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FROM JASON TO JASON: CAVALLI REWORKED BY STRADELLA (VENICE 1649 – ROME 1671)*

by NICOLA USULA

Giasone is a „drama per musica“ written by the Florentine playwright Giacinto Andrea Cicognini (1606–1649) with music by Francesco Cavalli (1602–1676) and premiered during Carnival season on January 23, 1649 at the San Cassiano theatre in Venice.¹ Although documentary evidence suggests that it was not the most performed opera of the century, it was certainly the most acclaimed:² from 1649 to 1690, it was performed all over the Italian peninsula as the opening show of many theatres or during the early years of their activity, and in 1671 it was staged with a new title, *Il novello Giasone*, at the Teatro Tordinona, the first public theatre in Rome.³ This performance represents the most documented leg of *Giasone*'s travels, revealing the complex process by which Cavalli's opera was transplanted into a different context and adapted for a late revival.

As is documented by one libretto printed in 1671 and by two identical scores held in Siena and Lisbon (plus two additional musical sources held in Turin and Modena), the text of *Giasone* was revised in Rome by the poet Giovanni Filippo Apolloni (1615?–1688) and the composer Alessandro Stradella (1639–1682) through a process of revising and renewing which can be seen as representa-

* This article represents a synthesis and an enhancement of my introductory essay in the facsimile edition of the Sienese score of *Il novello Giasone* (chapters I and III, *Da Venezia a Roma*, and *Nuova musica per il Giasone*): Nicola Usula, „*Giasone* a quattro mani: Cavalli messo a nuovo da Stradella“, in: Francesco Cavalli, Alessandro Stradella (et al.), *Il novello Giasone*, facsimile edition of the score and critical edition of the librettos by Nicola Usula, Milano: Ricordi, 2013 (Drammaturgia Musicale Veneta 3), XLV–XCIII. To Lorenzo Bianconi and James O'Leary goes my gratitude for helping me in revising and translating this text.

¹ For the dating of the first performance in 1649 see Beth L. Glixon, „Behind the Scenes of Cavalli's *Giasone* of 1649“, in: Ellen Rosand (ed.), *Readying Cavalli's Operas for the Stage. Manuscript, Edition, Production*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2013 (Ashgate Interdisciplinary Studies in Opera), 137–152. For the relation between Cicognini, Cavalli and *Giasone* see: Flavia Cancedda and Silvia Castelli, *Per una bibliografia di Giacinto Andrea Cicognini. Successo teatrale e fortuna editoriale di un drammaturgo del Seicento*, Firenze: Alinea, 2001, 232–266; Fausta Antonucci and Lorenzo Bianconi, „Miti, tramiti e trame: Cicognini, Cavalli e l'Argonauta“, in: Cavalli, Stradella (et al.), *Il novello Giasone* (see n. *), VII–XLIV; Lorenzo Bianconi, „Caletti Pietro Francesco“, <http://www.treccani.it/biografie/> (21.06.2016); Irene Alm and Thomas Walker, „Cavalli Francesco“, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/> (21.06.2016).

² While *Giasone* has been revived around 25 times, Herbert Seifert pointed out that *La Dori* by Giovanni Filippo Apolloni and Antonio Cesti (Innsbruck 1657) holds the record with more than 30 performances. See Herbert Seifert, „Cesti and His Opera Troupe in Innsbruck and Vienna“, in: Mariateresa Dellaborra (ed.), *La figura e l'opera di Antonio Cesti nel Seicento europeo. Convegno internazionale di studio, Arezzo, 26–27 aprile 2002*, Firenze: Olschki, 2003 (Quaderni della Rivista Italiana di Musicologia 37), 15–62, 24.

³ For the most recent and complete list of *Giasone*'s performances see Thomas Lin and Joseph Salem, „*Giasone*: a Source Overview“, in: *Readying Cavalli's Operas* (see n. 1), 277–306.

tive of a practice of reworking, but also of composing, that originated in the earliest public opera theatres in Venice.⁴

After *Lo Scipione Affricano* by Nicolò Minato and Francesco Cavalli (Venice 1664) opened the first Roman public opera season on January 2, 1671 (with revisions by Apolloni and Stradella), *Il novello Giasone* was performed on January 24 in front of the main exponents of the Roman aristocracy, whose spearhead was Christina, Queen of Sweden, exiled in Rome from 1655 after abdicating the Swedish throne, and the noble couple of Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna and his wife Maria Mancini. He was heir to one of the most powerful Roman families, which was linked to the Spanish crown and to the Grand Constable of the Kingdom of Naples; she was a clever and skilful woman, niece of the Cardinal Mazarin, who has remained famous as the first lover of King Louis XIV during her stay in France from 1653 to 1661.⁵

The printed libretto of *Il novello Giasone* was dedicated to Colonna's wife, and published by the successors of Giacomo Mascardi with a dedication signed by the bookseller and publisher Bartolomeo Lupardi.⁶ Some of the singers of

⁴ A detailed analysis of all *Novello Giasone*'s sources can be found in the chapter II (*Testimoni*) of the already mentioned introduction to the facsimile edition of the score: Usula, „*Giasone a quattro mani*“ (see n. *), LVIII–LXXI. The four musical sources of the opera are held in: Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati (L.V.33, complete score recognized in 1969 by Lorenzo Bianconi as a Stradella revision of Cavalli's *Giasone*); Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda (Cod. Mus. 47-V-26/27; act III missing); Turin, Biblioteca Universitaria (Giordano 13, collection of music by Alessandro Stradella titled *Prologhi et intermedij*); and Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria (Mus. F.1103, music collection titled *Prologhi et intermedij diversi per opere, et altro. Musica d'Alessandro Stradella*).

