

## Introduction

In the summer of 1662, Cavalli's operatic career was at its zenith. The two dozen operas he had written for the theaters of Venice had been heard and admired by visitors from around the world and had helped establish Venice as the world's first operatic superpower. Cavalli had been commissioned to write operas for the courts of Milan and Florence, and most importantly, he had been summoned to Paris by Cardinal Mazarin to compose a monumental opera for the wedding of Louis XIV (*Ercole amante*). Although the French were rather cool about Cavalli's music, the whole episode won the composer international fame, sacks of French gold, and a diamond ring – a gift from the king. The sixty-year-old composer returned to Venice intending to retire from the opera business.<sup>1</sup> But he was soon persuaded to carry on, and ultimately completed six more operas before his death in 1676.

*Scipione Africano*, which received its premiere in Venice in 1664, is the first in this series of late works, and ultimately became one of Cavalli's most successful compositions. In a culture where new works were prized over familiar ones, *Scipione Africano* stands out as one of the few operas written before 1670 that outlasted its premiere season. Alongside a handful of other Cavalli operas, *Scipione Africano* led the way as Venetian opera spread from city to city, establishing the tradition of operatic performance that remains to this day. The 1671 Rome revival of *Scipione* was a particular high point. Not only did it inaugurate Rome's first public opera house – the famous Teatro Tordinona – but it also launched the career of one of the century's most celebrated singers, Giovanni Francesco Grossi, who was so successful in the role of Siface that he took this as his stage name.<sup>2</sup> Manuscript scores and favorite arias from *Scipione Africano* were collected by aristocrats throughout Europe, and for this opera Cavalli was praised after his death as “un chiarissimo Apollo.”<sup>3</sup>

Our historical protagonist, Publius Cornelius Scipio\* (236–183 BCE), has been described as “the greatest general in all antiquity”; he was the hero of the Second Punic War.<sup>4</sup> His defeat of Carthage in 202 BCE secured Roman dominion over Spain and northern Africa and earned him the honorary agnomen “Africanus.” Scipio was renowned for his fairness, clemency, and sense of moral re-

sponsibility. His life was full of action ripe for development on the operatic stage: epic battles, the decisive burning of the Carthaginian fleet, gladiator contests, and a magnificent “triumph” – the parade through the streets of Rome featuring carts laden with spoils of war, exotic animals from distant lands, prisoners in chains, and Scipio himself crowned in laurels at the head of his army. Historical accounts of Scipio's life also include some superb human drama. The *dramatis personae* include the beautiful Carthaginian princess Sophonisba, who chose to drink poison rather than go to Rome as Scipio's prisoner; her husband Syphax, king of East Numidia, who died in captivity on the way to Rome; the West Numidian prince Masinissa, whose attempts to rescue his beloved Sophonisba ultimately brought about her death; and an anonymous female captive, whom Scipio nobly declined to bed once he learned that she was engaged to be married.

Cavalli's collaborator, Nicolò Minato, wove these episodes together in a way that capitalizes on this dramatic potential. The love triangle between Siface, Sofonisba, and Massanissa abounds with tender and poignant moments. The second love triangle – between Scipione, the female captive (Ericlea), and her fiancé (Luceio) – provides a foil for the first: we lie in wait for the ever-so-virtuous Scipione to succumb to his attraction to Ericlea, and chuckle at the layers of deception that Ericlea and Luceio weave as they test each other's fidelity. Yet Minato's libretto is more than just a love story: much of the opera can be seen as a dissertation on the themes of virtue vs. temptation, free will vs. forceful coercion, and liberty vs. slavery. The last topic is particularly charged for us today: for a modern audience, an opera about a white imperialist power subjugating another culture raises innumerable questions. *Scipione Africano* allows us to view these issues from multiple perspectives, and ponder the bitter irony that one of the singers for the premiere was, in fact, a black slave.

In setting Minato's libretto, Cavalli drew upon the lyrical gifts that had won him fame in the 1640s and 1650s – and that have made operas like *La Calisto* and *Giasone* so popular today. The role of Siface, for instance, shares a type of mellifluous poignancy with that of Endimione in *La Calisto*. Yet in other ways Cavalli was reinventing himself in this work. As the first opera he wrote after returning

\* N.B. To differentiate between historical characters and those in the opera, the Italian name will be used for the latter (e.g. Scipione) and the Anglicized equivalent for the former (e.g. Scipio). The English translation of the libretto also uses the Anglicized forms of the names.

1 See Jennifer Williams Brown, “Il ritorno di Cavalli in patria: Francesco Cavalli's Trip to Paris and the Composition of *Scipione Africano* (Venice, 1664),” Venetian Center for Baroque Music, [www.vcbm/research](http://www.vcbm/research), 2014.

2 *Grove Music Online*, s.v. “Siface,” by Michael Tilmouth, et al., accessed 29 January 2012, <http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com.cat.lib.grinnell.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/11826>.

3 [Tebaldo Fattorini], preface to Nicolò Minato, *Scipione Africano* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1678), 6.

4 Richard A. Gabriel, *Scipio Africanus: Rome's Greatest General* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2008), xvi.

from France, *Scipione Africano* shows the composer embracing certain aspects of French style. We also find him responding to musical changes that, in the 1660s, were rapidly altering the face of Italian opera: the growing dominance of the aria, a clearer sense of aria organization, increased engagement between voice and instruments, and techniques for spinning out melodic ideas. By the end of his life Cavalli lost favor with the public: his last two operas were cancelled, and younger composers called in to rewrite them. Yet the overwhelming success of *Scipione Africano* shows that, in the 1660s, Cavalli was still very much the leading composer of Venetian opera.

