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VOLUME 6

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# Dramatic Experience

*The Poetics of Drama and the Early Modern  
Public Sphere(s)*

*Edited by*

Katja Gvozdeva, Tatiana Korneeva, and Kirill Ospovat



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The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at <http://catalog.loc.gov>  
LC record available at <http://lcn.loc.gov/>

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ISSN 2211-341X

ISBN 978-90-04-32975-1 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-32976-8 (e-book)

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## *Il favore degli dei* (1690): Meta-Opera and *Metamorphoses* at the Farnese Court

Wendy Heller

In 1690, Giovanni Maria Crescimbeni (1663–1728) and Gian Vincenzo Gravina (1664–1718), along with several of their literary colleagues, established the Arcadian Academy in Rome. Railing against the excesses of the day, their aim was to restore good taste and classical restraint to poetry, art, and opera. That same year, a mere 460 kilometres away, the Farnese court in Parma offered an entertainment that seemed designed to flout the precepts of these well-intentioned reformers.<sup>1</sup> For the marriage of his son Prince Odoardo Farnese (1666–1693) to Dorothea Sofia of Neuberg (1670–1748), Duke Ranuccio II Farnese (1639–1694) spared no expense, capping off the elaborate festivities with what might well be one of the longest operas ever performed: *Il favore degli dei*, a ‘drama fantastico musicale’ with music by Bernardo Sabadini (d. 1718) and poetry by the prolific Venetian librettist Aurelio Aureli (d. 1718).<sup>2</sup>

Although Sabadini’s music does not survive, we are left with a host of paratextual materials to tempt the historical imagination. Aureli’s printed libretto, which includes thirteen engravings, provides a vivid sense of a production

1 The object of Crescimbeni’s most virulent condemnation was Giacinto Andrea Cicognini’s *Giasone* (1649), set by Francesco Cavalli, which Crescimbeni both praised as a most perfect drama and condemned for bringing about the downfall of the genre. Mario Giovanni Crescimbeni, *La bellezza della volgar poesia spiegata in otto dialoghi* (Rome: Buagni, 1700), Dialogo IV, pp. 140–42; Ellen Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Berkeley: University of California Press), pp. 276–77. On the aesthetics of the Arcadian Academy, see Susan M. Dixon, *Between the Real and the Ideal: The Accademia degli Arcadi and its Garden in Eighteenth-Century Rome* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2006); Stefanie Tcharos, *Opera’s Orbit: Music Drama and the Influence of Opera in Arcadian Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

2 On Aureli, see Claudio Mutini, ‘Aureli, Aureli’, *Dizionario Biografico Italiani*, vol. IV (1962), <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/aurelio-aureli\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/aurelio-aureli_(Dizionario-Biografico))>; Wendy Heller, ‘The Beloved’s Image: Handel’s *Admeto* and the Statue of Alcestis’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 58 (2005), pp. 559–637; Wendy Heller, ‘Poppea’s Legacy: The Julio-Claudians on the Venetian Stage’, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 36 (2005), pp. 279–302.

whose opulence was excessive, even by Baroque standards.<sup>3</sup> The unusually large cast included twenty-four principal singers, some of whom were borrowed from neighbouring courts such as Mantua and Modena. In addition, the libretto lists seventeen choruses and seven ballets featuring goddesses, breezes, warriors, nymphs, virgin huntresses, cupids, demons, stars, tritons, graces, fauns, and nereids who populated the stage for this remarkable performance. The set designers, painters, and engineers were also kept busy producing seventeen different sets and no fewer than forty-three machines that bore characters to and fro ‘in the air and the earth’ (‘in aria, e in terra’).

To accomplish all of this, Ranuccio II enlisted the aid of some of the period’s most renowned stage designers and machinists: Domenico Mauro (fl. 1669–c. 1707), who is credited with the invention and painting of the scenes, as well as his brothers Gasparo (fl. 1657–c. 1719) and Pietro (fl. 1669–c. 1697), who devised the machines. Considered among the principal designers in Venice during the third quarter of the seventeenth century, the Mauro brothers were much in demand at courts outside Venice, including Munich, Turin, Pesaro, and Milan.<sup>4</sup> The scenes for the opera’s royal baths were designed and executed by a member of another family who would dominate stage design in the eighteenth century: Ferdinando Galli di Bibiena (1657–1743).<sup>5</sup>

Not surprisingly, all of this resulted in an unusually long performance—as many as eight hours, according to the court publicist Giuseppe Notari:

3 Aurelio Aureli, *Il favore degli dei, Drama Fantastico musical Fatto Rappresentare dal Serenissima Sig. Duca di Parma* (Parma: Stampa Ducale, 1690). On the Parma entertainments, see Lina Balestrieri, *Feste e spettacoli alla corte dei Farnesi: contributo all storia del meodramma* (Parma: Palatina Editrice, 1981), pp. 48–49; Giuseppe Cirillo and Giovanni Godi, *Il trionfo del barocco a Parma nelle feste farnesiane del 1690* (Parma: Banca Emiliana, 1989); Irène Mamczarz, *Le Théâtre Farnese de Parme et le drame musical italien (1618–1734): étude d’un lieu théâtral, des représentations, des formes, drame pastoral, intermèdes, opéra-tournoi, drame musicale* (Florence: Olschki, 1988); Cesare Molinari, *Le nozze degli dèi: Un saggio sul grande spettacolo italiano nel Seicento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1968).

4 Mercedes Viale Ferraro, ‘The Evolution of Stage Design’, in *Opera on Stage: The History of Italian Opera*, part II, vol. V, ed. by Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli, trans. by Kate Singleton (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2002), p. 53; Evan Baker, *From the Score to the Stage: An Illustrated History of Continental Opera Production and Staging* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

5 Anna Coccioli Matroviti, ‘Galli Bibiena, Ferdinando’, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. LI (1968), <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ferdinando-galli-bibiena\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)>](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ferdinando-galli-bibiena_(Dizionario-Biografico)>).

