

DIDONE BY CAVALLI AND BUSENELLO: FROM THE SOURCES TO MODERN PRODUCTIONS

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Izveček: Opera *Didone* je bila drugi pomembnejši skupni projekt libretista Busenella in skladatelja Cavallija. Pomen te opere je bil vse do sedaj podcenjen. Med številne nesporazume v zvezi s to opero sodi tudi zmota glede edine preživle partiture, ki je bila napačno povezana z beneško premiero te opere leta 1641. Po primerjavi vseh znanih virov – vključno z doslej neznanim izvodom libreta, tiskanega v Neaplju leta 1650 – lahko sedaj beneško partituro povežemo z neapelsko izvedbo v letu 1650.

Ključne besede: Francesco Cavalli, Pierfrancesco Busenello, *Didone*, beneška opera, Neapelj.

Abstract: *Didone* was the second operatic project carried out by the librettist Busenello and the composer Cavalli. However, its importance has until recently been underestimated. One of several misunderstandings is that the only extant score has erroneously been considered to be related to the Venetian première of the opera in 1641. Following the comparison of all surviving sources – including a previously unknown exemplar of the libretto printed in Naples – it is now possible to relate the Venetian score to the Neapolitan performance in 1650.

Keywords: Francesco Cavalli, Pierfrancesco Busenello, *Didone*, Venetian opera, Naples.

Didone was the third opera that Francesco Cavalli composed for Venice, in 1641. In terms of the current interest in musical theatre from the Baroque age it is of special significance for a variety of reasons. It was the first opera to be performed in Naples (in 1650), inaugurating a tradition that was destined to become one of the most glorious in the whole of Europe. It was also the first of Cavalli's operas to be revived in modern times (as long ago as 1952). It featured the second libretto by Busenello, appearing two years before *L'incoronazione di Poppea*. We shall have more to say about the relationship of *Didone* to Monteverdi's two Venetian masterpieces, *Ulisse* and *Nerone*; here, we may simply recall that the Cremonese composer had already drawn on the Virgilian myth for his interlude of *Didone ed Enea* that featured in the performance of *Aminta* for the famous wedding celebrations held in Parma in 1628.¹ Again, the influence of the *Didone* of Cavalli and Busenello can be traced throughout most of the 17th century, extending as far as Henry Purcell's masterpiece, *Dido and Aeneas*, written in the 1680s.

¹ Tim Carter, *Intriguing Laments: Sigismondo d'India, Claudio Monteverdi and Dido alla parmigiana* (1628), *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 49 (1996), pp. 32–69.

It is striking that an opera of such significance should have so persistently been the object of misconceptions and wrong-headed interpretations, denying it its rightful position in the history of 17th century opera. The catalogue of misrepresentations started early: towards the first half of the 19th century, in his series of *Concerts historiques*, François-Joseph Fétis presented an aria that he declared to be taken from *Didone* entitled *Rio destin*. Yet the aria does not feature in the opera, and in all likelihood was not even by Cavalli.²

Up to September 2006 all modern productions of Cavalli and Busenello's *Didone* were in fact either a selection of "highlights" from the opera or arrangements, with varying degrees of authenticity, of the only known score, which was invariably presented as representing the opera's first performance at Venice in 1641 (see Table, below).

The only recording made to date, under the baton of Thomas Hengelbrock, is a clear example of this performing practice: recitatives and entire scenes are drastically cut, ensuring a performance that is not unduly long and above all marketable on two CDs; the characters considered superfluous, including the opening chorus of the Trojans, are simply eliminated, the chorus's music being played by instruments alone; the happy ending, judged inappropriate, is likewise abolished, and so on.³ Nor did the most prudent and responsible performances in the decade prior to 2006 really contribute to the opera's rediscovery: using old instruments and directed by Christoph Rousset and Gabriel Garrido, these were not issued on disc and have not left a lasting impression apart from reviews in specialized journals.⁴ In contrast, one fundamental milestone was the production of *Didone* that featured in the operatic season of the Fondazione Teatro La Fenice di Venezia. It opened in Venice at the Teatro Malibran (the former Teatro S. Giovanni Grisostomo) in September 2006, with the instrumental ensemble Europa Galante directed by Fabio Biondi and a cast of actor-singers fresh from an experimental workshop run by Teatro Due in Parma.⁵ This innovative project, conceived and coordinated by Carlo

² I thank Margaret Murata for bringing to my notice this and other mistaken attributions to Cavalli of arias used by Fétis and Parisotti. *Rio destin* exists in a manuscript copy made by Fétis himself in Ms. Fétis 7328 C MUS, Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels.

³ Cavalli, *La Didone*, 2 CDs, [München], Deutsche Harmonia Mundi (DHM 05472 77354 2), 1998. Cast: Yvonne Kenny, Judith Howarth, Hilary Summers, Alexander Plust, Katharina Kammerloher, Uta Schwabe, Laurence Dale, Hermann Oswald, Hans Jörg Mammel, Wessela Zlateva, Peter-Jürgen Schmidt, Kwangchul Youn, Leonore von Falkenshausen, Bernhard Landauer, Balthazar-Neumann-Ensemble, conducted by Thomas Hengelbrock.

⁴ *Didone* was staged with Christophe Rousset conducting at the Festival of Ambronay (Académie Baroque Européenne) in October 1997, and repeated at the Opéra comique, Paris (December), Avignon and Besançon. Rousset performed *Didone* again, in a different production and with his own ensemble, Les Talents Lyriques, at the Lausanne opera house (December 2000–January 2001) and the Montpellier opera house (January 2002). In May 2004 Gabriel Garrido, with his Ensemble Elyma, gave a new version in Amsterdam, launching in the following year a "Busenello cycle" at the Kaaitheater, Brussels (Kunstenfestivaldesarts) that included a production of *Didone* in May 2007.

⁵ See the description of the project by Carlo Majer entitled *Il ritorno di Didone in patria* and included in the programme booklet for the Venetian production in 2006: Carlo Mayer, *Il ritorno di Didone in patria, Francesco Cavalli. La Didone* (La Fenice prima dell'Opera 7), Venezia, Edizioni Fondazione Teatro La Fenice, 2006, pp. 67–70. The programme also describes the methodological procedures of the conductor, Fabio Biondi: Fabio Biondi, *L'universo in una scatola*,

Majer, probably constituted the first production in modern times of an Italian baroque opera that fully reflected the phonetic expression and profound meaning of the words in their musical setting. At the same time, the musical component was also subjected to an accurate and painstaking appraisal by a specialist of the calibre of Biondi, who employed instrumental forces as close as possible to those used in Venetian theatres in the first half of the 17th century. The only departure was the inclusion of a brass section in order to alleviate what to modern ears risked becoming the monotony of an instrumental timbre based merely on strings, making for greater dynamic contrasts. Nonetheless, even this meritorious performance, presented as a reconstruction of the Venetian premiere in 1641, did not actually succeed in adhering to historical reality as this emerges from the sources available to us.

There are now a number of studies investigating the currency of the Dido myth in 17th century Venice and Europe, and these duly emphasize the crucial role played by Cavalli and Busenello's opera.⁶ To cite only the works in the musical sphere, scholars such as Jane Glover,⁷ Ellen Rosand,⁸ Beth Glixon⁹ and Hendrik Schulze¹⁰ have thus far

Francesco Cavalli. *La Didone* (La Fenice prima dell'Opera 7), Venezia, Edizioni Fondazione Teatro La Fenice, 2006, pp. 63–66.

