

Busenello *satirico*: New Sources for *Apollo and Dafne*

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Performed at the Teatro San Cassiano for Carnival in 1640, *Gli amori di Apollo e di Dafne* is the first musical drama of Busenello and the first collaboration between the poet and Francesco Cavalli, who was to dominate the Venetian operatic stage for more than three decades. It constitutes one of the two earliest Venetian operas to be survived by a score¹—the other is *Le nozze di Teti*, represented the previous season. The work belongs to the new system of production that had made a genuine industry out of the operatic theatre, at the border between artistic creation and the merchandising of its object, and giving rise to a number of professions, among them the impresario,² the project manager of this entertainment, of a new genre which, although courtly and elitist at its Florentine origins, had become, in Republican Venice, the object of a true popular craze. From 1639 until 1644 the Tron theatre at S. Cassiano was managed by Cavalli himself, in collaboration with the choreographer G. B. Balbi, who had already gained fame from his participation in *Andromeda* by Ferrari and Manelli, which had inaugurated Venetian public opera in 1637. *Apollo e Dafne* constitutes in more than one way, the inaugural work of a new genre. The dimension of rewriting, inseparable from operatic theatre is here fully in evidence, but in a manner that blends an homage to the first Florentine stories (fables) and the deviant satirical and sarcastic approach which characterizes the work of members of the Venetian Accademia degli Incogniti³. Indeed, the plot of this first drama mixes, in an original synthesis, the subjects of the *Dafne* of Rinuccini (Florence 1597, music by Corsi), the *Rapimento di Cefalo* of Chiabrera (Florence 1602, music by Caccini), and *Aurora ingannata* of Ridolfo Campeggi (Bologna, 1605, music by Giacobbi). *Le nozze di Peleo* by Orazio Persiani and Cavalli, but also

¹ The score is preserved in the Marciana Library in Venice: Vnm, It, 404 (=9928); the score of *Le nozze di Teti e Peleo* (libretto by Orazio Persiani): Vnm, It, 365 (=9889).

² See Beth and Jonathan Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera. The Impresario and His World in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, Oxford, Oxford University Press 2006.

³ See Jean-François Lattarico, “*Lo scherno degli Dei: Myth and Derision in the Dramma per Musica of the Seventeenth Century*”, in Bruno Forment (ed.), *(Dis)embodying Myths on Ancien Régime Opera: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, Leuven, Leuven University Press 2012, pp. 17-31.

Andromeda by Ferrari and Manelli were still subdued to the aesthetic canons (rules) of the *fiesta teatrale*, with mythological characters still solidly placed on their pedestals. The satirical drama of Busenello took an important step in the characterization of a new genre, based on the mixture of registers and tonalities, on the systematic lack of respect of the three unities, all of it dressed with music – that is Venetian opera.⁴

The object of this communication is not, however, to discuss the tight relationship that links the poetic text and its musical clothing, nor to show how Cavalli's musical language interprets the expression of affect at the heart of Busenello's dramaturgy. Because music is still a tributary of the philosophical, esthetic, and fully lyrical superiority of poetry (further evidence of the influence of Florentine humanism on the aesthetics of the Venetian poet),⁵ we will attempt to emphasize the essential role played by the experimental laboratory of the academy, of which Busenello was among the most illustrious members, with respect to the re-writing of the main canonical genres, and more particularly of the parodic genre. The question of sources goes beyond that of the Florentine fables, by which Busenello was directly inspired; more specifically, it involves three levels of influence: the bucolic model (to the pacific kingdom of Virgilian Arcadia, the Venetian poet prefers the erotic-comic dramatic tone of Ovid);⁶ the poetic production of the Incogniti which desacralizes the mythological material, associated, in the likewise experimental context of Bardi's Camerata, with the renaissance of ancient theatre through the union established between poetry and music; and finally, the contemporary dramatic production of the myth of Daphne⁷, which makes the originality of Busenello's poem stand out all the more.

