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Winged feet and mute eloquence: dance in seventeenth-century Venetian opera

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Abstract: This article shows how central dance was to the experience of opera in seventeenth-century Venice. The first part provides an introduction to the use of dance in Venetian opera and the primary sources – libretti, scores, treatises, and various eyewitness reports. The second section summarizes the extraordinary variety of subjects and style of the dances. A third section treats the musical sources, describing stylistic features of the dance music, as well as providing important insights as to how to identify which vocal or instrumental excerpts would likely have been danced.

> Coming on to the stage, the dancer honours the public
> He endeavours to tell stories with his skilful hands.
> And now, when the pleasing retinue pours out sweet songs,
> Which the singer echoes, he demonstrates by dancing;
> He fights, plays, loves, revels as Bacchus, turns, stands,
> With illustration he gracefully completes the performance.
> The man has as many languages as limbs; Wondrous is the Art
> Which makes fingers silently speak.[1]

Of all the arts, dance is the most ephemeral. Like sculpture, dance exists in three-dimensional space, but it is also kinaesthetic. And while music also moves through time, dance – for the vast majority of its history – has lacked any form of notation or written score. Time has erased or buried so much direct knowledge, thus historians of dance are left with only scattered fragments of documentation – names of dancers, of steps, of ballets – and the feeble power of words to capture and record the movements of bodies on the stage. As Nino Pirrotta so eloquently wrote regarding the *commedia dell'arte*:

> But it often happens in the history of music that the more widely diffused and popular are the facts the historian wishes to examine, the fewer precise elements of knowledge are available to him. In this case at the time of its performance everyone knew the music performed and the ways and means of its execution, but time has swallowed and buried this direct knowledge and has left us only scattered and second- or third-hand documents. We need to gather them together and laboriously interpret them to recover a pale image of a

[1] 'Bellissima e la descrizione fatta da un Poeta antico dell'azioni d'un Saltatore. ["Very beautiful is the description written by a poet of antiquity of the movements of a dancer":] Ingressus scenam, populos saltator adorat. / Solerti tendit prodere gesta manu. / Nam cum grata cohors diffundit cantica dulcis, / Quae resonat Cantor, motibus ipse probat; / Pugnat, ludit, amat, Baccatur, vertitur, astat, / Illustrans verum cuncta decore replet. / Tot linguae quot membra viro; Mirabilis est Ars / Quae facit articulos ore silente loqui.' Andrea Perrucci, *Dell'arte rappresentativa premeditata, ed all'improviso* (Naples, 1699), 184.

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reality that in its own time must have imposed itself with the most obvious power of suggestion.[2]

Pirrotta's words could equally well describe the task of studying, reconstructing, and writing much of the history of dance.[3] Moreover, in Western culture that which goes unrecorded has often been dismissed as of little value. Perhaps because of this, the history of dance has been a latecomer to academic and scholarly studies. Compounding the problem is a centuries-old Western tradition of viewing dance at best with suspicion and at worst as an immoral and even dangerous activity. Choreographers and dancers were rarely given the same status and respect as other artists and musicians. The treatises of the great fifteenth-century Italian dancing masters all begin with a defence of the place dance held among the arts and sciences – in essence a plea for respect.

Of the many Italian cities and courts producing opera during the seventeenth century, I have chosen Venice as the focus of this study for a number of reasons. Principal among them is that, following the opening of the first commercial theatre there n 1637, an explosion of operatic activity established Venice as the leading producer of operas during the remainder of the seventeenth century. Moreover, these operas were exported to cities and courts throughout Italy and Europe. The central role of Venice in shaping and expanding this new musical-dramatic repertoire, as well as the substantial documentation of the operas performed there, make it an ideal place to begin a study of Italian theatrical dance during this period. Understanding the function and style of dance in Venetian opera is fundamental to future studies of theatrical choreography in other Italian and European cities. My aim is to provide a foundation for further research through a thorough study of the Venetian *ballo*.[4]

Even a cursory glance through the hundreds of libretti for Venetian operas shows that *balli* were indeed a standard feature of productions during the seventeenth century. The quantity of these dances and the diversity of their subjects provide undeniable evidence that ballet was not created and developed solely in France, but in fact has a rich history in Venice and throughout Italy. To dismiss the Venetian *balli* as a marginal element of Venetian opera simply because they are different from the well-documented and better-known French dances, perpetuates the false notion cultivated by French writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that ballet

[2] Nino Pirrotta, '*Commedia dell'Arte* and Opera', *Musical Quarterly*, 41 (1955), 170; reprinted in *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque* (Cambridge, MA, 1984), 344.

[3] On the problems of reconstructing dance – not just steps but also style – see Shirley Wynne, 'Reviving the Gesture Sign: Bringing the Dance Back Alive', in *The Stage and the Page: London's 'Whole Show' in the Eighteenth-Century Theatre*, ed. Geo. Winchester Stone, Jr. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1981), 193–208, and by the same author, 'Baroque Manners and Passions in Modern Performance', in *Opera & Vivaldi*, ed. Michael Collins and Elise K. Kirk (Austin, 1984), 170–78.

[4] The term 'ballo' means dance in a general sense, but is also specifically used for the majority of theatrical dances in Venetian operas (rather than 'balletto' or 'danza'). I have not translated 'ballo' as 'ballet', since that term has specific connotations associated with French dance and with later styles of theatrical dancing.

is entirely a French art. It also ignores the considerable influence of Italian theatrical dance on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European ballet.[5]

There are fundamental reasons why we know so much less about the Venetian *balli* during this period. These have to do with the status and position of the dancers, and the ways the opera houses were managed. Dancing in the Venetian opera house was a professional activity, and thus there was no need for the kinds of treatises and dance manuals that instructed the nobility of late Renaissance Italy or eighteenth-century France. Choreographies for the operas were probably never notated, but were most likely created and taught during rehearsals, then memorized by the corps of dancers – a practice that continues in most theatres to this day. In this sort of oral tradition (perhaps more aptly thought of as a 'physical' or 'corporeal' tradition), the repertoire, techniques, and styles were passed directly from one generation to the next.

Information about the Venetian *balli* must thus be gleaned from a variety of sources, none of which provides the level of detail that we might desire. No dance treatise deals directly with the Venetian repertoire; the writings on theatrical aesthetics by Doni and other theorists speak only obliquely of operatic *balli*, focusing much of their attention on the inheritance from the ancients. Diaries, newsletters, and chronicles provide tantalizing – but often frustratingly brief – glimpses of operatic spectacle including dance. The choreographers for Venetian opera did not write treatises, but they nonetheless left a fascinating trail of evidence that also helps us to reconstruct the history of dance in Venetian opera. This is most evident in the career of Giovanni Battista Balbi (*fl.* 1636–57), who was involved with Venetian opera from its inception. Best known as an impresario and producer, Balbi was responsible for producing Venetian operas in such cities as Naples and Paris, and he collaborated closely with the composer Francesco Cavalli and stage designer Giacomo Torelli. The style of dancing that developed under his direction was an essential part of the production process and was widely imitated. His choreographies for the Paris production of Francesco Sacrati's *La finta pazza* (1645), immortalized in a set of engravings by Valerio Spado, were particularly fanciful, incorporating monkeys, bears, ostriches, parrots, along with Indians and Turks. In the *ballo* for Turks, for example, the exoticism was heightened by the addition of dancing bears to the final part of the dance (see Fig. 1). A handful of other choreographers, such as Giovanni Battista Martini and Olivieri Vigasio, are identified in the surviving account books, which also provide information about

[5] This skewed view of dance history has been perpetuated even by Italian historians. Lorenzo Tozzi, for example, begins his study of the eighteenth-century Italian choreographer and dancer Gasparo Angiolini with a chapter on ballet from 1650 to 1750. Although he notes the number of prominent Italian dancers in France during this period, he discusses the rise of professional theatrical dancing only in France, with no mention of the hundreds of Venetian operas, which included *balli* danced by professionals. Lorenzo Tozzi, 'Breve excursus storico sulle condizioni del balletto tra il 1650 e il 1750', *Il balletto pantomimo del settecento: Gaspare Angiolini* (L'Aquila, 1972), 47–53. [Ed. note: For a more balanced view of Italian dance history, see Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell, 'Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera', in *Opera on Stage*, vol. 5 of *The History of Italian Opera*, ed. Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli (Chicago, 2002), 177–308.]

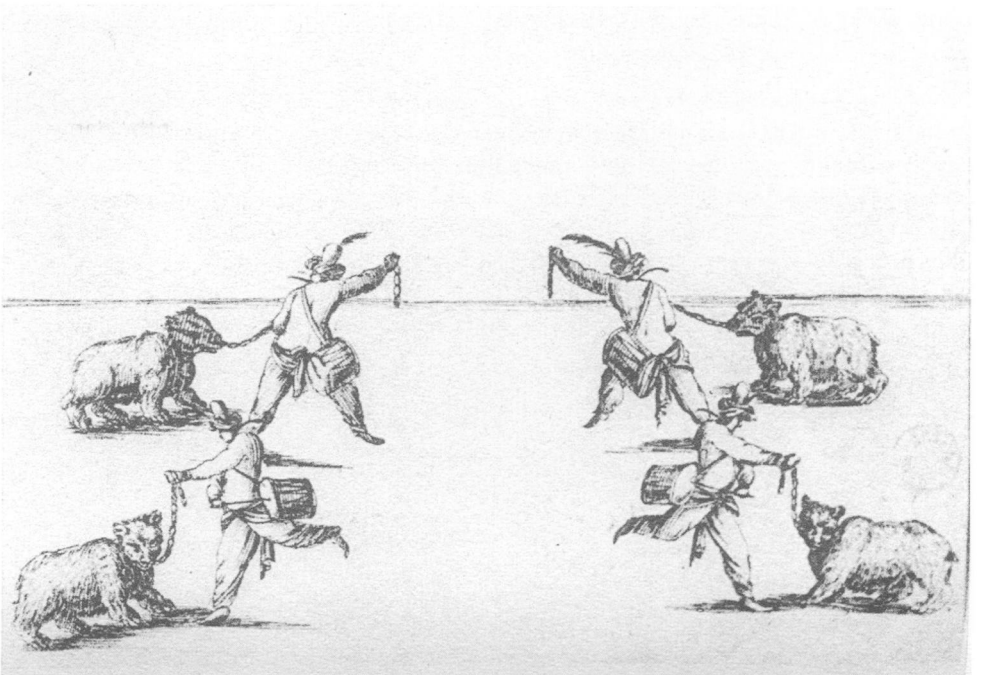


Fig. 1: Conclusion of the *ballo* for the Turks, with dancing bears, one of the eighteen engravings by Valerio Spada for the *balli* by Balbi in *La finta pazza*, as it was performed in Paris in 1645. (*Balletti d'invenzione nella Finta Pazza di Giovanbattista Balbi* [n.p., *c.* 1658].)

their relative salaries, the dances, theatres, and operas with which they are associated.[6] Unlike Balbi, who was involved in all aspects of production and even wrote the dedication for the Venetian and Neapolitan editions of *Veremonda Amazzone di Aragona* (1652/3), these choreographers were rarely identified in the libretti.

Libretti provide the most important evidence for the extraordinary variety in subject, style, and tone that characterize the Venetian *balli*. Even the texts of arias and choruses may tell us something about how bodies moved on the stage. And whereas the surviving scores only inconsistently offer up music for the dance, what does exist is richly varied. Considered together, all of these sources provide us with insight into the special union of arts represented by dance on the Venetian opera stage. Indeed, an anonymous keyboard treatise ostensibly from 1664, describes the

[6] Ed. note: The account books were discovered and first discussed by Beth L. and Jonathan Glixon, 'Marco Faustini and Venetian Opera Production in the 1650s: Recent Archival Discoveries', *Journal of Musicology*, 10 (1992), 48–73. They will be explored further in their forthcoming book on opera production in mid-seventeenth-century Venice, which will include further information on the choreographers. On the choreographers, see also Alm's 'Theatrical Dance in Seventeenth-Century Venetian Opera', Ph.D. diss. (University of California at Los Angeles, 1993), chapter 5, and her article 'Balbi, Giovanni Battista', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2000). On the engravings associated with Balbi and the Torelli production, see her 'Giovanni Battista Balbi, "Veneziano Ballerino celebre" ', in *Giacomo Torelli: L'invenzione scenica nell'Europa barocca*, ed. Francesco Milesi (Fano, 2000), 214–26.

connection of dance to the other arts, a connection mirrored in the variety of sources needed to recover its history.

From what has been said above of poetry, of music, and of dance, it is evident that all three of these fine arts have a common origin, which is the imitation of beautiful nature, and they have a common goal, which is to communicate to others the ideas and the sentiments of our spirit and our heart. Therefore the peak of their graces remains in their coming together. The masters can, however, separate these three arts, but only to cultivate and polish each one particularly with more care. They still should never lose sight of the first law of nature, nor believe that one can exist well without the others. Nature and taste require that all three be always brought together. In all things there must be a common centre, and point of return, to which the most distant parts aspire. If it is poetry that produces spectacles, it is what must rule at the centre, not music and dance. They must show off more rigorously the ideas of sentiments already expressed in its verses. Therefore music and dance must enhance poetry, not obscure it. And this is the case with opera.[7]

Sources for the dance

Libretti

As I noted above, the history of seventeenth-century Italian opera is to a great extent literary; libretti serve as the principal source of information about this repertoire.[8] Due in part to the eighteenth-century passion for collecting, libretti survive for nearly all of the more than three hundred operas produced between 1637 and 1700 in Venice, with the vast majority printed rather than manuscript.[9] Yet, surprisingly, the copious information on dance contained in the libretti has been largely overlooked, and scholars have instead based their views of dance on the music (or lack of music) in the scores, which represent only about one-third of the operas produced during this period.

The libretti tell a very different story from the scores. The early librettists felt a need to defend their forays into opera, arguing for the validity of this new genre, which – although based on the principles of classical tragedy – aimed to attract and

[7] *Precetti ragionati per apprendere l'accompagnamento del basso sopra gli strumenti da tasto come il gravicembalo il cembalo etc. Venezia MDCLXIIII.* I–Vnm, Cod. It. IV 739 (=10269), fol. 6^{r-v}. [Ed. note: We are grateful to Lorenzo Bianconi for pointing out that the treatise is actually an ingenious forgery by a late eighteenth or early nineteenth-century music historian who supplemented his considerable knowledge of seventeenth-century practices with extensive borrowings from a 1775 keyboard treatise by Vicenzo Manfredini. See Tharald Borgir, *The Performance of the Basso Continuo in Italian Baroque Music* (Ann Arbor, 1987), 138–40.]

[8] Bianconi and Walker point to this literary tradition and its effect on the historiography of opera in their introduction to 'Production, Consumption and Political Function of Seventeenth-Century Opera', *Early Music History*, 4 (1984), 210–15.

[9] The collection at UCLA, which includes 470 seventeenth-century and 816 eighteenth-century Venetian libretti, has been used as the principal source for this study. All references to libretti are based on the copies in this collection, unless otherwise noted. For further information on this collection, see my *Catalog of Venetian Librettos at the University of California, Los Angeles* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1993). The principal libretto collections in Venice have also been consulted: three at the Biblioteca Marciana (the Collezione Groppo, 1637–1796; the Collezione Zeno, 1637–1750; and the Collezione Rossi, 1637–1836), the Cicogna collection at Casa Goldoni, and the Rolandi collection (not exclusively Venetian libretti) at the Fondazione Giorgio Cini.

entertain contemporary audiences.[10] Many of the first Venetian libretti and scenarios include lengthy prefatory essays in which the poets cite Greek and Roman sources, attempting to justify the genre or defending their concessions to modern taste – and discussing their use of dance.[11] For example, the scenario for *Le nozze d'Enea con Lavinia* (1641) includes a preface in the form of a letter from the anonymous author to some of his friends, explaining his use of dance in place of choruses at the ends of acts.[12]

> The chorus then was an integral part of the ancient tragedies, entering not only as a character, but singing principally between acts with gestures and leaps, and with those so-to-speak moans and howls. But in the modern [tragedies] it is a less considerable part, being seen in some to do little more than separate the acts. As I have introduced even more choruses within the same acts, I therefore did not make use of them at their end; for since the entire tragedy is sung, also singing the chorus [at the end] would prove to be too tedious; thus to better satisfy the audience by means of variety, *balli* have been introduced, derived in some way from the plot, just as the ancient choruses danced to song in tetrametre, a verse most appropriate to movements of the body.[13]

The phrase 'derived in some way from the plot' is particularly important; the librettist's aim for integration, or unity of action, is explicitly stated. In his preface to *Venere gelosa* (1643), the librettist Niccolò Enea Bartolini also cites numerous classical authors to show that song and dance were essential parts of drama. Bartolini accordingly includes dancing in the final scene of Act I and in the penultimate scenes of Acts II and III.[14] Each of the three *balli* is accompanied by alternating solo and choral singing: Niso and a chorus of Nymphs; Trulla and a chorus of toys ('trastulli'); and a solo satyr with a chorus of satyrs.

The following year, both the libretto and scenario for *L'Ulisse errante* (1644) contain an extensive discussion of history and aesthetics in an essay addressed to the opera's dedicatee, Michel'Angelo Torcigliani, by 'Assicurato, Academico Incognito', the academic name of the librettist Badoaro. This essay includes a briefly

[10] Ellen Rosand presents an extensive discussion of the attempts by librettists to justify their works by drawing upon classical principles. See especially chapter 2 of her *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Berkeley, 1991).

[11] Scenarios are scene-by-scene summaries, either printed separately or included in the libretto itself. On the history of the scenario in Venice, see Ellen Rosand, 'The Opera Scenario, 1638–1655: A Preliminary Survey', *In Cantu et in Sermone: For Nino Pirrotta on his 80th Birthday* (Florence, 1989), 335–46.

[12] The libretto was apparently never printed, but a number of manuscript copies from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries survive. According to the manuscript libretto at UCLA, *Le nozze d'Enea con Lavinia* was written by Giacomo Badoaro, although his authorship has been seriously questioned by Thomas Walker; see 'Gli errori di *Minerva al tavolino*: Osservazioni sulla cronologia delle prime opere veneziane', in *Venezia e il melodramma nel seicento*, ed. Maria Teresa Muraro (Florence, 1976), 11–12. The printed scenario, which bears the title *Argomento et scenario delle nozze d'Enea in Lavinia*, is not found in the collection of libretti at UCLA. I would like to thank Ellen Rosand for sending me copies of the relevant sections from the scenario. See her comments on the extant examples, in 'The Opera Scenario', 344.

[13] *Argomento et scenario delle nozze d'Enea in Lavinia*, 21.

[14] Two additional *balli* for *Venere gelosa* are documented in the *Apparati scenici per lo Teatro Novissimo di Venetia nell'anno 1644 d'inventione e cura di Iacomo Torelli da Fano* (Venice, 1644).

summarized history of tragedy, and also mentions the practice of substituting *balli* for choruses:

> The precepts of poetry are not permanent, because the changes of centuries give birth to the diversity of composition; so that although in its earliest days, Tragedy was recited by the poet alone, his face tinted with the dregs of crushed grapes, later characters and masks were introduced, then they added choruses, music, instruments, scene changes, [and] *balli* in place of choruses – and perhaps in the future as times change our descendants will see new forms introduced.[15]

But most importantly, the descriptions of the *balli* in the libretti provide an invaluable documentation about the use of dance in Venetian opera. Table 1 (see Appendix), organized by theatre and year, shows the number of *balli* in each opera. Table 2 (see Appendix) analyzes by decade the percentage of seventeenth-century Venetian operas that include *balli*. Approximately 660 *balli* appear in the 346 seventeenth-century operas. Most of these operas are in three acts, and incorporate two *balli*, one to end each of the first two acts.[16] Yet libretti, often printed in haste, do not always tell the full story about *balli*. Supplemental information can sometimes be found in scenarios, *aggiunte* (printed leaflets of additions and other changes or corrections), or second editions.[17] In the case of Giovanni Faustini's *L'Eritrea* performed at S. Apollinare in 1652, for example, no *balli* are listed in the libretto, but two are specified in the separately printed scenario and are confirmed in the account books.[18] Occasionally, second editions of libretti give new information about dances or clarify their location. For example, the first edition of *Il re infante* (1683) lists three *balli*,[19] but only gives the location of the third, in the opera's finale. According to the second edition, issued midway through its run, the first *ballo*, danced by pages with torches, occurs at the end of Act I; the second, changed to a 'popular battle' in the

[15] Badoaro, *L'Ulisse errante*, 11.

[16] Five-act structure was used in only a half-dozen operas between 1640 and 1644, but was revived at the end of the century. Seven operas (8.2 per cent) during the mid-1690s and another fifteen operas (15.8 per cent) between 1701 and 1710 are in five acts (see the operas indicated by asterisk in Table I). The librettist Girolamo Frigimelica Roberti favoured this structure, and typically closes each act with an elaborate choral scene with *balli* or separates the acts with *intramezzi* that include dance. Although a five-act structure easily allowed for the inclusion of more *balli*, high numbers of *balli* are also found in three-act operas. Several of the earliest three-act operas have three or four *balli*; many operas from the 1680s and 1690s have four or five; and, in fact, the two operas that include six *balli* are in three acts.

[17] The statistics on *balli* in the tables reflect only those scenarios, *aggiunte*, and second editions found in the collection of libretti at UCLA.

[18] Ed. note: On the account books, see Alm's 'Theatrical Dance in Seventeenth-Century Venetian Opera', chapter 4. Since scenarios do not survive in large numbers – Rosand ('The Opera Scenario', see n.11) lists nineteen scenarios between the years 1639 and 1655 – it is difficult to speculate as to whether any of the other operas lacking mention of *balli* in their libretti actually included dances in performance.

[19] 'Ballo di Paggi con Torci', 'Ballo di maschere con archi', and 'Ballo di Damme e fanciulli'.

style of the traditional *guerra de' pugni*, takes place at the end of Act II.[20] In other cases the subject of a *ballo* is altered more radically. In *La schiava fortunata* (1674) by Moniglia and Corradi, for example, the ending of Act II changes from a *ballo* for naiads who emerge from tigers to a less spectacular, more commonplace dance by satyrs and shepherdesses – a change that may have been made for financial reasons. In addition to financial exigencies, these editions may reflect last-minute changes made after the libretto went to press, perhaps stemming from production problems with sets, costumes, or personnel. In some second editions, dances were added or cut.

Other sources confirm that the statistics based on libretti may provide at best a conservative estimate of the number of *balli* performed in Venetian operas. For example, Niccolò Enea Bartolini's libretto for *Venere gelosa* (1643) lists three *balli*, performed in the final scene of Act I and the penultimate scenes of Acts II and III. The set of engravings entitled *Apparati scenici per lo Teatro Novissimo* by the renowned stage designer Giacomo Torelli documents two additional *balli* for this opera.[21] The libretto includes a prologue sung by Flora who emerges from the earth and is carried through the air by Zephyrs. The *Apparati scenici*, however, provides more detail: 'The Chorus of Nymphs, who with movement of their feet, now fast and now slow, performed a most beautiful dance to the singular delight of the spectators. Thus began the performance of the opera.'[22] Dances may also have been routinely performed whenever the sung verses mention dance, even if the standard phrase 'Segue il ballo' was not printed in the libretto. If this is so, then the statistics cited in Tables 1 and 2 would be even higher.

By the 1660s and 1670s, the placement of *balli* at the ends of Acts I and II had become a standard feature of Venetian opera.[23] About a quarter of the *balli* that end internal acts actually take place within the closing scene; in the remainder, the *ballo* is literally the last event of the act, with the ubiquitous 'segue il ballo' printed immediately before or after 'Fine dell'Atto'. By contrast, the majority of *balli* that serve as finales to whole operas take place earlier within the closing scene (in 63.6 per cent, or twenty-one of the thirty-three finales). Five of the twenty-five *balli*

[20] 'Trombe al suono de le quali invezze di ballo segue alla vista di Ergisto Battaglia Popolare.' The *guerra de' pugni*, also called the *forze d'Ercole*, was a traditional Venetian entertainment in which mock battles were fought by residents of two different *sestieri*, or neighbourhoods, on the bridges of the city. Chassebras de Cramailles gives a detailed account of *Il rè infante* in the *Mercure galant* (March 1683), 256–71. He later (297–300) describes the additions, which included six elephants bearing a machine, the 140 people engaged in the mock battle, and a giant turtle that breaks into sixty or seventy pieces used by the soldiers as shields. In the next issue (April 1683, 71–8), he explains that during the last days of Carnival the Grimani had the Castellani and the Nicolotti stage the battle on the bridge in earnest (resulting in bloodshed), in order to show the foreigners how the *guerra de' pugni* was fought.

[21] The numbers given in the tables are based solely on the collection at UCLA and therefore do not include these extra *balli*. For further information on Torelli and reproductions of some of these designs, see Per Bjurström, *Giacomo Torelli and Baroque Stage Design* (Stockholm, 1961). See also Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 91–109.

[22] *Apparati scenici*, 8. [Ed. note: See also Wendy Heller, 'Dancing Desire on the Venetian Stage' in this issue.]

[23] For tables detailing the frequency and location of the *balli* by decade, see Alm, 'Theatrical Dance' (see n.6), 277–78.

labelled *intermedi* also occur within a closing scene rather than in independent *intermedi*.[24] For example, in the libretto for *Amore innamorato* (1642) by Giovanni Battista Fusconi and Pietro Michiel, the final scenes of Acts I to IV contain *balli*; the scenario states, however, that these scenes serve as *intermedi* for the opera.

Thus, the hundreds of seventeenth-century libretti reveal the indisputable and ubiquitous presence of *balli* in Venetian opera. From the première of *Andromeda* in 1637 through the hundreds of operas that followed in Venetian theatres over the course of the century, theatrical dance held an important place among the ingredients essential to creating the Baroque spectacle. Moreover, the extensiveness of the literary record makes it possible to chart the use and placement of theatrical dances over the course of the century.

Scores

In contrast to the virtually complete documentation for libretti, scores survive for only about one-third of seventeenth-century Venetian operas. Whereas the libretti were usually printed in quantity and sold to the public, the scores for these operas were never printed – all of the surviving scores are in manuscript. Occasionally a noble patron must have commissioned a score, for some of the extant manuscripts are clearly presentation copies, but commercial opera in Venice had little need for the elegant documentation associated with court opera. Many of the manuscripts are obviously working scores, with passages glued or sewn in, and indications of transpositions and cuts. Opera scores usually became the property of the theatre management, and once a score no longer had commercial value, there was little reason to preserve it. Occasionally scores were adapted for revivals in Venice or in other cities; thus, while some of the surviving scores closely match Venetian libretti, others show varying degrees of revision. The largest group of these scores belonged to a single collector, Marco Contarini, and is now housed at the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice.[25]

Among this relatively small number of surviving scores, somewhat less than half include music unambiguously intended for dancing (see Tables 3 and 4 below). However, often the verses that introduce the dancing are set in the score, so originally the *ballo* must have followed,[26] and still other scores include vocal music that may have been danced. Nonetheless, the apparent lack of dance music in some of these scores has spawned two assumptions on the part of many scholars: first,

[24] The seventeenth-century *intermedio* or *intermezzo* is quite different from the eighteenth-century comic *intermezzo*, which, with its independent plot, was an outgrowth primarily of the comic scenes rather than of the *intermedi* and dances of seventeenth-century opera. See Charles E. Troy, *The Comic Intermezzo: A Study in the History of Eighteenth-Century Italian Opera* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1979), especially chapter 1, 'Origins and Early Stages'.

