OTTAVIO RINUCCINI AND THE *FAVOLA AFFETTUOSA*

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> Si profilava, in questi drammi pastorali, il melodramma, nel senso buono della parola, il melodramma in cui una effettiva commozione umana, che trema nel suo fondo, è resa in modo leggiadro e un po' decorativo: se prenunciava l'arte del Metastasio. E quest'arte, con insieme una certa risonanza di altra ormai antica poesia polizianesca, si può ammirarla nei drammetti per musica di Ottavio Rinuccini . . . .[1]

So Benedetto Croce begins his consideration of Ottavio Rinuccini's music-dramas in his classic *Storia della età barocca in Italia.* He entitles the chapter in which he deals with Rinuccini "Accenni di poesia affettuosa"–from which, with some freedom, the title of this essay is drawn. The liberties taken here with Croce find justification among Rinuccini's contemporaries. The poet himself, in the preface to his *Euridice,* refers to both this drama and his *Dafne* as "favole",[2] his collaborator in both of these operas, the composer Jacopo Peri, in his preface to *Le Musiche . . . sopra l'Euridice.*[3] Michelangelo Buonarroti (*il giovane*), in his *Descrizione* of the Florentine celebrations of the wedding in 1600 of Maria de' Medici with Henry IV of France, details the first production of "la Euridice, moving and gracious *favola* of Ottavio Rinuccini."[4]

Indeed, the terms *favola* and *affettuosa* (more often seen in the substantive form, *affetti*) are watchwords in early writings on that unique amalgam of music, poetry, and drama, which we now call opera; though the terms were borrowed from dramatic theory and

criticism of the latter half of the sixteenth century, they acquired fresh implications in their new context. An exploration of these implications will help us to a better appreciation of the novel elements in the making of the first operas.

Ottavio Rinuccini, born of a noble Florentine family in 1562, had been composing lyrics and poetry for musical setting in Florentine festivals for some fifteen years when he and another nobleman, Jacopo Corsi, conceived of *Dafne* late in 1594.[5] In the early months of 1598 (or 1597, according to the old Florentine calendar) this *favola* was first performed in a setting by Corsi and Jacopo Peri.[6] Performances of revised versions of the work followed in 1599 and 1600.[7] Stimulated by the success of *Dafne,* Rinuccini and Peri collaborated on *Euridice* in 1600, and the music to this work was published early in 1601.

For the Mantuan celebrations of the marriage of Francesco Gonzaga to Margherita, daughter of Carlo Emanuele of Savoy, in 1608, Rinuccini undertook two further collaborations: an expansion of *Dafne,* set to music by the Florentine Marco da Gagliano,[8] and *Arianna,* a *tragedia* set jointly by Peri and Claudio Monteverdi. The music for this new *Dafne* appears in an edition published in Florence in 1608, while that of *Arianna,* aside from Monteverdi's famous lament, is lost. The text of Rinuccini's last *favola, Narciso,* written sometime after 1608, survives only in manuscript, but it is doubtful that it was ever given a musical setting.[9]

My remarks here will be mostly concerned with *Dafne* and *Euridice,* because they represent Rinuccini's *favola affettuosa* in its clearest form, and because they are the only two of Rinuccini's works for which complete musical settings survive.

The ambience of the pastoral drama permeates Rinuccini's *favole.* Even in *Arianna,* the one work which Rinuccini himself seems to have labelled a tragedy,[10] the poet was careful to choose an Ovidian story in which the regal characters (suited, thus, to tragedy) could agonize over *ragioni di stato* and lament lost lovers on an island populated by *pescatori.* The echo passages in *Dafne* and *Narciso,* the pastoral choruses–sometimes taking part in the action and sometimes setting one scene off from another,[11]–the lengthy narrations of offstage actions by messengers and *nunzi,* and, most important, the generally refined deportment of the shepherds and nymphs, all are characteristics borrowed by Rinuccini from the pastoral drama.[12] However, many characteristics of Rinuccini's dramaturgy find little place in the sixteenth-century tradition of pastoral drama, for example his consistent

use of rhyme, the extraordinary metric variety of his *favole,* his reliance on Ovidian sources for his plots, and his concomitant use of gods or demigods as principal characters. Of these elements, Rinuccini's metrics have received the most attention from commentators, who have not failed to observe his association with the poet chiefly responsible for the metric "reforms" in Italian lyric poetry at the end of the sixteenth century: Gabriello Chiabrera.

Chiabrera, ten years Rinuccini's senior, first visited Florence during 1584.[13] In Florence he was greatly impressed by the "great and important men,"[14] and struck up lasting relationships in particular with members of the Accademia degli Alterati. On September 4, 1586, Rinuccini was admitted to the same academy, together with Jacopo Corsi.[15] In the following years Chiabrera "always stayed with the Corsi family," and grew particularly close to Jacopo.[16] That he became acquainted with Rinuccini during this time is probable; and indeed, in early 1595, the very months that saw the conception of *Dafne,* Chiabrera wrote to Roberto Titi:

> I have also written another little book [of *canzonette,* as we learn from another letter of early July]. . . of which I send Your Grace a [copy] and ask that Your Grace and Sig. Ottavio and Sig. Corsi judge it and tell me your opinion. . . .[17]

Rinuccini's first *favola* manifests Chiabrera's influence most apparently in the strophic choral *canzonette* which end scenes 1, 2, 4, and 6. Here Rinuccini shows a penchant for the lilting *ottonari* arranged in six-line stanzas that are typical of Chiabrera's *canzonette.* The final chorus of the work, "Bella ninfa fuggitiva," shows a structure identical to that of Chiabrera's famous *Belle rose porporine*: eight stanzas, each arranged $a^8a^4b^8c^8c^4b^8$.[18] Rinuccini employs this structure again for the final chorus of *Euridice,* "Biondo arcier, che d'alto monte," and two other choruses in this work are composed of stanzas of six *versi ottonari.*

In contrast, *ottonari* and multistrophic forms are conspicuously absent from Rinuccini's last major *poesia per musica* before *Dafne:* his *intermedi* for Bargagli's *La Pellegrina,* performed in 1589 for the wedding of Ferdinand de' Medici and Cristina of Lorraine.[19] In the *intermedi* the poet employs exclusively *settenari* and *endecasillabi piani.* These are disposed mostly as *madrigali* of six, seven, eight, or eleven verses, usually ending with the rhymed couplet common in the sixteenth-century *madrigale.* Rinuccini occasionally also employs

quatrains, anticipating the prologues of his *favole* (three of the four quatrains here are rhymed abba, as are those of the later prologues). The final *intermedio* ends with a *canzone* of seven stanzas, each of seven verses arranged aBaBbcC. In all this, Rinuccini is following the practice of the earlier Florentine *intermedi,* from 1565 onwards.[20] Rinuccini continues to follow this practice in the body of *Dafne* (that is, all of the poem except for the prologue and the choral *canzonette*), and this work remains relatively untouched by the metric novelties of Chiabrera. The individual speeches of the protagonists are fashioned of a free alternation of seven- and eleven-syllable *versi piani*; each speech with a rhyme scheme sets itself off from those before and after it.[21] The usual length of these speeches is from three to seven verses in the 1600 version of *Dafne*; many of the longer of these could almost stand alone as *madrigali*:

> Dunque ruvida scorza
> Chiuderà sempre la beltà celeste?
> Lumi, voi che vedeste
> L'alta beltà, che a lagrimar vi sforza,
> Affisatevi pure in questa fronde:
> Qui posa, e qui s'asconde
> Il mio bene, il mio core, il mio tesoro,
> Per cui, ben ch'immortal, languisco e moro.
> — Apollo, scene 6

Or, showing a *canzonetta*-like bounce somewhat reminiscent of Chiabrera:

> S'hai di saper desio
> D'un cieco arcier le prove,
> Chiedilo al Re de l'onde,
> Chiedilo in cielo a Giove,
> E tra l'ombre profonde
> Del regno orrido oscuro
> Chiedi, chiedi a Pluton, s'ei fu sicuro!
> — Amore, scene 2[22]

In *Euridice* and *Arianna,* Rinuccini shows a notable trend away from the jerky stychomythia of parts of *Dafne* toward more measured exchanges. In *Euridice,* this results in the heightened lyricism which led Esteban Arteaga to characterize the work as a "string of dramatic

madrigals rather than a tragedy."[23] Both the lament of Apollo and the invocation of Orpheus, lengthy passages by Rinuccini's standards, are broken down into a series of lyric utterances; each is from eight to twelve verses and has its own rhyme scheme and conceptual content, this confirming the impression of lyricism in Rinuccini's first *favole*. In *Arianna*, on the other hand, the poet reins in his lyric impulses and the slower rate of exchange becomes an element in the tragic decorum of Theseus and Ariadne.[24] But *Arianna* too, of course, finds its climax in lyric effusion. For Ariadne's lament, the format first seen in Apollo's twenty-seven verse complaint in the early version of *Dafne* is expanded into an impassioned outcry against Theseus' infidelity, covering, with choral interjections, some eighty verses.

Rinuccini's poetry has changed considerably from the simple *madrigali* of the *intermedi* of 1589. However, the most important development has taken place in those sections of Rinuccini's *favole* which remained independent of the metric experimentation of Chiabrera.[25] A more fundamental role played by Chiabrera in shaping Rinuccini's *favola* is his part in transmitting the ideas of Sperone Speroni.

Ottavio Rinuccini, in the few of his remarks concerned with dramatic theory which have come down to us, demonstrates an inclination to justify by ancient example the naissant form of the opera. His preface to the 1600 edition of *Euridice,* for example, begins:

> It has been the opinion of many . . . that the ancient Greeks and Romans sang entire tragedies on the stage.[26]

Later in the preface he defends his violation of the unity of place, using the example of Sophocles' *Ajax.* These justifications, however, were bolstered by contemporary authorities; in particular, the concept that ancient tragedy was sung throughout was the favorite premise of the Roman classicist Girolamo Mei, on whom nonresident membership in the Accademia degli Alterati was bestowed in September, 1585.[27] Yet, in the context of late sixteenth century dramatic theory (which, as a member of the Accademia, Rinuccini was assuredly aware), the irregularities of Rinuccini's *favole*–the use of rhyme, the metric variety, the predominance of seven- rather that eleven-syllable verses, and the employment of mythological subjects with deities as principal characters–are puzzling. The guiding force that spurred Rinuccini on to essaying these changes in dramatic format presented himself in the person of Sperone Speroni, whose tragedy *Canace,* written in 1541 or 1542, started one of the largest polemics on dramatic theory of the sixteenth century.[28]

The possibility of a formal link between *Canace* and the early opera texts was recognized already by Giovanni Battista Doni in his *Trattato della musica scenica,* written probably in the mid-1630's:

> We see therefore that these actions are for the most part composed of small verses, usually of seven syllables (which are called *mezzi versi*), either to conform to the opinion of Speroni, who composed his *Canace* in this way and labored in a discourse to show that these verses are more suited to the stage than longer verses, or because they adapt themselves better to the *canzonette,* in which many consider the perfection or theatre music to lie, or because they permit more frequent rhyming [than longer verses].[29]

Speroni's *Canace,* then, would have provided Rinuccini with precedents for three of the elements which set his *favole* most markedly apart from the regular tragedy and pastoral drama of the late sixteenth century. Speroni's tragedy takes its subject, like Rinuccini's *favole,* from Ovid (*Heroides* XI); its principal characters are gods (Aeolus and his son and daughter Macareus and Canace). It is written mostly in *settenari,* with occasional *endecasillabi* and *quinari.* Rinuccini shows a similar mixture of seven- and eleven-syllable verse in the bodies of his *favole,* with other verse lengths in many of the choral *canzonette,* as we have seen. Finally, Speroni employs an irregular rhyme, with frequent unrhymed lines and occasional couplets.[30] In the fourth of his *Lettioni in difesa della Canace,* written around 1558 and published in 1597, he cites Pietro Bembo in support of this use of rhyme:

> Verse without rhyme is neither *grave,* nor *piacevole,* one or the other of which [qualities] should be in all writing, whether it be prose or verse. Thus states Bembo; and I find it to be so: since *gravità* and *piacevolezza* are generated in prose by the sound and harmony of the voices, but in verse, besides this, by the distance and closeness of the rhymes, which should not be farther apart than 7 or 8 verses; and Bembo holds that rhyme is to vernacular poetry as the metric feet are to Latin poetry.[31]

Speroni's use of the terms *gravità* and *piacevolezza,* keywords from Bembo's *Prose della volgar lingua* (1525), finds a distant echo in Jacopo Peri's somewhat hyperbolic praise of Rinuccini's *Euridice:*

> Signor Ottavio Rinuccini, both in the ordering and in the unfolding of such a noble *favola,* adorning it with, besides a thousand graces and a thousand charms, a marvellous union of those two qualities so difficult to unite, *Gravità* and *Dolcezza,* has equalled the most famous Ancients, and shown himself to be in all ways a miraculous poet. . . .[32]

We need not conclude with Enrico Carrara,[33] that the influence came to Rinuccini through Tasso's *Aminta*–which, after all, shows a predominance of *settenari* in only a few passages, does away with Speroni's rhyme, and confines the deities to the prologue, *intermedi,* and epilogue. Rather, Speroni's ideas on drama could well have come to Rinuccini through, again, Chiabrera. In his late teens Chiabrera was placed by his uncle in a Jesuit college in Rome. There he met and was taught by Speroni, in his sixties at the time.[34] Chiabrera expresses his high regard for his master in an elegy, in which he singles out *Canace* and Speroni's defense of it for special mention:

> Certainly the art of forceful persuasion was Speroni's pride and glory. He wrote the tragedy *Canace,* which was closely scrutinized and harshly attacked; but he, defending it, showed himself without doubt to be marvellous beyond measure, since it is true that, reading the tragedy, the reader does not see how he might excuse some of its faults, but hearing the excuses, he confesses that he must commend it in all its parts.[35]

Chiabrera, in contrast to Doni, seems completely won over by Speroni's explanations of his dramatic procedures. In fact, his own tragedy, *Angelica in Ebuda,* published in Florence in 1615, is written very much along the lines of *Canace.* It is composed only of *endecasillabi* and *settenari,* with the latter predominating; even the choral *canzoni* do not break into the *ottonari* which Rinuccini so adeptly borrowed from Chiabrera. The use of rhyme is less regular than in Rinuccini's *favole,* with many unrhymed verses and only occasional rhyming couplets.