In questo fu rappresentata la grand' opera intitolata *Il Favore degli Dei*; fatica della famosa penna del Sig. Aurelio Aurelii, ben notato al mondo de' letterati, per tante opere date alle stampe, e animata dalla musica del. S. Bernardo Sabadini Mastro [*sic*] di Capella di S.A. Otto ore durò, ne minor tempo richiedeva il grande apparato di macchine, voli, scene, e balli. Qui si vidde il cielo, con tutti i finti suoi numi; la terra, con i suoi boschi, fieri, fiumi, giardini, caverne, monti, e pianure. Il mare, con le sue deità nereidi, tritoni, e mostri; l'inferno, con la reggia di Pluto, mostri, demonii, e serpenti.<sup>6</sup>

In this [Teatro Farnese] the grand opera entitled *Il favore degli Dei* was presented, the famous pen of Signor Aurelio Aureli, well-known in the world of literary figures for having published so many works and having animated the music of Signor Bernardo Sabadini, master of music in the chapel of His Highness. It lasted eight hours, however it seemed but brief time on account of the great apparatus of machines, flights, scene changes, and dances. Here one saw the heavens, with all their feigned gods; the earth, with its forests, beasts, rivers, gardens, caverns, mountains, and plants; the sea, with its nereids, gods, tritons, and monsters; Hell, with the kingdom of Pluto, monsters, demons, and serpents.

Notari goes on to report that the *comparse* (extras) were so numerous that they seemed like armies. But if there were crowds on the stage, that did not compare to the audience, for indeed this was an entertainment presented by crowds of performers for an even larger audience. Notari claimed—'without hyperbole'—that 'there was a city on the stage, and a province in the theatre', estimating that there were 14,000 spectators.<sup>7</sup> This was entertainment for the masses in its most luxurious form.

The prolific writer and French traveler Casimir Freschot, who estimated that the opera lasted seven to eight hours was particularly impressed by the marvels evoked by the rapidity of the scene changes:

6 Giuseppe Notari, *Descrizione delle feste Fatte eseguire con Reale magnificenza nella città di Parma, il Mese di Maggio 1690. dal Serenissimo signor Duca Ranuccio II. per le nozze del serenissimo principe Odoardo Farnese suo primogenito con la serenissima principessa Dorotea Sofia Palatina di Neoburgo* (Parma: Rosati, 1690), p. 50. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine. Orthography and punctuation of the Italian passages are lightly edited according to modern usage.

7 Notari, *Descrizione*, p. 50: 'senza iperbole raccontar si poteva, che sopra la scena v'era un epilogata una Città, e nel vasto Teatro un provincial, calcondosi il numero de' Spettatori a 14. Mila.'

L'Opera qu'il fit représenter dans le grand Théâtre dura sept à huit heures, et on vit paroître sur la scène toutes les plus riches décorations, et les plus admirables machines que l'Art sçut inventer. On a vû cet Opéra tous les deux fois qu'il fut représenté: le premier en faveur des étrangers; et les second en faveur des sujets, et on avoüe qu'il paroissoit qu'on fut en païs enchanté, ou tou changeoit à tout moment, et les merveilles se succédoient l'une à l'autre, sans laisser le temps de réfléchir, laquelle étoit la plus admirable.

The opera that was presented in the grand theatre lasted seven to eight hours, and one saw appear on the stage all the richest decorations and the most admirable machines that art could invent. We saw the opera both times it was presented; the first for the benefit of the foreigners, and the second for the subjects, and we confess that it appeared that we were in an enchanted palace, where everything changed all the time, and the marvels followed themselves one upon the other without leaving time for reflection, in a manner that was most admirable.<sup>8</sup>

*Il favore degli dei*, with its use of music, poetry, and visual spectacle to represent the mythological gods and the entire cosmos, shares many features with numerous spectacular musical entertainments produced for dynastic events throughout Europe in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of which the six *intermedi* for Girolamo Bargagli's *La Pellegrina*, presented in Florence in May 1589 as part of the festivities for the marriage of Grand Duke Ferdinando I to Christina of Lorraine, are the paradigmatic example.<sup>9</sup> And while opera historians have always been somewhat suspicious of spectacle for spectacle's sake, the Florentine *intermedi*, as humanistically inspired proto-opera, have somehow been exempt from such criticism, lauded for their moral and cosmological dimensions even as they sought to glorify Medici power. Thus, as Gary Tomlinson notes, the six *intermedi* can be understood as representing the 'graded mythological cosmos' as depicted by early modern mythographers: an orderly realm in which Apollo and his lyre signify therapeutic harmony and ethics of moderation, qualities that can be gleaned as well from the ending

8 Casimir Freschot, *Etat ancien et moderne des duchés de Florence Modène, Mantoue et Parme* (Utrecht: Guillaume Broedelet-Giulianne von Poolsum, 1711), pp. 512–13.

9 Alois M. Nagler, *Theatre Festivals of the Medici, 1539–1637* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964); James Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589: Florentine Festival as Theatrum Mundi* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

of Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo*, which is occasionally disparaged, as he notes, for its 'stagey apotheosis'.<sup>10</sup>

But are these same aesthetic principles operating one hundred years later in *Il favore degli dei*? Should we regard this late seventeenth-century operatic extravaganza as a relic of the past, espousing the neoplatonic goals so often attributed to the Florentine *intermedi*, while also trifling with the same mythological *topoi* that were so prominent in the first operas? Or perhaps it is merely an example of unrestrained and tasteless musico-theatrical excess—and of the rejection of classical procedures at the end of the Seicento that so justified the complaints of Crescimbeni and his colleagues in the Arcadian Academy. It may well be, however, that neither formulation is adequate to explain this work, for *Il favore degli dei* is in fact quite faithful to the ancients, but not in a manner that accords with notions associated with Arcadian reforms. Rather, this extravagant performance can be best understood as the product of a different brand of humanism—an offshoot of the Venetian operatic tradition that embraces what might be described as 'Ovidian dramaturgy'—wherein the straightforward adaptations of Ovidian myths undertaken in the first operas were discarded in favour of a playful, irreverent, complex, and often sensual exploration of the Arcadian realm that was intended to overwhelm the spectator.<sup>11</sup> The first opera librettists may have borrowed some of their plots from Ovid and the creators of the *intermedi* may have captivated audiences with the combination of music and stage spectacle. Yet, it is likely only a seventeenth-century Venetian librettist, who learned his craft writing for the public theatres  could so deftly adopt Ovid's procedures—the variation and melding of mythic fragments and the embrace of an unstable, chaotic, and changeable universe—and in so doing create a model for court opera that could be readily stretched nearly to the breaking point into an eight-hour extravaganza that would all but empty the Farnese coffers, while providing a tantalizing and seductive entertainment for what—if Notari is to be believed—may have been among the largest audiences in the history of the genre.

