to share ideas over tea and crumpets, even if, as Badolato has suggested, the two librettists likely rubbed shoulders on occasion ("'Ecco reciso alfine,"" 271-72).

[^98]:    ${ }^{109}$ Editions consulted: Giovanni Faustini, La virtù de' strali d'amore (Venice: Pietro Miloco, 1642), and the critical edition contained within Badolato, I drammi musicali, 65-115.

[^99]:    ${ }^{110}$ There may be a typography-related issue at play here: in the original libretto of 1642, Evagora appears on the page initially as "Euag." (La virtù de' strali d'amore, 92), and then later the pages are filled with "Eu.," which might be interpreted as a further abbreviation of "Euagora," or an indication that "Eumete" is speaking. The final lines of the scene, however, are given to an "Eum." The initial exchange between Evagora and his son is as follows (character name abbreviations reproduced from original libretto, text from Badolato, I drammi, 113):

[^100]:    article, the only work mentioning Faustini and Cicognini in the same breath is Paolo Fabbri, Il secolo cantante, 83n17, 165-66. However, in neither instance is link between librettists strongly asserted.
    113 "Eurimedonte Prencipe d'Egitto, che data la fede secretamente di maritaggio ad Eritrea, erasi poscia innamorato di Laodicea. / Laodicea Reina di Fenicia, innamorata, e sposa di Eritrea creduta Periandro. / Eritrea Prencipessa Assiria creduta Periandro, il Re morto suo fratello. Questa, già destinata moglie di Theramene, innamoratasi di Eurimedonte, se ne passa alle nozze di Laodicea come Re, per levarla all'amato egizio che, scordatosi di lei, amava la prencipessa fenicia. / Theramene Prencipe Assirio, che credendo morta Eritrea, al cui letto era stato chiamato dal morto Periandro, adorava anco le bellezze giudicate defonte e con esse delirava." Giovanni Faustini, Ericlea (Venice: Andrea Giuliani, 1652), 13.

[^101]:    ${ }^{114}$ A preliminary survey of other librettos from the late 1630 s until the late 1640 s from the Raccolta di Drammi (Venetian opera libretto collection) located at the University of California, Los Angeles, including works by Benedetto Ferrari, Orazio Persiani, Paolo Vendramin, Giacomo Badoaro, Giulio Strozzi, and Giovanni Francesco Busenello (and made possible by a generous grant from the William Holmes and Frank D'Accone Fund under the auspices of the American Musicological Society) has shown that Faustini and Cicognini were likely unique in attempting this crescendo technique, although further research will be required to ascertain this fully, as well as to see how librettists like Nicolò Minato and Aurelio Aureli, during the 1650s and beyond, treated their Act III character structures.
    ${ }^{115}$ Rosand, Opera, 275-80.

[^102]:    ${ }^{1}$ It is worth noting that the full version of the libretto's Argomento, found only in Venice 1649A and its reprint, Venice 1664, contains a synopsis of these very events (the Argomenti contained in subsequent Giasone librettos discuss only the events leading up to the start of the opera); the role of the gods in these events is given center stage, with the action summarized from their point of view. For a translation of the Argomento see Appendix I.

[^103]:    ${ }^{2}$ Information on the present-day locations for these countries can be found in Fausta Antonucci and Lorenzo Bianconi's "Plotting the Myth of Giasone," in Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage: Manuscript, Edition, Production, ed. Ellen Rosand (London: Ashgate, 2013), 201-28: 204; as well as their detailed discussion of the plot and plot mechanics in the recent facsimile edition of Il novello Giasone, ed. Nicola Usula (Milan: Ricordi, 2013), IX-XXIV, XXXVn21.
    ${ }^{3}$ There exist two scenari for Giasone, one printed in Palermo 1655 and the other in Trent 1664 (see Appendix II). I discuss the Palermo source with regard to a Neapolitan group of sources further below.
    ${ }^{4}$ In the main body of my dissertation I refer to characters by their in-opera, Italian names for the sake of consistency; please see Appendix I for their English analogues.

[^104]:    ${ }^{5}$ Cicognini's version of Giasone is, of course, vastly different from the mythological sources recounting the travels of Jason and the Argonauts-nowhere more than in its happy ending. The traditional form of that myth culminates with the death of Jason and Medea's children at the hands of their own mother, furious with Jason at leaving her for another woman once they reached Corinth. It is clear, though, that the lieto fine of the opera fit more closely with the festive atmosphere of the Venetian Carnival during which it, like other operas during this period, received its premiere. The most complete source for the original story is Apollonius Rhodius' Argonautica from the $3^{\text {rd }}$ century B.C., although it is unlikely that Cicognini would have had access to that particular poem (see Michele Curnis, "'Vantaggioso patto / toccar con gl'occhi e rimirar col tatto': drammaturgia, poetica, retorica nel Giasone di Cicognini," Musica e Storia 12 [2004], 35-90). On further differences and incongruities between Cicognini's version and that from classical mythology, see Antonucci and Bianconi, "Plotting the Myth of Giasone."
    ${ }^{6}$ John Langshaw Austin, How to Do Things With Words (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962).

[^105]:    ${ }^{7}$ Assertives commit the speaker to the truth of his utterance (for example, a creed); commissives commit the speaker to a future action (for example, promises); directives are imperative statements (for example, commands or advice); expressives are reactive statements (for example, congratulations or excuses); and declaratives assert a new reality or fact (for example, christenings or wedding pronouncements). See John Rogers Searle, "A Taxonomy of Illocutionary Acts," in Language, Mind, and Knowledge, ed. Keith Günderson (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1975), 344-69. See also his Expression and Meaning (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
    ${ }^{8}$ Marina Sbisà and Paolo Fabbri, "Models (?) For a Pragmatic Analysis," Journal of Pragmatics 4 (1980): 301-19; 305.

[^106]:    ${ }^{9}$ Sbisà is often cited as one of the editors, along with James Opie Urmson, of Austin's lectures that would become How to Do Things With Words (op. cit.).
    ${ }^{10}$ See Algirdas J. Greimas, Du sens: Essais sémiotiques (Paris: Seuil, 1970), as well as Greimas and Joseph Courtés, Semiotics and Language: An Analytical Dictionary, trans. Larry Crist (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982). Marina Sbisà's work on incorporating speech act theory with Greimas' narrative semiotics can be seen in her "On Illocutionary Types," Journal of Pragmatics 8 (1984), 93-112 as well as Linguaggio, Ragione, Interazione (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1989), and "Azione linguistica e status dei partecipanti," in Di Pietro e il giudice: l'interrogatorio al tribunale di Brescia, ed. Renata Galatolo and Gabriele Pallotti (Bologna: Pitagora, 1998), 61-67.
    ${ }^{11}$ Sbisà, "On Illocutionary Types," 107.

[^107]:    ${ }^{12}$ Teun Van Dijk, Text and Context: Explorations in the Semantics and Pragmatics of Discourse (London: Longman, 1976), 232-47, especially 234.
    ${ }^{13}$ Keir Elam, The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama (London: Methuen, 1980), especially 83-104. Other notble theater scholars who have dealt with this concept include Manfred Pfister, Das Drama: Theorie und Analyse (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1977), trans. John Halliday as The Theory and Analysis of Drama (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Mary Louise Pratt, Toward a Speech Act Theory of Literary Discourse (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977); Tzvetan Todorov, Genres in Discourse, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978; 1990); and Alessandro Serpieri, "Ipotesi teorica di segmentazione del testo teatrale," in Come comunica il teatro: dal testo alla scena (Milan: Il Formichiere, 1978), 11-54; and Marco De Marinis, The Semiotics of Performance, trans. Aine O'Healy (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993).
    ${ }^{14}$ Philip Ernst Rupprecht, "Peter Grimes: The force of operatic utterance," in Britten's Musical Language (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 32-74.
    ${ }^{15}$ Mauro Calcagno, "Dramatizing Discourse in Seventeenth-Century Opera: Music as Illocutionary Force in Francesco Cavalli’s Giasone (1649)," in Word, Image, and Song: Essays on Early Modern Italy, ed. Rebecca Cypess, Beth L. Glixon, and Nathan Link (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2013), 318-43.