It is possible to tie the first level of influence to the literary production of the members of the Incogniti, who found in Ovid a source of privileged inspiration. Therefore Francesco Pona, a doctor and man of letters (also well-read physician), who carried on an intense correspondence with Busenello (he offered his collection on the *Twelve Caesars* at a time when Busenello was working on the libretto of *The Coronation of Poppea*), began his literary career with a prose translation of the first book of the *Metamorphoses*.⁸ Ovid's epic had enjoyed significant diffusion through translations, initially partial, then complete, after the second half of the sixteenth century (Dolce,

⁴ See Ellen Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre*, Berkeley, University of California Press 1991.

⁵ See Florence Malhomme, "Aestas ciceroniana : humanisme linguistique et musique. Zarlino et la recherche de la langue parfait", in *Musica rhetoricans*, ed. Florence Malhomme, PUPS, Paris 2002, pp. 101-112.

⁶ See Wendy Heller, "Venice and Arcadia", in *Musica e Storia*, Vol. 1, 2004, April, pp. 21-34.

⁷ On this myth in the arts in the baroque era of the seventeenth century, see Yves Giraud, *La fable de Daphné. Essai sur un type de métamorphose végétale dans la littérature et dans les arts jusqu'à la fin du XVII^e siècle*, Droz, Geneva 1969.

⁸ Francesco Pona, *La Trasformazione del Primo libro delle Metamorfosi d'Ovidio*, B. Merlo, Verona 1618. On Pona and his medical and literary production, see Stefania Buccini, *Francesco Pona. L'ozio lecito della scrittura*, Olschki, Florence 2013.

Anguillara). Now, it is in the first book (ll. 416–567) that the story of the transformation of the nymph Daphne is told, and it is therefore licit to think that the Ovidian source influenced Busenello's drama, through Anguillara's translation—which was frequently reprinted—as well as through Pona's prose version, which is both true to the original text and enriched with additions, developments, an amplification of the recitative—amplification and variation that characterize the *copia* of the Ancients⁹—of which one finds a trace in the poetic digressions of the *dramma per musica*, a genre characterized by rewriting and transposition. In Pona's version, the myth of Daphne is embellished with remarks that explicitly say what is simply suggested by Ovid. This is notable in the text devoted to the amorous conquests of Cupid, and in Apollo's discourse while in pursuit of the fleeing Daphne. In all, the 150 verses of the Ovidian tale represent seven chapters in the work of the libertine writer.¹⁰ An extreme case is represented by the tale of the unhappy loves of Pan and the nymph Syrinx (which occurs in one of the final scenes of Busenello's libretto):¹¹ Ovid's 20 verses are expanded to 12 chapters in Pona's work.¹² The digressions are therefore intended to developing what was, in a sense, contained in the source text. However, what was authorized by the prose transposition from the essentially concise poetic version, finds equal confirmation in the development of the theatrical monologue. The transition from one genre to another is effected notably through the structural relationship between the *argomento*¹³ of the play, which adopts the narrative concision of the classical source, and the structure of the plot of the drama, strictly speaking. This represents an interesting interpenetration of different literary genres, characteristic of the baroque era,¹⁴ but especially characteristic of the hybrid genre par excellence represented by *dramma per musica*.

The satiric and erotic dimension of *Gli amori*, apart from the two classical sources of Ovid and Guarini, explicitly referred to in the *argomento* of the drama,¹⁵ finds a significant precedent in the poetic production of Busenello himself, who, at the insistence of his academic colleagues, is particularly illustrious in these two strands dear to the *Incogniti* libertines.¹⁶ In fact, the founder of the academy, Loredano, had

⁹ See Antoine Berman, *Jacques Amyot, traducteur français. Essai sur les origines de la traduction en France*, Belin, Paris 2012.

¹⁰ Francesco Pona, *La trasformazione del primo libro*, op. cit. , pp. 102–142.