[25] This collection is discussed by Giovanni Morelli and Thomas Walker, 'Migliori plettri', in Aurelio Aureli and Francesco Lucio, *Il Medoro*, ed. Morelli and Walker, in Drammaturgia Musicale Veneta 4 (Milan, 1986), CXLI–CXLVII.

[26] Scores with verses introducing *balli* include *Artemesia* (1656), *Il Medoro* (1658), *L'Orfeo* (1673), and many others. [Ed. note: For a complete concordance of identifiable dances in Venetian operas, listing all mentions of dance in either score or libretto, see Alm, 'Theatrical Dance' (n.6), Appendix III, 320–63.]

that the *balli* were not actually performed or were optional; and second, that another, 'inferior', composer wrote the dance music. There is considerable evidence to contradict the first premise: account books and reviews of performances confirm that *balli* were regularly performed.[27] The absence of dance music in many manuscripts most likely stems from the practical circumstances of rehearsals, which at least some of the time took place apart from the opera and thus would necessitate separate scores.[28] Moreover, letters and contracts between agents, impresarios, composers, and singers reveal that Venetian operas were often prepared under severe time constraints, so that rehearsals usually began before the score was completed.[29] Working scores often lack not only the dance music, but also instrumental *obbligati*, *ritornelli*, and even texts for arias. If the copyist did not have access to the separate folios of dance music, it could not be included, even in presentation scores.

The second notion – that another composer (usually characterized as 'lesser' or 'second rate') might have been responsible for the dance music – is also often contradicted by the surviving evidence. For example, many of these scores were copied by several different people, yet in only one, the Venetian copy of Cavalli's *Xerse* (1654), are the dances in a different hand than the music immediately preceding it. These particular bass lines seem to have been hastily copied into the full score, perhaps as cues, but that fact alone does not provide sufficient evidence to determine whether the dances were by Cavalli or by someone else. Furthermore, many of the *balli* in the earliest scores for Venetian operas are woven into the fabric of a scene and are without question by the principal composer of the opera.[30] The only scores in which *ballo* music is known to be by a different composer are those used for productions of Venetian operas in other cities. Since Venice provided a substantial portion of the repertoire for many other Italian cities and courts during the seventeenth century, a different composer might adapt the opera for its new context. For example, the poet Giovanni Filippo Apolloni and the composer Alessandro Stradella supplied prologues and *intermezzi* for several out-of-town productions of Venetian operas, including revivals of Cavalli's *Giasone* (as *Il novello Giasone*) and *Scipione africano* at the Teatro Tordinona in Rome in 1671.[31] In both of these, Stradella's dance music is strikingly different, both in terms of length and elaborate repetition schemes, and he also relies upon standard social dances which,

[27] Ed. note: See Alm, 'Theatrical Dance', chapter 4, especially Tables Va and Vb, 281–83, which show expense records for the dances in Venetian opera houses.

[28] Ed. note: Alm cites a description of a dance rehearsal held at a private home, reported in the travel memoirs of Abbé Antonio Olivieri. See Alm, 'Theatrical Dance', 149–53.

[29] See, for example, Bruno Brunelli, 'L'impressario in angustie', *Rivista italiana del dramma*, 3 (1941), 311–41, and Carl Schmidt, 'An Episode in the History of Venetian Opera: The *Tito* Commission (1665–66)', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 31 (1978), 422–66.

[30] See, for example, the extended dance scenes in Cavalli's *Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo* (1639) discussed below (265–68).

[31] See Owen Jander, 'The Prologues and Intermezzos of Alessandro Stradella', *Analecta musicologica*, 7 (1969), 87–111.

as we shall see below, were used infrequently in Venetian opera.[32] Similarly, it was Lully who supplied ballets for Cavalli's operas *Xerse* and *Ercole amante* when they were performed in Paris in 1660 and 1662.

It seems dangerous to extrapolate from practices in other cities or courts to the commercial opera houses in Venice. For example, although there was a tradition of hiring a ballet composer at the courts in Turin and in Vienna during the seventeenth century, in Venice no payments to a composer for *balli* have been found among the surviving account books.[33] Nor can eighteenth-century Venetian practice be used as a basis for seventeenth-century practice in the same city, since the role of dance in opera changed substantially after the turn of the century. *Balli* became more independent in the eighteenth century, with plots entirely separate from the opera.[34] In the seventeenth century, however, when the *balli* were more closely integrated with the operas, it cannot be assumed that the dance music was by a separate composer.

Since the surviving scores served a variety of purposes (some being presentation scores, others working scores, others for non-Venetian revivals) and they represent less than half of the repertoire, it is impossible to determine whether certain

[32] The score for the Venetian production of *Giasone* (1649) does not contain instrumental music for the *ballo* for spirits that ends the spectacular incantation scene in Act I, or for the dance for sailors at the end of Act II. For the Roman production, however, Stradella omitted a full *intermezzo* after Medea's powerful invocation of the spirits at the close of Act I in *Giasone*, replacing it instead with two alternating dances: 'Sarabande / Balletto for the Furies / When the Balletto has finished, da capo to the Sarabande two more times, and then the Balletto another time, and then da capo to the Sarabande until they have mounted the horses' (I-Sc L.V.33, fol. 102^{r-v}). After Act II, an *intermedio* for Satiro and Amore ends with a 'Balletto d'Amorini' in three sections, 'Balletto / Sarabanda / Presto', i.e., essentially a suite of three dances: a promenade-style entry in common time, a sarabande, and a gigue. Stradella used a similar approach to dance music for the Roman revival of *Scipione affricano* in 1671. His first *intermedio* contains a dance for the cyclops, consisting of a 'Presto' in compound metre, a 'Balletto' in common time, an 'Adagio' in common time, and a da capo of the 'Presto'. The second *intermedio* includes a *ballo* with sections for Spanish, French, German, and Italian dancers, in various dance rhythms, followed by a sarabande with sections in alternating tempos. The score for the Roman production also contains new music for the games of the gladiators in Act I, scene 2. Once again this takes the form of a suite.

[33] For Turin and the La Pierre dynasty of ballet composers, see Marie-Thérèse Bouquet, *Musique et musiciens à Turin de 1648 à 1775* (Turin, 1969), the same author's *Il teatro di corte dalle origini al 1788* (Turin, 1976), and Mercedes Viale Ferrero, 'Repliche a Torino di alcuni melodrammi veneziani e loro caratteristiche', in *Venezia e il melodramma nel seicento*, ed. Maria Teresa Muraro (Florence, 1976), 145–72. In Vienna, Johann Heinrich Schmelzer and his eldest son Andreas Anton Schmelzer served as ballet composers for Leopold I, and collaborated on many of the Minato-Draghi operas. See Egon Wellesz, *Die Ballett-Suiten von Johann Heinrich und Anton Andreas Schmelzer* (Vienna, 1914) and Paul Nettl, 'Die Wiener Tanzkomposition in der zweiten Hälfte des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts', *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 8 (1921), 45–175. Among other ballet composers in Vienna are Wolfgang Ebner, J. J. Hoffer, and Nicola Matteis. See Herbert Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof im 17. Jahrhundert* (Tutzing, 1985), and Andrew D. McCredie, 'Nicola Matteis, the Younger: Caldara's Collaborator and Ballet Composer in the Service of the Emperor, Charles VI', in *Antonio Caldara: Essays on his Life and Times*, ed. Brian W. Pritchard (Aldershot, 1987), 153–82.

[34] Ed. note: see Hansell, 'Theatrical Ballet' (n.5).

composers were more concerned with dance music than others. Indeed, it was probably the librettist, or perhaps the impresario, who determined the number, placement, and subjects of the *balli*. Yet several composers are well represented among these scores, and a few general observations about composers and dance music can be made in a brief chronological survey of the sources.

1637–1660

Twenty-five scores survive from these first decades of Venetian opera, in contrast to libretti for seventy-six works. Nineteen of these scores are by Francesco Cavalli, who dominated the early decades of commercial opera.[35] More of his operas (twenty-two) were performed in Venice during the 1640s and 1650s than of any other composer and scores survive for all but three of them.[36] The remaining scores are by Claudio Monteverdi,[37] Francesco Sacrati,[38] Antonio Cesti, Pietro Andrea Ziani, and Francesco Lucio. Five of these are for works that apparently did not use *balli* (none is listed in the libretti), and another five omit or change the verses that would have introduced the dances. Seven contain music clearly intended for the *balli*, and eight others have verses introducing the dances or choruses that may have been danced (see Table 3 for details).

Cavalli's first opera, *Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo* (1639) contains a substantial amount of dance music ranging from short instrumental pieces to extensive choreographed scenes involving solo singers, chorus, and instruments. The thorough integration of the dances into several scenes of this opera sets it apart from the works that follow; in fact, danced scenes of this length do not reappear until the ballroom scenes of the 1670s and 1680s. By contrast, Cavalli's *Gli amori d'Apollo e di Dafne* (1640) and *La virtù de' strali d'Amore* (1642) contain only brief instrumental dance music and one longer danced chorus. Cesti's *Alessandro vincitor di se stesso* (1651) also includes a more extensive chorus to accompany a *ballo*.

[35] Many of Cavalli's operas were also central to the dissemination of Venetian opera throughout Italy, enjoying numerous performances in other cities. On Cavalli, see Lorenzo Bianconi, 'Caletti, (Caletti-Bruni), Pietro Francesco, detto Cavalli', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome, 1973), vol. 16, 686–96; Jane Glover, *Cavalli* (New York, 1978); and Thomas Walker and Irene Alm, 'Cavalli, Francesco', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, ed. Sadie and Tyrrell.

[36] The Contarini collection contains copies of all of Cavalli's extant operas, and additional copies of a half-dozen operas survive elsewhere. *Amore innamorato* (1642), *Il Titone* (1645), and *Antioco* (1659) lack scores. Cavalli's last two operas *Coriolano* for Piacenza (May 1669) and *Massenzio* (composed for S. Salvatore 1673, but never performed), are also lost, and ten operas considered doubtful attributions lack scores.

[37] Unfortunately, no score survives for *Le nozze d'Enea con Lavinia* (1641), the opera by Monteverdi with the greatest amount of dance indicated in the libretto. Of his two Venetian operas that do survive, *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria* (1640) contains only one *ballo*, which the score omits, and *L'incoronatione di Poppea* (1643) contains no *balli* in either libretto or score.

[38] The score for Sacrati's *La finta pazza* should soon be available in a facsimile edition with critical commentary by Lorenzo Bianconi, as volume 1 of the series Drammaturgia musicale veneta. I would like to thank Ellen Rosand for allowing me to consult her copyflow of the score. There are substantial differences with the Venetian libretto and neither dance scene is included.

Although many of the scores from the 1650s lack dance music, Marco Faustini's account books for S. Apollinare and S. Cassiano show that *balli* were indeed performed in several of Cavalli's operas, as well as in Pietro Andrea Ziani's *Le fortune di Rodope e Damira* (1657).[39] The scores for Cavalli's *La Rosinda* (1651), *Veremonda Amazzone di Aragona* (1652/3), and *Elena* (1660) contain choruses that may have accompanied the *balli*, or may have simply introduced instrumental dance music. Instruments could have repeated the choral music, or contrasting dance music may have followed. Since these *balli* all occur at the ends of acts, it would have been easy to keep instrumental dance music in a separate score.

In general, the scores from these first two and a half decades of Venetian opera show a trend away from Cavalli's early use of elaborate choral dance music, reminiscent of the late Renaissance *intermedi*. As *balli* become a conventional means of closing the first two acts, shorter instrumental dance pieces, occasionally introduced by a chorus, are favoured.

1661–1680

Libretti show the 1660s and 1670s to have been decades of conformity in many ways for Venetian opera. Of the one hundred operas from these two decades, ninety-eight contain *balli* (usually to close Acts I and II). Scores survive for sixty-three of these one hundred operas, including works not only by Cavalli and Cesti, but also Pietro Andrea Ziani, Antonio Sartorio, and Giovanni Antonio Boretti, several of whom became 'house composers' at particular theatres.[40] Of the sixty-three scores, twenty-seven contain *ballo* music and another thirty-two include some or all of the verses that introduce the *balli*. Approximately two-thirds of the *balli* in these scores are instrumental pieces, with binary form and duple metre increasingly favoured in the 1670s. A few choral accompaniments for *balli* still appear and some pieces alternate solo and chorus, but in the vocal pieces connected with *balli* there is a greater emphasis on solo voices.[41] The first social dance scenes also appear during this period. In *Seleuco* (1666) and *Galieno* (1676), these scenes are composed as conversations during a ball, with instruments supplying continuous dance music in the background.

1681–1690

After two decades of relative conformity, composers began to explore new styles during the 1680s. *Balli* remained a mainstay of productions, however, and are

[39] See Beth L. and Jonathan Glixon, 'Marco Faustini and Venetian Opera Production in the 1650s' (n.6).

[40] Antonio Sartorio dominated at S. Salvatore, Carlo Pallavicino at the two Grimani theatres (SS. Giovanni e Paolo, and, after it opened in 1678, S. Giovanni Grisostomo), and Domenico Freschi at S. Angelo (which opened in 1677). Boretti and Pietro Andrea Ziani continued to be active during the first part of the decade, and newcomers included Giovanni Legrenzi and Ziani's nephew Marc'Antonio.

[41] For example, in *L'Argia* (1669), Alceo sings an aria accompanied by instruments that is danced by a chorus of slaves, and in *Massenzio* (1673) a chorus of sailors dances to an aria sung by one of the sailors.

indicated in the libretti for seventy of the eighty-five operas during this decade. Scores survive for only seventeen of these works: five are by Domenico Gabrielli, three by Pallavicino and three by Freschi, with a number of other composers represented by one score apiece. Nine scores contain *ballo* music, even though for two of these – *Rodoaldo rè d'Italia* (1685) and *Le generose gare tra Cesare e Pompeo* (1686), both by Gabrielli – the libretti fail to mention *balli*. These dances and several others from this decade are notated only by a bass line. Ballroom scenes were extremely popular, appearing in five scores. Most of these scenes weave together both vocal and instrumental music to accompany the dance. At the end of the decade, Giuseppe Felice Tosi's *Amulio e Numitore* (1689) is exceptionally rich in instrumental dance music.

1691–1700

During the final decade of the century, libretti for eighty of the eighty-seven operas mention *balli*. Only thirteen operas have extant scores and nine of these contain dance music.[42] Ten of the scores are by Carlo Francesco Pollarolo, who dominated Venetian opera in the 1690s, much as Cavalli had earlier in the century.[43] The *balli* in his works are also significantly longer, especially those for the *intramezzi* and the final choral scenes of Frigimelica Roberti's neo-classical libretti, *Il pastor d'Anfriso* (1695) and *Rosimonda* (autumn 1695).[44] Their interweaving of vocal music with instrumental pieces may exhibit French influence. Surprisingly, there are no extant scores by Pollarolo's leading rival, Marc'Antonio Ziani, who wrote eighteen operas during this decade, principally for S. Angelo and S. Salvatore.[45] The majority of Giacomo Perti's operas were written for cities other than Venice, but scores for two of his Venetian operas from this decade survive, *Furio Camillo* (1692) and *Nerone fatto Cesare* (1693), and both contain *balli*. Although Perti's instrumental dance music is not nearly as elaborate as Pollarolo's *balli*, French influence is also seen in his use of a 'Borèa' (bourrée) and a 'Rigadon' (rigaudon) in *Nerone fatto Cesare*.

Choreographic sources

The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries saw a flowering of Italian treatises on dance, the most important of which were those by Fabrizio Caroso and Cesare

[42] Two other surviving scores do not match Venetian productions.

[43] There are twenty-six operas for Venetian theatres attributed solely to Pollarolo, as well as two collaborations. Pollarolo has been credited with expanding the dimensions of the aria and increasing the use of instrumental accompaniment. On Pollarolo, see Olga Termini, 'Carlo Francesco Pollarolo: His Life, Time, and Music with Emphasis on the Operas', Ph.D. diss. (University of Southern California, 1970), and by the same author 'Carlo Francesco Pollarolo: Follower or Leader in Venetian Opera?' *Studi musicali*, 7 (1979), 223–72 and 'Pollarolo, Carlo Francesco', *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, ed. Sadie and Tyrrell.

[44] See examples 88–97 in Alm, 'Theatrical Dance'. Not all of Pollarolo's extant scores for libretti by Frigimelica Roberti include the *intermedio* music: *Ottone* (1694) and *Irene* (1695) lack these pieces. There is no evidence, however, that they were by another composer.

[45] Ziani's first seven operas (to 1685) survive, but full scores for all the operas that he composed from that time until his move to Vienna in 1700 are lost.

Negri.[46] However, these manuals are predominantly concerned with social dances performed by the nobility, despite the presence of plots or dramatic subjects in a few.[47] Caroso's *Nobiltà di dame* (1600) was reprinted at least as late as 1630, and some of the dances for which he left choreographies may have been used in Venetian *balli*, perhaps as late as mid-century. Nonetheless, already in 1620 Alessandri da Narni wrote, 'I think that if Prospero Lutij, Fabritio Caroso, and Cesare Negri were alive at this time, they would not use many of the dances, *passeggi*, and variations that we see in their writings. Therefore it does not seem right to me, that we imitate them.'[48] Atypically for the period, the anonymous treatise *Il corago*, likely written between 1628 and 1637, does deal with dance in the context of theatrical music. The *corago* was roughly equivalent to a combination stage manager and director, and the treatise provides much valuable information about opera, devoting several chapters to dance – although, once again, in a courtly context.[49] Overall, then, we are left with a situation in which the best-known manuals from the earlier part of the century have only limited applicability to Venetian opera, and are followed by nearly a century of virtual silence from Italian choreographers and ballet masters.

[46] Ed. note: For further discussion of the various treatises that inform our understanding of Venetian dance, see Alm, 'Theatrical Dance', chapter 1, 1–34. Both Caroso's *Nobiltà di dame* and the earlier treatise on which it was based, *Il ballarino*, are available in facsimile: *Il ballarino* (Venice, 1581; rpt. New York, 1967) and *Nobiltà di dame* (Venice, 1600, 1605; rpt. Bologna, 1970). See also Julia Sutton's translation and edition, *Nobiltà di Dame: A Treatise on Courtly Dance, Together with the Choreography and Music of 49 Dances* (Oxford, 1986; rpt. New York, 1995). Negri's *Le gratie d'amore* (Milan, 1602), is available in two facsimile reprints (Bologna, 1969, and New York, 1969). In addition to the reissue as *Nuove invenzioni di balli* (Milan, 1604), there is a 1630 manuscript translation into Spanish by Don Balthasar Carlos for Señor Conde, Duke of St. Lucar (E-Mn, MS 14085). See also Yvonne Kendall, '*Le gratie d'amore 1602* by Cesare Negri: Translation and Commentary', DMA diss. (Stanford University, 1985). Giovanni Battista Doni's *Trattato della musica scenica* (1640; published in Lyra Barberina II [Florence, 1768; rpt. Bologna, 1974]), while not a dance manual, is also important to an understanding of theatrical dance during the first decades of the seventeenth century and the relationship of modern practice to the writings of the ancients. See especially chapters XXXI–XL, and in the 'Appendice à Trattati di Musica: Musica Scenica, Parte I', chapters XIX–XXVI. For a more extensive discussion of the classical dances, see Irene Alm, 'Humanism and Theatrical Dance in Early Opera', *Musica Disciplina*, 49 (1995), 79–93.

[47] Some of Negri's choreographies designed for spectacles are analyzed by Pamela Jones, 'Spectacle in Milan: Cesare Negri's Torch Dances', *Early Music*, 14 (1986), 182–96.

[48] Alessandri da Narni, *Discoroso sopra il ballo* (1620), 54; the Italian is transcribed in Julia Sutton's preface to her edition of Caroso's *Nobiltà di dame*, 19. One must keep in mind that these treatises were addressed – for the most part – to noble amateurs, albeit skilled and practised dancers, who performed before an audience of their peers.

[49] Ed. note: *Il corago* was perhaps written by Pierfrancesco Rinuccini (1592–1657), son of the librettist Ottavio Rinuccini. The term *corago* itself is derived from the Greek χορηγοσ (*choregus*, or one who leads the chorus); regarding the duties of the position, see the introduction to the modern edition by Paolo Fabbri and Angelo Pompilio, *Il corago o vero alcune osservazioni per metter bene in scena le composizioni drammatiche* (Florence, 1983), 8–10, as well as Roger Savage and Matteo Sansone, '*Il Corago* and the Staging of Early Opera: Four Chapters from an Anonymous Treatise *circa* 1630', *Early Music*, 17 (1989), 495–99. Chapter XVII addresses the role of the *corago* in arranging the choreography for the chorus, with more specific information on dances in chapter XVIII, with reference to the practice of the ancients.

By the early eighteenth century, however, some writers had begun to provide more detailed descriptions of *balli*. In 1704 Vincenzo Coronelli published a surprisingly technical summary of current dances.

> Yet our *balli* have diverse names, like the *Moresca*, the *Passo e mezzo*, the *Cinque passi*, the *Sette passi*, the *Saltarello*, the *Gagliarda*, the *Corrente*, etc., and those from various places like the *Francese*, the *Spagnuola*, the *Fiorentina*, the *Bergamesca*, the *Pavana*, the *Veneziana*, the *Furlana*, the *Siciliana*, the *Romana*, the *Canaria*, etc. In our *balli*, three things especially converge, which are *Passo*, *Salto*, and *Capriola*: the *Passo* is divided into several types, which are *coupé* or step, balanced step, joined step, split, beaten, etc. The *Salto* is divided into the leap forward, backward, turning, to the side, and many others. The *Capriola* is of various types, which are the simple caper, and cross cut, half caper, the caper cut up to the number eight, so that among the professors of *ballo*, they speak of doing a quadruple, quintuple, or sextuple caper, and it is used by *Ballerini* with other terms, and especially with French terms, from which nation for the most part are wont to come new styles and inventions of *balli* to our Italy.[50]

Coronelli's nod to French influence at the end of this passage is doubtless a reflection of the flood of French treatises and choreographies in print since 1700, beginning with Feuillet's *Chorégraphie*.[51] Of the Italian dance types he mentions, several of which date at least as far back as Caroso and Negri, only the *corrente*, *canario*, and *passo e mezzo* appear in libretto verses, and these only occasionally. (As we shall see, standard social dances such as the *sarabanda* and *ciaccona* appear only in ballroom scenes.) However, as the prominence given to the *capriola* in this passage suggests, Italian dancing was known for its athleticism. Italians had used the *capriola* – a jump in which the dancer crossed or beat his legs in the air and which existed in many variants (see Fig. 2) – in theatrical dances at least as early as 1637, as shown in Stefano della Bella's engravings of *Le nozze degli dei*, a *favola* with music performed in Florence for the wedding of Ferdinando II de' Medici and Vittoria della Rovere.[52]

Capriole also figure prominently in Gregorio Lambranzi's *Neue und curieuse theatralische Tantzschul* (Nuremberg, 1716), the only substantial source for Italian theatrical dance practices published in the early eighteenth century.[53] The work consists of 101 engravings illustrating one or more dancers on stage; each plate includes a melody at the top of the page and a caption at the bottom describing the

[50] Vincenzo Coronelli, *Biblioteca universale sacro-profana antico-moderna*, vol. 5 (Venice, 1704), col. 225.

[51] Ed. note: For information regarding the choreographies in Feuillet notation, see Meredith Ellis Little and Carol G. Marsh, *La Danse Noble: An Inventory of Dances and Sources* (Williamstown, 1992).

[52] Della Bella's engravings show Giulio Parigi's designs for *Le nozze degli dei*, which had music by five composers to a libretto by C. Coppola. The engraving with the *capriole* is reproduced in a number of sources including Cesare Molinari, *Le nozze degli dèi: un saggio sul grande spettacolo italiano nel seicento* (Rome, 1968), plate 66.

[53] The original publication (Nürnberg, 1716) is in both German and Italian. It has been translated from the German by Friderica Derra de Moroda as *New and Curious School of Theatrical Dancing*, ed. Cyril W. Beaumont (New York, 1966). Derra de Moroda has also published a facsimile of Lambranzi's original drawings, *New and Curious School of Theatrical Dancing by Gregorio Lambranzi. A Facsimile of the Original in the Bavarian State Library* (New York, 1972).

Fig. 2: Dancer performing a *capriola*. (Mitelli, *Proverbi figurati*, 1678.)

subject, action and style of movement. It includes dances by peasants, a drunken couple, a satyr, buffoons, Turks (see Fig. 3), Moors, and prisoners in chains, among many other character types.

The connection of Lambranzi's style with that used in the Venetian opera houses is only speculative. However, a number of Lambranzi's figures are so strikingly similar to the subjects and descriptions of the *balli* in the libretti, that it seems reasonable to bear Lambranzi's illustrations in mind as we read the descriptions of dancing in the literary sources. For it turns out that the libretti themselves provide usable choreographic information – not just about styles of dancing, but even about specific movements.