[^108]:    ${ }^{16}$ For a brief history of this device, see Henry Thomas Barnwell, "'They Have Their Exists and Their Entrances': Stage and Speech in Corneille's Drama," The Modern Language Review 81 (1986): 51-63, especially 52-53. See also Harold Stone Powers, "Il Serse Trasformato," The Musical Quarterly 47 (1961): 481-92 and (1962): 73-92, especially 483-87; and Reinhard Strohm, Dramma per musica: Italian Opera Seria of the Eighteenth Century (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 187-91.
    ${ }^{17}$ The Brescia 1690 libretto specifically states that beyond its new title of Medea in Colco, the opera has been altered to suit French tastes; for more on this see Chapter 1.

[^109]:    ${ }^{18}$ While Oreste (Orestes) shares a name with the mythological son of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, there are no hints in Giasone to indicate they are at all the same figure.

[^110]:    ${ }^{19}$ This location does not appear in the original First Impression (Venice 1649A), but only in the Second Impression (Venice 1649B) that was printed after Giasone's premiere.

[^111]:    ${ }^{20}$ See Elam, The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama, 169-70, for a discussion on the difference between actor and character, and to whom the sincerity of illocution falls.

[^112]:    ${ }^{21}$ Richard Ohmann, "Literature as Act," in Approaches to Poetics, ed. Seymour Chatman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), 81-107, 83.
    ${ }^{22}$ Austin, 122.
    ${ }^{23}$ An early instance in which "interlocution" was used with respect to speech acts (relating both speaker and hearer) can be seen in Francis Jacques, Dialogiques (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1979). See also Daniel Vanderveken, Meaning and Speech Acts: Principles of Language Use, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 168n4.

[^113]:    ${ }^{24}$ Rosand suggests the latter; see Opera, 272n34.
    ${ }^{25}$ This is not to say that comic characters cannot persuade the principal characters with their words, nor that this persuasion does not find its way eventually into the main action: in III.8, Oreste's plea to Isifile to stay and feed her children before leaving to meet Giasone are responsible for the chain of events ultimately leading to Medea's reconciliation with Egeo, and Isifile's with Giasone.

[^114]:    ${ }^{26}$ Giasone does, however, follow the Aristotelian unities to some extent. The events within the opera, while spanning two different lands (Colchis and Caucasian Iberia), fit squarely into the span of a single day: Act I begins at dawn,

[^115]:    ${ }^{27}$ For more on the complex stage machinery that impresarios and scenographers had at their disposal in Venetian theaters, 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), esp. Chapter 9, "Scenery and Machines." As I discuss further below, the ability to quickly and efficiently layer different levels of scenery in the background (and middleground) would have allowed the Venetians to easily demarcate distinct locations within Colchis or Caucasion Iberia, whereas the lack of such machinery in the Viceroy's Palace in Naples would likely have made location a more nebulous marker; indeed, adjustments were made there to minimize abrupt shifts in location.

[^116]:    ${ }^{28}$ It is likely that this omission in Venice 1649A was a typographical error, one of those that were addressed for the "corrected" Second Impression (per the description on its title page).

[^117]:    ${ }^{29}$ All references to shifted scenes will be based on the scene structure of Venice 1649 A, with the exception of a mistake in the numbering scheme that labeled II. 8 as II.13. Rosmina's solo scene in Act I, for example, will be labeled as I.3, and not I. 7 (as it appears in most sources within the Naples Group).

[^118]:    ${ }^{30}$ For more on this, see Roberta Carpani, "Comici, Febiarmonici e Gesuiti a Milano: Intrecci e contaminazioni; Problemi della circolazione delle opere di Francesco Cavalli," Musica e Storia 16 (2008): 5-40. It is possible that by moving II. 8 to the end of Act II, it was reconceptualized as an intermedio of sorts (Carlo Lanfossi, private correspondence).
    ${ }^{31}$ Naples 1651, Naples 1661, Naples 1667, Naples 1672, Palermo 1655, Velletri 1660, Venice 1661, and VeniceXX [1662].

[^119]:    ${ }^{32}$ It must be said, though, that Oreste himself speaks of having come "to this palace" ("a questa reggia") in I.6, v. 461. Foreign encroachment by servant-class characters on royal grounds was evidently not an issue for Cicognini.
    33 " Rosmina, insospettita, all'uscir di non so qual'uomini dal real giardino, comincia a provare gli stimoli d'amore; ed imperò si riconsiglia anch'ella di procurarsi amanti," from Contezza del Giasone, dramma musicale (Palermo: Nicolò Bua, 1655), 6.
    ${ }^{34}$ The following sources cut this scene entirely: Milan 1660, Milan 1662, Milan XXM [1663], MilanXXRa [1651], MilanXXRe [1680], Bologna 1673, Florence 1650, Florence 1651, Florence 1656, Bologna 1651, Genoa 1651, TurinXX, Viterbo 1659, Perugia 1663, Venice 1666, Ancona 1665, Reggio 1668, Rome 1671, Rome 1676, Brescia 1690, the manuscript libretto, Lisbon, and Siena.

[^120]:    ${ }^{35}$ See Nicola Michelassi, "Balbi's Febiarmonici and the First 'Road Shows' of Giasone (1649-1653)," in Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage: Manuscript, Edition, Production, ed. Ellen Rosand (London: Ashgate, 2013), 307-20.

[^121]:    ${ }^{36}$ Naples 1651, Naples 1661, Naples 1667, Naples 1672, Velletri 1660, Venice 1661, VeniceXX [1662], Milan 1655, and Naples C.

[^122]:    ${ }^{37}$ See Sbisà, "On Illocutionary Types" and Calcagno, "Dramatizing Discourse."

[^123]:    ${ }^{38}$ There are, however, instances where characters directly address themselves when alone. In her scene with Oreste (II.2) following his arrival and revelation that Giasone has taken up with another woman, Isifile cycles through depression and desparation before stating the following, after Oreste has left her: "Ma che vaneggio, o misera? / ... Son disperata sì, ma son regina / Disperazion sta meco? / Non ti perder, coraggio, / ritroviamo quest'empio" (But what do I ramble about, o miserable one? ... I'm desperate, yes, but I'm a queen / Despair is with me? / Don't lose courage, [self] / We'll find this wicked man again).
    ${ }^{39}$ MilanXX [1651], Milan 1658, Milan 1660, MilanXXA [1662], Milan 1662, MilanXXM [1663], MilanXXRe [1680], Bologna 1673.

[^124]:    ${ }^{40}$ I-Nc 20.1.6.

[^125]:    ${ }^{41}$ Of these sources, only Ancona 1665 maintains the same scene numbers as the original Venetian productions. Due to Isifile's shifted scene (I. 14 to II.1) and an added scene for Erino Paggio in the other sources, Oreste and Alinda's dialogue begins on II. 11 in Milan 1655, and II. 10 in the rest (the scene between Giove, Eolo, and Amore is cut entirely in these mostly Neapolitan sources).

[^126]:    ${ }^{42}$ Naples 1651, Naples 1661, Naples 1667, Naples 1672, Palermo 1655, Velletri 1660, Venice 1661, and VeniceXX [1662], Ancona 1665.