Also, Chiabrera extends rhymes across consecutive speeches much more frequently than does Rinuccini. Solerti cites no authority for his labelling this work a *Tragedia per musica;* it is called simply a *Tragedia* in the original edition.[36] We must conclude that Chiabrera has here composed a spoken drama, along the lines taught him by Speroni. In view of Chiabrera's enthusiastic acceptance of Speroni's dramatic techniques, it seems all the more likely that he would have communicated them to Rinuccini; and in doing so, he would have contributed considerably more to the younger poet's dramatic forms than just a number of fresh metric schemes.

One feature of Rinuccini's *Dafne* and *Euridice* not foreshadowed in *Canace* is their utter brevity and simplicity of action.[37] To find mythological dramas of a comparable scope—in actual length and in straightforwardness of dramatic content—we must look back to a group of works of the late fifteenth century, at the head of which stands, of course, Poliziano's *Fabula d'Orfeo* of 1480.[38] The similarities between *Orfeo* and Rinuccini's *Euridice* have long attracted the attention of commentators;[39] they have for almost as long been ascribed to coincidence. And yet Carducci knew of four printed editions of *Orfeo* from 1527 to 1650, and Niccolò da Correggio's *Fabula di Cefalo* of 1486 or 1487, a drama of similar scope and style, saw seven printings by 1553.[40] Rinuccini could easily have known them both.

But the work which shows the most provocative relationship to *Euridice* is the *Orphei tragoedia* of Tebaldeo, which remained in manuscript until its discovery and publication by Ireneo Affò in 1776.[41] Raccamadoro-Ramelli, in his biography and critical study of Rinuccini, cursorily rejects the connection drawn between these two works by F. Meda;[42] the fragmentary presentation of the evidence in both of these treatments, however, demands redress here.

Tebaldeo expands and divides Poliziano's work into a prologue and five short acts. Only in the second act does he begin to diverge markedly from the original. Here he introduces a chorus of Dryads, one of whom announces the death of Euridice, which is then lamented by the whole chorus in the strophic *ballata* "L'aria di pianti s'odi risuonare." Rinuccini, too, uses a strophic refrain structure for the choral lament after Orpheus is told of Euridice's death. The *ripresa* of Tebaldeo's chorus shows marked similarities of content to that of Rinuccini's:

> [Tebaldeo]
> L'aria di pianti s'oda risuonare,
> Che d'ogni luce è priva:

E al nostro lagrimare
Crescano i fiumi al colmo della riva.

[Rinuccini]
Cruda Morte, ahi pur potesti
Oscurar sì dolci lampi:
Sospirate, aure celesti,
Lagrimate, o selve, o campi.[43]

The beginning of Tebaldeo's first strophe is also echoed by Rinuccini:

[Tebaldeo]
Tolto ha morte del cielo il suo splendore;
Oscurita è ogni stella . . .

[Rinuccini]
Cruda Morte, ahi pur potesti
Oscurar sì dolci lampi . . .

and

Fiammeggiar di negre ciglia
Ch'ogni stella oscuri in prova . . .[44]

as is the beginning of Tebaldeo's second strophe:

[Telbadeo]
Ahi spietata fortuna! ahi crudel angue!
Ahi sorte dolorosa!
Come succisa rosa
O come colto giglio, al prato langue.

[Rinuccini]
Quel bel volto almo fiorito,
Dove Amor suo seggio pose,
Pur lasciasti scolorito
Senza gigli e senza rose.[45]

Raccamadoro-Ramelli is not inclined to do more than acknowledge the similarity: "A pedant would be able to find analogous conceits, if not identical phrases–anyway, these *concetti* are motives common to the elegies of all poets."[46] But might we not see here the workings of Rinuccini's "memoria tenace," as Chiabrera put it in his elegy to the

younger poet—that tenacious memory with which he "with sound judgement perceived the best, and gathered the flowers from celebrated compositions"? [47]

A more striking resemblance between Rinuccini's *Euridice* and Tebaldeo's *Orphei tragoedia* occurs in the scene in which Euridice's death is related to Orpheus (act III in Tebaldeo, scene 2 in Rinuccini). Here Rinuccini seems to have borrowed an extended segment of Telbadeo's dramatic framework. Tebaldeo disposes the scene for three characters, Orpheus, a satyr Mnesillo, companion of Orpheus, and a Dryad who announces the "crudel novella." Rinuccini's three analogous characters are Orpheus, the shepherd Arcetro, and Dafne; they are the only characters involved in that part of the scene corresponding to Tebaldeo's act III.[48] After the Dryad/Dafne relates the bitter news, Mnesillo/Arcetro, not Orpheus, is the first to respond. The vast difference in tone of their responses illustrates well the fact that Rinuccini's emotionally heightened style would not admit of textual borrowings in a scene such as this:

> Mnesillo:
> Vedi come dolente
> Si parte quel tapino
> E non risponde per dolor parola.
> In qualche ripa sola
> E lontan dalla gente
> Si dolerà del suo crudo destino,
> Seguir lo voglio per veder la prova
> Se al suo lamento il monte si commova.
>
> Arcetro:
> Che narri, ohimè! che sento?
> Misera Ninfa, e più misero amante,
> Spettacol di miseria e di tormento! [49]

Orpheus' lamenting response follows in both versions; the passages show close structural similarities.[50] The potentially effective dramatic ploy of delaying Orpheus' response, rationalized by Mnesillo in Tebaldeo's work, is used to good advantage by Rinuccini in the first lines of the lament:

> [Poliziano-Tebaldeo]
> Ora piangiamo, o sconsolata lira;

Chè più non ci convien l'usato canto:
Piangiam mentre che'l ciel ne' poli aggira,
E Filomela ceda al nostro pianto.
O cielo, o terra, o mare, o sorte dira!
Come soffrir potrò mai dolor tanto?
Euridice mia bella, o vita mia,
Senza te non convien che al mondo stia.

Andar intendo alle tartaree porte
E provar se là giù mercè s'impetra.
Forse che volgerem la dura sorte
Co' lagrimosi versi, o cara cetra.
Forse ne diverrà pietosa morte;
Che già cantando abbiam mosso una pietra,
La cerva e il tigre insieme abbiam raccolti
E le selve tirate e i fiumi svolti.