⁵ For the musical patronage of these two important aristocrats see Elena Tamburini, *Due teatri per il principe. Studi sulla committenza teatrale di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna (1659–1689)*, Roma: Bulzoni, 1997 (Biblioteca del Cinquecento 74); and De Lucca's works: Valeria De Lucca, „*Dalle sponde del Tebro alle rive dell'Adria*“. *Maria Mancini and Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna's Patronage of Music and Theatre between Rome and Venice (1659–1675)*, Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2009; Ead., „*Pallade al valor, Venere al volto. Music, Theatricality, and Performance in Marie Mancini Colonna's Patronage*“, in: Susan Shifrin (ed.), *The Wandering Life I Led. Essays on Hortense Mancini, Duchess Mazarin and Early Modern Women's Border Crossings*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009, 113–156; Ead., „*Strategies of Women Patrons of Music and Theatre in Rome. Maria Mancini Colonna, Queen Christina of Sweden, and Women of Their Circles*“, *Renaissance Studies* 25 (2011), 374–392.

⁶ For the publishers Bartolomeo Lupardi and Giacomo Mascardi see Saverio Franchi and Orietta Sartori, *Le impressioni sceniche. Dizionario bio-bibliografico degli editori e stampatori romani e laziali di testi drammatici e libretti per musica dal 1579 al 1800*, Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1994 (Sussidi eruditi 44), 441–470, 519–538; Saverio Franchi, „Lupardi Bartolomeo“ and „Mascardi Giacomo“, <http://www.treccani.it/biografie/> (21.06.2016). Here is the title page of the copy of the 1671 libretto held in I-MOe, 70.G.10: *il novello | giasone | Damma per Musica | Recitato nel Teatro nouo di Ro- | ma, in Tordinona | l'Anno 1671. | dedicato | alla illvs.ma et eccel.ma sig.ra | Padr. Colendiss. Madama | maria mancini | colonna | Duchessa di Palliano, di Tagliacoz- | zo, &c. e Gran Contestabilessa | del Regno di Napoli. | in roma | Per il Success. al Mascardi, 1671. | Con licenza de' Superiori. | Si vendono in Piazza Nauona da | Bartolomeo Lupardi. A critical edition is provided in Cavalli, Stradella (et al.), *Il novello Giasone* (see n. *), XCV–CXCII.*

the first season at the Teatro Tordinona were also linked to Maria Mancini Colonna, namely Nicola Coresi and his wife Antonia Coresi (the first one in an unidentified role, maybe Jason or Aegeus, and the second one in the role of Medea), Angelica Quadrelli (who sang Hypsipyle's part), and Carlo Ambrogio Lonati, the hunchbacked singer, famous also as a composer and a violin player (in the role of Aegeus' servant, Demo).⁷

A team of outstanding artists was employed for the occasion: the task of revision was assigned to the poet Giovanni Filippo Apolloni,⁸ author of successful „drammi per musica“ like *L'Argia* (music by A. Cesti, Innsbruck 1655), *La Dori* (music by A. Cesti, Innsbruck 1657), *L'Alcasta* (music by B. Pasquini, Rome 1673), and, according to Lowell Lindgren, also the author of some dramas traditionally attributed to Filippo Acciaiuoli: *Il Girello* (music by J. Melani, Rome 1668) and *L'empio punito* (music by A. Melani, Rome 1669).⁹ Acciaiuoli, impresario and deviser of scenic effects, is believed to have been involved in the *Novello Giasone* revision,¹⁰ but no evidence of this collaboration can be found in the sources, apart from some scenic effects required by the opera, which he could have managed brilliantly thanks to his famous scenographic skills.

On the contrary, the name of Apolloni as drama-reviser for the performances in 1671 at the Tordinona is attested by many coeval sources. We also know that he had already worked on a drama by Cicognini in 1656 when he adjusted *L'Orontea* for the Innsbruck performance with music by Antonio Cesti (the opera had been written by Cicognini and performed in Venice with music by Francesco Lucio in 1649).¹¹

The comparison between the librettos and scores of the 1649 *Giasone* and the 1671 *Novello* reveals many differences: some of these „alterations“ to Cicognini's drama could be the result of cuts and manipulations to which the original text was subjected in the twenty-two years between the two performances while others could instead have been introduced *ad hoc* for the Roman performance. Only a systematic comparison of all the surviving librettos and scores will

⁷ For the reconstruction of the first cast of the Teatro Tordinona see the section *Cantanti* in Usula, „*Giasone* a quattro mani“ (see n. *), LIV–LVIII.

⁸ Information about this poet can be found in Giorgio Morelli, „L'Apolloni librettista di Cesti, Stradella e Pasquini“, *Chigiana* 39, n.s. 19 (1982), 211–264; and Thomas Walker, „Apolloni Giovanni Filippo“, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/> (21.06.2016).

⁹ See Lowell E. Lindgren, „Acciaiuoli Filippo“, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/> (21.06.2016).

¹⁰ Among the first studies attesting Acciaiuoli as a reviser of *Il novello Giasone* see: Franco Fuà, *L'opera di Filippo Acciaiuoli*, Fossombrone: Ceppetelli 1921, 38–43; and Alberto Cametti, *Il teatro di Tordinona poi di Apollo*, two vols, Tivoli: Arti grafiche A. Chicca 1938, II, 327.