Many of the choreographic descriptions found in libretti illustrate the same kind of athleticism suggested by Lambranzi – what we might characterize as the 'bravura' style: leaps and jumps (*salti*), speed, turns, and agility. *Salti* appear in all styles of dances, performed by every type of character. For example, in Act V of *L'Adone*

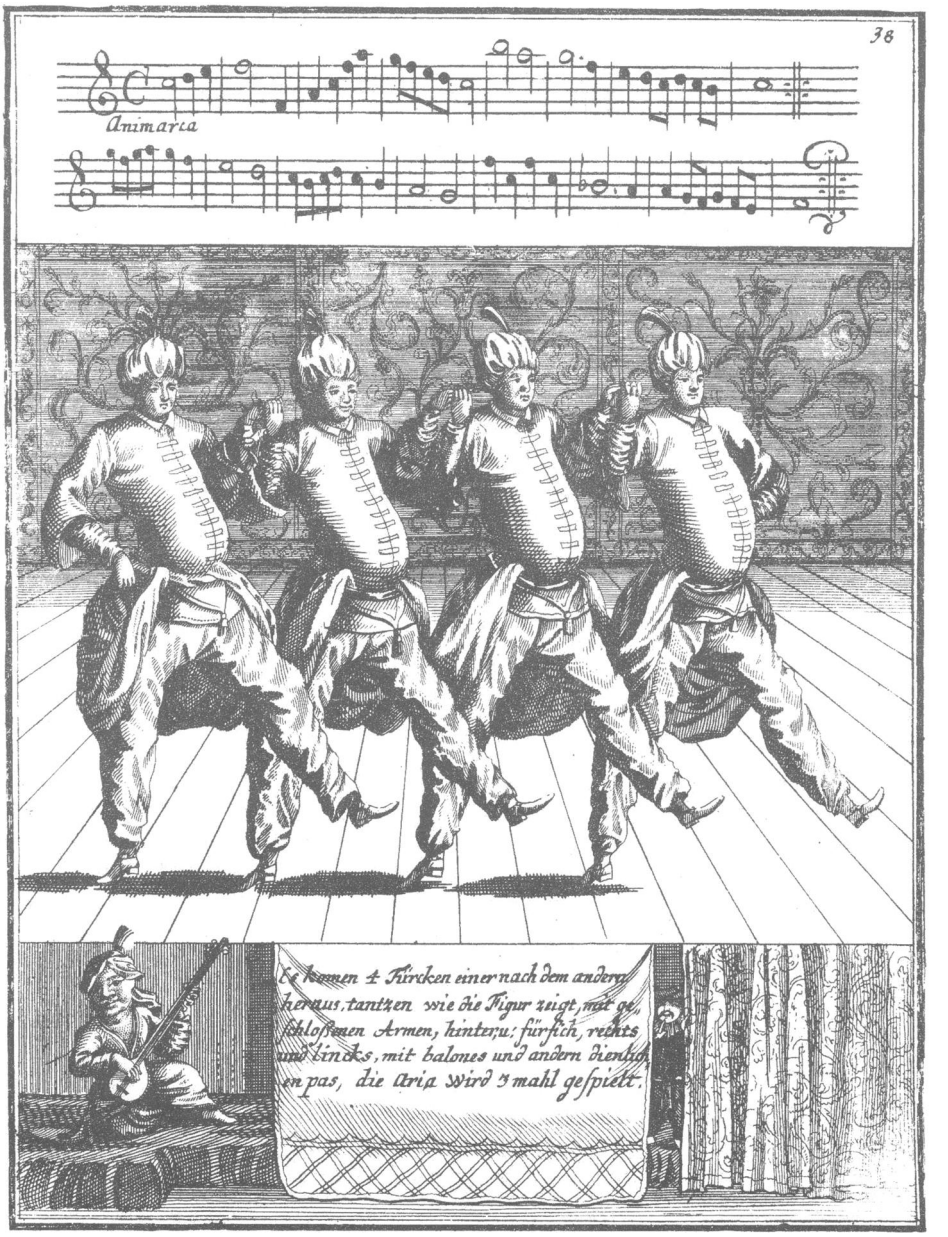


Fig. 3: "Four Turks enter, one after the other, and dance with joined hands as shown; backwards, forwards, and to right and left, with *ballonnés* and other suitable *pas*. The air is played three times." (Lambranzi, *Neue und curieuse theatralische Tantz-Schul* [1716], Book II, plate 38.)

(1640), four dancers costumed as a lion, a tiger, a bear, and a boar enter leaping to begin the *ballo*. A very different setting is the sombre, penitential dance of suffering ('Ballo di Sofferenza') in *La finta pazza* (1641). Here Giunone sings, 'Begin the dance, strong boys', and Minerva chimes in, 'Yes, yes, begin the Greek custom, and

while your foot leaps, sound the whip.'[54] Two operas, *L'Orontea* (1666) and *L'Alciade* (1667), even have *balli* specifically designated for *saltatori*, probably indicating tumblers or acrobats, rather than simply jumpers. Moreover, contrary to frequent assumptions about dance in this period, *salti* were not exclusively performed by male dancers. For example, the stage directions for *L'Andromeda* (1637) tell us that the 'leaping labyrinth' was danced by six ladies. In *Gli amori d'Apollo e di Dafne* (1640), the chorus sings 'Dance and leap / Women and men.'[55]

The libretti use the term *giri* in two ways in regard to the *balli*. Galatea tells the nymphs in *L'Ulisse errante* (1644) to dance with flickering feet, leap, and turn, thus suggesting that they turn or twirl in one place.[56] In *Martio Coriolano* (1683), Vendetta (Vengeance) instructs her ministers to do 'a hundred plus a hundred' turns in their *ballo* and 'in front of a dying Rome trace garlands in my hair'. In ballroom scenes, the terms *giri* or *in giri* were also used to mean circling or taking a turn around the room. In *Falaride tiranno d'Agrigento* (1684), the stage directions for Act I, scenes 7 to 9 read 'here the *ballo* begins . . . The *ballo* circles through the porticos . . . The dance circles around and they exit from the porticos.'[57]

Carole, round dances or carols, are found in Venetian operas throughout the seventeenth century, beginning with *L'Andromeda* (1637). Round dances are among the oldest choreographies depicted in art, seen, for example, in figures on ancient Greek vases.[58] Notably, no specific steps are prescribed for carols, and they are not mentioned in any of the treatises dealing with social dances. Nonetheless, the libretti provide invaluable information about the various woven or braided patterns combined with the round dances. In Act I, scene 9 of *La Rosinda* (1651), for example, a chorus of six goblins ('spiritelli') sings 'Let's weave carols to rejoice' ('Carole al giubilo tessiamo'). Many choreographers also made skilful use of woven patterns in other contexts. The *intrecci* in Act II, scene 2 of *Amore inamorato* (1686) must have made a striking effect, as two groups of twelve cupids with lit torches form braided figures.

Another important source of choreographic information is the operatic character who acts as a sort of dancing master, giving advice on the *ballo*. For example, in *Gli amori d'Apollo e di Dafne* (1640) Act I, scene 4, Dafne reminds her dancers to stay in parallel lines and not to make a false step:

> Seguite pur l'incominciato ballo
> Giolive ninfe, allegri pastorelli,
> Facciano i piedi vostri i paralleli
> A' chi là sù non pon mai piede in fallo.

[54] Giunone: 'Si cominci la danza, Fortissimi garzoni' and Minerva: 'Si cominci, sì, sì, la Greca usanza, E mentre salta il piè la sferza suoni.'
[55] Act I, scene 4: 'Danzino e saltino / Femine & huomini.'
[56] 'Ballate, danzate / Col tremulo piè / Saltate, girate / Ch'il Cieco non v'è.'
[57] 'Qui pincipia il ballo . . . Gira il Ballo nè sottoportici . . . Gira la Danza, & escono da i sotto portici.'
[58] See also the fourteenth-century frescoes by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

[By all means continue the *ballo* begun, joyful nymphs, happy shepherdesses; Let your feet make the parallels, upon which don't ever make a false step.]

Grace, lightness, and speed are three qualities mentioned often in the verses that introduce or accompany *balli*. In the finale of *Il rè infante* (1683) Venus commands her followers to sparkle, celebrate, and perform graceful dances with their feet.[59] In Act II, scene 10 of *Venere gelosa* (1643), Trulla's dancing is described as 'lighter than a bubble' ('più leggiero d'una galla'). Nearly all references to the speed of movements use terms such as 'veloce' (fast or rapid), 'snello' (quick or agile), 'rapido' (swift or fast), 'agile' (agile or nimble), and 'volante' (flying). The dancers in *L'Euripo* (1649) race with the breeze:

Lascivo, e snello
Il piè festeggi
Il piè gareggi
Col venticello.
Leggiere à prova
Danza formate
Compagne amate
Leggiadra e nova.

[Lascivious and nimble, the foot celebrates, the foot races with the breeze. Lightly in contest, beloved companions, perform a graceful, new dance.]

Eyewitness accounts

Eyewitness accounts by viewers who attended performances in Venice also provide information about choreography, especially when read in conjunction with the libretti. Visitors to Venice were often overwhelmed by the sheer number of operas or enthralled with the stage machinery and the singers; a few writers, some local and some foreign, comment on the *balli*. Robert Bargrave, an English merchant, had a passionate interest in music and wrote detailed and vivid descriptions of church music, opera, and the other musical experiences that he enjoyed during his travels.[60] Venetian opera captivated him, and he listed among its delights the 'most exquisite Anticks and Masking Dances'.[61] The 1656 Carnival season hosted only two operas, both by Cavalli; Bargrave must have seen *Artemisia* at SS. Giovanni e Paolo and *L'Erismena* at S. Apollinare.[62] The two dances in *Artemesia* both involve comic characters: at the end of Act I, eight archers come to the rescue of the old nurse Erisbe, and at the close of Act II, Niso is mocked by eight pages. *Erismena* includes

[59] 'Miei seguaci voi brillate / Festeggiate / Danze leggiadre ora col piè formate.'

[60] 'A Relation of sundry voyages and Journeys made by me Robert Bargrave', Bodleian Library, Oxford: GB-Ob, MS. Rawlinson C.799. Bargrave even composed songs and choreographed dances for an English wedding in Constantinople (although it was called off at the last moment). See Michael Tilmouth, 'Music on the Travels of an English Merchant: Robert Bargrave (1628–61)', *Music and Letters*, 53 (1972), 143–59.

[61] Quoted in Tilmouth, 'Music on the Travels of an English Merchant', 156.

[62] The chronology of operas at SS. Giovanni e Paolo during the 1650s is particularly murky. It is possible that Cavalli's *La Statira principessa di Persia* was performed in 1655/6 and that *Artemisia* was performed in 1656/7.

a *ballo* for prisoners who free their feet from chains and celebrate their freedom with a dance, weaving the chains together, and another *ballo* for Moorish men and women.

The *Pallade Veneta*, a monthly news-sheet that circulated in manuscript, sometimes contained reviews that provide valuable details about choreography.[63] The January 1687 issue, for example, contains Francesco Coli's review of *Elmiro rè di Corinto*, which had opened at S. Giovanni Grisostomo on 26 December 1686. The libretto calls for two *balli* and a *combattimento*; the unusually large company of twenty-four dancers was apparently all male. The *ballo* for soldiers (Act II, scene 13) is described in the libretto as follows: 'Twelve followers of Pace [Peace] descend; fighting with the twelve followers of Sdegno [Scorn], they form a pleasing pattern that serves as the *ballo*.' Coli's review vividly expands upon this brief stage direction:

> In this very noble scene one sees a monster of immense size and frightful appearance, representing a flying toad on which Sdegno rides, singing an *arietta* all in a rage. Behind the machine of the terrifying monster one sees in the air among dense white clouds Pace followed by a large chorus of her ministers nicely arranged in that cloudy heaven, a scene in effect of supreme joy, and then Pace and Sdegno quarrel and dispute together in song. The monster representing Sdegno spews forth from its enormous and fiery mouth a great many furious and terrible men, and they pour out, having been restricted in a small space, when the impetuous followers of Pace descend in a number equal to that disgorged by Sdegno who, with various patterns and well-measured turns, have a scattered fight of fine and gallant forces, and the followers of Sdegno seeming to surrender, Pace remains victorious.[64]

Reviews of Venetian opera also appeared from time to time in the French monthly, the *Mercure galant*. The first of these articles appeared in the August 1677 issue[65] and discussed all seven of the operas presented during the 1677 Carnival season in some detail: for *Il Nicomede in Bitinia*, the dances are the main focus of the review.

> The first act finished with a ballet of stonecutters. They each held their hammers and chisels, and made their movements in rhythm around a statue of Nicomede, which they seemed to complete while dancing; but all this in a manner so well planned, that one could see nothing more precise. An entrée of peasants and farmhands with their shovels and their hoes finished the following act; and the second scene of the third act was agreeably interrupted by a dance by several heroes, who remembering their former loves, each took the end of one of the various coloured ribbons that were hanging from the branches of a tall myrtle in the middle of the theatre. There was nothing so amusing as to see them tangling and

[63] For a history of this publication and a list of extant copies, see Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *Pallade Veneta: Writings on Music in Venetian Society 1650–1750* (Venice, 1985).

[64] For the complete text of the review, see Selfridge-Field, *Pallade Veneta*, 134–42; the passage quoted here may be found on 140.

[65] Pagination varies among extant copies of the *Mercure galant*. In the August 1677 issue that I consulted, the discussion of Venetian opera appears on pages 72–105. Selfridge-Field cites pages 37–53; she quotes part of the review, but omits all the relevant dance passages (*Pallade Veneta*, 338–40).

disentangling each other, which they did in different manners and always with a skill that brought acclamation from everyone.[66]

The libretto for *Il Nicomede in Bitinia* was issued in two editions, both of which list the first two dances, but not the third – further evidence that libretti provide only a conservative gauge of the role of dance in Venetian opera.[67] If it were not for this journalistic account, we would not even know that the third *ballo* had existed, let alone something about its choreography. Moreover, accounts such as these can be read in conjunction with other sources to help imagine how such scenes may have looked. Gregorio Lambranzi, whose writing we considered above, explained exactly how to choreograph a dance such as the one in the first *ballo* (see Fig. 4):

> Here is a wooden statue which has been covered with pieces of stone, made to adhere by means of plaster, so that it appears shapeless. It is set upon the stage. Then enter two sculptors who chisel the statue as they dance, so that the pieces of stone fall off and the mass is transformed into a statue. The *pas* (steps) can be arranged at pleasure.[68]

Subject and style

The sheer variety of subjects used in Venetian *balli* makes it impossible to treat them all in detail. The imagination of librettists and choreographers led them to create all sorts of situations, actions, and roles for dancers, and the freedom of style and technique allowed for endless variety. Some subjects had been used in theatrical dance in Italy for at least two centuries: Bacchantes, nymphs, satyrs, hunters with bears, lions or other wild animals, fire-breathing statues, pages with torches, soldiers in combat and battle scenes, madmen, Amazons, Moors, and Turks. Some of these became incorporated into the conventions of seventeenth-century Venetian opera, while others were uniquely tailored to a single opera's plot.

An important way in which the various subjects were expressed to the audience was through pantomime, one of the most distinctive features of Venetian theatrical dancing. Venetian opera was by no means the first place in which pantomime appeared in Italian choreography; expressive gesture and mime are mentioned in descriptions of danced entertainments as early as the fifteenth century, and were features of many sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century pastorales, *intermedi*, and *balli*.[69] Pantomime was also an essential element of the *commedia dell'arte*; although *commedia* characters do not appear in Venetian operas or *balli*, their miming was seen in the other theatres and in squares throughout Carnival, such that the public readily absorbed their vocabulary of gestures.

[66] *Mercure galant* (August 1677), 93–5.
[67] The libretti list a '*ballo* by stonecutters with hammers and chisels around the statue' and a '*ballo* by restorers with shovels and hoes'.
[68] Trans. F. Derra de Moroda (see n.53), Part Two, 3.
[69] Mime was used, for example, in the choreographies for Giovanni Battista Guarini's *Il pastor fido* (1584; published Venice 1590), Emilio de Cavalieri's *La rappresentatione di Anima, e di Corpo* (1600), Marco da Gagliano's *Dafne* (1607), and many of Claudio Monteverdi's *balli* and *combattimenti*.

Fig. 4: Two sculptors chiselling a statue as they dance. (Lambranzi, *Neue und curieuse*, Book II, plate 24.)

Pantomimed *balli* in seventeenth-century Venetian operas were, admittedly, on a much smaller scale than mid-eighteenth-century pantomime ballets by choreographers such as Franz Hilverding, Gasparo Angiolini, and Jean-Georges Noverre, yet they provide significant evidence that the *ballet en action* also had historical roots in

Italy as well as France. Several seventeenth- and eighteenth-century theatrical treatises specifically mention pantomime among the many aspects of Italian choreography that they trace back to Greek and Roman sources. Doni, for example, drew upon Lucian in discussing the use of gesture in ancient dance, and Perrucci began chapter XI of *Dell'arte rappresentativa* (1699), 'Del Gestire conveniente al Rappresentante', by tracing the classical art of gesture in English, French, and Italian theatre.[70]

In Venetian opera, pantomime could be both comic and tragic, and might explore ideas, emotions, actions, or sentiments not readily expressed with the voice. A particularly vivid example of tragic pantomime comes at the close of the second act of *Il Romolo e'l Remo* (1645). Six matrons from Alba dance a *ballo grave* as they mourn for their husbands and relatives, and weep amidst the spoils of war. They carry an urn with the ashes, a flask to collect their tears, a purse to pay Charon for the crossing, and lamps for the eternal flame as used in antiquity. The libretto describes the lamenting gestures of the women, whereas the scenario tells of sighs of pain;[71] all of this would have been represented very differently through song. Pantomime was also used routinely in *balli* by soldiers, gladiators, and fencers, as well as to depict other moments of violence. Act I of *L'Adelaide* (1672), for example, ends with a *ballo* based on two miners attempting to molest Adelaide and the ensuing brawl:

> Here Adelaide leaves the mine, re-climbing the stone stairs by which she had descended, to return to the mouth of the exit. While two workers want to follow her to molest her, they are held back by the other fellows who, angered, begin to argue among themselves, forming a curious *ballo* in the form of a fight for the end of Act I. When this has finished, the dust already clinging to them in their niches catches on fire, and noisily exploding, a great deal of marble is demolished in more parts of the mine, with the ruin of some workers, changing the scene at the same time.

Smoking and drinking are among the *ballo* subjects that commonly involved pantomime. Pipes and tobacco are used with mime in *Sardanapalo* (1679), *Olimpia vendicata* (1682), and *Il Pertinace* (1689). Pantomimed drunkenness was used for comic effect,[72] and bacchanalian dances naturally mimed drinking (see Fig. 5). The stage directions for the opening scene of *Amage regina de Samarti* (1694) are quite specific:

[70] Giovanni Battista Doni, *Trattato della musica scenica* (1640), in *Lyra Barberina II*, 93 and Perrucci, *Dell'arte rappresentativa*, 110–111. [Ed. note: For further information regarding the theoretical underpinnings of pantomime, see Irene Alm, 'Pantomime in Seventeenth-Century Venetian Theatrical Dance', in *Creature di Prometeo: Il ballo teatrale. Dal divertimento al dramma. Studi offerti a Aurel M. Milloss*, ed. Giovanni Morelli (Florence, 1996), 87–102.]

[71] The libretto states 'Ballo di sei Matrone Albane, che piangano i mariri [*sic*] morti nell'uccisione del Tiranno. Havranno le ceneri in un vaso, un'ampolla da raccoglier le lagrime, una borsa per pagare il passo à Charonte, ed alcune lucerne per formarne i lume eterni secondo l'uso degli antichi, con due trofei d'armi intorno a i quali si aggireranno con gesti lamentevoli.' Four strophes of verse follow. The scenario states 'Ballo grave con cenni dogliosi di Matrone Albane, che piangano intorno ad alcuni trofiei d'arme la morete de' loro Mariti e Parenti seguita nella mischia precedente, ed hanno il vaso delle ceneri in mano, ed alcune ampolette da raccoglier le lacrime, una borsa di monete per pagar il passo à Caronte, ed alcuni lumi eterni com'era costume degli antichi.'

[72] For example, the revival of *L'Orontea* (1683) has a 'Ballo di Ubriachi'.

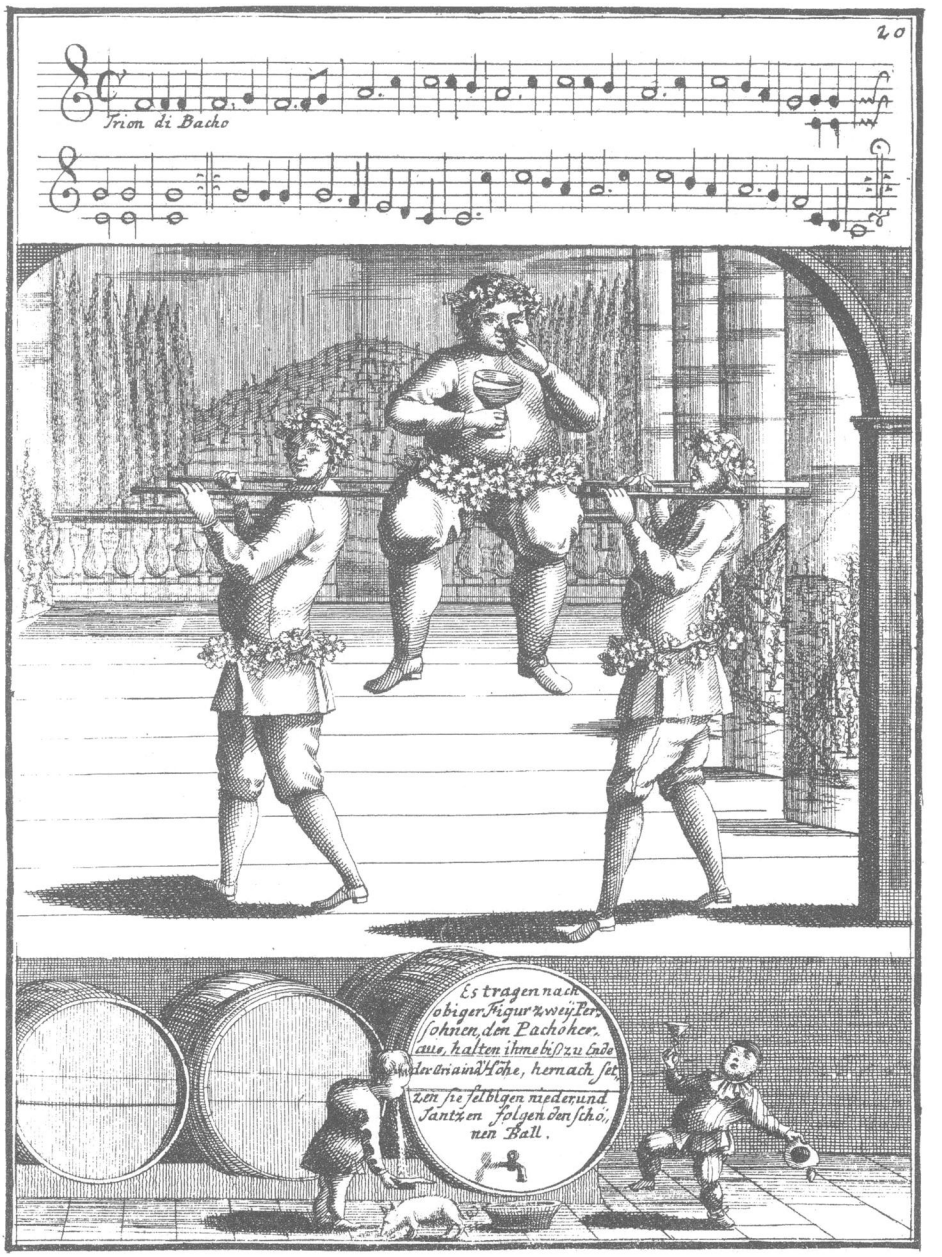


Fig. 5: 'Two persons carry in Bacchus and hold him up until the air ends. Then they set him down and dance the following beautiful dance.' (Lambranzi, *Neue and curieuse*, Book II, plate 20.)

The triumph of Bacchus is presented by Ulderico in a garden of the kingdom. . . . Royal guards garlanded with flowers. The curtain having risen, four bacchantes dancing a *ballo* will lead the aforementioned company. . . . Niso goes around offering sweet drinks to the bacchantes, who two by two, after drinking, will enter into the *ballo*. . . . The orchestra

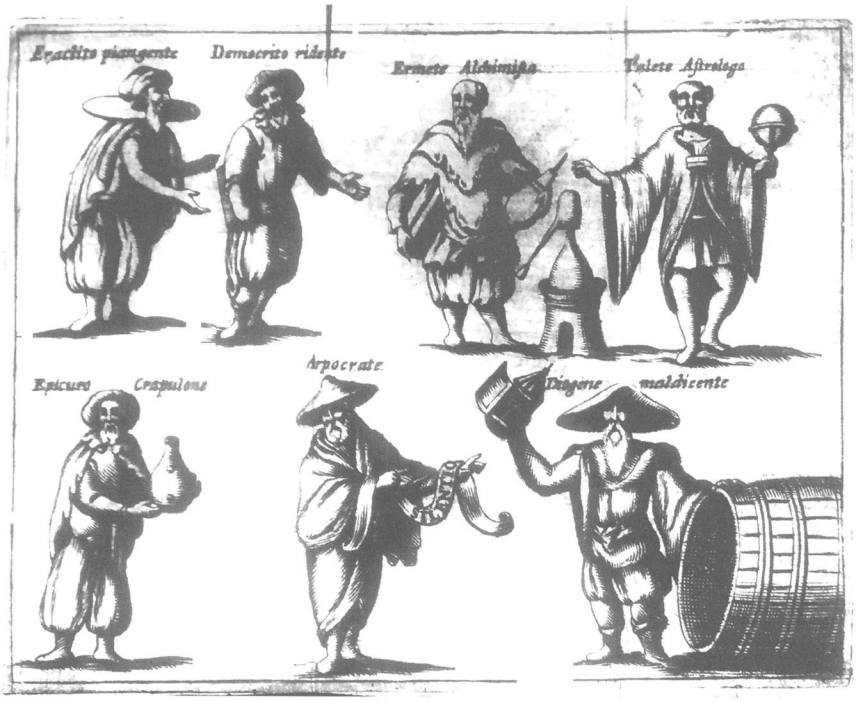


Fig. 6: 'Ballo di Filosofi' from *Giulio Cesare trionfante*, Act II, scene 1. (Fold-out engraving in the libretto, Venice, 1682.)

answers the music of the above verses . . . In the same prescribed order he offers the drink to the other two, and repeats the preceding verses . . . after which the *ballo* ends.

Props were also used in pantomimic dance to clarify characterizations or specific situations in a *ballo*. Soldiers, hunters, and gladiators carry a variety of weapons including arrows, spears, and swords.[73] Peasants and workers use scythes, hoes, and shovels.[74] Prisoners dance in chains, as in *Diocletiano* (1675), or celebrate their freedom by carrying the chains, as in *L'Erismena* (1656). The scholars of Archimedes hold instruments of geometry while they dance in *Marcello in Siracusa* (1670), and seven philosophers each with a symbolic gesture or prop (such as Diogenes with his lantern) are portrayed in the first *ballo* of *Giulio Cesare trionfante* (1682) (see Fig. 6).

The extraordinary variety of subjects and characters in the *balli* was in large part a result of librettists' efforts to link the *balli* to the plot or subject of the opera, even though they did not necessarily play a critical role in advancing the action. Librettists devised many motivations for *balli*. One of the chief reasons was *allegrezza*, or joy: weddings, military victories, the rescue of prisoners, the arrival of good news – all

[73] Among numerous examples are a 'Ballo d'Arcieri con Archi, e Frezze [freccie]' in *Il perfetto Ibraim gran visir di Costantinopoli* (1679) and a 'Ballo di Soldati, con Lancie, e Spade' in *L'amazzone corsara, overo L'Alvilda regina de Goti* (1686).