[Rinuccini]
Non piango e non sospiro,
O mia cara Euridice,
Chè sospirar, chè lagrimar non posso.
Cadavero infelice,
O mio care, o mia speme, o pace, o vita!
Ohimè! chi mi t'ha tolto,
Chi mi t'ha tolto, ohimè! dove se' gita?
Tosto vedrai ch'in vano
Non chiamasti morendo il tuo consorte.
Non son, non son lontano:
Io vengo, o cara vita, o cara morte.[51]

In both passages, Orpheus is led through a similar emotional development from quiet grief, to impassioned lament, to triumphant resolution. Again, of course, the emotional level is considerably heightened by Rinuccini. After the lament, Mensillo/Arcetro resumes; but while Tebaldeo's Mnesillo muses on the improbability of Orpheus' succeeding in his foolhardy venture and ends the act with a traditional if slightly irrelevant maxim (Nor is it a marvel that he who has taken blind Amor for a master loses the light of day),[52] Rinuccini's Arcetro resumes his own lament. Then, borrowing a motive from Mnesillo's first speech, he decides (for reasons slightly less self-serving than those of his counterpart) to pursue Orpheus (It will be best to follow him, so that he, overcome by excessive grief, may not kill kimself).[53] Thus Rinuccini

seems to borrow the whole of his dramatic format for this episode from Tebaldeo, though he diverges in emotional content; and in Orpheus' lament, even these differing emotional tones show strong psychological similarities.

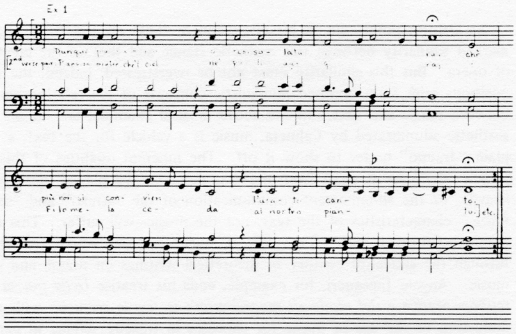
If in fact the *Orphei tragoedia* existed only in manuscript until the late eighteenth century, it is perhaps hardly safe to assume that Rinuccini knew the work. Yet the evidence for some kind of direct or indirect textual relationship between this work and Rinuccini's *Euridice* is certainly suggestive, and calls for further investigation.

We have seen that Rinuccini, while deriving many of the structural features of his *favole* from the Florentine *intermedio* tradition and the metric novelties of Chiabrera, finds authority for their use in a dramatic context in the works of Speroni. And we have seen that he looks back, perhaps directly, to the mythological dramas of the late fifteenth century in his dramatic scope and elements of dramatic format. There are, in short, numerous sources for the elements of Rinuccini's dramaturgy which deviate most markedly from the regular spoken drama of the late *cinquecento*. The poet's most important innovation, however—the epochal revelation which allows us to pinpoint Rinuccini's and Peri's works, for all their precursors, as the beginning of a fundamentally new aspect of the ancient alliance of music and drama—lies in the new relationship between text and music achieved in Rinuccini's *favole affettuose*.

Daniel Heartz has written of musical humanism that it "may be defined by its broad aims of reviving the 'effects' reputedly achieved by the bards and musicians of ancient or legendary times."[54] These "effects," of course, were precisely the arousal of *affetti* in the listener. In this regard, the most evocative of ancient musicians, especially among humanists, was Orpheus. We can do little better, therefore, in attempting to elucidate the decisively new musico-dramatic humanism of Rinuccini and Peri, than to compare two versions of Orpheus' impassioned lament: those of Poliziano and of Rinuccini.

The role of music in the 1480 production of Poliziano's *Orfeo* has been excellently treated by Nino Pirrotta.[55] He concludes that Orpheus, played by the poet and singer Baccio Ugolini, would have sung to his own accompaniment, in addition to the various Latin verses in the work, the four *ottave* after Euridice's death is announced to him.[56] These *strambotti* would have been sung to music setting the first two verses and repeated for each following verse-pair, with more or less alteration to allow proper text declamation, and with some decoration. As an example of the musical style probably used in the singing of this text,

Pirotta gives a *strambotto* setting with text, and, perhaps, music by Ugolini himself.[57] I take the liberty of reproducing this music here, with slight alterations to fit the first verse-pair of Orpheus' lament:



The style shows a beautiful simplicity, each verse blossoming gently from strict chordal declamation to a final modest melisma. This simplicity is in perfect accord with the ideals stressed by the comtemporary writer Vincenzo Calmeta and quoted by Pirrotta:

> In the style of singing Cariteo and Serafino should be imitated, for they have in our time carried away the palm in this exercise, and have forced themselves to accompany rhymes with sustained and simple music, so that the excellence of the thoughtful and clever words might be better perceived, thus showing the judgement of a wise jeweler who, desiring to show off a fine white pearl, will not hold it wrapped in cloth of gold, but in fine black silk, so that it will look better.[58]

Musical expressiveness, *per se*, is secondary to the oratorical skill of the singer:

> Those singers should be esteemed as of highest judgement who put the utmost effort into the clear expression of the words . . . making not the affects and sententiae [the ministers] of the music, but the music the minister of the affects and sententiae.[59]

As Pirrotta points out in his discussion of these quotes, there is a marked similarity between this aesthetic stance and that of the creators of opera. But this similarity must not be overstressed; indeed, the two positions arise from opposed humanistic concepts of the relationship between music and text. In the above musical example, and in the aesthetic adumbrated by Calmeta, music is a vehicle for the text, a plain "drappo" better to show it off. The inherent qualities of this vehicle which set it apart from the text must not be played upon too heavily, or the all-important communication of the "affetti" and "sentenze"—characteristics of the text, not the music—will suffer. This is a common humanist view of the role of music, and one which persists through the sixteenth century in theoretical writings on drama and on music. Angelo Ingegneri, for example, ends his treatise *Della poesia rappresentativa e del modo di rappresentare le favole sceniche* with a discussion of the use of music for choruses in tragedy, saying in part:

> And above all, it seems to me that the words must be so clearly expressed that the audience will hear them all, without losing a single syllable; so that [the spectators] taking in their meaning, which ought to be full of horror and suffering, [this meaning] disposes them to those emotions which are appropriate to tragedy; and finally, from these emotions, they undergo a purgation, the attainment of which is the poet's end.[60]

Here the music has almost no role in the arousal of *affetti.* Other dramatic theorists of the late sixteenth century, for example Nicolò Rossi,[61] and the Florentine and *Accademico Alterato* Lorenzo Giacomini,[62] give more attention to the affective powers of music, but only to the extent of culling from Aristotle, Plato, and Plutarch lists of the "affects" associated with the various modes. But the music remains entirely secondary,

> because the real delight in tragedy derives not from the music or from the representation, but from the artifice of the poet in imitating well the tragic action. . .[63]

Musical humanists of the late sixteenth century, as D. P. Walker has shown,[64] also began with the assumption that the passions were aroused primarily by the concepts expressed in the text. Thus, much of their theorizing on the relation of text and music amounted to attempts to make the text easily audible or to elucidate which of the modern modes corresponded to which of the ancient modes (and hence what effects could be expected from these modes). The theories of two of these scholars, Vincenzo Galilei and Girolamo Mei, must have been especially well known to Rinuccini.