¹¹ See William C. Holmes, „Giacinto Andrea Cicognini's and Antonio Cesti's *Orontea*“, in: William Austin (ed.), *New Looks at Italian Opera. Essays in Honor of Donald J. Grout*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1968, 108–132; Thomas Walker, „Gli errori di *Minerva al tavolino*“, in: Maria Teresa Muraro (ed.), *Venezia e il melodramma nel Seicento*, Firenze: Olschki, 1976 (Studi di musica veneta 5), 7–20; Id., „*Ubi Lucius*: Thoughts on Reading *Medoro*“, in: Aurelio Aureli and Francesco Lucio, *Il Medoro*, facsimile edition by Giovanni Morelli and Thomas Walker, Milano: Ricordi, 1984, CXXXI–CLX (Drammaturgia Musicale Veneta 4).

verify the nature of the 1671 modifications. However, a partial comparison of some of the sources reveals that the main interventions by the Roman arrangers were the following ones:¹²

- the deletion of one third of the original lines (916 out of a total of 2766); in particular three comic scenes (I.3, III.1, III.10), and two scenes with deities (II.8, III.22), resulting in the elimination of four characters (Rosmina, Jupiter, Eolus, Zephyr) and three choirs (Spirits, Winds and Gods);
- the addition of a new prologue; two new comic scenes (I.2, III.13); a new intermezzo between the second and the third act; a total of fifteen new arias; plus the general modification of one scene of the third act (III.14).¹³

However, the most important role in transforming *Giasone* into *Il novello Giasone* has to be conferred to the composer, Alessandro Stradella. Apart from the complicated and violent vicissitudes of his later life, he has been long recognized as one of the most important composers in Italy in the second half of the century, and his musical revision for *Il novello Giasone* is only one tile of the variegated mosaic of musical interventions he made in the Roman operatic context from 1668 to 1672: from *Il Girello* by J. Melani (poet G. F. Apolloni, palace Colonna 1668) to *Lo Scipione Affricano* by F. Cavalli (poet N. Minato, Tordinona 1671); from *La Dori* (poet G. F. Apolloni, Tordinona 1671) to *Il Tito* (poet N. Beregan, Tordinona 1672), both with music by Cesti.¹⁴

¹² For the present study I have collated 17 sources. Librettos of *Giasone* (12 on a total of almost 50): Venice, G. Batti, 1649, 1st edition (Ve49a); Venice, G. Batti, 1649, 2nd edition (Ve49b); Venice, G. Batti, 1649, 2nd reprint of the 2nd edition (Ve49c); Genoa, G. M. Farroni, 1651; Milan, M. Ramellati, [1651]; Venice, G. Batti, 1654; Milan, A. Ramellati, [1662]; Milan, G. Marelli, [1663]; Ancona, F. Serafini, 1665; Venice, C. Bortoli, 1666; *Novello Giasone*, Rome, G. Mascardi, 1671; *Novello Giasone*, Rome, Stamparia della Rev[erenda] Cam[era] Apost[olica], 1676. Scores (5 on a total of 12): GB-Ouf, MS. 210/1-3 (actually housed at the Bodleian Library); I-Vnm, Cod. It. IV,363 (9887); A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 16657; [*Novello Giasone*] I-Sc, L.V.33; [*Novello Giasone*] P-La, Cod. Mus. 47-V-26/27. The critical edition of libretto and score of Cicognini and Cavalli's *Giasone*, ed. by Nicola Badolato, Lorenzo Bianconi and Nicola Usula, is forthcoming in the Bärenreiter series *Francesco Cavalli: Opere* (general editors Ellen Rosand and Lorenzo Bianconi).

¹³ A detailed analysis of the poetic and musical text of these additions can be found in Usula, „*Giasone a quattro mani*“ (see n. *), LXXI–LXXXVIII.

¹⁴ For the life and production of Stradella see Carolyn Gianturco, *Alessandro Stradella, 1639–1682. His Life and Music*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994 (Oxford Monographs on Music); Carolyn Gianturco and Eleanor McCrickard, *Alessandro Stradella (1639–1682). A Thematic Catalogue of His Compositions*, Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1991 (Thematic Catalogue Series 16); and the recent and very accurate Andrea Garavaglia, *Alessandro Stradella*, Palermo: L'Epos, 2006 (Constellatio musica 13). For his Roman prologues and intermezzos see Owen H. Jander, „The Prologues and Intermezzos of Alessandro Stradella“, *Analecta Musicologica* 6 (1969), 87–111.

For the performance of Cavalli's *Giasone*, Stradella worked towards two principal goals: adapting the opera for a new cast, which was substantially different from the original one, and updating its music and its theatrical impact. As for the musical scores, while the role of Jason was sung in Venice by a male alto (perhaps Amato Riminuzzi, a castrato whose presence at the Teatro San Cassiano is attested in 1648 and 1650/51),¹⁵ in Rome the title role was a baritone. The composer adapted in different ways all of Jason's parts to fit the singer's range: usually he did not change the continuo line but modified the melody of the vocal part by using (or avoiding) both octave transpositions (ex. 1a) and other significant alterations (ex. 1b).

Ex. 1: *Giasone* [A-Wn score, III.5, fol. 136v], *Il novello Giasone* [I-Sc score, III.4, fol. 208r], Jason, „In mare, sì“.

The image displays a musical score for the role of Jason, comparing two versions of the same piece: 'In mare, sì' from Cavalli's *Giasone* (A-Wn score, fol. 136v) and *Il novello Giasone* (I-Sc score, fol. 208r). The score is presented in two staves, labeled 'A-Wn' and 'I-Sc'. The A-Wn staff is in treble clef, and the I-Sc staff is in bass clef. Both staves show the vocal line and the continuo line. The lyrics are 'In ma - re, sì. Ma-schio o don - na che sia, sia pur chi vuo - le,'. The A-Wn version has a melodic line with an octave jump at the end of the phrase, while the I-Sc version has a more melodic line with a different rhythmic structure. The continuo line is shown below the vocal line in both versions.

Essentially, this kind of change implies the creation of a new vocal line above an unaltered bass; occasionally, however, in triple meter passages and cadenzas (ex. 2a), Stradella writes new melodic lines with different rhythmic structures by using grace notes or by simply diminishing values while also substantially modifying the continuo part (ex. 2b). The melodic profile with octave jumps at the end of the vocal passage, typical of the bass line, is present along all Jason's part in the cadenzas.

¹⁵ See Giovanni Morelli and Thomas Walker, „Tre controversie intorno al San Cassiano“, in: *Venezia e il melodramma nel Seicento* (see n. 11), 97–120, 114; Beth L. Glixon and Jonathan E. Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera. The Impresario and His World in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006 (AMS Studies in Music), ad indicem; Antonucci, Bianconi, „Miti, tramiti e trame“ (see n. 1), XXXVII, n. 51.