[^127]:    ${ }^{43}$ See Chapter 2 for a discussion of these scores.
    ${ }^{44}$ Both scores make the same mistake in numbering scenes, skipping from III. 7 directly to III. 9 (although the scene content remains the same as Venice 1649A), and with the error carrying in each subsequent scene number until the end of the opera. Furthermore, II. 4 and III. 3 are incorporated into their previous scenes in each score, with no demarcation of a new scene or scene number. However, Florence carries this a step further, incorporating I. 11 into I.10, and II. 4 into II.3. In all cases, the scene numbers following these errors are carried over until the end of each act.
    ${ }^{45}$ Milan 1658, Milan 1660, Milan 1662, MilanXXM [1663], MilanXXRa [1651], MilanXXRe [1680], Bologna 1673, Milan 1651, Florence 1650, Florence 1651, Florence 1656, Bologna 1651, Genoa 1651, TurinXX [1662], Perugia 1663, Venice 1666, Viterbo 1659, Viterbo 1665, Livorno 1656, Venice 1661, VeniceXX [1662], Naples 1651, Naples 1661, Velletri 1660, Naples 1667, Naples 1672, Reggio 1668, Genoa 1681, Vicenza 1658, Ferrara 1659, Piacenza 1655, Ancona 1665, Rome 1671, Rome 1676, the manuscript libretto, Naples A, Naples B,

[^128]:    ${ }^{46}$ One source, Milan 1655, is worth mentioning: it removes III.10, but leaves III. 1 intact. This libretto is problematic from a philological standpoint in other ways as well, as it does not fit neatly into any of the source groups defined in Chapter 1 of this dissertation.
    ${ }^{47}$ There are two other scenes featuring Delfa alone that are cut in a very small number of sources: II.8, in which Delfa reminisces about youthful love and then notes Giasone's arrival, is removed in Venice 1666; and I.13, discussed above in relation to Isifile's introductory scene, is removed in Vicenza 1658 and Ancona 1665. Needless to say, neither scene is particularly integral to the plot.
    ${ }^{48}$ Significantly, this aria was apparently never set to music; the scores that include this scene (all, with the exception of Novello Giasone) contain music only for the recitative that follows. Anna Tedesco has postulated that this aria was omitted in order to maintain the pacing of the action, in "Cicognini's Giasone Between Music and Theater," in Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Modern Stage: Manuscript, Edition, Production, ed. Ellen Rosand (London: Ashgate, 2013), 229-60.

[^129]:    ${ }^{49}$ See Jennifer Williams Brown, "On the Road with the 'Suitcase Aria': The Transmission of Borrowed Arias in Late Seventeenth-Century Italian Opera," Journal of Musicological Research 15 (1995), 4-23.

[^130]:    ${ }^{50}$ It is notable that this is a through-composed aria even though the text is strophic in nature, containing two stanzas in versi settenari (with each penultimate verse in endecasillabo). I will address this, as well as its setting in duple meter, in the following chapter.
    ${ }^{51}$ The scenario for a performance in Trent/Rovereto, 1664, records a unique production in which both the original scene and this new one were used. The summary of this scene reads simply: after Giasone falls senseless, Trufaldino (a name given to Demo in the prose versions as well-discussed below) attempts to kill him ("Trufaldino tenta d'uccider Giasone," Cicognini, Il Giasone [Trent: Zanetti, 1664], 8). This production was distinctive in another way as well, featuring an entire cast composed solely of male singers.

[^131]:    ${ }^{52}$ See Il Ciro: Drama per musica (Venice: Giovanni Pietro Pinelli, 1654), 14-16; copy consulted: I-Mb
    Racc.Dram.1951. Premiered in Naples in 1653, this work was brought to Venice by Giovan Battista Balbi in 1654, with additional music for this new production composed by none other than Francesco Cavalli. Il Ciro's Prologue features an additional character, La Curiosità, which does not make an appearance in the Vicenza Giasone. Prologues to several other operas from the mid-seventeenth century have also featured a similar competition among the Arts. Notably, Aurelio Aureli and Cavalli's Erismena features the same Prologue as Il Ciro (La Curiosità included).

    53 "Del Giason la musica/le scene/le macchine/le parole / tutto omai si fini. / Diasi principio a recitarlo sì."
    ${ }^{54}$ Andrea Garavaglia, "Der Paragone der Opernkünste in den italienischen Prologen des 17. Jahrhunderts: Sorgen um die Oper als Gesamtkunstwerk?" Musica e Storia 17/2 (2009): 253-291.

[^132]:    ${ }^{55}$ Data taken from Franco Mancini, Maria Teresa Muraro, and Elena Povoledo, eds., I teatri del Veneto, vol. 2, "Verona, Vicenza, Belluno e il loro territorio" (Venice: Corbo e Fiore, 1985-2000).
    ${ }^{56}$ Ibid., 236.
    ${ }^{57}$ "Ben è stato necessario abbreviarla a tutto possibile, così necessitando le circostanze di questi giorni." From Cicognini, Giasone (Vicenza: Giacomo Amadio, 1658), 4. Vicenza 1658 removes I. 13 (Delfa), II. 8 (Giove, Amore, Eolo), III. 1 (Oreste, Delfa), and III. 10 (Medea). These scene cuts are largely consistent with those made in other productions of Giasone at the time; perhaps these are the "circumstances" to which Bissari was referring.

[^133]:    ${ }^{58}$ It should be noted that Giove does not initially name Amore when he speaks in the Vicenza libretto ("Hai vinto, hai vinto..."-"You have won, you have won"), whereas in the original version he directly addresses the younger god ("Hai vinto, Amor, hai vinto..."). At the end of his brief encomium in both versions, however, Giove does salute the "trionfante arciero" ("triumphant archer"), leaving little doubt as to the addressee.
    ${ }^{59}$ See Antonucci and Bianconi, "Plotting the Myth of Giasone," 206-13.

[^134]:    ${ }^{60}$ Also among the dedicatees were Benetto Zorzi and Giacomo Celsi; all three are referred to as the "protectors" of Teatro San Cassiano on the libretto.
    ${ }^{61}$ The act of substituting recitative for arias was, of course, not new at this point in the seventeenth century; as early as 1650, the Febiarmonici replaced Isifile's opening recitative with an aria ("Lassa, che far degg'io") that quickly became the standard opening for her scene outside Venice.

[^135]:    ${ }^{62}$ "I doubt that you could be bored by the performance of a drama that has shown its worth to great pomp across theaters in Europe." ("Dubiterei che potesse infastidirti la recita d'un dramma, che sui teatri d'Europa ha fatto pompa del suo valore." Cicognini, Il Giasone [Venice: Camillo Bortoli, 1666], 7.)
    ${ }^{63}$ Also performed that season (see Lorenzo Bianconi, "Caletti," in Dizionario biografico degli italiani 16 [Rome, 1973]: 692), Cavalli's Scipione affricano (premiered 1664) did not, however, receive similar "novello" billing as Giasone did. Notably, the printed libretto for this production lists myriad stage machinery employed, including flying apparatus, various chariots, and even a boat (the Novello Giasone libretto does not), ostensibly to whet the audience's appetite for mechanical marvels during the performance.
    ${ }^{64}$ Although the libretto's title page bears the designation "performed in Rome's new Theater Tordinona" ("recitato nel Teatro nuovo di Roma, in Tordinona"), rather than the more specific "to be performed" ("da recitarsi") label seen on some librettos for Giasone and other operas, one of the libretto's central gambits involved a ruse concerning the Prologue, which I will discuss below.