## 1 Aurelio Aureli and the Venetian Operatic Libretto

Aurelio Aureli penned his first opera libretto *L'Erginda* in 1657, just twenty years after the establishment of public opera in Venice. By then, Venetian pub-

10 Gary Tomlinson, *Metaphysical Song: An Essay on Opera* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp. 30–33.

11 Wendy Heller, 'Opera Between the Ancients and Moderns', in *Oxford Handbook of Opera*, ed. by Helen Greenwald (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 275–98.

lic opera had become one of the most celebrated forms of entertainment in Europe. Travelers who flocked to the Most Serene Republic for its famous carnival wrote of their pleasurable experiences at the opera; the Venetian noble families and impresarios who controlled opera developed an extensive network in order to hire the best singers, and libretto dedications bear witness to the many foreign nobles who were captivated by the genre.<sup>12</sup> While there were any number of court theatres that produced music dramas both before and after 1637—the Teatro Farnese in Parma, where *Il favore degli dei* was performed, opened in 1628—by the second half of the seventeenth century Venetian-style opera was the model to be emulated. Those who wished to present operas in public theatres or at court for dynastic celebrations might choose either to adapt an existing Venetian opera for their own production or—if circumstances allowed—to import Venetian artists to design new works. This was the case in Munich, for instance, when Elector Ferdinand Maria (1636–1679) hired librettist Pietro Paolo Bissari (1585–1663) and engineer/designer Francesco Santurini (1627–1682), both of whom had extensive experience on the Venetian stage, to create the lavish festivities in celebration of the birth of his son Maximilian II (1662–1726), although the music was all composed by the court composer Johann Kaspar Kerll (1627–1693).<sup>13</sup> Ranuccio II would take the same approach when he brought Aureli and the Mauro brothers to Parma in the late 1680s, leaving the composing to his court composer, Bernardo Sabadini. Although all of Sabadini's operas were written for the Farnese court after his appointment as court composer in 1686, he had been born in Venice and spent part of his career there at the Ospedale della Pietà (where Vivaldi would later be *maestro di capella*).<sup>14</sup> Therefore, despite the fact that Sabadini had never composed for the Venetian stage, he would certainly have been familiar with the conventions and may even have known Aureli prior to the poet's arrival in Parma.

It is telling that neither Elector Ferdinand Maria of Munich nor Duke Ranuccio II of Parma chose to import a musician with experience composing operas for the Venetian stage, for it suggests that the libretto—more than the musical style—was at the heart of what made Venetian opera distinctive. The librettist was not only responsible for writing the poetry that was to be sung,

12 Beth Lise Glixon and Jonathan Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera: The Impresario and his World in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

13 Wendy Heller, 'Loving Theseus: The Spectacle of Feminine Passions on the Munich Stage (1662)', *Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis*, 33 (2009), pp. 197–212.

14 Lorenzo Bianconi and Jennifer Williams Brown, 'Sabadini, Bernardo', *Grove Music Online; Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press): <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/24223>>.

but also was arguably the central creative authority in the construction of a seventeenth-century opera.<sup>15</sup> In some instances he may have consulted with patrons or impresarios about the subject of an opera (less commonly the composer), but he was ultimately responsible for the treatment of the subject and for the shape of the plot or plots, which might be newly invented, but which usually involved varying or expanding material derived from one or another classical source. Librettists would add subplots and secondary characters as well as insert comic servants and happy endings into stories that were ostensibly serious or tragic. The librettist also supplied the all-important cues for the composer, machinists, designers, and choreographers. The versification, furthermore, largely determined the musico-dramatic design of an opera—that is, the librettist not only decided what words would be sung at any given moment, but how they would be sung: poetry in *versi sciolti* was typically set as recitative, while poetry intended to be set as arias was typically arranged in a more regular metric pattern, and only the most inventive composers—such as Claudio Monteverdi—often contradicted the dictates of the librettists. The librettist also had considerable control over the visual spectacle since he determined where a given action might take place—in a throne room, gallery, royal garden, forest, or ocean—and might also make many of the critical decisions regarding the *balli* (dances), such as their subject (usually related to the main plot in some way) and characters, as well as the kind of action that the choreographer should represent. Moreover, it is the librettists whose voices we can hear most distinctly today through the *argomenti*, dedications, and prefaces in the printed librettos which—given the scarcity of reviews and critical reports—constitute our most significant body of aesthetic commentary on seventeenth-century opera.

We can gain insights into Aureli's approach by considering his predecessors in the world of Venetian opera, figures such as the citizen-class lawyer and poet Giovanni Francesco Busenello (1598–1659) and the nobleman Giacomo Badoaro (1602–1654), both having collaborated with Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643). Indeed, some of the idiosyncrasies of the Venetian-style libretto were a result of the special circumstances in which the first generation of Venetian librettists worked. Both Busenello and Badoaro, for instance, penned librettos merely as an avocation—as part of the literary activities they pursued in conjunction with the Accademia degli Incogniti, Venice's foremost literary

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15 Wendy Heller, *Music in the Baroque* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2013), pp. 99–101.

academy, to which Aureli also likely belonged.<sup>16</sup> Whether or not Aureli subscribed to the somewhat heterodox teachings of the Incogniti—their skepticism towards conventional morality and their willingness, even eagerness, to circulate and publish works on the *Index of Forbidden Books*—he certainly seems to have absorbed their playful approach to humanism and to the inherited classical tradition, in particular their delight in weaving together multiple tales and in embracing anachronisms that might have horrified Aristotle but would likely have pleased Ovid.