¹¹ Cf. *Gli amori di Apollo e Dafne*, III, 4 and 5.

¹² It concerns chapters XXXVI to XLII (Francesco Pona, *La trasformazione del primo libro*, op. cit. , pp. 170–228).

¹³ On the function of the “*argomento*” in the construction of the plot, see Albert Gier, *Werstattberichte. Theorie und Typologie des Argomento im italienischen Operlibretto des Barock*, University of Bamberg Press, Bamberg 2012.

¹⁴ See Simona Morando (ed.), *Instabilità e metamorfosi dei generi nella letteratura barocca*, Marsilio, Venice 2007.

¹⁵ *Gli amori di Apollo e Dafne*, in *Delle hore ociose*, Giuliani, Venice 1656, p. 7.

¹⁶ See Jean-François Lattarico, *Venise incognita. Essai sur l'académie libertine au XVII^e siècle*, Honoré Champion, Paris 2012, part three: “Le temps de l'érotisme”, pp. 237–348.

published in 1653—six years before the publication of Busenello's collection (*Delle hore ociose*, Venice, 1656)—a burlesque version of the first six songs from Homer's *Iliad*,¹⁷ an exemplary model of the literary disguise of the mythological realm, which also includes the parody of the *Aeneid* (Lalli, *Eneide travestita*, published in Venice in 1632), and from Busenello's pen, that of *Orlando furioso*, describing a knight struggling against the ravages of syphilis, preserved in manuscript in the Marciana.¹⁸ Now Busenello's parodistic rewriting once again links the epic source (Ariosto's poem) with the mythological source, since the poem of Fracastoro, who introduced the name of the illness for the first time (*Syphillis sive morbus gallicus*, Verona, 1530), describes, in his third book, in the form of an allegorical tale, the unhappiness of a handsome shepherd named Syphilis (whose etymology means "gift of reciprocal friendship"), disfigured after having irritated the god Apollo. For Busenello, the *vis parodica* also derives from his great poetic model, which is the *Adone* by Marino. In an extraordinary satirical poem, *La fecondità*, the Venetian poet parodies canto 8 of the great baroque epic that describes the pleasures of Venus in the garden of love. In the libertine spirit of the academy, all of the amorous passions (incest, sodomy, rape, adultery, etc.) are represented in order to denounce the infertility of certain practices. Moreover, the numerous sonnets of Busenello that pay homage to Petrarch and to the chastity of Daphne, and the numerous erotic poems that exalt, to the contrary, sensual and carnal love, illustrate the two conceptions of love represented by Cirilla *vecchia*, and Filena in his first *dramma per musica*. Hence there is a satirical poetic context in Busenello's work, as well as that of the Incogniti, which underlines and explains the dramaturgical choices of *Gli amori di Apollo*, the prologue of which, while announcing the subject, constitutes an explicit profession of poetic faith, placed under the eminently baroque sign of metamorphosis, illusion, and dream.

Reading Busenello's first drama may give an impression of a heterogeneous material which, indeed, *goes against* the classical conceptions of dramaturgy, even though the poet would deny any attempt at cutting into the unity of action: in the *Argomento*, Busenello shows to what extent the *a priori* external elements to the central plot—the loves of Cephalus and Procris, Tithonus and Aurora, whose intrigues are in fact entwined—actually serve the main action, ornament it, much in the same way figures of speech ornament literary discourse for greater persuasive efficacy. Although the explicit reference to the *Pastor fido* of Guarini represents a novel and well assumed rejection of the classical conceptions of theatre, it is important to underscore the importance of the satirical drama in building the plot of *Gli Amori di Apollo*. It is a genre with well-defined contours, despite the paucity of the ancient sources that have come down to us (the *Cyclops* of Euripides is the only completely preserved play), putting satyrs, directed by Silenus, on stage to confront a mythological hero, in a structure that takes up in part that of tragedy (prologue, choral movement, episodes, and

¹⁷ Giovan Francesco Loredano, *L'Iliade giocosa*, Guerigli, Venice 1653.