[^136]:    ${ }^{65}$ Poesia: "Vorrei se pur si puote / d'un aria al dramma aggiunta / provar due sole note" ("If possible, I would like to practice merely two notes of an aria added to this drama").
    ${ }^{66}$ Two copies of this scene can be found in a collection of Stradella's prologues, intermezzos, and substitute arias for Il novello Giasone and other operas, contained in two volumes located in I-MOe, MS Mus. F. 1130 (ff. 59r-64v) and ITn, MS Giordano 13 (ff. 65r-71v). At this point in the Prologue, both copies contain the direction "Qui ci va un'aria come piace e poi" ("Here goes an aria as [the singer] pleases], and then [the rest of the Prologue]," whereas both scores for Il novello Giasone write out the above aria. See Owen Jander, "The Prologues and Intermezzos of Alessandro Stradella," Analecta musicologica 7 (1969): 87-111; and Carolyn Gianturco, ed. Opera Omnia: Alessandro Stradella; edizione critica (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2000). It is likely that the choice of this specific aria in these scores is indicative of what was actually sung at that performance, although from Stradella's annotation, he probably had no inclination one way or another as to which of his newly composed arias were inserted.
    ${ }^{67}$ See Jander, "The Prologues and Intermezzos," 97, and Rosand, Opera, 160n22. No such direction exists in the libretto, although it ends with Fama (fame) paralleling events on stage with the statement "strugge le frodi, e le menzogne atterra" ("the fraudulent are destroyed, and the fabrications run aground").

[^137]:    ${ }^{68}$ Venus' chariot ("Carro di Venere") appears fourth in this list, although she does not appear anywhere in the libretto proper. Even stranger is a scene listed as the "Farewell" ("l'Adio") in the cast of characters, which include Venere and Amore. This scene appears in neither libretto nor score.
    ${ }^{69}$ Further similarities in structure between these two sources tie them together: both are unique in removing I.1, featuring Ercole and Besso (a libretto printed in Genoa, 1681 is the only other source that does this), while sharing similar scene cuts with other sources (see Chapter 1).

[^138]:    ${ }^{70}$ This chorus sings a short refrain each time: "O luminoso Dio, I lucid'occhio del ciel, ché il cieco mondo / illustri, di splendor padre fecondo" ("O luminous God, lucid eye of heaven, may you illuminate the blind world with the Father's fertile splendor"). The refrain serves to bookend the Prologue, and in doing so, further buffers the gods' agency from having an effect on any events within the main plot.
    ${ }^{71}$ On the diminishing role of the prologue during this century, see Rosand, Opera, 160, 195n101; and Robin A. Miller, "The Prologue in the Seventeenth-Century Venetian Operatic Libretto: Its Dramatic Purpose and the Function of its Characters" (PhD Dissertation, University of North Texas, 1998).

[^139]:    ${ }^{72}$ Anna Amalie Abert, Claudio Monteverdi und das musikalische Drama (Lippstadt: Kistner \& Siegel, 1954), 156-63. Ellen Rosand has agreed with this postulation as well (Opera in Seventeenth-Century Verice, 268).
    ${ }^{73}$ Nicola Michelassi, private correspondence.
    ${ }^{74}$ Anna Tedesco, "Il metodo compositivo di Giacinto Andrea Cicognini nei suoi drammi per musica veneziani," in $I l$ prisma di Proteo: Riscritture, ricodificazioni, traduzioni fra Italia e Spagna (sec. XVI-XVIII), ed. Valentina Nider (Trent: Università degli Studi di Trento; Dipartimento di Studi Letterari, Linguistici e Filologici, 2012), 31-60; and "Cicognini's Giasone," op. cit.

[^140]:    ${ }^{75}$ Medea's iconic incantation is not labeled as a new scene in the prose editions, but is rather simply marked by a new location at the end of the preceding scene featuring Isifile: "Stanza degli incanti di Medea / Medea con manto nero, everga in mano" ("Medea's chamber of incantations / Medea in a black cloak, and a rod in hand").
    ${ }^{76}$ Like [I.15.prose], this scene is not labeled as such, although Isifile's arrival would suggest that it should be a new scene, in concordance with labeling practices elsewhere in this edition.

[^141]:    ${ }^{77}$ While there is no evidence that prologues were written after the main text of a libretto, it stands to reason that they were a lower priority, given their general status outside the main plot structure and their mutability in subsequent performances elsewhere. See Rosand, Opera, 144.
    ${ }^{78}$ See Tedesco, "Cicognini’s Giasone," 252. Tedesco also discusses Demo/Truffaldino's lack of any stutter—along with his hunchback, his defining feature in the opera-in this version, save for an iconic scene with Egeo (II. 9 Prose/II. 7 Venice 1649A) that she believes to have been the genesis for his broader depiction as a stutterer.

[^142]:    79 "Ricordati, o robba cuori, che mi rapisti il mio nel fiore della mia gioventù, e che sempre sei stato l'anima di questo seno, il cuore di questo petto, il nettare di queste labbra, e babbo dell'affettuosa Delfa." Cicognini, Il Giasone (Venice: Camillo Bortoli, 1664), 66.

[^143]:    ${ }^{80}$ See, for example, Nodrice ("nurse") in Giulio Strozzi and Francesco Sacrati's La finta pazza (1637).
    ${ }^{81}$ Many scenes transfer entire lines directly from prose to verse, such as I.15/I.15.prose, II.10/II.11.prose, or III.3/III.4.prose. See Tedesco, "Il metodo compositivo di G. A. Cicognini," 53, and "Cicognini’s Giasone," 254-58.
    ${ }^{82}$ A study of the prose version in comparison to V49a (published before Giasone's premiere) and V49b (published afterward and the ultimate exemplar for the vast majority of librettos subsequently printed) -both having been prepared by Cicognini-bears interesting, if conflicting results. There are instances where the prose matches text that only appeared in Venice 1649B onward: in I.7.prose, Truffaldino states that "quando suono la lira, ogni dama per me piange e sospira" ("when I play the lyre, all women weep and sigh over me"); while in Venice 1649A the corresponding text reads "la corte m'ammira, / ogni dama per me arde e so[spira]" ("the court admires me, and all women

[^144]:    84 "If my heart was struck by an arrow from a wounding glance, if this loving soul is defeated by rosy joy, if my judgement was overruled by a divine visage, how can I not love, being its subject? Oh God, let those who can, make do without this. If when I saw you, dear eyes, admired and yearned, if happily yearning I consume myself, if from my destiny it was decreed that I owed my love to whomever merited adoration, how can I not love? If a miraculous visage from nature, if two treasured lips gave kisses, if someone who is the epitome of grace has made me his slave, how can I do any less than love him? Through you, my revered Giasone, my soul finds itself at the apex of happiness. Not even the honeycombs of Hybla are sweet enough to compare to the sweetness of your kisses. Where are you, o my love?"
    ${ }^{85}$ While a third stanza as added in Venice 1649B, there is no correspondence within it with any of the text appearing in the prose version.
    ${ }^{86}$ Venice 1649B and onward add a short recitative after this aria in which Isifile announces that she is now leaving to see Giasone. At some point during the process of converting the prose version to the initial pre-premiere Venice 1649A and then finally to Venice 1649B, published after the premiere, Cicognini must have decided that this scene needed some expository material to give Isifile's joy a dramatic focus.

[^145]:    ${ }^{87}$ See Rosand, Opera, especially Chapter 10.
    ${ }^{88}$ I explore this topic on a preliminary basis in "Creating a Hit: In the Workshop of Cicognini/Cavalli's Giasone" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Milwaukee, WI, November 7, 2014), with particular focus on Giasone's iconic aria "Delizie, contenti," originally a bland single-strophe aria titled "Amor tutto è pietà" in Venice 1649A (see Appendix I). Because a particular passage found in the corresponding place in the prose edition approximates the final version, I argue that Cicognini (a lifelong playwright who had only recently begun to write librettos-see Chapter 3) continued to rely on his prose draft even during rehearsals. If Cavalli (a seasoned opera composer by that point-see Chapter 5) had been the one to reject "Amor" during rehearsals, the librettist would have had quick recourse to a new aria text by means of his already-existing prose.