But Rinuccini set out in a different direction. At the outset of the dedication to the 1600 printing of the text of *Euridice,* he makes it perfectly clear that the music of Jacopo Peri is a vindication of modern, rather than a resuscitation of ancient, music:

> It has been the opinion of many, most Christian Queen, that the ancient Greeks and Romans sang entire tragedies on the stage; but such a noble manner of recitation had not until now been revived, or, as far as I know, even attempted by anyone; and this I ascribed to the defects of modern music, much inferior to that of the Ancients. But M. Jacopo Peri disabused me entirely of such thoughts when, hearing the intention of Signor Jacopo Corsi and myself, he set to music with such grace the *favola* of *Dafne* (written by me only to make a simple test of what the music of our age could do) that it was incredibly pleasing to those few who heard it.[65]

Jacopo Peri, in the preface to the musical edition of *Euridice* of 1601, echoes Rinuccini's remarks on the ancient sources for the general concept of musical drama; but as for his particular musical solution he says:

> And so, though I would not want to suggest that this is the [style of] song used in the Greek and Roman *favole,* I believe it to be the only style by which our music can accommodate itself to our speech.[66]

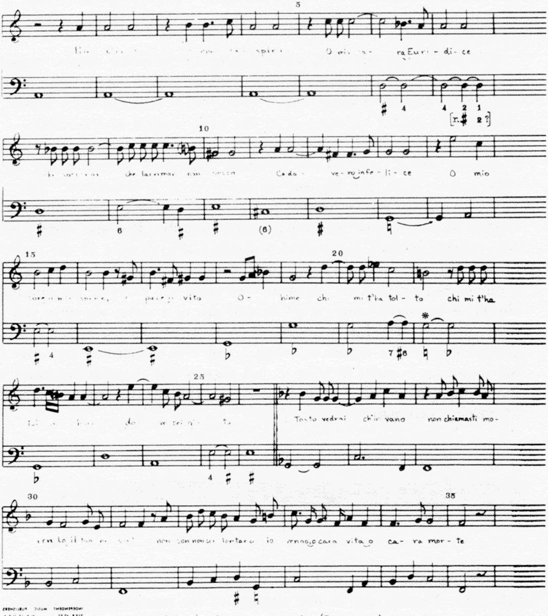
We are entering a new era, an era in which the reconstruction and imitation of ancient models is being tempered by practical experimentation seeking to achieve ancient ends if possible, but more importantly to answer modern needs. The *Siderius Nuncius* of another Florentine, Galileo Galilei, is only ten years off.[67]

The most important innovation of Rinuccini and Peri is concerned as much with the text as with the music. For the first time among Italian humanists experimenting with the combination of poetry and song, the text is removed from its inviolable position and put into a working relationship with the music. The musicality of Rinuccini's poetry derives from a conscious effort of the poet to create a text on the verge of song even before it is given a musical setting: *poesia per musica* in the most active sense. At its worst, this impulse leads the poet into the sing-song metric schemes of Chiabrera, but at its best it allows him to capture the emotional climaxes by which his drama moves forward in a series of lyric gems—"madrigali dramatici," in Arteaga's words—which would almost not admit of spoken recitation. Here is the heart of the *favola affettuosa*. And in the best passages from Peri's *Euridice* and Gagliano's *Dafne* (and certainly in Monteverdi's setting of Ariadne's lament) the composers seize upon this musicality and match it with their own in a merger of poetry and music on even terms.

Let us return now to Orpheus' response to the news of Euridice's death:

Non piango e non sospiro,
O mia cara Euridice,
Chè sospirar, chè lagrimar non posso.
Cadavero infelice,
O mio core, o mia speme, o pace, o vita!
Ohimè! chi mi t'ha tolto,
Chi mi t'ha tolto, ohimè! dove se' gita?
Tosto vedrai ch'in vano
Non chiamasti morendo il tuo consorte.
Non son, non son lontano:
Io vengo, o cara vita, o cara morte.

The psychological development depicted in this passage does not admit of simple recitation, in which the emotional changes would come about too quickly. It demands the expanded treatment of song. Peri's setting of this passage is one of the best moments in his opera (see p. 17). Howard M. Brown has discussed the "continual psychological interpretation" communicated in this passage by the gradual transition from the static harmony and melodic line of the opening, through the faster harmonic rhythms and wider melodic scope of Orpheus' impassioned grief, to the more metrical melodic line and tonally stable harmonies of his

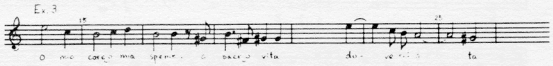


* The sharp before the G in the original edition (Florence, 1600) is clearly a printer's error.

resolution.[68] But the beauties of unified musico-poetic expression in this passage do not end here. The first and third verses, paired by Rinuccini in assonance (a's and o's) against the second and fourth verses (each a → e → i, with rhyme), are also paired by Peri: he gives them both melodic lines which rise hesitantly only to fall exhaustedly,

and he makes the most in both of the caesura (1: after "piango"; 3: after "sospirar"). The analogy is not allowed to become overt, as the increased harmonic motion, building to the growing psychological agitation of the succeeding verses, has already begun in the setting of the third verse.

Peri also brings out these verse pairings by harmonic means, centering the first and third verses around a minor and E major, and second and fourth around D major and G minor-major (note in these latter verses Peri's careful highlighting of the most musical of Rinuccini's elisions, mm.6 and 12). The most severe harmonic opposition here, g minor-E major, becomes the harmonic framework around which the next section, depicting Orpheus' mounting grief, is structured. The verses set in this section (verses 5-7; verse 4 acts as a bridge into the content of this second section) are rhymed DeD. Peri sets verse 5 in two melodic phrases, the second a dejected afterthought to the outburst of the first, and moves quickly to E major. Abruptly he shifts back to g minor, emphasizing the "Ohimè! " of verse 6. Verse 7, the emotional climax of the monologue, is set masterfully to a rising sequence and reversed circle of fifths, returning us to E major and leaving us suspended there. The rhyme of verses 5 and 7 is emphasized not only by the return to E major in verse 7, but also by the melodic highpoint of the monologue, e', reached in both verses, and by the general similarity of melodic material:



The last melodic phrase of this second section is a summary of the first two. Notable also in this segment of the monologue is the disintegration of the neat phrase structure of the first section: Orpheus has recovered from the stunning effect of the news brought to him by Daphne.

The final section (verses 8-11, rhymed fGfG) begins back in g minor but quickly moves to F major. As Orpheus' resolution grows, so do the musical phrases: 2 measures + 3 + 4. By the time we reach verse 10, there is no stopping our hero–and Peri elides two verses for the first and only time in the monologue. Contributing to Orpheus' air of almost exuberant assurance is the assonance of verse 10, which, in

Peri's eighth-note setting, impels us irresistably forward to the final cadence. Yet even in the midst of this exuberance, Peri subtly emphasizes the rhyme of these verses (cf. the fourth-beat cadences, mm.28 and 32., and the more expansive F major cadences, mm.31 and 35).

The union of poetry and music is not always so happy in *Euridice*– but which of us can name an opera which shows no such unevenness? In the best passages, the ideal toward which Rinuccini and Peri were striving is clear. The composer necessarily structured his music after the poetry, but it is poetry which in its rhythmic structure, its rhyme, assonance, and elision, and its lyric content gently driven by dramatic concerns strikes up a unique compromise with music. The particular *stile recitativo* which resulted did not survive long–a victim, one might say, of opera's destiny to mass appeal–but in its brief history it created a rapport between music and words of an intimacy which has seldom been equalled. Returning finally to Benedetto Croce, we read that "Rinuccini deserves to take a position in Italian poetry which, as of yet, he has not been given."[69] We can only agree, and hope that in attaining this new position Rinuccini will lead us to a finer understanding and appreciation of these, the first operas.