¹⁸ Giovan Francesco Busenello, *Tramutazione delle prime ottave di ciaschedun Canto dell'Ariosto nel Furioso contro il morbo gallico*, Vnm, It. IX, 460 (=7034), f° 98-113.

denouement).

In *Gli amori*, there definitely are traces of this satirical heritage, which is, like the Guarinian tragicomedy, a mixed genre, of comedy and tragedy, but also of the noble and the trivial, a "tragedy that amuses" (Demetrios d'Alexandrie, *Du style*, 169). *Gli amori* is also a "tragedy that amuses itself", a mixed genre with a happy ending; the presence of Pan, of Apollo—the mythological hero—and the strong choral presence (one of the most developed of all Busenello's librettos) makes up some of the elements of the classical satirical drama. Let us not forget that Busenello will take up these elements again in an even more pronounced manner in his recently published *dramma per musica Il viaggio d'Enea*,¹⁹ which features both Silenus and Bacchus, the former in the prologue as a drunken protagonist of the central *intermedio*, and the latter, all the while respecting the structure of a tragedy with a happy ending.

Busenello, as satiric poet, first and foremost defends a libertarian conception of writing. Once again, the *Argomento* of *Apollo e Dafne* underlines this profession of faith, which frontally opposes the "narrow spirits" (constipated, as the playwright himself calls them –"ingegni stitici"), who "have corrupted the world." The issue is to assert poetic license, under the aegis (shield) of Apollo, god of poetry, and of Petrarch, one of Busenello's models, with whom he concludes his paratext: "Ognun del suo saper par che s'appaghi." ("Everybody is satisfied with his knowledge"). A license that involves both the organization of the drama (the principal action decorated with secondary twists and turns), as well as language itself, mixing lower registers (for example Cupid and Apollo's replicas) with higher ones (in the introductory monologue of Sleep in the prologue, or in the lament of Procris at the end of the first act). The numerous pathetic passages that run through the drama, in particular the famous laments of Procris or Apollo—find their origin in the poetry of Marino, the great baroque poet at the source of Busenello's poetic vocation, who consecrates an eclogue to the myth of Daphne (a 171 verse-long lament by Apollo which recalls Busenello's "Misero Apollo"), a long idyll of 339 verses (*Dafne*), as well as several sonnets and madrigals centered on the metamorphosis of the nymph (*Dafne in lauro*, *Trasformazione di Dafne in Lauro*), and hence Apollo's lament; Busenello's verse: "Suona agonia la mia lugubre lira" II, 3), for example, seems to echo Marino's oxymoronic verse: "senza giamai morir morir mi sento" (*Dafni*, v 95), while the character of Pan, referring to his own painful experience (the metamorphosis of the nymph Syrinx) recalls another of Marino's idylls, *Siringa*, which follows *Dafni* in the pastoral collection, *La Sampogna*.²⁰

I would now like to mention the discovery of a new source for Busenello's libretto, to my knowledge never mentioned before. It is well known that the text of the libretto was not published at the time of the Venetian premiere, and that most likely, as was

¹⁹ See G. F. Busenello, *Il viaggio d'Enea all'inferno*, ed Jean-François Lattarico, with a preface by Fabbri, Palomar, Bari 2009.