[^146]:    ${ }^{89}$ Il Giasone, DVD, conducted by Federico Maria Sardelli, directed by Mariame Clément (2010; Austria: Dynamic, 2012).
    ${ }^{90}$ Giasone, dir. René Jacobs, Harmonia Mundi France HMC 901282.84. There is also a videorecording of this performance, available at House of Opera (operapassion.com).

[^147]:    ${ }^{91}$ Liner Notes, Giasone, dir. René Jacobs, 217.

[^148]:    ${ }^{92}$ See Julian Budden, The Operas of Verdi, vol. 3, From Don Carlos to Falstaff (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 24-5.

[^149]:    ${ }^{1}$ Jane Glover, Cavalli (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978).

[^150]:    ${ }^{2}$ He eventually became first organist on 11 January 1665 , which seems to have been a merely titular promotion; as second organist he had earned a higher salary than the first organist from 1644-65, Massimiliano Neri. Three years later, in 1668, he became maestro di cappella at San Marco, a post he retained until his death in early 1676.
    ${ }^{3}$ While Maria has long been considered to have played the role one of Francesco's scribes, assisting him in copying and producing clean copies of his opera scores (see Peter Jeffery, "The Autograph Manuscripts of Francesco Cavalli," [Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1980], 129-38), Christine Jeanneret has recently made a careful study of the multiple layers of corrections within the scores bearing Maria's hand, concluding that she played an expanded role, at times correcting and even composing sections of Francesco's operas. See Christine Jeanneret, "Maria Cavalli: In the Shadow of Francesco," in Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage: Manuscript, Edition, Production, ed. Ellen Rosand (London: Ashgate, 2013), 95-118.
    ${ }^{4}$ Glover, 14. This gratitude lasted Francesco's entire life, at the end of which he bequeathed a generous sum of money to Federico Cavalli's descendants.

[^151]:    ${ }^{5}$ For more on this topic see Ellen Rosand, Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 169-75, 260-67; and Nicola Badolato, I drammi musicali di Giovanni Faustini per Francesco Cavalli (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2012), 3-37.
    ${ }^{6}$ While little is known about the particular interactions between Cavalli and Cicognini on this collaboration, we know from the contract signed between the impresarios of the Teatro San Cassiano-Bortolo Castoreo (who wrote the sonnet "Ecco lieto acquistar l'aurato pondo" included in the frontmatter of the first print of the Giasone libretto, Venice 1649A; see Appendix I), Rocco Maestri, Andrea Carobbi, and Vicenzo Panigai-and Cavalli that the composer was paid upon receiving each act of the Giasone libretto-at which point he would compose the music; see Beth L. Glixon, "Behind the Scenes of Cavalli's Giasone of 1649," in Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage, 137-52, 141. Elsewhere I have speculated on the actual compositional process, particularly during rehearsals when both Cavalli and Cicognini would have been present and revisions to the original version of the libretto (printed as Venice 1649A) were made that would produce the definitive Venice 1649B (billed as the "Second Impression" by the printer Andrea Giuliani), including the creation of the title character's iconic aria "Delizie, contenti"; "Creating a Hit: In the Workshop of Cicognini/Cavalli's Giasone" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Milwaukee, WI, November 7, 2014).

[^152]:    ${ }^{7}$ Orontea was first set to music by Francesco Lucio in 1649, but did not achieve lasting popularity until it was set by Antonio Cesti in 1656. For more on this libretto as well as Cicognini's background, see Chapter 3 of this dissertation.
    ${ }^{8}$ Il Ciro, an opera by Francesco Provenzale with text by Giulo Cesare Sorrentino, premiered in Naples the following year (1653), and was subsequently brought over to Venice, notably with added material by Cavalli including a Prologue (which I discuss in Chapter 4).
    ${ }^{9}$ See Lorenzo Bianconi, Il seicento, trans. David Bryant as Music in the Seventeenth Century (Turin: Edizioni di Torino, 1982; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 193.

[^153]:    ${ }^{10}$ "Sono ritornato di Francia con fermissimo proponimento di non affaticarmi più in opere teatrali." Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Scuola Grande di San Marco, b.188, f.380. According to Glover (Cavalli, 38n88), the letter is badly damaged and a transcription of what remains can be found in Cavalli, 168-69, entry viii.

[^154]:    ${ }^{11}$ Notable among the alterations was an entirely new and unique aria at the beginning of I. 14 that replaced the original recitative, "Ferma ferma crudele." This aria, "Lassa, che far degg'io," became the standard opener for Isifile's introductory scene in the majority of post-1649 performances. Although the 1666 revival in Venice inserts a different song ("Adorata rimembranza"), its presence nonetheless reflects the general tendency away from recitative and toward arias.

[^155]:    ${ }^{12}$ For more on this opera's early history and Cavalli's unperformed (in the seventeenth century) score, see Mauro Calcagno, "Staging Musical Discourses in Seventeenth-Century Venice: Francesco Cavalli’s Eliogabalo (1667)" (PhD diss., Yale University, 2000); "Censoring Eliogabalo in Seventeenth-Century Venice," Journal of Interdisciplinary History 36/3 (Winter, 2006), 355-377; and "Fonti, ricezione e ruolo della committenza nell'Eliogabalo musicato da F. Cavalli, G. A. Boretti e T. Orginai (1667-1687)," in La circolazione dell'opera veneziana nel Seicento, ed. Dinko Fabris (Naples: Turchini, 2005): 77-100.
    ${ }^{13}$ For more on the provenance of Giasone's score, including the one copied by Scribe D (overseen by Cavalli), see Jeffery, "The Autograph Manuscripts," and for its relationship to other Giasone scores, see Chapter 2 of this dissertation.
    ${ }^{14}$ Cristoforo Ivanovich, Minerva al tavolino: Lettere diverse di proposta, e risposta a varii personaggi, sparse d'alcuni componimenti in prosa E in verso; nel fine le memorie teatrali di Venezia (Venice: Nicolò Pezzana, 1681; 1688). The second

[^156]:    edition has received a modern reprint; see Norbert Dubowy, ed., Memorie teatrali di Venezia: contengono diversi trattenimenti piacevoli della città, l'introduzione de' teatri, il titolo di tutti I drami rappresentati, col nome degli autori di poesia, e di musica sino a uqesto anno 1687 (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 1993).
    ${ }^{15}$ Thomas Walker, "Gli errori di 'Minerva al tavolino': osservazioni sulla cronologia delle prime opere veneziane," in Venezia e il melodramma nel Seicento, ed. Maria Teresa Muraro (Florence: Olschki, 1976): 7-20.
    ${ }^{16}$ Charles Burney, A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (London: Payne and Son, et. al., 1789; New York: Dover Publications, 1957), 63. Further below on the same page, the famed traveler declared the score for Erismena to be "so deficient in poetical and musical merit that no perfection of performance could render it palatable," Ibid.
    ${ }^{17}$ Francesco Caffi, "[Capitolo] 32: Cavalli Francesco ossia Caletti Bruni Pier-Francesco, Maestro," in Storia della musica sacra nella già cappella ducale di San Marco in Venezia dal 1318 al 1797 (Venice: Antonelli, 1854): 267-92.
    ${ }^{18}$ August Wilhelm Ambros, "Francesco Cavalli," Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 65 (1869) 161, 321-24.
    ${ }^{19}$ Taddeo Wiel, I codici musicali Contariniani del secolo XVII nella R. Biblioteca di San Marco (Venice: Ongania, 1888).