⁶ The most complete summary is given by Paola Bono and Maria Vittoria Tessitore, *Il mito di Didone. Avventure di una regina tra secoli e culture*, Milano, Bruno Mondadori, 1998, with a most useful bibliography, updatable with the most recent repertoire via: *Dido-Didon-Didone. Eine kommentierte Bibliographie zum Dido-Mythos in Literatur und Musik*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 2005. Very useful for preliminary research is the website www.queendido.org. Numerous references to music are contained in the excellent miscellany *A Woman Scorn'd. Responses to the Dido Myth*, ed. Michael Burden, London, Faber and Faber, 1998 (musicological contributions by Roger Savage, Wendy Heller and Michael Burden). On Busenello's language, see François Decroisette, *Réécriture et écriture dans La Didone de Giovan Francesco Busenello, Les langues néo-latines* 256 (1986), pp. 57–86.

⁷ Jane Glover, *Cavalli*, London, Batsford, 1978; or an American edition, published in New York, St Martin's Press, 1978.

⁸ Ellen Rosand, *Aria in the Early Operas of Francesco Cavalli*, New York, 1971 (New York University, PhD thesis). See also the same author's classic *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice. The Creation of a Genre*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1991.

⁹ Beth Lise Glixon, *Recitative in Seventeenth-Century Venetian Opera: Its Dramatic Function and Musical Language*, New Jersey, 1985 (Rutgers University, PhD thesis). Although it does not mention *Didone*, the recent volume by Beth and Jonathan Glixon is fundamental for understanding the world of Venetian opera at the time of Cavalli. Beth and Jonathan Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera. The Impresario and His World in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, Oxford [...], Oxford University Press, 2006.

¹⁰ Hendrik Schulze, *Odysseus in Venedig. Sujetwahl und Rollenkonzeption in der venezianischen Oper des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 2004. A passing citation of the Sinfonia from *Didone* is contained in Axel Teich Geertinger, *Die Opersinfonien Francesco Cavallis, Schütz Jahrbuch* 23 (2003), pp. 105–143. See also texts and documents included in the programme booklet for *Didone* in Venice in 2006. See the following contributions from *Francesco Cavalli. La Didone* (La Fenice prima dell'Opera 7), Venezia, Edizioni Fondazione Teatro La Fenice, 2006: Michele Girardi, *Vada la castità co'suoi compassi a misurar le voglie ai freddi sassi*, pp. 7–12; Stefano La Via, *Ai limiti dell'impossibile. 'Modernità' veneziana di una tragicommedia in musica*, pp. 13–38; Francesca Gualandri, *Spettacoli, luoghi e interpreti a Venezia*

hypothesized, rather than demonstrated, the importance of *Didone* as a fundamental stepping stone in the operatic career of Cavalli (and of course Busenello). The brief citations they give point up in turn the remarkable quality of the laments, arias, recitatives and instrumental interludes in a succinct comparison with other works of Cavalli. The one scholar to have undertaken a specific discussion of the relationship between text and music in *Didone* is Wendy Heller. On two occasions she has offered convincing interpretations of the multiple significance of the character of Dido, “infoelice Regina”, in the context of Virgil’s status in Venice in the first half of the 17th century.¹¹ The fact remains, however, that all the works quoted proceed from the assumption that the main available sources relate to the original performance of *Didone* in Venice in 1641.

This essay sets out to reconsider all the available sources of *Didone* in order to establish a chronology and coherent pattern concerning the true origins of the score that has come down to us.

The sources for the *Didone* of Cavalli and Busenello are the following:

- a. A single manuscript score, not autograph but copied under the personal supervision of Cavalli, containing some very significant additions in his own hand: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice (=I Vnm), Contarini IV, 355 (=9879);
- b. the literary text, published under the supervision of Busenello at Venice in 1656, as the first part of his anthology *Le Hore Ociose* (various copies recorded in Sartori);¹²
- c. the *Argomento e Scenario* published in Venice in 1641 on the occasion of the opera’s first performance (*unicum* in I Vnm; Sartori 2526);
- d. the libretto published in Naples for the production staged there in 1650;¹³
- e. the libretto published in Genoa for the production staged there in 1652.¹⁴

There is no trace of any libretto related to the opera’s first performance (Venice 1641), and this was probably never published. Mention of it still circulates like a spectre

all’epoca della *Didone*, pp. 39–62; Maria Martino (ed.), *La Didone*: libretto e guida dell’opera, pp. 71–144.

¹¹ Wendy Heller, *O castità bugiarda: Cavalli’s Didone and the Question of Chastity, A Woman Scorn’d. Responses to the Dido Myth*, ed. Michael Burden, London, Faber and Faber, 1998, pp. 169–226; Wendy Heller, *Emblems of Eloquence. Opera and Women’s Voices in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, Berkeley [...], University of California Press, 2003, pp. 136–177 (Chapter 4: “Disprezzata regina”. *Woman and Empire*).

¹² Claudio Sartori, *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800. Catalogo analitico con 16 indici*, 5 vols and 2 vols of *Indici*, Cuneo, Bertola e Locatelli, 1991(=Sartori), nos. 7723–7724.

¹³ Two copies indicated in Sartori 7725: I PLn and I Rvnt (Allacci). For a new copy, unknown to Sartori, see later in my essay.

¹⁴ *Unicum* in I MOe (Sartori 7726). The libretto is analysed in Armando Fabio Ivaldi, Il Teatro del Falcone di Genova: un *carrefour* dell’opera barocca, *Francesco Cavalli. La circolazione dell’opera veneziana nel Seicento*, Atti del Convegno di Napoli 2002, ed. Dinko Fabris, Naples, Turchini Edizioni, 2005, pp. 239–292: 245–259. There are at least two other libretti relating to performances of *Didone* up to 1756: Piacenza 1655 (Sartori 7727, *unicum* in I Rc) and Bologna 1656 (Sartori 7726, examples in I Mb, MOe, Rc, Rn, Vgc, F Pn, US Wc). Since Bologna 1656 is attributed to a different composer (Mattioli) and Piacenza 1655 is derived from Genova 1652 (A. F. Ivaldi, op. cit., p. 249), these libretti are not taken into consideration in the present essay.

in the literature, on the strength of a mistaken reference in the Sartori Catalogue, which speaks of five copies of a Venetian edition dated 1641.¹⁵ In fact, this is the first part of the edition overseen by Busenello in Venice in 1656, which is often divided up into its five component parts, giving the false impression of an independent opera libretto both on account of the page numbering and because the title page gives the place and date of the first performance (“Opera rappresentata In Musica nel Teatro di San Cassiano nell’ Anno 1641”). Nonetheless, this title page also clearly bears the date of publication: “In Venetia MDCLVI. Appresso Andrea Giuliani”.