²⁰ Giovanni Battista Marino, *La Sampogna*, ed. Vania De Maldè, Parma, Ugo Guanda, Fondazione Pietro Bembo, 1993, pp. 341-363 (*Dafni*); pp. 365-392 (*Siringa*).

customary in the years 1638-55, the public became acquainted with the text in the form of a scenario,²¹ even though no copy of such a publication, mentioned by Ivanovich, has yet been found. Contemporary commentators, including Ivanovich, despite a reliability that has often been noted,²² reported in their chronicles that after the Venetian premiere of 1640, the work was revived at the Teatro SS. Giovanni e Paolo in 1647, under the title *La Dafne*, but again, there is no concrete trace of this production, even if we know that the theatre had remained active during that year, despite the closure of most theatres because of the war of Candia, and that Busenello had joined that theatre in 1642, where he presented, successively, *Poppea* in 1643, perhaps *Giulio Cesare* in 1646, and his final work, *Statira*, in 1655. However, sources from this period, report another representation of the opera in Bologna in 1647, also under the simplified title, *La Dafne*, but here again, there seems to be no trace of this performance, neither score nor libretto. A remark by Yves Giraud, who devoted an important publication to the myth of Daphne, attracted my attention. The author mentions²³ the presence of an anonymous manuscript of an opera entitled *La Dafne* represented in Bologna in 1647. The coincidence of dates seemed troubling, because Giraud did not point to a relationship between this anonymous work and Busenello's libretto, even though the historical sources mentioned a Bolognese revival of the work. Research conducted at the Bologna library was unable to locate such a manuscript (which therefore does not exist), but instead they revealed an edition of the libretto that actually was published in 1647, under the title of *La Dafne: LA DAFNE DRAMA / MUSICALE / RAPPRESENTATA IN BOLOGNA / All'Illustrissima Signora / LA SIGNORA MARCHESA / LUCREZIA GHISILIERI / TANARI*, Bologna, H.H. del Evang. Dozza, 1647. The comparison of this edition, which is anonymous (there is no mention the author), with the literary text of *Apollo e Dafne* of 1656 shows that it is the same, and thus represents the famous revival of Cavalli's opera in Bologna in 1647. The dedication is signed by Lavinia Contini, most likely the sponsor, and it is addressed to the marquise Lucrezia Ghislieri Tanari. The libretto does not state the exact place of performance, but it was probably performed at the Teatro Formigliari, the first Bolognese public theatre, constructed in 1641,²⁴ mostly attended to by the aristocracy, which is confirmed by the dedication of the libretto printed in Bologna. In that period only one other theatre was designed for the performance of opera, the Teatro della Sala del Palazzo del Podestà, active since 1581, and restored, beginning in 1636, for the purpose of presenting operas. Seven copies of this edition have survived. To the three listed by the site Corago, of the

²¹ See Ellen Rosand, "The Opera Scenario, 1638-1655: A Preliminary Survey", in Fabrizio Della Seta and Franco Piperno (eds.), *In cantu et in sermone. For Nino Pirrotta on his 80th Birthday*, Olschki, Florence 1989, pp. 335-346.

²² Thomas Walker, "Gli errori di Minerva al tavolino" in *Venezia e il melodramma nel Seicento*, ed. Maria Teresa Muraro, Olschki, Florence 1976, pp. 7-20.

²³ "Un manuscrit de la bibliothèque de l'Université de Bologne contient ainsi le livret d'une *Dafne* anonyme, opéra datant de 1647", Yves Giraud, *La fable de Daphné*, op. cit. , p. 444.

²⁴ On the opera in Bologna in the seventeenth century, see Carlo Ricci, *I teatri di Bologna nei secoli XVII e XVIII*, Monti, Bologna 1888. On the Formagliari theatre, see Id., "Il Teatro Formagliari in Bologna (1636-1802)", in *Atti e memorie della R. Deputazione di storia patria per le province di Romagna*, series 3. V. 5, n. 1-2, 1887, pp. 24-86.