[74] For example, the two *balli* in *L'Adone* (1676) are 'Ballo di Satiri, e Villanelle con Bastoni, e Falci' and 'Ballo di Resauratori con Zappe, e Badili'.

of these and more were occasions for dance. In addition, mythological and supernatural characters were prone to dance, and comic characters (buffoons, court jesters, and madmen) could always provide the opportunity for a *ballo*. For example, in *Le fortune di Rodope e Damira* (1657), the librettist Aureli uses a dance by *pazzi* (madmen) to expand on the idea of Damira's madness. These madmen interrupt a marital spat between Bato and Nerina, and Bato then becomes involved in their dance.[75] In some cases, the principals of the opera converse at a ball, or are entertained by *giochi* (games) danced by gladiators or swordsmen. In other instances the connections are somewhat less obvious, though no less intriguing. Contemporary artistic or philosophical interests might have been reflected in the dancing painters, scholars, sculptors, or philosophers. There were also *balli* for farmers and peasants, miners and gardeners, sailors and fishermen, guards and prisoners, eunuchs and slaves.[76] Despite the remarkable variety and individuality of the Venetian *balli*, there are many topics to which librettists and choreographers frequently return. These are summarized in the section below.

The mythological, allegorical, and pastoral

As a number of commentators have noted, the problem of introducing song and dance into drama may well have been of concern to the earliest opera librettists.[77] One immediate solution was to give this heightened speech (song) and movement (dance) to higher beings, differentiating them from mere mortals who merely spoke (recitative). The notion of dance having heavenly origins was most famously celebrated in the Florentine *intermedi* for *La pellegrina* (1589). Opera's very origins are tied to Greek and Roman myths, and characters from these stories populate the *balli* as well. In any number of operas, gods descend from the heavens to dance and are accompanied by various Arcadian creatures: Cupids dance for Venus; the Muses dance for Apollo; fauns and satyrs celebrate bacchanalian revels.[78] The enduring popularity of pastoral themes is seen in the many *balli* danced by nymphs and shepherds.[79] As it happens, many of the *balli* that refer to carols are danced by characters of this type. In Act I, scene 4 of *Gli amori d'Apollo e di Dafne*, Dafne invites

[75] Jane Glover states that Aureli 'dramatically prepares' for *balli* whereas Faustini does not, and cites this as one of her examples; see 'The Teatro Sant'Apollinare and the Development of Seventeenth-Century Venetian Opera', Ph.D. diss. (Oxford University, 1975), 266. Yet many of the *balli* in Faustini's libretti either involve or are introduced by one of the opera's characters. In fact, Faustini's *Elena* (1660) has a dance by freed slaves similar to the dance by freed prisoners in Aureli's *L'Erismena* (1656) cited by Glover. See also Faustini's *La virtù de' strali d'Amore* (1642), *L'Euripo* (1649), *La Rosinda* (1651), *La Calisto* (1652), and *L'Eupatra* (1655).

[76] Lists of these and other roles can be found in the 'Index of Balli', in Alm, *Catalog of Venetian Librettos*, 984–97.

[77] Ed. note: On the question of operatic verisimilitude, see Nino Pirotta, 'Early Opera and Aria', *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi* (Cambridge, 1982), esp. 275–80, and Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 40–45.

[78] Mythological characters listed in *balli* include the gods Amore, Apollo, Aurora, Bacco, Cibele, Diana, Imeneo, Marte, and Pallade. Dancers, however, usually played lesser mythological figures such as 'amori', 'ciclopi', 'driadi', 'fauni', or 'zeffiri'.

[79] See 'ninfe', 'pastorelle', and 'pastori' in the 'Index of Balli', Alm, *Catalog of Venetian Librettos*.

a chorus of nymphs to celebrate her happiness 'con danze e carole', and in Act II, scene 17 of *Circe abbandonata da Ulisse* (autumn 1697), Bleso introduces a *ballo* for shepherdesses and gardeners, singing 'Charming gardeners / Come, come graceful friends / Celebrate / Dance carols'.[80] Carols were typically joyful dances, and even the soldiers danced them in *Xerse* (1654), when Eumene calls for celebrations with the happy carols of victory following the second battle.

Dancers also portray followers of allegorical figures, such as suspicions ('sospetti'), the followers of Gelosia, in Aureli's *Perseo* (1665), and the ministers of Discordia in Corradi's *La divisione del mondo* (1675).[81] Other allegorical subjects include the four elements, the twelve months, the twenty-four rays of the sun, and the four parts of the world.

The supernatural

Dances by spirits, goblins, elves, ghosts, demons, furies, and phantoms are among those most frequently found throughout the seventeenth century. Not only did these *balli* allow for special effects and spectacular staging, they were easily introduced through types of scenes that had become conventions in Venetian opera.[82] Sleep scenes, for example, involved phantoms and spirits who appeared in dreams. In Francesco Piccoli's *L'incostanza trionfante overo, Il Theseo* (1658), Act II closes with a scene for Anthiope. As she falls asleep, Morfeo (Morpheus, the god of dreams and son of Sleep) sings an introduction to the *ballo*, which is danced by various phantoms who represent impending events, showing Anthiope her future through her dreams. In Aureli's *Teseo trà le rivali* (1685), Act III, scene 1, Fedra falls asleep and dreams of a fantastic monster and phantoms.[83] A more pleasant dream is danced by a chorus of heroes in Act II, scene 19 of *Ercole in Tebe* (1671) by Moniglia and Aureli.[84] The finale of Frigimelica Roberti's *Il pastore d'Anfriso* (1695) is an elaborate allegorical scene for La Notte (Night) who appears with 'Sogni e Fantasme' (Dreams and Phantoms) who play instruments, sing, and dance.

Another convention was the infernal invocation, in which spirits were conjured up to assist in carrying out a plan or to thwart someone's actions. The most famous scene of this type occurs in Cicognini's and Cavalli's *Giasone* (1649), which enjoyed

[80] 'Giardiniere vezzosette / Sù, sù amiche leggiadrette / Festeggiate / Carolate.'

[81] The allegorical figures who routinely have followers include Allegrezza, Capriccio, Costanza, Inganno, Inventione, Pace, Paura, Riso, Sdegno, and Virtù. See 'seguaci di' (followers of) in the "Index of Balli" ', Alm, *Catalog of Venetian Librettos*.

[82] For further discussion on the use of conventions in Venetian opera, see Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, chapter 11.

[83] 'Qui al suono di grave sinfonia Fedra s'addormenta. E mentre ella dorme le apparir in sogno fantastico Mostro con alquanti varij fantasmi che formano il Ballo, qual terminato spariscono i fantasmi col mostro e Fedra si risveglia.'

[84] 'Mentre Megara dorme gli apparisce in sogno Ercole assiso in Trono con Pelio superato à suoi piedi. Vede quel vittorioso Heroe coronato dalla Fama d'alloro, la qual poscia alzando il volo, e suonando laurea sua Tromba chiama un Choro d'Eroi, quali compariscono ad'inchinar Ercole in forma di Ballo, qual terminato sparisce il sogno, e Megara si sveglia.'

a remarkable popularity during the seventeenth century.[85] At the close of Act I, Medea calls the spirits to her chamber of spells and commands them to assist her. Following the chorus of spirits, Volano (a demon) sings, and after Medea's final lines, the spirits dance. Further information on at least one version of the choreography is given in three Milanese libretti from around 1660.[86] In these, Medea has additional text before the 'Ballo di Spiriti', telling the spirits how she wants them to look and dance: 'not in the shape of frightful ghosts, / but with a ridiculous and charming appearance, / press the ground, draw out / affectionate dances, joking among us.'[87] In this version she seems to encourage a more grotesque and comic dance, rather than a sinister or frightening one. This caution may have been intended to avoid anything that seemed too close to actually invoking infernal powers, thereby attracting the attention of the Inquisition (a particular concern in a conservative city such as Milan).[88] Comic mishaps involving magic also conjured up dances of spirits and demons, who frightened or even tormented an unfortunate character. Another supernatural theme used in *balli* was that of statues who come to life and dance. At the end of Act II of Aureli's *L'Erismena* (1656), Clerio is alone on stage, and his curiosity leads him to open a book given to him by a court sorcerer to deliver to his master, Idraspe. No sooner has he opened it than several statues in the gallery begin to move. Terrified at the sight, he runs off, and the statues join in a dance to conclude the act.[89]

Animals

Hunt scenes were popular in Venetian operas and were one way to introduce animals into *balli*. Bears, wild boar, and stags were pursued by hunters. Stagehands or extras may have portrayed the animals in some cases, but in other instances dancers took these roles, as in Paolo Vendramino's *L'Adone* (1639), where the *ballo* is danced by a lion, a tiger, a bear and a wild boar, or Faustini's *La Calisto* (1652), where six bears dance at the end of Act I (cf. Fig. 1).[90] Children may have danced

[85] The enduring popularity of *Giasone* is especially notable in view of the fact that the opera 'industry' of the time produced works designed to be extremely successful for a season, but ephemeral. Many sources for *Giasone* survive (numerous libretti and scores from various revivals in Venice and elsewhere), and these still await a comprehensive study.

[86] I wish to thank Martin Morell for sending me this information. One undated libretto is now at the Bologna Conservatory (I-Bc no. 6519) and two libretti are at the Milan Conservatory, one undated (I-Mc, Y.104) and one with a handwritten date of 1660 (I-Mc, Y.105).

[87] 'E non in forme / Di larve spaventose, / Ma in sembianze ridicole, e vezzose / Premete il suol, trahete / Scherzando tra di noi danze amorose.'

[88] Venice was somewhat more liberal; the characters in Domenico Balbi's *Il sfortunato patiente* (1667) form a circle to invoke devils who dance. In 1686, however, Noris's *Il demone amante, overo Giugurta* was banned in Venice (Act I ended with a 'Ballo d'Ombre'). The manuscript *mercuri* (news-sheet) dated 12 January 1685 [M.V.] reported that the authorities had suspended performances and chastised the authors for including scenes inimicable to the Catholic religion. I-Vnm Cod. It. VI 463 (=12107).

[89] This dance is described in the scenario; a different *ballo* appears in the libretto.

[90] Notably, the account book lists expenses for the bear costumes. See Alm, *Theatrical Dance,* table Va.

the parts of baboons and monkeys in operas such as *La Bradamante* (1650) by Pietro Paolo Bissari. Among the more unusual animals that dancers portrayed are the frogs in Antonio Arcoleo's *La Rosaura* at S. Angelo in 1689. Ostriches were surprisingly popular and appear in two operas at S. Giovanni Grisostomo in 1681, *Antioco il Grande* by Frisari and *Il Creso* by Corradi, as well as in Fulgenzio Mattia Gualazzi's *La schiavitù fortunata* at S. Angelo in 1695.

The seventeenth-century chronicler of opera, Cristoforo Ivanovich testifies that Venetian theatres also used both live and mechanical animals: 'Thus there are real elephants, live camels, great chariots drawn by wild beasts and by horses: also flying horses, horses that dance, the most superb machines, presented in air, on land, and on the sea with extravagant artifice and praiseworthy invention.'[91] Although in some operas the elephants and camels were stage machinery, at least one opera at S. Giovanni Grisostomo, *Licinio imperatore* (1684), actually featured two live camels that had been captured during the Turkish siege of Vienna.[92] Horses were more often seen on stage. For example, in a review of *Totila*, performed at SS. Giovanni e Paolo in 1677, a reporter for the *Mercure galant* writes, 'This Act [Act I] finished with a dance of cavaliers mounted on real horses'. The bears at the close of the second act of *Totila* were more likely dancers or extras in costume, and the reporter simply states 'An entrée of soldiers attacked by two bears finished the act'. The horses returned for the battle scene in the third act: 'Some carts loaded with spoils from the enemy passed over this bridge; they were drawn by real horses . . .'[93] In 1679, the same journal also reported that 'chariots drawn by real horses, and cavaliers also on horseback' were used in *Alessandro Magno in Sidone* at SS. Giovanni and Paolo.[94] And Andrea Perrucci, writing in 1699, confirms Ivanovich's report of flying horses, remarking on the 'flights not only of men, but of live horses' seen in Venetian theatres.[95]

A review of *La fortuna tra le disgratie*, staged at S. Angelo in 1688, indicates that, at least on one occasion, even wild animals were brought into the opera house:

> One sees in the second [scene] a stag running followed by dogs and hunters, which causes extraordinary admiration and the necessity to confess that the Venetians even make wild animals adapt to the stage.[96]

[91] Cristoforo Ivanovich, *Memorie teatrali di Venezia* (Venice, 1687; rpt. Lucca, 1993), 388–89.

[92] This special attraction was reported in the manuscript *mercuri*, dated 25 December 1683, I-Vnm Cod. It. VI 460 (=12104).

[93] *Mercure galant* (August 1677), 80–83. Live horses are not mentioned in the libretto, which in the prefatory pages (p. 10) describes the scene at the end of the first act as an 'Abbatimento fra Vandali e Romani', whereas at the end of Act I the same scene is referred to as a 'Ballo de Cavallieri'. A propos of the second-act dances, the libretto lists a 'Ballo di Pastori con Fiere' in the prefatory pages, but a 'Ballo di Soldati inseguiti da due Orsi' at the end of Act II.

[94] *Mercure galant* (April 1679), 129–30.

[95] Perrucci (see n.1), 52.

[96] *Pallade Veneta* (January 1688), 64–71, quoted in Selfridge-Field (see n.63), 202. A similar scene was described by Chassebras de Cramailles as having occurred in *Berenice vedicativa* (1680), presented in the private theatre of Marco Contarini at Piazzola sul Brenta: 'That which astonished the most was a real hunt of live deer, bears, and wild boars, that were killed by the hunters.' *Mercure galant* (February 1681), 245–46.

Although this scene did not include a *ballo*, it raises the possibility that some of the animals mentioned for *balli* involving hunters may have been real.

Comedy

Choreographers at Venetian opera houses had to be adept at creating comic *balli*, since these were staples of the repertoire. Sometimes called a *scherzo* or a *burla*, the comic *ballo* could be tailored to many different settings. In some operas it was danced by pages or servants, as in Giacomo Dall'Angelo's *Il Demetrio* (1666), where insolent pages tease Geliro and an old woman. In others the dancers are dressed as buffoons ('buffoni') or fools ('scemi'). Some comic *balli* depended on physical traits, such as hunchbacks ('gobbi'), dwarves ('nani'), or cripples ('zoppi').[97] The adjectives 'cappricioso' (whimsical) and 'bizzaro' (bizarre) are used to describe the style of some *balli*. At the close of Act I in *Veremonda Amazzone di Aragona* (1652/3), Vendetta commands a celebration 'con danza bizzara'. 'Cappriciose danze' are performed by prisoners with chains on their feet at the end of Act II in *Diocletiano* (1675), and in Act II, scene 19 of *Ariberto e Flavio regi de Longobardi* (1685), the Muses dance a 'capriccioso ballo'. The familiar *commedia dell'arte* characters, however, never crossed over into the theatrical dances in the Venetian opera houses, perhaps because they could be seen in other theatres in Venice where spoken comedies played.

Pantomime was used in many comic situations. For example, the three-part *ballo* which closes Act I of *La Bradamante* (1650) begins with baboons (possibly danced by children) who are fleeing from hunters. When the hunters catch up with them, the baboons imitate their gestures, then climb up into the trees and escape. *Pompeo Magno* (1666) has two comic *balli* involving mime. Act II closes with a chorus of twelve shades, or spirits, who torment the comic character Delfo, surrounding him and tying him up while dancing (see below, Example 1). Even *Santa Catterina d'Alessandria* (1675), a *rappresentatione sacra*, uses pantomimed mockery. At the end of Act I, Labinia calls the children to dance in a *ballo* that mocks a group of fake doctors.

Madness

Madness, whether feigned or real, was one of the conventions in seventeenth-century opera and required specialized choreography. In *La finta pazza* (1641), the opera that established madness as a convention of Venetian opera, a *ballo* danced by madmen closes Act II.[98] The first edition of the libretto includes a scenario, which describes the dance:

[97] It is not known whether Venetian theatres hired hunchbacks and dwarves or if these roles were played by dancers in costume and by children.

[98] On mad scenes in Venetian opera, with particular reference to *La finta pazza*, see Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 121–24, and Paolo Fabbri, 'On the Origins of an Operatic Topos: The Mad-scene', in *Con che soavità: Studies in Italian Opera, Song, and Dance, 1580–1740*, ed. Tim Carter and Iain Fenlon (Oxford, 1995), 157–95.

In any case, the nurse having arrived unexpectedly to tie her up, Deidamia is helped by some court buffoons, crazy in the head, who with shovels drive off the nurse and the others, who were speaking with her; after which action Deidamia invites these madmen to perform a *ballo* for the happiness of having won a victory. And here ends the second Act.[99]

The *Cannocchiale per la finta pazza* gives a more detailed account:

Then followed the court Eunuch, who gave Diomede a report on the fury of Deidamia, who then turned up with the captain of the armed chorus, and [Deidamia] pretended much frivolity speaking nonsense in such a way that the Eunuch, Diomede, and the Captain considered her completely mad; and because the nurse arrived and tried to tie her up with chains, the young lady gave cry, calling for help, and so the court buffoons, crazy in the head, who came out bizarrely dressed in various colours and sizes, made everyone withdraw and set her free. Deidamia then invited them with song to perform as a sign of happiness a *ballo*, as they did a very bizarre one, and as if madmen, except not so crazy that the art, the tempos, and the metres were very well marked, which not only gave delight to the eyes, but also to the intellect, seeing that even ridiculousness and discord are subjects of art and of ingenuity, and this was the end of the Epitasis, or second act.[100]

The libretto also emphasizes this choreographic madness. Deidamia first sings verses urging the madmen to dance. After they have danced a little, she interrupts them and urges them 'alle corde', which may have a double meaning of dancing on tightropes (she tells them not to be frightened) and of playing stringed instruments (she mentions chromatic and diatonic strings). The crazy buffoons then sing five strophes, with many references to crazy steps, crazy feet, crazy dancing, and so forth, all of which is suggestive both in terms of the style of dance and music. The second strophe begins 'Pazzo è il piè, che un pazzo segue' (Crazy is the foot that follows a madman), and the third and fourth strophes are:

3. Pazzo core hà pazzo piede
Che leggiero
Quinci e quindi errar si vede.
Pur ch'io resti un pazzo vero,
Voli il piè, la gamba ondeggi,
E di un pazzo brillar l'alma festeggi.

4. Pazzo suono, e questa accanto
Pazza danza
Accompagni il pazzo canto.
Pazzo ballo hà pazza usanza,
E noi pazzi, e saltellanti
Per un pazzo desir siam pazzi amanti.

[A crazy heart has a crazy foot, that is seen to wander lightly here and there. If only I remain a true madman, my foot flies, my leg sways, and grace celebrates in the sparkle of a madman.

Crazy music, and nearby this crazy dance accompanies the crazy song. A crazy *ballo* has a crazy style, and we madmen and dancers are crazy lovers for a crazy desire.]

[99] 'Argomento e scenario', *La finta pazza* (1641), 17.
[100] *Il cannocchiale per la finta pazza*, 40–41.

Madness of heart and mind thus leads to madness of the dance, all of which accompanies music no less driven by insanity.

Martial subjects

The ancient Greek use of military or pyrrhic dances was cited by many contemporary writers on dance, and many operas had at least one battle scene, staged as a *ballo* for soldiers, warriors, archers, gladiators, or fencers.[101] The terms *abbattimento* and *combattimento* are in some cases used interchangeably with *ballo*; for instance the first dance in Noris's *Astiage* (1677) is labelled 'Mock battle by soldiers' ('Abbatimento finto de Soldati').[102] A review of *Astiage* reports that 'The first scene was the camp of an entire army, where some soldiers performed a pyrrhic dance, accompanied by a marvellous symphony. This dance was interrupted by the arrival of a princess followed by officers of her army, all on horseback.'[103] Some of these battle scenes were done on a huge scale complete with horses. Other choreographed fights are labelled 'rissa' (brawl), 'gioco di lotta' (game of wrestling), 'gioco di spada' (sword play), or 'gioco d'armi' (weapons play).

The moresca, a battle dance dating back to the early fifteenth century, was seen in the theatres as well as on the streets and the bridges of the city during Carnival.[104] Act III of Badoaro's *Le nozze d'Enea con Lavinia* (1641) ends with a '*combattimento* in the style of a moresca which serves as the *ballo*'. *Veremonda Amazzone di Aragona*, by Strozzi, used a moresca in both the Neapolitan (1652) and the Venetian (1653) productions. In operas, however, morescas were not always serious battle dances. The *Apparati scenici per lo Teatro Novissimo* describes the *ballo* at the end of Act II in *Venere gelosa* (1643), led by the 'buffoon' Trulla:

> The King laughed at these blunders, and commanded that [Trulla] sing, and he, having begun, had not yet finished the first strophe, when some other buffoons dressed as toys appeared, who after each strophe danced an amusing quasi-*moresca*.[105]

The moresca could also be used on joyful occasions; the final *ballo* in *La Venere gelosa*, which follows the wedding ceremony near the end of Act III, is a moresca. The *Apparati scenici* describes:

[101] See 'arcieri', 'gladiatori', 'guerrieri', 'schermitori', and 'soldati' in the 'Index of Balli', Alm, *Catalog of Venetian Librettos*.

[102] See also Minato's *Xerse* (1654), set to music by Cavalli; the libretto states that Acts I and II end with *combattimenti*, while the Venetian score labels them *balli*. I-Vnm Cod. It. IV 374 (=9898).

[103] *Mercure galant* (August 1677), 87.

[104] There is some debate over the origins of the moresca – whether it is actually a Moorish dance or if it has its roots in ancient fertility rites. Although historically Moors were white as well as black, the term 'Moorish' is often taken to mean dark-skinned, and is thought to come from the Greek word *mauros*, meaning dark. Renaissance morescas were often performed with blackened faces and portrayed battles between Muslims and Christians. The *guerra de' pugni*, or *forze d'Ercole*, was described by some as a form of the moresca fought by members of different *sestieri* (sections of the city). The Comte de Caylus, who travelled in Italy during 1714 and 1715, wrote that 'the Arsenalotti and the Nicolotti do dances in the style of the moresca and with turns, which one calls in Venice the *forze d'Ercole*'. Comte de Caylus, *Voyage d'Italie 1714–1715*, ed. A. Pons (Paris, 1914), 118.

[105] *Apparati scenici*, 28. [Ed. note: see also Heller, 'Dancing Desire' below.]

He was accompanied by a chorus of fauns and of satyrs, who were going around singing; at the end the buffoon Trulla arrived, who, so happy from the wedding concluded in court; was carrying a flask, and he began to jest with them, and these were their words:

Chorus: Horns and pipes
Flutes and cymbals
And cymbals and kettledrums.[106]

In the libretto these verses are marked 'Chorus of Satyrs with a *ballo*', followed by the directions 'They fight a moresca with clubs'.

Exoticism and foreign styles

Seventeenth-century Venice was a city in which the 'four corners of the earth' met; its residents had first-hand contact every day in the piazzas and marketplaces with people from many nations brought there through commerce and trade. Furthermore, during Carnival Venetians indulged their fascination with other cultures by adopting foreign identities through costumes and masks. Thus, these 'foreign' dances not only reflected the commercial and political interests of the government, but also the daily life of the city and the fantasy life of Carnival. On the Venetian stage, dancers could be found garbed in African, Albanian, American, Armenian, Asian, Assyrian, Belgian, English, Egyptian, Ethiopian, French, German, Greek, Iberian, Indian, Macedonian, Moorish, Persian, Spanish, Slavic, and Turkish costumes, as well as portraying gypsies, savages, and pygmies. Foreign dance styles also are specified in libretti, which list *balli* 'alla francese', 'alla greca', 'alla spagnola', and 'popolare d'inghilterra', among others. A number of dances are simply described as being by foreigners ('genti straniere' or 'forastieri'). The four corners of the earth ('Le quattro parti del mondo') is a theme used in several *balli*, including one in Piccoli's *L'incostanza trionfante overo Il Theseo* (1658), which has a battle among European, Africans, Asians, and Americans, who accompany the four parts of the world.

Many of the dances reflect Venice's contact with and interest in the Muslim world to its east and south. Various groups appear, but perhaps the most popular were *balli* featuring the Moors: Muslim people of mixed Arab and Berber descent living chiefly in northern Africa. There are, for example, Ethiopian Moors in *Il Ciro* (1654), the Egyptian Moors in *Laodicea e Berenice* (1695), or Indian Moors in *Il colore fà la regina* (1700). The two most common images of Moors in theatrical dances are as slaves, or as warriors or corsairs wielding the traditional curved sword, or scimitar.

Another Eastern people, the Turks, also had a long history with Venice, one sharply defined by war. The seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries saw the last of Venice's many Turkish wars – the war of Crete (1645–69) and the two wars of Morea (1684–99 and 1714–18). Significantly, Turkish dances are not found in Venetian operas until the later part of the seventeenth century. Perhaps during the war of Crete, in which Venice suffered many losses, the Turks were too sensitive a

[106] 'Era egli accompagnato da un Choro di Fauni, e di Sattiri, che andavano cantando; alla fine vi giunse Trulla buffone, che tutto allegro delle nozze concluse in Corte, portava un fiasco, e si diede a buffoneggiare con coloro, e tali furono di questi le parole. Coro: Corni e Piffari / Flauti e cembali / E cembali e naccare'. *Apparati scenici*, 37.

subject to be used in theatrical entertainment. However, during the First War of Morea (1684–99), when General Francesco Morosini regained Venice's lost territory and more, Turkish subjects would have been a reminder of the Republic's victories, and they became popular topics for dance.

For the majority of the exotic dances, the libretti give no indications of style or steps, although several do make a point of stating that *balli* are danced according to the practice of a certain country – for example, the Armenian masquerade 'in the style of that nation' at the close of Act II in *Sesto Tarquinio* (1679), and the '*ballo* for Moors, who dance according to their custom' in *Il prodigio dell'innocenza* (1695). Although characterization undoubtedly relied on distinctive costumes and sets, descriptions and engravings suggest that the choreography itself also reflected national styles. Dances by Moors were apparently lively. For example, in *La Dori, overo lo schiavo reggio* (1663), Erindo sings an aria to introduce the dance by Moorish eunuchs of the seraglio, and he commands:

Il Ballo movete
Veloci col piè
Danzate
Correte
Venite con me

[Begin the *ballo* with swift feet. Dance, run, come with me.]

In *La Semiramide* (1671)[107] and *Orazio* (1688), choreographers make use of Moorish soldiers with their swords to literally spell out messages, rather than do battle. The libretto for *La Semiramide* gives these stage directions: '*Ballo* by Moorish Soldiers with Creonte who with their scimitars create in so many beats as many words, that form the verses given below'.[108] In *Orazio*, Moors with weapons form verses that were also sung by a chorus, but Tosi's score does not survive.[109] Francesco Coli reviewed *Orazio* in the Venetian journal, the *Pallade veneta*, writing, 'Bold and courageous battles, fights, and feats of great wonder are seen in this theatre, and in Act III one enjoys a *ballo* by Moors who, with weapons in hand, form various words, clear and easily understood'.[110]

Nine *balli* are listed as either in the French style or by French characters.[111] Seven of these date from the 1680s and 1690s, the period during which French social

[107] Libretto by G. A. Moniglia and M. Noris and music by Pietro Andrea Ziani.