The Venetian Scenario of 1641

In the *Catalogo generale* of the operas performed in Venice included in the appendix of *Memorie teatrali* in Cristoforo Ivanovich’s anthology *Minerva al tavolino* the opera is correctly recorded under the year 1641: “A San Cassiano. La Didone del Businello, Musica del Cavalli”.¹⁶ As we have seen, the only direct source we have for information on the production in the Venetian theatre of San Cassiano in 1641 is the booklet printed in the same year under the title *Argomento e Scenario della Didone*.¹⁷

As was often the case for such booklets, intended for theatre-goers and serving in lieu of a libretto, we find a meticulous description of the plot and scene changes for each of the opera’s three acts. This is the description of the opening (see also Figure 1):

SCENE

Si rappresenta essere Troia ardente nella ultima desolatione, & ruina sua, doppio estinti Hettore, Paride, Priamo, e tutti quegl’altri più famosi Heroi.¹⁸

¹⁵ Sartori 7724. The examples bearing the indication 1641 are found in four Italian libraries (I Bc, Mb, RVI, Vnm) and in the USA (US Wc). Hendrik Schulze (H. Schulze, op. cit.) does not cite among the sources for *Didone* the Naples 1650 libretto. Conversely, in the article Cavalli, Francesco in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (vol. 4, 2000), mention is made of a non-existent libretto published in Florence 1650 (confused with Naples 1650).

¹⁶ Cristoforo Ivanovich, *Memorie teatrali di Venezia*, Venezia, 1681 (reprinted in Venice in 1688), p. 433. Facsimile edition by Norbert Dubowy, Lucca, LIM, 1993. We may note that Ivanovich in the same year includes other information that is either imprecise or mistaken, from the staging of *Il ritorno d’Ulisse in Patria* by Monteverdi (which was actually performed in both 1640 and 1641) to the attribution of both the *Nozze d’Enea con Lavinia* (actually by Monteverdi) and the *Finta pazza* (actually by Saccati) to Cavalli. See Thomas Walker, *Gli errori di “Minerva al tavolino”, Venezia e il melodramma nel Seicento*, ed. Maria Teresa Muraro, Florence, Olschki, 1976, pp. 7–20.

¹⁷ “ARGOMENTO / E SCENENARIO [sic] / DELLA / DIDONE. / IN VENETIA, / MDCXXXXXI. [sic] / Presso Pietro Miloco. *Con Licenza de’ Superiori*.” No scholar has commented on the strange misprint in the frontispiece, where the Roman numerals give the date as 1651. I thank Jean-François Lattarico for procuring for me a microfilm of the *unicum*, which I then inspected in person in Venice.

¹⁸ Eng. translation: “Troy is represented in flames, plunged into desolation and ruin, after the deaths of Hector, Paris, Priam and all the other famous Heroes.”

The arrangement of the scenes act by act, compared with Busenello's definitive edition of 1656, is as follows:

	Scenario 1641	Busenello, Venice 1656
	PROLOGUE	PROLOGUE
ACT I:	1–10	1–10
ACT II:	1–9	1–13
ACT III:	1–8	1–12

There is no mention whatsoever in the 1641 booklet of the most spectacular high-points such as the choruses, the passage of the Trojan Army in flight at the end of Act I (1656, p. 30), and the ballet closing Act II (1656): “Doppo un Ballo de Mori Affricani, finisce il Secondo Atto” (p. 54). Even these brief observations give the impression that the Venetian production of 1641 must have been shorter and scenically less complex than what subsequent sources have construed.

The Neapolitan libretto of 1650

Once it has been established that there was no libretto for the Venetian premiere in 1641, the oldest libretto of *Didone* we have is the one published in Naples in 1650. Not only is this the source that has been most neglected by scholars and musicians, but it seems also to have been particularly ill-fated. In modern times no one has taken an interest in the revivals of this and other operas outside Venice; moreover, the two copies of the Neapolitan libretto of *Didone* recorded by Sartori have for years been unavailable to scholars.¹⁹ My own chance discovery of a third, previously unknown copy has made it possible to consider what is clearly an indispensable source in any reconsideration of the opera as a whole. This new copy is in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, where it arrived as an item in the private Roman library belonging to Prince Gabrielli.²⁰ A first element of considerable interest concerning this source is the presence of hand-written annotations suggesting that it was used either for study purposes or even perhaps for a private spoken performance of the drama decades after its year of publication, 1650. This is borne out by the following annotations in pencil (see also Figure 2):²¹

¹⁹ Sartori 7725. The two copies relating to Naples 1650 are reportedly in I PAr and I Rvat (Allacci). When I applied for permission to consult the originals, the Biblioteca Regionale di Palermo cited insurmountable difficulties, while in 2005 the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana stated that the volume was temporarily unavailable for reasons of restoration. The closure of the latter library for three years as from summer 2007 makes it impossible to ascertain the volume's existence following its restoration. The place of publication and authors are given in Leone Allacci, *Drammaturgia*, Venice 1755, col. 251.

²⁰ I Rn, p4A^D8E6. On the title page, which contains no typography except the title (*LA / DIDONE / DRAMA / MUSICALE*) there are handwritten marks of ownership: “Gio. Andrea Carignani”[?], “Biblioteca del Principe Gabrielli Roma 1804” and “poi di Gaspare Servi”[?].

²¹ This handwritten annotation occurs next to the final part of the Prologo rather than the beginning

- “P” or “P^o” [First scene: palace]
- “Tem” [Finale of scene I: temple]
- “2° Bosc.” [Second scene: wood]
- “2° Cortile” [Second scene: court of Dido]
- “Giardino” [Penultimate scene for Dido’s attempted suicide]

These annotations appear to refer to a production or else to a personal study of the scenes of the opera, which are precisely four in number: the city of Troy in flames (with the temple); a royal palace (first in Troy, then of Dido); a wood close to Carthage; and an external courtyard in Dido’s palace.

While the only record we have of the Venetian premiere of 1641 is the *Scenario* described above, the revival in Naples produced in autumn 1650 is recorded not only by the published libretto but also in some reports in contemporary newspapers.

Naples, 27 September 1650²²

Una compagnia di musici di diverse parti d’Italia, che fa molti mesi si ritrovono qui ad istanza del signor conte d’Ognatte, viceré, e marchese Tassis dopo haver recitato diverse commedie in musica, in questo real Palazzo ne preparano un’altra intitolata Troia distrutta che si deve rappresentare in questa settimana, havendo fatto fare a loro spese sontuoso teatro, con spesa di ducati 2500 [...]²³

Naples, 18 October 1650²⁴

La compagnia di musici comici, che si ritrova in questa città, recitò mercordì [12 ottobre] per la prima volta nella stanza del Pallonetto di Palazzo, la scritta opera intitolata Didone et incendio di Troia in musica, che riuscì di sodisfazione di tutti gli ascoltanti sì per il bel dire, e varietà d’habiti, di personaggi, come per la ben ordinata scena con molte apparenze di più maniere, il tutto a spese di detta compagnia che perciò fecero pagare cinque carlini a testa alla porta, chi volesse entrare a vederla, 2. altri carlini per la seggia e quattro ducati per ogni palchetto, uno de’ quali fu occupato dal signor Vice Re con haverlo pagato [...]²⁵

of the Prima Scena that follows, where we find “2^o”: this might mean that, in the owner’s view, a different stage setting was intended for the Prologo from that of the opera’s opening.

²² Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, *Dalla Finta pazza alla Veremonda: storie di Febiarmomici*, *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 10 (1975), p. 379; Domenico Antonio D’Alessandro, *L’opera in musica a Napoli dal 1650 al 1670, Seicento napoletano*, ed. Roberto Pane, Milano, Edizioni di Comunità, 1984, p. 412.