University of Bologna (two in Bologna and one in Modena)²⁵ can be added two others, in Pisa and Rome,²⁶ another one in Brussels, and a sixth one which belongs to the Thomas Fisher Library at the University of Toronto.²⁷ Obviously, none of these copies indicate the author of the libretto, which was certainly revised by the impresario or the author of the dedication. Each time an opera was revived in a new theatre, a certain number of modifications—additions or cuts—were carried out on the text of the original production. In the Bolognese version of *Apollo e Dafne*, the three most important changes concern the prologue, entirely rewritten (the characters of Sonno and his ministers are replaced by Fame, carried by two Zephyrs), the dance of the flowers, absent in both the Bolognese libretto and the score, and the finale of the opera. After the dialogue between the two nurses Filena and Cirilla, there is a very short scene in which Amor appears to declare his triumph; “Al ciel volando / Ecco ritorno / Et alla madré mia cara e diletta / Apporto il dolce avviso di vendetta”, this scene responds to scene 3 of the first act in which Amor, for the first time, proclaims his desire for vengeance: “Io voglio certo / Far le vendette / Della mia genitrice”. The prologue suggests that the author of the adaptation was acquainted with a manuscript version of the original libretto (which would not be published until 1656 in Busenello's collected librettos, *Delle hore ociose*), since one can discern the adaptation of several formulations of the original prologue:

Venice, 1656

Sonno

Già dell'alba vicina

L'aure precorritrici,

I venticelli amici

Fomentano cortesi

La mia placida forza

Bologna, 1647

Fama

Deh, benigni a' miei contenti,

Serenate,

Rischiarate,

Questo Cielo, **amici venti.**

Io qui spesso fermo l'ali;

Other formulations seem to betray a trace, in their syntactic structure (the initial vocative and the ternary structure of the verse, of the original libretto :

²⁵ I-Bc, Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica (coll. 06162); I-BU, Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria (coll. A.V. Tab. I. M.III. vol. 193.3); I-Moe, Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria (coll. 83. 6. 15. (I)).

²⁶ I-PI, Biblioteca Universitaria Pisa (coll. MISC. 834.1); I-Roma, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma (coll. 35. 4. K. 6. 5.).

²⁷ Thomas Fisher Library, Rare Book itp pam 00188; see Domenico Pietropaolo and Mary Ann Parker, *The Baroque Libretto: Italian Operas and Oratorios in the Thomas Fisher Library at the University of Toronto*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto 2011, p. 73.

Venise, 1656

Sonno

Voi miei cari ministri,
Panto, Itaton, Morfeo

Bologna, 1647

Fama

Voi del Felsineo Ren, Dame & Eroi

This second version of Busenello's drama preserves the integrity of the other characters, and although the structure of the drama reproduces the same scene division, the internal organization of individual scenes is sometimes slightly modified. Thus, in the first act, the first five scenes are identical in both versions, but scene 6 of the Venetian version (Filena's vituperative monologue against Dafne's forced chastity) is integrated into scene 5 in the Bolognese version, a more reasonable choice, since it is hard to imagine such an invective on the nurse's part being delivered in Dafne's presence. But in the Bolognese libretto, scene 7 is not indicated as such. In the second act, the first two scenes are identical, but the chorus of Muses shares only three strophes with the Venetian version, the two final strophes being replaced by a single new strophe. The libretto of 1647 begins scene 4 with Apollo's intervention ("Vanne Amor"), and scene 5 with Dafne's tempestuous intervention ("Piu tosto cadami / Dal seno il cor"). The last three scenes are identical in the two librettos. Finally, in the last act, the changes are minimal. The first four scenes are identical, with the exception of a new speech in scene 2, added for the character of Peneo, who describes the nymph's transformation ("E cosi ti trasformo"), instead of the error in scene 4 (where "Dafne mia, Dafne bella" is given to Pan instead of Apollo). Finally, scene 5 of the Bolognese libretto combines scenes 5 and 6 of Venice, suppresses the long ballet of the flowers, and then adds a short scene for Cupid, with which the opera concludes.