In crafting *Il favore degli dei*, for instance, Aureli may well have looked to Busenello's *Gli amori di Apollo e di Dafne* (Venice, 1640), set by Francesco Cavalli (1602–1676), another mythological opera involving multiple Ovidian tales. In the preface to the libretto, Busenello lays out his aesthetic goals, going so far as to mock 'stingy narrow minds' who 'corrupt the world' for, 'while they endeavor to wear ancient clothing, they render their garments absurd with modern usage.'<sup>17</sup> For Busenello, the path to modernity involved performing his own Ovidian-style metamorphoses on the myths. Who would not have appreciated the joke at the end of *Gli amori* when Busenello, recognizing the parallels in the Daphne and Syrinx myths, contrives for Pan to make an unexpected entrance in the final scene and to offer comfort to the sun god, since he, too, had suffered when his beloved had turned from nymph into vegetation.<sup>18</sup> We find similar games with multiple myths in Giovanni Faustini's (1615–1651) libretto for Cavalli's *La Calisto* (1650), a libretto whose influence, as we shall see, is more than apparent in *Il favore degli dei*.<sup>19</sup>

16 On Venetian opera and the Incogniti, see Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, pp. 37–40, 88–109; Wendy Heller, *Emblems of Eloquence: Opera and Women's Voices in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), pp. 48–81. On Incogniti publications, see Monica Miato, *L'accademia degli Incogniti di Giovanni Francesco Loredano: Venezia, 1631–1661* (Florence: Olschki, 1998); Tiziana Menegatti, *Ex ignoto notus: Bibliografia delle opere a stampa del principe degli Incogniti: Giovanni Francesco Loredano* (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 2000).

17 Giovanni Busenello, *Gli amori d'Apollo e di Dafne* (Venice: Giuliani, 1656), 7: "Gl'ingegni Stitici hanno corrotto il mondo, perché mentre sti studia di portar l'abito antico, si rendono le vesti riducole all' usanza moderna." See also Wendy Heller, 'Daphne's Dilemma: Desire as Metamorphosis in Early Modern Opera', in *Structures of Feeling in Seventeenth-Century Expressive Culture*, ed. by Susan McClary (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), pp. 175–208.

18 Heller, 'Daphne's Desire', pp. 192–93.

19 Heller, *Emblems of Eloquence*, pp. 181–94.

## 2 Aureli and the Farnese

By the time the second generation of Venetian librettists—which included not only Aureli but also such figures as the nobleman Nicolò Minato (1627–1698)—came on the scene, the business of opera was sufficiently well established that they were able to transform libretto writing from a hobby into a reasonably lucrative profession.<sup>20</sup> Over a career that spanned some five decades, Aureli would pen over fifty original librettos and adapt a number of others. When Ranuccio II invited him to Parma in the late 1680s, Aureli had been producing operas in Venice for over thirty years, collaborating with virtually all of the major composers of the period (and more than a few minor ones) and working closely with designers and machinists (such as the Mauro brothers), choreographers, and costumers. Although he was certainly adept at writing poetry that composers found congenial for musical setting, Aureli's true genius lay, arguably, in his ability to expand inventively a vast range of mythological and historical material while perfectly conforming to (and further establishing) the evolving conventions of the genre. The range of sources that he plumbed is impressive indeed, and includes Tacitus (*Claudio Cesare*, 1672), Euripides (*Antigona delusa da Alceste*, 1660), Ariosto (*Olimpia vendicata*, 1683), and Ovid (*Perseo*, 1665), to name but a few. His works consistently display both a playful erudition and a practical knowledge of how to craft an opera that would succeed on the Venetian stage, as well as good instincts about how a libretto must be altered to suit the demands of more conservative patrons and audiences outside of Venice. Thus, for the opening of the newly renovated Teatro Farnese in 1688, when Aureli apparently did not have time to write a new libretto, he revised his *Olimpia vendicata* (Venice, 1682) to the somewhat more benign *Olimpia placata*, adding at least one new character and a different conclusion. This was the first of a half-dozen operas he would revise in Parma in collaboration with Sabadini.

The two central pieces he wrote for the Parma wedding, *Gloria d'amore* and *Il favore degli dei* were entirely original, however. Even taking into account the typically effusive language of dedications, Aureli seems to have been particularly enthusiastic about this opportunity, for indeed this would have been a rare chance for the librettist to practice his craft without the kinds of financial constraints that were necessarily part of the business of opera in Venice. Nevertheless, it is apparent from his detailed comments in the preface to *Il favore degli dei* that the assignment presented something of a challenge, even for a librettist as experienced as Aureli. He writes as follows:

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20 Glixon and Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera*, pp. 109–39.

Così in esso rappresentandosi qualche drama non mai scompagnato da molteplicità di musici, da varietà di scene, e da quantità di machine, fù, e sarà sempre chi ha scritto, e scriverà per il medesimo in simile occorrenze costretto a passar la misura dell'ore limitate all'altre drammatiche composizioni.

In order to present a drama that is not disorganized because of the many musicians, variety of scene changes, and a large number of machines, it was (and always will be for anyone who has written or intends to write under similar circumstances) necessary to go beyond the normal number of hours allotted for other dramatic compositions.

The inordinate length of the opera, Aureli explains, was necessary in order to create a unified work that would accommodate so many singers, machines, and set changes, a problem that could not be solved in any other way by any other poet, past, present, or future.<sup>21</sup> For our purposes, what is particularly interesting is the way in which Aureli calls upon the principles of classical rhetoric—*invenzione* and *disposizione*—to describe his strategies.

Due cose in questo drama hò studiate [*sic*]. Invenzione parte necessaria ad ogni poeta, e Disposizione delle cose inventate. Nella prima hò procurato con la varietà dell'apparenze di recar diletto, non tedio all grandezza, e nobiltà de' spettatori nel corso di sett'ore, che può forse durare la recitata dell'opera, in cui mi dichiar d'essermi scapricciato a mia voglia mercé alla generosità senza pari di S.A.S. mio clementissimo Patrone, che mi ha concesso ampio campo di poter farlo. Nell'altro ho impiegato ogni studio per trovare quella facilità più propria al drameggiare.<sup>22</sup>

I have studied two things in this drama: invention, a necessity for every poet and the disposition of the invented things. For the first [invention] I tried with variety of appearances to inspire delight rather than tedium in the great and noble spectators over the course of the seven hours that the performance of the opera might last, in which I declared myself to be free to indulge my fantasies, thanks to the incomparable generosity of his Excellency, my most forgiving patron, who had conceded to me ample free space in which to do so. For the second

21 Aureli, *Il favore degli dei*, p. v.

22 Ibid.

[disposition], I devoted all of my studies to find that method most appropriate to dramatise [drameggiare].