²³ Eng. translation: “A company of musicians from various parts of Italy, which have been here for many months at the instigation of the Conte d’Ognatte, Viceroy, and Marchese Tassis, after giving various *commedie in musica*, in this Royal Palace, are preparing another entitled *Troia distrutta* which is to be performed this week, providing at their own expense a sumptuous production for an outlay of 2500 ducats [...]”

²⁴ L. Bianconi and T. Walker, op. cit, p. 379; D. A. D’Alessandro, op. cit., p. 412.

²⁵ Eng. translation: “The company of comic musicians who are in the city performed last Wednesday [12 October] for the first time in the Stanza del Pallonetto in the Palace the previously mentioned opera entitled *Didone et incendio di Troia* in music, which pleased all listeners by its fine diction and variety of costumes and characters, as well as by the well-ordered staging with its many different scenic transformations, all at the expense of the aforesaid company, which

Naples, 8 November 1650²⁶

Nel Pallonetto di Palazzo domenica sera [6 novembre] fu di nuovo recitata la settima volta in musica la scritta opera intitolata *Didone*, con l'intervento del signor Viceré, e di questo monsignor Nuntio invitatovi da S. E., dopo finita di rappresentare detta opera partì per Roma con una di queste galere il Sig. marchese Tassis capitano della Guardia di S.E. dal quale viene spedito dicono per compiere in nome dell'E. S. col novello cardinal Panfilio per la sua essaltatione [...]²⁷

Finally, on 15 November 1650, the Viceroy gave orders for the erection in the Palace, in the area of the Park, of “un gran teatro da rappresentar tragedie più commodo assai alli ascoltanti di quello del Pallonetto” (Eng. translation: “a great theatre for staging tragedies, much more convenient for listeners than that of the Pallonetto”); here, indeed, we stand at the well-spring of opera in Naples, and of a history that begins, following *Didone*, with *Giasone*, *Egisto* and *Nerone* in 1651.²⁸

The libretto published in Naples on 10 October 1650 was dedicated by the architect-impresario Curzio Manara to the Marchese Antonio De Tassis, Captain of the Guard to the Viceroy of Naples Inigo de Guevara y Tassis, Conte d'Oñate y Villamediana. The Viceroy was also the dedicatee of the fourth libretto in this first phase of opera production in Naples, Monteverdi's *Nerone ovvero L'Incoronazione di Poppea*, published a year later, whereas the Neapolitan libretto of Cavalli's *Giasone*, dated 6 September 1651, was dedicated to his daughter, Caterina de Guevara e Tassis, Vicereine of Sardinia. This appears to confirm Bianconi and Walker's observation that the Conte d'Oñate set out quite consciously to pursue a policy of self-promotion.²⁹ It would surely be no coincidence if the team of Busenello and Cavalli was involved in both of the earliest two Venetian operas to be revived in Naples: in the case of *Nerone*, Cavalli had in his possession, and probably personally revised, the only two musical sources that have come down to us.³⁰

accordingly charged five *carlini* a head at the door to everyone who wished to enter and see it, and 2 more *carlini* for a chair and 4 ducats for a box, one of the same being occupied by the Viceroy, who paid for it [...]

²⁶ D. A. D'Alessandro, op. cit., p. 412.

²⁷ Eng. translation: “In the Pallonetto in the Palace on Sunday evening [6 November] there was another performance in music, the seventh, of the previously mentioned opera entitled *Didone*, the Viceroy being present, together with Monsignor Nuntio invited by His Excellency, and after the aforesaid opera the Marchese Tassis, Captain of His Excellency's Guard, left for Rome by ship, despatched, it is said, for the purpose of presenting H. E.'s compliments to the new Cardinal Pamphilij on his elevation [...]

²⁸ See Lorenzo Bianconi, *Funktionen des Operntheaters in Neapel bis 1700 und die Rolle Alessandro Scarlatti's*, *Colloquium A. Scarlatti Würzburg 1975*, ed. W. Osthoff and J. Ruile-Dronke, Tutzing, Schneider, 1979, pp. 13–111; see also D. A. D'Alessandro, op. cit., p. 412.

²⁹ L. Bianconi and T. Walker, op. cit., p. 391: “L'Ognate non aveva quindi atteso che i Febiarmonici, o Curzio Manara introducessero a Napoli ‘le commedie in musica all'uso di Venezia’, e già nel 1649 era ben cosciente dell'efficacia propagandistica del meraviglioso scenotecnico e scenico-musicale. Pare dunque davvero intenzionale la sua istituzione di regolari spettacoli accessibili a un pubblico purchessia (pagante o di corte) fin dalla *Didone* del 1650.”

³⁰ See Ellen Rosand, *L'Incoronazione di Poppea* di Francesco Cavalli, *Francesco Cavalli. La circo-*

We do not intend here to dwell on the complex and still largely obscure “prehistory” of opera in Naples. All too little is known, for example, about the role played by Curzio Manara and the importance of the Viceroy’s desire to celebrate his rule.³¹ We cannot, however, fail to note the significant presence of the Venetian pair, and the composer in particular, at the outset of the glorious tradition of musical theatre in Naples: Cavalli was responsible for no fewer than ten of the thirty operas put on in theatres in the city in the decade following 1650.³²

Once we had grasped the significance of the libretto published in Naples in 1650 as the closest surviving literary source for the Venetian score, we proceeded to make a comparative analysis of the texts contained in all the known sources of *Didone* in order to establish to which of the productions on record the surviving score relates. The results of our analysis were quite unequivocal.

The libretto published in Genoa in 1652 can be set aside for two reasons: on one hand, it clearly derives from the 1650 Naples production, while, on the other, it features sections and characters that do not exist in the Venetian score. One example is the comic role of Trinano “the stutterer”, an exact counterpart of the only comic character in Busenello’s 1656 libretto, Sinone. We may also note that, as in Naples 1650, Genoa 1652 brings forward the monologue of Sinone from the eighth to the fourth scene in Act I, and adds many elements not found in the 1656 text. The textual variants could well be the work of the Genoese poet Vincenzo Della Rena.³³

As a matter of fact, the source that is furthest removed in time from the performances of the opera is Busenello’s text published in 1656. When we summarize the findings that emerge from the comparative analysis of the sources, we can affirm that the manuscript score has many more points in common with the Neapolitan libretto of 1650 than with the official one produced by Busenello in Venice in 1656. But at the same time it cannot be said that the musical source derives directly from the Neapolitan production in view of the numerous divergences.

lazione dell’opera veneziana nel Seicento, Atti del Convegno di Napoli 2002, ed. Dinko Fabris, Naples, Turchini Edizioni, 2005, pp. 119–146.

³¹ About this Cremonese priest, who led various companies of “Febi Armonici” in the north of Italy from at least 1645 to his arrival in Naples in 1649, see L. Bianconi and T. Walker, op. cit., pp. 399–402; and Nicola Michelassi, *Musici di fortuna tra Venezia e l’Europa. I viaggi teatrali di Giovan Battista Balbi*, Firenze, 2001/2002 (Università di Firenze, PhD thesis). For an overall reconstruction of the beginnings of opera in Naples, see Dinko Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-century Naples. Francesco Provenzale (1624–1704)*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2007, pp. 154–155.

³² See L. Bianconi, op. cit., 1979, pp. 46–47.