## The Musical Edition

Although a facsimile of the Venice manuscript (V) of *Scipione Africano* was published in 1978,<sup>5</sup> no modern edition has been available until now. Thus the “Cavalli revival” of recent decades has largely bypassed this opera.<sup>6</sup> The first goal of this edition, therefore, is a practical one: to develop a clear and coherent version of the opera suited to the needs of both professional and student performers, and in so doing, enable modern audiences finally to hear and see this magnificent opera.

Such a task is never easy, yet this case poses particular challenges. In fact, there is a good reason why no modern edition of *Scipione Africano* has yet been published: the primary musical source (V) is not performable without editorial intervention. As the only surviving source of *Scipione Africano* with a known connection to the composer, V is obviously central to any musical edition. This immaculate manuscript score was copied by a professional scribe and was proofread by Cavalli himself. For these reasons, one might be tempted to infer that the contents of the score are similarly immaculate – or at least that it presents a version of the opera that we might comfortably adopt for performance and study today. And given the loss of all autograph and performance materials from the opera’s premiere, the incentive to accept V, more or less at face value, is high.

Yet we must beware of such temptations: close study of V reveals that the musical text is full of errors, contradictions, and puzzles. Cavalli’s proofreading was fairly rudimentary: he marked only a handful of spots, and let slide numerous musical problems. The most obvious of these are inconsistencies in the clef and register of three major roles: Siface’s role is notated for mezzo-soprano in Acts I–II, but alto in Act III; Lesbo’s music is notated for baritone in the first two acts, but for alto in Act III, and Massanissa’s role appears to change from baritone to bass to tenor. This phenomenon, widespread in sources of seventeenth-century opera, is one that I have elsewhere called “the Gelone Problem,” since it afflicts the prominent role of Gelone in Cesti’s *Oronthea*.<sup>7</sup> The clef anomalies in V

provide a clear indication that there were numerous changes of cast – and voice type – in the early history of this opera, and strongly suggest that V represents a fusion of multiple states of Cavalli’s music.<sup>8</sup> They also suggest that Cavalli’s aim in having this score professionally copied did not include establishing an accurate, performable text of the opera, whether the “composer’s original version,” his “premiere version,” or even his “definitive version.”

In any case, concepts such as the “composer’s original version” have limited relevance for opera in the seventeenth century – or, indeed, any period. Composing and producing an opera has never been a tidy process. These works were generally in a continual state of flux, constantly responding to the needs and desires of singers, impresarios, and audiences. For many opera lovers, this very messiness – the backstage negotiations, disasters, and last-minute solutions – is an endless source of fascination. We will never know exactly what composers and librettists were thinking as they went about staging an opera, yet studying the results of their decisions – the revisions they made to the drama and the music – can reveal much about the creative process. For instance, as I have described elsewhere, studying the physical features of the *Calisto* manuscript – a messy production score full of revisions in Cavalli’s hand – permits us to watch the composer and his team negotiate the vicissitudes of *Calisto*’s difficult premiere season.<sup>9</sup> Similar revisions can be found in a few other Cavalli scores, notably *Artemisia*, *Xerse*, *Veremonda*, and *Ercole amante*.<sup>10</sup>

Rarely, however, does this sort of “insider information” come down to us today. Most surviving sources of seventeenth-century opera are “public” ones, i. e. printed libretti and neat manuscript scores prepared for audience members, patrons, and collectors. Cavalli was one such collector: his apparent aim in having *Scipione Africano* and other scores recopied was to assemble his complete operatic works for his personal library.<sup>11</sup> And although Cavalli’s complete works project was exceptional for his time, the essential problem it poses for us is not: the very neatness of these manuscript scores draws a curtain over our understanding of the messy backstage negotiations that brought each opera to life. We are left, then, with an inherent contradiction between a highly fluid performance tradition on the one hand, and on the other, a written tradition that appears to freeze the musical text of most operas in a flourish of beautiful calligraphy.

There is, I believe, a solution to this problem. In point of fact, the very errors and inconsistencies that make V problematic in one respect make it a gold mine in another. These anomalies can help us reconstruct, in part, the lost, messy originals from which this score was copied. In effect, the anomalies can serve like tiny gaps in the curtain, affording occasional glimpses of what was going on backstage, and helping us to reconstruct, if imperfectly, the complicated musical genesis of *Scipione Africano*.

5 Francesco Cavalli, *Scipione Africano, Italian Opera 1640–1770*, ed. Howard Mayer Brown (New York: Garland Publishing, 1978).

6 To my knowledge, *Scipione Africano* has been staged only twice since the seventeenth century. In 2010, a preliminary version of the present edition was produced by the Yale Baroque Opera Project, directed by Grant Herreid and Toni Dorfman. An unknown edition was produced by pazzaCaglia Opera (Saarbrücken, 2002); see *Scipione Africano: Drama per Musica (1664) von Nicolò Minato und Francesco Cavalli*, ed. Johannes Loescher (Saarbrücken: Pfau, 2002). Selections from the present edition were performed at the International Musicological Society meeting in Rome, 2012 (dir. Andrea Damiani and Sara Mingardo) and by the Grinnell College Collegium Musicum in 2011.

7 Jennifer Williams Brown, “Innsbruck, ich muss dich lassen: Cesti, *Oronthea*, and the Gelone Problem,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 12, no. 3 (2001), 179–217.

8 I strongly disagree with Álvaro Torrente’s claim that such roles were intended to be performed as notated. See “Decoding the sources” below.