These structural considerations allow for certain hypotheses regarding the music of this first theatrical collaboration between Busenello and Cavalli. As we know, the music survives in only a single source, a non-autograph score, representing the 1640 Venetian premiere at San Cassiano. The libretto sources relate to the much later literary edition of 1656, which contains a certain number of substantial differences from the score (namely the inclusion of the last two scenes of the second act and the grand ballet of the last act), and at least ten manuscripts that coincide for the most part with the edition of the *Hore ociose*. The comparison of the two editions shows that most of the passages omitted by Cavalli are found in the Bolognese version, notably the last two scenes of the second act, which were therefore set to music at the time of the Bolognese revival. The two most notable exceptions comprise, in the last act, the dance of the flowers and the two speeches of Apollo and Pan before the final duet (III, 3) with which the Venetian score ends.

These observations give rise to a certain number of comments. If one considers that the "performance" edition, as opposed to the literary edition of a libretto (such as the *Didone* of Naples or *Statira* of 1655), is the most faithful reflection of the performance (the frontispiece of the Bologna libretto reads "La Dafne dramma musicale rappresentata in Bologna"), then the entirety of the printed text (except passages

distinguished by inverted commas) was set to music by Cavalli himself, or more probably borrowed from the original score, as was done in other cities on the peninsula when a Venetian opera was revived, thanks to the activities of traveling companies. The absence of a musical source for the Bolognese revival, though regrettable, can be compensated in part by the comparison and intersection of two other preserved sources, musical and literary, to lead to a hypothetical and virtual musical reconstruction of the late version of *Apollo*. It seems thus that the famous ballet of the flowers, however seductive from the point of view of scenery and spectacle, discarded by Cavalli at the time of the Venetian premiere, was probably never set to music, since the new = editorial source, a reflection of a later production of the opera did not mention it.

One can find a trace of the satirical dimension of Busenello's *dramma per musica* in another libretto, slightly later than the edition of the *Hore ociose* of 1656, which restores the myth of Daphne to the operatic stage. In 1660, Pio Enea II degli Obizzi,²⁸ an important figure participating in operatic spectacles at Ferrara and Padua between 1636 and 1671, and a close friend of Busenello (he is the author of *Ermiona*, one of the models for Venetian public opera, performed in Padua in 1636, a year before the opening of San Cassiano), presented a *Dafne*²⁹ for the inauguration of the San Lorenzo theatre of Padua. Here, the inverse of Pio Enea of 1641, a wise and deferential version of Busenello's satirical *Viaggio d'Enea all'inferno*, mixes registers, even reintegrates comic characters (Ceccobimbi, inspired by one of Andreini's characters, the old servant Griffa, who expresses herself in Ferrarese dialect) and takes up the Venetian topoi of disguise (Apollo as the shepherd Cirreo, Leucippo as the nymph Fillinda), the infernal scene (an echo of the *Viaggio d'Enea*?) and, of course, metamorphoses. The Venetian model inaugurated by Busenello and Cavalli in 1640, showed, even at a distance of twenty years, the power of its radiance, in spite of an unquestionably negative evolution from a literary standpoint. At the end of the century, the reformatory sirens of the Arcadian Academy will inflict a fatal blow to a genre that sought to be eminently satirical, both codified and free, of great formal rigor and plural in its levels of reading.

(Translated by Ellen Rosand)

²⁸ On Obizzi, see Claudia di Luca, "Pio Enea II Obizzi promotore di spettacoli musicali fra Padova e Ferrara", in *Seicento inesplorato. L'evento musicale tra prassi e stile: un modello di interdipendenza*, eds. Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi, Maurizio Padoan, A.M.I.S., Como 1993, pp. 499-508

²⁹ *La Dafne d'Azzio Epibenio Favola da recitarsi in musica nella venuta dell'Eminentissimo signor Cardinale Fransoni alla legazione di Ferrara nel Teatro del Signor Marchese Pio Enea Obizzo*, A. e G.B. Maresti, Ferrara 1660. "Azzio Epibenio" is an anagram of the name of the author.