[108] 'Ballo di Mori Soldati con Creonte i quali con scimitarre compongono in tante cadenze tante parole, che formano li sottoscritti versi: Dio di Gnido / Io rido di te / Se a volo / Ogni duolo / Ho fugge dal Rè.' Unfortunately, the *ballo* music is not extant.

[109] 'Siegue intreccio giocoso di mori con armi, che formano le seguenti parole, che da un coro Vengono espresso. Goda Roma./ Alba è Doma./ Rida il Lazio./ Viva Tullo./ E viva Orazio.'

[110] January 1688, 73–81; quoted in Selfridge-Field, *Pallade Veneta*, 205.

[111] These are: a *corrente francese* by six peasant girls in *L'Eupatra* (1655); a *ballo* by four French cavaliers in *L'Adelaide regia principessa di Susa* (1670); a *ballo* by two young French girls and boys, slaves in the seraglio in *Pompeo Magno in Cilicia* (1681); a *ballo alla francese* in *Pub. Elio Pertinace* (1684); two *balli alla francese* in *Il trionfo di Amore e di Marte* (1689); a *gran danza francese* in *Onorio in Roma* (1692); a *ballo* by French ladies and cavaliers in *Sigismondo primo al diadema* (1696); and a *ballo* by French and Spanish cavaliers in *L'innocenza giustificata* (1699).

dance was beginning to arrive in Italy. Only two other foreign dances, one English and one Spanish, have verses that mention steps or style. The English *ballo popolare* in *La barbarie del caso* (Murano, 1664) seems to have been a lively dance. The verses exhort the dancers to 'invite your feet to leaps' and mention *correnti* and *salti mortali* (somersaults).

Ballroom scenes

The rich blend of cultures that made up Venetian society participated in what was to become a convention both in Venetian life and theatre: the *festa di ballo*. At least nineteen operas incorporate an extended *festa di ballo* modelled directly on the typical Venetian balls that took place during Carnival season.[112] This type of scene was especially popular in the 1680s and 1690s, after the elegant Teatro S. Giovanni Grisostomo opened in 1678 and began an annual tradition of hosting a ball for the nobility on the last night of Carnival. During one season, 1683, four of the six opera houses (S. Cassiano, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, S. Salvatore, and Cannaregio) presented operas with dances of this sort, and the following season S. Angelo followed suit.[113]

Feste di ballo were given throughout the year by members of the Venetian nobility to entertain and impress prominent visitors. The number of balls peaked during Carnival season for two reasons: first, the arrival of throngs of visiting nobility from throughout Italy and Europe; and second, a relaxation of Venetian sumptuary laws (regulations which restricted expenditures on luxuries, affecting everything from clothing to food and lighting). During Carnival, the ballrooms could be transformed into scenes of lavish display for an audience of invited guests, as reported in the April 1679 issue of the *Mercure galant*.

> As the palaces are quite spacious, the ballroom is among eight or ten rooms, all of which are decorated with rich drapes, paintings, and very expensive furniture. . . . The invited ladies are seated in the ballroom, where the noblemen come to take them to dance. Their dance is only a type of promenade, occasionally continued from room to room, where the occupants can have the pleasure of seeing the whole ball pass by.[114]

The nature of the Venetian *festa di ballo* made it well suited for adaptation to the dramatic stage. Unlike French courtly dances with complex patterns of steps, often performed by a single couple for a critically observing audience, the Venetian promenade was an ideal setting for amorous conversations and intrigues. Librettists, therefore, did not have to interrupt the development of the plot when inserting a *festa di ballo*, but could use the dancing to advantage in having characters express their thoughts or emotions 'privately' against the colourful backdrop of a crowded ballroom. *Seleuco* in 1666 was the first opera to portray a typical *festa di ballo* (see

[112] See Irene Alm, 'Operatic Ballroom Scenes and the Arrival of French Social Dance in Venice', *Studi musicali*, 25 (1996), 345–71, which includes a list of all the operas in question (358–61); see also the descriptions of Venetian balls in Alm, *Theatrical Dance*, chapter 6, 194–202, and a discussion of the music in chapter 7, 269–72.

[113] In 1683, S. Salvatore also hosted a ball in the theatre on the last night of Carnival. Chassebras de Cramailles described the event in the *Mercure galant* (April 1983), 78–81.

[114] *Mercure galant* (April 1679), 120–22.

below, Ex. 7). Ten years passed, however, before another ballroom scene appeared, in *Galieno* (1676). Then within the space of a decade (1679–89) fourteen operas included *feste di ballo*. A French review of *Nerone* mentioned that for the *festa di ballo* there were 'many extraordinary instruments that were on the stage',[115] and it seems likely that in most of these scenes one or more dance bands would have played on stage, visually as well as aurally re-creating the atmosphere of the *festa di ballo* for the singers.

That the geographical or historical setting of the opera might be at odds with a seventeenth-century Venetian ballroom seems to have mattered little to the librettist or the audience. A striking juxtaposition of locales occurs at the start of *Circe abbandonata da Ulisse* (autumn 1697 at SS. Giovanni e Paolo), in which a Venetian *festa di ballo* is immediately followed by a *ballo alla greca*. Whereas the opening dance would have transported the opera to a seventeenth-century Venetian ballroom, the *ballo alla greca* serves to relocate the opera in time and place so that the plot can begin to unfold.

By the last decade of the century French social dances are mentioned more frequently in first-hand accounts of Venetian balls, although the descriptions were not always complimentary. On 18 February 1695, James Drummond, Fourth Earl of Perth, cynically observed in a letter to the Countess Marischall that the music seemed almost superfluous to the promenade and derided the Venetian attempts at French figured dancing:

> The grand dance is to walk about (with or without musick is all one) for three or four hours, every gallant with a lady, and this procession ends with an English country dance; then they dance, four together, a dance which I cannot remember how it is called, I think it is a Rigadoun, but it is to a Minuete; and then comes the French dances, as awkwardly as can be . . .[116]

During this same period French dances became part of the operatic *festa di ballo* and standard social dances appear more and more frequently in the scores for ballroom scenes from the 1690s. Minuets and other social dances also began to be used for a variety of *balli* on other subjects as well, whereas until the 1680s virtually none of the music for Venetian theatrical dances had been based on standard dance forms.[117] Thus, when the French style of dancing arrived in Venice, the ballroom scenes, reflecting this change, lost much of their dramatic function and became simply an element of spectacle. The convention of the dramatically integrated ballroom scene eventually would resurface in striking examples throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (from Mozart to Verdi), but never again with such frequency or such special power to bind audience and opera.

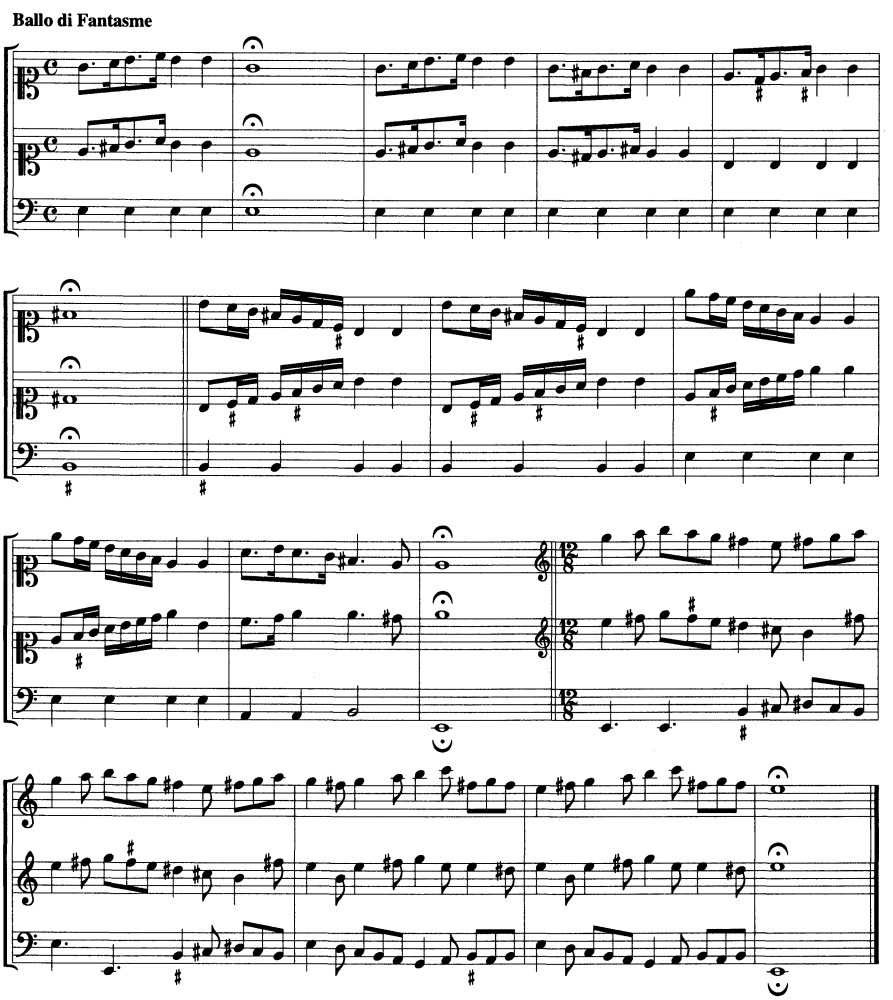
[115] *Mercure galant* (April 1679), 134–35.
[116] *Letters from James Earl of Perth* (London, 1845), 52–53.
[117] This is not true, however, of revivals of Venetian operas in other Italian cities. See the discussion above (n. 32) on the new dances that Stradella supplied for *Giasone* (as *Il novello Giasone*) and *Scipione africano* at the Teatro Tordinona in Rome, 1671.

Music for the dance

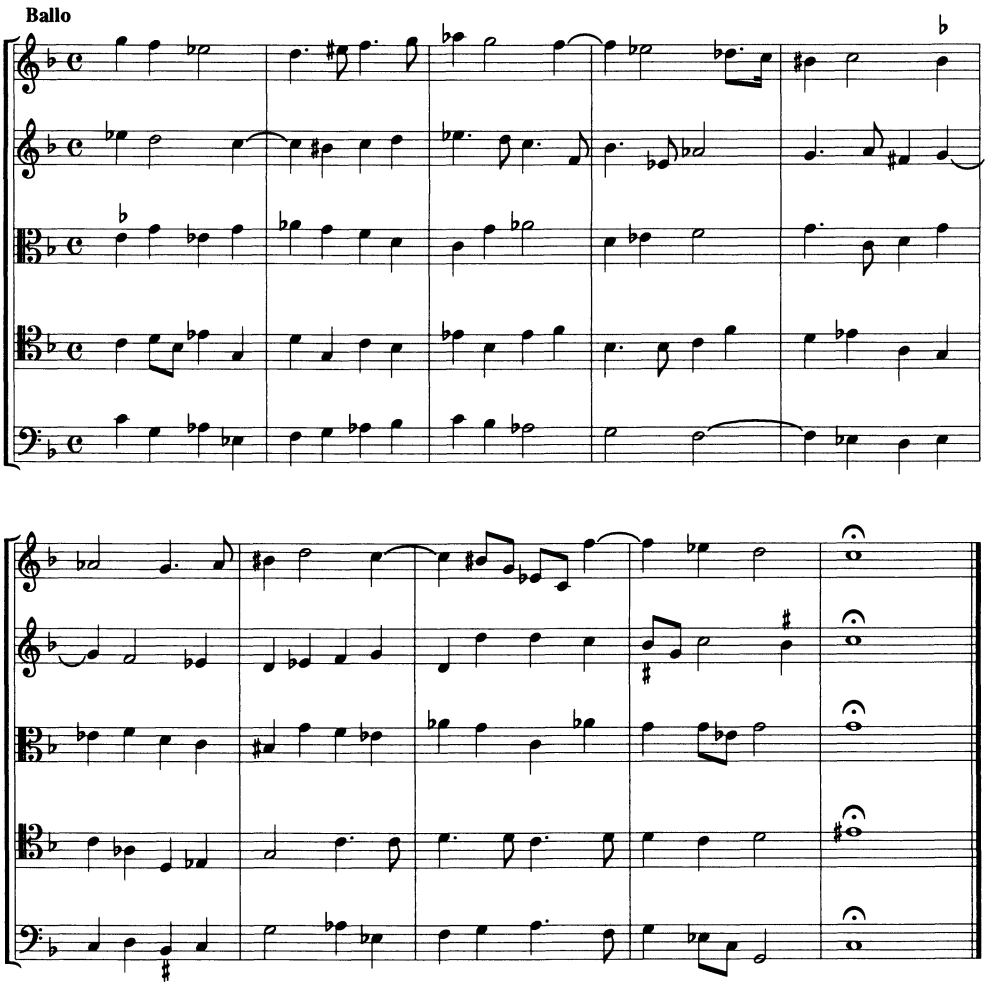
Instrumental dance music

Whereas the bulk of the instrumental pieces within Venetian operas were *balli*, some served other purposes, and the function of individual pieces is not always immediately apparent. There are nonetheless patterns in the ways scores were put together that help resolve the basic question, even if some individual cases remain problematic.

Most operas open with a *sinfonia* in several short sections, and often each act is preceded by a shorter instrumental piece. It is not uncommon for some of these pieces to have dance titles such as 'Balletto', 'Corrente', or 'Giga'; they may also be marked 'Sinfonia' or 'Ritornello', or have no label at all. Pollarolo's *Il colore fà la regina*



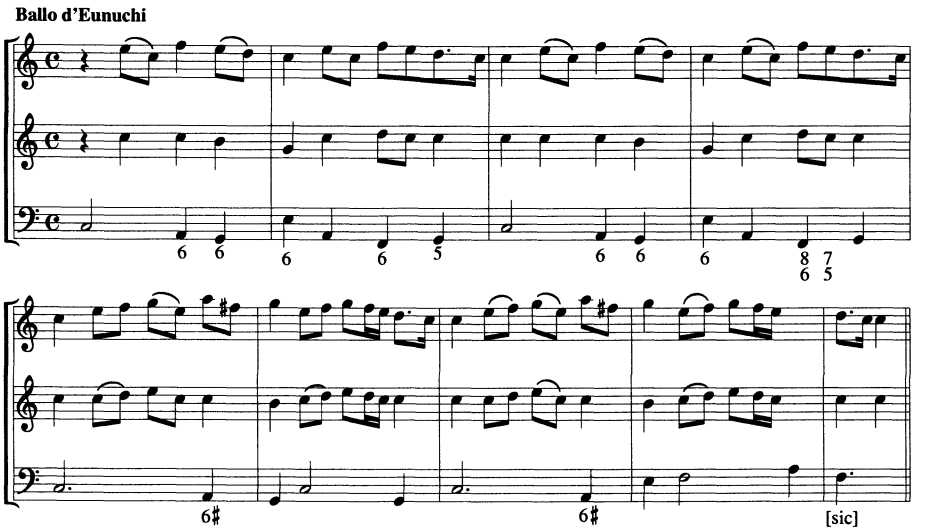
Ex. 1: *Pompeo Magno* (1666), Act II, scene 22 (I-Vnm, Cod. It IV 377 (=9901), fols. 105^{v}–106^{r}). The scoring here has been reduced from the original five parts.



Ex. 2: *L'Argia* (1669), Act II, scene 20 (I-VLevi, C.F.A. 8, fols. 47^{v}–50^{v}).

(1700) opens with three movements titled 'Sinfonia Presto / Corrente staccato / Gigue'. In this and similar instances, the instrumental pieces appear to have functioned as 'symphonic' introductions, not as dances, a conclusion that finds support in cases where more than one score is available for comparison. The Venetian score for Pietro Andrea Ziani's *L'Annibal in Capua* (1661), for example, includes no music for the *ballo* danced by spirits at the end of Act I, but has a 'Corrente' at the beginning of Act II. That this piece should *not* be used for the *ballo* is made clear by the Roman score, which includes music for the *ballo* at the end of Act I, and then begins Act II with the same 'Corrente' as in the Venetian score.

Similarly, the label 'balletto' does not necessarily mean that a piece was danced. In fact, in opera scores the term 'balletto' is more often associated with *sinfonie* or non-dance music than with choreographed *balli*. On the other hand, some untitled instrumental pieces were almost certainly dances, based on their style as well as on information from libretti. Most *balli* employ a homophonic texture, whereas *sinfonie*,

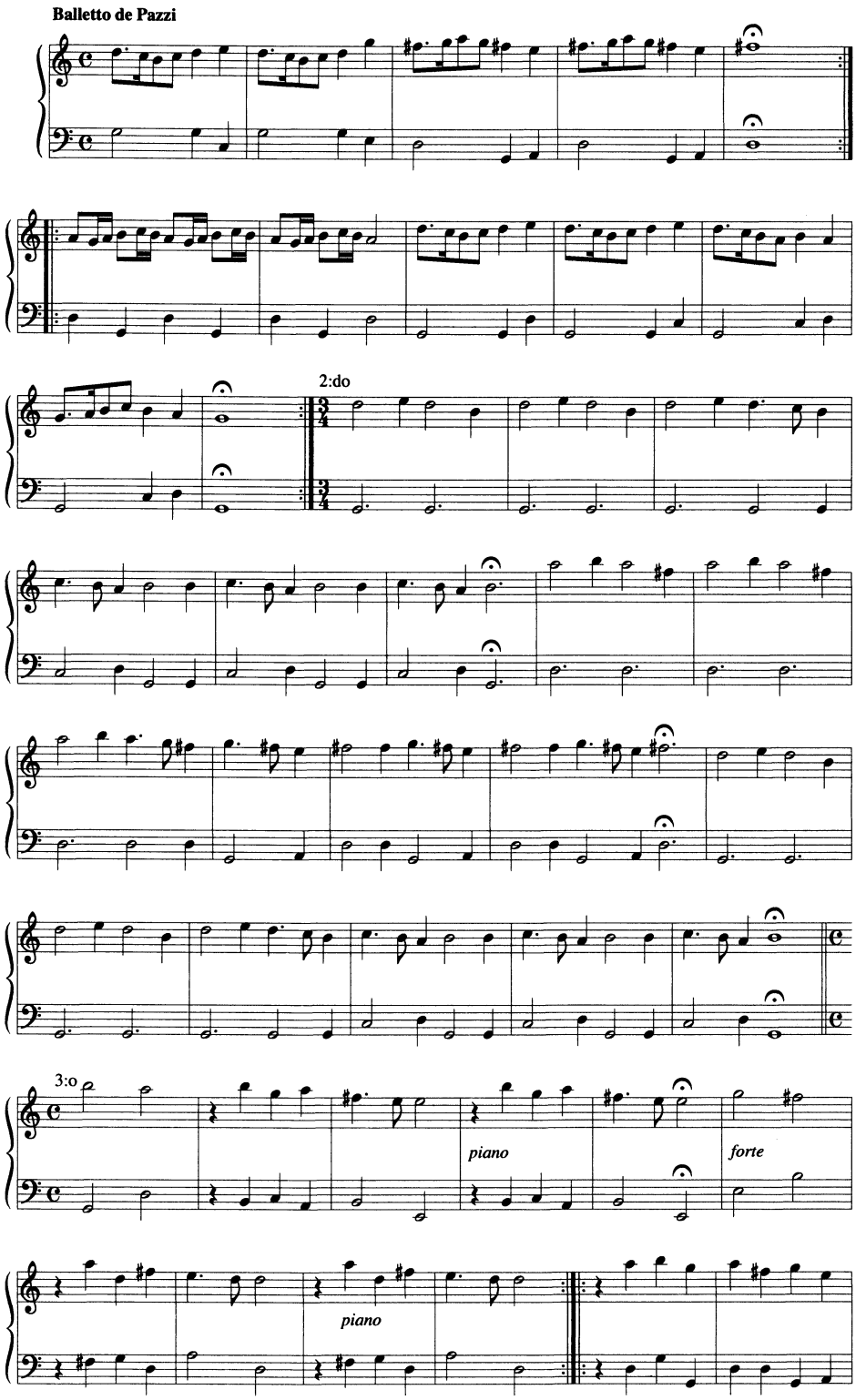


Ex. 3: *La Dori* (1661) Act I, scene 12 (I-Vnm, Cod. It IV 410 (=9934), fol. 41[r]).

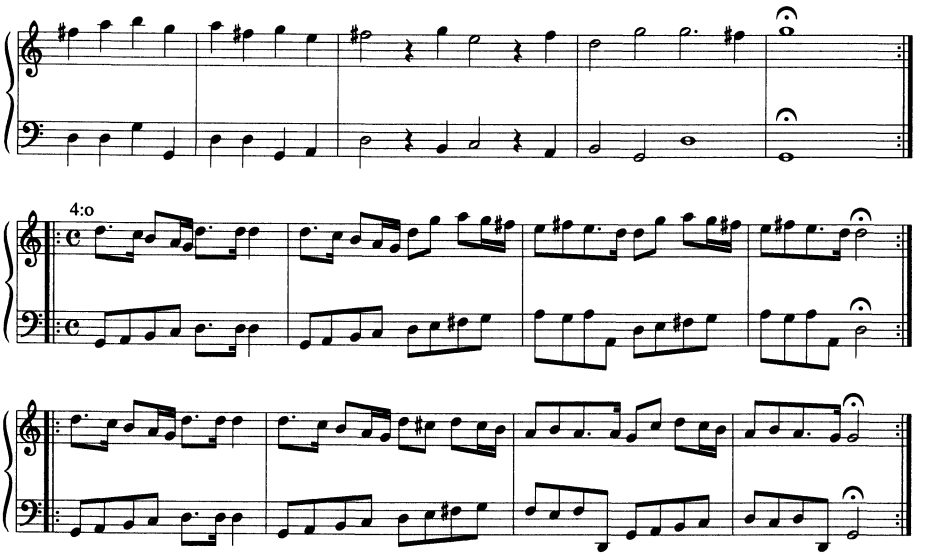
ritornelli, and instrumental pieces for set changes often use imitative textures. These are general tendencies, however, not absolutes, as a few dances do have brief passages of imitation. And despite these guidelines, there are still scores in which it is difficult to decide whether a piece was used for a *ballo* or for some other function.

The fifty-six instrumental pieces included in Table 3 (see Appendix) are those for which the available evidence suggests that they were actually danced. They range in length from four to ninety-six bars (counting repeated sections), with an average length of about twenty-six bars. In the earliest dances various metres and forms are employed. Duple metre and binary form are increasingly favoured for instrumental dance music in the 1670s, and overall more than half of these *balli* are in duple metre. Twelve dances use sections of contrasting metres, while eleven are in triple metre (eight in $\frac{3}{4}$ and three simply marked 3), and four in compound metre (two in $\frac{3}{2}$ and two in $\frac{12}{8}$). The formal structure of most of these dances consists of two or more repeated sections; nearly half (twenty-five) are binary. Nine dances have three sections, and six are in four or more sections. The others lack repeat signs and are generally through-composed.

Very few Venetian *balli* bear the titles of standard seventeenth-century dances. In fact, most of the instrumental pieces in these scores labelled with standard dance titles are not *balli*, but are movements of the opening *sinfonia* or are introductions to the second or third acts of the opera. Since so many Venetian theatrical dances were meant to convey a particular subject through movement and pantomime, the music was often specifically composed to suit their character and action. Interestingly, symmetrical four-bar phrasing is not used often in Venetian *balli*; more often the phrasing is asymmetrical and unpredictable. A four-bar phrase may be answered by five bars, or a series of two-bar phrases finish with a three-bar phrase. Irregular phrasing often occurs in conjunction with metre changes, and fermatas are used in a number of *balli*, suggesting that



Ex. 4: *Pompeo Magno* (1666), Act I, scene 20 (I-Vnm, Cod. It IV 377 (=9901), fols. 56^{r}–57^{v}). The scoring here has been reduced from the original five parts.



Ex. 4: *continued.*

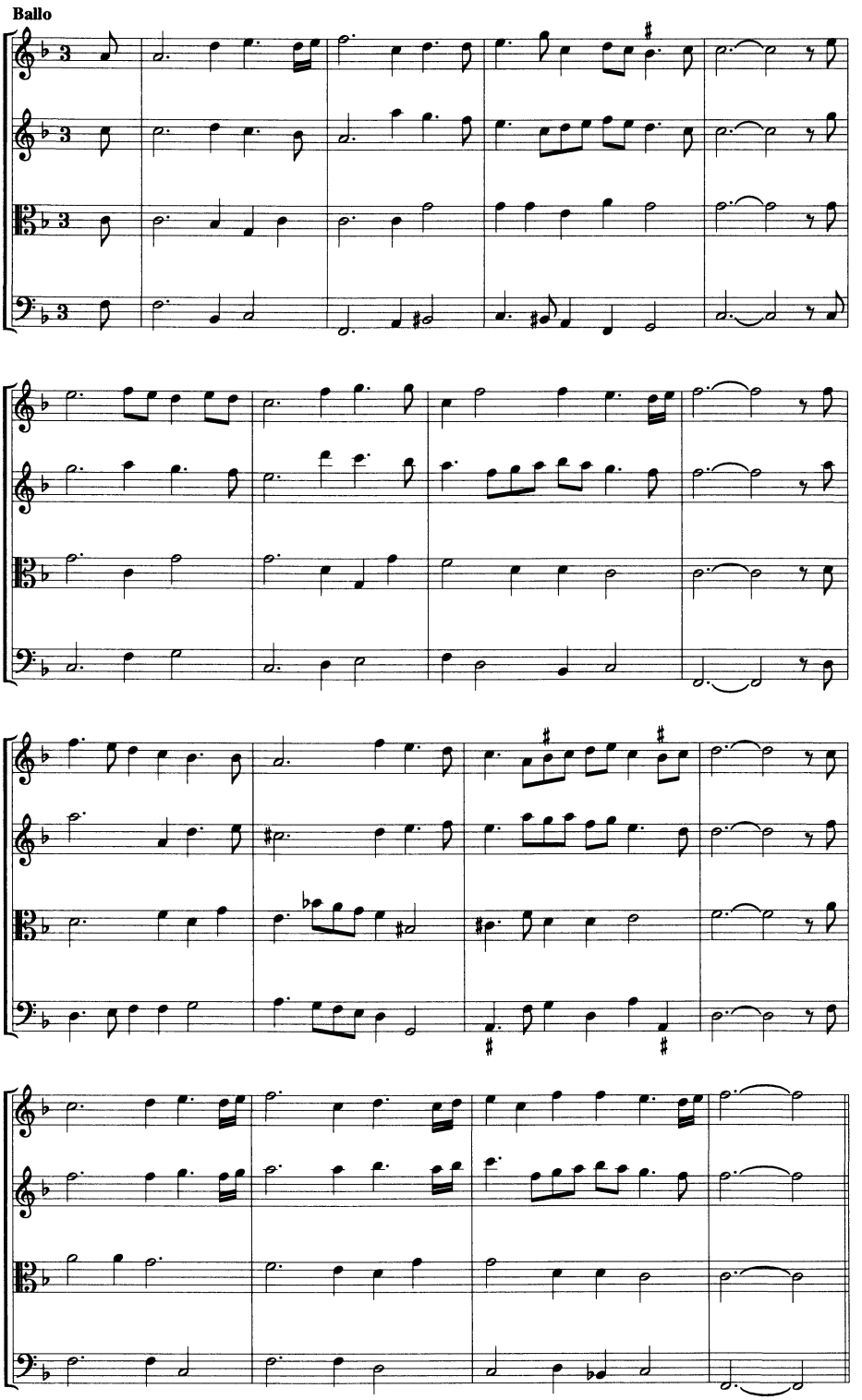
the choreography and music were carefully coordinated, and that the composer may well have written the music after the basic movements were set. For example, dances involving supernatural creatures often suggested the unpredictable, the abnormal. It is not surprising, therefore, that composers and choreographers used sudden changes, irregular phrasing, and rhythms interrupted by fermatas in *balli* danced by ghosts, phantoms, spirits, or other supernatural beings. Seven examples of supernatural *balli* appear in Venetian scores.[118] Cavalli, for instance, called for a darker register by using soprano rather than treble clefs in two of his *balli* danced by phantoms, the first in the prologue of *Gli amori d'Apollo e di Dafne* (1640) and the second at the close of Act II in *Pompeo Magno* (1666). In the latter, the phrases are short and abrupt: mysterious dotted rhythms hesitate in the second bar on a whole note with a fermata, and the second section has a furious rush of semi-quavers, followed by an impish dance in compound metre reminiscent of a *giga.* (See Ex. 1.)[119]

In Act II, scene 20 of *L'Argia* (1669), the phantoms have mysterious music filled with suspensions and chromaticism. Somewhat surprisingly, only this *ballo* for phantoms (and the one in *Pompeo Magno*) emphasize the minor mode. (See Ex. 2.)