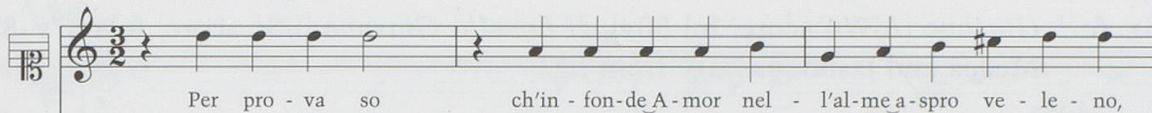
Ex. 2: *Giasone* [A-Wn score, II.3, fol. 75r], *Il novello Giasone* [I-Sc score, II.4, fol. 123v], Jason, „All’armi, all’armi“. The fifth measure of the Violins II in the *Novello Giasone*’s score has been corrected to complete the cadence and to avoid the unison between the two Violins’ parts. The original one is the following:

The image displays two musical staves for the passage „All’armi, all’armi“. The top staff is labeled „A-Wn“ and „Violins“, showing the original score. The bottom staff is labeled „I-Sc“ and „Violins“, showing the corrected score. The vocal part (Jas.) is also shown, with the lyrics „Al - l’ar - mi, al - l’ar - mi.“. The correction in the I-Sc Violins part involves modifying the fifth measure to complete the cadence and avoid the unison between the two Violins’ parts.

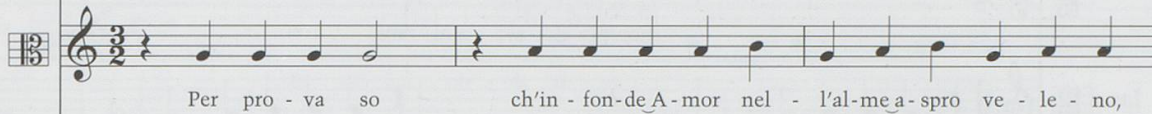
The same procedure can be found in the part of Alinda, Hypsipyle’s lady in waiting. While she was a soprano in Venice, in Rome her part was transposed for an alto. In some passages of her part, we can also find the traces of this transposing process. For example, at the very beginning of the aria „Per prova so“ (ex. 3) we witness the double transposing process to which this passage has been subjected: at a first stage of the adjustment some notes have been modified to lower the melodic profile of the singing part. However, perhaps because of the singer’s difficulties in the range $g'-b'$, an extra-transposition mark has been added, with the indication „Alla 4. bassa“. A similar kind of modification, although it does not presuppose a change of clef and voice, also occurs in Medea’s part, at least in the first act. In Rome the vocal range of the *cantatrice* who had to sing this role was not as low as the one of the Venetian

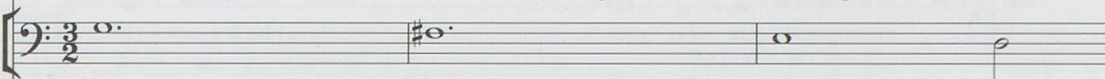
Ex. 3: *Giasone* [A-Wn score, fol. 61v], *Il novello Giasone* [I-Sc score, fol. 104r], Alinda, „Per prova so“ (II.1).

A-Wn

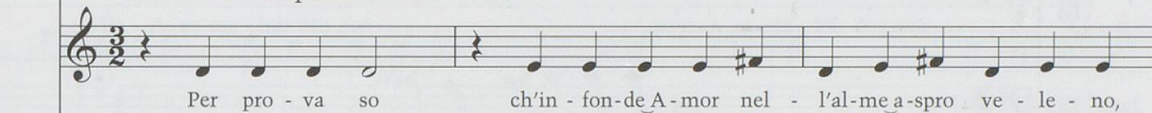
Ali. 

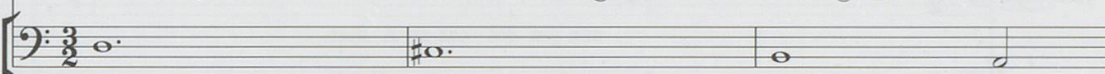
I-Sc *Alla 4. bassa*

Ali. 



After the transposition «Alla 4. bassa»

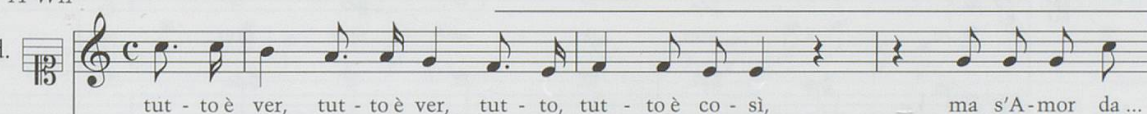
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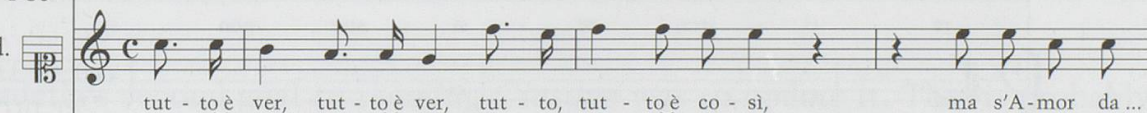
singer (whose identity is still unknown). Therefore, in order to maintain a consistently high melodic profile, many single passages in which her voice would have gone down below the *f'* were modified (ex. 4). However, this kind of alteration ceases at the end of the first act: it can be assumed that while the reviser was modifying Medea's part, the singer originally engaged decided to leave and that for the new singer (Antonia Coresi) the alteration of the melodic lines was not necessary anymore.

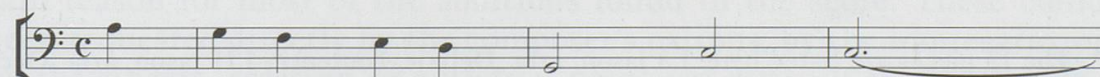
Ex. 4: *Giasone* [A-Wn score, fol. 24r], *Il novello Giasone* [I-Sc score, fol. 47v], Medea (passage from I.5).