9 See Francesco Cavalli, *La Calisto*, ed. Jennifer Williams Brown (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2007), xxiii–xxvii and Appendix 1.

10 See the following volumes in this series: *Artemisia*, ed. Hendrik Schulze and Sara Elisa Stangalino (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2013); *Il Xerse*, ed. Hendrik Schulze and Sara Elisa Stangalino (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2020); *Veremonda*, ed. Wendy Heller and Valeria Conti (in preparation); and *Ercole amante*, ed. Álvaro Torrente and Nicola Badolato (in preparation).

11 Peter Jeffery called this initiative Cavalli’s “great recopying effort.” See Peter Grant Jeffery, “The Autograph Manuscripts of Francesco Cavalli” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1980), 121. For additional information about the sixteen surviving manuscripts from this project, as well as the remaining fourteen opera manuscripts prepared under Cavalli’s direction, see Jennifer Williams Brown, “Inside Cavalli’s Workshop: Copies and Copyists,” in *Readying Cavalli’s Operas for the Stage: Manuscript, Edition, Production*, ed. Ellen Rosand (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), 57–93.

## ATTO PRIMO

### SCENA I

*Anfiteatro fuori della città.*

SCIPIONE *assiso in luoco eminente, CATONE, Capitani e Soldati di Scipione, Coro di musici, di stromenti, di popolo.*

CORO Viva, viva Scipione, e viva, viva.  
SCIPIONE Vinse 'l Fato latino, ed esser volle  
de' romani trionfi  
parziale 'l Destino: omai d'allori  
5 Cartago è impoverita, Affrica è priva.  
CORO Viva, viva Scipione, e viva, viva.  
CATONE Signor, sei fatto un folgore di Marte  
né mai vibri l'acciaro  
ch'al lampo di tua spada  
10 non tremi un regno o una città non cada.  
SCIPIONE Le vittorie del Tebro  
il Fato le comanda,  
la Fortuna le deve:  
altro non fa chi a guerreggiar s'accinge  
15 per l'Impero romano  
che ai doni del Destin stender la mano.

### SCENA II

*Coro di gladiatori, SCIPIONE, CATONE, Musici, Stromenti, Capitani, Soldati, Popolo.*

CAPITANO Ecco pronto lo stuol de' gladiatori  
ad essibir, insanamente forti,  
spontanee stragi e volontarie morti.  
*Al suono di vari stromenti li gladiatori  
girano l'anfiteatro gettando in aria g'elmi  
e laste in forma di gioco.*  
20 CATONE Tal de' Quiriti<sup>12</sup> ne' trionfi<sup>13</sup> è l'uso, <A Scipione.>  
e s'hai come Roman pugnato e vinto,  
a Cartagine estrano  
non sembri ne' trofei l'uso romano.<sup>14</sup>  
25 MUSICI (coro I) Con la zampa Eto e Piroo<sup>15</sup>  
ogni nube scacci e franga,  
e da l'Indo al lito Eoo<sup>16</sup>  
tutto raggi 'l ciel rimanga.

12 Da *Quirites*, appellativo che, secondo Livio e Plutarco, i romani attribuivano a sé stessi. Il popolo romano nasceva dalla fusione della tribù dei Sabini che occupavano il Quirinale, e devoti al dio Quirino, con i Latini, congiuntisi ai Sabini soltanto dopo duri scontri. È tra gli episodi più noti il celebre "Ratto delle Sabine".

13 Il Trionfo era il massimo onore che nell'antica Roma veniva tributato al generale che avesse riportato una grande vittoria. Il corteo era formato dalle truppe vittoriose capeggiate dal carro del *Triumphator* che, regalmente abbigliato, entrava in Roma attraverso la *porta triumphalis* e procedeva in città con l'esercito. Davanti al carro sfilavano i nemici prigionieri. Cfr. Stangalino, *I drammi eroici veneziani*, p. 107.

14 Catone giustifica le celebrazioni trionfali di Scipione a Cartagine; il trionfo completo avverrà a Roma (come è chiaro altrove nel libretto). I giochi celebrativi dei gladiatori qui menzionati si sono effettivamente svolti dopo la conquista di Cartagine Nuova in Spagna da parte di Scipione (Livio 28.21).

15 Nomi di due dei quattro cavalli che trainavano il carro del Sole. Erano: Eòo, Eto, Flegonte e Piròo.

16 Nella mitologia greca Eos è la divinità dell'alba, quindi il "lito Eoo" è la costa più orientale.

## ACT ONE

### SCENE I

*Amphitheatre outside the city.*

SCIPIO *seated in a prominent position, CATO, Captains and Soldiers of Scipio, Chorus of singers, Chorus of instruments, Chorus of people.*

CHORUS Long live Scipio!  
SCIPIO The Fate of the Latin people has been victorious,  
and Destiny prefers to favor  
Roman triumphs. Now Carthage  
has lost the laurel wreath, Africa is defeated.  
CHORUS Long live Scipio!  
CATO My lord, you have become Mars's lightning bolt;  
let no blade ever strike,  
lest by the light of your sword  
a kingdom might tremble, a city might fall.  
SCIPIO Fate dictates  
the victories of the Tiber,  
Fortune rewards them.  
He who arms himself  
to fight for Rome has only  
to reach out his hand and take the gifts of Destiny.