³³ As Armando Fabio Ivaldi (A. F. Ivaldi, op. cit., p. 247) has pointed out, the libretto of Genoa 1652, as well as modifying and extending the monologue of “Sinon Greco” and bringing it forward to scene IV as in Naples 1650, creates the comic character of the stammering Trinano and substitutes the *buffa* pair Sinone–Trinano for the divine couples in the other known sources: Venere–Enea (I, 5) and Giove–Mercurio (III, 4). The new comic scenes were in fact printed separately from the official text, as an appendix to the Genoese libretto described as *Scene AGGIUNTE AL DRAME DELLA DIDONE*. It is possible that the libretto of Naples 1650 may also have had additional scenes and comic characters, but the surviving examples contain no evidence of this.

The Venetian score

In 2004 Hendrik Schulze maintained that the score of *Didone* in the Contarini collection in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, was one of the late copies that Cavalli made prior to 1667.³⁴ This document clearly had a complex history. Jane Glover, followed by Peter Jeffery, has identified three distinct writing styles:³⁵

C1) A “strange hand” (unknown in Cavalli’s works), responsible for most of the manuscript, using the same paper otherwise used by “hand D” (see Figure 3);

C2) “hand D”, responsible for at least two other scores in the Contarini collection – namely *Doriclea* and *Muzio Scevola* – whose contribution here was limited to four gatherings in different ink apparently inserted in collaboration with the main copyist (see Figure 4);³⁶

C3) autograph interventions by Cavalli himself (see Figure 5).

After careful scrutiny of the score in Venice we can substantially agree with Jane Glover’s reconstruction of the copying process: the main copyist (C1 or “strange hand”) was charged with preparing a new score from an “original manuscript” but “he evidently had some difficulty in decyphering Cavalli’s handwriting, for he had to leave many gaps, the most crucial of which were filled by Cavalli himself.” What is not clear is the rationale for the insertions by “hand D” (C2), “as if tidying up the difficult passages left by both Cavalli and the foreign scribe”.³⁷

Glover is right to point out how *Didone*, composed just a year after *Gli amori di Apollo e Dafne*, is completely different in terms of division into scenes, length and indeed psychological treatment of the characters. Bianconi and Glover were the first scholars to maintain that the copy of the score of *Didone* now in the Contarini collection is not related to the premiere of 1641 but to one of the subsequent productions mounted in other cities, the only two known to us being Naples 1650 and Genoa 1652, as we have seen.³⁸

From a comparison of the sources it becomes clear that the score does not correspond to the *Scenario* illustrating the opera as it was staged for the first time in Venice in 1641, on account of the order of the scenes, the cast and even missing sections.³⁹ There

³⁴ H. Schulze, op. cit., p. 86.

³⁵ J. Glover, op. cit., p. 69 and 72; Peter Grant Jeffery, *The Autograph Manuscripts of Francesco Cavalli*, Princeton, NY, 1980, pp. 125–126 (Princeton University, PhD thesis).

³⁶ As noted by P. G. Jeffery, op. cit., p. 125–126. We may add that the two hands differ not only in the type of ink they use but also in the form of the clefs and of the brackets prefacing the systems, which are looped for C1, straight for C2.

³⁷ J. Glover, op. cit., p. 72.

³⁸ Lorenzo Bianconi, Caletti (Caletti–Bruni), Pietro Francesco, detto Cavalli, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 16, Roma, Istituto per l’Enciclopedia Italiana, 1973, pp. 686–696: 691; J. Glover, op. cit., p. 72.

³⁹ However, some of the operatic scenes should, according to Ellen Rosand, be omitted from the scenario, but they were probably added to the Venice production because they were mad scenes for Iarba. Ellen Rosand, *The Opera Scenario, 1638–1655: A Preliminary Survey*, *In Cantu et in*

can be no doubt that the two sources refer to different productions. But as we have said, there is no proper match to the score in any of the extant libretti. At some points the score includes portions of text that do not occur in the libretti; more commonly, in the score single words are altered or their position in the line is changed, possibly so as to fit the music better. At all events, the score corresponds more closely to the Naples 1650 libretto than to Busenello's 1656 text. Moreover, the differences between the order of scenes in the score and in the 1650 libretto (the bringing forward of Sinone's monologue to Act I scene 4, the frequent omissions and the changes of words) are such that the two sources cannot be associated with the same performance. The most convincing supposition for the parts of these sources which do correspond is that both derive from an original belonging to Cavalli that has not come down to us. The 1650 libretto is so full of misprints as to suggest not only that Neapolitan proof readers were lamentably incompetent but, more significantly, that it was printed in great haste. We can advance the hypothesis that an original text, unknown to us, was submitted to the advance censorship of the Viceroy, obliging the printers to make a hasty revision in time for the performance. Almost all the words and phrases to have been altered with respect to the score (and to the subsequent text of 1656) concern situations of dalliance or reference to pagan topics.⁴⁰ While the published libretto may have had to succumb to imperious curtailments of Busenello's customary exuberance, this does not necessarily mean that the parts as they were sung in Naples were similarly expurgated.

The corrections (wrong notes erased or replaced) and superfluous repetitions of clefs at the beginning of staves that occur frequently in the Venetian score of *Didone* provide tangible proof of the existence of an original from which the copy was made by the two copyists under the supervision of Cavalli. Other signs ("x", "+", "r" and on one occasion "qui"), that appear in the first act of the score only can be connected to an early modern performance.⁴¹ (See Figure 6.)

Conclusions

As Ellen Rosand was the first to observe in 2002:⁴²

Invero, il fatto che nel libretto napoletano molti dei tagli di ampie dimensioni (comprendenti cioè parecchi versi) concordino con quelli presenti nell'unica partitura

Sermone. For Nino Pirrotta on his 80th Birthday, ed. Franco Piperno and Fabrizio Della Seta, Firenze, Olschki, 1996, pp. 335–346.

⁴⁰ On the possible influence of censorship in the revival in Naples of the subsequent opera by Monteverdi and Busenello (with some involvement by Cavalli), *L'Incoronazione di Poppea*, see the illuminating observations of Ellen Rosand in E. Rosand, op. cit., 2005, pp. 125–126. L. Bianconi and T. Walker (in: op. cit., pp. 380–381) had already attributed the significant changes with respect to the Venetian text to Neapolitan censorship: "qualche spostamento nell'ordine delle scene e la sistematica soppressione delle scene di evocazione oltretombale (I.7 e 9 e III.8) e di qualche brano di dialogo troppo licenziosamente pagano o lascivo."

⁴¹ The use of the pencil was unknown before 1664. I am tempted to connect these signs with Riccardo Nielsen's first revival of the score in 1952.

⁴² E. Rosand, op. cit., 2005, p. 126.

della *Didone* (I-Vnm It.IV.355 [=9879]) fa supporre che tale fonte possa riflettere la rappresentazione napoletana [...]