A-Wn

Med. 

I-Sc

Med. 



Because there were so many changes in Jason and Alinda's parts, the composer was forced to modify every passage they sing together with other characters or instruments. In the Roman score we can find nine cases in which Stradella made such changes, switching the octaves between the voices (ex. 5), modify-

ing the ranges in order to obtain a good contrapuntal relationship between the parts (ex. 6), or, in some cases, rewriting the entire passage (ex. 7).¹⁶

Ex. 5: *Giasone* [A-Wn score, fol 50v], *Il novello Giasone* [I-Sc score, fols 87v–88r], Medea and Jason (passage from I.12).

A-Wn

Med. *a* non più dol-cez - z'A - mor, non ... *b*

Jas. non più dol-cez - z'A - mor, non più dol-cez - z'A - mor,___

I-Sc

Med. *a* non più dol - cez-ze, A - mor, non più dol - cez-ze, A - mor,___ *b*

Jas. non più dol - cez-ze, A - mor non ...

Ex. 6: *Giasone* [A-Wn score, III.21, fols 174v–175r], *Il novello Giasone* [I-Sc score, III.18, fol. 270v], Hypsipyle and Jason.

A-Wn

Hyps. re - si - ster, re - si - ster non sa,

Jas. re - si - ster, re - si - ster non sa,

I-Sc

Hyps. re - si - ster, re - si - ster non sa,

Jas. re - si - ster, re - si - ster non sa,

¹⁶ The 13 pieces are listed here: I.3 Jason, aria „Delizie, contenti“; I.11 Jason, aria „Occhi, non v'abbagliate“; I.12 Jason and Medea, *a 2* „O mio core | O mio amore“; II.1, Alinda, aria „Per prova so“; II.3 Jason and Medea, *a 2* „Ti lascio | Mi lasci“; II.6 Jason and Medea, *a 2* „Vieni e vivi, mia vita“; II.8 Alinda and Orestes, *a 2* „Sai ch'io t'amo, Alinda a fé“; II.10 Jason and Medea, *a 2* „Scendi, o bella“; II.11, Alinda, aria „Quanti soldati, o quanti“; II.11 Alinda and Besso, *a 2* „Non più guerra“; III.1 Jason and Medea, *a 2* „Dunque tra fiori e fronde“; III.18 Jason and Hypsipyle, *a 2* „Quante son le mie gioie“; III.18 Medea, Hypsipyle, Aegeus and Jason, *a 4* „E fra nodi tenaci“.

Ex. 7: *Giasone* [A-Wn score, III.21, fol. 177r], *Il novello Giasone* [I-Sc score, III.18, fol. 271v], Medea, Hypsipyle, Jason and Aegeus (final chorus).

A-Wn

Med. E fra no - di te - na - ci rim -

Hyps. E fra no - di te - na - - - ci

Jas. E fra no - di te - na - ci rim - bom - bin...

Aeg. E fra no - di te - na - ci rim-bom-bin que- ste...

I-Sc

Med. E fra no - di te - na - ci rim - bom-bin que-ste val - li, rim -

Hyps. E fra no - di te - na - ci rim - bom-bin que-ste val - li, rim -

Aeg. E fra no - di te - na - ci rim - bom-bin que-ste val - li, rim -

Jas. E fra no - di te - na - ci rim - bom-bin que-ste val - li, rim -

Stradella's second goal in revising *Giasone* was to update it. This is probably the main reason for most of the additions found in the score. These could have been requested directly by the composer's patrons, by the impresario, or even by the singers, creating an authorial *potpourri* difficult to disentangle.

The first major addition is the new prologue. As the eldest librettos and scores attest, the prologue was sung in 1649 by Phoebus and Cupid, who argue about the final wedding between Jason and either of two princesses in the story (Medea, approved by Phoebus, and Hypsipyle by Cupid). Yet in 1671, although the prologue starts with the very first lines of the original text, the

set suddenly falls to ruin, and the play continues with a dispute between the arts, Music, Painting, Poetry, and Architecture, who appear onstage to solve the technical catastrophe. After Architecture almost magically fixes everything with a simple gesture, the allegories can close the prologue with the lines „Non più prove, non più! / Viva, viva Giasone“. This new part, present in the score, is absent in the printed libretto. Perhaps the Roman authors wanted each spectator to read the original prologue in order to amplify the unexpected bewilderment aroused by the scenographic disaster. One more element, however, can be added here to better understand this modification. In fact, the revisers created an allegory of their own work: after the *ruina* is fixed by Architecture, the arts are involved in a further metatheatrical scene, in which Painting says that she finished her work for the stage („Pennelli, a dio“), Poetry asks her sisters: „vorrei, se pur si puote, / d'un'aria al drama aggiunta / provar due sole strofe“ and Music adds „ed io le note“. At this point the audience is faced with a rehearsal scene in which the element of the „aria al drama aggiunta“ indeed clarifies the nature of the updating process in which the opera was involved, letting *Il novello Giasone* introduce itself as an overt musical reworking.¹⁷

The second important addition is the new intermezzo between acts II and III. It is the shortest intermezzo Stradella wrote for the Roman public in 1671/72, maybe because he added some dances to complete it: the so called „Balletto d'Amorini“. During this quick comic sketch Cupid and Satyr (soprano and bass) bicker about the power of love in recitativo style, but the simple quarrel becomes a real fight when Cupid, after being hit with a stone thrown by Satyr, calls archers older than himself („Arcier più grandi“) to defend him against the violence of the half-man, half-goat character. Here Stradella added new music for the „Balletto d'Amorini“. He had already done this after the final scene of the first act of the opera with a „Balletto delle Furie“, inserted after the scene with Medea's spell „Dell'antro magico“.