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NOTES

1. Melodrama, in the good sense of the word, was outlined in these pastoral dramas, melodrama in which a true human emotion, palpitating at its core, is conveyed in a graceful and slightly decorative style: the art of Metastasio was foreshadowed. And this art, together with a certain resonance of another and by then old-fashioned poetry, Politianesque in character, can be admired in the *drammetti per musica* of Ottavio Rinuccini. Benedetto Croce, *Storia della età barocca in Italia*, (Bari, Italy, 1929), 343.

2. The preface is reprinted in Angelo Solerti's *Le Origini del melodramma* (Turin, 1903), 40-2.

3. Facsimile reprint of the original edition (Rome, 1934), unnumbered pages 2-4.

4. la Euridice, affettuosa e gentillissima favola di Ottavio Rinuccini. The *Descrizione* was published in Florence, 1600. I quote here from Raccamadoro-Ramelli, *Ottavio Rinuccini: Studio biografico e critico* (Fabriano, 1900), 170.

5. Biographical information on Rinuccini from *ibid.*, chapter 1, and from Wilhelm Pfannkuch, article "Rinuccini, Ottavio" in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel, 1949-68), v. 11, columns 543-6.

6. For a clear exposition of the confused issue of the dating of these early performances, see Stuart Reiner, "La Vag'Angioletta (and Others)," *Analecta Musicologica*, XIV (1974), 45.

7. The first versions of *Dafne* survive only in fragments. These fragments are reprinted and discussed by William Porter, "Peri and Corsi's *Dafne*: Some New Discoveries and Observations," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XVIII (1965), 170-96.

8. For a discussion of the revisions entailed in this expansion, see Gary Tomlinson, "Ancora su Ottavio Rinuccini," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XXVIII (1975), 351-6. James H. Moore's edition of Gagliano's *Dafne*, prepared as part of a Master's thesis at the University of California at Los Angeles, has recently been recorded by Musica Pacifica on ABC Command Records.

9. The texts of all of these *favole* are reprinted in Angelo Solerti, *Gli Albori del melodramma* (Milan, 1904), v. 2.

10. On the title-page of the libretto printed in Mantua, 1608. cf. Solerti, *Le Origini*, 235.

11. There are no scene divisions in the original sources of Rinuccini's works. I will follow the scene divisions, for the most part entirely logical, of Solerti, *Gli Albori*.

12. Even the simplicity of the plots of these *favole* was adumbrated in Tasso's *Aminta*. To be sure some of the techniques mentioned, for example, the use of *nunzi*, come to the pastoral drama from the tragedy. Comic elements in the *favole* are rare, and usually not drawn from the techniques of sixteenth-century urban comedy. Examples are to Apollo-Cupid and Venus-Cupid confrontations in *Dafne;* the latter presents a mischievous Cupid much like that of the Prologue to *Aminta*. Another source, the Florentine *intermedi* of the sixteenth century (and the late fifteenth-century *trionfi* out of which they developed), provided Rinuccini with the format of his prologues, eulogies addressed to members of the nobility by gods or allegorical figures.

13. For this and the following information on Chiabrera, see F. L. Mannucci, *La Lirica di Gabriello Chiabrera* (Naples, 1925), 52-3, 123, 249.

14. uomini grandi e ragguardevoli. *Ibid.*, 53.

15. Claude Palisca, "The Alterati of Florence, Pioneers in the Theory of Dramatic Music," in *New Looks at Italian Opera* (New York, 1968), 18, 38.

16. ebbe perpetuamente alloggiamento da' Sigg. Corsi. Chiabrera's six eclogues are songs of mourning on Corsi's death in 1604. Mannucci, *op. cit.*, 68.

17. Ho di più fatto un altro libretto . . . del quale io mando a V.S. une [copia] e prego V.S. e il Sig. Ottavio e il Sig. Corsi . . . di giudicarlo, e dirmene il suo parere. . . *Ibid.*, 123.

18. Letters indicate rhyme scheme, numbers syllable count. Where no numbers are used, capitals indicate eleven-syllable verses, lower-case letters seven-syllable verses. Chiabrera's influence on Rinuccini's metrics has been discussed by numerous commentators, most recently Barbara Russano Hanning in "The Influence of Humanist Thought and Italian Renaissance Poetry on the Formation of Opera" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale, 1969), 293ff. Hanning's thesis reached me too late for discussion in the present essay.

19. These *intermedi* are mostly, though not entirely, works of Rinuccini; other poets involved were Giovanni Bardi and Giovanni Battista Strozzi, both fellow members with Rinuccini of the *Alterati.* In the version of the sixth *intermedio* published with music (1591), which differs from that given in the *Descrizione* of 1589, some of the text is by Laura Guidiccioni. Solerti, *Gli Albori,* 15f.

20. See the text fragments from the *intermedi* of 1565, 1567/8, 1569, and 1579 in Nino Pirrotta, *Li Due Orfei: da Poliziano a Monteverdi* (Turin, 1969), 230f. Those of 1565 and 1569 are works of Giovambattista Cini, while no author is given to us for those of 1567-8; the one text from the 1586 festivities given by Pirrotta (252) is by Palla Rucellai. The predeliction in these texts for seven-line stanzas, either as *canzoni* or *madrigali,* is remarkable. For the *intermedi* of 1586, see Bastiano de' Rossi, *Descrizione del magnificentissimo apparato . . . rappresentata in Firenze . . . 1585.* These *intermedi,* as well as the comedy *L'amico fido* with which they were presented, were given by Giovanni Bardi.

21. Most often these speeches end, like the earlier *madrigali,* with a rhymed couplet. Only in cases of rapid stichomythia does Rinuccini link consecutive speeches by the same character around that of another (for example, verses 103-16, *Dafne*).

22. Thus rough bark will enclose forever your heavenly beauty? Eyes, you who saw this great beauty which now makes you weep, gaze on these branches: here rests, and here is hidden, my heart, my treasure, my all; for whom, though immortal, I languish and die. (Apollo, scene 6)

If you desire the feats of a blind archer to know, ask the king of the waves, ask Jove in heaven, and, in the dark shadows of his horrid and obscure realm, ask Pluto, ask him if he was safe! (Amore, scene 2)

I follow Solerti's edition of Rinuccini's dramatic work, *Gli Albori,* here.

23. filza di madrigali dramatici, piuttosto che una tragedia. From his *Le Rivoluzioni del Teatro musicale italiano* of 1783; quoted from Raccamadoro-Ramelli, *Ottavio Rinuccini,* 166.