Aureli's discussion of invention is by no means unusual, for indeed he is one of any number of Venetian librettists who prided themselves on their originality, even as they blamed audience taste for their most extravagant flights of fancy. More intriguing, however, is his discussion of the disposition (*disposizione*) of the work. Since, as he argued, the work had to be very long in order to be both unified and accommodate the large cast and special effects, it was the organization over the course of so long a drama that provided the greatest challenge—one that inspired him to invent a new term to describe his procedure: he uses the word *drameggiare* rather than the standard Italian *drammatizzare*. The use of the suffix '-eggiare', with its suggestion of a continuous process or repeated action, implies that he sought a special and, arguably, more dynamic approach to the disposition of the drama in order to create a work that would satisfy the demands of spectacle over such a long evening yet still be reasonably coherent.

### 3 Ovid and Meta-Opera

Aureli found the answer to this dilemma by returning to a source that he had used several times in the past and that had been of huge importance to opera librettists since the genre's inception: Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Over his long and distinguished career, Aureli had written a number of operas inspired by myths best known from this remarkable poem. These include *L'Orfeo* (Venice, 1671), *Medea in Atene* (Venice, 1676), *Gli amori di Apollo e Leucotoe* (Venice, 1663), and *Perseo* (Venice, 1665), the latter of which includes an unusually detailed discussion of Ovid's treatment of the myth of Perseus as part of its *argomento*. The *Perseo argomento* provides an excellent example of the approach to classical sources adopted by most mid-seventeenth-century Venetian librettists. As was often the practice, Aureli divides his *argomento* into two parts. First, he cites the principal plot of the opera derived from the source—in this case Perseus's encounter with Medusa and his rescue of Andromeda from *Met.* iv. 604–803 and v. 1–249—summarizing Ovid's narrative under the rubric 'concerning that which one has from Ovid' ('di quello si ha da Ovidio'). He then begins the second half of the *argomento* with the phrase 'concerning that which one invents' ('di quello si finge'), therein describing his particular additions and variations to the plot. These usually involve expanding the time frame of the myth and inventing new characters, most often with the goal of creating another pair of

lovers and of heightening the dramatic tension created by erotic triangles. All of this allows for the insertion of plot devices that were particularly popular in seventeenth-century Venice. Thus we find in *Perseo* a new character (Merope, daughter of King Atlante of Mauritania) who, having been abandoned by a certain Sisifo (who was also in love with Andromeda), dresses up as an African page in order to pursue her unfaithful lover.

Nonetheless, as Aureli's comments in the preface to *Il favore degli dei* make apparent, an opera based on one or even two plots—even with these typical expansions—would not be adequate to satisfy the Farnese requirements for this special occasion. Instead of borrowing just one plot from Ovid and adding the usual ornamentation, therefore, Aureli borrows several; in so doing, he emulates the Latin author's method of varying and weaving together myths in an inventive fashion.

*Il favore degli dei* can be broken down into four distinctive plot strands. The master plot, which provides a justification for the other myths, features a character who is discussed only in passing in the *Metamorphoses*: the mother goddess Berecynthia. Also known as Cybele, Berecynthia had made an appearance with other goddesses in the sixth *intermedio* for *La Pellegrina*, mentioned earlier. Although it plays no role in his opera, Aureli would certainly have been familiar with Berecynthia's mythic association with a metamorphosis described in *Met.* X. 104–05 concerning the boy Attis, who was much beloved by the goddess. Attis broke his vow of chastity and was banished from her service, at which point he castrated himself and was transformed into a tree.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, given the importance of castrati to seventeenth-century opera, it may have been of no small interest to Aureli that self-castration was a requirement of the priests who served Berecynthia and who reportedly produced ecstatic and orgiastic music in her honor. As already noted, this somewhat lurid aspect of the myth does not enter into the opera, however. Instead, here Berecynthia takes on an exclusively motherly role: at the bidding of Hymen, it is her task to bring the badly behaved gods together to applaud the marriage of Odoardo and Dorothea Sofia.

The other three plots focus on the licentious loves of the gods that would have been well known to readers of Ovid (and of various translations of and

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23 *Cybelle, Attis, and the Related Cults: Essays in Memory of M.J. Vermasern*, ed. by Eugene N. Lane (Leiden: Brill, 1996). Vincenzo Cartari, *Le imagini de i dei degli antichi*, ed. by Ginetta Auzzas, Federica Martignago, Manilo Pastore Stocchi, and Paolo Rigo (Vicenza: Neri Pozza 1996), pp. 184–85. Cartari's guide to mythology, first published in 1571, circulated widely in the seventeenth century and was an important reference source for both artists and librettists.

commentaries on his works) as well as to viewers of the numerous paintings, statues, and frescoes that his writings inspired.<sup>24</sup> By 1690, moreover, these myths had become part of opera's collective memory. Ovid was renowned for his ability to transform familiar myths and to weave them together in new ways; as suggested earlier, this is in fact precisely what Aureli does with the operatic tradition that he both inherited and contributed to, thus creating a kind of meta-operatic experience for the guests at the Farnese wedding, many of whom would have seen the originals in Venice. It is thus not surprising that Aureli would use the tale of Apollo's love for Daphne and her transformation into a laurel tree from *Met.* I. 451–566, which furnished the subject of the first opera libretto by Ottavio Rinuccini and was also, as noted earlier, adopted by Busenello for *Gli amori*—a work that Aureli had imitated in his own *Gli amori di Apollo e Leucotoe*, based on *Met.* IV. 196–255. The second plot involves the love triangle between Venus, Adonis, and Mars, borrowed both from Ovid (*Met.* X. 503–59) and from Giambattista Marino's controversial poem *Adone* (1621). Elements of the story had been seen several times on the Venetian stage in such works as Paolo Vendramino's *Adone* (1639), with music by Francesco Manelli, and Giovanni Matteo Giannini's *Adone in Cipro* (1675–1676), with music by Giovanni Legrenzi. In *Il favore degli dei*, Venus pretends to be in love with Mars, but is in fact pursuing her desire for Adone, championed by her son Cupid, who—in his battles with Mars—invariably proves that love is stronger than war.