These „Balli“ were structured as dance suites: the first one made up by a *Sarabanda* in $\frac{3}{4}$, plus a dance movement in C (called in general terms „Balletto“), the second one by another „Balletto“ in C, plus a *Sarabanda* in $\frac{3}{4}$ and a generic „Presto“ in $\frac{1}{8}$. As Irene Alm pointed out, these kinds of suites „were used infrequently in Venetian opera“, and, as we can observe in the Contarini

¹⁷ Many other prologues with a „ruina“ had been already seen on stage in Venice; for example in 1639 in *Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo* (drama by Orazio Persiani, music by F. Cavalli), and in *Il Ciro* performed in Venice in 1654 (drama by Giulio Cesare Sorrentino, music by Francesco Provenzale with interventions by F. Cavalli). For a detailed analysis of the 17th-century prologues that stage the arts' conflict see Andrea Garavaglia, „Der Paragone der Opernkünste in italienischen Prologen des 17. Jahrhunderts. Sorgen um die Oper als ‚Gesamtkunstwerk‘?“, *MeS* 17 (2009), 253–291.

collection of the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice, finding traces of dance music in the Venetian 17th-century opera scores is very rare. Therefore, Stradella most likely used them purposefully as a mark of innovation.¹⁸

In 1671 the other main modification is the addition of a high number of new comic and serious arias (fifteen total; cf. table 1).

Tab. 1: New arias in *Il novello Giasone*: the borrowed ones are marked in grey; the arias attributed to Stradella in the Modenese source (I-MOe, Mus. F.1103) are marked with a black sign.

Act	Scene	Character	First line
Prologue		Musica	„Chi non prova lo stral“
I	2	Alinda	„Già nel ciel la nuova aurora“
	2	Delfa	„Or che farò?“
	3	Jason	„Che mi giovan le vittorie“ •
	12	Delfa	„Tant'è: queste sdegnose“
II	1	Hypsipyle	„Pensieri, venite“
	5	Medea	„Temo sempre che mi fugga“
	13	Hypsipyle	„Destatevi, o sensi“ •
III	3	Hypsipyle	„Date all'armi, o miei pensieri“
	8	Medea	„Viver lungi dal suo sposo“
	9	Hypsipyle	„Torna, Amor, dammi il mio bene“ •
	12	Medea	„Non vantar, non vantar libertà“
	13	Delfa	„Che disgrazia è mai la mia“
	13	Alinda	„Chi mi disse ch'Amor dà tormento“ •
	14	Jason	„Dormite, occhi, dormite“ •

Among them we can find two pieces that from then on achieved great success: Medea's „Non vantar, non vantar libertà“ and Hypsipyle's „Date all'armi, o miei pensieri“. These two arias appeared for the first time in 1671 in the libretto and in the score of the *Novello*, and were sung and copied for more than 35 years. We find them again, not only in several manuscript aria collections held all around Europe, but also, as Rebekah Ahrendt pointed out, in a number of other sources: 1) in the two surviving scores of *Il Claudio Cesare* by Aurelio Aureli

¹⁸ See Irene Alm, *Theatrical Dance in Seventeenth-Century Venetian Opera*, Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1993, 231–232, 390–391. For an analysis of the dances in the score of *Il novello Giasone* held in Siena (Alm was not aware about the score in Lisbon) see Ead., „Winged Feet and Mute Eloquence. Dance in Seventeenth-Century Venetian Opera“, *Cambridge Opera Journal* 15 (2003), 216–280; and for further information about the dance in the 17th-century opera scores see Ead., „Humanism and Theatrical Dance in Early Opera“, *MD* 49 (1995), 79–93; and „Theatrical Dance in Venetian Opera 1637–1660“, in: Angelo Chiarle (ed.), *L'arte della danza ai tempi di Claudio Monteverdi*, Torino: Istituto per i beni musicali in Piemonte, 1996 (Biblioteca dell'Istituto per i beni musicali in Piemonte 2), 95–111.

and Giovanni Antonio Boretti, performed in Venice in 1673;¹⁹ 2) in the printed collection *Scelta delle più belle ariette e canzocine* [sic] *italiane* published in Amsterdam in 1691 by Amédée Le Chevalier;²⁰ and 3) in the second edition of a sort of French pasticcio titled *La Bataille de Ramelie* by the Huguenot poet and impresario Jean-Jacques Quesnot de La Chenée, published in Ghent (Flanders) in 1707.²¹ However the authorship of these two arias is uncertain.

In the Modenese collection of Stradella's music, on the *recto* of the first folio, a 17th-century handwriting note names Stradella as the author of only five of the fifteen new arias found in the Sienese score.²² For the other ten, as for each new piece of music found for the first time in the anonymous scores of *Il novello*, we do not have any explicit document about the identity of the author. The exception is the new prologue, present in the Torinese source, where the music is clearly attributed to Stradella.²³ There is no reason to doubt his authorship of the intermezzo and the dances (in fact Stradella's main occupation during his Roman years was writing prologues and intermezzos and it is likely that they were the first things he added to the old operas), but the question of authorship is more difficult to solve for the remaining ten new arias.

Certainly at least two of them are not by Stradella, since they were created long before 1671: namely, „Chi non prova lo stral“ and „Già nel ciel la nuova aurora“ (both in grey in the table 1). The first one is inserted into the prologue. After Architecture fixes the scenographic ruin, the character Music asks her sisters to rehearse an aria she added to the *dramma*: at that point in the Torinese and Modenese sources we can read „qui ci va un'aria come piace“ („add here an aria *ad libitum*“), while in the scores (the real ‚litmus test‘ of the Roman performance) the music of the aria „Chi non prova lo stral“ is copied.

The lyrics of this piece can be read already in the Venetian libretto of *Il Ciro* printed in 1654 (drama by Giulio Cesare Sorrentino, music by Francesco Provenzale with interventions by F. Cavalli), while the music is identical to the one of the 1665 version of Sorrentino's opera,²⁴ in which the original music, according to Jennifer Williams Brown, was „almost entirely rewritten by Andrea

¹⁹ Scores held in I-Vnm, Cod. It. IV, 401 (9925); and I-Nc, 33.6.14 (ex Rari 6.7.1).