24. See especially the exchange between these characters in scene 2, and that between Theseus and his Consigliero in scene 3; this decorum is notably lacking from the scenes involving the always evanescent Cupid. Another bow to contemporary tragedy and pastoral drama is seen in the fact that Rinuccini does not break the various narrations of offstage action in *Dafne* and *Euridice* into lyric "numbers." Rinuccini's use of more highly organized poetic structures in the bodies of *Dafne* and *Euridice* is mainly restricted to set solo songs, treated as such in the musical setting, for Venus in scene 2 of *Dafne* ("Chi da' lacci d'amor," *ottava rima*), Apollo in scene 6 of *Dafne* ("Non curi la mia pianta," *terza rima*), and Orpheus in scene 6 of *Euridice* ("Gioite al canto mio," *terza rima*). The use of *terza rima* for the songs of Apollo and Orpheus, gods frequently associated with pastoral song, probably reflects its frequent use in sixteenth-century eclogues (for example, those of Chiabrera on the death of Corsi).

25. Si suole per esse annoverarlo [Rinuccini] tra gl'imitatori del Chiabrera; ma è giudizio da classificatori e da metrici, perché l'imitatore sapeva fare in modo agile e spontaneo quel che l'imitato (imitatore a sua volta dei melici francesi) aveva fatto assai stentatamente e poco felicemente.
For these reasons [Rinuccini] is often numbered among the imitators of Chiabrera; but this is a judgement worthy of classifiers and verse-counters, for the imitator could do in a spontaneous and agile manner that which the imitated (imitator himself of the French poets) had done with effort and rather infelicitously. Croce, *loc. cit.*

26. È stata opinione di molti . . . che gli antichi Greci e Romani cantassero sulle scene le tragedie intere. . . . Solerti, *Le Origini,* 40.

27. Palisca, "The Alterati . . . ", 18. For activities of this academy during the period in question, see *ibid.,* and Bernard Weinberg, "The Accademia degli Alterati and Literary Taste from 1570-1600," *Italica,* XXXI (1954), 207-14.

28. For a discussion of this polemic, see Bernard Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago, 1963), II, chapter 18.

29. Noi vediamo dunque che queste azioni per la maggior parte si compongono di versetti piccoli, massime settenari, che chiamano mezzi versi, o sia per conformarsi con l'opinione dello Speroni, il quale in tal forma compose la sua *Canace* e con un discorso s'ingegnò di provare che tali versi convengono più alla scena de' lunghi, o pure perchè si adattano meglio alle canzonette, nelle quali molti

pensano che consista la perfezione della musica teatrale, o perchè ricevono la rima più frequente. Solerti reprints excerpts of this work in *Le Origini,* 195-228. My quote: 206.

Some 250 years later, in his discussion of Rinuccini's *favole,* Enrico Carrara called attention again to the relationship, but with the warning:

> chi accennò . . . alla derivazione dalla "Canace," se non disse cosa esatta, intuì però l'influsso mediato che questa ebbe sul melodramma attraverso l'esempio dello "Aminta."

he who hinted at the derivation from *Canace,* if not wholly correct, sensed at least the mediated influence that this play exerted on the melodrama through the example of *Aminta. La Poesia Pastorale* (Milan, n.d.), 380. The relationship of *Aminta* and *Canace*, mainly in their use of *settenari,* is discussed on p. 334, and also has an early precedent: Angelo Ingegneri in his *Della poesia rappresentativa* (Ferrara, 1598), 2. Solerti also mentions the *Canace* connection, but only with regard to the *tragedie per musica,* following Rinuccini's *Arianna,* along the lines of the *Andromeda* of Ridolfo Campeggi (1610).

30. Speroni does not employ separate rhyme schemes in each succeeding speech, as does Rinuccini.

31. [il] verso senza rima non sia nè grave, nè piacevole, della qual cosa ò l'uno, ò l'altra vuol'essere nella scrittura, ò prosa, ò verso, che sia. Così dice il Bembo; ciò provo perciòche la gravità, & la piacevolezza, nella prosa si genera dal concento, & dall'armonia delle voci, ma nel verso, oltre a ciò, dalla lontananza & vicinità delle rime, le quali non vogliono essere piu lontane, che sette, ò otto versi l'una dall'altra, & vuole il Bembo, che tal sia la rima al volgare, quali i suoi piedi al Latino. *Canace Tragedia del Sig. Sperone Speroni alla quale sono aggiunte Alcune altre sue Compositioni* . . . . (Venice, 1597), 226-7.

32. il Signor Ottavio Rinuccini, e nell'ordinar', e nello spiegar sì nobil favola, adornandola tra mille grazie, e mille vaghezze, con maravigliosa unione di quelle due, che si difficilmente s'accompagnano Gravità, e Dolcezza; ha dimostrato d'esser' al par, de' piu famosi Antichi, Poeta in ogni parte mirabile . . . . *Le Musiche,* unnumbered page 2.

33. See footnote 29.

34. Speroni died at the age of eighty-eight in 1588. The information on Chiabrera is from the *Dizionario Enciclopedico della Letteratura Italiana,* v. 2, 29.

35. Certamente l'arte del persuadere con ogni fortezza fu pregio di Sperone e gloria. Compose la tragedia *Canace,* ed ella fu sottilmente esaminata ed acerbamente ripresa, ma egli, difendendola, fecesi maravigliosо fuor di misura senza dubbio; perciocchè è vero che leggendosi la tragedia non scorge il lettore come il alcune parti possa scusarla, ma sentendo le scuse, confessa che in ogni parte è costretto di commendarla. *Opere di Gabriello Chiabrera e di Fulvio Testi* (Milan, 1834), 365.

36. Cf. Solerti, *Gli Albori*, v. 3, 6.

37. Some figures: *Dafne* is 445 verses long in its version of 1600, 590 in that of 1608: *Euridice* is 814 verses long. This compares with *Canace* at approximately 2000 verses, *Aminta* at 2194 (including prologue, *intermedi*, and epilogue), and *Pastor fido* at 6857. In *Arianna* and *Narciso*, Rinuccini's format is expanded to, respectively, 1115 and 1205 verses.

38. For a justification of the term *fabula* instead of *festa*, see Pirrotta, *Li Due Orfei*, 22. I have been able to consult, outside of *Orfeo*, only Niccolò da Correggio's *Fabula di Cefalo*, and the *Orphei tragoedia*, a *rifacimento* of *Orfeo* probably by Antonio Tebaldeo. This work, long accepted as Poliziano's own reworked version because of its adoption of some exterior features of classical drama, is dated by Pirrotta before 1486 (see page 64). The lengths of these works are: *Orfeo*, 406 verses, *Orphei tragoedia*, 426 verses, and *Cefalo*, 1054 verses.

39. At least since F. Meda's comparison of the two works in the *Gazzetta musicale* of Milan, 1894, 26-34. His *Orfeo* was actually the *Orphei tragoedia*, still thought to be Poliziano's work.

40. Carducci's figures are quoted from Raccamadoro-Ramelli, *Ottavio Rinuccini*, 162-3. Those on *Cefalo* are from Niccolò da Correggio, *Opere* (Bari, 1969), ed. A. T. Benvenuti, 509.

41. Bruno Maier, "Agnolo Poliziano," in *Letteratura Italiana: I Maggiori* (Milan, 1956), v. 2:1, 291.

42. See note 45.

43. The air, deprived of all light, resounds with laments, and from our tears the streams overrun their banks.

    Cruel Death, ah! that even you could darken such sweet eyes: sigh heavenly ethers, weep oh woods, oh fields.

44. Death has taken from the sky its splendor; the stars are darkened . . .

    Cruel Death, ah! that even you could darken such sweet eyes . . .