Aureli is perhaps most inventive in his treatment of the tale of Callisto from *Met.* II. 409–507, a myth, as mentioned earlier, that was seen on the Venetian stage in 1650. In Giovanni Faustini's playful variation of Ovid, Jove's rape of Callisto in the guise of Diana is presented as a flirtatious love scene between two women in which Callisto participates quite eagerly.<sup>25</sup> Citing the need to present 'a more proper version of love' in *Il favore*, Aureli opts to have his Jove seduce Callisto in the guise of a shepherd, thus avoiding both the sexual violence of the original and the sexual titillation of the Venetian version.<sup>26</sup> He seems, however, to have had Faustini's libretto at hand when he crafted the

24 Paul Barolsky, *Ovid and the Metamorphoses of Modern Art from Botticelli to Picasso* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

25 Heller, *Emblems of Eloquence*, pp. 191–92.

26 *Il favore degli dei*, p. viii: 'Averti che se fu favola de' Poeti lo scrivero, che Giove, transformato in Diana ingannasse Calisto Vergine seguace di quella Dea per indurla a compiacere all'amorose sue brame; Et io per rappresentarti con maggior onestà questo amore pretender aver potuto inventar, che quel Nume in forma di Pastore amoreggi tra le Selve la Bella, porgendo ciò maggior materia d'intreccio al mio Drama.'

passage in which Jove tries to seduce Callisto: in Faustini's opera, Callisto is thirsty because the forest has been destroyed as a result of Phaeton's fire;<sup>27</sup> Jove tries to lure her to him by restoring the fountains and by providing her with much needed water, suggestively urging the nymph to wrap her coral lips around the crystal stream. Aureli not only uses the same plot device, but also borrows much of Faustini's language:

Faustini, *La Calisto*, I. 2. 42–46

Vedi de la sorgente

In coppia scaturir fredd'i christalli.

De la tua dolce bocca amorosetta,

Vaga mia languidetta,

Ne londa usicta immergi i bei coralli.

Aureli, *Il favore*, I. 15. 50–53

In quei cristalli

Immergi o cara immergi

De tue labra amoroze i bei coralli.

See how from the spring

The icy crystals burst forth.

My lovely languid one,

Into the jetting waves,

Immerse the beautiful coral lips of

your loving mouth.

In these crystals

Immerse, oh dear one, immerse

The beautiful corals of your loving lips.

But Aureli's Ovidian variations go further: in this version of the tale, Juno does not turn Callisto into a bear—this too might have seemed overly violent for the court audience in Parma. Instead, he stirs in a fifth myth, never mentioned in the prefatory material: the tale of Callisto in *Met.* II is conflated with the story of Andromeda and Perseus in *Met.* IV. Juno contrives for the breezes to carry the unfortunate nymph away, where she is tied to a rock, only to be rescued by Perseus carrying aloft the shield with Medusa's image. This, of course, was no error—Aureli did not forget his Ovid: his primary reference point for this unusual move was not only Ovid, but also his own *Perseo* (discussed above) that had been produced in Venice some twenty-five years previously.

#### 4 *Invenzione and Disposizione*

Having used his poetic imagination to choose the myths for his opera, Aureli was then confronted with the problem of how to arrange them in a manner that was not too *scompagnata* (disconnected), while creating the dramatic

27 Giovanni Faustini, *La Calisto* (Venice: Giuliani, 1651).

impetus for the scenery and stage machinery in order to satisfy his patrons' desire for elaborate spectacle. Or, to put it in his words, the problem was how to find the best method to create drama—*drameggiare*.

We can learn something about Aureli's process by considering the dramatic design of act I (see Table 1). After setting up the master plot concerning Berecynthia and Hymen, Aureli introduces the major characters and the various dramatic conflicts. To make things still more complicated, act I contains six different settings: the Kingdom of Juno (1–2); the countryside with Berecynthia's temple in the background (3–8); the Kingdom of Mars (9–11); the royal baths of Arcadia (12–20); the lush valley irrigated by the River Peneus (21–25); and Venus's House of Pleasure (26–27). Notably, Aureli does not necessarily coordinate the shifts from one plot to another with scene changes, nor

TABLE 1 *Distribution of plot elements, scenes, and set changes, Act I, Il favore degli dei*

Scenes	Berecynthia-Hymen	Juno-Callisto-Jove	Venus-Mars-Adonis	Apollo-Daphne-Peneus
Act I. 1		<b>1. Kingdom of Juno</b>  Juno, Fame		
Act I. 2	Hymen flying on a swan			
Act I. 3–5	<b>2. Country, with Berecynthia's Temple</b>  Berecynthia, Hymen, then Mercury			
Act I. 6–8		Juno with the breezes, then Momo		

Scenes	Berecynthia-Hymen	Juno-Callisto-Jove	Venus-Mars-Adonis	Apollo-Daphne-Peneus
Act I. 9–11			<b>3. Kingdom of Mars</b>  Mars, Jealousy, then Venus	
Act I. 12–13		Callisto, chorus of virgin hunters with Adonis	<b>4. Royal Baths of Arcadia</b>  Adonis with Callisto	
Act I. 13 (cont.)–20		Callisto, Jove disguised as a shepherd, Mercury, Momo, later Juno, Diana		
Act I. 21–25				<b>5. Lush Valley of the Temples</b>  Daphne, Delfa, Peneus, Apollo
Act I. 26–27			<b>6. Houses of Pleasures</b>  Venus, Mars	

Thick horizontal lines indicate set changes. Dotted vertical lines indicate merging of plot lines.

**Sets:**

1. Kingdom of Juno, all aglow with the power of shining lights in the middle of the region of the air.
2. Delightful Country with Temple of Berecynthia, in distance.
3. Kingdom of Mars.
4. Royal Baths of Arcadia, in which all the fountains are dried up after the fire caused by Phaeton.
5. Lush Valley of the Temples, irrigated by the River Peneus.
6. Houses of Pleasures.

does he present each plot in an uninterrupted block. Rather, as is apparent from the diagram, there exists an intricate interweaving of the various strands. Thus, for instance, the Juno-Callisto-Jove plot, first introduced in I. 6 and interrupted by the Mars-Venus plot, is continued in I. 13; the next phase of the Mars-Venus plot is introduced only after we've met Apollo and Daphne. Aureli nonetheless achieves a certain degree of stability in the middle of act I by placing scenes 12–20 in a single set—the Arcadian baths—and it is here that the plots featuring Adonis and Callisto are allowed, albeit briefly, to intersect.