### SCENE II

*Chorus of gladiators, SCIPIO, CATO, Singers, Instruments, Captains, Soldiers, People.*

CAPTAIN Behold the band of gladiators,  
wildly strong, ready to demonstrate  
spontaneous wounds and voluntary death.  
*At the sound of various instruments, the gladiators  
circle the amphitheatre tossing their helmets and  
lances in the air in the manner of a military exercise.*  
CATO This is the custom for a Roman<sup>12</sup> triumph,<sup>13</sup> <To Scipio.>  
and since you have fought and won as a Roman,  
let Roman victory celebrations  
not seem strange in Carthage.<sup>14</sup>  
SINGERS (chorus I) "With their hooves, let Aethon and Pyrios<sup>15</sup>  
"disperse and dispel every cloud,  
"and, from the Indus to the shores of Eos<sup>16</sup>  
"let the sky show nothing but sunshine.

12 *Quirites*, name that, according to Livy and Plutarch, the Romans called themselves. The Roman people descend from a union of the Sabine tribes, who lived on the Quirinal Hill and worshipped the god Quirinus, and the Latins, who were conjoined with the Sabines only after difficult conflicts. The best-known of these is the famous "Rape of the Sabine Women."

13 A triumph was the greatest honor that Ancient Rome awarded to a general who had won a great victory. The parade was formed by the victorious soldiers led by the chariot of the *Triumphator* who, regally dressed, entered Rome through the triumphal arch and proceeded through the city with his army. Before the chariot were paraded the enemy prisoners. See Stangalino, *I drammi eroici veneziani*, 107.

14 Cato is trying to justify holding a preview of Scipio's triumph celebrations in Carthage; the full triumph will occur in Rome (as is clear elsewhere in the libretto). Historically speaking, the celebratory gladiator games referred to here actually took place after Scipio's conquest of New Carthage in Spain (Livy 28.21).

15 Aethon and Pyrios: names of two of the four horses that drew the chariot of the sun god (Helios or Apollo). The other two are Aeos and Phlegon.

16 Eos: Greek goddess of the dawn, thus the "lito Eoo" is the easternmost shore.

*Si replica il suono delli stromenti,  
e li gladiatori girano di nuovo il teatro.*

30 MUSICI (*coro II*) L'inquièto suo tridente  
lasci 'n pace 'l Nume ondosò,<sup>17</sup>  
ed in giorno sì ridente  
abbia Teti<sup>18</sup> un bel riposo.  
*Datosi con le trombe il segno della  
pugna, segue il gioco de' gladiatori.*

35 POPOLO (*coro I*) Ferite, uccidete,  
no, no, non temete,  
mostrando valore  
con gloria si more.

POPOLO (*coro II*) Feroci pugnate,  
severi svenate,  
ch'un animo forte  
disprezza la morte.  
*Li gladiatori resteranno parte estinti  
parte feriti, cedendo l'armi alli vincitori.*

40 CAPITANO Del domator dell'Africa superba  
rimbombi eterno il nome  
dal Gange insin là dove Atlante arriva.<sup>19</sup>

CORO Viva, viva Scipione ecc.  
*«Partono gladiatori vivi e morti,  
coro di musici e stromenti.»*

### SCENA III

*ERICLEA levando alcune catene di mano ad alcuni soldati,  
SCIPIONE, CATONE, Soldati, Capitani, Popolo.*

45 ERICLEA Temerari, cessate,  
porgetemi quei ferri. Al gran Scipione  
di condurmi cattiva  
altri a sé non ascrivà.  
*Va dinanzi a Scipione.*

50 Duce invitto di Roma,  
trionfator de' più feroci regni,  
soggiogasti Cartago: anch'io soggetta  
ne la caduta universal ti sono,  
ma con arbitrio incerto  
cesser gl'altri a la forza, io cedo al merto.  
Ebbi a disdegno, acconsentendo ai nodi,<sup>20</sup>  
dar di mia prigionia vanto a costoro.

55 Di spontaneo servaggio  
io pretendo la palma:  
ecco i ferri, ecco 'l piede, eccoti l'alma.  
(Che sirena amorosa!)

60 SCIPIONE Gettinsi le catene, il piè risorga,  
l'anima generosa  
cor discortese nel mio sen non scorga.  
Ma se non t'è molesto,  
dammi de l'esser tuo qualche contezza.  
(Che tormento de l'alme è la bellezza!)

65 ERICLEA Nacqui cartaginese; il padre e gl'avi  
quivi regnaro, infin che d'anni gravi  
cessero al Fato. Al prencipe Luceio,

17 Ossia Nettuno, il dio del mare.

18 Teti era una ninfa del mare che aveva il potere di assumere svariate terrificanti forme.

19 Ossia dal punto più orientale conosciuto al punto più occidentale conosciuto.

20 Ossia catene.

*The instruments play again, and the  
gladiators circle the theatre again.*

SINGERS (*chorus II*) Let the god of the sea<sup>17</sup>  
leave his restless trident in peace,  
and on such a happy day  
let Thetis<sup>18</sup> sleep well.  
*After the sign for the fight has been given on  
the trumpets, the gladiator contest follows.*

PEOPLE (*chorus I*) "Wound, kill!  
"No, no, do not fear!  
"He who shows valor  
"dies with glory.