[^157]:    ${ }^{20}$ See Beth Lise Glixon, "Recitative in Seventeenth-Century Venetian Opera: Its Dramatic Function and Musical Language" (Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, 1985); Jane Glover, Cavalli, 82-106; and Chapters 10, 11 and 12 of Rosand, Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice.
    ${ }^{21}$ Eric Chafe, Monteverdi's Tonal Language (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992).
    ${ }^{22}$ Henry Burnett and Roy Nitzberg, Composition, Chromaticism, and the Developmental Process: A New Theory of Tonality (London: Ashgate, 2007).

[^158]:    ${ }^{23}$ Chafe's somewhat inconsistent application of the term "tonal" has been discussed in just about every review of Monteverdi's Tonal Language. See for example reviews by Tim Carter, Early Music 21/2 (May 1993): 277, 279; Susan McClary, Music Theory Spectrum 16/2 (Autumn, 1994): 261-66; Massimo Ossi, Journal of the American Musicological Society 48/3 (Autumn 1995): 490-507; Paul Walker, Journal of Music Theory $40 / 1$ (Spring 1996): 160-70; and Massimo Privitera, Il saggiatore musicale IV (1997): 423-24.
    ${ }^{24}$ See in particular Chapter 3, "Mode and System," in Chafe, Monteverdi.

[^159]:    ${ }^{25}$ The use of natural, molle, and durum hexachords, each with mi-fa semitones on different pitches, dates back to Guido d'Arezzo, who employed them transpositionally when singing melodies whose ambitus exceeded the major sixth of any one hexachord. For more on this and the concept of harmonizing the hexachord, see Carl Dahlhaus, Untersuchungen über die Entstehung der harmonischen Tonalität, trans. Robert Gjerdingen as Studies on the Origin of Harmonic Tonality (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 289-323.

[^160]:    ${ }^{26}$ Chafe, Monteverdi, 28.

[^161]:    ${ }^{27}$ See Chapter 3 of Burnett, Composition, for a detailed derivation of his theory.

[^162]:    ${ }^{28}$ Burnett does not stop here; indeed, the majority of his and Nitzberg's study is devoted to tonal music, starting in the latter portion of the seventeenth century. The mechanic of the theory is modified accordingly for tonal music, so that a system shift becomes a transposition by three fifths (so a $C$ system shifts either down to $E$, or up to $A$ ). Informed as his approach is by the driving force of a single note, his analyses often center around the power of individual pitches to affect the course of an entire composition, sweeping across all levels of structure.

[^163]:    109-115
    E sol intendo...
    g
    $\mathrm{Eb}(\mathrm{m} .109)=>1$ b,
    

[^164]:    ${ }^{29}$ Burnett's comprehensive and empirical study of systems in Italian madrigals (and later, opera), the results of which allow him to make such assertions about this repertoire, is covered in his Composition as well as in his earlier "A New Theory of Hexachord Modulation in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," International Journal of Musicology 8 (1999): 115-75.

[^165]:    ${ }^{30}$ Much has been written about this aria in particular, as a marker not only for Giasone's effeminacy, but for a broader seventeenth-century conception of the effeminate, a term that has since lapsed into negative connotation based on gender identity stereotypes. It is clear from this context, however, that Giasone is effeminate simply by virtue of his skirt-chasing, first Isifile and then Medea, at the cost of his more martial pursuits. That is, his tendency to follow his feelings and sensual urges, rather than his duties and responsibilities as leader of the Argonauts, is what makes him effeminate. Of course, complicating this issue is the fact that in the majority of the scores for Giasone, the title role is written for a castrato, a voice part that played both male and female roles. This, along with the fact that Delfa, Medea's old spinster nurse, was sung by a tenor, shows how fluid gender role boundaries were in Venetian opera, and also how differently they conceived of identity. For more on this see Wendy Beth Heller, Emblems of Eloquence: Opera and Women's Voices in Seventeenth-Century Venice (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), especially Chapter 6 ("Semiramide and Musical Tranvestism"); Heller, "Hypsipyle, Medea, and the Ovidian Imagination: Taming the Epic Hero in Cavalli’s Giasone," in Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage, 167-86; Susan McClary, Desire and Pleasure in Seventeenth-Century Music (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 119-23; and Heather Hadlock, "Opera and Gender Studies," in The Cambridge Companion to Opera Studies, ed. Nicholas Till (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 257-75.

[^166]:    ${ }^{31}$ The Contarini family scores replace "dolcezze" (from the 1649 librettos) with "delizie."

[^167]:    ${ }^{32}$ See II. 2 in Appendix I, vv. 1052-1064.

[^168]:    ${ }^{33}$ Measures 20-26 and 80-106 are cut in Vienna

[^169]:    ${ }^{1}$ See Appendix I, vv. 2639-58.

[^170]:    2 "Una moglie tradita, regina vilipesa, nell'onor, nella fè... è peste d'un marito," Amore, II.8, vv.1361-66.

[^171]:    ${ }^{6}$ Siena retains the D b that forms part of Isifile's cadence on C, although it cuts more material than even the Naples Family scores (see Appendix II).

[^172]:    The blond girdled god, punisher of reckless daring,
    righteously vented his disdain against Marsyas.
    But when he then heard
    your virtue, the lyres laid down,
    he came to Parnassus; and of your merits in a dream -thus sang Clio.

    He never again wished to fly through the air if he did not first cede to you the golden lyre.

[^173]:    Non altrove aver prese
    e le candide piume e i dolci fiati per animar la tromba, e impennar l'ali suonando, fa palese
    ai neghitosi spirti, e raffredati, che da sublimi tuoi merti immortali, di gloriose imprese
    onusto ti divulga, e a tua virtute
    spande d'eternità palme dovute.

[^174]:    But from the golden conch, the former resounding echoes of Fame now sound the motion of departure, already destined for orbit, Spreading your virtue, paying you tribute. Because your merits must be revered, she departs from you, on bended knee, and flies through the air; and even the Fates
    

[^175]:    Ma dall'aurea bucina già della Fama gli echi ribbattuti
    suonano omai della partenza il moto, già per l'orbe destina
    spandendo tua virtù darti tributi. Che offrire a merti tuoi devonsi in voto partendosi te inchina
    all'etra vola: e i pregi tuoi divini
    stupidi ascolteranno anco i destini.

[^176]:    For the fair Hypsipyle
    I have come as a scout to this palace;
    I wish to have
    this country is distrustful,
    and he who seeks to know the affairs of the great
    risks his life in that perilous task;
    I am alone, and my appearance
    and this ornament reveal me as a foreigner;
    rather than serve women
    I wish I were a dwarf, clubfoot, and hunchback.

[^177]:    Per Isifile bella
    a questa reggia esplorator men venni, qui di Giason vorrei
    aver ragguaglio e penetrar novella;
    sospettoso è 'l paese,
    e chi de' grandi ricercò gl'affari, la vita arrischia a perigliose imprese; son solo, e forestiero mi palesa l'effigie e questo addobbo;
    pria che servir a donne mi palesa l'effigie e questo addobbo;
    pria che servir a donne
    

[^178]:    Speranze, fuggite, sparite
    范

[^179]:    SCENA V
    MEDEA, DELFA
    Giasone, o dio, Giasone,
    ove ne vai, mio sposo? $\quad$ Ancor paventi?
    Della sua vita e dell'onor pavento. E non sai qual virtude
    quel tuo magico cerchio in sé racchiude? quel tuo magico cerchio in sé racchiude?
    Figlia, sgombra il timore: se di desti l'anel, salvo è l'onore. Infinito è 'l valor dell'arte mia, ma pur anco nel seno
    provo infinito ardor, e gelosia. Gelosia, e di che? Forse là dentro vive dama leggiadra?

    Sai pur ch'orrida squadra
    guarda di questo cerchio il giro, e 'l centro. L'uomo non ama i mostri,
    gradisce a gran fatica
    bella donna che 'l preghi ed a più d'una tocca - così non fusse - a star digiuna. Ma vedi come osservano gl'Argonauti guerrieri ogni tuo moto.