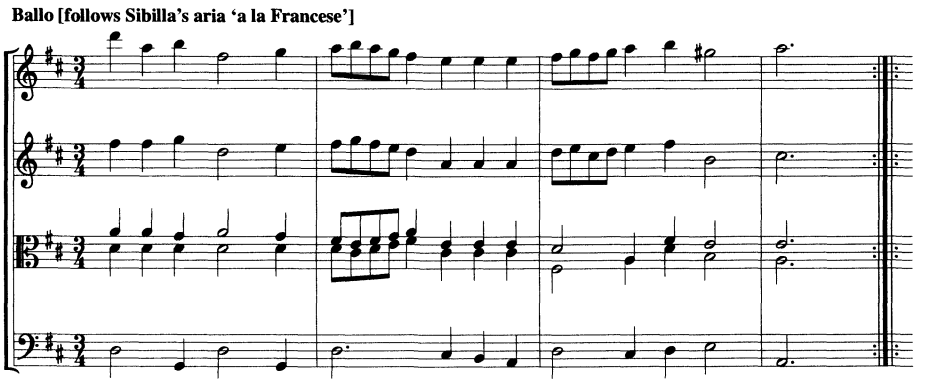
Music survives for only about a dozen *balli* with foreign themes, although the music remained largely within the language of seventeenth-century Venetian opera, even when portraying Eastern cultures, as for example in this *ballo* for Moorish eunuchs from *La Dori* (1663). (See Ex. 3.)

[118] In addition to those discussed below, these include the end of Act II of Legrenzi's *Germanico sul Reno* (1676) and the *ultimo intramezzo* of Pollarolo's *Il pastore d'Anfriso* (1695). The Roman revival of *Giasone*, Stradella's *Il novello Giasone* (Rome, 1671), also included a supernatural *ballo* associated with Medea's incantation scene.

[119] Ed. note: Alm's transcriptions in all of the following music examples adhere to her sources, which, in some cases, may transmit problematic harmonies, rhythms, or text underlay.



Ex. 5: *Eliogabalo* (1668), Act III, scene 5 (I-Vnm, Cod. It IV 413 (=9937), fol. 78[r]).



Ex. 6: *Amulio e Numitore* (1689), end of Act I (A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 17689 [no folio numbers]), bars 1–4.

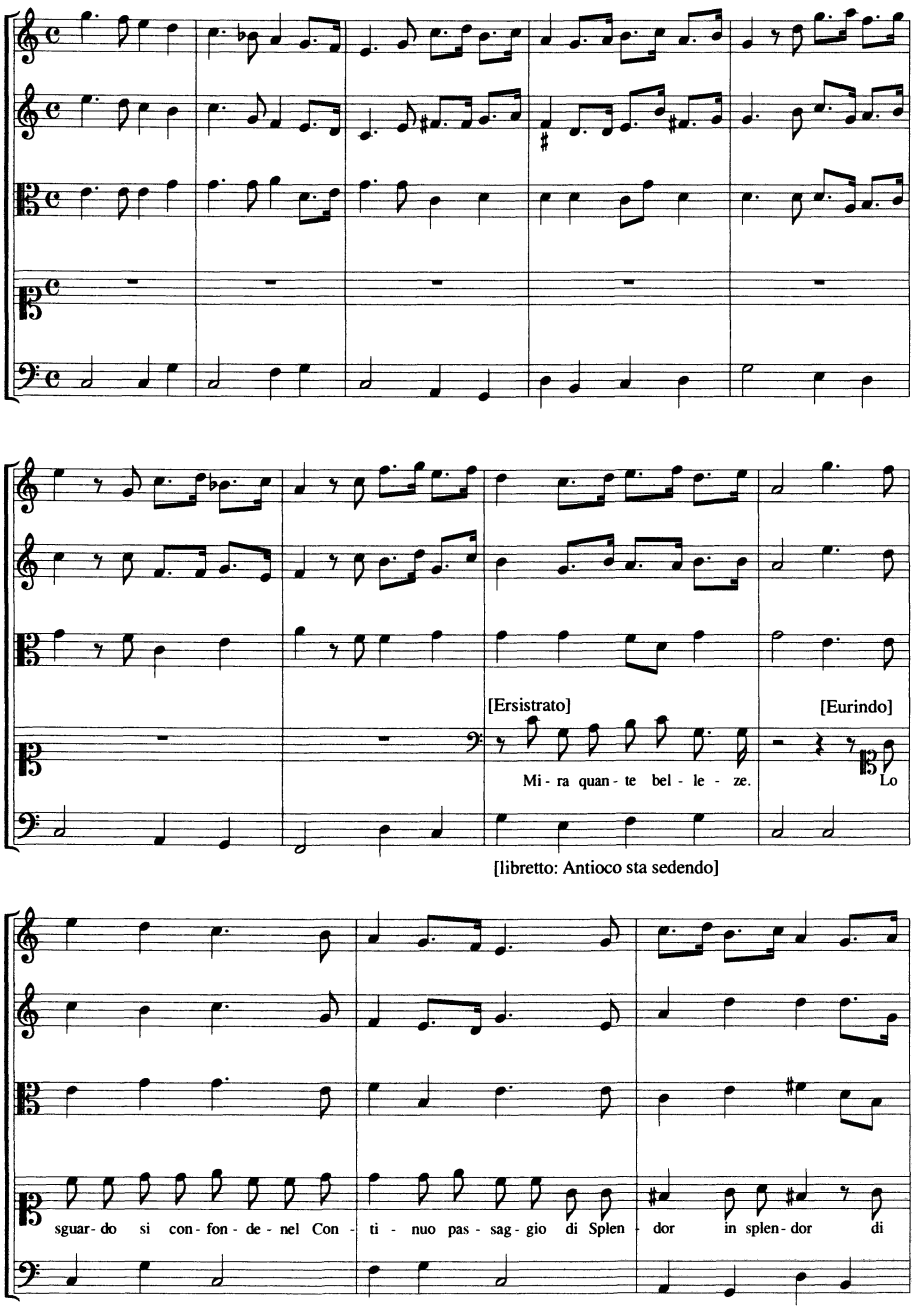
Cymbals or percussion may have been added to create a Moorish flavour, although they are not indicated in the score. Turkish instruments are mentioned in the directions for some of these dances – see *Il Gran Tamerlano* (1689)[120] and *Irene* (1695)[121] – but unfortunately the score for the first is lost and the score for *Irene* does not include music for the dances.

Music associated with comedy or madness could also be highly idiosyncratic, inspiring what might have been a parody of dance steps. Cavalli's *Pompeo Magno* (1666) includes an entire suite danced by eight madmen: two for music, two for painting, two for alchemy, and two for poetry – each pair being characterized with its own short binary piece in a contrasting style. (See Ex. 4.)

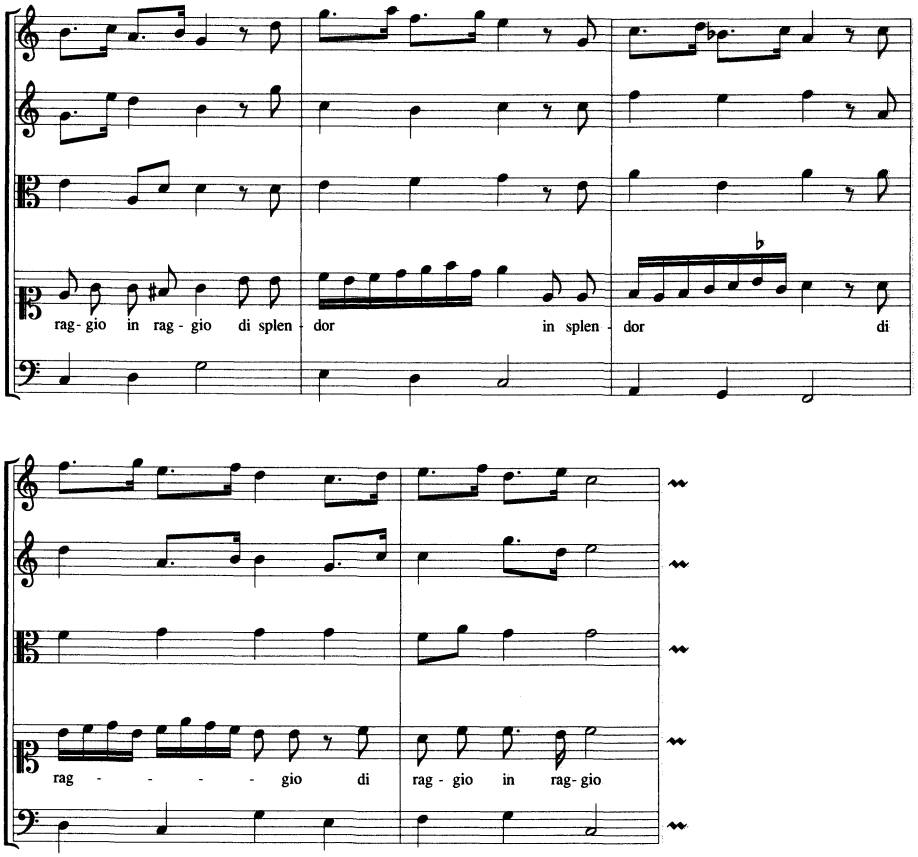
In the 'Burla trà Giardinieri e Buffoni di Corte' in Act III of *Eliogabalo* (1668) the stop-and-start rhythms offset the regular four-bar phrases, and the dotted rhythms seem to add a touch of mock courtliness.[122] (See Ex. 5.)

Among the dances with social dance titles that functioned as *balli*, some seem to have been chosen for their comic effect. The brief *corrente* in Cavalli's second opera, *Gli amori d'Apollo e di Dafne* (Act I, scene 2), has a conventional profile – compound metre ($\mathbf{c}\frac{3}{2}$), binary form, and cadences marked by hemiolas – but the intent may well have been comic, in that it immediately follows a short aria in which the old woman, Cirella, sings of moving slowly with shaky steps.[123] Comedy may also have been the inspiration for *ghighe*, such as one found in Pietro Andrea Ziani's *L'Antigona delusa d'Alceste*.[124] It occurs in the midst of the closing recitative of Act II, sung by the stuttering comic character Lesbo. The libretto describes a '*ballo* for cavaliers of various nations with Lesbo amidst them', and the stage directions state, 'Here

[120] Text by G. C. Corradi and music by Marc'Antonio Ziani.
[121] Text by G. Frigimelica Roberti and music by C. F. Pollarolo.
[122] Ed. note: Except for the regular four-bar phrases, this piece has the rhythmic profile of a French-style *courante*, and perhaps was intended as a reference to courtly French ballrooms.
[123] See the facsimile score to Francesco Cavalli, *Gli amori d'Apollo e di Dafne*, ed. Howard Mayer Brown (New York, 1978), 17^{v}.
[124] This opera was revived at S. Salvatore in 1670, having first been performed in 1660 at SS. Giovanni e Paolo under somewhat hasty circumstances, with borrowed *balli*. A number of changes were made for the revival in 1670, including new *balli*.



Ex. 7: *Seleuco* (1666), Act II, scene 18 (I-Vnm, Cod. It IV 454 (=9978), fols. 68[r]–71[r]), bars 1–17. (Ersistrato: Look, so many beautiful women! Eurindo: The eye gets confused by the continuous passing of splendour after splendour, of gleam after gleam . . .)



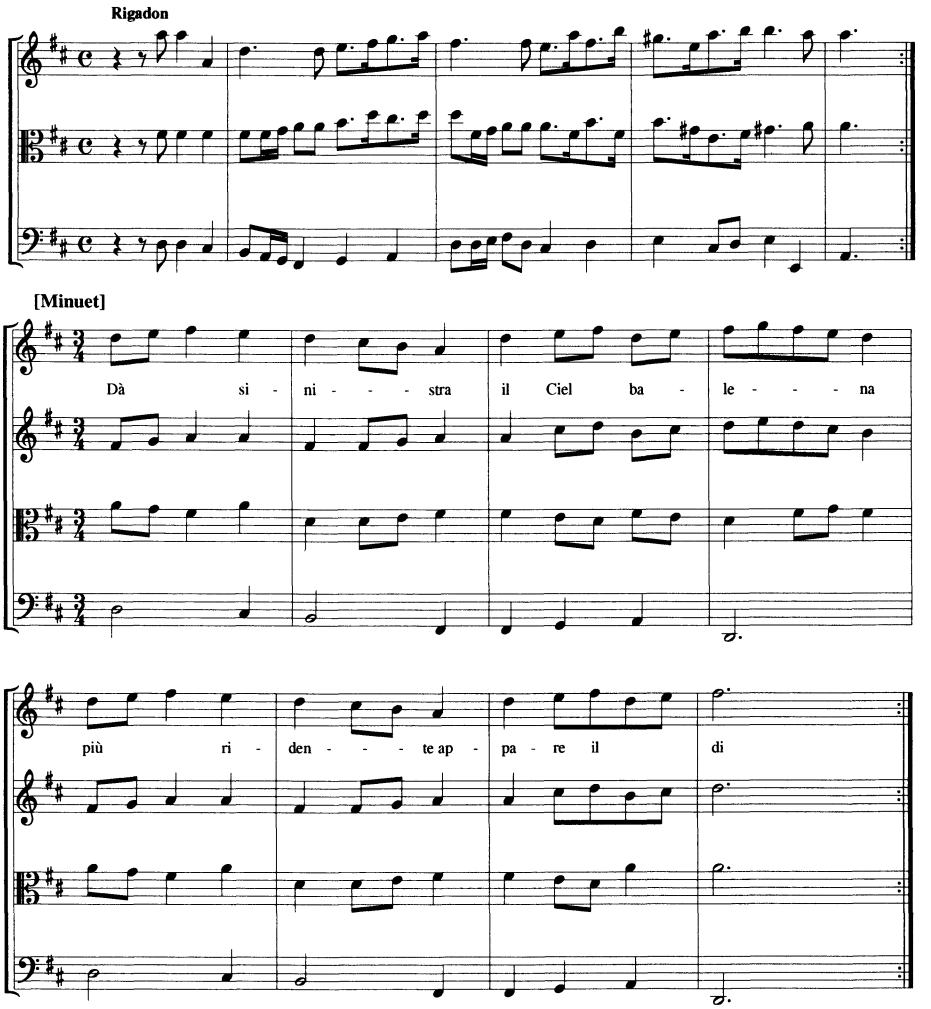
Ex. 7: *continued.*

people of various nations come out, who introduce the *ballo*, beginning to disagree among themselves on account of some tokens of love".[125] Lesbo interrupts them with much stuttering, and urges them to dance with him; this *ballo* may have been labelled *giga* because it was intended as a parody of a popular dance, as appropriate to the comic situation.

The use of standard court dances later in the century is particularly evident in works that consciously invoke the French style. Tosi's *Amulio e Numitore* (1689), for example, includes three dances in triple metre ($\frac{3}{4}$) with the two-bar phrasing characteristic of the minuet (despite the time signature, they are barred every six beats). The French connection is even explicit, as the first of these directly borrows the music from the aria 'à la Francese' that precedes it. (See Ex. 6.)

The majority of *balli* using social dance titles appear in ballroom scenes – the staged versions of the Venetian *feste di ballo* that were held both on and off the operatic stage during Carnival. In the first libretto to contain a staged Venetian-style *festa di ballo*, *Seleuco* (1666), Sartorio re-created the sound of the dance band by composing an eight-and-a-half-bar instrumental ground. The extra half bar causes

[125] See the prefatory pages and Act II, scene 22.



Ex. 8: *Nerone fatto Cesare* (1693), Act III, scene 16 (D-SWI, Mus. 4189, 294–5). First strains of the rigaudon and the sung minuet.

the pattern to shift within the bar, and there are nearly seven full repetitions of this instrumental music. The rhythmic pattern of the bass line establishes the leisurely pace of the promenade. Against this music, Sartorio composed a variety of vocal lines, suited to the different characters attending this ball. Overall the music provides two levels of awareness: the large picture of the ongoing dance and the close-ups of various characters on stage – a cinematic effect of focusing on the whole as well as parts of the scene, cutting back and forth between the two. (See Ex. 7.)

Towards the end of the century, the scenes with continuous duple-metre instrumental music supporting sung conversations disappear and are supplanted by French figured dances, with more rigid structures and generic celebratory texts sung by soloists or the entire ensemble. Pollarolo's *Onorio in Roma* (1692) embodies this

moment of change in Venetian social dance via its two lengthy social dances. The first, in Act II, scene 9, is a *passeggio*, or promenade, in duple metre. The voices and instruments are used in a *concertato* style, however, and the duet text is a simple expression of rejoicing, not an intimate conversation. The finale calls for a 'gran Danza Francese' and the score contains a lengthy *ciaccona*, or French chaconne, in triple metre. Pollarolo skilfully alternates the different vocal and instrumental ensembles; the text is celebratory and neither the libretto nor the musical setting suggest conversation.[126]

Other examples of French social dances appear more and more frequently in the scores for ballroom scenes during the 1690s. For example, the *ballo figurato* that ends *Furio Camillo* (1692) is clearly a minuet. A 'Borèa' (bourrée) is paired with a *balletto* in Act III, scene 1 of *Nerone fatto Cesare* (1693) and the finale of that opera employs a 'Rigadon' (rigaudon), which alternates with two strophes of an aria based on the minuet. (See Ex. 8.)

Vocal dance music

The same question raised with instrumental music – that is, 'which pieces were danced?' – can be asked about many vocal pieces, both choral and solo. Did a vocal piece introduce the dance, was the dance performed to the *ritornello*, or was the piece sung and danced simultaneously? The only instances in which it is certain that vocal music accompanied dance are those in which either the score or the libretto specifically states that a chorus is danced and sung, or that an aria accompanies the dance. In addition, the special circumstances of the *festa di ballo*, or ballroom, scenes often involved sung conversation while the instrumental dance music continues in the background.

Seventeenth-century writers disagreed as to whether choruses should (or could) sing and dance simultaneously. Based on his interpretation of Greek practice, Cavalieri recommended that a final, 'formal' *ballo* should be sung and played by the dancers, but Doni strongly disagreed with this notion, and stated that Greeks never sang and danced simultaneously, thus expressing a more practical approach to performance.[127] A letter from Monteverdi (6 January 1617), concerning his *Le nozze di Tetide*, specifically refers to separate groups of singers and dancers.[128] Indeed, relatively few choruses are specified as dances in Venetian libretti or scores, and the

[126] Ed. note: These two pieces may be seen as Examples 79 and 80 in Alm, 'Theatrical Dance', 506–20.

[127] Doni, *Trattato della musica secnica*, in *Lyra Barberina II*, 115–17. See Alm, 'Theatrical Dance', 25–27, and 'Humanism' (n.46).

[128] 'And if at the same time you accommodate to a dance measure the lines which the Nereids have to sing (to the tempo of which you could make expert dancers dance gracefully), it seems to me that it would be a much more suitable thing.' Trans. Denis Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi* (Cambridge, 1980), 126. Monteverdi discusses his approach to composing for dance in a number of other letters as well. See *ibid.*, 46–47, 106–09, 115–18, 140–41, and 167.

stage directions often imply that the *ballo* is danced to verses sung by someone other than the dancers.[129]

Glover has proposed that the singers hired for the chorus would have also danced the *balli* at the close of the acts with instrumental accompaniment:

> With the increasingly spectacular historical librettos in the 1660s, choruses were once more adopted. Yet it would seem that their chief contribution was visual rather than musical. Choral music was generally short and simple, whether in six parts or two, and the chorus was probably intended also to dance the *balli* at the end of the first two acts and to execute any formal movement during the opera.[130]

Account books from the 1660s, however, record payments for dancers, and it seems almost certain that in Venice the dancers and singers were separate groups. Whereas the use of the chorus waxes and wanes over the course of several decades, the *balli* persist, and the number of dancers seems to have remained constant. It thus seems unwarranted to assume that chorus members would have doubled as dancers.

Table 4 (see Appendix) provides a detailed list of the thirty-nine *balli* with vocal accompaniments, solo, ensemble, and choral. On average the vocal pieces appear to be twice as long as the instrumental dance pieces; this may simply be a result of the fact that there was less need to write out the instrumental dance music in the score of the opera, or to indicate repeated sections. Whereas dances with instrumental accompaniments could be kept in separate scores, with brief cues copied into the full score, those with vocal accompaniments needed to be rehearsed with the singers, and thus were necessarily included in the full score.

The vocal pieces range in length from nine to 174 bars. In some of these, of course, dancing alternated with singing, and then combined for a grand finale. For the most part vocal dance pieces favour triple metre or contrasting sections of both duple and triple metre. The notable exceptions to this are the ballroom scenes, which as we have seen above, often employ duple metre for the promenades typical of the Venetian *festa di ballo*, since the dancing in these scenes is more closely tied to the instrumental accompaniment than to the conversation sung by the soloists.

The earlier choruses do not have instrumental accompaniment (some even lack continuo parts), although instruments may have doubled the vocal lines. Only in the lavish ensembles by Pollarolo in the 1690s do full complements of instruments ('tutti gl'istromenti') join the chorus. Danced choral music is most often celebratory, and characteristically relies on simple homophonic textures and short repeated phrases of text. This is equally true in the early choruses by Cavalli and the large-scale scenes for chorus and instruments by Pollarolo from the 1690s. Many choruses not specified as dances also use this style, such as a chorus of hunters singing 'alla caccia' or a crowd singing 'viva, viva'. These may have been accompanied by some simple gestures and stage movement, but unless a *ballo* is

[129] See, for instance, Act II, scene 11 of Cavalli's *Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo* (1639). The stage directions in the score state '*Ballo* sung by Bacco and by Sileno and answered by the chorus of gods; Dance by fauns and bacchantes'.

[130] Jane Glover, 'The Peak Period of Venetian Public Opera: The 1650s', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 102 (1975–76), 73. See also her dissertation, 'The Teatro Sant'Apollinare' (n.75), 118.

indicated immediately after, or in the vicinity of one of these choruses (as in the final scene of Act I in Cavalli's *Elena*), it probably was not accompanied by dancing.

Cavalli's *Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo* (1639) contains two long dance scenes that involve both solo and choral singing. In Act I, Mercurio summons four groups of spirits to celebrate. The scenario states:

> [Act I] Scene Seven
>
> Mercurio descends from heaven, followed by Momo, who reveals to Peleo the will of Giove. Peleo, not content with exalting the heavenly graces, asks the plants, the stones, the breezes and the waves themselves to express the praises of Giove; Mercurio joins these spirits, who accompany the joy of Peleo with dances in
>
> Scene Eight
>
> The trees peel back their bark, the rocks open up, and two Dryads and two Oreads come out to dance; then rising from the sea, and flying from the heavens, come two Nereids and two Aure, who together form a *ballo cantato*; at the end each god takes with him a pair of nymphs, and the dance ends . . .[131]

Cavalli's score emphasizes the central role of the dances in this scene, which unites music and dance in an unusually complex and intricate fashion. Mercurio invokes each pair of spirits, exhorting them to dance, and they answer with two stanzas of song. Each of his invitations to dance is set to different music; the first and third are in triple metre, while the second and fourth are in recitative. The stanzas for the spirits are each sung to the same music in a graceful triple metre and are marked as *balli*.[132] For the chorus of all the spirits, Cavalli set the four stanzas of text as a lively duet in duple metre (with two soprano parts left blank) and added the stage direction 'Qui ballano tutte insieme' (Here they all dance together). At the end of the scene, the verses sung by Momo, Meleagro, Mercurio, and Peleo alternate with an instrumental *ciaccona*, suggesting that this entire section would have been danced for the exit of the spirits. (See Ex. 9.)