²⁰ Surviving copies in: GB-Lbl, C.404.1-3; GB-Ob, Mus. Sch. E.498; NL-Lu, FILM 79.26-28; and S-Uu, Utl. Vok. Mus. Tr. 134.

²¹ The only surviving copy of the second edition of *La Bataille* is in F-Pn, Rés-YF-1863. For some information about this pasticcio see Rebekah Ahrendt, *A Second Refuge. French Opera and the Huguenot Migration, c. 1680–c. 1710*, Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2011, 185–207.

²² The five arias in the Modenese collection (I-MOe, Mus. F.1103) are: „Che mi giovan le vittorie“; „Destatevi, o sensi“; „Torna, Amor, dammi il mio bene“; „Chi mi disse ch'Amor dà tormento“; „Dormite, occhi, dormite“.

²³ See n. 4.

²⁴ Score held in I-Vnm, Cod. It. IV, 354 (9878), fols 4v–6r.

Mattioli" (1620–1679).²⁵ The second 'foreign' aria in *Il novello Giasone* is „Già nel ciel la nuova aurora“, sung by Alinda in I.2. Its lyrics are already present in the printed libretto of *La Rosilena* by Aurelio Aureli and Giovan Battista Volpe, published in 1664 for the Venetian premiere at the Teatro SS. Giovanni e Paolo; however, since Volpe's score has not survived, we do not know if Stradella composed new music for Aureli's lines or simply decided to use the original one.²⁶

Possibly there is at least one more piece that could have been written by another composer: the aria „Dormite, occhi, dormite“, sung by Jason in III.14. Although Stradella is listed in the Modenese source as author of this aria for baritone (Jason), continuo and violin solo, it could have been composed indeed by the singer who played Demo's part, the already mentioned Carlo Ambrogio Lonati. He was a very good composer and violin player and this piece of music seems to have been perfectly tailored for him; in fact, while Jason looks for a place where to rest, Demo, sent by his master Aegeus to kill the hero (in order to vindicate Medea's attempted murder), tries to deaden him by playing the violin on the stage, before breaking it on his head (Lonati would have been perfectly able to compose this beautiful lullaby aria on an ostinato bass).²⁷

These few examples document a borrowing process documented since the early years of the public opera world. We can find evidence of this practice in the scores of three among the eldest Venetian operas for which at least one music source survives. The music copied on these manuscripts all represent reworkings, edited before or after some revival, in some cases likely linked to the first circulating opera companies generically called *Febiarmonici*.²⁸

The first case is *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria* by Giacomo Badoaro and Claudio Monteverdi, performed for the first time in 1640 Venice. This opera survives in

²⁵ Jennifer Williams Brown, „Inside Cavalli's Workshop: Copies and Copyists“, in: *Readying Cavalli's Operas* (see n. 1), 57–93, 69 n. 43.

²⁶ If this aria were to belong to the original score it would represent the second surviving section of Volpe's opera: the other one is the aria „Credere alla speranza è vanità“, sung by Ariadeno in the scene II.17, whose music can be found in a manuscript aria collection titled *Composizioni vocali profane*, held in I-Nc, 33.4.18(b), fols 106v–109v.

²⁷ For Lonati's life and collaborations with Alessandro Stradella see Norbert Dubowy, „Lonati Carlo Ambrogio“, <http://www.treccani.it/biografie/> (21.06. 2016); and Usula, „*Giasone* a quattro mani“ (see n. *), LVII.

²⁸ For the phenomenon of these first touring opera companies see the foundational Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, „Dalla *Finta pazza* alla *Veremonda*. Storie di Febiarmonici“, *RIM* 10 (1975), 379–454; for a discussion of borrowed arias as a first symptom of musical reworkings in 17th-century operas, see Jennifer Williams Brown, „*Con nuove arie aggiunte*“. *Aria Borrowing in the Venetian Opera Repertory, 1672–1685*, Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, Ann Arbor, UMI, 1992.

only one score, held in Vienna, datable to 1650–1660,²⁹ which differs profoundly from the text of the twelve surviving manuscript librettos of Badoaro's drama. The score was most likely set for an unknown late revival (perhaps never performed). Not only does it contain a new prologue and a number of cuts in the dramatic text (by some reviser whose identity is still unknown), but, according to some scholars, it also includes music by other composers. In the deities' scenes, for example, Sergio Vartolo asserts the music is not by Monteverdi, but by Francesco Manelli (Tivoli 1595/7 – Parma 1667 ca.), composer, singer, impresario and poet, who, in John Whenham's words, „was instrumental [together with Benedetto Ferrari] in establishing the tradition of public opera at Venice“.³⁰

The same processes can be found in the score of *La finta pazza* (opera by Giulio Strozzi and Francesco Sacrati, premiered in Venice in 1641). According to my recent studies, the manuscript score which is today in the Archivio Borromeo on the Isola Bella (which presents the *Febiarmonici* version of 1644) was copied for a Milanese revival in 1648–1650, and, as Bianconi had already pointed out in the '80s after discovering the score, the „sinfonia avanti l'opera“ (fols 1r–2v) is made up of two „sinfonie“ that are also present in the last scene of the third act of the Venetian score of *L'incoronazione di Poppea* (fols 102rv, 104rv) by Giovanni Francesco Busenello, with music attributed to Monteverdi (premiered in Venice in 1643).³¹ However, since the Venetian score of *L'incoronazione* is not a Monteverdi autograph, nor is it an early score (it was copied by Cavalli's copyist team in 1650–1652), we do not know if the direction of the music migration was from *L'incoronazione* (1643) to *La finta pazza* (1644) or, vice-versa, from *La finta pazza* (1641 or 1644) to *L'incoronazione* (1643 or later performances).³²

²⁹ The score of *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria* is in A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18763 A/Monteverdi/1, available in facsimile edition: Claudio Monteverdi, *Il ritorno di Ulisse in patria*, ed. by Sergio Vartolo, Firenze: SPES, 2006. The most recent analysis of the Viennese score is in Nicola Usula, „Sul Ritorno d'Ulisse in patria. Verso una ridefinizione delle coordinate spazio-temporali del manoscritto viennese“, unpublished paper read at the 18th meeting of *Il Saggiatore musicale* (Bologna, November 22, 2014). Monteverdi's Venetian operas have been studied in Ellen Rosand, *Monteverdi's Last Operas. A Venetian Trilogy*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007.