We can sum up the process by which the score and Busenello's definitive text of *Didone* were produced almost twenty years after the Venetian premiere as follows. Late in 1649 the troupe called Febi Armonici under Curzio Manara arrived in Naples to give the first performances of operas *alla veneziana* as part of a cycle of festivities entitled *Partenope liberata*, clearly inspired by political and celebratory motives. The only documentary evidence we have for the musicians' arrival in Naples as early as 1649 comes in the dedication of the Neapolitan libretto of *Didone*, where Manara declares that the opera (produced in 1650) was to be performed by:

[...] una compagnia di musici di diverse parti d'Italia, che fa molti mesi si ritrovano qui ad istanza del viceré [...]⁴³

In fact, the Conte d'Oñate organized a programme of celebrations with an overtly political and symbolic intent in the years immediately following the Spanish victory over Masaniello (1648). The choice of *Didone* to follow the cycle *Partenope liberata* is itself astute: Partenope obviously represented the city of Naples "liberated" from the revolutionary hotheads led by Masaniello, but the libretto of *Didone* similarly has strong symbolic connotations. The burning of Troy, which takes up the whole of the first act, is an allusion to the city of Naples during the revolt; Aeneas could represent the ambiguous figure of Don Juan de Austria, the heroic conqueror of Masaniello, who went on from Naples to attend to more lofty matters (founding Rome, seat of the power of both the Church and the Catholic monarch);⁴⁴ Dido could represent the city of Naples with all her wiles and fickleness, abandoned by the hero (Giovanni-Aeneas) but finding consolation in the happy ending with her new husband Iarba, a rather bold figure to choose for the Spanish monarchy, briefly repulsed by a city in the throes of revolutionary madness. Such an interpretation is clearly a modern distortion of elements that are no more than hints, and relies on the most recent historiographical evaluation of the figure of Don Juan de Austria. We believe that Oñate's celebratory programme – a sort of spectacular statement of his reconciliation with the city – probably featured a third title, *Nerone* by Monteverdi and Busenello (1651).⁴⁵ This likewise presented a character who loomed large in the Neapolitan cultural tradition, for whereas Virgil, the source for *Didone*, was associated with

⁴³ Eng. translation: "[...] a company of musicians from various parts of Italy, which have been here for many months at the instigation of the Viceroy [...]"

⁴⁴ Prince Juan José de Austria (Madrid, April 1629 – 17 September 1679), italianized as "Don Giovanni d'Austria", should not be confused with the 16th-century figure of the same name, an illegitimate son of Charles V, victor of Lepanto, who died quite young in 1578. The former, too, was an illegitimate son – of Philip IV. As Viceroy of Naples in 1648 he defeated Masaniello, but got on the wrong side of his father on account of envy and jealousy. After a term in the Low Countries, likewise under Spanish dominion, as governor until 1659, he fell into disgrace.

⁴⁵ Nevertheless the repertory in Naples was limited to operas created in Venice in the previous decade, imported by the Febi Armonici troupe and adapted to local taste.

the mythology of medieval Naples, being turned into a wizard by the name of Partenope (i.e. “the Virgin”), Nero was enamoured of the Neapolitan populace for guaranteeing warm-hearted ovations whenever he performed songs, accompanying himself on the lyre. According to Tacitus, Nero with his cithara was singing of “the conflagration of Troy” while Rome burned, giving rise to the first persecutions of the Christians in 65 AD.⁴⁶

It is no coincidence that the Neapolitan newspaper reports made much of the fire scene in Act I of *Didone*, almost as if *L’incendio di Troia* were the title of the opera itself. This surely points to the ideological connection in the Viceroy’s political design between the sacked Troy and Naples, linking Dido with Nero. One further element in this association may have been the folk memory of Nero singing in the Odeon of the Graeco-Roman city during his holidays in Naples, as recorded in Suetonius.⁴⁷

Once he had established a direct link with Venice and Cavalli, the Viceroy had no further need for Curzio Manara as intermediary, and, in fact, Giambattista Balbi, a close associate of Cavalli,⁴⁸ arrived in Naples to replace him. *Didone* inaugurated a policy of mounting Venetian operas in Naples that were suitably adapted to entertain local audiences. Over the next few years Cavalli’s Venetian team produced numerous scores that were reworked to this end, perhaps with the assistance of a Neapolitan musician.⁴⁹ If we return for a moment to the 1650 libretto and accept the hypothesis that it had to be rushed through the printers following its submission to the censor, it does not in fact reflect the production as it was put on in Naples that year but is merely an approximation. It is likely

⁴⁶ “Eo in tempore Nero Anti agens non ante in urbem regressus est, quam domui eius, qua Palantium et Maecenatis hortos continuaverat, ignis propinquaret. Neque tamen sisti potuit, quin et Palatium et domus et cuncta circum haurirentur. Sed solacium populo exturbato ac profugo campum Martis ac monumenta Agrippae, hortos quin etiam suos patefacit et subitaria aedificia extruxit, quae multitudinem inopem acciperent; subvectaque utensilia ab Ostia et propinquis municipiis, pretiumque frumenti minutum usque ad ternos nummos. quae quamquam popularia in inritum cadebant, quia pervaserat rumor ipso tempore flagrantis urbis inisse eum domesticam scaenam et cecinisse Troianum excidium, praesentia mala vetustis cladibus adsimulantem (C. Cornelio Taciti, *Annales*, XV, 38–44: 39).” On “Virgilio Mago” in Naples, see Roberto De Simone, *Il segno di Virgilio*, Pozzuoli, Puteoli editore, 1982.

⁴⁷ “Et prodit Neapoli primum ac ne concusso quidem repente motu terrae theatro ante cantare destitit, quam incohatum absolveret nomen, Ibidem saepius et per complures cantavit dies; sumpto etiam ad reficiendam vocem brevi tempore, impatiens secreti a balineis in theatrum, transiit mediaque in orchestra frequente populo epulatus [...] Captus autem modulatis Alexandrinorum laudationibus, qui de novo comiteatu Neapolim confluxerant, plures Alexandria evocavit [...] operamque navarent cantanti sibi [...]” (Suetonius, *Liber Sextus. Nero*, 20). Before Nero, Augustus had attended games given in his honour in Naples (Suetonius, *Liber Secundus. Divus Augustus*, 98).

⁴⁸ On the extraordinary figure of dancer, architect and impresario Giovan Battista Balbi, see L. Bianconi and T. Walker, op. cit., pp. 401–402 and later; Nicola Michelassi, *Musici di fortuna tra Venezia e l’Europa. I viaggi teatrali di Giovan Battista Balbi*; Michela Rollo, *Giovan Battista Balbi, ballerino scenografo e impresario alle origini dell’opera a Napoli (1652–1654)*, Potenza, 2006/2007 (Università della Basilicata, BA thesis).

⁴⁹ In the cited volume *Music in Seventeenth-century Naples* I argue that the Neapolitan who regularly collaborated with Cavalli on the revision of his operas for performance in Southern Italy may have been Francesco Provenzale.

that one or more comic characters were added, as became the case shortly afterwards in Genoa.