The second act, in which there are only five scene changes (see Table 2), is somewhat more orderly. There is only one doubling back of the plot, again involving Juno-Callisto-Jove, which—given the conflation of the Perseus

TABLE 2 *Distribution of plot elements, scenes, and set changes, Act II, Il favore degli dei*

Scenes	Berecynthia-Hymen	Juno-Callisto-Jove	Venus-Mars-Adonis	Apollo-Daphne-Peneus
Act II. 1–3	<b>1. Mine with Veins of Gold</b>  Hymen, Berecynthia, Pluto			
Act II. 4–5	<b>2. Underworld with Mine in Background</b>  Mercury, Berecynthia			
Act II. 6–10		<b>3. Forests of Arcadia</b>  Callisto, Juno, Momo, choruses of breezes, Diana, Jove disguised as a shepherd, Mercury		
Act II. 11–14			Adonis, Venus, Mars, Bear	

Scenes	Berecynthia-Hymen	Juno-Callisto-Jove	Venus-Mars-Adonis	Apollo-Daphne-Peneus
Act II. 15–19				<b>4. Cloisters of the Temple of Diana</b>  Daphne, Delfa, Apollo, chorus of virgins, Night on her chariot
Act II. 20–25		<b>5. Deserted Island on the Ocean</b>  Juno, Callisto tied to the rock, Neptune, Momo, Perseus, Mercury		

Thick horizontal lines indicate set changes. Dotted vertical lines indicate merging of plot lines.

**Sets:**

1. Mine with Veins of Gold, illuminated by various lanterns.
2. Underworld with Mine in Background.
3. Forests of Arcadia.
4. Cloisters of the Temple of Diana.
5. Deserted Island on the Ocean, next to a small rock.

myth—is arguably the most complex of the various plots. Though narratively simpler, act II is enhanced with even greater scenic and architectural variety: the exoticism of an underworld mine with veins of gold and lanterns (1–3) is followed by Pluto’s underworld kingdom, a much beloved operatic scene (4–5); the Arcadian forest (6–14), the cloisters for Diana’s Temple (15–19), and the final spectacular conclusion take place in the ocean, as Callisto, in her guise as Andromeda tied to a rock, is rescued by Perseus (20–25). As during the first act, the Arcadian forests provide an apt setting for both the Callisto and Adonis tales, and it is here that we find one of Aureli’s most clever touches. Although Callisto herself is not turned into a bear, as Ovid had prescribed, it seems that Aureli was unable to eliminate the creature from the story entirely: it appears

unexpectedly in act II on the heels of Juno's banishment of Callisto, seemingly caught wandering into the wrong plot only to be killed by Adonis (11).

As might be expected, Aureli begins to resolve the various plots during the first half of act III (see Table 3). The cavernous mountains by the river Peneus provide the backdrop for the transformation of Daphne into a tree. There is no set change for the next few scenes, as Juno expresses her fury to Berecynthia and Momo, the god of mockery, over the fact that Callisto is still alive (Berecynthia tells Juno to dry her tears as she is not alone in having an unfaithful husband); Mars swears vengeance on Adonis; and Jove promises Callisto that she will ascend to the heavens. The first celebratory scene (III. 13), set in the gallery of Berecynthia's kingdom, is enlivened by the descent of Harmony on a machine to the sounds of a sweet concerto that, due to the loss of the music, can only be imagined. Mars and Juno renounce their jealousy after drinking the waters of forgetfulness, and all ascend to the heavens while the drunken Momo and Daphne's companion Delfa sing a humorous duet. One curious point concerns the seemingly superfluous scenes in Venus's chamber, which is pictured in one of the libretto's engravings. About to attend to one of her cults, Venus allows Adonis to paint her picture so that he might have a memory of his absent beloved. Aureli included the portrait convention in many of his librettos—most notably *L'Antigona*, which would later be revised as Handel's *Admeto*.<sup>28</sup> But in *Il favore* it is, oddly, introduced as part of the *dénouement*—providing a way for Adonis to bid farewell to Venus and to forever worship her beauty, even in her absence. This seemingly conventional plot device reminds us of the relationship between nature and artifice that is central to Ovidian poetics—exemplified, for instance, in the tales of Arachne's web and Pygmalion's statue.<sup>29</sup> The final scene, in Jove's kingdom, provides an opportunity for all the gods (except Venus) to praise the newlyweds.

This description of the dramatic structure and intertwining of *Il favore*'s plots, however, fails to capture a central element of the opera: the instability created by the sudden arrival and departure of the various characters by machines, which must have created the sense of a constantly shifting universe in the eyes of spectators. The second act alone, for example, features no fewer than twenty-seven interventions by machines: not only did the principal gods and goddesses arrive on clouds, fly chariots, or shoot up from the ground, but there were choruses of flying demons, singing stars, dancing sea monsters and

28 Heller, 'The Beloved's Image'.

29 Andrew Feldherr, *Playing Gods: Ovid's Metamorphoses and the Politics of Fiction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), pp. 272–80; Maurizio Bettini, *The Portrait of the Lover*, trans. by Laura Gibbs (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

TABLE 3 *Distribution of plot elements, scenes, and set changes, Act III, Il favore degli dei*

Scenes	Berecynthia-Hymen	Juno-Callisto-Jove	Venus-Mars-Adonis	Apollo-Daphne-Peneus
Act III. 1–5				<b>1. Cavernous Mountains</b>  Daphne, Delfa, Apollo, Peneus
Act III. 6–8	Berecynthia, chorus of nymphs	Juno, Momo		
Act III. 9–10			Mercury, Mars	
Act III. 11–12		Callisto, Jove		
Act III. 13–15	<b>2. Gallery in Berecynthia's Kingdom</b>  Berecynthia, Harmony	Juno, Jove, Momo	Mars, Mercury	Apollo
Act III. 16–19			<b>3. Venus's Chamber</b>  Venus, Adonis, Cupid	
Act III. 20	<b>4. Kingdom of Jove</b>  Hymen, Fame	Jove, Juno, Diana	Mars, Mercury, Cupid	Apollo

Thick horizontal lines indicate set changes. Dotted vertical lines indicate merging of plot lines.