PEOPLE (*chorus II*) "Fight, o fierce ones!  
"Slash, o severe ones!  
"Since a strong spirit  
"despises death.  
*Some of the gladiators are killed, others are  
wounded and yield their arms to the victors.*

CAPTAIN "Let the name of the conqueror of proud Africa  
"resound eternally  
"from the Ganges to the Atlantic!<sup>19</sup>

CHORUS "Long live Scipio! etc.  
*«Exeunt gladiators both living and  
dead, singers, and instruments.»*

### SCENE III

*ERICLEA, snatching a pair of manacles away from some soldiers,  
SCIPIO, CATO, Soldiers, Captains, People.*

ERICLEA Stop it, you arrogant fools,  
take these chains away. To present myself  
as a captive to great Scipio,  
all I need is himself.  
*She goes in front of Scipio.*

Invincible leader of Rome,  
conqueror of the fiercest kingdoms,  
you subjugated Carthage: and, due to this defeat,  
I too am your subject;  
when the outcome hangs in the balance  
others may yield to force, but I yield to merit.  
Since I consent to bondage, I scorn this means<sup>20</sup> of  
allowing those soldiers to boast of having captured me.  
I claim the prize  
for willing servitude;  
here are the chains, here is my freedom, here is my soul.

60 SCIPIO (What a lovely siren!)  
Let these chains be tossed aside; arise,  
let your generous spirit  
not perceive a discourteous heart in my breast.  
But if it's not too much bother,  
tell me something about yourself.  
(Beauty causes such torment for the soul!)

ERICLEA I was born a Carthaginian; my father, like all my fore-  
fathers,  
reigned here until, at a ripe old age,  
he succumbed to Fate. To Prince Luceius,

17 God of the sea: Neptune.

18 Thetis was a sea nymph who had the power to change into various terrifying shapes. Peleus tricked her into marrying him by tying her up when she was asleep.

19 I.e., from the furthest known point east to the furthest known point west.

20 I.e. the chains.

## Sources

### Librettos

#### Venice 1664 (Ve64)

*Scipione Affricano. Drama per musica di Nicolò Minato* (Venezia: Curti e Nicolini, 1664). Exemplar utilized: University of California, Los Angeles, Music Library ML48 R114 1663-64-65 no. 7 (Alm Catalogue No. 129).<sup>1</sup>

The title page (Plate 1) provides the title, the place and year of performance, the name of the dedicatee (Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna), the place and year of printing, and the names of the printers. The dedication (Plate 3; see also Introduction, “Premiere”) flatters the dedicatee with references to his family’s reputed descent from Julius Caesar, his connection to the Spanish court, and an (incorrect) allusion to Alexander the Great.

The printing of this edition was surely supervised by Minato himself, since it was he who wrote the dedication and preface. Although he modestly omitted his name from the title page, and used just the initials “N. M.” to sign the dedication, he disclosed his authorship in the preface by citing *Xerse*, *Artemisia*, and *Antioco* as “entertainments from my pen.” Minato also identified Cavalli as the composer of the music, though he remarked that it is redundant to name him since the reader/listener “will recognize from its singularity the music of the marvelous Sig. Francesco Cavalli, in the same way that the sun makes itself known by its splendors.” Minato did not mention the designer, choreographer, or singers, beyond some general praise for the “virtuosi, who will make you wonder whether you have been transported among the harmonies of the celestial spirits.” Since the front matter (title page, dedication, preface, argument, lists of characters, sets, machines, and dances) was printed in a separate, unnumbered half-gathering, it was surely the last portion of the libretto to be typeset. Thus the date of Minato’s dedication (9 February 1664) is likely to be close to that of the premiere.

The Venice 1664 libretto was issued with two engravings: an illustrated half-title as well as a handsome portrait of the dedicatee. These engravings were evidently sold separately at extra cost: neither is integral to the structure of the libretto, and they appear sporadically in surviving copies. The half-title (Plate 2) shows the winged goddess Fame carrying her traditional attribute – a trumpet – in her left hand; with her right hand, she is giving a second trumpet, decorated with a banner bearing the name “SCIPIONE,” to a crowned female figure who most likely represents Venice. A sturdy column stands in the background – a not-so-subtle allusion to the dedicatee Colonna, as Dinko Fabris has pointed out.<sup>2</sup> The message this engraving seems to convey is that, through this opera (and Colonna’s support), Scipio Africanus (a symbol of upstanding virtue, invincible military prowess, and the Republican system of government) brings fame to the city of Venice.<sup>3</sup> The engraved portrait (Plate 3) shows Colonna wearing armor and a long wig, framed by a laurel wreath. Below the portrait, we find his coat of arms and the following inscription: “PRI[N]CIPEM VIDES / Insigne[m] Gloria Virtute Mirandu[m] / COLVMNAM / Cui adher[un]t Gratie Nititur sple[n]dores. / Hunc Nun quam poteris / Venerari satis” (“You see the prince Colonna, distinguished in glory, in virtue to be marveled at, to whom the Graces cling, on whom splendors shine. You will never be able to revere him enough”).<sup>4</sup> There is a blank page opposite the dedication to which the portrait could be attached, though surviving copies show it was not always inserted in the correct spot.<sup>5</sup>

The libretto is in the 12<sup>o</sup> format typical for libretti, disposed into three gatherings plus a half-gathering for the front matter (see diagram). The final gathering contains an extra bifolium, as the text was two pages too long to fit in a sexternion; the printer used the remaining blank pages to provide a colophon.

1 Irene Alm, *Catalog of Venetian Librettos at the University of California, Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

2 Dinko Fabris, “After the Premiere: The Use of Cavalli Scores in Past and modern Revivals,” in *Readying Cavalli’s Operas for the Stage: Manuscript, Edition, Production*, ed. Ellen Rosand (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), 46–54. The performances in Fano and Lucca that Fabris mentions are not related to Minato’s drama.

3 Fabris observes that the same half-title engraving appears in copies of two later libretti preserved at the Biblioteca Braidense: one of the Rome 1671 revival of *Scipione Affricano*; the other of an entirely different Scipio opera, *La generosa continenza di Scipione Affricano* (Bologna 1677). Since the half-title is not integral to the structure of either volume, I suspect that these two engravings originated as stray copies of the Venice 1664 half-title, and were later inserted into these two libretti to increase their attractiveness to a collector – possibly long after the date of publication.