The score in the Contarini collection is not directly linked to the Naples production of 1650 but may have been written out, much later, on the basis of the original score with the modifications that Cavalli made for this production. The author's autograph interventions show that the main copyist was not always able to decipher the composer's problematic handwriting. This "strange" hand, unique in the Contarini collection of Cavalli's works, may be that of a Neapolitan copyist, for it is quite similar in style to some of the contemporary manuscripts written out for the Real Cappella in Naples.⁵⁰

The text of Busenello as published in the Venetian collection of 1656 could have taken into account some of the changes made during performances in Naples and Genoa (and possibly others of which we have no knowledge), since the structure does not correspond to the *Scenario* published in 1641 despite the reference in the title page to the Venetian premiere given fifteen years previously. In the context of Busenello's dramaturgical output, it is essential to bear in mind his readiness to modify his texts in accordance with the modifications introduced by Cavalli, as we have shown in the case of *Statira*.⁵¹

The reconstruction we have outlined of the process by which *Didone* came to be preserved for posterity has clear implications for contemporary performing practice. Once the idea that the score reflects the Venetian premiere of 1641 is abandoned, and it is recognized that it derives in one way or another from the version put on in Naples in 1650, the whole approach to scoring must be changed. The forces employed in the Real Cappella of Naples, then under the direction of Andrea Falconieri (who wrote some of the music for the festivities of *Partenope liberata*), were considerably larger and more varied than those usually available in a Venetian theatre such as San Cassiano.⁵² The signs of five-part

⁵⁰ The hand of the mysterious copyist "C1", unique in the Contarini collection, recalls the writing of a group of manuscripts of sacred music, copied in the years 1630–1640 and certainly intended for use in the Royal Chapel in Naples, now preserved in the Archivio Musicale dei Padri Gerolamini in Naples (I Nf), with pieces by the *maestro di cappella* Giovan Maria Trabaci, three members of the Sabino family, and Andrea Falconieri. The Neapolitan score of *Oronthea* by Cesti arranged for Naples by Francesco Cirillo in 1654 (I Nc Rari 6.7.11), as played through on the piano by the late lamented Thomas Walker, prompted me to compare its style with that of the dances published in the *Primo libro di canzone* of Andrea Falconieri (Naples 1650). In fact, the Royal Chapel took part in almost all the opera productions in those years in the Teatro San Bartolomeo, and it is quite likely that the *maestro di cappella* was responsible for some of the music, for example the instrumental ritornelli.

⁵¹ See Dinko Fabris, *Statira da Venezia a Napoli, Francesco Cavalli. La circolazione dell'opera veneziana nel Seicento*, Atti del Convegno di Napoli 2002, ed. Dinko Fabris, Naples, Turchini Edizioni, 2005, pp. 165–194.

⁵² At the time of *Didone* the Royal Chapel of the Viceroy of Naples comprised the following musicians: *maestro di cappella* (Andrea Falconieri), 6 sopranos (castrati or boys), 2 contraltos, 4 tenors, 2 basses, plus 5–6 other singers who were not part of the permanent choir; 1 sackbut, 2 wind instruments, 6 violins (I also "viola"), 1 harp, 3 organs, 1 harpsichord and 1 organ maker. Data given in Dinko Fabris, *Andrea Falconieri Napoletano. Un liutista compositore del Seicento*, Roma, Torre d'Orfeo, 1986, pp. 66–67. The first opera given in Venice, *L'Andromeda* by Manelli and Ferrari in 1637, involved only six *musici*, as we learn from the Printer's dedication "A' Lettori" of the libretto. The orchestra that accompanied operas in Venetian theatres such as the

writing for instrumental components in the Venetian score rather than the three parts that were customary in Venice is further clue of this Neapolitan dimension. So, too, is Cavalli's unusual instruction "Tutti qui entrano, col raddopio di voci et instrumenti" (f. 99v, see also Figure 5b), which would seem to indicate a doubling up of strings and woodwind—which is out of the question in relation to the scant forces then available in Venice.

Table
Modern productions of the *Didone* of Cavalli and Busenello

1952	Florence, Palazzo Pitti	Orchestra Maggio Musicale Fiorentino cond. by C. M. Giulini
1958	Milan, RAI	Orchestra RAI di Milano
1990	Augsburg, Stättische Bühnen	performers not identified
1997	Ambronay, Festival Besançon, Opéra Avignon, Opéra Paris, Opéra Comique	Orchestre de l'Académie Baroque Euro- péenne d'Ambronay cond. by C. Rousset
1997	Glasgow, International Early Music Festival	Scottish Early Music Consort cond. not identified
1997	Schwetzingen Festspiele; Berlin, Deutsche Staatsoper	Balthazar-Neumann-Ensemble cond. by T. Hengelbrock
2000–2001	Lausanne, Opéra	Les Talents Lyriques cond. by C. Rousset
2002	Montpellier, Opéra	Les Talents Lyriques cond. by C. Rousset
2003	Munich, Prinzregententheater	Theater Orchestra cond. by C. Hammer
2004	Amsterdam, Concertgebouw	Ensemble Elyma cond. by G. Garrido
2006	Venice, Teatro Malibrán Turin, Teatro Regio	Europa Galante cond. by F. Biondi
2007	Brussels, Kaaithheater (Kunstenfestivaldesarts) Edinburgh, Royal Lyceum Theatre	The Wooster Group, cond. by B. Odland
2008	Milan, Scala	Europa Galante cond. by F. Biondi

Teatro Aponal (1651–1656) and San Cassiano (1657–1658) was made up of 2 or 3 harpsichordists (one the composer himself), 1 or 2 theorbos, 2 violins, viola, violone, and a tuner: data given in Appendix Six of the cited volume by Beth L. Glixon and Jonathan E. Glixon. B. L. and J. Glixon, op. cit., pp. 350–351. See also Giovanni Morelli and Thomas Walker, *Tre controversie intorno al San Cassiano, Venezia e il melodramma nel Seicento*, ed. Maria Teresa Muraro, Firenze, Olschki, 1976, pp. 97–120; Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, *Production, Consumption and Political Function of Seventeenth-Century Opera*, *Early Music History* 4 (1984), pp. 209–296.

All these factors will have to be borne in mind when preparing the critical edition of Cavalli and Busenello's *Didone*, currently in progress,⁵³ as indeed in all future performances of this fascinating early opera that make any claim to "authenticity".*

**ARGOMENTO
E SCENARIO
DELLA
DIDONE.**



**IN VENETIA,
MDCXXXI.**

Presso Pietro Miloco .
Con Licenza de' Superiori .



LA SCENA

Srappresenta essere Troia
ardente nella vltima deso-
latione, & ruina sua; doppo
estinti Hettore, Paride,
Priamo, e tutti quegl'altri
più famosi Heròi .

PROLOGO.

Q Vello sarà rappresenta-
to da Iride, ancella di
Giunone : Dirà, che nella ru-
ina di Troia restano piena-
mente vindicate, le offese ri-
cepute da Giunone medesima
nel giuditio del pomo d'oro.
Apparirà essa Iride in machi-
na sopra l'arco suo.

A 3 AT-

Figure 1 a-b

Title-page and description of the *Scena* from *Argomento e Scenario della Didone*, Venice 1641 (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, shelf-mark Dramm. 908.4; with permission).

⁵³ July 2007 saw the official constitution of the International Musicological Society Study group dedicated to "Francesco Cavalli and seventeenth-century Venetian opera", coordinated by Ellen Rosand, which is to undertake the edition of Cavalli's most representative works for Bärenreiter: among the first titles, I am responsible, together with Pietro Moretti, for the critical edition of *Didone*.

* I wish to take this opportunity to thank Ellen Rosand and Lorenzo Bianconi for their invaluable suggestions concerning the first version of this essay as well as Mark Weir for the English translation and Michael Talbot for the revision of the final version of my English text.