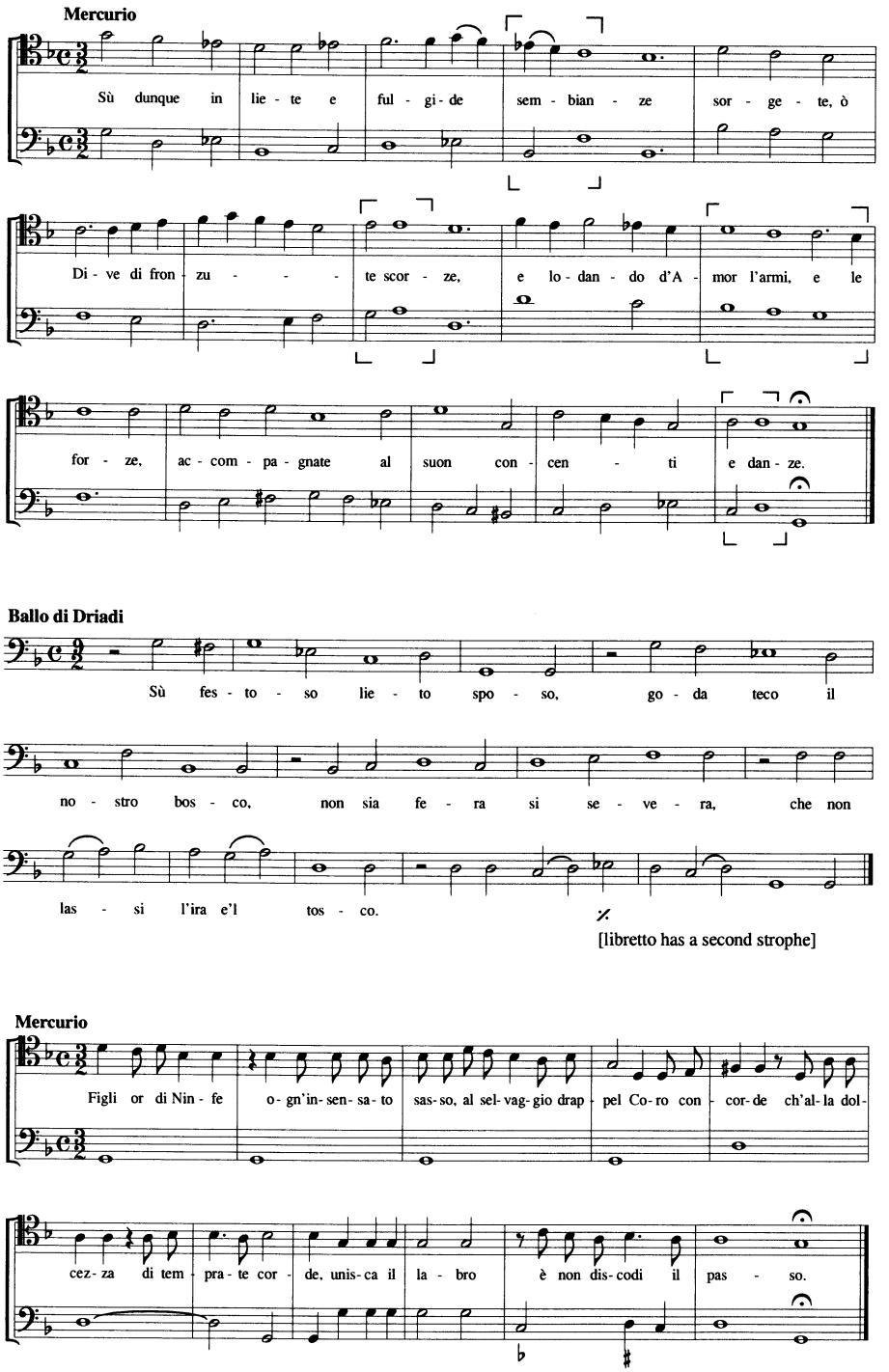
The other extended dance scene in *Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo* is a bacchanalian celebration in Act II, scene 11. The scenario states: 'Bacco and Sileno join with a chorus of fauns and another of Bacchantes; here Bacco and Sileno praise the virtues of wine, and the choruses dance to their melody'.[133] Directions in the score suggest that even the end of the scene was danced: '*Ballo* sung by Bacco and by Sileno, and answered by the chorus of gods / Danced by fauns and Bacchantes'.[134] The length of the scene and variety of music offer the opportunity for a sophisticated choreography to match the changing textures. The music includes several solos, a duet for Sileno and Bacco, two different *ritornelli*, and a six-voice chorus of gods.

[131] *Breve espositione della festa teatrale*, 11.

[132] The same opening stanza of verse is used by each pair, with slight changes to reflect their domains – the woods for the Driads, the rocks for the Oreads, the sea for the Nereids, and the heavens for the Aure. Although only a bass line is given, there are blank staves with clefs for three upper voices, two soprano and one alto.

[133] 'Giungono Bacco e Sileno con un Coro di Fauni & un'altro di Baccanti; quì Bacco, e Sileno commendano la virtù del vino, & i Cori danzano alla lor melodia.'

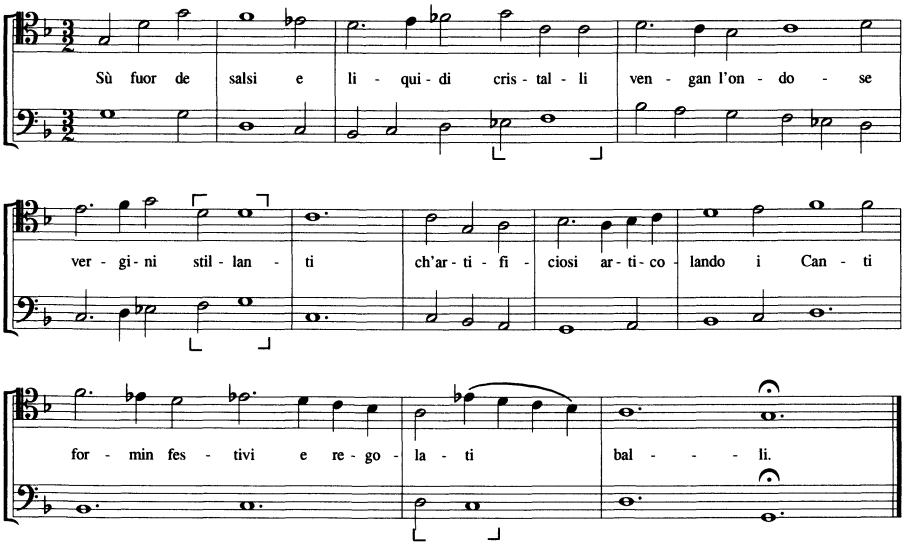
[134] 'Ballo cantato da Bacco e da Sileno e risposto dal Coro degli Dei / Ballato da fauni e da Baccanti.'



Ballo di Oreadi [=repeat of Ballo di Driadi]

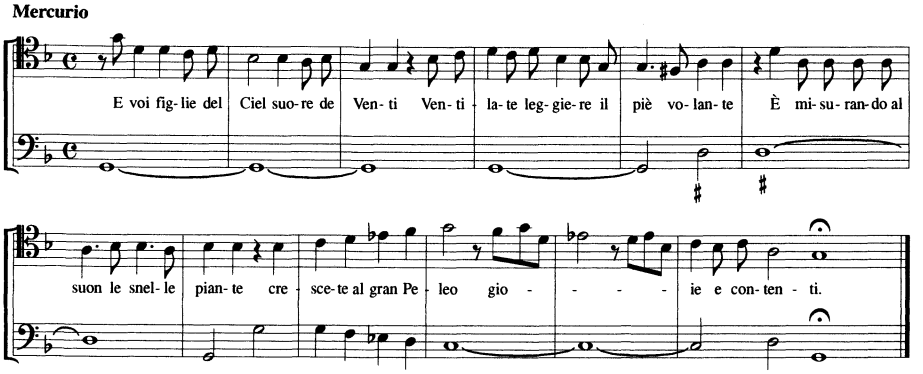
Ex. 9: *Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo* (1639), Act I, scene 6 (I-Vnm, Cod. It IV 365 (=9989), fols. 35^{r}–39^{v}). Excerpts.

Mercurio



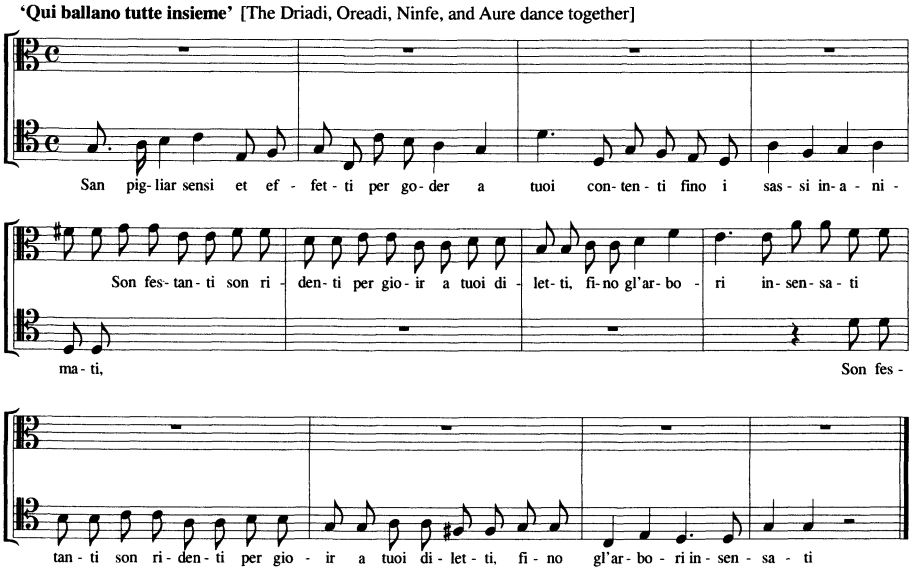
Ballo di Ninfe maritime [=repeat of Ballo di Driadi]

Mercurio

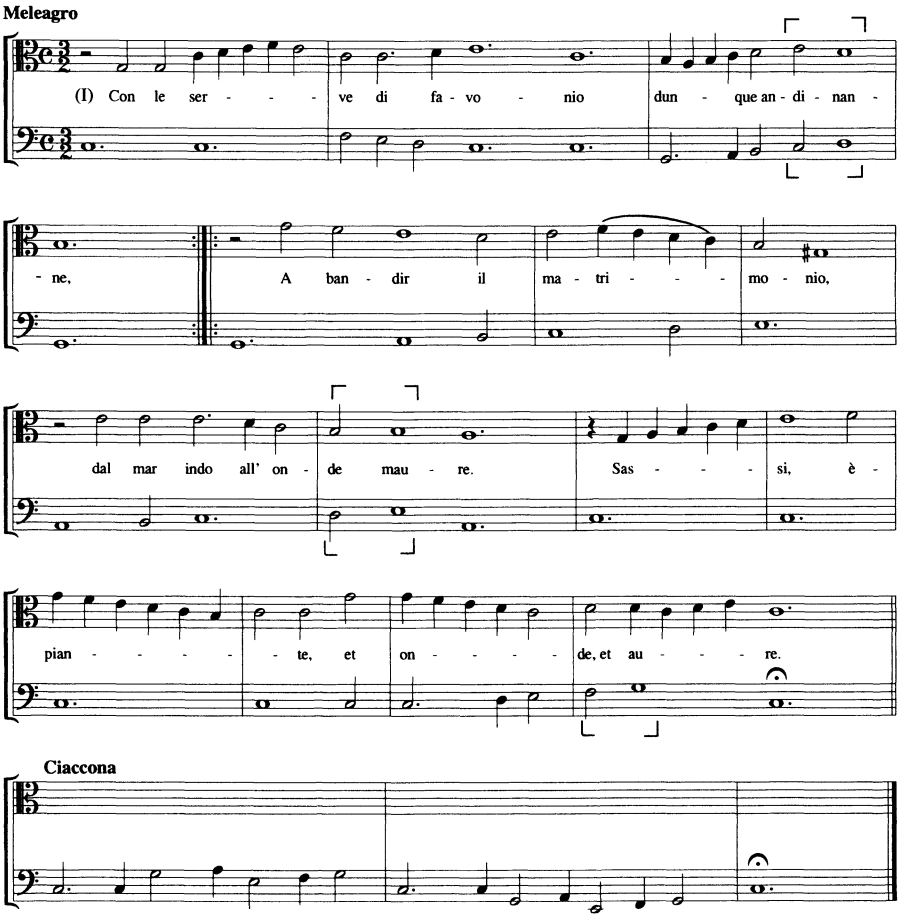


Ballo di Aure [=repeat of Ballo di Driadi]

'Qui ballano tutte insieme' [The Driadi, Oreadi, Ninfe, and Aure dance together]



Ex. 9: *continued.*



Ex. 9: *continued.*

The predominant metre is triple, with typical hemiola patterns, and is interrupted by a few sections in duple metre, creating the shifting rhythmic patterns common in late Renaissance *balli*.

In Cavalli's *Gli amori d'Apollo e di Dafne* (1640), Act I, scene 4 contains choral dance music for nymphs and shepherds that alternates with a solo aria by Dafne; only the choral music accompanies the *ballo*, as annotations in the score make clear.[135] In another instance, the alternation between chorus and solo might have been used to comic effect: In *Alessandro vincitor di se stesso*, there is a *ballo* for hunchbacks introduced by a solo sung by the stuttering Bleso. After beginning in duple metre, Bleso shifts to triple, calling to his companions to join him – which might well have been the cue for the beginning of the dance. The chorus then joins Bleso with music using nearly the same bass line and the same pattern of hemiolas. In the midst of the dancing, Bleso's comic stuttering is heard, an element that might well have been emphasized in the choreography. (See Ex. 10.)

[135] See the facsimile score of Cavalli, *Gli amori d'Apollo*.

Momo
(2) A lodar beltà, che splende,
Dunque andianne,
Dove il Sole i Campi ascende;
Dov'il mar l'acque diffonde,
Piante e sassi, et aure et onde.
Ciaccona

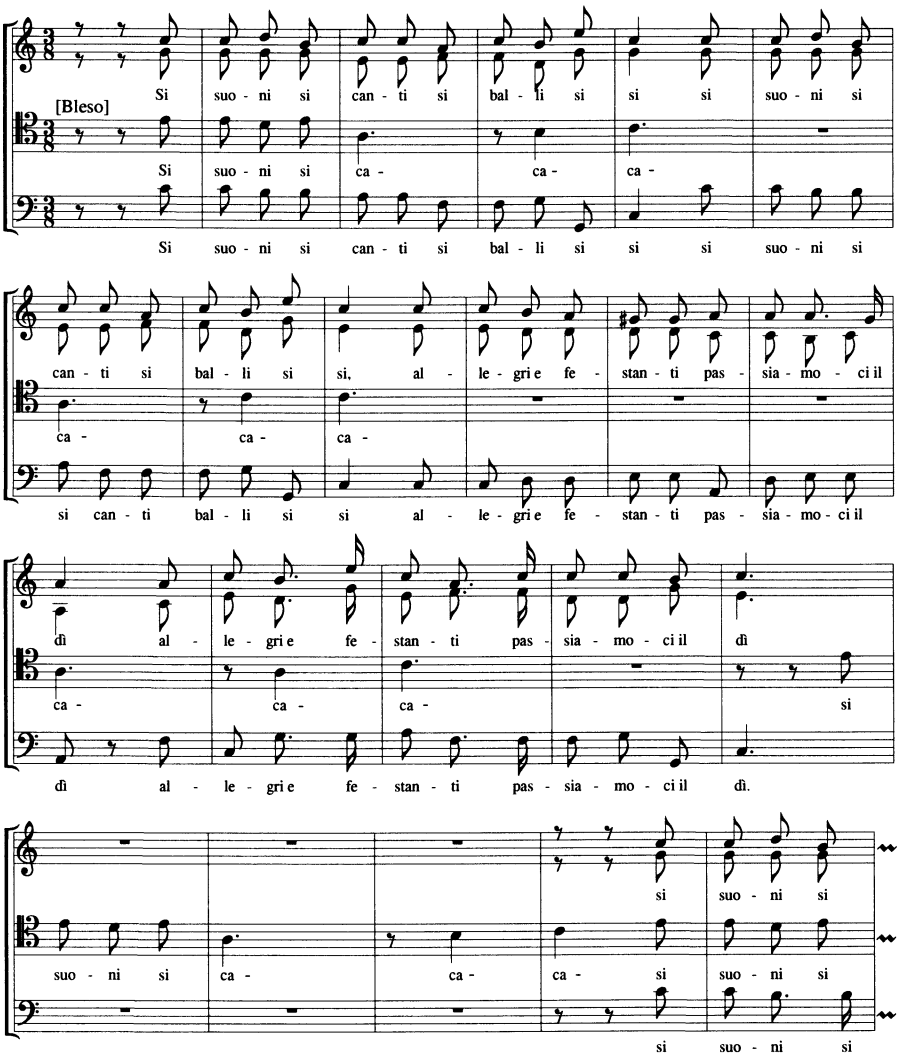
Mercurio
(3) A bandir le regie feste
Dunque andianne,
Dal paese almo, e celeste
Fino ai Regni oscuri, e bassi,
Aure, et onde, e piante, e sassi.
Ciaccona

Pelio
(4) A portar le Gioie mie
Dunque andianne,
Da i confini ond'esce il die
Fino a termini d'Atlante,
Onde et aure, e sassi, e pianti.
Ciaccona

Ex. 9: *continued.*

In addition, solo arias with instruments or *ritornelli* also accompanied some *balli*. The score for *L'Argia* (1669), for example, indicates that the aria at the end of Act I is for Alceo and a chorus of slaves who dance. The instruments and voices alternate in *concertato* style, and the choreography may have also reflected this alternation. Another such example is Eudemo's aria with instruments 'Compagni correte' in Act I, scene 16 of *La caduta di Elio Seiano* (1667). Here, the running eighth notes used in both the vocal and instrumental parts, might have accompanied dance, or the instrumental part may have been extracted and repeated for the ballet. (See Ex. 11.)

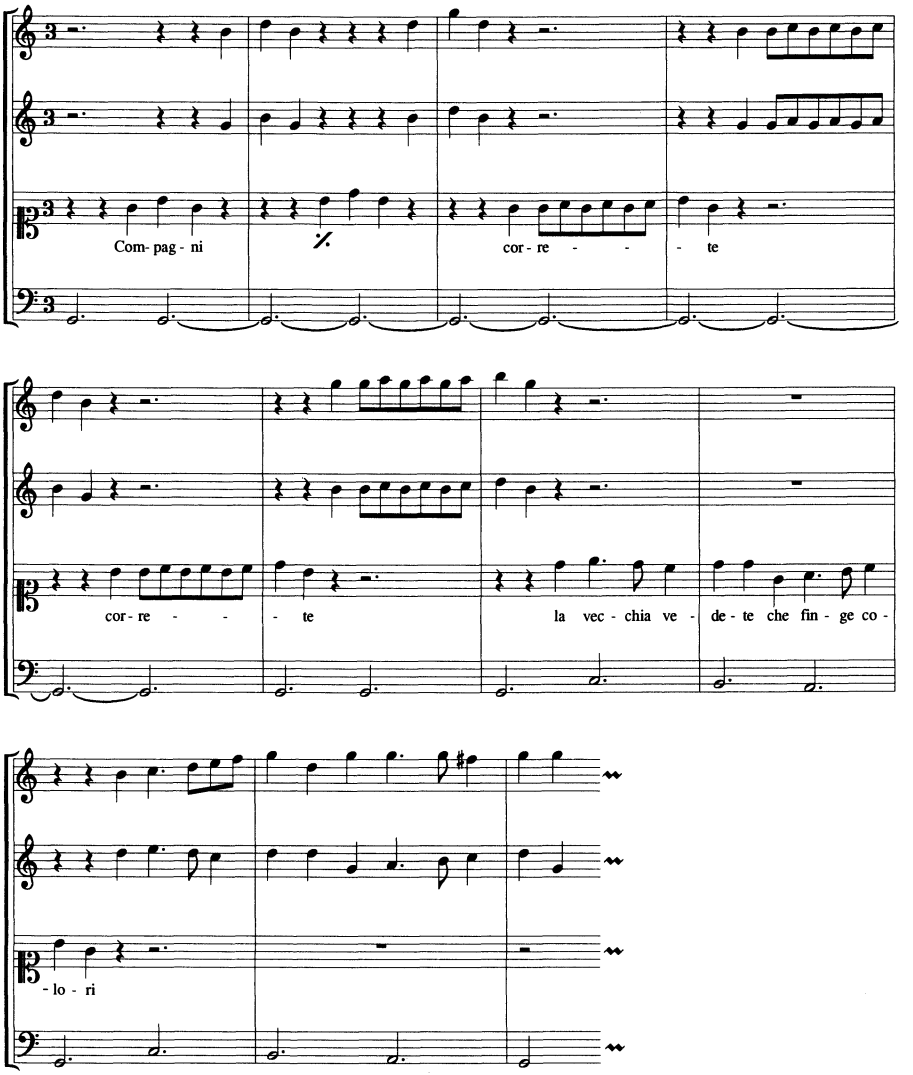
If a *ritornello* is to be danced, there will often be an indication in the score. In Cesti's *L'Orontea* (1666) the *ritornello* of Gelone's aria in Act I, scene 13 is marked 'balla' ('he dances'), and the *ritornello* for Euridice's aria 'Ninfe danzate' in *L'Orfeo* (1673), is titled 'Balletto per la Danza' in two of the three scores, although the libretto does not specify a *ballo* here. In *L'amazzone corsare, overo L'Alvilda regina de Goti* (1686) an aria and *ritornello* in Act I serves for three dances. In scene 6, the aria introduces a fencing lesson which is 'danced' to the *ritornello*; scene 7 indicates a return to fencing when the *ritornello* is repeated. The same aria returns later in scene 7 with a new text for Gilda's dancing lesson, and she dances to the *ritornello*. However, the style seems more suited to the fencing lesson, with repeated quavers and pauses evoking the swordplay.



Ex. 10: Cesti, *Alessandro vincitor di se stesso* (1651), Act I, scene 12 (I-Rvat, Chigi Q.V.61, fols. 68^{v}–72^{v}).

Arias labelled as introductions to *balli* did not necessarily provide music for the dance; in fact, many of them seem unsuitable for *balli*, but must have been followed by instrumental music that was not copied into the score. The final arias of Acts I and II of *L'Orfeo* (1673) and those in *L'Almerico in Cipro* (1675) are also not characteristic of dance music, although all of these are clearly meant to introduce the *balli*. The inclusion in scores of arias that introduce *balli* is yet another indication that the dances were indeed performed and not an optional part of the production.

The lengthy dance scenes by Pollarolo from the end of the century extend this principle of alternation between chorus, solo voice, and instruments. Many of these scenes consist of linked sections of accompanied arias, choruses, and instrumental music, and the larger structure is built of the alternation of two or three small



Ex. 11: *La caduta di Elio Seiano* (1667), Act I, scene 16 (I-Vnm, Cod. It IV 397 (=9921), fol. 31^{r-v}. The continuo part, doubled by the bass throughout much of the example, is omitted.

sections. The few independent instrumental pieces for *balli* are often thematically connected to the vocal music that precedes or follows, and in many scenes the dance clearly continues through both instrumental and vocal sections. Often the entire ensemble of soloists, chorus, and instruments combines for the final section of the dance. This type of choral accompaniment for *balli* may be seen as evidence of neo-classical trends, French influence, or both.[136]

[136] Ed. note: This type of integrated structure is typical of the *divertissements* Jean-Baptiste Lully composed into his operas; see Rebecca Harris-Warrick, 'Recovering the Lullian Divertissement', in *Dance and Music in French Baroque Theatre: Sources and Interpretations*, ed. Sarah McCleave (London, 1998), 55–80.

Conclusion

The surviving dance music, both vocal and instrumental, represents only a very small portion of the repertoire, but it is clear even from this small sample that Venetian theatrical dance was a thriving art during the seventeenth century. The dazzling array of subjects found in the libretti resulted in equally diverse musical styles, and what would seem to have been a highly athletic and varied style of dance. Unlike the French stage, where social and theatrical dance almost seamlessly merged, the Venetian opera houses presented a style of dance that was entirely the domain of professional dancers and choreographers. The imagination of these artists seems limitless; the dances and choreographers of Venice created a kinaesthetic world that matched the eccentric and highly idiosyncratic nature of the operas themselves. Indeed, this is certainly the sentiment expressed in 1688 by Cristoforo Ivanovich, who saw the developing opera industry as a reflection of the Republic's own increasing perfection:

> From here it arose that Carnival became rather more amazing than it was in the past, each year all types and a considerable quantity of strangers converging to enjoy such a delightful entertainment, and seeing the most sublime talents embodied in a virtuoso, the same in poetry as in music, the most exquisite voices of men and women chosen, and the most extraordinary creations found in costumes, sets, machines, 'flights', and *balli*.[137]

While we may not be able to re-create Ivanovich's experience in the Venetian opera theatres, it is indeed time for historians and opera producers to acknowledge that the *balli* were an integral element in the spectacle that was Venetian opera. Tragedy and comedy, pathos and satire – expressed through a dazzling array of subjects in the hundreds of operas produced in this period – not only found expression through the singing voice, but also through the mute eloquence of the many dancers who graced the Venetian opera stage.

Appendix

Theatre abbreviations used in tables

SC	S. Cassiano	Nov	Novissimo
SSGP	SS. Giovanni e Paolo	SSAp	SS. Apostoli
SM	S. Moisè	SApol	S. Apollinare
SSalv	S. Salvatore (S. Luca)	aiSal	ai Saloni
SAng	S. Angelo	Cr	Cannaregio
SGG	S. Giovanni Grisostomo	SF	S. Fantino (which took over the 1699 production from Cr).

[137] Cristoforo Ivanovich, *Minerva al tavolino*, 392.

Table 1. Venetian theatres: number of *balli* per opera

Year	SC	SSGP	SM	SSalv	SAng	SGG	Nov	SSAp	SApol	aiSal	Cr
1637	3										
1638	3										
1639	4	2-0									
1640	3	2*-1*	0-0								
1641	1	4*-1*	2				2				
1642	1	1-0	3*-3				0-1				
1643	0	0-2	—				3				
1644	0	0-4*	—				2				
1645	0-0	0-2	—				0				
1646	—	—	—								
1647	—	2 (May)	—								
1648	0	2	0								
1649	2	0	2					0			
1650	3	2	—					0			
1651	0	2	—					0	0-2		
1652	—	4	—					0	2-2		
1653	—	0-2	—					—	0		
1654	—	2-2	2					—	0		
1655	—	1	—					—	2		
1656	—	2	—					—	2		
1657	—	—	—					—	2		
1658	2	2	—					—	2		
1659	3	2	—					—	—		
1660	2	2-2	—					—	2		
1661	—	2-2	—	1-2				—			
1662	—	1-2	—	2				—			
1663	—	2-2	—	2				—			
1664	—	2-3	—	2				—			
1665	—	3-2	—	2				—			
1666	2-2	2-2	2-2	2-3				—			
1667	—	2-2	2	2-2				—			
1668	—	2-2	—	2-2				—			
1669	—	3-2	—	2				—			
1670	—	2-2	—	2-0				—		2	
1671	—	2-2-2	—	2-2				—		2	
1672	—	2-2	—	2-2				—		—	
1673	—	2	3	2-2				—		—	
1674	—	2-2	2	—				—		—	
1675	—	2-2	2	2-2				—		2	
1676	—	3	2-2	2-3				—		—	
1677	—	3-2	2-2	2-2	2			—		—	
1678	—	3-2	—	2-2	2-2-2	3		—		—	
1679	—	2	—	3-2	2-2	2		—		—	0
1680	2-2	2	2^P	3	2	3-3		—		—	1
1681	—	2-?	1^P	2	2-5	3-2		—		—	—
1682	—	0-?	0^P-2^P	0-1	3-2	?-3		—		—	?
1683	0-1	4-2-2	—	1-2	2-1	3		—		—	2-1
1684	—	1	—	2-2	1-0	3-2		—		—	—
1685	—	2	0-2	2-0	2-0-3	0		—		—	—
1686	—	2-3	1-2	0-0	1-0	6		—		—	—
1687	—	2	2-2	0	2-2	3-3		—		—	—
1688	—	0-3	2-1	1	2	3-2		0		—	—
1689	—	4	2-3	2-2	2	3		—		—	—
1690	—	3	—	2	2	3		—		2	—
1691	2-0	2-0	—	1-2	2-2	2-2		—			—
1692	—	2-0-2	—	0-3	—	1-3		—			—
1693	—	3-3	2	3	0-2	3		—			—
1694	—	2	—	3-6	3-2	5*		—			—
1695	—	2	—	4	2-2	2*-5*		—			—

Table 1. ***continued***

Year	SC	SSGP	SM	SSalv	SAng	SGG	Nov	SSAp	SApol	aiSal	Cr
1696	2-4	2-2-3	—	5-1*	3-3	5*-4*		—			—
1697	2-2	3-0-2	—	4*-3-2	2-2	1-1		—			—
1698	4-3	3	—	—	2-2	3-1		—			—
1699	2-2-0	3-2	—	2-3-3	2	3-2		—			—
1700	—		—	2-3-3	1-?	2-2		—			2 Cr-SF

This table indicates all operas performed in Venice, by season and theatre, according to how many *balli* they contain. Thus a season that offered 3 operas, the first containing 2 *balli*, the second none, and the third 2, would be listed as 2-0-2. A season with a single opera containing 3 *balli* is listed as 3; if the single opera performed had no *balli*, it is listed as 0.