    The shining of her dark brow, which in comparison obscures every star . . . .

45. Ah pitiless fortune! Ah cruel viper! Ah sad fate! Like a cut rose or plucked lily on the meadow she lies.

    That lovely visage, vital and flowered, where Amor held court, you left pale, without lilies and without roses.

46. Un pedante potrebbe trovare analogia di concetto, se non identità di frasi . . . motivi comuni a tutte le elegie de' poeti." Raccamadoro-Ramelli, *Ottavio Rinuccini*, 164.

47. con saldo giudizio scorgeva il migliore, ed il fiore coglieva di celebrati componimenti. Quoted from Chiabrera's elegy on Rinuccini, *Opere,* 367. The *ripresa* of Rinuccini's next refrain chorus, that added to *Dafne* in 1608 (scene 5), again shows a striking resemblance to a passage from Tebaldeo's chorus:

[Rinuccini]
Piangete, ninfe, a con voi piango Amore.
[Tebaldeo]
Or piango nosco Amore:
Piangete, selve e fonti,
Piangete, monti . . .

But here Rinuccini was undoubtedly remembering Petrarch's sonnet *Piangete, donne, e con voi pianga Amore* (*Canzoniere,* XCII).

48. Neither Virgil's fourth *Georgic* nor Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Books X and XI), the two versions of the Orpheus myth known to Poliziano and presumably to Tebaldeo, gives any specific hint towards the dramatic handling of this portion of the action. Rinuccini, incidentally, may only have availed himself of the Ovidian version in the structuring of his *favola*–he makes no mention of Aristaeus, whose role in Euridice's death is central to Virgil's account.

49. See how sadly the wretched man leaves, saying nothing in his misery. In some lonely meadow, far from all intruders, he will lament his cruel destiny. I would follow him to see the proof; if at his laments the mountain is moved.
What are you saying? alas, what do I hear? Wretched nymph, and more wretched lover, spectacle of misery and torment.

50. Tebaldeo here follows Poliziano quite closely.

51. Now let us weep, oh disconsolate lyre, for our usual song suits us no longer: let us weep, while the heaven turns about its poles, and Philomela cedes to our plaint. Oh heavens, oh earth, oh sea, oh unhappy fortune! How may I such sorrow suffer? My beautiful Euridice, oh my life, without you I cannot remain on this earth. I will go to the Tartarean gates, and see if mercy there can prevail. Perhaps we will reverse this harsh fate with tearful verses, oh beloved lyre. Perhaps Death will take pity; for already with our singing we have moved a stone, drawn together the tiger and the hind, uprooted the woods and reversed the rivers.

I weep not, and I sigh not, my beloved Euridice, because I cannot weep or sigh. Unlucky corpse, oh my beloved, oh my hope, oh peace, oh life! Alas! who has taken you from me, who has taken you from me, alas! where have you gone? Soon will you see that no in vain did you call, dying, your husband. I am not, I am not far: I come, oh beloved life, oh beloved death.

52. Nè meraviglia è se perde la luce/Costui che'l cieco Amor preso ha per duce.

53. Fia più senno il seguirlo, a ciò non vinto/Da soverchio dolor sè stesso uccida.

54. "The chanson in the Humanist Era," article to be published in 1976.

55. *Li Due Orfei,* chapter 1, *passim.*

56. In *Stanze per la Giostra–Orfeo–Rime* (Novara, 1968), ed. Bruno Maier, verses 201-32.

57. *Li Due Orfei,* 45-6.

58. nel modo di cantare deveno Cariteo e Serafino imitare, i quali a' nostri tempi hanno di simile essercizio portata la palma, e sonosi sforzati d'accompagnar le rime con musica stesa e piana, acciocché meglio la eccellenza delle sentenziose e argute parole si potesse intendere, avendo quel giudicio che suole avere un accorto gioielliero, il quale, avendo a mostrare una finissima e candida perla, non in drappo d'oro la tenerà involta, ma in qualche nero zendado, a ciò che meglio possa comparire. *Ibid.,* 37.

59. sono da essere essistimati di sommo giudicio coloro che cantando mettono tutto lo sforzo in esprimer bene le parole . . . facendo non gli affetti e le sentenze della musica, ma la musica delle sentenze e degli affetti esser ministra. *Ibid.,* 38.

60. Et sopratutto, [a me pare] che le parole sieno così chiaramente esplicate, ch'il Theatro le intenda tutte, senza perderne una minima sillaba; sì che ricevend'egli nell'animo la sentenza loro, che deve essere horribile, & miserabile, ei si vada disponendo à quegli affetti, che sono propi [sic] del Tragico: & alla fine, per mezzo loro, ne riceva la purgatione, ch'il Poeta s'è proposto di conseguire. Ferrara, 1598. My quote: 84.

61. In his *Discorsi intorno alla Tragedia,* 1590. Modern ed. in *Trattati di poetica e retorica del Cinquecento* (Bari, 1970), ed. Bernard Weinberg, IV, 59-120.

62. "Sopra la Purgazione della Tragedia," lecture read to the Alterati in 1586. In *Raccolta di prose fiorentine* (Florence, 1729), v. 2:4, 212-50.

63. perché il proprio diletto della tragedia non si trae dalla musica, né dalla rappresentazione, ma dall'artificio del poeta in imitar bene la azione tragico . . . Rossi, *Discorsi,* 104.

64. In his still valuable series of articles: "Musical Humanism in the 16th and Early 17th Centuries," *The Music Review,* II (1941), 1, 111, 220, 288, and III (1942), 55.

65. È stata opinione di molti, Cristianissima Regina, che gli antichi Greci e Romani cantassero sulle scene le tragedie intere; ma sì nobil maniera di recitare nonchè rinnovata, ma nè pur, che io sappia, fin qui era stata tentata da alcuno, e ciò mi credev'io per difetto della musica moderna, di gran lunga all'antica inferiore. Ma pensiero sì fatto mi tolse interamente dall'animo M. Jacopo Peri: quando, udito l'intenzione del signor Jacopo Corsi e mia, mise con tanta grazia sotto le note la favola di *Dafne* (composta de me, solo per fare una semplice prova di

quello che potesse il canto dell'età nostra) che incredibilmente piacque a quei pochi che l'udirono. Solerti, *Le Origini*, 40.

66. E però, (sì come io non ardirei affermare questo essere il canto nelle Greche, e nelle Romane favole usato), così ho [lo] creduto esser quello, che solo possa donarcisi dalla nostra Musica, per accomodarsi alla nostra favella. Facsimile ed., unnumbered page 3.

67. This trend is also seen in the growing number of dramatic theorists, Guarini only the most famous among them, who seek to accomodate Aristotelian principles to modern practices, rather than attempting to shape modern practices after Aristotelian principles.

68. "How Opera Began: An Introduction to Jacopo Peri's *Euridice* (1600)," in *The Late Italian Renaissance* (New York, 1970), 401-43, esp. 440-3.

69. Il Rinuccini merita de prendere nella poesia italiana quel posto che finora non gli è stato dato. Croce, *Loc. cit.*

Theatre. From the "Terence" of Trechsel (Lyons, 1493)