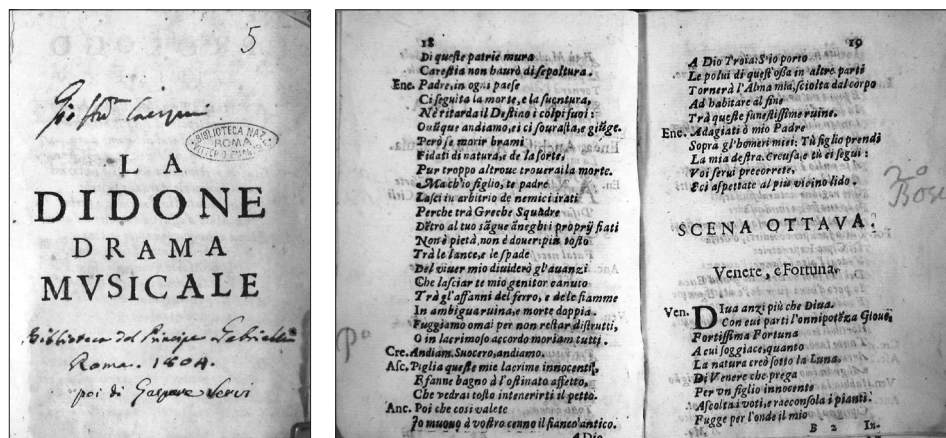


Figure 2 a-b

Title-page and act 1- end of scene VII and beginning of scene VIII from *La Didone Drama Musicale*, Naples 1650, pp. 18-19: additions in pencil “Po” and “2o Bosco” (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome, shelf-mark p4A-D8E6; with permission).



Figure 3

Example of a “hand C1” – “strange hand” with autograph addition of “hand C3” in the score of *Didone*, f. 4v (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, shelf-mark Contarini IV, 355 = 9879; with permission; free download of the full score available on www.internetculturale.it).

3. *Andante* *lento amor*
 E una nome senza creder
 Segno in che quanto scede
 E tanto verso mille cori
 Nada de castità e sui compagni
 A minuar de uoglio an' fides amari. *Rit.*

4. *Andante*
 Lanquet unio en' fiorita
 mai / accetto cor' / spijano
 L'aria romana / l'arbitrio
 e la destino e' amor e' invidia
 on morte al mondo se' pumate frater
 se uita solo nel plet canverete. *Rit.*

S.º
 Perché incalmo in bello rimare
 aggracato sul voi mero
 Non poio l'aggracato
 In radice uita franta
 ma con uita neri spoi q' uaman
 e più d'aver rinnegato i pidi. *Adante*

Vcl.º
 Cri di Didon contenti nouo merito pose-grino nel secreto suo gran
 dino ch'è suo per non pian ma' q'ora q'ora snalla tu quel ch'è giurato et q'ora
 a' l'ohi al grand- mir nuovo alla acia andar p'ora e nel con d'un caso

Vcl.º
 Zur t'ho colta adawina *Dani*
 A le Dame di Corte verue
 Della Regina? la tua u'glaccheria ch'è q'ora fina, che mi pare in du-
 proppio merita questo è proppio. questi è l'amor che parti, è lo fel
 tone alla retina di dona? *l'aria*
 che dice di Didone e' Didon ch' nome e'
 questo? *Puma*
 For t'è aceto di mente il nome amato pazzavel memoriato

Figure 4 a-b

4a) Page written in “hand C1” followed by 4b) page written in “hand C2”, in the score of *Didone*, ff. 94v–95 (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, shelf-mark Contarini IV, 355 = 9879; with permission; free download of the full score available on www.internetculturale.it).



Figure 5 a-b

“Entrano tutti / gli Istrumenti”, act 1, 1 Coro “All’armi”, and “Tutti qui entrano, col / Radoppio di Voci / et Istrumenti” in “hand C3”: examples of autograph additions by Cavalli in the score of *Didone*, f. 13 and f. 99v (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, shelf-mark Contarini IV, 355 = 9879; with permission; free download of the full score available on www.internetculturale.it).

fa' m'io la mia morte con gaudio l'ira - ma mandami all'altare
viva di gloria cum - lato non fara' longo uita l'anima mia
per give in Para - diso mentre mie' vi' d' appreso il tuo il tuo del viso
Se la mia mano e' a - mico si' amara et aggrava prendilo
se ne so' libero sono uirgi - nale honesta' dammi perdo - no'

Figure 6

Modern signs “x” and “+” on the staves in the score of *Didone*, f. 21v (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, shelf-mark Contarini IV, 355 = 9879; with permission; free download of the full score available on www.internetculturale.it).

CAVALLIJEVA IN BUSENELLOVA OPERA *DIDONE*:
OD VIROV DO MODERNIH IZVEDB

Povzetek

Opera *Didone*, ki je bila prvič izvedena v Benetkah leta 1641, je drugi pomembnejši plod sodelovanja med libretistom Pierfrancescom Busenellom (pred *Kronanjem Popeje*, ki jo je uglasbil Monteverdi) in skladateljem Francescom Cavallijem. Kljub številnim razlagam simbolnega pomena te opere njen pomen za razvoj operne dramaturgije v 17. stoletju doslej še nikoli ni bil v celoti predstavljen. Tako so sodobni izvajalci nadaljevali s prakso delnih ali celo neverjetnih rekonstrukcij, ki naj bi se načeloma nanašale na domnevno beneško premiero leta 1641. Pa vendar je na voljo veliko verodostojnih virov za obnovitev izvirne predstave opere *Didone*: ena partitura z rokopisnimi zaznamki skladatelja, besedilo opere, ki je bilo natisnjeno pod nadzorom libretista Busenella leta 1656, brošura *Scenario e Argomento della Didone (Scenarij in zgodba Didone)*, natisnjena za beneško izvedbo leta 1641, nekaj izvirnih libretov, natisnjenih za predstave, ki so po beneški sledile tudi v drugih mestih (v Neapelju, Genovi itd.).

Ta študija se opira na vse omenjene vire, posebej pa poudarja pomen predstave v Neaplju leta 1650 (na željo španskega podkralja, vojvode Ognatskega), za katero je bil natisnjen poseben libreto. Ohranil se je en sam izvod, ki doslej še ni bil zabeležen v ustreznih popisih. Vse kaže, da je prav ta libreto tesno povezan z edino ohranjeno partituro, ki zagotovo ni bila prepisana za beneško premiero leta 1641. Tudi besedilo, ki ga je dal leta 1656 v Benetkah natisniti Busenello, se ne nanaša na premiero, temveč predstavlja dokončno obliko, ki je sledila vrsti predelav, ki so bile pripravljene v prejšnjih petnajstih letih. Partitura je bila verjetno prepisana iz Cavallijevega izvirnika, rokopis prepisovalca pa je znan samo iz tega vira in ga ne najdemo v drugih virih iste Contarinijeve zbirke v Benetkah. Rokopisne opombe v skladateljevi pisavi kažejo na to, da je sam nadzoroval prepis ali predstavo, čeprav je partitura v Contarinijevo zbirko prišla sorazmerno pozno.

Kritična izdaja te opere, ki jo pripravlja avtor tega besedila in bo izšla v novi zbirki Cavallijevih del pri založbi Bärenreiter, bo upoštevala vsa nova dognanja, ki sledijo iz primerjave vseh znanih virov, in bo združevala glasbo in besedilo, ki sledi neapeljski uprizoritvi leta 1650.