—Indicates that a theatre did not present operas that season.
? Means *balli* were indicated, but their number and location was not specified.
*Indicates five-act operas.
[P]Indicates puppet operas.

Years indicate the carnival season; autumn productions are counted with the following carnival. Thus an opera that opened in November 1678 is listed under 1679.

Table 2. Frequency of *balli*: percentages by decade

Years	Number of operas	Operas with *balli*	Percentage
1637–1640	10	7	70%
1641–1650	36	21	58.3%
1651–1660	30	23	76.7%
1661–1670	41	40	97.6%
1671–1680	59	58	98.3%
1681–1690	85	70	82.3%
1691–1700	85	78	91.8%
Total 1637–1700	346	297	85.8%

Table 3. Instrumental dance music

Year	Theatre	Opera	Composer	*Ballo* location	*Ballo* title	Texture	Meter/Measures
1639	SC	*Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo*	Cavalli	end of Act I	Corrente | Grave | Corrente | Grave	Tr; B [S; A; T blank]	𝄡 3 :‖: 6 :‖: 𝄴 11 ‖ 𝄡 3 :‖: 6 :‖: 𝄴 5 ‖
1639	SC	*Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo*	Cavalli	Act II scene 7	Ballo [di Coro di Centauri]	2Tr; B	𝄡 4 :‖: 8 :‖
1639	SC	*Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo*	Cavalli	end of Act II	Corrente	B [2Tr; A; T blank]	𝄡 5 :‖: 6 :‖: 𝄴 8 ‖
1640	SC	*Gli amori d'Apollo e di Dafne*	Cavalli	Prologue	Ballo de fantasmi	2S; A; T; B	𝄴 3 :‖: 5 :‖
1640	SC	*Gli amori d'Apollo e di Dafne*	Cavalli	Act I scene 2	Corrente	2Tr; B	𝄡 8 :‖: 8 :‖
1642	SC	*La virtù de' strali d'amore*	Cavalli	end of Act I	Ballo delle Maghe [Ballo di varii spiriti]	Tr; B [S; A; T blank]	𝅜 6 𝄴 1 𝅜 16 ‖
1654	SSGP	*Xerse*	Cavalli	end of Act I	Ballo [Combattimento]	B	𝄵9 :‖: 4 [3] 5 𝄵 3 :‖: 𝅜 14 ‖
1654	SSGP	*Xerse*	Cavalli	end of Act II	Entrata 2ª / Balletto [Combattimento]	B	𝄴 12 ‖ 12 ‖ 12 ‖ 12 ‖
1654	SSGP	*Xerse*	Cavalli	end of Act II	Ballo 2ª [Combattimento]	B	𝄴 9 :‖: 9 :‖
1661	SSGP	*L'Annibal in Capua*	P.A. Ziani	end of Act II	Balletto	2Tr; B	𝄴 8 :‖: 12 :‖
1663	SSalv	*La Dori*	Cesti	end of Act I	Ballo d'Eunuchi	2Tr; B	𝄴 9 ‖
1664	SSGP	*Scipione africano*	Cavalli	Act I scene 2	Sinfonia [Gioco de' Gladiatori]	2Tr; A; T; B	𝄴 15 ‖
1666	SM	*Il Demetrio*	Pallavicino	end of Act I	Giga [Restano li paggi insolenti, e formano il ballo]	2Tr; B	𝄴 13 :‖: 10 :‖
1666	SSalv	*Pompeo Magno*	Cavalli	Act I scene 1	Balletto de Cavalli [Ballo di Quattro cavalli naturali vivi]	2Tr; A; T; B	𝄡 3 :‖: 3 :‖: 3 :‖: 3 :‖: 𝅝 3:‖
1666	SSalv	*Pompeo Magno*	Cavalli	end of Act I	Segue il Ballo di 8 impazziti: 2 per la musica; 2 per la pittura; 2 per alchimia; 2 per la poesia / Balletto de Pazzi	2Tr; A; T; B	𝄴 5 :‖: 7 :‖ 𝅗𝅥 18 ‖ 𝄴 10 :‖: 9 :‖: 4 : ‖: 4 :‖
1666	SSalv	*Pompeo Magno*	Cavalli	end of Act II	Ballo di Fantasme [Ballo di 12 Ombre]	2S; A; T; B	𝄴 5 ‖ 6 ‖ 𝅝 5 ‖
1668	SSGP	*Eliogabalo*	Boretti	Act II scene 5	Ballo [Burla trà Giardinieri e Buffoni di Corte]	2Tr; A; B	𝅗𝅥 16 ‖
1669	SSGP	*Il Genserico*	Partenio	end of Act II	[Ballo]	B [2Tr blank]	𝅗𝅥 22 ‖
1669	SSalv	*L'Argia*	Cesti	Act II scene 20	[Ballo di Fantasmi]	2Tr; A; T; B	𝄴 10 ‖
1670	SSGP	*L'Antigona delusa d'Alceste*	P.A. Ziani	end of Act I	Ballo [di Pastorelle e di Cacciatori]	B	𝅝 4 :‖: 5 :‖

Table 3. ***continued***

Year	Theatre	Opera	Composer	*Ballo* location	*Ballo* title	Texture	Meter/Measures
1670	SSGP	*L'Antigona delusa d'Alceste*	P.A. Ziani	end of Act II	Ighe [Ballo d'Artegiani]	B	$\frac{12}{8}$ 5 :‖: 8 :‖
1671	SSalv	*L'Ercole in Tebe*	Boretti	Act II scene 19	Qui si fa il ballo / Ritornello [Ballo di Eroi]	B	**c** 6 ‖ 6 ‖
1673	SSalv	*Orfeo*	Sartorio	Act I scene 1	Ritornello [A-Wn: Balletto per la Danza]	2Tr; 2A; B	**c** 8 ‖
1674	SM	*La schiava fortunata*	M.A. Ziani	end of Act I	Ballo [di Guerrieri]	B	**3** 3 :‖: **c** 2 :‖: 3 :‖: **3** 7 :‖
1674	SM	*La schiava fortunata*	M.A. Ziani	end of Act II	Ballo [di Naiadi, ch'escono dal Tigri]	B	**c** 5 :‖: presto 3 alleg 8 :‖ si replica l'alleg.
1675	SSGP	*Diocletiano*	Pallavicino	end of Act I	Ballo de Paggi e de Pazzi	Tr; B	[**c**] 2 :‖: 2 :‖ si replica 3 volte dopio
1675	SSGP	*Diocletiano*	Pallavicino	end of Act II	Ballo de Persiani [Stuolo di persiani prigionieri con le catene al piede]	Tr; B	**3** 4 :‖: **c** 2 **3** 2 :‖ si replica 3 volte doppio
1676	SSalv	*Germanico sul Reno*	Legrenzi	end of Act I	Baletto [Ballo di Soldati Belgici]	2Tr; B	**c** 4 :‖: 4 ‖
1676	SSalv	*Germanico sul Reno*	Legrenzi	Act II scene 8	Baletto di combatim. [gioco]	2Tr; B	**c** 5 :‖: 4 :‖
1676	SSalv	*Germanico sul Reno*	Legrenzi	end of Act II	Balletto [Ballo di Fantasmi e Spiriti]	2Tr; B	**c** 7 :‖: 7 :‖
1678	SGG	*Il Vespesiano*	Pallavicino	finale	[Ballo di Muse in terra, di Ninfe in acqua, e d'Amorini in aria]	2Tr; A; B	**c** 3 :‖: 3 :‖
1680	SGG	*Il Vespasiano*	Pallavicino	finale	Ballo [di Personaggi che figurano la Terra, Acqua, Aria ed il Foco]	2Tr; B	**c** 4 :‖: 4 :‖
1680	SC	*Candaule*	P.A. Ziani	Act II scene 18 (I-Vnm)	Balletto [Ballo di Ninfe]	2Tr; A; B	**c** 2 :‖: 4 :‖: 4 :‖: 8 ‖
1680	SC	*Candaule*	P.A. Ziani	Act II scene 18 (D-AN)	Ballo per il Cigno [Ballo di Ninfe]	B	**c** 4 :‖: 5 :‖
1680	SSGP	*L'Alcibiade*	M.A. Ziani	end of Act II	Ballo [di Scultori Discepoli di Prassitele]	2Tr; B	**c** 3 :‖: 3 :‖
1680	SGG	*Il ratto delle Sabine*	Augustini	end of Act II	Ballo [di dodeci Romani Rattori]	B	**c** 6 :‖: 8 :‖
1681	SA	*Pompeo Magno in Cilicia*	Freschi	end of Act I	Ballo [di quattro Mori e quattro Nani Spagnoli]	B	**c** 3 :‖: 8 ‖

Table 3. ***continued***

Year	Theatre	Opera	Composer	*Ballo* location	*Ballo* title	Texture	Meter/Measures
1681	SA	*Pompeo Magno in Cilicia*	Freschi	end of Act II	Ballo [di quattro Paggi al levar d'una Mensa Reale]	B	𝄴 5 ‖ 5 ‖ 𝅘𝅥𝅮𝅘𝅥𝅮𝅘𝅥𝅮 6 :‖: 7
1685	SM	*Rodoaldo re d'Italia*	Gabrielli	end of Act I	Ballo	B	𝅘𝅥𝅮𝅘𝅥𝅮𝅘𝅥𝅮 9 :‖: 8 :‖
1685	SM	*Rodoaldo re d'Italia*	Gabrielli	end of Act II	Ballo d'Armi	B	𝅘𝅥𝅮𝅘𝅥𝅮𝅘𝅥𝅮 6 :‖: 7 :‖
1685	SM	*Clearco in Negroponte*	Gabrielli	end of Act I	Ballo [di Pittor in forma d'Academia]	B	𝅘𝅥𝅮𝅘𝅥𝅮𝅘𝅥𝅮 5 :‖: 3 ‖ 3 ‖
1685	SM	*Clearco in Negroponte*	Gabrielli	end of Act II	Ballo [di Soldati coronati d'Ulivo]	B	𝄴 7 :‖
1686	SSGP	*L'amazzone corsara, overo L'Alvilda regina de Goti*	Pallavicino	Act I scene 12 and scene 15	Sonata con tromba [Ballo di Popolo Festante; varij giochi a suono di Trombe]	2Tr; A; 2B	𝅘𝅥𝅮𝅘𝅥𝅮𝅘𝅥𝅮 8 :‖: 8 :‖
1686	SSalv	*Le generose gare tra Cesare e Pompeo*	Gabrielli	end of Act II	Ballo	B	𝅘𝅥𝅮𝅘𝅥𝅮𝅘𝅥𝅮 Largo 24 𝄴 Allegro 8 ‖ 7 ‖
1689	SGG	*Amulio e Numitore*	Tosi	end of Act I	Ballo [d'Amorini in aria, di Ninfe in terra, e di Mostri nel mare]	2Tr; A; T; B	𝅘𝅥𝅮𝅘𝅥𝅮𝅘𝅥𝅮 4 :‖: 4 :‖: 2 :‖
1689	SGG	*Amulio e Numitore*	Tosi	Act III scene 3	Ballo di Paggi	2Tr; A; T; B	𝅘𝅥𝅮𝅘𝅥𝅮𝅘𝅥𝅮 4 :‖: 4 :‖
1689	SGG	*Amulio e Numitore*	Tosi	Act III scene 3	Ballo d'altri Paggi e Damigelle	2Tr; A; B	𝅘𝅥𝅮𝅘𝅥𝅮𝅘𝅥𝅮 4 :‖: 4 :‖
1689	SGG	*Amulio e Numitore*	Tosi	Act III scene 3	Danza di Dame e Cavalieri	2Tr; A; B	𝄴 8 ‖
1689	SGG	*Amulio e Numitore*	Tosi	finale	'Ballo' [Grandanza di Dame e Cavaglieri]	2Tr; A; B	𝄴 4 :‖: 6 :‖: 2 :‖: 4 :‖
1692	SSalv	*Furio Camillo*	Perti	Act II scene 1	Ballo [di Alfieri]	B	𝄴 4
1693	SSalv	*Nerone fatto Cesare*	Perti	Act III scene 1	Borèa / segue il Balletto doppo il quale si replica la Borèa	2Tr; A; B	𝄴 13 ‖ 10 ‖
1693	SSalv	*Nerone fatto Cesare*	Perti	Act III scene 16	Rigadon [Ballo]	Tr; A; B	𝄴 4 :‖: 4 :‖: 8 :‖
1693	SGG	*La forza della virtù*	Pollarolo	Act II scene 5	Introduttione al Ballo/Ballo	Tr; A; T; B	𝄴𝅘𝅥𝅮𝅘𝅥𝅮𝅘𝅥𝅮 9 :‖: 5 :‖ 𝄴 4 :‖: 4 :‖
					Sinfonia	Tr (oboe e violini unis.); A; T; B	𝅘𝅥𝅮𝅘𝅥𝅮𝅘𝅥𝅮 9 :‖: 5 :‖
					[Ballo di Greci e d'Amazoni]	2Tr; A; B	𝄴𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯 6 :‖ 9 :‖
1693	SGG	*La forza della virtù*	Pollarolo	Act II scene 14	Ballo / Ciaccona [Ballo di Dame e Cavalieri Spagnoli]	2Tr (Oboes); Tr (Violini unisoni); A (Violette); B	𝅘𝅥𝅮𝅘𝅥𝅮𝅘𝅥𝅮 33 :‖
1694	SSalv	*Alfonso primo*	Pollarolo	Act I scene 2	Sinfonia [Ballo di Amorini]	2Tr; A; T; B	𝄴 3 𝅘𝅥𝅮𝅘𝅥𝅮𝅘𝅥𝅮 15 ‖
1694	SSalv	*Alfonso primo*	Pollarolo	before Act II	[Danza] [Ballo di Araldi dell'Alba]	2Tr; A; T; B	𝄴 3 :‖: 5 :‖

Table 4. Vocal dance music

Year	Theatre	Opera	Composer	*Ballo* location	*Ballo* title	Texture	Meter / Measures
1639	SC	*Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo*	Cavalli	Act I scene 6	Ballo di Driadi	B [S;S;A blank]	𝄡 10
					Ballo di Oreadi		𝄡 10
					Ballo di Ninfe Maritime		𝄡 10
					Ballo di Aure		𝄡 10
					Qui Ballano tutte insieme	A; T [2S blank]	𝄴 12
					Ciaccona	A;B / T;B	𝄡 4 :‖: 8 ‖ 3 ‖ 4 :‖: 8 ‖ 3 ‖ 4 :‖: 8 ‖ 3 ‖ 4 :‖: 8 ‖ 3 ‖
1639	SC	*Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo*	Cavalli	Act II scene 11	Ballo cantato da Bacco e da Sileno e risposto dal Coro degli Dei; Ballato da fauni e da Baccanti	B;B / T;B	𝄡 10 |
						2Tr;B (rit.) T;B;B	𝅗𝅥 5 ‖ 𝄡 18 |
						2Tr;B (rit.)	𝅗𝅥 5 ‖
						B;B	𝄴 7 𝅗𝅥 3 𝄴 4 𝅗𝅥 5 ‖ 𝄡 8
						2S; A;2T; B	
1639		*Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo*	Cavalli	Act III scene 9	Coro d'Amorini	2S; A;B [2 Tr blank]	𝄴 4 𝅗𝅥 10 ‖
					Venere [Ballo di Coro d'Amoretti]	S;B (Venere)	𝄴 4 𝅗𝅥 10 ‖
1640	SC	*Gli amori d'Apollo e di Dafne*	Cavalli	Act I scene 4	Choro [Ballo di Ninfe e Pastorelli]	S; A;T; 2B	𝄡 18 ‖ 7 ‖
1649	SC	*Giasone*	Cavalli	Act I scene 14	Choro di spirit à 4 [Ballo di spiriti]	A; 2T; B	𝄡 30 ‖
1651	SSGP	*Alessandro vincitor di se stesso*	Cesti	Act I scene 12	Bleso; [Choro] à 4 [Ballo de' Gobbi Discepoli d'Apelle]	T; B	𝅗𝅥 17 ‖ 25 ‖ 17 ‖ 25 ‖
						S; A; T; 2B	
1659	SC	*Elena*	Cavalli	Act I scene 16	Cacciatori	A; 2T; B	𝅗𝅥 5 ‖
					Ballo con gl'Orsi [Li Cacciatori prendono gl'Orsi e ballano]	A; 2T; 2B	𝅗𝅥 8 ‖
1662	SSGP	*Le fatiche d'Ercole per Deianira*	P.A. Ziani	Act II scene 22	Allegrezza; Armonia; Diletto [Ballo di Spiriti Beati]	2S; 2B	𝄴 2 𝅗𝅥 9 ‖
1665	SSGP	*Ciro*	Cavalli	Act I scene 17	Fatama; Choro [Ballo di Mori Etioppi]	A; B / B; B	𝅗𝅥 5 ‖ 4 𝄴 5 ‖
1666	SSGP	*Orontea*	Cesti	Act I scene 13	Gelone	solo voice B	𝄴 2 𝅗𝅥 20 ‖
						2Tr; B (rit.)	𝅗𝅥 12 ‖
1666	SSalv	*Seleuco*	Sartorio	Act II scene 18	Festa di ballo [Ballo di Dame e Cavallieri]	solo voice (var. roles)+2Tr; A; B	𝄴 58 ‖
1667	SSalv	*La caduta di Elio Seiano*	Sartorio	Act I scene 16	Eudemo [Giardinieri e Paggi fanno un Ballo]	solo voice S+2Tr; A; B	𝅗𝅥 26 ‖

Table 4. ***continued***

Year	Theatre	Opera	Composer	*Ballo* location	*Ballo* title	Texture	Meter / Measures
1669	SSalv	*L'Argia*	Cesti	Act I scene 16	Alceo; Choro di Schiavi che ballano [Ballo di Schiavi]	solo voice S+2Tr; T; A; 2B	𝅘𝅥𝅮𝅘𝅥𝅮𝅘𝅥𝅮 50 ‖
1671	aiSal	*Iphide greca*	Partenio	Act I scene 12	Choro di Popolo; Ligdo; Teletusia; Iphide [Giuochi d'Armi in forma di Ballo]	S; A; T; 2B (chorus, some solos and duets)	𝅗𝅥𝅘𝅥 22 ‖
1673	SSalv	*Massenzio*	Sartorio	Act II scene 26	Choro de Marinari che fanno il ballo [Ballo di Marinari Africani]	solo voice A 2Tr; A; T; B (rit)	𝅗𝅥 31 ‖ 7 ‖
1676	SSGP	*Galieno*	Pallavicino	Act I scene 2-6	[Danza di Galieno e Fulvia, Cavalieri e Dame]	solo voice S+2Tr; B	𝅝 8 ‖ 6 ‖ 6 ‖ 4 ‖ 2 ‖ 𝅝 4 ‖ 8 ‖ 6 ‖ 6 ‖ 𝅝 4 ‖ 𝅝 4 ‖ 8 ‖
1679	SSGP	*Alessandro Magno in Sidone*	M.A. Ziani	Act II scene 4	Alessandro; Eusonia [Danza]	T; B 2Tr; B (rit.) S; B	𝅗𝅥𝅘𝅥 18 ‖ 8 ‖ 𝅗𝅥𝅘𝅥 16 ‖ 8 ‖
1680	SGG	*Il ratto delle Sabine*	Augustini	Act 1 scene 21	ritornello [Ballo] aria	2Tr; A; B solo voice S	𝅗𝅥 6 ‖ 𝅗𝅥 17 ‖
1681	SA	*Pompeo Magno in Cilicia*	Freschi	Act I scene 1	Ballo Alimene; Gemmira [Ballo . . . Danza]	B solo voice S+2Tr; A; B	𝅝 6 :‖: 8 ‖ 𝅝 40 ‖ 𝅝 4 ‖
1682	SA	*Olimpia vendicata*	Freschi	Act III scene 15	[Danza]	voices 3S; A+2Tr; A; B	𝅝 20 ‖
1683	SSalv	*Giustino*	Legrenzi	Act I scene 15	Allegrezza [in machina guida'l Ballo de Cavalieri e Dame]	solo voice S +2Tr; A; T; B	𝅝 30 ‖
1685	SM	*Massimo Puppieno*	Pallavicino	Act III scene 2	[Ballo di seguaci dell'Allegrezza]	S; B 2Tr; A; B (rit)	𝅗𝅥 4 :‖: 8 :‖ 16 ‖ 4 :‖: 8 :‖ 16 ‖:4 :‖: 8 :‖
1686	SSGP	*L'amazzone corsara, overo L'Alvilda regina de Goti*	Pallavicino	Act I scene 6 Act I scene 7 Act I scene 7	Olmiro 'Con la scherma' Giocano di spada Novo giocano di spada / ritornello ut supra Gilde 'Con la danza' (aria to same music)	S; B 2Tr; A; T; B B S; B	𝅝 9 | da capo 𝅝 9 ‖ (5 m of bass line given as cue) 𝅝 9 | da capo
1692	SSalv	*Furio Camillo*	Perti	finale	[Ballo figurato]	solo voice S+2Tr (trom.); 2 Tr (violini); B	𝅗𝅥𝅘𝅥 8 :‖: 8 :‖: 8 :‖
1692	SGG	*Onorio in Roma*	Pollarolo	Act II scene 9	Tutto il concerto [Ballo di Dame e Cavalieri]	voices S; A+2Tr; A; T; 2B	𝅝 3 :‖: 3 :‖: 16 | da capo
1692	SGG	*Onorio in Roma*	Pollarolo	finale	Segue il Ballo subito intrecciato dal Canto di tutte le parte [Ballo di Soggetti di Corte per la gran Danza Francese]	voices 2S; 2A; B+2Tr; A; T; B	𝅗𝅥𝅘𝅥 121 ‖

Table 4. ***continued***

Year	Theatre	Opera	Composer	*Ballo* location	*Ballo* title	Texture	Meter / Measures
1693	SGG	*La forza della virtù*	Pollarolo	finale	duet and Ballo [di Ninfe e Fiumi seguaci del Tago]	voices S; B+2Tr (violini et oboi); A; T; B	𝄴 45 ‖
1695	SGG	*Il pastore d'Anfriso*	Pollarolo	Primo intramezzo	[Ninfe che suonano, cantono, e ballano]	voice S+2Tr; A; B	𝅜 2 :‖: 2 :‖: 2 :‖: 2 :‖: 2 :‖: 2 :‖: 2 :‖: 2 :‖ 𝄵 4 :‖: 4 :‖: 4 :‖: 4 :‖: 4 :‖: 4 :‖
1689	SGG	*Il pastore d'Anfriso*	Pollarolo	Secondo intramezzo	[Satiri e Cacciatori che suonano, cantono, e ballano]	voices 2A; B+2Tr; A; B	𝄴 25 ‖ 18 :‖
1695	SGG	*Il pastore d'Anfriso*	Pollarolo	Terzo intramezzo	[Aure e Zeffiri che suonano, cantono, e ballano]	voices 2S; 2A+2Tr (flauti); A; B	𝄴 4 :‖: 5 :‖: 4 :‖: 10 ‖ 𝅜 6 :‖: 𝄴 4 :‖ 𝄴 4 :‖: 6 :‖
1695	SGG	*Il pastore d'Anfriso*	Pollarolo	Quatro intramezzo	[Ninfe e Pastori che suonano, cantono, e ballano]	voices 3S; A; B+2Tr; A; B	𝅗𝅥 10 :‖: 25 ‖: 8 :‖: 8 :‖ 𝄵 12 ‖ 12 :‖: 12 :‖
1695	SGG	*Il pastore d'Anfriso*	Pollarolo	Ultimo intramezzo	[Sogni e Fantasme che suonano, cantono, e ballano]	voice S+2Tr; A; B	𝄴 7 ‖ 13 ‖ 𝅗𝅥 29 [end of score is missing]
1696	SGG	*Rosimonda*	Pollarolo	Act I scene 1	[Gran Ballo]	voices 2S; A; T; B+2Tr; A; T; B	𝄴 16 ‖ 16 ‖ 16 ‖ 16 ‖ 𝅜 8 ‖ 20 ‖ 20 ‖ 𝅜 8 :‖: 16 :‖ 𝄴 14 ‖
1696	SGG	*Rosimonda*	Pollarolo	Act I scene 8	Coro di Damigelle, Coro di Cavalieri d'Alsuinda	voices S; A; T; B+2Tr; A; T; B	𝅜 6 :‖: 12 ‖ 12 ‖ 𝅜 8 :‖: 8 :‖ 26 ‖
1696	SGG	*Rosimonda*	Pollarolo	Act II scene 8	Coro di Giardinieri Uomini e Donne Cantano e Ballano	voices S; A; T; B+2Tr; A; T; B	𝄴 19 ‖ 𝅜 8 :‖: 8 :‖: 8 :‖: 8 :‖: 8 :‖: 8 :‖
1696	SGG	*Rosimonda*	Pollarolo	Act III scene 7	Coro di Cavalieri e di donzelle che esprimono l'afflizione per la morte del Rè	voices S; A; T; B+2Tr; A; T; B	𝅗𝅥 42 :‖
1696	SGG	*Rosimonda*	Pollarolo	Act IV scene 8	Coro di Uomini e Donne che fanno voti per la salvezza del Regno	voices S+2Tr; A; T; B	𝄴 4 :‖: 4 :‖: 4 :‖: 4 :‖: 4 :‖: 4 :‖ 𝅗𝅥 20
1699	SSalv	*Faramondo*	Pollarolo	finale	Coro [I seguaci della Virtù accompagnano il canto del Coro col Ballo]	voices 3S; 2A; B+2Tr; A; B	𝄴 8 :‖: 4 :‖
1700	SGG	*Il colore fà la regina*	Pollarolo	Act II scene 7	Ballo Tutti Gl'Istromenti [di Baccanti]	voices 2S; 2A; T+2Tr (oboi); A; B	𝅝 4 :‖: 5 :‖ 𝅜 9 :‖: 4 :‖: 5 :‖ 11 ‖