³⁰ John Whenham, „Manelli Francesco“, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/> (21.06.2016); for the theory of Manelli's hand in deities' parts of the score see Monteverdi, *Il ritorno di Ulisse in patria* (see n. 29), [21–23].

³¹ The score of *La finta pazza* is in I-IBborromeo, MS.AU.298, soon available in facsimile edition: Giulio Strozzi and Francesco Sacrati, *La finta pazza*, facsimile score ed. by Lorenzo Bianconi and Nicola Usula, Milano: Ricordi, forthcoming in 2017 (Drammaturgia Musicale Veneta 1). For the first contribution about this topic see Lorenzo Bianconi, „*La finta pazza* ritrovata“, in: *La finta pazza*, programme notes, Venezia: Gran Teatro La Fenice [1987], 967–981.

³² The Venetian score of *L'incoronazione di Poppea* is in I-Vnm, Cod. It. IV,439 (9963), available in facsimile edition: Claudio Monteverdi, *L'incoronazione di Poppea*, introductory essay by Sergio Martinotti, Bologna: Arnaldo Forni, 1969 (reprint 1994). Jennifer Williams Brown dated the manuscript to 1650–52 in: „Inside Cavalli's Workshop“ (see n. 25); for the same Venetian score see also Christine Jeanneret, „Maria Cavalli: In the Shadow of Francesco“, in: *Readying Cavalli's Operas* (see n. 1), 95–117.

The most famous and disputed case concerns the final duet of *L'incoronazione*, the well-known „Pur ti miro“ sung by Nero and Poppaea (present in both surviving scores of the opera),³³ which appeared already in the second edition of the libretto of *Il pastor regio* by Benedetto Ferrari (premiered in Venice in 1640) published in 1641 in Bologna by Giacomo Monti and Carlo Zenero, for the Bolognese revival performed two years before *L'incoronazione* première.³⁴

The proofs of the elasticity of these composite musical texts let us comprehend more clearly the meaning of Stradella's revisions on *Giasone*'s music. Every opera revived after its première had to be retooled in the new context, and this process had to generate a product both visibly new, but, as in this case, also easily recognizable. Each 17th-century opera was the product of a complex system, in which the final text (not the one in the librettos or in the surviving scores but the one performed, which was subject to a number of last-minute changes, whose traces are usually lost) is ascribable to a plurality of authorships: poets, composers, impresarios, patrons, singers and others, who all intervened in the creating process. And in the case of a revival, this type of fragmentation and ramification is amplified because of the overlapping between a large number of textual levels.

It is important not to confuse this kind of operatic product with the well-known collaborative medleys (operas in which each act was composed by a different composer, like, for example *La santa Dimna*, „commedia per musica“ performed in Rome in 1687, with music by Alessandro Melani act I, Bernardo Pasquini act II, and Alessandro Scarlatti act III), nor with the genre of the 18th-century pasticcio (in which the structure of the drama strictly depended on the process of conglomeration of different and heterogeneous musical materials by different authors).³⁵

Therefore, while it would be a mistake to categorically ascribe the music of *Il novello Giasone* to Stradella, it would not be correct either to say that it is Cavalli's opera with only a few sporadic additions and changes introduced by his Roman revisers. This opera was neither a newly composed produc-

³³ The Neapolitan score of *L'incoronazione* is in I-Nc, Rari 6.4.1 (ex Rari Cornice 4.5), available in facsimile edition: Gian Francesco Busenello and Claudio Monteverdi, *L'incoronazione di Poppea*, facsimile score with introductory essays by Gino Benzoni and Alessandra Chiarelli, and libretto edition by Lorenzo Bianconi, Milano: Ricordi, 2011 (Drammaturgia Musicale Veneta 2).

³⁴ For a comprehensive study of the controversial authorial question raised by the presence of „Pur ti miro“ in the scores of *L'incoronazione* see Lorenzo Bianconi, „Indagini sull'*Incoronazione*“, in: „*Finché non splende in ciel notturna face*“. In memoria di Francesco Degradà, ed. by Cesare Fertonani, Emilio Sala and Claudio Toscani, Milano: LED Edizioni universitarie di Lettere, Economia, Diritto, 2009 (Cantar sottile 1), 53–72. For a critical edition of the 1641 Bolognese text of *Il pastor regio* see Nicola Badolato and Vincenzo Martorana (eds.), *I drammi musicali veneziani di Benedetto Ferrari*, Firenze, Olschki, 2103 (Historiae Musicae Cultores 128), 291–322.

³⁵ See Curtis Price, „Pasticcio“, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/> (21.06.2016).

tion nor a comprehensive remake: certainly, the intervention of the team of artists at the Tordinona theatre had a far-reaching effect on the work but its dramatic structure and its musical substance remained to a large extent the same. Moreover, there are very many passages that underwent no alteration whatsoever.

This is why in 1671 *Giasone* changed deeply, yet at the same time remained the same, preserving its own identity. The origins, not only of the plot and the music, but also of those kinds of interventions they were subjected to for the Roman revival were characteristically Venetian. Therefore, although the opera moved from Venice to Rome, from Cavalli to Stradella, its actual trajectory was a loop: from Venice to Venice, and, using our main character as point of reference, from Jason to Jason.