[^180]:    To create a small paradise on earth,
    lovely lady, Nature gave your
    tresses gold, your eyes stars, and your blush roses. To create such a robust and proud man, you were lucky to be given by Nature Tell me, tell me who you are,
    you who are so beautiful to my eyes? I am an unhappy maiden

    苞
    0
    0
    0
    0
    0
    0
    0
    0
    0
    

[^181]:    ## SCENA XI <br> Medea, Besso, Soldati. ${ }^{63}$ <br> Di guerriero drapello <br> avvicinarsi lo splendor dell'armi: Besso certo fia questi. Vorrei, senza apparire <br> partecipe di fatto, <br> del seguito fin qui piena contezza. Or come potrò far? Fingerò sì, <br> fingerò che Giason... saggio pensiero;

[^182]:    SCENE XVII
    AEGEUS, JASON who is s
    That was Jason speaking here. The light of dawn
    
    

[^183]:    ${ }^{1}$ A similar version of these Tables 1A and 1B can be found in an earlier publication, Thomas Lin and Joseph Salem, "Giasone: A Source Overview," in Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage: Manuscript, Edition, Production, ed. Ellen Rosand (London: Ashgate, 2013), 277-306.

[^184]:    Maria Testaverde, "Palcoscenici fiorentini per Antonio Cesti (1661)," in La figura e l'opera di Antonio Cesti nel Seicento europe: Convegno internazionale di studio; Arezzo, 26-27 aprile 2002, ed. Mariateresa Dellaborra (Florence: Olschki, 2003): 63-78; 68-71.
    ${ }^{10}$ On the early performances of Giasone outside Venice by the traveling company of the Febiarmonici, see Nicola Michelassi, "Balbi's Febiarmonici and the First 'Road Shows' of Giasone (1649-1653)," in Readying Cavalli's Operas, 307-20.
    ${ }^{11}$ The copy of the libretto at I-Mb has " 1650 " written on the title page, leading some to believe that this was the publication year-see for example Alfred Loewenberg, Annals of Opera: 1597-1940 (Geneva: Societas Bibliographica, 1955; Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1978), 25-6. Nicola Michelassi dates this libretto to 1651, under the auspices of a new performance of Giasone in Milan by Giovan Battista Balbi and the company of the Febiarmonici (the previous one having occurred in 1649 , later in the same year that it had premiered in Venice). Michele Ramellati's active dates only extend from 1651 to 1652 , and coupled with the presence of Balbi and the Febiarmonici in Milan in 1651 as well as the dedication signed by Antonio Lonati, manager of the theater where Giasone was performed, 1651 seems to be the most plausible publication year for this libretto, which can thus be specifically correlated to that very same performance (see
    ${ }^{12}$ The lack of a dedication points to a purely literary print run, and the designation of "Quarta Impressione" suggests the existence of three prior impressions: they may not have been printed by Rolla's heirs, however. Indeed, it is likely that Rolla's heirs were referring to earlier editions by other publishers. Thanks to Nicola Michelassi (private correspondence) for this clarification.
    ${ }^{13}$ This libretto is located at the Parisian Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra (F-Po), originally owned by Lodovico Settimo Silvestri, a nineteenth-century Milanese collector. Roberta Carpani has hypothesized a 1658 publication date, based on the year of the dedication to Bartolomeo Ceriani (see Carpani, "'La drammaturgia milanese' di Lodovico Silvestri alla Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra di Parigi: Catalogo dei testi stampati fino al 1714," Comunicazioni sociali 15 [1993], 241-61, 296-9: 257, 297-8; as well as Carpani, "Comici, Febiarmonici e Gesuiti a Milano: Intrecci e contaminazioni; Problemi della circolazione delle opere di Francesco Cavalli," Musica e Storia 16 [2008], 5-40: 13n28).

[^185]:    ${ }^{31}$ This scenario, printed in Trent and located at I-RVE (852.5.1119), summarizes a performance of Giasone in nearby Rovereto that featured an all-male cast of performers.

[^186]:    $\star$ B73 attempts to correct mistake into "Giason ben tiene."

[^187]:    ${ }^{1}$ Also published as La statua dell'onore, L'amore nella statua, and Adamire ou La statue de l'honneur. Mattias Maria Bartolommei (Amore opera a caso [Florence: All'insegna della Stella, 1668], 4-5) includes this work in the list of Cicognini's works derived from Spanish models.
    ${ }^{2}$ Also published as La più resoluta tra le donne.
    ${ }^{3}$ Also published as L'Alessando amante, La Rosane con gli amori di Alessandro, and Le glorie e gli amori di Alessandro Magno e di Rossane (prose version). As discussed above, Cicognini left the work unfinished at his death, and it was subsequently completed by an unknown author and premiered in 1651. Both Rodolfo Bottacchiari ("Recensione a R. Verde," La nuova cultura I (1913) fasc. 5, 344-61; 356) and Carmen Marchante ("Calderón en Italia: traducciones, adaptaciones, falsas atribuciones y scenari" in Tradurre, riscrivere, mettere in scena ed. Maria Grazia Profeti [Florence: Alinea, 1996], 17-62; 36-37) have refuted the Verde's idea that Calderón de la Barca's Darlo todo y no dar nada served as a model for this work, instead finding a thematic link with Lope de Vega's Los palacios de Galiana (1638). More recently, Anna Tedesco has discussed this work within the topic of Cicognini's use of prose drafts as part of his process in creating librettos; specifically in this case, a prose version of this work, Le glorie e gli amori di Alessandro Magno e di Rossane, was published in 1661 as an "opera tragicomica" in Venice and Macerata. See Anna Tedesco, "Cicognini’s Giasone," and "Il metodo compositivo di Giacinto Andrea Cicognini nei suoi drammi per musica

[^188]:    ${ }^{6}$ There seems to be no record of a printer named Roncagliolo active in Venice; according to OPAC SBN (On Line Public Access Catalogue, Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale, [http://opac.sbn.it/opacsbn/opac/iccu/antico.jsp](http://opac.sbn.it/opacsbn/opac/iccu/antico.jsp) [accessed 19 April 2015]), only one printer by that name was active in Naples during the mid-seventeenth century; by the end of the century, prints were published under the designation of "heirs to Roncagliolo."
    ${ }^{7}$ This manuscript version of Celio seems to have been given to the future cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici well in advance of the work's premiere (and the libretto's publication) in 1646. For more, see Castelli/Cancedda, 143-46.
    ${ }^{8}$ Also Cipriano e Giustina and Lo schiavo del demonio per gli amori di S. Cipriano con S. Giustina. Bottacchiari ("Recensione," 353) has proposed Calderón de la Barca’s El esclavo del demonio as a Spanish model for this work, although there is no such work by Calderón (Castelli/Cancedda have proposed Antonio Mira de Amescua's work of the same title). Marchante ("Calderón en Italia," 45-46) has noted the similarity in subject between Cipriano and another work by Calderón, El magico prodigioso, although like Ireneo Sanesi (who notes the similarity in plot's point of departure in Cipriano with that of Leggenda aurea [the thirteenth-century one by Iacopo da Varazze?], La commedia, vol. 2 [Milan: Vallardi, 1935], 179), she does not think El magico served as a direct model.
    ${ }^{9}$ Sanesi (La commedia, 193-94) has proposed Tirso de Molina's El burlador de Sevilla as Cicognini's model for Il convitato. Crinò has further suggested that Cicognini would have had access to Tirso's work by means of his father's correspondence with Lope de Vega. Laura Dolfi ("Tirso e Cicognini: Due don Giovanni a confronto" in La festa teatrale ispanica: Atti del Convegno di studi, Napoli, 1-3 dicembre 1994, ed. Giovanni Battista De Cesare [Naples: Istituto universitario orientale, 1995], 129-62) has recently performed a comparison of Cicognini's and Tirso's works, which I discuss further below.
    ${ }^{10}$ Cited in Leone Allacci, Drammaturgia di Leone Allacci: Divisa in sette indici (Rome: Mascardi, 1666), 595 as an "opera Spagnola."