4 Many thanks to my Grinnell colleague Angelo Mercado for the Latin translation.

5 Of the five copies I have studied, only two (I-Rig, US-LAum) still have this blank page. The I-Mb copy has the portrait in what is presumably the correct place (opposite the dedication, in place of the blank page). Two other copies have the portrait in a different location. It is tipped in before the title page in the US-LAum copy; it occurs before the Argument in the I-Vnm Dramm. 3468 copy. The US-Wc copy (facsimile in Garland series) lacks both the portrait and the engraved half-title.

Sigla	Fascicles	Total pages (sides)	Pagination	Contents
—	single page	2	—	engraved half-title, tipped in
—	single page	2	—	portrait of dedicatee, tipped in
[a-a <sup>3</sup> ]	ternion	12	[i-xii]	[i] Title page [ii-iii] blank [iv] blank page apparently intended for pasting in optional engraved portrait of dedicatee [v-vi] Dedication [vii-viii] Lettore [To the reader] [ix-x] Argomento [xi] Intervenienti [Cast of characters] [xii] Scene, machine, balli [Sets, machines, dances]
A-A <sup>6</sup>	sexternions	24	1-24	1-24 Act I, Scene 1–end of Scene 18
B-B <sup>6</sup>		24	25-48	25-26 Act I, Scene 19–end of Scene 20 27-48 Act II, Scene 1–end of Scene 20
C-C <sup>7</sup>	septernion	28	49-[76]	49-74 Act III, Scene 1–end of Scene 20 [75] Printer's colophon [76] blank

*Locations of other copies:* D-Ha, D-Hs (A/7469: 1), D-HVI (Op. 6,15), F-Pn (3 copies: 8-YTH-51033; 8-BL-8224 (16,6) (olim BL-6124); 8-BL-8224 (6)), I-Bc (FC Lo 916), I-Bu, I-Fm (Melodrammi Mel.2178.12), I-Fn (1300.9), I-Mb (Corniani Algarotti Racc. Dramm. 1541), I-Ms, I-Pci, I-RVI, I-Rig (Rar. Libr. Ven. 91/94#94), I-Rn (2 copies: 40. 9.C.6.5; 35. 8.G.20.3), I-Rsc, I-Rss, I-Rvat (Stamp.Chig. VI.1146(int.3)), I-Vgc (Correr Libretti SS. Gio. Paolo 33), I-Vgc (Rolandi Rol.0211.07; Olim: Cavalli H-Z: this copy has stamp for the Museo Civico di Padova), I-Vnm (2 copies: Dramm. 930.2; Dramm. 3468), US-BEm (ML48.I7 no. 27), US-NYpm (RB1 77645), US-Wc (ML48 [Schatz 1741])

[iv]: blank  
[v-vi]: Dedication signed by Gio: Battista Salvioni, with the date 31 May 1666  
[vii-x]: Argomento (= **Ve64**)  
[xi]: Cast of characters (= **Ve64**)  
[xii]: List of sets, machines, and balli (= **Ve64**, with a few changes – see below)

Numbered pages:

1-24: Act I (p. 23 misnumbered as 32)

25-46: Act II

47-72: Act III

*Structure:* a<sup>3</sup>, A<sup>6</sup>, B<sup>6</sup>, C<sup>6</sup> = [xii] + 72 pp.

*Locations of other copies:* I-Rn (34. 1.B.36.1)

### Other editions of the libretto

NB: In the discussion below, line and act/scene numbering follows that of the Libretto Edition.

#### Ancona 1666 (An66) –

[I-Vgc, Rolandi Rol.0831.12; Olim: R Cavalli A-Z]

SCIPIONE | AFFRICANO | *DRAMA MVSICALE* | Da Recitarsi nel Nobiliss. | Teatro d'Ancona. | L'Anno 1666. | DEDICATO | *All'Illustr. & Reverend. Sig.* | CONTE ANGELO | RANVZZI | NOBILE BOLOGNESE | Gover. di detta Città. | IN ANCONA, 1666. | Nella Stamperia Camer. | *Con Licenza de' Superiori.*

#### Description

84 pp.

Three acts (I.20; II.20; III.20)

Unnumbered pages:

[i]: Half-title [missing in I-Vgc copy]

[ii]: blank

[iii]: Title page

The production took place at the Teatro d'Ancona, where Cavalli's *Erismena* was presented the same year. The volume is dedicated to the governor of Ancona, Count Angelo Ranuzzi (1626–1689), who later became a cardinal (1668) and Archbishop of Bologna (1688). The dedication (transcribed below) is signed by Giovanni Battista Salvioni, owner of the Stamperia Camerale.<sup>6</sup>

ILLUS. ET REVEREND. SIGNORE.

QUELLO Scipione che poté con la forza del suo guerriero valore, fecondando la sterilità degli arenosi deserti dell'Affrica farli produrre frutti maravigliosi di gloria al suo nome, vedendosi ogni di più insidiato dagli aguati furtivi della dimenticanza che quanto più invecchia maggiormente s'invigorisce per abbattere le gloriose memorie, ricorre alla protezione di V.S. Illustrissima acciò permettendo benignamente a quei che sono al suo governo soggetti di rapresentare gli eroici fatti della di lui virtù militare, diletlandosene gl'occhi nelle apparenze magnifiche, venghino poi eccitati i lor cuori ad immitarli con l'opere, onde accrescendosi il desiderio di gloria

<sup>6</sup> See Nicola Badolato, "Sources: Libretti," in Cavalli, *L'Erismena*, this series, 326, n. 10. Badolato notes that the dedication to the Ancona libretto of *L'Erismena* was also signed by Salvioni, on the same day.