**Sets:**

1. Cavernous Mountains, at the source of the River Peneus.
2. Delightful Gallery in Berecynthia's Kingdom.
3. Venus's Chamber.
4. Kingdom of Jove.

more—recalling Casimir Freschot's praise for the enchanted palace 'where everything changed all the time and the marvels followed themselves one after another'. The sense of movement was undoubtedly further enhanced by the eight *balli*—four in act I and four in act II—far more than in a typical Venetian opera, where they are usually found at the conclusion of the first and second acts. At the end of act II, for instance, after the rescue of Callisto, the *ballo* included twenty-four tritons, some of whom played trumpets and others of whom danced, darting on the waves.

We are thus left with some idea of how Aureli invoked the magical and shifting universe of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* alongside Venetian opera conventions in his *drama fantastico*. But what might we imagine about Sabadini's music? Indeed, the trumpets in the dance mentioned above suggest that it might have been as impressive musically as it was visually—that it to say, Sabadini likely used a larger and more varied orchestra than the strings typically heard in Venice, invoking Ovid's rich sonic world as well as his visual one. But there may have been another way in which the music quite specifically alluded to Ovid. To illustrate this point, I quote again from the writings of Casimir Freschot and, in particular, from his discussion of the opera's opening *sinfonia*:

L'Opera commença par une Simphonie, qui paroissoit être un cry confus de tous les Elements, qui s'efforcoient à se débarasser au premier chaos, où l'on f[ ] qu'ils étoient à la creation du monde. Le rideau tiré, il parût véritable[ ] chaos sur la scène, où tous étoit sans forme, et sans figure, jusqu'à ce que le fracas de la première Musique s'adouciissant peu à peu, on vit sortir du fond du Théâtre formé en abisme des Créatures de toute sorte, qui, rangées dans leurs, formèrent la plus belle scène du monde.

The opera began with a symphony that appeared to be a confused cry of all the elements that tried to rid themselves of the initial chaos, in which one sensed oneself to be present at the creation of the world. The curtain drawn, there appeared a veritable chaos on the stage, where everything was without form and without figure, until the agitation of the first music sweetened little by little, and from an abyss formed at the back of the theatre, we saw spilling out creatures of all sorts who, standing in line in their places, formed the most beautiful scene in the world.<sup>30</sup>

Perhaps it is not surprising that Sabadini, composing the opening *sinfonia* for this Ovidian romp—in which the gods and goddesses pursued their lust-

<sup>30</sup> Freschot, p. 513.

ful desires throughout the earth, seas, underworld, and heavens—would have created an aural equivalent of the act of creation, albeit with pagan overtones. But what is most remarkable is the extent to which Frescot's description of the *sinfonia*, and his aural sense of a world without 'form or figure', is reminiscent of the opening of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*—a work he would surely have known—which begins with a description of creation:

Before the earth and the sea and the all-encompassing heaven  
came into being, the whole of nature displayed but a single  
face, which men have called Chaos; a crude, unstructured mass,  
nothing but weight without motion, a general conglomeration  
of matter composed of disparate, incompatible elements. (*Met.* I. 5–9)<sup>31</sup>

This is followed a few lines later by a description of the gradual imposition of order:

When the god, whichever one of the gods, had divided the substance  
of Chaos and ordered it thus in its different constituent members  
first, in order that the earth should hang suspended in perfect  
symmetrical balance, he moulded it into the shape of a great sphere.  
(*Met.* I. 31–34)

This transition from chaos to order reminds us of the dramaturgical design of the opera's three acts and of Aureli's efforts to find that 'facilità più propria al drameggiare'. In mining ancient sources for the Farnese wedding, Aureli and his colleagues embraced a vibrant, playful aspect of the Venetian tradition, pumping it full of extravagance and excess in a manner that invoked not so much the order of the cosmos as its infinite variety. In so doing, they transformed one kind of ritual—Venetian public opera—into another—dynastic court celebration—and, in so doing, acknowledged the power of the genre to enact its own brilliant metamorphoses and to transform the hearts and minds of the spectators.

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31 Ovid, *Metamorphoses: A New Verse Translation*, trans. David Raeburn (London: Penguin Books, 2004).

## Entertainment for Melancholics: The Public and the Public Stage in Carlo Gozzi's *L'Amore delle tre melarance*\*

Tatiana Korneeva

*L'Amore delle tre melarance* (*The Love of the Three Oranges*, 1761), the first in a series of ten meta-theatrical fairy-tale plays by Carlo Gozzi (1720–1806), was initially defined by its author as a 'childish fable' ('favola fanciullesca') completely without serious parts ('ignuda affatto di parti serie')<sup>1</sup> and as 'a tale that grandmothers tell to their grandchildren, adapted to theatrical performance' ('il racconto delle nonne a' loro nipotini, ridotta a scenica rappresentazione').<sup>2</sup> These authorial statements imply that the comedy was merely the dramatisation of an old folk tale, but the description of its avid and passionate public reception ('resoundingly happy transformation, and such an immense diversion for the Public'; 'allegra rivoluzione strepitosa, e una diversione così grande nel Pubblico')<sup>3</sup> suggests that the play's admirers were not the victims of a collective hallucination caused by the *favola's* overwhelming visual effects of marvels and magical transformations. Even its undisguised satire of contemporary theatrical polemics—specifically the on- and offstage controversies between Carlo Goldoni (1707–1793) and Pietro Chiari (1712–1785) on the reform of Italian comic theatre—can hardly explain *L'Amore's* immense success with its audiences—both erudite and uncultured—which indicates that there was something more at stake in this fairy-tale comedy. Indeed, in his *Ragionamento*

\* This essay grew out of a talk delivered in various forms in Berlin, Oxford, Zürich, and Venice. It is most appropriate that this research on dialogic cultural encounters should have developed in the course of dialogue and that a study about audience responses to Gozzi's drama should itself owe a great deal to the constructive responses of the diverse audiences I encountered in these scholarly venues. For helpful comments, criticisms, and suggestions, I wish to thank Kirill Ospovat and Piermario Vescovo, in particular.

- 1 All quotations from the play are from Carlo Gozzi, *L'Amore delle tre melarance*, in *Fiabe teatrali*, ed. by Alberto Beniscelli (Milan: Garzanti, 2004), p. 6. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.
- 2 Carlo Gozzi, *Memorie inutili*, ed. by Paolo Bosisio and Valentina Garavaglia. 2 vols (Milan: LED, 2006), I, 34, p. 402.
- 3 *Ibid.*