[^189]:    ${ }^{11}$ Also published as La forza del destino. Leone Allacci (Drammaturgia [Venice: Giambatista Pasquali, 1755], col. 867) does not consider this to be a work by Cicognini; Nicola Michelassi ("Il teatro del Cocomero di Firenze: Uno stanzone per tre accademie [1651-1665]," Studi secenteschi XL (1999), 149-86; 175) cites performances of La forza del destino by Giovanni Andrea Moniglia in Florence in 1658. Castelli/Cancedda do not, however, believe that this latter work contains enough shared elements with the manuscript found above to positively identify it as Moniglia's work (Castelli/Cancedda, 164).
    ${ }^{12}$ Also published as Il gran traditore con la più constante tra le maritate, Don Gastone, Il gran tradimento contra la più costante delle maritate ovvero L'amico traditor fedele, and Il maggior tradimento contra la più costante delle maritate. Fausta Antonucci ("Spunti tematici e rielaborazione di modelli spagnoli nel Don Gastone di Moncada di Giacinto Andrea Cicognini," in Tradurre, riscrivere, mettere in scena, ed. Maria Grazia Profeti [Florence: Alinea, 1996], 65-84; 82-84) has suggested a strong connection between this work and Calderón de la Barca's Gustos y disgustos son no más que imaginación, which I discuss further below.

[^190]:    ${ }^{13}$ Also published as Il privato favorito per forza e il prencipe infaticabile in sostenerlo
    ${ }^{14}$ Also published as Il matrimonio nella morte. Diego Símini ("Casarse por vengarse di Rojas Zorrilla nella traduzione di Giacinto Andrea Cicognini: Maritarsi per vendetta" in Tradurre, riscrivere, mettere in scena ed. Maria Grazia Profeti [Florence: Alinea, 1996], 95-116; 114-15) discusses this work's "dramaturgical crux" (nodo drammaturgico) and its close similarity to that of Cicognini's Maritarsi per vendetta, a work whose relationship to its Spanish source, Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla's Casarse por vengarse, Sìmini has analyzed in detail.
    ${ }^{15}$ Also published as L'onorato ruffiano di sua moglie. Cited in Bartolommei (Amore, 4-5) as Il ruffiano onorato, with the note "taken from the Spanish [version]" (tolto dallo spagnuolo).

[^191]:    ${ }^{16}$ Bartolommei (Amore, 4-5) also notes that this work was "tolto dallo spagnuolo." While Rosario Verde (Studi sull'imitazione spagnuola nel teatro italiano del Seicento, vol. 1, "G. A. Cicognini" [Catania: N. Giannotta, 1912], 12-70; 24-28) has previously argued that this work bears a strong resemblance to Calderón de la Barca's No siempre lo peor es cierto, subsequent scholarship by Sanesi (La commedia, 179) and Marchante ("Calderón," 50-51) has cast doubt on this link without suggesting any potential alternatives.
    ${ }^{17}$ This and the following entries were published in France as Le prince jaloux.
    ${ }^{18}$ Also published as Il sognator fortunato.

[^192]:    ${ }^{19}$ Also published as La regina di Portogallo Elisabetta la santa.
    ${ }^{20}$ A copy of this edition resides at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (Magl. 21.8.461/1), part of a bound volume, with no title page and no other identifying information as to its provenance.
    ${ }^{21}$ Gobbi ("Le fonti spagnuole," 219) makes a brief mention of this work, attributing its dramatic source to an unspecified text by Lope de Vega.
    ${ }^{22}$ Also published as Il maggior mostro del mondo. Verde (Studi, 71-104) cites Calderón de la Barca's El mayor monstruo los celos as a source for Cicognini's work, a relationship that Sanesi (La commedia, 194-97) and Marchante ("Calderón," 46) have independently confirmed.
    ${ }^{23}$ See n14. Gobbi ("Le fonti spagnuole," 230) expresses his doubts as to whether this text, being more a translation of Zorrilla's Casarse por vengarse than an elaboration, can be truly considered a work by Cicognini himself.

[^193]:    ${ }^{24}$ Gobbi (Ibid., 230) states that there are various Spanish works that served as sources for this work's dramatic model, while Sanesi (La commedia, 178) narrows these sources down to two, by Tirso de Molina: El castigo del penséque and El vergonzoso en palacio.
    ${ }^{25}$ Sanesi (La commedia, 179) and Marchante ("Calderón," 39) believe that this work's Spanish source is Juan Bautista de Villegas' El marido de su hermana o la mentirosa verdad.
    ${ }^{26}$ Also published as Orontea regina d'Egitto, I casti amori di Orontea, and later Orontée (in France).

[^194]:    ${ }^{27}$ Also published as Il Mustafá. In examining this work in its respective versions as Il Pietro celestino and Il Mustafa (both Roman editions and the 1678 Bolognese edition), Gobbi ("Le fonti spagnuole," 219) notes that the former is set in prose and the latter in verse, and that while Il Mustafa follows a three-act structure, Pietro has been divided into five acts. In his opinion, this division into five acts was not done by Cicognini, but rather by a publisher seeking to restructure it to fit the Classical model.

[^195]:    ${ }^{28}$ Profeti (Materiali, variazioni, invenzioni [Florence: Alinea, 1996], 17) hypothesizes a link between this work and a seventeenth-century adaptation of Gil Vicente's Don Duardos (1521)—Luis Vélez de Guevara's Príncipe viñador.
    ${ }^{29}$ Also published as La converzione di S. Maria Egizziaca and Maria Egizziaca. Verde (Studi, 105-32; 118-19) suggests Miguel de Cervantes' El rufián dichoso (1615) as a source for Cicognini's play, although Bottacchiari ("Recensione," 349), in reviewing Verde's work, expands the number of possible sources without specifically favoring any one.
    ${ }^{30}$ Also published as Il segreto palese. The tight link between this work and Calderón de la Barca's El secreto a voces has led Gobbi ("Le fonti spagnuole," 220-21) to doubt Cicognini's authorship; Il segreto is more a translation of the Spanish than an elaboration. Although Gobbi cited El secreto's publication date (1650) to further weaken Cicognini's ties to this work, Roberto Ciancarelli ("Rielaborazioni italiane di El secreto a voces di Calderón de la Barca" in Chiarezza e verosimiglianza: La fine del dramma barocco, ed. Silvia Carandini [Rome: Bulzoni, 1997], 75-95) has noted that an autograph manuscript of El secreto dating from 1642 exists in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. Stefano Mazzardo ("La fortuna italiana di El secreto a voces: collage, gemmazione, riscrittura" in Percorsi europei ed. Maria Grazia Profeti [Florence: Alinea, 1997], 63-127) has also referred to this work in investigating the influence of Calderón's dramatic model first on Cicognini, then to Arcangelo Spagna (Il segreto in voce, from the second half of the seventeenth century), and finally to Carlo Gozzi (Il segreto pubblico, 1772).

[^196]:    ${ }^{31}$ Also published as La vie est un songe. Marchante ("Calderón," 54) has linked this work with Calderón de la Barca’s La vida es sueño (1635).
    ${ }^{32}$ This French edition appears within the second volume of a collection titled Nouveau théatre italien located in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

[^197]:    Nella Stamparia delli Marefti. 1659.
    Con licenza dé 'Superinos. Con licenzade superms.