## Critical Notes

Measure, System Remark  
note

### Prologo

**Ve64:** Prologue omitted.

**V**, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>: heading missing: Scribe D left four staves blank for the prologue heading that were never filled in. Heading for the edition supplied by the editor.

**S**, p. 1: heading “Sinfonia avanti il Primo Atto” (evidently entered after the Venetian prologue had been cut, but before the new Roman prologue had been added).

**R**, fol. 1<sup>v</sup>: heading “Sinfonia avanti il Prologo.”

1–84 [Tromba] No trumpet is indicated in any of the music sources, but Skippon’s eyewitness account states that “before they began, the trumpet and violin play’d, then the curtain was drawn up” (see Introduction).

4,4 Cont. *d* (**R**)  
11,3 Cont. Accidental  $\flat$  (**S**, **R**); emended as figure  $\flat$  (i. e.  $\natural$ ) and added editorially.

11,3–4 Viol. I dotted quarter–eighth (**R**)  
12,3 Vla. II *a* (**S**, **R**)

14–30 all Revisions in **V**: the opening sinfonia shows several signs of later revisions, most likely in Cavalli’s hand. See Appendix 2.A and Plate 4. In each case, **S** and **R** have the earlier readings.

20 Vla. II Correction in **S**: *d*’ → *c*’; **R** has *d*’.

21,3 Vla. II *f*’ (**S**, **R**)

24,2 Vla. II *f*# (**S**, **R**)

26,1 Vla. II Correction in **S**: *c*’ → *b*; **R** has *c*’.

26,2 Viol. II *b*’ (**R**)

Vla. I *d*’ (**S**, **R**)

27,2 Viol. II *f*#” (**R**)

28 Viol. I, II, Vla. I, II, Cont. Since the inner parts in **S** and **R** (Example 1a) continue the melodic patterns of the previous measures, they may represent Cavalli’s initial conception. The version in **V** (Example 1b) probably results from an attempt (in **V**’s lost exemplar) to correct parallel

octaves between the Viol. II and Vla. II parts on notes 1–3. However, even as corrected in **V**, the harmony on note 2 sounds awkward. A later revision in **S** alters the *d*” in Viol. I to *g*[#]”; **R** follows that revision. The edition takes a different approach and emends the reading in **V** as follows: Viol. I, *e*”’; Vla. I: # added editorially to the *g*’. The box marks awkward harmony revised in **S**, **R**, and the Musical Edition.

Prologue for Fama substituted by one for Venere, Amore, and Marte (**S**, **R**, **Ro71**). See Appendix 3.A for this music.

See Introduction, “Performance,” for suggestions about incorporating trumpet.

single barline (**V**)

This measure begins with both a quarter note rest (for the choral bass) and a quarter note *c* (for the continuo), but otherwise, **V** does not provide a continuo part that is separate from the choral bass. The edition supplies a continuo line from **R** that occurs in the identical passage in the following scene (I.1, mm. 1–8).

Direction “Sub[it]o il Coro” added later in Cavalli’s hand (see Plate 5).

31–84 all [Tromba]

64, end all  
65,1 Cont.

84 Cont.

### ATTO PRIMO

#### Scena I

**Ve64**, p. 1: heading “ATTO PRIMO SCENA I. Anfiteatro fuori della Città. Scipione assiso in luoco eminente. Catone. Capitani, e Soldati di Scipione. Choro di Musici, di stromenti, di Popolo.”

**V**, fol. 3<sup>r</sup>: heading missing: Scribe D left four staves blank for the act heading that were never filled in.

**S**, p. 29: heading “Atto Primo. Scena Pr.<sup>a</sup> Scipione, Catone, Capitano, Guardie, Soldati.” Set description “Anfiteatro” added later.

**R**, fol. 17<sup>r</sup>: heading “ATTO PRIMO Scena Prima. Scipione, Catone, Capitano delle Guardie.” Set description “Anfiteatro” added later.

**Ro71**, p. 1: heading “ATTO PRIMO SCENA PRIMA, Anfiteatro. Scipione assio [*sic*] in luogho eminente, Catone, e Choro de’ Popoli.”

**Example 1a** Reading in **S**, layer 1 (presumed earlier version)

**Example 1b** Reading in **V** (presumed later version)

1–8	Cont.	Separate continuo line lacking in <b>V</b> and <b>S</b> ; supplied editorially from <b>R</b> .				
9	heading	Heading “Coro di stromenti” supplied editorially, based on the scene heading in <b>Ve64</b> . For thoughts on the instrumentation of this onstage band, see Introduction, “Performance.”				tano” for the following reasons: 1) the recitative style of both passages renders group singing problematic; 2) it seems more appropriate dramatically for the Capitano to introduce the gladiators than for Catone to do it; 3) if the Capitano sings mm. 1–7 as well as mm. 88–92, he frames the entire gladiator scene neatly.
9–15	Vla. II	Notes and staff lacking ( <b>S, R</b> ).				quarter, with syllables elided ( <b>S, R</b> )
10,3	Viol. II	<i>d</i> ” ( <b>S, R</b> )	2,6–7	CAPITANO		<i>g</i> ( <b>S, R</b> )
13	Viol. II	Correction in <b>V</b> : <i>f</i> ”– <i>c</i> ”– <i>c</i> ” → <i>c</i> ”– <i>c</i> ”– <i>c</i> ”; <b>S</b> and <b>R</b> have <i>f</i> ”– <i>e</i> ”– <i>e</i> ”.	3,8	CAPITANO		Heading “Coro di stromenti” supplied editorially, based on scene heading in <b>Ve64</b> .
21–22	all	These measures are two beats shorter in <b>S</b> and <b>R</b> than in <b>V</b> : m. 21, n. 1, Scipione is eighth instead of half, and the eighth rest is omitted; m. 22, note 1, Cont. is half instead of whole. The net effect of this change is to speed up the delivery by removing the pause after the cadence on the downbeat of m. 21.	8	heading		Sinfonia substituted by “La comparsa dei combattenti” ( <b>S, R, Ro71</b> ). See Appendix 3.B.
			8–22	all		<i>a</i> ( <b>V</b> )
			17,1	Vla. II		<i>e</i> ’ ( <b>V</b> ); emended to match the repeat of this passage (m. 72).
			21,3	Vla. I		<b>V</b> marks this passage for “Capitano”; the edition follows all other sources in awarding it to Catone. Since the passage discusses a departure from Roman legal precedent, it makes more sense for Catone to deliver these words than the Capitano.
23,1	Cont.	<i>c</i> ( <b>S, R</b> )	23–31	CATONE		<i>g</i> ( <b>R</b> )
23,3–4	SCIPIONE	eighth–eighth ( <b>S, R</b> )				<i>a</i> ( <b>S, R</b> )
26–33	Cont.	Separate continuo line lacking ( <b>V</b> ); supplied editorially from <b>R</b> . <b>S</b> provides both a quarter note rest (for the choral bass) and a quarter note <i>c</i> (for the continuo) at the beginning of m. 26, but otherwise lacks a separate continuo line.	29,3	CATONE		Heading “Coro primo di musici” supplied editorially, based on <b>Ve64</b> .
			30,1	CATONE		First stanza to coro “Con la zampa” (ll. 24–27) marked with <i>virgolette</i> ( <b>Ve64</b> ).
			32	heading		Coro “Con la zampa” (ll. 24–31) and sinfonia cut ( <b>S, R, Ro71</b> ).
27,2	Tenor	Correction in <b>S</b> : <i>d</i> ’ → <i>e</i> ’; <b>R</b> has <i>d</i> ’.	32–58	all		Heading “Coro di stromenti” supplied editorially, based on <b>Ve64</b> .
35,4–5	CATONE	eighth–eighth ( <b>R</b> )				Revision in <b>V</b> : the “4” in the meter signature appears to have been added later in a different hand, most likely by Cavalli.
40,2–3	CATONE	dotted eighth–sixteenth ( <b>S, R</b> )	32–99	all		Note not covered by slur ( <b>V</b> ).
41,1–2	CATONE	Quarter–quarter; quarter rest omitted ( <b>S, R</b> ).	59	heading		<i>g</i> – <i>c</i> ’ ( <b>V</b> ); emended to match the first stanza (mm. 55–56).
45,2	Cont.	Correction in <b>S</b> : <i>G</i> → <i>A</i> ; <b>R</b> has <i>G</i> ; the edition follows <b>V</b> ( <i>c</i> ).	68,1	Vla. II		
			74	heading		

## Scena II

**Ve64**, p. 2: heading “SCENA II. Choro di Gladiatori. Scipione. Catone. Musici. Stromenti. Capitani. Soldati. Popolo.”

**V**, fol. 4<sup>v</sup>: heading “Scena ii. Choro di Gladiatori. Scipione, Catone. Capitano delle Guardie. Soldati.”

**S**, p. 33: heading “Scena 2.<sup>a</sup> Choro di Gladiatori, Scipione, Catone, Capitano delle Guardie, Soldati.”

**R**, fol. 19<sup>v</sup>: heading “Scena 2.<sup>a</sup> Choro di Gladiatori, Scipione, Catone, Capitano delle guardie.”

**Ro71**, p. 2: heading “SCENA SECONDA, Choro de Gladiatori, Scipione, Catone, Choro de Soldati.”

1–7 CAPITANO There is disagreement among the sources about who is speaking here (ll. 17–19). The passage is variously marked “Cap.” (**Ve64, An66**), “Cat.” (**V, Fl69, Ro71, Ve78**), “Cato” (**Ge67**), and “Catone” (**S, R, Na67**). Furthermore, if “Cap.” is the correct reading, it is unclear whether it refers to the group of “Capitani” mentioned in the scene heading in **Ve64**, or the single “Capitano delle Guardie” mentioned in the scene heading in all musical sources; the latter problem also applies to Scene 2.A, mm. 88–92 (ll. 40–42). The edition awards both passages to a single Capi-

## Scena II.A

**Ve64, S, R, Ro71**: scene break omitted.

**V**, fol. 7<sup>v</sup>: heading “Scena iii.” All character names missing.

1–33 all Duet “Qui si vinca” and recitative (ll. 31<sup>1–17</sup>) cut (**S, R, Ro71**).

1–43 all Duet “Qui si vinca” and recitative (ll. 31<sup>1–22</sup>) cut (**Ve64**).

1–88 The complete Corbis/Orsua music – consisting of scene break; duet “Qui si vinca”; dialogue between Corbis, Orsua, Scipione, and Catone; duet-with-chorus “Ferite, uccidete” (which Corbis and Orsua apparently sing while fighting their duel); and Corbis’s concluding lines – is found only in **V**. The three Roman sources (**S, R, Ro71**) in-